“Custom Has Rendered it Somehow Necessary; We Must and Will Have it”: English Transferware and National Identity in the Early American Republic

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“Custom has rendered it somehow necessary; we must and will have it”: English Transferware and National Identity in the Early American Republic

by

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INTRODUCTION

As subjects of the British crown, the American colonists demanded representation in Parliament, fair tax, and advantage in trade during the decades leading to American Independence. Concurrently, as buyers, the colonists demanded fine English ceramics to adorn their tables. The desire for English pottery was so profound, it seemed as though the English essence of the good may have been as important to the colonial buyer as the function of the good itself. For instance, Gousse Bonnin and George Anthony Morris attempted to open the American China Manufactory in 1771 in Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{1} To promote the opening of the manufactory, Bonnin published an anonymous letter in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Bonnin noted how integral fine ceramics had become in the culture of North America. He stated, “custom has rendered it somehow necessary; we must and will have it, whatever be the Consequence.”\textsuperscript{2} However, he criticized the colonies’ dependence on British goods: “Our Mother Country has left no measures untried, which may crush our Manufacturers, check the Spirit of Patriotism, and keep us in the chains of Subjection: Obsta Principiis, is her Maxim; she would nip us in the bud.”\textsuperscript{3} As such, he related the purchase of domestic ceramics to a patriotic duty. The manufactory earned the notice


\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.
of Benjamin Rush and the American Philosophical Society.\textsuperscript{4} While in London, Benjamin Franklin received sauceboats made at the manufactory from Deborah Franklin, and expressed that he wished the endeavor “Success most heartily.”\textsuperscript{5} Yet, for lack of customers, the china manufactory shut its doors only two years later.\textsuperscript{6} The failure of the American China Manufactory suggests that the decision to purchase ceramics went beyond practical need, and extended into the realm of social identity.

Towards the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, the English potters industrialized the production of their ceramics, making them cheaper to produce.\textsuperscript{7} Other European nations regarded this development as a threat to their own ceramic manufactories, and responded with tariffs.\textsuperscript{8} As a result, English potters turned their attention to the expanding market of the United States. Greater dependence on the American market persuaded many of the manufactories to cater to American taste.\textsuperscript{9} This manifested in countless ceramics outfitted with American prints and exported to the United States, including images of the federal eagle, George Washington, and various American naval victories. The American market became so important to the English potters that American consumers generally purchased 40 to 50 percent of the ceramics produced in Staffordshire (one

\textsuperscript{4} Yokota, \textit{Unbecoming British}, 68.


\textsuperscript{6} Yokota, \textit{Unbecoming British}, 69.

\textsuperscript{7} George L. Miller, “Marketing Ceramics in North America: An Introduction,” \textit{Winterthur Portfolio}, 19, no. 1 (Spring 1984), 1-3. According to Miller, “Factory organization, specialization of skills, and standardized vessel and ware types all led to an economy of scale, which increased production and lowered costs.”

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., 3.
of the major centers of English ceramic production) between the War of 1812 and the American Civil War. Given the cultural significance of these objects, my project explores the formation of American national identity through their patriotic decorations. I argue that by studying the aesthetics of these ceramics, along with the ways in which they were bought, sold, used and displayed, we can understand how the men and women of the early republic regarded their place in the nation.

My project is an intersection in two subfields of historical study. The first is the study of nationalism. I rely on Benedict Anderson’s theory of “Imagined Communities,” which dictates that national identity is dependent on a perceived bond amongst individuals in a political community, though they may never actually meet face-to-face. Anderson emphasizes the role of the modern mass media in the creation of national identity. A typical newspaper, for instance, reports on an assortment of particular, unrelated events. Yet, the newspaper itself provides the connection between the events, as if to claim them as belonging to one community. I approach transferprint images on English transferware in a similar fashion. The images that appear on these ceramics were ‘mass produced’ in the sense that they were stamped rather than hand painted. I suggest that the resulting continuity produces the sensation that the motifs are part of a larger national imaginary.

The second subfield is material culture. Jules David Prown defines material culture as “the study through artifacts of the beliefs – values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions – of a

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10 Ibid.


particular community or society at a given time.”

According to Prown, “The underlying premise is that objects made or modified by man reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them, and by extension the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged.”

Studying historical objects cultivates a sensory relationship to the past. The beliefs or ideals of a people shape the materials they surround themselves with, and in turn, the materials shape their experience of the physical world. Richard Bushman’s comprehensive study of American material culture in the 18th and 19th centuries brings to light important shifts in American consumption. While a culture of gentility, reserved to the elite, is perceptible in the 18th century, a culture of ‘respectability’ emerged by 1790 that encompassed the growing middle class. The cultural shift is accompanied by a change in production that gave rise to cheaper stand-ins for refined goods, such as printed fabrics. As the goods are mirrors of genteel products, Bushman posits that possession of the goods not only reflected taste, but an inward refinement.

David Jaffee picks up the narrative of American material culture in the early 19th century. He assesses the shifting role of domestic artisans in connection with the emerging culture of the middle class parlor.

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14 Ibid., 1-2.


16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., xviii.

My project unites both fields and endeavors to interpret the ceramics as both a visible social indicator and a canvas of national identity. As such, I consider the ceramics both ‘text’ and object. They are a text in that the images they preserve have implications concerning early national loyalty and political identity, which exist in the intellectual world. Yet, it is important to remember that these images are communicated on objects. The form of the ceramics themselves in some way determines how the owners interacted with the images in their daily lives. Even if a commemorative ceramic never left its display in the cabinet, the potential of its intended use remained. The decision to buy a pitcher or platter rather than a wall hanging with a similar image perhaps adds to the image’s meaning.

Similar projects have been undertaken that endeavor to explain American national identity through the material world. In her work *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation*, historian Kariann Yokota examines consumer goods in the American market shortly after the Revolution. The popularity of imported luxury goods - particularly British goods - among American consumers reveals a desire to emulate ‘civilized’ cultures. Ultimately, Yokota argues that Americans were insecure about their new national identity. As a result, they imported refinement in the form of genteel goods. Historian François Furstenberg examines the transformation of George Washington as a symbolic figure through what he calls “civic texts” in his work, *In the Name of the Father: Washington’s Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation*. The American government claimed to draw its legitimacy from the sanction of the governed, thereby necessitating a culture of consent among the citizenry to achieve political stability. Furstenberg observes how “civic texts” – American print culture and national images – became the method by which a new “civic religion” was disseminated.

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A few notes should be made on the challenges of the source. First, there is the question of the British lens. All of the ceramics that I present for analysis in this project were produced in Great Britain – what is to say that they accurately represent American patriotic fervor? For one, American themed designs on English transferware were often directly quoted from images that were crafted in the United States.\textsuperscript{20} Throughout the project, I note the original sources for ceramic images, when available. One could still argue that an English producer ultimately selected the images that appear on the ceramics, though I respond that English producers, encouraged by the prospect of profit, would have done their best to select images that were appealing to American consumers. Still, I will argue that the British origin of these objects is an important factor in itself, as it speaks to the British cultural framework inherited by early Americans. A second challenge arises in the sample of ceramics that have survived to the present day. The vast majority of the original shipments consisted of plain wares; relatively few ceramics featured decorative prints.\textsuperscript{21} Given that printed commemorative wares were special, they were often spared from rigorous use. Plain or simply decorated wares, by contrast, were more likely to be used and broken.\textsuperscript{22} Therefore, the surviving assemblage does not accurately represent the


\textsuperscript{21} Robin Emmerson, “The Jonathan Aborn Invoice,” in \textit{Success to America: Creamware for the American Market featuring the S. Robert Teitelman Collection at Winterthur}, ed. S. Robert Teitelman, Patricia A. Halfpenny and Robert W. Fuchs II (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors’ Club, 2010), 250. Emmerson analyzed an 1802 invoice of Liverpool earthenware that was sent to businessman John Innes Clark of Providence, Rhode Island. He found that only 3 percent of the shipment consisted in printed pieces, while 78 percent of the shipment consisted in plain or simply edged ceramics.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
market for ceramics. Nevertheless, English transferware for the American market provides a remarkable window to the experience of nationalism in the early American republic.
CHAPTER 1. EMBLEMS OF A NATION
TRANSFERPRINT CERAMICS AND AMERICAN SYMBOLS

The Development of the Eighteenth-Century English Ceramics Industry

In the 18th century, the European ceramics trade was varied and highly competitive. English pottery vied for purchase alongside Dutch Delftware, French Faience, and other wares. Yet, by the end of the century, the English potters revolutionized ceramic production and gained dominance in the trade.

Several innovations in British ceramic manufacture improved the aesthetic appeal of English pottery. In the early 18th century, many of the potters were producing white salt-glazed stoneware, which was developed by John Dwight in the late 17th century. The ceramic recipe called for ball clay (granite), and flint. In the early 1740s, Enoch Booth of Tunstall, Staffordshire experimented with salt-glazed ceramic manufacture. He drew inspiration from the double-firing technique. After the first firing, the ceramic would be in a porous and brittle state referred to as the biscuit state. At this point, the body of the ceramic could be painted with decorations. The

23 For more information on the development of the eighteenth-century European ceramics trade, see George L. Miller, “Marketing Ceramics in North America,” 1-3.

24 Ibid., 3.


26 Ibid., 32.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.
ceramic would then be dipped into a lead-based glaze and subjected to a second firing. In the end, the ceramics exhibited a sleek, shiny coat. These new ceramics were able to receive a wider variety of decorations compared to rough salt-glazed stoneware. Booth’s variations on salt-glazed stoneware gave rise to what is now referred to as creamware.

Soon after the development of creamware, engraver John Sadler of Liverpool revolutionized ceramic decoration. According to legend, Sadler noticed children pasting wet paper prints to broken pieces of pottery, and observed that doing so left a clear image of the print on the ceramic. Sadler then refined a process by which images could be transferred to ceramics. First, the image was engraved on a copper plate. The plate was inked with pigment prepared from metallic oxide, and then stamped onto a tissue-like paper. Finally, the paper was applied to the ceramic, and then removed, revealing the decoration. This process became known as transfer printing. Sadler entered into partnership with printer Guy Green. Together, they operated the “Printed Ware Manufactory.” Transfer printing was an incredible development in the world of ceramics, as it became extremely easy and cheap to produce aesthetically pleasing pieces.

Sadler and Green entered into a mutually beneficial agreement with Josiah Wedgwood, one of the most important 18th century English potters. The printers agreed to only work with Wedgwood, and in turn, Wedgwood agreed to only source his printing needs to Sadler and

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., 31-32.
Green.\textsuperscript{34} Wedgwood is best known for improving creamware by developing a glaze that made the ceramic appear whiter.\textsuperscript{35} In 1767 Wedgwood adopted the title “Queen’s Ware” for his ceramics after securing an order from Queen Charlotte of England. The Queen was pleased with Wedgwood’s ceramics, and he was appointed “Potter to her Majesty.”\textsuperscript{36} Wedgwood received an even larger order from Russia’s Catherine the Great in 1773.\textsuperscript{37} These orders invested Queen’s ware with a social respectability that allowed it to compete with Chinese porcelain as a desirable ceramic.\textsuperscript{38}

\textbf{“Let them be neat and fashionable or send none.”}

As a result of increased production of British pottery, English makers began to pursue share in the American market. Josiah Wedgwood recognized the potential of the American market early on. In 1767, he wrote a letter to his business partner Thomas Bentley, which reads,

May the winds & seas be propitious, & the \textit{invaluable} Cargo be wafted in safety to their destin’d [sic] Market, for the emolument of our American Bretheren [sic] & friends … The demands for this said \textit{Creamcolour, Alias, Queen’s Ware, Alias, Ivory}, still increases. It is really amazing how rapidly the use of it has spread almost [sic] over the whole Globe, & how universally it is liked.\textsuperscript{39}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[34] Halfpenny, “Creamware and the Staffordshire Potteries,” 34. The arrangement for the printing of ceramics was executed in many ways. In some cases, printers were known to purchase plain wares and apply their own decorations. Examples of such printers include Bentley, Wear & Borne, and Francis Morris.
\item[36] Miller, “Marketing Ceramics,” 2.
\item[37] Ibid.
\item[38] Ibid.
\item[39] Josiah Wedgwood, \textit{Correspondence of Josiah Wedgwood}, ed. Katherine Eufemia Farrer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 127. It should be noted that there is no consensus on the precise interpretation of this passage. For instance, Timothy Breen suggests that the language used by Wedgwood is indicative of his enthusiasm for expansion into the
\end{footnotes}
One of these American “brethren” and customers was George Washington.

Washington purchased a myriad of imported goods beyond ceramics, including fine satin quilted coats, ivory combs, and buckles. Fortunately, several of his orders are preserved in letters, and they reveal not only Washington’s taste for finer things, but also his awareness of the expressive power of objects. One such letter was written to his quartermaster John Mitchell in February of 1779. Washington, while in the field at Middlebrook, prepared to host a dinner for French allies. Regretting the coarseness of his tin dinnerware, judging them to be “too much worn for delicate stomachs in fixed & peaceable quarters,” he requested a set of English Queen’s Ware dishes. He added, “I also desire you will send me Six tolerably genteel but not expensive Candlesticks all of a kind,” along with fur to edge his coat, waistcoat and breeches. The letter suggests that the value of these everyday objects went beyond their beauty. Rather, Washington

American market, as well as a display of his foresight and strategic thinking. On the other hand, Ivor Noel Hume argues that the first sentence is to be taken sarcastically. The “invaluable cargo” is likely in reference to “Green and Gold” colored ceramics, which fell out of favor with Wedgwood. Nevertheless, the passage supports my argument because it demonstrates the opening of the American market in the minds of English ceramic traders. For more information, see T. H. Breen, The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 37, and Ivor Noel Hume, Pottery and Porcelain in Colonial Williamsburg’s Archaeological Collections (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1969), 21-22.


41 Yokota, Unbecoming British, 88.


43 Ibid.
felt that this outward display of refinement was necessary to emphasize his propriety and the validity of his army.\footnote{Yokota, \textit{Unbecoming British}, 88.}

Washington owned many ceramics from abroad. Famously, Washington owned a set of Chinese porcelain that bears the seal of the Society of the Cincinnati. Washington’s orders indicate that he also possessed Dutch delftware and various English wares. His letters to Richard Washington, his buying agent in England, belies the significance Washington placed on his dinnerware. George Washington never actually met Richard, yet relied on him to select dinnerware that would reflect his refinement.\footnote{Ibid., 89.} He wrote a letter to Richard in January of 1758, in which he requested “2 dozn Dishes (properly sorted) 2 dozn deep Plates, and 4 dozn Shallow Ditto” from England.\footnote{George Washington to Richard Washington, 8 January 1758, Washington Papers, National Archives, Washington, D.C. http://founders.archives.gov/ (accessed April 4, 2016).} These could not be any common dishes; they had to reflect the current fashions. Washington urged, “pray let them be neat and fashionable or send none.”\footnote{Ibid.} Washington’s anxiety over the excellence of his material purchases indicates more than his love of fine things, but also his membership in American gentility.

George Washington, like the other Founding Fathers, should be understood in the context of a larger cultural movement that began in America in the early 18\textsuperscript{th} century. Richard Bushman observes that the highest classes, consisting of merchants, planters and government officials, adopted genteel practices inherited from aristocratic Europe. A gentleman was expected to conduct himself with ease and refinement, while abstaining from physical labor in favor of
activities that cultured the mind.\textsuperscript{48} The activities of the American genteel were exclusive, and every member was constantly judged on their appearance and manners.\textsuperscript{49} How contemporaries thought gentlemanly behavior ought to look is preserved in literature on genteel code, called “mirrors.” Washington’s own \textit{Rules of Civility & Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation} is consistent with other literature on genteel conduct. The desire to express a sense of refinement manifested itself in the possessions of the genteel. According to Bushman, the phenomenon of gentility is most discernable in the evolution of the self-conscious architecture in the homes of home-grown aristocrats. While older structures were relatively unadorned, the later mansions were embellished with graceful staircases, intricate moldings and open ceilings.\textsuperscript{50} Gentility also transformed the objects within the house, necessitating “tolerably genteel” candlesticks and “fashionable” dinnerware. Yet, the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century witnessed another cultural shift: industrial innovations rendered refined goods, or imitations of them, more affordable, allowing a greater portion of the middle class to express an adapted culture of gentility.\textsuperscript{51}

While George Washington was himself an avid consumer of English ceramics, his portrait became an important symbol of American national identity, and it was his visage that was reproduced, time and again, by English potters for an American market. Washington’s face became a symbol for display in the home – a reminder of where American citizens had been and where they were going. His image was printed on several of the earliest examples of Queen’s Ware created specifically for the American consumer. For instance, his portrait appears as a

\textsuperscript{48} For more information on the “code” of gentility, see Richard L. Bushman, \textit{The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities}, 61-99.

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., 25, 48, 55.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 5-9.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., xiii.
central design on a blue and white punchbowl made in England in the 1790s.\textsuperscript{52} (See Appendix 1, Figure 1.1) The portrait quotes directly from a stipple engraving by Edward Savage; the practice of adapting an existing image for transfer print was extremely common.\textsuperscript{53} Savage’s original portrait of Washington was commissioned by Harvard University and executed in oil on canvas. During a visit to London in 1791, Savage transformed his own work into an engraving.\textsuperscript{54} Given that the print was first published in London, the image was readily available to an enterprising English potter. The central portrait is titled, “GEORGE WASHINGTON Esqr. President.” The exterior of the bowl and the interior rim features an oriental pattern that is reminiscent of Chinese porcelain.

In comparing earthenware manufactured for the English and American markets, historian Christina Nelson observes that the form and general decoration of the pieces are similar. The only perceptible difference is in the content of the imagery.\textsuperscript{55} A comparison of the Washington punchbowl with a similar English bowl validates the argument she makes. (Figure 1.2) The bowl was created around the same time for the English market, and features similar dimensions and similar oriental-style decoration. In the place of George Washington, the central image is of King George III and Queen Charlotte. They are enclosed in an inscription that reads “A KING REVERED A QUEEN BELOVED. LONG MAY THEY LIVE.” The similarity between these

\textsuperscript{52} Bowl (Punch bowl), earthenware, probably Staffordshire, England, ca. 1790- 1810, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1964.1023.

\textsuperscript{53} Halfpenny, “Creamware and the Staffordshire Potteries,” 33.


pieces suggests that the English Potters did not alter their craft to produce American goods; they simply adapted a British product to American interests. In other words, the images may have been American, but they were displayed in a British frame. This practice has implications for the development of American national character: while distinct in many aspects, it arose out of a British social and cultural framework.\textsuperscript{56}

**Transferware and Map Prints**

A map is more than a representation of a geographical reality. It often conveys a certain perception of a nation’s place in the world, both politically and culturally. For example, a thick line demarcating a border does more than section land; it might suggest which inhabitants of the land are “we” and “they” relative to the viewer or maker. Therefore, the influence of maps on the national psyche cannot be underestimated. Historian Kariann Yokota argues that the impact of maps on North American political identity can be traced to images created prior to American Independence.\textsuperscript{57} For instance, she argues that by grouping the North American colonies together, cartographers reinforced the idea that the colonies shared one common political identity, despite whatever regional differences they may have had.\textsuperscript{58} She also suggests that because no atlases were made in America during the first decades of the republic, the American people were forced to understand their own emergence as a nation through a British lens.\textsuperscript{59} Here, parallels can be drawn between transferware and maps: we now consider these things to be intrinsic to the

\textsuperscript{56} *Bowl*, England, ca. 1790, Victoria and Albert Museum, Museum Number 3993-1901.

\textsuperscript{57} Yokota, *Unbecoming British*, 26-29.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 28-29.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 30.
formation of American national character, and they were made in England. This implies that American identity was, in some respects, manufactured in Britain.

One of the better-known maps is *The United States of America laid down from the best authorities, agreeable to the Peace of 1783*. (Figure 1.3) Published in 1783 by Englishman John Wallis, it is considered the first map to recognize the independence of the United States. The map depicts the entirety of the country at the time. The continent, especially towards the east coast, is not depicted as a *terra nova*. Rather, it is dense with labels of cities, bays, and bodies of water. A fanciful cartouche appears prominently in the lower right corner. To the left of the map’s title, a dignified George Washington strolls confidently with the personification of “Liberty.” “Liberty,” in this panorama, holds a liberty pole, upon which is a liberty cap. Above their heads, “Fame” sounds his trumpet next to the flag of the United States. On the opposing side, Benjamin Franklin is seated with book and quill in hand. “Justice” and “Wisdom” accompany him. Though the symbolism of the cartouche draws from neoclassical imagery, native flora blooms throughout the scene. The native plants may be remnants of earlier symbols of North America, which tended to draw from the image of Native Americans.

The Wallis map inspired the development of a ceramic print sometime between 1790 and 1810. The map appears on bowls and pitchers manufactured by the Herculaneum Pottery Factory. (Figure 1.4) In adapting the map for the ceramic, the printer used the imagery of the cartouche as a frame for the map, thus rendering the figures larger than the map itself. This decision radically alters how the viewer should use and understand the map. In the original

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61 Ibid., 31.

62 Ibid., 19-23.
version, observers can obtain some practical knowledge of American geography by discerning its many labels. Yet, in the image intended for the ceramic, the labels are reduced to that of states. As a result, the outline of the country, rather than its many features, is highlighted. 63

According to Benedict Anderson, geographical outlines are important symbols in the manifestation of a national imaginary. The symbol emerged when cartographers began coloring colonies based on their imperial associations. 64 Depicting the colonies in this way produced the effect that they were pieces in a “jigsaw” and thus could be removed from their geographical contexts. 65 Therefore, the outlines became recognizable symbols in themselves. The artist who reinterpreted the Wallis Map, then, likely intended to reinvent the country’s borders as a symbol. As a result, the image on the ceramic symbolizes a confident and harmonious United States.

If the image of the Wallis Map adapted for ceramics is a symbol, then it is one of incredible optimism. The situation surrounding the geographical boundaries of the country was more precarious than the image suggests. This is especially true if the print appeared on wares in the 1790s. 66 In the early years of the republic, the greatest threat to the national geographic solidarity was the potential of the Appalachian west to break away. 67 Until the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the threat loomed that western states Kentucky and Tennessee might choose to

64 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 175.
65 Ibid.
66 Of course, the Wallis Map should not be considered an accurate representation of the United States in the 1790s, due to the addition of several states. However, until the Louisiana Purchase, the general ‘outline’ of the nation was maintained.
67 François Furstenberg, In the Name of the Father, 9.
align with France, Britain or Spain. The example of the Wallis Map print underscores that we are not to understand these images as perfect reflections of reality. They are more appropriately understood as projections of what people wanted to see in their young nation.

Another ceramic print highlights the revised version of Pierre Charles L’Enfant’s plans for the nation’s capitol city. (Figure 1.5) The print could have been created as early as 1792, as this was the year in which Andrew Ellicott released the revised city plans. However, the print was likely applied to ceramics created between 1796 and 1800. In the image, two classically garbed women hold up the plan. The shields lying at their feet identify them as personifications of Britain and America. The image is aesthetically pleasing, but its concept is even more striking. The personified nations stand together, neither perceptibly dominant, yet each with a countenance of respect and friendship. War instruments are laid to rest, and Britannia points to the future location of the capitol building as if to instruct America. Ships sail on the horizon, as if to commemorate mutually beneficial trade.

The image of the city plan itself would have been easy enough to acquire. Yet, the precise source for the scene surrounding the city plan in this print is currently unknown, if it exists at all. The artist could have invented the image. At the very least, the layout for the overall image had a precedent. Evidence of this precedent materializes in a depiction titled, “America Triumphant and Britannia in Distress,” that appeared in Weatherwise’s Town and Country Almanac in

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68 Ibid.
1782.\textsuperscript{71} (Figure 1.6) In this example, the artist similarly features personifications of America and Britannia, and identifies them through their shields. America, who takes up considerable space in the right of the foreground, is portrayed as a dignified victor. She holds a liberty pole adorned with a liberty cap in her left hand, an image that parallels the depiction of Liberty I mentioned in the Wallis Map. She sits upon a globe and the North American continent faces the viewer. Overall, her image is one of strength and optimism. Her representation is contrasted with that of Britannia, who is seated farther in the background and occupies a separate piece of land from America. Britannia slouches to wipe away her tears, and is attended by what the caption identifies as “an evil genius.” I argue that this portrayal ultimately instructs how we should understand the figures on the ceramic print. Britannia and America are equally dignified, neither one appearing significantly larger than the other. This suggests that respect is due to both nations, though they are independent polities and no longer metropole and periphery. Generally, the image is one of cooperation rather than one of conflict. The print suggests that not all Americans were interested in shunning British influence. A creamware pitcher bearing this print would have been an appropriate possession of a merchant whose business depended on trade with Great Britain.

Central to the image is the Plan of the City of Washington, D.C. The decision to create a national capital independent from the states was codified in Article 1 of the Constitution.\textsuperscript{72} The decision to locate the capital on the Potomac River, however, was decided over dinner. Following the Revolutionary War, the states were left with significant war debt. To relieve

\textsuperscript{71} America Triumphant and Britannia in Distress, etching. Boston, Massachusetts, 1782, Library of Congress.

\textsuperscript{72} Teitelman, Success to America, 100.
financial pressure, Alexander Hamilton devised a plan whereby the federal government would exchange the state’s war debt for securities. This plan met opposition in Congress, largely because it would disadvantage states that had already paid most of their debts. Hamilton appealed to Thomas Jefferson, who was then Secretary of State. Jefferson hosted a dinner party between Hamilton and James Madison, a representative of Virginia that led congressional opposition. It was agreed that Madison would not try to block passage of Hamilton’s plan, and in exchange the capital would be located on the border between Virginia and Maryland.\textsuperscript{73} George Washington, besides being the namesake of the city, was given the honor of selecting the exact site upon which it was to be built. As such, the symbol of the new capital had implications for national character: it asserted the nation’s identity as a federal republic and affirmed Washington-as-founding father figure.

The subject of the capital city may have been an obvious choice for an English potter seeking to appeal to an American consumer. Yet, the artist’s decision to invoke the city through its plan was an important, yet risky gamble. In one sense, the city-as-plan conveys a feeling of development, progress, and optimism. This sentiment is accentuated by the dynamic way in which personified Britain and America engage with the map. In a second sense, the projection of the plan capitalizes on heightened interest in urban planning in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries. Inspired by revived interest in geometrical order throughout the Renaissance, urban planners sought to arrange cities deliberately, oftentimes in symmetrical patterns.\textsuperscript{74} A notable example is Philadelphia, which owes its original grid-like streets to the surveying of Thomas Holme in

\textsuperscript{73} For more information on the “dinner deal,” see Joseph J. Ellis, “Chapter Two: The Dinner,” in \textit{Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation} (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000).

\textsuperscript{74} Bushman, \textit{The Refinement of America}, 141.
During the 18th century, interest in attractive cities evolved under what Richard Bushman identifies as the “beautification campaign” of gentility. While at the beginning of the century the activities of the genteel were only found in certain exclusive spaces, such as mansions and sanctified taverns, the desire to beautify every space, including the landscape, emerged by the end of the century. The yearning to have a physical city that reflected the inner or spiritual refinement of the nation is not unlike the desire for the ceramic to represent the good taste of the owner. In all, the print tells the story of a new nation that finds its character, at least in part, in its vision for the future.

“You are now in the way of becoming a useful citizen.”

Unlike plain creamware pitchers, printed pitchers were not usually acquired with the intention of using them for day-to-day needs. Instead, they were purchased or gifted as conversation pieces. Perhaps the best evidence of this phenomenon is that they have survived to the present day, signifying the care imparted to them by owners and their successive generations. I should also point out that creamware pitchers, even those embellished with transferprint, were not expensive in comparison to other forms of ceramic. This is due to the fact that the British pottery trade had transformed from a craft to an industry, and thus allowed the potters to achieve economy of scale and lower production costs. Therefore, the purchase of a commemorative pitcher would have been within the budget of many in the upper middle class, including small merchants, minor government officials, and the like. The market for creamware

75 Ibid., 142.
76 Ibid., 242-244.
77 Miller, “Marketing Ceramics,” 1.
78 Ibid., 2.
pitchers among the middle class coincides with a larger cultural shift, which Richard Bushman argues is discernable in the material culture of the 19th century city.

Prior to 1790, genteel customs and materials belonged to the upper classes only. Members of the middle and lower classes, including farmers and shopkeepers, as Bushman tells us, “might look on with envy, awe, or hatred, they might imitate and borrow [practices of genteel living], but they were onlookers, thought to be presumptuous if they assumed the manners or showed the possessions of a gentleman.” However, a change in the cultural makeup of the new nation occurred in the early days of the republic. Shifting cultural attitudes caused members of the middle class to conclude that they, too, were qualified for genteel living. The middle class adopted refined mannerisms. This new cultural outlook was intertwined with the rise of industrial production, which provided refined goods, such as textiles, carpets and furniture—all at much cheaper prices. As such, the middle class could afford objects that reflected their inward refinement. Bushman notes that this shift is once again discernable in household architecture. Prior to this time, average houses were typically constructed with either two rooms or one room with a loft. Increasingly, middle class houses were considered incomplete without a kitchen, bedroom, entryway, upstairs bedroom, and, most notably, a parlor. The entire layout of the house was rearranged, sending the finer rooms, such as the parlor, to the front, and banishing the practical rooms, such as the kitchen, to the back. Unlike the drawing room in the upper class genteel household, which facilitated social networking and advancement, the parlor of the middle

79 Bushman, The Refinement of America, xiii.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid., 252.
class often had little practical function. The space simply existed to indicate that the family possessed inner refinement and grace. However, Bushman notes that because the finer rooms were “borrowed from another culture … and did not grow organically from the everyday experiences of the ordinary people who inhabited them,” many did not feel comfortable in the surroundings of their best possessions, rendering the middle class home “a house divided against itself.”

A printed creamware pitcher would likely have been displayed on a mantel or in a china cabinet, not in the kitchen. The pitcher, like other refined goods, would have been a way for a family to express their economic and cultural status. Given the pitcher’s place within the household, specifically the honorific placement in the parlor, the prints found on it would have been conscientiously chosen to express the family identity. The personal nature of these pieces is illustrated by the fact that they were often customized. This could take the form of initials, full names, or family crests. Due to the high cost of commissioning an engraved copper plate, these additions were usually hand painted.

It seems that the practice of personalizing the pitcher was common in the seafaring community. Mostly, the jugs were commissioned in Liverpool. Historian Robert McCauley theorizes that captains could place an order for customized ceramics in Liverpool at the start of

82 For more information on the development of the parlor in middle class architecture, see Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 250-267.

83 Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 265.


86 Ibid., 38.
their journey, and then collect the finished pieces on their way back home. The Winterthur Museum possesses a pitcher made by the Herculaneum Pottery Factory between 1800 and 1810 that features a cartouche left blank for personalization, but was never used. (Figure 1.7) This rare example implies that the pitchers intended for customization were purchased after already having been printed with their main decorations. The Winterthur Museum also possesses many examples of successfully customized pieces. One of these is a creamware pitcher made by the Herculaneum Pottery Factory sometime between 1795 and 1801. On one side of the pitcher, there is a print commemorating George Washington. (Figure 1.8.a) Once again, the stipple engraving of Washington by Edward Savage is adapted for ceramic print. In this rendition, “Liberty,” “Victory,” and “Justice” surround and revere his portrait. The scene is framed by a scrolling ribbon, upon which is inscribed the names of the first fifteen states. Underneath the spout of the jug, the names, “ABRAHAM AND SUKEY WATERS” are hand painted within a printed cartouche. Below their names, the Waters coat of arms is painted. (Figure 1.8.b) Lastly, the pitcher features an image of a sailing ship, which is common on creamware pitchers. Beneath the ship, the text, “COLUMBIA OF BOSTON” was added. Abraham Waters was a particularly skilled member of the crew on board the merchant vessel Columbia. Waters joined the ship’s crew in 1787 and eventually rose to be the master of the ship. According to family legend, the

87 McCauley, Liverpool Transfer Designs, 47.
Columbia’s Captain Gray gave this pitcher to Abraham as a gift on the occasion of his marriage to Sukey Simmonds in 1795.\(^90\)

The striking aspect of these customized pieces is that even when they celebrate marriage, they often feature nationalistic imagery. This element of transferware holds special significance when placed in the context of discourse on marriage, reproduction, and national welfare in the early republic. For instance, Benjamin Franklin suggested that the size of the population is correlated to a nation’s power. Therefore, he encouraged early marriage and large families. In a letter that was published in a New Hampshire newspaper in 1789, Franklin praised new groom John Alleyne, writing, “I am glad you are married, and congratulate you most cordially upon it. You are now in the way of becoming a useful citizen.”\(^91\) He continued by summarizing the course of reproduction in the United States:

> With us in America, marriages are generally in the morning of our life; our children are therefore educated and settled in the world by noon; and thus our business being done, we have an afternoon and evening of cheerful leisure to ourselves, such as our friend at present enjoys. By these early marriages, we are blest with more children, and from the mode among us, founded by nature, of every mother suckling her own child, more of them are raised. Thence the swift progress of population among us, unparalleled in Europe.\(^92\)

Franklin’s remarks on the boon of increased population ultimately connect marriage and reproduction to a civic duty.

Material culture tells us that Franklin’s view reverberated in American society. Decorative certificates were manufactured that displayed the census information of the United


\(^{92}\) Ibid.
States. The purpose of the certificate was to be framed and flaunted in the home. Curiously, America’s first census also appears on transferware pitchers. (Figure 1.9) The print features two angelic figures that support a banner with the text, “Prosperity to the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.” Below, the population of each state is listed. In the background, there is a ship, perhaps representing trade, and a crowded town, perhaps representing industry. The apparent fascination with the United States census helps us understand the desire to commemorate marriage with nationalistic imagery. The American people wanted to project themselves as what Frenchman Chevalier later dubbed “homo Americanus:” a race of men that is hardy and energized. In these images we can see the struggle to acquire a unique identity. There is an effort on the part of Americans to distinguish themselves not only as citizens of a new country, but also as a people all their own.

“In governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged.”

George Washington warned against the dividing power of political parties in his Farewell Address of 1796. He wrote, “It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection… in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not

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to be encouraged.” Washington perhaps thought not only of the consequence of growing hostility between Federalists and Jeffersonian-Republicans on the fragile nation, but also of the tarnish of his own reputation at the hands of Republicans such as printer Benjamin Franklin Bache. Yet, the fire of partisan spirit thrived.

The parties developed into more than associations of citizens with similar political ideologies; they gave rise to political cultures. Just as national identity permeated the private sphere by becoming associated with marriage and reproduction, political allegiance became a social identifier. Rosemarie Zagarri’s work on women in the early republic helps us understand the conversation between political and social identity. For instance, Zagarri discovers a phenomenon in which the political orientation of a suitor may have determined his success in courtship. She relays the experience of chief justice Joseph Story who in 1801 attempted to marry Lydia Pierce, the daughter of an ardent Federalist. Because of his Republican leanings, Lydia’s father denied her hand. Story wrote a letter to Lydia’s father, trying to win his approval despite his political identification. Regardless of his obvious affection for Ms. Pierce, her father never allowed the marriage. Zagarri offers other similar examples. Her observation indicates that the influence of political identity extended beyond the political sphere. Political allegiance greatly influenced social identity in the early republic.

In light of Zagarri’s findings, the presence of political imagery on ceramics is important, especially because the pieces would have likely been displayed in the rooms of the house most conducive to social interaction. Importantly, the image of George Washington was not immune

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to party promotion. Though Washington never formally aligned with a political party, many of his policies were identified as nominally “federalist,” at least according to his contemporaries. As Zagarri notes, significant customs had been constructed around the figure of Washington in the Federalist community. To contend for female sponsorship, Federalists encouraged women to commemorate Washington’s birthday and then later to honor his death through ceremonies.\footnote{Ibid., 84.}

However, this also meant that Washington had political enemies. Out of contention between friends and foes, a ceramic print arose that is found on mugs created between 1795 and 1800. (Figure 1.10) The print features a medallion with a portrait of Washington. “Liberty” stands to the left of the medallion. Text emerges from her mouth, which reads, “My favorite Son.”\footnote{A note should be made to the significance of proclaiming Washington as Liberty’s “Favorite Son.” In one sense, the phrase implies that Washington’s policies are in the best interest of liberty. On the other hand, it is consistent with the common depiction of the young nation as a family. As Furstenberg observes, the metaphor of the nation as a family served to reinforce the sense of collective identity in the early republic. For more information, see François Furstenberg, \textit{In the Name of the Father}, 36.} The text “Long Live the president of the United States” appears at the bottom of the portrait. “Justice” personified stands to the right of the medallion, and she proclaims, “Deafness to the Ear that will patiently hear & Dumbness to the Tongue that will utter a Calumny against the immortal Washington.” “Justice’s” words are an exact quotation from a toast that was given in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in November of 1795.\footnote{The text of the toast is preserved in the \textit{Columbian Centinel} (Boston), November 4, 1795. The only detail about the context of the toast is that it was given after a military parade at an ‘entertainment.’ Directly above the toast, there is a report on the district of Newburn in North Carolina. There had been news of “a certain riotous and tumultuous meeting that took place in that town, in consequence of the treaty.” For more information on the toast in connection with the mug, see Teitelman, \textit{Success to America}, 78.} The toast was given in the midst of conflict over the new nation’s position in the international arena. Washington’s decision to accept the Jay
treaty scandalized many Democratic-Republicans, who felt that the agreement with the English was an injustice against the French. In their eyes, the democracy-loving French were more like Americans than the monarchical British. Toasts ensued that expressed political support to either the Federalists or the Democratic-Republicans. The owner of a mug bearing this print would have undoubtedly identified with the Federalists, who supported Washington’s decision.\(^{101}\)

Like Washington, John Adams had to make decisions about the nation’s position abroad during his presidency, most notably in the Quasi-War with France. The *Adams and Liberty* print, created sometime between 1798 and 1800 and applied to mugs, was derived from a song that supported president John Adams in his stance against France. (Figure 1.11) The print features three verses from the “Adams and Liberty” song by Robert Treat Paine:

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Ye sons of Columbia, who bravely have fought,
For those rights, which unstained from your Sires had descended,
May you long taste the blessings your valour has brought,
And your sons reap the soil which their fathers defended.

'Mid the reign of mild Peace,
May your nation increase,
With the glory of Rome, and the Wisdom of Greece;
And ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves.

Should the tempest of war overshadow our land,
Its bolts could ne'er rend Freedom's Temple asunder;
For, unmoved, at its portal, would WASHINGTON stand,
And repulse, with his breast, the assaults of the thunder!.
His sword, from the sleep
Of its scabbard would leap,
And conduct, with its point, every flash to the deep!
For ne'er shall the sons, &c.

Let Fame to the world sound America's voice;
No intrigue can her sons from their government sever;
Her pride is her ADAMS; his laws are her choice,
And shall flourish, till Liberty slumbers for ever!
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Then unite heart and hand,
Like Leonidas’ band,
And swear to the GOD of the Ocean and Land;
That ne’er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves.102

The lyrics, like the “Star Spangled Banner,” are sung to the tune of “To Anacreon in Heaven.” Beyond its clear reverence for Adams, the song has glaring Federalist overtones. For instance, a lyric not included on the print reads, “While France her huge limbs bathes recumbent in blood, /And Society's base threats with wide dissolution; /May Peace like the dove, who returned from the flood, /Find an ark of abode in our mild constitution.” The song quickly became a Federalist anthem. An advertisement in Baltimore’s Telegraphe and Daily Advertiser reads, “If energy of language, simplicity of style and refined composition have a claim upon the public favor; this beautiful effusion, from the poetic pen of a patriotic Bostonian will meet with a cordial welcome from the truly Federal Citizens of Baltimore.”103 It was sung in many contexts, including Fourth of July celebrations. One such celebration took place in Amherst, New Hampshire in 1798, and was characterized by “the greatest union and federal hilarity” according to the local newspaper.104 The “inimitable song” was preformed after a “respectable procession” to the meetinghouse, and was “eminently applauded.”105 It took place before a dinner at the town hall. Dinner featured a series of patriotic toasts, including to “John Adams and the Federal

102 Robert Treat Paine, Adams and Liberty, 1798.
105 Ibid.
government.” It is plausible that the consumer of the *Adams and Liberty* mug did not purchase it for the lyrics alone, but also because it represented a broader social and political culture.

Additionally, enterprising English potters produced commemorative wares in honor of Thomas Jefferson. One print was executed on pitchers made by the Herculaneum Pottery Factory during Jefferson’s presidency. (Figure 1.12) The image shows a genteel Jefferson, standing at ease and holding a document, perhaps the Declaration of Independence. Certainly, the image appealed to Jeffersonian Republicans. Yet, the decision of a Jeffersonian Republican to purchase such a good seems paradoxical. Consider, for instance, a debate that took place in Congress in 1794, only a few months prior to the events surrounding the infamous Jay treaty negotiations. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, leaders in the emerging party, argued for strict restrictions on British trade. According to historians Stanley M. Elkins and Eric McKitrick, their case “was not an economic case but a moral one,” aimed at eradicating dependence on Great Britain. The pair advocated a shift of trade relations from British to French merchants, as they felt that French ideology was more compatible with American values. On January 3, 1794, Madison introduced these resolutions to the House of Representatives. Returning to the pitcher, it seems strange that a person decided to project their Jeffersonian Republican identity on a British luxury good. Admittedly, this phenomenon does not prove a rule across all party

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106 Ibid.


108 Teitelman, *Success to America*, 90.


110 Ibid., 381.
subscribers. It does suggest, however, that even some Jeffersonian Republicans were not immune to the allure of commemorative creamware. It demonstrates the power of these materials as expressive objects in the early republic.\textsuperscript{111}

CHAPTER 2. TURNING CHANCE INTO DESTINY
TRANSFERPRINT CERAMICS AND NATIONAL MEMORY

“A man without example, a Patriot without reproach.”

On December 14th, 1799, George Washington died. Word of his unanticipated death rippled through the newspapers, and the nation answered with an outpour of elaborate processions and toasts. Washington’s death was commemorated in all corners of the country, including Hallowell, Maine, where midwife Martha Ballard recorded in her diary:

this day, by recomendation of the President of the United States, was set apart to Commemorate the Death of Genl Georg Washington. we met at the meeting hous in Augusta where there were assembled the Lodg of Hallowell. Capt Casts Company of malitia and a larg concoarce of peo ple. a prayer Deld by ye Revd mr Stone, an oration by mr Whitwell and a Closing prayer by mr Gillet.\textsuperscript{112}

Yet, the events did more than memorialize one man. United in grief, Americans forged the bond of citizenship.\textsuperscript{113} Sensing an opportunity to appeal to the American consumer, manufacturers around the globe responded with goods that honored the life of George Washington. As historian François Furstenberg notes, citizenry of all walks of life could participate in the mourning of Washington by purchasing commemorative souvenirs. Furstenberg tells us that “even fashion

\textsuperscript{112} Martha Moore Ballard, “Diary of Martha Morre Ballard, 22 Feb 1800,” Do History, http://dohistory.org/diary/ (accessed December 29, 2015). According to Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Martha Ballard was “more a colonial goodwife than a Republican Mother”; that is to say, she was more concerned with her relationship to her neighbors than her relationship to the nation. Yet, Martha’s entry demonstrates the reach of George Washington’s reputation and his significance as a symbol of national unification. For Ulrich’s interpretation of Martha’s life in relation to nationalism, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, A Midwife’s Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812 (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 31-32.

\textsuperscript{113} Furstenberg, In The Name of the Father, 30.
became a form of civic expression,” as the act of sporting black, or wearing commemorative items such as pendants or rings, indicated a person’s membership in a national, grieving community.  

This phenomenon obscured the lines between the public and private sphere, and thus enforced a personal, familial relationship with the nation.  

English potters sent a myriad of transferprint ceramics commemorating George Washington to the mourning nation. One transferprint was adapted from an image published in 1800 by James Akin and William Harrison Jr. titled *America lamenting her Loss at the Tomb of GENERAL WASHINGTON Intended as a tribute of respect paid to departed Merit & Virtue, in remembrance of that illustrious Hero and most Amiable man who died Decr. 14 1799.*  

(See Appendix 2, Figure 2.1) A personification of “America” mourns at his grave, while an eagle bows reverently. Displaying this pitcher brought the symbolism of the processionals into the home, thus projecting the family’s affinity with Washington.  

Another striking image in commemoration of Washington’s death was adapted from John James Barralet’s *Apotheosis of Washington.* (Figure 2.2) A personification of “Liberty,” an American Indian, and an eagle mourn at the tomb of Washington. Meanwhile, Washington, in a god-like state, is lifted from the grave by winged figures. The concept of a deified Washington arose in other works memorializing his death. For instance, the image is reflected in the language

114 Ibid., 28.

115 Ibid., 27-28.

116 Teitelman, *Success to America,* 211.

of a mortuary notice published in a New York newspaper only one week after Washington’s death:

From Vernon’s Mount behold the HERO rise!  
Resplendent forms attend him thro’ the skies!  
The shades of war-worn veterans round him throng,  
And lead, enwrapt, their honor’d CHIEF along!  
A laurel wreath th’immortal Warren bears,  
An arch triumphant Mercer’s hand prepares,  
Young Laurence, ’erst th’avenging bolt of war,  
With port majestic guides and glittering car,  
Montgomery’s god-like form directs the way,  
And Green unfolds the gates of endless day!  
While Angels, “trumpet tongued” proclaim thro’air,  
“Due honors for the FIRST OF MEN prepare.”

Overwhelmingly, George Washington is depicted as a perfect, deified leader. The manner of his depiction is not unlike that of an ancient Greek or Roman god. On at least one example of a creamware pitcher with the Apotheosis print, the words “A MAN without example, A PATRIOT without reproach,” are printed beneath the spout.

Yet, Washington was not without reproach. At least, he was not according to contemporaries like Republican printers Benjamin Bache and his successor William Duane. Bache printed criticism of Washington in his newspaper, the Aurora and General Advertiser, and often condemned the monarchical ceremonies that were adapted to his presidency. Bache was concerned that Washington’s conduct resembled that of a king, actions that caused more weight


to be accorded to his reputation rather than to his principles.\textsuperscript{121} Following Washington’s \textit{Farewell Address}, William Duane published a \textit{Letter To George Washington}, which publically challenged Washington’s reputation. He wrote bluntly, “That you have lost some share of your glorious celebrity is not to be denied, but lamented.”\textsuperscript{122} He severely critiqued President Washington’s address, charging that it discouraged party politics while clearly exhibiting a Federalist slant.\textsuperscript{123} Duane wrote, quite poignantly, “Your address in my mind is fraught with incalculable evils to your country!”\textsuperscript{124} Duane became the editor of the influential newspaper, the \textit{Aurora}, after Bache’s tragic death during the Yellow Fever epidemic that swept through Philadelphia in 1798. These opinions prove that the conduct and the policies of Washington were not uncontested in his time. Yet, at his death, Americans seem to wail, in one voice, at the loss of their god-like leader. Commemoration of Washington’s ‘heroic’ accomplishments continued to be a popular theme for decades following his death. Criticism of Washington virtually evaporated from national memory. The historical reality of Washington’s reputation, in contrast with the projection of Washington on material culture, demonstrates what early Americans wanted to see, or even needed to see. They were desperate for an emblem to unite them in spirit as they had been united constitutionally.

In this chapter, I argue that the beginnings of American historical memory are reflected on English transfer printed ceramics manufactured for the American market. Anxious for a sense

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{122} William Duane, \textit{A Letter to George Washington, President of the United States: Containing Strictures On His Address of the Seventeenth of September, 1796, Notifying His Relinquishment of the Presidential Office} (Philadelphia, 1796), 5.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{123} Pasley, “\textit{The Tyranny of Printers},” 181-182.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{124}Duane, \textit{A Letter to George Washington}, 6.}
of legitimacy and identity, Americans looked to the past for people and moments that define what it means to be American. In the process of interpreting these events and figures, historical accuracy was often neglected. The image of a divine Washington, for instance, is not a reflection of accurate history, but it tells the viewer something about the strength and integrity of the nation. In the following chapter, I present additional images selected by English potters and printers that follow a similar framework. Though rooted in history, they are exaggerated or even mythologized accounts that underline what contemporary Americans wanted to perceive in the national character.

Importantly, these motifs did not simply exist in the intellect; they were available for sale on patriotic consumer goods. Through the purchase and display of items such as patriotic English transferware, the American consumer could tangibly participate in and claim ownership to the national memory.

“We have met the enemy and they are ours.”

The War of 1812 tested the leadership and naval prowess of the new nation. Perhaps more importantly, it was a formative event in American national memory. Despite conflict between Great Britain and the United States, English potters were quick to produce commemorative ceramics celebrating American successes.

Portraits of several American military figures who fought in the War of 1812 were affixed to English ceramics for the American market, including Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and Brigadier General Zebulon Pike. One transferprint design features the portrait of Captain Isaac Hull, who most famously defeated the British frigate Guerrière, and thus secured the first
American victory over the British Navy.\textsuperscript{125} The portrait that is printed on the jug in Figure 2.3 was based on an engraving of Hull produced by David Edwin and printed in the \textit{Analectic Magazine} in 1813.\textsuperscript{126} While adaptions of Edwin’s engraving were printed on many different ceramics, the particular pitcher in Figure 2.3 is painted with vibrant colored enamels.\textsuperscript{127}

One remarkable pitcher was designed after a book titled \textit{The Naval Monument}, which was first published by Bostonian Abel Bowen in 1816. The book was dedicated “to the officers of the United States Navy, who by their Bravery and Skill have exalted the American Character, secured the applause of their country, and excited the admiration of the world.”\textsuperscript{128} It chronicles the accomplishments and heroism of American naval officers. The author wrote boastfully, “That a country, but of yesterday among the nations, should already have acquired naval renown, and made the trident tremble in hands that had wielded it for ages, is now not least among the phenomena in the archives of history.”\textsuperscript{129} The commemorative book is illustrated with twenty-five engravings, created by W. B. Annin. Three of the engravings were selected as prints for the pitcher.\textsuperscript{130} The image that appears under the spout is the frontispiece, which illustrates a fictitious

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\textsuperscript{125} Teitelman, \textit{Success to America}, 128.
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\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
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\textsuperscript{128} Abel Bowen, \textit{The Naval Monument, Containing Official and Other Accounts of All the Battles Fought Between the Navies of the United States and Great Britain During the Late War, and an Account of the War with Algiers, with Twenty-Five Engravings, to which is Annexed a Naval Register of the United States} (Boston: George Clark, 1830), iii.
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\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., v.
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\textsuperscript{130} The bottom of the transferprint is signed, “Bentley Wear & Bourne Engravers & Printers, Shelton Staffordshire,” suggesting that they were responsible for adapting Annin’s engravings for ceramic.
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monument, inscribed “Washington” and “Independence,” and adorned with the portraits and names of significant naval figures, such as Perry, Hull and Jones. In the foreground, an impressive, classically garbed female (likely Columbia) is pulled on a shell chariot by two sea creatures. She raises a trident bearing the flag of the United States. At the bottom of the image, a banner displays a quote from Commodore Perry, “We have met the enemy and they are ours.”

(Figure 2.4.a) One side of the pitcher features an engraving of a scene during Commodore Perry’s victorious battle against the British at Lake Erie in 1813. (Figure 2.4.b) The opposing side depicts the Battle of Lake Champlain led by Lieutenant MacDonough in 1814. (Figure 2.4.c) The pitcher was given a refined drab finish.

The pitcher, like The Naval Monument text itself, indicates a desire on behalf of contemporaries to consecrate a victory to national memory. In reality, the Treaty of Ghent returned national borders to their pre-war status. For the British, conflict with America was only a small portion of the larger Napoleonic Wars. Yet, the commemorative piece ignores the impasse nature of the end of the War, and emphasizes American success. The War of 1812 provided historical examples of military accomplishment won under the “star spangled banner.” In turn, American successes were used to define what it means to be American. As mentioned above, Abel Bowen dedicated his book to men “who by their Bravery and Skill have exalted the

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131 Teitelman, Success to America, 130.


133 Ibid., 133. “Drabware” is distinguished by its tan color, which is realized by staining the body of the ceramic. This style was admired between 1815 and 1830.
American Character,” thereby assigning bravery and skill to American character. The War of 1812, therefore, invested American identity with legitimacy and spirit.

**“Whence infant nations spring to birth”**

In the early 19th century, French political thinker Alexis de Tocqueville traveled through the young United States, intending to make observations about the progress of the republic. He compiled his interpretations in his work *Democracy in America* for the study of his fellow countrymen. In the work, he observes with great fascination the civic rituals that had grown around Plymouth Rock. He writes,

> This Rock has become an object of veneration in the United States. I have seen fragments carefully preserved in several American cities. Does not that clearly prove that man’s power and greatness resides entirely in his soul? A few poor souls trod for an instant on this rock; and it has become famous; it is prized by a great nation; fragments are venerated, and tiny pieces distributed far and wide.

Tocqueville’s observations indicate that the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620 had become a central event in national memory. Significantly, its meaning had exceeded that of a historical reality. The 200-year anniversary of the landing was observed throughout the country. One celebration that took place in Albany, New York in December of 1820 was described in the *Salem Gazette* of January 2nd, 1821. To commemorate the event of the landing of the Pilgrims, participants gathered in a church, where a Rev. Mr. Chester served an address about “the character of our ancestors.”

A hymn was sung, which reads:

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FATHER supreme of heaven and earth!
Creative SOURCE of all!
Whence infant nations spring to birth,
And empires rise and fall;

..."}

'Twas he who led the PILGRIM BAND
Across the stormy sea;
'Twas He who stay'd the tyrant's hand,
And SET AN EMPIRE FREE!

When shiv'ring on a strand unknown,
In sickness and distress,
OUR FATHERS look'd to GOD alone,
To save, protect, and bless!

Be Thou our nation's strength and shield,
In manhood, as in youth;
Thine arm for our protection wield,
And guide us by thy truth!\(^{137}\)

After, a party was assembled, which was attended by the mayor, the governor of the state, and other illustrious public figures, as well as direct descendants of the Pilgrims. The author boasts that the final total of the party was 101, which was the number of Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth.\(^{138}\) A string of elaborate toasts ensued. The first toast was given to "The Rock of Plymouth – An emblem of the religious and political principles of our fathers."\(^{139}\) Toasts to notable states followed, and the formality culminated with toasts to the United States and to "the union of the states – May no diversity of interests ever induce us to forget that Washington was our common father."\(^{140}\)

\(^{137}\) Ibid.

\(^{138}\) Ibid.

\(^{139}\) Ibid.

\(^{140}\) Ibid.
The hymn sung at the occasion at Albany reveals a striking understanding of how the landing of the Pilgrims fits into the national narrative. The verse ‘Twas he who led the PILGRIM BAND / Across the stormy sea; / ‘Twas He who stay’d the tyrant’s hand, /And SET AN EMPIRE FREE!” directly connects the landing event with the creation of the United States. It implies that the trajectory of history was determined by the landing. The structure of the toasts echoes this idea. While the toasts begin by commemorating the events at Plymouth, they follow with praise of the states, as if their greatness necessarily followed upon the landing at Plymouth. Furthermore, the sacred aura of the hymn presents an overly optimistic, even mythologized account of the landing.

According to Benedict Anderson, the phenomenon of reaching into an ancestral past for validation is a symptom of developing national identity. Anderson notes that the concept of ‘nation’ is a recent movement in the human experience. He defines a nation as an “imagined community,” because an individual will never meet all of his fellow citizens, yet he is confident that they share a common identity. According to Anderson, one force that strengthens national identity is the experience of simultaneity, which is exhibited in the practice of singing national anthems. The idea that everyone knows the lyrics to a national song reinforces the sense of a common bond. This sense of simultaneity can also stretch across time. Anderson writes, “if nationalness has about it an aura of fatality, it is nonetheless a fatality embedded in history.” Hence, the imaginings of all Americans as simultaneous descendants of the Pilgrims contributes to a defined American identity. The imaginative force that transformed the historical landing

141 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 5.
142 Ibid., 145.
143 Ibid.
event, as contingent as it was, into a glittering element of a predetermined trajectory of an ‘Empire,’ is largely due to the psychology of nationalism; as Anderson tells us, “it is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny.”

In response to cultural fascination with the Pilgrims, Enoch Wood & Sons pottery factory of Staffordshire devised a commemorative dinner plate that featured an image of the landing in the popular dark-blue print. (Figure 2.5) The origin of the image is thought to be an engraving by Samuel Hill, though several artists replicated his work. Michele Felice Corne produced one of the earliest replications in oil on canvas in 1803. (Figure 2.6) Samoset and Squanto gaze at the newcomers from a ledge, while John Alden hoists the Pilgrims to shore. The Mayflower can be seen anchored in the background. On the rock, “Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Brewster and Standish” may be read, which are the names of five of the better-known Pilgrims. The top of the image is circled in text that reads “The LANDING of the FATHERS at PLYMOUTH Dec 22 1620.” The image is framed in an elaborate, scrolling border featuring the federal eagle.

Curiously, the border incorporates two additional themes: American Independence and the figure of George Washington. The plate is crowned with the text, “AMERICA INDEPENDENT July 4 1776.” At its base, the plate presents “WASHINGTON” with his birth and death dates, 1732 and 1799 respectively. The inclusion of these elements, though

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144 Ibid., 12.


147 Enoch Wood & Sons, Plate (Dinner Plate), earthenware, Burslem, Staffordshire, England, ca. 1820-1830, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1953.0183.004.
conceptually separated in time from the central image, binds the landing event with the identity and creation of the United States. It denotes that the Pilgrims were ancestral fathers, not simply to their direct descendants, but to the entire nation. It implies that the birth of the United States was not a happy accident, but an event guided by the hand of Providence.

“Welcome La Fayette The Nations Guest. And Our Country's Glory.”

In 1824, Congress passed a resolution that extended an invitation to French General Lafayette to visit the United States. Lafayette was remembered for his participation in the American Revolution. President James Monroe sent a letter to Lafayette dated February 24. He wrote, “Congress has passed a resolution on the subject [of your visit], in which the sincere attachment of the whole nation to you is expressed, whose ardent desire is once more to see you among them.” Lafayette accepted, and he made his formal entrance into the United States at Castle Garden New York on August 16, 1824.

Lafayette’s reception in Castle Garden was no small affair. The general was transported from Staten Island by the steamboat *Chancellor Livingston*. The sea was heavily trafficked with boats decked in flags. Two hundred thousand people awaited him on the shore. Auguste Levasseur, who was secretary to Lafayette during his tour, preserved his account of the scene:


150 Ibid., 14 - 15.

151 Ibid., 15.
The *Lafayette Guards* dressed in an elegant and neat uniform, bearing on their breast the portrait of the general, escorted him in front of the long line of militia drawn up to receive him. The general, attended by a numerous and brilliant staff, marched along the front; as he advanced, each corps presented arms and saluted him with its colors; all were decorated with a ribband [sic] bearing his portrait, and the legend “Welcome Lafayette;” words which were everywhere written and repeated by every tongue. During this review, the cannon thundered on the shore, in the forts, and from all vessels of war.\(^{152}\)

Following his reception at the shore, General Lafayette was escorted to a carriage that was drawn by four white horses. The carriage took him to city hall, where he was honored with continued festivities.\(^{153}\) The reception at Castle Garden was only the first in a series of magnificent ceremonies that would honor General Lafayette for the next year. Yet, the reception was a memorable one; potters of the Ralph and James Clews Factory of Staffordshire, England produced dishes with an image of the scene.\(^{154}\) (Figure 2.7)

General Lafayette’s tour lasted until September of the following year. In that time, he explored an incredible amount of the young country, making stops in every state. Every town he passed, small and large, was prepared to greet him with pomp and circumstance. In Philadelphia, banners were erected in front of the workshops featuring portraits of George Washington and Lafayette, which read “To their wisdom and courage we owe the free exercise of our industry.”\(^{155}\) In Marblehead, Massachusetts, 900 children were presented to Lafayette, and several of “the children expressed to him their gratitude for the services he had rendered their

\(^{152}\) Ibid.

\(^{153}\) Ibid.


\(^{155}\) Levasseur, *Lafayette in America*, 142.
Yet, the end product of the tour was more than the glorification of General Lafayette. In many ways, it encouraged the development of American national identity. The people, as one nation, embraced the General. The ceremonies assembled in his honor called to mind the events of the Revolutionary War. In effect, it marked the passing of the spirit and memory of the Revolution to the successive generation.

The spiritual effect produced by General Lafayette’s tour was reflected in the possessions of the American people. Enoch Wood & Sons exported ceramic sets featuring a likeness of General Lafayette sitting near a monument, with a book opened in his left hand. The image appeared on various kinds of ceramics, including creamers, saucers, cups, and coffee pots. Interestingly, some of the monuments are inscribed with Franklin’s name, while others feature Washington. (Figures 2.8 and 2.9) The James Clews pottery factory of Staffordshire created another print commemorating Lafayette’s visit. (Figure 2.10) The central image is a portrait of the General, which is bordered by the text, “WELCOME LA FAYETTE THE NATIONS GUEST. AND OUR COUNTRY’S GLORY.” The print appeared on pitchers, as well as plates.

Lafayette’s visit, like the death of George Washington, was a national affair, shared in spirit by all the citizenry. Through purchasing commemorative souvenirs like ceramics, families effectively participated in the tour from the comfort of their parlors and dining rooms. General

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156 Ibid., 71.


Lafayette personified a national reflection on, and perhaps re-imagination of, the founding of the country. The tour was insurance: though the generation that directly experienced the Revolution would eventually expire, its memory and spirit would be perpetuated in a national memory and carried into a limitless future.

“The dedication to the people is peculiarly appropriate, for it is their work.”

In March of 1816, newspaper publisher John Binns announced that he would undertake a daring task: the first decorative, engraved edition of the *Declaration of Independence*, with facsimiles of all the signatures. John Binns was an Irishman who migrated to America in 1802. Shortly upon his arrival to the United States, Binns began publishing a Republican newspaper called the *Republican Argus*. Within only a few months, Binns became a prominent political authority. In 1807, anonymous Republicans of Philadelphia requested that Binns begin a new journal in the city. At the time, Philadelphia was *Aurora* territory, headed by William Duane (mentioned above as a critic of George Washington). Yet, convinced that Binns’ newspaper would supplement the *Aurora* rather than supplant it, Duane helped Binns network within Philadelphia. Binns titled his newspaper the *Democratic Press*. However, the *Democratic Press* became the new authority in Philadelphia Republican political circles.

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159 Pasley, “The Tyranny of Printers,” 222.

160 Ibid.

161 Ibid.

162 Ibid., 314.

163 Ibid.

164 Ibid.

165 Ibid., 315.
In March of 1816, Binns used his Democratic Press to propagate his new and ambitious project. Binns lamented that there was no authentic celebratory copy of the Declaration of Independence in existence. He theorized that an elaborate copy would honor the memory of its creation, spread awareness of its principles to other nations, and serve as a tool for education of the American populace: “Such an embellished edition as will render it an ornament to an apartment, will have a tendency to spread the knowledge of its contents, among those who would otherwise have turned their thoughts but lightly towards the subject.”

Therefore, Binns proposed, “to publish a splendid edition of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, which shall be, in all respects, American.” Binns envisioned a project in which every component, including the paper, ink, and imagery, were made by American hands. In June of 1816, Binns wrote a short letter to Thomas Jefferson. Binns included his proposals for the Declaration, and asked for Jefferson’s patronage.

Almost two years after the first proposals were published in the Democratic Press, Binns’ project had still not been completed. What’s more, another individual was threatening to complete a similar project. Benjamin Owen Tyler, an enterprising publisher, wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson in March of 1818, which indicated that he would produce an engraved copy of the Declaration. Furthermore, his edition would be dedicated to Jefferson. Jefferson responded

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167 Ibid.


with a letter, dated March 26, 1818. In the fashion of a gentleman, Jefferson claimed that he would accept the dedication on behalf of all the writers. He wrote, “The engravings you propose to publish of the Declaration of Independence will be an honorable monument to the memory of those who signed it, and with whom I was but a fellow laborer. … The dedication to myself, therefore, of this consecrated act of a band of venerated patriots, will be accepted for them all.”

John Binns was distressed by Tyler’s plan, which was suspiciously similar to his own. On April 9, 1818, Binns warned the readers of the Democratic Press about Tyler’s plan. He wrote that upon publishing his proposals two years prior, he “rested with entire confidence upon the public, and not presuming that, after a lapse of 40 years in which no other proposal for such a publication had issued, any man would attempt to occupy a ground which had already been cleared by the talents, and at the expense of another. Such an individual, however, has appeared.” He accused Tyler of copying his idea outright. He even suggested that Tyler copied the wording of his original proposal. Binns asked the public to remain loyal to his edition. In response to Binns’ accusations, Tyler published Declaration of Independence. A Candid Statement of Facts. Tyler wrote that Binns’ attack was “unwarrantable.” He wrote that his

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172 Ibid.

173 Benjamin Owen Tyler, Declaration of Independence. A Candid Statement of Facts, in answer to an unwarrantable denunciation of my publication of the Declaration of American Independence, Made by Mr. John Binns, Editor of the Democratic Press, in his Paper of the 9th
project was in no way an imitation of Binns’, and that, in any case, Binns had no moral claim on the reproduction of the Declaration: “I would here ask what service Mr. B. has rendered this country, that the American People should give him the EXCLUSIVE RIGHT of publishing the charter of their freedom … If Mr. B. is to be the guardian of my RIGHTS – then a long farewell to LIBERTY and Independence!” Tyler also noted that while Binns’ plans included portraits of Washington, Hancock and Jefferson, a likeness of John Adams was glaringly absent. As such, Tyler accused Binns of projecting party politics onto his design. Furthermore, Tyler appealed to the fact that Binns was not native to the United States. He remarked sarcastically, “Indeed, such rare men as Mr. B. are well calculated to astonish and confound us poor ignorant natives.”

In the end, Benjamin Owen Tyler won the race. His engraving was released in April of 1818. Therefore, his edition is considered the first engraved copy of the Declaration of Independence, as well as the first to feature facsimile signatures.

John Binns’ Declaration was not completed until 1819. (Figure 2.11) On July 27 Binns wrote another letter to Thomas Jefferson. He sent Jefferson an unfinished copy of the Declaration for his review. Binns also indicated that he had changed his mind about its dedication. He did not give a precise reason for the change, though it is plausible that his decision had to do with his rivalry with Tyler. He wrote,

174 Ibid., 9.
175 Ibid., 10.
176 Ibid., 12.
I have thought it best to dedicate the plate to the People of the United States. My reasons are many & I doubt not that you will approve of the principles which prompted me thus to dedicate to the people rather than to any individual however connected with the instrument, however gifted or however respectable & respected.\(^\text{177}\)

John Binns received a reply from Jefferson dated August 31, 1819. Jefferson indicated that he was away from Monticello, and therefore the *Declaration* had not been forwarded to him. Despite that he had not seen the work, he wrote that he had every faith in Binns’ copy. He also commented, “The dedication to the people is peculiarly appropriate, for it is their work.”\(^\text{178}\)

Overall, Binns’ story is intertwined with the *Declaration of Independence* in American national memory. The *Declaration of Independence* had largely been overlooked in American culture until the conclusion of the War of 1812, when interest in the founding was awakened.\(^\text{179}\) Significantly, Binns chose to fashion his commemorative version after the handwritten edition of the document, rather than the typeset original.\(^\text{180}\) Binns’ project contributed, at least in part, to the elevation of the *Declaration of Independence* from a legal document to a symbol of American identity and legitimacy. His efforts, in addition to his fierce competition with Tyler, added grandeur to the document and to the circumstances that created it.

In yet another ironic turn, the illustrations adorning the work that Binns had proudly claimed to be made in America were copied and resold on ceramics made in Great Britain. In the


\(^{178}\) Thomas Jefferson to John Binns, August 31, 1819, in The Thomas Jefferson Papers at the Library of Congress: Series 1: General Correspondence. 1651 to 1827.


\(^{180}\) Ibid., 194.
late 1820s, Thomas Mayer of Staffordshire, England crafted a series of dark-blue printed ceramics known as the “Arms of the States,” which is still coveted by collectors to this day. (Figures 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14) The potter only used the seals of the states that border the text of the Declaration. In effect, Mayer chose to dismantle Binns’ rendition by depicting each state seal on an individual ceramic piece, thus totally removing the images from their context. While the collective impact of the seals on the original engraving stresses unity, the decontextualized images focus on the individual states. Currently, there are no known examples featuring the arms of New Hampshire. Each seal is bordered by an intertwining floral pattern. Mayer replicated his designs on a myriad of ceramic vessels, including platters, plates, vegetable bowls, and pitchers.

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181 Larsen, American Historical Views on Staffordshire China, 123.

CONCLUSION

English transferware manufactured for the American market emerges from the parlor as an outward expression of an inner desire. These ceramics serve as an incredible testament to the development of American identity; they tell the story of a young nation desperate for a cohesive character and collective memory.

The popularity of English ceramics in the American market negates any argument that Americans banished ‘Britishness’ from North America in order to develop a uniquely American identity. In fact, the spread of an attenuated drawing room culture to the emerging middle class in the form of the parlor indicates that aristocratic European culture was in some ways simply adapted to fit the political ideals of the new nation. As Richard Bushman notes, this produced conflicted principles in American society, as genteel customs championed hierarchy and leisure while republican values included egalitarianism and thrift.183 Nevertheless, Americans inherited an essentially British cultural framework. Simultaneously, the ceramics reveal a different attitude towards British history. Despite the fact that most colonials proudly considered themselves British subjects until Independence, Americans were reaching to the Pilgrims as their historical fathers.184 In effect, Americans embraced British culture while dismissing their British heritage.

Yet, if Americans were to remove themselves from British history, they needed to develop their own account of time and claim to legitimacy. Transferprint ceramics tell us that

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183 Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, xvi-xvii.

Americans fashioned for themselves a mythologized past, and imagined an eternal future for the nation. From the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, to the “band of brothers” that founded the nation, to god-like Washington, the rise of the nation was surely guided by the hand of Providence. The primacy of neoclassical imagery in transferprint design is consistent with the concept of a legendary past. These symbols, associated in the minds of contemporaries with ancient democratic societies, indicated the country’s allegiance to natural principles and self-governance rather than monarchical tradition. The goddess figure of Columbia as America signified that Americans were the legitimate imitators of antiquity.

What the United States lacked in national history, it compensated with a vision for the future. The transfer print designs show us that Americans found validation for the country in the concept of perpetuation. George Washington, for example, was portrayed as an immortal, deified leader, particularly after his death. If George Washington’s memory is immortal, then the same must be true for the United States. The healthy numbers collected in the census meant that the American people would continue to carry the nation into a boundless future. A transfer print design featuring the city plan of Washington, D.C. evoked a sense of optimism and growth.

These movements within the national psyche coincided with significant changes in the market. Industrial progress in Great Britain made it possible for more people to afford decorative pieces such as commemorative ceramics, thus allowing for a broader, more tangible participation in the creation of American national identity. Through the purchase of patriotic decorative items,

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185 Furstenberg, In The Name of the Father, 34.
187 Ibid., 22.
188 Furstenberg, In The Name of the Father, 34-37.
nationalism itself entered into the private sphere, thus contributing to a personal relationship to the nation.

English transferprint ceramics simultaneously preserve the influence of British culture while demonstrating the development of a unique American identity in the early republic. The printed designs themselves do not tell the history of a nation, but rather how the history of a nation was perceived. These ceramic vessels, handpicked by contemporaries and cared for by their successive generations, preserve the development of American character in the earliest decades of the republic.
APPENDIX ONE

Figure 1.1 Bowl (Punch Bowl), earthenware, probably Staffordshire, England, ca. 1790-1810, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1964.1023.
Figure 1.2. *Bowl*, earthenware, England, ca. 1790, Victoria and Albert Museum, Museum Number 3993-1901.
Figure 1.3. John Wallis, *The United States of America laid down from the best authorities, agreeable to the Peace of 1783*, London, England, 1783, Library of Congress.
Figure 1.4. *Jug*, earthenware, England, ca. 1790-1810, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1958.1192.
Figure 1.5. Herculaneum Pottery, *Jug*, earthenware, Liverpool, England, ca. 1796-1800, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 2009.0023.001.
Figure 1.6. *America Triumphant and Britannia in Distress*, etching, Boston, Massachusetts, 1782, Library of Congress.
Figure 1.7. Herculaneum Pottery, Jug, earthenware, Liverpool, England, ca. 1800-1810, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 2009.0023.015.
Figure 1.8b. See previous.
Figure 1.9. *Jug*, earthenware, Staffordshire, England, ca. 1790-1795, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1999.0038.002.
Figure 1.10. *Mug*, earthenware, Staffordshire or Liverpool, England, ca. 1795-1800, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1966.0046.
Figure 1.11. *Mug*, earthenware, Staffordshire or Yorkshire, England, ca. 1790-1800, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1959.0590.
Figure 2.1. Jug, earthenware, England, ca. 1800-1820, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1958.1197.
Figure 2.2. Herculaneum Pottery, *Jug*, earthenware, Liverpool, England, ca. 1806, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 2009.0023.016.
Figure 2.3. *Jug*, earthenware, Burslem, Staffordshire, England, ca. 1816-1820, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1967.0014.
Figure 2.4.a. *Jug*, earthenware, Staffordshire, England, ca. 1816-1820, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 2009.0023.009.
Figure 2.4.b. See previous.
Figure 2.4.c See previous.
Figure 2.5 Enoch Wood & Sons, *Plate (Dinner Plate)*, earthenware, Burslem, Staffordshire, England, ca. 1820-1830, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1953.0183.004.
Figure 2.6. Michele Felice Corne, *The Landing of the Pilgrims*, oil on canvas, Salem, Massachusetts, 1803, U.S. Department of State.
Figure 2.7. Ralph and James Clews Factory, *Dish (Stand)*, earthenware, Cobridge, Staffordshire, England, ca. 1824-1836, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1953.0183.002.
Figure 2.10. James Clews, *Pitcher*, earthenware, Cobridge, Staffordshire, England, ca. 1824-1836, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1958.2213.
Figure 2.11. John Binns, Declaration of Independence, engraving, 1819, Library of Congress.
Figure 2.12. Thomas Mayer Factory, Plate (Dinner Plate), earthenware, Stoke, Staffordshire, England, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1958.1821.
Figure 2.13. Thomas Mayer Factory, Dish (Platter), earthenware, Stoke, Staffordshire, England, Winterthur Museum, Object Number 1958.1847.
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