The
PEWTER COLLECTORS CLUB of AMERICA INC.

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Royal Rosewater Dish

Possibly the earliest datable piece of Scottish Pewter — by Richard Weir 1605-1625. Article page 139.

BULLETIN 83
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The President's Letter

The spring meeting of the PCCA was held May 15-16 at the delightful and quiet village of Historic Deerfield Inc., Deerfield, Massachusetts. After renewing acquaintances and meeting new members, we divided into groups and visited houses in the complex. Our guides were very friendly and most accommodating.

Friday evening, we met at Motel 6 in South Deerfield for cocktails and dinner. We were pleased to have Peter Spang, curator and Nancy Bell of Historic Deerfield with us. Phil Zea, assistant curator, presented a fine slide presentation of the fabrication of pewter. He included the molds and tools of Samuel Pierce and then continued with a discussion of pewter in the Deerfield collection. Special mention should be made of their Henry Will tankard and quart mug, Boardman measures and unmarked tankards that most likely were made in the Boston area in the second half of the eighteenth century. Ben Esner brought his fine unmarked late eighteenth century coffeepot for discussion.

The next morning we continued visiting houses and were able to see many of the pewter pieces shown in Phil Zea's lecture.

At noon we had a white bag luncheon at the Community Center after which we held our Annual meeting. It was reported that our financial condition is sound; we have 611 members and the dates of future meetings were announced. The fall meeting will be held October 23-24 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I'm really looking forward to that meeting. Honorary membership was bestowed upon Mr. Birger W. Bruzelli, a member of our club for many years and considered by many to be the Ledlie Laughlin of Swedish pewter. Five year badges were given to those members present and the club acknowledged the gift of a book on British pewter from Mr. & Mrs. Paul Young. In the regional group reports, it was noted that the former Pennsylvania group has enlarged its scope and is now called the Mid Atlantic group.

Dr. Melvyn Wolf presented the Nominating Committee's slate of officers.

President, Dr. Donald Herr
First Vice President, Mr. Burton Zempsky
Second Vice President, Dr. Jack Kolaian
Secretary, Mr. Robert Horan
Treasurer, Mr. Merrill Beede
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It was voted to accept the slate. Jack Kolaian is our newly appointed Program chairman. Web Goodwin, Ralph Schauer, Ben Carde' and Mel Wolf will continue as chairmen of their respective committees. Dr. Lola Reed has accepted the chairmanship of the nominating committee.

Continuing our tour of the house museums, we were delighted to be permitted to handle several pewter pieces in Memorial Hall. It was pure pleasure handling one of their double-handled cups by Robert Bonynge. They have four!

Following dinner, Ben Carde' and John Carl Thomas listed the many spurious marks and pieces that they had seen and discussed those brought by members. We left with an increased knowledge of what is on the market--place in the way of "wrongies".

Our special thanks to Burt and Ellen Zempsky for all of their work in arranging a delightful meeting.

Donald M. Herr, D.V.M.
President

Regional Group News New England (Spring)

The New England Regional Group Spring meeting was held Saturday, May 30 in Woodbury, Connecticut. Members gathered at 10:00 a.m. at the manufacturing facilities of Woodbury Pewterers. Our hosts, Ray Titcomb and family conducted a tour and gave us a fine demonstration of the modern art of pewter manufacturing, which in many ways hasn't changed over the centuries. Members were encouraged to try their hand at spinning with pretty good results. Polly Ingham made it look easy, putting the good Reverend's efforts to shame. The Titcomb's were gracious hosts and topped the program off by giving everyone a pewter key chain bearing the PCCA emblem.

We moved on to the Curtis House, Connecticut's oldest Inn for lunch and socializing. Our President, Paul Glazier, convened the meeting with thirty-six in attendance. The Treasurer's report was accepted as read, reporting we are solvent. Some discussion of increased dues, regional and national produced no recommendation. Concern was voiced by a few that issues of the Bulletin sent to libraries not include the membership list. It was questioned if any effort is being made to ask national members to join regional groups. Paul Glazier will follow-up. Members were asked to consider changes in the Standing Rules to allow more than two successive terms for Treasurer and Secretary. A recommendation will be brought back to the membership. Wendell Hilt reported for the nominating committee the following slate of officers:

President — Paul Glazier
Vice President — Charles Adams
Secretary — Ron Chambers
Treasurer — Wayne Hilt

The slate was elected as proposed. Special thanks to Paul Glazier and Mark Anderson for their efforts on behalf of the club were expressed. Paul thanked Mark for the fine job he has done as Program Chairman. We then moved on to a discussion of "Teapots of the Inverted Mold Type" which was led by Paul Young. Twenty-five pots were on display of a variety sufficient to illustrate the point. One interesting form was the use of a teapot body with handles, made up into a waste bowl. Although unmarked, the body and handles were apparently Richardson. At the conclusion of the program the meeting adjourned with members agreeing it had been another fine day of learning and a social success.

Ron Chambers, Secretary

Kudos

My experience is that gratification is absolutely enhanced by recognition of labor, effort, and accomplishment.

With that "sage" remark, I go on to say that I cannot cease to marvel at the time and effort of those who contribute research articles to our Bulletins and to the Journal of the Pewter Society (London).

Their findings are of inestimable value, for which we all should be grateful.

Little is it realized, unless you've done it (and I've been there!), that what we see in final form, doesn't happen from sudden inspiration, nor produced overnight. In-depth comments, the compilation of recorded findings, sometimes takes weeks and months. Handwritten articles which seem so very lengthy to the writer, in review, after typing, are disappointgly short, albeit satisfying.

Contrary to general impression, as I said above, books and articles are not produced by sudden inspiration, but rather by the seat of the pants glued to the seat of the chair — first for the research, then for the transcription, then the re-write followed by the re-re-write, — and always with the realization that if there were only "more time", the item could or would be shortened.

Naming names is always dangerous for fear of the omission of some good people who deserve and merit mention, but the names which quickly come to mind — John Carl Thomas, Ada Stevens (Stevie) Young, Charles (Bud) Swain, Wayne Hilt, William (Bill) Blaney, Richard Bowen, Ian Robinson, Mel and Betty Wolfe, Webster (Web) Goodwin — they all have our thanks.

Q.E.D., Abe Brooks

Necrology

ROBERT VIEWEGH

Robert Viewegh, 67, Indianapolis, president of J. H. Viewegh Co., Inc., died September 24, 1981 in Methodist Hospital.

Viewegh had been president of the 58-year-old family steel wire products manufacturing business since 1950.

He was a member of Castleton United Methodist Church, Rotary Club, Indiana Historical Society, Indiana State Museum Society and Decorative Arts Society.

He was a life member of the Indianapolis Musicians Union and treasurer of Mud Creek Players Association and was active in several national historical preservation societies.

Survivors — wife Evelyn; daughter Arlyne Springer; brother Ernest; sisters Dorthy Maines, Janet Krueger.

JOHN P. REMENSNYDER

As we go to press, we have been informed of the death of Past President and Honorary Member John P. Remensnyder. Complete details will appear in the Spring Bulletin.

W. Goodwin, Editor

Bookshelf

Exhibition Catalogue

In the fall of 1969, the (British) Pewter Society staged a pewter exhibition at the Reading Museum and Art Gallery to celebrate the Society's 50th Anniversary. To accompany the exhibition, the Society published a catalogue entitled EXHIBITION OF BRITISH PEWTERWARE THROUGH THE AGES FROM ROMANO-BRITISH TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

During the early 1970's, the undersigned obtained for the P.C.C.A. a supply of these catalogues for sale to club members. The catalogue was reviewed in *Bulletin 61,* and a notice of sale appeared on page 25 of *Bulletin 70.*

Strangely, but perhaps typical, the undersigned recently discovered he still had about 25 unsold copies stashed away in his basement, all well preserved and accompanied by a later printed "AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS" sheet.

As the profits from the sale will benefit the P.C.C.A. treasury, it behooves the undersigned to sell the remaining copies and make final settlement with the club treasurer.

The catalogue is very well put together, lists well over 300 items on exhibit, and illustrates, with excellent photographs, some 60 of the more important pieces. Sections on Britannia metal, fakes and reproductions, and a bibliography are included.

While the catalogue probably will appeal more to collectors of British pewter, of which there are a growing number amongst our membership, those who concentrate on American pewter may find helpful hints to guide them in their future searchings for their ultimate desire.

The price is right — $1.00 including postage and handling. How can anyone go wrong! Send check payable to William O. Blaney, 15 Rockridge Road, Wellesley Hills, MA 02181. First come, first served, so don't delay.

Auxiliary British Marks With Kings' Initials

By Stevie Young

There is a group of auxiliary British marks which bear initials placed each side *close to the juncture of the crown/rose devices,* indicating the reigning king, not the maker. It would appear that only a king's initials could be placed as close to the crown/rose as these. As one of these auxiliary marks — bearing G R — was tentatively assigned to George ROSS by P.5882, it is well to identify the various kings' marks, removing any temptation to consider the initials those of makers.

Four marks whose frames closely fit their devices, causing the initials to be in 'ears':

1) C. 857, C R (Charles Rex II, 1660-1685), found with the touch of John CAVE, Bristol, c. 1650-1690.
2) P+2886, C R (Charles Rex II, 1660-1685), found with the touch of Thomas LEACH, London, Y.1677-1691.
3) C.5949, C R (Charles Rex II, 1660-1685), found with the touch of T.S., c. 1660.

4) C.-P.5882, G R (George Rex I, 1714-1727) — 'c.1690' under C.5882 is too early for this king's touch.

Marks whose frames are ovals:

5) P.5879a, C R (Charles Rex I, 1625-1649; note that this mark appears with the 'Arms of Charles I' (text).

6) P.5888a P.5435b (transferred in the direction of the arrow), I R (James Rex II, 1685-1688), found with C.5435b, I.B., c.1670-1690.

7) P.5909b, W R (William Rex III, 1689-1702), found with displayed bird, similar to that in the 'SUPERFINE HARD METAL' touch of C. 152, Joseph Austen. (Frame uncertain but seems oval.)

An oval mark with LONDON below the rose:

8) P.4263, W R (William Rex III, 1689-1702, found with the touch of C.4263, John SHOREY, London, Y.1683-c.1728.

An oval mark which may have LONDON below the rose:

9) P.4021, (?G) R (probably George Rex II, 1727-60 &/or III, 1760-1820) found with touch of C.4021, William ROGERS, Cork, 1758-d.1781.

Consideration of the working period of the maker and the reign of the king will more closely date the period of a piece.

Mark References:

C. = *OLD PEWTER — Its Makers and Marks* by H. H. Cotterell

P. = *MORE PEWTER MARKS* by C. A. Peal

P+ = *ADDENDA TO MORE PEWTER MARKS* by C.A.

More on George Coldwell

By Ellis Whitaker

The cover picture of the PCCA Bulletin for December 1969 (v. 6, p. 25) illustrates "a tea caddie, with brite cut decoration, by George Coldwell." (This also appears in Laughlin, v. III, plate CIII, fig. 823; and an almost identical piece is illustrated in fig. 824.)

Illustrated herewith is a third caddie, (Fig. A) different in several respects, yet with sufficient similarities to warrant its comparison with the other two examples; it was acquired as part of the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Charles B. Graves of New London, Connecticut, many years ago. Its dimensions compare with those of the Laughlin examples as follows:

	---------Height---------	
	with cover	without cover
Laughlin	5-1/2″	3-5/8″
Graves	3-7/8″	3-3/16″

	Overall length	Overall width
Laughlin	5″	3-1/2″
Graves	4-1/2″	3-1/4″

The construction of the cover is obviously quite different from that of the previous pieces; their ornamental knob is replaced by a thimble-like cap conforming in shape to the proportions of the body of the caddie, and fitting very neatly over a similarly shaped collar; the cap is engraved with wriggle-work on its top, and with a single stippled line around the top on the side; the flat top of the body itself is also engraved. The two sides of the caddie are engraved with identical medallions, in one of which is the cipher "BC". But it is in the bands of engraving which appear at the top and bottom of the sides that it most closely resembles the illustrations in Laughlin. It bears no maker's mark, but there is a single letter, which may be interpreted as an L or, possibly, an imperfect T, in the base. (Note that the caddie in fig. 824 is attributed to Andrew Thompson, 1811-1817, of Albany.)

Comment is invited.

Editor's Note:

The reader may wish to refer to Stevie Young's article "Products by 'Coldwell' ", Page 95 of the last "Bulletin" for more information on G. Coldwell.

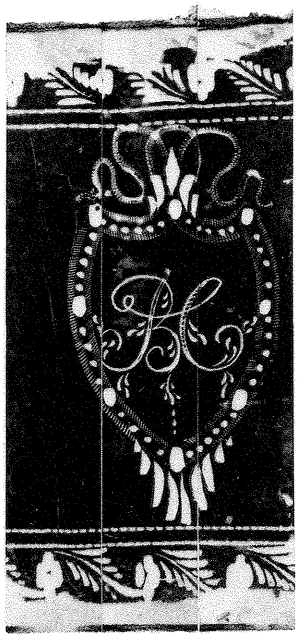

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 1. Side view of caddie, showing engraved cipher "B C".

Fig. 2. Detail of engraved banding at top and bottom of side of caddie.

Fig. 3. Detail of engraving on top of caddie lid.

Fig. 4. Detail of engraving on side of caddie lid.

Fig. 5. Detail of engraving on top of caddie.

Fig. 6. Incised mark on bottom of caddie.

NOTE: All figures are actual size.

The Britannia Makers of Malden, Massachusetts

by Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

The town of Malden, Massachusetts, is about four miles north of the center of old Boston. There were four men living in Malden during the first half of the nineteenth century who made britannia ware. These were Timothy Bailey, James H. Putnam, Thomas Smith, and David B. Morey. The first two were associated in the firm Bailey & Putnam with a shop in Malden while the two latter formed Smith & Morey in 1841 with a shop in Boston. Charles L. Woodside wrote an article about these four men and the two companies they formed, but he never wondered if Thomas Smith and David Morey could have been associated with either Bailey or Putnam prior to 1841.[1] He noted that Morey had married Bailey's daughter, but he assumed that any connections were purely social, saying only that "the community of interest among these people must have been close and strong".

The ages of these men varied greatly and their dates of birth will be helpful in viewing the situation.

Timothy Bailey was born in New Hampshire in 1785.

James Hervey Putnam was also born in New Hampshire, in 1803.

Thomas Smith was born in England in 1791.

David B. Morey was born in Malden in 1807.

This immediately shows us one interesting fact: the junior partners were both about 17 years younger than the senior partners.

Timothy Bailey was born in Westmoreland, New Hampshire, on September 20, 1785. Westmoreland is on the Connecticut River 16 miles north of the Massachusetts border. It is four miles east of Putney, Vermont, where Roswell Gleason was born in 1799, but there is no significance in this fact since Gleason was only in Putney a few years before his family moved much farther north to Topsham, Vermont. Timothy Bailey was the eleventh in a family of twelve children. His father was a farmer like the majority of men at that time. At the age of nine Timothy went to live with an uncle who was a cordwainer (shoemaker) in Tewksbury, Massachusetts (20 miles northwest of Boston). A check of the 1790 *Massachusetts Census* for Tewksbury shows that there were four Bayley (Bailey) families living there. We may suppose that Timothy's family had left from that area to settle on the Connecticut River in New Hampshire. Timothy was supposed to learn his uncle's business and eventually take over. However, this did not work out and after nine years Timothy rejoined his father who had moved to Andover, Massachusetts (six miles northeast of Tewksbury).

In 1805 Timothy was 20 years old, and having secured his time by paying his father $40, he went to work on the farm of Dr. Adams in Lynnfield, Massachusetts (five miles west of Beverly). In the summer of 1806 he suffered a severe sunstroke which rendered him incapable of manual labor, from which he did not fully recover for several years. Through an acquaintance at Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, Timothy became a school teacher and obtained a job teaching at Dracut (eight miles west of Andover). However, the pay was poor — $14 a month —and the season short. Since the income was not enough to support him he looked for other work.

In 1807 Timothy Bailey accepted an offer from Burrage Yale, the tinware maker of South Reading, Massachusetts (present Wakefield), to become a peddler for his wares. South Reading is about 11 miles south of Andover and the same distance from Tewksbury. Yale was actually a contemporary of Bailey since he was only four years older, having been born in Meriden, Connecticut in 1781. Yale had peddled tinware before he attained his majority. At his majority in 1802 he settled in South Reading and soon after began *making* tinware. When Bailey went to work for Yale, Yale had only been in business for himself for five years. He worked for Yale for eight years. During this time Bailey walked beside his horse which pulled a small two-wheeled cart all day, hot or cold (except in the cold of winter) to average 2000 miles a year.

The above account of Bailey was summarized from Woodside's article. Part of it appears

to have been written by Timothy Bailey himself. Unfortunately, there is no indication of the source of any of the material in Woodside's article. Woodside lived in Malden and said that most of the four men lived in the immediate neighborhood of his home. Possibly he found the information locally. Some of the vital information he gives is not in the published Malden vital records.

According to Woodside, Timothy Bailey left the employ of Burrage Yale in 1815 at age 30 and set himself up in business in Roxbury, Massachusetts, making and selling tinware. In January 1817 Bailey married Eunice Sweetser (born in 1796) of South Reading, at Roxbury.[2] She was 21 years old and Bailey undoubtedly met her while working for Yale. In November 1817 a daughter, Maryanne, was born to Timothy and Eunice Bailey in Roxbury.[3] In 1819 he moved to Malden where he opened up a tinware shop and remained until his death in November 1852 at age 67. It seems strange that Bailey would start a tinware shop in Roxbury, three miles south of Boston and 14 miles south of South Reading. One could suggest that he wanted to get on the other side of Boston from Burrage Yale, but then he later moved to Malden which is only five miles south of South Reading. It is also difficult to see how Bailey could open a tinware manufactory when he apparently had absolutely no experience in the fabrication of tinware. It is more reasonable to suppose that he went to work for a tinman in Roxbury, learned the trade, and left to set up shop for himself in Malden.

Bailey's first wife, Eunice, died in February 1833 six days after the birth of their seventh child, Joseph Henry, who died two days after Eunice. Timothy then married Mary B. Dingley (born in 1800) of Lynn in November 1833. They had one child in 1838 and Mary died in December 1840. Timothy married Mary's sister Nancy B. Dingley in May 1842;[4] he was then 56 years old.

James Hervey Putnam was born in Charlestown, New Hampshire, in 1803, the son of David and Hannah Bailey Putnam, according to Woodside. His mother was a sister of Timothy Bailey who was therefore young Putnam's uncle. Charlestown is on the Connecticut River about 17 miles north of Westmoreland, where Timothy Bailey was born. The 1820 and 1830 *New Hampshire Censuses* (the Federal censuses compiled every ten years) list a David Putnam at Charlestown. However, the 1800 and 1810 *New Hampshire Censuses* indicate that he was living in Croydon, 20 miles northeast of Charlestown, so James H. Putnam was probably born in Croydon but later lived at Charlestown. The David Putnam of Charlestown was last listed in the 1830 *Census*. There are two David Putnams in the 1840 *New Hampshire Census*, but neither of these is the Charlestown man.

Since the David Putnam of Charlestown disappears in New Hampshire after 1830, a search was made in the Massachusetts Federal censuses. There is only one David Putnam in the 1840 *Massachusetts Census* and he is listed at Danvers. This man is also listed in the 1820 and 1830 *Massachusetts Censuses,* so it is not the New Hampshire man. The 1850 *Massachusetts Census* lists a David Putnam in Malden, but it is difficult to believe that it was James Putnam's father, who would have been around 70 years old then. At any rate, Putnam's father, David, was still in Charlestown, New Hampshire, in 1830 and did not appear in the *Massachusetts Census* in 1840, so the family did not move to Malden in the 1820's as Woodside suggested.

Woodside assumed that James H. Putnam served an apprenticeship to Timothy Bailey because he was a nephew. This seems reasonable; Putnam was probably sent from New Hampshire to work for his uncle, just as Timothy Bailey had been sent from New Hampshire to work for *his* uncle. When Putnam attained his majority and completed his apprenticeship in 1824 Bailey had only been in business in Malden for five years. James Putnam married Mary Hill of Malden on June 8, 1826 and they had eleven children from 1827 to 1849.[5] Putnam died in May 1855 at age 52.

We know that Timothy Bailey and James H. Putnam were in partnership for some period of time only because of the existence of britannia ware stamped with the mark BAILEY/&/PUTNAM. Woodside said that he fixed the date of the partnership tentatively about 1830 to 1835 for two reasons. In the first place, it could not have been before 1824 when Putnam reached his majority, and probably was a little after this. Secondly, it could not have been after 1836 when the Massachusetts Census (a local state census) showed that

there were two tinware shops in Malden employing 20 hands and producing $31,000 worth of goods. Bailey was a tinman and undoubtedly Putnam spent his apprenticeship learning to make tinware. The appearance of well-made britannia ware marked BAILEY/&/PUTNAM soon after Putnam completed his apprenticeship is puzzling. There is the possibility that Putnam served his apprenticeship with or worked for a britannia maker somewhere in New England and came to work for Bailey later, but there is no evidence to even hint this. There is a more reasonable explanation to be found in some of the other personalities in Malden.

Thomas Smith was born in England in July 1791 and would have reached his majority in 1812. The first record we have of him or his family in Malden (and America, for that matter) is the marriage of his son Thomas, Jr. to Sarah Upham on June 24, 1834. Woodside said that the senior Thomas married Sarah Upham; he would have been 43 years old then and his son about 21 or 22. However, the Malden vital records list three births to Thomas Smith *2nd (Jr.) and Sarah*: Sarah Matilda, November 2, 1834; Martha Ann, July 15, 1836; and Mary Jones, September 11, 1838.[6] Thomas Smith, Jr. had been in Malden many months before his marriage as his first child was born only four months after he was married. This would make us feel that Thomas, Senior had settled in Malden with his family by 1833 and possibly earlier.

The 1840 *Massachusetts Census* lists two Thomas Smiths in Malden, confirming the supposition that there were two there in 1834. Efforts to determine if the Malden Thomas Smith was in America in 1830 are made difficult by the fact that there are 27 Thomas Smiths listed in the 1830 *Massachusetts Census*, none being in Malden. One would like to know something about Thomas Smith's English background. In Sheffield, England, James Dixon (born in 1776) finished his apprenticeship around 1797 and worked for several others before starting on his own about 1804. In 1811 he took in as a partner a Thomas Smith.[7] This partnership, under the trade name of Dixon & Smith, lasted only until 1822. It was pointed out above that the older Thomas Smith of Malden would have reached his majority in 1812. He could have gone to work for Dixon at age 20 or the date of birth Woodside found could have been off a couple of years. I have not been able to determine if Dixon's partner left Sheffield sometime after 1822. If he disappears from Sheffield he may well have gone to America. There is one argument against this. Many of the wares of Dixon & Smith were made from stamped britannia metal which had been produced on rolling mills. If the Malden Thomas Smith had worked with Dixon, we might expect him to introduce stamped products made from rolled metal at Bailey & Putnam. There is no evidence of this.

Forgetting Thomas Smith's background for the moment, we have an Englishman in the small town of Malden in 1833 at age 42. Inasmuch as he later founded a britannia ware manufactory he must have been working in some allied shop in Malden. The only one was Timothy Bailey's tinware shop located in the buildings attached to his house. Thomas Smith may have been just an immigrant "hand" who obtained work in a tinware shop, but one has the feeling that his presence was for the introduction of britannia ware. As we have seen, Bailey & Putnam terminated their partnership about 1835 and Putnam opened up his own shop. Since Bailey apparently did not make any britannia on his own after 1835, Thomas Smith (and son) probably went with James H. Putnam. He would have stayed with Putnam about six years until he formed Smith & Morey.

David B. Morey was the youngest (only by four years) of the Malden britannia makers. He was born on May 6, 1807. He did not marry until he was 35 years old. On May 9, 1842 he married Almira Bailey, daughter of Timothy. This would have been a year or two after he founded Smith & Morey with Thomas Smith. David B. Morey apparently moved to Charlestown, Massachusetts, as the 1840 *Massachusetts Census* lists him in that town. The Malden vital records list the death of two of his children as follows:[8]

George Garrison Morey of David & Almira died Aug. 9, 1844, age 1 yr 4 mo, born Boston.

Wendell Phillips Morey of David & Almira died Feb. 14, 1847, age 1 yr 1 mo, born Charlestown.

On April 1, 1848 Elias H. was born in Malden to David and Almira Morey. The first death indicates that Morey may have

been back in Malden temporarily, but did not move back to Malden permanently until 1847. David B. Morey apparently lived in Charlestown (this could be considered "Boston") from 1840 or before until 1846. He moved there before he was married. Charlestown is just to the north of Boston and separated by the Charles River. The first location of Smith & Morey was just across the river from Charlestown, so Morey's house in Charlestown was only about a half mile from the shop. The fact that Morey was in Charlestown in 1840 or earlier may mean that Smith & Morey was founded in that year or possibly earlier. The date 1841 has been established by the first mention of the company in the *Boston Directories*.

David B. Morey attained his majority in 1828. As he was a co-founder of Smith & Morey he must have worked for Putnam to gain his experience. It hardly seems that he could have been apprenticed to Timothy Bailey, since James Putnam had just finished his apprenticeship with Bailey. He probably worked for Putnam after Putnam went into business for himself. He could have worked for him five years or so before Smith & Morey was founded.

In summary we see that Timothy Bailey started as a tin peddler and eventually opened up his own tinware shop in Malden in 1819. James Putnam was probably apprenticed to Bailey and learned the tinware business, completing his apprenticeship around 1824. Sometime after this, possibly around 1830, Putnam went into partnership with Bailey. Thomas Smith may well have introduced the manufacture of britannia ware to Bailey & Putnam. Bailey and Putnam ended their partnership about 1835 and Putnam set up his own shop in Malden. Thomas Smith went with James Putnam, and his son Thomas, Jr. probably also joined Putnam. David Morey also came to work for Putnam and learned the britannia business. Around 1841 Thomas Smith and David B. Morey founded Smith & Morey with the plant located in Boston. Smith commuted the four miles from Malden to the plant, but Morey bought a house in neighboring Charlestown where he lived for a few years before moving back to Malden.

There is one other element entering into the Malden picture. It has been shown that George Richardson worked for Burrage Yale in South Reading from 1831 to June 1833 when Luther Boardman went to work for Yale.[9] After Richardson left Yale he eventually went to Cranston, R.I. to run the Glennore Company which was founded in 1839. He could have come to Cranston as early as 1836 when the property was originally purchased by the Glennore Company owners before the formation of the company. Richardson's whereabouts from 1834-1835 is thus not known. It is possible that he was working in Malden for Bailey & Putnam. This statement is based on the fact that there are several britannia teapots with G. RICHARDSON and the BAILEY/&/PUTNAM marks whose bodies appear to have come from the same moulds. Some may feel that I am using Richardson as a *deus ex machina* to solve many of the problems in the development of the britannia industry. However, in a later installment on the "G. Richardson Problem" the evidence to show the connection between Richardson and Bailey & Putnam will be presented.

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2. *Ibid.* The *Vital Records of Roxbury: Marriages* (Salem, 1926) indicates that the intentions were filed in November 1816 at Roxbury.
3. *Vital Records of Roxbury: Births* (Salem, (1925)
4. *Births, Marriages and Deaths in Malden to 1850* (Cambridge, 1903)
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. J.C. Scott, *Pewter Wares from Sheffield* (Baltimore, 1980), p. 40.
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Two Small Scottish Measures

The two measures illustrated in Figure 1 are the property of the Braintree (Massachusetts) Historical Society where I recently came

Fig. 1 Two small Scottish measures.

across them while cataloguing the Society's pewter collection. As a collector of measures, I was impressed by their unusual form, especially that of the left-hand one. But it was the right-hand one which soon gave me the inkling their shape was very similar to the famous Scottish tappit-hen style of measure.

Each is impressed with a Scottish verification seal, and both bear a "1/4 Gill" capacity mark. While I knew some other forms of Scottish measures were made in 1/4 gill capacities, I did not realize the tappit-hen form of measure was ever made in that small a size. In fact, I cannot recall seeing any reference in print to that effect.

The left-hand measure appears to be the older of the two and shows considerable wear, tear and evidence of repairs. Its condition is such that I dare not risk suggesting it ever had a collar and/or handle. About half way up its outspreading neck is a "1/4 GILL" capacity mark, with the "GILL" being within a serrated rectangular border (see Fig. 2). Above this mark may be a verification seal, so worn it can barely be seen or identified. I thought it might be the upper part of a post-1879 seal with a crown separating the letters "VR" or "WR." Whatever it was, much of the lower part has been filed off and over-stamped with

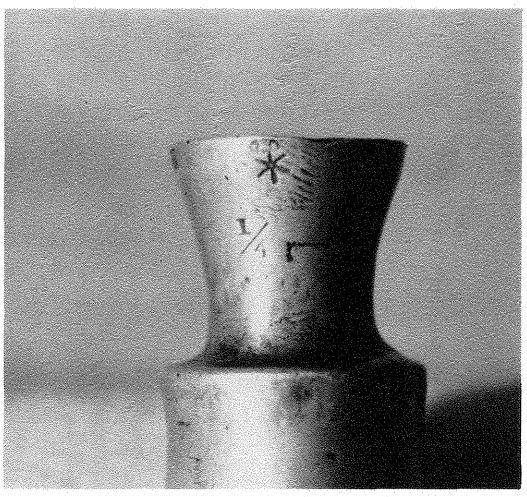


Fig. 2 Mark on left measure in Fig. 1.

a six-pointed star mark similar to an asterisk (*). Ian D. Robinson, a local authority on British pewter, believes this latter mark is a "cancellation" mark used to recant a previously approved verification seal, but he has no evidence to prove it. If true, it is possible the measure's brim or collar may have been filed down to adjust its capacity to a smaller Imperial (1826) standard. To the left of this mark, and just below the measure's brim, is a very small pre-1879 verification seal of a tree with hanging bell within a shield-shaped border (see Fig. 3), the seal of Glasgow City, measuring about 3/32" X 4/32".

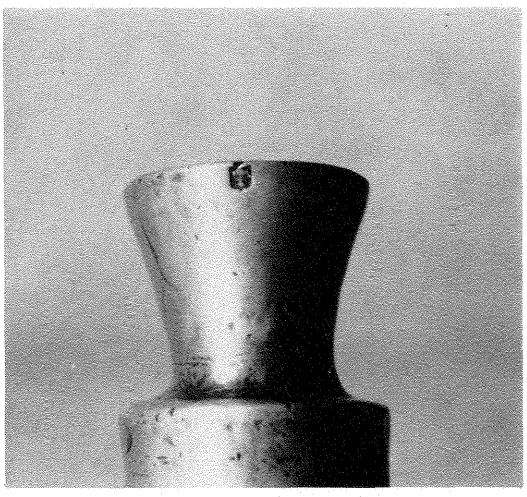
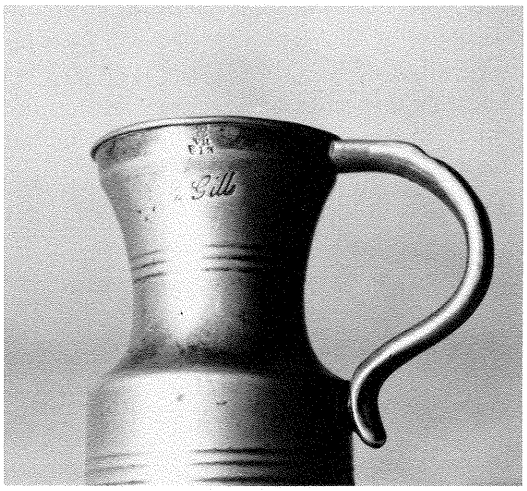


Fig. 3

The right-hand measure has both a lipped collar and a solid handle. It bears a *"1/4 Gill"* capacity mark in italicized numbers and letters, just below the collar and to the left of the handle (see Fig. 4). Above this, and on the



collar, is a post-1879 verification seal of a "Crown" over "VR" over "213." The "2" is questionable, but I am convinced it is a "2." If so, it is the seal of the Borough of Greenock, some twenty miles northwest of Glasgow. Triple incised bandings embellish the center of the lower cylindrical half of the measure, as well as around the concave portion of its neck.

Mr. Robinson was most intrigued when shown the two measures. He agreed they look like a diminutive size of the Scots tappit-hen. The only similar measures he could recall were in the British pewter exhibition in 1974 at the Currier Gallery of Art in Manchester, New Hampshire, and were listed on page 24 of the Currier's catalogue *BRITISH PEWTER, 1600-1850* as follows:

"77. PAIR LIDLESS MEASURES. Imperial quarter-gill. Capacity to lip 36 c.c., no plowk. Handleless. VR/36 Glasgow City mark, on rim. This and the shape, which strongly suggests the tappit-hen, indicates Scottish origin. Height 2-3/8". 19th century."

Unfortunately, these measures were not illustrated in the catalogue so no comparison with the Braintree pair could be made. Measurements of the latter are:

	Left Measure	*Right Measure*
Height	2-1/8"	2-9/32"
Top diameter	1-1/4"	1-11/32"
Bottom diameter	1-7/16"	1-7/16"
Capacity		
Imperial	1.25 fl. oz.	1.25 fl. oz.
U.S. or O.E.W.S.	1.2 fl. oz.	1.2 fl. oz.
Metric	36 cc. or ml.	36 cc. or ml.

While there is a quarter-gill measure under the Scottish standard of 0.94 Imperial fluid ounces, the Scots also had another measure, called the "Nip," equal in capacity to the Imperial quarter-gill.

One wonders why the Scottish quarter-gill measures of Imperial capacity, especially in the tappit-hen form, are so scarce — and rare. Did the Scots consider this size too small a portion for their healthy thirst? Or could these measures have suffered the same fate as the equally famous Scots thistle measures? A 1907 law required all measures to empty completely when titled to 120 degrees. The thistles did not meet this requirement, so most were destroyed. If my tests on the Braintree pair are accurate, they, too, do not completely empty when tilted to 120°. So no matter how many of these quarter-gill tappit-hen measures were made in Scotland, it would seem the vast majority must have fallen prey to inspectors' hammers, or been forced to return to the melting pot, leaving the rare examples which escaped the tilting test in the hands of a fortunate few.

My thanks to Ian Robinson for some of the information recorded above.

William O. Blaney

Royal Rosewater Dish Returns to Scotland

The National Museum has just purchased, from an antique dealer in Belgium, a fine, early pewter Rosewater dish marked with the arms of James VI of Scotland and I of England. (Fig. 1)

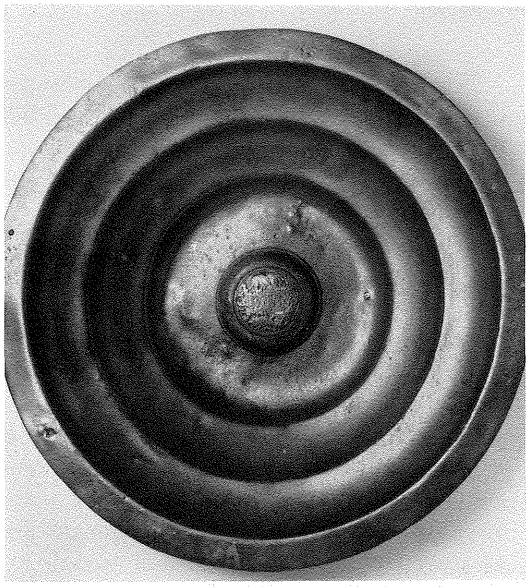


Fig. 1. Royal Rosewater Dish — Possibly the earliest datable piece of Scottish Pewter - by Richard Weir 1605-1625.

Pewter, an alloy of tin and lead, has been used in Scotland for making domestic and other utensils since Roman times, but it is very rare to find datable pieces before 1700. This dish, which dated to 1603-1625, may therefore be the earliest datable piece of Scottish Pewter.

It is 17-1/2″ in diameter and 3″ deep with a raised central boss inset with a brass and enamel plaque bearing a royal coat of arms. This type of dish was possibly used at the dinner table to hold scented water for the diners to wash their hands, at a time when the fingers were still the main means of conveying food from plate to mouth. There are other known examples of basins, with accompanying ewers, for this purpose although they are of gold and silver.

The pewter Rosewater dish is of particular interest since we can be precise about its date and place of origin. On the rim is the "touch" of the Pewterer who was Richard Weir, who was working in Edinburgh from 1597 onwards. (Fig. 2) A pewterer's "touch" was his individual mark, in this case "RV" (for W) and the date when he became a master and opened his own shop, 1600, which he punched on items made by him.

Figure 2. Touchmark of Richard Weir, 1597- on rim of early Rosewater Dish.

That this was an important dish is made clear by the brass and enamel central plaque, depicting the coat of arms of James VI and I (1567-1625) together with the letters "I R" from Jacobus Rex. (Fig. 3) They are the style of arms used by James after 1603 when he ascended the throne of England. The dish may even have been part of a Royal table service and James himself could have used it to wash his grubby hands — a useful utensil indeed for a king who was not noted for his personal hygiene.

Fig. 3. Brass and Enamel central plaque in the Rosewater Dish.

We can identify the maker because Richard Weir's touch is included on two Edinburgh Touch Plates, also in the National Museum. These pewter plates are stamped with the

touches of the numerous pewterers who were freemen of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen between 1600 and 1764. The pewterers were one of several craft guilds, including clockmakers, locksmiths and gunsmiths, all of whom used a hammer in their work, who made up this Incorporation. We are not sure exactly what purpose these touch plates served. They may have acted as a record of pewterers belonging to the Incorporation or as a guarantee that anyone placing his touch on the plate was binding himself to use metal of a specific quality in his work. But at any rate they form an invaluable historical record of the marks used by early Scottish pewterers, paralleled in Britain only by the Touch plates of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London.

It is exciting and somehow appropriate that these plates, which have been in our national collections since 1870, have helped to identify the maker of a dish in which Jamie the Sext may have washed his hands.

This important piece of Scotland's heritage, now back in its native land, can be seen in the Ground Floor Gallery of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

G. Dalgleish,
Research Assistant
National Museum of Antiquities
of Scotland

Note to Editors:

Further details may be got from George Dalgleish, tel (031) 556-8921 Ext. 272.

The National Museum is open from 10 am to 5 pm, and on Sundays from 2 am to 5 pm, admission free.

A New Short Chalice by Boardman

Whenever one thinks he has found something quite unique, it becomes apparent in a relatively brief period of time that this indeed is not the case. Recall from the last *Bulletin* the description of the short Boardman chalice with the banding, a form which we had not seen previously. No sooner had that article been sent for publication when we had an opportunity at a local country auction in Ohio to purchase the chalice shown in the center of Figure 1. It stands 4-13/16″ high, has a top diameter of 3-5/16″ and a base diameter of 3-1/8″. It also has a very small raised band around the lip measuring 1/8″ in diameter.

Fig. 1. Short Chalice by Boardman — Center.

Fig. 2. Stems of Boardman Chalices.

Compare it with the recognized taller Boardman chalices to the left and right which stand 5-1/4″ tall, 3-1/2″ in diameter at the top, and 3-1/8″ bottom diameter. If one notices the similarity of the stems in Figure 2 they are exactly the same. The cup of the chalice is the same as the taller ones, but it appears to have been cut off approximately 1/2″ below its usual height. The flared top, which I suspect is done with a chuck rather than in a casting technique, is absent in the new example.

The chalice is unequivocally of Boardman manufacture and should be added to our armamentarium of Boardman chalices.

Bette A. and Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D.

The Marketing of Pewter In Seventeenth Century England

By Peter Hornsby

Throughout the period of this study, the export from England to the Colonies of tin or unworked pewter was discouraged and this held back the natural development of a local pewter industry. Yet we now know that in most of the early colonies there were pewterers at work, usually trained craftsmen from England. It appears most likely that they will have both offered for sale the very considerable quantities of pewter than being brought into the Colonies from the main English centres of London and Bristol as well as some pewter worked by them from old metal.

Without damaged and used pewter coming back onto the market it is doubtful if the American pewterers would have made anything like the progress that they did until much later in the eighteenth century. The habit of selling back to the pewterers worn or damaged pewter or as a contemporary record puts it "bruised" pewter was common not only in the colonies but back in England.

In Tudor times the old pewter was bought back at 2d a lb and new worked pewter averaged only 4d a lb. During the seventeenth century the value of old metal rose in relationship to the newly worked goods and thus margins for profit and wages were steadily eroded. By the late seventeenth century, old wills and inventories, recently analysed, show that on average the second hand price of pewter alloy was between 9d and 11d and new pewter was about 14d a lb.

The offer in the eighteenth century by an American pewterer to give a lb of newly worked pewter for two pounds of old metal was not therefore very generous. We do not know at what rate the Colonial pewterers bought back the old metal but they were in a relatively strong position, and probably did not offer too good a bargain. What else were you to do with your useless pewter if not sell it back to the only local man offering anything for it. The flood of pewter which was to come into the colonies from the United Kingdom, whilst it held back local development on the one hand, was to provide the material on which the American industry could be built in the absence of local tin.

In the late seventeenth century the pewter bought in the Colonies is most likely to have been made in England and exported by general merchants to be sold either in specialised pewter shops in the main towns or offered by general traders throughout the colonies.

To that extent the patterns of marketing in Britain and the Colonies will have differed. Much more pewter will have been sold by general dealers in America than in England. The problems of distance were that much greater and most pewter must have found its way to the market place by ship. The importance of local fairs in the Colonies was less than in the home land and this is another way in which marketing of pewter would have differed on the two sides of the Atlantic.

Yet with all these differences I suspect that there were many features in common: the comparative smallness of the stocks, the need to order much from other better equipped pewterers locally and overseas and the necessity for most potential buyers to make journeys to suitable retail outlets.

Nearly all the early colonists were of British stock and their patterns of buying would have been established originally in England and what they sought would have been similar in the colonies as to what they would have attempted to buy in England.

For these reasons whilst the marketing of pewter in England and the Colonies would have differed, a study of how pewter was sold in seventeenth century England will cast some light on what may have occurred in the Colonies and will help to set the context in which pewter found itself in the last years of the reign of Charles 11.

A great deal is now known about the pewter used in the seventeenth century, its makers and its social role. Much less has been learned about the way it was bought and sold.

We are accustomed to easy access to shops. Most small towns can offer a considerable variety of goods but if what you are seeking is not available locally, a journey can easily be made to a larger town or city. Our forebears faced very different conditions.

Travel was slow and hazardous, and local

shops existed in most villages only for essentials. Just how would a man have gone about buying a garnish of pewter in the late seventeenth century? If you had lived in one of the great cities such as London, York, Norwich or Bristol, your task would not have been too difficult as there would have been several pewterers working within the city bounds, each selling from their own premises. Advertising, other than by word of mouth, was uncommon so the choice would have been based on the pewterers standing within the community; his reputation, perhaps his Church membership or his role in the affairs of the town. When you found your way to the pewterers premises you would not have found anything like the shops in which we now trade. City shops had developed during the middle ages from market stalls. As late as 1500 most craftsmen would have lived in a small house, carried out their trade on the premises and then taken their product to the local market which would then have been sold from a stand or booth. Little selling was done outside the market in the early medieval period but gradually the traders who owned or were able to rent houses around the market began to operate from their own premises, at first probably only on market days but as trade expanded they would have found it worthwhile to offer their goods daily. Thus the temporary tables and awnings of market day gradually gave way to permanent shops.

Most markets specialised in selling the day to day products required on a wide scale; such as food, cloth, candles and ale. What we would term consumer durables were mostly bought and sold in fairs rather than in local markets. The exceptions would have been in the large cities where the demand for such goods, silver, gold, copper, brassware and pewter would have been great enough to support regular shops from an early period. There was a tendency for areas of the market to be devoted to different trades. The Butchers congregated together in what was often called the "shambles", grain was sold from the "Corn market", cattle or sheep were sold from the "Sheep streets", hay from the "Hay markets", etc. But few towns would have been of sufficient size to allow the establishment of specialised market areas for pewter so that whilst some towns do have their "Silver street" outside London, it is unlikely that pewterers would have congregated together in any special street or market area. In London there is some evidence that that East Cheap did contain several pewterers but there were many others trading from other parts of the city. Outside the large cities, most country towns would, by 1650, have had one or two local pewterers at work.

We have but little idea of what a city or town pewterers shop would have looked like before the eighteenth century. We do know that most shops were small. Shops in Medieval Oxford were on average 8 feet wide and this appears to have been the general pattern. It seems likely that most pewterers sold their wares from the front room of their homes, using the back of the house and outbuildings as their workshops. Few pewterers would have employed more than one or two journeymen and the same number of apprentices. In the large cities such as London and Bristol the display of pewter would have been extensive. The famous oil painting of Bristol Quay which shows Richard Going's shop is indicative of this, but smaller town pewterers would have had much less impressive stocks. There are no English contemporary illustrations of pewterers shops as far as is known but an interesting Dutch print shown above gives probably a very good idea of what the better off pewterers shop would have looked like during the late seventeenth centure. (Fig. 1) In

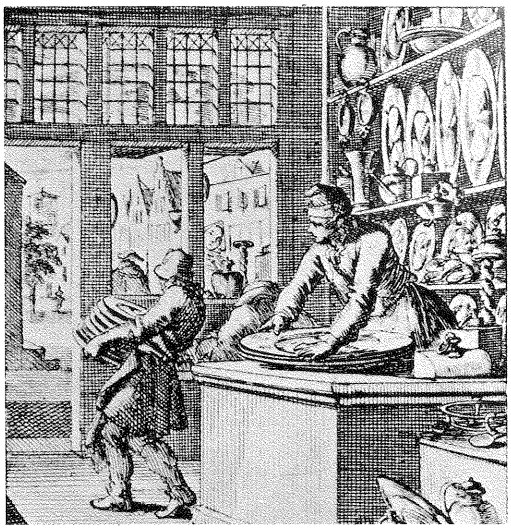


Fig. 1. A typical pewters retail Shop circa 1700 from a European Print.

towns a display of the most commonly required items would have been placed on shelves in the front room. Such things as chargers,

dishes, plates, porringers and drinking measures being perhaps those most frequently offered. The evidence as to just how much stock was carried is as yet poor. Certainly in tools, metal and stock a pewterer needed substantial capital but it seems likely that outside the larger cities much pewter would have been unworked and that customers would have made their orders to be worked up. We know from the wills and inventories of a few pewterers that stock could be costly. Richard Parshouse of Alcester, for example, who died, well to do, in 1684 had about 109 cwt of pewter to be worked, enough for perhaps 1300 plates, and his stock in trade which included "furnace, wheel and other working tools as well as cast brass moulds" was worth over £17. The worked pewter, brass, and unworked metal was valued at death at over £80. In London, and larger cities, specialist pewterers, members of the local Guild probably dealt only in Pewter, but in the samller towns where the Guilds were not established most pewterers would have worked in other metals. Indeed there are frequent references in local records to well known pewterers referring to themselves as Braziers.

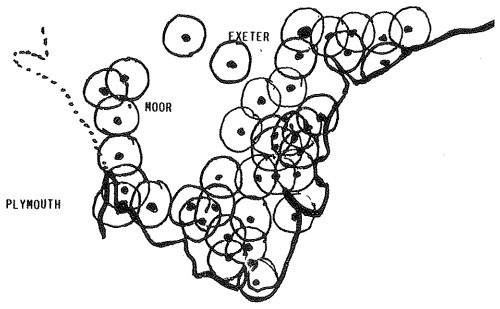
In the towns and villages the demand for pewter and other metalware was probably often too small to sustain an independent business and the local craftsmen wuld have dabbled in other activities. In my home town of Witney, Henry Warde was probably associated with his brother Thomas, a chandler, circa 1640, much as in the 1900's the village blacksmith was the first to service cars and sell fuel oils for the home. But even as late as 1700, eight out of ten people lived not in towns or cities but in the countryside; in villages or hamlets. For them there were no pewter shops easily at hand. So for the bulk of the population a journey would have been necessary to their nearest town or more probably to one of the many local fairs held during the year.

In the middle ages Fairs were internationally the most important occasions for the buying and selling of all but local food stuffs. The great Fairs developed their own laws, courts and market authorities. In the fifteenth century, for example, merchants would have come from all over England and from the continent to sell at Winchester Fair which lasted from 16-24 days and at Stourbridge near Cambridge. By the seventeenth century, Winchester Fair had shrunk to only 8 days over two separate periods. But these great international events, duplicated on the continent too, were by no means typical of the many hundreds of local fairs held throughout the country. Most people would have been within one days walk or ride of several local fairs during the year and these were where they did much of their buying and selling. These local fairs would have lasted two or three days. The evidence is that most buyers came from within a range of 8 miles but that at many fairs goods were brought much longer distances for sale. These local fairs were not only commercially important but provided an important part of people's entertainment. A chance to get away briefly from the pressures of life; to escape your masters bidding and to drink ale, eat ginger bread, buy a ribbon for your girl and perhaps watch the strolling players or mummers. At most local fairs a great range of goods would have been on sale. Cattle, horses, leather goods, linens, wools, clothes, french wines, baltic furs, gold, silver and pewter. Defoe, writing of Stourbridge Fair, says that it included "All trades that can be named in London". Large fairs were laid out in streets of specialised stalls; there was often a Sadler row or a skinners row for example. Important merchants would have built elaborate booths of wood and canvas; almost temporary shops. Smaller tradesmen would put up tents, operate from trestle tables under the skies or hawked their goods around on trays. These market stalls were an important asset. Stalls were specifically willed on many occasions. William Cocke of Brentwood in Essex bequethed "my stall being freehold, wherein I sold my cloth" and from the same county John Rogers left his "stall and tilt which I use in the Market", both circa 1601. We do not know just what proportion of local fairs had pewter on offer. We have learnt from the Search Books of the Worshipful Company that their officers did visit a number of fairs to seek out pewterers offering low quality work, but as these journeys were planned ahead, it is likely that they only took in the fairs actually being held at the time the visitors passed that way. I think it likely that most local fairs in the seventeenth century would have had one or two booths offering pewter. We know for example from the Search Books that at Blackburn in 1676 there were 4 pewterers. At York in 1676 there were nine pewterers, at Stony Stratford in 1764

there were four at at Wellingborough in 1675 three.

In the past I had thought that most of these pewterers and the wares they offered would have been local. We know that the roads were often impassable for the winter months, that travel by road was costly and slow. Yet the searches of the Pewterers Company have shown us that some of the pewter on sale at the Fairs had been brought considerable distances. At Stourbridge in 1677 two pewterers had come up sixty miles or more from London. But more normal journeys would have perhaps involved 20-30 miles travel. At Blackburn in 1676 four Wigan pewterers had come 19 miles, at Tetbury in 1677 one had journeyed 11 miles from Cirencester, another only 5 miles from Malmesbury. In Devon at the Modbury Fair in 1641, the two pewterers had come from Ashburton 23 miles away, the same distance covered by the Welsall pewterers at the Atherston fair in the same year. But these generally comparatively short journeys for the pewterers exhibiting their goods at Fairs disguises the fact that the pewter that they were offering for sale had often travelled considerable distances, for by no means all of the goods on sale were made by the pweterers at the Fair. At Tetbury, Stourbridge, Winslow, Wellingborough, North Allerton and Blackburn Fairs, for example, there were in all 19 pewterers but they brought with them the work of another 20 pewterers to sell. Several booth holders at these fairs had the work of three or more other Masters for sale. Some of this pewter had travelled considerable distances. Pewter from Walsall for example was found at Banbury Fair, 50 miles away and at Wallingford Fair 85 miles in distance. (Fig. 2)

The same pattern is true when one comes to look at the pewter found in the shops searched by the Company. In addition to the pewter of poor quality made by the tradesman whose shop was being examined, on many occasions other work from often far distant pewterers was found and recorded.



FAIRS IN SOUTH DEVON.

THE CIRCLES ILLUSTRATE A DAYS JOURNEY AND SHOW INTERLOCKING NATURE OF THE FAIRS.

To see just how frequently other pewterers work is found in local shops an analysis of the stock of pewterers on the road was made from Reading to Newbury was made based on the Search Books. Over a series of visits 1669 to 1683, 35 shops in the four towns including Hungerford and Marlborough were visited, several more than once. Work below standard from other masters was found in 18 of these visits. In another group of towns selected at random, the work of no less than 24 other masters was found in 7 local shops. There is thus clear evidence that pewter was sold wholesale for resale in shops and fairs. The idea that a local pewterer made all his own stock is thus disproved by the Company searches.

It seems therefore that where it was possible to buy locally, a pewterer would have done so to cut down the cost of transport. But as we have already seen, some pewter was brought much longer distances. How was this done? At first consideration it might seem that much of the internal transport was by road. Packhorses were indeed widely used for the transportation of goods. Celia Fiennes comments for example on long lines of pack horses in Devon and says 'the reason for their use is plain from the narrowness of the lanes'. Later, in Kendal, she mentions seeing more pack animals loaded 'with everything they would use' or again in Exeter beasts carrying serges 'loaded from neck to tail pretty high'. But such pack trains, though useful, must have been limited to certain types of goods and certain periods of the year in those areas where the roads were especially narrow or bad. It is likely that far more goods were carried by cart than in this way. Indeed from the fifteenth century onwards there were regular runs from Southampton for example to Oxford, London and Winchester where goods carried by cart were 96 times more frequent than the goods by pack train. In the sixteenth century the largest carts or waggons were of four tons capacity but by the seventeenth century, waggons of up to eight tons capacity dragged by 12 horses were common. Such waggons would have been able to carry considerable loads and might cover up to 30 miles

per day in good weather. But shipment by road was a costly business and in practice it was only possible to carry economically either light loads or those whose value justified the heavy costs. Heavy bulk or low value loads could normally only be conveyed short distances economically. Thus items such as Building materials and bricks seem to have been moved up to about 12 miles, whilst valuable cargoes such as wine, spices, dyes, could be carted 60 miles or more. Household goods, of which pewter may well have formed a part were normally carried on carts only up to about 30 miles. Such distances would fit in well with the distances that we found pewter was normally carried for the sale in the fairs and to the other tradesmens' shops. But what of the much higher distances that we know pewter was transported. How was this done economically? Much pewter was shipped by boat from London and other ports, unloaded and then moved to its final destination by cart. Shipping costs were much lower than those of land transport. In the seventeenth century it has been calculated that to move goods by ship was 20 times cheaper than by land. A ship with two men was able to take timber from Dean to Woolwich in 1634 for 16/- a load compared with the land transport price of 5/- a mile for the same load. There was a busy coming and going from all ports. From London alone, in 1683, 1001 local ships left the city to 80 local ports. There is considerable evidence that pewter was one of the cargoes often carried on these local "hoys" or cargo boats. The Port Record Books contain lists of the cargoes of ships leaving British ports. To take just a few examples over the two years 1678-9, there were five cargoes entering Sandwich from London with pewter aboard, bringing a total of 21-3/4 cwts. Over the years 1679-80, 13 cargoes of pewter entered Dover from London amounting to 22-1/2 cwts. Likewise over a four year period, 1676-79, there were five cargoes listed which contained pewter from London to Southampton. If these quantities of pewter seem small, remember that over a seven year period, the total exports from Bristol, a major centre to the U.S.A., were only just over 9 cwts and that twenty cwts of pewter was the equivalent of 2,500 plates. Recall also that this was in addition to the pewter being made locally and that there will also have been a similar trade between smaller ports and London and between the provincial ports and small harbours or creeks. Once it is appreciated that the pewter was shipped by sea, the longer distances that we have found that it has been carried are more easily explained.

It seems clear therefore that if you wished to buy pewter in the seventeenth century, you would have had to journey to the nearest town or fair unless you lived in one of the cities or larger towns. There you will have had offered not just the work of the local craftsmen but pewter made in other local towns and indeed sometimes shipped from London or other major centres.

Whether you were one of the town dwellers or the majority of people who lived in the countryside, all the evidence confirms that the purchase of pewter would have been a rare, costly and important event and the shoppers of yesterday probably took as much care with such buys as we do with a new motor car or Video system.

Pewter Was Prized Then

By Stanley B. Rich

In connection with my practice, I came across a will for Mr. James Osman which was executed September 5, 1828, and according to the Register of Wills for the County of Schuylkill, Mr. Thomas S. Herb, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, it was recorded, registered and examined on October 11th, A.D., 1828.

On page one, Mr. Osman gives and bequeaths "unto my Dear wife Margaret Two Beds with the Bed Clothes, three chairs, a Case of Drawers a Tin plate Stove, with the Pipe, half a dozen pewter plates a pewter Bason half dozen knifes & forks half half dozen Cups and Saucers Looking Glass Spinning wheel the Woolen & flaxen yarn on hand the flax of this years growth, the family Bible and as much Kitchen Utensils as she may choose to keep for her own use Three Swarms of Bees, four Sheep One Cow, One Hog"...

It is interesting to note that even at this date, in 1828, the 'half a dozen pewter plates a pewter Bason' were considered of sufficient importance to be separately mentioned apart from the general classification of 'kitchen utensils', and as individual as 'the family Bible'.

Shubael Cady, Providence Britannia Manufacturer

by Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

Recently I came across a set of small (3″ x 5″) pocket manuals titled *Providence Almanac and Business Directory* that I had never seen before. They date from 1843 to 1850 (annually) and for the single year 1855 and are preserved in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library. In each there is a large section under the heading of PROVIDENCE BUSINESS DIRECTORY which lists manufacturers, merchants, craftsmen, and other business people under descriptive groupings arranged alphabetically. I looked to see where and in what years William Calder, Samuel E. Hamlin and George Richardson were listed.

In 1843 and 1844 only Calder is listed, under "Brittania Ware". Samuel E. Hamlin is not found under any classification. In 1845 and 1846 Calder is again found under "Brittania Ware" and Hamlin is found under "Pewterer & Brazier". In 1847 and 1848 we find Calder, Hamlin and George Richardson under "Brittania Ware Manufactuers", while Calder and Hamlin are also found under "Pewterers and Braziers". In 1849 only Calder and Hamlin are found under both "Britannia Ware Manufacturers" and "Pewterers and Braziers". In 1850 there is a surprise. Under "Britannia Ware Manufactuers" we find Calder and an S. Cady (at the corner of Dexter and Cranston), with Calder and Hamlin also listed under "Pewterers and Braziers". In the 1855 issue only Calder and Hamlin are listed.

The 1850 *Providence Directory* confirms the *Almanac* listing for Cady, for in that year we find: "Shubael Cady, Britannia Ware Manufactuer, 165 High [shop], 24 A-Street [home]". But he is not listed as a britannia ware manufacturer before or after 1850. However, the earlier *Providence Directories* give Cady's background. There were two Shubael Cadys in the *Directories*, one with the middle initial H. who was a merchant. The *Providence Directory* entries for Shubael Cady (without the "H") plus Joseph C. Miller, who was associated with Cady at one time, and David Cady, a tinman, are given below (most home addresses have been omitted). There were no *Directories* published for the missing dates.

	Shubael Cady	*Joseph C. Miller*	*David Cady*
1838	Not Listed	Not Listed	Tin-plate worker
1841	″	″	Tin-plate worker 112 High
1844	Tin-peddler	Tin-plate & sheet iron worker, 171 High	″
1847	Tin-plate worker (Miller & Cady)	Tin plate & sheet-iron worker, 185 Broad	Tin-plate worker 172 High
1850	Brit. Ware Mfr. 165 High, 24 A-St.	″	Tin-plate worker 161 High
1852	Not listed	″	Tin ware & stove dealer 161 High
1853	Clerk, 161 High, 24 A-Street	″	″
1854	Clerk, 161 High	″	″

The published Providence vital records give no births or deaths for the above men, but they are all listed in the *1860 Rhode Island Census* where their ages are given along with the names of their wives and children and the places of birth of all. Shubael H. Cady was the oldest; he was born in Connecticut in 1806. He was listed in the *1860 Census* as a West Indies Merchant and had been very successful, having a personal estate of $40,000. He married Sarah B. Hamlin in Providence in 1835. The other Shubael Cady was born in Rhode Island in 1821 and married Abby A. Hanes in Providence in 1842. David Cady was born in Rhode Island in 1817, while Joseph C. Miller was born in Rhode Island in 1821.

By the time of the 1844 *Providence Directory* when the younger Shubael Cady is first listed he was a "tin peddler". However, we may suppose that he started peddling in 1842 at age 21 when he was married. We may visualize him selling a variety of goods in addition to tinware out of a horse-drawn wagon. By 1847, at age 26, he had moved inside and was now a tin-plate worker in partnership with Joseph C. Miller, who was the same age as Shubael, the tinman.

By 1850 Shubael Cady had left Miller and set himself up as a "Britannia Ware Manufacturer". We do not know how long this lasted since no 1851-1854 *Providence Almanac and Business Directories* are available, nor was there an 1849 or 1851 *Providence Directory*, and Shubael Cady, the tinman, is not listed in the 1852 *Providence Directory*. When he is next listed in 1853 he was a "Clerk" at 161 High Street. His working address, 161 High Street, is also the business address of David Cady, a tin plate worker who had started in 1838 at age 21, possibly Shubael's older brother.

Shubael Cady was a tin plate worker and had no experience in britannia ware manufacture. George Richardson died in 1848 but his sons George B. (born in 1819), Francis B. (born in 1822) and Henry (born in 1828) are listed in the *Providence Directories* in 1850 and 1852 with simply "Britannia Ware" for an occupation, which could mean that they were manufacturing it or just selling it. In these Richardson listings there is no working address, the home addresses being given. In my first article on George Richardson I wondered about where Richardson's three sons were working from 1849 to 1852, and considered if they could have been working for either Calder or Hamlin (*PCCA Bul.* vol. 7, pp. 329-330). It is very significant that the Richardsons were not listed in either the 1849 or 1850 *Providence Almanac and Business Directory* under "Britannia Ware Manufacturers", but that Shubael Cady was, in view of the fact that George Richardson had been listed there in 1847 and 1848. If George Richardson's son George B. were continuing the business the *Almanac* would certainly have repeated the Richardson listing in 1849 and 1850. Instead we fine a new name, Shubael Cady, appearing under the heading of "Britannia Ware Manufacturers".

It now appears that the Richardsons were working for Shubael Cady who called himself a "Britannia Ware Manufacturer". Presumably the wares were stamped with the G. RICHARDSON die since no britannia ware marked S. CADY has ever been recorded. The Richardsons left Providence in 1852 or 1853 and are listed in the *Boston Directories* from 1853 on. In 1853 Shubael Cady was a clerk working for a tinware manufacturer. Again we have evidence that the Richardsons worked for someone else but stamped the wares with their name.

Shubael Cady was about the same age as the two older Richardsons who were 28 and 31 in 1850. Possibly the failure of the operation was due to under-capitalization and inexperience. Shubael was probably responsible for sales and the Richardsons handled production with the moulds and equipment inherited from George Richardson, Sr. The variety of their wares may have been limited or not stylish and they may not have had the capital to make moulds for new designs. The only wares with the Richardson touch attributable to the Providence period are two sizes of tapered bottom teapots.

Some of Roswell Gleason's Early Workers

by Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

George Richardson is last listed in the *Boston Directories* in 1828 at Oliver Place. It now becomes apparent that he closed his shop in Boston to move to Dorchester, Massachusetts, to work for Roswell Gleason. The Dorchester records indicate that George and Eliza Richardson gave birth to a daughter, Avelina Alexzina, in that town on October 31, 1829.[1] There is no conceivable reason why Richardson would have been in Dorchester unless it was to work for Roswell Gleason. The 1830 *Massachusetts Census* indicates that George Richardson was still in Dorchester in that year.[2] He possibly stayed with Gleason until 1831, but he undoubtedly left during the year to work for Burrage Yale, since his son Byron L. was born in South Reading, Massachusetts, on January 7, 1832.

The fact that George Richardson closed his shop in Boston and went to work for Gleason in Dorchester from 1829 to 1831 sheds new light on Samuel Green and his son Samuel, Jr. Samuel Green is last listed in the *Boston Directories* in 1827 at Marlboro Place. In 1828 he is found in the Tax Lists of South Boston living at the rear of Fifth Street and was taxed as a "journeyman pewterer".[3] Samuel, Jr., is also listed in the 1828 South Boston Tax Lists as a "journeyman pewterer".[4] It is evident that Samuel Green closed his shop on Marlboro Place in 1827, a year before Richardson closed his, and probably went to work for Gleason. There was no one else in the Boston area for whom he could have been working as a journeyman pewterer in 1828 except Gleason. The Trasks (Israel and Oliver) and Eben Smith were well established in Beverly, Massachusetts, but that was over twenty miles northeast of Boston. In Boston, John Skinner died in 1813, Nathaniel Austin died in 1816, and Richard Austin died in 1817. While Thomas Badger did not die until 1826, he was listed in the *Boston Directories* from 1816 on as a grocer. In 1828 Samuel Green was 73 years old, and he died in South Boston five years later at age 78. So he could have worked for Gleason for only a few years.

Kerfoot stated that the making of pewter plates for table use was abandoned in America in favor of china between 1820 and 1825, some ten years after china had triumphed in England.[5] How Kerfoot arrived at these dates is not evident, but their accuracy is confirmed in an account on Richard Austin by Z.G. Whitman in the history of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. Writing in 1820, Whitman said that the trade in pewter [flatware] had been a lucrative branch of manufacture, but "about this time began to go out of fashion."[6] With the deaths of John Skinner, Nathaniel and Richard Austin, and the retirement of Thomas Badger by 1816, the remaining pewter business in Boston was left to Samuel Green and George Richardson.

The surviving wares by Samuel Green (marked S. G. BOSTON) are flatware: plates, dishes, platters, and basins. The demand for flatware had decreased drastically by the late 1820's, although it was still being sold in small quantities. William Calder of Providence was selling pewter plates, platters, and basins in 1826.[7] But these accounted for less than three per cent of his dollar volume; tea and coffee pots amounted to 90 per cent of his volume. A pewterer could no longer survive making only flatware; Samuel Green had to close shop in 1827.

Samuel Green, Jr. was probably born about 1779 (based on the fact that his father was married in July 1778 and the assumption that he was the first child). He undoubtedly served his apprenticeship under his father and would have reached his majority in 1800. But he does not appear in the *Boston Directories* until 1818. Since he would have been 39 years old then, one has to assume that he had been working in some other area for the last 18 years. In only half of the *Directories* does a "Jr." follow his name, but there is no confusion between him and his father. In 1818 and 1826 he is listed as a pewterer, but in 1820 and 1825 his profession is given as a watchmaker. While no profession was given from 1821 to 1823, he was probably still a watchmaker. From 1818 to 1826 he lived at Second Street

in South Boston, while from 1828 to 1842 he resided at Fifth (or Fourth) Street in South Boston where his father also lived.

From the above facts we might assume that Samuel Green, Jr. left Boston to work for a pewterer in some other city sometime after he reached his majority. He returned to Boston in 1818 and was listed as a pewterer. It is reasonable to assume that he returned to work for the Green & Richardson partnership (Samuel Green & George Richardson) which was first listed in the *Directories* in 1818 but did not last over a couple of years. In 1820 (there is no Directory for 1819) he found employment as a watchmaker, a profession he followed until 1825.

In 1826 he is again listed as a pewterer, indicating that he may have gone to work for Gleason in this year or back with his father. He was still living at Second Street at this time. He is not listed in 1827, but in 1828, the year after his father closed his Boston shop, he had moved to Fifth (or Fourth) Street in South Boston and was again listed as a pewterer undoubtedly working for Gleason. We can assume that he moved to larger quarters with his father, who in addition to having closed his shop on Marlboro Place, had disposed of his house at 37 Warren Street where he had lived since 1816. Fifth Street was only about three and a half miles north of Gleason's factory and connected directly by the "Turnpike" (present Dorchester Avenue). No profession is given for Samuel Green, Jr. from 1829 to 1832, but from 1833 to 1836 he is listed as a block tin manufacturer in the *Directories*. He is not listed in 1837, but in 1838 he is listed as a coach trimmer and then from 1839 on he is listed as a hatter.

* * * * * *

The possibility that Samuel Green and his son worked for Roswell Gleason in Gleason's early years has interesting implications. If Samuel Green closed his shop specifically to go to work for Gleason, there appears to be a good possibility that he made some prior arrangement with Gleason to bring any moulds for pewter flatware (including porringers) which was still in fashion. As we have seen, pewter flatware was still being sold in small quantities in the late 1820's. While its manufacture was not enough to make a living on alone, it could be added to an established line such as tinware and be profitable.

On the other hand, pewter porringers retained their popularity until the middle of the 19th century. Interestingly, Roswell Gleason was about the last to advertise porringers. In an advertisement in the *Norfolk Democrat* in 1848 he listed britannia "poringers".[8] This is particularly relevant since it is known that Samuel Green made porringers in two sizes. Samuel Green was in partnership with Richard Austin from about 1814 to 1817 when Austin died. The inventory, which was half Green's, consisted of 79 pint porringers, 96 half-pint porringers, and eight moulds, including two for porringers.[9] There were also 27 teapots in the inventory but these were probably made by Austin since Green seems to have been a flatware man.

If Samuel Green did take his porringer moulds with him to Gleason's, they undoubtedly had his identifying marks on them. They may well have come to him through his father Thomas, and in his partnerships with Austin or Richardson he possibly put identifying marks on them. And if the moulds did not have Green's marks on them in the few years he was with Richardson, they may have been put on before he went to work for Gleason.

A study of the life and work of George Richardson has shown that he worked as a journeyman pewterer for a number of people but that he retained a number of his moulds for a long period of time. In such a case it is logical to suppose that the journeyman pewterer put identifying marks on the moulds he brought with him so that he could recover them when he left. There is no reason to doubt that Samuel Green took his moulds for fashionable forms of pewter ware with him when he went to work for Gleason in 1828. As we have seen, Samuel Green died in 1833. If he had retired prior to this he may well have turned title of the moulds over to Samuel, Jr., otherwise his son would have inherited them on his death. Samuel, Jr. left Gleason's employ about 1837 and undoubtedly would have sold Gleason any of the moulds which were still fashionable. This would specifically apply to the porringer moulds which Gleason would continue to use until at least 1850.

The identifying "marks" were undoubtedly the names or initials of the pewterer, and these would have been put on a smooth surface with letter stamps or by hand engraving. If the initials had been placed on the smooth sur-

faces of the actual plates, basins, or porringer bowls, they would appear in relief on the casting but would have been removed when the article was finished by turning or skimming. With the two-part mould for porringer handles, the inside of the half for forming the bottom of the handle offered a perfectly flat and smooth surface. Since the bottom of the porringer handle was not finished after pouring the metal, initials placed on the mould here would not be removed. If initials were put on the porringer handle moulds to be read when the mould was examined, the initials would be reversed (mirror images) if they showed on the cast surfaces.

There are a number of porringers in existence with relief initials cast on the bottom of the handles. The majority of these are found on crown handle porringers and in most cases the initials are reversed. That shows that the initials were meant to be read when looking at the moulds and thus were very probably the mould owners' initials. The initials I C, S G, W N and R G are all found on the bottom of crown handle porringers and all are reversed except the R G. The reversed initials E G are found on the bottom of old English porringer handles, while a reversed S G has been reported on the underside of a flower handle porringer handle of the type often found marked by Richard Lee.[10]

The S G initials on the 5-1/2" diameter crown handle porringer and the 5" flower handle Lee-type porringer are virtually identical. On the 4-1/4" diameter crown handle porringer the G is upside down in relation to the orientation on the two larger porringers so that on the mould the letters would have read G S. The letters on all three porringers are about the same size and the letters are very similar, but they are not identical so they were not stamped with a letter die as has been suggested.[11] A comparison of the S and G with the S. G. on the S. G. BOSTON mark shows some interesting similarities. The S G initials on the porringers have crude exaggerated "tails" at the extremities of both letters. The S. G on the BOSTON touch are done in the same manner but not as exaggerated, indicating that they were all executed about the same time.

Over fifty years ago Kerfoot commented that the I C was the most commonly found of the initialed porringers, with the S G and W N porringers second and the others rarely found. He also noted that the I C, S G and W N porringers were frequently found in the country tributary to Boston.[12] Today I C crown handle porringers are still turning up frequently at the auction houses in eastern Massachusetts, with S G porringers being found almost as often. The other initialed porringers are now relatively rare. If the S G porringers were indeed made by Samuel Green and later by Roswell Gleason up to 1850, this would explain why so many have survived and why they appear in eastern Massachusetts.

However, confusing the issue is the 4-1/2" crown handle porringer with the R G in relief on the back of the handle. These initials are carefully done and are not reversed, and further they have periods after each letter. Many have attributed this particular initialed porringer to Roswell Gleason, mainly because there is no other pewterer with these initials working in the first part of the nineteenth century, the period from which the porringers apparently date.

* * * * * *

We have seen above that Samuel Green probably went to work for Roswell Gleason in 1828 and that he could have worked only a few years for him since he died in 1833. His son Samuel, Jr. may have gone to work for Gleason a few years earlier but certainly was working for Gleason by 1828; he left Gleason in 1837. George Richardson was undoubtedly with Gleason from 1829 to 1831. During the time the Greens and Richardson were working for Gleason two other men who later became britannia workers on their own were working for him: Ephraim Capen and Rufus Dunham.

The first record we have of Ephraim Capen is when he signed the constitution of the Brook Farm Association for Industry and Education on May 12, 1844 giving his place and date of birth as Dorchester, Massachusetts, March 6, 1813, and his profession as pewterer, the only person to so describe himself.[13] Remarkably, this is the only record we have of Capen's birth as it is not shown in the Dorchester vital records. Brook Farm was a cooperative community established at West Roxbury, a couple of miles west of Dorchester, in 1841.[14] The experiment lasted only to 1847. The pewter marked BROOK FARM was undoubtedly made by Capen. Later, from

1848 to 1854, Capen was in partnership in New York City with George Molineux.

Ephraim Capen, a man born in Dorchester who became a pewterer, undoubtedly was apprenticed to Roswell Gleason. Capen was born in 1813 and would have been ready to start serving his apprenticeship at age 14 in 1827 and would have completed it in 1834 at age 21 under the old eighteenth century apprenticeship rules. However, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century the old apprenticeship system had broken down. Young men were being bound in for only three years rather than the full seven years, and they often finished before their majority of 21 years. Capen could have finished his apprenticeship with Gleason between 1832 and 1834.

After his apprenticeship was finished Capen may have worked for Gleason for a period of time, possibly until he joined Brook Farm in 1844. However, there are teapots and lamps marked E. CAPEN.[15] A teapot marked E. CAPEN was recently sold at auction (Fig. 1).[16] It was of an early globular form with a lid

Fig. 1. Britannia teapot by Ephraim Capen marked E. CAPEN. It is 7" high (the end of the spout is missing). It was probably made between 1839 and 1843, after he left Gleason but before he joined the Brook Farm Association. *(Courtesy, R. A. Bourne.)*

much like George Richardson used on similar teapots he made in Boston in the early 1820's. As Capen apparently went directly to New York after the Brook Farm operation ceased, the wares marked E. CAPEN must fall before the Brook Farm period, say arbitrarily from 1839 to 1843. Capen may have set himself up in Roxbury, Massachusetts, at that time, since he married Mary T. Lucas in that town in May 1842.[17] Therefore, he probably worked for Gleason from 1834 to 1838, then went out on his own for a time using the touch E. CAPEN.

Rufus Dunham was born in Saco, Maine, in 1815. According to the account by his son Frederick, Rufus, in 1831 at age 16, bound himself as an apprentice for three years to Allen Porter of Westbrook, Maine.[18] His wages were to be two suits of clothes per annum, his board, and $50 in cash. At the end of two years he broke the contract, claiming that he had not received the pay due him for overtime work. A grievance concerning overtime pay in the early 1830's might appear without valid basis. However, the records of the Taunton Britannia Mfg. Co. show that as early as 1832 the company was paying for overtime and night work which was often noted in the ledgers as "over-work".[19] Usually such payment was at regular rates, although in certain instances extra compensation was paid. This was time over the 13 to 14 hours a day being worked six days a week in the 1830's![20] Gibb suggested that by paying overtime Taunton Britannia Mfg. Co. had set an example in 1832 for the industry to follow.[21] Rufus Dunham's case shows that it was already being practiced in Maine in 1831 and therefore probably being observed in other industries throughout New England.

Rufus Dunham next obtained work with Roswell Gleason in Dorchester and worked for him from 1833 to about 1835. In 1836 and 1837 he was in Poughkeepsie, New York. It is interesting that his son had knowledge of the town of Poughkeepsie but that the name of the man for whom Dunham worked had been forgotten. There is only one man who made britannia in Poughkeepsie: James Weeks. In June 1833 he advertised a fancy goods store, then later in September he advertised a variety store and a block tin manufactory at different locations.[22] In 1834 he advertised that James Weeks and Company made block tin and britannia ware coffee pots and teapots, beer mugs, tumblers, ladles, and other items. James Weeks and Company was still making britannia ware in Poughkeepsie in 1842.[23] According to his son, Rufus Dunham secured tools and moulds in Poughkeepsie in 1837 with $800 he had saved. Whether he purchased the moulds from Weeks or from some brass founder is not evident.

Later in 1837 Rufus Dunham returned to

Westbrook, Maine, and opened a shop with his brother John as helper; he was still only 22 years old. His experience consisted of two years with Allen Porter and a couple of years each with Gleason and Weeks. This was obviously ample training since he exhibited his wares at the Mechanics' Fair in Portland, Maine, in 1838 and received a silver medal for the best specimen of block tin ware. The Portland *Transcript* gave him the following mention: "R. Dunham of Westbrook presented some elegant Britannia Ware".

* * * * * *

Our next man left the employ of Reed & Barton in Taunton, Massachusetts to go to work for Roswell Gleason. Eli Eldridge was on the payrolls from 1831 to 1841, first with the Taunton Britannia Mfg. Co., then with Leonard, Reed & Barton (formed in 1837), and finally with Reed & Barton (organized in 1840).[24] Eldridge was born at Harwich on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in July 1807. He came to Taunton at an early age and probably worked for someone else before starting with Taunton Britannia Mfg. Co. as he was married in Taunton in 1827. He was not on the payroll of Crossman, West & Leonard in 1829. A family history of the Eldridges of Taunton relates that Eli left the employ of Reed & Barton to go to work for Roswell Gleason in Dorchester where he became superintendent.[25] This would appear to have been in 1842, assuming that he went directly from Reed & Barton to Gleason's.

The significance of this move has been completely missed.[26] Eldridge did not join Gleason and become plant superintendent just to run Gleason's existing facilities. It appears that Eldridge was hired by Gleason to introduce the art of rolling britannia metal into thin sheets and the fabrication of products made from such rolled metal. Leonard, Reed & Barton brought out their design Nos. 2700, 2800 and 2900 in 1838.[27] No. 2700 was an octagonal pattern which was made of rolled britannia metal. Gleason copied the designs of Nos. 2800 and 2900 (which were circular in cross section) before Eldridge came to work.[28] The bodies of the Leonard, Reed & Barton Nos. 2800 and 2900 were spun in a process protected by a patent issued to William W. Crossman in 1834.[29] Gibb is incorrect in saying that "many throughout the country" copied this spinning process.[30] Nobody violated this patent. In Gleason's copies the bodies of the teapots and coffee pots were made in the conventional manner from two castings which were soldered together in the middle. The same is true of the copies William Calder and Smith & Co. made of these two Leonard, Reed & Barton designs.

Fig. 2. Octagonal teapots by Reed & Barton and Roswell Gleason made from rolled and stamped britannia metal. Right, teapot stamped REED & BARTON and 3000/5 in incised letters and numbers. Identical pots are marked with the LEONARD, REED & BARTON stamp. It is 10-1/16" high and holds 5-3/4 half-pints to the spout opening. Left, teapot marked ROSWELL GLEASON and 4000/5 in incised letters and numbers. It is 9-15/16" high and holds 5-3/8 half-pints.

Later Gleason brought out his octagonal pattern No. 4000, complete with 5 and 6 half-pint teapots, a 10 half-pint coffee pot, cream, sugar, and slop bowl. This was a copy of Leonard, Reed & Barton's (or Reed & Barton's) octagonal pattern No. 3000 (Fig. 2), which was marketed after Nos. 2700, 2800, and 2900, probably in 1839 or 1840. Almost all of the No. 3000 wares found carry the LEONARD, REED & BARTON mark. However, this stamp was used after the formation of Reed & Barton in 1840, possibly up to 1847.[31] I have seen only one 3000/5 teapot marked REED & BARTON.

Gleason's No. 4000/5 teapot is virtually identical to Leonard, Reed & Barton No. 3000/5. When I first compared examples of these teapots a number of years ago, it appeared that both were made by the same company, which would have been Reed & Barton as they obviously had priority on the manufacture of this type of ware. The shapes appeared similar and the details of construction were identical. The Gleason teapot even had a *wooden* handle which looked like it could have been made by the same wood carver who made the Leonard, Reed & Barton handle.

However, an examination of a 4000/5 and a 3000/5 teapot shows a number of dimensional differences. The Gleason No. 4000/5 teapot is slightly smaller. The maximum width of the body is 1/4″ less (5-13/16″ *vs.* 6-1/16″), the diameter of the lid and the opening is 3/16″ less, and the overall height of 9-15/16″ is 1/8″ less. The Gleason pot holds 43 oz. or 5-3/8 half-pints to the spout opening (which is 3/8″ below the brim), three ounces less than the Leonard, Reed & Barton pot holds to the same level.

The Gleason 4000 pattern is an almost exact design and constructional copy of Leonard, Reed & Barton No. 3000, even down to the wooden handle. Such a close copy could only have been made by someone who had worked for Leonard, Reed & Barton or Reed & Barton. This would appear to have been Eli Eldridge, who had ten years' experience with the Taunton companies.

When Eli Eldridge joined Gleason he brought the best of Reed & Barton's technology which had taken the better part of fifteen years to perfect. At the time Eldridge first went to work for Taunton Britannia Mfg. Co. in 1831 there were about 40 "hands" and there was a definite division of labor.[32] One man only performed a small part of the manufacturing process, such as casting, rolling, machining, fitting, soldering, or polishing. However, employment gradually fell after 1833 to around 30 in 1834 as conditions became difficult and Taunton Britannia Mfg. Co. failed. From 1835 to 1837 employment was about 10 to 15 hands, and from 1838 to 1841 it varied from 20 to 30 workers.[33] It seems probable that Eldridge worked more than one craft when he was with the Taunton companies when employment decreased to 10 to 15 hands, and he certainly must have gained vast general knowledge in ten years.

From the start the first Taunton companies made many of their products from rolled britannia metal. In 1824 Babbit & Crossman installed a pair of 4″ diameter by 12″ face English steel rolls powered by a water wheel.[34] In 1826 a new set of rolls was installed,[35] and then in 1838 another new set of rolls was installed.[36] Presumably each new set of rolls was larger than the preceding so that the last ones may have been 6″ in diameter with an 18″ face. In a letter to a customer written in 1838 Leonard, Reed & Barton bragged that the 200 teasets being sent would be "better than *any ever* . . . sent into the market as yet, and we hope and trust better than Dixons". They explained that this was the result of a new pair of hardened steel rolls which would give the metal a smooth finish and because they were carefully selecting their polishing "earth". An article about Reed & Barton written in 1878 shows what are probably a set of rolls very similar (if not identical) to the rolls installed in 1838 (Fig. 3).[37]

In addition to the rolling process Eldridge also brought knowledge of the intracacies of the stamping process by which the parts of the octagonal designs were formed. In 1827 Babbitt & Crossman produced a teapot with a body "fluted like the English style".[38] Contrary to denials, this was the first such fluted ware manufactured in America.[39] The fluted section of the teapot body had been made with lead dies under a screw press. With deep shapes such as this the rolled britannia metal had to be "drawn down" into shape by the tedious process of using as many as three progressively deeper dies to prevent the edges of the metal from wrinkling. In 1829 William

Porter, then foreman of the works, discovered that steel rings could be used to hold down the edges of the "blank" or disk of britannia and produce the shape in one stamping. This was the origin of ring dies which later became universal in the metal stamping industry.[40]

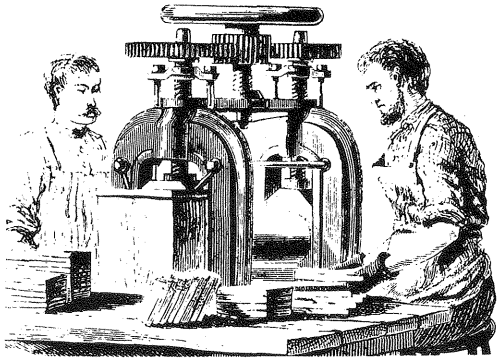


Fig. 3. Rolling mills (sometimes called a "set of rolls") in use by Reed & Barton in 1878. Cast britannia plates (or blanks) about 3/4" thick were passed back and forth through the rolls as their separation was decreased until the plates were reduced in thickness to around 1/16". The rolling mills used in 1838 were probably very similar to these. (*After* Appleton's Journal.)

Also in 1829 Babbitt & Crossman replaced the screw press with the drop press.[41] This was referred to as an "automatic" machine at the time since the operator only had to insert the blanks, hoist up the striking hammer, and release it to fall under gravity and form the stamping. Such a drop press in use at Reed & Barton in 1878 has also been illustrated, clearly showing the ring dies in the press and on the floor (Fig. 4).[42] The drop press introduced in 1829 was probably very similar to this one since the design of this machine did not change from the eighteenth century when it was widely used in England. Once seen, the drop press was a simple piece of equipment to a mechanic or britannia worker. Eldridge possibly never realized that the ring dies used at Taunton had been a revolutionary development in the metal working field. Eldridge had so successfully introduced stamping at Gleason's that a commentator writing shortly after mid-century noted that "die-work is chiefly used" in Gleason's shop.[43]

On November 19, 1827 Eli Eldridge married Charlotte Curtis of Taunton (born in Bridgewater in 1798).[44] Eli was 20 years old and Charlotte was 29, a rather remarkable age difference for those times. Their first child, Eli Henry, was born on May 26, 1828. Mary Francis was born in 1830, William in 1832, Almira in 1837 and John Biggs in 1839.[45] Eli Eldridge had come to Taunton, obtained work, married, and raised a family. His family coincided with his working period at the Taunton britannia plants. When he went to Roswell Gleason's in 1842 he had four children ranging from five to 14 years of age (John had died).

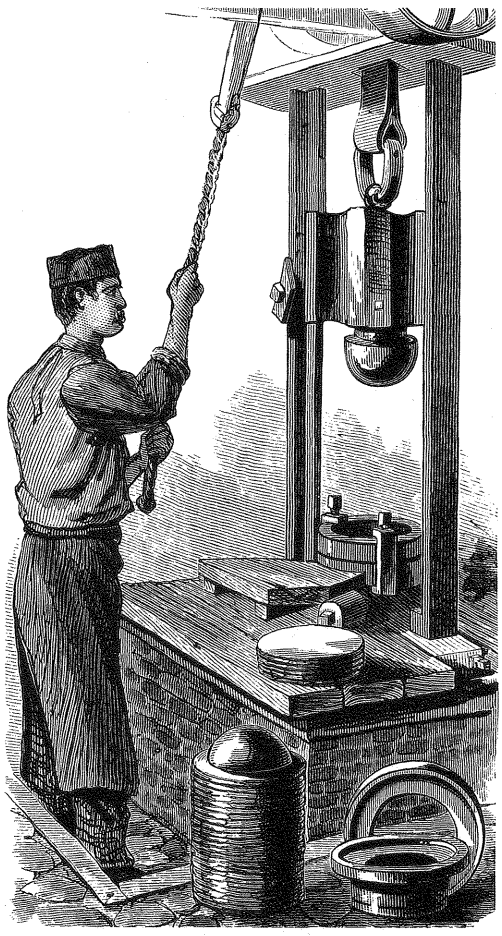


Fig. 4. Drop press in use by Reed & Barton in 1878 clearly showing one set of ring dies in the press and another set on the floor. The "hammer" was hoised and then released, falling under gravity to form the stamping. (*After* Appleton's Journal.)

In 1842 Eli Henry Eldridge became an apprentice at age 14 at Reed & Barton, an obligation he continued for three years.[46] Eli left his son in Taunton when he went to work for Roswell Gleason. Dorchester was about 25 miles due north of Taunton, so occasional visits would have been possible. It would have been quite possible for Eldridge to leave his

son in Taunton as an apprentice since the "master" (in this case Reed & Barton) had to provide the apprentice board. Apprenticeships at Reed & Barton at this time were generally for a three year period.[47] They differed from those of the eighteenth century in that an apprentice was given an annual cash payment. It was the same rate at the Taunton britannia companies from 1830 to 1860: $30 for the first year, $40 for the second, and $60 for the third, with board furnished in the amount of from $2.00 to $2.25.[48] One of the founders, Henry G. Reed (born in 1810), never really approved of giving apprentices cash wages above their board.[49] They were usually boarded at some employee's house; in 1831 one Taunton worker was paid for boarding nine boys.[50] The cash payment was a token and was probably paid on a monthly basis. The $30 per year would amount to $2.50 a month, which would have compared to about $25 a month a skilled craftsman received.

In the eighteenth century an apprentice was sometimes promised a set of tools upon completion of his term.[51] With complete knowledge of the craft and a set of tools he could set himself up in business. However, in the 1840's there was a definite division of labor (as we have seen), with a workman performing only one specialized part of the manufacturing process. Obviously he could not be given "tools" for his task (for example rolling or stamping). As an incentive the apprentice was offered the privilege of learning a trade with a promise of highly remunerative and eminently respectable employment at the end of his term. He was virtually guaranteed a job upon completing his apprenticeship. In return he had to give the company three years of labor for little immediate compensation. The desirability of employment at Reed & Barton was shown by the eagerness of fathers to bring their sons into the company, as shown by the increasing number of two-generation records as time passed.[52]

In 1870 the apprentice at Reed & Barton was guaranteed full time work for the first two years but was subject to layoff in the third.[53] By 1880 there was no guarantee of full time work even during the apprenticeship period. In 1870 there were 35 apprentices at Reed & Barton while in 1880 there were 49. By 1890 wages in general had increased greatly at Reed & Barton. Apprentices were now receiving $0.75, $1.00, and $1.25 per day for the three years, although the practice of paying the apprentice's board had been discontinued. The apprenticeship system continued into the twentieth century at Reed & Barton.

Eli Henry Eldridge completed his three year apprenticeship at Reed & Barton in 1845 at age 17, and then went to work for Roswell Gleason where his father was superintendent.[54] The two Eldridges stayed at Gleason's until 1848 and then both left. They apparently went into business in Boston, since an Eli Eldridge is listed in the *Boston Directory* in 1849 with a shop at 15 Hawley Street (Green and Richardson had a shop on Hawley Street 30 years earlier). One has to assume that the operation in Boston was not successful since Eli Eldridge and son returned to Taunton, probably in 1850. There they set up Eldridge & Co. which "began in a limited way . . . the making of various small articles of britannia ware".[55] Laughlin says that he had a record of a small pitcher with Eli Eldridge's name on it.[56] In 1860 Eli Henry purchased the coffin trimming business of Strange & Frances in

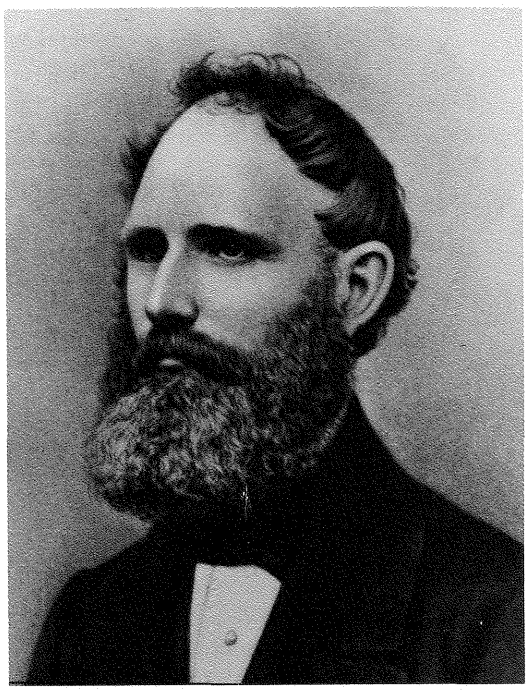


Fig. 5. Eli Eldridge. He worked for the Taunton britannia companies from 1831 to 1841. In 1842 he went to work for Roswell Gleason and introduced the rolling and stamping of britannia metal. (*After* Representative Men of Southeastern Massachusetts, *Courtesy, Rhode Island Historical Society.*)

Taunton and merged it into Eldridge & Co. On the death of the senior Eldridge in 1875 the younger Eli took his son John Henry Eldridge into the business and five years later another son Albert Stanley. When *Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts* was published in 1912, Eldridge & Co. was still in business in Taunton in a spacious new building making coffin name plates, hinges, casket head lining tacks and other coffin trimmings. The senior Eldridge was honored as the founder of the business with the inclusion of his portrait (Fig. 5).

Our last worker, B. F. Knox, was one of Gleason's apprentices; he is first found on the Reed & Barton payroll in April 1848. At the time he left Dorchester, the Gleason apprentices, of which he was one, were in great disfavor. Supposedly in protest over the quality of Mrs. Gleason's cooking, the apprentices, with a rare sense of the spectacular, rolled a large chopping block down the Gleason front stairs and out through the *closed* front door. It is not apparent if this resulted in Knox's departure from Gleason's employ. Knox's son, Frank W., also went to work at Reed & Barton. Gibb interviewed him in 1942, a few months before his death, to get the above anecdote.[57] B. F. Knox must have known Eli Eldridge and his son at Gleason's. Possibly the Eldridges suggested that the cooking might be better in Taunton.

* * * * * *

The bulk of our knowledge about Roswell Gleason comes from an article published in *Antiques* in 1931 by John Whiting Webber. Webber had access to a "mass of old letters still preserved in the Gleason homestead where the pewterer lived and died" and other material which came into the possession of Gleason's granddaughter, Mrs. Charles A. Hall. Webber also turned up a number of interesting references to Gleason. Much of the biographical material was apparently family tradition retained by Mrs. Hall who was born in the 1850's. She would have had a vivid memory of Gleason's plant in its later days, since it did not close down until 1871. Webber apparently never saw the short 184 word biography of Roswell Gleason which appeared in the Gleason *Genealogy*, as none of the interesting facts revealed here were included in Webber's article, and also as some of Webber's statements are contradictory. The biography was written by Albert H. Gleason of Chicago who was born in 1874. He had been collecting genealogical material on Gleasons in the early twentieth century and had presumably obtained his information from Roswell Gleason's grandchildren, several of whom were still living in Dorchester. We will inlcude this short biography in full since it provides a basis for Roswell Gleason's start.[58]

"Roswell Gleason settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1818. He associated himself with a Mr. Wilcox in the tinware trade, and on the death of his partner in 1830 he became sole proprietor of the business. His attention was subsequently diverted to the manufacture of britannia ware, and brass lamp fixtures, which soon became one of the chief industries of Dorchester. At one time he employed 125 men. In 1849 he still further increased his business by introducing to the American people the art of silver plating, thereby placing on the market a new article of commerce known as plated ware, which immediately sprang into favor among those of moderate means, and he was therefore the pioneer in a business that now constitutes an important branch of the silverware trade. His two sons, on attaining their majority, were each admitted to partnership, and the business continued until 1871, when, both sons having died, he closed up his affairs and retired. For many years he was one of the most prominent as well as popular residents of Dorchester, serving as Captain of the Dorchester Rifle Company."

Webber stated that Gleason settled in Dorchester in 1818 and went to work for "one Mr. Wilcox, a maker of block tin ware", and that within four years Wilcox retired leaving Gleason to conduct the business on his own. Since no Wilcox is known to have made block tin in the Boston area, we have to assume that the *Genealogy* is correct and that Wilcox was a tinman. Webber has Wilcox retiring in four years while the *Genealogy* says he died in 1830. The *Massachusetts Censuses* and the Dorchester vital records help clear up this confusion about Mr. Wilcox.

Wilcox was not a particularly common name in Massachusetts in the first half of the nineteenth century. There were no Wilcoxes in Dorchester in the *Massachusetts Censuses* in 1810 or 1830. However, in the 1820 *Census* we find a William Wilcox in Dorchester (the only Wilcox in Dorchester). The Dorchester

vital records list the death of William Wilcox, age 39, on September 16, 1820.[59] Eli Walter Wilcox, son of Huldah Wilcox, was born in April 1821, apparently the posthumous son of William. On December 5, 1822 Melinda Wilcox married Moses Wood (both of Dorchester); this was probably a sister of William Wilcox. In 1835 William L. Wilcox of Dorchester married Abigail D. Simons of Boston. This was probably William's son. The *Genealogy* was correct in stating that Wilcox died, but they had his death ten years later. Webber was closer in saying that Wilcox had "retired" in four years, as he was only off two years.

Roswell Gleason went to work for William Wilcox at age 19 in 1818, presumably as an apprentice. Upon the death of Wilcox two years later, Gleason would hardly have been in a position to buy the operation from Wilcox's estate, since he probably had not been paid much and had not saved anything. But somehow he acquired William Wilcox's tinware shop. Wilcox's son William L. was probably only five to ten years old in 1820, and his mother apparently stayed in Dorchester with her children (she is not in the 1830 *census* so she may have married).

It will be helpful to explore Roswell$^{(7)}$ Gleason's ancestry a little. Roswell's father was Reuben$^{(6)}$ who was the first child (born in 1770) of Aaron$^{(5)}$ (Aaron$^{(4)}$, Thomas$^{(3)}$, Thomas$^{(2)}$, Thomas$^{(1)}$).[60] The eleventh child of Aaron$^{(5)}$ was Roswell$^{(6)}$ born in 1787. This was the first occurrence of the name Roswell in this particular Gleason line, so Roswell the pewterer was named after his uncle. All of the children of Aaron$^{(5)}$ were born in Rowe, a town in northwestern Massachusetts only three miles south of the Vermont line and some 20 miles east of the New York line. Roswell's father Reuben was probably married in 1798 at age 18. Shortly after he was married (or possibly before) he moved north into Vermont, since his first child, Roswell, was born in Putney, Vermont, on April 6, 1799. Putney is on the Connecticut River 17 miles north of the Massachusetts border and 28 miles northeast of Rowe.

Reuben Gleason stayed only a few years in Putney, since his third child, Sarell, was born in Topsham, Vermont in 1803. Topsham is farther north, some 100 miles north of the Massachusetts border and ten miles west of the Connecticut River. The 1810 *Vermont Census* shows that Reuben Gleason was still in Topsham at that time. Webber says that Roswell Gleason left his home in Putney one autumn day in 1818 and journeyed to Dorchester looking for a job.[61] He also says that six years later Gleason took his "bride" in a fancy two-horse buggy to visit the home in Putney he had left almost penniless. He drove into the village to the amazement of the populance. The home Roswell left in 1818 was in Topsham, not Putney, some 150 miles from Dorchester, and certainly the trip could not have been made in a fancy two-horse buggy.

An examination of the *Massachusetts Censuses* at this point will be helpful. In the 1820 *Census* there were no Gleasons at all in Dorchester. Then in the 1830 *Census* we find Roswell, as well as Moses, Reuben and Warren Gleason in Dorchester. A check of these names in the Gleason *Genealogy* shows that they are probably Roswell's brothers (Reuben could also be his father). When we examine the Dorchester vital records, it becomes evident that Roswell Gleason's father moved to Dorchester with his family. This is seen by a list of his children with their marriages, which are not given in the Gleason *Genealogy*.[62]

REUBEN$^{(6)}$ GLEASON: Children

1. Roswell b. April 6, 1799; m. in Dorchester Oct. 13, 1822, Rebecca T. Vose
2. Moses G. m. in Dorchester Oct. 15, 1829, Marietta Willis
3. Sarell, b. 1803; m. in Dorchester Oct. 14, 1827, Mrs. Sarah B. Bird
4. Sarah m. in Dorchester April 21, 1836, Seth B. Bass
5. Reuben. Hannah Sanborn born to Reuben and Hannah, Nov. 17, 1830 at Dorchester
6. Warren m. in Dorchester Sept. 24, 1829, Mercy Crowell
7. Joseph
8. Olive m. in Dorchester March 16, 1834, Archibald Thompson
9. Dorothy m. in Dorchester Oct. 18, 1832, Amos A. Hill

The Gleason *Genealogy* lists the children of Reuben$^{(6)}$ essentially in the above manner except that Hannah was listed as the seventh child, and it appears that she was instead the daughter of Reuben$^{(7)}$ as indicated above. Further, there was no Warren listed in the Gleason *Genealogy* under the children of Reuben.$^{(6)}$ There are nine Warrens in the

Gleason *Genealogy*, but eight were born after 1830 and the other one lived in New York. Since Warren appears in the 1830 *Census* in Dorchester with Roswell, Reuben and Moses, this is probably an unrecorded child of Reuben. The Reuben listed in the 1830 *Census* is probably Roswell's brother as he had been married at least as early as 1829. Roswell's father, Reuben, was probably living with him or one of the other children in 1830 as he was then 60 years old. He died in Dorchester in 1843 at age 73,[63] indicating that he was living with one of his children at the time since he was not in the 1840 *Census*.

We have noted above that Roswell's father, Reuben, was listed in the 1810 *Vermont Census* at Topsham. There is no Reuben Gleason in the 1820 or 1830 *Vermont Census*. There are three in the 1820 *Massachusetts Census*, one in Worcester and two in Sudbury (15 miles west of Boston). In the 1810 *Massachusetts Census* there are two Reuben Gleasons, one in Worcester and one in Sudbury. It does not look like any of the three Reubens in the 1830 *Massachusetts Census* was Roswell's father. But he must have moved by 1820, or possibly before, since he was not in Topsham, Vermont.

Wilcox died in September of 1820. His oldest son was apparently only five to ten years old at the time. Without a son to carry on the business, a widow would have three options: (1) run the business herself like Mary Bassett of New York and Mary Jackson of Boston did in the eighteenth century, (2) sell the business as a going concern, or (3) liquidate the operation and sell the assets by private sale or auction. Roswell Gleason was working for Wilcox as an apprentice, and upon the death of Wilcox he obviously had the opportunity of acquiring the business. He could have convinced his father that this was the opportunity of a lifetime and had him put up the "front" money to buy the operation which was probably small.

Roswell's father, Reuben, was a farmer. Like so many others he had probably purchased a sizeable piece of "wild" land in Vermont, cleared it, and farmed the land. He could sell the developed land and get his labor for the development work out. He had left Topsham by 1820 so we have to assume that he had sold the farm. In 1820 he had eight children ranging from eight to 19 years of age. Roswell had left, but Reuben's next two oldest children were boys: Sarell, 17, and Moses, 19. Whether Reuben moved to Dorchester to help his son acquire a tinware manufactory or whether he moved there at his son's suggestion to give work to him and his two sons is not evident. But the fact remains that Reuben did resettle in Dorchester and spent almost 20 years there. One has the feeling that he moved there early enough so that the family was still intact and the children young enough so that they were not married. This only had to be before 1827 when Sarell was married. The first documentary evidence we have of Roswell in Dorchester is his marriage in 1822. The first evidence we have of another Gleason in Dorchester is the marriage of his brother Sarell in 1827. In the Gleason *Genealogy* a short biography of Sarell is found, which follows:[64]

"Sarell Gleason was brought up on a farm and followed agricultural pursuits for some time; but in early manhood he came to Dorchester where he learned the trade of tinsmith. He then opened the first tinsmith's shop in South Boston, which he conducted for many years, until failing health compelled him to give up his business. Later he acted as foreman for his brother Roswell, who was in the business as a tinsmith and silver plater."

In the *Genealogy* this account follows directly the biography of Roswell Gleason. Because of this the statements made would appear to have considerable significance. Sarell followed agricultural pursuits for some time, which is not in the least surprising since he was a farmer's son. But in early manhood he came to Dorchester where he learned the trade of tinsmith. If we take this literally, "manhood" means the years following his majority when he turned 21 in 1824. Since he was married in Dorchester in 1827, this implies he came before that. It may be very significant that the account says that he learned the trade of tinsmith in Dorchester without saying for whom he worked, in view of the fact that it says that *later* he worked as a foreman for his brother who was a tinsmith and silver plater. However, this is probably because the *Genealogy* states that Roswell Gleason did not take over Mr. Wilcox's tinware manufactory until 1830. In Webber's article there is early correspondence dating to 1824 where Gleason was buying tin and obviously in possession of the

operation. How soon after 1820 he took possession of the tinware manufactory is not evident. Also, we cannot determine how soon after 1820 his father came to Dorchester and whether he came to help Roswell purchase the operation.

A contemporary account about Gleason's operation written in 1851 is interesting in that it only mentions that he made and peddled tinware.

"Roswell Gleason came to Dorchester from the country a poor boy. Commenced business without any other capital than a determination to do *something* and be *somebody*. Went to work; and all the noise he made was in his tin-shop, where there was an incessant din, from day-light in the morning to a late hour of the night. He succeeded. Such a man *must* succeed; and it was but a short time before there might daily be seen an army of honest tin-peddlers departing from his factory to furnish the "*real* tin", and to bring back in return "rags" and "pewter". He gives employment to a large number of laborers, and gives support to many poor persons; is a bank director, enjoys the confidence of the community, and is highly respected as a citizen."[65]

Roswell Gleason started out as a tinware manufacturer. The large quantities of "tin" he purchased in 1824 and 1825 could have been tin plate, which is thin sheet iron or steel coated with tin, rather than "block" (virgin) tin. Gleason kept his hand in tinware manufacture even after he was making block tin ware and britannia ware. An 1839 broadside advertised Peck's improved machines for tinware and announced that Roswell Gleason not only used these machines but would sell them.[66] They were folding, grooving, turning, and burring machines and there were rollers for pressing beads on coffee pots. In his 1848 advertisement for britannia ware in the *Norfolk Democrat* there is a line at the bottom which lists "Tin Plate, Sheet Iron and Jappaned Ware of every description".[67]

Many tinware manufacturers added pewter or britannia ware to their lines. This is illustrated by Burrage Yale of South Reading, Massachusetts, and Timothy Bailey of Malden, Massachusetts. George Richardson worked for Yale from about 1831 to 1833 and was followed by Luther Boardman. No britannia ware marked with a Burrage Yale touch has been found, so one has to assume that all the wares Richardson and Boardman made for Yale had their marks on them.

The first positive evidence that Gleason made block tin ware or britannia ware is from the year 1837 when the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association awarded Gleason a medal for his block tin ware.[68] There is indirect evidence that would push this back to 1833, as Samuel Green, Jr. listed his profession from 1833 to 1836 as a block tin manufacturer. However, it seems that Gleason was making block tin or britannia hollow ware quite a few years before this. Gleason hired the Greens around 1828 and they may well have made flatware for him from their own moulds, possibly marking the flatware with S.G. BOSTON. Or Gleason may have had them put his name on the wares. There are 8″ and 9″ plates known with Gleason touch marks on them, although these could be much later (1830's or 1840's) church ware. Gleason was sending his wagons out into the back country where fashion was less susceptible to change and the sturdiness of pewter flatware was an advantage.

Richardson came to work for Gleason in 1828. He had a number of moulds for teapot forms from his Boston period, since these show up in Cranston, Rhode Island, a decade later. If he made teapots from his moulds for Gleason, they had his name on them as no teapots with a Gleason mark bear any close resemblance to Richardson's. Ephraim Capen was probably apprenticed at Gleason's plant (not necessarily by Gleason) from 1830 to 1833 and he possibly worked for Gleason until 1838. This would mean that Richardson was there for a year or two when Capen was there and may have trained him. Rufus Dunham worked for Gleason from 1833 to 1835 after having spent two years as an apprentice with Allen Porter.

It would be nice to think that Richardson came to work for Gleason in 1829 to establish the manufacture of block tin teaware, which he had advertised in 1821. There is one piece of physical evidence which apparently negates this idea: a pear-shaped teapot by Roswell Gleason (Fig. 6). When George Richardson started to make teapots in Boston in 1818 all of his teapot bodies were joined at the middle with an "external" seam which showed as a band of solder on the inside with linen lines.[69] All of the teapots marked G. RICHARDSON/BOSTON have internal seams. These wares were followed by those marked with G.

RICHARDSON/WARRANTED. The earliest of these (probably made from 1821-1824) had internal seams which gave way in the last of his Boston period (from 1825-1828) to the external seam with no solder showing on the inside of the teapot body.

If the above chronology is correct, it means that when Richardson came to work for Gleason in 1829 he had been joining teapot bodies with external seams for several years. Further, if he set up Gleason's teapot manufacturing facilities, Gleason's first teapots should have had external seams. However, the Gleason pear-shaped referred to above has an *internal* seam. Richardson was evidently not responsible for the manufacture of this pot, and one can conclude that Gleason was already producing block tin teapots when Richardson came to work for him. Richardson may have gone to work for Gleason as a journeyman and introduced the technique of making external seams. He may also have been hired to train apprentices.

A comparison of Gleason's pear-shaped teapot with one by George Richardson with an extended base supports the assumptions made above (Fig. 6). The bodies and lids of both are almost identical. However, the spout on Gleason's pot is 1/8″ longer and the upper loop of the handle is about 1/2″ shorter so neither of these parts was copied from Richardson's pot. The Gleason teapot holds two ounces more than a quart to the brim, an ounce less than Richardson's. We cannot guess who made the moulds for Gleason's first teapots and supervised their fabrication. Perhaps the Greens did; the Green/Austin inventory after Austin's death did contain 27 teapots.

Fig. 6. Pear-shaped teapots with extended bases by George Richardson and Roswell Gleason. Right, teapot marked G. RICHARDSON. It is 7-1/4″ high and holds three oz. more than a quart. Left, teapot marked R. GLEASON. It is 7-1/16″ high and holds two oz. more than a quart.

REFERENCES

The superscript numerals referring to the successive generations from the first immigrant in America are shown in **bold face** parenthesis, such as Roswell,$^{(7)}$ and should not be confused with the reference numerals.

1. *Dorchester Births, Marriages & Deaths, 1826-1850* (Boston, 1905)
2. Another George Richardson was in Dorchester from 1820 to 1840. He was a bachelor and a merchant engaged in the West Indies Trade.
3. L. I. Laughlin, *Pewter in America* (Barre Publishers, 1969), vol I, p. 79.
4. *Ibid.*
5. J. B. Kerfoot, *American Pewter* (Boston, 1924), p. 36.
6. Laughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
7. R. L. Bowen, Jr., *PCCA Bul.*, vol. 7 (March 1979), p. 399.
8. J. W. Webber, "Roswell Gleason", *Antiques*, August 1931, pp. 87-89.
9. Laughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
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11. J. H. Kolaian, *op. cit.*
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16. R. A. Bourne, June 8, 1979 auction, Lot # 55.
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20. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
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24. Laughlin, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 181.
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26. Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
28. R. L. Bowen, Jr., *PCCA Bul.*, vol. 7 (March 1979), p. 375; *ibid.*, vol. 7 (Sept. 1979), p. 419.
29. Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 392.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 85, 94, 96, 98.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
37. R. T. Percy, *Appleton's Journal,* vol. V (July-Dec. 1878), pp. 481-494.
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39. *Ibid.*, pp. 31 & 38 for denials.
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41. *Ibid.*, p. 41. The screw press was probably not thrown out, as at mid-century Reed & Barton had a seven ton screw press. See E. T. Freedly, *Leading Pursuits and Leading Men* (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 403.
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44. *Vital Records of Taunton: Marriages* (Boston, 1928)
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48. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
51. S. G. Williamson, *The American Craftsman* (New York, 1940), pp. 179-180.
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53. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
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55. In *Representative Men, op. cit.*, it is stated that they returned directly to Taunton in 1848, but this cannot be true as Eli Eldridge clearly was in Boston in 1849.
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67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
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