

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM
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PAPER 54

THE "POOR POTTER" OF YORKTOWN

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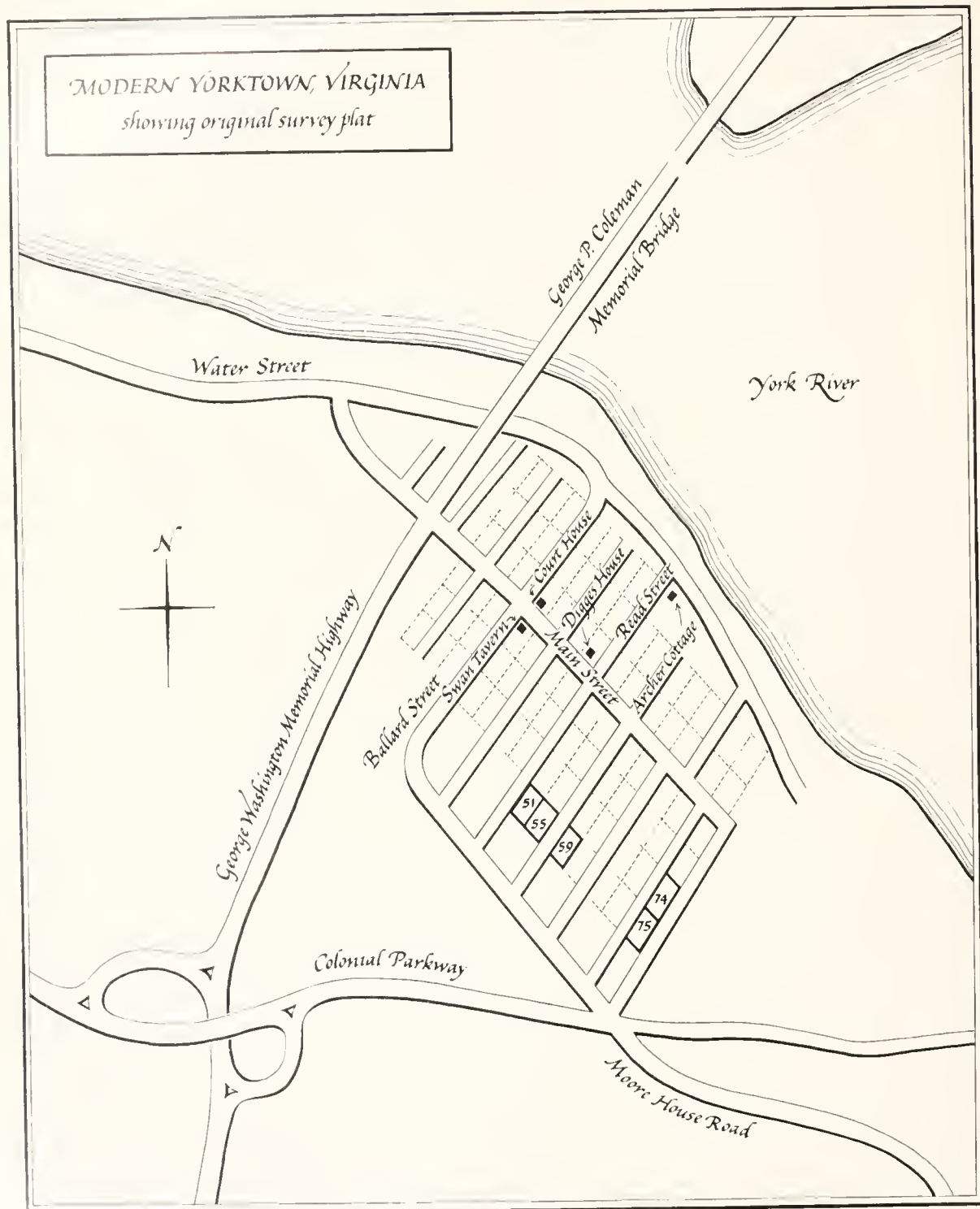


Figure 1.—MODERN YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA, showing original survey plat on which William Rogers' name appears on lots 51 and 55. Additional properties which he acquired are mentioned in his will as lots 59, 74, and 75.

The "Poor Potter" of Yorktown

Pottery making in colonial Virginia, strongly discouraged by a mercantilistic England, seemingly was almost nonexistent according to the Governor's reports which mention but one nameless "poor potter" at Yorktown, whose wares are dismissed as being low in quantity and quality. This paper, the combined effort of a historian and an archeologist, provides evidence that the Yorktown potter was neither poor nor nameless, that his ware was of sufficient quantity and quality to offer competition to English imports, and that official depreciation of his economic importance apparently was deemed politic by the colonial Governor.

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Part I: Documentary Record

C. Malcolm Watkins

In his annual reports on manufactures to the Lords of the Board of Trade during the 1730s, Virginia's royal governor, William Gooch, mentioned several times an anonymous "poor potter" of Yorktown. At face value, Gooch's reports might seem to indicate that manufacturing was an insignificant factor in Virginia's economy and that the only pottery-making endeavor worth mentioning at all was so trivial it could be brushed aside as being almost, if not quite, unworthy of notice. Occasionally, historians have

selected one or another of these references to the "poor potter" to support the view either that manufacturing was negligible in colonial Virginia or that ceramic art was limited to the undeveloped skills of a frontier potter.¹ The recent development of archeology, how-

¹ For example: THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER, *The Old South, The Founding of American Civilization* (New York: Scribner's, 1942), p. 263; J. PAUL HUDSON, "Earliest Yorktown Pottery," *Antiques* (May 1958), vol. 73, pp. 472-473.

ever, as an adjunct of research in cultural history—especially in the historic areas of Jamestown, Williamsburg, and Yorktown—has produced substantial evidence challenging both the accuracy of Gooch's reports and the conclusions drawn from them, which, contrary to Gooch's statements, proves that pottery making in Yorktown was highly skilled and much at odds with the concept of a "poor potter."

The observation that a remarkably developed ceramic enterprise had been conducted in or near Yorktown was first made by Mr. Noël Hume, the archeologist partner of this paper, in 1956 when he identified fragments of saggers used in firing stoneware, which were excavated in association with numerous stoneware waster sherds and a group of unglazed earthenware sherds of good quality at the site of the Swan Tavern in Yorktown.² The question naturally arose, could these expertly made wares have come from the kilns of the "poor potter"? Although ultimate proof is still lacking, identification with him is sufficiently well supported by documentary and artifactual hints that—until further scientific findings are forthcoming—it is presented here as a hypothesis that the "poor potter" did indeed make them. This portion of the paper considers not only the specifics of artifacts and documents, but also the state of manufactures in Virginia before 1750 and their relationship to the character and attitudes of Governor Gooch.

The Crown and Colonial Manufacture

It should be noted that, in general, the history of pottery making in colonial America is fragmentary and inconclusive. Scattered documents bear hints of potters and their activities, and occasional archeological deposits contain the broken sherds and other material evidence of potters' products. Difficulty in obtaining information about early pottery manufacture may be related in large part to a reluctance on the part of the colonists to reveal evidence of manufacturing activity to the Crown authorities. It was the established principle of the Mother Country to integrate the colonial economy into her mercantile system, which was run primarily for her own benefit. As a consequence, there increasingly developed a contest

between those who sought to protect English manufactures by discouraging production of colonial goods and those who, in America, tried to enlarge colonial self-sufficiency, the latter inevitably resorting to evasion and suppression of evidence in order to gain their advantage.

The outlines of this struggle are suggested in the laws and official reports relating to colonial manufactures. In Virginia, during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, influential landowners encouraged manufactures as a way to offset the dominance of tobacco in the colony, while several acts were passed in the Virginia Assembly to establish official port towns which, it was thought, would result in flourishing craft communities. Although, for a variety of reasons inherent in Virginia's economy and geography, most of these failed, the acts nonetheless were consistently opposed by the Crown authorities. The 1704 Act for Ports and Towns, for example, was vetoed by the Crown in 1709 for the following reasons:

The whole Act is designed to Encourage by great Privileges the settling in Townships, and such settlements will encourage their going on with the Woolen and other Manufactures there. And should this Act be Confirmed, the Establishing of Towns and Incorporating of the Planters as intended thereby, will put them upon further Improvements of the said manufactures, and take them off from the Planting of Tobacco, which would be of very ill consequence, not only in respect to the Exports of our Woolen and other Goods and Consequently to the Dependence that Colony ought to have on this Kingdom, but likewise in respect to the Importation of Tobacco hither for the home and Foreign Consumption, Besides a further Prejudice in relation to our shipping and navigation.³

This forthright exposition of official English attitudes reiterated the policy of colonial economic dependence. The wording of the veto—"encourage their *going on* with the Woolen and other Manufactures" and "a *further* Prejudice in relation to our shipping" [*italics supplied*—shows that the dangers feared by the Board of Trade regarding the establishment of towns had already become a reality and a threat to English economic policy.

Victor S. Clark, in *The History of Manufactures in*

² This material is located in the collection of the Colonial National Historical Park, Jamestown, Virginia.

³ "Reasons for Repealing the Acts pass'd in Virginia and Maryland relating to Ports and Towns," *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts*, edit. William P. Palmer (Richmond, 1875), vol. I, pp. 137-138.

the United States, points out that the colonists passed so many laws to encourage their own manufactures "that such British intervention as occurred must be regarded rather as indicating the passive disposition of the home government than as defining an administrative policy vigorously carried out."⁴ Nevertheless, from 1700 until the Revolution, reports on American manufactures made by royal governors to the Board of Trade demonstrate not only that the Americans were vigorously promoting manufactures but also that they were being evasive and secretive in doing so in the face of official disapproval. The Board of Trade reported in 1733: "It is not improbable that some former governors of our colonies . . . may, in breach of their instructions, have given their concurrence to laws, or have connived for many years at the practice of trades prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain . . ."⁵ Governor Belcher of Massachusetts in his report to the Board of Trade complained that "we cannot conceal from your lordships that it is with the greatest difficulty we are able to procure true informations of the trade and manufactures of New England; which will not appear extraordinary when we acquaint your lordship, that the assembly of the Massachusetts Bay had the boldness to summon . . . Mr. Jeremiah Dunbar [Surveyor General of his Majesty's woods in North America] before them and pass a severe censure upon him, for having given evidence at the bar of the House of Commons of Great Britain with respect to the trade and manufactures of this province . . ."⁶

After the Port Act of 1704 was disallowed, the Virginians were harder pressed than the northern colonists, who managed to maintain their frowned-upon industries. Ignoring the Virginians' resentment at being limited almost exclusively to the growing of tobacco, additional economic pressures were put upon them. For example, whereas stripped tobacco—the leaves separated from the stalks—had constituted the principal form of exported tobacco, an Act of Parliament was introduced on January 17, 1729, containing clauses prohibiting the importation into England of "Strip Tobacco." John Randolph, Clerk of the Council of Virginia, wrote a letter to Parliament, petitioning the repeal of the clause. By

having to export the stalks, he complained, the planters

are loaded with the duty and Freight of that which is not only of no Value, but depreciates the pure tobacco at least 200 every pound. The Tobacconists are under a temptation to manufacture the Stalk and mingle it with the leaf, where the Commodity is adulterated, and of course the constitution of it is lessend. And the Merchants are oblig'd to keep great quantities in their Warehouses, and at last to sell upon long Credit. In consequence of which the price of the Planters Labors, is fallen below what they are able to bear. And unless they can be relieved, they must be driven to a necessity of Employing themselves more usefully in Manufactures of Woollen and Linen, as they are not able under the present circumstances to buy what is Necessary for their Cloathing, in this Kingdom . . .⁷

Although the usual covering phrase, "other manufactures," was omitted here, it could well have been included. Under such adverse restraints, enterprising Virginians were almost forced to turn to surreptitious manufacturing; perhaps the restraints became excellent excuses for pursuing such manufactures, which, perhaps, were in any case inevitable.

Relief came by 1730 with the passage of a new tobacco act, liberalizing the restrictions on the planters. Meanwhile, in 1727, William Gooch was appointed Lieutenant Governor and, owing in part to his political astuteness and sympathetic awareness of the colonists' difficulties, the lot of the planter was greatly improved. Nevertheless, manufacturing persisted as the colonists increased in strength and numbers. Although official restrictions may have been a perverse encouragement to manufactures, the dynamics of a growing population in a new country predetermined even more an expansion of enterprise. Not only did economic depression force the industrious to turn to manufactures as an alternative to poverty, but economic prosperity, when it occurred in the 1730s, provided a financial stimulus to further that prosperity by means of local manufacturing.

Governor Gooch doubtlessly understood this. He was remarkable among Virginia's colonial governors for his ability to achieve what the colonists wanted while pleasing the home government. His administration created an era of good feeling during which the Virginians frequently expressed their gratitude and praise. In 1728, after serving as Governor for seven

⁴ VICTOR S. CLARK, *The History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860* (Washington, D.C.: The Carnegie Institution, 1916), pp. 26-27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁷ Library of Congress Transcripts: Great Britain, Public Records Office, Colonial Office 5, vol. 1322, p. 183.

months, he was given £500 by the Assembly as well as an illegal grant by the Council of £300 from the royal quit-rents, which led George Chalmers, an English historian, to comment sourly in 1782 that for this gift "he in return resigned in a great measure, the government to them."⁸

This was not altogether a fair conclusion, for, though Gooch, as Campbell in his *History of Virginia* states, may have been possessed of "some flexibility of principle,"⁹ he was an extraordinarily successful Governor. Percy S. Flippin concluded that Gooch "was a striking example of what an energetic, forceful royal governor, who was influenced by conditions in the colony and not altogether by his instructions, could accomplish, both for the colony and for the British government."¹⁰ He repeatedly acted in the interests of the colonists, particularly regarding improved tobacco laws. He attended almost every meeting of the Council, whose members constituted the most influential persons in the colony, and thus established a close working relationship and understanding with those who expressed the colonial viewpoint. Quite evidently he understood that prosperity in the colony was a prerequisite to successful trade with England and to a substantial tax return. In respect to improving the tobacco laws, we know that he opposed existing British attitudes; in relation to colonial manufactures beneficial to colonial prosperity, we may assume that he was sympathetic, even though he could not advocate them openly. Certainly, as Campbell stated, "Owing partly to this coalition [between Gooch and the planters], partly to a well-established revenue and a rigid economy, Virginia enjoyed prosperous repose during his long administration."¹¹

Gooch's reports on manufactures to the Board of Trade provide an exercise in reading between the lines. They suggest that he was doing his best to support the colonists while observing the letter of the Crown's instructions. They allude to manufactures here and there, but usually in terms that minimize

their importance or that brush aside the possibilities of their growth. Yet in his depreciations one senses that while he was trying to state such facts as were necessary, he actually was trying on occasion to create an impression that was at variance with the whole truth. In tracing the Yorktown potter we shall see that this must have been the case.

In his report of 1732 he made a general statement calculated to allow the Lords of the Board of Trade to relax in calm reassurance, while at the same time encouraging their recognition of his wisdom in initiating a new tobacco law:

There hath been much Discourse amongst the common People of Sowing Flax and Cotton, and therewith supplying themselves with Cloathing: but since the late Tobacco Law hath begun to raise the Price of that Staple, all these projected Schemes are laid aside, and in all probability will Continue so, as long as Tobacco is of any Value, seeing the necessary Cloathing for the Planters and their Negroes, may be more easily Purchas'd with Tobacco than made by themselves. Nor indeed is there much ground to suspect that any kind of Manufactures will prevail in a Country where handycraft Labour is so dear as 'Tis Here; The Heat in Summer, and severe Colds in Winter, accompani'd with sundry Diseases proceeding from these Causes, such as Labouring People in Great Britain undergo, and where the Earth produces enough to purchase and supply all the necessities of life without the drudgery of much Toil, men are tempted to be lazy.

He then added inconsistently that four ironworks making pots and "Backs for Fireplaces" had been set up in Virginia and admitted that one even included an air furnace. The Lords of the Board of Trade might well have asked how these were accomplished without "the drudgery of much Toil."

He also stated that: "there is one poor Potter's work of course earthen Ware, which is of so little Consequence, that I dare say there hath not been twenty Shilings worth less of that Commodity imported since it was sett up than there was before."¹² It is remarkable that Gooch felt the need to mention the potter at all, since pottery making was usually an anonymous, little-noted craft. Nevertheless, in 1733 he reported again on this seemingly insignificant enterprise:

As to Manufactures sett up, Wee have at York Town upon York River one poor Potter's Work for Earthen Ware, which is so very inconsiderable that I dare Say

⁸ PERCY SCOTT FLIPPIN, "William Gooch: Successful Royal Governor of Virginia," *William & Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (1926), ser. 2, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 37-38; FLIPPIN, *The Royal Government in Virginia (1624-1775)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919), pp. 124 ff.

⁹ CHARLES CAMPBELL, *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1810), p. 448.

¹⁰ FLIPPIN (1926), op. cit. (footnote 8), p. 38.

¹¹ CAMPBELL, op. cit. (footnote 9), p. 444.

¹² Library of Congress Transcripts: Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5, vol. 1323, p. 82.

there has not been forty Shillings' worth less of that Commodity imported since it was Erected than there was before; the poorest Familys being the only Consumers, who not being able to send to England for such Things would do without them, if they could not gett them Here.¹³

Clearly, we, like the Lords of the Board of Trade, are led to believe that a semiskilled country potter was operating a small shop which produced crude pottery incapable of competing with English wares. The word "poor" can be interpreted doubly, connoting both poverty and low quality. Hence, by inference, it was an enterprise destined to failure. But such an impression of failure was not supported by Gooch's own evidence that the pottery works were continuing year after year. In 1734 he reported:

As to Manufactures We have at York Town, on York River, one poor Potters' work for earthen Ware, which is so very inconsiderable, that there has been little less of that Commodity imported since it was Erected, than there was before.¹⁴

The 1735 report was equally depreciating,¹⁵ while the following year Gooch opened his report with the comment: "The same poor Potter's Work is still continued at York Town without any great Improvement or Advantage to the Owner, or any Injury to the Trade of Great Britain."¹⁶

The 1737 report on Trade and Manufactures even contained a special subheading: "Potters' Work." There then followed: "The Potter continues his Business (at York Town in this Colony) of making Potts and Pannns, with very little Advantage to himself, and without any dammage to Trade."¹⁷ One wonders why Gooch's persistence in mentioning this enterprise in such terms almost annually did not lead the Board of Trade to question his reasons for mentioning it at all if the pottery was so insignificant. Perhaps they did question it, because in the next report, filed in 1739 after a two-year interval, Gooch dismissed the pottery succinctly, almost impatiently, as though to turn aside further questions that might be raised: "The poor Potter's Operation is unworthy of your Lordships notice." Gooch then proceeded with an admission that:

The Common People in all Parts of the Colony, and indeed many of the better Sort, are lately gott into the use of Loom Weaving coarse cloth for themselves and their Families. And our Inhabitants on the other side of the River, make very good Linnen which they sell up and down the Country. Nor is the making of Shoes with the Leather of their own Tanning less practiced, tho' the Leather is somewhat different.¹⁸

It was easier, of course, to admit that the "common People in all Parts of the Colony" were engaged in domestic manufactures than to allow attention to concentrate on a single commercial, industrial enterprise. Only with difficulty could sanctions have been brought to bear against home industries throughout the colony—a single manufactory reported almost annually for eight years was quite another matter. To have lasted this long, the "poor potter" must have been less than poor, and his pottery must have had an importance that either had to be revealed by truthful statement or dissimulated. It appears that Gooch chose the latter course: the pottery being a large enterprise was noticeable; being noticeable it had to be reported; but being large it contributed to the wealth of the colony while competing with British imports which did not, and therefore it should be condoned. Gooch made a practical decision which may reflect his obligation to the colonists: the pottery works had to be downgraded in his reports and attention distracted from it.

The "Poor Potter" and his Wares

Who, then, was the "poor potter," and how wide of the mark was Gooch in so designating him?

The first clue was found in a ledger kept between 1725 and 1732 by John Mercer, who was to become master of the plantation Marlborough in Stafford County as well as an influential colonial lawyer. In 1725, at the age of 21, Mercer was making his way in the world by trading up and down the rivers of Virginia, buying imported goods in towns like Yorktown, where he had a large account with the wealthy merchant Richard Ambler, and exchanging these imports for raw materials at upstream plantations. Included in John Mercer's ledger is an account with one William Rogers having the following entry: "By Earthen Ware amounting to by Invoice

¹³ Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 189.

¹⁵ Ibid., vol. 1324, p. 3.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 30-31.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁸ Ibid., vol. 1323, p. 63.

12. 3. 6." ¹⁹ So large an amount implies a wholesale purchase from a potter. Was William Rogers, then, the "poor potter" of Yorktown?

Scattered throughout the records are references to several William Rogerses from 17th- and 18th-century Virginia (see Appendix I), but none seems likely to refer to the "poor potter" until one reaches Yorktown. There a deed is recorded from the "Trustees to the Port Land in Yorktown," granting two lots of land on May 19, 1711, to "William Rogers aforesaid Brewer." ²⁰ That he was a brewer admittedly is a

¹⁹ C. MALCOLM WATKINS, *The Cultural History of Marlborough, Virginia*, (Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology, U.S. National Museum Bulletin 253), Washington: Smithsonian Institution, in press.

²⁰ York County Records: Deeds & Bonds, vol. 2, 1701-1713, p. 365 (In York County Courthouse, Yorktown, Va.).

weak clue to his being a potter. But, despite this, it is necessary to pursue this William Rogers further. These two lots were granted to Rogers by the Trustees in accordance with previous acts for establishing port towns. Yorktown had been established according to the Act for Ports and Towns in 1691, and Rogers' lots were numbers 51 and 55 (see plat, fig. 1), lying contiguously on the northern border of the town between Read and Nelson Streets. To this day they continue to bear the same numbers.

For year after year nothing appears in the York County records to indicate that William Rogers was connected even remotely with a pottery works. That he was soon prospering as a brewer is suggested by the mention of "Roger's [sic] best Virg^a aile," as selling at sixpence per quart, in a list of liquor prices presented for Yorktown tavern keepers on March 19,



Figure 2. MAJOR LAWRENCE SMITH'S ORIGINAL SURVEY PLAT of Yorktown, Virginia, made according to the Virginia Port Act of 1691, which set up a port town for each county. This plat, still in the York County records, bears the names of successive lot holders from 1691 on into the 18th century. William Rogers' name appears on lots 51 and 55. He was granted this property by the town feoffees in 1711. Additional properties he acquired are mentioned in his will as lots 59, 74, and 75.

1711.²¹ In 1714 an indentured woman servant of Rogers ran away and was ordered to serve an additional six months and four days.²² His name occurs in 1718 in two small court actions to collect bad debts and in another against Robert Minge for trespass. He is recorded in these simply as "Wm. Rogers."²³

²¹ York County Records, Book 14: *Orders & Wills*, 1716-1720.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 307, 317, 357, 386, 394, 439.

²³ York County Records, Book 17: *Orders, Wills, &c.*, 1729-1732, p. 136.

There is no other significant mention until 1730, when the wife of "William Stark, Gent." relinquished her right of dower to lands in the County, so as to permit their sale to "William Rogers."²⁴ Later in the same year "Mr. Wm. Rogers" was sued by Henry Ham, a bondservant, for his freedom.²⁵ In 1734

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

²⁵ York County Records, Book 13: *Orders, Wills, & Inventories*, p. 15.

LIST OF PLAT OWNERS

—PARTIAL NAME

* ILLEGIBLE

1. Thomas *; W—
2. Neillson; Buckner
3. John Ande—; Buckner
4. (?) Th[r]e[l]keld
5. (?) Q[u]arl[e]; Read; Buckner
6. John *; Buckner
7. Henry Alexander; P. Lightfoot
8. Thomas Greenwood; J. Walker; (?) Amos *
9. Robert L[e]ighton; Sam. Cooper
10. Mr. Joseph; Mr. J. Walker
11. Ralph *; Lightfoot
12. *; Wm. Cary
13. (?) Owen; David
14. Robert Moore; Wm. Cary
15. William Webb; Jn^o. Trotter
16. Mr. Thomas; Lightfoot
17. Mr. Dudley Diggs; Lightfoot
18. *; Wm. Cary
19. Thomas Collyer; Wm. Cary
20. Thomas Branson; Wm. Cary
21. Nicholas Harrison; Robt. Ballard
22. Thomas *
23. *
24. Jefferson
25. (?) Charles Hansford
26. William Tomkins
27. James Archer; John (?) Douglas
28. *
29. Sam^l. Tompson
30. John R—
31. Will[ia]m Pattison
32. Thomas (?) Wootton; A. Archer
33. Mr. Edw^d. Moss Jr.; *; Jn^o Loving
34. Capt. *
35. Capt. Edmond Jennings
36. Coll. W^m. Diggs; Lightfoot
37. Thomas Mountford; Lightfoot
38. Richard Trotter; P. Lightfoot
39. John Wyth; Jn^o. Martin
40. Richard (?) Trotter
41. David *
42. John *; Diggs
43. Dannth. Taylor
44. Edward Dodds; (?) Jo. Cathafie
45. William Hewit
46. *
47. *
48. Coll. W^m. Cary; 1709
49. James (?) Plowman; 1712
50. Jn^o. Simson; Edw^d. Powers
51. W^m. (?) Anderson; Wm. Rogers
52. *
53. Will[ia]m—son; Edw^d. Smith
54. Edward (?) Gibbs; Ballard
55. James Walker; Wm. Rogers
56. *
57. *; Jn^o. —ton
58. Harrison
59. Harrison
60. Mrs. Young
61. Mrs. Young
62. Let to Morrison; Tho. H—
63. Robt. Morrison (?) Jr.
64. *
65. Edw^d. Power
66. Ed Power
- 67 and 71. — Gibbons
67. Deed; Geo. Allen
68. Edward * *
69. Jn^o. Wyth; Edw^d. Webb
70. A. Archer; James (?) Paxton; N. Hooke
- 71 and 67. — Gibbons
71. Geo. Allen
72. *
73. Edward Fuller
74. *
75. *

"William Rogers gent" took oath as "Capt. of the Troop."²⁶ Later that year "William Rogers gent" was appointed "Surveyor of the Landings, Streets, and Cosways in York Town."²⁷

In the *Virginia Gazette* for September 10, 1736, Rogers advertised for rent or sale "The House which formerly belong'd to Col Jennings, in which the *Bristol* store was lately kept . . . in Williamsburg," and on December 22 put in a notice for an overseer.²⁸ The following year, on June 20, Rogers was appointed to build the county prison for £160.²⁹ In the *Gazette* for May 4, 1739, he announced the sale of "A small shallop . . . in York Town: she is about Five Years old" ³⁰

Then, on December 17, 1739, we find that Rogers had died and that his will was presented in court. He had identified himself as "Wm. Rogers . . . Merchant." The will lists the distribution of his lands and property (see Appendix II) to his wife Theodosia, to one daughter, Mrs. Susanna Reynolds, and to his son William Rogers—the latter being under age. In addition to town properties a "Trace of parcel of Land lying & being and adjoining to Mountford's Mill Dam in the County of York commonly called & known by the Name of Tarripin Point" went to William Rogers, Jr.³¹

It is only when we arrive at this document that we find the clue we are seeking: "my interest is that no potters ware not burnt and fit for sale should be appraised." Who but a potter (or the owner of a pottery) would have had in his possession unfired "potters ware" not "fit for sale"?

Any remaining doubts that Rogers operated a pottery are dispelled by the inventory (see Appendix III), which describes the estate of a wealthy man, not a "poor" potter. He owned 29 Negroes, considerable

plate, a clock worth £6, a silver-hilted sword and spurs, and a silver watch. There were many pictures, including "a Neat Picture of King Charles the Second" and "52 pictures in the Hall." Some of the rooms had "Window Curtains & Vallins," and one of the beds had "work'd Curtains & Vallins" [presumably crewel-worked]. The furniture included a marble table, "12 Chairs with Walnut frames & Cane bottoms," a "japand corner cupboard," "Couch Squab and pillows," "pel Backgammon Tables," and a great deal more of lavish furnishings. But more important for us is a grouping of items: ³²

1 p^r large Scales & Weights £2.10 a pel crakt redware £2
a parcel crakt Stone D^o £5 11 pocket bottles 3/8
½ barrel Gun powder £2.10 1 old Sain & ropes £1.10
1 horse Mill £8 2300 lb. old Iron £9.11. 8
26 doz q^t Mugs £5.4 60 doz p^t D^o 7.10
11 doz Milk pans £2.4 9 large Cream potts 4/6
9 Midle Sized D^o 3/ 12 Small D^o 2/
2 doz red Saucepans 4/ 2 doz porringers 4/
6 Chamber potts 2/ 4 doz bird bottles 12/
3 doz Lamps 9/ 4 doz small stone bottles 6/
4 doz small dishes 8/ 6 doz puding pans 2/
26 Cedar pailles £2.12 40 Bushels Salt £4

With this, added to the provision in the will, we have adequate proof that Rogers ran a pottery shop and that he made both stoneware and red earthenware.

Further evidence is found in the *Virginia Gazette* for February 4, 1740:

To be Sold by Way of Outcry, at the house of Mr. William Rogers, deceas'd . . . all the Household Goods, Cattle, and Horses; also a very good drought of Steers, 3 Carts, a Parcel of Wheat, and Salt, a large Parcel of old Iron, Parcel of Stone and Earthen Ware, a good Worm Still, a very good Horse Mill to go with one Horse; also a new Sloop, built last March with all new Rigging, and very well fitted, with 2 very good Boats and several other Things.³³

The horse mill was probably the potter's traditional clay-grinding mill, while we may assume that the large amount of salt was intended for stoneware glaze. Other items in the inventory show that Rogers was in both the brewing and the distilling business and every evidence is that he had achieved great affluence.

Governor Gooch's last report on the "poor potter"

²⁶ Ibid., p. 121.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 157.

²⁸ LESTER J. CAPPON and STELLA F. DUFI, *Virginia Gazette Index, 1736-1780* (Williamsburg, Va.: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1950); and the *Virginia Gazette, 1736-1780* (Williamsburg, Va.: Issued on microfilm by the Institute of Early American History and Culture from originals loaned by other institutions, 1950), reel 1.

²⁹ EDWARD M. RILEY, "The Colonial Courthouses of York County, Virginia," *William & Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine* (1942), ser. 2 (hereinafter designated *WMQ* 2), vol. 22, pp. 399-401.

³⁰ *Virginia Gazette* microfilm, op. cit. (footnote 28), reel 1.

³¹ York County Records, Book 18: *Orders, Wills, & Inventories*, pp. 525, 537 ff.

³² Ibid., pp. 553 ff.

³³ *Virginia Gazette* microfilm, op. cit. (footnote 28), reel 1.

was filed in 1741 (none having been sent in 1740). In it he stated:

The poor potter is Dead, and the business of making potts & pannels, is of little advantage to his Family, and as little Damage to the Trade of our Mother Country.³⁴

There is little question now that this William Rogers was, indeed, the "poor potter." We also learn from this report that the business was being continued by his family after his death. This is confirmed by a number of documentary clues, the first of which occurs in an indenture of 1741 (proved in 1743 in the York County Deeds). It begins:

I George Rogers of Bra[il]intree in the County of Essex [England] collier Maker Send Greeting. Whereas William Rogers late of Virginia Merch^t was in his life time younger brother to me the said George Rogers and at the time of his death left an Estate to his only son named William Rogers which s^d last mentioned William Rogers dyed lately intestate so that in right of Law the said Estate is devolved & come unto me

This document served to appoint "Thomas Reynolds of London Mariner" as his attorney and to assign to him all his rights in the estate.³⁵

We hear no further of George, suggesting that his claim on the estate was settled permanently, but of Thomas Reynolds we learn a good deal. On June 6, 1737, as captain of the ship *Braxton* of London, he arrived at Yorktown from Boston "where she was lately built." He brought from New England a cargo of 80,000 bricks, "Trayn Oyl," woodenware, and hops.³⁶ It was he who had married Susanna Rogers.³⁷

He sailed to Bristol on September 30, 1737, perhaps to sell or deliver his new ship in England. In any case, he returned from London the following April as master of the ship *Maynard*. He made several crossings in her until he docked her at London on October 10, 1739.³⁸ While there he must have learned of the death of his father-in-law; whether for this reason or some other, his name was no longer

listed among those of shipmasters arriving at and leaving Yorktown. Since he then would have been in effect the head of the family, he probably gave up the sea and settled in Yorktown to manage William Rogers' enterprises, because William, Jr.,—intended to take over the principal family properties upon his coming of age—died within about a year of his father's death. Reynolds, both on his own account as Susanna's husband and as attorney for George Rogers, logically would have succeeded to proprietorship. In any case, by 1745 he was established so successfully at Yorktown that he was made a justice of the peace. At some point he went into partnership with a Captain Charles Seabrook in a mercantile venture that involved ownership of the ocean sloop *Judith* and two "country cutters" named *York* and *Eltham*.³⁹

Reynolds lived next to the Swan Tavern in Yorktown and was characterized by Courtenay Norton, wife of the merchant John Norton, as having "shone in the World in Righteousness."⁴⁰ He died in 1758 or 1759.

That the pottery was being operated, presumably by Reynolds, at least until 1745 is evident from an advertisement by Frances Webb of Williamsburg in the *Virginia Gazette* for June 20, 1745. This called attention to "all Sorts of Rogers' Earthenware as cheap as at York." And, although we have no assurance that the earthenware was made at the Rogers pottery, we learn from the *Gazette* that two days prior to this the sloop *Nancy* had sailed from Yorktown for Maryland, bearing a "Parcel of Earthenware."⁴¹

How long the pottery may have flourished is not known. There is no further mention of it after 1745, and the shipping records do not suggest that earthenware or stoneware products were then being shipped out of York River.

The most significant fact about the "poor potter" is the revelation that he made stoneware. Stoneware manufacture is a sophisticated art, requiring special clays, high-temperature firing, and the ability to use salt in glazing. When William Rogers acquired his first lots in Yorktown in 1711 no stoneware, so far as

³⁴ Library of Congress Transcripts, op. cit. (footnote 12), vol. 1325, p. 83.

³⁵ York County Records, Book 5: *Deeds*, 1741–1754, p. 64.

³⁶ *Virginia Gazette* microfilm, op. cit. (footnote 41), reel 1 (June 17, 1737).

³⁷ *Tyler's Quarterly* (Richmond, Va., 1922), vol. 3, p. 296.

³⁸ *Virginia Gazette* microfilm, op. cit. (footnote 28), reel 1 (Sept. 30, 1737; April 17, 1738; June 23, 1738; July 7, 1738; April 20, 1739; July 13, 1739; Aug. 24, 1739; January 25, 1740).

³⁹ "Reynolds and Rogers," *WMQ* 1 (1905), vol. 13, pp. 128, 129.

⁴⁰ *John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia*, edit. Frances Norton Mason (Richmond, Va.: Dietz, 1937), p. 518.

⁴¹ *Virginia Gazette* microfilm (Parks' *Virginia Gazette*, June 20 and July 4, 1745); I. NOËL HUME, Part II, p. 110.

we know, was being made in North America. By 1725, when Rogers sold earthenware to John Mercer, the Duché family apparently had just succeeded in making stoneware in Philadelphia.⁴² Since we have no documentary evidence of Rogers' first production of stoneware, we do not know whether his stoneware antedated that of the Duchés; we know only that after he died in 1739 numerous pieces of stoneware were listed in what were obviously the effects of his pottery shop. There is strong archeological evidence, however, that it was made about 1730 (see p. 110).

Although Rogers may not have been the first to make stoneware in colonial North America, that he was at least one of the first must have elevated him to a position of prominence among colonial potters. Far from being a poor potter who conducted a business "with very little advantage to himself, and without any damage to Trade," he was supplying a colonial market that heretofore had been filled solely from England and Germany. There is a hint that he may have shipped his wares to North Carolina, because the *Virginia Gazette* announced on September 21, 1739: "Cler'd out of York River . . . September 11. Sloop Thomas and Tryal, of North Carolina, John Nelson, for North Carolina . . . some Stone Ware."⁴³ Three years before, Rogers had sued in court to collect "a Bill Payable to him from one Richard Saunderson of North Carolina."⁴⁴ The possibility that the stoneware in the sloop *Thomas and Tryal* had been made by Rogers is highly conjectural, since European imports often were redistributed and transshipped in American ports. But, since its cargo as a whole consisted of non-European materials, this still remains a possibility.

The most notable inference that Rogers' stoneware may have infiltrated distant colonial markets is found in the Petition of Isaac Parker to the Massachusetts Court to establish a stoneware manufactory in Charlestown, Massachusetts, filed in September 1742: ". . . there are large quantities of said ware imported into this Province every year from New York, Phila-

delphia, & Virginia, for which . . . returns are mostly made in Silver and Gold by the gent^l who receive them here."⁴⁵

Since there is no evidence that stoneware was being made at this time in Virginia, other than at Yorktown, it is reasonable to suppose that the "poor potter's" heirs shipped stoneware all the way to New England and that they were paid in hard cash, as distinct from tobacco credits, which would have been the case with local customers. However this may be, the Rogers enterprise, even if its products were confined to Virginia, appears to have been extensive, wealth-producing, and quite the opposite of Governor Gooch's appraisal of it in his reports to the Board of Trade.

As to the location of his kilns, we know that Rogers owned two lots, where he apparently lived, at the northern boundary of the town. He also owned a warehouse by the riverside and other lots on which he was building dwellings when he died. He owned land at "Tarripin Point" and two lots in Williamsburg. Governor Gooch repeatedly located the pottery in Yorktown: "We have here at York Town upon York River one poor Potter's Work . . .," or, "the Potter continues his Business (at York Town in this Colony)." This is rather good evidence that the kilns were within the town limits rather than at some outside location, such as "Tarripin Point." A waterfront location would have been desirable for many reasons, but, since a potter's kiln would have been a fire hazard not to only Rogers' but to other warehouses, it is questionable whether nearby kilns would have been tolerated. English practice was usually to locate potter's kilns at the far edges of towns or outside their limits. Nevertheless, there were many exceptions, and kilns sometimes were located near the water, especially when practical reasons of convenience in loading ships outweighed the dangers. The North Devon potteries were heavily committed to water transportation, and at least two of the kilns at Bideford in North Devon in the 17th century, for example, were located near the water in what were then densely settled areas.⁴⁶ The North Walk Pottery in nearby Barnstaple was also on the water's edge,

⁴² "The Votes of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg), ser. 8, vol. 3, pp. 2047-2049. (From Rudolf Hommel, in correspondence with Lura Woodside Watkins.)

⁴³ *Virginia Gazette* microfilm, op. cit. (footnote 28), reel 1.

⁴⁴ York County Records, Book 18: *Orders, Wills, & Inventories*, p. 290.

⁴⁵ "Petition of Isaac Parker, September, 1742," *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. 59, pp. 332-333 (quoted in LURA WOODSIDE WATKINS, *New England Potters and Their Wares* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950], p. 245).

⁴⁶ *Bideford-in-Devon: Official Guide to Bideford and District*, edit. Sheila Hutchinson (Bideford, about 1961), p. 35.

close to a thickly populated area;⁴⁷ in 17th-century America we find a parallel in the pottery of William Vincent, located at the harbor's edge in Gloucester, Massachusetts, where it was easy for him to ship his wares along the coast.⁴⁸ The 18th-century potteries of Charlestown, Massachusetts, which also had wide markets, were clustered along the harbor shore amid a welter of wharves and warehouses.⁴⁹ It is conceivable, therefore, that the Yorktown waterfront may have been similarly exposed to the dangers of a potter's kiln, since Rogers transported his wares by water.

More logical from the standpoint of safety, however, would be the pair of lots on the western edge of the town where Rogers apparently dwelt after they were granted to him in 1711. Although it is not conclusive, his inventory, which includes the lists of earthenwares and stonewares mentioned above, appears to have been taken in a sequence beginning with the house and followed by one outbuilding after another. Presumably these were located close together. Things pertaining to the kitchen and perhaps to the quarters follow the contents of the house (in which the "work room" is mentioned), then the distilling apparatus followed by the brewing equipment. Next come the pottery items, then a miscellany of laundry, garden, and cooking gear, and finally stable fixtures and a horse. It is not until the end of the inventory that the boats and their rigging and equipment, doubtless located at the waterside, are mentioned. These speculations are offered for what they are worth in suggesting possibilities for future archeological discovery of the kiln site.

The question of William Rogers' own role in the pottery enterprise perhaps will never be solved conclusively, although, as Mr. Noël Hume points out, there is no evidence that he himself was a potter. His beginnings almost surely were humble ones, humble enough for a potter. We know that his brother George was a maker of horse collars—a worthy occupation, but not one to be equated with the role of an 18th-century gentleman—in Braintree, Essex County, England. There were many potters in Essex in the

17th and early 18th centuries, and one wonders if William Rogers was trained by one of them. But the Essex Records do not reveal a William Rogers whose dates or circumstances fit ours. We do find that a George Rogers died at Braintree in 1750.⁵⁰

Whatever may have been William's early training, it is apparent that he knew the art of brewing and that he engaged in it at Yorktown. To be sure, nearly every farmer and yeoman in the colonies knew how to brew. Furthermore, commercial brewing was probably accepted as an honorable industry by the Crown authorities, since the colonial demand for beers and ales must have always been in excess of the exportable supply. It is possible, we may speculate, that Rogers was trained as a potter but practiced brewing and preferred to be known publicly as a brewer. In any case, he was essentially a businessman whose establishment made ale as well as pottery for public consumption, and it is clear that by 1725 he was conducting a potter's business on a considerable scale. To have done so he must have employed potters and apprentices, yet in cursory searches of the York County records, we have been unable to discover any reference either to potteries or potters, reinforcing the suspicion that every effort—including Gooch's apologetic references—was being made to conduct the pottery in a clandestine manner.

Thus, the only thing we know with certainty is that William Rogers was a very successful entrepreneur who carried on more than one kind of business. We also can deduce from what is disclosed in the records that he ascended high in the social scale in Virginia and that the rate of this ascent was, not surprisingly, in proportion to the increase of his wealth. Whether or not he was a trained potter, one thing is certain: he was not a "poor potter."

As to the role of his son-in-law and successor, Thomas Reynolds, we know with certainty that Reynolds was not a potter. For at least five years and perhaps longer, however, he evidently ran the pottery, which means that there were trained hands to produce stonewares and earthenwares. Who they were or where they came from are not revealed in the records. If, however, we can prove that the wares about to be discussed were made by them, it becomes clear that they were a remarkably competent lot,

⁴⁷ C. MALCOLM WATKINS, "North Devon Pottery and Its Export to America in the 17th Century" (paper 13 in *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology: Papers 12-18*, U.S. National Museum Bulletin 225, by various authors; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1963), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁸ LURA WOODSIDE WATKINS, *New England Potters and Their Wares* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 16.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁰ *The Register of Burials in the Parish of Braintree in the County of Essex from Michaelmas . . . 1740* (MS in Essex County Record Office, Chelmsford, England), p. 40.

often able to equal if not to excel their English peers.

The persistence of the pottery for at least 20 and perhaps more than 34 years was owing in part, no doubt, to Governor Gooch's apologetic treatment of it in his reports to the Lords of the Board of Trade and to his leniency toward colonial manufacturers in general. Basically, however, it was a response to public need and to a growing independence and a socio-economic situation distinct from the mother country's. The Virginians had a will and direction which impelled them beyond the restrictions imposed upon them to grow tobacco and do little else. The "poor potter" is significant because he exemplified the impulse to break these restrictions and to move the colony toward a craft-oriented economy. Because his wares were skillfully made and sometimes were scarcely distinguishable from those of his English competitors, he was able to hold his position economically and at the same time to become personally wealthy and influential. The scope of his enterprise—more clearly demonstrated in the archeological section of this presentation—should lead to a reappraisal of Governor Gooch's attitudes toward the endeavors of the colonists. His reports to the Board of Trade are

shown to have been dissimulations instead of statements of fact. They evidence a daring and suggest a wisdom and a degree of pragmatism on the part of the Governor that might well have been continued by the Crown and its authorities. This entire episode illustrates a remarkably fluid phase of Virginia's history in which the opportunity for an energetic man to rise from obscurity to wealth and position foretold a pattern that became legendary in American society.

Governor Gooch undoubtedly sensed these internal pressures, as much psychological as economic, to seek the rewards of industry and enterprise. That the pottery later ceased to function and Virginia's manufactures in general failed to develop may reflect the differences in attitudes between Governor Gooch and his successors and the stubborn impositions by the Crown that eventually led to the American Revolution.

There seems little doubt that the "poor potter," William Rogers, and the maker of the pottery so liberally dispersed around Yorktown and elsewhere in Virginia are one and the same. Further archeological investigation and discovery of a kiln or kiln dump should provide the evidence needed for proof.

APPENDIXES

I: Other Virginians by the Name of William Rogers

In order to feel absolutely certain that the William Rogers of Yorktown was the "poor potter" so often mentioned by Governor Gooch, a check was made through the records of all 17th- and 18th-century Virginians named William Rogers to see if any others might possibly have been associated with the Yorktown pottery.

The earliest William Rogers found was listed as one of a group of 60 persons transported and assigned to Richard Cooke in Henrico County.⁵¹ In 1639 a

"Mr. William Rogers" was viewer of the tobacco crop in Upper Norfolk.⁵² In 1718 a William Rogers died in Richmond County.⁵³ It is quite evident that none of these was the "poor potter."

In 1704 a William Rogers owned 200 acres in Accomack County on the Eastern Shore,⁵⁴ and in 1731 a will of William Rogers was recorded there.⁵⁵

In Surry County several men of this name are noted.

⁵² "Viewers of Tobacco Crop, 1639," *IHM* (1898), vol. 5, p. 121.

⁵³ *Virginia Wills and Administrations 1632-1800*, comp. Clayton Torrence (Richmond, Wm. Byrd Press, Inc., n.d.), pp. 364-365.

⁵⁴ *English Duplicates of Lost Virginia Records*, comp. Louis des Coquets, Jr. (Princeton, N.J.: Privately printed, 1958), p. 128.

⁵⁵ *Virginia Wills and Administrations*, loc. cit. (footnote 53).

⁵¹ "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents," prepared by W. G. SEANARD, *Virginia Magazine of History & Biography* (hereinafter designated *IHM*) (1899), vol. 5, p. 186.

One of them was bound as an apprentice in 1681. . . . this William Rogers was probably the same man who was listed in 1687 in the Surry militia "for Foot." . . . In 1702 a William Rogers took up some newly opened land "on the South side of Blackwater," which was measured by the surveyor for Charles City County (only meaning, perhaps, that Surry did not have its own surveyor).⁵⁸ In 1704 a William Roger (sic) owned 450 acres in Surry.⁵⁹ Two years later William Rogers, Jr., had 220 acres surveyed on the "S. side of Blackwater" in Surry County.⁶⁰ Meanwhile a William Rogers had recorded a will in Surry in 1701, and another (presumably William Rogers, Jr.) did so in 1727.⁶¹

A William Rogers was listed in Lancaster in 1694 as the husband of Elizabeth Skipworth,⁶² and he appears to have been tithable in the Christ Church parish in 1714.⁶³ Wills are recorded under the name in Lancaster County in 1728 and 1768.⁶⁴

None of these records dispute the strong evidence discovered at Yorktown concerning the identity of the "poor potter."

II. Evidence of William Rogers' Properties

Virginia Gazette, SEPTEMBER 10, 1736

"To be Lett or Sold, very reasonably. The House which formerly belong'd to Col *Jenings*, in which the *Bristol* store was lately kept, being the next House to *John Clayton's*, Esq.; in *Williamsburg*: It is a large commodious House, with Two Lots, a Garden,

⁵⁶ LYON G. TYLER, "Education in Colonial Virginia," *William & Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (1897), ser. 1 (hereinafter designated *WMQ* 1), vol. 5, p. 221.

⁵⁷ "Extracts from the Records of Surry County," *WMQ* 1 (1903), vol. 11, p. 83.

⁵⁸ *English Duplicates*, op. cit. (footnote 54), p. 73.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 83, 86.

⁶¹ *Virginia Wills and Administrations*, loc. cit. (footnote 53).

⁶² "Virginia Gleanings in England," *IHAM* (1921), vol. 29, p. 435.

⁶³ "Tithables in Lancaster County, 1716," *WMQ* 1 (1913), vol. 21, p. 21.

⁶⁴ *Virginia Wills and Administrations*, loc. cit. (footnote 53).

Coach-House, Stable, and other Outhouses and Conveniences. Enquire of Capt. *William Rogers*, in *York*, or of *William Parks*, Printer in *Williamsburg*."

ROGERS' WILL (1739)

To his wife Theodosia: ". . . two Lotts—lyeing & being in the City of W^msburg^h together with the Dwelling House and other houses thereunto belonging" and also

". . . a Lott lying behind *Cheshire's* Lott number 63 in *York Town* that I bought of Mr. George Reade, with all the Improvements upon it during his life and after his death." ["Behind *Cheshire's* Lott" apparently means Lot 59, next to it. See plat.]

". . . one certain Tract or Parcel of Land, lying being and adjoining to Mountford's Mill Dam in the County of *York* commonly called & known by the Name of Tarripin Point."

". . . the parcel of Land that I bought of M^r Edw^d Smith except one Chain and that to be laid off at the end next the Lott that I bought of Francis Moss with all the Improvements on it and in case I should dye before I build upon it, I shall leave all the plank & framing stuff together with the window frames & all the other things designed for the House to my Wife and not to be appraised with my Estate and if my Carpenter is not free that he shall not be appraised but serve his time out and with my said Wife." [Francis Morse owned Lot 75, extreme southwest corner. Therefore, this was probably Lot 74.]

* * *

"unto my son W^m Rogers
all my Lotts in *Yorktown* where I now dwell with all the houses thereunto belonging."
"also the warehouse by the waterside and
all other my Lands and Tenements wherever lying
except the Lotts & Land before given to my Wife."

* * *

To his daughter Susanna Reynolds: "the Lott that I bought of M^r Francis Morse known by the N^o 75 together with the Brickhouse and all other Improvements upon it also one Chain of the Land that I bought of M^r Edward Smith to be taken at the end next to the Lott to her & her heirs for Ever in case I dye before the House is done I then leave also bricks enough to finish the house, together wth the window frames & doors and what other framing was design'd for her house"

III: Inventory of William Rogers' Estate ⁶⁵

Pursuant to an Order of York Court Dec. the 17th 1739 We the Subscribers being first sworn before W^m. Nelson jun^r Gent have appraised the Estate of Cap^t. W^m. Rogers dec^d. as followeth Viz^t.

Waterford £25 Betty £25 Adam £30 Blackwall £30	£110. 0. 0
Nanny £18 Lazarus Son of Nanny £5	23. 0. 0
Amy Daughter of Nanny £16 Grace Daughter of Nanny 8£	24. 0. 0
Barnaby £15 Samson £25 Quaqua £25 Tony £30	95. 0. 0
Jo £30 York £25 Jack £25 George £22 Tom 30	132. 0. 0
Monmouth £30 London £30 Ben £30 Pritty £30	120. 0. 0
Phillis £25 Sarah £30 Harry £25 Lucy £12	92. 0. 0
Little Nanny £25 Phoeby £20 Phil son of Phoeby £5	50. 0. 0
Cato £20 James £18 Peg £16	54. 0. 0

Household Goods &c.

1 Clock £6 one Silver hilt Cutting Sword and one p ^r . Silver Spurrs 4£	10. 0. 0
1 Tea Pott 5 Spoons 2 p ^r . Cans and 2 Salts of Silver	11. 15. 0
To a parcel China ware £10 a p ^{cl} Glasses & Table Stand £1.10	11. 10. 0
a p ^{cl} books £4 a p ^{cl} Sheets Table Linnen and one w ^t . Quilt 22 ^l	26. — —
1 Silver Salver 1 p ^r . Can 2 Salts 11 Spoons and one Soop D ^o	14. — —
1 Silver Watch £4 one horse Colt £4 a Coach & 4 horses £40	48. — —
a Neat Picture of King Charles the Second	2. 10. 0
1 Marble Table £2 one corner cupboard w th . a glass face 20	3. — —

1 Looking Glass £1.10 1 p ^r . Glass Sconces 15/	£2. 5. 0
1 Chimney Glass w th . a p ^r . brass arms £2 a japaned corner Cupboard	2. 15. 0
12 Chairs w th . Walnut frames & Cane bottoms	5. — —
1 Dutch picture in a guilt frame	0. 10. 0
7 Cartoons 4 glass Pictures 4 Maps & 3 small Pictures	1. 5. 0
1 Large walnut Table £1.15 one less D ^o 20/	2. 15. 0
1 small Table & one Tea board 5/ one Iron back 12/	0. 17. 0
1 p ^r . And Irons 20/ one Iron fender 1 p ^r . Tongs & Shovel fire 7/6	1. 7. 6
1 Iron plate frame 7/6 8 China Pictures in large frames 8/	0. 15. 6
1 Copper Cistern 13/ 12 Ivory handle knives & forks £1.10	2. 3. 0
11 Eboney D ^o 12/6 12 Desart D ^o w th . Ivory handles 12/	1. 4. 6
4 Window Curtains & Vallins £1.10 one small Cherry Table 6/	1. 16. 0
2 Mares & one Colt £5 a p ^{cl} of Carpenters Tools £2.10	7. 10. 0
27 head Cattle £17 Six high back Chairs w th . rush bottoms £1.10	18. 10. 0
1 Bed Bolster Pillow Bedsted 1 p ^r . blankets & Quilt	3. — —
2 small pine Tables	0. 4. 0
1 large Bed Bolster 1 Pillow 1 p ^r . blankets Bedstead Curtain rod Work ^t Curtains & Vallins	7. — —
1 Bed Bolster 2 pillows 1 p ^r . blankets 1 Old Quilt old blue Hangings & Bedsted	4. — —
1 Looking Glass 20 ^l . 2 p ^r . window Curtains 10/ one p ^r . Sconces 6 ^l	1. 16. 0
1 p ^r . large mony Scales & weights 12.6 1 p ^r . less d ^o 5	0. 17. 6
1 p ^r . small d ^o 2.6 5 rush bottom Chairs w th black frames 7/6	0. 10. 0
A Chimney piece 10 52 Pictures in the Hall 10	1. — —
1 Couch Squab and pillow 30/ 1 japand Tea Table 5	1. 5. 0
1 Small pine Table 1 ^l / 2 Walnut Stools 3 ^l	0. 4. 0
1 Chimney Glass 4 ^l / one p ^r . Sconces 7.6 1 Dressing Table 2	1. 09. 6

⁶⁵ From *Orders, Wills, & Inventories*, York County Records, no. 18, pp. 553 ff. The linear totals given in the right-hand column are not always the sum of the amounts noted in each line, but they are presented here as faithfully as possible.

1 Looking Glass w th Drawers 20/ one Iron back 6/	£1. 6. 0	1 Box Iron & 2 heaters 5/ 1 Cof- fee mill 4/	£0. 9. 0
1 p ^r . And Iron 7/6 1 p ^r . Tongs & fire Shovel 4/	0. 11. 6	1. 2 hour Glass 1/ 5 broad haws 13/ 1 Spining Wheel 5/	0. 19. 0
1 brass fender 5/ 1 Case w th Drawers 1.5	1. 10. 0	2 4 flat Irons 6 1 Trooping Saddle blue housing Crooper & Breast plate 20/	1. 6. 0
1 p ^r . Backgammon Tables 12/6 Tea Chest & Cannisters 6/	0. 18. 6	An Ozenberg Skreen 10/ 1 small pine Chest 2/6	0. 12. 6
1 Dresing Box 5/ 1 Trumpet 5/ 1 large Elbow Chair 7/6	0. 17. 6	1 Walnut Table 12/6 5 Candle Moulds 7/6	1. — —
A Dutch Picture in a gult frame	2. 0	1 Bark Sifter 5/ 10 Pictures 4/ 1 Cold Still 12/6	1. 1. 6
1 Bed Bedstead Bolster 2 pillows 1 blanket 1 Quilt Curtains Vallins & Curtain Rod	6. 0. 0	1 p ^r Stilliards 7/6 12 New Sickles 12/ 10 old D ^o 2/6	1. 2. 0
1 Bedstead w th Sacking bottom 1 small Bed & one pillow	1. 10. 0	2 larger Sieves and 1 Hair Sifter 7/6 1 Case w th . 14 bottles 15/	1. 2. 6
1 Dram Case & 6 Bottles 12/6 2 p ^r . window Curtains 10/	1. 2. 6	1 Bell Metal Skillet 12/ 1 p ^r brass Scales & weights 10/	1. 2. 0
1 Copper preserving pan 10/ 1 p ^r . large pistols 15/	1. 5. 0	1 Coffee Roaster 4/ 1 fire Shovell 1 p ^r Tongs & 1 Iron fender 3/	0. 7. 0
1 p ^r . Holsters 5/ 1 p ^r . holster Caps & housing laced and flowerd with Silver 20/	1. 5. 0	6 woodin Chairs and 1 old Cane D ^o 1 pewter Ink Stand 2/6 1 Tea Kettle 5/	0. 8. 0
14 bottles Stoughton's Elixir 14/ 6 ¹ Chocolate 18/	1. 12. 0	2 Trivets 2 p ^r Sheep Sheers and 1 p ^r Bellows 5/	0. 7. 6
20 lb Cocanuts £2, 50 Ells Ozn brigs £2.10	4. 10. 0	1 Warming pan 5/ 20 doz Quart bottles 2£ 1 whip Saw 20/	0. 5. 0
15½ yds Dorsay 9 Strips twist 2 hh Silk 5 doz Coat and 2 doz. brest buttons	2. 0. 0	3 Empty Casks and 2 beer Tubbs 7/6	3. 5. 0
3 Cloth brushes 3/ 28 Maple handle knives 5/10	0. 8. 10	2 Powdering Tubbs and 1 large Cask	0. 7. 6
10 Yarn Caps 2/6 3 horn books 6 ^d 3 Baskits 4/	0. 7. 0	A Meal Binn 3/ 3 Spills 9/ 1 worm Still £2/10	0. 6. 0
1 Iron back in the work room 5/ 1 D ^o in the Little Chamber 6/	0. 11. 0	4 Wheel barrows 8/ 3 Spades 7/ a Copper Kettle £2.10	3. 2. 0
1 Iron fender 1 p ^r Tongs & fire Shovell 5/ 1 p ^r Andirons 2/	0. 7. 0	1 large Iron pott 12/6 1 Iron Kettle 15/ 1 Flasket 1/6	3. 5. 0
5 brass Candle Sticks 2 Tinder boxes & 1 Iron Candle Stick 14/	0. 14. 0	1 Iron pott 1/6 1 Bed Bolster Bedsted 1 Rugg & 10 Blanket 1/10	1. 9. 0
1 Flaskct and a parcel Turners Tools	0. 18. 0	1 Bed Bolster Bedsted Blanket and 1 old Quilt	1. 11. 6
8 p ^r Negros Shoes £1.4. 72 yds Cantaloon £1.4	2. 8. 0	1 old Table 1/6 6 oxen Ox Cart Yokes & Chains	17. 6
11 y ^{ds} Coarse Stuff 5/6 1 old Desk 20/ 1 Cedar Press 15/	2. 0. 6	80 lb Ginger 10/ 24 lb. Alspice £1.4 55 lb. Ricc 5/	13. — —
13 Cannisters 3/6 16 Tin patty pans 12 Cake D ^o 2 Bisket D ^o 12 Chocolate D ^o 2 Coffee pots and 1 Funnell 11/6	0. 15. 0	50 lb. Snakeroot £1/5 34 lb. Hops 17/ 124 lb. feathers £5.3.4 a pcl old Sails & riging	1. 19. 0
			7. 5. 4
			3. — —

1 p ^r large Scales & weights £2.10		1 p ^r Andirons 15/	1 large Copper	
a parcel crakt red ware £2	£4. 10. 0	pott & Cover 30/		£2. 5. 0
a parcel crakt Stone D ^o £5 11		1 less D ^o 17/6	1 Marble Mortar	
pocket bottles 3/8	5. 3. 8	12/6		1. 10. 0
½ barrel Gun powder £2.10		1 Bell Metal D ^o and Iron Pestle		0. 10. 0
1 old Sain & ropes £1.10	4. — —	2 large knives	1 Chopping D ^o	
1 horse Mill £8 2300 lb. old Iron	17. 11. 8	Basting Ladle	1 Brass Skimer	
£9.11.8		1 p ^r small Tongs and flesh fork		0. 5. 0
26 doz q ^t Mugs £5.4		1 Copper Stew pan	1 Copper & 1	
60 doz p ^t D ^o 7.10	12. 14. 0	Iron frying pan	1 Tin fish	
11 doz Milk pans £2.4		Kettle		0. 14. 0
9 large Cream potts 4/6	2. 8. 6	1 Brass Skillet and 2 Tin Covers		0. 9. 0
9 Midle Sized D ^o 3/		1 Iron Crane and 1 large Pestle		0. 8. 0
12 Small D ^o 2/	0. 5. 0	1 Water pail 1/6	1 Iron pott	1 p ^r
2 doz red Saucepans 4/		hooks & 1 Iron Ladle 6/		0. 7. 6
2 doz porringers 4/	0. 8. 0	1 larger Iron pott & hooks 6/	1	
6 Chamber potts 2/		horse Cart & wheels £3		3. 6. 0
4 doz bird bottles 12/	0. 14. 0	1 old whip Saw 10/	1 Set old	
3 doz Lamps 9/		Chain harness for 3 horses 20/		1. 10. 0
4 doz small stone bottles 6/	0. 15. 0	1 Set D ^o for 3 Horses £4	8 Iron	
4 doz small dishes 8/		Wedges 12/6		4. 12. 6
6 doz puding pans 2/	0. 10. 0	1 Bay horse £1.5	1 p ^r wooden	
26 Cedar pailcs £2.12		Scales 2/	2 Baskets 2/6	1. 9. 6
40 Bushels Salt £4	6. 12. 0	1 old horse Cart £1.5	212 bushels	
104 lb. pewter in Dishes & plates	5. 4. 0	wheat a 1/6 ^d £15.18.		17. 1. 0 [sic]
1 Gallon 1. 2q ^t 1 q ^t 1 p ^t & 1		1 old Boat 10/	a New Sloop	
½ p ^t pewter pott	0. 16. 0	Boat Sails Rigging 2 Anchors		
1 pewter Bed pan 5/	3. 5. 0	2 Cables 1 old Hawser and 1		
12 Sheep £3		Grappell		90. 0. 0
6 Washing Tubbs 12/		1 Glass Light 3/	2 Wyer Sieves 7/6	0. 10. 6
1 Chocolate pott & Mill 6/	0. 18. 0			
6 Tea Spoons & a Childs Spoon of Silver	1. — —			£1224. 5. 6 [sic]
7 Bell Glasses 16/				John Ballard
1 Kitchen jack 26/	2. 2. 0			John Trotter
				Ishmael Moody

Part II: Pottery Evidence

Ivor Noël Hume

The Salt-Glazed Stoneware

Attention was first drawn to the potential importance of the 18th-century pottery factory at Yorktown in 1956 when an examination of the National Park Service artifacts from the town revealed large quantities of stoneware sagger fragments visually identical to those previously retrieved from a site at Bankside in London.⁶⁶ On the assumption that where kiln "furniture" is found there also must be examples of the product, a more careful search of the Yorktown collections was made, yielding numerous fragments of brown salt-glazed stoneware tankards and bottles which, although at first sight appearing to be typically English, were found to have reacted slightly differently to the vagaries of firing than did the average examples found in England.

The largest assemblage of stoneware and sagger fragments came from the vicinity of the restored Swan Tavern, although the actual relationship of the pieces, one to another, was not recorded in the National Park Service's archeological report on the excavations. Nevertheless, the presence on the same lot of fragments of pint tankards adorned with a sprig-molded swan ornament (fig. 3) along with numerous pieces of sagger (fig. 12) seemed positive enough evidence. English tavern mugs of the 18th century were frequently decorated with an applied panel copying the sign which hung outside the hostelry.⁶⁷ The Swan Tavern at Yorktown was probably no exception, and to the often illiterate traveler it would have been identified either by a painted sign or perhaps by a swan carved in wood

and set above the entrance. The significance of the swan-decorated tankards is simply that the tavern keeper would have been unlikely to have sent to England for such objects when, as the saggars so loudly proclaim, a local potter could supply them as needed and without cost of transportation.

The above reasoning seemed to link the saggars with brown salt-glazed stonewares rather than with products in the Rhenish tradition, which would have been the other obvious possibility.⁶⁸ Wasters were thinly represented among the sherds from Yorktown, although many underfired or overburned pieces were initially claimed as such. A more mature study of the Yorktown potter's products has shown that these variations would not have been considered unsalable, nor, in all probability, would they have been marked down as "seconds." Examples exhibiting both extremes of temperature have been found in domestic rubbish pits at Williamsburg, clearly showing that such pieces did find a ready sale. Figure 4 illustrates a mug fragment from Williamsburg with a large, heavily salted roof-dripping lodged above the handle and overflowing the rim, a blemish the presence of which is hard to explain if the mug was fired in a sagger. Such a piece found in the vicinity of a kiln reasonably could be considered a waster. It must be deduced, therefore, that, providing the Yorktown potter's vessels would hold water and stand more or less vertically on a table, they would find a market.

The site of Rogers' kilns in or near Yorktown has not been found, nor have his waster tips and pits been located. In the absence of such concrete evidence, a study of his wares may be thought premature. But, while numerous questions obviously remain to be answered, sufficient data have now been gathered to

⁶⁶ ADRIAN OSWALD, "A London Stoneware Pottery, Recent Excavations at Bankside," *The Connoisseur* (January 1951), vol. 126, no. 519, pp. 183-185.

⁶⁷ J. F. BLACKER, *The A.B.C. of English Salt-Glaze Stoneware* (London: 1922), pp. 46, 48, 51, 56, 57, 63, and 65.

⁶⁸ Kiln waste found in recent excavations in Philadelphia indicate that Anthony Duché was manufacturing stoneware there in the style of Westerwald in the 1730s.

identify a considerable range of brown stoneware as being of Tidewater Virginia manufacture. There is, of course, good reason to suppose that much, if not all, of it is a product of the Rogers factory, although until that site is dug one cannot be certain. It can be argued, perhaps, that if there was one more or less clandestine stoneware potter at work in the area, there might well be others. It could also be added that two earthenware-pottery-making sites have been discovered in the Jamestown-Williamsburg area for which no documentary evidence has been found. The very fact that such enterprise was officially discouraged reduces the value of the negative evidence to be derived from the absence of documentation.

The most convincing evidence for the identification of Rogers' stoneware comes from the already mentioned Swan Tavern mugs and from a quantity of sherds found in a 4- to 7-inch layer beneath Yorktown's Main Street in front of the Digges House in the spring of 1957. This material was exposed during the laying of utilities beside the modern roadway. So tightly packed were the fragments of saggers and pottery vessels that they appeared to have been deliberately laid down as metaling for the colonial street. Several years later Mr. Watkins discovered that in 1734 William Rogers had been appointed "Surveyor of the Landings, Streets; and Cosways in York Town." It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Rogers disposed of his kiln waste by using it for hard core to make good the roads under his jurisdiction. Such a use of potters' refuse has ample precedent in that the wasters and sagger fragments from the 17th-century-London delftware kilns were dumped on the foreshore of the river Thames to serve the same purpose. Similarly, stoneware waste from the presumed Bankside factory⁶⁹ was used there to line the bottoms of trenches for wooden drains.

The pottery fragments found in the Yorktown road

⁶⁹ No trace of a kiln was found on the Bankside site in Southwark; it is probable that the waste came from another location nearby, possibly from the factory established in Gravel Lane around 1690, which continued under various managements until about 1750. It may be noted that, in the same way that much Southwark delftware has been erroneously attributed to Lambeth, it is likely that brown stonewares in the so-called style of Fulham was made in Southwark before Lambeth rose to prominence in that field. See F. H. GARNER, "Lambeth Earthenware," *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle* (London, 1937), vol. 1, no. 4, p. 46; also JOHN DRINKWATER, "Some Notes on English Salt-Glaze Brown Stoneware," *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle* (London, 1939), vol. 2, no. 6, p. 33.

metaling comprised unglazed, coarse-earthenware pans and bowls; pieces of badly fired, brown, salt-glazed stoneware jars and bottles; and numerous sagger fragments.

In the years since interest first was shown in the products of the Yorktown factory, a useful range of examples has been gathered from excavations in Williamsburg and in neighboring counties. The single most significant item was recovered from another kiln site in James City County (known as the Challis site) on the bank of the James River. This object, a pint mug (fig. 5), is the best preserved specimen yet found. It is impressed on the upper wall, opposite the handle, with a pseudo-official capacity stamp⁷⁰ comprising the initials W R beneath a crown (William III Rex) which, perhaps, might have led to an intentional misinterpretation as the mark of William Rogers' factory. The official English marks generally were incuse or stamped in relief with the cypher and crown within a borderless oval. They were always placed close to the rim, just left of the handle. Rogers' stamp was set in a much more pretentious position and was enclosed within a rectangle marking the edges of the matrix (fig. 6).

The Challis site mug was a key piece of evidence, being the first example found that illustrated the position of the W R stamp, and it was sufficiently intact for a drawing to be made, its capacity measured, and its variations of firing studied. The association of the Challis mug with the Rogers factory is based on the fact that there is an identical stamp among the Park Service's artifacts from Yorktown (fig. 7), along with another pseudo W R stamp which had been applied to the *base* of a tankard.

A measured drawing of the Challis mug was given to Mr. James E. Maloney of the Williamsburg Pottery,⁷¹ who kindly agreed to undertake a series of experiments to reproduce the piece in his own stoneware kiln, using local Tidewater clay. The results of the first trials were extremely successful, and they showed that it would be possible to reproduce exact copies of the Yorktown wares from this clay (fig. 8). Thus any doubt as to the supply source was dispelled.

⁷⁰ W. R. excise or capacity stamps continued to be impressed on tavern mugs long after William III was dead. The latest published example is dated 1792. DRINKWATER, *op. cit.* (footnote 69), p. 34 and pl. XIIIb.

⁷¹ The Williamsburg Pottery, on Route 60 near Lightfoot, specializes in the reproduction of 18th-century stoneware and slipware.



Figure 3.—PINT AND QUART MUGS of brown salt-glazed stoneware made for the Swan Tavern at Yorktown. Each mug is decorated with an applied swan in high relief.

The conditions of firing at the Williamsburg Pottery, however, are somewhat different from those that would have prevailed in the 18th century. Mr. Maloney's kiln is fired by oil rather than wood, so that the localized variations of color resulting from the reducing effects of wood smoke have been eliminated. In addition, Mr. Maloney's pots are fired without the use of saggers, thus providing more uniform atmospheric and salting conditions than would have been possible with the 18th-century method of stacking the kilns.

The Yorktown mugs were hand thrown, but a

template was used to shape the ornamental cordoning. It was first assumed that a single template had served to fashion both the cordons at the base and the groove below the lip. We had such a tool made of aluminum, copying the Challis mug's ornament, and proportionately enlarged to allow for shrinkage in firing. But in using this template Mr. Maloney discovered that it was impossible to shape the whole exterior of the vessel in one movement without the tools "chattering" against the wall. Since none of the Yorktown sherds nor, indeed, any of the brown-stoneware mugs I have studied in England exhibit

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Colonial Williamsburg for helping to subsidize the preparation of this paper and for permission to illustrate specimens from its archeological collections; also to J. Paul Hudson, National Park Service curator at Jamestown for similar facilities; as well as to Charles E. Hatch, senior National Park Service historian at Yorktown, for access to various archeological reports in his library.

I am particularly grateful to James E. Maloney of the Williamsburg Pottery for the immense amount of work which he so generously undertook not only to reproduce copies of the Yorktown products but also to recreate the wasters as well, thus providing information regarding the colonial technical processes that could not have been obtained in any other way. I am also grateful to Joseph

Grace, Colonial Williamsburg's watchmaker and engraver who made an accurate copy of the unofficial excise stamp used on Rogers' mugs, and to my secretary Lynn Hill, who toiled long and hard to bring order into this report.

I am further indebted to Wilcomb E. Washburn, Chairman, Department of American Studies, at the Smithsonian Institution, who first drew my attention to the artifacts in front of the Dudley Digges House; and to my wife Audrey, to John Dunton and William Hammes, all of Colonial Williamsburg's department of archeology, who through the years have helped collect ceramic evidence from Yorktown.

I. N. H.



Figure 4.—YORKTOWN STONEWARE MUG FRAGMENT marred by kiln drippings lodged above the handle. The fragment was found in Williamsburg. Height of sherd 4 centimeters.

this feature, it is clear that the potters used only a small template which molded the base cordoning alone, a technique in marked contrast to that of the German Westerwald potters of the same period, whose mass-produced tankards and chamberpots invariably exhibit considerable "chattering." Shaping the lip of the Yorktown tankards appears to have been accomplished entirely by hand as was the application of the encircling groove below it. Because the clay used in the manufacture of these brown stonewares is relatively coarse, it does not lend itself readily to the thin potting so characteristic of English white salt-glaze or the refined Nottingham and Burslem brown stonewares. Consequently, it was necessary to pare down the mouths of the mugs to make them acceptable to the lips of the toper. This interior tooling, extending about half an inch below the rim, is found on all the Yorktown and English brown stonewares of this class. The technique is the reverse of that used by the Westerwald potters, whose mugs are thinned from the outside, leaving the straight edge on the interior.⁷² Having imbibed from both types of tankard, I believe that the English (and Yorktown) technique is distinctly preferable. One's upper lip does most of the work; the paring of the inside of the vessel shapes the rim away from that lip and carries the ale smoothly into the mouth.

The treatment of the single-reebed handle on the Challis site mug equals the best English examples, being thin and of sufficient size to accommodate three

fingers, with the top of its curve remaining below the edge of the rim so that the thumb cannot slip over it. In addition, the lower terminal is folded back on itself and impressed. While it has often been said that the signature of a potter is found in the shaping of his rims and his handles, we must remember that in a large commercial pottery the person who applies the handles often is not the same workman as he who throws the pot. This explains the considerable variety among the handles of supposed Yorktown tankards, some of them very skillfully fashioned and applied, others appallingly crude. It is inconceivable that all can be the work of a single craftsman.

The iron-oxide slip into which the upper part of the body and handle of the Challis site mug was dipped provided the vessel with a pleasing purplish-to-green mottling when struck by the salt, but, compared to its English prototypes, the variations of color and the unevenness of the size of the mottling label it a product of inferior firing. Nevertheless, in criticizing the Yorktown stoneware, we might remember Dr. Johnson's comment on women preachers,



Figure 5. YORKTOWN STONEWARE MUG, found in James City County, which was discarded about 1730. Height 12.5 centimeters; capacity 17 fluid ounces.

⁷² I. NOËL HUME, *Here Lies Virginia* (New York: Knopf, 1963), fig. 55.

whom he likened to a dog walking on its hind legs, saying: "It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all."

On the evidence of the many fragments of Yorktown mugs found in Williamsburg excavations, it may be supposed that the Challis example was of above-average quality. Many of the Williamsburg sherds are both badly overfired and poorly mottled, owing either to inadequate salting or to the use of a slip of the wrong consistency. The much-restored specimen shown in figure 9 was found in a mid-18th-century rubbish deposit⁷³ and apparently had belonged to John Coke, who kept tavern in Williamsburg east of the Public Gaol. In this example, the intended mottled effect has become a solid band of purple, and the body color below has turned dark gray. I had long supposed that both were the result of overfiring. Experiments by Mr. Maloney, however, clearly showed that the gray body may result from a reducing atmosphere as readily as by excessive temperature, while the purple zone could be due to the slip's being

⁷³ Colonial Williamsburg, E. R. (Excavation Register) 140.27A.



Figure 6.—SILVER REPRODUCTION of the matrix used by the Yorktown potter to apply unofficial excise stamps. Height 1.45 centimeters.



Figure 7.—EXAMPLES OF W.R. STAMPS on Yorktown stoneware mugs. Right, from below the rim; left, on the underside of the base. Enlarged.



Figure 8.—REPRODUCTION OF A YORKTOWN salt-glazed stoneware mug made from local clay at the Williamsburg pottery. Height 12.8 centimeters.



Figure 9.—POOR-QUALITY MUG of probable local stoneware, discarded in the mid-18th century. Found in Williamsburg. Height 13.4 centimeters; capacity 23 fluid ounces.

too thick. Two test mugs fired side by side at a temperature of 2300° F., using thick and thin slips of iron oxide, produced the solid-purple band and the brown mottle respectively.

Before dismissing the John Coke mug as merely an example of wrong slip consistency, it should be noted that this piece has none of the characteristics of the Challis mug; the handle is quite different in both size and shape and is applied without the folded terminal, the proportions are poor, and the template used for the base cordoning is so worn on its bottom edge that the wide upper cordon is more pronounced than the base itself, thus giving the whole vessel a feeling of stubby instability. In addition, the body appears to have been scraped round after the slip had been applied, possibly to remove the excess. All in all, it is a miserable mug, and we may be forgiven for wondering whether it is really a product of William Rogers' operation. Some of his tankards may have been made by apprentice potters, which would account for somewhat varying shapes. But the handle is not an inept creation as handles go; it is simply an entirely different type from that used on the English stoneware

that Rogers copied. Even more curious is the question of the template, which should have been discarded long before. While the throwing variations of Rogers' potters may have been overlooked, little can be said for a master craftsman who would allow the use of tools so worn as to mar the esthetic quality of every mug produced. We may wonder whether there was another stoneware potter at work in Virginia in the mid-18th century or whether, after Rogers' death, his factory's standards were allowed to deteriorate to the level of the John Coke mug.

Although the tavern tankards are the most informative of the Yorktown products, numerous other stoneware forms were produced. These are well represented in the National Park Service and Colonial Williamsburg collections. The most simple and at the same time the most attractive of these is a group of hemispherical bowls (fig. 10), two of which were found in the same deposit as the Coke mug.⁷⁴ One, which had been dipped into an iron-oxide slip in the same

⁷⁴ E.R. 140.27A.



Figure 10.—HEMISPHERICAL BOWLS of Yorktown stoneware, discarded in the mid-18th century.
Found in Williamsburg. Rim diameter of both 17.15 centimeters.

manner as were the tankards, has a pale gray body with a narrow band of brown mottling below the rim. The other Coke bowl has a dirty greenish-gray body, while the slipped band is a heavy purplish-brown with little mottling. The entire bowl is too heavily salted, an infirmity which often may have afflicted these pieces. A fragment of a slightly smaller and even more heavily salted bowl was found in 1961 by Mrs. P. G. Harrison in her flower bed at Yorktown,⁷⁵ thus seeming to confirm the Yorktown origin of the Coke bowls.

There is no doubt that bottles and jars, some of considerable size, were among the Yorktown factory's principal products, but this does not mean necessarily that all such items found in the vicinity of Yorktown or Williamsburg are Rogers' pieces. Just as the tavern tankards were copies of English mugs, so the bottles and jars had their prototypes among the wares of English, brown-stoneware potters. The difference is simply that the kitchen vessels have rarely attracted the attention of collectors and therefore are poorly represented in English museums. Consequently we have little opportunity to study them and to determine how such pieces differ from those made at Yorktown. At this stage it is possible to be sure only of the

Virginia origin of those examples whose clay is clearly of the local variety. Such an identification can be made only when the piece is markedly underfired and retains the coloring and impurities characteristic of earthenwares of proven Virginia manufacture. Fortunately, the large bottles are small mouthed and neither slipped nor glazed on the inside, thus ensuring that, if the piece is underfired the earthenware characteristics will be readily discernible. Fragments of underfired stoneware bottles were among the most common sherds recovered from the colonial roadway at Yorktown, providing invaluable evidence to aid the identification of the Rogers stoneware body composition and color. It must be reiterated, however, that this guide is confined to underfired products and that those correctly burned cannot be distinguished as yet from others of English manufacture.

The globular bottle shown in figure 11 is underfired and consequently not a true "stoneware," but from the outside it bears all the characteristics of a good quality product. This undoubtedly local and almost certainly Yorktown example was found on the John Coke site in Williamsburg⁷⁶ in a context of about 1765. The body is evenly potted, the cordoning below the mouth neatly tooled, and the broad strap

⁷⁵ Colonial Williamsburg, cat. no. 1913.

⁷⁶ E.R. 157G.27A (also 159A, 165A, 173, and 173A).



Figure 11.—AN UNDERFIRED YORKTOWN "stoneware" bottle, discarded about 1765.
Found in Williamsburg. Surviving height 24.77 centimeters.

handle rugged and tidily shaped into a finger-impressed rattail terminal. The handle can, perhaps, be faulted, in that it will accommodate only two fingers with comfort, and it is a little wider in proportion to its size than any I have seen in England. The iron-oxide slip which extends to the midsection of the body is well mottled and predominantly of good color. Ignoring the underfiring, this bottle may be classed as a very creditable piece of potting, seemingly quite as good as most such vessels turned out by English potters in the mid-18th century.⁷⁷

Globular-bodied jars with everted collarlike mouths

⁷⁷ The majority of archeologically documented pieces have been recovered from English domestic sites and not from kiln dumps.

can be proved to have been made at Yorktown on the evidence of a few small under- and over-fired sherds recovered from the old road metaling in front of the Digges House. The best example recovered from a dated archeological context in Virginia is a jar found in a rubbish deposit of about 1763-1772 at the plantation of Rosewell in Gloucester County.⁷⁸ But like the well-fired bottles, its Yorktown provenance cannot yet be proved.

The last major category of kitchen stoneware believed to have been made at the Yorktown pottery

⁷⁸ I. NOEL HUME, "Excavations at Rosewell, Gloucester County, Virginia, 1957-1959," (paper 18 in *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology: Papers 12-18*, U.S. National Museum Bulletin 225, by various authors; Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1963), p. 203, no. 3 and p. 209, fig. 28, no. 3.



Figure 12.—AN INCOMPLETE SAGGER and lid for quart tankards, with a Swan Tavern pint mug seated in it. Found at Yorktown.

is a group of pipkins (fig. 13, no. 7). These were often overburned and improperly salted, turning the body a greenish gray and the iron-oxide slip to a coarse brown mottling with a similar greenish hue. The bodies of these vessels are generally bag-shaped and are broader toward the base than at the rim, which is slightly everted and tooled into a rounded lip over a cordon of comparable width. The handles were made separately in solid rolls that were pierced longitudi-

nally with a stick or metal rod to avoid warping in firing or heat retention in use. They possess pestlelike terminals that were luted to the body after shaping. No definite evidence has yet been found to identify these vessels as Yorktown products, but they do exhibit color characteristics, particularly when overfired, comparable to those of one of the Coke hemispherical bowls as well as to some of the tankard fragments.

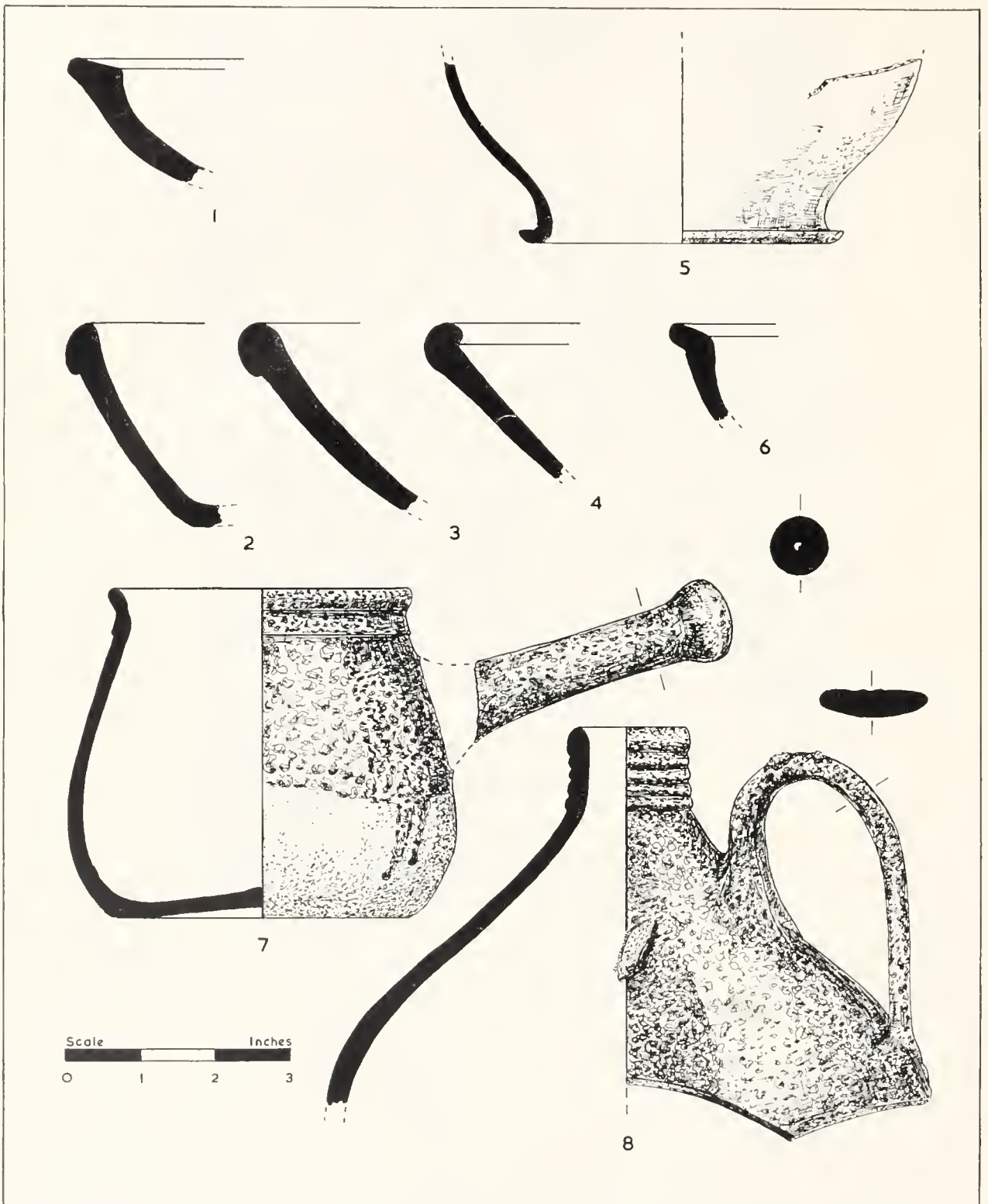


Figure 13.—YORKTOWN STONEWARE BOTTLE AND PIPKIN, and characteristic earthenware rim forms.

1. Creampan, rim sherd of typical Yorktown form, slightly flaring externally and incurving within, hard red earthenware with grey-to-pink surface and one spot of dark-brown glaze on the outside; presumably biscuit and rejected before glazing. Diameter approximately 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Found at Yorktown along with other similar rims beneath the roadway south of the Digges House. Colonial Williamsburg collection.
2. Creampan, section from rim to base, a typical example of the "rolled-rim" technique, the body poorly fired, pink earthenware flecked with ocher, presumably biscuit and rejected before glazing. The sherd is badly twisted and is an undoubted waster. Diameter approximately 16 inches. National Park Service collection from Yorktown. No recorded context.
3. Creampan, rim and wall fragment, rim technique similar to no. 2, but heavier and the body thicker; pale pink earthenware flecked with ocher. Presumably biscuit and rejected before glazing. Diameter uncertain. National Park Service collection from Yorktown. No recorded provenance.
4. Creampan, rim and wall fragment, the rim form a variant on the everted and rolled technique, seemingly having been turned out and then rolled back toward the interior. The body orange-to-pink earthenware flecked with ocher, presumably biscuit and rejected before glazing. Diameter approximately 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. National Park Service collection from Yorktown. No recorded provenance. Fragments of three pans of this type were present in the as-yet-unpublished group of artifacts from the Challis site in James City County whence came the key Rogers stoneware tankard (fig. 3), all of which were buried around 1730.
5. Funnel, lower rim fragment, lead-glazed pale pink-bodied earthenware similar to the two examples illustrated in figure 15: the rim everted and tooled beneath, a technique paralleled by those on numerous bowls found at Yorktown and Williamsburg. A rim sherd of this form was among the pieces found in front of the Digges House. The funnel is thin walled, well potted, and coated with a ginger-to-yellow mottled glaze both inside and out. National Park Service collection from Yorktown; no recorded context. The comparable funnels cited above were discarded in the mid-18th century.
6. Porringer, small rim fragment only, but bearing traces of handle luting which thus identifies the vessel; the rim everted and flattened on the top, pale pink-bodied earthenware, presumably biscuit and rejected before glazing. Diameter approximately 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. National Park Service collection from Yorktown; no recorded provenance.
7. Pipkin, brown salt-glazed stoneware, bag-shaped body with slightly rising base, the rim thickened, slightly everted, with a tooled cordon beneath. The handle (not part of this example) was made as a solid roll and when soft pierced longitudinally with a stick. The glaze is well mottled and a purplish green. The body was thrown away in the mid-18th century, but the handle is unstratified. Colonial Williamsburg archeological collection (body) E.R. 140.27A, (handle) 30B. Other fragments from Williamsburg show that the rim usually was drawn slightly outward at a point at right angles to the handle to create a simple spout. Excavated examples of these pipkins range in rim diameter from 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ to at least 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches.
8. Bottle, brown salt-glazed stoneware, neck and handle fragment only, the body dark gray and the oxide slip a deep purple to yellow as a result of overfiring. Glazing also occurs on the fractures, identifying this piece as a waster and therefore of considerable importance. Other blemishes include roof drippings on the handle and body which indicate that the bottle was fired without the protection of a sagger. The cordoning on the neck is well proportioned, and the handle terminates in a neatly fingered rat-tail. National Park Service collection from the Swan Tavern site at Yorktown; unstratified. S.F. 213.

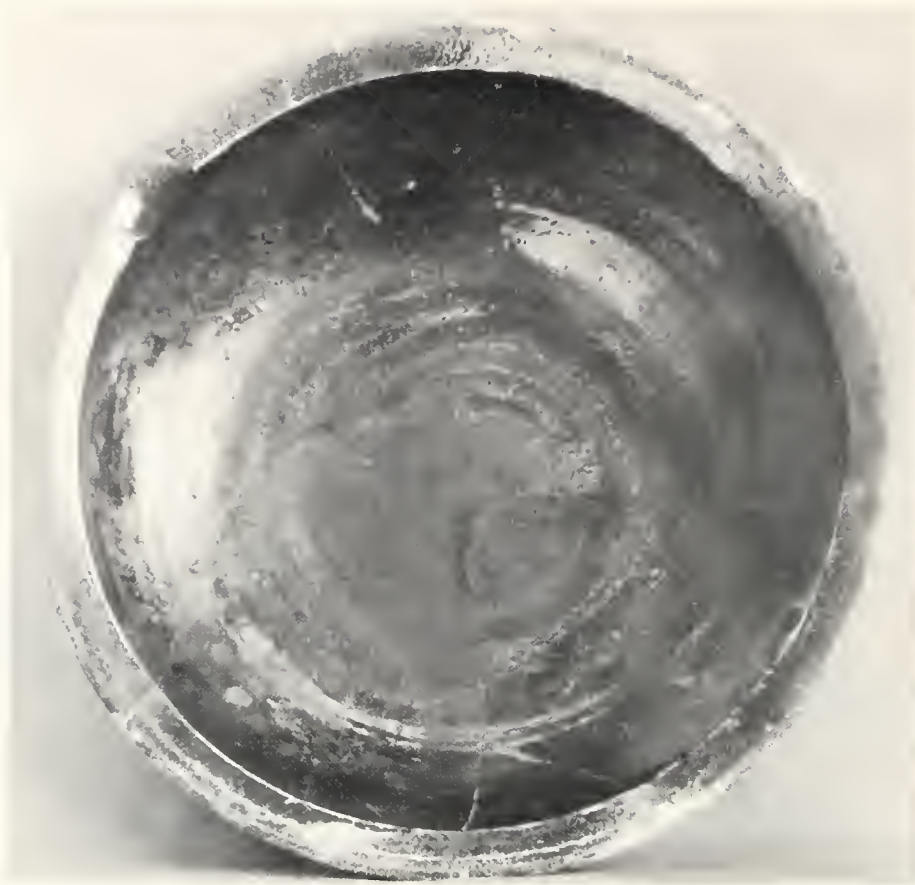


Figure 14.—BROWN LEAD-GLAZED EARTHENWARE CREAMPAN of typical Yorktown type, probably dating from the second quarter of the 18th century. Found in Williamsburg. Rim diameter 35.56 centimeters.

Stoneware Manufacturing Processes

The types of kiln used by the Yorktown potters as well as their techniques of manufacture will not be known until the factory site is located and carefully excavated. Until that time, the Yorktown stonewares raise more questions than they answer. The most important of these is the shape of the kilns and how they were fired. The wares run the gamut from such underburning that the iron-oxide slip has evolved no further than a zone of bright-red coloring, to over-firing which has turned the slip a deep purple and the body to almost the hardness and color of granite. Do these differences result from a lack of control over entire batches, or do they stem from temperature variations inherent in different parts of the kiln? Mr. Maloney's experiments, made without the use of saggars, have shown that close proximity to the firebox can unexpectedly and dramatically affect the wares.

Thus, one mug of his first test series was placed much closer to the direct heat than were the rest, with the result that it emerged with an overall dark, highly glossed surface somewhat reminiscent of Burslem brown stoneware.

The only real evidence of the Yorktown manufacturing process comes from the many sagger fragments that have been found around the town. The largest single assemblage was discovered on the Swan Tavern site, but another group of large pieces was recovered from beneath the Archer Cottage at the foot of the colonial roadway leading down to the river frontage. In neither instance is it likely that the sherds were serving any practical purpose, and so it is hard to imagine why they would have been taken to these widely distant locations.

The Park Service Yorktown collection includes



Figure 15.—YELLOW LEAD-GLAZED EARTHENWARE CREAMPAN of local Tidewater manufacture, probably dating from the second quarter of the 18th century. Found in Williamsburg. Rim diameter 34.29 centimeters.

sections through three saggars of different sizes, one for holding quart tankards (fig. 12), another for pint mugs, and a third which might have served for the bowls, the last being $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and having an interior base diameter of approximately 8 inches, with walls $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick and side apertures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart.⁷⁹ These apertures are pear shaped and are common to all the Yorktown saggars, as they are also to the examples excavated at Bankside in London.⁸⁰ The tankard saggars have three such holes plus a vertical slit which extends from the top to the bottom to house the handles, but it is not known whether the wide and shallow example described above would have possessed this feature. If this example was intended only for bowls, a slot would not

have been needed and an extra aperture probably would have been substituted; but were it also used for pipkins, a handle opening would have been essential. The purpose of the pear-shaped apertures was to enable the salt fumes to percolate freely around the vessels being fired. For the same reason sagger lids sometimes were jacked up on small pads of clay, or the sagger rim scooped out here and there to let the fumes enter from the top. A careful examination of some of the Yorktown vessels shows that those closest to the salting holes received excessive fuming through the sagger apertures, the outlines of which were transferred to the pots in patches or stripes of heavy greenish mottling.

Other kiln furniture found in Yorktown includes fragments of sagger lids having an average thickness of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch and various lumps of clay which served as kiln pads and props.⁸¹ Without knowing the type

⁷⁹ U.S. National Park Service collection at Jamestown: Yorktown—the first from the Swan Tavern Site and the others from Project 203, F.S. 8, unstratified material recovered during sewer digging on Main Street, 1956–1957.

⁸⁰ OSWALD, *op. cit.* (footnote 66), fig. IX.

⁸¹ U.S. National Park Service collection at Jamestown: Yorktown, S.T. 1933.



Figure 16.—LEAD-GLAZED EARTHENWARE BOWL of typical Yorktown type, probably dating from the second quarter of the 18th century. Found in Williamsburg. Rim diameter 18.95 centimeters.

of kilns used it is impossible to determine how the saggars were employed. It is obvious, however, that they prevented the pots from sticking together in the kiln, from being dripped upon by the fusing brickwork of the roof, and from becoming repositories for the salt as it was thrown or poured into the kiln. But, as Mr. Maloney demonstrates daily, it is perfectly possible to make good stoneware without saggars, though wasters will accrue from the mishaps just described. If a single-level "crawl-in" or "groundhog" type kiln is used, the number of pots discarded as wasters is more than offset by the space saved through not using saggars. It can be argued, therefore, that Rogers' kiln was of a type in which the saggars served the additional function of allowing the pots to be stacked one on top of the other instead of being spread over a wide flat area, in which case it is possible that the kiln or kilns were of the beehive variety.⁸²

The manufacture of stoneware requires only one

firing at a temperature of about 2300° F., and it takes Mr. Maloney approximately 13 hours to burn them, although at Yorktown the use of saggars may have necessitated prolonged "soaking" of up to 24 hours or more. The salt was thrown in at the peak temperature and repeated at least twice at intervals of about a half hour. When the fire was extinguished the kiln would have been allowed to cool for up to two days and two nights before it could be unloaded. Mr. Maloney has stated that his stoneware kiln, which he considers small, takes approximately three hours to load. Thus, if the Yorktown factory worked at full capacity, it probably would have been possible to fire each kiln once a week. But, not knowing how many workmen were engaged in the operation, we would be unwise even to guess at the size of its output. The listing of stoneware and coarse earthenware included in Rogers' inventory is not particularly large, although £5 worth of "crackt" stoneware might have represented a considerable quantity of "seconds" or wasters when one considers that 26 dozen good quart mugs were worth only 4 shillings more.

Pint mugs are the most commonly found stoneware

⁸² Mr. Maloney is of the opinion that saggars could just as usefully have served a "groundhog" kiln where they would have enabled the pots to be stacked up to four in height.



Figure 17.—A PAIR OF BROWN LEAD-GLAZED local earthenware funnels, paralleled by a fragment from Yorktown, discarded in the mid-18th century. Found in Williamsburg. Rim diameters: left, 18.25 centimeters; right, 18.42 centimeters.

relics of the Yorktown factory. Following the “26 doz. q^t Mugs £5.4.,” a value of 4d. per mug, we find “60 doz p^t D^o 7.10.”⁸³ A stock of 60 dozen would be reasonable because, as Mr. Maloney has stated, a good potter can throw approximately 12 dozen a day.

Before leaving the evidence of the inventory it should be noted that the vessels which we usually term storage jars are probably synonymous with Rogers’ “9 large Cream Potts 4/6”; but where are the large stone bottles? The “4 doz small stone bottles 6/” were likely to have been of quart capacity. We can only suppose that the large bottles were not included in the batches fired just before Rogers died and that, consequently, he had none in stock.

The Earthenwares

Besides the stonewares, the inventory includes the following items of earthenware:

11 doz Milk pans £2.4	9 large Cream potts 4/6
9 Midle Sized D ^o 3/	12 Small D ^o 2/
2 doz red Saucepans 4/	2 doz porringers 4/
6 Chamber potts 2/	4 doz bird bottles 12/
3 doz Lamps 9/	4 doz small stone bottles 6/
4 doz small dishes 8/	6 doz puding pans 2/

This listing might be read to indicate that the Yorktown factory produced considerably less earthenware than stoneware, a construction that could be supported by the earlier inventory reference to “a p^tl crackt redware” with a value of only £2 as against the £5 worth of “crackt” stoneware. We may wonder whether a ratio of 40 to 60 percent may not be a reasonable guide to the proportionate output of coarseware and stoneware, although it must be admitted that we do not know the relative sizes of the two parcels of cracked wares. It must be added also that, besides the inventory, the only extant direct documentary reference to the Rogers’ factory products (1745) is to earthenware, not stoneware. Furthermore, we know that 20 years earlier he had sold a considerable quantity of earthenware to John Mercer of Marlborough.

Prior to the discovery of the Yorktown evidence we had known of no stoneware manufacturing in Tidewater Virginia in the 18th century, but archeological evidence had revealed the presence of earthenware kilns in the 17th century, with the possibility of two or three operating at much the same time.⁸⁴ It can easily be argued that there would have been more in the 18th century, though no kiln sites have yet been

⁸³ See WATRINS, Part I, footnote 32.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.* (footnote 72), pp. 203-220.



Figure 18.—UNGLAZED EARTHENWARE BOTTLE, probably of Yorktown manufacture, discarded about 1765. Found in Williamsburg. Surviving height 23.81 centimeters.

found. These considerations cannot be ignored, and consequently we must carefully avoid the trap of attributing all 18th-century, lead-glazed earthenwares made from Tidewater clay to the Rogers factory. A wood-fired Yorktown kiln burning pottery made from Peninsula clay and coated with a clear lead glaze would produce wares possessing variations of texture and color similar to those emerging from a comparable kiln, say, at Williamsburg.⁸⁵ Therefore, in attempting to assess the range and importance of Rogers' earthenwares we must use potting techniques alone as our guide to their identification.

The principal evidence comes from the cut beside Main Street in Yorktown in front of the Digges House,⁸⁶ where numerous rim fragments of overfired and unglazed creampans were found. Others were

recovered from the edges of the roadways on three sides of the adjacent colonial lots 51 and 55, shown on the 18th-century plat (Watkins, fig. 1) as having belonged to William Rogers. The rims from these deposits flared slightly, were tooled inward, and were flattened on the upper surface (fig. 13, no. 1). Fragments of such bowls, usually coated on the inside with a mottled lead glaze varying in color from light ginger to the tone and appearance of molasses, depending on the color of the body, are frequently found in Williamsburg (fig. 14) and on plantation sites in contexts of the second quarter of the 18th century. This creampan form is one of two made from Virginia clay which constantly turn up in contemporaneous archeological deposits. The second form (figs. 13, no. 2, and 15) possesses an everted and rolled rim,⁸⁷ an

⁸⁵ It must be stressed that no evidence of any such kiln exists. See also footnote 30.

⁸⁶ This material is divided between the colonial archeological collections of the Smithsonian Institution and of Colonial Williamsburg.

⁸⁷ I. NOEL HUME, "Excavations at Tutter's Neck, James City County in Virginia, 1960-1961," paper 53 in *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology* (U.S. National Museum Bulletin 249); Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1966, fig. 19, nos. 1, 3, and 4.

entirely different technique from that described above. I am inclined to doubt that these and their variants were made at the Rogers factory and have termed them products of the "rolled-rim" potter. Nevertheless, a few unglazed fragments of such pans (fig. 13, nos. 2-4) are represented in the National Park Service collections from uncertain archeological contexts in Yorktown.⁸⁸ The fact that they are unglazed suggests that they may have been made there, though undoubtedly not by the craftsman who threw the flattened-rim creampan.

Other earthenware sherds from the Digges House group include small, folded-rim fragments which may have come from storage jars or flowerpots. Another fragment was sharply everted over a pronouncedly incurving body. This could have been part of a small bowl or porringer. The Williamsburg archeological collections include a number of bowls of this form, one of which is illustrated in figure 16. A similar rim form is present on a pair of lead-glazed funnels (fig. 17) from a mid-18th-century context at the Coke Garrett House in Williamsburg and on a presumed funnel fragment (fig. 13, no. 5) in the Park Service collection from Yorktown.⁸⁹ Also from Yorktown comes the only known porringer fragment (fig. 13, no. 6), a biscuit sherd with a flattened rim and traces of the luting for a handle.⁹⁰ Although the type is not represented among stratified finds from Yorktown, mention must be made of an unglazed earthenware water (?) bottle found in Williamsburg,⁹¹ which is clearly a stoneware form and thus probably was made at the Yorktown factory (fig. 18).

Perhaps the most baffling item listed in Rogers' inventory was the reference to "4 doz bird bottles 12.", for it was hard to imagine that he would have been making the small feeder bottles for cages which were normally fashioned in glass. However, it now seems reasonably certain that the Rogers bird bottles were actually bird houses. Figure 19 illustrates two bottle-shaped vessels of Virginia earthenware coated with lead glazes identical in color to examples found on a creampan and other presumably Rogers products excavated in Yorktown. The example on the left has lost its mouth but when complete was undoubtedly

comparable to the specimen at right. The former was found in 1935 during the demolition of a chimney of the "Pyle House" at Green Spring near Jamestown.⁹² It was mortared into the chimney twelve feet above the ground with its broken mouth facing out but with its base stopping short of the flue. The bottle is now in the collection of the National Park Service at Jamestown, and a recent examination showed that it still contained a lens of washed soil lying in the belly clearly indicating the position in which it had been seated in the chimney brickwork. A stick had been thrust through the wall before firing and emerged on the inside at the same point that the lens of dirt was resting. It was apparent, therefore, that the hole was meant for drainage. The stick hole was present in both bottles as also was an ante-curtum cut in the base (fig. 20) which removed almost half of the bottom plus a vertical triangle. It is believed that this feature was intended to enable the bottles to be hooked over pintles or large nails which latched into the V and prevented them from rolling. In this way they could have been mounted under the eaves of frame buildings as nesting boxes (or bottles) and although firmly secure when hooked, they could be easily lifted off for cleaning. Evidence of such use is provided by slight chipping on the inner face of the vertical V cut of the second bottle (right) where the bottle had abraded against the nail or pintle.

The date of the Green Spring bottle is uncertain, though the paper label accompanying it says "Probably 1720, date of building of house." However, it is clear that the bottle was not installed in the intended portable manner and it is possible that it was added at a later date. The complete example (fig. 19, right) was recently discovered in a sound archeological context during excavations at the James Geddy House in Williamsburg, being associated with a large refuse deposit dating in the period about 1740-60.⁹³

It may be noted that in the 1746 inventory of the estate of John Burdett, tavern keeper of Williamsburg, there are listed "16 bird Bottles 3/".⁹⁴ As it seems unlikely that a tavern keeper would have a stock of birdcage bottles when he apparently had no birdcage,

⁸⁸ N.P.S. Collection at Jamestown: Yorktown, no provenance.

⁸⁹ Bowl IC.1.18C, Funnels E.R. 140.27A, and National Park Service collection at Jamestown: Yorktown, no provenance.

⁹⁰ National Park Service collection at Jamestown: Yorktown, no provenance.

⁹¹ E.R. 157A, C, and G, 27A.

⁹² National Park Service collection, J. 13049 (G.S.), with label reading "Pyle House Green Spring. Built into brickwork of chimney—removed in securing brick for Lightfoot House by C. ? T. (10.29.35)."

⁹³ Colonial Williamsburg archeological collections, E. R. 987D.19B, cat. 3275.

⁹⁴ "Inventory and Appraisal of estate of John Burdett," York County Records, Book 20, *Wills and Inventories*, pp. 46-49.



Figure 19.—TWO EARTHWARE "BIRD BOTTLES" believed to be of Rogers' lead-glazed earthenware showing drainage holes in sides. Bottle on left is from a house chimney near Green Spring and, on right, is from the James Geddy House in Williamsburg. Height 18.42 centimeters, and 21.91 centimeters, respectively.

it may be suggested that the reference is to bottles similar to those discussed here. In support of this conclusion, attention is drawn to the fact that Rogers' new bottles were valued at 3d each, while Burdett's (used ?) seven years later were appraised at 2½d.⁹⁵

It seems evident that the Rogers earthenware was fired to biscuit, glazed, and fired again in a glaze oven; no other explanation accounts for the large quantities of unglazed earthenware found at Yorktown. Mr. Maloney's experiments at the Williamsburg Pottery have amply demonstrated that the

Yorktown earthenware could have been glazed in the green state and would not have required a second firing. Furthermore, the study of a late-17th-century kiln site in James City County has confirmed that not all potters thought it necessary to make glazing a separate process. It is curious that the Rogers factory found it desirable to take this second and seemingly uneconomical step. The making of stoneware certainly would not have been a double-firing operation, and, although some of the pieces actually are fired no higher than the earthenware, they have been slipped and salted. Consequently we must accept the bottle discussed above as an intentional earthenware item which had passed through only the first kiln. Furthermore, its presence in Williamsburg indicates that it was never meant to be glazed. And finally, it should be noted that an unglazed handle fragment, probably from a similar bottle, was among the sherds recovered from the roadway in front of the Digges House.

⁹⁵ Since this paper was written and the bird bottles identified, a number of additional fragments have been recognized among mid-eighteenth-century finds from Williamsburg excavations, including a small, pierced lug handle fitting the scar on the Geddy example (fig. 19, right). The hole through the handle lined up with that through the shoulder clearly indicating that their combined purpose was to provide an alternative method of suspension for use when the bottles were hung in trees.



Figure 20.—BASES OF THE "BIRD BOTTLES" depicted in figure 19, showing holes for suspension.
Base diameters: left, 10.48 centimeters; right, 10.16 centimeters.

Conclusions

The Rogers inventory contains such a wide variety of forms that one may claim without fear of contradiction that his factory was *capable* of producing any of the kinds of kitchen vessels and general-purpose containers that the colony may have required. Consequently, a Yorktown origin may reasonably be considered for any of the wares made from local clay that turn up in contexts of the appropriate period. In the Williamsburg collections are such varied lead-glazed, earthenware items as closestool pans, chamber pots, straight-sided dishes, lidded storage jars, wide-mouthed and double-handled storage bins, pipkins, and chafing dishes. But whether all these things were made, in fact, at Yorktown cannot be known until the factory site is found and excavated.

In the meantime, a few conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the existing archeological evidence. There can be no doubt that the Rogers factory at Yorktown was a sizable operation and that it employed throwers as capable in their own field as any in England. Our slender knowledge of Rogers' own background does not indicate that he himself was a

potter. It must be supposed, therefore, that he obtained the services of at least a journeyman potter apprenticed in one of the brown-stoneware factories in England. One can only guess at the center in which this unknown craftsman was trained, but it is more than likely that he came from London and might have worked at Fulham,⁹⁶ or more probably at Southwark, or even, perhaps, at Lambeth, the types of sagger and the wares produced at Yorktown being stylistically identical to the fragments found on the latter sites.

Not knowing the number of craftsmen employed, we cannot hope to determine the size of Rogers' output or the number of kilns in operation. But one would suppose that he had at least two kilns, one for stoneware and the other for lead-glazed earthenware, although they could, conceivably, have been interchangeable. An indication that lead-glazed wares were sometimes burned in the salt-glaze kiln is

⁹⁶There is a long-established belief that Fulham was the principal source of 18th-century brown-stoneware vessels. While the art of making the ware was first developed there by John Dwight, the factory fell into decline after his death in 1703 and remained in virtual oblivion until the 19th century.

provided by a single creampan in the Williamsburg collection,⁹⁷ which is both lead-glazed and heavily incrustated with salt. It is possible, however, that, knowing that there would be "cold" spots in the kiln,⁹⁸ the potter tried to make use of every available inch and inserted a few lead-glazed pieces along with the stoneware.

Documentary evidence relating to the distribution of Rogers' products has been discussed by Mr. Watkins (pp. 83-84), and, although some of it tends to be equivocal, we are left with the impression that both stoneware and earthenware were shipped for trade elsewhere, but that such shipments were probably infrequent and not of large quantities.⁹⁹ When seemingly comparable fragments are unearthed on sites beyond the environs of the York and James Rivers one must use extreme caution in attributing them to Yorktown. Clay of a generally similar character lies beneath much of Tidewater Virginia, and, since little serious historical archeology has been undertaken in the state beyond the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown triangle, it is much too soon to assume that apprentices trained at Yorktown did not set up their own kilns in other counties. In short, techniques of manufacture such as are exhibited by the shaping of earthenware rims and handles should be the only acceptable guide for identification, and even these are not infallible. As for the stoneware, the manufacturing techniques are

so English in character that they are of no help. Thus, once the Rogers stoneware was shipped out of Yorktown, it must have lost its identity as totally as Governor Gooch presumably had hoped that it would.

Archeological evidence for the date range of the Yorktown ware is not very conclusive. The Challis site mug seems to have been thrown away around 1730, and this provides the earliest tightly dated context in which the wares have been found. The largest single assemblage of probable Yorktown products was the extensive refuse deposit believed to have been associated with John Coke's tavern in Williamsburg, but this was not discarded before mid-century. Other fragments of stoneware tankards, jars, and pipkins have been found at the Anthony Hay and New Post Office Sites in Williamsburg in contexts ranging from 1750 to 1770, while more, possibly Yorktown pieces, were encountered in a rubbish deposit interred in the period 1763-1772 at Rosewell in Gloucester County. These are, of course, dates at or after which the pieces were thrown away; they do not necessarily have a close relationship with the dates of manufacture. Nevertheless, the recovery of so many fragments from late contexts does suggest that the factory continued in operation after the last documented date of 1745.¹⁰⁰

The most obvious source for dating evidence is clearly at Yorktown itself, but, unfortunately, little of the large National Park Service collection has any acceptable archeological associations. The fragments recovered from the roadway in front of the Digges House were accompanied by no closely datable items. While it is tempting to associate this deposit with Rogers' tenure as "Surveyor of the Landings, Streets; and Cosways" beginning in 1734,¹⁰¹ it is also possible that he provided the City of York with road metaling before that date and that after his death his successors continued to do so. The quantity of sagger fragments from the vicinity of the Swan Tavern might have been associated in some way with the fact that Thomas Reynolds (see Watkins, p. 83) occupied the adjacent lot. More sagger fragments were found in the backfilling of the builder's trench around the recently restored Digges House on Main Street, which the National Park Service believes to have been

⁹⁷ Archeological area 2B2, context unknown.

⁹⁸ Mr. Maloney has pointed out that a margin of 150°F. is sufficient to make the difference between earthenware and stoneware.

⁹⁹ Export records for the York River should be treated with some caution as goods often were imported from one place and later exported to another. But if we accept the 1739 and 1745 *Virginia Gazette* references (Watkins, footnotes 38 and 41) as being to wares of Yorktown manufacture, by the same token we must draw comparable conclusions from the Naval Office Lists for Accomac (Eastern Shore of Virginia), which show "1 shipment" of "stoneware" exported to Maryland in 1749. Similarly we would have to assume that there was an earthenware factory operating near the James River in 1755 when the records list the exporting of "2 crates Earthenware" to the Rappahannock. Such conclusions may, indeed, be correct, though there is as yet no evidence to support them. Naval Office Lists, Public Records Office, London; cf. *Commodity Analysis of Imports and Exports, Accomac, Virginia, 1726-1769*, and for the *Rappahannock, Virginia, 1726-1769* microfilm books compiled under the direction of John H. Cox, University of California, 1939 (unpublished).

¹⁰⁰ *Virginia Gazette*, June 20, 1745.

¹⁰¹ WATKINS, Part I, footnote 37.

constructed in about 1760.¹⁰² But it can be argued that the sagger pieces were scattered so liberally around the town that their presence in the builder's trench does not necessarily imply that the factory was still operating at that date.

In summation, it may be said that the quantities of stoneware and earthenware with possible Yorktown associations which have been found in archeological sites in Tidewater Virginia leave little doubt that the venture established by William Rogers was of considerable value to the colony. There can be equally

¹⁰² Large numbers of wine-bottle fragments also were recovered from the builder's trench, and provided archeological support for a construction date after about 1760.

little doubt that Governor Gooch was aware of this fact and that he gave his tacit approval to the venture by minimizing its importance in his reports to the Board of Trade.

The quality of the products was good by colonial standards, and their quantity impressive. Consequently, in spite of Governor Gooch's misleading reports, William Rogers begins to emerge as one of the pioneers of industry in Virginia. It is to be hoped that it will be possible eventually to undertake a full archeological excavation of his factory site and so enable Rogers to step out once and for all from behind the deprecatory sobriquet of the "poor potter" of Yorktown that has concealed for more than two centuries his name, his acumen, and his potters' talents.