

Full Steam Ahead:
A Brief History of Commercial Steamboat Transferware



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When I moved to Charleston in March 2010, I must admit that I did not know much about my new home beyond what was written on a plaque on the wall – Simon Jude Chancogne House (Fig. 1). I soon learned that Chancogne was somewhat of an international man of mystery. He was born in the Dordogne region of France in 1769, served as the secretary of the French navy in St. Domingue prior to the outbreak of the Haitian Revolution, was listed in the Baltimore City Directory in 1796, and appeared on the septennial census of Philadelphia in 1800.¹ In 1801, the French consulate in Philadelphia sent Chancogne to Charleston to reopen the consulate office which was closed in 1798 when the Quasi War between the United States and France led to French representatives being expelled from the country.²



Fig. 1. The c. 1810 Simon Jude Chancogne House, Charleston, SC. Photo by the author.

Around 1810, Chancogne built the house that currently stands on the property.³ In researching my new home, I found an advertisement for the sale of the property in the January 17, 1813, edition of the Charleston, SC *City Gazette* that contained a list of outbuildings: kitchen house, pantry, stable, wash house and bathing house. I was particularly intrigued by the bathing house, a rare feature for the early 19th century whose existence can likely be explained by differences in French and American ideas about hygiene at the time.⁴

Unfortunately, none of the original outbuildings remain, so in a quest to learn more about the mysterious bathing house, I engaged Martha Zierden, Curator of Historical Archaeology at the Charleston Museum to conduct a week-long dig in March 2016. While I had hoped that the outline of a small building in a brick wall on the northern property line might have been the bathing house, it turned out to be

a former privy that had been previously dug by treasure hunters without any concern for archaeological protocols (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. The outlines of buildings visible on a brick wall that separates Chancogne’s property from a neighboring property to the north.
Photo by the author.

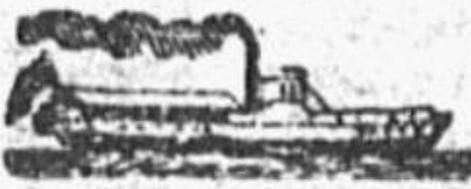
Since the archaeological record had been destroyed, Martha encouraged me to continue to excavate and recover items after she and her team finished their work. Several weeks later, I unearthed two fragments of brown transfer print whiteware that mended – one with “John” and the other with “Stoney” under the glaze (Fig. 3). The question was, who was John Stoney?



Fig. 3. The brown transfer-print whiteware fragments found during archaeological excavations at the Chancogne House.
Photo by the author.

There were no Stoneys in the chain of title to the property. Weeks of research revealed several John Stoneys in and around Charleston over the past two centuries, including one that was especially intriguing. A September 24, 1832, advertisement in the Charleston, SC *Southern Patriot* announced the following (Fig. 4):

Cooper River Excursion
LAST TRIP.



The Steam Packet **JOHN STONEY**, will leave Fitzsimon's wharf on *Wednesday Morning* next at 6 o'clock, and proceed as far up as Mulberry Castle & if she can return in time, go a short distance up the Eastern Branch and return to town before night.— Dinner and Breakfast furnished by the boat. Fare —\$3 each, one lady and gentleman \$5. Gentlemen may bring their own wine.

Sept 24 1861 WM. PATTON, Agent.

Fig. 4. Image courtesy of NewsBank.

Tableware would have been necessary for serving these meals, so perhaps the fragments had come from ceramics made for the boat. This theory was validated a few weeks later when I found pieces of a soft paste porcelain pitcher with “Steam Boat John Stoney” printed under the glaze (Figs. 5, 6). I later recovered matching fragments of the brown and white transferware plate printed with “Steam Boat” which confirmed that these ceramics were also made for the boat (Fig. 7).



Fig. 5. The *John Stoney* soft paste porcelain pitcher. Photo by the author.



Fig. 6. The *John Stoney* pitcher bears the mark of importer Jacob Chamberlin & Co., Charleston, SC. Photo by the author.

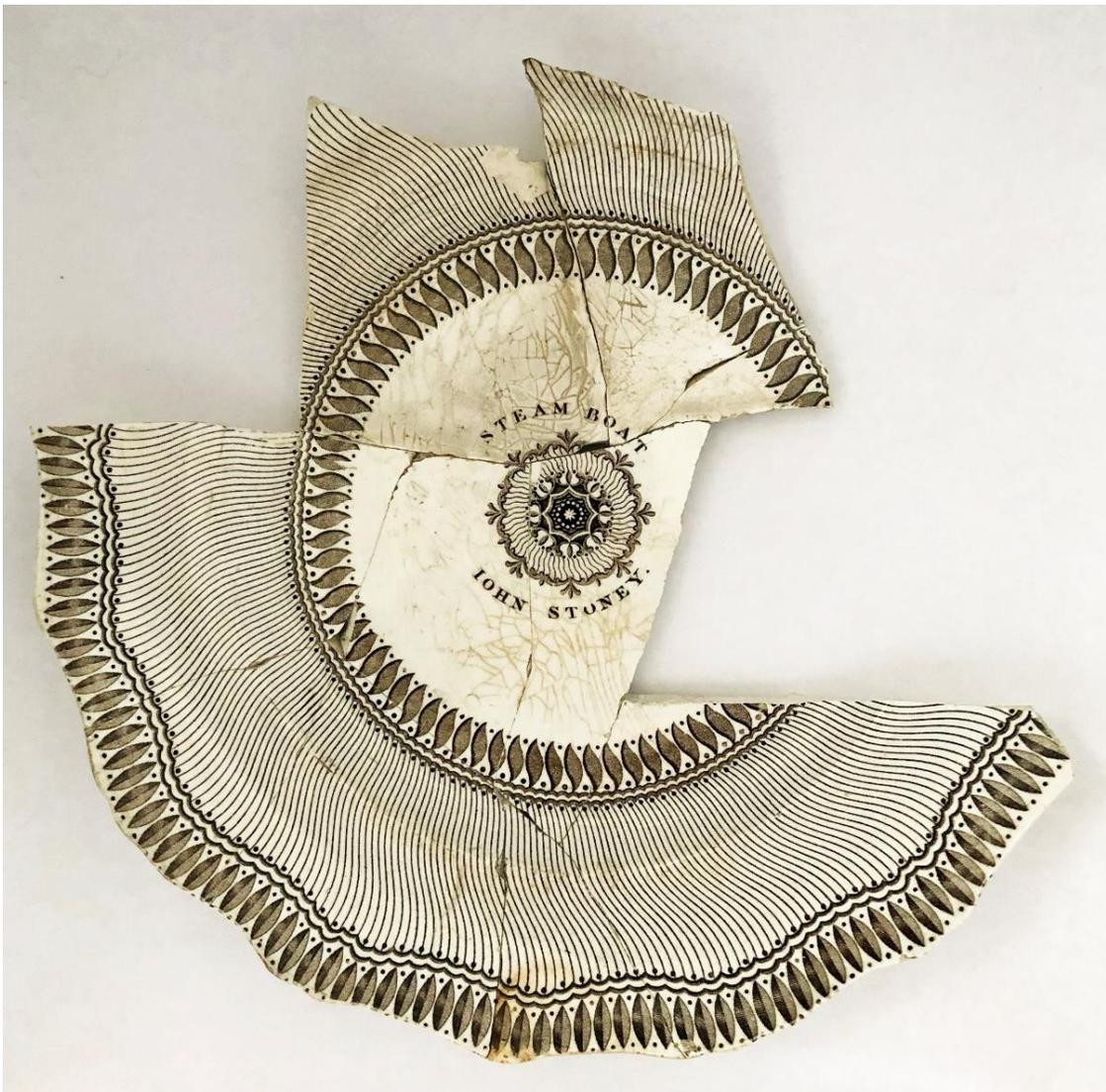


Fig. 7. The brown and white transferware fragments from Fig. 3 with additional mending fragments. Photo by the author.

But how did they end up at the Chancognie House? William Patton, a merchant at Fitzsimons' Wharf, was the agent for the *John Stoney* and Patton owned the Chancognie House from 1827 to 1856.⁵ Until the mid-1830s, the *John Stoney* ran regular freight and passenger trips to various destinations in addition to the pleasure excursions.⁶ In January 1836, the steamboat was chartered to take US troops and supplies to St. Augustine, Florida for the Second Seminole War and continued regular transport trips for several years.⁷ The fancy custom tableware might not have been needed for these trips and perhaps Patton deposited these wares at his home.

This unexpected discovery sparked an interest in learning more about steamboat transferware, something with which I was completely unfamiliar. I tend to think that anything I find in my backyard must be readily found elsewhere, so I initially decided to focus my research on antebellum east coast steamboat transferware based on my desire to put the *John Stoney* ceramics in context.

While the terms steamboat and steamship are often used interchangeably, a steamboat is a smaller vessel designed to navigate rivers, lakes, and areas close to the shore while a steamship, or steamer, is a larger vessel designed to cover long distances and cross oceans without refueling.⁸ In August 1807 Robert Fulton launched the *North River Steam Boat*, later referred to as the *Clermont*, on the Hudson River which is often credited as the first successful commercial steamboat trip in the world (Fig. 8). The steamboat trade quickly expanded, driven in part by the cotton trade.⁹ After the American Revolution, Sea Island cotton, cultivated in the Carolinas and Georgia since colonial times, was in great demand by textile manufacturers in Manchester, England to produce luxury fabrics.¹⁰ However, this long staple cotton only grows in coastal regions, so short staple cotton used to produce less expensive fabrics proliferated in inland areas of Georgia and South Carolina.¹¹ Steamboats transported cotton down the Savannah River to ports such as Charleston and Savannah for shipment to England. Steamboats also transported passengers and cargo north and south with newfound efficiency.

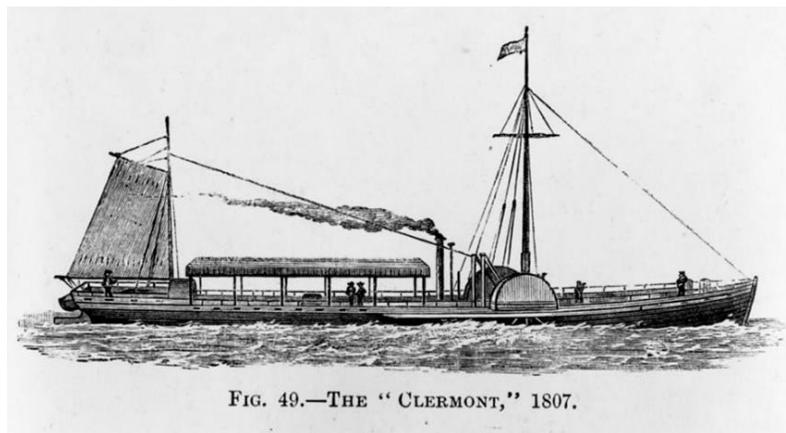


Fig. 8. Robert Lindsay Galloway, *The "Clermont," 1807.*
Image courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Transporting goods and people inland once the steamboats reached coastal ports however was still an issue, especially for the cotton industry. While the edges of the cotton-producing areas in Georgia and South Carolina had easy access to the Savannah and a few other large rivers, as the cotton belt expanded west, vast

inland areas lacked natural means of transport.¹² Railroads soon solved inland transportation problems which had a significant impact on the steamboat trade on the east coast.¹³ Steamboats such as the *John Stoney* that ran regular cargo and passenger trips between ports such as Savannah and Augusta in the 1820s and early 1830s could not compete with the efficiency of the railroads and soon abandoned those routes (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. With the completion of the rail line between Charleston and Hamburg, SC (located directly across the river from Augusta, GA) in 1833, the final advertisement for cargo transport to Augusta and Hamburg on the *John Stoney* appeared in the September 30, 1834, edition of the *Southern Patriot*. Image courtesy of NewsBank.

The *John Stoney* was in operation from 1830-1839, so the custom transferware was some of the earliest produced, but it was not the first.¹⁴ The earliest example that I found was North River, James Kent (TCC Pattern No. 20065, Figs. 10, 11). This transferware was made for the steamboat *James Kent* which was part of the North River line and transported the Marquis de Lafayette up the Hudson River during his visit to the United States in 1824.¹⁵ The *James Kent* ran regular transport trips for passengers and cargo between New York City and Albany. With the voyage taking approximately 15 hours one way, serving food would have been necessary and the plate documented in the TCC database is presumed to have been part of the steamboat's dinner service.

The *James Kent* and *John Stoney* plates are excellent examples of existing transferware patterns that were modified for steamboat use. This practice has been

documented on hotel wares, with several examples of a cartouche bearing the name of the establishment added to the Standard Willow pattern, as was done for the *James Kent*, in the TCC database.¹⁶ The *John Stoney* plate was a customized version of Navarino (TCC Pattern No. 14754, Fig. 12).



Fig. 10. The Standard Willow pattern was modified on this plate manufactured for the North River Line's *John Kent*. Photo courtesy of Loren Zeller.



Fig. 11. Close up of the cartouche from the North River, James Kent plate.
Photo courtesy of Loren Zeller.



Fig. 12. The pattern name and importer are marked on the reverse of the *John Stoney* transferware plate, but the maker remains unknown. Photo by the author.

As the 19th century progressed and populations pushed west, the steamboat and steamship industries went with them.¹⁷ In inland areas with easy access to waterways such as the Mississippi River and Great Lakes, the steamboat and steamship industries grew and continued to thrive well into the 20th century and ceramics have been documented from these vessels. In his book *Dining on Inland Seas: Nautical China From the Great Lakes Region of North America*, Daniel C. Krummes recorded over 135 patterns from shipping companies that operated on

the Great Lakes and upper St. Lawrence River. A few patterns date to the 1840s while the majority date to the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

On the west coast, steamship companies flourished from the late 19th century well into the 20th century, transporting cargo and passengers from California to Canada and as far afield as ports in Asia. *Pacific Coast Ship China* by Jacques Marc is a good guide to these table wares.

The Mariners' Museum in Newport News, VA has a collection of over 32,000 maritime related objects in a well-documented publicly accessible database. I found several items of interest in the collection and arranged to visit the Museum to view these pieces with Liz Williams, Manager of Collections Management. After viewing them, she generously offered to take me through storage where we spent several hours looking through cases of ceramics which led to the discovery of several pieces that I had not found in my online searches. I would like to thank Liz and her colleague Lisa Williams, Photography & Licensing Coordinator, who arranged new photography for the items that I have featured here, for their enthusiastic assistance with my research.

The ceramics at the Mariners' Museum were consistent with what I had previously found, or perhaps more accurately, what I had not found. After looking at over a thousand ceramic objects at one of the largest maritime museums in North America, I did not find any examples of antebellum east coast steamboat transferware. At this point, I decided to expand the scope of my research to include other examples of transferware associated with steamboats and steamships that had not been documented in the TCC database.

The Mariners' Museum collection contained several examples of transferware patterns in the TCC database that had been modified for steamships. The riverside scene in the center of the Ne Plus pattern by Thomas Fell & Co. (TCC Pattern No. 9589) was replaced by an image of a steamship with the words "Enterprize of Boston" in the center of the plate (Fig. 13). I found several steamships named Enterprize and Enterprise in various parts of the United States in the 19th century, but I could not identify one that had ties to Boston.



Fig. 13. The Ne Plus pattern by Thomas Fell & Co. with the central image of a riverside scene replaced by an image of the *Enterprize* of Boston. Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.

Another example of a modified pattern is the Boston & Bangor Steamship Co. plate with images of grasses and butterflies replaced by a steamship in the center of T & R Boote's Summer Time pattern (TCC Pattern No. 4580, Figs. 14, 15). While early steamboats such as the *John Stoney* had sails as a vital supplemental source of power for their notoriously unreliable steam engines, I was surprised to see an image of a steamship with sails associated with a company established in 1882.¹⁸ Despite advances in steam engine technology, the memory of the *Savannah*, the first steamship to cross the Atlantic in 1819, running out of fuel and having to finish the voyage under sail may have made shipyards reluctant to abandon this reserve source of power and thus steamboats and steamships continued to be built with sails into the early 20th century.¹⁹



Fig. 14. T & R Boote replaced an image of butterflies and grasses on its Summer Time pattern with a steamship for the Boston & Bangor Steamship Co. Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.



Fig. 15. T & R Boote marks on the reverse of the Boston & Bangor Steamship Co. plate. Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.

Just as the Standard Willow pattern was modified for multiple onshore establishments, Lace Border by Minton (TCC Pattern No. 18992) was modified for different steamship companies. The pattern was used for The City of Glasgow Steam Packet Company founded in 1831 (TCC Pattern No. 8847, Fig. 16) and The Dundee, Perth & London Shipping Company founded in 1826. Lace Border was further modified for different ships in the Dundee, Perth & London Shipping Company line. A platter featuring an image of the *Dundee* is documented on the TCC website (TCC Pattern No. 18992, Fig. 17) while a soup tureen featuring the steamer *Perth* is in the collection of The Mariners' Museum (Figs. 18, 19).



Fig. 16. The City of Glasgow Steam Packet Co. platter is a modification of Minton's Lace Border pattern (TCC Pattern No. 8847). Photo courtesy of the Transferware Collectors Club.



Fig. 17. Minton's Lace Border pattern was also modified for the Dundee, Perth & London Shipping Company (TCC Pattern No. 18992). Photo courtesy of the Transferware Collectors Club.



Fig. 18. Lace Border by Minton modified for use on the Dundee, Perth, & London Shipping Company's *Steamer Perth*. Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.



Fig. 19. Detail of the Dundee, Perth & London Shipping Company's *Steamer Perth* soup tureen. Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.

In the 1840s when ironstone became popular in America, Staffordshire manufacturers Charles J. Mason, T. J. & J. Mayer, James Edwards, F. Morley, and William Ridgway produced ceramics for hotels as well as steamboats and steamships which were often printed with the name of the American importer.²⁰ These ironstone wares frequently featured a small image of the hotel or in the case of the ironstone platter made for E. B. & S. Ward's Steamers, a steamship, on the front (Fig. 20). Eber Brock Ward was a 19th century industrialist who started his career as a cabin boy and later partnered with his uncle Samuel to launch E. B. & S. Ward's Steamers which became the largest shipping fleet in the upper Midwest by the mid-19th century with a fleet of 30 steamships.²¹



Fig. 20. The E. B. & S. Ward's Steamers platter by T. J. & J. Mayer.
Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.

Similar examples to the E. B. & S. Ward's Steamers platter in Fig. 20 were documented by Walthall and Krummes. Krummes stated that Mayer China was the manufacturer of the platter while Walthall attributed it to T. J. & J. Mayer. The platters documented by Walthall and Krummes and the platter in the collection of The Mariners' Museum (Fig. 20) all bear the import mark of A. E. Mather & Co. which was in operation from 1835-1849 in Detroit, MI. Mayer China was in operation from 1881-1990 in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania while T. J. & J. Mayer was in business from 1842-1855 in Staffordshire, England. Given the dates of existence of the importer, the platter would have been manufactured by T. J. & J. Mayer between 1842-1849. The confusion over which Mayer made these platters may be the result of the T. J. & J. Mayer mark which bears the address of its New York office rather than its Staffordshire factory (Fig. 21).



Fig. 21. Marks on the reverse of the E. B. & S. Ward's Steamers platter featured in Fig. 16. Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.

Walthall noted that the production of these wares in Staffordshire ceased around 1850 which may have been due to a lack of profitability from what were likely small orders.²² But the demand for custom steamboat and steamship wares continued. By the late 19th century, custom wares for hotels, steamboats, and steamships surged as American manufacturers started producing ironstone in quantity in the 1870s and 1880s.²³

Perhaps due to the small quantities involved in these orders for custom ceramics, some purveyors of hospitality wares satisfied those demands with customization after the ceramics left the pottery. TCC member Michael Weinberg shared an advertising plate in his collection that supports this theory (Fig. 22). F. B. Nicol & Co. was noted as an importer of china and glass in a listing of Executive Committee members on the New York Board of Trade for 1875-76.²⁴ As Weinberg observed, the fact that "Steam Boat" was prominently featured on the list of wares offered suggests that the company considered them an important part of their business.²⁵



Fig. 22. F. B. Nicol & Co. Advertising Plate.
Photo courtesy of Michael Weinberg.

With intact pieces of antebellum east coast steamboat transferware remaining elusive, I hoped that I would be able to find archaeological examples, but none of the archaeological organizations that I contacted found steamboat transferware in their collections. While this could be due to a lack of such artifacts in archaeological collections, it could also be a result of the way in which artifacts were recorded. As Sharon Pekrul, Curator of Collections at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina, observed, “I am not presently aware of any steamboat transferware in SCIAA’s curated collections. It may not have been something that was made note of...”²⁶ I volunteer for Martha Zierden, Curator of Historical Archaeology at the Charleston Museum, and having worked with their collection records, the fragments of the *John Stoney* plate that I found at the Chancogne House could have been recorded simply as fragments of brown and white transferware. Unusual markings are often noted, but not always.

Thus, finding archaeological examples of steamboat transferware will primarily be by chance and I was lucky in one regard. In researching the E. B. & S. Ward’s Steamer platter, I came across fragments of the platter in the online database of the Museum Windsor in Ontario, Canada (Fig. 23). With the item name listed as “sherds,” I did not come across these fragments in a broader search for steamboat

transferware. It was not until I started to investigate the Ward steamer line that a link to these artifacts showed up several pages into my online search. These fragments were recovered from the wreckage of the *E. K. Collins* which was part of the E. B. & S. Ward's Steamers line and was destroyed in a fire while passing Amherstburg, Ontario in 1854.²⁷ The image of the steamship matches that on the platter in the collection of the Mariners' Museum and bears the import mark of Jenness & Mather, a successor to A. E. Mather & Co. in Detroit which was in operation from 1851-1852.²⁸



Fig. 23. Fragments of a vessel manufactured for E. B. & S. Ward's Steamers recovered from the wreckage of the *E. K. Collins* bearing the mark of importers Jenness & Mather, Detroit. Photo courtesy of Museum Windsor.

Shipwrecks have been a source for transferware discoveries, but they have not yielded any examples of steamboat transferware to date. Over the summer I met Micah Eldred, founder, and CEO of Endurance Exploration Group, to inquire about his work with the *Pulaski*, a steamboat which he discovered in 2018 off the coast of Wilmington, North Carolina. The *Pulaski* exploded and sank on June 14, 1848, en route to Baltimore from Savannah. Promoted as one of the most luxurious and efficient vessels of the day, members of several wealthy families booked passage north to escape the southern summer heat.²⁹ The itinerary included an overnight stop in Charleston and one night at sea which meant that the *Pulaski*

would have served meals on board. Given the opulent nature of the *Pulaski*, I thought that it might have been outfitted with custom transferware. None has been found thus far and as Eldred explained only a fraction of the wreckage has been explored.³⁰ Coins, a watch with the hands stopped shortly after 11 (the explosion that sank the *Pulaski* occurred around 11 pm), and a few fragments of stoneware and undecorated ceramics have been recovered to date but locating additional artifacts from the ship will be a slow process since the debris field stretches over several miles.³¹

With the remains of the steamboat *Arabia* lying beneath a Kansas cornfield due to changes in the course of the Missouri River, its cargo is well preserved in a tighter geographic area than the *Pulaski*. The *Arabia* was filled with 200 tons of cargo destined for midwestern merchants when it sank six miles west of Kansas City in September 1856.³² Unfortunately, my repeated inquiries about steamboat transferware at The Arabia Steamboat Museum went unanswered. Their collections are not online and the only image of transferware that I could find on their social media accounts did not include any custom wares.

The prevalence of custom transferware on early steamboats and steamships is difficult to ascertain. In a rare description of dining on board an early steamship, Mary Austin Holley wrote about her voyage on the *New York* from New Orleans to Galveston in the autumn of 1840:

The cabin of the *New York* is on the upper deck like the river boats, the whole of it of mahogany and maple polished like the finest pianos. Drapery of blue satin damask & dimity. The windows of painted glass representing the Texas arms. The table china white, with a blue device in the center of each plate representing the *New York* at sea with the Texas eagle hovering over her...³³

I have been unable to find any examples of this table ware, but with a central image of the *New York* on the plate, the description seems similar to the ironstone transferware produced for the E. B. & S. Ward's Steamers line (Figs. 20, 21, 23) described above.

Depictions of early steamboat and steamship interiors featuring table wares are also scarce. The Boston Mails series by James & Thomas Edwards features several different steamship interiors: Gentlemen's Cabin (TCC Pattern Nos. 1746, 7534, 7535, 10154, 9901), Ladies' Cabin (TCC Pattern Nos. 3623, 9907), and Saloon (TCC Pattern Nos. 8396, 12952). In 1839 Canadian born shipping magnate Samuel

Cunard received a contract to deliver mail between Liverpool and Boston and he launched four steamships, *Columbia*, *Caledonia*, *Britannia*, and *Acadia* for this purpose between 1840 and 1841.³⁴ The ceramics were designed for use on the steamships as well as being sold to the public.³⁵ The series was produced in blue, brown, pink, and black with images of the steamships appearing in a border design, except for the black printed wares which do not have a border pattern.

The images on the Gentlemen's Cabin and the Saloon both depict table wares. The Gentlemen's Cabin (Figs. 24, 25) appears to have a tea pot and several cups, plates, and saucers on the table while the Saloon (Figs. 26, 27) may have a cup near an urn in the back of the room and possibly some sort of ceramic vessel in addition to a bottle and glasses on the server's tray. I would like to thank Dale Crouch for sharing images of the Boston Mails pieces in his collection and giving me permission to use them here.



Fig. 24. Boston Mails series featuring the Gentlemen's Cabin. Photo courtesy of Dale Crouch.



Fig. 25. Detail of the Gentlemen's Cabin featuring ceramics in use on board a c. 1840 steamship. Photo courtesy of Dale Crouch.



Fig. 26. Boston Mails series featuring the Saloon. Photo courtesy of Dale Crouch.



Fig. 27. Details of the Saloon featuring ceramics in use on board a c. 1840 steamship. Photo courtesy of Dale Crouch.

Notable events in steamboat and steamship history were commemorated with transferware vessels. While the boat is not identified on The Steam Boat plate, the inscription, “On her Passage from Belfast to Liverpool at the rate of 10 miles an hour,” refers to the *Waterloo* which was launched in 1816 and was the first steamboat to cross the English Channel on July 22, 1819 (Fig. 28).³⁶



Fig. 28. The Steam Boat plate is unmarked. Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.

At the time of her launch in 1858, the *Great Eastern* was the largest ship in the world with the capacity to carry over 4000 passengers.³⁷ Although the ship was never profitable as a passenger vessel, she was a great engineering feat worthy of commemoration (Figs. 29, 30). The *Great Eastern* was designed by English civil engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel who also designed the *Great Western* which was built in 1838 as the first steamship specifically designed to cross the Atlantic.³⁸ While the steamship *Savannah* crossed the Atlantic in 1819, it was not a commercially successful voyage since her hold was almost entirely filled with coal for the steam engines and she made the return trip to America under sail with a full load of cargo.³⁹ A commemorative plate for the *Great Western* is in the collection of the Mariners' Museum and is recorded in the TCC database (TCC Pattern No. 9918, Fig. 31).



Fig. 29. Purple lusterware bowl with polychrome overpaint. Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.



Fig. 30. Unidentified mark on the base of the *Great Eastern* bowl. Photo by the author.



Fig. 31. Both the *Great Eastern* and the *Great Western* were designed by English Civil Engineer Isambard Kingdom Burel (TCC Pattern No. 9918).
Photo courtesy of the Transferware Collectors Club.

Whether the bowl for The North Lancashire Steam Navigation Company Fleetwood was a commemorative piece or produced for use on board one of its vessels is unknown (Fig. 32). The company provided shipping services between Fleetwood, a town in Lancashire, England, and ports in Ireland, principally Belfast, from 1843 to 1870.⁴⁰



Fig. 32. The North Lancashire Steam Navigation Company Fleetwood bowl is unmarked. Photo courtesy of The Mariners' Museum.

When I started this research project, I anticipated being able to document a significant amount of antebellum east coast steamboat transferware based on my assumption that anything that I find in my backyard must be readily found elsewhere. While this may be true of the Willow pattern in blue, I discovered that this was not the case with steamboat transferware. This can likely be explained by the dynamics of commerce on the east coast in the 19th century. As evidenced by the history of the *John Stoney*, the east coast steamboat trade declined as railroad networks developed in the 1830s. On the Mississippi and its tributaries, the Great Lakes, the Gulf Coast and the Pacific Coast, geographic and economic forces caused the steamboat and steamship trade to thrive in the 1840s and continue to play a significant role in commerce into the 20th century.

Walking past a lot on East Bay Street a few blocks from the Chancogne House this summer, where a modern industrial building had recently been razed, something in the dirt near the sidewalk caught my eye – two fragments of blue and white transferware in what appear to be Navarino, the same pattern as the *John Stoney* plate (Fig. 33). While I do not know if these fragments came from

steamboat transferware, they are an excellent reminder that there may yet be discoveries to be made.



Fig 33. Fragments of what appear to be the Navarino pattern in blue found in Charleston, SC. Photo by the author.

¹ Marriage settlements, 1803, 200, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia; William Thompson and James L. Walker, *The Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory* (Baltimore: Pechin & Co., 1796). 12, msa.maryland.gov; and "Pennsylvania, U.S., Septennial Census, 1779-1863," Philadelphia, PA, 1800, 73, Ancestry.com.

² *City Gazette* (Charleston, SC), August 18, 1801, 2; and Alexander DeConde, *The Quasi-War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), 103.

³ An advertisement for the sale of the property states that, "The whole of the buildings are about three years old." *City Gazette* (Charleston, SC), April 1, 1813, 1.

⁴ In France, full-body bathing for hygienic purposes was an accepted practice at the turn of the nineteenth century while skepticism prevailed in the United States well into the same century. "Bathing," January 19, 2012, Monticell.org.

⁵ Deed Book C9, 33, Register of Deeds Office, Charleston, South Carolina.

⁶ *Southern Patriot* (Charleston, SC), multiple advertisements between December 21, 1831, and December 30, 1834.

⁷ *Southern Patriot*, January 12, 1836, 2.

⁸ "Steamboats vs. Steamships," Frank L. McGuire Maritime Library of the New London Maritime Society, accessed July 6, 2022,

<https://mcguirelibrary1998.omeka.net/exhibits/show/new-london-and-the-first-steam/steamboats-vs--steamships>.

⁹ Juliana Falk, “Who Was John Stoney? A Charleston-Augusta Conundrum,” in *Georgia Matters: Celebrating Two Decades of Scholarship*, ed. Dale L. Couch (Georgia Museum of Art at the University of Georgia, 2022), 127-28.

¹⁰ Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014), 101.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 103-4.

¹² Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 2-3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁴ The earliest reference that I found to the *John Stoney* was a news item from Georgetown, South Carolina, reprinted in the December 1, 1830, edition of the *Augusta [Georgia] Chronicle* that announced, “The Steam Boat John Stoney – This new and elegant Boat, whose arrival on Monday last is mentioned in our marine list, was lately launched at New York, and is intended for the Charleston and Augusta trade.” The last reference that I found to the *John Stoney* was an advertisement in the January 26, 1839, edition of the *Southern Patriot* (Charleston, SC) for its sale. The intact boat was to be offered for sale, but if no reasonable bids were received, parts of the boat were to be sold off in lots. Since I found no further advertisements for the *John Stoney* after that date, it seems likely that the boat was indeed sold for parts.

¹⁵ “North River, James Kent,” Transferware Collectors Club, accessed June 10, 2022, https://db.transferwarecollectorsclub.org/patterns/north-river-james-kent/?search_query=168444&page_number=1.

¹⁶ See “B Wall” (TCC Pattern No. 6512), “King’s Arms Palace Yard” (TCC Pattern No. 15229), “New Forest Lodge” (TCC Pattern No. 20615), “Ship Tavern, Water Lane” (TCC Pattern No. 6507), and “Spaniard Inn” (TCC Pattern No. 18780) for additional examples of the Standard Willow pattern modified for hospitality use.

¹⁷ Phillips, 2-3.

¹⁸ *John Stoney* apparently had sails since the advertisement for the sale of the boat in the January 26, 1839, edition of the *City Gazette* lists the “Sails and Awnings” as one of the lots to be sold if the “Boat entire” did not receive any reasonable bids.

¹⁹ John Leinhard, “The Last Masts,” Engines of our Ingenuity, accessed July 13, 2022, <https://uh.edu/engines/epi1338.htm>.

²⁰ John A. Walthall, *Queensware Direct from the Potteries: U.S. Importers of Staffordshire Ceramics in Antebellum America 1820-1860* (Illinois State Archaeological Survey, 2013), x, accessed May 18, 2022, https://sha.org/documents/Staffordshire_ceramic_importers-ISAS.pdf.

²¹ “Ward, Eber Brock,” Encyclopedia of Detroit of the Detroit Historical Society, accessed August 6, 2022, <https://detroithistorical.org/learn/encyclopedia-of-detroit/ward-eber-brock>.

²² Walthall, x.

²³ “Ironstone,” [thepotteries.org](http://www.thepotteries.org/types/ironstone.htm), accessed August 6, 2022, <http://www.thepotteries.org/types/ironstone.htm>.

²⁴ John Disturnell, *New York as it was and as it is* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1876), 140, <https://archive.org/details/NewYorkAsItWasAndAsItIs/page/n9/mode/2up?view=theater>.

²⁵ Michael Weinberg, email to author, August 26, 2021.

²⁶ Sharon Pekrul, email to author, February 18, 2022.

²⁷ “ID Number 1957.6.3,” Collections Online of the Museum of the City of Windsor, Ontario, Canada, accessed August 25, 2022, <http://windsormuseum.ca:8080/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=29642;type=101>.

²⁸ Walthall, 159.

²⁹ Mark Price, “Sonar reveals harrowing detail about notorious 1838 ship explosion off North Carolina,” *The News & Observer* (Raleigh, NC), August 29, 2021, <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/state/north-carolina/article252188653.html>.

³⁰ Micah Eldred, conversation with author, June 17, 2022.

³¹ Micah Eldred, email to author, July 6, 2022.

³² Arabia’s Story, The Arabia Steamboat Museum, accessed April 3, 2022, <https://www.1856.com/arabia-story>.

³³ Rebecca Smith Lee, *Mary Austin Holley: A Biography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 324, <https://archive.org/details/maryaustinholley0000leer/page/324/mode/2up?q=steamer+>. Holley (1784-1846) was a writer who published the first book in English about Texas in 1833.

³⁴ “Boston Mails China,” Encyclopedia Titanica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.encyclopedia-titanica.org/community/threads/boston-mails-china.29604/>.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ John Kennedy, *The History of Steam Navigation* (Liverpool: Charles Birchall, Limited, 1903), 33, <https://archive.org/details/historyofsteamna00kennuoft/page/n9/mode/2up?q=waterloo&view=th eater>.

³⁷ “Great Eastern,” *The Great Ocean Liners*, accessed August 3, 2022, <http://thegreatoceanliners.com/articles/great-eastern/>.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Kennedy, 32.

⁴⁰ “British Shipping Companies,” *Flags of the World*, accessed August 2, 2022, <https://www.fotw.info/flags/gb~hfno.html>.