

The
PEWTER COLLECTORS CLUB
of AMERICA INC.

BULLETIN NO. 104

JUNE 1992

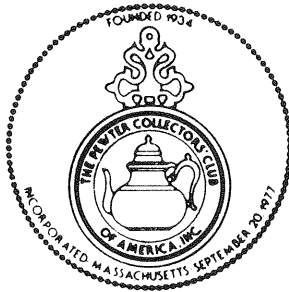
VOL. 10 NO. 5



William Will quart flagon (left), sugar bowl (center), quart flagon (right). (*Wolf Coll.*)



Richard L. Bowen Melvyn D. Wolf
Charles V. Swain Stevie Young
John Carl Thomas Jack H. Kolaian, Chairman



OFFICERS

President.....Bette Wolf
First Vice President.....David L. Mallory
Second Vice President.....Barbara J. Horan
Treasurer.....Lois McConnell
Secretary.....Robert Horan

GOVERNING BOARD
GOVERNORS-AT-LARGE

Dean F. Failey Term exp. Spring 1993
Wayne A. Hilt Term exp. Spring 1994
Gregory D. Aurand Term exp. Spring 1995

STANDING-COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Program.....David L. Mallory
Membership.....William G. Paddock
Publications.....Jack H. Kolaian
Nominations.....Ellen J. O'Flaherty

REGIONAL GROUP PRESIDENTS

New York.....
New England.....Clark Whitney
Mid-Atlantic.....George W. Wolfe Jr.
Mid-West.....Robert Christman
Western.....Mary Ann Keeve

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
OF PAST PRESIDENTS

Eric deJonge.....1953-1955
Dr. Robert Mallory III.....1955-1957
John Carl Thomas.....1963-1965
Rev. Clare M. Ingham.....1973-1975
Dr. Lola S. Reed.....1975-1977
Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf.....1977-1979
Dr. Donald M. Herr.....1981-1983
Burton L. Zempsky.....1983-1985
Jack H. Kolaian.....1985-1987
Ellen J. O'Flaherty.....1987-1989
Garland Pass.....1989-1991

CORRESPONDENCE

PUBLICATIONS - Bulletin
Jack H. Kolaian
105 Dorothy Lane
Wappingers Falls, NY 12590

PUBLICATIONS - Newsletter
Ellen J. O'Flaherty
2502 Grandin Road
Cincinnati, OH 45208

CHANGE OF ADDRESS and DUES
Lois McConnell
27 Elmhurst Place
Cincinnati, OH 45208

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION
William G. Paddock
29 Chesterfield Road
Scarsdale, NY 10583

LIBRARY
Thomas H. O'Flaherty
2502 Grandin Road
Cincinnati, OH 45208

BACK ISSUES OF BULLETIN
Janet and Peter Stadler
Box 5126
Laytonsville, MD 20879

CATALOGING COLLECTIONS
Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf
1196 Shady Hill Court
Flint, MI 48532

PLANNING COMMITTEE
Dr. Donald M. Herr
2363 Henbird Lane
Lancaster, PA 17601

The Pewter Collectors' Club of America, Inc. and its Officers and its Board of Governors assume no responsibility for either the statements or opinions prepared by the contributors to the Bulletin.



President's Letter

May 15th and 16th was the weekend for our annual meeting. It was held in Portland, Maine as well as Augusta. Our meeting was well attended with 62 members and guests from 13 states as well as the District of Columbia.

Our meeting began Friday afternoon with wine and nuts on a lively bus ride from Portland to the Maine State Museum in Augusta. An orientation talk by Chief Curator, Dr. Edwin Churchill started our tour. The museum's exhibition on Maine Pewter, which opened to the public the following day, was available to our members perusal. A few rare makers works were seen besides the pewter of Dunham and the Porters demonstrating a full gamut of Maine pewter production. A catalogue will soon be available and a notice posted in our Newsletter will give details on how to acquire a copy.

Members then roamed the museum seeing "Made in Maine", an exhibit of nineteenth-century manufacturing in the State of Maine as well as other exhibits showing Maine's natural environment, prehistory, social history and manufacturing heritage.

Following the museum tour, we went to the Senator Inn for a sumptuous seafood buffet which our members will be raving about for years to come. Our program was a slide presentation "Hail Britania; Down East Pewter" by Ed Churchill. His research into the background of Maine pewterers was fascinating. His enthusiasm delighted us all. Working under a grant from our PCCA, Ed is going to publish 2 articles in our Bulletin after completing his research work. Very contented, we boarded our bus for the trip back to Portland.

The following morning we reconvened at the Portland Museum of Art where we were privileged to view the Monkhouse Collection of Maine Pewter. This collection had been donated to the museum in memory of our late pewter club member, Dr. William A. Monkhouse. Twenty-six pieces were on display. Members were free to wander about and view the general collections. Of particular interest was the fine art works of those who had spent time in or were from Maine.

After lunch and a short business meeting, the program started with a display of Maine holloware and a discussion under the able leadership of Ed and Wayne Hilt. With the large number of pieces brought in by members, it was a complete presentation.

Ed and Mel Wolf next talked about the pewter lighting products of Maine with many examples having been brought in to augment this discussion. The historical background brought in by Ed was an added bonus to those attending.

That evening after dinner, Sherwin Herzog

joined Ed in leading a discussion of miscellaneous forms of Maine pewter. Sherwin's good humor made this a hilarious time for all. The show and tell session followed under the able guidance of John Carl Thomas.

This meeting was packed full of fun and enjoyable things to do and see. We are indebted to all those who took the trouble, and it is a bother, to bring in Maine pewter for our discussions. It enhanced our meeting and made it a learning experience we will not forget. Kudos to David Mallory and his committee who did an outstanding job in organizing this meeting. From the big legible name tags to the comfortable bus, no detail was unattended to. Our club thanks Ed Churchill for his outstanding job. We may have given him a grant but we could not have given him the enthusiasm and enjoyment he showed in being involved with our program. We are grateful for his contribution to our club and look forward eagerly to his articles.

Our business meeting did produce some noteworthy items. First, Gregory Aurand was nominated and elected to the Board as a Governor-At-Large for a two year term. We look forward to his input at our meetings and know that he will contribute much.

Secondly, Robert Asher completed his chairmanship of the Retention Committee. He personally organized this study and the dropout rate of our club has diminished due to his efforts. We thank Bob for doing his usual outstanding job. Changes are now being made in our club to go along with his recommendations. Awareness of some of our deficiencies will make the PCCA a better, more fulfilling organization.

Thirdly, our first plaque to an outgoing president was presented to Garland Pass for his tireless efforts as President of the PCCA. This is the start of a new tradition thanks to Vince Davies for assembling this fine memento.

Finally to all those involved with making our annual meeting such a success, we thank you. Your efforts resulted in a fine meeting, an enjoyable experience and a fun time. To all those who could not come, now you know what you missed!

Bette Wolf



Necrology

Anne Deffenbaugh Grant

Anne Deffenbaugh Grant, of 1151 Thornton Road, Glen Mills, Pennsylvania died at her home December 18, 1992. Born in Charlotte, North Carolina in 1907 she was the daughter of Frank A. and Mary Batte Deffenbaugh of Petersburg, Virginia. Interment was at the Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia.

Anne shared the love of antique pewter and New England furniture with her late husband Madison Grant. They attended and actively supported both the Mid-Atlantic and National P.C.C.A. meetings. Her gracious manner and presence will be missed by all.

Donald M. Herr

Editor's Note:

The following letter has been received from Peter Hornsby and The Pewter Society who are asking for assistance from PCCA members for this study.

James The First Flagon Study Group

P.R.G. Hornsby
97 Corn Street, Witney, Oxon OX8 7DL
Telephone 0993 704793

April 7, 1992

Dear Jack,

Over the next two years the Pewter Society in Britain will be recording as many James the First Pewter flagons as they are able to identify and we would welcome the help of anyone who owns such a flagon or knows where examples are in private or public collections.

This form of flagon is thought to have first appeared in the late sixteenth century and many examples were used as Communion flagons after 1602. The flagons are tall, with a slightly tapering straight sided body, a knopped and domed lid, an applied skirt and "erect" thumbpiece similar to the example enclosed.

If members of the PCCA own such a flagon or are able to direct us to where examples exist we would be grateful if they could let me know at the above address.

I can assure you that any information you offer will be treated in strict confidence and will only be used for the purposes set out in this letter.

Can you arrange for the publication of this letter and photograph?

Yours faithfully,

P.R.G. Hornsby

The Editor,
Bulletin



John Townsend and Associates

by Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

Almost twenty years ago Charles V. Swain attempted to straighten out the working dates of John Townsend and his associates which, as shown by Cotterell in his *Old Pewter*, appear to be confusing and contradictory in places.¹ Swain wondered why Cotterell gave the starting date of Townsend & Compton as 1801 when he had stated under Thomas Compton that Compton had joined Townsend in a partnership in 1780.² He apparently did not see the note under John Townsend (C4795): "For further details of his many partnerships see note under W. J. Englefield". Englefield was in a surviving business which had presumably started with Thomas Scattergood in 1700, passed on to John Townsend in 1748 and was still in operation in 1929. He had given Cotterell the company's descent (C1576), which is listed in Table I with the dates Cotterell used and Swain's revisions.

TABLE I

| | Englefield | Cotterell | Swain |
|------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Thomas Scattergood | 1700 | 1703 | |
| Edward Meriefield | 1716 | 1724 | |
| John Townsend | 1748-1766 | 1748 | |
| Townsend & Reynolds | 1766-1777 | 1766 | 1766-1776 |
| Townsend & Giffin | 1777-1801 | 1777-1801 | 1777-1779 |
| Townsend & Compton | 1801-1811 | 1801-1811 | 1780-1801 |
| Thomas & Townsend Compton | 1811-1817 | 1801-1817 | 1801-1817 |
| Townsend Compton | 1817-1834 | 1817-1834 | |
| Townsend & Henry Compton | 1834-1869 | 1834-1869 | |
| Elmslie & Simpson | 1869-1885 | | |
| Brown & Englefield | 1885-present | | |

It is evident that Englefield was the basis for Cotterell's dates. Cotterell evidently assumed that they were based on old company records and thus correct. In fact, he specifically states that they were corroborated by Englefield in the years immediately preceding his death in 1927 (C1576). It is apparent that Cotterell made a typographical error for the start of Thomas & Townsend Compton, which should have been 1811 rather than 1801 since Townsend & Compton ran through 1811. Using 1811-1817 for Thomas & Townsend Compton leaves a ten year gap in Swain's chronology. A problem with Englefield's dates would appear to be the fact that John Townsend died in 1801 as duly noted by Cotterell under this man and also under Thomas Compton, so that apparently Townsend & Compton could not have started in 1801 but rather must have ended in that year as Swain reasoned. However, that is only necessarily true if the Townsend in Townsend & Compton was the same as the one in Townsend & Giffin.

Swain reasoned that, since John Townsend died in 1801, it was "not likely that Thomas Compton would apply for a touch incorporating the name of a man no longer living, particularly since in the same year he and his son applied for, and were granted, a new touch, Thomas & Townsend Compton (C1064) which was used until Thomas died in 1817". Actually, there is no evidence in the London Company records that either Townsend & Compton or Thomas & Townsend Compton applied for and were granted touches. Further, as noted above, Cotterell's 1801 date for the start of Thomas & Townsend Compton was apparently a typographical error and should have been 1811. Cotterell presented evidence to controvert Swain's chronology. He specifically stated that in 1793 Townsend & Giffin were at 135 Fenchurch Street. This would have meant that if Townsend & Giffin went out of business in 1793 Townsend & Compton could not have started until after this time.

In taking the start of Townsend & Compton as 1780 Swain was forced to end Townsend & Giffin in 1779, shortening them to a three year span. He rationalized this by saying that Thomas Giffin would have been 86 in 1779 and was either too old to work or had died. If he was too old to work in 1779 he would have probably been too old to work in 1777. Under Thomas Giffin (C1860) Cotterell states that his mark is found in conjunction with that of John Townsend. But this Giffin struck his touch in 1713. It would appear that Cotterell picked the wrong Giffin, mainly because his mark was almost the same shape as that in the Townsend & Giffin touches. However, there is another Thomas Giffin (C1861) who struck his touch in 1764 and had the same touch device as the first Giffin. Cotterell noted that in 1776 his business was at 135 Fenchurch Street (the same address as Townsend & Giffin in 1793) possibly implying that he was alone then. He could have joined John Townsend in 1777 which would confirm the Englefield date. After joining Townsend he cut a new waisted oval touch to match Townsend's.

There are two fallacies in all of these chronologies: (1) the assumption that all the partnerships were successors one to another and (2) the assumption that the Townsend in each was the original John Townsend. The matter of the successions is clarified by Elsie Englefield (daughter of W. J. Englefield) in *A Treatise on Pewter* (1933), to which Dr. Ronald F. Homer was kind enough to direct me. In this work a chronological table of the successors leading to Brown and Englefield is given with their starting dates presumably to cor-



rect the dates given in Cotterell.

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| Thomas Scattergood | 1700 |
| Edward Meriefield | 1716 |
| John Townsend | 1748 |
| Townsend & Reynolds | 1767 |
| John Townsend & Co. | 1776 |
| Townsend & Compton | 1785 |
| Townsend, Compton & Co. | 1806 |
| T. & T. Compton | 1810 |
| (Thomas & Townsend) | |
| Thomas Townsend | |
| & Henry Compton | 1815 |
| T. & H. Compton | 1819 |
| Henry Compton | 1840 |
| Henry Compton & Co. | 1848 |
| Elmslie & Simpson | 1868 |
| Brown & Englefield | 1885 |

There are three important revelations in this chronology. In the first place, the death of John Townsend in 1801 is not a relevant consideration in the dating of the partnerships. Further, Townsend & Compton (with Townsend, Compton & Co.) runs from 1785 to 1810 indicating that the original John Townsend who died in 1801 was not Compton's partner. And most important, Townsend & Giffin is not listed.

Under Thomas Compton, Cotterell states that he joined John Townsend in a partnership in 1780 and gives as his authority "John Gray, Pewterer". This refers to a small volume titled *Recollections of Spitalfields, JOHN GRAY, A Journeyman Pewterer and an Honest Man, With brief memoirs of his employers John Townsend and Thomas Compton by their Descendant Theodore Compton.*³ It was first published as a small pamphlet ("Memoir of John Gray") soon after Gray's death in 1838; it was rewritten in 1894 with additional information on Gray's employers, John Townsend and Thomas Compton, with the above title. Since Spitalfields was one of the locations of Townsend & Compton at least as early as 1806, the title of the book makes it abundantly clear that the Townsend was John Townsend, Jr. and Thomas Compton was his brother-in-law, not son-in-law as Montgomery and others have stated.

Thomas Compton was apprenticed to John Townsend, Sr. in 1763 (C1063) and would have finished his apprenticeship in 1770. John Townsend made his daughter Mary become a pewterer and she received her freedom from the London Company in 1774 (C4797). She eventually married Thomas Compton (John Townsend referred to his "son and daughter, Thomas and Mary Compton") indicating that Thomas Compton may have initially worked for John Townsend. Thomas Compton apparently named his second son Townsend after John Townsend. John Townsend, Jr. was undoubtedly apprenticed to his father and gained his freedom in 1778

(C4796). Compton and John, Jr. may both have worked for the elder Townsend but eventually they formed a partnership, Townsend & Compton. According to the Gray account this was in 1780, but in Elsie Englefield's list it was in 1785. They were destined to become the largest exporter of English pewter to America ever known, easily eclipsing Townsend & Giffin.

It is significant that Townsend & Giffin is not included in Elsie Englefield's list. If it were forced into the chronology it would have to fit between 1776 and 1785. This is not possible as Cotterell clearly indicated that it was operating in 1793. Further, if Townsend & Giffin were dated to 1777-1785, this would leave John Townsend, Sr. without a job after 1785. However, Townsend & Giffin does follow John Townsend & Co. in 1776 or shortly after. The "and Co." may even mean that Townsend had taken Giffin in at that time. The partnership lasted until Townsend's death in 1801 and probably covered the period from 1777 to 1801 as Englefield had originally suggested. When Englefield started Townsend & Compton in 1801, he very probably realized that the Townsend was John Townsend, Jr. This was possibly an honest error if Englefield assumed that Townsend & Giffin was succeeded on John Townsend's death by Townsend's son in Townsend & Compton. Englefield was probably influenced by the fact that his surviving company had the records of Townsend & Giffin and the prior companies. However, this did not mean that Townsend & Compton succeeded Townsend & Giffin, but simply that John Townsend, Jr. acquired the earlier records after his father's death. Since Townsend & Compton had started at least by 1785 this partnership was operating *contemporaneously* with Townsend & Giffin for a period of 17 years or more. Therefore, Townsend & Compton is not a descendant or successor to the businesses of John Townsend, Sr.

John Townsend's name appears as early as 1756 in the records of the Quaker ministry in England.⁴ He was extremely active continuously throughout his life in the religious work of the Quakers. He spent so much time on Quaker affairs that there was often little time left for his business and he obviously needed a partner to carry on when he was away. For example, in August 1785 he left for a visit in Gospel love to the Friends in North America. He visited the Friends in Nova Scotia, Newport (Rhode Island), Philadelphia, Delaware, Virginia and North Carolina. He returned home to England in October 1787 having been absent from his family for two years and two months. During all this time Thomas Giffin was running the pewter business, but John Townsend was undoubtedly flooding him with business from American Quaker merchants. He may well have also been acting as an agent for Townsend & Compton, who had apparently just started, on the assumption that there



was enough business for both companies. John Townsend could probably have obtained more business from Quaker merchants than the two concerns could have handled because of his prominence in the English Quaker ministry and the propensity for Quaker to trade with Quaker.

A revised dating of the various partnerships is made based mainly on Elsie Englefield's chronology, which appears to have been made from a survey of the London Directories using the first mention of a particular concern. A John Townsend & Co. appears in 1776 signaling the end of Townsend & Reynolds and, as previously noted, may indicate the start of Townsend & Giffin. Otherwise, the earliest chronologies do not change much from W. J. Englefield's original outline; a few details are added from Cotterell for the two earliest pewterers.

First Series of Companies

| | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Thomas Scattergood | 1703-1724 |
| Edward Meriefield | 1724-1748 |
| John Townsend | 1748-1767 |
| Townsend & Reynolds | 1767-1776 |
| John Townsend & Co. | 1776-1777 |
| Townsend & Giffin | 1777-1801 |

Thomas Compton had finished his apprenticeship with John Townsend in 1770 and Townsend's son John had probably finished his in 1778 when he obtained his freedom. According to Gray they entered into a partnership in 1780, but Elsie Englefield, obviously cognizant of this date has used 1785, which will be taken here for the start of the second series of partnerships. It turns out that Swain's intuition about the dates for Townsend & Compton was correct; he simply had the wrong John Townsend. There was a change in Townsend & Compton in 1806; possibly Townsend Compton joined the company at that time. John Townsend, Jr. either retired or died in 1810; he would have been only about 53 then. However, he had probably made a fortune in the 25 years since 1785.

Second Series of Companies

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Townsend & Compton | 1785-1806 |
| Townsend, Compton & Co. | 1806-1810 |
| Thomas & Townsend Compton | 1810-1815 |
| Thomas, Townsend & Henry Compton | 1815-1819 |
| Townsend & Henry Compton | 1819-1840 |
| Henry Compton | 1840-1848 |
| Henry Compton & Co. | 1848-1855? |

This line of partnerships ends here. In a note in the chronological table Elsie Englefield stated that sometime after 1848 Henry Compton & Co. moved into the location where Elmslie & Simpson was *already established* and later Henry Compton & Co.

were merged into Elmslie & Simpson. Therefore, Brown & Englefield can only trace its direct origins back to about 1850 when Elmslie & Simpson started. Henry Compton & Co. was not succeeded by Elmslie & Simpson. Elmslie & Simpson acquired the assets of Henry Compton & Co. who had the records of their predecessors. Finding the records of all of these companies must have given W. J. Englefield the impression that there was a succession of operations dating back to around 1700. Dr. Ronald F. Homer has advised me that the records no longer exist and were possibly destroyed in World War II. It is really regrettable that these records covering the complete 18th century and the first half of the 19th century were not donated to some library or museum where they would have been available for study.

* * * * *

William James Englefield is somewhat of an anachronism. Long after the age of pewter had ended and the apprenticeship system had virtually become obsolete he became apprenticed to one of the few remaining London pewterers in 1867 and was granted his freedom from the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London in 1875 (C1576). His father had been the chief engineer of Elmslie & Simpson and had obtained the apprenticeship for him in the pewter department of the company. In 1885, Elmslie & Simpson went out of business and Englefield joined with Mr. Brown in forming Brown & Englefield.

In Elsie Englefield's little volume, *A Treatise on Pewter*, which was basically an eulogy of her father written after his death in 1927, she noted that a revival of pewter ware had taken place about fifty years previously, which would have coincided with the founding of Brown & Englefield.⁵ The interest among a small number of collectors of old pewter generally began to attract the attention of others and created a desire for the new based on the production of the past. In 1903, Redman wrote *Old Pewter and Sheffield Plate*, which was the first work on the subject of British pewter. The Society of Pewter Collectors in England was not founded until 1918. In the revival Brown & Englefield made commercial items consisting of measures, funnels, tankards, ice pots, ice cream molds, inkstands and hospital ware. Artistic wares consisted of plates, dishes, vases, candlesticks, fruit and flower bowls, and crosses for churches.⁶

William J. Englefield became the Master of the Worshipful Company in 1909-10. The previous pewterer who had been Master of the Company was Mr. Staples in 1876. In 1913, Englefield struck his touch on the last of the London touch plates. The mark is an oval with W. J. ENGLEFIELD/LON-



DON around the outside and the device is a horse and a dove with an olive branch above. It was undoubtedly meant to be similar to all the Townsend touches with a lamb and dove with olive branch, but it is clearly a horse as shown by Cotterell's photograph of the fifth London touch plate. The touch recorded just before Englefield's was for E. J. T. Ashley which was struck in 1824, a gap of about 90 years. Since it was obviously not necessary to have an approved touch in 1913 this must have been a promotion for the pewter business. Cotterell noted that Englefield's son Ralph obtained his freedom from the Company in 1921 (C1576A). Not known to Cotterell, he struck a touch similar to his father's on the London touch plate in 1935, again with a horse instead of a lamb;⁷ this was struck 111 years after the last valid touch on the plate. In the early 20th century Brown & Englefield made some reproductions from old Compton molds;⁸ the Englefields' touches are found on examples of some of these. Dr. Ronald F. Homer has advised me that the concern still exists in London as Englefields, Ltd., where they continue to make reproduction pewter using some of the old Compton molds.

Elsie Englefield showed six "touch marks" used during the "Compton period" whose dies were then still in the possession of Brown & Englefield;⁹ actually, two of these are quality marks. The dies for three of the touches with their impressions are shown in a photograph of tools of the Compton period (graters, hooks, burnishers and hammers).¹⁰ These six marks are the same six shown by Cotterell under Thomas Compton (C1063). Since the source of these is now apparent, it is evident that they probably do not belong to Thomas Compton, but rather were used by the succession of Compton companies from 1810 to 1855 starting with or following T. & T. Compton since no marks are specifically known for the later companies. Cotterell probably put them under Thomas Compton for lack of specific identification. There is no evidence that any Thomas Compton ever worked alone. The four touches simply have COMPTON (two also have LONDON). One of the marks has an octagonal border with large serrations. The lateness of the mark is shown by an identical mark of Martin Merry (c 1824) of Dublin (C3208) who possibly copied the Comptons. However, another identical mark was also used by Francis Hudson (c 1757) of York (C2437). Under Thomas Compton (C1063) Cotterell has father and son combined. Thomas Compton, Sr. was apprenticed to John Townsend in 1763 and would have finished his apprenticeship in 1770. It was his son, Thomas, Jr., who obtained his freedom in 1802.

* * * * *

This review of the working dates of John Townsend's partnerships started after a study of English

pewter exported to America showed that the working dates of some English pewterers conflicted with the amount of English exports to America. Specifically, during the period from 1775 to 1782 when the Revolutionary War was being fought there was no commercial export of English goods to America, yet some English export pewter was dated during this period. A detailed analysis of English exports to America during this period is presented elsewhere;¹¹ a brief sketch of the matter is presented here.

In December 1773, a number of Boston residents dressed as Indians boarded three British ships and dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor rather than pay a symbolic tax on the tea (The Boston Tea Party). Mainly as a result of this, the British Parliament closed the port of Boston in 1774. This in turn led the First Continental Congress to meet in Philadelphia in September 1774 and, among other matters, adopt the plan of the Association which amounted to a complete boycott of British goods. Enforcement was by committees in each colony with the power to hold extra-legal trials, confiscate property, and imprison or banish loyalist offenders. As a result of this boycott the export of English goods to the colonies fell to zero in 1775 except for some small shipments to the British who were occupying Boston. After hostilities had begun in 1775 and the American colonists made their Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776 the British placed a trade embargo on the colonies.

With the American boycott and the British embargo British exports to America ceased completely during the war except for shipments to the British forces at New York and Charleston, South Carolina. The war ended with the surrender of the British in 1781 but the peace was not signed until 1783. Since the payment of prewar debts owed by Americans to British citizens for merchandise was not resolved trade was not resumed, so that even though the war was over there were no British exports to America in 1782. Only when the peace was finally signed in 1783 and the debt problem resolved did the flow of British goods to America again commence. For the eight year period from 1775 to 1782 there were virtually no British consumer exports of any kind to America.

A survey of English export pewter found in New England by Ian D. Robinson showed that the pewter of Townsend & Griffin had a relative frequency of 2, which on a scale of 1 to 5 (with 1 being the most common), meant that this pewter was relatively common.¹² However, Robinson had used Swain's dates of 1777-1779 for Townsend & Giffin. It would seem questionable that all this pewter could have been shipped in over a three year period. Further, since there were no English shipments to America from 1775 to 1782 the dates for Townsend & Giffin appeared impossible. This meant either one of two things: (1) the dates were wrong or (2) the



pewter found was the result of 20th century importation. Since the amount of Townsend & Giffin pewter in America could hardly all have come in recently, it appeared that the dates must be wrong. The revised dates for Townsend & Giffin presented here solve the problem and indicate that their pewter undoubtedly came into America between 1783 and 1801.

Robinson used Michaelis' dates of 1767-1788 for the presumably earlier firm of Townsend & Reynolds. This completely overlapped the dates he used for Townsend & Giffin, and in essence meant that Townsend & Giffin did not exist. Whatever Michaelis' basis for the termination date of 1788 for Townsend & Reynolds was it appears to be in error. The end of Townsend & Reynolds and the start of Townsend & Giffin have to be essentially the same.

REFERENCES

1. C. V. Swain, "Townsend and Compton", *PCCA Bul*, 6(1973), pp. 288-289.
2. H. H. Cotterell, *Old Pewter* (London, 1929), No. 1063. In the following text other numbers will be referenced simply as C1063, etc.
3. C.F. Montgomery, "John Townsend", *PCCA Bul*, 5(1964), pp. 23-26.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Elsie Englefield, *A Treatise on Pewter* (London, 1933), pp. 21-23.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 67.
7. H. J. L. J. Masse, *The Pewter Collector* (London, 1971; R. F. Michaelis revision), pp. 233-234.
8. Englefield, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
11. R. L. Bowen, "The Sheaf of Wheat Mark and the Hales of Bristol", Appendix. Published in this *Bulletin*.
12. I. D. Robinson, "Antique British Pewter", *PCCA Bul.*, 8 (1984), pp. 378-392.

The Sheaf of Wheat Mark and the Hales of Bristol

By Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

Possibly the most enigmatic mark found on pewter in America is the "sheaf of wheat" (Fig. 1). This is usually accompanied by a London label in a serrated rectangle (Fig. 2). Since the mark was never found on pewter in Britain it was once thought that it might belong to some American pewterer. However, the fact that it was found on basins which were always beautifully hammered in the English fashion with large hammer marks indicated that it was the export mark of some British pewterer. In America basins were generally never hammered; the only hammered examples known are by Peter Young (10") and LOVE (11 1/2").

In a survey of British export pewter currently found in New England, Ian D. Robinson suggested that the sheaf of wheat mark might be from Bristol, c. 1740-1780.¹ This was based on the London label which was the same size and could have been identical to that used by several Bristol workers in association with a no-name rose and crown: Ash & Hutton (1740-1768) and Burgum & Catcott (1765-1779).² He reasoned that these workers and the user of the sheaf of wheat mark may have shared the same London label.

Actually, the London label associated with the sheaf of wheat and that associated with the no-name rose and crown are not the same. The distance between the outside edges of the LONDON are almost identical in both (5/8") and the overall length of the rectangle in each is about the same (11/16"). While the letters of both are the same shape, those of the sheaf of wheat associated label appear to be thicker. However, the serrations on both differ noticeably. Those on the label associated with the sheaf of wheat are concave (done in a scalloped manner) (Fig. 2). In the label associated with the no-name rose and crown the serrations are purely V-shaped. Further, the serrations associated with the sheaf of wheat label are 32/inch while those on the no-name rose and crown associated label are a little finer — 36/inch. Finally, the no-name rose and crown London label has a plain background while that of the label associated with the sheaf of wheat has a stippled background similar to the background of the sheaf of wheat.

In 1988, I acquired an 8 5/8" single reed plate from Jack Kolaian, with the sheaf of wheat mark and a secondary mark in place of the London label





Fig. 1. The enigmatic sheaf of wheat mark previously found either alone or with a London label. Enlarged two times.

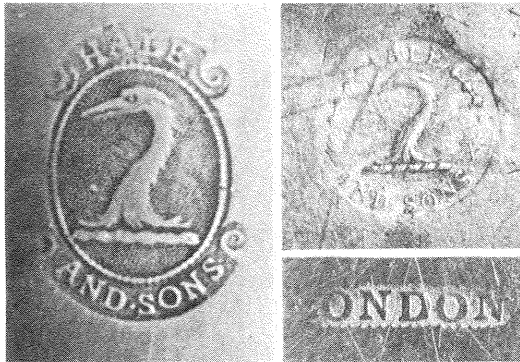


Fig. 2. Two Hale and Sons marks and the London label in a serrated rectangle usually accompanying the sheaf of wheat mark. Each photograph is enlarged 1.7 times. (Courtesy Ian D. Robinson.)

which finally identified the maker; there were four hallmarks with the name HALE in the first one (Figs. 3 and 4). Somewhat after this Ian D. Robinson acquired a 7 3/4" single reed plate with the sheaf of wheat and HALE hallmarks. And even more recently Donald M. Herr, while making a survey of 18th century Pennsylvania German church pewter, discovered a 7 7/8" single reed plate with the sheaf of wheat and HALE hallmarks in the United Church of Christ in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. This is one of the strange facets of collecting. After a vacuum of fifty years three plates turn up within a couple of years which identify the sheaf of wheat mark.

While the hallmarks on these plates are not the same as those shown by Cotterell for Hale and Sons where the first hallmark does not contain HALE,³ the other three are identical: the second is a rose, the third a swan's head erased (torn off) on a torse (wreath), and the fourth a lion passant (Fig. 5). The

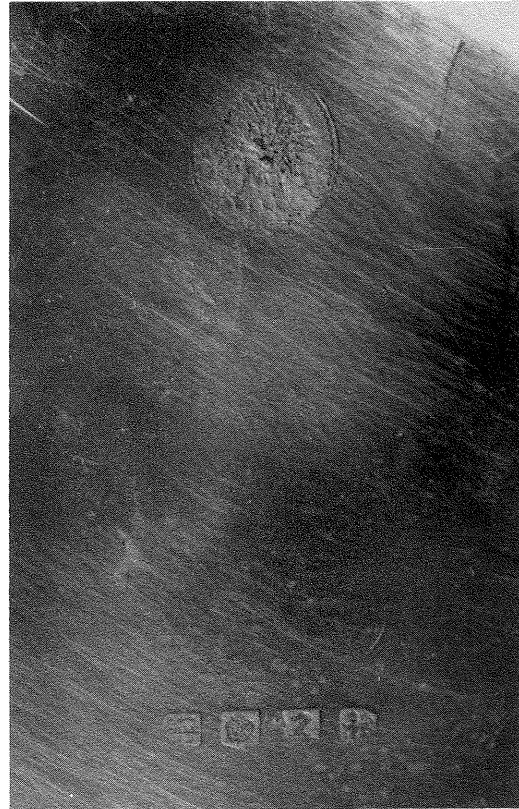


Fig. 3. 8 5/8" single reed plate with the sheaf of wheat mark and a set of hallmarks with HALE in the first mark. Actual size.

first hallmark shown by Cotterell is a two-headed eagle displayed. Ian D. Robinson has advised that, while he has seen several examples of HALE hallmarks identical to Fig. 4 associated with Hale and Sons touch marks, he has never seen the hallmarks shown by Cotterell for Hale and Sons.

The two-headed eagle displayed shown by Cotterell is very similar to the eagle shown in the fourth hallmark of both Edward Gregory and Ash & Hutton of Bristol.⁴ William Hutton and Gregory Ash had both been apprenticed to Edward Gregory and they copied his hallmarks (other than the initials) precisely with a seated Britannia, a lion's head erased and the two-headed eagle. On the other hand, Thomas Hale was apprenticed to Robert Bush whose earliest hallmarks were a rose, a griffin's head erased (from his main touch mark), a harp and his initials.⁵ The HALE hallmarks have a rose, a swan's head erased and a lion passant. The swan's head erased is very similar to Bush's griffin's head erased and may have been copied from it taking on a swan form. Robert Bush's earliest touch mark was a griffin in the position of a lion passant which may have been the inspiration for the lion passant in the Hale hallmarks.



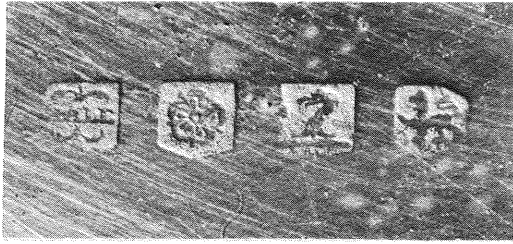


Fig. 4. The Hale and Sons hallmarks found with the sheaf of wheat mark. These are presumably the same hallmarks shown by Cotterell for Hale and Sons. Enlarged two times.



Fig. 5. Hale and Sons marks shown by Cotterell (C2070) enlarged to actual size (Cotterell's drawings were only 70% of actual size).

While the two-headed eagle was popular in the West Country Robert Bush did not use it. Actually he copied John Griffith's touch mark and hallmarks (except the initials) exactly (C2021), indicating the origin of the griffin touch mark: it was a pun on the name Griffith. Griffith was eleven years older than Bush and the fact that Bush copied his marks precisely (or actually modified the original dies) indicates that he probably took over Griffith's business when he died in 1755, the year Bush gained his freedom. Both Griffith and Bush were apprenticed to Thomas Lanyon but none of Griffith's hallmarks is similar to Lanyon's.

If the HALE were worn off in the center of the hallmark shown here the top and bottom two-leaf sprigs would look like parts of the two-headed eagle. Therefore, it is quite possible that no hallmarks exist for Hale and Sons as shown by Cotterell, the example shown having been incorrectly drawn from a partially worn mark. English hallmarks without either initials or a name are extremely rare.

My father collected pewter between 1937 and 1939, acquiring about 30 pieces (mostly by Samuel Hamlin and Gershom Jones) before he turned to Colonial history. By a remarkable coincidence it appears that the 8 5/8" plate with the HALE hallmarks was examined by him on February 5, 1938, as shown by his notes (Fig. 6). He was

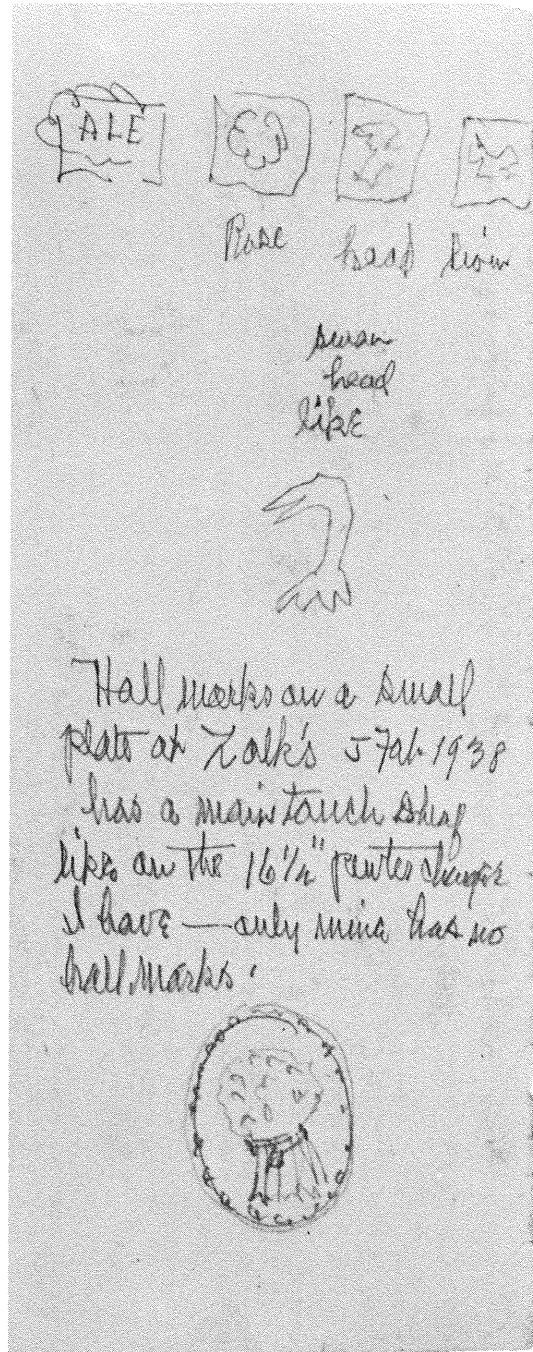


Fig. 6. Notes by Richard L. Bowen, Sr. regarding the sheaf of wheat mark and the Hale hallmarks found on a plate in 1938. Reduced slightly.

interested as he had a 16 1/2" sheaf of wheat dish which is still in the author's possession. "Zalk's" is a reference to Philip Zalk, then a well known Providence, R.I., antique dealer. The fact that the H in HALE could not be read in the example in Fig. 6 indicates that it may well be the same plate shown here, as the H is almost completely worn off so that at first glance the name does look like ALE (Fig.



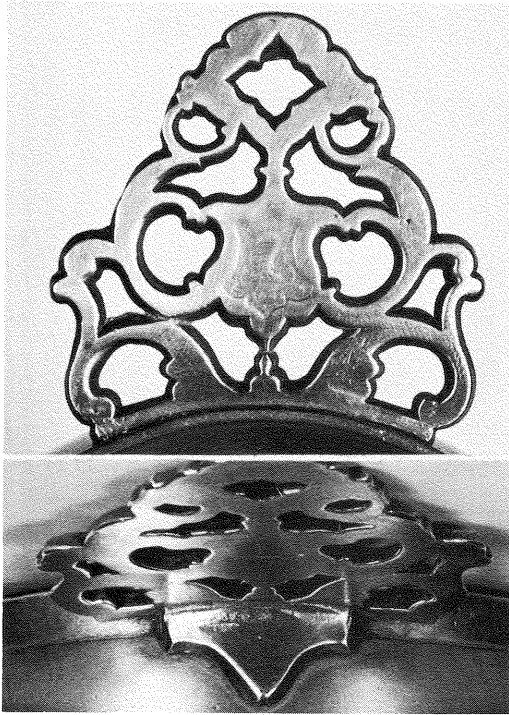


Fig. 7. 4 1/2" flowered handle porringer with Hale and Sons mark; it holds 11.8 ounces. Actual size.

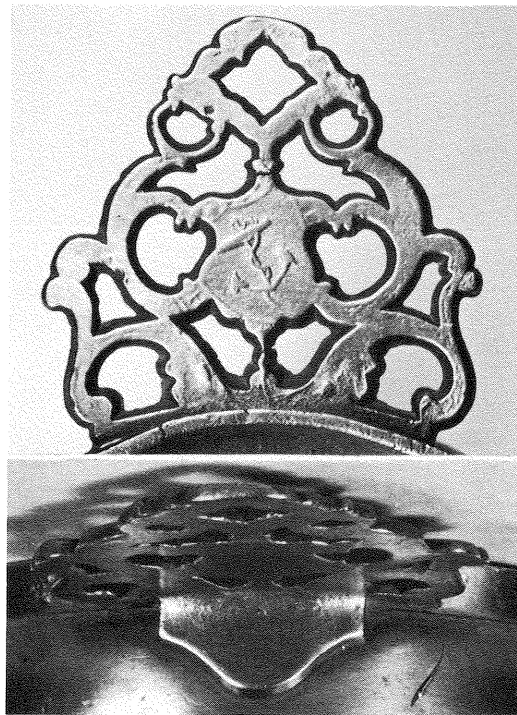


Fig. 8. 4 5/16" flowered handle porringer with Melville's anchor mark; it holds 11.1 ounces. Actual size.

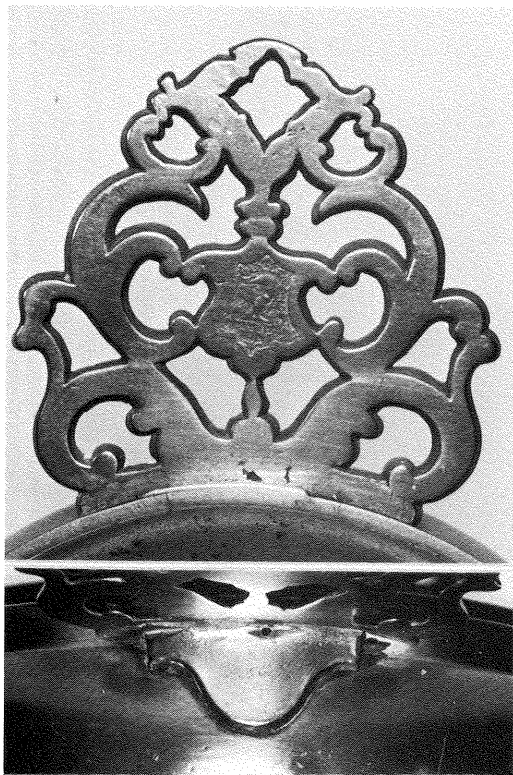
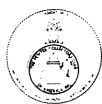


Fig. 9. 5" flowered handle porringer with Hale and Sons shield-shaped mark; it holds 16.0 ounces. Reduced 5%. (Collection of Webster Goodwin.)



Fig. 10. 5 1/16" flowered handle porringer with Melville's anchor mark; it holds 15.6 ounces. Reduced 5%. (Collection of Webster Goodwin.)



4). Zalk's plate was certainly not cleaned in 1938, and therefore the traces of the H were undoubtedly not evident. The HALE mark on Robinson's 7 3/4" plate is almost completely worn off so that no letters can be seen, while on the 7 7/8" Harrisburg plate only the E can be read. It seems highly improbable that two sheaf of wheat plates exist with the hallmarks struck exactly as in Figs. 4 and 6.

SHEAF OF WHEAT AND HALE AND SONS WARES

The list of wares marked with the sheaf of wheat and Hale and Sons touches which follows has been provided mainly by Ian D. Robinson from his extensive notes on English pewter found in New England (dimensions in inches). A few additional items in the author's collection are marked with an asterisk.

Sheaf of Wheat With or Without London Label

Single reed plates: 7 13/16*, 8 9/16, 9 1/4 (pair)
Single reed deep (soup) plate: 8 9/16*
Smooth brim plates: 7 13/16, 8 1/8, 8 1/4, 8 7/8*,
9 1/4
Single reed dishes: 13 1/2, 14 3/16, c. 15, 16 1/2
Smooth brim dish: 13 5/8
Basins: 6 7/8, 9 5/16 (marked in well), 10 1/4

Sheaf of Wheat and Hale Hallmarks

Single reed plates: 7 3/4 (I D R), 7 7/8 (Harrisburg), 8 5/8*

Various Hale and Sons Marks

Single reed plate: c. 9" with the large oval Hale and Sons touch mark and the HALE hallmarks (located in England)
Smooth brim dish: 13 1/2
Basin: 8 1/8 with 9/16" circular mark
Flowered handle porringer: 4 1/2* with shield-shaped mark (Fig. 11) holding 11.8 U.S. fluid ounces, a wine three gill (Fig. 7), 5" (Webster Goodwin) with shield-shaped mark (Fig. 11) holding 16.0 ounces, a wine pint (Fig. 9)
Quart mug with plain body with 9/16" circular mark (Oliver Deming)
Dome lid tankard (Clair Ingham)
Dome lid tankard with open chair thumbpiece (Art Morse)
Dome lid tankard with heart handle terminal and low filet (Wayne Hilt)
Dome lid tulip-shaped tankard, plain C handle, open chair thumbpiece and 9/16" circular mark (Jack H. Kolaian)
Dome lid tulip-shaped tankard with double C handle (Sandra Grimes)
Queen Anne quart teapot* with metal handle and incised HALE with crowned X

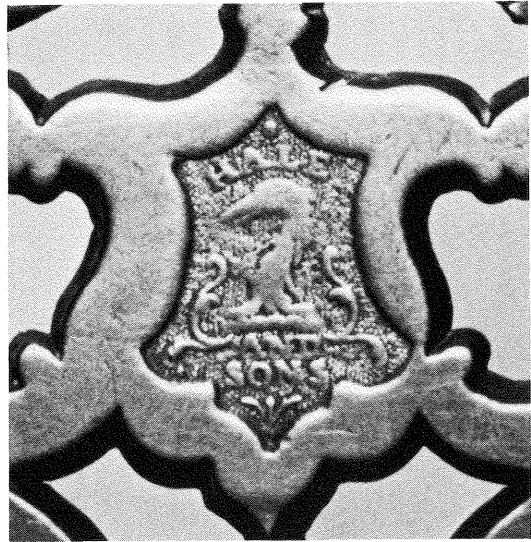


Fig. 11. The shield-shaped Hale and Sons mark apparently specifically made for porringer. Enlarged three times.

DATING THE HALE MARKS

The chronological framework for the Hales of Bristol is provided by the entries in the *Bristol Directories*.⁶ A summary of the entries follows; there were no directories issued (or preserved) for the missing dates.

- 1775 — **William Hale and Son**, coppersmiths and braziers, 2 Charlotte-street, Queen-square, their warehouse, 32 Welsh-back.
- 1783 — **Richard and Thomas Hale**, Copper-smiths, Pewterers and Brassfounders, Back.
- 1785 — **Richard and Thomas Hale**, Braziers and Pewterers, Bristol-back.
- 1787 — **Richard and Thomas Hale**, Copper-smiths, Pewterers and Brassfounders, Back.
- 1792 - No Entry
- 1793 — **Richard and Thomas Hale**, Braziers and Pewterers, Back.
- 1795-1805 — **Richard and Thomas Hale**, Copper-smiths, Pewterers, &c., 1795: Back; 1797-1805: Back and 1 and 2 Charlotte-street.
- 1806-1809 — **Richard & Thomas Hale**, Copper-smiths, Pewterers, &c., Back and 1 Charlotte-street.
- 1810-1815 — **R. & T. Hale**, Copper-smiths, Pewterers, &c., 1810-1811: Back and 1 Charlotte-street; 1812-1815: 33 Back and 3 Charlotte-street, and manufactory Baldwin Street.
- 1816-1822 — **R. T. and W. Hale**, Copper-smiths, Pewterers, &c., 1816: 33 Back and 3 Charlotte



street, manufactory 9 Baldwin street; 1817-1818: 34 Back and 3 Charlotte street, Manufactory Thomas street; 1819: 3 Charlotte street, Manufactory Thomas street; 1820-1822: Thomas street.

In 1823 the Hales sold their coppersmith and pewter business to Edgar and Son, who had started in 1810, for in the 1823 *Directory* Edgar and Son added a Thomas Street shop (the Hales' last address) and noted that it was "late Messrs. Hale", a notation which continued to 1828.⁷ The identity of Hale and Sons may be deduced from the above listings. The first *Directory* (1775) lists William Hale and Son as coppersmiths and braziers. The next *Directory* (1783) lists Richard and Thomas Hale as coppersmiths, pewterers and brass founders. Since the 1797 entry for Richard and Thomas Hale gives the same addresses (2 Charlotte and Back) as the 1775 listing for William Hale and Son, we can be confident that Richard and Thomas were sons of William and had taken over the business, the father probably having died.

Thomas Hale was apprenticed to Robert Bush and his wife Ann for 150 pounds in 1771.⁸ Under normal conditions Thomas would have begun his apprenticeship at age 14 and finished when he attained his majority (at age 21) in 1778. At that time he undoubtedly joined his father and brother, and the firm of William Hale and Son became Hale and Sons; they made pewter which was introduced by Thomas. However, William must have died in 1782 or before, for in 1783 the firm became Richard and Thomas Hale.

The touchmarks are the only evidence for the existence of Hale and Sons. The firm of Hale and Sons would have strictly operated from 1778 up to 1782 at the very latest, dates I suggested in 1982.⁹ However, none of the wares made during this period would have reached America since the Revolutionary War was fought with Great Britain from April 1775 to October 1781 when the British surrendered and there were no British exports during this period. Because of this it is apparent that the Hale and Sons marks must have been used after 1782 as will be seen.

A detailed analysis of English exports to America during the period from 1775 to 1783 is to be found in the Appendix of this article; a brief sketch of the matter is presented here. In December 1773, a number of Boston residents dressed as Indians boarded three British ships and dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor rather than pay a symbolic tax on the tea (the Boston Tea Party). Mainly as a result of this the British Parliament closed the port of Boston in 1774. This in turn led the First Continental Congress to meet in Philadelphia in September 1774 and declare a complete boycott of British goods. Enforcement was by committees in each colony with the power to hold extra-legal trials, confiscate property, and imprison or banish loyalists

offenders. As a result of this boycott the export of English goods to the colonies fell to zero in 1775 except for some small shipments to Boston which the British were occupying (Fig. 12). After hostilities had begun in 1775 and the American colonists made their Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776 the British placed a trade embargo on the colonies.

With the American boycott and the British embargo British exports to America ceased completely during the war except for shipments to the British in occupied port towns, presumably mainly for their forces. The war ended with the surrender of the British in 1781 but the peace was not signed until 1783. Since the payment of prewar debts owed by Americans to British citizens for merchandise was not resolved trade was not resumed immediately, so that even though the war was over there were no British exports to America in 1782 except to occupied New York and Charleston. Only when the peace was finally signed in 1783 and the debt problem resolved did the flow of British goods to America again commence. Therefore, for the eight year period from 1775 to 1782 there were no British consumer exports to America.

Some of the Hale and Sons marks were certainly used during the period from 1778 to 1782 in England. Robinson shows a relative abundance in New England of both the sheaf of wheat and Hale and Sons wares as 3 (on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 representing the most abundant), but such a volume could not have reached America between 1778 and 1782 as English exports to New England had completely ceased during this period. Richard and Thomas Hale made pewter from 1783 until 1822, a period of almost 40 years. Since no specific mark is known for R. & T. Hale it is obvious that they continued to use the various Hale and Sons marks. This is partially proved by the sheaf of wheat mark. It is purely an export mark unknown in England, so its introduction to America *must* have been *after* 1783. It is occasionally found with the HALE hallmarks indicating that R. & T. Hale used these secondary marks.

This is undoubtedly an example of having an established company name known in the trade and not wanting to "rock the boat" by changing to an unknown name, even if it were a continuation of the old business. This would probably not have been allowed by the Worshipful Company of Pewterers in London. There are many examples of London pewterers' marks which note that they are "successors to" a previous worker, and there are examples of a later worker striking the hallmarks of an earlier man to imply the same idea without saying it. Therefore, in the case of the Hales, not all of the Hale and Sons wares were necessarily made during the period 1778-1782 when the Hale and Sons company was in existence; much was made after this.



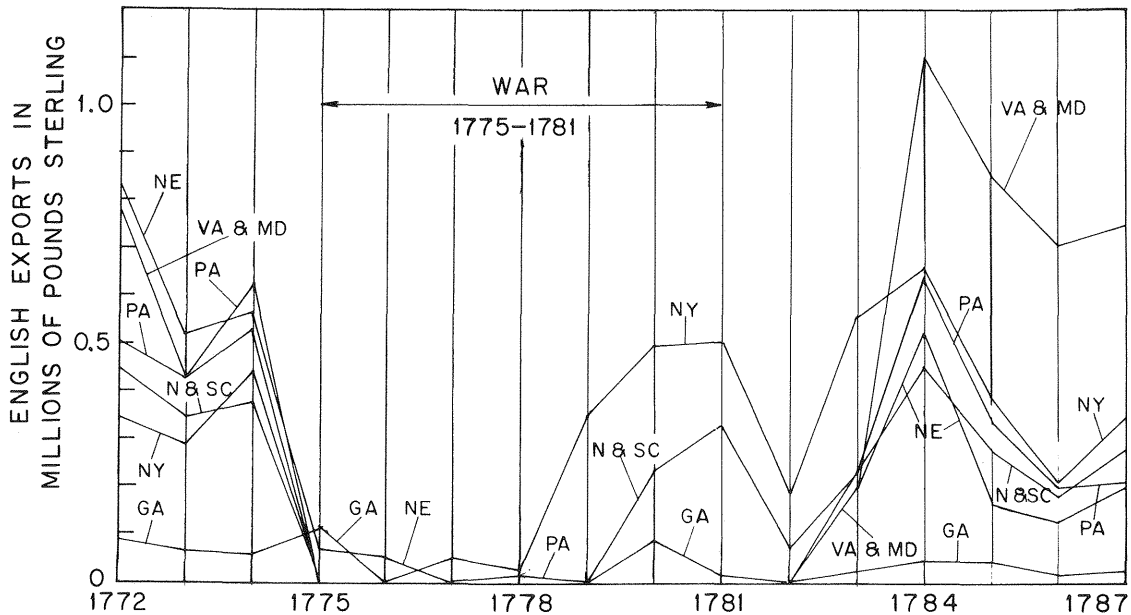


Fig. 12. English exports in pounds sterling to various American geographical areas from 1772 to 1787. Consumer exports ceased from 1775 to 1783 during the Revolutionary War.

In addition to the oval Hale and Sons mark (Figs. 2 and 5) there is a $\frac{9}{16}$ " diameter circular mark (Fig. 2)¹⁰ and a unique six-sided mark found on the two sizes of flowered handle porringer (Fig. 11). There is also a $\frac{7}{16}$ " long incised HALE mark with a late stylized crowned X which was undoubtedly used later by the Hale brothers as it is found on quart pear-shaped teapots with metal handles. This mark would compare with the late incised R. BUSH mark.

The six-sided Hale and Sons porringer mark appears to have been specifically made to fit within the space of the shield on flowered handles. It would be useful to determine the date when this touch was made as the handle design is evidently a copy of almost identical handles found on 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ " and 5" porringers by David Melville of Newport, Rhode Island, working from about 1780 to 1793 (Figs. 8 and 10). The mark could have obviously been designed during the original existence of Hale and Sons — from 1778-1782. However, Newport was occupied by the British from December 8, 1776 to October 25, 1779 and any English merchandise entering the occupied town was probably for the troops. If the porringer mark was designed to fit on a porringer copied from David Melville it would have had to take place after 1782 when trade resumed. Therefore, it is apparent that the Hale and Sons mark for the flowered handle porringers was probably made between 1783 and 1793, and if so it had to have been made by R. & T. Hale. The Hale porringers were probably supplied into the 1800's and are the earliest English examples with flowered handles. Edgar, Curtis & Co. (1793-1809) made

somewhat similar porringers for export, but the handles are cruder and differ from the pure Melville designs.

THE FLOWERED HANDLE PORRINGER

In the first article on American porringers in 1930, Ledlie L. Laughlin noted that American porringer handles were an embodiment of English and Continental forms and variations or combinations of the two.¹¹ He considered the flowered handle characteristic of Rhode Island and assumed that it had evolved from English pierced handles. This article was reprinted almost verbatim in Laughlin's *Pewter in America* in 1940. Raymond made a study of "American Pewter Porringers with Flowered Handles" which was originally published in the November 1947 *American Collector*.¹² In his opening paragraph he noted that it remained for New England to develop the attractive flowered handle porringer. However, in the last paragraphs he noted that as the article was ready for publication he stumbled on a typical Rhode Island flowered handle porringer made by Edgar, Curtis & Co. of Bristol (w. 1793-1809). This raised a question as to whether the flowered handle originated in America or England.

Michaelis published a series of four articles in *Apollo* in 1949 on "English Pewter Porringers" and in the first one showed drawings of existing English porringer handles which contained almost every American form including the flowered handle. Based partially on this Jacobs stated that "Contrary to popular belief, there are almost no distinctively



American porringer handles. There are English or Continental prototypes for most".¹³ Thomas, specifically speaking of the flowered handle, says that, "In fact it was used in England long before any American pewterer attempted to duplicate the style."¹⁴ Recently Hornsby has given the range of the flowered handle porringer found in both England and America as 1670 to 1820.¹⁵

These latter opinions derive from Michaelis' 1949 *Apollo* series where he noted in the second article that the booged bowl (Type VIIb) similar to that found on the majority of American porringers was also the most common bowl design in England with a range of 1675 to 1760.¹⁶ And of course it also ranges from 1760 to 1810 for Bristol export porringers. Michaelis listed nine different handle types found with the Type VIIb bowl style, among which was the flowered handle. This led many to conclude that the flowered handle also had a range from 1675 to 1760. However, the drawing of the flowered handle Michaelis showed appears to be a 4 3/8" half pint porringer by Edgar, Curtis & Co. and was undoubtedly made from the photograph of such a handle Raymond had published in 1947.¹⁷ This porringer is actually dated almost a half century after Michaelis' 1675 to 1760 range. Now there are the presumably earlier Hale and Sons flowered handle porringers illustrated here whose handles are virtually identical to handles made by David Melville. Since Hale and Sons (and R. & T. Hale) and David Melville (w. 1780-1793) were contemporaries either one could have originated the handle design.

The 4 1/2" Hale porringer handle (Fig. 7) is remarkably similar to Melville's 4 5/16" handle (Fig. 8). The basal apertures and the snail-like apertures above the shield, as well as the other openings, are very similar in each handle. The Hale porringer is about 1/16" wider from the base to the tip. Otherwise, the two are so similar that it would appear that one handle was copied from the other by using a handle from one porringer as a pattern for the mold for the other. However, careful comparison indicates minute but significant differences between all apertures. The most obvious one is the angle of the bottom of the lower left outside aperture. On the Hale handle it follows the circumference of the bowl while on the Melville handle it is at a distinct angle to the circumference.

In contrast to the 4 1/2" Hale porringer the handle of the 5" Hale porringer is completely different (Fig. 9), but on the other hand it is a close copy of Melville's 5" handle (Fig. 10). Note the similarity of the openings in both 5" handles, but their differences from the smaller handles, especially in the basal outside apertures and the snail-like openings above the shields. While the shapes of the openings on the two 5" handles are almost identical, the Melville handle is longer (Fig. 10) while the Hale handle is 1/16" narrower and

squatter (Fig. 9).

The 4 1/2" Hale handle (Fig. 7) is the same as the 4 1/2" one shown in an illustration by Abbott,¹⁸ which was enlarged 2.2 times, presumably to show the traces of the mark; it is shown actual size here (Fig. 13). In the photograph in Fig. 13, the elements of the handle look slenderer than in Fig. 7. However, this is an optical illusion due to the black background in Fig. 13 which basically eliminates the inside edges of the openings which taper out towards the back. A comparison of tracings of the photographs of the top openings of each at the same scale shows that the elements of Fig. 13 are identical to those in Fig. 7.

The top of a worn six-sided Hale and Sons mark is evident on the Abbott handle where H A _ _ can be seen (Fig. 13). Abbott suggested that this could originally have been HAMLIN. It was also stated that the handle "almost certainly came from the mold used by David Melville" because of the exceptionally large apertures contributing to its slender appearance. This emphasizes the dangers of superficial comparisons. Abbott's illustration followed Raymond's reprinted *American Collector* article on "Flowered Handle Porringers" where an illustration of the 4 5/16" Melville handle shown here was illustrated. Since there is no indication of scale in either illustration it is difficult to understand how any exact comparison could possibly have been made. The two could have identical shapes but different sizes. Actually, the two are almost exactly the same size but have considerable differences as discussed under the description of Figs. 7 and 8.

There is another example of the 4 1/2" Hale flowered handle porringer (Fig. 14) which appears to be completely different from the first example (Fig. 7). This is because the bracket did not completely fill in pouring and the front of the handle was heavily hammered. The bracket lacks the V-shaped tongue of the porringer in Fig. 7 and the incomplete pouring left a rounded tongue quite like some Newport examples. On the other hand, the hammering thickened all of the elements of the handle and made it uniformly 1/16" wider from its maximum width to the tip. It was not hammered at the base, but there is evidence that it was filed flat where the hammer could not work in for fear of hitting the bowl. The example in Fig. 7 was also filed, possibly all over; file marks remain at the base.

The thicknesses of both handles were measured. The thickness of the handle in Fig. 7 was 7/64" (0.109"), just under 1/8", from the base up to the hanger hole, from which point it fell off to around 0.085" (about 5/64") at the tip. The hammered handle was the same as the unhammered one at the base, but it fell off in thickness progressively to the tip where it was only 0.057" (slightly under 1/16"). The left side had been hammered more than the right and was about 0.010" thinner. This might



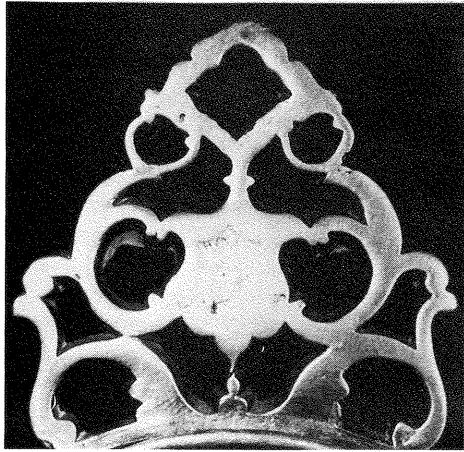


Fig. 13. 4 1/2" flowered handle porringer with Hale and Sons mark similar to Fig. 7. Actual size. (After Abbott.)

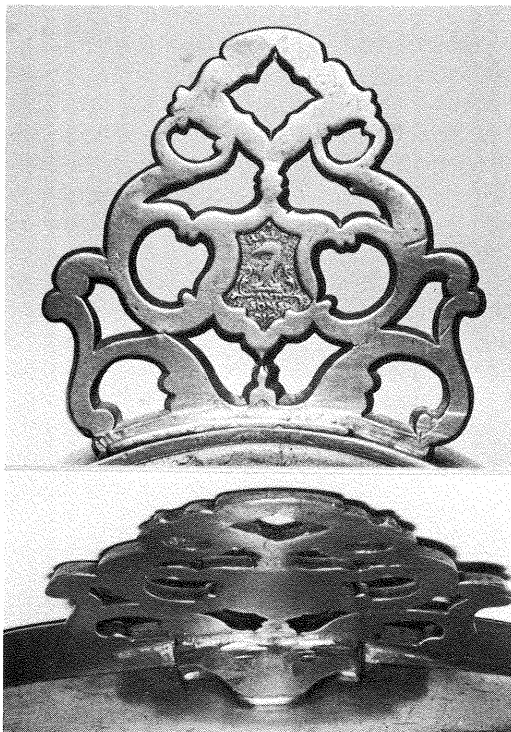


Fig. 14. 4 1/2" flowered handle porringer with Hale and Sons mark similar to Fig. 7 except that it has been heavily hammered, the bracket is not fully formed in pouring and it has an extra pair of nodes on the upper spindle. Actual size.

be expected if the hammer man was right handed, held the porringer handle on an anvil with his left hand and had the face of the hammer tipped slightly down at the outside. However, there is one physical difference in the two handles: a second pair of nodes appears to have been added to the upper spindle in the handle in Fig. 14.

There would seem to be evidence of a Melville origin from the size of the Hale 4 1/2" porringer. Melville's 4 5/16" porringer was undoubtedly meant to be a beer half pint — that is, holding eight beer ounces or about 9.4 U.S. fluid ounces (equivalent to 9.4 Queen Anne Wine ounces). Similar flowered handle porringers by Samuel Hamlin, Gershom Jones, William Billings and William Calder of Providence were 4 5/16" in diameter and about 1 1/2" high; all held between 9.4 and 9.6 fluid ounces. However, Melville mistakenly made his 4 5/16" porringer 1 5/8" high (the same height as his 5" wine pint porringer) so that it held 11.1 fluid ounces, which was 1.7 ounces (18%) too great. The Hales apparently took this to be a wine three gill which would have held 12 Queen Anne Wine ounces, so they made their 4 1/2" porringer 1 17/32" high and it held 11.8 fluid ounces, less than 2% short of a wine three gill. It would be difficult to visualize Melville copying this 4 1/2" (11.8 ounce) porringer with a 4 5/16" bowl which was to become the standard beer half pint (9.4 ounce) in Rhode Island. Melville also had a beer three gill porringer 4 11/16" in diameter on which he forced the handle of his 4 5/16" porringer.¹⁹ This held 13.6 U.S. fluid ounces which was only 3% short of a beer three gill. Melville's 5" wine pint held 15.6 ounces (2.5% low) while the 5" Hale wine pint held 16.0 ounces, exactly a wine pint.

Edgar, Curtis & Co. (1793-1809) copied these flowered handle porringers somewhat later; they had 4 5/16", 4 5/8", 5" and 5 3/16" diameter bowls which held 9.5, 12.8, 16.4 and 18.2 U.S. fluid ounces respectively. The handle design and the large capacity of the Hale 4 1/2" porringer indicates quite clearly that the prototype was Melville's 4 5/16" (or conceivably his 4 11/16"). Edgar, Curtis & Co. copied the 4 5/16" Melville porringer with a handle which is cruder at the base but the porringer held 9.5 ounces, a good beer half pint. The common sizes of American half pint and three gill porringers were usually on the beer standard, although occasionally examples are found based on the wine standard.

In the 5" pint size the Melville is a purer design than the Hale, which has a certain amount of crudeness and thus is a second generation adaptation. Specifically, the lower outside scroll ends touch the base at points on the Melville handle while they have a wide contact to the base on the Hale; the second scrolls from the bottom on the Melville also touch at points while the Hale contacts are longer; all of the curves of the Melville scrolls are perfect while some of the Hale are irregular; the two pairs of nodes on the upper spindle are heavier in the Hale; and finally, some of the nodes at the end of the Hale handle are small and ill-shaped compared to the Melville. If one of these handles was copied from the other, the Hale is definitely a copy of the Melville.



The brackets of the two Melville porringers are very similar with a broad tongue-shaped projection extending from a trapezoidal bar at the top (Figs. 8 and 10). These are also very similar to the brackets on many other Rhode Island porringers.²⁰ The brackets on the two Hale porringers are not similar to each other as the tongue on the 4 1/2" porringer is essentially triangular (Fig. 7) while the tongue on the 5" size is a large rounded projection (Fig. 9). It is difficult to see how the two similar Melville brackets could have been copied from the dissimilar Hale brackets. When all of the factors are taken together the physical evidence seems to clearly indicate that the Hale flowered handles were copied from Melville models.

There is evidence from some Samuel Hamlin flowered handle porringers which indicates that it would have been chronologically impossible for the Hales to have originated the flower handle and sent it into Rhode Island to be copied. Samuel Hamlin's S H rose touch was probably replaced about 1785 by the first eagle/anchor touch.²¹ The S H rose mark is found on several flowered handle porringers whose handles are much cruder than the Melville handles. Therefore they are copies of the Melville handles and as such were probably copied before 1785. If it is assumed that the Hales originated the flowered handle they could not have sent it to Newport before 1783, and they probably did not start their export business until somewhat later. If Melville first copied the handle from the Hales and then Hamlin copied Melville this would all have had to happen between 1783 and 1785 which just seems impossible. This is additional evidence for the Melville origin of the flowered handle.

The Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776 and copies of the document took several days to reach the individual states. There were many celebrations for the cause and demonstrations against the King and Great Britain. In New York City jubilant patriots pulled down a 4,000 pound lead statue of George III on a horse and later converted it into musket balls.²² In Boston the King's coat of arms was burned on King Street, which was later renamed State Street.²³ The demonstrators wrought swift and significant change in many old favorite sign-boards. In Newport, Rhode Island, the *Newport Mercury* of August 19, 1776 noted that the sign of the British Union Jack, a tavern sign in the town for nearly half a century, was replaced with a flag of the thirteen United States.²⁴ Lions and unicorns (the supporters on the Royal Arms) and the crown (symbolic of Great Britain) were particular targets. In Philadelphia, the emblem for the Golden Lion Inn was changed to a yellow cat.

The British occupied Newport on December 8, 1776. The *Newport Mercury* ceased operation only six days prior to this; the publisher buried the press and type and fled to Massachusetts. Almost half the

population had abandoned the town before the British seized it. There was a strong element of Tories in the remaining population, and they probably replaced many of the signs of a British nature which had been removed earlier. After the British evacuated the city on October 25, 1779 the publisher of the *Newport Mercury* returned to a city partially in ruins and helped bring out the first new issue of the paper on January 5, 1780. The editorial noted that the paper had been discontinued "because it was determined, by its former publisher, it should die or be free". David Melville probably also returned to Newport in 1780. He had taken as his first touch a boar, probably from a Continental four dollar note issued in 1776.²⁵ The boar (threatened by a spear) was in a circular seal on the note with a Latin motto reading "Either Death or a Dignified Life" and signified the American colonies being oppressed by the British. Melville's boar was in defiance of the British.

After the British left Newport in 1779, there was probably another general demonstration against anything British. The crown handle porringer may have been eliminated because the crown was a symbol of Great Britain. A few examples of a half pint crown handle porringer are known with the mark of David Melville. One example of a pint crown handle porringer is known with the S H rose mark of Samuel Hamlin;²⁶ it dates from before 1785 and could be as early as 1767. David Melville brought out his half pint flowered handle porringer and eventually replaced the crown handle in favor of flowered handles, probably before 1785. Only one example of a crown handle porringer by Hamlin has survived while there are thousands of Hamlin flowered handle porringers. In fact, Hamlin's flowered handle porringers are the commonest found.

A continuous succession of Bristol and Bewdley pewterers had sent crown handle porringers into America: Richard Going (working 1715-1766), Stephen Cox (1735-1754), Ash & Huton (1741-1768), Burgum & Catcott (1765-1779), Robert Bush (1755-1783) and Ingram & Hunt (Bewdley, 1770-1783). For the majority of these concerns only crown handle porringers are known. The replacement of the crown handle with a flowered handle by David Melville was possibly a further show of contempt for the British, and the flowered handle porringer may have gained popularity in Rhode Island in the early days after the war was over and anti-British feeling was still strong.

However, while the crown handle was abandoned in Rhode Island, it survived to the west in Connecticut where the pint crown handle used by Joseph Belcher in Rhode Island turned up in the possession of Joseph Danforth (w. 1779-1788) and was later used by Josiah Danforth (1821-1846).²⁷ It was also made by the Boardmans and John Dan-



forth of Norwich. It survived to the north in Boston, if all the initial crown handle porringers were indeed made in the Boston area. Strangely, no crown handle porringers are known by Hale and Sons, but possibly their crown handle porringers have not survived. Whether this means that Hale and Sons shipped the flowered handle porringers predominantly to Rhode Island is not evident. The flowered handle porringer was known in Connecticut where Thomas and John Danforth and Jacob Whitmore all made pint sizes.

Additional evidence for the American origin of the flowered handle is shown by a consideration of its basic design. It represents a final design of the rococo style which originated in France in the first quarter of the 18th century. The name derived from the French word *rocailles*, which was originally used to designate the artificial grottoes and fantastic arrangements of rocks in the gardens at Versailles. The characteristic of the rococo style was the banishment of the straight line and the love of broken curves which made asymmetry a cult. An Anglicized version of the rococo style entered England about the middle of the 18th century on a fresh wave of French fashions. Thomas Chippendale had written the *Gentleman's & Cabinet Maker's Directory* in 1754 and showed many rococo designs on furniture. The classical reaction to architecture and furniture styles which set in shortly after 1760 swept away the tortuous rococo forms with the emergence of the Adam style.

The flowered handle is in the best of the "Chippendale" tradition. It is probably an adaptation of the so-called "keyhole" handle of silver porringers which was a rococo design developed in Boston or Newport in the second quarter of the 18th century. Examples of these silver handles are unknown in England, and their development in America was probably due to French Huguenots. By 1780 the Adam style was in full development in England and Chippendale styles had rapidly disappeared. In Newport, Chippendale designs were in vogue until at least 1790 when Adam style Sheraton and Hepplewhite designs were gradually introduced. Therefore, the Chippendale flowered handle could have easily been developed in Newport in the 1780's but it certainly would not have been designed in England in the 1780's, or even in the 1770's.

The keyhole handle is almost universally found on silver porringers made in the last half of the 18th and the first of the 19th centuries in Rhode Island, Boston and other parts of New England. This undoubtedly explains the great popularity of the pewter flowered handle porringer in Rhode Island. It was the pewter (and poor man's) equivalent of the popular silver keyhole porringer, actually bearing considerable resemblance to the silver model. This undoubtedly explains why the Melville flowered handles were so fragile: they were based on the silver handle where delicate designs were

permissible because of the strength of silver. All of the many Rhode Island pewterers who copied Melville's flowered handles made the elements much thicker to make the handles stronger and prevent breakage. The Melville handles stand alone as the most delicate of all flowered handles, thus emphasizing their originality.

The American origin of the flowered handle is further shown by a study of the numerous gill, half gill and quarter gill flowered handle porringers found in the Rhode Island area.²⁸ The handles were designed in conjunction with the larger half pint, three gill and pint handles and no similar gill or fractional gill porringers were known to have been made in England. The preponderance of examples of flowered handle porringers by Rhode Island makers and the virtual absence outside of Rhode Island by itself points to a Rhode Island origin. It is difficult to imagine the design being introduced from England after the Revolution and spreading so completely in Rhode Island to the exclusion of all other designs in all sizes of porringers.

In summary, it is seen that there are two sizes of almost identical flowered handles appearing simultaneously by David Melville and Hale and Sons. The 5" Hale handle is cruder than Melville's and thus appears to be a copy of Melville's. The smaller handles are so similar that no conclusion can be made as to priority. The smaller Hale porringer is an odd size (4 1/2") and capacity (11.8 ounce or wine three gill) for the small handle which was used by all other Rhode Island pewterers for 4 5/16" and 9.3 ounce (beer half pint), indicating that the small Hale is probably a copy of Melville. Possibly in Newport the flowered handle replaced the crown which was regarded as a symbol of Great Britain. Or more probably it was a pewterer's design to compete with the popular silver keyhole porringer. The design constraints provide important evidence. The flowered handle is a good Chippendale design which appeared in the 1780's. In England, such designs were replaced shortly after 1760 by classical elements which led to the Adam style. However, in Newport Chippendale designs were popular until at least 1790.

The Rhode Island origin of the flowered handle design is shown by the preponderance of examples by Rhode Island makers and by the smaller gill and fractional gill sizes not found elsewhere. Certainly the design could not have been introduced from England after the war and spread to the complete exclusion of all other styles and the extension to sizes not known in England. The design must have originated in Newport and the expansion was due to the fact that it was a competitive pewter companion to the popular silver keyhole porringer.



USERS OF OTHER LONDON LABELS AND THE NO-NAME ROSE AND CROWN

There was no sharing of a LONDON label by the sheaf of wheat user (the Hales) and those using the waisted no-name rose and crown. Further, it would appear that the other Bristol makers did not share the second LONDON label, but rather it was passed down to a succession of Bristol workers starting with Ash & Hutton.

ASH & HUTTON (1740-1768). William Hutton was apprenticed to Edward Gregory and his wife Ann in 1730; his apprenticeship would have finished in 1737. Gregory Ash was apprenticed to Ann, widow of Edward Gregory, in 1733; he would have finished in 1740, the earliest time the partnership could have been formed. Ash and Hutton had worked together under Gregory for four years. Hutton died in 1768, presumably the date of the end of the partnership. Ash & Hutton copied Gregory's hallmarks with a seated Britannia, a lion's head and a two-headed eagle (C118). They also copied Gregory's HARD METAL mark with a two-headed eagle displayed in a gateway, using a flat top instead of Gregory's dome top. Ash & Hutton also had several small circular marks and were the first users of the waisted no-name rose and crown later used by Burgum & Catcott and the Willshires. They also had a rectangular LONDON label with a Q (similar to C737) which has been found with their hallmarks and a single no-name rose and crown.²⁹

BURGUM & CATCOTT (1765-1779). George Catcott was apprenticed to Stephen Cox (d. 1754) and his wife Susanna in 1744 and would have finished in 1751. Henry Burgum was apprenticed to Allen Bright and his wife Ann in 1752 and he would have finished in 1759, the earliest the partnership could have formed. However, the first evidence of the partnership is found in 1765 (C708). The partnership was officially dissolved in 1779. Burgum & Catcott had two name touches, two London labels, hallmarks and a superfine HARD METAL mark. They also had the no-name rose and crown and HARD METAL mark of Ash & Hutton, indicating that they may have acquired the tools and dies of Ash & Hutton after 1768.

THOMAS WILLSHIRE (1777-1795).³⁰ Willshire was listed as a brass founder and had a circular name touch (C5202). He also had the superfine HARD METAL mark of Burgum & Catcott which may indicate that he acquired their assets after 1779.

T. & W. WILLSHIRE (1795-1810?). They had a name touch, two sets of hallmarks and a small London label in a serrated rectangle (C5203). They also had the no-name rose and crown of Burgum & Catcott,³¹ and the larger ($3\frac{1}{32}$ ") London label in a plain rectangle of Ash & Hutton and Burgum & Catcott.³²

The above six Bristol workers apparently used some of the same marks from possibly 1740 into the 1800's. The most common was the no-name rose and crown. Most of them also variably used the two rectangular London labels: one the small label in a serrated rectangle $1\frac{1}{16}$ " long and the other larger $3\frac{1}{32}$ " long label in a plain rectangle (both have plain backgrounds). Another Bristol maker had a different no-name rose and crown die.

BUSH & PERKINS (1771-1773). There is a $14\frac{7}{8}$ " dish with Bush & Perkins hallmarks, the LONDON label with a Q and two no-name rose and crowns at the top.³³ This rose and crown is not the same as that used by Ash & Hutton and later workers as has been suggested.³⁴ Both rose and crowns are about the same height ($2\frac{5}{32}$ "). However, the waisted sides of the Bush & Perkins mark curve in more so that the width at the waist is $\frac{3}{8}$ " versus $\frac{7}{16}$ " for that of Ash & Hutton. The top and bottom parts of the Bush & Perkins mark are also narrower ($\frac{9}{16}$ ") than the Ash & Hutton mark ($\frac{19}{32}$ "). I have a 9" and I have seen a $9\frac{1}{4}$ " single reed plate with two Bush no-name rose and crown marks with the LONDON label below. These undoubtedly continued to be used by other Bush concerns after Bush & Perkins.

BOARDMAN'S COMMENTS ON BUSH AND W. S.

It is remarkable that in his short autobiography Thomas Danforth Boardman commented on the English LONDON label with the Q in a single sentence (quoted verbatim): "After the War of Revolution the English sent to this county large quantities of pewter Stamp London with one of the O made a Q to deceive which was about 20 per cent of lead stamp[ed] W S & R. B. or Robert Bush."³⁵ He correctly identified R. B. and presumably at this time the R B initials were the scroll mark possibly used by Robert Bush & Sons (1796-1800) or Robert and William Bush (1801-1816).³⁶

The Revolution officially ended with the peace with Britain in 1783; Boardman was born the next year. However, in his autobiography he relates that he went to work for (and presumably became apprenticed to) his uncle Edward Danforth in Hartford in 1796 at age 12 and stayed with him until 1799. He then went with his uncle Samuel Danforth (Hartford) from 1799 to 1804 at which time he left at age 20 to set up for himself. It would have been in the last of his apprenticeship and the first few decades of the 19th century that he could have personally seen the Bush wares with the LONDON label.

Boardman's comment about the high percentage of lead in Bush pewter, while unbelievable, is indeed confirmed by analysis of Bush wares. Ian D. Robinson has given me the following average quantities of lead found in various English wares



as determined by analysis made by Winterthur Museum.

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------|
| Bush & Co. | 7 5/8" basin | 24.0% |
| | 8" SB plate | 41.5 |
| | 12 1/4" SB dish | 22.5 |
| Ash & Hutton | 15" SB dish | 22.1 |
| John Cave | 8 1/2" plate | 2.6 |
| Thomas Page | 9" SB plate | 2.8 |
| A. Williams | 11" SB dish | 1.3 |
| Townsend & Compton | 8" basin | 0.4 |

It is remarkable that two of the Bush and the Ash & Hutton examples contain about 20% lead, exactly as Boardman said, while one contained over 40% (modern plumbers' solder contains 40% lead and 60% tin and is *very* pliable). These facts and the fact that Boardman correctly remembered that Bush used a London label with a Q should quiet those who have said that Boardman did not get the early facts right because he was old when he wrote the account.³⁷

It is unfortunate that Boardman did not identify the user of the W. S. mark. This was quite possibly the circular W. S. bird mark.³⁸ Robinson considered the sheaf of wheat and the W. S. mark the commonest of the few unknown English export marks found in New England.³⁹ The W. S. mark is found on single reed plates, flat brim plates and basins (all hammered) with and without a curved London label. As with the sheaf of wheat mark it is usually not seen in Great Britain. Robinson tentatively placed the mark in Bristol and dated it from about 1740-1780. Boardman's comment would seem to extend this much later, at least from 1783-1810, although the maker certainly could have been working before 1783. Boardman's comments would also indicate that there may well be a third LQNDON (with a Q) label associated with this mark. The bird and leaf of the W.S. mark is identical to that in an unidentified I. S. mark shown by Cotterell and dated c. 1720 (C5923a). This may well have been the father of W. S., and very probably I.S. and W.S. will be found in Bristol as Robinson has suggested. The attribution of W.S. to the Shorey family in MPM (5962b) is certainly not realistic.⁴⁰ There is no comparison with the birds in W.S. and Shorey. However, it has to be admitted that the hallmark devices of the I S bird (C5923a) are identical to one of the three hallmarks used by John Shorey (C4263) where the third mark is a sheaf of wheat. It would have to be assumed that the user of the I S bird copied Shorey's hallmarks.

THE PURPOSE OF NO-NAME MARKS

It will be useful to review the *raison d'etre* for the various no-name marks. Many American merchants and even some pewterers advertised London pewter; London pewter was considered the finest and the standard for comparison. On the other hand,

some Bristol pewterers had given pewter from the city a bad reputation. In 1726, a Philadelphia merchant wrote the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London "complaining of ware made of bad work sent from Bristol."⁴¹ Again in 1728 and 1729 "Many complaints were again received at this time of the bad quality of pewter made at Bristol, especially guinea basins, but the Company hesitated to exercise their authority by sending a deputation to hold a search so far from London." Robinson lists four Bristol pewterers working from 1726-1729 whose wares are found in New England.

The condition was apparently never completely eliminated and the problem persisted even after the Revolutionary War had officially ended in 1783 with a signed peace. As already noted Boardman had commented that after the Revolution the English sent to this country large quantities of pewter which contained about 20 per cent lead. He did not indicate Bristol, but he did say that the wares were stamped with "W S and R. B. or Robert Bush". Bush of course was from Bristol and W. S. was very possibly a Bristol pewterer.

This problem is also clearly spelled out in a report Providence pewterer William Billings made in 1791 to the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers on the status of local pewter industries.⁴² He related that "The manufacturers of pewter complain that they labor under great discouragements, by being obliged to work large quantities of old pewter, which being of a base quality, imported from Bristol, and sold here for London-made, they cannot, by reason of the scarcity of block tin, make it equal to the London standard, and at the same time work all the old pewter in the country." Billings' reference to "block tin" undoubtedly refers to the *alloy* block tin which was composed of tin with a very low lead content (0.5%) and about 2% copper and antimony, rather than to virgin tin.⁴³ The English usually called this alloy "hard metal", but sometimes referred to it as "block tin".

Therefore, there was a long-standing distrust and dissatisfaction of Bristol pewter. Bristol was far enough removed from London so the London Company did not really have control of what they exported to the colonies. To avoid this stigma some Bristol pewterers used only initial marks with a London label. The London Company was constantly trying to restrain provincial pewterers from striking LONDON on their wares. But, as Cotterell noted, one only has to look at the wares of such well known Bristol pewterers as Robert Bush, Thomas Page, Burgum & Catcott and others to see that this effort had little effect.⁴⁴ However, while a London label might fool the buying public, the identity of the initials was often known in the trade, as Boardman's comments on R. B. indicated, and this knowledge could filter down to the public. No-name touch marks — such as sheaf of wheat and rose and



crowns — with London labels offered the maximum protection to the identity of the makers. The no-name rose and crown marks with a London label were used contemporaneously by Bush & Perkins and Burgum & Catcott, and probably later by other Bush concerns and the Willshires, so the most that could be said was that these were from Bristol. The success of these endeavors is shown by the relative abundance figures of Robinson: pewter by Ash & Hutton, Burgum & Catcott and the various Bush concerns is among the most common found in New England.

Under unidentified American marks Laughlin shows a pair of no-name rose and crown marks found either on a shallow dish (text, p. 164) or on a shallow plate (caption, pl. CX, L879).⁴⁵ He states that the shallow dish (or plate) shows “typical Boston characteristics” and that the mark itself has the “general appearance of other Boston marks”. This latter statement is not correct. In the first place, the mark is in a beaded circle, which is unknown on American pewter except for the small I W rose mark of Jacob Whitmore (1758-1790). Further, there are palm fronds flanking each side of the rose and crown in L879; no American mark contains this detail. Also, no American mark has a rose and crown in a circle.

Small circular marks with beaded enclosures were extremely common in the last of the seventeenth century in England, as can be seen by an examination of the London Touch Plates as published in numerical order by Masse.⁴⁶ London Touch Plate No. 1 was started after the great fire of 1666 in London and runs to about 1680 showing 352 marks; there are some restrikes of earlier marks in the first 140 marks. Of the first 120 marks 78% are circular and 97% of these have beaded enclosures. These figures fall off gradually so that of the last 120 marks on the plate only 42% are circular while 84% of these have beaded enclosures. These figures hold up for Touch Plate No. 2 covering the period from 1680-1704, where 38% of the 261 marks are circular and 80% of these have beaded enclosures. These percentages also hold for the start of Touch Plate No. 3 covering the period from 1704-1734. For the first 40 marks (1704-1708) 38% are circular and 67% of these are beaded. However, for the last 194 marks on the plate only 16% are circular while 40% of these are beaded.

Palm fronds flanking the central design became popular during the period of Touch Plate No. 1. Of the first 120 marks only six (6%) have palm fronds. However, in the remaining 232 marks on the plate 39% of the designs are flanked with palm fronds. In Touch Plate No. 2, 32% of the designs have palm fronds, although many have become so stylized as to be almost unrecognizable. In Touch Plate No. 3 the palm fronds when present are all highly stylized. Therefore, L879 has characteristics which were popular in London during the last of the 17th and

the very first of the 18th centuries.

A search was made of Cotterell, *Old Pewter*, for rose and crown quality marks with palm fronds at the sides. Among London pewterers 42 had such marks with LONDON either at the top or the bottom, ranging from 1667-1738. More important, four London pewterers had quality marks with a rose and crown flanked by palm fronds, but *without* LONDON or any other names. Two were circular: Robert Gisburne, c. 1667 (C1883) and Henry Wiggin, c. 1682 (C5136). John Major, c. 1700 (C3057) had an oval while Henry Hammerton, c. 1707 (C2105) had a shaped enclosure. These four are probably survivals from a time when all rose and crown marks were plain — that is, without LONDON or any other name.

A number of these rose and crown with palm frond quality marks without LONDON or other names are found among the provincial country pewterers. Two have circular enclosures: Richard Boyden of ?, c. 1700 (C539A) and John Dole, Bristol, c. 1699 (C1411). On the other hand, eight are found with oval enclosures: James Bancks, Wigan, c. 1755 (C228), Allen Bright, Bristol, c. 1742 (C574), John Brown, Gloucester (?), c. 1720 (C639), John Duncomb, Birmingham, c. 1700 (C1465), Samuel Duncomb, Birmingham, c. 1740 (C1466), John Tubb of ?, c. 1690 (C4821), I. G. of ?, c. 1680 (C5619) and I. S. of ?, c. 1720 (C5923). Adam Churcher, Petersfield, c. 1690 (C917) and W. Cowell, Preston (?), c. 1740 (C1167) used the design in a shaped enclosure.

The no-name rose and crown with palm fronds is therefore found occasionally in London and more frequently among the provincial pewterers in the last of the 17th and the first of the 18th centuries. Nothing like it is found in America and not one English mark was used by a pewterer in America in its pure form, all having been altered in some manner. And American wares usually had identifying initials or names along with no-name marks. The weight of the evidence strongly suggests that L879 is an example of English export pewter. It seems improbable that it is an American product. If indeed English, it is the earliest example of a no-name rose and crown mark used on English export pewter without any indication of the maker's name.

The designation “no-name” refers to the name of a town, usually London, rather than to the name of a pewterer. The London Company forbade the inclusion of the pewterer's name in the rose and crown quality mark. However, provincial pewterers did not adhere to this edict, and occasionally a pewterer's name is found on a rose and crown mark: Richard Chambers, York, c. 1697 (C880), A. Hincham of ?, c. 1720 (C2329) and Samuel Hoole of ?, c. 1730 (C2398). After about 1735, when hallmarks were moved from the top brim to the back of plates and dishes, the normal London manner



would have been to strike the pewterer's touch at the top left, the rose and crown quality mark at the top right with the hallmarks below. In America the usual manner was to strike two of the pewterer's touches at the top with the hallmarks (if used) below. When Bristol makers struck two no-name rose and crowns at the top with a London label below they were copying the American manner, for many of the American touches had rose and crowns in the mark.

Some American pewterers also had various no-name marks, but these were invariably struck as secondary marks with a name touch or hallmarks identifying the pewterer (virtually no one used completely anonymous marks). Examples of no-name marks are the rose and crowns of Samuel Hamlin, Francis Bassett, William Ellsworth and Henry Will. A possible continuance of this tradition was Boardman's no-name eagle mark. While there was certainly no effort to pretend an English origin with an eagle, this was a means of hiding the identity of the American maker for some reason.

EPILOGUE

In England, the multiple reed plate had a range from about 1675 to around 1720 and gave way to the single reed plate which lasted from about 1705 to 1750. The smooth brim plate was introduced at least by 1700 (Ian D. Robinson has a normal plain [not broad or semi-broad] rim plate by Erasmus Dole, Jr. which is not later than about 1697). It continued into the 19th century becoming the popular British form after 1750. In America, the single reed plate remained popular throughout the 18th century with only an occasional smooth brim plate being made by American pewterers, usually in the 9" to 9 1/2" range. Therefore, any English pewterers making single reed plates after 1750 were making them predominantly for export to America.

Thomas Hale worked as an apprentice for Robert Bush from 1771 to 1778, which covered most of the period of Bush & Perkins and Bush, Perkins & Co. (1771-1781), so he would have been familiar with the sizes of single reed plates and dishes made by Bush for export to America. Possibly the decision was made while working with Bush to enter the export business. As brass founders, William and Richard Hale could have made the molds for the items. However when Thomas Hale finished his apprenticeship in 1778, the war with the colonies had been in progress for four years and the exportation of pewter (and all other merchandise) to the colonies had abruptly ceased. The Hales would have had to wait until the peace had been signed in 1783 to start their export business. The porringer was very similar to the single reed plate in that it went out of fashion in England at around the same time as the plate — about 1750. Therefore, the porringers the Hales

made were for export to America (and possibly specifically for Rhode Island).

On the other hand the mug and some of the five dome lid tankards with Hale and Sons marks now in American collections may possibly be recent 20th century exports from England, and if so could have been made by the original Hale and Sons and date from 1778-1782. The sheaf of wheat (all flatware) has a relative abundance in New England of only 3 according to Robinson. However, Robinson indicated the relative abundance of wares with Hale and Sons marks also as 3 (apparently over 90% of these are hollow wares). Since the ratio of flatware to hollow ware was 5 or more to one there appears to be too much Hale and Sons hollow ware identified as export ware to New England. On the basis of the sheaf of wheat flatware relative abundance of 3 the hollow ware associated with it should only have an abundance of about 5, or two or three pieces. Five tankards just seem too much.

The relative abundances of the wares of the various pewterers discussed above are useful in putting a final perspective on the matter.⁴⁷ As noted a relative abundance of 1 is the most common and probably indicates thousands of examples, while the least abundant (5) only represents two or three pieces.

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY (1735-1774)

| | |
|--|---|
| Stephen Cox (1735-1754), master of Catcott | 3 |
| Allen Bright (1742-1763), master of Burgum | 3 |
| Ash & Hutton (1740-1768) | 1 |
| Burgum & Catcott (1765-1779) | 1 |
| Robert Bush (1755-1771) | 2 |
| Bush & Perkins (1771-1773) | 2 |

POST-REVOLUTIONARY (1783-1800+)

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| T. Willshire (1777-1795) | 4 |
| Bush & Co. (1787-1795) | 1 |
| Robert Bush, Jr. (1796-1816) | 4 |
| Sheaf of Wheat (1783-1822) | 3 |
| Hale and Sons (1783-1822) | 3 |
| W S and Bird (1783?-1800+?) | 4 |

APPENDIX:

ENGLISH EXPORTS FROM 1775 TO 1782

There is English export data available for the 18th century which have been compiled from English (not British) customs records.⁴⁸ These show the total English exports in pounds sterling to America broken down by the six geographical areas of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. These are shown graphically in Fig. 12 for the period from 1772 to 1787. Remarkably, this graph presents a thumbnail sketch of the American Revolution in a number of ways.



If one event were singled out as provoking the start of the Revolution it would be the Boston "Tea Party". On December 16, 1773, a number of Boston residents dressed as Indians boarded several British East India Company ships and dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor rather than pay a symbolic tax on the tea. Mainly as a result of this the British Parliament in 1774 passed the Boston Port bill which closed the port of Boston and would have meant the ruin of the town. Another British act substituted an appointed for an elected council in Massachusetts. General Thomas Gage, who had been commander in chief of the 4,000 British forces in America, was appointed governor of Massachusetts with authority to uphold the new acts with military force.

As a direct result of the closing of the port of Boston, the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774 to consider colonial rights and liberties which had been violated through a series of oppressive British measures. On October 20th the Congress adopted the plan of the Association, a series of resolutions which, among other things, called for commercial nonintercourse with Great Britain, amounting to a complete boycott of British goods. These resolutions were to be enforced by committees set up in the individual colonies. The Association became the touchstone by which loyalty to either the colonial cause or the King was determined. Those loyal to the King felt the power of the committees, which held extra-legal trials and had the power to imprison or banish. Late in 1774, the British Parliament noted that a most daring spirit of resistance existed in the colony of Massachusetts which was countenanced by the other colonies where unlawful combinations against the trade of Great Britain were already widely in effect. This was a direct blow against the commercial system of the British Empire and could certainly have been expected to provoke retaliation.

When General Gage was appointed governor of Massachusetts he began fortifying Boston and was looking for opportunities to seize any military stores which he knew the colonists were accumulating. Gage sent troops from Boston to capture military supplies believed to be stored at Concord, 16 miles west of Boston. On the way the British were attacked (on April 19, 1775) by the local militia at Lexington and then at Concord, and on their return to Boston the British were routed. The second Continental Congress, meeting on May 10, 1775, voted to call out troops to support Massachusetts and appointed George Washington as commander in chief of colonial forces. The Massachusetts militia had hastily fortified Bunker Hill in Charlestown, which commanded Boston on the north. Before Washington arrived in the area the British took Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775 after three assaults and the loss of a third of their forces. Later, in July 1775, the Americans drew a cordon

of earthworks around Boston and proceeded with what is known as the Siege of Boston under Washington. The siege continued until on March 4, 1776 the Americans fortified Dorchester Heights closely overlooking Boston at the south. The British evacuated Boston on March 17th and the fleet temporarily withdrew to Nova Scotia taking crowds of loyalists with them. The population of Boston had dropped from 15,500 in 1770 to 2,720 in 1776.⁴⁹

As a result of the American boycott on British goods English exports to the colonies fell precipitously from 1774 to 1775, falling to zero in all areas except New England and Georgia (Fig. 12). The insignificant shipments to New England in 1775 and 1776 were obviously to occupied Boston and probably consisted mainly of materiel for the support of British forces. Georgia actually shows increased imports from England in 1775. Georgia was the last and most southernmost English colony to be established and the first settlements were not made until 1733. Georgia was more pro-British than any other colony. It was not represented in 1774 at the first Continental Congress and therefore did not agree to the boycott on British goods. However, Georgia fell in line when the second Congress met in 1775 and in 1776 there were no English exports to the colony. Actually, the British Parliament had prohibited trade with the colonies in 1776 with a trade embargo, while at the same time the colonists opened American ports to the trade of all peoples who were not subject to the British Crown.

The British evacuation of Boston was not necessarily an indication of defeat in this phase of the war, but part of a plan to concentrate their forces and capture New York City, thereby cutting the colonies in half and preventing communication between north and south. Newport, Rhode Island, was to be taken as a naval base to secure the maximum advantage from their fleet. The British fleet at Nova Scotia was reinforced and during the summer of 1776 an awesome array of British military might converged on the lower Hudson River: an overwhelming armada of 350 ships manned by some 10,000 sailors with 32,000 disciplined soldiers (about 9,000 of them German mercenaries) along with tons of supplies. The population of New York in 1760 was around 14,000 and it was stated in a contemporary British document that 95% of the inhabitants had left the city before the entry of their troops on September 15, 1776.⁵⁰

Newport was occupied by the British on December 8, 1776. In anticipation of the British attack, many residents started fleeing the town early in 1775, so that its population of 9,209 in 1774 had fallen to 5,299 by June 1776.⁵¹ The British evacuated Newport on October 25, 1779 due to pressure from the French fleet which was now allied with the Americans. The British also occupied Philadelphia from September 26, 1777 to June 18,



1778. The small English shipments to Pennsylvania in 1778 were during this period (Fig. 12).

The British maintained their main command and control center in New York. There were insignificant English shipments to New York in 1777 and 1778. However, from 1779 to 1781 substantial shipments were made to New York (Fig. 12), which surpassed prewar shipments and was an indication of the British effort to bring the war to an end. Much of this was probably war materiel, but certainly much was also for the support of the British forces and personnel which probably amounted to three times the number of people originally in the town of New York. This is indicated by the sharp drop in 1782 after the war was over but the British still occupied New York. New London, Connecticut, on the lower Thames River, was sacked by the British and half the town burned in a one day attack on September 5, 1781, only six weeks before the war ended.⁵² The attacking force came from New York and the attack was probably in retaliation for the capture by an American privateer of a rich English merchant ship bound for New York which was taken into New London.

On December 29, 1778, the British captured Savannah, Georgia, and revived the British civil administration; in 1779, they captured Augusta. On May 12, 1780, they captured Charleston, South Carolina, the chief port of the southern states and made it the base of operations for the Carolinas. In the last phase of the war the British had transferred the major seat of operations to the southern states in the hope that Georgia and South Carolina could be separated from the union. The moderate English shipments to the Carolinas and the small shipments to Georgia in 1780 and 1781 were towards the effort to capture Georgia and South Carolina. However, by 1781 the British were forced back to Charleston and Savannah. The British did not evacuate Charleston until December 14, 1782 so the small English shipments to the Carolinas in that year are a result of the occupation of Charleston.

In 1774, before hostilities had started with the British the Americans had agreed to boycott British goods. Once it was clear after the Declaration of Independence in 1776 that the colonial resurrection could not be settled short of all out war the British placed a trade embargo on the colonies. The American boycott was so complete that in 1775 no English goods entered the colonies except to Georgia which had not agreed to the boycott and to the British forces occupying Boston. Later English shipments are recorded from 1777 to 1781 to New York, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas and Georgia but all of these undoubtedly had to do with the British war effort. The war ended with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19, 1781. However, a peace was not signed until September 3, 1783.

It is noteworthy that both the American boycott

and the British embargo were still in effect in 1782 for no English shipments were made to America in that year except for those to occupied New York and Charleston. Irrespective of the boycott and embargo there was the question of payment by Americans of debts due to British subjects incurred before the war. Some patriots undoubtedly fought the war to rid themselves of debts owed to British merchants, and generally American merchants were hopeful that these debts would be cancelled. Obviously until this matter was settled British merchants or manufacturers who were creditors would not supply goods to America. It was finally agreed that creditors on both sides should meet with no lawful impediment to the collection of their debts. Therefore, for the rather long period of eight years from 1775 to 1783 there were no shipments of British goods to America for general consumption.

The thirst of Americans for British goods was very strong after the war and the pent-up demand for British merchandise must have been enormous. In the four months left in 1783 after the peace had been signed small amounts of English goods of about 200,000 pounds each came into New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, and the Carolinas (Fig. 12). English shipments to New York in 1783 amounted to over 500,000 pounds, indicating that possibly some of this was to Tory merchants, since the British did not evacuate New York until November 25, 1783. In 1784, English shipments to all areas skyrocketed in a business boom to pre-war 1774 levels with Virginia and Maryland reaching over two times the 1774 level. This splurge satisfied demand temporarily but drained away precious cash and triggered a depression, so that in 1785 and 1786 English exports plummeted just as fast as they rose to only a fraction of pre-war levels, with only Virginia and Maryland holding up. Of these English exports to America probably only one per cent represented pewter ware.

REFERENCES

1. I. D. Robinson, "Antique British Pewter Found Today in New England," *PCCA Bul.*, 8 (1984), p. 381.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 379.
3. H. H. Cotterell, *Old Pewter* (London, 1929), No. 2070. In future references and in the text such numbers will be referenced as C2070, etc.
4. *Ibid.*, C202 & C118.
5. *Ibid.*, C737.
6. R. L. Bowen, "The Hales of Bristol," *PCCA Bul.*, 8 (1982), pp. 191-193.
7. R. L. Bowen, "Bush, Perkins, Edgar, & Curtis", *PCCA Bul.*, 8 (1982), pp. 184-189.



8. Cotterell, *op. cit.*, C2074.
9. Bowen, *op. cit.*, "The Hales of Bristol".
10. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 382, Fig. 10.
11. L. I. Laughlin, "The American Pewter Porringer," *Antiques*, May 1930.
12. P. E. Raymond, "American Pewter Porringers with Flowered Handles," *PCCA Bul.*, 4 (1959), pp. 1-9, reprinted from *American Collector*, Nov. 1947.
13. C. Jacobs, *Guide to American Pewter* (New York, 1957), p. 20.
14. J. C. Thomas, *Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers* (Hartford, 1976), p. 148.
15. P. R. G. Hornsby, *Pewter in the Western World* *(Schiffer, 1983), p. 161.
16. R. F. Michaelis, "English Pewter Porringers, Part 2." *PCCA Bul.*, 7 (1976), pp. 119-121, reprinted from *Apollo*, Aug. 1949, pp. 46-48.
17. Raymond, *op. cit.*
18. A. C. Abbott, "Pot Pourri," *PCCA Bul.*, 4 (1959), p. 12.
19. J. Fairbanks, *American Pewter* (Boston, 1974), p. 59.
20. R. L. Bowen, "Gill and Fractional Gill Flowered Handle Porringers," *PCCA Bul.*, 10 (1990), pp. 26-45.
21. R. L. Bowen, "The Chronology of Hamlin's Eagle Marks," *PCCA Bul.*, 9 (1989), pp. 226-236.
22. R. B. Morris, *The Life History of the U.S.* (New York, 1963), vol. 2, p. 19.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
24. H. M. Chapin, "Rhode Island Signboards," *R. I. Historical Soc. Col.*, 19 (1926), pp. 20-32.
25. R. L. Bowen, "David Melville's Boar Touch," *PCCA Bul.*, 7 (1978), pp. 338-342.
26. J. & B. Hillmann, "A Unique Hamlin Porringer," *PCCA Bul.*, 9 (1986), p. 73.
27. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-115.
28. Bowen, *op. cit.*, "Gill...Porringers".
29. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 388, No. 53B.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 390, No. 88 for date.
31. C. A. Peal, *More Pewter Marks* (Suffolk, 1976), No. 5203 (abbreviated MPM in text); Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 380, Fig. 3D.
32. Robinson, *op. cit.*, Figs. 3C, 3D & 5.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 379, Fig. 3A.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 387, No. 51.
35. D. A. Fales, "Boardman's Autobiography," *PCCA Bul.*, 4 (1962), p. 109.
36. Bowen, *op. cit.*, "Bush, Perkins, etc.," p. 189; Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 383.
37. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
38. MPM 5962b and MPMA 5962b.
39. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 381.
40. *Ibid.*
41. C. Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London* (London, 1902), vol. 2, p. 186.
42. E. M. Stone, *Account of the 71st Anniversary of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers* (Providence, 1860), p. 96.
43. C. F. Montgomery, *History of American Pewter* (New York, 1973), p. 236: J. Bassett funnel, T. Byles dish, J. Will creamer; p. 237: C. Bradford plate & teapot, J. Skinner dish.
44. Cotterell, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
45. L. I. Laughlin, *Pewter in America* (Barre, 1971), vol. 3, p. 164, pl. CX, 879.
46. H. J. L. J. Masse, *The Pewter Collector* (London, 1971, revision of 1921 ed.), pp. 236-263.
47. Robinson, *op. cit.*
48. *Historical Statistics of the U.S.: Colonial Times to 1790* (U. S. Dept. Commerce, 1975), part 2, p. 1176.
49. *The U. S. Direct Tax of 1798* (Report of Record Commissioners, Boston, 1890), p. iv.
50. R. L. Bowen, "New York Porter Mugs," *PCCA Bul.*, 7 (1977), pp. 186-191.
51. Bowen, *op. cit.*, "Melville's Boar Touch".
52. F. M. Caulkins, *History of New London* (New London, 1852), pp. 545-570.

A New Sugar Bowl by William Will

By Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D.

William Will is known to have made a multitude of forms using interchangeable parts over the length of his working career. New pieces continue to come to the front.

It is no wonder then that a new sugar bowl form has arrived which, to my knowledge, has not been described before. Two examples of this new sugar bowl are shown in Figure 1. Both sugar bowls are essentially the same height. The one on the left has a slightly larger foot, making the overall height approximately 4 ³/₄" as opposed to the shorter one at 4 ¹/₂".

The identification of the sugar bowls is again made easier by demonstrating the interchangeability of such parts using other known forms by William Will. Figure 2 represents two tulip shaped vessels by William Will. The one on the left, a one quart flagon. The one on the right, a one quart tankard. Both pieces utilize the exact same parts including the lids. The lid on the left is obviously altered by the presence of a finial. Figure 3 demonstrates the same two quart vessels with one of the new William Will sugar bowls standing in between. The similarity between the three lids is fairly obvious and in Figure 4 when the lid of the sugar bowl is placed on the lid of the tankard, it becomes quite obvious that the lids are from the same mold. Figure 5



demonstrates the other double bellied form of William Will sugar bowl and other types of lids that are known. The one on the left being an inside fitting lid, where as the one on the right is an outside fitting lid.

Figure 6, the last photograph, shows four types of William Will sugar bowls identified at the present. The two on the left being essentially the same with the exception of the finial, the third being the

new small form and the fourth being a double bellied sugar bowl with overlapping lid.

These sugar bowls demonstrate again the forehandness of William Will and I am sure in a short period of time additional articles concerning William Will will demonstrate the pewterer's ability to use interchangeable parts. I suspect this new smaller body will be identified in other pieces of pewter.



Fig. 1. Two small William Will Sugar Bowls.



Fig. 2. William Will Quart Flagon (L), Quart Tankard (Rt).





Fig. 3. William Will Quart Flagon (L), Sugar Bowl (C), Quart Flagon (Rt).



Fig. 4. William Will Quart Flagon (L), Quart Tankard (Rt) with Sugar Bowl Lid in place.





Fig. 5. William Will Sugar Bowls, inside fitting Lid (L), Overlapping Lid (Rt).



Fig. 6. Four William Will Sugar Bowls. New form third from Left.



Pewter of the Americas

by Alex R. Neish

Two recent and unexpected discoveries complement our knowledge of pewter in the Americas, long thought to be a fairly late development in the United States and the Portuguese empire of Brazil. Curiously they come from opposite ends of the historical spectrum and yet each in its way is fascinating.

The first is a chalice some 8 1/2" high with a base diameter of 4 1/2" and a cup diameter of 3", Figure 1. Originally belonging to a Carmelite convent demolished half a century ago in one of the pioneering towns close to the city of Sao Paulo, it is probably the most important piece of Brazilian pewter yet to have surfaced.

The format is similar to that of French chalices of the 17th and 18th centuries, Figure 2. The metal of the base has eruptions showing the difficulty of working with tin in a country where lead was not discovered until the early 19th century. It is, however, the cup that makes the chalice totally unique. Originally quite black, it was visibly made from a different metal from the stem and base. The thought that it might be a later replacement was belied by the perfection of the screw thread that joins it to the body. Finally electrolytic cleaning revealed the secret - the cup proved to be made of the soft and low-grade silver that is found in Peru and Brazil and called "colonial silver" to differentiate it clearly from the European purity.

This, plus the fact that no European guild would have accepted the working of pewter with silver clearly established its South American origins. Research, however, has failed to explain why this local copy of a French chalice should have turned up in a Carmelite convent when the Carmelite inflow came from Portugal. It did, however, reveal that at the time of the demolition of the convent the cup was known to be made of silver. Tradition has it that it reflected a community too poor to obey the Church's decree that communion vessels should be made only from noble metals — but one prepared to effect the compromise of a silver cup mounted on a pewter base. No other example has been documented in Brazil.

This kind of rarity does not extend to the other South American discovery which consists of sets of liquid capacity measures ranging from the double litre down to the hundredth of a litre, Figure 3. Each set comprises eight different measures with plain round bodies and erect, half square handles. They turn up fairly frequently in antiques fairs in Montevideo, Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo, and generally were thought to be French in origin even when they bear stamped in the base the name of the identification of the Municipal Laboratory of Montevideo.

It was badly scaled runt of one hundredth of a litre that revealed the secret. It revealed as its maker "Cosentino of Montevideo".

Further research suggests that he emigrated to Uruguay around the turn of the century where he found a situation where the Municipal Laboratory imported the capacity measures from France, Germany and Italy, certified their accuracy, and then sold them to shops and bars. Periodically inspections would withdraw on a random basis one or other of the measures to control that the capacity of the measure had not been adulterated. The primary use was to dispense the local production of wine.

Cosentino set up in business to produce the capacity measures locally. His success — and the backward nature of Uruguayan society — is confirmed by the fact that in Pedro Martin's "Aritmetica" published in Montevideo in 1911 the sets of 8 pewter measures is specified as one of the national standards. Even today in remote parts of the country the pewter measures are still to be found in use.

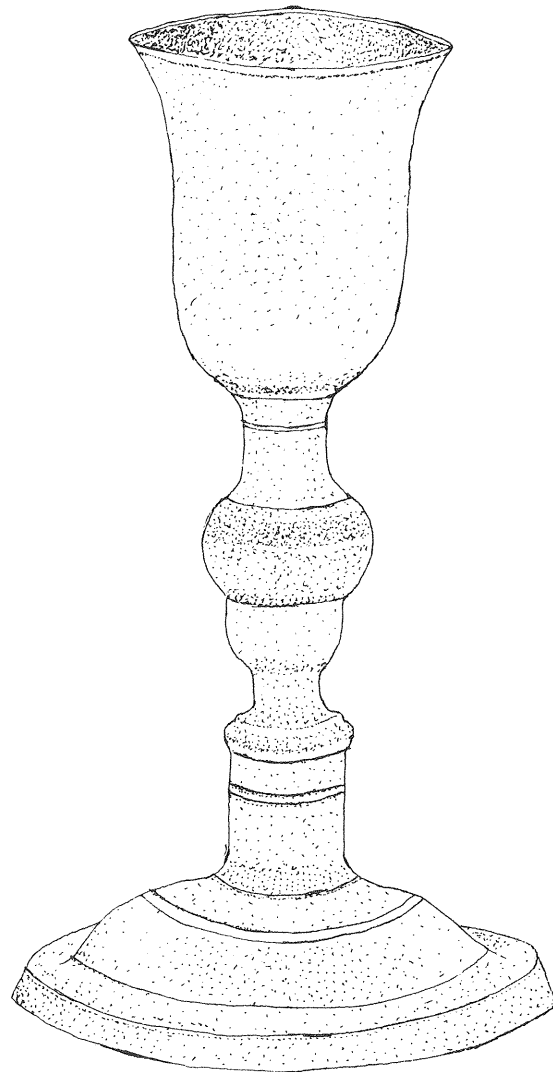
That Cosentino was not alone in his industry is proved by the fact that a local resident recollects the existence of one Ramon Sanchez, a Spanish immigrant who in his factory "manufactured measures, principally of pewter, of excellent quality and termination".

At some unidentified point in time the Montevidean Municipal Laboratory seems to have decided to liquidate all its stock of the pewter measures and this explains — along with their late date of manufacture — the frequency with which they appear.



Fig. 1. Recently discovered chalice from a Carmelite Convent.



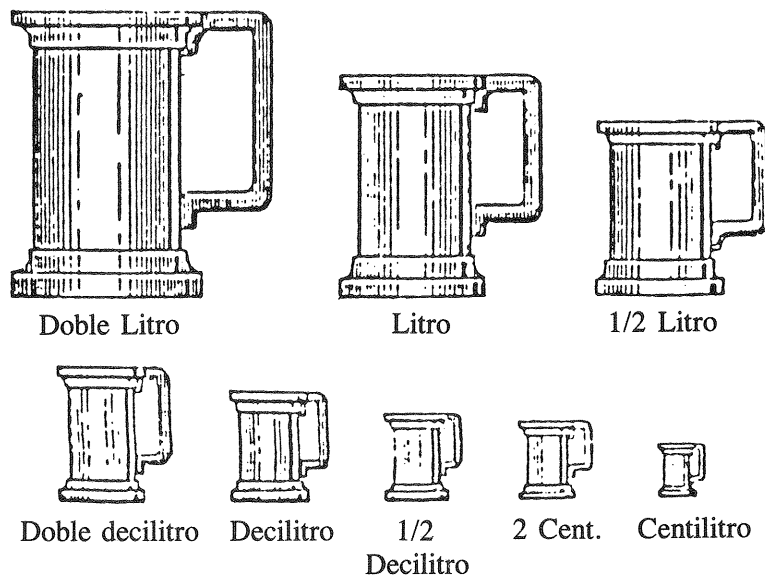


B. Neish

Fig. 2. A late 17th century French chalice. The format continued into the 18th century with slight modifications to the knop. It seems clear it was the model for the Brazilian version.



2.ª serie. — 8 medidas de estañol o de hoja de lata:
 Doble litro, litro, medio litro, doble decilitro, decilitro,
 medio decilitro, doble centilitro, centilitro.



La altura es doble del diámetro, y sirven para medir los líquidos, menos la leche y el aceite.

3.ª serie. — 8 medidas de hoja de lata:

Doble litro, litro, medio litro, doble decilitro, decilitro,
 medio decilitro, doble centilitro, centilitro.

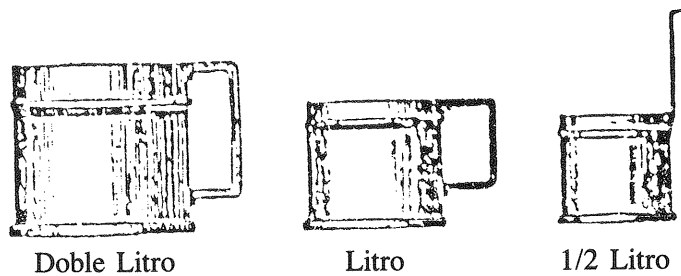


Fig. 3. Set of liquid measures of type believed to have been made in Uruguay.



Index
Volume 9
BULLETINS 90 - 99

By Audrey & Richard Ricketts

Subject Index

Note: Articles are ordered by a Subject Keyword; reference lines contain Title, Author Name, Bulletin #, Date, Page #.

Administration Page

- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 2
- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 46
- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 89
- 96 -- 5/88 -- 115
- 97 -- 12/88 -- 147
- 98 -- 5/89 -- 193
- 99 -- 12/89 -- 221

Alberti, Johann Philip

- A Tankard by Johann Philip Alberti, Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D., 94-95, 3-9/87, 107

Another form

- Another Flagon Form by William Will -- Donald M. Herr -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 152

Auction Record

- New Auction Price Record -- John Carl Thomas -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 6

Ball, William

- A Rare Pewter Discovery with the Mark of William Ball -- Philadelphia 1729 - 1810 -- J. O. Reese -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 179

Bassett, John

- A John Bassett Tankard -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 211

Bayou Bend

- Pewter at Bayou Bend -- anon -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 10

Beaker

- A New Form by Thomas Danforth Boardman -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 99 - 12/89 -- 249

Billings, William

- William Billings: Providence Pewterer and Brass Founder -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 26

Boardman, Luther

- Luther Boardman's Coffee Pot -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 176
- Another Boardman Touch -- Wayne Hilt -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 215

Boardman, Thomas Danforth

- A New Form by Thomas Danforth Boardman -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 99 - 12/89 -- 249

Books

- Old Household Pewter, by Dieter Nadolski -- Robert E. Asher -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 149

- Early American Taverns: for the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers, by Kym S. Rice -- Donald N. Anderson -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 150

- Current German Publications on Pewter -- Albert J. Phiebig -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 151

- More Current Foreign Books on Pewter -- Albert J. Phiebig -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 195

- Pewter: A Celebration of the Craft, 1200 - 1700 (1989 publication of the Museum of London) -- Robert E. Asher -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 222

- More Foreign Books on Pewter -- Albert J. Phiebig -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 223

Bowl, 12"

- Henry Will Bowl -- Charles V. Swain -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 48

Boyd, Parks

- A Quart Flagon by Parks Boyd -- Bette A. & Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 94-95 - 3-9/87 -- 109

Britannia

- Almer Hall - Britannia Lamp and Candlestick Maker -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 7

- Another Maker of Britannia Gadrooned Candlesticks -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 155

- A Britannia Tobacco Box -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 169

- A Miniature Britannia Sugar Bowl -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 171

- Britannia Kerosine Lamps -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 173

- A Signed American Chamberstick by Meriden Britannia Company -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 219

British

- A Talk to the British Pewter Society -- Richard Munday -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 18

Bulletins

- Pewter Club Bulletins -- A list and prices of available bulletins -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 113

Calder, William

- A Calder Price list and Some Production Rates -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 - 12/88 -- 166

- Calder Candlesticks - Finally! -- Webster Goodwin -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 214

Candlestick(s)

- A New Fuller and Smith Candlestick -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 4

- A Pair of Candlesticks and Other Problems -- Bob Touzalin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 61

- Another Maker of Britannia Gadrooned Candlesticks -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 155

- Calder Candlesticks - Finally! -- Webster Goodwin -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 214

Chamberstick

- A Signed American Chamberstick by Meriden Britannia Company -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 219

Chargers

- Where Have all the Big Chargers Gone? (A Consolidation) -- Ian D. Robinson -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 196

Coffee Pot

- William Will - Again -- Jack W. Levy -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 44

- An Unreported Coffee Pot by Sellow & Company -- Betty & Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 104

- Luther Boardman's Coffee Pot -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 176

Communion Pieces

- Love Communion Pieces? -- Bob Touzalin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 51

Condition

- Condition -- Peter Hornsby -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 144

Continental

- A Continental Spoon Holder -- Webster Goodwin -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 237

Cover page

- Sugar Bowl by Johann Christopher Heyne -- John Carl Thomas -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 1

- 12" Bowl by Henry Will -- Charles V. Swain -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 45

- Extremely rare William Kirby Teapot -- Bette & Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 88

- The Pewterer; a woodcut by Jost Amman -- Kenneth D. Barkin -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 114

- Unrecorded Flagon by William Will -- Donald M. Herr -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 146

- John and Frederick Bassett Tankards -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 192

- Hamlin's Four Eagle Touchmarks -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 220

Danforth, Job Jr

- Job Danforth, Jr., Providence Brass Founder and Pewterer -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 77

Danforth, Samuel

- Samuel Danforth on a Rampage -- George Heussner -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 91
Danforth, Thomas III
-- A New Form by Thomas Danforth III? -- Webster Goodwin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 50
-- A New Mark of Thomas Danforth III -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 213
- Dating**
-- The Tender Art of Dating -- Peter Hornsby -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 238
-- On the Merits of Never Dating Things Too Closely -- Peter Hornsby -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 240
- Dunham, Rufus**
-- Rufus Dunham and Eben Smith - A Connection? -- H. H. Sandidge -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 144
- Empire**
-- The Other Empire -- Alex Neish -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 190
- English**
-- English Social History and Pewter -- Barbara Jean Horan -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 138
- European Pewter**
-- The Rise and Fall of European Pewter -- Kenneth D. Barkin -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 121
- Everett, James**
-- A Pair of Candlesticks and Other Problems -- Bob Touzalin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 61
- Exhibition**
-- A West Coast Exhibition of Pewter -- Kenneth D. Barkin -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 117
- Flagon**
-- A Quart Flagon by Parks Boyd -- Bette A. & Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 109
-- Another Flagon Form by William Will -- Donald M. Herr -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 152
- Flask**
-- A Pewter Dram Flask Found in New York - Help Wanted - -- J. O. Reese -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 182
- Freedom Box**
-- The Freedom Box -- Webster Goodwin -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 207
- Fuller and Smith**
-- A New Fuller and Smith Candlestick -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 4
- Hall, Almer**
-- Almer Hall - Britannia Lamp and Candlestick Maker -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 7
- Hamlin, Samuel**
-- A New Samuel Hamlin Mark -- Webster Goodwin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 49
-- Possibly Unique by Samuel Hamlin? -- Jeanne & Bernard B. Hillmann -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 73
-- The Chronology of Hamlin's Eagle Marks -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 226
- Hersey, S.S**
-- A Note on S.S. Hersey -- H.H. Sandidge, Jr. -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 49
- Heyne, Johann Christopher**
-- New Auction Price Record -- John Carl Thomas -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 6
- Hudson**
-- Hudson's Patent -- Webster Goodwin -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 207
- Jones, Gershom**
-- Gershom Jones' Touch Marks -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 53
- Kirby, William**
-- An Egg Shaped Teapot by William Kirby -- Bette & Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 105
- Lamps**
-- Almer Hall - Britannia Lamp and Candlestick Maker -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 7
-- Josiah Warren - The Man and His Lamps -- John F. Brown -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 75
-- Rufus Duffham and Eben Smith - A Connection? -- H. H. Sandidge -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 144
-- Britannia Kerosine Lamps -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 173
- Love**
-- Love Communion Pieces? -- Bob Touzalin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 51
- Marks/Marked**
-- A Marked Philadelphia Sugar Bowl -- Donald M. Herr -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 5
-- A New Samuel Hamlin Mark -- Webster Goodwin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 49
-- Gershom Jones' Touch Marks -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 53
-- David Melville's Commemorative Marks -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 65
- Palethorp and Connell and the Crowned X -- Donald M. Herr -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 72
-- Possibly Unique by Samuel Hamlin? -- Jeanne & Bernard B. Hillmann -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 73
-- Secondary Marks in the Identification of American Pewter -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 98
-- A New Mark of Thomas Danforth III -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 213
-- The Chronology of Hamlin's Eagle Marks -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 226
- McQuilkin, William**
-- William McQuilkin and Hall, Boardman: A Query -- Robert E. Asher -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 195
- Measure(s)**
-- A Unique Buluster Measure -- Alex R. Neish -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 142
- Measuring units**
-- The Origins of and Relationships Between Measuring Units -- Bette Wolf -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 188
- Meisel, Lampe & Co.**
-- Meisel, Lampe & Co. -- Webster Goodwin -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 208
- Melville, David**
-- David Melville's Commemorative Marks -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 65
- Membership**
-- New Members -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 113
-- Honoary Membership for Celia Jacobs Stevenson -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 148
- Meriden Britannia Company**
-- A Miniature Britannia Sugar Bowl -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 171
-- A Signed American Chamberstick by Meriden Britannia Company -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 219
- Molds**
-- Pewter Moulds -- Henry J. Kauffman -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 94
-- Suppository Molds of Pewter -- Stevie Young -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 236
- Morey and Ober**
-- A New Form by Morey and Ober -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 210
- Mug**
-- Unusual Boston Mug -- Jeanne & Bernard B. Hillmann -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 72
-- A New Mark of Thomas Danforth III -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 213
- Necrology**
-- William O. Blaney -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 3
-- Joseph France -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 4
-- Anne Borntraeger -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 47
-- William F. Kayhoe -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 47
-- Bernard R. Carde -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 48
-- Albert T. Gamon -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 116
-- Clarence A. Myers -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 148
-- David Holton McConnell -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 148
-- John J. Starvish -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 195
- New (Form or Mark)**
-- A New Samuel Hamlin Mark -- Webster Goodwin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 49
-- A New Form by Thomas Danforth III? -- Webster Goodwin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 50
-- A New Form by Morey and Ober -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 210
-- A New Mark of Thomas Danforth III -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 213
- Palethorp & Connell**
-- Palethorp and Connell and the Crowned X -- Donald M. Herr -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 72
- Patent**
-- Hudson's Patent -- Webster Goodwin -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 207
- Pen & Pencil Holder**
-- Hudson's Patent -- Webster Goodwin -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 207
- Pewterers**
-- Joseph Randle: Providence's Earliest Pewterer -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 13
-- William Billings: Providence Pewterer and Brass Founder -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 26
-- Job Danforth, Jr., Providence Brass Founder and Pewterer -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 77

-- Mary Willey An Eighteenth Century Pewterer -- Jack H. Kolaian -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 91
 -- New York Pewterers -- William D. Carlebach -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 184
Plate
 -- Samuel Danforth on a Rampage -- George Heussner -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 91
Porringer
 -- A New Samuel Hamlin Mark -- Webster Goodwin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 49
 -- Possibly Unique by Samuel Hamlin? -- Jeanne & Bernard B. Hillmann -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 73
Portugese
 -- Portugese and Brazilian Pewter -- Alex Neish -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 216
President's Letter
 -- Jack Kolaian -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 3
 -- Jack Kolaian -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 47
 -- Ellen O'Flaherty -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 90
 -- Ellen O'Flaherty -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 116
 -- Ellen O'Flaherty -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 148
 -- Garland Pass -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 194
 -- Garland Pass -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 222
Price list
 -- A Calder Price list and Some Production Rates -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 166
Randle, Joseph
 -- Joseph Randle: Providence's Earliest Pewterer -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 13
Rare
 -- A Rare Pewter Discovery with the Mark of William Ball -- Philadelphia 1729 - 1810 -- J. O. Reese -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 179
Richardson, George
 -- Richardson Sugar Bowls -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 161
Scottish
 -- Scottish Pewter -- Alex Neish -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 241
 -- Scottish Pewter Formats -- Alex Neish -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 244
Sellew
 -- An Unreported Coffee Pot by Sellew & Company -- Betty & Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 104
Shaving mug
 -- A New Form by Morey and Ober -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 210
Smith, Eben
 -- Rufus Dunham and Eben Smith - A Connection? -- H. H. Sandidge -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 144
Spain
 -- Was Pewter Made in Spain? -- Jim & Barbara Butler -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 188
Spoon holder
 -- A Continental Spoon Holder -- Webster Goodwin -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 237

Sugar Bowls
 -- A Marked Philadelphia Sugar Bowl -- Donald M. Herr -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 5
 -- New Auction Price Record -- John Carl Thomas -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 6
 -- Richardson Sugar Bowls -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 161
 -- A Miniature Britannia Sugar Bowl -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 171
Syrup Pitcher
 -- A New Form by Thomas Danforth III? -- Webster Goodwin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 50
Tankards
 -- Half-Pint Tankards -- Bob Touzalin -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 52
 -- A Tankard by Johann Philip Alberti -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 107
 -- A John Bassett Tankard -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 211
Teapot
 -- Palethorp and Connell and the Crowned X -- Donald M. Herr -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 72
 -- An Egg Shaped Teapot by William Kirby -- Bette & Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 105
 -- An Engraved Teapot by Israel Trask -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 209
Tobacco
 -- A Britannia Tobacco Box -- Richard L. Bowen, Jr. -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 169
Trask, Israel
 -- An Engraved Teapot by Israel Trask -- Melvyn D. Wolf, M.D. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 209
Treasures
 -- Treasures from the Thames -- Alex R. Neish -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 143
Unique
 -- A Unique Buluster Measure -- Alex R. Neish -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 142
Unusual
 -- Unusual Boston Mug -- Jeanne & Bernard B. Hillmann -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 72
Warren, Josiah
 -- Josiah Warren - The Man and His Lamps -- John F. Brown -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 75
Will, Henry
 -- Henry Will Bowl -- Charles V. Swain -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 48
Will, William
 -- William Will - Again -- Jack W. Levy -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 44
 -- Another Flagon Form by William Will -- Donald M. Herr -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 152
Willey, Mary
 -- Mary Willey An Eighteenth Century Pewterer -- Jack H. Kolaian -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 91
Yale, Burrage
 -- Burrage Yale: Another Letter -- Robert G. Smith -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 223

Author Index

Anderson, Donald N.
 -- Books -- Early American Taverns: for the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers, by Kym S. Rice -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 150
 Anon
 -- Pewter at Bayou Bend -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 10
 Asher, Robert E.
 -- Books -- Old Household Pewter, by Dieter Nadolski -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 149
 -- William McQuilkin and Hall, Boardman: A Query -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 195
 -- Books -- Pewter: A Celebration of the Craft, 1200 - 1700 - 1989 publication of the Museum of London -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 222
 Barkin, Kenneth D.
 -- A West Coast Exhibition of Pewter -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 117
 -- The Rise and Fall of European Pewter -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 121
 Bowen, Jr., Richard L.
 -- Almer Hall - Britannia Lamp and Candlestick Maker -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 7
 -- Joseph Randle: Providence's Earliest Pewterer -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 13
 -- William Billings: Providence Pewterer and Brass Founder -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 26
 -- Gershom Jones' Touch Marks -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 53
 -- David Melville's Commemorative Marks -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 65
 -- Job Danforth, Jr., Providence Brass Founder and Pewterer -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 77

-- Another Maker of Britannia Gadrooned Candlesticks -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 155
 -- Richardson Sugar Bowls -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 161
 -- A Calder Price list and Some Production Rates -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 166
 -- A Britannia Tobacco Box -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 169
 -- A Miniature Britannia Sugar Bowl -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 171
 -- Britannia Kerosine Lamps -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 173
 -- Luther Boardman's Coffee Pot -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 176
 -- The Chronology of Hamlin's Eagle Marks -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 226
 Brown, John F.
 -- Josiah Warren - The Man and His Lamps -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 75
 Butler, Jim & Barbara
 -- Was Pewter Made in Spain? -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 188
 Carlebach, William D.
 -- New York Pewterers -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 184
 Goodwin, Webster
 -- A New Samuel Hamlin Mark -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 49
 -- A New Form by Thomas Danforth III? -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 50
 -- The Freedom Box -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 207
 -- Hudson's Patent -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 207
 -- Meisel, Lampe & Co. -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 208
 -- Calder Candlesticks - Finally! -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 214
 -- A Continental Spoon Holder -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 237

Herr, Donald M.
 -- A Marked Philadelphia Sugar Bowl -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 5
 -- Palethorp and Connell and the Crowned X -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 72
 -- Another Flagon Form by William Will -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 152
 Heussner, George
 -- Samuel Danforth on a Rampage -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 91
 Hillmann, Jeanne & Bernard B.
 -- Unusual Boston Mug -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 72
 -- Possibly Unique by Samuel Hamlin? -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 73
 Hilt, Wayne
 -- Another Boardman Touch -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 215
 Horan, Barbara Jean
 -- English Social History and Pewter -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 138
 Hornsby, Peter
 -- Condition -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 144
 -- The Tender Art of Dating -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 238
 -- On the Merits of Never Dating Things Too Closely -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 240
 Kauffman, Henry J.
 -- Pewter Moulds -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 94
 Kolaian, Jack
 -- President's Letter -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 3
 -- President's Letter -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 47
 -- Mary Willey An Eighteenth Century Pewterer -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 91
 Levy, Jack W.
 -- William Will - Again -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 44
 Munday, Richard
 -- A Talk to the British Pewter Society -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 18
 Neish, Alex
 -- The Other Empire -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 190
 -- Portugese and Brazilian Pewter -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 216
 -- Scottish Pewter -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 241
 -- Scottish Pewter Formats -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 244
 -- A Unique Buluster Measure -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 142
 -- Treasures from the Thames -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 143
 O'Flaherty, Ellen
 -- President's Letter -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 90
 -- President's Letter -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 116
 -- President's Letter -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 148
 Pass, Garland
 -- President's Letter -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 194
 -- President's Letter -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 222
 Phiebig, Albert J.

-- Books -- More Current Foreign Books on Pewter -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 195
 -- Books -- Current German Publications on Pewter -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 151
 -- Books -- More Foreign Books on Pewter -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 223
 Reese, J. O.
 -- A Rare Pewter Discovery with the Mark of William Ball - Philadelphia 1729 -
 1810 -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 179
 -- A Pewter Dram Flask Found in New York - Help Wanted -- 97 -- 12/88 -- 182
 Robinson, Ian D.
 -- Where Have all the Big Chargers Gone? (A Consolidation) -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 196
 Sandidge, H. H.
 -- Rufus Dunham and Eben Smith - A Connection? -- 96 -- 5/88 -- 144
 -- A Note on S.S. Hersey -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 49
 Smith, Robert G.
 -- Burrage Yale: Another Letter -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 223
 Swain, Charles V.
 -- Henry Will Bowl -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 48
 Thomas, John Carl
 -- New Auction Price Record -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 6
 Touzalin, Bob
 -- Love Communion Pieces? -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 51
 -- A Pair of Candlesticks and Other Problems -- 92-93 -- 3-9/86 -- 61
 Wolf, Bette
 -- The Origins of and Relationships Between Measuring Units -- 97 -- 12/88 --
 188
 Wolf, M.D., Bette & Melvyn D.
 -- An Egg Shaped Teapot by William Kirby -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 105
 -- A Quart Flagon by Parks Boyd -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 109
 -- An Unreported Coffee Pot by Sellow & Company -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 104
 Wolf, M.D., Melvyn D.
 -- A New Fuller and Smith Candlestick -- 90-91 -- 3-9/85 -- 4
 -- Secondary Marks in the Identification of American Pewter -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -
 - 98
 -- A Tankard by Johann Philip Alberti -- 94-95 -- 3-9/87 -- 107
 -- An Engraved Teapot by Israel Trask -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 209
 -- A New Form by Morey and Ober -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 210
 -- A John Bassett Tankard -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 211
 -- A New Mark of Thomas Danforth III -- 98 -- 5/89 -- 213
 -- A Signed American Chamberstick by Meriden Britannia Company -- 98 --
 5/89 -- 219
 -- A New Form by Thomas Danforth Boardman -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 249
 Young, Stevie
 -- Suppository Molds of Pewter -- 99 -- 12/89 -- 236