

Ceramics Destined for York Factory: An Examination of Hudson's Bay Company Archival Sources

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Résumé/Abstract

Cet article analyse les données disponibles dans deux séries de documents conservées aux archives de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson. À l'aide des «York Factory Invoices of Shipments» et des «Indent Books», l'auteur apporte des précisions sur la vaisselle, les articles de toilette et les récipients en céramique expédiés à la York Factory de 1783 à 1880 et identifie les noms de neuf fournisseurs de produits céramiques et les articles qu'ils offraient. L'article traite des formes, modèles, décors et genres d'articles céramiques offerts par chaque fournisseur, ainsi que des quantités et des prix. Les renseignements contenus dans les archives sont comparés aux pièces en céramique récupérées lors de fouilles à la York Factory. Pour la première fois, l'auteur associe certaines formes de poteries produites par W.T. Copeland and Sons et certains modèles en céramique aux établissements de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson. Le texte se termine par un glossaire de la terminologie utilisée dans les documents.

This paper examines the information available in two sets of documents housed in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The "York Factory Invoices of Shipments" and the "Indent Books" were studied for details on the ceramic tableware, toilet ware, and containers shipped to York Factory from 1783 to 1880. The names of nine ceramic suppliers and the goods they provided are identified. Information is given on the ceramic shapes, patterns, decorations, and ware types provided by each supplier. The quantity and the price of goods are discussed. The information from the archival records is compared to objects excavated at York Factory. Ceramic shapes produced by W.T. Copeland and Sons and ceramic patterns not previously associated with Hudson's Bay Company sites are illustrated. A glossary of the terminology used in the documents is included.

York Factory, a Hudson's Bay Company post situated near the mouth of the Hayes River in northern Manitoba, was one of the most important fur trade sites in North America. It was occupied almost continuously from 1686 until 1957, when the company closed the post. During those years it had three different locations, involving a total of seven construction periods and numerous structures. At its peak in the 1830s, York Factory had over fifty buildings. During the early 1800s it was both the main supply base for the vast network of posts in northern and western Canada and headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department. Detailed accounts of all aspects of departmental business were kept, and these records, beginning in 1671, are now housed in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBCA) in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg. Microfilm copies are available at the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, and the Public Record Office, London.

In 1978 Parks Canada, Prairie Region, began an archaeological investigation at York Factory National Historic Site, and the excavations, conducted during the summer months, are still in progress. Surface indications provide the location of many structures, although only two buildings stand today. One, known as the "Depot," is a three-storey wooden structure built in the 1830s. The

excavation programme has recovered a vast quantity of historic artifacts, of which 6,480 are ceramic tableware, toilet ware, and containers dating from the late 1700s to the mid-twentieth century.

In an effort to gather more information on the ceramic objects recovered from the York Factory excavations, two sets of Hudson's Bay Company documents were consulted. The information provided by these documents is discussed below and comparison is made to ceramics recovered from excavations at York Factory.

The Archival Sources

The "York Factory Invoices of Shipments"¹ and the "Indent Books"² are exceptionally valuable for researchers interested in such aspects of the fur trade as the names of suppliers of goods to Hudson's Bay Company posts, the type of goods requested by company clerks, and the quantity, variety, and price of goods transported to frontier fur trade posts.

The "York Factory Invoices of Shipments" were examined for each year from 1783 to 1880.³ They provide a detailed description of the merchandise imported to York Factory for the HBC's Northern Department, an

area which included most of the western interior of Canada and all of the western Arctic. Only information on the ceramic orders for York Factory was transcribed, however; orders for all other districts were excluded.

The books are set up in column format with the following information recorded from left to right: shipment lot number; quantity and the type of container the goods were packed in; quantity of item; the item; descriptors such as colour, size, shape, and quality; unit price, and total cost. One example is:

989 1 Cask 12 doz. large Cups & Saucers blue & white 9/ [9s.] 5 8 "[-] [£5 8s. 0d.]⁴

From 1823 on, the goods listed are headed by the supplier's name, and the total value of the goods for each supplier is given. Also, the total cost is listed for the containers the goods were packed in, the packing material (straw), and the freight charges from the supplier to the London warehouse. Occasionally there are marginal notations, written by the supplier or the London warehouse clerk, which explain why there were discrepancies between the goods requested and the goods supplied:

The quantities of the different sizes packed in error by the manufacturer. The mistakes were discovered too late to be rectified.⁵

The first ceramic order of notable quantity was shipped to York Factory in 1796. Prior to this, tableware items were of pewter and tin. After 1872 the quantities of ceramics imported to York Factory decreased considerably. This decrease may simply indicate that the records are incomplete, or it may reflect the decline in importance of the yearly ships from London as transportation from the south developed and the consequent shift in the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters from York Factory to Lower Fort Garry.

The "Indent Books" were examined for approximately every fifth year for the period 1801-70. They provide a list of goods ordered (indents) by the Northern Department for the upcoming year. They are set up in much the same format as the invoices of shipments. From left to right they give the quantity of items; a description which generally includes the quality, colour, size, and shape; the item; estimated unit price (based on the previous year's invoices), and the estimated total cost:

4 do [dozen] fine fancy colored ware Mugs 3/4 pint
1/6 [1s. 6d.] 1 10 - [£1 10s. 0d.]⁶

The information in the "Indent Books" provides a minimum of detail on the ceramics. The descriptive terms, although often vague, suggest that the quality, colour, and decoration of ceramic objects appear to be more important than the ceramic ware type. This provided an interesting

insight into how the Hudson's Bay Company clerks perceived ceramic objects.

Ceramics Requested, Supplied and Excavated

Most of the ceramics recovered through excavation are English. Packed with straw in casks, they found their way to this Canadian outpost by a long and often dangerous two- to six-week journey by ship from the Hudson's Bay Company's London warehouse. It was customary at the warehouse to receive long lists (the indents) of tableware, toilet ware, and containers requested by the company's clerks for York Factory. These orders, written one to two years prior to receipt of goods, were filled by numerous suppliers as regulated by the Hudson's Bay Company's directors of operations known as the Governor and Committee. The suppliers sent the ordered goods to the London warehouse where they were invoiced and packed for export by ship to York Factory.

The clerks requesting ceramics rarely mentioned pattern names but described their wants with such descriptors as: "fine fancy colored ware," "strong colored ware," "Blue figures ware," or "plain white." Interestingly enough, the "H[B]" pattern was the only pattern requested by name. In 1865 a York Factory clerk requested the following items:

to be all [H]B pattern as supplied to the Company's ships as to the southern department; being for the use of the public mess tables vt.

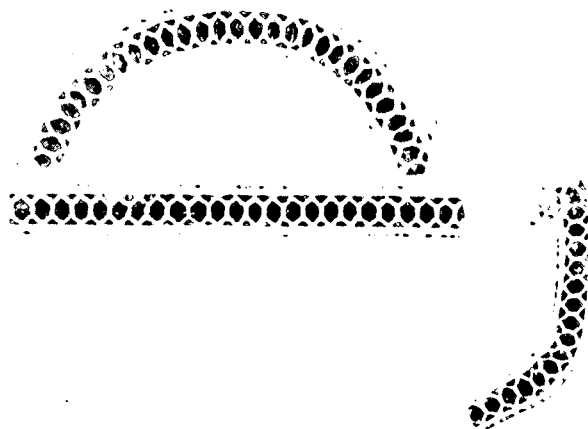


Fig. 1. Pattern "D255" dates 1853 - post 1872 and has been found associated with a Hudson's Bay Company Armorial Badge (fig. 2e). (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-18W.¹²)

2 doz. pint Basins
 12 " ½ [pint] do & saucers
 6 oval Dishes 18 Ins.
 6 " do 16 "
 6 " do 12 "
 12 " do vegetable with covers
 12 pint Jugs
 6 quart do
 12 doz. flat dinner Plates

6 " soup " do
 6 " flat pudding do
 6 " deep " do⁷

These items were shipped from London in 1866 to arrive in York Factory in 1867. The earliest mention of this pattern in the invoices of shipments is recorded in 1868 as being supplied by W. Y. Copeland and Sons:

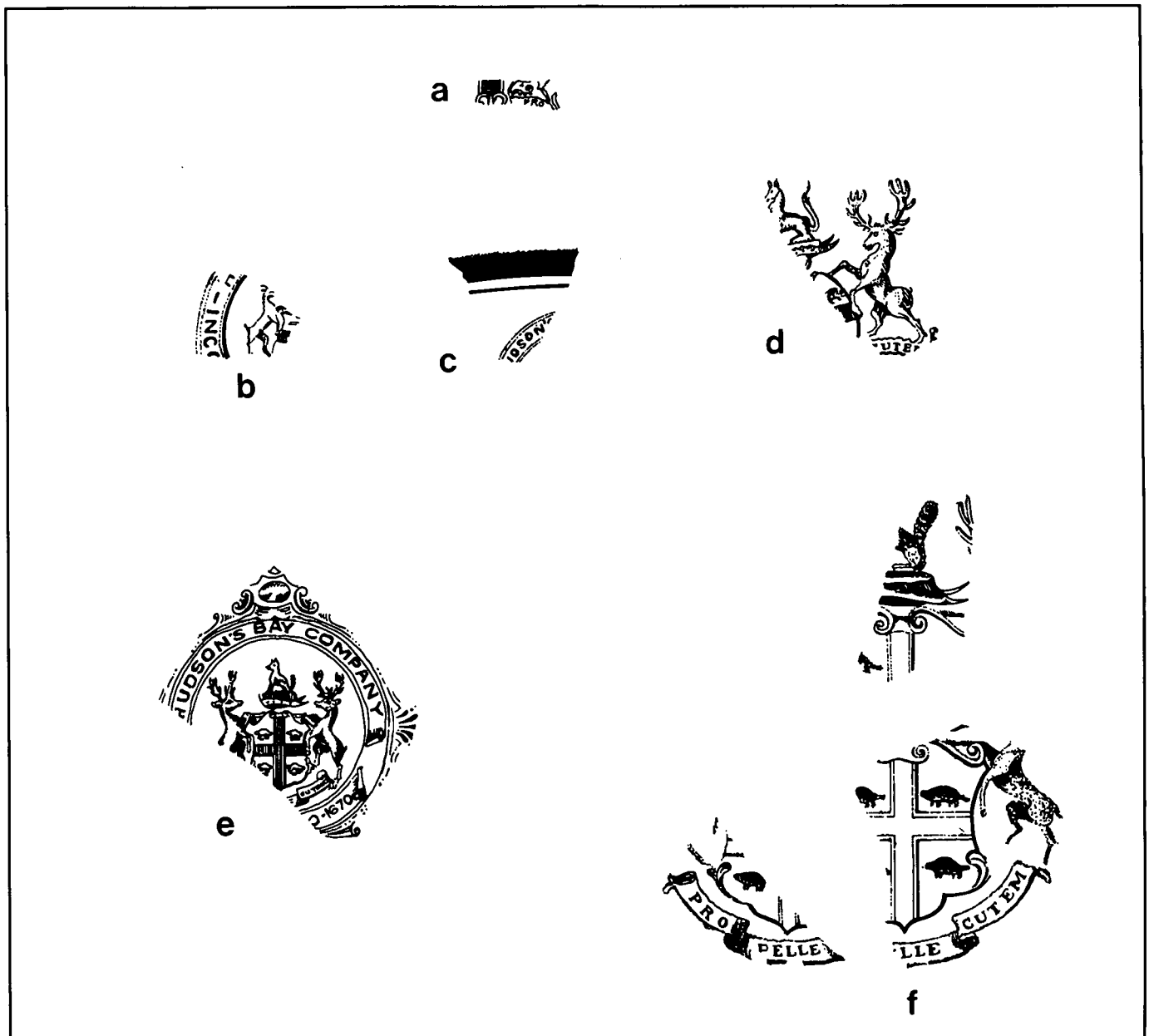


Fig. 2. Hudson's Bay Company Armorial badges recovered from excavations at York Factory. The data recorded from left to right are: manufacturer, location, date, mark method. (Drawing by K. Graham-Stevenson.)

- a) W. T. Copeland & Sons (probably); Stoke-on-Trent, England; ca. 1868-1872-?¹³ underglaze blue transfer-print.
- b,d) unknown (possibly John Maddock & Sons of Burslem, England); early twentieth century;¹⁴ underglaze blue transfer-print.
- c) W. T. Copeland & Sons (probably); Stoke-on-Trent, England; 1907-?¹⁵ underglaze blue transfer-print.
- e) unknown; underglaze black transfer-print.
- f) unknown; pre-1880;¹⁶ underglaze blue-black transfer-print.

6 Elles^c (Ellesmere shape) Cover Dishes D255 blue & badge in centre lettered at Back H.B.C.⁸

The excavations at York Factory have recovered one small sherd marked "D255" in blue on the back side and on the front with the HBC Armorial badge. Although this sherd was too small to show the pattern, consultation with factory pattern books revealed that D255 refers to a "honeycomb bead" design (fig. 1). Thirty-seven sherds with this design have been found associated with the HBC Armorial Badge. In addition, fragments of five different HBC Armorial badges have been identified (fig. 2). One of these badges was found associated with a pattern other than "D255." The name and manufacturer of this pattern, however, are to date unidentified (fig. 3).

These patterns were by no means the only ones at York Factory. The invoices of shipments list some fifty-four different patterns varying in colour and decorating numerous shapes (table 1 and appendix A). They were in blues, "queen's" (violet), brown, "neutral tint" (grey), green, red, and occasionally trimmed with gold. The most popular colour was royal saxon dark blue ("R.S.D.B."). This term was used to describe a particular blue that had "flow" qualities and gave the design a "blurred look," an effect that was popular during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the collection of ceramics recovered from the excavations at York Factory there are 314 different pattern/designs produced with such decorative techniques as underglaze transfer-printing, moulded relief, painting, stamping, sponging, lithographing, gilding, slipping, incising, and applying. Transfer-print patterns are by far the most common. Of the transfer-print pattern/designs (177 of which are in blue), most could not be identified as

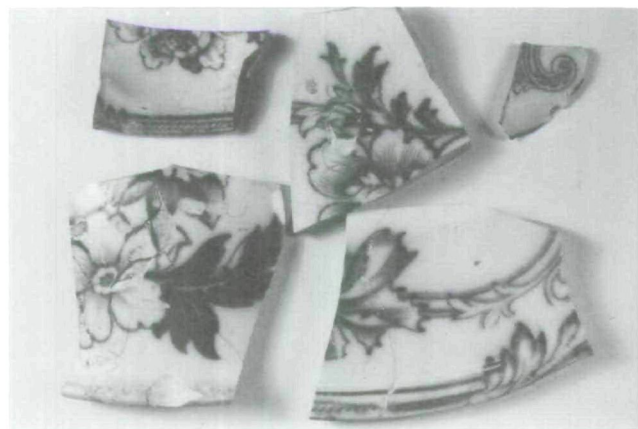


Fig. 3. Unidentified pattern associated with the Hudson's Bay Company Armorial Badge. The manufacturer is not believed to be Copeland. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-255M.)

to name or manufacturer, and less than half of the patterns recorded in the archival records were recovered from excavations at York Factory (table 2). It should be noted, however, that not all the patterns in the archival records were listed by name. Some were described in general terms which may account for the large number of unidentified patterns in the ceramic collection. Names have been identified for fifty-nine pattern/designs and forty-one of these have been recognized as being manufactured at the Spode Pottery in England by Spode/Copeland, long noted for its excellent earthenware and bone china.

Spode/Copeland first began supplying ceramics to the HBC in 1836, when William Taylor Copeland worked in partnership with Thomas Garrett and the company was known as Copeland and Garrett (1833-47). In 1847 William T. Copeland went into business for himself and in 1867 his sons joined him to form the company W.T. Copeland and Sons. The company name changed to Spode Limited in 1970 and is still in business today.



Fig. 4. "B798" is one of the three most popular Copeland patterns shipped to York Factory and recovered from excavations. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-14T.)

The most popular of Copeland's patterns, according to the archival records and the excavated examples, were "B700," "B772," and "B798" (later referred to as "Flower Vase") (fig. 4). During the third quarter of the nineteenth century these transfer-print patterns decorated everything from four-quart barrel jugs to soup tureens and ladles to unhandled breakfast cups and saucers (figs. 5-12). Some of the Copeland patterns listed in the archival records have not as yet been excavated. Most of these are a combination of transfer-print, polychrome painting, and gilt decoration and were generally intended for use on bone china objects (figs. 13-29). In addition to these, Copeland's "Lilac," "Canton," and "Ilium" are transfer-print patterns not previously identified as being associated with Hudson's Bay Company sites (figs. 30, 31, 32) and "Grapevine," a pattern for bone china, is illustrated for the first time here (fig. 33).

The date ranges for a substantial number of the Copeland patterns have been discussed elsewhere.⁹ A comparison of these dates to those recorded in the archival records has made possible refinements in the date ranges. These changes are listed in table 3.

Not all the ceramics supplied by Copeland were listed by pattern name but some were referred to by the London warehouse clerks as "Printed," "Painted," "Enameled," "Fancy Painted," "Color'd Flowers," and "Painted Roses." These pattern descriptions no doubt refer to some of the Copeland patterns recovered through excavations (table 2).

The archival records identify the ceramics as being made of several different ware types. Ceramics supplied by Copeland and Garrett were made of "queensware," "porcelain," "china," or "cream color" and those supplied by

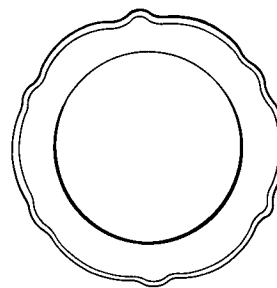


Fig. 5 W.T. Copeland's "Opal" plate. (Adapted from a photograph courtesy of R. Copeland, Spode Limited, England; drawing by L. Davies.)

Fig. 6. W.T. Copeland's "Portland" plate. (Adapted from a photograph courtesy of R. Copeland, Spode Limited, England; drawing by L. Davies.)

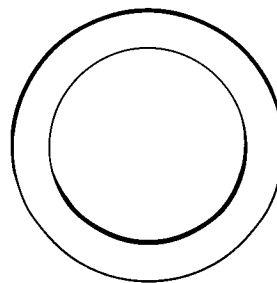
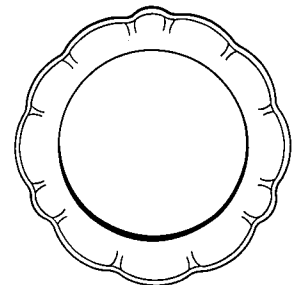


Fig. 7. W.T. Copeland's "Richmond" plate. (Adapted from a photograph courtesy of R. Copeland, Spode Limited, England; drawing by L. Davies.)

Fig. 8. W.T. Copeland's "Barrel Covered Jug." (Adapted from a photograph courtesy of R. Copeland, Spode Limited, England; drawing by L. Davies.)

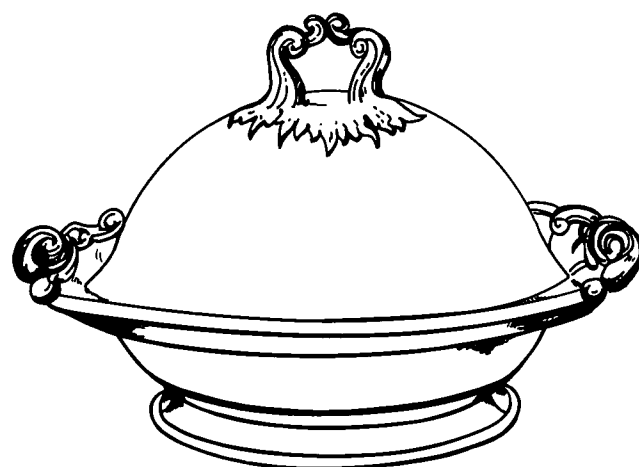


Fig. 11. W.T. Copeland's "Round Ellesmere" serving dish. (Adapted from a photograph courtesy of R. Copeland, Spode Limited, England; drawing by L. Davies.)

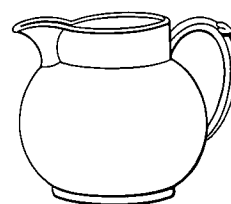
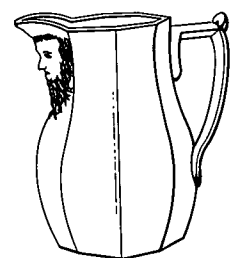


Fig. 9. W.T. Copeland's "Low Dutch" Jug. (Adapted from a photograph courtesy of R. Copeland, Spode Limited, England; drawing by L. Davies.)

Fig. 10. W.T. Copeland's "Octagon" Jug. (Adapted from a photograph courtesy of R. Copeland, Spode Limited, England; drawing by L. Davies.)



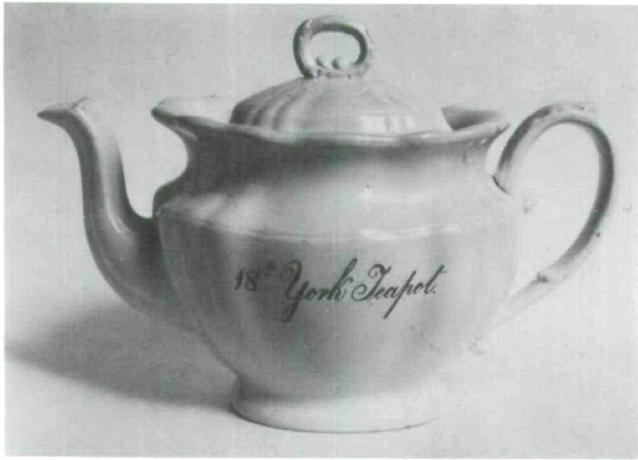


Fig. 12. W.T. Copeland's "York" teapot, height 19 cm. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-897X.)

W.T. Copeland were made of "P. White," "China," "E'ware," or "Stone" (appendix A). The Copeland ceramics recovered through excavation at York Factory were made of the equivalent ware types known today as white earthenware, pearl ware, or bone china.

The Copeland companies were the sole suppliers of ceramic wares bound for York Factory from 1836 to 1854. Prior to this, Robert Elliott supplied ceramics from 1823 to 1834 and John Blackburn was the supplier in 1835. The Copeland monopoly was interrupted by Boucher and Company from 1855 to 1857, Jonathan Phillips in 1858, W.P. and G. Phillips in 1859, and Boucher, Guy and Company in 1866.

Copeland was the only supplier manufacturing ceramics; the remaining six suppliers were china and glass merchants.¹⁰ There are no records, to the best of this author's knowledge, which provide listings of the manufacturers of ceramics sent by these china merchants to the HBC. It is difficult, therefore, to identify and match the patterns supplied with a manufacturer. The archival records do, however, provide information on the ware types, colour, patterns, and shapes these merchants supplied.

Robert Elliott furnished large quantities of dinnerware, tea ware, toilet ware, and kitchenware similar to the listings for Copeland (table 1). The ceramic items were described as being made of either "queensware" or "earthenware" and were plain ("white") or decorated with (presumably) transfer-prints in "blue & white," "Best Blue & White," "Foliage," "Red Dot," and "Rich Japan." The latter three descriptions are probably pattern names. "Foliage" was sent in both blue and green, decorating tea ware (table 1). This pattern has not yet been found at York Factory; however, a pattern with the same name is illus-

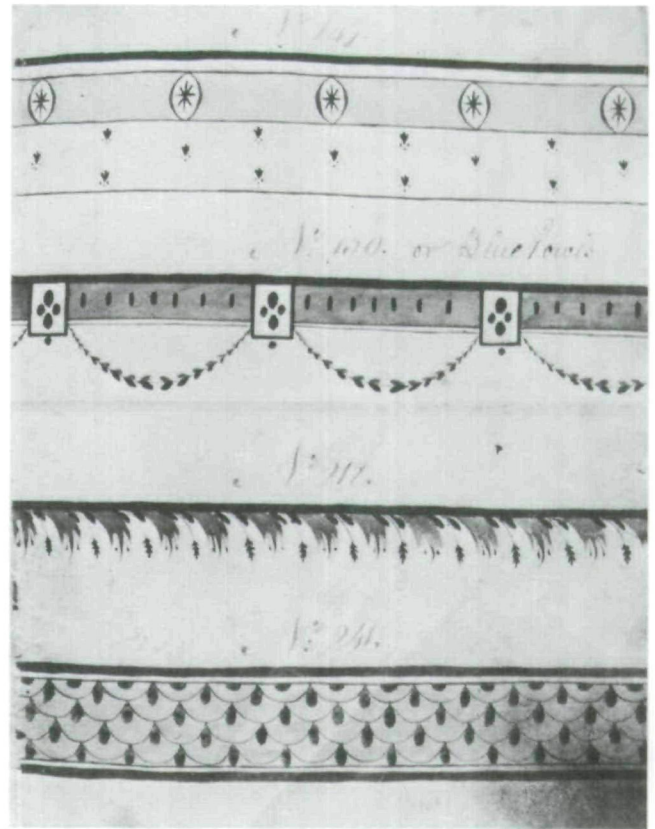


Fig. 13. Pattern "218" (second from bottom); introduced ca. 1801. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-15T.)

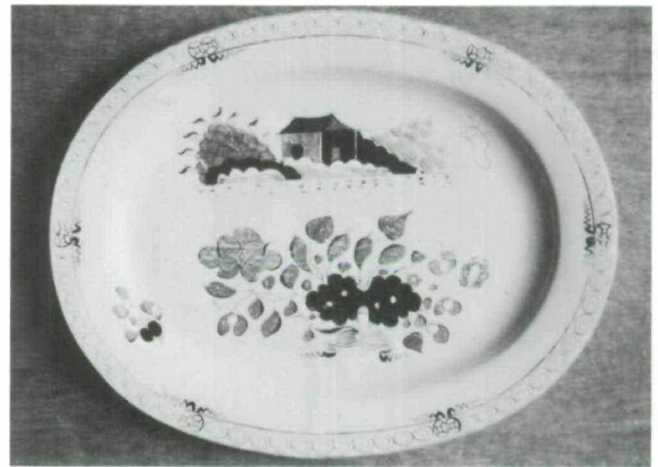


Fig. 14. Pattern "488"; introduced ca. 1803. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-OW, P.A.-1OW.)

trated in Sussman and is likely this design.¹¹ "Red Dot" and "Rich Japan" have not yet been identified.

J. Blackburn supplied ceramics only in 1835. The majority of the items were toilet ware, but there were also

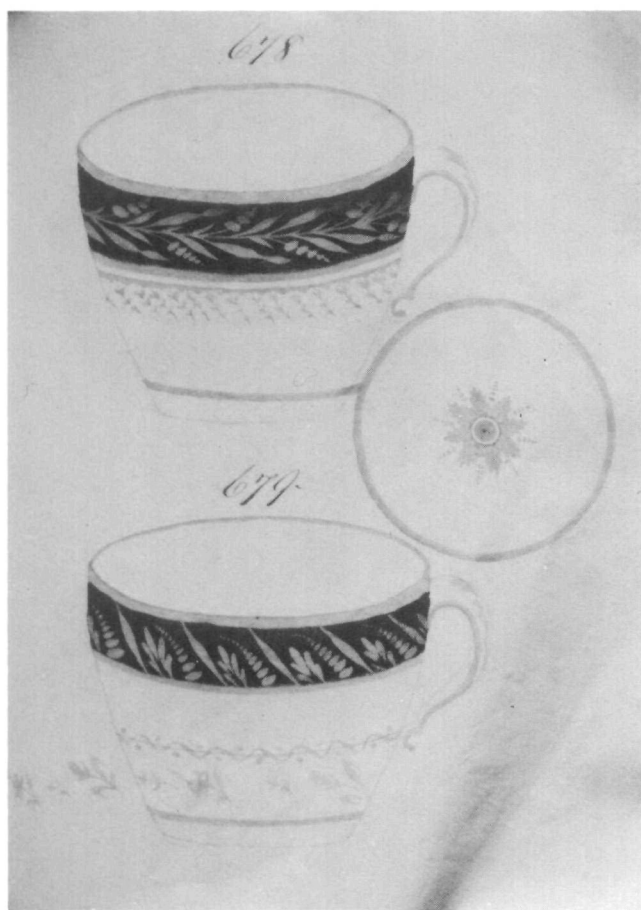


Fig. 15. Pattern "678" (top); introduced ca. 1804. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-2W.)

tea ware and dinnerware. These wares were described as being made of "china," "Queensware," and "Brownware." They were decorated in "blue & white," "best green & white," "fine china painted," "Neat Marble," and "New Pattern." Exactly what patterns these descriptions refer to is not known. Because both Blackburn and Eliott were china merchants, it is possible they were supplying Spode/Copeland ceramic patterns along with other manufacturers' ceramics.

Boucher and Company, later known as Boucher, Guy and Company, supplied a limited number and variety of ceramic shapes. Most were plates of various types, but there were also tea ware, serving ware, and gallipots. Descriptions were not given for the ware types and the decorations on these items.

Jonathan Phillips and W.P. and G. Phillips supplied only bowls, saucers, mugs, and plates. The wares of the latter were described as being decorated in "blue," "printed," and the pattern "Fibre" (table 1). This pattern was produced by several British manufacturers including Copeland. Excavated examples from York Factory are in



Fig. 16. Pattern "708" (bottom); introduced ca. 1804. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-1W.)

both blue and green but unfortunately not enough of the sherds are present to identify a manufacturer's name.

The orders of ceramics supplied by these companies varied in quantities and variety from year to year and were by no means meagre. The quantities of items ranged from a single item to 30 dozen, but generally there were at least 8 dozen of any one shape. The largest total order in a single year (314 dozen) was supplied in 1869 by W.T. Copeland and Sons (table 4). W.T. Copeland supplied on the average the largest quantities and varieties of ceramic goods overall.

The prices of goods generally remained constant during the period of supply for each of the nine suppliers. Prices did change from company to company, particularly in the post-1850 years when Copeland, Phillips, and Boucher were in competition. In 1855, for example, W.T. Copeland reduced its prices for such items as blue printed cups and saucers from four shillings to three shillings ten pence per dozen and it reduced blue printed ten-inch plates from four shillings to three shillings and then to two shillings three pence. Copeland's prices undercut

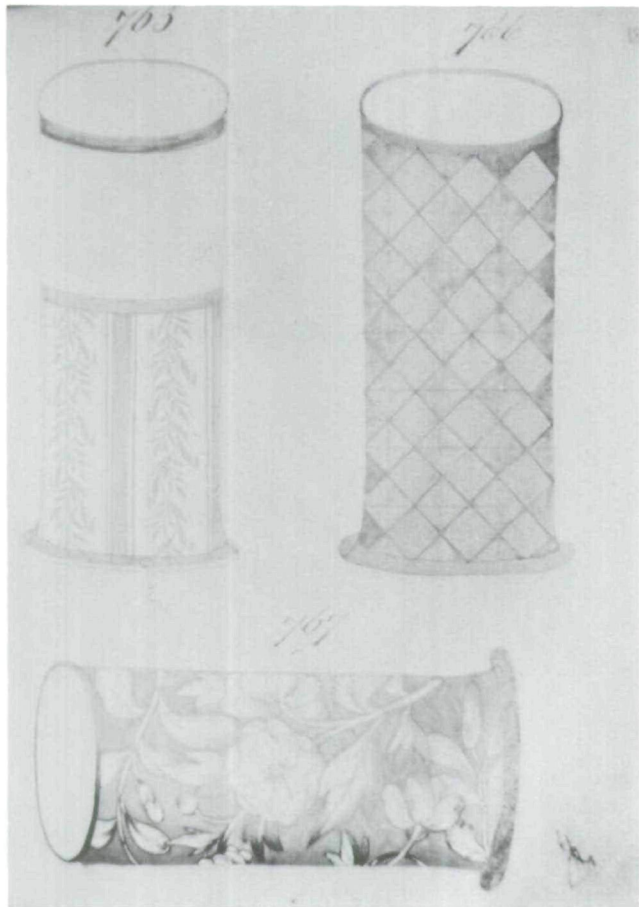


Fig. 17. Pattern "766"; introduced ca. 1804. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-11W.)

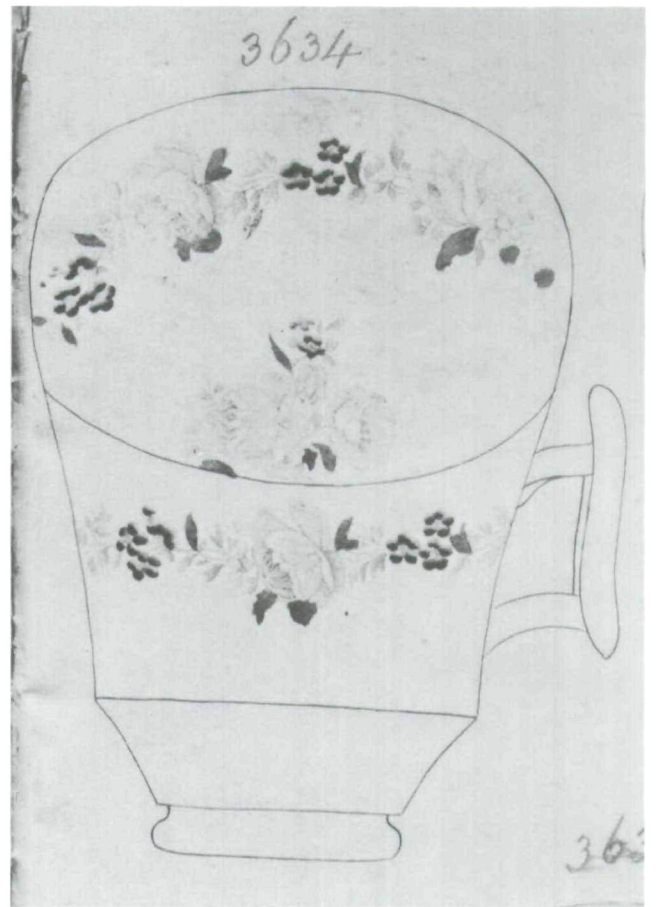


Fig. 19. Pattern "3634"; introduced ca. 1822. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-3W.)

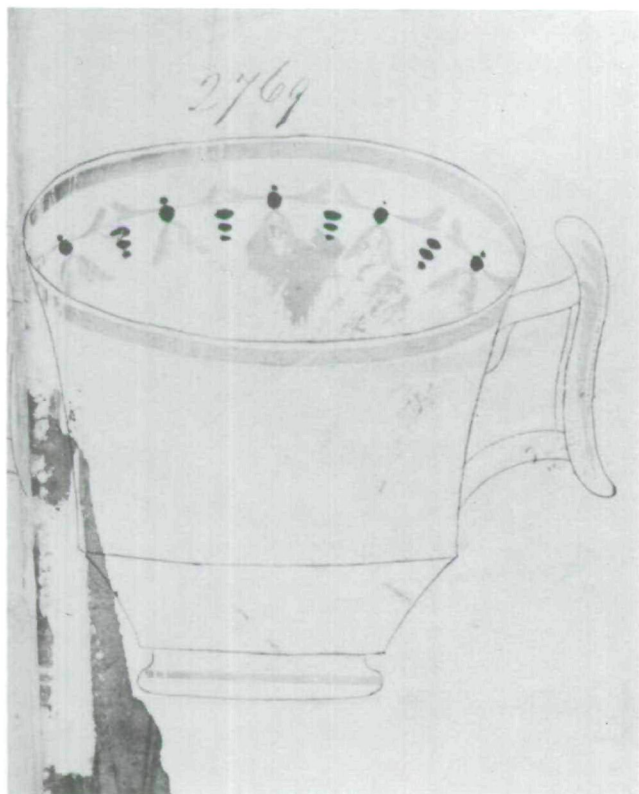


Fig. 18. Pattern "2769"; introduced ca. 1818. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-12W.)

Boucher by three pence per dozen for mugs and by one shilling two pence for cups and saucers. In the 1870s, when W.T. Copeland and Sons was the sole supplier, the prices of most goods were inflated. This price increase may have reflected a rising cost of production or more probably the lack of competition at this time.

The prices of objects varied, depending on the decoration and ware type. Objects of china with painted decoration were generally fifteen shillings to two pounds more per dozen than a blue printed object of the same shape. Most ceramic patterns described as being "blue & white" (decorated with a blue transfer-print pattern) cost the same for any one supplier. Only one blue pattern cost less. W.T. Copeland and Sons' "Shamrock" pattern on a ten-inch plate was two pence less than most of Copeland's other blue printed patterns. Patterns were higher in price if they were in colours other than blue. Elliott's patterns "Green Foliage" and "Red Dot" in 1834 were one shilling



Fig. 20. Pattern "3801" (top); introduced ca. 1823. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-19W.)

more per dozen than the same objects in "blue and white." The cost of objects without decoration was one shilling four pence to two shillings four pence less than the cost of objects decorated with blue printed patterns.

Most of the information on ceramics provided by the archival records concurred with what has been found archaeologically. Of notable interest was the wide variety of patterns. Both the archival records and the excavated examples reflect this, although the variety of patterns for each is slightly different.

Two notable but not surprising discrepancies between the information provided by these two sources were the variety of ceramic shapes and the numbers of ceramic objects. Only the basic shapes recorded in the archival records have been identified in the recovered ceramic collection. This was largely attributed to the difficulty in identifying specific shapes from small sherds, particularly (as suggested by the archival records) when the difference between shapes was generally a difference in size (table 1). The vast numbers of ceramics shipped to York Factory have not been reflected by the recovered ceramics. An ob-

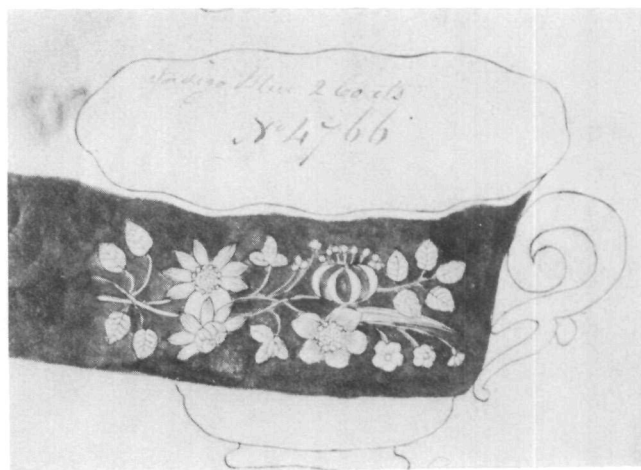


Fig. 21. Pattern "4766"; introduced ca. 1830. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-5W.)



Fig. 22. Pattern "4864"; introduced ca. 1840. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-4W.)

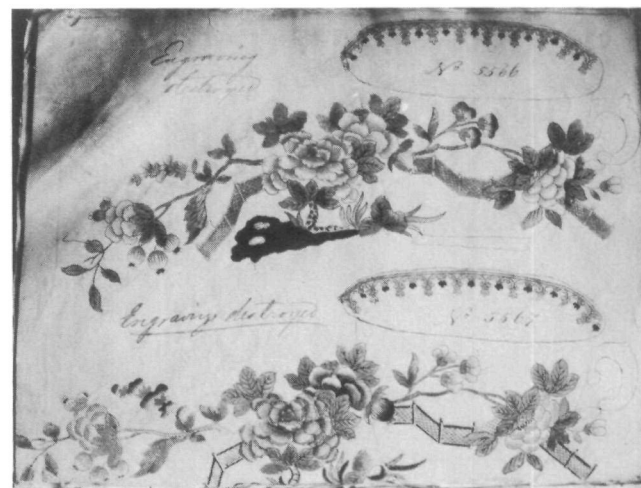


Fig. 23. Pattern "5567" (bottom); introduced ca. 1834. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-7W.)

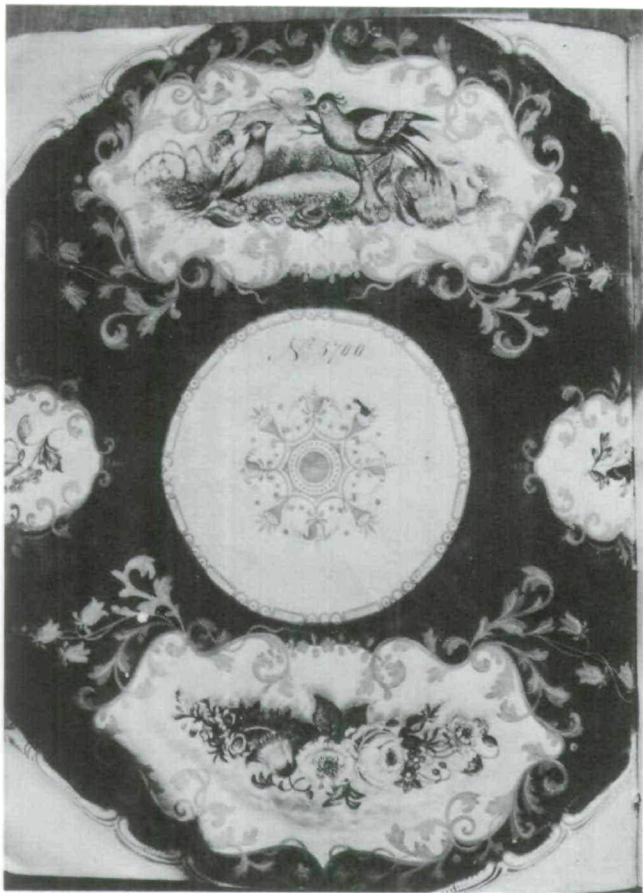


Fig. 24. Pattern "5700"; introduced ca. 1835. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-13W.)

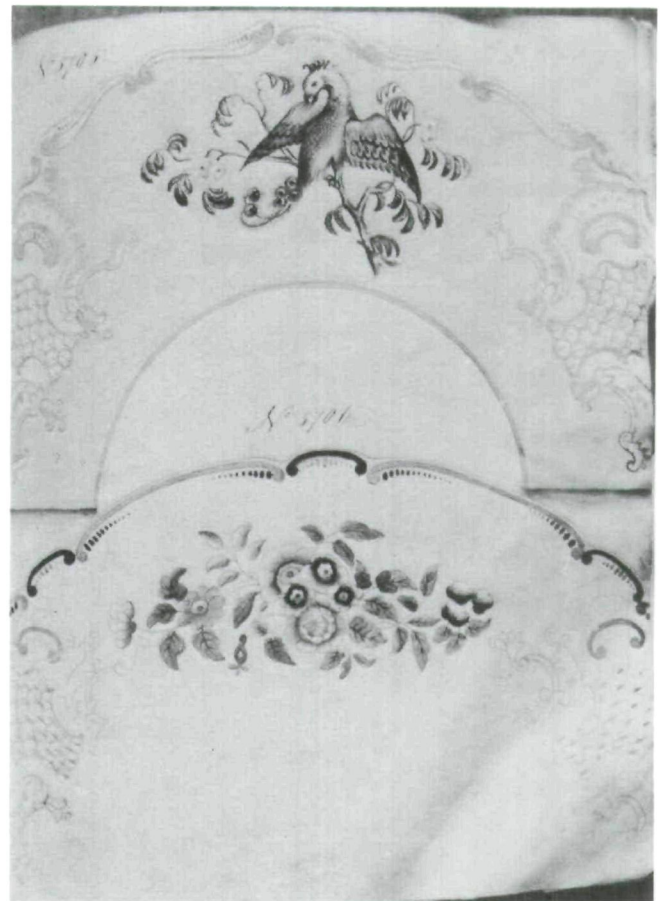


Fig. 25. Pattern "5706" (bottom); introduced ca. 1835. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-14W.)

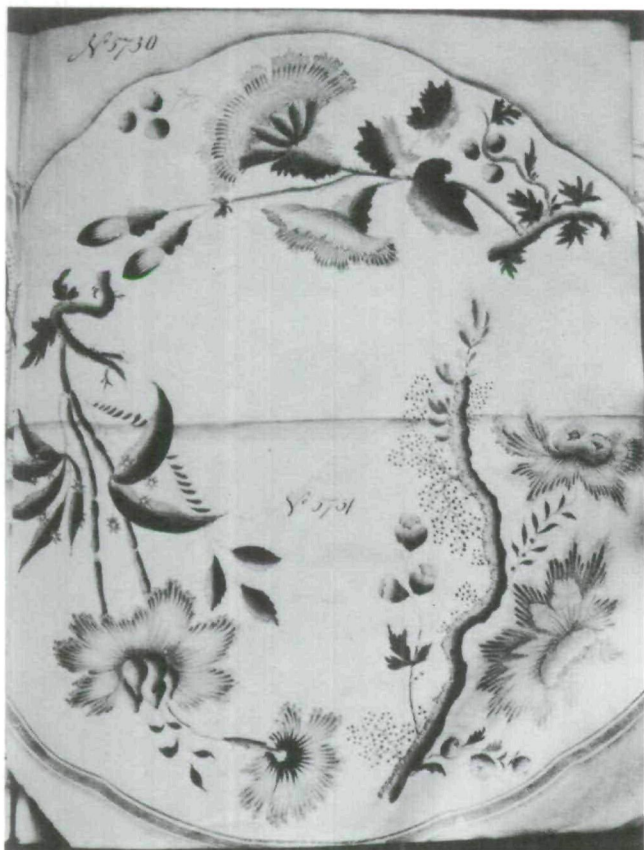


Fig. 26. Pattern "5731" (bottom); introduced ca. 1835. The motif at the left and top are the same as "French (Radiating) Sprigs."¹⁷ (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-6W.)

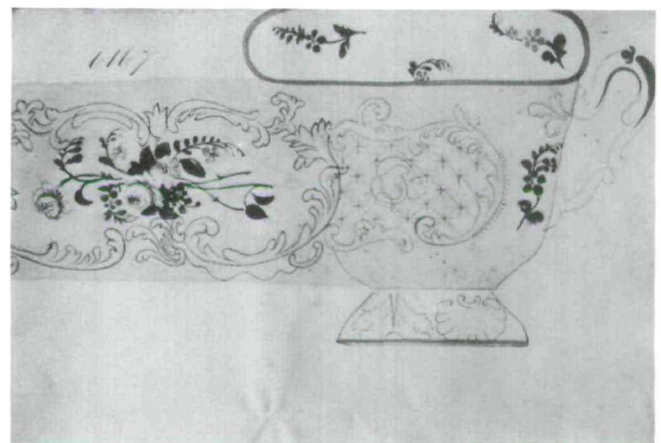


Fig. 27. Pattern "6167" (top right); introduced ca. 1838. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-16W.)

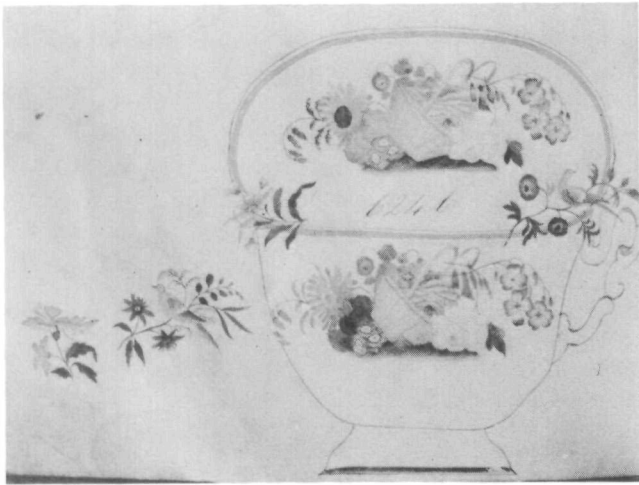


Fig. 28. Pattern "6246"; introduced ca. 1838. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-15W.)

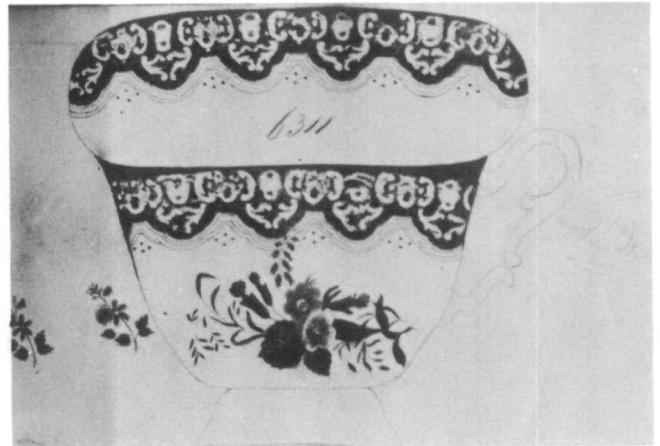


Fig. 29. Pattern "6311"; introduced ca. 1838. (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-17W.)

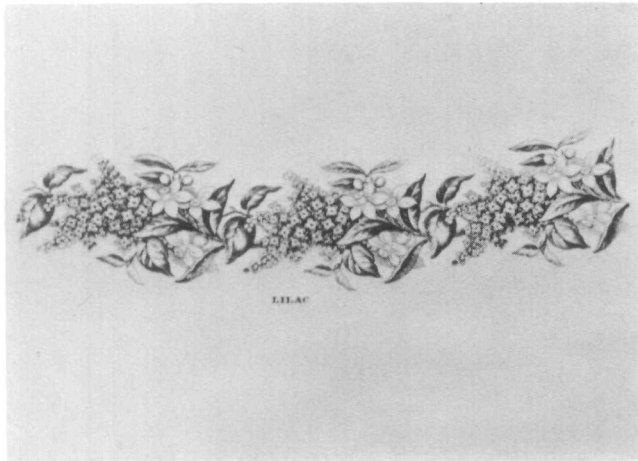


Fig. 30. "Lilac." (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-899X.)

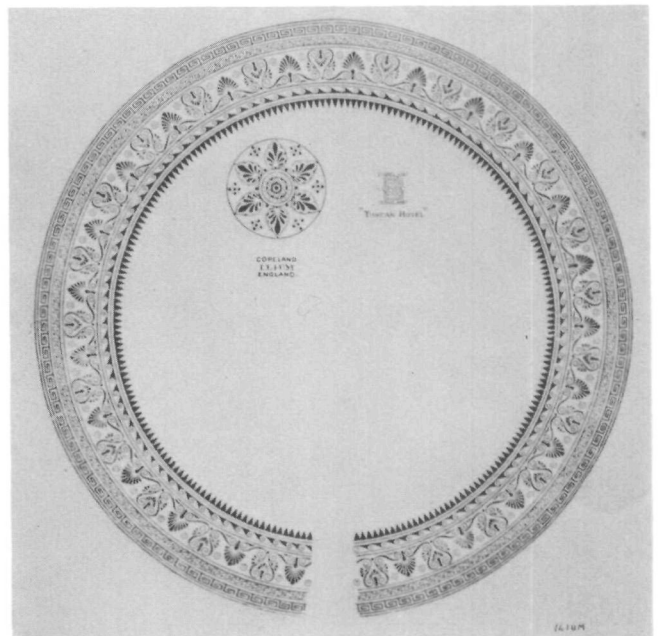


Fig. 32. "Ilium." (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-9W.)

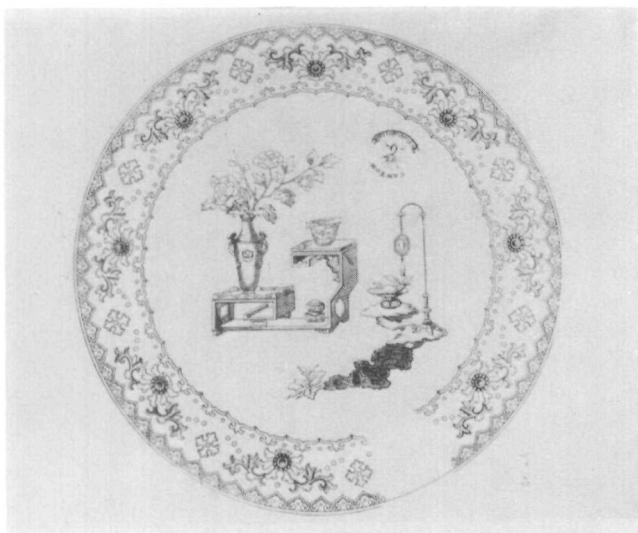


Fig. 31. "Canton." (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-898X.)



Fig. 33. "Grapevine." (Photo: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, neg. no. P.A.-259M.)

vicious explanation was simply that not all the areas of discard had been excavated (only about 1 per cent of the site has been dug) and that some of the objects were transported for trade inland.

The HBC archival records have provided a great deal of valuable information on ceramic suppliers and their

wares. They have supported and challenged archaeological data and have provided incentive for future research. Clearly, during the nineteenth century there was no scrimping by the company on the quantities and varieties of ceramics made available to frontier settlements. Consequently, there is today no scrimping on the availability of archival records for researchers' scrutiny.

TABLE 1
Ceramic Patterns Shipped to York Factory

Pattern Name	Colour	Shape/Function	Supplier	Year Shipped
Antique Border (Antique Vase)	—	¾-pt. bowls & saucers	Copeland & Garrett	1840
Blue Sprigs (maybe French R. Sprigs)	blue; enamelled	porcelain bkfst. bowls & saucers without handles	Copeland & Garrett	1837
Botanical Flowers	(fancy)	½-pt. mugs; pt. oct. jugs; 2-qt. oct. jugs; qt. jugs	Copeland & Garrett	1839
B700	dark blue; royal saxon dark blue	4-qt. barrel jugs; dr. unhdld. bkfst. cups & saucers; ½-pt. bkfst. bowls & saucers; ½-pt. unhdld. dr. bowls & bkfst. saucers; oct. jugs; mugs; opal soups; pt. bkfst. bowls & saucers; 10" opal plates; fit basins	W. T. Copeland	1858 1860-61 1863-73
B772	royal saxon dark blue	4-qt. barrel jugs; dr. unhdld. bkfst. cups & saucers; ½-pt. bkfst. bowls & saucers; ½-pt. unhdld. dr. bowls & bkfst. saucers; oval soup tureen & ladle; opal & richmond plates; oct. jugs; mugs; opal soups; 10" opal plates; 10" plates; du jugs; plates; soup; 10" soup plate; 16" & 12" dishes; pt. du bowls	W. T. Copeland	1858 1860-61 1863-72
B773	royal saxon dark blue	oct. jugs; fit basins	W. T. Copeland	1853 1871
B798 (also known as "Flower Vase")	royal saxon dark blue	4-qt. barrel jugs; dr. unhdld. bkfst. cups & saucers; ½-pt. bkfst. bowls & saucers; ½-pt. dr. bowls & bkfst. saucers; oct. jugs; mugs; dec bowls & bkfst. saucers; 10" plates; 10" soup plates; 16" & 12" dishes; du jugs	W. T. Copeland	1858 1860-61 1863-72
Camel[ia]	blue	plate; soup plates; dessert plates; 12" dishes	Copeland & Garrett	1840
Canton	—	¾-pt. bowls & saucers	Copeland & Garrett	1840
Corinthian	brown	dishes; soups; plates	W. T. Copeland & Sons	1868-69

Pattern Name	Colour	Shape/Function	Supplier	Year Shipped
Coronal	l. blue; s. blue	plates; soup; 10" plates; 10" soup plates; du jugs; 8 1/2" soup plates	W. T. Copeland	1870-72
D255 'Honeycomb'; (with HBC Badge)	blue s'blue	elles ^c cover dishes; jugs; plates; dishes; 9" dishes	W. T. Copeland & Sons	1868-69 1871-72
Elcho	blue; s'blue	dishes; soups; plates; 4s hand bowls; 6s chambers; flat rim chambers; unhdld. hand bowls	W. T. Copeland & Sons (No. 60)	1868 1870-73
Fibre	—	bowls & saucers	W. P. & G. Phillips	1859
Flower Vase	see B798			
Fruit patterns (may be Fruit & Flowers)	—	3/4-pt. bowls & saucers; pt. bowls; oval teapots; bkfst. cups & saucers; pt. basons	Copeland & Garrett	1839 1840
Foliage	green; blue	large cups & saucers; pt. basons; oval teapots; cups & saucers	Robert Elliott	1834
Geranium	—	3/4-pt. bowls & saucers	Copeland & Garrett	1840
Grecian scroll	blue	12" dishes; sauce tureens (comp. ^{to}); dinner plates	Copeland & Garrett	1839
H'suckled [Honeysuckle]	blue	1/2-pt. unhdld. basin & saucers	W. T. Copeland (No. 60)	1873
Honeycomb	see D255			
Hudson's Bay Company Badge	see D255			
India Tree	neutral tint	10" plates; dishes; soups; plates	W. T. Copeland; W. T. Copeland & Sons	1867-69
Italian	—	bkfst. cups & saucers; pt. basons; oval teapots	Copeland & Garrett	1839
Lilac	brown	Hand bowls, flat rim chambers	W. T. Copeland	1872
Lily	blue	plates; soup plates dessert plates; 12" dishes	Copeland & Garrett	1840 1847
Louis [Quatorze]	royal saxon dark blue	oval sauce tureen & ladle	W. T. Copeland	1863
Marble	royal saxon dark blue	douro hand bowls; 3/4-pt. bowls & saucers; pt. bowls; oval teapots	W. T. Copeland	1865-67
Passion Flower	s'blue	plates; soup plates; 10" soup plates; 8 1/2" soup plates; dishes	W. T. Copeland	1872
Persian	saxon blue; blue	canly[?]; opal & richmond plates	W. T. Copeland	1863
Portland Vase	blue	soup plates; dessert plates; 12" dishes; 8 1/2" soup plates; dishes; plates	Copeland & Garrett	1840 1850 1852

Pattern Name	Colour	Shape/Function	Supplier	Year Shipped
Red Dot	red	cups & large saucers; pt. basins; oval teapots	Robert Elliott	1834
Rich Japan	—	cups & saucers; pt. basins; large cups & saucers; oval teapots	Robert Elliott	1834
Ruins	neutral tint; royal saxon dark blue	10" plates; 12" dishes; 16" dishes; opal shape plates; opal soups; douro hand bowls; royal chambers; 6's chambers	W.T. Copeland W.T. Copeland & Sons	1858 1864-65 1868-70
Sardinia	queens	dishes; soup plates; plates	W.T. Copeland & Sons	1868-69
Seaweed	blue	wash hand basins; chambers	Copeland & Garrett	1839
Sevres	royal saxon dark blue	oval sauce tureen & ladle	W.T. Copeland	1863
Shamrock	blue	plates; soup plates; 10" plates; 10" soup plates; 8 1/2" soup; dishes	W.T. Copeland	1872
Souvenir	queens	4s hand bolws	W.T. Copeland	1871
218	—	large bkfst. cups & saucers; teapot stand; sugar box; cream ewer; slop basin; butter tub & stand	Copeland & Garrett	1840
488	(fancy)	pt. china basins	Copeland & Garrett	1838
678	—	china-handled cups & saucers	Copeland & Garrett	1843
708	(fancy)	pt. china basins	Copeland & Garrett	1838
766	—	1/2-pt. china bowls & saucers	W.T. Copeland	1859
2769	—	saucers for china bowls	W.T. Copeland	1855
3634	(fancy)	pt. china basins	Copeland & Garrett	1838
3801	blue	unhldd. 1/2-pt. bkfst. cups & saucers	W.T. Copeland	1853
4766	—	china-handled cups & saucers	Copeland & Garrett	1843
4864	(fancy)	pt. china basins	Copeland & Garrett	1838
5567	—	large china bkfst. cups & saucers; teapot & stand; sugar box; cream ewer; slop basin; butter tubs & stands; loaf plates	Copeland & Garrett	1840
5700	—	8-pt. china bowls & saucers	Copeland & Garrett	1840
5706	(no gold)	china bowls	Copeland & Garrett	1840
5731	(fancy)	pt. china basins	Copeland & Garrett	1838
6167	—	bowls	Copeland & Garrett	1840
6246	(no gold)	pt. china bowls; pt. bowls & saucers	Copeland & Garrett	1840

Pattern Name	Colour	Shape/Function	Supplier	Year Shipped
6311	green	pt. china bowls; bowls & saucers	Copeland & Garrett	1840
7663	—	1-pt. or 24 Bn Bowls (C. China)	W. T. Copeland	1864

Note: See appendix A for an explanation of terminology.
Source: HBCA, YF Inv., 1783-1880, B.239/ee/1-119.

TABLE 2
Identified Ceramic Patterns Recovered from Excavations at York Factory

Pattern Name	Colour	Shape/Function	Manufacturer	Pattern Date
Alhambra	dk. blue	plate, cup, saucer, flatware, hollow-ware	Copeland*	1848-post 1882
Antique Vase	dk. blue	flatware	Copeland*	ca. 1840-20thc.
Asiatic Pheasant	lt. blue	plate	John Meir & Son or Wedgwood & Co. or Hollingstead & Kirkham*	ca. 1830-1900
Bamboo & Flowers	med. blue	bowl, cup, saucer, plate, hollow-ware	?	ca. 1820-30
Beverly	med. blue	cup	Copeland*	ca. 1832-20thc.
British Flowers	med. blue	cup, saucer	Copeland*	ca. 1829-1974
Brosely/Temple	med. blue	cup, saucer	Copeland*	ca. 1814-post 1847
B700	flow blue	plate, cup, saucer, flatware, hollow-ware	W. T. Copeland	1838-post 1873
B772	flow blue	cup, saucer, bowl, plate flatware, hollow-ware	W. T. Copeland	ca. 1839-post 1882
B798	flow blue	plate, cup, saucer, bowl, hollow-ware, flatware	W. T. Copeland	ca. 1828-20thc.
Byron Group/Byron Views	lt. blue	plate, flatware	Copeland & Garrett	post 1833-?
Camilla	med. blue	plate, cup, saucer, flatware	Copeland & Garrett	ca. 1833-present
Chinese Gardens	lt. blue	cup	Coepland*	ca. 1834-pre 1879
Continental Views/ Louis Quatorze	flow blue	plate, platter, cup, saucer	W. T. Copeland	1845-post 1882
Corinthian	brown	plate, saucer	Copeland*	pre 1822-20thc.
Coronal	bright blue	plate, flatware	Copeland*	ca. 1870-post 1872

Pattern Name	Colour	Shape/Function	Manufacturer	Pattern Date
Deerstalker	med. blue	cup, plate, bowl, serving dish, flatware, hollow-ware	J. & M.P. Bell*	ca. 1850-70
D255	violet, med. blue	plate, saucer, platter, bowl, flatware	W. T. Copeland & Sons	1853-post 1872
Elcho	lt. blue	cup, pitcher, plate, flatware	Copeland*	1863-post 1873
Fibre	violet, green	cup, saucer	?	ca. 1840-70
Flower Vase, see B-798				
Foliage	med. blue	cup	?	ca. 1830-50
Fruit & Flowers	med. blue	cup	Copeland*	ca. 1826-20thc.
Gem	med. blue	plate, flatware	Sampson Bridgwood & Son*	ca. 1850-75
Geranium	med. blue	plate, cup, saucer	W. T. Copeland	ca. 1818-20thc.
Grapevine	grey	plate, saucer, flatware	Copeland*	post 1847-? or post 1820
Honeycomb, see D255				
Honeysuckle	dk. blue bright blue	plate, cup, saucer, platter, flatware, hollow-ware	Copeland*	1855-post 1882
Hudson's Bay Company Armorial (6 Variants)				
1. YF37	black	plate	?	?
2. YF37a	med. blue	serving dish	?	prob. early 20thc. 1907-?
3. YF38	med. blue	plate	W. T. Copeland & Sons	
4. YF39	med. blue	plate	John Maddock & Son*	prob. early 20thc.
5. YF189	blue-black	plate, flatware	?	?
6. YF251	violet, bright blue	bowl, flatware	W. T. Copeland & Sons	1853-post 1872
Ilium	dk. blue	plate	Copeland*	prob. post 1891
Indian Tree	dk. blue	plate, cup, flatware	Copeland*	ca. 1867-present
Italian	lt. blue	cup	Copeland*	ca. 1816-ppresent
Laconia	lt. blue	plate, flatware, hollow-ware	John Meir & Son*	?
Lilac	brown	plate	Copeland*	ca. 1872
Lily	med. blue	plate, platter, saucer, flatware, hollow-ware	W. T. Copeland	ca. 1837-20thc.
Louis Quatorze, see Continental Views				
Macaw/Pagoda (Pagoda/Macaw)	lt. blue	cup, saucer, flatware	Copeland*	ca. 1837-post 1872
The Old Dominion	dk. blue	plate	Johnson Brothers	1883-1913
Palmyra	med. blue	plate	Wood & Brownfield	1838-50

Pattern Name	Colour	Shape/Function	Manufacturer	Pattern Date
Passion Flower	med. blue	plate	Copeland*	ca. 1872-20thc.
Persian	lt. blue	flatware, plate	Copeland*	1859-post 1882
Portland Vase	lt. & med. blue	platter, plate, hollow-ware	Copeland*	1831-post 1852
Ravenna	lt. blue	bowl, hollow-ware	?	?
Rhine	med. blue	flatware	Davenport? **	?
Ruins	flow blue, dk. blue	platter, plate	Copeland*	1848-20thc.
Sardinia	violet	plate	W.T. Copeland	1858-1910
The Seasons	med. blue	cup	Sampson Bridgwood & Son*	1805-75
7663	green	hollow-ware	W.T. Copeland*	ca. 1842-post 1864
Shamrock	lt. blue	plate, cup, flatware, hollow-ware	Copeland*	1861-1910
Ship Border	dk. blue	cup, plate	Copeland*	ca. 1820-1910
Souvenir	violet	basin	Copeland*	1861-20thc.
Strawberry	dk. blue	cup, hollow-ware	Copeland*	1825-20thc.
Swiss Cottage	med. blue	bowl, cup, saucer, flatware	Minton*	1822-68
Temple/Brosely, see Brosely-Temple				
Thistle	med. blue	cup, plate, flatware	Copeland*	ca. 1869-20thc.
View of Imperial Park at Genol	med. blue	plate	John Davenport*	1810-15
Watteau	med. blue, brown	plate, saucer, flatware	Copeland*	pre 1847-post 1861
Willow	med. blue	platter, plate, cup, saucer, bowl, flatware, hollow-ware	Copeland & Garrett; John Meir & Son	1780s-20thc.

* Probable manufacturer.

** A pattern with the same name ("Rhine") and marked "Davenport" was recovered from Fort Vancouver. See Lester A. Ross, "Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860: A Historical Investigation of the Goods Imported and Manufactured by the Hudson's Bay Company, Part 2" (U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 1976; reprinted by the U.S. Department of Commerce, National Technical Information Service as PB-283-100, 1978).

Sources: Pattern dates follow and/or are adapted from information in Geoffrey A. Godden, *Encyclopaedia of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970); Sussman, "Spode/Copeland Transfer-Printed Patterns"; Whiter, *Spode, A History*; YF inv., 1783-1880., B.239/ee/1-119.

TABLE 3

Revised Dates for Copeland Ceramic Patterns

Pattern Name	Sussman's Date	Revised Date			
Antique Border (Antique Vase)	pre 1847-20th C	ca. 1840-20th C	Hudson's Bay Company Badge	ca. 1880s	ca. 1868-post 1872
Botanical Flowers	1828-post 1836	1828-post 1839	India Tree Lilac	1878-present -	ca. 1867-present ca. 1872
B700	1838-post 1847	1838-post 1873	Louis Quatorze	1844-?	1844-post 1863
B773	ca. 1839-post 1847	ca. 1839-post 1871	Marble	ca. 1822-?	ca. 1822-post 1867
Canton	-	ca. 1840	Passion Flower	pre 1873-20th C	ca. 1872-20th C
Coronal	ca. 1882	ca. 1870-post 1872	Portland Vase	1831-post 1833	1831-post 1852
D255	1853-?	1853-post 1872	Seaweed	pre 1847-post 1872	ca. 1839-post 1872
("Honeycomb")			Sevres	ca. 1824-1860	ca. 1824-post 1863
Elcho	1863-?	1863-post 1873	7663	ca. 1842-post 1847	ca. 1842-post 1864

Sources: Information in the second column is taken from Sussman, "Spode/Copeland Transfer-Printed Patterns." The revised dates

are based on information available in YF Inv., 1783-1800, B.239/ee/1-119.

TABLE 4

The Quantity (Number of Dozens) of Ceramic Objects Shipped to York Factory by Year by the Nine Suppliers

Year	Elliott	Blackburn	Copeland & Garrett	W.T. Copeland	Boucher & Co.	J. Phillips	W.P. & G. Phillips	Boucher Guy & Co.	W.T. Copeland & Sons
1823	30								
1824	36								
1825	39								
1826	26								
1827	22								
1828	31								
1829	74								
1830	103								
1831	133								
1832	102								
1833	14								
1834	229								
1835		121							
1836			55						
1837			47						
1838			68						
1839			69						
1840			121						
1841			198						
1842			43						
1843			34						
1844			46						
1845			55						
1846			57						
1847			104						
1848			0						
1849			0						

Year	Elliott	Blackburn	Copeland & Garrett	W.T. Copeland	Boucher & Co.	J. Phillips	W.P. & G. Phillips	Boucher Guy & Co.	W.T. Copeland & Sons
1850				102					
1851				30					
1852				95					
1853				84					
1854				90					
1855				88	30				
1856				82	65				
1857				79	50				
1858				54		51			
1859				42			36		
1860				75					
1861				121					
1862				74					
1863				67					
1864				203					
1865				130					
1866				100				40	
1867				109					
1868									121
1869									314
1870									181
1871									161
1872									102
1873									14
1874									0
1875									0
1876									15
1877									0
1878									24
1879									9
1880									.5
TOTAL	839	121	897	1625	145	51	36	40	941.5

Note: The records examined from 1873 to 1880 do not appear to be complete.

Source: YF Inv., 1783-1880, B.239/ee/1-119.

APPENDIX A

A Glossary of the Terminology used in the "York Factory Invoices of Shipments" Records

- barrel** A Copeland shape name. Describes "jugs" of 1- and 4-gallon capacity and is listed in the HBC records from 1858 to 1862 (fig. 8).
- basin** A concave vessel, varying in size, for holding water for washing or for mixing food. Most basins sent to York Factory were "wash hand basons," or "ewers and basons." (Also see slop-bason and bason and saucer.)
- basin and saucer** See breakfast cup and saucer.
- bason** A small bowl holding up to a pint. It was part of a tea service and was used to hold sugar or the dregs from the cups. (See slop-bason.) Also, an older spelling of basin (see basin, and basin and saucer).
- bkf.** Breakfast. See breakfast cups and breakfast bowls.
- bowls and breakfast saucers** See breakfast cup and saucer.
- breakfast bowls and saucers** See breakfast cup and saucer.
- breakfast cup and saucer** A cup that is considerably greater in capacity than a tea cup. The cups sent to York Factory were generally unhandled and of ½-pint or ¾-pint capacity. The matching saucer is more similar to a shallow bowl than to a modern saucer. The "breakfast bowls," "breakfast saucers," and possibly the "basins and saucers" are the same shape as the "breakfast cup and saucer."
- brownware** Brown earthenware. Describes "milk dishes" and "milk pans" supplied by R. Elliott in 1823 and 1834 and by J. Blackburn in 1835.
- canly** This function has not been identified. Possibly refers to a tea canister. The records indicate it cost 1s. 6d., the same as a sauce tureen and ladle.
- chambers** Chamber pot, a vessel for urine. They were supplied in a number of sizes and in Copeland's "Douro" and "Flat Rim" shapes.
- china** Bone china.
- comp^e or comp^{to}** Complete. Often used in association with a soup or sauce tureen and indicates the lid, ladle, and stand are included.
- dec** Decorated. Used to describe "bowls and breakfast saucers."
- dishes** Platters or covered serving dishes. They are listed as being 10, 12, 16, and 18 inches.
- Douro** A Copeland shape name. Describes "hand bowls," "chambers," "bowls and breakfast saucers" from 1867 to 1870.
- dr** Possibly an abbreviation for durable or the shape name "Douro." Describes "unhandled breakfast cups and saucers," "bowls and breakfast saucers," and "hand bowls" from 1860 to 1865.
- du** Possibly an abbreviation for durable or the shape name "Douro." Describes "bowls and saucers" and "jugs," from 1869 to 1872.
- elles^e** An abbreviation for the Copeland shape "Ellesmere." Describes "cover dishes" in 1868 (fig. 11).
- enameled** Painted over the glaze.
- E'ware** Earthenware.
- fit basin** This may refer to a Barber's bowl, a deep wide-rimmed circular bowl with an indentation in the rim which could be fitted snugly under the chin of the person being shaved.
- Flat Rim** A Copeland shape name. Describes "chambers" in 1851, 1861 and "hand bowls" in 1851-52.
- 4s, 6s, 24s, 30s** The numbers are part of a system of size used for hollow-ware objects. They refer to the total number of objects sold in a dozen and indicate the size of the object. The system is based on the size of a 1-pint mug. A 1-pint mug counts 12 (12s.) to the dozen. If the object contains more, there are less to the dozen ("4s hand bowls" indicates there are 4 hand bowls of 3-pint capacity to the dozen) and if they contain less there are more to the dozen ("24s bowls" indicates there are 24 bowls of ½-pint capacity to the dozen). These sizes formed the basis for price scales. Flatware objects were priced according to their size in inches ("10 in. plates," "8 ½ in. plates," etc.).
- gallipot** A small pot used to hold medicines, ointment, etc., and having a lip at the rim for securing the clo-

- sure. They were shipped to York Factory in 1-, 2-, 3-, and 4-ounce capacities by Copeland and Garrett, W.T. Copeland, and Boucher & Co. Excavated examples are made of homogeneous white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware.
- gravies** Probably another name for a sauce tureen. They were in 16, 18, and 24 inch sizes, suggesting a shape larger than a gravy or sauce boat.
- hand dags** This function has not been identified. They were in 7 and 9 inch sizes.
- jug** Pitcher. They were supplied in 1-pint, 1-quart, 2-quart, and 1-gallon capacities from 1823 to 1880.
- L.C. Mugs** This abbreviation has not been identified.
- Low Dutch** A Copeland shape name. Describes "jugs" of 1-pint and 3-quart capacity in 1850 and 1866 (fig. 9).
- Low Plain** Probably a Copeland shape name. Describes "30[s] Mugs" in 1869.
- mazarine** A dark blue underglaze ground colour.
- Melon** A Copeland shape name. Describes "hand bowls" in 1851.
- milk pans or milk dishes** Large wide shallow bowls. They were shipped to York Factory in three sizes and were made of "brown earthenware."
- neutral tint ("n. tint")** A light grey colour.
- No. 60** Hudson's Bay Company's number code for W. T. Copeland & Sons.
- No. 187** Hudson's Bay Company number code for a company as yet unidentified (possibly Boucher, Guy & Co.).
- oct.** An abbreviation for octagonal or the Copeland shape "Octagon."
- Octagon** A Copeland shape name. Describe "jugs" of 1-pint, 1-quart, 2-quart, and 1-gallon capacity, from 1850 to 1867 (fig. 10).
- Opal** A Copeland shape name. Describes 10-inch plates from 1863 to 1866 (fig. 5).
- Oval American** A Copeland shape name. Describes teapot in 1858.
- P. White** Pearl White.
- plates** Plates sent to York Factory were in 8 ½-inch and 10-inch sizes. They included soup, flat, dessert, pudding, and pie plates.
- Pompeian** A Copeland shape name describing "chambers" in 1850.
- Portland** A Copeland shape name. Describes plates and dishes from 1850 to 1852 (fig. 6).
- queen's** Violet colour. (This interpretation is based on a comparison of excavated examples of patterns to the patterns recorded in the HBC records as being this colour.)
- queensware** 1. A cream-coloured lead-glazed earthenware developed by Josiah Wedgwood in the 1760s. Following the patronage by Queen Charlotte it became known as "Queen's ware." More commonly referred to as creamware.
2. A term used to describe an undecorated ceramic shape.
- Richmond** A Copeland shape name. Describes "plates" in 1863 (fig. 7).
- Royal Chambers** A Copeland shape name. It is probably similar to the "Royal" plate shape.
- R.S.D.B. (R.S. dark blue, saxon blue)** An abbreviation for royal saxon dark blue. A dark vivid blue which has flow qualities and gave a blurred look to the pattern.
- s'blue** The meaning is not as yet clear. Possibly refers to smalt blue (a deep blue pigment) or slight blue.
- slop-bason** It was part of a tea service and was used at the table to hold the dregs or for rinsing the tea cups. (See bason.)
- soup plate** A soup plate has a deep depression in the centre and a wide rim.
- Stone** Stoneware. Describes bottles and jars supplied by Copeland & Garrett from 1840 to 1847 ("4 Gall Stone Jars 6 in. Dia. & Bungs," "2 Qt. & Qt. jars," "Quart stone bottles") and by W. T. Copeland from 1850 to 1864 ("Upright Stone Jars," "4 Gall. 6 in. Diam of Opening, cork stoppers," "Qt Stone Ale Bottles").
- York Teapots** "York" is a Copeland shape name for teapots. They were shipped to York Factory from 1850 to 1855 (fig. 12).

Source: YF Inv., 1783-1880, B.239/ee/1-119.

NOTES

1. Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), York Factory Invoices of Shipments, 1783-1880, B.239/ee/1-119 (hereafter cited as YF Inv.).
2. HBCA, Indent Books, 1801-1870, B.239/n/1-74 (hereafter cited as Indent).
3. The year 1880 was the last one for which these records were accessible to the public at the time of research in 1979.
4. YF Inv., 1833, B.239/ee/27, f.16.
5. YF Inv., 1853, B.239/ee/70, f.35.
6. Indent, 1835, B.239/n/28, f.26.
7. Indent, 1865, B.239/n/55, f.66.
8. YF Inv., 1868, B.239/ee/95, f.8.
9. Copeland pattern date ranges can be found in Leonard Whiter, *Spode, A History of the Family Factory and Wares from 1733 to 1833* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1978), and Lynne Sussman, "Spode/Copeland Transfer-Printed Patterns Found at 20 Hudson's Bay Company Sites," *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, no. 22 (1979).
10. To date, the author has been unsuccessful in locating a company history for R. Elliott, J. Blackburn, Boucher & Co., Boucher, Guy & Co., J. Phillips, and W.P. & G. Phillips.
11. Lynne Sussman, "Non Spode/Copeland Patterns Associated with the Hudson's Bay Company" (manuscript on file, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1978).
12. Patterns illustrated in figures 1, 4, 13-32 were produced by Spode, Copeland and Garrett, W.T. Copeland and/or W.T. Copeland and Sons. Original photographs were from factory pattern record books courtesy of Robert Copeland, Spode Limited, England.
13. YF Inv., 1868, B.239/ee/95, f.8.
14. Sussman, "Spode/Copeland Transfer-Printed Patterns."
15. Personal communication from Robert Copeland to the author. Mr. Copeland is historical consultant for Spode Limited in England.
16. Provenance information suggests a pre-1880 date.
17. Sussman, "Spode/Copeland Transfer-Printed Patterns," 117, 119.