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The William and Mary Quarterly, 1938, Vol. 18
Publ.: Onehundred Institute of Early American
History and Culture, Williamsburg VA, p. 227 - 241

NOTES ON THE USE OF PEWTER IN VIRGINIA DUR-
ING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY¹

By WORTH BAILEY,

*Museum Technician, Jamestown Archeological Project,
Colonial National Historical Park*

The earliest information relative to the close association of pewter with the establishment of Virginia is found in the second Charter granted by James I in 1609 to the Virginia Company authorizing settlements in America. Listed sixteenth among the fifty-odd merchant companies of London subscribing capital stock to the corporation and receiving in return notable advantages, privileges, and liberties of enterprise in the Colony, appears the Worshipful Company of Pewterers,² an organization claiming complete control of English pewtermakers since the middle of the fourteenth century.³ Such action on the part of the pewterers' society might conceivably be attributed to the attempt to keep pace

¹ In the preparation of the story of the so-called "Chuckatuck" spoon (see Plates 1 and 2), recovered during the progress of the Jamestown Archeological Program, for a forthcoming issue of *Antiques Magazine*, the author has gleaned considerable material bearing upon the early use of pewter in Virginia and shedding significant light upon the craft practises of the period. Interested at the offset in the unique quality of the before-mentioned pewter article and stimulated as investigations proceeded by the ready integration of all available data, he was ultimately enabled to commit to record the professional career of one, Joseph Copeland, and to advance his name for inclusion among the limited assemblage of American pewterers of the seventeenth century.

In one sense, this essay may be considered the by-product of previous researches, but it incorporates much additional material, paying at the same time particular attention to documentation. In plan and scope, it follows closely after the late George Francis Dow's notable contribution dealing with the subject of pewter in Massachusetts for the same period, published in *Old Time New England*, (July, 1923), the Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. To him the present writer makes grateful acknowledgment. Mr. Dow's "Notes" have furnished not only the inspiration for this paper, but with the indicated change in locale, provided a title also.

The writer takes pleasure in acknowledging at this time his indebtedness to Mr. Floyd Holloway, genial Clerk of the York County Court, who gave unsparingly of his leisure hours to accommodate the demands of this investigation in consulting the valuable records in his keeping. Similar thanks are likewise due Miss Olive Drinkwine of the Colonial National Historical Park Staff, for her interest and indispensable assistance in making accurate transcripts of the early records cited.

² Hening, William Waller, ed., *Statutes at Large*, (New York, 1823), Vol. I, pp. 80-98. Also see: Brown, Alexander, *The Genesis of the United States*, (Boston and New York, 1890), pp. 226, 858.

³ Welsh, Charles, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the City of London*, (London, 1902), Vol. I, p. ii.

with a new order, and to extend not only its markets, hoping simultaneously to exact its accustomed rights to a percentage of necessary raw materials that Virginia might yield, but to gain, also, control over colonial pewter practices as well. Here the pewterers faced a situation unprecedented. Approximately three quarters of a century earlier the court of the organization had passed an act providing:

"That no person nor persons, being born within this Realm, occupying or exercising the said Craft of Pewterers, shall at any time hereafter resort to any strange Regions or Countries, there to use, teach or exercise the said Craft to Pewterers, upon pain to lose the Privilege and Benefit of an Englishman. And if in case any of the King's Subjects at this present time, being dwelling in any strange Country or Region, and there occupying the said Craft of Pewterers, do not rejoin into this Realm, within three Months next after Request and Warning to him be given, by Writing sealed with the common Seal of the Wardens of the said Craft within the said City of London, and here in this Realm continually from henceforth dwell and inhabit, that then and from henceforth he shall be taken and reputed as no Englishman, but shall stand and be from henceforth out of the King's Protection."⁴

When the above doctrine was enunciated (1532), none had yet caught the vision which Raleigh saw somewhat later, of America as an extension of the English nation. Whereas Virginia would certainly satisfy the definition of a "strange Region or Country," the "liberties, franchises, and immunities" promised under its Charter were as applicable to each practising craftsman as to any other of the king's subjects. As far as the powerful Pewterers' Guild was concerned, its dominance in craft affairs in the colonies seemed to be a matter of technicalities. Consequently, in 1609, the Company took the steps which seemed advisable to protect its best interests, counting no doubt upon its prestige in the councils of the Virginia Company to extend its influence and control to America. Broadsides and Tracts designed to attract emigrants, issued during the period of the Company's control, contain full mention of apothecaries, brickmakers, brewers, coopers, carpenters, fishermen, husbandmen, limeburners, turners, etc., but never once contain a specific reference to pewterers.⁵ It is suggested that this conspicuous absence of the latter workmen may

³ Welsh, Charles, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the City of London*, (London, 1902), Vol. I, p. 131.

⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 248, 353, 355-6, 469-70.



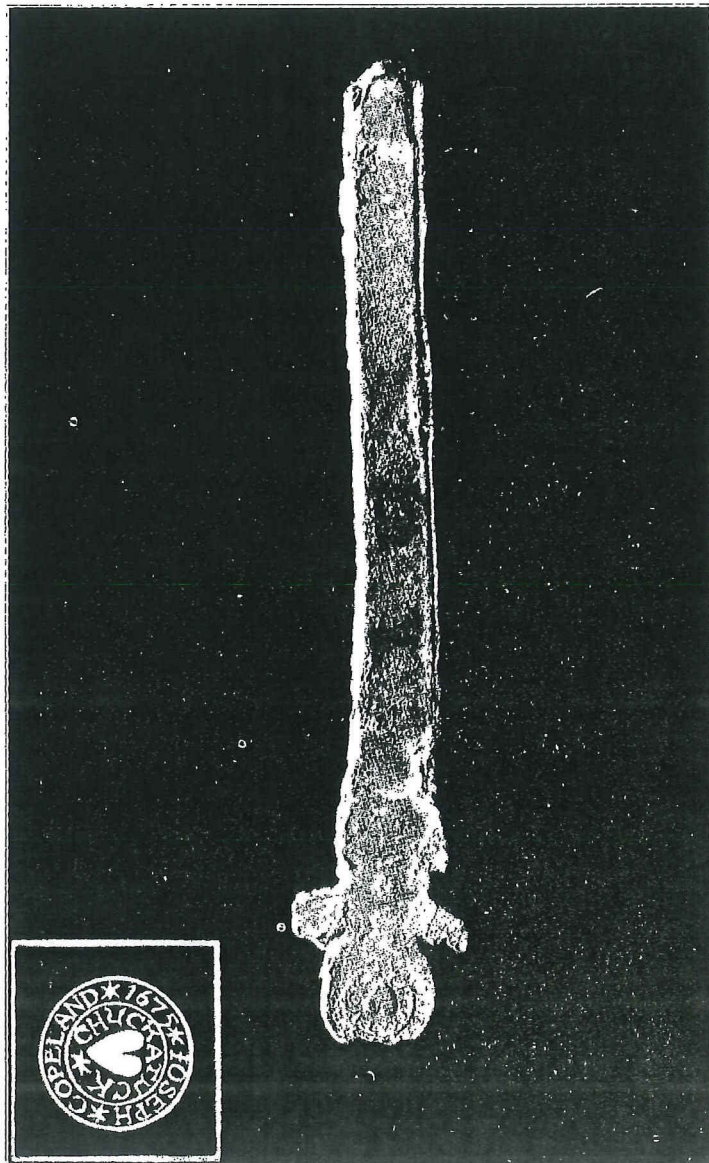
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and not only its markets, hoping to be granted rights to a percentage of the land which might yield, but to gain, also, other privileges as well. Here the pewterer's craft of the organization had passed

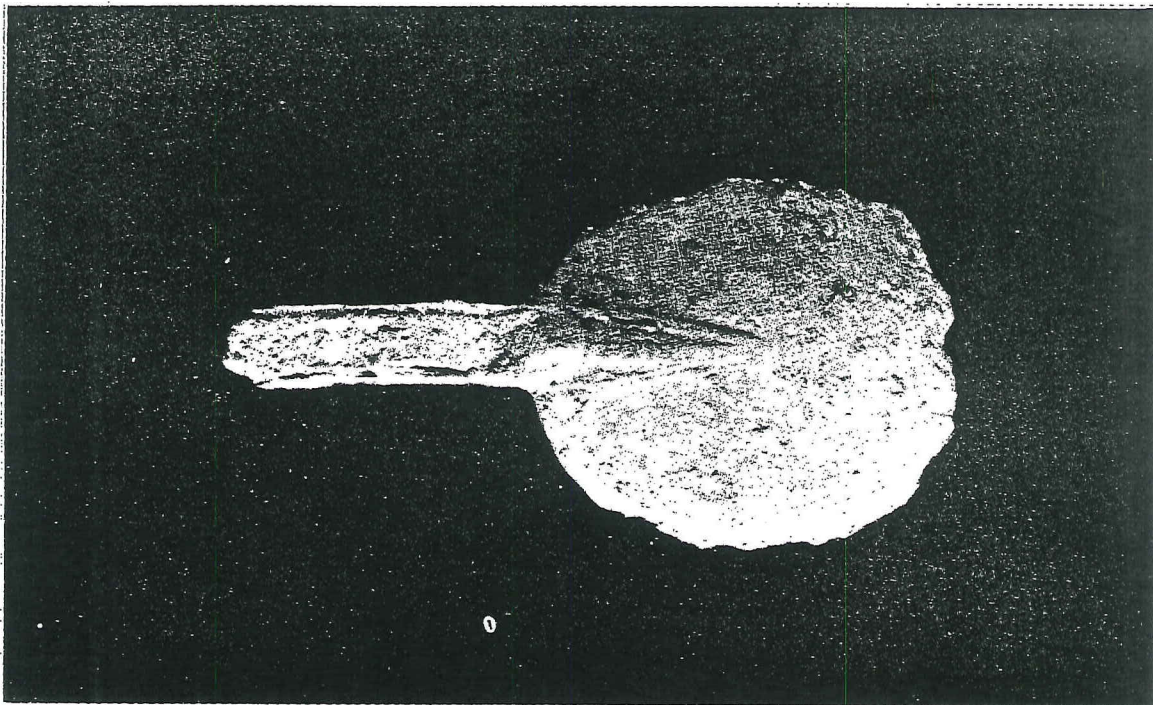
to persons, being born within this Kingdom, and not being of the said Craft of Pewterers, who shall resort to any strange Regions or Countries, to learn or exercise the said Craft to the Privilege and Benefit of any of the King's Subjects dwelling in any strange Country or Kingdom, contrary to the said Craft of Pewterers, do within three Months next after the said person shall be given, by Writing sealed with the Signatures of the Wardens of the said Craft withdrew here in this Realm continually to inhabit, that then and from that time forth he shall be reputed as no Englishman, and shall be henceforth out of the King's

protection, as enunciated (1532), none had seen before, and which we might see somewhat later, of the English nation. Whereas Virginia was defined as a "strange Region" with certain immunities promised to each practising craftsman and his family. As far as the powerful dominance in craft affairs in Virginia of technicalities. Consequently, measures were proposed which seemed advisable to be taken without doubt upon its prestige in the colony to extend its influence and contracts designed to attract emigrants to the Company's control, contain provisions for pewterers, makers, brewers, coopers, carmen, meburners, turners, etc., but not in favour of pewterers.⁵ It is suggested that the location of the latter workmen may

⁵Worshipful Company of Pewterers
Vol. I, p. 131.
353, 355-6, 469-70.



—Courtesy National Park Service.
PLATE 1—Fragment of the Copeland or Chuckatuck Spoon Excavated at Jamestown. The handle is a variant of the Trifid termination fashionable in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Total length of handle, 5½ inches. Observe the location of the maker's touch and the enlarged detail of Copeland's mark.



—Courtesy National Park Service.

PLATE 2—Bowl Fragment Identified as Belonging to the Handle of the Type Illustrated in Plate 1. Diameter of bowl; greater, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, smaller, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

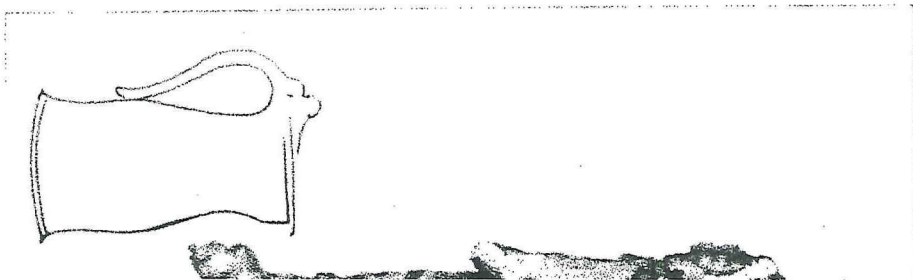


PLATE 3—Fragment of 1
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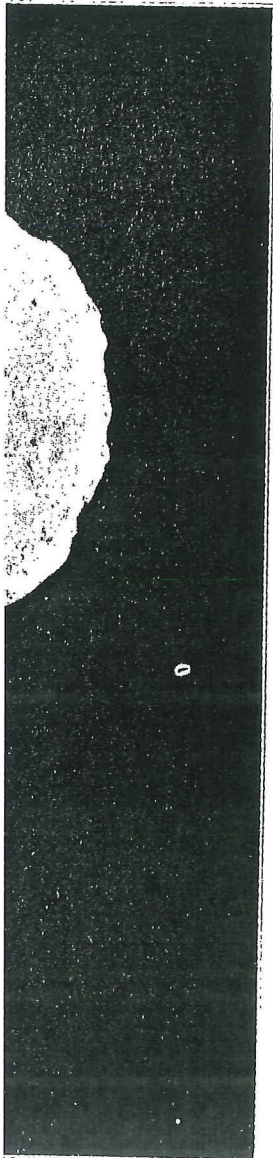
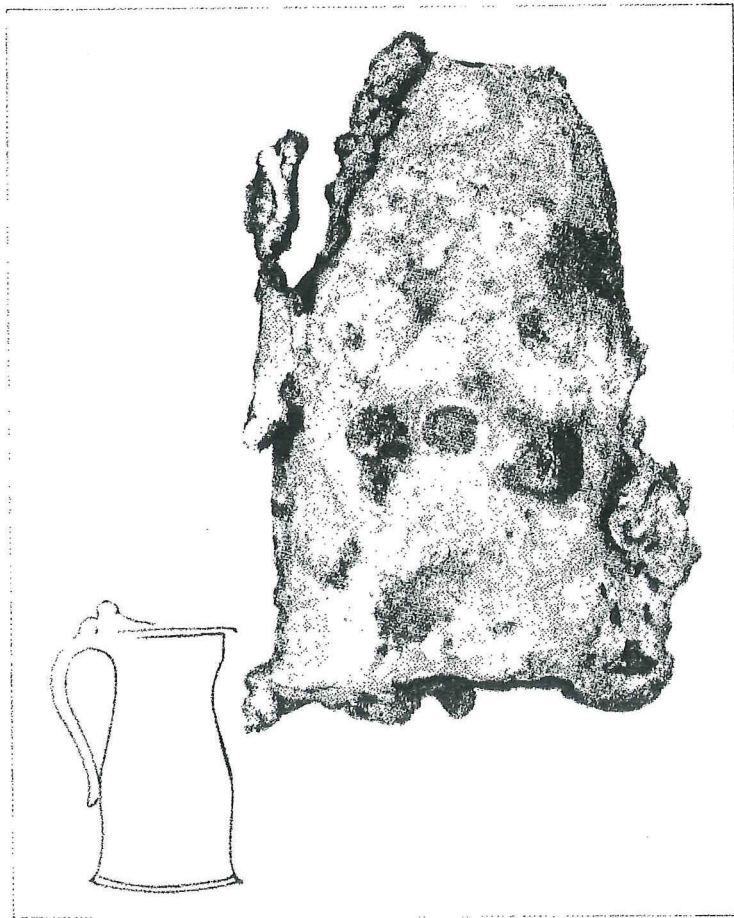
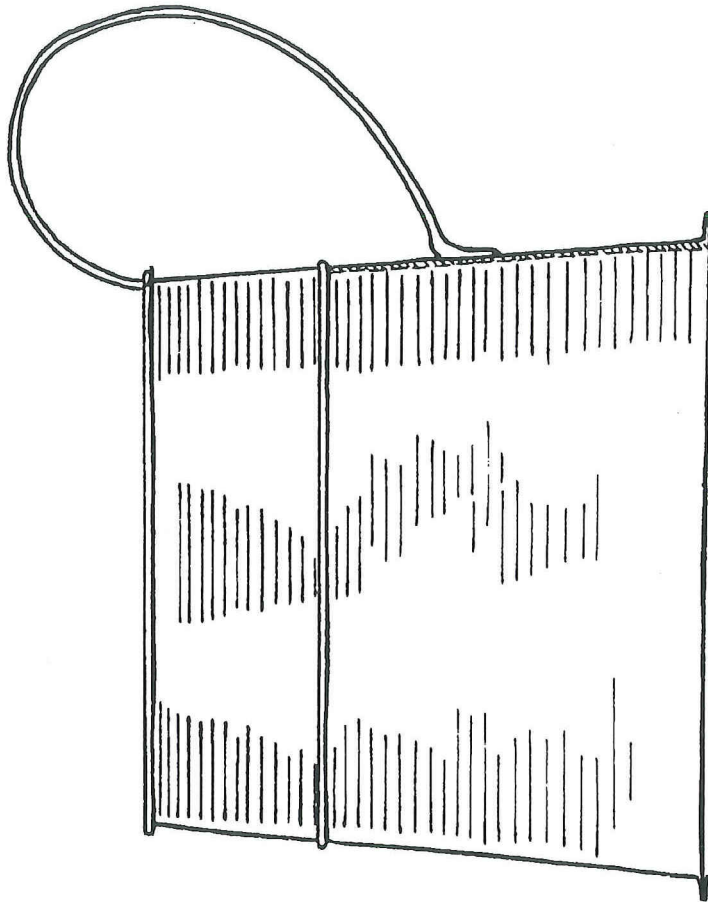


PLATE 2—Bowl Fragment Identified as Belonging to the Handle of the Type Illustrated in Plate 1. Diameter of bowl; greater, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, smaller, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches.



—Courtesy National Park Service.

PLATE 3—Fragment of Pewter Measure of The Baluster Type. Notice the effect of fire upon this object. The foundation in which it was recovered is believed to have been that of an early tavern. Its probable appearance is indicated in thumb nail sketch.



—*Courtesy National Park Service.*
 PLATE 4—Drawing of Drinking Mug (Restored). Found in a Jamestown well. The cup apparently fashioned from tin, is ascribed to the latter quarter of the seventeenth century. *Approximately original size.*

be of unusual significance pewter authorities in dicta peculiar craft. In view of finers, and a jeweler were town, this possibility becom

At the period when V pewter in England was stil In the households of the r dishes for use upon more f greatest luxuries. Platter articles fashioned of wood role in the domestic need c years of the seventeenth ce and in pioneer families, t America well into the nin as national wealth increas upper classes, as the gener terware in most families of *erall Historie* (1624), Ca necessities as either priuat

⁶ Smith, Captain John, *W land*, 1884), p. 412.

⁷ The following works su field:

Cotterell, Howard Herscl (London, 1929).

Dow, George Francis, "Ni during the Seventeenth Cent No. 1.

Evan-Thomas, Owen, *Don Kerfoot*, J. B., *American*

The *Virginia Gazette* frec woodenware was an important and New England during the *College Quarterly* (2), Vol. V VI, p. 99.

This above policy on th condemnation of Robert Bevi abominable ill husbands, that t yet they have all their woode tables, stools, boxes, cart whe their bowls and birchen broom [*The History of Virginia*, (r Edition, London, 1722, Richm

⁸ Samuel Pepys prided hir der date of December 31, 166 reckon remarkable in my own good plate, so as at all ente plates, having two dozen and *Pepys*, (New York, 1926), p.

be of unusual significance in demonstrating the efficacy of the pewter authorities in dictating colonial policies relating to their peculiar craft. In view of the fact that two goldsmiths, two refiners, and a jeweler were listed among the first settlers at Jamestown, this possibility becomes all the more impressive.⁶

At the period when Virginia was settled the general use of pewter in England was still confined to the homes of the wealthy. In the households of the middle classes a pewter salt and a few dishes for use upon more festive occasions, were considered as the greatest luxuries. Platters, bowls, and spoons of "treen," as articles fashioned of wood were called, continued to fill no small role in the domestic need of the bulk of society through the early years of the seventeenth century. In the more thrifty households and in pioneer families, their use lingered in England and in America well into the nineteenth century.⁷ Gradually, however, as national wealth increased, silver replaced pewter among the upper classes, as the general use of wood was superseded by pewterware in most families of moderate circumstances.⁸ In his *General Historie* (1624), Captain John Smith, advising on "such necessities as either priuate families, or single persons, shall have

⁶ Smith, Captain John, *Works*, (Arber Edition, Birmingham, England, 1884), p. 412.

⁷ The following works supply excellent background material in this field:

Cotterell, Howard Herschel, *Old Pewter: Its Makers and Marks*, (London, 1929).

Dow, George Francis, "Notes on the Use of Pewter in Massachusetts during the Seventeenth Century," *Old Time New England*, Vol. XIV, No. 1.

Evan-Thomas, Owen, *Domestic Utensils of Wood*, (London, 1932).

Kerfoot, J. B., *American Pewter*, (Boston, 1925).

The *Virginia Gazette* frequently carried announcements showing that woodenware was an important constituent of ship's cargoes from England and New England during the eighteenth century. See: *William and Mary College Quarterly* (2), Vol. V, p. 239; *Virginia Historical Register*, Vol. VI, p. 99.

This above policy on the part of the Virginians called forth the condemnation of Robert Beverley who protested, "Nay, they are such abominable ill husbands, that though their country be overrun with wood, yet they have all their wooden ware from England, their cabinets, chairs, tables, stools, boxes, cart wheels, and all other things, even so much as their bowls and birchen brooms to the eternal reproach of their laziness." [*The History of Virginia*, (reprinted from the Author's Second Revised Edition, London, 1722, Richmond, 1855), p. 239].

⁸ Samuel Pepys prided himself upon his excellent store of plate. Under date of December 31, 1666, he confided in his diary, "One thing I reckon remarkable in my owne condition is that I am come to abound in good plate, so as at all entertainments to be served wholly with silver plates, having two dozen and a half." Morshead, O. F., ed., *Everybody's Pepys*, (New York, 1926), p. 395.

—Courtesy National Park Service.
 PLATE 4—Drawing of Drinking Mug (Restored). Found in a Jamestown well. The cup apparently fashioned from tin, is ascribed to the latter quarter of the seventeenth century. Approximately original size.



cause to provide to goe to *Virginia*," listed as indispensable household implements, "Platters, dishes, spoones of wood" to the value of four shillings. As Smith was appealing primarily to the colonists of small resources, it is worth noting that he made no mention of vessels of pewter, holding himself to the irreducible minimum of supplies.⁹

In further consideration of Smith's rugged character and his impatience with what he considered luxury, it seems altogether unlikely that the presence of pewterware among the supplies furnished the Colony should have escaped his vehement censure. "Most of the Tradesmen in *London*," he wrote, "that would adventure but twelue pounds ten shillings, had the furnishing the Company of all such things as belonged to his trade, such jugling there was betwixt them, and such intruding Committees their associats, that all the trash they could get in *London* was sent to *Virginia*, they being well payed for that was good."¹⁰ Whether the above statement was directly applicable to the tactics employed by the pewterers, it is impossible to determine, but pewter is known to have been used in Virginia *circa* 1610-11. At that time it was particularly mentioned in the martial laws drawn up during the control of Gates and Dale.¹¹ This code though seemingly merciless was probably justified by local conditions, and it proved especially effective in preserving valuable imported supplies. For one thing, it put an end to the serious abuse of uncontrolled trading between seamen landing at Jamestown and the colonists ashore, a practice formerly resulting all too often to the detriment of the colony and the disadvantage of the settlers.

Further pursuit of the study of pewter throughout seventeenth century Virginia would become thoroughly impossible if one were denied the assistance of inventories of the period. An analysis of a representative number taken when the estates of deceased persons were settled, affords us an accurate picture of the early furnishings of Virginia homes and permits a reliable comparison with contemporary households in England or elsewhere in America. It becomes entirely possible, also, to trace the gradual transition from rude surroundings with the barest of necessities to an accumulation of sizeable estates with most of the conveniences and comforts known to the age.

At a court held at Jamestown in April, 1625, the minister, Mr. Richard Buck, and Captain William Peirce appraised the

⁹ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 607-9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 929.

¹¹ "Articles, Lavves, and Orders, Diuine, Politique and Martiall," *Force's Historical Tracts*, (Washington, 1844) Vol. III, No. 2, p. 14.

"things" left by Thomas Peirce and twelve pounds of pewter.

Inventories dating from comparatively few. The records for study because of their ready accessibility to the writings of Joseph Ham, be listing a number of goats, parcell of old Pewter," value and common currency, at Stafford's estate, reaching a value showed the highest appraisal to the middle century mark. purchasing power about six Stafford died in 1644, leaving furniture, and the usual household *viz*: "one old pewter Cane pewter Dyshes being old & ringers.....0020, fower pewter one quart pott and pint pott Chamber potts.....0012."¹⁵ an estate valued at 1,380 pounds consisted of: "A litle old pewter an old porringer, 8 old spoons at 40 pounds of tobacco. Furniture, an iron pot with pot same year, the possessions including twelve pieces of 1 pounds of tobacco. Besides consisted of four dishes, a basin there were "2 trays," probal stone jugg" and interesting pery" listed.¹⁷ Inventoried for £161, the estate of Tho

¹² McIlwaine, H. R., ed., *Map of Colonial Virginia*, (Richmond

¹³ York County Records, D 1657; 1691-1694), p. 51. Bruce tobacco per pound about this time *Historical Dictionary of Virginia in the* Vol. II, p. 247, footnote 5.

¹⁴ Bruce, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1649), pp. 185-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

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"things" left by Thomas Peirce at £12.17.0. The inventory show-
ed twelve pounds of pewter valued at eighteen shillings.¹²

Inventories dating from the first half of the century are com-
paratively few. The records of York County have been chosen
for study because of their noteworthy completeness and their
ready accessibility to the writer. The inventory of the goods and
chattels of Joseph Ham, bearing date of March 3, 1638, besides
listing a number of goats, both old and young, contained "A
parcell ofould Pewter," valued in terms of the colony's staple crop
and common currency, at 50 pounds of tobacco.¹³ William Staf-
ford's estate, reaching a valuation of 30,681 pounds of tobacco,
showed the highest appraisalment of any of York County previous
to the middle century mark. According to Bruce, it equalled in
purchasing power about six thousand dollars of the present day.¹⁴
Stafford died in 1644, leaving eight slaves, a few articles of fur-
niture, and the usual household utensils, a good number in pewter,
viz: "one old pewter Candlestick being broken.....0004, fower
pewter Dyshes being old & broken.....0250, fower pewter por-
ringers.....0020, fower pewter Sponnes.....0005, one pewter flagon,
one quart pott and pint pott being old and unusefull.....0006, two
Chamber potts.....0012."¹⁵ Thomas Trotter died in 1646 leaving
an estate valued at 1,380 pounds of tobacco. His pewter con-
sisted of: "A litle old pewter Basson, 5 Smale pewter Dishes and
an old porringer, 8 old spoones." Together, these were valued
at 40 pounds of tobacco. His widow received his bed and fur-
niture, an iron pot with pot hooks, and one pewter dish.¹⁶ The
same year, the possessions of "John Davis of Queenes Creeke,"
including twelve pieces of pewter, reached a valuation of 3,066
pounds of tobacco. Besides a half dozen spoons the pewter con-
sisted of four dishes, a bason, and a chamber pot. In addition
there were "2 trayes," probably of wood; "2 Earthen panns.....one
stone jugg" and interesting ironware other than "old Iron trum-
pery" listed.¹⁷ Inventoried in 1647 at 19,343 pounds of tobacco,
or £161, the estate of Thomas Deacon followed next in size to

¹² McIlwaine, H. R., ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia*, (Richmond, 1924), p. 55.

¹³ York County Records, *Deeds, Orders, Wills, Etc.*, Vol. I, (1633-1657; 1691-1694), p. 51. Bruce adopts two pence as the average price of tobacco per pound about this time. See: Bruce, Philip Alexander, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, (New York, 1935), Vol. II, p. 247, footnote 5.

¹⁴ Bruce, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 247.

¹⁵ York County Records, *Deeds, Orders, Wills, Etc.*, Vol. II, (1645-1649), pp. 185-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

that of Stafford.¹⁸ His household contained an interesting list of items: "19 old pewter Dishes great & smale 7 smale plates 2 salts an old pewter Chamber pott 2 flagons 3 beere boules 3 small wine boules 6: old sponnes 2 old porringers 2 pewter Drame Cups a piece of a brase Candlestick a silver Dram Cupp," all appraised at 400 pounds of tobacco.¹⁹

The inventory of Captain Stephen Gill, proved in York County August 9, 1653, discloses a personal estate valued at 33,559 pounds of tobacco.²⁰ Besides an interesting list of furniture, linens, woolens, clothing, there were a number of other possessions which alone would have denoted an estate of consequence, *i. e.*, "1 Livery Cubbard *with* Glasses & Earthenware upon itt, 1 Close Stoole & Pann 30 *lb* [tobacco] 1 Ebony Lookeing Glass 50 *lb* [tobacco]." The kitchen of the household was well equipped with "1 Copper Kettle 1 old brass kettle 1 brass pott 3 brass Candlesticks 1 brass Skillitt 1 small brass Morter & Pestle 1 brass Skimmer 1 brass Spooone 8 old Iron Potts 1 small Iron Pott 3 Pestles 1 ffrying Pann & Spitts 2 Pre of Potthangers 3 Pre pott hookes and 1 Iron ladle 1 ffleshooke 1 Tinn Cullender 4 *lb* Pewter att 3d P *lb*," being valued at 700 pounds of tobacco.

In the kitchen also were the following articles, "4 old Porringers 19 Pewter spoons 3 old New Chamber Potts Pewter 4 old Pewter Tancherds 1 fflaggon 3 Salt sellers 6 Tinn Candlesticks 2 doz old Trenchers 2 Sifters," the whole at 120 pounds of tobacco. Elsewhere in the household were: "Small Pewter Sifterine and Bason" and an "old Tinn Cover dish." There were 24 trenchers in the Shed and 24 trays in the Milkhouse, unquestionably of wood. The document also disclosed a Sack Cup and a Dram Cup, both of silver, and 14 dozen gold and silver breast buttons.

Detailed study of the early inventories reveal a remarkable growth in the use of pewter between 1625, for example, and the intervening years to 1653, represented by the possessions of settlers of average circumstances. An act passed by the Legislature in 1646 providing for a public flax house for James City supplies an enlightening commentary upon the slowly rising scale of living conditions, even among the underprivileged. The act specified that each County which should bind out two children was to provide each with food, wearing apparel, a bed and bedding, also one wooden bowl or tray with "two pewter spoones"—this

¹⁸ Bruce, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 247-8.

¹⁹ York County Records, *Deeds, Orders Wills, Etc.*, Vol. II, (1645-1649), pp. 372-4.

²⁰ York County Records, *Deeds, Orders, Wills, Etc.*, Vol. I, (1633-1657; 1691-1694), p. 184, *et seq.*

in contrast to those of wood earlier.²¹ Doubtless little of the colonists with them proportion of articles described an opinion that the greater quantity to the success of their ventures for ships leaving England for Virginia in this interim shipments of pewter. Thus, official permission from the government and 100 weight²³ of pewter pannel, and other provisions, carried 150 passengers and same season the ships *George* left for Virginia with 600 ar

As the century progressed an individual appeared to increase his other possessions, affording a known gauge to a person's ability diminish during this Little Creek in Lower Norfolk a desirable legacy for his three each "as much pewter as on purchase to her owne proper was frequently possessed in conveniently appraised in bulk "new," though the more important separately. The inventory appraised according to the showed the following assortment "49½ pounds of old pewter . . . A new gallon flagon 80, twelve saucers, pewter, 115, a new pewter 84, 2 old pewter Ch. Tobacco & Casq.). In the old pewter bason and one ure 3

²¹ Hening, W. W., *op. cit.*, 336-7.

²² See: Kerfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 112 pounds.

²⁴ Acts of the Privy Council Vol. I, No. 439, Whitehall, Sep

²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 474, Hampton

²⁶ *Lower Norfolk County A*

²⁷ *Virginia Magazine of His*

contained an interesting list of
t & smale 7 smale plates 2 salts
ms 3 beere boules 3 small wine
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er Dram Cupp," all appraised

Stephen Gill, proved in York
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n estate of consequence, *i. e.*,
Earthenware upon itt, 1 Close
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lers, Wills, Etc., Vol. I, (1633-

in contrast to those of wood recommended by Smith two decades
earlier.²¹ Doubtless little of the inventoried pewter was brought
by the colonists with them to America. Judging from the large
proportion of articles described as "new," one could safely hazard
an opinion that the greater proportion of it was acquired subse-
quent to the success of their ventures in a New World.²² The war-
rants for ships leaving English ports laden with cargoes destined
for Virginia in this interim, nearly all display remarkably large
shipments of pewter. Thus, the ship *Charles* received in 1639 of-
ficial permission from the government to transport 100 passengers
and 100 weight²³ of pewter along with necessary munitions, ap-
parel, and other provisions.²⁴ The following year, the *Honour*,
carried 150 passengers and 100 weight of pewter, and during the
same season the ships *George and Rebecca*, and the *Gift of God*
left for Virginia with 600 and 500 weight of pewter respectively.²⁵

As the century progressed, the quantity of pewter owned by
an individual appeared to increase in approximately the same ratio
as his other possessions, affording throughout the century the best
known gauge to a person's economic status. Nor did its desira-
bility diminish during this period. In 1671, George Ashall of
Little Creek in Lower Norfolk County considered it the most
desirable legacy for his three daughters. His will bequeathed to
each "as much pewter as one hodg. of good tobacore will buy or
purchase to her owne proper use and disposal for Ever."²⁶ Pewter
was frequently possessed in such quantities that it was sometimes
conveniently appraised in bulk, according to its being "old" or
"new," though the more important objects seem to have been listed
separately. The inventory of William Farrar's personal estate,
appraised according to the order of Henrico Court in 1677,
showed the following assortment of pewter "In the Milke house":
"49½ pounds of old pewter 250, 61½ pounds of new pewter 492,
A new gallon flagon 80, twelve new Pewter porringers and 6 new
saucers, pewter, 115, a new pewter pott 30, 10½ pounds of new
pewter 84, 2 old pewter Chamber potts 30.....1081 (in terms of
Tobacco & Casq.). In the outer Chamber were to be found "one
pewter bason and one ture 30."²⁷

²¹ Hening, W. W., *op. cit.*, Act XXVII, October, 1646, Vol. I, pp. 336-7.

²² See: Kerfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

²³ 112 pounds.

²⁴ Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, Hereford, Vol. I, No. 439, Whitehall, September 15, 1639.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 474, Hampton Court, September 6, 1640.

²⁶ *Lower Norfolk County Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 32.

²⁷ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. VIII, p. 207.

The same remarks hold for the possessions of Mr. James Vaulx, who owned the largest estate brought before the York County court in the interval between 1672 and 1692.²⁸ In addition to 186 pounds of old pewter valued at £7/15/00, there were "2 old pewter Cesterns.....07/15/00, 2 pewter salt cellars.....00/01/06.....A Topp of an old pewter Still.....00/05/00, 1 old pewter bed pan.....00/02/06, 4 pewter Candlesticks." Vaulx died possessed of an accumulation of tinware, earthenware, and an unusually large supply of woodenware, consisting of "28 bowls and tryes and 4 dozen trenchers." His silver plate, evidently considerable, was appraised at £28:02:06.²⁹

Appraisers of Col. John Carter's personal estate recorded in Lancaster in 1670, divided his pewterware into three categories, distinguishing its condition, *i. e.*, "110 lbs. of the best sort of pewter, 60 lbs of the middle sort of pewter, 55 lbs. of old broken pewter." Col. Carter died possessed of two silver tankards, a large silver salt-cellars, two silver porringers, and nine silver spoons.³⁰

The cisterns mentioned in Vaulx's appraisement above were particularly fashionable among the elite of London and were most likely large bowls employed for rinsing plates.³¹ Three pewter mustard pots listed in the Surry archives as having been stolen from Mr. Arthur Allen when his home was seized by Bacon's followers, supply sufficient indication of his wealth and high social position.³² Another article stipulated to be of "pewter or tin" deserving particular mention because of its puzzling characteristics, was "a thing to Rack hhd's of cider" ordered by William Fitzhugh in 1694 from his merchant at Bristol.³³

Pewter-working appears to have been a craft none too flourishing in seventeenth century America. In the earliest days, as has been suggested before, this condition was probably attributed to the supervision of the London Guild. It is known

²⁸ See: Bruce, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 248.

²⁹ York County Records, *Deeds, Orders, Wills, Etc.*, Vol. VI, (1677-1684), p. 389.

³⁰ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. II, p. 236.

³¹ Pepys mentions going "to the pewterer's to buy a pewter sesterne, which I have ever hitherto been without," in his diary entry of March 14, 1668. See edition, *supra*, p. 513.

³² Deposition of Elizabeth Blesly, who was present when Mr. Arthur Allen's household was seized and ransacked. She swore "that there was hid in the Same place with ye pewter wch Burgess brought . . . home, three new Basons, fflowerteene new plates, two porringers and three Mustard potts which he returned not." Dated July 3, 1677, Surry County Records, pp. 86-7.

³³ Letter of William Fitzhugh to Mr. George Mason, July 20, 1694, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. IV, pp. 311-312.

also that quantities of English pewter of the century and that pewter made in the course with Virginia were sold in the colony.³⁴ At any rate, the fact that it falls conspicuously within the power of the pewterer's scrutiny of the early record of half dozen or so persons bearing there during the latter portion of the formation has been entirely bearing Joseph Copeland's address and the date "1675" finding of this pewter treasure which not only resulted in endeavor from total oblivion to the highlights of Copeland's private life.

Joseph Copeland, the maker of London, was appointed in May, 1666, for the usual term of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers, and after twenty-four years of apprenticeship, would bring them to that apprenticeship, one could be sure that years to have been in the father had the sympathetic likely that the lad was permitted of his term. No record in London, so it is not immediately for Virginia under strict regulations preventing freeman's standing.³⁷ The writer refers to the date he began to settle at Chuckatuck owing a large landholder and in a Quaker congregation in the

³⁴ Bruce, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 248.

³⁵ Letter to author, bearing the name of Grant, Esq., of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers, information was disclosed by present time privately owned by

³⁶ Cotterell, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

the possessions of Mr. James state brought before the York en 1672 and 1692.²⁸ In addition, valued at £7/15/00, there were 00, 2 pewter salt cellars.....00/00, 2 pewter salt cellars.....00/00, 1 old pewter Candlesticks." Vaulx died ware, earthenware, and an eware, consisting of "28 bowls and silver plate, evidently consider-

29
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Biography, Vol. II, p. 236. erer's to buy a pewter sesterne, " in his diary entry of March

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also that quantities of English pewter were imported throughout the century and that pewter merchants having commercial inter- course with Virginia were well represented by agents in the colony.³⁴ At any rate, the beginning of pewtering in the Colonies falls conspicuously within the period marked by a gradual decline in the power of the pewterer's organization at home. Careful scrutiny of the early records of New England has revealed a half dozen or so persons believed to have carried on the practise there during the latter portion of the century. In Virginia, in- formation has been entirely lacking until the fragment of a spoon bearing Joseph Copeland's "touch" containing Chuckatuck as his address and the date "1675" was uncovered at Jamestown. The finding of this pewter treasure instituted a train of investigations which not only resulted in the retrieval of an interesting craft endeavor from total oblivion, but enabled historians to record the highlights of Copeland's professional career.

Joseph Copeland, the son of Thomas Copeland, a spectacle- maker of London, was apprenticed to John Mann on the 17th of May, 1666, for the usual term of seven years.³⁵ As the Worship- ful Company of Pewterers enforced a rule excluding persons un- der twenty-four years of age from freedom of the city and hold- ing that apprentices should not be taken for shorter terms than would bring them to that age upon the termination of their ap- prenticeship, one could be reasonably safe in assuming Joseph's years to have been in the proximity of seventeen.³⁶ Since his father had the sympathetic viewpoint of a master, it is hardly likely that the lad was permitted to leave Mann before the expira- tion of his term. No records extant show him as taking up free- dom in London, so it is not at all improbable that he embarked immediately for Virginia upon coming out of his term (c. 1673), strict regulations preventing his working as journeyman without freeman's standing.³⁷ The year "1675" on the spoon, doubtless refers to the date he began turning out work in his own name. This writer feels reasonably certain that Joseph was influenced to settle at Chuckatuck owing to his kinship with John Copeland, a large landholder and influential member of the prosperous Quaker congregation in the counties of Nansemond and Isle of

³⁴ Bruce, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 343.

³⁵ Letter to author, bearing date of January 20, 1937, from A. Stanley Grant, Esq., of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London. This information was disclosed by ancient records of the Company at the present time privately owned by a member of the pewterers organization.

³⁶ Cotterell, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Wight.³⁸ It is further suggested that Joseph was the nephew of John and that the latter had proffered his patronage to the young craftsman.

The meeting records of the Chuckatuck Friends substantiate Joseph's intimate association with the Quakers, for an early entry records that:

"Mary Copeland wife of Joseph Copeland departed this Life ye 27th day of the: 3 month: 1678."³⁹

After a becoming period of mourning, a second marriage was contracted with the daughter of Major Thomas Taberer, the influential justice and burgess of Isle of Wight.⁴⁰ The before-mentioned document contains frequent references to meetings held at the home of John Copeland; also, the signatures of John, Joseph, and the wives, both confusingly bearing the Christian name, Elizabeth, as witnesses to marriages performed between members of the faith.

About ten years later, Copeland owned property at Jamestown,⁴¹ and had received the official approval of the House of Burgesses as "a careful & trusty person" to have the responsibility of caring for the Statehouse and its furnishings.⁴² The inference to be drawn here follows closely that established by the late Mr. Dow concerning the case of Richard Graves, a mid-century practitioner of Salem, and the only other contemporary

³⁸ This was probably the emigrant shown in Hotten's *Lists of Emigrants to the American Plantations, 1600-1700*, (New York, 1931), p. 112, as passing from the Port of London for Virginia, 1635. See also: Ellis, George E., *The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, (Boston and New York, 1888), pp. 441, 445, 448; *Southern History Association Publications*, Vol. VI, pp. 24, 99; Vol. VII, pp. 224, 226-228, 231, 307; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. VII, (1), pp. 212, 215. In checking through the original volumes of Land Patents for the seventeenth century, deposited in the State Capitol in Richmond, as a likely source of information relative to Joseph Copeland, I frequently ran across the name of John, a patentee of large tracts in Nansemond County toward the close of the century. This fact can be verified in the second volume of Nugent, Nell Marion, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, (now in publication).

³⁹ *Southern History Association Publications*, Vol. VII, p. 208.

⁴⁰ See will of Taberer in which there is mention of "dau Elizabeth Copeland's children" and "gr. son of Joseph Copeland" [Junior]. Proved February 9, 1694. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. III (1), p. 304.

⁴¹ William Edward's Patent to property at Jamestown, dated April 21, 1690, refers to "Joseph Copelands Great Gum on James river side." Richmond Land Office, Patent Book VIII, p. 42.

⁴² McIlwaine, H. R., ed., *Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1659/60-1693*, (Richmond, 1914), p. 325.

American pewterer whose town incident throws no i pewter craftsman. Like earnings with the operation a dependable income for "utensills."⁴⁴ At the same of closer association with ginia, upon whom we feel his advantage. Copeland's April 22, 1691, for claim taker, supplies the latest d

Taberer's will, dated] division of household effe dren," while Joseph Copel tion known as Basses Chc "to school at his own cha ficiently." By inference, : at that time. Hence, it ap interim between his petitio father-in-law's will, had p:

The estate of the your reaching middle age, affor the craft equipment withou meaning of the entry readi shillings) all but hidden an added significance in assc Likewise, the previous do "Virginia [italics mine] p: ventory of the estate of meaning in consideration (Nansemond-Isle of Wigh terminology is satisfactory ence to his handiwork. St stored in a chest in the "P lish, Scotch, French, and V shilling six pence per doze contemporary imported its possession of a well-equip

⁴³ Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴⁴ McIlwaine, *op. cit.*, p. 3

⁴⁵ Reference is made to fo

⁴⁶ Isle of Wight County pp. 10-11.

⁴⁷ Isle of Wight County 1719), pp. 357-364.

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erty at Jamestown, dated April reat Gum on James river side." II, p. 42. *the House of Burgesses of Vir-* p. 325.

American pewterer whose life has been retraced.⁴³ The James- town incident throws no inconsiderable light upon the trials of a pewter craftsman. Like Graves, who supplemented his pewter earnings with the operation of a ferry on the side, Copeland desired a dependable income for "keeping cleane the Assembly room and utensills."⁴⁴ At the same time he enjoyed the added opportunity of closer association with the political and social leaders of Virginia, upon whom we feel he spared no effort aimed to consolidate his advantage. Copeland's petition to the House of Burgesses, on April 22, 1691, for claims connected with his services as care- taker, supplies the latest definite mention of the artisan available.

Taberer's will, dated January 14, 1692, left instructions for a division of household effects to "dau. Elizabeth Copeland's chil- dren," while Joseph Copeland [Junior] was to inherit the planta- tion known as Basses Choyce, provision being made to keep him "to school at his own charge till he can write and cypher suf- ficiently." By inference, they were residing upon the plantation at that time. Hence, it appears that Joseph, the pewterer, in the interim between his petition for pay due him and the date of his father-in-law's will, had passed beyond all mortal cares.⁴⁵

The estate of the younger Copeland, who died in 1725, hardly reaching middle age, affords impressive reference to a portion of the craft equipment without doubt inherited from his father. The meaning of the entry reading "2 old Spoonmolds" (valued at two shillings) all but hidden amidst articles of brass and iron, is given added significance in association with the Jamestown "finds."⁴⁶ Likewise, the previous doubtful implications of the reference to "*Virginia* [italics mine] pewter Spoones," encountered in the in- ventory of the estate of Mr. Nicholas Smith, assumes a clear meaning in consideration of Copeland's activities throughout the Nansemond-Isle of Wight-James City region.⁴⁷ Indeed, the terminology is satisfactory enough to contribute a reliable refer- ence to his handiwork. Smith owned six dozens of these spoons, stored in a chest in the "Parlour Chamber," with fabrics of Eng- lish, Scotch, French, and Virginia origin. Their valuation at one shilling six pence per dozen was approximately the rate paid for contemporary imported items. Other pewterware, showing the possession of a well-equipped household at the close of the cen-

⁴³ Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴⁴ McIlwaine, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

⁴⁵ Reference is made to footnote 40, *supra*.

⁴⁶ Isle of Wight County Records, *Will Book*, Vol. III, (1726-1733), pp. 10-11.

⁴⁷ Isle of Wight County Records, *Wills, Deeds, Etc.*, Vol. II, (1661-1719), pp. 357-364.

tury, was classified as "229 of good pewter at twelve pence per pound, valued at £11:09:00, and 34 of old pewter at eight pence per pound." It comprised the following articles, "38 dishes; one dozn of New plates, 14 old ditto, one dozn old Spoons English, one bason, one Cullender, 1 pye plate, 1 stand, 6 Chamber potts, 2 quart potts, 1 pint pott, one flaggon, 2 Salts, 2 tumblers, 2 dram cups, 3 tankards, one Pre Candle Sticks & one od one." Also listed were "one tinn flower box, one tinn pepper box & one Sauce pan . . . one pewter Still" (apparently not included in the above lump). The estate, which totaled £228:03:01¾, included 81 ounces of plate at five shillings and six pence per ounce.

As might be expected from a perusal of seventeenth century inventories the usual domestic utensils of pewter are well represented in the Jamestown archeological collection, without exception in fragmentary form. For the most part these consist of the following: tankards, plates, porringers, pot lids, bottle tops, spoons, and handles to a variety of hollow-ware. Quantities of melted pewter are likewise recovered from structures destroyed by fire. On the basis of the marked spoon of Copeland, other fragments have been recognized as the identical type, proving that his spoons were widely used at Jamestown. A second type of spoon handle occurs so frequently in the excavations that it has been tentatively ascribed to him. Pewter buckles and buttons are found also and appear to have been well-known and important items in the wardrobes of the colonists. Many interesting examples of these have been found. The presence of a few imperfect buttons, obviously cast-off pieces strongly suggest the likelihood of local manufacture.

A quantitative comparison of pewter with such indestructible and unsalvable material as pottery and glass shows an enormous disproportion. It is estimated that each fragment of pewter, for instance, represents between eight or nine thousand broken bits of pottery or glass, a condition requiring some plausible explanation to account for the startling discrepancy. There can be little question but that the preponderance of the latter can be fully accounted for by the important role which junk pewter filled in the colonial household. In general, the inventories of the period place a salvage value upon old metals according to weight at a figure approaching two-thirds or three-quarters of the evaluation of new and serviceable ware. The very nature of the material rendered it inevitably subject to injury in the ordinary course of everyday service. Consequently, articles of pewter must need oftentimes repairing or recasting into more usable form. Doubtless the pewter which had outgrown its period of usefulness was carefully garnered by the thrifty housewife until a sufficient

store had accumulated to or calling upon the servi century records of Northa and pewter was exported allowance in trade and o commonly employed.⁴⁸ Co affords, perhaps, some r transferring useless pewt ing in a country where ra craft were entirely lacking to depend upon salvaged

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⁴⁸ *Virginia Magazine of*

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Copper	-----
Zinc	-----

Also present was a trace of The above results were quit have been substantially simil in Masse, H. J., *Pewter Plat* H. G., Hilton, *Old Base M* remarks of the well-known practice of reusing old pew entitled, "Early American P lished in the "Antiques Secti 1936. Contribution supplied New York.

⁵⁰ *Virginia Magazine of* From a manuscript volume sembly; not contained in H mouth.

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store had accumulated to justify sending it abroad for reworking
or calling upon the services of the provincial tinker. The mid-
century records of Northampton County reveal that some old brass
and pewter was exported to England, presumably for recasting or
allowance in trade and one suspects this practise of being quite
commonly employed.⁴⁸ Copeland's possession of two spoon moulds
affords, perhaps, some rough indication of his usual pursuit of
transferring useless pewterware into serviceable spoons. Resid-
ing in a country where raw metals necessary to the practise of his
craft were entirely lacking, Copeland in all probability was forced
to depend upon salvaged metal to supply his deficiency.⁴⁹

The practise of melting down old pewter for additional service
was not confined entirely to domestic use. Much of it was exacted
as tribute of war, as a series of Acts, Orders and Resolutions
passed by the General Assembly of Virginia in 1643-46 demon-
strate. These enactments, referring largely to military plans fol-
lowing the second Indian massacre, provided for perpetual war
with the Indians subject to Opecanough. The first act stipulat-
ed that: ". . . Every man for that March shall bring to the
Rendevous to bee appoynted by the Generall one full pownd of
good powder and fower pownd of Bullets or shott of Lead or
Pewter to bee weighed there, And those for whome they serve
to bee punished or censured that shall bee defective in providing
the same or shall spend it before there coming thither."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. IV, p. 409.

⁴⁹ For an analysis of the metal in Copeland's spoons, I am indebted
to Professors W. L. Guy and A. R. Armstrong of the Chemistry De-
partment of William and Mary College. Their results follow:

Tin	85 — 95 per cent.
Lead	3 — 5
Copper	1 — 3
Zinc	1 — 2

Also present was a trace of iron which was possibly of accidental origin.
The above results were quite interesting in showing the pewter used to
have been substantially similar in composition to English formulae given
in Masse, H. J., *Pewter Plate*, (London and New York, 1904), and Price,
H. G., Hilton, *Old Base Metal Spoons*, (London, 1908). See also the
remarks of the well-known pewter authority, John W. Poole, on the
practice of reusing old pewter in the eighteenth century, in his article
entitled, "Early American Pewterers Used Old Pewter as Supply," pub-
lished in the "Antiques Section" of *The New York Sun*, for February 8,
1936. Contribution supplied through courtesy of Dr. W. L. Calver of
New York.

⁵⁰ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXIII, p. 231.
From a manuscript volume containing acts and proceedings of the As-
sembly; not contained in Hening, discovered in Clerk's Office at Ports-
mouth.

As the war continued more and more ammunition was required, and we find the Assembly confiscating necessary supplies. The act reads: ". . . It is therefore enacted by the Governor Councill and Burgesses of this present grand Assembly that all Lead whatsoever upon houses Lead Weights or other Lead in whose custody or possession soever it be found shall be taken away by the next Inhabiting Leifts. where it shall be soe found and employed in the publique service and that the pprietor thereof shall receive satisfaccon for the same & all reasonable damages at the Generall Charge. Lead upon glasse windowes only excepted."⁵¹

The above orders afford an indication of the fact that much pewter found its way to the melting pot in times of great stress and military expediency. The aggregate throughout the seventeenth century was probably substantial in view of Indian warfare, rebellion, and the more insistent requirements of the hunt. In this connection, it may be mentioned that a number of pewter shot in the Jamestown collection supplement the more common ones of lead.

Close attention to the inventories of the latter half of the century will disclose a growing popularity of "tinware." This was likely composed of thin sheets of metal of high tin content, bearing a resemblance, no doubt, to the later material designated "Britannia." During the past season's "dig" at Jamestown, an interesting drinking mug, tentatively identified as tinware, was reclaimed from the bottom of an early well. Its close association with pieces of pottery and glass safely attributable to the last two decades of the century, allowed a corresponding age to be assigned this object. Unfortunately, the article was too badly disintegrated to be preserved for an indefinite period, but it was sufficiently intact at the time to allow drawings to be made. Plate 4 represents a fairly accurate idea of what must have been the original appearance and construction of the cup. The sidewalls were exceedingly thin and were reinforced by three hoops of brass wire on the outside, evidently tinned. The handle also was strengthened with wire.

Recent research in York County has contributed an interesting invoice of goods brought to Virginia in 1696 by Captain Robert Ranson to be offered for sale. The merchandise included a large shipment of the products of Upholsterers, Milliners, Hatters, Saddlers, Shoemakers, Cutlers, Combmakers, Potters, Ironmongers,

⁵¹ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 236-7.

etc., with a very unusual relating to the latter ware information on the variety as well as Ranson's estir given referred to the cost t as his agent⁵² to dispose of

To 1 doz: 10 milk pa
To 1 small ditto
To 1 lanthorne
To 5 flower boxes at
To 4 pepper boxes at
To 5 . . . 3 Spoons...
To 1 Range Kettle .
To 1 Small ditto
To 5 graters att 2d...
To 2 nursing Candles
To 8 *qrt* potts att 5d
To 9 *pt* ditto att 3d 3
To 7 *qrt* Sauspanns
To 8 *pt* ditto att 3/4...
To 3 *qrt* funnels att
To 9 *pt* ditto att 3d ..
To 5 dripping pans at

⁵² York County Records, 1697), p. 391.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 395-6.

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Biography, Vol. XXIII, pp. 236-7.

etc., with a very unusual group of "Tinn Wair".⁵² The portion relating to the latter wares is given below as affording valuable information on the variety of forms in which it was manufactured, as well as Ranson's estimate of colonial demands. The value given referred to the cost to Ranson. William Coman posted bond as his agent⁵³ to dispose of the commodities, which follow:

	£	s	d
To 1 doz: 10 milk panns att 20d.....	01	16	08
To 1 small ditto	00	01	04
To 1 lanthorne	00	01	06
To 5 flower boxes att 3d.....	00	01	03
To 4 pepper boxes att 2d.....	00	00	08
To 5 . . . 3 Spooones.....att 2d.....	00	00	10
To 1 Range Kettle	00	01	06
To 1 Small ditto	00	01	00
To 5 graters att 2d.....	00	00	10
To 2 nursing Candlesticks att 9d.....	00	01	06
To 8 qrt potts att 5d	00	03	04
To 9 pt ditto att 3d ¾.....	00	02	9¾
To 7 qrt Sauspanns att 5d.....	00	02	11
To 8 pt ditto att ¾.....	00	02	06
To 3 qrt funnells att 5d.....	00	01	03
To 9 pt ditto att 3d	00	02	7½
To 5 dripping pans att 2d	00	10	00
	03	12	06:¼

⁵² York County Records, *Deeds, Orders, Wills, Etc.*, Vol. X, (1694-1697), p. 391.
⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 395-6.