

WORTHY OF THE CONNOISSEUR'S GREATEST CARE PIERCED CREAMWARE

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It is so ubiquitous, that it is surprising to find pierced decoration has rarely been classified as a distinct category of creamware, and previous authors have given it scant attention. This short article attempts to redress that omission in some small way.

Creamware itself is much written about¹, it is fine light-colored earthenware made from white-firing ball clay mixed with flint. The clay-flint mix was shaped by throwing on a potter's wheel or by the use of moulds. It is at this damp-clay stage pierced decoration may be undertaken. After drying, the pieces were packed into saggars, stacked in the oven and fired to a temperature of 1100°-1150°C. At this temperature, the clay matured to a white, dense, brittle material called biscuit. Biscuit earthenware is porous, so to make it impermeable to liquids, it is dipped into a fluid lead glaze and fired again to about 1050°-1100°C, fixing a shiny waterproof coating all over the pot. In excavations on late 18th- and early 19th-century pottery sites in North Staffordshire, quantities of white biscuit earthenware are found, and in this incomplete state it is not possible to judge whether such pieces were destined for creamware production or some other glaze treatment. The fact that creamware cannot be identified at the biscuit stage suggests that it is the glaze finish which distinguishes it from other classes of earthenware.

Enoch Booth is credited with perfecting the biscuit and gloss, double firing cycle first used by Staffordshire potters in the 18th-century, and with introducing materials that improved the clarity and hardness of the glaze². Combining these firing and glaze improvements, Booth

created the first creamware in the 1740s. The main component for creamware glaze was lead, and the lead used for glazes in 18th century Staffordshire was seldom pure. It was found in deposits alongside iron-ore that contaminated it to various degrees. Depending on the amount of iron contamination, the resulting creamware glazes are tinted in shades from pale primrose to deep honey colour. Potters searched for the means of removing these impurities with the ultimate goal of producing white earthenware.

In discussing pierced decoration we first consider the origins of this technique. It is likely that the earliest decoratively pierced ceramics were made in China as early as the 10th century AD.³ As well as simple pierced patterns the Chinese also developed double wall vessels. Père Francois Xavier d'Entrecolles, a Jesuit missionary who traveled to China in 1698, studied some of the secrets of porcelain manufacture. His letters, written in 1712 and 1722 were amongst the first accounts of Chinese porcelain available in the West. In 1712 he wrote of,

"Another kind of porcelain...that ...is all perforated like cut paperwork, while inside it is a cup for holding liquid.

The cup is in one piece within the perforated envelope."

Pierced wares were made by the Chinese for export to Europe throughout the 18th century and may have inspired porcelain designers at Meissen where there was some limited exploration into pierced designs in the 1730s and 40s. And in the late 19th century, Chinese export porcelain still provided pierced wares, particularly for the American market.



In England the earliest pierced ceramics appear to be the fabulous brown salt-glazed stonewares made by James Morley of Nottingham. His familiar trade card dating to the 1690s⁴ illustrates a range of brown salt-glazed stoneware including double walled vessels that closely approximate to the description by Father d'Entrecolle of a cup within in a cutwork envelope. Examples of pierced double-walled or *Linglong* Staffordshire creamware are unusual, the amount of work involved is unlikely to have been cost effective. A rare bowl of this class of creamware is illustrated in figure 1.

It is not known when piercing was introduced into the range of decorative creamware made in Staffordshire. The earliest documentary evidence of its production is found in the American newspaper, *The Pennsylvania*

Figure 1. Creamware bowl, double-walled with pierced decoration in the outer wall, with over-glaze enamel painted decoration in puce and green. Made in Staffordshire about 1775. Courtesy Winterthur 1992.38

Gazette where on January 26, 1769, Joseph Stansbury advertised ceramics for sale at his shop at the sign of the Three China Jars in Philadelphia. He had just imported a wide range of pottery on the ship *Susannah*, his stock of creamware included ... "*pierced cream tureens, strawberry baskets and fruit dishes*" ... and he lists, "*egg cups pierced and plain.*" A popular form of pierced cream tureen may be seen in figure 2.

That Stansbury was able to offer these pieces for sale in January 1769 is evidence that pierced creamware was

made at an earlier date. The ship had to have been loaded in England in 1768 to complete the voyage for unloading and marketing in America in January 1769. Also, we intuitively believe that ceramics exported to the colonies must have been available for some time in Britain prior to being sent to the “lesser” markets. There is of course no proof of this last statement, but also there is no evidence to contradict the theory that new ceramic products were placed on the English home market before being sent abroad in the 18th century. So we can deduce that pierced creamware was definitely made as early as 1768, and we can postulate that it may have come into being sometime in the mid 1760s – there is still work to do to see exactly how early pierced creamware can be documented.

Although based in Philadelphia, Joseph Stansbury was born in London, England in 1740. At the age of 27 he and his wife emigrated to America and settled in Philadelphia where he became a prominent china merchant, active in the business, literary, and social life of the city. Philadelphia at this time was the second largest British city after London, and it was here that Stansbury was offering for sale fashionable English goods, and in 1769 would still have been making his way in the new world.

Later that same year, May 25, 1769, Joseph Stansbury advertised again, another cargo just arrived in the ships Mary and Elizabeth from London. Among the cream-colored pottery for sale in his shop, he listed, “sugar bowls, pierced and plain,” and “pierced dessert plates, ...” Sugar bowls came in a variety of shapes and sizes, figures 3 and 4 illustrate two shapes identified in James and Charles Whitehead’s design book as, “Sugars with Stands and Ladles”. The melon form is often referred to erroneously by collectors as a cream or sauce tureen, the distinguishing feature of a sugar is the pierced cover. Perhaps the most common form that was included in Stansbury’s list is pierced dessert plates. They certainly seem to be the most commonly produced pierced pieces, and they can be seen in a bewildering variety. We may never know exactly what Stansbury was offering to the fashion-conscious Philadelphians, but typical shapes can be seen in figure 5.

Although he was only one of a number of specialist china and glass dealers, Stansbury alone advertised English stock in such detail. He made a name for himself not only as a China merchant but also as a poet, a



Figure 2. Plate 45 from the design book of James and Charles Whitehead published in 1798 illustrating items 75 and 76, Sugars “Round” and “Melon Form, With Stands and Ladles, pierced” available in five sizes. And item 79 a “Large Cream Bowl, with Stand pierced, and Ladle.” Courtesy Winterthur Library NK4085 W59 FTC

satirist, a British Loyalist, a spy, and a prisoner of war. In the 1770s his strong and vocal allegiance to Britain brought him into direct opposition to a number of his friends. Because of his devotion to his native country, his business suffered, and in 1776 he advertised that he was, “selling off his large and elegant STOCK of China, Glass and Earthen Wares,” and he lists “enamelled, striped, fluted, pierced and plain Queenware tea pots;”

The second earliest reference to pierced creamware also comes from American records but this time from some one on the opposite side to Stansbury in the revolutionary war. In 1759 George Washington had married the wealthy widow, Mrs. Daniel Parke Custis. As a single man in 1757 Washington had ordered over 800 pieces of white salt-glazed stoneware for table and kitchen use at his home, Mount Vernon. Details of Washington’s ceramics and his orders for all kinds of Chinese, English, and European earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain can be found in Susan Gray Detweiler’s excellent book, *George Washington’s Chinaware*.⁵ Washington had used an agent with whom he seemed



Figure 3. Round pierced sugar bowl with cover and stand, of a type made in Staffordshire, or possibly Yorkshire, 1780-1800. Courtesy Wyn Sayman

to have an unsatisfactory experience, and on marrying Martha he took his custom elsewhere. On behalf of his new wife and step children, he assumed all the agricultural and business responsibilities of the late Daniel Parke Custis, and this included the trade of Virginia tobacco through the London agent Robert Carey & company with whom Washington enjoyed a successful relationship that continued from 1759 until at least 1773. Washington also used Carey to supply his household furnishings, when that included ceramics, Carey in turn, used the London chinaman Richard Farrer to fulfill the orders. Richard Farrer was the father-in-law of Miles Mason who succeeded to Farrer’s business in 1784. In 1767 the great Josiah Wedgwood had secured the patronage of the English royal family and named his creamware Queensware, this term is often used gener-

ically in American documents. Within two years of the name being coined, George Washington is requesting Carey to furnish him with a new table service of about 250 pieces in “ye most fash[ionabl]e kind of Queen’s Ware”. It was July 1769; two months earlier Washington had met with other burgesses in the Raleigh tavern at Williamsburg to consider Virginia’s response to taxes; in particular The Townshend Acts passed in 1767 which placed a tax on common products, such as lead, paper, paint, glass, and tea. Opposition to these Acts was demonstrated in the colonies with the slogan, “No taxation without representation”. In requesting Queensware, Washington annotated his letter to his agent writing that, “if there are any Articles ... which are Tax’d by Act of Parliament for the purpose of Raising a Revenue in America, it is my express desire and request, that they may not be sent, as I have very heartily entered into an Association ... not to Import any Article which now is or hereafter shall be Taxed for this purpose until the said Act or Acts are repeal’d...” In fact Washington had entered into



Figure 4. Sugar, "Melon Form, With Stands and Ladles, pierced", the body is attached to the stand, beneath both cover and stand is incised 1778. Made Staffordshire, or possibly Yorkshire, about 1778. Courtesy Winterthur 1983.36

an agreement with the Virginia burgesses, not to purchase anything of British manufacture after September 1, 1769. He sent his first order for Queensware little more than a month before the cut off date, other orders followed in 1770 and 1771. Creamware was not subject to taxation and Carey passed the requests to Farrer. The lists of goods that were wanted were extensive and very specific, suggesting that Washington was using some kind of list to select from. No factory design, shape book, catalogue, or list is known from this date, but it seems unlikely that the names and descriptions Washington used were part of an American gentleman's standard vocabulary.

Farrer took the orders and supplied them as well as he could. The invoice from Farrer to Carey was forwarded to George Washington for payment. Amongst the dozens and dozens of pieces ordered, Washington had not specified any pierced items, but Farrer's invoice mentions both pierced and cut wares. Washington ordered a dozen dessert plates. In the known factory design books, these are always illustrated with pierced rims. We do not know the exact shape that was supplied

but one of the few clues to the design of Washington's creamware service is an excavated fragment with a feather edge.⁶

Also ordered were 6 *Fruit dishes*. Farrer supplied Washington with 8 and listed and "2 *Fruit dishes and stands cut 9sh*" "4 *ditto oval*" at 2sh 6d each, and "2 *Ditto smaller*" at 2shillings each. Comparison of these prices suggests that cut or openwork decoration added considerably to the expense. Figures 6 and 7 illustrate the kind of fruit dish or basket that may be described as cut. Today we use the term arcaded for large arched openwork designs such as seen on the rim in figure 7.

One surviving creamware example that has a Washington provenance and possibly dates from this order is a twig basket.⁷ Twig baskets occur in a number of factory design books, the Wedgwood and Whitehead books show almost identical examples. The Leeds, Don,

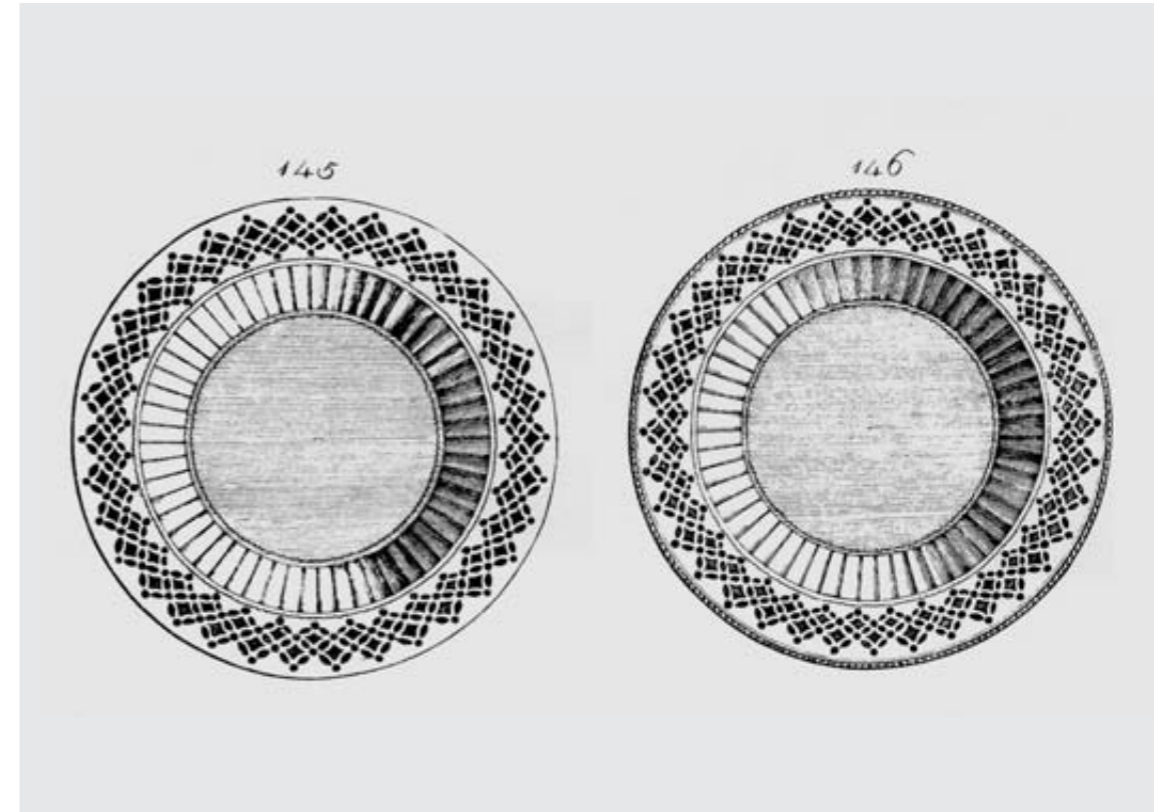


Figure 5. Plate 30 from the design book of James and Charles Whitehead published in 1798 illustrating items 145 and 146 "Dessert Plate pierced, plain" and "Dessert Plate pierced, beaded" Courtesy Winterthur Library NK4085 W59 FTC

and Castleford books also show similar examples, and extant examples are recorded marked by other potters including Neale & Co., and Herculaneum. The standard form shows a horizontal band woven around the centre of the basket, however, that which belonged to Washington was made without the central woven feature, an extremely unusual design.

Finally in Washington's order, he was very specific about egg cups, he requested "12 *fluted egg cups*". It seems that the order was taken as a suggestion of Washington's preference not as a direct command, for Farrer's invoice lists not fluted egg cups but "1 *dozn Egg Cups pierced 3sh 6d.*"

Washington's first creamware order was issued on July 25, 1769, and Farrer's invoice is dated January 1770. To fill the order so quickly, Farrer must have had a large stock on hand, or access to manufacturer's London

warehouses. It seems reasonable to conclude that pierced creamware was a stock item by this time.

While creamware may have been in production from the mid-1760s, we know categorically that it was available from 1768. However, it is more difficult to determine the popularity of pierced decoration, the only substantive comment is that found in *The Wedgwood Handbook: a Manual for collectors* by Eliza Meteyard.⁸ In the Glossary of terms Miss Meteyard writes:

"PIERCED. Punctured with holes in various patterns. Piercing was applied by Wedgwood chiefly to the edges of cream-ware dessert plates, compotiers, fruit dishes and baskets, as also a central encircling ornament. He had the exquisite taste to round the angles or edges of his pierced patterns, and thus they stood out in marked contradistinction to imitations made at Leeds and elsewhere. This ware was necessarily fragile, and hence little of it has reached our day; but in the old invoices no patterns are more commonly mentioned than "pierced and gilt." Examples, if discovered, are worthy of the connoisseur's greatest care."

Miss Meteyard doesn't tell us how long pierced wares



Figure 6. Creamware "Pierced chestnut or orange basket". The design on this openwork basket, may more accurately be described as cut. This shape occurs in the earliest Wedgwood design book of 1774 and continued in production into the present century. The design books indicate that the basket is has an open design on bowl and cover, this example is cut only on the cover, and has twisted rope handles added. Made by Wedgwood late 18th-early 19th century. Courtesy Wyn Sayman

continued to be produced, but she does reinforce the idea of their popularity. The documentary evidence of manufacturer's design books suggests that piercing was a continuing and significant part of creamware potters' decorative productions.

Design books may have been published by many factories, the few that survive are vital documents in the study of creamware. Design books are known from the following factories:

- Wedgwood 1774, 1790-95, 1815-17 (un-published)
- Hartley, Greens & Co, Leeds Pottery 1783, 1785, 1786, 1794, 1795-c1814
- Castleford Pottery 1796
- James & Charles Whitehead 1798
- Don Pottery 1807
- Joseph Sewell 1804-19

Pierced creamware appears in the earliest of these books (Wedgwood 1774) and continues to be offered in all the known later creamware design books up to and including the 1814 reissue of the late 18th century Leeds creamware design book and the c.1815 Sewell design book—suggesting that there was still a market for these wares well into the 19th century. Even if pierced creamwares were old-fashion by 1815, we still

have a production date-range of 1768 to 1815—almost 50 years. This makes accurate dating of these standard, traditional, factory productions exceedingly difficult, particularly if they are unmarked. Not only is dating unmarked pierced creamware difficult, but determining who made it is even more challenging. It seems reasonable to assume that most creamware manufacturers had some pierced patterns. It is a relatively simple, relatively inexpensive way to make plain objects more decorative, more visually interesting. Rather the question might be why wouldn't everyone make them?

The earliest pierced designs we can identify are those illustrated in Wedgwood's Queensware Catalogue of 1774.⁹ The Wedgwood Company was founded in 1759 when Josiah began in business for himself in Burslem. He continued to make useful wares at the Burslem factory following the opening of his Etruria Works, which was dedicated to the production of ornamental wares in the neo-classical taste. The 1774 creamware design book had 9 plates illustrating 35 pieces of "Queen's Ware". Four of the plates illustrate pierced ware comprising just over 20% of the designs; plate 1 has a pierced fruit basket; plate 6 has an "egg poacher" and "a pierced fruit dish"; plate 8 illustrates another "fruit basket" and "stand for same"; and plate 9 shows a "pierced chestnut or orange basket" (see Figure 6)

A new edition of the catalogue was issued sometime between 1790 and 1795¹⁰ and a number of the pierced creamware shapes were retained, demonstrating the enduring taste for some of the more popular forms. The on-going production makes it very difficult to date some of these long lasting designs fashionable in 1774 and included in the new edition of the factory's catalogue some 16-20 years later.

In examining both the 1774 and 1790-95 Wedgwood shape books we find that, Plate 8 depicting a fruit basket & stand is identical, whereas the chestnut or orange basket first seen in Plate 9 is repeated but accompanied by different objects, indicating that a new engraving had been made for the 1790-95 edition. The pierced fruit basket from Plate 6 of the 1774 catalogue is included as number 53 in the 1790-95 edition. And a nominally pierced piece is added to the repertoire with number 53 the great sweetmeat stand with pierced dishes hanging from the central stem. The "pierced fruit basket", Plate 1, no.1 from the 1774 edition does not seem to have been repeated in the later catalogue, so perhaps a date of



Figure 7. "Shape 861 Oval fruit basket & stand with pierced rim (4 sizes 8"-11")" from an unpublished Wedgwood catalogue this design was commissioned from William Blake in 1815. Impressed "WEDGWOOD P" and with painted pattern number 1454. Made by Wedgwood early 19th century. Courtesy Winterthur 1969.736.23

1774-80 might be defensible for this particular shape.

A further Wedgwood catalogue of useful wares appears to have been proposed for publication about 1817. The first 18 plates were commissioned from William Blake in 1815, and additional plates were commissioned and engraved by John Taylor Wedgwood in 1816. There are copies of these plates in the Wedgwood Museum, but there is no evidence that they were formally published.¹¹ The plates include additional pierced and cut designs with decorative cruet stands, pierced strawberry dishes, and a range of wicker and gothic molded dessert wares (see figure 7). It seems that Wedgwood had customers for pierced creamware well into the 19th century.

The wares of the Leeds factory have been exhaustively covered in the excellent two-volume opus by John Griffin.¹² The factory was established in 1770, and pierced wares occur in the Leeds original drawing books

and in the factory's design books. Their first design book was published in 1783 with a number of reprints in various languages up to and including one in 1794. A new enlarged edition was published some time between 1794 and 1814. In addition to the illustrated objects, there are examples of marked pieces that are not represented in the drawing or design books. To confuse collectors even more, many of the Leeds designs also appear in design books of other factories, making attribution of unmarked pieces even more difficult. John Griffin's detailed and helpful photograph captions not only identify the Leeds pieces but also indicate which factories are known to have copied them.¹³

David Dunderdale & Co's Castleford Pottery, was situated 10 miles south-east of Leeds, and operated between 1790 and 1821. In 1796 a design book was published; in her monograph on Castleford, Diana Edwards Roussel suggests that of the 259 designs "perhaps half follow closely forms depicted in the Leeds ..." book.¹⁴ Roussel illustrates a number of pierced examples with versions of the impressed D.D&Co/CASTLEFORD mark. In addition to copies of Leeds designs there are certainly pierced wares that may be unique to Castleford.



Figure 8. "Perforated Fern Pot" identical to an example illustrated in W.W. Slee's retail catalogue of "Reproductions of LEEDS POTTERY QUEEN'S WARE". Made in Leeds, Yorkshire c.1914 when its price was 5shillings English or \$1.22 American. Courtesy Winterthur 1969.1966

James and Charles Whitehead were in business in Hanley, in the Staffordshire Potteries from about 1793 to their bankruptcy in 1813. They published their design book in 1798. A copy of the original design book is in the Winterthur library, another in private hands was reprinted by the Northern Ceramic Society.¹⁵ Among the many Whitehead pierced designs is an unusual chestnut basket¹⁶ and a well known "ink-stand complete"¹⁷ both of which seem to be unique to the Whitehead factory; I have not found the identical shapes in any other contemporary design book, or with other factory marks.

The Don Pottery, in the parish of Swinton, in Yorkshire, began in 1801, and continued until in business until 1893. John Green, the founder, had been a principal partner in the Leeds Pottery which was located not far away. The Don pottery design book was published in 1807¹⁸ and, not surprisingly, the Leeds productions seem to have greatly influenced the Don pottery, with a great number of images echoing the Leeds designs. The full story of the Don Pottery can be found in the monograph by John Griffin, published by Doncaster Museum Service.¹⁹

The last of the known published creamware design books has been attributed to Joseph Sewell's St. Anthony's pottery in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was in business from 1804-19. The relevant research and a reprint of the design book can be found in a small but informative booklet available from the Northern Ceramic Society.²⁰ In addition to the pierced creamware known from the design book, other shapes have been recorded including two pierced strawberry baskets recorded with the impressed mark "SEWELL".

Design books are extremely rare, and merely give us a glimpse into late 18th century creamware production. There are no published design books for the majority of the 100 or so creamware manufacturers, and certainly the majority of pieces are unmarked and unattributable, ensuring that there will always be questions, and an endless opportunity for research. Interestingly, although pierced creamware was obviously made in large quantities, it is clear that pearlware, available from about 1775 does not seem to have been such a popular candidate for pierced patterns. Egg cups, fruit baskets and dessert plates with basket weave design and pierced arcaded borders are recorded, but other examples are rarely found.

In examining the relative cost of pierced creamware we have evidence from invoices, pottery price lists, and current production prices. Contemporary 18th century invoices suggest that piercing seems to have added about 50% to the cost of similar un-pierced articles. This is supported by the Leeds Pottery Price List of 1796, recently discovered by John Griffin, which indicates that plain creamware plates costing 4sh. per doz. were 6sh pierced, an increase in price of 50%. Other kinds of decoration could be significantly more expensive. Plain teapots at 6 shilling per dozen, were 14 shillings with enamel painted decoration, an increase in price of 130%. Piercing offered the customer an inexpensive decorative option compared with enamel painting. Currently, the full price of a plain creamware plate made by Hartley Greens, & Co., is £13 the pierced version is £36 almost 300% more!

Finally with respect to piercing, we cannot avoid reference to the reproductions made in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The colonial revival began in America in 1876 with the 100th anniversary celebration of the revolution. There was nostalgia for the lifestyle and the fashions of the colonial era. Seen through rose colored glasses, the simpler, more elegant period (for those

with money) was recreated in photography, through the establishment of lifestyle museums, and the creation of period rooms, with a consequent need for reproduction furniture and furnishings. In dressing a room or table top with ceramics, creamware fitted the bill perfectly. English factories found a ready market for their traditional wares. Perhaps the most famous of these revivalist manufactures was that begun by James Senior in Leeds. In 1890 Leeds Art Pottery was founded and was continued in various partnerships by the Senior brothers until about 1926. However, their productions were not unique and cannot be distinguished from the work of other, less well known, manufacturers.²¹ Perhaps more well known than Senior, or the other potters is the firm of W.W. Slee who marketed Leeds creamware reproductions and published a catalogue of available objects in 1914. Of the 86 shapes offered, 51 had pierced decoration, certainly a much higher percentage than would have been found in the original Leeds design books.

Figure 8 illustrates item 529 from Slee's catalogue of *Reproductions of LEEDS POTTERY QUEEN'S WARE*. Described as "Perforated Fern Pot", its price in 1914 was 5shillings English or \$1.22 American. On close examination, the body of the pot appears greyish, and the excessive crazing, typical of these reproduction pieces, is rarely found on original 18th century examples. Creamware of the same, early 20th century, date without piercing, and not illustrated in the Slee catalogue, may be found with named printed portraits of American Revolutionary subjects. The clue to their 20th century date may be seen in the inscriptions beneath the portraits which are invariably printed in a block-capital type-face—a sans serif style of lettering not in use in the 18th century. Many of these creamware reproductions now have 50-100 or more years of age and can easily be mistaken for the real thing—so take care.

The most current creamware reproductions are those made by Hartley Greens & Co., now of Longton Staffordshire, not Leeds. It is often remarked that the modern products are thick and heavy compared with 18th century originals. This is not because of a decrease in skill, but today factories buy ready prepared clay which is suitable for use as plastic clay or mixed with water as slip for casting. To make a commercial casting slip an alkali deflocculent is added to make the clay disperse in as small amount of water as possible, and one consequence is that the clay becomes very friable and prone to crum-

bling, and therefore difficult to pierce unless the ware is thick enough to hold its shape during the piercing process. It should be noted that the piercing continues to be done in the traditional manner, with single decorative holes being made individually by hand. Sometimes there is a faint guideline left on a moulded body to assist the potter, but essentially the hand and eye coordination of the worker demonstrates that traditional skills are still employed, and it is to the craftspeople of Staffordshire that I dedicate this article.

Notes

- 1 Towner, D., *English Cream-coloured Earthenware*. London: Faber 1957 and Towner, D., *Creamware*. London: Faber 1978
- 2 Halfpenny, P., "Creamware: Its Origins and Development" *Catalogue*. London: International Ceramic Fair & Seminar, 1993
- 3 Canepa, Teresa, "Introduction" *Linglong*. Portugal: Jorge Welch, pp.15-23
- 4 Original trade card in Bodleian Library Oxford. Illustrated in Hildyard, R., *Browne Mugs*. London: Victoria & Albert Museum 1985, fig.1
- 5 Detweiler, Susan G., *George Washington's Chinaware*. New York: Harry N. Abrams
- 6 Detweiler (no.5) pl. 39
- 7 Detweiler (no.5) pl. 38
- 8 Meteyard, E., *The Wedgwood Handbook*. London: Bell & Sons 1875
- 9 Reilly, R., *Wedgwood*. (2 vols) New York: Stockton Press 1989, Vol.1 pp.329-332
- 10 Reilly, R. (no.9) Vol.1 pp.333-340
- 11 Reilly, R. (no.9) Vol.2 p.414
- 12 Griffin John D., *The Leeds Pottery 1770-1881*. (2 vols.) England: Leeds Art Collections Fund, 2005
- 13 Griffin (no.7) pp.163-171
- 14 Roussel, D. Edwards, *The Castleford Pottery 1790-1821*. England: Wakefield Historical Publications, 1982, p.19
- 15 Whitehead, James & Charles, *Designs of Sundry Articles of Earthen-Ware*. England: Birmingham 1798 (Winterthur Library NK4085 W59 F TC). Facsimile copy, England: Milton Keynes D.B. Drakard [197-?]
- 16 Whitehead (no.12) pl.47, no.84
- 17 Whitehead (no.12) pl.24, no.113
- 18 *Don Pottery Pattern Book 1807*, reprinted England: Doncaster Library Service, 1983
- 19 Griffin, John D., *The Don Pottery 1801-1893*. England: Doncaster Museum Service, 2001
- 20 "St. Anthony's Pottery Newcastle upon Tyne: Joseph Sewell's Book of Designs" *NCS Occasional Publication No. 4*. England: Northern Ceramic Society and Tyne & Wear Museums, 1993
- 21 Griffin (no 7) pp. 603-624