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in appreciation.
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Swedish influence on American pewter

Flagons right and left by Johann Christoph Heyne; center flagon, by H. Müller of Rothenburg, Germany, served as model. *Photograph by courtesy of John J. Evans, Jr.*

ON ITS FRONTISPIECE IN February 1928 ANTIQUES showed a Pennsylvania pewter communion flagon, then in the Reifsnyder collection, which immediately attracted widespread attention. The piece bore an inscription indicating that it had been presented to St. Peter's Church in Mount Joy Township by one John Dirr in 1771; it also bore the previously unrecorded touch of I C H LANCASTER, surmounted by a crown. At that time the maker was unknown and interest centered about certain stylistic peculiarities of the piece, which seemed to indicate a Continental source modified by English influences. It was concluded that the maker was of German or Alsatian extraction.

A few years later an important article (ANTIQUES, September 1931) by John J. Evans, Jr., identified I C H as Johann Christoph Heyne, tinsmith and pewterer of Lancaster, and showed some other examples of his work—among them a pair of church flagons made in 1771 for the Trinity Lutheran Church of Lancaster to match a German communion flagon of about 1725 then in possession of the church. An unusual editorial postscript to this article suggested additional possibilities as to Heyne's birthplace and apprenticeship, and identified the maker of the original German flagon as Heinrich Müller of Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Bavaria.

Heyne was an able and gifted craftsman and his copies compared well with the original, but he departed in several instances from its features: he adopted a hollow cast bud-end handle instead of the strap-handle, and he arranged the thumbpiece in a very curious manner. These deviations were attributed partly to certain changes in style which had taken place in the intervening years, and partly to lack of molds and to limited shop equipment. Great importance was attached to them, and they were assumed to be proof of a conscious or unconscious absorption of English ideas and styles then prevalent in the Colonies.

This assimilation of current local fashion is an important factor in the work of any creative craftsman, and our colonial artisans must have been as subject to such influences as anyone. To attribute any significant change of style or form entirely to a surrender to new habits and

surroundings, however, diverts attention from the importance of the original training of the craftsman.

To comprehend fully the forces which were responsible for the training and development of our foreign-born American craftsmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one needs an understanding of the intricate web of rules and regulations in which English and Continental craftsmen of these periods were enmeshed. Neither English nor Continental craftsmen were free agents; their lives were circumscribed by the rules of their particular craft guilds, which the guilds enforced with astounding authority.

Of major importance for our purpose are the rules which governed the life of the apprentice and his subsequent life as a journeyman. Upon graduation from his apprenticeship, the young journeyman was compelled by guild rules to go on a long journey. He had to travel from town to town, from master to master, always looking for an opportunity to ply his trade. Depending on the craft, this was a five- to ten-year extension of his apprenticeship. When finally the journeyman could apply for his master's certificate, his work in other towns and foreign lands and his adoption of varied working methods under many masters had broadened his horizon.

With the American phase of Heyne's life rather well established by Mr. Evans, his unknown years as a journeyman became of utmost interest. Where had he worked, what countries had he visited, and what forms and designs had impressed themselves upon his mind?

The tracing of Heyne's peregrinations was facilitated when it was established that his road had led him to Stettin. This northern German city is separated from Sweden by the Baltic Sea, not a great obstacle. Pewterers of Sweden and northern Germany, and their journeymen, had intimate working agreements, and their guilds were often united in regional groups. Having worked in northern Germany, Heyne was acquainted with the closely related styles of that area and of Sweden; and the record shows that after finishing his Saxonian apprenticeship in 1733 and arriving in Stettin in 1734, he was registered in Stockholm in 1735. He made his mark there in 1736, when he was elected "Ortsgeselle," or executive officer, of his journeyman's guild. His duties were manifold, and only the highly qualified and respected journeyman could aspire to such an exalted position. Heyne's name appears again in the Stockholm records of 1737, and we do not hear of him after that until 1742, when he arrived in Philadelphia from England. However, it seems improbable that he worked in England as a journeyman pewterer in the intervening five years, since English guilds were strongly opposed to the employment of foreign craftsmen.

The records show that Heyne worked for a period of years in Sweden and that upon leaving the Continent he was familiar not only with the forms of middle and southern Germany, but with those of northern Germany and Sweden as well. And an evaluation of his work as an American pewterer strongly suggests an even longer sojourn in Sweden than can be documented at present.

When Heyne's copies of the old German flagon were recognized for what they were, the significant deviations from the original drew attention to the so-called "English" hollow cast bud-end handle, then in style in colonial America, and to the typically Teutonic thumbpiece. Had Heyne worked only in southern Germany he would have known only the conventional German strap-

Tankard of a seventeenth-century type by Petter Noren, Hedemora; 1765. *Except as noted, illustrations are by courtesy of Nordiska Museet, Stockholm.*

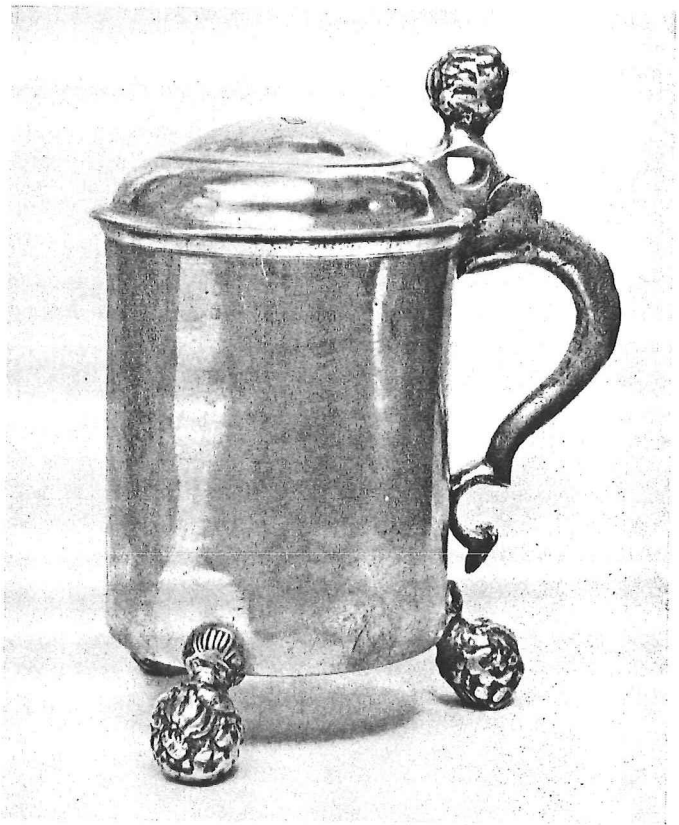
Wine pitcher by Heinrich Gottfried Pschorn (master 1715-1743), Stockholm; datemark 1738.

handle, and his task of copying it from the original flagon would have been easy. Heyne's application of the hollow cast handle was interpreted as proof of his rapid Americanization; and it was suggested that the peculiarities of his thumbpiece were necessitated by the sweep of the handle. Had these surmises been correct, the craftsman could have solved the difficulty by adopting the contemporary erect thumbpiece. He did not adopt this thumbpiece until later, and we must attribute these deviations to lessons learned long ago but readily recalled.

These two apparently unrelated features, the hollow cast handle and the elevated thumbpiece, were in style in Sweden as an entity for about two hundred years—long before and long after Heyne. Distinct attributes of Swedish hollow ware, they are not found in any other country except northern Germany. The hollow cast handle was known in Sweden from about the middle of the seventeenth century on; an example is the seventeenth-century tankard by Petter Noren, which incidentally has the same type of handle Heyne used on his Lancaster flagons, the "English" bud-end. The elevated thumbpiece, an outstanding feature of Heyne's flagons, was a functional and ornamental part of Swedish hollow ware even in conjunction with the strap-handle, as the wine pitcher by Heinrich Gottfried Pschorn of Stockholm demonstrates. A flagon by Erik Hindersson and a tankard by Carl Saur show that even the erect thumbpiece and the double dome found on Heyne's later flagons were used in Sweden.

Written and visual records show conclusively that Heyne worked in Sweden for a number of years. There have been many indications of Swedish influence in American pewter, but these features of the vessels Heyne fashioned in Lancaster are the first definite proof of this influence. Transcending the scope of this article, we are reminded that Continental life, mannerisms, and habits so strongly helped to mold the craftsmanship of the immigrant artisan that an intimate acquaintance with these forces is a must for the student of American crafts.

Flagon by Erik Hindersson, Stockholm; dated 1650.



Tankard by Carl Saur I (master 1735-1781), Stockholm; datemark 1775.

This flagon by Samuel Marnell (master 1748-1775) of Stockholm shows the principal features of Heyne's church flagons; datemark 1749.