The

PEWTER COLLECTORS CLUB

of AMERICA

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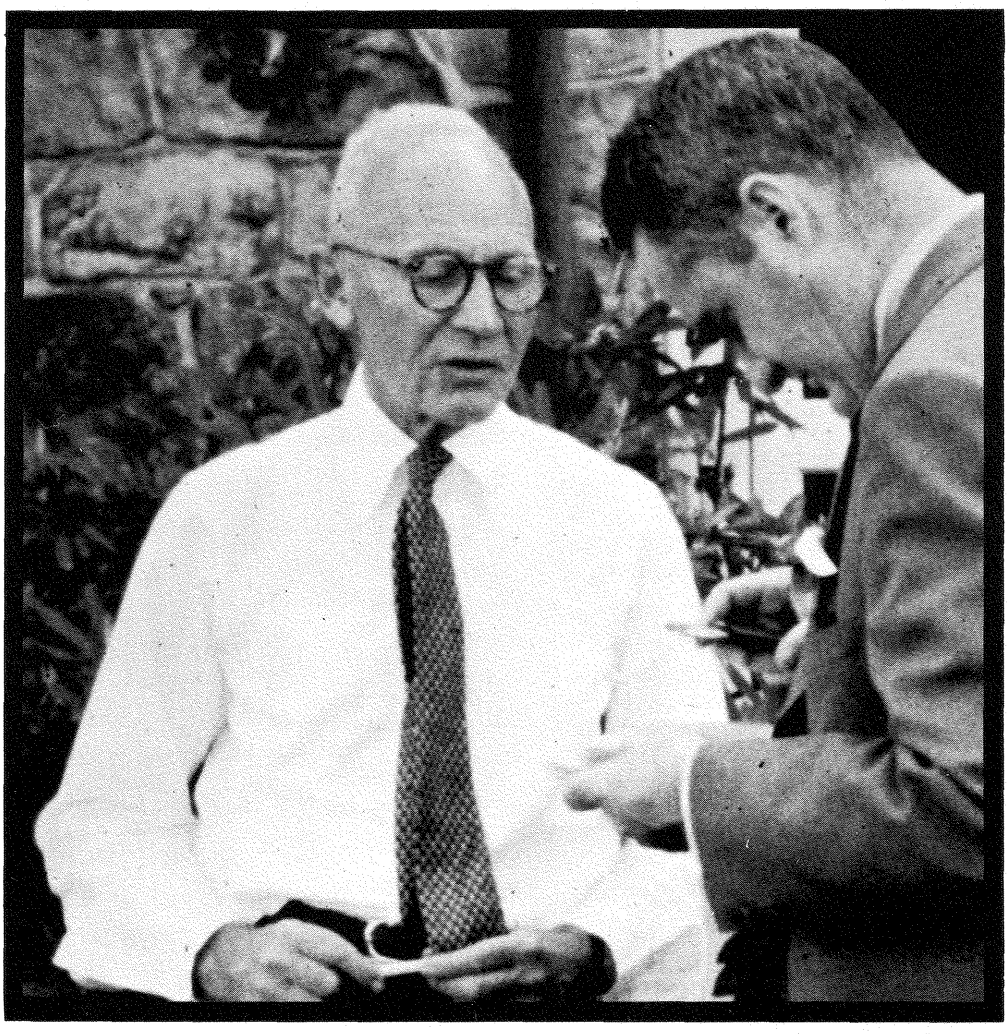

Ledlie Irwin Laughlin, our beloved Honorary Member, passed away on February 7, 1977. He is pictured above at the P.C.C.A. 1957 annual meeting held at his home, Rabbit Hill Farm, Princeton, New Jersey, discussing marks on a pewter plate with Thomas D. Williams. A most wonderful, heartwarming tribute to Mr. Laughlin appears on page 166 of this *Bulletin.*

BULLETIN 74
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SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

1977 SPRING MEETINGS

National
April 29-30
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.

New York
May 21
Home of Dr. & Mrs. Jack H. Kolaian
Dorothy Lane
Wappingers Falls, N.Y.

New England
June 4
Home of Mr. Webster Goodwin
730 Commonwealth Avenue
Warwick, R.I.

Pennsylvania
Information not yet available.

Mid-West
None Scheduled

1977 FALL MEETINGS

National
September 16-17
Albany Institute of History & Art
Albany, N.Y.
(Hosted by N.Y. Regional Group)
PLEASE NOTE CHANGE OF LOCATION

Mid-West
October (Date to be set)
Home of Dr. & Mrs. Melvyn D. Wolf
1196 Shady Hill Court
Flint, Michigan

President's Letter

The New England Regional Group chose a lovely fall weekend to host the Fall Meeting of the P.C.C.A. at Hartford, Conn. Old and new friends met at the Ramada Inn to further acquaintances prior to the evening banquet on October 15th. Following the dinner we were introduced to members of the staff of the Connecticut Historical Society; Mr. Thompson

R. Harlow, the Director; Mr. Philip Dunbar, Curator; and Mrs. Edward Frieland, Register. Mr. Harlow gave a brief history of the Society which was founded in 1825 as a research library and record museum on Connecticut. With the aid of slides of some of the choice subjects in the Society's collection he demonstrated the fascinating process of documenting these objects.

Saturday was spent at 1 Elizabeth Street, the home of the Society. A large room was filled with cases of pewter made or owned in Connecticut. The variety of pieces included most of the articles ever made in pewter. The workmanship equalled that of cities such as Philadelphia, New York or Boston. The method of display was great, allowing one to see both sides of porringers and plates, to compare early with later pieces and demonstrating such detail as the precision of early versus later hammer marks. Credit for the exhibition goes to P.C.C.A. members John and Mary Thomas, Webster Goodwin, Wayne Hilt, to the staff of the Society, and to all those who loaned their treasures to augment the Society's collection. It was a tremendous undertaking and beautifully executed. We shall all treasure, and I am certain all members not present that day will want to own, the book on Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers edited by John Carl Thomas and published by the Connecticut Historical Society. Other rooms held some of the best of Connecticut furniture, major donations having come from both the George Seymour and Frederick and Margaret Barbour families. The clock and portrait collections were also outstanding.

Sherry time and luncheon in the Museum Auditorium provided another opportunity to further friendships and discuss pewter. An interesting variety of pewter forms were brought by members and John Carl Thomas discussed them with his usual charm and expert knowledge.

The Business Meeting revealed that we are in sound financial condition. Twenty four new members have joined us since last spring. Thomas and Constance Williams, to whom we owe a tremendous debt for the present strength of this organization and for the respect accorded pewter in American Museums, were elected Honorary Members of the P.C.C.A. Our next meeting was announced for April 29-30, 1977 at the Smithsonian in Washington. We intend to have an evening program on the 30th by our Committee on Authenticity and request that members having articles which are fake, fraudulent or questionable report same to Bernard Carde, Committee Chairman, and bring them to Washington, if possible.

Following the meeting members returned to the exhibition rooms to further study and enjoy their contents. Forty five returned to the Inn and a Smorgasbord supper. Mr. Edward Frieland then favored us with a slide presentation on Connecticut Architecture and some amazing before and after pictures of restored early Connecticut homes. We were pleasantly surprised to hear that old houses can be taken down, moved and re-erected at a cost comparable to building a new house. These Saturday evening talks have become a delightful addition to our meetings and we sincerely thank Mr. Frieland for his fine presentation. Great meetings have become an institution with the P.C.C.A., so mark your calendars now for April 29-30 in Washington.

Lola S. Reed, M.D.

Smith & Co. Revisited

by William O. Blaney

A pint beaker by the Boston firm of Smith & Co. was illustrated in *Bulletin* 73 on page 123. The accompanying article expressed the hope that more interest might be directed towards this firm and its products, and that future *Bulletins* might contain more information on said products (which naturally would include illustrations). Shortly thereafter, a letter was received from member Ellis H. Whitaker, part of which is as follows:

> On page 123 of v. 7 of the *Bulletin* ("A Smith & Co. Pint Beaker"), I find the sentence "Carl Jacobs, in *Guide to American Pewter*, lists a '½-pint handled beaker, 1825 design' for this firm, but it is possible he gauged its capacity via the 'eye' method rather than with a measuring cup." Some years ago I bought, and still have in my possession, from Carl what is probably the very beaker which he described as quoted. It is two and three-quarters inches in diameter at the top, and the outer rim of the slightly flared base has the same dimension; it is three and seven-sixteenths inches high, and bears two incised bands each one-quarter of an inch wide and consisting of two pairs of incised lines. The mark is identical with that shown in the *Bulletin* article; the handle is quite different from that shown on the pint beaker. Using a measuring cup, I find it holds exactly one cup!

It is apparent that when Carl Jacobs was accused of using the "eye" method of measuring (and ye editor will take the blame for this), the reference to the half-pint beaker was in error. Carl also listed a "pint mug" which undoubtedly referred to the "pint beaker" described and illustrated in *Bulletin* 73. To rectify this misunderstanding, the half-pint beaker belonging to Mr. Whitaker is shown nearby (Fig. 1). However, if we are to standardize our pewter nomenclature, we must accept the definitions of John Carl Thomas that the cylindrical body of a

Fig. 1. Half-pint beaker by Smith & Co., Boston (1847-1849). Height 3 7/16", top diameter 2 3/4". Touch same as that shown in *Bulletin* 73, page 123. *Collection of Ellis H. Whitaker.*

mug tapers out towards the *base*, whereas that of the *beaker* tapers out towards the *top* (or is virtually straight sided with a slight flare at the top). Therefore, the vessel shown on page 123 of *Bulletin* 73 (which Carl Jacobs apparently listed as a "pint mug") must now be known as a pint *beaker*.

The response to the hope that more pieces by Smith & Co. would be illustrated in the pages of future *Bulletins* was "deafening." Outside of that received from Mr. Whitaker, not a single answer came in. But that does not mean the matter should be dropped entirely. Definitely not. So two other forms by Smith & Co. are illustrated close by (Fig. 2), both of which are mentioned in *Guide to American Pewter*. The teapot is of relatively thin britannia, making it quite light (one pound, 6 ounces), and has the paired incised lines (that do not show in the photo) above and below the maximum belly bulge. The inverted cone-shaped lamp on saucer base, on the other hand, is of good heavy cast pewter (or britannia). Photographs of other forms by Smith & Co., together with their dimensions, will be welcomed by the *Bulletin*.

Fig. 3. Teapot and lamp (with camphene burner) by Smith & Co., Boston. Marked as on beaker shown in Fig. 1. Teapot dimensions: height overall 7", to brim 5 1/4", brim diameter 4 3/16", base diameter 4 3/16". Lamp dimensions: height minus burner 3 1/4" (burner height 1 1/2"), base diameter 4 11/32". *Collection of William O. Blaney.*

Necrology

Ledlie Irwin Laughlin

APRIL 25, 1890 - FEBRUARY 7, 1977

The flag hung at half mast at Nassau Hall to mark the death of a favorite son. But mourning was not the wish of Ledlie Laughlin. He had written "I do not want any service for me to be a drab gloomy affair but rather a time of cheerful homecoming. In fact I wish that custom would permit having girl ushers. I ask that liquor be provided for those of my friends who might come to see me off." And so it was on February 10, the day of his memorial service. First, Trinity Church, then his house was filled with family and friends gathered together to honor this extraordinary man.

For more than forty years among pewter collectors he was revered as friend, collector and scholar. But Princeton was another world, and there it was well known that he liked dancing even more than pewter. In 1928, three years after his marriage to Roberta Moody Howe of Philadelphia he resigned his post in the family business, the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company, and moved to Princeton to become the assistant Dean of Freshmen. In that position "he had much to do with the quality of students entering the university." Indeed when he retired as Associate Director of Admissions in 1953 it was noted that he had personally assessed the records of approximately 15,000 students who had matriculated at Princeton, and at that time the Graduate Council passed a resolution to the effect that "His unruffled calm, his unfailing patience, his technical knowledge, his wide and sane humanity, and above all his delightful and extraordinary sense of humor have endeared him to all those with whom his position brought him into touch."

A graduate of St. Paul's School (1908) and of Princeton (1912) it was reported in his fiftieth reunion class book that "Ledlie is one of the quiet men who has contributed the cement that has held the class together." And so it was with his community. He was a member of the Board of the Princeton Hospital and the Nursery School, and he was active in Recording for the Blind, and it was his wish that instead of flowers his friends would send contributions to the Juliana Cuyler Mathews Cancer Fund at the Princeton Medical Center, Princeton, N.J.

On March 21, 1934 the organizing meeting of the Pewter Collectors' Club of America was held at the Old State House in Boston and he became a charter member. Soon he was named chairman of the Committee on Lists and Marks, and at the fourth meeting on August 28, 1934 at the Black Horse Inn in Hingham, Massachusetts, he spoke to the club. The minutes of the secretary, Edna T. Franklin, record that Mr. and Mrs. Laughlin

were "guests of honor" and that "twenty four members . . . were present for luncheon, and others came in for the pewter talk by Mr. Laughlin whose forthcoming book on American pewter is awaited with eagerness." At the annual birthday meeting in 1939 he was awarded Master Member's badge number 12. In succeeding years he was a member of the Governing Board, the Publications Committee, and Vice-Chairman of the New York Regional Group before being named Honorary Member in 1958.

Although Roberta Laughlin, his wife, grew up in a family with antiques, Ledlie did not come under their spell until the late 1920's. At that time, as she recalls, he visited the studio of his sister, Alice, while on vacation at Hyannisport on Cape Cod. There he noticed a pewter candlestick and a little later wondered aloud "what she saw in that." After reading Kerfoot's *American Pewter* (probably about 1927) he picked up a few pieces in the vicinity of Buffalo, N.Y. One of them was a small plate by Otis Williams. Soon he was actively collecting and carrying on research. His first article, "The American Pewter Porringer" appeared in the May 1930 issue of *Antiques* magazine. It was followed in August of the same year by "Cornelius Bradford, Pewterer." In *Bulletin* two of the Pewter Club the official word was, "Ledlie I. Laughlin is writing a book on pewter."

Since that time Ledlie Laughlin has been "mentor to collectors of American pewter." The writer cherishes more than a hundred letters from him each carefully written in his beautiful longhand. His letters to me like those to dozens of others were filled with counsel, guidance and the latest information in answer to questions. His wisdom and his research became common knowledge in 1940 with the publication of the first two volumes of that great and beautiful work, *Pewter in America, Its Makers and Their Marks.* In Percy E. Raymond's review, which was run as the lead article in the January 1941 *Bulletin,* Harvard's prestigious professor wrote, "It was well worth waiting for. After perusing these volumes the reason for the delay is readily seen. Mr. Laughlin has undertaken an endless task, for new information is coming to light constantly, and as long as the stream flowed, there was no particular stopping place. Let us hope that he regards this merely as a report of progress, albeit a monumental one, and that he will report again when he reaches a convenient landing. Even a cursory perusal of these pages

At the P.C.C.A. 1967 annual meeting held at the Laughlin's Rabbit Hill Farm in Princeton, New Jersey, Mr. Laughlin insisted on leaving the hospital to personally accept a citation from the Club membership, on receipt of which he jumped out of his wheelchair to make an acceptance speech, as shown above. With him are Thomas D. Williams (left), the then Club President who made the presentation, and Mr. Laughlin's son, Leighton.

gives an idea of the tremendous labor which has gone into research for their preparation. Months have been spent in libraries and record offices all the way from Maine to Georgia. Anyone who has done any genealogical work knows how elusive biographical facts are, and how often one has to go back to the same records as new clues are found, or new surmises occur to one. Pewter-history is everlastingly indebted to Mr. Laughlin for his skill, patience, and the logical workings of his orderly mind." He concluded, "It is a splendid piece of work. Painstaking search and research have produced trustworthy information which is admirably condensed and clearly and interestingly presented. It is beautifully illustrated, and the publishers can well be proud of it as a piece of book-making." Henry Laughlin, Ledlie's brother, arranged for The Meriden Gravure Company, printers of America's finest books, to produce that beautiful book for Houghton Mifflin, publisher of the first edition. Meriden Gravure also produced a second edition in 1969 with minor revisions for Barre Press, the publisher of Volume III in 1971. The latter fulfilled Professor Raymond's hope that "he will report again."

In 1967 recognition of this monumental achievement was made at the annual meeting of the Pewter Club. At that time the largest group ever gathered together in the history of the Club came to Princeton to honor a distinguished author, and the maker of a great collection of American pewter with a special award given then for the first time. The citation and tribute read:

> To Ledlie Irwin Laughlin, foremost authority on early American pewter and its makers. In recognition of his definitive publication, *Pewter In America, Its Makers and Their Marks*, his continuing research in the field of pewter and his generous sharing of knowledge and advice and counsel, The Pewter Collectors' Club of America declares its deep indebtedness to our beloved fellow member. Presented on the occasion of the annual meeting in session at Rabbit Hill Farm, Princeton, New Jersey this 13th day of May, 1967, Thomas D. Williams, President.

Recently his eldest son paid tribute in these words: "Whatever he did, he did well, with a smile, dogged determination, great care, and a lovely sense of humor. Each job whether it was advising a freshman, writing a book, chopping a tree, telling a story, dancing a waltz or giving a hand was a work of art, a simple direct well executed form of communication."

His daughter-in-law caught his spirit in a single word "joyful."

Charles F. Montgomery
Yale University

A True American Stuart Tankard - Maybe

by Donald L. Fennimore

The tankard, as stated by Ledlie I. Laughlin in his important three-volume study *Pewter in America*, has always been one, if not the single most desirable, form for collectors of American pewter. At the time J. B. Kerfoot wrote his book *American Pewter* in 1924, he was, as noted by Laughlin, able to illustrate only one example. Since that time enthusiasts have ferreted out possibly as many as two hundred such vessels of actual or purported American origin. It is still the tankard which collectors covet most highly.

The bulk of American pewter tankards date from the third quarter of the eighteenth century. After the American Revolution the form fell rather quickly into disfavor. Few examples are known which date after 1800, not because of attrition through use so much as the form having by then outlived its usefulness. This does not, however, explain the paucity of American tankards which can positively be dated prior to 1750. Quite the contrary, when seen from the quantity of English pewter tankards dating from the mid-seventeenth through the mid-eighteenth century, there existed ample precedent for the widespread use of this form in the colonies. The rarity of the American tankard from this period is more reasonably explained by the deleterious effects of daily use. The soft nature of the metal and its low melting point render it particularly susceptible to wear, damage, and destruction.

There exist possibly fifteen American tankards which can reasonably be assigned a date range of between 1720 and 1750. Virtually none are known to exist prior to that time. Laughlin hypothesized in 1940 that the earliest American tankard might be one bearing the mark of Simon Edgell (working 1713-1742), presently in the collection of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum (figure 1). Indeed, this tankard and another by John Carnes of Boston (working 1720-1760, figure 2) embody many early characteristics. The two are so similar as to render it impossible to put them in sequence as to date of fabrication. Both are squat in overall appearance and have slush-cast handles one step removed from the solid strap type on English seventeenth-century "Stuart" tankards. In addition, both have three-pronged hinges and employ an early type of reeded thumbpiece which is probably derivative of the mid-seventeenth century type known today as "ram's horn." However, they have characteristics which make them transitional in nature. That is to say, they utilize decorative motifs and elements from two difference styles. Just as their squat bodies, strap-style handles and vestigial ram's horn thumbpieces look backward toward the Stuart style, so their domed lids, lack of a

crenate lip and use of a midrib fillet look forward to the increasingly popular Georgian taste. They probably date well into the second quarter of the eighteenth century. By contrast, two other tankards, one attributed to William Bradford,

Fig. 1. Tankard, Philadelphia, c.1725-1742. Attributed to Simon Edgell. Height: 6 9/16". Collection of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. The initials are supposed to be those of Ann Michener of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, who died in 1791. *Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.*

Fig. 2. Tankard, Boston, c.1725-1760. Made by John Carnes. Height: 6 1/2". Collection of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. Squat proportion, three-pronged hinge and "ram's horn" type thumbpiece in conjunction with slush-cast handle, midrib fillet and domed lid mark this and the preceding tankard as being transitional, probably dating them well into the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The identical size, shape, and detailing of the handles and thumbpieces on this Boston tankard and the Edgell example suggest a common origin for their molds, quite possibly England. *Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.*

Jr. (working 1719-1758, figure 3) and the second attributed to Joseph Leddell, Sr. (working c. 1690-1754, figure 4), employ additional elements in their form which point to a very early date. Both lack mid-rib fillets and have three-pronged hinges. Their handles, although hollow, are very strap-like in character and their lids are flat with a crenate lip. Virtually all their features are *retardatare*, looking back to true seventeenth-century Stuart prototypes (figure 5), with no concession to the impinging Georgian taste. Keeping in mind the continuous use of pewterers' molds, even from one generation to another, it is likely these two tankards pre-date the Carnes and Edgell examples.

Fig. 3. Tankard, New York City, c.1719-1742. Attributed to William Bradford, Jr. Height: 6 1/2". Collection of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. *Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.*

It has been observed by Mr. Laughlin that the flat-topped tankard with crenate lip is peculiar to New York. The survival of so many such tankards from that city in light of what remains of Boston and Philadelphia work, can be explained by one of two possibilities; the former's unusually conservative approach to style causing the retention of the flat-topped tankard long after being discarded in Boston and Philadelphia, or New York's dominance as a production center resulting in greater output with consequent greater survival. The latter is unlikely when recalling that Philadelphia was by the second quarter of the eighteenth century among the largest and most rapidly growing cities in the colonies, remaining so until well after 1800. Also, it is difficult to envision a larger inventory and consequently, a more active pewtering business, than those of Simon Edgell and Thomas Byles, both of Philadelphia.

With the original publication of his book in 1940, Mr. Laughlin commented that it was to be regretted no example of the earliest type of American tankard has survived. However, he went on to say that should one come to light it

Fig. 4. Tankard, New York City, c.1715-c.1740. Attributed to Joseph Leddell, Sr. Height: 7". Collection of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. Only the slush-cast handle on this and the Bradford example hint at evolving style and technology. Virtually all other features on these two tankards look backward to the late seventeenth-century Stuart prototype. *Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.*

would undoubtedly be identical to its English counterpart, the Stuart tankard of the mid to late seventeenth century. It would now appear that such a tankard may have been found (figs. 6-9).

This vessel, which is for all practical purposes identical to English examples (figs. 10, 11) and quite unlike any known American tankard, is not put forth for scrutiny as American without some trepidation. However, it is hoped to discuss several important features of this tankard and significant circumstantial evidence which will point toward the distinct possibility of its having been made in New York. A visual comparison of this tankard with those pictured in figures 10 and 11 can, I think, leave no doubt that it was cast from a set of English-made seventeenth-century molds. The squat character of the body, narrow base molding, vigorous crenate lip, strap handle and quite remarkable lovebird thumbpiece leave little doubt of that. This in itself would point to an English origin for the tankard. However, it must be remembered that many immigrating pewterers brought molds with them to America, especially prior to the middle of the eighteenth century. Before that time the mining of copper, the basic ingredient in pewterer's brass molds, was practically non-existent in this country. This coupled with English merchantile laws which discouraged importation of raw materials, such as copper for making brass or tin for making pewter, by its colonies combined to encourage immigrating pewterers to bring what molds they could with them. The appointment of a committee in 1754 by the Worshipful Company of Pewterers in London "to prevent any molds being sent abroad in the future"[1] clearly indicates their concern over this practice prior to that time. The committee went on to note that there was no law in existence which specifically prohibited the exportation of molds. In light of this, it is not unlikely that the "quart tankard mold with handles, bottoms and joynts . . ."[2] willed by Thomas Burroughs, pewterer in the city of New York, to his son Thomas, Junior, in 1703 had been brought by him from Bristol, England between 1678 and 1680. Doubtless, many other English pewterers brought molds with them when immigrating to America.

1 Charles Welch, *History of The Worshipful Company of Pewterers,* volume II (London: Blades, East & Blades), 1902, page 194.

2 Ledlie I. Laughlin, *Pewter in America,* volume III, (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers), 1971, page 95.

Fig. 5. Left to right: Tankard, England, c.1675-1685, unmarked. Height to lip: 4 1/2". Tankard, England, c.1675-1685. Marked IB in a beaded circle. Height to lip: 4 7/8". Tankard, England, c.1680-1690, indistinct touchmark. Height to lip: 5 1/2". Privately owned. *Photograph courtesy of The Currier Gallery of Art.* Whereas the example to the left is probably the earliest of the three, that to the right has a slush-cast handle dating it slightly later.

Fig. 6. Tankard, probably New York City, c.1728, indistinct touchmark. Height: 7 1/8". Collection of Mrs. Samuel Schwartz. Engraved with the initials IZ/CZ for the original owners, Joost and Christine Zabriskie of Bergen County, New Jersey, the date 1728, and the inscription WHEN THIS YOU SEE REMEMBER ME. Continuous line engraving decorates the barrel and lid of this tankard, atypical of true seventeenth-century English "Stuart" tankards which, when decorated, are done with wrigglework.

Fig. 7. Left side of tankard shown in Fig. 6.

Fig. 8. Right side of tankard shown in Fig. 6.

Fig. 9. Top view of tankard shown in Fig. 6.

Those readers familiar with American pewter, upon seeing this tankard, will immediately recall having seen its engraved decoration previously. The engraved floral motifs, owner's initials, IZ/CZ, and date, 1728, are identical to the engraving on a previously published unmarked fluted sweetmeat dish (figure 12). The initials are those of Joost and Christine Zabriskie. Joost, born a third-generation American in Hackensack, New Jersey, married Christine Mabie in 1712 and is subsequently recorded as a freeholder in Bergen County, New Jersey.

Fig. 10. Tankard, London, England, c.1675-1685. Unrecorded maker's mark, T C, (on inside bottom). Height: 7". Collection of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers, London. The form of this tankard, its proportions, detailing and ornament are in the same spirit as that illustrated in Figs. 6 to 9, even to the supporting strut on the lid, its crenate lip, and paired lovebird thumbpiece. However, it is engraved with wrigglework bird and floral motifs, typical of seventeenth-century engraved pewter. From *A Short History of The Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London and a Catalogue of Pewterware in its Possession.*

Fig. 11. Tankard, London, England, c.1675-1685. Made by Peter Duffield. Height: 7". Collection of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers, London. This tankard also relates closely to the Zabriskie example except for the style of engraving. From *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London and a Catalogue of Pewterware in its Possession.*

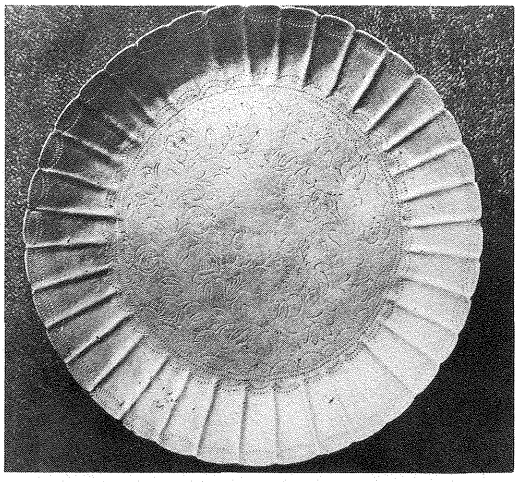

Fig. 12. Dish, probably New York City, c.1728, apparently unmarked. Diameter: 8 3/4". Collection of William M. Goss, Jr. This fluted dish and the tankard in Figs. 6 to 9 employ identical decoration, initials and date, apparently done by the same hand. From *Pewter In America.*

Members of the Reformed Church in Hackensack, they had seven children before his death on July 30, 1756. The oldest of their children, Machtelt, was born in 1715 and the youngest in 1730. The quantity of engraving on this tankard and its matching fluted dish incorporating the owner's initials and date, indicate their commemorative purpose. However, the specific occasion these objects were made to celebrate is not known at this writing. Family tradition holds that this tankard was given to Machtelt, who married Sylvester Earle on October 8, 1733. Unfortunately, the history of its matching fluted dish has been lost. The tankard, however, remained in the Earle family in an unbroken line of descent until it was acquired recently by the present owner.

A close comparison of the fluted dish and tankard reveals that their engraved decorations were probably executed by the same hand. In fact, the only significant difference between the engraving on the two is the initial J, which is of the archaic form on the dish and the modern form on the tankard. Otherwise, the motifs and manner in which they are executed are so uniform as to have been done by the same artisan. It should be noted that a second fluted dish bearing the touchmark of Francis Bassett, (figure 13) has its upper surface engraved in a manner very similar to the two IZ/CZ objects. However, even though the same motifs appear on all three, details of handling on the Bassett

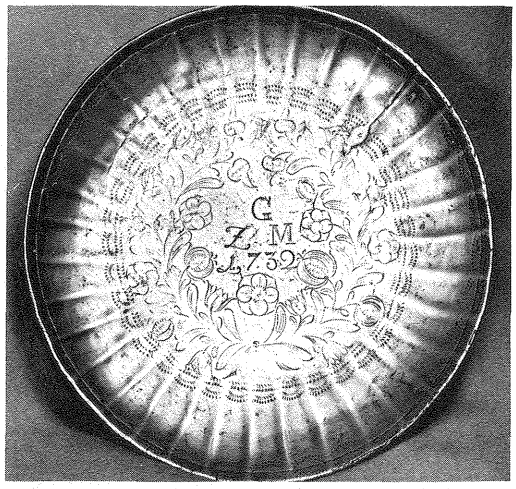

Fig. 13. Dish, New York City, c.1732, made by Francis Bassett I. Diameter: 8 1/2". Collection of the Smithsonian Institution. Although the decoration on this fluted dish is quite similar to that on the Zabriskie tankard and fluted dish, the differences are significant enough to indicate it was done by a different hand. The initials G over Z and M are those of the original owners, now unidentified. *Courtesy, Smithsonian Institution.*

dish differ from those on the two IZ/CZ objects, indicating that the same engraver did not decorate the Bassett dish as did the Zabriskie pewter.

Interestingly, the tankard bears a mark on its interior (figure 14) which, unfortunately, is badly eroded. It is clearly in the form of a rose and crown, but the initials, which most certainly accompanied it, are now gone, making it impossible to assign or attribute the tankard to any given pewterer. A careful survey of Howard H. Cotterell's book, *Old Pewterers: Its Makers and Marks,* both the alphabetical drawings and the photographs of the London touchplates in the back, revealed no mark which appeared to be similar. Of course, many new marks have been discovered since the first publication of Cotterell's book in 1929, so inability to assign this mark to an English maker cannot be taken as final and conclusive. However, the character of this mark seems to differ from the typical English rose and crown. When compared to the mark of Richard Chambers (figure 15), a typical example for our purposes, one can see that in the English mark the petals of the rose are less pronounced or separately defined. Also, the crown is separated from the rose by a narrow void in the English mark. This is not the case with the mark on the tankard. By contrast, it seems to relate more closely to the type found on German pewter as recorded in Erwin Hintze's book *Nürnberger Zinngiesser* (Nürnberg Pewterers) in 1921 (figure 16). Although this mark clearly includes initials, its form, the rose with distinct petals on which the crown rests directly, is of the type seen on the tankard in question. One might on this basis be tempted to assign the tankard to northern Europe,

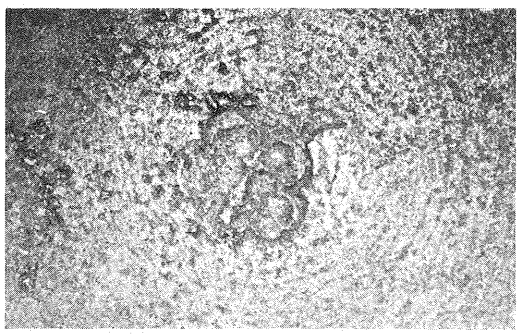

Fig. 14. Touchmark on inside bottom of the tankard pictured in Figs. 6-9.

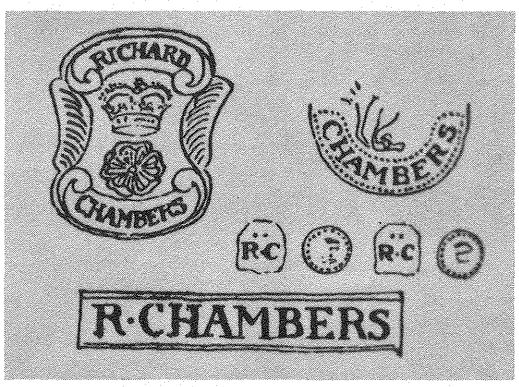

Fig. 15. Drawing of touchmark of Richard Chambers, York, England, 1699-c.1738, as recorded in Howard H. Cotterell's book, *Old Pewter: Its Makers and Marks,* page 178.

Fig. 16. Drawing of touchmark of Jacob Koch, II, Nürnberg, Germany, 1583-1619, as recorded in Erwin Hintze's book *Nürnberger Zinngiesser,* page 40.

possibly Germany, were it not for the fact that no similar tankard is known to have emanated from that area. Its only known prototypes are English (figs. 10, 11).

This apparent combination of English form with a northern European style mark has its parallel in the objects by John Will on which he used his angel touch, and it tends to point to an American origin for the tankard. Nowhere did the penchant for amalgamation of traditions in the decorative arts make itself felt so strongly as in America.

The *retardatare* form of this tankard in com-

bination with up-to-date decoration is not unique. It is closely related in concept to another flat-topped New York tankard attributed to William Bradford (figure 17). This example, slightly later in style than the one in question, employs a hollow handle with fish tail terminal. That aside, however, all other elements are traditional in style; no fillet around the barrel, a flat top with crenate lip, as well as a three-pronged hinge and "ram's horn" thumbpiece. The remarkable engraved decoration is, however, extraordinary in that it competently and

Fig. 17. Tankard, New York City, c.1725-1742. Attributed to William Bradford, Jr. Height: 7 1/16". Collection of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. This is an extraordinary tankard because of its superbly executed engraving, a type of decoration usually reserved for examples in silver. The intertwining initials CS are those of the original owner, now unidentified. *Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.*

exuberantly embraces the rococo style which was to become so popular in the colonies during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Both tankards are a traditional form made stylish with contemporary engraving.

Of course, until the mark on the inside of the IZ/CZ tankard is positively associated with a known pewterer, its origin will remain open to speculation and opinion. However, until such time, the evidence and history surrounding it provides strong support to the assertion that it is probably the earliest American tankard found to date.

The Pewter Cann in America

by Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

It has always been assumed by students of American pewter that the terms "mug," "pot," and "can" (or the old form "cann") were simply synonyms for the type of drinking vessel we now call a mug.[1] That is, an open-topped handled vessel taller than broad with the lip diameter smaller than the base diameter. There does not seem to be any question that the term "mug" gradually replaced the term "pot" in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, there seems to be abundant evidence that a "can" was not simply a "pot." This is provided by newspaper advertisements and early documents where the words "pot" and "can" occur in the same text, clearly indicating that a can differed in some way from a pot (or mug).

Our most persuasive evidence comes from Boston newspaper advertisements covering almost a twenty year period from 1746 to 1763. There are eight advertisements by merchants, all of whom had imported merchandise from London, Bristol, Sheffield or Birmingham. Pewter they imported was usually sold as "best London pewter," although it is probable that some of it came from Bristol. In the summary of these notices which follows we have included "tankards" when the term occurs, to controvert any suggestion that a can could conceivably be a tankard. There seems to be no question that a tankard was a handled drinking vessel with a hinged cover.[2]

In 1746 Gilbert Deblois announced that he had imported from London, Sheffield, and Birmingham for sale at his shop in Boston a wide variety of goods, including "best London pewter . . . Pint and Quart Pots and Hardmetal Pint and Quart Cans."[3] Ten years later, in 1756, Deblois noted that he had just imported for sale at the *Crown and Comb* London pewter "pint and quart pots, cans, and tankards."[4] Mary and William Jackson, at the *Brazen Head*, advertised in 1757 a great variety of hardware and utensils imported from London and Bristol, including London pewter "tankards, quart and pint cans, and quart and pint pots."[5] Then in 1760 Mary Jackson and Son announced that they had for sale London "tankards, quart and pint cans, and quart and pint pots."[6] In the same year Edward Blanchard had for sale "London pewter . . . quart and pint pots, quart and pint hard metal cans, and quart tankards."[7] Then the next year Blanchard advertised that he had just imported from London and Bristol "London hard-metal and common pewter . . . quart and pint pots, quart and pint cans, and tankards."[8] In the same year John Cutler noted that he had just imported for sale at the *Golden Cock* the "best London pewter . . . Tankards and Quart

pots" and the "best . . . Hard mettle . . . Canns."[9] And finally, in 1763, Richard Billings announced that he had just imported from London and Bristol a great variety of hardware including the "best London hard mettle pewter . . . mugs and cans."[10] It is interesting to note that only in the last advertisement is the word "mug" used, and here clearly in place of "pot."

In probably one of the more remarkable examples of survival, there has been preserved an original invoice dated February 1765 from London exporters to the merchandising firm of Caleb Blanchard and John Hancock in Boston relating to a large shipment of London pewter.[11] Among the items listed are:

18 Best Pewter Quart Canns	@ 4/
18 Comn Pewter Do Tankards	@ 2/6
48 Do Do Potts	@ 1/8
36 Best Pint Pewter Canns	@ 2/6

And then of course we have the well known 1763 advertisement of John Skinner, Boston pewterer, where he offered "very neat Canns and Quart and Pint Pots."[12]

These references, all from Boston from the third quarter of the eighteenth century, leave no doubt that the pewter can was something special, different from the pot (mug). In some of the references the cans are made of hard metal, the pots of common pewter, so not only do we expect a different form, but they were made of a more expensive metal. In general many pewter forms were copied from silver models, so an examination of the terminology applied to early silver is elucidating. Consulting a glossary for early American silversmiths we find the following:[13]

> CAN (formerly Cann)—A drinking vessel with curved body, single or double scroll handle, rounded bottom and splayed base without a cover.
>
> MUG—a drinking vessel with straight or tapering sides, scroll handle with flat bottom, moulded base and no lid.

The illustrations given for these two are worth reproducing (Fig. 1). It is apparent that a pewter can must be what we have been calling a tulip-shaped mug. There has *never* been any question among silver collectors as to what a "cann" was.

It has been suggested that John Skinner's "very neat Canns" were most likely the tall, tapering mugs made exclusively by New England pewterers.[14] If this were true, then what were the "quart and pint pots" which John Skinner also advertised? It seems that *these* were the tapered mugs, and his "canns" were the rare tulip-shaped mugs made by so few American pewterers. The only surviving pewter tulip-shaped mug from Boston is a pint made by Robert Bonynge and dated 1747 in an inscription;[15] it was undoubtedly sold as a "cann." A quart tulip-shaped tankard is also known by Bonynge.

Fig. 1. At the left are shown two silver cans (canns) with single and double scroll handles. To the right is a silver mug. There has never been any question among silver collectors as to what a "cann" was, nor what a bulbous mug was specifically called. [*After Benson.*]

In view of the above evidence there does not seem to be any reason to deny that the pewter tulip-shaped mug was called a "can" in eighteenth century Boston. But such does not seem to necessarily have been the case in either New York or Philadelphia. In newspaper advertisements from these two cities we do not find two forms of mugs listed (as pots and cans or mugs and cans), and in fact we do not seem to find the term "can" applied to pewter ware. But from both New York and Philadelphia we do have surviving examples of tulip-shaped mugs and tulip-shaped tankards (whoever had a set of tulip-shaped tankard moulds certainly made mugs too). We have several quart tulip-shaped mugs with two different handle designs by William Will of Philadelphia,[16] and at least a half dozen quart tulip-shaped tankards by the same maker. There is a pint tulip-shaped mug by Cornelius Bradford made either in Philadelphia or New York.[17] There is also a quart tulip-shaped tankard by one of the "LOVE" group of Philadelphia,[18] and one by John Will of New York.[19]

Since the major evidence for the existence of pewter cans in Boston comes from newspaper advertisements of imported London pewter, we looked for similar New York notices. Unfortunately the New York newspapers are generally not as explicit as the Boston papers in listing the various pewter products being sold. In 1746 John Halden, a New York brazier from London, advertised "all sorts of London pewter" including tankards and quart and pint "Mugs."[20] In the same year Thomas Brown advertised "all sorts of London soft & hard Metal Pewter."[21] In 1761 Joseph Hallet advised that he had "a good assortment of pewter" from England,[22] while William Scandrett, brass founder, noted in 1764 that he had "London Pewter Plates, Dishes, Basons, Tankards and Spoons."[23] The most descriptive list of imported pewter ware strangely comes from pewterer William Kirby, who in 1774 listed a "large and general assortment of London pewter" which included tankards and quart and pint "pots."[24] Virtually no imported pewter is advertised after 1776. Possibly the last reference to such wares is a notice in 1796 by Andrew Van Tuyl and Son that they had "Pewter dishes, tea pots and plates, basons and spoons" from London.[25] It is really surprising to see that pewter plates, dishes, and basins were still being imported from England at such a late date.

There are only a few pewterers' advertisements in the New York newspapers. Robert Boyle advertised in 1755 a long list of pewter ware including tankards and quart and pint "mugs." [26] And Bradford and McEuen, in announcing the opening of their Pewterer's and Plumber's Shop in 1772 (a few years after Cornelius Bradford had moved from Philadelphia) included among a wide variety of pewter products quart and pint "mugs" and tankards. [27]

Unfortunately the compiler of *Arts & Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1721-1785*, based on gleanings from newspapers, did not include hardware merchants or ironmongers, who would normally sell imported pewter. Nor did he include braziers, founders, cutlers, or whitesmiths—craftsmen who often handled imported pewter. There is only one Philadelphia pewterer who advertised a list of his products. In 1753 and 1765 Cornelius Bradford advised that he had for sale tankards and quart and pint "muggs." [28] In 1775 William Ball, goldsmith and silversmith, in disposing of Philadelphia pewterer Thomas Byles' stock after his death listed tankards and "mugs." [29]

The survey of the Boston references showed that "pot" was the normal term, "mug" being found only once. The reverse is true in New York and Philadelphia, for here all mention "mugs," and the term "pot" was only used once, by William Kirby. It is only from the inventory of Thomas Byles taken in 1771 that we find any evidence (in addition to the surviving examples) that two shapes of mugs were made. [30] It is extremely important to note that the inventory was taken by Benjamin Harbeson, Jr. and William Will. Since Will made both tulip-shaped mugs and tankards we could assume that the correct contemporary terminology was used. However, the use of the terms "mugs" and "pots" is confusing. We list the forms shown, rearranged by decreasing price, including both mugs and tankards.

Quart Hard Mugs	5
Quart Hard Mugs	4
Quart Common Bellied Mugs	3/6
Quart Potts	3/6
Pint Hard Potts	2
Quart Hard Tankards	5/6
Quart Straight Bodied Tankards	5
Quart Common Tankards	5
Pint Hard Tankards	3/6
Pint Bellied Tankards	3

William Ball, who was Byles' son-in-law, apparently hired a journeyman pewterer and used Byles' moulds for about a decade. He sold out his stock and trade in 1782 and advertised moulds for pewter tankards and "mugs." [31] The tools included raising anvils and "Belly-pot" anvils. The latter were probably used for silver coffee pots and cans.

There is abundant evidence of silver cans from the Philadelphia newspapers. In 1763 Edward Milne advised that he had just imported from London silver pint and half pint "canns." [32] In 1770 John Letelier noted that he made silver "tankards with and without covers" (to confuse our terminology) and "cans, pints and half pints." [33] The next year John Carnan advertised that he made and sold silver "cans." [34] In 1782 Daniel Van-Voorhis advised that he had removed from Philadelphia and had opened a shop in Princeton (N.J.) near the College where he made and sold silver pint and half pint "cans." [35] It is interesting to note that when the capacities were noted they were pint and half pint. The Boston references to imported *pewter* cans all indicated quarts and pints. A single reference has been found to quart silver cans. William Whetcroft of Annapolis, Maryland, advertised in 1773 that he had ready-made silver work, including quart, pint and half pint "cans." [36] The majority of the surviving silver cans are 4½" to 5½" high, the pint range. Only occasionally is a larger silver quart can found. Silver cans are also referred to as pear-shaped or bulbous mugs.

In England the tulip-shaped mug style commenced about 1720. [37] It was made in silver in America as early as 1730. [38] The tulip-shaped silver tankard began to replace the straight-sided tapering type in England during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and it would seem that the new shape found favor in Philadelphia soon after it became popular in England. [39] The bulbous silver tankard had a much greater vogue in Philadelphia than anywhere else in America. [40] This would explain the half dozen surviving examples of William Will's bulbous tankards.

It has been suggested that the bellied pewter mug was never very popular in America. [41] Presumably this is based on the paucity of surviving American examples: only several quarts by William Will, and single pints by Robert Bonynge and Cornelius Broadford. However, the evidence indicates that the bulbous pewter mug was popular in Boston (and presumably in Philadelphia) during the quarter century before the Revolution, although most of the cans available were probably imported from England. The problem with Colonial manufacture was the fact that the body had to be made in two parts and soldered together. The problem was not the two parts, *per se*, but the fact that both parts had complicated curves.

The body of the straight-sided mug required a four-piece brass mould: a tapered inside piece which was pulled out after casting, a top piece, and two side pieces. [42] Since the tapering sides were straight, it was a relatively easy matter for a brass founder to finish turn the castings of the mould. Both halves of the bellied body also required four-part moulds, but the design was vastly more complicated. Each of the four parts had a curve on the finished surface. [43] The bottom mould formed the bottom section of the

body, the bottom of the mug, and the moulded foot, all in one pouring.

The complicated curves apparently exceeded the capabilities of the average Colonial brass founder, although a few of these moulds were obviously made. Certainly they were expensive and this may have been the deterrent to more widespread manufacture of the pewter tulip-shaped mug. The pewterer obviously could not obtain the moulds from England before the Revolution, since there was a restriction on the export of such items. Perhaps this is a good example of how effective this embargo was. England wanted to sell the Colonies finished pewter ware, and attempted to hamper its manufacture in the Colonies. This result is well illustrated by the imported pewter can in Boston. Apparently by the time American craftsmen had the ability to make the moulds after the Revolution, the bellied mug had lost its appeal. Tulip-shaped mugs and tankards are certainly extreme rarities, and are definitely one of the aristocrats of American pewter.

REFERENCES

1. C. F. Montgomery, *A History of American Pewter* (New York, 1973), p. 103.
2. This was the eighteenth century English meaning: a 1753 *English Dictionary* by N. Bailey (London), defines "tankard" as "a drinking pot with a Hinged cover." The word now seems to be confused in England, since C. A. Peal, *British Pewter and Britannia Metal* (London, 1971), p. 198 says that in his book the word "tankard" is taken as "a drinking mug with or without lid."
3. G. F. Dow, *Arts & Crafts in New England, 1704-1775* (Topsfield, 1927), p. 227.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
11. *PCCA Bul.* # 59, Dec. 1968, Vol. 5, p. 218. A trade card by London pewterer John Alderson (working from 1764 to 1792 or later) is headed "Pewter Potts by the Maker" and lists prices for quarts, pints, and half pints in both hard metal and common pewter. (*PCCA Bul.* # 64, Aug. 1971, Vol. 6, p. 142, from C. A. Peal, *op. cit.*, p. 118, which was in turn taken from H. H. Cotterell, *Old Pewter* (London, 1929), pl. VII.) The price for hard metal quarts was 2/6d and that for common pewter quarts 1/9d, with the prices for pints and half pints proportionally less. Flanking the prices are at the left a tulip-shaped mug and at the right a barrel-shaped mug, both with broken C handles. It is not apparent if the prices apply to these shapes or if they apply to straight sided tapered "potts."
12. G. F. Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
13. R. R. Benson, *Early American Silversmiths and Their Marks with a Concise Glossary of Terms* (Harrisburg, 1972), pp. 136, 150.
14. C. F. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
15. L. I. Laughlin, *Pewter in America* (Barre Publishers, 1971), Vol. III, p. 37; *PCCA Bul.* # 71, August 1975, Vol. 7, p. 43.
16. L. I. Laughlin, *Pewter in America* (Barre Publishers, 1969), Vol. I, pl. XX, # 127; C. F. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, Figs. 6-12 & 6-13.
17. L. I. Laughlin, *op. cit.*, pl. XX, # 126.
18. L. I. Laughlin, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, # 725.
19. *Ibid.*, # 715.
20. R. S. Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776* (New York, 1938), p. 195.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
25. R. S. Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799* (New York, 1954), p. 108.
26. R. S. Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776* (New York, 1938), p. 100.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
28. A. C. Prime, *Arts & Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1721-1785* (Walpole Society, 1929), p. 108.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
30. L. I. Laughlin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 156.
31. A. C. Prime, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
37. C. A. Peal, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
38. E. Wenham, *The Practical Book of American Silver* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 74.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
40. C. L. Avery, *Early American Silver* (New York, 1930), p. 308.
41. C. F. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 124; *PCCA Bul.* # 71, August 1975, Vol. 7, p. 43.
42. H. J. Kauffman, *The American Pewterer* (Camden, N. J., 1970), p. 48.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

Vickers White Metal Again

The products of James Vickers of Sheffield, England, made of his now famous white metal, are becoming more popular with the passing of time. They were first brought to the attention of P.C.C.A. readers in an article by Charles V. Swain on pages 177-180 of *Bulletin* 57 (Dec. 1967 issue). Mr. Swain there indicated that additional information on, and pictures of marked examples by, James Vickers would be welcome. Since then only two responses have been published, both appearing in *Bulletin* 60 (Aug. 1969 issue), one on page 9, the other on page 13.

Recently we were given the privilege of photographing three additional pieces by Vickers, all marked with his incuse straight-line "I. VICKERS" touch, and all beautifully decorated with bright cut engraving. We are indebted to our member, George A. Gilboy, for this privilege.

Illustrations of the three pieces and detailed closeups of some of the decorations accompany this article, but some further comments on each piece may well be appreciated by members who own or are interested in white metal examples produced by Mr. Vickers. (For additional information on the subject, see articles in the magazine *Antiques*, issues of July 1926 and August 1928.)

The tall, slender tea or coffee pot illustrated in Figure 1 gracefully conforms with a shape made popular in the late 18th century by English silversmiths. Note how the lower end of the long wooden handle terminates into a white metal attachment that is flush against the body of the pot. Could the engraved decoration that encircles the thin neck serve as an indication of the maximum point to which the pot should be filled? And could the lid finial have served as the model for the finials on the lids of the tea caddies by Coldwell and Thompson shown in Laughlin's Volume III, Nos. 823 and 824? The Vickers pot measures 13 1/8" overall to the top of the lid finial, and 10 7/8" to the lip. It has a diameter of 2½" at the lip and a base diameter of 3 31/32".

Fig. 2. Bright cut tea caddie resting on teapot stand similarly decorated by Vickers.

The multi-sided tea caddie shown in Figure 2 has bright cut engraving on all sides, with those on the front and back being very similar if not identical. There is a central dividing wall on the inside extending front to back, probably for the storing of two different brands of tea to offer the imbiber his or her choice, or perhaps for blend-

Fig. 1. Tall, handsome white metal tea or coffee pot by James Vickers.

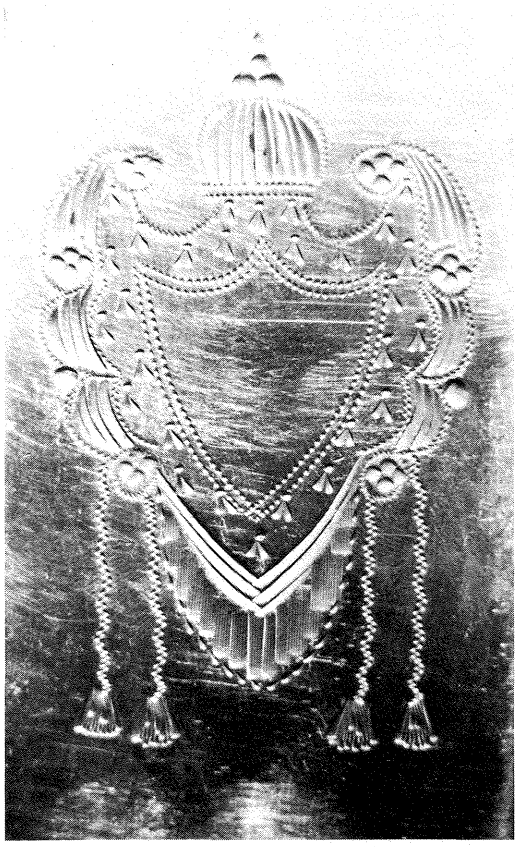

Fig. 3. Major bright cut engraved decoration on side of Vickers' tea caddie.

Fig. 4. Top of four-legged teapot stand by James Vickers showing considerable bright cut engraving on stand and rim.

ing purposes, if that was the desire. The finial on the lid appears to be of ivory and has been colored a rather darkish green. A cockle- or scalloped-shaped serving spoon with short handle accompanied the caddie when found. An enlargement of the major bright cut design on the front side of the caddie under the keyhole is shown in Figure 3. The height of the caddie to top of finial is 6 5/16", and to the lip 4 15/32". Maximum length is 5½" and maximum width is 3¾".

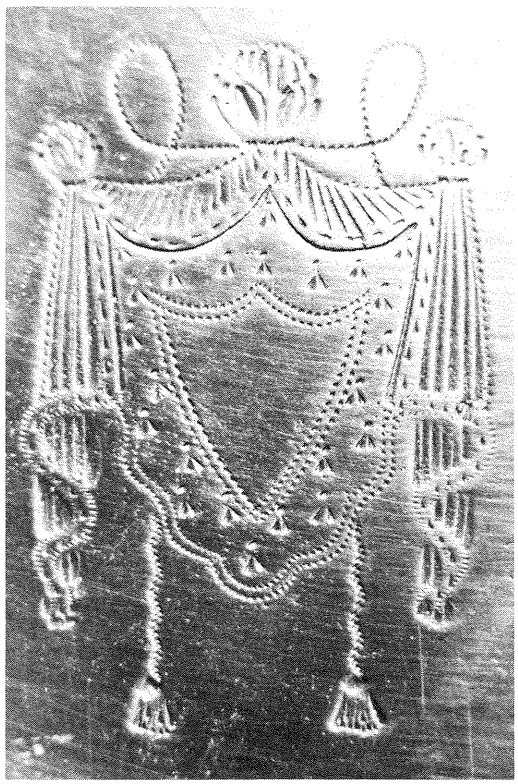

Fig. 5. Closeup of central decoration on the Vickers' teapot stand pictured in Figure 4.

The above-mentioned tea caddie is illustrated in Fig. 2 as resting on an oval, four-legged stand which it seems to fit exactly. For this reason it was thought by its previous owner that the two pieces were made for each other. We might agree if the caddie was of an oval form that just fitted inside the rim of the stand, but it has some 10 sides. Normally, stands of this sort were made to hold vessels containing hot contents, such as teapots, thereby protecting the table underneath. A similar but unmarked stand is shown in Laughlin's Volume III, No. 825, thought to have been made by Israel Trask, as a Trask teapot has long rested upon it. Numerous oval or boat-shaped teapots were made by Trask and others, some with ball feet, some without. Laughlin opined that this stand might have been made by Coldwell or Thompson due to the similarity of the bright cut decoration on the stand and the Coldwell and Thompson tea caddies. But here we have a stand marked "I. VICKERS," so some thought should be given to the possibility that unmarked stands of this form may have been made in England and perhaps by Vickers. A view of the top surface of the Vickers stand is given in Figure 4, while a closeup of its central decoration is shown in Figure 5. Owners of unmarked stands, caddies and other bright cut pieces may obtain some idea of their provenance by comparing the decorations thereon with Figures 3 and 5. The Vickers stand has a height

Fig. 6. Incuse straight name touch of James Vickers. This touch used on pot, caddie and stand illustrated above.

of one inch. Its maximum length and width are 6 7/8" and 5 3/16" respectively.

Vickers' incuse name touch is shown in Figure 6.

W.O.B.

Vas You Effer in Zinzinnati?

by John F. Brown

Were you ever in Cincinnati when there was a Midwestern Regional PCCA meeting? If you had been on October 23, 1976, there would have been a test of your mettle, wits and knowledge of Cincinnati pewter and pewterers. Below are the 20 questions (worth 5 points each) which members of the Regional Group took on that Saturday. Perhaps you would like to test your knowledge by taking the quiz. The answers are at the end.

1. Which Cincinnati Pewterer, if any, used an an eagle touch?
   ____ Flagg and Homan
   ____ Stalkamp
   ____ Sellew
   ____ H. Homan

2. H. Homan and Company was the predecessor of Flagg and Homan.
   ____ True ____ False

3. What influenced heavily the large production of candlesticks in Cincy?
   ____ Availability of metal
   ____ Design talents of the manufacturer
   ____ Local religious practices
   ____ Eastern demand

4. Whale Oil lamps marked "Warrens Hard-metal" were made in Cincinnati.
   ____ True ____ False

5. There is only one form of candlestick recorded for Flagg & Homan or the H. Homan Co.
   ____ True ____ False

6. Only britannia candlesticks were made in Cincinnati.
   ____ True ____ False

7. All of the better known Cincinnati pewterers were born in America.
   ____ True ____ False

8. There are no known porringers made by Sellew or Homan & Co.
   ____ True ____ False

9. Sellew and Co. is the earliest of the well known Cincinnati Companies engaged in Pewter and Britannia.
   ____ True ____ False

10. Baluster "Cincinnati" candlesticks have been found in the following sizes:

____ 2 in.	____ 8 in.	____ 15 in.
____ 3 in.	____ 9 in.	____ 16 in.
____ 4 in.	____ 10 in.	____ 17 in.
____ 5 in.	____ 11 in.	____ 18 in.
____ 6 in.	____ 12 in.	____ 19 in.
____ 7 in.	____ 14 in.	____ 20 in.

11. Eagle decorated spoons were made by (Check correct completions).
    ____ Sellew
    ____ William Will, Jr. (Zanesville)
    ____ George Coldwell
    ____ Yates
    ____ Whitehouse

12. Baluster Cincinnati Candlesticks or fluid lamps have been marked (Check correct answer or answers).
    ____ Homan & Co.
    ____ Flagg & Homan
    ____ Sellew
    ____ Stalkamp
    ____ Cincinnati Britannia Co.

13. Homan's greatest export items (from the United States) were (Select one)
    ____ candlesticks
    ____ absinthe strainers
    ____ candlemolds
    ____ tea cannisters
    ____ spice boxes.

14. Which one of the above pieces was not made by Homan?
    _____

15. Sellew vase-form candlesticks can be mistaken for sticks made by one of the following groups of pewterers.
    ____ R. Gleason, Porter, R. Dunham
    ____ James Weekes, Ostrander & Norris
    ____ Taunton Britannia, Fuller & Smith, H. Hopper, Meriden Britannia
    ____ Lewis & Cowles, Endicott & Sumner

16. The shape of the font or reservoir of the pewter whale-oil lamp made by Homan &

Co. may be described as

____ Lozenge	____ Lemon
____ Urn	____ Acorn
____ Bell	____ Cone
____ Cylinder	____ Hexagonal

17. Sellew & Co. was comprised of a partnership of 3 brothers whose names were
    - ____ Charles, Henry & Oliver
    - ____ Silan, Thomas & Rufus
    - ____ Enos, Osman & William
    - ____ George, Allen & Timothy

18. Flagg & Homan are known to have made one of the following forms, unique in American pewter.

____ whistles	____ buckles
____ cookie cutters	____ wine goblets
____ church tokens	____ snuffer trays
____ tazzas	____ mustache cup
____ coffin nails	

19. After the departure of Asa Flagg, _____ became the life long partner of Henry Homan.
    - ____ John F. Wendeln
    - ____ William C. Pomeroy
    - ____ William M. Miller
    - ____ Ezra Woodruff

20. Flagg & Homan touch contains _____ stars in the flag.

The scoring of the aforegoing questions is done individually and the test results are known only to the individual taking the test. The purpose of this test is the exchange of information. We have found that it is an interesting and effective means of learning more about our chosen hobby. Miss Patti Ader, Dr. James Sutherland and the author were the compilers of the questions and the answers that follow.

1. Sellew and Company was the Cincinnati pewterer that used the eagle touch (Figure 1). They probably did it early in their career and it has been found most commonly on teapots, although there are some eight inch (8") plates containing the eagle touch mark.

2. False. Asa Flagg worked as an individual pewterer from 1842 to 1846 in Cincinnati. The firm of Flagg & Homan was established in 1847 and lasted until 1851. H. Homan and Company and various other designations of Homan Manufacturing, Homan Britannia Company continued through the years.

3. Local religious practices. Rhea Mansfield Knittle points out in her tract on Early Ohio Silversmiths and Pewterers, that Cincinnati had a large German population, predominantly Catholic, and each first communicant carried a lighted candle in a Cincinnati pewter candlestick on that day. The present archivist of the Diocese of Cincinnati, Fr. Ed. Hussey, says while he has no fact, "This feels right to me." Lorena Ader, a charter member of the Midwest Regional Group, has the Homan candlestick her husband's uncle carried on his first communion day, which was the one carried by each of the children in the family.

Fig. 1. Eagle touch of Sellew & Co. of Cincinnati from a 7 7/8" teapot. *Photo by Author.*

4. True. This story begins with Carl Jacobs and his book, "A Guide to American Pewter." On page 173 he mentions that Josiah Warren made whale oil lamps marked "Warrens Hardmetal" and he places Warren in New York and New England. John Carl Thomas, writing in the PCCA Bulletin dated September, 1963, mentions Josiah Warren and his patent for a lard burning lamp (February, 1821) and notes that the patent was issued to Warren in Cincinnati. John Carl then states, "On that frail basis, he may be included among the makers of pewter objects and now with a more complete name and address." A pair of whale oil lamps marked "Warrens Hardmetal" are shown in Figure 2.

For the record, Josiah Warren was born in Boston and came to Cincinnati in the year 1818 or 1819 when he was about 20 years of age. Josiah Warren was a musician and a musical teacher and established himself in that profession in Cincinnati. His biographer, William Bailie, writing in 1906, states that Josiah Warren started a lamp manufactory in Cincinnati after the receipt of his patent and continued that operation until 1825. Warren's patent was lost in the Patent Office fire of 1836 and was not reproduced by the patentee when the opportunity was provided by the Patent Office. However, there is a copy in the Workingman's Hall in New Harmony, Indiana.

The "National Republican and Ohio Political Register," published on February 14, 1823, carried the notice that the partnership of Daniel Stocking and Josiah Warren was dissolved effective October 9, 1822. The Cincinnati Directory of 1825 lists one Daniel Stocking as a tin-

Fig. 2. Pair of lemon-fonted whale oil lamps marked "Warrens Hardmetal." Height 9", base diam. 3 3/4". *Photo by Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf.*

smith. There were no directories published between 1819 and 1825. The 1819 Directory makes no mention of either Stocking or Warren. The 1825 Directory has a Josiah Warren, Grocer. It would appear that our Josiah Warren did make lamps for approximately three to four years(1821-1825), that he did have a partnership with a tinsmith who, as we all know, were often pewterers by another name; and if, in fact, his working time was so short, is there little wonder that existing pieces are so rare. A picture of the whale oil lamp marked "Warrens Hardmetal" with a brazier's touch is shown in Figure two (2). It might be noted that neither the burner inserts nor the fonts for this pair of lamps have been threaded. The retention of the burner in place was based purely on tension.

Josiah Warren established himself much more significantly in the history of the United States as a social activist or, as it was called in that period, an anarchist rather than as a pewterer. A couple of brief historical vignettes may be of interest. Following a brief stay at New Harmony, Indiana, one of the early attempts to establish a non-government oriented society on a communal basis, Josiah Warren returned to Cincinnati and started what was called, in the Directory of 1829, a "Time Store." He called it an "Equity Store." The method of operation was for the customers to purchase the desired goods at cost, which included not only the original cost of the product but the freight charge, some rent and some provision for breakage. In addition, he signed a note, a "Time Receipt," for the time that Josiah Warren had spent in serving the person while the goods were being purchased. As a result, Mary Jones, the seamstress, might write a note providing fifteen (15) minutes of seamstress time in return for Josiah Warren's shop time. Dr. Smith might provide thirty (30) minutes of medical time in return for the time spent by Josiah Warren in selling merchandise to him. The time receipts are quite well done in engraved currency type of promissory notes. In the beginning time was exchanged on an hour-for-hour basis. Subsequently, it was established in relative value of the individuals utilizing the services. After two years he terminated his "Time Store" in Cincinnati feeling that it had been a success.

Josiah Warren was convinced that one of the evils of society was the capital gain realized when no labor had been expended. Primarily, this would relate to the increase in value of land where the person simply owned it but did nothing to develop and improve it. So intense were his feelings that a 99 year lease which he held on the heart of downtown Cincinnati was returned to the lessor within five years of its original granting, thereby showing that Josiah Warren was a man of principle and with the courage of his convictions.

John Stuart Mills, the noted English economist, called Josiah Warren one of the great Americans. It has been said that Henry Georges' economic writings in the late 1870's were influenced by the social philosophies and economic writings of Josiah Warren.

5. False. Two early marked forms of Flagg & Homan or Homan and Company are in collections in Cincinnati as well as several of the late forms marked Flagg & Homan. It might be noted here that many in Cincinnati feel the late forms of Flagg & Homan are represented by the incised mark Flagg & Homan in an oval with the word "PEWTER" below it and often a re-order number accompanying it.

6. False. There are some excellent Sellew and fine late Homan pewter candlesticks to mention but two items.

7. False. Asa F. Flagg was born in Birmingham, England.

8. False. Ledlie Laughlin in Volume No. III of "Pewter in America," Katherine Ebert in her book "Collecting American Pewter," along with Rhea Mansfield Knittle, previously mentioned, include porringers in the inventory of pewter and britannia items made by Cincinnati pewterers. Furthermore, Georgiana and Alex Cook, long time dealers and students of Cincinnati pewter and pewterers have had porringers made by the local companies. They are rare, but they were made.

9. True. The chronology of the better known Cincinnati pewterers and britannia makers are as follows:

Sellew & Company	1832 to 1880
Asa F. Flagg	1842 to 1846
Flagg & Homan	1847 to 1851
Homan & Company (and other company names)	1852 and forward*
Stahlkamp	1853 to 1860
Cincinnati Britannia	1867 to 1875

*A continuation of this firm is still in existence today as a subsidiary of a larger conglomerate.

10. Two, five, six, seven, eight, ten and fourteen. Jim Parker, noted collector of Cincinnati pewter, has viewed the two inch sticks made for a children's dollhouse, the author has the five inch sticks, Charles Montgomery lists, among other sizes, the six and seven inch sticks, the author has the eight, ten and fourteen inch candlesticks. It should be noted in scoring the test, that to get the score of five which all questions are worth, at least five of the aforegoing must be correct. Figure 3 shows five of the various sizes.

Fig. 3. Variety of Cincinnati candlesticks. Front row (l. to r.): Flagg & Homan, oval cast mark, h. 5 1/2", b.d. 3". Unmarked, h. 7", b.d. 3 5/8". Back row: Flagg & Homan, oval incised mark, h. 8", b.d. 4 3/4". Flagg & Homan, oval cast mark, h. 14 1/2", b.d. 5 5/8". Flagg & Homan, oval incised mark, h. 10", b.d. 4 7/8". *Photo by Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf.*

11. Coldwell, Yates and Whitehouse. Note, to get the full five points on this there must be at least two of the three correct. The source for this is Dr. James Sutherland, an expert on silver and spoons in particular, as well as an antiquarian of local repute. Also, Charles Montgomery confirms the aforegoing.

12. Homan & Company, Flagg & Homan, Sellew. Again, to get the full five points, two of the three must be correct. Dr. James Sutherland, previously mentioned, has the H. Homan & Company mark. Flagg & Homan is owned by Jim Parker, the author and others. Rushlight Club publication indicates a baluster Cincinnati shape marked Sellew & Company. Also, one of our local pewter collectors at one time had a baluster marked Sellew. Georgiana and Alex Cook, previously referred to, say they have never handled such a stick and there is a fairly substantial feeling that these sticks were not made by Sellew even though there may be some that have been marked. It is believed that Sellew and Company may have applied their mark to other pewterers' work when it was brought in for repair.

13. Candlemolds. Rhea Mansfield Knittle, previously referred to, noted that the making of candlemolds in Cincinnati was a major industry and Homan and Company patented their own candlemold machine.

14. All were made by Homan. Rhea Mansfield Knittle, as previously mentioned, includes all of the items listed in No. 13 in her inventory of Homan's production.

15. Taunton Britannia, Fuller & Smith, H. Hopper, Meriden Britannia. The aforegoing needs little comment. While there may be individual firms in the other groups that made them, not all of the firms in the group made such vase-form candlesticks. Figure 4 shows a pair of 11 inch candlesticks attributed to Sellew by Rhea Mansfield Knittle.

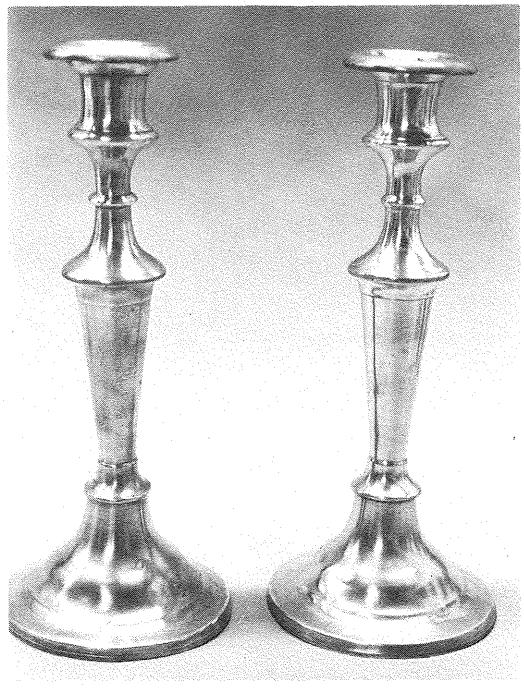

Fig. 4. Pair of unmarked candlesticks attributed to Sellew & Co. by Rhea Mansfield Knittle. h. 11", b.d. 4 1/2". *Photo by Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf.*

16. Acorn. Again, Dr. James Sutherland is the source. He has such a form in his collection as do other Cincinnati collectors. Figure 5 shows whale oil lamps by Sellew and Homan and Company.

17. Enos, Osman & William. A little vignette of history may be of interest to all at this point. In 1832 local records indicate that William and Osman left Glastonbury, Connecticut where they were born and raised and came to Cincin-

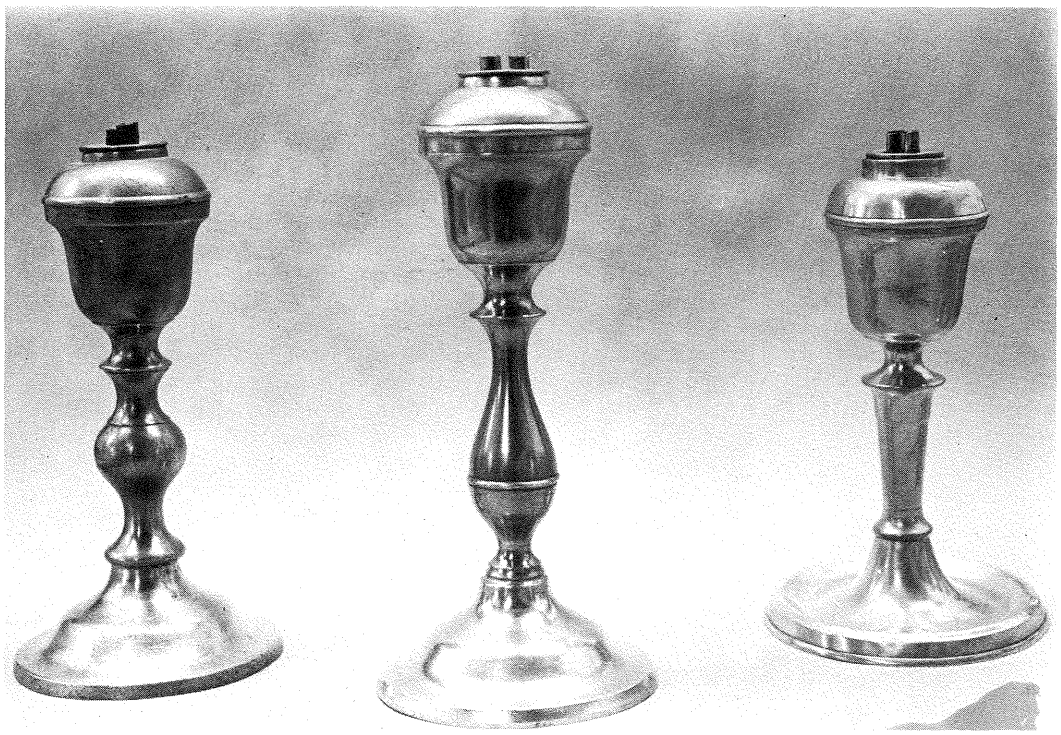

Fig. 5. Whale oil lamps (l. to r.): Sellew & Co., h. 9 1/2", b.d. 4 5/8". Unmarked, h. 10 1/2", b.d. 4 11/16". Homan & Co., line mark, h. 8 3/4", b.d. 5". *Photo by Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf.*

Courtesy of the Cincinnati Historical Society

Fig. 6. Advertisement of Sellew & Co. in the 1840 Cincinnati Directory. *Courtesy of the Cincinnati Historical Museum. Photo by Phil Holt.*

nati. In the same year they commenced the manufacturing of pewter and britannia. With that expeditious an establishment of the pewtering and britannia business, it is reasonable to believe that not only were these men trained in Connecticut, but that they must have brought along Connecticut made molds which allowed them to start their business so promptly. It has often been suggested that many of the early Sellew forms are closely aligned with the Boardman pewter. Is it possible that Osman or William or both were trained by the Boardmans or by the Danforths? Certainly, the geography and the forms suggest it. Enos Sellew arrived in 1836 to join the Sellew & Company firm.

18. Wine goblets. Carl Jacobs, previously referred to, is the source of the "forms unique in American pewter."

19. William Miller. Rhea Mansfield Knittle refers to the fact that Miller became a partner early in the days of the H. Homan & Company and remained such until Mr. Homan's death.

20. None. At least the persons working to construct the aforegoing quiz have never seen a Flagg & Homan piece with a flag mark.

By way of conclusion to the aforegoing strain and tensions, a little relief was provided by reference to the advertisement in Figure 6 of Sellew & Company contained in the 1840 Cincinnati Directory. You will note from the figure that the extended tail of the P of pewter contains in small letters the names "Doolittle and Munson." On first blush, the author felt that of course this must be the signature of the letterers or the creators of the ad for Sellew & Company. However, the name Munson sent him back to his notes and further research, and in the Directory of 1842 both Doolittle and Munson are listed as members of the firm of Sellew & Company. One can only speculate on the importance of their positions in the firm, at least based on the positioning of their names at the end of the P.

How Do You Spell Britannia?

Taunton and Meriden Britannia Manufacturing Companies spelled it the way it appears in the title. Webster's Unabridged Dictionary spells it the same way. However, if one will look at Figure 6 in the article "Vas You Effer In Zinzinnati," one will find that Sellew & Company spelled Britannia BRITTANIA.

All this goes to prove that you don't need to know how to spell what you're selling if you make a good enough product and merchandise it effectively.

CINCINNATUS

The Triad and Other Initials

by Christopher A. Peal

We have come to assume that the triad of initials is always:

S = (Surname)
H W = (Husband Wife)

It is usually so on pewter—but not always—see below.

1. My thoughts are crystallised by the excellently reasoned article on the "Semper Eadem" marks in the PCCA *Bulletin of* August 1976 wherein is strong evidence of marks containing two initials being *not* Christian and Surname, but the *two Christian name initials* of in one case father and son, in the other of two brothers, based on the Danforth rampant lion touch bearing the initials T and I for the Christian names of Thomas Danforth and John (or Joseph) Danforth. I wonder if any unidentified English two-initial marks are similarly of two of a family.

2. To return to the triad—I have found the *parish boundary* $\begin{matrix} & M & \\ S & P & G \end{matrix}$ (sic) in Norwich for "*M*ancroft, *S*t *P*eter; *S*t *G*iles." And again $\begin{matrix} M \\ S\ P \end{matrix}$ only.

3. On pots of c. 1830-1840 I have often seen *verification* $\begin{matrix} S\ P \\ M \end{matrix}$ (St. Peter Mancroft district of Norwich).

4. On Bell metal mortars, if you are darned lucky, you could see $\begin{matrix} B \\ S\ T \end{matrix}$ for *B*(ury St. Edmunds), *S*tephen *T*onni (late 16th century).

5. I have found occasionally the more-than-coincidence of the normal-looking triad on 17th century flagons being $\begin{matrix} \textit{V}\text{illage} \\ \textit{S}\text{aint } \textit{P}\text{atron} \end{matrix}$. I cannot recall an actual instance, but e.g.,

$\begin{matrix} \textit{C}\text{ringleford} \\ \textit{S}\text{aint } \textit{P}\text{eter} \end{matrix}$

6. Again, pairs of dishes appear to have "cumulative" initials. Many of you will recall my true pair of lobed-decoration dishes (with the squirls going in opposite directions). On one is "A P." On the other is "M G E C." Are these of the vicar and two churchwardens; or the Master of a Company and the two senior Wardens; or of a similar institution?

7. And whilst querying initials, I have a suspicion that the "S S" initials *so* often seen on, from houses to spoons in the late 17th century, are *not* for Stanley Shemmell or Stephen Smith or whoever, but are those of a slogan or prayer, such as "(May your) SOUL be SAVED," or "Sanctus Spiritus" (or more erudite Latin than I can muster).

I wonder if any members have other instances, or would comment, elaborate or confirm any of the points in 1 to 7.

New York Porter Mugs and Porterhouses

by Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

In a recent article on the Bassetts of New York City, a list was published of pewter products made by Francis (II) at the time of his death which were being offered for sale by his widow Mary in May 1800.[1] Among these items were "Porter quarts and pints, and family ditto ditto." This is the first time it has been reported that American pewterers made "porter" pots (or mugs). If this were our only evidence, there would be a number of interpretations of the term "porter." However, this is not an isolated case, for we have a few other references to "porter" mugs, all from the same period. In January 1800, plumber and pewterer George Youle advertised "pint and quart porter pots."[2] In January 1801 pewterer George Coldwell had advised that "porter and ale house keepers can be supplied with quart and pint mugs at the statuteable measures."[3] This makes it apparent that "porter mugs" were generally used in "Porter Houses." Attempts were apparently made later to substitute china for pewter mugs in taverns, for in January 1804 a dealer of various glass and china wares advertised "Blue and enamelled China Porter mugs."[4]

New York at the turn of the century was a burgeoning industrial city. The population, which was about 30,000 in 1790, was increasing explosively. By 1800 it had doubled, and by 1810 it had again increased (over 50%) to about 96,000. Many workers representing various crafts were immigrating to the City from England. Brass workers were coming from the brass center of Birmingham. The case of one particular brass worker clarifies the question of "Porter Houses." In the *New York Daily Advertiser* of September 12, 1797, Joseph Baker announced that he was recently from Birmingham and had opened "a manufactory of Brass works of every description" on Henry Street.[5] By 1801 he had moved to 4 Wall Street (where he remained until 1822), and he listed his manufactured products as brass andirons, warranted brass cocks, heads for andirons, etc., as well as every kind of brass, copper, and composition casting.[6]

Then in May 1803 the following notice was run: "J. Baker, Begs leaves to inform his friends and the public in general, that he has opened a porter-House at No. 4 Wall-street where gentlemen may be accommodated with wines and other Liquors of the best quality. Likewise, dinners, suppers and relishes at the shortest notice.

N.B. The subscriber returns thanks to the public for past favors in the Brass Foundery business, and informs them that he still continues it in its various branches, Viz. andirons, warrented brass cocks, all sorts of brass, copper and composition casting, etc."[7] In 1804 and 1805 Joseph Baker is listed in the city directories as: "Brass Founder and porter house." Then from 1806 to 1818 his directory listing is simply "porter house," and from 1819 to 1822 they indicated that he ran "city tavern," still at No. 4 Wall Street.

For a few years at least Baker carried on brass founding in addition to running his porterhouse. The fact that he never advertised his brass products and was not listed as a brass founder after 1805 seems to indicate that he devoted all his time to his porterhouse. By 1807 Baker's Tavern (Porterhouse) had become a well known and popular house. On July 4th of that year the Society of the Cincinnati partook their annual dinner at Baker's, and the tavern was for a time the starting place and terminus for the stages which ran to Greenwich village.[8] About 1815 a select circle of the handsomest and most companionable young men to be found in the City formed the Ugly Club with headquarters at Baker's Tavern.[9]

A modern dictionary defines a "porterhouse" as "a place where formerly beer, porter, etc. (and sometimes steaks and chops) were served."[10] By contemporary definition "porter" was "a kind of strong beer,"[11] "a kind of malt liquor made of high dried malt."[12] Originally porter was a blend in equal amounts of ale, beer, and twopenny (presumably a cheaper brew), called "three threads." About 1730 an English brewer named Harwood invented a liquor with the united flavor of the three combined, which he originally called "entire butt."[13] It later became known as "porter," since it was strengthening and much used by porters and working people. Modern dictionaries define "porter" as a dark brown beer resembling stout and made from charred or browned malt, or as a weak stout, originally a mixture of ale and stout.[14]

There is no indication in Joseph Baker's announcement of his opening of a porterhouse that porter was served, although we may certainly assume that it was, for that was presumably the prime function of a porterhouse. It seems that Baker's porterhouse probably served beer, ale, and porter, in addition to wine and stronger spirits. Thus we have to assume that "porter mugs" were simply used in porterhouses for serving beer, ale, or porter, and that the term arose from the growing popularity of the porterhouse at the turn of the century. Presumably there was no difference in form between mugs used for beer and ale and those used for porter, although Mary Bassett's ad does seem to indicate some difference between "porter" and "family" mugs. How the porterhouse differed from a tavern is not evident.[15] But we have a memory of it today in "porterhouse steaks," which are said to be so named from having been a specialty at a former New York porterhouse.[16] It is a choice cut of beef from between the tenderloin and the sirloin.

There is a possibility that the mugs used in

taverns in New York City were sealed. George Coldwell's 1801 advertisement said that porter and ale house keepers could be supplied with quart and pint mugs at the *statutable measures*. And in 1802 Coldwell advertised "quart and pint beer pots *just measure*," along with "Spirit Measures sealed from the gallon to half jill."[17] This probably means that the mugs held the correct quantity and would pass inspection with a sealed measure. But it could mean that the mugs were destined to be sealed.

There does seem to be evidence that these mugs simply held the *statutable* measure and were not sealed (by the pewterer at least). Henry Will placed the following advertisement in the *New-York Packet* in July 1786. "Pewter Wine Measures of all sizes, containing the exact quantity as is directed by a law of this State, passed the 10th day of April, 1784; are made and sold by Henry Will, No. 3 Water-street, near the Old-slip, New York, who has the new standard Measures for this State agreeable to which the above Measures are made."[18] It should be noted that Will did not say he was selling *sealed* wine measures; he said that the measures he was making *conformed* to the "new standard Measures for this State" (which *he had* and which we may assume were sealed). If wine measures could be sold on a guaranteed or warranted basis as holding the statutable quantity, so could tavern mugs. However, lest we confuse the issue, many other pewterers in addition to George Coldwell did advertise sealed wine measures. Francis (II) Bassett had "sealed wine measures" at the time of his death in 1800.[19]

In England it was customary to seal the pots (mugs) destined for public use from an early time. In 1423 the mayor of London decreed that retailers of ale should sell the same in "pots of peutre sealed and open" and that all retailers who had unsealed pots should be fined.[20] In 1696 a resolution was made in the House of Commons on behalf of the Tin Farmers of Cornwall to the effect "That for encouraging the consumption of Tin and advancing the price thereof no wine, beer, ale, brandy, rum or other spirits be sold by retail in any Tavern or other public house, but in sealed measures made of pewter."[21] The manufacture of mugs for English taverns amounted to a profitable volume of business. At the start of the eighteenth century, when glass and earthenware began to be used to some extent, the Pewterer's Company tried to procure an Act of Parliament to make it obligatory to sell beer, wine and spirits on draught in pewter measures which were sealed.[22] They argued unsuccessfully that glass and earthenware were not good measure. While the manufacturers of pewter mugs for public use in taverns in America must have enjoyed the same demand, we have no evidence that mugs were ever sealed.

We also have a well known New York pewterer who started operating a tavern. Cornelius Bradford, born in New York in 1729, advertised pewter ware from his father's shop in Hanover Square in 1752.[23] He left for Philadelphia shortly after, opening a shop there in 1753. His brother William was a newspaper publisher in Philadelphia and ran a tavern, the London Coffee House, which was a hotbed for patriotism. Cornelius returned to New York about 1770, and presumably opened up a shop (his father had died over ten years before). In 1772 he formed a partnership with Malcolm McEuen. Apparently in an attempt to emulate his brother, Cornelius purchased early in 1776 the Merchant's Coffee House, which had long been the business rendezvous of the city.[24] The term "coffee house" by no means meant that only coffee was served. The Coffee House became a headquarters for anti-British sentiment. New York was shortly to be drastically affected by the tide of the oncoming Revolution.

The British had given up their year long siege of Boston and sailed from Boston harbor in March of 1776. General Howe strengthened his forces and later sailed for New York, which he planned to capture, thereby cutting the Colonies in two. During the summer of 1776 an awesome array of British might converged on the lower Hudson River: an overwhelming armada of over 350 ships manned by some 10,000 sailors, with 32,000 disciplined professional soldiers (about 9,000 of them German mercenaries), and tons of supplies. In expectation of the attack General Washington had already begun moving troops into New York City in March of 1776.

On July 9, 1776 the Declaration of Independence was read in New York City for the first time. The jubilant patriots pulled down a statute of a mounted figure of George III, and later converted the 4,000 pounds of lead in the statue to musket balls. But even before the start of July great numbers of the inhabitants had left the city with their belongings, dreading the impending conflict. A letter of July 30th stated that it was surprising to see the number of empty houses in the city, the few inhabitants remaining being engaged in the service.[25] Another letter, dated August 9th, related that the whole city seemed infected, with a "horrid smell" in every street. A contemporary British document stated that nineteen-twentieths (95%) of the inhabitants had left before the entry of their troops on September 15, 1776. Added to the general calamity of war there was a devastating fire only five days after the British occupied the city. It consumed an extensive area between Broadway and the Hudson River—about half the city.

Cornelius Bradford abandoned his Coffee House sometime in the late summer of 1776, having run it only about six months. He spent the next seven years at Rhinebeck, some 80 miles up the Hudson River.[26] It seems virtually certain that all of the other New York pewterers also moved their shops out of New York well in advance of the British occupation of the city.

Certainly no pewterer would think of trying to operate in an occupied city during wartime, where the enemy would immediately confiscate his pewter metal to make musket balls (rather expensive ones at that). Henry Will had left the city by early 1776 and set up shop in Albany, N. Y., some 130 miles up the Hudson.[27] He apparently had prior connections in that city since he had joined the Tenth Albany Militia in 1775. Many members of the Reformed German Congregation (Church) to which Henry Will belonged also moved to Albany.[28] Henry Will returned to New York in 1783, having purchased property in August at No. 3 Water Street where he made pewter until at least 1793.

Frederick Bassett ended up in Hartford, Connecticut (90 miles northeast of New York) where he purchased a house in 1781.[29] He was still making pewter in Hartford in 1785 and did not move back to New York until early in 1786. We find his brother, Francis Bassett, in Montclair, New Jersey, only 15 miles west of New York City. From 1780 to 1783 he advertised in the local newspaper that he was making and mending pewter.[30] Presumably Francis moved back to New York shortly after the British evacuation in 1783. Malcolm McEuen undoubtedly went to Rhinebeck with Cornelius Bradford, since they were in partnership prior to the British occupation and immediately after the evacuation. McEuen was strongly patriotic, having burned some pro-British literature.[31]

The youngest New York pewterer, Peter Young (born 1749), was also fiercely patriotic, having been one of the first to take arms after the news of the battle of Lexington reached New York.[32] He probably went to Albany with Will, for he ended up permanently in that city after the war was over. It is interesting to note that the pewterers of New York relocated many miles to the north, east, and west of the city. We can assume that they had discussed the matter beforehand and agreed on the locations so that they would not be competitive with each other.

The peace treaty between America and Britain was signed in Paris on September 3, 1783. However, the British redcoats did not leave New York City until November 25, 1783. At that time American troops entered the city, followed by caravans of patriots returning to their homes. The returning residents found a badly deteriorated city. At least a quarter of the city, twice gutted by fires, was in complete ruin. The rest was shabby and neglected after seven years of British occupation. Streets and pavements were torn up, lamps shattered, and debris piled everywhere. Other residents did not wait for the British to leave and had returned soon after the peace was signed, or even before. Cornelius Bradford returned in October and took charge of the Coffee House again.[33] Shortly afterwards, in January of 1784, Bradford joined McEuen again in the city and they ran the following advertisement, which is worth publishing in full since it has obviously been missed.

"Cornelius Bradford and Malcolm M'Euen, Beg leave to inform their friends, and the public in general, that they have opened a plumber and pewterer's shop, at their House, No. 70 Water-Street, nearly opposite the Crane-wharf. Where they make and prepare hawser leads, scuppers, and all other plumbers work necessary for shipping. They also prepare trunks, spouts etc. for leading water from the roofs of Houses, and line cisterns with sheet lead. For distillers, they make block tin and pewter worms, hogshead and barrel cranes, etc. etc. For tallow chandlers and spermaceti works, they make the best double polished candle moulds of all sizes. They flatter themselves that their experience and determined intentions to use dispatch, will enable them to give satisfaction to those gentlemen, who may please to employ them on any of the above branches. They give ready money for old pewter and lead. Immediate attention will be paid to orders left with Mr. Bradford, at the barr of the Coffee-House."[34] Bradford died several years later in 1786 at age 57.

While the notice states that Bradford and McEuen opened a "plumber and *pewterer's* shop," it is evident that the emphasis was on plumbing serving other trades: shipping, distillers, chandlers, and house builders (and owners). Possibly they also made a line of pewter ware, but there is absolutely no indication of this in their advertisement. The shift from pewtering to plumbing is quite clearly indicated by a comparison of the 1784 notice above with the August 1772 advertisement announcing the formation of their original partnership.

"Bradford and McEuen, Beg leave to inform the public in general, and their friends in particular, that they have lately set up the Pewterer's and Plumber's business, at their shop at Peck's-slip, where they make and have for sale on the most reasonable terms, all kinds of pewter ware, viz. Dishes, plates, basons, teapots, quart and pint mugs, tankards, porrengers, cream pots, sugar dishes, slop bowls, half pint and gill tumblers, cullenders, bed pans, chair pans, chamber pots, wine measures, table spoons and many other articles in the pewterer's way, Store keepers in town or country, may be supplied with any quantity of the above articles, on shortest notice. They likewise make in the best and neatest manner, block tin and pewter worms for distilling, of any size; hogshead and bottle cranes, and candle moulds of different sizes. In the plumbers way they make and fix hawse leads, and scuppers, or any other lead work necessary for shipping, in the best manner, also leaden trunks or pipes of any size, for houses, and laying of sheet lead, and solder the same upon either roofs or gutters. Ready money given for old pewter, brass, or lead, or the same taken in payment for work. They flatter themselves that from their experience in the business, and their having a complete set of tools, and everything in order for carrying on

the same extensively, it will be in their power to give satisfaction to those persons who please to employ them in the above branches."[35]

In the first notice the emphasis is definitely on pewtering: they set up a *"Pewterer's* and Plumber's business" and listed at the start of the ad over 20 pewter forms. More interesting is the fact that they said they had a "complete set of tools, and everything" for carrying on the business. The 1784 notice does not list a single item of pewter ware except candle moulds, and makes no mention of a set of tools. The term "tools," of course, would include the moulds, which were made of brass (or bronze). Moulds for the pewter items listed would weigh hundreds of pounds. Do we see here an indication that the brass moulds went into the war effort, ending up as cannons? At any rate, it is evident that Bradford and McEuen were making little pewter ware in 1784. It has been suggested that Bradford probably did not spend much time either plumbing or pewter-making after 1775.[36] However, the 1784 notice clearly indicates that Cornelius Bradford remained active in the plumbing business right to the last, taking orders at the "barr" of his Coffee House. We may probably assume that he worked at plumbing when business did not require him at the Coffee House.

Cornelius Bradford only operated the Coffee House for about four years, but it was so famous before and after Bradford ran it that there are several illustrations of it. One, presumably from an early nineteenth century illustration shows

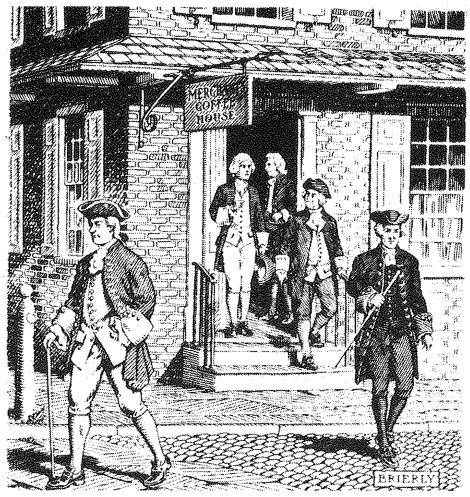

Fig. 2. Artist's view of the Merchant's Coffee House at about the period when Cornelius Bradford ran it. [*After Brierly.*]

Wall Street running from left to right across the foreground with Water Street running down to the water with ships docked at the wharf (Fig. 1).[37] The Coffee House is on the corner at the right. Bradford and McEuen's plumbing and pewterer's shop was "at their house, No. 70 Water Street, nearly opposite the Crane-wharf," so we may suppose that the shop was the end building on either the left or the right in the illustration. There is also an artist's view of the Coffee House at about the period when Bradford ran it (Fig. 2).[38]

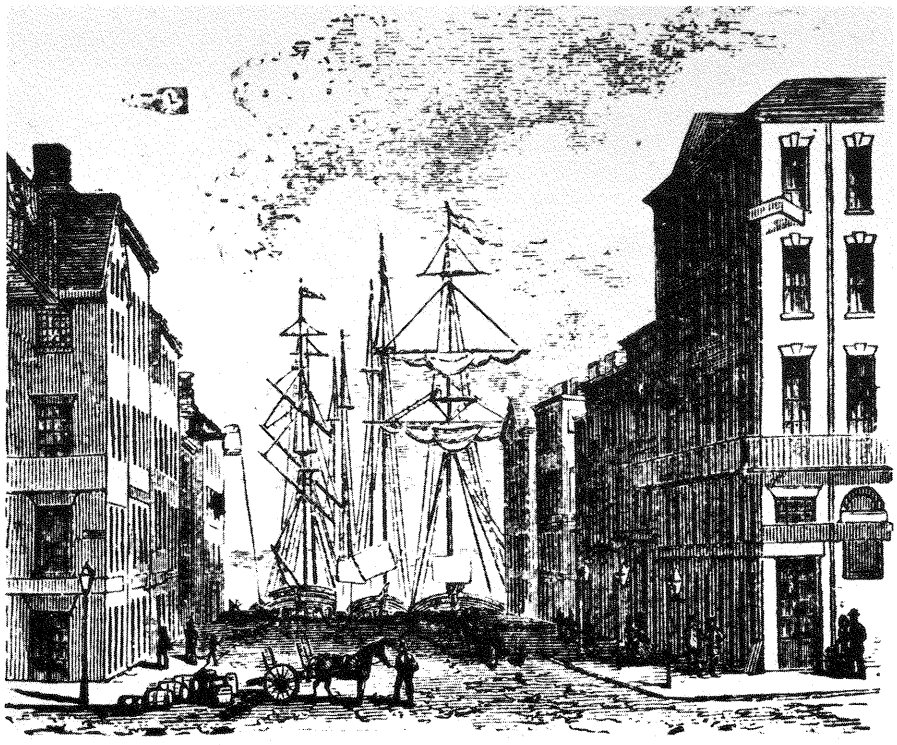

Fig. 1. Early view of Wall and Water Streets, with the Merchant's Coffee House on the corner at the right. Bradford and McEuen's plumbing and pewterer's shop was probably in either the right or left building on the waterfront. [*After Bayles.*]

It is difficult today to really picture true conditions in New York or any other large growing city even as late as the early nineteenth century. We are fortunate in having preserved a number of diaries of early travellers who described early conditions in New York.[39] One by a Scotsman, John Duncan, who visited New York in 1820, relates that the streets in the lower and older portions of the city were very narrow and crooked, and kept in inexcusably bad order.[40] Garbage and litter of every kind were thrown out on the pavement, where a multitude of hogs of all ages rioted in abundance. The foot walks were encumbered with projecting cellar doors and steps, lamp posts, pump wells, and occasionally poplar trees, and any open space was usually littered with barrels, packing boxes and wheelbarrows.

Another visitor in 1822 called New York "an overgrown country village" where the householders disposed of their refuse, garbage and ashes by nonchalantly shoveling and sweeping it to the middle of the street where it fattened the pigs until the city officials felt like removing it.[41] There were no sewers, each house having a pit. There was virtually no water supply, drinking water coming from numbers of wells with pumps in the streets. There were no lodgings or apartments, and the eight small hotels were quite inadequate. There were only three private coaches, and no means of getting about. There were no police in the ill-lighted streets, only a few non-uniformed watchmen each carrying a lantern on a pole and crying out the hours at night. In 1826, another Scotsman, James Stuart, indicated that the city did finally have a water supply, but it consisted of a limited amount of muddy water to about 2,000 houses. However, rain caught in cisterns was still depended upon in most homes. Today we loose sight of such conditions when looking at old "picturesque" views of cities, and especially when visiting the many reconstructed Colonial villages, which are clean almost to the point of being sterile.

* * * * *

"Pott" was the term used in England for drinking mugs (invariably of pewter) from early times. The famous English engravings of "Beer Street" executed in 1751 shows the pewter pot in all its glory.[42] This illustration was supposed to relate beer to the good things in life, in contrast to the evils of gin, which was shown in a companion engraving titled "Gin Lane." During the eighteenth century ale and beer were consumed in large containers on both sides of the Atlantic. The quart mug was the common size, but they also had half gallon pots and tankards called "pottles," after the half gallon measure of capacity, the "pottle." It is interesting to note that the word "pot" led to a number of words related to drinking which have survived to this day. The following words derived from "pot" are taken from Webster's unabridged dictionary,[43] and some indicate quite clearly that alcoholic consumption had its effects, and that beer drinking may not really have been one of the "good things in life."

to go to pot: to go to ruin, to become useless. (An 1813 American dictionary has: to be destroyed or devoured.)
to pot: to tipple (obs.)
potting: drinking, tippling (obs.)
potted: intoxicated, drunk
potty (from phrase "to go to pot" or notion of drunkenness): trivial, petty, slightly crazy (British colloquial)
potboy: a boy who carries pots of ale in a public house or inn, or a person who serves or cleans up there (chiefly British)
potman: a pot companion (obs.) or a serving man (waiter) in a public house (British)
pot companion: an associate or companion in drinking
pothouse: ale house or tavern, especially a disreputable one(British)
pot-valiant: courageous and valiant from drunkenness, heated to valour by strong drink

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New Members July 1, 1976 to February 28, 1977

Mrs. Buford H. Burch
1304 Corte Madera
Walnut Creek, CA 94598

Mr. & Mrs. Austin F. Canfield, Jr.
10910 Chandler Road
Potomac, MD 20854

Mrs. Janet Green
2716 North Nelson Street
Arlington, VA 22207

Mr. Richard J. Helphand
1225 Cortez Drive
Glendale, CA 91207

Mr. Stuart S. Holland
608 Transit Road
Victoria, B.C. V8S 4Z5, Canada

Mr. Henry Kaiser
Dr. Paula R. Kaiser
4015 Bradley Lane
Chevy Chase, MD 20015

Mr. Ralph Kovel
22000 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights, OH 44122

Dr. & Mrs. Henry H. Maimon
1101 Ridgeway Road
Dayton, OH 45419

Mr. David A. McConnell
27 Elmhurst Place
Cincinnati, OH 45208

Mrs. Joanne S. McManus
R.R. #1, Box 228C
Carmel, IN 46032

Mr. Thomas H. Newby
6812 Pinetree Circle
Columbia, SC 29206

Mr. Robert E. Putney, Jr.
1900 Hilltop Road
Jenkintown, PA 19046

Mr. Dennis A Rapp
28 Berncliffe Avenue
Albany, NY 12208

Dr. Thomas S. Schultz
225 West 71st Street
New York, NY 10023

Dr. & Mrs. Carl P. Sherwin, Jr.
Hyland Avenue
Woodbury, CT 06798

Dr. Oscar J. Sorenson
2621 El Greco Drive
Modesto, CA 95351

Mrs. Jean Haley Wilson
3601 Crescent Avenue
Dallas, TX 75205

A Moving Story

It is sad to relate that with each mailing of the P.C.C.A. *Bulletin* there are invariably upwards to twelve or more copies returned to the Editor marked "UNDELIVERABLE AS ADDRESSED." *Bulletins* addressed to any place within continental U.S.A. are sent via 3rd Class Mail, and as everyone may and/or should know, 3rd Class Mail cannot be forwarded to another

address to which a member has moved temporarily or permanently. Accordingly, a *Bulletin* that cannot be forwarded is returned to the Editor *at the Club's expense.* If the P. O. shows the new address on the envelope, the *Bulletin* must be put into a new envelope and remailed to the member. If no new address is shown on the returned envelope, a post card must be sent by 1st Class Mail (which can be forwarded) in search of the member's new address. On receipt of this information, the *Bulletin* is then remailed to the correct location. As can be seen, the procedure is not only costly, but time consuming, to say nothing about the long delay it takes before the member receives his *Bulletin.*

So PLEASE, when you have moved, or know you are about to move, drop a card to either the Editor or the Chairman of the Membership Committee (see addresses under the masthead), or to both as soon as possible. Your efforts will be greatly appreciated by all concerned.

An Unrecorded Basin by D.S.

by Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf

I recently had the opportunity to obtain the pewter basin shown in Figure 1. The overall dimensions are 6-5/8" in diameter, 1-5/8" in overall height, and a rim which measures 3/8" in width. On the reverse side is the D.S. angel with scale mark, No. L888, which is shown in Figure 2.

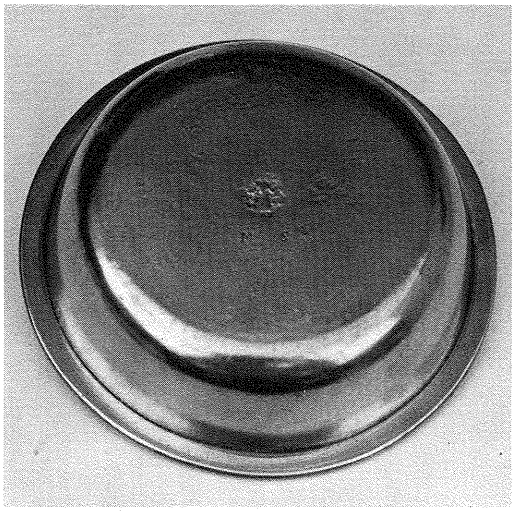

Fig. 1. Newly discovered basin by "D.S." discussed in the accompanying article. *Collection of the author.*

The mark shown above had previously been found on only two pewter sugar bowls, according to Volume III of Laughlin's PEWTER IN AMERICA. To my knowledge this is the first time that this angel and scale mark appears on another form of pewter. With the mark having been struck on the bottom of the basin, eighteenth century manufacture is likely.

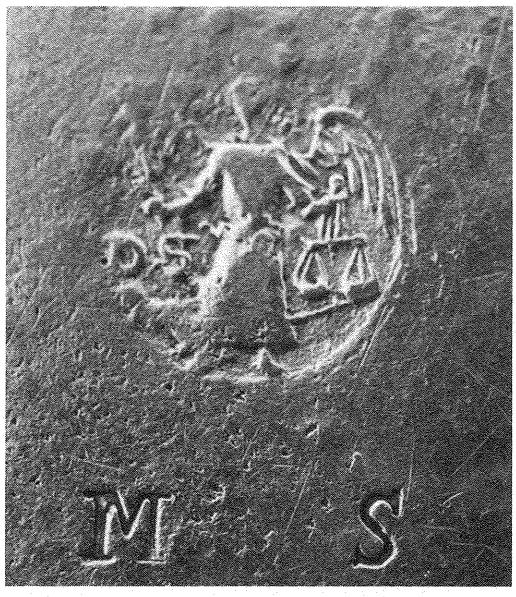

Fig. 2. Closeup of the D.S. Angel with Scale touch mark on bottom of basin shown in Fig. 1. The incuse "M.S." Initials are those of an owner.

Reviewing the available pewter literature reveals little about this Eastern Pennsylvania eighteenth century pewterer. It is felt that the D.S. hallmarks, the angel and scale mark, and the D.S. rose and crown, may have been used by the same pewterer. The D.S. hallmarks have been found in conjunction with the name touches of Cornelius Bradford in the late eighteenth century.

No further information at this point is available with regard to the D.S. mark, but this basin suggests that this American pewterer may have made more forms than had previously been ascribed to him.

The writer would certainly appreciate hearing from any other member who has further information about the D.S. marks.

Necrologies

Reports of the deaths of the following Club members arrived just before our publication deadline was reached.

MR. JOHN H. McMURRAY, who joined the Club in the late 1940's, passed away on February 8th. And MRS. FRED S. (Betty) DOWNS, a member since January of 1972, died on February 25th.

Our deepest sympathy is herewith extended to their surviving families. It is hoped more complete reports will be available for the next *Bulletin.*

A Real Trumpet Base Candlestick?

by Garland Pass

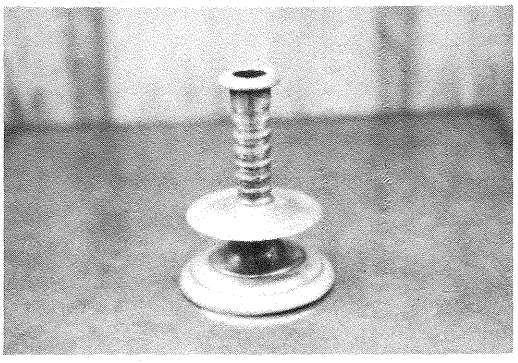

Fig. 1. The trumpet base candlestick discussed in the accompanting article. Its lead content is high, indicating it is not authentic and should be avoided by collectors.

The pewter candlestick shown in Figure 1 surfaced in Connecticut about two years ago and was thought to be a 17th century English candlestick of the trumpet base variety. The dealer who bought this candlestick from an estate found a very similar one illustrated in the book, *Candleholders in America,* by Butler. While the candlestick in the book is brass, the form was almost identical and was sufficient evidence to encourage the dealer to seek some expert opinions.

Now 17th century English trumpet base candlesticks are very rare and this rarity proved to be a problem. Over the next two years the candlestick was shown to four museums and numerous dealers and none could either confirm or deny its authenticity. All thought it "looked right" and none could point to anything specific that appeared wrong. The heavy weight bothered some but the base and stem were of thick cross section and it was difficult to judge if the weight was due to the pewter alloy or to the thickness of metal. There were traces of silver plating on the candlestick but much of it had been worn off. The silver plating bothered no one—hadn't a William Will tankard been found with later silver plating?—and all the wear appeared genuine.

When I first saw the candlestick everything except the weight looked right to me, too, but my experience with 17th century English trumpet base candlesticks was nil. Fortunately I knew that if anyone in this country had sufficient exposure to authenticate candlesticks of this type it would be Ian Robinson, a corresponding member of the British Pewter Society as well as a fellow PCCA member.

Robinson graciously agreed to look at the stick and upon examination felt certain that the candlestick could not be authentic because of the heavy weight, even allowing for the heavy thickness of metal. Mrs. Robinson contributed the observation that the thickness of metal was wrong, too, especially at the top lip which in authentic pieces is often found damaged due to the thinness of the metal. Additional evidence of the wrong weight came from tests on English pewter conducted at Winterthur Museum, examples of which appear in the catalog for the exhibit of English pewter at the University of New Hampshire, March 29-April 29, 1976. All 17th century items tested (other than measures) had tin content of more than 92% and lead content of less than 6%.

Robinson suggested the use of Archimedes' principles to obtain a good approximation of the lead content. I conducted this test (details are given below) and found the lead content to be 80 to 85%. This is 40 to 45% higher lead content than has been found in any English pewter tested to date. Several other negative clues were discussed including, (1) the absence of a maker's mark (many 17th century English pewter candlesticks are marked); (2) the presence of a "stop" or rest for the candle about 1" inside the socket (most authentic ones are hollow for the full length); and (3) no authentic pewter candlestick of the same form could be found in any reference material.

The candlestick may be one of Richard Neate's creations (a known maker of fraudulent pewter in England during the 1920's who often marked his items, "NR"). However if the silver-plating is original it may indicate simply a commercial reproduction of about 50 years ago. The circumstances surrounding this stick would not indicate that we are about to be flooded with them. But should another surface the dimensions are: height, 5 3/8"; base diameter, 3 7/8"; and weight, 1 lbs. 3 oz.

TESTING FOR LEAD CONTENT

The continuing publication of data on the composition of American and English pewter determined by the X-ray Fluorescence Analysis Methods developed at Winterthur Museum may make identification and authentication of pewter items possible within broad limitations of this approach. This method can identify every element in the alloy to an accuracy of 0.01%. But sometimes as in the case of the candlestick above, it is only necessary to obtain a good approximation of the tin-lead content. PCCA members will be happy to learn that anyone can perform a simple test for the lead content of pewter with equipment costing less than five dollars and obtain results within an accuracy of 2-3%. Knowing the lead content will give you a reasonably good estimate of the tin content.

The first step is to determine the specific gravity of the item. By definition, the specific gravity of an object is the weight of the object in air divided by the weight of an equivalent volume of water. Thanks to Archimedes we know that the weight of an object

in water is less than its weight in air by an amount equal to the weight of the volume of water it has displaced. Therefore,

$$\text{Specific Gravity} = \frac{\text{(weight in air)}}{\text{(weight in air) minus (weight in water)}}$$

Since the above is simply a ratio we do not have to invest in a fancy scale that weighs in fractions of an ounce or grams. In fact we do not have to invest in a scale at all. A very accurate balance scale can be made from a small carpenter's level, some string, a bit of cloth or cardboard and the weighing can be done with pennies.

The small level, 8-12" long, can be purchased for less than five dollars. I have seen foreign models for less than two dollars but you should check the accuracy of the bubble on the store counter before buying any model. The set-up is illustrated in Figure 2. Take care that the

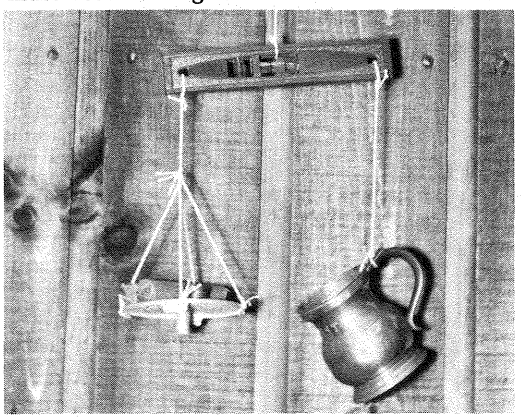

Fig. 2. Balance scale used to determine specific gravity of candlestick described in the accompanying article.

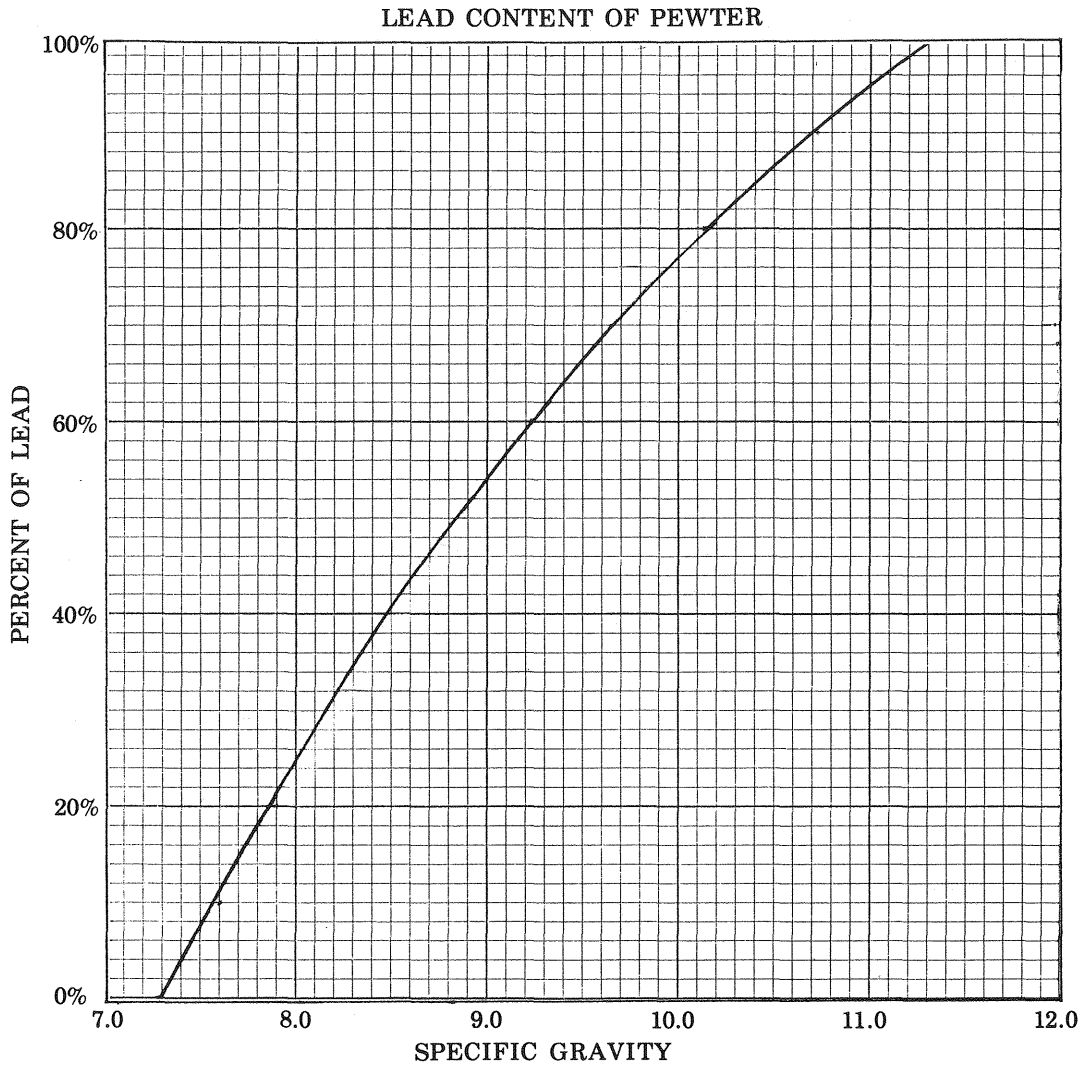

Fig. 3. Chart used to determine lead content in pewter objects by use of their specific gravities. *Adapted from graph in the book* TIN AND ITS ALLOYS *by Ernest S. Hedges. Published by Edward Arnold [Publishers] Ltd., London, England.*

supporting string is centered over the level bubble and that the end strings are equal distance from the center string. The pennies may be supported in a cloth pocket, a cardboard disc or an aluminum strainer from an old coffee percolator as shown. You will find it convenient to use pennies in rolls of fifty for the major portion of the weight. When weighing in water be sure that no pockets of air have been entrapped anywhere and that the object hangs free of the sides of the container.

In the case of the candlestick, the weighing yielded the following results:

$$\text{S.G.} = \frac{174 \text{ pennies}}{174 \text{ pennies} - 157 \text{ pennies}}$$

$$= \frac{174}{17} = 10.24$$

Entering this figure into the accompanying chart (Fig. 3) indicates a lead content of 82%. The chart is constructed on the simplifying assumption that pewter is composed of only varying combinations of tin and lead. This assumption will not cause much inaccuracy in determining the lead content since the average of the specific gravity of the two other ingredients of pewter (copper at 8.92 and antimony at 6.68) is close to that of tin (7.28). In most items tested by Winterthur the sum of the copper and antimony was less than 2%. In cases where either or the sum of both should approach 10%, the error in the lead content may exceed two or three percent, however few pieces of either British or American pewter have been tested that contain that much copper or antimony.

The reader should be aware of the limitations of this method. It assumes basically a tin-lead alloy with low percentages of antimony and copper. This would seem to be a safe assumption regarding fakes since copper in excess of 3% is detrimental to the alloy and antimony was not used in large amounts in the early and more likely faked items. And because of higher costs and higher melting temperatures there is no practical incentive for the faker to use high percentages of these metals.

While reasonably accurate within the above limitations, the method should not be used to try to determine the difference between 3% vs. 5% lead in an item. But it should be helpful in determining the difference between, say, 30% vs. 50% lead content. Even here one must be careful in jumping to conclusions. High lead content or lead content that is not in agreement with the Winterthur results is not cause alone to declare an item a fake. Exceptions to the Winterthur results do exist. However deviations may be an important clue. And since the case against a fake is usually built up from several clues rather than one certain fact, this method can offer supporting evidence. At least it may suggest a closer look and further investigation.

REGIONAL GROUP NEWS

The Fall meeting of the New York Regional Group of the PCCA was held on October 2, 1976. About 36 members and guests were greeted by Mrs. Peter Alderwyck in her home in Pittsfield, Mass. A fine display of a large pewter collection was enthusiastically admired and discussed.

Luncheon at the Country Club of Pittsfield was followed by the meeting being called to order by Vice-President Burt Zempsky in the absence of President Lois Holcomb.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and accepted.

Treasurer Bernie Hillmann reported a balance of $98.77 in the checking account and $880.95 in the savings account for a total of $989.72.

A question from the floor was raised about the use of the accrued monies. It was explained that this balance would be used for contingencies arising from meeting expenses, admissions, if part of a program, mailing and printing, etc.

Burt Zempsky announced that the Spring meeting of the New York Regional Group will be held on May 21, 1977—program and place to be announced. (See Masthead for further details. *Ed.*) There being no further old or new business, the program followed.

Burt Zempsky led the discussion of Sugars and Creamers and Salts and Peppers which were brought by several members. Bernie Hillmann's very unique "salt" was a major conversation piece, to be followed by more traditional salts of varied styles. The form of several pepper shakers was questions as to their origin —English or European.

Relative to the types of handles on sugars and creamers it was stated that it was difficult to attribute manufacture to any one person because handles were made in large quantities and used by many different makers.

The meeting was adjourned at 3 P.M.

Eleanor L. Wheeler, Recording Secretary

Pennsylvania [Fall]

The Pennsylvania Regional Group met on Saturday, November 6th, at the Old Covered Wagon Inn in Stratford, near Villanova, Pennsylvania. After a delicious luncheon a short business meeting was held. Action on the proposed Constitution was postponed until the spring meeting. The following officers were elected for two year terms; John Barr, President; Donald Fennimore, Vice-President; Charles Baughn, Secretary and Rachel McAvoy, Treasurer. It was decided to have a sales table at future meetings for members only. The meet-

Fine pair of pewter ewers from the Lorraine area of France, c. 1690, on display at the Pennsylvania Group's 1976 fall meeting. *Photo by Rachel C. McAvoy.*

ing then adjourned to the Conrad Wilson's home in Villanova where we were beautifully entertained. Mr. Wilson is Curator of the Chester County Historical Society. Their home is a Federal house containing a most interesting variety of antique furnishings, which for our visit were enhanced by lovely flower arrangements and a blazing hearth. The pewter collection was assembled by Mrs. Wilson's mother, the late Mrs. Dorothy Evans Copp. Among the collection are American and outstanding European and British pieces which produced favorable comments even from those devoted exclusively to American pewter. The accompanying photograph shows a pair of ewers from the Lorraine area of France circa 1690. Members are looking forward with renewed interest to our spring meeting.

Lola S. Reed, M.D.

Mid-West [Fall]

What a treat the 40 members and guests had at the October 22-23, 1976 meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio of the Mid-Western Regional Group. It was the epitomy of a good meeting; learning about pewter in an informal atmosphere.

Friday night, candlelight directed us to the lovely home of Alex and Georgiana Cook. Pictures of their home have appeared in numerous publications and it is even more charming to see in person. Every space holds objects to be admired from Georgianna's own hooked rugs to cupboards filled with pewter. There was something for the American, British and Continental pewter collector to covet. The warm hospitality extended was appreciated by all.

Saturday morning we started off with coffee and doughnuts in the Chester Park Railroad Station in the restored Sharon Woods Village. This 100 year old depot held our morning program. Welcoming remarks were made by Tom O'Flaherty. President Ed Burns conducted a short business meeting. A treasurer's report was given. New business included me officially getting the title of secretary of our Mid-Western Group. A discussion was held on hosting the national group in the Fall of 1978. A steering committee will be formed to decide location, etc. The next Fall meeting of our group in 1977 will again be in Flint, Michigan and Dr. Mel Wolf promises enough new acquisitions since the last meeting to interest members. No definite date has been set.

Following the business meeting, John Brown gave our group a quiz of 20 questions on Cincinnati pewter. If we had been graded by strict percentages, no one would have passed. The highest score achieved was by Susan Cannon of Chicago.

The answers to the quiz were presented in an informal and informative talk by John. Everyone felt that so much was learned from the lecture that John consented to write it up in an article for the Bulletin. Look for it in a forthcoming issue.

The quiz was followed by a tour of the Village. We regrouped at the Hayner House for a talk by Jim Parker on Cincinnati pewter brought in by our members. This also served as visual answers to some of our quiz questions. Jim's love and knowledge of this subject made him a perfect choice as speaker. He compared forms and many new discoveries were made.

Ace photographer Mel Wolf snapped enough pictures that another article with these findings will be reported in the Bulletin.

An auction of pewter brought in by members was conducted by Lewis Aronoff. It was a lively and humorous time. Bargains were to be had. The charge of 10% to the owner with a maximum fee of $5 netted our group over $30. This new idea of an auction was met with enthusiasm. It was more fun and successful than our Swap and Shop table.

Would you believe we accomplished all this before lunch! The Hayner House dining room housed our group for a delicious luncheon. Afterwards members dispersed but most could be found at the antique show that was in town.

That evening Tom and Ellen O'Flaherty hosted our group at their new home. Their Irish ancestry provided decorative accents. The focus of their pewter collection was Irish and English.

Everyone agreed that it had been a great meeting. Our thanks go to Lorena and Patty Ader, John and Lois Brown, Alex and Georgiana Cook, Andy and Janet Hauck, Tom and Ellen O'Flaherty, Jim and Soap Parker and Jim and Betty Sutherland. Your hard work resulted in an educational experience. All P.C.C.A. members will benefit from this meeting.

Bette A. Wolf, Secretary

Bulletin 73 Erratum

It is rare when an issue of the *Bulletin* is printed without any minor (or major) mistakes. Much care is taken to prevent such things. Unfortunately, they do occur once in awhile. For these, ye editor can only say "I am sorry."

In the last issue, in the caption to Figure 1 on page 152, Mr. Richard Mundey is identified as "a past Master of the Worshipful Company" of Pewterers. While he undoubtedly would like to be elevated to such a prestigious position, I feel sure he would prefer to be known correctly as only a "member" of said Company, and would like P.C.C.A. members to so amend their copies of *Bulletin* 73.

W.O.B.

Information Wanted

Our V-P, Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf, is researching pewter measures made by the Boardman Group. He believes he can produce some very interesting information provided he is able to obtain the following data from a sufficient number of these measures.

1). The measure's capacity (quart, pint, half-pint, etc.).
2). The maker's touch, if any, and its location on the measure.
3). The letters, initials and dates, if any, stamped on the rim or collar, and whether these are to the right or left of the handle.
4). Any other marks to be found on the measure, and their locations thereon.

One of the main objectives of the P.C.C.A. is to obtain and disseminate as much information every Club member is strongly urged to cooperate on this project. So PLEASE, *before you forget it,* if you own one or more Boardman measures, take pen in hand and send the above information on each such measure to Dr. Wolf. His address is:

1196 Shady Hill Court
Flint, Michigan 48504

When sending the information, please identify yourself because he does not want to record data on any measure more than once. It will be held in strictest confidence.

The Bookshelf

CONNECTICUT PEWTER AND PEWTERERS, John Carl Thomas, Hartford, Connecticut: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1 Elizabeth Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06105, 1976. VIII & 194 pp., illustrated, bibliography. Copies can be obtained from the Society for $15.00 each plus 60c postage and handling. Connecticut residents must add $1.05 (7% Sales Tax).

Following Ledlie I. Laughlin's long awaited third volume of *Pewter in America,* published in 1971, and Charles F. Montgomery's sensitive survey *A History of American Pewter,* published in 1973, the American pewter collector might well have asked "What else is there?" To that question, John Carl Thomas has addressed himself in a superlative effort. His book, of a convenient size and illustrated with numerous excellent photographs, is an in-depth and meticulously detailed study of Connecticut pewter from its beginnings in the 1730's through almost a century and a half to the 1870's. In it Mr. Thomas has addressed himself to both the recent initiate and the advanced collector. Beginning with a survey of the metal, its manufacture and marketing, the author moves briskly into a detailed discussion of the varied aspects of the pewter industry as it developed and was practiced in Connecticut. Following this, Mr. Thomas devotes the remaining three quarters of his book to the lives and work of Connecticut's pewterers; the bulk of which, as might be expected, were members of the Danforth family, which, without doubt, was one of the single most important and influential family dynasties ever to have worked in pewter. In all, Mr. Thomas discusses fifteen members of the Danforth family from Thomas Danforth I to Richard and Otis Williams; the former of whom, after marrying Thomas Danforth III's daughter, worked in partnership with him for a short time. This chapter is followed by another on "Other early Connecticut Pewterers," nineteen in all, including such notables as Jacob Whitmore and Joseph Belcher, Jr., to those whose productive career in Connecticut was negligible like Jethiel Johnson and Samuel Pierce. The book closes with a checklist of all known Connecticut pewterers, their working locations and dates and a selected bibliography of those publications pertinent to pewter in Connecticut.

This book is as carefully crafted and lovingly assembled as a Boardman and Company flagon. That its author is intimately familiar with the subject of the book and pewter in general, is obvious. Illustrative of this is a superb series of photographs accompanied with enlightening text outlining a logically conceived observation as to the use of the TD pseudo hallmarks through four generations of users, thereby allowing the pewter collector to date objects bearing those marks much more accurately than ever before. A similar insight is presented with the William Danforth eagle mark. Using microphotographs, he clearly points out alterations in the die from its first use about 1791 through an intermittent career to 1820. Most interesting is his argument as to different pewterers' idiosyncratic use of marking dies. For example, he points out that the work of Thomas Danforth II and his son, Joseph, can be identified by their having used "two strikes of the major mark [the

lion in gateway touch] placed close together and usually canted slightly outward from bottom to top, directly over the line of [TD] halfmarks [all] well centered and struck with a firm blow leaving strong impressions." By contrast, Jonathan and William, Thomas II's two other sons, "using only the gateway die, struck two impressions usually spaced further apart than those placed by Joseph . . . often not struck as firmly . . . and frequently with the die at an angle so as to leave one portion of the mark deep, and the opposite side weak or completely missing." Observations such as these are useful if one is to answer the myriad questions we have about American pewter. Beyond this immediate use, Mr. Thomas has presented us with a model of decorative arts scholarship—a method and approach which we would all do well to keep in mind in our studies.

Donald L. Fennimore

MORE PEWTER MARKS, compiled, produced, published and distributed by Christopher A. Peal, 12 Stratford Crescent, Cringleford, Norwich, NR4 7SF, England. Available in North America from Price Glover, Inc., 57 East 57th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022, for $25.00 postpaid.

The above book is truly a pewter collector's delight. Its 117 pages between two hard covers contain an enormous amount of new and additional information to supplement that in Howard H. Cotterell's *Old Pewter, Its Makers & Marks.* Publication of such a book has long been awaited by pewter enthusiasts both in Britain and the U.S.A.

More Pewter Marks, while basically in book form, is more of a notebook for collectors in that the text consists of but three pages—one for the Foreword, two for an Introduction. The balance of the pages contain sketches, line drawings, rubbings and photographs of touches, secondary marks and labels recorded and collected by Cotterell, A. V. Sutherland Graeme, Ronald F. Michaelis, Christopher A. Peal, and many other members of *The Pewter Society* of Great Britain since 1929 when Cotterell's *Old Pewter* was first published. Additional material has been furnished by the Society's corresponding members and a number of other individuals and institutions interested in British pewter. The format of MPM may well be unique. We doubt if such has ever been used before.

Most of this new information has never been previously recorded in print. Some of the marks are of pewterers who had not been "discovered" when *Old Pewter* was published. Some are "extras" for pewterers already listed. Some are clearer or more complete recordings of what have previously been illustrated. And others correct errors that unknowingly or unintentionally appeared in *Old Pewter.* Many initialled marks unidentified in the original volume have been identified. Some obscure marks and unidentified 'hall marks' have been assigned to their rightful owners. Others have been reassigned from one to another pewterer. And there are eight pages of marks known or believed to be fakes, a most valuable asset.

Comments accompanying the marks are brief but to the point, and for the sake of manageability, details are minimal. Cotterell's original numbers have been retained, with new marks "stepped in" where they most logically should be.

Over 1750 new or improved marks or identifications are shown. All the material on which the book is based is the property of, and has been copyrighted by, *The Pewter Society.* Mr. Peal has done an exceptionally fine job of organizing and collating the vast amount of loose material with which he had to work. Numerous problems had to be overcome in order to obtain uniformity in the reproduction of the several ways recordings were submitted—rubbings, drawings, photographs, etc.—and the tremendous amount of cutting, pasting, repasting and innumerable other details he had to contend with in setting up the material on each page is difficult to comprehend. He must have spent many long hours on the production—and probably many sleepless nights. In all of these he has been most successful.

As in any new venture, a mistake or two will appear here and there, but these are so few they cannot detract from the overall success and value of his grand contribution to pewter collectors everywhere.

Ample room on each page is provided for making notes and/or additions, while a number of blank pages at the end of the volume are available for one's personal notes and comments. Surely this latest book on British pewter is a "must" for all serious collectors. When combined with Cotterell's *Old Pewter,* the two contain the most complete information ever assembled on British pewter. I would like to recommend that in the future, items included in *More Pewter Marks* be referred to by their numbers preceded by the letters *"M.P.M."* (for example, *"M.P.M.*5441f"), as contrasted with *"O.P.*5441" now used as reference numbers in Cotterell's *Old Pewter.* Doing so will make it quite clear as to which book contains the desired information.

More Pewter Marks is an added tool not only for identifying the antique pewter of Great Britain, but also in distinguishing between British and American makers, their marks and their products. It should definitely be added to the libraries of all collectors, dealers, museums, historical societies, institutions and other similar organizations that have, or intend to acquire, a collection of pewter. Its initial reception in Britain has been highly complimentary.

William O. Blaney

MUGS AND TANKARDS, A Collector's Guide, by Deborah Stratton. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017. $9.95. This book also may be available through your local book store after the March 1, 1977 publication date.

Deborah Stratton is an English writer on antiques who is the current antiques columnist of the *Sunday Telegraph.* In addition to having been columnist for other antiques publications, Ms. Stratton has written two other books on antiques. Her latest book, *Mugs and Tankards,* combines an interesting story with the history not only of mugs and tankards, but also of ale and beer, the thirst quencher most commonly consumed from such vessels.

Ms. Stratton admittedly extends her field of coverage beyond those mentioned in the book's title by including flagons and measures both of which have functions duplicating or overlapping those of mugs and tankards. And she pokes a little fun at some people who like "to make mugs sound grander by calling them tankards," which, of course, tends to enhance their value. In fact, she is more American than British in her terminology by stating "In this book, then, a lidless drinking vessel with a handle is a mug, a lidded drinking vessel with a handle is a tankard, and a drinking vessel with a handle that once had a lid is a lidless tankard."

The title for Chapter One is "Beer and Britannia," a phrase taken from a question by the Rev. Sydney Smith (1771-1845) in his book *The Smith of Smiths;* namely, "What two ideas are more inseparable than Beer and Britannia?" Having thus established that beer (including ale) was the national beverage in Britain since the earliest times, Ms. Stratton then relates a rather fascinating history of its manufacture and use down through those many years. Much of this background and information on beer, ale, and the drinking thereof was obtained from Mr. Arthur Binsted of the (British) Brewer's Society.

Following the opening chapter are others dealing with the various materials from which mugs and tankards were made, such as silver, pewter, pottery, porcelain, glass, leather and wood.

Each chapter is well illustrated, there being some 175 illustrations in all. Unfortunately, at least for pewter collectors, the pictures of the majority of pewter pieces are much too dark, making it difficult to see many of the finer details referred to in some of the captions. This, however, could be the fault of the objects portrayed and not of the photographer, as quite a few of those illustrated appear to retain that blackish corrosive crust resulting from age and neglect which the British seem reluctant to remove in whole or in part from their prized possessions.

The chapter on pewter mugs and tankards amounts to but 22 of the book's total of 135 pages. However, pewter collectors will find that this chapter is mostly a transcription of information previously recorded by other writers on the subject. And it would appear that there are a sufficient number of errors and questionable statements therein to make one wonder if the other chapters are similarly inflicted.

The undersigned does not have the knowledge to properly review these other chapters, and sees no real reason to do so in a publication such as the Pewter Collectors' Club *Bulletin,* the primary purpose of which is to disseminate information relating to the making and marking of pewter.

Undoubtedly there are many pewter collectors whose fields of interest extend into other areas and for whom the chapters on silver, pottery, porcelain, etc. may have an appeal. So outside of the opening chapter, which is most enjoyable, it will be left to each individual to determine whether a copy of *Mugs and Tankards* is worthwhile to have in his or her library.

William O. Blaney

JUGS, A Collector's Guide, by James Paton. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017. $9.95. It also may be available through your local book store after the March 1, 1977 publication date.

James Paton, the author, was born in Scotland, educated in Lancashire, and has been a journalist on provincial newspapers before coming to London where he has worked for several different papers, his present connection being with the *Sunday Express* for whom he is an antiques writer.

The undersigned received a review copy of *Jugs* along with one for *Mugs and Tankards* (reviewed nearby). At first glance it did not seem suitable material for reviewing in a pewter publication because it included very little on jugs made of pewter. Also, the term "jug" is seldom, if ever, used to describe pewter vessels, the words "pitcher" and "ewer" being the more commonly refined terminology. One's immediate reaction to the word "jug" is aptly described in the unabridged edition of the Random House Dictionary (1966) where it is defined as "a deep vessel, usually of earthenware, with a handle and a narrow neck stopped by a cork" (shades of the comic strip character "Snuffy Smith" with his jug of moonshine resting on his shoulder or, more often, held to his lips). There are, however, more appropriate definitions of "jug" given that better describe the jugs discussed in the book. Furthermore, the text is so delightfully written and illustrated, the temptation to review it is overpowering.

In the review of *Mugs and Tankards,* the reviewer indicated his lack of knowledge of vessels made of materials other than pewter. The same holds true with jugs. So perhaps a limited de-

scription of the book's content will suffice.

Jugs were made from earthenware, stoneware, Mocha ware, pottery, porcelain, bronze, brass, copper, silver, pewter, leather, and glass (both cut and pressed), to name some of the materials.

There were beer jugs, cider jugs, water jugs, milk jugs, washstand jugs, coffee jugs, claret and wine jugs, plain jugs, highly decorated jugs, relief-mold jugs, glazed jugs, large jugs, small jugs, historical jugs, commemorative jugs, ugly jugs, magnificent jugs, and jugs for all occasions and purposes covering a period from the earliest days down to modern times. In all probability additional forms of, and uses for, jugs will be found in the future.

The only pewter "jugs" illustrated are two Jersey Channel Islands flagon wine measures and one English bulbous tavern measure with added frontal spout.

The author apparently has a special affection for jugs in preference to other forms of vessels. He writes "The cup, the drinking mug, the tankard—these are personal objects. But the jug is communal, something to be shared, a symbol of friendship."

After reading *Jugs*, one is tempted to start collecting a few examples. It must be a rather fascinating hobby. So to any P.C.C.A. members, who also are collectors of ceramics, glass, etc., or who have an inclination to do so, the book *Jugs* is recommended.

William O. Blaney

Information For Someone

by Stevie Young

Following the P.C.C.A. annual meeting in Hartford last October 16th, there was a discussion on pewter pieces brought in by Club members. Among these were two plates with very narrow rims thought to be marked with the name "TAVDIN." The owner of these plates, whose name unfortunately did not get recorded, believed these plates were English. However, I took rubbings of the marks and after returning home looked them up. In Tardy's POINCONS d'ETAIN the mark was found on page 185 and credit is given to "JONAS TAUDIN, maitre á Bordeaux, 1736." I was not surprised to find they were French plates as the form appeared Continental.

Woodman, Cook Co. Again

by Hill Sandidge

Reference is made to the article entitled "Woodman, Cook Co. Pint Mug" by Michael S. Osterweil in *Bulletin* 70, page 13. The accompanying illustrations are of a mug and its handle in our collection marked faintly on the bottom 'WOODMAN, COOK CO. / 322." Its dimensions are: height 4¼", top diameter 3 5/8", base diameter 3 3/8". Note the "P. B. Ale" incised in script on its side—actually on both sides. This indicates to me, at least, that the mug was used commercially in some way. The maker's mark is stamped in small capital letters after manufacture, but does *not* include "Portland, Maine" in the touch, as on Mr. Osterweil's mug. Other differences between the two mugs can be seen in the handle decorations, the thumbgrips and the lips.

Fig. 1. Late britannia mug of 14 oz. capacity by Woodman, Cook Co., Portland, Maine. Height 4 1/4", top diameter 3 5/8", base diameter 3 3/8". *Collection of Mr. & Mrs. H.H. Sandidge, Jr.*

Our mug was purchased from a Virginia dealer whose representative found it "in New England" (the only information available), so we feel it is the same company as listed by both Jacobs and Laughlin. The mug is somewhat similar to an unmarked R. Dunham mug, also in our collection, although it did not come from the same mold. Our mug has a capacity of 14 ounces, the same as that of Mr. Osterweil's. I hope the above will be of some interest to other members.

ED. NOTE.: *Since Mr. Osterweil's article, we have seen at least half a dozen mugs like his, but none like Mr. Sandidge's, which, with its more prominent lip and better designed handle, is, in our opinion, the better looking of the two.*

In Bulletin 72 (*page 113*) *reference is made to a pair of bulbous shakers marked by Stevens, Woodman & Co. of Portland, Maine and ac-*

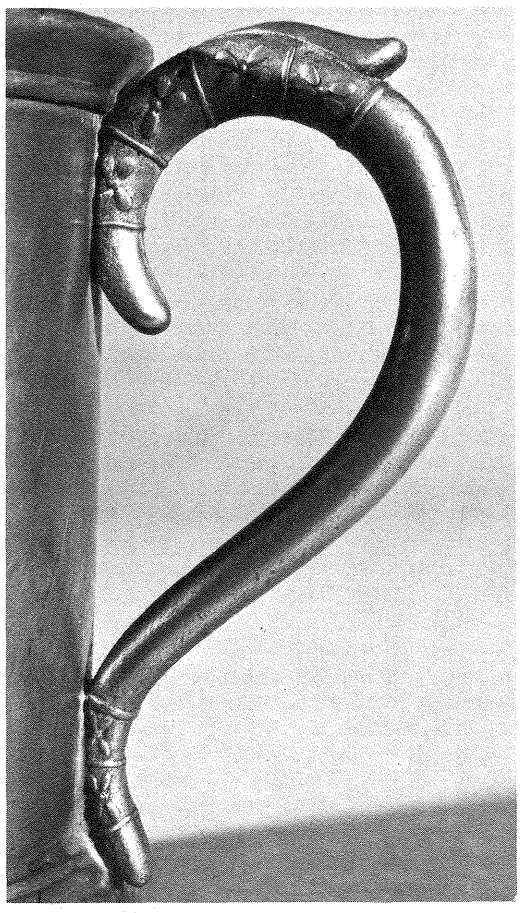

Fig. 2. Closeup showing details of handle on Woodman, Cook Co. pint mug more fully illustrated in Fig. 1.

companied by the statement that "According to 'American Silver Manufacturers' *by Dorothy T. Rainwater, said firm was in business for only one year; they were successors of Stevens & Smart in 1891 and succeeded by Woodman-Cook Co. in 1892." The only Portland City Directories in the Boston Public Library—those of 1885, 1886 and 1896—divulge that in the first two of those years the firm's name was Stevens, Smart & Dunham, composed of Alfred A. Stevens, Nehemiah Smart and Joseph S. Dunham, the latter undoubtedly a son or relative of Rufus Dunham (1815-1893) who fathered eleven children during his lifetime (* see Bulletin *19, pages 9-11). Woodman-Cook Co. is listed in the 1896 Directory as "silver plated ware and gold and nickel platers" and also "Britannia and plated ware mnfrs.," located at the same "444 Fore Street" as its precedessors.*

An attempt was also made to identify the "P. B. Ale" inscription. No Portland Brewery could be located, in fact, Portland had no breweries at all at that time, only a few "distributors" of more famous brands.

So the "P. B. Ale" inscription remains a mystery for future researchers to uncover, and any product marked with the Woodman, Cook Co. touch cannot as yet be classified as an "antique" because it must have been made in 1892 or thereafter and does not so qualify under Uncle Sam's 100-year-old requirements.

Richard Austin, the Association of Mechanics, and the George Washington Memorial Parade

by Elizabeth Ely

Pewterers' membership in the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association has been, heretofore, unrecognized. The Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association, formed in 1795, proved to be the champion of the tradesman and mechanical engineer. As the precursor to our modern labor union, it strove to protect and promote the interests of its members. The Association's activities were manifold. Above all, it attempted to come to grips with the faltering apprenticeship system which had virtually collapsed in the late eighteenth century. It sponsored lecture series and educational programs for its members, hosted honorary parades and festivals, and later held important and greatly publicized competitive exhibitions. Members were frequently outstanding local citizens holding important town offices, for the "mechanic" was held in high esteem throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Outside of Reed and Barton's participation, Roswell Gleason's, and that of a few other late britannia makers at these fairs, little is known of the earlier pewterers' participation in the Association of Mechanics. It is indeed significant and a tribute to pewterers that they belonged to such an illustrious organization. We learn of their involvement only indirectly, through their participation in an important parade.

Bostonians loved to celebrate—whether it was the floats and processions on Pope's Day; the festivities saluting the opening of a new structure, such as the Charles River Bridge; a parade to glorify the victory of a local naval officer or war hero; or a funeral in honor of a respected statesman or national figure. Some of the most important of these celebrations were the memorial activities surrounding George Washington's death.

Washington died on December 14, 1799. News of his death spread quickly throughout the nation, and plans were hastily made in each city and town to hold memorial services and parades. Because Washington's birthday fell not too long after his death, these commemorations often extended over a period of months and entailed

elaborate plans. The most significant of these ceremonials, of course, were held in the larger cities, such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The events themselves were well covered by contemporary newspaper accounts; so today we can easily recapture the tremendous sense of grief which swept through the country at Washington's death, and can learn about the individuals who participated in the different memorial activities.

In Boston, there were three funeral processions held in honor of Washington in 1800: a very large parade on January 9th organized primarily by the Association of Mechanics including different members of the local government and prominent townspeople, the military, lawyers and physicians, the clergy, the Society of Cincinnati, and tradesmen; another large parade on February 22nd involving virtually the same people; and a rather small, exclusive procession on February 11th organized by and including only the Masons. We are only interested for now in the two larger processions because among the most important participants were the "mechanics," Richard Austin, pewterer, being one of them. Since the parade on Washington's birthday was almost identical to the earlier one on January 9th, we shall only deal with the earlier one.

On Monday, January 8th announcements made by the Association of Mechanics appeared in the Boston *Independent Chronicle* and the *Columbian Centinel.* They advised the local citizens of the schedule of events, the proper line-up, appropriate dress, directions of the march, and other details. All business would be suspended for the day. Ships' sails would fly at half-mast. Those who marched were to wear a "crape or black riband on the left arm or elbow." The parade was to assemble at the new State Meeting House and proceed to the Old South Meeting House where the commemorative events (prayers, odes, orations, etc.) would take place. At the very end of the parade would be the "mechanic interests," arranged in alphabetic order by the President and Board of Trustees of the Association. It was not necessary to belong to the Association in order to participate in the parade. All mechanics were welcome to join. That these tradesmen were placed at the end of the line certainly does not mean that they were less in number or of less importance, for over 46 trades were represented, and 2,500 mechanics, it is reported, marched in the parade.

A standard bearer carrying a banner depicting his craft led each group. It would have been considered a great honor and privilege to have led one's trade. Richard Austin was the pewterers' standard bearer. Other, now well-known, standard bearers were Benjamin Burt, silversmith; and Simeon Skillin, carver. The flags which the standard bearers bore, according to the *Centinel,* were to have three sides edged with "black cypress gauze three inches deep"; they were to be fastened to the staff with three black bows, and the point of the staff was to be covered with "love"* ribbon. Because the flags themselves are lost, and because there are no more detailed descriptions of them in the newspaper accounts, it is impossible to tell exactly what each flag looked like, and more precisely, what symbol was used to represent each craft. The pewterers' flag owned by the New York Historical Society can only give us an idea of what Richard Austin's flag might have looked like.

Since there were so many mechanics marching in the procession, they had decided beforehand that they would take a second route to relieve the heavy pedestrian traffic in the streets. Since there would not be enough seats in the Old South Meeting House, they would forfeit attending the memorial services, thus freeing up any vacant seats for other townspeople. This sacrifice the *Centinel* stated was indicative of the "silent, dignified and respectful decorum which did justice to the sensibility of the Mechanics of Boston, in an attempt to evince their respect for the memory of the great, the good, and beloved WASHINGTON." Apparently there was some misunderstanding about the mechanics not being present at the funeral services, for an apology appeared in the *Chronicle* the following Monday (February 17th). The letter, written by an "independent tradesman" explained that they had not attended due to the inclement weather, the fear of "tumult" after waiting in line for three or four hours, and above all, out of respect for their fellow citizens. After parading the alternate route, the mechanics had been personally thanked by their president, Paul Revere, and then they retired to their homes.

In retrospect, the two memorial parades organized by the Association of Mechanics (only later known as the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association) underline the significant role of the tradesman in the early 1800's. These events give us insights into the wide range of activities and concerns sponsored by what may be seen as one of the earliest attempts to form a labor union and deal with an antiquated and obsolete apprenticeship system in this country. Richard Austin and Timothy Green joined the Association of Mechanics in 1800 and are listed as "pewterers." No other pewterers are recorded as ever having been members—a clear indication of the declining interest in that trade in the nineteenth century. Outside of Austin's participation in the two parades, nothing is known of these two men's other activities with the Association of Mechanics, or of any interrelationship between the two of them. By 1817, however, Austin was sharing a shop with Timothy's older brother, Samuel. The concurrent membership in 1800 of Austin and Timothy Green in the Association of Mechanics may point to an earlier business or trade association between Austin and the Green family than previously known.

* The newspaper print is unclear at this point, and it is difficult to tell exactly what type of ribbon is being referred to; nor have I been able to find any more information on this sort of ribbon.