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Corporate branding and collegiate coats of arms as logos: marked ceramics and the University of Cambridge --Manuscript Draft--

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Corporate branding and collegiate coats of arms as logos: marked ceramics and the University of Cambridge

Running head: Cambridge Collegiate ceramic corporate branding

Abstract

Corporate branding and logos are typically conceived of as mid-20th-century phenomena. This study provides a greater time depth to these concepts, by considering ceramics used by the colleges of the University of Cambridge between the late 18th century and the current day. It also considers corporate branding and logos in terms of well-established institutions, which were already deeply associated with pre-existing symbols such as coats of arms. As well as being functional items collegiate ceramic tablewares fulfilled a range of symbolic functions, including both reinforcing overall group identity as well as internal status divisions.

Keywords

Ceramics, collegiate, brands, logos

Introduction

Present day dining at the colleges that constitute the University of Cambridge almost invariably involves the use of predominantly plain white ceramics, decorated with a small transfer-printed college coat of arms or other symbol (Fig. 1). Although I had previously encountered 18th–20th-century collegiate ceramics in Cambridge over a ten-year period (2005–2015); both handling them on numerous archaeological excavations and studying them as a ceramic analyst (Cessford 2012, p. 800–01; Cessford 2013; Cessford 2014; Cessford 2016; Cessford forthcoming), as well as studying them in museum and personal collections, my first experience of actually using them in their normal context was when dining as part of a small group at the high table of Magdalene College in November 2015. This produced several valuable insights. During dining, particularly by candlelight, college ceramics are markedly less impressive than the glinting glass- and silverware on the table. Although the coats of arms on the ceramics were visible, in the low light conditions little of their detail was readily discernible, without closely examining the vessels in a socially inappropriate manner. Visually it is effectively the idea or concept of a coat of arms that is conveyed, rather than the detail.

Collegiate ceramics can be viewed as a form of corporate branding, as they promote the brand of the college as a corporate entity, rather than a specific commodity, product or service. As such they are a rather different phenomenon than commodity branding, which is connected to a common product that is difficult to differentiate from its competitors. The distinction is somewhat blurred, as it could alternatively be argued that the University of Cambridge as a whole might be viewed as the corporate entity and the colleges as competing brands within it. Archaeologists have recently begun to pay attention to commodity branding (Bevan and Wengrow 2010; Wengrow 2008), but they have given little explicit attention to corporate branding. When archaeologists dealing with the 18th–20th-centuries deal with relevant material they usually do not consider to what extent branding is corporate or commodity specific, with most studies largely limited to commodity branding. Such studies are often primarily concerned with tracking changes as dating evidence; examples include work on Coca-Cola bottles (Lockhart and Miller 2007; Lockhart and Porter 2010; Orser 2016, p. 206), Lea and Perrins' Worcestershire Sauce bottles (Lunn 1981) and Lipton's tea tins (Mills 2015). There are exceptions, notably the study of a substantial deposit of over

13,000 ceramic items associated with the British food manufacturer Crosse and Blackwell deposited in the 1870s (Jeffries et al. 2016), which demonstrate how archaeological studies can shed considerable light upon the interplay between commodity and corporate branding. While a degree of corporate branding focussed upon the name Crosse & Blackwell is apparent, it is notable that commodity branding is considerably more prominent. This is especially clear in the case of some products such as preserved ginger, which depart from the overall corporate style, or others such as Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce, which were pre-existing brands Crosse and Blackwell marketed but did not manufacture (Jeffries et al. 2016, p. 65, 70–71).

Corporate branding and related terms first entered the vocabulary of business and design in the 1940s, emerging as specific areas of interest in the 1970s. The term was adopted in the academic sphere in the 1980s, and is now a vibrant interdisciplinary field (Fetscherin and Usunier 2012; Ind 1997; Melewar and Karaosmanoglu 2008; Melewar and Syed Alwi 2015). Particularly relevant in this context is the subfield of corporate visual identity and the use of logos, symbols and other small designs adopted by organizations to identify its property, products etc. In terms of branding Cambridge colleges can be viewed as having corporate heritage identities, in a manner similar to monarchies (Balmer 2011; Balmer et al. 2006; Urde et al. 2007). These are brand identities that combine aspects of both continuity and change, and which relate to past, present and future. Significantly heritage identities and their associated symbolism may outwardly appear static, but the meanings associated with them can often change over time.

The University of Cambridge, founded in the early 13th century, is a federation of autonomous colleges, where governing authority and functions are divided between the central administration and the constituent colleges (Leedham-Green 1996). The university currently consists of 31 colleges; these can be divided into 16 founded 1284-1596, Downing College founded in 1800, six founded 1869-1896 and eight founded since 1954. In most respects these colleges can be viewed as corporate entities. The principal visual symbols of the colleges are their coats of arms, unique heraldic designs on a shield or escutcheon. The majority of Cambridge colleges use the coats of arms of their royal, episcopal, religious and aristocratic founders (Humphrey-Smith et al. 1985). In most instances the coats of arms have been altered — in technical terms 'differenced' — in some minor respect, to distinguish them from those of the founder. Some colleges were either formally granted their coats of arms at their foundation or soon afterwards, while others had them confirmed during a heraldic visitation, a national tour of inspection undertaken to regulate and register coats of arms. As well as the coat of arms many colleges have a heraldic achievement, this is the full display of all the heraldic components to which the bearer of a coat of arms is entitled. The central and most important element of the heraldic achievement is the coat of arms, but other surrounding elements can include a crest, mantling, helm, coronet or crown, supporters, compartment, motto and order. Some colleges also have para-heraldic badges; these are emblems or devices that are often, but not always, elements from the coat of arms, such as the crest or supporters. Coats of arms can be conceptualised of as logos, but they were not originally designed to be employed easily and cheaply in a wide range of circumstances to promote instant recognition. They are therefore not particularly well-suited to this purpose, as they are overly detailed and utilise too many colours, rendering them both relatively costly to produce and time consuming to 'read'.

The practice of marking collegiate ceramics with specific bespoke texts or decoration during the manufacturing process, almost invariably in the Staffordshire potteries, began c. 1760–1770. Marking was widely employed by c. 1800, had been adopted by all colleges by the 1840s and continues to the present day (Cessford 2016; Cessford forthcoming; Stovin 1999). Until the late 19th century, college cooks were semi-independent entrepreneurial

businessman, whose responsibilities often included supplying ceramic dining vessels. The tableware was typically the cooks' property, and they were usually paid a specific annual or quarterly sum for supplying it. As a result, until the late 19th century, the names of college cooks often appear on collegiate ceramics. It is unclear who was involved in the decisions of how collegiate ceramics were to be marked, it appears that the cooks played a major role but some form of approval or at least acceptance from the college authorities was presumably necessary. Collegiate ceramics contribute to various functions beyond their prosaic role, including community building and institutional maintenance (Deslandes 2005, p. 21; see also Dacin et al. 2010).

Until the early 20th century the nature and function of marking on collegiate ceramics varied considerably, and there is no simple linear narrative of how coats of arms came to be universally adopted as ceramic logos. Instead of stressing corporate unity, as they currently do, one of their most common symbolic functions was to denote internal status differentiations. Fellows and different groups of students would be seated separately and use different ceramic services. There was a distinct hierarchy of students, with those of higher status receiving better quality food and taking longer over dining (Winstanley 1935, p. 197–203). At the bottom, there were students from humble backgrounds known as sizars, who were admitted to the college on inferior terms and traditionally had to perform menial tasks, such as waiting at table, and ate leftovers from the high table (Neild 2008, p. 64). These tasks were gradually abolished during the 18th century, although as late as 1840 sizars at some colleges dined after other undergraduates (Searby 1997, p. 71). The bulk of the students were known as scholars or pensioners, while above this were fellow commoners and noblemen from wealthier backgrounds, who paid extra for certain privileges, including eating at the high table with the fellows.

There is little evidence that ceramic tablewares were of particular significance or importance at Cambridge colleges at most times in the past. The ceramics do not feature in the letters and memoirs of students, fellows, and other visitors who described dining in hall, and when documentary sources mention dining accoutrements they focus upon the silver and glassware. The fabrics and decorative techniques employed on ceramic services were never particularly expensive or innovative, instead the emphasis generally was upon value, robustness and the probability of being able to acquire further vessels at a later date to maintain ceramic services. The attention that archaeologists pay to ceramics owes more to their ubiquity than to any significance that they possessed in the past. The fact that ceramic tablewares were apparently so insignificant renders them interesting in terms of symbolism and corporate branding, as in most instances there is likely to have been relatively little conscious deliberation about the designs employed. Dining ceramics formed part of an unconsciously accepted normal background to a regular daily activity (Hodder and Cessford 2004). Such unconscious and little-regarded material aspects of daily practice could, however, serve symbolic functions; indeed, it could be argued that the very lack of conscious attention paid to them might render them even more potent.

Bespoke ceramics were ordered from manufacturers by both the college authorities and college cooks. The details of how this was organised are uncertain, the cooks business documentation does not survive and college records contain few specific details. Manufacturers' marks indicate that in the late 18th–early 19th centuries a wide range of manufacturers supplied collegiate ceramics. From the 1830s until at least the 1890s the firm of Copeland & Garrett (c. 1833–47) and its successor W.T. Copeland & Sons (c. 1847–1970) achieved some level of dominance, with over three quarters of the ceramics recovered archaeologically produced by them. Documentary evidence indicates that the largest colleges might order up to a thousand plates at a time, while accuracy is impossible in total all the Cambridge colleges combined potentially ordered 10,000–30,000 ceramic items a year, a

minute proportion of Copeland's overall business (Cessford forthcoming). Although there are differences in fabric, colour and decoration, the vessels follow the general patterns of ceramic of the period. The earliest vessels were produced in white salt-glazed stoneware, followed successively by creamware, pearlware and whiteware, with no evidence for the use of porcelain until bone china was employed in the early 20th century. Early decorative and marking techniques of the late 18th-early 19th century include moulding, scratching and hand painting, with transfer-printing dominating later on. The basic form and function of plates — broad relatively flat circular vessels c. 25-30cm in diameter for holding an individual serving of the main course of a meal — used at Cambridge colleges has not changed between the mid-18th century and today, making them part of a 'familiar' past (cf. Tarlow and West 1999). In contrast, the more abstract and symbolic aspects of marked collegiate ceramics have changed considerably, and in their current iterations they no longer act as a form of branding for college cooks or play a role in displaying internal status distinctions. Dining itself has also changed markedly, college halls are no longer ugly, smoky, strong-smelling environments with students jostling with each other and waiters as they hack at joints, which if they fell off the table might land on a layer of sawdust so dirty it was the colour of charcoal.

The introduction of marked ceramics, c. 1760–1770

The earliest marked collegiate ceramics date to the 1760s, making colleges relatively late adopters of ceramic tableware and marked ceramics. British aristocratic families, members of which formed a significant proportion of the collegiate population, and other institutions were commonly using Chinese porcelain with armorial designs from the early 18th century onwards, but there is no evidence that Cambridge colleges commissioned such services (Howard 1974; Howard 2003; Angela Howard 2015, personal communication) despite coats of arms being widely employed within colleges in other contexts (Broomfield 2009). Although ceramics and porcelain in particular were viewed as feminine, potentially rendering them inappropriate for homosocial colleges, it is clear that armorial Chinese porcelain was widely acceptable in predominantly male contexts (Smith 2014). In the early 18th century 'the [college] dishes, with few exceptions were square wooden platters' (Mayor 1911, p. 116). As late as 1733 the use of wooden vessels was 'quite common', but by the 1770s they had totally disappeared (Winstanley 1935, p. 204, 374). The wealthier students, known as noblemen and fellow commoners, supplied their own silver plate, marked with their name and coat of arms, plus the college coat of arms (Trevelyan 1943, p. 71, 200; Winstanley 1935, p. 200). During their time at the college these wealthier students used the silver plate that they themselves provided. Once a student left the silver became college property, a lucrative practice that presumably disinclined the college authorities from introducing armorial ceramics.

The earliest-known marked collegiate ceramic is a white salt-glazed stoneware plate with a bead and reel decorated rim and the moulded text 'Bartholomew Fuller of Trinity College Cambridge' around the outer edge (Fig. 2.1) (Rackham 1935, p. 83). Although it is not known when Fuller was appointed as college cook, he was in that post by 1763 and died in 1770. Stylistically the plate dates to c. 1760–1770. It appears unlikely that the college authorities were responsible for the introduction of marked ceramics that gave equal prominence to the names of the cook and the college. This period was one of relative stagnation and decline at Trinity College, with widespread incompetence and corruption, poor morals and 'queer' (strange or peculiar) manners (Trevelyan 1943, p. 69–74). Most fellows undertook little or no teaching or research and were primarily interested in the 'dividend', a financial payment they received. Trinity College was controlled by the eight longest-serving

fellows, known as the Seniority, some of whom were notorious for their 'immorality' and 'unhinged intellect' (Trevelyan 1943, p. 75). The fellows and Seniority generally displayed little interest in the day to day running of the college, and neither did the master Robert Smith (1689–1768, master 1742–1768). Smith was initially relatively sociable, but increasing ill health — particularly gout — severely inhibited his academic work and social activities. He became reclusive and was largely confined to the masters' lodge in his later years, where he lived alone following the death of his unmarried sister in 1758.

During the 1760s another Bartholomew Fuller was cook at Jesus College (1764-1768), so the presence of the college name on the plate was potentially to distinguish which of the two college cooks named Bartholomew Fuller it belonged to. It therefore appears likely that the cook Fuller was responsible for the introduction of these plates, albeit with either the explicit or implicit approval of the college authorities. Plates with non-standard moulded designs were relatively expensive to produce, requiring the creation of a custom-made mould. The production of such an expensive mould would only have made financial sense if hundreds, if not thousands, of plates were being ordered. It would not have been a realistic option for cooks at smaller colleges to commission similar plates, making the Trinity College plates potentially an exclusive status symbol for Fuller. The one potential exception to this was St. John's College, whose population was slightly larger than Trinity College at this time. Evidence indicates that ceramic supply at St. John's College was split between two different cooks — the Fellows cook and the Scholars or students cook — plus the college itself (Cessford 2017). As a result, none of the three would have purchased enough ceramics to justify the commissioning of custom-made moulds. The quantities involved also indicate that such moulded plates must have been used by all or most of the collegiate community at Trinity College, rather than being restricted to a small segment of it. These plates would have represented a major financial investment for Fuller, indicating that he felt secure in his position as college cook.

The introduction of these plates did not occur in a vacuum; during the period c. 1750–1770 local inns and coffeehouses began to acquire marked ceramics, some of which definitely pre-date the Bartholomew Fuller plates. These inn and coffeehouse vessels consist of tin-glazed earthenware, probably from London, and white salt-glazed stoneware, predominantly produced in the Staffordshire potteries. In most instances the vessels were marked inconspicuously on the underside, and the names appear to primarily have been to provide a mechanism whereby when food and drink was ordered from another establishment the vessels could be returned (Cessford et al. 2017: Cessford forthcoming).

The only known local parallel for a plate with a moulded design is a white salt-glazed stoneware plate with a bead and reel rim, plus the moulded word Rose and a depiction of a rose. This relates to the Rose Tavern, located close to Trinity College on the corner of Market Place and Trinity Street. The Rose was one of the largest and most significant 18th-century inns in Cambridge; it had 42 furnished rooms plus garrets and was a regularly frequented by the aldermen and common council men of the town corporation. Although the only known example of such a plate was discarded in a cellar in c. 1775–1780 (Cessford et al. 2017), it is likely that the Rose Tavern was using moulded plates prior to Trinity College and may have acted as a form of inspiration. The moulded Rose plate served to demonstrate the wealth and size of the establishment, as with Trinity College it is unlikely that any of the Rose Tavern's local competitors were large enough to commission moulds for vessels.

Concealed markings, c. 1770–1800

Between c. 1770–1800 marked ceramics were adopted by at least six colleges. None used moulded patterns, instead a range of much less expensive techniques were employed, with the names of cooks or colleges incised, handwritten or transfer-printed on the underside of the

vessel. This meant that these names were not visible during dining. Some of the best evidence for this comes from a site owned by St. Johns College, where during major landscaping c. 1791–1795 a range of collegiate ceramics were disposed of. These included plates belonging to William Scott, (cook at St. Johns College 1768–1805, probably the Fellows cook), Christopher Smithson (cook at St. Johns College for an unknown period around 1782, probably the Scholars cook) and the college itself (marked S I C, possibly for use in the masters' lodge) (Fig. 3) (Cessford 2017). Although ordered from different manufacturers and for different segments of the college population, all these plates are visually extremely similar and given the location of the marks do not represent corporate or other branding. Instead the marks served a range of practical functions, such as allowing the differing ownership of plates to be clearly identified in busy kitchens, discouraging theft etc. A major role may have been in the calculation of charges known as detriments, these were for various items not included in general costs. In 1836 it was mentioned that one element was 'the inevitable destruction of property in a hall where 300 or 400 men daily sit down to dinner', which would include ceramic tableware.

It is particularly notable that no armorial wares were commissioned in the late 18th century by any Cambridge college, as these were becoming increasingly common at this time. In 1766, Josiah Wedgwood in a letter to his partner Thomas Bentley stated that 'Crests are very bad things for us [potters] to meddle with and I never take any orders for services so ornamented. Plain ware, if it should not happen to be firsts, you will take off my hands as seconds, which if crested would be as useless' (Finer and Savage 1965, p. 197). Despite his earlier statement, by 1769 Wedgwood had started producing armorial services, and in 1776 stated in another letter to Bentley that 'I have many reasons to believe there will be a great demand for services with Arms if they can be done at a moderate expense ... The painting of Arms is now become a serious business, and I must either lose or gain a great deal of business by it' (Finer and Savage 1965, p. 197). Despite this, Cambridge colleges did not order such services, just as they had eschewed the earlier armorial Chinese porcelain.

Collegiate badges and views, c. 1800–30

After c. 1800, the position of the cooks surname shifted to the upper face of the plate, on the flattish raised outer part of the plate known as the marly. These names would have been visible during dining, unlike those of c. 1770–1800. In c. 1800–1810, Barnett Leach, the cook at Trinity College, commissioned two services with underglaze blue transfer-printed pattern. These were much more heavily decorated than the earlier services, which visually provided a major contrast to the preceding plain vessels. Underglaze blue transfer-printing onto earthenware was introduced c. 1783–1784, whereby a design was engraved on a copper plate and then printed onto gummed tissue revolutionising the process of marking ceramics. By c. 1800 the technique was widely applied and relatively cheap. One service produced by Spode with the name B Leach on the underside is decorated with a common willow pattern variant, known as the Temple Landscape First or Buddleia pattern introduced c. 1792 (Copeland 1980, p. 80-82, 96-99; Coysh and Henrywood 1982, p. 217, 360; Whiter 1970, p. 146). At this time, willow pattern and its variants were the cheapest transfer-prints available; by 1814 the price differential was so pronounced that it was listed separately in potters price fixing lists (Miller 1991, p. 8-9). The second service has a geometric border and pattern, with a Tudor rose in the centre plus the name Leach on the underside (Fig. 2.3). This can be viewed as a collegiate badge, as three Tudor roses are present on the Trinity College coat of arms. The Tudor rose is a rather counter-intuitive choice, as this symbol is also present on the King's College coat of arms. The prominence of the Tudor rose inside King's College Chapel means that this symbol is usually more associated with the latter institution.

The apparently custom-made service with the Tudor rose would have been more expensive than the 'off-the-shelf' willow pattern variant. Both these services would have been considerably more expensive than either general mass-produced domestic ceramics of the period or their plain collegiate predecessors of c. 1770–1800 (Fig. 2.2). Even the Tudor rose pattern would have been cheaper than commissioning a service with a complete coat of arms or heraldic achievement. It is probable that the two dining services denoted internal status within the college; with the Tudor Rose pattern for fellows plus richer students and the willow pattern variant for the majority of students. Trinity College appears to have been the only college to utilise the more expensive transfer-printed services until the 1820s, so as with the earlier moulded Fuller plate these services — particularly the Tudor rose pattern — would have served to demonstrate the relative size and wealth of Trinity College. There is also evidence for the use of plain vessels with the college name prominently displayed. The only known examples of this service are soup plates (Fig. 2.4), which is unusual as dining plates are much more common as archaeological discoveries. As soups were not included in general dining rights at Trinity College until the mid-19th century, and had to be separately ordered and paid for, this may explain why a different service was employed. If soup plates were much less common than dining plates, then it may simply have been deemed too expensive to purchase collegiate transfer-printed services.

During the 1820s and 1830s various college cooks adopted services with a large central transfer-printed view of the college. This was part of a more general phenomenon where vessels with images of British Views, showing a building or landscape feature displayed prominently with attention to specific detail, were produced *c*. 1815–1840 with a peak in popularity *c*. 1823 (Samford 1997, p. 9–10). Most of these patterns depict relatively similar ranges of college buildings; including Clare College (*c*. 1819–1825), Emmanuel College (*c*. 1820–1840), Gonville and Caius College (*c*. 1820–1838; Fig. 6.4) and Queens College (*c*. 1825–1840) (Stovin 1999, p. 2–56). A rather more distinctive service for King's College depicts the iconic view of the rear of the Chapel (*c*. 1820–1825; Fig. 7.2) (Coysh and Henrywood 1982, p. 202–03, 216; Henrywood 1976; Stovin 1999, p. 57).

In c. 1822–1825 a blue transfer-printed service was introduced at Trinity College depicting the Great Court Fountain, with the surname of the college cook Hudson and the name of the college and a 'British Views' series border of large flowers and polyanthus leaves on a stippled ground. This service was probably for use by the majority of students and was based upon an image originally published in c. 1814 (Dyer 1814, Vol. 2, p. 326). The Great Court Fountain pattern was quite distinctive and effectively unique, as no other Cambridge college possessed a prominent freestanding fountain. The services with collegiate views used by other colleges had the name of the cook on the underside, but this service had the surname of the cook and the name of the college on the front. Why the authorities at Trinity College accepted the name of the cook being visibly displayed in uncertain, although the fact that this service was not used by fellows or the richer students may have been a factor.

In the 1820s, Hudson also introduced some plain white vessels, marked only with his surname and initial, in blue transfer-print. These vessels are predominantly small dishes, and all appear to be for food preparation and storage, rather than tableware. Although relatively simple, the decoration of these vessels would have rendered them more expensive, indicating a certain level of branding within the kitchen sphere that was not intended for college fellows or students but for other servants.

Coats of arms and other services, c. 1830–1880

In the 1830s Trinity College introduced a service with a blue transfer-printed central coat of arms and motto, probably for use by the fellows and richer students (Fig. 4.4). The college coat of arms are those of its founder (Henry VIII in 1546) with no changes, technically

termed 'undifferenced', and was confirmed at a visitation of 1575. It consists of *argent* (silver, frequently depicted as white) a chevron, between three roses *gules* (red) barbed and seeded proper and on a chief *gules* (red), a lion *passant* (walking toward the viewer's left) *gardant* (facing the viewer), between two closed books all *or* (gold). The motto is *Virtus Vera Nobilitas* (Latin; Virtue is true nobility). The pattern has the same geometric border as the earlier Tudor rose pattern, creating a level of visual continuity. Blue was the longest-established and probably at most times the cheapest colour for underglaze transfer-printing, but the dominant colours of the college coat of arms are red and to a lesser extent gold. Underglaze red transfer-printing was introduced in 1828 (Shaw 1829, p. 124), and would have been readily available by the 1830s. Red would, however, have been significantly more expensive than blue. The underside of one such vessel has both transfer-printed and impressed stamps of Copeland & Garrett Late Spode, dating it to *c.* 1833–1840 (Copeland 1993, p. 59–60).

Trinity College is likely to have been the first college ceramic service with armorial symbols. There is no archaeological evidence for earlier examples, and the first documentary evidence dates to October 1840, when St. Johns College ordered two sets of plates described as having a 'badge' and 'brown border and arms' respectively (Stovin 1999, p. 57). Archaeologically recovered ceramics produced between the 1860s and 1880s reveal several different St. Johns ceramic services with a demi-eagle ducally gorged arising out of a ducal coronet of roses and fleurs-de-lis (Figs. 1.3–1.4). This is the crest or upper part of the college heraldic achievement. This is likely to be the 'badge' mentioned in 1840, which was selected because St. John the Evangelist is often symbolically represented by an eagle, one of the four 'living creatures' that surround God's throne in the Revelation to John (4:7). Another factor is that because both St. Johns College and Christ's College shared the same founder, Margaret Beaufort the mother of Henry VIII, and used her undifferenced coat of arms this badge would have been more unambiguously associated with St. Johns College than either the coat of arms or indeed the full heraldic achievement. The nature of the 'arms' documented in 1840 is slightly problematic, as there is no evidence that St. Johns ever used a service with just its coat of arms. Archaeological evidence for vessels manufactured between the 1860s and the 1880s show that the St. Johns College used brown transfer-printed services displaying the full heraldic achievement. It is likely that the plates purchased in 1840 that were described as having a 'brown border and arms' were similar to these.

The Great Court Fountain pattern introduced at Trinity College in c. 1822–1825 was subsequently replaced with a slightly different image, which had been first published as an illustration in 1841 (Stovin 1999, p. 58). The changes were minor and would probably not have been noted by diners, but would have involved some expense. The most likely explanation is that the original service fell afoul of the Copyright Act of 1842, which made it illegal to copy book illustrations without permission, and had to be replaced.

In the mid-19th century (c. 1840–1860) at least four forms of collegiate corporate branding on ceramics were in existence: college views, coats of arms, para-heraldic badges, and full heraldic achievements (Table 1). Several colleges also used undecorated services with just the college name, and the reasons for this are not entirely clear. In the case of Christ's College this is probably because it and St. Johns College shared the same coat of arms. Christ's was the smaller of two colleges and apparently did not employ a dining service with its coat of arms at all during the 19th century. There is also evidence for several other types of service that display no obvious collegiate branding (Fig. 5). Several colleges used transfer-printed designs, such as oriental landscapes, that were in common use among the general population and are only distinguished by the presence of the name of the college or cook on the front or underside of the vessel (Figs. 5.1 and 5.3). These would have been among the cheapest ceramics available at the time and would have been considerably less

expensive than those with college views, coats of arms etc. There is also evidence for the use of use of multi-coloured and gilded vessels decorated with floral scenes, butterflies etc. (Fig. 5.2). Although more expensive than transfer-printed wares, such wares were also in widely available and are only distinguished as collegiate by the name of the college or cook on the underside of the vessel.

Although the general trend during the mid-19th century was for the dining services employed to become more obviously collegiate, there are instances where the opposite occurred. At Trinity College c. 1840–1850, the Great Court Fountain service was replaced by vessels with a moulded gadroon rim and a blue transfer-printed pattern, of a floral centre with the text 'H & P Hudson Trinity College' under it and a botanical border (Fig. 4.2). This service was manufactured by Copeland and is known as the Byron Groups. It was less visibly collegiate in appearance than its predecessor, effectively increasing the distinction between it and the coat-of-arms service, which continued in use for the fellows and richer students.

Collegiate control, 1880-present

Between c. 1850–1900, but particularly starting in the 1870s, Cambridge colleges took over direct control of their kitchens (Stovin 1999, p. 59) and more generally moved to a model of employing salaried staff and exercising greater central authority (Underwood 1990). By the 1890s several colleges were employing services with just small monochrome coat of arms, archaeological evidence suggests that the earliest adopters of this were the more recently founded colleges such as Downing College (founded 1800) and Selwyn College (founded 1882) (Figs. 6.1–6.2). One of the most significant aspects of this was that these coats of arms were located on the marly. This contrasts with earlier patterns, where the marly was only the location for a geometric or floral decorative pattern. On these earlier plates the heraldic pattern or college scene was located in the well, the bottom of the plate where food is placed. In a collegiate dining context, the well is initially empty and any decoration visible until the food is served. Decoration located in the well is then obscured until it is revealed again as the food is consumed, although it may well remain hidden. In contrast the marly is never obscured during dining, making it a much more visible location. This form of decoration with a small monochrome coat of arms on the marly had been widely adopted by the 1920s, although some colleges' maintained more than one transfer-printed colour of service to continue to denote status differentiations and St. John's College and Magdalene College continued to use full heraldic achievements (Fig. 6.3). In the 1920s, it was noted that although the coats of arms on the 'chinaware in daily use' at Magdalene College were accurately depicted, the rest of the heraldic achievement displayed 'astonishing inaccuracy' (Nuttall 1927, p. 101, 112–14).

Some more visible ostentatious exceptions to this pattern also continued. After Trinity College took over direct control of its kitchens, it rapidly commissioned two new services. For the students, it chose a polychrome transfer-printed Flying Bird or Paradise floral pattern with a prominent bird, added colour and an ochre rim with the blue transfer-printed name TRIN.COLL., which was introduced by 1891 at the latest (Fig. 4.5) (Holdway 2010). For the fellows, it commissioned a brown transfer-printed coat-of-arms service with a relatively ornate border of hand painted blue and gilt rings and brown transfer-printed geometric pattern (Fig. 4.6). On the underside both services were marked 'Kitchen Department of Trinity College'. There is also evidence for a third, black transfer-printed service, with a smaller coat of arms and a simple line around the rim. This service was manufactured by Bishop & Stonier (c. 1891–1939), with marks suggesting some production in 1914. The brown coat-of-arms and Flying Bird services continued in use until the 1960s, with evidence for several different manufacturers and minor variations in the detail of the Flying Bird pattern, with a

considerable quantity of both being discarded in a sewer trench c. 1963 (Cessford in Rees 2012).

At Gonville & Caius College the traditional pattern depicting Caius Court (Fig. 6.4), which had been introduced c. 1820–1838, was still being purchased until the 1960s and was used on feast days until at least the 1990s (Stovin 1992, p. 74; Stovin 1999, p. 53). By this time, this represented a consciously archaising practice, stressing tradition and continuity. Also at Gonville & Caius the physically separate student residences at Harvey Court, West Road, constructed 1960–1962 had a separate set of 'high table quality' ceramics commissioned (Powell 1992). This tableware is decorated not with the college crest, but with a multi-coloured crest of William Harvey (1578–1657), an English physician who was a student and fellow at Gonville and Caius. The use of a multi-coloured crest represents a conscious expression of wealth, and the different crest was employed to help create a 'distinct identity' for Harvey Court (Powell 1992).

In 1952, King's College commissioned a service from Wedgwood for use at the high table (Fig. 7.1). This was designed by Richard Guyatt (1914–2007), the Professor of Graphic Design at the Royal College of Art and consultant designer to Wedgwood. 'The commission came with more or less strict instructions from the client. The brief was to include as many emblems of the college as possible but particularly the cyphers of the royal founder and patrons (HR VI, VII, VIII), the Tudor Rose and the True Lovers Knot, and, if possible the dragon that appears in the stained glass window of the chapel' (Batkin 1982, p. 170). A design was agreed and finalised in 1954, and in 1955 dinner plates with a cream-coloured body and a black transfer-print design were manufactured. Pudding plates were added to the service in 1956 and soup plates in 1959. This service was consciously old-fashioned in its use of a cream-coloured body, and was initially supposed to be produced in sepia, which would have reinforced this. The transfer-printed design linked to the heritage of the college, but did not employ either the college coat of arms or a view of the iconic chapel, both of which occur on 19th-century King's College dining services (Figs. 7.2–7.3). This was also significantly different from the normal college dining services in use at King's College and elsewhere in Cambridge at the time. This service was a self-conscious piece of design, with pieces retained by Wedgwood for its museum collection and at least one plate presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum soon after manufacture in 1955.

In 1969 a selection of items comprising a plate, a pudding plate, a soup plate and a trial soup plate were presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Alan Munby (1913–1974), a fellow at Kings. The donation of these items represented an attempt to preserve some examples, as due to breakages and other factors many of the vessels had been destroyed or lost. In the early 1970s a replacement service was ordered. College archives record that 'A sample plate has been produced for the College by Royal Tuscan, one of the divisions of the Wedgwood group. It is of bone china reinforced at the edge in the way usual for use at deluxe hotels. The design in the centre is identical with that used in the 1950s set, but the outer part of the plate is undecorated except for a thin gold band around the edge' (P. McGuire 2015, personal communication). Subsequently a more expensive option that reinstated the 1950s rim pattern was adopted, and by 1973 a service of 2,500 pieces had been acquired. In the 1980s, King's College ordered another replacement service, apparently because the 1970s service was not dishwasher proof. By the 1980s the original 1950s service had also begun to attract some scholarly attention (Batkin 1982, p. 170, 217; Niblett 1980, p. 72, 126; Poole 1995, p. 132-33; Reilly 1995: 212). The 1980s service appears to have gone out of use at some point in the early 21st century, although in c. 2010 some items were still in the kitchens and people were 'curious' about them (P. McGuire 2015, personal communication).

Seven to ten colleges have been founded since the Second World War, depending upon how foundation is defined. All these colleges possess coats of arms; although many of

these are simply those of the founder, some have been consciously designed specifically for the college. One typical example is University College, founded in 1965, was refounded in 1973 as Wolfson College after a bequest it adopted a coat of arms based upon those of the Wolfson family. A more consciously designed coat of arms is New Hall; founded in 1954 it received its Royal Charter in 1972 and was renamed Murray Edwards College in 2008. The college coat of arms includes a dolphin symbolising intelligence and sociability, a castellation denoting the location on the college on Castle Hill, and three stars from the coat of arms of its first president Dame Alice Rosemary Murray. Although the college had a new logo called the 'spark' designed to mark its renaming as Murray Edwards College, based upon the design of the interior of the dining hall, the coat of arms is still used on official materials, and the 'spark' logo seems unlikely to be widely adopted.

A recent informal survey of catering managers and other individuals at colleges has revealed that they have no intention of changing the ceramic tableware they currently employ. This effectively represents a stable technology and any suggestion of a change in practice is viewed as unnecessary, expensive, and disruptive. The only possible change that has been discussed in the recent past is to further simplify the ceramics, by removing the gilt or transfer-printed edging. Gilt edging is susceptible to wear and is generally the first part of a vessel to display signs of aging. This change was also viewed as practical, as it would have a relatively minor impact, and current and potential replacement services could be in use at the same time without symbolic incongruity. There appear to be no plans to abandon the use of college coats of arms, and the idea of having multiple services, as was common in the past so that internal status differentiation could be displayed, was regarded as impractical, primarily because of logistical issues concerning storage etc. One other factor that is clearly important is the existence and maintenance of long-term relationships with ceramic manufacturers, so that services can be maintained and replaced.

Discussion

Corporate branding and logos are extremely significant phenomena of the world of Late Capitalism, but they have largely been treated as a mid/late 20th-century phenomenon by most academics who study these topics. Archaeological studies can make a contribution to this field; both by studying discarded material, which provides distinctive insights, and by increasing the time depth being considered. While archaeologists have pushed this back into the late 19th–early 20th century, longer time frames have tended to be ignored. It would undoubtedly be possible for archaeologists to consider these concepts in past cultures, providing a broader chronological and cross-cultural perspective as they have for commodity branding, the aim of this paper is rather different. By dealing with corporate branding and logos in a continuum of practice spanning the present, the recent past and the deeper past it seeks to provide a more holistic archaeological approach to material culture.

Archaeological studies that explicitly treat an aspect of material culture spanning the Post-Medieval/Early Modern past, the recent or contemporary past and the present in detail are rare, yet a consideration of such continuums represents one of the most significant contributions that archaeologists can make to material culture studies. They not only provide a broader chronological and cross-cultural perspective on phenomena typically thought of as linked to Late Capitalism (c. 1945+), but actively link it to the earlier eras of Modern Capitalism (c. 1840–1945) and Industrial Capitalism (c. 1750–1840). Indeed given the nature of the symbols employed the linkages reach back, albeit more weakly, through the period of mercantilism (c. 1500–1750) to the era of feudalism (c. 800–1500).

Current fellows and students at Cambridge colleges pay little attention to the presence of coats of arms and related symbols on the ceramics that they use for dining. These pass largely unnoticed and are accepted as uncontroversial and normal aspects of collegiate

corporate branding, playing a minor role in community building and institutional maintenance. The ceramics are essentially viewed as classic and timeless, with an assumption that current usage reflects unvarying past practice. Coats of arms are not particularly wellsuited as use as logos, particularly on ceramics, as they are employed at a scale where they are overly complicated and detail is rendered effectively invisible. This relates to the fact that coats of arms are 'inherited' logos not designed for that purpose. While coats of arms can be simplified as badges, or new logos can be devised, neither of these strategies has been particularly effective when employed. Tradition, both real and perceived, is an important factor at Cambridge colleges, and coats of arms are deemed the most appropriate symbol, overriding any other considerations. Another issue is that coats of arms generally consist of several colours, but on ceramics and in many other collegiate usages are rendered in monochrome, due to practical reasons of cost. In many instances the colours employed on the ceramics are not the dominant colour of the college coat of arms, in some cases the colour used does not feature at all on the original coat of arms. In strictly heraldic terms, this has major ramifications, yet in terms of day to day usage it is simply accepted. In some instances, the colours used have been employed on ceramics since the mid-19th or early 20th centuries. This long-term usage means that these colours are viewed as correct and as more meaningful than the heraldically correct colours of the college coat of arms.

The archaeological and other evidence challenges the view of colleges wish to present of themselves, as timeless unchanging institutions. Colleges were slow to adopt the practice of using distinctive ceramics, and the initial impetus owes at least as much to the college cooks as it does to the collegiate authorities. Marking was first generally adopted during the late 18th century, as a functional mechanism without a symbolic role that was not visible during dining. Even when the decoration on services became distinctively collegiate in the early 19th century this generally involved the use of college scenes or badge, with coats of arms and full heraldic achievements adopted slightly later. By the mid-19th century a wide range of types of dining services were in use. The reasons behind particular ceramic choices are impossible to identify conclusively, but some factors appear relatively clear. Many colleges employed several ceramic services, which served to visibly denote internal status differentiations within the college. In some respects, this is the opposite of the current prevailing situation and goes against the fundamental concept of a corporate logo. Even when colleges employed services with coats of arms, the restriction of their use to a limited segment of the college population means that any role in corporate branding, community building and institutional maintenance was inherently partial. Certain collegiate ceramic choices appear deliberately idiosyncratic. This may in some respects be purposeful, as the colleges at the University of Cambridge jealously protect their independence and stress their individuality. Some choices, such as the Trinity College Great Court Fountain service or the King's College chapel service, emphasize this difference and individuality. Similarly, it is notable that Trinity College and St. John's College, which as neighbours and the two largest historic colleges are traditional rivals, appear to deliberately avoid any suggestion of copying practice from each other.

There is nothing in the mid-19th-century evidence to suggest that coats of arms were an obvious or axiomatic choice for collegiate dining ceramics, or to indicate that practice across the entire university need necessarily be relatively uniform. The current situation evolved in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, after colleges had taken direct control of their kitchens. There appear to have been several reasons for this development. There was a clear pressure on kitchen departments to reduce costs, while the rapidly increasing size of college populations made the existence of multiple dining services more of a logistical issue in terms of storage space and other factors. Despite collegiate dining ceramics currently functioning as a form of corporate branding with coats of arms and related symbols as logos,

this has not always been the case. The role and range of collegiate markings on ceramics has varied widely, sometimes effectively acting in the opposite manner to current practice, by emphasising internal differences rather than unity.

Conclusion

There are many aspects of 18th–20th-century material culture studied by archaeologists that would benefit through being explicitly approached as aspects of corporate branding and logos. This is particularly true of items that can be studied in a continuum spanning the Post-Medieval/Early Modern past, the recent or contemporary past and the present. Such items possess considerable, largely untapped potential. For instance, the ubiquity of Lea and Perrins' Worcestershire Sauce bottles in areas such as the American West, versus the particular individual preferences represented Holbrook & Co. Worcestershire sauce and Garton's HP sauce bottles at an assemblage in Cambridge (Cessford 2012, 801) suggest the richness of archaeological data that exists globally for exploring long-term corporate branding in a commodity that is still globally significant. Lea and Perrins is now owned by Kraft Heinz, which manufactures a wide range of sauces that have been in existence since the 19th century, including HP Sauce and Heinz Ketchup, and globally has different recipes for the same products in different regions of the world. Corporate and commodity branding and their interplay are clearly issues worthy of study in this context.

Developments of corporate branding on Cambridge collegiate ceramics have been discussed in isolation, but in many instances reflect broader changes in ceramic decoration. The use of a small monochrome coat of arms on the marly in the late 19th—early 20th century, for instance, closely parallels what was taking place on hotel-ware (Myers 2016) and on ceramics used by the military (Demers 2009) and university fraternities (Wilkie 2010, p. 184–92) during the same period. The concepts of corporate branding and logos are equally applicable to a wide range of other ceramics and could usefully be applied to them.

As well as being functional dining items, collegiate ceramic tablewares fulfilled a range of symbolic functions, including the superficially contradictory aims of both reinforcing overall group identity as well as internal status divisions. While there are many strategies through which such symbolic functions can be considered, viewing them as forms of corporate branding and logos is one of the most powerful.

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Figures

- **Fig. 1** Ceramics and St. John's College: 1–2) Red transfer-printed service currently in use at St. Johns College in 2015 3) Transfer-printed plate with full heraldic achievement manufactured in 1861, from archaeological excavation 4) Transfer-printed plate with eagle badge manufactured in 1881, from archaeological excavation (photographs by Craig Cessford).
- **Fig. 2** Plates linked to Trinity College *c*. 1760–1835: 1) White salt-glazed stoneware plate of John Fuller *c*. 1760–70, from the Fitzwilliam Museum 2) Creamware plate of Barnett Leach, from archaeological excavation 3) Transfer-printed plate of Barnett Leach with Tudor rose badge, from archaeological excavation 4) Creamware soup dish with college name, from archaeological excavation (photographs by Craig Cessford, 2.1 reproduced by permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).
- **Fig. 3** Ceramics linked to St. John's College, from an archaeological excavation and deposited as a group c. 1791: 1) Creamware plate supplied by William Scott, college cook 1768–1805 2) Creamware plate supplied by the college itself marked S I C, manufacturers mark indicates it was manufactured in 1775 or later 3) Pearlware plate supplied by Christopher Smithson, college cook in 1782 (photographs by Craig Cessford).

- **Fig. 4** Ceramics linked to Trinity College *c.* 1835–1965: 1) Transfer-printed Great Court Fountain vessel, from the collection of Peter Stovin 2) Transfer-printed Byron Groups vessel, from archaeological excavation 3) Plain Hudson family food preparation vessel 4) Plate with transfer-printed coat of arms, from archaeological excavation 6) Sherds from Flying Bird pattern vessels, from archaeological excavation 5) Transfer-printed plate with coat of arms and motto 5) Plate with transfer-printed coat of arms, from archaeological excavation 6) Sherds from Flying Bird pattern vessels, from archaeological excavation (photographs by Craig Cessford, except for 4.1 courtesy of the late Peter Stovin. 4.2 and 4.4 thanks to the assistance of Oxford Archaeology East).
- **Fig. 5** Mid-19th collegiate ceramics lacking clear collegiate symbolism: 1) Transfer-printed serving dish with an oriental Bridgeless Chinoiserie pattern, produced for David Scott the scholar's cook at St. John's College 1837–59, from the collection of Peter Stovin 2) Polychrome and gilded peony and prunus branch pattern plate produced for Thomas Wicks the cook at Emmanuel College 1807–51, from the collection of Peter Stovin 3) Transfer-printed oriental plate of Willow pattern style, also produced for Thomas Wicks, from archaeological excavation (photographs 5.1 and 5.2 courtesy of the late Peter Stovin, 5.3 Craig Cessford).
- **Fig. 6** The earliest small monochrome collegiate coat of arms in use of the 1890s and other collegiate all deposited at the same time, from archaeological excavation: 1) Transfer-printed sherd from plate with the Downing College coat of arms 2) Transfer-printed sherd from a plate with the Selwyn College coat of arms 3) Transfer-printed plate with the Magdalene College heraldic achievement supplied by the cook William Swannell *c*. 1885–1905 4) Transfer-printed plate with view of the main court of Gonville & Caius College (photographs by Craig Cessford).
- **Fig. 7** King's College ceramics 1) Service introduced in the 1950s with symbols derived from King's College Chapel, from King's College archives 2) Transfer-printed sherds from mid-19th century plates decorated with a view of King's College Chapel, from archaeological excavation 3–4) Transfer-printed sherds from mid-19th century vessels with the college coat of arms, from archaeological excavation (photographs by Craig Cessford, except for 7.1 by the Archivist, King's College, Cambridge, copyright King's College, Cambridge).

Corporate branding and collegiate coats of arms as logos: marked ceramics and the University of Cambridge

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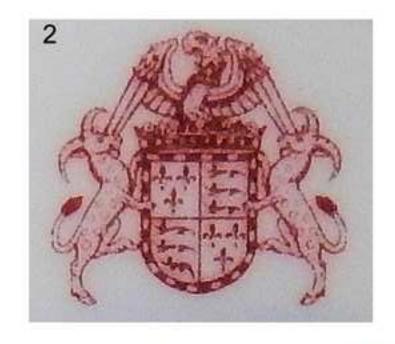
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Tables Table 1. Types of ceramic dining services known to have been in use at Cambridge colleges c.~1840-60

College	College view	College coat of arms	College heraldic achievement	College name only	Common transfer print	Common multi- coloured	No. of known dining services
Christ's	_	_	_	1	_	_	1
Clare	1	_	_	_	_	_	1
Corpus Christi	_	_	_	_	_	_	0
Downing	_	1	_	_	1	1	3
Emmanuel	1	_	_	_	1	1	3
Gonville & Caius	1	_	_	_	1	_	2
Jesus	_	_	_	_	_	_	0
Kings	1	1	_	_	_	_	2
Magdalene	_	_	1	_	2	_	2
Pembroke	_	1	_	_	_	_	1
Peterhouse	_	_	_	_	_	_	0
Queens'	1	_	_	_	1	_	2
Sidney Sussex	_	_	_	_	_	1	1
St. Catherine's	_	_	_	_	1	1	2
St. John's	_	_	1	_	1	2	4
Trinity	1	1	_	_	_	1	3
Trinity Hall	_	2	_	1	_	_	3
Total	6	6 (5)	2	2	8	7 (6)	29 (14)

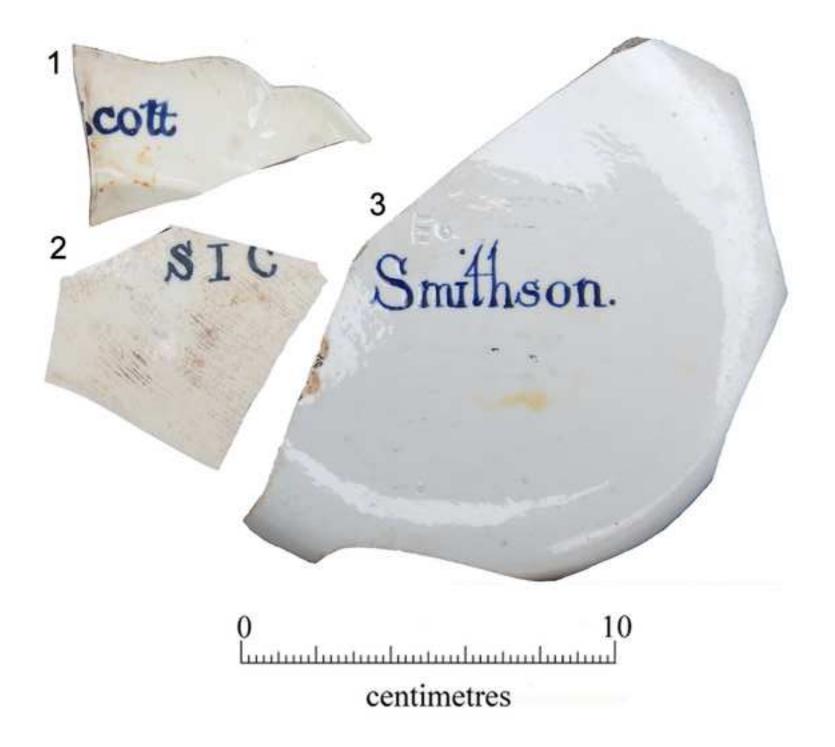










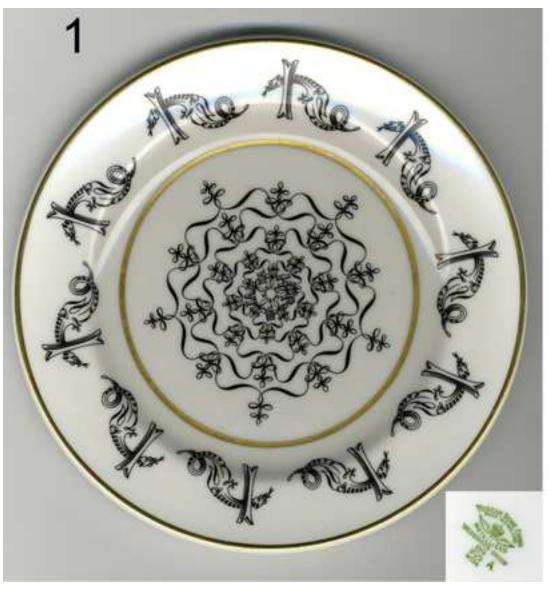




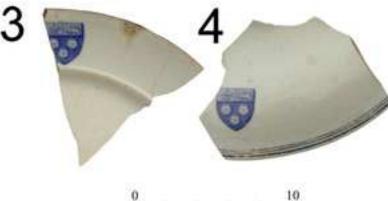












centimetres