TRANSFER PRINTING

on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.
TRANSFER PRINTING
ON
ENAMELS, PORCELAIN AND POTTERY.

ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

BY
WILLIAM TURNER, F.S.S.
Author of "Ceramics of Swansea and Nantgarw," &c.

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TRANSFER PRINTING

on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

PREFACE.

It would take a large volume to cover the whole ground connected with the history of this subject and the various factories associated therewith. Englishmen ought to be proud of it because it is a peculiarly English art, and a successful national business. Mayer* said it made English pottery famous throughout the world; and Binns† alleged that it did almost as much for British pottery as the discovery of printing itself had done for literature. The information regarding it has never been collected together. It is scattered in various volumes and somewhat confused, not to say contradictory, on certain points.

In editing a volume—"William Adams: An Old English Potter,"—these points were impressed upon me very much. It is a fact, too, that both English and American connoisseurs now collect the old dark blue and other transfer printed wares. Especially so, is this the case, when they are decorated with historic incidents, picturesque scenery, and noted mansions. Moreover, many talented and famous men, in the history of English art, have been employed on the artwork connected with transfer printing; and numerous

Transfers have been made of engravings "after the Masters." Specimens will be reproduced herein to enforce and illustrate this department of it.

The scope of the book is not to cover the great historic field of transfer printing, and give minute details of all the Potteries in the kingdom which have dealt with it. It is rather to restrict it as rigidly as possible, without any avoidable redundance, to the inquiry as to its origin; and point out its leading features of development, with any other analogous information that may be of use to the earnest collector and the sincere student of ceramics.

The difficulties which have arisen in this limited field have been greater than was, at first, anticipated. The lapse of over a century and a half since its introduction is, in itself, a bar to obtaining minute information. For example—out of a dozen, or so, of persons and places, nominated as entitled to the honour of the origin there was a certain Dr. Pott, of Berlin. He was a clever chemist, and published several works. Auguste Demmin (quoted in "Marks and Monograms," by W. Chaffers), stated that Dr. Pott was the first to introduce the art of transfer printing. His works and others, bearing on the question from the German point of view, had to be examined at the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries. A correspondence was also opened with Berlin before it could be proved absolutely that there was no justification whatever for this claim.

Another interesting case was this—Thomas Laurenson, an engraver, advertised in "The Liverpool Advertiser," of 11th February, 1757, that a pamphlet would be published on the question. It was to be entitled "Secrets in Art and
Preface.

Nature,” and the fourth chapter was to deal with “The New and Curious Art of Printing from Copper Plates upon Porcelain, &c.” Here, probably, was the whole subject laid bare. It was written on the spot (Liverpool), and within a few months of the time that Sadler and Green had applied for their patent to print transfers on earthenware. Mr. Charles T. Gatty, in his paper on “The Liverpool Potteries” (1882), p. 10, alludes to this “curious pamphlet,” as he calls it. He failed to procure a copy, and suggests that, perhaps, it was only advertised, but never printed. Notwithstanding this failure on his part, communication was opened by me with all the great Reference Libraries; and a circular was issued to nearly all those Libraries which were established before 1757. Why? Because, at that time, copies of literary works were bound to be registered at Stationers’ Hall, and it was very probable that some of them, at least, would procure a copy of such a “curious” pamphlet. A search at Stationers’ Hall revealed the fact that it was not registered. It could not be found at the Public Record Office; at the Patent Office; at the great Libraries; through the columns of Notes and Queries or the Publishers’ Circular; in the Collections of some book collectors, or those of dealers in old books. These selected instances will indicate the large amount of trouble and research involved in such an enquiry as this has taken.

Many thanks are due to a number of connoisseur friends who have assisted me unsparingly in such a tedious and obscure research. But, specially, are my obligations due to Mr. E. Haywood, of Worcester, and to Mr. Percy W. L. Adams, of Wolstanton. Both of them have given me ungrudgingly much valuable help.
Transfer Printing.

I have to acknowledge much assistance rendered by my son, Mr. W. Lewis Turner of Strawberry Hill, in the search made at the British Museum, providing many illustrations, and in reading proofs.

Cordial obligation is also due to the connoisseurs, whose names are recorded in the list of illustrations, for the use of their collections in making selections. Some of them have been good enough to supply photographs of their specimens.

Just one word more in the way of prefatory comment. In studying the ceramic art generally, it appears to me, there are four points of view to be considered:—the historical, the artistic, the scientific, and that of intrinsic value. It will be found that upon the first the merits (if any) of this volume rests more especially. It is on that ground, principally, that the author appeals to his connoisseur friends and readers, for he has been at a large amount of labour and some expense in tracing out the origin of this art of transfer printing.
TRANSFER PRINTING

On Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

INTRODUCTORY.

The preface explains the reason why this subject was commenced. Before, however, narrating the facts which have been ascertained, it may be well to give a few words of comment by way of introducing the subject to ceramic students, of whom there appears to be a goodly number nowadays, judging from the books thereon that have been printed and the periodicals which are devoted, or partly devoted, to the ceramic cult.

The question of the origin of transfer printing has been much debated in times past, and by some of the most learned English and Continental of our ceramic writers. It is a point which touches the sense of honour and patriotic pride of England; and, in the same way, it affects certain men and localities at home—as against each other. Much labour and pains have been taken by me to get at the truth regarding it. More time has been spent in the pursuit of this elusive section than upon any of the other divisions. The British Museum library; that of the Bodleian at Oxford, and the great Reference Library at Manchester have been ransacked. Several other provincial libraries have been laid under contribution, and no effort spared to get the correct bearings as closely as possible. A considerable correspondence with connoisseurs and others has been conducted, so as to wrench the secret of the hidden origin from the dim past. Hence, it is made a
Transfer Printing.

section by itself. The next portion is devoted to development. That is, to fix, as nearly as the information will permit, the order of precedence of the different factories as they extended their business to the transfer printing branch. This naturally falls within the limits, or nearly so, of the latter half of the eighteenth century. Included in that survey the question of the incidence of under and over-glazed wares will crop up—a disputed and doubtful point as to time. Also, the interesting "bat" print, and the aquatint process will be touched upon in their appropriate historical dates of development and sequence.

Thirdly, more development! An interesting point is the modern collecting fancy for the old "dark or deep blue" ware of the early nineteenth century. In thinking of it one instinctively remembers Mark Twain's humorous account of the Italian guide. In showing "Mark" some fine specimens of the Old Masters he was effusive, patriotic, and artistic in his comments. If a question were put to him about another kind of picture, he would turn round with contempt in his face, and say: "It is naught; it is of the Renaissance." In the same spirit, a fine old crusted collector of Chelsea, Bow, or Worcester wares may hear of a keen and patriotic Yankee giving a hundred dollars for a blue plate with a view of Bunker's Hill. Our English collector exclaims, "Dear me, it is only pottery, the man must be a kind of china-maniac;" and he turns on his heel in utter disgust at the depraved taste for a contemptible species of ware, which, in his opinion, is equal to the basest of "debased gothic" in architecture, as compared to his revered brand of old Wedgwood or Chelsea, and so forth. But the fad has taken on and "holds the field." It has also had a contagious effect
on the Englishman—perhaps even the Scotchman, Welshman, and Irishman—and there is a desire, which is growing, to collect the dark blue pieces of Clews, Enoch Wood, Spode, Mayer, Adams, Ridgeway, and others; as well as the earlier and paler blue of Turner, Spode, Adams, Rogers, Stevenson, etc. Much of the latter is very fine in form, colour, and engraving. Such pieces as fruit-plates with pierced borders, triangular supper dishes, ivy leaf sweetmeat trays, are often seen in collectors' cabinets.\(^*\)

Dealers want stiff prices for them, especially if “marked.”

In conclusion, a little statistical information will be given to show the immense increase which has taken place in the manufacture of English Ceramics in the United Kingdom since the introduction of the transfer print.

A bibliography will be appended so that any really ardent student can check my researches; and add to them if he (or she) should deem it desirable to extend the investigation.

The illustrations are mainly reproductions of photographs of transfer prints upon the ordinary white earthenware. But some are from those on cream ware and salt glaze pieces. There are a few from porcelain, notably, some of the Jesuit and pseudo-Jesuit china. As will be read in the text they are not transfer printed, but painted in China by

\(\text{* The question of dates, } &c., \text{ relating to the blue ware is very interesting. The following note, which is from the well-informed pen of Mr. Percy W. L. Adams, sheds much light on the subject. He says:—'The dates in connection with underglaze blue printed ware in Staffordshire are—pale blue, circa 1783-1810; deep blue, 1810-1850; pale blue came in again in 1850. But most of the factories have produced pale blue from the commencement of the process. It was to a great extent the Americans only who required the dark blue wares between 1810-1850. The flowing deep blue which was introduced about 1840 and supplied to all markets, is not unlike the older deep blue.'}^*\)

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Chinese artists in imitation of our European engravings. Further on, the reason is explained for adopting this association. There are also the Worcester, Bow, Chelsea, Minton, and other specimens on porcelain. Generally speaking, the idea is to restrict them to pieces which illustrate what was done in early times at particular factories; or to indicate the periods of introduction. For instance, a Battersea enamel transfer print; others on Bow, Liverpool, and Worcester wares in sequence of dates; an object-lesson of what Derby attempted to do, but failed; the peculiar kind of transfer called bat-printing; and other specimens which may be found to be of interest to collectors and students of such wares; especially those which are "after the Masters," such as Claude Lorraine, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Landseer, Watteau, West, and others. The latter is a feature of transfer printing which is, perhaps, not well known and which appears to have commenced early with Worcester, in copying the French artists—Watteau and Boucher. Wedgwood, also, pursued a similar but varied line, and the potters of the early nineteenth century had a tendency that way to arouse a taste and interest in the American market. The inquiry will cease about the middle of the last century. The Great Exhibition of 1851 brought in a new era of the ceramic cult entirely, and, being so essentially modern, there are not so many points of obscurity to elucidate.
TRANSFER PRINTING

on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

ORIGIN.

PART I.

HERE are various men at different places set down as entitled to the honour of having discovered, invented, or introduced transfer printing into England. All the writers upon the subject, however, are agreed that it took place about the middle of the eighteenth century as to time. The names of the alleged discoverers and the places may be summarized as follows:—


2. Stephen Theodore Janssen, vide Prof. A. H. Church in his "Handbook of English Earthenware" (1873). The idea may have been suggested by a remark of Horace Walpole's, who said, in reference to a snuff box, discovered at Battersea, "It was a manufacture stamped with copper plate, supported by Alderman Janssen, but failed." ("Marks and Monograms," 1874, p. 950.) In "The Catalogue of English Pottery in the British Museum," p. 150, the compilers make a judicious remark on this point. It is—"The discovery has been claimed for Sadler and Alderman Jansen (sic). Church asserts it was
Transfer Printing.

first applied by Jansen to enamelled objects and allows that it was independently worked by Sadler as early as the year 1750, . . . . admitting the possibility that both Sadler and Jansen arrived independently at the same result it seems safer to regard the question of priority as still sub judice, until further evidence is forthcoming."

3. Simon François Ravenet, vide Jean André Rouquet in his book, "L'Etat des Arts en Angleterre" (1755), and Smith in his "Life of Nollekens."

4. Robert Hancock, vide A. Randall Ballantine in his "Robert Hancock and his Works" (1885).

5. Dr. J. Wall, vide Joseph Marryat's "History of Pottery and Porcelain" (1850); and Joseph Mayer in his "Art of Pottery, and History of its Progress in Liverpool."


8. Harry Baker, vide Dr. Simeon Shaw in his "History of the Staffordshire Potteries" (1829 and 1900).

9. Mr. Carver, vide Dr. Simeon Shaw in his "History of the Staffordshire Potteries" (1829 and 1900).

10. Chelsea,

PLATE NO. 1.

Fig. A 1. PLATE, JESUIT CHINA, PAINTED. CHINESE.

Fig. A 2. CUP AND SAUCER, JESUIT CHINA, PAINTED CHINESE.
Origin.


13. Adam Spengler, per Dr. Angst, vide "The Queen," of 6th May, 1905.

In starting this enquiry it was hoped to discover the origin in a positive sense. That satisfaction is denied. Nevertheless, the circumstantial evidence is so strong that we can get sufficiently near to the point of identification to convince all unbiased minds. My order of procedure will be to take the cases of places and persons, seriatim, as enumerated above. Then, examine each claim in the light of the facts acquired, and sum up the whole of the evidence at last. In doing so any kind of prejudice in favour of this or that person or place will be sincerely put aside.

The first place on the list is that of Liverpool, which is represented by a solitary claimant.

John Sadler (1720-89), a printer of Liverpool, about the year 1750,* observed some children sticking bits of paper on pieces of crockery.† The idea then occurred to him that engravings could be transferred to earthenware. After much thought and experiment he communicated with Guy Green, a printer, and they agreed to work together. This arrangement took place some time previous to the 27th day of July, 1756, for, by that time, they had succeeded in perfecting the object of their desires. At what particular period they accomplished this

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* "About the year 1750" is the expression used by Mr. Joseph Mayer in his paper, p. 43, read to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1855.

† Mr. Mayer first stated the fact that Sadler got his idea of transfer printing from children sticking waste paper on bits of ware. Vide his paper read to Hist. Soc. L. & C., p. 55, in 1871. He gives no authority for this assertion. He, however, states that he received the patent papers (of 1756) from Miss Elizabeth Mary Sadler, only surviving daughter of John Sadler. He may have obtained the information from her.
object we are left in doubt. But, on the 2nd August, 1756, John Sadler and Guy Green made an affidavit, according to statute, applying for a patent to cover the invention. The patent was never perfected, but that does not affect the veracity of the affidavit which was to the effect that, on the 27th July, 1756, they had printed 1,200 tiles by the new process invented by John Sadler. The declaration was countersigned by the official appointed for that purpose. A certificate was appended, signed by Thomas Shaw and Samuel Gilbody, of Liverpool, potters, to the effect that the printing of the tiles was completed within the space of six hours; and that they (Shaw and Gilbody) had burned them in their kiln. It is evident that the invention had been brought to a successful issue on the 27th July, 1756, at Liverpool, and the inference is, that many trials and experiments must have been made previously.

In the affidavit for patent the statement is made that* "they, (the applicants) have been upwards of seven years (? back to 1749) in finding out the method of printing tiles and in making trials and experiments for that purpose." "The Liverpool Guide" of † 1799 states that "Copper plate printing on china originated here (Liverpool) in 1752, and remained some time a secret with the inventors, Messrs. Sadler and Green." We have no confirmation of this date (1752) further than the assertion of the writer, whereas the Affidavit

* The word "upwards" may mean under or above seven years. Mr. Mayer cautiously says it was about 1750, when the idea was conceived.

† Mr. Mayer (paper 1871 p. 60) quotes "The Liverpool Guide" of 1799. Jewitt in "Ceramic Art of Great Britain" gives the year 1790; and Chaffers in "Marks and Monograms" gives 1796 and 1799 at two different pages. The "Guide" states "china" was printed upon in 1752, whereas the affidavit of 1756 states earthenware tiles was the material. In Laurenson's advertisement, however, the words "porcelain, enamelled, and earthenware" are used as being printed on at Chelsea, etc.
PLATE No. II.

Fig. A 3. PLATE, PORCELAIN, PAINTED. CHELSEA.

Fig. A 4. WATCH BACK (ENAMEL), BLACK PRINT. BATTERSEA.

Fig. A 5. PLATE, PORCELAIN, RED PRINT. BOW.
Origin.

or Application for the patent takes us back to 1749. There are no specimens extant of the productions between 1752 and 1756, and no proof of any having been made. The year 1752 may have been ascertained from Guy Green himself. He retired from business in 1799, but the writer for the "Liverpool Guide" of that year gives us no information on the point. It seems, also, reasonable to suppose that as soon as Sadler and Green had brought their system to perfection they would bring it before the public for the purpose of making it a commercial success. This was done on the 27th July, 1756. Up to that time, or shortly before, their experiments, as per affidavit, had only been experimental. Let us glance at a few facts of their history. John Sadler was the son of Adam Sadler, printer, New Market, Liverpool. John served his apprenticeship with his father* to learn the Art of "Engraving."

The son started business for himself as printer, etc., in Harrington Street, Liverpool, in 1748 (Mayer). Not being a freeman of the borough the Corporation tried to evict him, but he beat them at law. That showed him to be a young man of resource. He was 28 years of age in 1748. As a printer he published a book, entitled "Cato Major" in 1755—so that he was not entirely engrossed with his transfer printing experiments in that year. His friend, Guy Green, had then succeeded to the printing business of the elder Sadler in New Market. He and John Sadler became partners, and carried on the printing business in Harrington Street in conjunction with a pottery. They evidently carried on the transfer-print experiments there together, and succeeded so well

that, on the 27th July, 1756, they printed 1,200 tiles in six hours. The affidavit, certificate, etc., will now be given in full, so that readers may have the opportunity of testing the case for themselves.

Liverpool Transfers: copy of affidavit made 2nd August, 1756, by Messrs. Sadler and Green:

"I, John Sadler of Liverpoole, in the County of Lancaster, printer, and Guy Green of Liverpoole aforesaid, printer, severally maketh oath, that, on Tuesday, the 27th day of July instant (sic. ? ultimo), they, these deponents, without the aid or assistance of any other person or persons, did, within the space of six hours, to wit, betwixt the hours of nine in the morning and three in the afternoon of the same day, print upwards of twelve hundred earthenware tiles of different patterns, at Liverpoole aforesaid, and which, as these deponents have heard and believe, were more in number and better and neater, than one hundred skilful pot painters could have painted in the like space of time in the common and usual way of painting with a pencil; and these deponents say that they have been upwards of seven years in finding out the method of printing tiles and in making trials and experiments for that purpose, which they have now, through great pains and expense brought to perfection."

(Signed) John Sadler.

Guy Green.

Taken and sworn at Liverpoole, in the County of Lancaster, the second day of August, one thousand, seven hundred and fifty-six, before William Statham, a Master Extraordinary in Chancery.
Plate No. III.

Fig. A 6. PLATE, PORCELAIN, RED PRINT. Bow.

Fig. A 7. PLATE, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT Chelsea.
"We, Alderman Thomas Shaw and Samuel Gilbody, both of Liverpoole in the County of Lancaster, clay potters, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby humbly certify that we are well assured that John Sadler and Guy Green did, at Liverpoole aforesaid, on Tuesday, the 27th day of July, last past, within the space of six hours, print upwards of 1,200 earthenware tiles of different colours and patterns, which is upon a moderate computation, more than 100 good workmen could have done of the same patterns in the same space of time by the usual way of painting with the pencil. That we have since burnt the above tiles, and that they are considerably neater than any that we have seen pencilled, and may be sold at little more than half the price. We are also assured that the said John Sadler and Guy Green have been several years in bringing the art of printing on earthenware to perfection, and we never heard that it was done by any other person or persons but themselves. We are also assured that as the Dutch (who import large quantities of tiles into England, Ireland, etc.), may by this improvement be considerably undersold, it cannot fail to be of great advantage to the nation, and to the town of Liverpoole in particular, where the earthenware manufacture is more extensively carried on than in any other town in the Kingdom, and for which reasons we hope and do not doubt the above persons will be indulged in their request for a patent to secure to them the profits that may arise from the above useful and advantageous improvements."

Here observe, first, that the certificate of Shaw and Gilbody states that Sadler and Green printed 1,200 earthenware tiles in six hours. The claim is confined to earthenware and speed. Secondly, that
Transfer Printing.

they are assured that Sadler and Green have been several (not seven) years in bringing the art of printing on earthenware to perfection; and that they (Shaw and Gilbody) never heard that it was done by any other person or persons. Quite right! So far as we know earthenware had not previously been printed on. But we do know that both enamel and porcelain had been decorated with transfer prints at Battersea and for Bow. Messrs. Shaw and Gilbody may not have known the latter fact. They may have known and still be within legal limits in making their certification.

Thirdly, that the Dutch sent us "large quantities of tiles." By the new process they would be undersold because their tiles were hand-painted. The patent, it is alleged, would benefit the nation and Liverpool. It would benefit Sadler and Green much more. Possibly also, Shaw and Gilbody who had been employed to burn the trial tiles at their kilns. Here was the motif of the whole transaction: it was purely a commercial or money-making one, and that is not at all disguised in other sentences of the certificate.

To complete the series of documents given by Mr. Mayer, there is one addressed to the then sitting member of parliament for Liverpool in support of the case. It is as follows:—

Liverpool,
August 13th, 1756.

Sir,

John Sadler, the bearer, and Guy Green, both of this town have invented a method of printing potters' earthenware tiles for chimneys, with surprising expedition. We have seen several of their printed tiles and are of opinion that they are superior to any done by the pencil, and that this invention will be highly advantageous for the
Fig. A 8. PLATE, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
LIVERPOOL.

Fig. A 9. PLATE, ENAMEL, BLACK PRINT.
LIVERPOOL.
Origin.

Kingdom in general, and to the town of Liverpool in particular. In consequence of which, and for the encouragement of so useful an improvement, we desire the favour of your interest in procuring for them His Majesty's letters patent.

(Signed) Ellis Cunliffe.
Spencer Steers.

Addressed to:—
Charles Poole, Esq.,
London.

This closes the list of documents necessary, locally, to procure the patent, which was, apparently, never prosecuted in London. Mr. Mayer explains that the applicants consulted their friends, who advised that a long time must elapse before "so curious a discovery" could be found out by others, and who might injure them by competition. Moreover, that, considering the expense and delay of procuring a patent, as well as the exposure of the method, it was better to abandon the application. Consequently the papers were never lodged with the authorities. They remained with the Sadler family until Mr. Mayer obtained them from Miss Sadler, of Aintree, after he had sent her a copy of the first edition of his pamphlet on "The Art of Pottery." The following note, dated 22nd September, 1855, and addressed to Mr. Mayer, is interesting and explains itself:—

Sir,

I have very great pleasure in acknowledging your pamphlet containing the account of my father's invention of printing on earthenware, &c.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Elizabeth Mary Sadler.
This was a far-off echo of the work which was done a century before. But Miss Sadler, be it noted, is careful to mention earthenware as the leading item.

Mr. Mayer quotes another person in confirmation of his theory. This is Mr. W. Moss in the "Liverpool Guide" of 1799, who says: "Copperplate printing upon china and earthenware originated here in 1752, and remained some time a secret with the inventors, Messrs. Sadler and Green, the latter of whom still carries on the business in Harrington Street. It appeared unaccountable how uneven surfaces could receive impressions from copper plates. It could not, however, long remain undiscovered that the impression from the plate is first taken upon paper, and from thence communicated to the ware after it is glazed. The manner in which this continues to be done here remains still unrivalled in perfection." (Vide Mayer's "Art of Pottery," &c., pp. 56 and 57.) Also see "Marks and Monograms" (1874), pp. 736-7, where there is a footnote to this effect: "A book printed by him (John Sadler) is entitled 'Cato Major,' a poem by Samuel Catherall, M.A., printed and sold by J. Sadler in Harrington Street, Liverpool, 1755."

In the Holt and Gregson MSS. of Liverpool it is stated (vide Gatty's "Liverpool Potteries," 1882): "Their blue printed ware, which was invented in black and red printing first and transferred off paper by Sadler, which laid the foundation of lithographic printing." No date is given. But we want to see all that bears upon an obscure enquiry.

As to lithographic printing the point is doubtful. Lithography was discovered in 1792 or 1796 (variously stated) by Alois Senefelder, who patented it in Germany and Austria in 1800. Senefelder was born at Prague in 1771. His discovery was made quite by
Plate No. V.

Fig. A 10. OVAL, ENAMEL, BLACK PRINT.
Liverpool.

Fig. A 11. OBVERSE OF ENAMEL, BLACK PRINT.
Liverpool.

Fig. A 12. TILE, DELFT, RED PRINT.
Liverpool.
Origin.

accident and had no prompting from transfer printing (see "Encyclopædia Britannica"). Ultimately, chromolithography was used in the transfer system on ceramics, but that was exactly a century after Sadler made his affidavit for patent. A patent, dated 12th February, 1856, was obtained by J. T. P. Jablonowski for the application of chromo-lithography to pottery and porcelain.

There are points here that should not be passed over, for they bear upon our evidence and the circumstances thereof. The "Liverpool Guide" has it that the art in question originated at Liverpool in 1752. Why say so? The "Guide" is dated 1799; Guy Green retired from the business in 1799. The "Guide" states that Green still carried on the business. True! But there may have been a report circulated of the projected retirement, which actually happened shortly afterwards. Guy Green was a notable man locally. It was quite likely a pressman would try to get all the particulars possible about him. Regular interviewing was not in vogue then, but an accidental meeting might take place. The conversation would doubtless turn on the history of the invention of transfer printing, and the pressman would gather in a vague way, regarding an affair which happened forty-seven years previously, that Sadler and Green made a compact to try experiments at their mutual expense to carry out the project of the transfer print to supplant the Dutch and so forth. "China" (porcelain) was not so decorated till long after 1752 at Liverpool; but to a pressman (not an expert in potter's work) matters would probably get a little mixed. Then we have the fact that Green had at that time (say 1752) lately succeeded to John Sadler's father's business. We have it that John Sadler (not Sadler & Green), of
Transfer Printing.

Harrington Street, had published "Cato Major" in 1755. These facts point to the conclusion that, in 1752, or near to it, Sadler and Green agreed to prosecute the experiments at mutual pecuniary expense. At the same time they had separate businesses (printing), the one in Harrington Street, the other in New Market. In 1755 they still carried on separately; but in 1756, the experiments having succeeded, they then agreed to coalesce and become one firm. At this time they probably had no thought of doing any other work than printing earthenware tiles, which was to bring them a fortune by supplanting the Dutch. The calculation seemed a cute one, for we find that, about fourteen or fifteen years afterwards, John Sadler was able to retire from business altogether. He would then only be about fifty years of age. He managed to live about twenty years longer to enjoy his well-earned ease in retirement. *

It will be observed that there are other two points in the short quotation from the "Liverpool Guide" of 1799, which are interesting. Sadler and Green are called the inventors: whereas Sadler only claimed that distinction. It is stated that the printing was over-glaze. If correct it would settle the dispute as to whether underglaze printing was done at Liverpool at an early period or not. The question has been raised by Professor Barber of America. The facts are against his theory, and the point will be discussed further on.

* Mr. Mayer mentions a memo amongst Sadler's papers which shows that he wished to be relieved from business at the time (1766). It proposed to obtain a partner who was to put £200 into the concern as equal to a third part of the value of the engravings, valued then at £600, but had cost £800. That amount then would be equal to a great deal more now. Yet it seems, even with that consideration, to have been but a small capital to yield such a return as to enable Sadler to retire in a few years afterwards. No partner seems to have been procured; and Green would appear to have been left in sole charge when Mr. Sadler left him.
Plate No. VI.

Fig. A 13. MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT.
Worcester.

Fig. A 14. SIX PIECES, PORCELAIN, VARIOUS PRINTS.
Worcester.
Meantime, let us proceed with our examination of all the facts which are known regarding the introduction of transfer printing at Liverpool.

"In a description of the town, published in 'The Liverpool Memorandum Book, or Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal for the year 1754,' it is stated that 'the chief manufactures carried on here are blue and white earthenware, which at present almost vie with china.' Indeed, at one time, pottery appears to have been the staple manufacture of the town." Extracted from "Catalogue of Specimens in the Museum of Practical Geology" (1876), p. 244.

By Mayer's "Art of Pottery, &c.," we find that John Sadler died in 1789, aged 69; that Guy Green retired from business in 1799; that Sadler and Green were mentioned in Gore's Liverpool Directory in 1769; but that only Green appeared in the edition for 1774. Miss Meteyard asserts that Sadler retired before 1772. Guy Green was alive in 1801, because his portrait was painted then by W. Dixon, Liverpool, as appears by Gatty's paper, p. 48.

We find by Shaw ("Hist. of Staffordshire Potteries"), and repeated by Binns ("A Century of Potting at Worcester"), that a Mr. Carver was *

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* The engravers at Liverpool transfer work in the 18th century so far as can be ascertained are as follows:—
  John Sadler—per Joseph Mayer.
  Mr. Carver—per Simeon Shaw.
  Richard Abbey—per Joseph Mayer.
  Thomas Laureenson—per "Liverpool Advertiser."
  Peter Fever Burdett—per Joseph Mayer.
  William Smith—per Simeon Shaw.
  Joseph Johnson—per signature on Col. Tarleton's portrait.

None of these men are mentioned by Bryan in his Dictionary of Engravers. Evidently they were not eminent enough. Doubtless, there were many more engravers at Liverpool, employed at transfer pot work during the half century, but they are not recorded. There was an enameller, named John Robinson, who removed from Liverpool to the Potteries, as stated by Dr. Shaw in the "Hist. of Staffs. Potteries." It has also been alleged that Paul Sandby was employed there; but, probably, as a designer; although he was an etcher as well.
the engraver for Sadler and Green in their early career.

Then, by the Jermyn Street Catalogue, p. 245, it is stated that Richard Abbey had been an engraver in the service of Sadler; and Chaffers states he learned engraving under Sadler.*

There are points in these documents and facts which require close attention. Let us consider a brief summary of them as if we were a "Crowner's Quest": Sadler was apprenticed to his father, a printer, to become an engraver. Guy Green was apprenticed to the same firm to become a printer, and remained so. In 1755, a book was issued by Sadler, who called himself "printer." He employed an engraver named Carver for his early tile work. He started business in Harrington Street as a printer. He put his name on some of the transfer prints as enameller only. He was born in 1720 and would be 29 in 1749, when he is said to have conceived the idea of transferring paper impressions to pottery. Guy Green must have been a mere boy then, because he retired 27 years after Sadler did and ten years after the latter's death. We have it in the affidavit and in Alderman Shaw's certificate that the printing had only then, on the 27th July, 1756, been brought to perfection, and that the parties had been several years in bringing it to that state. The Alderman also certifies, as a potter, that he never heard of the process being done by any other person or persons but themselves.

* With regard to Richard Abbey, it appears by Chaffers ("Marks and Monograms," p. 741), that he died at Aintree, Liverpool, in the year 1801, at the age of 81. If so, he must have been born in the same year as John Sadler, namely 1720. We have seen that Sadler commenced business on his own account at the age of 28. Abbey would, therefore, be the same age when he went to learn engraving, if Chaffers is right in his statement. It may be true, but it is unlikely. Probably Richard Abbey had learned engraving previous to that age, and somewhere else. In the Norman Collection there was a mug signed "R. Abbey, Sculp."—vide Chaffers.
We cannot assume to doubt either the affidavit or the certificate; but the statement by the "Liverpool Guide" that the Art originated in 1752 is practically controverted by them. There is no hint of 1752 therein. It was seven years "tryal" (from 1749) and had only just been "brought to perfection"—that is, for practical use. Messrs. Shaw and Gilbody being potters, would have heard of it—would have known as rivals in business—if thousands of tiles had been printed before the time of certification. Liverpool was not such a large place at that time. It was only a town of about 20,000 inhabitants. Those men did not certify that they knew the fact, but were only "assured" that the experiments had been going on. It was they who burnt the tiles mentioned. If the business had been going on for years, would not Sadler and Green have fired them at their own place as they did subsequently?

The certificate also disposes of the idea that Bow pieces were printed at Liverpool. Bowcocke's Memorandum dates about two months previous to the date of the affidavit, and Binns' Battersea print was dated 1753—three years further back still. Alderman Shaw had never heard of such prints produced by any other persons than Sadler and Green. We must accept the statement, however strange it may appear, seeing he was in the same kind of business. If, however, the Bow work had been done at Liverpool, men (like himself) in the same trades and in the same small town, would soon have heard of it. He was no sleepy dullard to let such rivalry slip past him without knowing all its bearings.

* The population of Liverpool was 22,000 in 1753 and 34,000 in 1769—vide the "Encyclopædia Britannica."
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The whole tendency of these facts lead to the conclusion that—

1. Sadler may have conceived the idea in 1749 as he stated on oath; but, that, the first time he mastered the printing thoroughly was in 1756.

2. It cannot be assumed, after Shaw and Gilbody's certificate, that Liverpool ever printed transfers for Bow.

3. The writer in "The Liverpool Memorandum Book" of 1754 would be sure to have noted such a new and striking invention as transfer printing on pottery, especially as he was dealing with the pot works of the place, and in a town of comparatively limited area.

4. Under these circumstances, "The Liverpool Guide" of 1799, writing 43 years after the patent was applied for, must have been overstating the case, when it said that the process originated at Liverpool in 1752.

5. Another feature to consider is that the earthenware tiles were alone dealt with in the affidavit, although the certificate mentions the tiles and earthenware generally. The trade in tiles was a large one, comparatively, and to secure it was evidently the object of Sadler and Green. Tiles were painted at Battersea (vide Janssen's Sale List in 1756). It is not known if any were printed there. Hence, perhaps, the line drawn in the certificate by Shaw and Gilbody that they had never heard of printing having been done on earthenware; although they may have heard (which was possible) that Battersea had printed on enamels. Not only, however, had Battersea printed on enamels as early as 1753, but Bow had printed, or had obtained printing, on porcelain as early as May 28th, 1756. That was before the date of affidavit and certificate
Fig. A 15. MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT. Derby.

Fig. A 16. MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT. Derby.

Fig. A 17. MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT. Derby.
for patent. Bowcocke was a commercial traveller for Bow works. By his notes we find that he visited Bristol on March 27th, 1756, and Dublin and Nottingham in 1768. If all his memoranda had been recovered it is probable that he would be found to have visited Liverpool as well. Be that as it may, it would be strange indeed if Shaw and Gilbody, being potters, should not have heard of Bow having printed transfers on porcelain. If, as alleged by some, that Bow printed at Liverpool, they must have heard of it—for, surely, Sadler and Green would not allow them to run the risk of making a false certificate under the statute, for which there was sure to be a heavy penalty. However, they certainly steered clear of any penalty by certifying that no one had printed previously upon earthenware. Whatever was the arrière pensée in their minds, it was true, so far as we know, that no person previously had printed transfers upon delft tiles. It was here that Sadler distinguished himself for commercial acuteness; for he ultimately succeeded in making a fortune by the new process.

As to the claim that he should be considered to be the first to conceive the idea of the new art and the earliest to put it in practice—those points will be considered further on, after the other claims have been discussed.

Meantime, it will be well to say that there is no ground of proof or even feasible assumption that Liverpool printed for Bow or for Chelsea. Mr. Chaffers, in his monumental work, "Marks and Monograms" (1874), p. 897, says Bow had printed work done at Liverpool; but at p. 896 he says that Sadler and Green had kept the art a "profound secret" up to the time of application for the patent
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—27th July, 1756. If so, how could they have printed the Bow “teas” and “mugs” a couple of months previously?

Another fact is this: One of the most popular patterns printed on enamel, porcelain, and earthenware is the famous “Tea Party.” Now, it is a fact, that Robert Hancock engraved that pattern upon enamel at Battersea (see Fig. A 4). The “Tea Party” on Bow porcelain (see Fig. A 6) is by the same delicate hand. The “Tea Party” on Liverpool Cream Ware (see Fig. A 8) is another design altogether and evidently by another engraver, judging by the style of work. At Birmingham Museum there was a Wedgwood Cream Ware tea-pot (Fig. A 21) with the same design upon it, showing that it was done at Liverpool. It is marked all over as such. The Leeds “Tea Party” was done at Liverpool in the same style. These strong points are surely conclusive, to any reasonable mind, to prove that Liverpool never printed the Bow porcelain transfers. And, if so, we cannot doubt that Chelsea followed Bow’s example and lead. The probability remains that both places were served by Battersea, so far as transfer printing is concerned. Indeed the fact that Hancock’s signature is upon both Battersea and Bow specimens may be taken as a proof of that assertion.

The next place on our list is that of Battersea, where were three men who have been nominated as persons entitled to the honour of initiation of the transfer print. This case, as much as that of Liverpool, will require our minute attention and calm consideration. The late Mr. R. W. Binns, in his “Century of Potting at Worcester,” stated that Horace Walpole had a snuff box with a Battersea transfer printed thereon. It was dated, Masonically, 5754.
Origin.

Also, that the late Octavius Morgan (a relative of Lord Tredegar), had a similar box with the same date upon it. Moreover, that he (Mr. Binns), had the cover or back of a watch, which he considered was Battersea work. It had a good transfer enamelled thereon. As it was so well done, it was evident that the work must have been carried on there for some time previously. The Freemason's period, as recorded, was 5753, which corresponds with A.D. 1753. This is the earliest dated piece, with transfer printing on, that is known to connoisseurs. In Smith's "Life of Nollekens" it is stated that Ravenet, French engraver at Battersea, engraved copper plates for stamping (or transferring) upon the articles made there. Furthermore, Rouquet, who wrote in 1753-4, stated that such engraving and printing had been going on in England for some time. Jean André Rouquet (1702-1759), was born at Geneva, but worked in London for many years, and had access to the best art circles. He was an enamel painter, and much interested in Art processes. He published several books on Art, among which was "L'Etat des Arts en Angleterre." It was printed in Paris in 1755, and an English edition appeared in London in the same year. He must have taken some time in preparing it because it treats on a great variety of subjects, from that of historical painting (p. 33) to that of surgery (p. 207). Inter alia he deals with engraving and ceramics. In his preface he says that he wrote impartially and that he does so with experience, because he had dwelt in England for thirty years. In the chapter on porcelain ("De la Porcelaine") he says there were three or four manufactories in the environs of London, of which Chelsea was the chief. He goes on to explain that another establishment, in the neighbourhood, had been started a short time back
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("depuis peu") where some of the objects were painted in cameo ("au camayeux") by a species of impression. He says that he had imagined a similar process himself. ("Ayant autrefois imaginé une pareille façon de peindre la porcelaine"). Note this point. The thing was simmering in many minds at that time, as we shall see further on. In consequence of that he took an interest in the work, and had several examinations of it ("plusieurs experiences"). A pretty close description is then given of the process, and how a copper plate was to be cut deep enough to contain a sufficient quantity of the substance appropriate to the operation; that a piece of paper was then applied and removed to the enamel and subsequently fired. There can be no doubt of the fact that the writer was properly describing the work of transfer printing at Battersea, although he does not mention the place by name. According to Binns, Rouquet wrote this in 1753-4. Probably it was begun even before then, because the book deals with a number of subjects. The book can be consulted at the British Museum or at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. We have got the clear testimony of an intelligent and impartial artistic critic that transfer printing was done at Battersea in or about 1753, and we have an "enamel" printed there with that date on it.

Although there is no proof of the fact, it is generally stated by the ceramic authorities that the Battersea works were commenced about the year 1750 by Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen, who was a stationer in London. He became bankrupt in 1756, and many of the "enamels" were then sold. Horace Walpole's catalogue of 1784 describes the works as "a manufacture stamped with copper-plate, supported by Alderman Janssen but failed." However, the
Plate No. VIII.

Fig. A 18. TEAPOT, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
Cockpit Hill, Derby.

Fig. A 19. TEAPOT, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT
Cockpit Hill, Derby
works were carried on for about twenty years longer. Janssen subsequently became Lord Chamberlain of London and succeeded to the family baronetcy in 1767. He had been Lord Mayor in 1754. In his obituary in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1777 he is praised for his many public and private virtues, but there is no record therein, nor in other pages where his name is mentioned, or any allusion, even, to him as the discoverer of transfer printing. Nor can any reasonable ground be found for the supposition. That assumption may therefore be dismissed. But, amongst a number of other clever artists and engravers who were employed at Battersea, there were Ravenet and Hancock, whose names have been advanced as claimants to this distinction.

First, take the case of Simon François Ravenet. He was born in Paris in 1706, and died in London in 1774. He studied in Paris under the famous Le Bas and appears to have distinguished himself there in the midst of a noted group of French engravers. Insomuch was this the case that it is said he was invited to London by our own Hogarth, who wished to have some fitting vehicle whereby his new and original style of paintings could be forced upon the attention of the British public. There appears to be some variance as to the year in which Ravenet came over to England. Generally, writers state it to have been about 1750. But S. Redgrave, in his "Dictionary of Artists," states it to have been in 1745. And he confirms this by the fact that Ravenet assisted in engraving Hogarth's "Marriage à la Mode," the fourth and fifth plates of which are by him and are dated 1745. That seems decisive. Of the books consulted about him Joseph Strutt's "Biographical Dictionary of Engravers" is the earliest. It is dated
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1786—published in London within twelve years of Ravenet’s decease. Strutt must have been a careful and laborious searcher after facts considering the amount of matter which he had got together. It was difficult to verify dates in those times, when so few public records were kept. And all the more difficult with private individuals. Nevertheless we have to depend largely on Strutt, and most of the modern writers about engravers have reproduced him. He says of Ravenet that personally he was amiable and respected, and as an engraver, he “gave great colour and brilliancy to his engravings and finished them with precision.” He gives a list of some of his engravings after Salvator Rosa, Casali, Giordana, Poussin, Reynolds, and others.

The next, in my list, to mention him is Basan et fils in “Dictionaire des Graveurs,” Paris, 1809. They say that Ravenet was born in Paris in 1721—another discrepancy in dates! A list of engravings is given and many of them are after Titian, Cignani and others of the masters. They say that Ravenet established himself in London and died there, and that he produced a great number of engravings. Then, we have the more modern writers such as Redgrave, Bryan, Slater, Bonnardot, Chaffers, and the Dictionary of National Biography, which had also consulted Beraldi and Portalis’s “Graveurs” of the 18th century. They all praise Ravenet and commend his work. One or two extracts will be sufficient. First, there is Chaffers in “Marks and Monograms” (1874) p. 950, who quotes Smith’s “Life of Nollekens” about Ravenet thus:—

“He was employed to engrave copper plates for the manufactories then in high estimation in Chelsea, under the direction of Sir Stephen Janssen, from which the articles were stamped, consisting of scrolls,
foliage, shells, portrait subjects and figures of every description; of some of these I have seen impressions in paper and they, as well as everything from the hand of Ravenet, do him much credit.” Of course, for Chelsea, we must read Battersea—just across the river—for Janssen directed the latter and had nothing to do with the former factory, which was then under the direction of Sprimont.

Next, consider the following from the “Dictionary of National Biography.” It is stated that Ravenet engraved numerous pictures of importance after the masters. That he was associated with F. Vivares, V. M. Picot and other French engravers in founding an important school of line-engraving in London. In these engravings, it appears, the ground outline was strongly etched and then finished with the graver. There is another extract that ought to be given and that is from S. Redgrave (“Dictionary of Artists, etc., 1878”). Redgrave was an expert and a student of the literature of Art, as well. He says that Ravenet was highly esteemed, that he was employed for a time at the Battersea enamel works; and that he gained a Society of Arts premium in 1761. He was also a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists, and became one of Hogarth’s ablest coadjutors. Alderman Boydell, who employed the best men he could find as engravers, engaged Ravenet, and he gave the Alderman of his best. Redgrave adds that “his engravings are remarkable for imitation of colour as well as for brilliancy and careful drawing.” Finally, that he was elected Associate of the Royal Academy in 1770. It is evident that we have here a very superior man and artist, and we need not be surprised if we should learn that he had taken up an elevated position in the ranks of his Art.

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Transfer Printing.

With reference to the work of Ravenet these writers have brought out some prominent features, namely, that he had assisted in founding a new school of line engraving in England, that his ground-laying was strongly etched and gave brilliancy and a sense of colour to the completed engraving. It looks to me as if these facts bore very strongly on the question of the transfer-print. Rouquet informs us, with reference to the new style of decoration adopted at Battersea, that: "On fait graver sur une planche de cuivre le sujet qu'on veut imprimer; il faut que la taille de cette gravure soit assez ouverte pour contenir une quantité suffisante d'une substance approprié à l'opération." That is, the plate of copper must be cut into deeply in order to be sufficiently open to receive enough of the appropriate substance (e.g., oil, etc.), to complete the operation by the paper process of transferring it to the enamelled surface. That deeper cut corresponds with the ground-laying, strongly etched for Boydell's and for Hogarth's engravings, and which gave them such brilliancy and suggestion of colour. We have been told by Dr. Shaw, in his "History of the Staffordshire Potteries," that one Harry Baker had conceived the idea of transfer printing quite apart from anyone else; that he actually tried to put it into practice by means of book-plates but had failed. Why? Because the book-plate cut was too shallow for the work expected from it. How like this is to the case of Rouquet, who "ayant autrefois imaginé une pareille façon de peindre la porcelaine." He had imagined a similar process, but failed to put it into practice. And why? Because, like Baker, he had not hit upon the particular missing link in the chain of discovery which Ravenet appears to have found, and that was the deeper cut in the copper.
Fig. A 20. PLATE, SALT-GLAZE, RED PRINT.
Staffordshire.
Now, at the risk of being charged with seeming to depart from the subject for a little, let us note down the larger dividing points in the history of engraving. It will clarify the atmosphere and help us to get a clearer idea of what the new school of engraving was, and which was said to have been founded by four French men. A very short summary is the following:

Wood engraving might be said to have been prehistoric. Smith ("Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities") says that it was known to the Egyptians and Indians; but that its origin is lost in antiquity.

Copper line engraving was commenced at Florence in the 15th century, and introduced into England about 1645.

Etching, began by Durer in 1471, was brought to England in 1637.

Mezzotint engraving, invented by Von Siegen in 1642, was introduced to us by Prince Rupert in 1660.

Modern stipple engraving, attributed to J. C. François, was brought over from France by Wynne Ryland in 1760 or 1761.

Aquatint engraving, invented in France, was brought to us by the Hon. Charles Greville, who communicated the secret to Paul Sandby about the year 1770. It was used as a transfer agent to pottery by Burdett in 1773.

Here we have some distinct lines of demarcation, and we find that between 1660 and 1760 there is a pause in the evolution of the art of English engraving from mezzotint to modern stipple.

What, then, could this new school of line engraving be which was introduced to England between those two conspicuous dates? Was it what is obscurely known as the English school of landscape-engraving?
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There is some cloudiness about writers on the point. After reading up the best of them it would appear there were four French men and four British men who were conspicuous in its introduction and development. These men were: French—Balechou (1719-1764), Vivares (1709-1780), Ravenet (1706-1774), and Picot (1744-1804); British—Sir Robert Strange (1721-1792), Woollett (1735-1785), Sharp (1749-1824), and Radcliffe (1780-1855). Balechou was perhaps the first to lay hold of the idea, but he worked on the Continent, taking his inspiration from the landscapes of Claude Lorraine. Vivares appears to be the first to introduce the new school into England, and the highest development of it was found in our own Wm. Woollett. As to Ravenet, if we judge from the list of his works in Bryan, Slater, and other books on engravings, it would look as if he had done very few landscapes, and that he should be accounted a genre engraver more especially. Therefore, if Ravenet had any claim to be considered as one of the founders of the school of English landscape line engraving, it must have been owing to the fact that his introduction of the stronger etching in ground-laying helped to produce those brilliant results for which he was so admired.

We are thus led on to the conclusion that the deeper cut of Ravenet's was the foundation, not only of his own reputation and the help it gave to the new school of line-engraving generally in England, but it opened the closed portal of transfer printing which had for so many years occupied the minds and stimulated the aspirations of artistic men like Rouquet.

One word more about him. If Redgrave is right he (Ravenet) must have been in London about five years before the Battersea works were opened by
Janssen. During that time he was working for Boydell and Hogarth. In such society the whole round of artistic notions would be discussed. And most probably the transfer print amongst others. The invention itself—the completed idea of it—may have been the result of a concensus of thought amongst a number of artistic men assembled together, perhaps around the hospitable board of Alderman Janssen. Experiments would naturally follow, as in the Sadler and Green case. It would be seen that Ravenet’s system of engraving had solved the problem. Alderman Janssen may, enthusiastically, have tabled the capital, and thus, it might be, the Battersea enamel works were started. And hence, probably, the difficulty of pouncing upon the specific individual who invented it for that factory.
TRANSFER PRINTING

on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

ORIGIN.

Part II.

THE next name on our list is that of Robert Hancock who has been credited with being the inventor-discoverer of transfer printing. He was born at Burslem, in 1731, and died at Bristol in 1817. His early career is unknown, except that he learned mezzotint with Frye at Bow. He then studied line engraving under Ravenet at Battersea. In the Museum attached to the Royal Porcelain Works, Worcester, there is a Battersea enamel watch back with a transfer print thereon of "The Tea Party." It is signed "R. H., f." which, it is obvious, means Robert Hancock, fecit. He went to Worcester, probably in 1756. At all events, the portrait on the famous King of Prussia's mug, dated 1757, has been fairly well proved to have been the result of his delicate graver. He became a partner in the Worcester firm in 1772, but left in 1774, having saved about £6,000, which he subsequently lost by a bank failure in Staffordshire. He, afterwards, worked at Birmingham and Bristol. He was a first-class engraver, and his work was much admired; some of it was done "after the Masters," such as Le Brun, Rembrandt, Collot, and others. A Life of Hancock was issued by the "Chiswick Press" in 1885. The author was A. Randall Ballantine. In it we are informed that Hancock was the discoverer of the art of printing on china. In a note (3) in Appendix the following sentences occur. They are said to be
Plate No. X.

Fig. A 21. TEAPOT, QUEEN'S WARE, RED PRINT. Wedgwood.

Fig. A 22. TEAPOT, QUEEN'S WARE, RED PRINT. Wedgwood.

Fig. A 23. BOWL, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT. Wedgwood.
attached to his portrait, which was in the possession of the late J. Chaloner Smith. The words are "Mr. Robert Hancock, engraver, of the City of Worcester. He discovered the art of printing on china. He engraved the first plate that was us'd for calico printing*. He has engraved many portraits for country booksellers and others. Mr. V. Green serv'd his apprenticeship to this man. This mezzotinto from a picture by Mr. Wright is an essay of his own, but not approving it he destroy'd the plate, reserving this only impression, there is no other portrait of him." Mr. J. Chaloner Smith died in 1895. His engravings and effects were sold in London in 1896. The portrait, so far, after some correspondence, cannot be traced. It appears evident, however, that the sentences quoted were written by some other person than the subject of it; although the quaintness of their style shows that they must have been put there a long time ago. The author of Hancock's Memoir does not seem convinced that he really was the person we are in search of, but thinks that he deserves a more eminent position in the Temple of Fame than is usually assigned to him, because "he was among the first to practice (if not the actual discoverer) of the beautiful and delicate process of transfer printing upon porcelain and enamels." Mr. Ballantine was not sure about the discovery being Hancock's. No: the evidence is, as we have seen, more in favour of his Master—Ravenet. Mr. Ballantine states that Hancock studied under Ravenet (who was the principal artist at Battersea), in the style of Watteau and Boucher. He confirms a well-known fact that the Battersea

*This is more than doubtful. Dubison got his patent for printing on calico in 1715—sixteen years before Hancock was born.
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Factory commenced "about 1750," and that Hancock shortly found work there. In 1750 he would only be nineteen years of age. Taking all these circumstances into consideration the assertion, written on the portrait, that Hancock had the credit of being the "discoverer of the beautiful and delicate process of transfer printing upon porcelain," cannot be sustained.

With regard to Dr. Wall, of Worcester, his case has only to be mentioned to be discarded. He was a very clever man, no doubt. To his personal exertions and influence the long established and flourishing "Royal Porcelain Works" there must be mainly attributed. He was a doctor of medicine, a chemist, and had an amateur's skill for painting and artistic designs. But we find no trace of transfer printing at Worcester till Hancock's advent there. It is assumed that Hancock went there in 1756 after the failure of Janssen at Battersea, and, doubtless, he would introduce the new art at once. But that does not help Dr. Wall's claim to be the originator. It only rests on tradition as mentioned by Mr. R. W. Binns in his book, the "Century of Potting in the City of Worcester." It is also alluded to by Auguste Demmin, French writer on Ceramics. Probably the idea was set afloat, in book form, by Joseph Marryat, in the "History of Pottery and Porcelain" (1850, p. 182), when he says the idea of printing on porcelain appears to have originated with Dr. Wall "who was skilled in printing." If the word painting had been used it would have been nearer the truth. But Marryat goes on to say "To him is generally assigned the ingenious method of transferring printed patterns to biscuit ware, which is now universally practised." Quite so! All the evidence available points to the same conclusion. Printing on biscuit ware means printing underglaze, and no one
can deny Dr. Wall and the Worcester factory that credit. But the introduction of the art itself is another thing. Dr. Wall borrowed it from Battersea along with its clever engraver, and therefore was too late by about six years to be entitled to that honour.

With regard to another Worcester man, Josiah Holdship, we can make short work of him. His claim is advanced by "The Gentleman's Magazine" (December, 1757), in the oft quoted lines which appeared therein upon the portrait of Frederick the Great. The lines are:—

"What praise, ingenious Holdship! is thy due,  
Who first on porcelain the fair portrait drew."

This was discounted by "Berrow's Worcester Journal," next month, in the lines running thus:—

"Hancock, my friend, don't grieve, though Holdship has  
the praise,  
'Tis yours to execute, 'tis his to wear the bays."

The poem in the "Gentleman's Magazine" is inscribed to "Mr. Josiah Holdship." That magazine was conducted for years before 1757 by Edward Cave, who was one of the largest original shareholders in the Worcester Porcelain Factory. Richard Holdship (a glover), was also a large shareholder; and Josiah Holdship (a maltster) was his (Richard's) younger brother. Mr. R. W. Binns thinks that Josiah, however, was employed at the factory some time or other in the decorative department. Richard seems to have interested himself therein, as well, for he became a transfer printer at Derby subsequently. Suffice it to say that there does not appear to be a tittle of evidence to show that Josiah Holdship had any claim to be considered the originator of the art of transfer printing, or his brother Richard either. Some writers
have wrongly quoted from the poem in the “Gentleman’s Magazine” and got “mixed” over the two Christian names of the Holdship brothers.

There is something incomprehensible about the position of the brothers Holdship at Worcester. Richard, the elder one, and apparently at one time the more wealthy, was a director, and bought Warmstry House. In 1762 he became bankrupt, and proceeded to Derby to print transfers on wares. Josiah remained at Worcester and died there in 1784. He appears to have been unaffected by his brother’s bankruptcy, for, when he died, he left £100 to the Worcester Infirmary in which he had been interested.

It is singular that the poem, which was published in “The Gentleman’s Magazine” of December, 1757, should have been addressed to Josiah. If the writer wanted to exalt the Holdship family, Richard was the man, for he was not only a transfer printer, but he held a more important position than his brother at the Worcester factory; and was in the habit of having his initials placed on many of the pieces of ware. This fact alone indicated that he held a leading position, for he had no moral right to do so. Dr. Wall did not assume such a rôle, and Josiah Holdship was not permitted to do so. “Cynthio,” who wrote the poem, might have been a personal friend of Josiah. The mixed nature of the circumstances goes to show that there were undercurrents at this interesting potworks, which indicate that there were elements of personal friction at work. It was certainly creditable of Dr. Wall that he was able to get the large amount of success out of the factory in such circumstances.

However, as to Josiah Holdship’s claim to be the originator of transfer printing, it is evident that, as
PLATE NO. XI.

Fig. A 24 PLATE, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
CAUGHLEY.
Origin.

Battersea had been printing years before it was done at Worcester, there can be no grounds whatever in support of it.

The next alleged discoverer on our programme is that of a noted German chemist and inventor in ceramic potting, namely, Dr. Johannis Henrici Pott, of Berlin. It has taken me a very considerable amount of research to hunt him down and nail the imputation regarding him to the counter. Not, but that anyone could go direct to the point once the course is pointed out after the Columbus-egg fashion. Dr. Pott, however, was a clever man. He had introduced improvements at Berlin so early as the forties of the eighteenth century. If so, why not transfer printing? He had written voluminously. Hence, before deciding the question in relation to him, his books had to be searched, and others about him. The great libraries of the British Museum and the Bodleian at Oxford were laid under contribution, and communication opened with an authority at Berlin. He is mentioned in "Marks and Monograms" (Chaffers), edition 1874, p. 759, in a foot note. It is an extract from "The Guide to Amateurs" in the Ceramic Art, by Auguste Demmin (1863). It implies that the discovery of transfer printing was due to "Pott de Berlin," and is contained in his book "La Lithogéognosie." Demmin is an authority in France and deservedly so. Hence this statement was rather startling. But, on referring to a subsequent edition of the "Guide" by Demmin (1874), his first statement is modified. He there states that Dr. Pott, in his work above-named, had given the embryonic idea of the invention of the transfer print. The later terms used are in a foot note to this effect: "La Lithogéognosie de Pott (la connaissance des pierres) a donné naissance à l'art d'imprimer des
estampes, noires ou coloriées, sur la porcelaine.” That is—the book of Dr. Pott (on the knowledge of stones) gave the birth-idea of the art of transfer printing, black or coloured, upon porcelain.

Dr. Pott’s book was not published till 1753, at Paris, whereas Sadler declared that he formed his conception of it in 1749; and we have a Battersea transfer print dated 1753, in such perfection, that it must have been practised for a considerable time to bring it to such a state. By Sadler’s statement it took him seven years to bring the idea up to practical working order. In regard to the mere historical date Dr. Pott is not in the race at all, unless he had communicated his idea years before, in a private manner, which is hardly likely. All ceramic secrets were guarded, in those days, with the utmost care and jealousy.

The book itself does not appear to me to render up the suggestion which M. Demmin claims. The title is a combined Greek word denoting the knowledge of stone, earth, or clay. Its sub-titles are (freely translated) the chemistry of stones and earths in general; and of talc, topaze, and steatite in particular; with recipes for glazes and potting mixtures; and a description of a furnace of his own design. The suggestive idea, spoken of by M. Demmin, cannot be traced in the context of Dr. Pott’s book. Herr Kolbe, in his history of the Berlin Porcelain Works (1863), treats our transfer process on pottery in rather depreciative terms; and states that Worcester was the earliest English firm to use it. Again, Dr. Forrer, in his work on Keramics (Strasburg, 1901), says that German tiles displayed great poverty of design during the eighteenth century. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century transfer prints were first employed for tiles and then extended to pottery in general. That is, in Germany.
Origin.

The next man *en route* is Harry Baker. He is not mentioned in any of the Dictionaries of Artists or Engravers, such as that of Bryan, Redgrave, or James. The only trace we have of him is in the "History of the Staffordshire Potteries," by Dr. Simeon Shaw (1829 and re-issue 1900, p. 192), where he is said to have introduced the transfer printing "prior to Sadler and Green practising it," probably meaning into Staffordshire. Also that it was done from some plates borrowed from a book printer. Whether Shaw meant that it was before Sadler and Green began the business in Liverpool or before they printed for Wedgwood in Staffordshire is not clear. Harry Baker is again mentioned at p. 212 as having worked for Mr. Baddeley, of Shelton, in 1777, with the glue bat as a transferer. In neither case is he called an engraver. As to the case of the book plate it is well known that, in order to transfer paper sheets from a copper line engraving to ware, either under or overglaze, it must be more deeply cut than for book plates. So far as the bat process is concerned, William Adams, of Cobridge, had been using it before the Baddeleys. The claim of Harry Baker to the distinction of having introduced the system is so vague that it must be dismissed. Shaw was writing about half a century after its introduction into Staffordshire, and nearly eighty years after the discovery of it at Liverpool or Battersea, so that, personally, he could not verify the question, and should have given us some authority for the statement.

Dr. Shaw, again, and inconsistently enough, mentions "Mr. Carver, an engraver, employed by Messrs. Sadler and Green, of Liverpool, having invented a method by which devices from engraved copper plates can be printed upon the glaze (now
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called black printing.” In the same paragraph he records Harry Baker as the first “Black printer in the district.” This is rather bewildering. Mr. Binns, in his “Century of potting in the City of Worcester,” mentions Carver as being a good engraver, but not equal to Ravenet. That is all. Carver is not recorded in any of the Art dictionaries. Hence, and in the face of the affidavit made by his employers in 1756, when they applied for a patent, it is impossible to recognise this claim, whatever may be our secret assumption regarding it.

In a paper written by C. T. Gatty, F.S.A., for the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, entitled “The Liverpool Potteries,” there is an interesting extract. It refers to a curious pamphlet, advertised in the “Liverpool Advertiser” of 11th February, 1757, entitled “Secrets in Art and Nature,” by Thomas Laurenson, engraver, published by R. Williamson, of Liverpool. Chapter IV. contains the following statement: “The new and curious art of printing, or rather re-printing from copper plate, prints upon porcelaine, enamel and earthenware, as lately practiced at Chelsea and Birmingham, &c.” Unfortunately, Mr. Gatty could not procure a copy of the pamphlet, so we are left in the dark as to what this “Secret in Art” was to reveal. It is explained in the preface of this work how the writer has searched for the same document without avail. As to Chelsea there is a specimen in the British Museum (figured herein at Fig. A 7). It is an exceedingly rare piece, especially as a marked specimen. Of Birmingham transfers on ware there is no trace whatever. The author of the pamphlet probably confused the word with Battersea or had been misinformed. The Chelsea claim would go with that of Bow, as the circumstances of the two
Plate No. XII.

Fig. A 26. DISH EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT. Spode.

Fig. A 26. DISH, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT. Jno. Turner.
factories were on much the same footing with respect to Battersea, which probably printed for both factories. As for Bow the only claim it has is founded upon the memorandum of John Bowcocke, a traveller for that pot works. It records the orders which he had received, as for instance: “printed teas” on the 28th May, 1756; “pint printed mug,” and “half pint ditto” on 18th June, 1756. (Chaffer’s “Marks and Monograms” of 1874, p. 895).

The last on the list, so far as known to the writer, is Adam Spengler, who was manager of a pottery at Zurich, which was commenced in 1763, vide “The Queen,” of 6th May, 1905; or about 1759, vide “Marks and Monograms,” 4th ed., p. 503. According to the former authority it is said that Spengler applied the method of printing on earthenware in black and colour, which was developed in England, and Dr. Angst even hints that he (Spengler), may have invented it. If so, it was another case of thought-reading after the manner of Liverpool, because other factories had been working it years previous to the year 1759. Spengler’s claim brings us to the end of the list of persons and places, in our record, that have claimed, or have had imputed to them, the honour of having invented the art of transfer printing on enamels, porcelain or pottery.

The question remains: What person and what place are entitled to that honour in priority and in degree? Let us consider it in two aspects:—

1. The embryonic idea.
2. The actual facts.

As regards No. 1—the incipient conception—there is much more to be considered than is usually affirmed, judging from what has already been written about the point, both in works of ceramic authority and in
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numerous fugitive articles in the periodical press. From the time Mr. Joseph Mayer read his first paper on "The Art of Pottery, &c., in Liverpool" in 1855, it has been taken for granted, generally speaking, that the first person who conceived the idea was John Sadler "about the year 1750." The point has been dwelt upon in this book already. But there is much more to be discussed, for other men than John Sadler had been gifted with a similar conception, and a long time before he ever thought of it.

A short summary of the evidence thereof will be instructive and interesting. In such a case it is important to be precise. Who, as M. Demmin has it —"a donné naissance à l'art d'imprimer des estampes ...sur la porcelaine"? Rouquet gives an answer as from himself, in his account of the Battersea work, in these words:—"Ayant autrefois imaginé une pareille façon de peindre la porcelaine, &c." (having formerly conceived a similar mode of painting or printing on china, &c.). Here we have the secret conception, but never brought to fruition as it was done by Sadler and by the Battersea men. The same idea is mentioned by Cynthio—the poet of the "Gentleman's Magazine"—for he sings further in praise of Josiah Holdship:—

"Who first alone to full perfection brought,
The curious art by rival numbers sought."

The last line informs us plainly that "rivals"—other artists—had been talking of, and thinking of, the same event. Similar coincidences have happened in other sections of Art or Science. The discovery of Neptune by Leverrier and Adams at the same time; the one at Paris and the other at Cambridge, for example. Also, the discovery of salt-glazing at
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various places in Germany, apparently, at the same time; and, indeed, its re-discovery in England as well. But the incipient idea of transfer printing was most undoubtedly suggested and stimulated by the so-called "Jesuit china," imported from the East, and which was painted in imitation of, and from, European engravings. In the middle of the sixteenth century the Jesuit missionaries, led by the famous Xavier, planted themselves in China and the East. To win converts they took out pictures and books with European designs in their pages—many of them having engravings of Christian history. The clever Chinese artists copied such engravings upon their porcelain pieces, and many of these found their way to Europe.

The late learned authority on Art, Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse, in his fine book on "The History of Chinese Porcelain," classes these productions as follows:

(a) Copies of European designs and engravings.
(b) Scenes with European figures.
(c) Christian subjects (usually called "Jesuit china.")
(d) Services with armorial bearings.

There was a wide range of subjects and which were variously treated, according to the ability and, perhaps, the remuneration of the artist. Specimens are figured in these pages. The result was that the reproduction of the engravings, so cleverly imitated on the porcelains, were much admired and sought after. They also, doubtless, set the brains of artistic people speculating and wondering whether the same thing could not be done at home by some multiplying and mechanical process. This idea is cleverly set out
Transfer Printing.

at p. 48 in the Catalogue of the Museum of the Worcester Royal Porcelain Works (1884) in the following terms:—

"The first missionaries from Europe to China carried with them engravings of European subjects, both religious and mythological.

"These engravings the Chinese copied in outline (painted) in imitation of the prints on various objects —thus giving the idea of engraving on porcelain, so that when the invention of transfer was introduced it was only reversing the order of application. The Chinese copied engravings on china by drawing and the English transferred the engraving without copying."

This quotation puts the matter very clearly. The Chinese paintings were so well done, in most cases, that they gave the idea of engravings on porcelain. If they gave that impression, surely thoughtful men would be set thinking out a scheme of transfer, or something of the kind, as the candid and impartial Frenchman (Rouquet) hath it, as quoted above.

In going through the patent rolls at Manchester Public Library, the idea struck me that the patents for engravings indicated how the artistic Englishmen, of the early seventeenth century even, were feeling their way to it. Carefully consider the following list:—

The first Patent granted, under the first Patents' Act, appears to be dated 2nd March, 1617, although not for Engravings.

Patents Granted re Engravings, &c.:

1st. 1617—To Rapburn & Burgess for engraving and printing maps, plans, &c.

2nd. 1617—From 5th May. To Nicholas Hillyard for engraving and printing portraits of the Royal Family . . . . . . . . . . . .
Plate No. XIII.

Fig. A 27. DISH, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT. Greengates.

Fig. A 28. BOWL, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT. Wedgwood & Co.
Know ye, we grant license for 12 years . . . to invent, make, grave and ymprint any picture or pictures of our image . . . . . . as well on paper, parchment, as on any other thing or things . . . and sett up any presse or other instrument . . . for the imppynting of our pictures, &c.

N.B.—The “any other thing” seems to point the way to the transfer process. It shows at all events that Hillyard—a very able artist—had something else than paper or parchment in his mind.

3rd. 1692—Wm. Bayley for printing woollen hangings.

4th. 1715—Peter Dubison for printing calicos.

5th. 1719—Le Blon for multiplying pictures, &c.

6th. 1731—Samuel Pope for marbling, &c.

— 1756—Sadler & Green for transfer printing (but not enrolled).

7th. 1759—Bedford for transferring engravings to metallic substances, &c.

All these facts point to the conclusion that the work of transferring engravings to enamels or porcelain was “in the air,” so to speak. It would not, therefore, surprise the community of artistic men (like Rouquet) that it had been accomplished. Why it was kept secret at Battersea was, doubtless, because all improvements in ceramics were jealously watched at that time. Englishmen (vide Chelsea’s appeal to the Government of the day) were striving hard with the Continental factories to resist the flood of ceramic
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wares which came in—smuggled in—under the ægis of ambassadors, even, notwithstanding an almost prohibitive duty. And, apparently, so little respect was paid to the law—even the patent law—that Sadler and Green would not complete their application simply because they considered it was better for their interests to work it as a trade secret. This lack of encouragement, and even want of real protection to the Britisher, accounts somewhat for the trouble and difficulty we have of obtaining exact information at the present time.

However, the facts now unearthed will go some way towards the elucidation of the mystery. Some member of a family having access, perhaps, to "calendar rolls," where such men as Pepys, Evelyn or Horace Walpole have recorded "curios" and curious events, may turn them up and come upon a record of the event now sought for. Otherwise, there is little hope of getting any further trace of the origin of transfer printing in England.

For an illustration of the Chinese style of reproduction of engravings, see Figs. A1 and A2—also Fig. A3, a Chelsea sketch, probably founded on the same idea. Then, consider Fig. A4, the first of the Battersea prints which could be procured, and follow up the evolution under the whole section.

With regard to Fig. A3—a Chelsea plate with a decoration consisting of a pretty landscape or river scene and castellated buildings—I think it is a most interesting piece. Why? Because, at first, it was supposed to be an engraved Chelsea plate which was then most anxiously sought for. But, on close examination, it was found to be pencilled or designed with a fine pointed brush and washed over with paint. The first
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impulse was to throw it out as of no use to the object in view. On consideration it was decided to retain it because it taught a lesson. Here was an English or French artist at Chelsea following up the Chinese in painting views "after" engravings. The sketch is evidently "after" Claude Lorraine. Chelsea's period was begun about 1745. Baléchou, on the Continent, and Vivares, in England, had introduced Claude to the art world by engravings "after" his landscapes. What more likely than that the Chelsea artist should paint "after" him as well? By a coincidence, too, Ravenet had just arrived in England and was helping Vivares to develop the new school of landscape engraving. All these circumstances conjoin to render this Chelsea plate one of extreme interest to me in this study of the origin of the transfer print. Of course, the plate may have been produced after the Battersea factory was commenced in 1750 and the enamel transfers already experimented upon. It is impossible to say. Whether or no, the work upon the plate points to the same conception as that on the Jesuit china. It reveals the idea that was in the European artistic mind, implanted there by the Chinamen. It also confirms the theory that, in the copying of engravings upon porcelain, lay the embryonic conception of the transfer print. It is quite possible, indeed most probable, that the Chelsea artist had copied one of the engravings, "after" Claude, which were then a new thing and becoming popular.

Let us now investigate the second division. That is, the actual date of the matter, as far as is known; and do so with the utmost impartiality. "Feed me with facts," said Carlyle; and on that principle the following case is made out.
Transfer Printing.

We have seen that, both at Chelsea and Bow, porcelain was produced upon which transfer printing was laid. But there is no evidence to show that either of those factories had the necessary machinery to do it themselves. In the final sale list of buildings and materials at Chelsea, as given by J. E. Nightingale, there is no printing press or anything else to indicate that printing had been done there. But we know that Bow and Chelsea were closely related in their business transactions. Moreover, we are informed by Rouquet that Battersea was intimately connected with Chelsea. Furthermore, we have been shown that the “Tea Party” prints at Battersea and Bow are identical in their design, and signed by the same engraver. Then, we have the evidence of the Masonic watch back, that it was printed at Battersea in 1753. We have, too, the Bowcocke memorandums, that Bow porcelain existed in a printed state in May, 1756. The inference, therefore, is that Battersea was first to print enamels in 1753 or earlier; and porcelain (for Bow) in May, 1756, or earlier.

The next date, in point of fact, is that at Liverpool. The affidavit of John Sadler and Guy Green is dated 2nd August, 1756. It stated that on the 27th July, 1756, they had printed 1,200 earthenware tiles. At the Janssen-Battersea sale of June 8th, 1756, as advertised, hundreds of dozens of stove plates and Dutch tiles were in the sale list. They were said to have been both painted and plain. It has been suggested that the plain ones were an enamelled delft body and intended for printing upon by the transfer process at Battersea. There is no confirmation found of it as yet.

Therefore, Liverpool must be considered first for printing on earthenware and second in the new art generally, so far as actual dates are concerned.
Fig. A 29.
PLATE, CREAM WARE, COLOURED PRINT.
A YNSLEY.

Fig. A 30.
JUG, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
T. FLETCHER.

Fig. A 31. PLATE, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
LEEDS.
Origin.

Then comes Worcester. The Frederick II. mug (Fig. A13) is dated 1757, and the celebration ode regarding it is dated December, 1757—the number of the "Gentleman's Magazine" in which it appeared. Hence, Worcester is second for printing on porcelain and third in regard to the general question of transfer printing. That is, assuming that Battersea did the printing for Bow and Chelsea. But these wares, as enumerated for the three factories, are all printed over the glaze. What of the underglaze or bisque printing? We know of none at Battersea, Bow, or Chelsea at all. And Liverpool does not seem to have had any underglaze printing till the Herculaneum period (circa 1796), so far as can actually be traced.

Therefore, Worcester had the honour of being undoubtedly first for underglaze work. We cannot fix an absolute date, but it is put by an expert at the factory that it would be effected very soon after the overglaze printing was introduced in 1756. He is, probably, quite right, for all the circumstances of the case point to that assertion as a truism. The time is sometimes given as late as 1770 by writers on the subject, but the circumstance of the Worcester seceder, Richard Holdship, printing "blew" at Derby in 1764 is a proof of the erroneousness of the 1770 idea.

So much for the position of the factories in this matter—what of the men? The claim of having introduced the transfer print as applied to earthenware (tiles) must be awarded to John Sadler, of Liverpool, for its introduction took place on the 27th July, 1756. But the claim made for him that he first of all conceived the idea seven years previously is a very doubtful question. With the best intention of declaring "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,"
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at the time he made his affidavit on the 2nd August, 1756, the mere impression on his mind cannot be accepted as if it were a mathematical proposition. As Mr. C. F. Binns puts it (v. "The Story of the Potter"): 
"An assertion like that must be received with caution, for an inventor is apt to mistake the glimmer of light which heralds the dawn for the full blaze of a noonday sun." Mr. Sadler started business in Harrington Street, Liverpool, in 1748. Some time after that he saw some children playing with pieces of broken pottery, and the idea of transfer printing was conceived. That statement is first given to us by Mr. Mayer, 106 years after it is alleged to have occurred. How many gossiping modifications had it experienced before it reached the ears of our informant? We can only guess: we have nothing further bearing upon it to prove or disprove its authenticity. But, assuming that the incipient invention, given to Sadler by the children, is correctly stated, we have the vague statement of "upwards of seven years" in the affidavit to deal with. Mr. Sadler had a definite year to go by in that in which he started business, namely, 1748. He had documents to prove that point. He had also the unusual action at law to sustain in defending himself against eviction. Again, he had a definite period in his association with Guy Green. Between such "landmarks," or, rather, time marks, it was surely possible to fix a point when the transfer idea suggested itself. It is not for us to question the truth of the statement for there it is hard and fast in the affidavit; but the haziness connected with the expression is such that a considerable amount of scepticism is engendered as to the exact year of inception. Especially so when we have had the years 1749, 1750 and even 1752 associated together as the
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time of "naissance" or origination. After all, is there any merit in this inceptive idea so far as the mere time is concerned? We have seen from the testimony of Rouquet; from that of the lines in the "Gentleman’s Magazine"; from the presumptive evidence of the patents; and that of the Jesuit china; that men long antecedent to the year 1749 had pondered over the same idea and its goal. No: the only merit as to time which Sadler can really claim is the 27th July, 1756, when he printed the 1,200 tiles; and even in that business Guy Green was associated with him, for he, it was stated on oath, had assisted in developing the idea.

We now come to the case of the Battersea man. It is pretty well proved that Battersea began its enamel career in 1750, and that, in 1753, a beautiful specimen of transfer printing had been produced. If it took Sadler seven years to finish up his experiments, how long had it taken to lead up to that fine piece of printed enamel? We cannot say positively. It seems a certainty that it was not in the year of date 1753, but more probably the process had been going on for years in the way of experiment, preparation, or elaboration, as in the Liverpool circumstances.

The case of Ravenet has been gone into pretty fully. He was an artistic man and unassuming. Such a being has other objects in view than the mere making of money. As a rule the artistic instinct does not run on all fours with the commercial one; rather the contrary—to its usual sad experience. Ravenet was not like Sadler in mental calibre. The latter appeared to have espied a fortune in printing tiles and he went for it and succeeded. Quite right! He obeyed his natural impulses and found his reward,
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such as it was. It is very evident that he was more commercial than artistic. The Wedgwood correspondence proves it. Indeed Guy Green seems to have had more real love for art than Sadler had, if we are to judge from what Josiah Wedgwood said of the pair in his letters to Bentley. How does all this bear upon the point in dispute? This way: Ravenet was artistic and not gifted with the spirit of covetousness. He came over from France in 1745 in the prime of life and filled with longings to reproduce the works of Watteau, Boucher, Hogarth, Titian, and "The Masters." All he required was a decent subsistence to keep him and his family. He became associated with an artistic circle in London—the artist friends of Boydell, of Hogarth, and Janssen. It is beyond question that the transfer print matter was a frequent subject of conversation and much speculation was indulged in as to a process that would succeed. Doubtless, trials were made, and the book plate failures experienced there. Failure is the path to success very often if perseverance backs it; Ravenet's deeper cut in the copper may have solved the problem and, voilà! the whole secret was out. It would not surprise that circle of artist-engravers much; it would be taken as a matter of course. Ravenet was artistic and not commercial! He was a Frenchman and probably not acquainted with our patent laws. He had no ambition to go into a business speculation founded on the displacement of Dutch tiles. It was not in his line, which was line-engraving of an improved kind. All he wanted was a man like Janssen to attend to the commercial element, and he would conduct the artistic section. Very likely it never occurred to him that there was anything out of the usual course of his own art that warranted such a
Plate No. XV.

Fig. A 32. PLATE, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
Swansea.

Fig. A 33. SUPPER SET, EARTHENWARE. BLUE PRINT.
Herculaneum.
thing as a patent law to protect it. Under all these circumstances and in the absence of positive proof of any particular individual, or body of men, having introduced the transfer print at Battersea, it is a reasonable thing to say that Ravenet was the most likely person with whom it originated. Of course, the possibilities of the case, as described above, are not tabled as absolute truisms. We are brought to the crucial question of—Who is the man? All the facts that can be gathered, so far, about Ravenet are stated, and they cannot be refuted. The question is—How far do they carry us in the line which has been taken in stating circumstantially that he was, most probably, the man we are looking for? No one will be more pleased than myself if the real, bona fide Simon Pure can be found—even supposing that he turns out to be another than Ravenet. Meantime, until that event takes place, it is submitted, most respectfully, that he was the real source of the transfer printing upon enamels at Battersea. At the same time it appears to me, considering all the influence and the "omens" that were at work for so very many years, a surprising thing that the discovery was not made long before it was first developed at Battersea by the staff of Alderman Janssen.
TRANSFER PRINTING
on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

PART I.

The cases of Battersea, Liverpool and Worcester have been discussed in regard to their claim to priority in this question of transfer printing. Bow and Chelsea factories had printing transferred upon their wares, but there is not a trace of proof that it was done by themselves. There are several other factories which did so. They will now be commented upon seriatim, excepting that Staffordshire will be dealt with as a whole. The next to Worcester, in point of time and judging strictly from proved dates, is Derby. Richard Holdship, who had been managing director at Worcester and was made bankrupt in 1762, went to Derby in 1764, vide "Ceramic Art of Great Britain." He agreed with Duesbury and Heath of the china factory there "for the making and printing china or porcelain ware." He bound himself not to disclose the process, and to print with equal skill and workmanship "as can be done by any other persons," as appears by an extract from the deed which came into the possession of Llewellyn Jewitt. The process was described as one for "printing enamel and blew" (sic). The latter would evidently mean underglaze prints on porcelain. But it has been said that he also printed at Derby on stoneware. Holdship had, as an assistant, Wm. Underwood, who worked afterwards in Staffordshire as a "blue printer," vide "History of the Staffordshire Potteries," p. 214. He was employed
by Turner, of Lane End—probably about 1784. It seems to have been common at that time to combine the callings of engraver and printer in one person. Assuming that Underwood was an engraver as well as a printer, it may have been by means of his assistance that the work was done at Derby. Holdship was probably a middle aged man and could not be expected to turn from the trade of a glover and master the artistic technique of the engraver's art while at Worcester. He had, doubtless, as one of the employers, got some knowledge of the secret of printing on porcelain from Hancock, and, being reduced in his circumstances, tried to exploit that knowledge at Derby. In the museum at the Royal Porcelain Works, Worcester, there is a Derby mug of bell shape with portraits, printed, of George III. and his Royal Consort. It is marked DERBY with an anchor, the rebus for "Holdship," see Figs. A15, 16 and 17. It is not up to the Worcester mark of excellence by any means. That may account for the fact which Jewitt records—that Duesbury was not satisfied with the work. Holdship, however, was at Derby till the end of 1769, for in one of his letters he states that "for his process of printing enamel and blew (sic) he hath been offered several hundred pounds." On another occasion he complains that Duesbury does not give him sufficient to do to keep his presses going.

Still, there must have been a certain amount of printing by transfer done at Derby during the five years (1764-1769). Holdship was there. He may have been there longer. It is a little strange that we have no more traces of it. In addition to the mug, already mentioned, Mr. Wm. Bemrose states

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in his book on "Bow, Chelsea, and Derby Porcelain" (1898), that he has a half-pint beaker of blue underglaze with transfer print of Chinese figures, butterfly and landscape. It has the same mark as the mug at the Worcester Museum. Another piece is mentioned by Chaffers ("Marks and Monograms," 4th ed., p. 759), who says that not only were the rebus (anchor) and the word Derby on it, but also Holdship's monogram. That means, no doubt, the RH which appears on the Worcester pieces. This would be very interesting if true, but Jewitt does not say so. In his "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," he touches upon the question under Worcester, Caughley, and Derby, pp. 137, 163 and 343. He states that, on visiting Coalport, he found certain copper plates—one of which was marked R. Hancock, fecit; and another Derby. He infers, therefore, that both Hancock and Holdship had worked at Caughley. (That, of course, does not follow absolutely. The presence of the plates there could be accounted for in other ways.) Then, Mr. Jewitt raises the whole question of whether the monogram RH really meant Robert Hancock or Richard Holdship. He inclined to the belief that the monogram stood for Holdship, and, as a confirmation, states that he has seen a plate inscribed thus— RH. He pertinently argues that, as the anchor RH was a rebus for Holdship's name, placing it above the initials was a strong argument in favour of that opinion. Any judicious minded person would come to the same conclusion. But he (Jewitt) does not tell us whether this particular plate was engraved at Derby or at Worcester. In either case the inference ought to be the same—that the rebus and initials meant but one person, namely, Richard Holdship. It seems absurd to suppose that
Fig. B 1. PLATE, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINTED.
B. ADAMS.

Fig. B 2.
JUG, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
LIVERPOOL.

Fig. B 3.
MUG, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
WEDGWOOD & CO.
Hancock would put the anchor over his own initials unless he was ordered to do so by the man above him at the factory. If he really did so it would surely be with an inward protest (in the spirit of Galileo) that the deed was wrong, and that the initials were meant for Richard Holdship after all. There can be little doubt that, no matter what engraver did the work, Richard Holdship was in the habit of having his initials placed on many of the pieces as they were manufactured at Worcester. In the catalogue of the ceramic contents in the museum of the Royal Porcelain Works at Worcester there is a separate list of transfer printed specimens. The first on the list is numbered 500. The lot consists of a cup and saucer of egg-shell porcelain with the famous engraving of the “Tea Party” imprinted in black thereon. The cup is signed R. Hancock and the saucer is signed

\[ \text{RH} \text{ \_Worcester.} \]

Why? It is impossible to say decisively, for no explicit explanation has ever been given of the mystery. R. W. Binns hazards the opinion that the latter sign-manual is that of Richard Holdship, and that the anchor is a rebus of his surname. But why should these hieroglyphics be there at all? At page 60 of the same catalogue (No. 586) there is a Battersea enamel watch back with the engraving of the same “Tea Party” printed on it, and signed R.H.f., which means Robert Hancock, fecit.

Holdship was never at Battersea. He could not be in two places at once like Boyle Roche’s pigeon. What is the inference? Surely, that it was Hancock who cut the same design for the Worcester Factory upon the cup and saucer named above, and that Holdship, being a director, had insisted upon his initials being placed there as well. The association of
names is absurd. It is like the old story of the organ blower claiming equal merit with the organist in playing a Handel chorus. If Mr. Holdship had put his full name the ambiguity would have been avoided, for the initials of the two men were the same. Hence, thousands of people have confused the two—not knowing who was Hancock or who was Holdship. There is another proof of this peculiar mode of confusing the issue. It is that of a copperplate which was engraved by Hancock at Battersea and a print of it was transferred to Chinese ware, No. 583 in the Worcester Museum Catalogue (Fig. A14-4 and 5). It had Hancock's usual signature. Subsequently, the same plate was used for Worcester porcelain (Fig. A14-2 and 3), bearing the monogram (with anchor) of Holdship. What is the inference? Simply that the name of the real engraver had been removed; that his employer, in the exercise of his brief possession of authority, had caused Hancock's signature to be erased and his (Holdship's) initials substituted. In such a state of affairs it can easily be conceived that Hancock sometimes engraved his name in the shade of the branch of a tree so as to partially conceal himself. One such specimen is still in existence (Fig. B4-1). It seems, therefore, safe to say that when RH\textsc{Worcester} appears on a piece of Worcester porcelain that it merely signifies \((a)\) the factory, \((b)\) the initials and rebus of a director, and not those of the real engraver at all. It is a fact, too, that we never find the significant abbreviations—"f," or "fec," or "fecit," added to the Holdship initials with the anchor attached. Neither do we find "Sculpt" for "Sculpsit." This is significant in itself.

Another curious fact is this:—In "The Century of Potting at Worcester" (Binns) at p. 67, there is an account of a "King of Prussia" cup, and the
Development in the 18th Century.

compound mark more complicated still. It has the usual monogram RH with the word Worcester and anchor, and a small j. above the word Worcester. What can it mean unless it was to signify that the brother Holdship (Josiah) got an engraver to cut his initial in order to share the glory attached to the emblazonment, whatever it might be worth? It is, perhaps, the only case known and, as Wedgwood did with Hackwood, probably Richard "sat" upon Josiah and his small representative initial. But Josiah was not to be done, for he creeps in again in another form. In the catalogue of the Geological Museum of Jermyn Street, London (1876), p. 220, there is a Worcester porcelain basket (No. 39) recorded as having—in addition to the monogram, in dispute, and the word "Worcester"—a double anchor. What can this mean? Why, Josiah again bearing up alongside of his brother. But it too, is a solitary case so far as known to the writer. These singular incidents are both amusing and instructive. They tend to confirm the theory of the overbearing policy adopted towards Hancock by the leading commercial spirit at the Worcester Porcelain Works in the fifties of the eighteenth century. It was the same policy as that pursued at Etruria and at Liverpool, for we never see Carver's name on Liverpool jugs, etc., but only Sadler and, or, Green. It was the spirit of the period which prevailed. But which, now, cripples the zest and pleasure of many an anxious collector of Worcester, of Liverpool, or of the Wedgwood wares—a spirit that was very much bewailed by Miss Meteyard in her admirable memoirs of the man, and the wares which he turned out at Etruria in Staffordshire.

* Now of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.
Transfer Printing.

Another interesting fact given by Mr. Bemrose is this:—Richard Holdship seems to have borrowed £40 from Duesbury on the 20th August, 1766, by a document dated at Derby and witnessed by one—Joseph Mayer. He engages to repay the amount by instalments of two guineas per week. Still in difficulties apparently after two years work! The same writer notes that Duesbury was in London, 1750-3, carrying on the work of a master-enameller and employing a number of people, judging from the work turned out. Some of it was done on Bow, Chelsea, Derby and Staffordshire wares. He would, therefore, be cognisant of what was being done at the Bow Factory. The strong probability is that he must have seen the wares which were printed on because, to an enameller, it was a most important thing to know that a rival to his art was coming into the field. Having seen those Bow prints so beautifully and delicately engraved and transferred, we can easily understand why a man of rare ability and taste, like William Duesbury, would be dissatisfied with the rougher work achieved by Richard Holdship and his engravers. Moreover, there was also the Worcester transfer work of Hancock which must have been known to Mr. Duesbury, and which was so much superior, artistically, to the other man's. It appears that Duesbury tried to introduce bat printing at Derby so late as the year 1789, but failed. That would be about the time when the bat process was beginning to decline, having been ousted by the underglaze blue print which was then becoming (or had become) very popular. See Jewitt's "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," p. 342.

Richard Holdship had "joined the majority" in all probability by that time. His younger brother, Josiah, died at Worcester in 1784.
Plate No. XVII.

Fig. B 4.1.
MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT.
Worcester.

Fig. B 4.2.
MUG, PORCELAIN, CARMINE PRINT.
Worcester.

Fig. B 5.
JUG CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
Staffordshire.

Fig. B 6.
REVERSE OF JUG, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
Staffordshire.
Whether Holdship had a printing shop of his own, or was allocated a room by Duesbury at the Nottingham Road "Old Derby Factory," we do not know. But there was another factory existent then at Derby and not far off from Duesbury's. It was situated at Cockpit Hill, near the Market Place. It was owned by Heath, and others, and was sold up in 1780. An engraver, named Thomas Radford, worked at it. A teapot with the Hancock form of Tea Party engraved on it, is figured here at Fig. A18, bearing Radford's sign-manual. Holdship may have done transferring work there. We do not know; neither do we know much more about this interesting old spot. As noted in another part of this volume Radford seems to have worked at Shelton as well. He probably died in Staffordshire. His name is enrolled as engraver on the map list given by Chaffers for 1802. He was one of those obscure engravers who do not rise to the dignity of a notice in any of the Dictionaries of Art.

Thus much for Derby; but which seems to lay fair claim to the position of being fourth factory in adopting the art of transfer printing, although not much seems to have been done there. If better men than Holdship and his engravers had been employed by Duesbury probably much more extensive results would have been attained. Duesbury manufactured some of the finest decorated porcelain ware in the kingdom. He also turned out a quantity of very handsome cream ware as delicate as Wedgwood's Queen's ware. Why should he not have had some of those beautiful "Chelsea birds" printed thereon à la Wedgwood? It seems strange that such an artistic man did not do so. Probably he was bound by his agreement with Holdship who he found out to be some distance from his own standard of artistic excellence.
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The next pot works of which there is really any definite date is Caughley, modernly Coalport. Thomas Turner was an apprentice at Worcester under Robert Hancock. Turner left Worcester in 1772 to take charge of and enlarge his own factory at Caughley. His knowledge of the transfer process no doubt served him in good stead, and doubtless the overglaze black was produced at once. In eight years afterwards he made a great hit by producing the famous underglaze blue "willow pattern" in whole dinner services. It was not the first blue underglaze in the Kingdom as has been alleged. But the credit rests on the fact of producing the blue "willow," an Anglo-Oriental type of decoration, and a new departure in transfer prints, which became exceedingly popular. In addition to this successful venture another prolonged success was achieved. A very clever apprentice, named Thomas Minton, assisted Turner in producing a famous service (for tea) in 1782. It was called the Broseley Dragon, which also became popular. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, there is a quart jug, printed (underglaze) in blue flowers which is inscribed "James Kennedy, 1778." It is marked with a blue C—the early Caughley mark—and it is stored in the Shropshire Pottery and Porcelain Division. (See Fig. D1.) The date may or may not be the time of production; but it looks early. Turner, no doubt, would begin experimenting for a suitable underglaze, as other potters were doing, and, probably, he had gained a certain amount of knowledge about it at Worcester. As soon as he acquired the factory he commenced to rebuild and enlarge it. This was accomplished in 1775—vide "Marks and Monograms," fourth ed., p. 746. Judging from results he appears to have been an energetic, clever, and well educated man. The latter might be
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expected because he was the son of a clergyman. He was a chemist—so far as the science was known then—a draughtsman and designer, as well as engraver. He was evidently possessed with commercial instinct, and knew how to select good men as assistants. As soon as he got ready for extended work he went to France and brought back some skilled workmen. We have it that there were four printing presses working at Caughley in 1797, so that the transfer business had very much increased since the willow pattern was introduced. In two years again Turner sold the factory to John Rose, of Coalport, and retired. He had evidently made a sufficiency to enable him to retire. Like Sadler he appears to have had the commercial instinct as well as the artistic faculty. It is a rare combination.

As regards the relations existing between master and man; and the interchange of work that took place between Worcester and Caughley, about a century and a half ago, Mr. Jewitt has some very interesting remarks. At p. 161 of his great work—"Ceramic Art"—he says that he has seen the same crescent mark on both Worcester and Caughley wares; and that it arose because of Worcester sending goods to Caughley to be printed. The wares were sent by barge and returned by the same conveyance. The Severn is a navigable river and was probably more used then than now, owing to the modern railway stepping in. The distance between the two places is only about forty miles. Mr. Jewitt suggests that printing may have been done at Caughley before it was put in operation at Worcester.

This would be another rival to Liverpool and even to Battersea if he is right. But Mr. R. W. Binns
Transfer Printing.

contravenes, and says that there is no evidence of such a thing having taken place before the year 1772, when Mr. Thomas Turner went to Caughley. That work for Worcester was done at some time or other at Caughley, was likely enough; and the interchange of workmen explains why the copperplates with Hancock's name on got to Coalport. He may have engraved them at Worcester and sent them on to be printed; or he may have worked for Worcester at Caughley. And here another point is touched upon. Caughley at that period (mid. 18th Cent.) was a place of "woods and wilds." It was an isolated retired spot, surrounded by forest land. It was a better place than Worcester was to carry on a new business with secrecy; and to do this effectually the engravers and printers of the new transfer process were actually "locked up and kept apart." So says Jewitt. There is not much reason to doubt the accuracy of his statement. Indeed, it is confirmed, inferentially by John Randall's most interesting volume—"The Severn Valley." This peep into the manners and customs of our potting ancestors casts a flood of light on two points in our eventful history. First, it indicates clearly the absolutism that prevailed, so recently as a hundred and fifty years ago, of the master over the man—that he could lock him up in brave old England, whilst at work. Here is the key to the action of Wedgwood, Holdship and Sadler towards their artists, engravers, etc. It would not be suffered nowadays one moment by men of spirit. Secondly, it tells us distinctly that trade secrets were guarded with the utmost jealousy, and that may have been the reason why Battersea applied for no patent and wrapped the secret round with mystery until Liverpool, by some means, got hold of the clue to it.
Plate No. XIX.

Fig. B 8. PLAQUE, ENAMEL, BLACK PRINT.
Swansea.
Development in the 18th Century.

With regard to the dates of overglaze and underglaze transfer prints, at Caughley, we have no authentic account save the time of Thomas Turner's leaving Worcester and his mastery of the new willow pattern. The oldest dated information appears to be an extract from a newspaper of 1st November, 1775, which stated that the new porcelain factory was now completed. Jewitt's account may be correct, but it is not authenticated. Therefore we must fall back on the Turner dates till we get more light. The only other speck of light which we have, and that is dim enough, is from Joseph Marryat's "History of Pottery and Porcelain," dated 1850, p. 183. After speaking of Dr. Wall, of Worcester, having discovered the secret of "transferring printed patterns to biscuit ware," he says: "This process was subsequently introduced in the Caughley manufactory by a partner in the original Worcester manufactory, named Holdship." This is exceedingly vague. The partner alluded to, instead of being Holdship, must have been the apprentice, Thomas Turner, who had acquired the property and introduced both overglaze and underglaze, subsequently, at the pot-works at Caughley. Some people may think that this confirms Jewitt's idea of Holdship having been at Caughley, but Jewitt, no doubt, would be acquainted with Marryat's statement—published many years before he entered the field of ceramic literature—and he does not quote him. The true version of the matter is more likely to be that which is stated above.

At this stage it will be well to make a little review of the case. Six factories, which have fairly well authenticated dates attached to their operations in respect of transfer printing, have been dealt with. Excluding all theories and assumptions—what is the
Transfer Printing.

result? This: in regard to overglaze (including, of course, copper enamels, porcelains, and pottery), Battersea was first for printing enamels, in 1753, and Bow's porcelain, per the Bowcocke Mems., dated the 28th May and the 18th June, 1756. Liverpool was second on 27th July, 1756, with delft tiles; Worcester third, in December, 1757, with porcelain; Derby fourth, in 1764, with porcelain; and Caughley, fifth, in 1772, with porcelain and (or) pottery. Bow, of course, is one of the six, but did no printing itself, so far as ascertained. In underglaze printing Worcester was first, in 1757, with porcelain; and Derby second, in 1764, with porcelain. Here we cannot go further until the Staffordshire question is dealt with, and, perhaps, Leeds and Swansea, when the question of underglaze precedence will come up again for consideration. Meantime, it is safe to say that—so far as actually proved dates are concerned—the above is a summary that is not likely to be modified in the present state of our information upon this very obscure division of the subject in hand. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the years and dates given above are only approximate of the exact truth. They are simply the years which have been identified. That is a foundation to build upon. Mere vague assertion is of no use in such a case, but, where we have a true date then inquiry can dare to go on further step by step; and even speculation of a limited character may be indulged in. If we take the Battersea case as an example of this position, it is found that the watch back belonging to Mr. Binns was dated masonically in the year 1753. Good! But it is a well-finished production and indicates that the manufacture had been going on for some time previously. York House,
Plate No. XX.

Fig. B 9. PLATE, EARTHENWARE BLACK PRINT.
Wm. Adams & Sons.

Fig. B 10. PHOTO OF ENGRAVING OF ORIGINAL.
Wm. Adams & Sons.
Development in the 18th Century.

Battersea, was opened by Alderman Janssen "about 1750" it is said—only three years previously! We have it from "Cynthio" of the "Gentleman's Magazine," that the art of transfer printing was one "by rival numbers sought." It is, therefore, likely enough that Janssen, if he really found out the secret from Ravenet, may, on the strength of it, have started the Battersea factory; and thus, the enamel printing may actually have been dated there from 1750. This same sort of evolution seems to have characterized the Liverpool discovery. Mr. Mayer stated that the suggestion came to Sadler seven years previous to 1756, by seeing some children sticking bits of paper on broken pottery; then, in the famous affidavit for patent, Sadler and Green declare that they have been all those years experimenting and that now (only now!) have brought the art to perfection. If so, the Battersea inventor may have taken a like time—more or less. In the case of Worcester, it is probable that Robert Hancock went there in 1756, and, if so, the transfer print would be introduced at once. Regarding that question, the late Mr. R. W. Binns wrote in his "Century of Potting," as follows:—"It may be well to note that all the black printing was done on the glazed surface of the ware, and passed through the enamel kiln fire only. There are a few specimens which shew that Dr. Wall was desirous of introducing an underglaze colour in addition to blue; for these engraved patterns few colours could stand the great fire required for the glaze." The inference from this passage appears to be that, shortly after the introduction of the overglaze black transfer, Dr. Wall endeavoured to obtain an underglaze colour or colours as well. Of course, readers will observe that there are three firings usually in the finishing of a piece of
porcelain or pottery. First, the clay is baked in the "biscuit oven." That is the most intense heat which it endures. Any painting or printing upon the biscuit surface is termed underglaze. Secondly, the piece after being dipped in liquid glaze, is placed in the "glost oven" for another firing at a much lower temperature than for "biscuit." Thirdly, after being decorated by hand or by "transfer," which is then called an overglaze decoration, it is placed in the enamel kiln for affixing the transfer, etc., at a lower temperature still. This is usually the latest course unless the piece is highly decorated by hand, and has to be repeatedly fired according to the finish or style of the process. Of course, the above details may be very much varied according as the ware is hard or soft paste. For example, the Oriental porcelain, such as Nankin and others, are only given one firing for biscuit and glaze together, and a second for enamel work. Returning to the Worcester "transfer" question, it appears to be even yet a general impression that no blue underglaze printing was achieved there for quite a number of years after the black overglaze was introduced. There is a mug (N. 63) in the V. and A. Museum, London. It has a print of flowers in underglaze blue and is marked with a $W$, one of the oldest of the Worcester marks, which is supposed to have been disused about 1770, the advent year of underglaze, as estimated by at least one writer on ceramics. But the inference from the above extract of Mr. Binns' book (and he is our best authority on "Worcester") is that the attempt was made very shortly after the transfer process began. Mr. Haywood, of the Royal Porcelain Works at Worcester, writing in December, 1902, says that he had "no doubt it was done within very few months of
Plate No. XXI.

Fig. B 11. JUG, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
Wedgwood.

Fig. B 12. JUG, WHITE WARE, PURPLE PRINT
Thos. Wolfe.
Development in the 18th Century.

the introduction of transfer printing at Worcester." That very recent opinion of a local authority upon the subject endorses the view which was maintained by Mr. R. W. Binns, and, surely, if they could do the underglaze blue painting the underglaze blue printing could also be done, only the public demand for it had not arrived to any extent. Then, we know that Holdship introduced the “blew” at Derby only a few years afterwards—another powerful argument that it had been adopted at Worcester very early. He came from that city, and it was there where he had learned what he had acquired of the art of transfer printing. We may take it, therefore, that the black and the blue printing went on co-terminously (though not co-extensively) from about 1756 to 1774, when Hancock left the factory and line engraving seems to have declined. Bat printing then came into favour, and continued, more or less, until the Flight, Barr and Barr period (1813-1840), and perhaps later.

Intimately connected with the Worcester processes was that of Caughley. Thos. Turner had been educated under Hancock as an engraver. No doubt he used the overglaze black print. Shaw says as much, for William Davis had been a “black printer” there. He may have used the glue-bat as well. But what he rendered himself famous for was the popular Willow and Broseley services (Figs. A 24; D 3; and D 14). Mr. Binns laments that the imitation Chinese underglaze blue, which had been done at Worcester previously, did not catch the critics’ taste and the public favour. Turner however succeeded immensely, and he soon had imitators in the persons of Josiah Spode, and others. Robert Chamberlain, too, helped this tide of success. He was decorator at Worcester
Transfer Printing.

when the Royal Porcelain Works were acquired by Mr. Flight in 1783. Chamberlain left and started on his own account in 1786. He at first got all his china in the white from Caughley, and much of Turner's own ware went to Chamberlain to be decorated. The rush for the underglaze "blue" was so intense, for a while, that Binns says the "cry was always for more blue," and the demands of the public could hardly be complied with. See "Century of Potting at the City of Worcester," p. 87.

At Liverpool all the varieties of transfer printing were done.

The date of the overglaze has been fixed by Sadler and Green's affidavit. Mr. Mayer has given many details. Amongst others, that there is a Liverpool punch-bowl of earthenware, printed in blue, by bat process, at the Herculaneum factory. Mr. Gatty gives extracts from some MSS., which inter alia, have the following regarding Liverpool. "Then blue printed ware, which was invented in black and red printing first, and transferred off paper by Sadler."

Meteyard, in her "Handbook to Wedgwood Ware" (p. 336), states that potters from a distance sent their ware in the biscuit state to Sadler and Green, and that Wedgwood soon followed their example. That would (if true) be early in the sixties, for we find Wedgwood hunting up the London print shops in 1765, for designs for decoration of the "Queen's Ware" (an overglaze) which he sent to Liverpool. Probably Miss Meteyard meant the "potters from a distance," when she said that their ware was in a biscuit state, and not Wedgwood's. She was a great authority, but the best may err in such a
Plate No. XXII.

Fig. B 13. PLATE, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
JAS. CLEWS.
Development in the 18th Century.

slippery subject, and she was writing about a century afterwards. If, however, she was right, we must assume that the underglaze process had been discovered at Liverpool almost as soon as at the Worcester Royal Porcelain Works. All that can be said is that it is a very doubtful point.

The Herculaneum Pottery made underglaze blue printed ware on the 11th November, 1796, according to Mr. Joseph Mayer. Zechariah Barnes (1743-1820), Liverpool potter, also made it, but at what period is not known for a certainty. Miss Meteyard, in her "Life of Wedgwood" (p. 290), says Liverpool printed various colours, but generally in cobalt blue. But she gives no further reference or authority for the statement. The probability is that Liverpool did not print underglaze blue ware (except for experimental pieces) until Turner, of Caughley, produced the willow pattern in 1780, which set the public demand going, and all the other potters followed his example.
TRANSFER PRINTING

on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE 18th CENTURY.

Part II.

The only other factories of the 18th century considered, in reference to this subject, to be worthy of notice are: the Leeds Old Pottery, the Cambrian of Swansea, and certain potworks of North Staffordshire.

LEEDS.

It is usually held that this pottery was commenced in 1760, but of that statement we have no confirmation. It might be like Swansea in that respect. Swansea was always put down as founded "about 1750," till I discovered the actual deeds in the muniment room at the Town Hall, and proved that it was not till 18 years subsequently that the pottery was opened for work—the deeds themselves being dated 1764. Ll. Jewitt, in "Ceramic Art," says Leeds began the black printing on its wares "about 1780"; and Messrs. Kidson, in "The Leeds Old Pottery," say that the blue printed was not made there "before 1790." That is, the underglaze blue followed the overglaze black prints about ten years afterwards. We have, therefore, three dates—1760, 1780 and 1790—as guides, but they are only approximate, because they are unconfirmed.

There are a few other points about transfer printing at Leeds which are worthy of note and within the scope of this work. For them the admirable
Fig. B 14. PLAQUE ENAMEL, PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.  
HERCULENEUM.
Development in the 18th Century.

sketch of Messrs. Kidson must be acknowledged, and for further information about Leeds' ware my readers are referred to their book. At page 67, they say: "We have no doubt that those (persons) who first saw Sadler's prints on earthenware could conceive that a flat tile might perhaps receive an impression from a copperplate, but were unable to see how an uneven surface (say, like a jug) could obtain one also. No doubt, however, the secret soon leaked out while Sadler and Green kept a good trade owing to their prolonged experience and better workmanship. Now, no pottery is complete without its copperplate press for the purpose of printing its ware." These are very appropriate and judicious observations.

Leeds, we are told, followed Wedgwood's example at first in sending the ware to Liverpool to be printed. But, by-and-bye, as the secret of the new decoration leaked out, Leeds got its own apparatus, engravers and printers, and did the work at home. The earliest Leeds' black printed ware was fine and artistic. Some pieces were decorated with exotic birds, Chelsea style, and probably were done from the same copperplates at Liverpool which had been used for Wedgwood's plates and dishes—see Fig. D 16 herein. Another early pattern in black overglaze was the famous Tea Party, as used by Wedgwood and by the Worcester factory. Right and wrong! It was the Tea Party no doubt, but it was not the exact form as used by "Worcester." The Liverpool design was a variant from the Hancock-Worcester sketch, and doubtless the same copperplates were used for Wedgwood, Leeds and others, who employed Sadler and Green to do their work.

Another interesting point is mentioned by Messrs. Kidson: "The Death of Wolfe" engraving, after
West. An illustration is given herein at Fig. B 12—attributed to Thomas Wolfe, Staffordshire, and to Wedgwood, and probably was, also, printed from the Leeds' engraved plate in Sadler and Green's possession.

When Napoleon overran the Continent in the early 19th century his troops occupied Holland and Belgium. During that time the Leeds factory made large consignments of ware to the Dutch markets. In the case of the printed ware it is doubtful whether the decoration was done at home or abroad. Most probably the former, because the transfer print never found a congenial home on the Continent. One design, illustrative of the popular feeling at the time, was a figure of Liberty, having an inscription thus: "Voor Vryheid en Vaderland"—for Liberty and Fatherland.

With regard to the underglaze colours Messrs. Kidson say (p. 96): "An underglaze colour was a great desideratum." The Leeds Pottery did not make blue printed ware before 1790, but it became the staple product at the end of the first quarter of the 19th century. That would be when the "gaudy colours" underglaze, came in. A lighter blue was used and other colours, such as green, brown, lilac and an underglaze black. The early blue printed ware was of a "strong, dark blue" tint, and was almost as fine as the best quality of Nankin china.

It is rather a singular circumstance regarding the Leeds' wares that nearly every piece of the willow pattern was marked. This is the more singular when it is remembered that very little Leeds' ware generally is marked at all.
Plate No. XXIV.

**Fig. B 15-1.**
MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT.
Worcester.

**Fig. B 15-2.**
MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT.
Worcester.

**Fig. B 15-3.**
MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT.
Worcester.

**Fig. B 16.**
MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT
Worcester.

**Fig. B 17.**
VASE, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT.
Worcester.
Development in the 18th Century.

SWANSEA.

In the case of Swansea a very extensive business was at one time done in printed ware, especially for export to the West Indian Islands. Large quantities of copper ore were imported from Cuba and, as many vessels sailed back again with limited cargoes, there was a good opportunity to export pottery wares at a small rate of freight. When the factory closed, in the year 1870, the copperplates were sold at auction. Some were bought by a Bristol firm and the rest went to Llanelly potworks. There were both over and underglaze patterns. One of them was the favourite "Willow." Others were named the "Cuba," the "Grape," the "Tower," the "Goojerat," etc. A most interesting design was called "Bird-nest china." It was kept for porcelain alone. There were various shades of blue for underglaze; also black, brown, and a favourite pink overglaze for porcelain, in imitation of a Chinese design. Another artistic pattern was in foliage and finely potted. A specimen is in the Cardiff Museum.

The period of commencement of the transfer print at Swansea cannot be very closely defined. The factory began its career in 1768, and in 1790 Thomas Rothwell was there as engraver. There are* a number of delft plaques at Swansea decorated with local views. They were designed and engraved by Rothwell, and printed in 1792. They are transfer prints and are in the hands of local connoisseurs. Some time between 1768 and 1792 the transfer printing

* The six Rothwell plaques are as follows:—

1. Port and Bay of Swansea. 4. North-east View of Swansea.
2. South-east View of Clas Mont. 5. Sketty Hall.


No. 1. is figured herein, see Fig. B 8.
must have been commenced. Rothwell was employed by Mr. Humphrey Palmer, of Hanley (vide "History of Staffs. Potteries," p. 192), as "enameller, engraver and printer." The date is not given. Dr. Shaw's chronology is vague. He says "about this time," and he had been speaking of the year 1767 in the preceding paragraph. Rothwell would be 25 years old then. The probability is that he found his way to Swansea in the eighties, because it was not till then that Staffordshire had really succeeded with the transfer print. The other factories, such as Worcester, Derby, Caughley and Liverpool, had been at the work long before, but we have no account of Rothwell being at any of them. He was a fairly good engraver, judging by the signed specimens which he has left us. Notices about him are in Bryan and Redgrave's dictionaries. Shaw speaks well of him. He was employed by the proprietor of the "Pocket Magazine" to engrave J. M. W. Turner's "Swansea" (see Fig. B 7), "Windsor," and "Worcester"—a proof of the estimation in which he was held. Turner was at Swansea in 1792 and several subsequent years. Probably both under and overglaze printing was commenced at Swansea within a short time of each other, and roundly speaking it would very likely be about the same time as Adams, Baddeley, Spode and John Turner achieved the same result in Staffordshire. There is no record of Swansea having employed Sadler and Green. Probably not, as there would be difficulty of communication then. The final sale showed that the factory had its own copperplates some time, at least, in its career, and in large numbers. It is also probable that, when the underglaze blue succeeded so well generally, the black overglaze would be abandoned at an early period as at other places. Similarly to the
PLATE NO. XXV.

Fig. B 18. PEPPER-DUSTER, CREAM WARE BLACK PRINT.
Etruria.
Development in the 18th Century.

case of Staffordshire, early in the 19th century, many "gaudy colours" were printed for the oversea markets.

The foregoing has been written exclusively about the Cambrian potworks. There were other two potteries at Swansea, but they were, historically, in the 19th century and of minor importance. One was the Glamorgan Factory (1813 to 1838) and the other Mead's (about 1835 to 1892). There is nothing in regard to them and the subject matter of this volume, that calls for any special mention.

Staffordshire.

"The Potteries" form a district, comprehending about 540 proprietors* of porcelain and earthenware factories, according to the latest census return. It will be advisable to treat it as a whole in these pages, on account of my limited space and the vast ground to overtake. In fact it is an utter impossibility to discuss every detail of such an immense area as the transfer printing of Staffordshire covers, unless a large volume or volumes were devoted to it. So far as we know Josiah Wedgwood was the first potter who is named as having availed himself of the use of it, but he did not print at his own factories for many years to come. Jewitt says that he was at first opposed to it but soon changed his mind. Meteyard (Wedgwood Handbook, p. 326) says that potters from a distance sent their ware to Sadler and Green at Liverpool, and Wedgwood followed their example. Doubtless he soon saw that it was what was wanted to complete the attractions of his improved cream or "Queen's Ware." His caudle service of cream ware was presented to Queen Charlotte in 1762 and he was


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appointed "Queen's Potter in 1763." Two years afterwards, we are told, he was seen in London rummaging old print shops for designs to send to Sadler and Green. Probably, therefore, between the years 1762 and 1765 he began to send his fine cream or Queen's Ware to Liverpool to be printed. This system continued, more or less, till 1795—the year he died. Nevertheless, owing to difficulties with the Liverpool firm and their enamellers and for other reasons, he had commenced printing at Etruria about the year 1784, as we are informed by Miss Meteyard. This would be only for the overglaze printing, because, according to Dr. Shaw (p. 193): "When blue printing was introduced, the enamellers waited upon Mr. Wedgwood to solicit his influence in preventing its establishment." We are informed that he religiously kept his promise "not to make it." That probably occurred about the time (1784) spoken of by Meteyard. She adds, however, that he continued to employ Green, of Liverpool, for the old patterns. Mayer states that about ten years later he (Wedgwood) obtained a staff of printers from Liverpool to join him at Etruria. If it meant "blue printing" in earnest, it was most likely to be after Josiah Wedgwood had expired, in 1795, for it is understood that his immediate successors made underglaze blue ware.

In the meantime other Staffordshire men were striving to print at their own factories. It was in the year 1775 that the first serious attempt was made by a master potter to introduce this art into the Potteries. Twenty and more years had passed away since its inception. Battersea, Bow, Chelsea, Worcester, Liverpool, Derby, Caughley and Wedgwood had all acquired or had access to this secret process; and yet the men of North Staffordshire—the most
Plate No. XXVI.

Fig. B 19.
JUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT.
LIVERPOOL.

Fig. B 20-1.
POT COVERS, EARTHENWARE, COLOURED PRINT.
STAFFORDSHIRE.

Fig. B 20-2.
POT COVERS, EARTHENWARE, COLOURED PRINT.
STAFFORDSHIRE.

Fig. B 20-3.
POT COVERS, EARTHENWARE, COLOURED PRINT.
STAFFORDSHIRE.
Development in the 18th Century.

numerous body of English potters—were quiescent! Why was it? Well, the whole circumstances must be considered. In such cases "trade secrets" are guarded with jealous care, and hence the expense of "trials" and other efforts to evolve the requisite knowledge. In the case of the desired discovery of the recipe of "hard paste porcelain," it is said that Dr. Pott, of Berlin, made about 30,000 experiments.* Moreover, the Salt-glaze craze had not subsided. It was the "pet" at that time of the N. S. Potters; and we know how conservative the majority of mankind are in trade. They are obliged to be on account of their stock and plant. Wedgwood was a genius and emancipated himself very soon from the Salt-glaze fetters. He probably anticipated what was coming. The enamellers were slaying the best period of Salt-glaze by inches, and Josiah yoked himself on to the new, but triumphal, car of cream ware.

But there was another man younger than Wedgwood, who also had the foresight or intuitiveness of genius in him, and that was William Adams, of Cobridge. As soon as he had rebuilt his factory there he sent for William Davis, an engraver from Worcester, in the year 1775, to attempt the new process.† Davis had not mastered the secret properly. The bat print was first employed and then he tried the paper transfer.

The most of our data is derived from the "unreliable Shaw," as Miss Meteyard calls him. He is certainly a most exasperating writer. He gives us a great amount of information, but much of it is so mixed up with other material and dates, that it is almost impossible to make anything like a connected

†Vide "William Adams, an Old English Potter" p. 98.
narrative of the event he describes. He is, too, very chary of quoting authority for his statements, which are, as a rule, dogmatically stated. However, we have to make the best of him.

Dr. Shaw says: "In 1767 there is a well authenticated case of a tea service being sent to Liverpool from the Bell or Brick House Works (Wedgwood's), Burslem, to be printed. The specimens were said to be beautiful." (We have an earlier date from Meteyard.) Immediately he goes on to say: "About this time" Thomas Rothwell, a clever engraver, was employed by Palmer, of Hanley, but that his specimens were not equal to those from Liverpool which were done for Wedgwood. Thomas Rothwell, according to Redgrave's Dictionary of British Artists, etc., was "an engraver of good repute in his profession." He was born in 1742, and died in 1807. If at Hanley in 1767 he would only be 25 years of age when his fellow engravers were striving to master the secret. Unless, indeed, he had served at Battersea, Worcester, or Liverpool, it is unlikely that he could, in 1767, have acquired the modus operandi of transfer printing. Nevertheless, we find him, subsequently, at Swansea practising that same art. Friend Shaw proceeds with his statement, and says that John Robinson, enameller and printer, left Sadler and Green in order to print for Wedgwood, and afterwards commenced business for himself at Burslem as a printer in black and red on the glaze, but that his "specimens were deficient in elegance." When this happened we are not informed. Again, he says that Harry Baker was the first "black printer" (sic) in Staffordshire and printed transfers from old book plates previous to Sadler and Green, of Liverpool, practising the new process. If so, this ingenious man—
Plate No. XXVII.

Fig. B 21. Plate, white ware, blue print.

Etruria.

Fig. B 22-1.
Plate, opaque china, brown print.
Swansea.

Fig. B 22-2.
Plate, opaque china, brown print.
Swansea.
Development in the 18th Century.

Harry Baker—may have been the first person to give the idea to England of transfer printing, although he did not succeed with his medium. It never could succeed by means of book plates as explained already. This incident, however, shows how the incipient idea had been simmering in other brains than those of John Sadler, of Liverpool. Baker was only a working man, and he had no capital wherewith to develop his invention, for we find him at Shelton, "about 1777," trying bat printing for the Baddeleys. In this, Shaw says again, "very little progress was made for some time." Subsequently, it appears, Baddeley employed Thomas Radford, engraver, to print "tea services by an improved method of transferring the impression on to the bisquet ware, which was attempted to be kept secret, but was soon developed." The next step seems to have been the employment of Wm. Smith, engraver, from Liverpool, by Baddeley. He improved the transfers very much. But, to accomplish better work, Smith sent for Thomas Davis, printer, from Worcester, "who introduced other improvements." They are not specified. Then John Turner, of Lane End; Josiah Spode, of Stoke; and John Yates, of Shelton, seem to have forged ahead. In 1783 two printers and an engraver—Thomas Lucas—were imported from Caughley. Two of them—Thos. Lucas and James Richards—joined Spode's staff; and the third—John Ainsworth—was employed by Yates. These men introduced what Shaw terms “the

* Another Davis from Worcester! Probably a brother of William Davis, of Cobridge, and both sons, perhaps, of William Davis, a director of the Worcester factory. It is rather curious to observe that the two Davises and Richard Holdship—all three connected with the management at Worcester—seemed to have failed to thoroughly master the engraving for the transfer printing process. Thomas Turner, however, who had been a regular apprentice under Hancock, acquired it, in all its branches, so well as to succeed at Caughley.

According to Binns ("Century of Potting at Worcester") the elder Mr. Davis had two sons. Probably they were the men mentioned in the text.
**Transfer Printing.**

composition called oils,” and the method of washing the paper off the “bisquet pottery,” and hardening on the colours previous to immersion in the fluid glaze. They, in short, seem to have given to Spode and Yates the secret of manufacturing the blue underglaze willow pattern, so successfully accomplished by Thos. Turner, at Caughley, three years previously, and which was the place from whence they had come. This gives an insight into the mode by which the much-guarded secrets of the potters’ trade are acquired. It was so in Germany, in France, with Dwight, and with the Elers. However closely the trade secrets are watched over, there are clever, enterprising rivals, who are on the prowl, and who take the first opportunity to turn their information to profitable account.

John Turner, of Lane End, does not appear to have got a recruit from Caughley, but Dr. Shaw says he managed to procure a printer named Underwood, from Worcester—probably the same man who worked for Holdship at Derby. The Lane End potter was first in Staffordshire to employ a “blue printer” (sic) who damped the paper for the transfers. Then, there were *Wm. Adams, of Greengates, in 1787, and †Thomas Minton, in 1793, who both made superior underglaze blue ware. The following is a summary of the Staffordshire development:—

1. William Adams, of Cobridge, as a manufacturer, first introduced (in 1775) transfer printing into Staffordshire, both by bat and paper overglaze process.

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† Vide Shaw’s “History of Staffordshire Potteries,” p. 225.
Plate No. XXVIII.

Fig. C 1. PLATE, SALT GLAZE, RED PRINT. Staffordshire.

Fig. C 2. FLOWER POT AND STAND, WHITE WARE, RED PRINT. Shorthose.
Development in the 18th Century.

2. Mr. Baddeley, of Shelton, in 1777, tried the bat process, and "some time" after that he appears to have worked at the paper transfer for both over and underglaze, but the dates are not given.

3. John Turner, of Lane End, would appear to be the first to produce a blue underglaze in Staffordshire. We must, therefore, put him down as the third on record in Staffordshire to succeed in any kind of transfer printing.

4. Josiah Spode, of Stoke, followed with his willow pattern "about 1784"—underglaze, of course. He may have done overglaze in 1783, with his Caughley recruits, but there is no record.

5. John Yates, of Shelton, was very likely to be doing the same thing, as he, too, had procured a transfer printer from Caughley in 1783.

(Regarding Mr. Humphrey Palmer, of Hanley, and his employment of Rothwell, the engraver, it is impossible to fix the date or to say what was really accomplished).

6. Josiah Wedgwood had printers at work at Etruria in 1784 while, at the same time and long after, Green, of Liverpool (Sadler having retired), continued to print many of the old patterns, such as "green shell, the green flower, and red landscapes"—vide Meteyard's "Handbook of Wedgwood Ware," p. 331.

7. William Adams, of Greengates, about 1787, produced an underglaze blue which, for finish and durability, is considered one of the very best ever produced in England, and almost equal to the best Oriental.
Transfer Printing.

8. "About 1793" (Shaw says), Thomas Minton commenced blue printing at Stoke and turned out very superior ware indeed.

These facts are the principal incidents relating to the evolution of transfer printing in Staffordshire during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, so far as the manufacturers were concerned, and we have data upon the subject.

The information as to time and work of the "independent" engravers is very meagre. There was John Robinson, "who commenced business at Burslem, but his work was deficient." No time is stated and no further result can be gleaned regarding him. There was the inventor, Harry Baker, who was alleged to have anticipated Sadler and Green, somewhere, by printing on "pots" from book plates. If so, it is a pity the man had not the means and perseverance to pursue and develop his invention. It was even a better beginning than the papering of pottery by children, which gave Sadler, of Liverpool, the initial idea of the transfer print. There was Thos. Fletcher, black printer and enameller, of Shelton. He is in the map of 1802. A jug of his printing is illustrated herein, Fig. A 30. But we know little else about him. There was John Aynsley, of Lane End, who also is recorded in the map of 1802, and a plate of his is illustrated in this volume, see Fig. A 29. But little else is recorded of him. There was Thomas Radford, who printed tea pots in black for Wm. Greatbach, of Fenton, but we have no fixed dates regarding him.

There is a list of fourteen engravers, who resided in North Staffordshire at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. It would be interesting to read about their individual careers,
Plate No. XXIX.

Fig. C 3. BASKET AND STAND, WHITE WARE BLUE PRINT.
DAVENPORT.

Fig. C 4. DISH, WHITE WARE, BLUE PRINT.
F. Meir.
Development in the 18th Century.

abilities and work, but the veil is not to be lifted. They were not manufacturers, but only cogs in the wheels of the commercial machinery of the Potteries. Their artistic work is obscured, and their talents are all hidden away behind the screen of business life which has, unhappily, too much characterised the system of the master potters of Staffordshire. Doubtless, many of these humble men and artist engravers were mediocre in their abilities. But very probably some of them were not. In the case of Ravenet at Battersea, Hancock at Worcester, and the painters at Chelsea, Derby and other factories, their names and productions have been handed down to us, and it is a great pleasure to the keen collector and connoisseur to name their names and identify their work.
TRANSFER PRINTING

on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

The factories and persons already discussed were those early in the field or, in some way, were more conspicuous in this question of transfer printing. There were many other master potters who attempted it, or carried it on. Jewitt, in his "Ceramic Art of Great Britain," gives a list of about forty of them.*

To discuss or describe all of them is beyond the scope of this small volume. In some cases it would be very interesting to pursue the subject. Notably those of Plymouth, Bristol, Newcastle, Sunderland, Castleford, The Don, Whittington, Ferrybridge and others. In the case of Whittington, for instance, some experiments were made with bat printing by the father of Llewellynn Jewitt. In Staffordshire, of course, there are a crowd of men who could be noticed in detail. Such a mass of information would require volumes to absorb it. Some notable manufacturers, indeed, should have monographs of their lives and works to each of them.

The development of the early 19th century transfer printing was largely prompted by the American war at the close of the 18th century. The great struggle with our North American Colonies ended in 1783 by their Independence being acknowledged. That campaign gave birth to many historic

* Nearly every factory in Staffordshire Potteries does some transfer printing at the present time.
Plate No. XXX.

Fig. C.5. Fish Plate, White Ware, Black Print.
Close & Co.

Fig. C.6. Dish, White Ware, Blue Print.
Lakin.
Development in the 19th Century.

scenes. In a few years afterwards the Liverpool potters took advantage of the idea and began to make suitable wares and shapes for the American market, with historic scenes depicted on them. This afforded a great field and stimulus to the potting trade at Liverpool. The Staffordshire potters were not long in following the example. In the early years of the 19th century the deep, dark blue ware was turned out. One of the first potters to make it and find an American market for his enterprise is said to have been Enoch Wood. Many others soon went into the same branch and, by a consensus of feeling, each potter adopted a differently designed border to distinguish his productions. By that time the potting trade in Staffordshire must have developed very largely. An index to it may be found in the map of 1802, published at Hanley. An extract from it is given by W. Chaffers, see "Marks and Monograms," p. 617, of the 4th edition. It is a list of fifty-eight persons who were, more or less, in connection with potteries, but not potters \per se\. There were packers, dealers, modellers, engravers, printers and others. There were thirteen engravers, one engraver and "black" printer, one black printer and enameller, three black printers, and forty others. In addition to the map a list of 144 manufacturers of earthenware is given. It will readily be seen how prominent the printing had become by the number of engravers in proportion to the others.

A further development took place about the end of the first quarter of the century, when what has facetiously been termed the "gaudy colours" were introduced. Two colour makers—W. W. Booth, of Stoke, and Joseph Twigg, of Burslem—are credited with the discovery of those colours as an underglaze.
Transfer Printing.

Other makers followed and became noted for particular kinds and shades. A bright pink was the first produced, and it was followed by a variety which soon supplanted the underglaze blue, that colour which for a half century had reigned supreme. The pink at first was very expensive to produce, and therefore it was limited in extent in practice. However, there can be no doubt that it was an event in the history of transfer printing and the ceramic trade of England. Dr. Shaw mentions the circumstance at the close of his "History of the Staffordshire Potteries." In 1829 he wrote: "Very recently several of the most eminent manufacturers have introduced a method of ornamenting table and dessert services, similarly to tea services, by the black printers using red, brown, and green colours for beautiful designs of flowers and landscapes on pottery greatly improved in quality and shapes formed with additional taste and elegance. This pottery has a rich and delicate appearance and, owing to the blue printed having become common, the other is now obtaining a decided preference in the most genteel circles."

Muspratt in "Industrial Chemistry," p. 832, confirms Shaw and gives a list of the modern underglaze colours, e.g., yellow, orange, fine brown, brown, yellow green, blue green, rose colour pink, purple, black, blue for flowing, and blue for ordinary printing. He gives analyses and other particulars. With regard to purple we have it from Mr. R. W. Binns that Dr. Wall obtained an underglaze delicate purple about the middle of the 18th century. But this is doubtful. Even Mr. Binns' son questions it. As to black, there is a jug illustrated in these pages (Fig. A 30), signed T. Fletcher. It is a black underglaze at sides, though

* Shaw probably meant a strong pink, as a true red cannot yet be obtained except on the glaze.
Plate No. XXXI.

Fig. C 7. Plate, white ware, black print.
A. Stevenson.

Fig. C 8. Cup and saucer, porcelain, blue print
Shorthose.
Development in the 19th Century.

overglaze in front. Fletcher resided at Shelton. He is recorded in the map of 1802 as a black printer and enameller, and his business closed there in 1810—vide "Marks and Monograms," 4th ed., p. 700. Hence black underglaze was discovered at least fifteen years previous to pink, etc., unless the secret died with Fletcher and it had to be rediscovered.

The deep, dark blue underglaze, the decoration of the ware with historic scenes, and the introduction of underglaze colours later on, were the leading characteristics of the early nineteenth century transfer printing. These developments had a great effect upon the American market. The English potter catered for it in many ways, and, now, although only a century old, the products of that period are being sought for with avidity by the American connoisseur. Books have been written about the cult, and illustrated journals have been established to foster the taste of the collector of those wares. As already stated, the Liverpool potters led the way. Washington the man, and Washington the capital, have been served up in many forms and phases. One of the most famous is the so-called "Washington pitcher," with the likeness of the great President, done in black printing, after the celebrated portrait by Stuart, which was said to have been his masterpiece. There is a jug in the Liverpool Museum with a black print thereon, entitled the "Apotheosis of Washington." It is a copy from a well known engraving. The obverse is an American ship, the "Sally," figured herein, and dated 1805. But, perhaps, the earliest dated piece of the kind is that of the ship "Astræ," lost in 1802, but the transfer print is dated 1793.

Dr. E. A. Barber, of the U.S.A., has cast much light upon the subject in his works on the pottery and
porcelain of the United States. He says of the Liverpool ware imported into America a century or so ago, that it was cream coloured, having black prints upon it, "usually under the glaze, or frequently covered with a gloss which gives them the appearance of having been applied under the glaze." On examining the early Liverpool pieces minutely the above opinion seems reasonable enough. A very experienced connoisseur friend (Mr. Drane, of Cardiff) suggests that it was owing to the softness of the glaze used, and that the print above sank into the soft glaze when in the enamel kiln. Mr. John Haslem ("Old Derby China Factory," p. 10) says: "The fusing of the fluxes acts as a sort of varnish to the colours, giving them that glossy appearance which has probably led to the erroneous impression that paintings on china are done under, not on, the glaze." He was treating of the Derby enamel work. A present day pottery engraver informs me it depends largely on the amount of heat in the enamel kiln. If high, the print and glaze may be fused, and vice versa. This is equivalent to Mr. Drane's view of it.

It is interesting to note the influence at work, and the phases which, by means of transfer prints on this Anglo-American pottery, it has taken. The pottery with scenes derived from the American War gave employment to a great number of our potters for the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Partly co-terminous and succeeding it came the desire for scenery and "beauty spots" in America and in other lands depicted on the ware. A Staffordshire potter (Clews) issued a series of "picturesque views." One of them, a scene on the Hudson River, is illustrated herein. (See Fig. C 15). He had engravings after Wilkie depicted thereon, such as the "Errand Boy,"
Plate No. XXXII.

Fig. C 9. TUREEN STAND, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
J. Stubbs.

Fig. C 10. TRAY, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
W. Adams, Greengates.

Fig. C 11. DISH, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT
Wm. Adams & Sons.
“Rabbit on the Wall,” and a number of others. Clews also produced some comic sketches on his plates, such as “Dr. Syntax in Search of a Wife,” after Rowlandson, and scenes from the life of the “Knight of the Rueful Countenance,” the immortal Don Quixote. One of the Syntax plates is figured in these pages (Fig. B 13). Napoleon, of course, as the bête noir of Europe, came in for much ridicule. A Swansea jug had upon it a most extraordinary series of the adventures of “Boney,” as they called him, the end of which was closely mixed up with his Satanic Majesty, who had poor “Boney” by the heel.

But there were some high class engravings “transferred” as well, and scenes from English life. The English mansion series contains some excellent views well engraved and transferred to the ware in clear distinct engraving. A number of the Staffordshire potters took up that phase of the work, which is now “collected” on both sides of the Atlantic. The American collector has been generous. Some of the blue printed ware has gone as high as 100 times the original price. But the collecting enthusiasm and the swollen prices have brought the usual result—fakes. A good deal of faking has been done of late years in those dark blue plates and dishes, in order to meet the demand in America for Staffordshire pieces, principally those with historic events or with American scenery printed upon them.

Those who wish to get more information on blue wares generally should consult Dr. Barber’s books, such as the “Anglo-American Pottery,” published in 1899, at Indianapolis, U.S.A., or any subsequent edition. Another book which deals with a more limited part of the same subject is “William Adams: An Old English Potter,” published in 1904.
Transfer Printing.

Chapman and Hall, London. In these books the collector of the dark blue transfer printed wares will find particulars and examples of the borders and marks which will enable him to distinguish the work of many of the potters. There are also short, concise, biographic notes of some of the manufacturers which must necessarily be of great interest to collectors and connoisseurs, especially if they are gifted with the historic taste as well. They will also find lists of the men who produced wares having the coveted American historical scenes and scenery, scriptural designs, etc., together with some sound information about the general history and features of the interesting subject of transfer printing.

In the early nineteenth century there was an evolution of the underglaze colour printing, which ought to be mentioned. Dr. Simeon Shaw mentions that, about the time he was writing, Mr. Wm. Brooke, engraver, Tunstall, suggested certain improvements in the way of decoration of plates—each to have a different landscape, group of flowers, and so forth. The design was taken up by various manufacturers, and some of the finest oriental scenery was transferred to pottery. Later on another improvement was effected, and underglaze copies of the paintings of the masters were printed on dessert plates, etc. Many covers of pomatum pots were so decorated, and, although this kind of decoration is still being done, the older pieces are now "collected." This process is very different and more expensive than the ordinary lithographic style of the transfer of prepared sheets on to a glazed surface—often done by children.

In the underglaze process the print is first transferred in the usual way, washed off, and allowed to dry for about a day. The second and other colours
Fig. C 12. DISH, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
Wm. Adams & Sons.

Fig. C 13. JUG, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
Wm. Adams & Sons.

Fig. C 14. SUPPER DISH, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT
Adams & Sons.
are dealt with, each in a similar style, until all are completed. Some very beautiful effects are obtained in this manner. See Fig. B 20, for such transfers after Teniers and Landseer. This plan began some half century ago or thereabouts. Mr. G. Hammersley writes: “In my early days a Mr. Austen, engraver, was exceedingly clever at this kind of work. And I had a few done in four colours at Brownhill’s by an engraver named Brown”—letter, dated 26th April, 1905. The Messrs. Pratt, of Fenton, are still turning out these exquisite underglaze reproductions, according to information received from a reliable source.

In “The Story of the Potter,” by C. F. Binns, there is a capital chapter on transfer printing, containing a terse and clear description of the processes. In it the writer mentions that a great development has taken place of late, in the art of lithography upon pottery. The difficulty appears to be the small quantity of colour carried by the stone. “The problem has been solved” (he says) “to some extent by the use of dust, in addition to the print.” The same reliable writer also points out the value of photography as applied to transfer printing, in assisting the engraver to adapt his subject to the shape of the object to be transferred upon. The early system of the collodion process is resorted to. A film can be detached from the negative and floated to a place on the copper, and the engraver can cut away instanter without loss of preliminary labour in slicing out gores for adaptation to the shape of the vessel.

The number of processes as applied to transfer printing and the decoration of pottery are surprisingly numerous, and would require a separate treatise to describe. Especially so is this the case since about seventy years ago; Mr. Jewitt, in an appendix to his
"Ceramic Art," gives a list of patents applicable to the decoration of porcelain and pottery. They number about a hundred, and not a few apply to the transfer print. For example, on 17th September, 1831, Messrs. Potts, Oliver and Potts, of New Mills, Derbyshire, obtained a patent for printing colours by continuous sheets on ceramic wares. This patent was extended on the 3rd December, 1835, by William Wainwright Potts, of Burslem (one of the three above named), being a modification of the process. In 1841, another patent was taken out by Edward Palmer, for the application by electrotype or electrography for printing china, pottery ware, etc., on sunken or raised surfaces. There are other patents regarding which it would be cumbersome and beyond my scope to enumerate. But it might be useful to mention that in 1856, the first patent seems to have been taken out for the application of chromo-lithography; and, in 1860, one for photographic decoration—both as adjuncts to the transfer print. Some of these instances have been picked out from the patent rolls at the Deansgate Library, Manchester. The continuous sheet system, patented first by Potts, Oliver and Potts, in 1831, was worked to some extent by the patentees; but, ultimately, it was improved and applied at the Greenfield factory, near Tunstall, Staffs. Mr. Hales Turner took out a patent for it and he, in association with Mr. William Adams, of Greenfield, developed the system there in or about the year 1888.

But this is carrying me beyond the limit of time prescribed, only it was a sequel to another patent before the first half century expired.
Plate No. XXXIV.

Fig. C15. PLATE, EARTHENWARE, BLACK PRINT.  
Jas. Clews.

Fig. C16. JUG, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.  
J. & R. Riley.
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on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

SUMMARY OF GLAZE QUESTION.

A POINT in this inquiry has been made of the periodicity of the factories in the matter of glaze. They have been stated in the following order:—Battersea (including Bow) first, then Liverpool, Worcester, Derby, and Caughley respectively, for overglaze. In the case of underglaze: Worcester and Derby. Having since examined the periods of Staffordshire, Leeds and Swansea, what do we find? Regarding overglaze transfers none of these potteries rival those already given in the order of merit of first production. Following Caughley, for overglaze printing, William Adams, of Cobridge, is sixth; the Baddeleys, of Shelton, seventh; Leeds pottery, eighth; John Turner, Lane End, ninth; Josiah Spode, of Stoke, and John Yates, of Shelton (contemporaneously), tenth; Josiah Wedgwood, of Etruria, eleventh; William Adams, of Greengates, twelfth; and Thomas Minton, of Stoke, thirteenth. The case of Humphrey Palmer, of Hanley, William Greatbach, and others, of Staffordshire, cannot be fixed for want of data. The same may be said of Swansea. But there is a strong probability, if not a moral certainty, that there were others who did both overglaze and underglaze printing before the eighteenth century closed. Then, for underglaze printing. How do we stand as regards absolute dates found? Worcester was placed first and Derby second. Our subsequent exploration cannot alter that position, whatever Jewitt may have
Transfer Printing.

said about the precedence of Caughley, for we have no dated proofs of it. We have a Caughley dated jug of 1778, but that may have been a birthday present, or for some other festive occasion, and produced after 1778—any time up to the year of the extinction of the pottery and the evolution of Coalport on its ruins. The third factory of which we have any absolute date for underglaze is that of Caughley, with its willow pattern of 1780. Dr. Shaw says that John Baddeley, of Shelton, "some time employed Thomas Radford to print . . . . the bisquet ware." What time that meant it is impossible to fix. Radford had been at Derby (Cockpit Hill Factory). It was sold up in 1780. He would probably remain until the last moment. Hence Caughley must claim the third position historically for underglaze production. Then comes Turner, of Lane End, fourth; Spode and Yates, fifth; William Adams, of Greengates, sixth; Thomas Minton, of Stoke, seventh; and Herculaneum, eighth. We cannot carry it further. In the case of Wedgwood no date can be fixed for his blue underglaze printing because he promised his men that he would not introduce it at Etruria as long as he lived; and we have no reason to assume otherwise.

The cases of Baddeley of Shelton, Palmer of Hanley, also those of Swansea and Leeds are so uncertain that it is impossible to date them down, however confident we may feel in an intellectual sense, that they all produced underglaze blue printed transfers before the end of the 18th century. Not only they but very probably others as well. There is the case of Bristol, for instance; but Champion only turned out a few trial pieces, and they may have been printed elsewhere. We are equally at sea regarding fixed dates with Sunderland, Newcastle-on-Tyne, the
Plate No. XXXV.

**Fig. C17.** CUP AND SAUCER, PORCELAIN, BAT PRINT
Minton.

**Fig. C18.** PLATE, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
J. & W. RIDGEWAY.
Summary of Glaze Question.

Don pottery and others. Even at Liverpool there is a difficulty about the period of underglaze. The over-glaze there, of course, is fixed by the date of Messrs. Sadler and Green’s affidavit for patent. But the underglaze is a different question. Gatty gives an account of a pepper box, painted in blue underglaze, made by Richard Chaffers, who died in 1765. “Marks and Monograms” records another, dated 1769, probably made by his son. In any case they were early, and if painted in underglaze blue why not print in underglaze blue? Well, Worcester tried and succeeded very early, technically, and, probably, artistically, but we have no dated specimens; and Dr. Wall does not seem to have continued his experiments. Haslem hints that the cobalt was not sufficiently purified as one reason. There were probably others. The public taste has much to do with such events. When the time arrived, when Turner, at Caughley in 1780, brought out his underglaze willow pattern, the public demand became so great that all the potters who could master the technique followed his example. Mr. Gatty mentions a jug of blue printed underglaze made by Seth Pennington, but no time is stated. It was likely enough that the Liverpool potters should follow the path of Caughley and Staffordshire and produce underglaze blue ware in the eighties of the 18th century. But the authorities at Liverpool Museum (and none are more likely to know) state that the earliest underglaze blue within their care and ken is a specimen of Herculaneum ware. That potworks was started in 1794 or thereabouts by Abbey and Graham. They sold it in 1796 to another firm who carried it on. Mr. Joseph Mayer states, dogmatically, that the first ware made there was blue printed, upon the 11th November, 1796.
It was a great desideratum to get the underglaze print. It was not like the overglaze liable to wear off by constant use and friction. But fashions change continually. And even "true blue" had its day. The deep, dark blue of the early nineteenth century, ornamented with historic and sylvan views, smooth and lasting, helped to prolong its existence. But at the end of the first quarter of it—say 1825 or 1826—the scene changes again, and the underglaze gaudy colours—pink, brown, green and so forth—came on and shunted the old favourite blue to one side. The details regarding the men who accomplished this feat have been given and need not be repeated. The question of the introduction of underglaze black is an incident. The underglaze colours, adapted by special processes, for reproducing historical paintings is another. These questions are subsidiary to the main points of the origin of the transfer print, and the claim of each person, place or factory, to the honour of introducing it and inventing the generic processes of the different glazes. They are the most important points to fix upon the right shoulders. After doing so there is still a very wide field for speculation and proof in the matter of details and side issues. It will always be pleasing to an interested public when the truth can be discerned and properly expounded.
The Plates in "C" Section are to illustrate some of the work of the Staffordshire Potters in Transfer Printing.
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THE BAT PRINT.

The foregoing pages have been taken up almost entirely in discussing the transfer print question from the point of line engraving, excepting, incidentally, when the bat print was mentioned. Perhaps, it would be well to devote a few pages to it more exclusively. Unfortunately we have very little information about it in our ceramic literature.

One of the most informing passages, perhaps, is that by Mr. R. W. Binns, in his "Century of Potting" (1877). It is also one of the earliest. Mr. C. F. Binns, also, has a capital description of the process in "The Story of the Potter" (1901). Mr. R. W. Binns says:—"The plate was stippled with a fine point by London artists, after designs by Cipriani, Angelica Kaufmann, Cosway, and the engravings of Bartolozzi; or, with landscapes, shells, fruits, flowers, etc. The copperplate being carefully cleaned, a thin coating of linseed oil was laid upon it and removed with the palm of the hand from the surface, leaving the oil on the engraved spots or lines; instead of paper, bats of glue were used to take impressions from the plate and laid upon the surface; it was then dusted with the colour required, the superfluous colour being removed with cotton wool, and then it was placed in the kiln." That is, the enamel kiln, in order that the print should be fixed permanently by being burnt into or on the glaze, according to the degree of heat used or the softness of the glaze itself. In regard to this subject a
Transfer Printing.

respected correspondent (Mr. George Hammersley) writes:—"The transfer at first would be almost invisible, except by holding the china plate or cup sideways to the light. I have often seen visitors marvel at how the engraving became visible as the black colour or rose colour was carefully dusted on with cotton wool. The advantage of the process was the extreme fineness of the engraved line* which could be produced in this way, and which, probably could not have been transferred from paper at all. For this reason it was used to give the outlining of the richest coats of arms and crests, which were afterwards to be painted by the crest painter." These two extracts will show the reader, authoritatively, the kind of process both in the past and the present mode of bat printing on porcelain.

The foundation of the system was stipple engraving, that is by using a fine steel point or etching needle on the waxed plate, and a special graver on the copper. Short lines were also made but usually as subsidiary to the stipple or dots. There was an old form of stipple employed as far back as the early 16th century by Durer, Van Leyden, etc., when even the mallet and punch were used. But the modern style was invented by, or at least attributed to, Jean Charles François—a French engraver (1717-1783). It was introduced into England by William Wynne Ryland, on his return from study in France, about 1760-1. The dictionary of National Biography states that he carried it (stipple, or the chalk or dotted manner of engraving) to a higher degree of perfection. But it was Bartolozzi (1727-1815) who really gave it so much impetus in England. He arrived in London in the year 1764. Bat printing,

* That is "stipple" more especially.
Plate No. XXXVII.

Fig. D 1. JUG, PORCELAIN, BLUE PRINT
CAUGHLEY.

Fig. D 2. CREAM JUG, PORCELAIN, BLUE PRINT
BRISTOL.
The Bat Print.

being an adaptation from stipple engraving, could not have been practised before 1761 in England.

Probably it was not in use till after Bartolozzi's advent, but before 1770, because aquatint, which is a modification of stipple, was in use in 1773, and must have been imported from France previously. Robert Hancock left Worcester some time during the year 1774. He was a line engraver of established reputation. He was then 43 years old, and not likely to turn to the new fad with anything like zest. Who the man was that introduced it there we do not know. But next year, singularly enough, we find at Cobridge, Staffs., William Davis, from Worcester, was bat printing for William Adams of that ilk. The next trace is in or "about 1777," at Mr. Baddeley's, of Shelton, who employed a person named Harry Baker as a bat printer. We find that it was used at the Herculaneum factory, near Liverpool, in the shape of a blue printed punch bowl "done by bat process—a flat surface made of glue and treacle" (Mayer). Again, that Zechariah Barnes, Liverpool potter, had made a cup, saucer and plate of porcelain, decorated with domestic scenes by the bat process (Gatty).

It may be a few years after the Liverpool productions or contemporaneously that it was done by Flight, Barr & Barr, at Worcester. Mr. Cox, of Whalley Range, Lancs., has a tea set very delicately decorated with the stippled bat transfer, and marked F.B.B. Their period at Worcester is given by the "Guide" to the Works as 1813-1840. It must have been adopted by a number of firms at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. It is found in the Victoria and Albert Museum in the shape of "marks" for various factories, such as Chamberlain, Worcester; at Coalport, John Rose's
Transfer Printing.

famous 1820 gold medal mark; and on Minton's. There is a fine specimen of it in the same museum, marked G 540, with a representation of the seat of Lord Bathurst at Cirencester in the County of Gloucester. It is a porcelain mug, printed in black and unmarked, but was presented to the Museum by H. Minton, Esq. It was probably made at his own factory at Stoke. There is a note appended to the description in the catalogue which is worth quoting:—

"In this process the print is transferred from the copperplate to a bat of gelatine and then on to the porcelain previously glazed. After the impression is thus printed in thick tar or oil, it is dusted over with enamel powder, which adheres to the tar and the piece is then fired again." This description is much about the same process as that described by Mr. Binns, and quoted above, with a slight variation of gelatine for glue and the use of tar. No doubt various firms had different methods of accomplishing the same ends. Not only the large factories but the smaller ones adopted the process. The Worthingtons, of Hanley, produced a "Peace Commemoration" mug after the Crimean War by the bat printing transfer process. It would probably suit the smaller manufacturers better than the "press" system because it could be done at less expense. But a large firm like Copeland's kept it going for many years. A family of bat printers named Bruce was employed by them for three generations at least, and that would take us back till early in the last century. If not misinformed it is still used to a certain extent at Minton's. It would appear, however, to be dying out. A pottery engraver of long experience (Mr. Amos) informs me that there was a female bat printer employed in the Potteries some time ago. She may be there now. Her system,
Plate No. XXXVIII.

Fig. D 3. PLATE, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT. CAUGHLEY.

Fig. D 4. JUG, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT LIVERPOOL.
The Bat Print.

however, was peculiar in some respects, and she kept the secret to herself. He further informs me that the paper transfer work has been so much improved that it is ousting the bat process in its own domain, that is, for the fineness and delicacy of the work. Line or stipple can now be done by means of tissue paper and the press, with such a delicate impression as to be used for crests or coats of arms, even in such cases as where the bat system was invariably used and deemed to be indispensable some time ago. In future, therefore, it will be difficult to distinguish the bat print from the press transfer. Formerly it could easily be recognised because the press, of course, left a heavier impression whether stippled or not. It was the beautiful delicacy of the "bat" which made it so easily recognizable.

But in pieces of ware manufactured in the latter half of the eighteenth century, or in the major part of the nineteenth, the rule of identification might be guarded thus:—It does not follow that a specimen is a bat print because it is stippled. In some such cases the press and paper may have been used. But, if really a bat print, it must have been stippled only and glue used. The ordinary line engraving would be more deeply cut. The impression would be too intense and less delicately shaded by such an intermediary as is the case with the bat or glue process.

Mr. Alfred Whitman, in his fine work, the "Print-Collectors' Handbook" (1901) p. 66, says that stippling (i.e. for ordinary engravings or book work) was done by laying wax on a copperplate and then pricking dots by an etching needle. It was then bitten in by acid, and was completed by a specially shaped graver. In fact, it was really a combination of etching, dry point and graver together. No doubt the pottery
Transfer Printing.

engraver followed the book-plate artist very closely, and so far as his materials would permit him. It is well-known that, after the stipple-print of Bartolozzi, and the school of engravers that followed him had declined in public favour, a new system arose. It was in reality a mixed system of line, stipple, and etching, and especially was it developed when the copperplate gave way to steel (about 1820) as the favourite medium.

The transfer print for porcelain was, no doubt, affected by the fashion, and specimens—though rare—are still found with line and stipple work intermixed upon them and passed through the press.

Illustrations of the bat print will be found at Fig. C 17 and Fig. D 8.
Fig. D 5. **Cup, Pseudo-Jesuit China, Painted.**

Chinese

*Worcester.*

Fig. D 6. **Saucer, Pseudo-Jesuit China, Painted.**

Chinese

Fig. D 7. **Saucer, Pseudo-Jesuit China, Painted.**

Chinese.
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THE AQUATINT PROCESS.

Another exceptional process in the development of the transfer print was that of the application of aquatint. If the bat system is obscure this one is more so.

But, as the bat has been said to be the child of stipple, aquatint may be said to be the grandchild so far as ceramics is concerned. Like stipple it was discovered on French soil and introduced into England probably about 1770. The process was intended to make the stipple process more expeditious. A solution of resin, spirits of wine, and water was formed. On flooding the plate with this, the alcohol and water evaporated, leaving the rest dry—a mere resinous film—which, by the action of the water and contraction, split up into minute particles. This was stippling or dotting out by wholesale. Each open parting exposed the metal which was then bitten in by means of nitric acid or other mordant. It was employed chiefly for landscapes, sea views, architecture and topography. Mr. Whitman avers that it has great possibilities, although it has not been patronised enthusiastically. He says it was introduced into England about 1775. Five years earlier would be nearer the point, because a letter, dated 21st February, 1773, settles the question. An engraver, named Peter Pever Burdett, was employed at Liverpool, and, in that year, he wrote
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to His Majesty the King of Prussia in these terms:—
“In making some chemical experiments I have discovered a new, expeditious, and beautiful manner of engraving upon copper, so as to make impressions transferable to porcelain, and which, when vitrified, resemble and equal the most delicate paintings. The great fame of the Berlin fabric, under the immediate patronage of a Monarch, who can distinguish the merit of improvements at first sight, strongly compels me to lay so important an article at your Majesty’s feet.”—
Vide “History of the Progress of the Art of Pottery in Liverpool” (1871). The author, Mr. Joseph Mayer, adds that the writer (an artist of ability) alluded to aquatint—recently discovered by Paul Sandby. Llewellynn Jewitt, in his “Ceramic Art of Great Britain,” p. 327, states that Burdett introduced aquatints as transfer prints to pottery, and that he worked for Wedgwood. Also, that he worked at the Liverpool Potteries in company with Paul Sandby and William Roscoe, the famous art critic. The obvious inference is that Frederick the Great had not accepted the offer, but that Wedgwood had. It seems, however, impossible, so far, to get a trace of a specimen anywhere, although diligent search has been made for one. Another inference is that Burdett had gained his knowledge from Paul Sandby, who must have introduced the aquatint from France into England previous to 1773. A notice of aquatint as a transfer print occurs in “Marks and Monograms” (Chaffers, 1874, p. 739) which states that James Pennington, son of John Pennington, potter, at Liverpool, was apprenticed in 1784 to Josiah Wedgwood to learn the art of engraving in aquatint. Of course Wedgwood could only want such an agent to transfer the aquatints on to his wares.
Plate No. XL.

Fig. D 8. PLATE, PORCELAIN, BAT PRINT.
    Worcester.

Fig. D 9. PLATE, EARTHENWARE, BLUE PRINT.
    Don.
Concerning the introduction of aquatint proper into England, Bryan's Dictionary of Engravers, p. 444, Vol. II, has it that Paul Sandby was the first to use it here, but he had the recipe from the Hon. Charles Greville who had purchased it from Le Prince, a French artist. In Chambers' Cyclopædia, Vol. IV., p. 382, we are informed that Paul Sandby published his aquatint sketches in 1780:—"Views in the Encampments in the Parks." He must have received the knowledge of it years before that, and probably communicated it to Burdett in 1773, or previously.
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AFTER THE MASTERS.

One of the points held in view in this enquiry was to ascertain and, if possible, get illustrations of transfer printing on ware which might fairly be called after high art. It is very often assumed that, because the transfer process is a cheap one and, in the majority of cases, is found upon earthenware, there can be nothing really artistic about it. It is dismissed as commercial only and low caste. Doubtless, this is the fact in the vast majority of cases. Nevertheless, there have been attempts made from time to time to lift it above that lower level. Notably, we have an instance in the case of Worcester porcelain, where the eminent engraver, Robert Hancock, and his assistants, produced some fine work after Paul Ferg, Panini, Pesne, Watteau, Pillement, Gainsborough, Roubiliac, Boucher, and Engelbrecht. A fine specimen of Hancock’s work is illustrated in the portrait of Frederick the Great after Pesne,* (Fig. A 13). Wedgwood attempted the same sort of thing with his Queen’s ware. Meteyard says that he employed William Blake to illustrate his catalogue, several of which he published. His plan was to have a small box of specimen pieces of ware, accompanied by a catalogue and a little book of

*Antoine Pesne (1684-1759) was born at Paris and died at Berlin. He became Court Painter to Frederick the Great. His work was much admired by the connoisseurs at the Prussian Court. He painted Frederick when a child, as the “Drummer Boy”; painted him again as Prince-Royal when a young man; and he painted him later on as King, together with the Queen, to form part of a fresco. Carlyle says that “Pesne was a man of great skill with his brush.”
Plate No. XLI.

Fig. D 10. PLATE, PORCELAIN, BLUE PRINT
GRAINGER, LEE & Co.

Fig. D 12.
MUG, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
THOS, FLETCHER.

Fig. D 11. CUP AND SAUCER, EARTHENWARE, RED PRINT.
SEWELL.
After the Masters.

illustrations. Several of the catalogues are extant, but the books have disappeared. In her Wedgwood Handbook, Meteyard says that a few leaves only have been traced, and they were in the Mayer Museum Library at Liverpool. Unhappily, upon inquiry being made, they cannot be found, and it seems doubtful if ever they were there at all. It appears to me that, as Blake illustrated these catalogue books, the engravings in all probability would be transferred upon the ware. Anything produced by that extraordinary genius is now greedily sought for. Josiah Wedgwood also employed Thomas Stothard as a designer. He was prolific and original. Blake engraved some of his (Stothard’s) designs. No doubt many of them appeared on the famous Queen’s ware. There were other clever and even eminent artists and engravers employed by Wedgwood. But, whatever may be found abroad, it is most difficult to find any specimens in England.

A fine transfer print on a cream ware jug is that one illustrated at Fig. B 3, entitled “Charity.” It is the figure of a graceful female with children around her, and is marked “Wedgwood & Co.” Probably it was the production of Ralph Wedgwood, of the Hill Works, Burslem, before he joined the Ferrybridge firm of Tomlinson. Ralph Wedgwood’s father was cousin to Josiah Wedgwood and a partner at Etruria. It seems fair to conclude that at the time (1790-1796) Ralph W. had access to many of the engraved subjects at his relative’s factory. Be that as it may, the transfer is a very artistic one. The original has been attributed to Lady Diana Beauclerk by an authority in art, but it has not yet been proved. A painting by Cignani of “Charity” was engraved by Ravenet, but it is not the same as this one.
Another illustration is a transfer print, engraved after Claude Lorraine, in his usual style of landscape. It was printed by Benjamin Adams at the Greengates factory, near Tunstall, Staffordshire. He employed an engraver named William Brooke,† who did some good work at the Potteries. A variant of this print appears upon a fine salad bowl, now in the Tunstall Museum. It is embellished with medallions of Grecian buildings on its border. It is figured in "William Adams, an Old English Potter," p. 40. Brooke has rendered the spirit of the Master very well indeed on these pieces of blue ware. The treatment closely adheres, in its vraisemblance, to the much admired "Evening" of Claude, a print of which was published by Alderman Boydell, and engraved by Byrne and Earlom. The transfer print from the Adams' plate is reproduced herein (Fig. B 1).

At the Liverpool Museum there is a jug of cream ware having a portrait of the famous Col. Tarleton.† It is from an engraving by Joseph Johnson, after Sir Joshua Reynolds. An enthusiast has declared it

* Shaw in his "History of Staffordshire Potteries," p. 226, says that "about 1802 Mr. Wm. Brooke, engraver, then at Tunstall, now of Burslem, suggested a new method of ornament by blue printing. The border of the plate was engraved from a beautiful strip of border from paper hangings of rooms, and many of the manufacturers approved of the alteration. The New Hall Company instantly adopted it for some of their tea services. The following improvement is likewise by the same person: a certain ornamental border is employed for all the plates, whatever be their size, but every plate has a different landscape, or group of flowers for the dishes, soups, plates, etc." It is understood that it was the work of Brooke which led up to the modern system of coloured underglaze transfers so well developed by Fratt and others.

† Sir Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833) was the son of a Liverpool merchant. He joined the Dragoon Guards 1775; served in North America with Lord Cornwallis, and received high praise in despatches; was made Lieut.-Colonel,; was M.F. for Liverpool from 1790; was made Colonel in 1790, and Major General in 1794; married the daughter of the Duke of Ancaster, 1798; served in Portugal; had a command in Ireland; and was Governor of Berwick and Holy Island in 1808. He was a great favourite of the Prince Regent and as a Cavalry leader was unequalled in his day. The portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds is said to be "one of his happiest conceptions." It was engraved by J. R. Smith. Another portrait of his was by Gainsborough, and a third by Cosway, engraved by Townley.
FIG. D 13. MUG, PEARL WARE, BLUE PRINT.
Bristol.

FIG. D 14. CUP AND SAUCER, PORCELAIN, BLUE PRINT.
Caughley.
to be one of the great painter’s masterpieces as a portrait. He certainly was a master in that line of art. Jos. Johnson, the engraver, has followed him fairly well. The lines are not of the same delicacy and fineness as the engravings of Hancock on the Worcester porcelain. Nevertheless, there is a boldness and confidence of treatment which is very striking. Johnson was an engraver at Liverpool and worked for his own hand, like “ Harry o’ th’ Wynd,” from about 1790. When the Herculaneum pottery was founded, he did some work there or for it. The transfer print is reproduced here at Fig. B 2.

The Liverpool Museum has an enamel on copper with a transfer print portrait of Frederick the Great. It is labelled Frederick III. That is evidently a mistake of the engraver, as, of course, it should have been Frederick II. It is signed “John Sadler, Liverpl., Enaml,” and is said to be engraved after a portrait by a Berlin artist, who painted it in 1756, but his identity has not yet been established. According to Carlyle portraits of the great Hohenzollern were painted by Cunningham, by Graff, and by Chodowiechie. See his famous and authoritative book—“History of Frederick II, of Prussia, called Frederick the Great.” Carlyle avers that Frederick never sat to any artist, save to Pesne, during his reigning days, therefore, he adds, in his emphatic way, that none else are authentic. The Worcester and Liverpool transfers are each of them illustrated in this book. They can be compared at Figs. A 9 and A 13. They have little resemblance so far as the features are concerned, and the work is of very different quality on each. For refinement, Worcester is superior. It had the advantage of receiving Hancock’s unrivalled and delicate touch. Nevertheless, it must be allowed, that the Liverpool
Transfer Printing.

portrait of Frederick is a fine and striking subject. The engraving, too, is well executed. As regards the original painting, if Carlyle's account be correct, it might happen that the artist may have taken a Hogarthian thumb-nail sketch at some public function. At the same time we must remember that the age of the monarch was about twenty years plus the time at which the Pesne portrait was taken. There is another discrepancy with regard to this portrait. The displacement of a comma may have dire results. In Gloucestershire, tradition has it that Edward II was murdered at Berkeley Castle owing to such a simple matter. In the case of a more distinguished monarch there was a similar error made, though, happily, not entailing such sad consequences to the immortal Frederick of Prussia. William Chaffers, in his monumental work, "Marks and Monograms," has made this singular error in copying the inscription, which has led many persons into a similar mistake. At p. 757 (4th ed.), the following words occur: "That the art (transfer printing) was not new (i.e., in 1758) is proved by a specimen of transfer printing on enamelled copper in the possession of Mr. Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, being also a portrait of Frederick the Great, done from the original painting at Berlin in 1756." The logical inference from this sentence is that the transfer print on the enamel was "done" in 1756. Even such an authority as the "Burlington Magazine" (December, 1904) assumes that to be the meaning. But the real wording on the enamel is as follows:—

"Frederick III. King of Prussia.
Done from an original, painted at Berlin in 1756.
J. Sadler, Liverpl. Enaml."

In a matter of dates, such as discussing the origin of transfer prints at Liverpool, this is rather an
PLATE No. XLIII.

Fig. D 15. PLATE, PEARL WARE, BLACK PRINT. THOS. BADDELEY.

Fig. D 16. CUP AND SAUCER, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT WEDGWOOD.
important point to remember. It was not the print, but the painting that was done in 1756. The authorities at Liverpool itself put the print down to the year 1757. As a matter of fact it might have been printed at any time after the sketch could be procured from Berlin—always remembering that it is not proved that any printing by transfer process at Liverpool was done before the 27th July, 1756. At the Liverpool Museum there are four specimens of these enamels. The one named above; one of George II; another of William Pitt; and, a fourth, the Arms of the Bucks Society. In the carefully prepared paper (1882) of Mr. Chas. T. Gatty on the Liverpool potteries we get a glimpse of the Bucks Society. It bears on the question of dates regarding these enamels. He quotes the "Liverpool Advertiser" of 21st July, 1769, announcing the anniversary meeting of the Bucks Society to be held on the 25th July (inst.). On another page he mentions an oval medallion of enamel on copper in white upon which there was a transfer print of the arms of the Honorable Bucks Society. So we know for a fact that these enamels were in existence in 1769, but that was thirteen years subsequent to 1756. In "Notes and Queries," 6th series, 4th vol., p. 467, there is a letter from Mr. Gatty in which he quotes an "old Liverpool newspaper" (probably the "Liverpool Advertiser") in which appeared, 9th July, 1756, notice of meeting of the members of the Bucks Society at Mr. Banner's, Golden Fleece Inn, Dale Street. The Society seems to have been in existence before the date when Sadler's affidavit was made. It appears from the above quoted letter that it was strictly a Liverpool Society. These points about the enamels and their dates are rather of the nature of a digression under
Transfer Printing.

this section, but they are important to the main point at issue and, therefore, a pity to slur them over.

In Staffordshire one of the favourite Masters was Sir Edwin Landseer. Many of his animal pieces were transferred upon wares. Most of them were sent to America (Figs. B 9, B 10, and B 20-1). Scenes from Buckingham’s “Travels in Mesopotamia” (vide Shaw’s “History of Staffordshire Potteries,” p. 226) and views of “Remarkable Subjects in Turkey, Persia and Hindustan,” were also engraved and transferred to pottery.

At Swansea we find Thomas Rothwell sketching and engraving the natural scenery and other objects, and having them transferred to enamelled plaques. The greatest of all English Masters, J. M. W. Turner, sketched the old castle of Swansea. It was engraved (Fig. B 7) by Rothwell for “The Pocket Magazine.” Whether that particular engraving was ever transferred to pottery is not yet known. It is likely enough, because a variant of it has been so treated, and Rothwell was engraver at the Swansea pottery when Turner visited the town.

The celebrated “Tea Party” on a Bow plate is illustrated (see Fig. A 6). The tradition is that it was designed by Hancock as well as engraved by him. There is every probability that it was transferred at Battersea where Hancock was employed. His biographer says, it is supposed, that he (Hancock) learned mezzotint under Thos. Frye, at Bow. The intimacy may have continued. There is a Battersea enamel in the Worcester Royal Porcelain Works Museum, with a transfer print of this Tea Party subject. It is signed, R.H.f. (Fig. A 4). That proves the fact of Hancock engraving it, but the question of
Fig. D17. PLATE, QUEEN'S WARE, BLACK PRINT.
Wedgwood.
After the Masters.

the designer is left open. The companion piece, L'Amour, has also been attributed to Hancock as well. His biographer says no, for he was possessed of a print of the same scene by a French engraver, who, it is presumed, was antecedent to the Battersea engraver. It is also said to be after Watteau.

In the Museum at Liverpool there is an oval plaque bearing the portrait of Washington, after Stuart. This particular one was said to have been the painter's chef-d'œuvre. Gilbert Stuart (1754-1828) was an American artist who resided in England for years, and distinguished himself amongst the great portrait painters of the 18th century. He was a favourite with Sir Joshua, and painted the portrait of Reynolds himself. Stuart returned to America where he died. In the meantime, he painted the portraits of many distinguished people—Washington being amongst them. The engraver of the plaque is unknown. "The Portrait Gallery," has it that the original is owned by T. B. Barclay, of Liverpool (Fig. B 14).

The rest of the specimens illustrated and commented on under B section—after the Masters—do not require many more observations from me. Remarks are appended to each in the appropriate column. But one or two explanations may be useful as space was restricted in the summary named. At Fig. B 4-1 there is a very interesting piece by Hancock—a bird on a branch. His signature is hid away upon the small spray in front, and that fact has been commented upon already. As a work of art, however, the picture is exquisite, whether we look upon it from the point of view of design or that of engraving. It is really a gem. The shading of the bird and his exquisite pose give that sense of colour which has been so much praised in Ravenet's work.
Transfer Printing.

No doubt the influence of the Master is seen here very conspicuously in the undoubted work of the pupil. As to the companion piece (B 4-2) L'Amour, after Watteau, and engraved by Hancock, sufficient has been said already. Passing on to B 5 and B 6 we have other two companions, taken from either side of one jug—the mythological twin deities—Apollo and Diana, with their representative attendants. He, with the horses of the sun; and she, with her goats and a crescent moon. The whole ensemble is beautiful. The imagination of the painter must have been vivid indeed, yet effectively restrained, to conceive and execute such a fine picture. Unfortunately, he is not identified; but they are attributed to Giulio Romano by a very high authority in art matters, and who holds an elevated post in one of our national art institutions. Then, as to the engraving, Could anything be more brilliant upon paper, enamel or porcelain, let alone upon the ordinary cream ware? It is indeed a fine piece of work. Had it been upon Battersea enamel it would have been no injustice to the men to award it to Ravenet or Hancock. Under these circumstances we must regret that the engraver’s name cannot be identified. It was considered a pity to reject such an elegant production simply because it was unmarked, and hence this jug was made an exception to the rule of having all identified pieces in some form or another.

At B 8 there is a view of Swansea Bay by Rothwell after himself. It does not rise to the classic excellence of the preceding, but it is a faithful piece of work and, to anyone who has visited the Welsh “Bay of Naples,” as the Swansea folks love to call their beautiful curving coast, it will be highly appreciated. At B 13 is a reproduction of one of the most comical
Plate No. XLV.

Fig. D 18-1. MUG, PORCELAIN, CARMINE PRINT. Worcester.

Fig. D 18-2. MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT. Worcester.

Fig. D 18-3. MUG, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT. Worcester.

Fig. D 19. BOWL, WHITE WARE, BLACK PRINT. Wedgwood.
sketches that tickled the fancy of the people of England about a century ago. The Dr. Syntax brochures were really of the same type as that of Don Quixote, and were admirably illustrated by Rowlandson.

Of the remainder of the specimens, after the higher art, there are:—Portrait of Reynolds, the Quaker philanthropist, after (?) Hobday (B 11); Death of Wolfe, after West (B 12); Shakespeare, after Roubiliac (B 15-1); Earl of Chatham, after (?) Brompton (B 15-3); George II, after (?) Morier (B 16); George III, after (?) Edridge (B 17); Harbour scene, after (?) Sam Prout (B 18); Portrait of General Wolfe, after (?) Gainsborough (B 19); Deer, after Landseer (B 20-1); Wedding scene, after Teniers (B 20-2); Landscape, after (?) Claude (B 21); and British Birds, after Bewick (B 22-1 and 2).

That exhausts the list of my captures, but there are others such as Ruins, by Panini; Stepping the Minuet, by Boucher; Milkmaws, and May Dance, by Gainsborough (vide Downham). Other writers have informed us of specimens after Cypriani, Van der Wall, Cosway, Angelica Kauffman, George Stubbs, Wouverman and Mulready. In the early part of the last century, Messrs. Copeland and Garrett, of the Potteries, issued a set of transfer prints upon their ware, entitled: "Rural Scenery." Many horses appeared therein which were actual portraits of famous racers, etc. The prints were after that Master of sporting paintings—John Herring. One of the firm is now possessed of several of the original paintings; and they, of course, are treasured as very valuable souvenirs.

So much for the originals by Masters in oil or water. What shall be said of the Masters of the burin or graver, and the etching needle?
No doubt many of our "pot" engravers followed close on the heels of such men as Bartolozzi, Schiavonetti, William Woollett, William Blake, Wm. Sharp and others of that ilk. As to the men who we know have worked at enamels, porcelain or pottery, with the graver, few have really reached the gateway of the Temple of Fame. Of such who did were Ravenet, Hancock, Valentine Green, Thomas Rothwell and Paul Sandby. The others we know of were barely in sight of the coveted fane. Of such were Thomas Turner, Thomas Minton, Thomas Radford, J. Ross, Richard Abbey, "Mr.” Carver, William Smith, Joseph Johnson, William Davis, William Brooke, and John Sadler ("Enameller" and “Sculptor”). There is, also, the list of 1802, which contains other names of engraving obscurities. But the above are those only who have appeared in this inquiry, and during the eighteenth century exploration. The first batch given above are those who have been recorded in one or other of the dictionaries of Artists or Engravers.

As to the engravers at potting establishments, during the nineteenth century, that is another matter. A valued friend sends me a letter which touches that point. The following is a short extract:—"The story of the engraving for the Potteries and the men of seventy to eighty years ago and later on who did this work, and their characteristics, would in itself form a most interesting volume. Some of them left the Potteries and became eminent as engravers in London and elsewhere. Others migrated to Lancashire and helped to develop the early calico printing. Altogether this branch of our potting industry probably showed as much genius as any branch did then or since. It is another instance of the almost endless interest and ramifications of our potting industry, and some day
PLATE No. XLVI.

Fig. D 20. JUG, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT. LIVERPOOL.

Fig. D 21-1. JUG, EARTHENWARE, YELLOW PRINT. PORTOBELLO.

Fig. D 21-2. MUG, EARTHENWARE, YELLOW PRINT PORTOBELLO.
After the Masters.

should receive its due share of historical note.”* These just and pointed sentiments must commend themselves to every sincere student of our great ceramic industries. But there were hundreds of these engravers who are never heard of by name. Many of them were talented—perhaps amounting to genius—but their story has vanished into thin air. Their work remains, beautiful and admired, but we know not the creators of that beauty owing to the absurd idea, which prevailed in the “good old times,” that every name and every talent must be merged into the reputation of the factory. Anyone reading Ballantine’s “Life and Work of Robert Hancock” must feel this point strongly. The refinement of his “line,” and the immense output of first-class work—not alone in ceramics—fully entitled him, as Mr. Ballantine says, to rank high amongst our English sons of genius. With such a man what do we find took place at Worcester? That his signature was in many cases ignored and another substituted for it; that, in one case at least, he is driven to hide it away among the sprays and branches of a tree; and all because he was a subordinate, subservient, to the interests of the factory or his superior in the commercial aspect of the business. We look at such proceedings differently now, as collectors, for we scrutinize and search diligently for the artist to identify him with his work.

At Liverpool what do we know of “Mr. Carver”? It is said by Chaffers and Jewitt and Mayer that John Sadler was trained as an engraver. It may have been so, but they do not give any proof of it. It is remarkable that Sadler sometimes signs himself as enameller. Often it is merely Sadler and Green—the name of the firm. After Sadler retired, the word

* Extract from a letter written by Mr. George Hammersley, Brownhills, Tunstall.
“Green” only appears to be used, and Guy Green is never represented as having been trained as an engraver. Mayer, in his “Art of Pottery,” p. 58, mentioned several cases where the pieces are signed: “Sadler, sculptor,” and others having the name of Green. Marryat and Jewitt mention the notable Earl of Derby tea-pot, which has “Sadler, sculptor,” upon it. Why “sculptor”? Why not “sculpsit”? as is usually done by educated engravers. Marryat states that the tea-pot mentioned above is in the Mayer collection at Liverpool Museum. If so in his time (1850) it does not appear to be there now, so that the word “sculptor” upon it cannot be verified.

When the Liverpool potting and transferring business was so flourishing there must have been a number of engravers employed. Why, in the 1802 list for the Potteries, given by Chaffers, there were no less than fourteen. Liverpool did much of the Staffordshire transfer work from 1756 to about 1780 and, in a lesser degree, for years afterwards. Hence the necessity for a considerable plurality of engravers. But, saving Carver, R. Abbey, T. Laurenson, Paul Sandby, J. Johnson, Wm. Smith and P. P. Burdett, we have no recorded names of any others, throughout the half century, after the transfer process commenced. There must have been many more. If so, they departed and left no sign of their presence save the covering title of “Sadler and Green.”

We may well say of these unknown but worthy men—quoting the language of Thomas Gray in his immortal elegy:—

“Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark, unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.”
Plate No. XLVII.

Fig. D 22.
PLATE, PEARL WARE, BLUE PRINT.
Moore & Co.

Fig. D 23.
MUG, CREAM WARE, BLACK PRINT.
Dawson & Co.

Fig. D 24. PLATE, WHITE WARE, BLUE PRINT.
Enoch Wood & Sons.
After the Masters.

The enumeration and illustration of these pieces will go far to prove that the transfer print is not so much entitled to be despised after all. Only a few have been unearthed. If that can be done in the green tree what will be done in the dry? Let us not, however, claim over much in this way. The printing side of the ceramic art has simply helped to develop England’s forward place in the world of ceramics and mainly in a commercial sense. Still, we like to have justice fairly distributed. It is the pride of Englishmen to call for fair play all round. Hence it is modestly asked that the transfer print may have a fair share of applause so far as real art is concerned, in the work of the engraver, as applied to the printing on ware. That is all. To the general public it may seem a matter of indifference, but to the men and women who amuse their leisure by a harmless and interesting study of the subject, it means very much indeed. To them this appeal is made, trusting that what has been written herein will be both helpful and pleasing to them.

In the following list a division is made into four sections:—

A. (Historical). Pieces arranged consecutively to indicate the evolution and development of the transfer print from the Jesuit china initiative up to the end of the 18th century.

B. (Artistic). Pieces to illustrate a few which were engraved “after” the Masters, or of which there is a fair amount of evidence to indicate that such was the case.

C. (The Potteries). Pieces illustrative of what some of the potters of North Staffordshire were doing in the late eighteenth century and during the early part of the nineteenth ditto.
Transfer Printing.

D. (Miscellaneous). A few other pieces which may be of interest to illustrate still further the shades of decoration in the transfer print.

The great majority are marked pieces. Those that are not so are "marked all over," as the current collecting phrase expressively puts it, in some shape or other, and which is indicated under the column of Remarks. For summariness and for handiness the pages of the list are divided into columns so that each piece can be readily and easily found and described.

In the section A, there is a gap in the seventies of the 18th century. The list in regard to illustrations would have been practically complete if other two specimens could have been procured. The first was to illustrate the introduction of the transfer print into Staffordshire by a photograph of a bat print produced by Adams, of Cobridge, in 1775. Secondly, an aquatint of Wedgwood's about 1780. Inquiry after them has failed to procure copies. Readers must, therefore, try and fill up these gaps for themselves, really or ideally. Barring these two defects, the illustrations, showing the evolution and development of the transfer print, have fairly well covered the ground for the latter half of the 18th century. In the 19th century the potters who accomplished transfer work began to crowd on each other's heels. Their name now is "legion." It would be a vain task to attempt to date them in sequence. My object was to restrict the illustrations in section A to the period 1750-1800. The other sections (B, C and D), have each a different point of view to illustrate as has been already explained.
Plate No. XLVIII.

Fig. D 25. SAUCE-BOAT, PORCELAIN, BLUE PRINT, Unknown.

Fig. D 26. TEAPOT STAND, PORCELAIN, BLACK PRINT, Worcester.

Fig. D 27. DISH, WHITE WARE, BLUE PRINT, Caughley.

The Plates in "D" Section are miscellaneous and supplementary to the other divisions.
TRANSFER PRINTING

on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

ILLUSTRATIONS marked "A."

PART I.

This section is Historical. It is intended to illustrate the initial stages and development of the leading factories during the 18th century by examples. Practically all worth having are included. There are only two gaps of any importance. Those are the absence of a Cobridge bat-print (c. 1775) and a Wedgwood aquatint-print (c. 1780).
# ILLUSTRATIONS

**MARKED “A.”**

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<td>A 1</td>
<td>Chinese porcelain.</td>
<td>Plate of Jesuit china (Christian subject: The Crucifixion) painted by a Chinese artist in imitation of a European line engraving—see Remarks column and reference at p. 39 for the statement of the case by Monkhouse.</td>
<td>None. Diameter, 4½ in. No mark required in this case to distinguish that the porcelain is Chinese.</td>
<td>Liverpool Museum.</td>
<td>Circa., 16th, 17th or 18th century. Such pieces as these evidently gave the European the initial idea of printing by means of transfer paper from a copper-plate engraving to ceramic wares.</td>
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<td>A 3</td>
<td>Chelsea porcelain.</td>
<td>Plate with ogee edge. Subject: Landscape, river scene, boat and castellated buildings in centre, pencilled outline and then “washed in” with green colour overglaze. It is not a transfer print, but is given as a lesson to follow the Chinese pieces. It indicates clearly that the English artist was following in the wake of the Chinese painter and thus leading up involuntarily to the evolution of transfer printing.</td>
<td>None, but an undoubted piece of Chelsea ware. Diameter, 8½ in.</td>
<td>H. W. Bruton, Gloucester.</td>
<td>Circa., 1745-1770, the Chelsea period. A most interesting piece. The outline is so carefully done that it seems like engraving, and may well deceive an inexperienced eye, and therefore very useful to the collector. It was probably produced before 1750. See also remarks under A 7.</td>
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<td>A 5.</td>
<td>Bow porcelain.</td>
<td>Plate: &quot;L'Amour&quot; or garden scene; a transfer print in red, in centre, probably engraved by Hancock after a French artist. The border is painted in enamedled flowers. A fine specimen. (Ovér-glaze).</td>
<td>None, but clearly &quot;Bow.&quot; Diameter, 7½ in.</td>
<td>Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.</td>
<td>Circa., 1750-1756. It has often been stated that Hancock designed L'Amour, but his biographer (Ballantine) said that he had a print of the scene by a French engraver. The Bowcocke memo. records that Bow had orders for printed ware on May 28th and June 18th, 1756—see &quot;Marks and Monograms,&quot; 4th ed., p. 885.</td>
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<td>A 6.</td>
<td>Bow porcelain.</td>
<td>Plate: Red transfer print, over-glaze, of the &quot;Tea Party,&quot; engraved by Hancock. The border painted with blue, yellow and red colours, and usually termed the Bow Japan pattern. See also Remarks.</td>
<td>R. Hancock, fecit. Diameter, 7½ in.</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
<td>Circa., 1750-1756. Hancock was only nineteen in 1750 when Battersea was commenced. He had learned mezzotint from Frye at Bow. He acquired line engraving under Ravenet's instruction at Battersea. If so, it would require some little time for practice. The Tea Party in enamel—see Fig. A 4—is signed with his initials. This plate is by him. The style and character of the work are identical on each of them.</td>
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<td>A 7</td>
<td>Chelsea porcelain.</td>
<td>Octagonal shaped plate; Black transfer print of garden scene, lovers and classic ruins; washed in with colour, medium purple, etc., overglaze. A most interesting piece, vide Remarks column. See also A 3.</td>
<td>Embossed anchor.</td>
<td>British Museum.</td>
<td>Circa., 1750-1770. This plate has the usual character of Chelsea plates, i.e., with the edge turned up. It has also the embossed anchor mark. It is a rare specimen and indicates that transfers were printed on Chelsea porcelain—a fact not generally known.</td>
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<td>A 9</td>
<td>Liverpool (Sadler and Green) enamel on copper.</td>
<td>Copper enamel oval plate with black print of portrait of Frederick the Great in Court costume. A very good specimen of the Liverpool engraver's work. But the label is wrong, an error of the engraver. It is marked Frederick III. instead of Frederick II.</td>
<td>John Sadler, Liverpool Enam' 5(\frac{1}{2}) (\times) 4(\frac{1}{2}) in.</td>
<td>Liverpool Museum.</td>
<td>Circa., 1757-1771. It was probably engraved in 1758, as Frederick's fame only blossomed out late in 1757. It is after a painting done at Berlin in 1756. See remarks under &quot;The Masters.&quot;</td>
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<td>A 10</td>
<td>Liverpool (Sadler and Green) enamel on copper.</td>
<td>Copper enamel, oval, with black transfer of the Bucks Arms crest, a Liverpool Society group of four figures in centre, one of them trying in vain to break the Roman fasces asunder and the legend “Unanimity is the Strength of Society.”</td>
<td>None. See Remarks column. 2½ x 2½ in.</td>
<td>Micah Salt, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756-1771. A similar piece in the V &amp; A. Museum, South Kensington, London, is marked “Sadler, Liverpool.” These enamels are rare. Probably few were done. Liverpool Museum has four specimens.</td>
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<td>A 11</td>
<td>Liverpool (Sadler and Green) enamel on copper.</td>
<td>Obverse of above has part of the same crest, and has a deer (buck) in the centre and the words “Industry Produceth Wealth” (above) and “Freedom with Innocence” (below).</td>
<td>None. See Remarks column. 2½ x 2½ in.</td>
<td>Idem.</td>
<td>Ditto. See also A 23.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A 12</td>
<td>Liverpool (Sadler and Green) enamel on delft.</td>
<td>Tile: Transfer print in red. Subject: Pastoral dance, probably copied from a French engraving.</td>
<td>Sadler, Liverpool. 5 x 5 in.</td>
<td>Liverpool Museum.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756-1771, i.e., from Sadler &amp; Green’s affidavit for patent till Sadler’s retirement (Meteyard says before 1772).</td>
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<td>A 13</td>
<td>Worcester (Royal Porcelain Works) porcelain.</td>
<td>Mug: Black transfer print, inscribed “1757, King of Prussia.” Portrait of the King, after Pesne, engraved by Robert Hancock. Has also a cherub bestowing a crown and a winged figure (Fame) blowing a trumpet. Trophy of flags, etc., as well. (Overglaze).</td>
<td>RH Worcester. Height, 3½ in.</td>
<td>G. F. Cox, Whalley Range, Manchester.</td>
<td>Circa., 1757-1762. The victories of Frederick the Great in the autumn of 1757 made him popular. Hence his portraits on British wares and enamels. The RH and Anchor are the initials and rebus of Richard Holdship, managing director at Worcester in 1762. See remarks on the case at pp. 52-3.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Factory and Ware</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Mark and Size</td>
<td>Collection</td>
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<td>A 14-1</td>
<td>Worcester porcelain</td>
<td>Square tray: Black print garden scene, called &quot;L'Amour,&quot; engraved by Robert Hancock in his beautiful soft and delicate line. The number is 526 in the Worcester Museum Catalogue. (Overglaze).</td>
<td>RH worcester</td>
<td>Museum, Royal Porcelain Works, Worcester.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756-1762, when Hancock joined and Holdship left the Worcester works. The mark is evidently R. Holdship's, the managing director at Worcester.</td>
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<td>A 14-2</td>
<td>Worcester porcelain</td>
<td>Tea Cup, No. 500 (Guide Book): Black print o.g. of the &quot;Tea Party.&quot;</td>
<td>R. Hancock, fecit.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>There is something mysterious and therefore interesting about these cups and saucers. No. 583 are Chinese porcelains engraved with the &quot;Tea Party,&quot; supposed to have been completed at Battersea and taken to Worcester for some purpose. The same copperplate appears to have been used for No. 500, but on one (saucer) Hancock's name disappears and the other mark is substituted. Why so? We can only guess at it.</td>
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<td>A 14-6</td>
<td>Worcester porcelain</td>
<td>Teapot Stand: Rosebud pattern, printed with subject after Pilement, and filled in with colours. No. 571 in the Worcester Porcelain Works Museum Catalogue. (Overglaze).</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756-1774. Hancock's period at W. The porcelain is &quot;Worcester&quot; and sufficiently marked in its manufacture. For further remarks regarding the Holdship initials, see pp. 52-5 in text.</td>
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### ILLUSTRATIONS MARKED “A.”—continued.

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<td>A 15.</td>
<td>Derby (Old china factory) porcelain.</td>
<td>Mug, bell shape: printed in black transfer, with portrait of George III. and a winged figure above him blowing a trumpet and conferring a crown.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Royal Derby. Porcelain Works, Museum, Worcester.</td>
<td>Circa., 1764-1769, the time Richard Holdship worked at Derby; he may have been longer. A rare and interesting piece, as showing the work done at Derby and especially the mark used. The quality of the work is not equal to that done at Worcester by Hancock, Ross, Turner or Green. A person named Wm. Underwood was with Holdship as a printer. He may have been engraver as well. The Catalogue at the Worcester Museum states: “This specimen shows the attempt of Holdship to introduce printing at Derby. The coarseness of the work is sufficient reason why it did not succeed.” Duesbury seems to have held a similar view, for Holdship complained of not getting enough work from him. Circa., 1756-1780. A printer named Thos. Radford was employed by John Baddeley, of Shelton, vide Shaw, “Hist. of Staffs. Potteries,” p. 218. That would be 1780 or later, and coincides with the closing of the Cockpit Hill Works at Derby. Radford also worked for Wm. Greatbatch. See Shaw, p. 190.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A 16.</td>
<td>Derby (Old china factory) porcelain.</td>
<td>Ditto. Reverse with portrait of his Consort, Queen Charlotte, and a Cupid above her with a crown in the right hand and a ribbon bearing the words “Crown’d Sept. 12th, 1761.”</td>
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<td>A 17.</td>
<td>Derby (Old china factory) porcelain.</td>
<td>Ditto. Front view, two figures supposed to represent Britannia and Fame, with the mark Derby. See further about this point at pp. 51-5. (Overglaze).</td>
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<td>A 19.</td>
<td>Cockpit Hill, Derby, cream ware.</td>
<td>Ditto. On the reverse is another black print of boys wheeling a girl in a sedan chair. These two prints form exactly the same scene, reversed, as is on the Bow print at Fig. A 6.</td>
<td>Pot Works in Derby.</td>
<td>British Museum.</td>
<td>See also Chaffer’s “Marks and Monograms,” ed. 1874, p. 791, as to Mr. Locker’s remarks about printed ware at this factory. Also p. 617, where Thomas Radford, engraver, is said to be resident at Stoke-on-Trent, A.D. 1802. Circa., 1756-1780, probably so, for the printing period. There are few salt glaze pieces that are factory marked. Liverpool Museum has one specimen.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A 21.</td>
<td>Staffordshire, Wedgwood cream ware.</td>
<td>Tea Bottle (or Tea Poy) of Queen’s ware, with red transfer print of the “Tea Party” overglaze. Probably printed at Liverpool, as the style of engraving is after the Liverpool mode of treatment.</td>
<td>Wedgwood. Height, 7 in. including stopper.</td>
<td>Birmingham Museum, Tangye College.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A 22.</td>
<td>Staffordshire, Wedgwood cream ware.</td>
<td>Ditto. Reverse with shepherd and sheep, in similar transfer and style of treatment as No. A 21.</td>
<td>Wedgwood. Height, 7 in. including stopper.</td>
<td>Birmingham Museum, Tangye College.</td>
<td>Ditto. Since this piece was photographed, it has been acquired by W. L. Chew, Esq., Hankelow Court, Cheshire.</td>
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### ILLUSTRATIONS MARKED "A."—continued.

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<td>A 24</td>
<td>Caughley E. ware.</td>
<td>Plate with Oriental pattern, an underglaze dark blue transfer print.</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>A. Chambers, Fairfield, near Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa, 1780-1799. This is a variant of the famous willow pattern brought out by Thomas Turner in 1780. Circa, 1784-1833. Spode engaged an engraver and printer from Caughley in 1783. &quot;About 1784&quot; he began the blue printed ware at Stoke (Shaw). Circa, 1783-1802, i.e., from the introduction of printing by Turner at Lane End and the sale of his works by his sons and executors. Dr. Shaw says that John Turner was the first in Staffordshire to employ a &quot;blue printer who used wet paper.&quot; See &quot;Hist. Staffs. Potteries,&quot; p. 214.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A 28</td>
<td>Hill Works, Burslem (Wedgwood &amp; Co.) creamware.</td>
<td>Bowl in black transfer print overglaze. Subject: &quot;The Emigrant's Farewell.&quot; Vessel, ship-rigged, in the offing and man and woman on the landing stage.</td>
<td>Wedgwood &amp; Co. impressed. Diameter, 7 in.</td>
<td>Dr. Sidebotham, Bowdon.</td>
<td>Circa, 1790-1796. This piece was probably printed at Burslem, where Ralph Wedgwood was before he went to Ferrybridge, in year 1796. See Remarks on Fig. B 3.</td>
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<td>A 30.</td>
<td>Shelton (Thos. Fletcher &amp; Co.) cream ware.</td>
<td>Mug: Printed in black, sporting scenes. A most peculiar piece. It seems to be done in black underglaze at sides and overglaze (second firing) in front. This opinion is confirmed by a practical engraver, Mr. Amos of Buxton.</td>
<td>T. Fletcher Shelton. Height, 10 in. Width at centre, 7 3/4 in.</td>
<td>Idem.</td>
<td>Circa., 1786-1810. The question is, had Fletcher discovered a process of his own and did it die with him? His work is not like that of the mass of transfer prints, and black underglaze is usually considered to have been discovered about 1825-6, with pink, etc., by Booth or Twigg. See p. 84.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A 32.</td>
<td>Swansea (Cambrian) E. ware.</td>
<td>Plate of blue underglaze transfer print. Oriental (or variant of the willow) pattern.</td>
<td>Dillwyn &amp; Co. Diameter, 10 3/4 in.</td>
<td>W. Lewis Turner, Strawberry Hill.</td>
<td>Circa., 1802-1870. This plate being marked Dillwyn must have been made in 1802 or subsequently.</td>
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TRANSFER PRINTING

on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

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ILLUSTRATIONS marked "B."

Part II.

The following section of illustrations is intended as far as possible to give some idea, however imperfect, of the fact that the transfer print was sometimes made the vehicle for engraved specimens of the higher art of the reputed "Masters" in painting. Several of Part I. could have been added here, but they were required for the Historical section.
### ILLUSTRATIONS MARKED “B.”

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<tr>
<td>B 2.</td>
<td>Liverpool cream ware.</td>
<td>Jug, with black print overglaze, Col. Tarleton after Sir Joshua Reynolds, engraved by J. Johnson. It is said to have been Reynolds' chef-d'oeuvre.</td>
<td>J. Johnson. Height, 6 in.</td>
<td>Liverpool Museum.</td>
<td>Circa., 1790-1793. Joseph Johnson was printing at Liverpool in 1790, and a jug with this subject is dated 1793. Col. Tarleton was M.P. for Liverpool 1790-1812. When in the army, he was the most distinguished cavalry leader of the day, and was a personal friend of the Prince Regent.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 3.</td>
<td>Hill Works, Burslem (Wedgwood &amp; Co.) cream ware.</td>
<td>Mug, with black transfer print of female figure and three children labelled “Charity” (?) “after” Lady Diana Beauclerk. This is a very fine specimen of design, engraving, and transfer printing.</td>
<td>Wedgwood &amp; Co. Height, 6½ in. Diameter, 4½ in.</td>
<td>Micah Salt, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., 1790-1796. Ralph Wedgwood, son of Thomas Wedgwood (cousin of Josiah Wedgwood), was head of this firm till 1796, when he joined the firm of Tomlinson &amp; Co., of Ferrybridge, Yorks. He left that firm 1801. The specimen illustrated was most probably produced at Burslem.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 4-1</td>
<td>Worcester (Royal Porcelain Works) porcelain.</td>
<td>Bell-shaped Mug: Black transfer print overglaze. Subject: Bird, tree and fruit. This piece is No. 560 in the Museum Catalogue at the Worcester Works, a very exquisite bit of the great engraver's work and probably designed by himself.</td>
<td>R. Hancock. Height, 4½ in.</td>
<td>Worcester Royal Porcelain Works Museum.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756-1762. The Holdship-Hancock period. A very peculiar feature of this engraving is that Hancock has cut his name on a spray in letters so small that it requires a magnifying glass to see it properly, as if to conceal the mark, till a buyer had taken it from the warehouse. Why? It is a mystery. But see Remarks at pp. 50-55.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 5</td>
<td>Staffordshire cream ware.</td>
<td>Jug: Black print in transfer overglaze with Diana on Crescent moon driving goats yoked to her chariot. Amorini on her left floating on clouds. The oval centre is surrounded by triangular panels with emblems of industry in each.</td>
<td>Nil. 9½ in. high.</td>
<td>Dr. Sidebotham Bowdon.</td>
<td>Circa., probably 1780 - 1800. This is a fine piece of engraving and transfer; cannot trace in the Art Dictionaries either artist or engraver. It seems like a &quot;Wedgwood&quot; or &quot;Wedgwood &amp; Co.&quot; piece.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 6.</td>
<td>Staffordshire cream ware.</td>
<td>Reverse of B5, with Apollo (Helios) driving the chariot and horses of the Sun encircled by figures of Zodiac, probably after a &quot;Master&quot; (? Giulio Romano).</td>
<td>Nil. 9½ in. high.</td>
<td>Dr. Sidney Botham, Bowdon.</td>
<td>The question of glaze arises, if on or underglaze. It is like the pieces disputed by Prof. Barber (&quot;Anglo-American ware&quot;) who thinks they were underglaze (i.e., for Liverpool ware) or a &quot;gloss&quot; was added. More likely to be a very soft glaze and the transfer print had sunk into it.</td>
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</table>

**B 7.** Swansea (paper). Black print on paper: Swansea Castle, after J. M. W. Turner, engraved by Thomas Rothwell, engraver at the Cambria Factory, Swansea. It is a good specimen of Rothwell's work and probably was transferred on to Swansea ware as he was employed at the Pot-works at the time he cut this engraving. J. M. W. Turner, del. Rothwell, sculpt. 4½ x 2½ inches. W. Turner, Cheltenham. Circa., 1795 and 1804. The illustration is from the "Pocket Magazine," reprint of 1804. The original was published in Sept., 1795, both are scarce. This copy was given to the writer in 1893 by W. G. Rawlinson, Esq., of Hill Lodge, Campden Hill, the well-known Print Collector, especially in the Turner engravings. It was fully intended to reproduce it in "Ceramics of Swansea and Nantgarw" had it been found on a Swansea piece. It has not been discovered yet, but there is a variant of it on a jug in the Cardiff Museum, engraved by J. Brindley, who was at Swansea in the thirties, forties and the fifties of last century.
### ILLUSTRATIONS MARKED "B"—continued.

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Factory and Ware</th>
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<th>Mark and Size</th>
<th>Collection</th>
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<tr>
<td>B 11</td>
<td>Staffordshire (Wedgwood) cream ware.</td>
<td>Jug, with black print overglaze portrait of Richard Reynolds, the Quaker philanthropist, probably after Hobday. Lines inscribed are: &quot;Not in the fiery hurricane of strife, 'Midst slaughter'd legions, he signed his life; Reynolds expires, a nobler chief than these; No blood of widows stains his obsequies, But widows' tears, in sad bereavement, fall, And foundling voices on their father's call; But sweet repose his slumbering ashes find, As if in Salem's sepulchre enshrined; And watching angels waited for the day When Christ would bid them roll the stone away.&quot;</td>
<td>Nil. Height, 6 in.</td>
<td>M. Salt, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., 1800-1816. This is an interesting piece because Reynolds was a popular man, his charity was boundless—giving away £10,000 to £20,000 per annum. He was a friend of Josiah Wedgwood, and acted with him in some public works. The jug looks like Wedgwood cream ware. Reynolds would not sit for a portrait for a long time, but at last was persuaded to give Hobday a sitting, vide &quot;History of Madeley,&quot; by John Randall, p. 72.</td>
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<td>B 12</td>
<td>Staffordshire (Thos. Wolfe) white ware.</td>
<td>Quart Jug: Crimson border and purple transfer print overglaze of &quot;Death of General Wolfe,&quot; after West. Reverse: A ship (man-o'-war). Engraved by Woollett. Pottery engraver not known.</td>
<td>Nil. Height, 6 in.</td>
<td>Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London.</td>
<td>The old Jermy Street Catalogue (1876) states that it was probably made by Thos. Wolfe, of Stoke, who claimed relationship with General Wolfe. But Wedgwood produced a similar one with the impressed mark, and it was also printed at Liverpool. See also &quot;Marks and Monogram,&quot; pp. 711 and 712.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 13</td>
<td>Staffs. Jas. Clews, Cobridge, E. ware.</td>
<td>Plate, with underglaze blue transfer print of &quot;Dr. Syntax and the Bees&quot; (printed in an oblong with floriated border), after T. Rowlandson.</td>
<td>James Clews (impressed) and Warranted Staffordshire in a circle, with &quot;M&quot; on top and crown in centre, printed. 10 in. diameter.</td>
<td>Micah Salt, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., 1818-1836, vide &quot;Anglo-American Pottery,&quot; by Prof. Barber, p. 51, ed. 1901. The first tour of Dr. Syntax in search of the picturesque appeared in &quot;Ackermann's Poetical Magazine,&quot; in 1809, and republished 1812. The second tour in search of consolation appeared 1820. It is in this one he encountered the Bees. The third tour in search of a wife appeared in 1821. These plates were very popular, and high prices are now given for them.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 14</td>
<td>Liverpool (Herculaneum) enamel.</td>
<td>Oval Plaque, of enamel, with a transfer print of Washington's portrait by Gilbert Stuart, engraved from one in possession of J. B. Barclay, Esq., of Liverpool.</td>
<td>Nil. Size, 5 x 4 in.</td>
<td>Liverpool Museum.</td>
<td>Circa., 1774-1799. Stuart painted Washington several times. This engraving is said to be after his chef-d'œuvre. Enamel engraver not known.</td>
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### ILLUSTRATIONS MARKED "B"—continued.

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<td>B 15-3</td>
<td>Worcester porcelain.</td>
<td>Mug, with black print overglaze, portrait of the great orator and statesman, Earl of Chatham, whose portrait was painted by Richard Brompton (engraved by Sherwin and Fisher). Also portrait by Wm. Hoare, engraved by Houston and others.</td>
<td>None. 5 in. high.</td>
<td>Royal Porcelain Works, Worcester.</td>
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<td>B 16</td>
<td>Worcester porcelain.</td>
<td>Half-pint Mug, with black print overglaze, portrait of George II. The engraving is probably by Hancock and may be after Ravenet and Morier.</td>
<td>None. 3½ in. high.</td>
<td>Royal Porcelain Works, Worcester.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756-1774. Numbered 542 in the Worcester Museum Catalogue. A portrait of George II. was painted by David Morier and engraved by Ravenet.</td>
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<td>B 17</td>
<td>Worcester porcelain.</td>
<td>Vase: Black transfer print, overglaze of George III in the Barr period, probably engraved first by Hancock before he left in 1774, see Remarks column. It is No. 589 in the Worcester Catalogue for the Porcelain Works Museum.</td>
<td>B. 6 in. high.</td>
<td>Royal Porcelain Works Museum, Worcester.</td>
<td>Circa., 1793-1800. A similar print in Victoria and Albert Museum is marked which is the Holdship mark, showing this must have been an old copperplate which was afterwards used in the Barr period. George III. and Queen Charlotte had portraits painted by Henry Edridge, miniature painter (1769-1821). Allan Ramsay painted portrait of George III., which Woollett engraved. Sam. Wm. Reynolds (1773-1835) engraved the King’s profile.</td>
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<td>B 19.</td>
<td>Liverpool porcelain, so-called.</td>
<td>Jug: Black overglaze transfer print, portrait of Major-General Wolfe and trophies of flags, etc. This engraving is probably an adaptation of the portrait of Wolfe by Gainsborough. The system of adapting engravings was often practised by the old Ceramic engravers.</td>
<td>Sadler, Liverpool. Height, 5(\frac{3}{4}) in.</td>
<td>M. Salt, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756-1771. This is a curious and rare specimen, the body seems like &quot;Chelsea,&quot; and the transfer is by Sadler and Green, of Liverpool. The bottom is glass, fastened in by lead, in the style of the silver tankards, middle of 18th century. There is a similar mug as regards decoration and body in the Schreiber Collection. It is attributed to Liverpool.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 20-1.</td>
<td>Staffordshire E. ware.</td>
<td>Three Covers of Pomatum Pots, with coloured underglaze transfer prints. (1) Deer, after Landseer. (2) Village Wedding, after Teniers. (3) Sweethearts, and quotation from old English song: &quot;No, by Heaven, I exclaimed, may I perish if ever I plant in that bosom a thorn.&quot;</td>
<td>None. 5 in. long., 4 in. diameter, 4 in. diameter, respectively.</td>
<td>(1) W. Lewis Turner, Strawberry Hill. (2)&amp;(3) M. Salt, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., 1840-1905. These are specimens of underglaze colour printing, done sometimes in four or five colours, each printed separately and dried before the next is added. Have been turned out by various firms, e.g., Pratt of Fenton, Mayer of Staffs., Hammersley of Brownhills, etc. Not confined to pomatum pots. Dessert plates with prints after Wilkie are very fine productions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 21.</td>
<td>Etruria, Staffs., Wedgwood white ware.</td>
<td>Plate, of underglaze blue transfer print, Subject: Lake scene, vessels, classic buildings, trees, etc. (7), after Claude Lorraine. Border of leaves and flowers gracefully intertwined.</td>
<td>Wedgwood impressed. Diameter, 9(\frac{3}{4}) in.</td>
<td>Micah Salt, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., 1789-1845. In all probability in the second Wedgwood period, as per Miss Meteyard's theory.</td>
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<td>B 22-1</td>
<td>Swansea (Cambrian) opaque china.</td>
<td>Plate, of earthenware termed &quot;opaque china,&quot; with gilt edge, decorated with transfer prints overglaze in brown of a British bird, the Golden-eye (seaduck) in centre and four feathers round the marly.</td>
<td>Dillwyn &amp; Co. impressed. &quot;Golden Bye&quot; printed. Diameter, 8 in.</td>
<td>A. Chambers, Fairfield, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., 1802-1814, the period from the year Dillwyn acquired the &quot;Cambrian&quot; to the year when Billingsley made the real china (porcelain) there. The birds here transferred are evidently taken from Bewick's &quot;British Birds,&quot; published 1797, illustrated by woodcuts, and his most famous work. Dillwyn was a naturalist, and he would turn to such a book at once. It is one of the very few cases in which woodcuts have been imitated on ceramic wares. Sewell and Donkin, Newcastle-on-Tyne, were one of the few firms that did so &quot;after&quot; Thomas Bewick (1753-1828).</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 22-2</td>
<td>Swansea (Cambrian) opaque china.</td>
<td>Another similar plate, with the Sandpiper in brown transfer in the centre. The other remarks on B 21-1 apply in this case, as it belonged to the same set.</td>
<td>None. &quot;Sandpiper&quot; printed. Diameter, 8 in.</td>
<td>Idem.</td>
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TRANSFER PRINTING

on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

ILLUSTRATIONS marked "C."

Part III.

The following illustrations are confined more especially to a few representative pieces typical of what the old Staffordshire potters produced in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.
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<td>C 1</td>
<td>Staffordshire stone ware.</td>
<td>Plate, salt glaze with pressed border and diaper pattern. Printed in red overglaze—girl offering grapes to a lad. Probably made in Staffs. and printed by Sadler &amp; Green at Liverpool.</td>
<td>Nil. Diameter, 9 in.</td>
<td>Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756-1790. There are no factory marks on salt glaze pieces as a rule, only a few are known—one is in the Museum at Liverpool.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>C 8</td>
<td>Hanley (Shorthose) porcelain.</td>
<td>Cup and saucer, printed, flowers in blue underglaze.</td>
<td>Shorthose and Co., with two crescents. Cup D. 4½ in. Saucer D. 4¼ in.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>See No. C 2 above for remarks. In this case the &quot;Co.&quot; of the mark is left out by omission evidently.</td>
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ILLUSTRATIONS MARKED "C"—continued.

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<tr>
<td>C 10.</td>
<td>Wm. Adams, Greengates, E. ware.</td>
<td>Sweetmeat tray, form of ivy leaf, blue printed underglaze, figure subject.</td>
<td>Adams. Size, $5\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in.</td>
<td>G. F. Cox, Whalley Range, Lancs.</td>
<td>Circa, 1787-1805, the period in which Mr. Wm. Adams, of Greengates, made printed ware—a fine specimen of his work.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C 19</td>
<td>Staffordshire (Miles Mason) Ironstone china.</td>
<td>Plate: printed in blue underglaze, with fluted border of flowers and a large building in centre.</td>
<td>Mason's Patent Ironstone china. 9 in. diameter.</td>
<td>W. Lewis Turner, Strawberry Hill.</td>
<td>Circa., 1813, date of Mason's patent for using scoria or slag of ironstone, ground in water with flint, Cornish stone and clay.</td>
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TRANSFER PRINTING
on Enamels, Porcelain and Pottery.

ILLUSTRATIONS marked "D."

Part IV.

Miscellaneous pieces as illustrations. It is not an exhaustive list by any means. It only touches the fringe of the field, so to speak. The notes will explain the meaning of each piece, and are simply given to confirm the other sections and add to their interest and information.
## ILLUSTRATIONS MARKED "D."

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<tr>
<td>D 2</td>
<td>Bristol (Champion) porcelain.</td>
<td>Cream jug with blue underglaze transfer print, and Oriental style of decoration.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Mrs. Wilfred Higston, Newton Park, Leeds.</td>
<td>Circa, 1772-1782. Champion objected to transfer prints but made a few trials of pieces—see Hugh Owen's &quot;Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>D 3</td>
<td>Caughley B. ware.</td>
<td>Plate, printed in blue underglaze, with the Broseley Dragon pattern.</td>
<td>Imitation Oriental form.</td>
<td>Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.</td>
<td>Circa, 1782. The year that Thomas Minton is said to have engraved the &quot;Dragon&quot; for his master, Thomas Turner.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>D 5</td>
<td>Worcester Royal Porcelain Works porcelain.</td>
<td>Saucer, with black print of birds, overglaze. Early blueish white Worcester body. A very interesting piece for various reasons. There is a similar piece in the Museum at the Royal Porcelain Works at Worcester.</td>
<td>None. Diameter, 7 in.</td>
<td>R. Drane, Cardiff.</td>
<td>Circa., probably 1760-1770. Though having no factory mark it is undoubtedly &quot;Worcester.&quot; Mr. Drane's opinion is sufficient, as he is one of the best judges of &quot;Worcester&quot; in the Kingdom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 8</td>
<td>Worcester porcelain.</td>
<td>Plate of bat printing black overglaze; centre plain; border; mythological subject.</td>
<td>BFB. Diameter, 8 in.</td>
<td>Victoria and Albert Museum, London.</td>
<td>Circa., 1807-1813. Period of Barr, Flight and Barr at the Royal Porcelain Works, Worcester. The &quot;bat&quot; work is easily recognisable on this piece, being so delicate in contra-distinction to the usually dense impressions made by the Press—at least up to recent times.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>D 10</td>
<td>Worcester (Grainger, Lee &amp; Co.) porcelain</td>
<td>Plate of light blue underglaze, dragon pattern, transfer print.</td>
<td>Grainger, Lee &amp; Co., Worcester. Diameter, 8(\frac{1}{2}) in.</td>
<td>G. F. Cox, Whalley Range.</td>
<td>Circa., 1801-1889, when the factory was taken over by the Royal Porcelain Works. See the Guide of the latter, p. 41. N.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 12</td>
<td>Staffs. (Shelton) cream ware</td>
<td>Mug, with black underglaze transfer print of the compass, degrees of longitude, ship in centre, and these words in small caps: &quot;Come, box the compass,&quot; on a ribbon.</td>
<td>T. Fletcher, Shelton. 2(\frac{3}{8}) in. high.</td>
<td>Dr. Sidebotham, Bowdon.</td>
<td>Circa., 1786-1810. See Remarks under A 30, ante. Another Fletcher piece; the question of the black underglaze again comes up. In this case, however, there was no second enamel firing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 13</td>
<td>Bristol (Ring's Pottery) pearl ware</td>
<td>Mug, with blue underglaze transfer print; pedestal and wreath enclosing initials G.R. Female figures and flags with inscription: &quot;Peace signed at Amiens between England, France, Spain and Holland, March 27th, 1802.&quot;</td>
<td>Bristol Pottery. 4(\frac{1}{2}) in. high.</td>
<td>Dr. Sidebotham, Bowdon.</td>
<td>Circa., 1802. Probably Ring's Pottery, see Chaffers, 9th ed. (1900), p. 861, &quot;Marks and Monograms.&quot;</td>
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<td>D 15.</td>
<td>Staffordshire, Hanley, pearl ware.</td>
<td>Plate with black transfer print in centre, overglaze, decorated in colours, red, blue, yellow and green, on the moulded border (festooned). Centre: Horse and rider labelled Gulielmus III, Prince of Orange.</td>
<td>Thomas Baddeley, Hanley, Diameter, 7 in.</td>
<td>Dr. Sidebotham, Bowdon.</td>
<td>Circa., 1802. Thomas Baddeley's name is recorded in the Staffordshire Pottery Directory, dated Hanley, 1802, as that of an engraver and black printer, residing at Chapel Field, Hanley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 16.</td>
<td>Etruria, Staffordshire, Wedgwood cream ware</td>
<td>Cup and saucer, with overglaze black transfer of birds, Chelsea style, traces of size gilding, indicating early period (?) before 1770. The transfer is so sunk into the glaze that it appears like an underglaze piece.</td>
<td>Wedgwood. impressed. Saucer, diameter, 4½ in. Cup, 2½ in. high.</td>
<td>Dr. Sidebotham, Bowdon.</td>
<td>Circa., 1762-70.</td>
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<tr>
<td>D 17.</td>
<td>Staffordshire (Jos. Wedgwood) cream ware or Queen's ware.</td>
<td>Plate, with black transfer print of the fable of the hunted beaver in overglaze, in ornamental panel with husk festoons in green, printed sprays on rim in black with edges in green—a Liverpool transfer by Sadler and Green.</td>
<td>WEDGWOOD 1111 Diameter, 9½ in.</td>
<td>British Museum.</td>
<td>Circa., 1768-1785. There was a difference of opinion between such experts on ceramics as Binns and Wedgwood as to the value of paint on print. It was in the year 1768 when Wedgwood wrote to Bentley about arranging with Sadler for improving the prints by a combination of paint and print. 1795 was the year of the demise of Josiah Wedgwood.</td>
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<td>D18-1</td>
<td>Worcester Royal Porcelain Works porcelain.</td>
<td>Mug with carmine print of Queen Charlotte, overglaze, probably engraved by Hancock after Edridge. This piece needs no mark for identification, and is classed as &quot;Worcester&quot; at the Museum, No. 611 in catalogue.</td>
<td>None.</td>
<td>Royal Porcelain Works Museum, Worcester.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756, et seq. The colour is termed purple by Mr. Binns in the &quot;Century of Pottery,&quot; at Worcester. It looks like mauve, and is termed carmine modernly at the works.</td>
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<tr>
<td>D 18-2</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Pint mug, print in black transfer overglaze of crown, boy with Phrygian cap of liberty in left hand, and trophy of flags, guns, spears, etc. No. 562 in Worcester Museum Catalogue.</td>
<td>RH</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756, et seq. The obverse of this piece has a portrait of George II. The scroll at foot of trophy has the word &quot;Liberty&quot; engraved.</td>
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<td>D 20.</td>
<td>Liverpool cream ware.</td>
<td>Jug, with black transfer print of a female resting on anchor viewing ship in full sail, outward bound—a wreath below with the Liver bird on top enclosing the words: “A trifle from Liverpool.” Probably overlaze with a glossy aspect owing to soft glaze.</td>
<td>Mary and Robert Crampton. 1792. 8 in. high.</td>
<td>Dr. Sidebotham, Bowdon.</td>
<td>Circa., 1792. On reverse are the words: “My love is fixed I cannot range, I like my choice too well to change. Long in this house may health be found, And oft in mirth this jug go round.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>D 21-1.</td>
<td>Portobello (Scott Bros.) E. ware.</td>
<td>Jug of dark brown body, and yellow overlaze transfer print of Oriental scenes. Inside of rim brown transfer band ⅛ in. wide, rest white pipe-clay wash and glazed. A peculiar specimen of the Potter’s work.</td>
<td>None. Height, 5½ in.</td>
<td>Micah Salt, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., end of 18th century. Marks are rare on this ware, but there is no missing it, once seen. It must not be confused with the so-called Astbury &quot;Portobello&quot; jugs. That was a different thing entirely. Astbury called his ware after Admiral Vernon’s victory at Portobello. Curiously enough, when the Admiral retired, he went to live at a villa near Edinburgh, and called it “Portobello.” Hence the rise of the town and this factory.</td>
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<td>D 23.</td>
<td>Low Ford, Sunderland (Dawson &amp; Co.) cream ware.</td>
<td>Mug, outlined in black transfer overglaze—decorated in colours, green, lake, and pink.</td>
<td>DAWSON &amp; CO., Low Ford, in transfer. 6 in. diameter.</td>
<td>Dr. Sidebotham, Bowdon.</td>
<td>Circa., 1800. Figure of Peace on pedestal with the words: &quot;May peace and plenty on our Nation smile, And trade and commerce bless the British Isle.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>D 24.</td>
<td>Burslem (Enoch Wood &amp; Sons) E. ware.</td>
<td>Plate: underglaze blue and white panels on border with painted flowers and scroll gilding. In centre, transfer print of flowering plant, filled in with paint.</td>
<td>Enoch Wood &amp; Sons, Burslem, in three-quarter circle, eagle and shield in centre. Diameter 9½ in.</td>
<td>W. Turner, Cheltenham.</td>
<td>Circa., 1820-1840. It was Enoch Wood who first exploited the American market with the deep, dark blue underglaze pieces. This plate was made later, but may illustrate his style.</td>
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<tr>
<td>D 25.</td>
<td>Unknown. Porcelain.</td>
<td>Sauce-boat: blue underglaze, transfer print of an imitation Chinese design. Probably one of the earliest underglaze blue specimens.</td>
<td>None. 7 in. long, 3 in. high.</td>
<td>M. Salt, Buxton.</td>
<td>Circa., 1756-1770. The blue (dark) is crude, and suggests the time Haslem speaks of when the cobalt was not thoroughly purified. A similar transfer is in Mr. W. Bemrose's book upon &quot;Longton Hall,&quot; see illustration 9, plate 44, in that book. It may be so, but we have no marked pieces to identify by, and Little never mentioned transfer ware in his advertisements so far as can be traced by me.</td>
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<td>D 26*</td>
<td>Worcester porcelain</td>
<td>54 in. across and 36 in. long</td>
<td>Hexagonal teapot stand; black overglaze transfer print. Subject: Tree, stumps and rocks, and buildings in the foreground. After Hancock's style. Not gilded.</td>
<td>Mr. Drake, Cardiff, collection. Circa 1766-1770. A most interesting and rare piece. None other is known with these initials upon it, at present.</td>
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<tr>
<td>D 27</td>
<td>Caughley earthenware</td>
<td>65 in. across and 36 in. long</td>
<td>Oval dish: dark blue underglaze decorated with a set of Chinese figures.</td>
<td>Norman &amp; Son, Cheltenham, collection. Circa 1776-1799. Early-printing at Caughley by the style of this period and before, the Chinese influence had faded.</td>
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* Mr. Drake writes me with reference to specimen D 26: "The next development of black transfer-printing at Worcester is that in which the print is painted over with washes of different colors, and sometimes these coloured prints are further ornamented by rich gilding. "such a coffee- soften of portrait of the sovereign in his ducal robes, engraved and printed according to our usual practice in 1789, from a workman's drawing, but not signed."

The above Worcester piece shows the King in the princi of manhood. The portrait is painted in a further stage of gilding the portrait, the King was in the possession of an unframed plate, and without additional cost to cut out the fine lines of the picture, and without any further process. This plate was made by Hancock, under his name, and is in my possession."

The explanation I take to be that we signed copperplates were left behind by Hancock when he left Worcester—a further stage of gilding the portrait of the King, the price of which, if not Ross, and then why not each and every gilding, or painting which no firm could be expected to allow—except as Savvios did by certain signs or letters on the bottom of the pieces they decorated.
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CONCLUSION.

The task is nearly completed. That is— to unravel the origin of transfer printing as far as possible; to shew the development in sequence of the principal potworks in producing the prints; to discover the dates of the under or over-glazes used; and to give the credit without prejudice, to the proper persons or places. The truth has been searched out with as much care and diligence as could be spared to the work, over a period of about three years. It is a wide field of inquiry—that of the whole history of transfer printing. This little brochure has been confined mainly to a section of it, so as to elucidate the obscure points mentioned.

A few words may be useful as to the commercial and statistical aspect.

Whether Ravenet, the Frenchman, or Sadler, the Englishman, was the first man to conceive the transfer print idea, it cannot be denied that it is a purely English manufacture.

We have seen what Mr. Binns has stated, namely, that the transfer print did as much for British pottery as the invention of printing did for literature. This is a bit strong, but there is much force in that observation. We have also what Mr. Mayer alleged, viz: that its discovery had made English pottery famous
Transfer Printing.

throughout the world. A large proportion of that fame is due to Battersea, Worcester, Liverpool, Wedgwood and his contemporaries of the 18th century. Such men as Turner of Land End; Adams of Tunstall; Warburton of Cobridge, and Chatterley of Hanley, exported largely.

A Frenchman (M. Faujas de St. Fond) declared that he was served, at every Hotel from Paris to St. Petersburg, with meals upon Wedgwood ware—see "Marks and Monograms," 4th edition, page 661. The term "Wedgwood" probably meant a great deal more, but it will serve as an index of what English potters were doing.

The invasion of America by the wares of E. Wood, Adams, Clews and others, had a similar effect in the West. And thus the transfer print helped to extend English Ceramics, English workmanship, and the English name to the most populous of civilized countries.

Mayer goes on to say that, in 1855, there were 110,000 "hands" employed in the work of transfer printing in the potteries of the United Kingdom. He does not explain how he gets at these figures. Nor can they be verified. The number employed for all pottery and porcelain production in the United Kingdom (vide Census Return of 1851) was 41,000 in round numbers. In 1901, that number had risen to 66,000—an increase of 25,000 or 60 per cent. in the half century. How many were concerned in

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* Dr. Shaw estimated 50,000 in 1829 as being employed in the Potteries. He included "operatives, colliers and persons engaged on the canal" in carrying the ware and raw materials for their use.

A note to page 110 of the "Catalogue of Pottery" (1876) at Jermyn Street Museum, London, states that 50,000 "would appear to be an over-estimate." See page 106.
the printing section of it is not given in the blue books. Probably, about half. It is a long way from the Mayer estimate, but nevertheless, it is a great host; and about seven-tenths are segregated in one county. That county, of course, is Staffordshire. Probably there is no district in the world, except it may be in China, where such a mass of people are collected together for this one object they may have in life, i.e. to make poteries. If we take the number at half, in 1851, for the “transfer” work, the numbers would be 20,500* and this sum multiplied by five (average family number) would give 102,500 which is close on Mayer’s estimate. That may have been his mode of calculation. It is unnecessary to carry it further, for readers will readily grasp the extent of the work by the numbers employed. The figure five is probably too high for the average family in the Potteries, because two and even more of the same family are often employed in potting work. Possibly four would be nearer the mark, for the 1901 census at all events. That would give 132,000 people, as being supported by the earnings of those persons who are engaged in transfer printing in this kingdom. That is supposing the whole number (66,000) be cut in half to represent the transfer-print section, and multiply it by four for the average family supported by them in the year 1901.

It is worthy of consideration that, previous to the year 1750, no persons whatever were employed on the art of transfer printing, simply because it was non-existent. Moreover, in about a quarter of a century afterwards, there would,

* This number would include not only the engravers and transferers, but all who were connected with this particular work, from the miller to the man who packs and sends the goods away from the factory.
Transfer Printing.

probably, be less than a thousand hands concerned in this branch in the whole kingdom. The principal part of them were then at Liverpool. Worcester would be next in point of numbers, for Wedgwood was getting the most of his transfer work done by Sadler and Green. Very few other factories had even begun upon it at that time. The contrast with the great mass now employed is a striking proof of the progress and value of this branch of the national industry. May it go on increasing and prospering.
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*"William Adams: An Old English Potter." The materials for this volume were mainly found by Mr. Percy W. L. Adams, assisted by Mr. G. F. Cox, Mr. Frank Falkner, and Dr. Sidebotham. It was edited by W. Turner. The introduction was original by him. The rest of the book was written or re-written, arranged, and indexed entirely by the Editor.
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APPENDIX.

It may interest some students to read the rest of the "poetical essay" about Holdship and the engraving of the King of Prussia. Of course, that can be done by reference to the Magazine in which it appeared. To many, however, it is not easily available. Hence, it will, perhaps, be well to give the part of it which more especially relates to the matter in hand, leaving out the lines which are entirely irrelevant. There are fifty-four lines in all. The following extract covers only twenty-eight.


"Poetical Essays."

"On seeing an armed Bust of the King of Prussia, curiously imprinted on a Porcelain Cup of the Worcester manufacture, with the Emblem of his Victories. Inscribed to Mr. Josiah Holdship.

"Here taught by thee we view with raptur'd eyes,
Graceful and bold the Prussian Hero rise,
The royal chief, the Cæsar of the age,
Whose acts the wonder of the world engage.

What praise, ingenious Holdship! is thy due,
Who first on porcelain the fair portrait drew!
Who first alone to full perfection brought,
The curious art, by rival numbers sought!"
Transfer Printing.

Hence, shall thy skill inflame heroic souls,
Who mightier battles see round mightier bowls;
While Albion's sons will see their features, name,
And actions copy'd on thy Cup of fame!
Hence, beauty, which repairs the waste of war;
Beauty may triumph on a China jar;
And this, perhaps, with stronger faith to trust,
Than the stain'd canvas or the marble bust;
For here who once in youthful charms appears,
May bloom, uninjured, for a thousand years;
May time, till now oppos'd in vain, defie,
And live, still fair, till Nature's self shall die!
Here may the toast of every age be seen,
From Britain's Gunning back to Sparta's Queen! *
And every hero history's page can bring,
From Macedonia's down to Prussia's King!
Perhaps thy art may track the Circling World,
Where'er thy Britain has her sails unfurl'd,
While wand'ring (? wond'ring) China shall with envy see,
And stoop to borrow her own arts from thee."

Worcester, 20th December, 1757 - - Cynthio."

The writer, "Cynthio," seems to have had the "prophetic soul" if he had not a large share of the poetic fire. He certainly anticipated rightly enough the enormous expansion of the British pottery trade owing to the invention of the transfer print. But his prejudice in favour of Josiah Holdship is just as conspicuous. Were they personal friends or, perhaps, political friends? For it has been supposed that there was a political bond between "The Gentleman's Magazine" and the Worcester Porcelain Factory. Mr. Edward Cave of that Magazine had died before the poem was published, but the bond of interest seems to have continued. At first Mr. Cave and the

* "Sparta's Queen," of course, was the famous Helen of Troy. "Britain's Gunning" was Elizabeth Gunning (1734-1790), daughter of John Gunning of Coote Castle, Roscommon, Ireland. She became, first, Duchess of Hamilton, and, afterwards, Duchess of Argyle. She and her sister, Maria, when they "came out," were pronounced by the Londoners to be "the handsomest women alive."
Holdship brothers had the larger amount of shares in the factory. The Holdships seem to have "bossed" it at that time. Hancock was only a subordinate. It is strange that, after the insinuation about Holdship being the inventor was exposed next month in "Berrow's Worcester Journal," the London sheet did not apologise to Hancock. It did not, and that shows a bias. However, the latter had his revenge, if he wanted it, for Richard Holdship became bankrupt about the year 1762, and left the city. Hancock remained to become a director in ten years' time, namely, in 1772. Thus it is that time brings round its revenges. It is of importance to point out that the quotation from "The Gentleman's Magazine" is usually "bowdlerized." For example, in "Marks and Monograms," ed. 1874, it is so construed that it does not render the writer's meaning exactly.*

Passing this point it is also interesting to note that Thomas Carlyle, in his history of Frederick the Great, has one of his trenchant passages about this very portrait. He, of course, wrote about eighty years subsequently and can cast no light upon the origin of the transfer print. But this he does: the painter of the original Worcester portrait is identified; and the painter (if Carlyle be right) of the Liverpool

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* This was probably owing to Mr. Chaffers (the author) having copied the lines from "Berrow's Worcester Journal" of January, 1758, instead of from "The Gentleman's Magazine" of December, 1757, itself. "Philomath," who championed Hancock in the "Journal," has evidently quoted the lines from memory. He was the first to render the quotation, in public, in a different form to that of the original text, as follows:—

"What praise is thine, ingenious Holdship! who
On the fair porcelain, the portrait drew?
To thee, who first, in thy judicious mind,
A perfect model of the art designed,
An art which, long by curious artists, sought,
By thee alone to great perfection brought."

Mr. Chaffers thought these lines do not attribute the invention to Holdship, Question? But there can be no doubt of Cynthio's meaning in the original poem.
Transfer Printing.

"Frederick," it is stated, never had a "sitting," and, therefore, the portrait could not have been accurate in the delineation of the features of the conquering monarch. It may therefore be of great interest to some readers and connoisseurs to have the full extract before them. It runs thus:—

"A Pottery Apotheosis of Friedrich.

"There stands on this mantelpiece—says one of my correspondents, the amiable Smelfungus, in short, whom readers are acquainted with—a small china mug, not of bad shape, declaring itself in one obscure corner, to be made at Worcester—R.I., Worcester, 1757, (late in the season, I presume, demand being brisk); which exhibits all round it a diligent Potter's Apotheosis of Friedrich, hastily got up to meet the general enthusiasm of English mankind. Worth, while it lasts unbroken, a moment's inspection from you in hurrying along.

"Front side, when you take our mug by the handle for drinking from it, offers a poor, well-meant china portrait, labelled King of Prussia: copy of Friedrich's portrait by Pesne, twenty years too young for the time, smiling out most nobly upon you; upon whom there descends with rapidity a small Genius (more like Cupid who had hastily forgotten his bow, and goes headforemost on another errand) to drop a wreath on his deserving head;—wreath far too small for ever getting on (owing to distance let us hope), though the artless painter makes no sign; and indeed both Genius and wreath, as he gives them, look almost like a big insect, which the King will be apt to treat harshly if he notice it. On the opposite side, again, separated from Friedrich's back by the handle,
Appendix.

is an enormous image of Fame, with wings, filling half the mug, with two trumpets going at once (a bass, probably, and a treble), who flies with great ease; and between her eager face and the unexpectant one of Friedrich (who is 180° off, and knows nothing of it) stands a circular Trophy, or Imbroglio of drums, pikes, muskets, cannons, field flags, and the like, very slightly tied together, the knot, if there is one, being hidden by some fantastic bit of scroll or escutcheon, with a Fame and one trumpet scratched on it;—and high out of the Imbroglio rise three standards inscribed with Names, which we perceive are intended to be the Names of Friedrich’s Victories; standards notable at that day, with Names which I will punctually give you.

“Standard first, which lies to the Westward or leftward, has Reisberg (no such place on this distracted globe, but meaning Bevern’s Reichenberg, perhaps),—‘Reisberg,’ ‘Prague,’ ‘Collin’. Middle standard curves beautifully round its staff, and gives us to read ‘Welham’ (non-extant, too; may mean Welmina or Lobositz); Rossbach (very good), ‘Breslau’ (poor Bevern’s, thought a victory in Worcester at this time!); Standard third, which flies to eastward or righthand, has ‘Neumark’ (that is, Neumarkt and the Austrian Bread-ovens, 4th December); ‘Lissa’ (not yet Leuthen in English nomenclature); and Breslau, which means the capture of Breslau City this time, and is a real success, 7th-19th December; giving us the approximate date, Christmas, 1757, to this hasty mug. A mug got up for temporary English enthusiasm, and the accidental instruction of posterity. It is of tolerable China; holds a good pint, ‘To the Protestant Hero, with all the Honours’; and offers, in little, a curious eyehole into the then England, with its then
lights, and notions, which is now so deep-hidden from us, under volcanic ashes, French Revolutions, and the wrecks of a hundred very decadent years."

From "History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great," vol. VII., book XVIII., cap. X.

It is pleasing to think that our lowly transfer print has been dealt with at such length by one of the Giants of English literature; although the tribute that he brings to us is not altogether unleavened praise.
Cynthio's Summary, his bought Chelsea Bentley, Battersea and Barnes, Barber, Ballantine, Balechou, Baker, Austen, Baddeley, Aynsley, Arts, Artists, Aquatint Appendix; Cynthio's poem on J. Holdship, and Carlyle on King of Prussia transfer, 165 Aquatint engravings, 25; Summary, statement of, 101, 103 Artists, Incorporated Society of, and Ravenet, 23 Arts, Society of, and Ravenet, 23 Austen, Mr., engraver at The Potteries, 89 Aynsley, John, transfer printer, 80 Baddeley, of Shelton, bat printer, etc., 35, 72, 77, 79 Baker, Harry, alleged discoverer of T. P., 2, 24, 35, 76, 77, 80 Balechou, and School of Landscape engraving, 20, 43 Ballantine, A. R., His Life of Hancock, etc., 2, 28, 49 Barber, Prof., on underglaze printing, 12, 85, 87 Barnes, Z., Liverpool transfer printer, 67 Basan's Dictionary, Ravenet's Engravings recorded, 22 Bat process, 35, 56, 65, 77, Summary regarding, 95, 100 Battersea and transfers, 1, 16, 18-21, 23, 26-31, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50, 53, 54, 59, 60, 62, 63, 74 Bemrose, Wm., and R. Holdship, 51, 56 Bentley, correspondence with Wedgwood, 48 Beraldi and Portalis, Ravenet recorded in their "Graveurs," 22 Berlin, inquiry at, about Dr. Pott, 33 Berrow's Worcester Journal, verses on Hancock, 31 Bibliography, note on, xiii.; extent of research, 159-170 Binns, C. F., his "Story of the Potter," 46, 84, 89 —— R. W., references vii., 13, 18-20, 30, 31, 36, 53, 54, 59, 62, 66, 77, 84 Biography, National dictionary of, on Ravenet, 23 Bird Nest China, transfer design at Swansea, 71 Birmingham and transfer printing, Lauren- sen's statement, etc., 2, 18, 28, 36 Blue Ware, historic incidents regarding, vii. Bodleian Library, research at, 20, 33 Book plates, used for transfer printing, 24 Booth, W. W., invents underglaze colours, 83 Boucher, transfers after, 29, 48 Bow, transfers at, 3, 15-18, 28, 36, 37, 44, 45, 50, 56, 72, 74 Bowcooke, John, and Bow transfers, 3, 17, 37, 44, 62 Boydell, Alderman, employed Ravenet, 23, 24, 27, 45 Bristol, Hancock died at, 28; bought Swansea copperplates, 71; transfers at, 82 British Museum, research at, 20, 33; Chelsea specimen, 36 Brooke, William, engraver of improved designs, 88 Broseley dragon pattern, 58, 65 Brown, Mr., an engraver at the Potteries, 89 Burdett, Peter Pever, engraver, 13; uses aquatint on pottery, 25, 101, 102 Burslem, birthplace of Hancock, 23; potteries at, 76, 80 Cambridge, discovery of Neptune at, 98 Cardiff Museum, Swansea transfer print at, 71 Carlyle, quoted, 43; his comment on King of Prussia mug. Carver, Mr., Liverpool engraver, 2, 13, 14, 35, 36

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