

PLATE I.—CINERARY URNS D. C. B. FROM T.2.

PLATE I.—(FRONTISPIECE).—TEAPOT, of cream ware, glaze very much crazed; octagonal spout; transfer printed in black; on one side a lady in a chair and inscription "Pot Works in DERBY"; on the other, the Tea-party and inscription "Radford sculpsit DERBY Pot Works"; on the lid, three cherubs and husk border.

About 1770, height 4 ins., diameter (with spout and handle) 6.5 ins. A Thomas Radford engraved at Fenton for William Greatbach, a favourite design being the history of the Prodigal Son; he was living at Shelton in 1802. (British Museum, M2., pl. 30 in B.M. Catalogue). *Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

Derby Pot Manufactory known as Cockpit Hill Pottery.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER.

1. WHAT PREVIOUS WRITERS HAVE SAID.
2. THE NAME AND THE SITE.
3. THE HISTORY OF THE SITE.
4. THE PARTNERS.
5. THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE HEATHS.
6. JOHN HEATH AND THE CHINA FACTORY.
7. THE PRODUCTS OF THE POTTERY.
8. THE RIVETT FAMILY.
9. CHRONOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

WHAT PREVIOUS WRITERS HAVE SAID ABOUT IT.

IT does not take very long to find out all that has been written about the Derby Pot Manufactory for it is clear that all writers draw for their information on the late Llewellyn Jewitt's *Ceramic Art in Great Britain*, first published in two volumes in 1878. Very little indeed has since been added to what Jewitt then wrote, and if we examine his statements we shall have explored the basis of every subsequent account of the factory.

Jewitt devotes five pages¹ to his account of the Cockpit Hill pottery, and the contents of these five pages can be summarized very briefly. His least contestable statement is, that "there is nothing yet known as to the time when

¹ Op. cit. II, pp. 56-60.

these works were first established," and if he had been content to leave it at that later students would have been spared much unnecessary trouble, and would not have been led into the deep morasses of speculation.

Perhaps the one thing by which Jewitt did most harm was in starting the idea that slip-ware was made here. "It is certain," he says, "that at a tolerably early period coarse brown ware was made here, of much the same general character as that made at Ticknall (Derbyshire), and by the Tofts, but *researches have as yet failed to bring to light any particulars regarding them.*" (The italics are mine). On the contrary there is no such certainty, in fact the probability is all against such an early foundation for these works. Jewitt's own words, which I have printed in italics, are sufficient confutation of his first statement, and in the years which have elapsed since Jewitt wrote, not a single scrap of evidence has been found to suggest that slip-ware was made at Derby. In the College of Arms is a MS. history of Derby by William Wolley, written in 1712, which is printed in Simpson's *History of Derby*, 1826, pp. 171-195. Wolley gives a minute description of the town as it existed at that time and it is inconceivable that he would have neglected to mention such an important thing as a pottery had such existed at the time he wrote, 1712, especially as he described the town, parish by parish, and street by street. This is Wolley's account of Cockpit Hill, where the pottery was subsequently established. "To the westward side of the mill-stream is a good house built by Mr. Beardsley, on the side of a hill, on which formerly was a Castle, still called Castle-hill, but by others Cockpit-hill; beyond which is Castle Fields, where Mr. Burrows builds a very good house, and has a good seat."¹ This is, of course, negative evidence, but it is impossible to believe that Wolley would have missed the pottery, because its site was

¹ Simpson, p. 183, quoting Wolley.

between Mr. Beardsley's house and Castle Fields, the seat of Mr. Burrows, so that had it existed in his day he could not possibly have overlooked it.

Another piece of evidence of similar nature is an advertisement in the *Derby Mercury* for March 3rd, 1742/3 (col. 12), which is worth quoting:

“ This is to give Notice. That William Saywell, who lately kept the glass & Pot Shop in the Cornmarket in Derby, is now remov'd to the Elephant & Castle near the Gaol Bridge, where he keeps a Warehouse and sells the following Goods Wholesale and Retale, at reasonable Rates, viz.:— White Flint Ware; Red or Clouded Ditto; Blue Dutch Stone, & Critch Ware; Staffordshire & Ticknal Ware . . . ”

This is negative evidence again, but it should be noted that the advertiser was apparently in a big way of business, and he expressly mentions the productions of Crich and Ticknall, both Derbyshire potteries not far from Derby, and it is very singular that he should not mention the products of a pottery situated only about 200 yards from his own premises, if that pottery had then been in existence. The way Staffordshire and Ticknall ware is bracketted together suggests that at this particular date their products were similar.

Jewitt next deals with the connection of the Mayer family with these works. “ There is a positive certainty that the Mayer, or Mier family were potters in Derby for more than one generation. A John Mier—an ancestor probably of the Mayers, or Miers, of Staffordshire—was a potmaker in 1721. Some vessels bearing his name are extant. One of these, a posset-pot bears the words, JOHN MIER MADE THIS CUP 1721 In 1772 in some very curious and unique manuscript “ Lists of Gent. &c. in Derby 1772 ” in my own possession, occurs in one, under Cock-pitt Hill, “ Mayer, Mr. pott merchant,” and in another, “ Cock-pitt Hill, Mr. Mayer . . . pott merchant.”

Dealing with the last first, Jewitt's "lists" appear to be those now in the local collection of the Derby Public Library, namely, "Gentlemen of the Corporation, 1771-2," and "Copy of Poll, 30 January, 1772," in which the entries correspond with Jewitt's quotations. These are the only evidences for any member of the Mayer family having ever been associated with the Derby potworks, and they come late in the supposed history of the works. Far from its being a positive certainty that the Mayers were potters in Derby for more than one generation, what I have just quoted is the sole evidence that there ever was anybody of this name in Derby, and I do not accept this as conclusive.

It should be noted that both lists of names belong to the year 1771-2, and curiously enough 1772 is a year when John Heath, who at that time was sole proprietor of the potworks, was also Mayor of Derby, and the entries quoted by Jewitt may merely mean that the Mayor was a pot merchant at Cockpit Hill, and his name was not given under that heading because he was already entered as an Alderman. It is quite true that the "Poll-book" is dated 30th January, 1772, and that Heath was not elected mayor until Michaelmas (Sept. 29th), and further, that Thomas Eaton is given as being mayor, but this does not affect the possibility that the list was not written in its present form until after Heath's election to the chair, which will thus account for the entry, "Mr. Mayer . . . pott merchant." The same list spells the word 'mayor' as 'mayer,' so that there is some justification for my suggestion. At any rate there is no other evidence that any person named Mayer was ever connected with the manufacture of pottery in Derby, while we know positively that John Heath was the proprietor of the potworks at this particular time, so that whoever 'Mayer' may have been, he was not the owner of the Cockpit Hill works. There is a further possibility, not mentioned by Jewitt,

namely that Mayer was a pot merchant at Cockpit Hill, without having any connection with the pottery. There were several burgesses residing at Cockpit Hill in 1772.

As regards the posset-pot dated 1721, Jewitt is careful *not* to say that it was made at Derby. He says, "John Mier was a pot-maker in 1721," which is obvious, but he does not say *where* he made pots, he leaves his readers to draw their own inferences. Jewitt generally quotes his authorities when stating facts, and when he fails to do so it is usually because he is guessing, or speaking without real corroborative evidence.

In the second volume of his book (p. 58), Jewitt quotes in full an order from the Mayor of Derby, Samuel Crompton, Esq., to the Constables of the Borough and the Keeper of the House of Correction on information and complaint from William Butts, gent., Thomas Rivett, esquire, and John Heath, gent., to take John Lovegrove, who had broken his agreement to work for one year at their pottery.¹ The order is not signed or dated, but Jewitt rightly ascribes it to 1758, one of the many times Mr. Samuel Crompton was mayor of Derby. He was mayor in 1758, 1767 and 1782, but as Rivett died in 1763, and Butts died in the following year, it follows that 1758 is the only possible date. Later we shall see that the three gentlemen named were actually the proprietors of the potworks in that year.

"The name best known in connection with these works," says Jewitt, "is that of Heath, and they were carried on by this family for a considerable number of years. How or when the works came into the hands of the Heaths remains to be discovered." The discovery of this interesting fact is one of the chief reasons for the present work. Actually the brothers John and Christopher Heath are the only members of this family who had anything to do with the potworks, and they were only sole

¹ This document is in the Derby Public Library.

proprietors from 20th November, 1770 (when John bought the share of his last partner), until March, 1779, when the two brothers became bankrupt. Nine is not a considerable number of years, but as we shall see presently John was one of the original partners, and had a long connection with the concern.

“After the bankruptcy of the Heaths,” Jewitt says, “the works were carried on for a year or two by their assignees.” There is no evidence to support this idea; on the contrary there is no reason to doubt that work immediately ceased when the bankruptcy took place.

Very little is added to Jewitt’s story by Mr. William Bemrose in his *Bow, Chelsea and Derby Porcelain*, 1898. He quotes the newspaper advertisement of 1780, announcing the sale of the stock-in-trade of the potworks, which is given in full later in these pages, and this had not been noted by previous writers. He also says, “Porcelain was made at an early date at these works,” i.e., at Cockpit Hill. This is the very thing several generations of connoisseurs have been trying to find out, but unfortunately Mr. Bemrose adduced no evidence in support of his assertion. That it coincides with the present writer’s views does not blind him to the fact that possibilities based on surmise are no justification for dogmatic assertion.

CHAPTER 2.

THE NAME AND THE SITE.

It is in many ways unfortunate that this manufactory for earthenware should have come to be called the Cockpit Hill Potworks, for there is no justification for so calling it, and many students of ceramics must have spent unprofitable hours trying to find ‘Cockpit Hill, Derbyshire,’ for no gazetteer records the name, seeing that it is merely a spot quite near the centre of the town of Derby. An instance of a common misunderstanding occurs in Mr. William King’s *Chelsea Porcelain*, 1922, p. 61, where he suggests

that in 1756 "the manufacture of porcelain was moved to Derby (i.e., from Cockpit Hill)." Whereas the Cockpit Hill pottery was much nearer the centre of Derby, than was the Nottingham Road china factory.

In an advertisement which appeared in the *Derby Mercury*, 17th March, 1780, announcing the sale of effects, the concern is given its proper and official title, namely: the "Derby Pot Manufactory, commonly known by the name of the Derby Pot Works." In the obituary notice of William Butts (*Derby Mercury*, 30th March, 1764) he is described as "Master of the Potworks, carried on at Cockpit Hill, Derby." Burdett's plan published in 1767 labels the site as "Pot Work" (*sic*). The term "Derby Pot Works" was something more than a popular designation for the very phrase occurs on the only marked specimen known to exist at the present day, that is the teapot decorated by Radford, which is in the British Museum. On the other side of the same specimen is the alternative description, "Potworks in Derby." It will thus be seen that there is no documentary sanction for using the term Cockpit Hill Pottery, which seems to be the creation of Jewitt and other 19th century writers on ceramics.

It is true the works stood on Cockpit Hill, at the corner of Siddals Road and Eagle Street, where the premises of Messrs. W. & J. Richardson now stand, but they were in the borough of Derby and took their name from it. The potworks have entirely disappeared long ago, but the "New House" referred to in the deed of 1760, and in the advertisements, is still in existence, though unoccupied. It occupies the actual corner of the site, and the works must have clustered round it. Two old plans of Derby, which are reproduced, serve to show the exact situation of the old pottery, and will enable anyone to find the site at the present day. One also indicates how the place got its modern name. John Speed's map of Derbyshire

dated 1610, has in the bottom right-hand corner a plan of "Darbye," (plate 2) on which the number 27 indicates "The Cock Pitt," apparently a circular or octagonal structure stuck on the top of a little hillock. How long prior to 1610 a cockpit had been here is not known, for there is no mention of it earlier than Speed's map, and probably it was then comparatively new, otherwise the older name of Cowcastle, or Copecastle-Hill, would have been superseded sooner, whereas it persisted as an alternative name right down to the beginning of the 19th century, as witness the Richardson deeds and other legal papers.

There is little doubt that the hill was an artificial one of Norman date, and with its surrounding earthworks formed a motte and bailey 'castle.'

The plan next to Speed's in order of date occurs on a fine map of Derbyshire surveyed by Peter Perez Burdett in the years 1762-7, and published in 1767. This is the earliest large scale map of Derbyshire, and the first which could claim to be accurately surveyed. Burdett was a near friend of Joseph Wright, A.R.A., "Wright of Derby," and his portrait is included in several of Wright's pictures, notably in the "Orrery," the "Air-pump," and the "Gladiator." For this map of Derbyshire Burdett received a hundred guineas award from the Royal Society of Arts. A reference to Burdett's plan (plate 3) shows that the central streets of Derby in 1767 were practically as they are to-day, except for a little widening that has been done here and there, and that much of the Markeaton Brook (a tributary of the Derwent) has since been covered in to provide two new streets, namely, the Strand and Albert Street. Not only were the streets of 1767 on the same lines as those of to-day, but they were exactly the same as in 1610, allowing for the obvious weaknesses of the earlier plan. The great interest of Burdett's map is that it shows the exact position not

only of the potworks which are named, but also of the China Factory on Nottingham Road, which is marked 'G.' It is interesting to note that the potworks and the

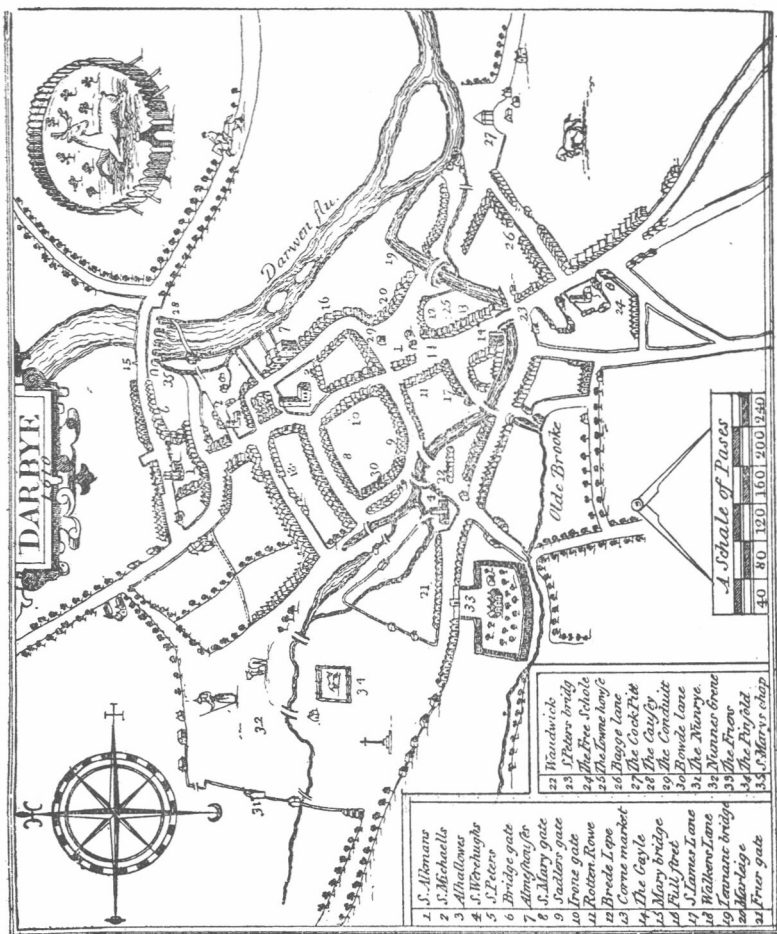


PLATE 2.—SPEED'S PLAN OF DERBY IN 1610 showing the Cock-pit (27) on the site now known as Cock-pit Hill.

china factory were directly connected by means of the ford across the Derwent. The footpath can be traced from the Pot Works over the Holmes to a point opposite a road unnamed on our map, but which was then called

Ford Lane, now Exeter Street and the birthplace of Herbert Spencer. This leads direct to the China Factory.

There are several plans of Derby later than Burdett's which show the potworks, but these are copied from Burdett, not new surveys, so that they cannot be taken as evidence of the continued existence of the pottery. Notably H. Mutlow's plan published in Lyson's *Magna Britannica*, vol. 5, 1817, and reproduced by Mr. Lomax in his *Quaint Old English Pottery*, follows Burdett even to the spelling "Pot Work." The pottery had long been demolished when Mutlow's plan was drawn.

It will be seen from the deeds and other documents quoted that the original name of the site of the pottery was Cowcastle Hill, which itself was a corruption of Copecastel Hill, a name which can be traced back to 1085, about the same date as Domesday Book. In 1085 William the Conqueror gave to Burton Abbey, the Church of St. Mary in Derby, two mills with an island (the Holmes), and twelve acres of land, "duas sedes molendinorum videlicet—Copecastelmyln cum insula ejusdem, le Schirismylne, cum ceteris terris; et XII acras prati, cum ceteris conscientudinibus in Walwikstrete (the Wardwick) ibidem" (Dug. Mon. III. 47). It is unnecessary to trace the name Copecastle down through the ages, suffice it to say that it continued in use until the end of the 18th century. The name means the 'market-castle,' from *cope*, the Danish form of the Old English word *ceap*, 'cheap,' market and castle. The castle was probably a Norman earthwork of the motte and bailey type, which was never converted into a proper stone castle. The market was that still held in the adjacent space called the Morledge, and prior to the opening of the Cattle Market on the Holmes, the Morledge accommodated the market for the sale of cattle. Derby appears to have anciently had three market-places, namely, the Corn Market (now a street only), the Market Place, and

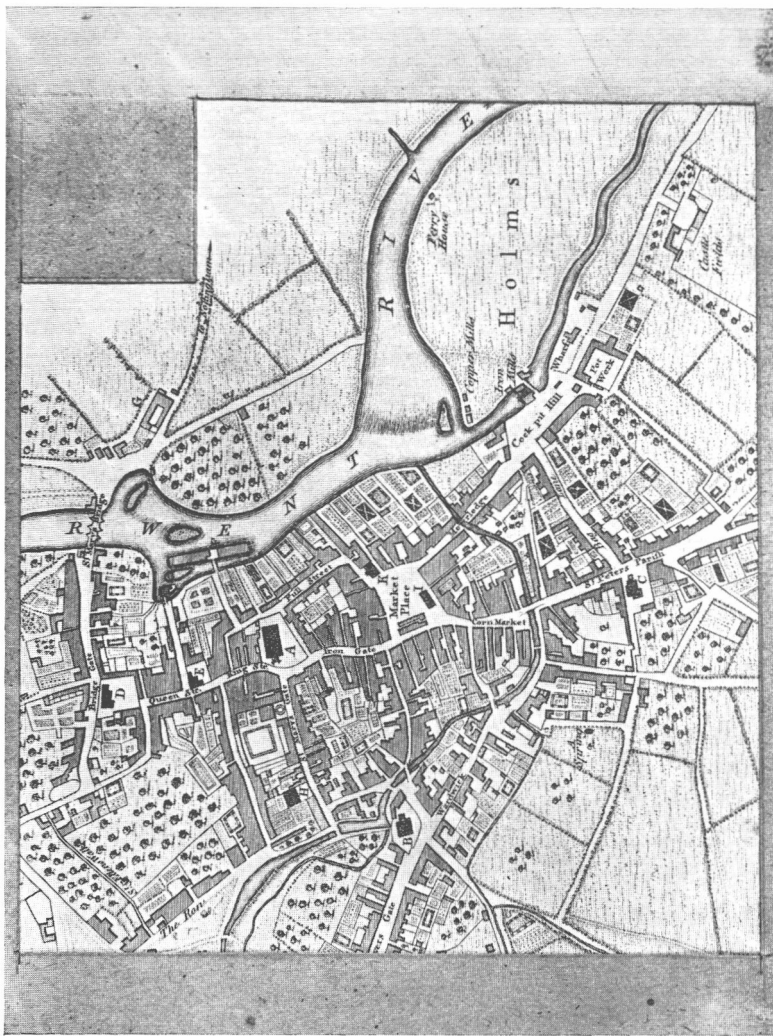


PLATE 3.—Plan of Derby 1767 by P. P. Burdett, showing the “Pot Work” at Cock Pit Hill, and the China Factory on Nottingham Road marked G.

the Morledge, to say nothing of the Cheese Market until recent years held in Friar Gate.

CHAPTER 3.

HISTORY OF THE SITE.

As already stated in the chapter dealing with the name and site of the pottery, the latter was at the corner of Siddals Road (then called Siddals Lane) and Eagle Street, now occupied by the premises of Messrs. W. & J. Richardson, Tanners, which include the "New House" mentioned in the deed of 1760. By the kindness of W. H. Richardson Esq., of the Leylands, Derby, I have had access to the deeds of this property, 24 in number, and it is mainly from them I have compiled this chapter.

At the outset, in order to show that there is no mistake in the identity of the plot, I will first quote from that portion of the 'Abstract of Title' which records the conveyance of the plot to the family of the present owners. By conveyance dated 10th and 11th September 1804, Mr. H. J. Richardson, of Derby, banker, purchased from the Rivett family for £4,800

"All that piece of land on Cockpit Hill called the Pot Yard with the dwellinghouses and other buildings thereon in the tenure of Samuel Houghton; also that dwelling-house and garden on Cockpit Hill in the tenure of Mr. Charnel Bateman; all which said premises were formerly in one close called Cockpit Hill Close, alias Cowcastle Hill Close, containing together by estimation 2 acres and by Thomas Rivett deceased purchased from John Osborne, Elizabeth¹ his wife, and William Osborne, son of John Osborne."²

It will be noticed that there was no mention of the pottery in this document, only the name Pot Yard

¹ Elizabeth, widow of John Osborne, Esq., buried at All Saints', 24th May 1737.

² *Richardson Deeds*—'Abstract of Title.'

remained as a record of the pot works, which had entirely disappeared some years earlier. This deed shows, however, that the pot works had been situated in a particular 'close' and I now propose to trace its history from the earliest record of it I can find.

In the printed *Calendar of Records of the Corporation of Derby* we find, "No. 88 Counterpart of Deed of Sale and Release from the Mayor and Burgesses to Edward Osborne, of Derby, gent. for the sum of £60 9s. of the following fee farm rents, viz.:—(*inter alia*)

2s. 4d. issuing from 'Cockpitt Close'

dated 18th September 24 Chas. I. (1648)."¹ This requires a little explanation. Edward Osborne held certain lands and tenements of the Mayor and Burgesses by burgage tenure for which he paid 'fee farm' rents and from these rents he freed his holdings by compounding for the sum stated, thus converting them into freehold. It is only within the present century that the last of the Derby Corporation's fee-farm rents was extinguished by compounding.

Passing over 60 years we then learn that Thomas Rivett, of Derby, gentleman, after his marriage, settles on his wife Elizabeth, the farm of Needham Grange, in the parish of Hartington, Derbyshire, and "All that Close commonly called Cowcastle Hill Close alias Cockpitt Hill Close containing by estimation 2 acres lately purchased from John Osborne, and now in the possession of the said Thomas Rivett," dated 6th February 1711. (Richardson Deeds, No. 1).

John Osborne, of the last document, was the son of Edward Osborne, who bought the fee-farm rent of Cockpitt Hill Close from the Corporation. He was born in 1653, matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1670, was called to the Bar in 1679, and a bencher in 1706. He married Elizabeth second daughter of William

¹ *Cal. of Records*, p. 40.

Sacheverel, of Morley, and died the 5th April, 1730, his widow dying the 19th May, 1737, aged 70. She was buried at All Saints 24th May, 1737. They had issue, Mary, John, William, Elizabeth and Joyce, the son William being associated with his father and mother in the transfer of the Cockpit Hill Close to Thomas Rivett.

The fine house in St. Mary's Gate was built by a member of his family, probably William the last of the family, who died in 1752. From them it passed through a co-heiress to the Batemans, of Hartington Hall, and then to Thomas Evans, the banker. In 1841 it became a Baptist Chapel by purchase at a cost of £4,000, and is still in use for the same purpose. It is noteworthy as possessing two beautiful wrought-iron gates of the first half of the 18th century, made by the celebrated Robert Bakewell. The shield on the gates is the Arms of Osborne.

By his will dated 8th January, 1722, the above-mentioned Thomas Rivett left his wife Elizabeth £100 a year out of his manor of Blower (Blore), near Ashbourne, in the county of Stafford. He also gave his son, Robert Rivett, a close in Litchurch, near Derby, called the Hades, adjoining the London Road; he also gave to Mother Bloodworth all his houses in Nottingham in the Long Row there for her life; and as to all other estates in land, tenements, or hereditaments in the counties of Stafford and Derby and town of Nottingham (after decease of his Mother Bloodworth) he gave to his son, Thomas Rivett, his heirs and assigns for ever. Proved at Lichfield. (*Richardson Deeds*—'Abstract of Title').

Our next exhibit is dated 1st January, 1747, which records that Thomas Rivett "did on or as of the Michaelmas term last, acknowledge, and levy unto Francis Rivett (his brother), before the Justices of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, one fine *Sur Cognizance de droit come ceo*, &c., of (inter alia) All that messuage or tenement in Derby wherein George Mellor

did inhabit situate in or near a street called the Morledge, and All that close called Cockpitt Hill Close then or then late in the tenure of the said Thomas Rivett." (*Richardson Deeds*—'Abstract of Title').

We have now traced the history of the site nearly to the middle of the 18th century, without finding mention of a pottery, and the natural inference is, that up to this time the pottery had not come into existence, an inference which will become a certainty as we proceed.

The next two documents dated 1760 consist of the lease and release of a house on the same site as the pot works, occupied by one of the proprietors of the pottery.

"Indenture made the 20th October, 1760, between Thomas Rivett, of Derby, esquire, of the one part and Christopher Heath, of Derby, gentleman, of the other part, in consideration of the sum of 5/- paid to Thomas Rivett by Christopher Heath, all that dwellinghouse known by the name of the New House (plate 4) situate on Cockpitt Hill in Derby, and now in the tenure of William Butts, gentleman, to hold from the 29th September last for the term of 97 years, paying the rent of one pepper-corn at Christmas, only if the same shall be lawfully demanded." (*Richardson Deeds*, No. 9).

"Indenture made the 21st October, 1760, between Christopher Heath of Derby, gentleman, of the one part, and Thomas Rivett, of Derby, esquire, John Heath, of Derby, gentleman, and William Butts, of Derby, gentleman (co-partners and owners of the pott works on Cockpitt Hill in Derby) of the other part. Whereas by indenture of demise dated the day next before the date of these presents Thomas Rivett did demise to Christopher Heath, all that dwellinghouse, etc., known by the name of the New House situate on Cockpitt Hill and now in the tenure of William Butts, to hold from the 29th September last past for the term of 97 years at the yearly rent of one pepper-corn; now this indenture witnesseth

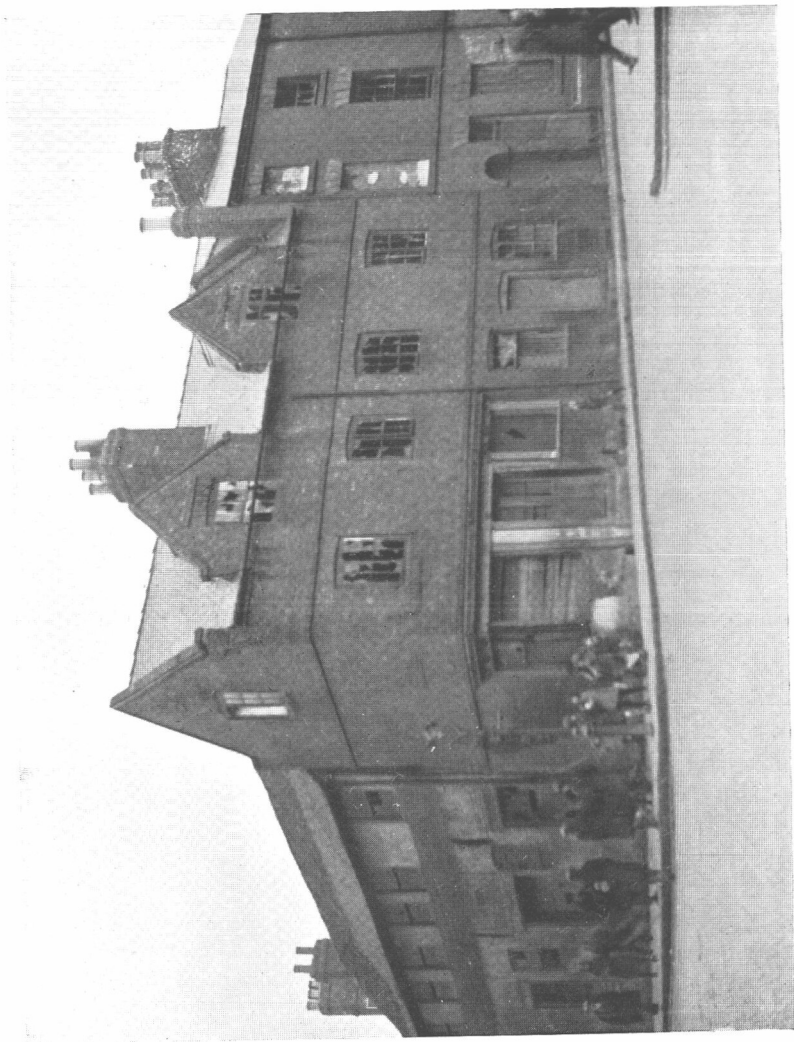


PLATE 4.—The “New House” on the site of the Cockpit Hill Potworks as it appeared in 1930.
Photo. by H. A. Wallace, Esq.
To face p. 58.

and Christopher Heath does declare that the said dwellinghouse, etc., may during the said 97 years be used and enjoyed by Thomas Rivett, John Heath and William Butts (co-partners, owners and proprietors of the said pott works) in the same manner as the same now are and for some time last past have been used and enjoyed."

Signed by Christopher Heath, Thomas Rivett, John Heath and William Butts. See plate 5 for these signatures. (*Richardson Deeds*, No. 10).

It was obvious that the partners could not lease this house to themselves so they adopted the device of lease and release. First Rivett leased it to a brother of one of the partners at a nominal rent and the following day the latter re-leased it to the three partners.

The last two exhibits show that in 1760 a house was built for William Butts, the working partner, which was leased to the three partners as from the 29th September of that year, but we are soon going to learn more about the partnership. In 1763 Thomas Rivett died, and in the following year William Butts also passed away. The two widows eventually sold their shares to the third partner, John Heath, and it is from the two transfer deeds we derive information of the deepest interest and importance.

"Indenture made 5th October, 1767, between Jane Butts, of Derby, widow of William Butts, late of Derby, gentleman, deceased, and William Butts, of Spittle Fields, London, gentleman, only son and heir-at-law of the said William Butts, deceased, of the one part, and John Heath, of Derby, esquire, of the other part. Whereas by lease dated 27th March, 1752 made between Thomas Rivett, of Derby, esquire, of the one part, and William Butts (now deceased) of the other part, the said Thomas Rivett did lease unto William Butts, the north end of a close with farm and buildings thereon situate on Cockpitt Hill, then in possession of Thomas Rivett,

containing in length 54 yards and in breadth 64 yards or thereabouts, to hold the same unto the said William Butts (the Father) from 25th March (1752) for 21 years at such yearly rent as therein mentioned, with right to a further lease of 21 years on giving 6 months notice. (This lease covered the lease of the potworks, as the latter expired in 42 years reckoning from 1752—see advertisement of Sale of Lease). And whereas by indenture of co-partnership, bearing date the 25th December, 1753 made between William Butts (the Father), John Heath, Thomas Rivett and Ralph Steane (who hath since relinquished all his right and interest in the Pott Works and trade hereinafter mentioned) it was thereby agreed that the Pott Works or Manufactory for Earthenware should be carried on by the said partners for the space of 21 years to be accounted from Martinmas (November 11th) 1751 upon the terms and conditions therein mentioned; and whereas by indenture made the 21st October, 1760 between Christopher Heath, etc., etc. And whereas by another indenture of demise dated 11th June, 1752, made between Abraham Hurst, of Mickleover, in the county of Derby, dyer, of the one part, and William Butts (the Father) of the other part, Abraham Hurst did demise and lease that Water Mill at Darley near Derby (Darley Abbey) then used for grinding of Flint and manufacturing the same for Pott Works and other purposes with two little rooms thereto adjoining on a ground floor, together with all streams, waters, and mill dams, thereto belonging, to hold from 24th June next for 21 years at the rent therein mentioned.

And whereas the said Jane Butts is entitled to one third part of the aforesaid leasehold Estates, Pott Works and Premises as administratrix of the said William Butts, her late husband, and hath now contracted with John Heath to sell the same to him together with the several shares of lead-mines hereafter mentioned for the sum of £635 11s.

6d.; Now this indenture witnesseth that Jane Butts in consideration of the sum £635 11s. 6d. paid by John Heath hath granted, etc., all her third part (the whole into three equal parts to be divided) of the said messuages, closes, water-mill, and premises, etc., and all her interest right and title of in and to the said Pott Works and Manufactory for earthenware, effects, stock-in-trade, book debts, materials and other things belonging or appertaining to the Trade or Business of a Potter; And this indenture further witnesseth that for the further sum of £397 the said William Butts, party hereto, and Jane Butts, sell unto John Heath their shares in the Lead Mines or Groves called by the several names of Carson Hill Mine, the George Veins, The Gilkin, the Grey Mare and the Bage, with the consolidated titles belonging to the said mines, that is to say, six twenty-fourths in the Carson Hill Mine, three twenty-fourths in the George Veins, four twenty-fourths in the Gilkin, one twenty-fourth in the Grey Mare, and two twenty-fourths in the Bage Mine, together with all Rakes, Pipes, Veins and discoveries made or hereafter to be made from any of them, with all possessions, Stoces, Meers, and Taker Meers (for explanation of these terms see the present writer's *Glossary of Lead Miners' Terms*) to the said mines or groves belonging (except one twenty-fourth share in the Grey Mare reserved by William Butts)." *Richardson Deeds*, No. 12).

It will be agreed that in this document several important new facts arise, but before discussing them further we will see how John Heath acquired the outstanding third share still in the hands of Rivett's widow.

"Agreement dated 20th November, 1770, between Anna Maria Rivett, of Derby, widow, relict of Thomas Rivett, late of Derby, esquire, and John Heath, of Derby, esquire. Whereas a lease dated 27th March, 1752, etc., and whereas by indenture of co-partnership bearing date the 25th

December, 1753, etc., and whereas by indenture bearing date 21st October, 1760, etc., and whereas by indenture bearing date 11th June, 1752, etc., and whereas the said Anna Maria Rivett is entitled to one third part of the aforesaid leasehold Estates, Pottworks and Premises as executrix of the said Thomas Rivett her late husband and hath now contracted with John Heath to sell to him for the sum of £330; now this indenture witnesseth, etc." Here follows a clause similar to the corresponding one in the Butts indenture. (*Richardson Deeds*, No. 13).

The pottery thus passed entirely into the hands of John Heath, and he continued in possession until the bankruptcy of himself and his brother Christopher, which occurred in March, 1779, so that actually the Heaths were sole proprietors for just over eight years. Their bankruptcy is of sufficient interest to warrant a separate chapter, but there is one advertisement relating to it which should be quoted here as it bears on the question of the date of establishment of the works.

"To be sold (being part of the estate and effects of Messrs. John & Christopher Heath, of Derby, Money Scriveners and co-partners, Bankrupts); The lease of that large and extensive Manufactory in Derby called the POT WORKS, held by the said Bankrupts for the remainder of a term of which 15 years are yet unexpired, at the yearly rent of £6, etc., etc. Also a lease of a large new-erected and convenient dwellinghouse, with a garden thereto, pleasantly situated near and contiguous to the said Manufactory held by the said Bankrupts for the remainder of a term of which 78 years are yet unexpired, at the yearly rent of a pepper-corn. Derby 26th May, 1779." (*Derby Journal*, 8th July, 1779, et seq.).

It will be seen that the first lease corresponds to that obtained by William Butts from Thomas Rivett, for the close with barn and buildings, dating from 25th March, 1752, for 21 years with power to renew for a further 21

In Witness whereof the parties ..
Christopher Heath
Thos. Rivett
John Heath
W. Butts




PLATE 5.—Signature of the Proprietors of the Derby Pot Works from a lease dated 21st October, 1760. At that time the proprietors were Thomas Rivett, John Heath and William Butts, Christopher Heath did not come in until sometime after 1770, when Rivett and Butts were both dead. *Reproduced by permission of W. H. Richardson, Esq.*

years. It was evidently renewed for a total of 42 years which, reckoning from 1752, takes it to 1794, that makes 15 years from the date of the advertisement just quoted.

The second lease offered for sale is that of the "New House" created in 1760 and dating from 29th September in that year. It was due to expire in 97 years, that is 78 years reckoning from 1779. So that we have now all the data for a connected narrative.

To summarize the facts just presented we find that in 1648, Edward Osborne, who was already in occupation of "Cockpitt Close" acquired the freehold from the Corporation of Derby; by 1711 Thomas Rivett had bought it from John Osborne, a descendant of the former owner, and on the death of Rivett it passed to his son and heir, Thomas, who in 1751 became a partner in the potworks; in 1770 John Heath became sole proprietor and carried on the pottery until he and his brother Christopher were bankrupt in 1779. Ancestors of the present owners acquired the site in 1804. The date of the establishment of the pottery will be discussed later.

CHAPTER 4.

THE PARTNERS.

FROM the agreement of October 5th, 1767, transferring to John Heath the share of the potworks belonging to Jane, the widow of William Butts, we learn that the deed of partnership was dated the 25th December, 1753, but that the partnership reckoned from November 11th, 1751. We also learn the names of the original partners, namely, William Butts, John Heath, Thomas Rivett and Ralph Steane. The latter is an entirely new name in connection with the manufacture of pottery. Steane could not for long have remained associated with the pottery, as he is not named as a partner in the order for the arrest of John Lovegrove in 1758, nor on the deed

of re-lease of 1760. Whether he was deceased in 1767 is not clear, but it is stated that he "hath since [1753] relinquished all his right and interest in the Pott Works and trade hereinafter mentioned." The name Steane appears once in the records of Derby, but whether an ancestor of Ralph does not appear; it does, however, show that the name was not entirely strange to the town. Under date 25th April, 1582, the Bailiffs and Burgesses of Derby leased a house and garden in St. Mary's Gate to 'John Steyne, poticary' for 21 years at 30s. a year.

In the printed marriage registers of St. Peter's, Derby, appears the entry of the marriage of "Ralph Stern, potter, of St. Peter's Parish, and Agnes Wheeldon, of St. Alkmund's," on the 17th February, 1761. I am indebted to Major W. H. Tapp for the discovery that in the original register the name is "Ralph Steen," and there can be no doubt that we have here the partner in the potworks. Although at the time of his marriage he had ceased to be a partner he is still a potter, and was no doubt employed at Cockpit Hill which lies in St. Peter's Parish. So much for Ralph Steane, a shadowy though real personage on the ceramic field.

William Butts is a more substantial figure than Steane, and in him we see the practical man of the firm. It was probably he who was the real founder of the business, with Rivett as the owner of the site, and Heath as the money finder. Unfortunately the deed of partnership is not now available other than in the abbreviated form quoted in another chapter, otherwise we should have learnt more about the 'terms and conditions herein mentioned.' However, we do know that William Butts leased from Thomas Rivett, 27th March, 1752, 'the north end of a close with barn and buildings thereon situate on Cockpitt Hill,' for 21 years with right of renewal for another 21 years, and that in this close the Potworks were built. Further the lease and re-lease of 1760 show

that William Butts was living in the New House which, as we learn from the sale advertisements, was contiguous to the pottery. Only one more piece of information relating to Butts can be found, namely, his obituary notice.

“Yesterday (28th March, 1764) in the evening, died, at his house on Cockpit Hill in this town, Mr. William Butts, Master of the Potworks carried on there. He was greatly esteemed by his friends and acquaintances and by his death his family will sustain an almost irreparable loss.”¹ He was buried at All Saints, 1st April, 1764.

For the next four years the widow Butts retained her husband's share in the potworks and then she and her son William (see page 61) sold it to John Heath for £635 11s. 6d. Everything points to the fact that Butts was a practical man. He leased the site, lived on the premises, and at his death is described as the ‘Master,’ or as we should now say the ‘Manager.’

From the register of All Saints' Church I have extracted the following references to the children of William Butts. William, baptised 31st March, 1743.

“Jos. & Jane ye children of Mr. William Butts,” baptised, 17th March, and buried 6th April, 1745.

Frances, baptised 9th October, 1746.

Elizabeth, baptised 12th May, 1748.

Jenny Hamilton, baptised 9th October, 1750.

The first named, William, was the only son and heir of William Butts, and in 1767 he is described as being of Spittle Fields, London, gentleman.

It is after the death of Butts that Mayer steps in, if at all, but at no time is a person of that name a partner in the concern, and it is only in poll-books of 1772, already quoted, that we find a reference to “Mr. Mayer, Pott Merchant, Cockpit Hill.” There is no other reference, whatever, connecting the name of Mayer with the Derby potworks, in spite of all statements to the contrary.

¹ *Derby Mercury*, 30th March, 1764.

Thomas Rivett, the third of the partners, was the son of that Thomas Rivett who purchased the Cockpitt Hill Close from John Osborne about 1711. He is almost invariably designated 'esquire' in the documents, while Butts and Heath are only gentlemen. This seems to show that he bore Arms, in spite of the statement of John Reynolds, the 18th century Derbyshire antiquary, "that he had no arms and was the son of a working blacksmith." (Cox *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, vol. 1, p. 62). It is my intention to devote a separate chapter to the Rivett family, so will content myself here with a brief authentic record of the facts of his life. He was one of two Members of Parliament for Derby from 1748 to 1754; High Sheriff of Derbyshire for the year 1757-8, and Mayor of Derby in 1761-2. He was the eldest son of Thomas Rivett, who was himself Mayor of Derby in 1715-6, and his sister Sarah married Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Lord Chief Justice. He married in April, 1749, when Member for Derby, Anna Maria, daughter of the Rev. Peter Sibley, of county Somerset, and she is described by the Gentleman's Magazine (May, 1749, p. 236) as the "celebrated Miss Sibley." Rivett died at Bath on April 6th, 1763, and his body was brought to Derby and interred at All Saints. Many years later a tablet was erected to his memory by his widow, which greatly extols his virtues. This tablet is on the south wall of the church, and immediately next the Cavendish chapel.

After Rivett's death his widow retained her late husband's share in the pottery, and when Butts died the following year both widows held on, the latter as we have seen until 1767, and Mrs. Rivett until 20th November, 1770, when, as Mrs. Butts had already done, she sold out to John Heath, who then became sole proprietor. The sum paid by Heath to Mrs. Rivett was £330, considerably less than the amount he paid to Mrs. Butts, the reason for which I can offer no suggestion.

There is still one other original partner to consider, namely, John Heath, and as his brother Christopher is shown by the bankruptcy proceedings to have been in partnership with him, I will here deal with the two of them.¹ Heath's connection with the China Factory is dealt with in another chapter, as also is the Heath bankruptcy, so nothing need be said here with regard to those particular incidents.

The Heaths belonged to a local family which, in the 18th century, was located at Makeney in the parish of Duffield, about four miles north of Derby. Mr. Thomas Norris Ince in his manuscript volume of Pedigrees (Ince, Pedigrees, p. 89) in the Derby Public Library, gives a skeleton pedigree of the Heath family, but not much information is to be gleaned from it. John Heath was the eldest son of John Heath, a copyholder of the manor of Duffield, whose death was presented at the Manor Court on August 22nd, 1765. John and his brother Christopher lived together in Full Street, Derby, and followed the profession of bankers and money scriveners. Some idea of the extent of their operations can be learnt from the chapter dealing with their bankruptcy. John was elected an Alderman on the 15th December, 1762, and became Mayor of Derby in 1763-4, and again in 1772-3, while Christopher was Mayor two years later, 1774-5. Both brothers had their portraits painted by Joseph Wright, A.R.A., "Wright of Derby," and by good fortune I am able to reproduce that of John Heath (plate 6). It shows him to have possessed a keen intelligent countenance, and to have been of stout build. Apart from John's connection with the potworks and the china factory, and the bankruptcy, we know little of his

¹ There was another brother named Isaac who signs in 1762, along with his brothers John and Christopher, a deed relating to property in the Corn Market Derby, now in possession of Mr. W. H. Richardson (1930). Isaac's name also appears in the "Poll of Burgesses," 1748.

life history. What happened to him after 1779 is unknown; he seems to have left Derby, and so far I have not been able to trace his movements, or even the date of his death. As I have already said, John Heath must have had some knowledge of the pottery manufacture, as he was connected with the potworks from 1751 to 1779, and with the china factory from 1756 to the same date.

Christopher Heath seems to have been very closely associated with his brother John in all his dealings. Both were members of the Borough Council; in 1771-2 Christopher is described as a "Common Council Man," and John as an Alderman; both occupied the Mayoral Chair, and at the time of their bankruptcy they lived together in Full Street. A sister of the Heaths married Joshua Bradshaw, and in 1772 their two nephews, Joseph and John Bradshaw, lived with the Heaths in Full Street. I have not been able to find out whether John ever married or not, but Christopher did, for the announcement of his wife's death appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "Sept. 1804, at Quorn (Quarndon) co. Derby, in her 75th year, Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Christopher Heath, and sister of the late Mrs. Allsopp, of Loughborough, co. Leic." (*Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1804, p. 1072).

An interesting incident connected with Christopher appears in the local papers in 1778.

"Derby, May 14th.—On Thursday night last Mr. Christopher Heath, banker, of this town, was robbed of about 7 guineas, on the London Road, a few miles hence, by a single highwayman, who, it is supposed, had two companions near, as he was shortly after seen on the road in company with two other persons." (*Derby Journal*, 14th May, 1778, col. 19).

Wright, of Derby, painted Christopher's portrait in oils, and this portrait was exhibited at Derby in 1866, 1870 and 1883, but cannot now be traced. The lenders

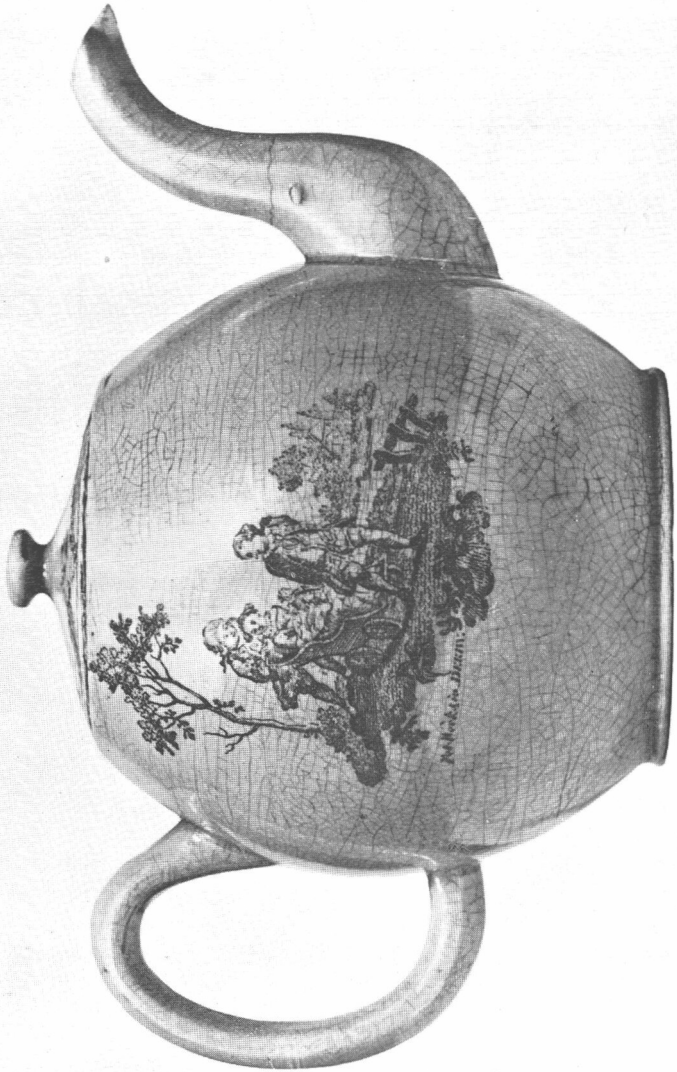


PLATE I.

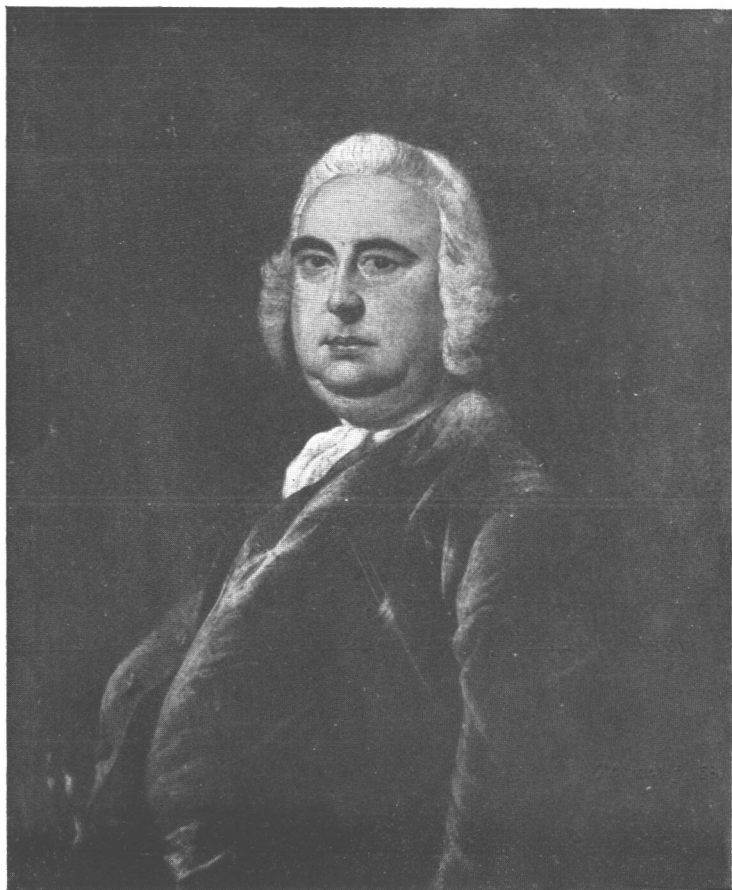


PLATE 6.—Portrait of John Heath painted by Wright of Derby.

To face p. 68.

of the picture were respectively, Mr. J. Hudson, Mrs. Hudson and Mr. H. Barber. In the catalogue of the 1883 Exhibition the portrait is described as follows:—"Seated, looking to right; writing a letter dated Derby, May, 1781; handkerchief in left hand. Canvas 50 by 40 inches." It is singular that Heath should have his portrait painted at Derby in 1781, only two years after the bankruptcy, and long before the creditors had been paid off.

Christopher lived to a good old age, and died on the 20th July, 1815, highly respected in spite of the failure in middle life.

"On Sunday morning at the Vicarage, Duffield, in this county, in his 97th year, much respected, Christopher Heath, esquire, formerly and for many years a highly respectable inhabitant of this borough, who served the office of Mayor in the year 1774." (*Derby Mercury*, 3rd August, 1815; *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1815, p. 188).

And so passed away the last of the proprietors of the Derby Potworks, none of whom left a single scrap of information for the enlightenment of succeeding generations.

CHAPTER 5.

BANKRUPTCY OF THE HEATHS AND CLOSE OF THE FACTORY.

In a previous chapter we have learnt that John Heath was one of the original partners in the pottery, and that in 1767 he purchased the share of William Butts from the latter's widow and son, and in 1770 he became sole proprietor by purchasing the share of Thomas Rivett from his widow. Heath remained proprietor until bankruptcy in March, 1779, following which the pottery came to an end, so that altogether, Heath's connection with the works had lasted nearly 28 years, reckoning

from the date of the partnership, 11th November, 1751. Besides his interest in the pottery, he was also interested in the china factory, a connection dealt with in another chapter, so although he was not a practical potter he had a greater experience of the trade than he has been credited with heretofore. At the time of his bankruptcy he was in partnership with his brother Christopher, but this was a general partnership covering all their undertakings, not a partnership specifically for the potworks. As a matter of fact the only occurrence of Christopher's name in connection with the pottery, is in 1760, when he lent his name for the purpose of making out a lease for the "New House."

The cause of the Heaths' failure is unknown, but it cannot have been due to their interests in the pottery, and the china factory, for anyone who reads through the details of what transpired after the crash, will realise that these two concerns were really only in the nature of hobbies and could have had little effect one way or the other.¹ Certainly the china factory cannot have been a source of difficulty to Heath, for it continued successfully for a period of seventy years after Heath failed.

I have been able to collect a considerable number of advertisements from the local papers, some of which are of great importance, and I propose giving such extracts as I think of interest. Many which do not relate to the potworks have been passed over and the curious reader is referred to the newspapers direct. Apart from the advertisements the newspapers do not say a word about the bankruptcy, but fortunately the diary of a young Derby lady of the period has been preserved, and that shows what a great calamity it was.

The newspapers from which the extracts are chiefly

¹ A curious entry appears in All Saints' register which may have some connection here:—"Buried 27th April 1779 Christopher Heath, son of Mary Massey, Spinster."

taken are:—*Harrison's Derby and Nottingham Journal* (Db. Jour.) and the *Derby Mercury* (Db. Merc.).

First appears the bare announcement of the failure, under the heading 'Bankrupts.'

"Bankrupts—John Heath and Christopher Heath, of Derby, Bankers. To appear April 10th, 12th and May 8th at the Ship in Full Street, Derby. Attorney, Mr. Bateman, Derby." (*Db. Jour.* 1st April, 1779, col. 14; *Db. Merc.* 2nd April, 1779; and *Gentleman's Mag.* April, 1779).

The *London Gazette* (No. 11961, March 23-27, 1779) notice is a little fuller without much more relevant information. "Whereas a Commission of Bankrupt is awarded and issued forth against John Heath and Christopher Heath, of Derby in the county of Derby, Bankers, Money-Scriveners, and Co-partners, and they being declared bankrupts, are hereby required to surrender themselves to the commissioners on the 10th and 12th days of April next, and on the 8th of May following, at ten o'clock in the forenoon on each of the said days, at Mr. Simpson's, called the Ship in Full Street, Derby, and make a full discovery and disclosure of their estate and effects Mr. Bateman, Attorney in Derby."

Before continuing with the advertisements it will be better to give an extract from a letter written by Mary Ann Denby, daughter of Mr. Denby, organist at All Saints' Church, Derby (afterwards Mrs. Sale), to her brother William, a soldier in India, who received it in camp at Bognie, 4th May, 1781. It gives some idea of the calamity which the town suffered:—(Note:—The letter was written in instalments).

"Derby, March 21st, 1779.—(The letter begins with various personal matters, then follows) April 4th Our town is filled with moanings and complaints by the failure of Messrs. John and Christopher Heath, bankers,

who have involved the whole town and country in ruin! It is about a month since they stopped, and it has laid open such a scene as would never have been thought on, had not the affair been discovered and brought to light. Their proceedings have been most unjust and villainous. I will give you a specimen or two. They let the Holdens have a lease of Darley for their lives, in consequence of which they expended £2,000 upon it. Well Sir, since this affair it is come out that they had mortgaged this very place to Baldro & Co.¹ (great bankers in London, to whom a great many other mortgages of the Heaths are assigned) before they had granted the lease! I look upon such people to be worse than highwaymen, for if the Holdens purchase they must pay for their improvements. 'Tis very hard indeed, and they are such worthy men too. Heath went to Hopkinson (the Nabob), told him he was in want of a little money if he had any to put out, etc., and Hopkinson happened to have £500 by him which he gave him, intending to draw it out in a month's time, as he should want it to take to London to buy teas, but in three days after Heaths shut up. Every day we hear of something fresh. Poor people that have their all in his hands! Servants that have been nine or ten years in a family have their wages that they have been getting during that time in his hands, and poor Simpson, the dancing master, put £200 into their hands but a week before they stopt, what he had been *scraping* together for so many years! There are thousands more sufferers.

Adieu my dear brother,

Yours, M.A.D.

(Printed in the *Derbyshire Advertiser*, 29th October, 1915).

“Advertisement:—The Creditors of Messrs. John and Christopher Heath, of Derby, are earnestly requested by a Gentleman to whom they are indebted, to meet at the George Inn in Derby, on Monday, the fifth day of April next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to consider

¹ Boldero & Co.

proper persons to be nominated for Assignees of their estate and effects. Derby, March 25th, 1779."

(*Db. Jour.* 1st April, 1779, col. 15; *Db. Merc.* 2nd April, 1779).

The following week a report of the aforementioned meeting appeared:—

" that Mr. Ashby, Mr. Evans, Mr. Mather, Mr. Lowe, Malster, and Mr. John Prince of Staveley, were proper persons to be chosen assignees and that the money arising from the effects of the said John and Christopher Heath, should be weekly remitted by the assignees to the Bank of England, there to be placed until a dividend thereof should be made. Derby, 7th April, 1779."

" In Messrs. Heaths' Bankruptcy.—Three of the Commissioners named in a Commission of Bankrupt awarded against Messrs. John and Christopher Heath, Bankers in Derby, being advised they might legally accept the proof of Debts under the said Commission on Saturday, the 8th day of May, 1779, accepted proof of several Creditors' debts accordingly, but have since been advised that such debts were not legally proved. Notice is therefore hereby given that all such Creditors are desired again to attend with their notes, and other securities, at the House of Samuel Simpson, the Ship Inn in Derby, on Saturday the 26th, on Monday the 28th, and on Tuesday the 29th day of June, in order legally to prove their debts. Derby, 16th June, 1779." (*Db. Jour.* 24th June, 1779, col. 19).

" In Messrs. Heaths' Bankruptcy—Notice. All persons who are indebted to the estate of Messrs. John and Christopher Heath, of Derby, in the county of Derby, Money Scriveners and Co-partners (Bankrupts) are desired immediately to pay their respective debts to Thomas Evans and Walter Mather, of Derby, afore-said, gentlemen, the Assignees of the said Bankrupts' estate and effects, and all persons who have account with

the said Bankrupts are desired to leave their states of the the same at the said Bankrupts' office in Derby

To be Sold.

(Being part of the estate and effects of Messrs. John and Christopher Heath, of Derby, Money Scriveners and Co-partners, Bankrupts).

The lease of that large and extensive Manufactory in Derby aforesaid, called the POT-WORKS, held by the said Bankrupts for the remainder of a term of which 15 years are yet unexpired, at the yearly rent of £6, together with a quantity of Flint, Clay, Coal, and other materials, and the implements belonging to the said Manufactory— And also a large quantity of Pot and China Ware.

Also a lease of a large new-erected and convenient dwelling-house, with a garden thereto, pleasantly situated near and contiguous to the said Manufactory, held by the said Bankrupts for the remainder of a term, of which 78 years are yet unexpired, at the yearly rent of a Pepper-Corn.

N.B. The purchaser of the lease of the Pot Works will have power to pull down and sell the same works, and all the buildings belonging thereto, at any time during the said term.

For particulars enquire of Mr. Bateman, Attorney, Derby. Derby, 26th May, 1779."

(*Db. Jour.* 8th July, 1779, col. 12, and weekly until 19th Aug.).

This advertisement is commented on as regards the leases in another chapter, but it should be noted that the purchase of the lease gives the buyer the right to pull down the potworks and all the buildings belonging to it, which is what afterwards occurred, but not immediately because the sale was delayed. There is no suggestion of selling the potworks as a going concern and no indication whatever that the Assignees continued to run the works, as stated by Jewitt.

A meeting of creditors was called for 28th and 29th September. (*Db. Jour.* 16th September, 1779).

“In Messrs. John and Christopher Heaths’ Bankruptcy, Derby, 27th September, 1779. At a meeting of creditors held this day for new choice of Assignees, Thomas Evans and Walter Mather, both of Derby, gentlemen, were unanimously re-chosen” (*Db. Jour.* 30th September, 1779).

There had been some trouble about the appointment of Assignees, so there was a fresh election with result as above. These two gentlemen were still acting three years later.

“To be sold to the Best Bidder, on Thursday 16th day of December inst., at the Sign of the Wheel, on Nun’s-Green, Derby, several houses situate in Derby, being part of the estates of Messrs. John and Christopher Heath, of Derby, Bankrupts, viz.: a large and commodious house in which the said Messrs. Heath did live, in the Full Street, and four houses in the several occupations of Messrs. Thomas Gillot, Thomas Walker, William Milward, and William Rose, on the Cockpit-Hill. Also two Butchers’ Shops in the Butchery, in the occupation of Mr. Robert Radford. The sale to begin at two o’clock in the afternoon. Derby, 24th November, 1779.” (*Db. Jour.* 9th December, 1779).

The house in which the Heaths lived in Full Street has not been identified, though it may possibly still exist.

“In Messrs. Heaths’ Bankruptcy. To be sold by Auction on Tuesday, the 28th day of this instant December, at the house of Mr. George Wallis, being the New Inn in Derby, (various property) situate in Duffield, Makeney and Belper Derby, 8th December, 1779.” (*Db. Jour.* 9th December, 1779).

“In Messrs. Heaths’ Bankruptcy. At a meeting

held on the 11th day of November last of the Creditors proposed to sell the Bankrupts' estate at Darley in the county of Derby, and offered the same to Robert Holden and Atkinson Holden, esquires, for the sum of £7,000, which they then agreed to give” (*Db. Jour.* 9th December, 1779).

“ Also to be sold (by private contract) a large and commodious house in the Full Street in Derby in which Messrs. Heaths lived Also a stack of good hay standing in a close called Darley Slade in the liberty of Derby” (*Db. Jour.* 23rd December, 1779).

Another long advertisement of a sale of houses in Derby belonging to the Heaths' estate. (*Db. Jour.* 30th December, 1779).

“ To be sold by Auction, at the King's Head Inn in Derby, on Tuesday the 29th instant, betwixt the hours of five and seven o'clock in the afternoon. A large quantity of Earthen and China Ware at the Pot Works on Cockpit Hill in Derby, being late the stock-in-trade of Messrs. John and Christopher Heath of Derby, Bankrupts Derby, 21st February, 1780.” (*Db. Merc.* 25th February, 1780).

“ To be sold by Auction, at the late dwelling-house of Messrs John and Christopher Heath, of Derby, Bankrupts, on Wednesday the 8th, Thursday the 9th and Friday the 10th days of March, instant. The Remainder of the Household Furniture of the said Bankrupts. N.B. Several of the best bedsteads and hangings are unsold and will be disposed of on the first day of the sale. Derby, 1st March, 1780.” (*Db. Merc.* 3rd. March, 1780).

“ To the Merchants, Traders and Dealers in Earthen Ware. To be sold without reserve (and considerably under the usual Wholesale Price) at the Derby Pot Manufactory. A large quantity of Earthen Ware, etc., etc., on the 4th and 6th April, etc.” (The full text is given

in the chapter on the Products of the Factory). (*Db. Merc.* 17th, 24th & 31st March, 1780).

In the *Mercury* for April 7th the advertisement is altered to "was opened for sale on the 4th April instant."

This is clearly a determined effort on the part of the Assignees to get rid of all the stock, and that it was successful may be assumed from the fact that a few months later the lathes and other machinery are offered for sale. This advertisement gives us the only indication we have of the kind of ware being manufactured at Derby at the period of the close of the works and it is discussed in another chapter.

"In Messrs. Heaths' Bankruptcy. To be sold by Auction at the house of Mr. John Salt, being the sign of the Red Lion in Wirksworth, on Tuesday, the 11th day of April diverse freehold estates in Kirk Ireton and Hogneston shares in the lead mines" (*Db. Merc.* 24th & 31st March, 1780).

"The Commissioners in a Commission of Bankrupt awarded and issued forth against John Heath and Christopher Heath, late of Derby, bankers, money scriveners and co-partners, intend to meet on the 10th June next at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, at the house of Samuel Simpson, known by the sign of the Ship in Derby, in order to make a Dividend"

N.B. No dividend will be paid the same day, but the Assignees will attend at the Town Hall in Derby to pay the same on the Monday following As the number of Creditors is exceedingly great circular letters will be sent to every Creditor to inform him on which day he must come to receive his dividend. (*Db. Merc.* 12th May, 1780).

We have here some indication of the immense havoc the Heaths' bankruptcy must have caused.

“ To be sold by Auction, on Wednesday the 4th day of October next at the

Pot Manufactory

on Cockpit-Hill in Derby.

Sundry lathes, tools, implements and utensils, lately used at the said manufactory, being late the property of Messrs. John and Christopher Heath, Bankrupts.

Catalogue of the above implements, etc., may be had of Mr. Thomas Kirk, Auctioneer in Derby. Derby, 27th September, 1780.” (*Db. Jour.* 28th September, 1780; *Db. Merc.* 29th September, 1780).

This is proof positive that the pot works were not carried on after the Heaths' bankruptcy, by their Assignees.

A long advertisement of an Auction Sale to be held Thursday, 16th November, 1780, included among many items:—

“ A lease of the Pot Works on Cockpit Hill in Derby which was for the term of 42 years, at the yearly rent of £6, 13 years of the said lease are yet to come and unexpired at Ladyday next, and the lessee has a power by the said lease to take down nearly all the said buildings and to carry away the materials thereof for his own use and benefit.” (*Db. Jour.* 26th October, 1780).

“ In Messrs. Heaths' Bankruptcy. To be sold by Auction in lots at the house of Mr. George Wallis, being the New Inn in Derby, on Tuesday, 12th March (among many other lots the following):—

“ Also a lease of the Pot Works situate on Cockpit Hill in Derby, 12 years of which are yet to come and unexpired at Ladyday next, at the yearly rent of six pounds; and the lessee has a right by the lease to take away buildings, except only leaving a fence wall, and except a barn that was built upon the premises before the lease was granted.” (*Db. Merc.* 27th February, 1782).

Apparently previous attempts to sell the lease of the pot works and the "New House" had failed, but on this occasion a purchaser was found four days before the auction sale was to have taken place, as is shown by the following deed, which records that the purchaser, Richard Fox, of Derby, sells the lease to the Rev. Thomas Rivett, owner of the freehold, and son of the Thomas Rivett who was a partner in the pot works. Thus extinguishing the lease and preparing the way for the eventual sale to Mr. H. J. Richardson.

"Indenture made the 9th April, 1785, between Thomas Evans and Walter Mather, both of Derby, gentlemen, (Assignees of the estate and effects of John Heath and Christopher Heath, late of Derby, bankers, money scriveners, and co-partners, bankrupts under and by virtue of a commission of bankrupt awarded and issued against the said John Heath and Christopher Heath who were duly declared bankrupts) of the first part, and Richard Fox of Derby, gentleman, of the second part and the Rev. Thomas Rivett, of Norwood Farm, Nr. Cobham, Surrey, of the third part.

Whereas by a lease dated 20th October, 1760
and whereas by indenture dated 21st October, 1760
and whereas by indenture dated 5th October, 1767
and whereas by one other indenture dated 20th November,

1770

and whereas by agreement dated 8th March, 1782, the said Thomas Evans and Walter Mather for the consideration of £150 (one hund. & fifty) agreed to be paid by the said Richard Fox did agree to assign to him the lease dated the 20th October, 1760
and whereas the said Richard Fox paid £150 on 8th March, 1782, but the premises were not assigned to him and he has since agreed with Thomas Rivett for £170 to provide an assignment at the expense of Thomas Rivett from Thomas Evans and Walter Mather. This indenture

doth carry both agreements into execution." (Richardson Deeds, No. 21).

After the completion of the transfer of the lease as recorded in the last-quoted deed, little time was lost in demolishing the buildings of the pot works, perhaps they had already been pulled down in anticipation of the sale.

"In Messrs. Heaths' Bankruptcy. To be sold by Auction in lots, on the premises on Thursday, 19th May The materials of some buildings at the late Pot Works on Cockpit Hill in Derby, consisting of brick, tile and timber. Also some old iron, old lead, Hopton stone, a large quantity of deal boards, and some lumber. Derby, May 11th, 1785." (*Db. Merc.* 12th May, 1785).

It was probably this advertisement of May, 1785, which caused Jewitt to say that the Works were carried on by the Heaths' assignees for some years after the failure, but this was not so; attempts to sell stock, implements and leases, all separately, as soon as the assignees were appointed show there was never any idea of carrying on the works as stated by Jewitt.

"The commissioners in a commission of bankrupt awarded against John Heath and Christopher Heath, late of Derby intend to meet on the 18th September inst in order to make a final dividend" (*Db. Merc.* 11th September, 1788).

On the face of it this advertisement marks the end of the Heath bankruptcy drama, but this is not so, for ten years later we find the following:—

"The Commissioners in a renewed Commission of Bankrupt, awarded and issued against John Heath and Christopher Heath intend to meet on the 1st day of August at 10 o'clock in the forenoon at the Bell Inn, in Derby, to make a further dividend of the estate and effects of the said Bankrupts N.B. No dividend will be paid at this meeting, but the assignee

will attend to pay the same, on the 6th, 7th and 8th days of August next, at the Town Hall in Derby." (*Db. Merc.* 12th July, 1798).

Whether this was really the wind up of the Heaths' bankruptcy or not I am not going to say, but the undoubted fact that proceedings went on for no less than 19 years and 4 months, shows conclusively what a tremendous affair it was, and I think it is evident that a small concern like the pot-works could have had little to do with the failure. When we remember that Heath only paid Mrs. Rivett £330 for a third share in the pottery, and on the other hand his assignees sold one estate, Darley Abbey, for £7,000 the pot-works sink into insignificance in the affairs of John and Christopher.

CHAPTER 6.

JOHN HEATH AND THE CHINA FACTORY.

THE connection of John Heath with the celebrated Derby Porcelain Manufactory established in 1756 on the Nottingham Road near St. Mary's Bridge, is well-known, but many writers have tried to minimize his position in the firm. While not wishing to detract in any way from the commanding position of William Duesbury, it is quite clear that John Heath must have acted as something more than a mere financier for Duesbury. He was closely concerned in the founding of the factory, and the lease of the buildings was in his name from 1756 until after his bankruptcy in 1779. It will be of interest to review briefly such documentary evidence as exists connecting Heath and Duesbury in the ownership of the China Factory.

The earliest reference to the Derby China Factory appears in a partnership agreement dated January 1st, 1756, quoted in full by Jewitt (*Ceramic Art*, 1878, II, p. 64) of which the following is the gist.

“ Articles of Agreement between John Heath, of Derby, gentleman, Andrew Planché of the same place, china maker, and William Duesbury of Longton in the county of Stafford, enameller. Made and entered into the 1st January, 1756.”

They agreed to be co-partners together “ as well in the art of making English china and also in buying and selling all sorts of wares belonging to the art of making china.”

The co-partnership is to continue between them from the date of the agreement for a term of ten years. John Heath to find a thousand pounds and that a third share of the profits shall be paid to him until the £1,000 is repaid. It was also agreed that the co-partners should not at any time hereafter use or follow the china trade or any other trade whatsoever during the period of their partnership and each was to have an equal share in the profits or losses of the business. Further, at the request of John Heath new articles could be made at any time for an additional term of not less than ten years. Power was given to John Heath to appoint any other person to act for him should he choose to do so.

It has always been a moot point as to whether or not this agreement was ever ratified, but that doubt does not affect its value as evidence of intention, nor destroy the fact that at the date specified three certain persons were interested in the question of establishing a manufactory for porcelain in Derby. The probabilities are that Planché was dropped out of the scheme, on account of his moral lapses, and that a new agreement was entered into by Heath and Duesbury. Certainly no more is heard of Planché, but the other two are later found to be associated in several transactions connected with the carrying on of the China Factory.

By an indenture dated 19th April, 1756, a lease of five

tenements situated on Nottingham Road was conveyed to John Heath and these tenements were converted into and used as workshops for the manufacture of china. After the Heaths' failure in 1779, the premises were then, and not till then, transferred to William Duesbury, by a conveyance dated 1st August, 1780. (Bemrose, *Bow, Chelsea and Derby Porcelain*, 1898, p. 109).

A remarkable advertisement, recently brought to my notice by Mr. H. S. Twells, confirms the foregoing, and gives additional importance to Heath as showing that the china factory at its inception was known by his name.

“To be sold, a freehold estate consisting of seven houses and a barn, situate all together near St. Mary's Bridge, Derby, which are now occupied by Mr. Heath and Company in the China Manufactory, and let at £10 per annum exclusive of all taxes. For further particulars enquire of Charles Sheperdson at King's Newton, five miles from Derby, or of Mr. Mills at the Green Dragon, in Derby.”¹ (*Db. Merc.*, 30th July, 1756).

The lease speaks of five tenements, where this advertisement says seven houses and a barn, a discrepancy I cannot attempt to explain, although there can be no doubt the same property is referred to in each case. In the face of this evidence it is impossible to doubt the important position held by John Heath.

It might be said that this does not prove that a partnership existed between the two, which is quite true, but there is other documentary evidence of their close association. For instance, in 1764 an agreement was entered into between Richard Holdship, one of the original proprietors of the Worcester Porcelain Manufactory, and John Heath and William Duesbury, by which

¹ The property was not sold straight away, and was put up for auction at the Green Dragon, in the Corn Market, on the 25th Oct., 1756.

the first named in consideration of a sum of £100, and a life annuity of £30, agreed to deliver in writing his process of making china or porcelain in accordance with proofs made by him at the china factory "of the said John Heath and William Duesbury" in Derby, and to supply them with soapy rock (steatite) at the current market price, and also he undertook to print, or cause to be printed, such pieces of china as Messrs. Heath and Duesbury desired to be printed. (Jewitt, I. 232).

This transaction clearly indicates Heath's position to have been something more than that of financier only, otherwise there would have been no need for his name to be introduced into an agreement between the proprietors and a prospective employee. Besides it specifically says, "the China Factory of John Heath and William Duesbury." Nothing could be more definite than that.

A few years later we find again the names of Heath and Duesbury coupled together, this time in the purchase of the Chelsea China Factory. By lease, dated 9th February, 1770, James Cox leased the Chelsea Works to William Duesbury and John Heath of Derby, "Porcelain Manufacturers" (quoted in full by Bemrose, p. 26).

Finally we find the lease of the Nottingham Road Factory transferred to William Duesbury by conveyance dated 1st August, 1780, by the Assignees of the estate of John Heath, a year and a half after Heath's failure, showing that Heath's position had remained the same to the end of his known career. (Bemrose, p. 109).

One of the conditions embodied in the unsigned partnership deed of 1756 was that none of the partners should engage in any other trade during the period of their partnership. This could not possibly have applied to Heath, and probably was not meant to, because he was at that time a partner in the Derby Pot Manufactory, and was also financially interested in many other concerns, besides his business as a banker and a 'money scrivener'

would not have permitted him to enter into any such agreement. The restriction could only have applied to Duesbury and Planché, the practical men of the proposed firm and not to the man who was chiefly responsible for the financial part of the adventure. Heath's special position is indicated by the clauses which entitle him to nominate a deputy to act for him, and empower him to draw up new articles of partnership at any time for an additional period of not less than ten years.

John Heath, although a capitalist as we should to-day term him, was no novice in the ceramic trade, for in 1756 he had already been for five years a partner in the pot works, and it is far more likely that Heath induced Duesbury to come to Derby than that the latter should come here on his own initiative, and seek out someone to finance him. It is almost certain that Heath and Duesbury had been known to each other for several years before 1756, for during the period 1751-3 Duesbury was working as an enameller on his own account in London, and among the pieces he painted from June, 1753 were "Darby figars." We must at any rate give Heath and his partners at the pot works credit for knowing who made these figures, even if they were not themselves the actual makers, which is a strong possibility, and they would be familiar with men working for the trade such as William Duesbury. Consequently, when Heath had under consideration the establishment of a separate factory for the manufacture of porcelain ware, he would naturally look round for capable men to run it for him, and his choice fell on Duesbury and Planché.

William Duesbury's Work-book is one of the earliest documents connected with the history of porcelain manufacture in England and is preserved in the Ceramic Department of the British Museum. This account book is described and several pages reproduced, in the late

William Bemrose's *Bow, Chelsea and Derby Porcelain*, published in 1898, and many interesting comments are made, but unfortunately the entries are not reprinted fully and consecutively. Recently the present writer had an opportunity of seeing the original, and found it of great interest. It is a small octavo account book of about 100 pages bound in vellum with a tuck-in-flap and on the end paper is the following inscription:—

“ This interesting book formerly belonged to William Duesbury, the founder of the Derby China Works, bearing dates 1751-3 and is an account of the work he executed as an enameller in London. It came into the possession of William Bemrose along with other interesting papers relating to the Chelsea & Derby works, as a gift from Mr. Huisle, solicitor, Derby, 1889.—Signed, William Bemrose.”

The earliest date mentioned in the book is 1742, when Duesbury, would be 17 years of age, but the entries under this date number fifteen only, and are for cash received weekly, varying in amount from 14s. 6d. to £2 2s., but what these items mean there is no way of knowing. Between 1742 and 1751 is a complete blank, suggesting that the book had been used by someone, perhaps Duesbury, and then laid aside for nine years. As a matter of fact the early items of 1742 may not have belonged to Duesbury at all.

From 1751-1753 the entries are entered under the names of many different persons, some of whom are known to have been dealers in china and earthenware, so that the book is really a ledger showing what work Duesbury did for his various employers, and the prices he charged. An interesting item is Duesbury's account with a Mr. Frederick Vorgewits for colours purchased from the latter.

The majority of the articles mentioned as being enamelled were figures, with others such as flowers, branches, impost jars, plates and baskets. The only names of factories mentioned are Bow, Chelsea, Derby &

Derbyshire, Stafford & Staffordshire. It may be taken as conclusive that Derby & Derbyshire refer to the same factory, and Stafford & Staffordshire also to one factory, the latter being that of Longton Hall, the only place where porcelain was being made in Staffordshire at that early date.

The earliest reference I could find to Staffordshire figures was under date November 5th, 1751, while the earliest date for Derby is June 6th, 1753.

The complete list of Derby items so named appears to be as follows:—

1753 Joun. 6,	1 Darbyshire Seson 1/-.
	1 Darby sitting seson 1/-.
	3 prs. Darbyshire Seasons 6/-.
Aug. 21	2 pr. of Dansing Darby Figars 6/-.
(? 1753) Aug. 18,	1 pr. of Dansing Darbey figars 3/-.
„ 20,	1 pr. of Larg Darbey figars 4/6.
	7 pr. of small single figars 10/6.
	1 pr. of small single figars 1/6.
(N.D.)	1 pr. of Darbey figars large 8/-.

It will be seen from this list there is no evidence in Duesbury's work book to show that figures were being made at Derby before the middle of 1753, which date is quite consistent with their having been made at Cockpit Hill, and we are not called upon to identify figures as early as 1751. Porcelain was being made here as early as 1750, but this is known only from three specimens all being small cream jugs of similar size and pattern which have been described on many occasions. It would appear then that from 1750 to 1753 the production of china was in its experimental stage, but in the latter year big and elaborate figures were being made probably copied from Dresden (Meissen) models. And then in 1756 another factory was started. It will be noted that Duesbury charged eight shillings for enamelling a pair of large Derby figures, while he only charged four and

sixpence for figures of Jupiter & Juno probably of Chelsea manufacture. The last item in the Derby list I could not date accurately, but it certainly seemed to belong to 1753.

Those who have seen the facsimile reproductions of pages of Duesbury's account book will agree that Duesbury was an illiterate and uneducated man. His spelling is remarkably bad, and his writing is little better. He had a remarkable range of spellings for Chelsea, and he does not spell Staffordshire twice the same way although it was his native county. He finds remarkable ways of spelling simple common words, as 'gotes,' 'goutes,' for goats. Yet this is the man who by many is supposed to have introduced the art of china making into Derby and to have established single-handed the Nottingham Road china factory.

The year 1756, although it saw the beginning of the china factory, was not the beginning of china manufacture in Derby. In another place (*History and Classification of Derby Porcelain*) I have quoted the very earliest documentary evidence yet discovered relative to porcelain making in Derby. This occurs in the registers of the Parish of St. Werburgh, Derby, where is recorded the marriage on June 3rd, 1754, of "William Whitehall, labourer at the China House, and Bridget Lakin." (Phillimore, *Ph. Reg.*). As showing that Whitehall was really engaged on china and not earthenware making, is the fact that in 1772 he is mentioned as working as a labourer at the Nottingham Road Factory. (Jewitt).

Where was this "China House"? From the use of this particular term I should infer that it was a part of some larger establishment and not a separate concern like the later factory, and further wherever it was situated it must have been the source of the small white cream jug marked "D. 1750" (plate 10), and the "Darby figars" enamelled by Duesbury before 1756. Was it part of the

Derby Pot Manufactory? That we cannot answer with certainty, but there is a strong probability that such was the case.

It should be noted that the name of Christopher Heath does not appear in connection with the China Factory in any document whatsoever, only that of his brother John.

CHAPTER 7.

THE PRODUCTS OF THE FACTORY.

In a pamphlet,¹ which the present writer published a few years ago, he stated that the Cockpit Hill pottery was in being at the beginning of the 18th century, and that it was well-known for its slip-decorated ware. At the outset of this chapter he would like to say that these statements were made on the authority of Llewellyn Jewitt, and his followers, but facts which have since come to his knowledge show that the pottery was not established until about 1750, and that the partnership of Butts, Rivett, Heath & Steane, dated only from November 11th, 1751, as is proved on documentary evidence in another chapter.

The life of the factory can be rigidly fixed between the years 1750 and 1779, the latter being the date of the bankruptcy of the Heaths, and specimens possessing characteristics inconsistent with this period cannot have been made at Cockpit Hill. For instance, at a sale at Sandlea House, West Kirkby in 1924, a wash-basin with incised mark HEATH, was catalogued as having been made at Cockpit Hill by John Heath, and on the strength of this it was bought for the Derby Museum, but as it is decorated with the 'Willow Pattern' first introduced by Turner, of Caughley in or about 1780, the claim that it is by Heath of Cockpit Hill must be dismissed. It

¹ "History and Classification of Derby Porcelain," 1924, p. 2.

was probably manufactured by Joseph Heath & Co., of Tunstall, who succeeded Smith Child in 1829.

It has been shown in the first chapter that there is no evidence of the Mier, or Mayer family having been connected with Cockpit Hill, at any rate not until after the death of William Butts in 1764, and that the only mention of a Mayer, and that a very doubtful one, is as late as 1771-2. As a consequence it follows that dishes and other specimens described by Jewitt and others, bearing the name *Mier*, or the initials *S.M.*, etc., could not have had their origin at Derby, for the simple reason that these specimens are all very much earlier than any Mayer connection with Derby, and some of them date from a period anterior to the foundation of the factory.

Owing to the definite statements made by Llewellyn Jewitt that slip-ware was made at Cockpit Hill, there has grown up the general attribution to this factory of a particular type of slip-ware. The type is well exemplified in the beautiful dish in the British Museum, of which an illustration is given (plate 7). The attribution arose from a suggestion by Jewitt that the initials *S.M.* stood for Samuel Mier, an entirely mythical person who in some obscure way was thought to be connected with Cockpit Hill, Derby. The characteristics of this dish are assumed to be typical of Cockpit Hill ware, then all similar specimens are made to share in the attribution, and so a whole class of ware came to be designated "Cockpit Hill," when the great probability is that they were made either in Staffordshire, or at Ticknall, Derbyshire. Briefly, the special characters are, the pie-crust edge, and the confining of the details of the design within a raised outline, the latter produced by the use of an intaglio mould pressed on the surface of the clay. These features can be well seen in the British Museum specimen. Speaking of dishes made in moulds on which the outlines of

PLATE 7.—DISH, with ornament in dark brown and orange slip on white; a tree with three suns and two birds on the branches; across the stem a panel inscribed S M; border of trellis pattern in dark brown and orange; the brown slip is in each case dotted with white. Diameter 17.1 inches. (British Museum, D39).

Perhaps the initials are those of Samuel Mier. This is typical of the ware often attributed to Cockpit Hill. *Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*



PLATE 7.

To face p. 90.

the design have been incised, Mr. C. J. Lomax says,¹ "the chief reason for their attribution to the Derbyshire potteries is, that some of the moulded dishes bear the initials "S.M.," and have therefore for some reason been associated with the works that existed at Cockpit Hill, Derby, and were controlled by one John Mier in the early part of the 18th century. Some writers hazarded the suggestion that the initials S.M. are those of Samuel Mier, and that he also worked at this factory. After careful search Samuel Mier cannot be traced as having had any connection with these works the safest course to adopt is to assign them to Staffordshire. Similar dishes carry the initials, "J.S.," and "R.S.""

Slip-decorated dishes in which the motive is a game-cock are often attributed to Cockpit Hill, for no other reason than the design, as if such could not have arisen at any other place. It is highly probable that the cock-pit was removed from Cockpit Hill long before the pottery was established, for we hear nothing of it after 1610, and there were certainly cockpits in other parts of the town early in the 18th century. Mr. Lomax² gives an illustration of a dish decorated with a game-cock, and dated 1796, which is seventeen years after the close of the Derby factory. He says of it, "if undated many would without hesitation claim it as being from the Cockpit Hill factory." He thinks it came from Ticknall. Further, Mr. Lomax says, "after a careful study of a large number of examples, he experiences less difficulty in classifying the majority as being of Staffordshire origin,"³ and "much of the pottery assigned to Cockpit Hill, Derby, very probably originated at Ticknall."⁴ One would be very delighted to be able honestly to say that such dishes were once made in Derby, but alas

¹ Lomax, "*Quaint Old English Pottery*, p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

there is no evidence to support any such belief, in sober truth the facts are directly against such a possibility.

A pottery established so late as 1750 would certainly not begin by making ware of a kind which was already passing out of fashion, and a fact newly recorded in these pages shows that the pottery was intended for the manufacture of an entirely different class of goods. The acquisition of a mill for the grinding of flint for use in their potworks, shows that the partners had in view the manufacture of good quality ware, for there are several good clays in the neighbourhood of Derby, from which excellent stoneware can be made without the addition of flint or any other materials, and these clays are in use to the present day. The potteries at Ticknall and Crich in Derbyshire, and at Nottingham, all used the excellent clays of the district unmixed with other materials, and Denby Pottery, five miles from Derby, which was established at the beginning of the 19th century, still uses the local clay, as do other local potteries. The question then arises, what class of ware did the Cockpit Hill Potworks make?

In his recent little work on Derby Porcelain,¹ Mr. E. Hyam, says, "We have no actual information concerning the Cockpit Hill Works of an earlier date than 1758. As the history of the Cockpit Hill Works is practically unknown, and however regarded, very obscure, we cannot reasonably give it credit for originating china-making in Derby." This represents a very reasonable position on the facts as previously known, but in these pages I have brought forward new facts, which throw a great deal of light on the origin of these works, and taken in conjunction with what was already known, lead me to think that it is almost certain that one of the objects in founding the potworks was the production of china.

¹ Hyam, "*Early Period of Derby Porcelain*," 1926, p. 7.

In 1751 four men entered into a partnership to make pots, two of them were wealthy men, which does not suggest the idea that common earthenware was their object; after 1752 elaborate china figures were being made in Derby at a place unknown, such as could not have been fired in a tobacco-pipe kiln, as suggested by Jewitt and others; in June, 1754, there was a 'china house' in Derby, as the registers of the parish church of St. Werburgh's testify, yet the Nottingham Road factory was not started until sometime after April 19th, 1756; one of the original proprietors of the Cockpit Hill Potworks being also one of the founders of the china factory, a fact which in itself is sufficient to prove a certain amount of association between the two factories. Perhaps no single one of these facts is strong enough in itself to establish the claims of the potworks, but their cumulative effect is remarkably strong.

With regard to the pseudo-tradition of a Frenchman, named Planché, firing small porcelain figures in a tobacco-pipe makers kiln near the bottom of Lodge Lane in Derby in 1745, I have dealt fully in another place,¹ and I venture to say that I demonstrated its unreliability. Suffice it to say that the particular kiln referred to was not built until about 1800.

If there is one thing more certain than another in connection with the history of china making in Derby, it is that the Nottingham Road factory was *not* the original place of manufacture. The deeds connected with that factory show that the lease of the cottages which were converted into a factory was not acquired until April 19th, 1756, yet on June 16th of the same year, by which time the cottages could not have been converted, there appeared an advertisement of a sale of "Derby porcelain, in Figures, Jars, Candlesticks, Sauce-boats, Fruit-Baskets, Lettuces, Roses, and several curious pieces for Desserts,

¹ *Connoisseur*, April, 1927.

finely enamelled in Dresden Flowers, reckoned by Judges who have been Purchasers, to excel, if not exceed, any Thing of the kind in England."¹ This advertisement is truly remarkable, for none of the articles mentioned therein has ever been attributed to Derby, yet there must still be many of them in existence, not only figures but also other pieces, and the credit for them goes to the Bow or Chelsea factories. Recently the Keeper of Ceramics at the Victoria & Albert Museum has gathered together a number of early figures and attributed them to Derby, and there is strong reason to believe these are the actual figures made at Derby between 1753 and 1756.

Reference has been made to the small cream jugs made at Derby in 1750, and it would be advisable to describe them more fully as there is little doubt they had some connection with the Cockpit Hill pottery. Three are known to exist, all similar except for the inscriptions on the base. One of these formerly in the collection of Mr. Egerton Leigh was sold at Sotheby's on March 1st, 1929, for £75.

This specimen was inscribed on the base with the word 'Derby' incised; another in the Victoria and Albert Museum has the incised inscription 'D 1750' (plate 10); while the third in the British Museum, is marked with the initial 'D' alone.

"All are of porcelain of poor quality; they bear little or no resemblance to other existing specimens, and are thus useless as a means of identifying the remainder of the earliest Derby productions that may be presumed to have survived."²

The jug chosen for illustration is the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is made of white glazed porcelain without colouring, and is decorated round the base and near the handle with strawberries and leaves. The height is 3½".

¹ Hyam, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² Honey, *Old English Porcelain*, p. 82.

There is little doubt that these jugs are the first tentative efforts at porcelain making in Derby and were really in the nature of experimental pieces. They may be the work of Planché, Butts or Steane, certainly Duesbury was not responsible for them, and it is possible for them to have been fired in a pipe-maker's kiln, but the large figures made after 1753 would require a proper pottery kiln for successful firing. Some writers have stated confidently that these cream-jugs were made at Cockpit Hill, but if this were so it must have been at the very inception of the potworks.

In the light of all the evidence it seems reasonable to assume that china was made at Cockpit Hill from the foundation of the factory about 1750, until the China Factory got busy on the Nottingham Road, but whether or not the making of porcelain then ceased we do not know. In the advertisement of the sale of the stock-in-trade of the Potworks after the bankruptcy in 1779, china is mentioned as well as earthenware, but it is impossible to say definitely that this was made on the spot. China may have been purchased elsewhere for it was a common practice for potters to act as wholesale dealers in the products of other factories. On the other hand we must not dismiss as an impossibility that the Cockpit Hill factory continued to make porcelain throughout the whole of its existence. Let us consider more closely the advertisement just mentioned and see if anything further can be learned from it.

On the 29th February, 1780, a sale by auction took place, of "A large quantity of Earthen and China Ware at the Pot-Works on Cockpit Hill in Derby, being late the stock-in-trade of Messrs. John & Christopher Heath, of Derby, bankrupts." Only part of the stock was sold on this occasion, and a continuous sale was begun at the works on April the 7th following, the advertisement for which appeared in the *Derby Mercury* of the 17th, 24th

and 31st of March. The full text of the latter advertisement is as follows:

“To the Merchants, Traders and Dealers in Earthen Ware.

To be Sold, without reserve (and considerably under the usual Wholesale Price) At the Derby Pot-Manufactory, A large quantity of Earthen Ware, being the whole stock in trade of that great and extensive factory, commonly known by the name of Derby Pot Works, consisting of an assortment of enamell'd and blue-and-white useful China; a large quantity of Enamell'd Cream Ware, and plain Cream tentable (sic) Ware; a great quantity of White Stone and Brown Ware.

N.B. The aforesaid Earthen Ware, &c., will be open'd for sale on the 4th & 6th of April, and continue selling every Tuesday & Thursday until the whole is dispos'd off; on which days (but no others in the week) a proper person will attend the Sale.

This Earthen Ware will be sold in different lots, and is well worth the notice of Pot Carriers, in and about the neighbourhood of Coleorton Moor.

No less a quantity than two horse loads will be sold to one person.” A similar advertisement on April 7th is altered to read, “N.B. The Earthen Ware, &c., *was* open'd for sale on the 4th of April inst.”

It will be noticed that both the fore-mentioned advertisements agree in that they mention china as well as earthenware, and we may be quite certain that the proprietors of the Cockpit Hill works traded in porcelain if they were not the actual makers. The second advertisement describes the porcelain as “enamell'd and blue-and-white *useful* china,” and if this were the only kind of porcelain made at Cockpit Hill in its later days, then its products would in no wise clash with those of the China Factory, and consequently there seems little reason to doubt that china was actually manufactured

PLATE 8.—Cream-ware Teapot in the British Museum (M.2.) This illustration shows the opposite side from that shown in the Frontispiece, Plate I., and is inscribed "Radford sculpsit Derby Pot Works." *Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*



PLATE 8.

To face p. 96.

at the pot works. Under different circumstances, that is to say, had there not been a separate china factory in Derby, these advertisements would have been accepted without question as conclusive evidence that china was made at Cockpit Hill.

Before dealing with the remaining productions mentioned in the advertisements I would like to draw attention to the remarkable adjective, "tentable," in the phrase "plain Cream *tentable* Ware." The late Mr. William Bemrose transcribed this as "tea-table-ware," making it a compound word with two hyphens, whereas in the original it has no hyphens, but occurs just as I have reproduced it. The word "tentable" appears in the *New English Dictionary*, but only one reference is given for it, and that as late as 1862, and the meaning appears to be 'something that can be picked.' If this is the case it may be used in our advertisement in a technical sense, to describe a plain undecorated useful ware which could be 'picked out' to make up tea or dinner services. It is difficult to believe that the word is a printer's error for *teatable*, it occurs too often, and why should 'teatable' be used to the exclusion of Breakfast-table or Dinner-table? If a copy of *Harrison's Derby Journal* for the same date could be found, containing the same advertisement, it would probably settle the question. Unfortunately the only file of this paper that I know of (in the Derby Public Library) has some numbers missing about this period.

The products of the factory as revealed in the advertisements about the period of the close of the potworks, may be tabulated as under:—

Enamelled useful China,
 Blue-and-white useful China,
 Enamelled cream ware,
 Plain cream ware,
 White stone ware,
 Brown ware.

Putting aside the white stone and brown wares as being of little interest, there is left for consideration the "Enamell'd Cream Ware." We are able to show that this was being made in 1772 for it is mentioned in an anonymous work published in that year, entitled, "A Short Tour in the Midland Counties," where, speaking of Derby, the author says, "Here is also a pottery, and I was shown an imitation of Queen's Ware, but it does not come up to the original, the product of Staffordshire."

The British Museum possesses two examples of Cockpit Hill cream ware, both teapots, of which illustrations accompany this chapter. The more interesting of the two is the one with an octagonal spout and transfer-printed in black (frontispiece and plate 8). On one side the subject is a lady seated in a bath-chair, with one gentleman pushing and another pulling, while on her knee is a doll. Below the picture appears the words "Pot-Work in DERBY." On the opposite side is another picture, a Tea-party; a lady and gentleman seated on a garden seat under a tree, while a page-boy pours out tea. Under this picture is the inscription, "Radford sculpsit DERBY Pot Works." On the lid are three cherubs, and husk border. The date of the teapot is about 1770. The "tea-party" design was a popular subject on many makes of china and earthenware, besides which it is found on Battersea enamel. A Bow plate has the two designs of our Cockpit Hill teapot joined together into one subject.¹ Radford, the engraver of the Derby plate, no doubt copied from one of the other productions. We know very little indeed about Radford, except that a transfer printer of the same name was employed by John Baddeley, of Shelton, after 1780, and also a Radford worked for William Greatbach, at Fenton, which may have been the same man. It was a common name in Derby about this time, and

¹ Turner, *Transfer Printing*, 1907, fig. A6.

PLATE 9.—TEAPOT, of cream ware, oviform, with crab-stock handle and spout; painted in crimson and dull green; two panels with feather borders containing (1) a wheat-sheaf, (2) the inscription "Harper for ever fow play and now fair Dealing"; band of feather pattern on lid.

Height 4.8 ins., diameter (with spout and handle) 7.5 ins. (British Museum, M.1.).

Sir Henry Harpur was defeated by Godfrey Bagnall Clarke in the election for the County of Derby in 1768. *Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

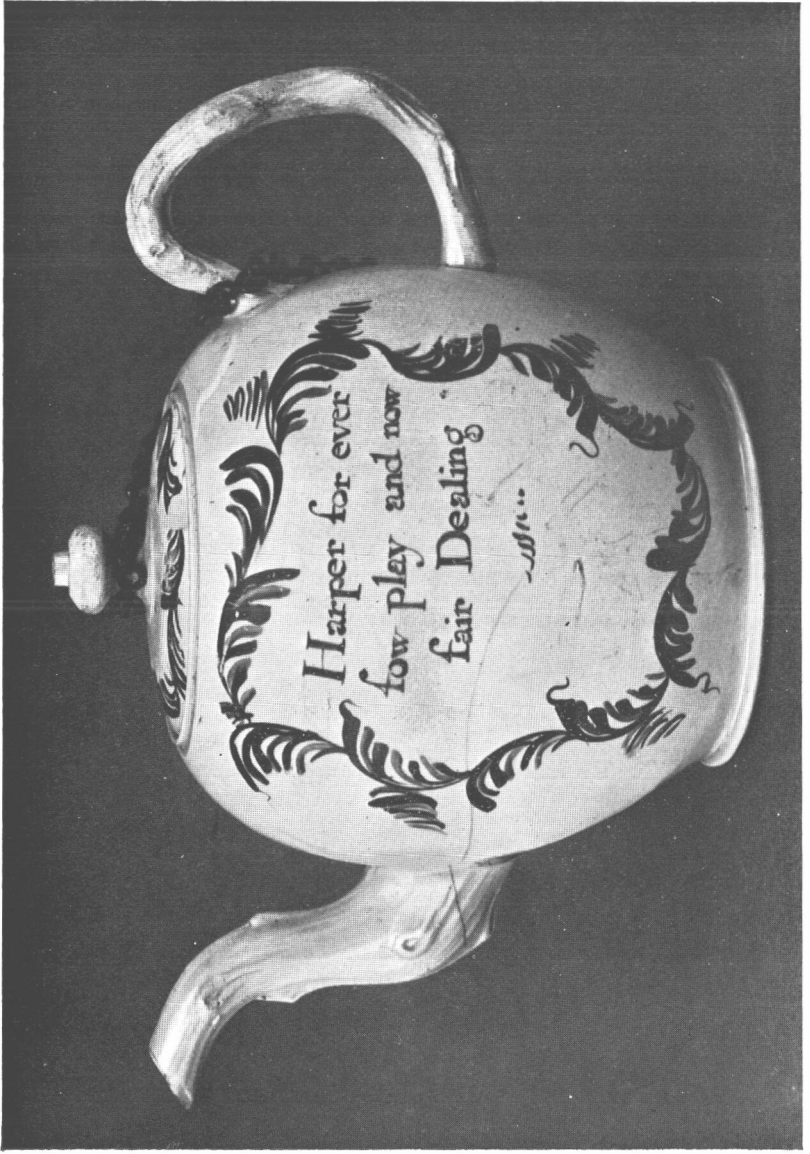


PLATE 9.

between 1765 and 1781, Thomas and Hannah Radford had six children baptised at All Saints' Church, Derby, but whether this is the same Radford or not, there is nothing to indicate, as unfortunately the registers do not state the occupation of the father. About the same period, I find that Robert,¹ James, and Francis Radford, all had children baptised at the same church, so that our engraver was not an isolated example of his family in Derby. It has been stated that Radford was living at Shelton in 1802, and that a favourite design of his was the "Prodigal Son."

The second teapot (plate 9), also of cream-ware, is oviform, with crab-stock handle and spout; its height is 4.8 inches, and its diameter, with spout and handle, is 7.5 inches. It is enamelled in crimson and dull green, on each side is a panel with feather borders, in one a wheat-sheaf, and in the other the inscription, "Harper for ever fow play and now fair Dealing." There is a feather pattern on the lid also. The inscription probably relates to the election of 1768, when Sir Henry Harpur was an unsuccessful candidate for one of the two seats in Parliament for the County of Derby. The wording of the inscription suggests that it was written, and the teapot made before the election took place, as a sort of electioneering advertisement.

Very few examples still exist of transfer printing on Derby China not more than three or four being known. A mug now in the Derby Museum (plate 11) is worth description here because it connects up with both teapots. With the first because it is transfer-printed in black, and with the second because the subject of the engravings is connected with the same parliamentary election. Consequently the "Harpur" teapot and the mug must be contemporary.

The mug is barrel-shaped, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, printed in black transfer, on one side with a view and the words "English Hospitality," "Sutton Hall," while on the other side two groups of poor people, giving vent to the

¹ Robert Radford was a tenant of the Heaths, see chapter on the bankruptcy.

following exclamations, "We will go to Mr. Clark's" "Distressed Family," and "I am almost perished."

Near the handle on one side in an anchor and the word "Derby," which is considered to be a rebus on the name of Richard Holdship, an engraver from Worcester who was engaged by Heath and Duesbury between 1764 and 1769.

The engravings clearly refer to Mr. Godfrey Bagnall Clarke, who lived at Sutton Hall, Sutton-in-the-Dale, Derbyshire, and who in May, 1768, fought and defeated Sir Henry Harpur for the representation of the county of Derby in Parliament.

The paste and glaze is very different from any porcelain known to have been made at the Nottingham Road factory, being very blue and cold, while the shape, a barrel with hoops round it, is one more suitable for common earthenware than for porcelain, and rather suggests that Cockpit Hill was its home.

Jewitt describes a jug very similar in character to these two teapots.¹ On one side is the inscription, within a border of foliage, "One Pot more and then why what then, why another Pot." On the other side and front, within a continuous border, is a blacksmith busy at his forge, working the bellows with his left hand, and holding the iron in the fire with his right hand; while in front is a youth standing by the anvil waiting to strike; tools and other implements are lying about. There is also the inscription, "Thos. Burton, Winster, 1778." Jewitt says this jug was made at Cockpit Hill for Thomas Burton, a blacksmith of Winster, Derbyshire, and from his family passed into Jewitt's collection. The present whereabouts of this interesting specimen is unknown to the writer. So much for the few undoubted specimens from Cockpit Hill.

In 1894 an immense number of fragments of pot were found on the site of the pottery during building

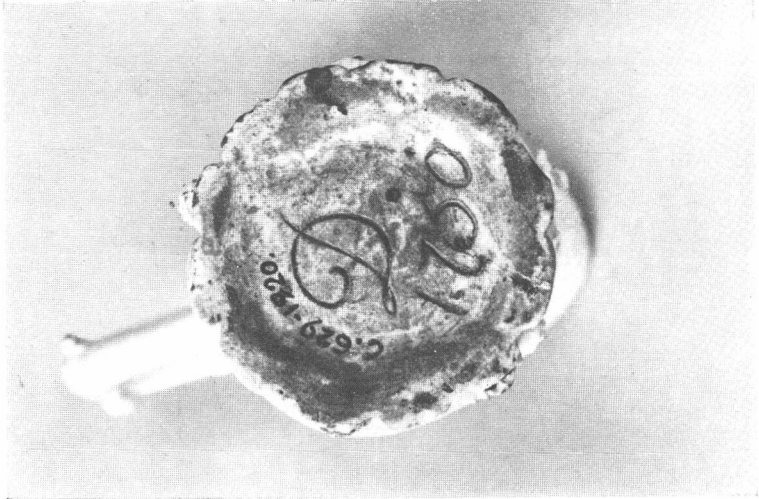
¹ Jewitt, vol. II, p. 60, fig. 43.

PLATE 10.—White glazed cream jug, 1750. The earliest porcelain made at Derby. Original in Victoria and Albert Museum (Mr. E. F. Broderip's gift). *Reproduced by kind permission of the Director.*



PLATE 10.

To face p. 100.



operations connected with Messrs. Richardson's leather works, and three or four hundred-weight were kept, but Mr. W. H. Richardson, the present proprietor, tells me that all these fragments have disappeared. All that remain are a few small pieces in the Derby Museum, which consist entirely of bits of common brown and combed ware, of no individual character. Stuff that might have been made anywhere. It is to be regretted that the finds of past times were not carefully described before they were thrown aside, as they might have helped to solve the secret of this famous factory.

CHAPTER 8.

THE RIVETT FAMILY.

ACCORDING to Burke, our Thomas Rivett, of the Derby Potworks, was gt.-gt.-grandson of James Rivett, of Ronston, Lincs., and gt.-grandson of Thomas Rivett, of Brandiston Hall, Norfolk, and tenth in descent from Thomas Ryvet, of Tritton, Norfolk, who died in 1272. No evidence is given for this presumed descent, either by Burke or other baronetages (see under Rivett-Carnac) and Rivett's grandfather, who is mentioned later on in this chapter, is ignored by all of them. The family has not been traced back beyond the Thomas Rivett who was married in 1678.

Rivett, of Derbyshire, was not an armigerous family when any of the heralds' visitations of the county took place, and the probability is that our Thomas, or his father, was the first of the family to bear arms. There was a William Rivett, at Melbourne, nine miles south of Derby, in 1597, and a William Rivett at Bretby, near Melbourne, in 1650 (Cox, *Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals*, II, pp. 105, 84), so the name has been long established in this district.

Our history of the family begins, however, no further back than the grandfather of the potworks proprietor,

namely, Thomas Rivett, of All Saints' parish, Derby, who was married to Rebekah Agard, of Markeaton, near Derby, on 28th January, 1678. (Ph. Reg. of All Saints'). In the same year he is named as one of the four "Chamberlains," of Derby (*Cal. of Records*, p. 20). A year later, on March 22nd, 1679, they had a son Thomas, baptised at All Saints'. (Ph. Reg. of All Saints').

This Thomas married Elizabeth Eaton at St. Peter's Church, Derby, 9th December, 1708. (Ph. Reg. of St. Peter's), daughter of Humphrey Eaton, of Derby, and she died at her house in the Morledge, Derby, in October, 1746 (*Derby Mercury*, 24th October, 1746), and was buried at All Saints' October 25th, 1746, her husband having predeceased her, being buried 29th June, 1724. (Ph. Reg. of All Saints'). He was Mayor of Derby in 1715. It was he who purchased Cockpit Hill Close from John Osborne and settled it on his wife in 1711, and by his will, dated January 8th, 1722, left property to his widow and his son Thomas, and also a life interest in property at Nottingham to his "Mother Bloodworth." Who this latter was I do not know. He died in 1724, and was buried at All Saints' on June 29th.

In 1722 (26th May), Thomas Rivett acquired two closes in Little Field, on the south side of the Nottingham Road, from the Mayor and Burgesses of Derby. (*Cal. of Records*, p. 63), and about this time he contributed £20 to the building fund of All Saints' Church. His widow, Elizabeth,¹ also acquired land in the same way; on February 7th, 1732, she purchased a close in Parkfield, Derby, for £10 6s. 8d., in trust for her son, Thomas, (*ibid.*, p. 67), and another close in Whitecross Field, (Ashbourne Road), on January 3rd, 1728, for £14 15s. (*ibid.*, p. 65).

From the register of All Saints', Derby, I have extracted

¹ The Duke of Perth lodged at Mrs. Rivett's house when Prince Charlie and his army were in Derby, Dec. 4-6, 1745.

PLATE II.—Mug, transfer-printed in black with two engravings; on one side a view and the words "Sutton Hall"; on the other two groups of poor people and the exclamations: "We will go to Mr. Clark's," "Distressed Family" and "I am almost perished." Barrel-shaped with hoops; height $5\frac{7}{8}$ ins. Paste and glaze very cold and blue. Date c. 1768. Original in Derby Museum. *Reproduced by permission of the Libraries, Museum and Art Gallery Committee.*

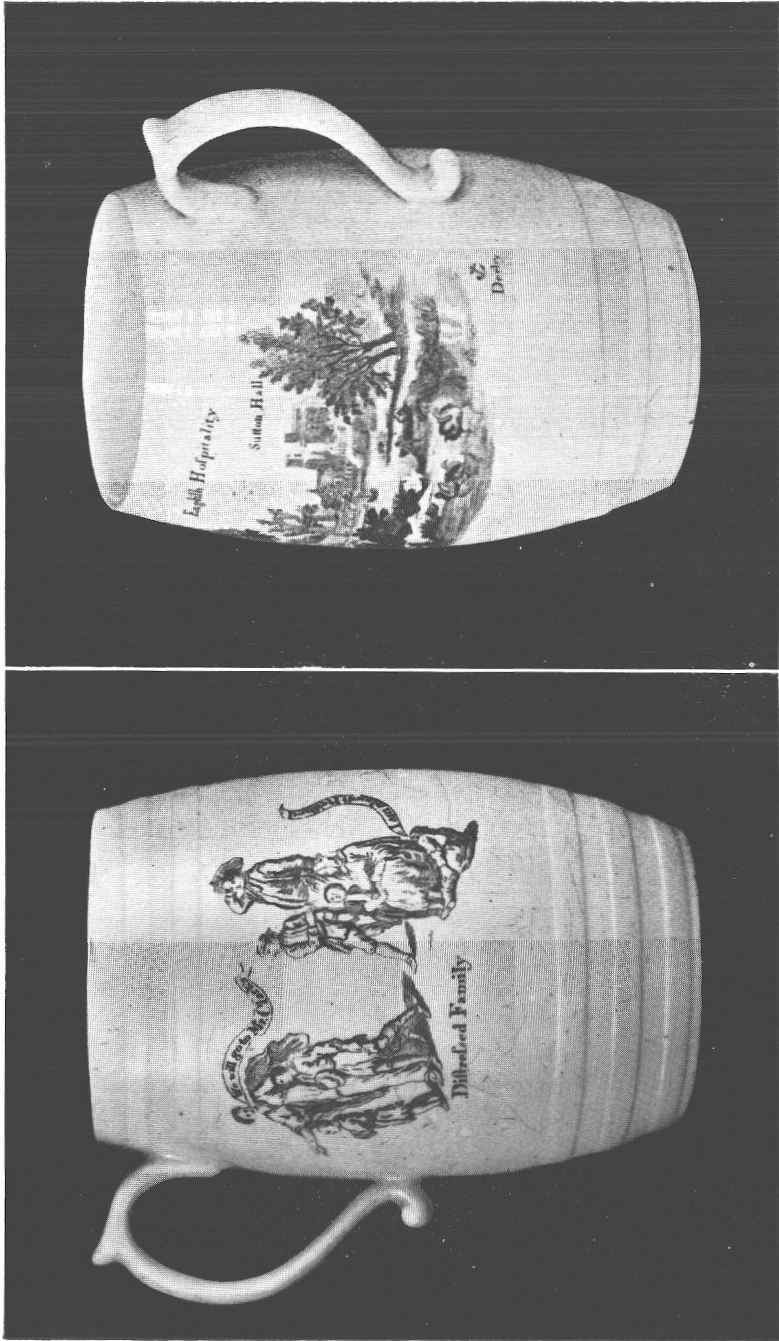


PLATE II.

all the entries relating to the children of Thomas Rivett (1679-1724), and Elizabeth, his wife, they are as follows:—
Elizabeth, baptised 29th February, 1712, buried 24th December, 1746;

Thomas, baptised 12th August, 1713, buried 13th April, 1763;

Robert, mentioned in his father's will, baptised 8th January, 1722, buried 12th May, 1731;

Francis, buried 25th June, 1714;

Francis, baptised 7th September, 1714, buried 4th March, 1773. (It was a common practice when an infant died to give the next born, son or daughter, the same name);

Catherine, baptised 29th August, 1715;

Rebecca, baptised 17th November, 1716;

Mary, baptised 17th November, 1716, buried 10th November, 1717;

Mary, baptised 6th January, 1719, buried 19th February, 1723;

Sarah, baptised 7th August, 1721, married Sir John Eardley Wilmot;

Richard, baptised 20th August, 1722, buried 12th February, 1723.

Sir John Eardley Wilmot was born at Derby, 16th August, 1709, and was the son of Robert Wilmot, Esquire, of Osmaston-by-Derby. He became Lord Chief Justice of England, and his wife, Sarah, was the daughter of Thomas Rivett, Mayor of Derby in 1715, and not his grand-daughter as stated in so many reference books.

Of the three sons, Robert died young, about 17 years of age, while Francis, who was only ten at the time of his father's death, entered into an agreement with his brother, Thomas, in 1747. (*Richardson Deeds*, 'Abstract of Title'). In 1760 he purchased, from the Mayor and Corporation of Derby, "a close of ground called Greatorex Flatt," part of Cowsley Field, an area east of the race course, just developed by the Corporation as a building

site; for this he paid £80. In 1771-2, he was one of the "Brethren" of the Town Council, what we should now term a councillor. At that time the borough was under the government of Aldermen, Brethren and Common Council Men.

At the same period there was another Thomas Rivett in Derby, living in the same street as our family, that part of the Morledge which we now call Tenant Street. He also had a son, Thomas, baptised at All Saints' 18th October, 1720, and a daughter, Mary, 30th December, 1735. He was a fellmonger and appears to have become bankrupt. In 1736 he announced that all debts owing to him must be paid before the 17th September, or the debtors "will be sued for the same." (*Db. Merc.* 26th May, 1736). A few weeks later his dwellinghouse in the Morledge garden, brewhouse, stable and new workhouse and 'fats,' suitable for a tanner or fellmonger, were offered for sale, and also two acres of land at Repton. (*ibid.*, 7th October, 1736). On May 9th, 1737, his creditors were called together, "to receive some proposals." (*ibid.*, 21st April, 1737).

It is quite clear that this Thomas Rivett and his son, Thomas, had nothing whatever to do with Cockpit Hill Close, or the pottery established there, but he may have belonged to the same family, and the little I know of him has been introduced here to save students the trouble which the present writer has had in sorting out the various persons bearing the name Rivett.

We can now deal with the Thomas Rivett, who was one of the partners in the potworks. He was only eleven years of age when his father died, and the property would be held in trust until he was twenty-one, at least, and we have already seen that his mother purchased land in trust for him in 1732, when he was nineteen. The family house in the Morledge has been rebuilt, the site being now numbers 13 and 13½ Tenant Street; the garden gate



PLATE 12.—Cipher ' T.R.' from the wrought-iron gates of Thomas Rivett's Garden in the Morledge, Derby (now Tenant St.) made by Robert Bakewell, the celebrated Derby iron worker. Original in the Derby Museum

posts still remain at the top of the passage between 13½ and 14, and also a small portion of the original wrought iron railings. A few years ago a relic from the garden gates was presented to the Derby Museum, consisting of a cipher, T.R., as written in script, and reversed, interlaced within a ring (plate 12). It is exactly similar in design to the cipher in the old Silk Mill Gates, and was probably by the same excellent craftsman, Robert Bakewell (see Starkie Gardner, *Ironwork*), the celebrated 18th century wrought-iron worker, of Derby. I have already mentioned the beautiful gates of the Osborne Mansion (now a Baptist Chapel), in St. Mary's Gate, still in good preservation, and besides these, there is the chancel screen in All Saints', the Silk Mill Gates, etc., so that it is worth while paying a visit to Derby to see Bakewell's ironwork.

In April, 1749, Thomas Rivett married Anna Maria, "the celebrated Miss Sibley," as the *Gentleman's Magazine* described her, daughter of Rev. Peter Sibley, of county Somerset, and they had issue nine children, particulars of whom I have extracted from All Saints' registers.

Anna Maria, baptised 18th March, 1750, married Edmund Reynolds;

Elizabeth Catherine, baptised 8th April, 1751, married General John Carnac, and died without issue (see portrait reproduced plate 13);

Sarah, baptised 1st April, 1752, described as spinster, 17th April, 1789;

Thomas, baptised 31st December, 1753, became a clergyman;

Francis (sic), a daughter, baptised 5th March, 1755, married Edward Ravenscroft;

Charles Sibley, buried 13th January, 1757;

Peter Charles Sibley, baptised 30th December, 1757;

James, baptised 10th March, 1759;

Ann Arabella, baptised 15th June, 1761, married William Richards, of Penglais, co. Cardigan, January 1st, 1788, at Walcot Church, Bath, (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1788, p. 81).

Thomas Rivett was Mayor of Derby in 1761-2 (his father was Mayor in 1715) and he was High Sheriff for Derbyshire in 1757-8. Dr. Cox, in his list of Derbyshire Sheriffs (Cox. *Three Centuries*, I. p. 62), quoting from John Reynolds, says, "Thomas Rivett, sheriff, 1757, had no arms. His father was a working blacksmith there (in Derby)." I think Reynolds must have been confusing our Thomas Rivett with another of the same name living at the same time, at any rate, the Rivett Arms are on his tombstone in All Saints'. In 1748 he won a memorable election contest for a seat in Parliament and defeated the Hon. John Stanhope, "after a fair and free poll," and he sat as one of Derby's two members until 1754. Rivett died at Bath on April 6th, 1763, and his body was brought to Derby for burial, where he was interred in All Saints' Church, on the 13th of the same month. Many years later (it must have been after 1801) his widow erected a tablet to his memory; it is on the south wall of the Cathedral immediately next to the Cavendish Chapel. The monument consists of an oval slab of black marble, measuring 6 feet by 3 feet 6 inches, on which is superimposed a white marble cameo. At the top is a draped urn carrying the Arms of Rivett, within escutcheon the Arms of Sibley. Below the urn is a figure of "Hope" seated with an anchor; below again is an oblong panel on which the following inscription is carved:—

"To perpetuate the memory of a man whose virtues were revered by all who knew him, this Monument is erected by Anna Maria the Widow of Thomas Rivett, Esquire, in testimony of her true affection, and from a full sense of the excellence of his Heart who died in the year 1763, and rests in the Chancel of this Church, with

a joyful hope of a blessed Resurrection. Four of his children, Elizabeth Carnac, Frances Ravenscroft, Peter Sibley Rivett, and James Rivett Carnac, have alas! followed him to the grave.

Cold Death o'ertook them in their blooming years,
And left a wretched Mother, unavailing tears."

The arms as carved on the urn are copied from those of Revett, or Rivett, of Cambridgeshire, and are—Argent, 3 bars, and in chief 3 trivets sable. The crest is—on a wreath argent and sable, a cubit arm vested bendy argent and sable, grasping a sword (broken) argent, with hilt and pommel or. The Sibley arms borne in escutcheon are—Ermine, a gryphon passant between 3 crescents gules.

What authority the Rivetts, of Derby, had for using the shield of Revett, or Rivett, of county Cambridge, I have not been able to discover, but certainly a family connection has not been proved.

Thomas Rivett by his will, dated 30th December, 1762, (*Richardson Deeds*—'Abstract of Title'—extracts only. Full text in Wolley M.S. 6628, pp. 336-8, British Museum), left all his property in the Morledge, Derby, (subject to the payment of £30 a year to one Frances Meadows for her life) to his wife, Anna Maria, for her life, with remainder to his son, Thomas Rivett, and his heirs and assigns for ever. Certain parts of his estate were charged with an annuity of £100 to his wife for her life. He appointed as trustees, his wife, Anna Maria, his brother, Francis Rivett, his brother-in-law, the Rt.-Hon. Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Kt., and his brother-in-law, Mr. Wm. Storer, to sell his estates as soon as convenient after his decease and divide the residue into ten equal parts. He gave eight parts to his eldest son, Thomas, and all his daughters, share and share alike, and the other two parts to his younger two sons, share and share alike, to be paid

to sons at 21, and to daughters, at 21 or marriage. His wife was appointed sole executrix.

A note in 'Abstract of Title, 1804' adds—The said Thomas Rivett left the Rev. Thomas Rivett, his eldest son, and five daughters, viz:—Anna Maria, wife of Edmund Reynolds, Esquire; Sarah Rivett, spinster; Elizabeth Catherine, since dead, late the wife of John Carnac, Esquire (which said Elizabeth Catherine died intestate and without issue, her husband surviving her); Frances, since dead, the wife of Edward Ravenscroft, Esquire; Anne Arabella, widow of William Richards, Esquire; and two younger sons, viz.:—Peter Charles Sibley Rivett and James Rivett both since deceased.

The eldest son, Thomas, graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1776; M.A., 1779. In the Richardson Deeds ('Abstract of Title') extracts, dated 19th and 20th December, 1793, mention Anna Maria Rivett, of Walcot, Somerset, widow, and the Rev. Thomas Rivett, her eldest son, cousin and heir-in-law, of George Paschall, deceased, and recites that a marriage was intended between the said Thomas Rivett, Rector of Maresfield, Sussex, and Louisa, second daughter of Culling Smith, Esquire, of Roper, county Hereford. Thomas was also at one time incumbent of Everton, Hants.

Of Thomas Rivett's daughters not much need be said, except that Anne Arabella married William Richards, Esquire, of Penglais, county Cardigan, while Sarah was a spinster and did *not* marry Sir John Eardley Wilmot, as stated in so many reference books. Peter Charles Sibley Rivett also appears to have died unmarried for by his will proved at Doctor's Commons, 8th July, 1784, he left, after sundry casual bequests, the residue of his estate to his mother, Anna Maria Rivett.

Elizabeth Catherine, the second daughter, married General John Carnac, of the East India Company's Service. She died intestate and without issue in 1780, at the early

PLATE 13.—PORTRAIT OF MRS. CARNAC BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. In the Wallace Collection, London. Canvas 93 by 57½. Engraved in mezzotint by J. Raphael Smith, a native of Derby, in 1778. Bought by Lord Hertford at the "Sir J.C." sale, 1861, for £1,795. 10s. Mrs. Carnac was Elizabeth Caroline, daughter of Thomas Rivett, M.P. for Derby in 1763, and his wife Anna Maria daughter of the Rev. Peter Sibley; she was baptized at All Saints' Church, Derby, 8th April, 1751; married in London 24th July, 1769, as his second wife, Brigadier-General John Carnac, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Bengal, and afterwards Second in Council at Bombay. He won an important victory over Shazada Shah Allam, Emperor of Delhi, and a French contingent commanded by M. Law, who, with 15 officers and 50 of his men, was taken prisoner near Patna, 15th Jan., 1761. He died 29th Nov., 1800 at Mangalore, Malabar coast, aged 84. Mrs. Carnac died at Broach, Bombay, 18th Jan., 1780, aged 28, and was buried in that city. An inscription to the memory of husband and wife is in St. Thomas's Cathedral, Bombay. (*Extract from Wallace Collection Catalogue*). *Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection.*

Auction prices of Smith's engraving of Portrait of Mrs. Carnac: Christie's 16 Dec., 1926, Mrs. Carnac and two others, £30. 9.; Sotheby's 28 June, 1927, with artist's name and publication line in scratched letters, £85.; Puttick's 7-8 July, 1926, £7. 17. 6d.; Christie's 25 Jan. 1926, £15. 15.; Sotheby's 18 May, 1926, C.S. 2nd state, £250.; Sotheby's 22-4 June, 1926, before name and address of publisher were altered, £64; Christie's 9 April, 1924, 3rd state, £13. 13.; Sotheby's 17 June, 1924, £48.;

Slater gives the following prices:—4th state with Humphrey's address, fair, £42.; 1st state very fine, £987.; Photogravure £1. 14.



PLATE 13.—MRS. CARNAC.

age of 28, and her husband, by will, left his estate to his wife's youngest brother, James, with the proviso that the latter adopt the name of Carnac, which he did by sign manual in 1801. Her portrait, in the Wallace Collection, is one of Reynolds' best works (plate 13).

James was born 4th February, 1759, and he married (4th February, 1783) Henrietta, daughter and co-heiress of James Fisher, of Yarmouth, county Norfolk. Like his brother-in-law, General Carnac, he was in the service of the East India Company, and was at one time Acting Governor of Bombay. He died July 16th, 1802 (or 1804, but most probably the former), and his widow survived him for many years, dying 23rd December, 1837. They had three sons and four daughters, of whom the eldest, James, born 11th November, 1784, became chairman of the East India Company, and was created baronet March, 1836. He married, 3rd June, 1815, his cousin, Anna Maria, the eldest daughter of William Richards, of Penglais, who had married Anne Arabella Rivett. By this union there were four sons and four daughters, particulars of whom, and of their descendants, will be found in the usual reference books under Rivett-Carnac. They are all direct descendants of Thomas Rivett, of the Morledge, Derby, co-partner in the Derby Pot Manufactory, and have no Carnac blood in their veins. The family was raised to the baronetage in 1836, as Rivett-Carnac of Derby.

CHAPTER 9.

CHRONOLOGY OF POTTERY AND PORCELAIN MANUFACTURE
IN DERBY.

Note:—Only items capable of verification have been included.

1648. Cockpit Hill Close acquired by Edward Osborne. Cal. of Records, p. 40.
1711. February 6. Cockpit Hill Close transferred from John Osborne to Thomas Rivett. Rich. deeds, 1.
1722. January 22. Will of Thomas Rivett, senior, leaves property to his son, Thomas. Rich. deeds abstract.
- 1725, September 7. William Duesbury I, born. Bemrose, p. 6.
- 1747, January 1. Agreement between Thomas Rivett & Francis (his brother) re Cockpit Hill Close; no mention of a pottery on the site. Rich. deeds abstract.
1750. Plain white porcelain cream jug with incised mark "D 1750"—Derby porcelain. Vic. & Alb. Mus.
- 1751-3. William Duesbury I., enamelling china in London, Bow, Chelsea, Staffordshire & Derby figures. Duesbury's work-book.
- 1751, September 21. Baptized, Paul Edmund, s. of Andrew Planché & Sarah, his wife. Reg. St. Werburghs, Derby.
- 1751, November 11. Partnership commences between William Butts, John Heath, Thomas Rivett & Ralph Steane, as potters at Cockpit Hill. Rich. deeds, No. 12.
1752. William, s. of William Duesbury I., born in London, & died there in infancy. Bemrose.

- 1752, March 27. Thomas Rivett leases to William Butts, the north end of a close with buildings, on Cockpit Hill to hold for 21 (or 42) years, from March 25, 1752. Rich. deeds, 12.
- 1752, June 11. Wm. Butts leases a "water mill" at Darley Abbey, near Derby, for grinding flint for pottery. Rich. deeds, No. 12.
1753. Mary, d. of William Duesbury I., b. in London, died in infancy. Bemrose.
- 1753, June 6. Earliest date for "Darby figars." Duesbury's work-book.
- 1754, June 3. William Whitehall, "labourer at the China House," married to Bridget Lakin. Reg. St. Werburgh's, Derby.
- 1754, October 3. Anna, d. of William Duesbury I., b. at Longton. Bemrose.
- 1754, October 12. Bapt. James, s. of Andrew Planché & Sarah, his wife. Reg. St. Alkmund's, Derby.
- 1754, December 10. Bur. James, etc. Reg. St. Alkmund's, Derby.
- 1755, September 27. Assignment of household goods from Wm. Duesbury, sen., of Cannock, Staffs., to Wm. Duesbury I., of Longton Hall, Staffs. Jewitt, II., p. 66.
- 1756, January 1. Partnership (unsigned) between John Heath, Andrew Planché, china maker, & William Duesbury, enameller. Jewitt, II., p. 64.
- 1756, March 4. Bapt. James, bastard, s. of Andrew Planché & Margaret Burroughs. Reg. St. Alkmund's, Derby.
- 1756, April 19. John Heath acquires lease of cottages on Nottingham Road for use as china factory. Bemrose, p. 109.
- 1756, June 16. Sale of "Derby Porcelain, in figures, etc." Hyam, p. 10.
- 1756, July 3. Bapt. William, s. of Andrew Planché & Sarah, his wife. Reg. St. Alkmund's, Derby.

- 1756, October 25. Freehold of cottages on Nottingham Road, used by "Heath & Co." for china manufacturing offered for sale by auction. *Derb. Mercury*, 8th October, 1756.
- 1756, Nov. Mary (another), d. of Wm. Duesbury I., born at Derby. Bemrose.
- 1756, December 14. Sale in London by order of the Derby Porcelain Manufactory, "after the finest Dresden models." *Public Advertiser*, Nightingale.
- 1756, May 17. Sale in London of Derby figures or "second Dresden." *Pub. Adv.*, Nightingale.
1758. Order for the arrest of John Lovegrove; gives names of Butts, Rivett & John Heath as proprietors of the potworks. Jewitt, II., p. 58. Original in Derby Public Library.
- 1758, January 28 & February 11. Advert. of goods of Derby China Company. *Pub. Adv.* Nightingale.
- 1760, October. Lease of "New House;" Butts, Rivett & John Heath named as "co-partners & owners of the pott works on Cockpit Hill Derby." Rich. deeds, Nos. 9 & 10.
1763. List of china sent from Derby to London. Jewitt, I., p. 69.
1763. William (another), s. of Wm. Duesbury I., born at Derby. Bapt. 1st March, 1763; succeeded to the business in 1786. Bemrose.
- 1763, April 3. Death of Thomas Rivett.
1764. John Heath & Wm. Duesbury I. acquire process of china making & printing from Richard Holdship. Jewitt, I., p. 232.
- 1764, March 28. Death of William Butts, "master of the Potworks." *Derb. Merc.*, 30 March, 1764.
- 1765, October 23. Wm. Duesbury I. acquires lease of mill in St. Michael's Lane, Derby, for grinding & mixing china clay. Bemrose, p. 122.
- 1766, August 20. Richard Holdship acknowledges debt of £40 to "Mr. Duesbury & Co." Bemrose, p. 140.

1767. Plan of Derby showing the "Pott Work," and the China Factory. Burdett's, Map of Derbyshire.
- 1767, October 5. John Heath acquires widow Butts' share of the potworks. Rich. deeds, No. 12.
- 1768, March 17. Wm. Duesbury, senior, bur. at Derby. Bemrose.
- 1770, February 9. John Heath & Wm. Duesbury I., purchase the Chelsea china factory. Bemrose, p. 26.
- 1770, November 20. John Heath acquires widow Rivett's share of the potworks, & becomes sole proprietor. Rich. deeds, No. 13.
1772. "Mr. Mayer, pott merchant, Cockpitt Hill." (John Heath was Mayor in 1772). MS. list, in D.P.L.
- 1774-5. Sale catalogue of Messrs. Duesbury & Co. proprietors of the Derby & Chelsea Porcelane Manufacturies. Reprint in Bemrose, p. 52.
1776. Wm. Duesbury I. purchases the Bow china factory?
- 1779, March. John & Christopher Heath become bankrupt. *London Gazette*, etc.
- 1779, May 26. Lease of potworks offered for sale, 15 years to run; also lease of house with 78 years to run. *Derb. Merc.*, 8 July, 1779.
- 1779, September 27. Thomas Evans & Walter Mather both of Derby, chosen as assignees of the Heaths. *Derb. Jour.* 30 September, 1779.
- 1779, December 16. John & Christopher Heath's house in Full St. offered by auction. *Derb. Jour.*, 9 December, 1779.
- 1780, February 29. Sale of earthenware & chinaware being the stock-in-trade of the Cockpit Hill Potworks. *Derb. Merc.* 25 February, 1780.
- 1780, April 4. Sale without reserve of earthenware, etc. at the potworks. *Derb. Merc.*, 17 March, 1780, & repeated.

- 1780, August 1. Lease of Nottingham Rd. china factory transferred by assignees of the Heaths to Wm. Duesbury I. Bemrose, p. 109.
- 1780, October 4. Sale of lathes, tools, implements, etc. at the potworks. *Derb. Jour. and Derb. Merc.*, 29 September, 1780.
- 1782, February 27. Lease of potworks advertised to be sold. *Derb. Merc.*
- 1782, March 8. Lease of potworks acquired by Richard Fox. Rich. deeds, No. 21.
1784. Wm. Duesbury I. closes Chelsea factory & removes moulds & workmen to Derby.
- 1785, April 9. Rev. Thomas Rivett, s. of Thomas Rivett acquires lease of potworks from Richard Fox and assignees of Heaths. Rich. deeds, No. 21.
- 1785, May 19. Auction sale of materials of some of the buildings of the potworks. *Derb. Merc.*, 12 May, 1785.
- 1787, January 4. Wm. Duesbury II. mar. Elizabeth Edwards, aged 20, d. of Wm. Edwards, solicitor, of Derby. Reg. St. Alkmunds, Derby.
1787. William Duesbury III., s. of W.D. II., born at Derby.
1795. Michael Kean becomes partner with Wm. Duesbury II.
1796. Wm. Duesbury II. dies.
- 1798, October 29. Michael Kean mar. Mrs. Duesbury, widow of Wm. Duesbury II., at Quarndon, Derby. Reg. Quarndon, Derby.
- 1804, September. Pot Yard and premises purchased by H. J. Richardson from Rivett family. Rich. deeds abstracts.
- 1808, September 26. Wm. Duesbury III. mar. Annabella, d. of Wm. E. Sheffield, of the Polygon, Somers Town, London, at St. Pancras. *Gent. Mag.*, October, 1808.
- 1809, June 15. China factory offered for sale. *Derb. Merc.*

- 1815, June 24. Draft copy of lease of china factory from Wm. Duesbury III. to Robert Bloor. D.P.L. MSS.
- 1815, July 30. Death of Christopher Heath, aged 96 years. *Derb. Merc.*, 3 August, 1815.
- 1819, April 15. List of models & moulds of china factory. Bemrose, p. 69.
- 1823, November. Michael Kean dies in London. *Derbyshire Adv.*, 19 November, 1823.

ADDENDA.

P. 72.—DARLEY ABBEY. I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Holden, author of *The Derbyshire Holdens and their Descendants*, for the following note:—

“ In 1730 it [Darley Abbey] was conveyed to Mr. John Heath [father of John Heath of the pot-works], who let it to Mr. Abel Rigail for a few years. At this time it [the house] was known as Darley Hall. By indenture, dated 31st July, 1735, Mr. Heath granted the estate to Robert and Atkinson Holden, the survivor, and their heirs, for 99 years, at an annual rental of £125. 10s. They took possession on 2nd Feb., 1736, and laid out £4,000 in improvements. John Heath who was a banker, in Derby, in partnership with his brother Christopher, afterwards went bankrupt, and the estate and effects of both brothers were conveyed and assigned to Thomas Evans and William Mather [they were the assignees under a commission of bankruptcy, see ante]. These two, in collaboration with Messrs. Boldero & Co., of Derby, bankers, thereupon claimed that John Heath had mortgaged Darley to Boldero & Co., for £8,000, prior

to leasing it to the Holdens, whom they threatened to eject. The Holdens then addressed a complaint to the Lord High Chancellor, dated 18th June, 1779, and the matter came before the High Court of Chancery."

It will be seen, p. 76, that the Holdens shortly afterwards purchased the estate for £7,000.

P. 85.—WILLIAM DUESBURY'S WORK-BOOK. Since this paper was written the full text of this work-book has been published under the title of *William Duesbury's London Account Book*, 1751-3, with a foreword by R. L. Hobson, keeper of the Department of Ceramics and Ethnography at the British Museum, publisher, Herbert Jenkins, 15/- net.