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of AMERICA INC.

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An Alloy Of Trades: The Career Of Samuel Pierce, Whitesmith

See Article by Philip Zea on Page 55

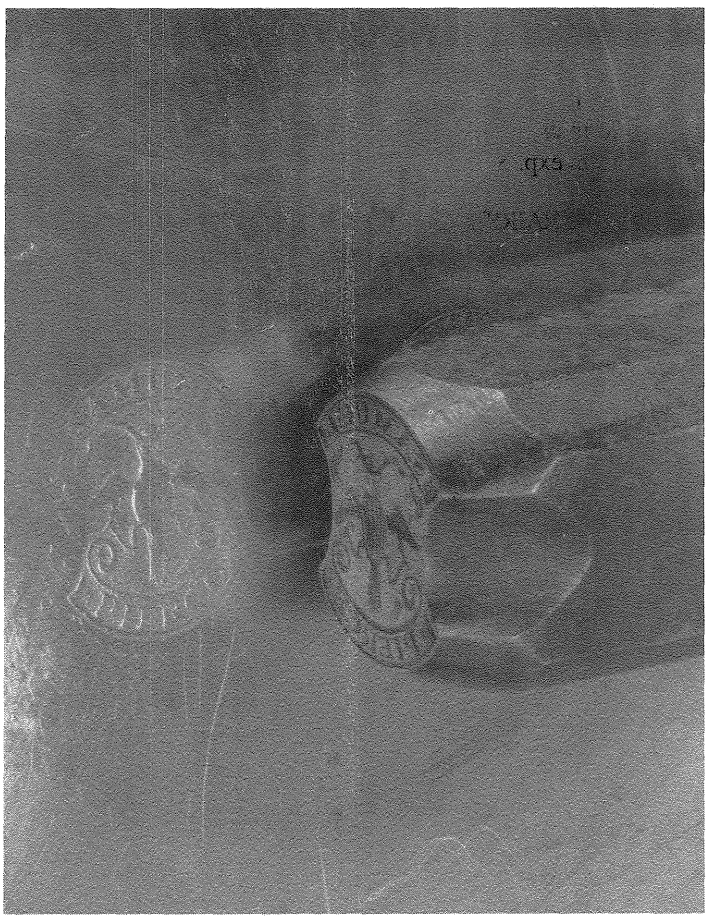

Fig. 1. Die, attributed to Samuel Pierce, Middletown, CT., or Greenfield, MA., late 18th-century. Steel; L: 6", Diam.: 1 1/8". Courtesy, Historic Deerfield, Inc., gift of Ledlie I. Laughlin. Photography by Penny Leveritt unless otherwise cited. This die is the only known surviving touchmark of an American pewterer.

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President's Letter—

Our task, it seems to me, is to reclaim our past and some of our heritage and history with the collection of bits and pieces of American pewter. We as current members of the PCCA are preceded by some very astute scholars and collectors who have recorded and preserved an astounding amount of pewter and historical data. In most cases our pewter objects go back only some 300 plus years here in the United States. Our neighbors across the Atlantic in the United Kingdom go much further back in their centuries of pewter making and in their "Society's" history.

We look to them, The Pewter Society of the UK, as our forerunner and something of a model to emulate in the operation of our PCCA. A case in point is "The Auction." We launched our auction modeled on the British Pewter Society's this November at the Fall meeting in Peabody, Massachusetts, hosted by the Northeast Region's president, Stanley Rich. Our auctioneer was our past president, Tom Madsen, a graduate of the Yankee School of Auctioneering. It proved to be most successful. This event was designed to bring some of the bits and pieces of history to our members. Truly this is part of our task, to promote the collection and preservation of early American pewter.

Another endeavor of our club is the very ambitious work by some of our guiding lights, Bob and Barbara Horan supported by Wayne Hilt and Bill Snow, recording and photographing the sizable collection of fakes and forgeries. This is a work in progress growing out of the collection accumulated by our recently departed John Carl Thomas.

What an honor it is to be associated with such project oriented, dedicated people.

One last word about our last meeting at the Shelburn Museum in Vermont. I was unavoidably absent from the Shelburn Museum's presentation of their pewter. My predecessor, Tom Madsen, and others took over and with the wonderful, hands-on help of the Curator of Decorative Arts, Jean M. Burks, the meeting was very successful.

Looking ahead to the Spring National Meeting in May 2000, planned by First Vice President, Sherwin Herzog, this will be held in New York City. The star attraction will be the pewter of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. What wonderful times we have ahead of us.

—Bill Paddock

Editor's Note—

The lead article in this issue on the pewterer, Samuel Pierce, is by one of our grantees, Philip Zea, Curator of Furniture at Colonial Williamsburg, formerly Deputy Director and Curator at Historical Deerfield. Mr. Zea's description of Pierce's life and times and his extensive quotations from Pierce's Day Books and Journals provide a vivid picture of an early 19th century New England pewterer. I am sure it will be considered the definitive article on Samuel Pierce.

Fall Mid-Atlantic Meeting Photographs

Doylestown, Pennsylvania, October 16

All photographs by Robert Bury

Fig. 1. **Wayne Hilt** and **Don Herr** look over some of the 70 plus tankards brought by members to the meeting. No one could recall seeing so many tankards at one time. If you missed this meeting you also missed seeing Bud Swain's fabulous collection.

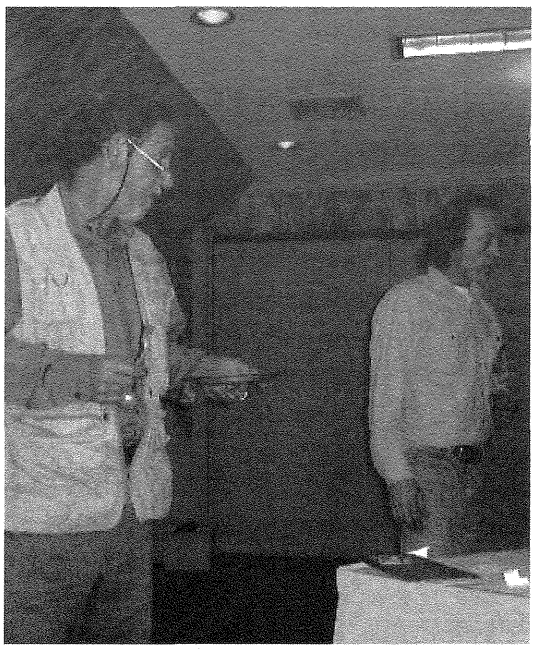


Fig. 2. **Richard Graver**, national Second Vice President, and **Frank Powell**, president of the Mid-Atlantic group conduct the popular "Show and Tell."

Fig. 3. (left) and Fig. 4. (right) **New York** tankards and **Philadelphia** tankards brought to the meeting. Would you like one or two from each group?

An Alloy Of Trades: The Career Of Samuel Pierce, Whitesmith

by Philip Zea

The surviving pewter and tools made and used by Samuel Pierce (1767-1840) of Greenfield, Massachusetts, are supplemented by ten ledgers and journals kept by his family during the first half of the nineteenth century.[1] Together, the artifacts and manuscripts help us to understand the role of the whitesmith in early New England. They link the Pierces' work with copper, tin, lead, and their alloys of brass, bronze, and pewter to life as craftsmen, farmers, and storekeepers. The ledgers also offer one family's story of making a viable living in the economic turbulence of the new republic, a time when lives were reshaped as quickly as the wares that the Pierces fashioned.[2]

Samuel Pierce is remembered today as a pewterer because pewter survives with his name on it, but his account books have frustrated collectors because pewter is rarely mentioned. (Fig. 1, see cover photo) If we could ask Pierce to define his livelihood, he probably would call himself a brazier or whitesmith, who made pewter when the economy was right for it. Only urban craftsmen could pursue a single specialty for a clientele large enough to provide ample work. Yet, Pierce's tools and products confirm that he worked with pewter and that he invested considerable capital in its manufacture. The ledgers reveal a craftsman different from our expectations – and yet one common in the market towns of rural New England; that is, a man with specialized training who practiced parallel trades in conjunction with other commercial interests in order to make a living.

Pewter and its young cousin Britannia were two arrows in the new quiver of American industrialism, which was driven by the expansion of the metalworking and textile trades after the Revolution. Everyone wanted shiny pewter before fashionable ceramics became widely affordable. It was among the first trades to engage the techniques of mass production. Cast in molds, until the American discovery of Britannia by Thomas Danforth Boardman (1784-1873) in 1807, the resulting forms were produced relatively quickly and in quantity. The process was accelerated by the low melting point of the alloy, which was comparatively inexpensive since it came in the form of recycled house wares. The repetitious shapes and relative resiliency allowed for the easy shipping and storage of pewter as stock in trade.[3]

Pierce's career illustrates the underpinning of livelihoods that supported the economy of inland New England before the 1840s. Men worked as craftsmen, farmers, or merchants, often simultaneously. A handful also earned livelihoods as professional people: educated ministers, doctors, and after the 1790s a rush of lawyers. The careers of Pierce and his peers demonstrate that initial training as a craftsman rarely constituted a lifelong commitment unless the path made financial sense. By the end of his life, Pierce had worked through the cycle a couple of times. When the money was good, he found rewards in the vitality of life on the river or in his own varied mercantile interests. In these years, Pierce's whitesmithing tools apparently lay dormant in the old sea chest

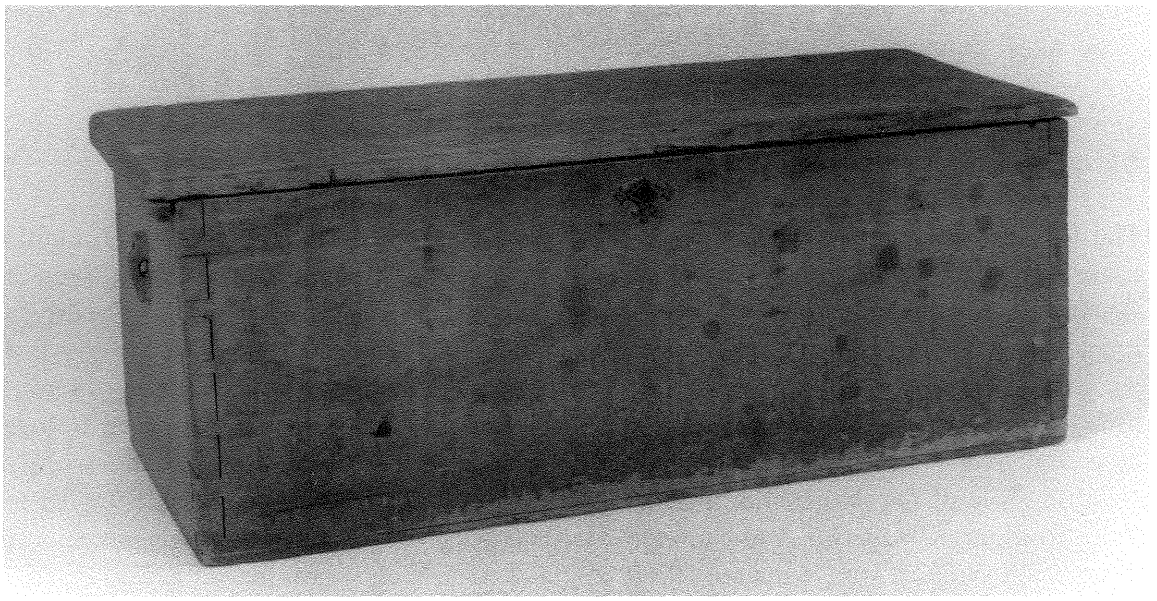


Fig. 2. Sea Chest, probably Middletown, CT., area, mid-18th century. Eastern white pine; H: 16 1/4", W: 43 1/4", D: 17 1/2". Courtesy, Historic Deerfield, Inc., gift of Ledlie I. Laughlin. Antiquarian Julia D. Sophronia Snow found Samuel Pierce's tools in this sea chest at the Greenfield home of his great-granddaughters, the Misses Pierce, in 1926.

brought to Greenfield from his hometown of Middletown, Connecticut.[4] (Fig. 2) In tougher times, farming provided security and produce for sale in a seasonal cycle that could accommodate craft work.[5] Opportunity or adversity always sent Pierce in a new direction.

In Pierce's early years, New England was in a kind of golden age. The Connecticut River is almost a mile wide at Middletown. The power of the river brought surpluses harvested from the fields and forests of western New England while the tides carried exotic imports on its briny back from the south. Middletown's wharves, like those upriver at Hartford and Springfield, Massachusetts, bore the prosperous coincidence of nature and capitalism. Farmers on good land all along the river exported grains, beef, and timber products by the mid-eighteenth century. Their prosperity was first sustained by supplying colonial wars when the violence did not come too close.[6] The rafts, barges, and wagons of middlemen brought the produce down to Hartford and Middletown where schooners in the coastal trade carried New England's natural wealth to New York City, the South, and especially the West Indies.

The sale of these commodities down-river brought English and European fineries to the Connecticut valley, subject to the politics of the day.[7] When England and France went to war in 1793, restrictions were lifted against United States shipping, and the West Indies trade boomed. Both combatants purchased American produce to stoke their war efforts.[8] This tenuous prosperity funded internal improvements that extracted more natural resources from the land. In 1795, the Proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canals completed the channel around the falls at South Hadley, Massachusetts, opening the Connecticut River to navigation by flatboats to Greenfield. Five years later, the Proprietors completed the canal at nearby Turner's Falls, opening the river to

twelve-ton flatboats beyond to the New Hampshire-Vermont border.[9] Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812 devastated Yankee shipping, but local manufacturing grew to replace some imports, especially cotton cloth. The falls along the Connecticut and its tributaries, which restricted navigation, proved their worth in providing power to mills.

Samuel Pierce was born on July 8, 1767, the fourth son of Stephen and Hannah Gullison Pierce. His father had some association with the pewtering trade in that he died in 1783 at Stratford, Connecticut, "being out on business selling pewter for Dea. [Jacob] Whitmore [1736-1825]."[10] His son, Samuel, was apprenticed to the Danforths, probably mostly with Joseph (1758-1788). (Fig. 3) He completed his training about 1789 and was married to Anne Joyce (1769-1843) on September 26, 1790. Although trained well by the Danforths, Pierce was not a Danforth by name, and there was no future in Middletown. Not surprisingly, Samuel was drawn to the river that had shaped every day of his life. Most of his peers were pulled downstream by dreams of a wide world of exotic ports, but a few, like Pierce, looked northward to the great wealth of new England's hinterland and the improvements well underway by the early 1790s.[11] He chose Greenfield and moved his young family, now including Abigail (1792-1802), ninety miles up the river sometime in 1792 or early 1793. Their first son John Joyce (1793-1878) was born in Greenfield on May 26.[12] Perhaps, the Pierces had learned about Greenfield from the cabinetmaker Daniel Clay (1770-1848), who had moved there from Middletown in 1792.[13]

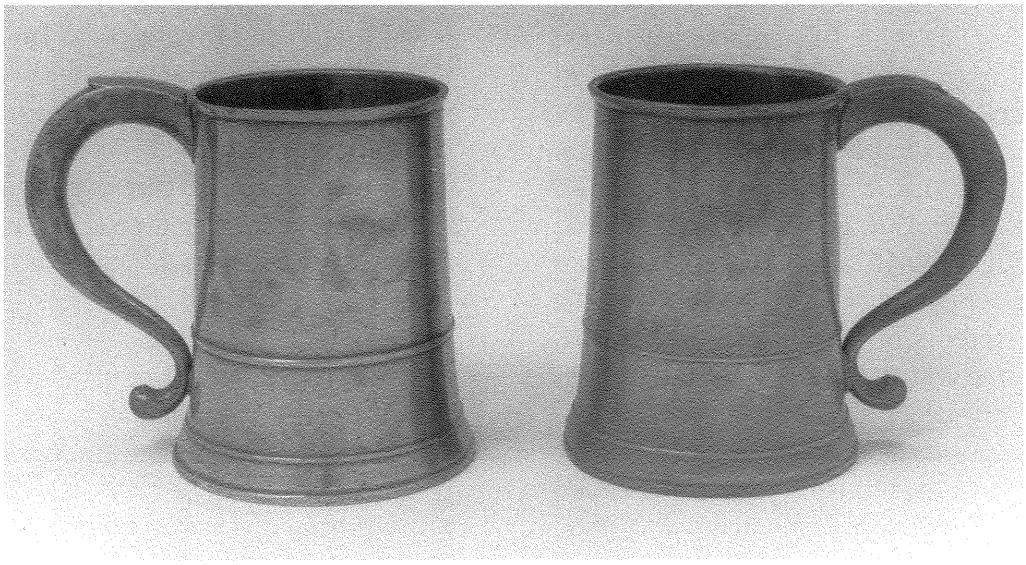


Fig. 3. Quart Mug by Samuel Pierce, Greenfield, MA., about 1795 to 1830. Pewter; H: 5 3/4", Diam.: 4 3/4".; and Quart Mug by Joseph Danforth, Middletown, CT., about 1780-1788. Pewter; H: 6 1/2", Diam.: 3 11/16". Courtesy, Historic Deerfield, Inc. When Thomas Danforth II (1731-1782) died, his sons Thomas III (1756-1836) and Joseph, who took over the shop in Middletown, inherited several molds, including one for making quart pots. The close similarity of these mugs suggests that similar molds were used to make them and that Pierce may have come to own or to lease the molds, perhaps through his training with Joseph.

Pending completion of the South Hadley canal, Greenfield would be at the head of navigation and serve as the distribution point for produce from much of central New England. A stage line was also promised between Springfield and Hanover, New Hampshire. By 1801, the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike connected Greenfield with Boston. The mouth of the Deerfield River a small harbor, and the village of Cheapside, with a few wharves and warehouses, began to grow there.[14] Farm produce brought imports that built small fortunes. Nearly a dozen Greenfield merchants advertised their wares by 1795 in the local newspaper, *The Impartial Intelligencer,* then three years old. Local merchants traded almost exclusively with Hartford and New York wholesalers. In return, they supplied British and European manufactured goods.[15]

Pierce was apparently encouraged to stay in Greenfield by Colonel William Moore (b. 1762). Born in Rutland, Massachusetts, halfway to Boston, Moore had arrived in Greenfield in 1784. Six years later, he opened a store on newly laid out Federal Street.[16] Moore made money through trade down-river, notably as a supplier to the great Hartford merchant, Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743-1804). His diverse investments mixed farm produce with manufacturing.[17] In 1791, Moore bought a gristmill on the Green River from David Wells and built a six-story mill, just down the hill from Greenfield's main street. Although diverse, there was logic to the enterprise. Moore combined specialties that reflected the community's needs and minimized his own financial risk by investing in several products and processes rather than just one that might go bust. At his mill compound, Moore developed a flour mill, slaughterhouse (which handled five hundred head of cattle annually), tannery, tallow house, potash works, nail-making factory, cooper shop, cotton mill on the top floor, and a shop for packing ginseng for the China Trade.

Moore employed several craftsmen to operate these enterprises, including the blacksmith Ambrose Ames (ca. 1764-1858) from Bridgewater, south of Boston, and several coopers from Groton, Connecticut, critical to packing these products for shipment.[18] He also recruited the whitesmith Samuel Pierce to work in his mill about 1792. Pierce probably maintained equipment for Moore and his other tenants and made pewter and other white metal products on his own account. In any event, he built capital and by 1798 was well established. Pierce's house is appraised at $900 in the inventory of the United States Direct Tax, twelfth on a list of 138 property holders who owned buildings worth more than $100.[19]

With equity in hand, commerce called more loudly than handwork. In 1799, Pierce joined in partnership with blacksmith Ames to produce linseed oil pressed from milled flax seeds to be shipped down-river.[20] Pierce himself became a river man and freighted produce and finished goods between Cheapside, Hartford, and Middletown.[21] Pierce's ledger records, like a pulse, the shipment down-river of potash, refined pearl ash and lye, wheat, corn, barley, oats, flax, tow cloth, butter, animal hides, tallow, barrels of pork and beef, cotton cloth, and linseed oil. Up the river came fancy clothing, yard goods, tools and hardware, tobacco, salt, sugar, molasses, tea, and stronger beverages. In 1799, Pierce shipped everything from four hundred pounds of iron and thousands of shingles to two barrels of shad from Hadley, "2 pare Grave Stons" for George Grenils [Grennell], and three thousand boards to cabinetmaker Clay.

Pierce's early mercantile success was stifled by personal tragedy. Dysentery hit Greenfield in 1802, killing fifty-seven young people. Between August 7 and 19, Samuel and Anne watched three of their children die: the eldest, Abigail, at age ten; Anne, aged four; and Samuel, Jr., at almost two years of age. Three weeks later, a daughter was stillborn. John Joyce and Phebe (1796-1858) survived. The Pierces fled Greenfield to a farm with a gristmill ten miles west in the hill town of Colrain where Samuel titled himself as a cooper in a deed of 1804. There, three more children were born: George (b. 1804), Henry (1806-1830), and Elijah Hubbard (1808-1833).[22] (Another Samuel, Jr., followed in October 1812, long after the Pierces had returned to Greenfield.) In Corain, Samuel and Anne farmed and regrouped from the anguish of 1802. The business accounts are strictly agricultural with only occasional references to metalwork.

About 1807, Pierce returned to mercantile life in Greenfield and entered into partnership with Hart Leavitt (1765-1836), who had been a storekeeper for several years.[23] As merchants under the name of Pierce & Leavitt, Samuel's labor and credit were merged with Hart's capital to position Pierce closer to retail customers than the riverbank or the hill farm had allowed. The store stood near the town's busiest corner. Here, Pierce and Leavitt charged, and were charged for "carting from the River," finished goods from Hartford, Middletown, and beyond.[24] By 1810, Samuel's wealth made him the sixth most prominent man in Greenfield.[25]

In 1811, Samuel took his son, John Joyce, into the shop while the firm of Pierce and Leavitt continued briefly as a separate concern.[26] That year Franklin County was chartered, and Greenfield was made the county seat. Legal and civic matters brought more patrons to town, but Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812 destroyed New England's commerce. Pierce and others fell back on old skills and alliances. Samuel's training with the Danforths twenty years before was fortunate. War had cut off the importation of foreign manufactures, but proficiency at the bench, especially with metal, filled an important gap in providing household goods.

Pierce found steady employment, if not wealth, back at the forge. The ledger entries for 1814 reveal a life like the old days back in Middletown, working with both pewter and brass. Charles Stearns of Leyden, for example, was debited "To 1 Qt pot 8/ [and] 1 tin pot 4/6" in partial exchange for "2 1/2 lbs old Pewter 1/8." Martin Severance needed two brass skimmers, and Joshua Culver took home to Guilford, Vermont, one platter, six plates, a one-quart basin, and a one-pint one. A new product reflected change in how people heated their homes. Cyrus Martindale purchased from Pierce "15 1/2 [feet] Stove pipe from Meting [sic] House."[27]

Pierce's business continued to assume a regional and even an international air, as though he still plied the river. His livelihood as a metalsmith always required raw materials for production. One of Pierce's sources was the merchant David Watkinson of Hartford, who kept an account with Samuel between May 1816 and December 1817. The purchases by the reborn craftsman, under the name of Samuel Pierce & Son, were not strictly those of a pewterer. Pierce purchased large amounts of "Rusia," "Sweeds," and "English" iron as well as British "Blist [bilsted] Steel" and some "American B

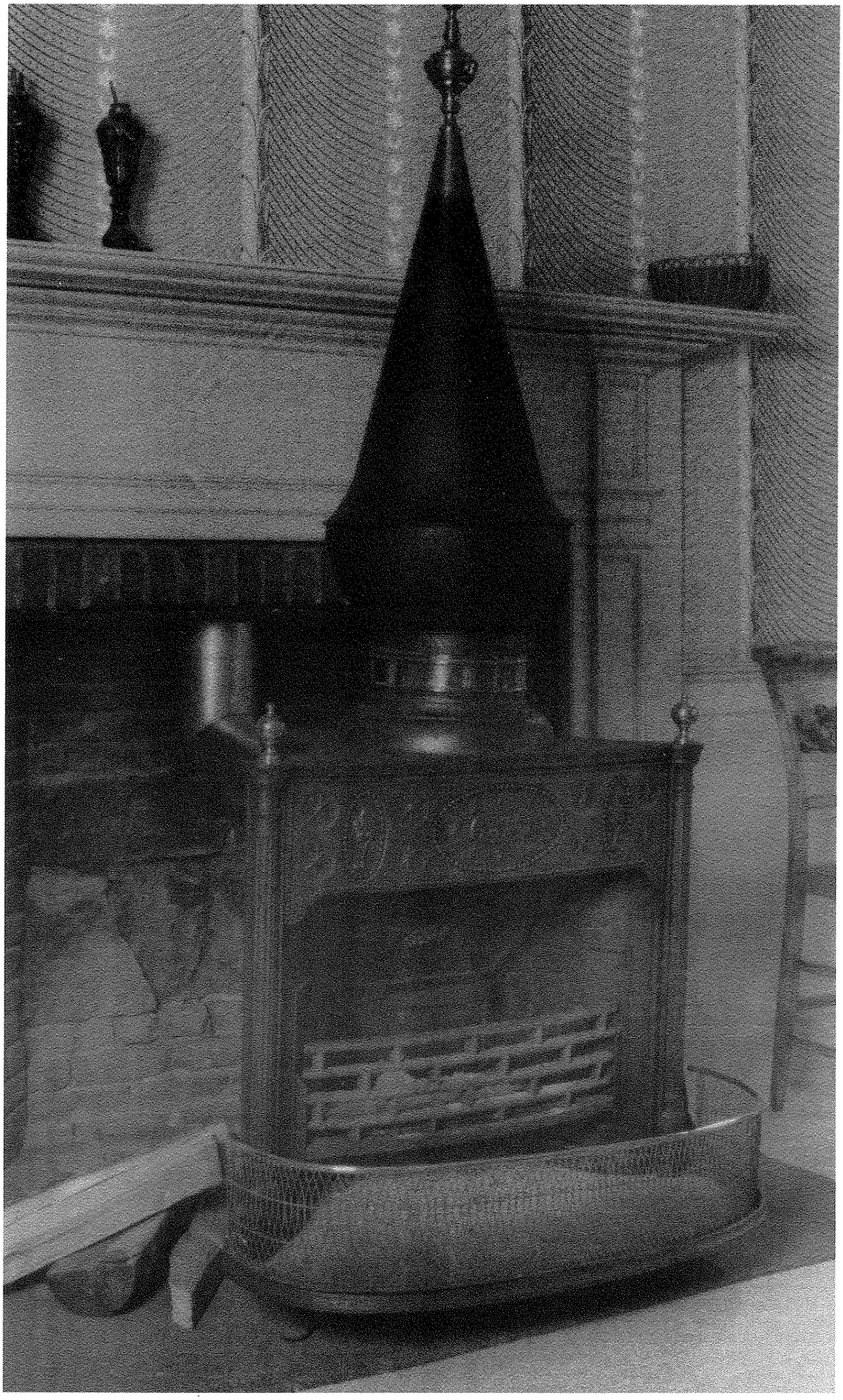


Fig. 4. Parlor Stove by William Wilson, Franklin Furnace, Greenfield, MA., about 1812. Cast iron and brass; H: 70 3/4", W: 32 3/8", D: 23 1/2". Courtesy, Historic Deerfield, Inc. Photography by Amanda Merullo. The cast iron fireplace patented by Wilson features a large, decorative heating cone mounted on the top. The stove was owned by the Billings family in Deerfield, MA.

Steel." He also bought metal stock in various dimensions, like "1 & 1/4 Inch Square" and "3/4 Inch Round [iron]" along with "Horse Nail Rods" and "Band Iron." On June 26, 1817, the order from Hartford included "229 lb Wide Rusia Sheet Iron...121 lbs Treble Rold American [sheet iron]...445 lbs Sheet Lead." In October Pierce sent for several boxes containing plates of tinned sheet iron. In August 1818, his order of $144 from Watkinson included 221 pounds of sheet brass. Two months later, Pierce turned to B. & J. Breed of Boston for several hundred pounds of sheet iron and tin plate as well as "102 lbs 10 oz Sheet Copper." The same day James May of Boston sold 47 1/2 pounds of iron wire to Pierce.[28]

These charges, including some of the tin and lead, may have fed the molds of Pierce, the pewterer. At the same time, the tinned sheet iron might have been cut and soldered by Pierce, the tinsmith, into pans and pales. But most of this material was not intended for the supper tables of his customers. They fed the ambition of Pierce, the businessman, who knew that tinned sheet iron with lead flashing was used for roofing in the Greenfield area by the mid-1810s. The lead was also fashioned into pipes to carry household spring water. The imported sheet iron and iron rods were assembled into heating stoves to compete with the heavy cast iron stoves of founders, like those of Pierce's neighbor William Wilson (d. 1868). (Fig. 4) Experimentation with these products led to American-made merchandise encouraged by war and tariff. Careful investment and salesmanship led to profits, and Pierce constructed a large brick commercial building at Greenfield's central intersection in 1817.[29] (Fig. 5)

From the customer's standpoint, it made no difference whether Pierce manufactured his wares or simply retailed them, so long as the price and quality were right. The shiny metal was enticing and useful either way, and Pierce turned to wholesalers to fill the shelves of his store. "Wm Colony's Load Greenfield May 8 1818" was just that: a load of new goods that Pierce could buy more cheaply than he could make himself. Tinware was Colony's main chance. Subtotaled with both wholesale and suggested retail prices were: large and small tin ovens, coffee pots, cups, sugar bowls, pales, pans, lanterns, candle boxes, colanders, graters, measures, canisters, scoops, dippers, tunnels [funnels], candlesticks, and tinder boxes. "6 Blow horns," and "40 Whistles" added to the clatter when they unloaded the wagon. In all, Colony delivered 526 items, plus unitemized "jappand ware" and old pewter, valued at $110.48.[30]

Shiny tinware, however, was not the only item on the shopping lists of Greenfield consumers. On October 30, 1818, Pierce bought from the Hartford firm of James Ward (1768-1856) and Roswell Bartholomew (1781-1830) six reeded oval stoves as well as decorative models illustrating *Hull's Victory, the Battle of New Orleans, and Commodore Decatur,* to name three. The total bill was $236.55. The same day, Pierce ordered from Ward and Bartholomew's competitor, Miles Beach (1742-1828), seven cooking stoves with fittings for $136.54.[31] Pierce's customers installed the stoves in their parlors and kitchens.

Like Pierce, who was far more than a pewterer, these men were all commercial chameleons. Miles Beach was trained as a silversmith and worked in Litchfield, Connecticut. He had moved

Fig. 5. Photograph, intersection of Main and Federal Streets, looking southeast, Greenfield, MA, about 1865. Courtesy, Historical Society of Greenfield. Samuel Pierce built and occupied the brick commercial building, visible just to the left of "S.ALLEN'S" store, near the corner of Greenfield's main intersection in 1817.

to Hartford by 1785 and entered into a partnership for three years with Isaac Sanford (d. 1842), who worked variously as an engraver, silversmith, miniature portrait painter, and inventor of wool shearing and hatter's tools. James Ward, originally from Guilford, Connecticut, was the son of silversmith Bilious Ward (1729-1777) of Middletown. He is another example of the hybridized tradesman/ merchant, who made and retailed a range of metalwares that reflect an exceptional mixture of trades traditionally believed to be separate.[32] When Ward opened a new shop in 1799 at the sign of he gilt teakettle, he advertised: "just received a few articles of Jewelry and Hardware in addition to many of his own manufacturing, amongst which are Gold and silver watches...gold and gilt finger and earrings...looking glasses, Japanned and tinware, Files and Rasps, Surveyors chains, crucibles, cast steel hand saws...Bar lead, Sheet iron, Andirons and shovels, tongs."[33] Three years later, Ward advertised that he still had available "his usual assortment of silver, copper and brass of his own manufacture warranted the best...many articles that are both shining and useful."[34] (Fig. 6) His acumen paid off more than his hand skills. When Ward died in 1856, his estate was appraised at over $100,000.[35]

The Pierces' business ultimately changed more than Samuel did. After the War of 1812, it evolved into a hardware store with only some tinware regularly produced on the premises by Pierce to join the retail goods. Neighbors like the cabinet and chaise maker Daniel Clay and the ornamental painter George Washington Mark (1795-1879) still purchased a steady stream of tinware, stove pipe, and solder during the 1820s.[36] Only a few items were brought in for mending. Pewter was rarely listed or sold – under three percent of total sales – because ceramics and tinware were more elegant and competitively priced.

Fig. 6. Tea Service by James Ward, Hartford, CT., about 1800. Silver. Teapot H: 7", Sugar Bowl H: 5 3/4", Cream Jug H: 6". Courtesy, Wadsworth Atheneum; Philip Hammerslough Collection. James Ward of Hartford made a prosperous livelihood from making and/or retailing a variety of metalwares, including both silver and copper.

In 1821, Samuel turned over the business to his son, John Joyce.[37] He was approaching sixty years of age and apparently wanted to focus on establishing his sons in their businesses while he was still vigorous. His capacity in the Pierce enterprise was still significant, as shown by his accounts with John Joyce. For one thing, Samuel had again returned to the bench. He took much of the old metal taken by John in trade, especially the pewter, and transformed it into new teapots and platters. He may have also retained shipping interests on the river. On May 22, 1821, John sold to his father a "Boat Stove $6." Otherwise, Samuel was debited to household goods and to John's charges for settling his father's accounts with customers who came into the store. The primary exchange between father and son, however, was sheet iron and stovepipe. Samuel continued to barter warmth to his Franklin County neighbors.[38]

In 1822, John Joyce's sales of general hardware (mostly iron or steel) equaled sixty-six percent of the total business of $1255. Stoves were popular. That year, John Joyce entered into a partnership with William Wilson in the foundry on the Green River.[39] Called the Franklin Furnace, they manufactured plows, stoves, and fireplace equipment. (See Fig. 4.) However, other kinds of wares were also available at the Pierce store. Sales and mending of tinware exceeded eleven percent. Non-metal household goods, like farm produce, leather, brooms, and bricks, equaled more than ten percent of sales. Pewter was only one-tenth of one percent.[40]

Three years later, in 1825, the total income was about the same, $1273, but John Joyce's business had become quite different. Sales of general hardware were at fifty-two percent, down almost fifteen percent. Mending, which was time consuming with little return, dropped dramatically to three percent. The sale and mending of tinware held constant at eleven percent. Pewter was just one percent. Lead, however, the filler material of poor quality pewter, played an increased role in the Pierces' work as Franklin County householders began to plumb their spring lines with lead pipe. But the sale of non-metal goods climbed more than twenty percent to thirty-two percent. The store was now an emporium of household goods and produce, some of which had been taken in trade or grown on the Pierce farm just a half-mile away.

The next year was a poor one. Sales of metal ware plummeted to thirty-six percent, and non-metal goods rose to sixty-two percent, perhaps because of the fire that destroyed several downtown buildings, including the shops and warehouses of Daniel Clay and Ambrose Ames.[41] By the mid-1830s, the percentages of types of sales had returned to the balance recorded in the early 1820s. Nevertheless, the business conceived by Samuel had changed dramatically over the years. The only unfettered link to the traditional life of the Danforth shop back in Middletown was John Joyce's occasional supply of accurate measures. On June 11, 1821, he charged Samuel W. Willard $4.50 and $2.39 "To Sett Copper Measures" and "Sealing Measures."[42]

Only after Samuel "retired" from the store did farming again dominate his life. In 1822 and 1823, he purchased over one hundred acres between Federal and High Streets, just northeast of the town's main

Fig. 7. Detail, *View of Greenfield, Mass.* by O.H. Bailey & Company, Boston, 1877. Colored lithograph. H: 26", W: 31 3/4" (frame). Courtesy, Historic Deerfield; gift of Mrs. John N. Houpis and John N. Houpis, Jr. The intersection of Greenfield's Main and Federal Streets is at the lower left. The Pierce Block, which Samuel built in 1817, is just right of the numeral "18." The Pierces' farm occupied the open land up Federal Street to the right of the view.

intersection. Other purchases of land followed.[43] (Fig. 7) Even so, metalware remained an option if the economics were right or if his sons needed a hand, as shown by Pierce's extensive "Journal of Worke & Weather from April 9th 1828." The book, which Samuel kept until 1836, charts the careful balance of family labor between farm, shop, and store and the final swing of the whitesmith's trade solely to retail sales in the general stores of rural New England.

During the late 1820s, with the farm well established, Pierce found himself once again at the bench, making pewter for the wholesale trade. Oddly, the mix of simultaneous tasks recorded by Pierce in his journal assumes an eighteenth-century air in an era when we tend to think that industrialization had assured specialized labor throughout the year. At this late point in his career, Pierce worked with metal and directed the farm chores undertaken by his family and hired hands just a five-minute walk from Greenfield's main intersection. For example, Pierce wrote on April 14, 1828, "Fited [sic] tea pots for Turning. Henry [Pierce] drawd Dung & Stone."[44] Ironically, the best accounts of the traditional work of the pewterer come only at this late date in Pierce's journal, forty years after his apprenticeship.

Samuel's descriptions are important for their roots in the traditional cycle of the acquisition of raw material, manufacture of finished products, and their distribution. Pierce must have first experienced these procedures in the Danforth shop. In any event, a supply of metal from outside sources, as always, was essential. On April 9, 1828, Samuel began the journal "of Work & Weather" by writing "J.J. & G.[eorge] Pierce Bot of C. Clark of Northampton 198 lbs 3oz of Spanish tin at 16 1/2 Cent." On the following day, Pierce "melted down & prepared for Casting." There were forty teapots in the batch. On the 11th, he "began to Cast Lids & Bottoms." On the 14th, Samuel "Fited ten pots for Turning" and the next day "Went down to the Turning Lathe first & turnd 7 Leads [lids]." On the 16th he "Turnd 40 tea pot Lids Large Size." The turning or skimming on the lathe continued until the 19th. The following Monday morning, the 21rst, Pierce began to assemble them, "Put on 40 Bottoms & Cast 30 B tops." Over the next forty-eight hours, he turned twenty more teapot bodies "at Mill," which was about a mile from the Pierce farm. The raw material was still expensive, or at least memory of its value years before was sharp, and Samuel saved each bit as part of the routine. On the 24th he "Melted down Shaveing & Tackt ten pots together." The next day assembly began in earnest: "Soldered teapots together." On Saturday Pierce had some help when he "Turnd tea pots. Taner [hired boy] turnd wheel." On Monday the 28th detailed assembly continued. Pierce "Board holes fited Handles & Spouts put on 40 spouts." Soldering and cleaning filled the remainder of the week. On Saturday Pierce "Soderd tea pots & wiped of[fl finishd & put them upon shelf." (Fig. 8)

Fig. 8. Teapot, Teapot Parts, and Molds by Samuel Pierce, Greenfield, early nineteenth-century. Pewter, soapstone, brass. Teapot H: 7", W: 8 1/2" with spout and handle, D: 5 1/2". Historic Deerfield, Inc.; gift of Ledlie I. Laughlin. Pierce cast and assembled his teapots from about a dozen components, some of which have survived as scraps along with the molds that made them. At the top is the soapstone mold for the finial; at the lower right is the small bronze mold for the ferrule that secures the lower end of the handle.

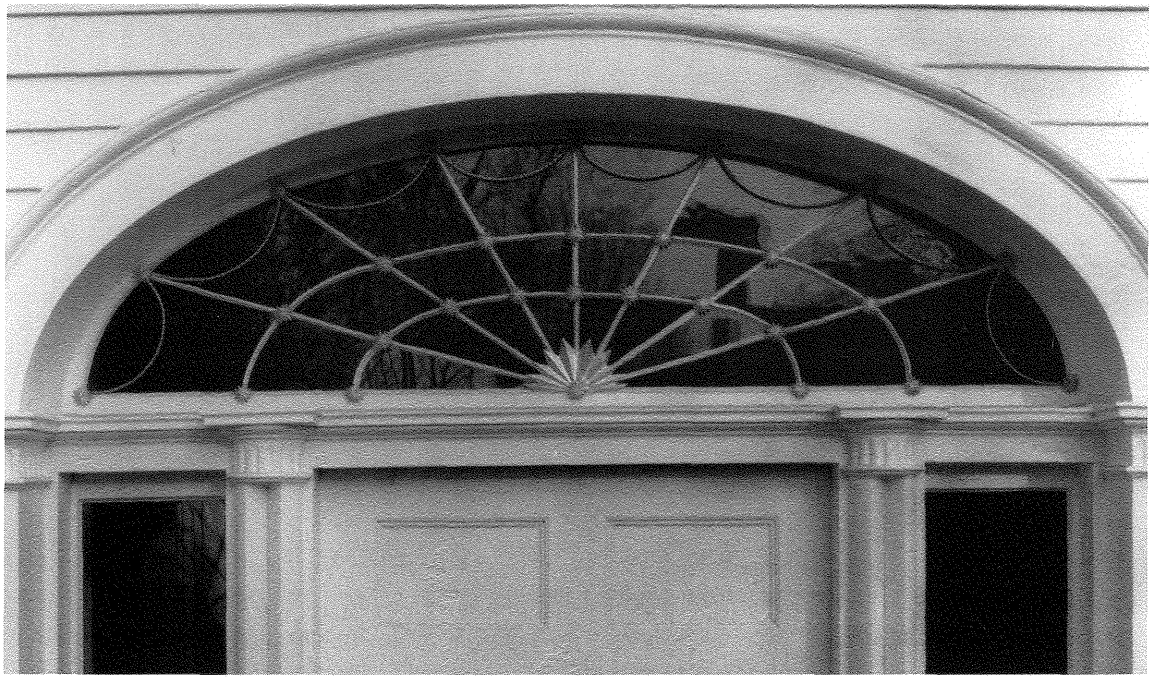


Fig. 9. Fanlight, Hinsdale and Anna Williams House, Deerfield, MA., about 1816. Glass, white pine, and lead. H: 22 1/2". Photography by Amanda Merullo. Although written documentation has not survived, the beaded, lead swags and gilded rosettes that ornament the neoclassical doorway of the Williams House match the wooden molds found among Pierce's tools. Pierce and the Williams family lived three miles apart.

That day his son Henry "Started for Hartford with Waggon" apparently with "teapots 40 Large 56 Small." The following Monday, May 4th, the process started again with the purchase of more tin, and Pierce "Melted down & prepard f[or] Casting Inglish & Spanish tin into teapots." This time the batch was much larger. The next day he "Cast 12 doz teapot Lids." Their casting, assembly, and cleaning took several days, and each step was repetitive to the point of tedium. On June 14, for example, Samuel spent all day "Put[ing] on Joints [hinges] to tea pot Lids." He did not finish fitting teapot handles on this batch until July 3. Then on the 7th he squeezed in a small order: "Cast platters & plat[e]s."[45] Finally, on July 11th Samuel "finisht & Jappand 327 teapot handles," none too soon since the rest of the family was working hard with the first cutting of hay.

Farming became the full-time concern now, although Pierce accepted a couple of special commissions. His experience with lead made him a skilled glazier, and on August 19th he "Finished Newton fanlight 127 3/4." The pie shaped pieces of glass may have been highlighted with gilt beaded muntins, swags, and rosettes. He apparently did similar work in Deerfield for Hinsdale Williams (1761-1838) about 1816 and for his neighbor, Asa Stebbins, Jr. (1800-1864), eight years later. The wooden molds for rosettes and beading that match the work on these Deerfield fanlights survive among the Pierce tools. (Figs. 9, 10)

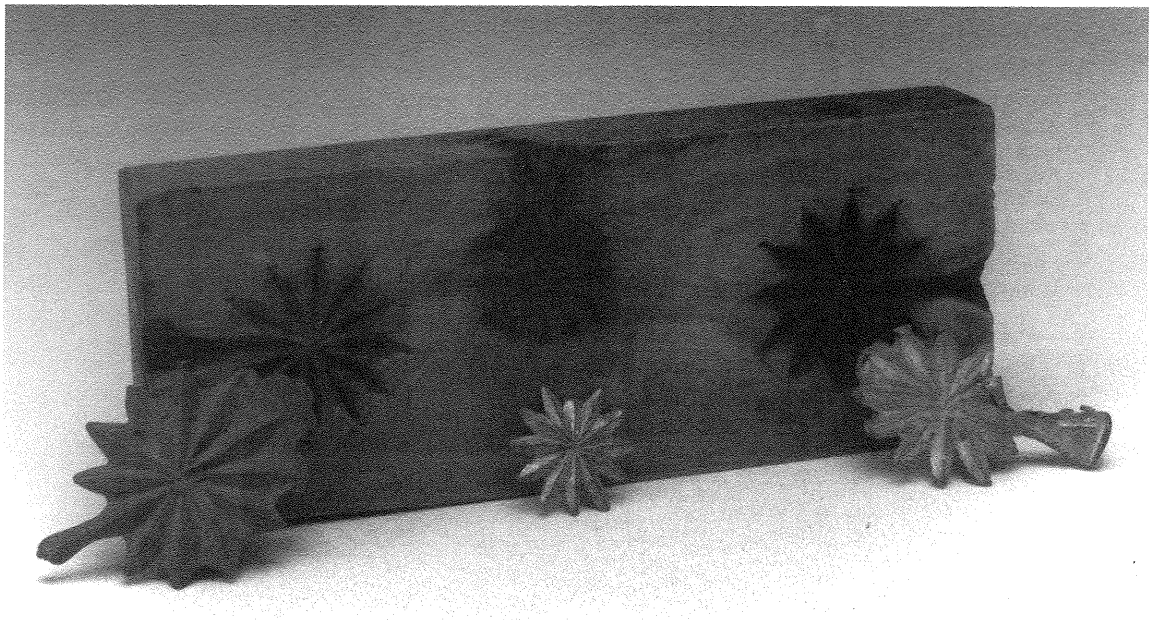


Fig. 10. Mold and Castings by Samuel Pierce, Greenfield, MA., before 1816. White pine and lead. Mold H: 1", W: 7 1/4", D: 3"; Diam. large rosette: 1 1/2"; diam. small rosette: 1". Historic Deerfield, Inc. gift of Ledlie I. Laughlin. Pierce carved a small pine board to cast lead rosettes in two sizes. They were gilded or painted to serve as architectural ornament.

A different kind of labor defined Pierce's working life during the autumn of 1828. Samuel's skill as a whitesmith made him valuable to local manufacturers whose equipment repair was not the sole province of blacksmiths. On September 19th he "went to the factrey with a stop cock for [John] Russell wt 46 lbs." On October 8th he was back at "the Factorey with Rusel to Solder Steme pipe."[46] Most of the autumn, however, saw Pierce at work with lead in an expanded way as local householders replaced the wooden pipes from their springs with modern pipe. Samuel Pierce, the whitesmith, became a plumber. On October 18, Pierce "formd Lead 100 peces for factory. Samuel [Jr.] sodered them." The next day he "formd Lead Pipe 58 pieces & put some together for Col Leavit 42." On Wednesday, he "formed 127 peces of pipe for Russell. Sml Sodered them." On Saturday, while the hired help "Cut & got in Broom corn," "John and Samuel Laid pipe for Russell." While the orders for lead pipe came from miles around, boyhood memories of Middletown filled Samuel's mind late that fall. On Monday October 20th, he wrote, "Brother Stephen at Middletown Departed this Life & Buried on Wednesday Age 73."

Cold weather also made people think of the Pierces. On November 18, 1828, "G[eorge] & H[enry] went to Northampton after a Load of Stoves With 4 Horses. [I] formd Lead pipe & made 2 Eves for Evespout Russell Facktory burnt at fall river 11 0 Clock at Night."[47] While winter approached, the Pierces worked on a major commission to lay pipe under the street for the town of Greenfield. With the

spring, the cycle of agriculture and metalwork began again. On April 10, "Saml Cast tea pot Lids for the first time."[48] Quality control was always a concern. On October 16th, Pierce "went to Factory to start the water & found a sodering rod in pipe."

The 1832 census of manufactures shows how John Joyce's business had changed from Samuel's day and how it compared to other local businesses.[49] The enterprise was appraised at $2000: $1500 for the real estate and buildings, $200 for the tools and machinery and $300 for the finished stock on hand. The Pierce company ranked fourth in town after the successful Greenfield Manufacturing Company, a textile mill with $35,000 worth of stock on hand. At a distant second was Martin Smith's gun factory appraised in total at $3800, followed by William Wilson's iron furnace valued at $3500. John Joyce noted that the only native product used in his business was lead valued at $300 annually which he "purchased at Hartford & N.Y. generally." Foreign imports were another matter, and Pierce purchased tin plate [tinned sheet iron], sheet iron, wire, and block [pure] tin appraised at $815. He produced wares of tin and sheet iron valued annually at $2500, but they were "so connected as not to be easily distinguished in quantity." Pierce employed two men over sixteen years of age, but no women or boys. His sales were limited to Franklin County.

In April 1832, John Joyce and his father settled their account in full, and as the months passed the elder Pierce took on less metalwork.[50] His teapots could not compete in the marketplace with the Britannia produced in quantity by large firms. Pierce's sons were now established in metalworking. John Joyce was successful. George had established a business in Northampton. Henry had died in 1830. Hubbard, who was at home and rarely mentioned in the diaries, died in 1833. Samuel, Jr., worked for and with his brothers and eventually went west.

Pierce directed the farm and performed occasional work for John Joyce when commissions for lead pipe outstripped the time available to his son and hired men to make it. In 1836, Samuel and Anne entered retirement. On April 5, he "Movd into the Gates House at $20 D Pr Year" and rented out other property, including "my Chamber over Furnice Store to Mr Abby for fifty dollars pr year."[51] Pierce died on March 25, 1840, aged 73, and was remembered for the range of his business interests: "Mr. Pierce built the Pierce block, was [a] first class businessman, engaged largely in boating, and carried on a coppersmithing and tinning business. He manufactured lead pipe, pewter ware, block tin, teapots and was a skilled mechanic."[52]

Economics rather than craft traditions defined the lives of tradesmen in Federal America. Politics and industrialization redirected the training and dreams of eighteenth-century apprentices once out on their own. When patrons went to Main Street, their parting words must have been, "I am off to see Mr. Pierce" rather than "I am off to see the pewterer." Pierce's biography, tools, pewter, and ledgers reveal the life of a whitesmith, who – as his obituary confirms – worked with several base metals and alloys rather than just one and who was compelled by the economy and technology of the times to manipulate his skills in order to expand business. Samuel Pierce was himself an alloy of abilities, knowledge, and influences that reflect the history of his trade. He became amalgamated into the kind of businessman who characterized New England towns during the nineteenth century and who became a cog in the industrialization of America.

Endnotes

1. This article is an abridged chapter from the author's forthcoming book on the trade of the whitesmith in early New England. The author gratefully acknowledges a 1994 research grant from the Pewter Collectors' Club of America.

2. The ledgers are difficult to follow because several family members used them. The books record Samuel Pierce's shipping business on the Connecticut River; his accounts with wholesalers who supplied tools and metal; his journal of 1828 to 1836; the farm diary of his grandson, Henry H. Pierce (1834-1883) between 1845 to 1847; the extensive ledgers of his son and occasional partner, John Joyce Pierce (1793-1878) for the 1820s; the account book of Pierce and Johnson [Samuel, Jr. (b. 1812)] for 1834 and 1835; and the day book of Samuel's son, George Pierce (1804-1878) of 1852 to 1855. More specifically, BOOK 1: brief account book of Samuel Pierce and his partner Ambrose Ames recording their shipping on the Connecticut River, 1799. BOOK 2: brief day book of Samuel Pierce regarding lumber and the oil mill business, March 17, 1800-February 6, 1801; day book entries for shipping, July 11, 1811-April 6, 1812; and Pierce's diary, April 1, 1828-March 7, 1830. BOOK 3: day book of Samuel Pierce & Son [John Joyce Pierce] with sparse entries, 1815-1819, including accounts for constructing a large building in 1817 [Pierce Block]; accounts with wholesalers, 1814-1818; Samuel Pierce's diary, March 8, 1830-March 22, 1833, and the farm diary of Henry H. Pierce, March 1845-December 1847. BOOK 4: brief day book of Samuel Pierce, April-October 1821, agricultural accounts with Spencer Root, 1829, and Pierce's diary, April 1, 1833-August 8, 1836. BOOK 5: account book of Samuel's son, John Joyce Pierce, containing coded references to other ledgers, 1816-1824. BOOK 6: extensive day book of John Joyce Pierce, 1821-1830. BOOK 7: the corresponding account book of John Joyce Pierce, 1821-1826. BOOK 8: account book of the brief partnership of Pierce [Samuel, Jr.] & Johnson, 1834-1835. BOOK 9: bound index to account book of Pierce & Johnson, March 1, 1835. BOOK 10: extensive day book of Samuel's son, George Pierce, September 13, 1852-March 27, 1855.

3. Barbara McClean Ward, "Metalwares," in *The Great River: Art & Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635-1820,* eds. Gerald W.R. Ward and William N. Hosley, Jr. (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985), p. 276.

4. The sea chest and tools owned by Samuel Pierce are in the collection of Historic Deerfield, Inc., the gift of Ledlie I. Laughlin. See Julia D. Sophronia Snow, "Samuel Pierce, Pewterer, and His Tools," *The Magazine Antiques* 11, no. 2 (February 1927): 124-128. The collection of small tools is relatively complete. The major gaps are the loss of Pierce's large hinged molds and lathe.

5. For comparative studies of seasonality and the social history of craftsmanship in the careers of woodworkers and clockmakers, see Edward S. Cooke, Jr., *Making Furniture in Pre-Industrial America: The Social Economy of Newtown and Woodbury, Connecticut* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Philip Zea, "Rural Craftsmen and Design," in Brock Jobe and Myrna Kaye, *New England Furniture, The Colonial Era*

(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), pp. 47-72; Philip Zea, "Clockmaking and Society at the River and the Bay: Jedidiah and Jabez Baldwin, 1790-1820," *The Bay and the River*: 1600-1900, ed. Peter Benes, 1981. Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife (Boston: Boston University Press, 1982), pp. 43-59.

6. Winifred B. Rothenberg, *From Market-Places to a Market Economy: The Transformation of Rural Massachusetts, 1750-1850* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 79-147. See also Winifred B. Rothenberg, "The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750-1855," *Journal of Economic History* 41, no. 2 (1981): 283-314, and "The Emergence of a Capital Market in Rural Massachusetts, 1730-1838," *Journal of Economic History* 45, no. 4 (1985): 781-808.

7. Gerald F. Reid, "Dependence to Development: A World Systems Analysis of Elite Formation in Greenfield, Massachusetts, 1770s-1850s" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1987), pp. 107-110.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-118.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138; Margaret E. Martin, "Merchants and Trade of the Connecticut River Valley, 1750-1820," *Smith College Studies in History* 24, nos. 1-4 (1939): 8, 199-200; W.R. Waterman, "Locks and Canals at the White River Falls," *Historical New Hampshire* 22, no. 3 (Autumn 1967): 22-54; Francis M. Thompson, *History of Greenfield, Shire Town of Franklin County Massachusetts,* 2 vols. (Greenfield, Massachusetts: For the author, 1904), 1:518-519. See also, W. DeLoss Love, *The Navigation of the Connecticut River* (Worcester, Massachusetts: 1903). These improvements were expensive and achieved initially by the involvement of Dutch investors.

10. Richard L. Pierce, "[Genealogy of] Stephen Pierce of Middletown, Conn," unpublished typescript on file at the Historical Society of Greenfield (Massachusetts), 1989, pp. 2-3. Samuel's mother died a few days later, and his eldest brother, Stephen, Jr., was appointed his guardian. The author appreciates the help of Will Garrison in bringing this typescript to his attention.

11. Ebenezer Southmayd (1775-1831) was another Middletown boy who headed north to the western Vermont town of Castleton where he worked between 1802 and 1820. See John Carl Thomas, *Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers* (Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1976), p. 176.

12. For discussions of Joseph Danforth, Sr., and Samuel Pierce, see Thomas, pp. 86-90, 173-176, and *The Great River,* pp. 314-315. The author thanks Mrs. Marion Deming for access to her research notes on the life of Samuel Pierce. *Vital Records of Greenfield Massachusetts to the Year 1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1915), pp. 96-97.

13. *The Great River,* p. 252; Dean A. Fales, Jr., *The Furniture of Historic Deerfield* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1976), pp. 4, 88, 90, 124, 133, 186, 196-197, 222, 266-267.

14. Reid, p. 241; Thompson, 1:504-505, 510, 558. By 1811, five warehouses had been built near the landing at Cheapside.

15. Reid, pp. 219-227.

16. Diary, Reverend Roger Newton, Greenfield, 1762-1812, as quoted in Thompson, 2:720.

17. Reid, p. 229; Thompson, 1:634.

18. Reid, p. 232; Thompson, 2:845.

19. *Ibid.*, 2: 893-996, 974. Pierce's residence at this time stood north of Clay's cabinet shop on the east side of Federal Street just north of its intersection with Main Street.

20. *Ibid.*, 1:508.

21. Reid, p. 233.

22. *Vital Records of Greenfield,* pp. 96-97, 279-280; Thompson, 2:742-744.

23. Thompson, 2:973.

24. Daybook entries [Book 2], Samuel Pierce & Son, Greenfield, Massachusetts, 1811-1812, *passim.*

25. Reid, pp. 233, 350.

26. Pierce, pp. 17-18.

27. Daybook entries [Book 3], Samuel Pierce & Son, 1814, n.p.

28. Account Book entries [Book 3], Samuel Pierce & Son, 1816-1818, n.p.

29. Account Book entries [Book 3], Samuel Pierce & Son, 1817. The author appreciates the information provided by Peter Miller about the Pierce Block.

30. Account Book entries [Book 3], Samuel Pierce & Son, 1818, n.p.

31. Account Book entries [Book 3], Samuel Pierce & Son, 1818, n.p.

32. James Ward and Roswell Bartholomew were both trained as silversmiths. The former had apprenticed with Miles Beach and become his partner between 1790 and 1797; the latter probably trained with them both. *The Great River,* pp. 296-297, 321-323; Henry N. Fynt and Martha Gandy Fales, *The Heritage Foundation Collection of Silver* (Deerfield, Massachusetts: The Heritage Foundation [Historic Deerfield], 1968), pp. 153-555, 318-319, 349-350; Peter Bohan and Philip Hammersiough, *Early Connecticut Silver,* 1700-1840 (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1970), pp. 125-127, 158-171.

33. *Connecticut Courant* [Hartford], July 15, 1799.

34. *Ibid.*, May 24, 1802. A copper hotwater kettle bearing Ward's mark is in the collection of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut. See *The Great River,* pp. 322-323.

35. Estate papers, James Ward, Hartford, 1856, Hartford District, no number. Connecticut State Library.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 54.

37. *Franklin Herald* [Greenfield], April 24, 1821. "The copartnership heretofore existing of Samuel Pierce and Son, is by mutual consent dissolved. All persons indebted to said firm, are requested to make immediate payment." See also Thompson, 2:855-856.

38. Account Book [Book 7], John J. Pierce, Greenfield, Massachusetts, 1821-1826. pp. 31, 207, 326.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

40. These figures are derived from the student research of Ross Levett, in "Samuel Pierce: A Study through Related Account Books," 1967 Historic Deerfield Summer Fellowship Paper, on file at the Henry N. Flynt Memorial Libraries, Deerfield, Massachusetts, pp. 25-26, 28.

41. Thompson, 1:315.

42. Account Book [Book 7], John J. Pierce, 1821-1826. p. 48.

43. In 1830, Pierce purchased another thirty-seven acres west of Federal Street. John Joyce purchased 122 acres more in 1836. Franklin County Registry of Deeds, Franklin County Courthouse, Greenfield, Massachusetts.; Thompson, 2:681-682, 1169-1170. Mary P. Wells Smith (1840-1930), author of *The Boy Captive of Old Deerfield,* remembered that: "For years my father's house on Davis street, three doors above Pleasant, stood at the end of the street, with nothing north but the Pierce farm. From my apple tree seat in the garden I gazed over the peaceful green fields and groves to the blue Leyden hills beyond, or watched old Mr. Pierce, John and Charles, getting in big loads of hay from land now covered by streets and houses."

44. Journal [Book 2], Samuel Pierce, Greenfield, 1828-1830, n.p. Referenced in text by date.

45. Pierce's terminology is important. The platters were probably what pewter collectors today call dishes, which exceed 10" in diameter. With the help of Carl Jacob's, *Guide to American Pewter* (New York: The McBride Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 145-146, Pierce's surviving pewter shows that he made dishes of 11 1/4", 12 3/16", and 13 1/4" in diameter; deep dishes of 13"; plates of 6" and 8"; basins of 8"; porringers of 4" and 5 1/4"; baptismal bowls; silhouette frames of 2 1/2"; beakers 3 5/8" – 4" in height; pint and quart

mugs; and both inverted mold teapots and late, pear-shaped teapots. Jacobs also lists open salts. The author appreciates the help of Garland Pass in confirming this list of forms known to have been made by Samuel Pierce.

46. Thompson, 2:852-853.

47. Thompson, 1:636; Martha Van Hoesen Taber, "A History of the Cutlery Industry in the Connecticut Valley," *Smith College Studies in History* 41 (1955): 13-24; Robert L. Merriam, Richard A. Davis, Jr., David S. Brown, and Michael E. Buerger, *A History of the John Russell Cutlery Company, 1833-1936* (Greenfield, Massachusetts: Bete Press, 1976), pp. 2-12. John Russell III (1797-1874) began the Russell Cutlery, making chisels and knives, about 1833.

48. Marion and Oliver Deming, "Samuel Pierce, Jr., and the Small Eagle Die," *The Magazine Antiques* 62, no. 1 (July 1957): pp. 44-46. In 1833, Samuel, Jr., entered into partnership for three months with George W. Johnson in the tinware business. He then formally joined his brother, John Joyce. In 1835, John rekindled his partnership with the iron founder William Wilson, and Samuel, Jr., continued alone. Five years later he sold his tools and stock to their brother, George. After another brief partnership with John in 1844, Samuel, Jr., and their sister Phebe moved west, eventually to Iowa.

49. *Documents Relative to the Manufactures in the United States*, 2 vols. (Washington: Duff Green, 1833), pp. 278-279.

50. Account Book [Book 7], John Joyce Pierce. p. 207.

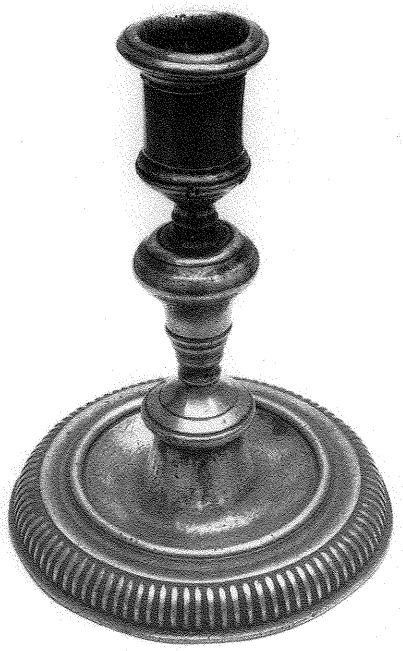
51. Journal [Book 4], Samuel Pierce, Greenfield, Massachusetts., 1833-1836.

52. Thompson, 2:843; *Greenfield Gazette and Mercury*, March 31, 1840.

An Early Candlestick

by Alex Neish

A fine and rare candlestick with a circular gadrooned base c 1690 by Hugh Quick of London (OP 5872a) recently acquired for the Neish Collection at Stratford-on-Avon's Harvard House Museum of British Pewter. It joins another pair of candlesticks by the same maker with octagonal gadrooned bases already in the Collection.



Italy, At Last!

by Andrew F. Turano

The P.C.C.A. is ever evolving into an international pewter society, broadening the knowledge of its members by publishing newly discovered forms from countries heretofore ignored. Following this path of knowledge sometimes involves sacrificing form and craft for the sake of science, alas.

I recently acquired this authentic but not very attractive measure, thinking it was Spanish in origin from what little I could read on the body. Since it was functioning as a pencil holder for the shop, there was no hesitancy on the part of the shop owner to part with it reasonably. On cleaning, however, a whole set of new marks and words were revealed that show it is of Italian, not Spanish origin. As pictured, the capacity is "Doppio Decilitro", or double tenth of a liter. Incised across the body is the word CAMPIONE, which means sample or standard. Surrounding the body below the lip are numerous intaglio verification marks, consisting of a double set of two numbers separated by a dash. One of the marks consists of a (?) crown above the number 203, another, the arms of the House of Savoy, whose dynasty ruled various States in Italy during the 19th C. Italy adopted the metric system around 1840.

Italian pewter appears to be almost as rare as Spanish pewter. Three references mention it and illustrate a few pieces: 1. Vanessa Brett, *Phaidon Guide to Pewter*, Phaidon Press Ltd., 1981, Oxford, England, pp. 136-138; 2. Anthony North, *Pewter at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, V& A Publications, 1999, London, pp. 70 & 71; 3. Peter R. G. Hornsby, *Pewter of the Western World, 1600-1850*, Schiffer, 1983, Exton, PA, pp. 51, 53, 189, & 238. None of these references illustrate a measure. This may well be the first publication of an Italian measure, at least in English.

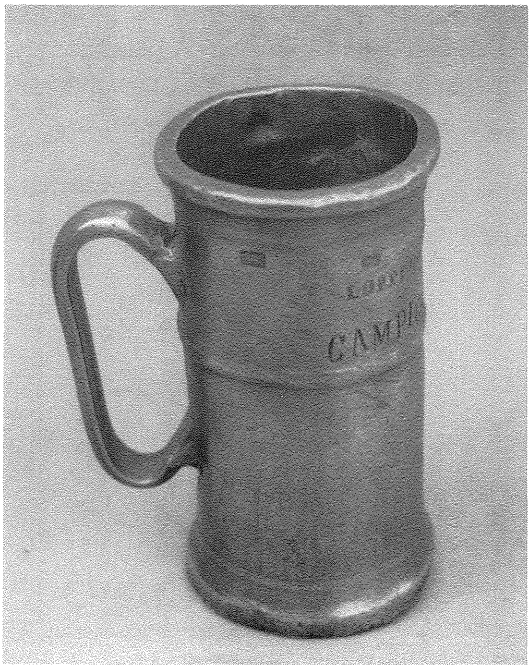


Fig. 1. A newly discovered Italian measure with double tenth of a liter capacity. Height 4 3/8", O.D. top & bottom 2 3/8", I.D. 2".

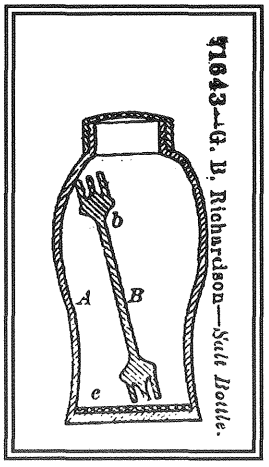
Fig. 2. Close-up of the measure showing capacity designation and verification marks.

A George B. Richardson Discovery

by Andrew F. Turano

After the renowned George (B.) Richardson died in 1848, two of his sons have been listed as significant britannia ware manufacturers or workers both in Providence and Boston. They were George Bernard Richardson, 1819 - 1890 and Francis B. Richardson, 1822 - 1914. Both were born in Boston. As Richard L. Bowen, Jr. in his article on the "G. Richardson Problem" (P.C.C.A. Bulletin #77, Vol. 7) revealed, it is likely that George B. may have continued his father's business using the same dies for a period of time after 1848 in Providence. Both George and Francis left Providence in 1853. From there they appear in Boston in the same year, but not until 1856 are they listed as britannia ware manufacturers. In 1860, G. B. is listed separately in this occupation in the Boston Directory, living at 4 Napier St. George returned to Providence from 1860-61 in the same listed occupation, but he then moved back to Boston during the period from 1862 to 1879 when he last is listed as having been "removed to Providence". George B. and Francis have working addresses listed in Boston that are, in the period from 1862 past 1868 identical to those of Morey & Smith, and one can readily assume that they were employed there. Richard Bowen conjectured that the affiliation of the brothers with Morey & Smith was an effort to compete with the new era of consolidation by individual workers into larger companies, i.e. the Meriden Britannia Co. which was considered a competitive threat.

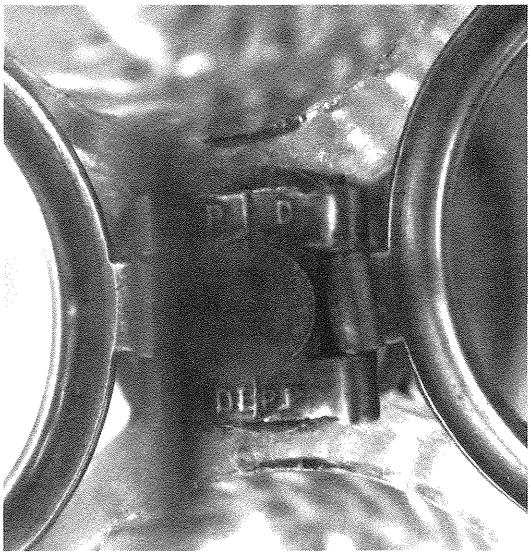
However, I was recently given the opportunity to examine a trade card from the Meriden Britannia Co., which featured a patent, issued on Dec. 3, 1867 by a George B. Richardson that consisted of a "salt bottle" with a star shaped insert that would assist in keeping the salt from clumping up in the bottle. They were called "Star Salts". Was this the George B. of Boston who was employed in 1867 by Morey & Smith? Listed in the Patent Office report, Vol. 4, p. 1275 was, indeed, patent #71643 with the near identical patent picture and date of issue to one G. B. Richardson of Boston. A photocopy of the patent is illustrated, as well as the trade card, acquired by Robert E. Leach.



A New Form in Pewter Condiments

by Andrew F. Turano

I recently acquired an interesting pewter double salt or salt and pepper of ingenious design. Upon a frame the size of a miniature castor set, but with a wider base that is weighed inside the peak with plaster and horse hair, is a double cup of molded glass in the "swirl" pattern. The glass is joined at the center, surrounds the stem and is perforated so that it swivels a full 360 degrees. Above the two glass cups are, fixed to the stem, a strut with two hinges that hold two glass tops incorporated in pewter bezels. The glass tops hinge upwards. On the strut between the hinges are two cast marks: on one side, the letters P D and DEPP on the other. It is 5 5/8" H. and 6" W. The metal is cast pewter. Illustration of the pieces and its marks are presented.



A Father's Love

by Terry Ashley

Today we live in an age where the most mundane of our personal financial transactions are routinely recorded by computers. The handling of currency and coins has become a nuisance.We think of this as being modern, yet this country operated as a cash-less society over 300 years ago. The fact is that the early colonists were so poor that hard cash was a scarce item, reserved for paying rates (taxes and tithes) and for important purchases. It is worth noting that the term "important" derives from the verb "import".

In a barter society is was essential to keep an account book of dealings with others. The details of every commodity, personal service, debt or repayment in kind were routinely valued (in pounds, shillings and pence) and recorded in the book. Only a handful of these personal account books have come down to us. They are among our richest primary sources for the study of our early history.

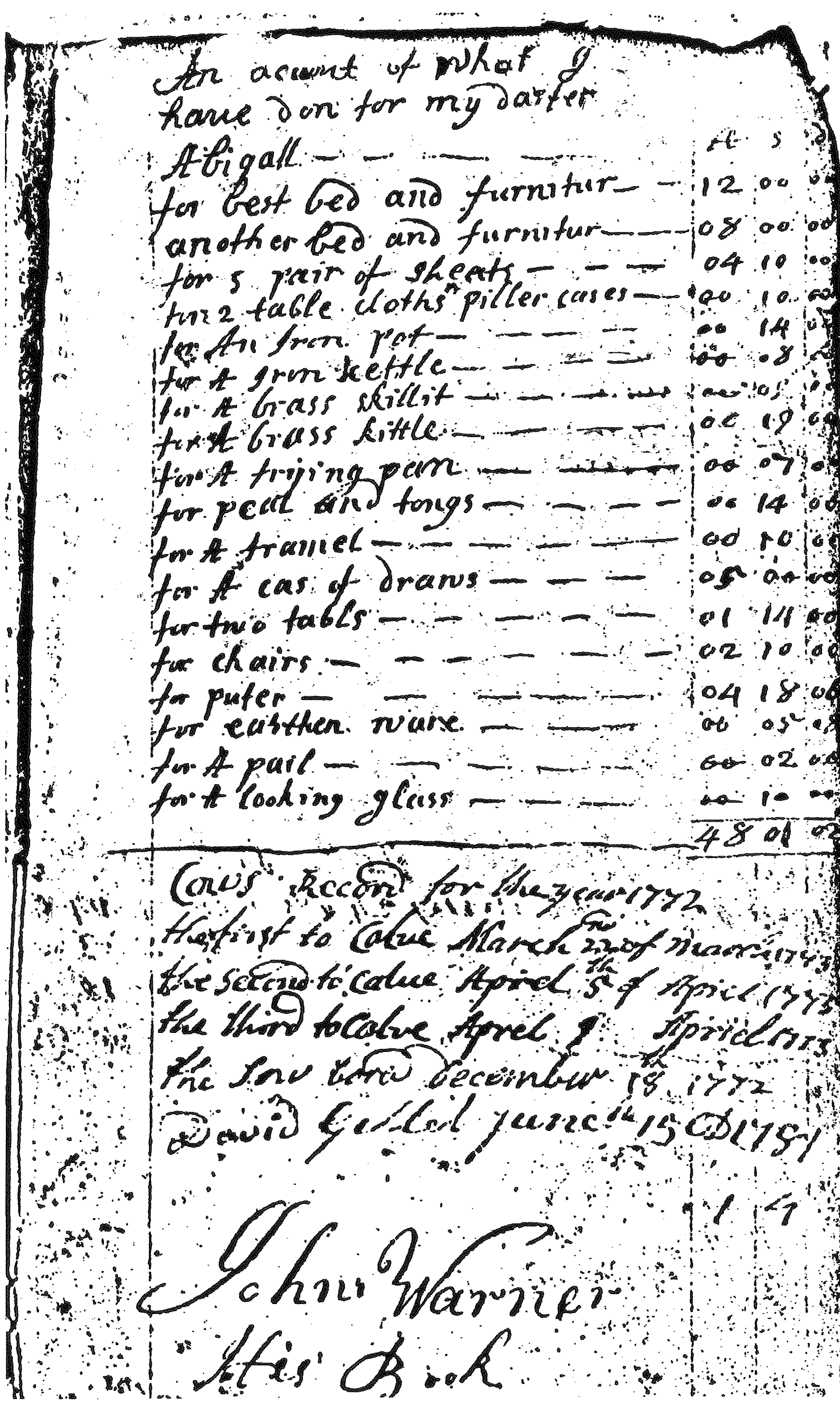
One of these rare survivals documents the adult life of John Warner from 1698 until his death in 1743. John Warner worked as a weaver, farmer, fisherman and gravedigger in the Connecticut village of Middletown Upper Houses (present day Cromwell). As such, he had intimate dealings with every member of the community. The John Warner account book details these relationships in over one hundred accounts, as well as recording details of his personal life.

On a page dated July 4, 1735 and headed "An Account of What I have Done for my Daughter Abigall", John Warner lists for us the dowry provided for his only female child to set-up housekeeping. No slave to sentiment, John Warner left the price tags on everything. Of special interest to us is a singular entry reading:

For Puter - - - - - 4 L 18 S 06 P

This was a considerable outlay and most certainly represents the purchase of a complete service, possibly a full garnish. It was probably imported from London and paid for in hard cash. To put this amount into perspective, the same value would have secured 197 bushels of "turnops", or 110 yards of cloth, or the digging of 100 graves, or the hiring of a horse for 98 days, or 118 days of labor for pit sawing wooden planks. This was a significant purchase.

It would be another 20 years before Middletown would become a center of pewter making in Southern New England. As if to tantalize us further, we find John Warner conducting regular dealings with families named Whitmore, Porter, Hamlin, Johnson, Frary, Sage and Wilcox. His love for his daughter and his generosity combined with his habitual valuing and recording of every detail os his life has provided us a small but important detail of the past. As with the case of the Henry Will Account Book, we have another rare glimpse back into our early history.



An acount of what I have don for my darter

Abigall	£	s	d
for best bed and furnitur	12	00	00
another bed and furnitur	08	00	00
for 5 pair of sheets	04	10	00
for 2 table cloths & piller cases	00	10	00
for An iron pot	00	14	00
for A grin kettle	00	08	00
for A brass skillit	00	05	00
for A brass kittle	00	19	00
for A frying pan	00	07	00
for peel and tongs	00	14	00
for A tramel	00	10	00
for A cas of draws	05	00	00
for two tabls	01	14	00
for chairs	02	10	00
for puter	04	18	00
for earthen ware	00	05	00
for A pail	00	02	00
for A looking glass	00	10	00
	48	01	00

Cows Reccond for the year 1772
the first to Calve March 22 of March 1773
the Second to Calve April 5th of April 1773
the third to Calve April 9 April 1773
the Sow bore December 18 1772
David Gilled june the 15 [illegible]

1 4

John Warner His Book

Fig. 1. A page from John Warner's account book dated July 4, 1735.

References

1. The John Warner Account Book, No. C881W, Accession 116284 Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

2. Middletown Tribune, March 4, 1904.

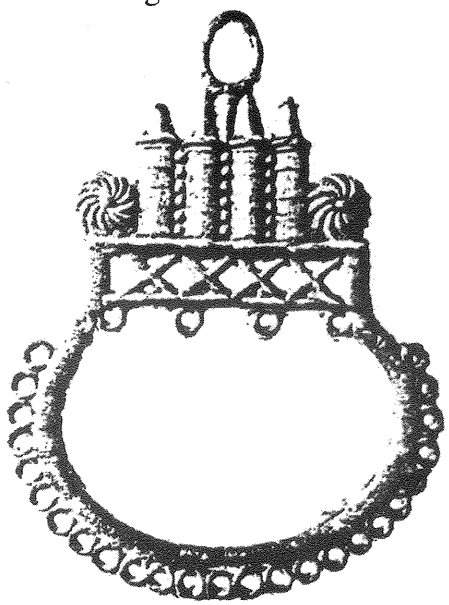
3. Recorded conversations with Willis Warner, September, 1972.

4. Pewter in America, Vol. 1, p. 107, Ledlie Lauaghlin, Barre Publications.

The Secular Badge

by Alex Neish

Recovered in 1978 from the Thames forehore at Swan Wharf, a little upstream from the north end of London Bridge, this castellated piece is thought by Brian Spencer, author of *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, and former Senior Curator at the Museum of London, to be part of a miniature purse frame. Such badges were popular in the mid 15th century and the four circles along the base were stitching loops repeating those found on the full-size purses popular amongst the well-to-do. Another complete example was excavated at Bankside, London and is illustrated in the drawing.



Urn Update – Crossman, West & Leonard
The 7th Maker

by Robert H. Bury

Fig. 1. Crossman, West & Leonard urn with a capacity of 16 half-pints. All photos by the author.

I found it! The illusive Crossman, West & Leonard coffee urn for my collection of the Taunton makers. Others have seen at least one of these in the past, but now I can document one.

Fig. 1 shows the urn in its as found, original condition. The brass spout is of a slightly different design that the others used by the Taunton companies. The Crossman, West & Leonard mark (Fig. 2) was used on the early Taunton pieces from February 19, 1829 to August 18, 1830 when the Taunton Britannia Manufacturing Co. (TBM Co.) mark replaced it[1]. Not many of the Crossman, West & Leonard urns were made. During 1829, 46 were shipped and another 64 shipped in 1830 before the TBM Co. mark began to be used[2]. So only 110 urns were shipped with the Crossman, West & Leonard mark.

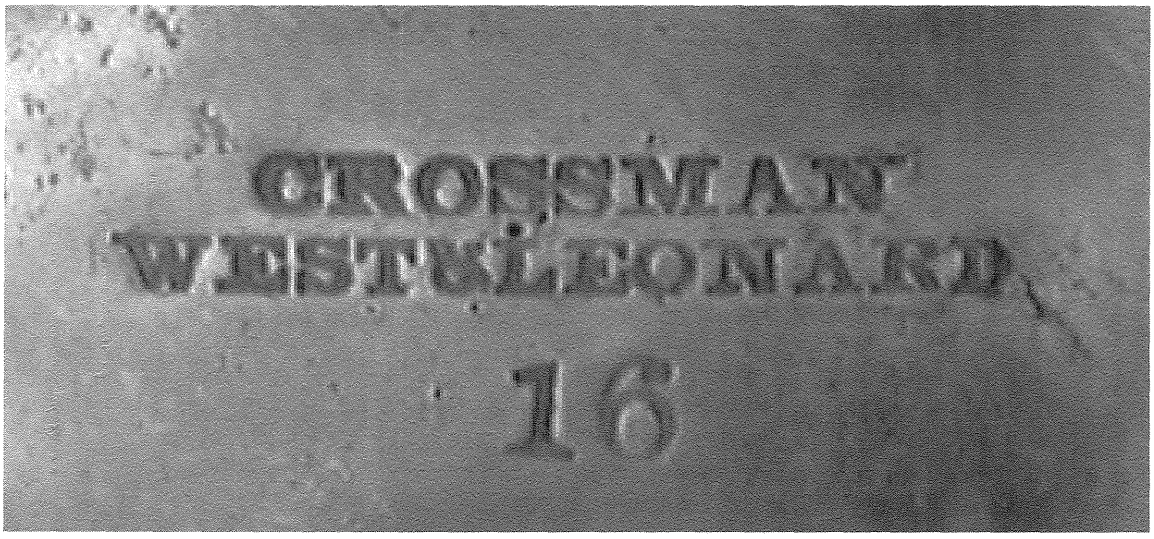


Fig. 2. The Crossman, West & Leonard mark used in 1829 & 1830.

This particular urn had a capacity of 16 half-pints, the term used back then. Although the Taunton urns were made in a variety of sizes from 10 to 32 half-pints with later marks, I have not been able to determine the size range of urns that were made with the early Crossman mark.

The shape follows the style of the day. Fig. 3 shows the urn along with a smaller, 10 half-pint urn, attributed to the TBM Co.[3], a Crossman, West & Leonard creamer and a TBM Co. sugar with lid. All of them very close to a matching pattern, especially the creamer and sugar. This illustrates the continuity of design through the years of changing company names and marks.

A comparison of some of the various sizes and styles of urns produced with the Leonard, Reed & Barton mark in the years from 1837 to 1840/45 is shown in Fig. 4. The patterns correspond to the patterns of the matching tea sets produced at that time with the exception of the # 1700 urn. I have found no record of a matching tea set with this pattern number. The brass spouts are all the same size (2 3/4" wide at the main pin) with the exception of the 3000/16 pot, which has a larger spout (3" wide).

Fig. 3. From left to right, the Crossman urn, TBM Co. sugar, Crossman creamer and TBM Co. urn.

Fig. 4. Some of the urns made with the Leonard Reed & Barton mark during the years 1837 to 1840. From left to right, the pattern numbers/capacities (in half-pints) are; 1700/16, 3000/16, 3000/10, 3200/10, and 3400/13.

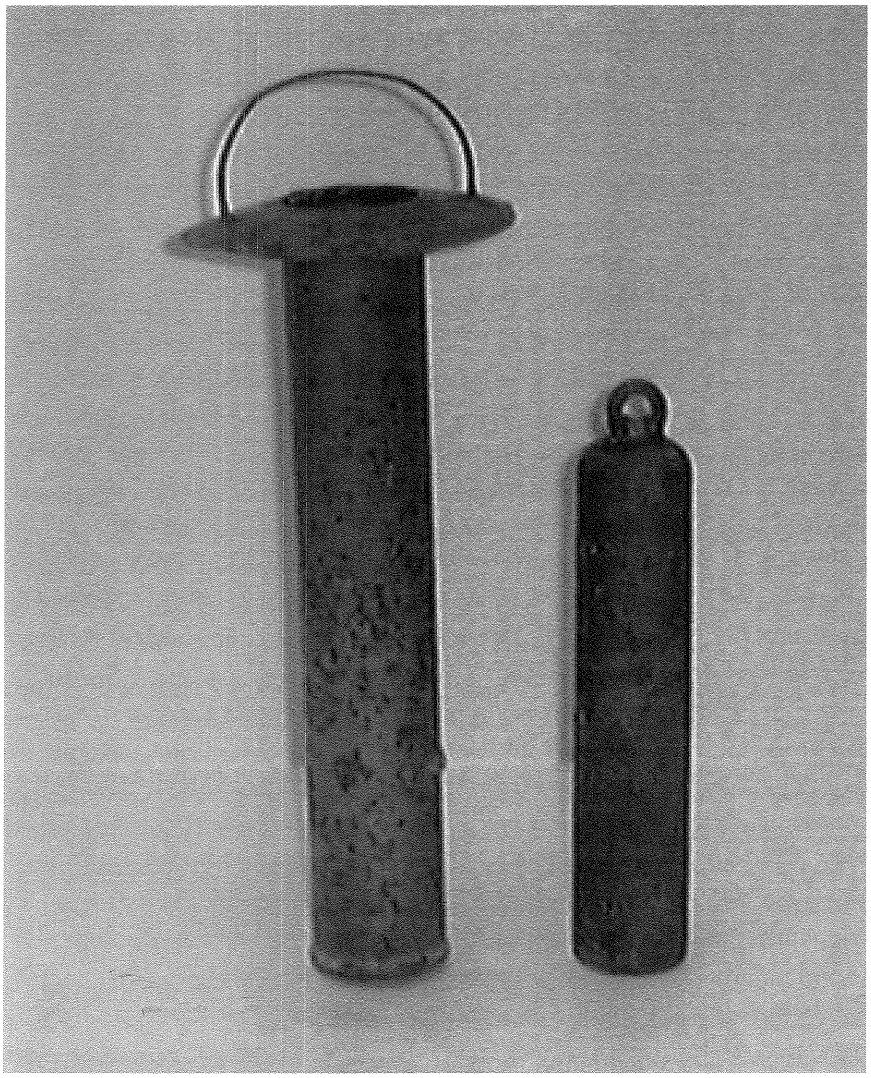


Fig. 5. The heater components used in the interior of the urns.

As a matter of interest, the brass spout on the TBM urn is different from the Crossman and more similar to the Leonard, Reed & Barton spouts, but slightly larger (2 7/8" wide at the pin). So there were at least 4 sizes and designs that were made, at least in this particular sample.

In order to keep the liquids relatively hot, a burner could not be used because of the low melting point of the metal. So a thin sheet metal tube was placed inside the urn and was supported by a ledge on the inner rim of the urn. Then a small piece of cast iron, similar to a miniature window sash weight, was heated to the desired temperature and then placed inside the tube in the urn. Fig. 5 shows the components of the heater.

And for those urn collectors who may be interested, Fig. 6 shows an urn of 8 half-pint size of the same period made by James Dixon & Sons of Sheffield. Another recent find shown in Fig. 7 is a small urn by Smith & Feltman of Albany, from about 1849 to 1852. This urn is a rather small 10 half-pint capacity and the mark is shown in Fig. 8.

Fig. 6. An urn with the James Dixon & Sons mark from Sheffield, England.

Fig. 7. A 10 half-pint urn made by Smith & Feltman of Albany, NY.

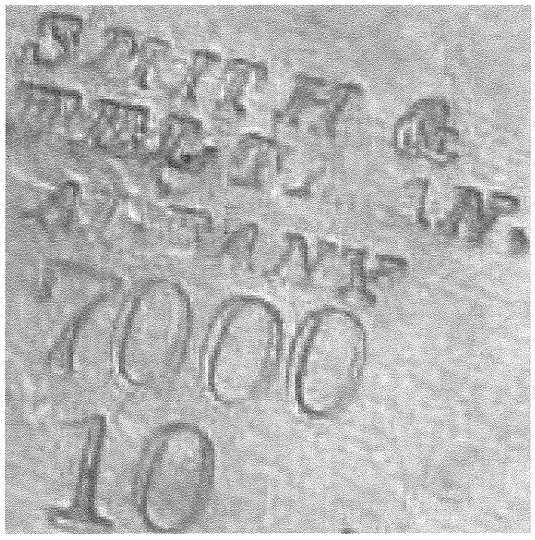


Fig 8. The Smith & Feltman mark.

References

1. Robert H. Bury, "Leonard, Reed & Barton et al.", *PCCA Bulletin Vol. 11, No. 8,* p. 248.

2. George Sweet Gibb, *The Whitesmiths of Taunton,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943, Tables 2 & 3.

3. Robert H. Bury, "More Urns – and a 7th Maker?" *PCCA Bulletin Vol. 11, No. 9,* p. 294.

A Boardman Flask

By Robert Werowinski

Pictured in Fig. 1 is a Boardman "Coronet" porringer alongside of an unmarked flask. As can be seen, the flask was made from two porringer bowls attached at their open face and a tapered spout added as its opening. The spout may have been fabricated from a ferrule, the device used to connect a handle to the body of a teapot or coffeepot. The spout is not threaded so it was closed with a cork or wooden plug. The end opposite the spout has been flattened to allow the flask to sit upright.

The flask body has no indication of ever having porringer handles, and the seam joining the two halves of the body is very well executed. It appears that this piece can be attributed to the Boardmans and, so far as the writer knows, it is the first one to be reported. This is another case of using molds to their full potential.

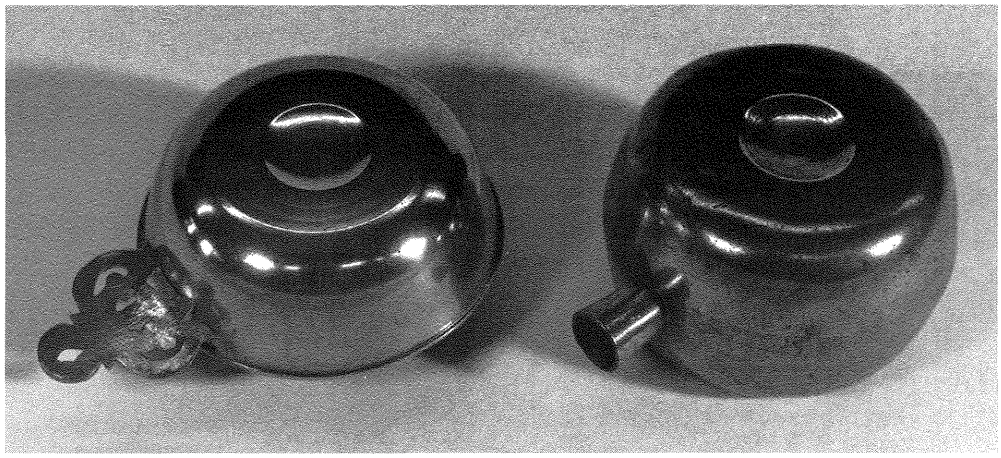


Fig. 1. A Boardman "Coronet" handle porringer, 3 7/8" diameter, alongside the first reported Boardman flask.

Editor's Note—
The following article was excerpted by Alex Neish from writings by Richard Mundey given to Neish by Mundey's widow. Many collectors will recognize Mundey as the foremost dealer of English pewter in this century. And while it is now known that Mundey engaged in some questionable practices as a dealer, his association with H. H. Cotterell, other early members of The Pewter Society, and his "tales" as a dealer provide fascinating reading.

Alex Neish's Note—
Richard Mundey began his career as the opera singer Rudolph N. Mondo before entering the world of pewter. When he died in 1990 at the age of 91, it was described as the end of an era. He was the last link with Cotterell, a freeman of the Worshipful Company whose collection he helped build. He was described by Ron Homer as "the doyen of pewter dealers world-wide through whose hands had passed - sometimes several times - almost every important piece in existence." At the age of 90 he was still bidding at auction exclusively for a private collector to build another major collection.

When the Pewter Society opened its doors to professional dealers, he became an enthusiastic member. He had toyed with writing a book to share his knowledge with a wider audience but this never came into being. The following piece was written around 1972. It has recently been located in the papers he left behind. To it have been added fragments from earlier drafts to offer a vision of a world now gone, when pewter collecting was in its infancy.

Memories Made of Pewter

by Richard Mundey

In 1919 a theatrical friend invited me to see a small collection of pewter he had inherited. My first reaction was one of pleasure. Plates, dishes, flagons, mugs and measures - about 50 pieces displayed on an oak dresser, so simple, serene, solid and safe, made to last for centuries. Later he introduced me to a Mr. James Carew, an actor who collected pewter and I learned when we met that he was friendly with a Mr. Howard H. Cotterell who, he said, was also interested in pewter!

Little did my friend know he had started me on the road to the greatest and most absorbing interest of my life. Pewter then invoked a picture of grey mugs hanging in pubs. These were plentiful and being offered in little back-street antiques shops at a few shillings each. They were unwanted, lying neglected on hooks, gathering dust. Little was known, and not much written, on pewter as a collecting medium. Hilton Price had produced a good, now standard, book on base metal spoons. Massé had published his "Pewter Plate" with many useful illustrations not always accurately described. Cotterell's now famous book was in embryo, incomplete and unpublished. The Worshipful Company of Pewterers had not yet its own Hall. A Pewter Collectors' Club had just been formed with limited membership. Seeking knowledge was a case of the blind leading the blind. Gradually many more became interested, delving into records, striving to establish a recognition of pewter collecting by anyone who would listen and become a convert.

Fig. 1. Rudolph N. Mondo, being Richard Mundey as a young operatic tenor.

It was in 1922 that I bought my first piece of pewter. I was a member of a theatrical company touring the United Kingdom. This allowed me many opportunities to wander round towns and villages. My knowledge was limited and my financial situation not too healthy. I bought a pint-sized lidded baluster wine measure with a "bud" thumbpiece from the late 17th or early 18th century. The price paid was five shillings. I parted with it for two pounds. The seed was sown. Since then a number of baluster measures have been through my hands. For my own collection I concentrated on rare, early specimens. I now own some of the finest lidded wine measures of the 16th to early 17th century. (Note 1)

Eventually the quest for pewter became a full-time interest. Experience broadened my outlook. Mistakes were inevitable and some kept me awake at night. With a small capital, mistakes curtail your activities. Few dealers knew or liked pewter. It was only a commodity to buy and sell at a profit. There was one outstanding exception. Near Regent's Park was a shop owned by one named Fynde. He knew, understood, and had a decided penchant for pewter. He was at the time probably the only dealer to specialize almost entirely in pewter, a kind and gentle man ready to help and guide beginners. Allowing one to handle pieces to "get the feel." Pointing out important features; how pieces were made; how to estimate approximate dates; how to discriminate between good and bad. His shop full of pewter was one I always returned to.

That was fifty year ago. Long since he and his shop have gone, but both are green in my memory. I think back often on the time and trouble he spent advising and teaching. "Learn your metal!" was an exhortation I tired to follow his advice always. I know now that left behind were many pieces that should have been recognized and bought. Many pieces should have been left behind, emphasizing that a little knowledge is dangerous.

One day I showed Mr. Fynde a pair of candlesticks. I was not too happy with them as a sixth sense told me something was wrong. They hadn't the "feel." Just in case, I thought it best to know the worst. "Drop one," he said. I gasped. "Yes, drop one." I did and it shattered. Thus I learned about black type metal, an alloy which is very brittle. Containing mainly antimony and zinc, it looks like pewter, easily deceiving the uninitiated and the beginner.

(Note 1: This unique run of baluster wine measures now forms part of the collection at the Museum of British Pewter in Stratford-upon-Avon.)

Fig. 2. Richard Mundey's pewter shop in London's Chiltern Street, a Mecca for collectors.

Then there was Mr. Kimbell, his shop a combination of antiques and pawnbroking, the latter obvious by the three brass balls prominently displayed. He was close to the Museum of London and the location today of Pewterers' Hall. His antique department included some of the rarest pewter, mouth-watering specimens. He encouraged me by allowing me to examine some of his best pieces, asking me to comment on each. It shook me to realize how much I did NOT know. He told me to persevere and that eventually I would make the grade. He supplied many collectors with rare pieces, particularly his good friend, the late Captain Sutherland Graeme.

In those days there was an old-fashioned auction room called Stevens in Covent Garden, a few doors from the original National Sporting Club, then a magnificent, old world mansion patronized by Royalty and the aristocracy of sport, now a fruit and vegetable warehouse. At Stevens one day a lot being auctioned was a set of twelve pewter plates. The set had cast, multiple-reeded rims and, unusually, were hammered completely, back and front. The period was the late 17th century of William and Mary. I bought the set for three guineas and left to the mocking laughter of some who thought the plates were modern because they were hammered. This time I was happy and without qualms. I sold the set for L12. That was 50 years ago. I wonder what would be their value today!

In 1929 at Sotheby's there was an auction of pewter from the famous Fieldhouse Collection and much that belonged to the Charbonnier Collection. Every piece offered was bought by today's standards for a song. It is not a fair comparison, I agree, for there were so few knowledgeable buyers. The "few" had a field day. It can be assumed - correctly I think - that specimens were bought first, and their merit discovered later. It proves that many had a good "nose" for a rarity and a bargain. I was there in Sotheby's that day. The room was crowded with prospective buyers and the usual onlookers, wondering at the enthusiasm aroused by dirty bits of "tin." To my great regret - which remains undiminished to this day - my finances then were at a very low ebb. Even at the prevailing prices there was little to which I could aspire except a few crumbs disdained by those already fully gorged.

It was fascinating to watch flagons, early candlesticks, lidded Stuart and early Georgian tankards, going at prices which were almost literally gifts, even acknowledging the difference in money values between then and today. It is, however, only in retrospect that one now knows that prices that day were fantastically low. At this sale engraved Stuart tankards were sold for less than L40 each. A pair of 17th century Stuart, octagonal-based candlesticks went for L65 when few pairs of the period are known and an authentic, matching and marked pair is invaluable. Scottish tappit-hens sold for less than L12 each, and George the First lidded tankards made less than L10. One could quote and quote. The Fieldhouse sale, however, was not an isolated case but a classic example.

Talking of sales brings to my mind an extraordinary incident. In Sotheby's again, in the Fifties, I was commissioned by a collector from Asby de la Zouch to buy a single Charles the Second candlestick. As a result of brisk bidding I paid L155 for the candlestick, then a record price. Next morning arrived a letter written on a sheet of ruled paper torn from a child's exercise book. The letter was signed by a Miss Chichester who offered me L450 for the candlestick. It had to be a joke. I sent a reply pointing out that the price offered was stupendous and asking if the writer was in earnest. A curt reply by return assured the earnestness of the offer and brought with it a cheque for L450. I contacted the man who had commissioned the purchase and after some difficult persuasion he took an enormous profit. I telegraphed Miss Chichester to say she could have the candlestick. Next morning arrived a further cheque for L450 plus ten shillings for postage. The lady had forgotten she had already paid! Of course the second cheque was returned. I knew later that Miss Chichester had founded a museum on her estate which was to be given to the National Trust.

There is a moral in this anecdote. In the Fifties the price of L450 for one Stuart candlestick was exorbitant. Today, if one were available, it would be cheap at that level. Today's expensive purchase is tomorrow's bargain.

Fig. 3. Cyril Johnson and Richard Mundey organizing the first WCOP pewter collection.

This seems to be turning into an autobiography. It is not so really. Every incident mentioned is related to collecting or to someone or something connected directly or indirectly with pewter. Those interested today come from all walks of life. There was the old gypsy with rings in his ears who doted on the plain simplicity of early specimens, loathing anything "shlauter" which, translated, means not genuine. I wonder what became of a handsome pair of small James the First lidded flagons he was unable to resist. A certain, extremely wealthy lady was in the habit of borrowing the oldest and shabbiest clothes to enter antique shops - in the belief that her poor appearance would enable her to get things cheaper. She invariably chose the best and rarest items, displaying a knowledge no ordinary person could have accidentally acquired. Her ruse rarely worked. Then there was the well-known psychiatrist who had a compulsion to enter churches to steal communion flagons and other Church pewter. He was eventually discovered, severely reprimanded, made to return his "trophies," and now has to buy what he collects.

* * * * *

Many ask "When was pewter first made in England?" No one can say with any certainty. There is no doubt the Romans were the earliest manufacturers. Remaining until 400 AD, undoubtedly amongst the invading armies were many craftsmen and artisans who were to take advantage of the Cornish tin. Considering the total lack of facilities, most specimens excavated have proved to be remarkably well made. There are obvious signs of turning and the use of sophisticated tools. Moulds for casting were laboriously carved from stone.

It must be a fact that some of the Roman skills rubbed off to be absorbed by the local habitants, and perhaps developed after the Romans left after around 400 years of occupation. From the fifth to the 11th century, however, is a vacuum. Development was apparently tediously slow. Little, if anything, is known about this period. That there was definite progress and great improvement is evident from the fact that in 1076 chalices were made for use in parishes - though a hundred years later bishops were forbidden to consecrate pewter ones.

Enlightenment came only in the 14th century when the craft of pewterers was a recognized industry. A group of master pewterers gathered together to form what became the Worshipful Company of Pewterers. This writer, on being made a Freeman in 1971, presented the Company with an historical pewter footed tazza made by John Fryer who struck his touch in 1693 and was twice Master of the Company, and once Lord Mayor of London.

It all added up to a nucleus. Just after the completion of the present Pewterers' Hall in 1961 this writer was called in to sort out, catalogue, and value the Company's collection that had been rescued from its war-time hideout. There were several tea-chests and some packages stacked haphazardly. No one knew what to expect. Every piece hauled out of the tea-chests was a discovery. It was a wonderful experience, like being in Aladdin's cave. I put in my hand and out came a Charles 2nd lidded engraved tankard, a James 1 and a Charles 1 flagon, a magnificent Stuart candlestick, then chargers and many other early rarities. There was also some miscelania which had to be eliminated to make way for better and more representative pieces.

The sorting over, and everything catalogued and valued for insurance, it was evident that the collection needed considerable improvement and many additions,. There were happily two enthusiasts, Mr. Cyril J. Johnson, a Past Master, and the late Mr. Stanley Grant, also a Past Master and for many years an indispensable Clerk to the Company, a post now taken over by his son, Mr. Charles Grant. Mr. Ronald F. Michaelis, who needs no introduction to the pewter world, and I myself placed our combined knowledge at the disposal of the Company. Between us the future scope of the collection was planned to give it greater depth and representation. Now the Company's collection is the most important in the country, embracing almost every phase of what was made in pewter from the earliest possible known time up to the 19th century. (Note 2) Now the Company is sponsoring 20th century pewter and advancing its standards.

Of private collections there are many, some very good indeed. Some collectors are fortunate and started many years ago. Now collectors are at great disadvantage as starting to collect really rare specimens today entails a very considerable outlay. Regretfully many have to bow to the inevitable and lower their sights and depend on the very occasional and remote lucky "find." But just as one swallow does not make a summer, so one "find" does not make a collection. Start collecting slowly. Only the wealthy can start at the top and they lose lots of time poking through antique shops. Always remember the unexpected is always round the corner.

(Note 2) Two years before his death Richard Mundey revised this opinion and said in writing that the collection now at Stratford's Museum of British Pewter - on whose formation he had been assiduously collaborating for 15 years - had become the primary one).

* * * * *

The most important book ever written about pewter is the monumental work by the late Howard H. Cotterell, "Old Pewter - its Marks and Makers", first published in 1929. Tremendous effort and research over a great number of years on the part of the author was involved. Prior to Cotterell's "O.P." several others had written and published books, or specialized articles, but nothing as comprehensive and massive as "O.P." Pewter collecting was not yet fashionable and was the dedicated hobby of but a few. Not a lot was known and there was insufficient information to help and guide. Cotterell's book supplied much needed knowledge to old and new collectors at that time. Today it is looked on as the "Bible" on pewter and is still quoted and referred to by all and sundry.

I first met H.H.C. in 1927 and subsequently had occasional dealings and correspondence with him. His great strength was research. His practical knowledge was at times suspect. I remember an exhibition that H.H.C. was in charge of many years ago when I was a youth. A pair of pewter footed cup salts were displayed and labeled in Cotterell's copperplate writing "George the Second , c.1750". I mildly suggested the salts were not of that period. His portly face visibly swelling with indignation, he wrothfully waved a finger at me, and called me "an impertinent pup" for disagreeing with his pronouncement. I ventured the opinion that the salts were cast not too many years earlier in one of the moulds acquired by the late William Englefield.

Fig. 4. An 18th century Dutch salver 10 5/8th square with shaped corners, in the centre a lady inElizabethan dress. Various types of relief decoration of musical instruments, foliage etc. Amsterdam hallmark. Formerly in the Mundey Collection.

At the turn of the century William Englefield had been offered a considerable number of 18th century gun-metal moulds, originally made and used by Thomas Scattergood and John Townsend and other 18th century pewterers. His daughter, the late Elsie Englefield, told me he had bought a large number of them. Perforce he left many he could not afford to buy, being spent up. The many hundreds he did not buy were eventually sold as scrap. After some years of constant use and some wear and tear, it was difficult to tell the difference between an original and a used replica. The alloy was the same as used years ago. Fortunately Englefield marked every piece made in his workshop, otherwise many people would be harbouring Englefield copies as treasured originals.

H.H.C. would never admit he could be wrong, and, as I was equally adamant in my opinion, we agreed to differ. For several years after this incident we still communicated amicably. In the light of present knowledge, however, we know that in Cotterell's book there are some errors and gaps. Notwithstanding this, one must admit without reserve that his mighty tome stimulated tremendous interest in pewter. He published more facts than ever before known. It drew attention to the enormous potential in collecting pewter - and gave pewter collecting the recognition it richly deserved. We have a lot to thank the portly Howard H. Cotterell for! Sadly his book was a commercial failure and he was forced to become a dealer in pewter to keep the wolves from the door. (Note 3)

Other books of note which influenced collecting were few. Malcolm Bell published his "Old Pewter" in 1905. It contains excellent illustrations and shocking errors in descriptions. H.J.L.J. Massé published "Pewter Plate" in 1904 and a revised edition in 1910. Some splendid illustrations, interesting comments, and also some misdescriptions due to lack of precedents. G. Welch in 1902 published a learned book on the "History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers." Parts are difficult and heavy reading. The book, however, gives a remarkably good insight into the Company's history from the 14th century onwards. There is a lot to be learned about rules and regulations, weights of pots and differences in alloys, the percentage of tin to other ingredients etc. Hilton Price published as mentioned his "Old Base Metal Spoons", now a standard work and reference. In 1907 Ingleby Wood published "Scottish Pewterware and Pewterers."

Otherwise there was nothing further of great importance. There were individual articles which, if gathered together, added to one's knowledge. All the books mentioned preceded the great Cotterell tome. Many books have been written since, few important. My Friend Ronald F. Michaelis needs no introduction as an authority. He has written two books and many learned articles. He has also collected an enormous amount of extra information, and dates and data on pewterers, unknown in Cotterell's day, which if added to "Old Pewter" would double the size of that monumental work.

(Note 3) At this time members of the British Pewter Society were not allowed to be dealers. Cotterell was expelled and appearances covered by a letter of resignation).

What makes a collector? Accident or design? A gift of a pewter mug used in an old inn or pub can start the craze. An inquisitive mind seeks the meaning of the various little marks. Are they the marks of the maker? When was this mug made? An embryo collector is born. A fascinating field opens up and eventually there is an unquenchable desire to enquire and acquire. In my opinion a necessary qualification to becoming a collector is to own pewter. Owning pewter does not automatically make one know all about it, but it puts one well on the way to becoming knowledgeable, to learning how to discriminate. You have to "live" with specimens. The late A. de Navarro often told me his pewter collection "spoke" to him. Of course he did not mean that literally, but we all must know what this loveable character meant. He absorbed the charm and beauty that the pieces around him offered. Thereafter "living" with, and handling, pieces gives you the "feel."

Beginners quite rightly timidly start with relatively unimportant pieces. They gradually raise their sights as their selection and confidence improves. Theory is good and book knowledge helps, but only experience really teaches. You must handle as many pieces as possible, and handle them often. Examine every piece you own and figure out how each piece was made. Look out for joins, look for possible or probable replacements. You have just had a thrill and acquired a lidded flagon. Is the lid original? Has the handle been off and replaced? Is the thumbpiece original? Are all the parts contemporary? So many flagons and tankards lost their lids at some time, possibly during some revelry, or for whatever reason. Some later had lids replaced. Always remember, the value and desirability is greatest when a specimen is 100% original and condition is pristine. By learning what to look for, therefore, you can save yourself money, and also a little heart-break. There is nothing so disappointing as being proud of a piece and then being told emphatically by an expert that you did not acquire the prize you anticipated.

Do not worry about the colour of pewter. By that I do not mean the difference between a highly polished plate and one left unpolished. That comes into a different category. Some like polished pewter, some do not. Both are correct up to a point which will be dealt with soon. You will find the colour of unpolished pewter varies considerably. A pot may be made in two halves and one part is different in colour from that of the other. One part may be enveloped in a heavy scale which is a coating of pewter rust. The other may develop a grey skin with small dots of scale. The reason for this unusual but frequently seen effect is the composition of the alloy used when casting. The pewterer will make up a vat of molten metal to cast top halves of a measure, say a hundred or more. When the metal is exhausted, another vat must be prepared. The slightest deviation in the quantity of each ingredient used to make up the alloy, and the effect on the eventual colour of the finished article after several years of exposure to the atmosphere, is simply astonishing.

Just as atmospheric conditions affect the colour, how and where pieces are kept is another important factor. The late Earl of Lonsdale, the popular old sporting peer who always used a yellow Rolls to take his numerous dogs for excursions in Hyde Park, left a huge collection of pewter. It was found lying in a damp cellar. Stacks

of plates and dishes, all by Jonas Durand and dated 1699 in the touch-mark, were piled up. There were many other pieces like lidded tureens. Most of the hoard had been exposed to the damp air in the cellar for over a century and had developed a heavy scale of rust that flaked off when touched. Here we have an example of what happens after extreme neglect. Fortunately we were able to save most of the Lonsdale pewter - after lots of hard work.

Fig. 5. A wedge and ball baluster c. 1550 of 8 1/8th fluid ounces capacity. No mark. Formerly in the Mundey Collection.

Now we come to the controversial topic of "to polish or not to polish." Many argue it is up to individual preference. Quite important collections have been polished. The late A. de Navarro of Broadway kept his collection highly polished - as did several owners of other significant collections. In the process of cleaning, however, some specimens were practically ruined when deterioration had set into the metal and this affected was worsened by the cleaning. Many collectors only clean parts of each piece. They clean and lightly polish, for example, the body but leave untouched parts around the handle. In the case of a lidded piece the area around a thumbpiece would again be left untouched. Inside a measure and also underneath would be left untouched. Dishes and plates would be partly cleaned and the backs very rarely. Then there is the collector who will not entertain a polished specimen. He leaves every piece in the condition in which it has been found. It all boils down to individual preference. One thing, however, must be emphasized. Never interfere with the surface or colour of an extremely rare specimen without first seeking expert advice.

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Fig. 6. An early 16th century excavated chalice, cup diameter 3 3/4 ins. Inside the cup the touch of C C. Formerly in the Mundey Collection.

By the time you get to the stage of cleaning your pewter, you are no longer a beginner. You are still in the novitiate stage but progressing. Now get to know others who are collecting and discuss pieces and any doubts or problems. If possible become friendly with a knowledgeable dealer. There are, however, very few dealers with specialist knowledge of pewter. With one who is expert, you will usually find encouragement and ready advice. There will be in the shop many pieces which probably you cannot buy, but which you may handle. I keep mentioning handling pieces. It cannot be emphasized enough that the surest way to learn is examining "right" specimens. If it is said a piece is "wrong", ask the reason. A piece of pewter being inanimate cannot answer back, but it does "speak" in as much as everything is there to tell you if it is "right" or "wrong."

There is, for example, a considerable number of haystack measures on the market with the mark of Austen of Cork stamped beneath each size. To the uninitiated they are a find. They are in fact very well made reproductions that originally were sold as such. Somewhere along the line many of the reproductions were darkened artificially and then mistaken as genuine. Several collectors own sets of "Irish" haystacks made in or near Birmingham. Here we can point out a fortunate oversight by the reproducers by which one can with little effort tell the genuine from the reproduction. Not one of the reproduced, so-called Haystack measures, is stamped with the capacity such as "quart" or "pint." A Haystack measure of any size is not genuine unless the capacity is stamped on the side, front, or shoulder.

Another type extensively reproduced, and which actually deceives, is the Scottish tappit hen. The knowledgeable will not be deceived but many will. The reproducer to make his copies more attractive has added marks which were never seen on the originals. So many people demand marks on their pewter - insist and marks will be presented, stamped profusely on the side and beneath. If you see a Scottish tappit hen with hallmarks on the side, and "London" beneath, know certainly it was made a long way from the skirling of bagpipes. Hardly any genuine tappit hens are in fact marked, though many have owners' initials on the lid.

Another popular error is mistaking flagons with double-acorns for tappit hens. Pieces with the double-acorn thumbpiece are either Swiss, French, Belgian or Channel Islands. The latter, however, were made in England. The others are all Continental.

And another word of advice. When you see "English Pewter" or "Made in England," and a number like 1758, then the piece is 20th century. The name is not a date but a catalogue number. Some specimens are very beautiful and well made. I cannot see beauty in ugliness. I think some pieces of Art Nouveau are best forgotten though one great virtue of Art Nouveau is that it does not copy anything. It is individual and like no known shape or type. Each piece is a creation and often signed by the designer. It will be the antique of the future. Whether one likes Art Nouveau or not matters little. Many will collect it.

With reproductions as such I have no quarrel, provided they are strictly sold as such. Unfortunately often many will be deceived. One type will deceive no one. That is the mass-produced hammered articles. Never ever will they become "antique," only old and unloved.

In the early days of collecting knowledge, as I have said, was limited. Even in the collection of Navarro there were a few dubious pieces. For years no one had the heart to mention it. One important suspect was a candlestick illustrated on page 171 in his book "Causeries on English Pewter." When Navarro discovered it was definitely "wrong" he threw it out. Sadly it could not be deleted from the book. Somehow this candlestick got into the hands of a candlestick collector who, stubbornly refusing to believe it was not genuine (possible on the strength of the illustration in "Causeries") published a book on candlesticks, picturing the fake alongside a pottery candlestick of similar shape to insist that both were rare early 17th century specimens. Just as legends grow in stature with time, so has this fake, twice illustrated as genuine, became a lie condoned in print for all time.

Another early collector was the late Kirkby Mason, a remarkable man with flair and a "nose", short in height but tall in stature, aggressive, always flouting authority. I first met him in the late Twenties and, after a brief skirmish when I mentioned his reputation as a "terror", we became firm friends. His bark was certainly worse than his bite. He collected with discrimination. His glass was world famous. He defied the opinions of others when it came to authenticating paintings or glass or an early mazer where the silver was unmarked. Almost always he was proved right, disconcerting the experts. His pewter was mainly 17th century and only the rarest specimens were allowed on his shelves.

One day Kirkby Mason urgently asked me to call. I found him very agitated. He had an overwhelming premonition he was going to die! He was quite lucid. He asked me to take away several chosen pieces of pewter to sell, and give the proceeds to his wife. A strange request! It was impossible to talk him out of his depression. Eventually I promised to call again in a few days on my return from a visit to the Provinces. We would discuss the matter again and, if he were still of the same mind, I would do as he wished. Whilst I was away, he suddenly died! I was shattered, an awful feeling I had failed him. I never learned the reason for his strange request, nor what eventually happened to his pewter collection (Note 4).

(Note 4: It now seems clear that these items were in fact bought by Richard Neate and some appeared in an article he published.)