Figure 1
Site location.
Excavations at Burslem, Stoke on Trent

Noel Boothroyd and Paul Courtenay

Summary

A major regeneration project for the centre of Burslem was proposed by the Burslem Community Development Trust in 1997. The proposal involved the development of the old Town Hall and its environs as ‘Ceramica’, and was to be partly funded by the Millennium Commission. New buildings were to be erected immediately to the east of the old Town Hall to house a cafe and shop as part of a ceramic heritage project including re-use of the old Town Hall. This site was recognised as having significant archaeological potential and the proposed development was likely to have a direct impact on buried deposits. Of particular interest was the site of Josiah Wedgwood’s first potworks at the Ivy House. An archaeological field evaluation and watching brief was therefore undertaken by the Field Archaeology Unit of the Potteries Museum. The evaluation was filmed by Channel 4’s Time Team. The programme was broadcast in January 1999.

The excavation

Noel Boothroyd

Introduction

A major regeneration project for the centre of Burslem was proposed by the Burslem Community Development Trust in 1997. The proposal involved the development of the old Town Hall and its environs as ‘Ceramica’, and was to be partly funded by the Millennium Commission. New buildings were to be erected immediately to the east of the old Town Hall to house a cafe and shop as part of a ceramic heritage project including re-use of the old Town Hall. This site was recognised as having significant archaeological potential and the proposed development was likely to have a direct impact on buried deposits. Of particular interest was the site of Josiah Wedgwood’s first potworks at the Ivy House. An archaeological field evaluation and watching brief was therefore undertaken by the Field Archaeology Unit of the Potteries Museum. The evaluation was filmed by Channel 4’s Time Team. The programme was broadcast in January 1999.

The original interest in the site was its connection to Josiah Wedgwood but the excavations revealed much more, including important deposits of pottery relating to earlier and later periods in the development of Burslem as a pottery centre. After the Time Team dig further excavation, carried out by the Potteries Museum Field Archaeology Unit, took place in November and December 1998 and November 1999 and an archaeological watching brief was maintained on all ground works. Results were reported in the Potteries Museum Field Archaeology Unit Report No. 84, March 2000.

The archaeological investigations produced evidence for a substantial deposit of early 16th century pottery and kiln waste under the carpark on the north of the site. This was originally to be left in situ but new proposals for landscaping of the area were produced in 2001 by architects Faulks Perry Culley & Rech working to a commission from Advantage West Midlands, who now had responsibility for advancing the project. The landscape proposals meant that this deposit would be disturbed and archaeological mitigation measures were deemed to be necessary by the City Archaeologist.

Methodology

The scheme of archaeological mitigation was carried out by the Potteries Museum Field Archaeology Unit. This involved an excavation of the eastern half of the carpark, as this was the area most vulnerable to disturbance from the proposed landscaping. The aim of the excavation was to identify and define the extent of the 16th-century pottery deposit and to collect a representative sample of the material. Structures and material from other periods were also to be recorded and collected when encountered. Excavation took place from 19th September to 5th October 2001. Subsequent ground works were subject to an archaeological watching brief. The archive is stored at the Potteries Museum, Stoke-on-Trent, site code BMP01.

Excavation results

A trench 27.70m north to south by 13.10m east to west was opened. The carpark was covered in three layers of tarmac and hardcore. These were stripped off by machine and the layers beneath cleaned by hand, though some hardcore remained embedded in these lower layers. Removal of the tarmac and hardcore revealed the remains of 19th-century brick structures and earlier features.

Running west–east across the width of the trench was the north wall of the Meat Market, built in 1835 and demolished in 1958. To the north of the meat
market wall were several other brick wall foundations, which could be related to the plans of buildings indicated on various 19th-century plans of the site. Excavation, however, concentrated on two large features F541 and F565 containing large amounts of early 16th-century pottery waste. Despite repeated trowelling it was not possible to define the edges of these features in plan as both had been significantly disturbed by later activity, which had not only cut through the features in several places but had spread the fill material round the site, and dragged other material across the features. The features were investigated, therefore, through sondages to reveal sections through the features, and to recover stratified samples of finds.

F541 lay within the L-shape formed by 19th-century walls and extended to the east in a sub-rectangular shape with the long axis running north-west to south-east. It had been partly investigated with a small, 2.0m by 1.0m sondage in 1999 after a test pit machine dug during the Time Team excavation in 1998 had revealed this as an area of archaeological potential. This sondage had concentrated on recovering stratified samples of finds and had not defined the feature edges.

A new sondage (Sondage 1) was excavated across the width of F541 to the west of the previous sondage. The sondage was 4.65m long north to south by 0.70m wide and 1.20m deep. F541 cut an earlier feature F593 on the south side and was itself cut by a later feature F5010 on the north side. F5010 was then cut by yet another feature F5009 and this was cut by the 19th-century wall.

F593 cut a yellow clay, probably the natural, 512. The upper layer of fill for F593 was a cap of mixed yellow clay 594 up to 0.20m thick. Beneath this was 592 a red gravel and sandy loam with frequent 16th-century pot sherds, with a maximum thickness of 0.30m. Next was 598 a red-brown gravel and sandy loam with sherds, 0.28m thick, 599 also a red-brown gravel and sandy loam with sherds and also patches of yellow clay, 0.30m thick, and 500 a dark gravel with sherds 0.28m thick. None of these re-appeared on the north side of F541.

The fills of F541 in order from top to bottom were: 513 a red-brown gravel with sherds, up to 0.40m thick; 524 a yellow/grey loam, 0.18m thick; 530 red gravel and sandy loam with sherds, 0.40m thick; 531 a grey gravel with sherds and a thin layer of ash and coal fragments across its upper surface, 0.35m thick; 540 black coal, ash and burnt kiln daub with sherds, 0.10m thick; 595 a grey-brown sandy clay loam with some gravel and sherds, 0.20m thick.

F541 was cut on its north side by F5010 filled with 5011 a red-brown gravel similar to but slightly darker than 513. 5011 was not recognised as a separate context from 513 until after they had been excavated so finds from both contexts were labelled as 513. F5010 was cut by F5009. The upper fills of F5009 appeared to be 582 and 597 a yellow and a grey clay but these may be later levelling layers. Beneath these was 528 a grey-brown sandy loam with occasional pot sherds and coal fragments. Earlier than both F541 and F5009 was 5012, also a grey-brown sandy loam but with slightly more pot sherds than 528 and patches of clay. As 5012 was indistinguishable from 528 until seen in section all finds from both contexts were labelled 528. The 19th-century wall truncated F5009 on its north side.

On the east side of the 1999 sondage an attempt was made to define the extent of F541 but not to bottom it. The edges were obscured by thick spreads of clay containing 17th- to 18th-century material. Removal of one of these spreads allowed the southern edge to be defined for a distance of at least 2.5m from the 1999 sondage. At this point, however, more clay spreads obscured the edge so two shallow sondages (Sondage 2 and 3) were dug at right angles to each other. These indicated that F541 had in fact been cut by a later feature F5002 at its east end, and this feature consisted of a grey clay 516 above a yellow clay 591, both containing slipwares and other late 17th-/early 18th-century material, above 5003 a brown sandy loam with earlier material, including two sherds of Midlands white ware (14th century), as well Midlands Purple and Cistercian ware wasters and two sherds of Yellow ware (17th century). F541 continued beneath F5002 but there was not time to complete excavation in this area so the full extent of F541 was not found, though a minimum size of 8.20m west–east by 2.20m north–south can be given.

Feature F565 lay approximately 4.0m to the south of F541. It appeared roughly rectangular, orientated west–east, but as the southern edge was lost to the meat market wall and a concrete plinth this is uncertain. Two sondages were dug through F565, one at the east end, 1.40m by 1.00m, and one at the west end against the trench edge, 2.50m by 1.50m. The upper fill was 573 a red gravel with frequent 16th-century pot but below this the fills were different in each sondage and 573 may represent more of a spread than a fill.

At the east end Sondage 4 was cut adjacent to modern drain pipes. Beneath 573 was 576 a grey gravel and loam with 16th-century pot, about 0.12m thick but lensing out to the west. Beneath this was 585 a brown sandy clay loam, also with frequent 16th-century pot, up to 0.30m thick. Some intrusive later bricks were also seen in the sondage section. Some of the backfilled gravel was removed from one of the drain pipe trenches to provide a section through 573. This showed that F565 was much shallower at this point than in the sondage 2.00m to the south and that a thin layer of 573 lay directly on natural clay.

At the west end Sondage 5 was defined on its north edge by a drain pipe and on the south by a line continuing from the concrete plinth and on the west by the trench edge. Removal of 573 revealed two separate features. On the east side of the sondage the edge of F565 was revealed as a straight edge running north to south. It contained 578 a yellow-brown sandy loam and gravel c.0.17m thick with some 16th century pot, 583 a yellow-brown sandy clay 0.04 to 0.17m thick with frequent 16th century pot, 5006 a layer of black coal
Figure 2
Location of trench and main features.

Plate 1
East-facing section of F541, showing tip lines of dumped wasters.

Figure 3
Plan of feature F541 (19th-century walls shaded).

Figure 4
East-facing section of Sondage 1, F541.
and ash 0.04 to 0.18m thick with frequent 16th century pot and 5007 a brown loam 0.06 to 0.13m thick with frequent lumps of baked daub and coal. A lens of brown sandy clay 579 full of 16th century pot lay between 573 and 578 and across the edge of the feature. Where revealed the bottom of the feature was flat and cut into natural yellow clay. To the west of F565 and continuing into the trench edge was another feature, F589. This was covered by, but not filled by, 563 a layer of yellow clay only 0.03m thick, 564 an ash rich layer of brown-black loam 0.15m thick, 584 dark brown compacted sandy loam 0.09m thick with frequent coal fragments, 5008 a thin layer of grey clay with coal and baked daub. The actual fill of F589 was 588 a brown sandy loam 0.10m to 0.25m thick with frequent 16th-century pot. This was half-sectioned to show the feature had gently sloping sides and flat bottom cut into the natural yellow clay.

**The watching brief**

A watching brief was carried out on the subsequent groundworks. A drainage trench running north to south was dug alongside the edge of the pavement, immediately to the east of Trench 5. The most significant element in this drain trench was a deposit of 16th-century Midlands Purple wasters visible in the east section, and presumably extending under the pavement. It was about 3.0m wide, in a shallow cut through natural clay and extended from 0.90m to 1.20m below ground level. Finds were not collected from this section. This is marked as F2 on Figure 2.
Finds

An estimated 5,000 sherds were recovered from the sondages through the 16th-century features, F541, F565, F589, and F593, only stratified material was sampled. These mainly consisted of Midlands Purple jars and cisterns, with a few pipkins and other vessel forms and saggars, and Cistercian wares. These are clearly wasters and are accompanied by baked daub kiln superstructure and ash and coal fragments. They provide evidence for large scale pottery manufacture in what is now Burslem town centre at a date much earlier than usually given. These are described and discussed more fully by Paul Courtney, below.

Other material was collected from excavated contexts and relates to activity on the site from the late 17th century to the construction of the Meat Market in 1835, with a small amount of redeposited late medieval Midlands whiteware ceramics. There is clear evidence for Blackware production in the form of over 150 bobs, or separators, and saggars with bobs adhering, from context 553, for white salt-glazed stoneware production with ring separators from context 558, probably from the works of Thomas Taylor, and for red-bodied teapots of the later 19th century, probably from the works of Hope and Carter in Fountain Place, context DT1 S1. There was a backstamp of Hope and Carter, in use 1862–80, and a stamp of a French railway company suggesting Hope and Carter were producing catering wares for the foreign market.

Two vessels in rare forms for Stoke-on-Trent are a Yellow ware chafing dish, DT1-clay (Figure 15, 97), and an early slipware cup of globular shape, 587 (Figure 15, 98), both mid 17th-century. The slipware cup is similar to, though slightly larger than, one found nearby during excavations at Woodbank St, Burslem, in 1974 (Greaves 1976, fig 9 no 72).

Conclusion

Despite later prominence of Staffordshire industries, evidence for production before the mid-17th century has not been recognized archaeologically. Excavations at Burslem produced a range of midland Purple and Midland Yellow hollow and flat wares, as well as some ‘iron-glazed wares’, all believed to be in production before 1620. Dating evidence is tenuous, and amounts of material recovered, including cups/tygs, shallow dishes and jars, appears to have been very small. (McCarthy & Brooks 1988, 474)

This comment from a standard work on medieval pottery is now clearly no longer true. As well as the evidence from Burslem Market Place described here for commercial manufacture in Burslem, recent work at the Burslem School of Art has uncovered more waster dumps of late 15th- to early 16th-century Midlands Purple and Cistercian wares, over 5,000 sherds, as well as earlier Midlands whitewares, and good evidence of continuous production on the site from the 15th century to the 17th century and beyond.

Burslem itself was a long-lived settlement, described in Domesday book (Slade 1958). The Domesday book entry suggests a small settlement, only one villein and four bordars are recorded, suggesting a population of c. 22 to 25, and its potential under-utilised, there is only one plough but land for two ploughs. Woodland forms an important element, two acres of alder are recorded. By the later middle ages an open field system had developed, though, given the nature of the soil and topography, pastoralism is always likely to have been more important (Greenslade 1963).

St John’s church, probably built as a chapel of ease within Stoke-on-Trent parish in 1297, stands to the south of the town centre, and appears isolated on maps of 18th-century Burslem. It has been suggested that this isolation is the result of settlement movement from an original site around the church towards the hilltop which would provide better opportunities for pottery manufacturers, this movement taking place perhaps in the later 17th and early 18th centuries (Klemperer and Meeson 1991). The evidence for pottery production by the 15th century on the hilltop, in the modern town centre, at Burslem Market Place and School of Art excavations, suggests this model needs to be reviewed.

The only medieval kilns excavated in Stoke-on-Trent are at Sneyd Green, about 1.7km from Burslem centre. These are dated to the 14th century and probably represent encroachment onto wastes within the manor of Hulton, held by the Cistercian Hulton Abbey (Ford 1995). Their end date is uncertain and their demise may be associated with the Dissolution of the monasteries in 1538 (Ford, pers. comm.). Pottery production had clearly begun in Burslem before then, however. The earliest reference to potters in Burslem seems to be from 1448 when William and Richard Adams were fined for digging clay by the road between Burslem and Sneyd (Greenslade 1963, 131). Clay and coal were in abundant supply and the adjacent borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme would provide ready marketing opportunities. Pottery manufacture in villages, usually as by-employ-ment for farming peasants, was common at this time (McCarthy & Brooks 1988) and at Burslem would be a useful supplement to agricultural income. Lorna Weatherill’s study of probate inventories for Burslem from the later 17th century suggests, however, that it seemed to be the better-off landowners who were investing in pottery production on their property, rather than those with lesser small-holdings (Weatherill 1971). Pottery production, therefore, was viewed as an opportunity for profit not simply as the resort of someone desperate for extra income. Was something similar happening in the later medieval period?
The late medieval/early modern pottery
Paul Courtney

Quantification

Due to the consistency of the 16th-century waster material it has been grouped together for quantification purposes including the unstratified material from Trench 5 and the sondage. However, a small amount of material was excluded from the site quantification due to the predominance of later wares (including 17th-century Midlands Purple butterpot sherds from 513/516 and 516): Contexts. 511; 513/6; 516 and 553 are those excluded from the following figures.

Basic quantification was done by context using sherd counts, weighing and EVEs, i.e. estimated vessel equivalents. The latter is based on calculating rim percentages (100% = 1 EVE) and was used to determine the relative proportions of the various vessel forms present. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to apply EVEs to the saggar rims due to distortion and fragmentation. An attempt to use it on the bases was also unsuccessful again due to distortion and the problems of separating saggar and vessel bases.

Kiln superstructure

Parallels from such kiln sites as Wrenthorpe in West Yorkshire suggest that updraught kilns were used on this site with multiple flues. Temporary clay domes were constructed over each ceramic load and were smashed open after each firing (see Moorhouse and Roberts 1992, fig.24, 27 and 29 for reconstructions). 360 fragments of demolished kiln superstructure weighing 55.6 kg (averaging 155g a fragment) were recovered from the excavations. These comprised lumps of red oxidised, fired-clay without visible mineral inclusions, typical of the local Coal Measures. The clay had been reinforced with cut lengths of a reed-like plant which had burnt but left clear impressions of its structure. There was no evidence for the incorporation of pottery sherds into the kiln structure as at the 17th-century Wednesbury earthenware kiln (Hodder 1992, 111). Only seven stratified contexts produced 2 kg or more of kiln lining material: contexts 513 (18.5 kg), 573 (10kg), 515 (7 kg), 530 (3 kg), 531 (2.5 kg) 532 (7.5 kg) and 598 (2 kg).

Midlands Purple/orange-ware

Late medieval orange-wares and Midlands Purple share the same fabric except for firing differences. Inclusions include common quartz grains and rare to moderate iron ore fragments (Ford 1995, 35). Midlands Purple wares are higher fired and usually partially or completely reduced and sometimes vitrified into a stoneware. A wide range of states of oxidation and vitrification and colour (orange to greys to purple) were apparent though ‘orange-wares’ formed only a minority of the sherds. Midlands Purple-like fabrics have been dated to the early 13th century at Full St. Derby though the Austin Friars sequence at Leicester suggests true Midlands Purple ware appears c.1400 (Coppack 1973, 75; Woodland 1981, 127). This fabric continues to be produced into the 17th century when it is used as a specialist fabric for butterpots. The later butterpot fabrics tend to be consistently highly fired and brownish in colour. It was decided that it was unpractical to separate orange-ware and Midlands Purple fabrics for quantification purposes on this site as they merged into one another sometimes in the same vessel. It also proved impossible to distinguish saggars from vessels except in regard to rims. Indeed it was clear that ordinary vessels were sometimes used as onces off saggars for producing Cistercian wares.

Excluding the omitted contexts (see above) 7092 sherds (301.5 kg) of Midlands Purple- and Orange-ware were excavated including saggars. The EVEs total (excluding saggars) was 68.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jar</th>
<th>566 rim sherds, 52.0 EVEs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jar A</td>
<td>364 rim sherds, 36.0 EVES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jar B</td>
<td>192 rim sherds, 19.6 EVES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jar-like vessels with club-like, rounded to angular, everted rims similar to medieval cooking pots. A high proportion of these vessels probably had one or more vertical handles. 28 rim sherds (8 %) had evidence of vertical strap handles plus three of uncertain type. 31 rim sherds (9 %) had thumbed applied strips around the neck. Two rims sherds had cut-aways suggesting dual use as saggars.

Jar-like vessels with everted, hollow-seated rims, presumably designed to take a lid. This rim form was found associated with both horizontal and vertical strap handles. Six rim sherds (3 %) had evidence for vertical strap handles, and six for horizontal handles (3 %) with three of uncertain type. Seven rim sherds (4 %) had applied thumbed bands around the neck and one sherd had thumbed decoration on the rim edge (context 579). One rim sherd had evidence of a saggar-like cut away suggesting dual use as a saggar.
Figure 6
Midlands Purple-ware jars, Type A. Scale 1:3

Plate 2
Base of vessel with rim from second vessel (Type A jar) fused to it, possibly in firing position. Both vessels in dark-grey fabric with brown to purple-brown surfaces. Cinder-like material fused to the underside of base (534).
Figure 7
Midlands Purple-ware jars, Type B. Scale 1:3
Figure 8
Midlands Purple-ware jars bases 13–17, bunghole cisterns 18–21. Scale 1:3
Handles

Both jar types had plain strap handles whether vertically or horizontally attached. These were attached at the upper end in the case of vertical handles or on the left side in the case of horizontal handles (indicating a right hand potter) by inserting a plug of clay though both handle and vessel wall. Thumbing occurred at both ends of the handles. Detached horizontal handles could often be recognised by a slight twist in the central line though this was not always possible with small fragments.

Bung-holes

A total of 60 whole or fragmentary bung-holes was excavated. These were presumably associated with either ‘jar’ rim types A and/or B. The angular form of rim often found associated with East Midlands cisterns was absent from this site (e.g. Woodland 1981, fig. 113: 158). The bung-holes were made by attaching an upwardly sloping clay ‘cylinder’ to the lower body of the vessel and piercing through the cylinder and body wall to produce a downwardly sloping spigot hole.

Bases

Bases tended to be flat with sharply rising side-walls. Evidence of parallel wire marks were found on only six Midlands Purple base sherds. Thin transparent glazing was common in the interiors and on the underside of bases. In the latter case it almost certainly resulted from vessels being used as saggars for Cistercian wares, and similar glazing also occurred on saggar rims. It remains uncertain to what extent deliberate glazing of the Midlands Purple wares was carried out as opposed to being a side product of firing Cistercian wares in the same kiln.

Bodies

Two body sherds had thumbed vertically applied strips, a further 15 had similar horizontal strips and two were indistinguishable.

Bowls

157 rim sherds, 9.5 EVEs

These had simple rounded rims, sometimes turned outward into a hook-like shape. A high proportion of the bowl rims were in orange-ware rather than high-fired Midlands Purple fabrics though these also occurred. This presumably results from the bowls being fired in a cooler area of the kiln. It remains uncertain to what extent effect was sought as opposed to being acceptable as bowl forms were found in both Orange-ware and Midlands Purple fabrics in the Burslem market wasters as well as upon consumer sites (cf. Coppack 1974, fig. 21: 262). The fragmentary nature of the assemblage meant that it was impossible to link the rims with bases. The difficulty in distinguishing bowl and cooking pot/jar bases suggests that they were similar in form and size. The bowls were presumably deep and had steep lower sides. Some of the bowl rims had a thin transparent glaze especially on the interior and occasionally patches on the exterior. It is uncertain therefore if this was a deliberate effect or a result of these vessels being used as one-off saggars. It has been suggested that Midland Yellow bowls were used as saggars at Wrenthorpe (Moorhouse and Roberts 1992, 98–9) though there is no positive evidence for this practice at Burslem. It thus seems more likely that this was glazing was deliberate. Hopefully more work on less fragmentary material will shed more light. It remains uncertain how the bowls were stacked in the kiln given the rarity of
Figure 9
Midlands Purple-ware bowls. Scale 1:3
kiln scars from vessels other than Cistercian wares. This is an indication of the predominance of unglazed or barely glazed wares in the Midlands Purple fabrics.

### Pancheon

An example of a base from context 531 conforms to the more well-known Midlands Purple pancheon base known from other production and consumer sites. The side-wall of the vessel is at an unusually sloping angle for the Burslem assemblage and the edge of the base has been knife-trimmed. The mottled brown internal glaze also looks like it was deliberate. However, it should also be noted that there was a total absence of classic pancheon rim-forms in this assemblage despite the dominance of this type on consumer sites like Donning-ton, Park (Leics), the Full Street assemblage at Derby and the Austin Friars in Leicester (see Liddle 1979, fig. 6: 16; Coppack 1974, fig. 21: 264 and Woodland 1981, figs. 39: 189 for examples). However, the material from all the above three sites is likely to come from the Ticknall rather than the Stoke kilns.

### Saggars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Rim Sherds</th>
<th>Pierced Sherds</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type I</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassifiable</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 496 rim sherds

496 out of 1242 or 40 per cent of rim sherds recovered were identified as saggars.

In addition, 70 non-rim sherds with perforations were recorded, though mostly with only part of the hole surviving. Most of the perforations appear to have been made by pushing a finger through the pot except for at least six body/base sherds with larger cut holes. The low number of perforated sherds suggests that many saggars may even have had only a single perforation and possibly some were not perforated at all.

Two saggars rim forms were identifiable due to their characteristic cut-aways which presumably facilitated the circulation of hot air and gasses in the kiln. Unfortunately it was not possible to reconstruct a complete profile of any of the saggars from this site. These were invariably in reduced fabrics and their battered and pitted condition often suggested multiple re-use. Type I saggars comprised rounded rims associated with either cylindrical-shaped upper bodies or more commonly a barrel-shaped body which narrowed at the neck. A complete example of this type of saggars from Burslem is illustrated by Ford (1995, pl.7).

Type II saggars comprised an angular hooked rim form which terminated in a point. These saggars were higher fired than the Type I saggars often to a purplish near-stoneware fabric. This pointed rim form presumably had the advantage of reducing contact with the underlying saggars base in the kiln. However, no discernible stratigraphic pattern distinguished the two types. Possibly the Type II saggars were the work of a single potter or mark a chronological development.

Given their distinctive form, however, the most likely explanation is that the difference is purely functional and reflects the use of the Type II saggars in the hottest part of the kiln. Similar rim-forms to the Type I saggars have been excavated at Wrenthorpe and Chilvers Coton though this latter site showed a much greater variety of rim forms (Moorhouse and Roberts 1992, figs. 76–77; Mayes and Scott 1984, figs. 76, 81 and 86). Odd examples at both sites resemble the Type II saggars (Moorhouse and Roberts 1992, fig. 76: 442 and Mayes and Scott 1984, fig. 76: site 7d). No other kiln furniture was found on the Burslem Market Place site from pre-17th-century contexts.

### Pipkins

7 rim sherds EVEs 2.16

Six detached pipkin handles were recovered. The pipkin handles were curved except for that from context 585 which was straight and fitted a rim and body from context 599. A nearly identical rim and body profile, without positive evidence of a handle, from 599 suggests a second pipkin (both in orange-ware). No feet were identified suggesting these were flat-based vessels similar in form to the Type A and B jars. The EVE figure is clearly under-representative. A pipkin in orange-ware has been excavated at Eccleshall Castle (Staffs.) and an unstratified example from the Austin Friars, Leicester (Ford 1995, fig. 20: 161; Woodland 1984, fig. 44: 294). Contexts: 513 (2), 585 (2), 598, 599, 599 (2), U/S.

### Jugs

7 rim sherds EVEs 0.58

12 rim sherds and one body (shoulder) sherd were identified as being from jugs. Only two narrow bases from contexts 524 (drawn) and 530 could be identifiable as probable jug/costrel bases (even after a secondary search). This suggests that most had wide bases, very similar to the jars. The vessels had simple pinched lips and handles were presumably strap handles similar to the Type A jars. Broadly comparable vessels come from Drayton Bassett and Leicester Austin Friars (Ford 1995, fig. 19: 153 and Woodland 1984, Fig. 44:275). Odd examples at both sites resemble the Type II saggars rim forms (Moorhouse and Roberts 1992, figs. 76–77; Mayes and Scott 1984, fig 76: site 7d). No other kiln furniture was found on the Burslem Market Place site from pre-17th-century contexts.

### Chafing dishes

7 rim sherds EVEs 0.58

Seven rim sherds, one base (575) and one probable body sherd (532) were identified as being from chafing dishes in Midlands Purple fabrics. The identical form was also found in Cistercian ware (see below) and two bases in an unglazed mixed red/white earthenware (?under-fired
Figure 10
Midlands Purple-ware. 30–35 jugs, 36–41 flasks, 42–44 perforated vessels. Scale 1:3
Figure II
Midlands Purple-ware. 45–48 lids, 49–50 chafing dishes, 51–52 pipkins, 53 drip pan. Scale 1:3
Figure 12
Saggars: 54–58 Type I, 59–62 Type II. Scale 1:3
Figure 13
Midlands Purple-ware. 63–67 saggar bases, 68–73 handles. Scale 1:3
Excavations at Burslem, Stoke on Trent

MP) from context 576. The bodies of the chafing dishes were pierced with small holes. A nearly complete profile of a Midlands Purple chafing dish, a waster, was found in Chapel Lane, Burslem (Ford 1995, Fig. 19: 162). Contexts: 513, 524, 530, 531 (2), 573, 575, 5003.

Drip pans

2 rim sherds
Two fragments of drip pans were found with internal glazing, both in an orange-ware fabric (cf. Woodland 1984, fig. 115: 185 and 187). Contexts: 513 and 532.

Lids

6 rim sherds EVEs 0.23
Fragments, indicating a minimum of six lids, were excavated in both orange-ware and true Midlands Purple fabrics. These are similar in form to Midlands Purple lids excavated at Chilvers Coton (Mayes and Scott 1984, fig. 109). One lid in a highly fired (Midlands Purple) fabric from context 531 had curved wire marks on the handle top. Contexts: 530; 531; 540; 573 and 585 (2).

Ridge tiles

Five ridge-tile fragments were recovered from 16th-century contexts. Midlands Purple fragments from contexts 531 and 532 had finger-incised decoration; that from 531 had traces of a patchy brown glaze an applied crest of uncertain form. Two sherds from context 583 in orange-ware fabric had a splashed green glaze and finger-incised decoration. A further unglazed ‘red-ware’ fragment with incised decoration was excavated from context 599. The small quantity of material recovered makes it unclear if this material represents wasters or demolition debris from nearby structures.

Quantification of Midlands Purple/Orange-ware forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>rim sherds</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>EVEs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jar A</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>33.99</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jar B</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowl</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9.23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jug</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chafing dish</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipkin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lids</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drip pan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>64.51</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three main forms (Jar A, Jar B, bowls) were recovered in the approximate ratio 4: 2: 1. However, as always with waster assemblages this is a very uncertain guide to production ratios. Firstly, it is difficult to be sure that the excavated assemblage is a representative sample of the kiln wasters actually produced on the site. Secondly, technical factors or mere chance may have resulted in the wasters giving a biased view of production. Nevertheless, it does suggest that production was dominated by a limited range of forms with small-scale production of a more varied range.

Cistercian ware

The excavation (excluding the contexts noted above) produced 465 sherds of Cistercian ware weighing approximately 0.8 kg while the EVEs total came to 7.04. The Cistercian ware sherds from the site varied in fabric according to oxidation ranging from orange- or brick-red to dark grey and their glazes accordingly from mid-brown to black. A similar range of fabric/glaze combinations is found on consumer sites. Analysis of a single sherd from Hulton Abbey (Staffs) suggests that the iron-rich glaze results from migration of iron from the clay body. However, analysis of a sherd from Kirk-stall (East Yorks) points to the deliberate addition of iron (Barker 1986, 54–5; Brears 1967, 39). Bases are normally unglazed on the exterior with the glaze forming runs towards the base.

Most, but not all bases, show parallel wire marks formed as the vessel was removed from the potter’s wheel. A national type-series of Cistercian forms was devised by Le Patourel (1965, 116–9 and figs. 38–9) and refined by Brears (1971, 18–23). A more limited Staffordshire based type-series was published by Barker (1986) and further Staffordshire vessels published by Ford (1995, 36–7 and figs. 21–2). Two- and three-handled cups predominate among the casual finds made in the Stoke area. Multi-flued kilns apparently used for Cistercian ware have been ex-cavated at Chilvers Coton and Wrenthorpe (Mayes and Scott 1984, 19–69; Moorhouse and Roberts 1992, 1–77).

Kiln scar evidence was not abundant but suggests that the saggars were placed one upon the other probably with a single Cistercian vessel standing vertically upon the upturned saggar base (i.e. one Cistercian vessel per saggar). Bands or lumps of fused sand found on a number of saggar and Cistercian bases indicate that a layer of sand was often placed on the saggar base. This contrasts with Wrenthorpe (West Yorkshire) where sand was apparently used after firing to rest the Cistercian vessels upon. A single Midlands Purple body sherd (528) had a contact scar probably on a Cistercian cup base while a single base sherd (526) had similar contact scars on both sides. This constitutes the only evidence for the use of broken sherds as separators. The only clay ‘bobs’ excavated were associated with 17th-century Blackware production. There was no evidence of clay ‘bobs’ or broken sherds being used to prop the Cistercian vessels at an angle as at Wrenthorpe. The pattern of glaze runs at Burslem also suggests the Cistercian vessels were fired vertically.

Globular cups with flared rims and two to three handles were the main form produced. Dark-brown to
Figure 14
Cistercian ware. 74–87 cups, 88 handle, 89–92 flasks, 93–95 chafing dishes, 96 stamp. Scale 1:3
black glazes extended over the interior and exteriors of the vessels though the undersides of the bases were normally unglazed and glaze runs often ran towards the base on the vessel exterior. Most vessels had traces of parallel marks indicating that a short length of wire had been used to remove them from the potter’s wheel. Only a few bases appear to have been smooth-finished. Eight sherds, probably all cups, had white applied decoration. The applied patches were mostly fairly shapeless apart from a rosette (5001) and repeated oval bands on a handle (513/516).

Flared cups
75 rim sherds, EVEs 5.09

Globular cups with flaring rims and multiple strap handles. Two vessels had three handles and another vessel had paired handles. (cf. Barker 1986a, fig.1: nos. 1–6). Contexts: numerous.

Cylindrically-necked mugs
2 rim sherds, 0.36 EVEs

Also a shoulder sherd from context 524. This form is presumably a copy of contemporary German Raeren forms (cf. Barker 1986a, fig.1: no. 8, a casual find from the Stoke area). Contexts: 515, 524 and 5001.

Jugs
1 rim sherd, EVEs 0.33

For parallels see the jug-like vessel from Chapel Lane, Burslem (Barker 1986a, fig.1: 9), jug from Austin Friars, Leicester (Woodland 1981, fig. 42: nos 221–9) and two jugs from Full St, Derby (Coppack 1973, fig.19: 236–7) Also two jug or flask bases.. Context: 576.

Flask
2 sherds, EVEs 1.0

One complete rim with most of the upper profile of a flask or costrel was recovered. (cf.Brears 1971, Fig 20: type 5). Also one body sherd (see jugs for possible bases).. Contexts: U/S (rim) and 528.

Quantification of Cistercian Ware forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>rim sherds</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>EVEs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flared cup</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cylindrically-necked cup</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flask/costrel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.0*</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chafing dish</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7.04</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chafing dishes
4 sherds, EVEs 0.26

Two rim sherds and two bases were identified as chafing dishes similar to those in Midlands Purple fabrics. One base had evidence for a single vertical strap handle but could have had more. (Cf. Woodland 1981, Fig. 41: nos. 205–6). Contexts: 525, 528 (base), 531 (base), 5003.

Miscellaneous ceramics
5 sherds

This group comprises three pierced ceramic objects of uncertain function in oxidised to reduced earthenware, all with evidence of either accidental or deliberate glazing from contexts 524, 531 and 573 (2 sherds). One, at least, of these may be a watering pot. In addition a moulded ‘strip’ of unglazed red earthenware from 531 is also of uncertain function.

Blackwares

A small amount of residual medieval and some post 16th-century ceramics were also excavated from the site. The most interesting group of later material recovered was a group of 17th-century Blackware wasters from context 553 (see Barker 1986b). This context had 48 sherds (c.200g and 0.38 EVEs) of tyg sherds. In addition, 158 clay spacers were recovered from the same context and a further two found adhering to the bases of tygs. These took the form of crude clay discs sometimes cut into quarters or halves.
Known Cistercian/Purpleware production centres

Late 15th- to 17th-century production at Wrenthorpe (Potovens) near Wakefield produced Cistercian wares (some with white applied decoration) and later Blackwares alongside Yellow Wares. Cistercian ware forms included posset pots, tankards and flared-rimmed cups and rilled cups. Less common forms included jugs, candlesticks, salts, a figure and lid. These were all fired in saggars with the Cistercian vessels propped at an angle on ‘bobs’ or broken sherds and subsequently rested on piles of sand which still adhered to the saggar base. This was a major regional centre and is important for the excavation of both kilns and potting tenements (Brears 1967; Bartlett 1971; Moorhouse and Roberts 1992). A distinctive form of tankard produced at Wrenthorpe has been recognised as far away as Eccleshall Castle in Staffordshire (Moorhouse and Roberts 1992, 107 and fig. 51; Ford 1995, fig. 22: 204).

A coal-fired six flued kiln has also been excavated at Potterton in West Yorkshire. Its products included a variety of globular and flared cup forms and copies of Rhenish stoneware mugs with frilled bases. These were often decorated with applications in white. Cups and a chafing dish were also made in white clay sometimes decorated with red clay. In addition to saggars, a few conical kiln props were also found (Mayes 1966). Sand was used on the upturned saggar bases to prevent fusing as at Burslem. However, there was no evidence of the vessels being propped at an angle as at Wrenthorpe, only kilometre away. Cistercian wasters are also known from Yearsley in North Yorkshire and from Durham (Moorhouse 1984, 4; Chard 1993, 56).

Pottery was produced at Ticknall in South Derbyshire from the late 15th to 17th centuries. Sixteenth-century production included Cistercian wares alongside Midlands Purple. Cistercian wasters are also known from nearby Melbourne. The Cistercian wares are known from surface scatters. Little has been published so far though an ongoing documentary and field study is in progress. This was one of the country’s most important regional pottery centres before giving way to competition from Staffordshire. A group of Cistercian ware surface waste, including ‘reverse’ wares (using red and white clays) from Peate Place, Ticknall is currently being analysed for publication by Alan MacCormick. Potters are documented at Prescot (Lancashire) in the 16th century but no kilns of this date have yet been identified (Davey 1982–3, 105). Cistercian wasters have also been reported from Ely in Cambridgeshire (D. N. Hall, pers. comm).

Chilvers Coton was an important regional potting centre in N. E. Warwickshire from the medieval period to the 17th century. Cistercian wares were produced alongside Midlands Purple wares giving way to glazed red-earth wares and yellow-ware wares in the 17th century (Mayes and Scott 1984). A number of kiln sites were excavated but the association of waste material and individual kilns has been questioned by Moorhouse (1985). Midlands purple and Cistercian wares were produced at Wednesbury (formerly S. Staffs) where potters are documented from 1422. Glazed red-earth wares and yellow wares were also produced there in the 17th century and probate inventories name wares from this township as far away as Worcester. Analysis of probate inventories suggests the potters were less wealthy and less well equipped than those at Burslem in the 17th century (Hodder 1992). Individual finds or small groups of Cistercian and Midlands Purple wasters have been found at several sites in Burslem and Hanley (Barker 1986, 33; Ford 1995, 36–7). The best excavated group of (?waster) material is from Swan Bank in Burslem where Midlands Purple and Cistercian wares first occur as a minority component of the layer 4 assemblage, which was dominated by Midland White Ware jugs (Kelly 1973, 2; Ford 1995, 36).

Purple and Cistercian wares were probably also being produced in Lancashire in the 16th century and possibly earlier. Cistercian-type wares were produced alone or alongside other earthenware wares at numerous small-scale potting sites in the area of North Gwent and adjacent areas in other counties. This region was marked by extensive woodlands and commons. The potters in this region were rarely well off enough to leave probate inventories (Clarke, Jackson and Jemmett 1985). Wasters also indicate that sixteenth-century Cistercian-type cups were also produced at Falfield in South Gloucestershire and in the Wanstrow area of east Somerset. Both sources appear to have supplied Bristol (Good 1987, 38 and 76–9).

Consumer sites

The main build up of urban deposits mostly ceases after c. 1300 due to short-term demographic collapse and long-term recession, improvements in building construction and refuse collection. Most late medieval and early-modern pottery groups therefore come from cut features in towns though the use of rubbish pits often also declines in the late medieval period. The best urban sequence to be published from the 15th–16th century in the Midlands is that from Full Street in Derby (Coppack 1979). A group of distinctive 16th-century Cistercian wares has been published from Norton priory presumably from a north-western source (Greene and Noake 1977). Small-scale excavations at Oswestry by Cambrian Archaeology have produced a high proportion of Cistercian cups amongst the assemblage as well as a highly decorated salt in the form of a female figure (MS pot report by P. Courtney). The Oswestry finds may represent dumping from the adjacent castle site. The cups, a few with white applied decoration are unlike the Norton finds. They could be Burslem products but might equally originate from a more local but as yet unidentified source. The lack of kiln sites of this period in Cheshire and Shropshire may be illusory and reflect the relative lack of development.
and pastoral landscape of much of this region. Other examples of Cistercian ware have been excavated at Montgomery Castle (Knight 1991) and Stafford Castle (publication in progress). Examples of rilled cups from Eccleshall Castle (Staffs) appear to date from the 17th century (Ford 1995, 37).

Monastic sites are particularly important as the Dissolution potentially offers an important dating horizon. Unfortunately, the ceramics of this date from Hulton Abbey have been redeposited, though the Cistercian wares found at site almost certainly originate from Burslem or elsewhere in the Stoke area (Ford 1993, 36). The few published sites include Sandwell Priory which has little well-stratified material from the Dissolution period, probably from the Wednesbury kilns (Hodder 1991). In the East Midlands, an important though poorly stratified assemblage has been published from a probable hunting lodge at Donnington Park in Leicestershire (Liddel 1979). The Austin Friars in Leicester is exceptional in presenting a large Dissolution assemblage from its main drain (Woodland 1981). The Donnington and Leicester wares are most likely to derive from the Ticknall kilns.

Conclusion

The Burslem Market waster assemblage derives from the infilling of cut-features. However, the impression given by the relatively small size of sherds, lack of reconstructable profiles and the extreme rarity of sherd joins within contexts is that this is not primary refuse. The material appears to have been redeposited possibly from waster heaps leading to further breakage and mixture of the material. Due to the large body of material and limited space it was not possible to search for sherd joins across contexts. However, one example was noted in the case of a distinctive pipkin with a handle from context 585 being found to join a body in context 599. The sherd size was especially low in the unstratified material from Trench 5 associated with 19th-century ceramics. The average sherd weight was 23g for Midlands Purple/orange-ware sherds (including saggars) as opposed to 42g across the site as a whole. This suggests that they had either been deliberately broken into smaller pieces or had lain in the open for an extended period.

Overall, it seems likely that the Burslem Market Place waster material derives from a single potting tenement. No chronological variation was visible within the stratigraphic sequence though this may reflect the re-deposition of the wasters. However, the limited range of forms points to the kiln or kilns involved having a limited range or life.

Dating of the waster assemblage is difficult given the lack of comparable material from stratified contexts. Production seems to involve both Midlands Purple and Cistercian wares suggesting a late 15th- to 16th-century date. The limited range of forms might reflect an early date in the history of the industry as one might expect diversification of products with increasing competition. However, one has to be careful of making a circular argument in this case. The lack of diversification might alternatively point rather to specialisation amongst the potters. Certainly, it is difficult to see the lack of pancheons as a chronological feature given the fact that they are a common late medieval form. Unfortunately, there is a paucity of well dated groups of consumer ceramics form the 15th and 16th centuries in the West Midlands. The predominance of medieval type-cooking pot form and the use of applied decorative strips might point to a late 15th-or early 16th-century date for the Midlands Purple wares. The limited use of glazing on the Burslem Midlands Purple wares is also noticeable. The flared cup forms and use of applied white decoration is paralleled in Dissolution period (c.1530s) ceramics at the Austin Friars. However, these forms might continue for decades after the Dissolution given the lack of well-dated mid to late 16th-century contexts. Overall, a late 15th-to mid 16th-century date seems probable for the Burslem market waster assemblage though of course it may belong to a much narrower period within this period of time. Comparison with further excavated groups should allow its chronology and typology to be more fully assessed.

Discussion

The Burslem Market group is significant in adding to the increasing evidence for a late medieval origin to the Staffordshire industry. From the late 17th century onwards the industry was to increasingly develop a global market. However, without the wisdom of hindsight it appears to be one of a number of regionally based industries in the 15th and 16th centuries. As Ford (1995) has already noted it has its origins in the late medieval orange-ware tradition which was widespread in the West Midlands. The reasons for change remain controversial. The impact of continental ceramic traditions had been considered vital in introducing new forms and technologies such as the use of saggars and production of cups (Brears 1973, 13–31; Gaimster 1993; Gaimster and Nenk 1997). However, as Verhaeghe (1997) has pointed out similar changes on the Continent have a much longer and more evolutionary character. The use of ceramic cups, for example, is widespread in northern France and the Low Countries from at least the 14th century (Toulouse 1992, 163–74). At least part of the story must lie in indigenous social and cultural change as Cumberpatch (2003) has recently argued.

One major problem is that ceramics were competing against sales of vessels in other materials such as metal and treen (wood) (Egan 1997). Metal vessels seem to have replaced ceramics to a considerable extent as wages rose in the late middle ages (Verhaeghe 1991; Dyer 1989, 151–87). Indeed change in the ceramic industry may well have been a crisis response to lost traditional markets as metal pots displaced ceramics in
the hall and kitchen. Much of the Midlands Purple repertoire looks as if destined for the dairy rather than the household. Certainly there was a heavy emphasis on storage vessels. Was this at least partly an opportunistic response to the shift to pastoralism in the late medieval economy and the rise of the dairy economy especially in the north and west. Similarly were potters aggressively taking over the market niche formerly occupied by the traditional makers of lathe-made wooden cups? At Burslem Cistercian cups seem to have been a side-line, albeit an important one, and their forms are uniquely ceramic though their glaze may have mimicked larger metal vessels on the table. This might be paralleled by the fashion for cheap gilt metalware in the late middle ages, an example of cheaply mass produced ‘populuxe’ goods that were both cheap and clearly pleased consumers without fooling anyone that they were the real thing (Egan 1996).

Cumberpatch (2003) sees the northern preference for brown as opposed to green glazed ceramics as reflecting a profound shift in consumer taste. An alternative perspective is that the taste for such wares was initially created by producers fighting for regional market niches as opposed to consumers. The more utilitarian nature of the northern and western industries may initially have favoured relatively colourful oxidised orange and red wares as a compensation for the more limited, and presumably cost-saving, use of lead glazes in the late middle ages. By contrast, the more varied Tudor Green industry of the south-east had the advantage of the enormous and diverse London market, and its associated trading networks, on its doorstep. However, even there by the 17th century green glazed wares were becoming rarer which argues for changing consumer tastes, whatever their origin. At the heart of such questions also lies our still poor understanding of regionality in early-modern culture. In counties like Leicestershire where Tudor Green is often found alongside Cistercian wares did consumers regard them as fashion choices, did they have separate niches or were they bought solely on availability and price.

Cumberpatch has argued for a largely indigenous base for change in the northern ceramic tradition, noting, for example, the rarity of imports outside the ports. Certainly few continental imports reached Staffordshire in the early modern period though Staffordshire potters were surely aware of the impact German stoneware cups and mugs were having in areas more accessible to imports. However, lack of direct competition from Tudor Green and German stoneware may be one explanation for the limited typology of Cistercian wares in Staffordshire. One possibility is that the ports served as nodes of entry for foreign tastes and technologies which filtered out to the indigenous industries. However, this process seems to be highly selective as is suggested by the excavations of kilns of the Barnstaple industry in North Devon (Courtney 2003). British potters may have actively incorporated aspects of Continental ideas into existing traditions, whilst rejecting others, but creating a unique end product. This reflects the dynamic process of cultural hybridisation which the Americans have termed ‘creolisation’. It is crude to believe that the only response to German stoneware imports was to produce direct copies, given the unfamiliar technology and different economic realities.

The debate over late medieval ceramic change is far from resolved but is becoming more sophisticated. A major problem continues to be the rarity of good closed groups from the 15th and 16th centuries, apart from monastic drain deposits, as well as the general difficulties in dating deposits. Both the Burslem Market Place site and Burslem School of Art site (post-excavation in progress) show that the town has huge potential to shed light on a crucial period in the development of the Staffordshire industry. Hopefully future excavation in Burslem will provide both a better absolute and relative chronology for ceramic change in this period.

Intelectually we need to combine social and cultural analysis with an equally sophisticated understanding of economic organisation and technology. Not only fashion and functionality but also prices are keys to understanding consumer choice in and between metal, glass, treen and ceramic vessels.

**References**


Rezumé

En 1997 le Burslem Community Development Trust proposa un programme majeur de rénovation. Le programme comprenait la transformation de l’ancienne mairie et de ses environs en un projet intitulé ‘Ceramica’ et devait être financé par la Commission Millenium. Faisant partie de ce projet ‘héritage céramique’ ayant pour but la réutilisation de l’ancienne mairie, de nouveaux bâtiments devaient être érigés immédiatement à l’est de l’ancienne mairie pour aménager un café et un magasin. Compte tenu du potentiel archéologique important de ce site, le développement proposé allait avoir un impact certain sur l’archéologie présente, en particulier le premier atelier de Josiah Wedgwood situé dans l’Ivy House. L’unité archéologique ‘Field Archaeology Unit of the Potteries Museum’ a donc fait des fouilles sur le terrain. Le programme télévisé ‘Time Team’ de Channel Four a filmé les fouilles et le programme a été diffusé en janvier 1999.

Zusammenfassung


Die archäologische Abteilung des Töpfermuseums erstellte daher eine archäologische Bestandsaufnahme und eine Versuchsgrabung. Die Grabung wurde vom Time Team des Fernseh senders Channel 4 gefilmt und im Januar 1999 gesendet.