



Blue and white fruit dish, made by Bonin & Morris about 1771–1772, at their works in Philadelphia. Owned by The Franklin Institute and exhibited in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, through whose courtesy this illustration is allowed

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol.	LIV.	1930	No.	2
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POTTERY, CHINA, AND GLASS MAKING IN PHILADELPHIA

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If you have wandered through a dense primeval forest, where you were miles from any habitation, you may have some realization of the shores of the Delaware when William Penn's colonists arrived at what is now one of our largest cities. The difference being that you were able to get back to the comforts of ordinary living, while they were three thousand miles from their homeland. The country to which they had ventured was in a state of wild nature, well wooded and inhabited largely by the red man. They brought few home comforts with them, and had to be content for years with a limited supply of what are now considered the necessary implements of daily use in a househld.

Consequently these early colonists soon set about making such things as their families needed in the home, and we find them producing bricks, tiles, pottery, china and even glassware, before they had been here many years. Clay they found in abundance in and around the city of Philadelphia. On their way up the Delaware they had many evidences of sand along the shores, and probably remembering that, soon selected a quality fit for their first glassmaking.

Collectors of antiques and lovers of the early American productions will have a new stimulus to search for

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specimens of china and glassware, pottery and earthenware, made in Philadelphia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That many of these articles were actually produced in the Quaker City is undoubtedly true. In his letter to the Free Society of Traders, written August 16, 1683, William Penn referred to "The place of the *Glass-house* so conveniently posted for Water-carriage."

The records show that Joshua Tittery, a "broadglass maker", arrived, in 1683, on The America, as a servant to the Free Society, with whom he worked for some years before embarking on his own account into pottery making. Where the *Glass-house*, with its convenient water carriage was located, history has so far failed to reveal; but several of the early pothouses and china making plants have, with much searching, been located. It shows the versatility of the early Pennsylvania settlers, that so many embarked into these, as well as other branches of manufacturing, decades before the War for Independence was ever dreamed of, and before the importation taxes were imposed. Gabriel Thomas wrote, in 1696, that "Potters have sixteen pence for an Earthenware pot which may be bought in England for four pence." Surely he would not have thus expressed himself if potters had not then been at work in Penn's colony. Again, in 1698, Joshua Tittery (q.v.) took an apprentice lad to learn pottery making and William Crews made pottery at his works on Chestnut street in the same year.

Apropos of prices mentioned by Gabriel Thomas it is interesting to read that, in 1734, the early Philadelphia silversmith, Joseph Richardson (Sr.), entered in his ledger (p. 15), a purchase of "2 Earthen Butter Pots & 2 Panns" for one shilling and ten pence. As the pound was at that time worth about three dollars of our money of today, these four vessels seem rather cheap to us at about twenty cents for all. Again, in 1738, we find that Richardson purchased "2 Butter Potts for 2s. and 8d."

In John Wilson's Cash-book we read, under date of September 21, 1769, that he paid twenty pence for one dozen pipes, which we can assume were of the clay variety.

In the American Weekly Mercury for June 7, 1722, is this advertisement: "Any persons who may have any Buck-Horns by them, or for the future will preserve them, may dispose of them to good advantage to Mr. John Copson, Merchant in Philadelphia"; which is an indication of an attempt to make harder paste than earthenware; as pulverized buck-horns and bones were used in making what we now call chinaware.

"An Iron Mill for grinding Clay, and Cedar-Tub, with Iron Hoops, and other utensils fit for a Potter" were advertised for sale in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 20, 1729; indicating the retirement from that business of some early citizen.

That one's occupation be given as potter, does not necessarily mean that he produced earthenware—also called potteryware—. It might have been chinaware of a harder paste than the usual red clay pottery. The term "Pot-house" was often referred to, along with "oven"; the first to indicate where the material was shaped and the latter the kiln where it was fired to the necessary hardness.

It is not surprising that the seventeenth century pottery and earthenware made by Tittery or Crews, or the "Tavern" clay pipes of Richard Warder, made in 1719, have disappeared; for these were of a soft clay paste and most easily broken. But why none of the other craftsmen's ware has been preserved is indeed strange.

A small blue and white china dish in the Pennsylvania Museum at Memorial Hall, Philadelphia, is one of the three authenticated pieces of these fragile productions of the eighteenth century Philadelphia potters that has come down to us, and while it is slightly damaged, enough remains to show the student of such things how well those pioneers turned out their ware. But what has become of all the plain and cut glass decanters, wineglasses, tumblers, hall lamps, and glass "pipes for tobacco," made at the Kensington Glass Works, in 1775, and advertised for sale by John Elliott & Co., or the pottery pieces made by Bartram, the Standleys, Curtis, Warder, and others?

The various records show the names of many men, listed as "potters," but no trace has been found of all being proprietors of pothouses or china making plants. They might have been merely employees in such establishments. Nor is it the intention in this article to tabulate all of the pottery and china makers of Philadelphia, but rather the more important ones of the trade, who worked during the first century of the city's existence.

JOSHUA TITTERY. Soon after William Penn received his grant for Pennsylvania, the Free Society of Traders was formed in England with a grant of 20,000 acres of land and extraordinary privileges; one of which was glassmaking. Among the list of early vessels arriving in the Colony is seen The America. Joshua Waser, master, which reached Philadelphia, 6 mo. 20, 1683. One of the passengers on this ship was "Joshua Tittery, servant to ye Society [of traders], broad glass maker, from New Castle upon Tine, to serve four years at £88 # Ann." It seems evident that broad glass making was not at first a success, and Joshua received small pay, as the minutes of the Philadelphia Meeting of 4 mo. 3, 1685, show "Joshua Tittery a Glass Maker belonging to the Society, complaining to this meeting that they deny him his wages." No record has been found to indicate where the Society carried on the "broad glass" making, and in the Meeting record of his marriage, 2 mo. 4, 1688, to Cicely Woolly, he is still described as "Joshua Tittery of Philadelphia *Glassmaker.*"

Tittery evidently left the services of the Free Society of Traders and embarked in the pottery making business on his own account, for the Meeting minutes, 11 mo. 27, 1698, show that Dennis Rocheford was apprenticed until he was twenty-one years old, to Joshua Tittery, who agreed to teach him the trade of potter, as well as have him instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic.

That Joshua Tittery was not the only potter in Philadelphia, is shown by Isaac Norris' letter of 3 mo. 6, 1700, to Jeffory Pinnoll, in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania,¹ wherein he says "Joshua Tittery for whom I write for ye Lead Oare has it all & I Expect 20s. per Cwt. for it. If any Vessels come hither this fall please to send $\frac{1}{2}$ a Tun more for another potter who has engaged to take it."

Philadelphia-made pottery was evidently more satisfactory to the local colonists, for in the same letter Norris remarks to his London correspondent: "Send no more Earthen Ware—I have y^t abt my Care for y[°] Dearness of those y^t came Now & heavy Complaints of ye overcharge of Many other things, but I am silent & J. T. in y^t Case."

Tittery appears to have been successful, as, in 1691, he was granted a warrant for a forty-foot lot on the Bank, to the corner of Sassafras street, which he had purchased from Robert Turner; again, in 1698, he purchased thirty-three feet more on the Bank from the John Day estate, and a forty-five foot lot on Second street. His pottery kilns must have been near his Bank lot, as in his will, proved September 20, 1709, he leaves to his wife Cicely "that house wherein I now live, with Pott house and Water lott thereunto belong-

¹ Norris Letter Book I. (1699-1702), p. 170.

ing," as well as other real estate. He also mentions earthenware on hand and instructs "the Lead Ware" to be sold, which would seem to indicate that he also made some so-called chinaware. The witnesses to his will were Thomas Canby and Richard Warder; the latter a clay pipemaker by trade. Joshua mentions a brother Daniel Tittery, but no children; yet by consulting Deed Book, F. 3, page 414,² one sees the transfer of thirty-three feet of Bank lot on Front street, "now in possession of the Executrix of Joshua Tittery, with a Pothouse thereon erected." As Joshua the first died in 1709 and this deed is dated December 31, 1713, it may be assumed that the Joshua Tittery mentioned therein was a nephew, and son of Daniel Tittery; although no other reference to the pottery being carried on has been found. The Friends records show that Cicely Tittery, widow, married John Goodson on 3 mo. 25, 1711, and thus the Tittery family disappears from the line of potters in Philadelphia.

WILLIAM CREWS. That the busy Chestnut street of today should once have been the scene of a pottery making plant is hard to visualize when one thinks of the clay mixing, moulding of vessels for domestic use, and the smoking kilns wherein the dried-clay products were fired.

In the Manuscript Book No. 3, p. 12 (No. 136), at the Land Office in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is found the record that on 11 mo. 26, 1688/9, William Crews (or Creus), was allowed "50 foot ffront in Chestnut Street near David Powell for the making of Potter's Work." An additional twelve feet was later added to the frontage, and again on 1 mo. 22, 1689/90, the Commissioners record: "At the request of Wm. Crews it was ordered that the 62 foot lott he took up and built his pott House upon be made up to 100 at the Rent Eight Shillings English." Think of any one hundred foot lot on east-

² Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia.

ern Chestnut street renting for eight shillings per annum!

On November 28, 1690, Crews purchased from Ananias Turner, thirty-one feet more, adjoining his above one hundred foot lot on the east.

William Crews was no doubt prosperous in his pottery business, for in his will, proved 5 mo. 20, 1695,³ he bequeathed to his son John an interest in the "brick building on the East lot of my Dwelling house and my work house and all working tools and implements thereunto belonging." To his sons John and James he willed all title and interest in an "Estate in Ould England at a place called Conbrie [or Cowbry] Lane End in Walford Parrish in ye County of Hereford, at Castle brook;" thus it may be assumed that he came from Walford.

Owing to the fact that he willed John his "plate," it is believed he made a success of his potting business and invested his savings in silver plate, as was the custom of the period.

John Crews, Jr., may have been the other potter referred to by Isaac Norris in the letter of 1700, heretofore mentioned.

RICHARD WARDER. The smoking of tobacco in pipes originated with the American Indians long before the sixteenth century, when Sir Walter Raleigh is pictured as introducing the custom into England. The making of clay pipes for smoking is quite a simple process in pottery; they are slightly fired in the kiln, to make them absorbent, and consequently can be produced rapidly and cheaply. That the early settlers of the Quaker City were entirely too frugal to smoke a stately meerschaum or fine briar root pipe, is shown by RICHARD WARDER'S advertisement in the *American Weekly Mercury* of May 12/19, 1719, which reads as follows: "Good long *Tavern* Tobacco Pipes

⁸ Book A, p. 314 (No. 127). Registry of Wills, Philadelphia.

Sold at 4s. per Gross by a single Gross, and 2s. for a larger Quantity by *Richard Warder* Tobacco Pipe Maker living under the same Roof with Phillip Syng Gold Smith near Market Place, where also any that have occasion may have their foul Pipes burnt for 8d. per Gross."

OOD long Tavern Tobacco Pipes Sold at 45, per Groß by a fingle Groß, and 25, for a larger Quantity by Richard Warder Tobacco Pipe Maker living under the fame Roof with Phillip Song G ld Smith, near the Marker Place, where also any that have occafion may have their out Pipes burnt for 8d, per Groß.

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No doubt the innkeepers of the day supplied those long stemmed clay pipes and one can visualize the sombre clad citizens assembled in the early taverns quietly and sedately smoking their Virginia leaf as they sipped their beer and discussed the events of the day; be it the latest ship to arrive from Europe; the runaway slave of some neighbor or the Indian troubles along the Susquehanna. Speaking of pipes recalls the advertisement of June 9, 1720, in the American Weekly Mercury which reads: "Best Virginia Tobacco cutt and sold by James Allen Gold Smith in Market Street at which place is made Money Scales and Weights and all sorts of Work in Silver and Gold at very Reasonable Rate." Surely James was a versatile citizen, but why are none of his products in our museum?

Little is known of Richard Warder, but from the fact that he lived "under the same roof" with our early gold and silversmith, Philip Syng, the elder (1676–1739), it can be assumed his pipe making establishment was not an extensive affair, or probably he fabricated clay pipes in one of the local potteries and fired them in his neighbor's kilns. As the records show that Richard Warder was a witness, in 1709, to the will of Joshua Tittery, an early potter, he might have moulded his pipes and fired them in the pot house of his friend Tittery.

In Philadelphia Deed Book, G. 1 (page 218), is a record of transfer by Caleb Ranstead of a lot on the north side of High street, sixteen feet front by one hundred and fifty feet deep, to Richard Warder, "School Master," dated June 20, 1724, and it is possible that pipe making was not profitable and that Richard became an educator of the youth of the period.

Richard Warder was evidently not the first clay pipe maker in our city, as the will of John Warder, pipemaker, discloses.⁴ This will was proved November 3, 1711, and therein John Warder calls himself a "Pipemaker," and bequeaths to his brother Richard Warder, his "Clay tools and implements for pipe making," and appoints him an executor. John Warder also mentions his father, Richard Warder (Sr.), and a sister, Mary Ranstead, evidently the wife of Caleb Ranstead, previously mentioned in the transfer of real estate; and, another sister, Ann Till, the wife of William Till, one of Philadelphia's early joiners or furniture makers. John Warder's wife was a daughter of William Fisher. another joiner, for in the latter's will, proved August 14, 1728,⁵ he appoints his "friend John Warder" one of his executors; which shows how these early craftsmen were all pretty much related one to the other.

MICHAEL HILLEGAS, the German immigrant who arrived in 1727, coming with his wife Margaret in the good ship *William and Sarah*, William Hill, Master, is in our list of potters, from having advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 29, 1738, for a runaway servant, and giving his occupation as a "Potter," though no address. He was the father of our early Provincial and Continental treasurer of the same name.

⁴ Book C, p. 217 (No. 267). Registry of Wills, Philadelphia.

⁵ Book E, p. 86 (No. 94). Registry of Wills, Philadelphia.

By reference to a manuscript Account of Servants Bound and Assigned before James Hamilton, Mayor, 1745, in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, it is found that on October 2, 1746, Anna Falkenstone was indentured as a servant to Michael Hillegas, Potter.

JONATHAN DURELL. In the same manuscript, under date of October 5, 1745, we find that "James Thomson, late of New Brunswick in the province of East Jersey binds himself as an apprentice to Jonathan Durell of Philadelphia Potter, to learn the Art or Mystery of a Potter". And again, on March 18, 1745, John Wilson, by consent of his father, Patrick Wilson indentured himself as an apprentice to Durell to learn the making of pottery. On August 12, 1746, Durell took Miles Ashe, a servant from Ireland, into his employ.

The same records inform the reader that Mathias Krabb, son of Simon Krabb, became an apprentice to Jacob Udery of Philadelphia, Potter, but in addition to being taught the trade of a potter, he was to be taught to read and write the German language; showing the influence of that tongue in Philadelphia at the time.

SAMUEL HALE was a witness to the will of Joan Clemson, widow of Janno Clemson (and by a second marriage, mother of William, Thomas and John Coats, our early brickmakers),⁶ which was proved April 23, 1729. It was natural that the brickmakers and the potters were closely allied in their business, as much of the early pottery made here was of the red-clay material, often styled earthenware, and no doubt some of it was made in the brick and tile plants. The first reference we have of Hale being a potter is from an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for June 27, 1734, for a runaway servant, Edward Pain, where his occupation is mentioned. Again in the *Boston Gazette* of

^ePennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LIII., 16 (No. 209).

July 8/15, 1734, Samuel Hale, "potter," asked for information of this same servant. Had Hale merely been a workman in someone's pottery plant, he would hardly have owned a servant.

RICHARD STANDLEY. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 17, and July 1, 1731, is an advertisement of *Richard Standley*, *Potter*, of *Philadelphia*, desiring information of a runaway servant named Jendey Forlindey and a black horse. No address was given in this public notice of the recalcitrant Jendey, who probably did not aspire to become a potter and preferred to travel about the country on a stolen animal.

A transfer is recorded of property consisting of a lot on the North side of High street, one hundred and thirty feet front and three hundred and fifty feet deep. from David Giffing, Carpenter, and Mary his wife, to Richard Standley, Potter. It is believed that the "Potthouse" mentioned in the will of Richard Standley was erected on this property. As this is the first recorded pottery on Market street. Standley evidently suffered a reverse; for in the Pennsylvania Gazette of March 11. 1734–5. the public was advised that "Last Monday morning a fire broke out at a Pot-house in Market Street, and consumed it entirely: But none of the neighbouring Houses were damaged." This was in the days before the formation of the first local Fire Insurance Company (The Philadelphia Contributionship), and Standlev suffered considerable loss.

Richard Stanley (or Standley) left a nuncupatory will, proved December 28, 1747, wherein he bequeathed to his wife Mary, 600 pounds and the use of his house for life. To his brother Valentine (q.v.) and cousin William Standley (q.v.) he left the "Pott-house" and lot, with his negroes and appurtenances belonging to the Potters business. He desired his plantation in Bristol Township to be sold, and referred to an unnamed brother living in England.

The bequest to his wife of £600 and the house, and

the reference to his plantation, together with the gift of the pottery business to his brother and cousin, is evidence of his prosperity in that trade. On April 13, 1752, Mary Standley, widow of Richard Standley, assigned her dower right in the Bristol Township property to William Standley, Potter, the eldest son of Luke Standley, deceased, who was the eldest brother of Richard Standley. This plantation in Bristol Township consisted of over one hundred acres, and was along a branch of the Wissahickon Creek, according to the above deed.⁷ A Richard Standley, Potter, appears on the Philadelphia Tax List for the year 1774, and he must have been a son of the above mentioned William, as he is not named in the will of the first Richard.

VALENTINE STANDLEY. Members of the Standley family were engaged in the pottery business for over sixty years and no doubt profited thereby. On March 10, 1740-41, William Coats, brickmaker, deeded to Valentine Standley, potter, three acres of land in the Northern Liberties.⁸ Again on October 11, 1773, Standley purchased from "William Shippen, Practitioner in Physick," other land on the west side of Second street in the Northern Liberties.⁹ He also bought land from Joseph Preston on April 6, 1744.10 Valentine Standley appears on some records as a "Brewer" as well as a "Potter." Note his advertisement in the Pennsylvania Gazette for January 23, 1772, that he made "good Sixpenny Beer," which could be had by applying "to said Standley, at his own house, in Market-Street, two doors from Doctor Shippen's." At the same time he offered for sale a "Pot-house, Pot-kilns, &c. in Petty's Alley." Petty's alley, sometimes spoken of as Greenleaf's alley, was the first small street south

⁷ Book H, 7, 115. Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia.

⁸ Book EF, 14, 375. Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia.

⁹ Book AM, 3, 293. Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia.

¹⁰ Book G, 4, 398. Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia.

of Market street, between Fourth and Fifth streets, and the Indian Queen Tavern was in Fourth street nearby.

> VALENTINE STANDLEY TAKES this public method to inform his friends and cutomers, that he has now by him a large quantity of the beft MALT, at his Brewhoufe, near the Barracks, where it will be ma'e into good Sizpenny B E E R, to be fold for 27s. a barrel, ready money; and where they may be fupplied with the beft middling and Fourpenny Beer, as ufual: Thofe who incline to buy, may apply to Adam Smith, at faid Brewhoufe; or to faid Standley, at his own houfe, in Marker-Areet, two doors from Doctor Shippen's. Any perfon well acquainted with bottling Beer, may meet with encouragement, by applying as above. N. B. Said Standley has a Pot-houfe, Pot-kiln, &c. in Petry'salley, to be fold, or lett, on reafonable tyrms.

Standley's brewery was on "Second street, near the Barracks," which were on Artillery lane (now Buttonwood street), and so named when the English soldiers were quartered there after Braddock's defeat.

We have read that Richard Standley, who died in 1747, bequeathed to his brother Valentine, his Pothouse, etc., which was undoubtedly on Market street; and on December 31, 1753, Valentine Standley secured from the *Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire*, policy No. 194, insuring his "House on the North side of High Street, where he dwells." This is later referred to by the company as being between Fourth and Fifth streets. Here Valentine had his warehouse and pottery, as will be seen by his advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of May 3, 1775.

> VALENTINE STANDLEY, H AS for fale at his houfe in Market-firzet, A variety of this country ware; three crates of enamelled Queen's ware; and twenty two crates of plain ditto, which he will fell on reafonable terms, for ready money.

In the Tax List of 1774, appears the name of Valentine Standley, potter, as owning ten acres of land, two horses and a cow, and with a total worth assessed at £. 92. 10. 7, while in the Tax List of 1769 he is listed as "Brewer."

The strenuous years of the War for Independence evidently did not impoverish Valentine, for in his will, proved December 27, 1781,¹¹ he described himself as "Valentine Standley, Potter," and mentions his wife Susannah (Chevalier), his son Valentine and eight other children. He bequeathed to Susannah "household goods and plate and my negro girl Violet." The mention of "plate" shows that he followed the custom of the prosperous people of the day and invested his savings in silver plate; no doubt patronizing some of our earlier Philadelphia silversmiths, such as Joseph Anthony, John David, John Leacock, Edmund Milne, Joseph Richardson (senior and junior). Samuel Soumaine or Philip Syng, Jr., all of whom were working at that period. He bequeathed to his wife his "Dwelling house and lot of ground in Market Street, also my Pot-house, pot kiln, outhouses and utensils . . . all in use in Carrying on the potting business therein." His wife's brothers, John and Peter Chevalier (merchants), and Dr. William Shippen, were appointed executors.

After his death in 1781, the pottery business was continued by his son, for one reads in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, of June 7, 1785, the advertisement of Valentine Standley (junior), wherein is offered "Philadelphia made Earthenware" from his "Works in Market Street, between 4th. & 5th., a few doors above the Black Horse."

WILLIAM STANDLEY. The Tax List for 1774 shows *William Standley*, potter, assessed for \pm 144. 7. 8, and as owning eighteen acres, two horses, a cow, and three servants. This was evidently the cousin William, mentioned in the will of Richard Standley, proved 1747. Whether he carried on the pottery business indepen-

¹¹ Book S, 50. Registry of Wills, Philadelphia.

dently, or in conjunction with Valentine Standley, is not known, but one sees in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for March 13, 1775, the following advertisement, of approximately the same address:

> THE Subscriber has on hand, it his Warehouse in Market-fireet, between Fourth and Firth fireets, a few down above the Black Horfe, a large and general atfortment of country made EARTHEN WARE, which he will fell for each or hort credit.—Orders from country flore-keepers, &c. will be gratefully complied with at the fhortelt norice, by their humble servant, WILLIAM STANDLEY. N.B. All those who are indebted to faid Standley, are defired to make immediate payment.

In the same paper for June 7, 1785, appears this notice:

EARTHEN WARE

The subscriber still continues to carry on the potting business as usual, at his works in Market Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets, and now has a large assortment of Philadelphia made Earthen Ware which he will dispose of on as low terms as any Manufactured in America. All orders from the country, Masters of Vessels or otherwise shall be strictly attended to and are thankfully received by WILLIAM STANDLEY.

In the directories of 1785, 1791, and 1794, William Standley is listed as a "Gentleman," living at 175 High (Market) street, while that for 1793 gives his occupation as "Potter," with the same address. It is probable that he sold out the pottery plant, as the *Penn*sylvania Packet for July 21, 1800, prints the advertisement of Samuel Sullivan as follows:

The Earthen Ware Manufactory, for many years carried on by Mr. William Standley at his Yard and Pothouse in Market Street, between 4th. & 5th. Sts., is now in the hands of the subscribers, Where a very large and general assortment of Good Ware may be had on the shortest notice.... Samuel Sullivan & Co.

In the Muster Rolls for 1785–88, of the first Battalion of the Philadelphia Militia, is the name of William Standley, Jr., in the company commanded by Captain Syng, under Lieutenant Colonel John Shee.

ALEXANDER BARTRAM. Like other Philadelphia merchants of the day, *Alexander Bartram* did all in his power to promote home industries. In the *Penn*sylvania Journal of March 12, 1767, he advised the readers that "At his shop in Market street next door to The sign of the Indian King" he sold "Pennsylvania pencil'd bowls and sugar dishes, which for beauty of colours, and elegance of figures, &c. are allowed by the nicest Judges to exceed any imported from England."

His notice of October, 1771, reads: "Potter's Ware, which is made at his Pot-house, equal to any made in this Province." He also sold the product of Stiegel's glass works at Manheim, and from subsequent advertisements was apparenly dealing in imported, as well as homemade, china, glass and Queen's ware; but he continually brought to the attention of the public, the products of the Pennsylvania factories. One in the Pennsylvania Packet of April 20, 1772, reads: "As said Bartram has got a Pot-house, where he makes all sorts of Earthenware, would be glad to receive orders for the same, as he sells them on as low terms as any made on the Continent." Competition was evidently keen, as he again advises the readers that the "Potter's Ware made at his pot-house, equals in quality, and is as cheap as any made in this place."

His house "next door to the sign of the Indian King," assured us as to the location of this establishment. The Indian King tavern was at the southwest corner of Market street and Biddle's alley, now known as 240 Market street.

In the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a document dated January 28, 1774, wherein John Turner, yeoman of Philadelphia, leased to Alexander Bartram, merchant of Philadelphia, one hundred acres of land and improvements, on Roaring Creek, about one and a half miles above Clayton's mines in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. The *Estate of Alexander Bartram* is on the tax List for 1779; then no more is heard of him as a potter.

CHRISTIAN PIERCY (or Piersy), potter, first comes to our notice in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 21, 1774, wherein he offered six dollars reward for a runaway apprentice boy; one John Cribbs, aged seventeen, who either cared little for his master or did not aspire to become a potter. Piercy's notice gave the location of his pottery as "a little above Poole's Bridge, in Front street;" hence we can locate it.

He has left no record of the class of pottery made; but from the report of the Grand Federal Procession of 1788, we assume he made a general assortment of household pottery. In section fifty of the Procession, the potters are reported as follows:

A flag, on which was neatly painted a kiln burning, and several men at work in the different branches of the business. Motto—"The potter hath power over his clay." A four wheeled carriage drawn by two horses, on which was a potter's wheel, and men at work; a number of cups, bowls, mugs, &c. were made during the procession; the carriage was followed by twenty potters, headed by Messrs. Christian Piercy and Michael Gilbert, wearing linen aprons of American manufacture.

Note how they emphasize the fact that the aprons were of "American manufacture."

Christian Piercy died in 1793, and letters of administration were granted on October first of that year to his wife, Elizabeth, and George Piercy. In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of January 4, 1794, is a notice of his death, with further advices from the administrators that a public sale would be held of the potting business and his household effects. Probably no purchaser was found for the pothouse, for in May of that year appeared another notice that the business was being continued; this is found as late as July 29, 1795, although no mention is made of who was carrying on the same.

The name of John Piercy, potter, 324 North Front street, appears in the directory of 1798, but no evidence has been found that he was the proprietor of the Christian Piercy plant, and as he is not mentioned in Christian's will, it may be assumed that he was a son of George Piercy, one of the administrators. In the directories of 1791 and 1793. Christian Piercy is listed as living at 296 and 298 North Front street, while that for 1796 gives Elizabeth Piercy, widow, as keeping a boarding house in Artillery lane between Front and Second streets. Duke street was changed to Artillery lane, on account of the British artillery barracks being there after Braddock's defeat. These troops were quartered from Second to Third streets, and one finds many references to locations in that vicinity as "near the Barracks." The section was also called "Campingtown." in 1758, when Montgomery's Highlanders were quartered there, and is so marked on some of the early maps. On the Paxton's map of 1811, Artillery lane (or Duke street), was between Front and Second streets. From Second to Fifth streets, it was called St. Tammanv's street and west of Fifth it was Buttonwood street. Now it is all called Buttonwood street.

MICHAEL GILBERT is mentioned in the directories of 1785 and 1791 as a potter. In the former his house is given as Third street between Vine and Race streets, while the latter locates it as No. 124 North Third street, and we know it was on the west side of the street. Michael Gilbert is mentioned by Francis Hopkinson, in his account of the Grand Federal Procession of 1788, as being at the head of the procession of potters with Christian Piercy; hence we are justified in classifying him with the master potters of the day.

The tax lists of 1774 mention other potters by this name; Henry Gilbert was assessed at \pounds 13. 16. 0, and Matthias Gilbert's name likewise appears; probably

all members of the same family of potters. These same tax lists mention Philip Spealman, Jacob Rhode, Jacob Uttree, Joseph Points, and Andrew Martin, all as potters; but from the amount of their assessment we are justified in classing them as workers in, not proprietors of, Philadelphia pottery works.

BONNIN and MORRIS. Barber writes, in his *Pottery and Porcelain in the United States*, that "White ware was first manufactured in this country in 1684," without mentioning the location of the factory; but to Philadelphia may be credited the attempt to start a china works where a general assortment of fine china was to be made.

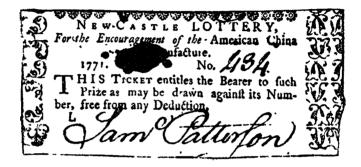
> NEW CHINA WARE, NEW CHINA WARE, OTWITHSTANDING the yarious difficulties and difadvantages, which ufually attend the introduction of say important manufacture into a new country, the Proprietors of the China Work, now erefting in Southwark, have the pleafure to acquaint the public, they have proved to a certainty, that the clays of America are productive of as good Porcelain, as any heretofore manufactured at the famous factory in Bow, near London, and imported into the coloaies and plantations, which they will engage to fell upon very reafonable terms ; and as they purpofe going largely into this manufacture as foon as the works are compleated, they requeft thofe perfons, who choofe to favour them with commands, to be as early as policy ble, laying it down as a fixed principle, to take all orders in rotions, and execute the earlieft firft ; dealers will meet with the yfuld caccuragement, and may be affured, that no goods under Thirty Pounds worth, will be fold to private perfons out of the factivy, at a lower advance than from their fhogs. All workmen fkilled in the different branches of throwing, turning, modelling, moulding, prefing and painting, upon application to the Proprietors, may depend on encouragement fuitable to their abilities; and fuch parents, as are inclined to bind their children apprentices to either of the farth offering will be accepted, without a prenium; none will be received under twelve years of age, or upwards of fitteen. All orders from the courty, or other provinces, incloided in letters, poit paid, and directed to the CHINAPROPRISTIONA of RIETORS in the WARE warranted equal to any, in goodnetis and cheapnets, bithetto manufactured in, or imported from England. The 20M.

GOUSSE BONNIN, who is believed to have come from Bow, London, and GEORGE ANTHONY MOR-RIS, advertised on December 29, 1769, the building of china works in Southwark, where they proposed to

Pennsylvania Gazette, January 11, 1770

produce china and porcelain. They borrowed £500, and built a factory in Prime street, or Washington avenue, near the river, and for the next two years advertised extensively in the local newspapers.

They appealed to the Assembly for aid, and tried a lottery at New Castle, Delaware; both of which ap-



parently failed to bring in the necessary financial assistance. When the English chinamakers heard of the contemplated enterprise they flooded the Philadelphia market with cargoes of all sorts of chinaware, which was sold so cheaply that the housewives of this, as well as other nearby colonies, cared more for the money saved in purchasing the imported wares than helping home industries.

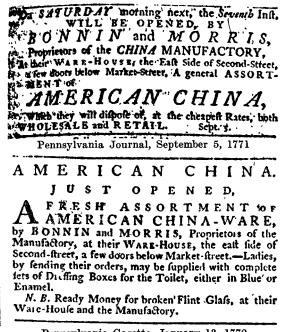
In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 26, 1770, will be found this card:

Twenty Shillings per Thousand, and no more, will be given for any quantity of horses or beeves shank bones, whole or broken, Fifteen Shillings for hogs, and Ten Shillings for Calves and sheeps, (a proportionable price for knuckle bones) delivered at the China Factory in Southwark. N.B. The capital works of this Factory being compleated and in motion, G. Bonnin and G. A. Morris, desire such as incline to bind their children apprentices to either of the branches, will be speedy in their application, as but few more will be received without a fee.

Again a year later in the same newspaper appeared: "The Proprietors of the CHINA MANUFACTORY having at length procured some ZAFFER,¹² are ready

¹² A blue pigment made by roasting cobalt ore with silica.

to supply Shopkeepers, and Country Dealers, with any quantity of Blue and White WARE, either useful or ornamental, above Thirty Pounds Worth, at the Cheapest Rates." And yet with all their advertising, the works were apparently not a success.



Pennsylvania Gazette, January 13, 1772

By the end of 1772, the works were closed, the partnership dissolved, and the china manufactory at Southwark was advertised for sale.

In the face of the discouraging venture of Bonnin & Morris, no purchasers appeared; and in the *Pennsyl*vania Journal for October 19, 1774, Mathew Clarkson and Edward Bonsall still advertised the plant for sale. Thus Philadelphia's first attempt at china and porcelain making sank into oblivion until William Ellis Tucker revived the art fifty years later.

Diligent search and inquiry have failed to reveal more than three specimens of the Bonnin and Morris production still in existence. A gravy-boat in Balti-

more and two pieces in Philadelphia. The piece in the Pennsylvania Museum is all that remains of a dinner set, which the philanthropic citizen got for his loan of five hundred pounds to Bonnin and Morris.

JOHN CURTIS. The first information found of John Curtis, Potter, is that he was on the tax lists for 1781 and 1782. He advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 8, 1790, that he was continuing the "Potting Ware" business in Front street near Love lane, Southwark. Love lane was the early name for lower Prime street, which is now called Washington avenue, and Curtis may have occupied some of the buildings formerly used by Bonnin and Morris, the china manufacturers of Southwark, who failed in their enterprise about eighteen years previously.

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In the directories of 1791, he is listed as living at 553 South Front street; in 1793, at 257 South Second street, at which time was below Lombard street. In 1796 we find "John Curtis, potter, South Front street near Catharine." Letters of administration on the estate of John Curtis, potter, were granted April 18, 1796, to Hugh Gorley,¹³ and in the directories of 1797, 1798, and 1799, is listed a John Curtis, potter, as living at 405

¹⁸ Book H, 235-64. Registry of Wills, Philadelphia.

South Front street, who was, perhaps, a son. E. A. Barber, in his *Pottery and Porcelain of the United States* (page 104), says: "In 1791 John Curtis was making a good quality of pottery in Philadelphia, from clay obtained where the brewery (*Massey's*) now stands, at Tenth and Filbert Streets, and his name is found in the city directories as late as 1811, in the same business;" but, as John Curtis, of whom we write, died in 1796, this must have been his son who carried on the business.

MEYER. The name of Meyer, as potter and brickmaker, frequently appears in various records. Henry Meyer, potter, is mentioned in the directories from 1793 to 1797, and one of the same name died in 1798, as letters of administration were granted on November 20th. of that year on the estate of Henry Meyer, brickmaker. Thus we see the close affiliation of the various workers in clay products. In the *Pennsylvania Packet* for May 30, 1799, Henry Meyer, earthenware manufacturer, advertised for a runaway apprentice. He may have been a son of the former. The tax lists of 1769 and 1774, contain the names of Thomas Meyer and Mathias Meyer; both given as potters.

In the Trade Directory of 1800, printed the previous year, Meyer and Bartres and Henry Meyer are listed under potters. The same list contains the names of seventeen different potters, but we have no record of the several classes of pottery they may have produced.

MILLER. The name of Andrew Miller, potter, appears in the directories of 1791 to 1794, at 37 and 39 Sugar alley; which was between Market and Arch streets, from Sixth to Ninth streets, and is now called Filbert street. Barber's *Pottery and Porcelain of the United States* (page 104), says: "Andrew Miller had a pottery at 37 & 39 Sugar Alley, previous to 1791, where he continued to make common earthenware for many years. He was succeeded by Abraham and An-

drew Miller, Jr., who from 1810 to 1816 operated a pottery at the corner of 7th. and Zane Streets." The directories of 1799 and 1800 list "Andrew Miller & Sons potters, back of 37 Zeen street." Zeen or Zane was a name applied to the Filbert street of our day.

JEREMIAH WARDER. That Jeremiah Warder, a prosperous citizen of Third street above Market street, ever actually carried on a pottery business, is not proven. All records class him as a merchant, and he is mentioned here on account of an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of November 1, 1784, which reads as follows:

To be sold on the 15th. of November upon the Lot formerly belonging to Mr. Jeremiah Warder, in the Northern Liberties, adjoining Mr. Budd's, Several Wooden Buildings, a Mill, Kiln &c. erected for the establishment of a Manufactory of China Ware &c. Also, several Utensils to the use of said establishment, General Washington's bust, ditto in Medallions, several images, and other things.... Parts of them not yet finished. Apply to Joseph Baldesqui, living at present in Germantown.

This advertisement shows that the chinamakers and potters of Philadelphia did not confine their output to household and kitchen utensils; but evidently made *busts, medallions* and *images* of our first great President, and if any of these authenticated Philadelphiamade pieces are still in existence, it is hoped they will soon find their way to the museum of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

ANTHONY DUCHÉ. In his will, proved June 1, 1762, we learn of another local potter, and find that he styles himself Anthony Duche Sen^r of Philadelphia, Potter. No mention is made in the will of his workshop or tools, though his sons, Anthony, Jacob, and Andrew, and a daughter Ann, are bequeathed his estate.

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of February 20, 1766, one reads in the advertisement of David Hall, a goldsmith of Second street near Chestnut, that among his other occupations listed is "Likewise China bowls etc. drilled and clasped and wood handles neatly fitted to china tea-pots." Again, in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of December 14, 1769, Joseph Dix advertises that he rivets chinaware:

directionstur uling.

December 14. CHINA WARE RIVETTED; Werens, jarre, image, plates, differente tor what is commonly practifed in riverting, fuch as hafrons, bowls, turerens, jarre, images, plates, differente tor what is handles, tpouts, chains or ftrainers to tea pits; caufing them is pourswell, handles to piws, quarter, &c. or any stimg them is done in that way, fan flicks riverted, gold or filves wire mended or foldered. Any perfor that pleafs to favour me with their commands, may depend on their bei, generuted in a workman like manuer, by their-bedient fervant fOS2PH DIX, workman like ment door to Mis, Hailey's in Lombard liteet, facing the New Marker

N. B. Some Jewellers WARE to be fuld cheap.

And in the Trade Directory of 1800, Susanna Thomas is listed as a "China Mender;" all of which shows the thrift of the early citizens and how they tried to preserve their fragile possessions of the household.

GLASS MAKING

Remembering that Joshua Tittery, a "broad-glass maker", came to Philadelphia, in 1683, as a "Servant to ye Society" and that William Penn wrote to The Free Society of Traders on 6 mo. 16, 1683, saying "The Glass house is so conveniently posted for Water Carriage," the inference is that there was an attempt at that time to make glass in some form for either windows or household utensils. Whether or not window glass was made here at that period, the records fail to disclose; but as the early colonists had much more need of such glass than they had for bowls, drinking vessels, etc., it is reasonable to suppose it was produced.

At a meeting of the Property Commissioners held January 30, 1691–2, the following notice was drafted: "To the Inhabitants of Shackamaxson. Friends: We have been requested by several for a Road through your land from Philadelphia to William Salloway's Mills,¹⁴ The Glass-house and Meddow, we are not willing to conclude on it before you agree how it should be laid out for your greatest convenience. We are Your Loving Friends, Wm. Markham, Robert Turner, John Goodson.''

This might have been the early road to Burlington, referred to in the will of Daniel Pegg, Jr.¹⁵ But which ever road it was, it seems conclusive evidence that by 1691 a glasshouse of some sort had been established in or close to Philadelphia, otherwise Penn and his property commissioners would not have used the expressions quoted. Although no authentic information has come to us indicating just where this glasshouse was located, it is believed to have been south of old Gunner's run. The district of Shackamaxson in the Northern Liberties, though at that time not in Philadelphia city as laid out by Penn, was along the Delaware River front between Cohocksink Creek (Poplar street) and Gunner's run (now Aramingo avenue). The district northeast of that, and above Gunner's run being styled Richmond, or Fish-town. Both are now within the city limits.

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for January 23, 1772, appears the following notice to the public:

GLASS FACTURE; IN the Northern Liberties, and in Market-freet, near the Court-House, joining the Old Prefbyterian Meeting, here Door to the Sign of the Ma quis of Granby, the beft Price if given for broken Flint Clait. One or two Workmen and Servicors, will meet with good Encouragement, on applying at the above Places.

Note that it says "In the Northern Liberties," and also "in Market Street joining the Old Presbyterian Church." As Northern Liberties was a mile north of Market street, and remembering that John Hewson,

¹⁴William Salloway had a fulling (or woolen) mill at Frankford Creek and the Delaware River.

¹⁵ Book E, p. 235-317. See Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LIII., 12.

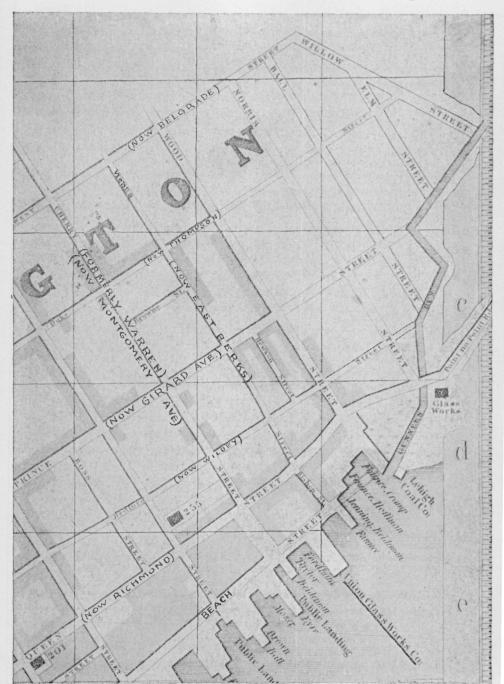
the calico printer, advertised in 1773, as of "Beach Street near the Glass House" and later as "in Kensington, in the Northern Liberties of the City of Philadelphia;" also as at "Beach and Warren Street,"¹⁶ it seems to prove conclusively there *was* a glass works here from 1691 to at least the year 1810. And this is believed to have been the FIRST glass works established in Philadelphia, and which apparently continued for a long time.

In 1820, some workmen from a New England glass works came to Philadelphia and established a flint glass works at Kensington. By 1828, it was known as the UNION GLASS WORKS COMPANY. In the directory of that year their address is given as "Beach and Warren Streets," coinciding with Hewson's advertisements of fifty years earlier.

The location of the Union plant is shown on William Allen's map of Philadelphia (1830), as on Beach street or the river front, between Warren and Bishop streets. Warren was changed to Cherry and later to East Montgomery avenue. Bishop is now East Berks street. Note in the illustration the kilns near the river front and that the architecture of the buildings is of earlier eighteenth century style; especially the hipped-roof house to the right. This must have been the plant of which William Penn wrote in 1683, as being "So conveniently posted for Water Carriage."¹⁷ Collectors of old glass will be interested in the sign on the roof of the kiln-house, which reads UNION CUT AND PLAIN GLASS WORKS. The Philadelphia Trade Directory of 1800 lists a glass cutter as well as glass engraver, and this sign

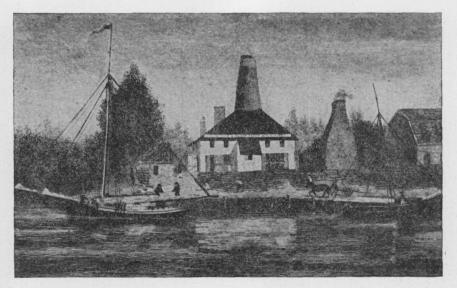
¹⁶ Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LIII., 99–103.

¹⁷ In 1846, the former Union Glass Works property was purchased by the writer's grandfather for a timber yard and lumber mill, and is described in the deed as on the east side of Beach street, beginning 40 feet north of Cherry street (formerly Warren), 100 feet front and extending 325 feet to low-water mark in the river Delaware. Two cut glass decanters, inherited by the writer from the same grandfather, are believed to have been the product of the Union Cut and Flint Glass Works.



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Portion of William Allen's map, dated 1830. Note the limits of Kensington as being South of Gunner's Run. Union Glass Works Company shown in lower right hand corner as between Warren and Vienna streets.



A View of Part of the Union Glass Company's Works, Kensington near Philadelphia

of 1828 confirms the making of cut glass in Philadelphia at that period.

The second glass works to be established in the city was in 1771, when Robert Towers, a leather dresser,¹⁸ and Joseph Leacock, a watchmaker, bought of William Ball,¹⁹ a gold and silversmith, a lot on the east side of Bank street, beginning one hundred and ten feet south of James street, having one hundred and fifty feet fronting on Bank street,²⁰ and extending to the low

¹⁹ Scull and Heap's map of 1750 shows William Ball's house on the north side of Gunner's run near the Delaware River.

²⁰ If Bank street were ever opened, it disappeared when Point-no-point road—later Richmond street—was opened a little to the westward. James street, was on the city plan up to 1845, starting from the east side of Richmond street, 175 feet south of what is now East Norris street; but was never opened. Plum street took its place; but about thirty years ago, Plum and Beach streets were closed and taken from the city plans, when the William Cramp and Sons shipyard bought the surrounding property and extended their plant to the southward, and the city widened Richmond street, sewered the old Gunner's run, or Aramingo canal, and opened Dyott street and Aramingo avenue.

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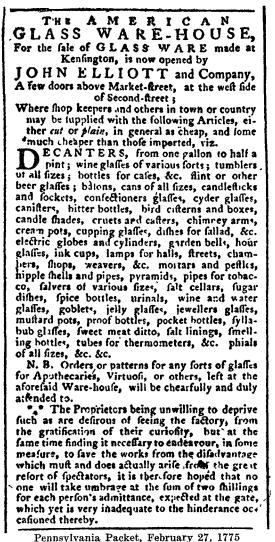
¹⁸ In the deed from William Ball, Robert Towers is called a leather dresser; yet in his will, dated February 24, 1789, Towers calls himself a druggist.

water mark in the Delaware River; crossing Delaware (*later Beach*) street, not then opened.

Historians tell us that Towers and Leacock built a glasshouse on the property, but about a year later, on November 5, 1772, they sold the land to John Elliott, Sr., John Elliott, Jr., Isaac Gray (a son-in-law of John Elliott, Sr.), and Samuel Elliott, a brother. In this deed, John, Sr., is mentioned as a "Merchant;" John, Jr., a "Brush-maker;" Isaac Gray, a "Merchant;" and Samuel Elliott as a "Tanner." John Elliott, Sr., was a "Cabinet-maker," and a "Mirror-maker;" and sold books, jewelry and brushes. His first advertisement appears December 30, 1756, as at Chestnut and Fourth streets. He is later found at Chestnut street near the State House and, in 1768, in Second street above Market at, "The Three Brushes," where he probably established his son of the same name. Later that year we find him in Walnut near Third street and, in 1776, he is advertising the property as well as the business on Walnut street for sale, as he was apparently devoting his attentions to the glass making plant. This business was carried on under the name of John Elliott & Co., and in their advertisement in the Pennsylvania Packet of February 27, 1775, the several kinds of glassware produced are described; also that they sold "either cut or plain, in general as cheap, and some much cheaper, than those imported;" proving that cut glass was made in Philadelphia in 1775. Note the last paragraph of the advertisement that the public were charged two shillings per person for visiting the plant.

In the same newspaper for April 10, 1775, it may be seen that Isaac Gray, in Chestnut street near Strawberry alley, had for sale "ALSO an assortment of GLASS WARE, made at KENSINGTON."

Under the management of the Elliotts the works were enlarged and operated for about eight years, making all kinds of glassware; during which time Samuel Elliott had sold his one-fourth interest to Isaac Gray, and in the deed for this transfer, the propery was described as being in *Richmond*.²¹ It is worthy of



note and important to students of the history of glassmaking in Philadelphia, that even though both of the

²¹ Book D, 5, 465. Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia.

advertisements cited use the phrase "made at Kensington," yet in the deed from the Elliotts and Grav to Thomas Leiper, dated May 6, 1780, they described the works as being "in the Town of Richmond, on the River Delaware, in the Northern Liberties." This is the only deed, from 1771 to 1833, that makes any reference to a glasshouse being on the property. In this deed²² we find that Elliotts and Gray "after being so seized of the lot or piece of ground above described with the buildings thereon, have built another house and made divers additions to the Glass house." That the original owner of this property did not consider it within the district of Kensington is evidenced by an advertisement of William Ball, in the Pennsylvania Packet of November 21, 1782, for some stolen goods, when he gave his address as "about a mile above Kensington."

Thomas Leiper, a tobacconist and snuff-maker, of water street above Market, operated the glass works until May 6, 1800, when he sold it to Joseph Roberts, Jr., James Rowland and James Butland.²³ Butland seems to have operated the plant for fifteen years, and while he is described in the directory of 1793 as a cordwainer (leather dresser), at 80 North Fourth street; those for 1800 to 1809 give James Butland & Co. as glass manufacturers or glass blowers, at the same address; evidently their salesroom.

James Butland deeded his interest in the property to James Rowland on September 1, 1815 (describing it as being in *Richmond*); whose heirs finally sold it on July 10, 1833, to Thomas W. Dyott, a self-styled doctor and patent medicine dealer at the northeast corner of Second and Race streets. In this deed the word *Ken*sington is used in describing the location. Dyott purchased more land from the Ball heirs and greatly en-

²² Book D, 6, 268. Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia.

²⁸ Book EF, 1, 320. Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia.

larged the works, building several new glasshouses and a number of tenements for his workmen; in fact there was such a group of buildings, warehouses and small dwellings, the section was styled *Dyottville*, even until forty years ago. Dyott later entered the banking field, being the founder of the Manual Labor Bank, and issued much paper money in its name; but that is another story.²⁴

By this time the Union Glass Works had been closed and the term Kensington was applied by many to the territory north of Gunners run. Under Dyott's management the product of the works was principally blown glass; medicinal and chemical containers. He also made many of those oval light green flask bottles, so dear to some collectors of today; with the busts of Franklin, Washington, or Lafayette, impressed on the side. Many of these bore the trade mark, such as T.W.D., Kensington Glass Works, or Dyottville Glass Works.²⁵ After Dyott's failure the works were continued by other interests and finally dismantled to make room for other business; part of the land, about two acres and a pier, being purchased by the writer's father for a lumber yard.

A third glass works was started, about 1780, by Robert Morris and John Nicholson, who erected kiln houses and other buildings on the west bank of the river near the Falls of Schuylkill, below the present bridge. In 1806, mention is made of the Schuylkill Glass Works, as it was then known; but the plant seems to have been a failure, and was turned into a textile printing works, finally being taken by the city as part of Fairmount Park.

²⁴ In the *Public Ledger* of June 23, 1838, Dr. Dyott's notes were advertised for sale at a liberal discount by Francis M. Drexel, stock and exchange broker, 34 South Third street.

²⁵ The writer has one of these flasks, with Lafayette's head on one side and the American eagle on the other, with T.W.D. in an oval.