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**Paul Revere, silversmith: A study of his shop operation and his  
objects**

**Federhen, Deborah Anne, M.A.**

**University of Delaware (Winterthur Program), 1988**

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PAUL REVERE, SILVERSMITH:  
A STUDY OF HIS SHOP OPERATION AND  
HIS OBJECTS

By

Deborah Anne Federhen

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of  
Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree  
of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

December 1988

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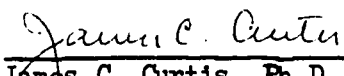
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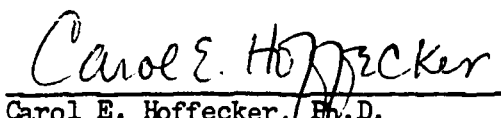
Deborah Anne Federhen

Approved: 

Donald D. Federhen, Jr., M. A.  
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the  
Advisory Committee

Approved: 

James C. Curtis, Ph.D.  
Director, Winterthur Program in Early  
American Culture

Approved: 

Carol E. Hoffercker, Ph.D.  
Acting Associate Provost for Graduate Studies

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Deborah Anne Federhen, Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania



This work is dedicated to

VBF . DLF

and

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## Chapter 1

### PAUL REVERE, SILVERSMITH: FROM APPRENTICE TO ARTISAN

Paul Revere's silver shop formed the cornerstone of his personal and professional life for over forty years. His work with silver provided an outlet for his creative talents and for the dramatic and effective expression of his political convictions. In addition, the success of the silver shop enabled Revere to expand and diversify his business interests in the areas of importing and retailing English goods, brass founding, bell casting, and the copper industry and to experiment with speculative ventures, such as his partnership with Simon Willard to produce clock jacks. Throughout his long career, Revere relied on his abilities as a silversmith to secure a comfortably affluent existence for his growing family. Revere's silversmithing activities are extraordinarily well documented by the survival of many of his ledgers, daybooks, bills, and letters as well as hundreds of his silver objects. With this information it is possible to investigate the organization of Revere's silver shop, the changes in his business which occurred as Revere diversified his interests, and the ways in which the silver he produced reflects these changes.

Revere received his training as a silversmith from his father, Apollos Rivoire, a Huguenot emigrant who bestowed both his knowledge of

silversmithing and the Anglicized version of his name upon his eldest son. Revere confirmed his apprenticeship with his father in a letter to his French cousin Mathias Rivoire on 6 October 1781:

My father was a Goldsmith. He died in the year 1754. He left no estate, but he left a good name and seven children, three sons and four daughters. I was the eldest son. I learned the Trade of him and have carried on the business ever since.

Since the elder Revere's death on 22 July 1754 occurred two years before his son would have finished his apprenticeship, the young Paul Revere may have helped to maintain the family shop under his mother's name until he came of age in 1756. It was a common practice during the eighteenth century for widows to assume control of a business or shop for a year or two on behalf of a grown son, particularly in the absence of a will, in order to avoid having to sell out or lose the shop. With his father's death, Revere inherited a fully equipped silver shop, so that he was not impeded by a lack of capital from immediately practicing his trade. There is substantial evidence that Revere was casting elements from his father's molds throughout his career, but especially during the first decade of his shop operation. A caster made by Revere circa 1755-1760 used the same molds to cast the foot that his father had used for a caster ten years earlier. (figures 1, 2) The cast elements, feet and handle, as well as the general shape of two creampots made by the younger Revere in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Worcester Art Museum are unmistakably related to creampots made by Paul Revere I in the Currier Gallery of Art and at Worcester. (figures 3, 4, 5, 6) The construction of all of these objects is similar, with an extra piece

of silver soldered to the body to form the lip. (figure 4) Revere likewise reused his father's molds to cast porringer handles. The mold which produced the handle for a porringer by Paul Revere I in 1740-1750 was employed by his son to make the handle of a porringer for Thomas Parsons on 6 July 1769.<sup>1</sup> (figures 7, 8) This handle also appears on a porringer made for the Apthorp family, which has been dated 1795-1800 by Kathryn Buhler and Graham Hood. (figure 9)

The network of business relationships established by his father proved vital to Revere's early success. Revere I purchased household goods and shop supplies including fabric, garlic, charcoal and silver from the Boston merchant Benjamin Greene between 1739 and 1753. In exchange for the merchandise Revere provided Greene with a variety of silver objects--spoons, forks, buttons, shoe buckles, square salts, pepper box, teapot, milk pot, gill cup, tankard and gold rings. Greene became one of the younger Revere's earliest customers, ordering a sugar dish on 27 February 1762.<sup>2</sup> Payment was made with a combination of cash, silver and household goods.<sup>3</sup> Greene and his son, Benjamin Greene Jr., continued to patronize Revere until 1796.

Revere's career as a silversmith is broken into two distinctly different periods of shop operation separated by a four-year term of military service: the early period running from 1757 until 1775, and the second period beginning in 1779 and ending around 1800. The earliest documentary evidence of Revere's silversmithing activity is a bill from Isaac Greenwood, covering services rendered to the

silversmith from September 1757 through December 1761. Greenwood, a turner, charged Revere for skimming canns, casters, tankards, salvers and a coffee pot during these five years.<sup>4</sup> A salver made for William White in 1760 is an impressive example of the sophisticated design and the competent craftsmanship of which Revere was already capable.

(figure 10) The salver is inscribed "The Gift of William White to William Phillips 1760." While dates on inscriptions do not always correspond to the date of manufacture, this salver was probably presented by White to his nephew on the occasion of his marriage to Margaret Wendell in Boston on 12 June 1760.<sup>5</sup> The engraved border, echoing the symmetrical Baroque shells and "C" curves of the cast, scalloped border is reminiscent of the engraved decoration around the lid of teapots made by Paul Revere I.<sup>6</sup> Revere marked the salver six times, ample proof of his pride in his achievements.

The first of Revere's two daybooks for the silver shop begins with an entry for 3 January 1761 and ends, except for a few household accounts for 1784, on 10 October 1783. The flyleaf reads faintly "This is my book for me to" an ambiguous statement which is curiously appropriate as an introduction to a volume which combines household accounts, design sketches for spoons and sugar tongs, and mathematical computations in addition to debts and credits for customers, a description of the objects they bought, and the amount and methods of payment. A second daybook, from 2 August 1783 to 25 September 1797, continues this miscellany of entries, including a "receipt for gold sawder" and sketches for engraving. They are not a comprehensive

listing of all the silver made by Revere, since they served primarily as an accounting of items ordered on credit. The earlier daybook, for example, does not include an entry for the Liberty Bowl, ordered from Revere by his fellow patriots and presumably paid in full in cash at the time of the order. However, the daybooks present a vivid picture of the variety and quantity of objects produced in Revere's shop, the character of his clientele, his relationship with other Boston craftsmen, and the diversity of the services he provided over a forty year period.

Revere's early period of shop operation is distinguished by the great variety in the types of silver made and the services offered by the shop. He produced ninety different kinds of objects including cups, canns, and casters; buckles, buttons, and butter boats; tea sets, trays, thimbles, and tankards; and a variety of flatware forms, as well as children's whistles, pistol grips, an Indian pipe, a set of surgeon's instruments, and a squirrel chain, probably very similar to the one depicted by John Singleton Copley in his portrait of Henry Belham. (figure 11) Many of Revere's most unusual forms were commissioned during the earliest period of his shop operation, before a lull in production in 1769 and 1770. These items, many of them unique examples of a particular form, reveal Revere's impressive skill and versatility as both a designer and a craftsman: candlesticks, snuffers, a snuffer dish, an extinguisher, a funnel, cranes, snuff boxes, a chafing dish, children's whistles, picture frames and cases for miniatures, and cups for butter, beer and punch. (Table A) The

preparation of intricate patterns and molds for casting specialized forms was an expensive and time-consuming process, particularly for one-of-a-kind objects.<sup>7</sup> The concentration of these unique forms occurs in the early years of Revere's shop operation when he was eager to expand his business, demonstrate his skill, and indicate his willingness to please his patrons. In later years, when his business and reputation were well established, it was not necessary for him to accept commissions which would require substantial investments of time and materials for the design and construction of unusual objects. The daybooks record the gradual decrease of unusual forms during the 1770s and the scarcity of these objects in Revere's postwar production.

Revere's daybooks include a detailed record of payment rendered in addition to objects ordered. Patrons were assessed according to the weight and value of the silver and the labor required to make the object with additional fees charged for extras, like wooden handles or engraving. Epes Sargent's order for a coffee pot on 4 March 1769 illustrates this system:<sup>8</sup>

Epes Sargent Esq <sup>r</sup>	D <sup>r</sup>	
To a Silver Coffee Pot at w <sup>t</sup>		Oz 27 : 5
To the Making		4.0
To Engraving the Arms		0.16.0
To the Wooden Handel		0.3.4

Sargent supplied Revere with 23 ounces 4 pennyweight of silver to offset that fee in his order. During the early years of his career as a silversmith, Revere accepted goods as payment for silver, although



this practice disappears from the daybook after the first two years. In 1762 Revere accepted two bushels of corn as partial compensation for a large pair of shoe buckles and sugar in exchange for a pair of hooks and eyes.<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Greene paid for Lucretia Chandler's elegant sugar dish on 13 March 1762 with seventeen yards of checked fabric, china handles and two shillings cash.<sup>10</sup> He had supplied Revere with thirty four ounces of silver for the sugar dish several weeks earlier. Silver supplied by patrons, either as silver coins or as outdated or damaged silver objects, provided Revere with a reliable source of metal. Sometimes the form of the silver is specified in the records. Mr. Williams brought in "old silver spoons" weighing over three ounces, as well as "old gold" to be melted down and reused for the new articles he had ordered on 19 February 1762.<sup>11</sup> The silver for Nathan Frazier's tankard, ordered on 1 October 1772 was obtained by melting "35 Doller weighing <sup>t</sup><sub>30</sub> :8."<sup>12</sup>

#### Setting The Tables of Well-To-Do Bostonians

Revere supplied an assortment of hollowware and flatware articles for the dining tables and tea tables of well-to-do Bostonians. Fifty-two percent of his total production was comprised of objects for dining and drinking. (Table E) Spoons of varying sizes, sometimes specified as tea, table, or salt spoons, were produced in increasing quantities during the 1760s and 1770s. Captain John Riordan ordered seventeen forks and eighteen knife handles for his table on 2 October 1773.<sup>13</sup> While some of the table wares produced by Revere have modern

equivalents, others have become obsolete. Salvers, chafing dishes, and ladles remained in common usage throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, experiencing occasional changes in form but retaining their eighteenth-century functions as implements for serving food. Revere's graceful butter boats are similar in form and function to modern sauce boats, however the "butter cup," an oversized double-bellied cup with a raised open-ended handle, is a now rare archaic form. (figures 12, 13) Only six butter cups were recorded in Revere's daybook, a pair in 1763 for Deacon Thomas Hall and a set of four in 1769 for the retail firm of Cox and Berry. Probably the convenience of the larger handle and the pouring spout on a butter boat contributed to the decline in popularity of the butter cup, which required a ladle. Revere's consistency in referring to these forms as receptacles for melted butter is supported by the reference to butter boats in the daybooks of Zachariah Brigden, a silversmith who worked in Boston from 1756-1787.<sup>14</sup> The production of butter boats and butter cups emphasizes the importance of melted butter in the cuisine of eighteenth-century Boston. Revere provided silver shakers for the various other condiments favored by his patrons: mustard, pepper, and sugar.<sup>15</sup> These casters appeared regularly during this first period of shop operation, but were not so common during the 1780s and 1790s. Porringers, likewise, enjoyed their greatest period of popularity before the Revolution. The daybook records the production of fifteen porringers between 1768-1775, half that many after the war, and none at all after 1787.

Most of the hollowware forms made by Revere were connected with the preparation and consumption of beverages. The fifty-eight tankards and canns commissioned during this period indicate a robust, communal quaffing of beer, ales, spirits, and wine punch. These impressive, capacious objects reflected the conviviality of the "choice spirits" who gathered around the tables in taverns, lodges, and parlors for card playing or political debates.

The tea ritual offered a less boisterous but equally important occasion for social interaction. In her study of tea drinking in eighteenth-century America, Rodris Roth observed, "Tea was the social beverage of the eighteenth century; serving it was a sign of politeness and hospitality, and drinking it was a custom with distinctive manners and specific equipment."<sup>16</sup> Tea was introduced into Europe from the Orient during the early seventeenth century as part of the trade in spices, silks, and ceramics fostered by the Dutch, Portuguese, and English East Indies Companies. Though at first a rare and costly luxury, tea gained adherents rapidly as trade increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bostonians eagerly adopted the practice of drinking tea consuming over 16,000 pounds of tea in 1759.<sup>17</sup> The ritualized consumption of this exotic beverage demanded specialized accouterments. Frances Gruber Safford has observed that "the growing popularity of tea and the other newer hot beverages was the social change that most influenced the forms produced by silversmiths during the 18th century."<sup>18</sup> Revere supplied a variety of silver items specifically for the tea ceremony: teapots, creampots, sugar dishes,

sugar tongs, tea tongs, and tea spoons. In his portrait by John Singleton Copley, Revere holds an apple-shaped teapot typical of the type made in his shop prior to the Revolution.

Tea drinking became a politically charged issue in the years immediately preceding the war with Great Britain. On 29 June 1767 the Townshend Revenue Act was passed, imposing duties on glass, colored pigments, lead, paper, and tea exported to the American colonies. The outraged merchants, traders, and citizens of Boston urged a boycott of the taxed goods to protest the taxation of the American colonies by the English government without colonial representation in Parliament. The success of the boycott resulted in the repeal of all the Townshend duties in 1770, except the tax on tea. The continuing controversy was escalated by the Tea Act of 1773 which granted the financially troubled East India Company a virtual monopoly in the exportation of tea to the colonies. Under this Act, the East India Company was able to offer tea to the colonists at prices which were considerably lower than the London markets. However, merchants resented the restriction of their trade by monopolies, and many colonists regarded the low prices as a subtle means of collecting the disputed duty on tea. At a mass meeting held in the Old South Church, 5,000 Bostonians voted unanimously to refuse payment of the tax.

Revere's silver production reflects the burgeoning political crisis over tea. Until 1767 Revere made one or two teapots at a fairly constant annual rate. From 1769 until 1775, when Revere closed his

shop to serve the cause of American liberty, his production of teapots was reduced to two commissions in 1773. An entry in the daybook for 2 September 1773 records the order of a large tea service by Dr. William Paine of Worcester.<sup>19</sup> Intended as a commemoration of Paine's marriage to Lois Orne, the silver was marked with the coat-of-arms of the Orne family and the bride's initials, "L. O." This service included a teapot, tea tongs, and eighteen tea spoons, in addition to two canns, one tankard, two porringers, two butter boats, one creampot, one coffee pot, four salt spoons, and twelve large spoons. Paine's purchase of such a monumental tea service at the height of the furor over tea clearly and extravagantly proclaimed his Loyalist sympathies. In June 1774, Paine coauthored a protest of the Boston Tea Party, which was published in the Massachusetts Gazette or the Boston News-letter, in which he denounced the "baneful influence" of the committees of correspondence and deplored the waste of "teas of immense value, lately belonging to the East-India Company which were not long since, scandalously destroyed in Boston."<sup>20</sup> The Paine service is a compelling example of the practical separation of business and politics; Revere did not allow his political differences with his patrons to jeopardize a profitable commission. He may even have enjoyed the irony of a Tea Party "Indian" making a teapot for a Loyalist.

The second teapot was made for Captain John Riordan on November 18, 1775. Riordan was a frequent customer between 2 October 1773 and 10 September 1774.<sup>21</sup> However, his name does not appear in the

1780 Boston tax records or in any of the later city directories. His brief appearance in Revere's daybook coinciding with the tumult occasioned by the Tea Act of 1773 and the Boston Port Bill suggests that he may have been part of the British military force sent to Boston to maintain order.

Many Bostonians who boycotted tea during this period turned to other beverages, such as coffee. Revere had made only two coffee pots by 1767 when the tea crisis began to simmer. However, in 1769 when British war ships challenged entry into Boston harbor, British soldiers were quartered on the common and in Faneuil Hall, and an angry populace boycotted English goods, Revere's patrons purchased six coffee pots in that year alone. Another four were ordered in 1772 and 1773. (Table A) Revere's early coffee pots show clearly his initial awkwardness in handling this new form. A simple bulbous coffee pot with a circular gadrooned foot and lid rim, and a pineapple finial has a small horizontally-flowing spout placed very high on the body. (figure 14) This spout is the size and shape of a teapot spout and was probably cast from an existing mold in the shop which Revere customarily used for teapot commissions. The utilization of existing patterns or molds as components of several different forms was a common economical practice, particularly useful when dealing with an unusual form. For example, the curious little handles for the butter cups were adapted from a larger butter boat handle. (figures 12, 13) It was not profitable to create a special mold for a form made as rarely as the butter cup. The Robert Hooper coffee pot in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, one of three

ordered on 10 May and 6 July 1769, however, has been given a more successful spout design, fuller at the base, tightly curved close to the body and vertically aligned.<sup>22</sup> (figure 15) Revere has evidently created a new pattern specifically for a coffee pot in response to the increased demand for this form.

Only one-half of Revere's production was made up of elegant, richly-engraved tea and table wares. Forty-eight percent of his shop output was comprised of miscellaneous odd forms and small personal items. (Table E) Unusual items like candlesticks, snuffers, Masonic jewels, children's whistles, funnels, cranes, and thimbles formed only 8% of his total production. The 448 personal items (39%) produced by Revere between 1761 and 1775, however, constituted a significant category. Revere supplied his patrons with hundreds of buckles for their shoes, coats, stocks, and breeches, as well as gold, silver, and stone buttons for their garments. Revere's work in gold was confined to small objects: buttons, broaches, beads, bracelets, and rings. These small, unpretentious articles contributed substantially to the financial success of Revere's shop. Their value as advertising for Revere far outweighed their unassuming character since they carried the Revere name into the daily life of Bostonians of many economic levels. Revere did not publicize his silver products with formal advertisements, relying solely on the maker's mark stamped on his objects to promote his services. Probably only his church silver surpassed personal items as an advertising medium. Revere's

communion plate--chalices, cups, tankards, flagons, and basins--would have been admired by hundreds of potential patrons during religious services in many New England churches.<sup>23</sup>

### Trying Times

The volume of transactions handled by Revere's silver shop fluctuated widely during the 1760s and 1770s. (Table B) Both the turbulent political climate of Boston and, to a lesser degree, domestic crises adversely affected Revere's work as a silversmith. Even at the very beginning of his career, Revere demonstrated a fierce dedication to the defense of his native land and native liberties, a loyalty which would later propel him wholeheartedly into the patriot's cause. On 18 February 1756, only a month after attaining the right to operate his own business as a master silversmith, Revere was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant for a local artillery regiment raised to defend the British interests during the French and Indian War. Revere's enlistment was specifically for an expedition against Crown Point, a grueling campaign which lasted from the spring of 1756 until the end of that year.<sup>24</sup> His military achievement appears to have delayed the onset of his career as a silversmith. Revere's account with Isaac Greenwood, the earliest documentation of his activities as a silversmith, began with September 1757.<sup>25</sup> The daybook for the early period contains only sporadic entries for 1761; a regular cycle of work is established by the next year. (Table B) Political activities disrupted his production and occurred with increasing frequency during



this period. A more personal trauma was responsible for a reduction in output during February and March 1764 as explained by a notice in the records of the Boston selectmen. On 16 February, Revere reported that one of his children had contracted smallpox; the Revere family was quarantined in their house for the duration of the illness, probably a couple of weeks.<sup>26</sup>

Revere's business suffered during the postwar depression which followed the cessation of the French and Indian War. With the decline in the mercantile trade in 1765, many of the merchants who had patronized the silversmith were no longer able to afford luxury items which they had purchased in such quantity only a year earlier. In his study of metals in Colonial America, James A. Mulholland observed that "when the colonies elected to show their displeasure by establishing a boycott against the importation of English goods, the flow of silver also was affected."<sup>27</sup> The scarcity of English specie, one of the primary sources of silver for silversmiths, seriously limited their productivity. To bring in extra cash, Revere rented part of his shop. An entry in his daybook for 15 April 1765 states, "This Day Lett Part of My Shop to Mr Thomas Beney. The Rent to be Paid Quarterly at four Pounds a Year."<sup>28</sup> However, in the fall of 1765, Revere's estate was confiscated for a debt of £ 10 to Thomas Fletcher.<sup>29</sup> Although he was able to settle his debt without legal action, the economic situation for Revere, and indeed for Boston, remained grim for another five or six years.

Revere's political activities account in part for the dramatic reduction in his silver shop transactions between 1767 and 1770. As a member of the North End Caucus, the Long Room Club and the Sons of Liberty, he was actively involved in directing the resistance to the Townshend Act.<sup>30</sup> (Table B) In the years just prior to the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington and Concord, Revere frequently rode express to Philadelphia and New York for the committees of correspondence, often being absent from Boston for eleven or twelve days at a time. Business in the silver shop slowed considerably due to his extended absences in September, October, and December 1774. Overall, however, the shop experienced an increase in productivity during 1773 and 1774, probably due to the influx of English officers into Boston, prewar speculation, and the assistance of at least two new apprentices, his son Paul III and a young man named Collins.

#### Imported Goods: Trade Stimulus and Style Source

In spite of the fluctuations in production due to illness or insurrection, it is possible to determine a recurrent pattern of seasonal peaks. The first annual surge seems to occur during February, March, and April, with a second developing between August and November. These periods of increased activity in the silver shop coincided with the mercantile practice of ordering the most up-to-date goods from England in the spring and the fall. The Columbian Centinel Extra in Boston carried an announcement on 27 January 1808 that "Eben Moulton, No 3 South Row has received by the late arrivals his fall assortment

of "silver, plate ware and jewelry."<sup>31</sup> Thomas Fletcher, a Boston silversmith who moved to Philadelphia in 1810, received a letter from his London agents Joseph Rodgers & Loud on 4 March 1816 informing him that his order could not be shipped until the middle of April. The agent feared that the merchandise would "then be out of season and had probably better be deferred until May when they will come in for the early fall shipments."<sup>32</sup> Periods of active mercantile trade were beneficial to craftsmen like Revere in several ways; generous supplies of specie in circulation encouraged the commission of luxury goods such as silver and provided silversmiths with a source of raw material. In addition, many of Revere's clients were merchants who placed their orders for silver objects in the wake of a prosperous seasonal trade.

Imported English goods were an important style source for American silversmiths. The constant influx of new merchandise kept colonial craftsmen abreast of the latest London fashions. Retailers Cox & Berry advertised a large assortment of English silver in the Boston News Letter on 9 January 1772:<sup>33</sup>

Cox & Berry, at their Store near the British Coffee-House in King Street, have just Imported in the last ships from London, a great variety of Articles, including Plate, as Tankards, Coffee-Pots, Cans, Waiters, Frames and Castors, Sugar Baskets, Punch Strainers, Cream Pails, Pepper Castors, Cream Ewers and Urns, Salts, Wine Funnels, Sauce Boats & Ladles, Tureen Ladles, Table and Tea Spoons, Salt Ladles and Shovels, Punch Ladles, silver, gilt, plain and chas'd Corrals, Spring Tea Tongs, Decanter labels, Decanter Corks with Silver Tops, Silver Thimbles, Nutmeg Graters, a great variety of Silver Buckles, Silver-mounted Swords and Hangers, Etwee and Pencil Cases, Silver, Snake and Jack Watch Chains, Scissor Chains, Silver-mounted Snuff Boxes, Gold Stock Buckles.

A pair of Revere coffee pots illustrates graphically the potential impact of an imported English object. Jonathan Simpson presented a silver coffee pot, by the London silversmith Arthur Annesley, to his niece Mary Vail in 1759 at the time of her marriage to Edward Augustus Holyoke of Salem, Massachusetts.<sup>34</sup> (figure 16) The most distinguishing characteristic of Mary Vail's coffee pot was the three flaring legs composed of shells and "C" curves. Only two American examples of this type are known; Benjamin Burt and Paul Revere each produced similar coffee pots for patrons in Salem.<sup>35</sup> (figure 17) Richard Derby purchased Revere's version of the Vail coffee pot on 15 April 1772 for £ 6.3.4 and supplied the 47 ounces 6 pennyweight of silver needed for the pot.<sup>36</sup> The flaring shell and "C" curve legs of the Derby coffee pot were strongly influenced by the English prototype. The initials I<sup>D</sup> E were engraved on the bottom for Richard's son, Jonathan, and his second wife, Elizabeth, probably indicating that the coffee pot was presented to the couple upon their marriage in 1787.<sup>37</sup> Revere also made several pairs of butter boats with these distinctive shell feet for Zachariah Johonnot of Boston and for Dr. William Paine of Worcester.<sup>38</sup> (figure 12) The Paine butter boats were a part of the large tea service he ordered on 2 September 1773.<sup>39</sup> Imported ceramics could also serve as an inspiration for silver forms, as with a pair of collet-foot butter boats in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, whose simple "ladle" shape, gadrooned edge, and diagonal gadrooning of the foot are reminiscent of English ceramic sauce boats from the mid-century.<sup>40</sup> (figure 19) Whereas the impetus behind the

design choice for the coffee pot and the butter boats is not certain, customer preference is sometimes clearly indicated. Reverend Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church, specified in his will that his bequest was to be "a Piece of Plate of the Form and Height of the last presented to ye sd church. I would have it plain and to hold a full pint."<sup>41</sup> The resulting cup made by Revere in 1758 has the elaborate base and baluster of the seventeenth-century French chalice presented to Old South Church earlier that year. (figure 20)

### Engraving and the Importance of Heraldry

Although Reverend Prince specified that his silver should be unornamented, many customers requested the addition of engraved ornament on their objects, frequently arms, monograms, or inscriptions, an optional feature for which they were charged extra. The earliest entry in the daybook which itemizes engraving is an order for a teapot on 17 February 1762:<sup>42</sup>

M <sup>r</sup> Sam Treat D <sup>r</sup>		
To a Silver Tea Pot	W <sup>t</sup> $\frac{0}{18.5}$ at 7/p <sup>r</sup> $\frac{0}{z}$	6.7.9
To the Making Tea Pot		3.6.8
To Engraving Tea Pot		1.6.7
To a Wooding Handle		0.3.4
		<hr/> 11.4.5

Revere occasionally added engraving to items brought in by his patrons. In 1765 he added arms on two salvers for Zachariah Johonnot, put arms on a teapot for Edward Procter, and engraved two crests for

Doctor Philip Godfrey Kast.<sup>43</sup> The Chandler arms on a silver sugar dish and creampot in 1761 and 1762, the Greene arms on a tankard in 1762, the Flynt arms on a coffee pot sometime before 1762, and the Parsons arms on a teapot circa 1770 illustrate Revere's deft handling of heraldic engraving. (figures 21, 24, 27, 29) These arms exhibit the lush ornamentation of the Rococo style of heraldic depiction, an asymmetrical, ruffled cartouche surrounded by an ornate mantling of scrolls, foliage, and flowers surmounted by a crest, and sometimes further embellished with pendant drapery swags. Heraldic engraving on silver contributed not only to the beauty of the object, it enhanced the status of the owners by association with the English nobility, and it served as a reliable means of identification in the event of a theft. Revere's heraldic engraving was not confined to silver. He engraved bookplates for at least fifteen customers, of which eleven examples have survived.<sup>44</sup> The coats-of-arms which appeared on bookplates for David Greene and Gardiner Chandler are the same as the arms engraved on Lucretia Chandler's silver and Thomas Greene's tankard. (figures 21, 22, 24, 25)

The use of heraldry in America was not governed by the strict regulations which prevailed in England. The jurisdiction of the College of Heralds did not extend to the colonies, and as a result, Americans displayed arms with considerable freedom. John Guillim's A Display of Heraldry was well known in the colonies during the eighteenth century and presented hundreds of illustrations to those wishing to adopt a family coat-of-arms. Originally published in

1611, Guillim's voluminous survey of English heraldry had been revised and reissued five times before 1724, when the sixth edition was published.<sup>45</sup> The Boston silversmith, Nathaniel Hurd (1729/30-1777) was depicted with the sixth edition of A Display of Heraldry in his portrait by John Singleton Copley, painted in 1765.<sup>46</sup> There is no documentation for Revere's ownership of this volume; however, there is substantial evidence that he possessed a detailed knowledge of heraldry. Guillim illustrated the Greene arms with a line drawing of three stags within a shield and the description, "He beareth Azure three Bucks tripping Or."<sup>47</sup> (figure 26) Revere's engraving contains the correct tincture for azure, horizontal lines, even though this detail was not indicated in Guillim's drawing.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, his rendition of the Flynt arms displays diagonal lines running from left to right to denote the green background mentioned in A Display of Heraldry, and the Parsons arms correctly indicates ermine in the chevrons.<sup>49</sup> (figures 27, 28, 29, 30) The Sargent arms on a bookplate that Revere engraved for Epes Sargent in 1764 conform to Guillim's specifications for the name of Sargeant, "Argent, a Chevron between Dolphins naiant embowed Sable," despite the absence of a line drawing to accompany the description.<sup>50</sup> (figure 31) Patrons whose family name did not appear in A Display of Heraldry may have adopted the arms associated with a similar name or a related branch of the family. The latter possibility might explain the use of the Clifford arms by members of the Chandler family.<sup>51</sup> (figures 21, 22, 23)

The arms displayed on the tea service ordered by William Paine in 1773 to commemorate his marriage to Lois Orne, demonstrate a creative disregard for the rules of heraldry. Since the Orne family apparently had not been granted a coat-of-arms, Revere adapted the arms of the Forster family, a design of "a Chevron Vert, between 3 Bugle-horns stringed Sable" which was probably suggested by the phonetic similarity of Orne and horn.<sup>52</sup> (figures 32, 33) The Forster arms were already known to Revere before the Paine commission, since his father had engraved a variant of this design on a teapot for the Foster family circa 1740.<sup>53</sup> (figure 34) Revere's stylistic debt to the elder Revere is clearly evident in much of his engraving. The cartouche, foliate mantling, and banner that appear on a bookplate which Paul Revere I engraved for himself in the 1720s were reused by the younger Revere in the 1760s for the Chandler, Greene, and Sargent bookplates. (figures 22, 25, 31, 35) Revere continued to use his father's typical baroque shell and scroll border on the Parsons teapot, even though it interfered with the graceful placement of the arms on the swell of the teapot body. (figure 29) A similar border, in more felicitous circumstances, is seen in the White salver.

(figure 10) Revere may also have acquired designs for arms from Christian Remick, a watercolorist, who added the colored wash to several of Revere's engravings including "A Perspective View of the Blockade of Boston Harbour" (circa 1768) and "The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street" (1770). Remick placed an advertisement in the Boston Gazette and County Post Boy on 16 October 1769 which stated



that he "Draws Coats of Arms at the most reasonable Rates."<sup>54</sup>

Revere may not have needed to utilize Remick's services, however, since heraldry was an integral part of the artistic landscape in eighteenth-century Boston. Formal portraits by artists like Copley often included the arms of the sitter; seals of the royal governors adorned prints, official documents, and even the panels of the governor's chaises; and family arms decorated the tombstones of many distinguished Bostonians, including members of the Apthorp, Greene, and Foster families whose arms appear on Revere silver.<sup>55</sup>

Revere's engraving exhibits a distinctive characteristic of his engraving technique. Many of his engraved coats-of-arms are placed off-center on the body of the object, slightly to the right. This anomaly can be seen clearly on the Parsons teapot and Sargent coffee pot. (figures 29, 52) In addition, the pattern on the right half of the design is less complex and executed with deep cuts; the left half is distinguished by intricate detail in light shallow cuts. These features suggest that Revere was probably a right-handed engraver.

Many of the elaborate coats-of-arms found on Revere silver were engraved during the 1760s and 1770s. After the Revolution two factors contributed to the decline in popularity of ornate heraldic engraving. The introduction of the restrained lines of the neo-classical taste was accompanied by a corresponding shift in preference away from the lush ebullient mantling and asymmetrical cartouche of the rococo style in favor of the "Jacobean" style of heraldry, in

which the arms are contained within a shield which is embellished only by the balanced placement of a few floral sprigs. The arms engraved on a pair of canns for Thomas Dennie in 1783 are representative of this later style of heraldic engraving. (figure 39)

On some silver objects, Revere engraved inscriptions using a neat, graceful round hand script, occasionally in combination with block lettering. Lettering of this type was taught in the Boston writing schools where artisans like Paul Revere received their formal education. The scripts illustrated by Abiah Holbrook, master of the South Writing School, in The Writing-Master's Amusement (1767) indicate the various styles which Revere would have learned.<sup>58</sup> (figure 36) Holbrook included a lengthy passage written in a combination of block and script letters which is similar in form to many Revere inscriptions, such as the tribute to Harvard tutor Stephen Scales engraved on a pair of canns circa 1768. (figure 37)

#### Diversification Within the Shop

The scarcity of silver and the subsequent decline of commissions during the postwar depression of the mid-1760s motivated Revere to offer several auxilliary services. Orders for repair on silver, including cleaning and burnishing, peaked during 1763 and remained numerous until 1766, increasing again in the four years just before the Revolution. Copper plate engraving and printing developed into an important facet of Revere's business. Revere's interest in printing was evident early in his career. In December 1761, he

paid Isaac Greenwood £ 5.15.0 for "half of a Rolling Press."<sup>57</sup>

A notice placed in the Boston News-Letter 11 May 1749 which announced the sale of "a large rolling-press, for printing off a copper plate" identifies the equipment owned by Revere and confirms Revere's commercial interest in copper plate engraving even before his daybook records any printing commissions.<sup>58</sup> Orders for prints rose into the thousands after 1770. An account with Edes and Gill, a firm of printers for whom Revere occasionally engraved mastheads, shows that they supplied the silversmith with large quantities of paper stock between August 1770 and April 1772.<sup>59</sup> Revere received his largest engraving commission from Isaiah Thomas, a close friend and a fellow member of the Masons and the Sons of Liberty. Thomas, publisher of the radical Massachusetts Spy, founded a new conservative Whig publication, the Royal American Magazine in 1774. Revere supplied the illustrations for each issue, which ranged from depictions of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, a French actress, and a Russian jumping mouse to a diagram showing the manufacture of saltpetre and political cartoons condemning Britain's repressive domination of the colonies. Esther Forbes observes that at least two of these prints were based on works by Benjamin West.<sup>60</sup> Revere's ability as an engraver lay in his meticulous craftsmanship rather than in his creative powers. Many of his political prints were copied from English broadsides. The earliest of his political cartoons, "A View of the Year 1765" was copied from an English caricature; a portrait of the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew in 1766 was taken from a mezzotint by Richard Jennys,

and "A Warm Place--Hell" engraved a year later was modelled after an English cartoon entitled "A Warm Place--Hell" satirizing the Scots.<sup>61</sup> The derivative nature of Revere's engraving was not unusual for the eighteenth century; artists borrowed freely from every available design source until the establishment of copyrights restricted this option. His most famous engraving, "The Bloody Massacre Perpetuated in King Street" (The Boston Massacre), was based on a drawing of the same scene by a young Boston artist, Henry Pelham.<sup>62</sup> Revere's reliance on predominantly English sources for his engravings is a compelling indication of the overwhelming influence of English culture on the colonists, in spite of growing political differences. Clarence Brigham's study of Revere's engravings characterizes the political prints as "important expressions of popular ideology . . . expressions of the cultural transfer from England to America that shaped early American society generally and that provided the ideological basis of the American Revolution."<sup>63</sup>

Edes and Gill charged Revere four shillings on 30 July 1770 for running an advertisement "respect<sup>6</sup> artificial Teeth."<sup>64</sup> Dentistry was another service which Revere performed for his patrons. He learned this trade from Dr. John Baker, Surgeon-Dentist who practiced in Boston 1767-1768, and immediately advertised his ability to replace missing teeth with artificial ones in the Boston News-Letter, 25 August 1768, and the Boston Gazette, 19 September 1768.<sup>65</sup> Revere billed Samuel Hewes in 1771 for engraving a copper plate, running off 700 prints, and fastening his teeth.<sup>66</sup> Three years later a daybook

entry records that John Jay had his teeth cleaned and purchased a pot of dentifrice from the silversmith.<sup>67</sup> Diversification, like Revere's, was essential in order for a silversmith to overcome a fluctuating economy, an intermittent market, a decline in maritime trade, and a deteriorating political situation.

#### Journeyman, Apprentices and Collaboration with Colleagues

The quantity and variety of products and services offered by the Revere shop indicates a business of substantial size and scope. The shop of Boston silversmith Zachariah Brigden, a contemporary of Revere's, provides an interesting comparison. Zachariah Brigden produced much less hollowware than Revere during the period 1765-1775 and relied heavily on repair work in his business.<sup>68</sup> Even so, Brigden's accounts record his transactions with fifteen shop assistants--journeymen and apprentices.<sup>69</sup> Revere also staffed his shop with unskilled apprentices and experienced journeymen. Apprentices would have begun their training by assuming responsibility for routine menial tasks such as cleaning the shop, collecting the silver filings for refining, and tending the fires, gradually performing more difficult jobs as they became more adept. Journeymen, skilled craftsmen who lacked the means to establish their own shop, were able to assist the master silversmith with the design and fabrication of intricate objects. Some journeymen supplied specialized skills, such as casting, engraving, or jewelry making.<sup>70</sup> However, since only the master's mark would appear on the finished object, the work of many of these men,

and in most instances their very identities, remain anonymous.

Revere's daybook provides clues to the identities of four of his assistants. The earliest mentioned is his younger brother, Thomas. Born in 1739/40, Thomas would have been of the age to start his apprenticeship when his father died in 1754. Both convenience and necessity suggest that Thomas was trained by his older brother, Paul. When his seven year apprenticeship ended, Thomas continued to work for his brother as a journeyman. An entry for 9 April 1761 charged Thomas £ 9.19.0 for "Sundrys out of the Shop," cash lent, fourteen weeks board as well as some articles of clothing and a wig.<sup>71</sup> As an apprentice, Thomas would have received room and board with his master's family as part of his contract; this bill probably marks his shift in status from an indentured youth to a day laborer.<sup>72</sup> Two more possible journeymen were charged for board in 1762: Samuel Butts was assessed for five weeks on May 19 and Mathew Metcalf for two weeks on September 8.<sup>73</sup> The Metcalf entry includes a line for "Ballance of Old Acct" indicating that this was not a new relationship. Butts continued to appear in the daybook until 24 August 1764 when he settled his account with Revere for three weeks and five days board and shop supplies.<sup>74</sup> He had received a share of his father's estate a week earlier of £ 13.5.7 and possibly ventured out on his own, since he does not reappear in the Revere accounts. In 1774 Revere received an anxious letter from Josiah Collins of Newport expressing concern over the status of his son's apprenticeship. "It greaves me to be obliged to inform you that I Cannot pay you for the

Board of my d<sup>r</sup> Child till my Returne or the Returne of the Vessel, which will be about 3 Months . . . This, I hope will not be the means of my poor Childs Suffering."<sup>75</sup> Although Revere undoubtedly had more assistants working in his shop prior to the Revolution, their identities are still unknown.

Revere frequently relied on fellow craftsmen to furnish him with specialized objects, services, or shop supplies, and in turn, his particular talents were utilized by his colleagues. The turner, Isaac Greenwood, provided Revere with a variety of services from 1757 until 1774. Revere's accounts with Greenwood include payments for "turning" coffee pots, teapots, casters, and canns, which involved using his lathe to skin off the excess silver or solder, sharpen the details on moldings, and even cut irregularities in the raised bodies of the objects; for making a pattern for a wine cup; and for making wooden handles for coffee pots, teapots, and ladles.<sup>76</sup> In the 1760s, Revere collaborated with jeweller Josiah Flagg on several song books. Flagg used his musical abilities to set the tunes in scores; Revere engraved the plates. Revere charged his partner £ 150 for one-half the engraving costs, but covered the other half as his share of the expenses of the book.<sup>77</sup>

Subcontracting difficult orders to silversmiths with special talents or large shops was a mutually beneficial practice. Successful, skilled craftsmen like Revere profited through the expansion of their business and the enhancement of their reputation. Silversmiths with

less diversified shops were able to offer their clientele a variety of articles which they had neither the patterns, equipment, skill nor time to produce. Prior to the Revolution, Revere's accounts record transactions with thirteen silversmiths. One of the earliest mentioned, Samuel Minott, appears in the daybooks three times in August and October 1762.<sup>78</sup> Minott commissioned Revere to make three salvers and a "chased" sugar dish, probably indicating repousse ornamentation. Special skills are necessary to create the flawlessly flat surface of a tray, or the complex texture of repousse work successfully. Revere's proficiency at making these difficult objects was well recognized by his colleagues; John Coburn, Nathaniel Hurd, and John Symmes also ordered "chased" objects or salvers from Revere in 1762 and 1767.<sup>79</sup> Many of the objects which Revere made for other silversmiths were unusual or unique forms, evidence of the professional respect accorded his craftsmanship and his skills in design. In 1764, he fashioned a sugar dish out of an ostrich egg for Andrew Oliver, who was already a well-established silversmith by this time.<sup>80</sup> Revere's transactions with Nathaniel Hurd reflect both Hurd's brilliance as an engraver and Revere's flair for design. Between April 1762 and June 1763, Revere produced two scalloped salvers, a chafing dish, a pair of canns, a picture frame, an Indian pipe, and a snuff box for Hurd.<sup>81</sup> However, none of these orders included any engraving. Hurd engraved the face of the scalloped salvers with the Franklin arms and added his own touchmark to the front. These salvers, bearing the marks of both maker and engraver, are a compelling



illustration of the collaboration which existed among Boston silversmiths.<sup>82</sup> (figure 38) Revere's relationship with John Coburn lasted for over a decade from 1762 until 1775 and changed as Coburn gained experience as a silversmith. During the 1760s Coburn patronized Revere both for finished objects and for engraving services.<sup>83</sup> However, by the early 1770s, Coburn was sending large quantities of his own silver to Revere for engraving, and only ordering very unusual forms such as a silver lamp and frame in February 1773 and a sword guard in August 1774.<sup>84</sup> Another Boston silversmith, Jonathan Trott, utilized Revere's services to expedite an exceptionally large order of six wine quart tankards for the third church in Brookfield.

Revere's transactions with John Welsh are indicative of a different sort of professional relationship involving the exchange of services for goods. From 1761 until 1765, Revere obtained shop supplies from Welsh including salt petre, borax, pumice stone, gold foil, picture glass, crucibles, gravers, files, shoe chapes and flukes, black pots, and binding wire. In payment he engraved jewelry and made spoons, spectacles, and odd buckles for his colleague.<sup>85</sup> One of Revere's most curious objects, a squirrel chain, was commissioned by Welsh on 21 November 1772.<sup>86</sup>

#### Building a Name: The Patronage of Family and Friends

Revere's clientele included many others besides his professional colleagues. In Silver in American Life, Barbara Ward observed, "In considering the place of the silversmith in the community . . . it is

hard to overemphasize the importance of personal relationships between the silversmith and his patrons."<sup>87</sup> Revere's early success was due as much to his social and familial connections as to his obvious talent. James A. Henretta's study of the mercantile and social systems of colonial Boston concluded that "there was a direct relation between permanence of residence and economic condition."<sup>88</sup> Henretta observed,<sup>89</sup>

Even in an expanding and diversifying economic environment the best opportunities for advancement rested with those who could draw upon long-standing connections, upon the credit facilities of friends and neighbors and upon political influence.

During the early years of his career, Revere received many orders from his maternal relatives, the Hitchborns. Six members of this family appear as customers in the first daybook, including his uncles, Thomas and Nathaniel Hitchborn, and his cousins, Robert and Thomas Jr., all boat builders, Benjamin, a lawyer, and William, a hatter. Another client, Nathaniel Fosdick, was related to Revere through his marriage to Frances Hitchborn. Revere also found a number of patrons among his neighbors on Clark's Wharf. Besides his cousin Thomas Hitchborn, Revere made objects for Ezra Collins, the Webb family, and the Cochrans. Isaac Greenwood, who performed services as a turner for Revere, and John Webb, who furnished Revere with shop supplies, likewise lived very close to Clark's Wharf. By 1770, however, when the Revere family moved to North Square, the silver shop was well established and Revere did not have to rely upon his neighbors for commissions. None of his North Square neighbors appear to have

ordered silver from Revere except Nathaniel Hitchborn, who moved there a few years after Revere.

Social, political, and religious organizations provided Revere with further opportunities to develop business contacts. Josiah Flagg and Joseph Snelling, who had served as bell ringers at Christ's Church with Revere as boys, became his patrons as adults. Revere joined the Masons in 1760 and remained active in the Lodge of St. Andrew until his death. His fellow Masons proved to be loyal customers with over a dozen lodge members appearing in the first daybook.<sup>90</sup> The very first entry in his daybook on 3 January 1761 records the order of a freemason's medal for James Graham.<sup>91</sup> Revere produced masonic medals and jewels for his lodge brothers and engraved notifications of meetings. He received some commissions from neighboring lodges as well. On 15 June 1773 the Tyrian Lodge requested an engraved copper plate and 400 prints for meeting notifications and two steward's jewels.<sup>92</sup> Many of Revere's patrons were actively involved in the same political organizations in which he was a member: the Sons of Liberty, the Long Room Club and the North End Caucus. Members of these clubs met regularly, albeit secretly, to air grievances, plot strategy, and discuss political philosophy. Drawn together by their common political attitudes and ambitions, members of these groups established strong personal and professional ties. Revere's patrons included many of his political associates: Joseph Warren, Benjamin Edes and Thomas Hitchborn belonged to the North End Caucus; Warren, Edes, Thomas Dawes, and Moses Gill participated in the Long Room

Club; and Warren, Gill, Josiah Flagg, Joshua Brackett, Josiah Quincy, Oliver Wendell, John Pulling, John Homer, William Mackay, Caleb Hopkins, John Welsh, Fortesque Vernon and several of the Hitchborn family joined Revere in the Sons of Liberty.

Revere's clientele encompassed many other facets of Boston society--prominent merchants including Thomas Greene, Thomas Brattle, Zachariah Johonnet, the Quincys, and the Amorys as well as artisans and tradesmen--coppersmiths, coachmakers, mariners, wig makers, stone cutters, leather dressers, and carpenters. He made silver frames and gold cases to hold miniatures for John Singleton Copley, the eminent Boston artist who painted Revere's portrait.<sup>93</sup> Despite his own fervent stand as a patriot, Revere's business relationships transcended political affiliations, and he numbered among his customers such notable Tories as John Coffin, Epes Sargent of Gloucester, and the Chandlers and Paines of Worcester. Before the outbreak of the Revolution disrupted Revere's career, he had established himself as a successful silversmith with the respect of his colleagues, a diverse and influential clientele, and an active role in the political and social life of Boston.

## Chapter 2

### FROM ARTISAN TO ENTREPRENEUR

In a letter to his cousin Mathias Rivoire in October 1781, Revere explained that he carried on his business as a silversmith "until the year 1775 when the American Revolution began." He continued, "From that time till May 1780 I have been in the Government service as Lieut. Col. of an Artillery regiment."<sup>94</sup> After the termination of his military career, Revere returned to his silver shop. He wrote his cousin, "I thought it best to go to my business again, which I now carry on, and under which I trade some to Holland."<sup>95</sup> During 1779 and 1780 when orders for silver were sporadic, Revere supplemented his income by selling various commodities. Daybook entries for these years record the sale of silk handkerchiefs, nutmeg, cinnamon, rice, and raisins. He also leased the use of his chaise; took in a boarder, his cousin Philip Marett, at twenty four shillings per week, and eventually rented his house on North Square to George DeFrance.<sup>96</sup> By 1781, however, Revere was receiving a steady stream of orders, an influx which was to continue virtually unbroken for the next 17 years. (Table D)

Tablewares for Changing Consumption Patterns

During this second period of shop operation, Revere's output changed dramatically, both in number and type of objects produced. Over 4,000 objects are recorded in the daybooks between 1779 and 1797, almost four times the amount fabricated during the earlier period. (Table E) While an equal number of different forms are made during this later phase, slightly fewer hollowware forms were produced--thirty as compared to thirty-four. Flatware forms, on the other hand, proliferated. Revere made fourteen types of spoons including spoons for mustard, marrow, capers, ragout, dessert, and pap, as well as the more usual teaspoons, tablespoons, and salt spoons. In quantity, production of both hollowware and flatware increased during the second period; however, hollowwares decreased significantly as a percentage of the total output, whereas flatware comprised over 49 percent of the total. (Table E) There were fewer of the unusual forms which characterized Revere's pre-Revolutionary production--no chafing dishes, candlesticks, funnels, cranes, Indian pipes, or surgeon's instruments. The objects made after 1779 are predominantly standard forms, a change in production which allowed Revere to establish patterns and procedures that his journeymen and apprentices could execute. Standardization released Revere from direct involvement in the design of each object, and enabled him to diversity his business interests, while still drastically increasing the output of his silver shop.

Objects for drinking and dining comprised 54 percent of Revere's post-Revolutionary silver production, a slight rise over the earlier period. The types of objects ordered from the silversmith in the last quarter of the eighteenth century suggest that some changes may have occurred in the culinary habits of his affluent Boston patrons. The increase in the number of spoons designed for specific foods suggests that dining was becoming more ritualized, requiring elaborate table settings to consume a progression of separate courses. Revere imported significant quantities of English knives and forks for resale in his retail shop. Over 6,000 knives and forks are recorded in his shipping invoices for 1783.<sup>97</sup> An intriguing variety of handle types were available: split bone, "green Japanned," sham stag, white bone, and Chinese. These enormous quantities of imported flatware were undoubtedly ordered by Revere in response to the needs of his customers, and are another indication of the development of an increasingly complex and formal dining ritual. Revere made very few silver forks or knives in his entire career. The English imports, relatively inexpensive and plentiful, were a more practical solution to the escalating demand for specialized flatware. William Foster paid Revere £ 7.11.6 on 18 November 1784 for a set of six silver forks engraved with crests.<sup>98</sup> In contrast, Revere paid only £ 4.16.- in October 1783 for 576 "white Bone table Knives & forks."<sup>99</sup> Porringers, designed as receptacles for single course meals, began to decline in popularity as utensils for general use and were more frequently associated with children. Between 1762 and 1774, Revere made sixteen

porringers, of which only one was identified as a child's porringer; during the later period, he made eight standard porringers between 1781 and 1787 and six child's porringers, all ordered after 1792. (Tables A, C) The waning popularity of the porringer at the end of the eighteenth century coincides with the increased importation of English ceramic tablewares into America, particularly the cream-colored earthenwares produced in Staffordshire. Revere bought "1 Grate Cream Col<sup>d</sup> ware" and "one crate blue ware" for his retail shop in 1791 at a fraction of the cost of producing similar wares in silver.<sup>100</sup> As English ceramics became more readily available, Bostonians eagerly furnished their dining tables with decorative, reasonably-priced earthenware table services. Revere produced his only set of silver dishes in 1796, a set of four ordered by Edward Gray on the 13th of January, each weighing about twenty-four ounces, slightly heavier than a teapot.<sup>101</sup> Very costly and easily scratched, Gray's silver dishes may have been admired but were never copied.

Bostonians continued to display the preoccupation with the consumption of beverages that they had demonstrated before the Revolution. Revere produced a wide variety of drinking vessels during the 1780s and 1790s, including canns, tankards, and cups. These objects essentially retained their mid-century form and construction methods and varied from these earlier counterparts only in the style of the engraving. Thomas Dennie ordered a pair of wine quart canns on 14 March 1783.<sup>102</sup> These canns conform to traditional standards both in their pyriform shape and in their heraldic



engraving. Cans appear to have served double duty as receptacles for both beer and wine. Some are specifically identified as wine quart cans, probably referring to the English standard for measuring wine which was established at 31 1/2 gallons to the barrel in 1699.<sup>103</sup> Others, merely denoted "quart cans" and usually slightly smaller in size, may refer to the liquid measure established in 1668 for beer or ale of 34 gallons to the barrel.<sup>104</sup> A tankard made for William Todd in 1795 displays the high domed cover typical of Revere's later tankards.<sup>105</sup> (figure 40) The restrained neo-classical treatment of the engraving with the initials of William and his wife Mary enclosed within an oval and suspended from a bow knot, is very different from the heraldic imagery and foliate flourishes which ornamented the surfaces of tankards made during the 1760s and 1770s. Tankards diminished slightly in number during this period and cups more than doubled, another instance of the replacement of a traditional communal vessel with an individual one. (Tables A, C) Goblets, which first appeared as a daybook entry in 1782, were an elegant new addition to the drinking paraphernalia made during this period. A set of six goblets made for Nathaniel Tracy in 1782 are among the most graceful objects ever made by Revere.<sup>106</sup> (figure 41)

By far the largest group of Revere's silver objects were designed for the preparation and consumption of tea, a beverage which wealthy Bostonians consumed with dedicated regularity and conspicuous elaboration. Following his visit to Boston in 1781 the Baron Cromot du Bourg reported that the Bostonians "take a great deal of tea in

the morning . . . and about five o'clock they take more tea, some wine, madeira [and] punch."<sup>107</sup> According to his daybook Revere made fifty teapots during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, a dramatic increase over the nine he produced prior to the Revolution. (Tables A, C) This number does not include the teapots made in the last few years of the eighteenth century, after entries in the daybook were discontinued in 1797. A tea set comprising a teapot, creampot and sugar urn was presented to Edmund Hartt in 1797, and was probably made by Revere after the termination of the daybook.<sup>108</sup> Teapots made for Thomas Hitchborn in 1782 and Moses Michael Hayes in 1783 are of this type, with straight sides, applied convex shoulders, low domed lids, and straight fluted spouts.<sup>109</sup> (figures 42, 43) The spouts and shoulders are made of seamed metal, but the body is raised in the traditional fashion. Another similar teapot, engraved "JSC" is in the Yale University Art Gallery. (figure 44) The Hitchborn pot features gadrooning on the edges of the body and the cover, while the others have newer style beaded edges. By the mid 1780s, Revere was making teapots of seamed sheet silver in several styles--oval, paneled, and fluted. (figures 45, 46, 47) Delicately engraved with oval medallions, wreaths, drapery swags, floral garlands, and foliate bands, these lovely teapots display the restrained ornamentation, symmetrical design, and balanced proportion espoused by the English neoclassical style.

Revere Utilizes New Technology: Rolled Sheet Silver

The development of machinery for the production of sheet silver revolutionized the craft of silversmithing. Rolled sheet silver could be cut to shape and seamed rapidly and easily, thereby eliminating the costly and time-consuming process of raising hollowware. Chambers' Dictionary, published in 1853, commented on the changes that rolling mills had effected on the silversmith's art: <sup>110</sup>

The business of the goldsmith formerly required much more labour than it does at present, for they were obliged to hammer the metal from the ingot to the thinness they wanted but there are now invented flatting-mills, which reduce metal to the thinness that is required at a very small expense.

In The Colonial Silversmith: His Techniques & His Products, Henry J.

Kauffman has suggested that while many silversmiths trained in traditional techniques may have resisted the use of prefabricated metal sheets, "it is probable that the change was very welcome for those with more liberal views and a keener eye for favorable bank balances."<sup>111</sup> Revere, undeniably possessed of liberal views, an inventive spirit, and financial ambitions, began to investigate the potentials of sheet silver almost immediately following the reopening of his shop. The cylindrical teapots Revere made during the early 1780s have spouts and handle sockets of sheet silver attached to raised bodies. (figures 42, 43, 44) Although he had not acquired sufficient confidence with the new material to construct an entire object with it, his eagerness to explore the possibilities of sheet silver fully is evident from the fluting of the seamed parts.

Revere's success with these early experiments in manipulating sheet silver encouraged him to expand his use of rolled silver, a venture which culminated in the intricate shapes of Revere's paneled and fluted sheet silver teapots. (figures 46, 47)

Flatting mills were present in the colonies as early as 1733, when one was listed in the inventory of Philadelphia goldsmith Cesar Ghiselin.<sup>112</sup> Philadelphia craftsmen seem to have adopted this new technology before the other colonies. Another Philadelphia silversmith, Joseph Richardson, wrote to England in 1760 for a pair of replacement rollers for his own flatting mill and for that of a colleague.<sup>113</sup> During the 1770s, Philadelphia's newspapers carried advertisements for flatting mills and rolled metals and on 23 October 1789 the Pennsylvania Packet announced the opening of The American Bullion and Refining Office which supplied artisans with both refined and plated metals.<sup>114</sup>

Revere had acquired a plating mill by late 1785. On 17 November 1785 he was billed eight shillings by Solomon Munro for "one day work a putting up plating mill."<sup>115</sup> Munro charged Revere a further 1 shilling and 8 pence for the "16 foot joist" he used to build a platform for the plating mill, suggesting a mill of considerable size. Diderot's Encyclopedie includes several illustrations of flatting mills, some small enough to fit on a work bench, others requiring their own framework. Revere's plating mill would probably have looked very similar to these, wooden frames with metal rollers

which could be regulated with screws to control the thickness of the metal. (figure 48) After 1785, Revere would have been able to supply his own sheet silver, freeing him from a reliance on irregular shipments of costly imported metals.<sup>116</sup>

Revere experimented with several seaming techniques for sheet silver. Some of his late teapots are seamed with the traditional butt joint. However, the majority are constructed by overlapping the edges to be soldered. Not only is this a stronger method for attaching two sheets of very thin metal, but less training and experience are required in order to form a clean lapped joint. By altering his construction method, Revere was able to delegate much of the work in his silver shop to journeymen and apprentices, a savings in both time and money. Variations in the placement of the seams, the amount of overlap, and the direction of overlap indicate the presence of more than one craftsman at work. Revere's willingness to adopt new technology and abandon traditional construction techniques allowed him to increase the output of his silver shop dramatically and maintain a high standard of quality while simultaneously devoting more of his time to other business ventures. Several of Revere's sheet silver teapots have lapped joints which have been secured with silver rivets.<sup>117</sup> (figure 47) While this device is used frequently to join sheets of copper, it is rarely found on silver objects. Revere would have been familiar with this technique from his work with copper and brass.

The use of rolled sheet silver would have enabled Revere to manufacture smaller objects quickly and inexpensively. Daniel Burnap, a Connecticut clockmaker and silversmith working between 1759 and 1838, utilized a mill in the production of spoons. In his monograph on Burnap, Penrose R. Hoopes describes the procedure used by Burnap to make spoons, "The making of silver spoons required much the same technique as working in brass. After melting and casting, the metal was rolled in a plating mill between steel rollers, trimmed, hammered to shape on iron swages, and polished."<sup>118</sup> The second period of Revere's shop operation featured a dramatic increase in flatware production, predominantly spoons, from 410 flatware items made before the Revolution to 2069 such objects made after the war. (Table E) Revere's plating mill may have been an important factor in the proliferation of spoons.

#### Equipping the Tea Ceremony

The tea ceremony became increasingly complex at the end of the eighteenth century, requiring correspondingly augmented tea services. After 1790 teapots were frequently accompanied by teapot stands and containers for sugar and cream. Seven teapots were ordered en suite with a creampot and a sugar dish during the 1790s compared to only one such set before this time.<sup>119</sup> Revere made many tea accessories as separate items for his patrons, presumably to enhance their existing tea services. Between 1781 and 1797, Revere sold 50 pairs of sugar tongs, 58 creampots, 18 sugar bowls and 21 teapot

stands. (Tables A, C) Variations in terminology for these objects reveal a great variety in the shape and style of the containers in which Bostonians served their sugar and cream. Revere made jugs, buckets, pots, and pitchers for cream, the last two with both plain and fluted surfaces. Thirsty tea drinkers dipped sugar tongs into silver sugar baskets, dishes, bowls and urns designed for the sweetener. Teapot stands, intended to disperse the heat of the teapot so as to avoid burns on the table top or the table linens, had become almost a standard feature during the last decade of the century. The tea service ordered by Burrell Carnes on 18 December 1793 contained all the requisite accouterments for serving the beverage in the most fashionable manner, including a coffee urn, teapot with stand, sugar urn, cream pitcher, sugar tongs, and scalloped tureen ladle.<sup>120</sup> Labor charges of £ 29.10.6 covered the cost of fashioning, fluting, and engraving the objects and personalizing each with the owner's cypher. A few sets included two teapots, presumably for serving both green and black tea, such as the services purchased by Edward Russell in 1792 and John Codman in 1795.<sup>121</sup> Revere made one of his most extensive tea services for John and Mehitable Templeman on 17 April 1792.<sup>122</sup> (figure 49) The Templemans ordered a teapot and stand, tea caddy, sugar urn, creampot, punch strainer, tea shell, six tablespoons, and twelve teaspoons. Additional pieces were added over the next year: a cann, four salt spoons, and a coffee urn on 9 May 1792, a stand on 22 March 1793, and six large spoons, twelve teaspoons, and a stand

on 10 April 1799.<sup>123</sup> The Templeman service includes several unusual forms. The tea caddy is one of only two such sets made by Revere; the tea shell is unique.<sup>124</sup> Punch strainers, although less rare, occur only sporadically throughout Revere's career; four of the seven recorded were made after the Revolution. The Templeman punch strainer and the Carnes ladle support Baron Cromot du Bourg's observation that wine punch often accompanied tea at a festive evening gathering. The ostentatious display of an elaborate and formal tea etiquette was not restricted to Boston. Revere supplied tea wares to patrons in surrounding towns like Worcester, Salem, Newburyport, New Bedford, and Roxbury and farther afield in New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, and New York. Mrs. Anstis Lee observed an elaborate tea service during her visit to Connecticut in 1791:<sup>125</sup>

The mansion of Colonel Wyllys I admired and the manners of the Colonel's family combined urbanity and dignity. The tea was served from trays . . . The service was more splended than I had before seen . . . A silver tea-kettle stood on a silver chafing-dish . . . A large tea-urn of silver and a silver waiter stood on the table, with a silver teapot, sugar dish and milk pot surrounded by an elegant set of china service. I had never seen so much silver service and it was regarded as an evidence of ancient wealth and family.

The consumption of tea reached staggering proportions in the late eighteenth century, particularly following the opening of the China trade to American ships in 1784; coffee, however, retained a consistently modest popularity. Twelve coffee pots and coffee urns appear in the daybooks for the second period, the same number as in the earlier period. (Tables A, C) Coffee pots made during the



1780s and 1790s differ very little from their earlier counterparts in form or construction. Revere made raised, double-bellied coffee pots for John Dudley Sargent in 1781 and for John and Abigail Warren in 1791 which differ from the Hooper coffee pot of 1769 only in the style of the foot, and the addition of gadrooning on the edge of the cover.<sup>126</sup> (figures 15, 50, 51) The same molds were used to cast the spout and handle sockets for all three pots. In addition, the Sargent pot uses the same finial as the earlier example. Sargent paid Revere £ 1.4.- for engraving his coat of arms, a shield, and mantling in the florid rococo style of the pre-Revolutionary decades. By 1791, Revere had updated the appearance of the traditional coffee pot with engraving in the neoclassical style, ribbons, swags, and floral garlands surrounding an oval medallion.<sup>127</sup> Coffee urns are a radical departure from the traditional form. (figure 52) Only three are recorded in the daybooks in 1783, 1792, and 1793. A pair of punch urns made for John Codman in May 1795 are probably similar in shape. These elongated urns raised on footed pedestals with sweeping loop handles and soaring conical lids are the ultimate ceremonial vessels dispensing beverages with graceful dignity and costly splendor.

Stock Items and Specialty Goods: Exploring New Methods  
and Techniques in Silver and Silverplate

The bulk of Revere's silver shop output, however, was comprised of small objects and stock goods, rather than monumental

coffee urns or elegant fluted teapots. He produced simple hollowware forms out of sheet metal like the seamed beakers made for Ozias Goodwin around 1800. (figure 53) Personal items, especially buckles and buttons, made up almost 15 percent of his production. Between 1780 and 1797 his patrons ordered 318 silver and gold buckles to fasten their boots, shoes, sleeves, and breeches. (Table A, C) A pair of oval knee buckles with "nail-head" borders in the Smithsonian Institution are among the few buckles attributed to Revere which have survived. (figure 54) The daybooks record another 115 plated buckles during these years. Examples of plated shoe buckles are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Metropolitan Museum, and the Yale University Art Gallery. (figures 55, 56) These buckles are made of a thin layer of silver on a copper base and have silver medallions of Washington covering the joints as decorative motifs.

Revere initiated extremely profitable associations with four saddlers and harness makers in 1787. For seven years he supplied Zachariah Hicks, John Dyer, Edward Cole, and John Winneck with a staggering number of silver and plated harness fittings--1,044 saddle nails, stirrups, slides, and bridle buckles and tips in several sizes. (Table C) Although none of these items have survived, contemporary paintings of horses portray vividly the quantity and variety of metal fastenings needed to outfit a horse for riding or driving. (figure 57) An accurate idea of the size and shape of Revere's harness buckles can be found in his Memoranda Book, 1788-1795, which contains

patterns for four sizes of plated harness buckles, with a notation of how much silver was required to plate each kind. (figure 58)

Revere made other equestrian accoutrements, such as breast plates, "winker" plates, spurs, and chaise ornaments.<sup>128</sup> Although Revere imported a variety of plated Sheffield wares from England after the Revolution, his orders did not include any buckles.

There is ample evidence that Revere was manufacturing his own silver-plated objects.<sup>129</sup> His Memoranda Book for 1788-1795 includes a recipe for plating silver onto copper:<sup>130</sup>

#### Receipt to Silver Copper pl

Take half an ounce of Fine Silver fillings put it into an oyl flask, put one ounce of double Aqua Fortis to it and dilute it with some warm water till the silver dissolve frequently shaking it, then turn it into a glass tumbler, and put in some pulverized sal-amoniack to precipitate the silver, it will settle like a curd at the bottom. after it is all settled, wash it with warm water till there is no taste in the water, put it into some glazed vessel, then ad  $\frac{3}{4}$  an oz of pul<sup>2d</sup> Sal-Amonia put them in a small quantity at a time in the above proportion, stirring them with a clean stick till it becomes a paste, rub the paste on your copper with your finger after you have prepared your copper by pumicing it & rubing it smooth with a fine stone, taking care to keep your finger clean, first whet it, & dip in into the tartar & sal-amoniack rub the copper before you put on the paste.

In addition to the paste method, there is evidence to suggest that Revere could produce fused plate with his plating mill. A plating mill could easily function as a flatting mill to create sheet silver, but included in its design was a method for heating the rollers to provide the combination of heat and pressure necessary to fuse sheets of silver and copper together into silverplate. Revere consistently

refers to his mill as a plating mill; although terminology alone is not conclusive evidence, Revere's identification of his mill as a plating mill rather than a flatting mill presupposes his familiarity with the technology of fuse plating. Furthermore, the sudden escalation of Revere's production of small plated wares after 1786 to over 1,100 objects suggests that he had acquired a fast and efficient method for producing plated silver. Revere's plating mill would have been invaluable in producing large quantities of silver-plated buckles quickly and efficiently. The hundreds of bridle buckles which Revere made between 1787 and 1793 were probably cut out of small sheets of silver plate which he produced with his mill. The patterns for plated harness buckles in his Memoranda Book, 1788-1795 are simple three-sided rectilinear forms, which could easily be cut from sheet metal; the small size is shown nested inside the large buckle, no doubt to utilize the maximum amount of the plated sheet metal. (figure 58) Among the silver residue which Revere sent to London for refining in 1791 were "clippings of plated buckles."<sup>131</sup> This probably refers to the scraps of sheet metal left over after the buckles had been cut out, as well as debris created by trimming the rough edges of these buckles. Buckles plated with the paste method would receive their finishing touches before the application of the silver mixture, and therefore, would not require additional trimming after being silvered. Buckles for personal adornment which featured raised decorative surface ornamentation could not be cut from sheets of silver plate and

were undoubtedly plated by the paste method.<sup>132</sup> Apparently he only fabricated small plated items in the silver shop since rings, chains, buckles, trunk hardware, electrical points, and jackets for glass sconces are the only plated objects sold in the day-books.<sup>133</sup> It was probably cheaper for Revere to import plated hollowware from Sheffield than to produce it himself.

Revere also retailed an enormous number of buckles made by Jacob Perkins of Newburyport. From 3 April 1793 until 27 June 1794, Revere received 432 pairs of knee and shoe buckles from Perkins to be sold on commission.<sup>134</sup> A few are described as "knot" or "beau knot" designs; however, the majority are simply unidentified or loosely categorized as "different patterns." Given the astounding quantity of buckles produced by Perkins, it is not surprising that he purchased a plating mill from Revere on 14 April 1794.<sup>135</sup> Orders for buckles in the silver shop daybook declined significantly after 1793 with the influx of the Perkins merchandise. A notation in the Memoranda Book for 12 August 1795 reads, "Mr. Perkins Buckles unsold - 45 pair."<sup>136</sup> A couple months later, on 1 December, Revere paid Captain Barnard £ 29.6.8 for "Mr. Perkins plating mill," the mill which he had delivered to the bucklemaker over a year previously.<sup>137</sup> Revere's payment of this bill can be interpreted either as compensation to Perkins for the last ninety buckles remaining in the shop, or as a subsidy for a profitable partnership.

Revere's involvement with harness makers ended abruptly in 1793 possibly as a result of an escalation of his affiliation with

another type of craftsmen, the hatters. Revere's relationship with the Boardmans began on 1 January 1773 when he sold William Boardman 200 hat bills, special printed makers' labels affixed to the inside of hats.<sup>138</sup> Before the Revolution, Revere made 500 hat bills for this customer. After the war, business escalated for Boardman, now in partnership with his son on Ann Street, and they resumed their patronage of Revere. On 20 August 1783, they ordered a copper plate and 200 hat bills from the silversmith.<sup>139</sup> During the second period of his shop operation, Revere printed 8,522 hat bills for the Boardmans.<sup>140</sup> Hat bills appear with some consistency throughout both daybooks, but not in any overwhelming quantity until 1792. In that year, Revere established ties with hatter William Williams, also located on Ann Street. By the close of the second daybook in 1797, Williams had ordered 8,700 hat bills.<sup>141</sup> Orders from a few other hatters brought the total number of hat bills produced during this period to over 17,000. (Table C) In spite of the astounding number of hats with Revere labels which must have been worn by Bostonians at the end of the century, not a single example of these small advertising labels has survived.

Not all of Revere's output was custom work. A sampling of hollowware and an assortment of small objects would be made in advance and arrayed in the shop window or display cases to entice potential customers and to demonstrate the silversmith's skill and versatility. One of the first things that Revere did upon reopening his shop in August 1783 was to prepare such objects for display.

An extensive entry for August lists the "Stock Ready made in the Cases" and includes 80 pairs of buckles, 48 pairs of buttons, 45 broaches, 7 gold rings, 40 pins, 1 gold necklace, 2 pairs of spurs, 15 teaspoons, 8 tablespoons, 12 salt spoons, 3 sugar tongs, 3 creampots, 2 casters, 1 soup ladle, and 1 punch ladle.<sup>142</sup> Large hollowware forms involved a greater financial investment in labor, materials, and design, and were therefore not appropriate as a stock item. Even though most of the articles were small, the display stock still represented a considerable investment, valued at over £ 117. Revere's ready-made stock was comparable in quantity and composition to that of his colleagues. Joseph Richardson of Philadelphia kept an assortment of jewelry, buckles, and buttons in his display cases. His larger items, tea tongs, punch strainers, a punch ladle, teaspoons, and large spoons, are remarkably similar to Revere's.<sup>143</sup> In March 1765, Boston silversmith Joseph Edwards, Jr. reported articles stolen from his shop including 2 pepper casters, 2 snuff boxes, 3 child's whistles, a pipe, 12 teaspoons, 2 large spoons, 60 pairs of buckles, 3 gold necklaces, 5 gold rings, and other jewelry.<sup>144</sup> These items represent, no doubt, the display which Edwards kept in his shop. While there are no eighteenth century depictions of the interior of an American silver shop, an advertisement in the Alexandria Gazette and Advertiser on 10 June 1823 shows the exterior of William Williams' shop, which has small objects hanging in the bay window. (figure 57) Diderot's Encyclopedie, provides a glimpse into the interior of a silversmith's

shop of approximately 1771.<sup>145</sup> (figure 60) One corner of the room is devoted to retailing the objects made within the shop and is furnished with a sales counter and glass-fronted wall cases filled with a miscellany of small items. Revere's cases may have looked similar to these, although probably somewhat less grandiose.

Revere's second period of shop operation shows a fairly regular influx of transactions, without the large gaps which occurred during the turbulent pre-Revolutionary years. (Table D) Partnerships for the production of specialty goods, like harness fittings and hat bills, and a steady business in stock goods compensated for irregularities in orders for custom work. The greatest concentrations of transactions occur between 1787 and 1792, coinciding with the period of Revere's contracts with the saddlers and harnessmakers. Fluctuations in the number of orders received by the shop still occurred seasonally, in the fall and spring, corresponding to the arrival of the newest imported merchandise in the Boston retail shops. Foreign trade was extremely important to Boston's domestic economy. Revere complained about the adverse effects of the disruption of trade in a letter to his Bristol, England factor, Frederick William Geyer, on 15 April 1784:<sup>146</sup>

We have had the most tedious Winter I ever knew; our harbour has been froze up, the greatest part the time; and the forming of a Bank here which is not opened yet, has made a great stagnation of money, that we have been able to do but little business.

Revere's shop received only two orders in March 1784 and none at all during April, a compelling illustration of the interdependence



of the domestic economy and the mercantile trade.

An Influx of English Tools and Retail Goods

Commercial ties with England were essential to Revere's work as a silversmith in several ways. He relied on trade to obtain shop supplies, secure refining services not available locally, acquire household goods for resale in his retail store, and apprise him of the latest London styles. Revere did not completely sever his foreign ties even during the Revolution. He maintained a correspondence with his cousins in France and England through agents in France and Holland. A 1781 letter to his cousin Mathias was carried to France by Jonathan Williams of Nantes and contained Revere's statement that his goldsmithing business compelled him to "trade some to Holland."<sup>147</sup> Letters to his cousin John in Guernsey contain mention of several contacts in Holland, including Messrs. Bromfield and Ingraham and Charles Sigourney, all of Amsterdam.<sup>148</sup> An entry in his daybook for 21 June 1781 records the payment of £ 5.2.0 to Capt. Mungo Mackay for "Freight on some goods from France."<sup>149</sup> Several exiled Boston Tories served as his contacts in England, John Joy, Gilbert and Lewis deBlois, and John Clark in London and Frederick William Geyer in Bristol. Revere still occasionally made silver for some of his expatriated patrons. Joy offered to accept a dozen dessert spoons as compensation for the silversmith's £ 18 debt.<sup>150</sup> In his eagerness to receive supplies from England, Revere anticipated the Treaty of Paris by several months. The treaty ending the war with England was signed on 3 September 1783. However, in July 1783, two months

before the resumption of legal trade with England, Revere received six casks of imported hardware, flatware, and miscellaneous small metal objects valued at £ 444.17.2. for which he had paid Capt. Nathaniel Fellows a twenty percent advance.<sup>151</sup> This shipment included some metalworking supplies--24 dozen files, 20 dozen scissors, and 27 dozen iron chapes for shoe and knee buckles. His Bristol agent, Frederick William Geyer shipped twenty-five casks of nails on 22 August 1783.<sup>152</sup> Revere purchased a large quantity of shop equipment from Geyer during September 1783 and February 1784: 1,300 blue melting pots in five sizes, borax, salt petre, ruby and white foil, pumice stones, sand paper, copper scales and weights, iron binding wire, saws, "common" squares, draw plates, "cutting nippers," hand vices, hand lathes, shears, awls, and eight and one-half gross of chapes for buckles.<sup>153</sup> In 1784 Revere began to order tools from John Sampson, a jeweler located at No. 60 Aldermanbury, London. Evidently tools were considered contraband even after the Treaty of Paris, and Sampson wrote to advise Revere of the difficulty in shipping these commodities on 2 February 1785:<sup>154</sup>

I am Duly fav<sup>d</sup> with your very obliging letter of 9 Dec the Commissions wherein you have been so kind as to favour me with shall claim my particular attention and I flatter myself they will give you entire satisfaction and will be shipped by the very next Ship that sails. if the Invoices are unavoidably excised by the quantity it may remain until you have occasion for any thing further in my way. It is with Difficulty we are able to get any tools shipt as they fall under the Denomination of prohibitted wares you will oblige me by keeping it unknown to the Captain who conveys them as my future conveniency in shipping may be hurt.

However, he assures Revere, "If any article in the Jewellery or Hardware line is at any time wanting your Commands will ever merit due attention."<sup>155</sup> Sampson was obviously able to circumvent the restrictions, because Revere received a shipment of clock supplies, 50 pounds of pumice stones, 2 dozen blue polishing stones, 450 melting pots, 100 nests of crucibles, loam, and Highgate sand the following March.<sup>156</sup> Another shipment of shop supplies of similar magnitude arrived on 2 May 1786, and included more melting pots and crucibles, drills, scales and weights, chapes, pumice stones, polishing stones, engraving tools, and parts for clocks and watches.<sup>157</sup> Melting pots and crucibles had to be replaced regularly since they were continually subjected to extreme heat; however, Revere could not have intended 650 melting pots and 200 sets of crucibles for his own use during one year. Revere sold supplies to many of his colleagues including Jacob Perkins, Jonathan Pollard, David Moseley, Samuel Hitchborn, Simon Willard, and Caleb Beal. A few sales of black pots and crucibles are recorded in the daybook during 1782 and 1783. (Table A) Most, however, were sold from a retail store which he opened in 1783 opposite the site of the Liberty Tree. Revere kept a separate ledger for his store recording sales to his numerous regular customers as well as supplies used in the goldsmith shop from 1783 to 1788.

In addition to metalworking tools, Revere stocked a comprehensive selection of household wares.<sup>158</sup> Although he bought some of his goods locally from merchants or at auction, the bulk

of his inventory was imported from England--wallpapers; textiles for clothing, bed furnishings and upholstery; pewter tablewares; Sheffield plated tea wares and tablewares; painted tin-plated sheet iron trays from the Pontypool factory in Wales; kitchen and fireplace implements in iron, copper and brass; iron hinges and nails; brass furniture hardware; ceramic tablewares; looking glasses; steel cutlery and flatware; and paper for writing and printing with the necessary pencils, inkwells, quills, and sealing wax. An inventory of his retail store taken on 15 February 1785 listed twelve pages of goods valued at £ 1,186.11.6.<sup>159</sup> He advertised his retail services in the Massachusetts Centinel on 10 December 1785:<sup>160</sup>

Imported and to be Sold, by Paul Revere, Directly opposite Liberty-Pole, A General assortment of Hardware, consisting of Pewter, Brass, Copper, Ironmongery, Cutlery, Japanned and Plated Wares, Among which are a few neat Brass Sconces, of one, two and three branches, 3-pint plated Coffee-Urns, and Goblets, Very neat japanned Tea-Trays, in sets Brass Candlesticks, Looking-Glasses, Patent-Jacks, Carving Knives, &c. &c. &c. All which will be sold at the lowest advance for cash.

The Gold and Silver-Smith's business carried on in all its Branches.

Several important aspects of Revere's silver shop are evident from this advertisement. Revere's request for cash payment signals a shift from a barter system to a cash economy. His daybooks indicate only cash transactions, with none of the barter exchanges which he had accepted early in his career. Orders in this second period still include separate charges for silver, labor, engraving, and extras like wooden handles. In 1783, an excise tax on silver of six

shillings per ounce was added to the bill. This tax, intended to raise money to defray the war debt, appeared only briefly, between February and July 1783.<sup>161</sup> Prices are quoted in pounds, shillings, and pence throughout the second daybook. Although banks were established in the United States during the 1790s, British currency remained in daily circulation, as did other currencies. Revere paid for some of his imported goods with Spanish milled dollars.<sup>162</sup> Coins were still one of the most prevalent sources of metal for the silversmith.<sup>163</sup> Samuel Dillaway is credited with "silver & 4 dollars" toward his order for a new silver teapot, sugar dish, pair of casters and spoon on 4 January 1787.<sup>164</sup> On 20 March 1790, Joseph Russell Jr. brought in twenty-five Cape Verde dollars which provided over half the silver needed to make his twelve silver forks.<sup>165</sup> The memoranda books for the goldsmith shop contain numerous entries during the 1790s of silver coins being melted, specifically mentioning both dollars and crowns. A waiter made for Elias Haskett Derby was hammered directly out of coins; the circular shapes of the coins are still visible on the back of the tray. There were other sources of silver available as well. Patrons brought in old silver objects which were damaged or out-of-style to be melted down and reshaped into newer forms. In September 1796 Mary Jarvis supplied Revere with fifty-three ounces of silver including an old tankard and cann, from which he fashioned a teapot, four silver salts, eighteen teaspoons and six creampots.<sup>166</sup> Revere and his shop assistants carefully

collected the scrap silver generated in the shop; leather "aprons" attached to the edges of the workbench caught the filings and clippings as the silversmith worked. (figure 61) The floor was swept each night to collect any casting scraps or clippings. Some of these scraps were sent to England to be refined into useable silver. Occasionally, Revere used these stray bits and pieces of silver residue to pay for imported goods. He sent his agent Geyer a combination of "Gold lace burned & melted," "silver Ditto" and "a composition of mettals the Sweep of a Goldsmith's shop" with instructions for him to assay the metal and "write a particular account of the value of what each piece Fetched per Ounce for I expect it will be in my power to make considerable remittances in such things."<sup>168</sup> A memorandum dated 8 December 1791 states, "Sent by Cap<sup>t</sup> Tristram Barnard bound to London a quantity of metal filings & clippings of plated buckles & a quantity of pumice dust containing silver, to git refined & to purchase a plating mill. I expect near 30<sup>oz</sup> silver."<sup>168</sup>

#### From Goldsmith to Gentleman: Revere's Business Network

The 1786 advertisement for the retail store mentioned the silver shop in an addenda. Rather than being the sole focus of Revere's activities as before the Revolution, the shop was now a cog in a larger business network. After 1787, Revere stopped calling himself a goldsmith on official documents like deeds and began styling himself "Esquire." He used the goldsmith shop as a reliable source of capital to finance the expansion of his business

with various speculative ventures.<sup>169</sup> From 1783 until 1789 there are numerous entries in the daybook for cash taken out of the shop amounting to hundreds of pounds. A few are identified as payments for rent or supplies. The vast majority, however, are unspecified. The supply of ready cash generated by his silver-smithing activities enabled Revere to experiment professionally. One of the earliest digressions was a partnership with Simon Willard to manufacture clock jacks. Willard sent Revere a brief message in 1782, "I am happy to inform you that Jack-Business goes on beyond my Expectations."<sup>170</sup> Business flourished over the next few years, but was eventually terminated in 1785 at a loss to Revere.

His next enterprise was a more ambitious undertaking, expanding his expertise into other realms of metalworking. In 1788, he opened a foundry on Lynn Street in Boston for the smelting of iron and brass. On 3 November 1788 he wrote optimistically to Mess<sup>rs</sup> N. Brown & Benson, furnace owners from Providence, Rhode Island;<sup>171</sup>

We have got our furnass agoing, and find that it answers our expectations, & have no doubt the business will do exceedingly well in the Town of Boston . . . I should be glad that you would ship as soon as possible ten tons of Pigs by the way of Nantucket without there should be a vessell coming here from Providence.

Revere was very anxious to obtain a steady supply of raw materials for his foundry, and offered to sell a share of his furnace to Brown & Benson in exchange for pig iron.<sup>172</sup> The trade card for

the foundry illustrates the primary product lines manufactured there, shipbuilding materials, canons, and bells. (figure 62)

Funding for the foundry was probably provided by profits from the silver shop. There are frequent entries in the second daybook for withdrawals of cash. These entries "To Cash" begin in 1783 and end abruptly in 1789. During this period when Revere was involved with Willard, the retail store, and the foundry, the silversmith diverted money from the lucrative silver business to fund his speculative ventures. The elaboration of his bookkeeping procedures after the Revolution is another indication of the expansion of Revere's business concerns. In addition to maintaining a daybook for the silver shop, he established a series of waste books, journals, memoranda books, ledgers, and receipt books for the silver shop, retail store, foundry, and rolling mill totalling fifty-nine volumes between 1783 - 1818.<sup>173</sup> Although Revere did not establish any additional businesses in the 1790s, he did explore new markets for his products, particularly in the South. Samuel Paine, a shopkeeper in Richmond Virginia, sold some of Revere's hardware goods in his store in 1790.<sup>174</sup> Newspapers in Savannah, Charleston, Alexandria, Richmond, Norfolk, and Baltimore informed their readers of Revere's work in iron and brass at the foundry and at the copper rolling mill he opened in Canton in 1800.



Style Sources: Forms

The expansion of Revere's business empire after the Revolution benefited the silver shop through an increased contact with English goods. Revere relied heavily on plated wares and pattern books imported from Sheffield as models for the design and ornamentation of his silver objects. He received a large shipment of forty different types of plated goods in January 1784 which included teapots, coffee pots, butter boats, cream jugs, sugar bowls, beakers, goblets, salts, pepper boxes, casters, ladles, dish crosses, ink stands, tea caddies, and candlesticks.<sup>175</sup> The detailed descriptions in the invoice provide an accurate record of the items ordered by Revere. Included with the shipment was an illustrated pattern book. Revere wrote enthusiastically to Geyer on 19 January 1784 extolling the potentials of the trade catalogue and asking that another be sent to him:<sup>176</sup>

They enclosed me in the case of plated ware a book with drawings which is a very good direction for one to write by. I should be very glad if you would send me eight pair of plated branches, four of No. 103 and four of No. 178 as marked in said book. If they have drawings different from the book I received should be glad they would send me one more book.

The impact of these Sheffield designs upon Revere's silver was phenomenal. In many instances Revere seems to have copied his designs directly from Sheffield prototypes. Models for many of the unusual forms listed in the second daybook can be found in Sheffield pattern books. A punch urn presented to Harry Jackson

in 1796 bears a close resemblance to one illustrated in a catalogue issued by the Sheffield firm of Love, Silverside, Darby & Co. in 1785.<sup>177</sup> (figures 63, 64) This same catalogue contains prototypes for the tea shell in the Templeman tea service and for Samuel Blagg's hooped cann.<sup>178</sup> (figures 49, 65, 66, 67) The invoice of plated wares ordered in 1784 included a "sugar basket," an unusual form which occurs only once in Revere's daybooks, in 1787. Vessels for making tea and coffee dominate the catalogues in an astounding variety, providing Revere with inspiration for the design and construction of his own wares. The Carnes' coffee urn with its fluted body, leaf handle terminals, convex neck, acorn finial, and ribbed spigot handle, relates closely to Sheffield examples. (figures 52, 69) Love, Silverside, Darby & Co. illustrated a simpler coffee urn on a square base which may have served as the model for some of Revere's urns. (figures 70, 71) Sheffield teapots in plain, paneled, and fluted shapes served as prototypes for Revere's designs. (figures 72, 73, 74) Similar correlations exist in the designs of Revere's creampots. (figures 75, 76, 77, 78) His helmet-shaped pots with round and square bases, boldly flaring lips, applied molding around the rim, and thin, sweeping handles correspond to many Sheffield examples of contemporary English plated wares. Even more traditional forms were influenced by Revere's familiarity with Sheffield design books. His retention of rococo forms such as the bellied coffee pot, the tankard, and the cann into the 1790s was not merely a provincial affinity for an archaic form but

was in accordance with the line of goods offered by Sheffield firms in the 1790s who manufactured traditional rococo forms, as well as the urn shapes of the neoclassical style. (figures 51, 66) The "cramped seam" used in Sheffield wares provided a stronger joint for the laminated sheets of silver and copper.<sup>179</sup> Revere's experimentation with overlapping and riveted seams may have developed as a result of his growing familiarity with the construction of objects made from Sheffield plate.

Revere drew upon several other style sources, in addition to imported English silver, silverplate, and Sheffield pattern books. Creamware pitchers with transfer-printed decorations of landscapes, ships, or political emblems were imported from Liverpool in increasing numbers toward the end of the eighteenth century. Revere translated the shape of the popular "Liverpool pitcher" into a distinctive silver form. (figure 79) A small cream pitcher in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston is a variation of this form and features a ribbed strap handle terminating with a cast leaf at the rim and engraved "fluting" around the base. Ceramic prototypes for this pitcher exist as do similar engraved designs in Sheffield pattern books. Chinese porcelain bowls, which now entered Boston directly from the Orient on ships like Elias Haskett Derby's "Grand Turk," inspired the simple elegant lines of the well-known "Revere bowl." Interest in French arts intensified at the end of the eighteenth century as a result of the Colonial alliance with

France during the American Revolution. Derby, a prominent Salem merchant, acquired a set of four silver beakers made by Parisian silversmith Denis Colombier in 1789. Six years later, Derby commissioned Revere to augment his set of cups with eight copies.<sup>180</sup> Revere easily duplicated the straight sided cup and the applied rim molding. His treatment of the engraved decoration, however, is a simplified version of the original, alternating shells and roses separated by a wavy band. The Derby cups are a good example not only of French influence on American silver, but of the importance of customer preference in determining the style of an object.

#### Style Sources: Engraving

The objects depicted in the Sheffield trade catalogues displayed a panorama of the latest patterns of Neoclassical engraving. Revere adapted many of these designs for his own use including the oval medallion, bow knot, floral swag, and crossed boughs. (figures 73, 80, 81, 83) Younge, Greaves & Hoyland issued a descriptive price list with their catalogue of circa 1790 which identifies the engraved designs. The Younge book illustrates a number of variations using an oval medallion and bow knot, which is described as a "garter and shield" pattern. One of the shields shown on tea caddy No. 146 encloses a ring of bellflowers and rosettes, a treatment similar to that used by Revere. (figures 81, 46) The price list describes this pattern as a "leafage garter."<sup>181</sup> The border on the "mosaic garter and shield" teapot and tea caddy

numbered 144 and 145 in this catalogue relates to the stylized leaf and flower border on many of Revere's teapots. (figures 80, 46) More elaborate versions of the garter and shield often incorporated floral garlands or crossed branches. (figures 46, 51, 52, 73, 77, 78, 80, 82, 91) One of Revere's most prevalent designs, used on the Moses Brown teapot, utilizes both of these motifs in conjunction with the garter and shield. (figure 46) Occasionally combinations of floral and foliate garlands were draped around the body of an object and joined with loops or rosettes. Revere's design for the Carnes' tea service rearranges the engraved elements found on Sheffield wares, like the creampot illustrated in figure 78, into an elaborate and individualistic decorative scheme. (figures 52, 78) The right-handed bias of Revere's engraving can be seen very clearly with the clean lines of the neoclassical designs. The Moses Brown teapot and the Hannah Carter teapot and stand illustrate Revere's characteristic downward slant and off-center spacing. (figures 46, 91)

Revere engraved monograms in the oval shields using several styles of lettering. During the 1780s Revere continued to use a script which had been fashionable before the Revolution. These shaded open letters with feathery flourishes and nodules achieved widespread popularity through S. Symson's A New Book of Cyphers published in London in 1726, which displayed this script in the form of circular cyphers. (figure 83) The initials on the Tracy goblet, the Hayes teapot, and a bowl made for Thomas Lee in 1785

are a modified version of the Sympson script--open nodular letters which are intricately interlocked and enclosed by a foliate wreath. (figures 41, 43, 84) It is unlikely that Revere was copying his letters directly from a copy of Sympson's designs. Revere may have attained his familiarity with this script through several channels. English painter and engraver Peter Pelham (1697-1751), who was acquainted with the Sympson book, settled in Boston in 1728.<sup>182</sup> The silversmith had business ties with two of Pelham's students, his step-son, John Singleton Copley and his son, Henry Pelham. John Coney, the eminent Boston silversmith, trained Paul Rivoire and therefore exerted an indirect influence on the younger Revere.<sup>182</sup> A cypher for Robert and Alida Livingston executed in a style similar to that of Sympson appears on a monteith bowl made by Coney around 1720. (figure 85)

By the late 1780s Revere had adopted a new style of script. J. Lockington's Bowles's New & Complete Book of Cyphers was first published in 1777 and was still being reprinted in the early nineteenth century. Although numerous fanciful lettering styles are featured in Lockington's plates, the predominant script uses delicate, solid line letters with projecting foliate embellishments. (figure 86) Many Revere articles display this elegant script including the Templeman tea service, the Moses Brown teapot, and a teapot made for Rebecca Partridge. (figures 45, 46, 49) The striking resemblance between the Lockington plates and Revere's engraving suggests that he had access to a copy of the book.

However, while both the shipping invoices and the inventory of his estate attest to the fact that Revere imported books from England, cypher books are not specifically mentioned.<sup>184</sup>

The Work of Many Hands: Engravers, Journeymen, and  
Apprentices in the Revere Shop

The most prevalent of Revere's engraved designs, drapery swags with pendant looped cords and tassels, does not appear to derive from a Sheffield prototype. The floral decoration on the spouts of many teapots ornamented with the tassel and swag motif does occur in Sheffield trade catalogues, however, so perhaps an English source for this design may eventually emerge. (figures 47, 73) Dozens of teapots, creampots, sugar bowls, tea caddies, slop bowls, and teapot stands were made during the 1790s with tassel and swag decoration. The engraved ornamentation on these objects was executed by at least three different engravers. The most common variant, found on seventeen of the twenty-seven objects with tassel and swag engraving examined by the author, features a tassel which resembles an apple core. The cord holding the tassels is made of tiny irregularly spaced dots, looped in a half circle above the tassels with wavy ends radiating from the knot over two tiers of billowing drapery swags. (figures 47, 49, 87) The "apple core" engraver demonstrated considerable originality in his treatment of the lower border of the teapot. On the Yale teapot, the border ends abruptly at the spout; on the St. Louis teapot,

the swags curve rather awkwardly around the spout, and on the Templeman teapot in the Minneapolis Institute of the Arts, the lower border has been eliminated entirely. Another variation occurs on only a few articles including a teapot in the Worcester Art Museum.<sup>185</sup> (figure 88) This design differs from the "apple core" engraving in several small details. The tassels, with their flaring sides and linear highlights, look like small thistles; the cords, composed of large dots, barely overlap so that the tassels dangle in closely spaced pairs. Another engraver decorated nine objects with his version of the tassel and swag pattern. (figure 89) Distinctively different from the other two, feathery tassels hang from springy cords of tiny regularly spaced dots. The swags have been simplified to a single tier above a loop of cord. This engraver has boldly avoided the problem of conforming his design to the curved surface of the spout by continuing the horizontal border around the spout without any alteration.

Although it can be assumed that these men were engravers working in Revere's shop, only the last can be tentatively identified. A fluted creampot by Revere's younger brother Thomas in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston displays the same feathery tassel and swag design. (figure 90) Thomas appears in the 1789 Boston directory as a silversmith working in Newbury Street. Listings for his own shop continued to appear until 1803. Numerous entries in Revere's memoranda books and the daybook between 1791 and 1797



testify to the continuation of a professional relationship between the brothers. Revere made thirty cash payments to his brother between November 1791 - January 1792 and April 1795 - January 1797. The correlation of these payments with the appearance of the feathery tassel engraving on silver made in Revere's shop suggests that Thomas worked in his brother's shop during these years.<sup>186</sup> Jonathan Hunnewell ordered a teapot, two teapot stands, and a sugar basket on 18 June 1796. A month later on 25 July 1796 Revere charged Thomas with "Silver to make Teapot" and "do for stand."<sup>187</sup> Thomas was not billed for the silver by the ounce as was customary with regular patrons. As a journeyman, his "debt" was cancelled upon the return of a finished object.

Variations on the construction of the objects marked with Revere's stamp during the 1780s and 1790s indicate that a number of craftsmen--journeymen, apprentices, and relatives--were employed in Revere's shop. Workmanship can vary significantly during this period; the silver is not hammered to a consistent gauge, covers do not always fit perfectly, and variations in seaming techniques are in evidence in addition to the differences in the engraved decoration.

As Revere diversified his business interests, he relied increasingly on his son, Paul, to manage the silver shop. The Revolutionary War interrupted Paul Jr.'s formal apprenticeship with his father; however, he was left in charge of the house and shop during Revere's exile in Watertown, a compelling indication of

Revere's confidence in his young son's abilities. By 1782, the younger man had completed both his military service and his unconventional apprenticeship. Revere wrote proudly to his cousin John Rivoire on 1 July 1782, "My eldest son has left the army, and is in business for himself."<sup>188</sup> Father and son had reunited in a partnership by August 1783 when he appears regularly in the new daybook for the silver shop. A receipt from Isaac Greenwood on 27 November 1793 acknowledges the partnership as "Paul Revere & Son."<sup>189</sup> A sporadic notation of hatch marks, naughts, and crosses in the margins of the second daybook is partially explained on a page for June 1789 as denoting responsibility for the order.<sup>190</sup> Revere's mark, slanting hatch marks, occurs most frequently during the 1780s, but declines after 1791 when presumably he spent more time at the newly opened foundry. The younger Revere's marks, horizontal hatchmarks or a cross, occur quite regularly throughout the book. Notations for both father and son rarely appear beside large orders or beside orders for hollowware, which probably required the attention of several shop members. Paul Jr. continued his silversmithing activities until 1806, maintaining the Revere tradition while his father devoted himself to new pursuits at the Canton rolling mill.

Another son, Joseph Warren Revere, was also trained as a silversmith. Joseph, twelve when the foundry opened, made his career in the family's copper and brass industries. However, Revere considered a training in a traditional metalsmithing craft

to be a means of ensuring a livelihood. Revere had written to his cousin Mathias in 1781 that he relied on his silver shop for the support of his family. Revere provided his son with both the opportunity to experiment in a new field and the skills to succeed in a secure profession.

David Moseley, memorable as a troublesome apprentice and an irresponsible craftsman, ran away from Revere to sign on as a shipmaster's apprentice. Revere eventually recovered Moseley, an action he may have regretted bitterly later when Moseley's marriage to Revere's sister, Betsey, extended his responsibility for the errant artisan beyond the term of his apprenticeship. Moseley's account in the ledger for the retail shop documents a very one-sided relationship; Moseley obtained shop supplies from his brother-in-law without payment; he was unable to solve his problem with alcoholism, and by 1796, Revere's memoranda book indicates that money for the couple was delivered to Betsey.<sup>191</sup> Revere was eventually appointed administrator of the Moseley estate in an effort to improve their bleak financial situation.

Another apprentice, Thomas Stevens Fayres, married Revere's daughter, Frances, on 27 May 1738. Fayres, however, earned Revere's praise for his commitment and his ability. Revere readily supported his son-in-law when the younger man tried to establish a business in Worcester. He wrote warmly to his friend Isaiah Thomas on 8 May 1791;<sup>192</sup>

Eayres has a need to carry on his business, which is a Goldsmith, in the town of Worcester . . . I recommend him as an Industrious and Ingenious Tradesman and of good morals, and I dare say, he will be an acquisition to the citizens of any town he may settle in, your Kind notice and advice to him will be received as done to myself.

Eayres' attempt to relocate to Worcester in 1791 was unsuccessful. On 4 November 1793, the Worcester town meeting voted to rescind the 1791 taxes of £ 0.12.3 for "Thomas S. Eayres a Madman gone to Boston."<sup>193</sup> In spite of his illness, Eayres established a silver shop on Essex Street upon his return to Boston. By 1802, however, his deteriorating condition necessitated the appointment of a guardian, a position which Revere filled willingly until Eayres' death in 1813.

Revere's nephew, Edward, may also have apprenticed with his uncle. Revere paid his nephew for making some spoons in August 1796.<sup>194</sup> Edward was included in the city directory as a silversmith for that year and was listed until 1830.

Several names emerge from the records as possible journey-men in the Revere shop. David Ripley boarded with Revere in October 1789 and received payment of sixteen shillings and six pence.<sup>195</sup> Ripley was born in Hingham, Massachusetts 27 August 1767, and had established himself as a silversmith, clockmaker, and bookbinder in Greenfield by 1801. The daybook entry for Ripley's board includes charges for fourteen and one-half ounces of silver and chapes, suggesting that Ripley may have been making

buckles for Revere. William Homes received cash payments from Revere in 1791 and 1803 totalling over £ 21.<sup>156</sup> Homes' shop on Ann Street was very close to Revere's shop, and some collaboration between the two silversmiths would have been convenient. Thomas P. Kettell was paid the considerable sum of £ 77 in 1803.<sup>197</sup> Kettell and Homes, both established silversmiths by this time, were probably involved with Revere in specific projects rather than working as fulltime journeymen.

As with the earlier period, Revere exchanged services with other Boston craftsmen. His long-term relationship with Isaac Greenwood continued into the 1790s as a receipt dated 27 November 1783 for "five shillings in full of all accounts to this date" from Greenwood to Paul Revere & Son attests.<sup>198</sup> Revere supplied shop equipment, raw materials, and finished products to many of his colleagues including his cousin Samuel Hichborn, Benjamin Burt, Nathaniel Austin, Caleb Beal, Stephen Emery, Samuel Minott, Joseph Loring, and George Trott. His reputation as an engraver continued to attract patronage from his peers. Benjamin Burt, a skilled designer, commissioned Revere to engrave a dish, a cup, a pair of gold buttons, twenty six teaspoons, and a pair of tea tongs in May and October 1792.<sup>199</sup> A fluted teapot, covered sugar urn, and creampot in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston were made by Burt, but have the "feathery" and "apple core" tassel and swag engraving found on Revere silver and were probably sent to the Revere shop to be decorated.

Retailing of Revere Silver by his Colleagues

Revere produced some silver objects which were restamped and retailed by several of his colleagues.<sup>200</sup> A paneled teapot in the Museum of Fine Arts has the mark "J. Austin" struck over a Revere mark; the matching teapot stand bears Revere's mark without any overstriking. (figure 91) The teapot is probably one of the several objects made for Nathaniel Austin by Revere, which included an engraved teapot with a wooden handle and knob ordered on 24 March, 1790.<sup>201</sup> Nathaniel then sold the teapot to his brother, James, who marked it with his name. Hannah Carter, whose initials appear in the oval shield, evidently intended this teapot to commemorate a wedding anniversary since the date of her marriage, 1787, was engraved under the crossed branches. A set of twelve teaspoons with scalloped bowls was ordered from Revere by Austin in 1787.<sup>202</sup> Six of these spoons, with the initials of Hannah Carter on the handles are in the Yale University Art Gallery. (figure 92) Although marked "J. Austin," they are undoubtedly the work of Revere.

Stephen Emery ordered a variety of objects from Revere, among them a tankard purchased on 4 August 1787.<sup>203</sup> An Emery tankard at the Yale University Art Gallery bears a striking resemblance to many Revere tankards in the size, proportions, applied moldings, and cast finial, thumb piece, and hinge. (figures 40, 93, 94) It is possible that this tankard was

actually made by Revere and retailed by Emery. The Emery mark is struck very deeply, so that any possible underlying mark is completely obscured.

Caleb Beal was not a frequent customer of Revere; his only entry in the daybook is for a creampot which he ordered on 4 September 1787.<sup>204</sup> Beal was primarily a flatware manufacturer. Although several creampots bear his mark, they are not consistent in style or construction. The Beal creampot in the Newark Museum may be the creampot purchased from Revere. (figures 75, 95) In addition to its stylistic correlation to many Revere examples, there is a poorly covered mark on the foot, which is the same height and length as the Revere mark used most commonly during the 1780s.

#### Patronage in the New Republic

The staggering escalation in Revere's silver output following the Revolution was not the result of a corresponding growth in the number of his patrons. In quantity, Revere's clientele increased only slightly, from 300 before the war to 312 in the later period; in character, however, his patronage changed significantly. Many of his early business relationships were terminated by the war, and only forty-six customers patronized Revere during both periods of his shop operation. He continued to make silver for his Hitchborn relatives, including his uncle Thomas, and cousins Samuel, a silversmith, and Benjamin, a Harvard-educated lawyer. Another cousin, Phillip Marett, and a son-in-law,

Amos Lincoln, both placed orders with Revere. Some of his most loyal supporters were fellow Masons; of the fourteen who appear in the second daybook, half were carryovers from the earlier period, including Samuel Barrett, Stephen Bruce, Michael Moses Hayes, John Lowell, Perez Morton, Edward Proctor, and Dr. John Warren. Friends established during Revere's political activities as a patriot, like Moses Gill and Thomas Dawes, became patrons during the peaceful and prosperous aftermath of the Revolution. Merchants continued to dominate Revere's list of patrons. Forty-eight of his customers called themselves merchants, and no doubt many of those listed in the city directories without a profession or as "Esquire" were involved in trade as ship owners or importers. Perez Morton, Harrison Gray Otis, and Elias Haskett Derby were prominent members of the new emerging elite, the "gentleman-trader."

The most significant change in Revere's clientele during this period was the increasing number of craftsmen.<sup>205</sup> Occasionally, Revere listed a profession after a name in his second daybook, a practice not found in the earlier book. He notes Jonathan Fowle, chair maker; Mr. Howe, turner; Jeremiah Jenkins, bondsman; Mr. Fenton, potter; Andrew Stimpson, saddler; John Jinks, glazer; Samuel Smith, baker; Mr. Gould, shoe maker; Mr. Tufts, milkman, and Charles Sigourney, "friend" and lawyer.<sup>206</sup> Some of these men were purchasing silver for their own use; others, like the saddlers and hatters discussed earlier, were business associates.



Revere sought long term contracts for specialty items with craftsmen in other professions as a means of stabilizing the flow of transactions into the shop and increasing production.

As his own business identity shifted from an artisan to an entrepreneur, the character of Revere's silver shop, and silver products and patrons altered to accommodate his new goals. Emphasis shifted from the erratic production of custom goods, to a more standardized line of objects and specialty items, regulating the operation of the shop so that it would function smoothly and efficiently within a larger business network.

Table A  
Daybook 1763-1783

Silver	1761	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67	'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
<u>Flatware</u>																				
Spoons	10		3	8	17		16	3		3	9	49	3					34	17	2
Salt spoons												4	4	2				1		4
Table spoons					12													12		
Tea spoons	6	8	28	6	12	12	6	18	18		36	6	72	12	1		12	34	24	7
Forks												17								
Knife handles												18								
<u>Tea and Coffee Wares</u>																				
Tea pot		2	1	2	1		1						2					1	4	1
Cream pot		3	2	2				1				1	3	4				2	3	2
Coffee pot urn		1				1			6			3	1					2		1
Sugar dish		2		1					1											1
Sugar tongs			1	2				2			1	1		2				3	4	
Tea tongs		1	1										3							
Punch strainer			1			1									1			1		
Punch ladle		2	1	1																
<u>Table Wares</u>																				
Cans	1	9	4	4		5		2	1		2		2	4				10	4	8
Tankards		2	1	2	3	2	1		1			8	3		1		2	2		
Forking Child's		2	4	2					2				2	1	2			2		2
Salts			2	2	2										2					
Waiters		2																		
Salvers		4					2													
Chafing Dish		1																		
Pepper caster	1		1			1			1					1	1				1	
Castors pair frame				2		1		1			1						1		1	
Butter boats, pr											1							2		1
Ladle, butter tureen soup								2	4									1 3		1
Flagon											1									

Table A cont.

Silver	1761	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67	'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
Cups								1				1							4	
pair												1							1	
pair, pint													1							
church				1	2								1							
beer								2												
butter									4											
punch			2																	1
Goblets, gilded																		6	2	
<u>Personal Items</u>																				
Buckles, neck	1		1															4		
stock																	1			
Silver, pr	2	5	18	10	9	4	2	2	2		12	13	9	7	8		3	16	6	5
plated																		1		
Knee, pr	3	3	4	2	2	1	1		2		4	2	3	2				8	3	1
single				1									1							
Buckles, pr	1	7	1	1			1		1		1	2	1							4
single				1		1							2							
Buttons, coat																	14			
sleeve, pr																		15		
Buttons, gold, pr	1	1		1												1				
stone, pr					5					1	1	2	6	4			1			
single		2		3				1			1	1	2	1						
Gold brooch						1	4					1								
Gold beads				23				4												
Corrol beads								2												
Gold wiers											1		1							
Gold necklace																	1			
with locket		1																		
corroll																	1			
Gold bracelet			2	1										1						
Stone earrings, pr														1	1					
Watch, silver																				
pinchbeck																	5	3		
case	1																2	1		
Rings		9															1	6	1	
mourning				10			11													8
gold												1	1							
Chain, squirrel											1									
Chain																1				
Chapes, pr steel													1							
Shoe, pr													1							
child's														1						
Clasps, pr																				
child's																	2	3	1	
																		2	2	

Table A cont.

Silver	1761	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67	'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
<u>Micellaneous</u>																				
Christening basin		1																		
Candlesticks		2	2																	
Snuffers		2																		
Snuffer dish		1																		
Extinguisher							1													
Snuff box			1			4														
Silver frame and lamp														1						
Gold frames picture case			7	1	2				1											
Frames		1	3									1								
Masonic jewels sets													2					1	2	
Freemason's medals	1	3																		
Gold medal					1															
Thimbles		1	2				2			1	1			1			2	2		
Seal stock engraved					1	1					1								1	
Child's whistle		1										1								
corrall bells		1				8														
Hooks & eyes pair		1	4											6						
Grane (siphon)						1	1													
Funnel						1														
Sugar dish from ostrich egg				1																
Foot and rim to shell							1													
Rimming china tool		1																		
Rimming a snuff box		1																		
Surgeon's instr.														1						
Spatula		1											1							
Silver lable for Planett													1							
Indian pipe		1																		
Spreaders, pr													1							

Table A cont.

Silver	1761	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67	'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
Silver chape for a hanger																			1	
Sword grip	1																			
Sword "fferil"						1									2					
Sword guard															1					
Setting pistol in silver																		1		
Setting pistol in steel																		1		
<u>Engraving</u>																				
Engraving	1		4	5	6	4	7	2	1	1			20	14		1	1	13	3	8
<u>Printing</u>																				
Engraving copper plates "leading" plates	2		3	5	1	1		2	6	3		4	1	11	5			1	1	1
Printing orders							1	1		1	2	4	6	10	1		1	3	2	2
Prints							100		200	600	1460	1110	4613	100						
Casting leading rulers for 16 pgs.													1							
<u>Repairs</u>																				
Mending		14	8	9	6	2	2	2		1	4	12	9	8			3	12	2	3
Cleaning polishing	1	1						1					1							
<u>Tools and Supplies</u>																				
Branding iron	1																			
Flucks and tongues					3									4						
Black lead pots																		11	2	
<u>Dentistry</u>																				
Cleaning teeth														1						

Table B  
Silver Shop Transactions Per Month

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1761	1				1	1		1			1	1
1762		5	10	7	9	3	4	5	3	9	5	6
1763	8	14	4	3	2	3	4	1	1	7	1	3
1764	4	A <sub>2</sub>	2	4		3	2	6	8	1	1	4
1765	4	7	2	1	2		2	2	3	4	4	
1766	2	4	5		1	4	1		3	1	6	
1767	2	2	1	1		B C	1	3	4			
1768	2	9	2	2	3	D	3	2				
1769								1		1		1
1770	1		E <sub>1</sub>	F			1					
1771	1	2	6	3	1		6	2		3		5
1772	7			6		2	1	4	6	8	3	
1773	2	7	7	G <sub>4</sub>	H <sub>4</sub>	4	3	8	8	I <sub>10</sub>	J <sub>3</sub>	K <sub>4</sub> L
1774	4	6	M <sub>8</sub>	3	N <sub>7</sub>	4	6	4	3	O <sub>1</sub>	P <sub>3</sub>	Q <sub>4</sub>
1775	10	R	6	S <sub>1</sub>								

- A 16 Feb, 1764 Revere family quarantined for smallpox  
 B 29 Jun, 1767 Townshend Revenue Act  
 C 14 Jun, 1768 Mass Meeting - Old South Church  
 D 30 Jun, 1768 Mass House votes not to rescind Circular Letter  
 E 5 Mar, 1770 Boston Massacre  
 F 12 Apr, 1770 Repeal of the Townshend Act - except tea  
 G 27 Apr, 1773 Tea Act of 1773 passed, became effective May 10, 1773  
 H 3 May, 1773 Death of Sara Orne Revere  
 I 10 Oct, 1773 Married Rachel Walker  
 J 30 Nov, 1773 Revere rode express  
 K 6 Dec, 1773 Boston Tea Party  
 L 16 Dec, 1773 Revere rode express to Philadelphia & New York (11 days)  
 M Mar, 1774 Boston Port bill  
 N 14 May, 1774 Revere rode express to Philadelphia & New York (12 days)  
 O Sep, 1774 Revere rode express to Philadelphia  
 P Oct, 1774 Revere rode express to Philadelphia  
 Q 12 Dec, 1774 Revere rode express to Portsmouth, New Hampshire  
 R Feb, 1775 Revere detained on Castle Island by British  
 S 19 Apr, 1775 Battle of Lexington

Table C

Daybook 1783-1797

Silver	1783	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97
<b>Flatware</b>															
Child's spoon										2			1	1	2
Tipping knives w/silver		3													
Forks		6						12							
Mustard spoon	1														
Ladles		2			1										
mustard					1			1							
Tureen ladle						1				2			5	5	1
scalloped											1				
Soup ladle						1				1	1	1		1	
Spoons			68	13	20		14	49	2		11	20	1	6	4
marrow spoons			12	2											
"caper spon"				1											
ragout spoons				2											
dessert spoons						12									
Pap spoons													2	1	
Spatula			1												
Teaspoons	28	48	94	88	49	18	54	118	60	79	84	66	94	168	60
Large spoons	27	32				6			17	25	24		15	12	18
Table spoons	12	27				12				6	8	21	74	70	24
Salt spoons	2	5	4	6	6		7	16		4		4	5	14	10
Salt shovels														4	
<b>Tea and Coffee Wares</b>															
Punch strainer	1	1								1					
Sugar tongs	1	2	5		2			4	4	4	2	4		6	
Cream pot	1	2	3	3	3	3	2	6		2	1	3		2	2
fluted											2		1	1	
Cream jug		1													
Cream bucket													1		2
Sugar basket					1										
Punch ladle											2				1
Sugar dish			2	1				1	1	1			1		1
Sugar bowl														2	
Tea kettle stand		1													
Sugar urn										1					
fluted								2		1	1				
Tea pot			1	1		1		3	3	4			2	6	2
fluted								1	1	2			1		
Tea pot and stand				1		1	1	1	2	2	4		3	6	

Table C cont.

Silver	1783	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97
Coffee pot				1					1	1	1	1	2		
Slop bowl								1							
Punch bowl					1										
Tea caddy										2					
Cream pitcher fluted										1	1		2	2	1
Tea shell										2					
Coffee urn fluted										1		1			
Punch urn												2			
<u>Table Wares</u>															
Canns			1		3	1		3		2					4
pairs				1			1			1	1				
wine quart	3										1				
quarts												3			
quarts, pairs														2	
quart, hooped, pair													1		
half-pint, pair											1				
Muggs, pair						1									
Cup	1	2								1			8		
church														4	
Tankard	1	1	1	2	5						1		1		1
3 pint													1		
Porringer		2													
pair					1										
Child's porringer										1		2	1		2
Goblets										4			6		
Pepper box							2				1				
Casters, pair		1		1								1			
Salts								4							
Butter boats															2
pair			1		1										
Chalice		1													
Salver		1													
waiters															2
Nutmeg grater												1			
Bottle stands													4		
Dishes															4



Table C cont.

Silver	1783	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97
<u>Personal Items</u>															
Coat/sleeve buttons, pair						3									
gold	1				2		1					1	1		
pair			1												
silver	2														
pair							2								
sleeve, pair, gold										1	2				
silver										1		1			
Stock buckle				2		1									
gold														1	
Gold cane head				1											
Shoe buckles, pair		18	5	4	5	6	4	1	1	2					
single	5			1											
plated					4	5	9	6	9						
Boot buckles, pair, plated							30								
Knee buckles, pair	2	1	4	6	4	4	6	3	1	5	2	1	2	1	
plated					2	2	2	2	2	2					
gold								1							
stone	1														
Shoe clasps		1	2												
pair					1										
Gold necklace	1														
chain			1												
Plated chain				1											
Stone buttons	4		3	7		2									
Gold shirt pin												1			
Gold pins	4														
"wire", pair								2							
Buckles, pair	1		3	1		1	3	1		2		1			
plated									1						
silver	1									2					
single				1											
gold		1													
child's						1									
plated			2	2											
Clasp											1			1	
shoe, pair										1		1			
child's										1					1
Chape and tongs, pair			2			1									
knee chapes						2									
Plated rings						2									
Spectacle frames, pair						3									

Table C cont.

Silver	1783	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97
Gold rings							4		1	2					
Gold knobs, pair							1								
Watch case, gold							1								
Chapes											1	1			
girdle buckle							1								
pair								1							
pair, double							1		1						
pair, knee									1						
sword										1					
<u>Harness Fittings</u>															
Nails, silver								1	1						
set										1					
Bridle buckles, plated, sets									12	5					
single					1	10	26	77	4	3	6				
large									76	10					
small									27	9					
Buckles and tips, sets					133	19	38	28	5	2					
Plated slides								58	4	1	2				
large									127	12					
small									6	6					
Plated stirrups								6							
Plated saddle nails, sets									2	10	6	1			
single					12	1	7	4		1					
Plated tips					4	46	4	64	18		2				
large									82	17					
small									42	2					
Plated harness for chaise												1			
<u>Miscellaneous</u>															
Hooks and eyes, pair									1						
Teat for bottle					1										
Scabbard										1	1	1			
Winding grip					1							1			
Sword hilt										1					
Mounting swords					1							1	1		
Plated jackets for glass arms, pair							2								
Plated top plates							4								
Plating iron electrical points												2	2	5	
Holster caps											2				

Table C cont.

Silver	1783	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97
Child's boat												1			
Bodkin												1			1
Silver letters for chaise back														1-W	
Silver hardware for knife cases														1-B	
Silver joints, sets of 2														2 pr	
Silver ovals														3	
Silver head on whip														1	
Thimbles			3	2	1		7	3	5	1	1	4			1
Frame (miniature)					1										
Gilt hangers					4										
Masonic jewels sets		5								1					3
Seals engraved	2	1			1			1							
Medal blanks							1	6							
<u>Engraving</u>															
Engraving	13	12	11	7	13	11	9	36	15	28	25	13	31	39	17
<u>Printing</u>															
Printing certificates order		5								1				12	
Fire Society															450
Hat bills	700	200			300	450	200	175	550	3650	3000	3360	1183	2750	71
Printing arms		100													
Printing		3													
Copper plates		3		2	1	2	2	1		2					
<u>Repairs</u>															
Mending	4	12	12	14	31	18	26	24	15	29	15	14	6	11	3
Cleaning and burnishing	1	5	1	2	3		2	7				1			
Riveting china dish			1		2		4		1	1	1				
Knob for teapot	2											1			

Table C cont.

Silver	1783	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97
Mending glass mustard										1					
Wooden handle for teapot coffee pot										1			3 1	3	2
Setting of gold seal									1						
Putting cloth bottoms on four bottle stands												1			
Silver caps to knives and forks													25		
Cleaning sword													2		
Taking out arms or cyphers and engraving new														2	
Putting bottom into silver candlestick														1	
Plated furniture for trunk												1			
<u>Tools and Supplies</u>															
Plating mill, iron										1		1			
Iron block												2	1		
<u>Brass/Pewter</u>															
Brass buckles, pair, small							1								
Pewter eagle								1							
Brass letters															29
Brass trimming for lt. infantry caps, sets							50								
Brass tops for hand poles standing pole								2 1							

Table D  
Silver Shop Transactions Per Month

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1779												1
1780								4			9	
1781	4	3	3	10	7	6	4	3	1	5	6	
1782	3	10		13			5		7	8	1	
1783	3	6	4	13	9		9	5	5	8	2	1
1784	4	6	2		4	7	5	5	5	6	5	
1785	4	8	7	6	1	8	3	7	1	1	3	
1786	5	1	6	3	9	6	3	2	11	2	3	2
1787	12	2	10	15	10	9	11	10	6	9	4	3
1788	2			2	3	4	4	9	5	13	5	7
1789			2	13	8	14	10	14	12	14	6	5
1790	11	8	12	11	5	15	6	17	8	15	20	5
1791	9	9	12	13	21	14	12	12	15	16	6	13
1792	10	4	11	12	16	8	8	9	6	6	13	16
1793	9	9	9	10	5		5	5	4	11		7
1794	9	5	9	3	1	8	12	7	2	5	7	8
1795	1	3	8	3	7	2	3			6	1	9
1796	5	10	7	3	4	7	6	3	8	7	4	5
1797	6	10	6	4	3		8	5	1			

Table E

	1761 - 1775		1779 - 1797	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>Silver Objects</u>				
Flatware	410	35.8%	2069	49.15%
Tea and Coffee Wares	61	5.3%	198	4.7%
Table Wares	129	11.3%	177	4.2%
Personal Items	449	39.2%	623	14.8%
Harness Fittings	0	0.0%	1044	24.8%
Miscellaneous	96	8.4%	99	2.35%
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total Objects	1145	100.0%	4210	100.00%
 <u>Services (orders)</u>				
Engraving	65		306	
Printing	73		45	
Number of Prints	8163		17,757	
Repairs	82		332	
Tools and Supplies	8		18	
Dentistry	1		0	
Brass/Pewter	0		84	

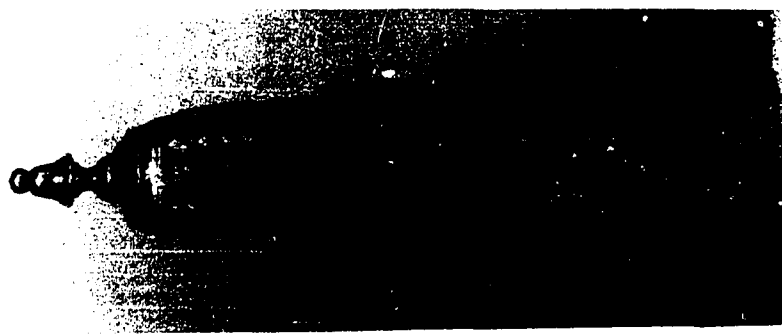


Figure 1 Paul Revere I,  
Caster, 1740-50 (MFA)



Figure 2 Paul Revere II,  
Caster, 1755-60 (MFA)



Figure 4 Paul Revere I, Creampot, 1740-54  
(Worcester Art Museum)

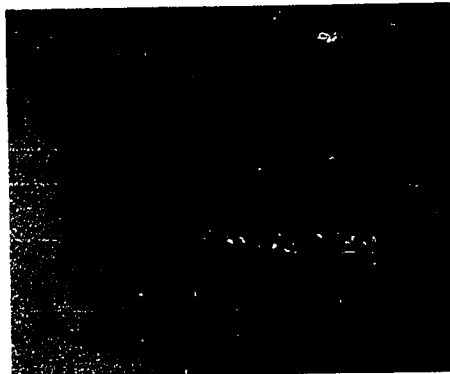


Figure 3 Paul Revere I,  
Creampot (Worcester Art  
Museum)



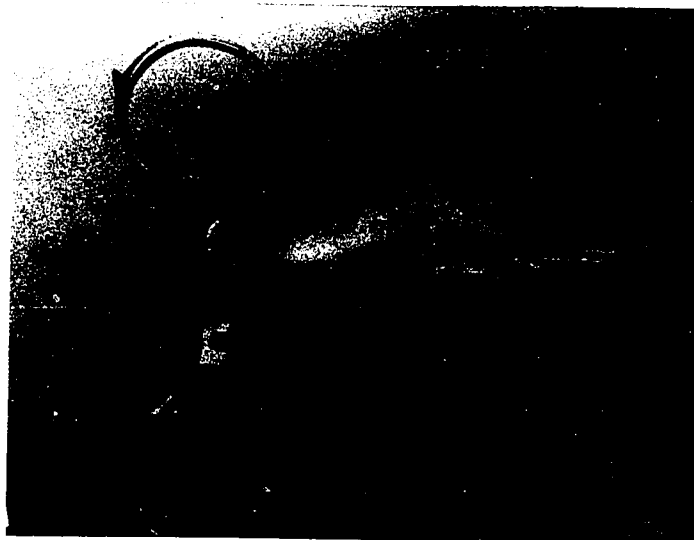


Figure 6 Paul Revere II, Creampot, 1755-60 (MFA)



Figure 5 Paul Revere II, Creampot, 1755-60 (Worcester Art Museum)

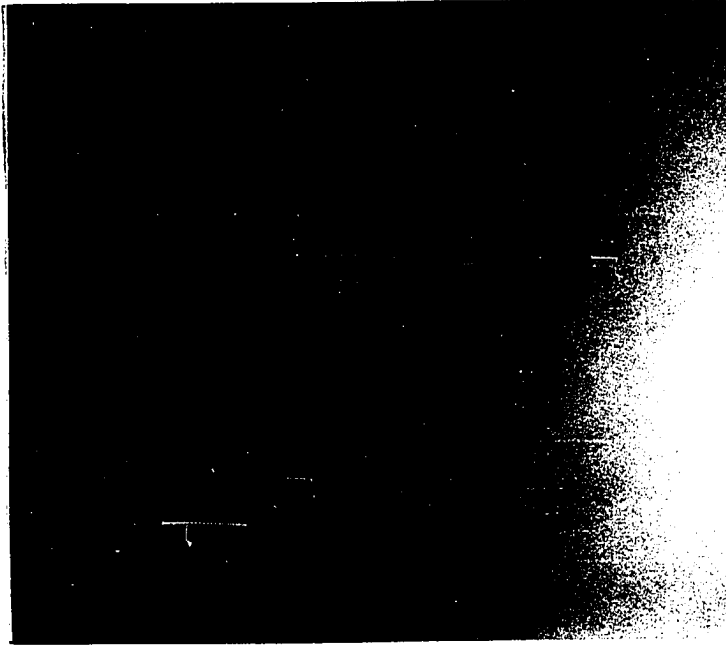


Figure 7 Paul Revere I, Porringer, 1740-50 (YUAG)



Figure 8 Paul Revere II, Porringer, 1769 (MFA)



Figure 9 Paul Revere II, Porringer, 1795-1800 (YUAG)

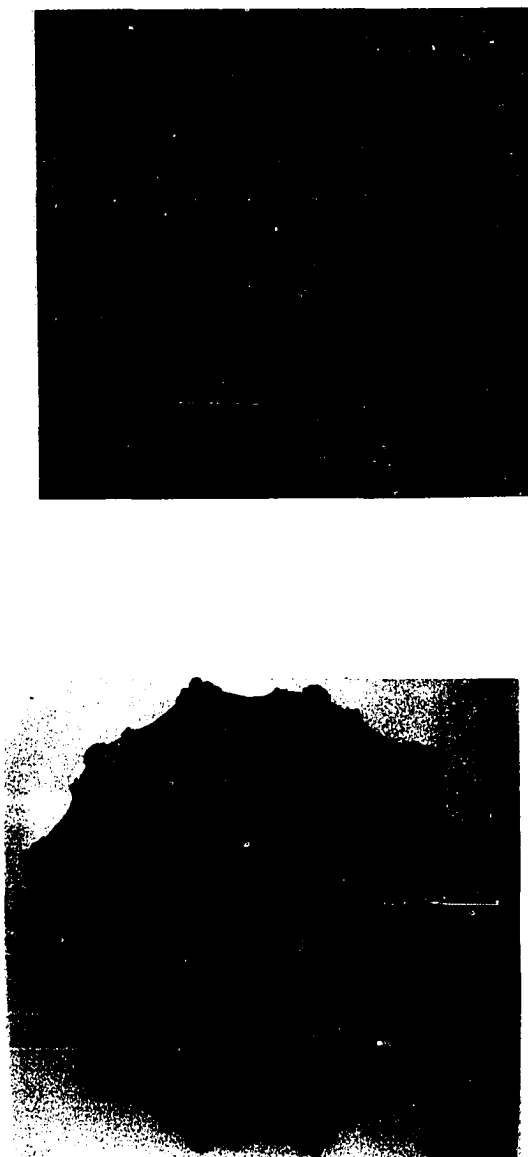


Figure 10 Paul Revere II, Salver, 1760 (Paul Revere Life Insurance Co.)



Figure 11 John Singleton Copley, Portrait  
of Henry Pelham (MFA)



Figure 12 Butter boat, 1760-70 (MFA)



Figure 13 Butter cup, 1763 or 1769 (MFA)

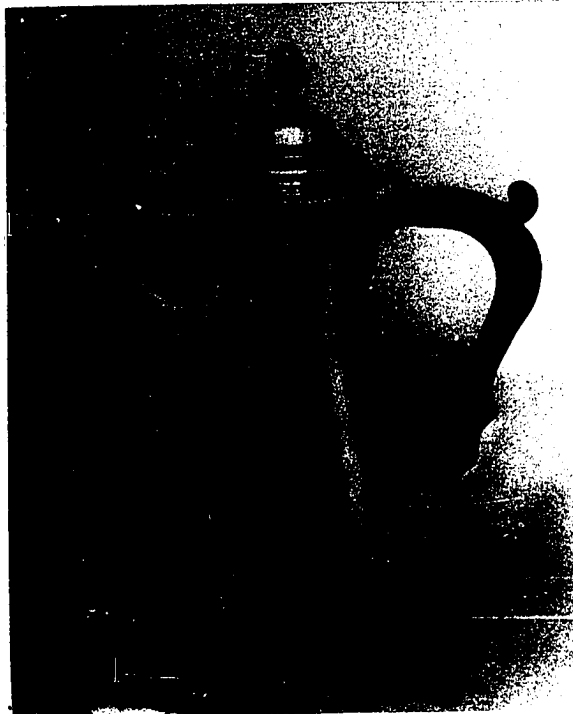


Figure 14 Coffee pot, 1760-77 (MFA)



Figure 15 Coffee pot, 1769 (MFA, Houston)



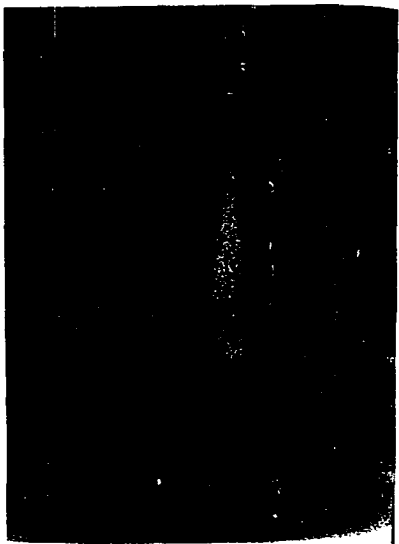


Figure 16 Arthur Annesley,  
Coffee pot, London, 1759  
(Private collection)

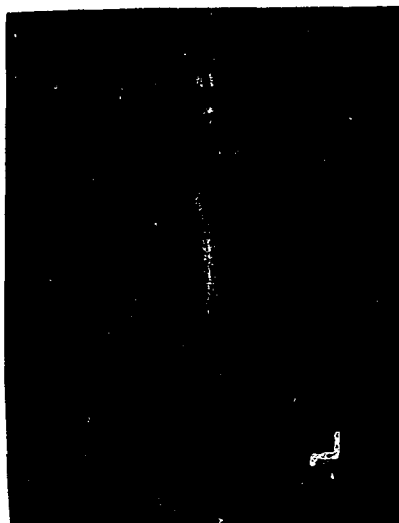


Figure 17 Paul Revere II,  
Coffee pot, 1772 (Private  
collection)

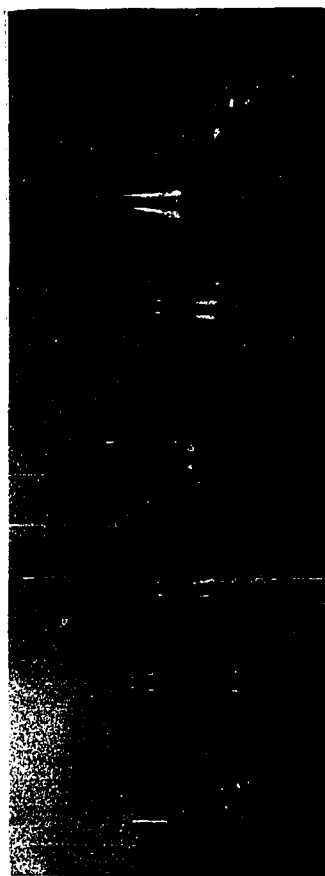


Figure 18 Paine tea service, 1773 (Worcester Art Museum)

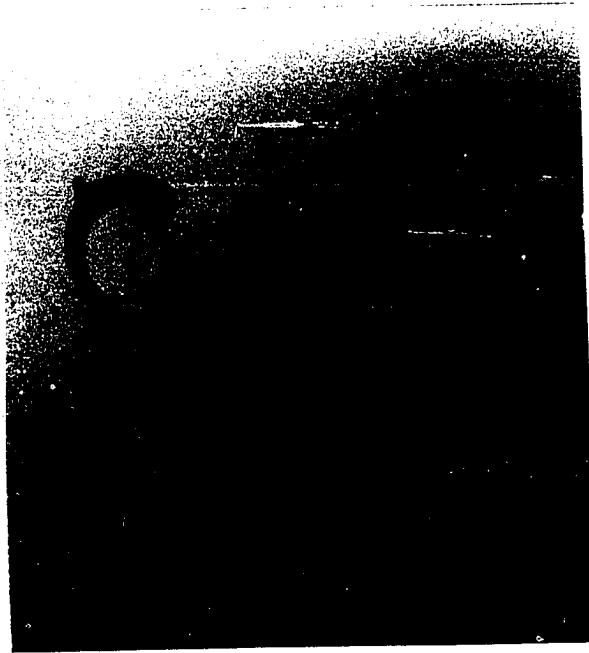


Figure 19 Butter boat, 1780-1800 (MFA)



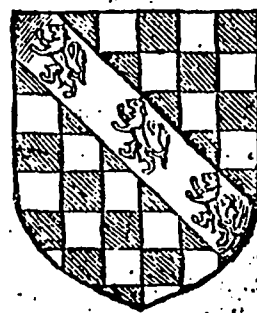
Figure 20 Standing cup, 1758  
(Old South Church)



Figure 21 Salver, 1761, made for Lucretia Chandler (MFA)



Figure 22 Bookplate for Gardiner Chandler, ca 1765



‘ He beareth Checquy  
‘ Or and Azure, on a Bend  
‘ Gules, three Lioncels  
‘ rampant of the First.  
‘ This Coat pertained to  
‘ the worthy Family of  
‘ Clifford of Frampton up-  
‘ on Severn in the Coun-  
‘ ty of Gloucester, being a  
‘ Branch of the Right No-  
‘ ble Stem of the Earls of Cumberland:

Figure 23 Clifford arms (John Guillim,  
A Display of Heraldry, 407)



Figure 24 Tankard, 1762, made for  
Thomas Greene (YUAG)



Figure 25 Bookplate for David Greene  
(Yale University Library)



‘ He beareth *Azure*,  
‘ three Bucks tripping, *Or*,  
‘ by the Name of *Green*:  
With a Muller, *Or*, for  
Difference, this Coat was  
confirmed to Sir *William*  
*Green* of *Oxon*, Father of  
Sir *Michell*, by *William*  
*Camden*, *Clarencieux*.

Figure 26 Green arms (John Guillin, *A*  
*Display of Heraldry*, 157)



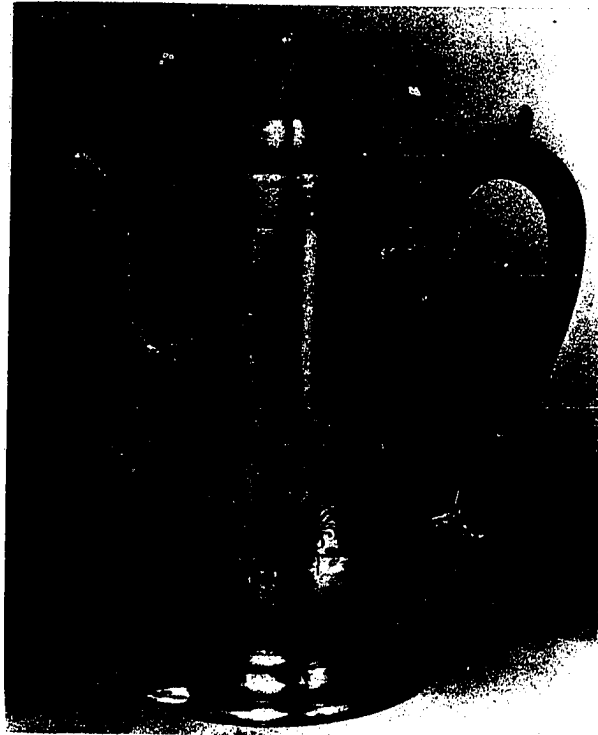


Figure 27 Coffee pot, ca 1760, made for the Flynt family (MFA)



' He beareth *Vert*, three  
 ' Flint Stones, *Argent*, by  
 ' the Name of *Flint*. This  
 ' Coat is quartered by the  
 ' Right Honourable the  
 ' Earl of *Cumberland*. The  
 ' Flint Stone is an ancient  
 ' Emblem or Token used  
 ' by great Persons.

Figure 28 Flint arms (John Guillim, A Display of Heraldry, 110)



Figure 29 Teapot, ca 1770, made for the Parsons family (MFA)



He beareth *Gules*, two  
Chevrons *Ermine* between  
three Eagles display'd *Or*,  
by the Name of *Parsons*.  
This Coat did belong to  
*Thomas Parsons* of *Great*  
*Milton* in the County of  
*Oxon*,

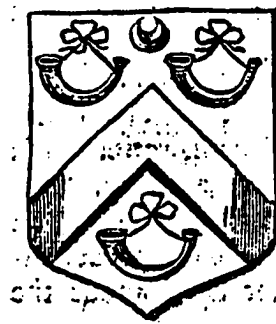
Figure 30 Parsons arms (John Guillim, A Display of Heraldry, 214)



Figure 31 Bookplate for Epes Sargent,  
27 September 1764



Figure 32 Orne arms from tankard in  
Paine tea service, 1773 (Worcester  
Art Museum)



*Argent, a Chevron Vert, between 3 Bugle-horns stringed Sable, with a Crescent for a Difference, is born by the Name of Forster, and was allow'd by Patent to Sir Thomas Forster, of St. James's street in the County of Middlesex,*

Figure 33 Forster arms (John Guillim, A Display of Heraldry, 315)

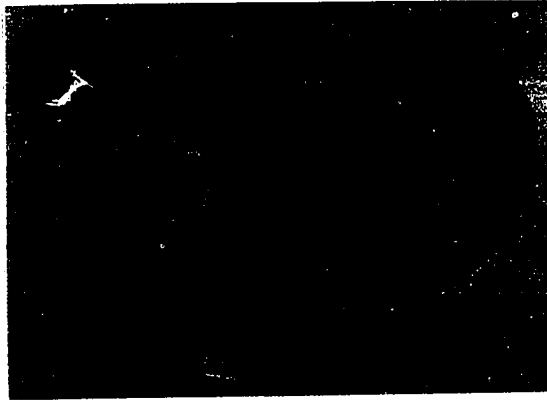


Figure 34 Paul Revere I, teapot, ca 1740  
with Foster arms (MFA)





Figure 35 Bookplate for Paul Revere I,  
ca 1725

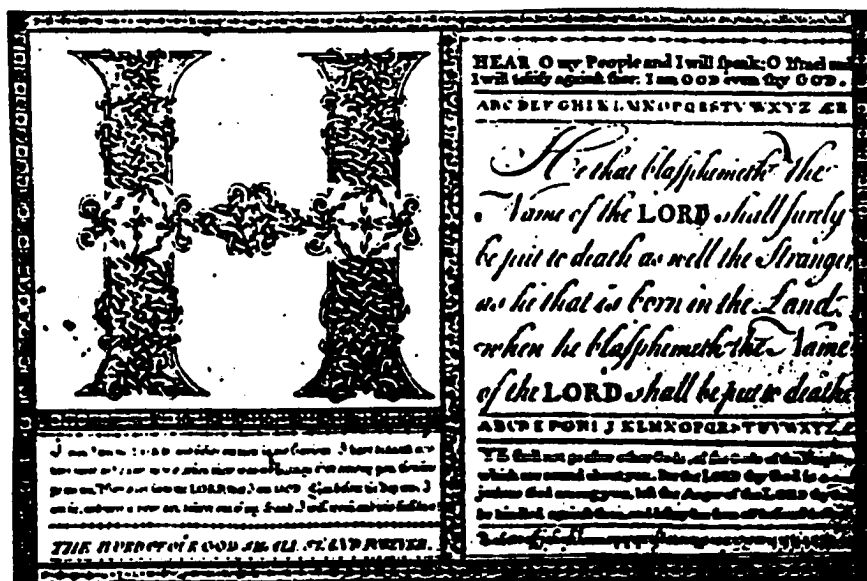


Figure 36 Abiah Holbrook, The Writing Master's  
Amusement, Boston, 1767 (Harvard College Library)



Figure 37 Cann made for Stephen Scales  
(R. W. Norton Art Gallery)

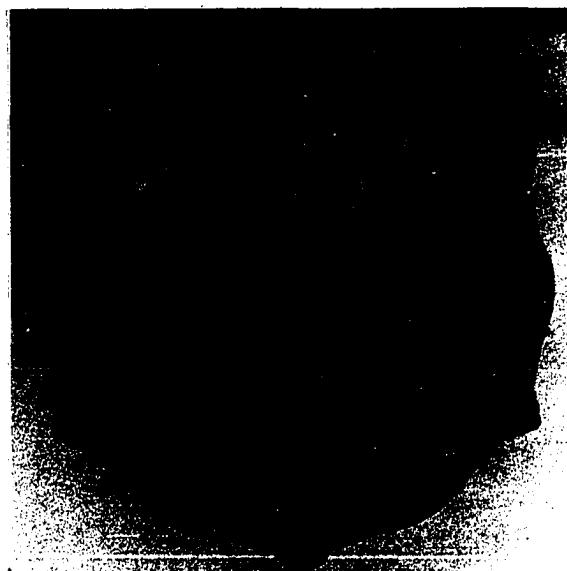


Figure 38 Salver, one of a pair, 1762,  
Franklin arms engraved by Nathaniel Hurd  
(Paul Revere Life Insurance Co.)

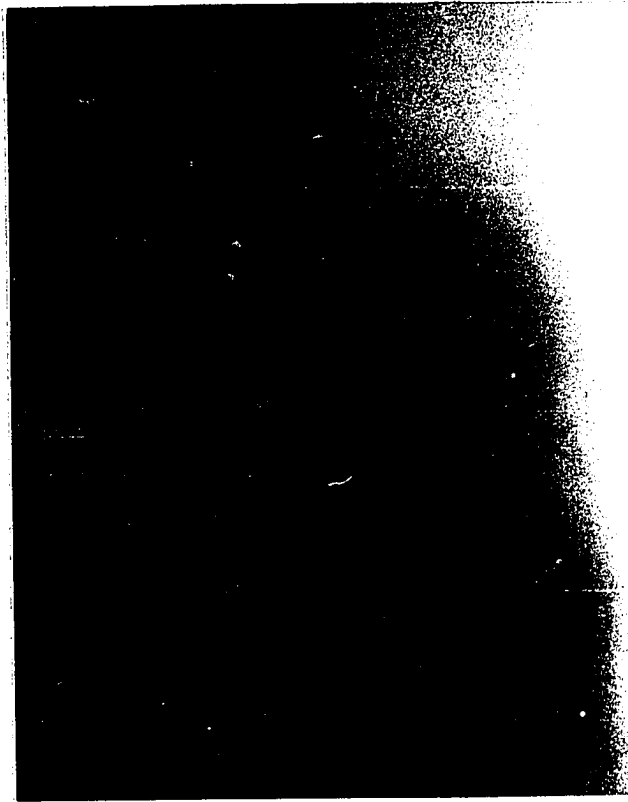


Figure 39 Cann, one of a pair, 1783, made  
for Thomas Dennie (R. W. Norton Art Gallery)

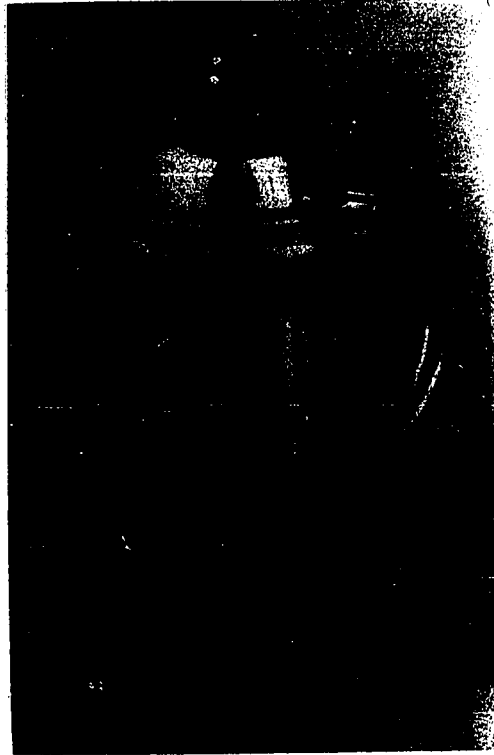


Figure 40 Tankard, 1795, made for William Todd (MFA)

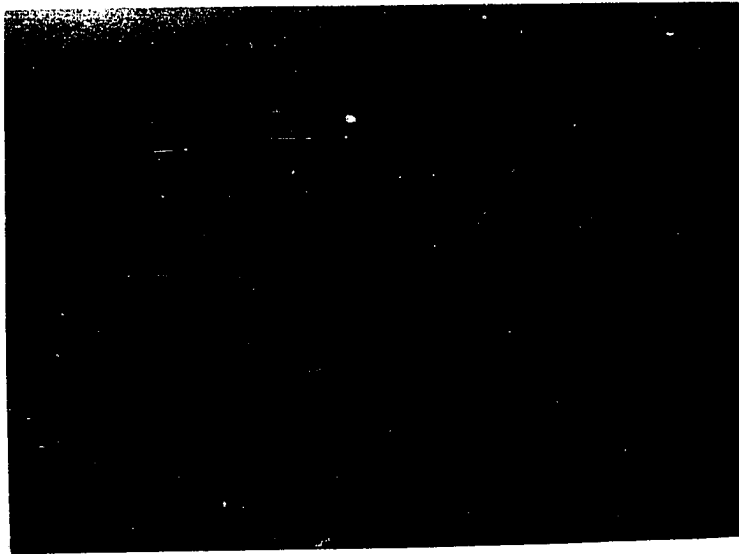


Figure 41 Goblets, two from set of six, 1782, made for Nathaniel Tracy (MFA)

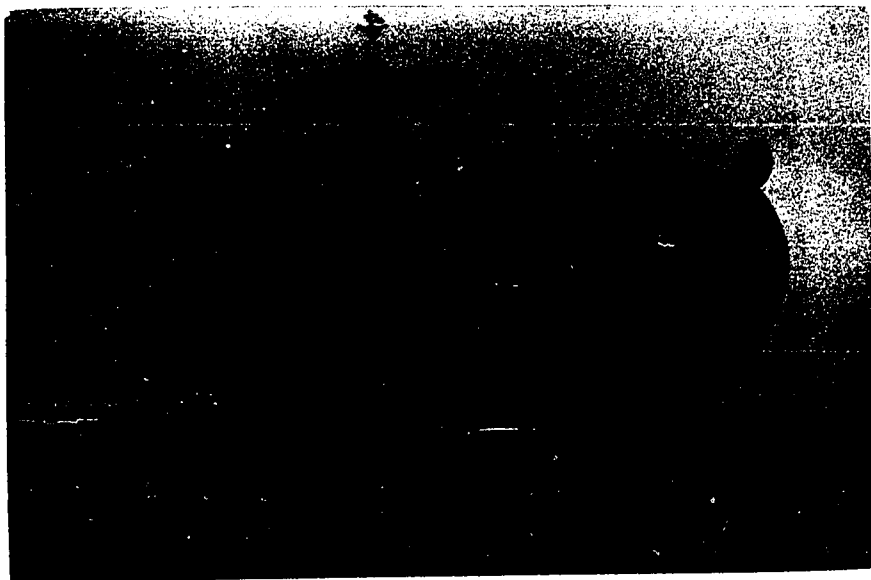


Figure 42 Teapot, 1782, made for Thomas Hitchborn (MFA)





Figure 43 Teapot, 1783, made for Moses Michael Hayes  
(Private collection)

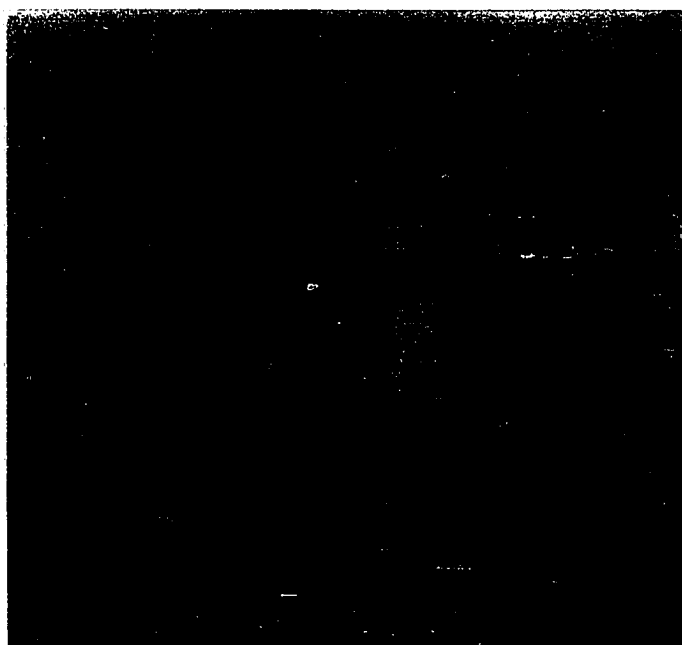


Figure 44 Teapot, ca 1782 (YUAG)



Figure 45 Teapot, 1795-1800, "R P" (YUAG.)



Figure 46 Teapot, 1789, made for Moses Brown (MFA)

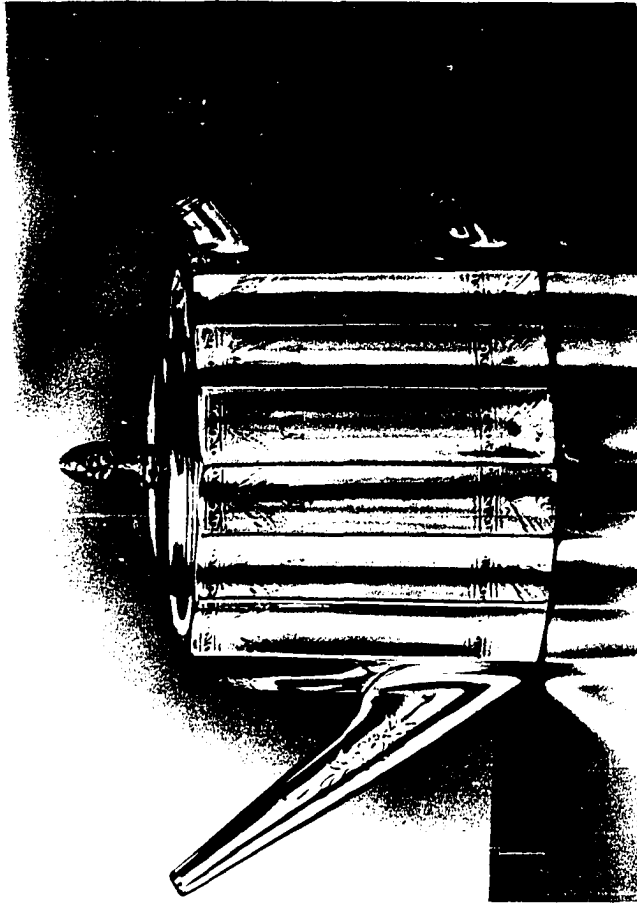


Figure 47 Teapot, 1790-95, "TCT/ET" (YUAG)

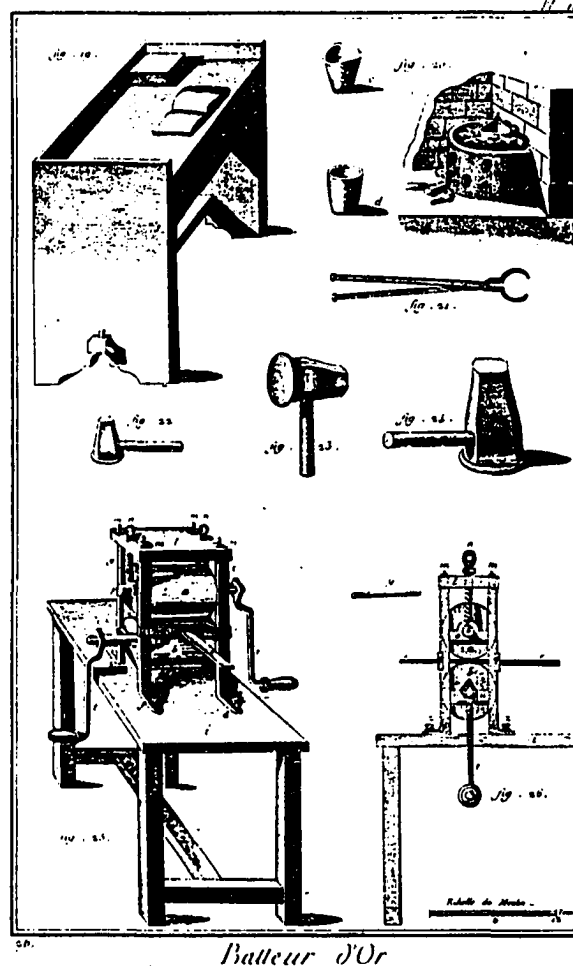


Figure 48 Flatting Mills, ca 1771  
(Denis Diderot, Encyclopedie)



Figure 49 Templeman tea service, 1792-93 (Minneapolis  
Institute of Art)

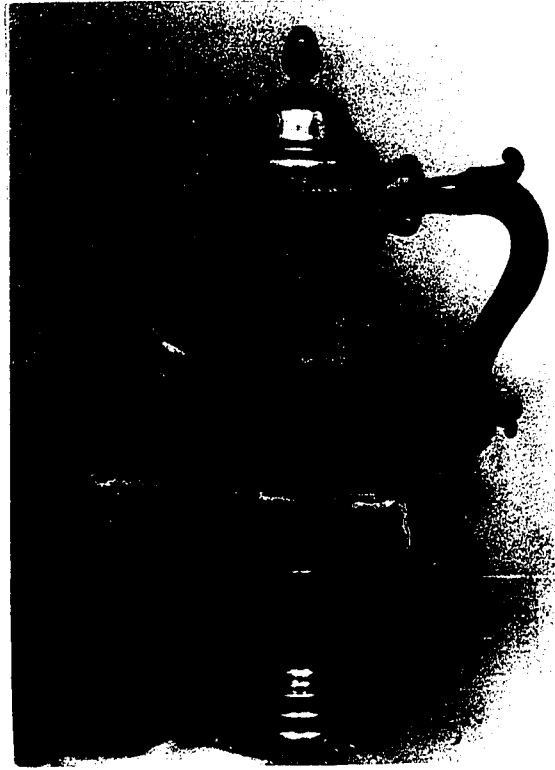


Figure 50 Coffee pot, 1781, made for  
Paul Dudley Sargent (MFA)





Figure 51 Coffee pot, 1791, made for John and Abigail Warren (MFA)

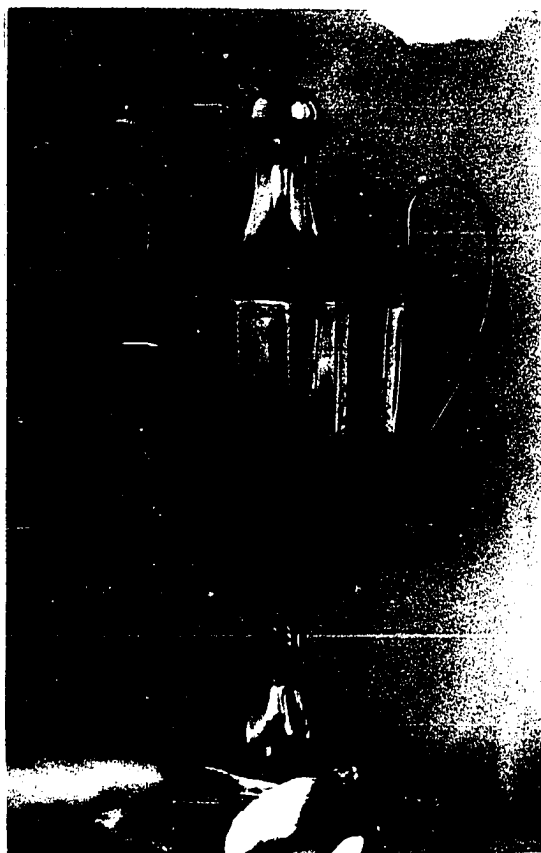


Figure 52 Coffee urn, 1793 (MFA)



Figure 53 Beakers, two of a pair, ca 1800, made for Ozias Goodwin (MFA)

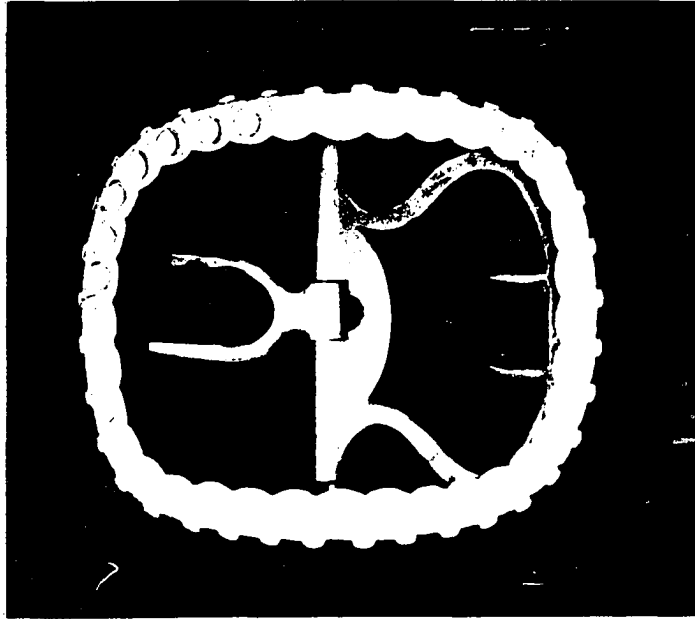


Figure 54 Knee buckle (Smithsonian Institution)



Figure 55 Shoe buckle, silver on copper  
(MFA)

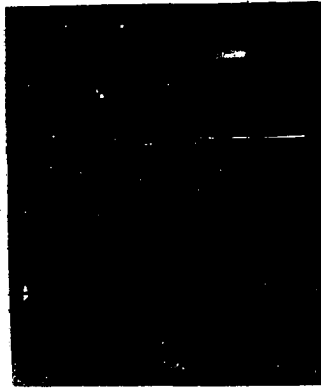


Figure 56 Shoe buckle, silver on  
copper (Metropolitan Museum of  
Art)



Figure 57 Thomas Gooch, "Lord Abergavenny's Dark Bay Carriage Horse . . .", 1785 (Private collection)

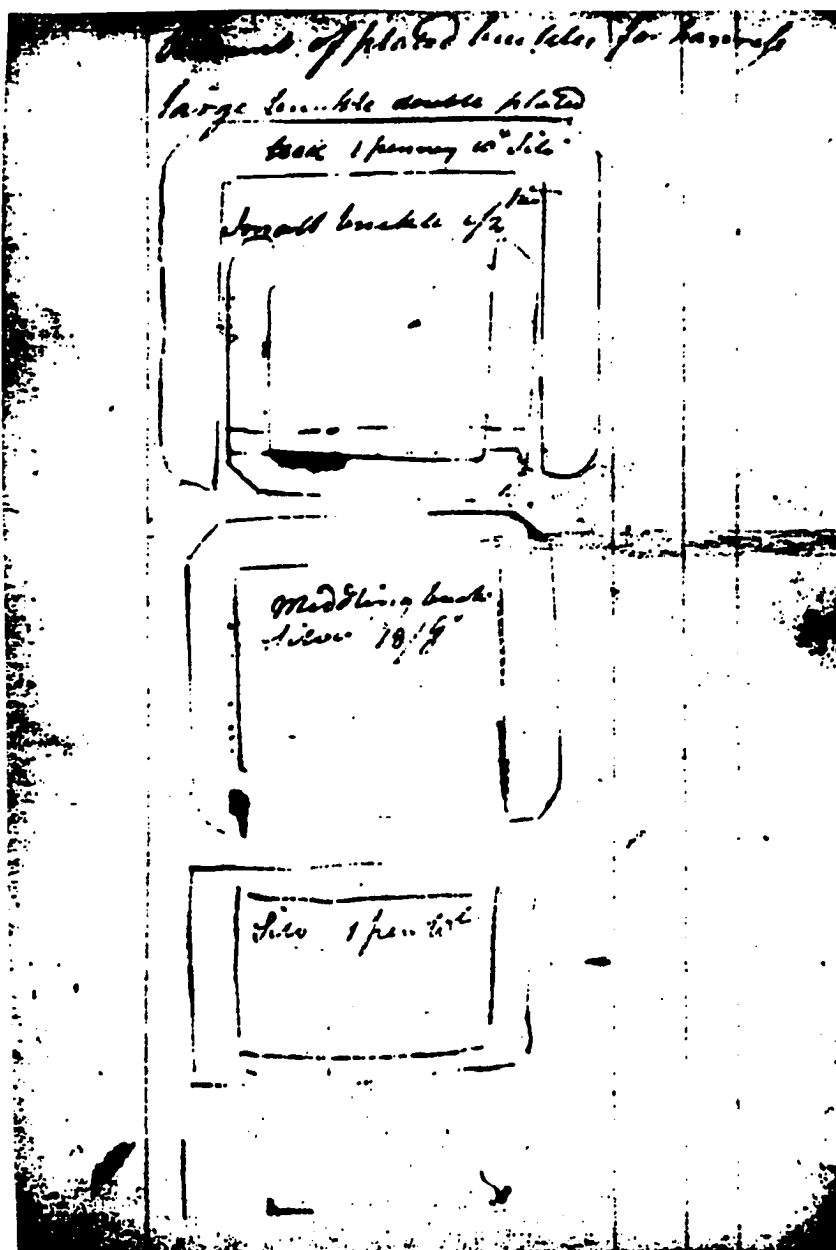
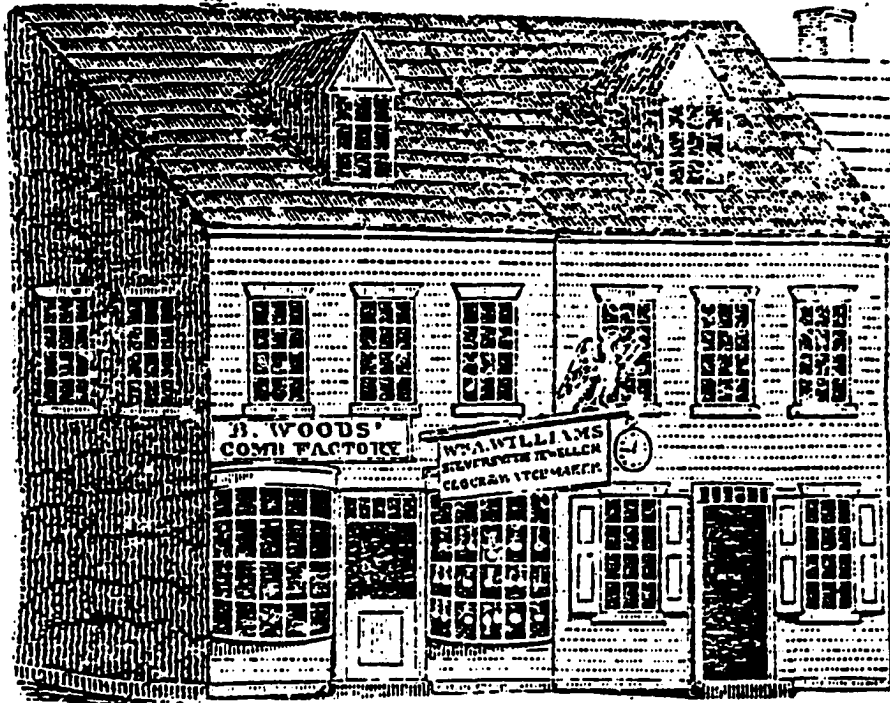


Figure 58 Design for Plated Buckles, Memoranda Book, 1788-1795 (Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society)



# REMOVAL.



**BENJAMIN WOOD,  
COMB MANUFACTURER,**

**HAS JUST RECEIVED**

In addition to his former assortment, a  
handsome selection of FANCY ARTICLES;  
consisting of

*Tortoise-shell,*  
*Mock,*  
*And Ivory* } **COMBS.**

ALSO,

**LOOKING GLASSES,**

In gilt, curled maple, & mahogany frames;  
cloth and hair brushes, fancy baskets, &c.

may 29

2w

**WILLIAM A. WILLIAMS,  
GOLD & SILVER-SMITH,**

*Clock & Watch Maker,*

Has removed his shop to King-street, be-  
tween Royal and Fairfax-streets, (south  
side,) where he is prepared to execute all  
orders in the above lines in the best and  
most expeditious manner, and on the most  
reasonable terms. He has on hand and  
intends keeping a handsome assortment of

*Jewelry, Silver and Plated*

*Ware, &c. &c.*

Also, 1 case elegant

**BRITANNIA WARE.**

may 29

2w

Figure 59 Advertisement for William Williams, Alexandria  
Gazette and Advertiser, 10 June 1823



Figure 60 Silversmith's Shop, ca 1771 (Denis Diderot, Encyclopedie)



Figure 61 Workbench, ca 1771 (Denis Diderot,  
Encyclopedie)



Figure 62 Trade card, "Paul Revere and Son Bell and Cannon Foundry"

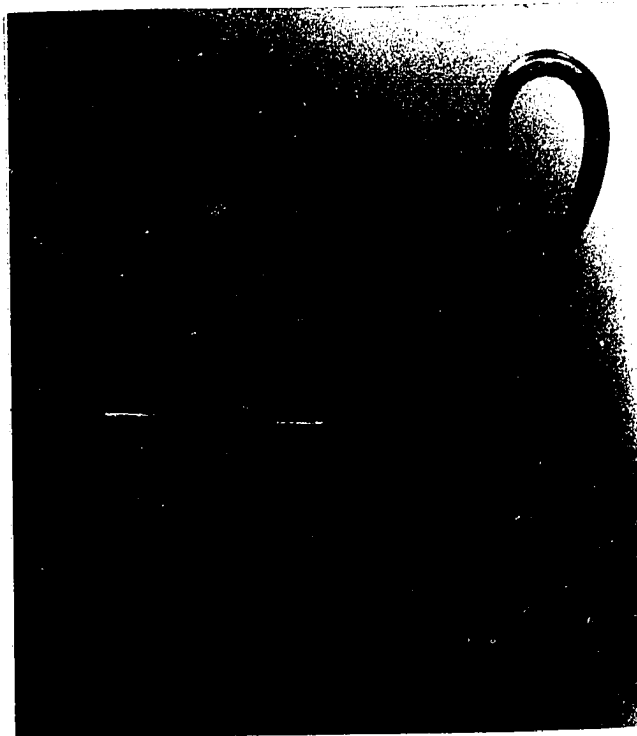


Figure 63 Punch urn, ca 1796, made for  
Henry Jackson (MFA)



Figure 64 Punch urn, Trade Catalogue , Love, Silverside, Darby & Co, Sheffield, England, ca 1785 (Winterthur Museum)

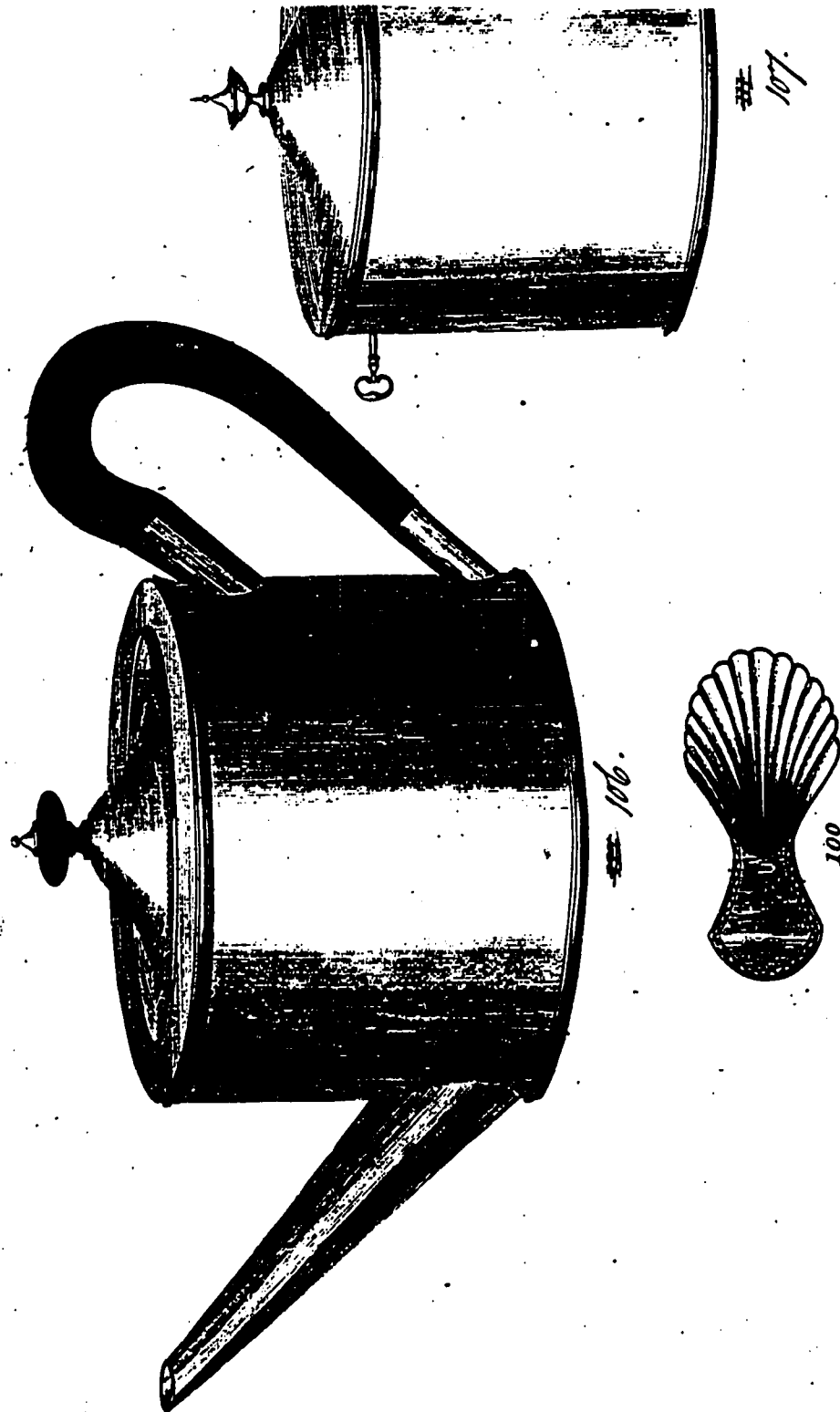


Figure 65 Tea shell, Trade Catalogue, Love, Silverside, Barby & Co, Sheffield, England, ca 1785  
(Winterthur Museum)

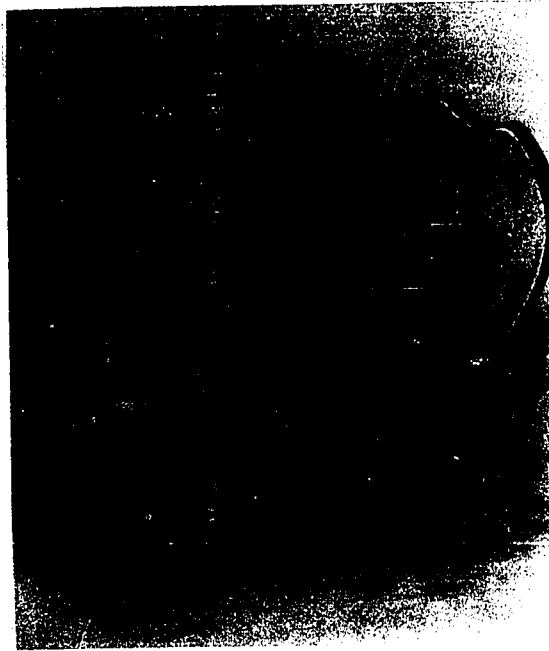


Figure 66 Hooped cann, 1792, Made for Samuel Blagg (MFA)





Figure 67 Hooped can, Trade Catalogue, Love, Silverside, Darby & Co, Sheffield, England, ca 1785 (Winterthur Museum)

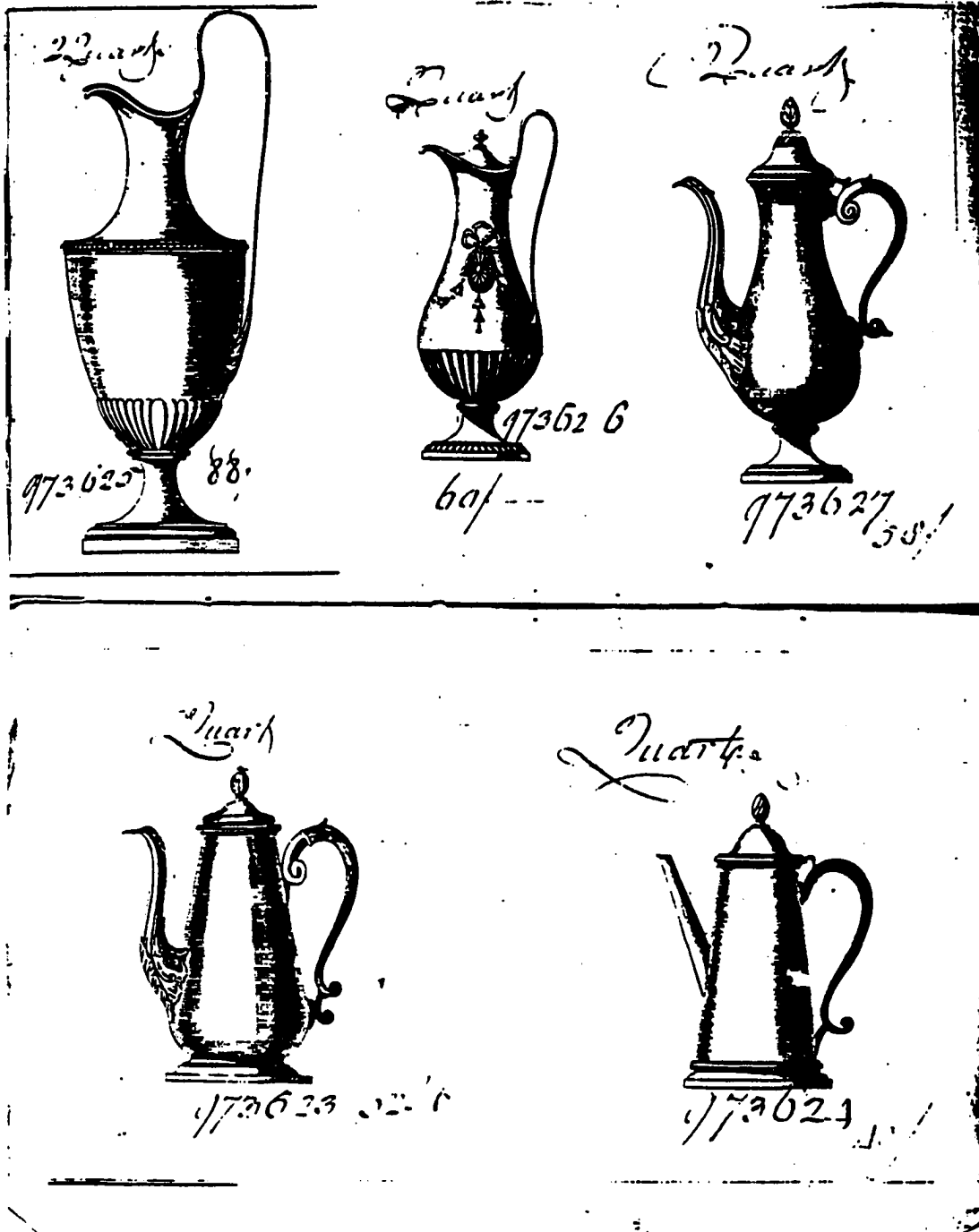


Figure 68 Coffee pots, Trade Catalogue, Sheffield, England, ca 1790 (Winterthur Museum)



Figure 69 Tea urn, Trade Catalogue, Sheffield, England, ca 1802 (Essex Institute)



Figure 70 Coffee urn, ca 1800,  
made for Hannah Rowe (Private  
collection)

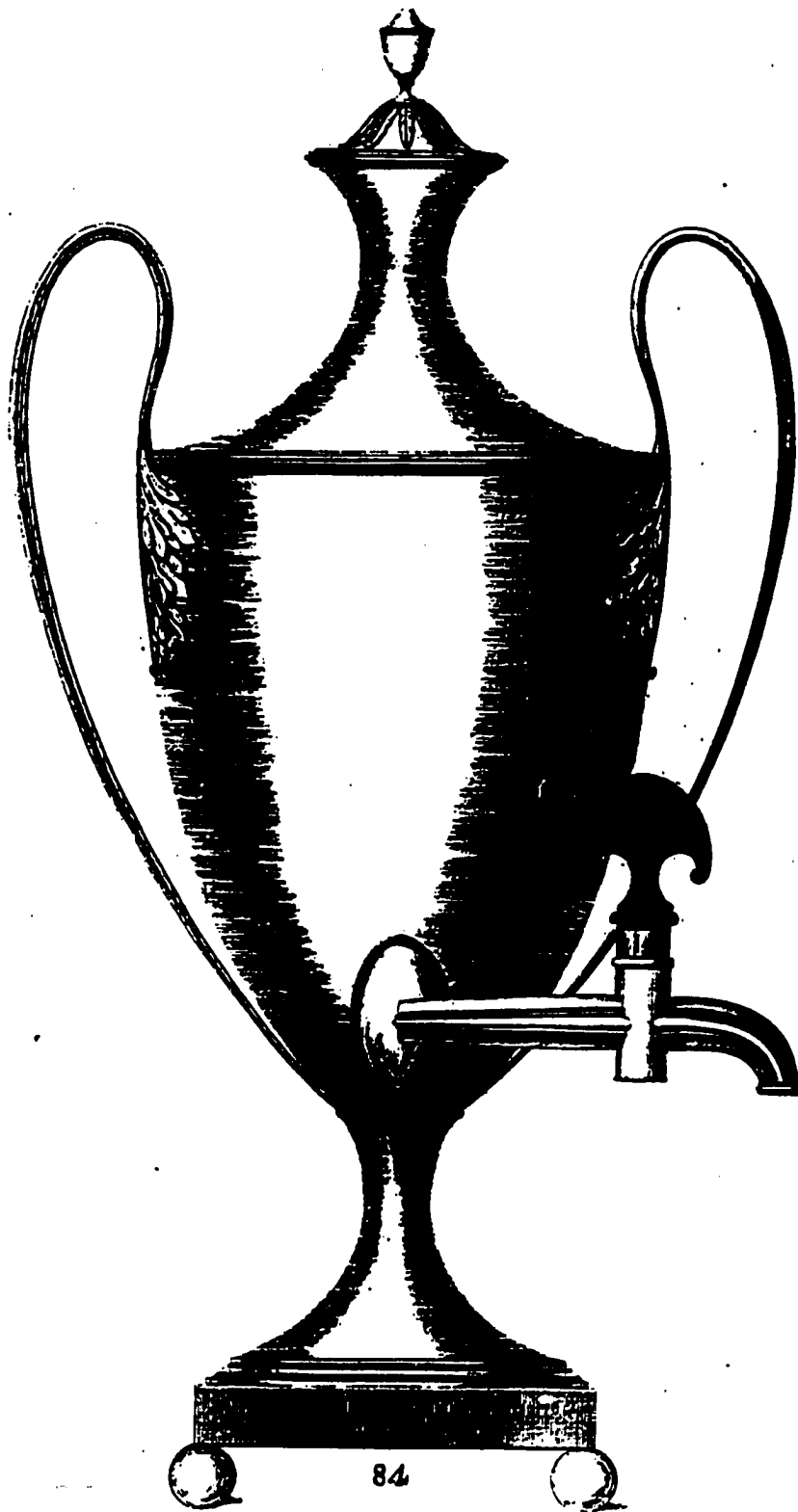


Figure 71 Coffee urn, Trade Catalogue, Love, Silverside, Darby & Co, Sheffield, England, ca 1785 (Winterthur Museum)

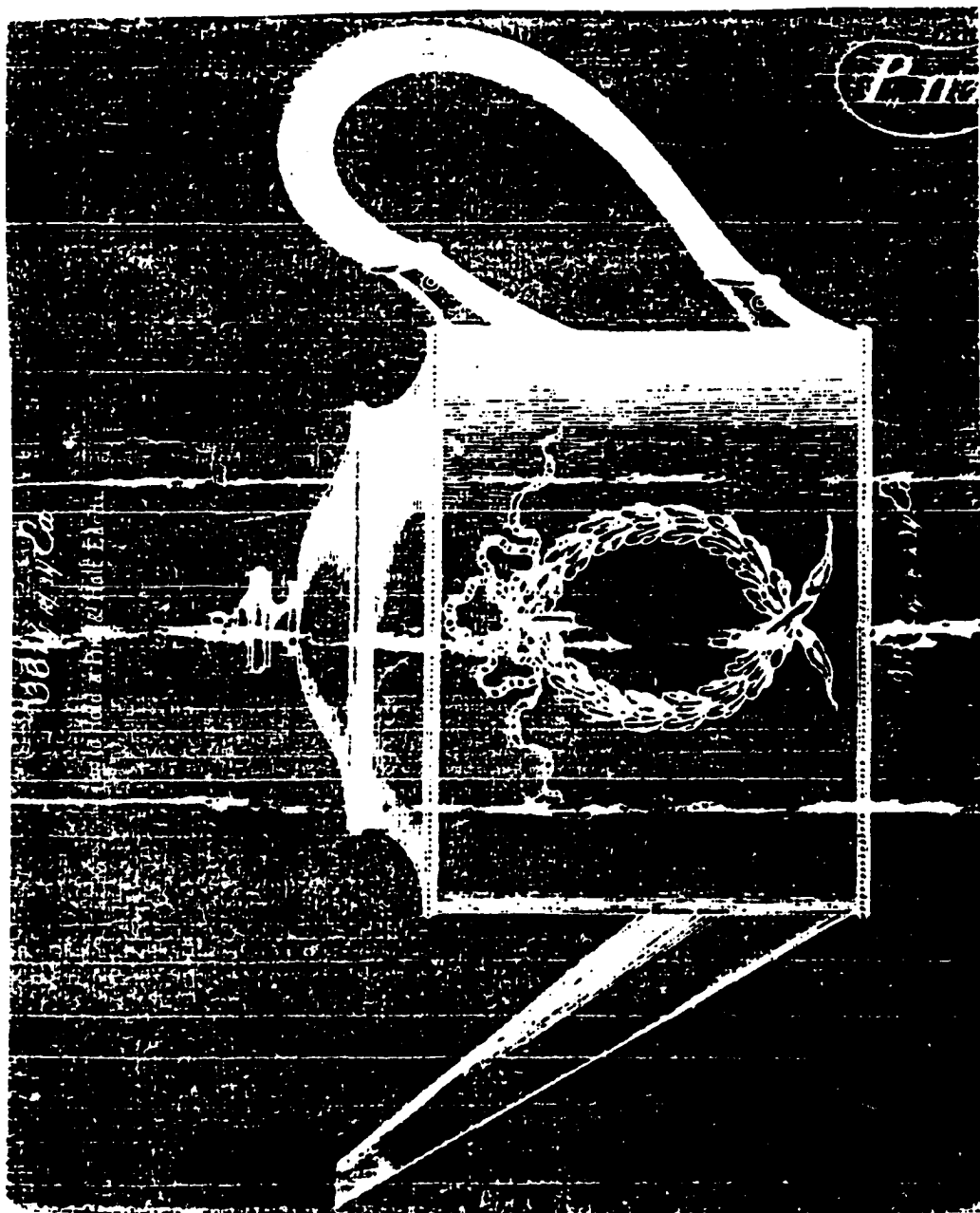


Figure 72 Toapot, Trade Catalogue, Sheffield, England, ca 1802 (Essex Institute)

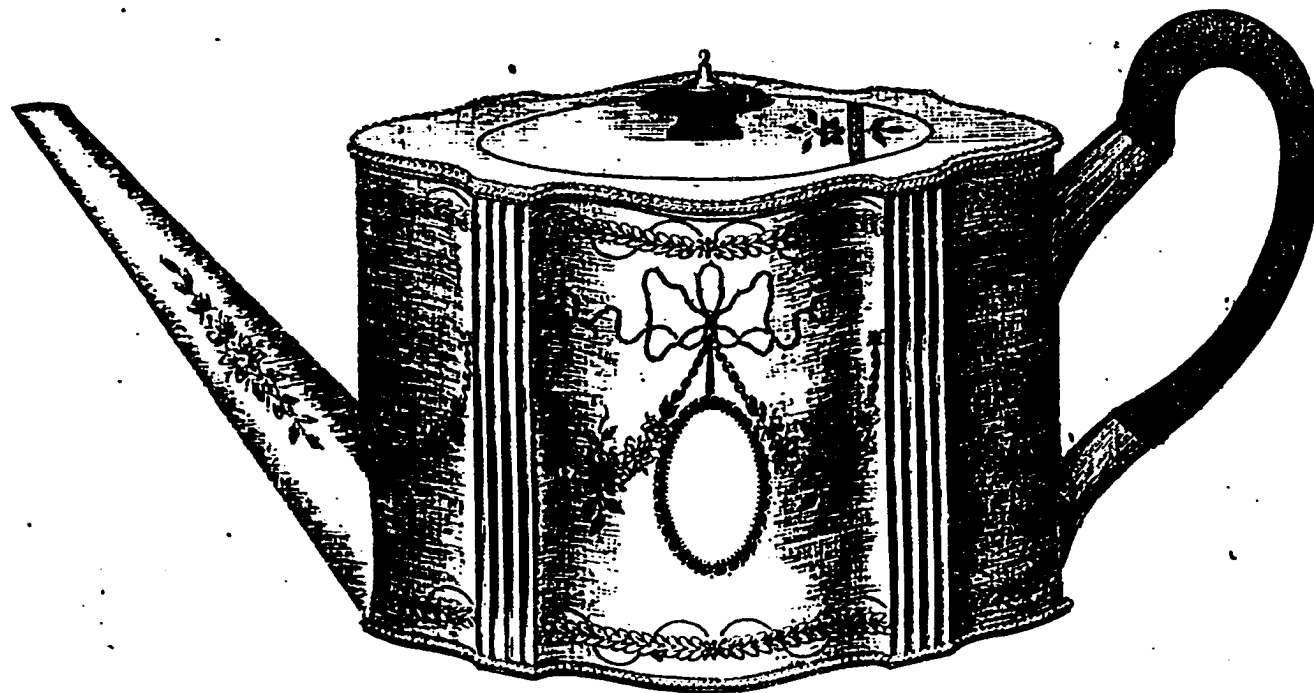


Figure 73 Teapot, Trade Catalogue, Love, Silverside, Darby & Co, Sheffield, England, ca 1785 (Winterthur Museum)

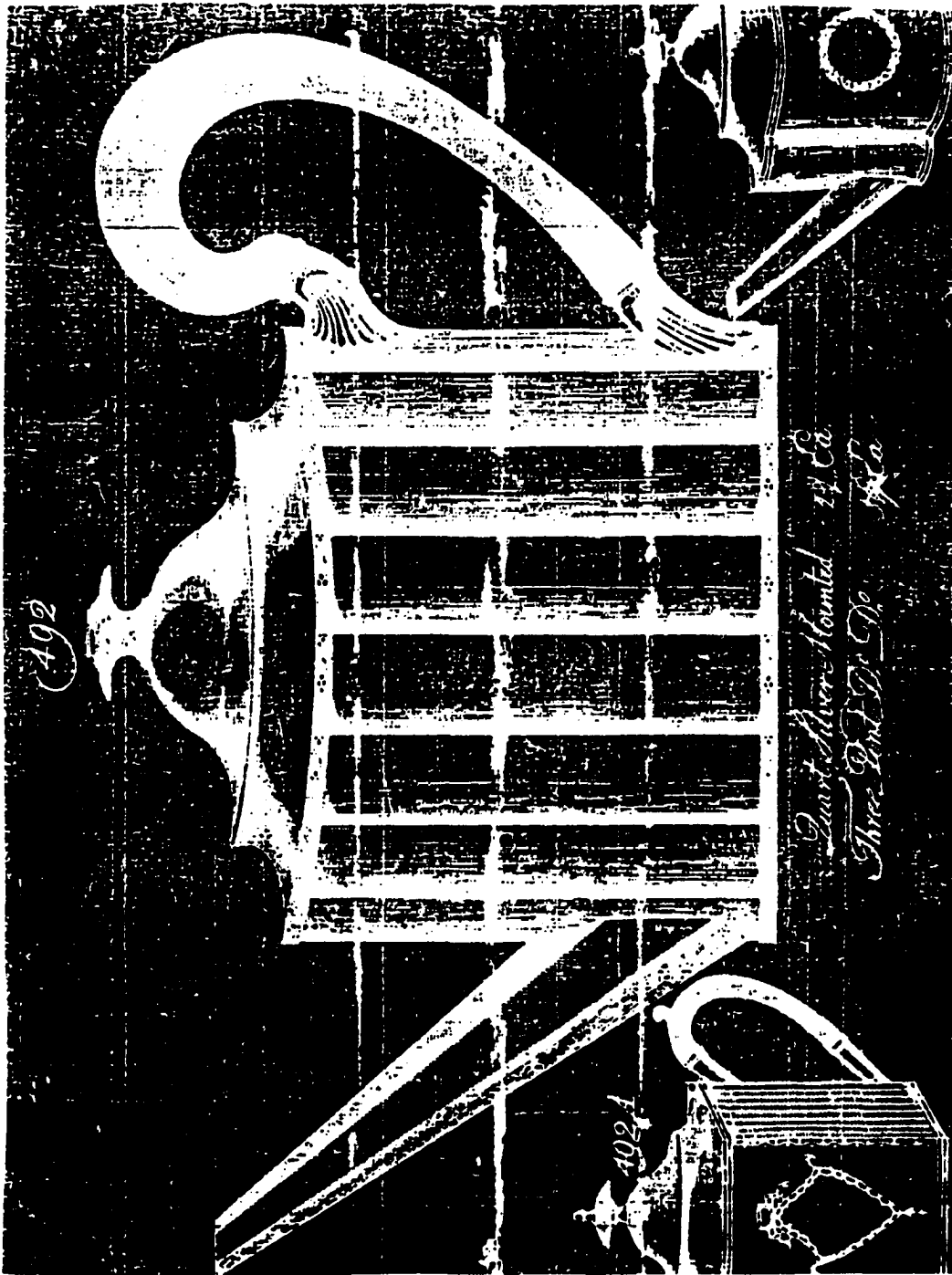


Figure 74 Teapot, Trade Catalogue, Sheffield, England, ca 1802 (Essex Institute)

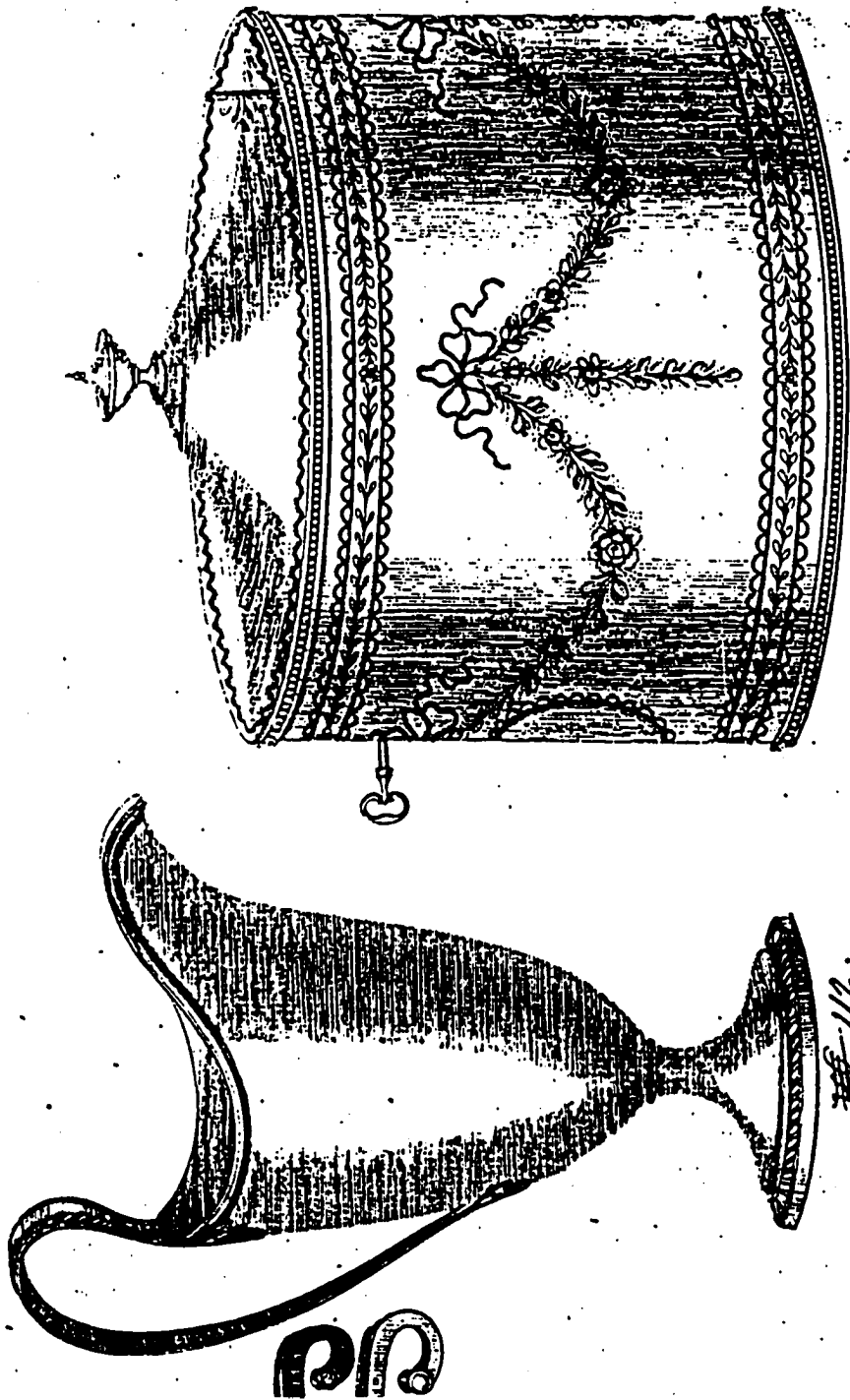




Figure 75 Greampot, 1790-95 (MFA)



Figure 76 Creampot, ca 1795 (MFA)



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Figure 77 Tea caddy, Trade Catalogue, Love, Silverside, Darby & Co, Sheffield, England,  
ca 1785 (Winterthur Museum)



Figure 78 Creampot, Trade Catalogue, Sheffield, England, ca 1800,  
(Essex Institute)



Figure 79 Pitcher, ca 1805 (YUAG)

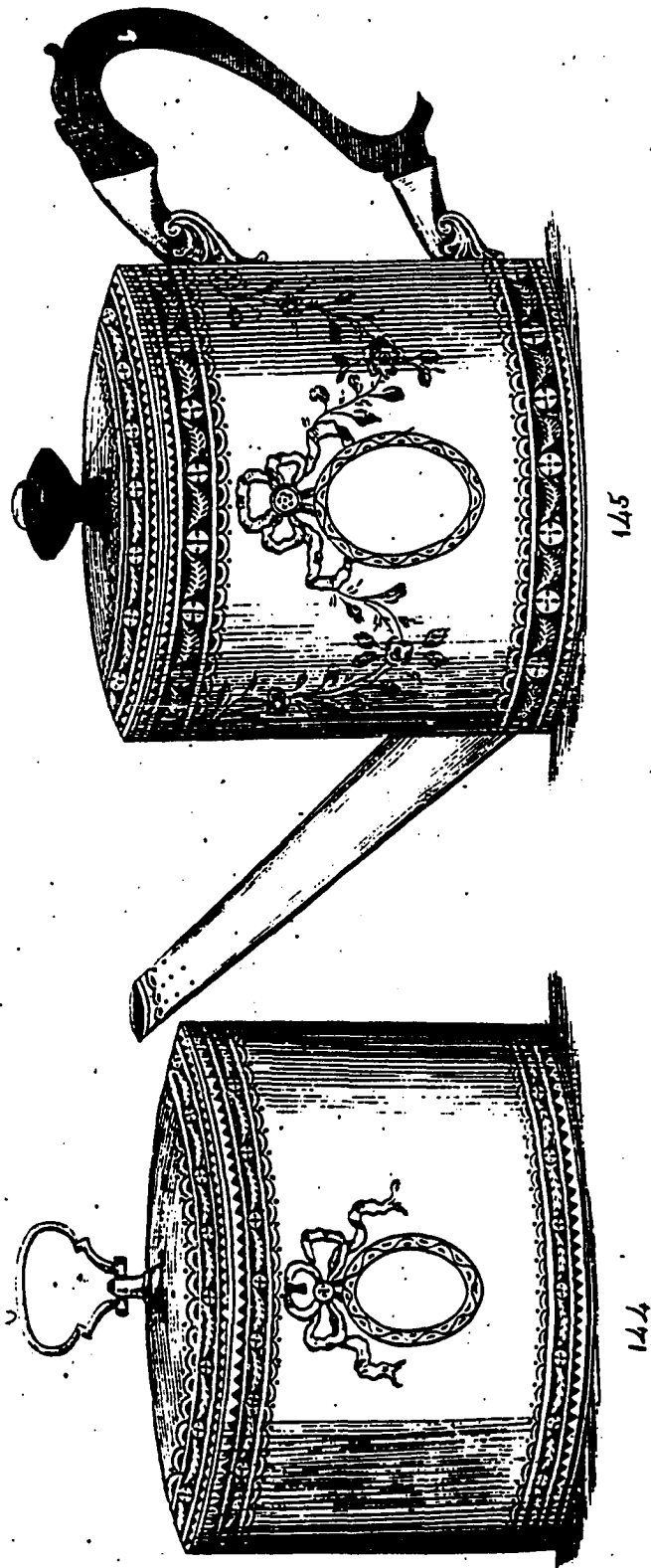


Figure 80 Tea caddy, Youngo, Greaves & Hoyland, Trade Catalogue, Sheffield, England, ca 1790  
(Winterthur Museum)

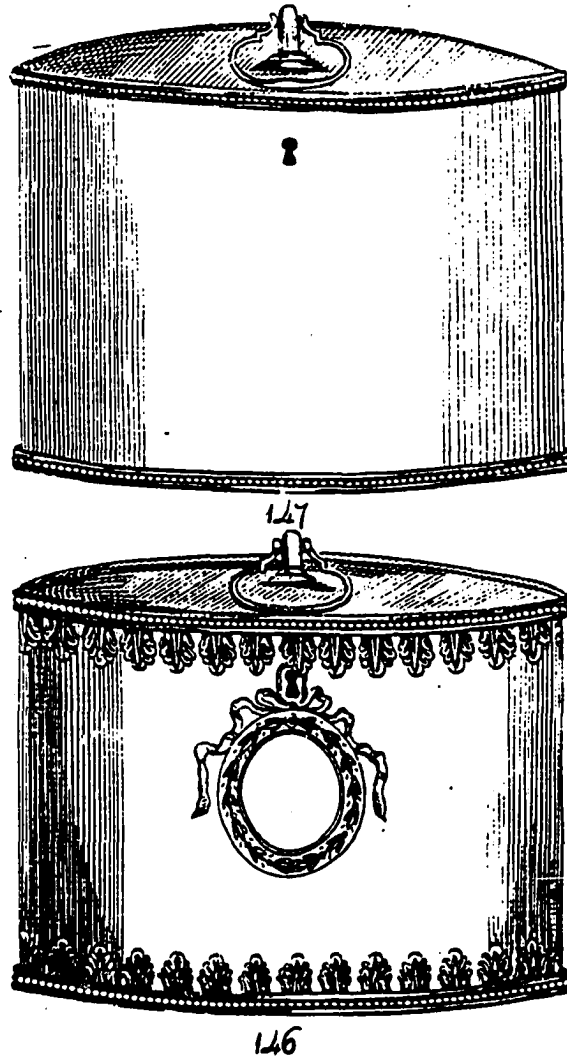


Figure 81 Tea caddies, Trade Catalogue,  
Younge, Greaves, & Hoyland, Sheffield,  
England, ca 1790 (Winterthur Museum)



Figure 82 Beaker, Trade Catalogue, Sheffield,  
 England (Essex Institute)



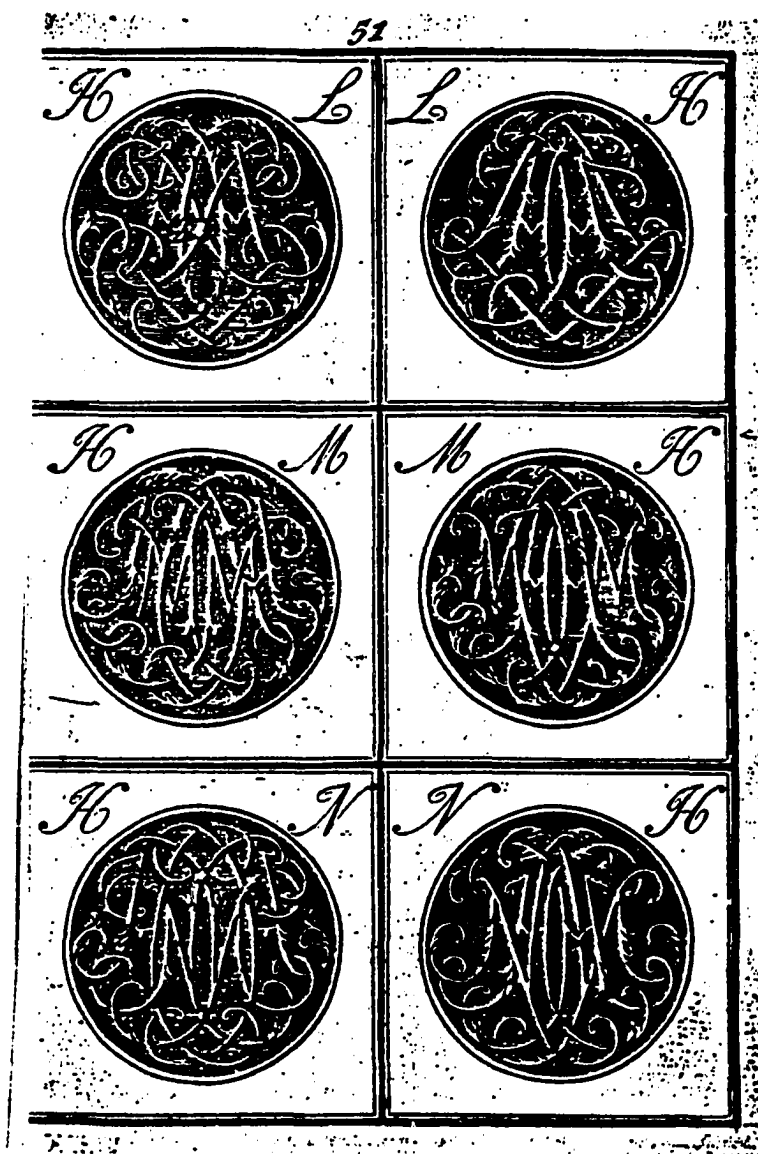


Figure 83 S. Sympson, A New Book of Cyphers  
More Complete & Regular, London, ca 1750,  
 plate 51

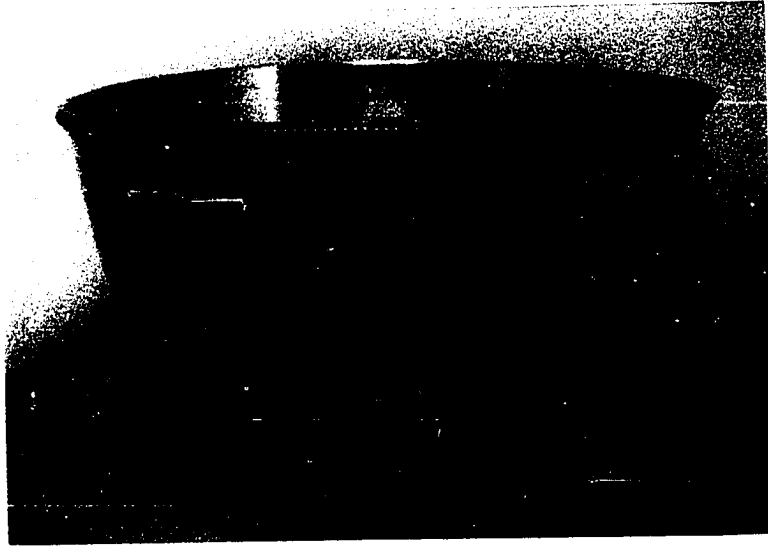


Figure 84 Slop bowl, ca 1785, made for Thomas and Jane Lee (MFA)

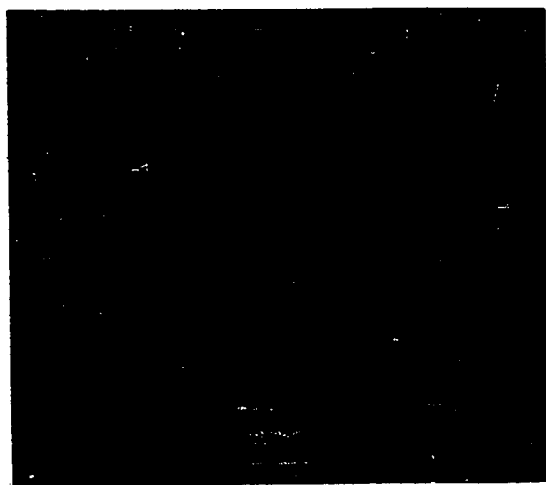


Figure 85 John Coney Monteith bowl,  
ca 1720 (MFA)

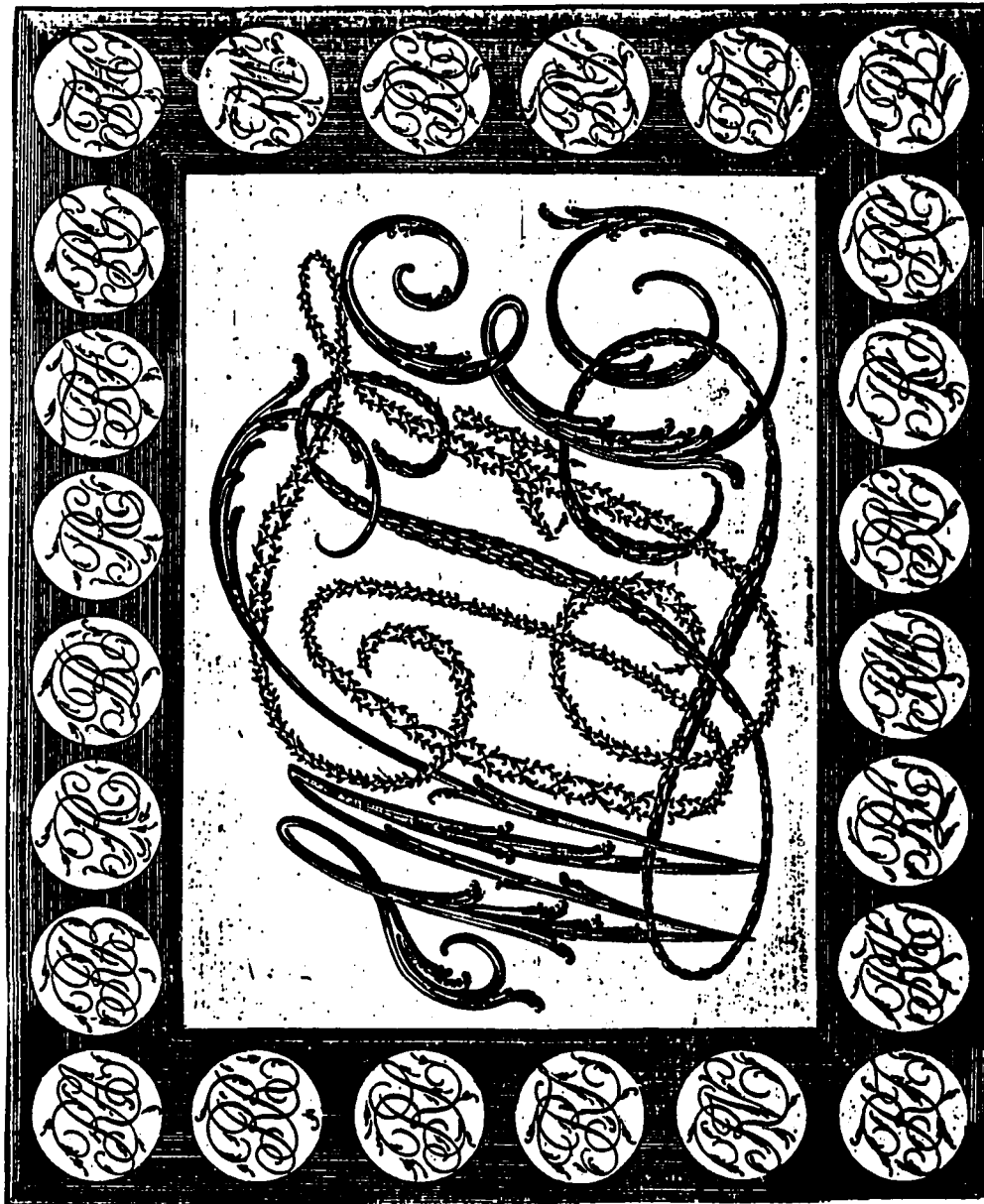


Figure 86 J. Lockington, Bowle's New & Complete Book of Cyphers, London, ca 1810, plate 17



Figure 87 Teapot and stand, ca 1790-95 (St. Louis Art Museum)

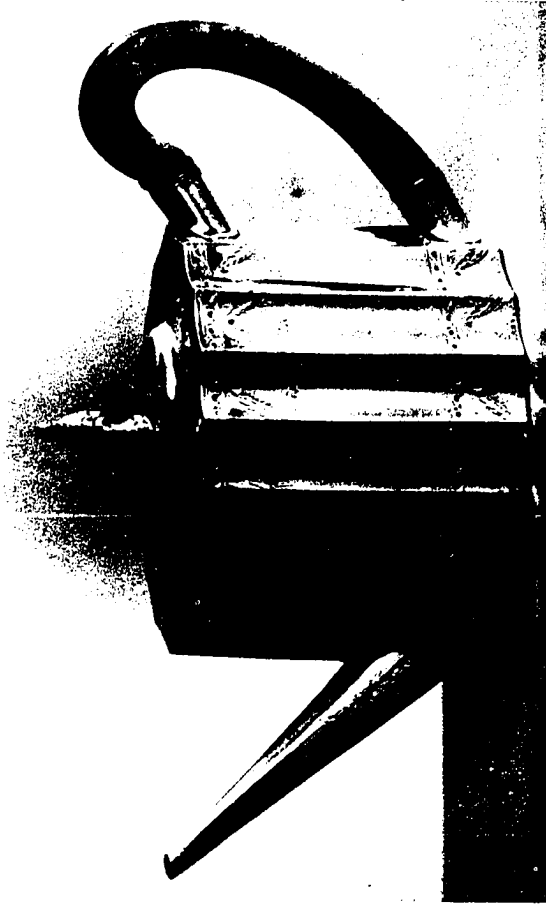


Figure 88 Teapot, ca 1797 (Worcester Art Museum)

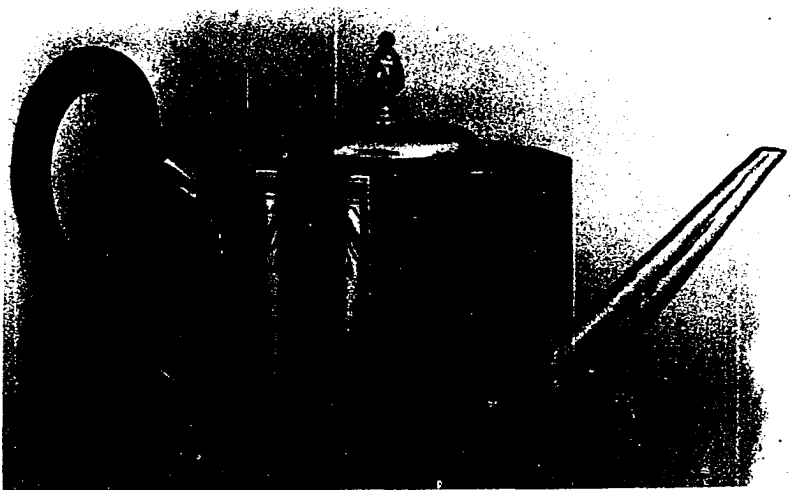


Figure 89 Teapot, 1796, probably made for Samuel Paine (Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Figure 90 Thomas Revere, Creampot  
(MFA)





Figure 91 Teapot and stand, 1790, made for Hannah Carter (MFA)

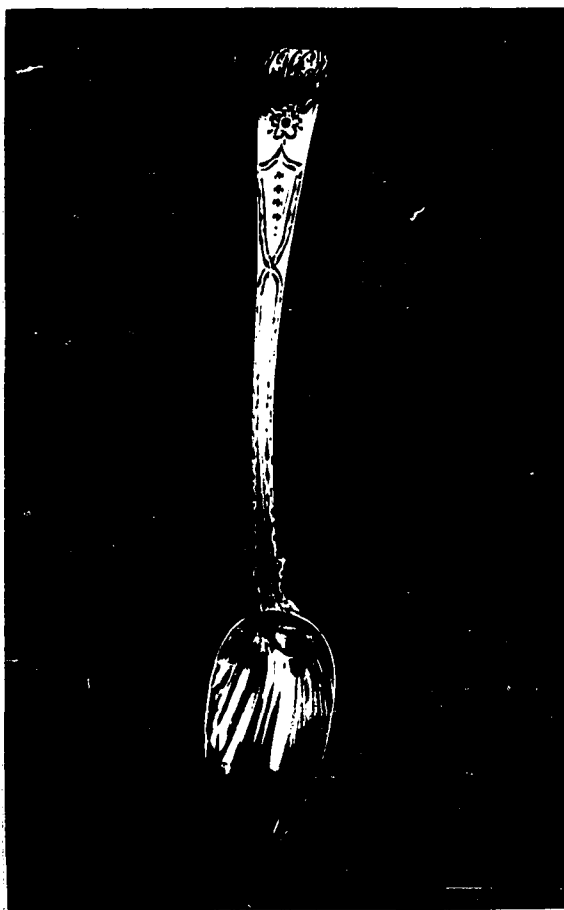


Figure 92 Spoon, 1787, made for Hannah Carter (YUAG)

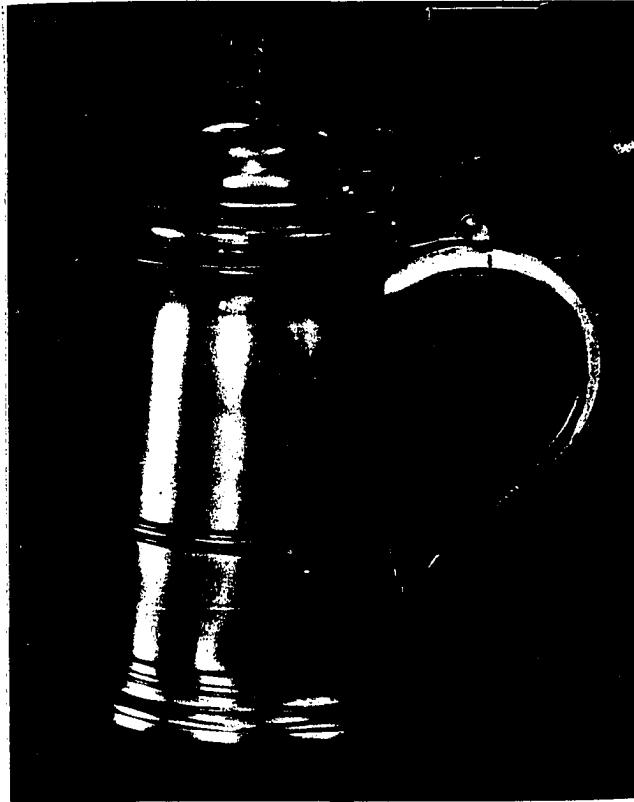


Figure 93 Stephen Emery (?), Tankard, 1787  
(YUAG)

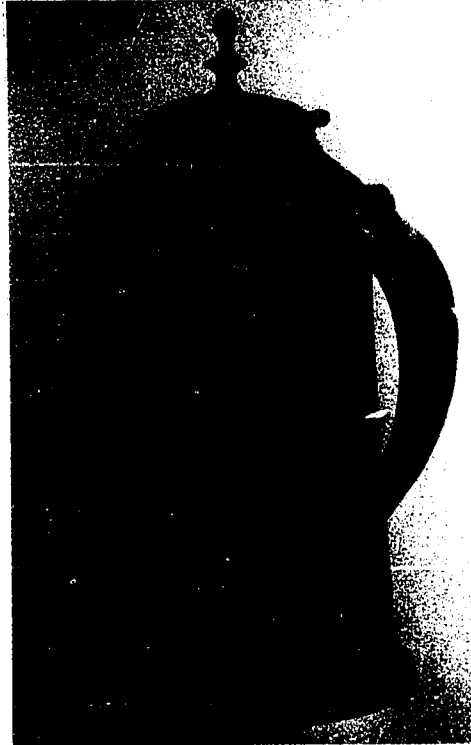


Figure 94 Tankard (Private collection)

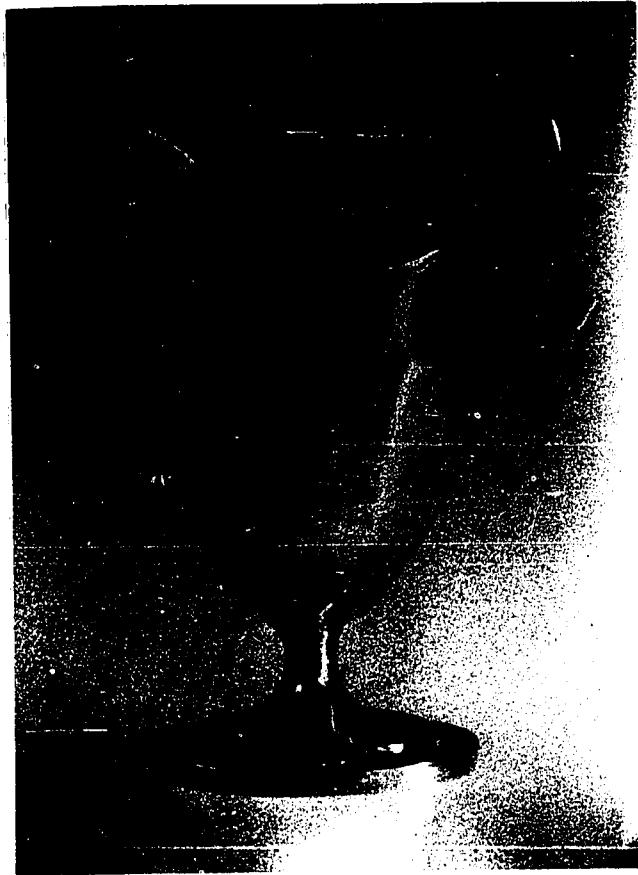


Figure 95 Caleb Beal, Creampot, 1787 (The Newark Museum)



#### REFERENCES

1. Paul Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, 36.
2. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 7.
3. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 6-7.
4. Isaac Greenwood to Paul Revere, Account, September 1757 to December 1761, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
5. Wendy A. Cooper, In Praise of America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 82, 84.
6. A teapot by Paul Revere I in The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (accession number 111.35) has Baroque foliate engraving around the lid.
7. Barbara McLean Ward's research on early Boston goldsmiths suggests that cast objects, like candlesticks, which required complex molds were made primarily by a few silversmiths who specialized in casting. Surviving examples appear to have been made by a small number of craftsmen using similar molds. Barbara McLean Ward, "Boston Goldsmiths, 1690-1730," in The Craftsman in Early America, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Winterthur, Del.: The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, 1984), 147.
8. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 35.
9. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 7.
10. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 7.
11. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 6.
12. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 42. Nathaniel Hurd engraved a table of foreign coins in circulation in the colonies circa 1765 with their weight and value in "Old Tenor" and "lawfull money." He included a table for computing the cost of gold and silver by weight. Coins in circulation included pistoles, guineas, "moidores," English crowns, Spanish "dubloons" and dollars. This table is pictured in Martha Gandy Fales, Early American Silver (New York: Excalibur Books, 1970), 230.

13. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1763, 47.
14. Zachariah Brigden, Daybook, 1765-1775, Brigden Papers, Yale University Library, 20. The Revere papers contain ship invoices for plated goods imported from England which include sauce boats; however, the daybooks refer only to butter boats.
15. Younge, Greaves and Hoyland, [Trade Catalogue] (Sheffield, England: circa 1790). The price list for this trade catalogue identifies the contents of the bottles in a cruet frame as "Soy, Ketchup, Cayen, Tarragon, Lemon and Elder." It lists other sets which combine casters and glass bottles, providing silver containers for the dry spices, cayen, pepper, and tarragon, and glass cruets for the liquid condiments.
16. Rodris Roth, "Tea Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage," U. S. National Museum Bulletin, 225 (1961): 63.
17. John Marshall Phillips, American Silver (New York: Chanticleer Press, 1949), 98.
18. Frances Gruber Safford, "Colonial Silver in the American Wing," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 41 (Summer 1983): 25.
19. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 46.
20. Louise Dresser, "American and English Silver Given in Memory of Frederick William Paine, 1866 - 1935," Worcester Art Museum Annual, 2 (1936-37): 90.
21. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 47, 52.
22. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 35, 36.
23. The most comprehensive survey of colonial church silver is E. Alfred Jones, The Old Silver of American Churches (Ietchworth, England: National Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1913).
24. Esther Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942), 42, 44.
25. Greenwood, Account, 1757-1761.
26. Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, 76-77.
27. James A. Mulholland, A History of Metals in Colonial America (University, Ala: University of Alabama Press, 1981), 90.

28. Revere, Daybook, 1961-1783, 26.
29. Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, 107.
30. Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, 119-127.
31. Written communication from Donald L. Fennimore, Jr., January 1987.
32. Abstracted from the records of Thomas Fletcher in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Donald L. Fennimore, Jr. and conveyed to me through a written communication, January 1987.
33. Phillips, American Silver, 90.
34. Martha Gandy Fales, Early American Silver (New York: Excalibur Books, 1970), 119-126.
35. The Burt coffee pot was made for Elizabeth Crowninshield, who married Elias Hasket Derby of Salem in 1761.
36. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 40.
37. Fales, Early American Silver, 120.
38. The Johonnot butter boats are illustrated in Edwin J. Hipkiss, "The Paul Revere Room," Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin 29 (October 1931): 88; Wendy A. Cooper, "Paul Revere's Boston, 1735-1818," Antiques 108 (July 1975): 25. The Paine service is illustrated in Louisa Dresser, "The Orne Portraits by Joseph Badger," Worcester Art Museum Bulletin 1 (February 1972): 12-13; Kathryn C. Buhler, American Silver From the Colonial Period through the Early Republic in the Worcester Art Museum (Worcester, Mass.: Worcester Art Museum); and Louisa Dresser, "American and English Silver Given in Memory of Frederick William Paine, 1866-1935," Worcester Art Museum Annual 2 (1936-37). Benjamin Burt also produced several butter boats with shell and "C" curve legs, examples of which are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Yale University Art Gallery. Burt was Revere's neighbor on North Square after 1770. Evidently, the two silversmiths exchanged ideas on the design and construction of their silver.
39. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 46.
40. Another collet foot butter boat is in the collection of The Paul Revere Life Insurance Company, Worcester, Mass. Graham Hood, American Silver, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 154-155; Kathryn C. Buhler, American Silver, 1655-1825, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1972), 436.
41. John Marshall Phillips, "Masterpieces in American Silver. Part III: Ecclesiastical Silver," Antiques 55 (April 1949): 285.



42. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 5.
43. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 25, 26.
44. For an extensive discussion of Revere's heraldic bookplates see Clarence S. Brigham, Paul Revere's Engravings (New York: Athenaeum Press, 1969). Collections of Revere's bookplates are held in the Yale University Library and the University of Delaware Library. Eleven surviving examples are illustrated in Brigham, Paul Revere's Engravings.
45. Barbara McLean Ward and Gerald W. R. Ward, Silver in American Life (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1979), 76.
46. Jules David Brown, John Singleton Copley in America 1738-1774 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), figure 177.
47. John Guillim, A Display of Heraldry (London: Printed by T. W. for R. and J. Bonwicke and R. Wilkin, and J. Walthoe and Thos. Ward, 1724): 157.
48. Illustrations of the correct method for indicating tinctures and furs in heraldry can be found in any standard work on the subject, including Eugene Zieber, Heraldry in America (New York: Greenwich House, 1985), 255-257 and Carl-Alexander von Volborth, Heraldry: Customs, Roles and Styles (Poole, England: Blandford Press, 1983), 8.
49. Guillim, A Display of Heraldry, 407.
50. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 23; Guillim, A Display of Heraldry, 240.
51. Guillim, A Display of Heraldry, 407.
52. Guillim, A Display of Heraldry, 315.
53. John Gardiner's bookplate, illustrated in Brigham, Paul Revere's Engravings, plate 52, uses a similar design of three stringed horns and a chevron with a tincture denoting red.
54. William Loring Andrews, Paul Revere and His Engraving (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1901), 140-41.
55. Zieber, Heraldry in America, 34, 46, 51, 69. Zieber lists all the family arms appearing in cemeteries in Boston, Cambridge, and Charlestown.
56. Ray Nash, "The Second 'R' in America," Antiques 46 (September 1944): 132.

57. Greenwood, Account, 1757-1761.
58. George Francis Dow, The Arts & Crafts in New England 1764-1775 (Topsfield, Mass.: The Wayside Press, 1927), 21.
59. Edes and Gill, Account, January 1770 - November 1772, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
60. Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, 214.
61. Jane Ross, "Paul Revere--Patriot Engraver," Early American Life 6 (April 1975): 36-37.
62. Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, 160-163. Revere's design sources for his engravings can be found in Brigham's Paul Revere's Engravings.
63. Brigham, Paul Revere's Engravings, vii.
64. Edes and Gill, Account.
65. Dow, The Arts and Crafts in New England 55; Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, 130.
66. Samuel Hewes, Account, January - April 1771, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
67. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 49.
68. Brigden, Daybook, 1765-1775.
69. Zachariah Brigden, Daybook, 1780-1785, Brigden Papers, Yale University Library.
70. Safford, "Colonial Silver," 53.
71. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 5.
72. Family ties do not seem to have affected Revere's accounting of business relationships. Revere charged his mother, Deborah Revere, for 12 months board on 10 December 1762 and for 52 weeks board on 12 December 1763 and 25 December 1764 and kept records of both the goods she supplied and money spent on her behalf. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 14, 21, 25.
73. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 9, 12.
74. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 23.

75. Josiah Collins to Paul Revere, 22 November 1774, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

76. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 11, 25, 49; Greenwood, Account, 1757-1761. In 1771, Revere engraved a trade card for Greenwood (1780-1803) which described the diverse types of work done by the turner:

Isaac Greenwood Ivory Turner Next door to Doct<sup>r</sup> John Clark's at the North End Boston. Turns all Sorts of Work in Ivory. Silver, Brass. Tin. Horn. Wood &c. Such as Billiard Balls. Tea Boards. Scollopd & Plain Salvers. Decanter Stands. Pestles & Mortars. Chocolate Mills. Lemon Squeezers. Walking Sticks. Ivory & Nut heads & Ferrells for ditto. Ends for Prospective Glasses. Joynts for German flutes. Large Wooden Cocks for Distillers Butts. Small ditto for Spirits. Turns Work for Gold-Smiths. Such as Tankards. Canns. Casters. Salts. Iron Hand Irons for Smiths. Plain & Twisted Bannisters & Posts for Stair Cases & Turretts. Pillars for Frontispieces & Makes Handles for Coffee Potts. Tea Potts. Chafing dishes & Warming Pans. Patterns for Goldsmiths & founders. Wooden Leggs and many other Articles too many to be here enumerated with Fidelity & Dispatch at a very Reasonable Rate--Makes Umberilloes. Brigham, Paul Revere's Engraving, 118.

Martha Gandy Fales provides further documentation of the inter-relationships of turners and silversmiths. She cites the Boston Chronicle, August 1-8, 1768 in which the turner Isaac Rowls advertised "Turns work for Gold-Smith, viz. Tankards, Canns, Casters, Salts." Fales, Richardson and Family, p. 283.

77. Elbridge Henry Goss, The Life of Colonel Paul Revere, Vol 1, (Boston: J. G. Cupples, 1891): 54. Goss included a bill from Revere to Flagg for silver shoe buckles, a silver cream pot, a pair of "turtle shell" buttons, "one half of Engraving Copper Plates for Singing Book," and various amounts of silver, gold and cash.

78. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 11, 12, 13. Samuel Minott's connection with the Revere shop may have begun with Paul Revere I. A silver tankard in the Winterthur Museum by Paul Revere I bears a cast mask terminus on the handle with "WH" or "SM" scratched into it. This could refer to Minott or to William Simpkins, who later formed a partnership with Minott. An identical mask appears on a tankard made by Paul Revere II in the Yale University Art Gallery. Since this tankard was made in 1762, the mask may have been purchased during Revere's association with Minott in August and October of that year.

79. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 8, 13, 33.

80. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 23.
81. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 8, 9, 12, 18.
82. The Franklin salvers are discussed and illustrated in Wendy A. Cooper, In Praise of America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980): 144-45. There are other examples of collaboration among silversmiths. The Dartmouth College Museum owns a monteith bowl made by Daniel Hinchman and engraved by Nathaniel Hurd, which is illustrated in Margaret J. Moody, American Decorative Arts at Dartmouth (Hanover, N. H.: Dartmouth College, 1981): 22. The Yale University Art Gallery owns a gold box made in New York in 1784 by Samuel Johnson and engraved by Peter Rushton Maverick.
83. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 13, 30.
84. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 41, 43, 44, 45, 51.
85. John Welsh to Paul Revere, Account, 1761-August 1765, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
86. Revere, Daybook, 1781-1783, 42.
87. Ward, Barbara McLean, Silver in American Life, 16.
88. James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," William and Mary Quarterly 22 (January 1965): 77.
89. Henretta, "Economic Development in Colonial Boston," 77.
90. Masons who ordered silver from Revere include Samuel Barrett, Stephen Bruce, Capt. Cochran, James Graham, M. M. Hayes, John Lowell, Perez Morton, Edward Proctor, John Symmes, Isaiah Thomas, John Warren, Joseph Warren, and Joseph Webb. These names were identified in Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, Goss, The Life of Colonel Paul Revere; and records of the Lodge of St. Andrew.
91. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 5.
92. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 45.
93. Revere made these frames for Copley between 1765 and 1767. In Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, Forbes speculates that Copley painted Revere's portrait to pay off his debt to the silversmith for the frames, cases, and other silver and gold objects. (p. 112) Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 14, 15, 16, 19, 26, 28, 53.
94. Paul Revere to Mathias Rivoire, 6 October 1781, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

95. Revere to Rivoire, 6 October 1771.
95. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 55, 59.
97. Capt. Nathaniel Fellows to Paul Revere, Shipping invoice, July 1783; Frederick Wm. Geyer to Paul Revere, Shipping invoice, 1 October 1783, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
98. Paul Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, 24.
99. Revere, Shipping Invoice, 1783.
100. Lewis Hays to Paul Revere, Invoice, 20 September 1791; Josiah Vose to Paul Revere, Invoice, 6 October 1791, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. More orders for ceramics are recorded in the Memoranda Book, 1788-1795.
101. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 150.
102. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 74.
103. Charles Leadbetter, The Royal Gauger, Or, Gauging Made Easy. (London: E. Wicksteed, 1743), 287.
104. Leadbetter, The Royal Gauger, 235.
105. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 145.
106. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 69.
107. Roth, "Tea Drinking In 18th-century America," 66.
108. The Hartt tea set is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The teapot and sugar urn are inscribed "To/Edmund Hartt/Constructor of the Frigate BOSTON/Presented by a number of his fellow citizens as a/Memorial of their sense of his Ability, Zeal & Fidelity/in the Completion of that Ornament/of the AMERICAN NAVY/1799."
109. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 72, 73.
110. Quoted in Fales, Richardson and Family, 282-83.
111. Henry J. Kauffman, The Colonial Silversmith: His Techniques & His Products (New York: Galahad Books, 1959), 128.

112. Harrold E. Gillingham, "Cesar Ghiselin, Philadelphia's First Gold and Silversmith, 1693-1733," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 57 (1933): 248.
113. Fales, Richardson and Family, 232, 234.
114. Fales, Richardson and Family, 283; Kauffman, The Colonial Silversmith, 127-138.
115. Solomon Munro to Paul Revere, Bill, 17 November 1785, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
116. Many of the objects made during the later period exhibit a considerable amount of firescale. Revere may have increased the amount of copper in his silver alloy, perhaps as a result of his experiments with copper at the foundry. The finished object would be pickled to remove the impurities on the surface and leave a thin layer of pure silver. Over time, successive polishings have revealed the irregular coloration of the alloy beneath the surface layer.
117. Research by Janine Skerry and Ed Moreno has suggested that possibly all of the teapots constructed entirely of sheet silver use riveted construction. Janine E. Skerry, "The Revolutionary Revere, A Critical Assessment of the Silver of Paul Revere," in Paul Revere-Artisan, Businessman and Patriot: The Man Behind the Myth. Edited by Nina Zannieri. Boston: The Paul Revere Memorial Association, 1988.
118. Penrose R. Hoopes, Shop Records of Daniel Burnap, Clockmaker (Hartford, Conn.: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1958), 9.
119. Kathryn Buhler, "Three Teapots with Some Accessories," Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin 61 (1963): 58.
120. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 134.
121. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 121, 146.
122. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 119.
123. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 120, 129.
124. Revere's daybook records a large tea service ordered by Joseph Blake between 1790 and 1796 which included a tea caddy, fluted teapot and stand, fluted creampot, fluted sugar vase, a slop bowl, 2 punch ladles, 18 large spoons, and 24 teaspoons. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 93, 94, 100, 111, 122, 127, 129, 131, 137, 140, 147, 151.
125. Mrs. Anstis Lee, Narrative of a Horseback Journey to Connecticut in 1791, as quoted in Phillips, American Silver, 115.

126. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 61; Revere Daybook 1783-1797, 102.
127. Revere was not singular in his retention of the rococo coffee pot form. Ephraim Brasher made a double-bellied coffee pot in 1780-90 which he updated with neo-classical engraving and an urn-shaped finial. This coffee pot, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is illustrated in Safford, "Colonial Silver," 54-55.
128. Harness fittings provided a reliable source of business for another eighteenth-century metal worker. Connecticut clockmaker Daniel Burnap owned a small plating mill, with rolls of 1 3/4 inches and 2 1/2 inches, which he undoubtedly used to make buckles. His record books contain instructions for several methods of silver plating, two specifically designated for plating buckles. Penrose R. Hoopes, Shop Records of Daniel Burnap, Clockmaker (Hartford, Conn.: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1979), 73, 100, 121, 125.
129. Revere, Shipping invoices, 1783-1791.
130. Paul Revere, Memoranda Book, 1788-1795, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
131. Revere, Memorandum Book, 1788-1795.
132. A variety of buckles, both close plated and struck from fused plate, are illustrated in Frederick Bradbury, History of Old Sheffield Plate (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912), 23.
133. The daybook records other plated objects brought to Revere for repair, including candlesticks and tea wares, but there is no evidence that Revere ever made any of these items.
134. Paul Revere, Memoranda Book, 1793-1796, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
135. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 137. Revere also sold an "iron plating mill" to Jonathan Stickney on 18 November 1792. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 125.
136. Revere, Memoranda Book, 1793-1796.
137. Revere, Memoranda Book, 1788-1795.
138. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 43.
139. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 78.

140. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 57, 71, 73, 83, 98, 106, 112, 114, 117, 122, 126, 130, 134, 141, 147, 148, 155, 157, 162, 165. Cesar Ghiselin kept ready made stock of small articles, such as scissors, rings, and buttons. Gillingham, "Cesar Ghiselin," 251.
141. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 118, 122, 123, 128, 130, 132, 134, 140, 141, 148, 151, 154, 158, 161.
142. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 4.
143. Fales, Richardson and Family, 200-201.
144. Safford, "Colonial Silver," 50.
145. William Hogarth's trade card for London silversmith Peter de la Fontaine, circa 1740, depicts the interior of the shop, with the forge, sales counter, and display cabinets carefully detailed. This trade card is illustrated in Fales, Early American Silver, 198.
146. Goss, Colonel Paul Revere, 530.
147. Revere to Rivoire, Letter, 6 October 1781.
148. John Rivoire to Paul Revere, 28 January 1781/2; Paul Revere to John Rivoire, 1 July 1782, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
149. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 64.
150. Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, 171.
151. Revere, Shipping Invoice, July 1783.
152. Frederick William Geyer to Paul Revere, Shipping Invoice, 22 August 1783, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
153. Frederick William Geyer to Paul Revere, Shipping Invoice, 20 September 1783; Frederick William Geyer to Paul Revere, Shipping Invoice, 12 February 1784, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
154. John Sampson to Paul Revere, 2 February 1785, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
155. Sampson to Revere, 2 February 1785.
156. John Sampson to Paul Revere, Shipping Invoice, 10 March 1785, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.



157. John Sampson to Paul Revere, Shipping Invoice, 2 May 1786, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
158. Daniel Burnap operated a small retail store in which he sold some of the goods offered to him as payment for his services. Joseph and Nathaniel Richardson included a variety of imported items in his stock, primarily plated wares and sets of scales and weights.
159. Revere inventoried the stock in his retail store on 1 February 1785. This stock book includes most of the articles listed in the shipping invoices for 1783 and 1784. Paul Revere, Stock Book, 15 February 1785; Paul Revere, Shipping Invoices, 1783-1791, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
160. John Marshall Phillips, Bigelow-Phillips Project, Yale University Art Gallery.
161. Revere, Daybook, 1761-1783, 73-77.
162. Goss, Colonel Paul Revere, 538f.
163. Revere was not the only silversmith to obtain silver from foreign coins. Zachariah Brigden's daybook contains an entry for "10 crowns to make a Tankard" in 1780. Zachariah Brigden, Daybook, 1780-1786, Brigden Papers, Yale University Library.
164. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1791, 51.
165. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 87.
166. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 94, 95, 96.
167. Goss, Colonel Paul Revere, 528.
168. Revere, Memoranda Book, 1788-1795.
169. Donald L. Fennimore's work on Fletcher and Gardiner of Philadelphia determined that they also used their silver shop as a revenue producing element in a large business enterprise. Donald L. Fennimore, "Elegant Patterns of Uncommon Good Taste: Domestic Silver by Thomas Fletcher and Sidney Gardiner." Unpublished master's thesis (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware, 1972).
170. Simon Willard to Paul Revere, 1782, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
171. Goss, Colonel Paul Revere, 531.

172. Goss, Colonel Paul Revere, 532.

173. The Revere Family Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society contain the items ranging in date from 1761 to 1865, and include business accounts for the silver shop, retail store, foundry, and rolling mill, letterbooks, and family documents.

174. Samuel Paine to Paul Revere, 12 June 1790, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

175. Frederick Wm. Geyer to Paul Revere, Shipping Invoice, January 1784, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

176. Paul Revere to Frederick Wm. Geyer, 19 January 1784, Letterbook, 1783-1800, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

177. Two punch urns were ordered by John Codman on 20 May 1795 and were probably the same design as the Jackson urn. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 156.

178. Samuel Blagg ordered 2 "hoop'd Canns" on 14 January 1792. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 116. Another hooped cann made for William Tuch of Manchester, Massachusetts is in the collection of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

179. Sheffield wares used an overlapping dovetail seam to join the edges of the sheet metal, which was less liable to break than a straight soldered seam. Bradbury, History of Old Sheffield Plate, 111.

180. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 145.

181. Younge, Greaves & Hoyland, Trade Catalogue (Sheffield, England: circa 1790).

182. Phillips, American Silver, 85-86.

183. The inventory of Coney's estate in 1722 included an appraisal of "Paul Rivoire's Time, about Three years and half as Indenture . . . £ 30." Hermann Frederick Clarke, John Coney, Silversmith. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932), 12.

184. Revere, Shipping Invoices, 1783-1791; Paul Revere, Inventory of estate, Registry of Deeds and Probate, Suffolk County Court House, Boston. Revere's inventory contains no silversmithing tools. Since Revere's son carried on the operation of the silver shop after he had shifted his interest to the Canton rolling mill, his tools and pattern books must have been handed down to his son long before his death.

185. The "thistle" engraver is represented by a creampot in a private collection sold at Sotheby's in 1974, a teapot in the Worcester Art Museum, and a sugar urn in the Amherst College Collection.
186. Several objects with Thomas Revere's feathery tassel engraving were made in 1796, including a teapot believed to have been made for Samuel Paine in the Metropolitan Museum, and a teapot, two stands and a sugar basket made for Jonathan Hunnewell. The Hunnewell teapot is in the Museum of Fine Arts, the rest of the set is in the Metropolitan Museum. (Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 154, 160)
187. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 155.
188. Paul Revere to John Rivoire, 1 July 1782, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
189. Isaac Greenwood to Paul Revere & Son, Receipt, 27 November 1793, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
190. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 77.
191. Paul Revere, Memoranda Book, 1796-98, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
192. Paul Revere to Isaiah Thomas, 8 May 1791, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. The Worcester Art Museum has a tablespoon by Eayres, circa 1790. The initials on the handle, "IMT" for Isaiah and Mary Thomas are enclosed in a ring with flowers and foliage hanging from the knot. Two other spoons from the set are in the Yale University Art Gallery. Stephen B. Jareckie, The Early Republic: Consolidation of Revolutionary Goals (Worcester, Mass.: Worcester Art Museum, 1976), 88.
193. Harry N. Flynt and Martha Gandy Fales, The Heritage Foundation Collection of Silver (Old Deerfield, Mass.: The Heritage Foundation, 1968), 211; Kathryn C. Buhler, American Silver From the Colonial Period through the Early Republic in the Worcester Art Museum (Worcester, Mass.: Worcester Art Museum, 1979), 56.
194. Paul Revere, Memoranda Book, 1793-1796, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
195. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 82.
196. Revere, Memoranda Book, 1788-1795; Revere, Memoranda Book for Goldsmiths Shop Began Decem<sup>r</sup> 16, 1795; Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

197. Revere, Memoranda Book for Goldsmiths Shop Began Decem<sup>r</sup> 16, 1795.
198. Greenwood to Revere & Son, Receipt, 27 November 1793.
199. Revere, Memoranda Book, 1788-1795.
200. A tankard in the Winterthur Museum bears the mark of Daniel Russell which appears to have been struck over an earlier mark. This may be another example of a retailer superimposing his mark over that of the maker.
201. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 87.
202. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 58. Revere provided Nathaniel Austin with at least 25 pieces of silver destined for Hannah Carter. The daybook records 12 scalloped teaspoons, 12 teaspoons, a pair of sugar tongs and the cost of engraving 25 cyphers on 9 June 1787.
203. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 62.
204. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 63.
205. It is somewhat difficult to draw very concrete conclusions about changes in the professions of Revere's clientele during his two periods of shop operation because documentation for the earlier period is limited. The "Taking Books" compiled by the Assessors of the Town of Boston in 1780 is the earliest city-wide census, with city directories appearing regularly after 1789. There are no comparable documents for the pre-revolutionary years.
206. Revere, Daybook, 1783-1797, 10, 166, 163, 154, 146, 144, 117, 93, 89, 78, 159.

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