

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DELFTWARE POTTERS IN ST OLAVE'S PARISH, SOUTHWARK

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SYNOPSIS

THE first delftware potter in Southwark, Christian Wilhelm, settled in St Olave's parish there in 1604. At first a smalt-maker, he was forced to change his trade because of a rival's monopoly. He became a gallypot-maker about 1612, employing forty men in his pottery; in 1628 he received a monopoly patent. He died in 1630 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Thomas Townsend. The pot-making tradition thus established lasted through the seventeenth century, under a succession of potters at the same site.

INTRODUCTION

In 1965 an excavation at Potters Fields, Southwark, near Pickleherring Stairs (see map, Fig. 1), produced a large volume of waste material from a seventeenth-century delftware kiln, including unglazed 'biscuit' ware and finished glazed ware, both white and polychrome.¹ This excavation has led to further research into the seventeenth-century documentary evidence for a pottery near this site, the results of which are presented in this article.

Delftware was made by covering yellowish or reddish-yellow earthenware with a lead glaze containing tin which produced a bright white finish, in imitation of porcelain. The unfired tin glaze could also be painted in a variety of colours which were fired with the glaze, producing brilliant designs on the white. This tin-glazed earthenware is now usually called delftware, but this name was not common until the eighteenth century; in the seventeenth century it was called 'gallyware', and the potters called themselves 'gallypottmakers'. In the later part of the seventeenth century it was also referred to as 'painted earthenware'.

The position of Southwark in the history of London delftware factories has only recently been realized. F. H. Garner helped to bring the Southwark potteries to light by showing that some of what had been called Lambeth delft was actually made in Southwark.² Hugh Tait in two

Abbreviations

G.L.C.R.O.	.	.	Greater London Council Record Office, County Hall, Westminster.
G.R.O.	.	.	Guildhall Record Office, The Guildhall, London.
P.R.O.	.	.	Public Record Office.

¹ The archaeological details of the site will be published elsewhere by Dr F. Celoria, who directed the excavation.

² Garner, F. H., 'Lambeth Earthenware', *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, No. 4 (1937), 46.

important articles outlined much of the documentary evidence about Christian Wilhelm, the first delftware potter in Southwark, and also described some of the types of delftware that can be assigned to the early seventeenth-century Southwark pottery.³

CHRISTIAN WILHELM AND THE SMALT MONOPOLY

The founder of gallypot-making in Southwark, as Tait pointed out, was a foreigner named Christian Wilhelm.⁴ He was a native of the Palatinate, a province of the Holy Roman Empire on the Middle Rhine. Before he came to England he had lived for some time in Holland, as he had a daughter born there. He arrived in England in 1604, as recorded in 1607 by a Surrey landowner, Sir William Gardiner, who stated:

that the above saide Christian Wilhelme came over in to England from beyonde the seas att or before Michelmas, 1604 and this I knowe to be true for that he the said Christian took pte of ahowse of myne in Southwark called Pickelherringe, and at the same tyme in the said howse did sett & errecte certaine mylle[s] Ovens, and other necessaries for his trade of of [*sic*] makinge of Smalte, and did also aboute the saide tyme in the saide howse make and compounde the said Smalte or blewse starche.⁵

We see from this that Wilhelm settled at 'Pickelherringe'; the seventeenth-century sources do not refer to Pickelherring Street or Stairs, but speak simply of 'Pickleherring', which may then have been the name of a certain area, or a wharf, rather than a street. This area was in St Olave's parish. (See map, Fig. 1.)

It is clear that Wilhelm was not a potter when he arrived in England; the quotation above describes him as a maker of smalt, which is a cobalt blue colouring matter. In 1605, however, a monopoly patent for the sole making of smalt was granted to a Flemish immigrant named Abraham Baker, who had recently settled in England.⁶ This patent nearly ruined Wilhelm and forced him to find a different trade. He eventually became a potter, but he never ceased to resent the loss of his smalt business, and a great many of the documents relating to Wilhelm are petitions by him to the king protesting about the smalt monopoly.

The document quoted above is one of a series of documents in the Public Record Office, consisting of copies of testimonials from various people and groups about Wilhelm and his smalt-making.⁷ The purpose of all these documents was to prove that Wilhelm came to England to make smalt, that he was in business before Baker got the patent, and that Wilhelm spent a great deal of money in setting up the business. These documents date from 1607 to 1613, and presumably were in support of a petition from Wilhelm, though none is preserved from that date.

³ Tait, Hugh, 'Southwark (alias Lambeth) Delftware and the Potter, Christian Wilhelm: 1 & 2', *The Connoisseur*, Aug., 1960, pp. 36-42; Feb., 1961, pp. 22-9.

⁴ His name is spelled 'Wilhelme in many documents, but he himself signed it 'Wilhelm', as can be seen in his will.

⁵ P.R.O. SP 14/72 No. 84.

⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610*, xxii, No. 30. Dietz, F. C. *English Public Finance, 1558-1641* (1932), 132.

⁷ P.R.O. SP 14/72 Nos. 83-9.

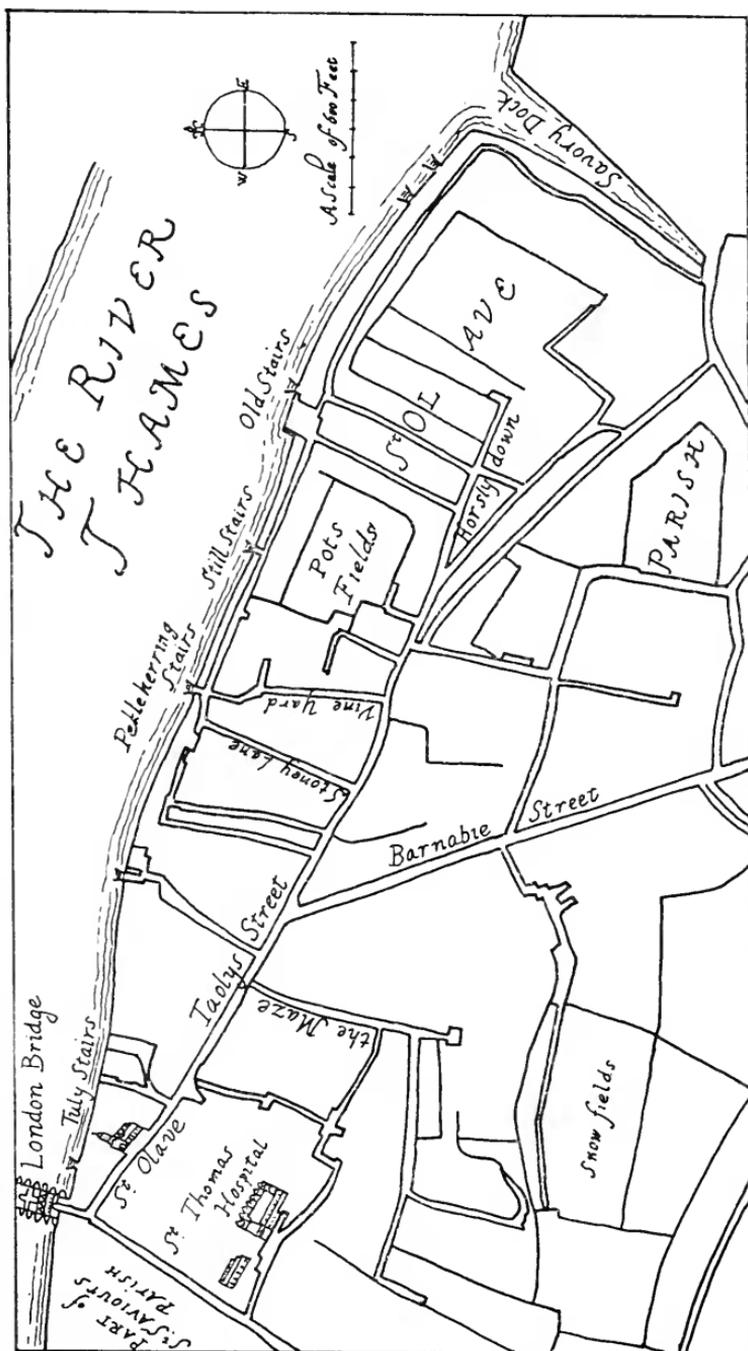


FIG. I. MAP OF ST OLAVE'S PARISH, SOUTHWARK

In one of the manuscripts some customs officers testified that in 1604 Wilhelm had imported millstones and horses for the mill 'whearewthall he maketh blewe starche', and saffer, an impure oxide of cobalt used in the preparation of smalt.⁸ By 1605, they said, he was exporting smalt, and this is supported by an entry in the London Port Book of exports by aliens in 1605. For 11 February, 1604/5, a cargo of smalt was listed as exported by Christian Williams, and shipped in the *Gift of God* of 'Deepe', or Dieppe.⁹

In a document signed by four men, including Wilhelm's factor, Michael Aront, it was claimed that after Wilhelm was established in business

Willm Twynho, Abraham Baker, and John Artagh secretlie enticed one or some of saide Christian his servanthe[s], whoe (as it is enformed&confessed) gave them some lighte in the saide arte.

By this means, it was stated, Baker and others gained the monopoly patent and deprived Wilhelm of his livelihood, to the undoing of him, his wife, and family.¹⁰

The Grocers of the City of London testified that Wilhelm was making smalt, and was supplying it to them, before Baker obtained his patent.¹¹ The Company of Painter Stainers said that Wilhelm was skilful at making smalt, but that Baker had served them badly since the patent was granted by not supplying enough smalt and forcing them to pay high prices.¹²

These protests had no effect. In 1619, Baker's patent was renewed for a further term of thirty-one years.¹³ Wilhelm was never reconciled to this, and was still protesting against Baker's monopoly in the 1620's.

THE FIRST DELFTWARE POTTING IN SOUTHWARK

It appears that Wilhelm tried several different trades after he was forbidden to make smalt, for in a list of members of the Dutch congregation in London in 1617 we find in St Olave's parish a 'Christian Willems, vinaigremaker, Neelkin his wyfe, Marie her sister, one child born here, and one beyond the Seas'.¹⁴ A year later, in a 1618 List of Aliens in London, under Southwark is listed:

Chrystyan Whelhames, galley pott maker and aquivtay styller, bornne in Pallsgrasland, and his wyfe, and Mary Miller, his wyfes sister, both borne in Daventry, in Gelderland, they have byne [here] the one 26 yers and her syster 10 yers. [Signed] Christian Wilhelm. Marya Molnere [?].¹⁵

The Pallsgrasland of the Huguenot publication appears to be Pallsgraf-land in the manuscript¹⁶ and would refer to the Palatinate.

⁸ P.R.O. SP 14/72 No. 83.

⁹ P.R.O. E 190/12/7.

¹⁰ P.R.O. SP 14/72 No. 84.

¹¹ P.R.O. SP 14/72 No. 85.

¹² P.R.O. SP 14/72 No. 89.

¹³ Patent No. 7 (1618).

¹⁴ Kirk, R. E. G. and Kirk, E. F. (Eds.), *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London, Part 111, 1598-1625*. The Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, x (1907), 172.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 227.

¹⁶ P.R.O. SP 14/99 No. 43.

This record tells us that by 1618 Wilhelm was a gallypot-maker, and possibly also a maker of vinegar and aqua vitae. Exactly when he first took up gallypot-making is not certain. In a petition of 1627 or 1628 Wilhelm says that he has been a gallypot-maker for sixteen years,¹⁷ which would have meant that he began in 1611 or 1612. In the grant he received in 1628 it is said that he had been a gallypot-maker for twenty years,¹⁸ but this may be less accurate. It seems likely that Wilhelm was a potter by 1612 at least, and he was certainly making gallypots by 1618.

In 1627 or 1628 Wilhelm said that he had found out gallypot-making 'by th'assistance of th'almighty',¹⁹ but unfortunately he does not mention any more specific agent. The secrets of a trade such as that were generally kept within the fraternity of potters and their families, and not lightly passed on to others, so Wilhelm should have had some connection that enabled him to learn the secrets of gallypot-making. As he was a member of the Dutch congregation in London Wilhelm may have become a gallypot-maker by employing Low Country potters who had come to settle in England. In the 1618 List of Aliens there are two Dutch potters living near Wilhelm. They were John Roogosse, or Rookynes 'a gallie pott maker, bornne in Midlborowe' (Middleburg), and 'Chrystan Lowest, borne in Dollett, in Holland, galli pott maker'. Roogosse had been in England two years, and Lowest five weeks.²⁰ It seems most probable that these potters worked for Wilhelm. These two were fairly recent arrivals, but some earlier immigrants may have been hired by Wilhelm to help establish the pottery.

The archives of the Dutch Reformed Church at Austin Friars, London, include recommendations from Dutch ministers elsewhere to the London congregation, on behalf of church members arriving in London. In one of these, dated 1612, the Dutch minister in Norwich issued a certificate on behalf of Andries Vermote and under the recommendation was written 'Pekelharing kay by Christ. Willemss'.²¹ Possibly Vermote was going to live with, or work for, Wilhelm, though unfortunately Vermote's trade is not mentioned. That he was from the Low Countries, and from Norwich where earlier Dutch gallypot-makers had settled, might suggest a connection with Wilhelm's new trade.

There is also a possibility that Wilhelm married for a second time, after his arrival in London, and if so this might possibly have connected him with some of the London potters. His wife in 1618 was Dutch, born in 'Daventry', presumably Deventer. From the 1617 record Wilhelm had a child born beyond the seas, which would indicate that he was married before he came to England. However, the 1618 list says that his wife had been in England twenty-six years, which would make her arrival in England date back to 1592, while Wilhelm only arrived in 1604. If the 1618 figures are correct, it might mean that Wilhelm arrived in

¹⁷ P.R.O. SP 16/91 No. 32.

¹⁸ P.R.O. SP 39/25 No. 42.

¹⁹ P.R.O. SP 16/91 No. 32.

²⁰ Kirk, R. E. G. and Kirk, E. F., *op. cit.*, 226.

²¹ Hessels, J. H. (Ed.), *Registers of the Attestations or Certificates of Membership, Confessions of Guilt, Certificates of Marriage, Betrothals, Publication of Banns, etc., 1568-1872*. Archives of the London Dutch Church (1892), 12.

England with a child, but later married again to a Dutchwoman already living in England. Wilhelm was certainly married not long after he arrived in England, for the baptisms of three of his children are recorded in the Dutch Church registers for 1606 and 1607. A son, Christian, was baptised in May, 1606, and twins, Esaias and Susanna, in June, 1607.²²

In Wilhelm's will, written in 1630, he refers to his wife Alkin, who must be the same as the 'Neelkin' listed in 1617, but he also mentions his 'wives sonne John Townsend'.²³ If this is taken literally, it must mean that Alkin had been married to an Englishman named Townsend before she married Christian Wilhelm. This is consistent with her having lived in England longer than Wilhelm himself.

Wilhelm and his servants, though not his family, appear in lists of Lay Subsidies in 1622, 1624, and 1625.²⁴ In each list he is described as living on the Waterside (of Tooley Street), which would include the area near Pickleherring Stairs. The Huguenot Society publication of the 1618 Aliens' List showed Wilhelm as living 'In the Mays', or the Maze, which was an area of Southwark south of Tooley Street. However, in the original document it is not clear which names belong to exactly which street, and probably Wilhelm is not meant to be included as living in the Maze,²⁵ as he was certainly living on the north, or 'Waterside', of Tooley Street before and after 1618. These Lay Subsidy Lists also refer to Adam Jordan and Mary Miller, servants to Christian Wilhelm. This Mary Miller is presumably Wilhelm's wife's sister, as listed in the 1618 Aliens List.

WILHELM'S PETITIONS TO THE KING

Though in 1617 and 1618 Wilhelm was an aqua vitae stiller and a vinegar-maker, as well as a gallypot-maker, it seems clear that gallypot-making became his chief occupation, for in several documents in the Public Record Office dating from the 1620's, only his gallypot-making is mentioned.

One of these documents is a petition relating to Christian Wilhelm and the smalt-making controversy, complaining about Baker's patent.²⁶ It is undated, but judging from the text it was written between 1625 and 1628. In the Public Record Office it is filed in a volume of undated material with the suggested date of 1638, but it must actually be earlier than 1630, when Wilhelm died. It is apparently addressed to Charles I, as it refers to 'First Kinge James of blessed memory', and so is 1625 or later. However, in the references to Wilhelm there is no mention of the monopoly for making gallyware that Wilhelm received in 1628, and it is very unlikely that such a point would have been left out, if the petition were written after 1628. It is not clear exactly who is making the petition,

²² Moens, W. J. C. (Ed.), *The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers, 1571-1874, and Monumental Inscriptions of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London* (1884), 81-2.

²³ P.C.C. 39 Scroope.

²⁴ Kirk, R. E. G. and Kirk, E. F., *op. cit.*, 255, 265 and 275.

²⁵ P.R.O. SP 14/99 No. 43.

²⁶ P.R.O. SP 16/408 No. 12.

whether Wilhelm or some other party interested in the smalt patent, as Wilhelm is referred to only in the last part of the document. No other person or groups are mentioned, however.

The petition consists of

Reasons to induce his Matie, to Compounde and take in his royall hand those patents graunted out for stufte to make blew starch as saffer and pott ashes.

The main reason given was that Abraham Baker and a Sir George Hay²⁷ were cheating the King out of several thousand pounds of customs revenue a year. In addition to Baker's monopoly, Sir George Hay, at Baker's instigation, had received a patent for the importing of smalt, saffer, and potashes, the last two being used in the making of smalt. He paid the King £240 a year in return for collecting the import duty on these goods, but the petition stated that these duties actually brought in over £3,000 a year. Further, Baker deliberately failed to produce enough smalt for the English market, contrary to the terms of his patent, and forced merchants to import smalt, with Baker collecting two pence for every pound of smalt brought in.

The petition claimed that Baker was not a skilful smalt-maker, for in place of potashes there was a better substance for making smalt called 'Barilli'.²⁸ In defence of this claim the petition stated:

And to confirme it there is one Christian Wilhelme the firste man that invented the makeinge of smalte[s] in this Kingdome from whome this Abraham Baker had his insight & soe gott a patent over his heade and put him out of his worke[s] to his great losse, who hath nowe invented the makeinge of white earthen potte[s] and vessels glazed both wthin and without wch shewes as faire as China dishes, and is a good subject to your Matie, and setteth 40 Men weekly on worke all the yeare long.

The use of 'invented' in this account would not mean what it means today; in the seventeenth century the word invented seems to have been freely used to describe someone who was setting up a trade in a new area. Wilhelm would not have been trying to claim that he literally invented tin-glazed earthenware, but was probably merely claiming that he was the first gallypot-maker in England. This was not true, but it seems to have been a common claim. Even John Ariens van Hamme in 1676 claimed to be the inventor of gallyware in England.²⁹

The type of pottery Wilhelm made is perfectly clear from this petition. It only describes white pots, but doubtless he would have made polychrome pottery also. It was the whiteness of this pottery, so different from medieval pottery, which was its most striking and valued characteristic. As they had not then found the means of making porcelain, tin-glazed earthenware was the only pottery then made in England that could compare in appearance with the highly prized porcelain that was being imported from the East in this period. That the gallypot-makers were trying to imitate the appearance of porcelain is clear from the claim that Wilhelm's pottery was as fair as China dishes.

²⁷ Lord Chancellor of Scotland and later first Earl of Kinnoull.

²⁸ Barilla is an alkali made from certain Mediterranean plants, which was used in glass-making.

²⁹ Patent No. 191 (1676).

The forty men that Wilhelm employed all year round would have included specialists in such skilled trades as pot-throwing, glazing, and painting. The size of this pottery agrees with some rough estimates that have been made for the size of a delftware pottery. P. J. Tichelaar has analysed a 1737 picture of a tile factory at work, and considered that it would have employed 25-30 workmen. He estimated that the average delftware factory would have employed 25-50 workmen, and Wilhelm's forty fits nicely into this range.³⁰

This petition against the monopolies evidently had no effect as the smalt patent was not revoked, nor that for the importation of saffer and potashes. Another petition, this time definitely from Wilhelm himself, was made in 1627 or early 1628. The actual petition is not dated, but an answering note on it is dated 22 January, 1627/8. In this document Wilhelm not only complained about the smalt patent, but also asked for a monopoly on the making of gallyware.³¹

The document is headed: 'To the Kinges most Excellent Matie, The humble petiçon of Christian Wilhelme Gallipottmaker'. Wilhelm begins by saying that he came to England twenty-three years before, which would agree with his arrival in 1604, if the petition were written in 1627. Here Wilhelm relates a new version of the controversy with Baker. He says that he and Baker had agreed in writing that if Baker got the patent Wilhelm should have the making of the smalt, but once the patent was granted Baker seized Wilhelm's goods, contrary to the agreement.

Wilhelm stated that he had spent most of his estate in setting up the smalt-making business, and the injury Baker had done him would have been his undoing, had he not found out gallypot-making, 'wherein he [Wilhelm] hath contynued theis 16 yeres, imployeing many poore people therein'. It seems probable that this sixteen years is accurate, as his twenty-three years for his stay in England agrees with other records. Wilhelm concludes the petition with three requests: that he be allowed to make smalt in spite of the patent, that he be sworn the King's servant for the making of gallyware, and that a 'workhouse' set up

backwarde[s] in a garden vpon blocke[s] wthout other foundac[on] contrary to the building now in vse might stand, the same being only for y^e dryinge of Galliware, and his servante[s] to work in.

A note is added on the back of the document, dated 22 January, 1627/8, at the Court at Whitehall, granting the petitioner's request for the continuation of the workhouse.

None of these documents makes any mention of the actual kiln for firing the pottery, but it would presumably have been as near as possible to the drying shed described above. When Wilhelm first came to England he set up the mills for making smalt at his house at Pickleherring; probably when he was forced to change to potmaking he would have continued to use the buildings there, and the pottery buildings would have adjoined his home.

³⁰ Ray, Anthony, *English Delftware Pottery* (1968), 23.

³¹ P.R.O. SP 16/91 No. 32.

THE 1628 GALLYWARE MONOPOLY

In July, 1628, Wilhelm was granted a patent giving him the monopoly for the manufacture of gallyware. The document granting this monopoly illustrates the terms upon which these types of patents were based, as well as providing more information upon Wilhelm's own business.³² (See Appendix.)

The main provision of the grant was that Wilhelm was given a monopoly for the sole manufacture of gallyware in England and Wales, for fourteen years, for the annual payment to the King of thirteen pounds. This thirteen pounds was twice the customs then being received yearly for the importing of gallyware. Wilhelm was to make enough gallyware to supply the country's needs, and was to sell his products for no more than the price that had been usually paid within the three preceding years.

As long as Wilhelm produced a quantity of 'gally potte[s]' sufficient for the needs of the kingdom, the importation of gallyware was forbidden. If any gallyware was illegally imported it was to be confiscated, and the crown would receive half its worth, and Wilhelm the other half.

The grant includes a list of the types of pottery that Wilhelm was to make under the monopoly:

earthen gally potte[s] and dishes called by the name of gallyware And all kinde or sorte[s] of bottells of all Color[r]s basons & ewers salte[s] dishes of all sorte[s] drinkinge potte[s] pavinge tyles Apothecaries & Comfittmakers potte[s] of all sorte[s] & all kinde of earthen worke as he the said Christian Wilhelme hath heretofore invented and made.

This list agrees well with the types of tin-glazed earthenware dateable to the early seventeenth century, and with the pottery found in the 1965 excavation. Bottles, basins, ewers, salts and dishes are all well-known delftware shapes. The drinking pots mentioned probably include the purple-speckled bellied mugs that are typical of early London delftware. Many of the early styles of delftware tiles that have been found in England have been assigned to a Dutch origin, but the inclusion of paving tiles in this list shows that tiles were also made in England at this time. As Low Countries' potters were employed in London their products were probably very similar to Dutch types. The apothecaries and comfittmakers pots would refer to what are now known as drug jars; the reference to comfittmakers indicates another use to which they were put. Drug jars were one of the commonest of all delftware forms, and were rarely made in other types of pottery. They are so typical of tin-glazed earthenware that in the eighteenth century 'gallypot' became almost a synonym for an apothecary's jar.

WILHELM'S WILL

Wilhelm did not live to enjoy his monopoly for long. He died early in 1630, as his will was proved on 9 April, 1630.³³ It had been written a month earlier, when Wilhelm described himself as 'weake and sicke in

³² P.R.O. SP 39/25 No. 42.

³³ P.C.C. 39 Scroope.

body'. In this will Wilhelm describes himself as a 'Gallypottmaker', but makes no further reference to gallypots or potmaking.

Wilhelm's family as mentioned in his will consisted of his wife Alkin, a son named Christian, a daughter Mary and her husband, Thomas Townsend, his wife's son John Townsend, and his son-in-law Stephen Poore. The birth of Christian was listed in the 1606 Dutch Church register, and the daughter Mary seems to have been the child born abroad mentioned in the 1617 list of the Dutch congregation. Her marriage is listed in the Dutch Church register for 1627, and shows that she was born in Middleburg, Holland: '13 Dec. 1627 Thomas Townsin j.g.v. Londen met Maria Willems j.d.v. Middelborgh'.³⁴ This Thomas Townsend must presumably have been related to John Townsend, Wilhelm's wife's son.

Christian and Mary were the only surviving children in 1630. The death of Esaias was recorded in the St Olaves' parish register in 1612,³⁵ and Susanna must also have died, possibly before 1617, as only two children are mentioned in the 1617 list. A reference in the will to Wilhelm's 'kinde friend and sonne in lawe Stephen Poore' is puzzling, as no daughter that he could have been married to is mentioned. If he had been married to Susanna, she must have lived long past 1617. Son-in-law might possibly have meant stepson, but as Wilhelm's wife already had a son named Townsend, another son named Poore seems unlikely.

By the terms of his will, Wilhelm left to his wife Alkin all the goods and household stuff that she had possessed when they were married. To his son Christian he left half of the lands Wilhelm had or was heir to in the Palatinate and two hundred pounds. Wilhelm referred to the possibility that

my said sonne Christian shall happen at his returne home from beyond sea to bee a lewd and a badd husband and given to ill Companie,

so evidently the son was not in England, and was not a very satisfactory son. This explains why Christian was only left the two hundred pounds instead of being the chief heir to Wilhelm's estate.

The will indicates that though gallypot-making was Wilhelm's main occupation, it was not his only interest. He said that

I am a great adventurer into Virginia and other parts beyond the seas, and have a great stocke wth Sr John Harvie knight and other company touchinge & concerninge sope ashes, and pott ashes, and other comodities.

This interest in potashes would follow from Wilhelm's original interest in smalt-making. Sir John Harvey was a Governor of Virginia, and evidently Wilhelm was one of the investors in the development of the Virginia colony.

After various bequests Wilhelm left all the residue of his estate to his daughter Mary and her husband, Thomas Townsend, and made them executors of his will. The pottouse and goods at Pickleherring were not specifically mentioned, but presumably they would be included in the bulk of Wilhelm's estate, and it is certain that shortly after 1630 Thomas

³⁴ Moens, W.J.C., *op. cit.*, 138.

³⁵ Unpublished notes of F. H. Garner. The St Olave's register for this period is in the G.L.C. Record Office, but is now marked unfit for examination.

Townsend was running a pothouse at Pickleherring, undoubtedly the business that had belonged to Wilhelm. In the monopoly grant to Wilhelm, the provisions all referred to 'Christian Wilhelm his executo[r]s administrato[r]s deputies & assignes', and it seems probable that as his heir and executor Townsend would have been able to continue under this monopoly until it expired in 1642.

It seems from these various documents that Wilhelm was probably a potter in the broad sense of a man who ran a pottery, rather than a man who actually made pots. Wilhelm was not originally trained to be a potter, and throughout his life he retained an interest in other businesses, as his investments in the American colonies show. As he employed forty people, it is most probable that he directed the business, but did not actually work at any of the potter's arts himself. Wilhelm had presumably learned how these things should be done, but it is unlikely that he ever made a gallypot with his own hands.

THOMAS TOWNSEND AND THE PICKLEHERRING POTTERY SITE

Wilhelm's successor, Thomas Townsend, does not appear in the State Papers in the Public Record Office, as did Wilhelm as a result of his small controversy, but Townsend's name appears frequently in the local Southwark records for this period. The area where the pottery was located was in the Great Liberty Manor of Southwark, and Townsend appears in the Court Leet records for this manor, for various breaches of the manor regulations. In 1634 Thomas Townsend, potter, was fined for laying sand and gravel in the highway near his house, and a Thomas Townsend of St Olave's, though with trade unspecified, was fined in 1631, 1632, 1633 and 1634 for diverse faults including having a false four-pound weight, keeping hogs, and not keeping the pavement in front of his house in order.³⁶

A more detailed description of the site of the Pickleherring pothouse occurs in the sewer records of 1638, in the Court records of the Surrey and Kent Sewer Commission. Here it is ordered that

Thomas Tounesend of the parishe of St. Olave Potmaker shall before the ffirst daie of November next caste clense and scowre sufficientlie all his pte of the sewer and dreyner on the west and southsides of his Potthouse and grounde neere Pickleherring in the parishe aforesaid.

The fine was to be three shillings and fourpence for every rod undone. The Court also ordered 'Thomas Large of Camerwell gent' and his tenant Thomas Townsend to board the bank of the sewer on the west side of the pothouse.³⁷

This sewer that ran past the west side of the pothouse is most useful, as there are further references to the pothouse in the sewer records for 1640 and 1642. By 1640 Thomas Townsend had a change of landlord, as Peter Lister and Thomas Booth of London, merchants, were fined because they did not

take out of the Dreyner against their old Potthouse and their newe buildinge att Pickleherring in the parish of St Olave in Southwark all the bricks rubbish and soyle wch is fallen into the said dreyner.

³⁶ G.R.O. Southwark Box 4.

³⁷ G.L.C.R.O. SKCS 34.

It is not quite clear whether the new building was a new pothouse or not, but the reference to the old pothouse makes it quite likely. Another fine was levied on Peter Lister and his tenant, Thomas Townsend, for not repairing the wharf and filling up four rods of the bank of the sewer on the west side of their pothouse near Pickleherring.³⁸

Lister and Booth are also mentioned in the Great Liberty Manor records, where in 1640 they were fined for not paving against their ground at Pickleherring, and in 1641 for putting up a fence of pales at Pickleherring that encroached upon the highway. They were ordered to remove the pales and to leave the way wide enough for two carts to pass by. Thomas Townsend is not mentioned in these two entries.³⁹

In 1642 yet another London merchant was in charge of some or all of this area of ground at Pickleherring. The 1642 Sewer Commission ordered

George Thorogood of London Marchant to wharfe with pyles and boards sufficientlie Three rods of the bancs of the Sewer against his old Pothouse at Pickleherring in the parish of St Olave betweene his new house of office, and the next bridge lyeing over the said Sewer.

A further order referred to a new house of office built by George Thorogood, 'Oyleman', upon the drain at Pickleherring, which was a great annoyance and which was to be removed. George Thorogood and his tenants were also ordered to cover over the drain.⁴⁰ Unfortunately the names of these tenants were not given, so we cannot tell whether Townsend was still working at the pothouse there.

The actual land at Pickleherring can scarcely have changed hands so often, and presumably these men, Large, Booth, Lister and Thorogood were all only leaseholders; some or all of them may have been sub-lessees. The actual owner of the land may have been Christopher Gardiner, who is listed in the Great Liberty Manor records as one of the freeholders of the Manor,⁴¹ and was presumably a relation of Sir William Gardiner, Wilhelm's landlord.

The latest reference to Thomas Townsend as a potter is in 1641, when the baptism of his son William occurs in the St Olave's register. In 1647 the death of William, son of Thomas Townsend is given, though as was the practice, the father's trade is not mentioned.⁴² Other references to a Thomas Townsend occur in the Southwark records, but not with any mention of a trade, or of the pothouse. In 1645 the Great Liberty Manor records show a fine against a Thomas Townsend for not paving against his house in the Maze.⁴³ No trade is given, but either this is a different Townsend, or Townsend the potter had abandoned his pottery and gone to live on the land side of Tooley Street. Attempts to find Townsend's will, or even a certain record of his death have been unsuccessful. The sewer records, which were so useful, do not exist between the 1642 roll and a minute book beginning in the 1670's. Exactly

³⁸ G.L.C.R.O. SKCS 35/2.

³⁹ G.R.O. Southwark Box 4.

⁴⁰ G.L.C.R.O. SKCS 36.

⁴¹ G.R.O. Southwark Box 4.

⁴² G.L.C.R.O. P 71/OLA/10.

⁴³ G.R.O. Southwark Box 4.

how long Townsend continued running the pottery at Pickleherring remains uncertain.

A late seventeenth-century potter who was probably related to Thomas Townsend was a John Townsend, potter, of Rotherhithe, who was mentioned in Surrey and Kent Sewer records for 1683, when he was charged with laying a pipe from the Thames to his yard without permission.⁴⁴ He seems to have died in 1684, for a will of that date in Somerset House of a 'John Townesend of the parish of Rotherhith in the county of Surry and citizen and Ironmonger of London' was probably his.⁴⁵ He did not describe himself in the will as a potter, or mention potmaking, but he appointed as Overseers

William Knight of the parish of St Buttolph Aldgate Potter and Thomas Harper of the parish of St Saviour in Southwark in the County of Surry Potter and Citizen and Ironmonger of London.⁴⁶

These men were not only potters, but delftware potters. Nothing is known of a delftware pottery at Rotherhithe, but John Townsend may have been a delftware potter considering his friendship with Harper and Knight.

THE EXPANSION OF THE SOUTHWARK DELFTWARE INDUSTRY

The parish register of St Olave's from 1628 to 1639 is lost, but the register from 1639 to 1665 has been preserved, and lists many potters who lived in the parish in Townsend's day and later.⁴⁷ It includes the names of at least twenty-eight potters or potmakers, and these were only the potters who had had children christened in that period, as only the birth records regularly mentioned occupations. Of these potters at least four, Thomas Townsend, Richard Newnham, William Constable and Richard Bissicke are known from other sources to be delftware potters. Newnham followed Townsend in St Olave's, Constable later became a leading potter in the neighbouring parish of St Saviour's, and Richard Bissicke was a relative of John Bissicke who was a founder of the earliest delftware pottery at Bristol.⁴⁸ It seems probable that the other potters in the St Olave's register were also delftware potters, and presumably worked at the Pickleherring pottery. This number of potters is consistent with the size of Wilhelm's pottery.

Garner has compared the parish registers of St Olave's and St Saviour's, and found that some potters seem to have moved from St Olave's to St Saviour's after 1630. There was apparently a delftware pottery set up sometime in the early 1630's at Montague Close, near St Saviour's Church, now Southwark Cathedral. According to Garner, a potter named William Bellamy appears in the St Olave register in 1625, but is listed in the St Saviour's register from 1631 until 1642. Bellamy

⁴⁴ G.L.C.R.O. SKCS 42, p. 120.

⁴⁵ P.C.C. 119 Hare.

⁴⁶ Lacking a Company of their own, the potters seem to have become members of a variety of City Companies, including the Haberdashers, Embroiderers, Ironmongers, and Painter Stainers.

⁴⁷ G.L.C.R.O. P71/OLA/10.

⁴⁸ Garner, F. H., *op. cit.*, 45 and 47.

may have been the founder of the Montague Close pottery, which continued in operation until well into the eighteenth century. The names of other potters appear in the registers of both parishes, and rather than just one movement of potters from St Olave's to the neighbouring pottery in the 1630's, there seems to have been a continuing interchange of potters between the two potteries throughout the rest of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹

If Wilhelm's monopoly continued with his heir, Thomas Townsend, then Townsend would have been the holder until 1642, and presumably the pottery at Montague Close could only have started with his permission. The nearness of the new pottery, and the interchange of potters between the two, implies that the Montague Close pottery started as an offshoot of the Pickleherring pottery, though it may later have become a completely independent business. Christian Wilhelm apparently owned land in the Guildable Liberty Manor of Southwark, which included the Montague Close area within its bounds. In the records of that manor, the heirs of Christian Wilhelm are listed as freeholders in the manor from the 1630's until the 1660's.⁵⁰ This manor was to the west of the Great Liberty Manor, which included the Pickleherring area. This land of Wilhelm's may possibly have been used to start the new pottery.

RICHARD NEWNHAM

William Bellamy died in 1645, and one of the witnesses to his will was Richard Plaice,⁵¹ who is described in the St Saviour's register as clerk to the pothouse.⁵² Bellamy was probably followed at Montague Close by William Constable, who moved to St Saviour's parish from St Olave's between 1644 and 1646.⁵³ In his will Bellamy mentioned his son-in-law Richard Newnham, a member of the Embroiderers Company. Though belonging to this Company, he was actually a potter. Newnham did not succeed his father-in-law at the Montague Close pottery, but instead he and Martha Bellamy, William Bellamy's widow, seem to have succeeded Thomas Townsend at the Pickleherring pottery.

Martha Bellamy died in 1655, but her will was written in 1647,⁵⁴ and in 1647 she was living not in St Saviour's parish but in St Olave's. In her will she mentioned her business dealings with her son-in-law, referring to a loan she made to him of some sixty-seven pounds, and to a lease for her house that may have been promised to her and Richard Newnham by a Mr Mercer. This will also referred to her 'Share and part which I have in the Stocke and trade with my said Sonne in Lawe Richard Newnham.' These references to the house and stock imply that Martha Bellamy and Richard Newnham were in business together in St Olave's, from 1647 at least. This business can hardly have been anything but potmaking, considering that William Bellamy and Richard Newnham

⁴⁹ Unpublished notes of F. H. Garner.

⁵⁰ G.R.O. Southwark Boxes 2 and 3.

⁵¹ P.C.C. 128 Rivers.

⁵² Unpublished notes of F. H. Garner.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ P.C.C. 171 Aylett.

were both potters. A further proof is in the will itself, as two of the witnesses, Jonathan Collinton and John Burley, appear in the St Olave's register as potters. The loan from Martha Bellamy to Newnham may have had some connection with the acquisition of the pottery which could have taken place sometime between 1641 and 1647.

Richard Newnham is described as a potter in the St Olave's parish register, where the baptisms of five of his children were listed between 1646 and 1661.⁵⁵ He also appears in the records of the Great Liberty Manor, where Richard Newnham was appointed a Scavenger in 1652 and Constable in 1653.⁵⁶ In the St Olave's Vestry Book, Richard Newnham was appointed a Constable in 1654 in charge of one division of the parish. John Collinton, the potter who witnessed Martha Bellamy's will, was also appointed to this same division. The parish had been divided into nine sections, but the one that Newnham and Collinton were assigned to seems not to have included the Pickleherring pottery, but to cover a part of the parish more to the south and east.⁵⁷

Presumably Newnham and Collinton would have lived near the pottery, and one would have assumed that the parish officers would have been assigned to the district in which they lived, but this may not have been so. None of the records found definitely connects Richard Newnham with the pottery at Pickleherring, and it is possible that he did run a pottery in a different part of the parish. There is, however, no record of the existence of a pottery in any other part of the St Olave's parish. The Pickleherring pottery was definitely in production into the eighteenth century, and there is no evidence of any other delftware potter prominent in St Olave's parish in the period when Richard Newnham lived there. In view of this it seems most probable that Newnham worked at the Pickleherring pottery, in spite of being a Constable for a different area of the parish.

Richard Newnham was still the leading potter in St Olave's in 1676, when a petition to the King was made protesting against the importation of painted earthenware, contrary to the statutes. The petition was made by

John Ariens van Ham, James Barston, Daniel Parker, John Champion, Richard Newnham and divers others using the manual occupation or trade of potters in and about London and suburbs thereof.⁵⁸

This makes it certain that Newnham was not only a potter but a delftware potter. The others mentioned in the petition were delftware potters in other parts of London, chiefly Lambeth, where a large pottery industry was becoming established.

FRY, OSBALDSTON AND ROBINS

Though Newnham lived until 1685,⁵⁹ he was not the occupier of the Pickleherring pottery in 1677, a year after the petition mentioned above.

⁵⁵ G.L.C.R.O. P71/OLA/10.

⁵⁶ G.R.O. Southwark Box 4.

⁵⁷ Walworth Road Library, Southwark; *St Olave's Vestry Book*, 1604-1724.

⁵⁸ *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1676-1679*, v, Part 1, 391-2.

⁵⁹ Somerset House, *Act Book*, July, 1685. Newnham died intestate.

It was occupied then by William Fry and Edward Osbaldston. This information and a great deal of detail about the situation of the pottery come from a series of Southwark deeds referring to a pottery near Pickleherring, north of Horsleydown.

The earliest of these deeds is a lease made on 26 September, 1677, in which Daniell Duthais, of St Olave's parish, leased a certain piece of land to 'William ffry Cityzen and Vintner of London and Edward Osbaldston Cityzen and Paynter Steyner of London'.⁶⁰ This piece of land was in a certain field near 'Horsly downe'; it adjoined a workhouse of Fry and Osbaldston in the north, and its size was measured from the 'end of the Potthouse there'. A ditch ran along the west side of this piece of land, which may have been the same as the sewer that ran along the west side of Townsend's pothouse.

In another deed, dated 20 June, 1679, Daniell Duthais leased a piece of ground to Humphrey Smith, carpenter, of the parish of St Thomas in Southwark.⁶¹ This land was

part of the Ground now or formerly called Potts ffeild situate lying and being on the North side of Horsey Downe.

This mention is the first use in these documents of Potts, or Potters, Fields.⁶² The deed said that the land in Potts Field abutted on the ground in the occupation of 'William ffry potter and Osbolston' on the north, and on the west adjoined a ditch or sewer. This would be the same as the ditch mentioned above.

A third deed, dated 1882, was a mortgage on property in the Pickleherring area, between

Phillip Atkins of the Middle Temple London Gentleman on the one part
And Alice Stratford of the parish of St Clements Danes in the County of Middlesex spinster on the other.⁶³

For the sum of £600 Atkins sold the described property to Stratford but the sale was to be void if Atkins paid Stratford £60 a year during her life. The deed listed a variety of properties and tenements, including the

Millhouse and pothouse with the Appurtenances and the Yard and Garden plott behinde the same Lyeing on the westside of the said Pott house now in the tenure of the said Widdow ffry.

The only definite location given in the descriptions is that some of the properties were on the Thames, near Still Stairs, which were to the east of Pickleherring Stairs. A street or passage is mentioned that could well be Pickleherring Street. The properties were all 'situate lying and being at or neer Pickle Herring and Horseydowne in the p[ar]ish of St Olaves Southwarke'.

Osbaldston is not mentioned in this last deed, and clearly William Fry was dead, and apparently his widow was carrying on with the pothouse

⁶⁰ Minet Library, Lambeth; Surrey Deed No. 4880.

⁶¹ Minet Library, Lambeth; Surrey Deed No. 4882.

⁶² In the eighteenth century an open area south of Pickleherring Street was called Potts Fields, and Potters Fields is still the name of a street in Southwark, though the field has long since been built on. The name may have developed in the seventeenth century after the pottery was established; possibly the field was used to dump waste from the pottery.

⁶³ Minet Library, Lambeth; Surrey Deed No. 4886.

in his place, or at least occupying the premises of the pottery. Despite the absence of Osbaldston's name, he was still active in delftware potting, as a 1686 petition complaining again of the importation of painted earthenware was made by 'Tho. Harper, Edward Osbaldston, William Knight, James Barston and others'.⁶⁴ Of these Thomas Harper was the potter at Montague Close, William Knight at the Aldgate, and James Barston in Lambeth. Osbaldston would then appear to be the leading potter from the Pickleherring pottery, replacing Richard Newnham whose name was on the 1676 petition. In the Treasury papers of 1689 there is a reference to another petition by James Barston, William Knight and Thomas Harper, manufacturers of painted earthenware, relating to the continued failure to enforce the law against importing painted earthenware, but Osbaldston's name does not appear.⁶⁵ He was still alive in 1689, though, for he died in 1693, according to his will in Somerset House, which made no mention of the pottery or Southwark.⁶⁶ William Fry's widow died the next year, in 1694, but also made no reference to the pothouse in her will.⁶⁷

The St Olave's parish register is not available for the period from 1657 to 1685, but the 1685 to 1715 register shows that there were still many potters living in St Olave's parish.⁶⁸ One of these was Moses Johnson, who lived in St Olave's, but moved to the Bear Garden, Southwark, about 1695, where he became a stoneware potter. Another of the potters, John Robins, seems to have taken over the pottery after Widow Fry's, or after Osbaldston's, death.

Robins' name appears in a trial held in 1693 of a man named Edmund Warner, who was accused of illegally exporting fuller's earth. Warner claimed that it was only potter's clay, of the type he sold to London potters for making white and painted earthenware. Several London potters testified in his support; these were William Knight, Thomas Harper, Hendry de Wilde, John Robins, and Moses Johnson.⁶⁹ Both Robins and Johnson would have been from the St Olave's pottery in this case.

In 1694 yet another petition was made by the London delftware potters protesting against the importation of painted earthenware. The names on this were Thomas Harper, William Knight, Elizabeth Barston, and John Robins.⁷⁰ This would indicate that Robins was the main potter at the Pickleherring site, as Johnson was not mentioned.

Several potters are listed in the Scavenger's Ratebooks for St Olave's for this period, according to Garner's notes.⁷¹ For 1694 the ratebook

⁶⁴ *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1685-1689*, VIII, Part II, 598.

⁶⁵ *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1689-1692*, IX, Part I, 100.

⁶⁶ P.C.C. 115 Coker.

⁶⁷ P.C.C. 192 Box.

⁶⁸ G.L.C.R.O. P71/OLA/12.

⁶⁹ Jewitt, Llewellyn, *The Ceramic Art of Great Britain* (1878), I, 134-5.

⁷⁰ 'Court Minutes of the Glassellers [sic] Company', Vol. I, 1664-1739. Guildhall Library, MS. 5538/1. Also House of Commons Journal, 1694, XI, 186 (quoted from Garner, F. H., *op. cit.*, (61).

⁷¹ The Ratebook was not available at the Walworth Road Library, Southwark, due to reorganization of the Bermondsey libraries.

included: 'John Robins and Stock 6/9.' In 1696 the ratebook had an entry of a 'Mr Cholmely for the Potthouse', rated at 10s. Cholmely may have been a lease-holder, rather than a working potter, with Robins actually running the pottery.

Robins seems to have been in charge of the pottery until the end of the century or later. The pottery continued in the eighteenth century, chiefly under a family named Grove. Robins, or a relation of his, was in partnership with one of the Grove family in the early eighteenth century. The site of the pottery was changed to Stony Lane sometime before 1723, it appears, abandoning the Pickleherring site.⁷² With the growing importance of the Lambeth delft factories in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the St Olave's pottery was relatively much less important in the eighteenth century than it had been in Wilhelm's day, though it continued into the second half of the eighteenth century.

The decline in importance of the Pickleherring pottery was a result of the expansion of the delftware industry in the seventeenth century, but this expansion can itself be traced back to Christian Wilhelm and his pottery. After the decline of the sixteenth-century delftware pottery at the Aldgate, Christian Wilhelm was almost certainly the only maker of delftware in England. The potteries that followed at Montague Close, Southwark, and Brislington, near Bristol, were both founded by potters from St Olave's parish. Other delftware potteries followed later in the century, but it can be seen that Wilhelm's pottery at Pickleherring was the centre from which the seventeenth-century delftware industry grew.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Leverhulme Research Awards, whose grant made this article possible; Dr Francis Celoria of the University of Keele, for his great help and encouragement in every stage of the article's preparation; and Mr D. M. Archer of the Victoria and Albert Museum, for so kindly allowing me to use the unpublished notes of F. H. Garner.

APPENDIX

CHRISTIAN WILHELM'S MONOPOLY FOR MAKING

GALLYWARE, 1628

(P.R.O. SP 39/25 No. 42)

Charles by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland ffrance Ireland defendo[r] of the fayth et[c] To all to whom these p[re]sente[s] shall come: Greetinge. Whereas o[ur] welbeloved servannt Christian Wilhelme hath by h's humble petiçon informed vs that he hath for these Twentie yeares past vsed the making of earthen gallie potte[s] and dishes called by the name of Galliware within this o[ur] Kingdome thereby employinge many of o[ur] poore subiects in the makinge thereof whiche gallyware is now made beyond the Seas and in great abundannce brought over & imported into o[ur] Kingdomes & Dominions which with much more conveniencie for the good of the Comonwealthe and reliefe of manie of o[ur] poore subiects beinge thereby sett on worke might bee made within o[ur] realme of England And therefore hath humbly besought vs that wee would be graciously pleased to graunt vnto the said Christian Wilhelme and his assignes [l[ett]res pattente[s] under o[ur] great Seale of England for one & twenty

⁷² Unpublished notes of F. H. Garner.

yeares for the sole makinge of all such gallyware and other ware as heretofore he hath been accustomed to make (him selfe beinge the invento[r] thereof within this Kingdome) and hath likewise offered to render unto vs yearly during the said terme such a yearly summe as shall double the Customes wee yearly receive by the imporcion of the said ware into this Kingdome. Knowe ye therefore that wee gratusly acceptinge the offer of the said Christian Wilhelme and in consideration of the yearly rent hereafter reserved and for divers other good causes & considerations as herevnto especially movinge of o[ur] especiall grace certen knowledge & meere mocon have given and graunted and by these p[re]sente[s] for vs o[ur] heires and successors do give and graunt vnto the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s deputies & assignes full free and absolute lycence priviledge power libertie & authoritie at all and every time and times and from time to tyme duringe the terme of foureteene yeares next ensueinge the date hereof to vse exercise and put in practice within this realme of England and Dominion of Wales at his and their libertie & pleasure the said misterie arte way and meanes of makinge of earthen gally potte[s] and dishes called by the name of gallyware And all kinde or sorte[s] of bottells of all Colo[r]s basons & ewers salte[s] dishes of all sorte[s] drinkinge potte[s] pavinge tyles Apothecaries & Comfittmakers potte[s] of all sorte[s] & all kinde of earthen worke as he the said Christian Wilhelme hath heretofore invented and made. And also to make erect and sett vpp in any place or places within o[ur] said realme & Dominion of Wales or either of them all such engines instrumente[s] & devices whatsoever concerninge his said mistery way arte or meanes for makinge the said earthen gally potte[s] and dishes called by the name of gallyware & other the foresaid p[re]misses. And the same earthen gally potte[s] & dishes & other the wares aforesaid so by him made and invented to vtter and sell in grosse or by retaile or otherwise to do away at his & their free will & pleasure and to his and their best comoditie and profit. To have holde vse exercise and enjoy the said licences powers priviledges and authorities for the sole makinge of the said earthen gally potte[s] and dishes called by the name of gallyware & other the foresaid p[re]misses and the full and whole benefitt & profit of the same and entire p[ar]te and p[ar]cell thereof vnto the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s and assignes for & duringe the terme of foureteen yeares now next and immediately comeinge fully to be compleate & ended. Yeilding and payinge and the said Christian Wilhelme for himselfe his executo[r]s administrato[r]s & assignes doth covenante promise & graunt to & with vs o[ur] heires & successors by these p[re]sente[s] to yeilde and pay therefore to vs o[ur] heires & successors duringe the said terme the yearly rent of Thirteen pounde[s] of lawfull money of England at the Receipte of the Exchequer of vs o[ur] heires & successors at Westm[inster] at the two vsuall feaste[s] or Termes of the yeare That is to say at the feast of the birth of o[ur] Lord God and the feast of the Nativitye of St John Baptist by even and equal porcions the first payment thereof to beinge at or vpon the feast of the birth of o[ur] Lord God now next ensueinge the Date of these p[re]sente[s]. Provided always that if it shall happen the said yearly rent before by these p[re]sente[s] referred to bee behinde or vnpayed in parte or in all by space of flortie dayes next after any of the feaste[s] or dayes of paymente[s] aforesaid wherein the same ought to be payde by & accordinge to the true meaninge of theis p[re]sente[s] that then and from thenceforth this p[re]sent graunt & all things therein conteyned to be void & of none effect any thinge herein conteyned to the contrary not withstanding. And forasmuch as it is very likely that many other p[er]son & p[er]sons will hereafter without the privitie licence or consent of the said Christian Wilhelme put in practice the said arte skill and invencon of makinge the said earthen gally potte[s] and dishes otherwise called gallyware & other the foresaid p[re]misses and so defraude him of such benefitt & profit as might otherwise accreue vnto him by his experience skill and knowledge of & in the same wee therefore for vs o[ur] heires and successors do by these p[re]sente[s] declare & signifie that o[ur] will and pleasure is & wee do hereby strictly prohibite forbide charge & comannde all & every p[er]son & p[er]sons whatsoever aswell o[ur] owne naturall borne subjects as aliens denizens & strangers other than the said Christian Whilhelm his executo[r]s administrato[r]s deputies & assignes or such as shall be by him or them sett on worke licensed or authorised. That they nor any of them do p[re]sume attempte or take in hand duringe the said terme of foureteen yeares

by anie arte skill device or cunninge openly or secretly without the speciall lycence allownancc and consent of the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s or assignes to make the said earthen gallypote[s] and dishes called by the name of Gallyware & other the foresaid p[re]misses Neverthesse o[ur] intent and meaninge is And the said Christian Wilhelme for himselfe his executo[r]s administrato[r]s & assignes doth covenant promise and graunt to and with vs our heires & successors by these p[re]sente[s] that he the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s or assignes shall not by colour of this o[ur] graunt or otherwise inhance or raise the price or prices of the said gallypote[s] and dishes called by the name of gallyware to any higher or greater prices than hath ben accustomed to be paid for such wares in this O[ur] realme of England within the space of three yeares now last past And all that he the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s & assignes shall and will from tyme to time duringe the said terme of foureteen yeares make & provide such sufficient quantitie of the said gallyware for the furnishinge of this O[ur] Kingdome as that o[ur] subiects may not want the same. And to the intent the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s and assignes may have and enjoy all & singular powers and priviledges hereby graunted vnto him accordinge to the true meaninge of these p[re]sente[s] And o[ur] will and pleasure is and wee do straightly charge and comānde prohibite & forbid all & singular o[ur] Lovinge subjects and all p[er]son & p[er]sons whatsoever so longe as the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s & assignes shall furnish our Kingdome and people in such proporcion and at such rates & prices as aforesaid. That they nor anie of them doe bringe in or cause to be imported or brought into this o[ur] realme of England or Dominion of Wales or either of them vpon payne of forfeiture of all such gallypote[s] & dishes called by the name of gallyware and other the foresaid p[re]misses so made within this Kingdom or brought or imported as is aforesaid contrary to the true intent and meaninge of this o[ur] graunt and o[ur] will and pleasure herein before declared (the one moietie of all which forfeitures to bee to vs oure heires and successors and the other moiety wee do hereby give & graunt vnto the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s or assignes) and also vpon such other paines and penalties as by the lawes & statutes of this o[ur] realme of England can or may bee inflicted vpon the offendo[r]s for their contempte or disobedience in breakinge or contemninge this O[ur] Comāndment & prerogative roiall. And also for the better execucon of this o[ur] graunt comāndment priviledge and licence wee do by this p[re]sente[s] for us o[ur] heires & successors give and graunt full power licence libertie and authoritie vnto the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s deputies & assignes with the assistance of a Constable headborough or other officer or minister whom it may concerne to enter into any house shopp Cellar warehouse shippe Vessell or other bottome & other place or places within o[ur] said realme of England & Dominion of Wales or either of them aswell within liberties as without where they or anie of them shall knowe or have iust cause to suspect any the said earthen gallypote[s] & dishes called by the name of gallyware and other the foresaid p[re]misses to be contrary to the true and plaine meaninge and intent of these p[re]sente[s] And these to searche by all lawful waies & means for all such earthen gallypote[s] & dishes called by the name of gallyware and other the foresaid p[re]misses so to be made & imported contrary to the true intent & meaninge of these p[re]sente[s] and findinge any such to seize them as forfeited to the use of us o[ur] heires and successors the one moietie whereof so farr forth as in us lieth wee doe by this p[re]sente[s] give and graunt vnto the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s and assignes and the other moiety thereof wee will be reserved to the vse of vs o[ur] heires and successors. And if in the execucon hereof they or anie of them shall finde any opposiçon or resistancc That they or some of them do certifie the same vnto the Courte of Exchequor of vs o[ur] heires & successors vnder their or some of their hande[s] in writinge to the end the offenders thereon may receive condigne punishment for their said offences vnto which Court of Exchequer we do hereby for vs o[ur] heires & successors give full power & authoritie vpon such certificate as aforesaid and due prooffe thereof made to inflict such punishment by fine imprisonment or otherwise vpon the offendo[r]s as their offences shall deserve & to thesaid Court shalbe thought most meete. And further o[ur] will and pleasure

is and wee do by theis p[re]sente[s] for vs o[ur] heires & successors give power & authoritie vnto and straightly charge and comaunde all & singuler Mayo[r]s Sheriffs Justices of peace Bayliffs Constables Headbooughes and all other officers ministers & subiects whatsoever of vs our heires & successors That they & everie of them be from tyme to time aidinge helpinge furtheringe & assistinge to the said Christian Wilhelme his executo[r]s administrato[r]s & assignes deputies servaunte[s] & workmen in all things in & about the accomplishment of o[ur] will & pleasure in these O[ur] Letters pattente[s] expressed and in the exercise & execucon of the same and not any way to hinder molest interrupte or let them or anie of them in anie thinge concerninge the p[re]misses as they tender o[ur] pleasure & will avoide the contrarie at their vttermost perille. And thies p[re]sente[s] or the inrollment of them shalbe their sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalfe. And lastly o[ur] will and pleasure is and wee do by these p[re]sente[s] for vs o[ur] heires & successors graunt that these o[ur] l[et]tres pattente[s] or the inrollment thereof shalbe in all thinge[s] firme & available in the lawe accordinge to the true and playne meaninge of same. Notwithstandinge any defect or imp[er]feciōn in these p[re]sente[s] in the not recitinge expressinge or mentioninge of anie other matter or thinge whatsoever necessarie or needfull herein to be expressed and menconed.