

**“FORGOTTEN”**

**A Preliminary Report on**

**The Sycolin Road Pottery:**

**Loudoun County’s Historical Mystery of a Pottery, Pots, and Potters**

*A compilation of research conducted by Amy Bertsch, Amanda Ackman, Tom Hyland and others from 2004 to 2008 for Dr. David T. Clark’s class on Historical Archaeology (History 180) at the Loudoun County Campus of Northern Virginia Community College.*

*This report contains only a selected portion of the appendices to prior reports.*

## *Table of Contents*

	<i>pages</i>
A. Introduction	1
B. Discussion	2
1. Prefatory Comments	2
2. Ownership History of the Sycolin Road Pottery Site	3
a. Robert Carter, Jr. (or II)	3
b. Later Owners after Robert Carter, Jr.	4
c. Property Map of Sycolin Road Pottery Site	6
3. Notes on Robert Carter, Jr. and the Carter Family of Virginia	7
4. The 2004 VDOT Archaeological Survey and Evaluation of the Sycolin Road Pottery Site	8
a. The Sycolin Road Pottery Site	8
1. Functioning of The Sycolin Road Site as an 18 <sup>th</sup> Century Pottery	8
2. Types and Styles of Sherds Found at the Sycolin Road Pottery Site	9
b. General Description of the Terrain, Soil Types and Composition and Chronology of the Sycolin Road Pottery Site	11
c. Some General Indications Regarding the Skills and Abilities of the Potter(s) at the Sycolin Road Pottery Site	11
d. A Summary of the Archaeological Survey and Evaluation Findings	12
e. Comparison of Sycolin Pottery Site Sherds with Extant Examples of Attributed Loudoun County Pottery	12
5. Pottery Styles and Potters for the Sycolin Road Pottery Site	13
a. Uniqueness of the Sycolin Road Pottery Stoneware	13
b. Robert Hunter’s Guidelines for Attribution of Potters to the Sycolin Road Pottery Site	13
c. The Potter candidates for the Sycolin Road Pottery Site:	14
1. Charles Duncan and son George Duncan	14
2. Charles “Lewis” Gardner	15
3. William H. Gardner	19
4. Charles L. Gardner	19
5. Frederick Shafer and son Daniel Shafer	21
6. Henry Harding	21
7. Thomas Gregg	22
8. Some Other Loudoun County potters	25
C. Conclusions	25
D. Future Research Recommendations	27
E. End Notes	29
F. Appendices:	30

Appendix A - Cited Documents and Material	
3. Sycolin Road Pottery Footprint	A.3.
4. Northern Neck Land Grants Related to Sycolin Road Pottery Site	A.4.1-8
5. Aerial/Topographic Map Depicting Leesburg, Sycolin Road, and Hogback Mountain	A.5.1
6. 1879 Survey of Egypt Farm and 1860 Map Overlay	A.6.1
7. Topographical Map Depicting Location of Sycolin Road Pottery Site	A.7.1
8. Photograph and Charts Showing Sycolin Road Pottery Kiln Location	A.8.1-3
9. Photographs of Potsherds Found at Sycolin Road Pottery Site	A.9.1-3
10. Photograph of Privately-owned Salt-Glazed Stoneware Jar with maker's mark of "L Gardner Loun VA"	A.10.1
11. Photograph of Privately-owned Salt-Glazed Stoneware Jar Attributed to Sycolin Road Pottery Site	A.11.1
12. Photograph of Privately-owned Salt-Glazed Ovoid Stoneware Jar Attributed to Sycolin Road Pottery Site	A.12.1
13. 1849 Personal Property Tax Assessments for Willam H. Gardner and Wm. Orrison, Charles H. Gardner, and Lewis Gardner	A.13.1
14. 1860 Industrial Census Schedule for William H. Gardner's "Potery" Operation	A.14.1
Appendix E - Deed List	E.1-2
Appendix F - Map List	F.1-6

## **ABSTRACT**

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**The Sycolin Road Pottery:**

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This report pertains to the discovery by a crew of Virginia Department of Transportation surveyors in the fall of 2004 a previously unknown pottery located on Sycolin Road in Loudoun County, Virginia. Several groups of students from Dr. David T. Clark’s Historical Archaeology classes at the Loudoun Campus of the Northern Virginia Community College have conducted archival research for this pottery, including reviews of a phase 2 archaeological investigation of the site by the Louis Berger Group, an engineering consultancy organization, for the Virginia Department of Transportation

The conclusion arrived at by Dr. Clark’s students is that the pottery in question was most likely operated from no later than the early 1800s (ca 1820) by a Charles L. “Lewis” Gardner, the descendent of an early settler of Loudoun County, and until the 1860s by Gardner’s son, William H. Gardner, and other related family members, including a George Duncan, the brother of Lewis Gardner’s wife.

The evidence for this conclusion is based upon a variety of factors, including a comparison of salt glazed stoneware potsherds found at the site which strongly resemble in design and decoration at least two existing stoneware vessels currently owned by a county resident. Robert Hunter, a well-known expert on Middle Atlantic pottery has attributed those vessels to the Sycolin Road pottery site.

Loudoun County militia and census records document that Lewis Gardner did reside in Loudoun County from at least 1793 through 1849 and that his occupation in the census records was listed as “manufacturer.” We also know through Loudoun County Chancery Court records that this Lewis Gardner was sued in 1826 by the then owner (Thomas Mott) of the land on which the pottery was located for non-payment of rent (although there is no recorded lease in the county records); Mott did not own any other land in Loudoun County. This judgment was listed in both Mott’s will and his estate inventory. Additionally, there is the unusual circumstance that the father-in-law of Lewis Gardner’s daughter leased the very same land in 1829, (after Mott’s death in 1826) and also soon had a court judgment rendered against him for non-payment of rent.

William H. Gardner, the son of Lewis Gardner, is listed in the Loudoun County 1860 population census as a “Potter” living in Brambleton, a scant distance from the Sycolin Road Pottery site. The 1860 industrial census documents William Gardner’s “Potery” (sic) operation: his capital investment a “hand lathe” worth \$300 and “raw material” of 60 tons of clay and 1000 pounds of lead worth \$200. The “Potery” is listed as employing three (3) males.

This research report also identifies a number of persons listed in Loudoun County records as working as potters in the county between 1750 and the mid-1800s and suggests a number of recommendations for further research.

## *Introduction*

In the folkways of American life, we often hear about the “law of unintended consequences;” typically such a reference is used to denote the perverse or negative side of legislative or regulatory actions. Notably, this so-called law is often cited but rarely defined. American sociologist, Robert K. Merton, provided the first and most comprehensive analysis of the concept in his 1936 article entitled “The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action,” wherein he identified the five sources of unanticipated consequences: [true] ignorance, error, the imperious immediacy of interest [or willful ignorance], basic values [e. g. “[t]he Protestant ethic of hard work and asceticism invariably leads to its own decline through accumulation of wealth and possessions],” and, finally, the “self-fulfilling prophecy.”

However, there are those rare occasions where the law of unintended consequences does work to the benefit of both individuals and society in general. The subject of this study and report is an example of that situation.

When the Virginia Department of Transportation in 2004 conducted preliminary engineering studies for the proposed widening of Sycolin Road of a short segment (three-tenths of a mile) of Sycolin Road, fortuitously as it happened, they found alongside that segment of road numerous potsherds. Recognizing that this area of Loudoun County was well-known for having an extensive number of historic sites, the engineers consulted with their regional cultural resources manager who determined that under state and federal law the site would have to undergo a first phase archaeological investigation before proceeding further on a final determination for right of way alignment for the road widening project.

The results of that first phase pedestrian surface survey and shovel test, demonstrated that the site possibly contained a formerly unknown historic pottery and would require a second phase archaeological and evaluation study through a partial excavation of the site. This partial excavation activity confirmed that the site was indeed a historic pottery with an estimated dating of the 1820s to the 1840s. The site was found to contain the remains of at least two pottery kilns and a large amount of redware and stoneware wasters. Further, the ceramic forms and styles found at the site appeared to be sufficiently unique to attribute them to a distinctive Loudoun County pottery industry and to qualify the site for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Thus the law of unintended consequences in this case demonstrated that the fortuitous selection of a designated roadway segment alignment for improved transportation services also served as the basis for undertaking an archaeological survey and evaluation process that ultimately would identify and protect an historic site that might otherwise might have been destroyed or never have been discovered. As a result of that happy unintended consequence, Loudoun County now has an opportunity to learn about a new aspect of its previously unknown or long-forgotten history.

This is the type of historical experience that is particularly unique to archaeology and it is the experience that both enlightens and brightens the knowledge of our understanding of man and his artifacts.

## *Discussion*

### *1. Prefatory Comments*

This research project, unfortunately, began under a highly-flawed, personal premise: that the identification of a property owner named in a proximate area of a historic site on an old map of Loudoun County would be an efficient and effective means to determine the actual ownership of the site in question and could lead to further useful information about the pottery on that site, the potters who had worked there, and the time period that the pottery was in operation. The early consequences of that premise was the pursuit in two instances of a number of false and time-consuming leads that failed to be productive of any useful information.

In the first instance involving the Charles Shreve property, it soon emerged that it was not likely that this particular family and its property had any direct relationship to the pottery. In the second instance involving the LeFevre property and the family, the circumstance that the family had been potters in Belgium before immigrating to the American colonies in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century and claims in the family genealogy that (1) the sister of the three LeFevre brothers who had moved to Loudoun County in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century had married a well-known Pennsylvania potter and (2) the family allegedly had produced at least three hundred potters during their time in the American colonies and the early years of the United States.

This latter claim led us to persist for a substantial time period in attempting to find a connection between the LeFevre brothers and the Sycolin Road pottery. Fortunately, we were able to determine after a review of Northern Neck Land Grants and the Loudoun County Tithable Tables that two of the brothers -- John and Nicholas -- had sold the properties they had inherited in Loudoun County in the mid-1770s and had returned to Pennsylvania during the late 1770s. The other brother -- Henry -- remained in Loudoun County, but his property was located some short distance from the Sycolin Road pottery site, thus removing that family from the ownership of the land on which the pottery was located.

Fortunately, a further comparison of the more than two hundred Northern Neck land grants and surveys issued between the 1600s and 1874 against the names of families living alongside of the principal potters in Loudoun County -- the Gardners -- and the Yardley Taylor map of 1853 helped identify several property owners who had received land grants on Sycolin Creek near the site of the pottery: George Hammet, Thomas Moffett, and John Moss, Jr. Those names were instrumental in helping establish the chain of ownership for the Sycolin Road pottery site from 1731 through 1889.

The convoluted path that our team took to even begin to discover the actual chain of ownership of the Sycolin Road pottery site is further amplified in the project log that follows this section of this report. Needless to say, we gained a much wider knowledge about the early settlement, settlers and land ownership relationships of Loudoun County than would have been possible had our research journey been more direct and less-hindered by the mis-directions and other obstacles that we did face another obstacle in tracing land ownership as well as other records for Loudoun County is that from the early 1730s through 1757, what is now Loudoun County was a part of at least three other Counties -- Stafford, Prince William and Fairfax -- until it was established as a separate county in 1757. As a result, land ownership as well as other records for what is now Loudoun County must be accessed from those other three jurisdictions (See Appendix A.1 for maps depicting this situation).

The Colonial Land Office patents (1623 – 1774), Northern Neck Land Office grants (1649-1862), and Virginia Land Office grants (1779 – 1993) also present their own separate sets of research challenges and must be accessed through the Library of Virginia (Information on each of these programs and associated survey materials for each program are explained further in Appendix A.2.)

In addition the availability of the *Washington Post* article of February 16, 2006 depicting the discovery of the Sycolin Road pottery site and kilns and the phase two archaeological survey and report commissioned by the Virginia Department of Transportation to identify and record the artifacts were instrumental in researching and preparing this report. [1]

## *2. Ownership History of the Sycolin Road Pottery Site*

The parcels of land involved in the Sycolin Road Pottery site, as noted in greater detail below, remained in the Carter family for three, albeit short, generations. Upon the early death of Robert Carter, Jr. in 1732, the Loudoun properties passed on to Robert Carter, III, then a five year-old minor. At first, the management of these and other properties was carried out by the grandfather, Robert “King” Carter, Sr., who also died later on in 1732; under the provisions of the grandfather’s will, management of the properties of Robert Carter, III was controlled by his uncles, John, Charles and Landon Carter. Robert Carter III, assumed control of these properties later on an act of the Virginia General Assembly (as discussed later). Upon the decision of Robert Carter, III in 1793 to retire from plantation management, free his slaves, and move to Baltimore, Maryland, his children drew lots to determine who would assume control of which properties; son George Carter won control of the Loudoun properties.

### *a. Robert Carter, Jr. (or II)*

Research on the boundaries of the Sycolin Road pottery site disclosed that the site footprint actually encompasses two separate parcels of property (Loudoun County Pins # 193-27-9018 and # 237-39-5293), with the first parcel, comprising approximately the three-quarters of the pottery site footprint -- including the kilns -- located on the western side of Sycolin Road, and the second parcel, comprising approximately one-quarter of the pottery site footprint, located on the eastern side of Sycolin Road. [3] [Also see Appendix A. 3]

Each of the two (2) parcels were part of at least six (6) much larger Northern Neck land grants made to Robert Carter, Jr. (first of Lancaster County and later of Nomini Hall, Montross, Westmoreland County) between 1724 and 1731 and comprising more than 30, 000 acres of land in what was later to be Loudoun County. (This acreage total does not include numerous other large grants made to Robert Carter, Jr. or the Carter family during that same period in what were to become Fairfax and Prince William counties. Indeed, the brothers of Robert Carter, Jr. -- John, George, and Landon -- also held a number of large land grants in Loudoun County). One of those grants, made in 1731 to Robert Carter, Jr. was for “2693 acres above Goose Creek on the upper side of Seconnels (sic) Branch.” [4] This particular grant would appear to be for a tract of land that would later serve as the site of the Sycolin Road Pottery. [See Appendix A. 4 for a copy of this grant, and Appendix A.5 for aerial type maps depicting Leesburg, Hogback Mountain (described as a “ridge” marking a boundary point in a second grant, a copy of which also is contained in Appendix A. 4), Sycolin Road and the approximate site of the Sycolin Road Pottery.]

*b. Later Land Owners After Landon Carter, Robert Carter, Jr. and Robert Carter, III*

Lot #193-27-9018

George Carter, a son of Robert Carter III and grandson of Robert Carter, Jr., sold the property in 1803 to Benjamin Dewell (Loudoun County (LC) Deed Book (DB) 2G: 37) In 1807 Benjamin Dewell sold the tract to Ignatius Elgin (LC DB 2I: 243), who then sold it in 1818 to Henry Jenkins (LC DB 2X: 87) who later that year sold the tract to George and James Rust (LC DB 2X: 274), who sold it to Thomas R. Mott in 1819 (LC DB 2Y: 390). Mott owned the parcel until his death, circa 1826, and referred to the property in his will as "Egypt Farm." (Loudoun County (LC) Will Book (LC WB) Q: 150). Interestingly, in the inventory of Mott's estate (LC WB Q: 243), there is a reference to a "judgment against L Garner (sic) for rent in the County Court of Loudoun." (Loudoun County (LC) Minute Book (MB) 7:29, *Mott v. Gardner*) No explanation is given for the use of the property by the lessee.

Following Mott's death, Egypt Farm, in 1829, came under a three-year lease to Annanias Orrison (LC DB 3Q: 41) for an annual payment of \$130 dollars. (However, in 1845, following a court action for non-payment of rent -- in a case involving R.H. Henderson (Mott's Executor) and Ananias Orrison (Loudoun County (LC) Chancery Case (CC), File M 289), *Henderson v. Orrison*, to recover the rent due. In 1831, the property finally was sold to James Cross. (LC DB 3W:10) After Cross' death in 1842, the property then was sold to Thomas and Elmira Rogers (LC DB 4R:178). Upon the death of the Rogers in 1847, this now 99 acre tract was sold at auction by Seldon M. Gibson (the Rogers' Executor) to Edward Hammat. (LC DB 5B: 133)

When Hammet died in 1874 (LC WB T: 488), Thomas H. Clagett then acquired Egypt Farm (LC DB 6 F: 418), then consisting of 248 + acres (75 of the additional acres were north of Sycolin Creek). Clagett was sued in 1881 for debt in the case of *Summers v. Clagett* (LC CC M3481) with the result that 30 acres of the tract were sold to Thomas Moffett (LC DB 6Q: 209) to pay the debt. Under Clagett, nearly 79 additional acres were sold, mostly in 2- to 4-acre tracts. However, Clagett continued to hold the land area on which the pottery had operated. African-Americans bought a number of these small tracts and formed the community once known as Lower Sycolin. [5] Continuing to suffer from financial reverses, Clagett, in 1884, sold the remaining 120 acres, including the pottery site, to Harrison P. Wiley (LC DB 6V: 435). This deed describes the parcel, still "known as Egypt [Farm], four miles southeast of Leesburg on Sycolin Creek." (See Appendix A. 6 for 1879 survey map of Egypt Farm and a map overlay depicting the Sycolin Road Pottery site)

In 1888, Harrison P. Wiley sold the property to Edward Wooten (LC DB 6Z: 54), who, in turn, also sold it in 1888 to Elijah V. White, (LC DB 7B: 142). White then sold the parcel to Thomas Moffett in 1889 (LC DB 7B: 274). In 1892, Moffett sold the parcel to George Williams, who sold it to Joseph Wright in 1907 (LC DB 8E:36). Upon Wright's death in 1928, the property then was sold to Noah Hawthorne (LC DB 10: 425). The property then went to Wilbur Hall, who sold it to W.H. Martin, Jr. (LC DB 11: 494). In 1944, William Martin sold the tract to Augustus C. Moffett. The Moffett family continued to hold the property until it was purchased by Thomas and John Darlington in 1958 (LC DB 379: 59). Today, the parcel consists of 95 + acres, and is owned by Sycolin Corner, LLC, a real estate investment firm.

Lot #237-39-5293

The second parcel (Pin #237-39-5293), as noted before, also was once part of George Carter's landholdings and included one large tract containing 535 acres, known then as "Hawthorne Farm,"



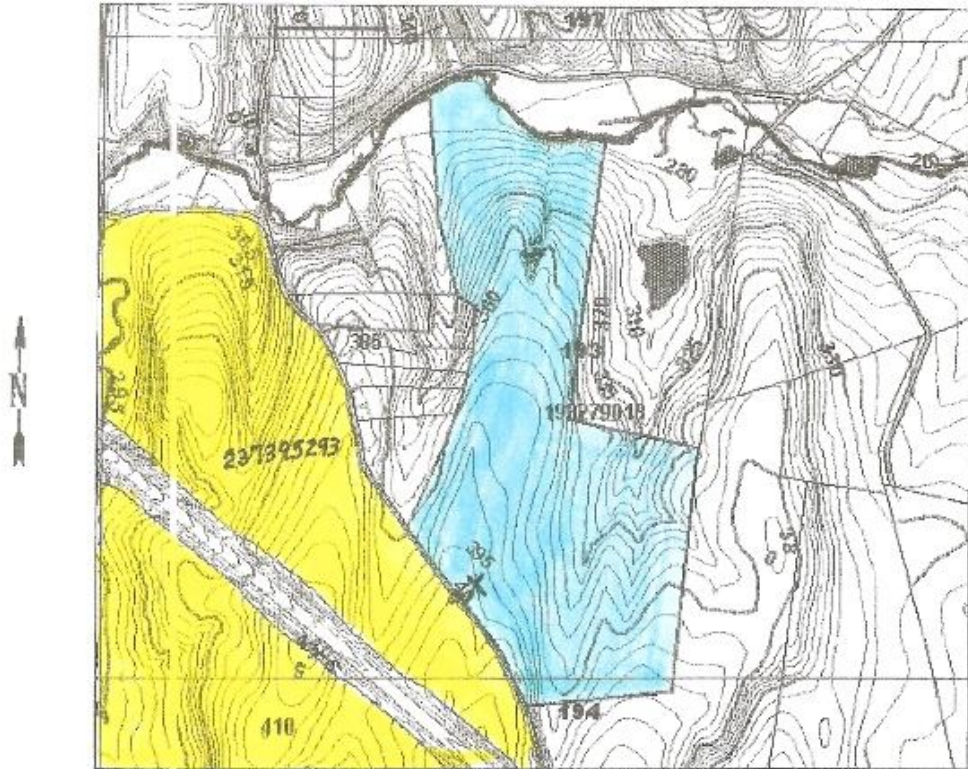
and a smaller 14 acre parcel, known later as the “Shreve Mill property.” In 1804 Benjamin Shreve purchased 165 acres lying on “Secolin” from George Carter (LC DB 2G: 73). On this tract of land, Shreve built a brick mill that became known first as Sycolin Mill and then later Shreve’s Mill. After Benjamin Shreve’s death in 1876, the special commissioners for his estate conveyed approximately nine acres of that land styled “Lot #1, known as Sycolin Mill, adjoining lands of Charles H. Elgin, John Everhart, and J.H. Lawson” to Lawson. (Loudoun County (LC DB 6P:368). According to the 1880 Industrial Census Schedule, Lawson operated a flour and gristmill on Sycolin Run. [6]

In 1888, J. H. Lawson sold the parcel to H.T. Bradford (LC DB 7G: 146); however, the ownership of the parcel was in question, resulting in a court case between Lawson and Thomas Elgin. In 1892, Special Commissioner W.E. Garrett conveyed the property to Thomas and Mollie Elgin (LC DB: 7G: 148). According to that deed, the tract was “known as Sycolin Mills consisting of a large brick flour and grist mill, dwelling, and outbuilding and about 14 acres of land.”

In 1895, Mary Lowe acquired the property from Thomas and Mollie Elgin. (LC DB: 7K: 178). According to the deed, the tract contained “a valuable dwelling house and mill known as Shreve Mill property” and consisted of approximately 14 acres. Following the death of Mary Lowe, Edwin Garrett, acting as her executor, sold the parcel at public auction. An advertisement dated September 10, 1903, announced the property for sale and as being “4 mi south of Leesburg, bound by land of the late Chas Elgin, R B Wildman, Matilda Everhart. 14 acres, 4-story brick mill. 16’ water wheel. Small dwelling, stable, and other outbuildings. Short distance from Schoolhouse, church, and PO of Sycoline . . . . Auction on September 14, 1903” [7]

Alice Elgin bought the tract in 1903 (LC DB 7Y:16) as a consequence of that auction. Those 14 acres were added to her 535-acre tract that had been conveyed to her by Charles Elgin in 1896 (LC DB 7M: 454). Alice Elgin paid \$2,400 for the 535 acres and its improvements, including sheep and equipment. In 1922, the then 549-acre tract was sold to W. Frank and Noah B. Hawthorne (LC DB 9O: 84), and in 1939, it was conveyed to George Martin (DB 11E: 466). Later owners included Sheldon F. Fuller and Graham L. Rodgers in 1948; Rebbie Debutts, also in 1948, Van Iden and Mary Zeilerin in 1949; and Jessie and James Carmichael in 1950. Today the parcel contains approximately 620 acres and is owned by David and William Cammack.

Topographic Map Depicting Location of Sycolin Road Potter Site



*Key:*

Blue indicates parcel that contains major area of Sycolin Road pottery, including kilns

Yellow indicates parcel that contains primarily sherds from defective pottery

### *3. Notes on Robert Carter, Jr. and the Carter Family of Virginia*

Robert Carter, Jr. (or II) was born in 1704 and was the seventh of ten children of Robert “King” Carter by his second wife, Elizabeth Landon (Willis) Carter (He also had five other children by his first wife, Judith Armistead). Robert Carter, Jr. was schooled in England; in 1725, he married Priscilla Churchill, and had two children, one of whom, Robert Carter, III (1728-1804), would be known “Councillor” Carter of Nomini Hall at Montross, Westmoreland County, Virginia. The other child was a daughter, named Elizabeth. Robert Carter, Jr. died in 1732, only a few months before the death of his father later that same year. This latter fact explains the sudden end of his quest for land grants after December, 1731.

Landon Carter (1710-1778) was a brother of Robert Carter, Jr. and, along with two other brothers ---- John and Charles -- assumed the responsibility for managing a number of the many landholdings of Robert Carter, Jr. until Robert Carter III was to come of age. Landon was specifically responsible for those landholdings in Fairfax, Loudoun and Prince William counties.

Landon Carter lived at Sabine Hall, a “magisterial estate perched on a ridge along the Rappahannock River in Richmond County, about 60 miles north of Williamsburg”. He quickly established himself as one of the region's civic and social leaders and also served as justice of the peace, militia colonel and parish vestryman. In 1752, he began 18 years of service in Virginia's House of Burgesses. Landon Carter, like his nephew Robert Carter, III was an ambivalent revolutionary; although he preferred to maintain existing ties with the British, he eventually concluded that there was no choice but to pursue independence from a distant government grown tyrannical.

Robert Carter III (1727-1804) inherited Nomini Hall Plantation from his father and expanded his land holdings, which comprised some 16 separate plantations around the Northern Neck of Virginia, including the Sycolin Road Pottery site. He married Frances Ann Tasker of Baltimore, Maryland in 1754, owned “one of the finest houses in Williamsburg.” and was “a banker, ship-owner, manufacturer and merchant, as well as land-rich planter.” He served on the Virginia Council, was a close friend of Virginia Lieutenant-Governor Francis Fauquier, and also served as colonel of the militia, vestryman, and justice of the peace. In 1791, he freed 500 of his slaves, not only as an ethical act, but also because he regarded slavery as an economic burden to both slave and master. One son, John Tasker Carter, vowed to ‘overturn and frustrate’ his father’s intentions and sold the slaves his father had manumitted, in some instances even after their release dates. Another son, George, Carter’s executor, (who inherited most of Robert Carter’s Loudoun County estates, including the Sycolin Road pottery site) followed the letter, but not the spirit, of his father’s instructions: He bought new slaves to replace those he had been ordered to set free.

Interestingly, because of his father’s early death, what Robert II was left by Robert I’s will was destined to go not to Robert II, but to his uncles, John Carter of Shirley, Charles Carter of Cleves, and Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, but they persuaded the Virginia Assembly to pass an act “to vest part of the Estate of Robert Carter, Esq., deceased, devised to Robert Carter, the younger. . . in Robert Carter, the Son and Heir of the said Robert Carter the younger.” He thus gained 30,000 acres of land and more than 100 slaves. “His father also had some 40,000 + acres of his own, including Nomini Hall . . . and, under the under the English law of primogeniture, all of the personal estate of Robert II went to Robert III. As a teen-aged youth, Robert Carter, III went to London and was admitted to the Inner Temple to study law. Through his wife, Carter acquired 20 percent of the Baltimore Iron Works, a great industrial enterprise of the time. In 33 years he and his wife had 17 sons and daughters, of

who 11 survived their mother and eight their father. He managed as many as 19 plantations plus thousand of acres on which he installed tenants. In 1791, he began freeing 500 of his slaves

As Councillor, Robert Carter III served on many committees, including one to study building a canal through Williamsburg. In 1766, he was designated to address a letter of thanks to George III for the repeal of the hated Stamp Act. In the letter he asserted that Virginians would 'at all Times exert ourselves in the Defence of your Majesty's sacred Person and Government, at the Risque of our Lives and Fortunes.' Later, Carter's attitude toward the crown grew ambiguous. While sharing his countrymen's resentment of arbitrary British rule, he feared the economic impact of a struggle for Independence and hoped for reconciliation. As sentiment grew for what he described as 'a new system Of politicks in British North America,' Carter resigned his office and withdrew to Nomini Hall.

Throughout the Revolutionary War, "Councilor" Carter supplied the American forces with flour, Bread, textiles and other goods and He set up a stocking factory and had slaves trained to operate it. In addition, he supplied iron from the Baltimore Iron Works in order to make arms. During this time, he seemed to undergo some sort of mid-life crisis and began to name many of his plantations after signs of the zodiac: Nomini Hall, Aries, Old Ordinary, Taurus, Gemini, Forrest Quarter and Coles

Point, in Westmoreland County, Aquarius, Scorpio, Capricorn, Libra, Virgo, and Sagittarius lay in Frederick County, and Leo in Loudoun County. He also had two plantations called Cancer, one in Richmond County, the other in Prince William County. In 1793, Carter moved to Baltimore and turned over control of his plantations to his ten living children, and, as noted previously, who drew lots to decide who would get which parts of his Virginia estates. His son, George, drew the Loudoun properties.

Robert "King" Carter (1663-1732), at the time of his death, owned more than 300,000 acres of land and had nearly 1000 slaves. His ability to accumulate political power and wealth earned him the title of "King" Carter. Over his life time, he served as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses as well as "Speaker" of that body, a member of the Governor's Council, Treasurer of the colony, colonel of the Lancaster-Northumberland counties militia, agent for the Northern Neck Proprietary, and acting governor of the colony for over a year after the death of Governor Hugh Drysdale in mid-1726. According to one of his biographers, Edmund Berkeley, Jr., Robert "King" Carter "left a dynasty that continues to this day. At one time," said Berkeley, "Carter was estimated to have over 50,000 descendants, including six governors of Virginia, three signers of the Declaration of Independence, and two presidents of the United States. [8]

#### *4. The 2004 VDOT Archaeological Survey and Evaluation of the Sycolin Road Pottery Site*

##### *a. The Sycolin Road Pottery Site*

###### *1. Functioning of the Site as an 18<sup>th</sup> Century Pottery*

In 2004, Sycolin Road (Loudoun County Route 643) was proposed for paving and widening of three-tenths of a mile of existing roadway south of Leesburg. As a part of that process, the Virginia Department of Transportation was required to conduct a 1<sup>st</sup> phase (pedestrian surface survey and shovel test). Although 23 previously recorded archaeological sites were located within a 1-mile radius of this project site, no previously recorded archaeological site had been identified within the 3-tenths of the mile road area encompassed by this proposed road project. The 1<sup>st</sup> phase archaeological test conducted between November 15 and 18, 2004 indicated the presence of an archaeological site. The 2<sup>nd</sup> phase archaeological evaluation, conducted between

February 7 and 11, 2005, was to “assess the boundary, artifact densities, and integrity of this site (designated as Site 44LD1195) and to determine if the site is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.” [See Appendix A. 7 for topographical maps depicting the location of the Sycolin Road Pottery site) The overall archaeological site encompassed approximately 262 feet by 295 feet, and ten test units measuring 1 meter by 1 meter were excavated.

According to the archaeological study proposal “[o]ne of the goals of the archaeological evaluation was to collect information that could be used to determine how this site function may have related to the overall economic and settlement patterns in Loudoun County and Northern Virginia.” During the archaeological evaluation, the archaeological contractor, The Louis Berger Group, Inc.,” hoped to collect information relative to intra-site organization of kiln-related activities.” Based on the results of that archaeological survey and evaluation, the archaeological contractor, made the following findings:

*[The] . . . site. . . represents a historic pottery kiln dating to the 1820s to 1840s. Judging from The identification of two kiln features and the presence of large amounts of redware and stoneware wasters, the site appears to contain the foundations of at least two pottery kilns. Additionally, the ceramic forms and styles present at . . . [the] site appear to be unusual enough to associate them with a distinctive Loudoun County pottery industry. [See Appendix A. 8 for a photograph of the site and charts depicting locations of kilns]*

*Based on the archaeological research potential of the site, Berger recommends [the site] . . . as eligible for inclusion in the National Register [of Historic Places] under Criterion D, as the site has the potential to yield important information relative to the Transportation/Communication, Commerce/Trade, Industry/Processing/Extraction, Settlement Patterns, and Technology/Engineering themes of the Early National (1789 -1830) and Antebellum (1830-1860) periods in Northern Virginia . . . . Through additional investigations of the features at {this site} . . . , this pottery kiln could provide information about the relative unknown pottery traditions in Loudoun County and the relationships of the Loudoun County potters with those of the Alexandria and Shenandoah traditions. [9]*

## *2. Types and Styles of Sherds and Other Artifacts Found at the Sycolin Road Pottery*

According to the archaeological study, a general analysis of the artifact assemblage at the Sycolin Road site discloses that:

*Over 8,000 historic artifacts were recovered during the survey and evaluation of Site 44LD1195, including a total of 7,418 historic artifacts recovered in test units during the archaeological evaluation The artifacts recovered during the investigations include redware, decorated and undecorated gray salt-glazed stoneware, creamware, pearlware, refined earthenwares, kilnarchitecture (e.g., kiln bricks and stones), kiln tiles, kiln jug stackers, kiln spacers, slag, glass, nails, miscellaneous metal, gun flint, and pipe stems.*

*Redware . . . and decorated and undecorated stoneware . . . sherds account for over 80.9 percent of the estimated total number of artifacts recovered at Site 44LD1195. The remainder of the ceramics include red-bodied slipware . . . and refined earthenwares . . . . The latter include creamware . . . , pearlware . . . , and a miscellaneous sherd. Four earthenware roof tiles were also recovered . . . . Judging from the large amount of redware sherds . . . recovered*

*in association with kiln features . . . , it is possible that the pottery kiln was producing earthenware tiles and that a portion of the redware sherds may actually represent additional tile fragments.*

*Approximately 17.5 percent of the artifact assemblage consists of kiln-related materials . . . . The general category of kiln architecture includes bricks and stones that show heat-related evidence e.g., glazing or cracking) of having been used as part of the kiln structure. Kiln architecture . . . makes up over 7.6 percent of the artifact assemblage. Brick fragments recovered . . . and recorded in the field simply as brick, should probably be attributed to kiln architecture. Furthermore, brick fragments recovered . . . may represent either kiln brick that has eroded from the kiln or the remains of an additional structure located downslope from the kiln. Other kiln furniture recovered include expedient kiln spacers . . . , preformed kiln spacers . . . , jug stackers . . . , tiles, and kiln props . . . . These types of kiln furniture have specific uses (e.g., jug stackers allow jugs to be stacked one on top of another in the kiln) and demonstrate the wide variety of wares that were in production at the pottery. Glass fragments . . . , including bottle glass . . . and window glass . . . represent less than one percent of the total artifact assemblage. Nine of the curved/bottle glass were recovered in the plowzone on the southbound side of Route 643. [See Appendix A. 9 for photographs of pottery sherds found at the site]*

*The relatively small assemblage of glass fragments recovered at the site suggests the presence of structures (primarily non-domestic) on the northbound side of Route 643. Nails . . . include cut/wrought nails . . . and wire nails . . . . One cut nail and two unidentified nails were recovered from the plowzone on the southbound side of Route 643. Although the nails suggest the presence of structures on the northbound side of Route 643, the small number of nails suggests that any wooden structures on the site were not elaborate and may have eventually been moved from the site. The remaining artifacts recovered at the site consist of one unidentified metal fragment, one gun flint, a horseshoe, and two pipe stem fragments (with 5/64th inch bores). The gun flint and pipe stems can be dated to the late eighteenth-/early nineteenth centuries, further supporting an early nineteenth-century date for Site 44LD1195. [10]*

An examination of the ceramic sherds recovered from the Sycolin Road pottery kiln site was performed by Robert Hunter, a ceramics expert. According to Hunter, there were two distinct ware types at the site: lead-glazed redware and salt-glazed stoneware. Hunter noted that “based on the general forms and decoration that were observed, the wares appear to date to circa 1820 to 1840, although the redware may be slightly earlier.” Among the vessel forms and ware types found at the Sycolin Road pottery site were the following: [11]

1. Lead-glazed Redware
  - a. Storage/Serving Vessels - Milk Pots/Crocks
  - b. Tableware - Plates/Dishes
  - c. Milk Pans
2. Salt-glazed Stoneware
  - a. Storage Jars (Pots)
  - b. Jugs
  - c. Pitchers
  - d. Bottles and Small Jars
3. Kiln Furniture
4. Cobalt Decoration

*b. General Description of the Terrain, Soil Types and Composition, and the Chronology of the Sycolin Road Pottery Site*

The Sycolin Road Pottery site is located “north of the Dulles Greenway on a ridgetop and sideslope at an elevation of approximately 400 feet (122 meters) above mean sea level . . . . The site was estimated to be approximately 262x295 feet (80x 90 meters).” [12] The prevailing terrain at the principal portion (i. e. kilns) of the Sycolin Road Pottery site consists of steep slopes trending to the north-east where three small perennial streams merge before flowing into Sycolin Creek. The parcel of property is covered with scrub cedar growth, which seems to thrive in poorer quality soil and rugged terrain.

The kiln area is located in the southwestern portion of the parcel within eighty yards of the nearest stream bed. The soil in this area at “Stratum A (O-horizon/A Horizon), a brown (10YR 5/3) clay loam extending from 3 to 9 inches (8 to 22 centimeters) BGS underneath a 3-inch thick (8-centimeter) humus layer; and Stratum B (subsoil), a brownish yellow (10 YR 6/6 clay loam extending from 9 to 16 inches (22 to 40 centimeters) BGS.” [13]

The archaeological survey of the site uncovered artifacts dating from the late eighteenth century through the early twentieth century. The utilization of historical research related to the ownership and use of the site and “analysis of diagnostic artifacts from tightly controlled proveniences” dated the period the pottery was in operation as the 1820s through the 1840s. [14]

*c. Some General Indications Regarding the Skills and Abilities of the Potter at the Sycolin Road Site*

Hunter noted that “[d]uring that period numerous redware potters were operating in Virginia’s Shenandoah Valley. Salt-glazed stoneware at that time was less widely produced, with the exception of several stoneware potters working in Alexandria, Virginia, and Baltimore.”

It was Hunter’s view that: “[b]eyond providing information to identify the range of forms, the artifact assemblage offers insights into the early nineteenth-century redware and stoneware manufacturing processes.” But, he cautioned that “[s]ome care, however, is necessary when evaluating the material recovered at the site. It must be remembered that the sherds represent the *unsuccessful* production of pottery. In other words, these are pots that failed at some point during the production and firing process and were summarily discarded.”

“Accordingly,” said Hunter, “the sample of material may not document the full range of the *successful* pots, which made it through the process and entered the marketplace. The firing of both redware and stoneware is a difficult and risky procedure, and ‘wasters’ are a natural part of the process.” Hunter also noted that “[t]he wide range of color variation in the assemblage is primarily indicative of temperature variation in the kiln. Some pots were vastly over-fired and others barely reached adequate firing temperature. As a consequence, the analysis of color variation in these situations does little to further any sort of comparative analysis.”

Hunter determined that “the Sycolin Road pottery assemblage was generally highly fragmentary. Most diagnostic were rimsherds, which were used to identify vessel form. So few were present,

however, that a valid statistical comparison of vessel forms and attributes must await the recovery of a more representative sample of sherds from this site. Such a sample," said Hunter, "will come from future excavations." [15]

*d. A Summary of the Archaeological Survey and Evaluation Findings*

*The analysis of the ceramic wasters from the Sycolin Road Pottery kiln was an unexpected opportunity to examine the products from a previously unknown Virginia stoneware factory. It is clear that a relatively large sample of earthenware and stoneware sherds, as well as examples of kiln furniture, are preserved at this site. Perhaps the greatest significance of the site is the presence of kiln foundation(s), which may provide much detail of its architecture and function. In addition, the opportunity to examine the spatial arrangement of kilns, workshop, and other features is of great importance to better understand the history of ceramic manufacture in this period of the early nineteenth century. Further documentation of the wares from this site will be an important contribution to the history of Virginia's nineteenth-century ceramic industry.*

*Although previous archaeological work has been reportedly conducted at pottery kilns in Loudoun County, no documented research data are available relative to these investigations.*

*Pottery-kiln investigations at early nineteenth-century sites in Northern Virginia have generally been focused on the ceramic industries of Alexandria and the Shenandoah Valley. Results of previous research indicate that many potters were related to each other by birth or marriage, and that pottery styles and methods of pottery production are often shared within the families of potters.*

*The pottery from Site 44LD1195 does not appear to be directly attributable to either the Alexandria or Shenandoah Valley pottery traditions. Instead, Loudoun County, which is located approximately halfway between Alexandria and Winchester, appears to have developed its own pottery tradition. Although the Loudoun County potters were undoubtedly trained in or influenced by the nearby traditions, the need for inexpensive, local pottery wares may have resulted in utilitarian combinations of varied styles. However, little information is currently available relative to the types of pottery wares that were produced in Loudoun County or the potters who were operating in the area.*

*The analysis of any future excavated material should focus on further identification of the range of vessel forms produced at the Sycolin Road Pottery. In particular, it would be interesting to document any evolutionary trends in the production of forms and to understand whether or not redwares and stonewares were being produced concurrently on the site. Judging from the few cobalt stonewares discussed in this report, a single thrower and decorator is obviously indicated any variation in decoration would be a significant indicator of others in the work force. [16]*

*e. Comparison of Sycolin Pottery Site Sherds with Extant Examples of Attributed Loudoun County Pottery*

*A brief study of known antique examples in the Leesburg, Virginia, vicinity that may be attributed to the Sycolin Road Pottery yielded three objects.*



*The first [example] is a marked 2.0 gallon jar impressed with the maker's mark of L. Gardner Loun VA. This jar is reportedly the only known marked example of Loudoun County stoneware. Both the form and decoration date it to ca. 1830. Based on the analysis of sherds recovered in the archaeological evaluation, it is unlikely that this potter worked at the Sycolin Road site. The form and finish of the Gardner jar is much finer than that of any of the analyzed sherds from the [Sycolin Road] site. In addition, the cobalt decoration is much more precise, with none of the "sketchy" traits exhibited on the sherds from the Sycolin Road Pottery.[See Appendix A.10 for photograph]*

*The second example is a cobalt decorated storage jar . . . . Although not marked, it is a clear product of the Sycolin Road Pottery based on the form, handles, and the style of cobalt decoration. Notably, this object was found in Loudoun County, where it has reportedly been since the 1840s. [See Appendix A.11 for photograph]*

*The third example is an ovoid storage jar with a distinctive iron wash finish . . . . This jar has lug handles identical to the fragments from the Sycolin Road Pottery . . . . [See Appendix A.12 for photograph] "No history is available on this jar, but it has never been attributed to a Virginia pottery with the identical handles, rim, and shoulder profiles, this vessel is attributed to the Sycolin Road Pottery. [17]*

## *5. Pottery Style and Potters for the Sycolin Road Pottery*

### *a. The Uniqueness of the Sycolin Road Stoneware*

According to ceramics expert Robert Hunter, "[t]he salt-glazed stoneware recovered from the Sycolin Road Pottery has a distinctive greenish-gray body and very unusual cobalt decoration. The ovoid forms present are clearly associated with the pottery that was produced by potters Lewis Plum and John Swann (ca. 1799 to 1820) in Alexandria, Virginia . . . . No similar stoneware forms are known to have been produced in the Shenandoah Valley." [18]

### *b. Robert Hunter's Guidelines for Attribution of Potters to the Sycolin Road Pottery Site*

Ceramics expert Robert Hunter in the pottery segment of the Sycolin Road Pottery in the VDOT archaeological evaluation report provides some valuable guidelines for searching for a potter or potters who may have worked at the Sycolin Road Pottery:

1. Research discloses that "many potters were related to each other by birth or marriage and that pottery styles and methods of pottery production are often shared within the families of [those] potters." [19]
2. A potter or potters who was/were relatively inexperienced in pottery-making as evidenced by the large numbers of pottery sherds that were either "vastly over-fired" or "barely reached adequate firing temperature." [20]
3. The pottery sherds from the Sycolin Road Pottery Site do "not appear to be attributable to either the Alexandria or Shenandoah Valley pottery traditions . . . ; [rather Loudoun County] appears to have developed its own pottery tradition. Although, Loudoun County potters, undoubtedly trained or influenced by the

nearby traditions, the need for inexpensive, local pottery wares may have resulted in utilitarian combinations of varied styles.” [21]

4. “Judging from the few cobalt stonewares . . . [i.e. distinctive form, handles, and style of decoration], a single thrower and decorator is obviously indicated [as the Sycolin Road potter]” Any variation in decoration would be a significant indicator of others in the workforce. “[22]
5. “Based on the analysis of sherds recovered in the archaeological evaluation, it is unlikely that this potter [Lewis Gardner] worked at the Sycolin Road site. The form and finish of the [L] Gardner jar is much finer than that of any of the analyzed sherds from the [Sycolin Road] site. In addition, the cobalt decoration is much more precise, with none of the “sketchy” traits exhibited on the sherds from the Sycolin Road Pottery.” [23]
6. “Based on the results of test unit excavation . . . and a preliminary analysis of the artifact assemblage, . . . [the Sycolin Road Pottery] site represents a pottery complex that was operated primarily between the 1820s and 1840s.” [24]

*c. The Potter Candidates for the Sycolin Road Pottery Site*

Census and personal property tax records, as well as such other public documents as Road Cases, demonstrate that there appears to have been an active pottery industry in Loudoun County as early as 1772 and as late as 1880. Given the long-standing and extensive efforts by Loudoun County residents to research, document and record the early history of the county, it defies belief that someone has never identified Loudoun County’s potters, the potteries where they worked, or the ceramic products they created.

The following summations consist of what we have learned about the individual potter candidates for purposes of considering them either individually or, in some cases, collectively for attribution as a/the Sycolin Road Potter.

The following summations consist of what we have learned about the individual potter candidates to date for purposes of considering them either individually or, in some cases, collectively for attribution as a/the Sycolin Road Potter.

1. Charles Duncan and son George Duncan

Charles Duncan’s appearance as a possible potter for the Sycolin Road Pottery first surfaces in his 1807 will (LC WB H: 172) and 1808 inventory (LC WB H: 235) of his estate after his death wherein is listed a “set of clay mill irons” and a “hand mill” (devices used in the preparation of clay for production of ceramic products). The set of irons were valued at \$2 and the mill at \$0.25. That inventory also included “crockery ware” and a “Beaufat” (an 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century word for what we now know as a buffet) valued at \$7, which, considering the date, time, place, might be considered unusual given the fact that the total value of the inventory, including two slaves valued at \$300 each, farm animals, farm tools and iron housewares were valued at only \$726.83. However, the final account (LC WB R: 125) showed that after payment of his debts, \$5434.00 remained in his final account.

However, we also know that Duncan had purchased from George Mason in 1777, 226 acres of land for 100 pounds on the Broad Run of the Potomac River.”(LC DB L:341) There is no record of a Charles Duncan in Loudoun County before 1768; the only record we have found of Duncans in the county occurs with the 1768 Tithable Tables which list a George and Joshua Duncan living in the same area.

The Museum for Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) lists a Charles Dunkin as a potter in Loudoun County from 1807 to 1807 In addition, the MESDA also lists a Peter Dunkin (father of Charles Dunkin) of Westmoreland County as a carpenter-turner from 1738 to 1738.

Charles Duncan was born (ca. 1746) in Cople Parish, Westmoreland County, Virginia and was married to Susannah Mason (born ca. 1748) of Cameron Parish, Loudoun County, Virginia in that jurisdiction. There is no record of a Charles Duncan living in Loudoun County before 1768; the only record of Duncans in the county then occurs with the 1768 Tithable Tables which list a George and Joshua Duncan living in the same area with no indication of any relationship to the Charles Duncan family. During a recent conversation with Amy Berstch, I gained the impression that Charles Duncan may have been a potter in Alexandria before moving to Loudoun County, which may explain the pottery equipment listed in his property inventory of 1808. The Fairfax Tithable Tables of 1749 show a William, Blansr., and a Joshr. Duncan living in close proximity.

Based on Charles Duncan’s 1808 will (LC WB H: 172), ten children issued from that marriage (i. e. William, Charles, Catherine, Susannah, Nancy (also known as “Ann”), George, Henry, Coleman, Mason, and Benjamin). Susannah died in 1827 and in her will (LC WB Q: 296), she left four slaves (by name) to each of her two living daughters. She left the estate willed to her by her husband, Charles, to her living children and the children of her then deceased daughter Nancy.

For the purposes of this study, only George and Nancy Duncan are relevant: George, because he is listed in the 1850 Population Census Schedule as a 62-year old “Potter” [making his year of birth approximately 1788] heading a household in Brambleton (a division about ten miles south of Leesburg and six miles southeast of the Sycolin Road Pottery) also occupied by a 40 year old white male “laborer” named Marshall Perry, Perry’s 36-year wife, Mildred, and a 23-year old female named Cornelia Gillett.

Nancy Duncan is important because she married Charles “Lewis” Gardner, also a potential candidate as a/the potter for the Sycolin Road Pottery and also once a resident of the Brambleton division.

In the 1810 and 1820 Population Census Schedules, his mother, Susannah Duncan, is listed as living in Aldie, Loudoun County. A reasonable extrapolation from the numbers of white males in her household and age ranges in those years would indicate that George Duncan may have been living then with his mother in Aldie. There also is no concrete indication of George Duncan’s existence from 1830 until 1850 (unless he was one of the two white males living in Cameron Parish (of Loudoun County) household of his brother, Henry Duncan, in the 1830 Population Census Schedule; even after then, his existence is documented only by the 1850 census and the record of

his death in 1855 (LC DR 1855: p. 8). George Duncan made no will, but his inventory (LC WB 2 0: 44) indicated that he had left word that he wanted his possessions, after paying his debts, to go to Elizabeth Ann Gardner Orrison, his niece for taking care of him during his later years. His accounts (LC WB 2 0: 398) came to a total of \$90, the value of a War of 1812 land warrant (No. 40.632) that he held for 120 acres, which apparently was sold for exactly \$90.

Interestingly, other 1850 residents of the Brambleton division, whom we will discuss later, are Alexander Lee, Henry Harding (a future apprentice potter), and Charles L. Gardner (the older son of Lewis Gardner and Nancy Duncan). Another owner of property in Brambleton in 1850 was a potter by the name of William H. Gardner (also a son of Lewis Gardner and Nancy Duncan Gardner, a younger brother of Charles L. Gardner and a nephew of George Duncan).

## 2. Charles “Lewis” Gardner

Lewis Gardner well may be the most elusive and intriguing person in this whole mystery. Born in Cameron Parish, Loudoun County (ca. 1775) as Charles Lewis Gardner, Lewis would appear to be the son of a William Gardner, also of Loudoun County, and, as of yet, an unidentified mother.

All we know of this William Gardner is what we can find in the Loudoun County tithable records periodically from 1768 onwards, the several land deeds that he witnessed in 1786, after apparently moving to Loudoun County sometime during or after 1776, and the report of his death in 1797 (LC DR 1797, p.1)

We recently learned of a William Gardner who, as a soldier, accompanied Colonel George Washington on his 1754 expedition against the French at Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio River, served in Captain George Mercer’s Company (Mercer and his nephew, James, founded the original Aldie Mill in 1765 on land originally granted in the 1730s to John Mercer, Sr.), and was wounded on July 3, 1754 when the French forces attacked Washington’s First Virginia Regiment at the Great Meadows (Fort Necessity).

This William Gardner, who is mentioned a number of times in *The Papers of George Washington: The Colonial Series*,\* appears to have been one of the approximately 60 officers and soldiers from that campaign who received warrants for land grants for up to a total of 220,000 acres of land located in what is now West Virginia from then Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie. While we were not able to find any such land grant actually issued to a William Gardner, we did learn that a William Gardner was both a planter in Fairfax County and later operated an ordinary in Truro Parish (apparently somewhere along the Ox Road to Ravensworth in Fairfax County) (from February 17, 1762 to 1770 when he was charged on November 20, 1770 for “retailing spirituous liquors without a license,” both occupations for which George Washington kept a number of accounts related to purchases made by Washington between April 1760 and April 1770. This William Gardner held sufficiently high status that we learn from George Washington’s diary that they “din[e]d” together at Mt. Vernon on February 21, 1768.

A Fairfax County poll sheet of July 16, 1765 lists the name of a William “Gardener” (sp) as voting in the elections in which George Washington and Col. John West were elected to the House of Burgesses representing Fairfax County. From 1765 to 1776, William Gardner served on the vestry of the Truro Parish Church and in 1776 and 1777, he served with George Washington as a Church warden when Washington shifted from the Fairfax Parish to the Truro Parish. A footnote by the editor of Washington’s diary entry of April 17, 1760 states that William Gardner “apparently moved out of the [Truro] parish. . . in 1776.”

A notice of indenture (LC DB: I 20) shows that on January 2, 1771, a William Gardner, “Planter” of Fairfax County received a loan of ninety pounds from a Samuel Cheshire of Stafford County and as collateral for that loan leased from Bryan Fairfax of Fairfax County a 320 acre parcel of land in Loudoun County, effective July 13, 1772, for farming by a Joseph Gardner family (mentioning also Joseph’s son, Joseph, and a daughter, “Eloner” Jordan) “during their “natural lives.” The leasing fee was an annual payment of six pounds to be paid in an equivalent amount of tobacco or wheat. The indenture and receipt was recorded May 11, 1771. This Joseph Gardner was also active in Fairfax County affairs as early as 1751 and through the 1760s.

The Loudoun County Tithable Tables for 1768 list a William Gardner and a Jacob and Joseph Gardner in Loudoun County (with five Negro slaves: Sam, Nathl., Hannah, Nel, and Will) and there would appear to be a probable relationship between these three Gardners. The Loudoun Tithable Tables for 1758 and 1768 also list a Silvester Gardner in Loudoun County. There is no information available connecting Silvester with the other Gardner families. The 1749 Fairfax County Tithable Tables also list a “Ja. Gardner” owning two Negro slaves (no names given). Again, no relationship with the William Gardner family is indicated.

Lewis Gardner first appears in the Loudoun County militia records from 1793 through 1828 and the County Tithable records in 1800. He married Nancy “Ann” Duncan (ca. 1778-1819 in 1800 (LC MR 1793-1850, p.12). Of that marriage, there were three known children: Elizabeth Ann Gardner (ca. 1803-1883), Charles L. Gardner (ca. 1805-1850), and William H. Gardner (ca. 1814-1892).

The 1810 Population Census Schedule shows that Lewis Gardner and Nancy Duncan Gardner lived in Waterford. Interpreting the genders and age ranges of household members on that schedule, there are three white males under 10 years of age (one being Charles L. Gardner) and two other unidentified persons), one white male, 26 to 45 (Lewis Gardner), one white female under 10 (Elizabeth Ann Gardner), one white female, 26-40 (Nancy “Ann” Duncan Gardner) and one slave.

\* [Vol. 6: pp. 269, 416,-417; Vol. 7: pp. 4, 9, 357-358, 361, 375, 379, 384, 407, 427, 429, 510; and Vol. 8: pp. 39, 53, 247, 323, 429]

The 1820 Population Census Schedule shows that Lewis Gardner is still living in Waterford. However, there were some changes in the household composing two white males under ten years of age (William H. Gardner and one other unidentified person), one white male, 10 to 25 (Charles L. Gardner), one white female, 16 to 36 (Elizabeth Ann Gardner), no other white females (as wife and mother Nancy had died in 1819), and three slaves. That census schedule also disclosed that two male family members worked in “manufacturing.”

In the 1830 Population Census Schedule, the Gardners are listed as living in Cameron Parish and the household composition changes: Lewis falls within the age range of one white male, 50 to 59, but there are now three white males and one white female in the 20 to 29 age category (this most likely would reflect that Charles L. Gardner is now married (to Betsy Moffet), but the two other white males are unidentified), two white females under 5 years of age (Ann Gardner and Jane E. Gardner, the first two children of Charles L. and Betsy Moffett), one white male, 10 to 14 (William H. Gardner), and one white male, 15 to 19 (also unidentified), and one female slave. Three male members of the family worked in “manufacturing.”

For the 1840 Population Census, Lewis Gardner’s household is now in District 1 (Brambleton) of Loudoun County. (In 1839, Lewis Gardner purchased from Alexander Lee for the sum of \$400, Lot 1 in Brambleton (LC DB 4 O: 113) This property is bordered on the west by Belmont Ridge Road and on the south by Loudoun Route 774. This land was part of an original land grant of 1750 acres acquired by Anthony Russell in 1728. Charles L. Gardner also had established his own household next to Lewis Gardner. The Lewis Gardner household now has one white male, 60 to 70 (Lewis Gardner), one white male, (William H. Gardner), and one white male, 50 to 60. This latter person may be Lewis Gardner’s unaccounted for (in this census) brother-in-law, George Duncan. In addition, the family has two slaves.

While we have no official record as to Lewis Gardner’s occupation(s) over these decades, we do know that Lewis was sued in 1826 by the estate of Thomas Mott and judgment (Mott v. Gardner, LC MB 7: 295) was rendered in favor of Mott against Lewis, for non-payment of rent. Mott, at this time, was owner of the land where the Sycolin Road Pottery was located. We also know that this judgment was listed in the inventory of Mott’s estate (LC WB Q: 243). Also, see Mott’s will: (LC WB Q: 150). We could find no evidence of any recorded lease between Mott and Lewis Gardner for the Sycolin Road Pottery site (Egypt Farm), but, we also could not find any evidence of any other property owned by Mott in Loudoun County at this time period.

Further, there is also the fact that an Ananias Orrison (a relative of Matthew Orrison, the husband of Lewis Gardner’s daughter, Elizabeth Ann Gardner Orrison, and a person of some repute in the community by the virtue of being a common signer of local marriage bonds), in 1829, after Mott’s death in 1826, signed a three-year lease (LC DB 3Q: 41 on Egypt Farm with Mott’s executor, Thomas Henderson, at an annual payment of \$130. However, Ananias Orrison failed to pay that rent and Henderson sued to recover the rent due (Henderson v. Orrison (LC CC M: 289)). These matters are discussed in greater detail under the title heading of “Lot Owners After . . . Robert Carter, III, Lot # 193-27-9018 on page 4 of this report.

Lewis Gardner disappears from the population census record after 1849 when he sold his property in Brambleton to his son, William H. Gardner, for \$400 (LC DB 5C: 109); he also was assessed that same year by Loudoun County for personal property that included “1. . . .white male above 16 years of age” and “2. . . . “horses, mules & e.” (See Appendix A.13.)

### 3. William H. Gardner

We have already established that William H. Gardner had not appeared by name in the federal census records since his birth (ca.1814) and through the 1850 census because he had been domiciled much of that time in the household of his father, Lewis Gardner. However, we do know by a variety of other documents (i.e. 1827 Loudoun court minutes reflecting his purchase, with Matthew Orrison, of “sundry articles” of a personal estate [LC MB 1 5: 283], an 1849 land purchase in Brambleton by William from his father, Lewis, [LC DB 5C:109], an 1849 joint personal property tax assessment with William Orrison (See Appendix A.13), a purchase of 175 + acres of land from a Henry Hawley (for which there is no deed), and, in 1852, a two-tract land sale to Alexander Lee, which included both his Brambleton estate and the Hawley tract, [LC DB 5 E: 299], all of which demonstrate that he had continued to conduct business in Loudoun County for over three-plus decades before 1860.

As noted previously, William’s brother, Charles L. Gardner, and his brother-in-law, George Duncan, are recorded in the 1850 Population Census Schedule as living in Brambleton, as are Francis Harding, and her 6-year old son Henry, but William Gardner is not mentioned by name, even though he purchased the Brambleton property from his father, Lewis, in 1849.

William H. Gardner is listed in the 1860 Population Census as a “Potter” living in “Archola” (sic); included in his household are the three aforementioned members of the Harding family. The now 16-year old Henry is listed as an “Apprentice Potter” and a 6-year old Charles W. Harding has been added to the family. The 1860 Industrial Census Schedule not only further documents William Gardner’s presence in Loudoun County, but is the most revealing document about William H. Gardner’s “Potery” (sic) operation: his capital investment, apparently referring to the hand lathe, is valued at \$300; 60 tons of clay and 1000 pounds of lead are listed as “raw material” valued at \$200; also, the “Potery” is recorded as employing three males who as working an “average number of monthly days of male labor” of “30.” It is not clear as to whether this later number refers the collective number of days worked monthly by the three men or whether each works an average of those 30 monthly days. (See Appendix A.14)

William H. Gardner’s death in 1892 was reported by Matthew Orrison, the husband of his niece, Elizabeth Anne Gardner Orrison (LC DR 1892, p.1), the same niece to whom George Duncan left the remainder of his estate.

### 4. Charles L. Gardner

Charles L. Gardner was the second child and eldest son of Lewis Gardner. He was born in Loudoun County in 1805 and died there in 1889 (LC DR 1889, p.1). He

married Elizabeth (Betsy) Moffett (ca.1806-1881), a daughter of Josiah Moffett, in 1828 (LC MR 1828, p.1). Josiah Moffett may be important to the Sycolin Road pottery because of the fact that in 1789 he bought from Peter Harbourt 138 acres of land along Sycolin Creek (LC DB V: 394) which Harbourt had in turn bought in 1784 from John Lefevere (then deceased) (LC DB O: 201) and which bordered on the land of Henry Lefevere, the son of that John Lefevere whose Pennsylvania forbearers (and Tennessee and various other Midwest state survivors) were well-known potters. Moffet also sold 370 acres of land to Landon Carter in 1805 (LC DB 2F: 88), the same 370 acres of land that he had leased from George Carter in 1795 (an allegedly registered cited in the deed above but missing from the Loudoun County Deed Book).

As noted several times before, Charles L. Gardner, under the Population Census Schedules of 1810, 1820, and 1830 was most likely living with his father, Lewis Gardner, in either Waterford or Cameron Parish. In 1829, Charles and Betsy sold to William L. Simpson for \$75, a 110 acre tract of land (LC DB 3R: 330) on "Secolin Run" that Betsy inherited from her father, Josiah Moffett, in 1815.

The first time that Charles L. Gardner appears by name is in the 1840 Population Census Schedule where he is listed as heading a household consisting of eight persons (Charles, Betsy, four daughters, and two sons) living in District 1 (Brambleton) and is a neighbor of his father, Lewis Gardner. One person in that new family, most likely Charles L. Gardner, is listed as employed in "manufacturing." The question to be asked (although not answerable at this time) is whether Charles L. Gardner's actual occupation in "manufacturing" was that of a potter.

In the 1850 Population Census Schedule, Charles L. Gardner's residential location is in Brambleton. But no occupation is specified; he now heads a household of eleven persons, consisting of himself, wife Betsy, four daughters, and five sons, one of the latter listed as a carpenter. In 1849, Charles is assessed by Loudoun County for personal property taxes for employment of two males. (See Appendix A.13)

For the 1860 Population Census Schedule, Charles is now listed as living in "Archola" (sic), close to his brother, William H. Gardner. The family is now down to Charles, Betsy, the four daughters, and three sons, Charles' occupation is given as a carpenter and the value of his personal property is listed as \$300.

The 1870 Population Census Schedule lists Charles as 65-year old male living alone in Aldie, in the Southern District of Loudoun County, employed as a "miller," and possessing \$350 in personal property. However, in that same census, he also is listed on another census schedule as still living in Arcola but, as a 66-year old male, with wife, Betsy, three daughters and two sons. His occupation is given as a "miller"; the value of his personal property is \$145.

The last time that Charles L. Gardner appears in a U. S. census record is in the 1880 Population Census Schedule where he is listed as a 78-year old male living in Broad Run with wife, Betsy, three daughters and two sons. His occupation is given as a carpenter. Charles dies in 1889 (LC DR 1889, p.1).



## 5. Frederick W. Shafer and his eldest son, Daniel Shafer

Frederick Shafer first appears in the 1850 Loudoun Population Census Schedule as a 31-year old German (Prussia) immigrant living in Leesburg and working as a potter. However, his first appearance in a federal census appears to be in 1840 as farmer in Morgan County, Virginia (now West Virginia). We also know from later census records that he emigrated to the United States in 1838 and took a Maryland-born wife, Susanna, with whom he had five children by 1850.

In the 1860 Population Census Schedule, Shafer still lived in Leesburg and now is listed as having nine children and he, along with his eldest son Daniel (then 17 years of age), work as potters. Shafer's real estate is valued at \$3,000 and his personal property is valued at \$2,000.

By the 1870 Population Census Schedule, Shafer had moved to Waterford with his wife and eight of the children (Carlton, now 25, is a teacher living in Frederick, Maryland). Both Frederick Shafer and Daniel are still employed as potters, but the value of Frederick's real estate has increased to \$20,000 and Daniel's real estate to \$6,000. The family personal property is now valued at \$800.

For the 1880 Population Census Schedule, only three children are at home with the Shafer family, now living in Leesburg; However, Frederick now styles his occupation as a "Potter of Tileing." (See Appendix A.15) Daniel Shafer has married and moved to Hamilton, where he listed his occupation as a "farmer." Daniel continues to list his occupation as a farmer living in the Mt. Gilead District up through the 1920 Population Census Schedule, after which he disappears from census records.

The 1900 Population Census Schedule is the last time that Frederick Shafer appears in the census record; he is listed as 81 years of age and is recorded as still living in Leesburg with three of his daughters Mary, Anna, and Emma and Emma's two children. No occupation is listed for Frederick Shafer in this census.

## 6. Henry Harding

Our knowledge about the early life of the Henry Harding family is very limited. The 1850 Population Census Schedule is the first time we see Henry Harding on the census records where he is listed as a 6-year old male living with his widowed mother, Frances Harding, in Brambleton near potter George Duncan.

In the 1860 Population Census Schedule, Henry and his mother (34-years of age) are living in "Archola" (sic) in the household of William H. Gardner. Francis now is listed as 40-years of age and Henry, 16 years of age, is listed as an "Apprentice Potter," apparently to William H. Gardner. Frances Harding is reported to have \$200 value in personal property and now lists a son, Charles W. Harding, 6-years of age.

The 1870 Population Census Schedule shows that Henry is now a 26-year old head of household and merchant living in Farmwell with his 50 year old mother, Frances, and his 15-year old brother, Charles W. Harding. Henry is reported as owning real estate valued at \$6000 and personal property valued at \$3000. Frances' personal estate is valued \$100. In 1873, Henry purchases from Matthew Harrison, Commissioner for the estate of B. G. Lewis, Lot No. 3, comprising 212 acres, in Brambleton (LC DB 6E: 68) for the sum of \$2447.93.

For the 1880 Population Census Schedule, Henry, now 36-years of age, lists a wife, Nettie (30-years of age), and four children: two daughters and two sons. Henry lists his occupation as a merchant. Frances Harding now lives in Broad Run with her 20-year old son, Charles W. Harding who is listed as a carpenter. Henry and Nettie Myers were married on May 16, 1872 (LC MR 1872, p. 2).

The 1900 Population Census Schedule shows Henry Harding with a new wife, Grace, who is 25 years of age, two of his children from his first marriage, and two additional children, Ethel (16) and Henry (10), probably from his first marriage to Nettie. Henry's occupation is now listed as a farmer.

Eugene Scheel's four volume work on Loudoun County describes in some detail Henry Harding's highly successful career as a merchant, mill owner, and operator several other businesses in Loudoun County. [25]

#### 7. Thomas Gregg

The name of Thomas Gregg, the potter, surfaces in the significant occupational role of potter in a 1772 Loudoun County Road Case of August 24, 1772 (Case File # 44) where he was one of three petitioners asking the court to appoint a review board to determine the appropriateness of establishing a "road from Canby's Mill on Beaver Dam Branch of Goose Creek and then northwest (to what would appear to be Leesburg." However, the court then appointed Gregg as one of the members of a board of reviewers and directed the board of reviewers in November of 1772 instead to "view and lay a Road from said [Canby's] Mill by [way of] Thomas Greggs [the] Potter to the Great Road leading from Sniggars [Snickers] Gap to Alexandria by[way of] James Martins. [26]

The Loudoun County Order Book (Book G, Part 1, page 137, for December 14, 1778) further notes that a Thomas Gorham was appointed as road surveyor of the Road from Little River to Canby's Mill. It also should be noted that there were two Canbys Mills built and operated in Loudoun County -- a mill of 1772 built and operated by Samuel Canby and a mill of 1803 built and operated by Samuel's son, Benjamin. The weight of the currently available evidence in this case would suggest that, for reasons yet unknown, the court had decided to re-route Gregg's proposed road southwest to the Great Road instead of northwest and the Vestal's Gap Road near or in Leesburg. A snippet contained in one portion of the Combs family genealogy offers a statement to the effect that it required " lot of hands to work on the road from Canbys (sic) Mill to Peter Hanas warehouses."

On April 29, 1780, Thomas Gregg also is one of three petitioners requesting a review for a “road near Thos. Greggs to Col. Triplett’s Mill.” (Loudoun County Road Case File # 48) [27]

According to recent research conducted by Chris Roberts, “[t]he Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA), MESDA Craftsman, lists a Thomas Gregg. . . [as a] potter in Loudoun County between 1773 and 1797, and associates the name with a land matter, services outside of trade, as a court defendant, and in an apprentice matter.”

Little else is known of Thomas Gregg, “the Potter” as he (apparently) died in 1803 in Shelburne Parish of Loudoun County. It appears that there were at least two John and] Thomas Gregg [s in the Stafford-Prince William-Fairfax-Loudoun County area in the mid-1700s, the latter the Surveyor for Stafford County in the early 1700s) and both of whom are frequently mentioned in John Mercer’s Land Book. [28] It is clear from the available records that a Thomas Gregg, from Pennsylvania also was active in securing land grants, particularly through the Northern Neck Proprietary, in the early 1740s. A cursory search at the Library of Virginia identified the following land grants made to Thomas Gregg from Pennsylvania:

January 2, 1741, 640 acres in Prince William, now Loudoun County, on Goose Creek] (Reel 291, p.387)

January 2, 1741, 464 acres in Prince William, now Loudoun County on the South Branch of Beaverdam Creek (Reel 291, p.388)

March 21, 1742, 640 acres in Fairfax County (Reel 292, p. 87)

December 11, 1742, 510 acres in Fairfax County (Reel 292, p. 49)

Thomas Gregg’s also name appears in the Loudoun County Rent Rolls as early as 1761, the County’s 1768 and 1769 Tithable Tables (as Thomas Gregg, the Potter), and the 1790 tax census. Because of Thomas Gregg’s 1792 will (LC WB D: 254), the first of his two wills, we know that his wife was named Mary and that he had two daughters, Mary and Dinah, and seven sons, Levi, John, Thomas, Joseph, Isaac, William, and Samuel. Thomas’s sons John, Thomas, Joseph, Samuel and William are listed in the Loudoun County 1768 Tithable Tables. The Loudoun County Tithable Tables of 1787 list a Thomas and Levi Gregg as eligible for that tax.

Additional research has disclosed that the Thomas Gregg from Pennsylvania never actually lived in Virginia, but was born in New Castle County, Delaware in 1701, the son of John Gregg and Elizabeth Cooke, and died in 1748 in Kennet, Chester, Pennsylvania. He married Dinah Harlan (1707-1763) from Chester, Pennsylvania in 1729 and they had four sons (Michael, John, Thomas, and Stephen) and five daughters (Mary, Lydia, Dinah, Amy, and Abigail). All four of these properties went to the eldest son, Michael, after the father, Thomas’, death in 1748. However, by an exchange of deeds, Thomas Jr. (born in 1734) acquired the two Loudoun County properties and the other three brothers,

Michael, John, and Stephen, acquired the remaining properties. All of the brothers allegedly relocated to Loudoun County.

In addition, another group of Greggs (John, George, Geo., Amos, and Samuel are listed in the 1768 Tithable Tables. There is a strong likelihood that these latter Greggs are descended from the other children of John Gregg of Pennsylvania, whose sons, Michael, John, Stephen, and Thomas Gregg, the potter, all moved from Pennsylvania to take over the father's Loudoun County properties. A George Gregg, a Quaker like the rest of the Greggs is identified as a "Quaker from the Upper Parish -- Cameron?) in the Fairfax County 1749 Tithable Tables, but there is no evidence of any relationship with the Loudoun County Greggs.

The 1800 inventory of Thomas Gregg, the potter's, substantial estate (LC WB D: 263), while extensive and indicative of his relative high level of wealth, provides no specific references or other indications as to his one-time occupation as a potter. Thomas Gregg, the potter, also issued a revised will in 1800, shortly before his death in 1803. (LC WB: F: 174]. The 1803 account of that estate, after expenses (LC WB G: 36) -- absent certain personal property and land willed to his wife, children, and others -- amounted to 463 pounds, 8 shillings, and 3 pence. William and John Gregg were appointed in the cited wills as the Executors of Thomas Gregg estate.

Several of the sons of Thomas Gregg also appear in Loudoun County records of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a consequence of marriages: Thomas marrying Rebecca Janney on October 10, 1762, William marrying Rebekah Gregg (possibly a cousin) on November 4, 1767, John marrying Hannah Steer on September 7, 1775, and Samuel marrying Ann Sinclair on June 15, 1785. [29]

Levi Greg, on the other hand, appears to have predeceased his father by six years, dying in mid-1794, leaving no will. (LC WB F: 174). In the 1782 Loudoun County Courts Order Book (LC COB G: 470), a Thomas Gregg was listed as a wheelwright. The Loudoun County Tithable Tables of 1787 list a Thomas and Levi Gregg as eligible for that tax. On June 11, 1787, a Thomas Gregg was listed as a defendant in a law suit styled Robert Irvine v. Thomas Gregg (LC COB L: 217.) Thomas Gregg also was listed as a defendant in a Chancery suit in the 1761 Loudoun Rent Rolls.

Of the two Loudoun grants acquired by Thomas Gregg, the potter, the 640 acre tract on Goose Creek was later to become the village of Round Hill, and the 464 acre tract on the South Branch of Beaverdam Creek. It should be remembered that there are three stream branches in Loudoun County with the title of Beaverdam. It is noteworthy that [Samuel] Canby's mill mentioned in the 1772 road case filed by Thomas Gregg also was located on land that bordered the south side of Beaverdam Branch (LC DB: Y 314).

A review of the Wynn Safer Loudoun Original Land Grant map would appear to place this particular Gregg grant some substantial distance south-

west of the Brambleton area and the Sycolin Road Pottery. Consequently, if Thomas Gregg had a pottery on or near Brambleton or the Sycolin Road Pottery site, then that would necessarily involve land leased or purchased rather than an original grant; however, we could find no record of any such deed to this effect.

#### 8. Some other Loudoun County Potters

- a. Matthias Gossett (MESDA Data # 35004) :  
Operated in Loudoun from ca 1758 to ca 1771: illiterate, leased property, defendant in court case, indications of spouse and children. Consider as possible candidate for early pottery in Leesburg indicated in the Yardley Taylor map segment for Leesburg.
- b. Joseph Lane (MESDA Data # 46353):  
Operated in Loudoun from ca 1790 to ca 1803. Also a surveyor. Information includes shop description, civic role, political position, land ownership, estate matter wares produced, militia, children/spouse, slave owner, will, inventory, etc.
- c. Ned Davis, a free black, is known to have operated a pottery in the Petersburg, Virginia area in the 1850s and to have bought his freedom with the income derived from that trade. In the 1860 and 1870 censuses, Davis was known to be operating a pottery near Morrisville in Loudoun County.

#### *Conclusions*

The information in this report, both narrative and data-related, clearly establish that in the late 18<sup>th</sup> as well as the first-half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there were a number of either self-identified, or otherwise so recognized in public records, potters operating in Loudoun County. These include, but may not be limited to, Lewis Gardner (if one assumes that he was the same “L Gardner Loun. VA” whose maker’s mark appears on the salt-glazed, stoneware jar now located in Waterford, Virginia), William H. Gardner, Charles and George Duncan, Frederick and Daniel Shafer, Henry Harding, and Thomas Gregg, Sr. While nothing in this report establishes conclusively which, if any, of those potters were the potter or potters who worked at the Sycolin Road Pottery site, we did unearth circumstantial evidence that the Gardner family (especially Lewis Gardner) did have direct interests in the property on which the Sycolin Road pottery was located. This evidence constituted the two leases in the early 1820s and in 1829, each of which ultimately resulted in a court suit against Lewis Gardner or a related member of the Gardner family for non-payment of rent under those two leases. (see page 18 for further details)

A view advanced by the ceramics expert, Robert Hunter (who evaluated the wasters at the Sycolin Road Pottery site) that has been confirmed in this report is that “many potters were related to each other by birth or marriage . . . .” (see page 14 of this report) as all but two of the aforementioned potters fit within that specific description. Of those two, Henry Harding, as an apprentice potter, clearly was a friend and boarder – if not a direct member of the Gardner-Duncan family group. As for the other remaining potter, Thomas Gregg -- who was not related -- as far as we know, to the Duncan, Gardner, or Shafer families, we did not have the time or opportunity to ascertain whether any of his sons or other family members ever worked as potters in Loudoun County or elsewhere.

Personal financial information that we were able to gather on several of the potters (i. e. Frederick and Daniel Shafer, William Gardner, Thomas Gregg, and possibly Charles Duncan) seems to indicate that they may have achieved some relatively higher degree of financial success with their pottery operations in Loudoun County.

Given the fact that even our limited research efforts resulted in the identification of at least eight potters who had operated in Loudoun County slightly over a century and we have learned of other apparent claims about the discovery of other old potteries in the county, we find it difficult to believe that there is no existing source of documentation on those potteries, let alone the Sycolin Road Pottery. Hence, the use of the word “forgotten” in the title of our report. If that apparent lack of documentation is in fact the case, then it well may be that the only realistic means by which the Sycolin Road potter(s) may be identified, is through further excavation of the site. When one considers that the ten test units excavated by Louis Berger Associates cover only slightly over an area of 90 square yards while the pottery site footprint is approximately 1.75 acres or 8588 square yards. (see page 11 and Appendix A. 3.1.), further excavation of the site would appear to be warranted, if the site is to be fully and appropriately researched for designation to the National Register of Historic Places. The possible finding of potsherds or wasters on this site which contain a maker’s mark would be an important first achievement in tracing the history of a Loudoun County pottery tradition.

The major portion of the pottery, including the kilns, as noted previously, is located on the northbound side of Sycolin Road. According to the “Site Stratigraphy” segment of the Louis Berger Archaeological Survey and Evaluation report, “[t]he soil profile in this area includes a thin, eroding O-horizon and a relatively undisturbed A-horizon subsoil.” In addition, that report also notes that “. . . . [this] area was subjected to land clearing in the past, and may have been plowed at some point in the twentieth century; however, owing to the shallow, poor soils in the area, agricultural activities in this portion of the site appear to have been very limited.” The Berger report also states that “. . . the presence of intact subsurface cultural features and deposits may have impeded any such agricultural uses of the land.” [30] Extrapolating from that report, it would appear that eight of the ten test units described above were in this portion of the site.

On the other hand, the stratigraphy of the southbound side of Sycolin Road, “. . . includes an active agricultural field. All artifacts in this area were recovered in plowzone deposits, and no subplowzone cultural features or cultural deposits were encountered in any shovel tests or the [two] test units excavated in this portion of the site. . . . Judging from the excavation results . . . [of the two test units] this portion of the site has been repeatedly and extensively plowed, with the plowzone extending to bedrock in some places.” [31]

This situation would appear to require any full-scale excavation to be conducted on two separate parcels of land, thus requiring the cooperation of two individual groups of landowners and increasing the complexity of the procedural aspects of any excavation. However, the fact is that the northbound side of the site – which also includes the kilns -- clearly would provide a greater accuracy in site-dating and also for distinguishing the extent to which single or multiple potters were on the site at either the same or different times, as well as the levels or levels of developing skills in pottery style, form, and decoration because of its “relatively undisturbed A-horizon subsoil.”

Such excavation might help confirm or refute Robert Hunter’s expressed opinions that (1) a single thrower and decorator is obviously indicated” as the Sycolin Road potter, (2) that

the potter or potters [at the Sycolin Road Pottery] were relatively inexperienced in pottery-making, (3) that “[b]ased on the analysis of sherds recovered . . . , it was “. . . unlikely that . . . [Louis Gardner] worked at the Sycolin Road site,” (4) the extent to which “. . . Loudoun County potters. . . [were] “undoubtedly trained or influenced by the nearby [Alexandria and/or Shenandoah Valley pottery] traditions and (5) the “. . . [Sycolin Road Pottery] was operated primarily between the 1820s and 1840s.” (See page 14 of this report for Hunter’s views in this regard)

This has been a very interesting, challenging and informative assignment; although, we had anticipated at the beginning of this project that we had a good chance of identifying the Sycolin Road Pottery potter or potters, we have since learned that the standards of proof are high and that census data (particularly for the early censuses) as well as many other common public records frequently are limited by the types and quantities of information collected. However, that fact made for a difficult challenge of locating additional sources and learning to utilize the data available (especially for the census data) to extrapolate from the data available as a means of identifying the possible location of certain people not listed on the individual census schedules . It was an education to say the least.

### ***Future Research Recommendations***

There are a number of research avenues that should be pursued as a follow-up to this study. Basically, these recommendations fall into two primary categories: those areas of this study which could not adequately be researched and analyzed because of time and resource constraints and additional areas of study suggested by unanswered questions raised as a consequence of this study.

#### *1. Areas of Research Not Fully Developed and Analyzed by this Study:*

- a. Explore in greater detail the various familial, social, and economic relationships between the Gardner (both Lewis and William H.) and the Orrison (Annanias, William, and Matthew) families with regard to rental of land from Thomas Mott (the site of the Sycolin Road Pottery), cooperative business relationships between family members, etc. (as mentioned several times in this study).
- b. Conduct an extensive review of local newspapers, magazines, broadsheets, etc. published between the 1760s and the mid-1800s for advertisements or accounts of potteries, pottery sales and availability, etc.
- c. Perform a detailed analysis of the development and growth of the Sycolin Road community from the mid-1700s through the Civil War periods to document family turnover, in- and out-migration, business growth (particularly in service-related industries), changes in agriculture, communications, transportation, wealth and social status symbols, etc.
- d. Carry out more detailed research on such early potters such as Thomas Gregg, his sons (to determine whether any of them were potters), and Charles and George Duncan.

*Note: Any further research on Thomas Gregg (Sr.), the potter, will have to be cautious as there are at least two Thomas Greggs in Loudoun County during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, four Thomas Greggs in Waterford alone in the 1810 census, two in Waterford in the 1840 census, two in Hillsboro in the 1830 census, one in Jonah Hood in the 1840 census and a Hannah Gregg in Hillsboro in the 1830 census.*

e. Conduct further research on William H. Gardner, I. (possible father of Charles “Lewis” Gardner) and a person of some apparent stature in the Loudoun County community, at least in the 1760s through the 1780s.

## 2. *New Areas of Research Suggested by this Study:*

- a. Consider researching the basic operations of pottery-making and -merchandising during the Early National and Ante Bellum Periods of American history. This effort should pursue whether potters and pottery workers typically lived on pottery preparation and kiln sites; the hours per day, days per week, and days per month typically worked; the extent to which pottery operations were seasonal or year-round; division of labor and job specialization; etc.
- b. Consider researching the extent to which retail merchants in the Upper Potomac region kept daybooks or other records documenting the purchase of ceramics from potteries for resale to consumers. We discovered a doctoral dissertation on an internet web site documenting a study of the daybooks of twenty retail merchants operating in the Upper Potomac region from 1750 to 1865 with regard to their daily sales of ceramic products to their customers. Eight of those merchants were from Loudoun County. It stands to reason that if merchants were sufficiently diligent in documenting daily sales of ceramics products, they also may have been diligent in documenting their own purchases of ceramic products from potteries or other suppliers. *Consuming Mosaics: Mass-Produced Goods and Contours of Choice in the Upper Potomac Region*, <http://etext.virginia.edu/users/fennell/highland/harper/dissabstract.html>
- c. Consider further excavation of the pottery site to recover additional potsherds that could reveal more information about the types, quality and quantity of ceramic products produced, the dates that the pottery was in operation, and clues about the potter or potters who worked at that site.
- d. Attempt to identify the clay source for the Sycolin Road Pottery through analysis of potsherds and existing pottery-quality clay in the county.
- e. Attempt to determine whether any of the Loudoun potters had family or personal relationships with or were trained by the Alexandria or Shenandoah Valley potters.
- f. What was the impact upon Loudoun County’s pottery industry as a result of the
  1. Civil War and Reconstruction,
  2. Financial Panics of 1837, 1857 and 1873, and
  3. Changes to the protective tariff import duties on stoneware and other ceramic products in the 19<sup>th</sup> century?



### *End Notes*

1. *Washington Post*, February 16, 2006, p. PW03; The Louis Berger Group, Inc. for the Virginia Department of Transportation, Archaeological Survey of Route 643 (Sycolin Road) and Archaeological Evaluation of Site 44LD1195, September 2006.
2. Eugene M. Scheel, *Loudoun Discovered (Vol. 1): Eastern Loudoun*, (Leesburg, Va.: Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, 2002), pp.43 and 51.
3. Loudoun County Real Tax Assessment (2006), parcels 193-27-9018 and 237-27-9018.
4. Library of Virginia, Northern Neck (Proprietary) Grant C, 1729-1731, p.172, folio, (Reel 290), June 29, 1731. A second grant issued the next day, June 30, 1731, also to Landon Carter for Robert Carter, Jr. is for an additional 2157 acres also along Goose Creek but to the west of the June 29, 1731 grant and is identified as Northern Neck Grant C, 1729-1731, p.178, folio, (Reel 290) (See Appendix A. 4 for copies of both grants).
5. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *op. cit.*, p.13.
6. U.S. Census Bureau: 1880.
7. *Washingtonian Mirror*, 1903.
8. *Virginia Magazine of History*, “Carter Papers” 5 (1897-1898): pp.408-428; 6 (1898-1899): pp.1-22, 145-152, 260-268; and 7 (1898-1899): pp. 64-68.
9. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *op. cit.*, p.78.
10. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, p.86.
11. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, pp.58-70.
12. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, p.24.
13. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *loc. cit.*
14. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, p.20.
15. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, pp.71-72.
16. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, pp.72-73.
17. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, pp.71-72.
18. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, pp.62-63
19. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, p.73.
20. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, p.58.
21. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, p.73.
22. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *loc. cit.*
23. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *loc. cit.*
24. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *ibid.*, p.55
25. Scheel, *loc. cit.*
26. Robert Costantino, *Miscellaneous Road Cases: Loudoun County, Virginia, 1758-1782*, Heritage Books, 2003, p.118.
27. Costantino, *ibid.*, p. 192
28. *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy*, Vol. 35, (p. 47 of No.1; pp. 167-173 of No.2; pp. 195-196 and 204 of No. 3; and pp.280-286 and 308-309 of No. 4)
29. Ancestry.com, *Marriages of Loudoun County, Virginia, 1757-1853*.
30. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *op. cit.* p.54
31. Louis Berger Group, Inc., *loc. cit.*

*Appendices:*

Appendix A - Cited Documents and Materials

3. Sycolin Road Pottery Footprint
4. Northern Neck Land Grants Related to Sycolin Road Pottery Site
5. Aerial/Topographic Map Depicting Hogback Mt., Leesburg, and Sycolin Road and Present Day Land Plat Map Showing Proximity of Sycolin Road Pottery Site to Goose Creek
6. 1879 Survey of Egypt Farm and 1860 Map Overlay
7. Topographical Maps Depicting Location of Sycolin Road Potter Site
8. Photograph and Charts Showing Sycolin Road Pottery Kiln Location
9. Photographs of Potsherds Found at Sycolin Road Pottery Site
10. Photograph of Privately-Owned Salt-Glazed Stoneware Jar with Maker's Mark of "L Gardner Loun VA"
11. Photograph of Privately-Owned Salt-Glazed Stoneware Jar Attributed to Sycolin Road Pottery Site
12. Photograph of Privately-Owned Salt-Glazed Ovoid Stoneware Jar Attributed to Sycolin Road Pottery Site
13. 1849 Personal Property Tax Assessments for Willam H. Gardner and Wm. Orrison, Charles H. Gardner, and Lewis Gardner
14. 1860 Industrial Census Schedule for William H. Gardner's "Potery" Operation

Appendix E - Deed List

Appendix F - Map List

*APPENDIX A – Cited Documents and Materials*

*APPENDIX A. 3.*

*Sycolin Road Pottery Site Footprint*

*APPENDIX A. 4.*

*Northern Neck Land Grants Related to Sycolin Road Pottery Site*

*APPENDIX A. 5.*

*Aerial/Topographic Map Depicting Leesburg, Sycolin Road, and Hogback Mountain*

*APPENDIX A. 6.*

*1879 Survey of Egypt Farm and 1860 Overlay Map*

*APPENDIX A. 7.*

*Topographical Map Depicting Location of Sycolin Road Pottery Site*



*APPENDIX A. 8.*

*Photograph and Charts Showing Sycolin Road Pottery Kiln Location*

*APPENDIX A. 9.*

*Photographs of Potsherds Found at Sycolin Road Pottery Site*

*APPENDIX A. 10.*

*Photograph of Privately-Owned Salt-Glazed Stoneware Jar with Maker's Mark of "L. Gardner Loun"*

*APPENDIX A. 11.*

*Photograph of Privately-Owned Salt-Glazed Stoneware Jar Attributed to Sycolin Road Pottery*

*APPENDIX A.12.*

*Photograph of Privately-Owned Salt-Glazed Stoneware Ovoid Jar Attributed to Sycolin Road Potter*

*APPENDIX A. 13.*

*1849 Personal Property Tax Assessments for William H. Gardner  
and Wm. Orrison, Charles L. Gardner, and Lewis Gardner*

*APPENDIX A. 14.*

*1860 Industrial Census Schedule for William H. Gardner's "Pottery" Operation*

*APPENDIX E – Deed List*



## *DEED LIST*

### *Lot #193-27-9018 – The site of the Sycolin Road Pottery Kiln \**

- 1803 – George Carter sold to Benjamin Dewell (LC DB 2G: 37)
- 1807 – Benjamin Dewell sold to Ignatius Elgin (LC DB 21: 243)
- 1818 – Ignatius Elgin sold to Henry Jenkins (LC DB 2X: 87)
- 1818 – Henry Jenkins sold to George and James Rust (LC DB 2X: 274)
- 1819 – George and James Rust sold to Thomas R. Mott (LC DB 2Y: 390)
- 1829 – Thomas R. Mott’s Executor (3-year lease) to Annanias Orrison (LC DB 3Q: 41)
- 1831 – Thomas R. Mott’s Executor sold to James Cross (LC DB 3W: 10)
- 1842 – James Cross’ Executor sold to Thomas and Elmira Rogers (LC DB 4R: 178)
- 1847 – Seldon Gibson (Executor of the Rogers) sold to Edward Hammat (LC DB 5B: 133)
- 1874 – Edward Hammat sold to Thomas H. Claggett (LC DB 6F: 418)
- 1881 – Thomas H. Claggett sold 30 acres of 248+ acres to Thomass Moffett (LC DB 6Q: 209)
- 1882 – 1884 Thomas H. Claggett sold an additional 79 acres in 2 to 4 acre plots to local African-Americans
- 1884 – Thomas H. Claggett sold remaining 120 acres to Harrison P. Wiley (LC DB 6V: 435)
- 1888 – Harrison P. Wiley sold to Edward Wooten (LS DB 6Z: 54)
- 1888 – Edward Wooten sold to Elijah B. White (LC DB 7B: 142)
- 1889 – Elijah White sold to Thomas Moffett (LC DB 7B: 274)
- 1892 – Thomas Moffett sold to George Williams
- 1907 – George Williams sold to Joseph Wright (LC DB 8E: 36)
- 1928 – Joseph Wright sold to Noah Hawthorne (LC DB 10: 425)
- 1937 – Noah Hawthorne sold to Wilbur Hall
- 1939 – Wilbur Hall sold to William H. Martin, Jr. (LC DB 11:494)
- 1944 – William Martin sold to Augustus C. Moffett
- 1958 – Augustus C. Moffett sold to Thomas and John Darlington (LC DB 379: 59)

Today, the parcel consists of 95+ acres and is owned by Sycolin Corner, LLC.

### *Lot #237-39-5293 – The Site of Some Sycolin Road Pottery Wasters \**

- 1804 – George Carter convey 165 acres lying on “Secolin” to Benjamin Shreve (LC DB 2G:73)
- 1876 – Benjamin Shreve sold to J. H. Lawson (LC DB 6P: 368)
- 1888 – J. H. Lawson sold to H. T. Bradford (LC DB 7G: 146) [Lawson ownership questioned by Thomas Elgin in court]
- 1892 – Court conveys property to Thomas and Mollie Elgin (LC DB 7G: 148) [tract known as Sycolin Mills then consisting of a large brick flour and grist mill, dwelling, and outbuilding and about 14 acres of land.]
- 1895 – Thomas and Mollie Elgin sold to Mary Lowe (LC DB 7K: 178)
- 1903 – Mary Lowe sold to Alice Elgin (LC DB 7Y: 16) [Elgin combines this lot with her 535-acre Tract acquired in 1896 from Charles Elgin (LC DB 7M: 454)]
- 1922 – Alice Elgin sold to W. Frank and Noah B. Hawthorne (LC DB 90: 84)

1939 – W. Frank and Noah B. Hawthorne sold to George Martin (DB 11E: 466)  
1948 – George Martin sold to Sheldon F. Fuller and Graham L. Rodgers  
1948 – Sheldon F. Fuller and Graham L. Rodgers sold to Rebbie Debutts  
1949 – Rebbie Debutts sold to Van Iden and Mary Zeilerin  
1950 – Van Iden and Mary Zeilerin sold to Jessie and James Carmichael

Today the parcel contains approximately 620 acres and is owned by David and William Cammack.

\* Both of these properties were originally part of a June 29, 1731 Northern Neck Grant of “2693 acres above Goose Creek on the upper side of Seconnels (sic) Branch” (Northern Neck Grants C, 1729-1731, p. 172, folio, Reel 290) from Catherine, Lady Fairfax, the widow of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, to Landon Carter via the estate of Robert Carter, Jr. (See Appendix 4)

#### *Gardner-Duncan-Harding Families*

1829 – Charles L. & Eliz Gardner to Wm. L. Simpson (LC DB 3R: 330) 110 acres Eliz. inherited from Josiah Moffett  
1839 – Alexander Lee to Lewis Gardner (LC DB 4O: 113) Lot #1 of 100 acres in Brambleton  
1849 – Lewis Gardner to William H. Gardner (LC DB 5C: 109) Lot #1 of 100 acres in Brambleton  
1852 – Wm. H. Gardner to Alex. Lee (LC DB 5E: 299) Lot #1 of 100 acres in Brambleton  
1873 – Matthew Harrison (Executor of A. Lee’s estate) to Henry Harding (LC DB 6E: 68) Lot #3 of 212 acres in Brambleton

#### *Thomas Gregg 1792 Deeds*

Thomas Gregg to son John (LC DB D: 180 & 182)  
Thomas Gregg to son John (LC DB Q: 303 & 304)  
Thomas Gregg to son Joseph (LC DB Q: 334 & 352)  
Thomas Gregg to son Samuel (LC DB Q: 324 & 330)  
Thomas Gregg to son Thomas, Jr. (LC DB Q: 328 & 330)  
Thomas Gregg to son Joseph (LC DB Q: 332 & 338)  
Thomas Gregg to son Levi (LC DB Q: 336 & 338)  
Thomas Gregg to son Josiah (LC DB R: 67 & 69)  
Thomas Gregg to son Isaac (LC DB R: 72 & 73)  
Thomas Gregg to son Josiah (LC DB R: 67 & 69)

*APPENDIX F – Map List*

## ***MAP LIST***

<i>Title of Map</i>	<i>Page</i>
1. Topographic Map Depicting Location of Sycolin Road Pottery Site	6
2. Sycolin Road Pottery Site Footprint	A.3.1
3. Aerial/Topographic Map of Leesburg and Sycolin Road	A.5.1
4. Present Day Land Plat Map Showing Proximity of Sycolin Road Pottery Site to Goose Creek	A.5.2
5. 1879 Survey of Egypt Farm and 1860 Map-Overlay	A.6.1
6. Topographic Map Showing Sycolin Road Pottery Site	A.7.1
7. Eugene Scheel Map of Loudoun County (partial)	F.1-2
8. Eugene Scheel Map of Battles and Action in Late War	F.3-4
9. Map of Loudoun County, circa July, 1757	F.5