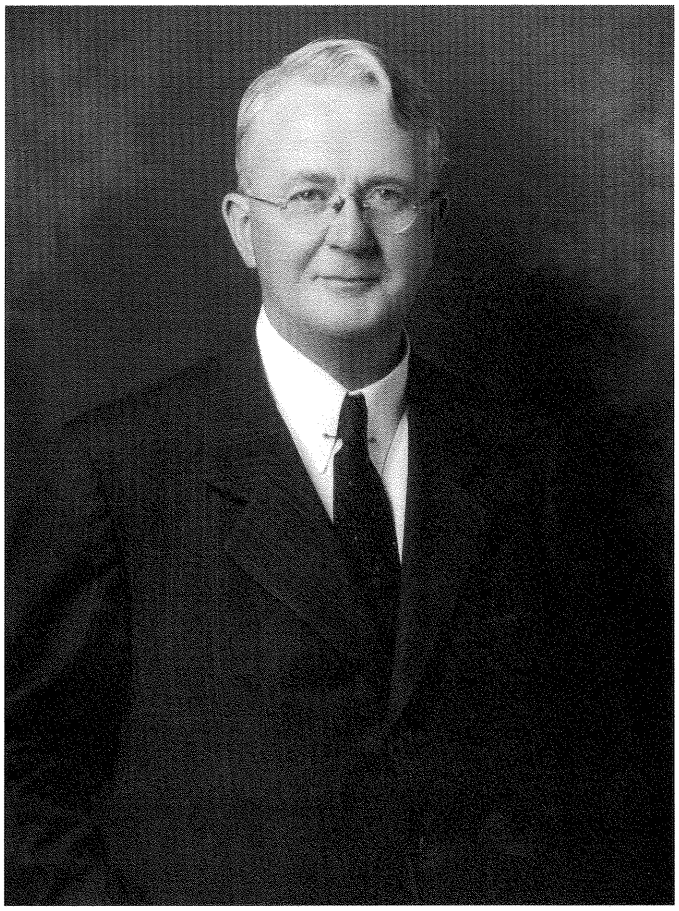
The
PEWTER COLLECTORS' CLUB
of AMERICA INC.

• T H E B U L L E T I N •

SUMMER 2003 VOLUME 12, NUMBER 9

Percy E. Raymond

1879-1952



First President of the PCCA
and
First Editor of The Bulletin

See article, "Past Editors of The Bulletin"
on page 440

Photo courtesy of The Geological Society of America.

VOLUME 12
NUMBER 9

President's Letter

As the gavel is passed again, I am honored to be entrusted with the Presidency of the Pewter Collectors' Club of America for the next two years. I hope to continue to provide the PCCA membership with some exciting and informative programs during my term of office.

After reading and looking forward to each one of our past President Sherwin Herzog's letters, I know that I have a tough act to follow. I think it's easier to plan and run a National meeting than to write this letter. My first thought, when asked to write my first President's letter, was to approach Sherwin and beg him to write a few more Andy Rooney-type commentaries for me. However, I was given the same statement by Sherwin that he gave all of us when he became President, that if everybody did their job right, then he wouldn't have to do anything. And now that he is no longer an officer, he still doesn't have to do anything. So that means he's not going to write for me. All kidding aside, I know we all enjoyed Sherwin's President's letters and he did an excellent job during his term as President. Thank you, Sherwin!

I would like at this time to report on the status of the John Carl Thomas Memorial Book. All the design and layout work for the section of the book on Pewter fakes, Forgeries and Reproductions has been completed. At this point, it is 112 pages long. This will make up the bulk of the book. Work has begun on the other sections of the book. A draft Introduction has been written and a Forward is in the works. Also in the works is a section entitled "Collecting and Connoisseurship" and another section on construction and fabrication. It is hoped that the book will go to press sometime in 2004. We have a very dedicated Committee working on this book and we appreciate their efforts. Tax Deductible donations to help fund this project are still being accepted. If you would like to make a donation, checks should be made out to the Pewter Collectors' Club of America, with a reference to the J. C. Thomas Memorial at the bottom of your check. Checks should be sent to Thomas A. Madsen, 28 Crescent Avenue, North Windham, ME 04062-5734.

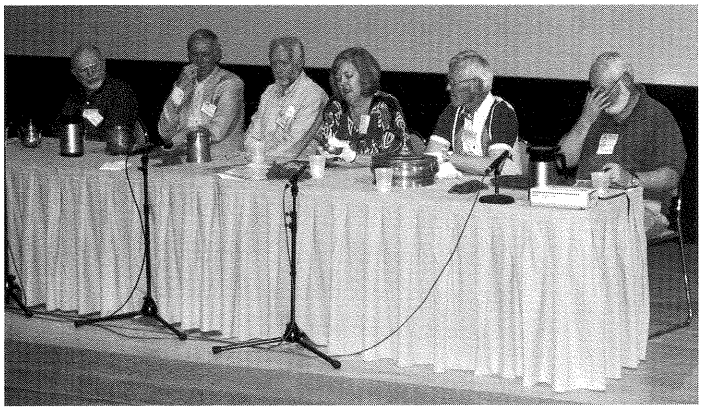
After planning four PCCA National meetings and having an average of about 70 members attend, my main concern at this point is to find out how we can increase our meeting attendance. Attendance at National meetings has been an ongoing theme and we have improved our meeting agendas by adding new topics such as our "Introduction to Pewter" and other programs. However, we will need to come up with new programs and approaches to them. We have a slate of officers that are quite capable and eager to implement these new ideas that should emanate from our membership. So I am turning to you, the PCCA Membership, to write or e-mail me with any suggestions, ideas, likes and/or dislikes of the Club, or any other thoughts you can contribute that would help us increase the numbers of attendees at our National meetings. My e-mail address is gpewter@ bellatlantic. net. I look forward to hearing from you.

Richard C. Graver

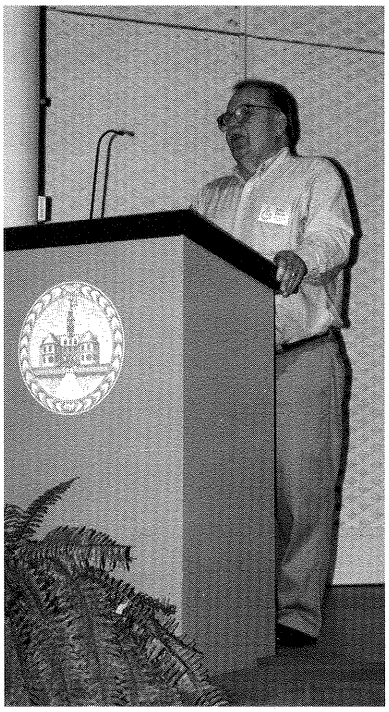
National Spring Meeting Photos

Colonial Williamsburg, VA, May 9-11, 2003

(Photographs by Bill Snow)

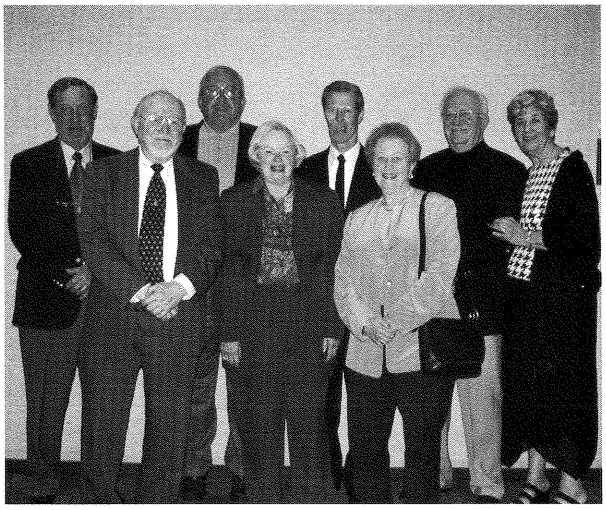


A panel of six members each discussed a favorite piece from the DeWitt Wallace Museum collection: **Garland Pass, Robert Werowinski, David Moulson, Alyson Marsden, Peter Hayward,** and **Dwayne Abbott.**



John Davis, metals curator at the DeWitt Wallace Museum, while working with Richard Graver, went out of his way to insure that our meeting was interesting and informative.

Jill Powell assisted **Terry Ashley** in conducting the popular, "Show and Tell" session on Saturday evening.



Eight past presidents plus our new president attended the meeting: **Richard Graver, Garland Pass, Tom Madsen, Barbara Horan, Don Herr, Ellen O'Flaherty, Mel Wolf** and **Bette Wolf** plus **Bill Paddock**, not pictured.

Editor's Note: The following four articles discuss American 13¼" deep dishes found with the marks of at least twenty different pewterers who worked over a period of approximately sixty years. The discussion began with an article by Andrew F. Turano, "A Joseph Belcher – Danforth Connection: The 13¼" Deep Dish," published in "The Bulletin", Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 138-142. Richard Bowen took exception to some of the conclusions in that article and wrote some comments which appear as the first article below. These comments, along with an article on Joseph Belcher's inventory, were sent to Andy Turano who revised some of his conclusions. In the meantime, the Mallory auction brought to light a number of additional 13¼" deep dishes marked by pewterers not included in Turano's first article. The revisions plus the additional dishes provided enough material for Andy to write an updated article which is printed as the second article below. This article was sent to Bowen who continues to disagree with the concept that one mold and/or its castings could have been used by so many pewterers. His additional comments appear as the third article below. Finally, Andy Turano, in the fourth article, has written a rebuttal to Bowen's comments.

Comments on Andrew Turano's Article,

"A Joseph Belcher-Danforth Connection: The 13¼" Deep Dish"

By Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

John Carl Thomas had noted that "some of the flatware sizes known with Belcher [Joseph Sr. or Jr.] marks are the same dimensions as Danforth examples."[1] One such size is the 13¼" deep dish, of which Andrew Turano located an example with the bird touch of the Joseph Belchers. He compared it with examples of similar sized dishes by Thomas Danforth II, John Danforth, Joseph Danforth, Samuel Danforth (Hartford) and Thomas D. Boardman.[2] "They nested comfortable with each other," and the diameters varied only plus or minus 1/16" from 13¼", with 1⅜" wide brims, a 9/32" bead and roughly similar brim heights. Turano noted that similar sized dishes were also made by Jacob Whitmore, and Edward and William Danforth. Samuel Danforth of Norwich should also be added. It is worthy of note that Thomas Danforth III did not make this size dish; his largest dish was 13 1/16" in diameter.

Turano implies that all of the dishes were made in the same mold. Because of the working dates of Thomas Danforth II, who died in 1782, and his brother John he suggested that the mold traveled from Newport to Middletown sometime before 1782 for both to have used the mold. Because of this he concluded that Joseph Belcher, Jr. could not have made the dish in New London where he worked from 1784 to 1788, and that 1782 "cuts it close" for Thomas Danforth II and John to have used the mold for a reasonable period of time. Such a period would certainly go back to 1776 (only six years), and would mean that the dish was made by Joseph, Sr. in pre-Revolutionary times. However, Joseph Belcher, Sr. undoubtedly did not make any plates or dishes. There are none in his inventory and an estimate of the weights of molds for the forms in his inventory does not allow for any plate or dish molds. Therefore, one could reasonably conclude that the Belcher dish was not made in the same mold as the Danforth dishes and was indeed made by Joseph, Jr., possibly after 1782. *(Ed. Note: See article, "Joseph Belcher's Inventory" by Richard L. Bowen, Jr. also in this issue.)*

There are also problems in having some of the Danforths using the same mold. The 13¼" dish mold can be identified in the 1782 inventory of Thomas Danforth II as the largest platter mold.[3] Since Jacob Whitmore was associated with Thomas at some time he presumably had access to the mold. In the 1784 distribution of Thomas Danforth II's inventory the largest platter mold was given to William Danforth.[4] Since he was only 15 years old the mold would have remained in the Middletown shop until he was 21. Joseph took over the shop on his father's death in 1782 and used his lion-in-gateway touch on the 13¼" dishes until his death in 1788, at which point Jonathan took over and continued to use Joseph's touch on the dishes.

When Edward Danforth reached his majority in 1786 he moved out of Middletown and opened shop in Hartford. The 13¼" dish mold would have remained in Middletown with William who eventually took over the Middletown shop in 1794 and ran it until his death in 1820. Thus Thomas Danforth II's 13¼" dish mold remained in Middletown until that time. Therefore, any 13¼" dishes with marks of Edward Danforth (working from 1786 to 1800) had to be from a different mold.

John Danforth worked in Norwich for all his life except for his brief partnership with his brother Thomas II. He was a contemporary of Thomas working from 1762 to 1790. Therefore, any 13¼" dishes with John's marks had to have been from a mold different than the Middletown one. His son Samuel continued to use this mold in Norwich until he went out of business in 1803.[5] Samuel Danforth (son of Thomas) started in Hartford in 1795 at age 21. He eventually had a 13¼" dish mold. J.C. Thomas noted that most of the Norwich molds of John and Samuel ended up in Hartford.[6] Samuel of Hartford had a dolphin handle porringer, presumably from this source. He also probably acquired the Norwich 13¼" dish mold. Thomas D. Boardman was apprenticed to Edward and later to Samuel of Hartford. He started in 1804 when he "hired the tools of Ed Danforth."[7] Presumably he acquired Edward's 13¼" dish mold.

The occurrence of 13¼" dish molds and their subsequent usage may be summarized.

Joseph Belcher, Jr. (w. 1779-1790?)
Thomas Danforth II/Joseph/William (w 1755-1820)
John Danforth/Samuel (Norwich)/Samuel (Hartford) (w. 1762-1816)
Edward Danforth/Thomas D. Boardman (w. 1786-1820+)

Therefore, there were at least four molds for 13¼" deep dishes; at times they were used contemporaneously. (Some of the Belcher plate or dish molds could have ended up in Hartford.)

One could ask how wares from four different molds could be so similar. An explanation may be provided from an interesting experiment Charles F. Montgomery made while curator of Yale University's pewter collection from 1970 to 1978. He took a 7¾" pewter plate with the TD lion in oval mark and large hallmarks of Thomas Danforth, made a plaster mold from it and cast another pewter plate in the mold.[8] All of the surface wear and defects were faithfully duplicated and the marks had only a slight loss in detail. The experiment was conducted to show the technique used by some pewter forgers. An example in the collection was a double crown handle porringer with the mark TD&SB.[9] The handles show identical wear and defects indicating that each was copied (cast) from a single original handle.

It is not suggested that the above workers made plaster molds to cast their pewter dishes in. Such plaster molds were very fragile and had short lives. However, a pewterer wishing to make a mold from another pewterer's dish would make substantial plaster casts on each side of the dish probably strengthened with layers of cloth (or the brass founder could make the plaster casts). Then he would take the two casts to a brass founder and have brass castings made of each half. Since these castings would have somewhat rough surfaces they would be put in a lath and the inside surfaces of both would be skimmed to present a smooth surface. The brass would shrink a little after casting and the skimming would increase the diameter slightly so conceivable the mold would produce a dish very similar to that copied.[10] Material was probable added to one side of the plaster cast outside of the dish diameter so that the finished brass mold produced a pewter casting thicker than the original dish to allow skimming the cast pewter dish. This should show the folly of asserting that, because two plates or dishes by different makers are "identical", they were "made in the same mold."

There is another way to make a brass mold for a dish, which is actually the conventional way. The pewterer would take the dish to a pattern maker who would make wooden patterns for the two mold halves. In the last of the 18th century the pattern makers were actually the ordinary cabinet makers. It was not until the early 19th century that pattern making became a separate trade under the stimulus of the industrial revolution in America, which started with the textile industry.

For a $13^1/_4$" dish the cabinet maker would start with two white pine disks about 15" in diameter and maybe $1^1/_2$" thick. First he would turn a recess in one disk on a lathe so the bottom side of the dish would completely fit in loosely. The disk would then be turned over and the excess material under the brim and booge would be turned off so the pattern was about $^1/_4$" to $^3/_8$" thick to minimize the brass weight and cost. The second disk would be put in the lathe and the material under the brim and booge would be turned off so the first disk would loosely fit over the projection of the well and the brim. It would then be turned over and again the excess material turned out of the well and off the brim so the pattern thickness was similar to the first disk.

The two patterns for the mold halves were thus made very easily and certainly could not have cost very much. Openings were cut in the edges for pouring the pewter in. These patterns were taken to a brass founder who would place them in a sand box (flask) and make brass castings. The pewterer could machine the inside surfaces of the two halves on his lathe and add the hinges and handles or have a blacksmith add them. Simply and at a low cost the pewterer had a mold to cast dishes. Like the plaster casts this mold would duplicate the shape and size of the original dish almost exactly if the clearances were properly machined.

Both Thomas Danforth II and John Danforth made $12^1/_8$" flat dishes. They were undoubtedly made in different molds – the Middletown and Norwich molds. John did not necessarily copy the dish from his older brother Thomas; the first mold may have originally belonged to their father, Thomas I. Plates and dishes differ from porringers, mugs and tankards, which have handles. These handles are not finished and usually have "mold marks" (defects in the castings) which can show a relationship between various makers.[11] With plates and dishes any mold marks have been skimmed off as both sides are completely finished.

References

[1] John Carl Thomas, *Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers* (Hartford, 1976), 157.

[2] Andrew F. Turano, "A Joseph Belcher–Danforth Connection: The 13¼" Deep Dish," *PCCA Bulletin*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 138-142.

[3] Middletown, Connecticut, Probate Records, Docket #1149, Thomas Danforth, inventory, 19 pp.

[4] Ibid., Personal Property Distribution, 18 pp.

[5] Thomas, 81.

[6] Ibid., 80.

[7] Ibid., 91.

[8] David L. Barquist, *American and English Pewter at Yale University Art Gallery* (New Haven, 1985), p. 74, No. 271.

[9] Ibid., p. 72, No. 268.

[10] Andrew F. Turano, "Luther Boardman," *PCCA Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 10, p. 357, has suggested that the shrinkage could be as high as 10%. This is much too high – about twenty fold. Foundry practice allows about five thousands of an inch (0.005") per inch, or one half of one percent (0.5%).

[11] Wayne A. Hilt, "Three Tankards, Three Makers – One Set of Molds," *PCCA Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 6, pp. 175-180.

An Update On The Traveling 13¼" Deep Dish

By Andrew F. Turano

In the summer of 2000, the Bulletin published an article that I submitted on the connection between the Joseph Belchers and the Danforths that involved a mold for a 13¼" deep dish (Vol. 12, # 3, p. 138). In this article were listed the following pewterers with marked examples: Joseph Belcher, Sr. or Jr., John Danforth, Joseph Danforth and Thomas D. Boardman. Since that time there have been a number of important developments. The Mallory auction (June, 2001) has revealed an extended use of this mold or its castings (vide infra) by another tier of pewterers trained in Middletown. Also, there have been some new discoveries. I had initially assumed that the mold had originated with Joseph Belcher, Sr., in Newport. However, a recently revealed estate inventory of Joseph Belcher, Sr., after his death in 1778, shows that he had no molds for flatware. In addition, some early examples of these deep dishes have emerged. I have since acquired another dish with the "MIDDELTOWN" (sic) scroll mark. In addition, Wayne Hilt and I have examined a dish marked by Thomas Danforth II with a hammered bouge and an embryonic nick on the second shield of his large hallmarks (Figs. 1 a, b), and another deep dish marked by Jacob Whitmore which was also struck with Thomas Danforth II's crowned initials (Fig. 2). These developments may help shed more light on the origin and subsequent travels of the 13¼" deep dish and its mold, and I felt that an update on this subject was indicated, both for corrections and for additions to the original article.

Fig. 1a. Thomas Danforth II's hallmarks with an embryonic nick on the second shield on a 13¼" deep dish with a hammered bouge.

Fig. 1b. Compare with a more developed nick on a later plate.

Fig. 2. A 13¼" deep dish marked by Jacob Whitmore, whose marks accompany Thomas Danforth II's crowned initial marks.

The recent auction of the Mallory collection has provided some surprises in that it reveals an extension of the use of this mold or its castings to another tier of workers: the "Connecticut travelers".[1] These men worked for and were apprentices of Jacob Whitmore, and William, Jonathan and Joseph Danforth, Sr. (In order to qualify as Connecticut travelers, they also had to have worked independently in Middletown, and either settled in or traveled seasonally to Southern cities). Not surprisingly, the auction listed 13¼" deep dishes/chargers (sic) by Thomas Danforth II, Jacob Whitmore, William Danforth, John Danforth (13⅜") (sic) and Samuel Danforth of Hartford. However, in addition we now find 13¼" deep dishes marked by Amos Treadway, Jr., Jacob Eggleston and James Porter. Although I was not able to attend the auction, Ron Chambers and Wayne Hilt offered to examine these dishes as best as possible despite the limited time constraints. They were able to confirm by direct comparison with the Samuel Danforth example that the dishes of Amos Treadway, Jr. and Jacob Eggleston came from the same mold, and that the other listed 13¼" dishes were visually identical. And recently, Wayne Hilt and I examined a pair of deep dishes from this mold, one marked by Jehiel Johnson and another by Stephen Barnes.

In order to attempt to more completely round out the list of known markers of this deep dish, I also checked the listed 13¼" deep dishes found in the publications of Carl Jacobs[2], Ledlie I. Laughlin[3], John Carl Thomas[4] and Quincy Scarborough[5]. I am now able to add the names of Samuel Hamlin, Samuel Danforth of Norwich, Edward Danforth, Thomas S. Derby, William Nott, Hiram and Charles Yale and J. and D. Hinsdale as having marked 13¼" deep dishes. Although not all of these and other 13¼" deep dishes were personally examined and compared with known 13¼" examples from the original mold, it is possible to demonstrate existing geographic, business and personal relationships that tie these workers to those who controlled the mold.

THE BELCHER/DANFORTH CONNECTION

Expanding on John Carl Thomas' lead, where he stated: "Some of the flatware sizes known with Belcher's marks are the same dimensions as Danforth examples"[6], I had previously assumed that the mold originated in Newport and traveled to Middletown. However, Richard L. Bowen has recently found the 1779 inventory of Joseph Belcher, Sr.'s estate, documented in Brooklyn, MA. The senior Belcher had moved there when the British occupied Newport. It seems that he was, primarily, a brazier and brass founder as well as a sometime pewterer. There were no molds for pewter flatware listed in his estate. The few finished pewter products listed in his inventory consisted of basins, porringers, mugs and curtain rings. In this inventory he lists 250 lbs. of pewterers' molds and appropriate braziers' and pewterers' tools. In 1763, an advertisement in the *Newport Mercury* does not list pewter making in his shop. On the other hand, in 1769, while still in Newport, Joseph Belcher, Sr. did advertise in the *Providence Gazette* that "he makes and sells Pewter-ware, Wholesale and Retail". John Fryers, the only other known pewterer in Newport, retired in that year. The implication in this advertisement suggests that, nine years before his death, the senior Belcher may have decided to offer for sale a more extensive line of pewter forms than those that remained in his estate in 1779, and he was willing to advertise this fact outside of his local area. We know that the absence of certain molds in an estate inventory does not necessarily mean that the maker did not once own or have use of these or other molds during his working career. Nevertheless, the estate inventory evidence does permit a second option: perhaps the mold originated elsewhere.

On balance, this second option must be seriously considered. If, indeed, there were no flatware molds at any time during the pewtering career of Joseph Belcher, Sr., and we combine this information with the findings of the jointly marked Whitmore dish and the early (c1760-65) T. D. II dish, plus the presence of marked 13¼" deep dishes from this mold by virtually all of Thomas Danforth II's sons who operated the Middletown and Hartford shops, we now can see that the pieces of the puzzle fit together nicely. The most important evidence rests with the dating of the early Thomas Danforth II deep dish. It certainly appears to precede the senior Belcher's 1769 advertisement in the *Providence Gazette*. In light of this evidence, one may conclude that the mold did not travel from Newport to Middletown. It could have first emerged in Middletown, perhaps with Thomas Danforth II and Jacob Whitmore. It is then likely that Joseph Belcher, Jr., while in New London, was the individual who marked the Joseph Belcher 13¼" deep dishes, acquiring castings from the Danforth/Whitmore mold. In light of the known Belcher-Danforth porringer mold connection, this becomes more plausible, and would also corroborate John Carl Thomas' observation that some of the flatware forms of Belcher and the Danforths shared the same dimensions.

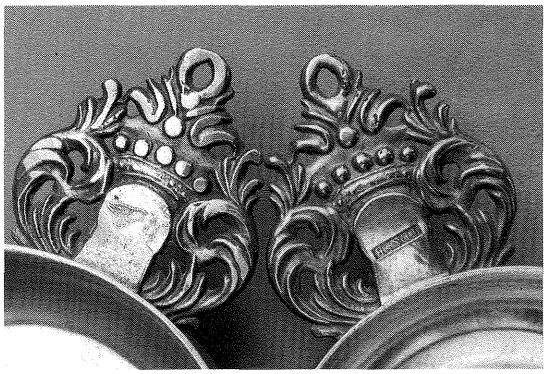
The exact relationship that existed between Jacob Whitmore (w. 1757-1790) and Thomas Danforth II (w. 1755-1782) is not clear. Many - but not all - of the molds they used were owned jointly. Thomas II was trained as a brazier, and it is logical to assume that he made some of the molds that they shared. When Jacob Whitmore retired in 1790, he retained his half interest in the jointly owned molds, and continued this joint ownership with Danforth's two oldest sons, Thomas III and Joseph, Sr.[7] As the Danforths either worked together or "traded around" molds[8], the mold was readily available to all, including John and, perhaps, his son, Samuel, in Norwich. John had worked with his brother Thomas in

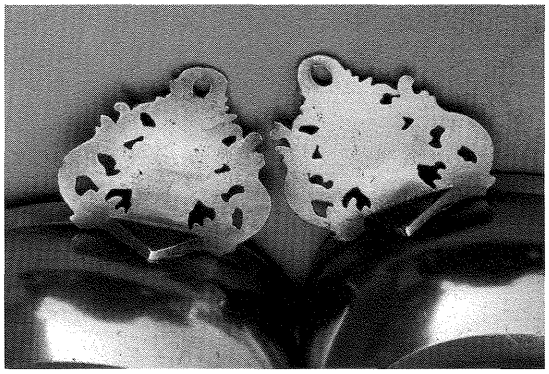
Middletown for about three years and had access to his brother's molds and/or castings. A large portion of John's stock in Norwich appears to have originated from Thomas II's shop in Middletown, and, in his brother's estate, John owed the largest debt. Samuel, John's son, apprenticed under his father and operated a separate Norwich shop from 1793 until 1803.

The one problem in acquisition or availability rests with Josiah Danforth, who presumably acquired his father's (William) molds. Josiah was the youngest and the last of the Danforths to continue to operate the Middletown shop (1820/21+). Initially using the molds (plates, basins, mugs and porringers) he inherited from his father, Josiah's listings for flatware consisted of plates in two sizes. But the listed sizes do not fit the dimensions of the plates from the Middletown molds of Thomas Danforth II or his son, William. In Thomas Danforth II's estate distribution, a deep dish mold, which appears to be listed as the 85 $^1/_4$ lb. "soop platter" remained with William in the Middletown shop.[9] William was then 15 years of age. If, indeed, this "soop platter" were the 13$^1/_4$" deep dish mold his older brothers obviously would have freely used it. Although William has marked deep dishes of this size, none have surfaced to date with Josiah's mark. We must keep in mind that by 1821, Josiah's cousin, Thomas Danforth Boardman, was well on his way to creating his own dynasty in Hartford, and apparently had already acquired and used the deep dish mold, as shown by the early marks, L424 and L428 (before 1820) on his deep dish. Edward and Samuel Danforth, working in Hartford, had working dates that overlapped those of William in Middletown. They had marked 7$^7/_8$" plates from their father's mold. They also had marked 13$^1/_4$" deep dishes. Samuel's was verified to be from the Middletown mold, but I was unable to examine one by Edward. I must only assume that these brothers obtained castings or borrowed the mold from William's shop before it eventually resided in Hartford.

We appear to have evidence that perhaps not all of William's molds reverted to Josiah by the time he inherited the shop and stock in 1820. However, one mold that he did acquire and use was the mold for the controversial crown handled porringer with the wide spline. This porringer mold was used by the Belchers and ended up in Middletown. There exists erroneous information concerning marked examples of this porringer attributed to John Danforth and his son, Samuel, in Norwich, as stated and illustrated by Carl Jacobs.[10] Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf definitively corrects this confusion in a pair of articles in this Bulletin, *(see p. 419 & 421)*. The evidence presented eliminates John and his son, Samuel, in Norwich, who both used a different crown handle mold that was later used by the Boardmans (Figs. 3, a through e).[11] His article shows that the mark that Carl Jacobs ascribed to John was really marked by his nephew, Joseph, Sr., in Middletown. Dr. Wolf concludes that this mold was used by Joseph, Josiah and most likely, William, who, lacking a small mark of his own, used his father's (Thomas II) crowned initial marks. This conclusion was also suggested by John Carl Thomas.[12] To this date, this porringer has not been reported with Thomas II's mark. The porringer mold, then, appears to have been acquired from Joseph Belcher, Jr. by Thomas' son Joseph, Sr. during the period of time that Joseph's shop was marking his wares. A likely time of transfer would be in 1784, when Joseph Belcher, Jr. moved from Newport to New London shortly after his wife filed for divorce. Perhaps financial needs prompted the sale. This would permit Joseph Danforth four years in which to use the mold before he died in 1788. It now appears that William and then his son, Josiah, subsequently acquired this mold.

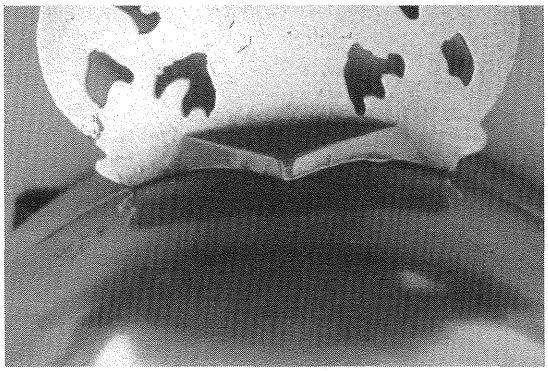
Therefore it becomes more clear that this deep dish mold most likely originated with Jacob Whitmore and Thomas Danforth II and was used by them, the Danforth sons in the Middletown and Hartford shops, and Thomas D. Boardman for about 60 years.

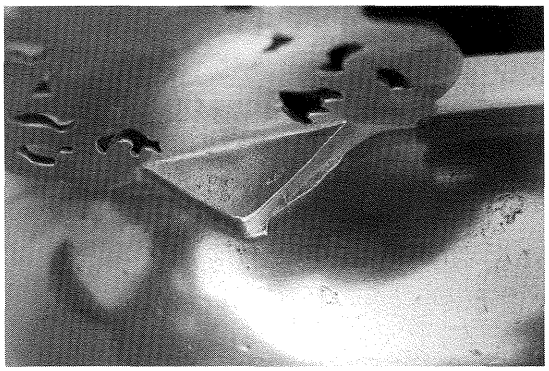




Figs. 3a & 3b. Front and back views of the porringer handles of the Samuel Danforth (Norwich) and T.D. & S.B. examples. Note that the bosses and foliate elements are flattened on the Samuel Danforth porringer handle.

Fig. 3c. Close-up of Samuel's "chicken" eagle mark.





Figs. 3d & 3e above show view of identical mold flaws seen on the brackets of both porringers: a pair of waves on one side, a mold nick on the other, and a three dot defect on the face of the bracket, lower right.

THE "MIDDLETOWN TRAVELERS"

Based on the recent deep dish discoveries plus the findings at the Mallory auction, and the listings of forms and sizes ($13^1/_8$"-$13^1/_4$") found in the above mentioned reference sources, we may trace the presence of this deep dish to the next tier of known $13^1/_4$" deep dish users. The majority of them, the "Connecticut travelers", perhaps could more accurately be described as the "Middletown travelers". How did examples of the $13^1/_4$" deep dish end up with this next tier of workers? We find that the following Middletown trained and traveling pewterers actively worked for a time in Middletown: Jacob Eggleston, William Nott, Jehiel Johnson, James Porter and, probably, Thomas S. Derby.[13] All of these men trained under Jacob Whitmore and/or William, Jonathan and Joseph Danforth, Sr. They then worked for or with the Danforth brothers. And, in reviewing and integrating the historical and genealogical research on these workers found in the above mentioned sources (See endnotes 2, 3, 4, 5), some interesting connections appear.

Jacob Eggleston was Jacob Whitmore's son-in-law. He apprenticed under Whitmore from about 1787 to 1790. When Whitmore retired in 1790, Eggleston completed his training with William and Jonathan Danforth, who were then operating Joseph Danforth's shop from his death in 1788 until 1794. Eggleston worked in Middletown alone and in partnership with Jehiel Johnson until around 1807, when he moved to Fayetteville, N.C. after a number of exploratory visits. There he worked until his death in 1813, at which time his molds were acquired by William Nott and William and Samuel Yale. Eggleston's accounts showed that he had business relationships with Jehiel Johnson, William Nott, Blakeslee Barnes in Philadelphia, J. & D. Hinsdale and William Danforth in Middletown and Samuel Danforth in Hartford.

William Nott apprenticed under William Danforth beginning in 1803. He then maintained the shop of William Danforth alone from 1809 to @1812. He was the only traveling pewterer who appeared to have sole access to this mold for at least three years during William's prolonged absences. From 1812-14 we find Nott engaged as a wholesale grocer in Fayetteville. After Eggleston's death in 1813, he acquired 346 lbs. of Eggleston's molds and returned to Middletown in the following year. Thereafter he traveled from Middletown to Fayetteville, supposedly engaged in merchandising. Since his marking die contained 18 stars, it indicates that he had it made between 1812-16. He entered into partnership with Jehiel Johnson and Samuel Babcock as "Johnson and Nott" from 1817-19. In 1817 the firm operated pewtering establishments in both Middletown and Fayetteville. They engaged peddlers who traveled from one shop to the other, selling wares along the way and restocking at each shop. In 1819 the partnership dissolved and Nott functioned alone, first in Middletown, then in Fayetteville. In 1819 he purchased 67 1/2 pounds of "new pewter" from William Danforth. He continued to work in Fayetteville, first as a partner in "Nott and Starr" from 1822-1829, engaged in merchandising and pewter sales, and from 1829 until 1834 he was a partner in "Nott and Sumner". William Nott died in Fayetteville around 1840.

Jehiel Johnson most likely apprenticed under William Danforth from 1798-1805. He then joined with Jacob Eggleston in partnership at that time, maintaining Eggleston's shop while Eggleston explored his relocation to North Carolina. At Eggleston's death in 1813, Jehiel Johnson, who apparently never had molds of his own, attempted various partnership endeavors in merchandising, both in Middletown and Fayetteville. In 1815 and again

in 1819, his creditors consisted of J. and D. Hinsdale and the U. S. Bank of Middletown. He successfully paid these debts. He then joined William Nott in partnership from 1817 to 1819 (see Nott, above). He returned to Middletown in 1820 and there remained until his death in 1833. His few marked pieces were from the molds of Eggleston and Nott.

James Porter trained under Joseph Danforth, Sr. commencing about 1786, then with Jonathan and William in Joseph's shop until 1794, at which time he purchased property in Middletown next to William Danforth. Thereafter, he either worked alone or with William. It is during this period that he marked his wares with his own touch. In 1803 he is listed in the Baltimore directory as a pewterer, but the birth of his child was listed in the Middletown records later in the same year. In 1805 he sold his property in Middletown. In 1809 he announced his permanent residence in Baltimore. It is possible that this is the James Porter who worked with Nott and Johnson as a journeyman and a peddler in Fayetteville from 1817-21.[14]

Thomas Derby, trained by William Danforth from about 1800-1807, was listed in the Middletown census without occupation in 1810 and 1820. He then worked for Josiah, William's son, beginning about 1821-22. Josiah entrusted him with a secret britannia formula recently discovered by his cousin, Thomas Danforth Boardman. However, shortly thereafter, Derby was hired away by Hiram and Charles Yale, taking with him the Boardman secret. Derby worked for the Yales until around 1830. He then operated his own shop in Middletown from approximately 1830-1850.

Other than the "Middletown travelers", marked $13^1/_4$" deep dish examples, as stated above, exist (but not all have been examined) from the following workers: Samuel Hamlin, Amos Treadway, Jr., Stephen Barnes, and J. and D. Hinsdale. Samuel Hamlin trained under the two senior Middletown pewterers, Jacob Whitmore and Thomas Danforth II. From 1767 to sometime before 1773, he then worked in Hartford in partnership with Benjamin Henshaw. Before relocating to Providence in 1773, he announced the dissolving of a partnership with Danforth (Thomas II). Amos Treadway, Jr., who is presumed to have apprenticed under Thomas Danforth II and Jacob Whitmore from about 1776/7-1783/4, appeared to have worked for a short time in Middletown, then settled in New Haven in 1784. Since Treadway had used the Middletown scroll mark along with his mark on his flatware, and his $7^7/_8$" plates were cast from the mold of Thomas Danforth II, I was gratified when a marked Treadway deep dish from the $13^1/_4$" mold appeared. Treadway had not, prior to the Mallory auction, been listed as having a marked deep dish of that size. Stephen Barnes most likely trained in Middletown under William Danforth from about 1791-98, and worked there alone from about 1800-1810. J. & D. Hinsdale worked in Middletown from 1810 to 1826, but they are not yet known to have documented training or working ties to the Danforths. However, Jacob Eggleston's estate paid them $229.67 in 1814, and they apparently had business relationships in Augusta.

Although it is highly unlikely that the Middletown-trained group of workers were in possession of the mold, it is obvious that they had the opportunity as apprentices or employed journeymen (i.e., William Nott, Jehiel Johnson, Jacob Eggleston Thomas Derby and James Porter) to cast and finish these deep dishes in the Middletown shop with the various Danforths. Of all of the brothers, William's shop, during his absences, offered the best opportunities; and they all worked there. When they operated their own shops they were

then able to purchase the unfinished castings from the Danforths or, perhaps, from William Nott while he worked alone in William's shop. Per Wayne A. Hilt, the dishes by the various Middletown workers and travelers, as revealed in an examination of the examples by Jehiel Johnson and Stephen Barnes, showed evidence of differing finishing techniques.

I believe that the story of the owners, borrowers and users of this one mold is an interesting one. It not only gives us an opportunity to follow its travels through the various shops of virtually the entire Danforth/Boardman family, but to also reveal its use by their partners, associates and apprentices. This saga, as it extends to the last tier of workers, transcends the "eight-inch-plate" era and the subsequent "Transitional" period. We can appreciate the economic challenges facing the pewterers in Connecticut at the turn of the nineteenth century, where, from an entrenched and limited base of workers, we quickly evolve into an overabundance of Danforth-trained journeymen. Faced with this competition, their only means of survival consisted in exploring new markets and other business endeavors. The overflow appears to have erupted through the shop of William Danforth, who, whether present or absent, maintained his shop with these newly trained journeymen. He either directly encouraged their moves or provided the opportunity for these pewterers to migrate. They still kept one foot on Middletown soil because they needed the contacts they made in their home base for financial assistance, raw materials and for the richness of molds and forms that were available there. Unfortunately, these forms were for eighteenth century tastes. Although plates and basins were marketable for a while in the South, rapidly changing styles and forms put these cottage industry journeymen out of business. Only large manufacturing firms like the Boardmans were able to evolve and succeed during this transition. These "Travelers", like "Miniver Cheevy", were born too late.

It would be helpful to visualize the relationships between the owners and users of this mold by referring to APPENDIX I.

I strongly believe that the travelers, and others who were outside the lines of mold acquisitions, marked these deep dishes by acquiring unfinished castings. There is strong evidence that the practice of selling unfinished castings existed in the Eighteenth Century in the pewtering trade. This practice is well illustrated in the *Henry Will Account Book.*[15] Henry Will's accounts show substantial transactions with Philip Will as well as another with William Will. On page 2, to Philip Will, "to a barrel of cast pewter send containy(g) 144 lbs. at $^1/_2$" (sic). This appears to refer to unfinished castings. In transactions with William Will on page 9, there are several notations of pewter cast and sent, one for cartage of cast pewter and another for 62 pounds of pewter "cast and send as above". There are also many transactions for "parcels of new pewter", in contradistinction to the above notations for "castings". This information adds further evidence that pewterers had active trade with each other in unfinished castings, enabling the purchasers to offer a larger variety of forms to their customers than their own molds provided. The unfinished castings were then finished and marked in their own shops. As the Nineteenth Century progressed, this practice extended to unfinished or finished parts, i.e. spouts and handles. Then there were also other routine sales of "new pewter" from one maker to another, as noted when William Nott purchased "new pewter" from William Danforth in 1819, and, in Ashbil Griswold's account books, from 1808-13 he sold large quantities of "new pewter" as well as block tin.[16]

I would like to acknowledge the assistance I received from Wendell Hilt and Wayne A. Hilt with respect to furnishing important guidance in assembling this article as well as providing relevant unpublished information.

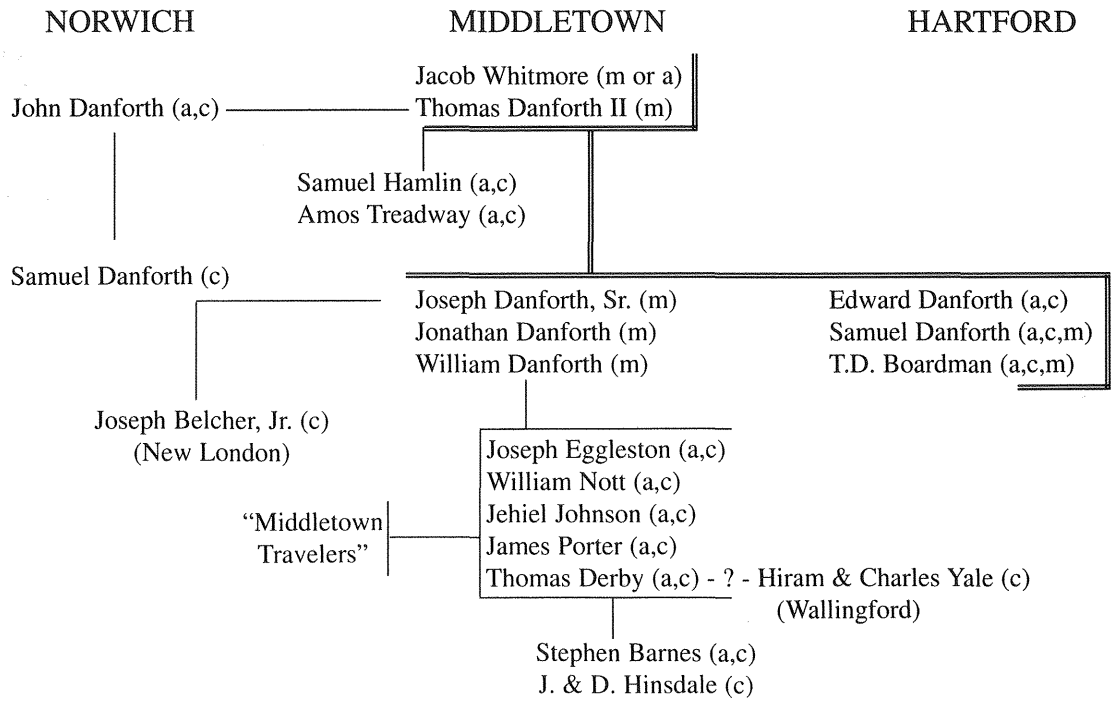
References

[1] John Carl Thomas, *Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers*, The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT., 1976, pp. 158, 176.
[2] Carl Jacobs, *A Guide to American Pewter*, McBride Co., Inc., N.Y., N.Y., 1957.
[3] Ledlie I. Laughlin, *Pewter in America*, Vols. I-III, Barre Publishers, MA, 1969, 1971.
[4] John Carl Thomas, op. cit.
[5] Quincy Scarborough, *Carolina Metalworkers*, Quincy Scarborough, Fayetteville, N.C., 1995.
[6] John Carl Thomas, op. cit., p. 157.
[7] Ibid., pp. 69, 146-149.
[8] Ibid., p. 97.
[9] Ibid., p. 96.
[10] Carl Jacobs, op. cit., p. 68.
[11] Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf, *Crown-Handled Porringers - a Method of Identification*, PCCA Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 54-65.
[12] John Carl Thomas, op. cit., pp. 97, 98, Fig. 94.
[13] Ibid., p.171.
[14] Quincy Scarborough, op. cit., pp. 37, 38.
[15] Donald L. Fennimore, *Henry Will Account Book*, Masthof Press. 1996.
[16] Ashbil Griswold, Account Books, Nos. 1-5, Meriden Historical Society.

APPENDIX I

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE 13 1/4" MOLD OWNERS AND USERS
(m= mold in shop, a = access to mold, c = obtained castings)
Double black line traces shop(s) in which mold probably resided.
Single lines show probable access to mold or castings.

DANFORTH/BOARDMAN SHOPS



Additional Comments on Andrew Turano's Articles on the 13¼" Deep Dishes

By Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

It might be suggested that unfinished castings from the original 13¼" Middletown mold were furnished to the other pewterers who made this size dish. Indeed such a practice is documented in the account book of Henry Will of New York (Fennimore). In 1763 Henry sold to his brother Philip a barrel of unspecified pewter castings weighing 144 lbs (p.2) and in 1767 he sold to his father John 4 gallon pots weighing 40 lbs. and 4 dozen quart pots weighing 95 lbs. (p.1). The account book ran to 1800 and there were never any other sales of pewter castings of either Philip or John.

Henry made five sales to his brother William in Philadelphia (p.9): in 1768, teapot castings weighing 35 lbs.: in 1772, 8 bedpan castings weighing 49 lbs. and 82 lbs. of unspecified castings; in 1773, 252 lbs. of unspecified castings; and in 1774, measure castings weighing 66 lbs. There were no additional sales of pewter castings to William. Henry made sales to his brother Christian from 1784 to 1789 but there were no pewter castings.

This indicates that sales of pewter castings were indeed made to other pewterers but they were extremely rare and of a random and sporadic nature. More important, from 1775 to 1800, a full quarter of a century, not a single pewter casting was sold. In the above list of castings sold there are only eight transactions among the thousands in the book, and none of these could be considered substantial. The total was only 763 lbs. which is a pittance over a twelve year period. There obviously was no active continuing trade in unfinished castings. The flurry with William Will was probably helping him out when he started. Of the eight sales above five are specified: gallon pots, quart pots, teapots, bedpans and measures – all hollow ware. Certainly the Wills were not shipping unfinished dish castings. The practice of selling unfinished castings was obviously abandoned by Henry Will after 1774, presumably because the packing costs and freight charges made it economically unfeasible. Therefore, the Henry Will evidence cannot be used to suggest prolonged and continuous shipments of castings to one pewterer by coastal schooner.

In the case of Joseph Belcher in New London the distance by water was 40 miles. However, Belcher was a brass founder, a trade he learned from his father who was primarily a brass founder. Joseph, Jr. certainly made all of the molds for his plates and dishes when he moved to Newport. The 13¼" dish may not have been one of these initial molds; it may have been made when he moved to Connecticut. certainly a brass founder/pewterer would not buy dish castings. It should be noted that the turning labor to finish a brass mold was not any greater than that to finish the pewter dish from the mold.

John Danforth was in Norwich, about 55 miles by water from Middletown. The 13¼" dish was the largest and thus the heaviest made in Connecticut. Very probably the cost of packing the dishes in barrels and the freight charges would pay for a mold in not too many trips. To suggest that a practice of buying these dish castings continued with John's son Samuel from 1793 to 1803 is completely unrealistic.

Samuel Hamlin of Providence also made a 13¼" deep dish. In an ad in the November 13, 1773 *Connecticut Courant* he informed the public that the copartnership of Danforth and Hamlin was dissolved and that the pewterers and braziers trade was carried on by Samuel Hamlin near the Great Bridge in Providence. He also advised that "He has

nearly completed a set of molds of the newest and neatest fashions". He was obviously a brass founder. He was moving to Providence where there was no pewterer. He undoubtedly would make the common Connecticut plate and dish sizes, of which the 13¼" dish was very popular. To suggest that he did not make a mold for this size and bought castings from Middletown ignores the facts. Hamlin later made 11½", 13", 13½", 14", 14¾" and 15" deep dishes. No other pewterer had such a range of dishes. He undoubtedly had all these sizes because he was a brass founder and flat plate and dish molds were easy to make.

In his *Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers* (p. 78) J.C. Thomas suggested that possibly a considerable portion of the shop stock of John Danforth of Norwich was supplied by the Middletown workers. He apparently came to this conclusion from John's £50 note which was in Thomas Danforth II's estate at his death. He assumed (p. 80) that this was all for pewter and noted that it would have equaled at least 330 pounds of finished flatware or over 100 each of pint and quart mugs. Of course there is absolutely no indication what the note was for, and it is unreasonable to assume that it was all for pewter. It could have been for a number of things, such as cash, copper and iron ware, old pewter, local produce or other commodities. Henry Will's account book showed that he sold a variety of merchandise to his brothers Philip, William and Christian and to his father John. Sometimes there were pewter items (castings) in the accounts, but these were only a small fraction of the castings for hollow ware for which he did not have molds, such as tankards, chamber pots, and pint and quart mugs. He may also have purchased flatware castings for items he did not have molds for. There are no surviving basins of any size for John Danforth, which is remarkable for a pewterer in business for 30 years. This was a common item every pewterer had. Here it must be assumed that John did not have basin molds for a considerable period of time and obtained castings from Middletown where a full range of sized existed. The fact that none has survived would indicate that when a pewterer relied on castings his production was simply not as great as when he owned molds. This is indirect evidence to indicate that he owned a mold for the 13¼" dish, since the total production of all basins would certainly be greater than that of a single 13¼" dish.

In summary it appears that there was certainly more than one 13¼" mold. Joseph Belcher, Jr. in New London and Samuel Hamlin in Providence undoubtedly had their own molds, and very probably John Danforth in Norwich eventually had his own mold. It is quite possible that castings were shipped from Middletown to various workers in Hartford.

Rebuttal To Richard L. Bowen's Comments On The 13¼" Deep Dish Articles

By Andrew F. Turano

Mr. Richard L. Bowen has submitted for publication a pair of critiques (present in this issue) on statements and opinions I have made in my articles on the 13¼" deep dish. My first article appeared in the Summer 2000 issue (Vol. 12, No. 3) of the Bulletin, and the second, an update, is in this issue. Since these comments have been revised a number of times, I have experienced some difficulty in deciding how to address, in an orderly fashion, the essential issues. He questions a great number of statements and scenarios presented in my articles, and extended these criticisms to include the article I submitted on Luther Boardman in a *PCCA Bulletin* article in the Winter issue of1998 (Vol. 11, No. 6).

Also present in this publication, Richard L. Bowen has written an article on the 1779 Inventory of Joseph Belcher, Sr., which corrects my early suppositions and helps to establish a more interesting lineage in the use of this mold.

Published in this issue is an updated article on the13¼" deep dish in which I have, for the sake of brevity, already addressed many of the issues raised by Mr. Bowen. This second article was originally submitted to show an extended use of this mold or its castings to another tier of workers. Based on some new deep dish findings and the new Joseph Belcher, Sr. estate inventory information (courteously provided me before the final draft), other corrections and additions were also made in this later article. Where I stand corrected, I have acknowledged the suggestions and appreciate them. With respect to other comments which, for the most part are not factually based but exhibit differences in interpretation and opinion, I leave it to the readers to discuss, digest and decide that which appears to be the most likely scenario based on their own logic and experience.

Mr. Bowen's primary concern is that one mold alone could not have satisfied the needs of all of the users in the Danforth/Boardman dynasty, as well as explain the origin of the marked examples by Joseph Belcher, Jr. He feels that each workshop in Connecticut (Middletown, Norwich, Hartford and New London) must have had a separate mold copied from this dish, as a single mold is not reasonable. He wants me to consider the presence of four separate molds in four adjacent towns used by workers who already had easy access to either the original mold or its castings. He strongly feels that a single mold would have been too "busy" for too long. I must disagree. This mold did not have high volume use, and for early American pewterers, duplicating brass molds was expensive, time consuming, and, in this case, unnecessary. Sharing of molds and acquiring unfinished castings appeared to have occurred commonly, and it would not be unreasonable to expect that this was the preferred scenario among the principal players in this story, as I have outlined in my updated article on the deep dish. Henry Kauffman, in his book, *The American Pewterer,* states: "The manufacturing of these molds was not an easy task; certainly it was a tedious one", and, "The elusive metal molds of the eighteenth century were so costly that several pewterers shared the use of one mold, and when new ones did come upon the market, there was no paucity of buyers for them"; in his discussion of the question concerning the origin of the Colonist's molds, he states, "there is also the problem of where the molds were made in the 18C." He concludes that they were obviously made

here, not only by founders in the large population centers, but also by small town brazier/pewterers. I interpret this information to indicate that pewterers who lived outside of the major population centers were forced to be their own pattern makers, founders and braziers (see Scarborough, *Carolina Metalworkers*, p. 18). When they worked in major centers, they opted to hire a woodworking pattern maker and a founder to do the work for them. An example of this can be seen in the significance of an advertisement in the *Providence Gazette* in 1809, placed by Samuel E. Hamlin, son of Samuel Hamlin, apprentice to and once partner of Thomas Danforth II. In it, he describes himself as a Pewterer and Brazier, and had for sale "a second-hand Wheel with Frame and Crank, suitable for a Block-Maker or Founder". It would appear that he may have been selling his or his father's old brass/foundry equipment. To trace this story back thirty-six years earlier, his father, the senior Hamlin ("who was obviously a brass founder" per Mr. Bowen), on announcing his move to Providence, advertised in 1773 that "he has nearly completed a set of moulds, of the newest and neatest fashion". Yet, in that same year, he paid William Proud, a Providence chairmaker and turner (see Montgomery, *A History of American Pewter*, p. 33) for making, turning and altering molds. Did Mr. Proud function as only a pattern maker, or did he provide the completed molds as the notations in the records stated? Again this illustrates that what we think we understand about our early pewterers, as well as what was stated in their advertisements might differ from the actual events. Detailed descriptions would make us happy, but they are often wanting. Brazier/pewterers sought the most convenient and cost-effective way to practice their craft. And declarative "informed" decisions concerning what we perceive as fact is fraught with pitfalls. With respect to the issue of who made the molds, it appears that a specific division of labor both inside and outside of the major population centers did not exist until the first two decades of the19th century (see Kauffman, pp. 27,28). Would it be reasonable to assume that, in the late eighteenth century, there were pattern makers and founders in small towns? Perhaps not. Also, is it likely that a small-town brazier/pewterer had to have the capability to cast and turn his own molds? It appears so. This function may not have been reflected in an estate inventory. In Thomas Danforth II's inventory there were two sets of a "Turning Wheel and Tower and Spindle" and turning hooks, plus stakes, beaks, large bellows, tongs, and brazier's tools as well as other materials needed to cast and turn brass molds. The fact that a furnace was not a part of the estate inventory does not negate Danforth's ability to make brass molds, as a furnace was an integral part of the shop and may have not been included in an inventory of items that were distributed to the heirs.

Shipping costs are not an issue in these instances. We must remember that, with the short overland shipping distances required for these workers, shipping was most often done by wagon, not coastal schooner, and rarely cost more than a dollar in early nineteenth century monetary terms. Early turnpike distances: from Middletown to Norwich, 30 miles; to Hartford, 15 miles: to New London, 35 miles. All of the primary people involved had easy access to the mold or its castings. With Joseph Belcher, Jr's connection to the Danforths through the spline-backed crown handle porringer mold, he could have easily opted to purchase castings. One wagonload would have given him sufficient castings to supply his needs for the rest of his short career in New London. Shipping a barrel or two of castings was not expensive. There are notations in Ashbil Griswold's account book that show that his shipping costs for comparable distances and loads ranged from 70 cents to $1.47 in 1834. Even if this cost were added to the cost of the castings, this is decidedly less expensive than creating a copy of the original mold.

It is not uncommon for a mold to be in use for many decades, and, alone, satisfy the needs of its users. Bronze and brass molds have had extended use and did survive in good condition, as illustrated by porringer handle molds and spoon and button molds. We know of the extended use of the flatware molds from John Townsend and his successors well into the 19th Century. On the other hand, pewter forms were copied, and new molds made, as I had reported in the article on Luther Boardman, *PCCA Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 10, pp. 323-363.) It appears that Luther, while in S. Reading (Boston), copied some of the teapots of G. Richardson. We must remember that some aspects of Richardson's teapots were unique. The "rugged C" handle was not used by any other makers except Luther Boardman and Richardson. However, in this case there existed a geographic, logistical or marketing demand that created the need for another mold, which, even in the case of this deep dish is always possible, but not likely.

In order to emphasize the point that copies of molds were commonplace, Mr. Bowen states that it is highly possible that a $12^{1}/_{8}$" flat dish mold used by the Danforth brothers, Thomas II and John "may have originally belonged to their father, Thomas Danforth I". He feels that the mold was then acquired by one of the sons and duplicated by the other. This is not reasonable. In the first place, the estate inventory of Thomas I shows no mold for this plate, or, in fact, for any flatware. And, again, why would one brother go through the expense of duplicating a mold that was readily accessible to both brothers? Per John Carl Thomas, *Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers*, pgs. 76 & 78, the brothers worked together, traded around their molds and acquired stock from each other. It is strongly felt by knowledgeable Danforth investigators, i.e., Wayne and Wendell Hilt and J. C. Thomas, that the distribution of stock, molds and tools in Thomas Danfoth II's estate realistically resulted in designating <u>where</u> the molds and equipment resided, not to whom they were given.

It is important to clarify some points about William Danforth and his management of the Middletown shop. Mr. Bowen describes that, in his father's inventory, William inherited the "largest platter mold". When I examined the inventory, there is listed for William a "soop platter" weighing $85^{1}/_{4}$ lbs. One could reasonably expect that this is the deep dish mold. There was a comment on the residence of this mold during William's career: was it in Middletown or Hartford? It is valid to question this point, as the working dates of William, Edward and Samuel overlapped. Obviously, when the mold resided in the Middletown shop, the "travelers" would have had the opportunity to cast and finish the dishes as apprentices and journeymen, and subsequently have access to its castings. I pointed out that by the time Josiah,William's son, acquired (@ 1820) his father's Middletown molds, there seemed to be some that were missing. It appeared he did not have the mold for the deep dish, nor the mold for the $7^{7}/_{8}$" plate. It could be assumed that they emerged in Hartford: both Samuel's and Edward's $7^{7}/_{8}$" plates came from the Middletown mold. With respect to the deep dish, they either borrowed the mold or acquired castings initially, then permanently acquired the deep dish mold from William's shop. I do not believe that one can accurately estimate the dates of the shifting of the deep dish mold or the plate mold. I have personally compared the deep dishes of Samuel Danforth and T. D. Boardman with one from the Middletown shop, and there is no question that they came from the original mold. I have not examined one by Edward, however, so I cannot be definite about that listed dish. There are other confusing findings concerning pieces of pewter that were marked by Edward which need clarification. Although

it is mentioned that he worked as a pewterer in Hartford only until @1800, there is evidence that he may have sold pewter after that date. He marked and sold pieces that were obviously made by his brother, Samuel and his brother-in-law, Thomas D. Boardman (see *J.C. Thomas*, pp. 90-93, and *L.L. Laughlin*, Vol. III, pp. 73-74, and Vol. I, Plate LIV, #s. 390, 391, and Plate XXXIII, Fig. 223.).

Mr. Bowen takes issue with the use of the crowned initial marks as a means of identifying small items made by William Danforth (I did not claim that William used these initials as a touch mark). The issue concerned his marking of the spline-backed crown handle porringer in this manner, as illustrated by John Carl Thomas in his book on *Connecticut Pewterers*, Figs. 94 and 95. William lacked a small mark, but, per his father's will, he inherited "stamps for 24 letters". And it is widely felt that he used them where his one large eagle mark was inappropriate. This conclusion was addressed in my present article and in a pair of articles by Dr. Melvyn D. Wolf.

I must also rebut the point that the castings that were sold as noted in the *Henry Will Account Book* were not of a significant amount to prove my point about the use of castings. I wish to state that the very fact that castings were sold between Henry Will and Philip and William Will shows that the practice did exist. If we were able to examine all of the account books of the early pewterers, Mr. Bowen would have been able to present statistically significant data for or against his point.

Mr. Bowen commented that the amount of shrinkage that occurs when brass molds are duplicated should be no more than 0.5%, not 10% as I had originally stated in my article on Luther Boardman. He has a point. Wayne Hilt recalculated the original figures used in the 10% estimate and found that, when he had a mold made from a plaster pattern of a finished plate, the shrinkage he obtained was just under 2%. Thus, for a 13¼" dish, castings from the duplicate mold would result in a dish that was 13" in diameter. It is also my understanding that the degree of shrinkage in a bronze or brass mold varies with the composition of the alloy, which, I am sure, varied significantly in the late eighteenth century. The braziers used whatever combinations of copper, tin and zinc they had available at the time. To reason that by jiggling the size and thickness of a copied mold and the extent of skimming would result in a mold of virtually the same dimensions and form is not reasonable. Why bother to produce a copy that is so true to the original? After verifying the products of the 13¼" mold I cannot believe that a well-made copy done in the eighteenth century would fit as well as the examined dishes did. I could not attest to the fact that all of the deep dishes that I listed came from the Middletown mold, as it was not possible to examine and compare all of them. But the personal connections between the parties and the existing patterns of trading and working practices exhibited by other makers certainly provides enough circumstantial evidence to make interesting reading and to provoke intelligent discussion. I have certainly succeeded in provoking discussion!

But all of this discussion has been propelled by the vigorous application of tunnel vision to a presentation that I had hoped would marry fact to circumstantial evidence. My intent was not to write a legal brief, but to present some new findings to the PCCA readers that I thought would make interesting and informative reading.

It is now necessary to clear the muddied waters by returning to reality. With respect to the 13 1/4" dish, where is there any logic in the necessity to copy the original mold? This deep dish was not the "Holy Grail" of deep dishes. It was a utilitarian piece of pewter, of a size and form that the Colonial/American housewife needed. Without reasonable access to the mold or its castings, a brazier/pewterer who wished to add it to his inventory would simply cast, turn and finish a new mold to approximate the desirable form and size. If a brazier such as Thomas Danforth III, while in Philadelphia, needed a 13+" deep dish, he could simply create or have created a mold of that approximate size. And, indeed, when I had the opportunity to compare a $13^{1}/_{8}$" deep dish by this maker with a dish from the Middletown mold, there were decided differences that are not explained by the slight variation in width or by any expected variations in making a copy. On aligning the bottom of the wells on the two dishes, the profiles of the bouge and rim were obviously different, as was the depth of the wells.

It is now time to revert to the Club's "Show and Tell" law: If a dish nests well, over and under, with another dish known to be from a certain mold, then, in all probability, the first dish came from the same mold. It has served us well for many decades.

Requiescat in pace!

Crown Handle Porringers By Joseph Belcher Senior or Junior, Joseph Danforth and Josiah Danforth

By Melvyn D. Wolf, MD

In *Pewter in America*, Volume I, by Ledlie Laughlin, Figure 375 shows the rampant lion in circle mark of Joseph Danforth. In Carl Jacobs', *Guide to American Pewter*, the photo in Figure 9, page 68, shows a porringer with the same mark; however the caption for the photo reads, "The crown handled porringer on the left is by John Danforth of Norwich, Connecticut. The same mold was used by his son, Samuel Danforth also of Norwich." This caption of the photo is in error; the porringer was not made by John Danforth but by Joseph Danforth. Also, because the porringer was not made by John, it was never used by his son, Samuel of Norwich. There is, however, a crown handle porringer that was used by John and Samuel and that porringer will be described and illustrated in the article that follows this one.

As a result of the confusion, I thought it would be helpful to the membership to finally straighten out this situation once and for all by describing and illustrating the three porringers made by Joseph Belcher, Joseph Danforth and Josiah Danforth. These three porringers are all characterized by having a spline on the back of the handle (Figure 1). All three porringers are from the same mold.

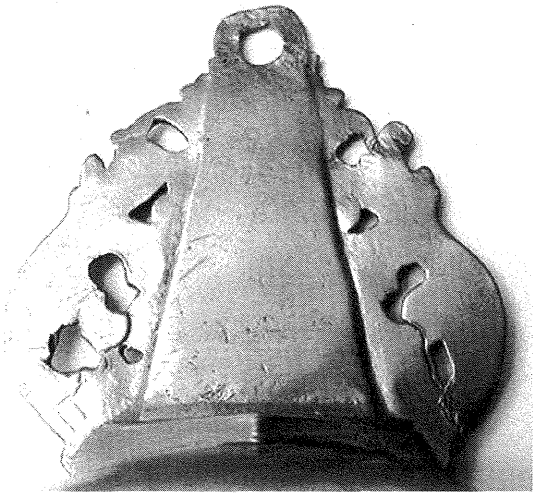


Figure 1

Figure 2

It appears the mold started with Joseph Belcher, Jr. or Sr., either in Rhode Island or in the various travels of Connecticut. The Joseph Belcher porringer (Figure 2) is characterized by absence of the mold marks which are noted on the Joseph Danforth (Figure 3) and the Josiah Danforth porringer (Figure 4). These mold marks, which roughly look like an elongated "I" and a "F" (Figure 5), were apparently cut into the face of the backside of the mold after the mold was acquired by Joseph. It is possible, but difficult to determine, that the Belcher porringer used in this article may have had similar marks which have been skimmed off. If other members have a similar Belcher porringer, please contact the writer regarding the presence or absence of these marks. Whether the marks

Figure 3

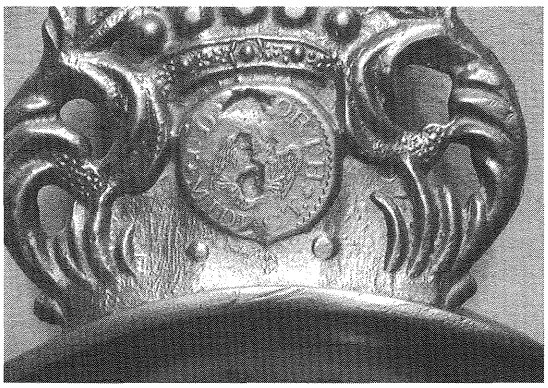


Figure 4

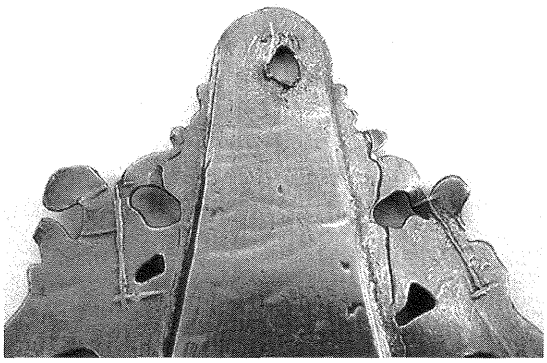


Figure 5

are indeed initials similar to those found on the back of Boston area porringers is impossible to say; but they bear no known relationship to Belcher or the Danforths. Exactly when the Belcher mold was turned over to Joseph Danforth is also difficult to state. The partnership of Belcher and Green apparently broke up in 1787 possibly allowing for the handle mold to be passed on to Joseph Danforth, but he died in 1788. It is possible that the mold was given to Danforth prior to the cessation of the Belcher-Green partnership. In any event, the mold remained with Joseph for a very short time, for only one or two porringers from this mold have been found with his mark. Following Joseph Danforth's death, the mold may have gone to William Danforth. Although no known examples signed by William Danforth have been found, a photograph in *Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers*, Figure 94, shows a porringer from the same mold in discussion, and John Carl Thomas suggests the possibility that this porringer was made by William Danforth. Eventually, the porringer handle mold finally ended up in the possession of Josiah Danforth, William's son, working from 1825 to 1837. A strong argument for the use of the mold by William is the difficulty in believing the mold lay idle for 37 years from the death of Joseph in 1788 to its first use by Josiah in 1825. William was in charge of the Middletown shop for most of these years.

It should be noted that the Belcher and Joseph Danforth porringers, consistent with 18th century manufacture, have planished handles, whereas the Josiah Danforth porringer does not. In summary, the handle mold in question started with Joseph Belcher Sr. or Jr., then was used by Joseph Danforth, possibly by William Danforth, and finally ended with Josiah Danforth. The photograph in Jacob's, *Guide to American Pewter* is incorrect in that the porringer, in the photograph on the left, was not made by John Danforth but by Joseph. I hope that this ends any confusion concerning this particular spline handled porringer.

Crown Handle Porringers By John Danforth, Samuel Danforth of Norwich and Thomas D. Boardman

By Melvyn D. Wolf, MD

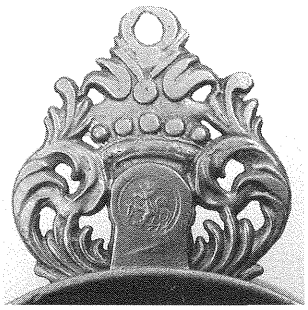


Figure 1: Handle of John Danforth porringer.

Another variety of crown handled porringer with the typical tombstone shield was used by three Connecticut pewterers also. To explain what Jacobs meant in his book, *Guide to American Pewter*, by stating that the John Danforth porringer mold was used by his son Samuel, requires this additional small article to put this problem to rest. The tombstone shield porringer, shown in Figure 1, was made by John Danforth of Norwich. The handle is planished, consistent with 18th century manufacture. The bracket is shown in Figure 2, since the characteristic defect on the right side

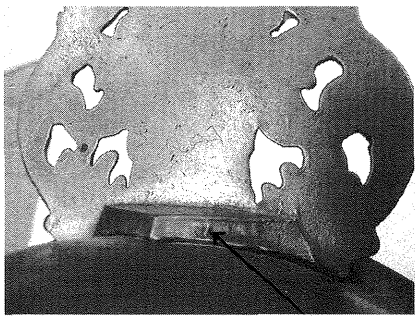


Figure 2: Bracket showing the characteristic defect on the right side.

of the handle mold is seen in all three porringers in this article. Figure 3 shows the Samuel Danforth of Norwich porringer, which is from the same mold and also has a planished handle. Figure 4 is that of the final resting place of this handle mold, and that is in the hands of Thomas D. Boardman. You will note that there is no planishing to speak of on this handle. This is consistent again with 19th century manufacture.

In summary then, there was a mold that was passed from John Danforth to his son Samuel of Norwich and eventually to Thomas D. Boardman, but it is not the porringer which is described in Carl Jacob's book. I hope this is sufficient to clarify this problem finally.

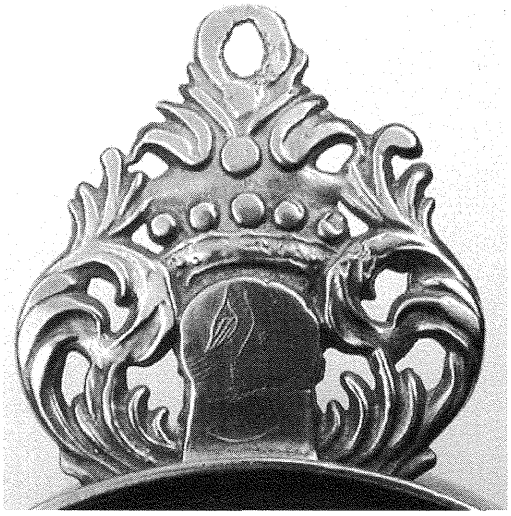


Figure 3: Crown Handled Porringer by Samuel Danforth of Norwich.

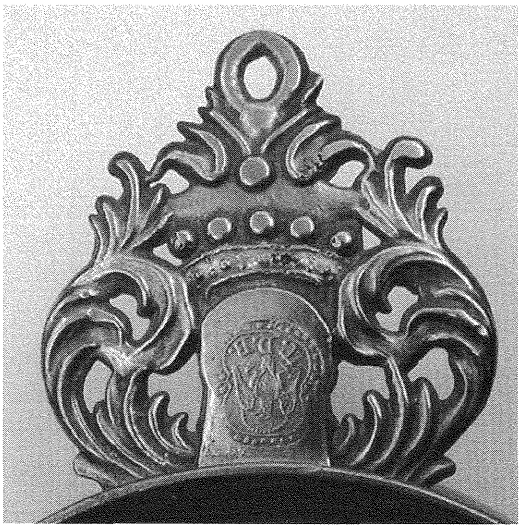


Figure 4: Crown Handled Porringer by Thomas D. Boardman.

Joseph Belcher's Inventory

By Richard L. Bowen, Jr.

Joseph Belcher was born in Boston April 13, 1729.[1] He would have completed his apprenticeship in 1750. He must have moved directly to Newport after this since he married Hannah Gladding on February 14, 1750.[2] He was admitted a freeman of Newport in 1756.[3] He is always called a brazier in the early records. His last child was named Martin Gay Belcher.[4] This was presumably a reference to Martin Gay, the well known Boston brazier and brass founder. It is a good indication that Belcher was apprenticed to Gay. He was one of the Boston braziers who did not make pewter, presumably because he was also a brass founder. In a 1771 letter Thomas Danforth II of Middletown advised his agent in Boston to sell 118 lbs. of old copper to Martin Gay and 221 lbs. of old pewter to Thomas Green (a pewterer).[5]

That Belcher was trained purely as a brazier and brass founder is clearly indicated in his advertisement in the November 14, 1763 *The Newport Mercury* where Joseph Belcher:[6]

> Hereby informs his Customers and others that he has removed from the House and Shop he lately improved on Eastern Point in Newport, to the House lately improved by Mr. Lake Babcock on Thames St. next door to the Collectors; where he has to sell Braziery and Founders-Ware, cheap for cash.
>
> He continues to Make and Repair Stills and Worms, Brass-Kettles, Tea-Kettles, Warming-Pans, Baking-Pans, Brass Dogs [andirons], Brasses for Chimneys, etc., etc. and Tins all sorts of Brass and Copper-Ware, at a Reasonable Rate. He gives Money for old Brass, Copper and Pewter.

An advertisement six years later in the March 4, 1769 *Providence Gazette* clearly indicates that Joseph Belcher had started to manufacture pewter:[7]

> Joseph Belcher of Newport, Takes this Method to inform his Customers and others, that he Makes and Sells Pewter-Ware, Wholesale and Retail, as cheap as can be bought in Boston or elsewhere; those who please to favor him with their Custom May depend on being as well used by Letter as if present. He also continues to carry on the Braziers and Founders Business as usual at his Shop next Door to Joseph Wanton, Esq. in Thames St.
>
> N. B. Said Belcher mends old Pewter (if worth it) in the best manner and at Reasonable Rates. He will take in Pay, besides Cash, old Pewter, Brass and Copper.

This ad is interesting from two points. First, it indicates that Providence was being served by Boston pewterers. Secondly, Belcher was essentially guaranteeing the quality of his pewter to those who ordered by letter rather than going to Newport; this was probably directed at the retail trade.

When Joseph Belcher moved to Newport in 1750 there were two pewterers in the town: Benjamin Day and John Fryers. Day died in 1757 and Belcher was one of the two appraisers of his inventory. John Fryers first appears in the Newport records in 1735 when he was married.[8] All the early records list Fryers as a tinman. It is not until 1749 that he appears as a pewterer. In 1769 he advertised his house "to let". This is the same year that Belcher advertised that he had started to make pewter, so presumably he acquired Fryers' equipment to allow him to retire and move to Voluntown, Connecticut, to his daughters, where he died in 1776 at age 90. Fryers undoubtedly instructed Belcher in the "art and mysteries" of a pewterer. A brass founder would have no problem pouring molten pewter into brass molds. What Belcher needed was knowledge in assaying old pewter to sort it into grades. Possibly Fryers had acquired those molds of Day's which were not duplicates of his. Therefore, some of Belcher's molds may have perpetuated forms and styles which dated back to the 1740's.

Newport was occupied by the British on December 8, 1776. In anticipation of a British attack many residents started fleeing the town as early as 1775. A military census of Rhode Island taken in April 1777, titled "List of all male Persons of 16 Years of age and upwards" shows that Joseph Belcher, Esq. of Newport was in Warren, Rhode Island, at that time. With him were Joseph Belcher, Jr., William Belcher, David Melville, and James Belcher.[9] A committee in Warren had determined that on February 27, 1777 there were 789 inhabitants of the town and 14 refugees from Newport County.[10] They had possibly been there since 1775. Belcher's entourage probably accounted for most of the 14 if his wife and six other children were counted in the Warren survey.

David Melville's presence with Belcher indicates that he was undoubtedly apprenticed to Belcher. This is just a confirmation of the obvious, since Belcher was the only pewterer in Newport at the time. Melville was born in 1756.[11] He would have started his apprenticeship in 1770 and finished in 1777. It was the master's duty to take care of his apprentice and if he moved he obviously had to take his apprentice with him. A similar circumstance is found in Massachusetts where a list of males taken in December 1776 included "Nathl Austin [pewterer] and his apprentice" of Charlestown in the town of Luuenburg.[12]

British naval activity was ranging into Narragansett Bay and harassing the coastal towns, of which Warren was one. Belcher had moved to Brookline, Massachusetts, by July 14, 1777 when he made his will there.[13] He died in that town on September 27, 1778. He had not left Warren any too soon for the British sacked the town on May 25, 1778, burning the powder magazine, the Baptist church and several other buildings, as well as pillaging some houses.[14] Presumably Melville went to Brookline with Belcher. When he finished his apprenticeship in 1777 he certainly could not go out on his own and open a shop in war time. Newport was occupied by the British until almost 1780. Melville had been among the Rhode Island forces sent to Boston in 1775 to resist the British siege of Boston. In 1776 he was granted a commission as ensign in the Second Regiment of Newport. Belcher's sons Joseph and William were lieutenants in a newly formed Rhode Island brigade in 1776.[16] Possibly they all saw later action.

In his will Joseph Belcher left one half of his pewterer's molds weighing 250 lbs. to his son Joseph.[17] Joseph was born about 1751 so he would have finished his apprenticeship about 1772. The remainder of the estate was left to his wife and children with the final distribution, when the youngest child reached 21, to be one third for his wife and two thirds for the children (including Joseph) to be equally distributed. Since Martin Gay was born in 1772,[18] the final distribution would not have taken place until 1793. This meant that the other half of the pewterer's molds would remain in the estate until that date, even though Joseph, Jr. was obviously using the molds. Joseph, Jr. would have carried on the business in Brookline as previously with the complete shop equipment, very probably with David Melville as a journeyman and his brothers William (born c. 1755) and James (born c. 1759) as helpers.

The British evacuated Newport on October 25, 1779 due to pressure from the French fleet after occupying the town for almost three years. Joseph Belcher, Jr. certainly moved back to Newport soon after the British evacuation to reoccupy the family dwelling and restart the braziers, founder's and pewterer's business. However, in 1781 the house was sold to satisfy a promissory note held by George Gibbs, Newport merchant, against Joseph Belcher, Sr.[19] The property realized about $400.00 for the heirs so the inventory was not affected. Joseph Belcher, Jr. remained in Newport carrying on the pewter business until March 1784 when his wife brought a petition for divorce and he disappeared.[20] He was in New London, Connecticut, in 1787 and may have moved there in 1784.

Joseph Belcher, Sr.'s inventory taken in Brookline on January 1, 1779 is extensive, covering four long pages with 193 items and is an excellent list of the products Belcher was making at the time.[21] The inventory is presented in full here to show the product mix

of Belcher's production The items were arranged in groups of similar articles where the majority of the class was listed and only a few scattered items of the class which were missed are listed later. By grouping the items by class some items which would be hard to identify are easily identified, such as some furniture hardware items. This inventory differs drastically from the usual colonial inventory which was taken from room to room and presented a hodgepodge of items. The first page starts with 22 articles of fabricated sheet copper and brass (only two are brass). There were also two items on page two, and three on page 3, belonging to this class. These copper and brass items were probably the most impressive items in the shop when the inventory was taken, radiating a reddish golden brilliance in their newly polished state. These are listed as follows:

SHEET COPPER AND BRASS PRODUCTS		
1 Copper Tea Kettle		£7 10 0
1 Ditto Ditto Ditto		4 16 0
1 do do do		1 0 0
1 do do do		1 16 0
1 do do do		1 4 0
1 Copper Sauce pans	40/	6 0 0
6 Small do	27/	8 2 0
4 Large Bake pans	£ 6/	24 0 0
2 Large Copper pots	96/	9 12 0
2 Small Ditto Ditto	90/	9 0 0
2 Ditto Ditto do	42/	4 4 4
5 Small do do	54/	13 10 0
2 Large Fish Kettles	£ 5/10/	11 0 0
4 Copper Mugs	25/	5 0 0
9 Sugar Laddles	24/	10 16 0
1 Chaffing Dish	48/	2 8 0
13 Warming Pan Bottoms		7 16 0
4 Sugar Drum Bottoms	18/	3 12 0
13 Tea Kettle Bottoms		2 0 0
6 Large Brass Kettles	£12/	72 0 0
3 Small Ditto	£ 3/12/	10 16 0
6 Small Frying pans		4 16 0
2 Dog Collars (page 2)		0 12 0
2 Skimmer Bottoms (page 2)		1 4 0
1 Copper pan (page 3)		2 8 0
3 Small Copper Lamps (page 3)		6 0 0
2 Powder Canisters (page 3)		1 4 0
		£234 6 0

Virtually all of the items in Belcher's 1763 advertisement were listed. In copper there are five sizes of tea kettles, two sizes of sauce pans, baking and warming pans, and there are brass kettles in two sizes. In addition, the following copper items were included: pots in four sizes, mugs, fish kettles, chaffing dishes, sugar drums, laddles and skimmers, frying pans (these may have been brass), dog collars, lamps and powder canisters. The dog collars were of sheet brass, often highly engraved.[22] Items notably missing in the inventory from Belcher's 1763 ad are any still parts, although one small item, the brass cock, listed in the inventory was a component for a still.[23] Probably stills were only made to order, but they were more important in Rhode Island than elsewhere in New England.

By the 1750's Rhode Island had won a major portion of the lucrative "Triangular Trade", with the majority of the trade operating out of Newport. In this trade molasses was imported from the southern colonies or the West Indies and was distilled into rum. By 1759 Rhode Island had 33 distilleries turning molasses into rum and 22 of these were in Newport.[24] The rum, along with horses, cheese, barrel staves, candles, and other local products, was shipped to Africa and traded for slaves. The ship usually returned directly to Newport where the slaves were sold. With the specie more molasses was brought back to Newport. Other times the ships would return to southern ports or the West Indies where the slaves were traded for molasses which was brought back to Newport. In Africa 200 gallons of rum (which cost about 20 cents a gallon) would purchase a male slave who would bring from $250 to $400 in Havana, Charlestown or Newport The slave trade was a high risk venture; for example, Nicholas, John and Moses Brown of Providence, Rhode Island, sent a ship to Africa in 1765 and 109 of the 167 slaves died on the return trip, which would have increased the cost of each slave about 300%. Even at such the trade was extremely profitable. With the start of the Revolution this trade abruptly ceased, and after the war it never was started again. But stills continued to be made for distilling gin and whisky for local consumption.

Following the copper and brass ware was a list of finished pewter ware. Like the new copper ware, the pewter stood out like gleaming silver when the inventory was taken, although much smaller in quantity than the copper. There were only 12 basins, 18 3/4 dozen porringers, five mugs and six lbs. of curtain rings as shown in the following list:

FINISHED PEWTER WARE				
7 Quart Basons	12/	4	4	0
3 3 pint do	20/	3	0	0
2 2 Quart do	24/	2	8	0
5 doz beer pint porringers		27	0	0
1 doz Wine do		3	0	0
4 doz of Middling Sized		12	7	6
5 doz 1/2 pint ditto do		12	10	0
3 doz 3/4 of Jill do		4	2	0
5 Quart potts		7	0	0
6 lbs pewter Curtin rings	12/	3	12	0
		£ 79	3	6

The "middling" sized porringers had a capacity of three gills. The 12 basins, 225 porringers and 5 mugs weighed about 135 lbs., a pittance for a pewterer's inventory. The porringers composed about 75% of the total value, indicating that, with the little pewter he made, Belcher was apparently specializing in porringers. Examples exist for some of the forms found in the inventory. At least one example of the quart mug has survived (Fig. 1).[25] The handle of this mug is a crude heavier copy of those seen on contemporary silver mugs in Newport, Kingston (Rhode Island) and Boston (Fig. 2).[26] Of Belcher's three basin sizes only a few quarts (8" diameter) have survived. So far as the porringers go, there are beer pint, wine pint and half pint examples with Belcher marks. Belcher's basin sizes were more like English sizes. In two 1765 English order/invoices the basin sizes were 1, 2, 3 and 4 quart (in one there was additionally a 3 pint).[27] American pewterers introduced the one pint basin.

Fig. 1. Quart pewter mug with the Joseph Belcher bird touch. The broken C handle was undoubtedly copied from those on tulip shaped silver mugs made by a number of Newport silversmiths. Formerly in the collection of Gordon E. Perrin. (After Thomas, *Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers.*)

Fig. 2. Silver tulip shaped mug with broken C handle by Samuel Casey of Kingston, Rhode Island (w. 1723-1773). A number of Newport silversmiths made similar mugs. (Courtesy of Sotheby's.)

Directly following the finished pewter ware on page 1 were some old candle molds and then spermaceti candles as follows:

7 Old Candle Molds	£ 4	4	0
157 lbs. Spermaceti Candles	141	6	0
	£145	10	0

The weight of candles is equivalent to about 80 dozen ten inch candles. This shows an interesting economy as the heat to melt the wax cost nothing since much higher temperature hearths were available for melting pewter and brass. As noted above, candles were an important element in the Triangular Trade.

Scattered out on page 2 were four items of scales:

4 pr Money Scales	18/	£	3	12	0
3 Small Beams	24/		3	12	0
7 Mariners Scales	9/		3	3	0
3 pr Large Scales			7	0	0
		£	17	7	0

These were all of the balance type; that is with two pans made of copper or brass suspended from the ends of a balance made of cast brass.

Starting on page 2 and continuing onto page 3 was a fairly extensive listing of furniture hardware, presumably made of cast brass, as follows:

CAST BRASS FURNITURE HARDWARE					
48 pair of Large Coffin Handles		£	5	12	0
55 pair Small do			4	2	0
5 Brass full Locks	12/		3	0	0
1 1/2 doz. Large thumb Latches			5	8	0
3 Doz. Small ditto ditto			7	4	0
3 Large Brass handle Locks	60/		9	0	0
3 Brass Hall Locks			1	4	0
1 doz. Table Hinges			0	18	0
5 doz. & 4 prs. Small ditto			5	1	0
48 lbs. Brass Gudgeons			28	16	0
13 Brass full Locks	10/		6	10	0
16 Cabinet do	3/		2	8	0
8 large Brass full locks			7	4	0
9 Cabinet ditto			1	7	0
7 pr of dovetail hinges			0	18	0
6 1/2 doz. Small Knobs			1	16	0
9 doz. & 4 ring Screws			3	5	4
4 doz. & 10 Large ditto			2	3	6
1 doz. large ditto			1	0	0
1 paper whit ? Nails			0	18	0
36 Knobs			1	16	0
18 pr. of prospect ? hinges	4/		3	12	0
30 pairs of Window Screws	3/		4	10	0
12 Tips			0	6	0
1/2 hundred Brass Nails			0	3	0

8 pr. Brass hinges	6/	2	8	0
16 Escutchions	1/	0	16	0
16 Book Case ditto		1	0	0
3 doz. Small ditto		0	18	0
3 Brass Latches & Handles	48/	7	4	0
3 doz. Escutchions		3	0	0
11 doz. ditto		11	0	0
30 doz. ditto		18	0	0
1 Set of Gun Trimming		1	16	0
		£154	3	10

Newport was one of the great centers of cabinet making in the period from 1760 to 1775, along with Boston and Philadelphia. The final embellishment of case furniture, such as chests, desks and bookcases, was the brasses – that is the handles and escutcheons. It has long been assumed that the bulk of brass furniture hardware was supplied from London, Bristol, and especially Birmingham, England.[28] Indeed, the sizeable number of English pattern books showing furniture hardware which survived in America lead to such a conclusion. However, many local brass founders advertised furniture hardware.[29]

The extensive line of furniture hardware in Belcher's inventory is listed above. Noteworthy are: 16 escutcheons, 16 book case ditto, 3 doz. small ditto, 3 doz. escutcheons, 11 doz. ditto and 30 doz. ditto. There are six styles and/or sizes shown here. The term "escutcheon" is used for both the handle plate and the escutcheon with the key-hole. Since there were no posts or bails there were no handles per se. On much Chippendale furniture they are both the same shape and size; the handle plate had two holes and the escutcheon three. These indicate that Belcher's brasses were very possibly on some of the case furniture crafted by John Goddard (w. 1745-1785) and John Townsend (w. 1754-1807) of Newport. Examples of their desk-and-bookcases are selling today for millions of dollars. Belcher had the advantage of taking small orders and making fast delivery. He could take any English design and have the finished product in a matter of days.

Belcher also made a wide variety of other cast brass products. A single item (10 house bells) was on page 1, and the rest of the items were scattered out on pages 2 and 3. The individual items have been grouped here under five general categories as follows:

CAST BRASS PRODUCTS				
<u>Bells</u>				
10 House Bells	8/	£ 4	0	0
6 Bell Swivels	2/	0	12	0
3 Bell Cotts?		0	18	0
23 Sleigh Bells		1	9	0
<u>Chaise Parts</u>				
4 doz. & 4 Topt? Plates for Chaises		10	8	0
42 pr. Chaise window buttons		2	12	6
21 Bonnet Hooks		1	10	0
21 pr. Chaise Bonnet Clasps		6	6	0
1 Brass Chaise Box		0	12	0

Andirons and Tools				
4 pr. Brass Shovel & Tongs		21	12	0
2 pr. Hooks for Tongs		1	4	0
4 pr. Andiron Heads		4	16	0
Harness & Related Items				
1 pr. Bridle Bitts		0	3	0
3 1/2 pr. Snip? Bitts		0	4	8
1 pr. Womans Stirrups		1	0	0
21/2 doz. of Harness buckles		1	4	0
1 Box of buckles & Sundray		15	0	0
25 Watering Hooks		15	0	0
22 Small ditto		8	16	0
3 Watering Hooks		0	18	0
9 Brass Saddle Plates	3/	1	7	0
Miscellaneous				
33 Brass Rings [for drawer pulls? or harness?]		1	13	0
14 pr. Looking Glass Sconces		2	16	0
7 Brass Knockers	48/	16	16	0
1 Brass Cock [probably for a still]		0	6	0
		£ 123	3	2

This list pretty well covers the range of a brass founder's products. There are bells in three sizes; numerous parts for chaises; andirons (heads), shovel and tong sets, and chimney (jam) hooks for holding the tools; bridle bits, harness buckles, hooks for watering and stirrups; looking glass sconces; and door knockers. The looking glass sconces must have been very small considering the unit price for a pair. A pair of these was often mounted at the bottom of a framed mirror.[30]

The last eight items on page 1 were cooper's and carpenters tools (with two hatchels) and on page 2 there are nine more lots of these tools as shown in the following list. Most of these are edged tools which was a specialty of certain urban blacksmiths.[31] Even before the Revolution hard money was scarce and craftsmen were accustomed to take produce or other merchandise for their products. With the start of the war barter became even more important as specie dried up. It is difficult to see how a blacksmith, or even a number of blacksmiths, could take for personal use copper and brass wares equivalent to the value of the tools. Possibly we have here an example of an exchange of products so each craftsman could broaden his sales base. On the other hand, there are six items scattered out on page 2 which may have been the result of barter as shown by the list of miscellaneous merchandise following the tools.

TOOLS				
9 Coopers Axes	60/	£ 27	0	0
3 Ditto Adzes	20/	3	0	0
2 Hatchels	18/	1	16	0
1 doz. Gouges		3	12	0
9 Small Chisels		1	10	0
5 Large Gouges	8/	2	0	0

2 Hollow Shaves	6/		0	12 0
8 Coopers plane Irons	10/		4	0 0
11 Carpenters plane Irons			1	13 0
3 doz. of Rowling? Bitts			2	15 0
2 Drawing Knives	18/		1	16 0
19 Rasps			6	0 0
3 Coopers Vise	4/		0	12 0
7 Boxes Buls/	6/		2	2 0
1 Auger			0	6 0
2 Coopers Crows?			1	4 0
1 Tan borer & 1 Gimlet			0	12 0
		£	60	10 0

MISCELLANEOUS MERCHANDISE				
3 Flesh Hooks	2/	£	0	6 0
7 Boxes Iron Grats	6/		2	2 0
21 1/2 lbs. Glue	6/		6	9 0
12 1/2 doz. of Fish Hooks			1	5 0
9 Large Fish ditto			0	4 6
5 doz. proof Glasses			40	0 0
		£	50	6 6

Scattered out on pages 2 to 4 were the raw materials as shown on the following list:

1 Box Iron		£	1	0 0
55 1/4 lbs. Old Lead	3/		8	7 3
32 lbs. Old Iron	[3/]		4	16 0
65 lbs Old pewter pleats [plates]	[10/]		32	10 0
14 lbs Old Brass	8/		5	12 0
140 lbs. of Lead	3/		21	0 0
60 lbs. Old Pewter	10/		30	0 0
700 lbs New Copper	10/		350	0 0
		£	453	5 3

Where not indicated in the inventory the price/lb. values have been added. The prices are consistent: 3 shillings/lb. for iron and lead, 8/lb. for old brass and 10/lb. for old pewter and new copper. The small amounts of old brass (14 lbs.) and old pewter (140 lbs.) are not surprising given the extreme wartime shortage of these commodities. However, the truly surprising item during wartime is the 700 lbs. of new copper, presumably in sheet form.

After the personal property ends on page 4 there are three final items – probably the most important in the inventory – the shop equipment as shown by the following:

400 lbs. Stakes, Beak Irons & Hammers	[3.4/]	£	72	0 0
250 lbs Pewterers Molds	[6/]		75	0 0
Sundray Braziers Tools			80	0 0
		£	227	0 0

The first item includes the most important of the coppersmith's tools: the strakes were various anvils and the beak irons were also anvils, but of special design to reach inside the various vessels. The hammers were the most important tools of the coppersmith, most having polished surfaces for planishing. Brass ware, such as kettles, was made with this same equipment. The second item consists of the basic equipment of the pewterer – the molds for casting the pewter forms. The third item had to contain a variety of equipment for both the brass founder and the pewterer. Here would be found the wheel with tower used by both the founder and pewterer for turning and skimming circular objects. Here also would be all the pewterers tools for turning – the blocks, hooks, burnishers, etc. And here also had to be the wide number of wooden and lead patterns and flasks used by the founder, as well as the furnaces, bellows, etc. for melting pewter and brass. This last item of sundry braziers tools would probably cover several pages when itemized.

Starting on the bottom third of page 3 was a listing of the personal property. This also took all of page 4 except for two raw material and three shop equipment entries, amounting to a total of 57 entries (30% of all entries). Just as the appraisers were caught by the gleaming copper vessels as their first entries for finished products and then the shining silvery pewter, so they were drawn to the most expensive furniture first. The first item is a clock at £100 and the second is a mahogany deck at £30. They methodically cover all the furniture first, then the dining plates, dishes and knives and forks, the fireplace hardware, the kitchen ware, and finally the outside equipment, as shown in the following list.

It is interesting that Belcher did not have any pewter for dining use. He had a dozen China and two dozen "stone" (salt-glazed ceramic) plates, five stone dishes and a dozen silver handle knives and forks. Joseph Belcher was representative of the upper class. He used "Esq." after his name in his will and in the inventory, and in other documents he was referred to as a "gentleman". He represented many of this class who preferred China and ceramic wares over pewter for dining. He also had 80 ounces of silver ware. His will in the Suffolk Probate records is the original document and is signed by Belcher; his signature is shown in figure 3.

Fig. 3. Signature of Joseph Belcher, Sr. from his will. Natural size.

PERSONAL PROPERTY

Furniture

1 Clok	£ 100	0	0
1 Mahoganey Desk	30	0	0
3 Small looking Glasses	36	0	0
2 Larg Ditto ditto	50	0	0
1 Larg Dining Table	9	0	0
2 Small Ditto	15	0	0
7 Round Tea Ditto	5	8	0
1 Stand	1	0	0
1 Maple Table	2	8	0

2 Small ditto		1	16	0
3 Mahog Salvers		3	0	0
21 Picturs		20	0	0
8 Hair Botom Chairs		60	0	0
6 Leather ditto do		18	0	0
1 Round ditto		1	0	0
12 Black Walnut do		43	0	0
2 Green Round		3	12	0
1 Armd ditto		0	18	0
6 Old Kitchen Chairs		0	12	0
1 Small Tabel		3	0	0
2 Good Beds & bed steds & Curtins		100	0	0
5 Feather Beds		125	0	0
Dining Ware				
80 Ounces of pleat [silver]	6/8	26	13	4
1 doz Old Silver Handle Knives & Forks		13	0	0
1 punch Boal		3	12	0
1 doz China pleats		7	4	0
2 doz. Ston ditto		2	8	0
5 Ston Dishes		4	10	0
1 penul? Coffe pott		1	0	0
1/2 doz. Coffe Cups		1	4	0
Fireplace Accessories				
2 pr Tongs & Shovel polished		3	12	0
1 pr Brass ditto		4	0	0
2 pr Andirons – Brass		21	0	0
2 pr Iron ditto do		6	0	0
Kitchen				
2 Small Kettles		0	16	0
2 Brass pots		3	12	0
1 Bel Mettel Skilett		4	10	0
2 Iron Ditto Old		0	9	0
1 Large Kittel		7	10	0
1 Small Ditto		0	18	0
4 pr Candel Sticks		6	12	0
1 Old Frying pan		0	18	0
1 Do Dripping pan & Funeles		0	18	0
1 Chaffing Dish		1	16	0
2 Old Wooden Morters		0	10	0
2 Copper Tea Kittels		2	0	0
2 Iron Dish Kittels Old		0	6	0
2 pr Flat Irons		0	18	0
1 Old Warming pan		0	6	0
5 Brass Scummers & Ladels		1	10	0

Outside Equipment

1 Old Saw		1	5 0
1 Do Ax		0	10 0
1 Hatchett		0	5 0
1 Old Chase		40	0 0
1 New Sley		15	0 0
1 Old Iron Shovel		0	10 0
1 Old Saddel		9	0 0
	£	822	16 4

A summary of the value of the inventory items may be made:

Sheet Copper and Brass Products	£	234	6 0
Finished Pewter Ware		79	3 6
Candle Molds and Spermaceti Candles		145	10 0
Scales		17	7 0
Cast Brass Furniture Hardware		154	3 10
Other Cast Brass Products		123	3 2
Cooper's and Carpenter's Tools		60	10 0
Miscellaneous Merchandise		50	6 6
Raw Materials		453	5 3
Shop Equipment		227	0 0
		1,544	15 3
Personal Property		822	16 4
	£	2,367	11 7

The total value shown is about £26 higher than in the actual inventory because of addition errors on each of the four pages.

The personal property amounts to about one third of Belcher's inventory. The remainder of the inventory may be further consolidated and put on a percentage basis:

Sheet Copper and Brass (including Scales)	16.3 %
Pewter Ware	5.1
Candle Molds and Spermaceti Candles	9.4
Cast Brass Products	18.0
Tools and Miscellaneous Merchandise	7.2
Raw Materials	29.3
Shop Equipment	14.7
	100.0 %

An analysis may be made of the products manufactured, eliminating everything else.

Sheet Copper and Brass Products	33.4 %
Cast Brass Products	36.8
Pewter Ware	10.5
Candles	19.3
	100.0 %

In round numbers copper and brass products represent 70%, pewter ware 10% and candles a surprising 20%. The candles required a minimum of labor which could have been provided by an unskilled helper. A more meaningful comparison is made by eliminating the candles and consolidating the copper and brass.

Copper and Brass Ware	87.0 %
Pewter Ware	13.0
	100.0 %

Belcher manufactured almost seven times more copper and brass ware than he did pewter ware. This indicates that the pewter was only a side line.

A comparison may be made with Thomas Byles, Philadelphia pewterer, who was trained by a Boston brazier.[32] He died in 1771 and his inventory taken that year contained 2,338 lbs. of old pewter and 3,461 lbs. of finished plates, dishes and basins, as well as hundreds of examples of a large variety of hollow ware. The inventory also included 1,183 lbs. of brass pewterer's molds and 499 lbs. of brazier's beak irons, strakes and heads. Byles was obviously also a brazier, but Laughlin eliminated all of his copper and brass products from the condensed inventory he published. At any rate, even with the enormous quantities of finished pewter ware in the inventory only about a half dozen or so plates and a few dishes attributable to Byles have been found. Belcher had only 125 lbs. of old pewter and about 135 lbs. of finished pewter in his inventory indicating a very small pewter business. In comparison with Byles it may be said categorically that there is virtually no possibility that any of the senior Belcher's pewter has survived.

The absence of any plates or dishes in Belcher's inventory is remarkable. Usually if a brazier made only a little pewter, plates would have been the first items made. One might suggest that there were molds for plates and dishes among Belcher's molds, but that no finished examples were in the inventory. However, an analysis of the molds indicates definitely that this was not the case. We are fortunate in having the individual mold weights of all of Belcher's molds except for the two quart basin in the inventory of David Melville who died in 1793.[33] The weight of the two quart basin molds may be extrapolated from Melville's other three basin molds to give the following mold weights:

2 quart basin	[52 .0 lbs.]
3 pint basin	46 .50
Quart basin	40 .50
Beer pint porringer	30 .50
Wine pint porringer	26 .25
3 gill porringer	22 .75
Half pint porringer	21 .75
Gill porringer	9 .00
Quart pot	51 .375
	300 .675 lbs.

This compares with the 250 lbs. for Belcher's molds and is 20% heavier. It simply means that Belcher's molds had slightly less thickness. However, it definitely indicates that there were no more molds than the forms of finished pewter listed in Belcher's inventory.

It has always been assumed that the forms made by both Belcher's were the same. A few 9½" smooth brim plates have a N.LONDON label in addition to the Belcher bird touch mark, obviously a product of the younger man. Laughlin commented that "we shall probably never be able to distinguish the work of the two men except in the case of those items to which Joseph, Jr. added the N.LONDON mark."[34] Jacobs echoed these comments.[35] When Joseph, Jr. moved back to Newport in 1779 to start his pewter endeavor he was severely handicapped by not having any plate or dish molds. As a founder he filled this deficiency with a number of molds. Examples survive of 6" and 8" plates, 9½" smooth brim plates and 13", 13¼" and 13½" dishes. It is interesting to note that the sizes of the plates and dishes David Melville made are not the same as any of Belcher's, but rather complement Belcher's: 6⅛", 8¼", 8½" and 8⅞" plates, and 12 3/16" and 14" dishes.[36] Laughlin commented that the 14" dish was a size peculiar to Melville, and that he had never seen the size by another maker. Clearly, all of the plates and dishes were made by the younger Belcher. Further, since it has been pointed out that there is virtually no chance that any of the pewter made by the senior Belcher has survived, all of the surviving basins, mugs and porringers are also the work of the younger man, probably made between 1780 and 1790.

The start of the Revolution in America in 1775 represents a bench mark for the survival of American pewter; before this time there is a dearth of material. This is most excellently illustrated by Thomas Byles. Prior to the Revolution the only raw material for the local craftsman was old pewter, which virtually all pewterers sought in their advertisements. The bulk of the new pewter was supplied by English exports. With the start of the Revolution the process of recycling was accelerated. From 1776 until the start of 1783, when the peace treaty with Britain was finally signed, all English exports to America had ceased. During this eight year period American pewterers had to scrape the bottom of the barrel for old pewter. Further, during this period the American population had increased some 656,000 (27%) from 2,454,000 in 1775 to 3,110,000 in 1782.[37] At an average of five members per family this represented about 130,000 new families, all of whom needed pewter.

London pewterers also used old pewter. Edward Yorke (w. 1732-1776) and Richard Yates (w. 1772-1822) both offered "money for old pewter" in addition to accepting old pewter in exchange for new.[38] But there was a vast difference between old pewter in London and America. In an exchange of old for new pewter in London the quality of the old pewter would normally be good. If the pewterer received inferior metal he had access to virgin tin to improve the quality. In America the quality of American pewter was generally poor and there was no virgin tin available. Undoubtedly English pewter was traded in less frequently in America. This is quite poignantly illustrated by the comments of John Williams, a pioneer on the Ohio frontier in 1800. He lived with his family in an 18 ft. x 24 ft. cabin and made these comments in his diary. He said that they had a host of pewter plates, basins, and dishes, and spoons, scoured and bright. It was not of your newfangled pewter made of lead, but the best London pewter which our father himself bought of Townsend, the manufacturer."[39] This shows at the same time the reverence for London pewter and the disgust with American pewter.

Montgomery pointed out that during the 1760s the English exported about 600,000 lbs. of pewter to America annually.[40] In the absence of English export pewter in the period from 1776 to 1783 the demand on local pewterers must have ben enormous. In fact, in some areas old pewter as a commodity had dried up. This is indicated quite clearly by several of Francis Bassett's advertisements in Montclaire, New Jersey, where he had moved before the British occupied New York in 1776.[41] In 1780 he advised that he carries on the Pewterer's business...where he makes and mends all sorts of pewter...provided they bring him old pewter." In 1782 he stated that "he continues to make and mend all sorts of pewter ware, with the provision they bring him old pewter." He made it clear that he could provide new pewter only if the customer brought him old. By 1780, five years into the eight year drought of English export pewter, old pewter was no longer available in this area. And there were still three years to go before the peace treaty was signed in 1783.

In a situation like this the customer would be inclined to hold onto his good English pewter and trade in his inferior American pewter. During this eight year period vast quantities of American pewter must have gone to the melting pot. This undoubtedly explains why there is such a sharp break in the survival of American pewter at the Revolution with a dearth of pewter before the Revolution. Kerfoot noted that from 1913 to 1924 (certainly a "virgin" collecting period) he had handled thousands of pewter plates.[42] In examining the piles of plates which had come in from the countryside to dealers he estimated that there was only about one American plate to from 100 to 125 English ones. In other words, only about one percent was American. Obviously the vast majority of this was post-Revolutionary. During this period the pressure was off recycling old pewter, virgin tin was available and production was up vastly. On the other hand, the British pewter Kerfoot saw was represented by large quantities of pre-Revolutionary wares, so great had the English exports been. In view of the above analysis it is quite evident that none of the senior Belcher's pewter could have survived. His pewter is like a few rain drops in a tidal wave.

References

1 Joseph G. Bartlett, "The Belcher Families in New England," *New England Historical & Genealogical Register*, 60 (1906): 360.

2 James N. Arnold, *Vital Record of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1896), vol. 8, 458. Ledlie I. Laughlin, *Pewter in America* (barre Publishers, 1969), vol. 1, 89 (hereafter cited as Laughlin and volume) mistakenly has 1751 which he presumably found in Bartlett, "The Belcher Families in New England". The date is important in estimating the date of birth of Joseph Belcher, Jr.; he was probably born in 1751.

3 John R. Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1860), vol 5, 487.

4 Execution, *George Gibbs vs. The Heirs of Joseph Belcher* (Newport Historical Society ms Vault A, Box 56, Folder 1, #56-14).

5 Laughlin, 1, 52.

6 Charles A. Calder, "Rhode Island Pewterers," *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, 17 (1924): 65-86, at 68.

7 Ibid.

8 Laughlin, 1, 88.

9 Mildred M. Chamberlain, *The Rhode Island 1777 Military Census* (Baltimore, 1985), 112.

10 Guy M. Fessenden, *The History of Warren, Rhode Island* (Providence, 1845), 93.

[11] Laughlin, 1, 91 says he was born in 1755. However, his gravestone says that he died in his 38th year on November 21, 1793, which indicates he was 37 and thus born in 1756.

[12] Laughlin 1, 76.

[13] Suffolk County Probate Court, Boston, Joseph Belcher, Docket 16698.

[14] Fessenden, op. cit., 94.

[15] Laughlin, 1, 91.

[16] S. G. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island* (New York, 1860), 2, 367.

[17] Suffolk Probate, op. cit.

[18] Arnold, op. cit., 431.

[19] Execution, George Gibbs, op. cit.

[20] Laughlin, 3, 51.

[21] Suffolk Probate, op. cit.

[22] P., N. & H. Schiffer, *The Brass Book* (Exton, Pa., 1978), 372.

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[24] W. G. McLoughlin, *History of Rhode Island* (New York, 1978), 60, 63-65.

[25] J. C. Thomas, *Connecticut Pewter and Pewterers* (Hartford, 1976), 154.

[26] Sotheby's Auction, January 31, 1986, Lot No. 45.

[27] N.A. Goyne, "An Eighteenth Century Document," *PCCA Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 10,; p. 218; Charles F. Montgomery, "John Townsend, English Quaker," *PCCA Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 26.

[28] Donald L. Fennimore, *Metalwork in Early America: Copper and Its Alloys* (Delaware, 1996), 950.

[29] Ibid., 428-433.

[30] Schiffer, on. cit., 134.

[31] Henry J. Kauffman, *Early American Ironware* (Rutland, VT., 1966), 89-94.

[32] Laughlin, 2, 41.

[33] Laughlin, 2, 160.

[34] Laughlin, 1, 91.

[35] Carl Jacobs, *Guide to American Pewter* (New York, 1957), 36

[36] Laughlin, 1, 92.

[37] *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, 1975), part 1, p. 8; part 2, p. 1168. The populations for 1775 and 1782 have been extrapolated from the published populations for 1770, 1780 and 1790.

[38] Howard H. Cotterell, *Old Pewter* (London, 1929), pl. 12: Trade Cards, Nos. 22 & 23.

[39] Charles F. Montgomery, *History of American Pewter* (New York, 1978), 16.

[40] Ibid., 7.

[41] Laughlin, 3, 98.

[42] J. B. Kerfoot, *American Pewter* (New York, 1924), 30.

Book Review

By Garland Pass

The Catalogue of the Charles V. Swain Collection *by Donald L. Fennimore. Photography by James C. Schneck. Hardcover in two volumes and slip cased. The volume on American Pewter, 210 pages; the volume on British Pewter, 76 pages. Privately printed and distributed in a limited edition of 200 autographed copies, February 2003. Price: $65.00, including shipping and handling, from: Charles V. Swain, 3990 Mechanicsville Road, Doylestown, PA 18901.*

The importance of this catalogue cannot be overstated. While famous collections of furniture, silver, china and other decorative arts have been catalogued, this is the first catalogue of a major private pewter collection at its culmination (although Bud is continuing to add to his collection.) Members of the Pewter Collectors' Club of America who have attended meetings at Bud Swain's home have always come away in awe, feeling there was just too much wonderful pewter to take in during a short visit. Now, with this catalogue, members and others can peruse this collection at their own pace, again and again.

The American catalogue contains two hundred seventy-six entries arranged alphabetically by maker. Each piece is photographed and if marked, the mark is photographed as well. Dimensions are provided and significant information on the construction is given where appropriate. The date of acquisition plus a history of ownership is listed where known along with a listing of each piece's exhibition and publication history. Not only are all of the major American pewterers represented, as well as many minor ones, but in most cases the most important forms of these pewterers are included. Standouts include the Alberti Queen Anne footed teapot, the Francis Bassett I egg-shaped teapot, the Heyne lidded chalice, the Henry Will basin, the John Will tulip-shaped tankard, and the William Will flagon.

The British catalogue contains one hundred two entries and is arranged chronologically. Otherwise the presentation and documentation of each piece is similar to that in the American catalogue. The majority of the pieces were bought in this country and comprise what is known as British export pewter although more accurately referred to as English export pewter since only two or three Scottish pewterers exported to America and no Irish pewterers did so. Most of the Scottish pewter and all of the Irish pewter found here were brought here in the twentieth century by dealers, collectors and some immigrants. Bud Swain's collection of English export pewter is the largest and most important ever assembled. Many of the pieces have been pictured in the PCCA *Bulletin*, but this catalogue is the only book that presents the forms so extensively. The catalogue also includes a number of Sheffield Britannia pieces of neoclassical form, beautifully engraved.

In the Appendix of the American catalogue are included six reprints of articles written by Bud Swain that were previously published in the PCCA *Bulletin or Antiques* magazine. They cover many of the most important pieces in his collection and are a fine tribute to Bud and the many other articles he has written over the years.

Finally, the Forwards by Bud Swain and the Prefaces by Don Fennimore provide informative and interesting insights into the building of a collection, its subsequent cataloguing and the relationship between Bud and Don. This is a catalogue that should be emulated by other major collectors.

Past Editors of the PCCA Bulletin

By Garland Pass

Name	Issues Edited	Period Served	Time Served
Edna T. Franklin*	Vol. I/1–Vol.I/3	03/34–07/37	3 years, 4 mos.
Percy E. Raymond	Vol. I/4–Vol.III/1	10/37–04/52	14 years, 6 mos.
Dean A. Fales, Jr.	Vol. III/2–Vol. III/5	05/53–05/55	2 years
Walton Deckelman	Vol. III/6–Vol. IV/2	11/55–09/59	3 years, 10 mos.
John J. Evans, Jr.	Vol. IV/3–Vol. IV/7	03/60–02/62	1 year, 11 mos.
John F. Ruckman	Vol. IV/8–Vol. V/2	09/62–12/64	2 years, 3 mos.
Charles V. Swain	Vol. V/3–Vol. VI/9	05/65–09/73	8 years, 4 mos.
William O. Blaney	Vol. VI/10–Vol. VII/5	03/74–04/77	3 years, 1 mo.
Webster Goodwin	Vol. VII/6–Vol. IX/4	09/77–09/86	9 years
Jack H. Kolaian	Vol. IX/5–Vol. X/6	03/87–12/92	5 years, 9 mos.
Ellen J. O'Flaherty	Vol. X/7–Vol. XI/7	Spg./93–Spg/97	4 years
Garland Pass	Vol. XI/8	Wnt./97–Present	

Notes:
* Mrs. Franklin served as Secretary of the Club and signed the first three issues which were primarily reports of meetings held. The office of Chairman of the Publications Committee, i.e., Editor of The Bulletin, was not established until the summer of 1937. Therefore the first Editor of The Bulletin was Percy E. Raymond.

Having served as Program Chairman and President of the Club as well as your present Bulletin Editor, I can say without qualification that the job of Bulletin Editor is the most difficult and time consuming job in the Club. As it has been practiced for some years, the job not only entails the editorship of the Bulletin but the publication, that is, the printing and mailing of all of the Club's publications: *The Bulletin*, The Newsletter, The Membership Directory, and the Meeting Announcements. Under the O'Flaherty's, the jobs of editor and publisher were split between Ellen as editor and Tom as publisher; however in most cases one person has handled both jobs. While all of the other club offices can be filled on a part time basis, during the past twenty-five years the Bulletin Editor has been undertaken by someone who has retired and I would not recommend it to be otherwise. After I had served as editor for a year, my wife kidded me by saying that I had given up a full time paying job for a full time non-paying job. And as one of the former editor's has said, it is one of the least appreciated jobs in the Club. For that reason I decided to write this article to honor those past editors, many of whom we have forgotten or know very little about.

It is interesting to note that five of the editors served as President of the Club prior to becoming editor: Raymond, Blaney, Kolaian, O'Flaherty, and Pass. Two were elected to Honorary Membership subsequent to serving as editor: Swain and Goodwin. And two were elected to Honorary Membership in The Pewter Society of Great Britain: Raymond and Swain.

The honor for holding the job of editor for the longest period of time belongs to Percy Raymond who is pictured for the first time on the cover of this issue. He not only held the job for fourteen and a half years but simultaneously held the office of President—for

two separate terms! He was not only the first Editor of *The Bulletin*; he was the first President of the Club as well.

When I began to look through back issues of *The Bulletin* to find information for this article, I was surprised to find no personal information on Raymond, not even an obituary or necrology. I learned from Bud Swain that Raymond was a professor at Harvard and that he collected English pewter, although most of the articles he wrote for *The Bulletin* were on American pewter. Bud related that Raymond used to say that he couldn't afford to collect American pewter. A couple of years prior to his death, one hundred and fifty of the most important pieces of British pewter in his collection were bought by Colonial Williamsburg. This was an important addition to the Williamsburg collection at that time.

Thanks to Thomas Pickett who uncovered a Memorial to Percy Raymond written by Henry Stetson and published in the, "Proceedings Volume of The Geological Society of America," in June 1953, we can provide some long missing information on Raymond.

Raymond was born in New Canaan, Connecticut on May 30, 1879 and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts on May 17, 1952. After attending local schools, he entered Cornell University, first in the field of engineering, but later switching to the fields of geology and paleontology. He graduated from Cornell in 1902 and entered the graduate school at Yale University where he received his Ph.D. in 1905. He became the Assistant Curator in charge of Invertebrate Paleontology at the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburg until 1910 when he accepted the post of paleontologist on the Geological Survey of Canada and lived in Ottawa until 1912. In that year he was called to Harvard to become assistant professor of paleontology and curator of invertebrate paleontology at the Harvard Museum. He became Associate Professor in 1917, Professor in 1929, received an honorary degree in 1942, and Professor Emeritus in 1945. He was active in the Paleontological Society of America of which he was president in 1934, the same year that he helped organize The Pewter Collectors' Club of America and became its first president. After his death, the Percy E. Raymond Memorial Room in James Hall in the Harvard graduate center was dedicated to his memory. He was survived by his wife, a daughter, and a brother.

Raymond was a prolific writer, both in his professional field and in the field of antique pewter. In his professional field his writings were voluminous consisting of 116 articles in a variety of scholarly publications plus a book, *Prehistoric Life*, published by Harvard University Press. The book was a summation of his knowledge in his field and covered much of the material taught in his Harvard classes. The book went through numerous printings and was still being reprinted many years after his death. In the field of antique pewter, Raymond published 90 articles in *The Bulletin* plus additional articles in "The Magazine Antiques," other antique magazines and in the cultural sections of leading Boston and New York newspapers.

Another of our early editors who died without a necrology being published is Dean A. Fales, Jr. In this case it is more understandable why a notice was not printed. Fales served as editor for only two years in the early fifties. As his interest turned to other fields, his interest in the Club waned. By 1980 he failed to renew his membership. Only a few of our long time members ever recall seeing him at a club meeting.

Fales was born in Boston in 1925. He was educated in Boston schools, obtained BA and MA degrees from Boston University and did advanced graduate training at Harvard.

Following a brief tour of service in the Army during World War II and after his education, he joined the staff at Winterthur Museum as Registrar. Subsequently he was appointed Director of the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts, where he served for several years. Following his time at the Essex Institute, Fales acted as a museum consultant and was a popular lecturer on various antique topics. He was a recognized authority on American antique furniture. As Samuel Pennington, editor of "Maine Antique Digest" stated in an obituary, "His three books, *Essex County Furniture, The Furniture of Historic Deerfield,* and *American Painted Furniture 1660-1880,* are impeccable in their scholarship." The latter book is considered the definitive book on that subject and has gone through several printings. Fales spent most of his later life in Kennebunkport, Maine and died in Belfast, Maine on May 10, 1998.

In addition to Percy Raymond and Dean A. Fales, Jr., four other past editors have died. Fortunately, necrologies were written for them and may be found in the following past issues of *The Bulletin*:

Walton Deckelman	Vol. 5, No. 6, p.112	John F. Ruckman	Vol. 5, No. 3, p.41
John J. Evans, Jr.	Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 82	William O. Blaney	Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 3

William Blaney holds the record for the most number of articles published in *The Bulletin* by an editor, a total of 117, although all were not published while he was editor. There is a reason why editors of *The Bulletin* wrote so many articles: As Bud Swain once told me, "I had to write articles. There were times when the members weren't submitting any and I had to get the issue out."

All of the remaining editors are happily still with us. Most of them continue to attend regional and national meetings and are active in The Club. I am sure that those members of our club who attend meetings have had an opportunity to meet and talk with many of them. I think all of the past editors would agree that even though the office of Editor is a difficult and time consuming task, it is a rewarding one. The need to double check the information contained in the submitted articles keeps you on your toes and develops a critical approach and depth of pewter knowledge that is difficult to obtain in any other way. I can't think of a better way to spend a few years of my retirement.

An Expanded List of World Record Auction Prices

By Garland Pass

Four and a half years ago when we published a list of the highest prices paid for pewter at public auction, the list contained only ten items. (See Vol. 11, No. 10, pp. 321,322) We felt at that time that the list was somewhat limited. Too few pewterers were represented—five of the ten items were by Heyne; and too few forms were represented—there were no tankards and no teapots. However to have expanded the list at that time would have required more detective work than anyone cared to undertake.

The problem was partially solved by the Mallory auction two and a half years later, in June 2001, when a variety of American pieces set record prices. We also learned of record American prices set at other auctions, including two on the Internet, and records set by two English Restoration chargers. Thanks to Don Herr, Wayne Hilt, George Wolf, Alex Neish, David Houlston of Bonhams, and Mark Stephen formerly of Sotheby's London, who supplied or confirmed prices, we have been able to expand the list to twenty-five pieces.

HIGHEST PRICES PAID FOR PEWTER SOLD AT PUBLIC AUCTION

	Item	Sale/Auction House	Date	Amount
1.	Heyne Flagon	von Hess/Sotheby's	16Jun98	$145,500[1]
2.	Wm. Will Coffeepot	Mallory/Greenwich	16Jun01	126,500[2]
3.	The Tonbridge Flagon	Law/Phillips	25Sep97	52,440[3]
4.	Heyne Flagon	/Cochrans	20Sep97	50,000[4]
5.	"Love" Queen Anne Teapot	Andrews/Pennypacker	19/Jun/98	45,100[5]
6.	21 7/8" Eng. Chas.II Charger	/Phillips	15Oct99	44,172[6]
7.	Heyne Sugar Bowl	Brenner/Horst	23Aug85	42,500[4]
8.	28 3/16" English Charger	/Phillips	18Dec84	42,240[7]
9.	Chalice attrib. to Heyne	von Hess/Sotheby's	16Jun98	41,400[8]
10.	Early Eng./Dutch Flagon	Boonshaft/Sotheby's	16Jun98	41,239[9]
11.	John Will Flat Lid Tankard	Internet/Sotheby's	13Oct00	38,125[10]
12.	Coffee Pot attrib. to "Love"	Esner/Skinner	22Feb94	36,800[11]
13.	Wm. Will Drum-shaped Teapot	/Sotheby's	22Oct88	35,200[12]
14.	Peter Young Flat Lid Tankard	Mallory/Gr'wich	16Jun01	34,500[13]
15.	16 3/8" Eng. Chas.II Dish	/Phillips	08Sep00	32,660[14]
16.	Chalice attrib. to Heyne	von Hess/Sotheby's	16Jun98	32,200[15]
17.	"Love" Drum-shaped Teapot	Mallory/Gr'wich	16Jun01	32,200[15]
18.	Peter Young Queen Anne Teapot	French/Christie's	01Oct88	30,800[16]
19.	Fred. Bassett Dome Lid Tankard	Internet/Sotheby's	13Oct00	30,650[17]
20.	Wm. Will Tulip-shaped Tankard	Mallory/Gr'wich	16Jun01	27,600[18]
21.	Wm. Kirby Flat Lid Tankard	Mallory/Gr'wich	16Jun01	27,600[18]
22.	Fred. Bassett Flat Lid Tankard	Mallory/Gr'wich	16Jun01	26,450[19]
23.	Fred. Bassett Flat Lid Tankard	Mallory/Gr'wich	16Jun01	25,300[20]
24.	"Love" Flat Lid Tankard	Mallory/Gr'wich	16Jun01	25,300[20]
25.	Wm. Will Queen Anne Teapot	Kler/Christie's	18Oct86	24,200[21]

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1 $130,000 + (15% x 50,000) + (10% x 80,000)
2 $110,000 + 15% Premium
3 £28,500 + 15% Premium x 1.60 conversion rate
4 No premium charged
5 $41,000 + 10% Premium
6 £23,000 + 15% Premium x 1.67 conversion rate
7 £32.00 + 10% Premium x 1.20 conversion rate
8 $36,000 + 15% Premium
9 £22,000 + 15% Premium x 1.63 conversion rate
10 $33,977 + (15% x 15,000 + (10% x 18977)
11 $32,000 + 15% Premium
12 $32,000 + 10% Premium
13 $30,000 + 15% Premium
14 £20,000 + 15% Premium x 1.42 conversion rate
15 $28,000 + 15% Premium
16 $28,000 + 10% Premium
17 $27,182 + (15% x 15,000) + (10% x 12,182)
18 $24,000 + 15% Premium
19 $23,000 + 15% Premium
20 $22,000 + 15% Premium
21 $22,000 + 10% Premium

Looking at the list, it is interesting to note the variety of forms. Included are:

8 Tankards, 6 of them flat lids
5 Teapots, including 3 Queen Anne and 2 Drum-shaped
4 Flagons, 2 by Heyne, 2 are English or Continental
3 Chargers, all English, including 2 Charles II Restoration pieces
2 Chalices, both attributed to Heyne

Pewterers represented on the list include:

5 by Johann Christoph Heyne
4 by William Will
4 by "Love"
3 by Frederick Bassett
2 by Peter Young
1 by John Will

To repeat the rules for acceptance onto our list, only items sold at public auction where prices are a matter of public record will be considered. Buyer's premium, when it exists, must be included. Sales tax or value added tax must be excluded. Finally, when the auction occurs in another country, the currency conversion rate must be that charged the customer by the auction house on the day of the auction. Please let us know if you believe there is an item that we have missed that should be on our list.

A Familiar Form Shows Up In An Unlikely Place

By Terry Ashley

Barrel shaped pewter mugs and tankards were common forms in northern Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. We find marked and unmarked examples of the barrel form in the work of Parks Boyd, The Palethorpes and possibly other Philadelphia pewterers. American use of he barrel shape was believed to have been pretty much confined to Pennsylvania – at least until now.

Pictured below *(figure 1)* is a barrel shape pint mug with double-hoop filets, broken-C handle and cast triple banding around the lip and base. The body stands $4^{1}/_{8}$" high with top-bottom diameters 3" and center diameter $3^{7}/_{16}$". It consists of duplicate castings assembled in the "inverted mold" style. The bottom is a $3^{1}/_{8}$" disk and bears the serrated line touch mark of Thomas Derby of Middletown, Connecticut (L443) *(figure 2)*.

Thomas Derby's working dates are listed as 1818 to 1850. Derby is best known to collectors for having divulged the Boardman britannia formula to the Yales of South Meriden and for his use of the Andrew Jackson embellishment (L422) on his early flatware. His later teapots, typical of the Middletown/Meriden area, are more common.

Interestingly, this mug has the same handle as found on syrup pitchers by Hall & Cotton of Middlefield (See Laughlin's, *Pewter in America*, Vol. II Plate LXXVII, Fig. 670.) and on unmarked hollow wear attributed to the Yales. Middlefield lies about half way between Middletown and South Meriden. One might speculate that the mold for this handle was located in the general area and that handle castings were sold or traded between pewter shops, or possibly produced by an unknown third party who specialized in "parts".

This mug was purchased on eBay on the Internet. Others had noticed it for sale, but passed the opportunity to bid on it believing it to be a fake. The piece is heavily corroded and shows damage around the base. This design would have been something of a novelty in straight-laced New England, and one may speculate further that these little mugs were likely produced as tavern ware and received heavy use. This is the only surviving example of a form cast from this body mold that I am aware of. In the interest of conservation, I am foregoing cleaning and restoration in order to preserve the details of the body molding. It is my hope that other examples of this form, or use of its mold, will be recognized and published.

Fig. 1 at left shows Barrel shape pint mug by Thomas Derby of Middletown, CT and Fig. 2 above shows serrated line touch of Thomas Derby. *Photos by Jill Powell*

Its No Boar

By Wayne A. Hilt & Melvyn D. Wolf, MD

Researching antique pewter is an inexact science. There are bits of information that come down to us in a variety of forms. These include objects, advertisements by pewterers, estate papers, historically documented pewter objects as well as associated objects found with a piece of pewter.

We have always found it most important to review all the "facts" prior to reaching a conclusion. Even with these precautions it is likely that mistakes will be made and something will be put in print that is far from factual. This is the case of the article by Richard L. Bowen, Jr. entitled, "David Melville's Boar Touch," PCCA Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 8, pages 338-342.

Until recently, no known example of the touch in question was known with a clear and nearly complete impression. This caused assumptions on the part of researchers, and assumptions can cause misinterpretations, which indeed was the case in this matter.

In his article Mr. Bowen goes through great lengths to support his conclusion that the animal in the Melville touch is a boar. Mr. Bowen begins by reviewing English touches to see if any with animal devices compare favorably with the animal in the Melville touch. His conclusion was there was not, and the rarity of these devices in English touches would cause one to wonder why Melville would have copied one in the first place.

Next, Mr. Bowen thought of the use of a boar in various colonial monies. There were comparisons to seventeenth century Bermuda coinage that seemed unlikely as a source for the animal device used by an eighteenth century American pewterer. However, the Continental four-dollar note with a running boar with raised back hairs seemed a more likely source. An effort was made to support this conclusion by relating how pewterer's touches were often related to the dies "used for seals and coinage" and how those devices related to heraldic devices and design.

Discussions were made concerning the possibility that the animal could be a beaver or perhaps a porcupine. The porcupine in heraldic representation has no tail and a long snout. Mr. Bowen assumed the blur at the back of the animal (From the touch in Laughlin) was a "thin rat-like one (tail)" and the head had no long snout. Therefore the animal could not be a porcupine. Comparisons were made relating to the shape of the ears and legs of the various animals. He concluded the ears of the Melville animal, were just like the ones on heraldic boars.

An association with a patriotic motto and a related Latin motto on the Continental four-dollar note was made. This motto relates to the feelings of many patriots of the period. "Live free or die," and another version of this, "Die or be free," are found in statements published during this period. The fact that Melville was in the Militia and must have had a sense of the history of the times was the conclusive evidence that Melville would have chosen the boar device for his touch.

This evidence seems somewhat reasonable and well thought out but in fact it is totally wrong! The animal is not a boar, not a beaver not a porcupine but a rather typical squirrel (figure 1 and 2) with it's fluffed tail held along its back to the top of its head. A nut can be seen quite clearly held in the front paws.

We have no relationship of squirrels and heraldry or patriotic symbolism to report; though they may exist. Any of this information thought interesting would be superfluous to the fact that the critter in this touch is just a common squirrel.

Flawed research leads to flawed conclusions and misinformation. It is important to reach conclusions from research and not make the research fit the conclusion. Frequently collectors and scholars are slow to give up the flawed information for the corrected information. This shows the importance of reading all published material on the subject of antique pewter with a sense of skepticism. Facts may change and so may conclusions.

Authors' postscript: None of the animals associated with this article were harmed in any way.

Photo of Mark Courtesy of New Bedford Whaling Museum
Mark is from a plate in the collection of an anonymous collector of Rhode Island Pewter.

Unusual Boardman Bowl

By Robert Parker

I have recently acquired the Boardman bowl illustrated in figure 1. It is clearly marked on the outside bottom with the Boardman & Hart mark, Jacobs #47. I find it somewhat unusual, because of all the documented photographs of Boardman items in the PCCA's bibliography of reference books, I could not find one similar. It could have either been for domestic use or as a baptismal bowl. The bowl is $5^{5}/_{8}$" wide at the opening, the base is $3^{3}/_{4}$" wide and it is $2^{1}/_{2}$" high. A couple of other PCCA members that I have shared it with cannot recall seeing another one either.

In reference to the frequent articles in *The Bulletin* illustrating the obvious multiple use of molds to produce different unrelated forms, one PCCA member who saw this bowl immediately thought that it was from the bottom half of a teapot.

At this point my curiosity is aroused as to how common or uncommon this form of bowl really is. If anyone has any specific information on similar bowls, or has a comment on how frequently or infrequently they have seen them, their feedback will be welcome. Send email to parkerr@gte.net, or you are encouraged to view the bowl and question about it on the new online PCCA Bulletin Board and post a comment there.

Figure 1