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Variations in American marketing practices of early nineteenth-century ceramic importers and dealers, reflecting culture and identity.

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Abstract

Purpose - This paper explores the advertising strategy of crockery importers and dealers in relationship to their origins and backgrounds. This is a departure from earlier ceramic-history literature which tended to focus on the Staffordshire producers, with limited awareness of how the identity of importers and dealers influenced what products were sold, and their individual approaches to marketing.

Design/methodology/approach - Within a context of historical marketing research, this paper analyses newspaper advertising and commentary. It combines an examination of marketing practices with a wider consideration of the cultural identities of ceramic importers and dealers. The digitalization of historical records, combined with sophisticated search engines, makes it more feasible to examine a broader range of sources. Thus, modern research methods can enhance our understanding of production and demand, and reveal how marketing strategy was diverse.

Findings - Awareness of how advertising was influenced by the backgrounds and socio-political views of importers and dealers demonstrates ways in which Anglo-American ceramic trade could be far more market-led. More significantly, marketing approaches were not necessarily responding to American demand, but rather that importers could engage in commissioning goods which reflected their own views on politics, religion or slavery.

Originality/value - Examining the advertising of importers demonstrates the complex relationship between production and ceramic demand. This paper opens up debates as to how far the advertising of other merchandise in the United States shows evidence of taking a more individual approach by the nineteenth-century.

Key words - Advertising, ceramics, Staffordshire, politics, Baptist, slavery.

Paper type - Research paper.

Introduction

In 1952, Ernest S. Turner's assessment of American advertising was that, "In content, the American advertisements were not vastly different from those in English newspapers", except "the British upper classes had almost ceased to advertise their black boys for sale, American advertisers still trafficked in human flesh" (1952: reprint 1968, p.116). Using the case-study of imported English ceramics, the purpose of this paper is to show how American advertising in the early nineteenth-century evolved in far more diverse ways.

The contention of this paper is that American ceramic advertising became more complex than simply providing information about stock and competitive prices. When comparing the

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3 backgrounds of crockery importers and dealers with their actual advertising, it becomes
4 apparent how cultural origins, a motivation for migration, and on occasion, political
5 sympathies and religious affiliations were reflected in marketing strategy. The marketing
6 practices of crockery importers and dealers in the United States show evidence of being
7 individualistic in nature, and viewed in this way, there arose an interesting interplay between
8 cultural identity and the approaches displayed in advertising. Thus, appreciating that
9 importers and dealers marketed goods that adhered to their backgrounds and viewpoints, has
10 implications on how we understand the relationship between production and demand. The
11 last part of this paper speculates as to reasons why American ceramic marketing developed in
12 these unusual ways.

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21 This investigation is based on records and sources regularly utilized and identified by
22 marketing history (Wikowski and Jones, 2006, pp.70-9). In recent years, however, the
23 digitalization of archival records and newspapers has made it more feasible to search, survey
24 and analyse a much broader range of resources. In terms of this research, the methodology
25 has involved establishing the names of individuals involved in the ceramic and glass trade.
26 Some of these individuals are known because of previous research, but the digitalization of
27 city directories, has provided a clearer picture of family ties to a trade. Based on identifying
28 ceramic importers and dealers, newspapers were searched for advertisements, articles, or
29 obituaries, that related to identified importers and dealers. Tools, such as the
30 Britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk, or Genealogybank.com, enabled this aspect of the research.
31 The American newspaper, *The Friend of Man* (mentioned below), is available through
32 Cornell University, and may also be searched, digitally. In addition, immigration and census
33 records are available through Ancestry.com. These sources provide more information about
34 the backgrounds and cultural identities of ceramic importers. Although it still remains a
35 lengthy process to scrutinize all of these records, the results show how marketing strategy
36 varied, and suggests that generalisations concerning English or American advertising should
37 be avoided. The same methodology could conceivably be used to compare and contrast
38 different trades, and the advertising of other commodities.

53 **Production**

54 The United States relied particularly on England for its supply of ordinary ceramic tableware
55 (Weatherill, 1971, p.87-8). One early newspaper article recognized how, "EARTHEN
56 WARE... On scrutiny, it will be found, that notwithstanding their home manufactures of this
57 kind, the greater part made use of in the United States is English" (*Time Piece*, 1797). This
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3 serialized report was published by H. Caritat, who also ran a circulating library on Pearl
4 Street, New York. Approximately thirty years later, when an English traveler visited the
5 “humble habitations” of the Seneca Indians near Buffalo, he unexpectedly found amongst
6 their furniture a, “...display of Birmingham tea-trays, and blue and white Staffordshire
7 crockery”, causing him to record how this was, “such an opposite picture of rural life”
8 (Boardman, 1833, p.160-1). English earthenware, was no longer the preserve of white
9 settlers, and ceramic export figures from the main port of Liverpool to the United States
10 confirm gradual increases, subject to wars and fluctuations in economy (Ewins, 1997, p.5-6).

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17 Even though a broad range of Staffordshire ceramics was exported to the United States,
18 it was the printed earthenwares, specifically produced to appeal to the tastes of the American
19 market, which initially received the most attention from early ceramic historians. William C.
20 Prime’s *Pottery and Porcelain of all Times and Nations* of 1877, is an example of a vast
21 publication that included references to creamwares and earthenwares printed with political
22 themes or American scenery. Of the Staffordshire wares, Prime, observed how the “American
23 decorations” in dark blue were “common enough... forty years ago”, but were now
24 “becoming scarce”, and as a consequence, “collectors will do well to secure good specimens”
25 (1877: 3rd edition, 1879, p.346). (See Figure 1). Large collections were formed, including one
26 belonging to William Randolph Hearst, although his was sold-off at auction during the Great
27 Depression (Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1938).

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37 [insert Figure 1 about here]

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39 [Figure 1: Group of printed Staffordshire wares manufactured for the American market]



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3 **Source:** From left to right. Plate, earthenware, blue printed. Printed mark, “Beauties of
4 America/ Octagon Church, Boston/ J. & W. Ridgway”, c.1824-25. Jug, earthenware, blue
5 printed, American Eagle and inscription ‘E Pluribus Unum’, impressed “Adams,
6 Staffordshire Warranted”, c.1825-30. Cup and saucer, earthenware, blue printed,
7 commemorating General Lafayette’s arrival in New York on 16th August 1824, impressed
8 “[J. & R.] Clews, Staffordshire Warranted”, c.1825. Plate, blue printed, depicting
9 Commodore MacDonough’s victory over the British at Lake Champlain in 1814, Enoch
10 Wood, Burslem. c1825-30. Courtesy of, Private collection.
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14 **Nevertheless, the collecting trend led to more publications that discussed, along with**
15 **other imported ceramics, Staffordshire wares produced for the American market (Slosson,**
16 **1878; Earle, 1892).** However, the perplexing issue of motivation for producing printed
17 designs aimed at the American market, was only briefly considered by these early writers.
18 For instance, Alice Morse Earle proposed:
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23 It seems odd that English potters should have made so many pitchers bearing
24 testimony to the victories of their late enemies, unless they were ordered by
25 American dealers specially for the American market; but I have never seen
26 anything to prove that such orders were given (1892, p.142).
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29 While there was some speculation that American crockery dealers could have impacted on
30 Staffordshire production, as Earle indicates, she had failed to find evidence to support this
31 theory. Also, it is interesting that Earle described the dealers as “American”, which requires
32 more scrutiny. The question of identity and whether those involved in the trade were
33 American, or of more recent English or European origins in America, was not considered
34 relevant in that period. This paper argues that identity does have a relevance in helping to
35 understand distribution, and even approaches to ceramic advertising.
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41 In short, early ceramic-history literature typically focused on the producers, and often
42 assumed that designs for the American market were producer-led. **For instance, one**
43 **interpretation was that they were “used to appeal to our patriotism, a feeling which was then**
44 **running very strong, and assured a ready sale” (Smith, 1924, p.iv).** Ellouise Larsen’s
45 *American Historical Views on Staffordshire China* of 1939, repeated a view that the wares
46 simply appealed to American patriotism (1939: revised 1950, p.2). Larsen’s publication
47 (revised and enlarged in 1950) remains the most extensive catalogue of all the underglaze
48 American-themed printed wares that were produced and the visual sources used for these
49 transfer wares. But, **emphasizing the role of manufacturers in cultivating this market has**
50 **continued. In the 1990s, it was argued that these wares were produced by manufacturers to**
51 **recapture trade after the Anglo-American War of 1812-14, by “plucking the patriotic**
52 **heartstrings of the new nation” (Snyder, 1995, p.5-6).**
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Marketing

Thus, the theoretical framework of this inquiry needs to be located within the context of research focused far more on the role of marketing. Research papers by Neil McKendrick (1960;1964) systematically addressed the business strategy of Josiah Wedgwood. This area of research culminated in McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb's *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* of 1982. McKendrick approached the subject of Wedgwood's marketing strategy from the perspective of an historian, rather than as a collector who had hitherto dominated ceramic-history research, as outlined above. McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb explored the ways in which marketing impacted on the growing consumption of commodities from the end of the eighteenth century (1982, p.40). One of McKendrick's chapters focuses on "Josiah Wedgwood and the Commercialization of the Potteries", and on how he made use of distribution warehouses, showrooms, the exhibiting of new products combined with a consideration of display, travelling salesmen, as well as utilising "straight-forward" advertising (1982, p.118). McKendrick's analysis usefully begins to bridge the gap between production and consumption. Wedgwood advertised widely, promoting outlets in Dublin and Bath, and advertisements placed in a Bath newspaper also referred to the showroom on Soho street, London (*Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 1776). Certainly, Josiah Wedgwood was a dominant manufacturer, who produced prestigious goods, though in the case of the American market, he viewed it as a useful destination to off-load unwanted stock (Wedgwood Museum, 1973, p.127). Thomas Bentley, his Liverpool partner, also believed that the American market was not ready for expensive products (McKendrick, 1964, p.19). There remains scope to build on our understanding of how the advertising of ceramics evolved in the United States.

Neil Ewins's "*Supplying the Present Wants of Our Yankee Cousins...*": *Staffordshire Ceramics and the American Market 1775-1880* of 1997, examined what was more widely exported, and how the growing trade for English ceramics in the United States, was actually organized. Paralleling the work of economic historians who have previously examined the organization of the Anglo-American trade, there was a tendency of Staffordshire manufacturers to deal more directly with the United States in the post-1815 era. More precisely, Norman Buck's *The Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade 1800-1850* argued that in a period of rising exports, ushered in by the end of the Anglo-American War of 1812-14, British manufacturers, as opposed to merchants, became more dominant as marketing agents in the United States (1925: reprint 1969, p.98-9, 121).

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Researchers have not ignored examining methods which facilitated the flow of merchandise into the United States (Miller, 1984a; Miller, 1984b). For example, Frelinghuysen has outlined how, in the context of rising imports and increasing demand, English ceramic manufacturers had family members in the United States helping to develop and coordinate their trade (2000, p.330). However, merchants continued to deal with the smaller Staffordshire manufacturers, and crockery importers and dealers in America still remained important for sales and distribution. Many American importers and dealers, who advertised ceramics are referred to (Ewins, 1997), but the backgrounds and cultural identities of these crockery importers and dealers often remains unclear.

McKendrick et al.'s *The Birth of a Consumer Society...* is a seminal text. John Brewer and Roy Porter point out how it created a surge of research into marketing and consumption (1993, p.2). Brewer and Porter brought together these varied results, including a chapter entitled, "Manufacturing, consumption and design in eighteenth-century England" by John Styles, a design historian. Styles argued that, "specifications were set predominately by the merchants and manufacturers who controlled the various trades, in accordance with their assessment of changes in fashion and in the other influences on demand" (1993, p.528). Thus, Styles' argument is emphasizing that merchants, or manufacturers, responded to consumer fashion and demand. Styles' chapter speculates how this also applied to international markets, when he states:

The production and supply of a wide range of eighteenth-century manufactured goods was organized along these lines. The processes at work are especially clear in the case of the American market, because of its size and appetite, the distances involved and the relative weakness of manufacturing in eighteenth-century North America, but the production and supply of similar goods in eighteenth-England was not very different (1993, p.528).

Obviously, understanding how manufacturers produced goods for different markets becomes even harder when there was a geographical gap between the producer and the market, and this was certainly the case with the Anglo-American ceramic trade. The growing appetite for commodities suggested by Norman Buck or John Styles can be supported by other primary evidence. When the Staffordshire manufacturer, John Ridgway, visited New York city in 1822, he was astonished by the amount of, "imports & exports: the busy shops & bustling streets." His diary entries also record how New York was "a sort of emporium to all Nations". Such scenes of mercantile activity impressed Ridgway to the extent that he noted that if he lived anywhere else than England, it would be in New York (Archival, Ridgway diary, 1822). But, the question remains, should it be assumed that manufacturers produced

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3 different goods anticipated to appeal to this growing market, or did importers and dealers,
4 who were closer to consumers, ever influence production?
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6 Referring to the 1920s to 1940s, it is interesting how **Roland Marchand raised** a similar
7 question concerning the role of advertisers, when he wrote:
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10 Did the content of advertisements mirror the consumers' actual conditions
11 and behavior – or their fantasies and aspirations? Or did the ads reflect, even
12 more faithfully, the particular values and preoccupations of advertisers, advertising
13 agents and copywriters?
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16 Marchand continues, "...even a plausible explanation of the content of a group of
17 advertisements, as intended by their creators, would prove nothing about the impact of the
18 messages in those ads on consumers" (1985, p.xvi). In other words, Marchand did not pursue
19 this line of enquiry. But, this paper examines whether, in the nineteenth century, importers
20 and dealers advertised goods that adhered to their backgrounds and viewpoints, which then
21 has implications on our understanding of the relationship between production and demand.
22 So, whilst this paper is not unique in raising a similar question of whether the values of
23 sellers could influence their marketing, it still needs to be thoroughly documented if this
24 actually occurred in the crockery trade.
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28 Although research has been undertaken into the marketing of ceramics in England in the
29 mid-eighteenth century, do these investigations provide an adequate model of how the
30 ceramic advertising evolved in the United States? For example, Hilary Young's *English*
31 *Porcelain 1745-95: its Makers, Design, Marketing and Consumption* of 1999, discussed how
32 porcelain manufacturers began to use outlets and warehouses in London. Young even
33 suggests that there was an opportunity for customers to request adaptations to be made to
34 products through contact with the London outlets - the hub of the English ceramic trade
35 (1999, p.163). Young also points out how newspaper advertising was used by both English
36 porcelain manufacturers and ceramic merchants, but his research concludes that it was merely
37 a "conduit for basic sales information" (1999, p.171). The English approach to advertising
38 ceramics in the nineteenth century seems to have remained focused on sales information.
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42 In terms of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, as editor of the *Pennsylvania*
43 *Gazette*, has been credited as a pioneer of early newspaper advertising because he considered
44 typographic layout, the use of basic illustrated imagery, and the actual number of
45 advertisements in each edition (Applegate, 2012, pp.8-12). Gradually newspapers, such as the
46 *New York Daily Advertiser*, became more focused on advertising commodities, rather than
47 providing news (Applegate, 2012, pp.18-19). Unlike England, by this period, there was no
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3 tax on American newspapers or advertisements (Presbrey, 1929: reprint 1968, p.75). It has
4 been pointed out that by the 1830s, advertising could subsidize the newspapers (Sivulka,
5 2012, pp.13-9), but beyond these rudimentary observations the actual content of
6 advertisements has been considered to be similar to English newspaper advertising. Certainly,
7 in terms of American crockery importers and dealers, just like their English counterparts,
8 their advertising in the late eighteenth century drew attention to the wide range of ceramic
9 stock available, the new arrivals, and the sellers' competitive prices (Smith, 1974). However,
10 moving into the nineteenth-century the backgrounds of importers and dealers, and their
11 marketing strategies became surprisingly intertwined, and this is examined below.

20 **Family connections**

21 Specialist crockery importers and dealers tended to cluster on certain streets in the major east
22 coast ports. For instance, in New York in the early part of the nineteenth century crockery
23 importers and dealers were normally located on Maiden-lane, Pearl and Water Streets, near to
24 the docks and to the East River. From a broader, business-history perspective it has been
25 argued that family connections were a vital part of the development of Anglo-American
26 trade, since they helped reduce business uncertainty and risk (Rose, 2000, p.60). In addition,
27 Haggerty, a business and trade historian, has argued that the "kinship nexus" persists as a
28 positive feature of networks in historical research because it is assumed to have reduced
29 "moral hazard" (2012, p.165). In the case of crockery importers and dealers, there is ample
30 evidence to show that the same principles applied. The brothers, Gilman and Horace
31 Collamore, from Scituate, Massachusetts, became crockery importers in Boston from the
32 1810s, forming various business partnerships (See Pedigree 1). Col. John Collamore of
33 Scituate (a brother of Gilman and Horace) had a number of sons who also became involved
34 in the crockery trade. These were Ebenezer, Davis and Gilman Collamore, dealers in New
35 York, and John jr., George E., and Andrew F. Collamore, crockery dealers in Boston. When
36 the Boston partnership between Horace Collamore and William Churchill (another crockery
37 dealer), was dissolved in 1824, Horace was immediately replaced by his nephew, John
38 Collamore jr, illustrating the importance of family connections (*Columbian Centinel*, 1824).

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41 **Just as Peter Mathias observed that kinship could allow access to credit, he also points**
42 **out how** "marriage often cemented alliances between families with close business interests"
43 (2000, p.19), and crockery importers and dealers followed the same pattern. This is shown in
44 the case of Thomas and William Hewitt who were originally from Staffordshire, and who
45 became crockery importers in New York, from the early part of the nineteenth century.

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3 Thomas and William Hewitt ran stores at 263, Broadway and 16, Chamber Street, and
4 advertised in 1805 (See Figure 2).
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8 [Figure 2 about here]
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10 [Figure2: Thomas and William Hewitt's advertisement, 1805.]
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12 **RECEIVED by the Ship Mars,**
13 from Liverpool, 72 crates of Earthenware,
14 by THOS. & WM. HEWITT, importers of
15 China, Glass and Earthenware, respectfully beg
16 leave to inform their friends and the public in gen-
17 eral, that they have opened two stores of the a-
18 bove goods, at no. 263 Broadway, and no. 16
19 Chamber-street, wholesale and retail, where coun-
try customers may be supplied on the most rea-
sonable terms...

20 Source: *New-York Gazette*, 6 May 1805, extract, p.3.
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24 In 1806, at New York, "Wm Hewitt, son of Mr. Hewitt, Lane End, Staffordshire" was
25 married to "Miss Sarah Cauldwell, eldest daughter of Mr. John Cauldwell, merchant of New
26 York, formerly at Birmingham [England]" (*Staffordshire Advertiser*, 1806). It also transpires
27 that the Cauldwell family were involved in the crockery trade. John Cauldwell advertised
28 metal buttons, stockings, and 40 crates of "assorted earthenware" available from his 323,
29 Pearl Street store in 1797 (*Daily Advertiser*), and his brother Cornelius Cauldwell jr, who
30 arrived in New York in 1806 with his son, Ebenezer, proceeded to focus on the crockery
31 trade. The genealogy of the Cauldwell family is well recorded because Jane Cauldwell, a
32 daughter of Cornelius Cauldwell, married George Colgate in 1824, and thus became linked to
33 the famous Colgate family of New York (Abbe and Howson, 1941, pp.365-70) (See Pedigree
34 2). The reason for the Cauldwells involvement in the crockery trade is interesting. Prior to
35 arriving in New York, city directories show that a Cornelius Cauldwell was a dealer in
36 earthenware and glass at 35, Dale end, Birmingham, England in 1800 and 1801 (Chapman,
37 1800-1). In addition, a "Staffordshire warehouse" business called Lea and Cauldwell existed
38 in Birmingham during the 1790s (Pye, 1791; Ward, 1798). This consisted of Jacob Lea of
39 Longport, Staffordshire, a potter, with another member of the Cauldwell family, called
40 Joseph (*London Gazette*, 1791). Perhaps not coincidentally, Joseph Cauldwell had married a
41 Maria Lea in Birmingham in 1787.
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55 In the manner of early English migrant potters who impacted on the development of the
56 American ceramic industry (Hudgins, 2007, pp.203-8), some crockery importers and dealers
57 had Staffordshire roots. For example, William W. Shirley was baptized in Hanley in 1797,
58 and came from a family background of manufacturing in Hanley and Shelton, Staffordshire.
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He arrived in New York in 1818, aged 21 (Scott, 1981, p.280), and became a crockery importer (See Pedigree 3). In August 1820, William W. Shirley advertised a “New & Cheap China, Earthenware & Glass Store” at 55, Maiden-lane, and in 1821, a wholesale and retail ceramic and glass warehouse at “No.43 Maiden-lane, sign of the large Blue Pitcher” (See Figure 3).

[Figure 3 about here] [Figure 3: William Shirley’s advertisement, 1821]

WHOLESALE & RETAIL
CHINA, EARTHEN & GLASS WAREHOUSE,
No. 43 Maiden-lane, sign of the large
Blue Pitcher.
WM. W. SHIRLEY has received by late
arrivals, and now opened, a general assort-
ment of the above articles, consisting of rich
blue Dinner, Tea and Coffee Services;
Pitchers of various sizes and colors; cut and
plain glass Tumblers, Wines, Decanters, &c.
of numerous patterns...

Source: *New-York Gazette*, 20 June 1821, extract, p.3.

The use of a shop-sign outside the establishment was a practice already adopted by English crockery dealers in London by the eighteenth century (Young, 1999, p.171). By 1824, Shirley’s business had expanded enough to warrant running what was called a “Wholesale Earthen Ware and Glass Store” at 6, Fletcher, and the “Retail Store”, at 43, Maiden-lane. William Shirley was able to deal in crockery and glass from more than one New York store because he was in a co-partnership with a brother called Cephias Shirley, who arrived in New York in 1825, aged 31 (Scott, 1981, p. 281). Prior to his arrival in the United States, Cephias was involved in decorating and manufacturing ceramics (Pigot, 1818; *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 1820). A notice in *The London Gazette* (1823), concerning “Petitions of Insolvent Debtors” also links Cephias Shirley to selling ceramics in London, England, with a Benjamin Shirley. The Shirley family established a number of ceramic and glass-related businesses, supporting Haggerty’s notion of the “family nexus”. Jesse Shirley (who seems to be another brother of Cephias and William W. Shirley) was running a “fancy store” in Philadelphia by the 1830s, and a nephew (also called William Shirley), became a ceramic importer in Baltimore from the 1840s (see Pedigree 3). As a result of these family ties, they were in a position to promote one another’s different businesses.

In 1844, William Shirley of Baltimore offered “100 crates printed and common ware” from his South Calvert Street store, suggesting that he had become a prominent crockery

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3 dealer. His obituary draws attention to ties to Staffordshire and to other members of the
4 family-network, some of whom had connections to the crockery trade:

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6 He [William Shirley] was descended from the old Staffordshire family of Shirleys, one
7 of the most ancient and respect families of England. He is survived by two sons –
8 Messrs. Henry C. and W. W. Shirley – one daughter – Miss Hannah Shirley – and two
9 grandsons– Capt. Joseph W. Shirley of Troop A. Maryland National Guard, and Mr.
10 Harry Shirley. A brother, Mr. John Shirley, of San Francisco, also survives him (*Sun*,
11 1900a).
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15 William's son, Henry C. Shirley, joined the Baltimore crockery business, and an obituary of
16 John Shirley of San Francisco, shows that he was involved with William Shirley's Baltimore
17 business, but was based in California from 1849, allegedly establishing the "first" crockery
18 house on the west coast (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1911). The Shirley family, alone, created
19 an elaborate network of ceramic importing businesses, branching from the east coast to
20 pioneering western markets, and their involvement in the ceramics trade continued into the
21 early twentieth century.
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27 Thus far, coinciding with what trade and business historians have already determined,
28 crockery importers and dealers in the United States were inter-connected. Where, the
29 crockery trade tends to differ from the views of other historians is the attitudes towards
30 businesses being long-term family dynasties. For instance, a view expressed in Thomas
31 Cochran's *Frontiers of Change: Early Industrialism in America*, was that:
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36 Few sons felt the obligation, common in continental Europe, to perpetuate the farm or
37 firm as a family enterprise. Money, or 'economic rationality' rather than land and family
38 ties, was the common measuring rod of society. New opportunities drew away the ablest
39 young men, and partnerships continually changed (1981, p.12-3).
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42 This assessment of American businesses is not satisfactory when applied to the ceramic
43 importers and dealers. One explanation could relate to what Frank Thistlewaite established
44 when analysing the contribution of English migrant potters to the development of the
45 American ceramics industry. Thistlewaite points how these families remained in control of
46 manufacturing in the United States, relating this phenomenon to the "unusually high degree
47 of craft skill" that was involved in the trade (1958, p.277). One wonders if the same principle
48 applies to crockery importers and sellers who had either family connections to those
49 manufacturers remaining in the Staffordshire Potteries, or who had developed an intimate
50 understanding of the business – both of the networks and the products that suited the market.
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57 For example, one crockery seller from St.Louis, Missouri, advertised how his stock, direct
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3 from the Potteries and suited to the country trade, was also “carefully selected and put up by
4 experienced English packers” (*Illinois Weekly State Journal*, 1845).

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6 In 1860, when aged 68, Ebenezer Cauldwell of New York (the crockery dealer who
7 originally came with his father from Birmingham, England) had a personal estate worth
8 \$25,000, and real estate worth \$14,000 (1860 Census, New York). Ebenezer’s sons, Thomas
9 G. and William A. Cauldwell, both became involved in crockery importing (See Pedigree 2).
10 In 1860, when aged 42, William Shirley, the crockery dealer of Baltimore (and nephew of
11 William W. Shirley of New York) had real estate worth \$5,000 and a personal estate worth
12 \$3,000. After approximately 50 years of dealing in china and glass he amassed an estate
13 worth \$300,000 (1860 Baltimore Census; *Sun*, 1900b). His son also became a crockery dealer
14 (See Pedigree 3). John Collamore jr. of Boston was described as a millionaire, due to
15 involvement in the crockery trade (*Boston Herald*, 1887). Based on obituaries, the Collamore
16 brothers of Boston and New York remained in the crockery business for decades. (See
17 Pedigree 1). Henry Winkley of Philadelphia, was described as another millionaire crockery
18 dealer, and in this position was able to make a significant contribution to the development of
19 New England education, bequeathing sums such as \$100,000 to Harvard, \$50,000 to
20 Williams College, and \$30,000 to Amherst College, in Massachusetts, and \$20,000 to
21 Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire (*Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1888). Regardless of
22 whether crockery dealers were from England, or were born in the United States, the most
23 compelling reason for dynastic tendencies was profit.

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25 The important question remains, however, whether the tightly-knit communities that
26 were formed between crockery dealers, often with shared backgrounds and origins, ever
27 impacted on ceramic marketing. Cephas Shirley advertised his “China Commission
28 Warehouse” on the basis of having a broad knowledge of the “crockery business”, initially
29 derived from being a native of the Staffordshire Potteries and having spent twelve years in
30 the United States. Cephas had previously assisted his brother William W. Shirley in New
31 York in the 1820s, and then established his own crockery importing business in Philadelphia
32 in the 1830s. Even his acquaintance with French goods, was accounted for because of his
33 time spent in Paris (See Figure 4).

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35 [Figure 4 about here]

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56 [Figure 4: Cephas Shirley’s advertisement, 1836.]
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CHINA COMMISSION WAREHOUSE, No.42 and 43 PHILADELPHIA ARCADE – C. SHIRLEY offers his services to Merchants and others who have consignments of LIVERPOOL CROCKERY or GLASS WARES and will attend to the sale or purchase of those articles for a small commission. The knowledge he possesses of the CROCKERY BUSINESS, being a native of the Staffordshire Potteries, England, and having resided in this country for twelve years, will doubtless enable him to be of service to those who may have such articles to dispose of. C. S. has also devoted his attention to the article of FRENCH CHINA. He has resided in Paris, France, and is acquainted with the French importers who reside in this country...

Source: *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, 29 June 1836, extract, p.3.

Cephas Shirley's advertisement at least provides evidence of how this Englishman acquired more awareness of French ceramics and suppliers, since French porcelain was important to the upper end of the American market (Ewins, 1997, pp.46-50). Nevertheless, it is significant that Cephas Shirley's advertisement declared how 'the knowledge' of the trade had stemmed from his own background.

Politics and migration

The relationship between backgrounds and the marketing of ceramics becomes more intriguing when one appreciates the variety of reasons for migration. R. jr. & J. Eddowes, advertised ceramics with political themes. Their father, Ralph Eddowes senior was described as a merchant originally from Chester, England, arriving in the United States in 1794 (*National Gazette*, 1833). The following astonishing notice entitled "Emigrations to America" appeared in a variety of English newspapers, such as the *Derby Mercury* and the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, claiming that the Eddowes family left England in 1794 with property valued at £26,000 (See Figure 5).

[Figure 5 about here]

[Figure 5: Newspaper notice, referring to Ralph Eddowes, 1794.]

...Ralph Eddowes, Esq. of Chester, with his wife and five children, accompanied by four other of the principal families of that city, sailed from Liverpool, about a fortnight ago, in the Hope, Captain Johnson. Mr. Eddowes has taken with him a property of twenty-six thousand pounds.

Source: *Derby Mercury*, England, 4 September 1794, extract, p.1.

After Ralph Eddowes arrived in Philadelphia he wrote letters to William Roscoe, the Liverpool lawyer, expressing fears that as a newcomer he could not afford to have a poor credit reputation (Haggerty, 2012, p.112). In spite of his concerns, Eddowes senior imported a variety of goods from Liverpool to Philadelphia, including some earthenware, from the mid-1790s (*Philadelphia Gazette*, 1796). The sons, Ralph jr. and John Eddowes, then advertised ceramics with a political theme in 1805, following a tendency of importers to begin to specialise in selling a limited range of merchandise (See Figure 6).

[Figure 6 about here] [Figure 6: Eddowes' advertisement, 1805.]

R. jun. & J. Eddowes'
Earthen-Ware and Glass-Store,
 No. 27, north and Third-street,
 HAVE received by the Charlotte, and other late arrivals from Liverpool, a handsome assortment of articles in this line; among which are, Brown Line Dinner Setts; Jugs, with an elegant print of the President of the U. States, done by an eminent London artist.
 They also offer to the notice of the public, and of the ladies in particular, a few setts of English burnished China (the first imported here) of superior taste...

Source: *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, 6 November 1805, extract, p.4.

As established at the beginning of this paper, a tremendous amount has been written about Staffordshire wares depicting American subject-matter, since these wares were acquiring collectable status from the mid-1860s (Laidacker, 1939, p.125). However, the R. & J. Eddowes' advertisement referring to jugs printed with the American president has not apparently been identified by writers researching creamwares that depicted these American themes (McCauley, 1942; Hyland, 2005, pp.55-65; Teitelman et al., 2010). The advertising of ceramics, in that period, tended only to use generic ware-type terminology. Presumably, given the date of the advertisement, the jugs would have depicted a portrait of Thomas Jefferson, and certainly creamware jugs incorporating portraits of Jefferson are recorded in collections and publications, and some of these have been, and can be, attributed to the Herculaneum pottery, Liverpool (Teitelman et al. 2010, p.90). (See Figure 7).

[Figure 7 about here] [Figure 7: Jug, Herculaneum Factory, c1801-1809.]



Source: Jug, creamware, entitled “Jefferson”. Herculaneum Factory, c1801-1809, Liverpool, England. Gift of S. Robert Teitelman, 2009.0021.003, Museum purchase, Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.

Obviously, the more up-to-date interpretation of the wares adapted to suit American tastes is that they only represented a small proportion of wares that were manufactured in Liverpool, or Staffordshire. In one instance, an invoice of two hundred crates of Herculaneum Pottery, Liverpool, shipped to New York in 1802, describes only three percent of the total as being printed wares. The bulk of this invoice was for plain, or edged creamware, and even the printed wares were only identified with vague phrases, such as “Jugs copperplate”. As Robin Emmerson has succinctly argued when considering this Herculaneum invoice of 1802, “It is important for museums and collectors to realize that the relative proportions of the different types of wares that have survived intact are virtually in inverse proportion to their original share of the market” (2010, p.250). While collecting may contribute to problems of understanding actual demand, ironically, R. & J. Eddowes’ advertisement (referring to jugs with a print of the United States President), grows in importance. These types of ceramics were a small amount of the market share, and were rarely advertised.

At this point, awareness of the actual identity and background of the Eddowes family acquires significance. Ralph Eddowes senior died in Philadelphia in 1833, aged 82. His obituary declared that his motivation for migrating to the United States was his “enthusiastic

love of liberty”. Ralph Eddowes’ obituary explains how he associated with William Roscoe (the Liverpool lawyer and abolitionist), and Dr. James Currie (member of the Liverpool Literary Society). The obituary explains how “he instituted” a legal suit which was taken to the House of Lords. The suit, which was won by the Eddowes’ party, was concerned with the rights of the citizens and freemen of Chester, England, to annually elect the mayor, the alderman, and their council (*Chester Chronicle*, 1790a, 1790b). However, the obituary indicates that as “an intolerant spirit succeeded the French Revolution”, the Eddowes family felt “threatened with persecution”, and they left England. In the United States, Ralph Eddowes formed a Christian Society following Unitarian views. He associated with Dr. Joseph Priestley, who also arrived in the United States in 1794, as the acclaimed advocate of the “rights of man” (*National Gazette*, 1833). Ralph Eddowes was taught by Dr. Joseph Priestley when he attended Nantwich school, Cheshire, in the late 1750s (Fox, 1833, pp.215-9). Ralph Eddowes jr., (who advertised the jugs with the image of the American President) was about twelve when the family emigrated.

As indicated at the beginning of this paper, early ceramic historians have focused on certain wares and their producers, with far less consideration of the role of crockery importers and dealers, unless assuming that they were “American dealers” (Earle, 1892, p.142). In this instance, the background of the Eddowes shows that they were a disaffected English family who, interestingly, marketed politically orientated ceramics once in America. Due to their unusual backgrounds, could it not be suggested that this played a part in the motivation to market jugs depicting Thomas Jefferson? Certainly, Ralph Eddowes senior, wrote to Thomas Jefferson in 1807, enclosing two pamphlets concerning translations of the New Testament, and in his letter, he explains how he was a pupil of Dr. Priestley, but had left England due to a civil matter, adding:

My attachment to the principles on which the Constitution of the U.S. is founded has gathered additional strength since the administration of it has been in your hands, and I consider it as an [sic] high honour & happiness that I can subscribe myself
Your fellow Citizen
Ra. Eddowes.

(Thomas Jefferson Papers, November 14, 1807).

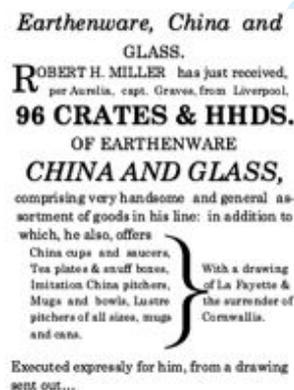
There appears to have been a deep admiration for Thomas Jefferson, and it transpires that Ralph Eddowes Jr., called one of his sons, Thomas Jefferson Eddowes (See Pedigree 4). In such circumstances, when examining the marketing approaches of crockery dealers in the United States, the discussion needs to be widened; not simply examining *what* the dealers

were selling, or *how* the dealers were selling it, but *why*, crockery dealers were advertising it in the first place.

The possibility that the backgrounds and cultural identities of importers and dealers could influence what was sold and marketed, goes further when it is **then** recognised how crockery dealers actually commissioned designs that coincided with their views. **An article by Magid (2008) mentions that Robert H. Miller of Alexandria D.C., a member of an established American Quaker family, advertised ceramics depicting La Fayette and the surrender of Cornwallis (pp.143-161).** (See Figure 8).

[Figure 8 about here]

[Figure 8: Robert Miller's advertisement, 1825.]



Source: *Alexandria Gazette*, Virginia, 4 July 1825, extract, p.3.

Miller's advertisement of July 1825, **uses** the phrase, "Executed expressly for him, from a drawing sent out". If this were the case, it would rather reinforce an interpretation of the more specialized ceramics being significant, though never more than just a small portion of the ceramic trade (see Figure 9).

[Figure 9: about here]

[Figure 9: Lustre jugs, c1825, that correspond to Robert Miller's advertisement]



Source: Jugs, earthenware, lustre with printed and enamel decoration depicting front and back portrait of General “La Fayette”, and the surrender of Cornwallis at York Town. Unmarked, Staffordshire, c1825. Courtesy of, Private collection.

Later, in 1840, Robert Miller marketed, “supplies of ware with Harrison and Log Cabin engravings, from designs sent to the Potteries by himself”. (The image of a log cabin was used in General William Harrison’s presidential campaign, to stress his down-to-earth values). The link between Robert Miller’s own views, and what he marketed, is indicated by an 1840 advertisement which stipulated that “Whig Merchants” would be, “supplied upon the ‘Credit System’ at reasonable prices, in time to celebrate the approaching triumph of correct principles” (*Alexandria Gazette*, 1840). In other words, Miller marketed politically-related ceramics which reflected his own political views, and this also impacted on his willingness to grant credit to other Whig-merchants. Thus, examining marketing strategy of the actual political interests of importers reveals other interpretations of why ceramic designs were produced for the American market.

Growth

In another instance, a crockery dealer named Thomas F. Field, advertised ceramics “expressly to his order”, that reflected his own business opportunities. Based on Field’s obituary of 1877, he had been “engaged in the crockery business when a mere lad, at Utica, N.Y.”, and had died at his Brooklyn residence, aged 84 (*New-York Tribune*, 1877). Ceramics impressed with “Field & Clark, Utica” (referring to a partner called Theodore Clark) exist in collections, and in the case of the ceramic-sugar (see Figure 10 and 11), it demonstrates a broader demand for blue printed rural scenes, apart from American scenery.

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3 [Figure 10 about here]
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6 [Figure 10: Sugar, Staffordshire, c1820s]
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28 **Source:** Sugar, earthenware, blue printed, depicting two fishermen beside a ruin. This printed
29 pattern occurs on wares manufactured by Enoch Wood & Sons, Burslem, Staffordshire,
30 c1820s. Impressed mark "Field & Clark". See Figure 11. Courtesy of, Private collection.
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33 [Figure 11 about here]
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36 [Figure 11: Backstamp on sugar, Figure10, providing name of importer, Field & Clark,
37 Utica.]
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Source: Backstamp on sugar, Figure 10. Impressed “Field and Clark, Importers of Earthenware, Utica”. (Impressed mark distorted). The Field & Clark partnership existed from c.1822-1829. Courtesy of, Private collection.

Initially, Field & Clark advertised ceramic designs relating to how advances in transportation were presenting new opportunities for economic progress. In 1824, it was announced that pitchers and plates, had been “ordered by” them, and were now available. These celebrated the opening of the Erie Canal, enthusiastically described by Field & Clark as creating an “unbroken water conveyance...between this [Utica] and Liverpool” (*Statesman*, 1824). Pitchers and plates exist that mention De Witt Clinton, the “Late Governor” of New York, who had been a significant driving force behind the construction of the Erie Canal (See Figure 12). Field’s obituary also refers to how in 1824, “he made the first transportation of crockery ever carried on the Erie Canal.” (*New-York Tribune*, 1877). By 1829, the partnership of Field & Clark was dissolved, and in 1832, Thomas Field moved his crockery business to New York, where he remained (McCauley, 1944, p.297). While there has been growing awareness of how the Erie Canal ceramic design was orchestrated by Field & Clark of Utica (Patriotic America, 2011), Thomas Field’s wider religious views and socio-political interests become relevant at this point.

[Figure 12 about here]

[Figure 12: Example of a plate, referring to Grand Erie Canal, advertised by Field & Clark.]



Source: Plate, earthenware, blue printed, “The Grand Erie Canal, A Splendid monument...”. Wares with this inscription were advertised by Field & Clark of Utica, *Statesman*, New York, 15 June 1824. Unmarked, Staffordshire, c1824. Courtesy of, Private collection.

Religion and Orthodox crockery

When Thomas F. Field, “merchant of Utica” married “Miss Mary Ann, eldest daughter of David Roberts of this city”, the ceremony was officiated by the Rev. John Williams at the Baptist Church, Oliver Street, New York (*National Advocate*, 1823). Members of the Hewitt and Cauldwell families (other crockery dealers in New York) were also married by the same Baptist minister. At a meeting held at the Methodist Chapel, Utica on 18 February 1828, Thomas Field was appointed as one of the commissioners resolved to prevent violation of the Sabbath (*Connecticut Observer*, 1828). Field became President of the Baptist Central Tract Society of Utica, founded in April 1828, and secretary of the Oneida Bible Society of New York (*New-York Baptist Register*, 1828; *Philadelphian*, 1829). The Baptist Central Tract Society claimed to have distributed 150,000 tracts in 1830, and Field was still active as the President in 1831 (*Christian Watchman*, 1830).

Understanding Thomas Field’s religious convictions helps to account for his evolving marketing strategy. In May 1833, it was commented on in an article entitled “Orthodox Crockery” in the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, of Boston, that Thomas Field was

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3 launching a ceramic design referring to the Scripture. In this article, Field was reported as
4 stating that “he has contracted for the manufacture of plates of all sizes”, and that the
5 “manufacturers are highly delighted with the pattern” (*Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*,
6 1833). The orthodox crockery referred to was actually a pattern entitled “Millennium” and
7 was advertised by Thomas F. Field from June 1833 (see Figure 13).
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13 [Figure 13 about here]
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17 [Figure 13: Plates depicting Millennium design, Staffordshire, c1833.]
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37 **Source:** Two plates, earthenware, brown and pink printed, “Peace on Earth”.
38 Printed mark on back, “Millenium”[sic]. Advertised by Thomas F. Field of
39 New York in 1833. Unmarked, Staffordshire, c1833. Courtesy of, Private collection.
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One advertisement of 1833 reinforced how this pattern was ‘made from designs prepared by himself’ (See Figure 14).

[Figure 14 about here]

[Figure 14: Thomas F. Field’s advertisement, 1833.]

MILLENNIUM EARTHENWARE ARRIVED – The Subscriber takes the liberty to solicit public patronage for a new and beautiful pattern of Earthenware Plates, of all sizes, made from designs prepared by himself, principally from Scripture illustrations. The pattern is received from Staffordshire by the Spring’s arrival and and far exceeds his expectations.

The following is a brief description of it: On the top of the plate is the All-seeing Eye, shedding rays of light down upon the world Beneath, is the Bible opened to Isaiah, 11th Chapter, 6th Verse; next in order, is a Dove descending with an Olive Branch, and the words “Peace on Earth;” the centre is filled up with a landscape, and a group of figures spoken of in the verse representing the Millennium, or all nature harmonized and returned to its native innocence in which the Creator left it previous to the fall of man, in the Garden of Eden; at the foot, is the figure of a suppliant, with the petition “Give us this day our daily bread.” The whole surrounded with a border of wheat sheaves, fruits, and flowers.

Although a considerable extra expense has been incurred in getting up the pattern, it will be sold at the same prices as ordinary patterns of blue printed ware.

The above can be obtained only at the China, Glass, and Earthen Ware Store, No. 209 Greenwich St. between Barclay and Vesey Sts. New York, where it will be sent for merchants to any other store... Orders by letter faithfully executed... THOMAS F. FIELD.

Source: *New York Observer*, 8 June 1833, extract, p.3.

Field’s designs received mixed reviews. The *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine* was far from enthusiastic, cynically declaring that, whilst “There will be much money made on this new importation”, whether it was appropriate, was another matter. Their reticence was made clear in the final part of article, reinforced with a quote from Revelations, as follows:

Merchants may make themselves rich at first in the traffic of modern Babylon, but if the light of truth continues to spread as it has done, they shall “stand afar off for the fear of her torment, saying alas! alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; *for no man buyeth their merchandize any more.*” Rev. xviii, 10,11. (*Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, 1833).

One writer in the *Liberator*, Boston, pointed out how Jehovah’s command was, “thou shall not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness, of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath...”. The article, entitled “Moral”, continued as:

I do not know, Mr. Editor, that the same effect would be produced on *every one*, as there was produced on *me* the other day, in receiving a Sabbath-noon refreshment on a millennium plate. I was pleased with those striking emblems of divine promise...but the presentment of the EYE appeared as exception. I could but reflect, this is just like

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3 such creatures as we are. We can advance but one step at a time; and that step very
4 often needs mending... -*Western Recorder (Liberator, 1833)*.
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7 This writer was not entirely convinced by all of the imagery incorporated into the design.
8 Alternatively, an article entitled “The Millennium Ware” appeared in the *Christian*
9 *Watchman*, Boston in 1833, argued how “at one time it was falsely represented by certain
10 editors.” The article included a lengthy description of the imagery, but concluded that the
11 design was the result of “a worthy and enterprising importer”, and that a quantity of this ware
12 was available for purchase from James S. Barbour’s store on Commercial Street, Boston
13 (*Christian Watchman*, 1833a). James S. Barbour’s own advertising for his crockery store does
14 not draw attention to selling the so-called “Millennium” plate. However, when James S.
15 Barbour married Miss Louisa Harrod in Boston, during July 1835, it was officiated by the
16 Rev. William Hague, pastor of the First Baptist Church and Society of Boston, who had
17 previously been the pastor of the Baptist Church of Utica (*Columbian Centinel*, 1835).
18 Thomas F. Field’s Millennium plate was sold through a crockery dealer who was a Baptist,
19 and one wonders if the link between Field of New York and Barbour of Boston came about
20 because the Rev. William Hague had links to Utica, where Thomas Field had previously
21 operated as a crockery dealer in the 1820s. In this respect, the distribution of the Field’s
22 “Millennium” plate mirrors Stanley Chapman’s structural analysis of the transatlantic
23 economy where he argued:
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36 ...so long as communication between trading centres continued to be slow and uncertain,
37 the only way in which merchants could repose confidence in their correspondents’
38 decision making was to employ members of their own families, or, failing that, the
39 ‘extended family’ of co-religionists (1992, p.93).
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43 The advertising of Ezra Chamberlin & Son of Boston referred to the “Millennium crockery
44 ware” as a “celebrated” design (*Christian Watchman*, 1833b). When Ezra Chamberlin died in
45 1854 aged 76, his obituary establishes that he had, not only been active in business, but also a
46 deacon of the Second Baptist Church of Boston (*Manufacturers’ and Farmers’ Journal*,
47 1854). Without examining the wider backgrounds of the importers, the reason why certain
48 patterns of distribution emerged is not fully appreciated.
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53 The sellers who chose to market the “Millennium” design had connections to the
54 Baptist faith, and interestingly, when a notice appeared in a New Jersey newspaper entitled
55 “What Next?” it mentions how a “pious trader” in New York was advertising dinner ware
56 “prepared by himself” in the “religious papers” (*Jerseyman*, 1833). One advertisement placed
57 by Edward E. Huggins of New Haven, Connecticut, emphasized that he had “Millennium
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3 Crockery” available. Huggins does not appear to have any obvious connections to the
4 Baptists, but one possible explanation is that his store, and the Baptist Church, were both on
5 Chapel Street (See Figure 15). Thus, the Millennium design was commissioned by a Baptist,
6 sold by other Baptists, and even sold in locations where it would be easily accessible to a
7 Baptist congregation.
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13 [Figure 15 about here]
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17 [Figure 15: Edward Huggins’ advertisement, 1833.]
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21 ***Millennium Crockery.***

22 THE following is a brief description of this
23 article, by the manufacturer :- On the top
24 of the Plate is the All-seeing Eye shedding rays
25 of light down upon the world; beneath, is the
26 Bible opened to Isaiah, 11th chap. 6th verse;
27 next in order, is a Dove descending with an Ol-
28 ive Branch, and the words, “*Peace on earth;*” ...
29 For sale by EDWARD E. HUGGINS.

30 135 north side of Chapel, 4 doors from State-st.

31 Source: *Columbian Register*, New Haven, 3 August 1833, extract, p.1.
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34 **Slavery**

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36 It is well known that Baptists in northern America were traditionally strong campaigners
37 against slavery, and, once again, it may be suggested that Field’s own views impacted on his
38 marketing (Lindman, 2008, p.142). In 1838, Field advertised “Blue Printed Earthenware,
39 made expressly to his order” available from his New York outlet and which drew attention to
40 the American Constitution (See Figure 16).
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46 [Figure 16 about here]
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49 [Figure 16: Thomas F. Field’s advertisement, 1838.]
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... The subscriber, at 87 Water street, has just received and for sale, Blue Printed Earthenware, made expressly to his order, of a new pattern, containing suitable devices, with the following article from the Constitution of the United States: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, of abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." THOMAS F.FIELD...

Source: *The Emancipator*, New York, 11 October 1838, extract, p.97.

The above advertisement uses the phrase "Congress shall make no law..." and this actually appears on blue printed wares commemorating the death of Rev. Elijah Lovejoy, the proprietor of an abolitionist newspaper at Alton, Illinois, who was murdered by a pro-slavery mob in 1837 (see Figure 17).

[Figure 17 about here]

[Figure 17: Elijah Lovejoy plate, Staffordshire, c1838.]



Source: Plate, earthenware, blue printed, "Lovejoy... Congress shall make no law...". Advertised by Thomas F. Field of New York, in 1838. Unmarked, Staffordshire, c1838. Courtesy of, Private collection.

This design may be contrasted with what was also described as "Constitutional Ware" in *The Emancipator*, New York, on 11 October, 1838. *The Emancipator* included a more detailed description of the design, and poignantly mentions a slave kneeling at the figure of liberty

pointing to a printing press (see Figure 18). This may be seen more clearly when examining the plate in detail (See Figure 19).

[Figure 18 about here]

[Figure 18: Notice concerning “Constitutional Ware”, 1838.]

CONSTITUTIONAL WARE – We have seen a specimen of the ware advertised by Mr. Field, and can attest to its quality and value. On the rim are three inscriptions. The first is embellished with a device representing a slave kneeling in supplication to Liberty, who points to the Printing Press, while over it you read, “LOVEJOY, the first MARTYR TO AMERICAN LIBERTY, at Alton Nov. 7. 1837” On the right is, “OF ONE BLOOD ARE ALL NATIONS OF MEN.” On the left, “WE HOLD THAT ALL MEN ARE CEATED EQUAL.” In the centre, amidst a blaze of effulgence, we trace the redeeming clause of the American Constitution:

CONGRESS
SHALL MAKE NO LAW
RESPECTING
AN ESTABLISHING OF RELIGION;
OR PROHIBITING
THE FREE EXERCISE THEREOF:
OR ABRIDGING THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH
OR OF THE PRESS
Or the Right of the People Peaceably
TO ASSEMBLE;
AND TO PETITION THE GOVERNMENT
FOR A REDRESS OF
GRIEVANCES

Source: *The Emancipator*, New York, 11 October 1838, extract, p.97.

[Figure 19 about here]

[Figure 19: Detail of Figure 17.]



Source: Detail of Figure 17, depicting a printing press, a slave, and marked “LOVEJOY, The First Martyr to American LIBERTY, ALTON NOV.7. 1837.” Courtesy of, Private collection.

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5 Here, it is apparent how Baptist values impacted on the behaviour of this importer, just as
6 Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* suggested that the attitudes of
7 Calvinism, Methodism and the Baptists influenced the rise of capitalism, and even, attitudes
8 towards consumption (1930: reprint 2010, p.115). In the nineteenth century, the evolution of
9 the advertising of ceramics in the United States could be more elaborate than simply
10 providing product information concerning an ever-increasing plethora of imported
11 merchandise. In 1841, Thomas Field was described as President of the Baptist Anti-Slavery
12 Society of New York (*Christian Reflector*, 1841), emphasizing how his socio-political and
13 religious views mirror what he promoted.
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Early American ceramic historians developed various unsubstantiated theories as to why this anti-slavery design was produced, which invariably ignored the actual role of the importer and dealer in the process of design-development. For instance, in 1892, Alice Morse Earle stated:

It is asserted that the pieces bearing this design were the gift of the English Anti-Slavery Society to the American Abolitionists, shortly after the death of Lovejoy; that they were sold at auction in New York, and the proceeds devoted to the objects of the Society of Abolitionists. If this account is true, these plates are certainly among the most interesting relics of those interesting days (1892, p.333).

In 1903, N. Hudson Moore, another early American ceramic historian, also argued that this ceramic design was a gift from English anti-slavery supporters to the American Abolitionists, and even indicated that these plates had been targeted for forgery (Hudson Moore, 1903, p.79). Ellouise Larsen (the author who produced the most comprehensive survey of printed wares destined for the American market) believed that the design was certainly manufactured in Staffordshire, and used to raise money for freeing slaves in the United States (1939: revised 1950, p.242).

But, there is nothing in Field's advertisements that indicate that any profits were syphoned-off in this way. Nor, is there evidence to support the theory that it was a gift from the English Anti-Slavery Society to be sold at auction, although this interpretation still persists in the publications of more modern, American ceramic and cultural historians (Klamkin, 1973, p.102-4; Heneghan, 2003, p.14). Sam Margolin's "And Freedom to the Slave: Antislavery Ceramics, 1787-1865" of 2002, repeated the idea of the wares being donated by British abolitionists to raise money for the anti-slavery cause, and also points out how these were faked in the late nineteenth century. The narrative expressed by Margolin is

1
2
3 that the Rev. Elijah Lovejoy was a Presbyterian minister and editor, whose murder created a
4 wave of indignation that led to his becoming a martyr who the “Staffordshire potters
5 memorialized” in their wares (2002, p.95-7).
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9 However, the contemporaneous interpretation, pieced together from newspaper notices
10 and advertisements, is rather different. In an article in Utica’s abolitionist newspaper, *The*
11 *Friend of Man*, it was reported that specimens of Field’s plates had been discovered at the
12 Anti-Slavery Office, New York, in October 1838. The newspaper article (presumably written
13 by the editor), explained how he had proceeded to Field’s New York store at 87, Water Street
14 to purchase a dozen plates for his own use. The writer also believed that, “The pattern was
15 made to his [Thomas Field] own order, and, so far as we know, he is the only man in his
16 business who has dared to put his finger upon the ‘peculiar institution’.” (*Friend of Man*,
17 1838). One comment, which appeared under the heading of “Scraps”, in a Hartford,
18 Connecticut newspaper mentions how Messrs. Field & Co., were advertising “anti-slavery
19 earthenware”, but then asked, “What sort of an animal is that?” (*Times*, 1839). Based on these
20 comments, it is unclear if there was sufficient demand for the design to benefit slaves. Thus,
21 it is important to recognise how the design was at that time considered to be touching on an
22 issue of acute socio-political tension, rather than Field (or the Staffordshire manufacturer)
23 identifying some marketing opportunity. The production of fakes of the Lovejoy plate was
24 probably due to how the collecting of Staffordshire wares resulted in a demand for copies of
25 these rarer items.
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38 Awareness of how the socio-political views of this crockery importer influenced what
39 Thomas Field commissioned, and what was marketed, complicates John Styles argument that
40 “specifications were set predominately by the merchants and manufacturers” in response to
41 “changes in fashion...” (1993, p.528). The anti-slavery plate may not have been in enormous
42 demand, but the importance to contemporaries was, according to *The Friend of Man*, that
43 dining tables were furnished with this crockery, and the plates could at least “silently preach
44 abolitionism” to guests and children “on sound principles” (1838). Clearly, it was envisaged
45 that the Lovejoy design was for use and not merely for display, and one is reminded of Max
46 Weber’s observation that the justification of consumption within a Protestant ethic was often
47 practicality, rather than for mere pleasure (1930: reprint 2010, pp.115-6). Field continued to
48 advertise his “Anti-Slavery Earthenware” plates and pitchers in the New York *Spectator* from
49 March to June 1839 (See Figure 20).
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[Figure 20 about here]

[Figure 20: Thomas F. Field's advertisement, 1839.]

ANTI - SLAVERY EARTHENWARE –
Plates and pitchers, and a general assortment of China, glass and earthenware, of the latest and best patterns for sale. Country merchants who regard the quality of ware will find it to their interest to call and examine my stock at 87 Water street. THOMAS F. FIELD...

Source: *Spectator*, New York, 18 March 1839, extract, p.3.

Shocking work among the crockery

An actual analysis of Thomas F. Field's advertisements for the anti-slavery design makes it doubtful that he was responding to American demand. Importers and dealers were socially and culturally complex individuals, adding weight to Haggerty's suggestion that merchants "were not pure 'economic men'." (2012, p.236). Field had his views, and it was even observed in a Boston newspaper of 1834, that he courageously marketed his New York business as an "Abolition China Store", long before the death of Rev. Elijah Lovejoy in 1837. The reference to a notice in the *Liberator*, Boston, 30 August 1834, to what the mob might do to Field's crockery store, is a poignant reminder of how the views of merchants was not necessarily in unison with attitudes of the consumers:

Thomas F. Field, of New York, 'offers for sale an amalgamation of colors and qualities of French, English, and India China Tea and Dinning Seats[sic],' and styles his store an 'Abolition China Store.' If the mob scent out this amalgamation, there may be shocking work among the crockery (*Liberator*, 1834).

In fact, apart from being described as the "oldest crockery merchant or dealer in this State", Thomas F. Field's obituary indicates that he "was at one time prominent in municipal politics, first as a Whig, then as an Abolitionist, and finally, as a Republican" (*New-York Tribune*, 1877). When Thomas Field stood as an Abolition candidate for Mayor of New York in 1842, he received only 136 votes, whereas the Democrat candidate received over 20,000 votes, and the Whig, over 18,000 (*Albany Argus*, 1842).

An in-depth analysis of importers begins to demonstrate how attitudes to business and marketing could be varied. As shown above, Thomas Field and his "Orthodox crockery" was referred to in the press in 1833. Later, advertisements placed by Field described this so-called orthodox ware as the Millennium pattern (see Figure 13). The following article, entitled "More Orthodoxy!", appeared in the *Boston Recorder* in 1835, and was almost certainly

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2
3 referring to Thomas Field, given his earlier involvement in preventing violation of the
4 Sabbath:

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6 An exceedingly pious young man keeps a crockery ware shop, applied to the
7 managers of the Portland steamer with a proposition to supply her, and receive stock.
8 A bargain was made – a large amount of ware furnished – and lo! the first thing the
9 proprietors knew, the number of shares he had stipulated for were up for sale at
10 auction by his authority. Upon inquiring into the circumstances and asking the reason,
11 they were informed by the orthodox crockery-ware dealer aforesaid, that he couldn't
12 think of *holding shares* in a boat that *travelled Sundays!* There's for you! (*Boston*
13 *Recorder*, 1835).
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17 Although Field provides evidence of one individual following his own ethical approach, the
18 manner in which the story was reported suggests that attempts to reconcile business with
19 religion simply evoked a spirit of mockery. Certainly, some ceramic importers accumulated
20 significant fortunes because of involvement in the trade, but Thomas Field's personal estate
21 was valued at only \$500 in 1860 and \$1,500, in 1870 (1860 and 1870 Census, Brooklyn, New
22 York).
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28 If the advertising of importers and dealers in America could reflect the individual
29 concerns of the sellers, it then becomes necessary to theorise why this became the case. Was
30 it because, with the inevitable geographical divide between the Staffordshire manufacturers
31 and the American market, producers were obliged to respond to requests from importers and
32 dealers, and therefore, American marketing began to evolve in ways that reflected this
33 situation? Did the entrepreneurial nature of the United States encourage marketing to become
34 more individualised? Could it be argued that the varied and unusual qualities of ceramic
35 advertising in the United States reflect the diversity of cultures, sharing or occupying varied
36 points of view? Crockery dealers might be Americans, and pro-American, or from England,
37 but keen to assimilate, or as outsiders, perhaps wishing to comment on issues, such as the
38 continuation of slavery. A provisional theory might be that the marketing examined above
39 became a reflection of different cultural identities and, more significantly perhaps, it was
40 possible to express these different ideologies within American society. It is interesting how
41 advertisements for "Free Labor" stores (often owned by Quakers) have also been identified in
42 a Philadelphian abolitionist newspaper in the 1830s (Glickman, 2004).
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54 **Conclusion**

55 Whilst there is evidence that Staffordshire manufacturers could initiate the production of
56 designs for the American market (Archival, Ridgway diary, 1822), surveying actual
57 advertising provides a deeper understanding of the relationship between production and
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3 demand. New layers of complexity are added to ceramic research that has previously been
4 weighted only towards the role of producers, or to Neil McKendrick's analysis of
5 Wedgwood's skilful marketing, or even John Styles' suggestion that manufacturers and
6 merchants were more engaged in a process of responding to consumer-demand. Importers
7 and dealers could also initiate production, and more importantly, this was not necessarily
8 responding to demand. Thus, this paper highlights the importance of examining consumption
9 from the sales' perspective. American newspapers advertisements can provide significant
10 insights into the backgrounds and beliefs of the ceramic importers.
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17 References to the advertising of ceramics specifically aimed at the American market
18 were rare, even though these ware-types have been hugely collected. However, the Eddowes
19 family's advertising of jugs with an image of the US President, is of interest when it is
20 realized that this family migrated for political reasons. In this instance, perhaps the promotion
21 of American subjects was not wholly motivated by a business opportunity, but reflects their
22 own attempts at assimilation. Families involved in the crockery business might be migrants,
23 but some clearly saw themselves as American. One member of the Cauldwell family
24 (crockery importers of New York, who were natives of Birmingham, England), fought in the
25 Anglo-American War. John Cauldwell Jr., whose birth was recorded at the Baptist Meeting
26 House, Cannon Street, Birmingham in 1791, became an Officer in United States' Army, but
27 died at Fort George, Niagara, in 1813 (*Commercial Advertiser*, 1813). (See Pedigree 2).
28 However, when Cephas Shirley promoted his crockery business in Philadelphia it was on the
29 basis that his own business abilities were enhanced by being a native of the Potteries. The
30 reason why Robert H. Miller of Alexandria D.C. promoted ceramics referring to President
31 Harrison was because he had Whig sympathies.
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43 Overall, this type of research has to be undertaken to redress the misreading of what
44 certain ceramic objects may signify. Even from a 21st century perspective, David Fischer has
45 interpreted the Lovejoy ceramic design (now shown to be commissioned by Thomas F. Field)
46 as one example of the "outpouring" of imagery concerned with abolition and civil liberties
47 after Elijah Lovejoy's murder in 1837 (2005, p.280), assuming that the production of the
48 physical object was an automatic reflection of attitudes. In reality, the comments of
49 contemporaries infer that the subject was a controversial one, and when it is appreciated that
50 the Lovejoy design was actually orchestrated by an importer originally from England, it is
51 perhaps more akin to an outsider making a comment about slavery in the United States (1870
52 Census, Brooklyn, New York). Therefore, considering the origins, backgrounds and identities
53 of crockery importers and dealers begins to grow in significance, since what was advertised
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3 did not simply emanate from the Staffordshire manufacturer, or was responding to the
4 perceived demands of the consumer.
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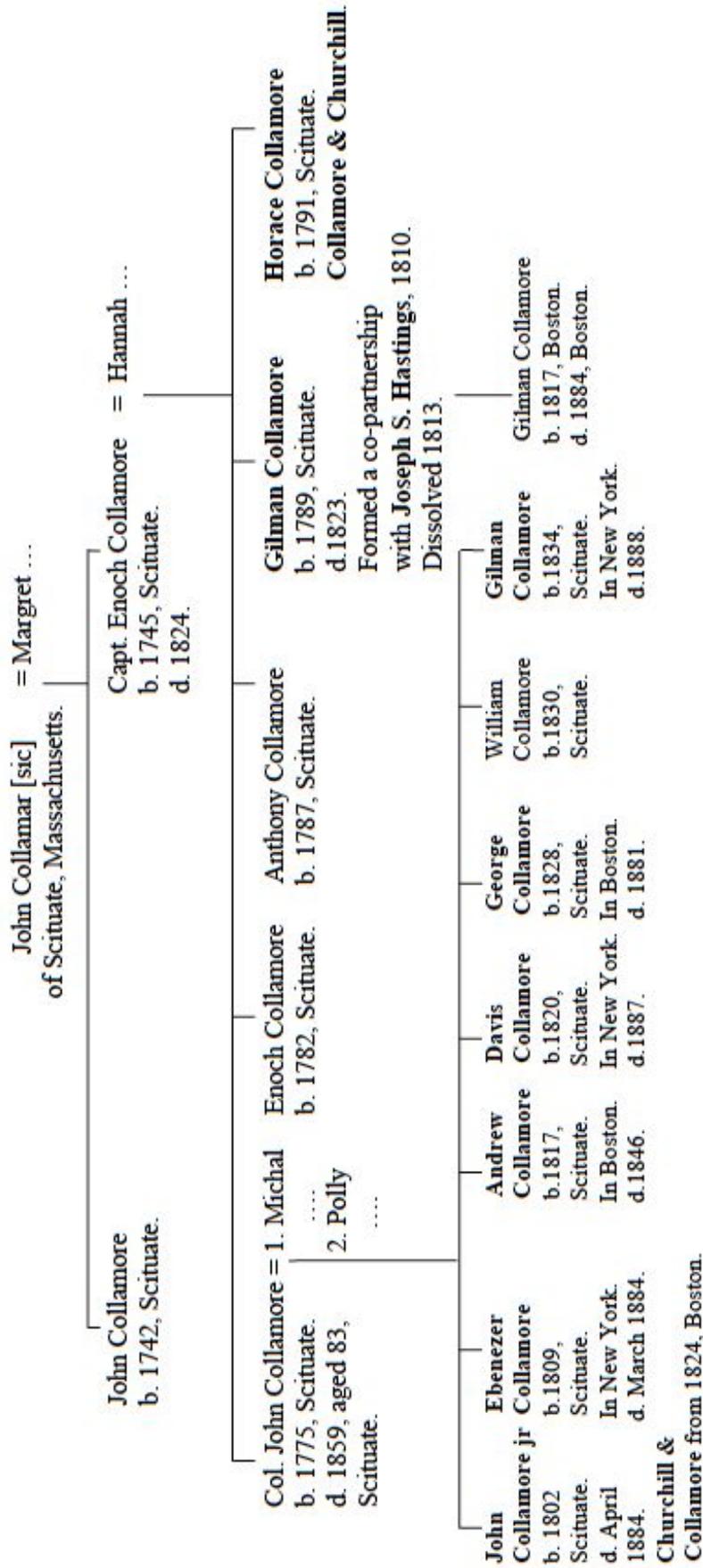
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Thanks to Peter Craig Brown Photography, Newcastle upon Tyne, England.

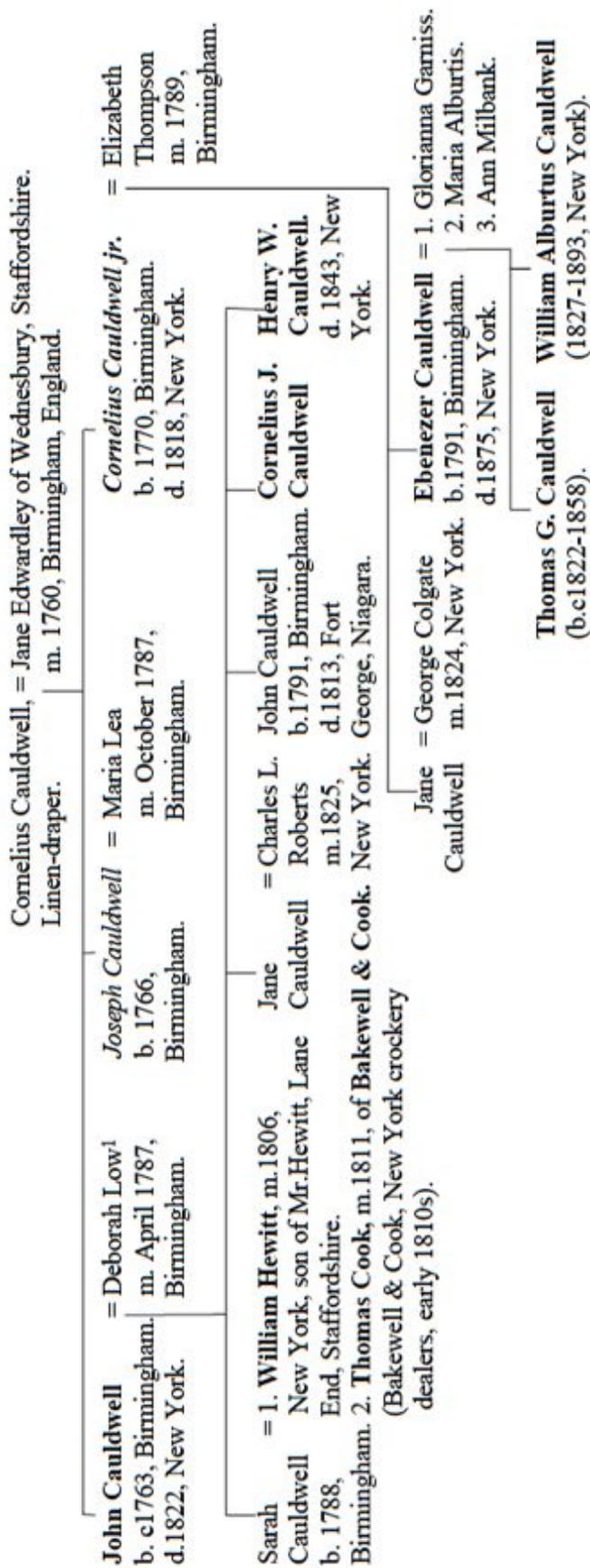
Journal of Historical Research in Marketing

Pedigree 1: The Collamore family of Boston and New York.



Key: Names in bold, had connections to dealing in ceramics in the USA.

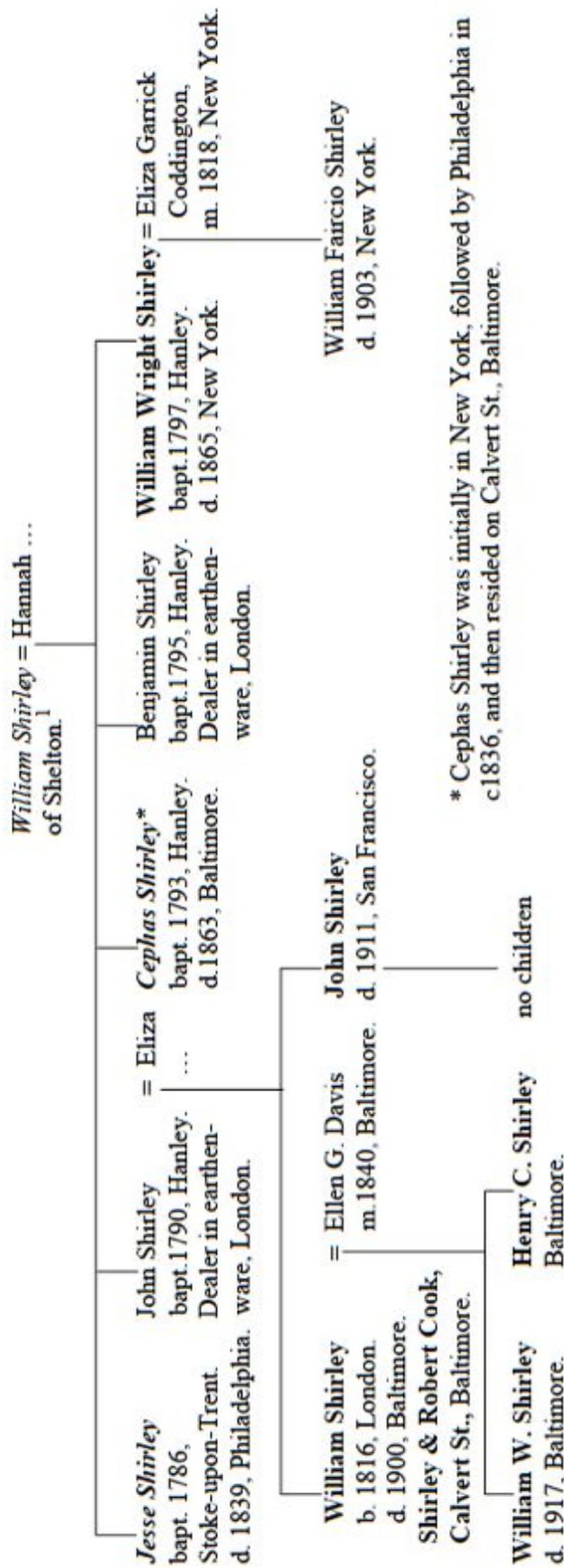
Pedigree 2: The Cauldwell family of Birmingham, England and New York.



Key: Names in italics, dealt in ceramics in England. Names in bold-italics, dealt in ceramics in England, and then in USA. Names in bold, dealt in ceramics in USA.

¹ Deborah Lea, sister of Maria Lea according to Abbe and Howson's *Robert Colgate: The Immigrant if the New York Colgates and Some Associated Lines*, 1941. However, according to Birmingham parish records, the name appears as 'Deborah Low'.

Pedigree 3: The Shirley family of Staffordshire, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore and California.



Key: Name in italics, had connections to ceramic manufacturing. Names in bold-italics, had connections to manufacturing in Staffordshire, and then dealing in ceramics when in the USA. Names in bold, dealt in ceramics in the USA.

¹ Holden, W. (1811), *Holden's Annual London and Country Directory*... lists Jesse Shirley, Hanley, and William Shirley, Shelton, earthenware manufacturers. Underhill, T. (1816), *Biennial Directory*... for the Years 1816 & 1817, lists W. and J. Shirley, Hanley and Shelton.

