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CHAPTER 7

Scotland crosses the Atlantic: evidence for eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century ceramic trade

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This paper sets out to describe the extensive ceramic industry of Scotland and its development into a major exporter of delftware, white glazed stoneware, creamware and brown stoneware. This important refined ceramic industry grew up around the Forth and Clyde valleys in the Central Belt (illus 7.1a, 7.1b). Initially much of the ceramic trade was with Europe, the Baltic and the Mediterranean. Scottish ceramic exports of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have been studied by collectors and unpaid researchers but they have been generally neglected by social and economic historians, who have not given them the importance they deserve. This trade preceded the later development of the huge and diverse Victorian ceramic industry which exported worldwide (Bremner 1869: 390–403; Kelly 1994: 49–58; Dalgleish 2010: 202–12).¹

One rich source from which the ceramic data for a five-year period, 1806–10, has been extracted is The Clyde Commercial Advertiser, a newspaper which contains lists of all departing and arriving shipping by port, along with their cargoes and destinations (Quail 1986).³ George Gibb published three short notes based on his inspection of some Scottish east coast ports’ Customs Accounts associated with the export of pottery (1979: 17–18; 1980: 55–8; 1981: 38–41). Importantly, the port books of Port Glasgow were examined and published by Peter Denholm for the years 1742 to 1773 (1979: 21–4; 1982: 71–80). However, as will become clear further on, problems with Scottish ceramic nomenclature mean that much of the data needs to be used with extreme care.

The Customs Records for the Kirkcaldy area have also been examined and a number of useful tables published. These show that small quantities of coarse brown earthenware⁴ were being shipped across the Atlantic; to Martinique, for example, four crates on 10 October 1776 and to Charlestown fifteen crates on 17 October 1790 (Bell 2006: 19). Later, on 19 May 1824, 4,000 pieces of earthenware were sent directly to Quebec. Probably more important was the export from Kirkcaldy of high-quality fire bricks and fireclay mainly to St Petersburg, but cargoes of bricks occasionally crossed the Atlantic. For example, in 1772 on 3 March 4,000 went to Grenada, and on 5 May in the same year 20,000 to Antigua on the Adventurer (ibid, 15). Direct shipping of small quantities from small ports on the Scottish eastern seaboard seems not to have been typical; most ceramic consignments crossing the Atlantic went via Leith on the Forth, or via Greenock and Port Glasgow on the Clyde (Quail 1986).

Delftware

Scotland was a late starter in the large-scale production of ceramics using a refined ceramic body. Although experiments had previously been conducted into the manufacturing of porcelain and almost certainly tin-glazed earthenware (delft) (Haggarty and Forbes 2004: 1–10) it was not until 1748 that a large-scale pottery manufactory was constructed on the shores of the River Clyde, at the Broomielaw in present-day Glasgow. Named Delftfield, it was initially for the production of tin-glazed earthenware (Kinghorn and Quail 1986). Erected by the Dinwiddie brothers, Lawrence and Robert, in partnership with Patrick Nisbet and Robert Finlay, its purpose was to supply Glasgow merchants trading mainly to the Caribbean and British colonies on the eastern seaboard of North America. Interestingly, this was at a time when elsewhere in Europe tin-glazed earthenware was fast becoming an outdated ceramic body, mainly due to the success of white salt-glazed stoneware, then creamware. Plagued with labour problems⁵ and then the difficulty of finding a suitable clay source,
Illustration 7.1a and 7.1b
Map and inset showing Scotland’s two important eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ceramic-producing areas: Firth of Forth, Firth of Clyde along with places mentioned in the text. [Terrain © OS Open Data, Crown Copyright]
Delftfield, like many other British delft potteries on the western seaboard, began on 31 August 1748 to import calcareous clays from Carrickfergus (NAS E504/28/3). The first explicit mention of delft being shipped from the Clyde was on 12 March 1749: ‘6cwt on the Duke of Cumberland’ (ibid), although ‘Parcels of Earthenware and Glass’ and ‘300lb Glassware & Earthenware’ had been shipped on 29 September 1748 and 7 March 1749.

It has been suggested that Delftfield may have still been producing its by now unfashionable tin-glazed earthenware until 1810 (Quail 1986: 1). This is unlikely, as is made clear in a letter dated 1781 from Gilbert Hamilton, senior trading partner at Delftfield, to James Watt detailing plans to dispose of their considerable stocks within a year.

Resolved to send out quantities of that ware to New York – Charleston etc … part has been taken & the rest will at least we hope bring prime costs so that by this means the stock of Delft ware is considerably diminished – we are still pursuing the same plan so that in another year I hope all our Delftware will be gone. (Hills 2001: 400)

Shipments of delft were still leaving the Clyde ports during the early years of the nineteenth century; for example, in March 1806, 8,000lbs to Trinidad and 16cwt to St Thomas, and a year later in March 1807, 2,000lbs to Antigua. Between 1807 and 1810, a few smaller cargoes of between 159 and 800lbs were also shipped to Trinidad, Jamaica, Grenada, Newfoundland and Quebec. However, it is entirely possible that this was trans-shipped continental wares.

Illustration 7.2
Cobalt decorated tin-glazed earthenware body sherds, Delftfield. [Courtesy AOC Archaeology]
The delft sherds excavated and published by Peter Denholm (1982: 39–84), combined with the study of a large ceramic assemblage recovered from more recent archaeological excavations carried out on the Delftfield kiln site by the AOC Archaeology Group, suggest that the cobalt decoration on its wares is generally unsophisticated (illus 7.2). Amongst other things, this evidence may put into doubt the attribution to Delftfield of a number of superbly decorated items including the Murray of Polmaise service (Haggarty and Gray: forthcoming 2013). Interestingly, although Watt was pleased with the profits from his investment in the Delftfield pottery, he did not think much of its wares. In a letter to his friend Small he wrote: ‘Our pottery does well tho we make dam bad ware’ (Hills 2001: 398).

A thorough search of the delft literature has been extremely disappointing in identifying, with any certainty, extant items matching the excavated Delftfield sherds. This is mainly due to the fact that,
apart from a few marked pieces, such as the painted letter ‘G’ (possibly referring to Glasgow) found on the base of two delft bowl sherds (illus 7.4), the majority of the decorative elements used, like those on rim sherds (illus 7.5), are in no way diagnostic; many were common to a number of potteries, especially those in London. To date, by far the best published evidence for Delftfield tin-glazed wares in the USA are sherds recovered from the numerous excavations carried out over the last eighty years at Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia (Austin 1994). Robert Dinwiddie, a partner in the Delftfield pottery, became Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia in 1752. The records of Robert Lang and his son William, both Glasgow merchants, give details of two shipments of pottery to Antigua from Delftfield in 1758–9 which help to illustrate the range of vessels available for export (NAS CS96/652:55; Turnbull 1997: 40–2).

Information contained in a letter from James Watt to Joseph Black, dated 15 February 1768 (Robinson and McKie 1970a: 8–9), showed that the renowned scientist and inventor had borrowed money to become a partner in the Delftfield pottery and had initially invested £244 4s 2d by 1764. Watt lived for a time with his new wife in the manager’s house in Delftfield Lane. By 14 June 1772 his capital invested in Delftfield had risen to £474 4s 2d, an eighth share, giving him a handsome return (Hills 2001: 398). Importantly, Watt had significant contacts with Josiah Wedgwood (ibid, 381), and had certainly been heavily involved in developing new bodies and glazes for the pottery (Robinson and McKie 1970b: 8–12; Hills 2001: 387–92).8

Creamware and white salt-glazed stoneware

One important result emanating from the excavations by AOC at the Delftfield pottery was the recovery of a significant assemblage of eighteenth-century bisque creamware sherds.9 Ongoing research on this material should increase enormously our knowledge of creamware production in eighteenth-century Scotland (Haggarty and Gray: forthcoming 2013) (illus 7.6).

Documentary sources, especially ships’ manifests and newspaper advertisements in the period from 1750 to 1775, often give confusing and contradictory evidence for the production of both Scottish creamware and white salt-glazed stoneware. Despite the continuing problem of Scottish creamware terminology, Janine Skerry and Suzanne Findlen Hood (2009: 169–74) have attempted to clarify whether Delftfield, with Watt’s help, did develop and produce a white salt-glazed stoneware body. Their conclusion, which suggests it did not, has been reinforced by a total
lack of such material being identified during a recent examination of all the excavated Delftfield sherds held by archaeological units, Glasgow Museums and the National Museums Scotland.

A number of other whiteware potteries were active in Glasgow during the final quarter of the eighteenth century (Quail 1982: 5–28; Haggarty and Gray: forthcoming 2013). At least one of these potteries is shown on a contemporary map as a ‘delph house’. They are often classed in contemporary documents as delph or stoneware potteries, although what little evidence there is from a limited excavation (Quail 1982: 18, 22) and stray finds suggests that in all probability they were mainly producing a range of creamware and pearlware vessels. An advertisement of 1780 by the Glasgow potters Thomson and Robertson lists ‘Queens Stoneware marble and enamelled ware’, obviously a reference to the light-coloured creamware, christened Queensware by Josiah Wedgwood.

From the correspondence of James Watt with Joseph Black, the celebrated chemist and physician, we are made aware of Watt’s research and experiments on glazes, kiln designs, fuels, delft and stoneware (Robinson and McKie 1970a). However, there is no mention of salt glazing, although he may have been dabbling with a porcelain body (Hills 2001: 383). As the following advertisement suggests, Watt was almost certainly giving advice early on and was instrumental in developing a new tin-glazed body. The Glasgow Courant of 2 May 1757 carried an advertisement by
the Delftfield Company stating that: ‘by a composition unknown to any Delft-houfe in Britain, they now make their WARE more STRONG and DURABLE than what can be had anywhere else’. It was also claimed that their ware would withstand boiling water and was ‘equal in strength with Staffordshire stoneware’.

Many of the Delftfield tin-glazed sherds recovered during the AOC archaeological excavations in April 1997, from a development known as Atlantic Quay, Glasgow, a gap site on the waterfront lying between York Street and James Watt Street, seem to support this claim. Although they are not true stoneware, the glaze does not spall from its body and those sherds, which seem to be high-fired, ‘ring’ when tapped against similar examples. It is possible, given the archaeological evidence, that this improved tin-glazed body, along with cream-coloured earthenware, was being produced and may be what is being alluded to in 1772. In February of that year, in editions 13 to 20 of the Glasgow Journal, the pottery’s new owners, Dinwiddie Martin & Company, advertised that they had ‘now brought the STONE and DELPH Ware to the greatest perfection’.

John Gibson, writing his history of Glasgow in 1777, informs us that, for the year beginning 5 January 1771, exports from Port Glasgow and Greenock of delft and stoneware made in Glasgow amounted to
ILLUSTRATION 7.7
Large stoneware jug of outstanding quality dated 1858. Height 385mm. Decorated with classical chariots and figures, along with the Royal Arms of Scotland and Musselburgh. Impressed PROSPERITY TO SCOTLAND/ JAS BELL Esq/ LONG MAY THE THISTLE FLOURISH/ God Save The Queen/ 1858/ A Happy New Year/ MRS FANNY BELL/ 1858/ A GUID NEW YEAR AN’ MONY O’ THEM. (Courtesy Trustees National Museums Scotland) James Bell Esquire is almost certainly the Edinburgh solicitor who married a Fanny Chapman of Hawkfield South Leith on 22 June 1848. It is difficult to be sure which pottery produced the jug but it was possibly the Newbigging pottery in Musselburgh. This was leased to Andrew and Joseph Winkles of the North British pottery in Salamander Street, Leith, from 1857–60. From a surviving mid-nineteenth-century document we know that they were producing a range of stonewares. To date only a water filter 430mm high in a lilac purple glaze has been recorded from this pottery and that may be significant as it is possible that the jug is a one-off and that the sprigs were made for the production of filters. (Courtesy Trustees of the National Museums Scotland)
He records 1,860 pieces of stoneware shipped to Boston, 2,600 delft items to Philadelphia, 10,720 pieces of earthenware to Maryland and, to Virginia, 12,828 pieces of delft, 37,526 pieces of earthenware and 25,078 pieces of stoneware (Gibson 1777: 226–8). A recent attempt to verify these figures was found to be impossible, as the cargoes were listed in pounds from Greenock (NAS E504/15, XV–XX) and by pieces or dozens from Port Glasgow. However, a survey of the Greenock Customs Account records from October 1767 through to January 1772, and Port Glasgow (NAS E504/28/3, XVII–XX), from July 1769 through to July 1772, confirmed that substantial quantities of stoneware were shipped to American ports and distinctions were made in many cargoes between delft, earthenware and stoneware (Skerry and Findlen Hood 2009: 182).

**Brown stoneware**

Although well out of date, what is still the best summary of the Scottish brown stoneware industry (Oswald et al 1982: Appendix 1, 223–42), states that brown stoneware in Scotland was mainly a product of the nineteenth century. Although this is true, its early development was firmly established during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It may have been that the growth of the trade in whisky to the Americas from Scotland, and Glasgow in particular, was the catalyst for the establishment of a brown stoneware pottery at Coats, near Coatbridge on the Drumpellier estate. This estate had been purchased in 1735 by Andrew Buchanan, merchant, one of the celebrated Tobacco Lords and sometime Provost of Glasgow.

The Coats Pottery was constructed in the parish of Old Monkland, about eight miles east of Glasgow, where ‘there was a salt glaze pot work built in the neighbourhood of the Monkland Canal in 1788 by Creelman, who, for ten years previous to that, was a tyle-maker in Millroad, Calton’ (Neil 1912: 319–25; quoted in Forbes 1995: 17–19). The First Statistical Account of Scotland also informs us that in 1788 Mr Creelman commenced a pot work for making Salt ware . . . also called brownstone, or greybeard ware. It is . . . mostly exported to America and the West Indies. This branch was borrowed from the Dutch by the English and is the first of its kind in Scotland . . . About 70 people are employed at these works. (OSA: 91–9, vol 7, 382)

Although some sources mention three generations of the family sequentially named Andrew Creelman, there is no documentary evidence in the Sasines to suggest that the potter at Coats, and later at Portobello, was any other than William Creelman.

However, it is possible that brown stoneware was also being made and shipped from elsewhere in late eighteenth-century Scotland, as an advertisement for a public roup in the Edinburgh Gazette of 1799 informs us that stoneware was being produced at Bo’ness on the Scottish east coast:

To be SOLD by public roup, within the Pottery ware-house: at the east end of the town of Bo’ness, on Monday the 11th day of November, at 12 o’clock midday, and entered to at the term of Martinmas next. THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS which belong to Thomas Cowan, merchant and manufacturer of stone ware in Bo’ness. The LEASE of that Valuable and Extensive POTTERY of STONEWARE, at the east end of the town of Bo’ness, 86 years of which are to run from the term of Martinmas next, with leases of sundry other subjects therewith connected.

With eighty-six years left to run, this might suggest that the pottery had been in operation for thirteen years by 1786, as it was usual to have a ninety-nine-year lease. This would be near the 1766 date, given by Kelly, with no reference for its founding (1999, 23). It would also be somewhat earlier than the date of 1784 given in the Statistical Account of 1795 which goes on to state that the pottery had within three years been carried out on a much more extensive plan, and presently employs nearly 40 persons including men boys and girls. The clay for the stoneware is imported from Devon, the clay for the earthenware is found in the parish. Cream coloured and white stoneware plain and painted, and brown coloured earthenware are principally manufactured.

This pottery had almost certainly been built to produce creamware (Haggarty 2007a: 228–9) and just possibly white salt-glazed stoneware. However, by 1775 this had started to lose out to new ceramic bodies, and it is almost inconceivable that it would still have been in production at the end of the century. Either the pottery was producing brown stoneware or else this again demonstrates the problem with Scottish ceramic terminology.

On 12 July 1765 William Jamieson, an Edinburgh speculative builder and architect, leased his first plot, of three acres, at Portobello from William Mure, Baron of Caldwell (NAS 3/251 (2) f, 208 rd 2/631).
Illustration 7.8
Pearlware, cobalt painted sherds, West Pans. [Courtesy Historic Scotland]

Illustration 7.9
Pearlware sherds painted in Pratt colours, West Pans. [Courtesy Historic Scotland]

Illustration 7.10
Pearlware sherds dipped, lath cut and sgraffito decorated, West Pans. [Courtesy Historic Scotland]
With his construction of a redware brick and tile works began what was to become a long ceramic history at the important potting area of Portobello. It is known that a number of potteries, including two or three for the production of refined whitewares, were constructed in the eighteenth century (Haggarty 2007a: 227–8). However, the first documentary evidence we have of the production of white wares on the west bank of the Figgate burn is not until 1784:

Import duty on flint and clay to be reduced to that of chalk as being raw material for pottery in the manufactory of William Jamieson. (ECA GB236 SL 1/1–15/12/1784)

A programme of documentary research is currently underway on the Portobello potteries, but already there is evidence to show that William Creelman, the stoneware potter from Coats, had settled in Portobello by 1812 (Forbes 1995: 17–19). At present it is unclear just what he was doing there, as it was not until later
that he was in charge of the Abercorn brick and tile works. Using the local red firing clay, Creelman diversified into architectural ceramics for gardens etc and in the process became wealthy, purchasing houses and ground around Portobello. This included the site of an earlier whiteware pottery. More interestingly, on his death aged seventy-five in 1830, he also bequeathed separately what is described as Creelman’s Little Pottery (Sheila Forbes pers comm and NAS Sasine RS27/225/110–11). Although the location of this...
pottery has been identified, its date of construction remains unknown.

Certainly, in the early years of the nineteenth century there are records of stoneware being shipped from the nearby port of Leith to the Clyde for export, for example on 1 December 1806, 17cwt of stoneware was loaded for Jamaica. The Leith Customs Accounts are difficult to interpret, in that it is not possible to identify the ceramic manufacturers, the shippers being agents or independent exporting firms. Even more important than who was producing this stoneware is the fact that, for the first fifty years of all Scotland’s production, we cannot identify one single example of what must have been a substantial output. Some later examples of Scottish stoneware are outstanding, suggesting an industry with a long history, which had developed to such an extent that it was capable of producing vessels of the very highest quality (illus 7.7).

During the period covered by George Gibb’s survey of ceramic material shipped to the wider Americas from Leith 1742 to 1792, destinations included in America, Savannah (South Carolina), Edington (North Carolina), Portsmouth (New Hampshire) and Norfolk (Virginia). Other destinations included Antigua, Grenada, St
Christopher (now St Kitts), Jamaica, Tobago and Barbados in the West Indies, farther south British Honduras and farther north to Quebec in Canada (1979: 17–18; 1980: 57). Gibb’s research also showed that William Cadell’s goods were being trans-shipped via Perth and Dundee (1981: 38).

More than fifty brick, tile and pottery sites were in operation in the Forth littoral between 1700 and 1900, but, as far as can be determined, only a few were using large amounts of imported white firing clays prior to 1800. These are the Auld Kirk and Bankfoot potteries at either end of Prestonpans, the potteries at Morrison’s Haven, West Pans (illus 7.8, 7.9, 7.10), Cousland, Portobello (illus 7.11) (where there may have been three) and Bo’ness, with the Gallatown pottery at Pathhead, Kirkcaldy,

Illustration 7.15
Porcelain coffee pot and cover, decorated with the arms of Pringle of Stitchell using polychrome enamels. There are also extensive traces of cold gilding over the usual streaky cobalt, West Pans. [Courtesy Trustees of the National Museums Scotland]
being problematic (Haggarty 2007a: 229–30; Bell 2006: 18).

While there is no archaeological evidence for the production of eighteenth-century white salt-glazed stoneware in the west of Scotland, both it and creamware were almost certainly being produced from 1750 at the Old Kirk pottery, Prestonpans, and slightly later at Bankfoot (Haggarty 2007a: 218–22). Only a few extant eighteenth-century ceramic items can, with any certainty, be attributed to the Old Kirk pottery and none to Bankfoot, although recent excavations have recovered an important group of nineteenth-century pearlware and bisque figure sherds (Haggarty 2010: 142–3) (illus 7.12).

Identifiable extant eighteenth-century Old Kirk stoneware consists of a very large grey/white salt-glazed punchbowl inscribed ‘Prestounpans 1754’, currently in the City of Edinburgh collections (accession number HH 3184/68) (illus 7.13a, 7.13b). The following entry in The Roll of Members (vol 1) held in Freemasons Hall, Edinburgh, shows that a stoneware bowl was originally presented by William Cadell of the Old Kirk pottery to the Edinburgh Masonic Lodge of St David (formerly Lodge Canongate in Leith): ‘William Cadell having made a compliment to the Lodge of a most capacious Stone bowl which contains no less than 34 Scots pints or so’ (Sheila Forbes pers comm). The other items are part of a ‘Royal’ pattern creamware dinner service, two plates of which are presently on display in the City of Edinburgh Museum (accession numbers HH 5764/1; 2/96). This dinner service, some pieces of which are marked (illus 7.14), and the majority of which now reside in a private American museum, was reputedly presented by William Cadell to his ward Anne Mocket on the occasion of her marriage to one James Cunningham on 3 August 1792, in Aberlady.

Lengthy and detailed ships’ manifests and invoices contained in the Cadell of Grange papers (NLS ACC 5381), along with George Gibb’s work on the Leith port books and ongoing research by the author and Sheila Forbes, show that in the eighteenth century the main markets for Scottish ceramics produced on the east coast were on the Continent. A large proportion was shipped to ports in Scandinavia and the Baltic
regions, but distribution stretched from St Petersburg in the north to the then important Freeport of Livorno (Leghorn) in Italy (Haggarty: forthcoming 2013). Quail’s research on the 1806–10 exports highlights a trade in earthenware from Leith, via the Clyde, to other destinations in the Mediterranean including Smyrna where 110 crates of earthenware were dispatched on 9 March 1810. Malta, Messina and Gibraltar were also by this time receiving regular supplies, and there is also evidence for the trade to the Portuguese port of Oporto (Skerry and Findlen Hood 2009: 180–1) and the Spanish port of Cadiz which was almost certainly a trans-shipment point to South America (Spanish Indies) (McVeigh 1979: 170). By far the main western destinations for earthenware, from Leith, via the Clyde, at the beginning of the nineteenth century were Jamaica and Quebec (Quail 1986).

One of the most important excavations of a Scottish ceramic production site was carried out at the multi-period kiln site at West Pans (Lewis 2009: 333–76), where, for the first time, we see something of

_Illustration 7.17_
Plate with central scene in pink lustre and oil drip border, Verreville.
[Courtesy Trustees of the National Museums Scotland]
the range of eighteenth-century porcelain (illus 7.15) and nineteenth-century commemorative wares (illus 7.16a, 7.16b), being produced in Scotland. It comes as no surprise that many wares are somewhat identical to those being produced south of the Border (Haggarty 2006) and is a salutary lesson to those dealers and collectors who ascribe all British-made pottery to Staffordshire. Other extant examples include two plates impressed with the mark of the Verreville Pottery, Glasgow, which recently came to light in Ireland (illus 7.17, 7.18), and there must be many more examples across the Atlantic.

Much more research is needed before Scotland’s place in the history of Britain’s refined ceramic tradition can be elucidated. There is no doubt that, given the importance of this trade in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the Clyde to the USA, Canada and Caribbean, much surviving documentation lies in the archives of countries other than Scotland.

Illustration 7.18
Plate decorated with polychrome hand painting, along with loose and cut sponging, Verreville.
[Courtesy Trustees of the National Museums Scotland]
Scottish Pottery Research Resource

Massive redevelopment of Scottish industrial kiln sites in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries led to the recovery of some large ceramic assemblages. In a bid to get these into the public domain, what has become known as the National Museums Scotland Sherd Programme was initiated. The efforts of a small team of volunteers working in the National Museums Scotland (NMS) have enabled large quantities of excavated sherd material to be made accessible on a series of CD-ROMs. These are not intended to be ‘publications’ in the accepted sense and should not be seen as such; they are merely research tools. Distributed in the Journal of the Northern Ceramic Society, funding for their printing has come from a number of sources, although predominantly from Historic Scotland. While this may not be the ideal solution, with minimal cost these CDs have put large amounts of information on Scottish ceramic fabric, decoration, form and functions into the public sphere. Assemblages from the east coast potteries of Newbigging, Musselburgh (Forbes and Haggarty 2002: 15–27; Haggarty 2005: 28), West Pans (Forbes and Haggarty 2004: 29–47; 2005: 5–22; Haggarty 2006: 110), Portobello, Morrison’s Haven and Cuttle, Prestonpans, are now available for study (Haggarty 2005; 2006; 2008; 2009; 2010). Similarly, two assemblages from excavations on and near the large Verreville pottery in Glasgow are now published or accessible online (Haggarty 2007b; 2011a; 2011b), along with the nineteenth-century Campbellfield kiln site, also in Glasgow (Haggarty 2011c). A group of wares from a kiln site in Bo’ness and a second Portobello CD on late painted stoneware can also be accessed (Haggarty 2011d; 2011e). Cataloguing of the pottery from the eighteenth-century Glasgow Calton redware kiln site is ongoing.

Notes

1 To give some idea of the scale of this industry, the Barrowfield stoneware pottery had eighteen kilns, Bell’s thirteen, Britannia twelve, Eagle twelve and Port Dundas thirteen, and by the 1870s Glasgow was Britain’s largest stoneware-producing city, having totally eclipsed London and Bristol.

2 In his 2010 paper, George Dalglish gives a brief overview of the nineteenth-century Scottish pottery export trade, looking at some of the wares exported, including the ubiquitous spongeware. It finishes with a detailed look at some of the specialist products aimed at the huge Canadian market, especially the work of the Britannia Pottery, Glasgow, originally built solely to supply the transatlantic market. Bremner states that there were at least fourteen potteries operating in Scotland, employing in excess of 5,000 people. With an estimated annual value of earthenware and porcelain exported in 1867 from Britain as a whole being £1,635,216, Scottish factories accounted for about £117,547 of this sum (a figure which Bremner says is an underestimate, as a great deal of Scottish pottery went first to England for subsequent export overseas).

3 This survey shows that ceramic exports included Bricks & Fire Bricks; Flat, Floor, Paving & Pan; Earthenware; Queensware; Delftware; Chinaware; Stoneware; Sugar Moulds; Apothecary Ware; Tobacco Pipes & Negro Pipes; Sugar Cones & Sugar Lump moulds: Kiln Heads(?). It is unclear exactly what apothecary ware is – most likely delftware. Most shipments were small, below 200lbs, except for a few in the 500–700lbs range and one of 2,086lbs to Rio de Janeiro. A much earlier reference to importation of apothecary ware into Scotland from Newcastle is contained in the Burntisland Customs Returns for 1666 (Blyth 1948: 112). Despite some research it is unclear what kiln heads are. The largest single shipment of earthenware was 80,800lbs or in excess of 36 tons, shipped from Port Glasgow on 25 September 1810, destination Havana.

4 Recent excavations in Scotland have identified a thriving late eighteenth-century redware industry producing moulded dishes decorated with joggled slip and a range of vessels with trailed slip decoration (Haggarty 2009). A programme of ICP chemical analysis has been carried out on a range of these wares from Scottish kiln sites (Haggarty, Hall and Chenery 2011). It is therefore entirely feasible for researchers working on redwares in the USA to pinpoint bricks and tile etc to Scottish production sites.

5 A large amount of information relating to the traumatic beginnings of Delftfield pottery is derived from a lengthy legal battle, the ‘Delft-work Law Case’ a ‘Summons of Declaration and Payment’, brought before Lord Erskine in the Court of Session in Edinburgh during 1748–9. The main facts relate to the dismissal of its manager, John Bird, a potter brought from London, who had agreed that local clay would be suitable followed by the subsequent realisation that it was not. These important papers were given to the Faculty of Procurators’ Library in Glasgow by Dr Hill of Barlanark. This case was held to be so significant that a synopsis was published for the legal profession (Signet Library Edinburgh).

6 The first reference to clay being transported from Carrickfergus to Glasgow for use in the newly constructed Delftfield Pottery was on 31 August 1748 – 10 tons at £2 10s a ton, on the Margaret (Sheila Forbes pers comm). This was an exorbitant price and might suggest, as the documents imply, that somebody was on the fiddle. For the next few years all the clay came at five shillings a ton.
MAKING FOR AMERICA

7 Included in this group is a number of other ceramic items, currently either being traded as Delftfield products or catalogued as such in museums.
8 The Boulton and Watt Archive and associated collections are amongst the most important held by Birmingham Archive and Heritage Services; it contains a number of letters and items which are of significant interest to ceramic historians.
9 A large number of bisque creamware sherds have been recovered from the excavations at the Delftfield site from plates with both feather-edged and Queen's patterns. Sherds from mugs, bowls and teapots all show extensive use of simple beaded rouletting while handles often have typical sprig-moulded terminals.
10 The figure of seventy includes those employed at the adjacent brick and tile works founded in 1785.

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