

The
PEWTER COLLECTORS CLUB
of AMERICA INC.

BULLETIN NO. 92-93

MARCH - SEPTEMBER 1986

VOL. 9 NOS. 3 & 4

HENRY WILL BOWL



12" Bowl by Henry Will, see Article page 49





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The President's Letter

At the Board of Governors Meeting on May 16, it was agreed that past issues of the Bulletin currently in inventory would be offered to the membership on a reduced cost basis. However, due to the recent illness and death of Bill Kayhoe, it became necessary to move the entire inventory from Richmond before a sales program could be formulated and put into effect.

We are presently determining what is available in the inventory and intend to offer complete sets and volumes (if possible) and single issues from this inventory reasonably soon. Oliver Deming and Paul Glazier have kindly agreed to act as the principals involved in the planning and distribution and I therefore ask the memberships' patience until the logistics are in place.

I would however suggest that those members who wish to complete their sets or specific volumes, or who may wish to purchase single issues, make their desires known to Paul R. Glazier, 18 East Hill Rd., Torrington, CT, 06790. At present, there are no plans to reproduce additional past issues in quantity for future distribution.

Jack H. Kolaian

Necrology

PCCA members will be saddened to learn of the deaths of three of our Past Presidents this year:

Anne Borntraeger
William F. Kayhoe
Bernard R. Carde

These members gave much to PCCA during their memberships and will be greatly missed. The following are their obituaries:

ANNE BORNTRAEGER
87; Lifelong Resident

(from The Wellesley Townsman, July 31, 1986)

Anne (Oldham) Borntraeger, who was born in Wellesley in 1898, died July 23, 1986, at Newton-Wellesley Hospital.

Mrs. Borntraeger, who would have turned 88 in August, was born on Elm Street in Wellesley Hills and lived in town most of her life. She attended Tenacre, Dana Hall and Smith College, and later studied music.

After marrying Colonel Henry Winter Borntraeger, she traveled with him as he served in the Army. While in Panama, she did relief work through the International Red Cross.

At the start of World War II, Mrs. Borntraeger and their only child, Anne, returned to Wellesley. Her husband was killed while serving in China in 1945.

Mrs. Borntraeger and her daughter shared the family homestead at 24 Livermore Road with her sister, Esther Oldham. A few years ago the sisters moved to Grove Street. Miss Oldham died in 1984.

Mrs. Borntraeger was interested in Wellesley history and did research on various topics, including artist William Ladd Taylor, for the Wellesley Historical Society. She was also a volunteer at Newton-Wellesley Hospital, and was a member of the Round Table Garden Club, the Pewter Collectors' Club (of which she was president), the Fan Circle International and the Fan Association of North America.

Her father, Dr. Arthur Oldham, was the originator of the Wellesley-Needham High School football rivalry, the oldest in the nation. On the game's Centennial in 1982, Mrs. Borntraeger and her sister donated the memorial boulder on Morton Field. She also received a proclamation from Governor Edward King honoring her for her "humanitarian work."

"People remember my mother for her quiet friendliness, her real interest in other people," her daughter Anne Orser said earlier this week. "She listened, she brought you out. And she had such a pretty smile. Everybody loved her."

Mrs. Borntraeger, who was also the daughter of the late Anne Howard Oldham, will be buried in a private graveside service at Arlington National Cemetery, with her husband. She is survived by her daughter, son-in-law John, and three grandchildren: Thomas, David and Anne-Elise (Holly), all of Wellesley.

WILLIAM F. KAYHOE

(from The Richmond Virginia Newleader
August 19, 1986)

A memorial service for William F. Kayhoe, retired president of Kayhoe Construction Corp. and a noted pewter craftsman, will be



held tomorrow at 3 p.m. in Cannon Memorial Chapel at the University of Richmond. Burial will be private.

Mr. Kayhoe, 67, died yesterday at his home, 1007 Baldwin Road.

A native of Richmond, Mr. Kayhoe received his bachelor's degree in business from the University of Richmond in 1940.

He joined the U.S. Army Air Corps after graduation and flew more than 225 combat missions during World War II. He later served as an instructor to B-24 Liberator and B-29 Superfortress air crews. He left the service in 1945 as a major.

After he returned to Richmond, Mr. Kayhoe joined his father's construction business, Muhleman and Kayhoe Inc. He began his own company in 1956 and retired in June as its president.

Mr. Kayhoe was a past president of several organizations, including: The Virginia Alpha Alumni Board for Sigma Phi Epsilon fraternity, the Home Builder's Association of Richmond, the Builder's Exchange of Richmond, the West End Business Men's Association, the Antique Collector's Guild, the Pewter Collector's Club of America and the Bull and Bear Club Inc.

He was also a former chairman of the Henrico County Board of Zoning Appeals, a past director and treasurer of the Richmond Better Business Bureau, a member of the board of governors of the Pewter Collector's Club of America, and a member of the board of trustees of Patrick Henry Hospital in Newport News. He also was a member and trustee of the Virginia Aeronautical Historical Society and was instrumental in planning the society's Virginia Aviation Museum now under construction in Richmond.

Mr. Kayhoe was known for his pewter craftsmanship, especially for his original design of a number of spoons and a teapot.

Survivors include his wife, Mrs. Mary P. Kayhoe; one daughter, Mrs. Susan K. Brett; one son, Michael John Kayhoe; his mother, Mrs. Gladys M. Truesdale, all of Richmond; two sisters, Mrs. Jean K. Pidgeon of Memphis, Tenn., and Mrs. Mary K. Ford of Charlotte, N.C. and one brother, M.E. Kayhoe Jr. of Charlottesville.

BERNARD R. CARDE

(October 21, 1986)

Bernard R. Carde, 71, of Centerbrook, Conn., husband of June (Tomlinson) Carde, died Oct. 18 at home. He was a former vice president and treasurer of American Hardware Corp., New Britain, and retired as vice president and treasurer of the hardware division of Emhart. He was a corporator of New Britain General Hospital. While living in Farmington, he was one of the founders of the Farmington Historical Society, and served as president. He was vice president of the Exchange Club, Farmington, and served as chairman of the Boy Scouts. He was a member of the Appraisers Association of America, and for some 30 years was a participant with his wife June, in antique shows throughout New England, Florida, California and the midwest. He served as president of the Pewter Collector's Club of America, and lectured on American pewter. He is survived by his wife, June; a son, Ring T. Carde, his daughter-in-law, Anja, and two grandsons, Christopher and Nicholas, all of Amherst, Mass.

Henry Will Bowl

By Charles V. Swain

The originality and ingenuity used in the art of pewter making by the brothers Will and their father John seems to be unsurpassed by any other American pewterers. The bowl on the cover of this issue of the Bulletin and shown herewith Fig. 1, by Henry Will, is an excellent example of this family's creative ability in that the use of a continental European scrolled border has been successfully introduced to American pewter. After overcoming the initial impact of looking at such an un-American appearing piece, one should not be at all surprised at its unusual and pleasing design, considering that it was made by the inventive Henry and taking into account the German background of his family. His method of constructing this bowl would appear to be unique in American pewter, for rather than pouring the pewter into a mould to form the flat rim and raised scrolled border in one piece, he has, instead, fashioned the "wavy



edge”, as it is called by the English, separately and soldered it to the rim. This is the only recorded American piece to be constructed in this manner, although this type of fabrication was also employed in Europe. Being so carefully “handmade” this bowl should fall into the category of the fine arts rather than in that of the decorative!

The bowl is hammered and the rim is well marked on the top side with the H.W. hallmarks, Laughlin 491, and the rose and crown touch with the name Henry Will - New York, Laughlin 492. The diameter is 12 inches and the depth is 2¾ inches.

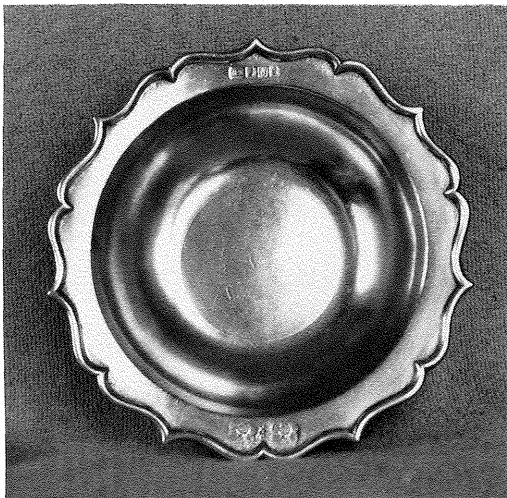


Fig. 1. 12" Henry Will Bowl.

A Note on S. S. Hersey

by H. H. Sandidge, Jr.

Last summer in Maine I made a discovery which I felt worthy of our members' attention.

As you know S. S. Hersey, Belfast, Maine 1830-40 (Laughlin's dates) is thought to be America's northernmost pewterer. Surprisingly I found a complete cast iron apple peeler with 4 cogs and a wooden handled crank of ingenious design with the following cast on the "arm" to which is attached the apple peeler: "Pat'd June 18, '61 & Aug. 30, '63", (Fig. 1).

This extends Hersey's active production by 3 years and also indicates his versatility in other metals. He died in 1870.

This peeler is now owned by the Maine State Museum, Augusta, Maine along with a handsome pitcher and is part of an ongoing exhibition there entitled "Made in Maine" which I commend to all our members.

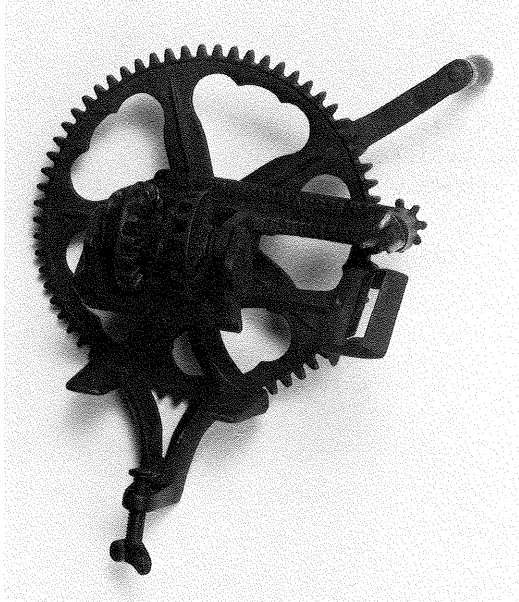


Fig. 1 Apple peeler by S. S. Hersey, Belfast, Maine (photo by Greg Hart courtesy Maine State Museum).

A New Samuel Hamlin Mark

by Webster Goodwin

Sooner or later it had to happen.

Hamlin's large straight line mark (Laughlin 844 Vol. 3 Plate CV) has been generally conceded to be "not right", inasmuch as it has been found on English pieces and the crudeness of the die-cutting is not in keeping with the fine work in any of Hamlin's other dies, for that matter no pewterer of the period would use such a crudely executed die.

The maker of this imitation certainly had to be inspired by something he had seen and sure enough a fine large straight line mark (Fig. 1) has turned up on the handle of a 5¼" flowered handled porringer. (Fig. 2). This handle is identical to three others in the writer's collection which bear Hamlin's marks L-334,





Fig. 1. New Samuel Hamlin straight line mark.

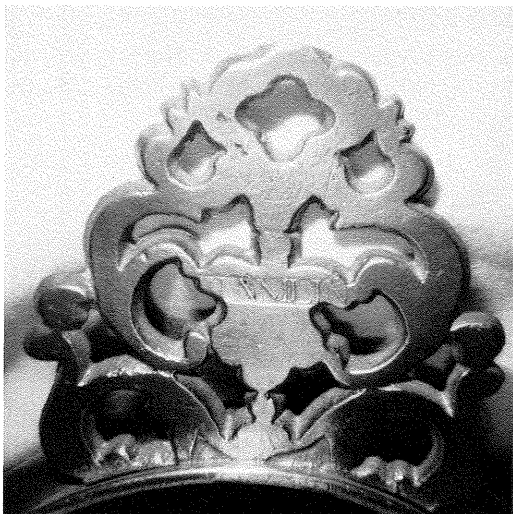


Fig. 2. Hamlin porringer handle with straight line mark.

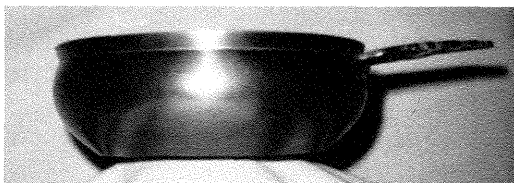


Fig. 3. Typical Hamlin porringer - note taper of bowl.

336 and 337 (Samuel E. Hamlin) and the bowl is the same size and of the same typical Hamlin tapered configuration. (Fig. 3).

The writer would like to know of other Hamlin pieces known with this mark.

A New Form By Thomas Danforth III?

by Webster Goodwin

Below is a photo of an interesting syrup pitcher which I recently acquired (Fig. 1). Obviously it is a typical Connecticut pint mug to which a spout has been added along with a cover with an extension covering the spout, all of which indicates the versatility and



Fig. 1. Thomas Danforth III's syrup from his pint mug. Height 6", top diameter 3¼", base diameter 4⁴/₁₆".



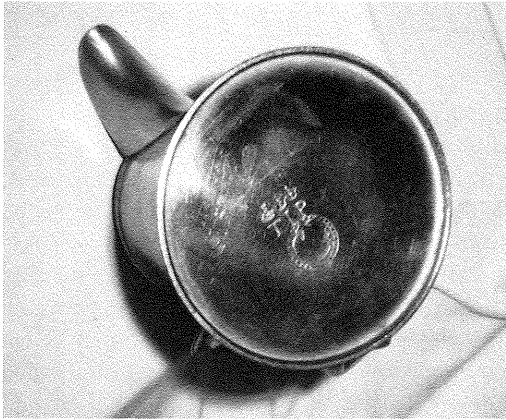
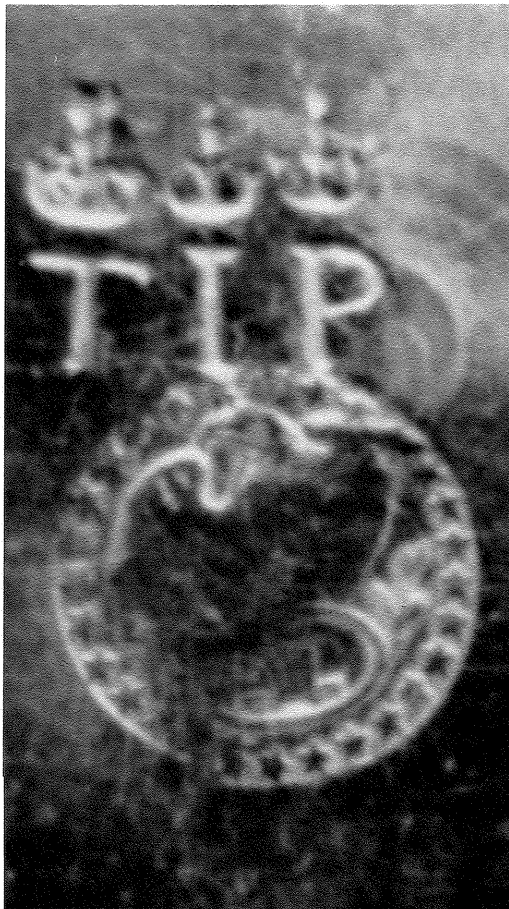


Fig. 2. Mark on base of Danforth syrup pitcher.



ingenuity of early pewterers in making one form serve several purposes.

While it is most unusual to find Connecticut pint mugs made into syrup jugs it is even more so to find one with the T D eagle mark of Thomas Danforth III (Jacobs 118) along with crowned owners marks "TIP" impressed with the dies inherited from his father Thomas Danforth II (Fig. 2).

Has anyone seen another?

'Love' Communion Pieces?

By Bob Touzalin

I don't like to write on subjects that I don't know anything about, but sometimes unknown things are the most intriguing. Twelve years ago, I wrote two separate articles about newfound pieces; one article concerned a 'Love' mold flagon and the other was about a pair of unusual chalices. The three pieces which were the subject of these articles are shown in Figure 1.



Fig. 1. 'Love' Communion pieces?

These pieces were together when acquired, and had come to the dealer from a source in Pennsylvania. At the time I obtained these items and wrote the articles for the Bulletin, no relationship of the pieces occurred to me.

Although the form of the flagon is well known (without the spout), there are, to my knowledge, only three pieces of this spouted design which have had any exposure. One of them was in the collection recently stolen from the Williams shop. As far as the chalices are concerned, about a half dozen are known to survive, and there may be more in private collections which have not received publicity. At least one other is beaded on the base as the pictured ones are.

It has been accepted that the subject flagons originated in 'Love' molds, but some expert opinion favored the theory that the flagons were not produced by 'Love' but by some pewterer who inherited the molds. How this theory is based, I don't know, but I certainly can't prove otherwise.

The chalices are mavericks. The form is sometimes referred to as transitional, meaning



a form used around 1800, before the proliferation of designs used by Britania makers. It has been said that the form is eighteenth century in design, and the thinner quality of the metal more characteristic of nineteenth century production. There doesn't seem to be any closely related form in either century. To my knowledge, no chalices of this design are marked.

Now consider another interesting fact. Reference to lists of pewter made by 'Love' shows the fact that literally dozens of forms were produced. Missing however is mention of any form of flagon or chalice. This seems peculiar for a maker of 'Love's versatility in business in the second half of the eighteenth century. Is it possible that the forms here being discussed are the missing communion pieces?



Fig. 2. Beading on the base of chalices in Fig. 1.

The beading on the bases of the two subject chalices, Figure 2, is a well known feature of Eastern Pennsylvanian pewter forms. Page 131 of Jacob's 'Guide to American Pewter' shows a picture of a Queen Anne teapot made by 'Love'. The beading on this teapot appears to be identical to that on the pair of chalices.

There may exist some evidence to disprove the theory that the flagon and chalices are 'Love's version of these communion items, but until that evidence surfaces, I, like most pewter collectors, would like to assign a legitimate pedigree to three handsome pieces.

Half-Pint Tankards

by Bob Touzalin

Anyone who spends time in British pubs discovers quickly that a man's drink is a pint (Imperial) of bitter, ale, lager or other brew, and a lady's drink is ½ pint. Judging by the number of surviving specimens, it appears that the eighteenth century and earlier drinker didn't bother with smaller capacity drinking vessels, but generally drank from a quart covered tankard or mug. Enough pints also survive to indicate that the ladies also had their drinking vessels, although there's no proof that there was sex discrimination. In the 17th and 18th centuries, lidless tankards were not in nearly as extensive use as were covered tankards.

Smaller sizes of 18th and early 19th century covered tankards appear to be quite scarce, and I have only seen or heard of 4 or 5 during a lot of travel and pewter hunting in Britain. I'm sure that more exist in private collections. I'm also sure that those who searched for pewter in Britain back in the heydays of importing to America encountered many pieces that we no longer find.



Fig. 1. "Half-Pint Tankards"

Within the past 2 years, I have acquired the two half-pint tankards shown in Figure 1. The one on the left is by Townsend & Compton. The mark on the other is indistinct, and it is thought to be late 18th century. For purposes of comparison, the half-pint tankards are flanked by 18th century pint and quart tankards. The pint is by Richard Going and the quart by Philip Matthews.

As collectors of British pewter know, covered tankards lost their popularity early in the 19th century, and lidless vessels took over common pub use. The days of the handsome Georgian tankards were over, both in Britain and America.



Gershom Jones' Touch Marks

by Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

In his account of Gershom Jones of Providence (b. 1752, d. 1809) Laughlin wrote that "he is said to have 'served his time with a coppersmith in Norwich', and the striking similarity of his early touch to that of John Danforth of Norwich, Connecticut leaves little doubt as to the source of his training".¹ Indeed there is a remarkable similarity between the marks of the two pewterers (Figs. 1 and 2),² leading some to suggest that the dies were cut by the same die sinker.³ However, this is not proof that Jones was apprenticed to John Danforth. Laughlin's source for the statement was Edwin N. Stone's memorial of the 71st anniversary of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers.⁴ The account was written in 1860 and falls into the realm of oral history in certain aspects, as the elder Samuel Hamlin's sons Samuel E. (b. 1772) and William (b. 1774) were still living. Stone probably obtained the information about Jones' apprenticeship from Samuel E. Hamlin. He refers to Gershom Jones simply as a "coppersmith", although he did say that he worked at the sign of the "Pewter Platter".⁵

However, Stone was apparently confused about the apprenticeships of William Hamlin and his father Samuel. He said that Samuel was a native of Middletown, Connecticut, and served his apprenticeship in Newport,⁶ while he stated that William was born in Providence and served his time with a gold and silversmith in Middletown.⁷ He obviously transposed the towns where the two were apprenticed. It is generally accepted that Samuel Hamlin was apprenticed to Thomas Danforth II, brother of John Danforth, in Middletown.⁸

So far as Gershom Jones' apprenticeship goes, there is documentary evidence in the Connecticut records proving that he was indeed apprenticed to John Danforth. The following item appears in the Norwich records.

Gershom Jones a minor of the Town of Norwich appeared in the Court and made choice of John Danforth of said Norwich to be his guardian which choice is allowed and the said court accepted the trust and gave bond for a faithful discharge of the office and trust.⁹

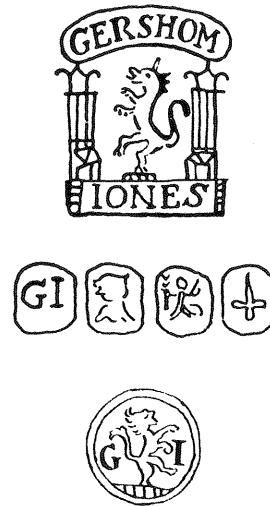


Fig. 1. Pre-Revolutionary marks of Gershom Jones. Natural size. (After Jacobs.)

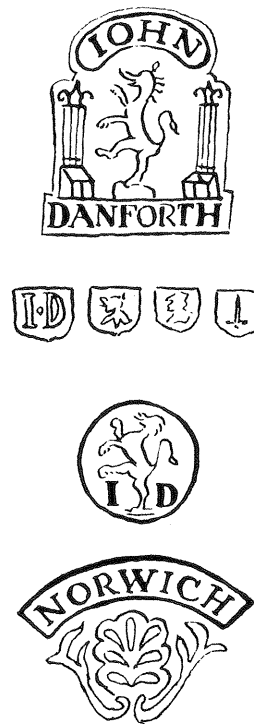


Fig. 2. Marks of John Danforth of Norwich. Natural size. (After Jacobs.)



The original bond is still on file:

Know all men by these presents that John Danforth of Norwich in the County of New London and Colony of Connecticut in New England am holden and stand firmly bound and obligated unto Hezekiah Huntington, Esq., Judge of the Court of Probate for the District of Norwich and to his successors in said office in the penal sum of fifty pounds lawful money of sd. Colony, to be paid to the sd. Hezekiah Huntington, Judge, or to his certain Attorney or Successors in sd. Norwich to the which payment well and truly to be made and due, I the said John Danforth do bind myself, my heirs and executors and administrators and each and every one of them for and in the whole firmly by these presents signed with my hand and sealed with my seal.

Dated at Norwich the 5th Day of January in the 7th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the 3rd 1768.

The conditions of this obligation is such that the above bounden John Danforth now elected and allowed guardian to Gershom Jones, a minor of sd. Norwich.

John Danforth

Sometime after the Revolution started Gershom Jones discarded his old lion-in-gateway touch mark and hallmarks for a new set. In his pioneering work on American pewter Kerfoot stated that the typical English touches such as the rose and crown or the rampant lion were abandoned after the Revolution because of the stigma of British association and replaced by state arms or more or less ornamental name cartouches.¹⁰ Later the eagle was a popular replacement; Kerfoot had realized the relative lateness of the eagle as a touch mark, noting that only six of the 47 eagles he showed came from the 1790's.¹¹ He pointed out that the American eagle "had to be hatched" before it could be used as a pewterers' mark. Montgomery failed to consider this when he listed rampant lions as pre-1782 and eagles as post-1782.¹² The 1782 date was presumably based on the date the first die was made for the Great Seal of the United States depicting the eagle. Williamson also took 1782 as the date of first use of the eagle by pewterers.¹³ Actually it took quite a few years after 1782 for the eagle to become popularized.

The revolution wrought swift and significant changes in many old, favorite signboards after the Declaration of Independence — down came the King's arms and up went the peoples' arms. Crowns and scepters, lions and unicorns furnished fuel for bonfires or were painted out forever.¹⁴ The *Newport Mercury* of August 19, 1776 noted that the sign of the

British Union Jack, a tavern sign in town for nearly half a century, was recently taken down and a flag of the thirteen United States put in its place. In Philadelphia the emblem of the Golden Lion Inn was changed to a yellow cat. After the Declaration of Independence was read in New York for the first time on July 9, 1776 a mob pulled down a huge lead statue of George III weighing four thousand pounds and later turned it into bullets.¹⁵

The lion was a particular target for vengeance as it was truly symbolic of Great Britain. This is clearly shown by the coat of arms of King George III which was displayed at the center of the masthead of the *Newport Mercury* during 1774 and 1775 (Fig. 3). The



Fig. 3. Arms of George III as shown on the masthead of the *Newport Mercury*.

most prominent feature is the left supporter of the central oval shield: it is a robust rampant lion guardant (looking at the viewer) with a crown. The right supporter is a unicorn, while the crest is made up of a crown surmounted by a lion passant guardant with a crown. The central shield is quartered, representing the arms of George III (Fig. 4).¹⁶ In the upper left

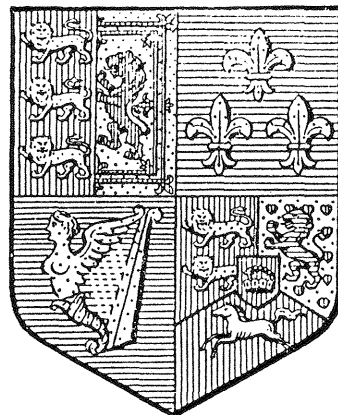


Fig. 4. Arms of George III showing the elements making up the whole. (After Zieber.)



are three lions passant guardant (representing England) impaling a rampant lion at the right (for Scotland). At the lower right are the arms of Hanover with two lions passant guardant, a rampant lion and a horse courant. While the man in the street probably did not understand the subtle meanings of all the heraldic symbols, he certainly would get the impression that the lion represented the Royal Crown—there were six lions passant and three rampant lions in the design, with two of them wearing crowns.

The arms of George III were shown at the head of the printed proceedings of the Rhode Island general assembly and on other official documents of the Colony. After Rhode Island's separation from Great Britain on May 4, 1776 the Royal arms were replaced with the arms of the State of Rhode Island on these printed documents. The rebellion against the lion is graphically shown by the reverse of a post-Revolutionary seal of the State of Pennsylvania showing Liberty trampling a lion, the emblem of tyranny (Fig. 5).¹⁷ This indicates quite clearly that the lion was symbolic of Great Britain.

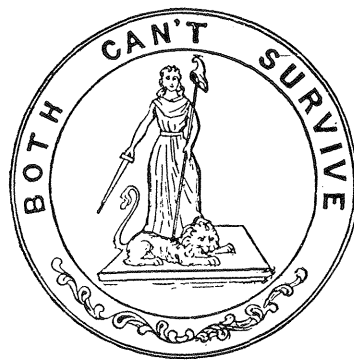


Fig. 5. Reverse of the post-Revolutionary seal of the State of Pennsylvania showing Liberty trampling a lion. (After Zieber.)

However, American pewterers' marks bearing rampant lions apparently did not have the same stigma as the lions displayed publicly. While Americans were fiercely opposed to British authority, they still had a preference for English-made goods, especially pewter. Apparently they were not bothered by English-like marks on American pewter. Possibly it gave them the feeling that it was English and they may have expected it.

In Connecticut Thomas Danforth used his rampant lion touch until his death in 1782, while John Danforth used his until around 1795. It is particularly important to note that Joseph Danforth of Middletown, working from 1780 to 1788, and Edward Danforth of Hartford, working from 1786 to 1795, chose a rampant lion as their touches. The only other rampant lion used in New England was that of Nathaniel Austin of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who worked from 1763 to 1807. He eventually replaced this with an eagle-in-gateway, but the eagle design he used was not popular until after 1788. Here the lion was replaced by an eagle because of the popularity of the eagle, not because of any disdain for the lion.

Based on the use of the rampant lion in Charlestown, Norwich and Middletown pewterers' touches until at least 1786, it cannot be assumed that Gershom Jones discarded his lion-in-gateway touch immediately after 1776. Actually he never did discard his small rampant lion initial touch. It will be shown below that his anchor and eagle touches could not have been cut before 1786, at which time he could have abandoned his lion-in-gateway. However, there is a name and town label which could have been introduced between 1776 and 1786 (Fig. 6). The shape of this mark is identical to that of John Danforth's NORWICH label (Fig. 1). The leaf design has



Fig. 6. Gershom Jones' post-Revolutionary name/town label and hallmarks. Natural size. The hallmarks shown by Jacobs were enlarged 42%. (Modified from Jacobs.)



been replaced by a rosette (a stylized rose) and Gershom Jones added his name. He probably had his new larger hallmarks cut at the same time as both the name/town label and the hallmarks have the same spaced lozenge borders. The lion head, seated Britannia, and sword in the earlier marks were replaced with a hanging sheep, anchor and rosette. This is the first use of the Rhode Island anchor in a pewterer's mark. David Melville probably copied Jones' name/town label and hallmarks as they are identical in format (Fig. 7). He halved Jones' rosette in the label and added thirteen stars at the very bottom.

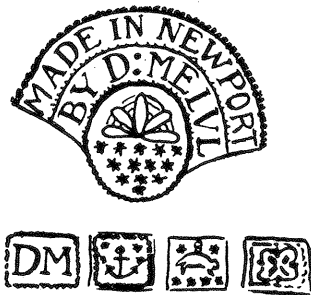


Fig. 7. David Melville's name/town label and hallmarks. Natural size.

Dating the introduction of Jones' name/-town label and the abandonment of his original lion-in-gateway and hallmarks is a matter of pure speculation. It could possibly be suggested that this happened in the first rush of the Revolution when the British occupied Newport in 1776. However, this would mean that Jones only used the early marks for a few years, and there is just too much surviving ware stamped with these marks for this to have happened. Gershom Jones was in partnership with Samuel Hamlin from 1774 to 1781. In the latter year Jones sued Hamlin over funds he advanced to Hamlin, which he maintained Hamlin misused when Jones was off with the army in 1780. Possibly his early touches were lost during this period or when he moved his equipment out of the shop occupied by Hamlin. However, it seems more reasonable to assume that the new touches were acquired when Jones opened up a shop of his own in 1781. The name/town mark was an advertisement for his new shop, and the new hallmarks were slightly larger and showed an anchor, symbol of Rhode Island.

On the same day that the Declaration of Independence was signed a motion was made

to prepare a device for the seal of the United States of America. The final design for the Great Seal was approved by Congress on June 20, 1782. The obverse of the Great Seal was also to be the coat of arms of the United States. The die for the Great Seal was cut on a 2¼" diameter brass disk, and the first impression of the seal was made in September 1782 on orders authorizing George Washington to exchange prisoners of war with the British.¹⁸ The first engraving depicted an extremely naive rendition of the eagle, with an elongated neck and wings, and scrawny featherless legs that were more appendages of the rectangular shield than the body, giving the eagle a beguiling archaic quality. Benjamin Franklin used a copy of the first Great Seal as an emblem on the title page of two pamphlets published in 1783 (Fig. 8).¹⁹ Although the states were notified of the description of the device, the popularization of the arms of the United States took many years.

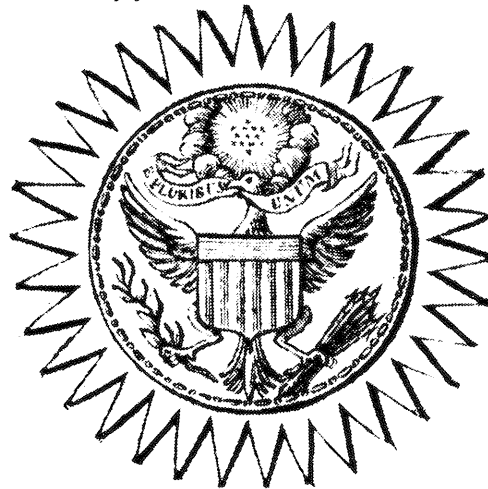


Fig. 8. Representation of the Great Seal of the United States used by Benjamin Franklin on the title pages of two pamphlets in 1783. (After Patterson & Dougall.)

Bennett Wheeler's *United States Chronicle* had been published for two years with a very simple masthead composed of type (Fig. 9). Then with the January 5, 1786 issue of the *Chronicle* the masthead contained representations of the arms of both the United States and Rhode Island (Figs. 10, 11, and 12). This is the earliest popular representation of the arms of the United States. Previously all authorities have held that the Trenchard engraving published in the September 1786 *Columbia Magazine* was the earliest popular



[Volume II.]

[Number 105.]

The United States Chronicle:

Political, Commercial, and Historical.

Published by BENNETT WHEELER, opposite the MARKET, in PROVIDENCE.

THURSDAY, December 29, 1785.

Fig. 9. Masthead of the *United States Chronicle* used during 1784 and 1785. Reduced to 65%.

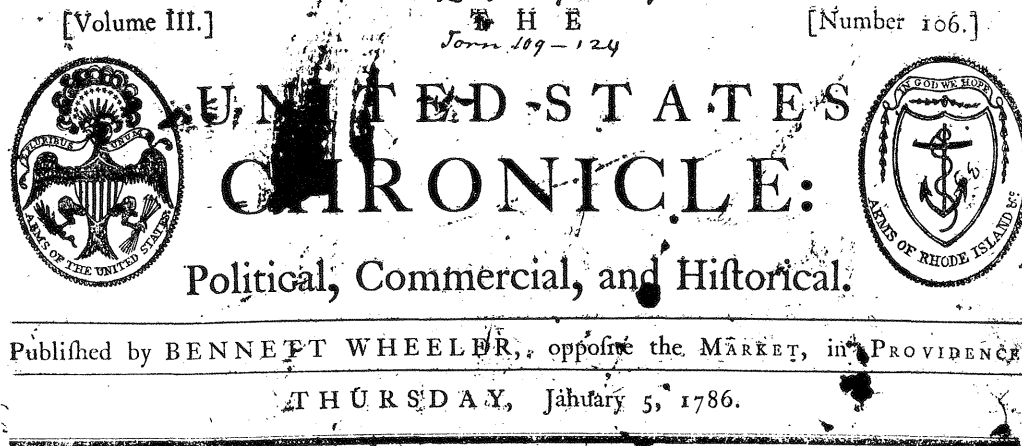


Fig. 10. Masthead of the *United States Chronicle* first used on January 5, 1786. Reduced to 65%.

publication of the obverse of the Great Seal or the arms of the United States (Fig. 13).²⁰ The *Chronicle* design was a full eight months earlier and had been printed at least 35 times before the *Columbia Magazine* was published. The *Chronicle* undoubtedly found its way into many other states.

The rectangular shield of the original seal design was changed to a Norman shield in the *Chronicle* design. This enabled the eagle to be drawn in a more lifelike manner, with the shield tapering down where the body becomes smaller. The Norman shield had been used for the seal of Rhode Island since May 1782, so Rhode Island clearly has priority in using a Norman shield in governmental heraldry. The Trenchard engraving must have derived the Norman shield from the *Chronicle* design.

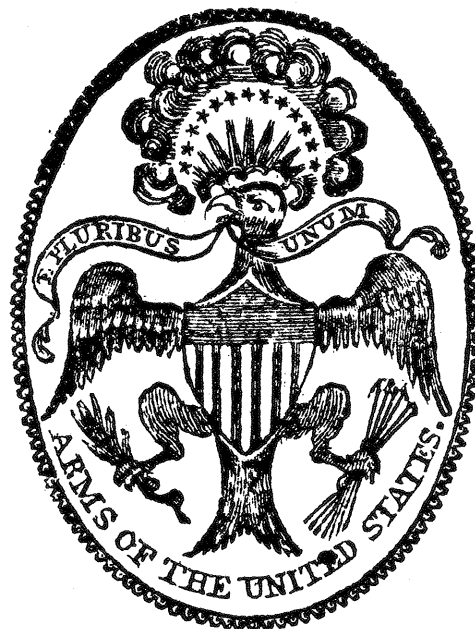


Fig. 11. Arms of the United States from Fig. 10. Enlarged 73%.



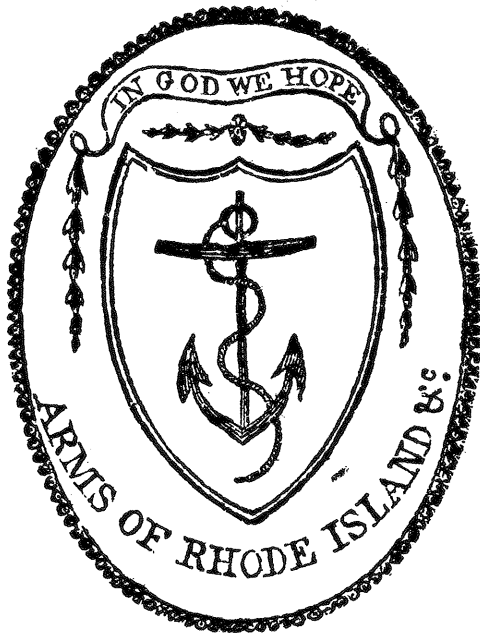


Fig. 12. Arms of the State of Rhode Island from Fig. 10. Enlarged 73%.

However, the Trenchard design follows the Great Seal in having the wings of the displayed eagle raised; the *Chronicle* eagle has the wings down. Many designs followed the *Chronicle* with the wings down — good examples are the 1787 and 1788 Massachusetts cent and half cent (Fig. 14). A somewhat similar speculative pattern copper dated 1786 is known (Fig. 15).²¹



Fig. 14. Arms of the United States shown on the Massachusetts cent in 1787 and 1788. Enlarged about 50%. (After Prime.)

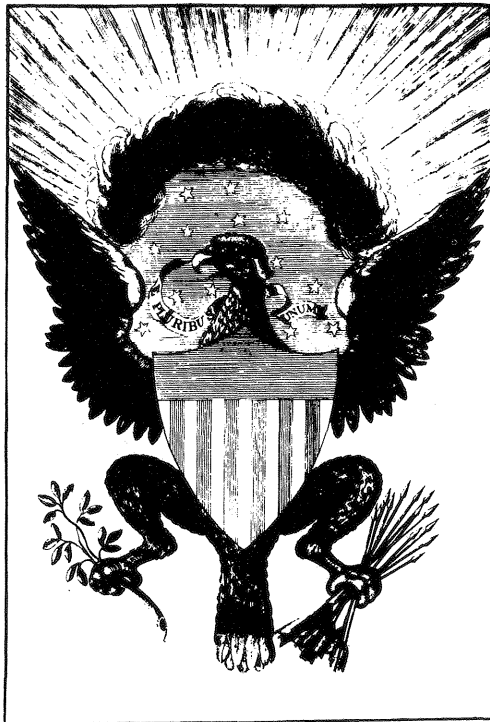


Fig. 13. Trenchard engraving of the arms of the United States published in the September 1786 *Columbia Magazine*. (After Patterson & Dougall.)

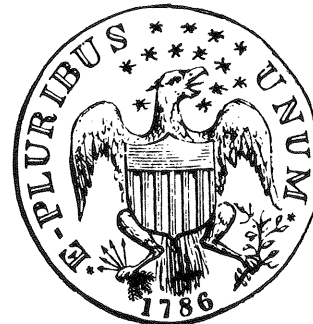


Fig. 15. Arms of the United States shown on a speculative pattern copper of New Jersey in 1786. Enlarged about 50%. (After Prime.)

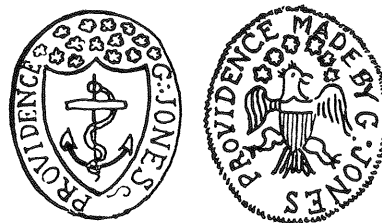


Fig. 16. Two marks of Gershom Jones copied from the masthead of the *United States Chronicle*. Nine stars should be shown above the eagle. (Modified from Jacobs.)



Gershom Jones copied both the eagle and the anchor designs from the *Chronicle*, using a beaded enclosure just as with the *Chronicle* (Fig. 16). Kerfoot specifically commented on Jones' eagle, saying that it added a "touch of humor" to pewterers' touches, "for not only is this probably the earliest use of the eagle as a pewterer's touch, but the eagle itself seems to bear out the fact by appearing to be in the very act of emerging, half-fledged, from the shield".²² Actually, Kerfoot's comments revert to the *Chronicle* design, for Gershom Jones' copy maintains its proportions, although in reducing the design the die cutter did make Jones' eagle look more archaic. Jones' design leaves out the arrows and olive branch held in the claws and the motto, and he shows only nine of the thirteen stars above the eagle's head for lack of space. Kerfoot's comment that Jones' eagle was probably the earliest is indeed correct so far as the Great Seal design goes.

In his anchor design Jones also leaves out the motto, and in its place he adds thirteen stars, forming a juxtaposition of Rhode Island and the United States. The head of Jones' eagle and the coil of the rope around the anchor shank are in the opposite hand from the *Chronicle* prototypes. This probably means that the die cutter worked directly from the *Chronicle* designs so that when the dies were struck these elements were reversed. In English heraldry birds' heads usually faced to the left; this is followed in the impression of the Great Seal. (Fig. 8).

After 1764, when Newport citizens mobbed the crew of a British patrol vessel and later fired on the vessel, Rhode Island seemed hell-bent on revolution. It was the first colony to resort to armed resistance, which culminated in the sinking of the British revenue sloop *Liberty* in 1769 and the burning of the revenue vessel *Gaspée* with the wounding of its captain in 1772. Rhode Island was the first colony to call for a Continental Congress in 1774. Its people and leaders were more united and outspoken in favor of independence than those of any other colony. On May 4, 1776 the general assembly voted to abrogate its allegiance with the King, while not specifically declaring independence.

Rhode Island was small and its livelihood (commerce based predominantly on the rum and molasses trade) was being threatened by the new British policies aimed

at controlling smuggling. Rhode Island joined the Revolution with vigor, though was impoverished by loss of trade during the British occupation of Newport from 1776 to 1779. However, once the war was won Rhode Island wanted to go it alone. United in war, but separate in peace, was its motto.²³ All the state wanted was laissez-faire enterprise and local self-government; it wanted nothing to do with any new centralized control from New York or Philadelphia. Rhode Island and Connecticut were the only states to use the old self-governing charters; the other states drew up written constitutions.

The original Articles of Confederation allowed all states to retain their sovereignty, independence and freedom. Each state had veto power over any expansion of Congressional authority. In 1781 Congress asked for an amendment to the Articles to allow a federal duty on imports to pay expenses. Rhode Island, putting its own sovereign needs first, resisted the proposal and was strongly criticized by the other states. After the peace was signed in September 1783 many states wanted stronger central control, but Rhode Island persistently resisted it. A general desire for a central government with more power led to the Philadelphia Convention in May 1787. Rhode Island was the only state to boycott the proceedings. The Convention produced a draft of the Constitution in September 1787 and sent it to the states for ratification. However, the Rhode Island legislature on thirteen different occasions between 1787 and 1790 refused to hold ratifying conventions.

The Country Party had come to power in Rhode Island in 1786 and represented the agrarians, states righters and the paper money men (a powerful influence in Rhode Island). The Antifederalist feelings of the Country Party against the new Constitution were so strong that when Providence attempted to celebrate the ratification of the Constitution by the nine requisite states along with American Independence on July 4, 1788 hundreds of armed men from the rural areas surrounding Providence prevented it.

When the *United States Chronicle* first displayed the arms of the United States in January 1786 Rhode Island was quite content to belong to the loose union provided by the Articles of Confederation. It had managed to maintain its sovereignty and independence, and continued its laissez-faire enterprise. At



this time the arms of the United States symbolized the Confederation which made this possible. However, with the drafting of the Constitution in 1787 and its submission to the thirteen states for ratification the picture suddenly changed. Rhode Islanders thought that they would lose all they had fought for in the Revolution. Now the arms of the United States took on a sinister Federal meaning and were not something the majority of the people felt comfortable with.

Therefore, Gershom Jones probably had his eagle touch cut in 1786, shortly after its appearance on the *Chronicle* masthead. He certainly would not have had it cut from 1787 to 1790, as the majority of the population would probably not purchase his wares. They would have considered it "Federal" pewter. Normally Jones struck the anchor in the upper left and the eagle in the upper right (the reverse of the *Chronicle* masthead), giving priority to Rhode Island. However, examples of flatware exist with two anchors and no eagle. This probably reflects the period from 1787 to 1790 when Rhode Island was in rebellion against the Union.

In summary the following chronology exists.

Lion-in-Gateway & Early Hallmarks	1774-1781
Lion with Initials	1774-1809
Name/Town Label & Large Hallmarks	1781-1809
Eagle & Anchor Touches	1786-1809

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A Pair of Candlesticks and Other Problems

by Bob Touzalin

In Mr. Cotterell's list of British pewterers, entry number 1597 reads as follows:

1597 Everett, James, London: 11
October 1711, Y Touch 694 L.T.P.
which he had leave to strike on 29
Oct. 1714.

Thus James Everett was elected to the Yeomanry of the London Company in 1711, and in 1714 recorded his mark on the London Touchplate.

To my knowledge, there is no more known about his pewtering in England. Evidently, shortly after recording his touch, he must have sailed to America, as church records show him living in Philadelphia in 1716. In May, 1717, he and fellow Englishman Simon Edgell were admitted as freemen of that city. At this point, all known records of James Everett cease.

The scene shifts from Philadelphia, 1717 to Wales 1943. In the Spring, 1984 journal of the Pewter Society, Dr. Ron Homer contributed an article entitled "A Pair of 'Fake' Candlesticks". The article is reproduced below:

A pair of 'fake' candlesticks

R.F. Homer

Many members will be familiar with the candlesticks shown in the photograph which are housed among the Society's collection of fakes at Pewterers' Hall. Each is made up from two domed tankard lids and several knopped sections from chalice stems. I have recently found a letter from Shelley to Clapperton about the former's purchase of the sticks in 1943 which may be of interest and is reproduced below.

My Dear Clapperton,

Here is a photograph which please keep if it interests you, of an unusual pair of tall pricket candlesticks I have recently bought from a dealer in Crickieth. Height is 12 inches - to top of pricket 13 inches. Touch of James Everett, London, c. 1720, under rims.

I have never seen anything like them, have you? Candlesticks with an identifiable touch are rare. Cotterell only mentions one in the large number illustrated in his book.

The dealer stated that these are reputed to have been in a Welsh chapel. If so it must have been a R.C. or Anglican building, for nonconformists never favoured anything of the ornamental in their services.

Kindly say what you think of my latest purchase, I shall be very interested to have your opinion. I consider the candlesticks pleasing in design and hope you will agree.

Yours very sincerely,

Roland J. A. Shelley

When these sticks were last shown to members the view was expressed that they were made-up pieces, but were of the period indicated by the touch. Should they be reinstated?

Now the scene shifts back to Philadelphia and Florida, 1985. A private collector in Florida acquired a pair of pricket candlesticks similar to the Pewter Society's Everett sticks, except that the Society's sticks have additional sections at the tops and bottoms of the baluster stems. These sticks also have James Everett's marks. The story given to the buyer was that these sticks were obtained from an elderly member of the Logan family of Philadelphia, whose forebears were contemporary with William Penn.

The candlesticks are shown in figure 1. These two pairs of unusual sticks now become the subject for a good discussion. Are they of the period or not, and was Everett the maker? Figure 2 shows the Everett mark on the rim of one stick.

First, I would like to present the points that to me indicate 18th century manufacture. The maker utilized available pieces in making up these sticks. The top bowls are pint tankard





Fig. 1. Everett candlesticks found in Florida. (Courtesy, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library: *Collection of Printed Books.*)



Fig. 2. James Everett mark on rim of candlestick.

lids, the bases appear to be 3-pint tankard lids, and the baluster stems are made up of parts of chalice stems. All of these parts would have been readily available to an early 18th century pewterer. Would they have been available to a 20th century faker? To make up the two known pairs of sticks, he would have had to salvage undamaged parts from 4 similar pint tankards, 4 similar 3-pint tankards and 10 similar chalices. Or he would have had to produce 3 complicated molds plus a pricket mold and cast the parts in these. Would that have been reasonable in the 20th century? I doubt it. At least it would seem to have been

difficult to make a profit from such an operation.

The fact that these are 'made up' pieces is accentuated in the Pewter Society Journal article. British collectors are generally suspicious of a 'made up' pewter form, whereas American collectors are not. There appears to be a good reason for this. British pewterers of the 18th century usually had available molds specifically made for each form. On the other hand, American pewterers, producing a much lower volume, had to improvise extensively. They used tankard lids for chalice bases, small plates for flagon bottoms, beakers for chalice bowls, creamer bases for salts, interchangeable parts for whale oil lamps and candlesticks, and on and on. Therefore we are not shocked to see a 'made up' piece such as the items in question.

This type of improvisation is not as common in British pewter. In fact, Ron Homer of the Pewter Society recently wrote, relative to these candlesticks, "The odd thing is that no other (English) pewterer appears to have had the idea of making up sticks from readily available tankard lids and knobs, thus avoiding the need for expensive molds".

Another factor in favor of 18th century dating of the sticks found in Philadelphia is the fact that these pieces had a very hard coating of scale when acquired. Bob Smoot, who cleaned these sticks, reports that this scale was extremely difficult to remove. At the Autumn, 1985 meeting of the Pewter Society, in Royal Leamington Spa, there was an interesting discussion of scale formation, and there was general agreement that a fair scale can be developed in 60 or 70 years. However, it is doubtful that a scale such as Bob encountered could have formed on a 20th century piece.

The Everett candlesticks found in Wales were reported to have come from a Chapel. Would pewter articles have been purchased for a church in the 19th or 20th century? It seems doubtful, unless it was a very poor congregation. Except for 17th and 18th century communion items, most British churches have silver communion services and ornaments. However, we have only the dealer's word that the sticks were reported to have come from a chapel, so that is not the proven source of the sticks.

The most bothersome features of the Philadelphia Everett sticks is the fact that the



touchmarks are not identical to the mark on the London Touchplate. This is not a conclusive factor, as makers changed punches from time to time or lost the original, but it casts a shadow on the assumption that the candlesticks are authentic.

Weighing all of the considerations mentioned above, my first opinion would have been that these sticks were of the correct Everett period. And, if of the period, why would any other maker have used James Everett's touch, original or otherwise? However, one consideration hovers in my memory. Fourteen years ago I obtained for study, prior to possibly buying it, a lovely Stuart tankard, beautifully marked, distressed and aged. To me, the only disturbing factor was the fact that the mark in the base was not identical to the London Touchplate mark. I wrote and sent photos to Ronald Michaelis for his opinion of the authenticity. I asked him how it could be possible for a faker to make 5 molds, cast the parts, assemble them, produce fairly accurate touches (in this case 5 of them), distress and age the piece, and still sell it at a profit. He answered at length, "It is true that around the 1925-1932 period there was a clever faker at work here - We know his name and his method of working, and there is no doubt that he made excellent fakes *for profit* and *with intent to deceive*. Faked signs of 'age' were added, and signs of stress, such as the crack in the base of yours, were added and sometimes numerous scratches, dents or false inscriptions or initials of (supposed) former owners. I have seen so many of his pieces that it is possible to recognize them even across a room, or from a poor photograph. Many years ago I produced for display a selection of his pieces - salts, candlesticks, broad-rimmed plates and dishes, baluster measures (with 'hammerhead', 'ball and wedge' and even 'bud' and 'd.v.' thumbpieces) and several forms of tankards were all included in his repertoire, and the Pewter Society owns about 20 examples in its "Chamber of Horrors" (now housed in Pewterers' Hall in London and available to view by arrangement). . . It was not necessarily costly to produce fakes in 1930, the molds could have been made, from existing genuine pieces, in plaster of Paris - only one or a few castings would be required of each, but even then these fakes were selling for £20 or £30 when they cost perhaps only £2

or £3 to make. The faker in question nearly always selected *dated* Touchplate marks for copying, and it seems that he seldom copied one of a *named* maker (although one or two examples are known)."

After corresponding with Mr. Michaelis, I was intrigued by his story of faking, and on a visit to the Pewterers' Hall I viewed and photographed the "Chamber of Horrors". At that time, I had in mind writing an article for the P.C.C.A. Bulletin on these fakes. Unfortunately, no one was available who had any knowledge of these items, and inasmuch as most pieces in the collection looked to be of their period and legitimate to me, I decided that I had no good material for a write-up.

Figures 3, 4, 5 and 6 are old and, I am afraid, not too good photographs that I took during that visit to Pewterers' Hall. Figure 3 is the so-called "Chamber of Horrors". Figures 4, 5 and 6 show groups of the most significant pieces. Note an Everett candlestick in Figure 4.



Fig. 3. Pewter Society's (England) "Chamber of Horrors".

Returning to the problem of the authenticity of the Everett sticks, we now seem to have here one of those presently unsolvable mysteries. It will probably not be resolved until someone finds a bill of sale or inventory which describes these items and gives them legitimate age.





Fig. 4. Pewter Society's (England) "Chamber of Horrors".



Fig. 5. Pewter Society's (England) "Chamber of Horrors".



Fig. 6. Pewter Society's (England) "Chamber of Horrors".

Post Script

Dr. Ron Homer and Bob Smoot have provided dimensions of the British and American based Everett candlesticks. With the exception of the overall heights, the dimensions of the sticks are identical:

Diameter of bases - $5\frac{3}{16}$ "

Diameter of tops - $3\frac{13}{16}$ "

Diameter of knops - $1\frac{5}{8}$ "

Due to the additional knop sections used in the Pewter Society's sticks, they are taller than the American-based sticks, measuring 12 inches in height, not including the pricket (Fig. 7), as compared with the $9\frac{5}{16}$ " height of the others.

All sticks are marked on the underside of the flange to the base, using a touch which is smaller than that on the London Touchplate. Ron Homer points out that some pewterers had both large and small touches and it would be natural to use the smaller touch to accommodate the narrow flange on which it was struck.



Fig. 7. Photo of one of the English Pewter Society "Everett" candlesticks shown; additional knop sections.



David Melville's Commemorative Marks

by Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

Any comprehensive analysis of a specific area of American decorative arts requires knowledge of a number of disciplines. History is often one such discipline and is particularly applicable to the study of pewterers at times. Such is well illustrated by the case at hand—the dating of some of David Melville's touch marks.

The thirteen colonies made a Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. The Revolutionary War was fought and the peace was signed in Paris in 1783. After drifting for four years under the Confederation the slow path towards forming a Union of the thirteen states was started with the Philadelphia Convention in May 1787, ending in the drafting of the Constitution in September. Then came the long battle over the ratification of the Constitution, with a two thirds majority, or nine states, needed for passage. Three states (Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey) ratified in December 1787, two (Georgia and Connecticut) in January 1788, and three more (Massachusetts, Maryland and South Carolina) from February to May 1788. New Hampshire became the ninth ratifying state on June 21, 1788, only to be followed by Virginia four days later. The Constitution had been ratified and the Union formed.

Even in some of the early ratifying states there were bitter battles, with the Federalists (representing the mercantile interests) being in favor and the Antifederalists (mainly representing the farmers) being vehemently opposed. Rhode Island was the last to ratify, delaying until May 1790. Here the Antifederalist opposition was stronger than in any other state. In March 1788 the only Federalist communities in Rhode Island, out of the 29 towns, were Providence, Newport, Bristol, and Little Compton. In an early vote (March 1788) the northwest block of four towns voted almost 100% against ratification: Glocester (289-9), Scituate (156-0), Foster (177-0), and Coventry (180-0). The main fear of the farmers was the expected taxation to pay both the Federal debts and the high salaries of the Federal officials.¹

News that New Hampshire had ratified the Constitution on June 21, 1788 reached Provi-

dence on the morning of the 24th. The *Providence Gazette* of June 28th was exuberant in stating that the "structure of the national Government was completed, and the Federal Edifice firmly established on NINE GLORIOUS PILLARS". All the bells in town were set ringing and schools were dismissed for the day. At noon a nine gun salute was fired on Federal Hill in honor of the states that had adopted the Constitution and was repeated several times during the day. It was reported that those wavering and some previously against the Constitution now heartily joined in the general joy. In the closing ten lines of the account, the publisher editorialized, suggesting that the new Constitution would be more beneficial to Rhode Island than to any other state. He hoped that citizens would soon be so convinced and call a convention for adding the "Rhode Island Pillar".

Newport received news of New Hampshire's ratification on the evening of June 24th.² The next day was ushered in with the ringing of bells. In the harbor ships were dressed in their colors, and from many houses the "stripes of America" (flags) were displayed. At 1 o'clock nine 18 pounders were fired at Fort Washington and the salute was repeated at sunset in honor of the nine states, which was re-echoed by loud huzzas.

A town meeting of the inhabitants of Providence was convened on June 27th to decide the most suitable way to commemorate the anniversary of Independence and the adoption of the Federal Constitution by nine states.³ It was resolved that both would be celebrated on the Fourth of July. An elegant feast was proposed following the oration by Reverend Hitchcock at the Baptist Meeting House. An invitation was printed in the newspapers to the citizens of both Town and Country to participate in the celebration.⁴

Following the account of the Providence town meeting and the printed invitation in the July 3rd *U. S. Chronicle* was a long editorial (one third of a page) which acknowledged that some people had questioned the propriety of publicly celebrating great and important events, not excepting even those of the Independence of the Country and the adoption of



the National Constitution. It was suggested that the intention of such a celebration was to conciliate and unite, and by no means to offend and divide. The final line advised that guards would be provided day and night to prevent any tumults.

The events of the Fourth of July celebration in Providence were reported in the July 5th *Providence Gazette*. About 2 P.M. a procession had formed and moved to Federal Plain where the people feasted at a table upwards of a thousand feet long, the whole covered with a canopy of canvas. Two well-fattened oxen (one of which was roasted whole) were provided, along with hams, punch, wine and other provisions. It was estimated that between five and six thousand people, many from remote parts of the State and neighboring states, enjoyed the feast. (The population of Providence in 1790 was only 6,380.) Nothing occurred to mar the day. Thirteen toasts were drunk, under a discharge of thirteen cannon.

In view of the definite announcement that the day was to be celebrated for the adoption of the Constitution by nine States in addition to Independence, it appeared strange that no toasts were drunk to the nine states. The Society of Cincinnati (founded in 1783 by officers who had fought in the Revolution) held their annual meeting in Providence on the Fourth. After the feast on Federal Plain the members adjourned to Dagget's Tavern where they drank nine toasts, one to the "Nine Pillars of the Federal Edifice".

The *Providence Gazette* of July 5th had reported a normal celebration of the Fourth of July without any overtones about disagreement over the Federal Constitution. However, a letter (filling a half page) to the publisher of the *U. S. Chronicle* of July 10, 1788, indicated that the ugly events which proceeded that actual celebration had been glazed over by the *Gazette*. (As each newspaper came out weekly — the *Newport Mercury* on Monday, the *U. S. Chronicle* and the *Newport Herald* on Thursday, and the *Gazette* on Saturday — debates could go from paper to paper.) The letter, from William West, a judge of the Superior Court from Scituate, was prefaced by a comment that inasmuch as various reports had circulated concerning the appearance of the Militia of the County of Providence (which included Gloucester, Scituate and Foster) and others

being assembled under arms near the town of Providence on the morning of the Fourth, certain facts should be published.

West held that the Country at large, seeing the preparations for a public celebration of the adoption of the Constitution, which had already been disapproved by at least 80% of the inhabitants of the State, felt that celebration in such a public manner was a public insult and the general invitation to the Country was an aggravation of the insult. The Country was determined to prevent any celebration of the ratification of the Constitution, whereupon on the eve of the Fourth they assembled about 1,000 men under arms near the Plain where the ox was then roasting. Early on the morning of the Fourth numbers from the Country were still collecting, and had not a compromise between Town and Country taken place, there would have been around 3,000 men under arms by noon, according to West. A committee from each party met in the morning and the Town agreed that they would not celebrate the day on account of the adoption of the new Constitution by nine states, or on account of the Constitution in any respect.

The *Providence Gazette* of July 12th reprinted West's complete comment. It also printed a half page rejoinder by the Town, which complained that in the July 5th *Gazette* account of the events of the Fourth, no mention was made of the appearance of a number of men under arms from the Country whose intent was to prevent any celebration of the new Constitution. The townsmen estimated that the number of disorderly persons assembled the previous night was less than 300; only half of these were armed with guns, the rest had clubs, knives, etc. The description of the armed men differs drastically in the accounts of the two factions. The Town account pictured them as a mob, while the Country implied that they represented the Militia of the various outlying townships, presumably commanded by some authority. The latter is difficult to believe and not substantiated.

The Town's rejoinder ended by lamenting the depravity to which times had fallen, when armed violence was preferred to the laws of the land, even by those whose duty it was to administer them (a veiled reference to Judge William West). The event shows better than anything else how strong were the feelings of the Federalists and Antifederalists in Rhode



Island regarding the Constitution. Early historians gave the event full treatment,⁵ but later historians devoted only a few lines or ignored it.⁶

In this confrontation both sides represented themselves as simply "Town" and "Country", implying a geographical division. However, the two designations also represented ideological differences. The port towns were the strong Federalist centers where the interests of the merchants and manufacturers were predominant, although there were Antifederalist voices present as States Righters. The rural areas in many instances were 100% Antifederalist and were represented by the farmers. In an 1860 history of Rhode Island the two factions were called the "National Party" and the "State Rights Party".⁷ Actually, the agrarian faction was properly known as the Country Party, which came to power early in 1786 and remained dominant until mid-1790.⁸ Therefore, when the Federalist town of Providence invited the "Country" to join in a celebration of the ratification of the Constitution by the requisite nine states it was indeed a taunt to the political opposition worthy of resentment. The confrontation on the Fourth in Providence undoubtedly hardened the Country Party's views and made them more determined than ever to hold out against the Constitution. If ratification by New Hampshire had been handled more diplomatically in Providence, The State might have ratified the Constitution before May 29, 1790.

Two small port towns south of Providence on the west side of the bay celebrated both Independence and the ratification of the Constitution on the Fourth without incidence, and probably without antagonizing their agrarian neighbors to the west. Brief notices occurred in the July 10, 1788 *Newport Herald*. In East Greenwich, 12 miles south of Providence, nine toasts were drunk, one to Federalism, one to the Federal Pillars, and another to the Federal Plan. In Wickford, 18 miles south of Providence, there were ten toasts, one to the ten Federal states. This indicates that news of Virginia's ratification had reached small Wickford several days before it reached Providence, probably via some coasting vessel arriving in port.

News that Virginia had become the tenth state to ratify the Constitution, on June 25th, was received in Providence about 2 P.M. on

July 5, 1788, from the captain of a packet boat from New York.⁹ The raising of the "Tenth Pillar in the Great Fabric of Government" was announced to the town by the discharge of ten cannon and the ringing of all the bells in town. Many people had assembled on Federal Hill above the town, and ten discharges of heavy cannon were made from the Continental pieces lying there. The people on the Hill formed a spontaneous procession — young and old, rich and poor — and with drums beating and colors flying marched down into the town. Nearly a thousand people took part in the celebration. Presumably a similar enthusiastic celebration took place in Newport; however, a copy of the July 7th *Newport Mercury* in which an account would have been printed had not been preserved.¹⁰ No mention was made in the July 10th *Newport Herald*.

The reader may begin to wonder what bearing the ratification of the Constitution could possibly have on pewterer's marks. One element will be revealed in a discussion of some of David Melville's touch marks to follow. The other element is of a negative nature and has to do with what emblems would be popular or considered appropriate as pewterers' touch marks. In Rhode Island antifederalist sentiment had developed even before the Philadelphia Convention in May 1787, as Rhode Island was the only state not to send delegates to the Convention. During the period when other states were ratifying the Constitution the Country party, which represented the majority of the population, became increasingly opposed to the Constitution. Their resentment to the Constitution on July 4, 1788 almost led to an armed rebellion. This feeling persisted up to May 1790 when Rhode Island finally ratified. Feelings were so strong that smoldering resentment lasted after 1790.

It is important to realize this political atmosphere in considering Rhode Island pewterers' touch marks during the period from 1787 to 1790. The eagle as shown on the Great Seal of the United States was used in the masthead of the *U. S. Constitution* from January 1786. It became progressively used as an emblem for the United States after this period, appearing as a decorative motif in many areas. During George Washington's inauguration in 1789 eagle motifs exploded, as emblems on buttons, scarfs, and other dec-



orations. The eagle gradually became symbolic of the Federal Government. Certainly no Rhode Island pewterer would have used an eagle design as a touch mark during the period from 1787 to 1790 — no one from the Country would buy his wares.

William Billings opened a shop in Providence in 1791. His main mark was simply W + BILLINGS in a scroll, which has earlier English antecedents. His other mark was a small circular design with the initials W B and an anchor. The anchor was the emblem of Rhode Island, and would be quite acceptable to the States Righters. Billings apparently did not consider it appropriate at the time to aggravate the antifederalist population with a Federal eagle. Similarly, David Melville (d. 1793) never used an eagle design; Newport was much less federalist than Providence.

Ratification of the Constitution was celebrated in many cities in other states along with the traditional Fourth of July celebration of Independence. Large celebrations were universal, but Philadelphia outdid all in both ardor and ingenuity, with the Fourth of July being set as a magnificent display of federal spirit for both Independence and the Constitution, or the "Frame of Government". A full account of the events was given in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 9, 1788. Each of ten gaily decorated vessels anchored in the harbor hoisted a pennant representing one of the ten states that had ratified. Later in the day ten toasts were given for the ten ratifying states.

A gigantic procession made up of dozens of groups of craftsmen each led with two standard bearers carrying the craft's banner wound through the streets. The goldsmiths' silk banner had their arms on one side and on the other Liberty with her head surmounted with 14 stars. Ten were very bright, representing the states which had ratified, two were less bright for New York and North Carolina, whose ratifications were expected shortly, one star with three dark points and two light ones was an emblem of Rhode Island, and one star with luster equal to the first ten was just emerging from the horizon for the rising state of Kentucky. Rhode Island was being ridiculed nationally. Ridicule became increasingly frequent as Rhode Island held out and has been cited as a backlash in furthering the State's resistance.

* * * * *

I have presented evidence to show that David Melville's boar touch was copied from the boar on a \$4 Continental note about 1780, and that the boar probably represented the defiant Colonies.¹¹ I suggested that his hallmark dies may have been cut at this time. The second hallmark contained an anchor with four stars while the third contained a hanging sheep with six stars (Fig. 1). I noted that the anchor represented the state of Rhode Island and that the stars probably represented the thirteen states, "even though only ten stars were shown in the hallmarks". It now appears that the number of stars may have been significant, and possibly represented the ten states which had ratified the Constitution. Since New York ratified on July 26, 1788 as the eleventh state (news reached Rhode Island on July 29th), Melville's hallmark dies may have been cut in July 1788, rather than 1780 as I originally suggested.



Fig. 1. Hallmarks of David Melville showing ten stars in two of the marks.

If this were the only evidence one might dismiss the ten stars on Melville's hallmarks as just a coincidence, necessitated by a lack of space. However, additional evidence is provided by a 5¼" flower handle porringer with D X M/1788 cast into the handle bracket (Fig. 2).¹² The X could be just a spacer or a quality mark, but it also could be the Roman numeral ten. Thus there is ten over 1788 with the initials D M at the sides.

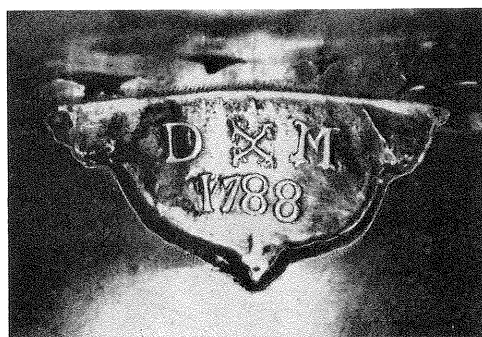


Fig. 2. Bracket of flower handle porringer with D X M/1788 cast on. About natural size. (Modified from Kerfoot.)



Melville cut the inscription on this porringer handle in commemoration of the ratification of the Constitution by ten states in July 1788. The significance of the X and the 1788 on this porringer has never been realized. The hallmarks with the ten stars may have been acquired at the same time, although it would have been rather short-sighted to use ten stars on a permanent basis, as their importance would disappear once the eleventh state had ratified. However, in view of the strong feelings of both Federalists and Antifederalists in Rhode Island, Melville may have put ten stars in his hallmarks in frustration as a subtle notice that ten states had ratified the Constitution.

Melville's large anchor touch is a representation of the arms of the state of Rhode Island with a foul anchor (i.e., an anchor with a cable) on a Norman shield surrounded by the motto IN GOD WE HOPE (Fig. 3). I stated that the Norman shield was first used for the state arms in May 1782.¹³ This is incorrect: the Norman shield was first used in May 1782 for the seal of the state of Rhode Island, not the state arms, and had only the single word HOPE.¹⁴ There is a subtle difference between the seal and the arms of a state (or of the United States). The seal was a die used for impressing the seal in hot wax on documents, such as acts of the legislature and commissions. The arms, on the other hand, were a decorative device used to symbolize the authority of the government. Probably the earliest use of the arms of Rhode Island was on the paper currency of 1715; they continued to be used on currency until 1781.¹⁵

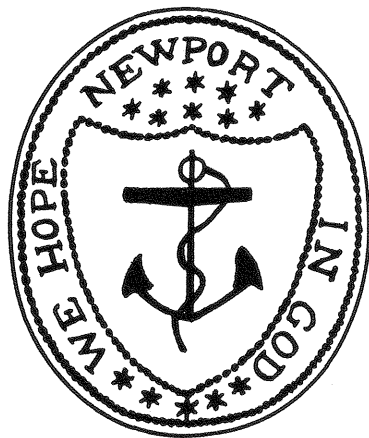


Fig. 3. Large anchor mark of David Melville representing the arms of Rhode Island. Enlarged two times.

The Colony's arms appeared on the title page of *Acts & Laws of His Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island*, printed in 1730 (Fig. 4). The same design was used later in 1760 at the end of the printed "Acts and Resolves of the General Assembly".¹⁶ However, it was the newspapers that were responsible for the popularization of the arms of the Colony and the State. The July 10, 1775 *Newport Mercury* first showed the Colony's arms in its masthead (Fig. 5) and were used until 1786. Upon Rhode Island's separation from Great Britain in May 1776 this same design replaced the Royal arms at the head of the printed proceedings of the General Assembly. Here is seen the first use of the motto IN GOD WE HOPE, which replaced the single word HOPE used earlier on both the arms and the seal. The "shield" in this design was composed of a scrolled enclosure. The *United States Chronicle* of January 5, 1786 appeared with the arms of the United States at the left of the masthead and the arms of the State of Rhode Island at the right. This is the first appearance of the Rhode Island arms in a Norman shield with the full motto (Fig. 6). Melville's anchor touch is a copy of this and could not have been cut before 1786 (I previously suggested 1784).



Fig. 4. Arms of the Colony of Rhode Island printed in 1730. (After Chapin.)

Since Melville's hallmarks are found with the boar mark, this means that the range of the boar mark must extend past the date of 1783 I originally suggested (which was based on the assumption that the anchor touch was cut in 1784). If the hallmarks were not cut until 1788, then the boar touch must have been used up until then. Further, since at least



Fig. 5. Arms of the Colony of Rhode Island shown on the masthead of the *Newport Mercury* of July 10, 1775.

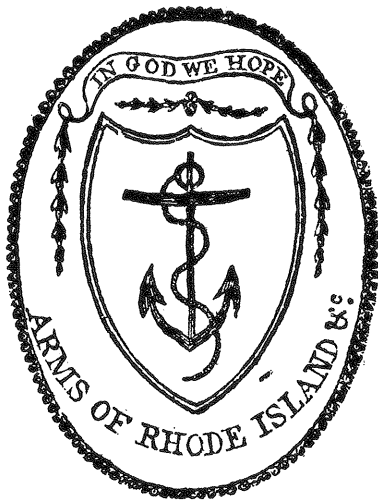


Fig. 6. Arms of the State of Rhode Island first shown on the masthead of the *United States Chronicle* of January 5, 1786. Enlarged about one-third.

one plate is known with both the boar and the large anchor marks, this is proof that the boar was used until at least 1786. In a revised dating the boar mark was used from 1780-1788, the anchor mark from 1786-1793 (when Melville died), and the hallmarks from 1788-1793. If the hallmark dies were cut in 1786 along with the anchor touch (and the ten stars were not significant), this would shorten the use of the boar mark to 1786. It should be noted that the precision is rather great if one can agree over two years.

The Melville flower handle porringer with D X M/1788 on the handle bracket is unique. It might be expected that examples of the

porringer prior to having the inscription engraved would exist — but they do not. The design of the flower pattern of the DXM/1788 handle (Fig. 7) is similar to the commonly

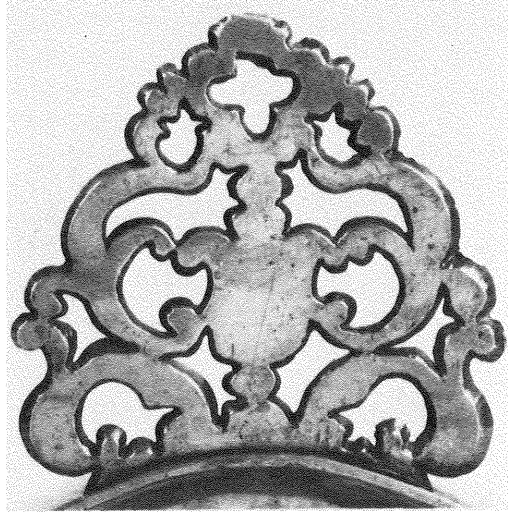


Fig. 7. Design of the top of the flower handle bearing the D X M/1788 shown in Fig. 2. Reduced slightly.



Fig. 8. Flower handle commonly found on 5-5½" porringers of David Melville. The example shown is 5¼" in diameter and has the large anchor mark. Reduced slightly.

found Melville 5-5½" flower handle porringer (Fig. 8). But a comparison of the openings hole by hole clearly indicates that the handles are not the same. Confirming this is the bracket of this latter porringer (Fig. 9) which is noticeably different from that of the D X M/1788 porringer (Fig. 2). The mark on



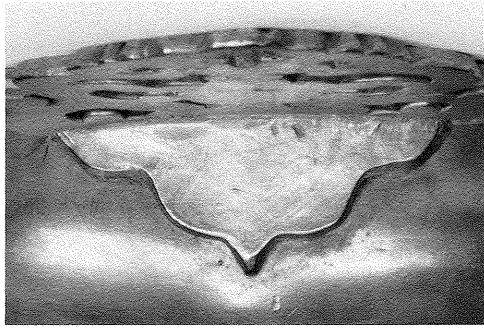


Fig. 9. Bracket of the handle shown in Fig. 8.

this example is the large anchor; examples with the small DM anchor are also known.¹⁷ There is a third variation of flower handles for 5-5½" porringers with the openings larger (Fig. 10). The example shown is 5" in diameter and has the large anchor mark.¹⁸ The bracket is completely different from the other two (Fig. 11). This handle is much like the one commonly found on 4-4½" diameter Melville porringers. No explanation can be offered as to why Melville would have three flower handle moulds for pint porringers which date between 1786 and 1793, a short seven year period.

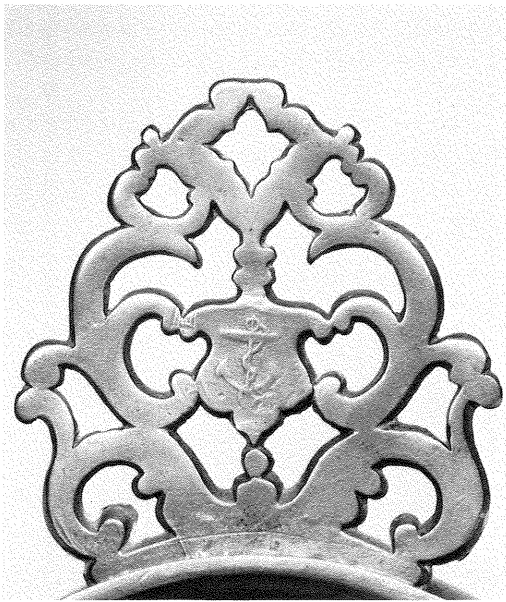


Fig. 10. Design of third variety of Melville 5-5½" flower handle porringer. The example shown is 5" in diameter and has the large anchor mark. Reduced slightly.

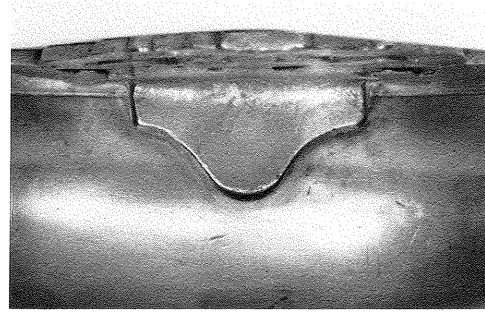


Fig. 11. Bracket of the handle shown in Fig. 10.

Melville's large anchor is a very large mark to be struck on flower handles. The only element which shows clearly is the anchor (and sometimes this is only partially shown). Only a few letters appear on the latticework surrounding the central "shield" of the handle. The small DM anchor is a much more suitable mark for such handles. On the basis of this one may assume that the small DM anchor die was acquired after the large anchor die and was thereafter used for flower handle porringers. This would be after 1786 - say 1788 or 1789? Or if it were copied from William Billings' almost identical WB anchor mark, after 1791.

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2. *Providence Gazette*, June 28, 1788; *U. S. Chronicle*, July 3, 1788.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. W. R. Staples, *Annals of the Town of Providence* (Providence, 1843), pp. 329-335, reprinted the two letters in full, while S. G. Arnold, *History of Rhode Island* (New York, 1860), vol. 2, pp. 545-547 devoted two pages to the incident.
6. Conley, *op. cit.*, does not mention the incident.
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9. *U. S. Chronicle*, July 10, 1788; *Providence Gazette*, July 12, 1788.
10. C. S. Brigham, *History and Biography of American Newspapers* (Worcester, 1947), vol. 2, pp. 997-1002.



11. R. L. Bowen, *PCCA Bul*, 7 (Sept. 1978), pp. 338-342.
12. J. B. Kerfoot, *American Pewter* (Boston, 1924), Fig. 83; Metropolitan Museum of Art, #40.184.5, gift of Mrs. J. Insley Blair.
13. R. L. Bowen, *op. cit.*
14. H. M. Chapin, *Seals, Arms and Flags of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1930), p. 8.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.
16. *Ibid.*
17. L. I. Laughlin, *Pewter in America* (Barre Publishers, 1969), vol. 1, Fig. 323; P. Marvin, *American Pewter* (Flint Institute of Arts, 1973), #142, p. 25.
18. For a similar 5" porringer with the same mark see R. A. Bourne auction catalog, Nov. 30, 1985, Lot #182.

Palethorp and Connell and the Crowned X

by Donald M. Herr

John Harris Palethorp formed a brief partnership with Thomas Connell in Philadelphia during the years 1839-1841.

The "inverted mould" teapot illustrated in Figure 1 was made by casting the upper and lower body sections in the same mould and joining them at their widest point. Nineteenth century pewterers commonly used this method in the manufacture of teapots.

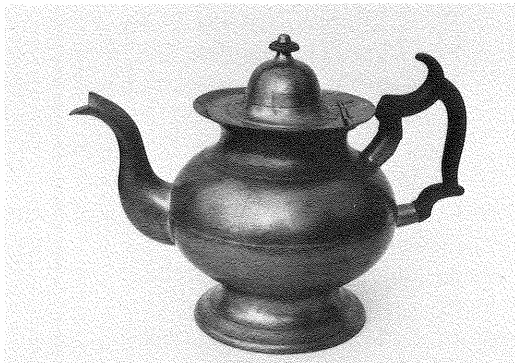


Fig. 1. Teapot marked Palethorp & Connell and crowned X mark used by Brunstrom, "Love" and others. Height 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", bottom diameter 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Herr collection.

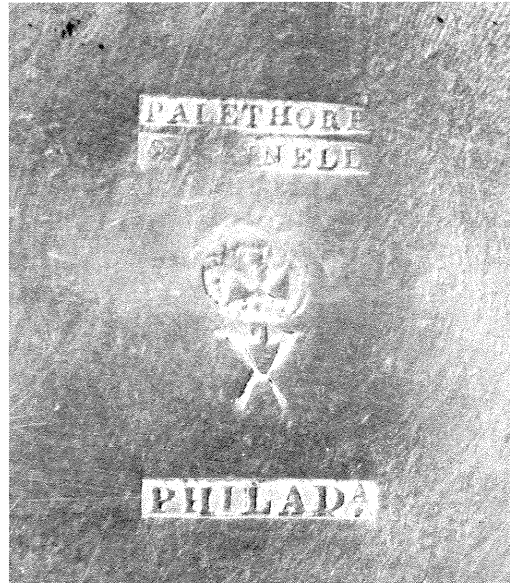


Fig. 2. Mark on outside bottom of teapot.

The most interesting feature of this pot is the combination of marks on the outside bottom. Carefully centered between the Palethorp & Connell and Philada. marks is a crowned X (Laughlin fig. 869). This mark is commonly found with the "Love" mark (L. 868). It has also been found with the marks of John A. Brunstrom and Thomas Byles suggesting its use by a succession of pewterers. It was very likely in use over a long period of time.

The combination of the crowned X and Palethorp & Connell marks date the use of the crowned X as late as 1839-41 and perhaps later.

Unusual Boston Mug

by Jeanne & Bernard B. Hillmann

We have just acquired the unmarked quart mug pictured in Figure 1. The mug measures 6" high, 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ " top diameter and 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " bottom diameter.

The handle is the solid strap type with shell decoration behind the thumbpiece and boot heel terminal.

The handle and body were apparently cast in the same molds as the Robert Bonyge mug, Figure 2, in our collection, but there the



Possibly Unique By Samuel Hamlin?

by Jeanne & Bernard B. Hillmann

A $4^{15}/16$ " diameter bellied bowl porringer with an 18th C. hammered crown handle. Figure 1.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 1. $4^{15}/16$ " porringer with crown handle bearing Samuel Hamlin's "SH" Rose mark. Note that the bowl is not Hamlin's usual tapered bowl.



Fig. 2

similarity ends. The body of the unmarked mug was finished with a heavy raised band $1\frac{1}{2}$ " down from the top and a $\frac{3}{8}$ " wide set of five incised bands beginning $1\frac{3}{4}$ " from the bottom.

heavy with a $\frac{3}{8}$ " wide convex moulding which makes the base diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ " larger than that of the marked mug in Figure 2 as well as $5\frac{1}{2}$ ounces heavier.

This is another example of the creativity of our early craftsman.

We would be interested to know if anyone has a marked example of the mug pictured in Figure 1 in his collection.

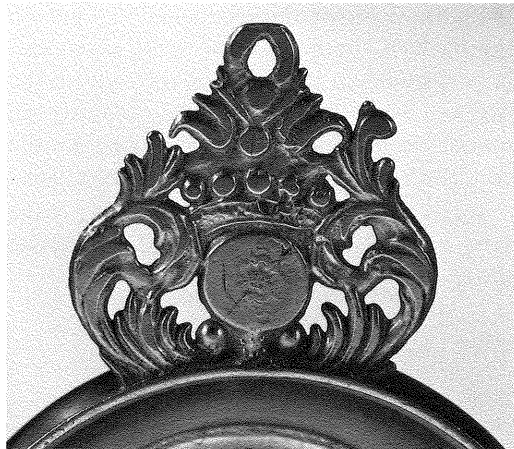


Fig. 2. Samuel Hamlin's "SH" Rose mark on the face of the porringer in Fig. 1.

The maker's mark on the front (upper side) of the handle is the rose and initial touch of Samuel Hamlin, Sr., 1767-1801, Jacobs Figure 160. See photo Figure 2.

In addition to the unusual combination of Hamlin, Sr.'s rose and initial touch on a crown handle we find equally unusual that the shape of the handle does not seem similar to any crown handles pictured in the articles written about these handles that we have seen.



In the photo, Figure 2, six small bosses can be seen between the round section of handle with maker's touch and the bowl of the porringer. The only other crown handle we have seen with these small bosses in that relative position are those in Figure 45 Volume 7 of the Bulletin in Dr. Wolf's article on crown handles. The handle pictured, according to Dr. Wolf, is English.

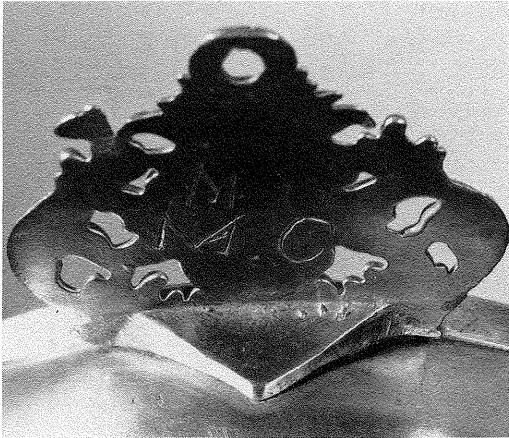


Fig. 3. Reverse of Hamlin's crown handle shown; bracket. Note mold imperfection on right.

Figure 3 shows the triangular bracket on the back of the handle. Note the three cast imperfections in the mold on the right of the bracket which would positively identify an unmarked porringer. There is one in the collection of Myrtle and Webster Goodwin.

If any other collector has a porringer of the type described above we would appreciate hearing from you.



Josiah Warren - The Man and His Lamps

By John F. Brown

This article deals with the remarks made Saturday, May 17, 1986 to the National Meeting of the Pewter Collectors Club of America in Plymouth, Massachusetts. The article will reflect, to some extent, on previous articles in the *PCCA Bulletins* as well as an article written for and a talk given to the Rushlight Club of America.

The research on Josiah Warren and his lamps has been going on for several years by the author. The most recent studies took place in preparation for the 1986 National Meeting of the PCCA. Particular efforts were expended at the Working Mens Institute Library in New Harmony, Indiana, a repository of various data and artifacts relating to Josiah Warren and his time and associations with New Harmony. In addition, research was done at the New England Historical and Genealogical Society Library, the Boston Public Library, Cincinnati's Historical Society Library as well as Cincinnati's Public Library. The Hamilton Court House records for the period 1820 to 1825 were searched. It was during this time that Josiah Warren and Daniel Stocking (a tinsmith) had a lamp manufacturing business in Cincinnati, based on the following ad in the December 4, 1821 *Inquisitor and Cincinnati Advertiser*.

Lamps for Burning Grease

'The subscriber respectfully informs the public that they have formed a connection business for the purpose of manufacturing

WARREN'S PATENT IMPROVED LAMPS

Which they intend to keep on hand of a description for Churches, Stores, Passengers, family use; and which they will sell on reasonable terms. These lamps are warranted to answer the purpose for which they are intended.

The manufactory is opposite Mr. Hall's Tavern, Main Street a few doors above the upper market.'

Josiah Warren and Daniel Stocking.
November 5, 1821, 3rd Street.

The partnership was terminated October 9, 1822 as indicated in the February 14, 1823 *National Republican and Ohio Political Register*:

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN

that the partnership heretofore existing between Josiah Warren and Daniel Stocking, was dissolved on the 9th day of October last by mutual consent: All persons having accounts against said firm, are requested to present them to Daniel Stocking, who is authorized to settle the same.

Josiah Warren

Cincinnati
January 26, 1823

Daniel Stocking



Fig. 1 Pair of whale oil lamps marked "Warren's Hardmetal".

In Figure 1, a pair of whale oil lamps is shown, marked "Warren's Hardmetal." To the extent known today, they are the only extant lamps that represent the lamp manufacturing activities of Josiah Warren and Daniel Stocking. Among other things, this article attempts to identify new data that are available as a result of the research referred to above.

Josiah Warren was born in Boston in 1798 (the day and the month are not known). His early life is almost completely without record.



There is a certificate dated April 27, 1818 which states that he was a member of the Band of Music attached to the Third Brigade and First Division of the Militia of Massachusetts. His biographer, William Bailie, states he was married in Boston in 1818. The 1820 census of Hamilton County (Cincinnati) shows Josiah Warren with a white male and female between 16 and 25 in Ward 3. His occupation was listed as Commerce.

Much has been written about Josiah Warren, the man. Previous articles have dealt with his Time Store (Equity Store) and other aspects of his views on society and the relationship of man to the economy and to the state. Ann Butler's doctoral thesis (a copy of which is in the library of the Working Men's Institute in New Harmony, Ind.) best states his views when she said that the essence of the man's philosophy was that "a man should be responsible to and for himself only." His concepts of man and the state were not those of Lenin.

The inventive genius of the man is worth noting without going into extensive detail. We in the Pewter Collectors Club are aware of his 1821 patent of a lard-burning lamp. He also was the inventor of a printing press which was the forerunner of the roller press used in newspaper and other high speed printing processes. He was the inventor of a method of systematizing music notations and the teaching of music. These inventive aspects of the man bear on his credibility as the creator of Warren's hardmetal lamps. Various documents available in New Harmony indicate that Warren was capable of taking meager equipment and performing significant mechanical functions. For example, his casting of type for typesetting of pamphlets printed in Cincinnati was done over the fireplace used by his wife for cooking. His writings are well known; his creation of several new communities, which hopefully were to be utopias, has been well documented; he has been recognized as a great American by the English author, John Stewart Mills; as well as having reputedly influenced Henry George's economic writings of the 1870s. It perhaps is appropriate to refer to Josiah Warren as a renaissance man.

The lamps illustrated in this article probably were made between November of 1821 and October of 1822. It was during this period that Warren and Daniel Stocking had a partner-

ship and advertised the production of "Warren's Patent Improved Lamps." The advertisement (previously noted) identifying Warren's Patent Improved Lamps is similar to ads that identify Argand and Miles patent lamps in their copy, referred to in Richard Bowen's article on Almer Hall (*PCCA Bulletin*, March - September 1985).

The Warren's hardmetal lamps illustrated here have no threads for a screw-top burner; the burners are replacements with the threads filed off. In the opinion of Richard Bowen, they would probably have had a metal and cork burner pressed into the socket, which would have been the earliest type used in whale oil lamps. The latter tends to confirm the 1821 to 1822 time period.

At New Harmony, the patent issued to Josiah Warren in February of 1821 for a lard-burning lamp was studied. A historical note of interest might be that in 1821 lard was selling for three cents a pound in Porkopolis (Cincinnati) while tallow was selling for 25 cents a pound. A transcription of what was legible on the patent was made by the library of the Working Men's Institute and a copy of this was obtained. Currently, Garland Pass is studying the transcription. Hopefully, this current research will fill in blanks which will aid subsequent students in their study of these lamps and Josiah Warren.



Fig. 2 Heating element found in a Sellew type whale oil lamp.



Nothing in the patent denies the whale oil type lamps shown here. It does say "the rim of the lamp may be of a size and superficial form at pleasure" indicating, at least to the author, that his patent did not require a lamp of a particular or peculiar design. The patent suggests that there was a heating device arranged so that the flame of the burners would heat a tube that passed into the font, thereby making the grease (lard) flow more easily. It's interesting to note that Sellew lamps (made in Cincinnati) also use such a device, no doubt to aid in multiplicity of use between whale oil, lard, and other heating fluids and fats. One of these heating elements found in a Sellew whale oil type lamp is shown in Figure 2.

As noted, research is going on in regard to the patent which is significantly incomplete because of deterioration of the parchment on which the patent is written.

It seemed to the author that Warren had many attributes that were comparable to Ben Franklin: both were inventors; very creative minds; men who had an ability to communicate thoughts regarding ways and means to improve the state of man; and a willingness to extend themselves to make it true. At this point, we continue to be of the opinion that Warren's hardmetal lamps were made in Cincinnati in the period 1821 to 1822, placing them among the earliest existing American whale oil lamps.

Job Danforth, Jr., Providence Brass Founder and Pewterer

by Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

The first comprehensive study of Rhode Island pewterers was published in 1924 by Charles A. Calder, a grandson of Providence pewterer William Calder.¹ Louis G. Myers, writing in 1926, spent much of his forward praising Calder's work, and in discussing Josiah Keene, he says that "Mr. Calder produces him from his magic bag".² Myers illustrated the first published Keene pewter, a porringer marked IK.

Another pewterer from Calder's magic bag is Job Danforth, Jr. Calder found him in this advertisement from the November 10, 1798 *Providence Gazette*.³

WILLIAM BILLINGS and JOB DANFORTH, jun,

PEWTERERS, COPPERSMITHS and FOUNDERS
INFORM the Public that they have entered into Partnership, under the Firm of BILLINGS and DANFORTH, for the Purpose of carrying on the above Branches of the Business. — They manufacture all kinds of Ship-Work in the above Branches, at their Shop, a few Doors North of the Baptist Meeting-House, as well as all other kinds of Pewter, Copper and Brass Wares. — They have now on Hand, and offer for Sale, one new Still, which will contain about 95 Gallons, and a Worm; also one second hand Still, that will contain about 75 Gallons, and a Worm; together with a handsome Assortment of Pewter, Copper and Brass Wares, among which are an elegant Assortment of Brass Handirons, made after the newest Fashions.

Providence, Nov. 10, 1798.

Job Danforth, Jr. was born in Providence on September 9, 1774, the third of eight children. His father was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1745, and had moved to Providence at an early age, as he married Sarah Coy of Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1769 at age 24. He became an accomplished joiner and cabinetmaker, was prominent in the community, and served in the Revolution.⁴ He died in Providence in 1838 in his 94th year.

The ancestry of the family can be traced back to the first immigrant, Nicholas⁽¹⁾ Danforth, baptized in Framlingham, England.⁵ He came with children to Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1634. Nicholas' second son Samuel⁽²⁾ had two sons, John⁽³⁾ and Samuel⁽³⁾. Samuel⁽³⁾ was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts in 1666. He graduated from Harvard College in 1683 and was ordained in 1688 as pastor of the church of Taunton, Massachusetts.⁶ Rev. Samuel⁽³⁾ had 14 children. The sixth child was Samuel⁽⁴⁾, born in Taunton in 1697; he became a farmer and clothier and had eleven children of whom Job⁽⁵⁾, Sr. was the ninth. Job⁽⁶⁾, Jr. represented the sixth generation in America.

If Job Danforth, Jr. started his apprenticeship at age 14, this would have been in 1788; he would have completed it at age 21 in 1795. An account book for the years 1788-1818 for Job Danforth, Sr. is preserved in the Rhode



Island Historical Society (*Job Danforth His Boock No. 2*); in it are accounts for Gershom Jones, Providence pewterer. A September 3, 1795 entry for Jones (p. 68) reads as follows: "to 40/pr year you was to find Job whild he was a prentes [aphetic for "apprentice"] to you seven years and six month. . .£15/0/0". Presumably the account book entries are copies of bills presented to the debtors. This one is dated six days before Job, Jr.'s 21st birthday. This is possibly the only evidence we have of a "contract" for an American pewterer's apprentice. It is interesting that the term was for seven and a half years, which means that Job went under Gershom Jones' care and supervision at age thirteen and a half, in March 1788.

A similar notation is found in Danforth's account book (p. 201) in relation to George Armington, who was an apprentice to Job, Sr. Between 1798 and 1800 Armington ran up bills with Danforth for wood and sundries of £4/4/3. Danforth credited the account with: "by what I was to find you while you was a prentes to me".

William Billings may also have been apprenticed to Gershom Jones, for in Job Danforth's account book (p. 68) there is a notation for September 11, 1793 charging Jones: "to Boarding, finding wood & washing for William Billings in the Hospital" for £2/7/5. This has the interesting implication that a master was liable for his apprentice's care even after he had finished his apprenticeship. As Billings was six years older than Job Danforth, both may have been apprentices to Jones at the same time for one year.

While the "standard" age for an apprentice to start his seven year training was 14, ages of even less than 13½ may be found. The following advertisement was placed in the April 10, 1773 *Providence Gazette*: "Wanted, a lad between 12 and 13 years as an apprentice in the goldsmith's business. Inquire at printing office." However, in the first decade of the nineteenth century starting ages were gradually increasing. Samuel Danforth of Hartford advertised in 1807 for "A boy 14 or 15 years old wanted as an apprentice to the Pewterer's business."⁷ Josiah Keene ran the following advertisement in the March 24, 1810 *Providence Gazette*: "The subscriber wishes to take two Lads, 14 or 15 years of age, as apprentices to the Coppersmith and Founders Business.

Active Lads of the above Age will meet with suitable encouragement." But some still adhered to the standard; Samuel E. Hamlin advertised in the November 25, 1815 *Providence Patriot & Columbian* for "an apprentice about 14 years old".

However, by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the old English apprenticeship system had completely broken down. Not only were apprentices starting after age 14, but by 1830 they were only serving three years and they were finishing before their majority of 21.⁸ In 1831 Rufus Dunham bound himself at age 16 as an apprentice for three years to Allen Porter of Westbrook, Maine.⁹ In 1841 Eli Henry Eldridge became an apprentice at age 14 at Reed & Barton, an obligation he continued for three years.¹⁰

Job Danforth, Jr. finished his apprenticeship with Gershom Jones in September 1795. The announcement of the partnership with Billings in the November 10, 1798 *Providence Gazette* was over three years later. The partnership was actually in effect almost three months before this, for there is an account in Job Danforth, Sr.'s ledger for Billings and Danforth starting on August 23, 1798. In less than a month after the official announcement of the partnership Job, Jr. traveled to Boston and married Sally Barse, daughter of the late Michael Barse. The marriage was announced in the *United States Chronicle* (Providence) of November 30, 1798¹¹ and the *Providence Gazette* of December 1, 1798.¹² This was no hasty move, as the couple had announced their intentions almost two months earlier on October 4th.¹³

No trace of Job Danforth, Jr. between the end of his apprenticeship and August 1798 is found in Providence. His personal account in his father's ledger does not start until November 21, 1798. A statement of bills due to Providence merchant Nathan Waterman for dry goods does not start until August 23, 1798.¹⁴ The fact that Job Danforth married a Boston woman may indicate that, before joining Billings, he had gone to Boston to work as a journeyman for some pewterer, coppersmith, brazier, or brass founder. Boston was a much larger metropolis than Providence and there tended to be a separation of the crafts. The pewterers worked mainly in pewter, the coppersmiths, mainly in copper, etc.



There were four pewterers working in Boston in 1795: Richard Austin, Thomas Badger, Samuel Green, and John Skinner. Skinner was 62 years old and may have given up pewtering by 1795. He was listed in the 1789 *Boston Directory* as a pewterer, but in the 1798 *Directory* he was listed as a merchant. Austin had just started (1791), and as such probably could not afford a journeyman. Danforth could have worked for either Badger, who started about 1786, or Green, who was carrying on a tradition started by his father Thomas at least as early as 1740.

Providence was not large enough to support three pewterers, per se, let alone four. Samuel Hamlin, Gershom Jones, and William Billings were well established by 1795. However, pewter manufacture was only a small part of their businesses. When Gershom Jones died in 1809 his inventory contained \$332.19 in finished copper stills and parts, and accounts due for eight small stills sent to North Carolina for \$370.00. However, there was only \$67.90 worth of partially finished and finished pewter (basins, plates, porringers, and pots).¹⁵

More probably Job Danforth went to Boston to work for someone in the brass or copper crafts. The first *Boston Directory*, that of 1789, lists the following men working in these trades.

Coppersmiths: John Clark, William Cordwell, Jr., and Joshua Witherle.

Braziers: John Clough, William Cordwell, Greenleaf & Holden.

Brass Founders: Samuel Austin, Jr., John Cutler, Thomas Cater, Richard Farrell, Robert Homes, Thomas Leach, and Peter Sigourney.

There is evidence on the Providence end that Job Danforth, Jr. went to work for some brass founder who made andirons. While John Clark is listed as a coppersmith in the first directory, from 1796 to 1818 he is represented as a brass founder. Several pairs of stately brass andirons are preserved at Colonial Williamsburg marked with John Clark's name. Missing from the above list is Martin Gay, although he is listed in the *Boston Directories* from 1796 (the second *Directory*) to 1807 as a coppersmith. From 1793 to 1797 he was in partnership with William C. Hunneman, who later made brass andirons. Martin Gay was also a founder, and was active from at least 1773.¹⁶ A cast bronze three-legged pot with "GAY & HUNNEMAN 1794" cast in the

handle is preserved.¹⁷ Since Hunneman later made brass andirons, it is reasonable to suppose that he learned this part of the business from Martin Gay. William Cordwell, Jr. was also a founder who made brass andirons. Job, Jr. could have worked for any of the three: Clark, Gay & Hunneman or Cordwell. He could have gone to Boston specifically to acquire the knowledge, but this would not have taken three years. More probably he went to Boston with the intention of staying, and then decided to return after seeing Billings at some time. He undoubtedly brought back the most current andiron styles and designs as well as the current founding techniques.

William Billings advertised more than any other similar contemporary craftsman in Providence. This enables one to trace the changes in the products Billings manufactured. In his first advertisement in October 1791 Billings listed himself as a pewterer, coppersmith and brazier, and listed a vast number of products in pewter and sheet brass and copper (but not cast brass). The next advertisement, over five years later in March 1797, is basically the same as the first, except that now "He also makes brass Handirons". This indicates that Billings had expanded his facilities to include a brass foundry. In his advertisement in August 1798 he states that any products in the pewterer's, coppersmith's or brazier's business may be had at the shortest notice; no specific products are listed. Then he adds that "He also makes and sells Brass Andirons in the newest Fashions". In the partnership notice in November 1798 they say that they have "an elegant assortment of brass andirons, made after the newest fashions".

Sometime before March 1797 Billings added brass andirons to his product line. This is unusual, as a pewterer, coppersmith, and brazier would not normally cast brass, which was a founders business. He made articles out of sheet copper and brass, and as a sideline cast pewter articles in molds made of brass or bronze by a founder. In their November 1798 partnership announcement Billings & Danforth changed the "brazier" to "founder". The first charge Job Danforth, Sr. made to Billings and Danforth was for a pattern for an andiron on August 23, 1798. This may mean that Danforth was indeed responsible for introducing



new andiron designs. On September 18, 1798 Job Danforth, Sr. charged Billings and Danforth for a pump mold. Hunneman was well known for his pumps in Boston. Possibly Danforth also brought pump designs back from Boston.

The partnership of Billings and Danforth ended in less than three years on September 5, 1801 with the untimely death of Job Danforth, Jr. at age 27. The *Providence Gazette* of September 5, 1801 announced the death of Mr. Job Danforth, Jr., "an industrious and worthy citizen." The *U.S. Chronicle* printed the same notice on September 8, 1801. Job, Jr. died intestate and six days later his father applied to the Probate Court in Providence as administrator of the estate.¹⁸ A probate court is responsible for seeing that all outstanding debts are paid and for making sure that the provisions of a will, if existing, are carried out. The first step in this process is to take an inventory of the assets of the deceased.

The inventory was taken on October 21, 1801 by Gershom Jones (pewterer), J. W. Coy (cabinetmaker and brother-in-law of Job, Sr.) and Peter Grimmell (merchant). There are two pages of household items amounting to \$211.99. Then there are two very strange items: a note for \$40.00 dated December 8, 1796 and signed by Gershom Jones, and a note for \$25.75 signed by Job Danforth, Sr. The final item is "One half of the amount of the Inventory of Billings & Danforth" for \$498.73½; unfortunately there is no breakdown of this to show the products being manufactured. The total of the inventory was \$776.47½.¹⁹ Job Danforth swore to the accuracy of the inventory on December 8, 1801 and the document entered the record. The inventory is as follows.

Inventory of the Personal Estate of Job Danforth, Jun. as taken October 21, 1801

1 feather bed, bolster & pillows	\$ 20.00
1 ditto ditto	10.00
1 ditto ditto	6.00
2 under bed sacks	2.00
2 patch work bed spreads	3.00
2 blankets part worn	3.00
8 sheets	5.00
3 window curtains	1.00
4 table cloths	3.00
1 Calico bed spread	2.50
14 pillow cases @ 9d	1.75
10 towels @ 6 cts	.60
3 shirts	1.00

1 clothes basket	.10
3 waist coats & pr pantaloons all old	.50
2 baskets & box containing sundry matters	1.00
1 cherry tree breakfast table	4.00
1 maple tea table & stand	2.00
6 dining chairs @ 4/6	4.50
1 tea tray and 2 waiters	1.25
13 volumes of books & some broken pamphlets	4.33
1 trunk	1.50
1 set knives and forks	.75
6 knives & 5 forks	.50
Carving knife & fork	.25
6 decanters of various sizes	2.50
6 tumblers 3 wine glasses & 1 vinegar cruise	.84
13 China cups & saucers	.67
68 pieces of Queens ware — cups, saucers, pitchers, plates & 2 glass salts	3.00
1 pr snuffers & tray damaged	.25
1 hearth brush	.12½
8 oz silver plate	9.89
1 old razor and strop	.25
1 French silver watch	8.00
1 tin kitchen spit and skewers	2.50
1 3½ ft maple table	3.33
1 cherry tree desk	12.00
1 brass kettle	2.50
1 copper tea kettle	1.50
1 tub containing 18 bottles	.50
1 old basket & bottles	.20
1 case of bottles	.84
4 old kitchen chairs	1.00
1 kitchen table	1.50
1 basket containing old boots & shoes	.20
5 old brass candlesticks & 1 iron one	.75
1 brass skimmer	.25
26# pewter ware @ 1/	4.33
Sundries of tinware	1.50
1 pr flat irons	.62½
2 bowls & 2 boxes	.19
1 bread trough	.33
1 pr bellows	.33
1 pr princes metal andirons	7.00
10 pcs stone ware	1.50
1 copper tea kettle	.75
1 mortar and pestle	.20
1 basin & copper sauce pan	.75
1 iron pot & skillet	1.25
2 pr shovel & tongs & 1 iron candlestick	4.00
1 bake pan 1 spider 1 garden hoe	1.17
1 chest	1.50
1 bed coverlid (coverlet ?)	2.25
2 pr blankets	4.17
part of a sett of old bed curtains	1.67
3 coats	10.00
3 great coats	5.00
7 waist coats	4.00
9 pr small cloaths	7.00



5 pr old stockings	.60
1 clothes brush & 1 hat	1.50
1 chest	1.00
1 cartridge box & belts	.50
1 turn up bedstead	3.00
3 common bedsteads @ 7/	3.50
1 clothes horse	.75
1 pig & pen	5.00
Old tubs & barrels	.50
1 meal chest	2.50
1 small looking glass	1.50
	<hr/>
	\$211.99

1 Note signed Gershom Jones dated Dec. 8, 1796 for forty dollars payable on demand with interest 40.00

1 Note signed Job Danforth for £ 7/14/6 25.75

\$277.74

One half of the amount of the Inventory of Billings & Danforth 498.73½

\$776.47½

The inventory may be summarized as follows:

Furniture	\$ 79.33
Blankets, sheets, pillow cases, spreads, towels, curtains, table cloths	29.94
Household furnishings	64.92
Wearing apparel	29.80
Silver watch	8.00
	<hr/>
	\$211.99

An interesting item in the inventory is a pair of Prince's metal andirons at \$7.00. These were expensive, about the same as a good four-poster bed. Without doubt these came from Billings and Danforth's shop. The Prince's metal designation meant that they were made of a special brass with a golden rather than a yellow color. Possibly Danforth brought the formula for this back from Boston.

Another interesting item is 26 pounds of pewter valued at one shilling (16.7¢) per pound for \$4.33. Considering that a dozen 8 inch plates weighed between eight and nine pounds, this probably represented a dozen small plates, some dishes, basins, porringers and mugs. Balancing this were 68 pieces of "Queens ware" China (cups, saucers, pitchers, plates, etc.) for \$3.00 and 13 China cups and saucers at 67¢. This indicates that pewter ware was still a prominent element in tableware in 1801. However, the fact that Danforth and his

partner sold pewter might mean that he was setting an example in still favoring pewter. It would be a decade or two until pewter ware was completely displaced by china as tableware.

The two notes are perplexing, as they mean the signers were indebted to Job, Jr., presumably for cash, goods, or services tendered by him. Since they were personal notes (not to Billings & Danforth) they could not be for pewter or brass ware. The note from Gershom Jones was dated December 8, 1796, a little over a year after Job, Jr. finished his apprenticeship with Jones, and may have been for work for Jones as a journeyman. The going rate for a craftsman was \$1.25 per day (7/6 per day),²⁰ and this would have represented only about five weeks of work. More probably this represented an obligation of the master to his apprentice on completion of his seven year service. In England a master was supposed to provide his apprentice on completion of his time a "set of tools" to follow his trade. When the tools were extensive and costly, this was hardly practical. In America by 1800 many indentures granted an apprentice little more than a couple of suits of clothes and a cash payment (\$30.00 to \$50.00) when he became "free". Jones' note was undoubtedly such a payment, and was probably made after Danforth left his employ as a journeyman. Typical of the monetary practices of the time, Danforth did not get cash, but a promissory note, which he did not collect until he was dead. It is not apparent how Job, Sr. could have been indebted to his son, especially in view of the fact that Job, Jr. owed his father four times the amount of the note for furniture and sundries.

On May 10, 1802 the Probate Court decreed that the amount of \$75.00 contained in the inventory of Job Danforth, Jr. be set off to Mrs. Sarah Danforth, widow of said deceased, in such articles as she may choose for "the upholding of life".²¹ This was a result of a recent (1798) Rhode Island law relating to intestate estates, which stated:

And if the personal estate shall be insufficient to pay the debts and the funeral charges of the deceased, the widow shall nevertheless be entitled to her apparel, and such bedding and other household goods as the Court of Probate shall determine necessary, according to her situation and the circumstances of the estate; and such part of the personal estate as the Court of Probate may allow the widow, shall not be assets in the hands of the



executor or administrator.²²

On September 11, 1802 Job Danforth as principle with James Burrell and Nathan Waterman as sureties posted bond for \$500.00.²³ On March 1, 1803 Job Danforth as administrator of the estate requested and received liberty to dispose of the wearing apparel, one desk, and a watch listed in the inventory at a private sale.²⁴ The wearing apparel consisted mainly of coats: 10 waist coats, 3 great coats, and 3 unspecified coats. There were also stockings, "cloaths" (clothes), and a hat, with total value of \$29.80. The "cherry tree desk" was valued at \$12.00, and the "French silver watch" at \$8.00. The total value of these items was \$49.80.

Job Danforth presented the final accounting to close the estate on May 2, 1803.²⁵ The value of the assets had been reduced by about 50% because William Billings paid the estate only \$94.30 for one half of the inventory which had originally been appraised at \$498.73½. Presumably this resulted from the Billings and Danforth debts being subtracted. The final assets may be summarized as follows.

Inventory of the personal property	\$211.99
Note from Gershom Jones	40.00
Note from Job Danforth	25.75
Error in inventorying Jones' note @ \$40 instead of \$41	1.00
Interest on said note	13.10
From William Billings	94.30
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	\$386.14

The liabilities against the estate may also be summarized.

Amount set off to the widow of Job Danforth	\$ 75.00
Amount of the account of Job Danforth, Sr. allowed by the Commissioners	106.61
Eleven creditors	101.52
Funeral expense and court fees	22.88
Job Danforth, Sr. for supporting the widow and two children for six months after Job's death and for services in settling the estate.	80.13
	<hr/>
	\$386.14

There is \$148.40 cash in the assets (\$94.30 from Billings and \$54.10 from Jones). The watch, desk, and clothes sold from the inventory would add \$49.80 (if sold at appraised value), for a total of \$192.20. From this the eleven creditors and the funeral and court expenses could have been paid off. This

left \$73.80 to go towards Job Danforth's claim of \$160.99 (\$186.74 - \$25.75) against the estate, which left a balance of \$87.19 due Job. This meant that the widow received only \$75.00 in the personal property set off, while Job Danforth received \$73.80 in cash and took the remainder of the personal property to pay his remaining claim of \$87.19. Job Danforth, Jr. was definitely not insolvent when he died as Laughlin suggested.

In the last items of the liabilities Job Danforth, Sr. billed the estate for \$80.13 for six months board for his son's widow and two children, in addition to general estate charges. On today's standards it seems strange for a father-in-law to charge his widowed daughter-in-law board after his son's death, and take over half of the remaining estate. The figure of \$80.13 is arrived at to balance the remaining assets and close the account out. This does not necessarily mean that Job Danforth, Sr. did not give the widow the remaining estate; however, one gets the feeling that he did not.

The *Providence Phenix* of November 10, 1804 announced the marriage of Mrs. Sarah Danforth and William McHarry by the Rev. Mr. Wilson.²⁶ Presumably this was Job, Jr.'s wife Sally Barse of Boston. The Danforth geneology lists the birth of two children to Job, Jr. and Sally: Samuel and Mary Ann.²⁷ The *Rhode Island American* of June 26, 1826 announced the marriage of Mary Ann Danforth and Edward Coddington, both of Providence.

Job Danforth, Sr. wrote his will in 1819, but he did not die until 20 years later. In the will he states "As I have heretofor made larger advances to my other sons Ozias and William, and to the children of my late son Job, than I am now able to make to my other children, I consider that justice require that I should not make any further provisions to them at this time."²⁸ Job obviously had felt an obligation to his son's children, even though his daughter-in-law had remarried.

There were twelve creditors (including Job Danforth, Sr.) to the estate. These are all listed by name in the final accounting in a two-page document preserved in the estate file, but not copied into the *Book of Wills*. Originally there were twelve individual bills to substantiate the amounts listed. Now only the receipted bill of Nathan Waterman survives the ravages of time. It is marked "No. 6" and was number six in the list. Waterman's account



is for dry goods, mostly cloth; it starts on August 23, 1798 and ends on December 5, 1800. Payments were made in August 1800 on account for \$17.91, leaving a balance of \$31.51. This bill is typical of the practices of the time. Accounts were left unpaid for two to three years. Four of the creditors accounts were less than a dollar, and four more were less than \$7.00. Waterman's was the next largest to Job Danforth, Sr.'s.

It would be too much to hope that an account for Job Danforth, Jr. would be in his father's account book in the amount of the \$106.61 listed in the accounting. But on page 211 we find just that:

Job Danforth, Jr.		£/sh/d
1798	To putting Mop Board, to a Room	6/0
Nov 21	To Scraping a Room 4/6	
	To Whitewashing two rooms	6/0
	To one Cheretry Desk	6/15/6
	To one 3½ feet Table	1/13/0
	To a Cheretry Pembroke Table	2/2/0
	To a Tea Table	18/0
	To A Citchin table	1/4/0
	To A Candle Stand	12/0
	To a Bedstead	1/4/0
	To a Learge Bed	13/10/0
1798		
Nov 29	To 16 lb Chese	10/8
	To paying for a Load of Wood for you	12/0
1800		
Jan 16	To a Beadstead	1/4/0
May 6	To Makeing Hogpen	7/0
1801		
March		
27	To a Hondred feet ½ inch boards	5/0
	To a 6 lb of Butter at /14½	7/2½
		<u>£ 32/0/10½</u>

At the contemporary conversion rate of 6 sh/\$ or \$3.33/£, this converts to \$106.71, which is within 10¢ of the amount of the bill Job Danforth, Sr. charged to his son's estate. This is understandable, as Job, Sr.'s arithmetic was not perfect. The last item above, 6 lb. @ 14½ is 7/3, not 7/2½.

The account starts on November 21, 1798, about a week before Job, Jr. was married. The first three items relate to refinishing a couple of rooms. These were possibly in the house Job Danforth, Sr. owned. Danforth supplemented his income by renting rooms to people and boarding them.²⁹ However, since there were no entries in Danforth's account book for renting to his son, Job, Jr. was undoubt-

edly renting space or a house elsewhere. Job boarded his son Ozias (b. 1772) at various times from age 17 to age 27. At one point when Ozias was 22 he apparently took the account to the Rhode Island General Assembly to settle. The next eight items represent eight pieces of furniture worth £27/18/6 (\$93.08). The furniture could not have come from stock, and must have taken a month or so to make. The bill represents the final preparation for Job, Jr.'s wedding, and the date of the bill means that it was all ready a week before hand. On what must have been close to Job, Jr.'s wedding day he is charged for a load of wood and 16 pounds of cheese.

An interesting comparison may be made with the prices Job, Sr. originally charged for the furniture, and the value appraised in the inventory. Three years later the furniture was valued at from 30 to 60% (average of 45%) of its cost.

	1798 Bill	1801 Inventory
Cherry Desk	\$22.58	\$12.00
3½ foot Table*	5.50	3.33
Cherry Pembroke Table	7.00	4.00
Tea Table*	3.00	} 2.00
Candle Stand	2.00	
Kitchen Table	4.00	1.50
Large Bed	50.00	20.00
Bedstead	4.00	} 2.33
Bedstead	4.00	
<hr/>		
6 Dining Chairs		4.50
Bed		10.00
Bed		6.00
Common Bedstead		1.17
Turn Up Bedstead		3.00
*Maple in Inventory		

Added to this list are those pieces of furniture in the inventory not purchased from his father. This amounts to six chairs and four beds, making a total of seven beds in the inventory. In a survey of all of the furniture in Danforth's account book, Pillsbury pointed out that the bed he sold to his son was the most expensive one he ever made.³⁰ It was 3.5 times more expensive than the most expensive mahogany high post canopy bedstead, and over ten times the cost of the two maple high post canopy bedsteads Job also bought from his father. The three "common" beds were probably for children, while the "turn-up" bed was probably used in a room not normally used as a bedroom.

The beds Job Danforth, Jr. had in his

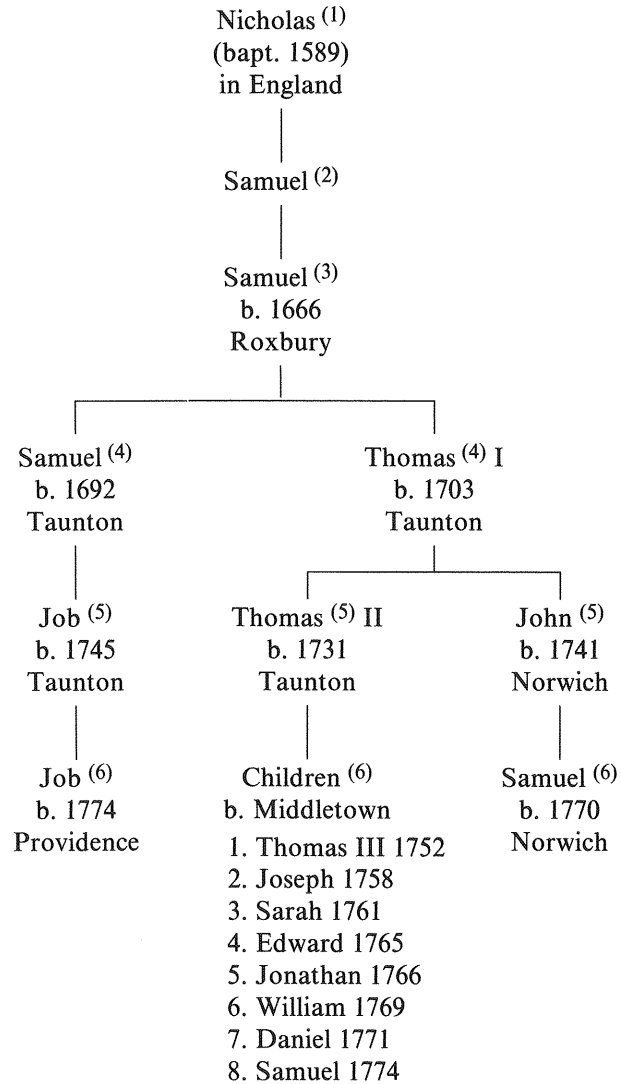


inventory pose a problem. The “large bed” was an enormous, presumably elaborately carved or decorated, bed for Job and his new bride. Also among the initial furniture was a bedstead at £1/4/0, which by the price Pillsbury suggests was a maple high post bed (the simple low post beds ran from 18/0 to 20/0).³¹ Job bought another of these on January 16, 1800, and still a third of this type is found in the inventory — all called “common bedsteads”. Also in the inventory are two very expensive beds, valued at \$10.00 and \$6.00 (£3 and 1/16/0), meaning that they cost twice this. Who was filling the three extra beds in 1801 remains a question. Sally Barse’s mother was widowed; possibly she moved to Providence. Job, Jr. certainly had more than a couple of rooms to hold seven beds, even though one was a turn-up.

As the Danforth name is synonymous with pewtering in Connecticut in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, one immediately wonders if Job Danforth of Providence were related to the Connecticut Danforths. Indeed he was. Job, Sr.’s father was Samuel⁽⁴⁾, the sixth child of 14 of Rev. Samuel⁽³⁾. The ninth child of the Reverend was Thomas⁽⁴⁾ born in Taunton May 22, 1703. This is Thomas I, the progenitor of all the Danforth and Boardman pewterers of Connecticut. Thomas⁽⁴⁾ had 14 children by two wives. His move to Norwich, Connecticut is pinpointed between the birth of his second child in Taunton in March 1733 and the birth of his third child in Norwich in October 1735. May took this date as 1733,³² and this has been followed by all; but a safer date would be 1734.

Thomas⁽⁴⁾’s first child was Thomas⁽⁵⁾, born June 2, 1731; this is the Thomas II of the Connecticut pewterers, probably the most prolific and famous of the clan.³³ He eventually moved to Middletown, Connecticut. His brother, John⁽⁵⁾ was born March 12, 1740/1, and became a pewterer in his home town of Norwich. His son, Samuel⁽⁶⁾, was also a pewterer in Norwich. Thomas⁽⁵⁾ had nine children (born from 1756 to 1774), eight of whom were sons (one son died young). Six of these became pewterers, and the daughter, Sarah⁽⁶⁾, married Oliver Boardman, and gave birth to 11 children, of whom Thomas Danforth Boardman, Sherman and Timothy became pewterers. These relationships may be shown on a simple chart.

DANFORTH GENEALOGY



Inasmuch as Samuel⁽⁴⁾ and Thomas⁽⁴⁾ were brothers, Job⁽⁵⁾ was a first cousin of Thomas II and John⁽⁵⁾, and Thomas⁽⁴⁾ was his uncle. Job, Jr. was a second cousin to all of Thomas II’s sons and Samuel⁽⁶⁾. Job, Jr. was ready for an apprenticeship in some craft in 1788. Thomas II’s two oldest sons were the only ones old enough to become pewterers by 1788, and they had possibly been working the trade for ten years. But this would hardly have influenced Job, Sr. in choosing the pewterer/-brazier profession for his son. The economic needs of Providence and the established pewterer/braziers Samuel Hamlin and Gershom Jones must have been a strong influence. Hamlin had been apprenticed to Thomas II in Middletown, and Jones to his brother John in Norwich. Probably the strongest influence was the success of Job, Sr.’s cousin, Thomas



II, who was also a brazier. He had an estate of around £ 2,200 when he died. Thomas II made frequent trips to Providence and Boston and had business dealings with Samuel Hamlin.³⁴ When Thomas II died his son Joseph traveled to Providence to secure some of his father's molds which Hamlin had been using — presumably lent to him after he finished his apprenticeship.³⁵

If the foregoing analysis of the career of Job Danforth, Jr. is correct he may not have made any pewter. In 1798 pewter was still being made in quantities, but Providence already had three pewterers each with his molds for plates, dishes, basins, porringers and mugs. Danforth would not need any molds on joining Billings. The partnership of Billings and Danforth was busy with brass founding, along with sheet brass and copper and pewter. Danforth may well have returned to Providence from Boston with knowledge of the newest designs and techniques for the manufacture of brass andirons and pumps. All of the shop material purchased from Job Danforth, Sr. — patterns for andirons and pumps, flasks and flask boards — was for brass founding. The evidence indicates that Job Danforth, Jr. was primarily a brass founder; he may have made a little pewter, if he had molds before joining Billings, or he could have used Billings' molds after joining him. Jacobs does state that "a piece of pewter bearing the mark of Job Danforth was advertised for sale in the early 1940's", but neither the mark nor the form was identified.³⁶

Job Danforth, Jr.'s untimely death at age 27 may not have been due to purely natural causes; it may have been caused by the occupational hazards associated with brass founding. Such a supposition is based purely on the circumstantial evidence of similar early deaths along the Atlantic seaboard around the same time. Danforth's partner, William Billings, died suddenly in 1813 at age 45.

At least two of Gershom Jones' sons, James Green (b. Oct. 23, 1782) and Samuel Ely (b. January 30, 1784) were apprentices for him and continued into business with him. Their apprenticeships would have been completed in 1803 and 1805. In May 1806 Gershom Jones & Sons informed the public that they continued to carry on "the Business of Pewterers, Braziers and Founders".³⁷ However, in less than a year (February 1807) the partnership was dissolved: "The Coppersmith,

Founders and Plumbing Business being carried on by James and Samuel, and the Pewterers Business will be carried on as usual by Gershom Jones". After Gershom Jones died in 1809 both sons moved to New York State.³⁸ James was listed in the *New York City Directories* from 1812 on as a coppersmith, while Samuel was listed as a coppersmith in the first *Utica Directory* in 1817. Samuel died on February 15, 1817 at age 33 and James died on April 12, 1820 at age 37. Presumably they carried on the brass founders business in addition to coppersmithing, as indicated by the Providence advertisements.

In Philadelphia brass founder Thomas Brooks died in 1798 at age 24.³⁹ A pair of brass andirons with lemon tops and penny feet are preserved with Brooks' name on them.⁴⁰ In Salem, Massachusetts, Samuel Jefferds, brass founder from Boston, announced in the *Salem Gazette* of April 26, 1796 that he was carrying on the foundry business at Washington Street. He advertised andirons and shovels and tongs of the newest fashion. In the *Gazette* of May 30, 1800 it was announced that the shop of Samuel Jefferds with tools was to be sold at auction June 5th, if not previously sold. Jefferds died in 1805 of apoplexy (a stroke) at age 27.⁴¹ In the *Salem Gazette* of April 22, 1803 James Austin announced that he had moved his brass foundry to a new shop, and was making among other items andirons and shovels and tongs. He is first found on the Salem tax lists in 1802. The *Gazette* of October 12, 1804 announced his death at age 24. He had been married only three months previously.⁴²

Obviously the profession of a brass founder was extremely hazardous for some individuals; for others there was little danger. This situation probably arose as a result of the newly won independence of the young American republic. Prior to the Revolution Britain discouraged the export of raw materials in an effort to force the Colonies to purchase finished products from England. Brass founders obtained their raw material from old (scrap) brass for which all workers offered cash. With the end of the war and the signing of the peace treaty in Paris in 1783 the basic raw materials for making brass — copper and zinc — were both eventually available. This is where the problem apparently arose. The proportions for various types of brass were from one fifth to one third zinc with the balance copper. It



was probably in compounding the brass that excessive zinc vapors arose with improper ventilation. Zinc boils at a temperature (1665° F) below the melting point of copper (1981° F). Even after the zinc is added there is a continual volatilization of the zinc, and the hotter the melt the greater the rate of loss. It has never been suggested that there has been a mortality rate due to this cause.

The effect is similar in a lesser degree to the severe health problems encountered in the fire-gilding of bronze. In this process finely divided particles of gold were added to mercury to form a pasty amalgam which was applied to the bronze surface. As mercury vaporizes at a fairly low temperature, by moderately heating the object the mercury was driven off as a vapor leaving the gold firmly bonded to the base metal. The fumes evolved are extremely poisonous. There were about 300 gilders working in Paris during the eighteenth century.⁴³ The life of the gilder was relatively short, but the compensation was very high relative to the other operations. This added a disproportionate amount to the cost of the gilded object.

The process was known to the ancients, who fully recognized the hazards. Pliny noted that such gilding was carried out by Roman craftsmen only when the wind was blowing strongly away from the oven so that the fumes were safely dispersed.⁴⁴ The process was probably used in America prior to the development of electroplating after 1845. *Mackenzie's Five Thousand Receipts* (James Kay, Philadelphia, 1829) contains sections on virtually every phase of life. In the section on metallurgy instructions are given for the mercury amalgam process of gilding (p. 17). Then in the section on medicine advice is given to gilders on how to avoid the hazards of mercury (p. 261): "They should have two doors in their work room, opposite to each other, which they should keep open, that there may be a free circulation of air. They should likewise have a piece of gold applied to the roof of the mouth during the whole time of the operations. This plate will attract and intercept the mercury as they breathe, and when it grows white they must cast it into the fire, that the mercury may evaporate, and replace it when it is cool again." Obviously the gold plate could only intercept a small portion of the mercury breathed directly into the lungs.

The apprentices were undoubtedly assigned the "dirty" jobs in the foundries and other shops. The dirtiest was probably the compounding of the alloys. It was hot; besides the heat, the fuel also posed a health hazard. *Mackenzie*, in the medicine section, offered advice to gilders, jewelers, and others for protection from the pernicious effects of charcoal (p. 261). This was probably due to carbon monoxide formation. Job Danforth, Jr. started his apprenticeship with Gershom Jones in 1788. Jones probably did not have zinc then, but when he died he had 41 pounds of the metal, in addition to 16 pounds of new copper and 280 pounds of old copper and brass. The apprentices were exposed to the hazards for long periods. When they started on their own they invariably worked alone and the exposure continued.

The masters during this period were removed from the close association of the deadly atmosphere, but the life spans of some may have been shortened. Danforth's master, Gershom Jones died in 1809 at age 57. Samuel Hamlin had been Jones' partner from 1774 to 1781. Hamlin was also a coppersmith and brass founder. He died in 1801 at age 55. The deaths of both Jones and Hamlin may possibly be a little premature. On the other hand Job Danforth, Sr. lived to 93. The most he was exposed to was sawdust, turpentine and linseed oil. His account book stops in 1818 after a few years of nearly inactive accounts, and he made a will in 1819, which may indicate that he had become ill. But he was 73 years old then and lived another 20 years. William Billings died at age 45. His brother Alpheus lived to be 78, his mother Marcy died at age 74, and his second wife Amey lived to be 79. A long life could be expected for those who avoided smallpox and other contagious diseases. The brass founder apparently lived a very hazardous life.

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