

**PEWTER AND PEWTERERS FROM PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA:
FLATWARE BEFORE 1692**

**A Thesis
by
SHIRLEY GOTELIPE-MILLER**

**Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS**

August 1990

Major Subject: Anthropology

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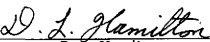
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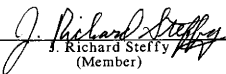
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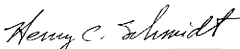
SHIRLEY GOTELIPE-MILLER

Approved as to style and content by:


D. L. Hamilton
(Chair of Committee)


J. Richard Steffy
(Member)


George F. Bass
(Member)


Henry C. Schmidt
(Member)


Vaughn M. Bryant
(Head of Department)

August 1990

ABSTRACT

Pewter and Pewterers From Port Royal, Jamaica:

Flatware Before 1692. (August 1990)

Shirley Gotelipe-Miller

B.A., University of California at Santa Barbara

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. D. L. Hamilton

Port Royal's Pewter Collection comprises the worlds largest assemblage of late seventeenth-century pewterware, the earliest examples of English colonial pewter, and the most extensive hoard of pewter artifacts recovered from a single archaeological setting. Over 150 pieces of flatware alone, bearing more than 50 distinct makers' marks and/or ownership monograms are represented. This important collection holds interest for pewter collectors and archaeologists alike: collectors can gain insight into the sociology surrounding pewter use through archaeological associations; archaeologists can learn more about their site through identification of pewter touchmarks and ownership initials.

The scope of this study was limited to pewter flatware (i.e. plates, bowls and serving dishes) from the Port Royal Pewter Collection. Artifacts recovered by the INA/TAMU excavations were analyzed within their archaeological context, while those salvaged by other groups were used for supportive evidence, and to gain a more global picture of the styles and craftsmen represented by the collection.

Research objectives were the following: 1) to explore the channels through which pewter arrived in Port Royal, and to perhaps gain insight into seventeenth-century commerce between England and her colonies; 2) to use pewter artifacts as a means to understanding Port Royal's submerged ruins by examining archaeological associations and ownership monograms; 3) to use relevant archival documents to explore the social and economic role pewterers fulfilled in the colonial environment; and 4) to fully document flatware in the collection, establishing guidelines for recording archaeologically recovered pewter.

**Dedicated to my loving and talented husband George,
and to my family.**

Thank you for all the encouragement.

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My greatest indebtedness is to my committee chairman Dr. D.L. Hamilton, director of the INA/TAMU Port Royal Project. He initially encouraged me to take on Port Royal's pewter collection for a thesis topic, and has been very patient and supportive during the many years that followed. Thank you Donny for all the guidance and constructive criticism you have given... I look forward to continuing work with you on the pewter recovered from future excavations.

I would also like to thank British pewter specialist, Dr. Ronald F. Homer, F.S.A. He initially identified many of the English pewter marks, guided many aspects of my research and helped develop many of the theories presented herein. His personal research on English provincial pewterers furthermore provided much of the archival documentation used for comparison in this thesis. Thank you Ron for your insight, patience, and the critical eye with which you reviewed this manuscript.

I would like to thank my other committee members, Dr. George F. Bass, J. Richard Steffy, and Dr. Henry C. Schmidt for their valuable comments. Thanks also go to Dr. Peter Spencer-Davies, Peter Hornsby, Janice Carlson, and Dr. Kenneth Barkin for their research suggestions and critique of the manuscript, and to Ida Bruce and Dr. Jeannette Ridgway for proofreading it. Richard McClure and Dr. Anthony Aarons, former staff members of the Port Royal Project in Jamaica, also greatly facilitated the initial phases of this research. Maps and photographs used in this thesis are the property of the Port Royal Project at Texas A&M University: Helen DeWolf executed most of the artifact drawings; Sheila Clifford drew many of the maps; and Jeff Tippie photographed those objects to which I did not have access.

I would like to thank the Institute of Nautical Archaeology for providing scholarship funds which financed two months of archival research in England. This research enabled the writing of many parts of this thesis. Thanks also to Paul

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INTRODUCTION

Pewter artifacts from the English colonial town of Port Royal, Jamaica, constitute the world's largest collection of late seventeenth-century pewter, the earliest collection of English colonial pewter, and the most extensive pewter collection from a single archaeological site. Beneath Kingston Harbor and the brick rubble of buildings destroyed by the disastrous earthquake of 1692, over 150 plates of various sizes bearing more than 50 distinct makers' marks and ownership monograms have been found.

Generally speaking, pewter survives well in a marine environment: many of Port Royal's pewter artifacts suffered little from their 300-year burial. Diagnostic marks, such as those denoting origin or ownership, have been preserved making pewter artifacts an important source of information. Once identified, the marks provide vital clues to occupants of buildings, to the existence of provincial pewterers, or even to regional and overseas commerce. In this way, pewter artifacts add immeasurably to archaeological interpretations of the site.

By contrast, most examples of seventeenth-century English pewter are preserved in museums or private collections assembled earlier this century by a few farsighted individuals. Early pewter scholars collected items from antique auctions which they carefully studied and recorded, amassing the enormous amounts of information about pewterers and their marks that today form the basis of all research in this field.

The greatest shortcoming of these early collections is the lack of cultural provenience. Knowing every detail about pewter manufacture and the various marks appearing on pewter is interesting, but one is left to ponder about the social significance of a given piece. Was the owner rich or poor? Did he use the object at work or at home? Did he take pride in the piece, or was it considered everyday utilitarian ware? Was the piece imported from a faraway town, or was it purchased from a local artisan shop? Without the benefit of carefully recorded archaeological provenience, such questions cannot be answered. Knowledge of cultural relationships can therefore greatly enrich the understanding and appreciation of the role of pewter in the seventeenth century.

Due to the great number of pewter artifacts recovered from this site, the discussion herein will be limited to pewter flatware (i.e. plates, bowls and serving dishes) from the Port Royal Pewter Collection. The objectives of this research are the following:

This thesis employs Historical Archaeology as a pattern for format and style.

- 1) To explore the channels through which pewter artifacts arrived in the colony and gain insight into seventeenth-century commerce.
- 2) To use pewter objects as a gateway to understanding the submerged ruins of this seventeenth-century town by examining artifact distributions and ownership monograms.
- 3) To use relevant archival documents to explore the social and economic role pewterers fulfilled in the colonial environment.
- 4) To fully document flatware in the collection, and establish guidelines for recording archaeologically recovered pewter.

The relevant background history and archaeology of Port Royal will be discussed, followed by a review of the pewter craft in the seventeenth century. Pewter artifacts recovered from excavations by the Institute of Nautical Archaeology and Texas A&M University (INA/TAMU) will then be examined within the context of their archaeological settings, and possible interpretations will be addressed. Finally, archival documents relating to the activities of Port Royal's pewterers will be reviewed. It is hoped that the research presented here will help clarify our understanding of the TAMU/INA excavations and provide some insights into the social and economic conditions of the wealthiest of English colonies.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On June 7, 1692, a strong earthquake shook the island of Jamaica, literally destroying the English colonial town of Port Royal. Since its establishment in 1655, the town had blossomed from a military stronghold and pirates' haven into one of the richest merchant centers in the New World. Deriving most of its wealth at first from raids on Spain's rich colonial empire, Port Royal earned its title as the "Wickedest City in the World." But eventually piracy gave way to an import-export economy as well as contraband trade, and Port Royal became the English mercantile capital of the Caribbean.

Much is known about "Old Port Royal." Located at the end of a narrow sandspit separating present day Kingston Harbour from the Caribbean Sea (Figure 1), the town was easily defended and its protected harbour provided an ideal setting for mercantile trade. In 1692 Port Royal covered about 51 acres of land and had an estimated 2000 buildings, many of which were substantial brick structures of three or more stories (Hamilton and Woodward 1984:41).

Archival sources give much information on the physical layout of Port Royal. Protected by four large forts -- Charles at the southwestern tip of the Palisadoes, James to the north, Carlisle to the east on the bay side, and Rupert at the eastern extent of settlement -- the town was nearly impervious to attack. There were many

Shows Past and Present Features, and the Part of the Town
Submerged Beneath Kingston Harbor
Courtesy of Port Royal Project

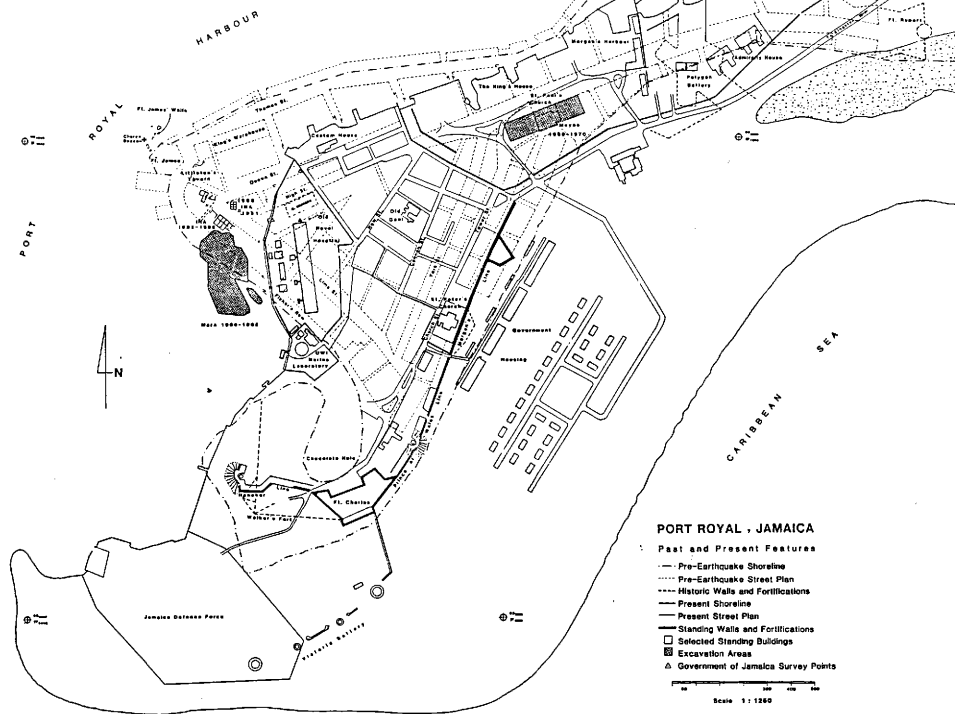


Figure 1: Plan of Town of Port Royal

large warehouses and elite private dwellings along Thames Street to the north, close to the wharves where deep water permitted large merchant ships to dock. Lime Street, stretching between Forts Charles and James, was lined with markets, taverns, and the establishments of many colonial craftsmen (Taylor 1688; Mayes 1972a:6; Pawson and Buisseret 1975:81-97; Hamilton 1984a; 1984b).

Three markets were kept daily: an herb and fruit market held on High Street in the center of the town (where the stocks and market bell were likewise located), a meat and poultry market complete with turtle crawls at the western end of High Street near Chocolate Hole, and a fish market by the wharf near the wherry bridge (Taylor 1688:253-254).

Contemporary accounts reveal that Port Royal had an affluent population of over 7000, most of whom were merchantmen, inn and tavern keepers, sailors, slaves, small shop owners and skilled craftsmen. Reverend John Taylor, a visitor to Port Royal in the 1680's, noted that: "...all live here verely well, earning thrice the wages given in England, by which means they are enabled to maintain their famallies much better than in England..." (Taylor 1688:267). Another contemporary account states that: "...almost every house hath a rich cupboard of plate, which they carelessly expose, scarce shutting their doors in the night, being in no fear of thieves for want of receivers..." (Hanson 1792:xi). These and similar eyewitness accounts suggest that colonists enjoyed plenty of excellent food and spirits, that they had access to the latest European fashions, and that their homes were finely furnished.

The original source of this affluence was piracy. Strategically located, Port Royal provided an ideal base for attacks on treasure-laden Spanish ships, and on the prosperous Spanish colonies throughout the Caribbean. But soon piracy gave way to commerce. Port Royal's merchants prospered from outfitting the many ships calling at the harbour, and by rendering services to the growing number of sugar plantations located in the island's interior.

Port Royal grew into the most important trade center in the New World and soon came to be known as the store house or "Treasury of the West Indies." Ships from England, Ireland, North America and Africa brought such commodities as fruit, beef, pork, salmon, dairy supplies, flour, spirits, cloth, bricks, ironwork and naval stores, manufactured goods (including pewter), and slaves. These were exchanged for sugar, cocoa, ginger, rum, pimento, cotton, dyes such as indigo and fustic, logwood, hides, tallow and precious metals (Mayes 1972a:6; Pawson and Buisseret 1975: 72; Taylor 1688:261).

Unfortunately, this idyllic colonial existence was abruptly crushed by the 1692 earthquake and ensuing tidal wave. Within minutes, two-thirds of the city had sunk into the harbour, leaving an island of less than 20 acres above sea level. An

estimated 2000 people were killed by the disaster, while injury and pestilence claimed the lives of another 2,500 - 3000 in the weeks following. Every attempt to rebuild Port Royal's commercial prestige was met with another cataclysm -- a fire levelling the town in 1703, and hurricanes in 1712, 1722, 1726, 1744, and 1780. Many believed that providence had come to call on the "Wickedest City in the World" (Pawson and Buisseret 1975:123-4).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

In its heyday, Port Royal was one of the most important centers for mercantile trade in the New World. Today its importance lies in the way it came to ruin and what archaeological information this has preserved. The sudden catastrophic event made parts of the town inaccessible to human disturbance. Therefore the Port Royal ruins have preserved many details of the colonial lifestyle at a moment just before lunchtime on a hot summer day in 1692.

Looting and salvaging of Port Royal's sunken treasures began almost immediately following the earthquake. Many of the toppled structures lay in shallow waters, allowing survivors to easily reach personal effects and supplies. Experienced divers and contemporary salvage crews slowly recovered valuable goods from buildings submerged in deeper waters with the use of grappling hooks, seine nets, and a scissor-like grab apparatus. Employing such techniques, these crews could recover anything that was not trapped beneath fallen walls (Mayes 1972a:9). That which survived early salvage efforts is, however, proving to be a priceless treasure of information for archaeologists.

Excavations of the sunken city are plagued with acute problems that frustrate efforts to accurately record submerged structures, artifact location, and site stratigraphy. First, poor visibility hampers the photographic documentation of important underwater features. Second, the harbour has always been used as a garbage dump, so 17th-20th century artifacts form a sheet of debris across the site. These must be recorded, conserved, and dealt with even though they do not relate specifically to the ruins left by the earthquake. Third, Port Royal's submerged ruins are shallow, extending from sea level to perhaps 40 feet at the deepest. Shallow waters translate into many disturbances since hurricanes can easily disrupt the bottom sediments, upsetting the stratigraphic layers of the site. Shallow waters also facilitated early salvage efforts, so the ruins became a major source of bricks for rebuilding local structures well into the nineteenth century. Only areas which are still protected beneath fallen walls are likely to have remained coherent and unsalvaged, preserving an undisturbed seventeenth-century stratum.

Marx Excavations

The most extensive excavation of Port Royal's submerged ruins was conducted by Robert Marx in the late 1960's. During two years of work Marx uncovered numerous structures, including fish and meat markets, turtle crawls, houses, taverns, and several artisan workshops, all situated within two acres in the southwestern portion of the town (Marx 1967:9; 1968:4).

Unfortunately, none of these mapped structures were in alignment with any known streets of the submerged ruins, and little sense can be made of Marx's site plan (Figure 2). This is possibly because he worked in an area greatly faulted and disrupted by the earthquake. However Marx used unorthodox excavation techniques that do not meet modern archaeological standards: he excavated in a vertical plane and loosely recorded the location of structures and artifacts within fifty-foot squares. This loose recording technique is the major reason that the provenience of the material from his excavations cannot be determined.

Although the majority of the Port Royal Pewter Collection emanates from Marx's excavations, a discussion of cultural provenience would be irrelevant. Marx's pewter will be used within the body of this thesis for comparative purposes where warranted, however no separate discussion will be made. These pieces are, however, recorded in the "Catalog of Pewter Flatware" (Appendix V).

INA/TAMU Excavations

Since 1981, Texas A&M University (TAMU), in cooperation with the Institute of Nautical Archaeology (INA) and the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, has conducted underwater archaeological investigations at Port Royal. Under the guidance of Dr. D.L. Hamilton, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Texas A&M University and director of the Port Royal Project, work has focused on delineating a series of submerged buildings at the northwest end of town along Lime Street, near the intersection of Queen and High Streets (Figures 1 & 2). Four buildings have been uncovered, three of which contained pewter artifacts. These will be discussed at length below.

One of the main objectives of the INA/TAMU excavations has been to define the borders of Lime Street and positively identify excavated structures through land plats of pre-earthquake Port Royal located in the Jamaican National Archives. The destructive nature of an earthquake, along with the continuous looting and salvaging of the site over centuries, has made this task more complicated than anticipated. Pewter objects with ownership initials stamped or scratched onto them may help to identify the excavated structures.

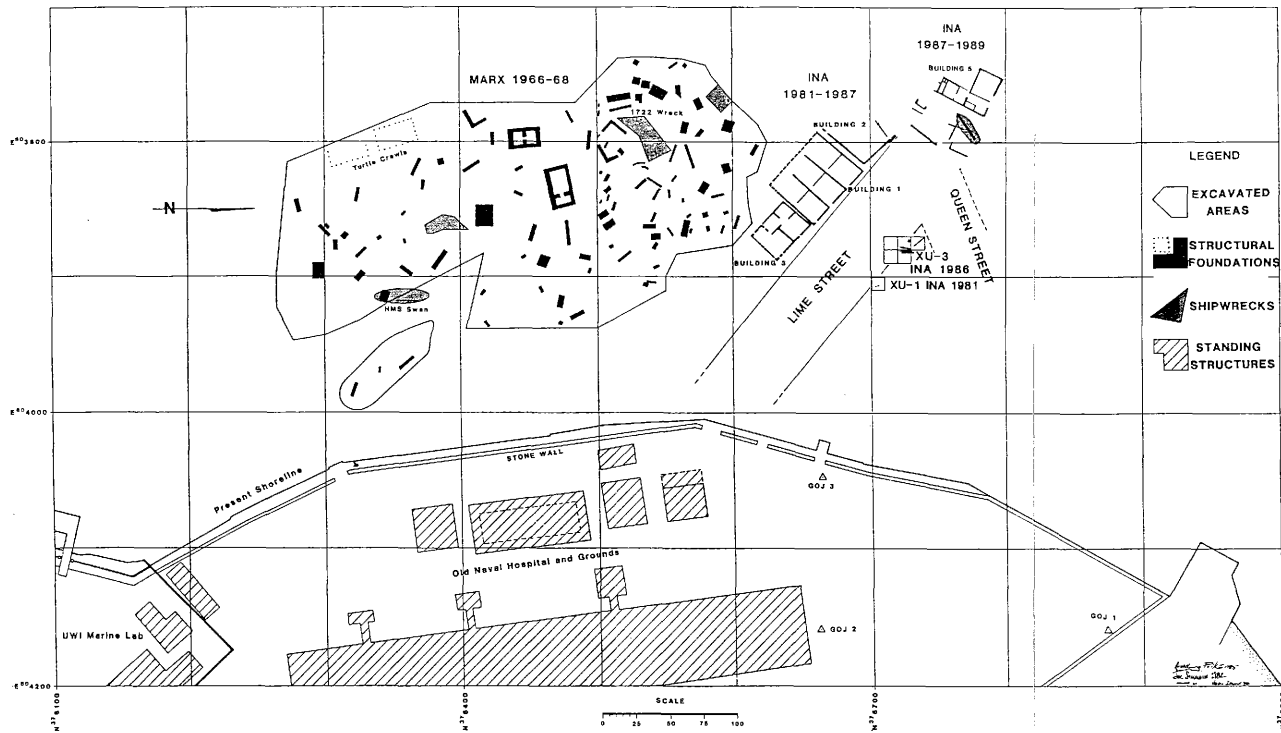


Figure 2: The INA/TAMU Archaeological Excavations at Port Royal

Including a Site Plan of the Marx Excavations

Courtesy of the Port Royal Project

THE IMPORTANCE OF PEWTER IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

Pewter has been pervasive throughout all features excavated thus far in the submerged areas of Port Royal. The site in fact boasts the largest archaeologically recovered pewter collection in the world. Although contemporary artwork (Paulson 1971; Shesgreen 1973), literature (Taylor 1688; Salmon 1788), and archival sources (Martin 1989) reveal that pewter was a major component of tableware for over two centuries, it is seldom recovered from terrestrial sites. Figure 3 is a detail study of an etching by William Hogarth (c. 1745) that clearly depicts the use of pewter tableware.

Exploring the role of pewter as a missing artifact, Ann Smart Martin (1989:1) gives three reasons for its absence: first, pewter's durability prevented significant breakage; second, its resale value for recasting provided a major outlet for its disposal; and finally, if discarded, the alloy suffered varying degrees of decomposition in the ground. Martin's findings are validated by Philip Mayes's land-based excavation of Port Royal. Mayes (1972a; 1972b) excavated an immense area, including a church destroyed by the earthquake. He documented architecture and found many artifacts made of wood, leather, glass, and many types of ceramic -- the few base metal objects predating the earthquake were fragmented and badly corroded.

In sharp contrast to land-based sites, pewter and other base metal artifacts abound in Port Royal's underwater excavations. Ironically, the same catastrophic event that wracked the seventeenth-century colonial town inadvertently preserved countless aspects of daily life which would not have survived under normal circumstances, including many pewter objects. The only other source of antique pewter recovered within its social context, of which the author is aware, is from another type of catastrophic event -- shipwrecks (Marsden 1985; Rule 1982; Green 1977; Martin 1975; Franzen 1966).

This study of the Port Royal Pewter Collection has three important insights to offer regarding the role of pewter in colonial life. First, in light of the general absence of pewter from terrestrial sites, it will ascertain the prevalence of pewter in daily colonial life, and provide a barometer to gauge how accurately archival sources recorded pewter possessions. Second, it will explore the channels through which pewter arrived in Port Royal, and discuss the people involved in its manufacture and trade. Finally, it will attempt to attribute the names of landlords or businesses to ongoing excavations by coordinating ownership initials found on pewter artifacts to specific individuals recorded in archival documentation. It is hoped that this analysis will enhance our understanding of the social and economic settings of colonial Port Royal.

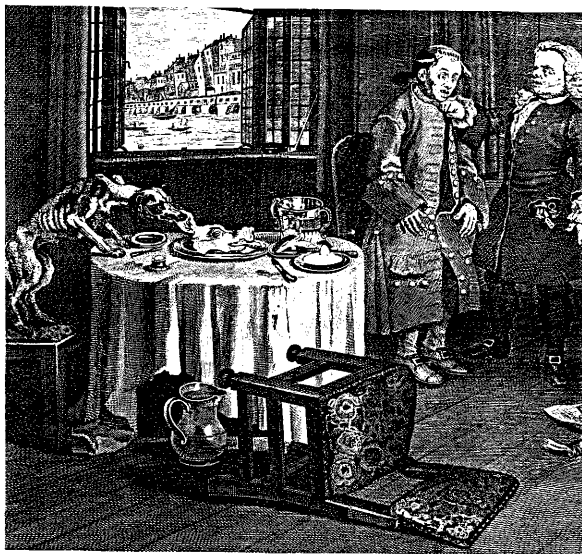


Figure 3: Detail of Marriage a la Mode by William Hogarth
Adapted from Engravings by Hogarth, Shesgreen (1973:56).

THE GOLDEN AGE OF PEWTER

In sixteenth-century England, the average wealth of the yeoman farmer doubled and a revolution in domestic comforts and living standards for both rural and urban society occurred (Hatcher & Barker 1974:83-88). This period came to be known as the "Golden Age of Pewter" since tableware and other utensils made of this metal gradually replaced domestic goods made of wood, leather, bone, horn, stone and coarse pottery. In 1576, William Harrison elaborated on the changes resulting from this increased prosperity. Among other things he notes:

...the exchange of vessel, as of treen [wooden] platters into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treenstuff in old time that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a *good farmer's* house...

He continues to explain that a farmer could no longer be considered prosperous without: "...a fair garnish of pewter [full set of tableware] on his cupboard, with so much more in odd vessel lying about the house..." (Harrison 1968:201-202).

At first only the richer households could afford pewter plate, but gradually its use became widespread so that by the mid seventeenth century pewter was found in all but the poorest households. Extracting data from over 1500 probate inventories from central and southern England dating between 1532 and 1744, Hatcher and Barker (1974:90-103) analyzed the distribution of pewter among various wealth groups. Dividing the inventories by date, and then by total value, they examined categories such as: "percentage of inventories with pewter," and "value of pewter as a percentage of value of inventory." This analysis excluded the poorest households since estates worth less than £5 did not enter probate. Their findings were the following:

1. That pewter was pervasive throughout the broad strata represented by the inventories.
2. That the value of pewter holdings increased with the total value of the estate.
3. That as the value of the estate increased, more money was spent per household on pewter, although this involved a smaller percentage of total wealth.
4. That although the price of pewter increased markedly during this timespan, the amount of pewter held by estates within the same wealth range tended to remain constant.

They concluded that by the mid sixteenth century, pewter had ceased to be the exclusive privilege of the upper and middle classes since poorer members of the community had come to view it as a necessity rather than a luxury.

Few similar studies on pewter in early colonial probate inventories have been made. Ann Smart Martin undertook a comprehensive analysis of probate inventories from Albemarle County, Virginia, dating between 1770 and 1799. By this time pewter tableware had supposedly fallen out of grace, being rapidly replaced by ceramics. Yet 80% of the 170 households reaching probate recorded pewter flatware, while 70% of these also contained ceramic items. Limiting her analysis to inventories listing at least one plate (either pewter or ceramic), Martin found that ownership of pewter plates was standard throughout all levels of affluence. However, the wealthier households tended to own ceramic plates in addition to -- not as a substitution for -- pewter tableware (Martin 1989:10-12).

Seventeenth-century probate inventories for the island of Jamaica are now being analyzed by students and staff of the INA/TAMU Port Royal Project (Thornton 1988:10). Although it is beyond the scope of this research, it would be interesting to compare the Jamaican estates predating the earthquake to the English and Colonial American studies mentioned above.

England's Golden Age of Pewter came to an end by the mid eighteenth century, when the popularity of pewter tableware was eclipsed by new technological developments in glass, porcelain and fine ceramics such as Wedgwood creamware. These were now less expensive, easier to clean, and the bright colors and pretty motifs used for decoration had greater general appeal (Brett 1981:20). Nevertheless, pewter continued to be used for many utilitarian objects well into the nineteenth century.

MANUFACTURE

"The Pewterer," a lithograph made by P. Abraham in 1699 (Figure 4), depicts many activities of a contemporary pewter workshop: a craftsman turns a charger on a man-powered lathe, another ladles molten pewter into a bronze mould while a third files or polishes a large measure. In the background, stacks of flatware and moulds are stored on a shelf. Besides the above, one would expect to find: an iron cauldron full of molten metal over a furnace fueled by wood or coal, and bellows to ventilate the fire; blocks of raw metal such as tin, copper, lead and perhaps antimony or zinc, as well as piles of old pewter for recasting; equipment used to solder hollowware pieces together, and a variety of hammers and mallets for use on flatware (Hatcher and Barker 1974:209).

Pewter is an ideal metal for casting. It has a low melting point of 200° - 300°C (360° - 572°F), and good flow properties allow the reproduction of fine details. In the seventeenth century all pewter was cast in heavy moulds made of

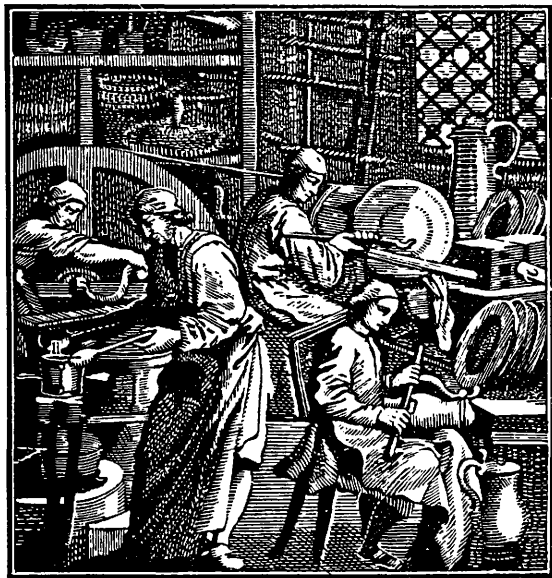


Figure 4: *Der Kandelgiesser (The Pewterer)* by P. Abraham a S. Clara, Wurzberg (1699)

Adapted from *European Pewter in Everyday Life*, by K. Barkin (1988)

bronze, which were expensive to manufacture. Temporary moulds could be made of wood, clay, sandstone or plaster, but bronze moulds were preferred due to their durability and precision of casting.

In preparation for casting, bronze moulds were painted with a mixture of red ochre, ground pumice and egg white which allowed the metal to flow easily without sticking to inner surfaces; one coat lasted for up to 250 castings. Once prepared, the warm mould was held at an angle and the molten pewter was ladled in through a funnel-shaped opening. The craftsman slowly uprighted the mould as it filled, allowing air to escape through the opening. Molten pewter hardens in about ten seconds, so an even fast flow was vital (Brett 1981:13; Hull and Murrell 1984:90).

The production of hollowware required many complex moulds since each part (handle, base, lid, thumbpiece, hinge, etc.) was cast separately, and the body itself was usually cast in at least two pieces adjoined at the apex of a curve. The pieces were soldered together -- a difficult process since the melting point of the solder was only slightly less than that of pewter. The body would have been cleaned and shaped on the lathe, and any circumscribed decorations added, before the handle was attached. Early handles were made by attaching a solid strap of metal to the body. Later, handles were slush cast, where molten metal was poured out of the mould before fully hardening, leaving a hollow cast (Brett 1981:13).

Flatware, much simpler and cheaper to produce since it was cast in one piece, required only one mould. Unfinished objects straight from the mould were termed "rough cast," and could be stock-piled or even sold to another pewterer to be finished at a later time to the specifications of a customer (Homer & Hall 1985:3). After casting, a plate would be hammered in concentric circles (starting at the well center and continuing to the rim) to give the piece strength and perfect its shape. It would then be skimmed, burnished and polished on the lathe, and finally French chalk and a soft duster would be used to hand-polish the piece until it resembled silver (Brett 1981:14).

ALLOY COMPOSITION

Pewter is a metal alloy consisting mostly of tin, just as brass and bronze are alloys of copper. Most European languages do not differentiate between pure tin and its alloys: therefore "etaïn" in French, "tin" in Dutch, "zinn" in German, and "tenn" in Swedish all refer to both tin and pewter. Since tin is too soft and brittle to be worked on its own, metals such as copper, antimony, zinc and bismuth (tin glass) were added for strength, while lead was added to make the alloy more malleable.

In the seventeenth century, craftsmen in England, and especially in London, were known to produce the finest pewter available. This high quality has been generally accredited to the tight control London's pewter guild kept over pewter production in London and throughout England. Since pewter flatware was sold by weight rather than by size (and lead was both cheaper and heavier than tin), the incentives for using alloys with higher percentages of lead were great. Substandard alloys could be detected by taking a sample of the suspected pewter and comparing its weight to that of a standard alloy sample the same size. London Pewter Company search parties continually roamed the countryside in search of substandard wares: any pewterer at fault was fined, and the faulty wares were confiscated. Revenue derived from the confiscated metal conveniently funded the cost of conducting the searches. (Hatcher and Barker 1974:161-165).

The London Guild recognized three types of pewter: fine, lay and trifle. Yet no precise recipes for these alloys existed, since any metal mixture which passed the London Company's weight assay could be used. Company rules declared that fine pewter was to be used in the manufacture of flatware items where strength was the primary concern, and that it should consist of pure tin tempered with "as much copper as its own nature will take" (Pcal 1983:17). Modern experiments show that this would amount to no more than approximately two percent; however, recent analyses of seventeenth-century flatware using x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy reveal that fine pewter in fact consisted of 95-98% tin, 1-3% copper, and 0-3% lead (Carlson 1977a:69; 1989b:74; Brownsword & Pitt 1984:239). In England, zinc and antimony were used as alloying metals as early as 1680, however the use of significant quantities of these metals instead of copper did not become widespread until the eighteenth century as a new alloy called Britannia metal.

Lay metal was used for most hollowware, such as measures, beakers, and candlesticks. This alloy consisted of tin and lead mixed "in reasonable proportions," or not more than 25% lead. Metal analyses on fifteen lidded measures of English origin showed the alloy to be slightly poorer than expected: 65-75% tin, 1-2% copper, and 23-30% lead (Carlson 1977b: 151).

Trifle metal was an intermediate grade of pewter which consisted of not more than 10% lead. This alloy was used for tankards and tavern pots, buttons and buckles, candle moulds, toys and other wares which did not need to be made of fine pewter, but for which more strength was required than afforded by lay metal. A fourth type of pewter, known as black metal due to its color, referred to a low-grade alloy containing tin and up to 40% lead. This grade of pewter was used principally for non food-related items due to its high lead content (Brett 1981:12).

THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF PEWTERERS OF LONDON

In the seventeenth century, all pewter manufacture in England was regulated by the London pewterer's guild, formally known as the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London (WCPL). In 1348, London's pewterers gained the right to regulate their trade, and from this time on Company ordinances demanded a high standard of quality and workmanship, and standardized the working conditions and practices of fellow members. In 1474 a royal charter further extended the power of the Company, granting it control over pewter manufacture "in the City and throughout the Kingdom." The London Guild now had the authority to search for and confiscate sub-standard wares made anywhere in England, and to fine the offenders (Peal 1983:12).

This right to search was vigorously executed by the Company, and detailed records, generated by search parties over more than two centuries (from 1474 to 1745), have been preserved in London's Guildhall Library. These documents listed names, dates, places, fines, and a description of the wares confiscated. Thus they provide an invaluable record for the study of England's provincial pewterers, who would not have been listed elsewhere in Company records. Despite the thoroughness of these searches, enforcement of Company standards proved to be difficult and many sub-standard wares were sold without an identifying maker's mark.

Company rules were further refined in 1522, when a subsequent ordinance mandated the following: 1) that all craftsmen have a maker's touch registered with the Company, and that all pewterware be stamped with such a mark; 2) that workshops of members be searched at least five times per year for sub-standard wares; 3) that the number of apprentices allowed in London be limited, thus protecting the jobs of journeymen and reducing excessive competition; 4) that there be a fixed minimum weight for certain standard products; 5) that prices be fixed on various grades of pewter and scrap; 6) that advertising be prohibited; 7) that members be prohibited from hiring or providing assistance to outside craftsmen, and from working in other materials; 8) that craftsmen throughout England be discouraged from repairing pewter, and that they be required to hammer the bouge (the curved portion of the plate between the rim and well bottom) of plates for strength. At this time the Company also successfully lobbied for a tax on the exportation of raw tin, and a restriction on the importation of finished wares (Peal 1983:17-18).

Businesses governed by the WCPL fell into three main categories: trade, retail and wholesale. In the seventeenth century, English pewter was traded throughout the Western hemisphere. Merchant pewterers took charge of this trade, supplying

customers in England and overseas with wares purchased wholesale from family, friends or business partners. The domestic retail market was traditionally served by pewterers who owned their own shops. In addition to directly serving the public, these shops could put out or take in sub-contract work if business demanded. The wholesale market was supplied by pewterers specializing in the manufacture of a limited range of wares. Such businesses were dependent on sub-contract work from merchants and retailers for the sale of their products. Many craftsmen with limited financial resources could participate in wholesale trade by sharing relatively expensive equipment, such as lathes, melting pots, and moulds, with other pewterers or by renting it from the guild (Peal 1983:15).

Guild membership was as rigidly structured as business practices. The governing body of the WCPL consisted of thirteen officers selected from the senior members of the Guild: Guild Master, Upper Warden, Renter Warden, and ten Stewardships. Although these were elected positions, all liverymen were expected to participate and those wishing to be excused had to pay a fine (Cotterell 1963:145).

Terminology describing seniority among Guild affiliates may seem ambiguous, and therefore requires explanation:

1. Liverymen, in early times called Brethren of the Clothing (since they were allowed to dress in the distinctive robes of the Guild), were the senior influential members of the guild who were elected from the wealthier pewterers. Company officers and governing officials, who formed the "Court," were always elected from the livery. Some modern publications refer to liverymen as "Master Pewterers"; however this term was not used within the Company except in references to the Guild Master himself.
2. Yeomen were members of the Company who had completed an apprenticeship, thus obtaining their freedom and the right to work as pewterers. They did not have the status of liverymen and could not hold office in the Company. To become a liveryman, a yeoman had to be worth at least £200; after 1698 this amount was raised to £500. A yeoman who had sufficient financial resources could apply for a license to strike his touchmark and open shop as a tradesman in his own right; this required much less capital than needed to join the livery. Both liverymen, and yeomen who had their own shops, were allowed to take apprentices.
3. Journeymen and covenantmen were also freemen who had served an apprenticeship and were thus qualified to work as pewterers. Usually for financial reasons they did not claim the right to open shop themselves, instead they worked as employees in the shops of other pewterers. Journeymen worked casually by the day, while covenantmen were employed

on annual contracts. They were not granted touches of their own, so their work was struck with their employer's touch.

4. Apprentices had to serve tutelage in the shop of a freeman of the Company for at least seven years before they were granted their freedom and so admitted to the ranks of the yeoman.

Since guild life was so rigidly structured, a youth entering the profession as an apprentice could be fairly certain of the steps he would need to take in order to become a freeman, and later a member of the livery (Cotterell 1963:32-37; R. Homer, letter dated 8 May 1990).

In the late seventeenth century the WCPL began to lose control over pewter manufacture in England for the same reasons which eventually brought an end to the widespread use of domestic pewter. Technical improvements in the production of fine ceramics and glassware, as well as the more widespread use of brass housewares, decreased the demand for pewter. The ensuing economic crisis caused many young craftsmen to seek work in the New World, and forced domestic pewterers to break company rules in search of ways to produce more competitive wares. Regardless, for nearly four centuries England's reputation for manufacturing the highest quality pewter could be directly attributed to the strict regulations imposed by the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London.

ENGLISH PROVINCIAL PEWTERERS

Pewter Guilds were also established in large market towns such as Bristol, York, Norwich, Exeter, and Edinburgh in Scotland. In smaller communities, however, craftsmen could not specialize in pewter production alone: an isolated market might require the pewterer to serve as brazier, or even ironmonger, in order to generate sufficient business and meet community needs. Since pewter moulds were very expensive, it was not feasible for a provincial craftsman to produce all types of pewterware necessary to meet local demands. He often manufactured a limited type of ware, perhaps sharing moulds with nearby craftsmen to increase diversity, but the bulk of his stock was likely made in London or by another craftsman (Homer & Hall 1985:3). The nature of business for a provincial pewterer was therefore highly dependent on local demands and the extent to which a community was isolated.

Knowledge of the provincial pewter business is largely dependent on the availability of archival documentation. Many names are provided by the Country Search Books of the WCPL, though the thoroughness of this record it is not known. Were all country pewterers inevitably cited for some infraction, or did some manage

to evade guild scrutiny? Other sources of documentation are marriage records, grants, deeds, apprenticeship records and probate inventories housed in parish archives throughout England.

Provincial Pewterers, by R.F. Homer and D.W. Hall (1985), represents the most thorough study on this subject to date. The authors exhausted available archival sources on pewterers serving local communities in England's West Midlands and Wales. As they documented the economic circumstances surrounding the growth and decline of the craft, they found that "scarcely a market town [existed] which did not support at least one pewterer, and frequently several, at any given time in the 17th century; the heyday of the pewter trade" (p. xi).

ENGLAND'S PEWTER EXPORTS

In the early seventeenth century, attractive plates and goblets produced by the glass and ceramics industries began to compete with pewter tableware for a limited English market. The full effects of this competition were not immediately felt by England's pewterers, since home market losses were offset by trade with Europe and growing colonial markets in the Caribbean, the Americas, and Africa. Accordingly, there were strong incentives for craftsmen to gear their production to the wholesale export business. Of paramount importance was the access to a steadily expanding market: the demand for pewter in the New World was increasing as fast as the growing colonial populations. Pewterers based in English port towns, such as London or Bristol, had the added benefit of easy access to cheap sea transit. Heavy cargo could be used as ballast, so minimal expense was involved in shipping pewter to overseas markets (Hornsby 1980:13). In contrast, pewterware destined for domestic sales often had to be carried by pack-horse or wagon to distant fairs or market towns. Such transportation was very costly (Hornsby 1981:143-145).

Another incentive was that craftsmen could evade WCPL quality restrictions by exporting inferior wares before they were detected by the Worshipful Company's search parties. English pewterers commonly marked wares made for export with a different touchmark than that used on wares destined for the local market (Kerfoot 1924:46; Peal 1983:176; Raymond 1946:14-15). If export wares were of a lower quality, then perhaps this would explain the need for two separate touches. One further incentive was that a craftsman could greatly increase his profits by assuming the role of merchant and dealing directly with clients in the New World. Merchant pewterers commonly specialized in supplying overseas customers with wares made by family, friends, or business associates (Hornsby 1980:12).

Archival materials, such as invoices, order books or bills of sale, can provide direct evidence of types and quantities of English pewter exported to the New World, as well as the names of the craftsman and merchant involved in each transaction. However such documents can be lodged in Public Records Offices or private manuscript collections either in England or the New World, making systematic research for specific information frustrating and time-consuming. While most published analyses of such documents involve chance finds (Montgomery 1964:26; Goynes 1968:218), one methodical study examined 264 records of goods ordered by 19 stores in Virginia and Maryland over a 60 year period. Exploring the importance of pewter artifacts, Ann Smart Martin (1989:14) found that ceramic plates gained dramatic popularity over pewter plates between 1750 and 1810.

English Port Record Books, housed in the Public Records Office at Chancery Lane in London, provide a more reliable source of information on pewter exports to the New World. The Customs Office at every English port kept daily records for goods loaded onto "outbound" ships, and goods unloaded from "inbound" ships. Cargo exchange could be stretched out over three weeks or more, and each time a ship took on merchandise a customs official would record the activities. Although the primary purpose of these Port Records was to keep track of tax monies collected, they also registered the name of each ship, its captain, the destination, an approximate date of departure, a description of goods by weight or quantity, and sometimes the names of merchants involved.

Peter Hornsby examined Bristol's Port Record Books for two seven year periods starting in 1680 and 1731. During the first period he found that over 10,400 pounds of pewter were shipped to the American Colonies: 49.8% to Virginia, 10.6% to Pennsylvania, and 39.6% to New England (only mainland North American English colonies were examined). Over 60% of these exports were dispatched by general merchants, while five merchant pewterers claimed most of the remaining shipments. Hornsby found that while London dominated pewter exports to the American Colonies, Bristol commanded at least 10% of the trade and was therefore second in importance (Hornsby 1980:10-12).

A preliminary search of Port Record Books from London, Bristol and Southampton revealed that during the 1680's "wrought" pewter was carried to Jamaica from London (E190 145/1; E190 132/1) and Bristol (E190 1141/2; E190 1143/1). Southampton Customs officials recorded several ships bound for Jamaica from 1682 to 1686, but none of these carried pewter goods. Shipments of pewter were dispatched from this port to Bilbao in Spain (E190 832/1), Pennsylvania (E190 833/1), and France (E190 833/1), so a more thorough investigation may reveal consignments to Jamaica. Numerous shipments of pewter to Barbados were also

observed in 1682 (E190 132/1), so perhaps a colonial pewterer was resident in this colony.

England's Port Record Books contain records of all types of goods exported to Jamaica, including glass bottles and corks, bottled beer, barrel hoops, barrels of cider, apothecary supplies, earthenwares and glasses, oatmeal, butter and cheese, bacon, refined sugar, linen and silk, tallow candles, men's clothing, shoes and stockings, saddles and horse whips, tobacco pipes, bricks and Cornish tiles, grindstones, cordage, casters, chests of window glass and lead, lead shot and powder, wrought iron and nails, and other manufactured goods. Many items named herein are among the artifacts recorded by archaeologists at Port Royal. It is hoped that a more in-depth study of this important resource can be undertaken for goods shipped to Jamaica in the late seventeenth century.

THE EARLY COLONIAL PEWTER INDUSTRY

Until the discovery of Port Royal's pewter collection, there was no concrete evidence of pewter manufacture in the New World outside the American Colonies. Consequently, all major studies on colonial pewterers to date have dealt with the American pewter industry (Jacobs 1957; Kerfoot 1924; Laughlin 1981; Montgomery 1973; Thomas 1976).

Pewter in America, by Ledlie I. Laughlin (1981), is an in-depth study of the American pewter trade. It presents detailed case histories of American colonial craftsmen which the author derived from years of archival research. Laughlin found that the Massachusetts Bay Colony led American pewter production, and that by 1700 over twenty pewterers had plied their trade in colonial America (this figure includes seven who had died by 1700). All twenty craftsmen were Englishmen by birth or descent, hence explaining why early colonial pewter so closely followed contemporary English styles (Laughlin 1981:23). Mounting competition for a limited home market must have been a major factor causing young English pewterers to seek work in the New World, where there was promise of a large market since few craftsmen served the new fast-growing settlements (Laughlin 1981:5). Table 1, which lists some early American craftsmen and the probable location of their probate records, is compiled from data presented by Laughlin.

Contrasting markedly with Laughlin's finds, Port Royal had at most three resident pewterers during a period of nearly forty years. Since it compared to Boston in both size and economic importance, it seems strange that so few craftsmen served this thriving metropolis.

TABLE 1: American Colonial Pewterers or Braziers Before 1750

NAME	DATE OF DECEASE	PROBABLE LOCATION OF INVENTORY
Richard Graves	1665 - 1669	Salem or Boston
Samuel Greames	After 1645	Boston
Henry Shrimpton	1666	Boston
Jonathan Shrimpton	1674	Boston
John Baker	1696	Boston - dated 4 January 1697
John Comers III	12 July 1706	Boston or South Carolina
Edmund Dolbeare	1706 - 1711	Boston
John Comers II	7 August 1721	Boston
Richard Estabrooke	11 October 1721	Boston (Partial inventory in Appendix I)
Jonathan Jackson	4 May 1736	Boston
John Dolbeare	1740	Boston
James Dolbeare	8 November 1743	Boston
Michael Metcalf	After 1683	Dedham, Massachusetts
William Man(n)	After 1738	Massachusetts? (Probate records not on file in Boston)
William Digges	After 1702	New York City?
Thomas Burroughs Sr.	2 September 1703	New York City
Thomas Burroughs Jr.	9 July 1712	New York City
David Lyell	After 1714	New York City
William Horsewell	20 March 1708	New York City - dated 4 February 1710
Joseph Isly	19 October 1715	New York City
Thomas Langshaw	10 June 1696	Chester County, Pennsylvania
Thomas Badcocke	9 March 1708	Philadelphia
Edmund Davis	Before June 1721	Philadelphia
Simon Edgell	1742	Philadelphia
James Everett	After May 1717	Pennsylvania? (Probate records not on file in Philadelphia)
Joseph Copeland	1691?	Jamestown, Virginia
John Andrews	18 August 1719	Yorktown, Virginia
Anthony Corne	After 1735	Charleston, South Carolina

In some ways the business of an early colonial pewterer resembled that of England's provincial pewterers since both served smaller communities and frequently had to diversify into other similar crafts or small businesses. Many pewter craftsmen added brazier, plumber, ironmonger and blacksmith to the list of trades they practiced, while some went on to pursue careers as merchants, silversmiths, and even yeoman farmers. Colonial pewterers were also limited by the types of moulds on hand; early manufacture was confined to flatware and spoons, while imported English wares supplemented locally made stock and in fact composed the bulk of pewter utilized in colonial America (Laughlin 1981:6-9).

Some important differences existed between the colonial pewter industry and that of provincial England. First, England's colonial policy, to discourage all forms of local manufacture, affected colonial pewterers since it limited access to tin, the main ingredient in pewter. Laughlin noted the following:

By imposts on raw materials and with taxes of various kinds [England] contrived to make difficult the life of the colonial artisan. None suffered more from this policy than the pewterer. As early as the reign of William and Mary wrought tin (pewter) was on the duty-free list whereas tin bars carried a 5 per cent ad valorem duty. The complete absence of tin in every colonial pewterer's inventory... is proof of the effectiveness of Great Britain's attempts to shut off the export of raw tin to America. (1981:6)

England's Port Records Books also attest to the absence of tin shipments to the New World, while consignments of tin to Europe were relatively common: between 1681 and 1682 London pewterer James Kelk dispatched large quantities of "tynn" to Dunkirk, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Cádiz (E190 132/1; E190 132/2).

The lack of access to raw tin brought about a second difference; the colonial craftsman depended on recycled scrap pewter for metal to produce local stock. Figure 5 shows scrap pewter recovered from Room 8, Building 5 of the INA/TAMU Excavations. Old pewter was valuable either in exchange for cash, or to barter for new wares; colonial craftsmen often advertised "one pound of new pewter for two pounds of old," encouraging colonists to trade in their damaged wares (Montgomery 1973:21-23). In England, however, pewterers paid more for old metal since its value was at least two-thirds the cost of finished wares (Homer 1985:10). Thus, relative to his English counterpart, the colonial craftsman actually made a profit by recycling old pewter, while colonists gladly abided in the exchange since who else but the pewterer assigned any value to their damaged wares. The astute colonial craftsman actually stood to make windfall profit since he sold imported English pewter for much more than it cost him to make his own wares from recycled metal. This was especially true if he also ordered English wares directly from England, thereby acting as merchant and saving middleman costs. Boston pewterer Henry

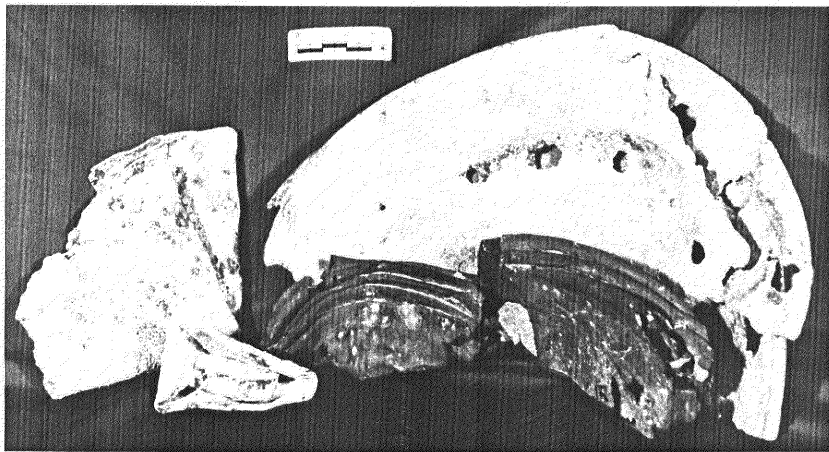


Figure 5: Scrap Pewter Recovered from Room 8, Building 5
INA/TAMU Excavations

Shrimpton is a good example of the wealth that can be accumulated (Laughlin 1981:50). It should be noted, however, that competition from imported wares literally drove to ruin many smaller colonial craftsmen, such as Boston pewterer Edmund Dolbeare (Laughlin 1981:55).

While the dependency on recycled metal for raw materials did not necessarily affect a colonial pewterer's profit margin, inadvertently affected was the quality of the alloy he produced. A third difference, therefore, was that colonial pewterware consistently had a lower tin content than similar English wares. Fine English pewter normally consisted of 95-59% tin, 1-3% copper and 0-3% lead. By comparison, the alloy used in American flatware ranged from 81-91% tin, 0.6-1.3% copper, 5-15% lead and 1-3% antimony (Carlson 1977a:73). An explanation for this disparity is that the colonial craftsmen had only limited control of alloy mixture since it was difficult to determine the exact composition of scrap metal. Although the alloy mixture of London pewter was fairly certain, the colonial pewterer also recycled wares originating elsewhere in England or Europe, as well as those made locally.

The quality of workmanship was a fourth difference. Colonial craftsmen seem to have produced wares showing crude or sloppy workmanship (Laughlin 1981:8; French 1954:57). Some rationalizations for inferior workmanship might be: a) that American pewterers were free from guild supervision, and thus free to produce wares having substandard craftsmanship as well as lower quality alloy; b) that some colonial craftsmen were incapable of producing higher quality wares due to inadequate training in the pewter craft; c) that, since clientele already believed colonial products to be inferior to English pewter, and, since the alloy was in fact poorer due to the dependency on scrap metal, it might have seemed pointless to invest the time necessary to produce the degree of workmanship required by the London pewter guild. In other words, colonial pewterers may have purposely settled for producing lower quality wares which could be sold far below the price of imported English pewter.

THE PORT ROYAL PEWTER COLLECTION

The array of pewter artifacts recovered from Port Royal composes the world's largest collection of late seventeenth century pewter, the earliest collection of English colonial pewter, and the most extensive pewter collection from a single archaeological site (Figures 6 & 7). As of 1989, a total of 269 items in the collection predated the 1692 disaster; many more, deposited in the bay by accident or as refuse at a later date, give a cross-section of colonial pewter from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Meanwhile, ongoing excavations of the sunken city hold the promise of recovering even more examples of household pewterware and personal possessions to help unravel the colonial story.

The various pewter alloys were used to make an enormous array of objects besides flatware and hollowware. This included spoons, porringers, salts, sugar bowls, spice boxes, ladles, funnels, colanders and other kitchen utensils, chamber pots and urinals, hot water bottles, picture frames, watch cases, buttons and buckles, sundials, cisterns, distilling tubes, inkstands and sand casters, candlesticks and oil lamps, threaded bottlecaps and necks, tobacco and snuff boxes, tokens and badges, rings and chains, children's toys, decorative figures, medical instruments and ecclesiastical wares. The list is by no means complete, but it shows that a great variety of pewter objects came to permeate nearly every aspect of life. Examples of nearly all the listed items have been recovered from Port Royal.

The majority of Port Royal's pewter artifacts were made in England, but a few items came from Europe (mostly France, or Holland), while others were made by a local craftsman at the colony itself. There were several channels through which pewter made overseas could have arrived in Port Royal: a formal trade network established between Jamaica and England could have imported it for local sale; immigrants could have carried it from a distant homeland; it could have arrived as part of table service for officers aboard a ship; or it could possibly have composed part of a pirate's booty.

This thesis is concerned with 155 pieces of pewter flatware (57.6% of the seventeenth-century pewter artifacts) recovered by both the Marx excavations and the INA/TAMU Port Royal Project. Pewter spoons (24.5%) have been thoroughly researched by Cathryn Wadley (1985), while Hollowware (13.0%) and other household items (4.8%) are currently being studied.

Flatware has proved to be the most diagnostic group of pewter artifacts since nearly every piece bears both maker's marks and ownership initials. Plates compose 79.4% of the flatware, while dishes, chargers and basins make up 7.1%, 8.4% and 3.9% respectively: only one saucer was recovered.



Figure 6: Array of Pewter Artifacts Recovered by the INA/TAMU Excavations

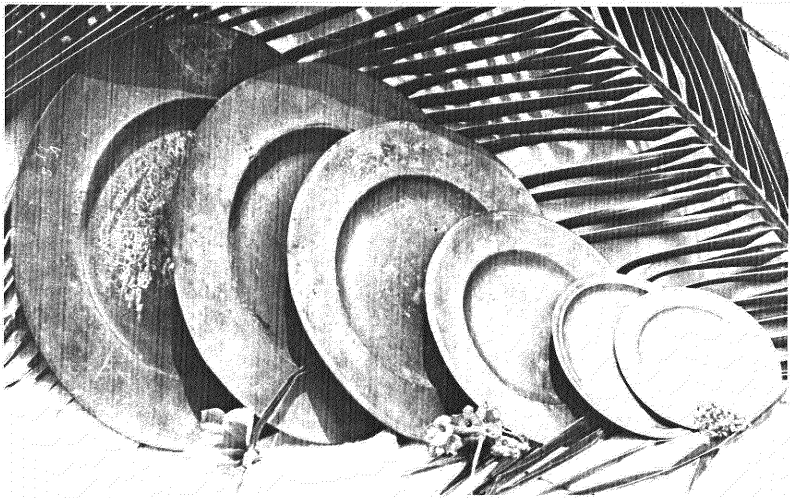


Figure 7: Array of Pewter Flatware Recovered by the Marx Excavations

Another way to analyze the flatware is by rim size: 34.2% were narrow rimmed, 34.9% medium, 25.5% broad, and 5.4% were undetermined since they lacked rims.

FLATWARE TERMINOLOGY

Sadware, the archaic term for flatware, was derived from an Old English word meaning "solid-ware" and referred to items requiring metal strength, achieved by hammering the metal to make it more dense and "solid" (R. Homer, letter dated 8 May 1990). Flatware items have a rim, well, and bouge (the curved section between the rim and well), are cast in one piece, and are used for food service. Flatware was sold by weight rather than by size or diameter, and it came in a variety of sizes, shapes and depths which are defined as follows:

Charger	=	A serving tray measuring over 16½ inches in diameter.
Dish	=	10½ to 16½ inch diameter serving tray.
Deep Dish	=	A dish over 3 centimeters deep, but not as deep as a bowl or basin. Also called a soup dish.
Plate	=	6½ to 10½ inch diameter, used for individual food service.
Saucer	=	Under 6½ inches in diameter, also called a butter plate.
Patén	=	Flatware used for ecclesiastical purposes.
Bowl	=	Deep container with rounded sides.
Basin	=	Deep container with somewhat straight sides and a flat bottom. Colonial archival sources seem to use the term "basin" for all deep containers (Laughlin 1981:27), and this is the specific term used in a Port Royal pewterer's probate inventory (see Simon Benning in Appendix I). Therefor the term "bowl" will not be used in reference to the Port Royal Pewter Collection.

Rim Design Typology

Pewter flatware is typically categorized according to rim size and style. Rim size could vary from the "Cardinal's Hat" (having a very broad rim and disproportionately small well, thus resembling a cardinal's hat), to a very narrow rim measuring ½ inch or less. Rim styles range from "plain" with no decoration, to those having one or more "reeds," or rings, which are cast or incised onto the rim surface. The popularity of a rim size or style varied over time: it has been observed that broad-rimmed items were not made in England after the 1690's, and medium rims were made almost exclusively after the 1720's (Hornsby 1983b:124-131).

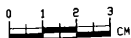
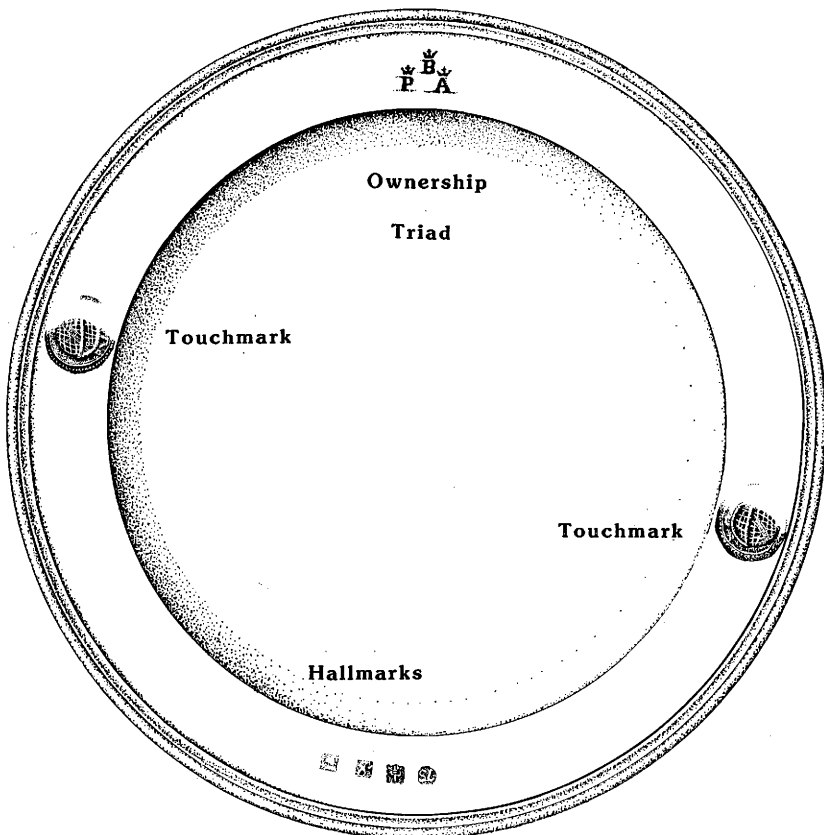
Appendix IV presents a Rim Design Typology compiled from the different rim styles found in the Port Royal Pewter Collection. The focus herein is to characterize pewter flatware in the collection rather than to review exact, and perhaps debatable, dating horizons. Since the available dating schemes have been compiled from flatware which survived in attics, or which have been passed down through generations as keepsakes or "collector's items," it is felt that these are biased towards the more remarkable examples of pewter manufacture, and that everyday utilitarian wares are not well represented. Indeed we may see a shift in existing dating horizons as more archaeological pewter is recovered.

Pewter Maker's Marks

An outstanding feature of pewter artifacts is that they regularly bear marks which identify the maker, the owner, and sometimes even a merchant involved in marketing the wares (Figure 8). Such information is especially valuable in archaeology as it helps develop an overall picture of the economic and trade structure related to the site. It is hoped that pewter marks, together with shipping documents, probate inventories and other archival documentation will eventually help unfold the network of local and trans-oceanic trade systems at Port Royal.

Many studies of antique pewter have compiled catalogs of known marks, including an identification of the pewterer where possible. Howard H. Cotterell (1963) published the most extensive catalog of British pewter, titled Old Pewter, Its Makers and Marks in England, Scotland and Ireland. His work was continued by Christopher A. Peal (1976; 1977) in More Pewter Marks, and Addenda to More Pewter Marks. Ledlie I. Laughlin (1981) compiled the most important reference for American pewter, titled Pewter In America, Its Makers and Their Marks. Many more works have gathered information on regional pewter production throughout Europe, but one titled Pewter Marks of the World, by D. Stara (1977) effectively characterizes national pewter marks throughout Europe, America and Asia. Appendix V provides a comprehensive list of other works consulted in an attempt to identify unusual pewter marks in the Port Royal Collection.

In England, pewterers used several types of marks to identify themselves and to subliminally publicize the quality of their work, since outright advertisement was prohibited. The touchmark was a pewterer's primary mark and official seal which he registered at the local guildhouse. It usually incorporated the pewterer's initials with an heraldic device or another emblem characterizing his name, hometown or work. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, many craftsmen added their name and place of residence to the touchmark. Most guilds mandated that craftsmen stamp their products with a maker's touch so that substandard wares could be



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Figure 8: Examples of Marks found on Pewter Flatware

Drawn by Helen DeWolfe

Courtesy of Port Royal Project

traced, and the guilty party fined. Despite strict sanctions, many craftsmen were able to evade guild officials and produce unmarked wares made of lower quality alloys.

A quality mark frequently accompanied the touch, especially on export pewter. The "crowned Tudor rose" was the most common mark of quality used on English pewter in the seventeenth century. Dies were individually produced, so each crown-and-rose stamp slightly differed and often included the craftsman's initials flanking the main device. Although not officially sanctioned, the quality mark was frequently mentioned by guildhall decrees and no effort was made to discourage its use. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, several new secondary marks became popular, such as the "crowned X" signifying "hard metal" or "extraordinary ware," and stylized labels having "London" or "Super Fine Metal" written out (Cotterell 1963:49-51). While the "crowned rose" appears frequently on flatware from the Port Royal collection, no examples of the other types of quality marks have been found.

Hallmarks are a structured set of stamps used by the silver industry to identify the craftsman, the place and date of manufacture, and the quality of silver used. Pewter craftsmen deliberately used similar marks to imitate the silver industry and "dress up" their pewter. But pewter hallmarks lacked the meaning and structure of the silver equivalent since they were used for appearances only. Use of the term to indicate the small stamps, or lozenges, found in a row on pewterware is, in fact, a misnomer since the WCPL did not recognize these marks, and at one point expressly forbade members to use them. Yet market demand must have prevailed since such marks were common in England and appear frequently on Port Royal pewter.

Pewter hallmarks contain a variety of devices, including initials, lions in various stances, leopard's heads, a crowned rose or fleur-de-lis, heraldic symbols, and/or the initials of the craftsman. Usually, initials in the hallmarks match those of the touch; an incongruence may have one of several explanations. First, pewterers often worked in conjunction with other craftsmen or merchants who bought their wares wholesale for marketing elsewhere in England, or abroad. The merchant would use his own hallmarks to advertise his business, and may have sold wares by several different pewterers: his hallmarks would therefore appear in conjunction with several touchmarks. This would also explain how one touch might appear with several sets of hallmarks, since the pewterer may have sold his wares to several merchants for marketing. Second, some small-scale pewterers commissioned their work to be sold by well-known pewter firms in the same vicinity: the larger firm would then apply the hallmarks. Third, occasionally a young craftsman took over

the business of a well-known pewterer with established clientele. The new craftsman usually opted to maintain the hallmarks of his predecessor to enhance his business (Cotterell 1963:51-3).

No fixed rules were found for the placement of marks, yet their positioning was predictable. The most common location for the touchmark was either on the rim front, the rim back, or the back side of the well. If a quality mark was used, it would be stamped adjacent and usually to the right of the touch. In the seventeenth century hallmarks were almost always located on the front rim, although they sometimes appeared on the well front or back.

Ownership Marks

In a sense, ownership monograms are the single most important element of the Port Royal Pewter Collection since positive identifications have the potential to greatly enhance both the archaeologist's perception of his site and the pewter collector's cognizance of his treasures. Many books have been written on pewter marks and styles, and even on pewter manufacture and the various people involved in the pewter trade; yet ownership monograms are consistently overlooked for want of a means of identification. The only way a connoisseur has to breathe life into the spirits who once owned his pewter possessions is by comparison to similar pewter objects depicted in contemporary artwork, or those recovered from a known archaeological context. For example, several broad-rimmed plates stacked near the galley in the Mary Rose (King Henry VIII's flagship which sank during a battle in 1545) belonged to Vice Admiral Sir George Carew and Lord High Admiral John Dudley (Rule 1982:117). If any pewter connoisseur owns similar plates, then he must know the human quality and personal dimension archaeology can contribute to an otherwise cold, hard pewter object.

For archaeologists, ownership monograms act as keys to unlock vast amounts of information contained in archival sources relating to an historic site. One of the main objectives of the INA/TAMU excavations has been to identify structures under investigation. Of the four buildings excavated, three contained pewter artifacts with owner's initials. Appendix II presents these initials arranged by Building and Room numbers, showing a list of attributions to real people who possibly lived in, frequented or owned each building. The process of identification is long and tedious since many archival documents, such as population censuses, land plat records, probate wills and inventories, legal transactions, birth and marriage records, and even personal letters if available, should be consulted. So far only a smattering of the existing resources have been accessible for study. Undoubtedly, as more documents

become available, pewter ownership monograms will play a key role in identifying personalities linked to the excavated buildings in Port Royal.

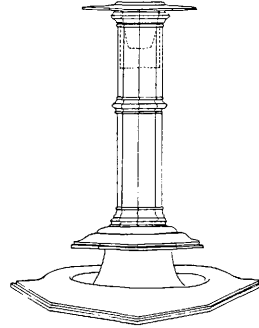
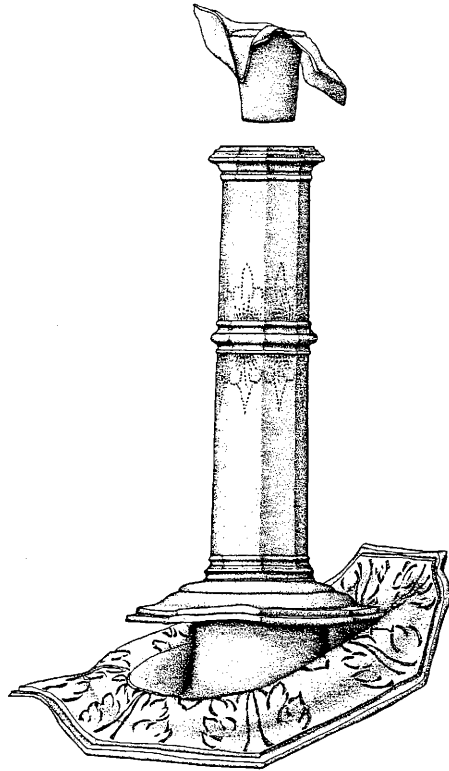
Ownership initials appear most commonly as a monogram of two letters (Christian name followed by family name), or as a triad where the top letter represents the family name while the bottom two letters represent the first name of husband and wife respectively. For example, the initials T^B S might stand for Thomas and Sarah Barker. If the initials "S B" were to appear on a newer pewter object recovered from the same vicinity, then we might assume that these referred to Sarah Barker, and that her husband Thomas had died. If "S B" were to appear in another unrelated context, then we would search out all possible attributions for the initials, both male and female. Sometimes, instead of a monogram, the family shield was stamped or engraved onto a plate. Only one example of a family shield was recovered from the INA/TAMU excavation site; unfortunately it was too badly disfigured to be recognized.

Ownership monograms and heraldic shields commonly appear on the front rim so that they can be openly displayed and easily recognized, but they may be found anywhere on the artifact. Narrow rimmed pieces tend to have ownership stamped on the back side of the well, but one example had them stamped on the well front. Some pieces have a second set of initials which are sometimes crudely applied by means of wrigglework, or knife scratches. It is assumed that pieces having two sets of initials were bought second-hand (or otherwise acquired), and that the new owner staked his claim by applying his own initials.

Decoration

Many methods of decoration were used by pewterers to embellish their work, although generally speaking, English pewter flatware was quite plain with decoration limited to conventional varieties of rim style. In keeping with this tradition, flatware from Port Royal is relatively unadorned, except for the variety of rim styles presented in Appendix IV. Despite the modest nature of the collection, examples of all the techniques discussed below were found.

Wrigglework was a common means to decorate pewterware. It was produced with a flat-edged tool resembling a small chisel which was rocked back and forth on the metal surface to produce a zig-zag pattern. The technique, found on both flatware and hollowware since before 1660, was used to produce decorative pewterware. Such items often commemorated festive occasions, such as the betrothal of a couple, the christening of a child, or even the coronation of a monarch. In the Port Royal collection, wrigglework occurs only on a candlestick (Figure 9), although a



ARTIST'S RECONSTRUCTION BY HELEN DE WOLFE
1987

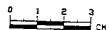
Figure 9: Pewter Candlestick from INA/TAMU Excavations

Drawn by Helen DeWolfe

Courtesy of Port Royal Project

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PLATE CANDLESTICK
WITH WAX CANDLE IN PLACE



CM

few crude ownership initials on flatware appear to have been applied by this method (F23, F41, F73-74, F76, F90, & F100).

Stamped designs were another decorative technique, where the craftsman used a die to repeatedly punch a given design around the circumference of an otherwise plain rim. This technique resembles the method used to apply decoration to leather. Only one example of this decorative technique occurs in the collection, on a basin recovered by Marx (F155).

Cast or relief decorations were made during the initial casting of a piece, where the basic design of a mould contained decorative elements appearing in relief on the finished product. Complex examples of cast decoration were used by pewterers in Europe on both flatware and hollowware, where surfaces were covered with relief cast motifs depicting a variety of scenes. The German term for this type of pewter decoration is "Edelzinn." Although there are no examples of this at Port Royal, a late seventeenth-century (Charles II) style tankard recovered from Building 1 of the INA/TAMU excavations had an intricately moulded thumbpiece showing the head of Bacchus, Roman god of drunkenness and merriment (Figure 10). The closest parallel for this thumbpiece was found on an American communion flagon of Germanic design, supported on feet cast with a cherub's head in relief (Pewter Collector's Club of America 1984:108). This piece was made by German-born Pennsylvania pewterer Johann Christopher Heyne (c.1756-1780).

In England, a more conservative form of relief decoration was adopted after 1689, when King William III of Orange and his wife Mary II were coronated. To celebrate this event, commemorative spoons were cast bearing the relief busts of the monarchs on the handle finial. Portrait spoons celebrating a reigning monarch were popular in England throughout the eighteenth century. In Port Royal, the 1692 disaster encapsulated a unique detail to gauge how fast English fashions spread to her New World colonies: seven William and Mary portrait spoons were recovered. This suggests that Port Royal colonists had access to the latest English fashions... with at most a two to three year delay.

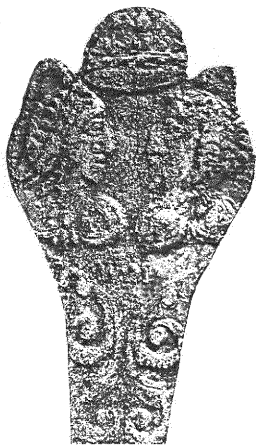
Another more common example of cast decoration are the "reeds," or concentric rings, which are found on the edge of plate rims. A plate is described as single reeded if it has one ring, and multiple reeded if it has two or more. Complex multiple reeding refers to cast rings which vary in height of relief, or to reeding which combines relief cast rings with incised grooves applied on the lathe.

Incised reeding was another common method of applying decoration to plate rims. The pewterer could apply concentric incised grooves while an object was being turned on the lathe. He could also apply rings to the body of hollowware items by this method. These usually occurred around the base, girth or lip of the vessel.



A. Bacchus-Head Thumbpiece on
Charles II Tankard

B. Detail of Thumbpiece



C. William & Mary Commemoration
Spoon

Figure 10: Examples of Cast Decoration
on Port Royal Pewter

Corrosion

Pewter recovered from a submerged archaeological context may appear as new, but more often it suffers varying degrees of corrosion depending on the alkalinity or acidity of the medium surrounding it. Christopher Peal (1983:37) described the corrosion on plates recovered from an Armada vessel as "pocks" when deep uneven holes disfigure the metal surface, and "eruptions" when the surface appears to be blistered and fragile. Peter Hornsby (1983b:372-373) shows an enlarged example of a blistered and pocked surface which he attributes to the original poor mixing of the alloy, and points out that such damage can easily grow into holes piercing the metal. Another type of damage is evident when the entire surface is covered with small pits generated by the uneven corrosion of the various components of the pewter alloy.

Catalog

Appendix V presents a complete catalog of all flatware items in the Port Royal Pewter Collection. These include artifacts recovered by the INA/TAMU Port Royal Project, by Robert Marx during his 1967-69 excavations of the sunken city, and a few artifacts from unknown sources housed at the Institute of Jamaica. A few artifacts recorded by Marx in either published or unpublished sources (Marx 1971; Davies 1975) were not included since they are missing from the collection and therefore not available for study. Many ideas for this catalog were borrowed from Norman Brazell's article "Catalog Your Pewter" (1985).

The fields presented herein include most of the features which should be recorded from archaeologically recovered pewter flatware. This type of artifact has been recovered from most undisturbed sites dating from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries including shipwrecks, bog sites, river banks, lake bottoms, historic outhouse facilities and wells, and historic ports around areas where ships were moored (many of these sites will lack contextual data since artifacts were deposited either by accident or as refuse). If a database of information relevant to archaeologically recovered pewter is to be established, then accurate and consistent recording are essential. Therefore, the author has attempted to standardize recording procedures and hopes that the format presented in Appendix V will provide guidelines for recording pewter flatware in the future. The fields are defined by the order in which they appear in each catalog entry.

CATALOG NUMBER: Unique to this thesis, it is used to facilitate quick reference to specific artifacts. The prefix "F" added to the numerical sequence denotes flatware.

REFERENCE NUMBER: The archaeological reference number assigned to artifacts at the time of recovery. For artifacts recovered by INA/TAMU, this number indicates the year recovered, the lot number ascribed to a specific 10 X 10 foot excavation unit from which it came, and the sub-number assigned to each unique artifact. Archaeological records associated with this sub-number show the exact location of recovery using measurements triangulated from known datum points, relate any particular notes or associated artifacts, delineate the process involved in the conservation of the artifact, and list all associated photographs or drawings.

FORM: Defines whether the artifact is a charger, dish, plate, saucer, deep dish, basin, or a fragment of any of these forms.

ORIGIN: Indicates the place of manufacture. Where possible an exact town and country are given.

TOUCH: Briefly describes touch.

HALLMARKS: Describes hallmarks. Abbreviations were used as necessary to accommodate limited space.

TOUCH REF & HALLMARK REF: These fields are used to quickly indicate if a maker's mark has been recorded by any previous catalogs of pewter marks. If so, then an abbreviated code (listed at the beginning of Catalog V) appears along with the identifying catalog number. Otherwise one of the following options will be listed: the actual name of the craftsman if the mark has been identified by the present research; "unidentified" if a mark is present but no identifications have been made; "indiscernible" if a mark is present but too worn to be identified; "none" if no mark appears.

OWNERSHIP MARK: Describes ownership marks.

PHOTOGRAPHS: Presents as many identifying photographs as possible. Ideally, pictures of whole objects would be enlarged to a scale where detail could be easily examined. However, due to space limitations and the vast number of artifacts included in the catalog, this was not possible. All marks are shown at a 1:1 scale unless otherwise indicated.

DESCRIPTION: Briefly describes the artifact, giving attention to the following details: describes its condition and any marks left by corrosion (pits, pocks or eruptions), wear marks caused by human usage (knife cuts or scuffing), or marks resulting from the production process (lathe or hammer marks); indicates location of maker's and owner's marks as well as any marks not discussed elsewhere; notes any peculiar characteristics of the piece.

DIAMETER: Given in both centimeters and inches (included since most old references to English pewter describe diameter using this scale).

RIM TYPE: Defines the rim according to the Rim Design Typology presented in Appendix IV.

RIM WIDTH: Given in centimeters and measured at the widest point. Since all flatware was trimmed up on the lathe, the rim width can vary as much as half a centimeter on a single item. Inconsistencies in rim width can also result from severe earthquake damage or corrosion.

RIM RATIO: A ratio achieved by dividing the total diameter by the rim width. The resulting value is used to determine if the plate has a narrow rim (ratio 10 or greater), a medium rim (ratio between 6.5 and 10), or a broad rim (ratio 6.5 or less). A ratio to distinguish rim size (narrow, medium or broad) is generally preferred over direct measurements since a three-centimeter rim might appear broad on a saucer, while it would be decidedly narrow on a charger.

WELL DIAMETER: Given in centimeters and measured from the inner edge of one rim to the inner edge of the other. Direct measurement is more accurate than subtracting twice the rim width from the total diameter, since the rim width may vary as described above.

DEPTH: An attempt was made to record only the well depth. This was sometimes difficult or impossible on items having upturned rims, or items which were bent or smashed in the earthquake. The measurements given in these cases are rough estimates rather than exact figures.

WEIGHT: Given in grams. This measurement is important since pewter flatware was sold by weight, rather than by the size of the object. Unfortunately the author was unaware of this fact during the first phases of research, so many entries lack this information.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROVENIENCE: Describes where the object was found. For pewter recovered from INA/TAMU excavations, the exact building and room is given, as well as nearby associated features.

CROSS REFERENCES: Some artifacts have been illustrated in a published source, or are depicted by drawings in this thesis. These references are given here.

PARALLELS: Gives reference to similar items which are either presented in this catalog, or in another published source.

METAL ANALYSIS: This is where the alloy composition would be presented. A "yes" value indicates that the item is scheduled to be analyzed since the process is not yet complete.

The majority of items in the Port Royal Pewter Collection were recovered by two major investigations of the sunken city: the Marx and INA/TAMU excavations. Having introduced the catalog and its specific terminology, I will now analyze the collection the context of these two excavations.

MARX PEWTER

Sixty-two percent of the seventeenth-century flatware artifacts in the Port Royal collection were recovered by Robert Marx between 1966 and 1968. Marx excavated approximately two acres on the southwestern side of the submerged ruins (Figure 2), where numerous structures including fish and meat markets, turtle crawls, houses, taverns, and several artisan workshops were uncovered. Unfortunately, the archaeological provenience of most of the pewter cannot be determined.

Marx recovered a total of 194 pewter objects dating from the seventeenth century: 49.5% flatware, 14% hollowware, 31.5% spoons and 5% other household utensils. The ninety-six flatware artifacts recovered during these excavations have been thoroughly recorded in Appendix V: 74% were plates, 10.4% dishes, 12.5% chargers, 3.1% basins, and no saucers. Narrow rim items composed 24.8% of the total, while 41.9% were medium rimmed, 30.1% broad rimmed, and 3.2% unknown. Data gathered from these artifacts are used in the body of this thesis for comparative purposes.

PEWTER FROM THE INA/TAMU EXCAVATIONS

The INA/TAMU excavations have focused on delineating a series of submerged buildings at the northwest end of town along Lime Street, near the intersection of Queen and High Streets (Figures 1 & 2). As described by Taylor (1688:253), this area would have been close to both the fish and meat markets, and just down the street from Fort James. Streets and buildings in this part of the submerged ruins are skewed about 40 degrees clockwise of magnetic north, but for convenience sake all alignments will be discussed in terms of north/south or east/west directions. Therefore Lime Street ran east/west, and buildings along its south side had a northern facade.

The INA/TAMU excavations have so far uncovered four structures, all located on the south side of Lime Street. Three of these buildings contained a total of 75 pewter artifacts: 79% were flatware items, 10% hollowware, 7% spoons and 4% other household utensils. The 59 flatware objects are presented in their archaeological context, and stylistic characteristics of the wares associated with the local pewter trade are discussed at length throughout the remainder of this thesis. Each one is thoroughly recorded in the Catalog of Pewter Flatware (Appendix V); the catalog number will be used for ease of reference when a particular artifact is addressed. Eighty-eight per cent of these flatware artifacts were plates; the rest consisted of

three basins, one dish, one charger, and one saucer. The distribution of rim size was as follows: 50% narrow rim, 23% medium rim, 18% broad rim and 9% unknown.

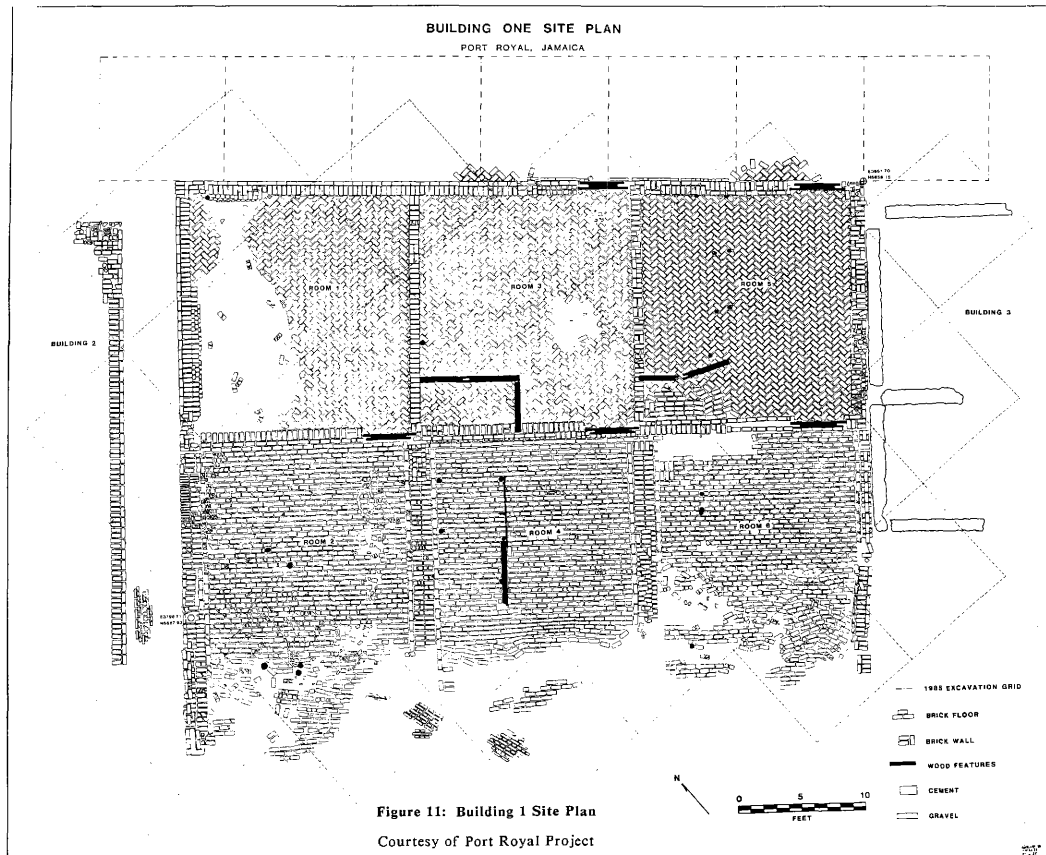
Building 1

This structure, an English style row house with brick walls and floors, consisted of three separate units each having two ground-floor rooms, and probably two more rooms on an upper level (Figure 11 & 12). The archaeological assemblage of the first two rooms to the west suggests that this unit was a combination butcher, cobbler and woodworking shop. Masses of butchered turtle bones, scraps of leather including shoe soles, and a stone flywheel for a woodworking lathe, as well as turned endpieces removed from objects made on the lathe, were found in this unit. Other interesting artifacts found in the southern end of this unit include four matched pewter spoons with the busts of William and Mary (joint monarchs of England from 1689 to 1694), a padlock, and a large fish basket (Hamilton 1985:108). The only flatware item recovered from this unit was a broad-rim multiple-reed plate (F27) covered by the concretion which attached it to a stone flywheel. This plate bore the hallmarks on local pewter merchant John Luke, and the ownership triad $I^C S$, for which numerous possible identifications were found. Appendix II indexes all ownership initials on pewter from the INA/TAMU excavations, and gives all corresponding names which have been gathered from archival sources examined thus far.

Both Rooms 3 and 4 of the center unit had what appears to be a closet or interior room division. A table and chair were found smashed beneath wall debris in the northwest corner of Room 4 (Figure 12), and wooden kegs, pewter baluster measures, numerous lead musket balls and used pipe fragments, and over sixty onion-shaped bottles, used for liquor storage (many with their corks still held in place by brass wire), were found scattered across the floor and within the interior division. This array of artifacts strongly suggests that the unit was a tavern.

No flatware items were discovered, but a pint-sized baluster measure bore the initials A^M . Only two possibilities were found for these initials: Aaron Aitkens (no information available); and Joseph D'Acosta Alveringa, a merchant who died before 1671. No possibilities were found for a female with the initials "M A."

Conveniently located next door to the tavern was possibly a vintner and tobacco shop -- hundreds of unused kaolin smoking pipes and more onion-shaped bottles that must have been sales stock were recovered from Rooms 5 and 6. Room 5 to the north also had a closet-like division similar to the one in Room 3. The most intriguing finds from this unit seem to have been personal possessions of the shop-keeper: two brass candlesticks, a large pewter dish and two plates bearing the marks



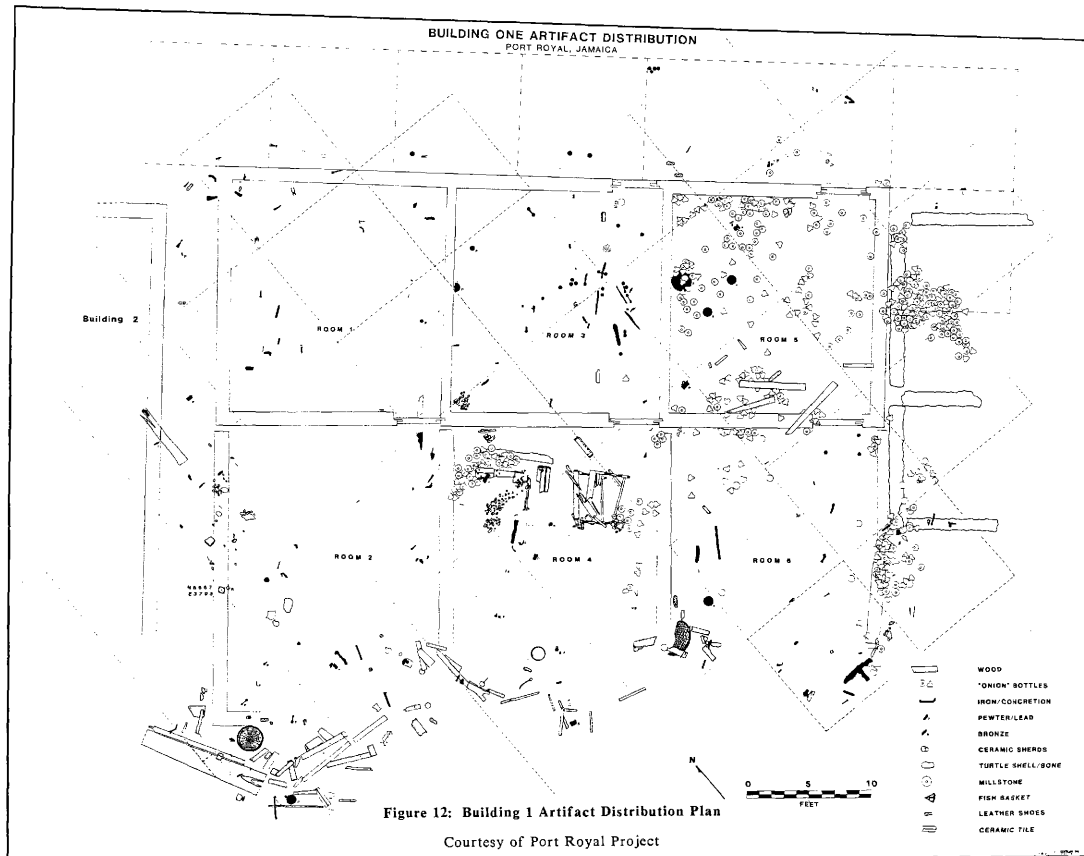


Figure 12: Building 1 Artifact Distribution Plan

Courtesy of Port Royal Project

of local pewter merchants, and a pewter baluster measure and a tankard with the head of Bacchus molded into the thumbpiece.

The tankard and baluster measure bore no ownership initials, but the narrow rim dish (F1) made by the local craftsman Simon Benning had κ^H stamped around the touch on the back side of the well. No matches were found, either male or female, for these initials. Three medium rim plates were also found which bore the initials $R^G M$ (F26), "I G" (F28), and "? G" (F34). Appendix II lists numerous possibilities for these ownership initials. Two of the plates bore the hallmarks of John Luke, but one had the touch of Simon Benning (F26), while the other bore a "T C" touch which included the word "LONDON." Appendix III shows all these marks at an enlarged (1cm = 2.5cm) scale.

Building 2

Located west of Building 1 across a narrow alley, Building 2 also faces north onto Lime Street (Figure 2). Only the front rooms of this structure were thoroughly excavated since considerable jumbling and faulting left the southern rooms incoherent. The building's front wall had a plastered brick buttress, and a series of wood beams which may have been floor sills. Traces of brick flooring were found in the eastern part of the building, however the floors in the western part were formed by applying plaster directly onto the natural sand surface. No pewter or other diagnostic artifacts were recovered from this building (Hamilton 1988:12).

Building 3

Just east of Building 1, Building 3 had a raised mortar foundation with wooden sills and corner timbers set in mortar as wall supports. Figure 13 shows a site plan for this structure based on the assumption that the building was symmetrical; in reality the eastern part of the building tilted at a 60 degree angle into the loose sand and could not be thoroughly excavated.

The floors of Rooms 1 and 4 were plastered like those of in Building 2, and Room 1 of Building 5. Room 4 to the east had few diagnostic artifacts. In contrast, Room 1 had many liquor bottles, an octagonal fowling gun, a pistol barrel, two pewter plates (one bearing the marks of Lawrence Dyer of London), two sets of balance scales, and three distinct sets of weights (Figure 14). Among the weights were disc-shaped cast bronze weights, various shapes and sizes of cast lead weights, and a cylindrical iron weight filled with lead weighing 1 stone (14 pounds). This room was likely used to sell merchandise in need of weighing (Hamilton, 1988:17).

Room 2, at the southwest corner of the building, had many unused kaolin smoking pipes and numerous corked and sealed wine bottles. The floor consisted

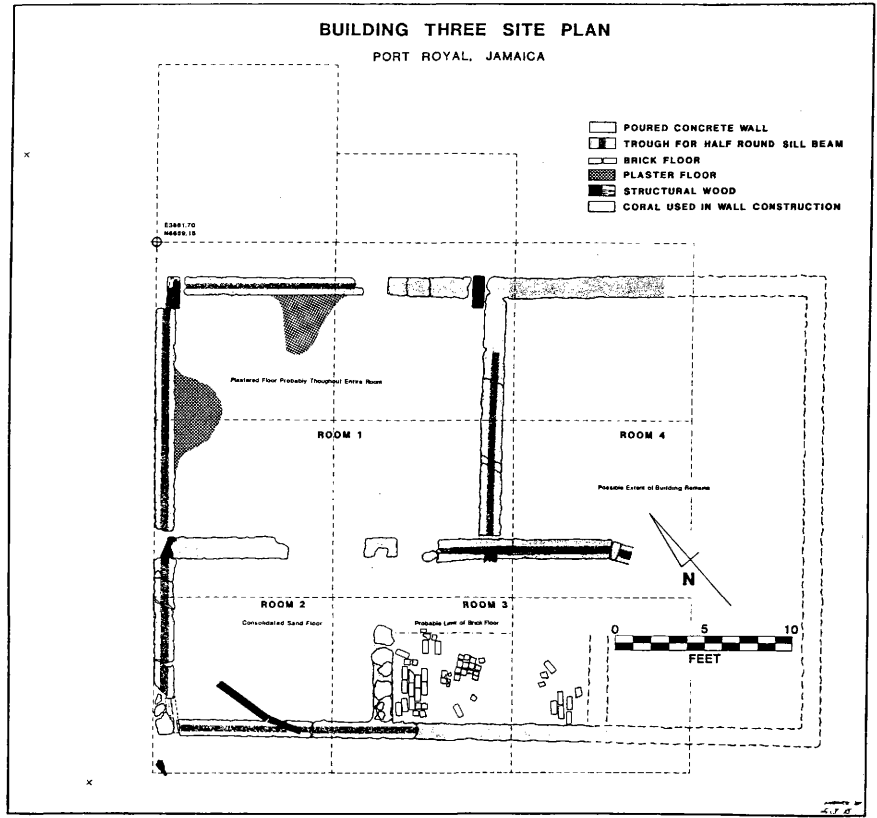


Figure 13: Building 3 Site Plan Courtesy of Port Royal Project

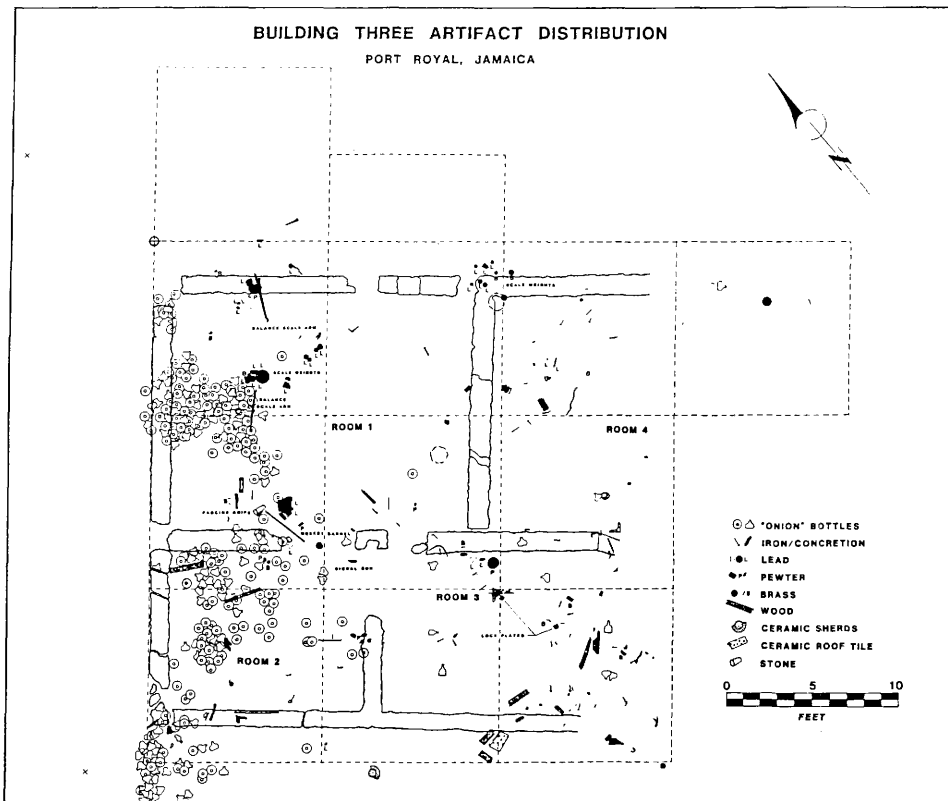


Figure 14: Building 3 Artifact Distribution Plan Courtesy of Port Royal Project

only of natural sand, suggesting that the room served for storage. Dividing Rooms 2 and 3 stood a wall formed by mortaring together three small coral heads. Room 3 lacked significant artifactual material, but the floor was laid with small and thin, poorly fired bricks. This may have been an entryway allowing access to the adjacent rooms (Hamilton 1988:17). Although four pewter plates were found in this building, none of these bore ownership initials that could be identified.

Building 4/5

Situated just west of Buildings 1-3, Building 4/5 (Figure 15) was originally thought to be two separate structures. Later it was determined that these were part of the same building complex. Most of the material finds are still undergoing archaeological conservation so any interpretations of the structure are still somewhat premature. The eastern unit consists of Rooms 5-8, plus an outdoor patio and hearth at the rear. Diagnostic artifacts include encrusted iron objects, a few pewter plates, and a ship's keel resting diagonally across Room 5, and overlapping into Rooms 6 & 7. Apparently, the tidal wave caused by the 1692 earthquake washed this ship onto Lime Street, then through the front wall of Rooms 5 & 7. Perhaps the tidal wave also washed away most of the artifacts since little was found in this section. Dispersed throughout the rooms, the pewter artifacts were a saucer (F44), a deep dish (F150), a charger (F25), and three plates (F 31, F32 & F41). These bore the initials $F^S D$, "A C," "A M," and "B M" (female). Scrap pewter and brass were also recovered from this unit (Figure 5).

The western unit is comprised of Rooms 1-4 and a large front walk paved with brick, where the remains of a child were found. Both Rooms 1 and 2 have exterior doors leading to Lime Street; interior doors adjoin Rooms 1/2, 2/3 and 3/4. Rooms 2-4 have standard brick floors, while the larger Room 1 had the same type of plaster floor seen in Buildings 2 and 3. The other outstanding features of this building are the hearth and associated cooking utensils in Room 4, a window frame, and a closet or cupboard beneath a stairwell in Room 2. In and around this stairwell closet were 26 pewter plates -- 22 of which were still neatly arranged in five adjacent stacks. A large earthenware jar containing pitch was lodged by the foot of the stairwell, while 18 unused long white (kaolin) pipes were found by the doorway. Other artifacts scattered throughout Room 2 were: a bellarmine jug, 3 silver spoons, 10 uncorked onion bottles, a pewter sand caster, a bone comb, a calabash gourd dipper (possibly for fresh water which had to be shipped in from the mainland), 3 brass candlesticks and a copper lamp.

Room 1 had two pewter plates but was otherwise fairly empty. Room 3 contained mostly cooking utensils, including another calabash dipper, a silver spoon

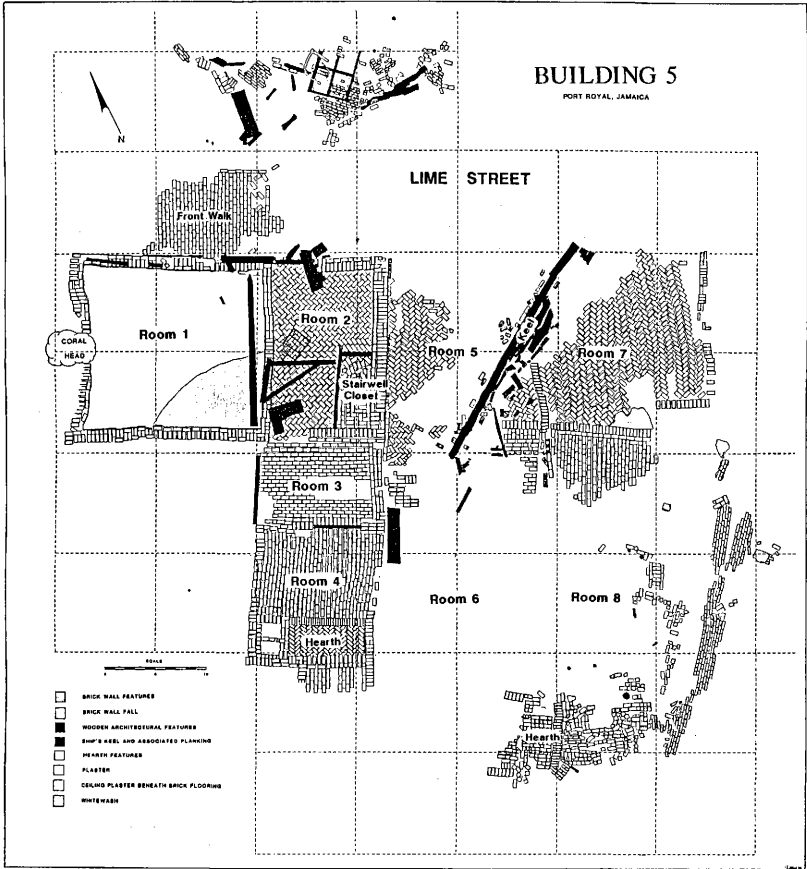


Figure 15: Building 5 Site Plan
 Drawn by Sheila Clifford
 Courtesy of Port Royal Project

and fork, two onion bottles, an earthenware porringer, a large brass strainer with a long handle, an ointment or spice jar, a spice grater, two pewter plates (one of which bears the heart-shaped "Wm & Ann Turner" stamp: F36), a pewter basin (F152), another bone comb, 3 shoe soles, and 3 brass candlesticks. Room 4 was especially interesting since it had a large cast iron skillet (or cauldron) in the middle of the room, another smaller iron skillet (still atop kindling) in the hearth, an 8 inch tall earthenware jar, another locally made clay pot (Yabba ware), 2 pewter plates, 4 lead weights, and the skeleton of a child between the ages of 5 and 8.

A total of 32 plates and 1 basin were found in this western unit of Building 5: ten plates (F2-11) bearing the ownership monogram $W^C I$, and 11 (F12-22) with the initials "I C". By convention, these plates would have belonged to a married couple of the surname "C, with "N" for the husband's Christian name and "I" or "J" for the wife's name. Nicholas Cransbrough, a vintner who died sometime before the earthquake, was the only match for these initials found in archival records examined thus far (the document containing his name was a probate inventory with no mention of a wife... perhaps once the actual will is located further inferences can be made). All these plates were identical in style, and made by the resident pewterer Simon Benning. But the ten $W^C I$ plates appear battered and worn while the eleven "I C" plates show minimal usage. This difference implies that a widow, perhaps Cransbrough's own, had recently purchased tableware to supplement her older pieces. But why would a widow have needed a garnish of new pewter? Did she plan to do a great deal of entertaining, or to make her living by serving food to hungry customers? The pieces were not terribly attractive or well-made, so perhaps the former argument could be ruled out. Other initials found on pewter from this unit were: $W^C E$, $W^S F$, $I^P R$, and "H D." Appendix II offers numerous possible identifications for each of these ownership monograms.

While pewter tableware has been a constant among the archaeological assemblages from underwater excavations at Port Royal, recovering so many pieces from a relatively small area is unusual and may suggest that the pewter was used for food preparation and service. The wide variety of cooking utensils found in the two rooms closest to the hearth, and the inordinate number of lamps and candlesticks further supports this food preparation theory. Perhaps the proprietor was a victualler (or a vintner's wife), who served meals to customers in his or her plaster-floored guest room, by candlelight for those who chose to dine after dark.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PORT ROYAL'S PEWTER COLLECTION

Much has been learned about the overall layout of the site, about contemporary architecture, and about the types of commodities available to colonists in the late seventeenth century, yet no definitive conclusions have been reached as to who lived in these buildings. Obviously, the monograms applied to pewter artifacts provide a vital link to archival sources which could identify the proprietor, and/or the residents of a building under investigation. But pewter possessions also provide more subtle clues to the lifestyles and socioeconomic conditions of the people who once owned them.

Throughout the seventeenth century, pewter tableware had great general appeal since when polished it was hard to distinguish from silver. Probably for this reason it became a status symbol, displayed for all to see that the household ate and drank from pewter rather than from wood or primitive pottery. The sheer number of pewter artifacts recovered from both the Marx and INA/TAMU excavations suggest that Port Royal colonists were far from destitute. On the contrary, some pewter artifacts give evidence that they had the means to acquire some of the latest fashions and finery available at that time; the William and Mary portrait spoons, and the Bacchus-head tankard are two examples of such finery. An overall analysis of the pewter recovered shows that it is quite ordinary: only one example of a set, or garnish of pewter has been recovered, and this lacks the additional serving pieces (matching saucers, dishes and a charger) which accompanied the pewter garnishes of the more refined households. Furthermore, the craftsmanship on the 21 matching plates is not outstanding -- reminiscent of sturdy commercial dishes used by restaurants today, rather than of elegant household tableware.

Overall, this appraisal of Port Royal's pewter artifacts compliments the concept archaeologists have developed of the area under excavation. In the following excerpt from The World Book Science Annual (1985:106), project director D.L. Hamilton discusses his perception of Building 1:

The thorough excavation of one row house revealed that it probably consisted of three shops and perhaps a second story where the shop owners lived. One shop apparently housed a shoemaker and wood-turner. Turtle shells found inside probably came from the turtle market behind the building. The center unit may have been a tavern, the last unit a wine and pipe shop -- indicating the activities that earned Port Royal its reputation as "the wickedest city in the world."

Archival records indicate that both the INA/TAMU and the Marx excavations were executed in the commercial center of the city (Figure 2), encompassing the fish and meat markets, as well as many small shops and businesses (Hamilton 1988:5). The assemblage of pewterware recovered from this area is fitting of small business

proprietors should have the means to acquire some pieces of fine pewter to publicly display their prosperity, yet one would not expect to find the panoply exhibited by educated professionals or members of the upper class, who may have lived a few blocks away.

Although the Hogarth etching in Figure 3 depicts many elements of the INA/TAMU artifact assemblage, the scene is rather more pomp than one would expect to find in the row house described above. Gathering information from various contemporary paintings, Vanessa Brett composed the following commentary which perhaps describes the atmosphere one would expect to have found at our site:

Dishes were placed in the center of the table, laden with bread and meat, from which people helped themselves, eating with their fingers or using their own knives... As table manners became more refined, ewers and basins were introduced to wash hands during the meal, and smaller plates for individual use and for sauces began to be used... Houses were sparsely furnished in those days with benches or the occasional chair to sit on; the pewter would have been laid out on plain trestle or oak tables and dressers or stored on wall shelves. (1981:16)

She goes on to observe:

As the houses of the growing middle classes became more comfortable and domestic life more congenial, pewter was in greater demand as the material most suitable for daily use... And as table manners became more polished, pewterers extended the range of items they made to satisfy the demand for greater elegance... Sets of plates for individuals as opposed to serving were becoming more commonplace, and accompanied larger serving platters. (Brett 1981:20).

Using information gathered from art, literature, and archaeology, it is possible to generate a realistic picture of the role of pewter in its contemporary setting. But Port Royal's pewter artifacts hold yet more information which may help unravel some aspects of the local and overseas commerce of this busy seventeenth-century metropolis. The next section shows how other marks on pewter have been used to learn about some of Port Royal's "more prominent" citizens.

PORT ROYAL PEWTER MERCHANTS

In a book titled Port Royal, Jamaica, Michael Pawson and David Buisseret (1975) explore the history, economic and social growth, geography and topography of the seventeenth-century colony, as well as post-earthquake developments. Another work, The Merchants of Port Royal, 1650-1700 by William Claypole (1972), describes commercial activities of Port Royal merchants in the seventeenth century. Both works consult Jamaican archival sources such as the Grantors, Deeds (Old Series, 1664-1701), Patent Books (1663-1701) and Inventories (1661-1700), as well as pertinent documents located in various British archives. Together these works provide a firm background for the following research on Port Royal pewter merchants.

From the many craftsmen and tradesmen mentioned in the above sources, three figures are identified as "pewterers": John Childermas, John Luke, and Simon Benning. Archaeological data supports the presence of Luke and Benning, and suggests that another merchant, having the initials "T C", played an important role in Port Royal's pewter trade. To date, no items have been recovered with marks corresponding to Childermas.

Since the majority of Port Royal's inhabitants emigrated from England, documents generated by the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London provide an indispensable source of information concerning the professional and personal histories of Port Royal's pewterers. In the seventeenth century, this pewterer's guild maintained strict control over the quality of craftsmanship, and of the metal alloy used in pewter production within London and throughout the provinces. It required that pewterers mark the wares they sold, fining those who did not follow the strict codes set forth. Despite this, many pewterers were able to evade guild scrutiny, and numerous objects can be found with no marks.

To maintain the high quality and standards established by the London guild, teams of representatives were sent to pewter shops throughout England to test the quality of alloy used in pewter production. Any fraudulent wares and items not meeting the Company's standards for alloy content were confiscated; artisans producing or selling such pewter were heavily fined. The Pewterer's Company Search Books recorded names, dates, locations and fines emanating from such provincial searches, thereby providing valuable information about pewterers and pewter production throughout England. The Pewterers' Company Search Books (Guildhall MSS. 7105-6) for the period 1639-1689 are deposited at Guildhall Library, London. Recently discovered, The Pewterer's Company Search Books dating after 1689 are located at Pewterers' Hall, Oat Lane, London (Homer and Hall 1985:1-12).

In addition to the The Pewterer's Company Search Books, the London Company kept records of its apprentices, of those who became free of the Company, of the dates that members were elected to guild posts, and on each member's date of decease with occasional reference to the location of a will. Three card catalogs at Pewterers' Hall index and cross reference Company records, as well as information gathered from sources throughout England relative to members of the Company. The catalogs are arranged alphabetically by name: one lists all apprentice records from the 15th century to around 1800; another lists all those who became freemen of the Company; and a third contains miscellaneous information, mostly involving search records of provincial pewterers (R. Homer, Letter dated 13 July 1984). These catalogs contain valuable information regarding two of Port Royal's pewterers.

Once a pewterer's family background is established, parish records from his home town can be searched for family wills or other records relating to the birth, apprenticeship or marriage of the pewterer or his family members. If an estate included holdings in two or more parishes, the will was approved by the Prerogative Court Of Canterbury (PCC) in London. PCC records are kept at the Public Records Office on Chancery Lane in London.

A document relating specifically to Port Royal and its inhabitants is lodged at the Public Records Office at Kew in London. The Port Royal Population Census of 1680 (P.R.O. C.O. 1/45/97-109, PRO at Kew, London) is no more than a list of families residing in Port Royal in 1680. It recorded the christian name, and the surname of the head of household, then it tallied up household members into the following categories: 1) Whites Living: males - females, 2) Blacks Living: males - females, 3) Whites Borne: males - females, 4) Blacks Borne: males - females, 5) Whites Dead: males - females, 6) Blacks Dead: males - females. Though of limited use, the Population Census identifies the families residing in Port Royal in 1680.

Further documentation on Port Royal pewter merchants can be found in Jamaica's own national archives, located a few miles west of Kingston, in Spanish Town. Jamaican historical records are distributed between the Jamaican Public Archives (JPA) which house Probate Inventories, Plats and land Patent Books, and the Jamaican Island Records Office (JIRO) where Wills, Marriage Licences, Birth Records, Legal Grants and Grantors Deeds are stored (Thornton 1988). The transactions included in this study were either examined by Claypole, or microfilmed and transcribed by students and staff of the INA/TAMU Port Royal Project.

A more detailed listing of the documents cited here is presented in Appendix I of this thesis. All marks discussed can be examined at an enlarged scale in Appendix III where they are listed alphabetically, and at a 1:1 scale in the main

catalog (Appendix V) where they appear in conjunction with the artifact on which they occur.

JOHN CHILDERMAS

Of the three merchants involved with the Port Royal pewter trade, John Childermas has been the most difficult to trace. The name is not listed in records from the "Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London" (R. Homer, letter dated 13 July 1984), neither does it appear in Port Royal's Census of 1680. The only references of this surname found to date in England were in: A) the Mormon International Genealogical Index for London and Middlesex under Ann Childermas, christened in 1661 (C0619, frame E12), and B) the Oxford English Dictionary as the name of a medieval festival celebrated a few days after Christmas.

The name does, however, appear in several archival documents recovered from Jamaican archives. The Port Royal Plat Book (JPA, Spanish Town, Jamaica) lists two entries under John Childermas: Plat #352 dated December 5th 1670 records his purchase of a lot on the south side of Queen Street stretching between Queen and High Streets; and Plat #404 dated November 23rd 1677 records his purchase of a lot stretching between Mart Lane to the south, and bordering on the sea to the north. Table 2 presents a tentative map of his property in Port Royal.

Grantors Deeds (JIRO, Spanish Town, Jamaica), O.S.XI, "Lewis to Childermas, April 28, 1680" reveals that Childermas acquired extensive landholdings in several other parishes in Jamaica:

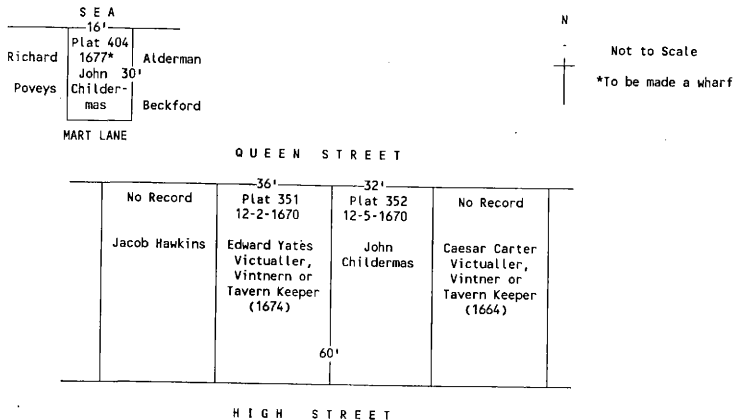
...Port Royal 'pewterer' John Childermas patented large sections of land in St. Elizabeth, St. Katherine and St. James, then purchased the labour force and livestock of Samuel Lewis whose creditors were foreclosing on a mortgage. For £1,250.0.0 sterling Childermas received 23 negro men, 16 negro women, 18 negro children, 21 cows with calves at their sides, 12 cows with calf and 9 small heifers." (Claypole 1972:184)

Childermas must have relocated to one of the mentioned parishes after this transaction since his name did not appear in The Port Royal Population Census of 1680, (PRO, Kew, London).

One further source, the index to the Jamaican Probate Inventories, No.4, fo.51, (JPA Spanish Town, Jamaica) lists John Childermas under "Anno 1683." This is curious since his will was not written until 1686, and not executed until the following year.

The discovery of John Childermas's Jamaican will (Wills, Vol. 4, fo.150, JIRO, Spanish Town, Jamaica), located by INA/TAMU staff less than a month before the final revision of this thesis, is an example of how a single document can clarify

TABLE 2: CHILDERMAS LAND HOLDINGS IN PORT ROYAL



misgivings about the historical and archaeological record. Until this point it seemed strange that a local pewterer, documented by archival record, would leave no archaeological trace of his work. This will explains the absence of pewter bearing an appropriate touchmark since Childermas describes himself as "planter," not pewterer... his earlier identification as "pewterer" may be due to a transcription error made when Port Royal's archival documents were recopied in the nineteenth century (Thornton 1988:10).

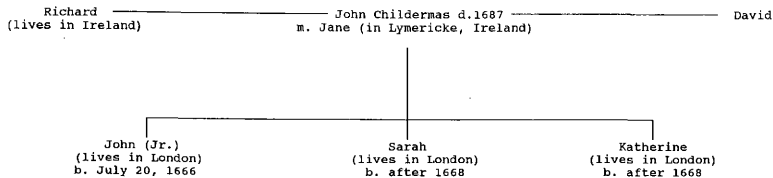
The will also provides information about Childermas's personal and family life. John Childermas was apparently a wealthy man from Ireland, who left behind a wife named Jane, and at least two brothers, Richard and David. He had a twenty year old son named John (Jr.), and two teenage daughters named Sarah and Katherine. All three were living in London under the tutelage of Mr. Robert Walker. At the time this will was written, Childermas resided at his plantation in the Parish of St. Catherine with a mistress named Elizabeth Gaters, and a personal servant named Anthony Wood. Table 3 depicts the Childermas family tree as revealed by this document, and also provides a list of the additional names mentioned.

JOHN LUKE

Several broad rimmed plates emerged from the excavations bearing a set of four hallmarks: a lion passant, a sun, an anchor, and the initials "I L" (Appendix III). Although the set appears in Christopher Peal's book More Pewter Marks, MPM #6197, (1976), Dr. Spencer-Davies submitted this entry after recording the hallmarks from the Port Royal collection itself. No other sources have surfaced for these marks and it may safely be said that they only occur on pewter excavated from Port Royal.

It is therefore appropriate that the initials "I L" appearing in the set correspond to Port Royal pewter merchant John Luke. The book, The Port Royal Population Census of 1680 (PRO, Kew, London), lists Luke's household as having 1 white male, 2 white females, and 11 black males. He was probably married, had one daughter, and either traded in slaves or did something other than pewtering which would necessitate so many male servants. In 1680 the price of a black slave was £25-£30, and £40 or more with a marketable trade (Inventories, v.III, JPA, Spanish Town, Jamaica). Luke's estate was therefore worth at least £275 if one takes into account the value of his slaves alone. Luke must have taken part in some legal transaction in 1679 since this date is listed by Pawson and Puisseret (1975:183), but the document has not yet been identified. The fact that no land patents or plats have

TABLE 3: CHILDERMAS FAMILY TREE



OTHER PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WILL:

Elizabeth Gaters	St. Catherine	Mistress
Anthony Wood	St. Catherine	Servant
Mrs. Elizabeth Hewyt	Port Royal	???
William Waite	Port Royal	Merchant, Accountant
Robert Haward	Port Royal	Butcher
Jonathan Woods	Port Royal	Executor of Will
Richard Willis	Port Royal	Executor of Will

been found for Luke strongly suggest that he leased his Port Royal shop and home (Hamilton, personal communication, 1989). These shreds of information are the only references to Port Royal pewterer John Luke found to date in the Jamaican archives.

English archival sources were more prolific and clearly indicate a family of Luke pewterers established in southwestern England, circa 1570-1700. The name "Luke" does not appear in any membership records from the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London, but an additional index containing "miscellaneous information" kept at Pewterers Hall in London lists two West Country pewterers by that name. John Luke of Winchester appears in The Pewterer's Company Search Books (Guildhall Library, London) as having his shop searched for substandard wares in 1569. Also, the name "John Luke of Truro" (Cornwall) appears in an unidentified deed, dated 1735, which was recorded on an index card filed at Pewterers Hall, London, (R. Homer, letter dated 13 July 1984).

Apprenticeship records for the port town of Southampton, Hampshire, give further documentation on the pewtering activities the "Luke" family in southern England. Between the years 1646 and 1651 a pewterer named Richard Luke of Southampton took on three apprentices -- Francis Clark of Cranbourne, Edward Dummer of Durley, and Robert Dash of Winton -- to be trained for seven to eight years in the pewter trade (Willis 1968: entries 373, 434 & 445).

Efforts to locate further documentation on either John or Richard Luke met with only limited success. Probate records from the PCC in London showed no listings for either name, and only two documents of any relevance were found at the Hampshire Record Office in Winchester. The first, a land deed from St. John's Parish Records in Winchester stated that John Luke, the Younger, leased a total of five "tenements with appurtenances formerly held by Henry Otes ... situated in Wade Street." The lease was for 21 years dated 1630, but a later endorsement stated that a new lease was granted in 1637 (Hampshire Record Office-HRO, Winchester, 1630).

The second, a probate record titled "John Luke, Archdeacon's Will, Wickham" was proved in 1737 (HRO, Winchester, 1737). The will contained little pertinent information, except possibly that the estate had much land with orchards, and that a cousin named John Luke was left 1 shilling; no mention was made of pewter or foreign affairs. The document bore a wax seal which would likely show heraldic devices of the Luke family, but unfortunately its condition was poor. Also, the Mormon International Genealogical Index for Hampshire (card BOO88) had one listing for Luke, John: Christened 4 January 1705, Portsmouth, St. Thomas; born of John and Mary Luke. Any of the above entries may refer to members of the "Luke" family of pewterers, but no conclusions can be made without further evidence.

No corresponding touch was found for John Luke of Port Royal. Instead, his hallmarks appear alone or in conjunction with touchmarks which clearly denote other pewterers (the Simon Benning and "T C" marks discussed below). While it may seem strange that one item should bear two distinct maker's marks, this occurrence was not uncommon. Sometimes pewterers would specialize in casting particular types of wares, allowing another pewter merchant or dealer to sell his products. Guild practices did not require the merchant to mark such pewter, although he had the option of applying hallmarks to advertise his trade if he so desired (Michaelis 1971:102).

If John Luke of Port Royal was a pewter merchant specialized in selling English wares rather than producing his own, then he probably imported pewter from family connections in southern England in addition to selling wares produced locally.

Analysis of Luke Pewter

Four chargers (see Appendix V, catalog numbers F25, F52, F53 & F52) and five plates (F26, F27, F28, F54 & F55) were recovered bearing hallmarks by John Luke. The chargers ranged from 16½ to 16¾ inches in diameter with medium or broad rims, and were cast from at least three different moulds. The plates ranged from 8-5/8 to 10 inches in diameter and were cast from four different moulds. Three plates and one charger bear a touch in addition to the hallmarks: F25 & F26 both had Simon Benning's pineapple touch stamped on the center back well; F28 & F54 had the "T C" touch stamped in the same area.

Four more items bearing Luke hallmarks were not included in the above analysis nor in the catalog (Appendix V) since they are missing from the collection. Information presented here is from unpublished artifact drawings from the Marx excavations, kept at Port Royal Project headquarters housed in Port Royal's Old Naval Hospital, and from Marx's catalog of silver and pewter (1971). A 13-7/8 inches diameter multiple reed medium rim dish identified as "D11 XII 7" also had the "T C" touch stamped on the center back well. A 9¾ inch diameter broad (2¾ inch) rim double reed plate identified as "B23 X7" had the ownership initials ^A ^F ^M stamped on the rim front directly opposite the Luke hallmarks. This fragmented and incomplete plate was illustrated by Marx (1971, D.169). Two 9-5/8 inches diameter broad rim multiple reed plates identified as "E24 I8" and "F24 I8" also had Benning's touch stamped on the rim back. In all cases the Luke hallmarks appeared on the rim front.

Three plates and one charger recovered during the INA/TAMU excavations have recorded archaeological contexts (Figures 11 - 15): F25 was found just outside

Building 5, in front of an outside hearth (lot #255); F26 in Building 1, Room 6, close to a fish basket and some wood and leather remains; F27 in Building 1, Room 2, attached by corrosion products to a stone wheel and iron rod which formed part of a woodturning lathe; and F28 in Building 1, Room 5 amidst numerous empty onion bottles and several other pewter and brass objects. F26 & F28 were thus from the same habitation unit. The remaining objects were recovered during the Marx excavations and do not have precise archaeological contexts.

"T C"

Ten plates recovered from Port Royal bear the touchmark showing a lion "statant" in front of an oak tree, flanked by the initials "T C" and "LONDON" (Appendix III). This mark is listed in Peal's More Pewter Marks MPM 5532c (1976), but the entry merely states "On a narrow rim Plate" and is without further identification; it may have been recorded from the Port Royal collection. Artifacts bearing this touch were distributed throughout excavations and were surpassed in number only by those bearing the pineapple touch of Simon Benning discussed below. The relative importance of the "T C" touch suggests a strong relationship between whoever used it and a local pewter merchant in Port Royal.

Inclusion of the word "LONDON" in the touch suggests that "T C" belonged to the London pewter guild, but no identifications have been found for these initials in the membership documents of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London. Instead, several possibilities have emerged for provincial pewterers from The Pewterer's Company Search Books (Guildhall Library & Pewterer's Hall, London) and from other archival sources.

Since London pewter was renowned for its high quality and coveted by those who could afford it, many provincial pewterers in the seventeenth century illegally incorporated the "LONDON" label into their touchmark in order to fool customers and enhance personal sales. This may have been especially true of pewter exported to the English colonies, since wares could easily be shipped out of the country before representatives of the London guild could catch and fine the craftsman (Homer, personal communication, 1984). In one case, Bristol pewterers shipped large quantities of inferior pewterware (about 20 per cent lead) to America, deceptively stamped "LQNDON" to fool customers. The "Q" was specifically used to evade the law of the Pewterers' Company that forbade provincial pewterers from stamping their wares "LONDON" (Montgomery 1974:12). Some Boston pewterers also took advantage of London's high reputation by stamping this mark on their pewter (Hornsby 1983:66).

Thomas Cropp appears in the The Pewterer's Company Search Books (Guildhall Library, London) in Winchester for 1674 and 1689, and in Southampton for 1683 (Guildhall ms. 7105 & 7106). He is a likely candidate for Port Royal's "T C" touch since he worked in the same towns as the Luke family of pewterers and likely did business with them.

Five other "TCs" also appear in documents recording provincial pewterers: Thomas Clark of Taunton (1669), Thomas Cave of Chipping Norton (1674), Thomas Cotton of Marlborough (1674) and Ringwood (1683), Thomas Churchyard of Shrewsbury (1692), and Thomas Comberlidge of Walsall (ca. 1669) (R. Homer, letter dated 8 August 1984).

But one additional shred of evidence again suggests Thomas Cropp as the proprietor of the touch. Andover, a market town located about nine miles from Winchester in Hampshire, has a lion "statant guardant" (i.e. standing sideways with his head turned to the front) in front of an oak tree as the main device on its coat of arms (Figure 16a). This emblem has been used on the town's seal since before 1648 and is not similar to any other town seal in England or Wales (Scott-Giles 1972:156). Andover's town shield is nearly identical to the device used in the "T C" touch found on Port Royal pewter. Thomas Cropp worked close to Andover, so it is possible that he used the device of this town in his touch. Since the "T C" touch appears in conjunction with the "I L" hallmarks, this additional evidence also supports the hypothesis that John Luke was related to the Winchester Lukes (R. Homer, letter dated 13 July 1984).

Andover Parish records (Hampshire Record Office, 1642), (microfilm roll #MP2-PR3 registering baptisms, marriages and burials from 1642-1678) were searched for evidence of the Luke or Cropp families, but no listings were found. Two wills were located in the Hampshire Records Office bearing the name Thomas Cropp, but no evidence was found suggesting profession, relationships with the Luke family, or international dealings (Appendix I).

Analysis of "T C" Pewter

Ten plates ranging in size from 8-7/8 inches to 9-3/8 inches in diameter were found bearing the "T C" touch (F28, F36, F54 & F57 - F63). Although sizes vary slightly, only two styles appear and all the plates recovered could have been cast with only two moulds: one double reed narrow rim of about 9½ inches in diameter, the other multiple reed medium rim plate of about 9 inches in diameter. Only two plates were recovered in the latter style -- curiously these plates also bear Luke hallmarks as described above.



Figure 16: A. "T C" Touch and Andover Town Shield
 Andover Shield Adapted From
Civic Heraldry of England and Wales, by Scott-Giles (1972)



Figure 16: B. Jamaican Coat of Arms
 Adapted from the Front Cover of
The Jamaican Historical Review (1945)

Two narrow rim plates by "T C" also bear another heart-shaped stamp on the rim front: F63 is illegible, but F36 clearly contains the names "Wm & Anne Turner" P. Spencer Davies (1975) records several 9 inch diameter multiple reed medium rim plates bearing a heart-shaped stamp on the rim front. The stamp is about a $\frac{1}{2}$ inch tall and contains the names "Edmund & Abigale Rathborne." Marx (1971:D.163) presents a drawing of one such plate, although he gives no reference numbers. The plate has four poorly drawn hallmarks on the front rim, and a London touch on the center well back. Little can be determined from this drawing, except that the touch clearly differs from the "T C" mark. Instead, it is similar to the mark on F84 (shown at a 2:1 scale in Appendix III), which was tentatively identified as either COTT 3750 or 6137. The plates recorded by P. Spencer Davies have since disappeared without trace.

INA/TAMU excavations recovered only two of the "T C" plates: F28 was found in Building 1, Room 5, as described under "Luke pewter"; F36 is a narrow rim plate found in Building 5, Room 3 (lot #733) in association with bowl F151. This plate bears the heart-shaped stamp containing the names "Wm & Anne Turner," as described above. Eight more plates recovered during the Marx excavations are lacking archaeological contexts.

An outstanding feature of the "T C" pewter is its wide-spread distribution across all areas of excavation. Plates bearing this mark have been found throughout the Marx excavations and in two separate buildings (1 & 5) of the INA/TAMU site. In contrast, plates bearing the "S B" pineapple mark out-number those discussed here, but nearly all were recovered from five neat stacks in a confined area of excavation in Building 5.

It is difficult to determine how many plates bearing the "T C" touch have disappeared from the Port Royal pewter collection since Marx's artifact numbering system was inconsistent. Upon excavation, the plates received a number representing provenience within Marx's 50 x 50 foot grid system. Later some plates received identification numbers starting with the prefix "PR," and the few items published in Marx's Catalog of Silver and Pewter (1971) received a drawing number prefixed by the letter "D." Unfortunately there is no key to further decipher the meaning of these numbers, nor is there any concordance or cross-referencing system.

Four sketches bearing unfamiliar artifact numbers were located in Marx's unpublished drawings: A23 X7, B23 X7, D25 I8, & E25 I8. All four narrow rim plates have the "T C" mark as well as ownership initials $A^F M$ stamped onto the well back. E25 I8 is probably represented in Appendix V of this thesis as F58 (PR 516), since the only difference between the two records is the artifact number: measurements match and both note the owner's initials "HE" scratched in a unique manner

onto the well back. The other plates have no outstanding features, so it cannot be determined if they are represented under different artifact numbers in Appendix V. A sketch showing a 9-1/8 inch diameter medium rim double reed plate with a circular touch and the initials $A^F M$ appears in Marx's catalog (1971) as D.167, and is not recorded elsewhere. Also, a 13-7/8 inches dish bearing both the "T C" touch and Luke hallmarks was previously discussed. It is possible that all six items described above have disappeared from the Port Royal collection.

Earlier it was determined that only two moulds were needed to cast the "T C" pewter. With the exception of the 13-7/8 inches dish, this also holds true for missing items. Both the "T C" pewter and the Benning pewter could be cast with a few simple moulds. As will be shown, the use of simple moulds to cast pewter flatware was characteristic of early colonial pewterers. Could this suggest that the "T C" pewterer was actually a resident colonial craftsman?

No conclusions can be drawn without further evidence; however, the archaeological record may suggest local manufacture for the "T C" pewter rather than importation from abroad. Would a colonial craftsman have had the audacity to strike "LONDON" on locally produced wares? Supposing "T C" was a pewter craftsman resident in Port Royal, could he have had the surname Childermas and be somehow related to John Childermas? The recent identification of John Childermas as "planter," not pewterer, greatly weakens this argument, although given archaeological evidence, the existence of a local craftsman using the "T C" stamp cannot be ruled out.

SIMON BENNING

The most common maker's mark appearing on flatware from the Port Royal Pewter Collection is the touch showing a pineapple flanked by the initials "S B" inside an oval rope design. At least thirty-one plates and dishes bearing this touch were recovered from underwater excavations. This large proportion, however, may not reflect the total stock of pewterware used in Port Royal, since most of the plates bearing the pineapple touch were retrieved from a single large cache of pewter near a stairwell in Room 2, Building 5 during the 1989 INA/TAMU excavations. Only five such marks were recorded in the collection prior to this discovery. Nevertheless, the importance of so many identical marks cannot be ignored.

The pineapple touch does not pertain to any known English pewterer and has not been previously recorded; however, the "S B" initials flanking this device correspond to Port Royal pewterer Simon Benning. Further evidence supporting this theory is the fact that in 1659 the pineapple, a native fruit of the Caribbean,

was incorporated into the Jamaican coat of arms (Figure 16b) and soon became universally known as a symbol of Jamaica. Even today the Jamaican Government uses pineapple marks similar to the Benning touch as a seal for "stamp duty paid" on bank checks, and as a watermark on paper currency. Therefore, the pineapple device would still be a likely choice for any Jamaican pewterer.

The name "Benning" appeared in numerous archival sources in both England and Jamaica. These reveal that Simon Benning left three brothers behind in England (PRO, Chancery Lane, London, 1664, Prob 11/314, fo.210). One brother, Tobias, was a member of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London. Records from this pewter guild indicate that Tobias Benning was apprenticed to Peter Duffield on 24 March 1652 and was the son of Francis Beninge of Totnham [sic.] Middlesex (Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London, Company's Court Book, ms. 7090, Guildhall, London). Tobias became a freeman of the Company (i.e. was given "freedom" to go into business) in 1660, opening a shop and striking his touch on 19 April 1660 (R. Homer, letter dated 13 July 1984). He died in 1664, but his will has not yet been located.

Being a member of the London Company, Tobias would have had a registered touchmark. This would have been recorded at Pewterer's Hall on the original London Touchplates which were destroyed (along with Pewterer's Hall) in London's Great Fire of 1666. Around 1670 all working pewterers of the Company restruck their marks on a new set of touchplates -- since Tobias died in 1664 his mark was not included.

The only possible source which may have preserved Tobias Benning's touchmark would be any surviving pewterware he produced. Various sources (Cotterell 1963; Peal 1976; 1977) provide listings of unidentified English pewter marks recovered from pewter objects. Any candidate for Tobias's touch should fit the following description: it should be unidentified and bear the initials "T B"; it should have no concrete evidence of use before 1660 or after 1664; and it should not appear on the London Touchplates. A research of recorded marks revealed several possibilities: COTT 5468, 5471 or 5478a, and MPM 5478c or 5478e. Another mark, MPMA 5441k with the initials "I B" surrounded by a rope oval, may pertain to another family member since it has the same uncommon border as Simon Benning's mark.

Company records indicate that Simon Benning was not himself a freeman of the London guild. They note that in his will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1664, he describes himself as of London, and a pewterer. They also note that he died abroad.

The Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC) specializes in proving wills for London's rich and privileged, as well as for any English citizen having an estate with holdings in two or more parishes. Benning's will (PRO, Chancery Lane, London, 1664, Prob. 11/314, fo.210-211) was written on 19 February 1656 in anticipation of a voyage to Barbados, and executed on 25 June 1664, when he was assumed to be dead after eight years of absence. The will does not mention a wife or son, only his brothers William, Francis (Executor), Tobias (pewterer) and John. Benning's parents must have been dead, since William was appointed as legal guardian of John until he reached age 21. There was no corresponding inventory.

In his will, Benning records that he sailed to Barbados on the Reall Freinde Shipp with David Larkwood Ship Master. He took with him goods valuing at least £45.00 sterling, purchased jointly with brother Tobias and John Duffield (of London). Should he die, Benning urged his brother William to sell these goods in order to pay debts. He owed £6.11.00 to Tobias, £6.06.00 to Duffield, and £30.00 plus interest to John Bedford of London (see Appendix I for a transcribed version of this will).

John Duffield belonged to a well-known family of London pewterers under whom Tobias served his apprenticeship. The goods Simon Benning purchased in conjunction with his brother Tobias and Duffield were probably simple moulds and tools to help him set up shop in Barbados. The will mentions a bill of lading which would have listed the goods Benning took with him to Barbados. This document should be preserved at the Public Records Office at Chancery Lane in London.

In 1664, the same year Benning's will was executed, his brother Tobias passed away. Although Tobias's will was not proved through the PCC and has not yet been located, two other relatives were identified. Simon's youngest brother John Benning, of Middlesex, died in 1691 (PRO, Chancery Lane, London, 1691, Prob 11/404, fo.64), and a cousin Thomas Benning, also of Middlesex, died in 1678 (PRO, Chancery Lane, London, 1678, Prob 11/356, fo.1). Neither will mentioned Simon's name or the pewter profession.

It is appropriate that Simon Benning's primary destination was Barbados since many of Port Royal's early settlers were from this eastern Caribbean island colony. Claypole (1972:168,247) discovered that numerous small landholding freemen had been forced from Barbados and other eastern Caribbean islands by the rapidly developing plantation system which had amalgamated their properties into large estates. They came to Jamaica seeking new farms and properties, and were followed by local merchants and craftsmen to do business. This influx of settlers started around 1664 and lasted into the 1670's.

The Port Royal Plat book (JPA, Spanish Town, Jamaica) contains the earliest records which can be allotted to the Benning family in Port Royal. Dated March 20th 1664, the entry shows that Lt. Thomas Archer purchased a lot on the south side of Queen Street stretching between Queen and High Streets, and lists Thomas Clark and Peter Benning as neighboring proprietors to the west. This is the only mention of a Peter Benning in any Jamaican or English documents examined thus far, and may be a transcription error made when the documents were recopied in the nineteenth century (Thornton 1988:10). The first notation of Simon Benning, Plat #216 dated August 31st 1665, records his purchase of a small lot 16 feet wide, also on the south side of Queen Street. Other land purchases include Plats #248 and #349 dated 1667 and 1670 respectively when Simon Benning purchased a total of 120 x 60 feet on the south side of High Street in Port Royal.

A separate source, Grantors Deeds O.S. volume III (JIRO, Spanish Town, Jamaica), "Lloyd to Benning, Feb. 26, 1669" records Benning's purchase of his pewter shop and a 60 x 60 foot lot adjacent to his other properties on High Street. Table 4 presents a tentative map of Benning's land purchases in Port Royal. Benning also patented a seventy acre estate in St. Elizabeth on November 24, 1676 (Patents vol. IV, fo.407, JPA, Spanish Town, Jamaica). Another entry in Grantors Deeds O.S. volume I (JIRO, Spanish Town, Jamaica) is titled "Simon Benning to Tobias Benning, August 2, 1667". The content of this document is unclear, but Benning apparently had no knowledge of his brother's death in 1664.

The Port Royal Population Census of 1680 (PRO, Kew, London) records Simon Benning's household as having 5 white males, 2 white females, 0 black males and 2 black females. It also shows 1 white male as being Jamaican born, in probable reference to his son Symon (for consistency, the son's name will be spelled with a "y" herein, except when it is quoted with a different spelling). Benning's will submitted in 1683, discussed below, provides names of some of the people listed here: Benning himself, Susanna Benning (wife), Symon Benning (son), and Mary Benning (cousin). Benning's son Thomas and daughter Sarah were not yet born at the time of this census, but it is possible that Peter Benning (relationship unknown) also lived there. If so, then only three white males (possible apprentices) and two black female slaves are left unaccounted for. Table 5 shows the Benning family tree depicting all known relatives.

Simon Benning was survived by his wife Susanna, his three underage children Symon, Sarah and Thomas, and a "cozen" Mary Benning, the daughter of his brother Tobias Benning of London. He registered his will (Wills, Vol. 3-5, p.180-181, JIRO, Spanish Town, Jamaica) March 8th 1683, and it was executed by his wife on December 17th 1687.

TABLE 4: BENNING LAND HOLDINGS IN PORT ROYAL
(Not to Scale)

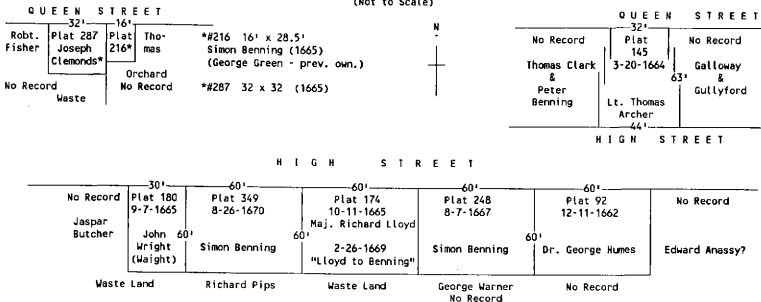
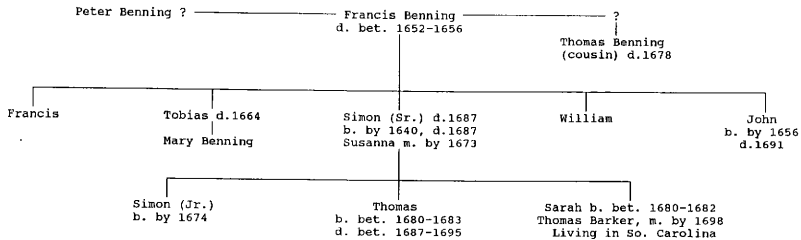


TABLE 5: BENNING FAMILY TREE



Benning's will mostly dealt with parceling out the properties he had accumulated: 120 acres in St. Elizabeth to wife Susanna, whom he appoints executrix of his will and guardian of his children; his house and shop on High Street, and the tools of his trade to son Symon; the land and two taverns on High Street adjoining the house of Capt. John Waight to son Thomas; and the land and houses now let out to Moses Cohen (next to land formerly belonging to George Humes) to daughter Sarah.

Archival sources document at least two of Benning's children as survivors of Port Royal's 1692 Earthquake. In 1694, Symon (Jr.) sold the pewter shop and lot on High Street, and in 1698 his daughter Sarah, now married to Thomas Barker and living in South Carolina, settled the estate of her late father in Port Royal (Grantors Deeds, O.S. XXVIII, JIRO, Spanish Town, Jamaica). The first document presents two new pieces of information: first, it lists Symon Jr. as "pewterer of Port Royal," so we know he practiced his father's trade at the time of the earthquake; second, it indicates that Thomas Benning died sometime before 1695... perhaps an earthquake victim. Table 6 presents a timeline of archivally documented events involving the Benning family, and derives pertinent information for each member of his immediate family. All the documents referred to are discussed at length in Appendix I.

Both the English and the Jamaican wills suggests that Simon Benning was an honest and fair man concerned with repaying his debts and providing for his family. The inventory of Benning's Jamaican estate, dated February 19th, 1689 (Inventories, v.3, f.64, JPA, Spanish Town, Jamaica) is revealing of his successful pewter business and comfortable lifestyle in Port Royal. Dr. R.F. Homer, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and joint author of the book Provincial Pewterers(1985), found Benning's inventory similar to those of English pewterers he has analyzed:

His inventory is in very familiar form and resembles those of many English provincial pewterers... He was quite prosperous and his £376 [estate] is at the top end of worth of English provincial pewterers of the period. Generally these range from about £100 to £400. That he had mirrors and bedstead curtains indicates a comfortable lifestyle for the period. (Letter dated 15 October 1989)

A complete listing of Benning's probate inventory is presented in Appendix I. Also presented there are the inventories of two English pewterers, Thomas Gorton (1683) of Birmingham and Richard Plummer (1692) of Ludlow, and an American colonial pewterer, Richard Estabrooke (1721) of Boston, Massachusetts.

In the previous analysis of "T C" pewter, it was hypothesized that seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century colonial pewterers had more in common with each other than with their counterparts in provincial England. The following tables present data compiled from the above inventories to facilitate a comparative

TABLE 6: BENNING FAMILY TIMELINE
 Sequence of Events Recorded by Archival Documentation

YEAR	ARCHIVAL DOCUMENT	SIMON BENNING (SR.)	SUSANNA (WIFE)	SIMON JR. (SON)	THOMAS (SON)	SARAH (DAUGHTER)
1652	Tobias Benning apprenticed to Peter Duffield					
1656	Simon Benning writes 1st Will. Leaves for Barbados	Probably at least 16 years old.				
1660	Tobias becomes freedman of London pewter guild	Simon lives in Barbados...				
1664	1.Simon's 1st will executed 2.Tobias's will executed 3.Plat 145 records Peter Benning (relation?) as owning a lot in Port Royal					
1665	Simon buys Plat 216	First record of his presence in Jamaica. Now at least 25 Yrs.				
1666	London Fire					
1667	1.Simon buys Plat 248 2."Benning to Benning" involves brother Tobias	60 x 60 lot on High St. Unaware of Tobias's Death				
1669	"Lloyd to Benning"	Buys 60 x 60 lot (next to Plat 248) for shop.				
1670	Simon buys Plat 349	60 x 60 lot next to other two on High St.				
1673		Married to Susanne by now	Married by now			
1674				Born by now		
1676	Simon Patents estate	Buys 70 acre estate in St. Elizabeth				
1678	Thomas Benning (cousin?) will executed in London					
1680	Population Census taken				Born between 1681-1683	Born between 1681-1682
1683	Simon's 2nd will written	All children born				
1687	Simon's 2nd will executed	Dead. At least 47 yrs.		At least 13 yrs. old	At least 5 yrs. old	At least 5 yrs. old
1689	inventory submitted				Dies between 1687-1695	
1691	John Benning (brother) will executed in London					
1692	EARTHQUAKE			At least 18 yrs. old	At least 10 yrs. old	At least 10 yrs. old
1695	"Benning to Darby" "Benning to Bradford"			Sells slaves to Darby Sells land to Bradford 21 yrs. old by now		Married Thomas Barker Moved to So. Carolina 16 yrs. old by now Sells land to Bradford
1698	"Barker to Bradford"					

discussion, and explore the resemblance between colonial and English provincial pewterers.

Table 7 compares the absolute value of each estate in pounds sterling to the percent total value invested into the pewter business. Given the available figures, it seems that Benning had a significantly larger percent of his total estate (69.3% as opposed to 36.2% and 48.2%) invested into the pewter business than did the two English provincial pewterers. Unfortunately no such comparison can be made with another colonial pewterer since the total value of Estabrooke's estate was not available, and no other inventories of early American pewterers are accessible at this time.

Table 7 also examines the distribution of investment within each pewter shop, breaking down the total value into the following categories: percent invested in new wares ready for sale, in old pewter awaiting recycling, in brass alloys, in moulds, and in tools used for the pewter trade.

The distribution of investment in the shops of the two colonial pewterers, Benning and Estabrooke, are very similar. Both have a much higher percentage of the total shop value invested in new pewter than their English counterparts (78.2% & 74.6% versus 20.1% and 10.6%). Likewise the percentage invested in moulds (12.4% & 15.3% versus 38.6% & 57.9%) and in old pewter (3.3% & 2.6% versus 10.5% & 17.1%) were comparable. The only category analyzed which had a fairly constant value throughout the inventories examined was the percentage invested in tools (3.8% & 7.5% versus 6.4% and 14.4%).

Several arguments can be made to explain the discrepancies between colonial and English provincial pewterers. First, colonial craftsmen kept a larger stock of new pewter ready for sale, since this included their own wares plus a healthy selection of pewter imported from England. Benning's inventory included 2645 pounds of finished fine metal (equivalent to 2957 nine inch plates), 1928 pounds of finished lay metal, and 250 rough cast plates. Added together, this totals 78.2% of the total value of his shop. For the sake of comparison I have recalculated the value of Benning's estate without the value of stock which might have been imported. First, since there is no evidence that Benning produced hollowware (made from lay metal), it was assumed that all stock valued at the price of finished lay metal was actually imported hollowware. Benning's inventory lists "190ct 28li" (valued at 7.5d/li) which falls into this category. Second, for purposes of this argument it was also assumed that the finished fine metal was imported, and that Benning himself cast the remaining wares. If the distribution of wealth in Benning's estate is recalculated without the two figures for the wares assumed to be imported, then the total shop value invested in new pewter is only 16.8%, and the total value of his estate invested in the pewter shop is only 37.4%. These values are now in line with

TABLE 7: Comparison of Probate Inventories

	Simon Benning (1689) Port Royal, Jamaica		Richard Estabrooke (1721) Boston, Massachusetts		Richard Plummer (1683) Ludlow, England		Thomas Gorton (1683) Birmingham, England		Joseph Bradnock (1684) Birmingham, England	
Total Estate	100%	£376.10.05	100%	Not Available	100%	£417.13.08	100%	£182.05.09	100%	£264.11.07
Shop	69.3%	£260.19.05	N/A	£242.06.05	36.2%	£150.18.07	48.2%	£87.16.06	37.1%	£98.05.02
Other	30.7%	£115.11.00	N/A	Not Available	63.8%	£266.15.01	51.8%	£94.09.03	62.9%	£166.06.05
Total Shop	100%	£260.19.05	100%	£242.06.05	100%	£150.18.07	100%	£87.16.06	N/A	Not Available
Pewter, New	78.2%	£204.00.11	74.6%	£180.13.09	20.1%	£30.06.08	10.6%	£9.06.04		
Pewter, Old	3.3%	£8.13.00	2.6%	£6.07.08	10.5%	£15.16.03	17.1%	£15.01.04		
Moulds	12.4%	£32.06.00	15.3%	£37.00.00	38.6%	£58.05.00	57.9%	£50.16.08		
Tools	3.8%	£9.19.00	7.5%	£18.05.00	6.4%	£9.14.00	14.4%	£12.12.02		
Brass	2.3%	£6.00.06	N/A	N/A	24.4%	£36.16.08	N/A	Combined w/ tools		

values given for the estates of the two English provincial pewterers: 20.1% and 10.6% of the shop invested in new pewter; 36.2% and 48.2% of the total estate invested into the pewter shop. Unfortunately, Richard Estabrooke's inventory is arranged in a different manner and no such calculations can be made.

Second, early colonial pewterers needed fewer moulds since they mainly produced a few sizes of flatware and spoons from scrap metal, relying on English imports to satisfy much of the local demand. The above argument graphically depicts how much of Benning's estate was probably invested into wares imported from England: 12.4% of the total value of Benning's shop was invested into moulds... only a third to a fifth the total value invested into moulds by the two English provincial pewterers. Dr. Homer found that the moulds listed in Benning's inventory would have cast only a few sizes of plates and dishes: 20 inches, 16 inches, 11 inches and 9 inches in diameter (R. Homer, letter dated 15 October 1989). By comparison, provincial pewterers depended almost exclusively on their own handicraft and perhaps on trade with another regional pewterer to satisfy local demand. This would have necessitated a greater number of moulds to cast the entire gamut of wares required.

Third, the clientele of a colonial pewterer would have greatly differed from that of the English provincial pewterer, who did business with families established in the same area for generations. Customers in the New World were often recent immigrants who brought with them only the basic essentials for existence; at first they would have purchased pewter with little or no scrap metal to trade in. This would explain the reduced stock of old pewter seen in the two colonial inventories. In contrast, England's established clientele would have had a greater amount of damaged pewter to exchange for credit towards new wares.

Tables 7 and 8 deal with an analysis of prices derived from the various inventories. It is interesting to note that the values placed on metal and moulds was about the same for all the seventeenth-century inventories examined: moulds and finished flatware were worth about 12 pence per pound, rough cast wares about 8 pence per pound, fine pewter scrap about 7 pence per pound, lay metal and finished hollowware from 8 to 12 pence per pound depending on workmanship involved, and trifle metal from 3 to 6 pence per pound. By 1721, these values had approximately doubled in the New World (Table 8). Since prices were given for individual items in Estabrooke's Boston inventory, it was interesting to extrapolate what the price of similar wares might have been in Port Royal. Table 9 shows a list of these calculated values.

The above theory attempts to explain differences between colonial and English provincial pewterers as reflected in probate inventories. Much research has

TABLE B: Comparison of Prices Derived from Inventories

	Moulds	Finished Flatware	Rough Cast	Old Fine Pewter	Finished Holloware	Lay Metal	Shruff	Trifle Metal	Finished Brass	New Brass	Old Brass
Simon Benning (1689) Port Royal, Jamaica	12d/lb	12d/lb	8d/lb	7.5d/lb	7.5d/lb	6d/lb	7.5d/lb	4.5d/lb	N/A	N/A	4.5-6d per lb
Thomas Gorton (1683) Birmingham, England	10d/lb	N/A	N/A	12.5d/lb	8-10d per lb	8d/lb	N/A	3d/lb	N/A	N/A	Not Available
Sempson Bourne II (1689) Worcester, England **	9d/lb	9d/lb	Not Available	6d/lb	Not Available	9d/lb	Not Available	3-4d/lb	Not Available	Not Available	4.5d/lb
Richard Plummer (1692) Ludlow, England	10d/lb	10d/lb	7d/lb	7d/lb	10-12d per lb	7d/lb	6d/lb	6d/lb	16d/lb	9d/lb	Not Available
Richard Estabrooke (1721) Boston, Massachusetts	*25d/lb	*22d/lb	26d/lb	16d/lb	See Table B	12d/lb	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

d = pence, s = shilling (12 pence), £ = Pound Sterling (20 shillings), lb = 1 pound (16 ounces).

* = estimate ** (from Homer, letter dated 15 October 1989.)

TABLE 9: Benning to Estabrooke Price Analysis

	Benning (1689)	Estabrooke (1721)	Percent Change
Finished Flatware	12d/lb	*22d/lb	+83%
Rough Cast	8d/lb	20d/lb	+150%
Old Fine Pewter	7.5d/lb	16d/lb	+113%
Lay Metal	6d/lb	12d/lb	+100%
Moulds	12d/lb	*25d/lb	+108%
Soup/Flat Dish (11" diameter*)	16d each	32d each	+100%
9" Plates	12d each	*22d each	+83%
Large Saucer	*6d each	12d each	+100%
Small Saucer	*4d each	8d each	+100%
2 Quart Basin	*27d each	54d each	+100%
Quart Basin	*15d each	30d each	+100%
Pint Basin	*8d each	16d each	+100%
Large Porringer	*10d each	20d each	+100%
Middling Porringer	*9d each	18d each	+100%
Small Porringer	*6d each	12d each	+100%
Chamber Pot	*22.5d each	45d each	+100%
Tankard	*30d each	60d each	+100%
Quart Measure	*22d each	44d each	+100%
Pint Measure	*14d each	28d each	+100%

* = estimate d = pence

been done into the background of early American colonial pewterers, but their inventories are not generally available through published sources. The partial listing of Richard Estabrook's inventory dated 1721 was the earliest available for comparison (Laughlin 1981:153).

Earlier inventories should be accessible through archival sources since pewterers were known to have worked in the American colonies since the mid seventeenth century. Table 1 (p. 21) presents a list of American colonial craftsmen, along with each respective date of decease and probable location of inventory. Other sources which may provide relevant inventories are the Barbadian National Archives, or the archives of any other former English colony which was established in the seventeenth century.

Analysis of Benning Pewter

At least thirty-one flatware items were recovered from underwater excavations bearing the pineapple touch of Simon Benning. Four were broad rimmed with Luke hallmarks as described above: a 16½ inch charger (F25), and three 9-5/8 inch plates (F26, plus two more from the Marx excavations that have disappeared - E24 I8 & F24 I8). The rest of the items were narrow rimmed: one 15 inch dish (F1) and twenty-six 9-1/8 inch plates (F2-F24, F37, F39 & F51).

Although the Benning touch appeared more than twice as often as any other mark, it must be noted that twenty-one items (F2-F9, F12-F23 & F39) were recovered from a single cache of plates neatly stacked near the stairwell in Room 2, Building 5. Three more plates (F10, F11 & F37) and a charger (F25) were recovered in the same building, leaving only a dish (F1) and two plates (F24 & F26) distributed throughout the rest of the INA/TAMU excavations. In contrast, only three known Benning plates were recovered from all the Marx excavations: F51 and the two missing plates. It seems that chance preserved so many plates in a single room, and thus the exaggerated proportion of Benning flatware represented in the Port Royal collection may not accurately reflect the total stock of pewter used in Port Royal in 1692.

What is striking about the Benning pewter is its stylistic homogeneity: twenty-six plates were all cast with the same 9-1/8 inch diameter double reed narrow rim mould -- one which Benning presumably brought with him when he left England in 1656. It is generally believed that the narrow rimmed style came into vogue around 1690 (Hornsby 1983b:124, 129; Peal 1983:93-95), but a survey of pewter items held by churches within the Diocese of Rochester in England reveals two narrow rim plates that were cast at an earlier date:

The plates are a matching pair, 9-1/8 inches in diameter. The rims are ½ an inch wide and the bouges are ½ an inch deep ... [The marks] are

recorded in Cotterell, OP 5073 as belonging to William Wette whose marks were on the original touch-plate of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London which was destroyed in the Great Fire and were restruck on the first new touch-plate in about 1668. Thus the plates probably date from around the middle of the 17th Century. (Richardson 1988:107)

These plates are nearly identical to those cast by Benning, making the argument that Benning brought such a mould with him from England quite plausible.

The twenty-six narrow-rim plates by Benning may be the largest number of surviving seventeenth-century pewter items to have been cast from a single mould! So many identical plates offer a unique opportunity to study the amount of variation inherent in the finishing process of pewter flatware. All the plates examined were lathe-turned and hammered, but in some cases it seemed the craftsman had problems controlling his lathework. Incised reeds applied during the lathe process could be very uneven -- in some cases resembling a spiral three reeds thick, then fading to a single groove on the same plate. Some plates had two grooves placed from 4 to 7 millimeters apart, while others showed great inconsistency in distance between grooves and depth of each groove. On several plates it was evident that the craftsman had spiraled out of line, then started over to complete his groove. Since pewter is a soft metal which scores easily, an explanation could be that such inconsistencies are inevitable. It is the author's opinion, however, that this is an example of poor craftsmanship.

Benning's narrow-rim plates can be divided into two groups: those that seem new, and those that look worn and battered. The twelve plates bearing the ownership initials "I C" (F12-F23) look new and shiny, with a sharply defined corner between the rim and well. Typically the surface shows no pitting, the well front has few knife marks, there is little scuffing on the well back, and the touch is clearly defined. These newer plates have a rounded well profile. In contrast, the ten "older" plates cast from the same mould, bearing the ownership triad $c^N 1$, have a dull, worn surface which is usually pitted. Knife marks sometimes obliterate the original surface of the well front, while the well back shows much scuffing and denting, and the touch is sometimes so worn that only a faint braided oval can be detected. These plates have a flattened and sometimes concave well profile which must be due to excessive use: earthquake damage was ruled out since all the "new" plates have rounded profiles.

This lengthy description of the differences between characteristics of "new" plates versus those of older "worn out" flatware was necessary since chronological order of production can provide valuable clues to assist archaeological interpretations. A good example of this is the tentative identification of Nicholas Crans-

brough's widow as the occupant of Building 5 at the time of the 1692 earthquake (see "Pewter From the INA/TAMU Excavations").

Also, if differences of craftsmanship had appeared between the "new" set of plates and the "old," then tentative distinctions could be made between plates made by Benning (Sr.) verses those made by Benning (Jr.). Since Benning (Sr.) died five years before the earthquake, and archival sources suggest that his son also practiced the pewter trade, it is likely that the son made the "new" plates. Benning (Jr.), who could have been as young as thirteen at the time of his father's death, may have been inexperienced with lathe-turning, thus explaining the uneven grooves. However, no difference in craftsmanship could be detected between the "new" and "old" plates, so it cannot be determined if the son made any or all of the artifacts. Perhaps Benning (Sr.), who has no record of apprenticeship in London, was himself an inexperienced craftsman producing inconsistent lathe work. Homer suggests that this argument is extraneous since pewter craftsmen normally hired assistants to turn their flatware (R. Homer, letter dated 3 April 1990).

Another explanation could be that without the threat of "Company Searches" and fines for poor quality alloy or craftsmanship, Benning and other colonial craftsman did not attempt to produce the degree of quality required by the London guild. Five examples of seventeenth-century flatware made by the Dolbeare family (Edmund, and his two sons John and Joseph) of Boston, Massachusetts support this theory. Reginald French (1954:57) examined these pieces and noted that:

They are all of but fair pewter, certainly not of the exceptionally high quality of London dishes of the period. They are hammered all over, a little unevenly, and the final skimming has been done haphazardly so that incisions have been made into the under reed.

The remaining Benning wares display a variety of styles. It appears that the same mould was used for all three broad rimmed plates with Benning and Luke marks (F26 and the two missing items), plus another plate with Luke hallmarks alone (F27). Bearing the same marks, the broad rim charger (F25) has the same design as two other 16½ inch Luke chargers (F52 & F56), but there is a half centimeter difference in the actual rim width; closer comparison is necessary to determine if the mould used was the same for all three. Benning's narrow rim 15 inch dish (F1) is unique in the Port Royal collection.

As with the "T C" pewter, it is evident that few moulds were needed to cast the Benning flatware. It seems that colonial pewterers used very few moulds. Laughlin (1981:26) documents that few forms of early American pewter exist since colonial pewterers produced flatware almost exclusively until the mid eighteenth-century. The Dolbeares, working in Boston from 1671 and into the eighteenth century, are another example of colonial pewterers who produced only flatware.

Furthermore, the moulds used by colonial craftsmen seem to have been imported from England since American colonial flatware dating from the late seventeenth century was virtually identical in style to English wares. This could have been true for several reasons.

First, the cost of setting up a pewter shop was considerable: the probate inventory of Thomas Gorton of Birmingham (Table 7) indicates that moulds and tools alone comprised over 70% of the total value of the shop. Cost alone would prohibit early colonial pewterers from producing a large diversity of wares. This was less true for London or English provincial pewterers who had the option to share moulds with other guild members or pewterers from nearby towns (Hatcher & Barker 1974:249).

Second, colonial pewterers generally used the moulds and tools brought with them from their homeland for many years, frequently passing this equipment down to family members who continued the trade. Montgomery (1973:32) states: "Full-fledged pewterers immigrating to America undoubtedly brought molds with them when they came from England or Germany, and it is known that some molds continued to be used by successive generations of American pewterers." Laughlin (1981:28,95) cites archival sources documenting the transfer of moulds and equipment from father to son for Edmund Dolbeare of Boston, and Thomas Burroughs of New York. Benning himself is another example of this.

Montgomery (1973:29-33) argues that American pewterers had the skill necessary to produce their own moulds, and yet the earliest citation given for mould-making in America was 1773. Temporary moulds could be made from stone, clay or wood; however, bronze moulds composed of interlocking parts and honed to a fine degree of tolerance were difficult and expensive to produce (Hatcher & Barker 1974:219). Either the requisite equipment was not available to early colonial pewterers, or market demands did not dictate the need to produce new moulds. Either way, the number of moulds at hand seemed to be limited to what each pewter craftsman managed to bring with him from his homeland.

Third, it was cheaper for the colonial craftsman to import latest styles of English pewter than to manufacture the diversity of moulds necessary to cast all types of pewter demanded by the local market. English merchants, eager to capture the colonial trade, offered low prices for their finished wares, while low shipping rates for heavy cargo such as pewter made prices even more competitive. In addition, colonists would pay much more for imported English pewter than for locally made wares, since English pewter was renowned for its excellent quality (Hornsby 1980:13; Montgomery 1973:10).

There was, however, a colonial market for cheaper locally made wares among the less affluent, as well as an abundant supply of damaged pewter traded in for credit towards new wares. This could be easily recycled into salable products by the colonial pewterer, and sold at a bargain rate. Since there was no need to compete with stylish English pewter sold in his own shop, the colonial craftsman could comfortably use his few old moulds without affecting profits.

Analysis of the metal content of early American pewter upholds the theory proposed above: that the colonial craftsman was principally concerned with manufacturing second-rate wares from scrap metal. Janice Carlson, Museum Scientist at the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum in Delaware, has used energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy to perform metal analyses of the alloy composition of pewter objects from various collections of British and American pewter, including Winterthur's own collection. She found that:

American pewterers working in rural areas tended to produce wares of inferior quality, as measured by their tin content. Such pewterers would, of course, have been even more dependent than their city cousins on scrap metal as their major source of raw material. Further, rural craftsmen may not have had the skill, knowledge, and incentive necessary to maintain the quality demanded by urban customers (Carlson 1977a:76).

Therefore, craftsmanship as well as alloy content tended to be inferior in wares made by rural craftsmen. It is the author's opinion that this was also true of Port Royal pewter, and that early colonial pewterers had more in common with each other than with their counterparts in provincial England.

Carlson and the Winterthur Museum have proposed to analyze a representative selection of pewter from the Port Royal collection. They hope data derived from this study will provide a bridge between compositional characteristics of pewter made in America, that made in England for domestic use, and that made in England for use in two different colonies -- America and Jamaica (Carlson, 1989a).

It will also be interesting to see if compositional characteristics vary within the collection itself, and to compare the alloy of Benning pewter to that of objects bearing the marks of John Luke or "T C". Perhaps then it can be determined if Luke and "T C" worked locally, or if the quality of their pewter alloy suggests English manufacture.

SUMMARY OF PORT ROYAL'S PEWTER MERCHANTS

Although originally, it was believed that Port Royal had three pewterers to serve its population (Pawson & Buisseret 1975:183), new archaeological and archival finds ascertain that only one pewter shop actually produced pewter in Port Royal.

While no archaeological data could be found to support John Childermas as a pewterer, archival sources revealed that he was indeed a planter. John Luke most likely operated a pewter shop in Port Royal, but it seems that his major role was to sell imported pewter, rather than to produce it himself. There was enough archaeological evidence to argue for the presence of a third pewterer, "T C," but no other evidence has been found to support this theory. On the contrary, the touch itself bears the placename "LONDON," and although no candidates were found within London itself, several craftsmen were found from market towns in southern England -- Thomas Cropp of Winchester being the most plausible option.

Simon Benning, and his son Symon (Jr.) who took over the shop after his father's death, seem to be the only craftsmen who actually performed all aspects of the pewter trade: casting, finishing and selling pewterware. Even so, it is not certain to what extent Simon (Jr.) cast and finished the flatware he sold. The elder Benning's probate records reveal that an extremely large inventory of finished and rough plates were left behind upon his death. In legal documents preserved in the Jamaican archives, Simon (Jr.) calls himself a pewterer, but perhaps he merely sold the stock left by his father, rather than producing his own wares. This is merely conjecture, since no evidence could be found to support either argument.

OVERSEAS PEWTER MERCHANTS REPRESENTED IN THE COLLECTION

About thirty distinct makers' marks appear on pewter from the Port Royal collection. Some marks are well known, and the pewterer to whom they belonged can easily be identified by referring to landmark publications on the pewter trade and pewter makers' marks. Other marks are either very faint or unknown. All marks are presented at an enlarged scale (1cm = 2.5cm) in Appendix III of this thesis, listed alphabetically by the pewterer's name. These will also be presented, together with the artifact on which they appear, in Appendix 5 at a 1cm = 1cm scale.

SUMMARY

Each year new information is recovered during the INA/TAMU field seasons at Port Royal, Jamaica. This thesis incorporates much of the artifactual and archival information which has recently surfaced relating to pewter. It acts more as an interim report gathering the facts and posing questions for future study, rather than as a definitive explanatory dissertation containing all the answers.

The research objectives of this thesis were the following: 1) to explore the channels through which pewter arrived in Port Royal, and to perhaps gain insight into seventeenth-century commerce between England and her colonies; 2) to use pewter artifacts as a means to understanding Port Royal's submerged ruins by examining archaeological associations and ownership monograms; 3) to explore the social and economic role pewterers fulfilled in the colonial environment via relevant archival documents; and 4) to fully document flatware in the collection, establishing guidelines for recording archaeologically pewter.

It must be stressed, however, that this does not constitute a final analysis. As more Jamaican archival sources such as Inventories, Wills, Grantors, Patents, and island parish records on marriages and christenings are transcribed from original documents becoming available for study, more accurate deductions about specific inhabitants of buildings under excavation, and of their professions and lifestyles can be made. It is hoped that the questions and facts posed in this thesis will enhance such future study.

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APPENDIX I**ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTATION ON
PORT ROYAL PEWTER MERCHANTS**

SIMON BENNING

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF PEWTERERS OF LONDON (WCPL).

There are three card indexes at Pewterer's Hall on Oat Lane in London. One lists all the apprentice records from the 15th century to around 1800, another lists all those who became freemen of the Company (i.e. those who had the privilege of using their own touch), and a third contains miscellaneous information, mostly involving provincial pewterers (Homer, personal communication, 1984).

The name Benning appears in several of the indexes. Tobias Beninge was apprenticed to Peter Duffield on 24 march 1652 and was the son of Francis Beninge of Totnham [sic.] Middlesex (Company's Court Book, Guildhall ms. 7090). He was free (i.e. was given leave to go into business) in 1660, opening a shop and striking his touch on 19 April 1660. He was dead in 1664/5 according to a list of members of the Company for that year (Company's Livery and Yeomanry Lists, Guildhall ms. 7095), and therefore could not restrike his touch (c.1670) on the London Touchplates after the Great Fire. Four possibilities were found for his touch: COTT 5468 or 5471, and MPM 5478c or 5478e. MPMA 5441k shows a mark on a tankard with the initials "I B", and the comment "Rope Oval Surround". This is possibly a family member since Simon Benning's mark is surrounded by an oval rope.

An index card for Simon Benning indicates that he was not a freeman of the Company, but notes his will in which he describes himself as of London, and a pewterer. It also notes that he died abroad. His will was proved in the PCC in 1664.

PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE (PRO), CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, ENGLAND

Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC). This court approved the wills of London's rich and privileged, as well as any English citizen having an estate that extended into two or more parishes. Simon Benning's will (P.R.O. Prob 11/314, fo. 210-211) was written on 19 February 1656 in anticipation of his voyage to Barbados, and executed on 25 June 1664, apparently when he was assumed to be dead. The will does not mention a wife or son, only his brothers William, Francis, Tobias and John. It reads as follows:

1 In the name of God Amen the nineteenth day of ffebruary in the year of our
 2 Lord God according to the computation of the Church of England One
 3 Thousand six Hundred ffiftie Six I Simon Benning of London pewterer being
 4 in health of body and of good and perfect memories Praised bee God and
 5 being intended forthwith to take a voyage to the Barbados beyond the Seas
 6 by the permission and providence of Allmightie God therefore doe make and
 7 Ordaine this my present will and Testament Containing therein my last will
 8 in manner and forme following, that is to say, ffirst I command myselfe and
 9 all my whole estate to the mercie and protection of Allmightie God being
 10 fully persuaded by his holy spiritt through the death and passion of Jesus
 11 Christ to obtaine full pardon and remission of all my sins and to inherit
 12 everlasting life ffirst. I will that all such debts as I shall happen to owe at
 13 my decease shalle truly be paid as they Growe due in such manner as is
 14 hereafter addressed and sett downe ----- Item I give and bequeath unto my
 15 brother William Benning the sums of Threescore and ten pounds of lawfull
 16 money of England to be pd upon demande after my decease alsoe I do give
 17 and bequeath unto my said brother William Benning all these my goods
 18 mentioned and expressed in one Bill of Ladeing Signed by David Larkwood?
 19 Master of the goode shipp called the reall freinde shipp now bounde for
 20 Barbados aforesaid if it shall soe please God that I depart this natural life

21 upon or beyonde the Seas provided allways and my will minde and intent is
 22 that my said brother William Benning after receipt of the said goods and sale
 23 being made out of the money that shall bee raised for the said goods shall
 24 forthwith pay unto the severall parties hereafter nominated these several
 25 somes following that is to sae ffirst my will is that he pay unto John Bedford
 26 of London Parishe Clarke the sume of Thirtie pounds of lawfull money of
 27 England together with interest for the sume accordinge to the true Intent and
 28 meaninge of one obligation with Condition theresoec written for payment
 29 of the said Sume of Thirtie pounds with interest unto the said John Bedford
 30 his heirs Executors Administrators and Assignes by the said Simon Benning
 31 William Benning and ffrancis Benning or any of them their heirs Executors
 32 Administrators or Assignes relation being had unto the said obligation it doth
 33 and may more fully appeare And alsoe it is my will that my said brother
 34 William Benning doe pay or cause to be paid unto John Duffield London
 35 England or his Assignes out of the moneys soe raised upon the goods as
 36 aforesaid the sume of six pounds six shillings of like lawfull money and
 37 further it is my will that my said brother William Benning doe also pay or
 38 cause to be paid unto my brother Tobias Benning or his assignes out of the
 39 moneys soe raised upon the goods as aforesaid the sume of six poundes eleven
 40 shillings and six pence (the said John Duffield and my brother Tobias
 41 Benning havinge purchased with me certaine goods to the respective value
 42 of said sumes of money) provided allways that if it shall happen that after
 43 my decease as aforesaid my said brother William Benning doe not receive all
 44 the said goods mentioned in the Bill of Lading as aforesaid but only some
 45 part thereof then my will is that my said brother William Benning doe pay
 46 unto the said John Duffield and my brother Tobias Benning soe farr as the
 47 said goods shall amounte unto either in parte or in full. And it is my will
 48 and meaninge that if there bee not wherewithall upon the goods as aforesaid
 49 to satisfie the said John Bedford or his Assignes the full payment of the saide
 50 Thirtie pounds with Interest when it shall growe due upon the aforesaid
 51 Obligation my minde will Intent and meaninge therein that my said brother
 52 William Benning and ffrancis Benning my Executor do joyntly pay part and
 53 part alike and equally satisfye content unto the said John Bedford the said
 54 sume of Thirtie pounds together with the Interest whereby the said obligation
 55 may bee discharged Item I give and bequeath unto my brother Tobias Bening
 56 the sume of Tewntic poundes of lawfull Englishe money to bee paid upon
 57 demande after my decease Item I do give and bequeath unto my brother
 58 John Bening the sum of ffortie poundes of like lawfull money to bee paid to
 59 his present Guardian William Bening of Page Greene and in the parishe of
 60 Tottnam ale [alsoe] Tottenham in the Countie of Middlesex or any other that
 61 shall happen to bee his Guardian hereafter upon Demande after my death for
 62 the onely use and behoofe of my said brother John Bening when he shall
 63 attain to the age of one and Twentie years and if it shall happen that my said
 64 brother John Bening this life to depart before he attaine to the said age of
 65 one and Twentie years my will and meaninge is that my brother William
 66 Bening shall have the saide ffortie poundes if he shall then bee livinge but if
 67 deceased further this my will and meaninge is that my brother Tobias Bening
 68 shall have the said fortie poundes, X X X X X X And lastly as
 69 concerning all other my Estate either reall or personall wheresoever what
 70 soever or howsoever I give and bequeath to my brother ffrancis Bening
 71 whome I make my sole Executor of this my last will and Testament in
 72 Wittnesse whereof I have here unto sett my hand and seale this day and year
 73 that is first above written Simon Benning Sealed Signed and delivered in the
 74 presence of ye Tho: Barnarde, Samuell Hursman? Str./

This will was proved in London on 25 June 1664, with Francis Benning as Executor of the will.

The index for the PCC wills also listed two of Benning's relatives: Thomas Benning of Middlesex (P.R.O. Prob. 11/356: 1678, fo.1) and John Benning of Middlesex (P.R.O. Prob. 11-404: 1691, fo. 64). Both wills were examined; reference to other family members indicate that John was brother, and Thomas was cousin to Simon Benning, however no mention was made of him or the pewter trade.

PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE (PRO) AT KEW, LONDON, ENGLAND

Colonial Office Records: Port Royal Population Census of 1680. (P.R.O. C.O.1/45/-97-109) records Simon Benning's household as having 5 white males, 2 white females, 0 black males and 2 black females. It also shows 1 white male as being Jamaican borne, in probable reference to Benning's son Symon. Benning's will submitted in 1683 (below) provides names for some of the people listed here: Benning himself, Symon Benning (son), Susanna Benning (wife), and Mary Benning (cousin). Benning's son Thomas and daughter Sarah were not yet born at the time of this census, however it is possible that a Peter Benning (relationship unknown) also lived here. If so, then only three white males (possible apprentices) and two black female slaves are left unaccounted for.

JAMAICAN PUBLIC ARCHIVES (JPA) AND THE JAMAICAN ISLAND RECORD OFFICE (JIRO), SPANISH TOWN, JAMAICA.

Jamaican Historical records are distributed between the Jamaican Public Archives which house Probate Inventories, Plats and land Patent Books, and the IRO where wills, marriage licenses, birth records and legal grants and deeds (Grantors) are stored. The following transactions involving Simon Benning were either examined by Claypole, or were microfilmed and transcribed by students and staff of the INA/TAMU Port Royal Project:

Grantors, Old Series (O.S.) I, fo.34. "Simon Benning to Tobias Benning, August 2, 1667." Simon Benning describes himself as a pewterer in Port Royal. He apparently had no knowledge of his brother's death in 1664. Document not available.

Grantors, O.S. III, fo.44. "Lloyd to Benning, Feb 26, 1669." Records Benning's purchase of his own shop and a lot in Port Royal. Benning left this land and shop to his son Simon. Document not available.

Patents, VI, fo.407. Benning patented a 70 acre estate in St. Elizabeth on November 24, 1676. However, Benning's Jamaican will (listed below) states that 120 acres in St. Elizabeth were left to his wife Susanna, so he must have acquired 50 more acres before his death. No document are available.

Grantors, O.S. XXV, fo.178. "Benning to Darby, August 25, 1695." Records that Benning's son Simon (Jr.) sold two negro slaves to William Darby for £34. The only pertinent information provided is that Simon Benning (Jr.) declares himself a Puter [Pewterer] of Port Royal, and William Darby is named a Victualler of Port Royal. The document reads as follows:

- 1 Jamaica "SS" Know all Men by their presence that I Simon Benning of Port
- 2 Royal in the Island of Jamaica aforesaid Puter for and in consideration of
- 3 the sum of Four and Thirty pounds curent money of Jamaica unto me in
- 4 hand paid by William Darby of Port Royal, Victualler at and before the
- 5 Ensealing hercof the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge Ha...
- 6 bargained sold and delivered and by those present I the said Simon Benning

7 do bargain sell and deliver unto the said William Darby one negro man
 8 named George and one negro woman named Bess To Have and To Hold the
 9 said negro man and negro woman unto the said William Derby by his exctr.
 10 admin. and assigns to his and there own proper use forever pur... always
 11 nevertheless and it is agreed between the said parties to these present That
 12 if I the said Simon Benning my heirs esctr. or admin. (etc... partially illegible
 13 legalese relating to the above...)
 14 Sealed and delivered in the presence of (etc...)
 15 Richard Barton, Richard Trotman
 16 [notary] Joseph Sergent.

Grantors, O.S. XXVII, fo.173. [also recorded in Grantors, New Series, Vol. 25, fo.247]
 "Benning to Bradford, Enrolled Ye 15th of July 1696." This document essentially
 explains the whole process by which Simon Benning (Sr.) acquired his three
 adjoining parcels of land in Port Royal, on which was built his shop, several houses
 and two taverns. Upon his death, each of his children (Symon Jr., Thomas and
 Sarah) inherited a portion of this land. Thomas died between 1687 and 1695, and
 his older brother Simon (Jr.) received his inheritance.

The event recorded herein is the sale of two 60 x 60 parcels, plus a 40 x 60
 lot now owned by Simon Benning (Jr.) to Edward Bradford (carpenter) of Port Royal
 for the sum of £190. The transaction explicitly excludes Sarah's inheritance (of
 a 60 x 60 parcel, or a 20 x 60 lot). Unfortunately, the dates given here do not fully
 coincide with dates given for each respective parcel in the Port Royal Plat Book.
 This document identifies Simon Benning (Jr.) as a pewterer in Port Royal, therefore
 we know he practiced his father's trade at the time of the 1692 earthquake. Plat
 498, dated December 9, 1696, officially records Edward Bradford as the new owner
 of this property. The document reads as follows:

1 This Indenture made the Third day of March in the Eighth year of the Reign
 2 of our Sovereign Lord William the third by the Grace of God of England,
 3 Scotland, France and Ireland. King of Jamaica and Lord Defender of the
 4 faith (???) Annoyeu Dommi 1695 -- Between Symon Benning of Port Royall
 5 On the island of Jamaica, pewterer of the one part and Edward Bradford of
 6 Port Royall aforesaid carpenter the other part Whereas our late Sovereign
 7 Lord ?? Charles the Second by his letters pattent under the Great Seal of this
 8 island bearing date the sixth day of September in the Eighteenth year of his
 9 reign did Give and Grant unto Major Richard LLOYD a certain parcel of land
 10 of Sixty foot square on Port Royall aforesaid bounding northward on High
 11 Street East on George Hume and west on Capt. John Saunders. And whereas
 12 William Beeston and William Ryves being executors of the last will and
 13 testament of the said Major Richard Lloyd did by their assignment under
 14 their hands and seals bearing date the twenty sixth day of February in the
 15 [twenty?] fourth year of his said majesty's reign grant sell and assign the
 16 before mentioned premises unto Simon Benning of Port Royall aforesaid
 17 yeoman Father of the said Simon Benning Party here unto and whereas Our
 18 late Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second by his letters patters bearing
 19 date the Eighteenth day of January in the seventeenth year of his Reign for
 20 the considerations therein mentioned did give and grant unto the said Simon
 21 Benning the Father a certain parcel of land on Port Royal aforesaid
 22 containing sixty foot square bounding north on High Street South on George
 23 Warner West on Major Richard Lloyd and east on Mr. Hume. And whereas
 24 the said late King Charles the second by his letters patters bearing date the
 25 Thirtieth day of November in the twenty second year of his reign for the
 26 considerations therein ?letteivise? mentioned did give and grant unto the said
 27 Simon Benning a certain parcel of land of sixty foot square on Port Royall
 28 afore said bounded west southerly on John Wright South Easterly on Richard
 29 Pepes East northerly on the said Simon Benning and northerly on High street

30 as in and by the said several letters pattendts and assignments remaining on
31 record in the office of Enrollmets for this island relative being there unto
32 severally may nine more fully and at large appear. And Whereas the said
33 Simon Benning the Eighth day of March in the Year of Our Lord One
34 thousand six hundred eighty three did by his last will and testament give and
35 bequeath unto his sons Simon Benning and Thomas Benning all the afore
36 recited premises except one third part of one of the afore recited parcellts of
37 land of sixty foot square which adjoynd to the land then formerly of Mr.
38 George Hume which the said Simon Benning did give and bequeath unto
39 Sarah Benning his then Daughter And Whereas the said Thomas Benning is
40 since died whereby the rights of before recited premises Except the third
41 part of the said parcellts of Land so given by the said Simon Benning the
42 Elder to his Daughter --Sarah as aforesaid did lawfully descend and come
43 unto the said Simon Benning party there unto Now this Indenture
44 witnesseth that the said Simon Benning party here unto for and in
45 consideration of the sum of 190 pounds current money of Jamaica unto him
46 in here paid by the said Edward Bradford at and before the enscallingg and
47 delivery here of the receipt and payment whereof the said Simon Benning
48 doth hereby acknowledge and himself to be therewith fully satisfied and
49 paid and thereof and therefrom and of and from the same and every part
50 and parcel thereof doth hereby acquitt release exonerate and discharge the
51 said Edward Bradford his heirs, executors and administrators and every of
52 them for ever by these presents as also for divers other good causes and
53 valuable considerations the said Simon Benning hereunto ?serving? hath
54 granted bargined sold assign enfeoffed released and confirmed and by these
55 present he the said Simon Benning doth grant bargain sell alien enfeoff
56 release and confirm unto the said Edward Bradford his heirs and assignes
57 for ever all and the singular the above recited parcellts of land (Except before
58 excepted) Together with all houses outhouses edifices and buildings there
59 unto erected and built to premises with the appurtenances and also all tracts
60 mostly Easements, profits & commodities to the same belonging or in any
61 wise appertaining and reverting remainder and remainders therof and of
62 every part thereof and all the Estate right title interest property possession
63 reservation challenge claims and demand whatsoever of him the said Simon
64 Benning of unto or outof the said bargained premises or any part thereof to
65 have and to hold the several parcellts of land (except before excepted) houses
66 there upon built and premises with appurtenances unto the said Edward
67 Bradford his heirs and assign forever To and for the only proper use and
68 behoof of him the said Edward Bradford and of his heirs and assigns for
69 ever more and the said Symon Benning party here unto for him self and his
70 heirs, executors administrators doth covenant promise and grant to and unto
71 the said Edward Bradford his heirs and assigns and to and with every of
72 them by these presents in manner following that is to say That he the said
73 Simon Benning now hath in him self good right full power and lawful and
74 absolute authority to Grant bargain and sell the said bargained premises
75 with the appurtenances unto the said Edward Bradford his heirs and assigns
76 in manner aforesaid And Futher that it shall maybe lawful to and for the
77 said Edward Bradford his heirs and assigns from time to time and forever
78 hereafter peacefully and quietly to have hold and enjoy the said several
79 recited parcellts of land (except before excepted) and premises appurtenances
80 without the lett tencable or interruption of the said Simon Benning his heirs
81 or assigns and without the lett tencable or interruption of any other person or
82 persons whatsoever and further That he the said Simon Benning and his
83 heirs the said severall recited parcellts of land (except before excepted) houses
84 there upon built and premises with the appurtenances unto the said Edward
85 Bradford his heirs and assigns against all manner of persons whatsoever shall
86 and will warrant acquit and forever defend by these presents In Witness

87 whereof the party first above named to this present indenture hath hereunto
88 sett his hand and seal dated the day and year first above written.

89 Simon Benning

90 Sealed and delivered in the presences of Lancelott Talbott, Richard Trotman,
91 Charles Price

92

93 March 12, 1695

94 Then appeared before me Richard Trotman and made oath that he say the
95 above named Simon Benning signed seal and as his act and deed deliver the
96 above written indenture. Charles Knights

Grantors, O.S. XXVIII, fo.56. "Barker to Bradford, May 23, 1698." In this transaction Simon Benning's daughter Sarah, now married to Thomas Barker and living in South Carolina, settled the estate of her late father in Port Royal. The document records that Edward Bradford of Port Royal, Carpenter, received the last portion of a 60 x 60 parcel. Document not available.

Grantors, St. Elizabeth Parish. The archives for the Parish of St. Elizabeth there should contain a record referring to the 120 acres left to Benning's wife Susanna.

Wills, Vol. 3-5, p.180-181, "Symon Benning's Will, Ent. December the 17th 1687." Benning was survived by his wife Susanna, his three underage children Symon, Sarah and Thomas, and his cozen [sic.] Mary Benning who was the daughter of his late brother Tobias Benning of London.

Benning registered his will March 8th 1683, by which time he had accumulated several plots of land. This he parceled out as follows: 120 acres in St. Elizabeth to Susanna, whom he also appoints executrix of his will and guardian of his children; his house and shop on High Street, and the tools of his trade to son Symon; the land and two taverns on High Street adjoining the house of Capt. John Waight to son Thomas; and the land and houses now let out to Moses Cohen (next to land formerly belonging to George Humes) to daughter Sarah. The will reads as follows:

1 In the name of God Amen I Symon Benning of Port Royall Pewterer being
2 in sound and perfect health of mind and judgmt blessed be God therefore but
3 considering with my selfe ye uncertainty of ye time of my death doe
4 therefore hereby make this my last Will and Testamy in manner & forme
5 following (viz) Imprs, I give and bequeath my soul into ye hands of Almighty
6 God who gave it & hope through ye merits of my Redecmer Jesus Christ to
7 be saved & I committ my body to ye dust to be decently buried by my
8 Executer hereafter menconed & as to my earthly Estate wch God has blessed
9 me wth I bequeath & dispose of ye same as followeth (viz) I give and
10 bequeath unto my Son Symon Benning all yt my house situate lying and being
11 on Port Royall in High Street which I now live in together wth all ye land
12 there of out houses Cook rooms & back places yards and all ye appurtenances
13 thereunto belonging & all my tools & working instrumts Shop goods & all
14 other goods belonging to ye said house & shop to him & his heires for ever
15 Provided always yt he therout pay all ye legacies hereafter menconed & also
16 discharge all my debts & also provided yt my Wife Susanna Benning have
17 hereby power to keep ye sd house goods & appurtenances before bequeathed
18 in her owne possession during the minority of sd son or so long as she shall
19 think meet to keep it whilst he is under age of one & Twenty Years & in case
20 of his death without issue to shear it untill ye next hayres shall be at age
21 Provided also yt in case my said son shall die without issue lawfully begotten
22 ye yt ye sd house land & all other ye premisses before bequeathed shall
23 descend and come unto my Son Thomas Benning & my Daughter Sarah
24 Benning & to be parted between them as my wife shall think meet and in case
25 of her death to be equally parted shear & sheare alike and alsoe my Will &

26 pleasure is that my said Wife Susanna shall upon delivering up ye aforesaid
 27 premisses to either of them yt shall possess it when he or they shall come to
 28 age of one ant Twenty Years or before as she shall think fitt then that he or
 29 they shall allow here thereout the sum of Fifty pounds sterl. per annum
 30 during her life time and oneroom with necessary furniture there to the sd
 31 Fifty pounds to be paid yearly without any manner of rescrvacon Item I give
 32 & bequeath unto my son Thomas Benning Two houses or Taverns adjoining
 33 on the house and land of Capt. John Waight situate lying and being on Port
 34 Royall in ye high Street, with all ye appurtenances thereto belonging being all
 35 contained in One patent by itself to him & His heires for Ever together with
 36 the said patent thereof and all ye land there in menconed and contained
 37 provided that in case he die without issue lawfully begotten that then it shall
 38 descend & come to the next heire at law, Item I give and bequeath unto my
 39 sd son Thomas One Hundred pounds Sterl. to be pd him out of ye land afore
 40 bequeathed to his brother at ye time of his being at age of One and Twenty
 41 Years, Item I doe give & bequeath unto my daughter Sarah Benning One
 42 parcell of land and all houses Yards and tenamts thereto belonging now let
 43 out to Moses Cohen & adjoining to ye land, which formerly was Mr. George
 44 Humes & which is by estimacon the third of Sixty foot square be ye same
 45 more or less & which is paed in and to her and her heires for ever & in case
 46 she die without issue then that it descend & fall to the next heire at law of
 47 my name & also I do give & bequeath unto my sd daughter ye sum of Two
 48 hundred pounds sterl. to be paid her at her day of marriage or age of Sixteen
 49 Yeares, item I doe give & bequeath unto my Cozen Mary Benning the
 50 daughter of Tobias Benning of London deceased ye sum of Thirty pounds
 51 sterl. to be pd her in twelve months after my decease, Item I doe give &
 52 bequeath unto my loving wife Susanna Benning One hundred and twenty
 53 acres of land lying & being at a place called the Middle Quarters near ye
 54 black River in the parish of St. Elizabeth to her and her heires for ever to
 55 be disposed of as she shall at her death think fitt or Otherwise, I doe give
 56 and bequeath unto my said loving Wife Susanna Benning all my other Estate
 57 both Reall and personall ye aforesaid legacies always reserved out to her
 58 durence her life and after her decease to be equally parted amongst ye
 59 surviving heirs at law, Item I doe hereby ordain publish declare constitute,
 60 and appoint my said loving Wife Susanna Benning sole Executrix of this my
 61 last Will & Testament and also sole guardian of my children durence their
 62 minority and untill they arrive at their severall ages aforesaid desiring her
 63 carefull management of the premisses and performance this Will and Lastly
 64 I doe hereby make void and of none effect all other former Wills and
 65 constitute and publish this to be my onely sole and last Will and Testamnt in
 66 manner as aforesaid In Witness whercof I said Symon Benning have hereunto
 67 sett my hand and seale this Eighth day of March Anno One thousand six
 68 hundred Eighty and three, foor.

69 Symon Benning

70 Signed seald published, and declared in ye presence of the wards (wife)
 71 being first interlined.

72 John Waight [the marke "R" of] Richard Green. Richard Halloway. Thomas
 73 Jones Ser. 168 3/4.

74
 75 Memorandum this 17th day of December 1687 personally appeared before one
 76 Capt. John Waight Richard Green and Richard Halloway & made oath that
 77 they were personally present and did see symon Benning the Testator within
 78 mencond signe seale publish and declare ye within Written to be his last Will
 79 & Testament, and that he was then of sound mind and memory. [ext.]
 80 [Extur SHC & T. Bat.] Hder. Molesworth

The exact locations of the plots of land mentioned in Benning's will can be identified by the following entries in the original Port Royal Plat Book, located at the Jamaican Public Archives. It should be noted that when a plot is listed as being 60 square feet, this signifies a square lot where all sides are 60 feet long (area = 3600').

Plat #216 dated August 31st 1665 records Simon Benning as having purchased a small lot 16 foot wide on the south side of Queen Street. It measured 28.06 feet long, bordering the properties of Joseph Clement to the west, and Thomas Orchard to the east and south. This property was not listed in Benning's will.

Plat #248 dated August 7th 1667 records "Symon Beming" as having purchased a lot of 60 square feet (60 x 60) on the south side of High Street. The lot borders the properties of George Humes to the east, George Warner to the south and Major Richard LLOYD to the West. Benning left of this land to his son Symon and to his daughter Sarah.

Plat #349 dated August 29th 1670 records Simon Benning as having purchased a lot also measuring 60 square feet (60 x 60) on the south side of High Street. Although the seller is not mentioned, the lot must have belonged to Major Richard LLOYD since it borders Benning's own lot to the east, with John Wright to the west and Mr. Richard Pips to the south. Benning left this lot to his son Thomas.

Plat #498 dated December 9, 1696 officially records Edward Bradford as the new owner of most of the above property. "Benning to Bradford" on July 15, 1696 records the sale.

Plat #145 dated March 20th 1664 records Lt. Thomas Archer as having purchased a lot on the south side of Queen Street stretching between Queen and High Streets. The lot is 32 feet wide along Queen street, but widens to 44 feet by the time it reaches High Street. It is 63 feet long with property owned by Galloway and Gullyford to the east, and that of Thomas Clark and Peter Benning to the West. Thomas Clarke (1665) is listed as a sailmaker by Pawson and Buisseret (1975:183), and a Captain Thomas Clarke purchased land in Port Royal in 1667, 1668, and 1680 (Plats #406, 271 and ??? respectively). This is the only mention of Peter Benning in any Jamaican or English documents examined thus far, and may be simply a transcription error.

Inventories, v.3, f.64, dated Port Royall February 19th 1689, lists an inventory of Simon Benning's estate made more than a year after the execution of his will. It reads:

"An Inventory of the Goods and Chattles of the Dedisseed Mr. Simon Benning as there was apprais by Mrs Richard Greene and John Roswell and are as followeth (viz_)"

	<u>li</u> <u>s</u> <u>d</u>
To 1 7-li mould weighted 150 at 1s per li	07.10.00
To 1 4-li mould 115 at 1s per li	05.15.00
To 1 4-li Duop [deep] 117 at 1s per li	05.17.00
To 1 middle plater mould at 1s 112 per li	05.12.00
To 1 bason and 1 Plate mould at 1s 117 per li	05.17.00
To 1 Plate mould at 1s:35 per li	01.15.00
To 74 pound of Iron working tooles	01.04.00
To 14 pound of old mettell at	00.08.09
To 50 pound Scruf [shuff] pewter	01.11.03
To 2 anvils & 12 hammers at	02.10.00
To 1 wheele [lathc] and Spindle	03.00.00

To Blocks & old things in the workhouse	01.10.00
To 250 of cast Rufe plates at 8d per li	07.16.00
To 60 pound of old brass at	01.17.06
To 3 hundred of old pewter lay at 6d per li	05.13.06
To 190ct 28li at Seven pence half penny per li	60.05.03
To 113 of alloy at 4d half penny per li	02.02.08
To 20 pound of old pewter at 7d 1/2 per li	00.12.06
To 32 pound of new pewter at 12d per li	01.12.00
To 1 case of glass bottls at	00.05.00
To 1 cestern [cistern] of pewter at	00.07.00
To 2 pair of old Scales [beam balance] & Weight	00.15.00
To 26ct:45li pound of pewter at 1s per li	132.05.00
To 2 old beds & bedstead	02.10.00
To 1 bead & bedstead at	03.00.00
To 1 Table Looking glass 2 chairs & a box	01.00.00
To 1 bead & bedstead curtins & vallians	07.00.00
To 2 Chest of Drawers Tables 6 Chers and 1 Looking Glass	10.00.00
To 2 chests and Linnen 1 close Stoole and Hammerkar [Hammock]	05.00.00
To 1 Jack 1 Kittle [kettle] & sume old things in the Coockroom [cookroom]	02.15.00
To cash 3li-10s to 28 ounces of Plate [silver]	10.10.00
To 1 grindstone water cask & tools	01.00.00
To 3 Tables Desk the Furniture of the Low room	07.00.00
To 1 Large Looking glass at	01.05.00
To 1 Bead & bedstead curtins & valliance	05.00.00
To 6 chaeres and a Table	02.00.00
To old Copper & brass 12lii: at 7p-1/2 per li	03.15.01
To course brass 21li at 4p-1/2 per li	00.07.11
To book debts Standing out	28.08.00
To bad debts Standing out	<u>29.18.00</u>
	£376.11.10

Richard R. Greene John Rosswell

JOHN CHILDERMAS

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF PEWTERERS OF LONDON

There are no citations for anyone with the surname Childermas in any of the indices or other documentary sources held at Pewterers Hall in London.

PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, ENGLAND

Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills showed no listings for the name Childermas.

PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE AT KEW, LONDON, ENGLAND

Colonial Office Records: Port Royal Population Census of 1680. (P.R.O. C.O.1/45/-97-109) shows no listing for the name Childermas.

JAMAICAN PUBLIC ARCHIVES AND THE JAMAICAN ISLAND RECORD OFFICE, SPANISH TOWN, JAMAICA.

John Childermas is recorded as having purchased two plots of land in Port Royal. The original Port Royal Plat Book, located at the Jamaican Public Archives lists the following:

Plat #352 dated December 5th 1670 records John Childermas as having purchased a lot on the south side of Queen Street stretching between Queen and High Streets. The lot is 32 feet wide along Queen Street, and 60.06' long bordering the property of Casar Carter to the east, and Edward Yates to the west.

Plat #404 dated November 23rd 1677 records John Childermas as having purchased a lot stretching between Mart Lane to the south, and bordering on the sea to the north. The small lot is only 16 feet wide at the sea, and 30 feet long bordering the property of Alderman Beckford to the east and Richard Povey's to the west.

Grantors, O.S., vol. XI, fos. 50-55, "Lewis to Childermas, April 28, 1680": Records that Port Royal "pewterer" John Childermas patented large sections of land in St. Elizabeth, St. Katherine and St. James, then purchased the labor force and livestock of Samuel Lewis whose creditors were foreclosing on a mortgage. For £1,250.00 sterling Childermas received 23 negro men, 16 negro women, 18 negro children, 21 cows with calves at their sides, 12 cows with calf and 9 small heifers.

Wills, Vol. 4, folio 150. "John Childermas's Will, Ent...(1686 or 1687... line cut off microfilm) provides information about his personal and private life. John Childermas was apparently a wealthy man from Ireland, who left behind a wife named Jane, and at least two brothers, Richard and David. He had three teenage children, son John (Jr.) and daughters Sarah and Katherine, living in London under the tutelage of Mr. Robert Walker. At the time this will was written, Childermas resided at his plantation in the Parish of St. Catherine with a mistress named Elizabeth Gaters, and a personal servant named Anthony Wood.

This will also explains why no pewter was recovered from Port Royal bearing a touchmark which could possibly correspond to Childermas: he describes himself as "planter," not pewterer. The earlier identification of "pewterer" may be due to a transcription error made when Port Royal's archival documents were recopied in the nineteenth century (Thornton 1988:10). Nevertheless, it would be useful to check archival sources in Ireland for references to a Childermas family of pewterers. This document reads as follows:

- 1 In the name of god Amen, the eleventh day of December in the second year
- 2 of the ...[Reign of our Sovereign Lord James II]... by the Grace of God...[of
- 3 England, Scotland, and Ireland...(some lines from top and bottom of document
- 4 cut off of microfilm)...[King of Jamaica and Lord Defender of the faith]...
- 5 anno domini 1686 I John Childermas of the parish of St. Catherine's in the
- 6 island of jamaica, planter being weake of body and sound in mind [and
- 7 judgmt?] praise be almighte God, therefore do make this my last will and
- 8 testament In manner following that is to say, first I commit my soul to
- 9 almighty God who gave [it hope?.. & I commit?] my body to a decent burial
- 10 at the discretion of my executors hereafter named. In expectation of a joyful
- 11 resurrection through ye merits of my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ to whom
- 12 with the Holy Ghost the all honor and glory forever Amen. Also I will that
- 13 all such debts as I shall happen to owe at the time of my decease be well and
- 14 truly paid and satisfied out of the profits of my personal estate, Also I give
- 15 unto my well beloved wife, Jane Childermas, of the city of Lymericke, in the
- 16 kingdom of Ireland a sum of thirty pounds sterling annually for her

17 maintenance to be paid her yearely by my son John Childermas, Also I give
 18 unto Mrs. Elizabeth Hewyt of Port Royal all my ????? large Leonardoe or
 19 Boswell silver cup with two handles and a cover to it Assoning to my promise,
 20 also I give unto William Waite of Port Royal, merchant, the sum of 100
 21 pounds sterling of Jamaica in consideration that he make up my accounts
 22 and [.....?] tenn pounds sterling to be paid him yearly soe long as he liveth in
 23 the island of Jamaica, also I give unto each of my daughters whom I have put
 24 to schoole in England and under the tuition of Mr. Robert Walker, of London,
 25 Merchant, Sarah and Katherine the sum of six hundred pounds of current
 26 money of Jamaica to be paid to each of them at their respective ages of
 27 nineteene yeares but if either, or both of them should happen to die before
 28 their legacies become due, then I will that such sume of such child or
 29 children soe dying within the years of nineteene yeares as aforesaid shall goe
 30 unto my son John Childermas now of London in the Kingdom of England
 31 under the tuition of Mr. Robert Walker aforesaid. Also I give unto my said
 32 daughter Sarah eight hundred acres of land lying in the parish of St. James
 33 for which ther is a patent lying upon record and to my daughter Katherine
 34 one thousand acres of land lying in the parish of St. Elizabeth at Bullhead
 35 Valley which said patent is also upon record. Both of them to enjoy the said
 36 land at their respective ages of eighteene yeares or days of marriages, but if
 37 either or both of them shall happen to die before their dayes of marriage
 38 then I will that such land of each child or children so dying shall goe unto
 39 my said son John Childermas aforesaid Also I give unto my said daughter
 40 Sarah plenty after my decease my mallotta girl called Tomage and to my
 41 daughter Katherine pickaniny Margarett, and I likewise will that my said
 42 two daughters aforesaid shall be maintained out of the profits of my personal
 43 estate until their respective ages of twenty one yeares or days of marriage
 44 which shall first happen, and my will is that presently after my decease my
 45 said son John Childermas and my said two daughters Sarah and Katerine be
 46 set for out of England, and I doe recomend the care of their education unto
 47 my said executors hereinafter named and the survivor of them and the
 48 management of their estates until their ages of twenty one yeares or days of
 49 marriage which shall first happen Also I give unto my servant Anthony
 50 Wood the sume of forty pounds sterling to be paid out of the profits of my
 51 personal estate, also I give unto Elizabeth Gaters whom now liveth with me
 52 the sum of fifty pounds sterling to be paid out of ye profits of my personal
 53 estate, and my will is that the said Elizabeth Gaters shall quietly carry away
 54 with her all her wearing clothes both linen and wolen as also what cattell and
 55 sheep belongs to her at my pens at her will & pleasure, and the said Elizabeth
 56 Gaters shall not be allowed to keep noe more than twenty sheep at my pen
 57 also I will that there be the same care taken of her cattell as is of my owne
 58 as long as they continue at my pens, also I will that my said executors shall
 59 have the possession and management of all my messuages lands, tenaments,
 60 negroes, and all other my reall estate until my son John Childermas shall
 61 attaine to the age of twenty one yeares which shall be on the 20th of July next
 62 anno 1687 if he shall soe long live, but all the benefits and profits thereof
 63 during the time of their management shall be to the proper use of my said
 64 son, also I give unto my said son, John Childermas, his heirs forever all my
 65 messuages lands, tenaments, negroes, and all other my estate, both reall and
 66 personal whatsoever. Provided Nevertheless doe not enter upon the same nor
 67 make any disposition or the sale of the same or any part thereof until he shall
 68 arrive unto the age of twenty one yeares and if my son John Childermas shall
 69 marry and die without heire male or female then I give and bequeath all my
 70 reall estate messuages lands, tenaments, and negroes unto my beloved brother,
 71 Richard Childermas and his heirs forever whom are now liveing in the
 72 Kingdom of Ireland and in case of their decease to return to the heirs of my
 73 brother David Childermas forever, and I doe also oblige my said son John

74 Childermas upon the forfeiture of all my estate reall and personal that he
 75 shall out in five years after my decease lease out any part or parcel of my
 76 estate given him by my will, also I will that my said executors doe lett Robert
 77 Haward of Port Royal butcher have the first refusall of my house and land
 78 lyeing in the marketplace without much timber as cost me fifty pounds
 79 sterling to be sawne into scantlines by my negoes at plantation for three
 80 hundred and fifty pounds sterling and if he refuse to have it then I order my
 81 executors to dispose of the said land to any one that will give most for it also
 82 I give unto my said executors the guardianship of my said son, John
 83 Childermas until he shall arrive at the age of twentyone years and desire
 84 them that they will take of that all my said children be bred and instructed
 85 in the religion of the Church of England it now is established and I doe
 86 nominate & appoint my beloved friends Mr. Johnathan Woods and Mr.
 87 Richard Willis both of Port Royal executor of the my last will and testament
 88 in trust for my children and whereas I have nominated Richard Willis
 89 executor of with the said Johnathan Woods, if by reason of his opinion he
 90 shall not be admitted to the administration of this my last will and testament
 91 I nevertheless I desire the said Mr. Woods that he may be admitted with him
 92 as an executor to act and doe according to intent hereing, and all former will
 93 or wills at anytime or times by me made, I doe hereby revoke disannull and
 94 make void in testamony whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal the
 95 day & year first above written.
 96 John Childermas
 97 Signed, sealed and published by the said JC to be his last will and testament
 98 in the presence of William Wyatt, Edward Stockley, Will (mark) Fox, John
 99 Smith, William Neal ?

THOMAS CROPP

WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF PEWTERERS OF LONDON.

Thomas Cropp appears in The Pewterer's Company Search Books in Winchester for 1674 and 1689, and in Southampton for 1683 (Guildhall ms. 7105 & 6). Five other "TCs" also appear: Thomas Clark of Taunton (1669), Thomas Cave of Chipping Norton (1674), Thomas Cotton of Marlborough (1674) and Ringwood (1683), Thomas Churchyard of Shrewsbury (1692), and Thomas Comberlidge of Walsail (ca. 1669). The first three are from The Pewterer's Company Search Books, the last two from R.F. Homer's personal researches. There is no doubt that many provincial pewterers used "London" labels in the seventeenth century (R.F. Homer, personal communication, 1984).

PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, ENGLAND

Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills showed no listings for the name Thomas Cropp.

HAMPSHIRE RECORDS OFFICE, WINCHESTER, ENGLAND

Wills. Two listings appeared for the name Thomas Cropp.

Thomas E. Cropp, Peculiar Will, East Meon, 1661. This will was proved in "Peculiar Court". Although too early, the will lists his only son Thomas Cropp, as the sole executor of his will.

Thomas Cropp, Bishop's Will, Sutton Scotney, 5 August 1718. This will mentions relatives, but no wife or children. He shows a sizeable estate which he leaves to his brother William, executor of the will. There is no mention of pewter, his profession, the Luke family or Jamaica. The seal on the will was not that of the "T C" touch.

Winchester Apprenticeship Records: Of the few that exist, none listed the surname Luke.

Andover Parish Records (Microfilm Roll #M2-PR3), which registers baptisms, marriages and burials from 1642-1687, showed no listings for the name Thomas Cropp.

Andover is located about nine miles from Winchester in Hampshire. The main device on the coat of arms for this town is a lion "statant guardant" (i.e. standing sideways with his head turned to the front) in front of an oak tree. This emblem has been used on the town's seal since before 1648 and is not similar to any other town seal in England or Wales (Scott-Giles 1972:156). Andover's town shield is nearly identical to the device used in the "T C" touch found on Port Royal. Thomas Cropp worked close to Andover, so it is possible that he used the device of this town in his touch. Since the "T C" touch appears in conjunction with the "I L" hallmarks, this additional evidence also supports the hypothesis that John Luke was related to the Winchester Lukes (R. Homer, letter dated 13 July 1984).

International Genealogical Index; Index of Records for England for Hampshire (card BOO75) had one very early listing for Cropp, Thomas: Married to Amy Saunder in Romsey in 1591.

JOHN LUKEWORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF PEWTERERS OF LONDON.

The name "Luke" does not appear in any London record, but an additional index containing "miscellaneous information" kept at Pewterers Hall in London lists two pewterers of this name. John Luke of Winchester had his shop searched for substandard wares in 1569. Also, John Luke of Truro (Cornwall) participated in some legal transaction since his name appears in a deed of 1735. Unfortunately, the index did not give a citation for this deed. John Luke of Port Royal may be related to one or both of these West Country pewterers (R.F. Homer, personal communication, 1984).

PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, ENGLAND

Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills showed no listings for the names John or Richard Luke.

PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE AT KEW, LONDON, ENGLAND

Colonial Office Records: Port Royal Population Census of 1680. (P.R.O. C.O.1/45/-97-109) records John Luke's household as having 1 white male, 2 white females, and 11 black males. In 1680 the price of a black man was £25-30, and £40 or more if he had a marketable trade (Inventories, v.III). Therefore in 1680 Luke's estate was worth over £275.

HAMPSHIRE RECORD OFFICE, WINCHESTER, ENGLAND

The following is taken from a land deed originally written on parchment, now recorded on microfilm. Much of the document is illegible, however there is an endorsement that a new lease was granted in 1637. No mention is made of occupation, and no relatives are named.

Winchester: St. John's Parish Records
 Luke, John, The Younger, 1630
 88M,81W PW216

- 1 2 Tenements lying together formerly held by Henry Otes, then by Robert
- 2 Marshall, then by William Bechym the Elder, gentleman, deceased, late of
- 3 Winchester, and containing 16 yards 1 foot lying between the Tenement once
- 4 held by Thomas Allen and now belonging to the heirs of Cuthbert long and
- 5 held by Edward Hewet on the South and extending to the river; also 3
- 6 tenements with appurtenances formerly held by Henry Otis, then by Robert
- 7 Marshall, and late by William Bechym the Elder, and containing 32 yards and
- 8 lying between Stayre [sic.] Lane on the north and the land late of... then John
- 9 Luke... The younger on the South and extending to Beggar St. The premises
- 10 are situated in Wade Street.
- 11 Lease for 21 years, 25 Oct.6 Charles I, 1630.

Wills: Although many wills were listed for people bearing the surname Luke, time did not permit the analysis of them all. Only one listing appeared for either the names Richard or John Luke: 1737, John Luke, Archdeacon's Will, Wickham. The will contained little pertinent information, except possibly that the estate had lots of land and orchards, and that this man had a cousin John Luke, to whom he leaves 1 shilling. There was no mention of pewter or foreign affairs. An attempt was made to analyze the seal for possible heraldic devices of the Luke family, but its condition was too poor.

Winchester Apprenticeship Records: Of the few that exist, none listed the surname Luke.

Southampton Apprenticeship Records listed in A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740, edited by A.J. Willis, University of Southampton, 1968. The following entries were listed:

No. 373 Francis Clarke, son of Thomas Clarke of Cranbourne; Dorset, yeoman, to Richard Luke, pewterer for 8 years, 25 Mch. 1646.

No. 434 Edward Dummer, son of Edward Dummer of Durley, yeoman, to Richard Luke, pewterer for 7 years, 11 Aug. 1651.

No. 445 Robert Dash, son of John Dash of Winton, innholder, to Richard Luke, pewterer for 7 years, 29 Sept. 1654.

Andover Parish Records (Microfilm Roll #M2-PR3), which registers baptisms, marriages and burials from 1642-1687, showed no listings for the names Richard or John Luke.

International Genealogical Index: Index of Records for England for Hampshire (card BOO88) had one listing for Luke, John: Christened 4 January 1705, Portsmouth, St. Thomas. Parents: John and Mary Luke.

OTHER INVENTORIES

Richard Plummer (1692) of Ludlow

The probate inventory of Richard Plummer of Ludlow, County of Shropshire in the West Midlands of England, accompanied a will dated 1692 and is presented here in a condensed form. It gives comprehensive details of his tools and stock and also evidence of his other property and goods, the total monetary value of which was £417.13.08. (Homer & Hall 1985:32).

Inventory of Richard Plummer of Ludlow

	<u>li</u> <u>s</u> <u>d</u>
2 cwt of pewter dishes sadware [flatware] etc	08.08.00
4 cwt more of hollow ware at 10d./lb	18.13.04
3 quarters of chamber pots lay at 7d./lb	02.09.00
3 cwt of (illeg) cettles [kettles?] at 7 li 8s.	18.12.00
1 of skilletts and kan and [?] cettles and pott cettles	07.00.00
5 warming pans and shafts	00.15.00
14 pounds of brass candlesticks	00.18.08
1 lb [sic] of new brass potts	02.16.00
3 quarters and 15 pounds of new brass and potts	03.06.00
1 cwt of cast pewter at 7d./lb	03.05.04
3 cwt of old pewter at 7d./lb	09.16.00
2 qrs of fine shearings at 6d./lb	01.08.00
10 pounds of skimeers	00.12.00
1 cwt of yellow brass at 9d./lb	04.04.00
1 close stole & coales in the shop and led [lead]	00.10.00
40 lbs of lay in the say[?] at 7d./lb	01.03.03
40 lbs of trifles shearings at 6d./lb	01.00.00
5 cwt & 1 qr pounds of sadware [flatware] moulds at 10d./lb	24.05.00
6 cwt & 8 pounds of hollowware moulds at 12d./lb	
34.00.00	
2 [cwt?] of working tools) 3 qrs of hambers and other tools)	03.17.00
2 wheels and the materials	03.00.00
2 marments	01.00.00
	<u>£150.18.08</u>

Thomas Gorton (1683) of Birmingham

The probate inventory of Thomas Gorton of Birmingham, County of Warwickshire in the West Midlands of England, was reviewed by Homer & Hall (1985:61) who also supplied the full transcripts as presented here (R. Homer, letter dated 14 December 1989). It gives great detail of his personal belongings, as well as providing a useful breakdown of shop tools and wares ready for sale. Gorton died 16 June 1683, and on June 22nd his estate was valued at £184.15.06.

Inventory of Thomas Gorton of Birmingham

	li s d
His wearing apparel and money in his purse	03.10.00
In the house 2 pairs of tongs 2 fireshovels grate 2 coberds (andirons)	
1 spit 2 dripping pans pot hooks 19 pewter dishes 19 plates	
2 flagons 4 pintes 12 spoons 4 kettles 3 pots 23 porringers	
4 chamber pots 3 basins 12 trenchers 1 salt 5 chairs 1 table	
dresser cradle impliments in the chimney	12.10.07
In the parlour two tables 2 chairs 6 stools 2 benches cupboard	
and cloth and books	02.01.06
four silver spoons	01.00.00
In the chamber over the house one joyned bed with feather bed	
and all belonging to it	04.18.00
Three chairs 2 stools 21 sheets 5 tablecloths 5 dozen of napkins	
6 towels 14 pillowbercs	07.02.00
In the chamber over the parlour one paire of bedsteads	
one feather bed with curtains valences and all that belongs to it	06.00.00
looking glass 2 candlesticks bellows grate	05.05.10
In the garret chamber one truckle bed with all that belongs to it	00.10.00
Nine pounds of flax 7 pounds of yarn 2 blankets one coverlet	00.17.00
In the garret chamber over the parlour 2 pairs of bedsteads	
one pair of curtains one feather bed and all belonging to them	04.13.08
One chest one close stool and pan	00.10.00
One little table one cloth one box 4 straw whiskites 3 reams (rim)	
of paper one little coffer two wheels	01.05.00
In the brewhouse one furnace	01.10.00
Five brewing vessels 5 barrels bowls and tres (trays)	01.07.00
Twentyfour dozen of shovelboard pieces 26 dozen of ladles	11.08.00
Five score and one pounds of quarter pintes and small measures (misrs)	03.06.04
Of gunnes flagons cans and candlesticks 6 score and one pounds	05.01.04
of new chamber pots 28 pounds	00.18.08
Of ?metal 85 pounds of old fine ?8 score pounds two mortars	12.18.04
In the shop one vice 2 steadies 2 bright hammers one bickorn	
(a pointed hammer or anvil) one iron pot soldering irons bellows	
beams and scales stamp hammer shavers 3 patterns lead weights	
all belonging to the trade	02.18.08
Lay 74 pounds and 8 dozen of bells	02.18.08
Moulds 30 score pounds weight	25.00.00
Moulds 30 score pounds weight more	25.16.08
One wheel mandrels and hooks burnishers one spindle pot cars	
63 pounds old copper 29 pounds	03.16.08
Three mill brasses 30 pounds 4 dozen of melting pots old brass ware	
for (four) sadlers rasps and files	02.18.06

Three box moulds 8 ordinary moulds 4 pairs of screws one vice bench	
nine old files one brass screw one pair of bellows one moulding	
trough and impliments belonging to the trade	02.13.04
Of impliments and old things not worth much about the shop	00.05.00
Monies sperate and desperate	<u>30.10.08</u>
	£184.15.06*

(* My calculations of the figures presented above added up to £182.05.09, a discrepancy of £2.09.09.)

Richard Estabrooke (1721) of Boston

The probate inventory of Richard Estabrooke of Boston, Massachusetts in the English colonies of America is taken from Appendix II of Pewter in America, by L.I. Laughlin (1981:153). The total inventory was not available, and neither was the will, so there are no figures for the total monetary value of his estate. However, Estabrooke was a practicing pewterer and the inventory of his shop seems quite complete. The inventory comparisons made in this thesis are done with the assumption that the below listing completely represents the goods from Estabrooke's pewter shop.

Inventory of Richard Estabrooke of Boston, Massachusetts

	l	s	d
6 doz. and 5 large belly Porringers	@20/	06.08.04	
6 doz. and 2 middling Ditto	@18/	05.11.00	
6 doz. and 3 small Ditto	@14/	04.07.06	
4 doz. and 6 smaller Ditto	@12/	02.14.00	
1 Grindstone, Spindle & Frame	@20/	01.00.00	
1 Casting bench & screws 5/ 1 lead piece & 2 mallets 5/		00.10.00	
3 Iron Kettles & 3 ladles	20/	01.00.00	
1 Wheel and Tower and 33 blocks		05.00.00	
A parcell of hooks and hammers and small Tools & pr. sheers		05.10.00	
A pr. of Bellows 40/ andirons 7/		02.07.00	
3 doz. and 4 chamber potts	@45/	08.16.30	
9 doz. and 3 quart potts	44/	20.07.00	
3 doz. pint Potts N.F.	at28	04.04.00	
367 (lbs) of Rough Basons & Plates	at20	30.11.08	
45 Quart Potts hollow handles	at3/8	08.05.00	
30 Tankards	at5	07.10.00	
10 Quart Potts	at3/8	03.06.00	
19 Pint Potts hollow handles	at2/4	02.04.04	
17 Round brim Chamberpots	at3/9	03.03.09	
6 doz. & 8 pint Porringers	at1/8	06.13.04	
5 doz. & 7 middling Do	at1/6	05.00.06	
4 doz. & 2 small Ditto	at1/2	02.18.04	
8 doz. & 5 smaller Ditto	at12/	05.01.00	
8 doz. & 9 Blood porringers	at5/6	02.08.01	
5 Beaker cups	5/	00.05.00	
4 doz. 2 Soope plates	at32/	06.13.04	
14 Ditto flatt		01.02.08	
8 doz. 1 smaller	at22	08.17.10	
8 doz. Ditto "	at17	06.16.00	
16 2 Quart Basons	at4/6	03.12.00	
3 doz. & 2 3 pint Basons		06.13.00	