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The Rise and Fall of American Queensware 1807-1822

Cover Page Footnote

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The Rise and Fall of American Queensware: 1807–1822

Rebecca L. White, Meta F. Janowitz, George D. Cress, Thomas J. Kutys, and Samuel A. Pickard

This article examines the history of several manufacturers of American queensware in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and beyond. Our research reveals that efforts to produce queensware were more extensive and widespread than previously thought. This survey expanded as we discovered references to contemporary queensware potteries in other parts of the United States during the first two decades of the 19th century. In all, 14 queensware-manufacturing ventures are identified and described from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, what is now West Virginia, Vermont, and New Hampshire. Much of this research is drawn from period newspaper notices, advertisements, and surviving personal correspondence. The period sources provide a view of the experimental nature of this industry, document the search for raw materials, and describe various aspects of the manufacturing process.

Cet article se penche sur l'histoire de plusieurs fabricants américains de Queensware à Philadelphie, Pennsylvanie, et ailleurs. Notre recherche révèle que les efforts pour produire du Queensware étaient plus étendus et plus répandus qu'on ne le pensait auparavant. Cette revue de littérature s'est étendue au fur et à mesure que nous avons découvert des références contemporaines sur les céramiques de type Queensware dans d'autres régions des États-Unis au cours des deux premières décennies du XIXe siècle. En tout, 14 entreprises de fabrication de Queensware sont identifiées et décrites pour la Pennsylvanie, le New Jersey, l'Ohio, la Virginie-Occidentale actuelle, le Vermont et le New Hampshire. La majeure partie de cette recherche est tirée d'articles de journaux de l'époque, de publicités et de correspondances personnelles. Ces sources historiques démontrent la nature expérimentale de cette industrie, documentent la recherche de matières premières et décrivent divers aspects du processus de fabrication.

Introduction

Recent archaeological excavations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey have uncovered examples of American-made queensware, which has inspired searches through previously curated collections in these two states, as well as among assemblages in Delaware and Virginia. This article examines the history of several manufacturers of American queensware in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and beyond. Our research indicates that efforts to produce queensware were more extensive and widespread than previously thought. This survey expanded as we discovered references to contemporary queensware potteries in other parts of the United States. In all, 14 queensware manufacturing ventures are identified and described here.

The organization of this information follows our research as it developed, beginning with the three manufacturers in Philadelphia,

which are discussed chronologically. The search then expanded to include the Vickers pottery in Chester County, Pennsylvania. This pottery was among those mentioned by Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin in his 1810 report on manufactures. Eventually, we were able to add more detailed information to identify the queensware potteries recorded in Gallatin's report as "in New Jersey and on the Ohio." Period newspaper notices and advertisements assisted in defining the successful manufacture of queensware in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The availability of the personal and business correspondence from an early settler of Ohio revealed extensive efforts to establish a queensware pottery there. Finally, the announcement of the discovery of a clay source and a notice for a run-away apprentice hinted at related endeavors to produce queensware in Vermont and New Hampshire.

Much of this research is drawn from period newspaper notices, advertisements, and

surviving personal correspondence. This article also re-examines and builds on earlier work of ceramic historians and collectors. The period sources provide a view of the experimental nature of this industry, document the search for raw materials, and describe various aspects of the manufacturing process.

Promotion of American Ceramic Manufactures

After the American Revolution, patriotism and the desire for profitable establishments led both investors and craftsmen to promote domestic manufactures. Ceramic historian Edwin Atlee Barber (1907: 25, 26, 1976: 104, 105) cited an announcement published in the *New Jersey Journal* on 25 January 1792 by the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts: “[t]o such person as shall exhibit the best specimen of Earthenware or Pottery, approaching nearest to Queensware ... of the marketable value of fifty dollars—[an award of] a plate of the value of fifty dollars, or an equivalent in money.” The notice further stipulated that entries must be manufactured in Pennsylvania, Delaware, or New Jersey. Barber was unable to discover whether any awards were granted, and to date no announcement regarding winning entries has been found.

In February 1802, another notice published in a Philadelphia newspaper offered a premium to anyone who could provide a sample and written analysis of American earthenware clay suitable for making queensware:

The Chemical Society of Philadelphia, desirous of promoting the manufactories throughout the United States, have appropriated the sum of fifty dollars to be given as a premium to any person, that shall produce a memoir, specimen, and chemical analysis of the best clay to be found in the United States, fit for the manufacture of Earthen Ware, and not inferior to the common imported Queensware. The memoir must be delivered to one of the corresponding Secretaries of the Society, on or before the 1st of January, 1804. (Mercantile Advertiser 1802)

This announcement, published ten years after the 1792 competition, implies that no one within the Philadelphia area had succeeded in locating suitable clay for manufacturing an alternative to imported creamware. There is no evidence that the Chemical Society premium was ever claimed, and the society “ceased to exist” by 1803 (Bogert 1908: 166).

The Columbian Pottery

The first large-scale manufacturer of queensware in Philadelphia was established in 1807. In that year, Archibald Binny and James Ronaldson erected a manufactory, known as the Columbian Pottery, on South Street (also called Cedar) between 12th and 13th streets. Ronaldson arrived in Philadelphia from Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1794 (St. Andrew’s Society 1907: 305). Binny, originally from Portobello near Edinburgh, left Scotland to settle in Philadelphia in 1795 (Binney 1886: 222). The men, who knew each other in Edinburgh, were reacquainted in Philadelphia, where they became business partners and established a successful type foundry that allowed them to finance other ventures, including the manufacture of queensware (Crescent Type Foundry 1899: 24, 40).

On 3 August 1807, a notice in the *United States Gazette* announced their plans to establish a pottery in Philadelphia:

To the Friends of American Manufactures. A person who has been bred in Britain to the Pottery business, in all its branches, with the express view of establishing that important manufacture in Philadelphia, has now arrived here, and taken measures for the commencement of the above business. (United States Gazette 1807: 2; Myers 1980: 53)

The person “bred in Britain to the Pottery business” was Alexander Trotter, the nephew of Archibald Binny (Binney 1886: 222, 223). Trotter was probably born near Edinburgh around 1786, the son of Lt. Gen. Alexander Trotter and Elizabeth Binny, sister of Archibald Binny (Binney 1886: 222, 223). To date, no official documents have been found confirming their marriage or subsequent

divorce. The second marriage of Lt. Gen. Trotter to Margaret Catherine Fisher, on 16 May 1793 (Anderson: 1877: 581) left Elizabeth to raise three young children. It is possible that the younger Trotter apprenticed at one of the Scottish potteries close to home. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries there were several well-established potteries producing creamware in the vicinity of Edinburgh (Bonnar 2001: 3, 9). In 1807, Elizabeth and her three children immigrated to Philadelphia. Naturalization papers filed by the 21-year-old Trotter on 1 December 1807 document him as a native of Scotland, who arrived in Philadelphia on 17 July 1807 (Trotter 1807).

Responses to the Request for Clay

The 3 August 1807 announcement cited above solicited samples of local clay and flint to be sent to Binny and Ronaldson at the type foundry. The men were specific regarding the character of the clay:

Being anxious to procure the best possible materials, which he has no doubt are to be found in abundance in many parts of the U. States, he thereby solicits the attention of such patriotick gentlemen throughout the Union as may feel disposed to patronize his establishment to such clays or flints (particularly the Black Flint) as may be found in their respective neighborhoods, and invites them to send specimens of such as they may think worthy of attention, to Messrs. Binny and Ronaldson Letter Founders, Philadelphia, accompanied by a written description of the quantity in which the article may be procured, its situation, distance from water-carriage and such other remarks as may be thought useful, when the various specimens shall be carefully annalized, and the result communicated to the donors, if required.

It is particularly requested, that attention may be paid to sending specimens of clay that are free from all ferruginous or irony matter, as the presence of iron totally unfits them for the uses for which they are intended, and all those which assume a reddish colour when burnt will not answer, as the purest white is desired. Specimens may be sent in small quantities weighing from one to two pounds, and by that mode of conveyance which will be least expensive. Printers of newspapers throughout the U. States, who are friendly to the promotion of American manufactures, are requested to give the above a few insertions in their respective papers. (Myers 1980: 53)

This notice was also carried in newspapers throughout the United States from Vermont to Georgia.

In response, samples arrived from various parts of the country with correspondence describing the source and characteristics of the clay. Henry Mead sent a reply from New Haven, Connecticut, dated 25 September 1807. This same Henry Mead later set up a porcelain manufactory in New York City in about 1813 (Frelinghuysen 1989: 11, 12). Mead had sent samples of clay he believed would make fine porcelain. His letter requested the results of trials conducted on those samples. Mead also submitted a fired sample: "I have enclosed a small piece that was partially baked uncovered in an open fire. I find that a small quantity of soda or pearl ash added to the clay makes it vitrify much sooner and the ware more transparent perhaps some flint will be necessary in the composition" (Mead 1807).

A month later, Mead addressed Binny and Ronaldson again regarding the discovery of clay for making queensware:

I have made considerable search through the country for a clay that would answer for making the Queens ware the best that I have found is not far from this place one of the banks is on the sea shore and in great plenty it burns very white but is not quite so tenacious as the English clay there is another bed about twenty miles from this that is very white and pure should it prove tough enough it will make an excellent ware. If your friend Mr. Trotter will make us a visit I presume it will prove a mutual advantage. (Mead 1807)

Mead's renewed effort to locate queensware clay appears to indicate that Binny, Ronaldson, and Trotter were more interested in that pursuit than in his discovery of porcelain clay.

On 3 November 1807, Ralph Isaacs, an associate of Mead, wrote to inform Binny and Ronaldson that "one ton of the same kind of clay that you received as a specimen" had been transported to New York. He added:

I had a few pieces of common ware manufactured from the same clay some pieces of which by a coal heat converted to porcelain particularly upon the edges the expense of getting the clay to market will be more than I at first supposed—I am now willing to hear any

proposition you have to make upon the subject. Samples of the clay are sent to Dresden & a cask goes to England for trial. (Isaacs 1807)

Isaacs expressed his desire to be a partner “in any establishment in this country for the manufacture of ware of the clay in my pitt” (Isaacs 1807). Due to financial difficulties, he requested a quick response. No additional correspondence has been located, although a notice to creditors placed on 24 August 1808 in the *Mercantile Advertiser* identified Ralph Isaacs as an insolvent debtor (*Mercantile Advertiser* 1808).

Another response to the request for clay came from closer to home. On 3 December 1807, Arthur O’Neill addressed Binny and Ronaldson from the “40 mile stone Lancaster,” Pennsylvania. O’Neill’s property was located in West Caln, Chester County, along the Lancaster turnpike (Chester County Will Abstracts and Administrations 1812).

I cannot say to certainty how far from the surface the white clay is. But from the best information I can get from the men that dug the well they say they bleive it to be 20 feet from the surface and that the white clay is about 6 feet thick. The well is forty feet deep and I have it wall’d and a pump sett in I bleive there is a large body or quantity of the clay together as to the expenses of digging and hauling the clay to Philada [Philadelphia] I am at a loss to say what it would be but I suppose three or four men in four days could rais[e] several tons of it if their wages would be five shilling & seven pence per day (bucket rope &c Say 30/ hauling one ton three pounds) I suppose for 20 or 25 Dollars there might be several tons raised proved you could come on the mean body of it. (O’Neill 1807)

O’Neill closed his letter stating that his “age and infirmity” prevented him “doing much business.” The reverse side of the paper was used as a practice page and contains the script letter T, repeated about 11 times in what appears to be 2 different styles. The name “Trotter” was copied three times, possibly by two different hands. There is also the notation “Smalts” and beneath it “Cobalt & Nickle,” probably added by Trotter or someone at the pottery (O’Neill 1807). This appears to be a reference to the ingredients used for making a blue pigment for decorating ceramics.

Multiple samples of clay were sent from Washington, D.C., by Jacob Cist in December 1807. The majority of Cist’s letter detailed the locations where each sample was obtained, including “from a point on the Virginia shore nearly opposite the President’s house. Of this clay the Alexandria stoneware is made” (Cist 1807):

Specimens of various clays found in the District of Columbia—

No. 1 On the road to Bladensburg, near the Upper or Stoddarts bridge—a considerable body

No. 2 & 3 near the same place

No. 4 Above and below the Eastern Branch bridge in great bodies

No. 5 Near Barrys Wharf on the Eastern Branch narrow vein or layer—

No. 6 Varigated or marbled just above the EB bridge—vast body of great extent

No. 7 From the same body

No. 8 From a point on the Virginia shore nearly opposite the Presidents house Of this clay the Alexandria Stone ware is made

No. 9 On the old road from Georgetown to Bladensburg extent of the bed not known

No. 10 On the road from the Capitol to the Navy Yard extent not ascertained but from its appearance in several places there is reason to believe that a body would be found on proper examination.

A small specimen of quartz of which there is a great quantity in this neighborhood and another of sand stone from the state of Massachusetts is also inclosed to your address. Be pleased to present my respects to Mr. Trotter with my best wishes for the success of his contemplated establishment.

In July of the following year Cist wrote again, this time from Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, where he served as postmaster. He had searched for antimony, apparently without success, but offered to send manganese and a sample of “stone” that he thought might be useful for making porcelain (Cist 1808).

William Montgomery of Philadelphia wrote in November 1808 in regard to a source of “clay from the Raritan” in New Jersey. Montgomery

sent a sample from a clay bank that his brother owned and added that it “seems to have some white clay in it and may make pipes” (Montgomery 1808).

Although it has not been possible to ascertain whether any of these clay sources were used in the production of queensware, they provide many avenues for further research and testing. These letters also show the widespread public support for the establishment of a queensware pottery and the experimental nature of the refined earthenware industry in the United States at this time.

Success of the Columbian Pottery

The pottery was in operation by 1808, when Trotter’s wares were exhibited at Peale’s Museum in Philadelphia (Barber 1976: 111). That same year, at the “great Republican dinner of July 4,” a jug and goblets from the pottery were a conspicuous part of the tablewares (Barber 1976: 111). The enterprise was also praised in contemporary newspapers: “The elegant pottery manufactory of Messrs. Trotter and Co. is conducted in a style so perfect, so complete in all that is required for utility, or taste, that we require only a few privations of foreign articles to give a complete establishment to our own” (Washington Expositor 1808). Over the next several years, various public officials praised Trotter’s wares, especially tea pots, coffee pots, and sugar boxes, manufactured in both yellow and red earthenware (Myers 1980: 7).

By October 1810, the Columbian Pottery had been expanded, and improvements were made to the quality of the wares

Domestic Manufacture. The Proprietors of The Columbian Pottery South Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth streets, Philadelphia. Return their sincere thanks to the patriotic citizens of the United States for the very distinguished patronage they have hitherto received, and inform them, that they have greatly improved the quality of their ware, as well as added to their works, so as to enable them to keep a constant supply proportioned to the increasing demand. Dealers from all parts of the United States will find their interest in applying as above, where there is always on

hand a large assortment of tea and coffee pots, pitchers and jugs of all sizes, plain and ornamented, wine coolers, basons and ewers, baking dishes &c &c at prices much lower than they can be imported. (Democratic Press 1810a)

This advertisement provides a growing list of the vessel forms made at that time. The forms were not confined to refined tea and table wares, as seen by the addition of baking dishes used for preparing food, and sanitary wares such as basins and ewers.

Potters

The improvements in quality and need for expansion of the pottery were probably due, in part, to an increased workforce with the addition of two potters: James Charlton and Thomas Haig. Charlton and Haig are both listed in the vicinity of the Columbian Pottery in the 1810 Philadelphia city directory. James Charlton, who was born in England and likely trained there, was listed as a “potter” at Cedar near 13th Street (Robinson 1810: 59). In the same year, Thomas Hague (Haig), a potter from the Edinburgh area of Scotland, was recorded as a “porter” (probably a misprint) at Cedar above 12th Street (Robinson 1810: 122). Haig had arrived in Philadelphia with his family on 16 March 1808, and, although not listed in the directories until 1810, may have been working at the Columbian Pottery shortly after his arrival. Philadelphia city directory listings were often a year or more behind due to lag between the collection of information and publication. Alexander Trotter also appeared in the city directory for the first time in 1810 as a potter at Cedar near 13th Street (Robinson 1810: 285).

The directory for 1811 reflects Charlton’s departure from the Columbian works; his new address was given as Spruce near Schuylkill (Aitken 1811: 58). That same year Trotter was again listed at Cedar near 13th Street (Aitken 1811: 328). Haig was recorded in 1811 as a potter at “Cedar near Columbia Factory,” providing a direct reference to the pottery (Robinson 1811: 145). Thomas Haig had left the Columbian Pottery by November 1812, when

his address was reported as Beach Street in the roll book of the U.S. Marshal's Returns of Enemy Aliens and Prisoners of War (2007). Haig was documented in the roll book because he was not a naturalized citizen by that date.

In 1813, Alexander Trotter was listed as "Columbian potter Cedar near Thirteenth" (Paxton 1813). That same year Charlton appeared as a potter at 537 & 527 North Front Street (Paxton 1813). Haig was not recorded in the directory for 1813; however, by the following year he was listed at Poplar Lane above Front in Northern Liberties (B & T Kite 1814).

Both Charlton and Haig continued to work as potters in Philadelphia; however, there is no evidence they attempted to manufacture queensware after establishing their own individual potteries. According to the city directory of 1817, they were briefly in business together as manufacturers of stoneware at 537 North Front Street (Robinson 1817: 109; Myers 1980: 63). Thomas Haig and his sons established a family pottery and were known for their redware, stoneware, and Rockingham ware (Myers 1980: 63).

Columbian Pottery Warehouse

By November 1810, the increased workforce was producing a sufficient quantity of pottery to necessitate opening a warehouse closer to the center of the city:

Columbian Pottery Ware-house

No 66 North Second Street

The subscriber informs the Public that he has made arrangements with the Proprietors of the Columbian Pottery, and has opened a ware house, where the public can be supplied, wholesale and retail upon the same terms as at the Pottery. Dealers, tavern keepers &c will find it their interest to apply as above where a large assortment of this beautiful and improving domestic manufactured ware, will constantly be kept which will save them the trouble of going to the Remote situation of the Pottery, and the price will in all cases be the same ... William Alcock. (Democratic Press 1810b)

The establishment of the Columbian Pottery warehouse was also likely a response

to competition from the newly established Washington Pottery, which also advertised a warehouse by May 1810 (Myers 1980: 78).

Columbian Pottery White Queensware

An advertisement from Relfs Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser, dated 27 April 1813, announced "their new manufactory of White Queensware will be ready for delivery in all May" (Myers 1980: 56). This notice documents continued efforts to improve the color of the product—possibly by employing a different clay source or by adding in various agents to lighten the clay, such as calcined flint (Barker 1991: 14). To date, no additional advertisements or notices have been found, and it is not known whether efforts to produce white queensware were successful at Columbian Pottery.

Maker's Marks

Archaeological excavations have recovered two queensware vessels with maker's marks identifying them with the Columbian Pottery; one from Philadelphia (Miller, this issue) and the other from Alexandria, Virginia (Magid, this issue). The stamp used to create these impressed marks appears to be formed from printers' type, probably manufactured at Binny and Ronaldson's foundry.

During the early years this queensware factory was identified by several sources as "Trotter and Co." Newspaper advertisements and city directories show the name "Columbian Pottery" was in use by about 1810. It seems likely that the potters at Columbian began to mark their wares in response to competition from the Washington Pottery, which was established in the spring of 1810. An advertisement from the Alexandria Gazette, dated 18 October 1810, offered "[a] large assortment of Columbian and Washington ware from the potteries in Philadelphia, by the crate or retail" (Alexandria Gazette 1810). The availability of merchandise from both potteries at the same

warehouse may have prompted the proprietors of the Columbian pottery to begin marking their wares.

Columbian Pottery Closure

By July 1814, Alexander Trotter had moved to Birmingham, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, establishing a pottery there (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1814b). To date, no physical descriptions of the Columbian kilns or related structures have been found. After Trotter's departure in 1814, there appears to be no further mention of the Columbian Pottery, perhaps indicating that they had ceased production by that time.

The Washington Pottery

The Washington Pottery was established on 4 March 1810 by John Fitzpatrick Mullowny. He was the proprietor of a brickworks, owner of a large number of properties in Philadelphia, and a coal quarry (Baer 2015: 112; Philadelphia Department of Records [PDR] 1813; PDR 1814; *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 1815).

Mullowny was of Irish Catholic descent, and a decade prior to opening the Washington Pottery he was a distinguished captain in the United States Navy. In 1800, as captain of the *Ganges*, Mullowny captured two American vessels (*Phebe and Prudent*) carrying African slaves bound for Havana and sent the ships and their human cargo to Philadelphia (*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser* 1800; *Gazette of United States* 1800). The 135 people rescued from the ships were indentured to local families by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (Barnes 2015).

On 26 October 1810, Mullowny sent a letter to President James Madison that described the recent establishment of the Washington Pottery and identified himself as the proprietor and James Charlton as the English-born potter:

Sir,

I have the honor to send for your Excellency's acceptance per the Sloop Unity Caleb Hand Master a Pitcher as a specimen of the ware

manufactured at the Washington Pottery in Philada where of I am proprietor and Mr. James Charleton (an Englishman by birth) the manufacturer. The pottery employs about 15000\$ capital and makes about 150\$ in value per week, it commenced on the 4th March last, it will be extended as soon as workmen can be obtained or boys taught the art of manufacturing as in England. As far as the ware merits I beg leave to solicit your Excellency's support and encouragement the materials are all in our Country, any information your Excellency may wish concerning such establishments will be given cheerfully. With sentiments of respect I am Your Excellency's most obedient very humble servt. ... Jno Mullowny (Mullowny 1810)

The authors of this article contacted the archaeologists and curators at James Madison's Montpelier in December 2015 in an attempt to locate Mullowny's gift. Meg Kennedy, director of museum programs for Montpelier, directed us to a letter from James Green to John Mullowny dated 21 December 1810. In the letter, Green promised to deliver the pitcher to President Madison "at the city of Washington or to his order" (Green 1810). To date, no further information has been found, and it is likely that the pitcher manufactured at the Washington Pottery may have been among the housewares lost in the White House fire of 1814 (History.com Staff 2009).

Mullowny's letter to Madison was likely prompted by the publication of a report on domestic manufactures prepared by Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin in April 1810. An excerpt from the report states:

The Secretary of the Treasury, in obedience to the resolution of the House of Representatives, respectfully submits the following report, in part, on the subject of DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES:

A sufficient quantity of the coarser species of pottery is made everywhere; and information has been received of four manufactories of a finer kind lately established. One at Philadelphia, with a capital of 11,000 dollars, manufactures a species similar to that made in Staffordshire, in England, and another in Chester County in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, and on the Ohio, make various kinds of queen's ware ... Albert Gallatin, Treasury Department. (Washington Reporter 1810)

Gallatin's report identified only one pottery in Philadelphia, an apparent reference to the

Columbian Pottery, whose output was compared with Staffordshire wares in the newspapers. Mullowny endeavored to correct this oversight in his letter and advanced his new enterprise by recording capital well in excess of the \$11,000 noted in Gallatin's report. The value per week of \$150 showed the marketability of his product as well as the potential future profitability of his venture.

Washington Ware

In May 1810, Mullowny advertised his pottery as Washington Ware, a term he used for "red, yellow and black coffee pots, tea pots, pitcher etc." (Myers 1980: 78). It is not clear from his advertising which forms were produced in each of the specific colors mentioned; however, artifacts from various excavations described in other articles in this issue show that some vessel forms were duplicated in both yellow and red earthenware.

Potters

As noted previously, Mullowny's letter to Madison in October 1810 identified "James Charleton" (Charlton), formerly a potter at the Columbian Pottery, as the manufacturer working at his pottery. Although Charlton's presence at the two potteries was brief, it seems likely that he produced similar wares at both places and possibly brought techniques learned from his association with Haig and Trotter to the newly built Washington Pottery.

Mullowny published a notice in July 1810: "Journeyman potters and some steady active boys will find constant employ. Throwers are now particularly wanted—Apply to the Proprietor No. 228 Pine Street" (*Political and Commercial Register* 1810).

On 3 April 1811, shortly after the first anniversary of the pottery's founding, Mullowny advertised his stock for sale at reduced prices "in consequence of the manufacturer leaving the Washington Pottery" (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*

1811). Although his advertisement did not identify the individual by name, the manufacturer referred to was most likely James Charlton. Mullowny continued to advertise for apprentices and journeymen potters in September 1811 (*Lancaster Journal* 1811). To date, no other potters have been directly identified with this pottery during Mullowny's tenure; however, it is apparent that a competent replacement for Charlton was found.

Myers (1980: 78) posited that Mullowny was a potter, based on an entry in the Philadelphia city directory. The directory for 1811 listed Capt. J. Mullowny as "brickmaker and potter at 228 Pine" (Aitken 1811: 234). To date, the authors have discovered no additional evidence that Mullowny ever trained as a potter. His letter to President Madison in 1810 indicated that Mullowny was the proprietor of the pottery, and he continued to identify himself in that role in a notice in the *American Watchman* (1813), dated 20 March 1813.

Marketing through Advertising

John Mullowny advertised his Washington Pottery frequently in the Philadelphia newspapers throughout 1810, and by 1811 his advertisements appeared in newspapers in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as well. His marketing efforts expanded by the fall of 1812 to include New York, Maryland, and Delaware. Mullowny used his advertisements to announce the addition of more vessel forms and new decorating techniques, and called attention to improvements in quality. Some of the advertisements targeted specific consumers, such as housekeepers, customers residing at a great distance, and the merchants of New York, Baltimore, and Wilmington.

An advertisement from May 1810 announced "any device, cypher, or pattern, put on China or other ware at the shortest notice" (Myers 1980: 78). This seems to imply that Washington Pottery employed a skilled decorator and expanded its services to include

the decoration of earthenware and “china.” Mullowny did not advertise his pottery as china, which may suggest that decoration could be applied on pieces manufactured elsewhere.

By November, Mullowny offered “[m]any new and elegant patterns of ware ... now to be seen at the warehouse. The public are also informed that plates and dishes will be ready for delivery about the middle of December next” (Myers 1980: 78). The specific mention of plates and dishes may indicate that they were not produced prior to that date, or that production was increased to keep pace with a growing demand.

On 3 April 1811, Mullowny offered items at reduced prices due to the departure of the manufacturer. These items were most likely the stock made by Charlton, the forms including “pitchers from pint to gallon sized, coffee and tea pots, sugar dishes, cream pots, chambers and wash basons and bowls &c. &c.” (*Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser* 1811). In particular, he appealed to housekeepers, noting the variety of useful items offered at a “cheap rate.” A 15% discount was offered to anyone purchasing \$100 of pottery for resale. In mid-August 1811 an advertisement for a wide range of vessels listed additional forms, such as pickling and preserving jars, garden pots of different sizes, butter coolers, wine coolers, and egg cups (*Lancaster Journal* 1811).

On 28 January 1812, Mullowny announced “new and handsome patterns, both of Turn’d and Pressed ware (the latter being the first manufactured in America)” (Myers 1980: 8). The date of this announcement suggests these innovations were initiated by Charlton’s successor. Myers pointed out that “Mullowny was mistaken in thinking himself the first maker of press-molded ware in America—this had been done in isolated cases even in the eighteenth century” (Myers 1980: 8). In the advertisement Mullowny informed his customers of the benefits of these refinements. “Those friends will be pleased to find the ware much improved in fashion, neatness and utility. Those customers residing at a great distance, are informed some of the ware is much reduced

in weight” (Myers 1980: 79). Press molding produced standardized forms and allowed for additional types of surface decoration (Cress et al., this issue; Janowitz and Morganstein, this issue; Miller, this issue; Sebestyen, this issue).

A lengthy advertisement published on 30 October 1812 featured a growing list of vessel forms:

Ware House of the Washington Pottery High Near Schuylkill Sixth Street The Public are informed that Soup and Shallow plates are manufactured and ready for delivery at reduced prices, so as to make it an object for persons dealing in Earthen Ware to become customers. Among the articles are cups and saucers, sugars and creams, gal, quart, pint & half pint pitchers plain, do. do. do. gritted, gallon, quart, pint & half pint bowls, salts and pepper boxes, stewing dishes that will stand the fire without cracking when used in baking, basins and ewers, wine coolers mantle ornaments, qu[art], pint and half pint mugs, goblets, tumblers and egg cups, butter cups and butter boats, pickling jars and jelly pots of all sizes. Milk pans &c. &c. &c. N.B. The plates manufactured by the Washington Pottery will be found by experience superior to the imported plates, when necessary to stew on a chafing dish or embers, as they will stand the heat without cracking. (Democratic Press 1812)

Although none of Mullowny’s advertisements specify whether the plates were queensware or describe any style of decoration, queensware plates featuring a variety of molded-edge decorations have been recovered from several archaeological excavations (Cress et al., this issue; Janowitz and Morganstein, this issue; Sebestyen, this issue) (FIG. 1).

In 1813, a list of 34 different vessel forms produced at the Washington Pottery was advertised in New York, Delaware, and Maryland. While the text of each of these advertisements was the same from state to state, the first line was changed to address the merchants of the city in which the notice was published: “[m]erchants residing in the city of New York,” for example. The notice printed in the *American Watchman* in Wilmington, Delaware, also contained the following request:

Any person willing to dispose of a spot of land having clay on it, fronting or contiguous to any navigable water which lead to the Delaware, will please send about 50 pounds weight, free of expense, with directions where it is, how situated,

quantity, depth, etc. etc. If the terms be reasonable and the quality suitable, the cash will be immediately paid by John Mullowny, Proprietor of the Washington Pottery Market Street Philadelphia. (American Watchman 1813)

The request did not stipulate a specific color or type of clay, and advertisements show that Washington Pottery continued to produce red, black, and yellow vessels at this time. It seems likely that Mullowny was looking to invest in additional clay sources due to increased demand for the wares from his pottery as the War of 1812 progressed.

Washington Warehouse and the Location of the Kilns

The Philadelphia city directories list Mullowny at two locations between 1810 and 1816, (Aiken 1811: 234; Myers 1980: 78; Paxton 1813; Robinson 1810: 203; Robinson 1816: 303)

which has caused confusion among earlier researchers attempting to identify the actual location of the Washington Pottery kilns (FIG. 2). Mullowny contributed to the uncertainty by advertising the Washington Pottery using the address of the pottery warehouse.

On 18 June 1814, a real-estate notice in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* announced the sale of three adjoining properties "in High or Market Street, near Schuylkill Sixth Street" (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 1814). This notice provided descriptions of each of the properties, with no mention of a kiln structure on any of them. Property "No. 3" was identified as the warehouse of the Washington Pottery:

No. 3 A three story brick house, adjoining the above 18 feet front and 60 feet deep, with a two story brick kitchen, and the lot on which the

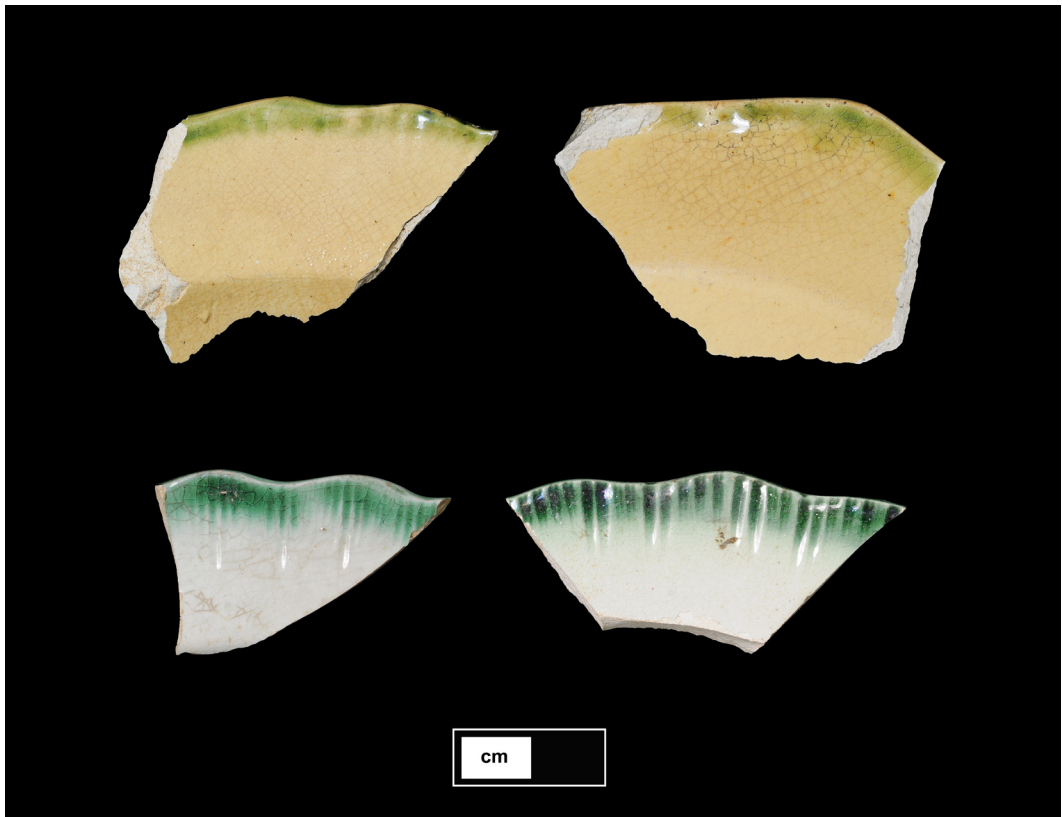


Figure 1. Domestic queensware green-edged plate rims exhibiting variation in shape and molding (*top row*) with contemporary English examples (*bottom row*). (Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation and Federal Highways; photo by Thomas Kutys, 2017.)

same are erected, being 120 feet deep, with the privilege of the before mentioned alley, subject to an annual ground rent of 108 dollars payable half yearly, and under the like conditions of being extinguished as the foregoing. The building No.3 at present occupied as the Warehouse of the Washington Pottery. (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 1814)

An advertisement in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* on 22 March 1815 announced a sale of stock, as well as structures and equipment:

Washington Pottery The entire Stock of this establishment will be sold at public vendue, on Friday morning, the 24th instant, at eleven o'clock at the Warehouse in Market Street, above the Centre Square, near Schuylkill Sixth Street. The assortment, is extensive, and for the convenience of purchasers is well packed in hogsheads, barrels and boxes. This ware is recommended to the notice of gentlemen who have vessels and spare room, bound to Virginia, N. & S. Carolina, Georgia & New Orleans; at the latter place it answers particularly well, it being an article of commerce before the war to those states. Immediately after the sale of the above the following articles will be offered for sale at the same place ... sundry articles of furniture, two casks of potash, a quantity of white broken glass ... also on Saturday, the 25th instant, ... new Bricks in two lots, one in the kiln at the corner of Spruce and Schuylkill ... the other in the kiln at the corner of Schuylkill Second and Locust

streets. ... And immediately after the sale of the brick, the kilns in which they are, together with shed, and a quantity of boards, wheelbarrow and utensils used in brick-making business, will be sold. Terms at sale. Note—The pottery establishment, stock, &c. as well as the brickyard stock, will be disposed of at private sale, on application at the warehouse, any time previous to the above named days of public sale. Terms will be liberal, by giving approved endorsed paper. Peter Kuhn, Auct'r. (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 1815)

This is the only notice found to date that suggests Mullowny's involvement in the Southern trade.

Also of note is the mention of "two casks of potash and a quantity of white broken glass," which may refer to ingredients employed in the production of Washington ware. Potash was utilized in a variety of early industrial processes, including pottery glazes. "White glass" was the term used frequently for colorless glass of this period (Jones and Sullivan 1985: 13). Quantities of glass were often mixed with lead, flint, and other ingredients to make various clear and colored glazes. Several of the glaze recipes from the Herculaneum Pottery in England included glass (Hyland 2005: 242, 256–258).

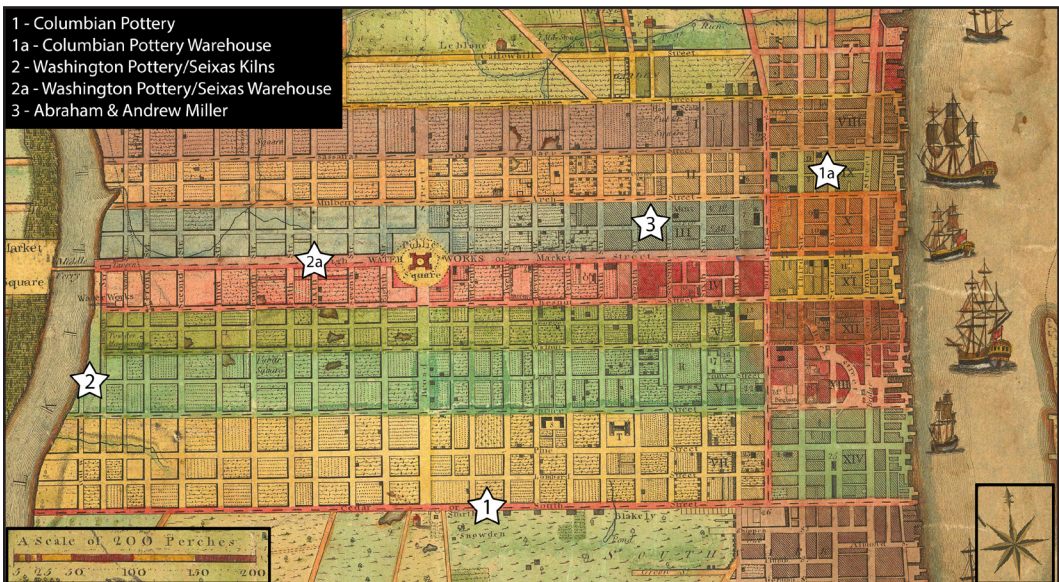


Figure 2. Locations of the queensware potteries and related warehouses in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (Base map Varle [1802], courtesy of the David Rumsey Map Collection; map by Thomas J. Kutys, 2017.)

The remaining stock of ceramic vessels was also offered for sale at this time. While the advertisement describes the tools of the brick-making trade down to “boards, wheel barrow and utensils,” there is a noticeable absence of similar detail regarding the sale of the pottery establishment. It is possible that the molds, potter’s wheels, lathes, and other utensils had already been purchased or were not offered for sale at that time.

The last listing for Mullowny at the Washington Pottery appeared in the city directory of 1816, which reflects the lag time in that publication. By 1816, Mullowny had been appointed United States Consul to Tenerife, a post he held until 1820 (United States Congress 1834: 315). Mullowny went on to serve as U.S. Consul at Tangiers, in Morocco, from 1820 until his death in December 1830 (Senate of the United States 1828: 217).

During Mullowny’s absence in 1816, David G. Seixas appears to have managed the pottery. Seixas placed a notice in that year: “Apprentices wanted Several boys between 13 and 17 years old well recommended, will yet be taken at the White Ware Manufactory at the end of Locust Street on Schuylkill. Apply there to David G. Seixas” (*Philadelphia Gazette* 1816: 3).

A second announcement dated January 1817 offered “[i]ce houses two spacious brick wall ice houses capable of containing eight thousand bushels ice, situated on Schuylkill between Locust and Spruce to let together or singly for ensuing season. David G. Seixas.” The two large brick structures mentioned in this notice may be the two kilns advertised in the spring of 1818 (*Philadelphia Gazette* 1817).

The location of Mullowny’s kilns was confirmed in a notice dated 25 February 1818 that announced the auction of property:

All that lot and wharf, with the buildings fitted up as a pottery, with two large kilns &c. in the English stile; the buildings are large and may be converted into many uses, as a manufactory, that requires room. There is a mill that may be purchased at a fair price, which may be used for many purposes—there is also a large stable and a convenient house for a dwelling—the wharf has water sufficient for any ship to lay at, that is

generally employed in the New Orleans trade, the Schuylkill affording sufficient water for such ships; the lot is 244 feet north and south, and fronting on the Schuylkill said 244 feet. The deed calls for about 440 on the south line from low water mark to Beach street, and has a front on Locust street, from low water mark to said Beach street; the high part of the lot contains gravel of the best kind for paving. (*Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser* 1818: 2)

The wharf had not been offered for sale in the previous advertisement. The mention of “two large kilns in the English stile” appears to refer to the bottle-shaped kilns commonly used in England for firing refined earthenware (Barker 1991: 126, 127; Hyland 2005: 25, 26). While there was no specific mention of Mullowny or the Washington Pottery in the notice, the deed recorded for the property, dated 17 March 1818, documents that the transaction was between John Mullowny and Jacob S. Waln, merchant (PDR 1818).

Seixas Manufactures Queensware (1818–1822)

David G. Seixas was listed in the Philadelphia city directories as a “Queensware Manufacturer” on “High Street West Schuylkill 7th” (Market at 16th Street) from 1818 through 1822 (Myers 1980: 83). Seixas was the son of Gershom Mendes Seixas, the hazan, or Jewish religious leader, of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York City (Congregation Shearith Israel 2017).

In 1808, David G. Seixas was recorded as a master mason in Washington Lodge No. 21 of Free and Accepted Masons in New York City (Reid 1911: 228, 244; Fay 1913: 183). Seixas was in Philadelphia by 1811, where he advertised large quantities of imported metal from a store at 151 South Front Street. An advertisement of 29 February 1812 offered “any weight or dimensions of American manufactured copper, Braziers’ copper, 12,000 lb London Sheathing copper, 26, 28, 30 oz., 4,000 English bolts 3–4, 7–8 1 and 1.8 dia” (*Philadelphia Gazette* 1812). David G. Seixas was also among the Jewish volunteers who served as soldiers during the War of 1812 (Hühner 1918: 181, 182).

To date there is no evidence to suggest Seixas was trained as a potter. A refined earthenware pitcher in the collection of the Museum of the City of New York appears to be linked to his interest in the manufacture of queensware (Miller, this issue). Myers (1980: 10) provided the following description of the piece:

Pitcher molded in a relief diamond pattern that is similar to English examples of the first quarter of the nineteenth century; green glazed and showing traces of gilding ... under the spout is a portrait medallion of his father Gershom Mendes Seixas ... height 23 cm.

This pitcher is believed to have been manufactured at the Seixas pottery to commemorate his father, who died on 2 July 1816. As noted previously, in the spring of 1816 Seixas placed a notice for apprentices at the whiteware pottery located along the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia (*Philadelphia Gazette* 1816).

Research conducted by Mel Wacks, director of the Jewish-American Hall of Fame Division of the American Jewish Historical Society, uncovered new information related to a metal die that featured the profile of the elder Seixas. The minutes of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia record a donation received on 7 February 1812: "Mr. Seixas presented an impression in paper of a die cut by Fürst in this city, of his father Gershom M. Seixas, on account of its superior execution" (Wacks 2017). This reference appears to further connect David G. Seixas to the die used to create the sprig medallion for the pitcher. Wacks (2017) concludes that the die "may have been commissioned by the Seixas family (a member of which evidently had access to the die) or just produced as a speculative venture by Fürst." Moritz Fürst was a Slovakian Jewish engraver recruited from Europe in 1807 to work at the U.S. mint in Philadelphia (Wacks 2017).

Details of the Manufacture

By the fall of 1817, Seixas was identified as the proprietor of a pottery "near this city"

(Myers 1980: 83). A lengthy article published in the *Freeman's Journal* was reprinted in *Niles' Register* of Baltimore and various other papers throughout the country. The article celebrated the success of Seixas's venture and provided details on the methods used at his pottery to produce "white crockery":

We have in our possession several pieces of earthenware made at the factory of Mr. David G. Seixas, near this city—If we had not obtained proof of its domestic origin, we should not have hesitated to believe it, from its general appearance, to be of transatlantic production. In this belief we should have been chiefly guided by the knowledge that many attempts have proved unsuccessful, to imitate the Liverpool white crockery. ... But the result of the research and exertions of Mr. Seixas, the proprietor of the pottery alluded to, at once set aside the erroneous prejudice of these opinions. We are informed from an authentic source ... that every material which he makes use of, is derived from our own soil, and exists in such abundance, that they may be said to be inexhaustible—and furthermore that no foreigner has ever had any concern or superintendence, or employ, in his manufactory. (Myers 1980: 83)

Although the vessels were described as "white ware" (see below), Seixas was identified as a "Queensware Manufacturer" from 1818 through 1822 (M'Carty & Davis 1821; M'Carty & Davis 1822; Myers 1980: 8, 10, 83; Paxton 1818; Paxton 1819; Whitely 1820). The attention given to the exclusive employ of American-born staff confirms that neither James Charlton nor Thomas Haig was working at the pottery.

As this is the only white ware pottery in the United States we have obtained permission to lay before the public some particulars relating to the materials, and manipulation. The principal of the materials are clay and flint. The former is a grayish blue color, and contains pyrites, or sulphur and iron chemically combined, the presence of which impairs the colour of the ware. They are separated by an economical and expeditious process, an art not practiced or known in the European potteries. The clay is copiously diffused in water, and passed through fine lawn sieves, to detach the larger particles of sand, & c. The flint is of a greyish black color. It is exposed to a strong heat, and is suddenly plunged into cold water. By frequent repetition calcination and refrigeration, whiteness, and friability ensue. It is ground to a powder finer than superfine flour so perfectly impalpable that it will remain many hours suspended in water, it

is then subjected to a purification to extract the small portion of iron it usually contains.

It is then mixed by measure with the purified liquid clay—both of a fixed specific gravity, and the mixture poured into vats, the solids in time subside—the water is run off—the residuum further exposed to the solar heat, until the remaining water has evaporated to suit it for forming into the required vessels. (Myers 1980: 83)

Despite providing details on how the materials were prepared, there is no reference identifying a specific source for the clay and flint used at the Seixas pottery. The article briefly mentioned the vessels being formed “on wheels of horizontal and vertical movements,” interpreted by Myers to mean the use of potter’s wheels and turning lathes (Myers 1980: 8, 9):

[H]andles and spouts &c. are subsequently affixed—the vessels are perfectly dried, and placed in cylindrical pots [saggers], these are place in columns in an oven or kiln, and exposed to a heat of 80° of Wedgwood’s Pyrometer. When the kiln is cold the ware [is] withdrawn, and each piece separately immersed in the intended glaze. This is prepared principally of oxide of lead and powdered flint—and all colours are imparted to it by the addition of metallic oxides—of zinc for straw yellow, of cobalt for blue, of iron for red, of chromate for green (this is prepared from the Baltimore chromate of iron) the component parts of the glaze are diffused in a sufficiency of water to render the whole of the consistency of cream—the ware in being dipped therein absorbs a portion, leaving the solid parts on its surface.

A second firing in another kiln under a heat of about 10 degrees, Wedgwood—causes the glaze to pass into a state of perfect vitrification. The ornamental painting is performed with variously coloured glasses, ground to an impalpable powder and mixed with essential oils—these are melted on the ware in an enamel kiln, by a heat at which the glaze softens. (Myers 1980: 83)

This mention of the use of zinc and Baltimore chromate of iron is interesting, as these were not the oxides commonly used by other potters to produce the colors described. Other sources document the use of antimony or iron for yellow glazes and copper-oxide scales and filings to make green (Towner 1965: 29; Miller 1974: 119, 120; Barker 1991: 16;

Hyland 2005: 255–257). Compositional analysis of domestic queensware from this period may reveal information about the various colorants used for decorating by American potteries.

While the location of the pottery was not disclosed in this article, it is probable that Seixas continued to produce pottery “at the White Ware Manufactory at the end of Locust Street on Schuylkill,” as noted in his 1816 advertisement for apprentices (*Philadelphia Gazette* 1816).

Portions of the announcement and description of the production of Seixas’s whiteware were carried by various newspapers. After reading the account of Seixas’s success, Thomas Rotch of Kendal, Ohio, sent him a letter on 4 March 1818 requesting additional information. Rotch detailed his own progress toward establishing a similar pottery in Kendal. He asked whether Seixas could recommend an experienced potter and closed his letter with the request for \$10 worth of pottery to be shipped to Allen and Grant, merchants in Pittsburgh (Rotch 1818). It is not known whether Rotch received a reply from Seixas or the \$10 of pottery was shipped as requested.

Just one month prior to Rotch’s letter, Seixas had opened a shop in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a city that served as a gateway to Pittsburgh and points farther west:

The New China Store Established by D. G. Seixas lately from Philadelphia is removed to the store lately occupied by David R. Barton Deceased where will constantly be kept a general and extensive assortment of Queens and glass of first quality which will be sold for cash at reduced prices. (Lancaster Journal 1818)

This advertisement reveals the expansion of his business interests beyond Philadelphia. While he was described as “lately from Philadelphia,” there is no evidence that Seixas had moved to Lancaster. As noted previously, the Philadelphia city directories consistently documented Seixas at “High W[est] Schuylkill 7th Streets” from 1818 through 1822 (M’Carty & Davis 1821; M’Carty & Davis 1822; Myers 1980: 8, 10, 83; Paxton 1818; Paxton 1819; Whitely 1820). In addition, the phrase “glass

of first quality” implies that the merchandise extended beyond his own manufactures. To date no additional advertisements or notices have been found to provide information on the vessel forms manufactured at the Seixas White Ware Manufactory.

Seixas’s other Endeavors

In 1819, Seixas began to work with “deaf and mute” children, taking some of them into his home and providing food and clothing to them. As a result of his success in this endeavor, the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb was established the following year, and Seixas was hired as a teacher (Directors of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb 1821: 6). The institution was established on the “south side of High Street between Schuylkill, Sixth and Seventh Streets” in close proximity to or possibly at the same address given for Seixas in his role as queensware manufacturer (*American and Commercial Advertiser* 1821). It is not clear how Seixas divided his time between the two ventures; however, no further information has been found regarding the pottery after 1822.

Who Was the Potter?

To date, no documents have been discovered that disclose the names of the potters or apprentices who worked at this pottery. Isaac Spiegel was listed as a potter at Spruce near Schuylkill from 1818 through 1822, placing him one block south of the “Locust near Schuylkill” location given for the kilns (Myers 1980: 84). This is the same address cited for James Charlton in 1811 when he worked for Mullowny at the Washington Pottery (Aitken 1811: 58). There is no record of Isaac Spiegel in directories prior to 1818. He was born in Philadelphia around 1795 and may have served as an apprentice at Mullowny’s pottery (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850).

Spiegel later worked at the porcelain factory of Tucker and Hemphill, which was in

operation from 1826 through 1838 (Myers 1980: 84). “Isaac Spiegel and Jacob Baker tended the kilns and superintended the preparation of the clays, and it is said that the former made many valuable suggestions to the proprietors of the works in regard to improvements in the construction of the kilns” (Barber 1976: 152). This statement suggests that Spiegel was not involved in making the porcelain vessels and instead applied his expertise to firing the ware. By 1837, Isaac Spiegel had established his own pottery in the Kensington section of Philadelphia, where he made red and black earthenware along with Rockingham ware (Myers 1980: 85). No archaeological excavations have been conducted at either of these two Philadelphia-queensware kiln sites.

Queensware Manufacture beyond Philadelphia

In his report on domestic manufactures, Albert Gallatin mentioned three other queensware potteries in operation by April 1810 and recorded their locations as “Chester County in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, and on the Ohio” (*Washington Reporter* 1810). Although Gallatin provided no additional details, in the process of researching Philadelphia queensware the authors encountered various references that identify these potteries (FIG. 3). This section describes the efforts made at these three locations. The manufacture in Chester County referred to the East Caln Pottery, established by Thomas Vickers. The venture in New Jersey seems to allude to efforts of Peter Lacour in Elizabethtown. The somewhat vague reference in Gallatin’s report to “on the Ohio” pertains to one of two queensware potteries established in Charlestown, Virginia (now Wellsburg, West Virginia).

Thomas Vickers’s East Caln Pottery—Chester County

The Vickers family relocated from Bucks County to East Caln in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1775 (James 1978: 166). East Caln Township is about 35 mi. west of Philadelphia. In his research on Chester County potters, Arthur James stated: “Thomas

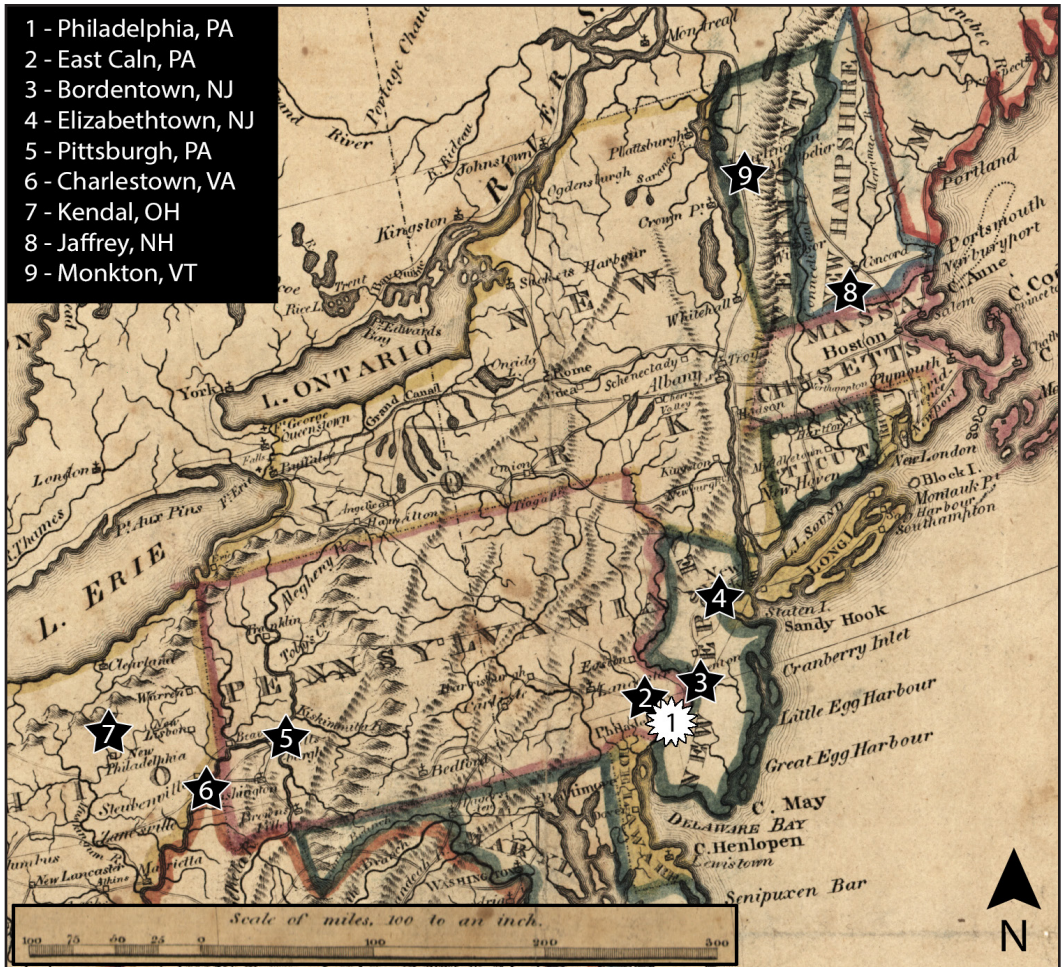


Figure 3. Map showing locations of domestic queensware potteries beyond the city of Philadelphia. (Base map Darby [1818]; map by Thomas J. Kutys, 2017.)

Vickers, like his father, was active in the Friends' Ministry. He and his son, John, each typified the Chester County trilogy of Quaker, Potter and Abolitionist" (James 1978: 167).

Establishment

It is not clear where or when Thomas Vickers was trained as a potter; however, by 1796 tax records show that he had "1 frame pot house" on his farm. Three of his sons, John, Ziba, and Isaac, learned the trade at their father's pottery (James 1978: 167). Like other potters in Chester County, the Vickers

family initially manufactured red earthenware. By 22 February 1809, Vickers and his oldest son, John, announced their "New Manufactory" in the Pennsylvania Herald and Easton Intelligencer:

The subscribers have, with very considerable exertion, in experimental research, executed a flattering essay towards the establishment of a Queens Ware Manufactory. Having to depend entirely on the dint of experiment for their progress in this art they are anxious to facilitate the business by the assistance of experienced hands. Believing that there are hands in this country, who have served regular apprenticeships to the business of making queens ware in Europe, they give this public notice that they wish to employ a few such Hands. They have access to a bed of clay which

they are convinced is proper for the above purpose. Thomas Vickers & Son, Near Downingtown, Chester County. (Barber 1976: 437)

This announcement appeared a year prior to the establishment of Captain Mullowny's Washington Pottery in Philadelphia. It is not known whether Vickers received any responses in his search for hands trained in Europe.

Two months later a brief article published in a local paper, the *Temperate Zone*, celebrated "Vickers' imitation of queen's ware" and encouraged the venture:

Mr. Vickers' imitation of queen's ware is in the opinion of the editor of this paper, an effort of genius truly laudable, and ought, as we have no doubt it will, receive the patronage of all true friends to American independence, in the vicinity, to the exclusion of a similar kind, which is imported, and which evidently possesses few advantages over his, and costs much higher. We hope that the printers friendly to American manufacturers, will give the following advertisement or its substance a place as establishments of this kind are calculated to lessen our dependence on foreign nations, and daily experience pleads the policy, if not necessity of encouraging such improvement. (Monitor 1809)

The notice was reprinted in the Washington, D.C., newspaper, the *Monitor*, where it appears to have come to the attention of Albert Gallatin in time to be included in his report on domestic manufactures.

Additional details about Vickers's manufacture of queensware were described in a letter he sent to Samuel Sullivan in Zanesville, Ohio, in the summer of 1810. Excerpts of this letter were published in an Ohio newspaper and reprinted by the *Democratic Press* of Philadelphia:

Zanesville (Ohio) September 1, Progress of Manufactures. Extract of a letter from Mr. Thomas Vickers near Downingtown, Chester County, Pennsylvania, to Samuel Sullivan of this place dated, Caln Pottery 7th mo. 30th, 1810.

About two years ago we discovered a bed of clay, 28 miles from this place, so white that we thought it would answer to stripeing. We

brought some home for trial, and found it answer very well. We made a vessel of it, which, contrary to our expectations, burnt very strong. We then conceived the idea of making ware of a finer quality than the common earthen-ware.— We fitted up a small shop for the purpose, and commenced upon a very small scale, gaining information by experience. We, last spring, fitted up a lathe, on which we turn off the outsides and bottoms; and we now make coffee-pots, tea-pots, table-pitchers, &c. &c. which we find sell very readily at as high a price as imported white queensware. (Vickers 1810)

While the specific location of the clay source was not identified, this letter confirms the use of local clay to produce "finer quality" earthenware. Of interest is the mention of lathe trimming the bases and exterior surface of the ware. The letter also identified three of the queensware vessel forms produced at this pottery.

Account Book and Personal Correspondence

Although some pages are missing, a portion of one of the Vickers family daybooks survives, recording accounts between 1808 and 1813 (Winterthur 1808-1813). The book provides the names of customers, the vessels ordered, and the costs. Not surprisingly, many of the customers appear to be neighbors and local shopkeepers. The daybook entries also show that large quantities of pottery were being transported overland distances of 25–50 mi., to Kennett Square, Lancaster, and Columbia in Pennsylvania, as well as to Wilmington and Christiana Bridge in Delaware (Pennypacker 1909: 141). During the years covered by the daybook Vickers and his son continued to make red earthenware and introduced their queensware. The book also contains entries for "green enameled"—probably a green-glazed redware—which appeared to be popular with their customers. Some of the entries were recorded as "fineware," which may have been a finer quality of lathe-trimmed redware or an alternate name for queensware.

To date, no additional newspaper articles or advertisements have been located for this

pottery; however, personal correspondence from July 1817 reveals additional information. In that year, Vickers received a letter from fellow Quaker Thomas Rotch of Kendal, Ohio, and sent a lengthy response that provided suggestions on various techniques based on his own experiences:

We are much pleased to hear that the white clay thee has had tried is likely to answer so well thee mentions its being softer then the ware made from the red clay—now we would just suggest to thee to have an experiment tried by mixing a certain proportion of felspar with which we think will be much more likely to succeed than quartz as it is much more easily fused; but even the felspar will require a greater heat than is commonly applied to the common Earthenware, and in order to bring the ware into competition with the imports it is necessary that the silicious substance mixed with the alumine should (at least) undergo a *simme vitrefication*. If thee should prepare the clay in the manner thee mentions—it will be proper to burn or bake the ware before thee had it glazed,—and then if thee can procure in that neighborhood a white fusible sand, and would have it washed and reduce to an impalpable powder it would be preferable to clay to mix with the lead for glazing—and if the surface of the ware is perfectly smooth the glazing may be put on very thin. Thee will find the ware will look much handsomer. (Vickers 1817)

Of interest is his recommendation of mixing fine white sand with lead to create a thinner glaze. Vickers also provided detailed instructions on how to make a plaster-of-paris mold:

As regard the making of moulds we are fearful it will be a little difficult to give thee correct idea on paper, never the less we will do the best we can—They are made of plaster of Paris, or Gypsom, and if thee is acquainted with taking casts with plaster of Paris, thee will not find much difficulty in casting plaster moulds from coffee and tea pot spouts etc, but also from oval coffee and tea pots, which are all moulded, and is done in Europe principally by women and children. (Vickers 1817)

He devoted two pages to this description and included a hand-drawn illustration showing how to mold a spout from a contemporary English coffee pot.

Vickers also informed Rotch that “Thomas Coffin did not get the moulds he sent to thee of us.” Coffin, acting on behalf of Rotch, had

obtained several molds in 1814 and sent them out to Ohio. In closing, Vickers acknowledged that he was still searching for a potter for Rotch’s manufactory. He suggested that his son, Ziba, might be willing to spend three months with Rotch providing instruction and running trials; however, he could not make the trip to Ohio for less than \$350 (Vickers 1817).

Potters

Thomas Vickers had taken his son John into the business as a partner by 1809, as noted in the first announcement describing their queensware. By 1814, John had purchased a farm and established his own pottery in West Whiteland Township (James 1978: 170). Ziba was in a partnership with his father until September of 1817, when an announcement of dissolution was placed (James 1978: 170). Thomas Vickers’s offer to Rotch a few months prior to that date implied that Ziba was a skilled potter with knowledge of the manufacture of queensware (Vickers 1817). Arthur James (1978) cited information from the Industrial Census of 1820 that is believed to refer to Vickers’s East Caln pottery. By 1820, there were four men, five women, and six boys and girls employed in the manufacture of earthenware at the unnamed pottery (James 1978: 170). The census recorded a ton of red lead and only one potter’s wheel, which seems to suggest that the pottery was more involved in the production of redware by 1820 (James 1978: 170). There is no record of the lathe previously mentioned by Vickers in his letter to Samuel Sullivan (Vickers 1810).

Maker’s Marks

It is not known whether Vickers and his son marked their queensware and “fineware.” Some examples of their red earthenware and John’s porcelain that survive in museums and private collections feature incised script lettering: T.V. or J.V. (Barber 1904: 16).

Financial Difficulties

By 1818, Vickers was experiencing financial difficulty and listed three adjoining properties, totaling over 216 ac., for sale. The advertisement described the location as “five miles from Downingtown and one from the Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike” (*Pennsylvania Correspondent and Farmer’s Advertiser* 1818). The property with the kiln was described as follows:

No. 2—Containing 112 acres, adjoining the above described property, about 30 acres of which is first rate woodland, the remainder arable and in a good state of cultivation. ... The improvements are a two story stone dwelling house 47 by 25 feet, with five rooms on each floor, and wash house adjoining; also two garrets and two cellars; within a few yards of the kitchen door is a never failing spring, over which is a stone house—a stone barn 42 by 40 feet; a wagon shed, carriage house, and several stone shops, with a kiln for the manufactory of earthenware. (*Pennsylvania Correspondent and Farmer’s Advertiser* 1818).05

An additional comment recorded for the unnamed pottery from the Industrial Census of 1820 reveals the economic difficulties faced by many potteries at that time: “The demand about one half of what it was four years ago and the price 20 percent lower” (James 1978: 170).

Vickers’s financial situation resulted in a notice in the *Village Record* on 25 July 1821: “The Creditors of Thomas Vickers are requested to meet the subscribers, his Assignees, on 28th day of 7th month, at 2 o’clock in the afternoon, at the house of Wm. Frame, innkeeper, Downingtown” (James 1978: 170). By 1823 Vickers and his wife had moved to Lionville, where Thomas worked at his son John’s pottery (James 1978: 171).

It is not known how long members of the Vickers family continued to produce queensware pottery. With the resumption of trade and ready availability of inexpensive imported ceramics, the additional costs involved in the manufacture of domestic queensware were often too high to continue production.

Archaeological Excavations

A site form was filed with the Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission in 1972 by

Dr. Marshall Becker, and site number 36CH119 was given to the historical period farmstead identified as the site of the Vickers kiln. In June 1993, a Phase I archaeological survey was conducted on portions of the property slated for the construction of a medical office building for Brandywine Hospital. The excavations conducted by Jeanne A. Ward delineated an area that included the farmhouse, barn, and springhead as the site formerly occupied by the Vickers pottery. Not surprisingly, the testing in this location (Locus C) revealed higher concentrations of red earthenware, featuring a variety of glazes and some slip-decorated sherds. Ward identified some pieces with “fine black glaze,” “green glaze,” and a single piece of “buff-bodied earthenware with a green glaze” recovered during this survey (Ward 1993). To date no additional excavations have been conducted at this site.

Queensware “in New Jersey”

Gallatin’s report mentioned the establishment of a queensware pottery in New Jersey. In his research on early New Jersey potteries, M. Lelyn Branin (1988: 141) encountered a single reference to a queensware pottery in Bordentown:

Those large and commodious buildings and lot now occupied as an academy in Bordentown New Jersey. ... Also, for sale in said Town, another Lot of Ground, consisting of about ten acres, including an Orchard, Garden, and Dwelling House; a range of stone buildings erected for a Queens Ware Pottery, a Store House, Wharf, &c. &c. The subscriber being desirous of disposing of all his property in Bordentown having removed from thence, will sell either or both of the above premises upon the most reasonable terms—Apply to the Rev. William Stoughton, Principal of the Academy, or to the subscriber at Rockingham, near Kingston, Somerset County, New Jersey. Burgiss Allison September 3, 1798.

To date, the authors have found little additional evidence of this pottery, except for a letter dated 5 November 1807 Allison sent to Binny and Ronaldson in Philadelphia. The correspondence discussed seven window frames and sashes Allison offered to sell them. Although Allison did not describe his own

efforts to manufacture queensware, he noted a recent visit from Mr. Trotter to inspect the frames. The specific mention of Trotter seems to imply that the window frames were intended for use at the pottery and not the type foundry that had been in operation since 1796. Allison closed the letter: "Wishing you all manner of success in your undertaking for the promotion of which I will at any time cheerfully render all the service in my power" (Allison 1807). This remark reflects Allison's support for Binny and Ronaldson's latest venture, the establishment of a queensware pottery.

It appears that Allison's queensware manufactory was not the New Jersey operation Gallatin referred to in 1810. Further research located a notice, published in New York on 31 July 1809, that described the efforts of Peter Lacour to raise the capital to establish a "white ware" manufactory:

Peter Lacour. Being regularly bred to the manufacturing of earthen and china ware, in Europe proposes to direct and inspect a manufactory of white ware from our native clay. A specimen now in his possession, which he will exhibit, of his own manufacturing, will be the best test of his ability. He conceived that a capital of fifteen thousand dollars will be sufficient and has no doubt but it will well remunerate the patrons of the institution... The necessary materials may be procured at a cheap rate, so as to insure a good profit. The proposer respectfully suggests that the capital be divided in shares of one hundred dollars, payable by installments. (*Public Advertiser* 1809)

Less than a year prior to this notice, in December 1808, Peter Lacour, Jr., in New York, wrote a letter of introduction to Alexander Trotter on his father's behalf:

He being brought up to the china business and having satisfactory certificate from a large manufacturer in France thinks he might be of utility in that line or in the creamware. Particularly as he has made experiments in this city & has found clay to answer the purpose in Jersey. (Lacour 1808a)

Binny and Ronaldson responded with interest and requested direct communication with the senior Lacour, who was living in New Bedford, Massachusetts, at that time (Binny and Ronaldson 1808, Lacour 1808b). To date, no additional letters documenting their negotiations have been found.

Lacour's need for employment became more urgent in April 1809, when the New Bedford property where he ran a tavern was seized and offered at a sheriff's sale (*Mercury* 1809). By July of that year, he was in New York attempting to raise \$15,000 in subscriptions to open a whiteware pottery.

Lacour first established a pottery in Brooklyn, New York, as noted in newspaper accounts of a fire that occurred on 11 October 1810:

On Thursday the 11th inst. An alarming fire broke out in this town. When first discovered, it was found to proceed from a small building occupied by Mr. Lacour, for the purpose of manufacturing crucibles, a business which we understand he had brought to such perfection as to gain a preference for his articles in that line to those generally imported. (*Long Island Star* 1810)

It seems there was some confusion regarding the type of ceramics Lacour was manufacturing, with one paper describing his production of crucibles and another mentioning "china-ware":

The late fire at Brooklyn, we understand did not originate from the pottery as stated in several of the papers, but from a bakery and is generally supposed to have been the work of some incendiary. Lacour, who owned the pottery has lost everything; he had made considerable progress in the manufacture of china-ware, but by this unfortunate occurrence he is at present deprived of the means of making further experiments; a specimen however of what he has done in that line may now be seen at Brooklyn, which from the samples we have seen, we think reflects great credit on the projector and entitles him to every encouragement. (*Columbian* 1810)

By 22 March 1811, an advertisement for his crucibles shows Lacour had relocated his establishment to Elizabethtown, New Jersey: "American Manufacture. A manufactory of sand crucibles, for melting gold, silver &c. has been established at Elizabethtown, N. J. by Mess. Peter Lacour & Co. at Burrows & Tingler's Teapot Factory" (*Columbian* 1811).

Although not mentioned by name, he is the "gentleman from Europe" described in connection with a display of crucibles, queensware, and china ware two months later. An article reprinted in May 1811 in the *American Watchman* of Wilmington, Delaware, mentioned that various ceramic vessels made from domestic clay were on view in Philadelphia:

American Manufactures. A gentleman from Europe, perfectly acquainted with the manufacturing of Queens Ware, China Ware, and Crucibles, had deposited in the counting room of the Freeman's Journal, until Friday next, for the inspection of any gentlemen who may be desirous to see them, 1st A nest of crucibles, for melting of gold and silver. These have been tried in New York, and pronounced equal to any imported. He has established a manufactory of them in a neighboring state, which promises to be profitable. 2d. A sample of Queens Ware, and 3d. A sample of China Ware, in its crude state. This last has been analyzed, and the clay found to be superior to the English, and equal to the French and German. He has discovered a body of this fine clay in America, of which the sample is made. (*American Watchman* 1811)

It is interesting that Lacour's vessels were shown at the same location and about the same time as an exhibit of kaolin and other raw materials by the recently formed Monkton Argil Company of Vermont (described elsewhere in this article).

Lacour and his son were still operating a pottery in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in February 1816, when a newspaper notice was published to creditors followed by an announcement of sale:

Public Sale Will be sold at public vendue, on the premises, on Thursday the 29th day of February inst. At one o'clock P.M. the House, lot of land and buildings, lately occupied by Peter Lacour and son as an earthenware manufactory, with the tools, materials and apparatus thereto belonging, and all the tea pots and other manufactured ware therein;— and also all the household furniture, and goods and chattels of the said Peter Lacour and Peter Lacour, Jun. Conditions will be made known on the day of sale, and attendance given by William Dayton, Caleb O. Halsted assignees. (*New Jersey Journal* 1816b)

Two months later, Peter Lacour, Jr., placed an advertisement for "an apprentice to the Tea pot Making business, a boy from 14 to 16 years old" (*New Jersey Journal* 1816a). By November 1816 his name was listed among insolvent debtors awaiting a hearing scheduled for December (*New York Herald* 1816). The pottery was advertised for public sale early in 1818: "[t]he tea pot manufactory, formerly occupied by Peter Lacour & Son, together with the lot of land

attached to the same" (*New Jersey Journal* 1818).

Although his name was often mentioned in connection with domestic pottery production, there is no evidence that Lacour successfully established a queensware manufactory or worked at any of the existing potteries.

Queensware "on the Ohio" (1806–ca.1816)

Newspaper notices published between 1806 and 1816 provide details regarding two potteries in Charlestown, Brooke County, Virginia (now Wellsburg, West Virginia). Both of these potteries were located on the Ohio River. One of them is likely the pottery identified in Albert Gallatin's report as "on the Ohio" (*Washington Reporter* 1810).

The earliest announcement of a plan to open a queensware pottery in Charlestown appeared in the fall of 1806:

They have discovered suitable material in abundance, for the manufacture of Delfs and Queens ware; of the former they purpose having a quantity for sale by the month of April next, and of the latter shortly afterwards. Orders will meet with prompt attention by, Bakewell & Co. Charlestown, on the Ohio, 15 miles above Wheeling Oct. 22, 1806. (*Scioto Gazette* 1806)

By July 1807, another notice appeared stating that a source of clay was found near "Charleston, Virginia ... which burns to a body exactly similar to the so much admired queens-ware, that we import in immense quantities from England" (*Commonwealth* 1807). This discovery of clay was published one month prior to Binny and Ronaldson's announcement of their plan to establish a queensware pottery in Philadelphia.

On 20 July 1807, Fortesque Cuming, an English traveler visiting Charlestown as part of a tour of the western country, wrote the following entry in his journal:

Mr. Bakewell from England, who has been established here about two years, politely shewed us his manufactory of pottery and queensware. He told us that the business would answer very well, could workmen be

got to be depended upon; but that those he had hitherto employed, have always quit his service before the term of the expiration of their contracts, notwithstanding any law to the contrary; and two of them have actually set up small manufactories in Charlestown, one of queensware in opposition to him, and the other of tobacco pipes. Bakewell's ware is very good, but not so fine, nor so well glazed as that manufactured in England, owing probably to the difference of materials, as the process is the same. (Thwaites 1904: 109, 110)

Cuming's journal entry documents the establishment of a second queensware pottery in Charlestown and confirms that the manufacture of queensware there predates the efforts in Philadelphia.

In August 1808, William McCluney, also of Charlestown, attempted to attract skilled workers and announced a newly constructed kiln with all the necessary materials to begin production of stoneware and queensware:

Notice to Potters. The subscriber living in Charlestown, in Brooke Co, in state of Virginia will give good encouragement to Stone and Queens Ware potters, either as hands, or he will receive master potters, if well recommended, as partners on reasonable terms. He has suitable buildings and a kiln new erected, and the necessary tools and a stock of materials on hand.

Experiments have been made at his works, which prove that the materials for these manufactories to be found in this country are of excellent qualities, calculated to produce wares equal to the English manufactories. The materials are found in great abundance in the neighborhood of the town. These works situated on the river Ohio, in a rich and populous country, afford an excellent prospect to good workmen, as the navigation of the Ohio will enable the manufacturer to vend any quantity of ware. A Thrower, Turner and Glazier are particularly wanted. Houses and lots of ground for gardens will be provided for men having families, and immediate and constant employment given. Apply at No. 67 Broad Street Wm. McCluney. (*American Citizen* 1808)

This advertisement for skilled workers is noteworthy, as it designated the specific roles of "thrower, turner and glazier," rather than hoping to find one journeyman accomplished in all of these tasks. This division of labor with individuals responsible for a single aspect of production was commonly employed by the large-scale potteries in England (Barker 1991:

106–108; Wilkinson 2002: 111). It suggests that McCluney was familiar with British methods and intended to implement them at the pottery in Charlestown.

William McCluney was born in Belfast, Ireland, on 5 April 1770. There is no evidence to suggest that McCluney was a trained potter. "In his early life he was a surveyor of public lands in Ohio ... (later) commissioner of the revenue for the county of Brooke and postmaster at Wellsburg" (Newton, Nichols, and Sprankle 1878: 332).

On 22 December 1808, McCluney petitioned the General Assembly of Virginia for a loan to help him recover financially and continue the manufacture of queensware:

The Petition of William McCluney of Charlestown in the county of Brooke, humbly sheweth that in the summer 1807 he entered into partnership with one James Charleton an Englishman Queensware Potter and expended a considerable sum in establishing a kiln with houses and all the implements necessary to carry on the business of a Queensware potter.

That the said Charleton proceeded so far in the business as to ascertain that the clays, earths and other materials for that and similar wares are abundant on all the Virginia waters of the Ohio; and even produced some pieces of ware of a quality superior to the English, but the said James Charleton not being well acquainted with the arts of glazing and burning generally failed in those branches. Whereby the firm became embarrassed and indebted and the said Charleton eloped from the country privately, leaving your petitioner subject to the embarrassments of the firm.

Your petitioner has procured workmen lately from Europe, well recommended as persons of approved skill in the various branches of that business, but is unable to conduct the same without aid owing to the circumstances aforesaid, and in the present circumstances of this country that cannot be procured from private funds.

Wherefore he prays a loan from the General Assembly of Two Thousand Dollars for five years. Your petitioner giving good security for the repayment thereof, and also for the constant employment of the same in the business of a Queensware pottery. (McCluney 1808)

McCluney's request for a loan was rejected on 22 December 1808 (McCluney 1808). The details provided by McCluney in his appeal

name Englishman James Charleton and identify him as the potter who had difficulty with the glazing process. This same problem was noted by Fortesque Cuming in his description of queensware produced by Bakewell & Company. Charleton appears to be the potter who left Bakewell to establish another pottery in Charlestown with McCluney. He is undoubtedly the same James Charleton (Charlton) who worked briefly at the Columbian Pottery with Alexander Trotter and Thomas Haig prior to establishing the Washington Pottery with John Mullowny in 1810.

By June 1809, the Bakewell establishment was for sale, and the notice provides details about the pottery structures:

A brick house 38 by 23 feet, two stories high, with two rooms in each story. A frame warehouse and workshop 51 feet long and 22 feet wide, two stories high, with a cellar under one half the building. A kiln for burning Stone or Queensware, inclosed within a circular brick bldg. 24 ft. diam. A mill for washing clay, another for grinding clay, and a third for grinding flint or glazing, each to be worked by a single horse; and a well of good water. There are on the premises every necessary apparatus for making either Stone or Queensware. The whole sold on moderate terms. For particulars apply to Samuel R. Bakewell, on premises or subscriber Bez. Wells Steubenville. (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1809)

Of particular interest is the mention of the enclosed kiln structure in a circular brick building that sounds similar to English kiln construction. The description of three separate mills implies an establishment of moderate to larger scale, as does the use of horse power in the milling operation.

An article published in October 1809, describing the "Prosperity of the Western Country," mentioned that "there is a good kind of queensware made at Charlestown Brooke County, Virginia" (*Lynchburg Star* 1809). This notice suggests that one of the two kiln sites had resumed operation.

By June 1816, William McCluney advertised his property and all of the equipment for sale:

On the 20th Inst. I will sell at public auction, seven lots of ground in Charlestown, Brooke County, Virginia. Three of these lots join each other, and front on three streets. On two of these is an extensive Earthen-ware Manufactory, and is now

employed in making Stoneware. This pottery was intended for and sometime occupied in making Queensware—and has all the necessary tools belonging to such an establishment. The kiln is of the largest kind and made of the best materials—is now together with the shop, tools, washing mill &c. &c. in complete order. This is one of the best situations on the Ohio River for queens-ware and stoneware potteries—owing to its contiguity to many extensive clay banks of different kinds—wood and stone coal—and a never failing market for all the ware that can be made ... Wm. McCluney Charlestown, Brooke County, VA. (*Washington Reporter* 1816)

His notice confirms the production of queensware and highlights the advantages of this location. In addition, this advertisement described an abundance of local clay and the use of wood and stone coal for fuel. While it is not clear which fuel was used to produce the queensware, coal was employed in firing English refined earthenware kilns by the 18th century (Towner 1965: 5; Hyland 2005: 20, 21).

Other Queensware Potteries

This section is intended to draw attention to efforts to produce queensware in other parts of the country during this same time period. After his departure from the Columbian Pottery in Philadelphia, Alexander Trotter established a queensware pottery in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Thomas Rotch made a serious and studied attempt to set up a pottery in Kendal, Ohio. Rotch's personal correspondence on the subject of queensware revealed the efforts of Abraham and Andrew Miller at their pottery in Philadelphia. The discovery of a notice for a runaway apprentice alerted the authors to additional attempts in Vermont and New Hampshire. Some of these ventures were successful; others may not have progressed beyond running trials.

Alexander Trotter and Edward Roche, Birmingham, Pennsylvania (1814)

By June 1814, Alexander Trotter had left the Columbian Pottery in Philadelphia and relocated 300 mi. west, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He established a pottery in

Birmingham in partnership with Edward B. Roche (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1814b). The initial advertisement for this short-lived venture described the location and the vessel forms available:

Pottery. Trotter & Roche, Respectfully inform the public that they have got their Pottery, (in Birmingham, south side of the Mononghela, nearly opposite Pittsburgh) in complete operation and are ready to receive orders in their line, and execute them at the shortest notice. They intend keeping constantly a general assortment of Ware, viz: cups and saucers, coffee pots, tea pots, cream jugs, pitchers, baking dishes, dishes, plates, salts, mugs, bowls, wash basons, chamber pots, &c. &c. which they will sell at the most reasonable prices for cash. They intend keeping constantly fire brick of a superior quality. (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1814b)

The newly established firm also sought additional help: "Two or Three Apprentices wanted for the above business. Boys from 14 to 16 years of age would be preferred" (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1814b).

The same notice solicited clay and black flint in a style reminiscent of the requests published by Binny and Ronaldson in 1807:

T. & R. earnestly solicit the attention of gentlemen throughout the Western Country, who may feel disposed to patronize their establishment, to such clays or flint, (particularly the black flint) as may be found in their respective neighborhoods, and invite them to send specimens of such as they may think worthy of attention to Messrs. G. & C. Anshutz ware-house Pittsburgh, accompanied with a written description of the quantity in which the article may be found, its situation, distance from water carriage, and such other remarks as may be thought useful. Specimens may be sent in small quantities, from one to two pounds, and by that mode of conveyance which will be least expensive. (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1814b)

Their partnership was dissolved just three months later, in September 1814. Roche may have experienced financial difficulties, as he advertised four lots for sale in Birmingham immediately above the notice of dissolution for the firm of Trotter & Roche (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1814a).

Trotter & Co. Pittsburgh (1815–ca.1818)

By early 1815, Trotter & Co. had established the "Pittsburgh Pottery." It

appears that Trotter had located the necessary raw materials and hired apprentices, as no additional requests for either have been found to date. The first announcement for the pottery appeared in February:

Pittsburgh Pottery Trotter & Co.

Having Established their Manufactory of Queensware, in Pittsburgh, and now commenced fabricating wares similar to those of the potteries in Philadelphia, take this opportunity to inform the public that they are ready to execute such orders for those who may have the goodness to favour them, at their pottery, corner of Seventh and Grant Streets, or to Anthony Beelen & Co. or Richard Bowen & Co. where specimens of the ware may be seen. List of articles at present manufacturing. Wash-hand basons, ewers, chambers, dutch jugs, bowls, mugs, goblets, pitchers, coffee pots, tea pots, coffee cups, tea cups, chocolates, sugar basons, butter tubs, baking dishes. (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1815c)

It appears that Trotter relied on local merchants to sell his ware rather than attempting to open a warehouse for the pottery. Newspaper advertisements show substantial quantities of pottery produced by Trotter & Co. offered by "commission warehouses" in Pittsburgh. McClean & Doane sold a wide range of goods for wholesale and retail, "together with a constant supply of Queensware manufactured by Trotter & Co. at the Pittsburgh Pottery" (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1815b). Their warehouse was located on Water Street between Market and Wood streets. In July, Isaac Harris & Co stated that they: "keep constantly for sale, at their wholesale and commission warehouse ... crates, hogsheads and barrels Domestic Crockery, fabricated by Trotter & Co." (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1815a).

On 7 March 1817, Bosler & Co. advertised a wide selection of merchandise that included: "Queensware assorted in crates, Birmingham brown and black ware assorted in boxes, Trotter's Yellow ware in hogsheads, Charleston Stone ware, Pittsburgh pipes" (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1817). The queensware was most likely of English origin, as the firm also offered British hardware and English blister steel. This merchant referred to Trotter's products as "yellow ware." The

Birmingham brown and black probably refers to red earthenware, possibly made at the pottery that Trotter ran briefly with Roche. The mention of "Charleston" stoneware may refer to the Brook County pottery formerly operated by William McCluney.

Statistics on Pittsburgh manufactures were collected and published by two different sources in 1819 and 1820 (TAB. 1). On 5 March 1819 the *Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* printed data from January 1817 that showed only one "fine ware pottery" in operation at that time. While the pottery was not named, the information seems to relate to Trotter & Company (*Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1819). In 1820, a committee was appointed in Pittsburgh to: "furnish a condensed view of the present state of our manufactures, contrasted with what they were in 1815" (*American Farmer* 1820). This report was published in a Baltimore, Maryland, newspaper the *American Farmer* on 28 January 1820. Although Trotter & Co. was not identified by name, as shown in the advertisements above, the pottery was known for the manufacture of yellow queensware. The data from 1819 reflect the apparent closure of the pottery with Trotter's departure for Baltimore.

Alexander Trotter was listed as a potter in city directories for Baltimore from 1819 through 1824 (Myers 1980: 88). No advertisements describing his wares during this period have been found to date. Trotter eventually returned to Philadelphia where he was recorded in the directories at irregular intervals and at several addresses from 1846 through 1851, his occupation listed as "grocer" or "shop" (A. McElroy 1846: 363; 1849: 380; 1851: 431). He was listed as a potter at 492 Coates Street only once, in the directory in 1848 (A. McElroy 1848: 361). Alexander Trotter died in April 1858 at the age of 73 and was buried in Lafayette Cemetery in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania, Philadelphia City Death Certificates 1858).

Thomas Rotch in Kendal, Ohio

The letters of Thomas Rotch reveal that he made extensive preparations, over a period of

several years, in an effort to establish a queensware manufactory in Kendal, Ohio. His inquiries and the responses he received provide details on various aspects of queensware manufacture and the difficulties encountered

Thomas Rotch, a Quaker, was born in Nantucket and lived in New England with his wife Charity until 1811. Due to Charity's poor health they were encouraged to relocate, and in that year they moved to Ohio. Rotch acquired a large tract of land and established the town of Kendal (now Massillon). He owned a flock of Spanish merino sheep that were brought from Hartford, Connecticut, to Kendal. Among his primary concerns was the construction of a wool factory, followed by a sawmill, a gristmill, and the pottery (Henley 1961).

Molds

In June 1814, Quaker merchant Thomas Coffin wrote to Rotch from Philadelphia. Coffin had relocated his family from New England to Philadelphia in 1809. He was the father of Lucretia Coffin Mott, who became a famous abolitionist and advocate for women's rights (Unger 2000). His letter described several pottery molds that he had purchased for Rotch:

I have sent thee by him (Matthew Macy) 2 Coffee pot Spout moulds & 2 Tea Pot spouts mould and two nose moulds for Pitchers, Cost five Dollars, these are the most simple moulds used by Potters, they say that other moulds for Tea pots, Sugar Dishes and other articles in their line will cost about three Dollars each, but I suppose that most articles of common use are made without moulds, I am informed that the principal article for improving the quality of ware is Silex, but no mill has yet been erected for grinding it, the Cost of such a Mill is very considerable and in England one of them will serve a large neighbourhood of Potteries, they get a very fine clay here from the River Delaware for making some kind of ware, but it will not burn well. (Coffin 1814)

Coffin's letter does not reveal where he had acquired the molds. It is not known if he commissioned the molds or purchased them

new or used from either of the Philadelphia potteries. By June 1814, Trotter had left the Columbian pottery to move west near Pittsburgh and at the same time Mullowny advertised his Washington Pottery warehouse property for sale (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 1814). The reference to the Delaware River suggests that some of the information in Coffin's letter had come from potters in Philadelphia.

In July 1817, Rotch corresponded with Thomas Vickers at the East Caln Pottery in Chester County, Pennsylvania. As described previously, Vickers provided Rotch with details on the preparation of clay, the best ingredients for glazing, and the method of making plaster molds

Clay Trials

Several letters discuss the local white clay and attempts to test it by firing samples. Rotch wrote to his brother Benjamin in February 1817 and described his efforts to establish a manufactory to produce white tableware using the local clay:

The Pottery is already established, and the common coarse ware made, from this it will be an object to progress by improvements and discoveries of materials, to perfect the ware, until it can have a currency for Table use, this I think within our reach, and from the weight and consequently expense in the transportation of this article together with the breakage, favourable hopes are entertained of success, besides the common Potters clay of a yellowish colour, we have that of White, and the only Objection to it appears to be the want of solidity, when burnt it does not ring so well as the

common clayware, neither is it so hard, although it stands burning and retains its whiteness and has no appearance of particles of lime to burst the ware when used, this clay may I think be improved by adding a portion of white flint which is also found in this country, and for the purpose of which, I have a cast Iron Morter with Six pestles. ... The glazing of the Liverpool ware appears very fine and transparent, and probably may have a considerable portion of other substances with the Lead. (Rotch 1817)

Richard Imlay, the owner of a brickmaking business in Trenton, New Jersey, wrote to Rotch on 11 February 1817. Imlay stated that he had received "the clay" and planned to take it to Elizabethtown for a trial firing. Imlay also described his recent trip back after a visit to Kendal: "We were two days from Kendal to Pittsburgh from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia one week making us nine days from Kendal to Philadelphia which I presume is the shortest space of time that ever any Carriage has come in" (Imlay 1817a).

Another letter from Imlay, sent in August, explained that the trial firing had not been conducted by that date:

The Causes of my long silence is owing to my having been disappointed about the tryal of the clay. I was in New York and Elizabeth Town last week & fully expected to have found they had made tryal of the clay, but owing to a Desolution of Partnership in the factory concern it had been forgotten this makes the third time I have called on Acct of the business but I do not suppose it is owing to any other cause but the state of the hands as they have not any objection to trying the clay, they speak highly of the appearance of the clay. (Imlay 1817b)

It seems likely that the Elizabethtown pottery referred to was Lacour's manufactory.

Table 1. Pittsburgh Pottery Manufacture

| Pottery | Yellow Queensware | | Fineware | |
|---------|-------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| | # workers | Value manuf | # workers | Value manuf |
| 1815* | 9 | 10,000 | | |
| 1817† | | | 5 | 8,000 |
| 1819* | 0 | 0 | | |

(*=American Farmer 1820: 352. †=Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette 1819: 2).

Although Imlay continued to correspond with Rotch after that date, there is no further mention of the clay trials.

In April 1818, Thomas Kite, a Philadelphia bookseller, wrote to Rotch regarding inquiries he had made into the production of whiteware.

I find little hopes of obtaining from books such information as thou wishes relative to the manufacture of white ware. I have consulted a number of intelligent persons, but find their statements contradictory. Some say the Liverpool ware is made of decomposed feldspar, without clay, others that clay is used. It seems probable that different materials and different modes are in use in different Potteries. Probably clay with silicious stones form some of their wares. The latter stones I believe you have, tho no feldspar. (Kite 1818)

Although Kite did not reveal specific sources of the “contradictory” information, his letter introduced one of the contacts he had consulted:

A person of the name of David G. Seixas has succeeded here in making ware to look very much like Liverpool Ware, but whether it is so durable, or stands hot water I cannot say. He assures me he makes it of clay. He says if thou wilt send him 8 or 10 lbs of thy clay he will make it into vessels and send them to thee. Perhaps thou could not make a better trial of it, as the man appears to be candid, yet I question whether he would be willing to disclose his processes, or part with any of his workmen. (Kite 1818)

To date there is no evidence of additional letters between the two men that might confirm whether Rotch sent clay to Seixas for the production of sample vessels.

Rotch's Progress

A month prior to Kite's letter, Rotch had read about the manufacture of whiteware and addressed David Seixas directly in a letter dated 4 March 1818. Rotch described his own progress toward establishing a queensware pottery in Kendal:

I have for near one year sought for information upon the subject of Staffordshire Pottery and after satisfactory experiments that has confirmed my judgement that we have both the clay and flint for making good tableware. I have erected a

pair of stones of millstone grist now in operation for grinding flint by water and shall shortly have a plunger by the same power for washing and purifying the white clay and a building twenty by twenty five feet a turning room and one more lathed and plastered a small cellar for prepared clay, a round brick kiln about 14 feet diameter with some other conveniences amongst which is one horizontal wheel or lathe this has only been used for turning common ware. The clay is white and free from the oxyd of iron and burns as white as the Liverpool or Staffordshire ware. I have Plaster of Paris for moulds this is obtained at Cleveland, brought from the north side of Lake Erie and appears no way differing from that of Nova Scotia. (Rotch 1818)

After extensive research on the subject, Rotch had the necessary buildings constructed, set up mills, and gathered the equipment and raw materials to begin his manufactory. Rotch's mills were powered by water, unlike those described previously in Charlestown, Virginia. By spring of 1818 it seemed Rotch had everything in place to begin production; everything except a skilled workforce. He asked Seixas if he could recommend a workman:

The object of my communication is not only to congratulate the first founder of a White Ware Factory in America, but also to enquire of the probability of obtaining a workman—acquainted with the business who could be recommended to commence and prosecute the same here. We now have all our Liverpool ware from Baltimore and Philadelphia and the expense in carriage of \$10/hundred pounds weight this with the loss in breaking make the ware come too high for us to afford, especially when the raw materials abound all around us. (Rotch 1818)

Rotch described the difficulty and expense encountered in transporting English tableware from the cities on the East coast to Ohio. As mentioned previously (Seixas section), Rotch closed his correspondence with a request for \$10 worth of Seixas's whiteware.

Mention of another Attempt in Philadelphia

Daniel Elliott, a druggist in Philadelphia (Robinson 1816: Eggleston-Elliott), wrote to Rotch regarding packages that he had sent via Allen and Grant in Pittsburgh. In his letter of 4 June 1818, Elliott described an attempt to

produce queensware by another Philadelphia pottery establishment:

I have made some enquiries of Abm [Abraham] & Andrew Miller who are engaged extensively in the pottery business and being ingenious young men have made attempts to manufacture ware similar to the imported. But on trial have found so little encouragement as to decline any further attempts, the great influx of import[ed] ware & its low price have operated against them in a greater degree than would probably be the case if a distance from Sea ports. They spoke of co[balt] since sent by another Waggoner today blue or Blue Smalts as an article very useful in the fine pottery work. I have sent a small sample of two qualities of this article. The coarse is high say \$1.12 per lb, the fine, 60 cents. (Elliott 1818)

The mention in this letter of “the great influx of imported ware” and “its low price operating against them” provides further confirmation that a few years after the embargo was lifted domestic queensware was no longer financially viable.

Abraham and Andrew Miller, Jr., were brothers and partners in a pottery on Zane Street (now Filbert) in Philadelphia from 1809 until Andrew’s death in 1821 (Myers 1980: 75). The date of Daniel Elliott’s letter to Rotch suggests that the Millers’ effort to manufacture queensware occurred sometime between 1809 and June 1818. The full extent of the Millers’ production attempt is not known at this time. The “Record of the 1820 Census of Manufacturers” records their product as: “common coarse earthen ware (not stone). Also, Black and brown tea pots and a great variety of other articles.” Additional comments about their manufacture include: “The articles above enumerated have been tried for 10 or 12 years and are esteemed as highly as the European articles of which they are an imitation ... the quantity manufactured at present is somewhat less than half the quantity manufactured in the years 1814, ’15 & ’16” (Myers 1980: 93). It is apparent that by 1820 they were no longer involved in the manufacture of queensware.

Rotch’s Contribution

Despite Rotch’s extensive efforts to launch a queensware manufactory in Kendal, it appears

that he was unable to attract a skilled workforce to commence with the actual production. Although it does not appear that Rotch succeeded in making queensware, his correspondence captures and preserves many otherwise-undocumented details of this industry.

The Monkton Argil Company of Vermont

In October 1810, the *Rutland Herald* announced the discovery of white clay in the town of Monkton, Vermont, in a column with the heading “American Porcelain” (*Rutland Herald* 1810). The article identified the material as “Argilla Apyra or, porcelain clay,” and provided a description:

In an analysis of 100 grains, they yielded 56 of pure silex, the remainder were pure clay, a little water, and a very small portion of oxyd of iron, though scarcely perceptible. When submitted to a strong heat, it forms into a solid porcelaneous mass, without fusion and retains its whiteness. (*Rutland Herald* 1810)

The names of the proprietors, Dakin, Muzzy, and Farrar, were listed at the end of the notice. “Samuel Dakin, Esq. was a graduate of Dartmouth College and worked as a lawyer in Jaffrey, New Hampshire” (Clary 1847: 14). John Muzzy lived in Middlebury, Vermont, a town located approximately 17 mi. south of Monkton. James Farrar had been living in Monkton in 1805 and may have been a potter like other members of his family. Further research shows that the three men were more than just business partners; Dakin and Muzzy were married to Farrar’s sisters (Bond 1855: 729). Muzzy may have been a lawyer too, as the *New Hampshire Repository* recorded: “J. Muzzy, attorney practices in New Ipswich in New Hampshire in 1808” (Cogswell 1846: 128). Several members of the Farrar family worked as potters, and it is likely that the production of pottery depended on their expertise.

Raw Materials and Raising Capital

An act of incorporation was announced, under the name Monkton Argil Company, on 5 November 1810 (Spooner’s Vermont Journal

1810). "Argil" is another name for potter's clay. In January 1811, Samuel Dakin, who was identified as the treasurer of the company, published a notice to shareholders that a \$5 assessment was due on 1 March (*Washingtonian* 1811b).

Several newspapers carried descriptions of the raw materials discovered for the manufacture of porcelain:

Kaolin or Clay, of which the various kinds of Porcelain (China-ware) is made. A gentleman from New Hampshire has deposited with the Editor of the Philadelphia Freeman's Journal—No. 1 A sample of Kaolin, very fine, and nearly infusible—No. 2 & 3. Samples of Feldspar, less decomposed than the former, containing silicious particles. It does not abound so plentiful as the Kaolin the lower strata—No. 4 A sample of Petunse or Feldspar, still less decomposed. This, with the foregoing numbers constitute the body of clay of which porcelain is made—No. 5 A sample of fusible Feldspar, used for glaze. The above samples were taken from the Monkton bed of Kaolin, in the state of Vermont. It covers near one hundred acres, and has been penetrated twenty-five feet deep, but without finding the bottom. It continues to increase in purity the further they descend. (*Commercial Advertiser* 1811)

The "gentleman from New Hampshire" likely referred to Samuel Dakin. The announcement stated that the company was established for the manufacture of both "China ware and Queens ware." The proprietors attempted to raise capital by soliciting investors in advance of the construction of a manufactory:

This most valuable body of clay having attracted the attention of several gentlemen of wealth and science, they made a purchase of the land, and have been incorporated by the state of Vermont, by the name of "The Monkton Argil Company," for the purpose of carrying the manufacture of China ware and Queens ware into full effect. The capital stock to be vested, is 50,000 dollars, divided into 500 shares of 100 dollars each. When a sufficient number of shares are disposed of, the manufactory will go into operation. We understand the number of shares already disposed of have been so considerable as to warrant the proprietors into beginning to collect artists and procure the machinery requisite for carrying it on with energy. The pure Kaolin is a great curiosity. It is of a snowy whiteness perfectly free from grit, and when dry, feels like fine flour. (*Commercial Advertiser* 1811)

The raw materials were placed on display in Philadelphia, where the public and potential investors were invited to view them "by calling

at the counting room of the Freeman's Journal, or on John Muzzy, Esq. at the Shakespeare Hotel" (*Enquirer* 1811). As noted previously, Peter Lacour displayed his nested crucibles, queensware, and porcelain at the Freeman's Journal in Philadelphia at about the same time. There is no evidence to suggest that the Monkton business was connected with Lacour's efforts to establish a queensware manufactory in New Jersey.

In June 1811, additional Monkton shares were offered for sale from Joseph Pettes's Coffee House in Windsor (*Washingtonian* 1811c). Located midway between Middlebury and Jaffrey, the city of Windsor was a large center of trade at that time.

Establishment

It appears that sufficient funds had been raised by July 1811 when the company announced it was ready to set up the manufactory for the production of "Crockery and China." A brief survey of period newspapers reveals that the words "crockery" and "queensware" were used interchangeably at that time:

Monkton Argil Company. It is with much satisfaction, we are authorized to say, that this company are about to erect all necessary works for the manufacture of Crockery and China ware. They have ascertained from the fullest evidence that their bed of clay in Monkton, is the true Kaolin or Porcelain clay, and of a quality equal to the finest of the French Kaolin. They have also proved, by actual experiment, that it is capable of being wrought, by artists already in this country, into very handsome and strong ware. The clay is of a delicate whiteness; and it loses nothing in appearance by burning, but its whiteness is rather improved. It is also ascertained, that a number of excellent workmen at the Crockery and China Ware business, have lately come to this country, in hopes of finding better employment here, than in Europe. This circumstance is much in favour of the Company's establishment. (*Washingtonian* 1811a)

To date no further information has been found to confirm the location or describe the structures of the Monkton Argil Company. Muzzy was the only contact listed in several of the newspaper notices, and the address was given as Middlebury and not Monkton.

Potters

Although the company asserted that qualified workmen from Europe were available in December 1811, an advertisement for potters appeared in a Boston newspaper:

Potters Take Notice! Liberal encouragement and permanent employ will be given by the Monkton Argil Company, to a person of steady habits and good moral character, who is master of the art of manufacturing Crockery Ware, and qualified to superintend & reach the same in all its branches. Applications will be received by the Directors of said corporation, at Middlebury in the state of Vermont, any time before the first day of June next John Muzzy Pres. (Independent Chronicle 1811)

The mention of permanent employment would seem to indicate that the kilns and workshops were under construction or completed by that date. Although the newspaper notices do not identify the name of a specific potter connected with this pottery, members of the Farrar family may have been involved. Although James Farrar was one of the original proprietors of the corporation, his role after the organization was established is unclear. He died in 1812 in Vergennes, about 10 mi. from Monkton (Thorne 2001: 214). His brother "Caleb Farrar established a pottery in Middlebury, Vermont about 1812 for the manufacture of earthenware and white tableware" (Barber 1976: 438). Caleb continued to operate a pottery in Middlebury on Munger Street until 1850 (Watkins 1950: 139).

The pottery appears to have been in operation by August 1812 when a notice offered a reward for a runaway apprentice:

One cent reward. Ranaway, on Sunday the 23d instant, an apprentice, indented to the Monkton Argil Company, by the name George Bruorton, Jun. about 17 years of age ... John Muzzy Agent for said Company. Middlebury, Aug 24 1812.

N.B. It is supposed that said apprentice was seduced away by his father, an Englishman, who tried to impose himself upon said Company as a potter; and who absconded at the same time. (*Washingtonian* 1812a)

George Bruorton, the apprentice, appears to be the same person who filed a "Declaration of Citizenship" in Philadelphia three years

later, on 2 September 1815. "Oath saith that he was born in England and arrived in America when he was five years old with his parents. Father lives in New York and Naturalized citizen" (Bruorton 1815). His father was likely the George Bruorton listed as a "gilder" at "Schuylkill 5th near Chesnut" in the Philadelphia city directory of 1811 (Aitken 1811: 42). The father and son may have gone to Vermont in response to the advertisement for potters. It appears from the notice that the senior Bruorton did not possess the skills necessary to obtain work at the Monkton Argil Company.

Expert Opinions and Trials

On 8 June 1812, the *Washingtonian* printed a full-page article submitted by John Muzzy describing the clay source, offering expert opinions on the quality of the clay, and providing the results of firing trials on the clay. Among the several mineralogists and chemists consulted regarding the composition and quality of the clay was Mr. Ronaldson, one of the founders of the Columbian Pottery in Philadelphia. No account of Ronaldson's analysis was published.

In the article Muzzy clarified that the initial efforts of the Monkton Argil Company would not focus on the production of porcelain:

owing to the difficulty in obtaining workmen acquainted with that branch of pottery ... they propose to make a species of crockery ware, the manufacture of which is much easier; the difficulty of obtaining workmen much less; and the present call for it in this section of the country where the manufactory is erected, vastly greater. (Muzzy 1812)

The results of trials that mixed Monkton clay with other clays were also published and demonstrate the experimental nature of queensware production at this time.

To fit it for this purpose, it will be necessary to increase the proportion of the clay by searching, and perhaps, by the addition of the best common clays. The effect on such mixture has been tried in various ways. Eight parts kaolin and one of fine blue, on being burned, became nearly white,

and evidently harder than the imported crockery. Four parts of the former with one of the latter material, became as hard, but the colour was of an ashery hue. Sixteen parts kaolin, the colour was excellent, but it required a strong heat to bring it to the proper state of hardness. With pulverized feldspar, in equal parts, the ordinary heat of a stone ware kiln was insufficient. Three parts Billingsport clay, with one of kaolin, made a handsome ware, nearly cream colored. Used in the same proportion with common brick clay, it forms stone ware of a superior texture. It is nearly in this proportion that the stone ware at Monkton, has generally been made, the clay, however, is of an inferior quality and the burning very imperfect, till two or three of the last kilns. (Muzzy 1812)

The emphasis on the specific color achieved through various clay mixtures documents the continued effort to produce “cream colored” refined earthenware. The mention of Billingsport refers to clay originating from Burlington County, New Jersey. These firing results may provide a partial explanation for the variations in the body color noted in some of the domestic queensware recovered from archaeological excavations and described in other articles in this issue.

Financial Difficulties

On 7 September 1812, an announcement was published for the annual shareholder meeting to be held at Muzzy’s house in Middlebury (*Washingtonian* 1812b). It is unclear what financial information was provided to the shareholders at the meeting. That same year, Muzzy sent an appeal to Congressman Abijah Bigelow, “[a]sking him to use his influence to obtain financial backing for the company, either from public funds or from private sources” (Frelinghuysen 1989: 11). The company experienced a setback on 28 January 1813, when John Muzzy died “of a consumption” at age 34 (*Vermont Mirror* 1813a). By June, Muzzy’s estate was under examination and “represented [as] insolvent” (*Vermont Mirror* 1813b).

On 15 February 1815, a notice was placed in the *Vermont Mirror* for the public auction of all real estate and personal property of John

Muzzy, Esq., “together with reversion of the widow’s dower.” Also offered for sale among Muzzy’s possessions were “more than 100 shares in the Monkton Argil Company stock” (*Vermont Mirror* 1815b). Based on the original estimate of 500 shares to establish the company, this figure suggests that Muzzy held 20% of the stock at the time of his death. The mention of the sale of stock seems to imply that the company was still in business at that date.

William B. Martin, administrator for John Muzzy’s estate, published a notice in September 1815 announcing a court action against Monkton Argil Company. The action centered on a bill of exchange from 28 December 1810, in the amount of \$76.34, and three promissory notes “payable on demand with interest” totaling \$1,150 and dated 25 April 1811. The action was postponed in June, as the defendant was said to be “absent from the state.” The plaintiff was ordered to publish its declaration prior to the next court date, set for 2 December (*Vermont Mirror* 1815a). No further newspaper notices or court documents have been found for the Monkton Argil Company to date. It is not known whether the firm was successful in the manufacture of queensware for the local market.

The First Crockery Ware Factory and “Monkton Yard,” Jaffrey, New Hampshire

While researching the Monkton Argil Company, the authors discovered a related attempt in the neighboring state of New Hampshire. The “First Crockery Ware Factory” was established in Jaffrey, New Hampshire, by Samuel Dakins and several other citizens of the town (Secretary of State 1920: 218). In June 1813, an “Act to Incorporate a Crockery Ware Factory in New Hampshire” was passed (*Farmer’s Cabinet* 1813). The incorporation of this new firm occurred only six months after John Muzzy’s death. Dakin had previously held and may have continued to fill the post of treasurer

for the Monkton Argil Company. In establishing a new firm in Jaffrey, New Hampshire, it appears that Dakin was attempting to rescue himself from financial ruin and probably distance himself from any liability for the failed venture in Vermont.

Clay Source

"The company was incorporated and authorized to purchase and hold mines of white clay to the value of six thousand dollars and personal estate in the factory to ten thousand dollars" (Watkins 1950: 115). As the only survivor of the three original proprietors of the Monkton Argil Company, Dakin appears to have arranged for the transport of a substantial quantity of Monkton clay to Jaffrey for use in his new pottery establishment. In 1938, the *Fitchburg Sentinel* ran a brief article exploring "[t]he origin of 'Monkton Yard,' a name that has adhered to a plot of land in Jaffrey Center village for a century and a quarter. ... White clay was teamed from Monkton, Vt., to the Jaffrey factory, and someone began to call the factory grounds the Monkton Yard" (Anonymous 1938).

Potters

In September 1813, the firm placed an advertisement in the *New Hampshire Sentinel*: "One or two ingenious young men may find constant employment and generous wages at the business of Turning in the Crockery Ware Factory in Jaffrey. Apply at said Factory" (*New Hampshire Sentinel* 1813). Two potters were recorded in the poll tax the following year and identified as John Wight (Wright) of Dublin, New Hampshire, and Jonathan B. French from Troy, New Hampshire (Watkins 1950: 115). Lura Woodside Watkins asserted that "the men who had undertaken to experiment with it at Jaffrey were entirely unskilled in the production of the finer

kinds of earthenware." She concluded they were too young and inexperienced to produce fine earthenware. "Wight was only twenty-two and French still at the beginning of his career, and that neither of them had had any further training than they could have obtained in country redware potteries, it is no wonder that the affair was not a success" (Watkins 1950: 115).

Fuel

One additional newspaper notice documents that the pottery was fueled by wood. In May 1814, the *Sentinel* ran a "notice to Wood Choppers ... one or two hundred cords of sound hemlock, spruce, or white pine wood, well split, and dry, will be wanted at the Crockery Ware Factory in Jaffrey in the course of the following summer and winter. Apply to superintendent at Factory" (Watkins 1950: 115).

Short-Lived Venture

According to Watkins, the pottery operated for about three years. "In order to avert financial loss, it seems to have turned to the production of common redware: several specimens owned locally are red earthenware and not white crockery" (Watkins 1950: 115). Another possibility is that they produced both types of ware like their contemporaries in the Philadelphia area.

A brief biography of Samuel Dakin from *History of the Town of Jaffrey* states: "He with others, attempted the manufacture of crockery ware, from clay found in Monkton, Vt. The enterprise failed, and Mr. Dakin left town" (Cutter 1881: 297). Although the exact date of the closure of the pottery is not known, this source states that Dakin left Jaffrey in 1815.

With the closure of the factory, "Jonathan French returned to Troy," and in partnership with Solomon Goddard "leased a potshop built in 1812 by Daniel E. Farrar" (Watkins 1950: 116). John Wight filed a suit against the Crockery Ware Company in 1816 after moving back to Dublin (Watkins 1950: 115). The details

of the suit provide the last period reference to the factory:

John Wright v. The First Crockery Ware Company. Cheshire, October term 1818 ... work and labor estimated at two hundred and eleven dollars and fourteen cents. At the trial it appeared that on 17 March 1815 the defendants being indebted to the plaintiff upon an account, in the sum of two hundred and eleven dollars and fourteen cents, one Samuel Dakin, an agent of the corporation, settled the demand with the plaintiff, and gave him his own negotiable note which wherefore was accepted by the plaintiff. Dakin charged the amount in his account current against the defendants, and it was allowed him in an adjustment of their concerns. Dakin having become insolvent, the plaintiff was unable to obtain payment from him. There was a verdict for the defendants, by consent, subject to the opinion of the court. ... The plaintiff accepted the note of Dakin for the amount of this demand, by which the defendants were induced to leave in the hands of Dakin sufficient to pay the note. Dakin has become insolvent, and if the plaintiff can prevail in this action the defendants will, in effect, be compelled, not on account of any default or neglect on their part, but by the act of the plaintiff, to pay the debt twice. This would be most manifestly unjust, and there must be judgment on the verdict. (Proffatt 1910: 68, 69)

Another account revealed that the amount of Dakin's note was "for 228 dollars 76 cents, in which said sum of 211 dollars and 14 cents was included" (Adams 1819: 281). Dakin's departure from Jaffrey, along with continued financial difficulties and the influx of English wares at this time, appears to have ended the venture.

Both of these potteries appear to have operated in a limited capacity and for a short period of time. It is not clear how successful either pottery was in the production of queensware or some other type of domestic pottery. The available information on these two potteries reiterates the difficulties encountered in attempting to finance this type of venture.

Advertised Queensware Vessel Forms

During the course of this research, the authors compiled a list of the different vessel forms identified with specific potteries in period advertisements and accounts (TAB. 2).

Most of this information refers to the potteries in the vicinity of Philadelphia, although it also includes the forms advertised by Alexander Trotter in Pittsburgh after his departure from the Columbian Pottery. The last column of this table identifies known queensware vessel forms from the archaeological sites discussed in other articles in this issue, as well as a few extant examples illustrated in yellow ware collector's guides.

Conclusions

Economic, political, and technological conditions in the early 19th century were essential factors in the development of the short-lived domestic queensware industry in the United States. The brief period between 1806 and 1815, and the disruptions caused by the Non-Importation Act, Jefferson's embargo, and the War of 1812 fostered the development of American manufacturing by curtailing the availability of English and European products. By the end of 1815, manufactured goods from England and Europe again flooded the markets of the eastern seaboard and dampened the zeal for American-made products. Despite the efforts of Seixas in Philadelphia, Trotter in Pittsburgh, and Rotch in Kendal, Ohio, the production of American queensware declined by the second decade of the 19th century.

None of the accounts discovered to date provide a complete description of the process from the establishment of a new pottery through to the successful manufacture and marketing of domestic queensware. It is by piecing together the partial descriptions and surviving correspondence that details emerge that aid in defining the various aspects of this industry as it developed at different establishments.

Binny and Ronaldson's public appeals for clay and the letters they received in response provide information on the availability of natural resources and their use in early manufacturing endeavors. Mullowny marketed his Washington ware in detailed newspaper advertisements that identify a wide variety of

Table 2. American Queensware Vessel Forms from Dated Sources.

| Vessel forms | Vickers Chester Co., PA 1809* | Columbian Phila., PA 1810† | Washington Phila., PA 1811†† | Washington ads: DE, NY, MD 1813§ | Trotter & Co. Pittsburgh, PA 1815** | Documented vessel forms |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|---|---|
| baking dishes | | x | | x | x | |
| basons/basins | | x | | x | | Kutys et al. †† |
| bowls | 4 sizes | | x | x | x | Cress et al., Kutys et al. †† |
| butter | | | | boats & coolers | tubs | |
| candle sticks | | | | x | | |
| chambers | "jordans" | | x | x | x | Miller, Sebestyn, Cress et al., Magid †† |
| coffee pots | 3 pt. | x | x | black, red and yellow | x | |
| creams | 2 sizes | | pots | x | | |
| cups | | | | & saucer | chocolate, coffee, tea | Miller, Sebestyn, Cress et al. †† |
| egg cups | | | | x | | Sebestyn ††, McAllister 1997: 58 |
| ewers | | x | | x | x | |
| funnels | | | | x | | |
| garden pots | boquatts | | | x | | |
| goblets | | | | x | x | |
| jars | | | | x | | |
| jellies | | | | x | | |
| jugs | | all sizes | | | "Dutch" | |

(*=Vickers' Day Book; †=Democratic Press 1810a: 3; †† =Potulson's American DailyAdvertiser 1811: 3; §=American Watchman Delaware 1813: 4, Baltimore Patriot 1813: 1, Commercial Advertiser 1813: 3; **=Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette 1815a: 3; †† =articles this volume).

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|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|---|--|
| jugs plain & ornamented | | x | | | | |
| milk pans | | | | x | | |
| mugs | pt. & qt. | | | porter | | McAllister & Michel V. 1 2003:48 |
| mustards | | | | x | | |
| oval dishes | | | | x | | |
| peppers | | | | x | | |
| pitchers | | x | | | x | Sebestyen, Cress et al. †† |
| variety of sizes | x | | x | x | | |
| plates | | | | large, breakfast | | Sebestyen, Cress et al., Janowitz and Morganstein †† |
| relish plates | | | | x | | |
| salt | cups | | | x | | Miller †† |
| shapes/shupes | | | | x | | |
| sugar dishes/basons | 2 sizes | | x | x | x | McAllister 1997: 92 |
| teapots | x | x | x | x | x | |
| toys | | | | x | | |
| tumblers | | | | x | | |
| tureens | | | | x | | |
| wash basins | | | x | | x | |
| wine coolers | | x | | x | | |

(*=Vickers' Day Book; †=Democratic Press 1810a: 3; †† =Poulson's American DailyAdvertiser 1811: 3; §=American Watchman Delaware 1813: 4; Baltimore Patriot 1813: 1, Commercial Advertiser 1813: 3; **=Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette 1815a: 3; †† =articles this volume).

vessel forms, as well as potential markets beyond Philadelphia. Although lacking in some details, the published account of the Seixas pottery describes technical aspects, such as the preparation of the clay. The correspondence between Thomas Vickers in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and Thomas Rotch in Kendal, Ohio, confirms the use of plaster-of-paris molds modeled directly from English pieces and the widespread use of lathes in the manufacture of American queensware.

Various accounts also point to the difficulties encountered in efforts to produce American queensware. Several proprietors expressed their inability to attract and keep trained potters as the most significant problem encountered by the industry. The financial investment required to establish and maintain production was also a limiting factor, as illustrated by Vickers and Lacour, as well as the efforts in Vermont and New Hampshire.

A surprising aspect of this research was the discovery, in the correspondence, of cooperation between individuals involved in these ventures. In one of his letters Vickers proposed sending his son, Ziba, to help Rotch with the initial production in Ohio. Seixas offered to form and fire vessels if Rotch would send samples of the Ohio clay.

The search for queensware establishments beyond Philadelphia provided the opportunity to explore the activities of two of the known potters, Charleton (Charlton) and Trotter. James Charleton had a role in establishing two potteries in Charlestown, Virginia, prior to his appearance in Philadelphia at both the Columbian and Washington potteries. After leaving the Columbian Pottery, Alexander Trotter went on to establish two queensware potteries in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Domestic queensware is being identified on a growing number of archaeological sites in Philadelphia and the surrounding region, as well as on contemporary sites in New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia. Despite the brief manufacturing period for American queensware, sufficient quantities were produced by the

potteries in Philadelphia to warrant establishing warehouses where the vessels were offered wholesale and retail. Domestic queensware was transported long distances overland and by ship to supply the growing demand for refined earthenware. Documentary evidence reveals that additional attempts were made to establish queensware manufactories in other parts of the country during the same period. Examples of queensware from these potteries might be anticipated on contemporary sites or awaiting discovery in previously curated collections.

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