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THE EDIBLE TABLECLOTH

In mediaeval times, when dining tables were not permanent articles of furniture, but hastily assembled for each important meal, they were not covered with a "fair linen cloth," at least in France. Unless one sat at the high table, his plate rested on the bare boards, and his gown served as a napkin. Poor people ate directly from the pot in which the food was cooked. Those in better circumstances had square pieces of wood, or if wealthy, pewter plates or platters. But at a higher level, the Court of France, for instance, there was a tablecloth of bread. According to Froissart, whose *Chronicles* were written in the last quarter of the 14th century, these tablecloths were baked as flat loaves, six inches wide and of the thickness of four fingers. On them the meat was cut. Hence, from the French verb *trancher,* to cut, they came to be known as *tranchoirs.* This is the origin of the English word *trencher.* During the course of the meal, the tablècloths became choice tidbits, soaked with the juices of the meat, and flavored with spilled wine. A good trencherman would finish the meal by eating his tablecloth. Those with more dainty appetites would leave the whole or some remnants. The fragments were gathered when the board was cleared, and given to the poor, who always gathered in swarms about the doors, hoping to get some of the tasty morsels.

This, and much other interesting information, may be found in *Six Thousand Years of Bread,* by H. E. Jacob.

P. E. R.

MYSTERIE NOT A MYSTERY

Capt. A. V. Sutherland-Graeme has called my attention to the real meaning of the word mysterie as used in connection with the various London Guilds. The word had no connotation of secrecy, hence my remarks in my paper on "Alloys Called Pewter" in Bulletin 24 are incorrect. The mysterie was not one of trade secrets; the group of craftsmen themselvese form the Mysterie.

On looking into the matter, I find that there are more sorts of misters than I had supposed. I might have inferred so from the title of the pewterers in 1546/7, the style then being "Master of the *Mistery* of Pewterers and Wardens of the same Craft or Mystery," for here the spelling is in two ways.

Mister in this sense is practically obsolete. It is not our Mister, derived from Master, but is an English version of the Old French word *mestier,* meaning a trade, office, or ministry. Hence the trade of the pewterer was his mysterie.

Mestier, in turn, is derived from the Latin *ministerium,* service, office, ministry. The pewterer ministered to the needs of the householder.

Mystery, on the other hand, comes from the Latin *mysterium,* secret, and that from the Greek *mysterion,* one of the few cases of slight change of spelling and meaning through the ages.

But since each Mysterie had its mysteries, my published interpretation was essentially right, although etymologically wrong.

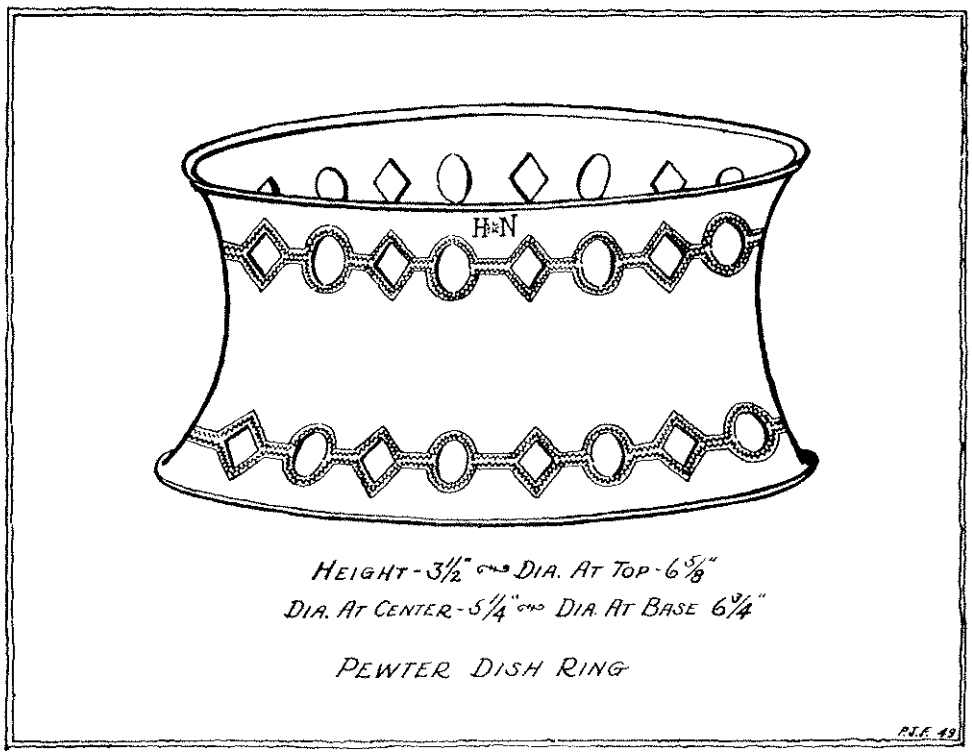
P. E. R.

A PEWTER DISH-RING

By Edna T. Franklin

The unique pewter dish-ring shown in the accompanying illustration came as a surprise to us. We had never seen or heard of such an object in this metal until we happened upon it in a shop. We have talked about it among our friends and fellow collectors without result. One friend had heard of a specimen in someone's collection—he did not know whose—but could not locate the owner. The dealer from whom we purchased it did not care to inform us where she got it, hence its history remains unknown. The name of the maker is also a mystery, for he failed to place a touch on his handiwork. Our surmise is that an American pewterer made an imitation of an Irish silver dish-ring, possibly to supply his wife with a holder for hot dishes.

For information about such utensils one turns to Edward Wenham's *Domestic Silver of Great Britain and Ireland.* The dish-ring was used in Ire-



land for the same purpose as was the dish-cross in England, namely, to protect the surface of the table from injury by heat. Such rings were introduced to England, possibly from Holland, at the end of the 17th century, but did not "catch on" there, although a silver one is known, made by Andrew Raven in 1704. But between 1750 and 1825, great numbers of them were made and used in Ireland, where they became one of the most conspicuous ornaments of the table service. So thoroughly Irish are they, that they were long known as potato rings. It is now recognized that their only association with potatoes was

the occasional one of holding a bowl of those nourishing vegetables. Mr. Wenham, following Sir Charles Jackson, states that the dish-ring remained upon the table throughout dinner, supporting first a bowl of soup, then, perhaps, a treen potato bowl, formed from bog oak and ornamented with silver rim and bands. This might be replaced by a cut glass bowl holding dessert, and finally, by a silver punch bowl. The ring raised each important dish to prominence, as well as protecting the surface of the table.

Mr. Wenham subdivides the 75-year period during which the rings were popular into three epochs, early, middle, and late. Those of the early epoch were low, spool-shaped, the sides decidedly concave in profile. In the middle epoch they were higher, the sides less concave, the whole tapering toward the top, where the diameter was considerably less than at the base. This tendency culminated in the third epoch, when the base became even more splayed.

The diameter of the pewter example is 6¾ inches at the base, 6⅝ at the top, and it is 3½ inches high. The sides are concave, decidedly spool-shaped. It would seem, therefore, that it was probably made during the first epoch, hence between 1750 and 1780. As may be seen in Mr. Franklin's drawing, the piercing is simple, diamond-shaped openings alternating with oval ones. Bordering the openings, and running from one to another, are decorative incised bands of simple chased or punched work. Although we like to think of this as something made by an American pewterer for his wife, it may be that it is Hibernian in origin. The owner's initials, H. N., are not those of any known pewterer.

Another unusual article which we have found recently is a pewter stamp. It is similar to the larger one shown in the note by Florence Peto on page 124 in the August issue of *Antiques* for this year (1949). Above is the American eagle with widespread wings; in the middle a space for a name. Naturally we have inserted Franklin. Mrs. Peto has found that such stamps were used for putting the owner's name on quilts, and less commonly, on household linen. They date from about 1840.

TUTANIA

By Agnes Hayes Post

Two advertisements published early in the last century refer to teapots and spoons made of teutania. One is a paper published at Ballston Springs, New York, and the advertisement is dated May 8, 1817. Although the title page is missing, it appears to be a copy of the Saratoga Courier, published by one Doubleday, the father of Abner Doubleday, of baseball fame. At that time Ballston Springs was enjoying a popularity later taken over by Saratoga.

Lee and Barnum notified the public that they had gotten in a "New Supply of Goods, adapted to the season." They listed it in a detail which cannot be reproduced here, but it ranged from broadcloth and bombazine through Holland and Country gin to "Teutania and other Table and Tea spoons," and "Teutania Tea Pots, various sizes and patterns."

The other advertisement is from a copy of the Catskill Recorder, published on Wednesday, December 22, 1819, by N. Croswell and Son.

Cooke, Dwight, and Co., who seem to have been hardware merchants, offer for sale a long list of carpenter's and blacksmith's tools, plated stirrups, knives, steel knitting pins, and "Adzes, cap wire, Iron and teutania spoons."

"C. D. & Co. import their goods direct from several of the most respectable Hardware Establishments in England."

Dr. Raymond informs me that the spelling teutania is incorrect, for the alloy was named for a Mr. William Tutin, bucklemaker, of Birmingham, England, who invented it, or something of the sort. It is one, or rather several, of the many alloys which have been called britannia.

Richardson, writing in 1790, said that it was made by a formula demanding 8 oz. brass, 2 lbs. regulus of antimony, and 7 oz. tin. Nicholson, in 1825, says that it should be made of 4 oz. brass, 4 oz. tin, and when these are in fusion, add 4 oz. bismuth and 4 oz. regulus of antimony.

G. Francis, in 1842, says that German tutania calls for 2 drachms of copper, 1 oz. regulus of antimony, and 12 oz. tin. Finally, Knight, in 1875, says that Spanish tutania is made from 24 parts tin, 2 of antimony, and, most curious, 1 of steel.

In other words, the name has been applied to various alloys, developed by unsuccessful experimenters. Unfortunately we do not know the names of any of the manufacturers who used these alloys, so we are not in a position to identify any of the spoons or teapots advertised under the name teutania.

SOCIETY OF PEWTER COLLECTORS

The Society met at Salisbury, Wiltshire, on Saturday, June 18th. The members visited the museum in the morning, held a business meeting in the afternoon, and a dinner in the evening. On motion of Mr. R. F. Michaelis, seconded by Capt. A. V. Sutherland-Graeme, it was voted that any members of the Pewter Collectors' Club of America who are in England at the time of their meetings are invited to attend them. President James C. Fenton has expressed to the present writer his personal regret that none of our members has so far appeared at one of their meetings. The next will be held at Grosvenor House Hotel, Park Lane, London, on Saturday, January 14th, 1950.

The printed report of the Salisbury meeting contains the following:

"The following resolution was sent to Mr. James C. Fenton (President) from the Secretary of the Pewter Collectors' Club of America.

"Whereas, Mr. James C. Fenton, President of the Society of Pewter Collectors, has written to our President, expressing a desire for cooperation between our organizations:

"Be it resolved that the Pewter Collectors' Club of America herewith congratulates Mr. Fenton upon his elevation to an office which his predecessors have made so honorable.

"And furthermore that we are gratified that our humble attempts at the study of pewter have won this recognition; therefore:

"Be it resolved—that we express an earnest desire to enter as far as possible into cooperation with the Society, and beg to be informed of ways in which we can be helpful."

Under the heading, "Publications by Members," one finds the following:

Mr. Christopher A. Peal published an article on *Pewter Salts, Candlesticks, and some Plates,* in Apollo, May, 1949.

By the same author is *Tankards and Housemarks on Early Measures,* in the June number of Apollo.

Capt. A. V. Sutherland-Graeme had an article on *Pewter of Distinction* in Country Life, issue for June 24, 1949. Also, *Fine Pewter in Local Museums,* in the Connoisseur, June, 1949.

The series of four articles on English porringers, mentioned in Bulletin 24, began in the July issue of Apollo. This first one is particularly important, for it contains drawings of all the types of ears. The August number shows profiles of the basins. The series will be concluded in October.

Another item:

"Mr. and Mrs. Michaelis have been greatly honoured by a visit from Mr. and Mrs. W. Gill Wylie of Miami, Florida, members of the Pewter Collectors' Club of America.

"Mr. Wylie specialises in pewter measures of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France, in addition to those of the United States of America. He has a collection of nearly two hundred pieces, and is about to publish a book dealing with the capacity and sizes of measures in those countries."

Mr. Ronald F. Michaelis has just revised H. J. L. Massé's *Chats on Old Pewter.* This is a most useful book on pewter, first published in 1911, but reprinted as late as 1923. Mr. Michaelis has completely changed the illustrations, making sure that all represent authentic pieces. It is published by Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, at 12 shillings and sixpence. Order it through your bookseller. These books go out of print remarkably soon.

P. E. R.

AMERICAN PEWTER

Under this title, the Brooklyn Museum has published an excellent pamphlet of 36 pages. At least half the space is devoted to unusually good photographs, unusually well reproduced. All are from specimens in the Museum; most of them from the John W. Poole collection. Some of the pieces have not been illustrated previously. A few sample touches are included.

The text is by John M. Graham II, who has managed to condense into a small space a great deal of information about pewter, and about pewter-making in this country. Appended is a list of American pewterers, with their approximate working dates.

The pamphlet can be obtained from The Brooklyn Museum for 80 cents, postpaid.

THE MAGAZINE ANTIQUES for September, 1949, contains three articles on pewter. Abstracts of papers presented at the Williamsburg Forum by Mr. Charles F. Montgomery and P. E. R. are preceded by a pictorial representation of the making of pewter by Mr. L. M. A. Roy. Unknown to us, our remarks at the forum were channelled into a dictaphone, and the abstracts were made from the records. It would be salutary for all who speak in public if, once in a while, "We could hear ourselves as others hear us."

P. E. R.

AN ADVERTISEMENT

During my perusal of a copy of the American Courier, published in Philadelphia and dated April 24, 1852, I came across the following advertisement:

BRITANNIA WARE

THE UNDERSIGNED are constantly manufacturing the above Ware, in all its variety, consisting of Tea Sets, Coffee Pots, Lamps, Candlesticks, Sugar Bowls, Cream Cups, &c.,—to which they would respectfully call the attention of Dealers.

HALL & BOARDMAN
Nos 93 and 95 ARCH Street, Philad'a.

Perhaps someone living in or near Philadelphia would like to take this on and possibly unearth a factory such as was located in New York City. It would be interesting to know if all the above mentioned articles were manufactured in Philadelphia or if the source of supply depended on the output of the Hartford and New York shops. What happened to all this ware if it bore the Hall and Boardman touch? Being made so late in the century one would assume more would be found.

MARION DEMING.

MORE SLIPS OF THE PEN

Mr. Fred W. Burgess, in his *Silver*: *Pewter*: *Sheffield Plate,* London, 1921, and in the American edition of 1937 makes an occasional slip. For instance, he refers on page 277 to the large pewter *chalices,* used in Scotland, and commonly known as "tappit hens." He says that these vessels varied considerably in size, some holding fully three quarts, although others were quite small. For remarks on the misuse of the term tappit-hen, see Bulletins 23 and 24.

On page 275, he says that there are many fine flagons and tankards marked with the Edinburgh touch in Stuart days. There are no known Scottish tankards and flagons of that period, unless I am much mistaken.

Again facing p. 242 in the American edition, there is an illustration of an atrocious (?Britannia metal) hot water jug called a Pewter Tankard, 18th Century. In figure 55 is a Pewter Candlestick, 18th Century. This again is probably Britannia, but quite apart from that, it is described on p. 279 as 19th century, which is nearer the truth.

RONALD F. MICHAELIS.

Mr. Michaelis has been most kind in not mentioning the worst slip of all. Chapter 31, containing nine pages, includes Mr. Burgess' contribution which is supposed to justify the inclusion of the word Pewter in the title of the book. The definition in the first sentence is, that pewter is an amalgam, which implies that quicksilver is an important ingredient in its composition. This piece of stupidity is *au pied* with the remainder of the book.

PERCY E. RAYMOND.

NECROLOGY

It is with deep regret that we note the passing on June 21, 1949, of Mrs. Charles D. Cook of Rumford, Rhode Island. Mrs. Cook formerly lived in Providence, and many members of both the Pewter and Rushlight Clubs will remember with pleasure the visits to her home and collections. She had wide interests, and a great knowledge of many forms of antiques.

P. E. R.

DO NOT OVER-CLEAN PEWTER

Some collectors are destroying the value of their own pieces by cleaning them so thoroughly that they look new. One may take a personal satisfaction in a perfectly clean, burnished surface, but if so, he must realize two things. One is that he has opened the piece to suspicion and lowered its sales value, another is that he has ruined the natural patina, and this has actually damaged an antique. To be frank and severe, an act of vandalism has been committed.

The English Society of Pewter Collectors has, at its recent meetings, devoted considerable time to "vetting" pieces submitted by the members. Most of the articles submitted, (in all cases without clue to ownership), are those about which the owner has doubts. The first criterion for genuineness is the presence of the scale of "pewter disease." The enemy of the pewter is the best friend of the collector. If your pieces have these honorable scars, do not remove all of them. A specimen bearing scale goes through the vetting committee in a couple of minutes, whereas a well cleaned antique may be discussed for a quarter of an hour. The fakers have never found any way of imitating the really hard scale which cannot be removed except by harsh treatment with acid or alkali. Fortunately, even when these chemicals are used, rough pits remain. Too often they are removed by drastic burnishing and polishing. Leave them! One can get a little curved hand burnisher which will flatten the rougher spots.

Unfortunately not all old pewter shows the scale. Some of it was well cared for and in actual use up until about half a century ago. Much which had been discarded had been relegated to a dry attic rather than to a damp cellar. Many pieces were kept about the house as heirlooms long after they had ceased to be of any use. I have a plate which my grandfather kept because it had belonged to his great-grandfather.

To judge these relatively clean specimens, one has to know the colors, weight and feel of real pewter. This is not learned in a moment. One must be really interested in pewter and actually handle a great deal of it. Studying a few pieces for a long time is of no great help, for it gives one no information about those which are new to him. It is necessary to know the proper shapes of vessels of various periods and countries. A few years ago, Dutch coffee-urns with American touches appeared on the market, but were quickly spotted because of their form. But the more clever fakers are expert in reproducing the proper form, so other criteria are generally more useful. Touches are valuable, even though they are often closely imitated. The English fakers are much cleverer at this than the American ones. If one has any doubt about an Eng-

lish touch, he should consult the photographic reproductions of the touchplates, rather than the drawings made from them. It is indeed, possible to be over-critical about touches. The punches were highly tempered, brittle, and subject to breakage. So they had to be renewed from time to time, and the die-sinker introduced small variations.

The American collector of English pewter is safest when he has a chance to buy from "pickers," or dealers who obtain their stock directly from homes. Of course a good deal of material is "planted," even in homes. The reliability of the dealer is of vital importance. His own knowledge of pewter is equally essential. Some dealers have had unfortunate experiences themselves.

A criterion of excellence is the bad condition of a piece when one buys it. To date, the fakers have not gone so far as to smash an article before they sell it. Some of the pieces I feel most comfortable about were in dreadful condition when I bought them. It cost money to fix them up, and they are far from perfect now. But they are certainly not new.

The campaign against fakes by the English Society of Pewter Collectors has driven a huge quantity of pewter of questionable nature to this country. Some of it is as bright and shiny as though it were new. Which is not surprising, for it is new, although made in imitation of, and sold as, antique pewter.

A flood of these English fakes has been imported into this country during the past ten years. By now they are spread all over our country, in shops large and small. It is extremely unfortunate for the dealers, for it has caused collectors to hesitate about buying anything English. It is unfortunate for the collector, too, for the English is the best and most interesting pewter. If those who have purchased fakes will send them back to the vendors, perhaps a good many can be shipped back to the makers, or go into the melting pot to conserve the tin.

This flood could be dammed by the United States Customs if they would employ an expert to pass on shipments as they reach our shores, or by dealers who really know pewter. All they have to do is to refuse to buy doubtful material.

PERCY E. RAYMOND.

ANTIQUES AND DECORATIONS FORUM

Sponsored by The Magazine Antiques and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., January 24, through February 4, 1949.

The following article was written for presentation at the Forum. Since the author uses no notes when talking and has a poor memory, most of it was not presented. An abstract of what was actually said has been published in Antiques, September issue, 1949. With the permission of Miss Alice Winchester, Editor of Antiques, I am printing here what I intended to say.

INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON AMERICAN PEWTER

BY PERCY E. RAYMOND

The pewter made in this country is so much like that of England that one is tempted to call it merely an abridged edition. Compared, group by group,

there is tremendously greater variety in English than in American forms. For example, the English had at least a dozen common varieties of plate-rims. We had two. They made oval platters in various sizes and shapes. So far as we know, only a single specimen of this sort was ever produced in this country.

As with sadware, so it is with hollow vessels. American pewterers never attempted to make such a variety of flagons, tankards, cans, and measures as were produced in England. Not till the Britannia Period, 1820 to 1850, did the Americans show their versatility. Before that time they had been selective in their reaction to English influence; not necessarily selecting the best, but rather that for which there was a local demand.

What I wish to discuss is the way in which this selectivity was carried out, and the influence it had on the forms which were actually made. I am, of course, dependent for information on the works of J. B. Kerfoot, Louis Guerineau Myers, and above all, Ledlie I. Laughlin. For English pewter, one necessarily has recourse to H. H. Cotterell.

The influence from England may be discussed under two general heads; that which was coercive, and that which was competitive. In both, her pewterers had a tremendous advantage. They were organized in a great guild, the Worshipful Company of Pewterers, officially recognized by their Sovereign, particularly when he wanted to "borrow" money. On the one hand they were enthusiastic supporters of England's policy of repressing manufacturers in the Colonies. On the other, they had unlimited power of price control among themselves.

John W. Poole and Mr. Laughlin were in agreement that the colonial pewterers used little or no virgin tin, depending for their metal on damaged and cast-off vessels. If so, this was partly from choice, and due only partly to coercive action by the Mother country. So far as I can learn from Welch's *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers,* the export of tin in blocks or bars was at no time prohibited, nor was the export duty excessively high. As Mr. Welch says, the Company was constantly endeavoring to have the duty on the exportation of tin increased, whereas the producers in Cornwall constantly and successfully opposed it. Possibly this success was due to the fact that a large part of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall accrued to the Crown.

Nor were molds unobtainable. In 1754 the Company appointed a committee "to prevent any molds being sent abroad in the future." They reported that there was no law which prohibited the exportation of molds.

As Mr. Laughlin says, if raw tin cost the colonial pewterer as much as imported finished vessels, he would naturally use scrap for his own product, and stock up on English ware to satisfy the demands of his customers. It is probable that this is what the Boston workers actually did, and explains their addiction to plates. But it seems probable that the Rhode Islanders, the Danforths, the New Yorkers, and the Philadelphians, used some new tin for their more varied output. If their day books, rather than their post mortem inventories could be consulted, we should know more about it. The two ideas, that the colonial pewterers mended pewter, and so preserved it, and that they melted and recast it, do not seem exactly congruous.

The 17th century was the golden age of English pewter. Numerous masters, journeymen, and apprentices were working busily in London and the

provinces. A few of them came to this country and brought molds along. Undoubtedly some of them made pewter here. But it had a slim chance of survival. In spite of the enormous amounts made in England, little antedating 1675 now exists, and there is not enough of that produced in the last quarter of that century to satisfy the demands of the limited number of people who now collect it. When we look at the brief list of possible colonial pewterers, it is really remarkable that we have even the Chuckatuck spoon to represent the first hundred years of settlement.

The response to English influence was, as has been said, chiefly one of selection. In point of time, that selection was either contemporaneous, or delayed. The latter may be called reminiscent. Reminiscent selection may have been due to various causes; primarily, perhaps, to the continued use of molds after a particular style had gone out of fashion abroad. Or, in other cases, it may have been due to the purchase of second-hand molds. I like to think that in some instances it was the deliberate choice of a pewterer who looked upon the vessels made in earlier days and found them more pleasing than the ones produced in his own time.

Contemporaneous influence in some cases may have been brought about by recent immigration of pewterers, in others by demand on the part of the public for up-to-date wares. In the later years, particularly after the introduction of britannia metal, competition, both external and internal, became important.

With these ideas in mind, we may review briefly the history of the various sorts of wares.

Sadware

The plates, platters, dishes, and chargers of 17th century England are of two major types. The earlier ones had plain, broad brims: the later examples, narrower brims with a rim composed of moldings. Less common were plates with wide brims and moldings. The broad-brimmed types were in fashion in the 16th century and persisted until about 1685 or 1690. The molded, or multiple-reeded were rare before the Restoration, but became dominant from about 1670 to about 1710. About 1705-10, this strong, really decorative type gave way to the familiar single-reeded form which persisted so long as plates were made in pewter or britannia. The plain brim returned about 1730 to 1740, but it was narrow, with a reed on the lower side. A few English pewterers made hexagonal, decagonal, or wavy-edged plates during the 18th century, but they seem not to have been popular.

Most American plates, platters, and deep plates (dishes) are single-reeded. A few have the narrow plain brim. The styles are therefore contemporaneous. A few of the more conscientious pewterers followed the English custom of hammering the booge, thus stiffening the metal.

The single example of the use of the double reed in this country is the christening bowl by one of the Joseph Leddells (Laughlin, pl. 38). It was doubtless made by Joseph, Sr., who began working in New York in 1712. He brought molds and tools with him when he came from England. The double-reeded rim was therefore familiar to him, but, strangely, he did not use a contemporaneous style, but a subdued type which appeared about 1670, and soon gave way to the bolder designs of the late years of the century. It was, therefore, reminiscent even so early as 1712.

Until about 1750, the English found many uses for porringers, but earthenware bowls had gradually been replacing them throughout the century. Curiously enough, the colonists took them up just at the time they were going out of favor abroad and their maximum use here may have been as late as 1820. They were not universal favorites, their greatest popularity having been in Rhode Island and Connecticut.

American pewterers were most versatile in designing porringer handles. Only two of the five common types show English influence. The Rhode Island solid handle and the Pennsylvanian "tab" are modifications of Continental forms, whereas the Rhode Island and Connecticut "flowered" is strictly an American design. The "crown handle," never popular in England, was made there from about 1690 to 1750. It seems to have been introduced to this country by Joseph Leddell of New York, but was made at about the same time by William Bradford, Jr. Many of them were produced in New York by the pewterers whose periods spanned the Revolution. From this source they spread rather early to Rhode Island, then to Connecticut, and presumably reached the Boston district in the first quarter of the 19th century. Boston pewterers were too coy to put their full names on porringers, so the numerous initialed specimens cannot yet be identified.

The "Old English" handle, characterized by the inverted heart in the median line of openings, although probably of Dutch origin, is of unknown antiquity in England. It seems to have appeared in this country first in New York, perhaps about 1750, was taken up with enthusiasm in Connecticut, and some specimens were made in Rhode Island and Vermont. Pennsylvanians remained content with their unlovely tab handles, though a few crown and Old English were made there.

Hollow ware

Tankards were the specialty of the New York pewterers, who had cause to be proud of their work. The middle-class New Englander seems to have been content to drink his cider direct from the jug, his beer from an open mug or can. But the average New Yorker liked to linger over his liquor, sipping it from a tankard fully as handsome, if not so ornate as the silver ones used by the wealthy.

Thanks to William Will and his followers, Philadelphia had tankards, although in no such variety as in New York. A few were made in Rhode Island, and, rather belatedly, a few in Connecticut. All are of English styles, although some show more or less obvious deviations from the ones made in the parent country.

H. H. Cotterell has summarized the chronological sequence of these vessels as made in England. The oldest preserved do not much antedate 1650 and belong to the general category of what is known as the Stuart type. The straight-sided drum of these vessels is plain, or with a narrow fillet on the later ones, the lid flat-topped, or as I prefer to call it, flat-crowned, with a serrated overhang at the front. The handle is solid, strap-like, boldly arcuate, meeting the drum near its base. Beyond the junction it curves outward and the terminal projects downward. Incidentally, the bold sweep of this "swans-neck" handle, a curvature greatly admired by Mr. de Navarro and Mr. Cotterell, is not the result of design. The pewterer, for reasons of economy, put the handle of a tall flagon on a squatty tankard! The thumb piece is decorated and decorative,

of various patterns. In most cases the top extended outward at the sides in twisted fashion, the ram's horn style. The oldest Stuart tankards have but a single spur projecting from the front of the brim, but the "overhang" of later ones is variously notched. The crown of the lid is flat in the earliest ones, gently convex a little later, and actually is in two stages, the upper one somewhat smaller than the lower, only slightly raised, and nearly flat on top. The Stuart types continued to be made until about 1710, but there was considerable modification of them during their history. The fillet appeared by 1690, and the hollow handle at about the same time, but did not become popular until 1715.

In 1690 also, a new sort of cover appeared, the low double-dome. The second stage of this arose from the lower as a low mound, marked off from the first by a cavetto. This type was dominant for only about 25 years. The brim was rather wide, perfectly flat. Some of the earlier ones retained the serrate overhang of the flat-crowned forms; others had an entire margin. This was the first of the domed-lidded tankards which replaced the Stuart type.

It was followed by the high double-dome, which had no cavetto between the first and second stages, and had a narrow, rounded brim, separated from the lower dome by a cavetto. Since the low double-dome may be actually as high as the high one, it is well to remember that the two lids are really distinguished by the position of the cavetto; above the first stage in the low dome, below it in the high. An occasional maker, William Will, for example, may try to fool you by using a cavetto in both positions, and S. E., supposed to be Simon Edgell of Philadelphia made a high double-domed lid with no cavetto at all.

The high double-dome continued to be employed until at least 1780, when there arrived the degenerate days of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the cavetto tended to disappear and the cover became a mere top.

The tulip-shaped drum appeared in England at about the same time as the high double dome (1725). It was particularly popular from 1755 to 1780, but never superseded the straight-sided type.

With the coming of the double domes, the typical, elaborate Stuart thumbpiece disappeared, to be replaced by various varieties of the erect type. The erect was a more or less rectangular piece of metal, the lower part plain, concave forward; the upper molded, convex forward. One sort, a direct but simplified descendant of the Stuart, may be called the quadricostate. It has four rounded, strongly elevated ribs, two on either side of a deep median depression. At each side is a single twist, reminiscent of the Stuart ram's-horn. This appeared as early as 1695 and was used more or less until about 1750. A simpler form, which Cotterell named the chairback, has a broad, smooth central portion, bounded on either side by a narrow rib. This first appeared about 1710-15 and was in common use till 1770. Pierced thumbpieces had been used on flagons as early as 1635, but are unknown on tankards until about 1740. The true open thumbpiece, which I propose to call the yoke, was not commonly employed until about 1760.

Handles are equally important with covers and thumbpieces, but space does not allow detailed discussion, particularly as they are not essential to the present exposition. After 1715 the large, easily grasped hollow handle be-

came so firmly entrenched that hardly anything else was used on straight-sided tankards. A more slender, doubly curved handle commonly called the "double-C" or "broken S" was in considerable favor for specimens with tulip-shaped drums after 1755, and was widely used on flagons even earlier. Students of silver call this the double-scroll handle.

The lower terminal of the handle should also be noted. In all specimens made before 1695, and in most of those made before 1715, it turns downward. After 1715 it curves upward in most cases. The shapes are too numerous to mention. The "bud," which may grade into a "ball," is most common with the hollow handle, and continued in favor till about 1790. The more showy "dolphin-tail," often erroneously called the "fish-tail," was used with the hollow handle from 1725-1755. Most "broken" handles have a bifurcated terminal, part turned upward, part downward.

All this is rather wearisome, but has to be kept in mind if we are to evaluate the influences of the English on the American pewterer.

Now let us turn to our tankard center, New York. Four men are candidates for the honor of having made the oldest pewter specimens so far found. They are Joseph Leddell, who began work in 1712, Francis (I) Bassett, 1718, William Bradford, Jr., 1719, and John Bassett, 1720. Specimens made by John Bassett have been identified, and one or more attributed on good evidence to each of the others. Leddell and Bradford both used the plain drum, low double-domed cover with crenulated overhang, quadricostate thumbpieces and hollow handles. Leddell used a downward pointing terminal, Bradford a wavy shield. Both would have been *de rigueur* in London, 1705 to 1725, hence are contemporary.

John Bassett's offering has a narrow fillet on the drum, a high double-domed lid without overhang, quadricostate thumbpiece, hollow handle, and dolphin-tail terminal. Absolutely correct and up to the minute for 1725, although he probably did not make it until some years later. It is interesting in view of what happened later, that these early men were up to date in their models.

Francis (I) Bassett and William Bradford, Jr., probably made flat-crowned specimens at this time. Mr. Edward E. Minor formerly owned one bearing the circular FB lion rampant touch which probably belonged originally to Francis I. Mr. Laughlin showed (his fig. 77) a tankard which has so early a handle terminal that its initialed WB touch must almost certainly be that of William Bradford, Jr.

John Will, who was born and had made pewter in Germany, is the next tankard maker, in point of time. Mr. Laughlin shows photographs of two of the pieces he made after he opened his shop in New York in 1752 (his figs. 88, 89). The drum is plain, the cover low double-domed with overhang, the thumb-piece chairback, the handle hollow with bud terminal. Thumb-piece and handle are contemporaneous, lid and drum reminiscent of a period some thirty years earlier. It is almost certain that he had to buy second-hand molds. His German training comes out only in the wriggle-work decoration of one of the specimens. His son Henry, who began work in 1761, used his father's drum and handle molds and, in one instance, the same cover mold (Laughlin, fig. 107). Another of his tankards has a low double-domed lid without the overhang. This could easily have been made by cutting off the overhang from

the casting. His well-known double-tankard flagon has the same lid. His third style of tankard (Laughlin, fig. 81) has a late Stuart, flat-crowned cover with overhang. With this 1690-lid he combined an open thumb-piece, which was relatively new in his own day. The other two thumb-pieces and that on the flagon are chair-back, and so, like the handles, contemporaneous.

Frederick Bassett also started in 1761. He was the great tankard-maker. Three of the four figured by Mr. Laughlin (his figs. 78, 80, 82, 86) have the two-stage flat-crowned cover, two with and one without the overhang. The one without has the bud terminal, the other two the dolphin-tail. With the bud is a chair-back thumb-piece; with the others the quadricostate. Only the lids are really out of date. The last of his tankards (Laughlin, fig. 86) would have been peculiar, even in England, for the cover is a high double-dome with serrated overhang. Mr. John W. Poole suggested that Bassett could have made it by spinning a cover cast in his usual mold. This, however, would have been impossible, even if the metal had been the spinnable britannia, and Frederick had known how to spin. There simply would not have been enough metal. A high double-dome lid with serrated overhang probably was made by someone in England, but I have never seen one, or a picture of one. Except for the overhang, this piece is a duplicate of the one made by his father. Mr. Minor had another specimen with the same sort of lid. It bears the circular FB lion rampant touch which probably belonged originally to Francis (I) Bassett. Whether this was made by the first or second Francis, one cannot say.

William Kirby, working 1760-93, also made a flat-crowned tankard, differing only from that of Frederick Bassett in having a wavy-shield handle terminal; also a low double-dome with overhang, like that of John Will.

Then we come to the last of the group, Peter Young (1775-95). His flat-crowned differs in no important particulars from that of Frederick Bassett, except that he cut off the overhang. The less said about his pint tankard, the better. By Young's day the chair-back thumb-piece was out of date, as was the bud terminal and the plain drum. But Young was merely following the paths of Kirby, Bassett, and Henry Will.

When we look back over this analysis, the situation is not really so peculiar as it has seemed. Joseph Leddell and William Bradford, Jr., introduced the low double-dome with serrated overhang while it was still being made in England. It created a favorable impression, New Yorkers bought it, and it was continued. John Bassett was also up to date with the high double-dome without the overhang. But it apparently did not "catch-on." It was a trifle too plain. It is probable that Francis (I) Bassett and William Bradford, Jr., made flat-crowned tankards some time before 1758.

But it seems to have been after this date that this style became popular. Perhaps it reminded the good people of the silver tankards so popular in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Many of these were extant, probably many of them in use. Survival is more easily explicable than the revival. It may have been a matter of good taste on the part of one of the three men who embarked in the trade in 1760-61. As a matter of fact, the silversmiths in New York continued to make the old flat-crowned as late as 1760. The pewterers were not entirely out of step.

The scene shifts to Philadelphia. Simon Edgell had already struck his touch in London before he opened his shop in 1713. As would be expected,

his two tankards were such as were made at the same time in England. One drum is plain, the other with a fillet. One has a low double-dome cover, another a high one without overhang. The thumb-pieces are quadricostate, the handles hollow. One has a bud terminal, the other, more old-fashioned, points downward.

Cornelius Bradford, after working for a year or two in New York, came to Philadelphia, where he remained from 1753 to 1770. After this visit, he returned for another 15 years to his home town. What he made where is not known, but he did produce a tankard with plain drum, high double-domed lid, quadricostate thumb-piece, and hollow handle with bud terminal. His style should be classed as contemporary, for most of his work as a pewterer was probably done while he was in Philadelphia. Incidentally, he perhaps anticipated William Will in producing mugs of tulip-shape.

William Will was born in Germany, but his pewter made in Philadelphia after 1764, is as English as is that of his father John and brother Henry of New York. He produced the footed tulip-style tankard during the time of its greatest popularity in England, and, as was proper, used the open thumb-piece on some specimens. His lid was perhaps his own invention, the presence of both an upper and lower cavetto making it a low-high-double-dome, if such a combination is possible. I have an unmarked specimen, with tulip-shaped drum, and this same cover. Whether I can claim that it is a William Will, or whether I have to admit that it is a nearly valueless unmarked English piece, is a source of worry to me. Will also made tankards with a straight-sided drum, adding the same thumb-piece and hollow handle as with the tulip-shaped specimens. He should have used a broken handle with the latter, but, like some English pewterers, failed to do so.

Some of his straight-sided tankards had a simple fillet, others the "New York band," which consists of a central fillet with a cavetto or a narrow fillet above and below. This is a reminiscent feature, used in England as early as 1695. Will used two types of thumb-piece, the pierced (yoke) and the chair-back, applying them to either type of drum. It is interesting to note that William's brother, Henry, was the only one in that city to adopt the open thumb-piece. As Mr. Laughlin has already said, Will was not only a skillful pewterer, but he was up-to-date.

Parks Boyd (1795-1819) was the last of the Philadelphia tankard makers. In general he followed Will, but did not make the tulip shape. His covers are peculiar in having a flat top in the second dome. This is not English, but possibly Swedish. Or, perhaps, inspired by the silversmiths of New York. One of his specimens has two groups of three broad reeds on the drum, another rather unsatisfactory attempt to be different. The beading around the edge of the brim of the cover has little to commend it.

We may say of Philadelphia that her pewterers kept abreast of the English styles, but that, with the exception of William Will's neo-classical coffeepots, their produce was not so interesting as that of their brethren in New York. Is there a suggestion in this?

As has been said, New England made no great demand for tankards, not, at least, from their native pewterers. Rhode Island gets credit for a really splendid specimen, attributed to Benjamin Day (1744-57). The drum has a fillet, the cover is high double-domed with a modest finial. The hollow handle

has a bud terminal. Except for the finial, this tankard is in the English style of its day. A finial is not found on English tankards, but it is present on some made by American silversmiths. Nevertheless, this is a reminiscent feature, for it occurs on English flagons. It may be a symbol indicating that the Day tankard was intended to take the sacramental office of a flagon in some humble church. American churches were slow in adopting flagons.

Thomas Danforth II of Middletown doubtless made tankards, for a mold for one is listed in his inventory. It is probable that his son Thomas used this mold to produce the specimen figured by Mr. Myers. Another son, Edward, used the same mold. It is of the conventional English type with double-domed lid and chair-back thumb-piece.

If Connecticut pewterers had stopped at this point, all would have been well. But Samuel Danforth (1795-1816) of Hartford initiated the period of decadence which manifested itself in American hollow-ware as English influence waned. For the drum, thumb-piece, and handle of his tankard he used the molds employed by his father and older brother Thomas. But, unfortunately, he capped them with the triple-domed lid of his rather successful flagon. The finial, not too good in itself, seems particularly out of place on this squatty vessel (Laughlin, fig. 99).

Richard Austin (1793-1817) put his touch on the one known Boston tankard. It was made in old molds, much more than second-hand when he got them. The drum has a fillet, the lid is low double-domed, the thumb-piece quadricostate, the handle hollow. The molds must have been made between 1705 and 1725. The single peculiarity is the handle-terminal, which is transversely elongated. I have an identical specimen, which bears an inscription dated 1730. It had belonged to a church in eastern Connecticut. Mr. Laughlin has another (his fig. 93) which differs in having the initials IC (or IG) in raised letters on the inner surface of the handle, and a short finial on the lid. The molds were probably used by more than one American pewterer.

Flagons

Tankards have been discussed in considerable detail because they are the only sorts of 18th century hollow-ware which have survived in any considerable numbers. The few flagons made during that period may now be mentioned.

William Will of Philadelphia was most English in his tankards and teapots, but allowed a bit of his German ancestry to crop out in his flagons, perhaps by request, for he must have had fellow countrymen as customers. His venial lapse was a semi-German spout, with its cover soldered to the lid.

Johann Christoph Heyne (1757-1781) was born in Saxony in 1715, came to Philadelphia in 1742, and worked at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Mr. John J. Evans, Jr., and Mr. Laughlin have traced the steps in his Anglicization as a pewterer, as he became Americanized along with his Moravian compatriots, so the story need not be repeated here. His first notable commission was to provide two replicas of a German flagon. From necessity, rather than volition, he supplied English hollow handles with bud terminals to replace the strap handle of the model, but he also added an English triple band about the middle of the drum. Having occasion later to make other flagons, he employed the high double-domed cover and the chair-back thumb-piece. But he retained the German spout with its cover, and the mascaroons as feet. His sugar bowl

and chalices are nearly English, but it was only when he came to make a porringer that he freed himself completely from Teutonic influences, and made it in the "Old English" style, a most unusual proceeding for a Pennsylvanian.

Henry Will's synthetic flagon, or tankard-on-tankard is English in its component parts, but the short handle gives the vessel a Germanic feeling. Will himself probably did not realize this. He merely used what molds he had.

There seems to have been little demand for ecclesiastical pewter in America during the 18th century. Well-to-do parishioners donated silver or pewter tankards which served as flagons, or bought imported pewter flagons, the choice depending perhaps on the size of the congregation, or perhaps, the revolt against the established church. The post-Revolutionary movement of land-hungry people led to the settlement of numerous small communities. Each new church required vessels for sacramental use. They turned to the pewterers, and, after 1825, to the britannia makers for their supply. The Danforths and Boardmans rose nobly to the occasion, for they inherited the high standards of ancestors who had made pewter under the influence of the ancient English tradition. But as that influence was forgotten, some of the producers of britannia ware merely stuck a coffee spout on a tall teapot, clapped on some sort of a high lid, bent a hollow rod into a handle, and called it a day. Even Samuel Danforth and the Boardmans departed from English practice, for they used the triple-domed lid, probably copied from some silver piece. Their kneed handles, however, whether you call them "double C" or "broken S" were reminiscent of the English of the mid-18th century.

American pewterers made many things other than plates, porringers, tankards, and flagons during the 18th century, but to describe them and state in what way they were influenced from England would bring out nothing new. I have tried to show what the colonial pewterers did in the face of competition from abroad, what they selected from the variety from which they could choose, and how some old styles survived, either from customer's choice or pewterer's inability to keep abreast of the styles. I have not taken up the progressive side. American pewterers and britannia-ware men did originate some styles themselves. But that is another story.