

THE MEDIEVAL PEWTERERS OF LONDON, c. 1190–1457

RONALD F. HOMER

INTRODUCTION

For a millenium between about 300 and 1300 AD the mines of Cornwall and Devon were the only significant source of tin in Europe. The Romans used Cornish tin to make pewterware in Britain in the third and fourth centuries, and it is a fact that far more pewter vessels and utensils survive from the Romano-British period than appear to survive from medieval times. Hatcher (1973, 16–17) adduces archaeological evidence from which it is apparent that tin was mined in Cornwall in the early medieval period and also documentary evidence that English tin was an article of commerce in Europe in the 9th and 10th centuries. However, there is no record from this remote period of its working as pewter in England, though Anglo-Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon brooches and jewellery survive in tin/lead alloys.

Hatcher and Barker (1974, 21–2) nevertheless find mention of pewter or tin vessels for ecclesiastical use in the 9th century records of Carolingian France. Thus the Council of Rheims in 803 or 813 included vessels of tin among those permitted for use in church services, and a pewter chalice was among the goods left by the bishop of Vigne in Spain in 909. By about 1100 Theophilus was writing in Germany of the fabrication of pewter vessels and the earliest English pewter sepulchral chalices and patens, interred in the coffin with the body of the dead priest, date from the end of the 11th century. Subsequently, church inventories list a wide range of pewter items in

use in the 12th and 13th centuries¹. Tin, pewter and lead pilgrim badges, and tokens made of these metals date from c. 1200 onwards and have been recovered in large numbers, particularly from the Thames foreshore in London. The published evidence indicates that the production of pilgrim badges and of the earlier tokens was mainly an ecclesiastical monopoly and the name ‘ampoller’ as a maker of pilgrims’ ampullae is found in the records of Canterbury Cathedral about 1200². From just before 1300 we have the earliest surviving pewter spoons and as the 14th century progresses documents speak of a range of domestic plates, dishes, basins, pitchers, candlesticks, flagons and salts.

During this same century pewterware figures increasingly in the wills and inventories of the middle classes. By 1400 its use was becoming widespread at all levels of society and pewterers were established in at least 11 provincial towns and cities to meet local demand³. By 1348 pewtering was widely enough practised in London for the pewterers of the city to be granted ordinances for the regulation of the craft, though it was not until 1473/4 that the ‘mystery’ of pewterers of London received their first charter, giving them country-wide power and standing.

Welch (1902, 2–11), recites the 1348 ordinances and later ones of 1438, both preserved in the city’s records, but finds very little to add to these until the archives of the Company commence in 1451. It is the aim of this study to fill this gap of over a century, and indeed to go back before

the 1348 ordinances to trace the very beginnings of the craft in London in the late 12th century.

The wealth of surviving medieval London wills, deeds, legal documents and business records has enabled the names of over 250 individual craftsmen who worked before about 1450 to be recovered. Sufficient biographical detail has been discovered about many of them to put some flesh on the bones and provide a rounded picture of the origin and development of the craft in the period before the records of the Company begin. Its growth up to 1348, the devastating effect of the Black Death, in the very year that the first ordinances were granted, and the slow recovery leading to the rapid expansion of the trade in the 15th century are revealed. The overall picture is illuminated by the individual lives and fortunes of some of the craftsmen of the period, a number of whom, from humble beginnings, rose to become members of London's prosperous merchant fraternity.

THE ORIGINS OF THE CRAFT

In seeking out early London craftsmen, reliance has to be placed in large measure on occupational names descriptive either of the medium in which the craftsman worked or of the wares which he produced. The earliest so far discovered appearance of the name *le pe(a)utrer* in the records of the city is that of John le peutrer in 1305⁴, and the name is found with increasing frequency during the following decades. Two problematical individuals, Ives peutenarius and Richard peaconer were living in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate in the 1220s and in published calendars are there equated with 'pewterer'⁵. However, both these names occur in isolation, do not appear later, and are found in an area of the city remote from that where early evidence of pewtering has been found. They must therefore remain enigmatic.

It is elsewhere that undoubted evidence is found of the earliest workers in pewter in the capital and the key is provided by one Henry le calicer (the chalice-maker). He is recorded in the parish of St. Martin's, Ludgate under this name

in 1306, and so-called himself in his will of 1312. Posthumously however, in deeds drawn up by his widow, Agnes la calicer, and his son, Thomas le peutrer, in 1324 and 1329, he is referred to indifferently as Henry le calicer and Henry le peutrer, proving that he worked in pewter.

As we shall see later an undoubted pewterer, Nicholas le peautrer was known also as Nicholas (le) calicer as late as 1348. On this evidence then, the name 'calicer', which is common in London in the 13th century, and is also found elsewhere in the country, conceals a number of workers in pewter whose main products were chalices, for which there was a considerable market. Thus Watkin^{5a} records that in the time of Edward III, 250 out of 358 churches in the Archdeaconry of Norwich possessed both pewter and silver chalices. He also notes that in 1240, Walter de Cantelupe, bishop of Worcester, expressly allowed the use of unconsecrated pewter chalices for taking to the sick and lay people customarily drank unconsecrated wine from chalices after taking communion. Such wine would no doubt have been consumed from base metal chalices of pewter. To this 'live' market must also be added a not inconsiderable one for sepulchral chalices and patens among some 9000 parish churches and innumerable other religious institutions.

The earliest mention of the name 'le calicer' in London appears to be that of Alexander le calicer to whom an earlier grant of land 'within Ludgate towards Baynard's Castle' was confirmed between 1190 and 1196. Significantly, of the thirteen other individuals who have been discovered with the name 'le calicer' in London between 1190 and 1348, ten lived in the parish of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and two in the adjoining parish of St. Bride's, Fleet Street.

London Chalice Makers 1190-1348

Alexander le calicer, c. 1190-96, St. Martin's
 Austin le calicer, 1190-1210, St. Martin's
 Hugh le calicer, early 13th century, St. Bride's
 John le calicer, 1217-40, St. Martin's
 Serle le calicer, 1217, St. Martin's
 Thomas le calicer, 1240, St. Martin's
 William le calicer, 1244, location unknown
 Stephen le calicer, mid-13th century, St. Bride's
 Osbert le calicer, 1259-73, St. Martin's
 John le calicer, 1290-94 (dead), St. Martin's
 Alexander le calicer, 1294, St. Martin's
 Henry le calicer *alias* le peautrer, 1306-12, St. Martin's
 Agnes la calicer, 1306-29, St. Martin's
 Nicholas Calyser, *alias* le peautrer, 1324-48, St. Martin's

Also living in St. Martin's parish in the 13th century were plumbers and goldsmiths⁶, so that here, at the west gate of St. Paul's cathedral, was perhaps the earliest identified group of metal workers in London. Probably many of those styled 'le calicer' were related, for several are known to have lived in a number of tenements on the north side of Ludgate Street (then known also as 'Bowyers Row') and the craft was no doubt passed from father to son. The will of John le chalyser was proved in 1296. Unfortunately it is not very revealing and the children named in it have not been subsequently traced. It is nonetheless apparently the earliest surviving pewter-worker's will. He owned houses within and without Ludgate and the rent from one of them was to be used for the maintaining of a wax taper before the altar of St. Martin's church. One of the two witnesses, Alexander le calicer, was a fellow craftsman.

The emergence and general adoption of the name *le pe(a)utrer* soon after 1300 suggests that about that time the comparatively novel alloy was first recognised in London as being of general commercial use for the fabrication of domestic utensils for a growing household market. This led to the formation of a unified 'mystery' of all the craftsmen working in it. Perhaps significantly the earliest closely dated surviving domestic pewterware, exemplified by a saucer from Southampton and the first spoons, are from the very end of the 13th century.

THE EARLIEST PEWTERERS

The earliest London pewterer whose career can be followed in detail is Nicholas Miles, *alias* Nicholas le peautrer, *alias* Nicholas le peautrer de Ludgate, *alias* Nicholas (le) calyicer. He was the successor, as will be seen, to Henry le calicer, whose daughter, Elena, he married, and to whose widow, Agnes, he was perhaps apprenticed. In 1324 Agnes la calicer, conveyed to Nicholas and to Elena 'my daughter his wife' a tenement on the north side of Ludgate Street, possibly as a dowry. In 1329 Thomas le peautrer, son and heir to Agnes and Henry, conveyed to him a second tenement, also on the north side of Ludgate Street and adjoining one owned by 'the preaching brothers' (the Black Friars), which had been acquired by Henry in 1306, and in which it appears that Henry himself and later Nicholas lived. One may infer that as Nicholas was referred to as Nicholas Miles in 1324 and as Nicholas le peautrer in 1329, his working career began between those dates, per-

haps in the former year if that was the year in which he completed his apprenticeship and married Elena. In 1329, 1332 and 1348 he is found mentioned as Nicholas Calcere (also Calyser) suggesting a continuity in his hands of Henry's chalice-making business⁷.

It was under this name that in 1332 he was assessed for the sum of 13s-4d in the lay subsidy for the ward of Farringdon Within⁸. In the same year he acquired another tenement in Ludgate Street from Richard Knight, arblaster. Elena was by then dead and he had married Alice, widow of Andrew Martyn de Tyndale, blader (cornmerchant), who had died in 1328. Alice brought with her other properties formerly belonging to her husband, and these were disposed of in 1334, 1337 and 1345. In this last year Alice died and Nicholas (who died in 1347/8) made his will naming as his executors, John de Kyngeston, blader, William Frensshe, pewterer, and Roger Syward, pewterer, all of whom however had perished of the Black Death before his estate was settled. His tenements, then numbering four, were eventually disposed of in 1349 by the executors of his deceased executors. Two went to a certain Richard le peautrer and from him, in the same year, to John Syward, Roger's brother, and one went to another pewterer, Nicholas de Hyngestworth (also Henxt(e)worth) whom we shall meet later.

It is clear from Nicholas' will that he died a wealthy and prosperous man. He left to his son Thomas ten marks of silver, two thousand pounds of pewter (or tin, *stagnum*) and the tools of his trade, together with a silver cup enamelled in the foot, a dozen silver spoons, two mazer cups and various household furnishings. He had intended that Thomas should have his four tenements, but Thomas it seems also died of the plague and so a flourishing family business was abruptly terminated.

Other pewterers are recorded in Cheap ward in the 1319 and 1332 lay subsidy returns. In the former year we find four; John, Geoffrey, Thomas and William, all assessed at rates typical of the modest shopkeeper⁹. Thomas and William reappear in the 1332 returns paying 4s (1319; 10d) and 5s-4d (1319; 13½d) respectively¹⁰, indicating a rapidly expanding business. Thomas, who is recorded as dead in 1337, was a warden of the conduit in the Cheap in 1333, as was William in 1337. In this latter year one Richard le peautrer was concerned in valuing lead belonging to the conduit and thus perhaps also lived in the Cheap¹¹. In 1350 a William le peautrer of Cheap ward (surely a

second generation!) was impressed to serve as an archer and was sent to Sandwich on the ship of William Turk 'with the wages of a seaman'¹². Also in the Cheap, Stephen Lestraunge, *alias* Stephen le peautrer, an overseer of the 1348 ordinances, leased a tavern called 'le Lyonn' in St. Pancras ward from 1345. It had shops in front and solars over and the lease, together with the considerable sum of £55-3s-4d, was put in trust for his orphaned children when he succumbed to the plague in 1349¹³. One of these, William Peutrér, is named as an apprentice in the 1364 will of James de Thame, trade unknown, who had a shop in the goldsmithery.

Thus, before the plague, we have two main focal points of the craft, the parish of St. Martin's, Ludgate and the Cheap. The former, established on the main highway into London from the west and adjacent to the great ecclesiastical centre of St. Paul's; and the other in the main city market area, already well colonised by other crafts, goldsmiths, lorimers, saddlers, cordwainers and candlemakers.

The effect of the plague on the newly enfranchised craft must have been disastrous, both depleting the number of craftsmen and the market for their wares. Thus, when in 1351 and 1352 members of Common Council were elected from the 'mysteries' rather than from the wards as hitherto, the pewterers were not represented¹⁴. However, when in 1363 the guilds sought to curry favour from Edward III by collecting 'money for a present for the king', the pewterers were sufficiently recovered to contribute the not inconsiderable sum of 100 shillings, a sum which may be compared, for example, with 10 marks (£6-13s-4d) from the braziers and the cordwainers, 100 shillings from the saddlers, £20 from the tailors and £33-6s-8d from the vintners¹⁵. By 1376, when election to Common Council was again from the mysteries, the pewterers were represented by Walter Hervyle and John Kentois¹⁶.

One family of pewterers, the Sywards, survived the plague, though the founding member died of it. Roger Syward, earlier known as Roger le peautrer, died as we have seen in 1348/9. He is first recorded in 1331 as a witness to a deed concerning property in Watling Street and in 1332 paid 6s-8d in the lay subsidy for Bread Street ward. From his will it is apparent that he lived in the parish of All Hallow's, Bread Street, and other documents suggest that the house he inhabited was in Friday Street. He apparently favoured the east side of St. Paul's churchyard for his business. Roger's two

brothers, John and William and several children survived him, though his wife, Margery, also succumbed to the plague. His will left the implements of his trade to any son willing to learn it and an unspecified number of apprentices were to be turned over to his wife. At his death his eldest son William was aged only six, another son Thomas was one-and-a-half and a daughter Mary was five. A tenement and four shops in the parish of All Hallow's, worth 6 marks and 2 shillings respectively, together with a sum of £21-6s-8d was put in trust for the children and John Syward, pewterer, their uncle, was appointed their guardian¹⁷. Mary claimed her inheritance in 1358 and Thomas in 1367 when it was recorded that William had died before reaching fullage¹⁸. Thomas was apprenticed to his uncle and guardian, being mentioned in the latter's will made in 1364, but was dead in 1368/9 when his will (the text of which does not survive) was proved. He nevertheless appears to have been of some substance despite his early death, since his widow, Johanna, who subsequently married a tailor, John Spenythorne, later disposed of certain tenements in Bread Street which had been her dower.

Roger's two brothers were both pewterers. As already noted, John acquired in 1349 certain tenements and shops which had belonged to Nicholas le peautrer de Ludgate and his will shows that he lived in St. Martin's parish. In 1350 he was a warden of the craft and in 1355/6 he represented the ward of Farringdon Without at a congregation called by the mayor of 'the wealthier and wiser commoners'¹⁹. In 1364 he was partner in a consortium of London pewterers whose ship, carrying some 40 tonnes of tin from Cornwall, was seized by the French²⁰. By 1367 he was dead²¹, though for some unexplained reason his will was not proved until 1375. This document reveals a prosperous craftsman who had six apprentices and considerable personal wealth. It enumerates a silver footed cup and cover, silver bowls, at least four other pieces of plate and 27 silver spoons. He owned tenements 'without the east gate of Winchester' as well as in London. The significance of a bequest of all the debts owing to him in the County of Bedford for distribution to 'certain paupers, my kinsmen in that county' will be discussed later.

Of Roger's brother William, little is recorded, but he died in 1368 and his will shows that he also lived in the parish of St. John the Evangelist, Friday Street.

THE PEWTERERS POST 1348

Disruptive though the events of 1348/9 must have been, some continuity can nevertheless be observed. Into certain of the tenements previously owned by Nicholas le peutrer de Ludgate there moved in 1349 John Syward and another prominent pewterer, variously known as Nicholas de Hyngesthworth (also Henxteworth), Nicholas (le) peautrer and Nicholas de Ludgate. Nicholas was appointed an overseer of the craft in 1349 and during the next decade was a party to many property transactions in the city. In 1355/6 he, together with John Syward, was summoned to the previously mentioned congregation of the wealthier and wiser commoners, and by 1360 he had become extremely wealthy. In that year he wrote to the Black Prince as Duke of Cornwall offering to buy the major part of the tin produced in the county, and pay the coinage on it, if the prince would help with the provision of ships to carry it to Southampton²². In 1362 he entered into a recognisance for £200, secured on his properties in London²³, and in the same year had other business dealings with the Black Prince²⁴. In 1364 he was one of those who, with John Syward, William Kenteys (another pewterer) and Ralph Trenwich, was partner in the shipload of tin seized by the French.

He died in 1364 and his will asks that he be buried in St. Martin's church 'where I used to sit during service' and he left to his son John, after the decease of his wife, Johanna, 'all the utensils of my trade together with a thousandweight of tin when he should take a shop of his own'. He had three other sons and three daughters to whom substantial legacies of property and money were left. His widow Johanna married Clement Lauder (Lavendar), fishmonger. His son is recorded as John Peautrer in 1377 and again in 1397–9 as John Henxteworth, citizen and pewterer of London. Another son, William, is recorded as an ironmonger between 1389 and 1401 at the 'Fleur de Lis on the Hoop' outside Ludgate²⁵.

During the latter part of the 14th century there was a considerable influx of pewterers to London from the village of Arlesey (Arlichesey etc.) in Bedfordshire. We have seen that John Syward bequeathed certain monies to his poor kinsmen in the county of Bedford and it is apparent that he had family connections there. Thus it is recorded in the rolls of Arlesey Bury Manor that in 1397 another John Syward, together with James Quarrer, had left the manor and both were then working as pewterers in Candlewick Street²⁶. Both were of villein status,

though Quarrer subsequently purchased his manumission. Another pointer to the Sywards' Arlesey connection lies in the marriage, before 1368, of Thomas Syward's cousin, Katherine, to William Amont de Arlichesey. The relationship between the two John Sywards is not known, but the younger of them was presumably the John Syward from whom a 'lavatorium with a pipe' (a hand basin) was seized by the wardens of the craft in 1373 as being made of thin and false metal²⁷.

These rather ill-defined Syward links with Arlesey form part only of a broader and much more directly apparent connection between the craft and the village. We know for example that John de Arlichesey was a warden of the craft in 1350 and John Claydich, pewterer, who died in 1394, left bequests to the church of Arlesey. The name of Claydich is found in Arlesey in the 12th century when Warin de Claydich held half a hide there from the king²⁸. One John de Claydich died there in 1349 leaving land to his son John 'aged 21 years and no more' who may well be John the pewterer²⁹. Again, the Arlesey court records contain many references to Walter Hervyl (also Herville) and his son Richard between 1383 and 1403 and it is clear that they were the London pewterers of the same name. Walter was dead in 1387 when his 'impliments pertaining to the mystery of pewterers' together with the sum of £60 and the guardianship of Richard was entrusted to Thomas Baketon, fishmonger, who had married Walter's widow Matilda³⁰. As late as 1448 Richard, son and heir of Walter Hervyl and Matilda his wife, was concerned with lands at Arlesey³¹.

The reason for this influx from Arlesey is unclear, but the inference can be drawn that the trade was prospering in the latter half of the century to the extent that immigrant workers were needed to supplement the supply of London-born craftsmen. Others appear to have come from Kent for the names of several members of the Kentoys (Kenteys, Cantoys etc.) family are found as pewterers between 1367 and 1427. Their origins are unclear, but the name is a variant of Kentois—a Kentishman—and they owned considerable estates in Plumstead³². Between 1367 and 1374 William Canteys, pewterer, resided in the parish of St. Augustine, Watling Street, where in 1372 the rector complained of water and effluent running onto his property from that of William³³. John, perhaps William's son, reached some eminence in the craft and was a member of Common Council in 1376, 1381, 1384, 1387 and 1395³⁴. He was dead in 1402

when his widow married another London pewterer, Thomas Fulham, who died in 1408. Her will of 1427 provides a legacy for 'the poor and indigent of the craft of pewterer in London'. John's son Thomas was also a pewterer and Thomas' sister (or step-sister), Margaret Harlee, was probably the wife of Roger Harlee, pewterer³⁵.

An all too brief glimpse of a pewterer's living and working accommodation is afforded by a deed of 1390 wherein the shop of John Claydich in the parish of St. Martin's, Cornhill, is recorded as being 12 feet long and 10 feet 10 inches wide. The living accommodation comprised four solars and a latrine. Despite the small size of his shop to modern eyes he was a prosperous tradesman, leaving over £100 in monetary bequests in his will of 1394. He is also recorded in 1390 as suing Matthew Sampson of Mere (Wilts.) for £12³⁶. An insight into the life style of a 14th century pewterer is given by the account of the theft from John de Hilton in the early 1350s of a variety of luxurious personal possessions comprising gold worth £10, silver valued at £6, silver plate and spoons, a mazer, two paternosters of amber, one piece of medley cloth, a robe worth 20 shillings, jewellery and napery to a total value of £30-14s³⁷. Despite his obvious standing, John de Hilton appears not to have been entirely honest since it was from him in 1350 that various substandard wares comprising 23 potel pots and 20 saltcellars were confiscated 'the greater part of the metal in them being lead . . . to the deceit of the people and to the disgrace of the whole trade'. The six wardens of the craft sat in judgement on him and are named as Arnald de Shypwaysshe, Nicholas de Ludgate, John Syward, William de Upton, John de Arlicheseye and William de Greschirche³⁸.

The equipment of the medieval pewterer is illustrated in their wills and in the unique surviving inventory of the working tools of Thomas Filkes. It is known that small items of pewter were cast in medieval times in moulds of stone, fragments of which have been excavated in many locations, and a knowledge of the date when metal moulds were introduced would be of considerable interest. A mould of 'brass' is mentioned in the will of John Baker of 1426, but the moulds mentioned in earlier wills, such as those of Nicholas le peutrer in 1347/8 and John Claydich in 1394, are of unspecified material.

Detailed evidence for a wide range of metal moulds is provided by the inventory drawn up on the death of Thomas Filkes in 1427 which is here reproduced in full³⁹,

a small charger mould of brass, weight 80 lbs, value 26s-8d at 4d the lb,
 a middle platter mould of brass, 54 lbs, 18s.
 a small platter mould of brass, 59 lbs, 19s-8d.
 a great dish mould, 50 lbs, 16s-8d.
 a counterfeit dish mould, 51 lbs, 17s.
 a middle dish mould, 37 lbs, 12s-4d.
 a hollow dish mould, 20 lbs, 8s-4d (*sic*).
 a great saucer mould, 16 lbs, 7s (*sic*).
 a middle saucer mould, 16 lbs, 5s-4d.
 a small saucer mould, 16 lbs, 5s-4d.
 a dish mould and a saucer mould, 25 lbs, 8s-4d.
 a hollow platter mould, 57 lbs, 19s.
 a great charger mould, 120 lbs, 44s (*sic*).
 a new charger mould, 93 lbs, 31s.
 a middle charger mould, 106 lbs, 35s-4d.
 the greatest charger mould, 157 lbs, 52s-4d.
 14 'pryntys', 155 lbs at 2d the pound, 27s-4d.
 7 pairs of 'clammes', 60 lbs, 5s-6d.
 a wheel, an arbour and a 'tower', 3s-4d.
 a pair of clipping shears, 12d.
 a burnisher, 2d.
 8 turning hooks, 8d.
 4 anvils and 2 swages, 3s-4d.
 7 'clene' hammers, 2s-4d.
 2 scoring 'flotes', 12d.
 2 chisels and a pair of lifting tongs, 8d.
 2 bellows, 2 casting pans and a stirring staff, 8d.
 4 soldering irons and 3 casting 'stocks', 8d.
 4 'strake stones' and scales and weights, 21s-3d.
 20 marking irons, 6d.

'Clammes' were clamps for holding together the separate parts of the moulds and 'flotes' were curved files with teeth on the outside circumference.

The moulds listed would have cast flatware between about 4 inches and 20 inches in diameter and had a total value, at 4d the pound, of over £16. It is instructive to compare this list with a detailed list of authorised weights for flatware which was entered in the city records in 1438⁴⁰. The relevant part of this may be summarised as follows.

Chargers of the largest size, 7 lbs; chargers, the next greatest, 5 lbs; middle chargers, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs; small hollow chargers, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. Platters of the largest size, 30 lbs per doz; platters of the next size, 27 lbs per doz; middle platters, 24 lbs per doz; small middle platters, 22 lbs per doz. Dishes of the largest size, 18 lbs per doz; middle dishes, 14 lbs per doz; King's dishes, 16 lbs per doz; small dishes, 12 lbs per doz; hollow dishes, 11 lbs per doz; small hollow dishes 10 lbs per doz. Saucers of the largest size, 9 lbs per doz; middle saucers, 8 lbs per doz; next to the middle saucers, 6 lbs per doz; small saucers, 4 lbs per doz.

Each of the moulds was to be shared in future between from two to six pewterers and other records speak of the sharing of these expensive items of equipment. The will of John Childe (1441) refers to 'my part of a dish mould which I and John Hulle, pewterer, share', and a further complex sharing arrangement was made by the pewterers craft in 1448. This recites the purchase by the Company from Walter Warde on 16 August 1448 of twelve moulds and continues,

'Ye partners of vii moldys ys John Turner, John Kendall, William Heyre and John Vesey,

First ye iiij part of ye saladysche and ye sawseyre wt ye ffelet

Item ye iiij part of ye ii small sawsyrs

Item ye iiij part ye flemyshe dysche and wide trencher

Item ye iiij part of ye small platter

Ye parners of ye G(reat) schargur ys John Kendall, William Proude, William Heyre and John Veysy

Item ye iii part(ners) of ye medyll platter [ys] William Heyre, John Marteyn and John Veysy.'

Similarly John Veysy, Thomas Cutler and William Heyre shared a hollow dish mould and a great salad dish mould⁴¹.

It is of interest that Thomas Filkes possessed only flatware moulds, and this suggests that specialisation on certain types of ware was an early feature of the craft.

Apprentices are mentioned in London as early as 1260 and the pewterers' ordinances of 1348 indicate that the taking of apprentices was well established in the craft at that date. The will of Roger Syward, of the same year, mentions an unspecified number. In 1364 John Syward had six, but this may be exceptional, since in wills dating between 1413 and 1442, three cite one only and four mention two. Nevertheless William Boxon (died 1412) had three journeymen ('servants') as well as two apprentices and so ran a considerable business. Several wills stipulate that the testator's apprentices were to be turned over to his widow on his death, and a number provide monetary bequests to apprentices, either immediately or on the completion of their articles.

There is little evidence of admission to the craft by methods other than apprenticeship. It was a long established custom that freemen of the city were at liberty to change their craft and legally practice any other, despite the apparently restrictive ordinances of many of the crafts. One example only has been found of a member of a

quite unrelated craft becoming a pewterer. In 1439/40 Nicholas Gille, a native of Lincoln, who had been made free as an upholsterer in 1428, appeared before the mayor's court and averred that he had long practiced the mystery of pewterer. It was agreed that he should be admitted to that craft⁴². It is unlikely that this was a unique event, and indeed Thomas Dounton, a wealthy mercer, was running a large pewtering business employing no less than seven journeymen and eleven apprentices when he was made free of the pewterers in 1456/7 on payment of 6s-8d⁴³.

The evidence therefore suggests that as well as a nucleus of London-born and London-apprenticed craftsmen, there was recruitment from outside and a substantial influx of immigrants from the provinces. It is clear from the 1348 ordinances that the craft was free to accept into its ranks not only its own apprenticed men, but also other 'lawful workmen known and tried among them'; an indication that at least at this date there was a consciousness that the expanding craft could not be self sustaining from its own indigenous source of labour. A source which clearly suffered severely in the following plague year, thus exacerbating the problem.

We have already seen that some London pewterers were involved in the purchasing of tin, though it is not clear that this was with the best interests of the craft in mind. Thus, presumably to avoid abuses, it was ordered in 1444 that a quarter of all tin coming to London was to be reserved for the craft. At the same time power of search of all tin coming into the capital was granted to the pewterers for 'grete multitude of Tynne whiche is untrewre and deceyvable is brought into this Citee and here is sold as dere as the best Tynne . . . wherethrough grete damages and hurtes is daily growen and encrecen . . . to all the Kynges lieges bying myltyng and wirkyng the same Tynne . . .'⁴⁴.

In order to safeguard their position the craft included in its membership persons with strong connections with the Cornish tin trade. One such was John Megre, a native of Truro, who settled in London and is recorded there both as a pewterer and a substantial tin merchant. He was sued in 1407 for the delivery of tin worth £150⁴⁵ and in 1417/18 he advanced £50 for 'the king's expedition abroad'⁴⁶. His will of 1420 discloses that his daughter Lucy was married to John Erchedeken, a member of a prominent Cornish family much involved in Stannary affairs. A second daughter, Margaret, was the wife of

Jacob Nanvan (or Nanfan) a member of an important Cornish tin-mining family⁴⁷. Later in 1451, we find another Cornish tin merchant, John Dogowe, being admitted to the pewterers' ranks, albeit for the rather substantial sum of £3-6s-8d⁴⁸. This wooing of the Cornish tin suppliers continued throughout the 15th century and as late as 1490/91 we find the Company paying three pence for ale 'when the Cornishmen were at our hall'⁴⁹.

THE MARKET

Edward I is said to have owned over 300 pieces of pewter in 1290 comprising one hundred dishes, one hundred platters and over one hundred saltcellars⁵⁰. In 1292 pewter pitchers and a basin are recorded in the kitchen of Berwick-on-Tweed Castle⁵¹. We cannot, however, be certain that this pewter was of English origin; it could well have come from France where, among others, a Guild of Pewterers was established in Paris by 1268. The earliest undoubted mentions of English domestic pewter are found in the opening years of the 14th century. Hatcher and Barker (1974, 34 and 42) record that a small quantity of pitchers, dishes and saltcellars of pewter was exported from London in 1307; valued at 13s it must have weighed some fifty pounds, and that in 1312 Finchdale Priory, Durham, purchased a dozen pewter plates for 3s⁵². The first mention of individually owned pewter is contained in the will of the Londoner Richard de Blountesham who died in 1317. He owned 12 plates, 12 dishes, 18 saltcellars and two flagons valued at 7 shillings⁵³. Thereafter pewter is increasingly mentioned in wills and inventories. In 1341 Thomas de Arleye and William de Marnham of 'Wolvernhampton' each owned 24 pewter dishes and 12 saucers worth 4s⁵⁴. Stephen le Northerne, ironmonger of London, had 20 pounds weight of domestic pewter in 1356⁵⁵ and fifty years later John Oliver, draper, possessed 200 pieces weighing 400

pounds and valued at 2½d per pound, a total of £4-3s-8d⁵⁶. Hatcher and Barker (1974, 55) instance Richard Toky, grocer, who in 1391 had 2 chargers, 12 platters, 10 dishes, 11 saucers, 9 trenchers, 2 half-gallon pots, 3 quart pots, 1 pint pot, salt cellars, a holy water stoup, a candlestick, and two shallow bowls. In all a good cross-section of the types of wares which were then being made.

The use of pewter in taverns is well attested. In 1411 the mayor and aldermen of London ordered that every brewer, breweress, hosteler, cook, piebaker and huckster selling ale in their houses must provide themselves with pewter pots, viz. gallons, potels and quarts and not use any other⁵⁷.

The demand for pewter was not confined to London, Bristol had a pewterer in 1343, York in 1348, Kings Lynn in 1350, and by the end of the century pewterers were working in at least 11 English towns. English pewter was held in high esteem abroad. In 1364 licence was given to John Pagan of Dunkirk to export two dozen pewter vessels and eight pewter pots to Flanders⁵⁸ and in the 1380s considerable quantities were purchased in England on behalf of the pope⁵⁹. In 1384 at least seven thousandweights was exported. By 1400 15–20 tonnes of pewter were being exported annually from London, 45–50 tonnes by the 1430s and (exceptionally) 90 tonnes in 1466/7. Indeed at this time pewter ranked second only to cloth among English manufactured exports⁶⁰. The annual output of the London pewterers can only be conjectural, but present-day concerns making pewterware by hand methods differing little from those used in medieval times, appear to average about one tonne of ware per skilled craftsman per annum. The sixty or so pewterers known to have been working in London in 1400 may thus have been making 60 tonnes of ware, say

200,000 individual items of domestic pewter annually.

The scale and organisation of the craft in London prior to 1457, when the Company's archives begin to provide a detailed picture, can be arrived at only indirectly. Making certain assumptions about working lives, and assuming, as seems likely, that the 250 plus pewterers identified in London before *c.* 1450 represent the great majority of those actually working there, a tentative table can be drawn up indicating the likely number of pewterers at work at the end of each decade. Using figures for the number of London goldsmiths extracted from the published records of that company⁶¹, the rapid growth of the pewterers by comparison with the rather static number of workers in precious metals reflects the very marked increase in the use of the base metal over the century-and-a-half from 1300 onwards.

Computed number of Pewterers working in London

Date	Number of pewterers	Number of goldsmiths
1310	5	—
1320	13	—
1330	17	—
1340	20	—
1348	30	—
1360	20	—
1368/9	—	135
1370	20	—
1380	13	—
1390	20	—
1400	33	—
1404	—	186
1410	60	—
1420	57	—
1430	57	—
1440	94	—
1444	—	140
1450	87	—
1457 (actual)	100	—
1462	—	150

The size of the pewterers' shops of the 14th century is unknown. We have seen that many masters had a few apprentices, and William Boxon

also employed three journeymen. This was probably the typical pattern; a master plus a few apprentices and/or journeymen forming the usual unit. In 1457 we have actual figures derived from the Company's records⁶². There were fifty-six pewterers' shops in the capital. Eighteen comprised a master alone; eleven a master plus one apprentice or journeyman; fifteen a master plus two; seven a master plus three, and there are single examples of a master plus four; a master plus six; a master plus eight; a master plus eleven and finally the workshop of Thomas Dounton, the former mercer turned pewterer which employed no less than eighteen workmen. Indeed this is the largest craft shop so far discovered for any London craft at that time. Even so most of the units were small and the picture cannot have been significantly different a hundred years earlier.

The wages paid to journeymen are unknown in the earlier period. A single instance from a will of 1451 cites a figure of 40s a year⁶³ and in 1538 wages of between 2d and 4d a day are recorded, presumably plus keep⁶⁴.

Quality of wares was strictly enforced and the cases of John de Hilton and John Syward whose sub-standard wares were seized have already been instanced. Recently discovered ordinances of the craft drawn up in 1455 cast much detailed light on the rules to which members were bound to conform⁶⁵. The prices for various types of ware were laid down, as was the charge to be made for workmanship to a craftsman or an outsider. The purchase price for scrap metal was fixed and the places and manner in which business was conducted are prescribed. An interesting and quite detailed provision allows for the recruitment into the craft of a skilled man to recover tin from the 'ashes' which formed on the molten metal and which represented a considerable wastage of raw material. Certain types of export wares can be discerned in the descriptions 'galley ware', 'catelan ware' and 'florentine ware'. Of interest is the high penalty of £20 to be imposed on anyone lending or alienating moulds out of the craft. Whether this was to prevent spurious wares being cast in them, or because of their value is not stated.

The prices laid down in these ordinances are the earliest direct information we have on this subject and these may be summarised as follows.

Counterfeit vessels, 4d/lb; trade-in price 2½d.

Plain vessels, 3d/lb; trade-in price 2d.

Round pots, 3½d/lb; trade-in price 2d.

Square pots, 3 quart, 2s; pottle, 16d; quart, 10d; pint, 8d; half-pint, 5d each.

Salers [salts], 3½d and 2½d each.

Bowls, 4d/lb.

Galley ware, 'catelyn' ware and 'fflorentine' ware; counterfeit, 4d/lb; plain, 4½d/lb.

Square trenchers, 3d each.

'Gananelles', 6lb, 5s; 4lb, 3s-4d; 3lb, 2s-6d; 2lb, 20d.

Labour costs are given as follows for certain items:

Making square pots for those outside the craft, 10s/hundred [pounds ?].

Making round pots and salts for those outside the craft, 9s/hundred.

Making square pots for those in the craft, 8s-6d/hundred.

Making round pots for those in the craft, 7s-6d/hundred.

Old metal in general was to be bought at no more than 2d/lb.

Bearing in mind that the average wage then being paid to artificers and craftsmen was in the range of 4d to 6d per day, it will be seen that pewterware was not a cheap commodity. A half-pint pot, for example, cost a day's wages.

Prices before 1455 can only be estimated. Hatcher and Barker (1974, 41), from the price of tin, suggest 2½d/lb in London in the period 1300-50. If we assume that the trade-in price for second-hand ware was about two-thirds the price of new, an indication can be obtained from inventories for the next half century. In 1356 Stephen de Northern's pewter was valued at 1¾d/lb; in 1391 that of Richard Toky at 2d, and in 1406 John Oliver's at 2½d. This gives equivalent new prices in the range 3d to 4d/lb.

LOCATION

Although it was the privilege of a freeman of London to choose to be buried anywhere in the city, we may assume that, except in special circumstances, the church selected by a testator for his burial was that of the parish in which he lived. Most wills therefore provide information on the maker's place of residence, at least in later life. Similarly many legal cases were in medieval times concerned with parochial matters and the parties concerned, together with jurors and witnesses, would have lived in the parish in question. From such sources, together with property deeds, can be discovered the locations of some sixty-five London pewterers between *c.* 1200 and 1460.

It has been seen that the earliest chalicers/pewterers lived and worked in the parish of St. Martin, Ludgate, many of them on the north side of Ludgate Street close to St. Paul's cathedral. The earliest relevant deed enrolled in the Court of Hustling in 1259 places Osbert le caliser 'outside the city gate of St. Paul's . . . on the corner of the king's highway'. Nicholas le peautrer de Ludgate owned or leased four tenements on the north side of Ludgate Street, two of which had previously belonged to Henry le calicer. He lived in one adjoining a tenement of the Black Friars. Another, apparently sandwiched between St. Martin's church and the city wall, had previously probably been part-owned by one Adam le peautrer. In 1319 the four pewterers recorded in Cheap ward were no doubt located in the main market area of the Cheap itself. By about 1330 we find records of pewterers in the parishes immediately to the east of St. Paul's. They seem to have lived in the Friday Street, Watling Street area which would have been convenient both for the cathedral and for the Cheap.

In the latter part of the 14th century an eastward drift becomes apparent and by 1400 or soon after craftsmen are found in the other main market districts, Candlewick Street, Eastchepe and Cornhill. Several are to be found in the parish of St. Botolph, Billingsgate, which would have given them easy access to river transport for their wares. Some remained centrally in the Cheap, but only four are found recorded west of the Cheap after 1400. The concentration round St. Paul's had disappeared, perhaps a reflection of a changing market as the ecclesiastical demand was overtaken by that for domestic pewterware.

Outside the city, in Westminster, there are a few indications of pewterers. Lambert le peutrer 'of Middlesex' owned lands there in 1311⁶⁶ and in 1332 a certain Thomas le peutrer had a shop in Westminster⁶⁷.

Before they had a hall of their own the pewterers held their gatherings from at least the middle of the 15th century in the church of the Austin Friars where the 1455 ordinances were drawn up. Earlier their gatherings may perhaps have been held in the Monastery of the Grey Friars, conveniently situated just north of Ludgate Street. It was here from an unknown date until 1495, when they removed to All Hallows, Lombard Street, that the craft held their religious observances as the Brotherhood of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Their own hall was completed in 1486 and the choice of Lime Street as a location indicates the general area of the city where the majority of the craftsmen were to be found by this date.

A clear overlap between the trades of pewterer

and brazier is apparent at least in the provinces from the 15th century and was common from the 16th century. As early as 1414 William Sprage of Shrewsbury was apprenticed to John Hyndlee of Northampton, brazier, 'to learn first the craft of brazier and afterwards to be taught the pewterer's craft'⁶⁸. In medieval London the braziers, who received their ordinances in 1416, were concentrated then in the extreme east of the city. Of eleven braziers whose wills are enrolled in the Commissary Court and Archdeaconry Court of London between 1374 and 1413, five resided in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate and the remainder were in adjoining parishes. This marked geographical separation suggests that the London trades had little, if any, common ground.

LOCATIONS OF LONDON PEWTERERS

Parishes in order West to East

St. Bride, Fletestrete; Hugh le calicer, early 13th century; Stephen le calicer, mid 13th century.
St. Martin, Ludgate; Alexander le calicer, 1190–6; Austin le calicer, 1190–1210; John le calicer, 1217–40; Serle le calicer, 1217; Thomas le calicer, 1240; Osbert le calicer, 1259–73; John le calicer, 1290–94d; Alexander le calicer, 1294; Henry le calicer, 1306–12; Agnes la calicer, 1306–29; Nicholas le peutrre de Ludgate, 1324–48; Adam le peutrre, 1340; Nicholas de Hyngestworth, 1349–64d; John Syward, 1348–67d.
St. Leonard, Foster Lane; John Spencer, 1426d.
St. Augustine by St. Paul's; William Kentois, 1372; Richard Thorpe, 1396d; Robert Offyngton, 1404d; John Kyrleton, 1435d.
St. Werberga; John de Kyngeston, 1349d; William Syward, 1368d.
St. Mildred, Bread Street; John Childe, 1442d.
All Hallows, Bread Street; Roger Syward, 1349d. 'Chepe Ward'; Geoffrey le peutrre, 1319; John le peutrre, 1319; Thomas le peutrre, 1319–32; William le peutrre, 1319–32.
St. Pancreas; Stephen (le) Straunge, 1345d.
St. Mary, Colechurch; John Boxon, 1409d; William Boxon, 1412d; John Dabron, 1432d.
All Hallows the Great; William Scott, 1446.
St. Mildred, Walbrook; Hugh Game, 1436d.
St. Mary, Woolchurch; Adam Rewarde, 1406d; William Kent, 1432d; Richard Mauncell, 1440; William Bellyng, 1447.
St. Mary, Woolnoth; John Megre, 1420d.
St. Martin, Orgar; Thomas Langtot, 1479d.
St. Clement, Candlewykstrete; Guy Nicholas, 1395; William Hayward, 1430d.
'Candlewykstrete'; John Syward, 1395; James Quarrer, 1395.
St. Benet, Fink; Richard Tebold, 1418d; Bartholomew Cornwaille, 1435d.
St. Michael, Cornhill; John Claydich, 1349d; John de Arlichesey, 1350; William Gugge, 1423d; William

Mason, 1435d; John Grace, 1440; John Kirkeby, 1455d.

St. Leonard, Eastchepe; Walter le peautrer (?Walter Hervyle), 1368; John Hervyle, 1372.

St. Botolph, Billingsgate; John Parke, 1413d; Isabell Parke, 1415d; John Bakere, 1426d.

All Hallows, Gracechurchstreet; John Lorkin, 1451.

St. Peter, Cornhill; Peter Pypound, 1466d.

St. Andrew, Eastchepe; Richard Foxe, 1435d.

St. Mary at Hill; John Burgess, 1420d.

St. Andrew, Cornhill; John Forebrook, 1441.

St. Olaf, Hart Street; John Cornemonger, 1435d.

St. Botolph, Aldgate; John Hulle, 1453d.

MANUFACTURING TECHNIQUES

The provenance of most surviving medieval pewter is uncertain or unknown, and in many cases it is unclear whether it is of English or foreign origin. There were nevertheless stringent prohibitions on the import of pewter and we know that there was a flourishing export trade. This being so, it seems not unlikely that many items of medieval pewter discovered in Europe may have been of English manufacture. For the same reason it appears unlikely that many of those found in England originated abroad. Despite the uncertainties there is sufficient evidence from surviving pieces and from documentary sources to form a good impression of the manufacturing techniques in use in London.

The casting of pewter in stone moulds was practised in Roman Britain and fragments of limestone moulds for plates and dishes have been excavated in several locations⁶⁹. Medieval mould fragments of stone for spoons, badges and tokens have also survived⁷⁰. That there are no surviving medieval metal moulds is not surprising for once they were outdated they would have been consigned to the melting pot. With one exception there appear to be no certain records of metal moulds before the early 1400s by which time they were in common use. The exception is a reference to the use of 'iron' moulds in France in 1354 for the casting of pilgrim badges⁷¹. These were produced in enormous numbers and Spencer instances the sale of 130,000 in two weeks at one continental shrine⁷². The advantage of metal moulds in retaining the fine detail exhibited by many badges must have been appar-

ent, and the skills for their production existed among seal engravers. Whether such moulds were used for massive pewterware at this early date must for the moment be a moot point. Indeed Birunguccio, writing of Italian pewterers in 1540, speaks of moulds of 'tuff' (a volcanic stone) being employed then for the casting of pewter vessels⁷³. Theophilus describes the fabrication of a pewter cruet in a clay mould by the lost wax process and this technique, though tedious, would have been satisfactory for the casting of single non-repetitive items of some value⁷⁴.

The earliest securely datable pewter of undoubted English provenance are sepulchral chalices and patens, and we know that these were made in London from the late 12th century onwards. Several from Lincoln cathedral, all of mid-13th century date, may be taken as typical (Plate 1). With one exception, which will be discussed later, these are made in two parts. The bowl, separately cast, is soldered to the trumpet-shaped foot and stem, and in a number of examples



Plate 1. A remarkably well preserved sepulchral chalice from a 13th century grave at Lincoln Cathedral. (The dean and chapter, Lincoln).

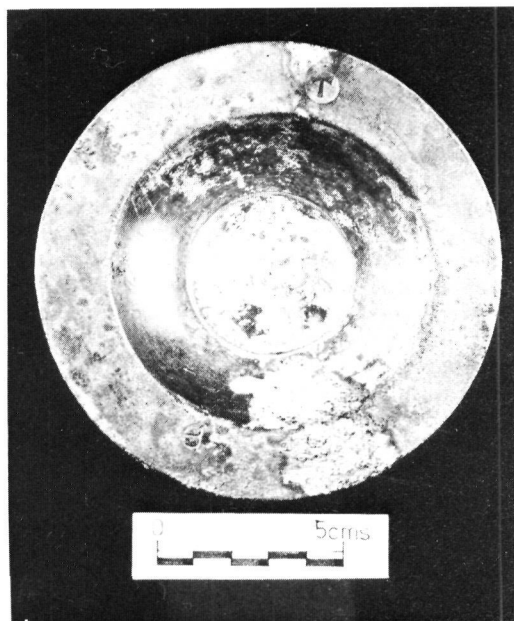


Plate 2. A saucer from excavations at Tong castle, late 14th century, diam. 137mm. (The Worshipful Company of Pewterers).

is located in the top of the hollow stem by a plug which may well have formed the original casting sprue. If this were so, the bowl was cast upside down. A two-part mould would have been required for the bowl and a core plus a two-part one for the stem in order to allow of the casting of the decorative knop at its mid-point. The exception is a chalice with a large ornate 'finned' knop which is made in three pieces. The separate bowl and foot are inserted into the top and bottom of a collar which carries the knop. Vertical mould marks reveal the use of a split mould for this section. Possibly the knopped collar was a standard item used, for example, for candlesticks, none of which has survived⁷⁵. A chalice from Carrow Priory, Norfolk, of early 14th century date, displays a different method of assembly. Here the top of the stem is solid and is inserted into a hole in the base of the bowl and peened over to secure it⁷⁶.

The Lincoln patens are rather thickly cast and show turning marks on the undersides. Interestingly several have a crude blob of solder in the centre of the well, filling a hole where they were literally nailed to the face plate of the lathe. Similar solder-filled central holes have been noted on Romano-British plates⁷⁷.

It is apparent from the inventory of Thomas Filkes that a wide range of flatware moulds were

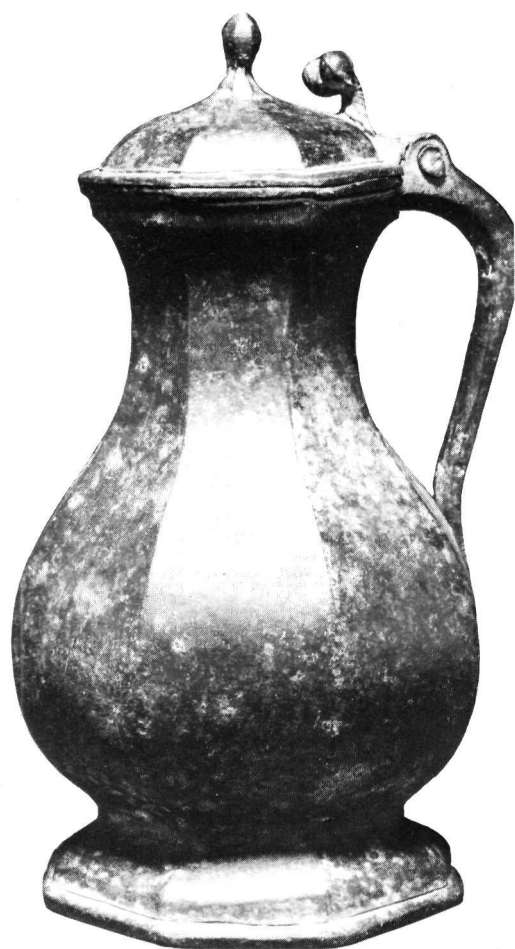


Plate 3. A mid-14th century octagonal flagon from the River Medway at Tonbridge, height overall 240mm, capacity 1192ml. (Private collection, photo Sotheby's).

available in the early 15th century and little need be said of conventionally cast plates and dishes. The same inventory also includes a lathe and turning tools which sufficiently indicate the finishing process. A puzzle is however provided by the commonly found expression 'counterfeit dishes'. It is clear that they were beaten, for the cost of beating counterfeit wares is set out in the 1455 ordinances. In 1438 it was ordered

'That ther be no conterfete that cometh out of London but it be wel and sufficiently bete and that there be no cours [coarse] ware analed by no man of the franchise of London to be solde

for counterfete in London or in the contrey for disceivynge the kinges peple from this tyme forward oppon the peine aforesaid'⁷⁸.

This passage distinguishes between counterfeit wares which were beaten and 'coarse analed' wares which by implication were not. The word 'analed' must presumably be a variant of 'annealed', the earliest meaning of which was a general one—'melted'. The distinction thus appears to be between cast wares made from melted metal and beaten ones which were not. The distinction is however blurred by frequent references to 'counterfeit moulds'. A plausible explanation is that such moulds were in fact patterns or swages into which sheet metal was hammered to produce the required form. As will be seen shortly metal was certainly available to the medieval craftsman.

The predominant type of mould mentioned in medieval times is that for flatware and there is very little mention of hollow-ware moulds. One explanation may be that the demand for flatware was much the greater, and domestic inventories

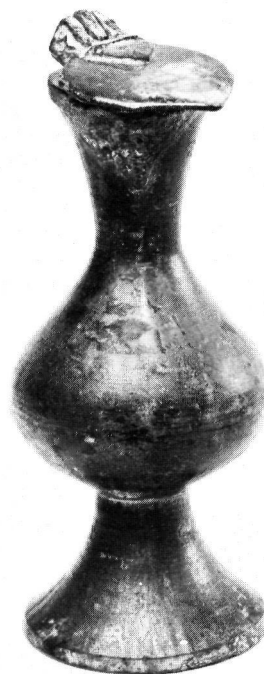


Plate 4. A 13th century cruet from excavations at White Castle, Gwent. Height overall 121mm. (National Museum of Wales, Cardiff).



Plate 5. A baluster measure from the Thames foreshore, London, probably mid-late 15th century. The base is inset with a cast medallion of a heart in a decorative surround. Height overall 211mm. (Private collection).

give some support for this (Plate 2). Nevertheless a range of pots, pitchers, salts and the like were made and pots are divided into two types, round pots and square pots. The word 'square' is clearly not meant to be taken literally and must presumably apply to those flagons and cruets of hexagonal or octagonal section of which a number of examples are known. Many of these, on close examination, are found to be made up of appropriately shaped segments of flat sheet very skilfully soldered together. Such a technique avoided the need for expensive multipart moulds.

The body of the octagonal flagon recovered from the Medway in 1983, which is one of a number dating from the mid-14th century, was made from eight separate sections (Plate 3). It was assembled, presumably over a former, in two halves, each of four sections, and the two halves were then joined together. That this is so is apparent from the fact that the two halves are slightly out of register, and though this has been concealed by finishing on the outside, a small 'step' is visible on the inside. The hexagonal cruet from Weoley Castle is made in



Plate 6. A late 13th or early 14th century spoon with a stem reinforced with an iron wire. The knops are threaded onto the stem and soldered. Length 162mm. (The Worshipful Company of Pewterers).

no less than thirteen separate parts; twelve cast-decorated panels form the body and the base is inserted⁷⁹.

Examples of medieval 'round pots' are very few. The 13th century cruet from White Castle, Wales, which on stylistic grounds may be French, may be a lost wax casting; however this is not certain (Plate 4)^{79a}. A late 15th century lidded baluster measure from the Thames has a body conventionally made from halves joined round the middle and as an item made in quantity was doubtless cast in a multipart metal mould (Plate 5).

Although the majority of pewter spoons from the 15th century onwards were cast integrally with their decorative knob, many of earlier date have the knob cast separately and threaded onto the end of the stem. Many of these earlier spoons also have an iron wire inside the stem as reinforcement (Plate 6).

The evidence on the use of slush casting is unclear. Many small items such as ampullae are clearly seamed, but others betray no obvious evidence of this. If the technique was in use, then it appears to presuppose metal moulds to ensure the necessary fast chilling.

Finishing requires little comment. It was commonly by lathe turning followed by the use of abrasive powders and polishes to smooth the surface. The skill with which the separate sections of multipart objects were soldered together, frequently invisibly, is remarkable. Those who have attempted to solder the low-melting alloy using only an iron will best appreciate the problems involved. Forms of wood or clay would have been essential to hold the parts in register.

THE ALLOYS

Pewter is not a single well-defined alloy and the term is applied to a wide range of alloys of tin and lead and tin and copper and to ternary alloys of all three. In addition there is evidence that other metals such as mercury were deliberately added and extraneous contaminants may also be found. Many of these last probably result from the common practice of remelting scrap. In seeking to understand the alloys used by the pewterers a number of background circumstances must be borne in mind.

- (1) During the period 1330 to 1500 the price of lead was one third or one quarter that of tin.
- (2) The addition of lead to tin lowered its melting point and less fuel was needed to melt it.
- (3) Common solder, comprising about 40% lead to 60% tin, formed the lowest melting eutectic alloy and was most probably a readily available article of commerce.
- (4) While tin was probably not generally available, scrap architectural lead and plumbing lead almost certainly was.

There were therefore powerful reasons of economics and convenience to adulterate the alloy with as much lead as could be reasonably tolerated.

Generally speaking there were two grades of pewter. A hard, high quality alloy of tin with up to about 5% of copper, so-called 'fine metal', and a softer lower quality alloy of tin and lead. The former was supposed to be used for those items which required hardness and rigidity, such as plates and dishes, while the latter was permitted for those items such as pots, where the shape conferred some rigidity. The ordinances of 1348 spell out these two alloys. Fine metal was composed of tin and copper, though, presumably to preserve a trade secret, all that is said is that 'the proportion of copper to the tin is as much as, of its own nature, it will take'. The cheaper 'lay metal' is openly defined as 'an hundred of tin to 26 pounds of lead'. Confusion however results from the proportion of lead being given as 22 pounds in a later transcript of the ordinances in the Pewterers' Company records, and from the fact that in 1350, when John de Hilton was fined for producing sub-standard wares, the wardens of the craft stated that to each hundredweight of 112 pounds of tin there should be added no more than 16 pounds of lead. It appears possible that the divergent figures result from the confusion or mistranscription of the Roman numerals xxvi, xxii and xvi, but which one was intended must remain unclear.

The only documentary evidence we have for earlier alloys is from the writings of Theophilus who advises the addition of an uncertain quantity of mercury to tin to harden it⁸⁰. That alloys of tin and mercury were being used in the 11th or 12th century suggests that workers at this time would have been familiar with mercurial solders, the low melting point of which would have simplified the intricate soldering found on surviving pieces.

The fact that essentially pure tin was used not infrequently is an unexpected finding of modern analyses. However, for the faithful rendering of fine detail in castings, a metal with a sharp solidification point, which does not go through a

pasty phase, has advantages. This, as well as the factors considered above, may also explain the common use of the eutectic alloy. The numerous 'pewter' tokens of the period from c. 1200 onwards appear to be made either from pure tin, eutectic alloy or lead, perhaps for this reason. Although detailed analyses are currently lacking, it appears from preliminary published data that the majority of medieval badges are also made from one of these three metals⁸¹.

A series of recent analyses of medieval flatware present a reasonably uniform picture⁸². Most is of fine metal containing tin with 1-3% copper, and exceptionally as much as 6.5%. The lead content is typically less than 0.5%. A few pieces are however of lay metal with lead contents between 5 and 26%, but which nevertheless contain 0.5 to 2% of copper in addition. Few analyses have been published on medieval hollow-ware. The elaborately cast-decorated Weoley Castle and Ludlow cruets have been found to be almost pure tin. An octagonal flagon excavated in Gloucestershire contains 97.7% tin, 0.57% lead and 1.55% copper, the use of a fine metal alloy being perhaps predicated by its fabrication from separate sections of sheet metal. This circumstance perhaps also explains why the 1348 ordinances specify the use of fine metal for 'square pots' in distinction from other hollow-ware. A candlestick from the Thames foreshore conforms to a typical lay metal, containing 78.5% tin, 20% lead and 1.29% copper⁸³.

The earlier cruet from White Castle essentially is eutectic alloy (tin, 61.2%; lead, 36.9%; copper, 1.0%; iron 0.2%) and a uniquely early cast crucifix figure of Christ (c. 1160-70) also approximates to this composition (tin, 68%; lead, 32%)⁸⁴.

Spoons, which were in all probability made to a considerable extent by itinerant craftsmen and tinkers from whatever metal came to hand, present a very diverse pattern of alloys. One has been found with 5.8% of mercury and another with no less than 20.8% of copper⁸⁵. This latter suggests that the medieval pewterer made his copper-containing alloy through the intermediate tin/copper alloy referred to in later times as 'temper'. Because the ready incorporation of copper into melted tin necessitates the heating of the tin to temperatures far above its melting point, which is wasteful of fuel and leads to excessive oxidation of the tin, a copper-rich 'pre-mix' which was readily incorporated into melted tin was first made. This necessitated the heating to a high temperature of only a small proportion of the tin. Possibly this spoon was made of temper in error.

As might be expected, sepulchral chalices and

patens are of metal with a high lead content, in some cases as much as 75%⁸⁶.

It is a moot point whether plumbers, who were entitled to work with solder, may have been responsible for making some of the 'pewter' which is found to be of this eutectic alloy. Certainly any pewterer using it would have fallen foul of the ordinances and, as we have seen, would have been penalised if discovered. Assay methods were however rudimentary and the quality of the metal was established by weighing a pellet of standard size. The higher the lead content, the heavier it weighed.

THE MEDIEVAL ORDINANCES

The ordinances of 1348 were printed by Welch in the middle English version entered (at a later date) in the Company's records⁸⁷. Riley's modern English translation is of the Norman French and Latin originals entered in the city's Letter Books⁸⁸. The 1438/9 ordinances were also printed by Welch from the version appearing in the records of the Company⁸⁹.

The very detailed ordinances of 1455 have only recently been discovered at Pewterers' Hall and appear to be the original writing of them on a single sheet of vellum some 31 inches long and 16½ inches wide which is pointed at the top and has a tape loop for hanging⁹⁰. The existence of these ordinances, hitherto believed to have been lost, is noted in the Company's Audit Book for 1456/7 as follows;

Paid to maistre Roger clerk of the yeldhall for seying of ye ordinances yt ye vi men of ye crafte made..... 6s-8d.
Paid for ye writing of ye same ordenances yt ye vi men made..... 6s-8d

It is known that in November 1438 representatives of the pewterers were summoned before the mayor and aldermen and there confessed that they had promulgated certain ordinances illegally and without authority⁹¹. These were ordered to be expunged from the record, but in March 1438/9 the new ordinances referred to above were granted to the craft. The preamble to these recites the 1348 ordinances as the only previous valid ones, and they were confirmed. It thus appears that there existed only one set of ordinances, the illegal ones, between these dates.

Although no record remains in London of these illegal ordinances there exists at York the

1416 ordinances of the York pewterers which commence with the specific statement. 'Ceux sont les articles de lez powderers de Lounders, les queux les genz de mesme lartifice dycestre citee Deverwyk ount agrees pur agarder et ordeiner entre eux' (These are the articles of the pewterers of London, the which the men of the craft of the city of York have agreed to keep and ordain among themselves). It seems that these can be none other than the missing London ordinances, though they appear unexceptional and it remains a mystery why they were declared illegal after so long a period. These York ordinances have been printed only in the original French and are here given in English for the first time⁹².

First, that no one of the pewterers' craft make any vessel except of good and fine metal, nor use any solder in vessels except pale, on pain of forfeiture of the said metal, nor sell vessels 'blown' (*suffles*) nor cracked on pain of forfeiture. Also that no one make any blown or cracked vessel under the same penalty.

Item, that no one of the said craft take any alien nor *homme naif* as his apprentice on pain of a fine of x li to be paid to the chamber (*chambre*) and the craft in equal portions. And that no one take any apprentice for a lesser period than seven years together, nor shall anyone of the said craft employ any man who is not of their craft on pain of xl s which is to be paid in the manner aforesaid.

Item, that no one of the said craft employ nor cause to be employed any man or servant of this city of York nor of any other unless it is well proven that he be free of his master whom he previously served on pain of xx s payable in the manner aforesaid by each master for whom he has worked.

Item, if any servant of the said craft remove or by fraud and with bad intent purloin any thing to the value of xii d or more, and if it be proved on him and known to his master, then if his master or any of the same craft give him any work he shall forfeit x s, and if the same servant trespass similarly again he will be banished from the city.

Item, that all the work which is called hollow-ware (*holghware*) in the craft is to be good, substantial and profitable to the subjects of our sovereign the king, and that all hollow-ware metal is to be of the assize on pain of iii s iiiii d payable in the manner aforesaid, and that our searchers are to be chosen by all the men of the craft assembled, and that all men

of the craft are obedient to those chosen and that no master makes any rebellion against the searchers in carrying out their duties on pain of xx s payable in the manner aforesaid, and that on the same pain the searchers do not make any men to be punished for tort [an illegible passage follows].

Item, if any of the said craft employ any master within the city of York who has not been apprenticed in the said craft in the same city he is to pay at the commencement of his employment xx s in the manner aforesaid.

Item, that no one of the said craft hire to him any servant either privately or openly in the said craft above xl s a year on pain of xiii s iiiii d payable as aforesaid.

Item, that no one of the said craft shall open his shop until he well knows the craft, that is to say to make and do faithfully chargers, dishes, salts and also other work called hollow-ware, that is pottle pots, quart, pint and demi-pint, flat salts, 'cowped' salts, and 'squared' salts on pain of C s to be paid as aforesaid.

Item, it is ordained that if any master of the said craft take an apprentice for the term of seven years and if the said master ?die (*devie*) during the said term, that the same apprentice is not to be hired to any man of the said craft until the time when has served his term of seven years with another master of the said city on pain of forfeiture of x marcs payable in the manner aforesaid for each master that he hires himself to against this ordinance.

If the above are indeed the annulled ordinances of the London craft, and there is no internal evidence which suggests the contrary, we now have the texts of all the ordinances from 1348 to 1455.

To be read with the ordinances is the ancient oath which refers to the religious affiliation of the craft. Welch believed this to be as old as the 1348 ordinances, though it survives only in a later copy. It reads, in modern English,

'You shall keep to your power well and truly all the good rules of the pewterers' craft which have been enrolled in the Guildhall of London and all the good counsels of the said craft and none of them discover but if it be to the worship of the craft and also you shall worship our bretheren of the pewterers which are the bretheren of Our Lady and succour and help in every place so it be not hindering to yourself nor to your worship so help you God and Holy Lady and by this book'⁹³.

APPENDIX 1 PEWTERERS' WILLS ENROLLED IN LONDON BEFORE 1460

Notes.

A = Archdeaconry Court of London, Guildhall Library MS. 9051

C = Commissary Court of London, Guildhall Library MS. 9171

H = Court of Husting Rolls, Corp'n. of London Record Office

a = Indexed entry only, text lacking

b = Administration only

Date is date of enrollment

John le chalycer, 1296	H. 24(15)
Henry le calicer, 1312	H. 40(123)
Nicholas le peautrer de Ludgate, 1347/8	H. 75(39)
Roger Syward, 1349	H. 77(85)
Nicholas de Hyngestworth, 1364/5	H. 93(15)
William Syward, 1368	H. 96(172)
Henry Lothway, 1368/9 (a)	A. i,1
Thomas Syward, 1368/9 (a)	A. i,1
Richard Brokesfield 1369/70 (a)	A. i,3
John Syward, 1375 (died 1367)	H. 103(229)
John Cartere, 1383/4 (a)	A. i,15
Robert Ailnouth, 1385/6 (a)	A. i,16
John Claydich, 1394	A. i,17v
Richard Nicholas, 1387	C. i,151v
Richard Thorpe, 1396	C. i,369v
William May, 1398	C. i,412v
John Boxon, 1404	A. i,126v
Robert Offington, 1404	C. ii,48v
Adam Reward, 1406	A. i,154v
Robert Horner, 1406	C. ii,73
Gilbert Haccher, 1407	C. ii,85v and 101v
Thomas Fulham, 1408	H. 135(87)
William Boxon, 1412	A. i,262v
John Barnwell, 1412	C. ii,212v
Richard Tebold, 1413 (b)	C. ii,240v
John Ilymer (alias Lelec), 1413	C. ii,254v
John Parke, 1413	A. i,283v
Isabel Parke (widow of John), 1415	A. i,334v
John Fuller, 1416	C. ii,347v
John Burgess, 1420	C. iii,67
John Megre, 1420	H. 148(26)
William Gugge, 1423	C. iii,106
John Baker, 1426	C. iii,155
John Spencer, 1426 (b)	C. iii,153
Margaret Fulham (widow of Thomas), 1429	C. iii,227v
William Hayward, 1430	C. iii,233v
William Kent, 1432 (b)	C. iii,322
John Dabron, 1434	C. iii,376v
John Heendman, 1434	C. iii,511v
William Camell, 1435	C. iii,435v
John Cornemonger, 1435	C. iii,415v
Bartholomew Cornewayll, 1435	C. iii,430v
Richard Foxe, 1435	C. iii,431

John Kyrtelton, 1435	C. iii,438
William Mason, 1435 (b)	C. iii,422v
Hugh Game, 1436	H. 164(47)
Emma Megre (widow of John), 1438	C. iii,495v
Thomas Preston, 1438	C. iii,494v
John Grace, 1440	C. iv,36v
Richard Mauncell, 1440	C. iv,51
John Forebroke, 1441	C. iv,69
John Childe, 1442	C. iv,92v
William Hamond, 1445	C. iv,159v
William Scott, 1446 (b)	C. iv,194
William Bellyng, 1447	C. iv,213
Henry Breton, 1450	C. v,9
William Baker, 1453	C. v,78v
Isabel Childe (widow of John), 1453	C. v,92
John Hulle, 1453	C. v,115
John Kirkeby, 1455	C. v,278
Stephen Auncell, 1458	C. v,247v
John Cogonowe, 1459	C. v,282v

WILLS OF NON-PEWTERERS MENTIONING PEWTERERS

John de Kyngeston, 1349	H. 77(86)
James de Thame, 1364	H. 93(65)

EXTRACTS RELATING TO THE CRAFT FROM SELECTED WILLS

Nicholas le peutrer de Ludgate, 1347/8

To his son Thomas all the tools and moulds pertaining to his trade, ten marks of silver and two thousandweight of tin.

Roger Syward, 1349

If any of his sons is willing to learn the trade he is to have all his instruments appertaining to it. His apprentices [unnamed] to be made over to his wife.

John Syward, 1364

To his six apprentices 3s-4d each. To his brother William his apprentices Thomas, son of Roger Peautrer, and William Cabroche. To his wife his apprentices John Carleton, John Marchanito, John Sparwe and Thomas [no second name] and if she does not wish to use the art of pewterer then to his brother William.

Nicholas de Hyngestworth, 1364/5

To his son John all the instruments of his trade after his wife's death and a thousandweight of tin when he takes a house of his own. To Nicholas his apprentice 13s-4d.

John Claydich, 1394

To John his apprentice 20s. To his son John £33-6s-8d and all his instruments, 'fourmes', weights and balances in his shop.

Richard Thorpe, 1396

To Thomas his son the tools of his trade which are in the custody of John Salman, pewterer, during his minority.

John Boxon, 1404

To Roger Harlee, pewterer, his cloak and 6s-8d. To

Thoas Wolwyk, pewterer, 6s-8d. To Roger Mymmes, pewterer, a cloak and 12d. To his son William £10. To his son John £20.

Thomas Fulham, 1408

To his son John various items of silver plate and a dozen pewter pots forming a garnish.

William Boxon, 1411

To his 'servants' (journeymen) Randolph Nankelly, John Dabron and John Andrew 100s each. To his apprentice Thomas 20s. To his apprentice John 10s. Bequests to the pewterers William Staunton, Richard Glasier, John Botelar and William de Kent.

John Parke, 1413

To his kinsman John a dozen pewter vessels weighing

32 pounds, a pottle pot and a quart of pewter and a saltcellar. To John his apprentice 8d.

John Baker, 1426

To William Kent his 'formator' (?mouldman; caster) a laver mould of brass, a plate mould and a cloak. To John Noke his apprentice 40s.

Richard Mauncell, 1440

To John Kendall his apprentice 8s and hammers and an anvil and the instruments in his shop.

John Childe, 1442

To his apprentices Richard Priggil and Richard Alstowe at the end of their term, one hollow dish mould, a middle platter mould, 'my half of a dish mould which I and John Hulle, pewterer, share' and one other mould.

APPENDIX 2

HUSTING DEEDS PRIOR TO 1400 WHICH MENTION CHALICERS AND PEWTERERS

Arlicheseye, John de	1357; 85(104),(105)
Boxon, John	1394; 123(35)
	1396; 124(136)
Calicer, Agnes la, wife of Henry le	1324; 53(85),(98)
	1329; 57(119)
Calicer, Elena, daughter of Agnes la	1324; 53(98)
Calicer, Henry le	1306; 34(57)
	1324; 53(85),(98)
Calicer, Osbert le	1259; 2(83)
Calicer, Thomas le, son of Agnes la	1329; 57(119)
Claydich, John	1390; 119(79)
Devenish, Thomas, son of Richard	1358; 87(3)
French (ffrensshe), William	1349; 77(111)
Henxteworth (Hyngestworth), Johanna	1372; 100(97),(137)
Henxteworth, John	1394; 123(56)
Henxteworth, Nicholas de, (see also Nicholas le peautrer)	1351; 79(90)
	1372; 100(97),(137)
Herville, Walter	1372; 101(8),(11)
Horewode, Matilda, wife of Thomas le peautrer	1348; 75(7),(8)
Mile(s), Nicholas, (see also Nicholas le peautrer de Ludgate)	1324; 53(98)
Nicholas, Guy	1395; 124(109)
Peautrer, Adam le	1339; 66(96)
	1340; 67(79)
Peautrer, Alice, wife of Nicholas le peautrer de Ludgate	1332; 60(56)
	1334; 62(78)
	1337; 64(93)
	1345; 72(80)
Peautrer, Elena, wife of Nicholas le peautrer de Ludgate	1329; 57(119),(120)
Peautrer, Henry le, (see also Henry le calicer)	1329; 57(120)
Peautrer, Johanna, wife of John, son of John le	1339; 66(118)
Peautrer, Johanna, widow of Nicholas le	1372; 100(131)
Peautrer, John le, son of John le	1339; 66(118)
Peautrer, John, son of Nicholas (see also John Henxteworth)	1377; 106(48)
Peautrer, Matilda, wife of Thomas le, son of Nicholas le peautrer de Ludgate	1348; 75(7),(8)
Peautrer, Nicholas le, de Ludgate	1329; 57(119),(120)
	1330; 58(90)
	1332; 60(56)
	1334; 62(78)
	1337; 64(93)
	1345; 72(80)
	1348; 75(7),(8)
	1349; 77(111),78(25)

Peautrer, Nicholas le (= Nicholas de Henxteworth)	1350; 78(238–42) 1352; 81(73) 1353; 83(93),84(5) 1356; 84(49),(131),85(11) 1357; 85(46),(138) 1361; 89(75),(167–168),(170) 1372; 100(131) 1377; 106(48)
Peautrer, Richard	1349; 77(111),(138)
Peautrer, Thomas le, son of Henry le	1329; 57(120)
Peautrer, Thomas le, son of Nicholas le, de Ludgate	1348; 75(7),(8)
Syward, Johanna, wife of Thomas	1369; 97(192),(193) 1370; 98(143) 1372; 101(22)
Syward, John	1349; 77(138),(207) 1350; 78(224)
Syward, Katherine, cousin of Thomas	1368; 96(142)
Syward, Margery, wife of Roger (le peutrer)	1341; 69(20) 1342; 69(66)
Syward, Roger (= Roger le peautrer)	1346; 73(151) 1341; 69(20) 1342; 69(66)
Syward, Thomas	1344; 71(136),(137) 1346; 73(151),(164) 1368; 96(142) 1369; 97(192–3) 1370; 98(143) 1372; 101(22)
Southcote, Thomas, son of John	1382; 111(104) 1383; 112(83) 1384; 113(40),(41) 1388; 116(20)
Straunge, Stephen (le)	1345; 72(38)
Upton, William de (?whether the pewterer)	1333; 61(57) 1348; 74(165)
Watre, John atte (?whether the pewterer)	1371; 100(9)

APPENDIX 3

LONDON PEWTERERS WORKING BEFORE *c.* 1457

Note. Records have not normally been searched after *c.* 1457. That terminal date is therefore of no significance unless followed by 'd' (dead). A few later last dates are given where these have been readily found from the records of the Pewterers Company (normally because the individual appears in the list of Masters or Wardens), or because his will is enrolled in the Commissary Court of London.

'App' indicates that the individual is recorded as an apprentice at that date.

Name	Recorded Dates	References
Ade, Alice	1427	7
Ade, John	1405–12	7, 9
Ailnouth, Robert	1382–86d	1, 9
Alderichesey, John	1374	9
Aleyn, Peter	1446	9
Anable (Anabile), Richard	1409–13	7, 9, 10
Andrew, John	1411–38	4, 6, 7
Arlichesey, John de	1350–57	7, 19, 31
atte Lee, William	1424–27	7, 9
atte Vanne, John	1412	5
atte Water (Watre), John	1373–1401	9, 12, 31
atte Well(e), William	1439–52	7, 9
Awncell (Auncell), Stephen	1451 (dead by)	9
Auncell, Stephen	1451–58d	2, 18
Avery, <i>see</i> Smythe		

Name	Recorded Dates	References
Baker(e), John	1416–26d	2, 5, 7
Baker(e), William	1438–53d	2, 5, 7, 18
Bame (= Game ? q.v.), Hugh	1437	11
Barnard, John	1450	9
Barnwell (Barneville), John	1412d	2, 22
Bell(e), William	1404	21
Belyng, William	1447d	2, 9, 11
Bishop, Peter (Piers)	1446–80d	2, 9, 18
Blowfelde, William	app 1434–57	5, 9, 18
Botelar, John	1411	4
Boxon, John	1394–1404d	1, 31
Boxon, William	1412d	1, 7
Brampton, William	1438	10
Breen, Richard	1436	21
Breton, Henry	1450d	2
Bristow, John	1457	18
Broke (Brook), John	1452	9, 11
Brokesfield, Richard	1349–69d	1, 7
Bulle, William	1397	9
Burges, John	1420d	2
Burnes, Rauff	1457	18
Burton, Thomas	1452	18
Byllyngs, Robert	1457	18
Byn(ne)cote, William	1404–17	7, 9, 21
Calicer, Chalice, etc.		
Agnes la	1306–29	29, 31
Alexander le	1190–96	32
Alexander le	1294	6
Austin le	1190–1210	25
Henry le (= Henry le peutrer)	1306–12	3, 7, 31
Hugh le	early 13th cent.	25
John le	1217–40	25
John le	1290–94d	3, 7
Nicholas (= Nicholas le peutrer de Ludgate)	1324–48	3, 6, 12, 25, 30, 31
Osbert le	1259–73	25, 31
Serle le	1217	25
Stephen le	mid 13th cent.	25
Thomas le	1240	25
William le	1244	33
Camell, William	1435d	2
Camell, William 'the elder'	1458	9
Canteys, Kanteys, Kentoys etc.		
Gavyn (? for John)	1381/2	12
John	1376–1402d	7, 9, 12, 21
Thomas	1404–277(?d)	5, 9
William	1364–76	8, 12, 25, 26, 27
Cartere, John	1383/4d	1
Castell, Robert	1454	9
Chamberleyn, Robert	1445–66	9, 18
Chaunter, William	1442	9
Chiefe, Andrew	1409–9	9, 21
Childe, John	1435–42d	2, 9
Childe, Thomas	1394–1411	5, 7, 9, 11
Claydich, John	1388–95d	1, 7, 21, 31
Claydich, John (jnr)	1394	4
Claydich, Richard	1396–1440	4, 6
Cokonow (Cogeno(we)), John	1457	2, 18
Coldham, John	1443–65	9, 18, 20
Colourde, Henry	1406	9
Cornemonger, John	1412–35	2, 9

Name	Recorded Dates	References
Cornemonger, William	1435	5
Cornewayll, Bartholomew	1435d	2
Cotelar, Thomas	1435-45	5, 18(flyleaves)
Cotte (Cut), Robert	1403-4	5, 9
Couper, John	1457	18
Crowde, William	1445-74	9, 18
Curson (Carson), John	1406-7	9, 21
Dabron, John	1411-34	2, 4
Dere (Deer), William	1423-57(?d)	10, 18, 20, 25
Devenish, Thomas	1358	21, 31
Dewee, Robert	1457	18
Dogowe, John	1439-57	18, 20
Dounton (Downton), Thomas	1455-86d	2, 18
Drayton, Nicholas	1452	9
Drayton, Simon (Symkin)	1452-57	9, 18
Dutton, Robert	1411	9
Egremond, Nicholas	1432-44(dead by)	5, 7, 9
Everdon, John	1440	11
Eyre (Eyer), William	1445-75	9, 18
Felde, Richard	1457	18
Ferthyng, John	1376-85	9, 21
Forebroke, John	1441d	2
Foxe, Richard	1435d	2
French, William	1345-48d	6, 31
Fulbroke, Robert	1457	9
Fulham, Thomas	1408d	3
Fulham, Margaret	1429d	2
Fuller, John	1415/6(dead by)	2
Fylkes, Thomas	1410-27d	7, 9
Game, Hugh	1411-36	3, 7, 9, 21
Gardynner, Thomas	1434-57	5, 18
Gille, Nicholas	1439-40	7
Glasyng (= Glasier), Richard	1408-11d	1, 21
Goodall, John	1457-64d	2, 18
Goode, Thomas	1459-65	9, 21
Gorwey, Robert	1435-39	5, 9
Grace, John	1394-1440d	2, 6, 7, 9
Greschurche, William de	1350	19
Grey, Thomas	1441-43	20
Grove, Thomas	1452-57	18
Gugge, John	app 1423-53	5, 9, 20
Gugge, John 'the younger'	1455-57	18
Gugge, William	1423d	2
Gylle, Nicholas	1440	9
Gynger, John	1457	18
Hacchere, Gilbert	1401-7d	2, 9
Halle, Richard	1457	18
Hamond, William	1445d	2
Hankford, John	1402	9
Harding, John	1423	4, 21
Harlee (Herley), Roger	1404	4, 9
Harrys, John	1430-57	5, 18
Hatche, Robert	1457	18
Haukin, Alexander	1409	9
Hayward, William	1424-30d	2, 7
Heendman, John	1434d	2
Hengle, Walter	1372	21

Name	Recorded Dates	References
Henxtworth (Hyngestworth)		
John	1364–1409	9, 31
Nicholas de (see also Nicholas le pcauter)	1351–69d	3, 21, 31
Hervyle (Herville), Richard	1448	9
Hervyle, Walter	1370–87(dead by)	7, 26
Heyre, William	1448	18(flycaves)
Hiltone, John de	1350–52	8, 19
Horewood, Thomas	1348	21
Horner, Robert	1406d	2
Hull(e), John	1450–53d	2, 9
Ilymer (<i>alias</i> Lelec), John	1413d	2
Kabroche, William	1398	6, 9
Kanteys (see Cantoys etc.)		
Kelet, Richard	1411	9
Kendall, John	app 1440–57	5, 9, 18
Kent, William (de)	1411–32d	4, 5, 7, 9
Kirkeby, John	1487–55d	2, 9
Kirkeby, William	1403	9
Kyllyngham, Thomas	1435	9
Kyngesworth, Nicholas de	1349	7
Kyrke, Richard	1457	18
Kyrleton (Kyrtylinton), John	1411–36d	2, 4, 7
Kyrton, John	1404	4
Lambard, John	1457	18
Lambe, Thomas	1433–51d	9, 18
Lapyard, Thomas	1436	6
Large, William	1457–77	18
Launtot (Langtot), Thomas	1447–79d	2, 18
Lauton (Lawton), Richard	1444–57	9, 18
Lee, William	1437	11
Lelec (see Ilymer)		
Lestraunge, Stephen	1345–48d	19, 21, 31
Lorkyn, John	1451	10
Lothway, Henry	1368/9d	1
Ludgate, Nicholas de (see Nicholas de Henxtworth)		
Lumley (Lumbey), Richard	1438–57(dead by)	9
Lylze (Lely), John	1403–22	9, 21
Lylze, William	1401–24	4, 7, 9
Malpas, Philip	1443/4	21
Marler, Thomas	1457	18
Martyn (Martin), John	1428–57	9, 18
Mason, William	1435d	2
May, William	1394–98d	2, 4
Mauncell, Richard	1440d	2
Megre, John	1401–20d	3, 7, 12, 26
Mildenhale, Richard	1415	9
Mile(s), Nicholas (see also Nicholas le peutrer de Ludgate)	1324	31
Moubray, John	1391	9
Mylys, John	1445–57	9, 18
Mymmes, Roger	1394–1404	4, 5
Nankelly, Randolph	1411	4
Nicholas, Guy	1395	21, 31
Nicholas, Richard	1385–87d	2, 9
Offyngton (Uffington), Robert	1382–1404d	2, 9
Oskyn, John	1451	10
Page, Thomas	1457–71d	2, 18
Panton, Morys	1457	18

Name	Recorded Dates	References
Parke, John	1396-1413d	1, 5, 9
Parys (Paris), John	1452-84	18, 20
Pauntley, Maurice	1454	9
Pecok, John	1457	18
Pereman (Peryman), John	1435-40	5
Peutrer, Peautrer etc.		
Adam le	1339-40	31
Agnes	1370/1	6
Arnold le	1352-64	7, 12
Geoffrey le	1319	20, 29
Henry le (see Henry le calicer)		
John le	1305-45	7, 16, 20, 25, 29
John le, son of John	1339	31
Lambert le	1311	20, 24
Margery la (= Margery Syward)	1333	12, 20, 31
Nicholas (le) (= Nicholas Henxtworth)	1350-64d	3, 7, 8, 9, 15, 19, 20, 31
Nicholas le, de Ludgate (= Nicholas Miles, = Nicholas Calicer q.v.)	1324-47/8d	3, 7, 25, 31
Richard le	1337-49	7, 17, 31
Roger le (see Roger Syward)		
Stephen le (= Stephen Lestraunge)	1344-48	7, 12
Thomas le, son of Henry	1319-36(dead by)	7, 9, 12, 17, 20, 30, 31
Thomas le, son of Nicholas	1348d	6, 24
Thomas le (Westminster)	1332	9
Walter le	1368-75	12, 23
William le (? two)	1311-50	7, 9, 13, 17, 20, 29, 30
Pepond (Pypond), John	1457-66d	2, 18
Phelypp, Richard	1396	9
Power (Pover), John	1399-1415	9
Prest, John	1437	9
Preston, Thomas	1438d	2
Prowde, William	1437-48	9, 18 (flyleaves)
Purfere, John	1430	9
Pynton (Pynchon), Piers	1453-7	18
Quarry (Quarrer), James	1397-1427	7, 28
Randolph, John	1412-29	5, 17
Randolph, William	1457	18
Rewarde, Adam	1406d	1
Salman, John	1396d	5, 21
Scotte, William	1446	3
Seleham, John	1400	9
Sernesfield, William	1438	10, 21
Seyke, Robert	1457	18
Shypwasshe, Arnold de	1350	19
Smallwood, William	1452-86	9, 18
Smythe, Thomas	1383-94	7, 9
Smythe, Thomas 'otherwise Avery'	1452-60	18
Somerfelde, Henry	1410/11	9
Southcote, Thomas	1382-88	21, 31
Sparke, Henry	1427	7
Spencer, John	1401-26d	2, 9
Staunton, William	1411	5
Straunge (see Lestraunge)		
Sutton, William de (see William le peutrer)		
Swan, Hugh	1457	18
Swan, John	1428	9
Swayn(es)lond, William	1382-85	9, 12
Sygore, John	1323-28	7, 9
Syward, John	1349-67d	3, 7, 8, 12, 19, 27, 31

Name	Recorded Dates	References
Syward, John	1373–97	12, 28
Syward Margery (see Margery la peautrer)		
Syward Roger (= Roger le peautrer)	1331–49	3, 7, 30, 31
Syward, Thomas	1364–69d(b.1347/8)	1, 7, 31
Syward, William	1349–68d	3, 7
Tebold, Richard	1413d	3
Telgate, William	1404–9	9, 21
Thorpe, Richard	1396d	2
Tod (Todde), Stephen	1457	18
Turner, John	1445–57	9, 18
Turner, Thomas	1452–57	18
Uffington (see Offington)		
Uptone, William de	1325–50	13, 19, ?31
Vesey, John	1448–57	18(flyleaves)
Voylby, William	1457	18
Walker, Nicholas	1457	18
Warbylton, Piers	1453–57	18
Warde, Watkyn	1457	18
Wellys, Peter	1428–52(dead by)	5, 9, 18
Wermynghon, Peter	1455	9
West, Richard	1436	6
Westwode, Nicholas	1439–51d	6, 9, 18
Whitehead, John	1457–75	18
Wolwyk, Thomas	1404	5
Wright, John	app 1430–53(dead by)	5, 18

NOTES TO APPENDIX 3

- Will proved in the Archdeaconry Court of London, Guildhall MS. 9051.
- Will proved in the Commissary Court of London, Guildhall MS. 9171.
- Will proved in the Court of Husting, London.
- Mentioned in a will in reference 1.
- Mentioned in a will in reference 2.
- Mentioned in a will in reference 3.
- Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London*, ed. R. R. Sharpe.
- Calendar of Letters of the City of London*, ed. R. R. Sharpe.
- Calendar of Close Rolls*.
- Calendar of Fine Rolls*.
- Calendar of Patent Rolls*.
- Calendar of Plea and Memorandum Rolls of the City of London*.
- Calendar of Coroners' Rolls, 1300–1378*, ed. R. R. Sharpe.
- Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*.
- The Registers of Edward the Black Prince, 1346–65*, ed. M. C. B. Dawes.
- Calendar of London Trailbaston Trials under Commissions of 1305–1306*.
- Memorials of London*, H. T. Riley.
- Audit book of the Pewterers Company, Guildhall MS. 7086.
- History of the Pewterers Company*, C. Welch.
- A History of British Pewter*, J. Hatcher and T. C. Barker.
- Recorded on a card index at Pewterers Hall but without giving source.
- Said in reference 21 to be in the Registers of St. Mary Woolnoth.
- Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*.
- Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*.
- The Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, ed. N. J. M. Kerling.
- London Assize of Nuisance*, ed. H. M. Chew and W. Kellaway.
- London Possessory Assizes*, ed. H. M. Chew.
- History of Bedfordshire*, Joyce Godber.
- 'London Subsidy Roll 1319' in *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls*, E. Ekwall.
- 'London Subsidy Roll 1332' in *Finance and Trade Under Ed. III, G. Unwin*.
- Named in a deed enrolled in the Court of Husting, Corp'n. of London R.O.
- The Cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell*, ed. W. O. Hassall.
- London Eyre, 1244*, ed. H. M. Chew and M. Weinbaum.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express his thanks to the staffs of Guildhall Library, London and the Corporation of London Record Office for their guidance and help. He is also indebted to Dr R. Brownsword for permission to quote certain as yet unpublished analytical results. The publication of this paper has been made possible by a grant from The Pewter Society.

NOTES

References have not been provided for details of individual pewterers where the source is readily determinable from the appendices.

- Hatcher and Barker (1974, 24–30).
- Spencer (1968 and 1982). For the name 'ampoller' see Spencer (1984, 10) For tokens see Mitchiner and Skinner (1984).
- Homer (in the press).
- Pugh (1975, No. 209).
- Kerling (1973, No. 1007) and Hassall (1949, 145) respectively.
- Watkin (1948, lxxix–lxxx).
- Kerling (1973, Nos. 527–61 *passim*).
- Kerling (1973, No. 558), Unwin (1913, 89) and the will of John de Kyngeston, respectively.
- Unwin (1913, 89).
- Ekwall (1951).
- Unwin (1913, 72–3).
- Riley (1868, 201–2).
- Sharpe (1894–, *Bk. F*, 218).
- Letter Book F*, folio 192v, Corp'n of London R.O.
- Sharpe (1894–, *Bk. F*, 237 and *Bk. G*, 3).
- Sharpe (1984–, *Bk. G*, 171–3).
- Sharpe (1894–, *Bk. H*, 43).
- Letter Book F*, folio 164v, Corp'n of London R.O.

18. Sharpe (1894-, *Bk. F*, 216).
19. Sharpe (1896-, *Bk. G*, 58-9).
20. Sharpe (1885, Roll I, No. 207).
21. Sharpe (1896-, *Bk. F*, 216).
22. Dawes (1930, 170).
23. C.C.R. 1360-64, 268.
24. Dawes (1930, 187).
25. Kerling (1973, Nos. 532, 534 and Appendix I, 140).
26. *Arlesley Bury Manor Court Rolls*, Bedford C.R.O., IN58. There is a calendar CRT130 ARL9. See also Joyce Godber, *History of Bedfordshire* (1969, 101).
27. Thomas (1926-, Vol. for 1323-64, 264). The original roll adds nothing.
28. *Testa de Nevill* (1807, 243b).
29. Cal. Inq. Post Mortem, 10, No. 225.
30. Sharpe (1894-, *Bk. H*, 307-8).
31. C.C.R. 1447-54, 98-9.
32. C.C.R. 1405-09, 132. Also the will of Margaret Fulham.
33. Chew and Kellaway (1973, No. 558).
34. Sharpe (1894-, *Bk. H*) and Thomas (1926-, Vol. for 1381-1412) various entries.
35. Will of Margaret Fulham.
36. Conyers (1973, No. 30).
37. Sharpe (1885, Roll I, No. 138).
38. Welch (1902, i, 7) and Riley (1868, 259-60).
39. *Letter Book K*, folio 49v, Corp'n of London R.O. (the calendar does not give the complete inventory).
40. Welch (1902, i, 11).
41. *Pewterers Company Audit Book*, fyleaves, Guildhall Library MS. 7086.
42. Sharpe (1894-, *Bk. K*, 235).
43. *Pewterers Company Audit Book*, Guildhall MS. 7086.
44. Welch (1902, i, 13).
45. Thomas (1926-, Vol. for 1381-1412, 285-88).
46. Sharpe (1894-, *Bk. I*, 203).
47. For members of these families see Hatcher (1973, 58n, 86, 57n and 61).
48. *Pewterers Company Audit Book*, Guildhall MS. 7086.
49. Welch (1902, i, 77).
50. Bell (1905, 55).
51. Hooper (1985).
52. Hatcher and Barker (1974, 34 and 42).
53. Riley (1868, 123-4).
54. Cal. Inq. Misc. 2 1307-49, No. 1758.
55. Riley (1868, 283).
56. Thomas (1926-, Vol. for 1413-37, 4).
57. Sharpe (1894-, *Bk. I*, 97-8).
58. C.P.R. 1364-7, 36.
59. Hatcher (1973, 31).
60. Hatcher (1973, 170 ff.) and Hatcher and Barker (1974, 64).
61. Reddaway and Walker (1975, 78-81, 90-91, 138-9).
62. Welch (1902, i, 20-5).
63. Thrupp (1948, 114), citing the will of John Paris. She also cites rates for other crafts.
64. *The Namys of all clothyng, yeomandry and householders...*, MS., at Pewterers Hall.
65. The original ordinances of 1455 are at Pewterers Hall. For a transcript (in modern spelling) see Homer (1986b).
66. Hatcher and Barker (1974, 38).
67. C.C.R. 1330-33, 498-9.
68. Homer and Hall (1985, 13).
69. Peal (1967).
70. Homer (in the press).
71. Hugo (1860, 132).
72. Spencer (1968, 139).
73. Birunguccio (1943).
74. Theophilus (1979, 179-82).
75. Homer (1986a) where an illustration of this chalice is to be found.
76. Atkins and Margeson (1983, Fig. 5).
77. Douglas (1984).
78. Welch (1902, i, 12).
79. Symons (1985). The cruet is illustrated by Hatcher and Barker (1974, Plate 6).
- 79a. The cruet is described and illustrated by Lewis (1969).
80. Theophilus (1979, 181).
81. Mitchiner and Skinner (1984, 40-1).
82. Brownsword and Pitt (1984 and 1985a).
83. Illustrated on the front cover of *Pewter, A Handbook of Selected Tudor and Stuart Pieces compiled by the Pewter Society from the Museum of London Collections* (London 1983).
84. Arts Council of Great Britain (1984).
85. Brownsword and Pitt (1983). For a general account of pewter spoons see Homer (1975).
86. Brownsword and Pitt (1985b).
87. Welch (1902, i, 2-5).
88. Riley (1868, 241-4).
89. Welch (1902, i, 9-11).
90. Homer (1986b).
91. Welch (1902, i, 9).
92. Sellars (1911). Sellars also suggested that the York ordinances were the lost London ones.
93. Welch (1902, i, 5-6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ARTS COUNCIL OF GREAT BRITAIN (1984), *English Romanesque Art* (London 1984).
- ATKINS and MARGESON (1983), M. Atkins and S. Margeson 'A 14th Century Pewter Chalice and Paten from Carrow Priory, Norwich' *Norfolk Archaeology*, 38 (1983) 374-9.
- BELL (1905), M. Bell *Old Pewter* (London 1905).
- BIRUNGUCCIO *De la Pirotechnia libri X*, C. S. Smith and M. T. Gnudi (Eds.) (New York 1943).
- BROWNSWORD and PITT (1983), R. Brownsword and E. E. H. Pitt 'A note on some Medieval Pewter Spoon Alloys' *J. Hist. Metallurgical Soc.* (1983) 119.
- BROWNSWORD and PITT (1984), R. Brownsword and E. E. H. Pitt 'X-ray Fluorescence Analysis of English 13-16th century Pewter Flatware' *Archaeometry* (1984) 237-44.
- BROWNSWORD and PITT (1985a), R. Brownsword and E. E. H. Pitt 'Some Examples of Medieval Pewter Flatware' *Medieval Archaeology* 29 (1985) 152-5.
- BROWNSWORD and PITT (1985b), R. Brownsword and E. E. H. Pitt 'Pewter Analysis' *J. Pewter Soc.* 5 (1985) 44-8.
- C.C.R. *Calendar of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office* (London 1892-).
- CAL. INQ. MISC., *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)* (London 1915-).
- CAL. INQ. POST MORTEM, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (London 1898-).
- C.P.R., *Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office* (London 1891-).
- CHEW (1965), H. M. Chew (Ed.) *London Possessory Assizes 1340-1451* (London 1965).
- CHEW and KELLAWAY (1973), H. M. Chew and W. Kellaway (Eds.) *London Assize of Nuisance 1301-1431* (London 1973).
- CHEW and WEINBAUM (1970), H. M. Chew and M. Weinbaum (Eds.) *London Eyre 1244* (London 1970).
- CONYERS (1973), A. Conyers (Ed.) 'Wiltshire Extents for Debt Ed. I-Elizabeth I' *Wilt. Record Soc.* (1973).
- DAWES (1930), M. C. B. Dawes (Ed.) *Register of the Black Prince 1351-65* (London 1930).
- DOUGLAS (1984), J. A. Douglas 'Pewtermaking in Roman Britain' *J. Pewter Soc.* 4 (1984) 109-10.
- EKWALL (1951), E. Ekwall *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls* (Lund 1951).
- HASSALL (1949), W. O. Hassall (Ed.) *Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell* Camden Third Series, 71 (London 1949).
- HATCHER (1973), J. Hatcher *English Tin Production and Trade before 1550* (Oxford 1973).
- HATCHER and BARKER (1974), J. Hatcher and T. C. Barker *A History of British Pewter* (London 1974).
- HOMER (1975), R. F. Homer *Five Centuries of Base Metal Spoons* (Wokingham 1975).
- HOMER (1986a), R. F. Homer 'Chalices and Patens at Lincoln Cathedral' *J. Pewter Soc.* 5 (1986) 73-6.
- HOMER (1986b), R. F. Homer 'The Pewterers' Ordinances of 1455' *J. Pewter Soc.* 5 (1986) 101-6 for a transcript in modern spelling.
- HOMER (in the press), R. F. Homer 'Tin, Lead and Pewter' in *English Medieval Industries* (forthcoming).
- HOMER and HALL, R. F. Homer and D. W. Hall *Provincial Pewterers* (London 1985).
- HOOPER (1985), P. R. Hooper 'Pewter, A 13th century Reference' *J. Pewter Soc.* 5 (1985) 24-5.
- HUGO (1860), T. Hugo, 'Notes on a Collection of Pilgrims' Signs...' *Archaeologia* 38, (1860) 128-34.
- KERLING (1973), N. J. M. Kerling (Ed.) *The Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (London 1973).
- LEWIS (1969), J. M. Lewis 'Two Pewter Vessels from White Castle' *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 2 (1969) 127-30.
- MITCHINER and SKINNER (1984), M. Mitchiner and A. Skinner 'English Tokens c. 1200-1400' *Brit. Numismatic J.* 53 (1984) 29-77.

- PEAL (1967), C. A. Peal 'Romano-British Pewter Plates and Dishes' *Proc. Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.*, 60 (1967) 19–37.
- PUGH (1975), R. B. Pugh (Ed.) *Calendar of London Trailbaston Trials under the Commissions of 1305 and 1306* (London 1975).
- REDDAWAY and WALKER (1975), T. R. Reddaway and L. E. M. Walker *The Early History of the Goldsmiths Company 1327–1509* (London 1975).
- RILEY (1868) H. T. Riley *Memorials of London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries* (London 1868).
- SELLERS (1911), M. Sellers (Ed.) *York Memorandum Book* (Surtees Soc. 1911).
- SHARPE (1885), R. R. Sharpe (Ed.) *Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London* (London 1885).
- SHARPE (1889), R. R. Sharpe (Ed.) *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Hustings, London* 2 vols (London 1889).
- SHARPE (1894–), R. R. Sharpe (Ed.) *Calendar of Letter Books preserved among the archives of the City of London* 12 vols (London 1894–1912).
- SHARPE (1913), R. R. Sharpe (Ed.) *Calendar of Coroners Rolls 1300–1378* (London 1913).
- SPENCER (1968), B. Spencer 'Medieval Pilgrim Badges' *Rotterdam Papers*. (Rotterdam 1968) 137–53.
- SPENCER (1982), B. Spencer 'Pilgrim Souvenirs from . . . Trig Lane, London' *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 33 (1982) 304–23.
- SPENCER (1984), B. Spencer 'A Thirteenth century Pilgrim's Ampulla from Worcester' *Worcs. Archaeol. Soc. Trans.* (1984) 7–11.
- SYMONDS (1985), D. Symons (Birmingham City Museums) private communication.
- TESTA DE NEVILL, *Testa de Nevill 1198–1293* Record Commission 12 (1807).
- THEOPHILUS, *On Divers Arts* J. G. Hawthorne and C. S. Smith (Eds.) (New York 1979).
- THOMAS (1926), A. H. Thomas *Calendar of Plea and Memorandum Rolls of the City of London* 5 vols. (Cambridge 1926–54).
- THRUPP (1948), S. L. Thrupp *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Michigan 1948).
- UNWIN (1913), G. Unwin *Studies in Finance and Trade under Edward III* (Manchester 1913).
- WATKIN (1948), A. Watkin *Archdeaconry of Norwich, Inventory of Church Goods Temp. Ed. III* (Norfolk Record Soc. 1948).
- WELCH (1902), C. Welch *History of the Pewterers Company* 2 vols. (London 1902).

The Society is grateful to the Pewter Society for a grant towards the publication cost of this article.