

ELIZABETH PERKINS FELLOWSHIP PROCEEDINGS
1997

Lisa Hudgins
John Kille
Jennifer White

PIECING IT TOGETHER:
CERAMICS and the
SOCIAL HISTORY of
EARLY NEW ENGLAND



York, Maine

Old York Historical Society
A Community Museum

ELIZABETH PERKINS FELLOWSHIP PROCEEDINGS
1997

Lisa Hudgins
John Kille
Jennifer White

PIECING IT TOGETHER:
CERAMICS and the
SOCIAL HISTORY of
EARLY NEW ENGLAND



Edited by
Thomas B. Johnson
Jennifer L. Lapp
Cynthia Young-Gomes

Old York Historical Society
A Community Museum
York, Maine

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	5
"Dieting" the Prisoners: Ceramic Evidence from Old Gaol Excavations by Lisa Hudgins	7
Fire the Kiln, Raise the Flag, and Praise God: The Bayley Jug and the Convergence of Craftmaking, Politics, and Religion in Eighteenth-Century New England by John Kille	25
Edward Emerson: A Case Study for Eighteenth-Century Dining by Jennifer White	43

PREFACE

This summer, the Elizabeth Perkins Fellowship program focused on the topic of ceramics in New England in order to coincide with the joint exhibition, "Treasures to Trash/Trash to Treasures: Early Ceramics in the Piscataqua Region," sponsored by Historic Associates of Portsmouth, Strawbery Banke Museum, the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, and the Old York Historical Society. Drawing from the vast resources of these combined institutions, the Fellows had the opportunity to attend ceramic lectures, view study collections, and visit area museums to further their research.

Lisa Hudgins, who holds a BA in Psychology from Duke University and is working toward a master's degree in Applied History from the University of South Carolina, used her background in archaeology to analyze the ceramic sherds found during excavations of the Old Gaol.

John Kille recently completed his master's degree in Museum Studies from George Washington University and is now a doctoral candidate from that same institution. He researched the oldest known redware communion vessel in America, now on display in the re-created Museum of Colonial Relics in the Old Gaol. John's research took him to Newbury, MA where he uncovered interesting connections between music, politics, and pottery in early New England.

Jennifer White holds a BA in history from the University of Maine, Orono, and is now working towards her master's degree in History Museum Studies from the Cooperstown Graduate Program. Her interest in social history led to an examination of the dining practices of eighteenth century York merchant, Edward Emerson.

Their excellent research helped Old York discover more about the role of ceramics in trade, religion, and everyday life in early New England. We enjoyed working with them this summer and look forward to what they will accomplish in the years ahead.

Thomas B. Johnson, *Curator*

Jennifer L. Lapp, *Education Director*

Cynthia Young-Gomes, *Registrar*

"DIETING" THE PRISONERS: CERAMIC EVIDENCE FROM OLD GAOL EXCAVATIONS



Lisa Hudgins

The gaol keepers of York County belonged to a system that combined law, politics, and religion to form a strict code of justice for local residents. While court documents and gaolers' records from the York County Gaol reveal much about the legal aspects of York gaolers' lives in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there are few documents which provide information about the daily existence of gaolers and their families during this period. In an attempt to recreate the living patterns of the gaol keepers in York County between 1719 and 1860, the archaeological records from three Gaol excavations in 1977, 1988 and 1989 have been analyzed. It is possible that these artifacts will allow us to peer into the households of these York deputies, and make some discoveries about their daily routines.

The York Gaol, the earliest extant public building in the Piscataqua region, allows a look at the institutions of crime and punishment in colonial York. The third gaol in York county, its stone cells were built in 1719, with subsequent additions throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ York's first gaol was established when a 1653 Massachusetts law mandated that all shire towns have a jail for the keeping of prisoners. A second was built in 1707. These early "prisons" fell into disrepair, and their successor, a stone building 24 by 16 feet (interior dimensions), was built on the hill overlooking Lindsey Road in York Village.²

The stone gaol building was expanded in several campaigns. A wooden gaol house which consisted of a parlor and kitchen was built in 1729 to provide a place for the gaoler to feed and to monitor the prisoners.³ The central cell wall was added in 1737 and an additional wing was built on the southeast corner.⁴

Renovation of the Gaol was needed by 1753, when an April court order called for "Gaol House to be New Cilled and the cills to be laid one foot higher and new floor'd, lapboarded and shingled...."⁵ Construction did not begin until 1763, when the stone cell and the gaol house were

adjoined to form a single structure, and a second story was added. Structural analysis of the gaol floor shows that the two buildings may have been separated by some distance, and had to be moved to accommodate the new construction.⁶ As a result of the 1763 contract, two cells were added to the upper level, as well as two other spaces, possibly used as bedrooms. The new cells were larger and brighter than the original rooms in the 1719 gaol and allowed separation of debtors from felons. The combined work amounted to just over 300 pounds.⁷

After the Revolutionary War, York fell into economic recession; the number of debtors increased as individuals could not meet their financial obligations.⁸ In 1792, after complaints by Ichabod Goodwin, Sheriff of York County, the Massachusetts court approved expansion of the Gaol to include a cell separating debtors from "Felons and other Criminals."⁹ A 1799 addition provided a debtor's cell on the second floor and a large parlor on the ground level. One final addition was completed in 1806 as the gaoler's parlor was added on the south end.¹⁰

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE OLD GAOL

Scheduled renovations of the early cells in 1974 precipitated the need for the initial archaeological investigations. As preparations were made to repair the sagging floor of the old cells, it was discovered that multiple layers of wooden flooring provided the support for the existing level; each contained significant archaeological remains (Figure 1).¹¹ With assistance from the Society for Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA), the Old York Improvement Society developed a plan to restore the flooring of the 1719 gaol cell.¹² This plan included the archaeological examination of materials located within the existing floor structures. Dr. Robert Bradley conducted these project excavations in 1977, under a federal grant obtained through the Maine Historic Preservation Commission (MHPC).¹³

When SPNEA and Dr. Bradley undertook the excavation of the Gaol floor, they found it stratigraphically complex. The site consisted of four layers of underflooring below the surface level. While the original strata may have been chronologically intact, the subsequent use of the cells by humans and rodents resulted in mixed stratigraphy. Evidence of modern debris falling between floorboards accounts for some of the disturbance, while another portion can be explained by the discovery of a rodent's nest between floors II and III, in which cloth, paper, and other articles spanning forty years were found in a single collection.¹⁴

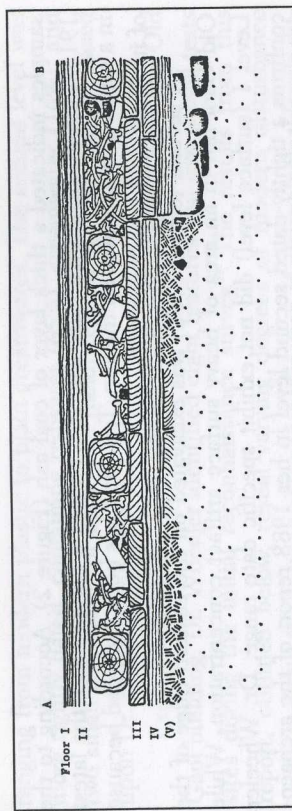


Figure 1 Drawing of archaeological remains found in the 1777 excavation under the Old Gaol floor. Drawing by Robert Bradley, MHPC. Archival Collections of Old York Historical Society.

The area between floors II and III accounted for the majority of the artifacts, including shoe leather, wooden spoons, eating utensils, a musket, and pipe stem fragments. It is suspected that when each layer of flooring was added, refuse from the house was thrown into the flooring as a way of disposal. Ceramics whose dates ranged between c. 1750 and c. 1850 were extracted, including stoneware, lead-glazed earthenware, pearlware, creamware, and porcelain. A list of ceramics found in excavations is available at Old York Historical Society.

The next major excavation of the York Gaol began in 1985, when Emerson W. Baker undertook a systematic study of York sites, resulting in standardized site numbers for each of the historic sites in York Village and surrounds. Roughly forty sites were located in the field, only four of which were eighteenth century. The 1719 Gaol site, including the Gaol, its outbuildings, the Gaol yard, and an adjacent store, was designated ME 497-118 (Maine, York County, Old Gaol site).¹⁵ A report provided to Old York included detailed results of the survey, along with recommendations for subsequent research into the archaeological heritage of York Village.

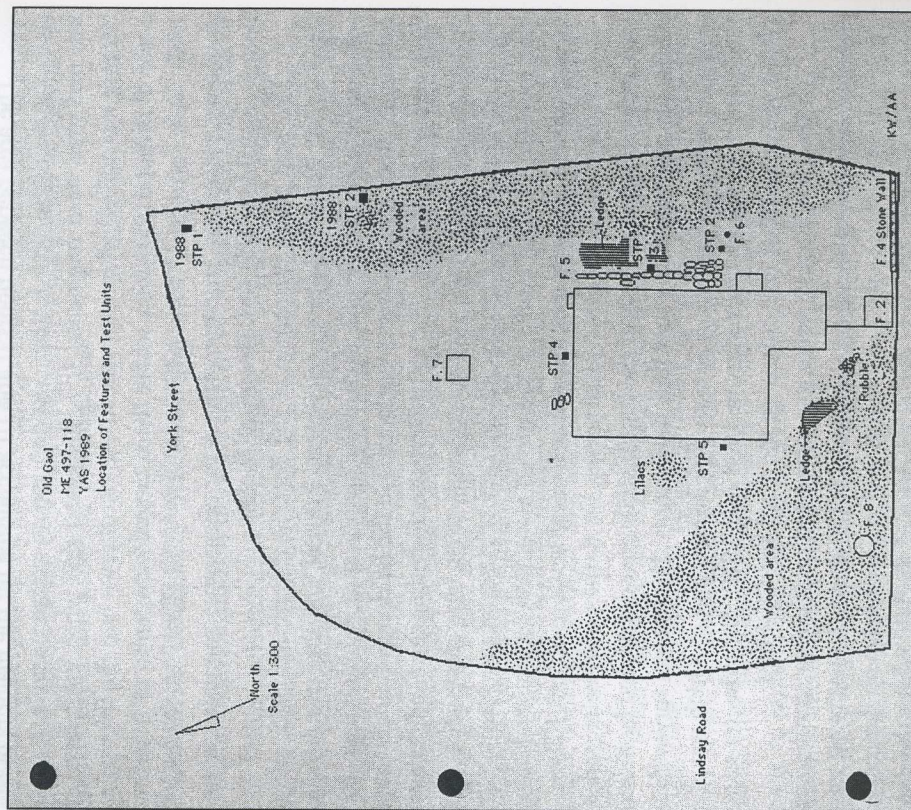
Within two years of this initial survey, Dr. Kathleen Wheeler undertook archaeological analysis of the fourth study area designated by Baker, which was the York Village and York Harbor unit. The original survey documented three archaeological sites in York Village, one of which was the Old Gaol.¹⁶ As follow-up studies in 1988 and 1989, Dr. Wheeler completed two intensified excavations on the Gaol and Gaol Yard.

In the 1988 survey, coring was completed on the area surrounding the gaol. Archaeologists found substantial build-up on the northeast corner of the yard, despite the predominance of exposed ledge on the rest of the lot. A test pit (TP1) was dug at the base of the hill, where the core

samples indicated a thick layer of coal ash (Figure 2). According to the 1913 Sanborn Insurance map, this area housed a barber shop, the latest in a series of businesses on the site. Test Pit 1 has been excluded because of its questionable link to Gaol activities.

A second test pit (TP2) was excavated on the eastern ridge of the Old Gaol hill in an area of heavy surface artifact concentration. While Level 1 (surface level) did not exhibit specific date range, Dr. Wheeler confirms a tightly-dated second level in her 1988 report of the archaeological excavations on the Old Gaol site. The top level contained artifacts

Figure 2 Location of features and test units, Old Gaol Site Map. Archival Collections of Old York Historical Society.



ranging from modern plastic to plain creamwares. The second level was more tightly dated, containing redwares (65%), creamwares (16%), and two small rim sherds of delft. The mean ceramic date for this pit based upon Dr. Wheeler's analysis is 1760.¹⁷

Excavations in the 1989 season were concentrated near the Old Gaol building. Dr. Wheeler identified eight features and five shovel tests sites during the initial reconnaissance survey.¹⁸ The results from this report, outlined below, reveal varying degrees of modern disturbance across the Old Gaol site, making identification of chronological levels difficult. Only those test pits with strata lying directly above the bedrock (Shovel Test Pits 1 and 3) appear to be undisturbed. Data from the 1989 excavation season has been analyzed taking this disturbance into account.

Shovel Test Pit 1 (STP1) was a trench opened on the southeast corner of the building, just south of the second doorway. While the upper strata were primarily late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century artifacts, the two lowest levels were comprised of redwares, creamwares, delftware and slip-decorated wares, indicating an early eighteenth century occupation.

The second shovel test (STP2) was a 60 by 60 cm square east of the patio at the second doorway. The data recovered from this test pit were extracted in five strata, each of which demonstrated some demolition debris, and a range of ceramics including pearlwares, creamwares, and hard white ceramics.

Three other shovel test pits were opened. STP3, a 75 by 50 cm square, was located midway along the flagstone walk. Strata II was primarily early nineteenth century ceramics, including annular and plain pearlwares, and coarse redwares. Strata III contained mostly creamware and pipe fragments. The lowest level, strata IV, revealed a collection of early eighteenth century artifacts, including clear-glazed and slip-decorated lead glazed redwares, and one sherd of tin glazed ceramic ware.

STP4, a 50 by 50 cm square on the north side of the building, 1.0 m east of the front doorway, contained ceramics from slip-decorated redware to transfer-printed hard white types. STP5 was opened 3.3 m north of the southwest corner, a 50 by 50 cm square similar to STP4. It revealed eighteenth and nineteenth century deposits, including creamware, redware, and English porcelain.

Artifacts from the 1988 and 1989 excavations reveal an eighteenth century building which has undergone multiple building campaigns. Disturbance of the upper strata is appropriate for the amount of renovation conducted on this site. Lower strata, particularly those closer to the

underlying bedrock, have remained intact, revealing a tightly-dated early eighteenth century occupation, where gaolers left evidence of coarse red earthenwares and delftwares behind.

The excavations of the Old Gaol, and the discovery of high status ceramics in the archaeological remains, have raised questions about the daily life of gaolers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as their social and economic status. A closer look at the culture surrounding York gaolers and their families might provide some answers about working, eating, and entertaining in the Old Gaol.

LIFE IN "PRYSON"

In eighteenth century York, the gaol keeper was a deputy sheriff appointed to guard prisoners either incarcerated for debt or waiting trial. The York Gaol averaged fourteen prisoners per year; the inmate count could increase dramatically just before the Quarterly Session of the Massachusetts Court.¹⁹ The majority of prisoners stayed an average of 42 days, though some prisoners stayed longer. Anna Card, a widow, stayed in the York Gaol for nearly a year while paying off debts. A Native American slave woman named Patience Boston was retained in the Gaol from at least November 1734 until July 1735, when she was hanged for the murder of her master's grandchild.²⁰ These women were just two of the 1053 prisoners recorded in the York Gaol records between 1788 and 1860. They were all housed and "dieted" by the assigned gaoler and his family, who may have lived in the gaol house after it was completed in 1763.²¹ Table 1 is a partial list of the York gaolers, identified through court documents, probate inventories, or business and government directories.

The gaoler's numerous duties as the deputy sheriff may have left some of the gaoler's responsibilities to his spouse, including feeding and maintenance of the prisoners. In one instance, William Emerson's wife Eunice continued to "diet" the prisoners after his death in 1790. Her new husband, John Sewall, Jr. was appointed deputy sheriff and gaoler in 1793.²⁹

Feeding of families and prisoners was costly and tedious work, and the gaoler and his spouse probably worked hard to keep a balance between the rising costs of caring for prisoners and family. It seems logical that the gaoler's wife would cook the same food for her family as for the prisoners; yet no records from the period have been found which detail the dieting of prisoners. Studies of foodways and eating habits in eighteenth century New England indicate that the diet experienced by

Table 1 List of Gaolers in York 1719-1860

1723	Benjamin Stone ²²
1736	Joseph Young ²³
1783	Robert Rose ²⁴
1784-1790	William Emerson
1793	John Sewall appointed gaoler by Sheriff Goodwin ²⁵
1799-1809	Simon Fernald
1809-?	John Low
1821	Oliver Bragdon
1823	James Bragdon III
1841	Jeremiah Brooks ²⁶
1843	Edgar McIntire ²⁷
1856	Henry Abbott ²⁸

gaolers and their families would have included fresh vegetables, meat, fish, chicken, and grain products (breads, cereals, etc.).³⁰ Vegetables were served fresh, boiled, baked, or preserved as pickles or sauces. Fish could be found fresh, corned, dried, or salted.³¹ Meats, including pork, veal and beef, were often preserved, except during the seasonal slaughtering.³² Archaeological evidence, as well as cooking guides for the period, indicate that most of the animal was utilized, with little opportunity for waste products. Hanna Glasse's *Art of Cookery*, originally published in 1804, detailed recipes for such delicacies as "Calf's Head Surprise, Pigeon Transmogrified, Roasted Ox-Cheek, and Beef Tongue Fricasay."³³ Preservation of food was important, and numerous recipes were listed for pickling, drying, and salting. One recipe, designed for sea captains, provided instructions for making a catsup which would last for 20 years.³⁴ Root vegetables, peas and beans, squash and pumpkins were stored for use in wintertime. Luxury items such as coffee, tea, and chocolate were also used in some quantity, as we see in York merchant Edward Emerson's advertisements for coffee³⁵ and Dr. Job Lyman's periodic delivery of Bohia Tea and several pounds of chocolate.³⁶

The archaeological remains from the Old Gaol help to confirm the diet patterns of the gaolers and their families, revealing deposits of corn-cobs and seeds, and the bones of cow, chicken and sheep. Remnants of coarse earthenware milk pans and crockery found in Gaol excavations point to dairying activities in the gaol kitchen. Likewise, the presence of tea accoutrements confirms the use of tea or coffee in the gaol household. It seems likely that the gaoler and his family attended to the necessary social requirements of a merchant class household, providing distin-

guished guests with an afternoon refreshment as the occasion warranted. A closer look at the ceramics found within the archaeological context can assist in confirming their use in the daily activities of the Gaol.

CERAMICS AND THE GAOL HOUSE

Household inventories and contemporary diary accounts provide some insight into the possible use of ceramics by the gaoler and his spouse. Probate inventories from Massachusetts and Connecticut (1725-1774) indicate a disproportionate use of coarse earthenwares compared to fine earthenware use for the same period. Approximately 70% of New England families were able to purchase coarse earthenwares, while only 14% could afford the fine earthenwares.³⁷ One 1791 diary account mentions the unsettling effects of a local earthquake on the pewter and earthenware housed in a nearby cupboard.³⁸ From these contemporary accounts, it seems evident that the majority of dinnerwares in use were pewter or coarse earthenwares. Yet the 1790 probate inventory of York gaoler William Emerson includes "chinaware," as well as earthenware and pewter.³⁹ Archaeological remains from the entire period of occupation at the Old Gaol site also include a substantial number of fine earthenwares in their inventory. It seems that at least some of our gaolers were able to maintain a higher economic status than the New England average.

Ceramics found within each layer of the excavation help to identify the earliest and latest time period of occupation. Most ceramics can be identified by style or production techniques, and can be dated in the same way. The following section is a review of the technical and stylistic characteristics used to date the Gaol ceramics, along with their approximate periods of production.

Ceramic Types

COARSE EARTHENWARE. The oldest form of ceramics found in the Gaol excavations is the group of coarse earthenwares, also known as redwares. Spanish and French settlers introduced these ceramic types to the Atlantic coast, where archaeologists have discovered sherds from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴⁰ In the New England colonies, potters began making redwares around 1650, providing a ready source of utilitarian forms to the immediate area.⁴¹ These early potters rarely marked their wares; it is only when decoration was introduced, or a special combination of glazes was utilized, that these wares became identifiable by artist or region.⁴² Earthenwares were used throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

turies, and remained a staple of household ceramics well into the 19th century, as indicated by the inventory of merchant Edward Emerson, Jr. which still carried coarse earthenwares for sale in his shop in 1803.⁴³

Of the forms excavated at the Old Gaol site, the most prevalent seems to be the flat, glazed plate or pan, such as the milk pan, which was used in production of dairy products. The glazes on these wares range from pale green to slip-decorated redwares. The amount of earthenwares found in the deposits changed between excavation seasons, but varied appropriately with the distribution of other ceramic types within the same season. While redwares are not particularly diagnostic when considered alone, their presence is useful in dating a site when used in combination with other datable wares. For example, in strata representing nineteenth century periods, the percentage of redwares decreased, whereas the eighteenth century occupants left a higher number of redware artifacts.

By 1740, earthenwares became more refined. Potters produced wares made with a finely turned red clay body, covered with a brown or black glaze. Those wares with the black glaze were called "jackfield" wares, so named for the pottery of origin.⁴⁴ Potters in Shropshire and Staffordshire, England, including Wedgwood and Whieldon, produced the Jackfield-type wares. In York, the Gaol excavations contained remnants of a Jackfield-type teapot, which may have been used to accompany tea cups made of stoneware, earthenware, or porcelain.

TIN-GLAZED WARES. The term "delft ware" described tin-ash glazed ceramics being imported from Europe during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The name originally referred to the tin-glazed wares from Holland, but spread to include other western European countries. The tin ash produced an opaque glaze that made the buff-colored body appear white or gray. The surface could then be decorated with blue and white designs that mimicked Chinese porcelain or with bright polychrome overglazes with popular motifs and sayings. Other countries produced these wares, also known as *majolica* in Spain or *faience* in France, as early as the ninth century; tin-glazed ceramics have been found in French and Spanish colonial sites dating to the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ In New England, however, navigation acts deterred imports from Holland, France, and Spain to English colonies until the Revolution.

Gaoler Joseph Young in 1736 would have been familiar with the tin-glazed ceramics being shipped into York during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Ceramic inventories from 1989 excavations contain large deposits of coarse earthenwares with one or two sherds of tin-glazed

wares, usually rim sherds. Gaoler Young's home may have had delftware plates or bowls, kept for special occasions such as visits by the Magistrate or other dignitaries. Tin-glazed pieces with local provenances in the Old York collections, including imports from England and Spain, date from this period.

STONEWARES. Imported stonewares provide the first datable ceramics in York. Examples of cobalt or manganese-decorated Rhenish stonewares (1714–1730) from Germany have been found at the York Gaol site.⁴⁶ Brown salt-glazed wares from Fulham (1690–1775) and Nottingham-type stonewares were also familiar to York residents.⁴⁷

Stonewares originally became popular as the durable utility ware. Crocks and churns, bottles, mugs and platters were turned from stoneware clays, producing heavy, durable containers. Stoneware potters also began to produce fine white salt-glazed stonewares, creating a new market of fine dinnerwares and tea sets. Wares from Staffordshire, produced by manufacturers trying to emulate Oriental porcelain, began to arrive in the colonies by the 1740s.⁴⁸ These white stonewares were considered the perfect pottery, because they had the necessary qualities of the costly and highly-desired Chinese imports.⁵⁰ White salt-glazed wares were being used at the York Gaol, as evidenced by stoneware sherds found in the Gaol floor, and a single sherd found in the surface level of Test Pit 2 of the 1988 excavations. The popularity of white salt-glazed stonewares waxed until the middle of the eighteenth century, when a new technique brought earthenwares back to the forefront of consumer interests.

FINE LEAD-GLAZED EARTHENWARES. Production of fine lead-glazed ceramics began in Europe in the early eighteenth century. A cream-colored, clear lead-glazed ware began to appear in ceramics trade, first refined by Thomas Astbury of Heath, c.1720–1740.⁵¹ Creamwares were manufactured by Thomas Greatbatch, and Staffordshire potters like Thomas Whieldon and Josiah Wedgwood. This new type of ware included cream colored pieces, as well as molded wares with copper and manganese underglazes.⁵² These *creamwares* exploded onto the market, providing a fine dinnerware which could be painted, enameled, colored with a variety of metallic oxides, and fired at a lower temperature - thus increasing its versatility in color and form.

Gaolers from York were using plain creamware and dishes with feather-edged designs. A sherd from a teapot lid found in the Gaol floor resembles the lid on a pot now in the Old York collections (Figure 3).

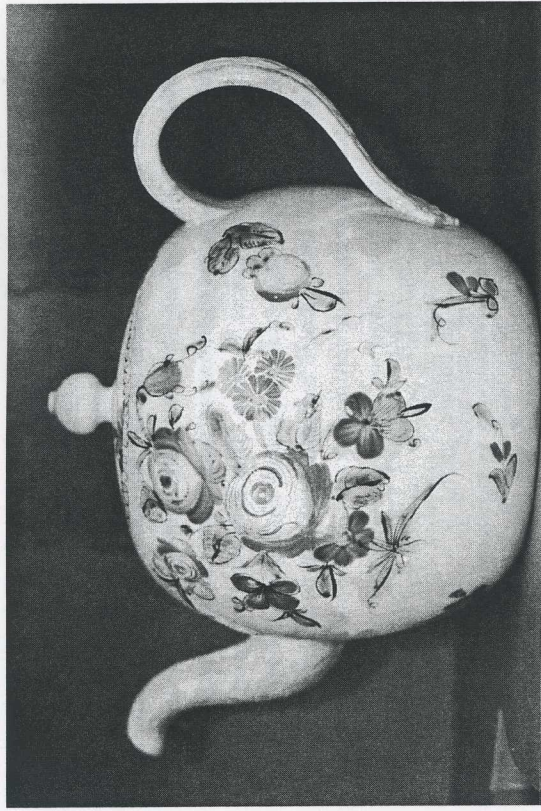


Figure 3 Polychrome decorated cream colored ware, c.1760. Collections of Old York Historical Society.

From the Gaol excavations, we also have examples of creamware cups, dinner plates, saucers and teapots, as well as pitchers and mugs. Decorated wares, similar to those attributed to the Liverpool area, were found between floors II and III in the 1977 Old Gaol excavation.⁵³ A pitcher or mug, overglaze enameled, late 18th c., is inscribed as follows:

"The Ale is good
So pray Pour out.
The Glafts is Full
Come Drink about"

Likewise, a larger pitcher with overglaze enameled and a rust colored enameled ring around the rim was uncovered, inscribed:

"Behave to all men kind and true
As you'd have them behave to you
And neither say nor do to them
Whate'er you would not take aga(in)"

The Liverpool potters produced pitchers of this type, whose shape could be easily distinguished from the baluster-shaped wares from other regional potteries. The red trim is not particularly unusual for wares of

Table 2 Emerson's Probate Inventory vs. Archaeological Record

Probate Inventory	Excavations (1977)
Chinaaware 7 sh.	Chinese export porcelain teapot creamware teapot creamware plates
earthenware 9.2 sh	plain and polychrome-painted pearlware plates coarse earthenware mug with manganese (brown) glaze
Stone jugs 3 sh	yellow glazed plate or milk pans brown salt-glazed crock

Though the inventory lists "chinaaware" worth 7 shillings, it is unknown whether this indicates Chinese export porcelain or creamware, which is occasionally called "Chinaaware" in potters' inventories of the eighteenth century.⁵⁸ The 1803 probate inventory from William's brother, Edward, Jr., lists "Japann" and "Chaney" (china) wares separately, while a contemporary inventory from Dr. Job Lyman's estate (1791) lists "china bowls" and "cream coloured plates." It is interesting to note that the chinaaware, along with glassware and punch ladles, were listed with materials from the parlor, indicating that these pieces would have been stored there for use with "best company."⁵⁹

Creamwares began to slip in popularity by the 1780s, as evidenced by shipping requests for "fine white [and *not* Cream-Colourd]" wares.⁶⁰ The pearl white, or "blue glaz'd china" wares continued to be manufactured by Wedgwood until 1865, with variety of decorative styles, including the geometric annular wares, transfer-printed and luster wares, tooled forms, and a rainbow of colors from rose to teal.⁶¹

PORCELAINS. While Europeans refined their stonewares and lead-glazed earthenwares, a high-fired, translucent porcelain infiltrated the West from China, Japan, and Korea. Except for a brief hiatus in the late 17th century because of trade restrictions, Chinese export porcelain enjoyed favor throughout upper class homes in Europe and the colonies. Blue-and-white and polychrome-painted designs found their way into York, followed by the enameled or "burnt" china wares.⁶² The few examples of Chinese porcelains that exist from the Gaol site are primarily blue and white export porcelain. Perhaps the most noteworthy is the 18th century Chinese porcelain cup rim, a red cloud pattern on the rim surrounding blue and white design with gilt highlights. This design was typical of tra-

this type, but the green overglaze decoration seen on both pieces presents an anomaly which may provide a clue as to the specific potter or decorator. The unique green trim has been found on a Liverpool-type pitcher described by J. Jefferson Miller at Winterthur,⁵⁴ and on Liverpool-type jugs seen on display at the Peabody-Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts; but none of this variety currently exists in the collections of the Old York Historical Society. The inventory of gaoler William Emerson's brother, York merchant Edward Emerson, Jr. lists "Liverpool ware plates, dishes, mugs, &c.,"⁵⁵ indicating that wares from the Liverpool factories were being imported into York in the 1790s, but no distinction is made as to the variety of Liverpool wares being used.

By 1779, the Staffordshire potters had refined the yellowish lead glaze by including a hint of cobalt, giving it a "pearl white" color.⁵⁶ Pearlwares quickly joined creamwares as earthenwares of choice by the middle of the eighteenth century. The two glazes were produced simultaneously until the early 1800s. In the excavations of the Old Gaol, some interesting variations in the distribution of creamwares and pearlwares occurs across seasons and test sites. The 1977 excavations of the Gaol floor revealed a balanced collection of pearlwares and creamwares, dating the site between 1750 and 1820. At least 12 major types of lead-glazed ceramics are represented, including plain creamwares, blue shell-edged pearl-ware, transfer-printed wares, annular wares and Liverpool vessels. Examples of blue transfer-printed pearlwares were also found. They represent the wide range of Staffordshire and Liverpool wares which have been uncovered in the Portsmouth region. Portsmouth ceramics historian Louise Richardson suggests that a large percentage of blue transfer-printed wares in the area may have originated in the Herculaneum factories, based upon decorative styles and business ledgers from local businesses.⁵⁷

These lead-glazed earthenwares revealed in Gaol excavations may have belonged to gaolers Robert Rose (c.1783), William Emerson (1782-1790), John Sewall (1793-1796), or Simon Fernald (c. 1799-1810). If we compare the ceramic remains with our list of known gaolers, we may have found creamwares in the Gaol house of Robert Rose or William Emerson, pearlwares in the parlor of John Sewall, or Liverpool jugs being used by Simon Fernald in 1805.

When we compare the ceramic archaeological record from the Gaol with the probate inventory of gaoler William Emerson in 1790, we might find Mr. Emerson using the following types in his home:

ditional three-color and five-color porcelains which displayed conventionalized cloud patterns separate from the central design.⁶³ The red ochre colored decoration was prevalent in porcelains being exported to the colonies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as well as the gilt overglaze.⁶⁴ In the York collections, examples of three and five-color Chinese porcelain exist in punch bowls, teacups, and saucers (Figure 4). Chinese porcelain of this style would have been utilized for special occasions, such as formal teas, etc.; the tea sets may have been used in conjunction with silver tea sets.⁶⁵

European porcelains were also being shipped into the colonies during this period. Approximately 8% of the 1977 and 6% of the 1989 site is European porcelain. These high-fired wares began to be produced in the 1720s, but were not as initially successful as their competitors. The quality of the wares may be a factor, as early English porcelains did not have the pale blue translucence of Oriental porcelains, nor the richness of designs. Most of our Gaol artifacts are plain white or bone china, though some contain polychrome overglaze designs.

The last major group of ceramics found in Gaol excavations is the ironstone or "Stone China," first produced by Spode in 1805. These high-fired, durable tablewares, also called whitewares, replaced many pearlware types by the middle of the 1800s, and along with porcelains, domi-

nated the ceramics industry into the twentieth century. In the gaol excavations, whitewares make up a portion of the finds, particularly in 19th century contexts. In many cases, these diagnostic white sherds are the telltale signs of strata disturbance. It is no accident that the durability of these wares in the household resulted in their frequency within the archaeological context.

Many of the stone china wares would have been familiar to gaolers Jeremiah Brooks (1841) and Edgar McIntire (1843). Along with their white dinnerware, they might have had access to a wide range of English and Chinese porcelains, bright polychrome pearlwares (popular until 1835), and a predominance of blue transfer ware, popular during the early 1800s.

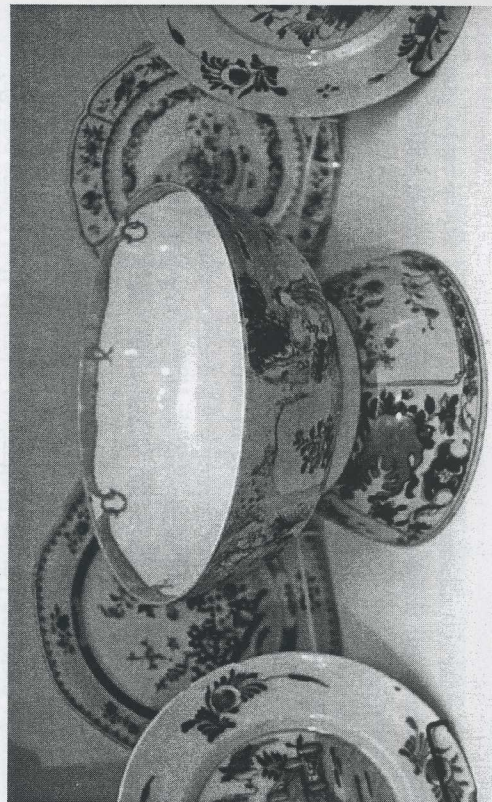
It is important to remember that when a new product was manufactured and imported into the colonies, it was simply added to the complex ceramics market. Older wares may have continued to be used in households long after their novelty had worn off. Likewise, the advent of ceramics technology into the industrial market meant that new designs were being produced at a rapid rate, and keeping up with the market would have been costly for even the most economically savvy gaoler. By the middle of the 1800s, ceramics purchases were almost entirely a function of personal taste as numerous variations sprung up.

SUMMARY/CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the range of ceramic types found at the Old Gaol, as well as the wide chronology, reveal a procession of gaolers and their families who were financially capable of purchasing high end goods, such as porcelains and fine earthenwares, but who also utilized the more practical coarse earthenwares for utilitarian purposes. Artifacts recovered from the Gaol excavations appear to be the result of breakage and/or disposal of ceramic goods. The lack of pewter and other metal wares does not indicate that it did not exist on the site, but because of durability, may not have been part of the refuse from the site.

The diet pattern of the gaolers, their families, and their prisoners mirror those of other eighteenth and early nineteenth century homes, including their use of locally produced meats, vegetables, and dairy products. Archaeological remains suggest that gaolers and their families were preparing food utilizing stonewares and coarse earthenwares, typical of 18th century practices. The use of high end ceramics such as creamwares, pearlwares, and Chinese export porcelains may have been

Figure 4 Two color Chinese porcelain bowl, c.1750. Collections of Old York Historical Society.



limited to teas, formal dinners, or parties, rather than used in daily routines, as indicated by their use in parlor or "best" rooms. Comparative analysis of archaeological remains from other York homes may extend our understanding of the gaoler's social position within York County, and provide us with further knowledge of the private lives of 18th century gaolers as they dieted and cared for their charges.

ENDNOTES

- 1 John Hecker, "Historical and Structural Analysis: Old Gaol Museum, York, Maine," 1976, Architectural Records, Old York Historical Society (OYHS) Collections, 1.
- 2 Charles E. Banks, *History of York, Maine, Volume II* (Boston: Murray Printing Co., 1961), 228-244; Court of General Sessions, State of Massachusetts, York, Maine, April 1707. OYHS.
- 3 George Ernst, *New England Miniature* (Freeport, ME: Bond Wheelwright, Co. 1951), 158.
- 4 "History of the Old Gaol," Interpreter's Guide, 1997, OYHS.
- 5 Clerk of Courts, *Records of the Court of General Sessions*, York County Courthouse, Vol. 7, 10.
- 6 Hecker, 6.
- 7 Ernst, 153.
- 8 Susan Leonard Toll, *Debt, Deviance, and Reform: The York County Gaol, 1790-1860* (M.A. Thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1993), 9-10.
- 9 Ernst, 154.
- 10 Hecker, 10.
- 11 Robert Bradley, "Archaeological Excavations at the Old York Gaol, York Maine," May 1977, Architectural Records, OYHS, 1.
- 12 According to Bradley's report, the Old York Improvement Society was overseeing this project; it is possible that the Old Gaol Museum was actually responsible.
- 13 Bradley, 1.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 15 Emerson W. Baker, "York's Historical Archaeological Resources," September 1, 1986, OYHS.
- 16 Kathleen Wheeler, "Report on the Historical and Archaeological Survey of York Village, Maine," Maine Center for Archaeological Studies, September 1988 (Manuscript, OYHS), 43.
- 17 Wheeler, "Survey," 1988, 61.
- 18 Kathleen Wheeler, "York Archaeological Survey 1989," Maine Center for Archaeological Studies, September 1989 (Manuscript, OYHS), 2-3.
- 19 Interpreters Handbook, Old Gaol, (Manuscript, OYHS), 13.
- 20 "A Faithful Narrative of the Wicked Life and Remarkable Conversion of Patience Boston, Alias Samson," (Boston: 1738) Transcript, OYHS.
- 21 Neal W. Allen, Jr., ed. *Province and Court Records of Maine, Vol VI* (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1975), 132.
- 22 *Ibid.*

- 23 Ernst, 151.
- 24 Gaolers Robert Rose, William Emerson, Simon Fernald, John Low, Oliver Bragdon, and James Bragdon III are listed as gaolers or gaol keepers in the State of Massachusetts, Court of General Sessions, York County, 1783-1790, 1799-1809, and 1821-1823, OYHS.
- 25 Commission by Ichabod Goodwin, County of York, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, OYHS.
- 26 Samuel L. Harris, *Maine Register and National Calendar for the Year 1841* (Portland: William Hyde, 1841), 125.
- 27 Samuel L. Harris, *Maine Register and National Calendar for the Year 1843* (Augusta: Daniel C. Stanwood, 1843), 13.
- 28 George Adams, *Maine Register and Business Directory for the Year 1856* (South Berwick, ME: Edward C. Parks, 1856), 71.
- 29 Commission by Ichabod Goodwin, OYHS.
- 30 Frances Lord, "Foodstuffs and Furnishings in 18th Century New England," (Manuscript, OYHS), 7-10.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 4.
- 32 Jane Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 202-205.
- 33 Hanna Glaspe, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain & Easy* (Boston, 1843), 49, 62, 93.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 257.
- 35 Inventory of Edward Emerson, Jr., MSS Probate Records, York County Records of Probate (YCRP), Alfred, Me, 5174.
- 36 Lord, 6.
- 37 Gloria L. Main, "The Distribution of Consumer Goods in Colonial New England: A Subregional Approach," Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife (Boston: Boston University, 1987), 166.
- 38 Nylander, *Fireside*, 190.
- 39 "An Inventory of the Estate of William Emerson, Late of York - Gent. deceased," in Interpreter's Guide 1997, OYHS.
- 40 Stanley South, "Boundary Survey," *Research Manuscript Series 221* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1995).
- 41 Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 98-99.
- 42 Lura Woodside Watkins, *New England Potters and Their Wares* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 7, 8; M. Lelyn Branin, *The Early Potters and Potteries of New England*, (Augusta, ME: Maine State Museum, 1978).
- 43 Edward Emerson, Jr. Inventory, YCRP, 5174.
- 44 Hume, 123.
- 45 Stanley South, *Doorway to the Past* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1991).
- 46 Hume, 55-57, 276-279.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 112-114.
- 48 Regina Lee Blaszczyk, "Ceramics and the Sotweed Factor: The China Market in a Tobacco Economy," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Volume 19, Number 1, Spring 1984, 7.
- 49 Hume, 116.
- 50 Blaszczyk, 11.
- 51 Donald Towner, *Cream Coloured Earthenwares* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), 1-2.

- 52 Hume, 123-125.
 53 Bradley, 7.
 54 J. Jefferson Miller, "Unrecorded American Views on Two Liverpool-type Earthenware Pitchers," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Volume 4, 109.
 55 "Inventory of Edward Emerson, Jr.," 5174.
 56 Arlene Palmer Schwind, "The Ceramic Imports of Frederick Rhineland, New York Loyalist Merchant," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 32.
 57 Louise Richardson, *Transfer-printed wares*, SPNEA Lecture Series: Treasures to Trash, Trash to Treasures," Governor Langdon House, July, 1997.
 58 Townner, 18.
 59 Lord, 12.
 60 Schwind, 33.
 61 Hume, 131-132.
 62 Schwind, 24.
 63 Hazel H. Gorham, *Japanese and Oriental Ceramics* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1971), 12.
 64 Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Pattern of Exchange* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art), 38, 44.
 65 Nylander, 243.

FIRE THE KILN, RAISE THE FLAG, AND PRAISE GOD: THE BAYLEY JUG AND THE CONVERGENCE OF CRAFTMAKING, POLITICS, AND RELIGION IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND



John Kille

For close to a century, a plain, earthenware jug offering little in the way of aesthetics has been on display at the Old York Historical Society's Old Gaol Museum in York, Maine. The jug has a familiar ovoid shape, strap handle, and dark manganese glaze; all of which are representative of a New England folk tradition in which form followed function (Figure 1). Now positioned in the "Museum of Colonial Relics" exhibit in Old York's historic 1719 Old Gaol, the jug's utilitarian appearance and lack of decoration had initially relegated the vessel to the bottom shelf of a display cabinet when it came into the collections early in this century. There it

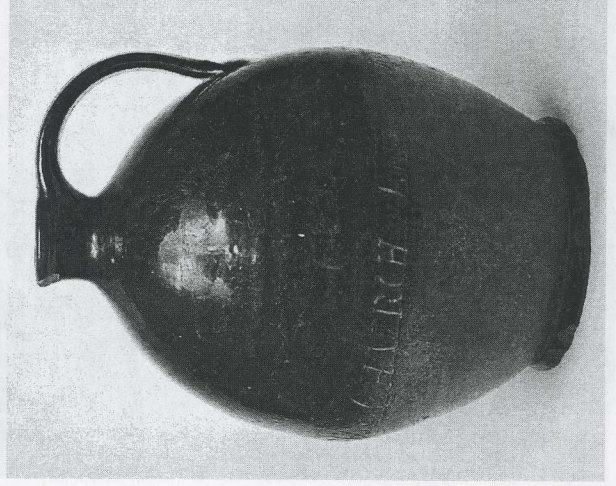


Figure 1 Communion Jug, Redware, made by Daniel Bayley, Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1763. Collections of Old York Historical Society.

languished in obscurity for more than fifty years. In 1964, the jug caught the eye of then Old Gaol Museum director Barry Greenlaw, who removed decades of dust, figuratively and literally, and established the historical importance of the vessel's inscription and date, "For the use of Mr. Noble's CHURCH, July 10, 1763" (Figure 2). Greenlaw carried out his own research and attributed the jug to an eighteenth century Newburyport, Massachusetts potter named Daniel Bayley, who made the vessel for Reverend Oliver Noble of the Fifth Parish Congregational Church of Newbury.

Largely due to Greenlaw's efforts, the jug has emerged from the shadows of its colonial revival surroundings to assume a new identity as one of the earliest dated pieces of American earthenware and the only example known to have been used as part of a communion service in a New England church. Now well known, the jug's photo has appeared in several well-known publications, including the *Winterthur Portfolio* and *American Art and Antiques*.¹ While Greenlaw's findings of over thirty years ago have been widely publicized, no attempt has been made since then to place such an important piece of earthenware in a larger historical context involving the people who made, used, and later interpreted it. Thus, the following paper seeks to reconstruct a broad social history that will provide not only a better understanding of the jug's treatment within a twentieth century colonial revival museum setting, but also the vessel's connection to eighteenth century craftmaking, religion and politics.

What is known of the jug's history of ownership begins in the colonial revival period when Esther Hungerford, a prominent York resident

and collector of early American antiquities, acquired the vessel.² The earliest reference to the communion vessel is an entry in the 1901 *Catalogue of the Relics and Curiosities in the Old Gaol, York, Maine* which lists the jug as "used for communion wine in Mr. Noble's church, Salem, in 1763, a Gift of Mrs. Hungerford"³ (Figure 3). Interestingly enough, Hungerford

Figure 3 Museum of Colonial Relics, Old Gaol, York, Maine, circa 1930. The Bayley jug is shown on the bottom shelf in the case to the left of the fireplace. Photo collections Old York Historical Society.

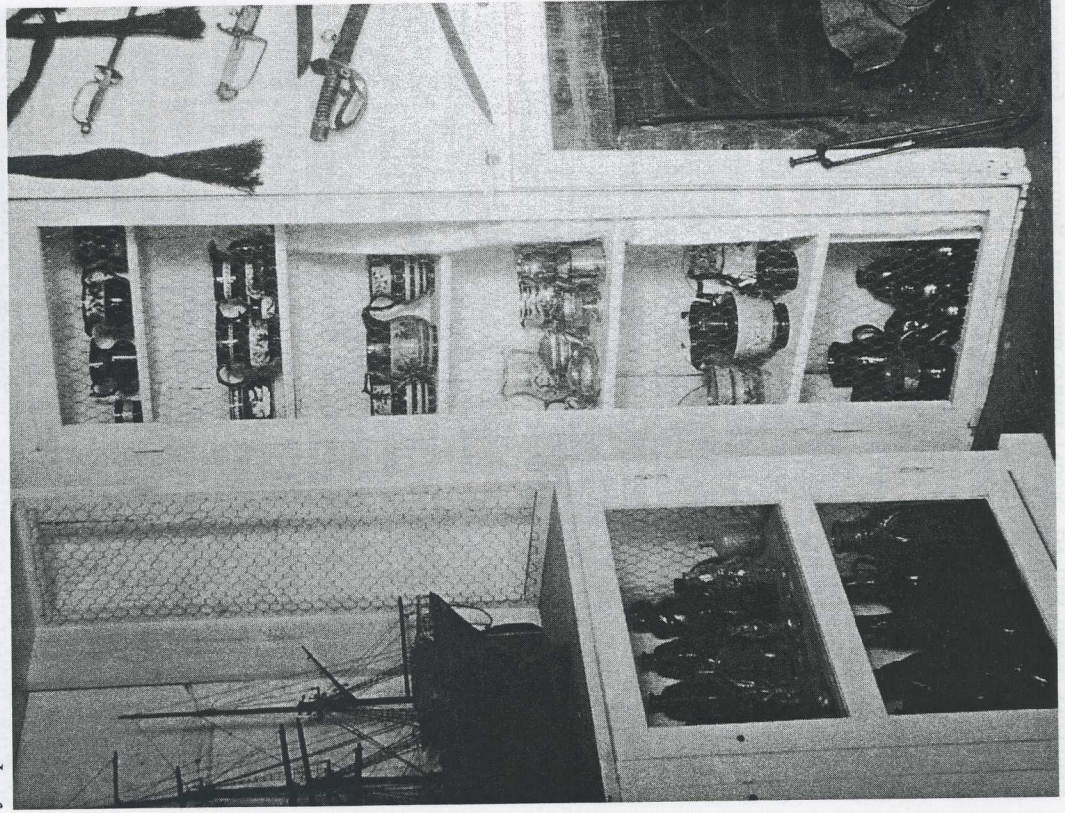
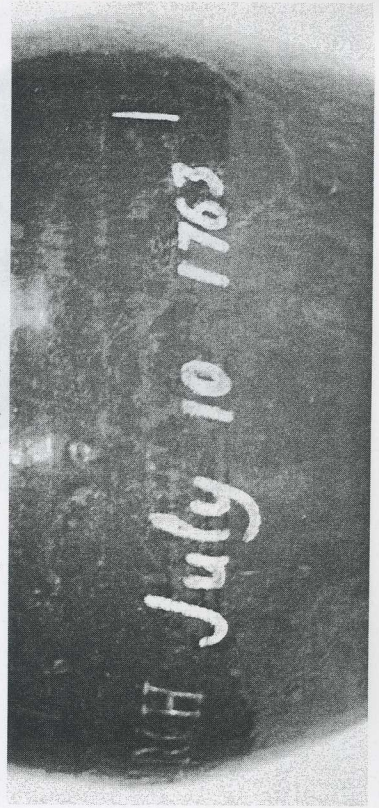


Figure 2 Detail, Inscription on Bayley jug.



is found to have donated not only a communion jug to the Old Gaol, but also a complete communion set consisting of a goblet, cup, flagon, and plate.⁴ According to the original 1901 *Old Gaol Catalogue*, the jug resided in Cabinet I of the Museum of Colonial Relics, an area which housed an eclectic assemblage of locally donated colonial revival objects.⁵ The "Museum of Colonial Relics," as its name implies, was designed to showcase important historical artifacts reflecting the early days of our nation's "glorious" past.

The placement of the jug on the bottom shelf of Cabinet I within the Museum of Colonial Relics illustrates the paradoxical nature of the colonial revival period. In colonial revival interpretations of the eighteenth century, utilitarian objects often take a backseat to later, more aesthetically pleasing decorative furnishings. Photos taken of the Museum of Colonial Relics in the 1930s, before the historical significance in the vessel had been revealed, show the jug's lowly position on a bottom shelf underneath five shelves of glittering mid-nineteenth century English lustreware.⁶ The jug would not be raised to a higher and more prominent position within the Court of Relics until after Barry Greenlaw publicized his research.⁷ Not surprisingly, the jug outlived the Museum of Colonial Relics, an area which now houses a changing exhibit gallery. In a fitting and ironic twist of historical interpretation, the jug is now front and center in the Old Gaol's reinstalled Museum of Colonial Relics area, a recreated turn-of-the-century exhibit designed to educate museum visitors about the historical basis of colonial revivalism.

The Bayley jug's inscription is its distinguishing feature and what makes it historically significant. Without the clues found in its inscription, the jug's early history could never have been reconstructed. Barry Greenlaw's 1964 correspondence with historians and ceramics scholars of the region helps to reconstruct how he traced the jug back to its eighteenth century origins one step at a time. Greenlaw first wrote to the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts to ascertain the accuracy of the 1901 Old Gaol collections catalogue entry listing Reverend Noble as being from Salem. Written in a casual manner, Greenlaw's letter ended, "Please don't hurry answering this letter, for I am in no great rush for the information."⁸ However, after receiving back a response which positively identified Oliver Noble of Newburyport as the only reverend with the surname Noble in New England in 1763, Greenlaw's research appears to take on a new found purpose.⁹ A growing sense of excitement is evident in a later letter which Greenlaw fired off to the Historical Society of Old Newbury concerning Reverend Oliver Noble. By this point, Greenlaw

closed his letter with "I feel this jug is important and unique and I am very anxious to find its source."¹⁰

After establishing that Reverend Noble resided in Newburyport, Massachusetts, Greenlaw next traced the communion jug to a local potter named Daniel Bayley. Greenlaw made his attribution based on research conducted by Lura Woodside Watkins, author of *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*. In August of 1934, Watkins and her husband managed to salvage a small collection of sherds from the Bayley pottery site as it was being demolished to make way for a Route 1 construction project in Newburyport.¹¹ A small block of buildings, including a pharmacy, automobile supply store, and gas station were torn down as part of the demolition (Figure 4). The Bayley pottery sherds are featured prominently in Watkins' book and now reside in the Smithsonian Institution. After arriving at his attribution, Greenlaw corresponded with Watkins to share his discovery and findings.¹² In a letter written back to Greenlaw, Watkins praised him as a "careful and keen researcher."¹³ In the same letter, Watkins also referenced a "complete jug" she recovered from the Bayley pottery site which resembled the communion jug but was not identical. Like the communion jug, the Watkins' jug has a similar handle attached to the neck, flared and pointed base, and dark brown glaze. However, the latter vessel is melon shaped, rather than bulbous, and has a more pronounced, distinctive lip, as well as a smoother body. These similarities and differences leave open the possibility that the jug Watkins found may have been made by one of Daniel Bayley's three sons who worked alongside his father.

Ceramics scholars who have relied solely on the Watkins sherds for comparison studies of ware made by Bayley may be surprised to hear of the existence of eight additional whole pieces of Bayley pottery that were removed from the 1934 demolition site well before Watkins made it to the scene. Watkins apparently arrived at the site two days after steam shovels had removed most of the pottery waste pile.¹⁴ It is not known who removed the eight pieces from the site, but the pieces somehow made their way into the possession of Charles Hall, an antiques dealer in Newburyport.¹⁵ Hall sold six of the pieces, including two mugs, a custard cup, a jug, a vase, and a large pitcher to local residents. Two other items, a mug and a pitcher, were purchased by the Essex Institute, and now reside in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts.¹⁶ Of the six private pieces, two are known to have survived. In 1995, the relatives of Freeman Congdon of Newburyport donated the Bayley custard cup to the Historical Society of Old Newbury.¹⁷ The cup displays an attractive

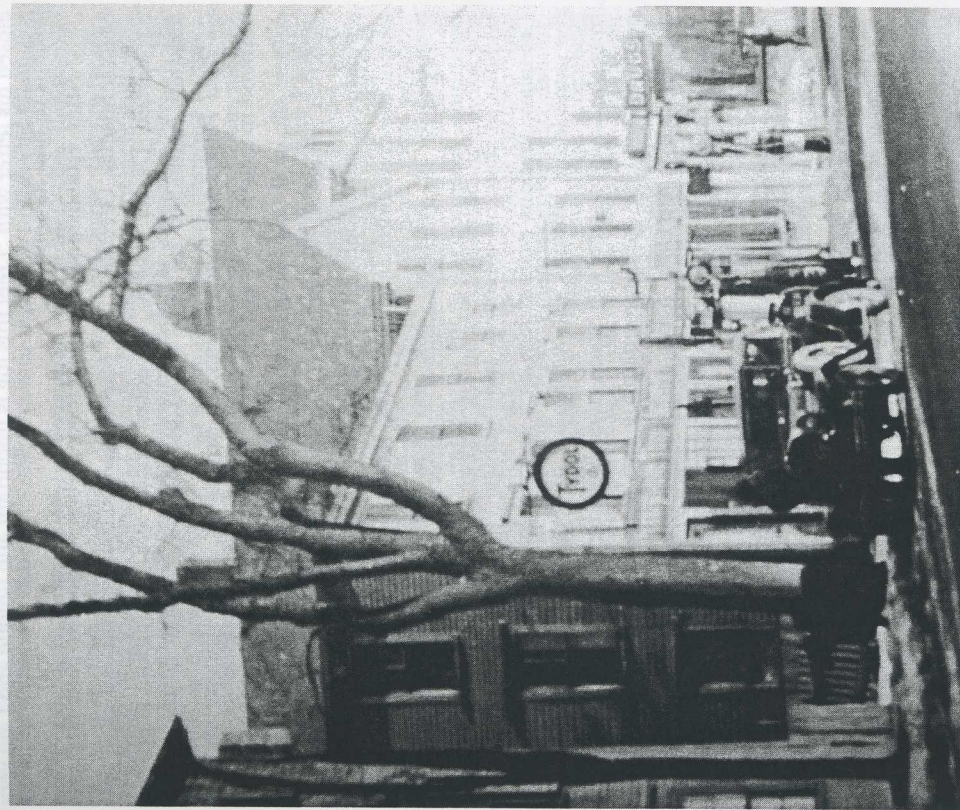


Figure 4 View of buildings at site of Bayley Pottery, Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1934. Photo collections of Historical Society of Old Newburyport.

green glaze on its interior and is in perfect condition. The other documented item that has surfaced is the pitcher purchased by the late Gayden Morrill, who was the Mayor of Newburyport at the time of the Route 1 demolition. The pitcher still bears its original label identifying it as number eight, the last item distributed by Charles Hall (Figure 5). The piece is now in the possession of his son, Frank, who like his father belongs to the Historical Society of Old Newbury and is an avid antiques collector.¹⁸

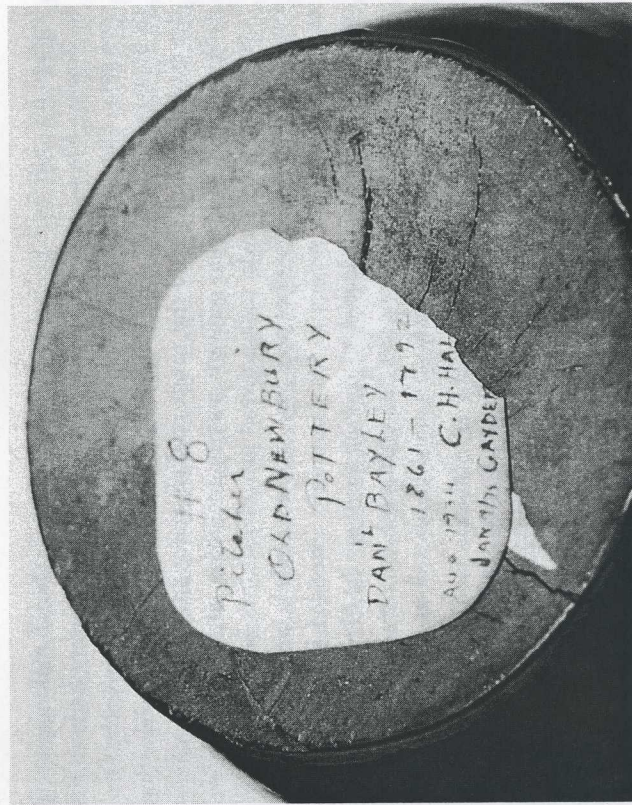


Figure 5 Detail, label on base of "Morrill" Bayley pitcher excavated from Bayley pottery site in 1934. Photo courtesy of Frank Morrill, Newburyport, Massachusetts.

For this study, the Morrill pitcher is one of the most important pieces of pottery salvaged from the Bayley site because it is so similar to the communion jug in terms of form, glaze, and technique. Old York's Bayley jug and the Morrill pitcher both display a bulbous shape and dark brown glaze, and each have a nearly identical flared and pointed base, as well as a handle with two vertical ridges and a thumbprint indentation. Further, the outside of both vessels have distinct and uniform horizontal grooves formed by Bayley's fingers on the pottery wheel. It is alleged that Bayley only had two fingers on one of his hands, which would explain the unusual grooves and also suggests that he may have had a very unusual throwing style.¹⁹ With the exception of these horizontal grooves, Bayley's pottery is neatly finished, and has a nicely proportioned and well-defined appearance.

New England folk potters of the eighteenth century like Daniel Bayley made earthenware pottery in a time-honored folk tradition passed down within communities, often through many family generations. Daniel Bayley made pottery in Newburyport from 1763 to 1792, and he

learned his craft from his father, Joseph Bayley, who began making pottery in Rowley, Massachusetts. Daniel Bayley taught the pottery trade to his own sons, Daniel Jr., Nathaniel, and William, and they took over the family business in 1792 after he passed away. The Watkins sherds show that the Bayley potters served the needs of their community by producing a wide range of utilitarian redware pottery, including pudding pans, lard pots, deep dishes, bowls, milk or bread pans, bowls, pitchers, mugs, porringers, washbowls, chamber pots, jugs, teapots, beakers, and baking dishes.²⁰ Daniel Bayley's service to his community extended beyond pottery making, and he was elected to several positions in Newburyport. For instance, town records from the late eighteenth century document that Bayley served for several years as a warden, as well as a hogsgreave or keeper of stray hogs.²¹

The functional vessels that Daniel Bayley produced in his pottery reflected a world bound by Puritan sensibilities. Since lower and middle class households could not afford imported china or silver, folk pottery was used in the vast majority of early households for food preparation and storage. The earthenware Bayley made had many advantages over pewter and wooden utensils as well. This type of pottery not only could be cleaned much easier than woodenware, it also held food and drink better and conducted less heat. The popularity of the earthenware tradition in New England trailed off in the years following the Revolution for several reasons. A flood of imported wares from English potteries led to a lowering of prices, overstocking by merchants, and overbuying by the public.²² Also, stoneware gradually replaced earthenware as it offered a more durable surface, held fluids better than the more porous earthenware, and had a safe, salt glaze finish.

Bayley wisely located his residence and pottery site within close proximity to the major transportation routes of the period, as well as native clay beds. The Bayley site fronted High Street, running perpendicular to the old turnpike going north into New Hampshire and south into Boston. Bayley also had easy access to the Merrimac River, less than a half mile to the north, which enabled him to ship his earthenware on vessels traveling along the eastern seaboard. The clay Bayley used to make his ware came from native clay beds located only several hundred yards from his pottery.²³ An eighteenth century clay pit near Newburyport's Old Burying Hill is known to have been used by another local potter named Ebenezer Morrison.²⁴ The clay pit is now a veterans cemetery, and a wide depression in the ground marks where Morrison removed his clay. The Morrison House, which is still standing, is located at the end of Vernon

Street, a block south of Bayley's High Street pottery. Morrison built his pottery operation just north of the clay pit alongside Old Burying Hill. A diary kept by Morrison's son, Zachariah, records him looking out the attic window of his father's house at the clay pit and a black settlement called "Down Guinea Way."²⁵ According to family lore, the African-American workers from the area worked at the Morrison pottery grinding clay with their bare feet.²⁶ While Bayley and Morrison may have shared the same clay pit, it is not known if both employed African-American workers in their potteries.

Daniel Bayley operated his successful family pottery business next door to St. Paul's Church, which is now the oldest continuously operated Episcopal church in Massachusetts and dates to 1711. Bayley worked at St. Paul's in various capacities as a sexton, organist, and clerk or choir director. Eighteenth century ledgers of St. Paul's Church indicate that Bayley's dedication and service to St. Paul's did not go unnoticed. In fact, in 1775 the church leadership voted to thank Bayley for his "Services as clerk for Sundry years past."²⁸ In a fitting tribute to Daniel Bayley's devotion to St. Paul's Church, his final resting spot is alongside the Chapel.

Bayley played his music on the first organ known to have been used in any church in New England. St. Paul's Church purchased the so-called "Brattle" organ in 1756 from King's Chapel in Boston where it had been in use since 1714.²⁹ If Bayley indeed had only two fingers on one of his hands, it must have been quite a challenge for him to play the organ. The records of St. Paul's document that several generations of the Bayley family served as organists.³⁰ A nineteenth century recollection of a local Newburyport resident provides a fascinating description of Daniel Sr. and Jr. at the keyboard.

"The Episcopal Church always had its organ. This was fifty years since under the handling of 'Fiddler Bayley,' as he was called, and had been under that of his father 'Philo-Musico' Bayley, as he called himself in his engraved church music book published in Boston about the year 1770, in diamond-shaped notes: one of the first ever brought out in this country."

"Bayley, at the organ, swayed his head very much as a Pythoness, on the tripod under the sway of the Oracle. He was not only devoted to the fine arts but to the useful and ornamental, inasmuch as he was the sole paperer of walls in our town. No ball could be gotten up in Newburyport without the sexton of St. Paul's, (for he was sexton as well as

organist) any more than a great party can now come off in New York without the superintendence of the sexton of Grace Church of that city."³¹

While Daniel Bayley's record at St. Paul's is unrivaled, there are other examples of potters from this period who were also directly involved with their church. For instance, Peter Clark, a potter from Lyndeboro, New Hampshire, served as deacon in the Congregational Church, a position he held for life.³² Further, Abraham Mead, also known as "Deacon Potter Mead," helped pay off the mortgage of the Second Congregational Church in Greenwich, Connecticut, by selling a boatload of pottery.³³

Given Daniel Bayley's involvement in his own church, it is fitting that he would be chosen to make a communion vessel for the Fifth Parish Congregational Church of Newbury headed by Oliver Noble. One plausible explanation why the Fifth Parish Church used earthenware in its communion services could be related to its congregation not being able to afford silver.

When Daniel Bayley made his communion jug in 1763, the Fifth Parish Church had only just been formed and was not very well established. With the widespread use of earthenware in low, middle, as well as upper class New England homes during this period, it is not unfathomable to imagine other churches also relying on earthenware. It is worth noting that other documented communion vessels made of common materials other than silver have survived. For instance, two eighteenth century wooden tankards in the Old York Historical Society collection are known to have been used in the communion services of the First Parish Church in York, Maine.³⁴

There is little doubt that Daniel Bayley intended his communion jug to be special, and more than just a utilitarian vessel. The fact that Bayley made a point of inscribing "church" in upper case letters while leaving the remainder of the inscription in lower case letters is subtle, yet very telling. The capitalization of "church" is the difference between giving the jug a generic label of ownership and turning a utilitarian vessel into a presentation piece which glorifies God. The inscription conveys the exuberance with which Bayley must have made this pot, and given his closeness to religion, it is easy to imagine him humming or singing a church hymn as he made it. Since the date inscribed on the jug, July 10, 1763, was a Sunday, it is possible that the jug was made for a special communion service. Regardless, the date implies that this was a vessel of importance that was intended to be remembered and of lasting value to the church.

A man of many interests and talents, Daniel Bayley also published a number of publications on singing, religious hymns, and sermons which he sold from his house. Bayley is known to have sold a wide range of music books, including the *American Harmony*, *Complete Melody*, *Essex Harmony*, *Universal Harmony*, and *Select Harmony*. Bayley's music books include not only singing instructions, but also religious hymns or psalm tunes which he personally selected. While the extent to which Bayley actually performed his own printing is not firmly established, a printing press and roll do appear in his estate inventory.³⁵ Bayley placed regular advertisements for his musical publications in the local *Essex Journal* and *Merrimac Packet* newspaper, and he even advertised in neighboring New Hampshire's *Portsmouth Gazette* and *Historical Chronicle* newspaper.³⁶ An exchange between Bayley and one of his competitors in the *Essex Journal* and *Merrimac Packet* suggests that Bayley was engaged and aggressive when it came to his printing business. After a number of errors in the *Select Harmony* came to light, Bayley ran an advertisement assuring the public that the errors had been corrected.³⁷ When a competitor, Andrew Law, took out his own advertisement to call attention to the errors and denounce Bayley for including some of Law's tunes in the *Select Harmony*, Bayley issued a strong rebuttal.³⁸ In his next advertisement, Bayley stated "Out of the 65 pieces in Mr. Law's book, I have 45 of them in mine, with the addition of 100 Psalms and Hymn tunes and Anthems. As to errors, let him who is without cast the first stone."³⁹

Another connection Bayley has with York, Maine, besides that of the communion jug, is the church music he jointly published with Bulkley Emerson. Bulkley Emerson is the brother of Edward Emerson, a prominent York retail merchant and tavern keeper in the late eighteenth century. In 1764, Bayley and Emerson printed *A New and Complete Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick*, a book on singing which also contained church hymns.⁴⁰ Like Daniel Bayley, Bulkley Emerson played an active role in the Newburyport community serving as postmaster, operating a bookstore, and settling estates of local residents.⁴¹ A surveyor of post roads conducting an inspection of Newburyport in 1775 recorded in his journal that Emerson "seemed to be a stayed and sober man," and noted that Emerson did not have an office for his postal operation.⁴² Emerson also ran advertisements for a wide range of publications and even grocery products he sold out of his home. In 1765, Emerson offered his customers *Doddridge on Family Religion*, *Watt's Psalms and Hymns*, *Greek Grammars*, *Clark's Aesop's Fables*, singing, spelling and accounting books, primers, paper, ink, quills, slates, loaf sugar, tea, cof-

fee, and chocolate.⁴³ Bayley and Emerson both belonged to St. Paul's Church, and Emerson is listed in a St. Paul's ledger as having sold the church a record-keeping book.⁴⁴ Bayley and Emerson's business relationship continued up until Daniel Bayley passed away in 1792, as Bulkley Emerson is found to have received a small settlement in the final administration of Daniel Bayley's estate in 1795.⁴⁵

The other important figure connected to the history of the communion jug is Reverend Oliver Noble, the first and only minister of the Fifth Parish Congregational Church. Noble served his congregation from 1763 until 1784 when he resigned during a controversy involving finances.⁴⁶ Noble relocated to New Castle, New Hampshire where he died in 1792, the same year Daniel Bayley passed away. A nineteenth century description places him in a less than flattering, but nonetheless entertaining light.

"Mr. Noble was more respected for his talents as a preacher than for his character as a man and a Christian. The remark made of another minister was applied to him 'that when you saw him in the pulpit you would think he never ought to be out of it, and when you saw him out of it, you would think he never ought to be in it.'"⁴⁷

While Reverend Noble's performance in the pulpit may have met with mixed reviews, it should be noted that he actively served on the side of the Revolutionary army as chaplain of the Twelfth Massachusetts regiment under the command of Moses Little.⁴⁸ Noble's regiment took an active part in the battles of Long Island and Harlem Heights following the evacuation of Boston on March 17, 1776.⁴⁹

It is interesting to note that more than a decade after Bayley made the jug for the communion services of Reverend Noble's church, both men took opposing sides during the Revolutionary War. Daniel Bayley, an English sympathizer, appears to have been rather spirited in his political, as well as his religious convictions. On August 3, 1774, Bayley wrote a letter to the *Essex Journal and Merrimac Packet* to thank his neighbors for helping him to put out a fire at his home and also to apologize for his outspoken and unpopular political views. Bayley's letter is important because it poignantly shows the divisiveness that existed in New England communities during the Revolutionary War.

"To the inhabitants of Newburyport. The subscriber takes this opportunity of sending his sincere and hearty thanks to the

good people of this town, who so vigorously exerted themselves in extinguishing the fire which was rapidly spreading though his building the week past, and hopes he shall retain the highest sense of gratitude which is due to their generous assistance. He also takes this opportunity of excusing himself from sundry reports, which have spread to his prejudice, that he has been inimical to the town, and has propagated many stories against their liberties, which reports are entirely groundless: Notwithstanding he readily acknowledges, he has (considering the spirit of the times) been too free in speaking his political sentiments which have, (perhaps unfortunately for him) been somewhat direct."⁵⁰

Supporting the Crown during this period of unrest must have been an unpopular position for Bayley to have taken. Especially given the fact that in 1775, the leadership of St. Paul's Church, of which Bayley was an active member, requested that Reverend Edward Bass refrain from mentioning the King and Queen of England in his sermons.⁵¹ A letter to the editor of the *Essex Journal and Merrimac Packet* on April 19, 1776, sums up the mood of revolutionaries in Newburyport during this period:

"Of all Beings in the Universe I think a Tory is the most contemptible. His motives are no better than aggrandizing himself at the expense of his neighbor, of building himself up upon the ruins of others, or to scrape into favor with a tyrannical authority, in order for some post of honor and profit, by which he can have opportunity to take the advantage of, or imperiously ruling over his fellow men."⁵²

Further, about the same time Bayley's letter appeared, his neighbors were learning how to use firearms to defend and arm themselves against the British. On August 11, 1775, John Vinal of Newburyport inserted the following advertisement in the *Essex Journal and Merrimac Packet*:

"At a time when our enemies are endeavoring our ruin it is highly proper to qualify ourselves in the best manner we can to defend our injured Country; And, as the Doctrine of Projectiles or Art of Gunnery is of such importance that persons should undertake the direction of any piece or ordnance without a competent knowledge of it, that want of which has

proved fatal to many; the subscriber therefore proposes to instruct those who may incline to attend four afternoons in a week, from five to seven o'clock, or from eleven to one a.m. in the above art at a very moderate price."⁵³

It is entirely possible that the relationship between Bayley and Noble may have suffered during the Revolutionary War, as each supported a different side in the conflict. For instance, Daniel Bayley not only made a communion vessel for Reverend Noble in 1763, but in 1764 also published and sold *Mr. Noble's Sermon on the Nature, Use and End of Music in the Worship of God*.⁵⁴ However, by 1775, the printers at the *Essex Journal and Merrimac Packet*, not Daniel Bayley, published a sermon by Reverend Noble, entitled *Discourse in Commemoration of the Massacre at Boston, March the Fifth, 1770*.⁵⁵

In a less highly charged aspect of their relationship, Bayley and Noble appear to have been opposites in appearance, as well as political persuasion. A portrait of Mr. Noble's stature is drawn from a nineteenth century description of him.

"A man of fine and commanding figure, tall and well built, but slovenly and negligent in dress. He used to ride a rawboned horse that went by the name among the irreverent as 'Mr. Noble's frame,' and as he went about on this noble steed wrapped in a long dressing gown, he attracted a good deal of attention."⁵⁶

Bayley, on the other hand, appears to have been well dressed and a bit of a dandy. A probate inventory shows that he owned "jackettes" and coats of black velvet, broadcloth, linen, and fustian, three pair of breeches, a waistcoat, four caps, two hats, two wigs in a box, and a walking stick.⁵⁷ Further, Bayley is found to be present at two different Newburyport ship auctions in 1781, and it is not surprising that he is recorded as having purchased a jacket, three shirts, and a dozen handkerchiefs.⁵⁸ The staid and sober Buckley Emerson is listed at another ship auction as having purchased six packs of playing cards, perhaps to sell in his bookstore or just for his own enjoyment.⁵⁹

It appears as though Daniel Bayley not only mixed his pottery with religion, but with politics as well. For instance, he is known to have shipped his pottery to Newburyport loyalists who relocated to St. John, New Brunswick. Pottery sherds attributed to Bayley were excavated in 1955–56 at Portland Point, the site of Ft. LaTour. Account books for the

trading company of Simonds, Hazen and White in 1770 and 1775 confirm that shipments were sent from Newburyport to St. John, New Brunswick.⁶⁰ During the excavation, a slip decorated plate was found behind the remains of the Simonds house at Portland Point in St. John.⁶¹ This plate can be safely attributed to Bayley on the basis of a porringer excavated by Lura Woodside Watkins at the Bayley pottery site in 1934.⁶² Both pieces display an almost identical brushed slip decoration.

In conclusion, the importance of the communion jug made by Daniel Bayley has less to do with the vessel's aesthetics, than what it can tell us about the people of the eighteenth century who made and used it. It is ironic, but not surprising, that the jug spent over sixty years in obscurity in the Old Gaol collections before its historical importance was recognized and publicized. Bayley made the jug in a folk tradition not appreciated by the colonial revival movement. Perhaps the most important historical aspect to the jug is that it exemplifies the centrality of religion in the lives of people of the eighteenth century, including potters such as Daniel Bayley. The vessel reminds us that craftsmanship, religion, and even politics were closely intertwined during this period. Daniel Bayley's service to a higher calling is reflected in his role as St. Paul's sexton, director, and organist, in addition to the religious hymns he printed and sold. Thus, it should not be surprising that he also shaped clay for the use of Reverend Noble's Fifth Parish Church.

Earthenware made in a folk tradition has a sincerity of purpose and an enduring quality which transcends style and fashion. No longer performing a utilitarian function, Daniel Bailey's jug has now taken on another much different and perhaps more important purpose in the collections of the Old York Historical Society. It serves to remind us of how historic objects can change in perceived importance, and that this, in turn, changes how we perceive history.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Ward, Barbara McLean, "In a Feasting Posture," *Winterthur Portfolio* (1988): 9; Benes, Peter and Philip D. Zimmerman, *New England Meeting House and Church: 1630–1850* (Boston: Boston University Press and The Currier Gallery of Art, 1979), 100; and Palmer, Arlene M., "Religion in Clay and Glass," *American Arts and Antiques*, (July/August, 1979): 83.
- 2 Robert Cutts, phone interview by author, York, Maine, 22 August 1997. Mr. Cutts, a descendant of Esther Hungerford, confirmed that surviving family members have no recollection of the jug's origins.
- 3 "Catalog of the Relics and Curiosities of the Old Gaol, York, Maine, 1901," OYHS, 57.

- 4 Flagon (#1964.35), goblet (#1964.36), cup (#1964.37), and plate (#1964.38) OYHS collections. Items donated by Esther Hungerford.
- 5 "Catalog of the Relics and Curiosities of the Old Gaol, York, Maine, 1901," 57.
- 6 Photographic collections, OYHS, Interior photos of the Old Gaol Courtroom.
- 7 Photographic collections, OYHS, Interior photos of the Old Gaol Courtroom.
- 8 Barry Greenlaw to Dean Fales, Director of the Essex Institute, 19 March 1964, Communion Jug File 1971.11, OYHS, York, ME.
- 9 Dean Fales to Barry Greenlaw, 24 March 1964, Communion Jug File 1971.11, OYHS, York, ME.
- 10 Barry Greenlaw to the Historical Society of Old Newbury, 6 April 1964, Communion Jug File 1971.11, OYHS, York, ME.
- 11 Watkins, Lura Woodside, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*. (Boston: President and Fellows of Harvard University, 1950), 48.
- 12 Barry Greenlaw to Lura Woodside Watkins, 19 March 1964, Communion Jug File 1971.11, OYHS, York, ME.
- 13 Lura Woodside Watkins to Barry Greenlaw, 26 April 1964, Communion Jug File 1971.11, OYHS, York, ME.
- 14 Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*, 48.
- 15 Frank Morrill, interview by author, Newburyport, Massachusetts, 12 August 1997. Thanks to Mr. Morrill for his generosity and Chris Snow, with the Newburyport Historical Society, for his guidance.
- 16 Paula Richter, Curator of Decorative Arts, Peabody Essex Museum, phone conversation with author, 15 August 1997.
- 17 Gregory Laing, Special Collections Librarian at the Haverill Public Library, helped facilitate the donation of the custard cup. Thanks for his guidance.
- 18 Frank Morrill, interview by author, Newburyport, Massachusetts, 12 August 1997.
- 19 Harper, J. Russell, "Four Thousand Years of History," *Atlantic Advocate* (March, 1957), 19. Harper describes a William Bayley who worked from 1764 to 1799 as only having two fingers on one hand. He was probably referring to William's father Daniel Bayley, who made pottery from 1763-1792. Harper does not mention the source of this information.
- 20 Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*, 54.
- 21 Hamilton Room, Newburyport Public Library, Town Records 1764-1836, Newburyport, MA.
- 22 Guiland, Harold F., *Early American Folk Pottery*. (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1971), 50.
- 23 Watkins, "The Bayleys: Essex County Potters" in *The Art of the Potter*, eds., Diana Stradling and J. Garrison. (New York: Main Street/Universe Books, 1977), 51.
- 24 Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*, 60.
- 25 William Graham, interview by author, Haverill, Massachusetts, 13 August 1997. Mr. Graham is a direct descendant of potter Ebenezer Morrison. Only oral excerpts from the Morrison diary were available. Thanks for his assistance.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Proprietors Records, Minutes: 23 April 1745- 20 March 1796 and Accounts: 1740-1773, 87, St. Paul's Church Archives, Newbury, MA. Thanks to Reverend Roger Cramer,

- Archivist Ann Tuthill, and Sexton Don Hansbury at St. Paul's Church for their assistance.
- 28 Ibid., 40.
- 29 Owen, Barbara, *The Organs and Music of King's Chapel*. (Boston: Kings Chapel, 1966), 3.
- 30 Bayley Family File, St. Paul's Church Archives, Newbury, MA.
- 31 Scrapbook, *Newburyport Daily Herald*, February 12-14, 1864, Hamilton Room, Newburyport Public Library, Newburyport, MA.
- 32 Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*, 120-121.
- 33 Ibid., 179.
- 34 Collections of OYHS, Accession #1977.80 and #L.1977.76.
- 35 Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*, 50.
- 36 *New Hampshire Gazette and Historical Chronicle*, No. 420, 26 October 1764, 3.
- 37 *Essex Journal and Merrimac and New Hampshire General Advertiser*, Number 21, 24 November 1784, 4.
- 38 *Essex Journal*, Number 22, 1 December 1784, 2.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Bayley, Daniel and Bulkeley Emerson, A New and Compleat Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick. (Newburyport, MA: Printed by Daniel Byley living next door to St. Paul's Church, 1764.)
- 41 Currier, *The History of Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1764-1905*, volume 1 (Newburyport, MA: The author, 1906), 379.
- 42 Ibid., 380.
- 43 *New Hampshire Gazette and Historical Chronicle*, No. 453, 14 June 1765, 2.
- 44 St. Paul's Church Archives, Proprietors Records, Minutes: April 23, 1745-March 20, 1746 and Accounts: 1740-1773, 76.
- 45 Massachusetts Archives at Columbia Point, Final Administration of the Estate of Daniel Bayley, June 29, 1795, 364, 72.
- 46 Sylvia Lunt, Historical Society of Old Newbury, to Barry Greenlaw, 22 April 1964, Communion Jug File 1971.11, OYHS.
- 47 *Newburyport Daily Herald*, Volume 41, Number 82, 6 April 6 1872, 1.
- 48 Currier, John J., *The History of Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1764-1909*, Volume II, (Newburyport, MA: The author, 1909), 91.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 *Essex Journal and Merrimac Packet*, Number 33, August 3, 1774, 2-3.
- 51 St. Paul's Church Archives, Proprietors Records, Minutes: April 23, 1745-March 20, 1796 and Accounts: 1740-1773, 41.
- 52 *Essex Journal*, No. 120, 19 April 1776, 4.
- 53 *Essex Journal*, No. 84, 11 August 1775, 4.
- 54 *Essex Journal*, No. 22, 18 May 1774, 2.
- 55 Pamphlet in the collection of the Historical Society of Old Newbury.
- 56 *Newburyport Daily Herald*, Volume 41, Number 82, 6 April 6 1872, 1.
- 57 Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*, 50.
- 58 Joseph Ingersoll and Company Auction Account Book 1779-1782. Entries for Ship Thorne Auction, January 11, 1781 and January 30, 1781, Peabody Essex Library.
- 59 Ibid., Entry for goods sold at auction in Newburyport on March 22, 1782.

- 60 Harper, J. Russell, *Portland Point: Crossroads of New Brunswick History, Preliminary Report of the 1955 Excavation, Historical Studies #9* (Saint John, New Brunswick: The New Brunswick Museum, 1956), 36–37.

61 Ibid.

- 62 Watkins, *Early New England Potters and Their Wares*, 25.

EDWARD EMERSON: A CASE STUDY FOR EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DINING



Jennifer White

The 1997 exhibit, *Treasure to Trash/Trash to Treasure: An Exhibition of Early Ceramics in the Piscataqua Region*, has provided a focus for the study of ceramics in York. The roles and importance of various ceramics were changing during the eighteenth century, especially in relation to dining. Understanding these roles and their importance in York society is essential to understanding how the people of York viewed fashion, meals and entertaining.

The Emerson-Wilcox House at Old York Historical Society traces almost two hundred years of York history. The Emerson Parlor, in the southeast corner of the house's first floor, focuses on Edward Emerson Sr.'s life when he was living in York between 1752 and 1806. Edward Emerson was a tailor, shopkeeper, merchant, land owner and tavern keeper. His economic ventures gave him the financial base to rise to a place of some prominence in eighteenth century York. By looking at his various occupations, investments, social interactions, will and probate inventory it is possible to get a sense of his position in town. His dining habits and the ceramics he used are a reflection of that position.

The eighteenth century was a period of growth and development for the American colonies. By 1750, Boston, New York, New York, Philadelphia, and Charlestown were thriving seaports. Each of these ports had a growing upper class that set the tone for colonial fashion.¹ One fashion that developed rapidly was dining. The eighteenth century was a period of transition in dining for many Americans. Europe and particularly England set the standard for acceptable dining practices and the colonists tried to emulate them. Society began to place a new emphasis on the consumption and serving of food.

These social changes occurred in towns throughout the colonies, and York was no exception. York was first settled in 1630 under the name Agamenticus and had fewer than one hundred citizens when it was chartered in 1641. Sir Ferdinando Gorges renamed the village Gorgeanna on the charter and saw it as the perfect location for the capital of his expansive territory in the New World.² By 1764 the census shows that the town

had grown to 2,202 people with 272 houses and 397 families.³ This increased again by 1790 to 2,900 people and 504 families.⁴

York did not expand as rapidly as the larger ports, but its citizens knew of popular trends and those that could decorated their homes much as members of the colonial elite did elsewhere. The town's location on the York River, with a good harbor, made it a prosperous area and many residents entered trades related to the shipping and merchant industry.

Jonathan Sayward, one of the most prominent men in eighteenth century York, made his fortune through a variety of ventures. He began by shipping lumber and livestock to nearby coastal towns and expanded into the West Indian trade in the 1760s, acquiring a small fleet and the land needed to produce the cargoes to trade with the southern ports.⁵ Not everyone in York was as successful as Sayward or had access to the finest things: the notes made by a member of the Italian nobility who traveled through York in 1785 attest to this. "The land of old York is dotted with poor cabins where dwell cultivators who came only a few years ago and whose food consists of bread and maize with pork and salt beef and whose drink is grog and spruce beer."⁶

Many people filled the gap between Jonathan Sayward and the individuals encountered by the Italian nobleman. Edward Emerson, a York resident who became a successful member of the community during the pre-Revolutionary war period, is one example. In order to understand how Emerson fit into his time, it is necessary to understand his position and interests in the town of York and the Piscataqua Region. His occupations, social interactions and political attitudes established his position in the town and dictated the kind of lifestyle he would lead. The daily meals and entertaining in which Emerson participated were a reflection of his time and his place in eighteenth century York.

Edward Emerson was born in 1728, the son of Reverend Joseph Emerson and Mary Moody Emerson of Malden, Massachusetts. He arrived in York in 1750 with his wife Mary Owen whom he had married in 1749. Not a lot of information about Emerson's first few years in York exists; he appears to have come to town to work as a tailor. Town records first mention him in 1752, and list him as a tailor when his second child, Hannah, is born. The York County General Sessions Records in October 1754 list him as receiving a license to "retail coffee, teas, etc. in the said county."⁷ He received a second license for retailing coffee, teas and "cheaney wares" in January 1756 and renewed his license regularly for the next twenty years. There are several years in which he does not renew, although it is uncertain exactly why.

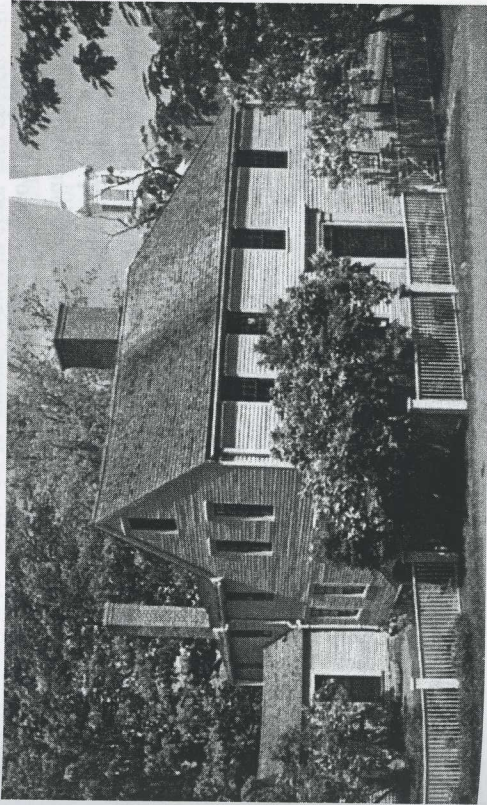
Edward and Mary did not own a home until January 11, 1757 when they purchased the house on the corner of Lindsay Road from Edward's cousin Samuel Moody. The house was originally a simple two-over-two room structure, but in the 1760s Emerson enlarged the building by moving another house to the site and abutting the two (Figure 1). The Emersons raised twelve children in the house and by 1770 they ranged in age from one to twenty-two, although not all reached adulthood. Mary died in 1793 and in 1795 Edward remarried. His second wife, Susanna died in 1799. Edward died in 1806 at the age of 78.

TAILOR BUSINESS AND SHOP

During the 1760s Emerson operated his tailor's business and shop in his home. On November 9, 1759, he placed an advertisement in the *New Hampshire Gazette* for "A Great Variety of English and West India Goods." He lists his shop, "in York, opposite the Town House" which suggests he worked either in his home, or at least on the same property. The advertisement concludes by mentioning that he "carries on the Taylor's business."⁸ It is uncertain what type of goods he sold in his early shop (Figure 2).

Emerson's ad in the paper ran for a period of five weeks, between November 9 and December 14. This appears to have been the standard

Figure 1 The Emerson-Wilcox House at Old York Historical Society. This view from Lindsey Road shows the facade of the original two-over-two room structure.



TO BE SOLD
 By Edward Emerson,
 At his Shop in York, opposite the Town House,
 A Great Variety of English
 and West India GOODS, cheap for Cash
 or Treasurers' Notes.
 N. B. Said *Emerson* carries on the TAYLOR'S
 Business; by whom Gentlemen, or others may
 depend on being well used, and Garments made
 in the best Manner, and with Dispatch. [64]

Figure 2 New Hampshire Gazette, November 9, 1759 advertisement for Edward Emerson's shop in York.

number of issues, but Emerson's ad copy was much briefer than most other ads. The *New Hampshire Gazette* ran weekly and included local, national and international news as well as a variety of advertisements, notices and announcements. Emerson's ad occupies a small block at the bottom of the center column on a back page.

In the same issue, on the preceding page, John Penhallow of Portsmouth, New Hampshire had an advertisement for goods "just imported from London." Penhallow operated a shop near the State House in Portsmouth and his advertisement provided a detailed account of the goods he offered, including a broad range of tools, nails, pewter dishes, plates, basins, teapots, kitchen items, and a wide range of textiles.⁹ Penhallow's advertisement, at the top of the third column, ran three quarters of a page and reflected the standard formula for merchants and shopkeepers advertising in the *Gazette*. Others Portsmouth merchants, such as Nathaniel Barrell and Robert Traill, almost always included at least a short inventory of their goods. Their ads ran for the same period of time as Emerson's but they entered ads far more frequently.

Emerson periodically ran advertisements for his shop throughout the 1760s and always mentioned his tailoring business. He held a license for the shop in the years 1754, 56-58, 60, 62, 65, 67, 69-79 although he did not place advertisements in the *New Hampshire Gazette* each year. He

did not obtain a license for the shop during the ten years in which he kept a tavern in the house. In 1792 his son Bulkeley received a retailer's license but in the next year and again between 1796 and 1803 Emerson held a retailer's license. Bulkeley received a license again in 1804 and 1805. Emerson does not appear to have needed a license to operate a tailor's shop and it is uncertain for how long he maintained his business. He listed it in his advertisements until at least 1766.

Emerson's advertisements mentioned his tailoring only briefly through reference to gentlemen's clothes, suggesting that he was, at least generally, a man's tailor. Advertisements for Portsmouth tailors begin to appear in mid 1760s *New Hampshire Gazettes* and were much more descriptive as to the variety of services which they offered. A 1762 advertisement from *Sheriff and Pitman Tailors* listed in great detail the options available to both men and women in Portsmouth. They claimed that their products were made in "the best manner, according to the latest fashion."¹⁰ They offered men's wearing apparel and women's riding habits as well as lace work.

Most ads did not list an inventory of the goods that Emerson offered. A few later advertisements did mention some of the goods, which appear to have been predominantly coffee, tea, molasses, sugar and a variety of spices and grocery items. Not everyone was actively involved with agriculture and many people relied upon stores like Emerson's for both imported and locally made goods. In a 1764 advertisement he mentions earthenware.¹¹ The earthenware reference may be to locally made utilitarian wares and not goods which were from overseas manufacturers. These ceramics were often red or reddish brown in color and coated with a lead-based glaze. American potters produced great numbers of these redwares in a wide variety of shapes and sizes mostly for kitchen or dairy use, although dining items were made as well. Objects ranged from large milk pans to lard pots, pitchers, mugs, porringers, teapots and baking dishes. These ceramics were inexpensive and serviceable and could be found in homes of all economic levels. However, the lead glaze was known to be poisonous, and by 1785 articles were written to newspapers listing the health hazards related to ingesting the glaze.¹² There is little direct mention of other ceramics in Emerson's advertisements. Emerson was not the only retailer in town and the market may have been such that he was able to earn more money selling predominantly grocery items. It may also be that he was disguising his inventory in broad terminology. The term "West Indies Goods" in Emerson's ads could have included coffee, tea, chocolate, molasses, sugar and a variety of spices. The English wares

probably included a variety of textiles, nails, iron and possibly ceramics. These items could have been purchased in other colonial ports, or from other ships who had been to England. These are all goods commonly listed by other merchants advertising in the *New Hampshire Gazette*.

Ceramics historian and author, Carl Crossman, speculates that the ad copy term "West India Goods" may have referred to goods purchased at Spanish, French or Dutch islands as well as English ports. The term could also include Chinese export porcelain and other expensive goods whose distribution the English tried to control through London. Since the goods were technically purchased in illegal trading, it would not have been prudent to blatantly advertise them, so the catchall phrase "West India Goods" may have served as a clue to customers.¹³ Trade with the French, Spanish and Dutch islands did exist for products such as molasses. The British passed the Molasses Act of 1733 which taxed foreign products in an effort to promote trade with the British islands. The tax was not enforced and trade continued with the other nations.¹⁴ It is not hard to assume that the colonial merchants would have purchased more than molasses at other ports. Colonial merchants also traded in Amsterdam and could have purchased ceramics from the Dutch East India Company as well.

Emerson's sporadic advertisements suggest that he did not consistently stock his store, or perhaps he advertised elsewhere. That he notes his tailor's trade in each ad suggests that it was his business mainstay. In 1761, Edward ran an advertisement for English and West India Goods, mentioning his tailor's shop and also noting "Parents and Masters, by sending their children and servants, may depend upon being as well used as if present themselves."¹⁵ This is not something generally, if at all, listed in the ads of his contemporaries. He is also different from his contemporaries in that he offers sales for cash or short credit but generally does not take lumber or other items in trade. One exception is the advertisement he ran in October 1766 which stated "White Pine Boards, Delivered at York, will be taken for any of the above articles."¹⁶ It is important to note that the previous comparisons have been between Emerson and various Portsmouth merchants. Other York retailers did not advertise in the *New Hampshire Gazette*. It is not known if they advertised in another paper or by another medium and what their advertisements, if any, looked like.

In 1765, advertisements appear in the *New Hampshire Gazette* by an Edward Emerson for a shop in Portsmouth and a potash works. It is uncertain whether Edward Emerson of York or a Captain Edward Emerson of Portsmouth placed these ads. These ads do not list the pro-

prietor as "Edward Emerson of York" like Emerson's earlier ads, but this evidence is inconclusive.

Jonathan Sayward mentions ships "belonging to Emerson," presumably Edward, sailing out of York on May 28, 1769 and August 14, 1771 followed by fairly regular entries about Emerson's vessels.¹⁷ Emerson seems to have done some direct shipping in the coastal and West Indies trades which was popular with many other Maine and New Hampshire merchants. Ships loaded with lumber, livestock and fish traveled to the Southern colonies and the West Indies to trade for a variety of items. Sayward notes on November 18, 1774 that "Capt. Thos. Harmon sailed for West Indies in Emerson's brigg."¹⁸ After the Revolution it appears Emerson stopped his involvement in the shipping trade out of York. Many York ships were lost during the war and his business may have been affected. His son, Edward, Jr., did own a number of ships and had a very successful merchant business after the Revolution.

REAL ESTATE

Emerson also purchased real estate in the York area. Apart from his home, he bought a dwelling house with half an acre of land on the County Road for eighty pounds in 1761. He acquired seven acres and forty-two rods of land in Berwick for seven pounds, six shillings, ten pence in 1764 and sold it a year later for a profit. In 1770, he sold the land he purchased in 1761.¹⁹ It is possible that the house on this land and the white pine boards he advertised for in 1766 relate to the addition he put on his home during the 1760s.

In 1775 Emerson bought a farm in York known as Ground Root Hill from Paul Dudley Woodbridge. The property cost 142 pounds and six shillings, the cost of the debt Woodbridge owed him.²⁰ The farm was approximately one hundred acres and included planting, meadow, mowing land, woodland and pasture lands, with a dwelling house, barn and saw mill. The property was an important economic addition because aside from the agricultural lands the mill cut lumber for building ships.

Emerson purchased additional land in Berwick, Lebanon, Wells and Sanford. These land purchases may have allowed Emerson to maintain agricultural pursuits away from home. Since his house in town was not located on a large piece of property, it would have been to his advantage to have lands elsewhere for growing crops and raising livestock. Wealthier individuals who lived in more urban areas often kept substan-

tial farms in surrounding communities. Crops from these farms were eaten at the owner's table and sold for profit.²¹

DINING

Emerson was a successful businessman in eighteenth century York. His occupational, political and social relationships resulted in his attending dinners and inviting people into his home for meals. In order to keep up appearances he would have owned a variety of ceramics to decorate his table and on which to serve his meals. The meals he served would have mirrored those he ate at others' tables. Emerson also held an innkeeper's license for several years and he would have served locals and travelers in that capacity.

Eighteenth century fashionable society began to place an increased emphasis on individual rather than shared meals, plates and utensils. This new emphasis increased the ritualized nature of meals and decreased the popularity of earlier communal style of eating.²² During the seventeenth and early eighteenth century many people shared trenchers, spoons and drinking cups with family members. This quickly began to change and by the 1750s at least half the population ate with individual utensils, sitting around a table.²³ The communal style of eating had all but disappeared by the early nineteenth century. Along with this new emphasis on dining came various advice and cooking books. Elizabeth Smith's *The Compleat Housewife*, published in 1727, included a diagram for the correct layout of a dinner table. Later in the century, Doctor Trusler wrote a treatise entitled, *The Honours of the Table, or, Rules for Behavior During Meals; With the Whole Art of Carving*, for the use of young people.²⁴

The eighteenth century also saw a broadening of many peoples' diets, including a wide variety of items which supplemented traditional foods. In 1810, Benjamin Rush noted what he called a "revolution in diet" which had occurred over the past fifty years and included a "profusion of summer and winter vegetables."²⁵ This variety can be seen locally as well. In March of 1765 an advertisement in the New Hampshire Gazette noted for sale "Garden Seeds of all sorts from London or this Country." The ad listed a wide range of vegetables including several types of "Pease, Beans, Cabbage, Colly Flower, Broculy, Onion, Carrots, Parsnip, Beets, Turnip, Lettice, Parsley, Cellery, Endive, Peppers, Cucumbers, Mellons, Squash, Sage, Balm, Thyme, and Savory." The ad also offered the field crops of wheat, barley, flax and clover.²⁶ While not everyone would have planted this variety in their garden, the wide range of options does show the grow-

ing profusion of vegetables. The York widow Anna Card lists "a garden spot and its yield" in her estate inventory of 1787. She had harvested "eight bushels of potatoes, cabbage and carrots."²⁷

With this expanded choice of foods came more choices of tablewares. Meals were served on pewter and ceramic plates and dishes during the eighteenth century. The majority of ceramic dinnerwares were imported from England. Both English-made ceramics and the finer Chinese export porcelain were available to colonists who could afford them, and locally made redwares continued to be used by many.

The demand in the colonies for finer ceramics increased throughout the century. Specialized items appeared such as the pint bowl, used for breakfast foods, drinking, puddings and soups. Pint bowls sat on large saucers and became very common. Serving sets also included graduated platters, often seven to nine in a set and graduated in size by the inch.²⁸

Dinner services grew to number two hundred to four hundred pieces. The 1789 inventory of the brig *Roger* listed one crate each of the popular blue-edged and green-edged creamware. The ship's crates included eight sizes of dishes, salad dishes, baking dishes in sizes from eight to eighteen inches, twifflers, stands, spoons, butter tubs, salts, mustards, peppers, mugs, leaves and sauce boats.²⁹ Each plate and dish size had a slightly different purpose and a different name. Dinner plates were generally flat and twelve inches in diameter while soup plates were the same size but deeper. Twifflers were smaller, and muffins the smallest at between four and seven inches in diameter. There was also a broad range in size and function of serving dishes. Root dishes could be either open or covered and were designed for vegetables. Dishes themselves often came in the broadest range of sizes and were what we would call platters today. They could range in size from nine to twenty inches in diameter. This did not conclude the serving pieces. Gravy dishes were generally rectangular with recessed areas to collect juices from roasted meats. Boats and stands were for serving gravy. Bakers were rectangular dishes for baked entrées. There were two sizes of tureens, soup tureens and smaller sauce tureens. If these came "complete" they included lid, ladle, and underplate or stand.³⁰

Like today, people in the eighteenth century ate three meals each day, breakfast, dinner and supper. Breakfast was generally a light, informal family meal eaten in the morning. A description of a typical "English breakfast" of 1784 lists tea, bread and butter in various forms, and for the wealthy coffee and chocolate.³¹ American breakfasts did not significantly differ from the English version. In the late eighteenth century, Abner

Sanger wrote in his diary, "breakfast of bread and milk at Dr. Pomeroy's."³² From the 1690s on, tea, coffee and chocolate were available in New England. Emerson regularly advertised coffee for sale in his shop, and in January 1798 York's Reverend Isaac Lyman recorded in his diary that his son Theodore had brought him "coffee, Bohea tea, six pounds of chocolate."³³

Dinner was served around noon or in the early afternoon and was the large meal of the day. For middle and upper class people the meal was generally hot and had two courses. The first course usually consisted of meat and vegetables and the second a starchy pudding, pie or variety of sweets. For many, these meals were brought to the table on a large pewter serving dish and eaten on pewter plates.³⁴

People ate supper in the late evening and considered it generally lighter fare and much more informal than dinner. Timothy Dwight, Yale College president and clergyman, recorded a description of supper in 1811. "Supper in most parts of the country is like the breakfast, except that it is made partially of preserved fruits, different kinds of cakes, pies, tarts, etc. The meats used at breakfast and supper are generally intended to be dainties."³⁵

Tea was drunk both at breakfast and in the afternoon at social gatherings, primarily at home, while coffee became a public beverage. In 1697 the Green Dragon Coffee House opened in Boston, providing men with the news and an opportunity to discuss current events.³⁶ Coffee houses were not significantly different from taverns. They also offered meals, spirits and lodging.

Tea quickly became associated with highly ritualized behavior and accouterments. To properly serve tea, the host needed a tea service. The service included implements for holding and serving the tea, sugar, cream, as well as individual cups and saucers, teaspoons, objects to hold the spoons, trays for serving the tea and tables in a variety of shapes for serving tea and for displaying the tea service when not in use. Throughout the eighteenth century the popularity of tea increased, so that by 1760 Americans consumed more than one million pounds of tea a year.³⁷ Tea drinking took a slight dip after the passage of the Townsend Acts in 1767. This put a duty on tea and many people gave up it in opposition of the Acts. In 1781, the Abbé Robin noted during his visit to the United States that Americans "use much tea" and that "the greatest mark of civility and welcome they can show you is to invite you to drink it with them."³⁸ By 1800 inventories suggest that half of American households had tea sets.

Colonists enjoyed other beverages besides tea. Rum and punch were popular and consumed in large quantities. Rum was an inexpensive

drink made from distilling West Indies molasses. Punch often included rum as one of its five principal ingredients, along with sugar, water, lemons and spices. Up until the second half of the eighteenth century, people generally drank punch directly from a punch bowl which they passed from person to person. This practice virtually disappeared in the late 1700s as individual glasses began to be used.³⁹

TAVERN

Taverns provided places for travelers to get meals and spend the night. They were also often places for transportation companies to keep teams of horses. Each state established its own laws relating to taverns, creating a wide variety of regulations from region to region. Edward Emerson first received a license to be an innholder in the town of York in July 1781. In 1784, the General Sessions Records printed the full requirements for him and all other innholders and retailers in the town.

...the said Edward Emerson as principal become bound by way of recognizance to the Commonwealth in the penal sum of 50 pounds. John Storer and Samuel Hatch his sureties in twenty pounds each to be paid unto the said Commonwealth on condition that the said Edward being admitted a Taverner in the said town of York shall use and maintain good rule and order in his said house and duly observe the law relating to persons so licensed and further conditions that said Emerson render such accounts and pay such duties as one by laws required attest.⁴⁰

Edward held an innholders license from 1781 to 1791. During this time he did not hold a retail license. The house does not appear to be used as a tavern from 1791 until September 1806 when his son, Bulkeley, received an innholder's license. The number of taverns in York varied and two to five people applied for licenses at each session of the court.

Before the Revolution, there was no direct stage route to York. However, on April 20, 1761, John Stavers of Portsmouth placed an advertisement in the *New Hampshire Gazette* for a "stage chaise" which would run from Portsmouth to Boston leaving from the Earl of Halifax Tavern.⁴¹ In 1794 a company was formed to raise money and build a bridge across the Piscataqua River between Newington and Durham.

After the Revolution, stage coach lines began to increase rapidly and the Main Post Road was established, running from Wiscasset, Maine to Savannah, Georgia.⁴² People in the eighteenth century traveled by boat,

coach, private vehicle, wagon, horseback and on foot and all required places to stay while on long journeys. One popular style of carriage, was a "chaise" or "shay" as New Englanders called it. It was a small two wheeled vehicle, with a roof that could be raised or lowered, pulled by one horse. Edward's father, the Reverend Joseph Emerson, of Malden, Massachusetts, wrote entries in his diary during January 1735 about purchasing a shay. "Some talk about my buying a Shay. How much reason have I to watch and pray and strive against inordinate affection for the Things of the World." On January 31 he wrote, "bought a Shay, 27 pounds, 10 shillings. The Lord grant it may be a comfort and blessing to my family." These remarks show the needs people had for transportation. Stagecoaches were not as available before the Revolution as they became soon after. Many early coaches were simply glorified wagons.

In 1754, David Sewall of York, an undergraduate at Harvard, recorded his journey home to York. He and his companion, eighty year old Tutor Flynt, were traveling in a vehicle called a "chair." Chairs were similar to shays without the roof. They were forced to stop at Clark's Tavern outside Portsmouth when their horse stumbled and Flynt was thrown out of the vehicle. While there they had "two or three single bowls of lemon punch, made pretty sweet, with which we refreshed ourselves and became very cheerful." Sewall remarks that "The punch we had partaken of was pretty well charged with good old spirit and Father Flynt was very pleasant and sociable." After spending the night at a house in Portsmouth, Sewall took the ferry across the Piscataqua and walked to York.⁴⁴

Travelers to taverns did not expect fancy meals or elaborate quarters. Many places served meals, often called "ordinaries," at a set time and for a set cost. The times when meals were served did not differ markedly from the times people ate in their own homes. In the 1790s the Tontine Coffee House in New York served breakfast at eight, an ordinary with between twelve and sixteen dishes at two, tea by six and supper at nine.⁴⁵

Emerson appears to have been operating the tavern out of his home. It is probable that he used the York Street entrance and the room currently interpreted as the Hungerford Dining Room in the northwest corner as a tap room. He may have been using the room currently referred to as the Long Parlor in the northeast corner for additional tavern space. The room's much larger size, in comparison with the other spaces in the house, would allow for more space to seat patrons. He stops receiving an innholders license in 1791. His son John holds a license from 1791-1795. It is unknown whether or not John was working with his father or had an inn of his own.

Emerson's tavern most likely served the local population as a place for meals and news and as a spot for travelers to get refreshment and a place to stay. The large quantity of pewter, both old and new, listed in his probate inventory, may relate to his tavern. Pewter, as a strong, serviceable dinnerware, would have been useful in the tavern. Emerson's tavern was not located in an urban area like the Tontine Coffee House and was probably not drawing the crowd which visited that establishment. As a consequence, the meals may have been less elaborate.

Taverns had a broad range of style and number of furnishings. The British Coffee House in Boston had eighty-six chairs and eight benches along with fifteen beds for overnight guests. It also had 338 plates and 108 knives and forks. For those who wanted a drink there were wine and beer glasses for seventy-two. The establishment was opened in the 1760s and designed to entertain the large numbers of British troops in Boston. Rural taverns were very different. A survey of ten Middlesex County, Massachusetts, taverns in the eighteenth century shows a range of between sixteen and forty-four chairs. Most taverns offered forks at meals but travelers were often forced to share beds. One Weston, Massachusetts tavern keeper offered his patrons thirty chairs, four small tables and one large table.⁴⁶ Emerson did not have the expansive space in his house to entertain on the scale of the Boston taverns. His tavern probably closely resembled the rural establishments. For Emerson to even have the capacity of the Weston establishment he would have needed to use the Long Parlor or another room in the house.

It is unknown why Emerson stopped keeping his tavern. His wife, Mary, died two years later, and she may have been ill for a period of time. His son William had died the year before and the loss of help from these two people may have affected his ability to run the business.

Emerson's second wife, Susanna, notes the arrival of the stage in several entries of her diary. The Emersons do not hold an innholder's license during their marriage, but the coach may still have stopped at or near their house. She records on November 1 that "the stage comes through the town from Portsmouth at 3:00..." and on November 7 "the stage comes in through the town from Portland at 8:00 in the evening."⁴⁷

POLITICS AND SOCIAL LIFE

Edward appears from both Susanna's and Jonathan Sayward's diaries to have been a prominent figure in the town of York. From these sources it

is evident that he met and did business with many individuals who were active in the town and appears to have had a busy social calendar.

Edward was also active in York politics, serving on a variety of committees and holding appointments. He served as coroner for several years and was paid for taking inquests regarding the deaths of a number of people. He received between one pound 13 shillings and two pounds 17 shillings for each inquest.⁴⁸

It was common practice for individuals to have two sureties and often a principal when they applied for a retail or innholder's license. Emerson often acted as one or the other for businessmen in York. There are several individuals who appear frequently in these positions of financial support. Emerson does not appear as often as some but he is listed with regularity.

Susanna Emerson recorded many events and daily activities including the visits and entertaining in which she and her husband were engaged. Her entries provide a valuable glimpse into the relationships the Emersons had with others in York. Mr. Barrell, Mrs. Tucker, Mrs. Sewall and Mrs. Gross are noted as visiting the Emersons and Susanna and Edward traveled to Deacon Sewall's and Mr. Lyman's regularly. They often spent an afternoon "visiting" at these homes.

On Tuesday, November 15, Susanna notes that, "Mr. Emerson and I dined at Judge Sewall's with a number of respectable Gentlemen and Ladies, two ministers the (illegible) Mr. Littel and Mr. Liman." The next morning she noted that Mr. Littel had breakfasted with her before setting out for Kennebunk. She recorded, beginning November 17, a series of parties revolving around Judge Sewall and his wife moving into a new home. The "celebration" lasted until the 23rd.⁴⁹

Jonathan Sayward also kept a diary, recording the maritime, business and political events of York as well as his personal activities. He did business with Emerson at his shop and notes the arrival and departure of several Emerson vessels in York Harbor. He and his wife visited with Emerson on several occasions and Emerson was present on August 15, 1788, when Sayward made his will. On December 19, 1781, he made an entry about a visit to Emerson's house:

"Was at Mr. Emersons in company with Eben Simpson and Coll Grow. We talked freely of the Times & Polliticks and Mr.

Simpson he did not doubt of absolute Independence any more than he doubted that Tankard was on the Hearth which was then there."⁵⁰

Sayward makes general notes regarding his dining experiences. For example, on January 17, 1789, he notes, "Mr. Lyman and wife and my wife and self dined with Doctor Keating very elegant table." He makes an additional reference to dining on the 22nd, "Dined the same company at Judge Sewall with the like entertainment." On October 30, 1794, Sayward made an entry about a dinner party held at Judge Sewall's, "Agreeable entertainment at Judge Sewalls 10 persons dined Esq Cutts and wife Mr Moody Mr Lyman Mr Emerson myself and wife widow Frost widow Lyman."⁵¹

WILL AND PROBATE INVENTORY ANALYSIS

Emerson's will and probate inventory provide information about the relationships he had with his family and friends and the contents of his home when he died. Neither document provides clear answers to his daily life but analysis of them can help to understand where he fit into York society and what types of objects he used to decorate his home.

Emerson died in 1806 at age 78. His will provides for each of his living children and several of his grandchildren. His sons John, Joseph and Samuel each received 100 dollars and freedom of debts they had owed him. John also received all the land Emerson owned in the Second Parish. His son Bulkeley received the "Mansion House" and other pasture lands on the condition he would provide for his unmarried sisters Lucy and Ruth. Emerson turned the title of the property which had belonged to his brother Bulkeley in Newburyport over to his brother's widow. He gave ten dollars to Mrs. Lyman, Reverend Lyman's widow, as a "token of esteem." Emerson appointed his son Bulkeley and, his friend, David Sewall, Esq. executors.

With the exception of real estate and a few pieces of jewelry Emerson does not mention household or personal items in the will. It does shed some light on family and friends. Evidence suggests that Bulkeley had been living at Emerson's house and it was perhaps logical to pass the house to him. The gift to Mrs. Lyman for her help and friendship over the years and listing David Sewall as "my friend" display the depth of these relationships. The will also shows where Emerson felt he fell into York society. In the opening sentence he refers to himself as "Gentleman," clearly stating his status.

His probate inventory is vague in describing the contents of his home. It also appears abbreviated, suggesting objects may have been claimed by family members in advance of the inventory. This vagueness

makes it difficult to know with any certainty what types of ceramics Emerson may have had in his home. The inventory is also skewed toward older items. Comparing Emerson's inventory with his contemporaries or even his son, Edward, Jr., who died a few years earlier, gives the appearance that Emerson was not the successful businessman that his ventures and social interactions suggest. The inventory does help with several aspects of his furnishings. Among other things it lists:

1 silver can, 4 tablespoons, 12 teaspoons, sugar tongs, pepper box & porringer, 36oz.
Teapot, crockery ware, wine glasses & waiter
43lb. Old pewter
20 cream colored plates - 8 table clothes
3 napkins
12 green edged plates
3 dishes - 3 delph bowls - 1 square table
25 lb. New pewter⁵²

The total value of Emerson's estate is more than \$1,328.23. The value of the land in Lebanon was unknown at the time the inventory was taken and therefore not listed.

Dr. Job Lyman, a physician in town and contemporary of Emerson, died in 1791. His inventory is much more complete and slightly more specific.

½ doz. Pewter platters
2 doz. Pewter plates
1 doz. Knives & forks
1 doz. China plates
1 ½ doz. Cream coloured plates
2 china bowls
1 punch ladle
a tea board and waiter
1 doz. Cups and saucers
3 teapots & coffee pots
½ doz. Wine glasses
1 damask tablecloth
5 damask napkins
1 old silver can
5 silver tablespoons⁵³
9 silver teaspoons⁵³

Richard Keating of York, a man of moderate means, was listed in 1784 as owning six china plates, two china dishes, six delft plates, one delft dish, twelve creamware plates, six handled cups, four saucers, one china cake plate, two china platters, a teapot, six blue and white cups and saucers, two small bowls and two butter boats.⁵⁴

Both Lyman's and Keating's inventories list china pieces while Emerson's does not. Both also include a collection of ceramics for a tea service while Emerson's only lists a solitary teapot. Keating's inventory includes both creamwares and delftwares but Keating died in 1784 and delft was still popular at that point. Delftwares had started to lose their place in fashion to creamwares and later pearlwares by the 1780s, although they were used well into the nineteenth century.

The teapot listed is a bit of an anomaly. Both Lyman's and Keating's inventories include a collection of ceramics for a tea service, while Emerson's only lists a solitary teapot. There is very little else in the inventory which suggests a complete tea service besides teaspoons and sugar tongs. What the teapot was is a complete mystery.

Emerson's inventory is also vague in explaining exactly what the cream colored and green edged plates were.⁵⁵ The cream colored plates may have been plain creamwares which became popular in the 1760s or they could be cream colored delftwares. The green edged plates could have been creamwares like those listed in the inventory of the brig *Ranger* or pearlwares which became popular in the 1770s.

An archaeological dig, conducted in 1988, found a wide range of ceramics around the Emerson-Wilcox house. In test Pit 1, Levels 2 and 3, located in the backyard, numerous ceramics were uncovered which were popular during Emerson's life. Plain creamware and green shell-edged pearlware were found. These correspond with items listed in Emerson's inventory. Finer ceramics from the same period, including combed slipware, English saltglaze stoneware, Scratch Blue, and plain Oriental porcelain were also found. No items like these are listed in his inventory or clearly listed as things he sold in his shop. Test Pit 6, Level 4, located near the southwest corner of the house, included plain creamware and plain delft, again suggesting ceramics listed in his inventory.⁵⁶

Emerson's occupations as a shopkeeper, merchant, tailor, and his successful real estate ventures put him in a secure financial position in York. He spent time with acknowledged members of York's upper class, hosting them and being entertained in their homes. These interactions put him in a position to be aware of the fashionable trends occurring in America. The people with whom he dined set "elegant tables" for large

dinner parties. Items listed in Emerson's inventory are objects that were fashionable during the eighteenth century; the delft and green edged wares, especially, enjoyed long periods of popularity. All of the evidence relating to Emerson's economic and social status as well as the few items mentioned in the probate inventory suggest an individual well aware of popular fashions. That his inventory does not list china wares, a tea set or items for a full dinner service is unusual. Emerson died at age 78; as an older gentleman and a widower for several years, he may have passed the primary responsibilities for maintaining a fashionable house to his son Bulkeley and daughters Lucy and Ruth who were living with him. This may account for the scanty ceramics listed in his inventory and the much more elaborate inventory of Bulkeley taken in 1815. Bulkeley's inventory lists items for a dinner service, several tea trays and a teapot and tea set. Whether or not these are the same dining pieces his father had may never be known; however, the types of serving pieces are those which Edward Emerson would have used for entertaining.

Edward Emerson was a respected, successful man in York. His economic status and social interactions confirm this but there are still questions to be answered. Further research needs to be done on identifying the sherds from the archaeological dig and examining them in conjunction with both Emerson's and Bulkeley's inventories. Additional study of Emerson's shop advertisements and tavern business may provide insight regarding the ceramics he used in those capacities. Analysis of shipping records for vessels in the York area will give information as to what Emerson and others brought into the town. These avenues of research will broaden our understanding of Edward Emerson, his role in York and the ways in which eighteenth century fashion affected the dining habits he and his contemporaries pursued.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Charles F. Montgomery and Patricia Kane, eds., *American Art 1750-1800: Towards Independence* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1976), 16.
- 2 Emerson W. Baker, et al., eds., *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 264.
- 3 Lester Mackenzie Bragdon and John Eldridge Frost, transcribers, *Vital Records of York, Maine* (Camden: Picton Press, 1992), 23-25.
- 4 Maine Genealogical Society, 1790 Census of Maine Annotated Edition, Special Publication no. 20 (Camden: Picton Press, special issue February 1995, vol. 17, #1), 10.
- 5 Kirk Upton, "The Loss of Trade, The Scorn of the Abjects, Life of Jonathan Sayward A

- Maine Merchant and Loyalist, based on his diary, 1760-1797" (Masters thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1992), 11.
- 6 Herbert G. Jones, *The King's Highway from Portland to Kittery* (Portland: Longfellow Press, 1953), 209.
- 7 *York County Commissioner's Records, Court of General Sessions*, (Portsmouth Public Library, Portsmouth; Augusta: Maine State Archives, 1965, roll number 1, vol. 10, 1733-1773), 589. Microfilm.
- 8 *New Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth), 9 November 1759.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 *Ibid.*, 26 November 1762.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 3 October 1766.
- 12 Diana Stradling and J. Garrison, eds. *The Art of the Potter* (New York: Main St/Universe Books, 1977), Introduction, 51.
- 13 Carl Crossman, "Chinese Export Porcelain in 18th Century Portsmouth," Lecture presented at The Governor Langdon House, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 8 July 1997.
- 14 Michael Blow, ed., *The American Heritage History of the Thirteen Colonies* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., 1967), 341.
- 15 *New Hampshire Gazette*, 18 December 1761.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 3 October 1766.
- 17 Jonathan Sayward, *The Journals of Jonathan Sayward, 1760-1799* transcribed (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, n.d.), 4, 5.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 19 Edward Emerson and Martha Payne Emerson, "The Emerson Family of York, Maine, 1750-1950," n.d., p. 5, Old York Historical Society Research Library, York, ME.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 21 Jane C. Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home, 1760-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 194.
- 22 Susan Williams, *Savory Suppers and Fashionable Feasts: Dining in Victorian America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), xvii.
- 23 *Ibid.*, xvi.
- 24 Gerard Brett, *Dinner is Served: A Study in Manners* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1969), 85, 135.
- 25 Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790-1840* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 174.
- 26 *New Hampshire Gazette*, 8 March 1765.
- 27 Frances Herman Lord, "Foodstuffs and Furnishings in the Late Eighteenth Century Seacoast Kitchen" (Paper for Old Gaol Museum, York, Maine, n.d.), 9.
- 28 Crossman, "Chinese Export Porcelain."
- 29 Laura Fecych Sprague, ed., *Agreeable Situations: Society, Commerce and Art in Southern Maine, 1780-1830* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987), 58.
- 30 Williams, 80.
- 31 Brett, 96.
- 32 Nylander, 187.
- 33 Reverend Isaac Lyman, *Diary of Isaac Lyman, August 13, 1797-June 2, 1799*, transcribed, Old York Historical Society genealogical files, York, Maine, n.d..
- 34 Nylander, 188, 190.

- 35 Williams, 191.
- 36 Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, *A Choice Sortment: Ceramics from New England Homes* (Sept 9–October 26, 1981), 9.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 10.
- 38 Rodris Roth, "Tea Drinking in Eighteenth Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage," *Material Life in America, 1600–1860* ed., Robert Blair St. George, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 439.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 40 *York County Commissioner's Records, Court of General Sessions* (Portsmouth Public Library, Portsmouth; Maine State Archives, 1965, roll number 2, vol. 12, 1776–1792), 127. Microfilm.
- 41 Charles O. Brewster, *Rambles About Portsmouth* (Somersworth: New Hampshire Publishing Company, 1971), 190.
- 42 Oliver W. Holmes and Peter T. Rohrbach, *Stagecoach East: Stagecoach Days in the East From the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 15.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 44 Charles E. Clark and Charles W. Eastman, Jr. *The Portsmouth Project: An Exercise in Inductive Historical Scholarship* (Somersworth: New Hampshire Publishing Company, 1974), 9.
- 45 Kym Rice, *Early American Taverns, For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers* (Chicago: Rigney Gateway, 1983), 88.
- 46 David W. Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995) 270, 149, 281.
- 47 Susanna Hovey Emerson, *Journal of Mrs. Edward Emerson of York, Maine, 1796*, Copy in Old York Historical Society Research Library, York, ME; original in Maine State Library, Augusta, ME, 17–21.
- 48 *York County Commissioner's Records, Court of General Sessions*, 1, 3, 84, 151, 237.
- 49 Susanna Hovey Emerson, 24–25.
- 50 Sayward, 13.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 21, 32.
- 52 York, Maine, *Inventory of Edward Emerson's Estate* (Returned February 8, 1808), 1.
- 53 Lord, 13.
- 54 Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 13.
- 55 James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten, The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 48.
- 56 Kathleen Wheeler and Aileen Agnew, "Report on the Historical and Archaeological Survey of York Village, Maine" (submitted to York Historical Commission, Maine Center for Archaeological Studies, September, 1988), 57, 58.

- 35 Williams, 19.
- 36 Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, *A Chronological Calendar from New England Haven* (Sept. 4-October 26, 1983), 3.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 10.
- 38 Rodin Bell, "You Drinking in Enlightened Context: American Beer, Migration and Ecotopia," *Material Life in America, 1580-1890*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982), 499.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 40 York County Commissioners' Records, *Chron. of Colonial Sources* (Philadelphia: Public Library, Pennsylvania State Archives, 1963, vol. 12, 1776-1792), 127. *Microfilm*.
- 41 Charles D. Brewster, *Benjamin Mose: Portraiture, Conventions, New Hampshire Publishing Company* (1913), 176.
- 42 Oliver W. Holmes and Peter T. Hultsch, *Englewood East: Englewood Days in the West from the Colonial Period to the First War* (Westport, D.C.: Greenwood Publishing Press, 1983), 14.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 44 Charles B. Clark and Charles W. Fernald, *The Connecticut Project: An Essential in Industrial Historical Subsidizing Technology* (New Hampshire: Publishing Company, 1974), 5.
- 45 Royce Allen, *Early American Textiles: For the Reconstruction of Colonial and American* (Chicago: Wiley-Griener, 1983), 80.
- 46 David W. Chappell, *In Public Goods: Toward the Development of Industry in Colonial Merchants* (Oxford: OUP University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 270, 149, 281.
- 47 Barbara Harris Brewster, *Journal of Mrs. Edward Emerson of York, Maine, 1796*, Copy in Old York Historical Society Records, York, Me., 1875, original in Maine State Library, Augusta, ME, 17-21.
- 48 York County Commissioners' Records, *Chron. of Colonial Sources*, 1, 3, 66, 151, 237.
- 49 Stephen Henry Emerson, 24-25.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 21, 22.
- 51 Clark, *Maine, Landings of a Life of Colonial Maine* (Portland: February 6, 1898), 1.
- 52 Lewis, 14.
- 53 Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 13.
- 54 James Fennell, *Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 82.
- 55 Robert M. Waller and Allen Rogers, *Tragedy on the Thompson and Antiquarian* (New York: 1983), 1983. "Maine" included in this collection is *Emerson, Maine* (New York: 1983), 1983. *Emerson, Maine* (New York: 1983), 1983.