PEWTERERS' TRADE-TOKENS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY By Howard Herschel Cotterell, F.R.Hist.S., etc., of Croxley Green

Side by side with the article on Pewterers' Trade-cards, which I wrote in collaboration with Mr. Ambrose Heal, and which appeared in The Connoisseur for December last, these notes on Pewterers' Trade-Tokens put before collectors two interesting and complementary side-lights on the work of the old pewterers. Up to now these aspects would seem to have escaped attention, save by those forming general collections of the two subjects. But specialisation—by trades—should be of great interest to collectors, of whatever kind of ware or subject, investing their researches with a fringe of unlooked-for corroborative evidence and fuller details of individual craftsmen.

It would be gratifying to know that someone was making himself responsible for the formation of a collection of trade-cards and trade-tokens, for each individual branch of collecting. The field is still open, and without any very great expenditure the chances of bringing together more or less complete sets are neither beyond the dreams of avarice nor accomplishment. But let it be understood that the idea is to specialise on particular trades, as opposed to the formation of general collections, which is already being done in many places. Some scheme of specialisation might, I suggest, be carried out with the view of ultimate bequest to such museum as has shown the greatest interest in the various subjects in question; and on condition that such bequests be housed side by side with the particular branch of collecting to which they have immediate reference, and that they be not absorbed into existing general collections. The idea might be extended to the formation of a collection of works on each particular subject, to be similarly placed. Thus, the items in the various collections might be studied from A to Z without the necessity of running off to some more or less distant library where comparison between the actual article and the standard work of reference is impossible.

It would seem almost unnecessary to say anything in regard to the history of, or the causes which gave rise to the use of tokens in England. But for the information of those who do not know, it may be well to state that they were the outcome of the urgent need for small change, a fact which is borne out by the Commonwealth farthing, illustrated—though not a token—at No. 14a, and which bears the words "For necessary Change" on the reverse. It is true that there were in use from early times silver pennies, half-pennies, and even farthings, but their diminutive size and the consequent ease with which they were lost, militated against their popularity. There was undoubted need of a more convenient small coinage, but there was also-especially in the official mind-a great prejudice against the use of a base metal. In the year 1613, King James I. sold the patent rights of striking copper farthings to one of his subjects, an arrangement confirmed later by King Charles I., but in private hands it led to such abuses that it was foredoomed to failure, the issuers adopting the suicidal attitude of refusing to re-change the quantities

which, from time to time, accumulated in the tradesmen's hands.

However, time went on, and the need became so urgent that these latter conceived the plan of issuing what have now become known as tokens, which indeed they were—tokens of the fact that they would be accepted back in part payment of future purchases by the individual tradesman who issued them. (See Rev. of No. 19a.)

I very gratefully embrace this opportunity of acknowledging the friendly help I have received in compiling these notes from Messrs. A. H. Baldwin, of London; W. J. Faulkner, of Endon, Stoke-on-Trent; Ambrose Heal, of Beaconsfield; Edwin Hollis, F.Z.S., of the Museum, Aylesbury; C. G. J. Port, F.S.A., of Worthing; T. Sheppard, of the Municipal Museum, Hull; Henry Symonds, F.S.A., of Taunton; Thomas Warburton, of Manchester; and M. S. Dudley Westropp, M.R.I.A., of the National Museum, Dublin.

The lists which I am able to give comprise:-

- a Tokens which it is known were used by pewterers.
- b Tokens which, though no trade, or a trade other than that of the pewterer, is mentioned, bear as their chief device the Arms of the Pewterers' Company, or other device alluding to the metal or to articles fashioned from it, and which, therefore, may have been those of pewterers too, or have other connection with the trade.

Many of those referred to I am able to illustrate through the courtesy of the individuals referred to above, but I should be very grateful to any reader who can supply either fine sketches or good photographs of the remaining ones, so that at a future date my lists may be made complete.

Immediately following my numbers is given the reference to each in Williamson's edition of Boyne's Trade-Tokens of the Seventeenth Century, the abbreviations Obv. meaning Obverse, and Rev. Reverse.

TOKENS WHICH WERE USED BY PEWTERERS.

- I. (London, p. 656, No. 1708.) Obv., S·M·A·IN·LITTLE-BRITTAIN·PEWTERER·1667. (In five lines.) Rev., The Pewterers' Arms (no legend). (Large ½d.) (Note.—This is the Token of Samuel Attley, who took his Livery in the London Company in 1667. H.H.C.)
- 2. (Not in Williamson or Boyne.) Obv., IOHN'BAKER' OF'KINGSTON=An arm holding a hammer. I.B. Rev., VPON'HVLL'PEWTERER=A'1665. (½d.)
- 3. (Yorkshire, p. 1320, No. 132.) Obv., $10hn\cdot baker = An$ arm holding a hammer. Rev., $0f\cdot hvll\cdot 1665 = I.B.$ ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)
- 4. (Ireland, p. 1388, No. 453.) Obv., FRANCIS-BANCKES-OF=A pot of lilies. Rev., GALLWAY-PEWTERER=F.B. id. (Undated id.) (Note.—Francis Banckes died in 1687.)
- 5. (London, p. 656, No. 1706.) Obv., IOHN-BIRD-1668 = A bird with a branch in its mouth, LIME-STREET.

Rec., at Pewterers Hall = HIS Halfe Penny (½d.) (Note — John Bird was Beadle to the Company, hence the address.)

6. (Ireland, p. 13.7, No. 287.) *Obv.*, IGNATIVS-BROWNE-IN-=I,I.B. id. Rev., HIGH-STREET-DVBLIN-PEVTR^R=A tankard. 1671. (1d.)

7. (Ireland. p. 1377, No. 290.) Obv., IONATHAN-BYTTERTON-PEWTR=A dog with a bird in its mouth. Rev., ER-HIGH-STREETE-DVBLIN-63=I.B. id. (Id.) (Note.—He died in 1683.)

8. (Gloucestershire, p. 251, No. 176.) Obv., SAMVELL-CANNER-IN=A tankard. Rev., TEWKESBURY-PEWTERER=S.C. (Undated, ½d.)

9. (Ireland, p. 1370, No. 178.) Obv., IOHN:FRYERS: 1668=A ship. Rev., OF:CLONMEL:PEVTERER=Id. (Id.)

10. (Warwickshire, p. 1215, No. 182.) Obv., Thomasheath·1666=A melting pot between T.L.H. Rev., IN·WARWICK·PEWTERER=HIS·HALF·PENY· $(\frac{1}{2}d.)$

II. (Sussex, p. 1175, No. 113.) Obv., IOHN'HENTY OF=
I.H. Rev., Lewes Pewterer A fleur-de-lys. (Undated, \frac{1}{4}d.) (Note.—The name Henty appears on the Subsidy Roll of 1621, and is still found in Lewes.)

12. (Kent, p. 350, No. 59.) Obv., THOMAS'HYTTEN' PEVTERER=The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., IN-CANTERBERY' 1669=A griffin. Id. (Id.)

13. (London, p. 548, No. 434.) Ob:., Stephen:Mabber-LY:AT=The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., BROAD-STREET-EAND=S.E.M. 67 (4d.) (Note.—His touch is No. 209 on the first touch plate.)

14. (London, p. 534, No. 246.) Obv., HENRY NAPTON-IN=The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., BISHOPSGATE STREET=HIS HALF PENY. 1670. (½d.) (Note.—He is mentioned in the register of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, at the registration of the birth of his son, on April 12th, 1672.)

15. (Not in Williamson, but its position there will be Yorkshire. 103a.) *Obv.*, IOHN·BENSON=HALF·PENY. *Rev.*, IN·HOLLIFAN·1670=The Pewterers' Arms. (½d.)

16. (Derbyshire, p. 118, No. 13.) Obv., IOSEPH·SHERWINN·OF=1666. Rev., ASHBOVRN·PEWTERER=HIS HALF PENY. $(\frac{1}{2}d.)$

17. (Devonshire, p. 137, No. 23.) Obv., IOHN·WEBBER·OF=A tankard. Rev., BARNESTABLE·1666=I.W., conjoined, large, filling the field.

TOKENS BEARING THE PEWTERERS' ARMS OR OTHER KINDRED DEVICE OR LEGEND.

Ia. (London, p. 615, No. 1215.) Obv., IOHN'ABBOTIN'OVLD=A Baluster-measure. Rev., GRAFELD'LANE'IN' WAPING=I.E.A. (Undated, \dd.) (Note.—The device is described in Williamson as a "black-jack," but I share the opinion expressed by Mr. Oliver Baker, in his book on Black-jacks and Leather Bottells, that it is distinctly a pewter measure. H.H.C.)

2a. (London, p. 783, No. 3281.) Obv., Robt Bristow-Chesmynger = The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., At-Waping-Wall = R.M.B. (Undated, \(\frac{1}{4}d. \))

3a. (Oxfordshire, p. 925, No. 38.) Obv., THOMAS-BYRGES=The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., OF-BISTER-1665=

4a. (Buckinghamshire, p. 53, No. 124.) Obv., CHRISTOPH-CLIFTON=A pot of lilies. Rev., IN:STONEY:STRATFORD=

C.I.C. (¼d.) (Note.—The owner of this token may well have been a pewterer, for I have a record of a provincial pewterer of this name but of unknown provenance. H.H.C.)

5a. (Kent, p. 377, No. 422.) Obv., WILLIAM·READE·IN·MILTON=The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., NEERE-GRAVES-END·1666=HIS·HALF·PENY. (½d.)

6a. (Kent, p. 377, No. 423.) Obv., WILL-READ-IN-MILTON=The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., NEAR-GRAVESEND = W.M.R. (Undated, \dd.)

7a. (Warwickshire, p. 1208, No. 91.) Obv., IOHNSMITH=The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., COVENTRY-1651=1.L.S. (4d.)

8a. (Devonshire, p. 137, No. 25.) Obv., RICHARD WEBER-IN=The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., BARNESTABLE-1667=A flower between R.W. (4d.) (Note.—The Webbers. of Barnstaple, were well-known pewterers from circu 1650 to 1735, if not for a much longer period; see No. 17. H.H.C.)

9a. (London, p. 711, No. 2389.) Obv., RED:—STREETE: 1657=THO:WHITLE. Rev., CORNER:BEECH-LANE=A Baluster-measure. (Note.—The same comments apply to this as to No. 1a, q.v.)

10a. (Kent, p. 356, No. 128.) Obv., MARY-WILLIS-1669=The Pewterers' Arms. Rev., OF-CRANBROOCK=HER-HALF-PENY. I.M.W. (\frac{1}{2}\)d.) (Note.—Mary Merriam. of Goudhurst, Kent, and John Willis, of the same. clothier, were married by the minister of Cranbrook on September 16th, 1661. Mary Willis, widow, was buried there on August 13th, 1678.)

IIa. (London, p. 614, No. 1208.) Obv., YE-PEWTER-PLATTER=T.M.W. Rev., IN-GRATIOVS-STREETE=A platter.

12a. (London, p. 725, No. 2573.) Obv., THE-PEWTER-PLA=A plate. Rev., ST-JOHN-STREETE=I.E.M. (4d. 13a. (London, p. 651, No. 1646.) Obv., YE-PEWTER-

POT·IN=An alehouse pot. Rev., LEADENHALL STREE=

14a. (Not being a token proper, this is not referred to in Boyne or Williamson.) Commonwealth pattern farthing, in pewter. Obv., <code>loz.of.fine.pewter=In</code> a garland of roses, the initials T.K., and on a shield, a cross. (The Arms of the Commonwealth.) Rev., <code>for.necessary.change.=In</code> a shield, a harp over a sun radiated.

THE FOLLOWING TOKENS BEAR A TANKARD FOR THEIR DEVICE.

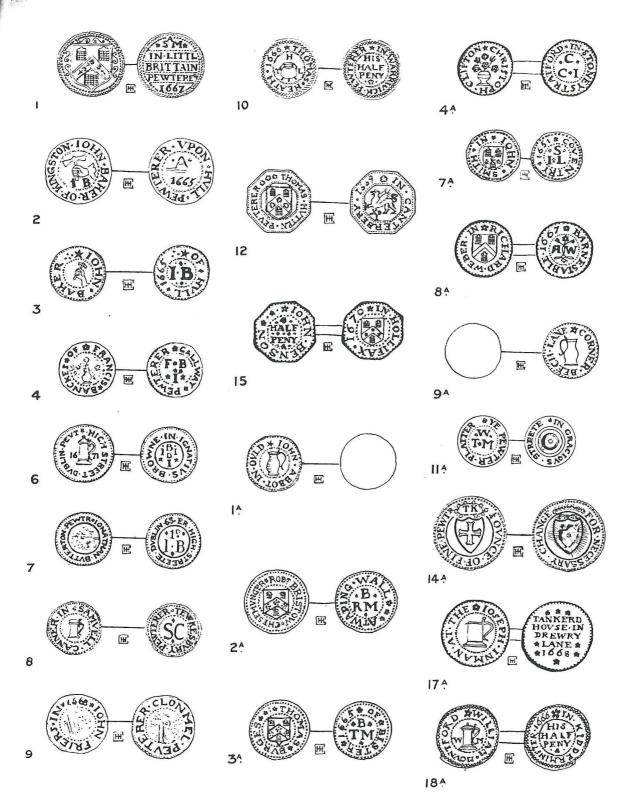
15a. (Staffordshire, p. 1059, No. 95.) Obv., 10N·COMBERLADG·HIS·HALF·=A ball, 1664. Rev., PENY·IN·WOLVERHAMPTON=A tankard.

16a. (Yorkshire, p. 1326, No. 193.) Obv., WILLIAM. GOO...ER.HIS.PENY=A tankard (?) Rev., THE...TE.OF. LEEDS.1669=A jug (?) (Id.)

17a. (London, p. 585, No. 872.) Obv., Ioseph·Inman-AT·THE = A tankard. Rev., Tankerd·Hovse·In·Drewry-Lane·1668. (In five lines.) ($\frac{1}{2}$ d.)

18a. (Worcestershire, p. 1277, No. 70.) Obv., WILLIAM MOVNTFORD = A tankard. W.M. Rev., IN KIDDERMINSTER 1666 = HIS HALF PENY. ($\frac{1}{2}$ d.)

19a. (Yorkshire, p. 1318, No. 119.) Obv., Samvell. Ogden-of-hawworth=A tankard. Rev., I-WILL-EN-CHANGE-MY-1670=Id. (Id.)



PEWTERERS' TRADE-TOKENS, ETC., DESCRIBED BY MR. HOWARD HERSCHEL COTTERELL, F.R.HIST.S., ETC., IN THE ACCOMPANYING ARTICLE



THE article which I contributed to THE CONNOISSEUR in May, 1927, produced many further and interesting items in response to my appeal. Some of these bridge over lacunæ and supply necessary corrections. Others provide entirely new material, and I desire to place on record my appreciation of the courteous help received in this way from Messrs. G. F. Hill, F.B.A. (Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum); Luther Clements; Lionel L. Fletcher; Ambrose Heal; and I. O. Manton. I may, perhaps, be also permitted to express my satisfaction that the suggestion made in the former article, as to the desirability of specialising by trades, has already been put into practice in at least one instance, and has merited the warm approval of Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher, a Member of the Council of the British Numismatic Society.

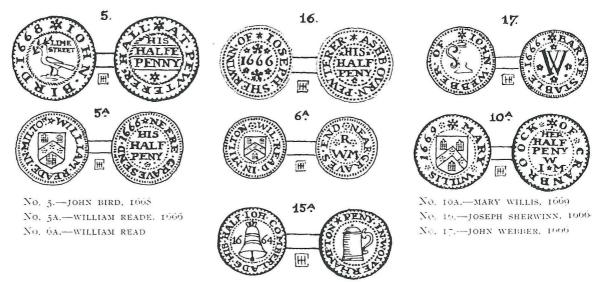
In order to maintain the thread of the story, the first seven illustrations given with the present notes, Nos. 5, 16, 17, 5a, 6a, 10a and 15a, are the tokens of John Bird, Joseph Sherwinn, John Webber, William Reade, Wil Read, Mary Willis and Joh Comberladg, respectively, and of which full details will be found under those numbers on pp. 25-26 of The Connoisseur (*ibid.*). This leaves but seven of that series of thirty-three still to be cleared up, viz.: Nos. 11 (John Henty),

13 (Stephen Mabberly), 14 (Henry Napton), and 12a, 13a, 16a and 19a, and I have by no means abandoned hope of running these to earth.

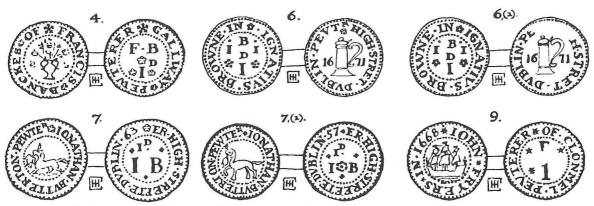
I would also call attention to the revised drawings which are given here of the Irish tokens. My previous drawings were made from what I now know to have been imperfect information supplied to me from Ireland, but through the kindness of Mr. Lionel Fletcher, who sent me his specimens for the purpose, I am able to give more perfect sketches of Nos. 4 (Francis Banckes), 6 (Ignatius Browne), 7 (Jonathan Butterton), and 9 (John Fryers); and, moreover, to give variants, under Nos. 6 (2) and 7 (2), of those of Ignatius Browne and Jonathan Butterton. A third die variety of Browne's token is before me, but the differences are not sufficient to warrant a further illustration. In each of these three varieties of his token the spelling of his address is High STRET, not High STREET.

As will be seen from a comparison of the two illustrations of Browne's token, No. 6 has a dot between the small rose at the top and the initial letter "I" of IGNATIVS, whereas in No. 6 (2) the rose and the "I" are quite close together. There are, of course, other differences which will be observed on examination.

No. 7 (2) is an unpublished variety of Butterton's token and differs in many respects from



No. 15A.—John Comberladg, 1664
Described, but not illustrated, in The Connoisseur. May, 1927.



Revised sketches, with two variants, of tokens illustrated in The Connoisseur, May, 1927.

No. 4.—Francis Banckes

Nos. 6 and 6(2).—Ignatius browne, 1671

Nos. 7 and 7(2).—Jonathan butterion

No. 9.—John Fryers, 1668

No. 7, e.g., the date is (16)57 instead of (16)63, and an entirely different type of dog occupies the field.

Referring back to the Commonwealth pattern farthing illustrated at No. 14a, the following note from a weekly newspaper, Several Proceedings of State Affairs—under date April 27th, 1654—may not be without interest:—

"This night (April 26th), are come out new farthings weighing a quarter of an ounce of fine pewter, that so the people may never hereafter fear to lose much by them; the harp on one side and a cross on the other, with a T.K. above it."

Two entirely new tokens have come to light to be added to the series, and these I have numbered to follow on consecutively with the preceding ones. They are as follows (the first is mentioned in Dalton's book on Eighteenth-century tokens as Lothian, 196):—

No. 18. Obv. ROBT. WHYTE. PEWTERER—No. 40. COWGATE. HEAD., Rev., LAMPS. OILS. COTTONS. &c. (in four lines) (\frac{1}{4}d). This was the token of Robert Whyte, who obtained his Freedom in the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen in 1805.

No. 20A. Obv., IOHN . FVRNIS . IN . KING . STREETE . IN . WESTMINSTER (in six lines). Rev., The Pewterers' Arms (no legend).

As the outcome of my further researches, I am glad to avail myself of this opportunity to correct

the erroneous impression, which would seem to have obtained a foothold in certain places, that the device of "The Pot of Lilies," or "Lily Pot," is enough, of itself, to warrant the assumption that any token on which it appears is. *ipso facto*, that of a pewterer.

It is true that this Lily Pot was a badge of the pewterers. It is referred to in the Grant of Arms made to the Company by Clarencieux King of Arms in 1553, wherein it is granted as a badge on their streamer, *not* as a charge on their shield of arms.

This may have been one cause of the misapprehension, but another may be found in the fact that it was an emblem of the Blessed Virgin, who was Patroness of the Company. But the Blessed Virgin was also Patroness of the Drapers', the Fullers', and the Clothworkers', and possibly of other companies too.

The quietus is, however, given to the theory by the list of those who used it, as detailed in Williamson's edition of Boyne's *Trade Tokens of the Seventeenth Century*, and wherein we find this device used by a Glassman, Apothecaries, Taverners and Pewterers. Hence the suggestion that every user of it may be presumed to have been a pewterer falls to the ground.

Not even the Pewterers' Arms themselves can be considered as sacrosanct, for have we not an example in the token, No. 2a (see my previous article), of their use by a cheesemonger?



Not referred to in The Connoisseur, May, 1927.
No. 18.—Robt. whyte No. 20A.—John furnis