

# "I. C. H.," LANCASTER PEWTERER.<sup>1</sup>

By JOHN J. EVANS, JR.

**W**E should remember that the roots of early American arts and crafts must be sought in England and on the continent of Europe; for unless we have some knowledge of these roots, we are in no position to offer critical judgment upon the several flowerings that succeeded their transplantation to a new soil overseas, and the cross-fertilization that inevitably occurred where varied national strains were brought into intimate association in a new environment.

No doubt the dominant traditions under which the arts of early colonial days developed, were derived from England. Finally, English-born prejudices and English-born tastes forced American craftsmen of continental descent and upbringing to adapt themselves to English conceptions of style, but the process of subjugation was by no means rapid. In some instances, it was so slow as to be long unrecognizable; and, even when and where it seemed to have been triumphantly successful, the conquering mode still found itself unmistakably marked with traits of that which it had supposedly vanquished.

One of the most impressive illustrations of the intermingling of English and German traditions on the neutral ground of Pennsylvania, is found in the pewter communion flagon, a picture of which appeared in "The Magazine Antiques," for February, 1928, and which, at that time, was included in the Howard Reifsnyder collection (Fig. 4). Inscribed, "For the Peter's Kirche in Mount Joy Town Ship, von John Dirr, 1771," this flagon bore the touch-mark "I. C. H., Lancaster." As to the identity of this "I. C. H.," no statement was made, for the very excellent reason that nothing was certainly known about him. Recently, however, with the assistance and moral support of Ledlie I. Laughlin, of Princeton, New Jersey, a leading authority on the subject and possessor of the finest collection of American pewter in existence, I have been able to secure the desired information; and in so doing, also to sat-

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<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from "The Magazine Antiques," of September, 1931, by permission of the editor, Mr. Homer Eaton Keyes.

isfy my longing to secure for Lancaster, Pa., its rightful recognition as an art centre in early colonial days.

The cataloguers of Mr. Reifsnyder's collection were distinctly unkind to Lancaster when they credited its splendid flagon, even with reservations, to J. C. Hera,—the only pewterer listed in John Barrett Kerfoot's volume on American pewter whose initials satisfied the hazard of an attribution. There was no other ground for the guess. Subsequently, the discovery of a pewter dram bottle, (Fig. 5) bearing the I. C. H. of our elusive artisan, naturally whetted my desire to learn more about him. A visit to Mr. Laughlin gave me my first intimation of the initials, in combination with the crown and Lancaster touch. (See the "I. C. H., Lancaster," in Fig. 4).

Later, Mr. R. Chester Ross, lay-reader of Saint John's Protestant Episcopal church, Compassville, Pa., showed me a duplicate of the familiar flagon, and added the information that the piece was purchased by the congregation in 1766.<sup>2</sup> Still another visit, this time to Trinity Lutheran church, Lancaster, under the guidance of Mr. William G. Baker, trustee, rewarded me with the opportunity to study two examples by the same craftsman. I have also heard of other I. C. H. pieces, bringing the total list of known items bearing this mark to eight flagons, two chalices (Fig. 7), a sugar bowl (Fig. 6), an eight-inch plate, two six-inch plates, a dram bottle (Fig. 5), and a porringer.<sup>3</sup> I have recently seen a duplicate of the dram bottle, evidently cast in the same mold, but unmarked.

The Evangelical Lutheran church of the Holy Trinity was

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<sup>2</sup> "The history of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, Pequea," by R. Chester Ross, 1929, p. 30. The author states that the pewter communion service was first used by the Rev. Thomas Barton, rector of St. John's from 1759 to 1776. It consists of three pieces—flagon, paten and chalice. The paten and chalice were made in England; the flagon, however, on the front of which is inscribed "St. John's Church, 1766," bears the touch mark on its bottom, "I. C. H."

<sup>3</sup> Emanuel Lutheran church, Brickerville, Lancaster county, owns two flagons made by I. C. H.; Zion Lutheran church, Manheim, Lancaster county, one flagon; and The Historical Society of the Reformed Church in the United States, whose headquarters are in Lancaster, Pa., owns a flagon and a six-inch plate.

established in Lancaster about 1729.<sup>4</sup> On September 30th, 1733, "John Martin Weybrecht [said to have been a blacksmith residing in Manheim township, Lancaster county, Pa.,] presented to [Trinity Lutheran church, Lancaster,] a pewter flagon, having a lid and a wreath on it. It rests on three angel-heads, and holds about two quarts. There is a lamb, with a banner and a cross, engraved upon it; also the three letters I. C. S."

This flagon is highly prized by the church. In every detail it corresponds to the above description taken from the church records.<sup>5</sup> Its touch, however, is not that of I. C. H. Stamped on the handle occurs what is evidently a foreign design,—a shield, with two turrets, between which the numerals 71 and 9 are decipherable below the initials H. M. On the bottom, within, appears a rose, stamped in the metal. Though the touch is by no means his, the design of the flagon is strikingly similar to that which I. C. H. employed, and for which we shall shortly discover the reason. In passing, it will be sufficient to examine the different views of the flagon in Figure 1, and to note their major features.

In 1757,<sup>6</sup> a treaty was made with the Indians in Lancaster, which encouraged the members of Trinity Lutheran church to purchase ground and begin the construction of a new building.<sup>7</sup> In spite of violations of this treaty, the new edifice was ready for dedication on Sunday, May 4th, 1766. In the meantime, while preparations for a larger and finer building to shelter the growing congregation were progressing, it was appropriate, perhaps even necessary, that additions be made to the communion service. In any event, we read in the records that, at nine on the morning of the dedication, the invited ministers and deputies of the united congregations were to meet in the school house.

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<sup>4</sup> "The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, 1638-1800," by Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, D.D., published in the Proceedings of The Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. XI, p. 292.

<sup>5</sup> See the "Chronology," prepared by the pastor, the Rev. Dr. J. E. Whitteker, and published in the program of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the laying of the corner-stone of Trinity Lutheran church, Lancaster, Pa., May 18th, 1911.

<sup>6</sup> "Colonial Records," Vol. VII, pp. 497-550.

<sup>7</sup> The corner-stone was laid with impressive ceremonies on Monday, May 18th, 1761. See the "Memorial Volume of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster, Pa.," published on the occasion of the centenary jubilee, 1861, pp. 20, 21.

"At ten o'clock they will form a procession and go to the new church, in the following order: The schoolmaster, Mr. Jacob Loeser, accompanied by all the children who attend his school; the deacons of the Lancaster congregation, bearing the *vasa sacra*, or sacred vessels used in the administration of the Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; then the minister; and after these, the elders and trustees of the Lancaster congregation, and the deputies of the united congregations."<sup>8</sup>

To whom did the deacons entrust the order for making the two new flagons? At that time I. C. H., the Lancaster artisan, had been established in the town for several years, and must have enjoyed, at least, a local reputation. Naturally, he was the logical man for the work. It is quite proper to assume that the flagon owned by Trinity Lutheran church served him as a model for the two new ones that were ordered. In executing this commission, our craftsman departed slightly, yet significantly, from the design of the original, a procedure which may be attributed, in part, to changes in style that had occurred during the preceding third of a century; in part, to his limited equipment; and, in part, perhaps, to his own conscious or unconscious absorption of English ideas.

Except for the addition of banding around the middle of the 1766 vessels,<sup>9</sup> the body of each is practically identical with that of the prototype (Fig. 2). The lids almost duplicated that of the older flagon, though the rims are less rounded and the domes proportionately higher. However, when we examine the bottoms (Fig. 3) of the later flagons, we discover that I. C. H., instead of casting them in a conventional bottom mold, employed the easier method of substituting a pair of six inch plates, for which he doubtless had a mold.

The most radical differences between the original flagon, and

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 42, 43.

<sup>9</sup> It is generally supposed that the two flagons which have the touch mark I. C. H. on the bottoms were purchased about the year 1766, although, so far, no evidence has come to light which would substantiate the supposition. The early records of Trinity Lutheran church are in German and have not been translated into English. Students of local history, among whom was the late Dr. J. E. Whitteker, pastor of the church from 1901 to 1920, have at different times translated items of interest relating to this fine old church, but until such time as the records in *their entirety* are translated into English, much of its history will remain in obscurity.

the two additional ones of 1766, lie in the design of handles and lid-hinges. At this point in his design, the Lancaster craftsman yielded to the trend of the times and the dominant style of his environment. In place of the somewhat weak German strap handle of the 1733 flagon, he substituted the sturdy and more attractive hollow-cast English form. The hinge being moved back, was also a concession to English custom.

Despite the latter change, however, he still clung to a ball thumbpiece, thus conforming to the German mode. In doing this, he found himself in the midst of structural difficulties that necessitated the building of a bridge between the handle and the lid, upon which to place his ball. Evidently, he appreciated the awkwardness of this arrangement, for on the later flagons of Saint John's, Compassville (Fig. 8), and the Peter's church, Mount Joy township (Fig. 4), he abandoned the ball in favor of a thumbpiece of the more practical English type. It is unfortunate that we have no flagon dating from the maker's closing years. Perhaps if such an example existed, we should discover still further evidence of departures from European tradition.

I found the first clue to the identity of the maker of these remarkable flagons, in the tax list of the Borough of Lancaster for 1779.<sup>10</sup> "Chris'ph Heyne, tinman," is among those listed; but, as if consciously dodging future fame in pewter history, that individual failed to claim closer association with the work. But to him, a German, zinn and pewter were one and the same. Further to complicate the search, Heyne apparently died intestate; at least, no record of any will has, so far, been discovered. As a further means of escaping detection, he emulated Shakespeare by varying the spelling of his name with nearly every recording. It remained for Mr. Laughlin's discovery of a record for the sale of property to "Christopher Heyne, tinsmith and pewterer," to prove that the original clue had actual possibilities.

Working on the assumption that, at length, we had our man, and with the aid of not a small amount of luck, we discovered that the meagre skeleton at first unearthed was beginning to develop into the substance of the following chronologically arranged

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<sup>10</sup> "Pennsylvania Archives," Third Series, Vol. XVII, p. 608, "Return of the Effective Supply Tax for the County of Lancaster, 1779."

facts. For the several spellings, and for the probable incorrectness of some of the foreign names, the records alone must bear the responsibility. These are the facts:

December 3rd, 1715. Johann Christoph Hayne was born in the village of Funtschen, Bohra, in Saxony.<sup>11</sup> (See editorial post-script, at the close of this article).

June 27th, 1746. He was married to Maria Margr. Schiefenn.<sup>12</sup>

1757. On the "Addition'l Tax [list] of ye Borough of Lancaster for ye King's use, Lodwick Lowman, Collector," the name of Chris'r Heiny appears for £0, 14s, 0d.

1758. Christoffel Hiney is listed for a tax of ten shillings "for the King's Use."

1759. His name appears on the tax list as Christopher Hiney, tinker.

1761. At a "Supream Court," held in Philadelphia on April 10th and 11th, before William Allen and William Coleman, Esquires, judges of the court, for the purpose of naturalizing aliens, Jno. Christ'r Hayne, of Lancaster, a foreigner, was listed among the Quakers and others, who had conscientious scruples against taking an oath. Having complied with the terms required by the act of Parliament, he took and subscribed the qualifications appointed in the act, thereby transferring his allegiance to King George II, and became a "natural born" subject of Great Britain.<sup>13</sup>

January 7th, 1764. Maria Marg. Schiefenn Hayn (wife of Johann Christoph Heyne) died, aged thirty-seven years, two months and three weeks. She was buried in the Moravian graveyard, Lancaster.<sup>14</sup>

July 27th, 1764. He married the widow of Christian Frederick Steinman, a little more than six months after his first wife's death.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "Burial Records of the Moravian Church, Lancaster, Pa."

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, Vol. II, p. 418.

<sup>14</sup> "Burial Records of the Moravian Church, Lancaster, Pa."

<sup>15</sup> In a work entitled "The Moravian Graveyards of Lititz, Pa., 1744-1905," translated from the German into English by the late Abraham Reinke Beck and published by The Moravian Historical Society of Nazareth, Pa.,

1765. J. Christopher Hayne, a member of the Sun Fire Company, signed a petition to Hon. John Penn, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, asking him not to grant a repeal of the law providing for a night watch in the borough of Lancaster.<sup>16</sup>

June 22nd, 1767. Joseph Simons, merchant, and Rose, his wife, of Lancaster, for £600 paid by Christopher Heyne of Lancaster, tinman and pewterer, sold a piece of ground and "Brick Messuage or Tenement" thereon, to Christopher Heyne, his heirs and assigns. The property is described as fronting twenty feet on [West] King street, Lancaster, and extending 245 feet in depth to an alley.<sup>17</sup>

1771. In the tax returns for Lancaster borough, Christopher Heiny, paid a tax of ten shillings. The assessment shows that he had no acres, horses, cattle or servants.<sup>18</sup>

1772. Christ'r Heiney was listed for a tax of ten shillings.<sup>19</sup>

1773. Christoph Heiney, tinner, had his tax increased to twelve shillings.<sup>20</sup>

November 30th, 1773. One hundred acres of land in the county of Cumberland, was surveyed for Christopher Heyne.<sup>21</sup>

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appears the following obituary of Christian Frederick Steinman, under date of December 12th, 1760:

"Born in Dresden, Saxony, November 11th, 1711, he married Anna Regina Rose, and emigrated with her to America, on the 'Irene,' in 1749. They arrived in Lititz, from Bethlehem in 1756, and were to board the men at work on the [Moravian] congregation mill. His widow moved with her son, John Frederick, to Lancaster, where she (Widow Hayne) died, May 30th, 1783."

It will be noted that Mr. Beck states that Christian Frederick Steinman died December 12th, 1760, whereas the burial records of the Moravian church in Lancaster give December 17th as the date of his death. Mr. Beck states that the "Widow Hayne" died May 30th, whereas the Lancaster records show that she died on May 13th. Mr. Beck also states that her maiden name was "Rose," while the translator of the Lancaster records says her name was "Robin."

<sup>16</sup> Proceedings of The Lancaster County Historical Society, Vol. XXXV, p. 72.

<sup>17</sup> Recorder's Office, Book P, p. 391. Johann Christoph Heyne's property was on the site of No. 24 West King street. It occupied a part of lot No. 181 on the Hamilton plan of the town. Owing to a peculiar system of numbering, Heyne's property was bounded on the west by lot No. 227, which at present is occupied by the Steinman Hardware Company.

<sup>18</sup> "Pennsylvania Archives," Third Series, Vol. XVII, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 458.

<sup>21</sup> "Pennsylvania Archives," Third Series, Vol. XXIV, p. 690.

1774. Christopher Heiney contributed seven shillings and six pence to relieve the distress of the poor inhabitants of Boston, Mass.<sup>22</sup>

October 27th, 1775. "Paid Christopher Hayne, Caspar Fordney and Nicholas Miller, for making canteens, etc., for riflemen, £9, 13s, 10d." This amount was paid by John Hubley, who was commissioner of purchases in Lancaster county during Revolutionary times.<sup>23</sup>

1779. The return of the effective supply tax of Lancaster borough for this year reveals that Chris'ph Heyne, tinman, possessed no acres, horses, cattle, sheep or Negroes.<sup>24</sup>

January 11th, 1781. Johann Christoph Hayne was stricken with apoplexy and died suddenly, aged sixty-six years, one month and one week. He was buried in the Moravian graveyard, Lancaster.<sup>25</sup>

January 13th, 1781. Anna Rosina Heiny, widow of Christopher Heiny and Frederick Stoneman (Steinman) son of Mrs. Heiny by her former husband, Christian Frederick Steinman, appeared and gave bond for the administration of the estate.<sup>26</sup>

January 30th, 1781. The inventory of Christoph Hiney (Heyne) was recorded.<sup>27</sup> There were goods, etc., appraised at £182, 8s, 2d; also bills against the State of Pennsylvania, running from 1777 to 1780, for \$6,500.

Included in the inventory, were:

	£	s	d
6½ doz. of pewter spoons	1	2	6
15 pewter spoons	0	4	0

<sup>22</sup> Proceedings of The Lancaster County Historical Society, Vol. XXVIII, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Proceedings of The Lancaster County Historical Society, Vol. VI, p. 14.

<sup>24</sup> "Pennsylvania Archives," Third Series, Vol. XVII, p. 608.

<sup>25</sup> The Lancaster County Historical Society has in its possession an English translation of the original burial records of the Moravian church, Lancaster, which were written in German. In these records appear an obituary of Johann Christoph Heyne, under date of January 11th, 1781. In this obituary it is stated that he married the widow of Christian Frederick Steinman in 1765. The year is probably incorrect since it contradicts in the same record the statement in the obituary of his widow, Anna Regina Heyne, who died May 13th, 1783, that she was married to the "widower Christoph Hayne" on July 27th, 1764.

<sup>26</sup> Office of the Register of Wills. Book B, p. 376.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. File H, 1776-90.



17 lbs. old pewter	0½	14	2
4 pewter pints	0	10	0
16 do plates	1	2	6
8 do basons	0	13	4
7 salt sellers and two plates	0	8	0
2 chamber pots	0	10	0
1 quart and 3 church cups	1	10	0
5 bottles	0	5	0
Sundry tools	25	0	0
“ moulds	8	0	0
“ “	30	0	0
20 lbs. lead	0	10	0
Sundries	1	2	6
1 kitchen dresser with sundry pewter	4	0	0

May 13th, 1783. Anna Regina Hayn, widow of Johann Christoph Hayn (Heyne) died, aged sixty-five years, five months and nineteen days. Her maiden name was Robin. She was born November 24th, 1717, at Erfurt, Germany; baptized and reared in the Lutheran religion; died, and was buried in the graveyard of the Moravian church, Lancaster. In 1736 she was married to Christian Frederick Steinman, by whom she had four children, two of whom survived her,—George Michael, who, at the time, was in Sarepta, Asia, and Frederick Steinman, who was in Lancaster, Pa. In 1748 she removed with her husband to Herrnhut, Saxony, and in that village was admitted to membership in the Moravian congregation and received the sacrament of Holy Communion. In March of the following year, they emigrated to Pennsylvania. On December 17th, 1760, her first husband, Christian Frederick Steinman died at Lititz, Pa. A little more than three and a half years later, July 27th, 1764, she married Johann Christoph Heyne, widower. Her second husband died January 11th, 1781, and was buried in the Moravian graveyard, Lancaster.<sup>28</sup>

Apparently, Heyne had no children of his own.<sup>29</sup> Under the

<sup>28</sup> "Burial Records of the Moravian Church, Lancaster, Pa."

<sup>29</sup> On April 5th, 1783, the property of the late Johann Christoph Heyne, consisting of a piece of ground twenty feet wide on West King street and a "brick message," was sold to John Frederick Steinman, stepson of the deceased. He is referred to in the deed as a "pewterer." Evidently he continued the trade of his illustrious stepfather. As Mr. Steinman's mother, widow of Johann Christoph Heyne, was still alive at that time, although she died about five weeks later, the property was subject to a widow's dower. (Book Z, p. 488). Johanna Sophia Younghausen, of Ober Eula, in the Electorate of

act of Parliament that governed the procedure of naturalization through which Heyne passed in 1761, he had to show proof of residence in the colonies for seven years, and membership in a Protestant or Reformed congregation; consequently, if the act was rigorously administered, he arrived in America in 1754 or earlier, which gave him twenty-six years or more of pewtermaking in this country.

The excellence of his workmanship and the variety of articles that he made, establish Johann Christoph Heyne as a prolific artisan of the first order. His addition to the family of American pewterers is an event of no little importance.

### EDITORIAL POSTSCRIPT<sup>30</sup>

The information acquired during the long and careful research of Mr. Evans and Mr. Laughlin so clearly justified an attempt to discover the original source of inspiration for the extraordinary series of Heyne flagons that correspondence with European authorities was undertaken. As usual in such cases, R. M. Vetter of Amsterdam, was first consulted. Quite according to expectation, that broad-minded student and connoisseur, was deeply interested, declaring in a letter of some length that the process by which "in these flagons the purely German idea is gradually overridden by English influences, first by the adoption of the English handle, and, finally, by the acceptance of an English thumb-piece type, deserves the attention not only of the pewter collector but of historians in general. There will be few instances where the merging of one civilization with another is more clearly demonstrated than in this case." Further, Mr. Vetter observes, "The use of small plates for the bottoms of the later flagons is a delightful and original feature. Johann Christoph Heyne had become a practical Yankee workman, who knew how to make the most of a restricted stock of molds. It is delightful to think of this German thus adapting himself to his new surroundings, showing how we are all creatures of circumstances, and how time-honored tradi-

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Saxony, Germany, only sister and heir of the late Johann Christoph Heyne, in consideration of £153, 2s, 6d paid by John Frederick Steinman for the property, relinquished all rights to the personal property of her brother. (Book Z, p. 492).

<sup>30</sup> Published in "The Magazine Antiques," September, 1931.

tions are subject to adaptation. In Europe, plates souused would not have passed!"

For a consideration of some of the purely historical questions raised by the flagons, Mr. Vetter advised consultation with Dr. Erwin Hintze, director of the Schlossmuseum, Breslau, Germany, the foremost authority on German and Germanic pewter. Professor Hintze's reply to a lengthy letter of inquiry brought the following lucid answer:

"I have the happy opportunity to name the master of the flagon of German origin, dated 1733. The touch is that of a pewterer, Heinrich Mueller, of Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Bavaria. On January 16th, 1721, the said Mueller became a citizen of that town. The touch shows two turrets, and between them the figures 71, and apparently 9—that is to say, the year 1719. This would mean that Heinrich Mueller established his business as a pewterer at Rothenburg ob der Tauber in the year 1719.

"The shape of the flagon, with its slender body growing wider in its lower parts, the three angel-heads supporting the base, and, further, the strap handle, all are characteristic of southern Germany. The thumbpiece appears there as well as in the northern parts of our country. My identification of the origin of this flagon is authentic, and you may fully rely on it.

"The note in 'The Magazine Antiques,' for February, 1928, page 112, by Mr. Vetter of Amsterdam, can, in certain points, be rectified by the above explanation. The said flagon, brought from Germany to America, did not originate in Alsace, but in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Bavaria.

"I am sorry not to have been in a position to find out the exact dates of the pewterer, Johann Christoph Heyne, who emigrated from Germany, and later settled in Lancaster. There are several villages named Bora or Bohra. One village is near Nossen, in Saxony; there are even two with the same name Bora. Another Bohra is situated near Altenburg (Saxony-Altenburg). Though I have at my disposal rich documentary material regarding the Saxon pewterers, I could not trace in them the name of Johann Christoph Heyne. If he was born December 3rd, 1715, he must have been serving his apprenticeship from 1729 to 1733. I have examined the lists of pewterer-apprentices of Dresden, Altenburg

and Leipzig, in which are contained the names of the apprentices of the entire country, but I could nowhere find one Johann Christoph Heyne. But two other pewterers of the name Heyne apparently are near relations of Johann Christoph: Tobias Heyne, pewterer, son of the carrier, Michael Heyne, of Grumbach, was serving his apprenticeship in Rochlitz from 1698 to 1702; and in 1709 he got his freedom as pewterer in Leisnig. His son, Gotthelf Heyne, served in the capacity of his apprentice from 1740. Johann Christian Heyne, pewterer, apprentice of his cousin, Tobias Heyne, became a master at Rochlitz, March 27th, 1733. There he was still known as pewterer in 1755."

The editorial note continues as follows:

We must return for a moment to the original flagon of Trinity Lutheran church. It is now certain that the piece is of Bavarian origin, not Alsatian. We even know who made it. Precisely how it came into the possession of the smith, John Martin Weybrecht, who presented it to his church, may never be known. Evidently, at the time, the Saxon, Johann Christoph Heyne, had not yet appeared upon the scene. In that case, where did he procure the molds from which to cast the angel heads and the spouts of his later flagons; and whence came his ball thumbpieces? Could he, for the purpose of duplication, have made plaster molds from the original Bavarian flagon; and could he, further, have wrested his thumbpieces from some old tankards found in the possession of his German neighbors? Those which he used are not quite identical in shape, and both differ materially from the ball on the prototypal vessel.

It would, of course, be pleasant to assume that Johann Christoph Heyne came to America in 1733, fresh from his apprenticeship in Germany, bringing with him the Rothenburg flagon, and some, at least, of the essential molds for reproducing it. Unfortunately, such an hypothesis will hardly stand the strain of analysis. The theory advanced by Mr. Evans and Mr. Laughlin that our craftsman was given the task of copying a venerated piece and did the best he could under the circumstances, is probably the only tenable one. To indulge in fine fancies would be easy enough, but far from profitable. It is sufficient that we have a sequence

of flagons,—one, a pure German piece; the others, modeled after it by a German-American pewterer whose successive and ingenious copies of the original show progressively wider departures from the authentic German form with which he began.

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## FARMING IN LANCASTER COUNTY IN 1864

By WILLIAM FREDERIC WORNER

In a letter acknowledging the receipt of a copy of Vol. XXXV, pp. 97-110, of the Proceedings of The Lancaster County Historical Society, in which appeared an article entitled, "Two Hundred Years of Farming in Lancaster County," Mr. William B. Bishop, a prominent citizen and successful farmer of Strasburg township, Lancaster county, Pa., added the following interesting recollections of primitive conditions prevailing when he was a boy on a farm. The extract from Mr. Bishop's letter has value in that it reveals the vast improvements that have been made in agricultural implements within the memory of a farmer who is still living.

"My first experience on a Lancaster county farm, was as a boy with an uncle, in 1864, and I still have some of the old implements that were being discarded about that time,—the sickle, grain cradle, spike harrow, horse power shake thresher, wind-mill, etc. Prior to that period, I was on a farm in the southern part of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, near the Virginia line. Not a stove was on the place and wood was never cut smaller than cord size. Practically all the farm implements were the ox cart and one-horse plow. Most of the cultivating was done by slaves, with the grubbing hoe. I remember riding some miles to see a one-hole hand corn-sheller, which was considered quite an innovation, that a planter had purchased in Baltimore. We had a frame like a bedstead with concave hickory slats. The corn was thrown on, and two Negroes at each end, beat the corn from the cob with clubs.

"The most primitive sheller I have ever seen, was a small bench, on which a man sat. There was a hole at the end surrounded by four small springs, that adjusted themselves to the