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FROM GOLDSMITH TO MERCHANT:
THE CRAFT AND COMMERCE
OF BENJAMIN GREENE

by

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I am grateful to my family, for their continuous encouragement and advice, and their faith in my abilities.

This manuscript is dedicated to:

My Sister

Mary Margaret Gleason
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Massachusetts Historical Society ................................................................. MHS

Boston Public Library ................................................................................... BPL
ABSTRACT

The account books and ledgers of Benjamin Greene (1713-1776), a Boston goldsmith and merchant, span the entirety of his career from 1734 to 1776. Although Benjamin trained as a goldsmith, he spent the majority of his life as a merchant, involved in local and regional trade as well as the North American coastal trade and the transatlantic carrying trade. An analysis of Greene's account books reveals the evolution of his career, the type of goldsmithing work he performed, the reasons for his decision to enter trade, and the areas and commodities he dealt in as a merchant.

During the early years of his career, Benjamin Greene, who retailed a small portion of the silver that he fashioned, worked mainly as a jobber producing large quantities of small items for other Boston jewelers and goldsmiths. After abandoning this craft during the late 1740s, Benjamin Greene became involved in trade with North Carolina, England, and Boston, investing heavily in naval stores, rum, molasses, and European manufactured goods. In 1763 Greene switched the focus of his business from North Carolina to New England, and dealt primarily in potash and pearl-ash, which he exported to England. During his career, Greene was also involved for short periods in the whaling trade, the African slave trade, and the West Indian trade.

The example that Benjamin Greene provides of an eighteenth-century Boston goldsmith and merchant illuminates issues pertaining to the positions of colonial artisans and merchants. His accounts reveal collaboration between Boston goldsmiths,
the importance of family connections and friendships to the development of businesses, and the types of trade networks that existed in and out of Boston.

Benjamin Greene's eight account books survive today at the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Boston Public Library.
Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

Boston, best known to school children today for its pivotal role during the American Revolution, was the center of culture and commerce in eighteenth-century North America. As a major port, Boston acted as the colonial hub for trade with England, exporting raw materials and importing European manufactured goods. The success of Boston and her mercantile community, encouraged many men to pursue a career in trade. Wealthy artisans, who had the means to do so, began importing and exporting basic articles for retail or wholesale as either an addition to their businesses or as a replacement of their craft. While the mercantile business was risky due to danger at sea and reliance on foreign markets, the potential returns were large. These returns and the prestige that accompanied the profession were the goal of many elite artisans who had already attained the highest levels of wealth and status within their craft.


2Gary B. Nash, "Artisans and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," in The Craftsman in Early America, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), 64. Nash points out that the primary goal of most urban artisans, whom he indicated to be the middle to lower segments of the artisan population, was to achieve economic security rather than great wealth.
One Boston artisan, Benjamin Greene (1713-1776), provides an example of a craftsman who sought the greater riches that trade could bring. Benjamin Greene trained as a goldsmith during the early part of the eighteenth century, but by the age of about thirty, became involved in trade and subsequently abandoned his craft. The switch from goldsmithing, "the most genteel of any in the Mechanic Way," to trade, was one that a number of wealthy goldsmiths made during the eighteenth century. Benjamin, however, was only just beginning to practice his craft when he became a merchant, and according to his account books was not making a substantial living as a goldsmith. In order to accumulate the capital and connections necessary for establishing a successful wholesale business, Benjamin had to rely on partnerships with his brothers and other kin, and on legacies left to him by members of his family.

The difference between Benjamin Greene and most goldsmiths who engaged in mercantile activities is that Benjamin abandoned his craft for trade while the others used the revenue from their roles as merchants or shopkeepers to supplement their goldsmithing income. One historian, Barbara McLean Ward, has indicated that Boston goldsmiths rarely replaced their craft with another profession. Benjamin Greene, therefore, provides historians with an unusual example of an eighteenth-century Boston goldsmith. Ward’s research and understanding of early-eighteenth


4"Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756," MHS.


6Ibid, 95-6.
A number of Benjamin Greene's account books survive in Boston libraries. Seven of these are at the Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS), while one remains at the Boston Public Library (BPL). In addition to providing information about Benjamin Greene's decision to change professions, these account books, reveal material pertaining to his goldsmithing and mercantile careers. As a goldsmith, Benjamin worked as a jobber doing piece work for other jewelers and goldsmiths. His records demonstrate the type of items he made and the interaction between the jobbers, specialists, masters, and apprentices of Boston's goldsmith community. His mercantile accounts reveal information about the people and areas with which he traded, as well as the types of commodities in which he dealt. In addition to describing Benjamin's personal business, these accounts reveal the role of Boston merchants in the coastal and regional trades, the significance of England's markets and products to colonial North America, and the importance of family ties to business ventures. An analysis of these account books provides an understanding of Benjamin's business as well as these larger issues concerning colonial life and trade.
Chapter 2

HISTORY OF THE GREENE FAMILY

Benjamin Greene (1713-1776) was the fifth son of Nathaniel and Anne (Gould) Greene of Boston. Nathaniel Greene, Sr., son of John Greene, a commissioner and assemblyman of Warwick, Rhode Island, was a shopkeeper in Boston. After Nathaniel’s death in 1714, his wife Anne Greene, daughter of Thomas and Frances Gould of Boston, took over her husband’s shop, and managed it until her death in 1728. Anne’s ability to provide for her son’s futures as well as the professions she and the family chose for the boys indicates the Greene family’s level of wealth and status during the early part of the century and the possibilities for its continued prominence through subsequent generations.

The Greene sons’ educational experiences and ensuing career choices were as follows. Thomas (1705-1763), the eldest, attended Yale, graduating in 1727. After working as a chaplain for a short period, he went on to become a prosperous merchant. Rufus (1707-1777) completed an apprenticeship with the goldsmith William Cowell and established himself as a goldsmith and a wholesaler of English merchandise. Nathaniel, Jr. (1709-1792), a shopkeeper by the age of twenty-one, worked in partnership with his brothers in Boston, and later moved to Surinam where he continued to trade. William (b. 1711) became a blacksmith in Boston, and in 1736 was acting as a merchant or an agent for his brother Benjamin in Surinam. Benjamin (1713-1776), the youngest son and the subject of this thesis, trained as a goldsmith.
After working as such for a decade, he abandoned the craft in favor of a mercantile business.¹

Nathaniel Greene, Sr., who came from a wealthy Rhode Island family, was an owner of a prosperous Boston store and a member of that city's elite. The professions of his sons and the value and diversity of his wife's estate testified to the family's wealth and position in the community. Anne Greene's ability to afford the costs of sending one son to Yale, and apprenticing two others to goldsmiths, one to a blacksmith, and possibly one to a shopkeeper reflected her ability to manage her late husband's store. Apprenticeships to elite craftsmen and professionals such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and shopkeepers were expensive, and therefore excluded all but those who could afford the fees.²

Anne's 1727/8 probate inventory, which reflected her personal goods and those of her late husband, attests to the extent of the family's wealth. At her death, Anne's silver, a portion of which she had probably inherited from her husband, consisted of five tankards, six porringer, five cups, one salver, twenty-eight spoons, one spout cup, one pepper box, two salts, and sundry small items all valued at £278.1.4. She also owned 120 books and some pamphlets worth £77.17.2, and her entire personal estate was valued at £2671.6.4. The inventory of her shop, which contained imported


textiles and other English goods, was valued at an additional £2421.10.3 1/4.\(^3\) As a comparison, between 1717 and 1724, the highest value of a room-by-room probate inventory in rural Suffolk County was £1656.15.0, belonging to Nathaniel Butt, a Yeoman of Dorchester.\(^4\) While urban merchants and shopkeepers would have possessed far larger estates than rural yeomen, the comparison between Anne Greene's estate and that of Nathaniel Butt is still representative of the Greene family's position and wealth.

Anne Greene's estate, with its inclusion of numerous costly items such as silver, glassware, looking glasses, and china cups and saucers, is indicative of a very prosperous family of high social position. Goods such as these that the Greenes possessed were usually displayed in a family's public room where they acted as declarations of the owner's status. A further statement of the Greene's position and wealth, the family crypt, ornamented with the family coat of arms consisting of three stags, is still extant in the Kings Chapel Burial Ground in Boston.\(^5\)

The wealth and status that Anne and Nathaniel Greene, Sr., had achieved at the times of their deaths influenced the choice of their sons' careers. In the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, a son's occupation was usually predicated

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\(^3\)"Anne Greene's Probate Inventory, March 8, 1727/8," Suffolk County Probate Record #5574, vol. 26, Pp. 401-414, Suffolk County Court House, Boston, MA; "Nathaniel Greene's Will, August 6, 1714," Suffolk County Probate Record #3613, vol. 18, Pp. 354-5, Suffolk County Court House, Boston, MA. Nathaniel left the residue of his personal estate, goods, and chattels to his widow Anne.


upon a family's desire and ability to perpetuate its position in society. The careers that the Greene sons ultimately chose to pursue, as well as those to which they had been apprenticed, were all highly respected, elite professions that required capital to enter.

The decision to apprentice Benjamin to a goldsmith, in this case to his brother Rufus and possibly to William Cowell as well (with whom Rufus had served his time), would have been made by the family with consideration of Benjamin's subsequent wealth and status. During the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century it was common for a family that sent its first son to college to apprentice their second son to a goldsmith. The precious materials and skill involved in the art of goldsmithing provided the practitioners of the craft with an elevated status and income. For a man who was a professional, a merchant, or an elite artisan, goldsmithing provided a respectable field in which his son could succeed to roughly the same social and economic level as himself. The mercantile and artisanal occupations of Benjamin Greene and his brothers allowed them to fulfill the social standards that their father had set for them.

The Greene family was surprising in that their fifth son as well as their second trained as a goldsmith. In many cases families did not apprentice multiple sons to one trade for fear of saturating the market and creating competition. The Greenes indifference to this potential problem may have been due to the fact that by


apprenticing Benjamin to Rufus, there would be a reduction in the apprenticeship fees as well as strengthening of the family bonds. The Greens may also have expected goldsmithing to be a stepping stone for Benjamin and Rufus to the higher economic and social levels that were available to merchants.

Goldsmiths who were members of mercantile families similar to the Greens and the Goulds (Anne Gould Greene's family) often acted as bankers for their families. Bankers were helpful in obtaining the bills of exchange, the personal and business i.o.u.s, that were necessary for a merchant's business. Despite the fact that there is no indication that either Rufus or Benjamin acted as bankers, the family may have considered this possible position when they apprenticed both sons as goldsmiths.

Goldsmiths who had capital and connections often engaged in additional activities outside their craft. William Cowell, with whom Rufus, and possibly Benjamin trained, ran an inn as well as a goldsmith shop. Many Boston goldsmiths included retailing, wholesaling, importing, exporting, and specialized work such as engraving or printing in their businesses. The Greens may have had the expectation that Rufus and Benjamin would attain higher levels of social and economic status through a mercantile addition to their goldsmithing operations.

The Greene brothers' concentration in the four professions of merchant, shopkeeper, goldsmith, and blacksmith may also have been due to their family's connections. The choice of the mercantile and shopkeeping careers may have been influenced by their parent's profession and by the Gould family (Anne Gould Greene's

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family) who were involved in trade. The Greenes may have chosen the professions of goldsmith and blacksmith due to the proximity of neighbors who were involved in those crafts. John, Joseph, and Mary Cowell, who were probably related to William Cowell, each owned land abutting that of Anne Greene in the late 1720s and early 1730s. William Cowell, the goldsmith with whom Rufus Greene had trained, and his son John II, shared one profession, while William's father, John I, was a blacksmith. The close physical proximity of the Greenes and Cowells, and the occupations of John I, William, and John Cowell II, suggest that Anne Greene's choice of careers and masters for her sons may have been influenced by her neighbors. Further proof of the relationship between the two families is visible through William Cowell's witnessing Anne Greene's will in 1727.

The neighborly ties between the Greenes and Cowells that are visible in Rufus's apprenticeship with William Cowell suggest that Benjamin may also have been Cowell's apprentice. However, Rufus Greene's son, William, wrote in 1778 that "Uncle Benj'a...serv'd his time with my parent." Benjamin, however, may not have served his entire apprenticeship with his brother. Rufus first noted in his account book that Benjamin was working for him in 1728, the same year that William Cowell


15 "Anne Greene's Will, February 19, 1727," Suffolk County Probate Record #5574, vol. 26, p. 146; Although there is no data clearly demonstrating that Anne Greene and William Cowell were neighbors, John Cowell, son or father of William, and Mary Cowell (relation of William?) each owned land on Newbury Street, purchased by Thomas Greene in 1733, which abutted Anne Greene's property. Suffolk County Probate Deed folio 48, Pp. 31, 244.

16 William Greene, "Diary of William Greene, 1778," 94.
became an innkeeper.\textsuperscript{17} It is possible, therefore, that Benjamin began his apprenticeship with Cowell, but finished it with Rufus when Cowell's attention was diverted by other business. Without any evidence that this happened, we must accept William Greene's statement that Benjamin trained with Rufus, who had become a master goldsmith in 1728 at the age of twenty-one. Benjamin, who was fifteen at that time, was the same age as many other boys who were beginning their apprenticeships.\textsuperscript{18}

Between 1733, when he began most entries in his ledger, and 1735, Rufus recorded at the end of each year, "Brother Benjamin boarding with us comes to more than what he has dun for me."\textsuperscript{19} Benjamin was paying his room and board through the work he performed in Rufus' silver shop. This arrangement may have been negotiated as the last year or two of Benjamin's apprenticeship, he being 20 years of age in 1733, or he may have been working for Rufus as a journeyman. At the end of his time, in February of 1737, Benjamin married Mary Chandler, the daughter of Judge John Chandler of Worcester, Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{20} The lack of any other entries by Rufus after 1735 pertaining to Benjamin's work for him suggests that Benjamin may have begun his own business and have set up housekeeping with his new wife at that time.


\textsuperscript{19}"Rufus Greene Account Books, 1728-1774," Pp. 7, 12, 14; "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756."

\textsuperscript{20}Patricia Kane, ed., \textit{Silversmiths of Colonial Massachusetts}, Forthcoming, 1996.
The business that Benjamin started around 1737 appears to have been limited primarily to the manufacture of objects for jewelers, goldsmiths, and shopkeepers who retailed his work. The silver and occasionally gold items that Benjamin fashioned for these retailers consisted of small objects such as earrings, buckles, buttons, thimbles, rings, beads, and spoons. Other items that he produced in lesser quantities were silver tea tongs, pipe stoppers, spectacle frames, sword hilts, snuff boxes, salvers, and a "silver watch."¹ Benjamin also occasionally made and mended silver hollowware forms such as casters, milk pots, porringers, cann, sauce boats, and tankards.² (See Appendix A)

¹Although Benjamin recorded making "watches" he was probably referring to silver watch cases and not the works of the watch. "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756," p. 19, MHS.

²"Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756."
Table 3.1 Quantity and Value of Silver Items Benjamin Sold

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>VALUE OF SILVER SOLD (£ Old tenor)</th>
<th>% OF TOTAL VALUE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SILVER OBJECTS SOLD</th>
<th>% OF TOTAL SILVER OBJECTS SOLD</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2454.3.9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2279</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>106.7.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<td>1736</td>
<td>169.6.11</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>278.4.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1738</td>
<td>264.17.7</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>359.1.9</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>11.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>220.6.11</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td>403.19.4</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1742</td>
<td>520.8.9</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743</td>
<td>177.16.11</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>9.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1744</td>
<td>40.8.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1.3</td>
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<td>1745</td>
<td>6.14.3</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>1746</td>
<td>28.9.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1752</td>
<td>12.11.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1753</td>
<td>7.9.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756." The numbers for the total objects made per year include sets of buttons, buckles, etc., which are counted as one per set. These numbers therefore do not reflect the total number of objects Benjamin made in a year. However, since sets are consistently counted as one, these numbers can be used in relation to each other to compare changes over the years. The values for these objects per year is based on the amounts Benjamin recorded for their production and sale price.
Benjamin's position in the goldsmithing community, which was characterized by his producing and mending large quantities of small items for a few jewelers, shopkeepers, merchants, goldsmiths, and other artisans, was that of a jobber. Jobbers, who were small scale goldsmiths, did piecework for larger establishments rather than for themselves.\textsuperscript{4} Benjamin's accounts illuminate his position and profession through the quantity and types of items he produced, and the people he produced them for.

Table 3.1 lists the number of objects Benjamin produced each year. Between 1736 and 1743 Benjamin fashioned on average 264.7 items and sets of items, the majority of which were earrings, buckles, and buttons.\textsuperscript{5} The percentage of the work he did for jewelers was, on the whole, much higher than his production for other tradesmen. For example, 96\% of all sets of buttons Benjamin produced or mended went to the jewelers James Boyer and Stephen Winter, and 71\% of the thimbles he made or mended were sold to jewelers. Benjamin's other silver and gold items had a more diverse market: he sold only 24\% of his earrings to jewelers. The rest he sold to merchants, shopkeepers, and a variety of artisans.\textsuperscript{6}

Although Benjamin did not make all of his wares for jewelers, the high proportion of items that he sold to a limited number of jewelers, goldsmiths, and shopkeepers indicates that he was providing these retailers with his work. On occasion, Benjamin credited some of these jewelers and goldsmiths for providing him with the same types of items that he was selling to them. These accounts suggest that Benjamin had a small retail business, and/or that he relied on the help of his fellow craftsmen


\textsuperscript{5}"Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756."

\textsuperscript{6}Ibid.
when he had large orders that he could not personally meet. Further evidence that Benjamin was retailing a limited amount of silver can be seen in his sales of larger, hollowware silver forms to individuals other than the jewelers and goldsmiths with whom he usually transacted business.

The orders that Benjamin filled for these individuals usually consisted of mending small items such as rings, thimbles, or buckles, or selling larger silver items such as milk pots, casters, cann, and porringers. In some cases these hollowware pieces were the work of other silversmiths, namely Jacob Hurd, Paul Revere, Sr., and William Cowell. Benjamin commissioned these goldsmiths to fashion items for him to retail from his shop. For most of the items that Hurd, Cowell, and Revere produced for Benjamin, there is no corresponding entry for the sale of these objects to Benjamin's clients. In two instances, however, the connection between a silver tankard and a pair of silver porringers fashioned by Paul Revere, Sr. and those items purchased by Timothy Pain of Worcester is apparent from Benjamin's accounts. Benjamin credited Revere "By 1 Silver Tankard wt. 29 oz 15w & Making £12.11.8," and "By 1 pair Silver Porringers 17.5 & Making £7.1.8," and debited Pain "To Paul Revere for 1 Silver Tankard £12.11.8" and "To 1 Pair Silver Porringers of Ditto £7.1.8." Since

7Ibid, Pp. 1, 4, 68.
Benjamin was able to produce these items, it does not appear that the majority of Benjamin's accounts with these goldsmiths were based upon his lack of technical ability.

The one goldsmith who did perform specialized tasks for Benjamin was Jacob Hurd. Benjamin credited Hurd with turning some cann, casters, and milk pots, and with burnishing porringer.\(^\text{10}\) The turning of silver items consisted of skimming excess silver from the surface of already cast or wrought objects in order to sharpen their details. Burnishing involved smoothing the surface of silver by manipulating it with a burnisher, a steel tool, to help create the highly reflective surface found on silver objects. On January thirtieth, 1741, Benjamin credited Hurd for turning two feet of a "pepper box," possibly the "pepper caster" that Benjamin sold to Benjamin Gale of Shillingworth on the twenty-third of February that same year. This caster now resides at the Yale University Art Gallery.\(^\text{11}\) The three porringers that Benjamin credited Hurd with burnishing on December twenty-fourth, 1739, are probably the same porringers that Benjamin sold to John Dyer of Worcester on the twenty-first of that month.\(^\text{12}\) The fact that Benjamin patronized Hurd for turning and burnishing only a few items suggests that Benjamin must have performed these tasks himself in other

\(^{10}\text{Ibid, p. 47.}\)

\(^{11}\)The eighteenth-century terms of "pepper box" and "pepper caster" refer to the same form. "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756," Pp. 47, 30; Kathryn C. Buhler and Graham Hood, American Silver (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 147. The Yale pepper caster is inscribed "Given to H-Gale in Remembrance/ of her Brother- Samuel Eliott who/ died on the Coast of Africa/ Iany 1741 Aged 24." The connection between this caster with the Gale name and the caster Benjamin Greene sold to Benjamin Gale in the same year provides a strong probability that they are the same object.

\(^{12}\)"Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756," p. 47.
instances. Benjamin's reliance on Hurd in these few instances may have been due to his lack of time or the lack of hands in his shop.

Benjamin's accounts Hurd, Cowell, and Revere indicate the collaboration that occurred within the goldsmith community. The size of shops and the level of skill of a goldsmith on occasion necessitated his reliance on other members of the craft for additional hands or expertise.
Chapter 4

BENJAMIN GREENE, MERCHANT

An analysis of Benjamin's account books and ledgers reveals his business to have consisted of jewelry production for wholesale, and on occasion, the fashioning of larger silver forms for retail. The small size of his business may have necessitated Benjamin's irregular reliance on other jewelers and goldsmiths for extra help and specialized work. According to his 1734-1756 ledger, Benjamin's most prolific years of silver production were between 1737 and 1743. During these years when he fashioned and mended between 168 and 497 objects per annum, he grossed at most only £520 per year. On average, his gross annual receipts for this work equaled £317.\(^1\) (See Table 3.1) While most of these receipts were in cash, he often worked on a reciprocal basis with other artisans, receiving goods or services in return for his labor or products.

Benjamin's silver receipts did not provide an income that was large enough for Benjamin and his wife Mary to sustain themselves at the high level to which they had been accustomed in their youth. In order to supplement his earnings, Benjamin began importing English goods and investing in adventure cargos of tar and other naval supplies from North Carolina during the late 1730s and early 1740s. After 1743,

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\(^1\)"Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756," MHS.
Benjamin's silver production dropped off sharply, declining to almost nothing by 1753.\(^2\)

Benjamin's declining silver production in the late 1740s was concurrent with his increased attention to the European and coastal trades. His first investment in a venture cargo was in 1736, and his first investment in a ship carrying venture cargos was in 1739.\(^3\) Adventures, as Benjamin called these investments, consisted of cargos of goods that were sent to a specific region or port on speculation. The supercargo, often the ship's master, who was in charge of the cargo on board the vessel, or an agent of the owner at the designated port, would sell the cargo at the best price, and purchase local goods for next part of the journey. Merchants would invest jointly or independently in either the cargos, the ships carrying the cargos, or both, as Benjamin Greene appears to have done. By 1741 he owned shares in at least three vessels, and three years later, in five vessels. (See Appendix B)

Based on the number of commodities that Benjamin was trading, it appears that he began his mercantile business slowly in 1735 by dealing in hats, coffee, rum, wine, and textiles. By 1742, Benjamin had increased his investments to the point that he was trading in at least thirty-four commodities.\(^4\) The number of commodities leveled off in 1743 with at least thirty-five items, and stayed at that level for the next seven years. (Graph 4.1)

\(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)Ibid, p. 65.
\(^4\)Ibid.
Graph 4.1 Number of Commodities in which Benjamin Greene Traded, 1735-1771

5Ibid. The numbers are incomplete for 1.54, 1766-1770.
The growth of Benjamin's mercantile business appears to have been an important factor in the decline of his silver production noted in the same year. Between 1735 and 1750, Benjamin netted an average of £2159.8.6 per year from his mercantile activities. Compared to the £300 per year gross average that he received for his silver work, it is obvious that trade had much better returns than silver for a jobber like Benjamin.

While Benjamin was altering his occupation, his brother Rufus was also becoming interested in mercantile activities. During the period that Rufus invested in imports and adventure cargos, however, he continued to maintain his goldsmithing business. According to his son William, Rufus "was always of such a timid make he wou'd not venture but keep a very snug business which was mostly supplying the retailers in the town of Boston." Rufus's timidity may have been the cause of abandoning his interest in adventures some years prior to 1763.

Rufus's mercantile interests, coupled with his silver production, indicates that he fell within the merchant-producer category of eighteenth-century goldsmiths. The

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6Ibid. The average is taken from the total sum of the debit and credit accounts for commodities in that period. These numbers do not include cash or silver accounts, and are thus not representative of his average yearly totals.

7"Rufus Greene Account Books, 1728-1774," MHS.


9Martha C. Codman, ed., The Journal of Mrs. John Amory, 1775-1777 (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1923), 63-4. In a letter written in 1763 to Nicholas Stanbridge, Rufus mentioned a legacy left to Catherine Child Gillam from Aunt Minzeis, who also left the same legacy to Rufus's wife Katherine. William Greene, in his diary, wrote that it was around the time of Aunt Minzeis legacy to his mother that Rufus abandoned trade. William Greene, "Diary of William Greene, 1778," 94.

size of his workshop enabled Rufus to delegate the production of objects to other workers. One such worker was William Holmes, who Rufus paid for "Work dun In my Shop" for two years starting in 1737.\textsuperscript{11} This help allowed Rufus to engage in mercantile activities such as investing in adventure cargos and wholesaling English imports.\textsuperscript{12} Unlike his brother Benjamin, Rufus's decision to remain a goldsmith throughout the period of his mercantile career was probably based on a combination of his cautious nature and the fact that his income from silversmithing provided a solid base from which he could branch out into other areas.\textsuperscript{13} Benjamin's silver work from jobbing, however, did not provide the income he desired, and was therefore easily dispensed with when the large profits from adventures were returned.

The revenue that most jobbers received for their work would not have permitted them to abandon their craft in the way that Benjamin did. Benjamin, however, was not the typical jobber of the period. Nathaniel Greene, Sr., left all his sons, including Benjamin, a sizable inheritance in the form of land in Warwick, Rhode Island. At the time of Anne Greene's death, the land left to Benjamin was valued at £300. Benjamin was also to have received a portion of land that Nathaniel had left to Rufus and William in his will, but due to its increased value in 1728, Anne had decreed that it was to be left to all her sons equally. This land was valued at £1128.4.0, and would have been worth £225.12.9 to Benjamin. Benjamin and his brothers also received inheritances of about £300 from their grandmother Frances Gould.\textsuperscript{14} The total inheritance of just over

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid, p. 67-78.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid, p. 67-78.
\textsuperscript{14}"Nathaniel Greene's Will, August 6, 1714", Suffolk County Probate Record #3613, vol. 17, p. 354, Suffolk County Court House, Boston, MA; "Anne Greene's Will, February 19, 1727", Suffolk County Probate Record #5574, vol. 26, p. 146, Suffolk County Court House, Boston, MA; "Anne Greene's Probate Inventory, February 27,
£825 that Benjamin received was much greater than the sum that he might have amassed as a jobber. This inheritance gave Benjamin better prospects than the average jobber because it provided him with capital that he could invest in venture cargos.

William Greene wrote that it was through the "perswasion of my eldest Uncle Thomas who was then in a large trade of the English goods, [that] my father, and my Uncle Benj'a.. join'd my Uncle in business." Whether it was just the persuasion of Thomas, or whether economic and social factors played a large role in Benjamin and Rufus' decisions is not clear. While in previous decades merchants and elite goldsmiths had shared the same level of status and income, by the mid-eighteenth century goldsmiths had lost a portion of the social status that their craft had traditionally bestowed upon them. By changing professions, Benjamin was able to achieve a higher social position than most of his contemporary artisans. He also was able to maintain his affairs and household at the level to which he and his wife, Mary (Chandler) Greene, were accustomed from their family backgrounds. Thus, Benjamin's decision to enter the trade of English goods may have been based on the low value of receipts from his silver work, an increasingly negative image of artisans as manual laborers, and the resulting social gap engendered by that image.

Through his mercantile activities Benjamin was able to greatly enhance his wealth and status. While no information remains as to the total value of Benjamin's estate at the time of his death in 1776, in 1766 he recorded a list of items that he purchased for his daughter Mary. Benjamin noted the value of this gift at the probable

1727/8", Suffolk County Probate Record #5574, vol. 26, Pp. 401-414, Suffolk County Court House, Boston, MA; William Greene, "Diary of William Greene, 1778," 94.

15William Greene, "Diary of William Greene, 1778," 94.

time of Mary’s marriage to her cousin Joseph Greene, son of her uncle Thomas.\textsuperscript{17}

The household goods with which Benjamin provided Mary included silver, tableware, kitchen utensils, bed and window curtains, linens, and furniture.\textsuperscript{18} (See Appendix C)

Most, if not all, of these items were purchased specifically for Mary. The silver in this account consisted of a gadrooned coffee pot, two chased teapots, a chased sugar dish, twelve tea-spoons, tongs, and a strainer. The furniture he listed consisted of newly made items furnished by Boston cabinetmaker George Bright, who was reckoned in the 1780s to be “the neatest workman in town.”\textsuperscript{19} This list included two mahogany tables, one card table (with a serge surface), eighteen mahogany chairs, one mahogany easy chair, six black walnut chairs, six maple chairs, four bedsteads (two with maple posts, one with mahogany posts, and one with walnut posts), a mahogany case of drawers, two tables, and one bureau table.\textsuperscript{20} The cost of this furniture was £79.9.4 Lawful Money (LM). Benjamin also gave Mary four looking glasses, imported from London.

\textsuperscript{17}Joseph Greene was born in 1745. In 1766 he would have been 21 years old. It is probable that he and Mary Greene were married in or around 1766 when Benjamin recorded providing Mary with household goods. George Sears Greene, \textit{The Greenes of Rhode Island with Historical Records of English Ancestry 1534-1902} (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1903), 147.

\textsuperscript{18}“Benjamin Greene Account Book, 1763-1799”, MHS, January 15, 1768.

\textsuperscript{19}David Spear, Jr., quoted in Richard H. Randall, Jr., "George Bright, Cabinetmaker," \textit{Art Quarterly} 27 (November 2, 1964): 139.

\textsuperscript{20}George Bright, Boston cabinetmaker (b. 1727-1805). Walter M. Whitehall, ed., \textit{Boston Furniture of the Eighteenth Century} (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986), 273; For more information on George Bright see Richard H. Randall, Jr., "George Bright, Cabinetmaker," \textit{Art Quarterly} 27 (November 2, 1964): 134-149; Brock Jobe and Myma Kaye, \textit{New England Furniture: The Colonial Era} (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), 142-146. George Bright was known for his bombé case pieces. Gardiner Greene, son of Benjamin, owned a Bombé chest (1770-1790), now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, on loan from the Dietrich Brothers Americana Corporation (L. 1980.29). Although there is no indication that Bright made Gardiner Greene’s chest of drawers, it is a possibility.
and "1 best London made Jack fitted with pullies, line, chain & stubbs." The total value of all the items listed in the account was £330.10.0 LM.

The goods that Benjamin was able to provide for his daughter's marriage portion indicate the extent of his wealth near the end of his life. Benjamin had five daughters, two of whom married, one of whom may not have lived to adulthood, and two sons. With four or five daughters, Benjamin would have had the expectation of providing equally for each daughter when she married.

The provision of marriage portions for daughters, although not a legal obligation, was probably a common occurrence in New England. Samuel Lane, a farmer in Stratham, New Hampshire, who also served as a local public official, tanner, surveyor, and shoemaker, recorded the provisions that he made for his five daughters during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The marriage portions that the Lane daughters received consisted of new and second-hand household furnishings that were similar in content to, but of lesser cost than Mary Greene's portion. The average value of the items Samuel Lane provided for his daughters was £1363 Old Tenor, which was equivalent to £68.3.0 LM. The difference between the Lane girls' £68 LM and Mary Greene's £330 LM portion would have been due to the disparity between the two families in terms of their wealth, status, and the regions in which they lived.

21 "Greene Family Tree," Haskins Family Papers, BPL.


23 Ibid, 11.


Even compared to furnishings that well-to-do Bostonians owned in the 1770s, Mary Greene’s initial property was extensive. William Molineaux, a Boston merchant who belonged to the same church as Benjamin Greene, owned furniture at the time of his death in 1776 that consisted of one clock, five tables, six looking glasses, thirty-five chairs, one easy chair, two stands, one desk, four beds, and a chest of drawers.\textsuperscript{26} Compared with this, the number of pieces of furniture Mary Greene owned at the age of about twenty appears extraordinary. (Table 4.1) Although Molineaux may have given some of his furniture away to his family prior to his demise, the number of items Mary Greene owned as a bride was still extensive compared to what Molineaux owned at middle age and at the end of his life.

Benjamin Greene’s extravagant gift to his daughter was a display of his personal wealth, social competitiveness, and of the image he wanted to create for his children. These items, especially the costly mahogany tables, chest of drawers, and silver tea and coffee service, functioned as utilitarian objects, but their materials and decoration acted as a demonstration of wealth and social status. If Benjamin had remained a goldsmith, doing piece work for other jewelers and goldsmiths and grossing only £300 to £500 per year for his work, he would not have been able to afford even one £330 marriage provision. Through trade, Benjamin was able to achieve the high level of wealth and status demonstrated by this portion.

\textsuperscript{26}These furniture items were valued at £50.8.6. Alice Hanson Jones, \textit{American Colonial Wealth: Documents and Methods} vol. 2 (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 960-2.
Table 4.1 Amount of Furniture Owned by Mary Greene and William Molineaux

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Furniture Forms</th>
<th>Mary Greene's Furniture, 1766</th>
<th>William Molineaux's Furniture, 1776</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairs</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy Chairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedsteads</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case or Chest of Drawers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureau Table or Desk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stands</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clocks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking Glasses</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The colonial mercantile system, in which Benjamin Greene had become involved by 1736, was characterized by the adventures or venture cargos that were described in Chapter 4. In 1736 Benjamin Greene recorded sending his first venture cargo to Surinam, on the northeast coast of South America, where he consigned its cargo to his brother William. Although the cargo of this first adventure was unspecified, his second venture to Surinam in 1738 included silver objects and jewelry as exports, and coffee, cocoa, and molasses as imports. Benjamin's adventure to Surinam was the first of many profitable mercantile ventures. The presence of silver objects in his outgoing cargo indicates that Benjamin was making a gradual transition from goldsmithing to trade. His continuation of silver production through the 1740s suggests that until the late 1740s he felt it necessary to combine his mercantile activities with goldsmithing. After about 1747, however, Benjamin was able to rely solely on his mercantile business. (Table 3.1 and Graph 4.1)

1 "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756," MHS, p. 65. William Greene moved from Boston to Surinam between 1732 and 1736. In 1732, the deed for property that William Greene sold to his brother, Thomas, lists him as a Boston blacksmith. Suffolk County Probate Deed, book 46, Pp. 237-8, Suffolk County Court House, Boston, Massachusetts.

2 "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756," p. 65. The silver items were: one Ruby Ring, four Pipe stoppers, one pair shoe and one pair knee buckles, and one pair silver salts.
Despite Benjamin's early venture to Surinam, the majority of his mercantile transactions occurred between North Carolina, London, Bristol, and Boston. One of his first adventure in these areas was in 1740 when he sent a cargo of tar from North Carolina to Bristol on the schooner *Adventure*. In further ventures, Benjamin bought cargos of naval stores (tar, pitch, and turpentine), barrel staves, and deer skins from North Carolina merchants and shipped them to England. In London or Bristol the master of the ship, acting as the supercargo, disposed of the cargo by consigning it to specific merchants with whom Benjamin usually transacted business. With the proceeds from those sales, the ship's master purchased European goods to import back to Boston. Benjamin paid any additional costs above the value of the cargo sold in England in bills of exchange, personal i.o.u.s that entitled any holders of the bills to the amount specified on them. The European goods that Benjamin imported consisted mainly of textiles, but also included coal, gun-powder, pipes, tea from China, and other sundries. Benjamin sold some of these goods in Boston and some in North Carolina where he used the proceeds of their sale to purchase goods for the next cargo bound for England.

Benjamin engaged in trading relationships with specific merchants in England and North Carolina to whom he consigned his goods and who assembled his return cargos. Thomas Lane and his associates over the years, Caswall, Booth, and Frasier, were the London merchants with whom Benjamin transacted his business. Freeman

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3 Ibid, p. 65. Benjamin Greene's first reference to the schooner *Adventure* being involved in the North Carolina and Bristol trade was in 1739, however, he did not specify what the cargo included.


5 Ibid.
Partridge was his Bristol contact, and due to the fact that Partridge received most of the cash and bills of exchange that Benjamin sent to England as payments, it seems probable that Partridge was Benjamin's primary English agent. Partridge also insured a number of Benjamin's adventures to and from England.\(^6\)

The major North Carolina merchants involved with Benjamin Greene were Charles Simpson of Bath Town, North Carolina, James Calef, and Daniel Blin. These three North Carolina merchants moved south from Boston during the 1740s, abandoning their respective Boston occupations of goldsmith, brazier, and merchant.\(^7\) Simpson, Calef, and Blin's southern migrations may have been due to the Boston mercantile community's need for reliable and reputable contacts in North Carolina. In a time when long-distance contracts, promises, and debts were difficult to enforce, it was necessary for merchants to do business with people who they knew to be trustworthy.\(^8\) Benjamin's knowledge of Simpson, Calef, and Blin was based on his personal dealings with these men in Boston from 1737 until 1740.\(^9\) Daniel Blin appears to have been a close friend or business associate of Benjamin prior to his move to North Carolina: after leaving Boston, he relied on Benjamin to assist him with the business of selling his Boston land.\(^10\)

Although the English merchants may not have had such personal ties with Benjamin, the longevity of their trading partnerships indicates relationships based on

\(^6\)Ibid, Pp. 67, 107, 129, 142.

\(^7\)As noted in "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756," Pp. 49, 51, 79.


\(^10\)Suffolk County Probate Deed, book 81, p. 176, Suffolk County Court House, Boston, MA.
trust, respect, and mutual benefit. In order to establish these relationships, Benjamin probably relied on the references with which his friends, family, and acquaintances had provided him. It is possible that Thomas Greene, Benjamin’s eldest brother, had dealt with Thomas Lane and Freeman Partridge prior to Benjamin’s entrance into trade, and had recommended these men to Benjamin.11

The methods of payment that Benjamin Greene used in dealing with distant merchants included of credit, bills of exchange, cash, and the proceeds from the sale of a venture cargo. Because the value of an outgoing English cargo in London or Bristol was usually greater than that of the North Carolina venture cargo, Benjamin had to supply the English merchants with the difference between the values of the two cargos. He usually paid this difference in cash or bills of exchange. If he relied instead on his credit, he would remit his payment on a subsequent voyage to England.12

To obtain the necessary cash and bills of exchange, Benjamin involved himself in the trade of molasses and rum. Although many historians have written that the West Indian and Southern European trades were highly lucrative for the colonial merchants and therefore helped pay off the balance of trade between England and the American colonies, one historian has alleged that the West Indian trade actually did very little to help with that situation.13 Using extensive records on the production, transportation, and use of molasses and rum, John J. McCusker has theorized that the molasses and rum trade from the Continental colonies accounted only for 0.5% of the debt that those

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11 Sosin, Agents and Merchants, 3-5.

12 He often sent these to be remitted to certain merchants. “Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756.”

colonies owed Great Britain. Based on this information, the West Indian trade may not have been as important to New England's trade as other historians have asserted.\textsuperscript{14} This is not to say, however, that this trade was not advantageous for individual merchants such as Benjamin Greene. Rum and molasses were, in fact, very important to Benjamin's business.\textsuperscript{15} The quantities of these commodities that Benjamin usually sold by the hogshead, but occasionally by the barrel or gallon, indicates that he was acting as a wholesaler of these items. Benjamin purchased the containers of rum and molasses directly from New Englanders who had imported them from the West Indies or who had distilled the West Indian molasses into rum. He then sold the commodities to retailers in Boston and North Carolina.\textsuperscript{16} 

The rum and molasses trade provided New Englanders with food, drink, and money. New England merchants, who dominated this trade, imported West Indian molasses for New England's consumption or for distillation into the rum that was traded with other North American colonies, Europe, and Africa.\textsuperscript{17} As a New England merchant, Benjamin Greene was heavily involved in this trade. By acting as a wholesaler of rum and molasses in Boston and also exporting rum to North Carolina, 

\textsuperscript{14}McCusker, \textit{Rum and the American Revolution}, 532. 

\textsuperscript{15}The top ten commodities Benjamin Greene sold to merchants and artisans were: textiles, tar, rum, sugar, powder and shot, coal, oil, hogs, and molasses. The top ten he purchased were: tar, textiles, rum, nails, coal, molasses, scythes, lumber, hogs, and tea. I calculated the top ten items that Benjamin bought and sold based on the account book values for those items between 1735 and 1756. "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756." 

\textsuperscript{16}Benjamin sold £1189 (1750s lawful money) of molasses and £3452 of rum, and bought £1198 of molasses and £5103 of rum between 1735 and 1756. Because these figures are based on the debits and credits for these commodities in individual accounts as well as venture cargos, they may not be exact. Benjamin often lumped goods under general headings, such as sundries, rather than enumerating them, so these numbers are probably larger than they appear here. "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756." 

\textsuperscript{17}McCusker, \textit{Rum and the American Revolution}, 417-504.
Benjamin made a nice profit in cash and bills of exchange that were useful in paying off the English debts he had incurred. Although profits from this trade may not have completely corrected the balance of payments due to the English merchants, it would have provided part of the necessary funds for Benjamin's business.

The products that Benjamin Greene exported from North Carolina and the markets that North Carolina provided him with were integral to his business. Rum and molasses, although important to his trade, were far from being Benjamin's only commodities. Naval stores, North Carolina's primary export, were Benjamin Greene's major North American interest.

Due to the great abundance of trees in North Carolina, the relatively undeveloped state of that colony in the eighteenth century, the small size of most farms there, and the demand for lumber products and naval stores in England, tar, turpentine, and pitch became North Carolina's largest exports. England's desire to colonize North America was based in her need to control sources of raw materials that were required by her industries. Naval stores were particularly important since they were necessary for the maintenance of the English navy. With the colonization of North America, England encouraged colonists to develop the production of naval stores through a mix of economic incentives and coercion. The Naval Stores Bounty Act of 1705, which subsidized the trade of naval stores, guaranteed a market for the stores by mandating that those colonial items be shipped only to England.

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20 Ibid, 161-162.
Tar was the primary naval store that Benjamin Greene traded. Benjamin mainly obtained this from North Carolina merchants Charles Simpson, James Calef, and Daniel Blin, as well as a handful of other North Carolina and New England merchants. The proportion of tar that Benjamin bought from North Carolina sources was much larger than that which he obtained from New England.21 Benjamin paid for the North Carolina tar with the proceeds of the sale from his venture cargos of molasses, rum, imported European manufactured goods, and New England fish, cheese, and candles.22 Because North Carolina was relatively undeveloped in the eighteenth century, the colony needed to import a wide variety of manufactured goods. Examples of these necessary commodities that Benjamin Greene shipped to North Carolina were salt, rum, sugar, molasses, coffee, iron, corks, tea, and textiles.23

By trading these goods for tar, other naval stores, hides, tallow, deer skins, barrel staves, and hogsheads from North Carolina, Benjamin Greene became enmeshed in the English mercantile system. The British government provided him with a ready market for North Carolina goods, and North Carolina provided him with a market for his New England produce, rum, and European imports. His entire system was based on the markets that North Carolina created for English goods and that England created for North Carolina’s products. Even England’s navigation laws worked to his advantage, providing the trade with a market and subsidies.

21 A rough count of Barrels of tar: 3154 bbl purchased from Boston merchants, 13,693 bbl purchased from North Carolina merchants (this includes both individual accounts and adventure or ship accounts that listed tar. Not all adventure and ship records contain amounts so this number could actually be larger.)


The balance of payments that Benjamin Greene achieved with his English agents through dealing in rum, molasses, and naval stores could also have been attained through trade with Southern Europe. This trade, although small at the start of the eighteenth century, increased greatly during the middle of the century. Colonial merchants shipped New England fish, grain, and lumber to Spain and Portugal, and with about 60% of the proceeds from the sale of these goods, purchased wine and salt for the return cargo. The remaining credits of 40% were issued in bills of exchange, usually with English mercantile offices, that could be used in paying off English creditors. Benjamin never appears to have traded directly with Southern Europe, but he did use one bill of exchange in 1771 from Bilboa that he apparently purchased from a merchant for the purpose of using it to pay off his English debts.

Although there are no accounts of Benjamin Greene trading directly with Southern Europe or sending adventure cargos there, he did sell quite a bit of salt, a southern European product, to Boston merchants, coopers, and shopkeepers. Benjamin credited his brother Thomas Greene, who owned ships that traded with Lisbon, Cadiz, Bilboa, and the Salt Tortugas, with supplying him with approximately 87% of the total salt he received. Although there is no direct evidence that Benjamin

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25 "Benjamin Greene & Son Account Book, April 26, 1771-July 19, 1771," October, 1771, BPL.

26 "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756," Pp. 8, 35-6, 37-8, 49, 60, 77, 84, 87-8, 93.

27 Between 1735 and 1756, Benjamin credited seven merchants, coopers, captains and shopkeepers with having supplied him with salt. Thomas Greene supplied approximately 87% of this salt. Massachusetts Shipping Records, Massachusetts Shipping, 1686-1765, MHS.
was trading with Southern Europe or the Salt Tortugas, which were in the West Indies, it is possible that he owned shares in some of Thomas Greene's ships or commissioned other merchants to import the salt for him. Benjamin and Thomas had been part owners in a number of vessels through the 1730s and 1740s, so it is possible that Benjamin was also a part owner with Thomas and others in the snow *Neptune*, the snow *Lucretia*, the brigantine *Edward*, or the snow *Adventure*. Each of these vessels traveled to Southern Europe during the 1750s where it would have picked up a return cargo of salt.28

In addition to his ventures in the coastal and transatlantic trade, Benjamin Greene was very active as a trader in Boston. His records demonstrate that he acted as a retailer and wholesaler of goods as well as an importer and exporter of commodities. The types of goods in which Benjamin dealt fall into two categories; those produced in New England and those imported into New England. Benjamin sold these goods to Boston merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, New England merchants and traders, and to North Carolina merchants. Benjamin's retail operation included imported goods such as textiles (the most frequently mentioned item), tea, coffee, coal, rum, molasses, and sugar, and New England commodities including fish, flour, cheese, cider, lumber, iron, scythes, and axes. His wholesale business dealt in corks, caps, nails, pins, pipes, powder, shot, salt, and tea.29

Acting as a Boston retail and wholesale merchant, Benjamin participated in a number of different areas of trade. He sold textiles to individuals for personal or professional use in homes, tailor establishments, and upholstery establishments. He

28Ibid; "Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756"; One historian indicated that Benjamin Greene was trading with Southern Europe, but gave no evidence for his statement. Tyler, *Smugglers & Patriots*, 258.
29"Benjamin Greene Ledger, 1734-1756."
sold coal and iron to blacksmiths, bought the axes and scythes they produced, and sold them to New England merchants outside of Boston. He sold tar and hemp, imported from North Carolina and England, to Boston ropemakers. He sold molasses to distillers, and purchased rum from them, and he sold many other items to Bostonians and other New Englanders.30

Benjamin Greene's focus from 1735 until 1756 was on the North Carolina-England-Boston trade. This, along with his retailing and wholesaling activities in and around Boston, provided him with a business that had an English orientation. He did not restrict his business to a totally English carrying trade, however, as he sent a few adventures to Africa during the 1760s. Despite these other ventures, the English orientation of his business remained with Benjamin throughout his life.

30Ibid.
After 1756, the organization of Benjamin Greene's trade altered significantly. In or around 1760, Benjamin's eldest son, Benjamin, Jr entered his father's business, and the firm of Benjamin Greene & Son emerged. Beginning in the 1760s, possibly due to the encroachment of the French and Indian war on North Carolina, that colony's role in the Greenes' business decreased significantly. Tar and other naval stores appeared on occasion in Benjamin's personal account books and those of Benjamin Greene & Son, but they were no longer the Greenes' primary export. Benjamin and his son began to branch out into new avenues of trade and to rely more heavily on local business with other New England merchants. The three new areas that the Greenes ventured into were potash, whaling, and the slave trade.

Of these three new adventures, the potash trade was the most prominent in Benjamin Greene & Son's account books, and the most profitable. Potash and pearl-ash, a refined potash, were alkali materials made from the ashes of oaks and other hardwoods. This alkali was used in the production of glass, soap, drugs, dyes.


explosives, and textiles. English textile manufactures, which used the substances to remove the natural oils from wool, were the primary recipients of American potash and pearl-ash. According to an early-twentieth century historian, Theodore Kreps, there were only two brief periods when the American colonies produced potash in any appreciable amount. These periods were between 1752 and 1757, and between 1764 and 1773. Kreps also maintained that most of the colonial potash was produced for local markets. Subsequent historians have, however, demonstrated through shipping records that potash, including pearl-ash, was the second largest commodity exported from the colonies to England.

In 1763, Benjamin Greene & Son initiated their investment in potash by purchasing half the works and potash produced at the Potash Works at Framingham. By 1765 the firm had interests in five different potash works in Framingham, Fitchburg, Rutland, Westborough, and Uxbridge. The Greenes exported potash produced at these works on what they called their "potash adventures". These adventures also included potash that the Greenes had obtained from other New England merchants. Henry Bromfield, a Boston merchant who traded with the Greenes, wrote to his agent in the early 1770s, instructing him to purchase all the potash that he was

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7"Benjamin Greene & Son Account Book, 1760-1773."
able to obtain at a certain price because "any person at Home by speculating in ashes must make Money."\textsuperscript{8} These ashes became Benjamin Greene & Son's primary export.

After procuring the ashes, the Greenes either shipped them to England on vessels in which they owned shares, such as the ship \textit{Thomas} and the brigantine \textit{Fox}, or they sent them on vessels owned by other merchants.\textsuperscript{9} The fact that the Greenes had to rely on ships belonging to other Bostonians to transport the potash suggests that they may have been one of the larger Boston exporters of that commodity. Once the potash reached London, Benjamin Greene & Son consigned it to specific English merchants. The London mercantile firm of Lane and Booth, with which Benjamin had done business since the 1740s, was the primary firm mentioned in the accounts of Benjamin Greene & Son.\textsuperscript{10}

Lane and Booth were also recipients of Benjamin Greene & Son's whale oil exports.\textsuperscript{11} The Greens' involvement in the whaling business, which required very little active participation by them for their one-eighth part ownership in the adventure, was of short duration, lasting only from 1767 until 1769.\textsuperscript{12} During these two years, there are only five entries in their account books pertaining to whaling.\textsuperscript{13} These


\textsuperscript{9}Massachusetts Shipping Records, Massachusetts Shipping, 1686-1765, October 13, 1764 to January 19, 1765, MHS; "Benjamin Greene & Son Account Book, 1760-1773."

\textsuperscript{10}"Benjamin Greene & Son Account Book, 1760-1773," Pp. 188, 190, 230. In 1767, the firm of Lane and Booth appears to have become Lane, Son & Fraser.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid, October 13, 1764.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid, February 21, 1769, p. 254.

entries identify only one whaling adventure per year between 1767 and 1769. Two sloops, however, were outfitted for at least one of these adventures.  

In October of 1767, the Greenes shipped whale oil from the whaling adventure to London on the ship *Thomas*, and consigned it to Lane, Son & Fraser. In December of the same year, the Greenes paid Daniel and William Hubbard, other investors in the adventure, £50.5.3 for their part of the oil and bones that Captain Hatch shipped to London. This second shipment of whale products may have been the goods received from the second 1767 whaling sloop commanded by Crowell Hatch.

Benjamin Greene & Son's limited involvement in whaling suggests that this commodity was not as profitable as the firm may have initially believed in 1767. The Greenes' abandonment of this trade after 1769 is strange considering that whale oil was the most valuable commodity exported to England during that period. Also, in 1770 England issued a bounty to colonial whaling ships that enabled merchants whose ships were two years old or younger to export whale oil, skins, and fins to England without having to pay import duties. Although the age of the Greenes' whaling adventure ships is unknown, this bounty should have encouraged rather than discouraged investors in the trade. Benjamin Greene & Son's decision to quit the business after two years

15 Ibid, October 5, 1767, p. 237.
16 "Benjamin Greene Waste Book, 1763-1784," December 5, 1767, MHS.
may have been because their level of involvement in whaling did not return very large

Benjamin Greene & Son's involvement in the African slave trade was like-wise short-lived. Their accounts for these adventures in 1761 and 1762 show that the partners in the enterprise purchased rice, rum, sugar, textiles, and delftware in June of those years to export to Africa. The late 1750s and early 1760s were important years in the continental colonies' involvement in the slave trade. Due to the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and the ensuing incorporation of additional West Indian islands into the British Empire, there was a sudden and large demand for labor in the new plantations that the English were establishing. Massachusetts and Rhode Island were two of the main continental colonies that became involved in supplying this market. Between 1759 and 1763, there was an increased New England mercantile involvement in the slave trade, with Boston doubling the average number of ships that she cleared annually for Africa from two to four ships per year.19

Benjamin Greene & Son's participation in the African slave trade was most likely due to the profits that the firm foresaw in this "sellers market". The two year period of their involvement suggests that they were not attempting begin a lengthy association with that area of trade, but rather that they were striving to cash in on the market before it became saturated. The end of the boom in the Boston slave trade came during the middle of 1763 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. This treaty imposed restrictions on trade in the Caribbean that reduced the profitability of slaves for New England merchants, thus causing the level of their involvement in the trade to

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The end of the war and the end of the "free trade" in the Caribbean in the middle of 1763 probably influenced the Greenes against investing in a third African adventure in that year. Because the Greenes recorded their accounts relating to the 1761 and 1762 adventures to Africa in June and July of those years, they may have learned of the Treaty of Paris' provisions at the same time that a third, 1763 adventure was in its preparatory stages, and thus abandoned the adventure with the knowledge that the good market conditions no longer existed.

Benjamin Greene & Son's purchases of rice, rum, sugar, textile, and delftware for their African adventure demonstrate the types of goods that were exchanged in Africa for slaves. Cargos of mixed goods were commonly sent to Africa, but one merchant in Africa observed that dry goods did not sell as well as rum and staples such as bread and flour. Based on this report, it would appear that the rum, sugar, and rice that the Greenes sent to Africa should have sold better than the delftware and textiles. Because of the amounts of these commodities that the Greenes acquired, it is clear that the Greenes probably knew what was marketable in Africa. They sent sixty casks of rice, one hogshead of rum, three barrels of sugar, twenty tierces of delftware, and ten pieces of textiles in two voyages to Africa.

The proceeds from these three new venture cargos, as well as those from the continued adventures to London and Bristol, provided the Greenes with the bills of

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20 McCusker, *Rum and the American Revolution*, 496.


exchange that they used in paying the English merchants for European goods. In the early years of his career, Benjamin Greene had relied on the North Carolina commodities to produce these necessary funds. After 1763, however, in direct trade between Boston and England, potash appears to have replaced the North Carolina products. Additional funds came from the firm's exportation of oil, wood and wood products, beeswax, tar, pork, and beef, which the Greenes obtained from New England merchants. Trade with Boston and other area merchants was very important for the Greenes' business. Especially after 1760, the non-Boston New England merchants became vital to the Greenes' existence.

Prior to 1760, Benjamin had traded with John Chandler, Sr., John Chandler, Jr., and Gardiner Chandler of Worcester, and a handful of other merchants and traders in Massachusetts and Connecticut. After 1760, however, the size of their business with the Chandlers overshadowed all their other declining transactions with New England merchants. The total sum of Benjamin Greene's sales of goods to John Chandler, Sr., Gardiner Chandler, and John Chandler, Jr. amounted to over thirty percent of his total sales between 1764 and 1767. The only other non-Boston merchants listed in this account were Amos Kimball, who was associated with the potash works in Fitchburg, and a possible cousin, Nathaniel Greene of Providence.

Colonel John Chandler of Worcester, and his sons John, Jr. and Gardiner, were very important business associates of the Greenes. Benjamin, and later the firm, Benjamin Greene & Son, provided the Chandlers with numerous imported and locally

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24*Benjamin Greene Account Book, 1764-1767," BPL.
manufactured items such as textiles, scythes, nails, hats, paper, powder, shot, steel, pins, gloves, lead, wool cards, pipes, caps, fans, and buttons. John Chandler, Jr. was also involved in supplying the Greenes with potash and pearl-ash to export to London. The business association between the Chandlers and the Greenes was based on their relation through the 1736 marriage of Benjamin Greene and Mary Chandler, daughter of Judge (or Colonel) John Chandler, Sr., noted in Chapter 1.

Family ties during the eighteenth century were very important in creating and supporting business associations. It was often through kinship ties or through master-apprentice relationships that business connections originated. For Benjamin Greene, family ties assisted him throughout his career. Starting with his early goldsmith work for his brother Rufus, and his mercantile partnerships with all four of his brothers, Benjamin relied on his family to help him create his business. Once Benjamin had established himself, additional relations became important to sustaining his business. His connection with the Chandlers of Worcester provided an important market for his imported European goods and for items manufactured in New England. Although not quite as important a connection, his business with David Gardiner of New London, a

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25 Ibid.

26 "Benjamin Greene & Son Waste Book, 1771-1772," BPL.

27 John, Jr. (b. 1720) and Gardiner Chandler (b. 1723) were brothers of Mary Chandler Greene (m. Benjamin Greene). Their parents were Judge John Chandler and Mary Gardiner Chandler. Andrew McFarland Davis, The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1903), 8-9; James H. Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts (Boston W. B. Clarke Co., 1907), 389-390; George Sears Greene, The Greenes of Rhode Island (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1903), 149.

possible cousin, may also have been through family ties since Mary (Chandler) Greene’s mother, Hannah (Gardiner) Chandler, was from New London.29

The Hubbards, primarily Daniel and William who first appeared in Benjamin Greene & Son’s accounts in 1764 and reappeared frequently thereafter, were also related to Benjamin. Thomas Greene, Benjamin’s brother, married Martha Hubbard, the widow of Daniel Hubbard, Sr., sometime after 1744. Martha had five children by her first marriage: Captain Russell Hubbard, Daniel Hubbard, Jr., William Hubbard, Elizabeth Hubbard, and Lucretia Hubbard.30 One of Martha’s daughters, Elizabeth Hubbard, married Benjamin Greene, Jr, the eldest son of Benjamin Greene, in 1761.31 Mary, daughter of Thomas Greene, married Daniel Hubbard, Jr., probably sometime around 1760.32 The intermingling of the Greenes and the Hubbards was the basis of the important business relations between Benjamin Greene & Son and Daniel, William, and Russell Hubbard who were involved in the dry goods, potash, and whaling trades.

In the middle of his career Benjamin Greene changed the course of his business from shipping naval stores from North Carolina to investing in potash, whaling, and slave adventures. There is no indication that North Carolina failed to provide the returns on Greene’s investments, nor is it clear exactly when he stopped sending adventures there. It is possible that the French and Indian War, which began affecting the interior regions of North Carolina in 1754, had disrupted trade from that colony to such an extent that merchants such as Benjamin Greene had to look for alternative

29George Sears Greene, *The Greenes of Rhode Island*, 149.
30Ibid, 147.
31Ibid, 256.
32Ibid, 147.
sources of revenue. By the early 1760s, Benjamin had definitely shifted away from the North Carolina trade. In doing this, he had consolidated his business, replacing his coastal trade with a localized New England business. He also centralized his business within New England by limiting the number of Boston and other New England merchants with whom he traded. Where previously he had dealt with merchants, shopkeepers, and traders from about fourteen New England towns other than Boston, he now dealt with only a few merchants in a handful of other towns, most of which had potash works in them. By centering his business in Boston and dealing with only a few other New England merchants, Benjamin Greene had streamlined his operation, increasing the importance of each of his connections.

Benjamin also invested in short term ventures that he felt would have large rewards. His adventure into the slave trade demonstrates that he was willing to take risks only with the relative assurance of good returns. Since Benjamin waited until 1761 to invest in an African adventure and the slave trade boom began in 1758, he would have known the strength of the market he was supplying. Although Benjamin’s brother Rufus Greene was known as the cautious businessman in the family, Benjamin also made deliberate decisions about commodities based on their market expectations. Despite the lack of information concerning his decision to alter his trade from naval products to potash, it is probable that Benjamin saw the potential for greater proceeds and better business connections from his reorganized business.

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Chapter 7
CONCLUSION:
NON-IMPORTATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

By the end of his life, Benjamin Greene had established a prosperous business for himself as a general merchant and had become a well respected member of the Anglican community in Boston. Despite his success, or perhaps because of it, the events that preceded the American Revolution had a profound but limited impact on him. In January of 1770, a notice appeared in the Boston Gazette stating,

Voted, That it appears to the merchants and traders that the above named Benjamin Greene & Son have in a clandestine and treacherous manner, and in direct violation of their solemn agreement, taken and sold great part of their goods, whereby they have forfeited the good will of their fellow citizens and all honest men, and rendered themselves unworthy of the confidence of the merchants hereafter in any degree whatever....

The firm of Benjamin Greene & Son had ostensibly signed Boston's non-importation agreement in 1768. This agreement was the response of the Boston mercantile

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2 Boston Gazette, January 1, 1770.

3 "Boston Merchants Subscription Relating to Non-importation, March 9, 1768," S. P. Savage Papers, 1751-1829, MHS. Benjamin Greene & Son was included in "A list of those that will not sign [the agreement] it be general." The firm's compliance with the agreement was understood due to its general acceptance. Rufus Greene refused to sign the agreement.
community to the passage of the British Parliament’s Townshend Acts of 1767 that had imposed new taxes on imported goods such as glass, tea, and painter’s colors. The Boston merchants who signed the contract had agreed not to import any of the enumerated taxed items or to sell them if they arrived from England after the agreement went into affect. According to the Merchant Committee, the body that regulated adherence to the agreement, the firm of Benjamin Greene & Son had violated this contract by selling goods that it had agreed to store until such time as Parliament repealed the Townshend Acts. The Greenes and a handful of other mercantile firms were the only Bostonians who had dared to violate the agreement and oppose the united front of Boston’s mercantile community.

After this public denouncement, the firm responded in the newspaper on January eighth, 1770, stating that they had agreed to store the enumerated items for a certain length of time which they had understood to be of a shorter duration than that which the Merchants Committee maintained. On the twenty-ninth of January, the Boston Gazette reported that after unsuccessfully attempting to retrieve the items from Colonel John Chandler of Worcester, Benjamin Greene & Son had agreed to satisfy the Merchant’s Committee’s demands by giving them goods of equal value to those that they had improperly disposed of. As a result of the material compensation, the Merchant’s Committee restored the Greenes’ good name.

The Greenes’ actions during non-importation have suggested that the family members’ political leanings prior to and during the revolution were towards the British

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5 Boston Gazette January 8, 1770.

6 Ibid, January 29, 1, 1770.
crown, that they were loyalists. Although other actions by the Greenes and their family support this hypothesis, the firm’s actions during non-importation should not be viewed as conclusive in this regard. According to Benjamin Greene & Son’s response in the Boston Gazette, either the firm or the Merchant’s Committee had been confused as to what the Greenes had actually agreed. Whether this confusion was actual or a camouflage for their blatant disregard for the agreement is impossible to tell from the documents available. The Greenes’ capitulation to the wishes and demands of the Merchant’s Committee one month after they were denounced, and their attempts to retrieve the enumerated items from Colonel John Chandler of Worcester suggests that either they were earnestly trying to comply with the agreement once they discovered their misunderstanding of the contract, or they were reacting to the adverse public opinion that may have resulted from their actions. Either way, their violation of the non-importation agreement was far from being an ideological act to demonstrate their loyalty to the crown. More likely it was based upon the extended duration of non-importation, a misconception of how the Merchant’s Committee would react, and the fact that they had access to the goods which a family member, Benjamin Greene’s brother-in-law John Chandler, needed.

The actions of Benjamin Greene & Son, coupled with similar actions by known loyalists such as Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, have indicated that Benjamin was a staunch loyalist. Assuming this to be the case, the question must be asked as to why Benjamin’s political tendencies leaned in this direction. The answer to this question is visible in the connections Benjamin had with his family and friends, and the type of business he owned.

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Throughout his career, Benjamin had strong ties with members of his family such as his brothers, his son-in-law and nephews Daniel and William Hubbard, and his own in-laws, the Chandlers of Worcester. He also had strong connections with Boston's Anglican community. His position as a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1749 till close to his death in 1776 demonstrates the respect that the congregation had for him and his family (Rufus and Thomas Greene were vestrymen as well, and Rufus was Warden for a number of years). Many of the Bostonians with whom Benjamin did business were also members of Trinity's congregation. A few historians have theorized that religion was an influencing factor in political allegiances during this period, and that Anglicans were more often loyalists than patriots due to the strong ties that the Anglican church had to England and the King. Benjamin's close connections with Trinity Church, and his familial and business ties with other Loyalists, such as his brothers and their families, the Chandlers, and Daniel Hubbard may all have been factors that influenced his political ideas.

The structure of Benjamin Greene's business, focused mainly on direct trade with England, may also have influenced Benjamin's loyalties. One historian, John


11Although Thomas Greene died in 1763, his actions prior to this indicate Loyalist leanings. Tyler, *Smugglers & Patriots*, 266-268; Colonel John Chandler and his family were all loyalists. Maas, *The Return of the Massachusetts Loyalists*, 131-132.
Tyler, found that merchants who engaged in trade with the foreign West Indies (i.e. the French or Dutch West Indies) or with Southern Europe were more likely to follow the patriot than the loyalist cause due to the direct affect that the Parliamentary acts of the 1760s had on them. Merchants such as Benjamin Greene who engaged primarily in trade with England, transporting North American and British West Indian goods to England and returning with English manufactured goods, were not as greatly affected by the new duties and laws, and therefore may not have been as enamored with the patriot’s cause.

Benjamin Greene and Son's violation of the non-importation agreement demonstrates certain characteristics about the organization of Benjamin’s business: its strong English orientation, and its reliance on members of his extended family. These characteristics, in addition to revealing the organization of Benjamin's business, identify some important trends in colonial trade and commerce. Specifically, they illuminate the type of business networks that Boston merchants maintained during the mid to late-eighteenth century: the areas, the commodities, and the people in which and with whom some Boston merchants traded.

Benjamin Greene’s dealings with the West Indies, North Carolina, England, and New England, his major commodities of naval stores, rum and molasses, potash, whale fins and oil, slaves, and European goods, and the manner in which he balanced these commodities in response to markets pressures and demands provides specific details from which the business methods of other Boston merchants can be more fully understood. The importance of building business networks through family, friends, and referred acquaintances is also emphasized by Benjamin Greene’s experiences. The

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12 Tyler, *Smugglers & Patriots*, 245.
13 Ibid, 246.
connections between Benjamin Greene and North Carolina merchants, formerly of Boston, suggests a trend that is not usually discussed in the literature of the coastal trade. This movement of Bostonians, whether merchants or artisans, to other ports in order to assist Boston's trade and commerce, provides a new look at the methods by which mercantile connections and partnerships evolved.

Benjamin Greene's account books, in addition to demonstrating trends within the Boston mercantile community, reveal certain business methods practiced by Boston goldsmiths. Benjamin's accounts provide evidence that Boston goldsmiths collaborated on specific items or orders when they needed additional hands in their shop, or when they required the assistance of a specialist. In particular, Benjamin's accounts reveal connections with Paul Revere, Sr., Jacob Hurd, and William Cowell. This collaboration between goldsmiths suggests that the maker's mark, which scholars use today in order to determine who fashioned an object, does not reflect the number of artisans who helped in its formation, or the cumulative characteristic of the craft.

Benjamin Greene, while appearing to be a simple Boston artisan and merchant, provides historians today with information about his personal business and that of both the Boston goldsmith and mercantile communities. His account books paint a detailed portrait of Benjamin the goldsmith, the merchant, and the loyalist, and through Benjamin, illuminate the networks and methods of trade within Boston's goldsmith and mercantile communities.
APPENDIX A

SILVER FORMS
Figure A.1
American, 18th C.
Benjamin Greene
Caster
Yale University Art Gallery
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection
ca. 1735-41
Figure A.2
Rufus Greene
Caster
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford
Philip H. Hammerslough Collection
ca. 1735
Figure A.3
American, 18th C.
Rufus Greene
Porringar
Yale University Art Gallery
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection
ca. 1730-40
Figure A.4
Rufus Greene, American, Massachusetts, 1707-1777.
Can. Silver, H. 12.7 cm
Copyright The Cleveland Museum of Art
Gift of Hollis French, 40.200.
ca. 1735
APPENDIX B

BENJAMIN GREENE’S SHIPS

Benjamin indicated his part ownership of these ships in his accounts.

1739
schooner *Adventure*, 1/3 part

1740
schooner *Adventure*, 1/3 part
sloop *Berisick*, 1/3 part

1741
schooner *Adventure*, 1/3 part
sloop *Berisick*, 1/3 part
sloop *Elizabeth*, 1/3 part
brigantine *Three Brothers*, part

1742
schooner *Adventure*, 1/3 part
sloop *Elizabeth*, 1/3 part
brigantine *Three Brothers*, part

1743
schooner *Adventure*, 1/3 part
sloop *Elizabeth*, 1/3 part
brigantine *Three Brothers*, part
sloop *Sea Flour*, part
sloop *Amesbury*, 1/17 part

1744
schooner *Adventure*, 1/3 part
sloop *Elizabeth*, 1/3 part
brigantine *Three Brothers*, part
sloop *Sea Flour*, part
sloop *Amesbury*, 1/17 part
ship *St. Denis*, 1/6 part
sloop *Three Sisters*, 1/3 part
1745
schooner *Adventure*, 1/3 part
sloop *Elizabeth*, 1/3 part
brigantine *Three Brothers*, part
ship *St. Denis*, 1/6 part
sloop *Three Sisters*, 1/3 part
ship *Adventure*, 1/5 part
brigantine *Dispatch*, 1/4 part
boat *Eight Friends*, 1/8 part

1746
schooner *Adventure*, 1/3 part
brigantine *Three Brothers*, part
sloop *Three Sisters*, 1/3 part
ship *Adventure*, 1/5 part
brigantine *Dispatch*, 1/4 part
boat *Eight Friends*, 1/8 part
ship *Boston Merchant*, 1/5 part

1747
brigantine *Three Brothers*, part
sloop *Three Sisters*, 1/3 part
ship *Adventure*, 1/5 part
brigantine *Dispatch*, 1/4 part
boat *Eight Friends*, 1/8 part
ship *Boston Merchant*, 1/5 part
brigantine *Friendship*, 1/5 part

1748
ship *Adventure*, 1/5 part
boat *Eight Friends*, 1/8 part
brigantine *Friendship*, 1/5 part
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part

1749
New ship *Adventure*, 1/5 part
boat *Eight Friends*, 1/8 part
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part

1750
New ship *Adventure*, 1/5 part
boat *Eight Friends*, 1/8 part
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part

1751
boat *Eight Friends*, 1/8 part
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part

1752
boat *Eight Friends*, 1/8 part
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part
1753
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part

1754
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part

1755
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part

1756
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part

1757
ship *Three Brothers*, 1/3 part
schooner *Endeavour*, part

1760
sloop *Young Eagle*, part

1761
sloop *Young Eagle*, part

1763
brigantine *Fox*, part

1764
brigantine *Fox*, part
ship *Thomas*, part

1765
brigantine *Fox*, part
ship *Thomas*, part
*Nelley*, part

1766
brigantine *Fox*, part
ship *Thomas*, part

1767
brigantine *Fox*, part
ship *Thomas*, part

1768
brigantine *Fox*, part
ship *Thomas*, part

1769
ship *Thomas*, part

1770
ship *Thomas*, part

1773
ship *Minerva*, 1/2 part

1774
ship *Minerva*, 1/2 part

1775
ship *Minerva*, 1/2 part
schooner *Dolphin*, 1/4 part

1776
ship *Minerva*, 1/2 part
schooner *Dolphin*, 1/4 part
APPENDIX C
MARY GREENE'S PORTION

List of furnishings Benjamin Greene recorded in his account book in 1766
("Benjamin Greene Account Book 1763-1799," MHS) that he had delivered to Mary Greene.

2/7 Fine green Harateen ______________________ 37/___£3.14.0
1 gross silk case'd Lace__________________________1.0.0
100 Curtain Rings________________________________0.1.11
1 ps Tape_______________________________________0.7
6 yds bed Buckram_______________________________0.5.0
1 10/4 green Rugg_______________________________0.17.6
2 pr 10/4 Blankets______________________________21/___2.2.0
2 pr 8/4 ditto_______________________________9/6___0.19.0
36 yds 7/8 wrought Tick_______________________2/2d_3.18.0
 deduct cash reed it being her part of a Legacy a

8 Flat}
4 Soup} Hard Mettle Dishes wt 86 a 12d__}__
2 doz Flat}
1 doz Soup} Ditto Plates_______________________}____4.6.0
1 Gallon Hard Mettle Bason____________________0.6.0
1 two Quart Ditto do__________________________0.4.0
1 quart Ditto do_____________________________0.2.6

1 Gadroon'd Coffee Pott_33oz_11hw______a7/9_13.0.0
1 do Hand for do_______9._4____________7/9_3.11.3
1 Chas'd Tea Pott_____21._5_________________9_/___9.11.3
Four handles_____________0.10.0
1 Chas'd Tea Pott______4._14____________9/_2.2.4
12 Tea Spoons Tongs & Straner____8._4_____________3.10.6
1 Chas'd Sugar Dish_____15._14____________9/_7.1.14

 deduct cash recd it being her part of a Legacy

left by her grandfather Jno Chandler Esq______________________23.6.8

62

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ps fine Ellwid Irish Sheeting 33yds20d1/2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ps Super fine Ditto 34 yds 2/7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.7.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Japand Waiter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz pr Best Bullet Cap Stag Table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz pr Chinese Table Bosomfork</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Shagreen Case for do</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 6/4 Diaper Table Cloth</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>No 1a 7/</td>
<td>1.1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 6/4 Do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7/6</td>
<td>1.2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 8/4 Do</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11/</td>
<td>1.2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 8/4 Do</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13/</td>
<td>1.6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 10/4 Do</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 12/4 Do</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ps Blue Callico 20yds</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Large long dishes 2 sizes blue &amp; wh</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Plates</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>2.5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 quart Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 Pint do</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Pink Basons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6/</td>
<td>0.6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Flat Butter Plates</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8d</td>
<td>0.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 deep do</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9d</td>
<td>0.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 doz coffee Cans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8d</td>
<td>0.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Coffee cups &amp; saucers</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4d</td>
<td>0.8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Tea Cups &amp; 24 Saucers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3 1/4 d</td>
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<td>1 best London made Jack fitted with</td>
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<td>Pullies Line Chaine &amp; Stubbs</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 two quart Bell Metal Skillet</td>
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<td>1 Brass Ladle &amp; Scumoner</td>
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<td></td>
<td>0.4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 pr neat Turn'd Dogs with Iron globe heads</td>
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<td>1 pr neat Shovel &amp; Tongs w' do</td>
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<td>1 pr Best Cash Sade Irons</td>
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<td>1 pr do Do</td>
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<td>1 pr do Do</td>
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<td>1 pr neat Brass Candlesticks</td>
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<td>1 pr Iron Candle sticks with Brass Balls</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 pr Ditto</td>
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<td>2 pr Fine Steel Spring Snuffers</td>
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<td>2 Large Looking Glasses</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2 Smaller ditto</td>
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<td>80/</td>
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<td>1 12/4 Counterpin</td>
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<td>To Charges on all ye above goods</td>
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<td>Advance 33 1/3 to bring it into LM</td>
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<td>1 Sett Curten Rods</td>
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<td>1 Sett Carv'd Branches</td>
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<td>6 1/2 yds Green Fring</td>
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<td>2/</td>
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<td>1 pr Tossell</td>
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<td>Tammeys to Line ye Vallence</td>
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<td>Oznabrigs to Line ye head Cloth</td>
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<td>Making a Bed</td>
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<td>Bottoming 6 Chairs</td>
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<td>Rings lead Buckrams etc</td>
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<td>2 1/2 ps Pretty for Binding</td>
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<td>9 1/2 yd Dowlas to line ye Cloths</td>
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<td>36 yds Cord</td>
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<td>1/6</td>
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<td>10 yds Crimson &amp; White Fring</td>
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<td>Making a Bed Drawer</td>
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<td>George Bright Bill</td>
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<td>2 3 1/2 feet Mahogany Table</td>
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<td>1 Card Table &amp; 1 yard Serge</td>
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<td>10.16.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Mahogany Chairs</td>
<td></td>
<td>36/</td>
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<td>ditto do</td>
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<td>7.4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Blackwalnut do</td>
<td></td>
<td>12/</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Mahogany do</td>
<td></td>
<td>28/</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>a Bedstead with Walnut posts</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.8.0</td>
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<td>2 Maple Bedstead</td>
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<tr>
<td>a Stand Table</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.0.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>a Small Table</td>
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<td>1.13.4</td>
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a Mahogany Case of Drawers _______________________ 16.0.0
a Buro Table ___________________________________ 6.0.0
a Mahogany Easey Chair Frame ____________________ 1.8.0
a Bedstead with Mahogany Posts ___________________ 4.13.4
a set of Castors_________________________________ 0.5.4
6 Maple Chairs__________________________________ 1.16.0

2 pr Iron Dogs 1 mortar 1 stew pans 3 skillets ______ 1.4.6
1 hand pott 2/6 1 dish kittle 3/3 1 crak pot 1/8d ______ 0.7.5
1 gridiron 6/ 1 chafendish 4/8 2 doz saucers 8d ______ 0.11.8
2 frame grates to put flat irons on 2/8
3 pales 2/5______________________________________ 0.5.1
3 pickle potts 16/ 4 washin tubbs 16/ 3 trays 2/ ______ 1.14.0
4 baskets 3/4 1 iron drippen pan 13.8___________ 0.17.0
10 white dishes 13/4 3 doz stone plates 14/5_________ 1.7.9
2 brushes 6/5 Quilting 2 bed quilts wool 21/6 ________ 1.7.11
5 oz thread for bed quilts 3/ 1 pr monso pretty_______ 0.3.9
7 1/2 yds callico 28/ 1 brown dish 1/10___________ 1.9.10
3 pr hollon pillow cases 28/ 2 pr Dowlas do 7/6 _______ 1.15.6

3 pr ditto 18/8 12 Tea Cloths & 2 rolers 10/6_________ 1.9.2
6 pr tow sheets 96/pd Mr Severs making bed qt 4/____ 5.0.0
1 pr price mettle hand irons at Vendue______________ 2.0.0
1 copper kettle pott 31/4
1 bed bolster & pillow 10/8______________________ 6.13.0

pd Mr Chamberlin for 4 bed bottoms_______________ 3.0.0
1 pr duffill blankets & 1 1/2 yds greet Ratteen____ 1.7.0
1 brass kittle 1 tea kittle 3 trammells 6 chairs_____ 3.0.0
12 diaper towells 11 yds 5/8____________________ 0.7.5
1 iron spoon 3/ 4 bales 4/ 1 spitt 12/
1 beatte 4/_________________________________ 1.3.0
1 fendor & 1 hoop for bake pans 10oz8d__________ 0.6.8

1 pr hand irons 21/4 shovel & tongs 18/8___________ 2.0.0
3 wedges 14oz 8d________________________________ 0.9.4
Joseph Denison 100? feather bag etc______________ 11.18.4
1 Irning Cloth 6/5 warming pan 14/8___________ 1.1.1
Fining a boiling pott 6/ 1 wash basons 5/4_______ 0.11.4
1 tea Kittle 32/ 2 pott lids 5/4_________________ 1.17.4
Making a Brass Kittle y 8 1/2 iron for bale etc______ 0.8.6
1 frying pan 24/ 1 brass kittle 33/5___________ 2.17.5
2 table 1 lose orse 1 folding board 1 mett_______ 2.1.0
2 ps stamps cotton for a bed___________________ 18.6.8
94 1/2 feather bagg freight etc__________________ 13.0.8

Deduct for about 4 yds harateen_________________ 0.11.8

54.11.8

54.0.0

330.10.0

to cash Lane sd pd Capt Davies to buy Glass ware____ 3.1.4
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SUFFOLK COUNTY COURT HOUSE, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS


66

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