



Beyond Midnight: *Paul Revere*



AMERICAN
ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY





The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King-Street BOSTON on March 5th 1770 by a party of the 29th REG^T



Engraved Printed & Sold by PAUL REVERE BOSTON

Unhappy Boston! see thy Sons deplore,
Thy hallow'd Walks besmear'd with guiltless Gore,
While faithless P—n and his savage Bands,
With murderous Rancour stretch their bloody Hands;
Like fierce Barbarians ginning o'er their Prey,
Approve the Carnage and enjoy the Day.

If scalding drops from Rage from Anguish Wring,
If speechless Sorrows lab'ring for a Tongue,
Or if a weeping World can ought appease
The plaintive Ghosts of Victims such as these;
The Patriot's copious Tears for each are shed,
A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.

But know Fate summons to that awful Goal,
Where JUSTICE strips the Murderer of his Soul:
Should venal C—ts the scandal of the Land,
Snatch the relentless Villain from her Hand,
Keen Execrations on this Plate inscrib'd,
Shall reach a JUDGE who never can be brib'd.

*The unhappy sufferers were Mess^{rs} SAM^l GRAY, SAM^l MAVERICK, JAM^s CALDWELL, CRISPUS ATTUCKS & PAT^l CARR
Killed. Six wounded; two of them (CHRIST^B MONK & JOHN CLARK) Mortally*

Beyond Midnight: Paul Revere

September 2019–October 2020

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

CONCORD MUSEUM

CRYSTAL BRIDGES MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

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Isaiah Thomas

Paul Revere, bookplate for Isaiah Thomas, ca. 1798. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society. Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831 (cat. 78).

Preface

The American Antiquarian Society (AAS) was founded in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1812 by the patriot printer and publisher Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831). The Society has since become a vital center for the study of all aspects of American history and culture. In 2013, AAS was the first independent research library to receive the National Humanities Medal and was recognized for “safeguarding the American story.” The Society’s mission is to collect, preserve, and make available the printed record of North America from the seventeenth century through most of the nineteenth century. The collection of more than one million books, newspapers, prints, and manuscripts rests on over twenty-five miles of shelving in a state-of-the-art library. AAS participates in a wide assortment of collaborative projects, including symposia, public lectures, performances, digital initiatives, and exhibitions such as *Beyond Midnight: Paul Revere*.

The Society has a long history with Paul Revere, the silversmith famous for his April 1775 midnight ride, and holds a near-complete set of his works on paper. Our founder, Isaiah Thomas, was a longtime patron and friend of Revere as well as a fellow patriot and Masonic brother. Thomas hired Revere to engrave illustrations for his periodicals and almanacs, and to design mastheads to adorn the various newspapers that he published. It is entirely possible that some of the Revere prints at the Society were brought into the collection before Thomas’s death in 1831 and survive today because of the connection between the two men.

In 1908, thirty-one-year-old Clarence S. Brigham (1877–1963) was appointed as librarian of the Society. Brigham was a multitasking bibliographer and enthusiastic acquirer, who set himself the challenge of assessing and expanding the Society’s

holdings of prints by Revere. In January 1912, the Society’s centennial year and just four years into his tenure, Brigham arranged an exhibition at AAS titled *Engravings by Paul Revere*, which according to his own report included “recently discovered prints found among the archives of the Society or unearthed during the course of the investigation of the subject.” In an attempt at completeness, he also borrowed prints from institutions such as Harvard University and the John Carter Brown Library, as well as from collector members, including Nathaniel Paine (1832–1917) and Hollis French (1868–1940).

The exhibition led to more Revere-related acquisitions. In 1915, Brigham acquired three Revere engravings—only known copies of trade cards for both Joseph Webb and William Breck, and a Masonic certificate that had been borrowed from collector and gallery owner Robert Fridenberg (1860–1946) for the 1912 show. Brigham continued to chase after and acquire Revere engravings and illustrations for the next forty years. After arranging a second exhibition on Revere’s prints in March 1936 at the Grolier Club in New York, Brigham began contemplating a publication listing every known Revere work on paper, from the well-known prints to the ephemera and currency. He read through volumes of Revere’s accounts preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, wrote letter after letter to institutions, collectors, and booksellers around the country seeking information about Revere’s prints, and kept exhaustive notes on potential acquisitions for the Society.

In 1954 the Society published Brigham’s *Paul Revere’s Engravings*. The book was recognized by reviewers as a “definitive work” and an “essential reference tool for Americanists.” In the book, Brigham was meticulous about recording known impressions of engravings,

describing each nuanced difference and listing every restrike and copy—he even listed prints that appeared in Revere’s accounts but for which no copies were known. The publication, which was reissued by AAS in a second edition in 1969, remains a resource for scholars today (including those who contributed to this catalog).

Beyond Midnight: Paul Revere and its accompanying catalog have been over five years in the making, involving concentrated planning and preparation by many. Financial supporters and donors to the project, as well as the exhibition venues and lenders, are all acknowledged elsewhere in this volume, but special thanks are in order to Society members Ambassador J. William Middendorf II and Robert A. Vincent, who graciously agreed to loan Revere material from their own collections to augment the exhibition. Appreciation also goes to AAS members Wendy A. Cooper, curator emerita of furniture at the Winterthur Museum, Garden & Library, and Nina Zannieri, executive director of the Paul Revere Memorial Association / Paul Revere House, for their wise counsel during the planning stages of the exhibition.

Planning by AAS staff for *Beyond Midnight: Paul Revere* was particularly challenging as the Society was concurrently undergoing a major construction project, with a three-story, 7,000-square-foot addition added to the library. This expansion, which includes education and event space, a new state-of-the-art conservation lab, and replacement of heating, air conditioning, and security systems, has dramatically increased our capacity to preserve and share our collections.

The exhibition was curated by the indefatigable duo of Nan Wolverton, the Society’s director of fellowships and of the Center for Historic American Visual Culture (CHAViC), and Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Graphic Arts Lauren B. Hewes. Chief conservator Babette Gehnrich examined every print, book, newspaper, and broadside in the exhibition, giving many of our Revere materials their first treatments since they were acquired by Brigham. AAS member and former fellow Nancy Siegel (who also contributed to the catalog) was contracted to oversee the complex tasks of registration, safely sending our treasures (and those of our lending partners) to three states and home again. The Society’s director of outreach Kayla Haveles Hopper worked closely with Nathan Fiske, our in-house photographer, and graphic designer Jaclyn Donovan Penny to oversee the production of this catalog. To all I offer my sincerest thanks for a job well done.

Ellen S. Dunlap
President, American Antiquarian Society

Supporters

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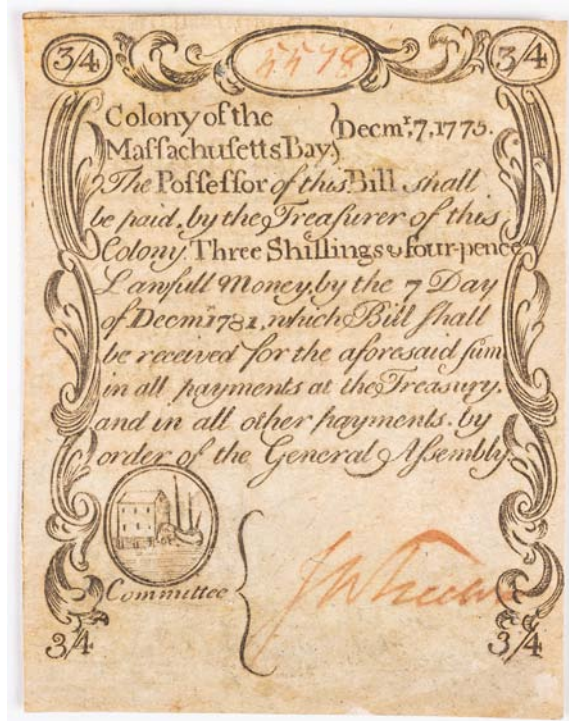
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Paul Revere, three-shilling / four-pence bill, 1775. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society (cat. 88).



John Singleton Copley, *Paul Revere*, 1768. Oil on canvas. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Joseph W. Revere, William B. Revere, and Edward H. R. Revere, 30.781 (cat. 25).

Introduction

What's new about Paul Revere in the twenty-first century? What more is there to know? The 250th anniversary in March 2020 of Revere's iconic propaganda print *The Bloody Massacre* (cat. 9a) seems an appropriate marker for considering Revere's work anew. Much has been written over the years about the American Revolutionary War hero who owes his fame to the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82). First published in 1861 by the *Atlantic Monthly*, Longfellow's poem, "Paul Revere's Ride," was a call of alarm (much like Revere's midnight message) to a country on the brink of war. He hoped to use history to inspire a divided country to seek patriotism, even if as a historical account his verse is less than accurate. Longfellow's poetic license captured the public's imagination after the poem appeared in *Tales of a Wayside Inn* in 1863, and the famous lines have for decades been the inspiration for countless creative works of art, from book illustrations to film, continually reaffirming Revere's identity as a heroic messenger.

Beyond Midnight: Paul Revere seeks to develop the lesser-known story of Revere as a versatile maker while also maintaining sight of his ambitions as a patriot. The story of the maker has been eclipsed by the popular image of the messenger, but the two narratives are necessarily intertwined. It's hard to tell one without the other. Because of Revere's renown as the "midnight rider," documents and objects related to him were routinely preserved and treasured in the decades following the poem's publication. Libraries, museums, and collectors all sought materials that bore Revere's mark. That collective body of work, from ledger accounts to silver vessels and political prints, provides

clues for what it took to succeed as an artisan in the turmoil of pre- and postwar revolutionary America. The essays in this catalog are intended to present new perspectives on Revere's productive output by offering a broader and more global view of the laborers, materials, and consumers related to his work. They also present more focused attention on lesser-known examples of his work and their legacy beyond his lifetime. While Revere is the featured character of *Beyond Midnight*, what makes the story compelling is the constellation of individuals who were integral to his success. Just as he did not make the midnight ride by himself, he did not make it as an artisan and businessman on his own.

Robert Martello's opening essay, "Paul Revere: Patriot Manufacturer," provides a concise overview of Revere as a versatile maker, beginning with his apprenticeship in his father's silver shop. His examination of Revere's career as it shifted from colonial silversmith to postwar manufacturer helps us see him as an entrepreneur who thrived on experimenting with new technological innovations. Martello shows Revere as an artisan who became a pioneering manufacturer in many different realms, including silver sheet production, iron casting, bell making, and cannon casting, as well as a proto-industrialist, rolling tons of copper sheets for naval and merchant vessels, statehouse domes, and steamboat boilers. As he developed his businesses Revere increased his workforce, straddling old and new approaches to manage his critical labor supply. Martello's investigation into Revere's management style helps us glimpse the new nation's laborers, including "Henry, a black man," recorded in Revere's ledger as a salaried worker who also received boarding. Revere's blending of old and new tactics, Martello notes, was a theme of his entire

career. His ability to blend relevant artisan traditions with cutting-edge practices allowed Revere a position of influence and service.

If Martello's essay concentrates on Revere as a manufacturer and proto-industrialist in and around Boston, Jennifer L. Anderson offers a more global perspective on Revere's work in "Paul Revere and Sourcing Silver in Early America." Examining how Revere sourced his raw materials, Anderson shows how the labor of Indians and enslaved African miners of New Spain and the production of metalworkers such as Revere in New England contributed to the global circulation of precious metals during the eighteenth century. Her attention to the impact of mining on the destruction of indigenous populations under Spanish rule and the forced migration of Indians and enslaved Africans, as well as the long-term environmental damage throughout Latin American mining regions, highlights the long history of degradation that the desire for "New World" precious metals created within the globalizing economy. Anderson's excavation of the coerced and slave labor of silver sourcing comes full circle when considered in conjunction with Revere's impressive Templeman tea service (cat. 42). Made for John and Mehitable Templeman, Maryland slave owners, it's hard not to see embedded within the gleaming silver set the sweat and blood labor that had mined the precious metal and the slave labor that had undoubtedly polished the finished set to enhance the status of the Templeman name.

Nancy Siegel's "The Work of Art and the Art of Work: Prints and Ephemera by Paul Revere" returns our focus to Revere's output, but here the emphasis is on his copperplate prints and ephemera produced within the hotbed of colonial Boston. As an engraver of prints for clients of various backgrounds and allegiances, Revere necessarily associated with an active and sometimes overlapping network of patriots, artisans, Loyalists, merchants, and Freemasons in revolutionary Boston. Siegel raises questions about the types of narratives Revere's printed works may reveal if we consider

their maker's broad socioeconomic network. She demonstrates, for instance, that John Adams may have helped compose the text accompanying the imagery on a print made by Revere in protest of the 1765 Stamp Act (cat. 2). Revere's association with the Sons of Liberty along with other political and professional organizations was directly related to his output. The range of lesser-known works that Revere printed—including trade cards, magazine illustrations, and medical certificates—as illustrated in Siegel's essay reminds us of his varied work as an engraver of copper plates and his ability to navigate the needs of Boston clientele.

The last two catalog essays are case studies by the cocurators of *Beyond Midnight: Paul Revere*, Nan Wolverton and Lauren B. Hewes. Each essay draws our attention to an object in the American Antiquarian Society's collection. The objects in question are included in Clarence Brigham's comprehensive study, *Paul Revere's Engravings* (1954), yet these essays probe beyond Brigham's work to consider their fuller context. From 1915 until the publication of his book in the early 1950s, Brigham was relentless in pursuing Revere's works for the Society. It is that unparalleled collection of Revere's works on paper (made from his copperplate engravings) that was the inspiration for *Beyond Midnight: Paul Revere*. The culmination of Brigham's collecting efforts was his volume on Revere's engravings, an essential resource for grasping the full scale of Revere's output. The case studies here should be considered as updated segments to Brigham's study.

In the first study, by Nan Wolverton, the intriguing imagery on a 1775 promissory note, engraved by Revere for the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, raises questions about how Revere came to embellish it with a Native American figure grasping the symbols of liberty and freedom. Mistakenly identified as a colonial patriot by Brigham, the figure as portrayed by Revere has a backstory that helps us see how he recycled images and used them for political purpose, a practice he frequently undertook in his engravings. Moving beyond simply labeling Revere as a copyist or a "borrower"

of other people's work (which was a common practice among printmakers of the period), "'Borrowed . . . for the Use and Service of the Colony': Paul Revere's Native American Imagery" unpacks the origins of the figure within the context of Revere's other engraved representations of Native Americans. That process allows for a glimpse of how images bear witness to the politics of race and empire, suggesting that Revere drew on familiar tropes of Indians to signal American sovereignty in the face of British tyranny.

Lauren B. Hewes, in "Rediscovering Revere: William Stratton's Facsimile of *The Bloody Massacre*," redirects our view of Revere's most famous print, *The Bloody Massacre*. She investigates how the print was perceived in the early nineteenth century and offers a case study of an 1832 facsimile by Boston engraver William F. Stratton (1803–45). Stratton's story reminds us that Revere was not unique in his knowledge of metals or in his ability to engrave designs on both objects and on printing matrices. Similarly, Stratton's activities with Masonic and mechanic organizations remind us of Revere's network as an artisan and businessman—such contacts continued to be important for artisans well beyond Revere's time. Importantly, Hewes helps us understand how Revere was perceived by Bostonians after the turn of the nineteenth century and prior to Longfellow's poem, using Stratton's 1832 print as a barometer. His work helped reintroduce a new generation of Bostonians to Revere's *Bloody Massacre* print as they sought to reclaim the cultural memory of the American Revolution.

Together, these essays investigate a cross section of Paul Revere's collective work as an artisan, manufacturer, and proto-industrialist in early America. The goals of the exhibition and catalog *Beyond Midnight: Paul Revere* are to provide a more global context for the world in which Revere navigated as an artisan and entrepreneur, to explore the complexities of the relationships he had with a vast network of customers and collaborators, and to consider the versatility required to navigate pre- and postrevolutionary America. There is, of course, more

work to be done in reconsidering Revere's work and that of other early American makers in fuller context, and we invite continued scholarship in this arena.

The Society is most appreciative of the scholars whose work informed the exhibition and who contributed essays to the catalog. This includes Robert Martello, associate dean of faculty and professor of the history of science and technology at Olin College of Engineering; Jennifer L. Anderson, associate professor of history at Stony Brook University (SUNY), who is also a past recipient of the Society's Kate B. and Hall J. Peterson (2004–5) and Hench Post-Dissertation (2006–7) Fellowships; and Nancy Siegel, professor of art history at Towson University, who is also an elected member of AAS and a past recipient of the Society's Jay and Deborah Last (2008–9) and Kate B. and Hall J. Peterson (2017–18) Fellowships.



Fig. 1. Detail of Paul Revere, *A View of Part of the Town of Boston . . .*, April 1770. Engraving with watercolor. American Antiquarian Society (cat. 7).

This engraving offers a window into the Boston of Revere's youth. Although Revere created this print in 1770, many of the most salient features of Boston remained unchanged throughout his lifetime. Dense shops intermixed with working-class housing, prominent church spires dominated the skyline, and numerous active wharves attested to the influence of the maritime trade upon the culture and economy of this bustling town.

PAUL REVERE: PATRIOT MANUFACTURER

by Robert Martello

*Listen my children
and you shall hear of
the manufacturing and
entrepreneurial exploits
of Paul Revere . . .*

Somehow, this opening line falls short of the immortal Henry Wadsworth Longfellow poem that catapulted Paul Revere (1735–1818) into the public limelight, where he now stands amidst the highest echelon of America’s patriotic founders. The image of a lone rider raising the call to arms across a moonlit countryside resonates with every generation, an enduring symbol of unified action in the face of oppression and adversity. Revere earned his legacy that night and served the patriot cause by helping to mobilize his compatriots for the coming revolution. But for all its excitement and relevance, this adventure is only one small piece of his story. Revere earned his role as a trusted courier because of his reputation as a hardworking and responsible artisan, his ability to connect different parts of the community, and his demonstrated success in getting things done. And his impact on America’s legacy expanded after the war because of an unconventional career that bridged—and in one case, initiated—multiple cutting-edge technologies, providing invaluable benefits

to his young nation. To discover the real Revere we must tell his whole story.¹

Revere’s long life and career spanned the Revolution almost symmetrically, and his successes, failures, and aspirations teach us much about the changing values of the pre- and postwar times. His societal role shifted from craftsman to entrepreneurial businessman, manufacturer (in six different fields, no less), and public servant, but two enduring characteristics governed his life: he was a patriot who longed for the opportunity to serve his country in a leadership role, and he loved rolling up his sleeves and experimenting with new technological innovations in his workshop. Frustratingly for Revere, who believed authority should be delegated according to merit and not birthright, these two goals were at odds in hierarchical colonial American society. Benjamin Franklin (1706–90) was one of the few artisans able to transition from a working-class role into a privileged gentry identity, and he did so by publicly and intentionally leaving behind the trappings of craft labor to embrace a life of science, philosophy, and philanthropy. Unlike Franklin, Revere never managed to leave his shop behind, and he also experienced many setbacks in his personal life and in his business. In spite of these impediments, his chosen path profoundly affected not only his local community but also the onset of industrialism in America. By combining his technical aptitude with his patriotic ambitions, “the midnight rider” became America’s founding maker.

COLONIAL SILVERSMITH AND PATRIOT

Paul Revere was born in Boston in January 1735 (fig. 1).² His father, Apollos Rivoire (1702–54)—who later



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Fig. 2. Paul Revere, selections from the Paine tea service, 1773. Silver, wood. Worcester Art Museum. Gift of Frances Thomas and Eliza Sturgis Paine in memory of Frederick William Paine; Gift of Frances Thomas and Bessie Sturgis Paine in memory of Frederick William Paine; Gift of Paine Charitable Trust; Gift of Richard K. Thorndike, 1937.55–59, 1965.336–337, 1967.57. Image courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum (cat. 69).

anglicized his name to Paul Revere “merely on account the Bumpkins should pronounce it easier”—emigrated from France as a child and learned the silverworking trade from John Coney, a well-regarded Bostonian craftsman.³ His mother, Deborah Hitchbourn Revere (1704–77), was a member of the Hitchbourn family (also spelled Hitchborn or Hichborn in some records), who enjoyed some success in the merchant trade. Since Deborah did not inherit any of her father’s wealth, young Paul grew up in the household of an artisan and experienced a working-class upbringing. His well-off Hitchbourn cousins occasionally provided him with financial support throughout his career in the form of patronage or loans, but more importantly, they made him aware of a more privileged world of economic, political, and social power that lay just out of reach—reminders that surely kindled his lifelong ambition to better his position.

Revere took the first step on his professional path at the age of thirteen when he began an apprenticeship in his

father’s silver shop. Apprenticeship contracts, known as indentures, bound master and apprentice typically for a seven-year period of cooperation and tutelage in what these contracts often described as the “art and mystery” of a trade. This phrase, which originated in apprenticeship contracts in English and European craft guilds, is telling. Apprentices expected to learn skills that were rare and precious, never to be shared by any means other than passing them to one’s own apprentice at some later date. Training one’s oldest son as an apprentice and eventual heir to one’s workshop was a common practice. Revere literally followed in his father’s footsteps for six years as he learned the ins and outs of the silverworking trade. He initially performed simple housekeeping tasks such as running errands, cleaning, or tending the fire, but soon began learning increasingly complex silverworking skills such as casting silver in molds, hammering bars into sheets, seaming, and engraving. Many apprentices complained of harsh or stingy masters who exploited them by withholding valuable training and forcing them to perform menial

tasks under strict working conditions. The father-son relationship, at least in Revere's case, avoided these problems and provided him with a solid and valuable education that he would put to use, as it turned out, far sooner than anyone expected.

Revere's training—and childhood—ended suddenly when his father died in 1754. At age nineteen, Revere had to forego the final year of his training in order to run the family silver shop and support his widowed mother and younger siblings. Although he was off to an understandably slow start as an underage silversmith who lacked financial reserves or a proven reputation, hard work in the shop (interrupted by a term of military service in an artillery regiment in the Massachusetts militia) enabled him to provide for his mother and siblings, start his own family, and take on his own apprentices as his business steadily grew. Family responsibilities, joys, and tragedies undergird the ebbs and flows of Revere's career, and in spite of monetary and professional struggles in his early silverworking period he found support and happiness in his first marriage to wife Sarah Orne Revere (1736–73) and the birth of their eight children over the next sixteen years.

Revere was a versatile craftsman, making over ninety different types of silver objects throughout his career. The majority of his work consisted of small, simple silver objects for customers lacking the means to afford more expensive pieces—his ledgers record hundreds of spoons (cat. 35), buckles (cat. 39), and similar works. As his reputation grew he also accepted commissions for more ornate bespoke (customized to order) pieces of work, such as coffeepots, creamers, and complete tea sets (fig. 2). Never willing to refuse a possible sale or income source, Revere branched out into related fields such as dentistry (cleaning teeth or fastening false teeth with fine silver wire), copperplate engraving and printing, and small-scale retail sales of everyday goods such as spices and silk handkerchiefs. Even in his prerevolutionary artisan years Revere used a sophisticated managerial approach—for example, keeping detailed double entry accounts of his shop's transactions with each customer. He entered all transactions into one of his chronological “waste books” (fig. 3) at the time of each initial sale agreement, carefully

Boston N. England		
1761 Jan 3		
<u>Mr James Graham D^r</u>		
To a Free mason's Medal	0	13 4
To a Pair of Silver Shoe Buckles	0	7 4
Apr 9	1	0 8
<u>Mr Thomas Revere D^r</u>		
To Sundrys out of The Shop	0	18 0
To Cash Lent	0	18 0
To 74 Weeks Board at 2/6 Week	6	01 4
To a Wigg of Mr Crosby	1	08 0
To a Pair of Horns	0	06 8
To a Pair of Horns	0	06 8
To Cash Paid for Mufflers	2	13 8
June 3	9	19 0
<u>Mr Joshua Brachett D^r</u>		
To a Pair of Silver Buckles	1	5 8
To a Pair of Horns Ditto	0	7 4
To one do Ditto	0	3 8
<u>Dea. Tho. Hill D^r</u>		
By Silver Recd. 14 1/4 at 7/	5	2 10
Aug 10		
<u>Deacon Thomas Hill D^r</u>		
To a Silver Cann Wight N. O. at 7/	3	17 0
To The Making of Cann	1	6 8
To a Silver Pepper Box at 3. 18. at 7/	1	7 4
To the Making	0	16 0
To a Pair of Gold Buttons	1	2 10
June 3 1761	8	8 4
<u>Mr Samuel Cochran D^r</u>		
To 1 Dozen of Fustle Shell Shell Buttons	0	4 8
To 6 Tea Spoons Ditto		
August 6	0	18 9
<u>Mr Deborah Revere D^r</u>		
To Cash Paid Mr Clark for Rent	0	13 4
To Cash Paid Mr Fletcher for your Case	7	1 1
To an Silver Spoon Capt. Franchy	7	10 0
<u>Mr Joshua Tread D^r</u>		
To a Pair of Silver Buckles Delivered	0	12 0
To Making Sundrys	0	2 0
Jan 9		
<u>Dea. Willard D^r</u>		
To a Pair of Silver Shoe Buckles	1	2 0
To a two by fourths Spoon at 17/6		
To a two by fourths Spoon at 17/6		
at Mr Cook Feb 17 1761	17	06 8
<u>Mr Saml. Treat D^r</u>		
To a Silver Tea Pot at 13. 5. at 7/6	6	7 9
To the Making Tea Pot	3	0 8
To Engraving Tea Pot	1	6 8
To a Wooding Handle	0	3 4
July 18		
<u>Mr Tho. Caporly D^r</u>		
To a Silver Watch Case	1	4 0

Fig. 3. Paul Revere, *Waste Book & Memoranda*, 1761–83. Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (cat. 21).

The image shows an open silver shop ledger with three pages visible. The left page contains accounts for three customers: James Fosdick, Joseph Laisney Brown, and Samuel Dow. Each account lists dates and descriptions of transactions, with amounts in dollars and cents. The right page shows the 'Contra' side of the ledger, where credits are recorded. The entries are handwritten in cursive and include various items like 'By Cash', 'By Ballance', and 'By his account given on to the shop'. The ledger is organized with a separate page for each customer, showing debits on the left and credits on the right.

Fig. 4. Paul Revere, silver shop ledger, 1783–84. Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (cat. 32).

The volume is open to show the accounts of James Fosdick, Joseph Laisney Brown, and Samuel Dow, with debits on the left and credits on the right.

noting each customer's order and the agreed-upon cost. He periodically copied all the waste book transactions into one of his ledgers (fig. 4), organized with a separate page for each customer. The ledger tallied all of the expenses accrued by his customers (debits) as well as all of the payments that they made to him (credits). These practices enabled him to form at least a crude understanding of his net worth, assets, liabilities, and profits at different times, and helped him plan purchases of raw materials, track customers who failed to pay, and identify lucrative products or types of work.

Although his records are largely silent on the matter of his family's impacts upon his work, Revere involved his sons as apprentices (and later, as partners) and almost certainly received help from the women in his household in his bookkeeping, planning, and customer relations. After Revere's first wife, Sarah, died within five months of giving birth to her eighth child in 1773, he soon married his second wife, Rachel Walker Revere (1745–1813), offering her a gold wedding ring that he made

himself (fig. 5). Rachel helped to take care of Revere's young children from his first marriage, and gave birth to eight children of her own over the next thirteen years. Whenever circumstances caused Revere to spend time apart from his wife and, later, from his older children, affectionate letters reveal the degree to which he depended on them—and genuinely missed them.

As an artisan, Revere also fulfilled an important societal role as a “connector” between individuals and groups, a position that increased his value to the patriot cause. He lived and ran his shop in Boston's North End, a solidly working-class neighborhood, and over the years he established many lasting relationships with fellow artisans and other laborers. His silverworking skills, the relatively high earning potential of this trade, and his reputation for quality work placed him near the top of the informal artisan hierarchy, and he counted a number of upper-class lawyers and merchants among his clientele. As Bostonian (and American) discourse with England grew increasingly strained in the years

preceding the Revolution, Revere's service to the cause of colonial resistance became a defining aspect of his identity that also gave his business a nice boost. Revere was a member of the St. Andrew's Masonic Lodge, in addition to multiple patriot organizations such as the Sons of Liberty, the North End Caucus, the Long Room Club, and the Loyal Nine. Remarkably, he consistently converted around 20 percent of his colleagues in each of these organizations into silver shop customers while also continuing to sell silver pieces to members of Boston's Loyalist community.⁴ Prior to the war he served as a trusted courier on behalf of the patriot leadership, who not only carried messages to resistance groups in locations as distant as New York and Philadelphia, but also served as a spokesperson for some of Boston's patriotic organizations.

Revere's most consequential courier service of course took place on the evening of April 18, 1775, via his immortal midnight ride. Over the course of this long night he rowed across the Charles River in the shadow of an English warship; alerted patriots in the towns of Charlestown, Medford, Arlington, and Lexington; and evaded capture by a patrol of soldiers. Upon his arrival in Lexington he roused Sam Adams and John Hancock from their lodgings and ushered them away from the approaching redcoats. In Lexington he met up with William Dawes, a fellow rider who took a different route from Boston, as well as ardent patriot and local doctor Samuel Prescott, and both men joined him in a final ride

to warn the Concord militia that their military stores might soon be confiscated. On the road to Concord, Revere was captured by a second patrol of soldiers who forced him to dismount and interrogated him with a gun to his head. Cool under pressure, he bluffed the patrol by falsely claiming that hundreds of minutemen were mere moments away. The patrol fled the area and Revere returned to Lexington on foot, where he helped hide a trunk of Hancock's papers (cat. 20) as the first shot of the American Revolution rang out behind him. Following the midnight ride, Revere continued his work in the revolutionary movement through a failed military career as a lieutenant colonel in the Massachusetts militia. He also performed many technical services for the patriot cause, such as casting cannon, helping to design a gunpowder manufactory, and engraving copper plates for printing anti-British propaganda and promissory notes to pay Massachusetts debts. As the war culminated in American victory, Revere anticipated a well-earned promotion into the elite leadership ranks of the young republic to recognize and reward his service. Alas, his hopes were doomed to failure.

POSTWAR MANUFACTURING

Revere made several attempts to climb the societal ladder after the war, beginning with a concerted effort to establish himself among the prominent merchant class that held so much political and economic power in New England. His efforts were dashed by a convergence of deficiencies: the depressed postwar economy severely curtailed all mercantile activity, he had no standing among merchants and could not draw upon lines of credit to make purchases, and he lacked experience in matters of buying and selling. When his mercantile aspirations failed to pan out, Revere applied for a number of prestigious appointed government positions, such as a customs inspector for the port of Boston and the director of the federal mint. Again, his lack of name recognition crushed his prospects. He made his feelings known in a letter to a cousin in 1781:

I did intend to have gone wholly into trade, but the principal part of my Interest, I lent to Government, which I have not been able to draw out, so must



Photograph © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Fig. 5. Paul Revere, wedding ring, ca. 1773. Gold, engraved "[L]IVE Co[n]tented." Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mrs. Henry B. Chapin and Edward H. R. Revere, 56.585 (cat. 45).

*content my self, till I can do better. I am in middling circumstances and very well off for a Tradesman. I am forty seven years old. I have a wife + 8 children alive, my Eldest daughter is married, my oldest son since has learned my trade. Since we left the army he is now in business for him self. I have one brother + two sisters alive.*⁵

In defeat, he returned to his silver shop, but this time he took his silver production in a new direction.

Most of a silversmith's time and effort centered on a seemingly mundane task: laboriously hammering, smoothing, and polishing bars of silver into uniform sheets suitable for shaping and engraving. The simplest spoons and the most ornate engraved teapots all started their lives as humble silver sheets. Revere shrewdly realized that if he could overcome this bottleneck in silver sheet production, his shop output would increase and production costs would drop. In 1785 he conspired to illegally import a silver "flattening" mill from England, a nation that maintained its prominence by prohibiting the export of its many advanced technologies. With this mill, two apprentices could turn large cranks attached to parallel iron rollers that compressed a heated bar of silver passed between them. Repeated passes through the mill, while decreasing the distance between the rollers each time, gradually flattened the bar into a uniform sheet of the desired thickness. In the years that followed, Revere's output of silver flatware exploded and his profits greatly increased. This technical advance also represented his first step away from the craft method of production into a proto-industrial model of manufacturing, characterized by the increased use of wage labor in lieu of apprentices, machinery in place of tools, and a more standardized product line rather than bespoke goods. The success of this flattening mill paved the way for Revere's next initiative. Leaving the shop in the capable hands of Paul Jr. (1760–1813), his oldest son and former apprentice, Revere invested his profits into a new technology that inaugurated a chain of successful new ventures and opened the door to a life beyond craft labor.

In 1788, Revere constructed what was then known as an air furnace, basically a huge oven that could melt large bars of cast iron (also called *pig iron*) into a molten state (cat. 49). Ironmasters then poured this liquid iron into molds where it cooled and hardened, forming utilitarian products such as fireplace backs, window counterweights, and stove plates. Although the art of iron casting lay far outside Revere's prior experience, a number of visits to established ironworks as well as assiduous experimentation enabled him to learn the many technical aspects of this trade, such as the heating and cooling properties of iron, special recipes for casting sand, and how to add finishing touches to his work. He also learned to engage a wider clientele of customers and operate within new networks of iron suppliers, such as the Rhode Island blast furnace owners who provided him with most of his cast iron. Unlike the relatively small number of potentially interested purchasers of luxury silver, nearly everyone needed iron products and new profit opportunities abounded. Revere's rapid and successful entrance into this new business demonstrated his ability to transfer knowledge and skills from one field to another: his experience with silver casting techniques using ovens and molds gave him a substantial head start when he aspired to learn the basics of more complex and larger-scale iron operations. Ironworking profits, as well as his growing repertoire of experience, soon paved the way for his foray into a new product line.

In 1792 a crisis in Revere's church presented an exciting high-profile opportunity. After years of loyal and harmonious service, the bell of Boston's New Brick Church cracked and could no longer be used for services. As a major donor and member of the church leadership, Revere was present at a meeting to find a strategy for soliciting funds to ship a new bell from England. Quickly considering the similarities between iron and bronze casting, Revere volunteered to cast a bell locally and save the congregation a great deal of money. Bells can weigh over two thousand pounds, far heavier than any iron object Revere had ever cast, and also differed in many qualitative ways from his relatively simple line of iron products. When struck, different locations on the bell resonate as specific musical tones, and when tuned

properly, each bell plays a musical chord. Bell casters had to accurately mix a specific alloy of bronze (an amalgam of copper and tin) to maximize tonal quality, create molds to produce the proper shape for each bell, cast and cool the bell without making errors, and tune the bell by removing metal from different points along its circumference. Revere's first bell, by some accounts, was disappointingly shrill, but he soon mastered his craft and his shop sold more than one hundred bells during the years of his active involvement, usually to great acclaim. Revere took great pride in his bells, largely justified by his robust sales and warm praise received in correspondence as well as in occasional public pronouncements (fig. 6). For example, an anonymous writer celebrated Revere's firm's successful recasting of the cracked King's Chapel bell in 1814 with a witty poem connecting the health of the parish to the condition of its bell:

*The Chapel Church
Left in the lurch
Must surely fall;
For Church and people
And bell and steeple
Are crazy all.*

*The Church still lives,
The Priest survives,
With mind the same.
Revere refounds
A bell resounds
And all is well again.⁶*

Bells were an extremely high-profile product in a religious town such as Boston, as their tonal quality was immediately audible to the entire community each time the bell called parishioners to service, announced a fire, or tolled the death of a member of the congregation. Indeed, the universal importance ascribed to bells is evident in the common inscription "The Living to the Church I Call, and to the Grave I Summon All." Any time a Revere bell rang out, it advertised the fine craftsmanship of its maker. More pragmatically, since Revere charged by the pound, these large bells also provided him with another source of income.

Beginning in 1794, Revere added cannon casting to his repertoire, and began contracting to local, state, and federal governments (fig. 7). The shift from bells to cannon was far less radical than his earlier shifts from silver to iron, or from ironwork to bronze bell casting. Bells and cannon were of roughly comparable size and the alloy of bronze used in both products was quite similar, so the lessons he had already learned about bell-related casting, cooling, and finishing processes generally applied to this new product. That said, no one would equate the lifetime usage of a bell to that of a cannon. Bells required extensive, painstaking, individualized tuning to ensure that every segment of its length produced harmonious tones. In contrast, cannon had to be standardized to properly hold cannonballs of a specified gauge and required great strength and extensive quality control to avoid the imperfections that caused

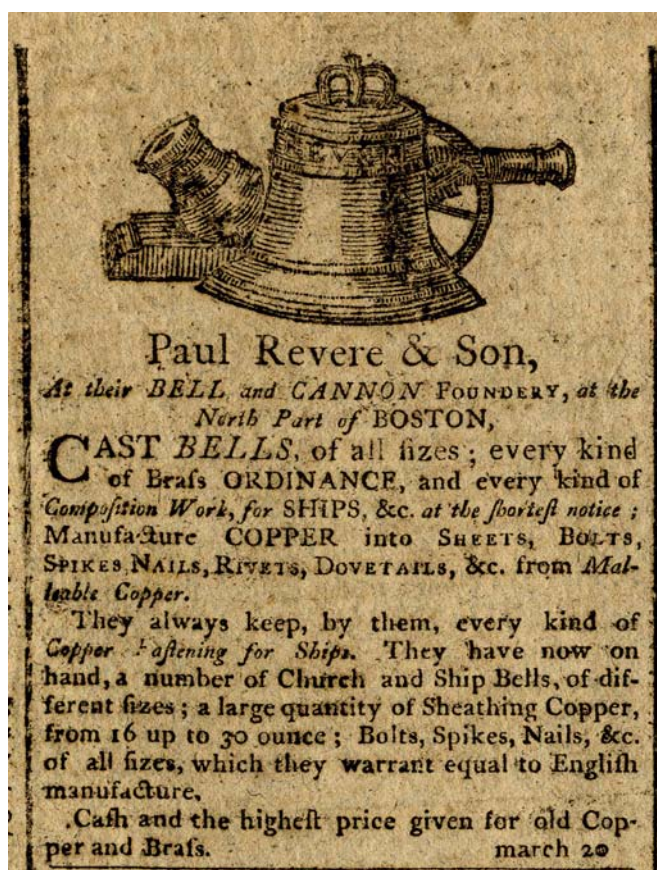


Fig. 6. Paul Revere & Son, advertisement in the *Columbian Centinel*, March 20, 1805. American Antiquarian Society.



Fig. 7. Trade card for Paul Revere and Son, 1944 restrike engraving of Revere's original ca. 1805 copper plate. American Antiquarian Society. Gift of Edward H. R. Revere, 1944.

ruptures under repeated gunpowder detonations and brutal battlefield operating conditions. A poorly made bell offended the ear of the listeners, but a poorly made cannon maimed and killed its operators in an explosion of flame and shrapnel. Revere studiously researched the technical challenges underlying this new line of work and was soon producing well-reviewed cannon for federal, state, and local military organizations, often for orders of up to a dozen pieces. By this point in his career he had deepened the proto-industrialist approach to his manufacturing operations, featuring a larger labor force—including one temporary salaried worker who the ledger describes as “Henry, a black man”—that he trained and managed more explicitly, greater use of synchronized machine operations, larger and more regular purchases of raw materials such as fuel and metals, and more standardized output.⁷ At the same time, he retained some artisan practices, such as paying room and board for some of his employees, providing them with liquor, and giving them autonomy over the pace of their work. This blend of old and new approaches became a theme of his entire career, and contributed to his success since he retained the flexibility to interact with employees, customers, and material providers in whichever way was most beneficial.

Cannon casting was the first time that Revere found a way to patriotically serve his country by pursuing the technical work that fascinated him so much. Within a short time of his entering the field, the government began calling him in as a consultant, an expert on matters of artillery design. For example, in 1794 Secretary of War Henry Knox (1750–1806) asked Revere to board the French frigate *Concorde* in Boston Harbor to study and sketch a carronade, a light, short-range naval cannon intended to splinter ship hulls. Revere's diligent execution of this task eventually earned him a carronade casting contract.⁸ In addition to the rewards of patriotic service and technological fulfillment, he appreciated the financial benefits of contracting to governments, large-scale buyers who purchased in bulk and who often became steady customers if the quality was right. Revere happily expanded his cannon casting operations in the mid-1790s and left the business in the capable hands of his second son, Joseph Warren Revere (1777–1868), while he explored new product lines to offer to local, state, and federal governments. By this point he had exhausted the applications of his casting furnace, but fortunately he had only scratched the surface of his nation's technical needs.

THE ROAD TO ROLLING COPPER

Revere put his networking skills to use in the mid-1790s, vigorously advertising his shop's many product lines and touting his interest in expanding his military contracting. His efforts soon bore fruit, as he happily discovered the young United States Navy's almost inexhaustible appetite for "fasteners"—various types of bolts, spikes, and nails to hold together the timbers of ships. As before, his long experience working with metal enabled him to quickly learn the trade, and after experimenting briefly with bronze bolts and spikes he switched to pure copper in order to optimize the manufacturing process and the quality of the outputs (fig. 8). Forging naval fasteners was significantly simpler than casting huge bells and cannon, merely requiring the coordinated efforts of trained metalworkers, some standard metalworking equipment, and a reliable input of raw materials. Although Revere occasionally faced skilled labor and raw material shortages, he received and completed a constant flow of contracts, added this product line to his family's now-diverse repertoire of silverworking and bell and cannon casting, and looked once more for the next big opportunity. At this point the stage was set for his final adventure, one last ride in the service of his nation.



Fig. 8. Paul Revere, spike for USS *Ranger*, ca. 1777. Copper. Old North Church & Historic Site, Boston (cat. 57).



Fig. 9. Attributed to Paul Revere and Son, fragment of sheet copper rolled in Canton, Massachusetts, nineteenth century. Paul Revere Memorial Association / Paul Revere House, Boston, PR 88.6 (cat. 60).

Revere's increasing interactions with naval contractors, government purchasers, and naval captains made him aware of an essential and heretofore elusive product: copper sheathing for the bottoms of wooden ships. All wooden-hulled vessels sailing in warm waters encountered major setbacks from the depredations of marine creatures such as barnacles (which rotted hulls and dragged huge mats of seaweed) and the *Teredo navalis*, a dreaded shipworm that bored holes in timbers. Unprotected ships gradually lost speed and mobility as they succumbed to these attacks and eventually had to spend months in dry dock undergoing costly six-month hull repairs every three to five years. After many failed technological attempts to prevent these problems, coppersmiths in England pioneered the development of thin, flexible copper sheeting that could be molded and attached to the outside of hulls in order to deter these sea creatures. Copper sheathing (fig. 9) enabled ships to avoid the destructive impacts of marine organisms for up to ten years, and the process of reapplying copper sheets to a hull took only a month or so. This high-tech product led to tremendous financial benefits—but lay well beyond the manufacturing capability of any American. Or so it seemed.

Benjamin Stoddert (1751–1813), America's first secretary of the navy under President John Adams's administration, attempted to end his country's reliance

on English imports in 1799 and 1800 by making two large (and controversial, were one to take a strict interpretation of constitutional authority) loans to different groups of would-be American manufacturers. In spite of his significant investments and advice, neither team made any progress toward copper sheet production. In February 1800 Revere wrote to Stoddert to advertise his existing product lines, and mentioned that a renowned naval expert and advisor to Stoddert had told Revere “that there are no persons in either Philadelphia or New York that can make copper so Malable that it can be drawn in Bolts, Spikes, +c [etc.] under the Hammer.” Revere by this time had produced many thousands of pounds of these goods, and offered

to learn to produce any other copper goods needed by the navy.⁹ Revere benefited from good timing, proven metalworking experience, and solid references that included Congressman Harrison G. Otis and even President Adams. Stoddert agreed to extend a loan of \$10,000 and asked Revere to research the copper sheet rolling process and set up operations. Revere had one chance, the opportunity of a lifetime, to prove his ability to manufacture sheeting. Success would open the door to exclusive and highly lucrative contracts as well as a privileged position in the service of the United States Navy.

This initiative required the combination of Revere’s full array of skills: technical experimentation, financial planning, strategic manufacturing management, and political lobbying. Adding to the challenge was the financial reality that he needed to continue to raise revenue by manufacturing all his other goods while also conducting experiments in this new field and setting up a new operation. He could not look to any peers for guidance since this technology lay beyond the reach of any American and was a guarded secret in England. However, he could draw upon knowledge from silver rolling and copper forging, as well as the seasoned metallurgical instincts that he had cultivated over the past half century. In January 1801, at the age of sixty-five, Revere succeeded in becoming the first American to roll copper into malleable sheets (fig. 10).

Revere used his government loan to buy property a few miles outside of Boston in the town of Canton, which gave him access to the Neponset River, a waterpower source that could be used to drive his copper rollers (fig. 11). Soon after setting up his new operation, Revere encountered political hurdles as the administration shifted after the heated election of 1800, known as the “Revolution of 1800.” Gone were the days of President Adams’s pro-navy, commerce-friendly federalism. Instead, Revere now had to deal with President Thomas Jefferson’s strict interpretation of government authority, dislike of standing armies and navies, and emphasis of agrarian over commercial interests. In Revere’s own words, “What a dreadful change in Politicks.”¹⁰ The new Department of the Navy questioned the validity



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Fig. 10. Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin, *Paul Revere*, 1801. Engraving, mezzotint, and roulette on paper. Worcester Art Museum. Bequest of Mrs. Albert W. Rice, 1986.69. Image courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum (cat. 24a).

This profile portrait shows Revere at age 65, just as he perfected the technology to roll copper into sheets.



Fig. 11. Attributed to Paul Revere, sketch of Revere copper mill and home in Canton, Massachusetts, ca. 1800. Pen and ink. Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (cat. 59).

of the government loan that Stoddert had extended but not yet paid, requiring a long correspondence and repeated complaints. Eventually Revere received his loan and sold large numbers of copper sheets to the United States government, but resolving this contract dispute clearly represented more to Revere than financial compensation. In this final chapter of Revere's long and successful career, a close relationship with the still-new government represented official acknowledgement that he had never retired his patriot credentials. He took great pride in the service he was able to offer his country, meeting a national need that brought America closer to self-sufficiency because of his lifetime of hard-won expertise and ceaseless innovation.

THE INDUSTRIAL DAWN

In the years that followed, Revere found new applications for his copper sheeting and continually revised his use of manufacturing technologies. In addition to rolling many tons of copper sheets for naval and merchant vessels, he coppered the domes of statehouse buildings in New York and Massachusetts, sold sheet copper to other craftsmen (fig. 12), and experimented with thicker and stronger sheets of copper for use in boilers on steamboats. Revere's technical and financial expansion was accompanied by increases

in the size and reach of his manufacturing network as he took on more clients and worked with suppliers, lawyers, legislators, and many other professionals. As his manufactory expanded he engaged in disputes and litigation over waterpower rights with his upstream



Fig. 12. William Hunneman, hot water kettle, 1799–1825. Copper. Courtesy of Historic Deerfield, Inc., Museum Collections Fund, 97.13 (cat. 63).

This kettle was made from copper rolled at Revere's mill.

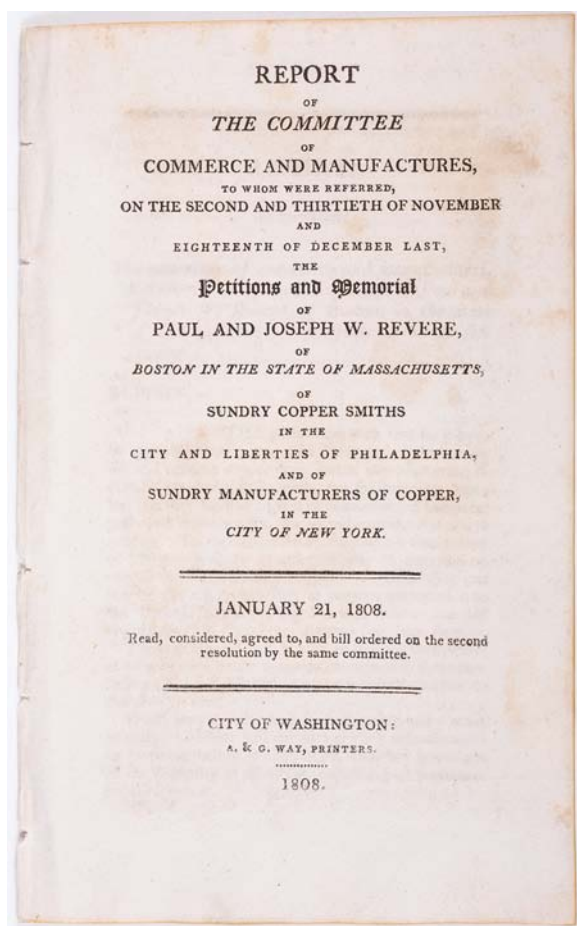


Fig. 13. United States Congress, *Report of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures . . .*, 1808. American Antiquarian Society (cat. 61).

and downstream neighbors, and he also unsuccessfully lobbied the government for tariff protection on his goods (fig. 13). He continually added laborers to his workforce to keep up with his product line, and he and his son Joseph Warren relied even more on written contracts and wage-labor practices, leaving behind the more personal apprenticeship–master craftsman approach that blended management and education. To continue his firm’s technical education he sent his son to England in 1804 on what may have been America’s first successful industrial espionage mission: Joseph Warren posed as a merchant, visited a number of manufactories, made technical drawings, and learned advanced copper rolling practices that could be applied to their own shop. Revere was not stingy with his own expertise and over

the years he shared technical advice, manufacturing instructions, and even diagrams with other would-be American manufacturers who reached out to him when they encountered intractable challenges. Clearly the artisan had become something more, a proto-industrial pioneer eager to integrate old and new approaches to management, technology, raw material usage, and marketing. Revere’s extensive experience and innovative nature allowed him to navigate early nineteenth-century America’s rapid changes and make the most of its ever-increasing opportunities.

Revere retired from his business in 1811 and left it in the extremely capable hands of his son, who had been trained at his side in many of his endeavors for decades. He spent his final years in a peaceful pastoral life on his Canton property, within sight and earshot of his company’s ever-growing operations. He died in 1818 at the age of eighty-three, leaving behind a thriving company, an excellent reputation, five surviving children, and over fifty grandchildren (fig. 14). Some of the modern offshoots of his business still exist as Revere Copper Products and the Revere Ware product line, with continuing participation from members of the Revere family.

Revere left an enduring mark on his nation. Throughout his career, as he repeatedly learned and improved production techniques in various enterprises, his methods helped facilitate the transition from small-scale artisan-based production into larger-scale industrial work characterized by formal written labor contracts, standardized production methods, adoption of machinery, employee training in machine operation, and intentional control over natural resources via the procurement of waterpower rights and raw material contracts. In his triumphant closing act he pioneered the development and production of copper sheet technology that lay well beyond the capability of all of his countrymen, and he disseminated his knowledge to other Americans via on-the-job training and even in correspondence containing descriptions and diagrams of his practices and equipment.¹¹ Revere’s successful learning curve helped the United States Navy adopt a more modern style of research and development and

significantly closed the gap between American and English technical know-how. History often emphasizes the importance of inventors and trailblazers who initiate novel technologies. Revere was never the first practitioner in any of his fields, but his vital work in improving practices, transferring skills from trade to trade, and sharing his discoveries with colleagues reveals the vital role of network builders. He provided goods and skills when and where they were most needed, and made it possible for his successors to follow in his footsteps and eventually take the lead.

Revere's career as a pioneering manufacturer brought his lifelong narrative full circle. A patriot once more, he served his country in the leadership role he always craved, but not as a merchant or political appointee. Rather, his love of technical innovation, his sharp business acumen and managerial skill, and his ability to blend relevant artisan traditions with cutting-edge practices allowed him to do what others could not, placing him in a position of influence and service. The midnight rider returned again, and his efforts heralded America's upcoming industrial dawn.



Fig. 14. Chester Harding after Gilbert Stuart, *Paul Revere*, ca. 1823. Oil on canvas. Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Gift of Paul Revere Jr., 1973 (cat. 106).

Notes:

1. For additional information on the topics discussed throughout this essay see Robert Martello, *Midnight Ride, Industrial Dawn: Paul Revere and the Growth of American Enterprise* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

2. Revere was born on December 21, 1734, a date which was reassigned to January 1, 1735, with the passage of New Style dating adopted by the colonies in 1750.

3. John Rivoire to Paul Revere, January 12, 1775, "Loose Manuscripts, 1746–1801," reel 1, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (hereafter cited as MHS). Rivoire (Revere's cousin) is quoting an earlier letter from Revere.

4. Jeannine J. Falino, "The Pride which Pervades thro Every Class": The Customers of Paul Revere," in *New England Silver and Silversmithing, 1620–1815*, ed. Jeannine J. Falino and Gerald W. R. Ward (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2001), 169–73; Deborah A. Federhen, "From Artisan to Entrepreneur: Paul Revere's Silver Shop Operations," in *Paul Revere—Artisan, Businessman, and Patriot* (Boston: Paul Revere Memorial Association, 1988), 74–75.

5. Revere to John Rivoire, October 6, 1781, "Loose Manuscripts, 1746–1801," reel 1, Revere Family Papers, MHS.

6. Samuel Adams Drake, *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1873), 32.

7. Paul Revere ledger, "1787: The Iron Furnace D. to Stock," 1792–94, vol. 9, part 2, reel 6, Revere Family Papers, MHS.

8. Revere to Henry Knox, November 3, 1794, "Letterbook, 1783–1800," vol. 53.1, reel 14, Revere Family Papers, MHS; Revere ledger, "Account Book, Boston, 1783–1804," entry for Henry Jackson, Esq., April 1, 1798, vol. 9b, reel 6, Revere Family Papers, MHS.

9. Revere was referencing Joshua Humphries. See Revere to Benjamin Stoddard [sic] Esq., February 26, 1800, "Letterbook, 1783–1800," vol. 53.1, reel 14, Revere Family Papers, MHS.

10. Revere to Harrison G. Otis, January 17, 1801, "Letterbook, 1783–1800," vol. 53.1, reel 14, Revere Family Papers, MHS.

11. This correspondence is available in the Revere Family Papers, MHS.

1762. Boston New England Feb 19 1762

Mr Williams Jr				
To one Gold Necklaffe		2	10	8
To one Gold Lockett		0	17	0
To one Odd Gold Button		0	05	4
To one Turtle Shell Ring Lin. with Gold		0	09	0
To Silver Spoons 5 "11" at 7/8 ^{oz}		1	18	10
To Making The Spoons at 2/3 Each		0	08	00
To a Pair of Spectical Bows & Glases		0	03	00
To Mending your Pockett Book Lock			00	08
<u>Feb 7 22</u>		<u>£</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>12 6</u>

~~XXXX~~

28
196
9.16

Mr Williams Sr				
By old Silver Spoons W 3 "11" 12		1	05	00
By old Gold		1	03	05
By Cash in full		4	4	1
		<u>£</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>12 6</u>

~~XXXX~~

23

Mr Saml Treat				
By Cash Recd			17	0
By Silver Recd			18	4

~~XXXX~~

Fig. 15. Detail of Paul Revere, Waste Book & Memoranda, 1761-83. Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (cat. 21).

This detail shows February 1762 entries for Mr. Williams.

PAUL REVERE AND SOURCING SILVER IN EARLY AMERICA

by Jennifer L. Anderson

Silversmiths in colonial North America rarely, if ever, encountered silver and gold, their most essential raw materials, in their unrefined states. Like his contemporaries, Paul Revere (1735–1818) utilized precious metals solely in processed forms, such as cast ingots or bars, minted coins, and old or damaged objects, which could be readily melted down and refashioned into gleaming new creations. He thus depended heavily on his customers to bring in metal items to exchange for cash or credit toward other purchases. In some instances, his patrons actually provided the silver needed to fabricate their own orders; in these one-for-one transactions, the artisan’s labor might well be the only added expense. With such an uncertain supply, fine metalworkers typically stockpiled some quantity of gold and silver coins, silver plate, and other metals slated for recycling to avoid being caught short.

The provenance of these precious metals, however, likely seemed rather remote to people in Massachusetts and other British colonies. Amidst their own daily routines, they may have had few occasions to reflect on how and where these familiar, but highly prized metals, in fact, originated—except when the geopolitical realities of this larger context impinged on their accessibility. Nevertheless, through consumption of silver and gold, fine metalworkers and their customers were linked, albeit indirectly, with the Spanish-controlled mines of Latin America. By examining first how Revere sourced his raw materials and then what went into their production prior to arriving at his workshop, this essay emphasizes that, although several degrees of separation came between the Indians and enslaved African miners of New Spain and the fine metalworkers of New England, they both

contributed to the global circulation of precious metals in the eighteenth century.

Revere’s account books document his business operations on a day-to-day basis, including regular notations of incoming silver that added to his reserve. On August 10, 1761, for example, he noted that Deacon Thomas Hill purchased “a Silver Cann,” “a Silver Pepper Caster,” and a “Pair of Gold Buttons” for £8.8.4, including materials and labor; that total was offset by a £5 credit for silver that Hill had previously delivered to Revere. On February 19, 1762, a customer named Mr. Williams bought a gold necklace and locket, one “odd Gold Button,” a “Turtle Shell Ring Lin’d with Gold,” and some silver spoons, and had mended “a Pair of Spectical Bows and Glasses” and a “Pockett Book Lock.” Three days later, Williams brought Revere a set of “old Silver Spoons” and a parcel of “old Gold,” each worth about £1, plus £4.4.1 cash, which together covered the balance due. On August 27, 1762, Benjamin Green provided the “Silver to make a Sugar Dish,” which Revere carefully weighed and assigned a value of £4.18.¹ Whether they were buying or selling, Revere’s clients relied on his reputation for honesty and expertise to ensure fair, accurate appraisals of their silver (fig. 15).

At a time when precious metals were regarded as inherently valuable and the most stable, inviolable form of savings, those who could muster the resources sought to invest in coins and other objects made of gold or silver (often termed *silver plate*) as a socially desirable form of tangible wealth. Accustomed to regularly handling precious metals, silversmiths became essential evaluators, brokers, and purveyors of these sought-after materials and, as such, they played a vital role in the



Photograph © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Fig. 16. Paul Revere, sugar bowl, 1761. Silver. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Pauline Revere Thayer Collection, 35.1781 (cat. 28).

economy. Indeed, before the first banks were established in America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, silversmiths often filled the breach in their communities by providing their customers with a range of informal financial services.² Most important, given their special training in metallurgy, silversmiths were among the only people qualified to assess the actual content of precious metals in a given item. Revere was often called upon to weigh, assay, and mark silver and gold objects to confirm their composition and value. Depending on the relative size and liquidity of their metal stores, many silversmiths also were happy to assist people in need of ready cash by taking silver items in exchange for coins or by accepting pawned objects as collateral on a loan. If someone wanted to convert a cache of coins into a less fungible form of savings, a silversmith could readily melt them down and reuse the

metal to fabricate some pleasing new article. Revere's customers, for example, could request him to fabricate a teapot, sugar bowl (fig. 16), tankard, porringer, or any number of other fashionable silverplate forms from his expansive repertoire.³

Throughout the colonial period, gold and silver coins were one of the most accessible forms of precious metals available to Revere and his fellow silversmiths in British America. As coins moved from hand to hand, they facilitated exchange, lubricating commerce within the local marketplace as well as across oceans and empires. Most advantageous, at least from the silversmith's perspective, coins were a convenient source of raw materials that contained relatively predictable amounts of precious metals and regularly arrived across his threshold. In his accounts, Revere recorded many payments in "cash," which at the time would usually have been in the form of coins. While no doubt Revere passed some of this money on to other people in the course of balancing accounts, making change, or buying provisions for his own household, he would have diverted a considerable portion into the creative aspects of his business, a form of malleable capital that his crucibles and molds would transmute into new forms.

With expanding maritime trade, coins of many nations were dispersed via innumerable transactions, circulating constantly among Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.⁴ In North America, archaeological excavations have turned up French, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, Indian, and, in the Northwest, even Chinese coins.⁵ Often marked with a date, place names, royal insignia, and other symbols, these intriguing artifacts communicated information about their provenance beyond assigned face value. Since coins were often worn down over time or clipped (i.e., pieces cut off) to reduce their value, the actual size and weight of each one had to be verified by new recipients. In many communities, the task of reconciling all these different currencies and assessing the value of individual coins fell to silversmiths.

Although most coins were fabricated from silver and gold mined in the Americas, they remained in short supply in the Anglo-American colonies during the eighteenth century. The unbalanced distribution of specie stemmed, in large measure, from historical contingencies resulting from the Spanish conquest of America and the vagaries of the British mercantile system. From their earliest forays into the American hemisphere, Europeans' desire for precious metals played an important role in motivating and financing exploration and colonization. Indeed, some historians argue that it was the thirst for American silver and gold that "galvanized Europe and set in motion the development of the market economy and the nation-state."⁶ In short, the importance of "New World" silver and gold to the globalizing economy during the early modern period is difficult to overstate.⁷ For Britain, however, this fact was complicated by the unwelcome reality that no mines of any consequence had been discovered within its imperial realm. By contrast, Spain monopolized incredibly rich deposits of precious metals discovered in Mexico, Peru (including what is now Bolivia), and elsewhere in New Spain; for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spain controlled approximately 80 percent of the world's silver production (fig. 17).⁸ Competing European powers were at the mercy of this imperial rival to acquire what they had come to regard as an essential natural resource. Determined to waylay some portion of this

natural bounty, Britain engaged in contraband trade and sponsored privateering attacks on the Spanish treasure fleets. After a long period of supreme wealth and power, however, the Spanish empire was considerably weakened by the eighteenth century, due first to staggering inflation resulting from the surfeit of precious metals and later to deepening recession as its American mines yielded less and less over time. Meanwhile, people throughout the Atlantic world scrambled to secure Spanish silver dollars, which have been characterized by many historians as the first truly global currency.⁹

For much of the eighteenth century, limited access to specie, already a chronic problem in the British colonies, was exacerbated by fiscal policies that allowed only the Royal Mint to issue coins and banned colonial governments from making their own. Moreover, merchants, creditors, and tax collectors in Britain, as well as trading partners in Europe and elsewhere, often demanded that people in the colonies make payments in "hard money." While they understandably did so to avoid risky long-distance dealings with recalcitrant debtors, potential tax cheats, or others who sought to pay for expensive imported goods with spurious paper money, specie consequently tended to drain away from the colonies.¹⁰ The outflow of gold and silver from the Americas increased with the expansion of trade to China and the Far East; for although European powers



Fig. 17. Detail of Abner Reed, "Slaves at Work in the Silver Mines of Peru," in *The History of South America*. . . . Bennington, VT, 1793. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society.

COINS.		Weights.		Value.	Langfull Money.	Silver Coins		Weights.		Value.		
		oz.	gr.	OLD TENOR				oz.	gr.	£ S C		
Guinea		0	5	9	28/	Eng Crown	0	19	8 1/2	2.10		
Half D.		2	16 1/2	5	14/	Half Ditto	9	16 1/4	1	5		
Moidore		6	22	13	36/	Dollar	17	12	2	5		
Half D.		3	11	6	18/	Half Ditto	8	18	1	2.6		
Dublin or 4 Pistole Piece		17	8	33	88/	Quarter D.	4	9	11	3		
Half D.		8	16	16	44/							
Pistole		4	8	8	22/	oz. cov. gr.	1	0	0	£ 38 0 0		
Half D.		2	4	4	11/		10	0	19	1	5	
Double Joannes or £ 3 1/2 Ster. Piece		18	10	36	96/		5	0	9	10	12	6
Single Joannes or 36 Ster. Piece		9	5	18	48/		2	0	3	16	5	
Half D.		4	14 1/2	9	24/		1	0	1	18	2	6
Quarter D.		2	7 1/4	4	12/		0	12	19		1	3
							0	6	9	6	0	7 1/2
							0	3	4	9	0	3 3/4
							0	1	1	7	0	1 1/4

ENGRAV'D Printed & Sold by NATH HURD.

N.B. 24 Grains one penny
w^t 20 Penny one Shilling

Fig. 18. Nathaniel Hurd, *Currency Conversion Chart*, 1765. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society. Gift of Charles Henry Taylor, 1919.

and their colonies eagerly consumed imported teas, silks, porcelains, spices, lacquerwares, and other exotic goods, they had little to offer in return that Chinese merchants wanted *other* than precious metals (at least until opium began to be imported in the early nineteenth century). Large quantities of gold and silver coins, which otherwise might have been available to fine metalworkers, were shipped overseas to meet colonists' fiduciary obligations.¹¹

Out of necessity, people in colonial America utilized whatever currency came to hand. In 1704, for example, Sarah Kemble Knight (1666–1727), who penned an account of her travels between Boston and New York, observed people in shops bartering produce (such as grain and meat) for manufactured wares; others exchanged “pieces of Eight, Ryalls, or Boston or Bay shillings (as they call them), or Good hard money, as silver coin is termed by them; also, Wampum vizt. [*sic*], Indian beads which serve for change.” She seemed bemused by this “very Intricate way of trade.”¹²

By the mid-eighteenth century, colonial Americans were long accustomed to wrangling with this unwieldy system. In 1765, Nathaniel Hurd (1729–77), one of Revere's competitors, responded to this monetary complexity by creating a currency conversion chart for use by local merchants (fig. 18). This engraved document likely also functioned as a form of advertising for the silversmith, since a notation at the bottom proudly announced it was “Engrav'd printed & sold by Natl. Hurd.” Three engraved scenes across the top lend it a decorative aspect as well: In the first vignette, a customer, with his hat under his arm, humbly proffers a pouch across a table to a haughty man in a turban, presumably the silversmith, who is counting coins, recording them in a ledger, and adding them to his stash in a barrel.¹³ In the central vignette, a figure of Justice holds a set of scales, similar to those used in weighing coins.¹⁴ In the third vignette, a well-dressed man, perhaps a merchant, surrounded by shipping crates, gestures toward a ship bounding on the ocean. Perhaps this sequence of images was meant, in part, to evoke the silversmith's integral roles in arbitrating wealth and status and in facilitating transatlantic trade during this period.

The usefulness of Hurd's chart, however, derived foremost from the numerical information it contained. One table lists the standard weights and values of the two most common types of silver coins, namely the English crown and the Spanish dollar (and their subdenominations), while another lists the current price of gold and silver, by the ounce, pennyweight, and grain.¹⁵ A third table compares the relative values of different denominations of gold coins, again by weight and value, including British guineas (usually made of African gold), Spanish pistoles and doubloons (usually made of Spanish American gold), and Portuguese moidores and Joannes (usually made of Brazilian gold).¹⁶

The shortage of specie within the British empire spurred the development of various kinds of documents used to mediate financial transactions. Given that their training usually included engraving, silversmiths in early America were often called upon to employ these skills in designing and fabricating the copper plates used to print various kinds of paper forms, including bills, receipts, and promissory notes. While such documents could be used to transfer money, in lieu of actual hard currency, they were not widely accepted, were vulnerable to inflation, and were often not honored beyond the immediate locale where they were issued.¹⁷ Such a jumble of colonial script was in circulation that an Annapolis-based doctor complained in 1744 that it was "very much depreciated" and required a "science to know the nature and value of their moneys."¹⁸ Accordingly, most people preferred silver and gold

to paper money, as it was a more stable medium of exchange, despite the persistent shortage of coins.

By trying to curtail colonies from issuing paper money or minting their own coins, British Parliament sought to protect the integrity of its own currency. For colonial subjects, who felt the resulting pecuniary pinch, these policies only served to reinforce long-standing grievances about their subordinate economic and political status. Not surprisingly, when the colonies finally declared independence from the British empire, the engraving skills of American silversmiths were called upon to produce official documents—and ultimately to issue new coins and paper money—for the newly independent colonies. In the spring of 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts appointed a committee to oversee the compensation of newly enlisted soldiers and noncommissioned officers in the colonial army. While the soldiers anxiously awaited their paychecks to sustain themselves and their families, the fledgling government, lacking sufficient funds to pay them, contracted Revere to print "colony notes" (essentially IOUs) to tide over the shortfall (fig. 19). The committee urged him to do so with "the greatest dispatch possible" to prevent the disgruntled troops from returning home. To prevent fraud or theft, however, they insisted that Revere not "leave his engraving press exposed, when he is absent from it" and that he deliver the plates to them for safekeeping as soon as the job was completed.¹⁹ When it became clear that they would need to borrow a substantial sum from the citizenry to finance

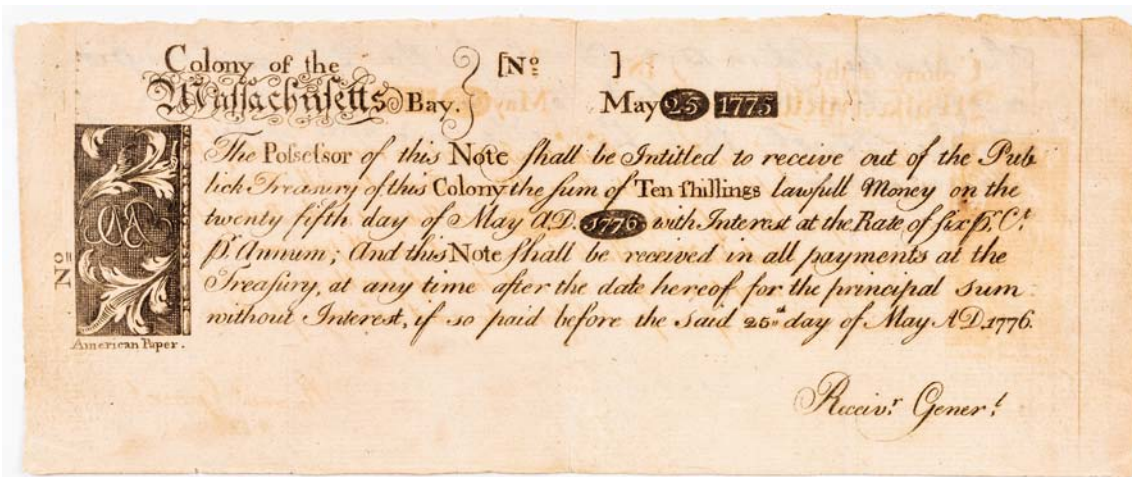


Fig. 19. Paul Revere, ten-shilling soldier-use currency, May 25, 1775. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society (cat. 86).

the new government, Revere again assisted by producing a printed form for the promissory notes (fig. 20). On July 28, 1775, for example, Nathaniel Eaton (1743–96), a farmer in Haverhill, Massachusetts, signed one, agreeing to lend “Eight Pounds nin[e]teen shills lawfull money for the Use and Service of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay,” to be returned, with interest, within the term of one year. Notably, the printed form specified that the debt was to be repaid “in Spanish Mill’d Dollars, at six shillings each, or in the several species of coined Silver & Gold,” whose value would be assigned based on the “Act for ascertaining the Rates at which coined Silver & Gold, English half pence & farthings may pass within this Government.”²⁰ Amidst the wartime turmoil, Spanish silver clearly was preferred by lenders.

While these geopolitical conflicts played out on the high seas and in government halls, working silversmiths continued to grapple with chronic shortages of precious metals. At the same time, Spanish dollars were so highly esteemed that, as noted above, people demanded them in payment in preference to all other forms of specie, even though counterfeit versions had been popping up since the seventeenth century.²¹ Some silversmiths took advantage of their knowledge and skills to fabricate convincing fakes. In 1770 in Rhode Island, for example, Samuel Casey (1723/24–ca. 1773), in league with several other metalworkers, conspired to forge silver coins, including faux Spanish dollars that he purportedly boasted were so convincing they “would pass through all the world.”²² While Casey claimed to have acted initially out of desperation after a fire destroyed his workshop, he became increasingly bold. Despite hiding the incriminating coin molds in a cornfield, his handiwork was discovered. Justice was swift and severe. Some of his cronies were branded with a hot iron, given hefty fines, and had their ears cropped. As the ringleader, Casey was sentenced to death, although some accomplices helped him escape. Colonial officials continued to mete out harsh punishments in order to deter other artisans from exploiting their specialized skills to take advantage of their fellow countrymen.²³ Yet, that forgers expected to slip their fakes so easily into the general stream of currency underscores how

ubiquitous Spanish silver dollars had become to the North American economy.²⁴

Despite the high cost of materials, growing competition, and changing styles, most fine metalworkers in British America took no such gambles. Rather, they worked hard and fairly to fulfill their customers’ needs and desires while also ensuring their businesses remained at least somewhat profitable. But long years of pouring molten silver into molds, hammering out sheet metal, straining eyes and backs over close work, and breathing in fumes and particulates inevitably took a physical toll on their bodies. In his later years, Revere desired less strenuous employment, spending less and less time at his workbench, especially after his sons joined the business. The elder artisan aspired instead to situate himself as a merchant and investor in other remunerative, but less physically taxing, ventures.²⁵ As arduous as their craft at times could be, however, Revere and his fellow silversmiths faced none of the occupational and environmental hazards associated with the mining of their raw materials taking place thousands of miles away.

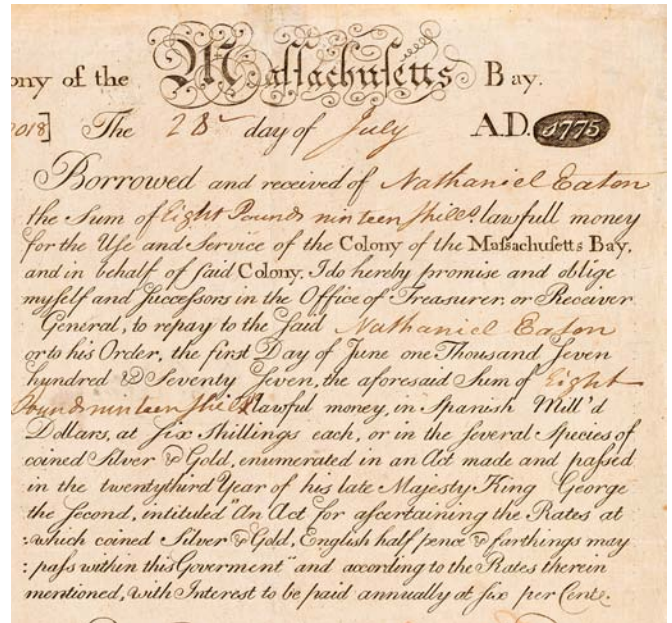


Fig. 20. Detail of Paul Revere, promissory note, July 28, 1775. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society. See fig. 31 for full image (cat. 87a).

By whatever means gold and silver ended up in New England, the majority of both metals originated in the mountains of the Sierra Madre, the geological backbone of central Mexico, and the Andes, the massive range that dominates the western coast of South America, especially Peru and Bolivia. To meet demand for silver in Spain and on the world market, vast quantities of precious metals were extracted there, but at tremendous human and environmental costs. Potosí, the great mining center of the Andes, for example, quickly became the largest city in the Americas. But this “fabulous silver mountain,” in the words of one historian, became “a monument to earthly abundance, cruelty, and greed.”²⁶

For the most part, these mines utilized various forms of coerced labor, involving indigenous Indians in combination with varying numbers of enslaved Africans.²⁷ One of the most exploitative aspects of the silver mines of the Andes was their use of the mita system, an organized form of impressment that required Indian men by the thousands to leave their homes and families to fill labor quotas. Although the workers were paid modest wages in silver, little remained after they paid their living expenses; many could never afford to return home or were worked until they died from sheer exhaustion, disease, or accidents. Typically, the miners were forced to labor underground, often for twelve hours a day, with little light or ventilation, and few accommodations for safety. Men became moles, burrowing deep in the earth, loading heavy ore into bags, and then dragging each one to the surface through narrow tunnels, usually illuminated only by the light of a single candle tied to their forehead or finger. Miners also faced constant dangers—cave-ins, underground explosions and fires, suffocating dust or insufficient air—that could easily make their workplace their grave. They also became susceptible to pneumonia, tuberculosis, and respiratory disorders. Mining thus contributed significantly to the destruction of indigenous populations under Spanish rule, which led to the forced migration of thousands of Indians from other regions as well as enslaved Africans.²⁸

As the mineral deposits closest to the surface were depleted, shafts were driven to greater and greater

depths, compounding the dangers and difficulties of the miners’ work. Concerns about terrible working conditions and labor abuses had been raised since the mines’ early years. When the new viceroy Conde de Lemos (1632–71) arrived in Peru in 1667, for example, he was appalled by the conditions he witnessed.²⁹ When his reform efforts proved fruitless, he protested to King Charles II that it “is not silver that is brought to Spain but rather the blood and sweat of Indians.” He tried to spark moral outrage by stating that if one squeezed a coin from Potosí, “more blood than silver would flow out.” But his warning that “silver acquired from such bad means cannot have a good purpose” went unheeded.³⁰ The insatiable desire for silver in Europe helped most people overlook or rationalize the ethical concerns he tried to raise.

Above ground as well as under, long-term environmental damage was widely evident throughout Latin American mining regions.³¹ In addition to the actual sites of mine shafts, the industry typically required an expansive supporting infrastructure that transformed the landscape, including roads, housing, transportation, and provisioning networks to supply the labor force. Trees were needed to provide wood for fuel and shaft and housing construction. Water sources were diverted to provide power and for use in processing the ore. All this rapid development contributed to severe erosion, deforestation, tainted water, and many other kinds of pollution.³² Most pernicious were the large amounts of mercury (quicksilver) used to extract silver from ore. Unless a mineral deposit was very pure, which became increasingly rare to find, mercury was essential for the amalgamation process (a method called the *patio process*) used to separate the silver from the ore. Initially, the mines relied heavily on supplies imported from quicksilver mines in Spain or Idra (now Slovenia), until alternate sources were identified in New Spain.³³ Even in trace amounts, mercury is highly toxic, causing nerve damage, paralysis, and tooth loss, as well as severe birth defects and developmental problems in children. Nevertheless, unbelievable amounts of this poison poured out of the silver refineries, contaminating the air, soil, and water for miles around. In some locales, life-

threatening levels of mercury used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries persist in the environment to this day.³⁴

By the mid-eighteenth century, the volume of silver coming out of the Andean region had declined; it is estimated that by 1700, Potosí's yield was only a third of what it had been a hundred years earlier.³⁵ The great city was already well past its prime, but the landscape remained ravaged. A visitor to the city in 1759 described a "thick cloud that forms . . . over the city" composed of "vapors and poisonous fumes . . . from dead animals, from trash heaps, and other fine dust from the ore and from the mercury smoke in the burning and reburning of the [silver]." In quite an understatement, he surmised that this "mix of bad vapors and fumes cannot be healthful."³⁶

By the early to mid-eighteenth century, when Revere was starting his apprenticeship, the mines of central Mexico surpassed Potosí in silver production. The region gained traction because new mining technology made its deeper mineral deposits accessible and Spanish entrepreneurs were willing to "sink their capital into risky but highly lucrative enterprises."³⁷ The cities of Zacatecas and Guanajuato became centers of innovation, investment, and population growth.³⁸ Since the region had a smaller indigenous population, the mines relied on a wage-based labor system to encourage Indians to move there from surrounding areas; in addition, enslaved Africans were brought in to supplement the labor force.³⁹ The ever-present dangers of mining remained of concern. If anything, the greater depth of shafts exacerbated the chances of underground flooding and accidents involving subterranean blasting. Given the composition of ore in the region, extracting its silver was particularly complex, involving greater amounts of mercury and up to eighteen different specialized processes.⁴⁰ As in the Andes, the mining industry in Mexico was characterized by boom-and-bust cycles, a risky "game which the wealthy and the persevering stood the best chance of winning."⁴¹ Miners, meanwhile, continued to suffer dreadful working conditions in return for meager wages and anxiety at the looming prospect of unemployment as these mines too yielded less over time.

Most New Englanders knew, as historian Richard Bushman argues, "that silver came from Mexico and Peru and probably understood that forced Indian labor produced it. . . . [But] the gentry's efforts to attain or maintain authority and place left little room for the contemplation of social injustice. Silver's origins . . . were no worse than the estates built on slave labor in the Caribbean and the South."⁴² In the case of Revere, we might likewise add that the artisan's efforts to build a successful business, amidst growing political tensions, left him little room to quibble over the genesis of his raw materials. As colonial Americans joined in nonimportation agreements, forswearing purchases of British manufactures, it had consequences—positive and negative—for the silversmith. As early as 1767, several local newspapers published a list, drawn up by "Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the city of Boston," of all the goods to be avoided, including gold and silver lace, gold and silver buttons, and "wrought plates of all sorts."⁴³ On the plus side, Revere thus faced less competition from imported silver as customers might very well patronize his shop rather than run afoul of the Sons of Liberty.

On the negative side, if war really was in the offing, precious metals might be harder than usual to come by and demand for silver plate and other luxury goods might collapse. But at least the silversmith could expect his holdings of gold and silver to retain their value through the crisis. Tellingly, when Revere later established a copper manufactory, his top priority was finding a domestic source of raw materials, which involved unsuccessfully investigating copper mines in New Jersey and Maryland. Failing that, he had to scrounge for used pots, kettles, and other copperware, even importing scrap metal from England and copper ore from Spain and Turkey.⁴⁴ Whereas his access to silver had long been restricted by British mercantile policy and the Spanish monopoly, he now confronted a dearth of natural resources on the home front as well.

In the face of political and economic headwinds, the travails of Spanish American miners may have seemed very remote indeed and of little current concern to Revere or his silver-buying clientele. Yet evidence

suggests that, on at least one occasion, Revere had cause to reflect on their well-documented suffering. In 1774, the silversmith was called upon to engrave some illustrations for the *Royal American Magazine*, a publication that explicitly proclaimed its mission to edify readers with articles about “natural and experimental philosophy,” as well as history, religion, and morality.⁴⁵ One of the prints he produced was entitled “Spanish Treatment at Carthagena” (fig. 21). Copied from an English source, the image depicted a recent controversy involving the capture of a British ship and harassment of its crew by the Spanish coast guard in Colombia.⁴⁶ This scene accompanied an article called “The Barbarity of the Spanish,” based on a text by Bartolomé de Las Casas (1485–1566), the famous sixteenth-century priest who sought to end the enslavement and horrendous mistreatment of Indians in the mines and plantations of New Spain. The article promised readers “a very melancholy relation of the numerous cruelties and ravages” of how the Spanish “plundered and ravaged large realms and countries, murdering infinite numbers of people . . . [in territories] possessed of more gold than any princes upon the face of the earth at that time.” Characterizing Spanish colonizers as “ravaging and plundering,” “murdering or enslaving the miserable inhabitants,” the article specifically implicated their mines as sites where innumerable enslaved Indians perished.

While Spanish American mines did indeed have a dark history, the hyperbolic tone of this rhetoric is typical of anti-Spanish propaganda proffered by the British. First translated into English in 1583, Las Casas’s treatise contributed to a growing body of so-called Black Legend literature that vilified the Spanish as peculiarly ruthless and voracious colonizers.⁴⁷ Yet, as literary scholar Jonathan Hart argues, the British attitudes toward Spain, in fact, were less black or white than gray; namely, ambivalent, combining “condemnation and emulation.”⁴⁸ While envying its success and coveting its American mines, the British readily dismissed Spain’s wealth and power as ill-gotten and undeserved. At the same time, they avidly sought to supplant Spain as the world’s leading empire.

That this particular article was featured so prominently in a popular magazine during the tense months leading up to the American Revolution raises interesting questions about the intentions of its editor, Joseph Greenleaf (1720–1810), who was known to have patriotic sympathies. Did he revive Las Casas’s narrative as an object lesson in the dangers of seemingly unlimited imperial power? Did he hope readers might bristle at the images of enslavement, a common trope of anti-British discourse? Was he just trying to fill the pages as he hastened to get the next issue to press? As he set about engraving its illustrations, Revere may have taken a more

Fig. 21. Paul Revere, “Spanish Treatment at Carthagena,” in *Royal American Magazine*, July 1774. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society, Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831.



practical and professional interest in the publication's contents. Perhaps he gleaned some useful tips from an article on how to make saltpeter (a substance used in silversmithing but also in making gunpowder), pondered the vivid travel account of a visit to the quicksilver mines of Idra, or filed away instructions on how to conserve precious metals by burning gold and silver lace. As he then turned his attention to engraving the illustration for "The Barbarity of the Spanish," we can only wonder what, if any, dissonance he may have discerned between the English passion for silver and this one-sided critique of the Spanish who supplied it. Like so many links in a chain, the silversmith and his customers were inextricably connected with the miners who, deep in the ground and seemingly a world away, produced the silver the world so valued and admired.

Notes:

1. Paul Revere, *Waste Book & Memoranda, 1761–1783*, vol. 1, reel 5, Revere Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
2. Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670–1780* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), 22; James A. Mulholland, *A History of Metals in Colonial America* (Auburn: University of Alabama Press, 1981).
3. For more on Revere's silver production and clientele, see Beth Carver Wees and Medill Higgins Harvey, *Early American Silver in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 6–7, 64–66, 163–64; Jeannine J. Falino and Gerald W. R. Ward, eds., *New England Silver and Silversmithing, 1620–1815* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2001); and Nina Zannieri et al., *Paul Revere—Artisan, Businessman, and Patriot: The Man Behind the Myth* (Boston: Paul Revere Memorial Association, 1988).
4. On global circulation of coins, colonial use of foreign coins, and significance of Spanish silver dollars, see Sharon Ann Murphy, *Other People's Money: How Banking Worked in the Early American Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2017), 17–18, 31; Alvin Rabushka, *Taxation in Colonial America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); and David Hackett Fischer, *The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 282–84.
5. Marjorie H. Akin, James C. Bard, and Kevin Akin, *Numismatic Archaeology of North America: A Field Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 65–66; David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, 3rd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 60, 75, 90; Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 100–101.
6. Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), vii.
7. Jonathan Hart, *Representing the New World: The English and French Uses of the Example of Spain* (New York: Springer, 2001), 49.
8. Nicholas A. Robins, *Mercury, Mining, and Empire: The Human and Ecological Cost of Colonial Silver Mining in the Andes* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 99–103.
9. For the importance of Spanish dollars, see Murphy, *Other People's Money*, 17–18, 31.
10. Economic historians disagree on whether or not there was a net shortage of silver or if its variability resulted more from flawed fiscal policies. Margaret E. Newell, *From Dependency to Independence: Economic Revolution in Colonial New England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 134–35; Roger W. Weiss, "The Colonial Monetary Standard of Massachusetts," *Economic History Review* 27, no. 4 (November 1974): 577–92.
11. Paul W. Mapp, *The Elusive West and the Contest for Empire, 1713–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 112–13; Richard von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000–1700* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), chap. 4; Patrick Karl O'Brien, "The Global Economic History of European Expansion Overseas," chap. 1 in *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America*, ed. Victor Bulmer-Thomas, John H. Coatsworth, and Roberto Cortes Conde (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
12. Sarah Kemble Knight, "Journal of Madam Knight," in *Colonial American Travel Narratives*, ed. Wendy Martin (New York: Penguin, 1994), 65.
13. The turban was a fashionable item of dress for gentlemen and upper-tier artisans during the eighteenth century. Nathaniel Hurd wears similar head garb in his portrait (ca. 1765) by John Singleton Copley. See Mary D. Doering, ed., *Clothing and Fashion: American Fashion from Head to Toe* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2015), 1:142. The Hurd portrait is owned by the Cleveland Museum of Art and is illustrated in Wees and Harvey, *Early American Silver in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 7.
14. The Latin inscriptions in the center vignette read: "Let there be justice" and "Now the Virgin returns, and the Kingdom of Saturn returns." The second one, from Virgil's *Eclogues*, book 4, line 6, refers to the dawning of a new age. That same passage inspired the motto *Novus ordo seclorum* ("A new order of the ages"), which appears on the reverse of the great seal of the United States. Thanks to Alix Cooper for assistance with this reference.
15. The chart specifies that twenty-four grains of silver equaled one pennyweight, and twenty pennyweights equaled one ounce. Its inclusion of "old Tenor" and "Lawfull money" suggests both were still used, although the former was officially phased out around 1750. Foreign coins remained in circulation until outlawed by the U.S. Congress in 1857. Murray Newton Rothbard, *History of Money and Banking in the United States* (Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2002), 49.
16. Joseph R. Lasser et al., *The Coins of Colonial America: World Trade Coins of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, 1997).
17. Newell, *From Dependency to Independence*, 107–8; T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 98, 117–18, 137; John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).
18. Dr. Alexander Hamilton (1712–56), "The Itinerarium of Alexander Hamilton," in Martin, *Colonial American Travel Narratives*, 285.

19. The congressional journal noted that Revere was paid for his work, which included “engraving four copper plates of the colony’s notes, at 6 £ each, 24 £; and for printing 14,500 impressions, at 3 £, 6s, 8d the thousand.” See entries for May 20, June 3, June 21, June 22, and July 1, 1775, in the *Journal of the Third Provincial Congress, Massachusetts Provincial Congress* (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1838), 245, 296–97, 369, 375, 441.
20. Just a few months later, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress commissioned Revere to engrave the printing plates for its new paper money. Jayne E. Triber, *A True Republican: The Life of Paul Revere* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 23, 237n.
21. Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957), 18–19; Katherine Smoak, “The Weight of Necessity: Counterfeit Coins in the British Atlantic World, circa 1760–1800,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (July 2017): 467–502.
22. Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America*, 230–34.
23. Morrison H. Heckscher and Leslie Greene Bowman, *American Rococo, 1750–1775: Elegance in Ornament* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 39, 94.
24. When Congress later established the first national mint in 1792, they modeled the U.S. dollar on the Spanish version, but embellished with republican rather than monarchical iconography. Revere also designed coins for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, including one decorated with a female figure seated on a globe, with the motto “Liberty and Virtue, 1776” (also known as the pine tree copper; see example at Massachusetts Historical Society), and another with the motto “Goddess of Liberty, 1776.” John Ward Dean et al. *Historical Magazine: Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America* 1 (October 1857): 298–99.
25. For more on Revere’s career trajectory, from silversmithing to copper manufacturing, see Robert Martello, *Midnight Ride, Industrial Dawn: Paul Revere and the Growth of American Enterprise* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010). See also Martello’s essay in this catalog, 12–25.
26. Fischer, *Great Wave*, 81; Kris Lane, *Potosí: The Silver City That Changed the World* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).
27. Kris Lane, “Africans and Natives in the Mines of Spanish America,” in *Beyond Black and Red*, ed. Matthew Restall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 162, 173; John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 139; Douglas A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, “Colonial Silver Mining: Mexico and Peru,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52, no. 4 (1972): 545–79.
28. Linda A. Newsome, “The Demographic Impact of Colonization,” in Bulmer-Thomas, Coatsworth, and Cortes Conde, *Cambridge Economic History of Latin America*, 1:171–72; Peter Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí, 1545–1650* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 23, 105, 142–44, 150–57.
29. Jeffrey A. Cole, “An Abolitionism Born of Frustration: The Conde de Lemos and the Potosí Mita, 1667–1673,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (May 1983): 307–33.
30. Cited in Robins, *Mercury, Mining, and Empire*, 69.
31. Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, “Exhausting the Sierra Madre: Mining Ecologies in Mexico over the *Longue Durée*,” chap. 1 in *Mining North America: An Environmental History since 1522*, ed. John R. McNeill and George Vrtis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).
32. Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert and David Schechter, “The Environmental Dynamics of a Colonial Fuel-Rush: Silver Mining and Deforestation in New Spain, 1522 to 1810,” *Environmental History* 15, no. 1 (January 2010): 94–119; Kendall W. Brown, *A History of Mining in Latin America: From the Colonial Era to the Present* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012); Ann Jefferson and Paul Lokken, *Daily Life in Colonial Latin America* (New York: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 75–76.
33. Peter Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico, Zacatecas, 1546–1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1971), chap. 7; John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 366–69.
34. On continued effects of mercury, see Robins, *Mercury, Mining, and Empire*, 103–10.
35. Enrique Tandeter, “The Mining Industry,” in Bulmer-Thomas, Coatsworth, and Cortes Conde, *Cambridge Economic History of Latin America*, 1:326.
36. Cited in Robins, *Mercury, Mining, and Empire*, 141.
37. John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 255–56.
38. Dana Velasco Murillo, *Urban Indians in a Silver City: Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546–1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016); Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society*, chap. 8; Douglas A. Brading, “Mexican Silver-Mining in the Eighteenth Century: The Revival of Zacatecas,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 50, no. 4 (1970): 665–81.
39. Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (New York: Verso, 1998), 144; Brading and Cross, “Colonial Silver Mining,” 545–79.
40. Studnicki-Gizbert, “Exhausting the Sierra Madre,” chap. 1.
41. Brading, “Mexican Silver-Mining in the Eighteenth Century,” 677.
42. Richard L. Bushman, “The Complexity of Silver,” in Falino and Ward, *New England Silver and Silversmithing*, 13.
43. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 236.
44. Maxwell Whiteman, *Copper for America: The Hendricks Family and a National Industry, 1755–1939* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1971); Martello, *Midnight Ride*, 307–9, 357; Mulholland, *History of Metals in Colonial America*, 43–49.
45. On September 10, 1774, Revere recorded in his daybook: “Joseph Greenleaf Eqr Dr To Engraving a Plate for July Magazine . . . To Ditto for August Magazine.” The short-lived *Royal American Magazine* was founded in Boston in January 1774 by Isaiah Thomas; Joseph Greenleaf took over as its publisher six months later. The first American periodical to include ample illustrations, the magazine featured engravings by Revere, including political cartoons (adapted from English sources) critiquing imperial policies toward the colonies. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: 1741–1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 48, 83; Clarence S. Brigham, *Paul Revere’s Engravings* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1969), 106–36.
46. The image is based on one that appeared in *London Magazine*, January 1, 1772, 610.
47. J. H. Elliott, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500–1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 27–28; Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, introduction to *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 1–26.
48. Hart, *Representing the New World*, 5–7.



To be Sold by
Joseph Webb
 at His Store near Olivers Dock BOSTON



Pot & Ass Kettles, & covers	Pudding-pans, & basons
Fry kettles for Whaling	Cast Dogs, of all sizes
Potts & Kettles of all sizes	Fry-pans & fry Kettles
Skilletts of all Sizes	Ox & Horse Cart,
Large & small Spiders	Waggon, & Chaise, Boxes
Chimney Backs of all sizes	Mortars & Pestles
Clothiers Press Plates	Sash weights
Stew Pans, with covers	Half & Quar: " hundred,
Tea Kettles.	14 & 7 w ^{ts} . ring & Scalds
Jamb Plates	Flatters basons, & Irons
Forge hammers, & Anvils	Platt Irons, & heaters

All sorts of Cast Iron work, done in y^e best
 Manner, on short Notice

NB Sells all Sorts of Ship Chandlery Stores &c



THE WORK OF ART AND THE ART OF WORK: PRINTS AND EPHEMERA BY PAUL REVERE

by Nancy Siegel

Ornately embellished trade cards hawking the wares of merchants, political satires meant to delight and incite, business advertisements, bookplates, and elegant certificates for attending surgical lectures—these engraved and often ephemeral documents serve as visual evidence of mercantile trade, politics, and professional participation in eighteenth-century colonial America. However, when such graphic arts are attributed to Paul Revere, the narrative that unfolds reveals a rich socioeconomic network evolving in New England in the years surrounding the American Revolution. Revere was enmeshed within the social fabric of colonial Boston. His involvement in community building and political activism, combined with the relationships he cultivated, both professional and personal, present a more finely detailed understanding of this man beyond the mythic picture often painted. This study examines the image/text relationships among Revere's printed works as a means to explore his place alongside fellow artisans, merchants, Freemasons, and patriots of the era. While his political engravings such as *The Boston Massacre* are more commonly known, equally significant but less often studied are Revere's engravings for commercial advertisements, certificates, and invitations to Masonic meetings. He produced engraved notices and trade cards for importers, clockmakers, and innkeepers, and perhaps not surprisingly, Revere had a fair number of commissions for advertisements from individuals in the mercantile trade. Collectively, Revere's engravings are significant as both aesthetic *and* historical documents, valued as works

of art and a demonstration of the art of work in colonial New England.

As a complement to his roles as a patriot, Freemason, soldier, and political protestor, Revere the artisan was active in the economic life of Boston.¹ While hailed as a master silversmith, he was often employed as a graphic designer—a proficient and skilled artisan who achieved financial stability by earning a substantial portion of his income not from high-end commissions but rather from engraved piecemeal work, as revealed in the account books he kept throughout his career. Revere bears witness through his daybooks to the constant pace at which he produced printed matter while profiting from an array of business endeavors, which included fashioning a startling number of silver shoe buckles, providing dental services, and playing the role of merchant. Clarence S. Brigham's 1954 publication has done much to bring awareness to the importance of Revere's engravings.² This study examines how Revere's work as an engraver is an extension of his professional and political associations. There is no separating the man from the politics. Whether he was commissioned to produce work for the commercial trade or civic events, or make political engravings to commemorate a celebratory obelisk or the closure of Boston's port after the Tea Party, Revere's work places him at the epicenter of colonial art, science, culture, and industry.

Highlighting Revere's complex relationships among local businessmen, Freemasons, and patriots is the trade card he produced for the merchant Joseph Webb (1734–87) (fig. 22). As noted in his daybook on September 28, 1765, Revere provided Webb with 150 copies for his use.³ The text within the borders of the card's elaborate

Fig. 22. Paul Revere, trade card for Joseph Webb, 1765. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society. Gift of Hollis French, 1937 (cat. 50).

scrollwork reveals fascinating details as to the types of wares available for purchase, including potash kettles, chimney backs, and anvils. The text above the Chippendale-style border, which was undoubtedly copied from pattern books of English designs, is adorned with British flags and reads, “To be sold by Joseph Webb at His Store near Olivers Dock Boston.” The text at the bottom of the trade card reads, “All sorts of Cast Iron work, done in ye best Manner, on short Notice—NB Sells all sorts of Ship Chandlery Stores &c.” The flourishes from which pots, pans, and mortar and pestle hang are charming and reflect Revere’s skill as an engraver, yet the wares themselves are simplistic at best. He signed the plate in the bottom right with “Paul Revere Sculp,” thus designating his identity as the artist and perhaps advertising for additional commissions should the receiver of the card be impressed. The trade card bears three horizontal crease lines by which the paper was folded in fourths and preserved, along with a receipt for kitchenware purchased by Obadiah Dickinson from Webb.⁴ Although clearly not valued as a work of art, Revere’s designs advertise to potential buyers what and where their needs could be met. The card assisted Webb in earning a trade, the commission allowed Revere to pay his bills, and the contents reveal much about the availability of goods in colonial Boston; all this from an artifact of limited value beyond the cost of the paper it was printed on that was never intended to be preserved as an object of aesthetic or cultural worth.

As a participant in civic engagement, Revere’s inclusion of Masonic symbols

such as the square, compass, and level demonstrates a reference to the society to which he and Webb belonged (the Masonic Lodge of St. Andrew). Revere was a part of this lively network of businessmen and artisans with whom he worked, associated with socially and politically, and lived in proximity to. For example, he and Webb sold tickets for their lodge to celebrate the Feast of St. John the Baptist in 1764. Webb was also active in the Boston community as a merchant and a patriot. He served as clerk of the market for the town of Boston in 1766, a warden in 1775, and a colonel in the military. His shop functioned as a postal location of sorts for outgoing letters and packages while he continued to run and advertise his mercantile business until 1771.⁵



Fig. 23. Paul Revere, trade card for William Jackson, 1769. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society (cat. 70).

Like Webb's advertisement, Revere's 1769 card designed for William Jackson (b. 1731) (fig. 23) originates with English precedent. The familiar Chippendale flourishes are surrounded by customized imagery in the keyhole at the top with text meant to entice potential customers in need of sundries and household goods. (In a political turn of events, the Sons of Liberty, of which Revere was a member, posted broadsides in the early 1770s requesting that patriots no longer conduct business with Jackson, a well-known Tory.⁶) Revere used this template again for William Breck's trade card in 1770 (fig. 24), suggesting the merchant's request for alluring, if not original, designs. With elaborate flourishes, most commonly associated with Revere's ornamental style

when he engraved silver, this trade card advertised an extensive array of imported necessities such as kettles, nails, and window glass, all to be found "at the Golden Key near the draw-Bridge."

Revere's desire for continued professional success was certainly enmeshed within the politics of mercantile trade. He was a producer of both expensive and inexpensive products and was an intelligent businessman and entrepreneur. Robert Martello aptly characterizes Revere as a "mechanic and merchant, politician and patriot."⁷ His active participation in numerous private and secretive organizations such as the North End Caucus, the Freemasons, the Long Room (located above the printing offices of Edes & Gill), and the Sons of Liberty afforded Revere access to and association with lawyers, merchants, and fellow artisans as a means of social and financial advancement. Martello notes that Revere was able to acquire roughly 20 percent of the membership of these organizations as new customers, the largest percentage coming from the Lodge of St. Andrew for whom he made Masonic medals, jewels, and notices.⁸ After a period of declined income in the mid-1760s (the Stamp Act of 1765 and the Townshend Act of 1767, with their taxes on paper, surely impacted Revere's business), Revere remained busy with his active workshop, training apprentices, hiring employees, and subcontracting work to other craftsmen.⁹

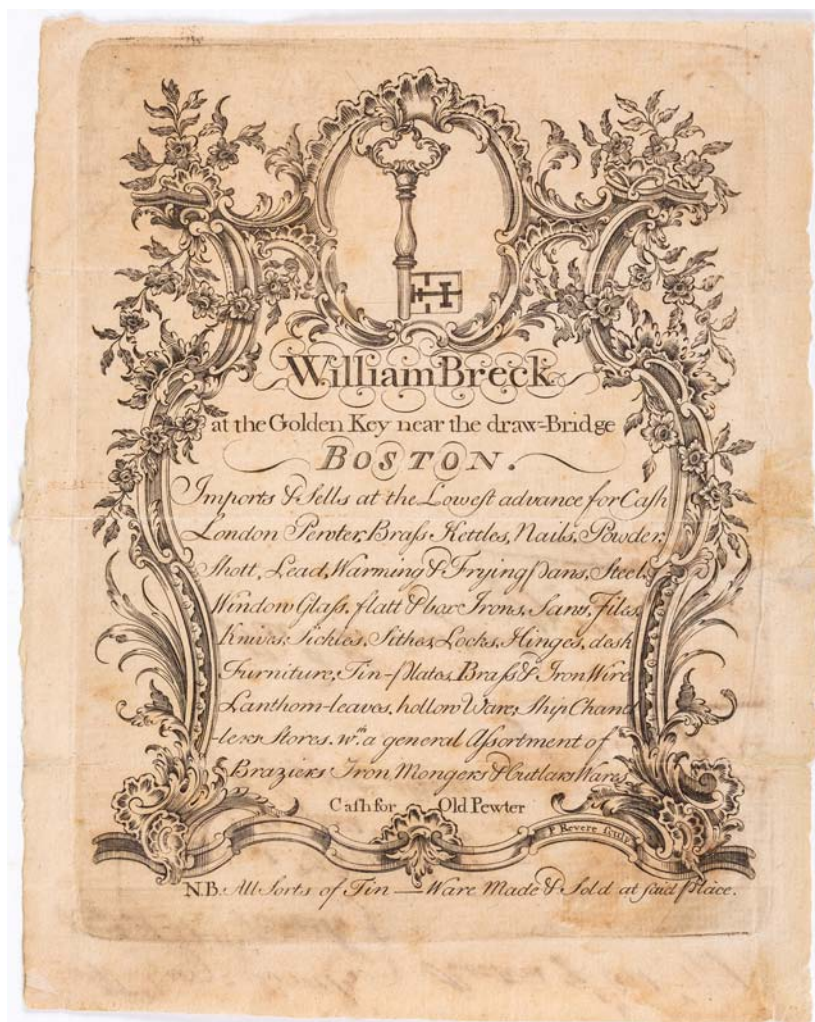


Fig. 24. Paul Revere, trade card for William Breck, 1770. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society (cat. 101).

Revere's workshop, home, and places of establishment for camaraderie with colleagues and fellow patriots shifted around the city between 1770 and 1787 (fig. 25). Revere stayed just north of the

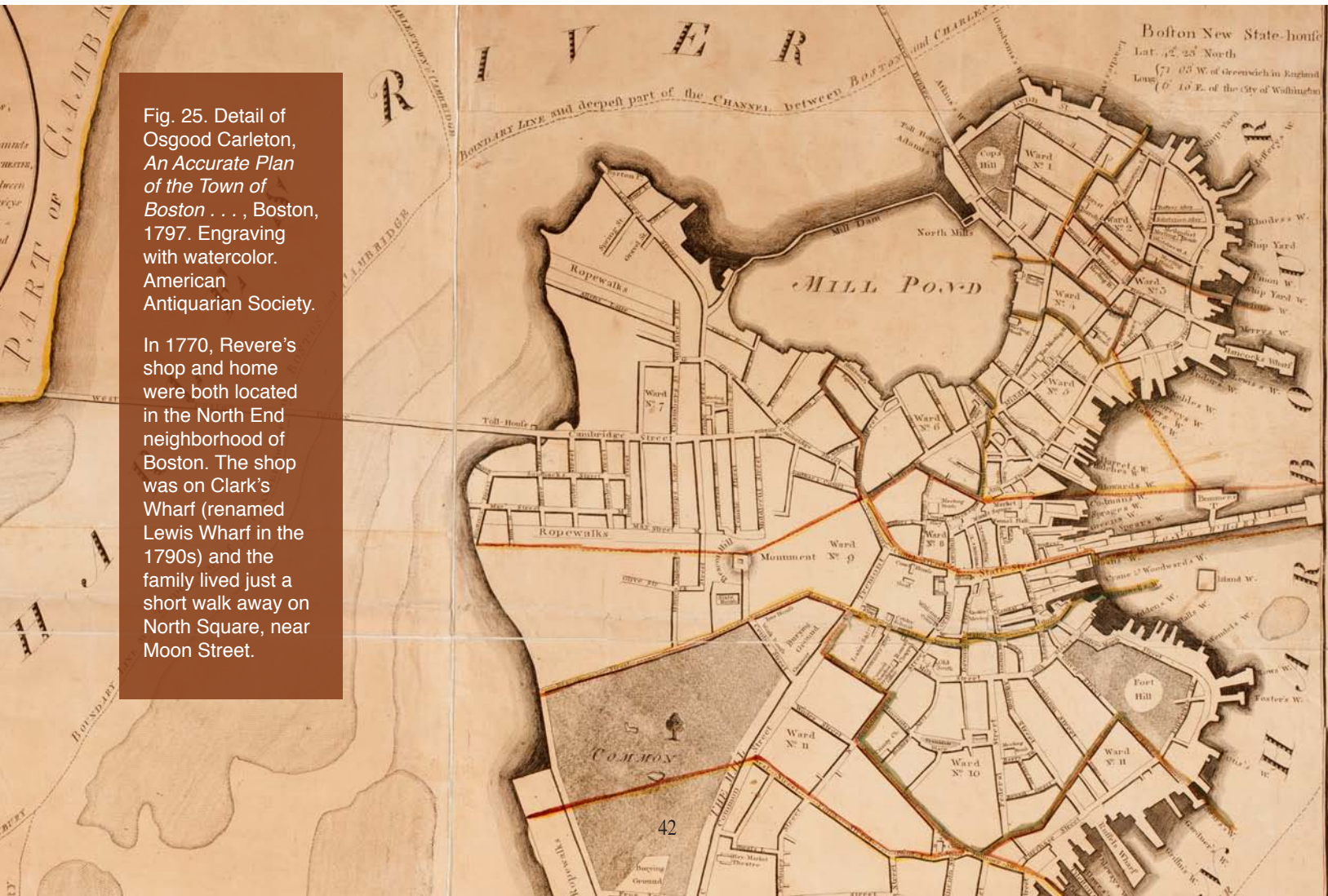
docks, in proximity to economically diverse neighbors but still close enough to conduct business and socialize with fellow artisans. As Susan Rather notes, Revere self-identified as both an artisan and a gentleman with no apparent conflict. In 1770, Revere separated his home from his workshop on Clark's Wharf (east and north of Long Wharf, close to Joseph Webb), purchasing a home in North Square. The neighborhood was a mix of merchants, shoemakers, and tailors, with a baker, a physician, a goldsmith, and an apothecary.¹⁰ Revere advertised his business as located "Directly opposite Liberty Pole, South End, Boston." It was from this position close to Boston Common that he imported and sold nails, door locks, coffee mills, frying pans, and playing cards, in addition to "an elegant Assortment of Jewelry and plated Ware; among which is Coffee Urns which hold three pints."¹¹ It was at this location too, that

Revere was the victim of a coy shoplifter. "Last week a person who had the appearance of a lady, by her dress, went into Mr. Paul Revere's shop, and taking a fancy to a number of articles in the jewellery-way, took them, with a pretense of showing them to her father (mentioning a gentleman's name in town) promising to return and discharge the amount, to which Mr. Revere readily consented; but it has since turned out that she is an imposture—she has also been at several other shops in town attended with similar circumstances."¹²

By January 1786, Revere had moved his store to Dock Square (near Faneuil Hall), "in the store adjoining Mr. Joseph Bush, near the Market," where he also advertised his goldsmithing business with "constant attention given, and the smallest favours gratefully acknowledged."¹³ Revere moved yet again in 1787, this time from Dock

Fig. 25. Detail of Osgood Carleton, *An Accurate Plan of the Town of Boston . . .*, Boston, 1797. Engraving with watercolor. American Antiquarian Society.

In 1770, Revere's shop and home were both located in the North End neighborhood of Boston. The shop was on Clark's Wharf (renamed Lewis Wharf in the 1790s) and the family lived just a short walk away on North Square, near Moon Street.



Street to No. 50 Cornhill (near the Old South Meeting House) where, in addition to selling an assortment of hardware, he advertised his gold- and silversmith's business. Revere and his son offered brass, copper, pewter, ironmongery, and plated wares in addition to "tea and coffee urns—coffee, tea and sugar pots—tankards, cans, porringers, butter-boats, caster stands and casters, cream, pepper and mustard pots, salts, tureen ladles, spoons, sugar tongs, &c. &c."¹⁴ Revere was more than able to help customers set the perfect table at which to celebrate a contentious and long-awaited independence.¹⁵

It was in this geographic environment that Revere's engraved work for the cause of political activism was made. The economic and political conflict between Great Britain and the North American colonies escalated during the mid-1760s in part due to Britain's contested authority to impose taxation measures as a sign of domination and as a means to raise revenue for Parliament. The Stamp Act, in particular, proved to be a pivotal yet futile gesture as it resulted in one of the first unified efforts of resistance by the colonists. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Stamp Act was enacted in March 1765, evidence of the strain on transatlantic relations appeared throughout the newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides of the day. However, unlike other taxes, the Stamp Act was short-lived, and following its repeal a year later (March 1766), broadsides in Boston declared "Glorious News": church bells rang, guns were fired, and ships in the harbor displayed their colors.¹⁶ In May, Boston held a public celebration, and Revere played an integral role in its planning and execution. On Monday, May 19, the *Boston Evening Post* notified "the Friends of Liberty that an authentic Account of the Repeal of the Stamp Act is arrived, and the Gentlemen Selectmen of *Boston*, have fix'd upon This Evening for the public Rejoicing, at whose Desire, will be Exhibited on the Common, an OBELISK.—A Description of which is engraved by Mr. *Paul Revere*, and is now selling by Edes and Gill."¹⁷

Revere's engraving *A View of the Obelisk Erected under Liberty Tree in Boston on the Rejoicings for the Repeal of the Stamp Act* (fig. 26) depicts the large

wood and oil paper obelisk that was the showpiece for the finale of the evening's events. Designed and constructed most likely by members of the Sons of Liberty (including Revere), the obelisk was lit by 280 lamps and intended to be placed under the Liberty Tree as a standing monument. Unfortunately, after hours of great celebration, the lamps that illuminated the obelisk were not properly extinguished, and the monument was ultimately consumed in flames. Revere's engraving is the only remaining visual evidence of how the obelisk appeared in public. The sides of the obelisk undoubtedly were of oil paper with imagery painted upon them.¹⁸ As the obelisk was lit from inside, the paper would have been somewhat transparent. This composition would be consistent with the oil-papered window displays later used by Revere in March 1771 when he honored the one-year anniversary of the Boston Massacre with "transparent paintings" hung in the windows of his home.¹⁹ The lower quadrants of the obelisk contained four allegorical scenes in which Liberty comes to the aid of America, shown here as an Indian warrior.²⁰ The vignettes demonstrate America in distress at the loss of liberty caused by the Stamp Act; imploring assistance; enduring the conflict for a short season; and liberty restored by King George III. The schematic rendering of these scenes is typical of Revere's handling of figural compositions in engraved form and bears striking similarity to his engraving *A View of the Year 1765* (fig. 27). Copying from the 1763 English print *View of the Present Crisis*, Revere maintains the placement of the majority of figures—recasting them as personifications of the colonies and members of the United Provinces. Revere's allegorical dragon represents the Stamp Act with the Magna Carta in its grips, while to the right, the figure of John Huske, who is associated with the passage of the act, hangs in effigy from the Liberty Tree as it did on November 1, 1765.²¹ Revere recycled the figures of Liberty, Minerva, and the devil, reusing them the following year on the obelisk.²²

At the top of the obelisk were sixteen portraits, including Queen Charlotte, King George III, William Pitt, Lord George Sackville, and John Wilkes.²³ The central portion of the structure included a lengthy inscription on each of

Fig. 26. Paul Revere, A View of the Obelisk, 1766. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society. Bequest of Mary L. Eliot, 1927 (cat. 2).



the Rejoicings for the Repeal of the Stamp-Act

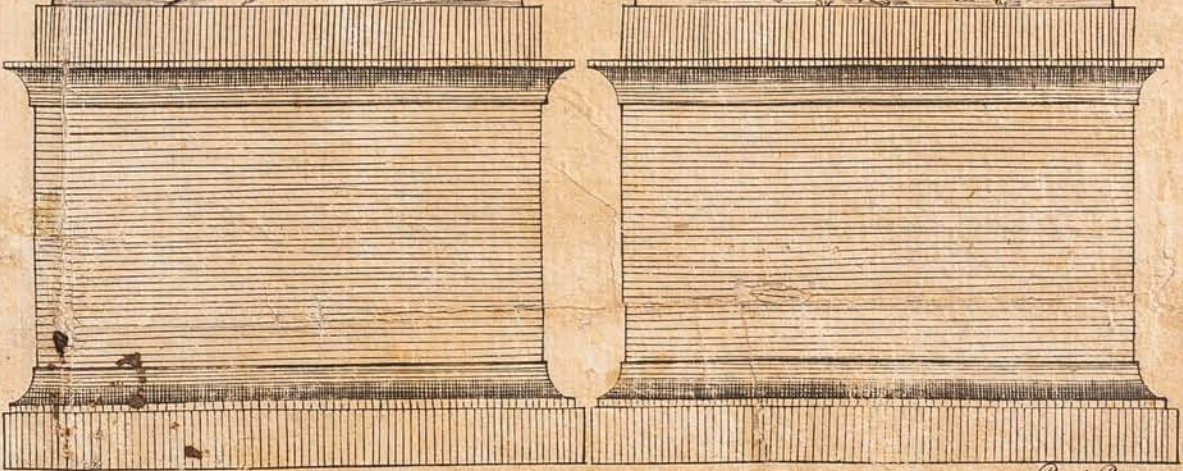
1766

*Do you
see Jack
L...
...
...*



Boast foul Oppression boast thy transient Reign
 While honest FREEDOM struggles with her Chain
 But know the Sons of Virtue hardy brave
 Disdain to lose thir mean Dispair to save
 Arroud in Thunder, an full they appear
 With proud deliverance stalking in thair Rear
 While Tyrant-Sons thair pallid Fears betray
 Shrink from thair Arms, & give thair Vengeance way
 See in thir unequal War OPPRESSORS fall
 The hate, Contempt, and endless Curse of all

Our FAITH approv'd, our LIBERTY restor'd
 Our Hearts bend grateful to our sov'ign Lord
 Hail darling Monarch, by this act endeard
 Our firm affections are thy best reward
 Thid Britains self, against her self divide
 And hostile Armies frown on either Side
 Thid Kings rebellious shake our Brunsvichs Throne
 And as they dare thir Parent, dare the Son
 To this Asylum stretch thine happy Wing
 And well contend, who best shall love our KING



Paul Revere Sculpsit

icated, by her true born SONS, in BOSTON, New England
 s & She endures the Conflict for a short Season (4th) And has her LIBERTY restor'd by the Royal hand
 of GEORGE the Third

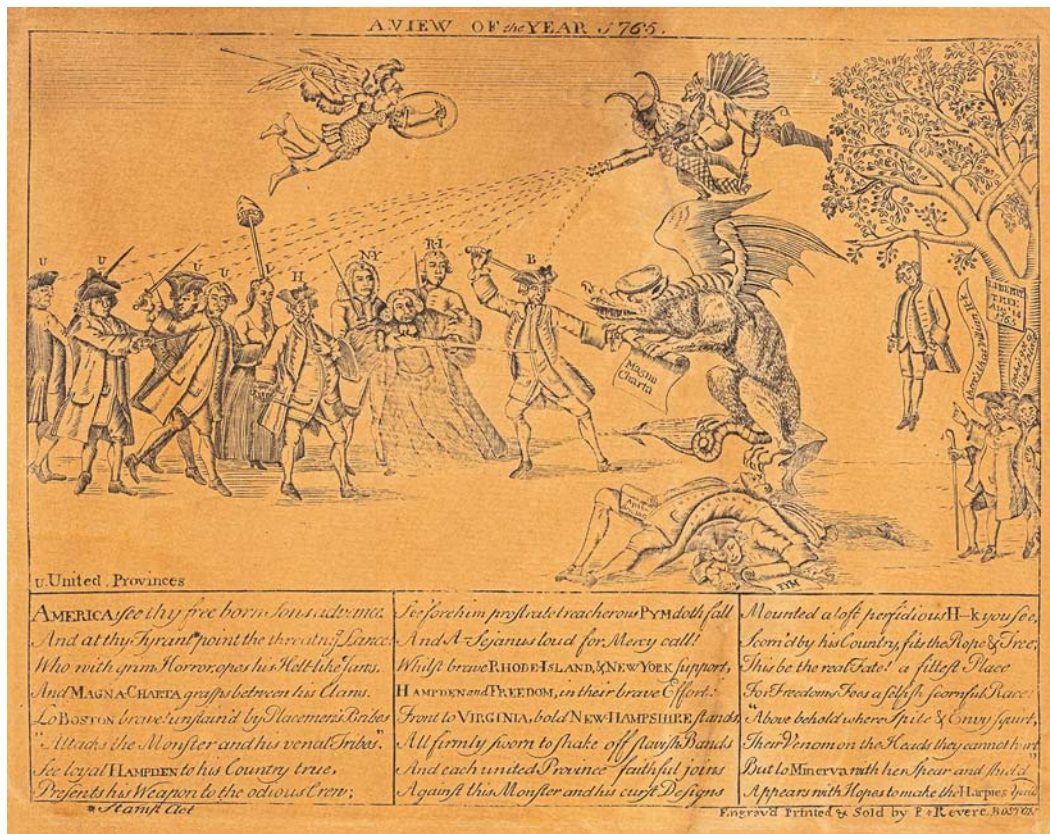


Fig. 27. Paul Revere, *A View of the Year 1765*, ca. December 1765. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society, 1913 (cat. 1).

its sides in four stanzas promoting the ideals of liberty and devotion to the king that, according to Revere’s engraving, began:

*O thou whom next to Heav’n we most revere,
Fair LIBERTY! thou lovely Goddess hear!
Have we not woo’d thee, won thee, held thee long
Lain in thy Lap and melted on thy Tongue
Thro Deaths & Dangers rugged paths pursu’d,
And led thee smiling to this SOLITUDE
Hid thee within our Hearts most golden Cell
And brav’d the Powers of Earth & Powers of Hell
GODDESS: we cannot part, thou must not fly,
Be SLAVES: we dare to Scorn it—dare to die.²⁴*

While the celebration was indeed occasioned by the repeal of the Stamp Act, the obelisk was a beacon in praise of King George III and reminds us that although the Sons of Liberty called for the creation of the obelisk as a striking condemnation of parliamentary sovereignty, these were British subjects demonstrating loyalty to the Crown—whether genuine or strategic. However, the

obelisk represents a critical turning point in an inevitable divide between patriots and Loyalists, colonists and the Crown, as the Stamp Act was viewed as an infringement upon civil rights and as harming the body politic—phrases employed by members of the Sons of Liberty in 1766 before the act’s repeal.

On Thursday, May 22, Boston newspapers, including the *Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary*, provided a detailed account of the celebration during which the obelisk was displayed. Here we learn of the design, function, and fate of the obelisk:

On the Common the Sons of Liberty erected a magnificent Pyramid, illuminated with 280 lamps; The four upper stories of which were ornamented with the Figures of Majesties, and fourteen of the worthy Patriots who have distinguished themselves by their Love of Liberty. . . . On the Top of the Pyramid was fix’d a round Box of Fireworks horizontally. . . . At Eleven o’clock the Signal being given by a Discharge of 21 Rockets, the horizontal

*Wheel on the Top of the Pyramid or Obelisk was play'd off ending in the Discharge of sixteen Dozen of Serpents in the Air, which concluded the Shew. . . . The Pyramid, which was designed to be placed under the Tree of Liberty, as a standing Monument of this glorious Era, by accident took Fire about One o'clock, and was consumed:—The Lamps by which it was illuminated not being extinguished at the Close of the Scene it is Supposed to have taken Fire by Some of them.*²⁵

And thus, the unfortunate demise of the obelisk. It is truly amazing that the obelisk did not catch fire earlier with all of the firework displays happening over the course of the evening. The skies must have been awash with color and the aural cacophony a spectacle to remember, with the “round Box of Fireworks horizontally,” or “horizontal Wheel,” atop the obelisk in conjunction with twenty-one rockets and sixteen dozen “serpents”—finger-length explosives. One wonders, then, if the fireworks on the obelisk were ignited at the conclusion of the celebration at 11:00 p.m., what happened between 11:00 p.m. and 1:00 a.m. when the obelisk caught fire? Although Esther Forbes suggests that “either the three hundred lighted lamps within or an escaped rocket finished it off,” if the lamps had not been extinguished, surely someone in the crowd would have taken notice.²⁶ Likewise, as the obelisk was intended to be moved to the Liberty Tree, wouldn’t members of the Sons of Liberty have ensured that all candles were extinguished? And given Revere’s background as an artillery lieutenant during the French and Indian War, he among others would have been cognizant of the precautions necessary for the handling of incendiary devices. The early morning hour of its destruction raises questions as to whether indeed the lamps remained lit unattended or if someone returned purposefully under cover of darkness to destroy the obelisk as a Loyalist gesture in opposition to the Sons of Liberty, or perhaps even a member of the Sons of Liberty destroyed it as a symbolic act of defiance against George III.

Revere’s engraving gives rise to additional questions: Who designed the obelisk? Who composed the text? Who painted the vignettes, and why were those scenes

chosen? Why an obelisk? Given its placement on the common for public display and its ability to hold a wheel of fireworks, the obelisk’s height certainly was impressive. The sides would have been constructed of large sheets of paper (perhaps from some of the last stamped sheets prior to the repeal of the Stamp Act) rubbed with oil to achieve transparency when illuminated by lamps placed inside the structure’s pyramidal form, and affixed to a wooden frame mounted on a Doric base.²⁷ While we do not know who was responsible for the physical construction of the monument, the form it took has political and social significance. The obelisk is an important symbol in Masonic history, and many members of the Sons of Liberty were Freemasons—which suggests why the obelisk, commissioned by the Sons of Liberty, took the form that it did.²⁸ Revere includes in his engraving’s title the words “under Liberty Tree,” which implies that although the final structure never made it to its intended destination, Revere was involved in those conversations about the design, construction, and ultimate placement of the obelisk.²⁹ Consider that the Stamp Act was repealed in March, news arrived of its repeal on May 16, and the Sons of Liberty advertised on Saturday, May 17, to hold a public celebration on the common on Monday, May 19, at which time Revere’s engraving of the obelisk was already on sale at Edes & Gill. Such a timeline would have provided only two days at most for the entire concept, design, and construction to take place, in which Revere would have had to prepare a plate, engrave the image, and deliver it to Edes & Gill to ink and print, pull sheets, dry them, and then offer them for sale.

But, in his diary, John Adams (1735–1826) recalled a meeting months earlier on January 15, 1766, with the decorative painter Thomas Crafts Jr. (1740–99) and George Trott (active 1765–1801), a jeweler:³⁰

Spent the Evening with the Sons of Liberty, at their own Apartment in Hanover Square, near the Tree of Liberty. . . . I was invited by Crafts and Trott, to go and spend an Evening with them and some others. . . . They Chose a Committee to make Preparations for grand Rejoicings upon the Arrival of the News of a Repeal of the Stamp Act, and I heard afterwards

*they are to have such Illuminations, Bonfires, Pyramids [sic], Obelisks, such grand Exhibitions, and such Fireworks, as were never before seen in America.—I wish they mayn't be disappointed.*³¹

Adams's entry tells us that plans for the obelisk began four months prior, in anticipation of the act's repeal. A letter to Adams from Crafts a month after their initial meeting suggests the secretive nature of their gathering, along with a request:

*Yesterday I wrote you a few lines, by Dr Tuffs, informing you the Sons of Liberty Desired your Company at Boston Next Wensday [sic] and Mentioned for What Occation. I would now Desire it as a favour if you can spare the time to come on Monday Next Because they want you to Write those Incriptions that I mentioned to you when Last at Boston; one in favour of Liberty Not forgiting [sic] the Tru Born Sons, and Another with Encomiums on King George, Expressive of our loyalty. . . . P.S. Destroy this after reading it.*³²

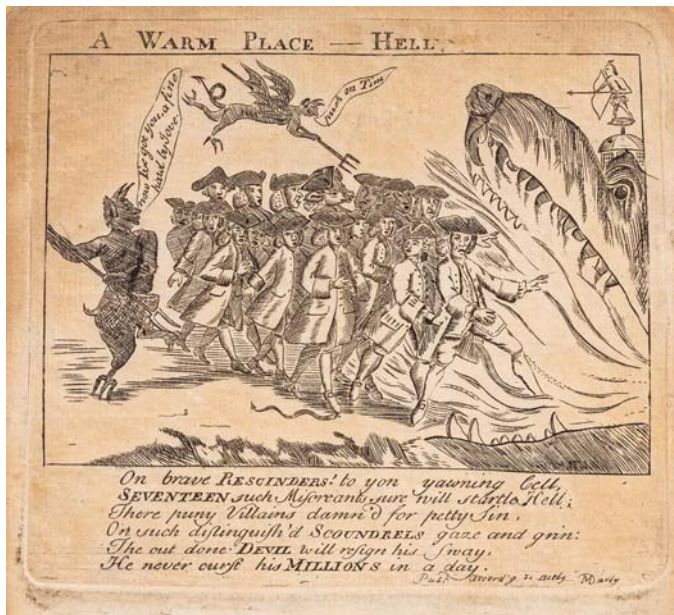


Fig. 28. Paul Revere, *A Warm Place—Hell*, 1768. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society. Bequest of Mary L. Eliot, 1927 (cat. 5).

The direction from Crafts to Adams that he destroy the letter suggests the existence of additional correspondence regarding preparations for the celebration deemed too sensitive to preserve. Further, the inscriptions Crafts refers to in favor of liberty and encomiums to King George III mirror those represented in Revere's engraving.³³ Adams certainly would have been sympathetic to the request from the Sons of Liberty. On January 1, 1766, he wrote in his diary, "This Year brings Ruin or Salvation to the British Colonies. The eyes of all America, are fixed on the B[ritish] Parliament. In short Britain and America are staring at each other.—And they will probably stare more and more for some time."³⁴

It is quite possible that Adams was instrumental in the composition of the verse created for the sides of the obelisk—perhaps not in its entirety, but Crafts's request for inscriptions suggests plausibility. Revere did not often write the inscriptions for his engravings, as is the case with the 1768 *A Warm Place—Hell* (fig. 28), which was written by Dr. Benjamin Church, a fellow member of the North End Caucus said to excel in writing Whig poetry.³⁵ Yet, on the obelisk, the first line of the inscription reads, "O thou whom next to Heav'n we most revere," perhaps a cheeky self-reference from Revere to note his contributions in image and in text. The obelisk was a collaborative effort from many hands, including those of Crafts and Revere. As Forbes asserted, Revere's shop may have been "crowded with cronies giving advice, helping in the symbolism and the verses. Much of the expression of Whig sentiment was more of a mass than an individual effort."³⁶

Crafts knew Revere well. He was the commander of the Massachusetts Regiment Artillery in which Revere served, participated in the Boston Tea Party, was an active Freemason like Revere, and the two men (similar to Revere and Webb) sold tickets together on behalf of their lodge for a Feast of St. John the Baptist. Crafts sold bricks during the Revolution to raise money for the poor, and in 1774, Revere provided Crafts with two dozen prints of the Boston Massacre—one dozen colored.³⁷ As a decorative painter, or japanner, Crafts advertised his business of selling colors and artists' supplies from his shop "at the sign of Raphael's Head,

Fig. 29. Paul Revere, "The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught," in *Royal American Magazine*, June 1774. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society. Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831 (cat. 75b).



the Southward of the Great-Trees.” Wholesale and retail, Crafts sold linseed oil, varnish, an extensive selection of oil paints, brushes, pallet knives, gold and silver leaf, and an assortment of “metzatinto” prints.³⁸ In fact, Crafts maintained all of the supplies necessary for painting the oil paper sides of the obelisk.

Revere’s association with such members of the Sons of Liberty, in addition to his commitment to raising public ire through the dissemination of his political satires, continued as issues of taxation became increasingly part of colonial life and strife—in particular, as they related to the contentious commodity, tea. Introduced to the colonies as early as 1670 by the Dutch East India Company, tea was initially a luxury item. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, it had become a necessity at the well-appointed table.³⁹ But drinking tea properly was a learned behavior—some early colonists boiled tea leaves as though they were a vegetable, ate the tea leaves, and discarded the brew.⁴⁰ By the 1760s Americans were drinking over one million pounds of imported tea a year.⁴¹ British mandates required that all tea consumed in the American colonies be imported from England through the British East India Company (though some was smuggled in from Holland) while the Townshend Act placed a duty on all tea imported into the colonies.

This offense came on the heels of a series of taxation measures including the Stamp Act, and in response, colonists began nonimportation movements calling for the refusal to purchase imported goods wherever possible, including cloth and tea.⁴²

The Boston Tea Party in December 1773 was just one of a number of reactionary measures taken by the colonists in acts of defiance against Parliament, and the port of Boston was closed by Lord North in March 1774 in retaliation.⁴³ The portrayal of North as a coercive figure became popular imagery, as in Revere’s engraving “The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught” for the *Royal American Magazine* (fig. 29), which was faithfully copied from the *London Magazine*.⁴⁴ North, with the Boston Port Bill in his pocket, is shown forcing a pot of tea down the throat of America, depicted as the Indian Princess, while she attempts to spit the tea violently back into his face.⁴⁵ Lord Mansfield holds her arms while the womanizing John Montague, Fourth Earl of Sandwich, peers up America’s skirt. Lord Bute represents military law on the far right, while on the left, figures of France and Spain conspire with each other as Britannia turns away in disgust.⁴⁶ This image appeared in numerous printed formats, and in addition to its historical, economic, and cultural significance,

Fig. 30. Paul Revere, medical lecture certificate, ca. 1785. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society, 1951 (cat. 85).



Revere's engraved illustration speaks to the importance of the wide dissemination of iconography accessible to the general public through media such as magazines, newspapers, and almanacs.⁴⁷ It is most appropriate that Revere created this illustration, as he took part in the Boston Tea Party as a member of the Sons of Liberty and rode with news of the Boston Port Bill from New York to Philadelphia in May 1774.⁴⁸ Yet while carrying out his patriotic duty, Revere was also producing a limited number of silver tea services for wealthy Loyalists such as Dr. William Paine of Worcester in 1773 (cat. 69)—a revealing dichotomy about colonial politics and the power of a market-driven economy.

In contrast to his satirical prints, it is important to note that the majority of Revere's engraved works on paper were not politically charged.⁴⁹ One final category of engraved commissions is the certificate of attendance produced by Revere for the completion of lectures and demonstrations on human dissection by Dr. John Warren (1753–1815) in his theater at Harvard Medical School. Only two extant certificates are known. The inscription on the earlier of the two examples, dated March 28, 1782, reads: "These may certify that Israel Keith, Esq. has diligently attended an entire course of my Anatomical Lectures & Demonstrations; together with Physiological & Surgical observations at the dissecting

Theatre in the American Hospital, Boston: whereby he has had an opportunity of acquiring an accurate knowledge in the structure of the human body.” The certificate is signed by Warren, with Revere’s initials appearing in the lower right. Israel Keith (1750–1819) was a 1771 graduate of Harvard, a lieutenant colonel in the Revolution, a Freemason, and a lawyer. He attended Warren’s lectures on anatomy between 1780 and 1782.⁵⁰ Wear patterns on Keith’s certificate suggest that it was folded and stored, not displayed. The second certificate (fig. 30), dated June 8, 1785, was prepared for Levi Bartlett (1763–1828). The interior script on this certificate has been altered slightly. The location is now “in the University at Cambridge,” and in addition to “acquiring an accurate knowledge in the structure of the human body,” the words “and the surgical Branch of his Profession” have been inserted. Combined with his expanded signature, “John Warren / Prof. of Anat[omy] and Surgery / University Cambridge,” these additions suggest the increased importance of dissections and the elevated status of surgeons such as Warren.⁵¹

Regardless of which impression of the print one examines, the space left available for handwritten content such as the name of the attendee and date demonstrates how certificates printed in bulk could be repurposed. Along with a profile portrait of the second-century Greek physician Galen, an advocate for the educational benefits of dissection, Revere provides ghoulish autopsy vignettes among the Chippendale-style flourishes in the framework. Flanking the text are two skeletons suspended from the elaborate scrolling border. The inclusion of these bony remains is a clear reference to the corpse lying on the operating table—undoubtedly a convicted criminal, as the noose from which he was hanged is still intact around his neck. The physician in attendance is a reference to Warren performing what appears to be abdominal surgery—a procedure for which he attained fame. Because Warren’s lectures were accompanied by demonstrations, they were initially held in great secrecy, as the act of dissection was viewed as amoral—necessitating as it did the use of hanged convicts or the indigent as specimens.⁵² In fact, as a student at Harvard, Warren was known to have been

a member of the Spunker Club, a secretive group who obtained animals and, as suggested by some, went on “body-snatching expeditions” for the purpose of study and dissection.⁵³ A founder of Harvard Medical School in 1782 and proponent of anatomical studies, Warren was active militarily as an attending physician to soldiers injured during the Battle of Bunker Hill—the conflict that took the life of his older brother, Joseph, also a physician and Revolutionary War hero.⁵⁴ Revere was ultimately called to identify Joseph Warren’s remains from a mass grave because of an ivory dental implant he had fashioned for him.

Positioning Paul Revere as an artisan, a patriot, and a business entrepreneur, his printed works resonate as examples of visual and material culture and evidence of advertising, business, and trade. Revere’s engravings help to explain, in part, the consumer culture that developed in colonial Boston and how such works on paper maintained agency as objects with both aesthetic and functional appeal. As examples of early American visual culture, they highlight and speak to matters regarding the history, social structure, commerce, and artistry of the years prior to and during the early republic. The dual languages of image and text as found in Revere’s ephemeral work relative to subject matter, distribution, and evidence of their handling and use disclose significant narratives about the lives of these objects. The ability to answer the questions they provoke—Who held it / used it / owned it? How did this print function? Where was it seen and by whom? Did it have a commercial, political, or cultural purpose or message? Did it impact public opinion or change public habits or beliefs? Why does it survive today?—may help to recast and ascertain the importance of Revere’s eighteenth-century engravings as both works of art and the art of work in colonial New England.

Notes:

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1. Consider Michael Greenburg, *The Court-Martial of Paul Revere* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2014); Robert Martello, *Midnight Ride, Industrial Dawn: Paul Revere and the Growth of American Enterprise* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Joel J. Miller, *The Revolutionary Paul Revere* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2010); Jayne E. Triber, *A True Republican: The Life of Paul Revere* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998); and David Hackett Fischer, *Paul Revere's Ride* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
2. The most comprehensive study of Revere's engravings is Clarence S. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1954).
3. Noted in *Paul Revere's Account Book, 1761–1783*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
4. A receipt accompanying the trade card reads: "Mr. Obadiah Dickinson / Joseph Webb Jr. March 10, 1759, charging for kettles, pots, skillets and other wares." According to Lauren Hewes, the oblong folding is a result of the receipt and trade card being folded for docketing accounts, likely by Dickinson.
5. For Webb's advertisements see *Boston Post-Boy*, June 30, 1760, 4; *Boston Evening Post*, July 30, 1764, 4; *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter*, December 2, 1764, 3; *Boston Evening Post*, March 17, 1766, 2; *Boston Gazette*, October 15, 1770, 3; and *Massachusetts Gazette*, March 13, 1775, 3. Webb died on April 26, 1787. *Massachusetts Centinel*, May 9, 1787, 59.
6. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 169–73.
7. Martello, *Midnight Ride*, 4.
8. Martello, 55.
9. See T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 218–24, 237, for an analysis of the impact of the Stamp Act, boycotts, and nonimportation movements. See also Ethan W. Lasser, "The Business of Copley's Paul Revere," *American Art* 26, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 27, 32; Deborah A. Federhen, "From Artisan to Entrepreneur: Paul Revere's Silver Shop Operation," in *Paul Revere—Artisan, Businessman, Patriot: The Man Behind the Myth* (Boston: Paul Revere Memorial Association, 1988): 72–73, 75–89; and Fischer, *Paul Revere's Ride*, 14.
10. For an examination of class in John Singleton Copley's portraits, including the artist's own desire to distance himself from the label of artisan/maker, see Susan Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker, Artist: Copley and Portrait Painting around 1770," *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 2 (June 1997): 281–90. See also Esther Forbes, *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1942), 3–35, including image captions.
11. Revere is in this location in 1783–84. *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, November 27, 1783, 4 and October 7, 1784, 1 supplement.
12. *Exchange Advertiser* (Boston), January 6, 1785, 3.
13. *Massachusetts Centinel*, June 25, 1786, 3.
14. *Massachusetts Centinel*, June 13, 1787, 9.
15. See Walter Muir Whitehall and Lawrence W. Kennedy, *Boston: A Topographical History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Nancy Seasholes, *Gaining Ground: A History of Landmaking in Boston* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003); and Annie Haven Thwing, *The Crooked and Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630–1822* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920). For Revere's production as a silversmith, see Federhen, "From Artisan to Entrepreneur," 65–93.
16. *Glorious News. Boston, Friday 11 o'clock, 16th May 1766* (Boston: Drapers, Edes & Gill, Green & Russell, and Fleets, May 16, 1766). Broadside. Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
17. *Boston Evening Post*, May 19, 1766, 2.
18. My thanks to Georgia Barnhill for sharing her extensive knowledge of printmaking practices of the eighteenth century.
19. *Massachusetts Spy*, March 7, 1771, 1 and *Connecticut Journal, and New-Haven Post-Boy*, March 15, 1771, 3.
20. See E. McClung Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765–1783," *Winterthur Portfolio* (1965): 76; see also David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 100–101.
21. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 22.
22. For identification of the figures as well as the role of Huske, see Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 22.
23. All sixteen individuals have been identified in handwritten notations on the copy in the collection of the Boston Athenaeum.
24. See pp. 54–55 for complete inscription.
25. From the *Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary*, May 22, 1766, 3.
26. Forbes, *Paul Revere*, 112.
27. Forbes describes the obelisk as "an enormous transparent obelisk of oiled paper, similar to the lanterns which illuminated the pope's carriage. . . . Its four sides, covered with symbolic pictures and verse, were large enough to hold three hundred lighted lamps." *Paul Revere*, 110–12. Thank you to Lauren Hewes for discussing the possible materials employed.
28. Nan Wolverton addresses Masonic imagery in "The Visual Arts of Freemasonry as Practiced 'Within the Compass of Good Citizens' by Paul Revere," in *Freemasonry and the Visual Arts*, ed. Alisa Luxenberg and Reva Wolf (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019).
29. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 29.
30. George Trott's shop was located next door to the White-Horse Tavern for which Revere made six silver wing tankards. From the handwritten notations of John Eliot Alden, "Transcriptions and Notes Pertaining to *Paul Revere's Account Book, 1761–1783*," Massachusetts Historical Society, 1950s.
31. John Adams, *Diary of John Adams*, January 15, 1766, 1:294, Adams Papers Digital Edition, Massachusetts Historical Society.
32. Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850), 2:185–86. See also Bob Ruppert's blog post "The Seeds from Which the Sons of Liberty Grew," December 8, 2016, in the *Journal of the American Revolution*.

33. Adams developed a true friendship with Crafts, Trott, and Revere. Adams, *Diary of John Adams*, May 30, 1771, and December 23, 1772, 2:15, 71. Adams does not write of any participation beyond the existing entries mentioned. He traveled little during 1766, so there are no letters between Adams and his wife, Abigail, to provide additional information. Likewise, there is no known diary from February 1766 and, further, he was not yet in the habit of keeping copies of letters he sent. My thanks to Amanda Norton, digital production editor for the Adams Papers Editorial Project, for this insight.
34. Adams, *Diary of John Adams*, January 1, 1766, 1:283. It has been suggested in an editorial comment in the Adams Papers Digital Edition that Crafts's request for "Inscriptions" relates to the effigy burning as described in the *Boston-Gazette*, February 24, 1766, 3. However, the *Gazette* does not contain evidence of any public speeches or documents inscribed.
35. See Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 44 and Forbes, *Paul Revere*, 114.
36. Forbes, *Paul Revere*, 110.
37. *Boston Post-Boy*, June 20, 1763, 3. See also *Boston Post-Boy*, December 19, 1774, 4. *Paul Revere Account Book*, March 1774, Massachusetts Historical Society.
38. *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, November 5, 1764, 4.
39. William H. Ukers, *The Romance of Tea* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936), 84–85.
40. Julia Andrews, *Breakfast, Dinner, and Tea: Viewed Classically, Poetically, and Practically* (New York: D. Appleton, 1859), 302.
41. Benjamin Larabee, *The Boston Tea Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 8–9. See also Alfred Fabian Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999).
42. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston each dealt separately with nonimportation issues, as city officials were suspicious of one another's motives, and lack of adherence allowed greater economic advantages. See Larabee, *Boston Tea Party*, 23; see also *To the Stated Pilots of the Port of New York*, a broadside printed in New York on November 10, 1773. Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
43. Wesley S. Griswold, *The Night the Revolution Began* (Brattleboro: Stephen Greene Press, 1972), 127.
44. The *Royal American Magazine* had a circulation of roughly one thousand. Fifteen issues were published between January 1774 and March 1775, and these included twenty-two engravings, thirteen of which were signed by Revere.
45. For discussion of the "Indian princess," see Nancy Siegel, "Mommy Dearest: Britannia, America, and Mother-Daughter Conflicts in Eighteenth-Century Prints and Medals," in *A Material World: Culture, Society, and the Life of Things in Early Anglo-America*, ed. George W. Boudreau and Margaretta Markel Lovell (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2019): 209–36.
46. The *London Magazine* version from April 1774, 43:184, was followed by the *Hibernian Magazine* version in May, 4:251; Revere's version was included in the *Royal American Magazine* for June 1774. The American Antiquarian Society holds a copper plate after the *London Magazine* version with the addition of numbers identifying figures and objects; the reverse of the plate bears a trade card for William Putnam, a fabric merchant of Salem. No pulled prints are known. With sincere thanks to Georgia Barnhill for discussing this plate with me.
47. In August 1774, a Philadelphia publication published "The Able Doctor" in reverse and twice as large in size, and altered the title to reflect a stronger nationalistic sentiment as "The Persevering Americans, or the Bitter Draught Return'd." This image appeared on powder horns carried into battle (see New Hampshire Historical Society for an example). See Lester Olson, *Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 25 and Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 118. It was also utilized as the frontispiece in *Freebetter's New-England Almanack for the Year 1776* (New London, CT: T. Green, 1775). Much simplified in woodblock form, this print references Revere's version, although in reverse. Lastly, a much later American version, erroneously attributed to Revere, reveals a Victorian sense of morality: the artist tames the licentious act of America's sexual violation by removing the voyeuristic action and covering her breasts. The female figure representing America was also translated from an Indian into what became an iconic personification of liberty. See Francis Drake, *Tea Leaves* (Boston: A. O. Crane, 1884) with the caption "Lord North Forcing Tea Down the Throat of America."
48. See Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 5. For the various interpretations of this iconography, see E. McSherry Fowble, *Two Centuries of Prints in America, 1680–1880: A Selective Catalogue of the Winterthur Museum Collection* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for Winterthur, 1987), 144–45; Ron Tyler, *The Image of America in Caricature and Cartoon* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1976), 47; and Griswold, *The Night the Revolution Began*, 126.
49. For example, in 1772 he engraved two illustrations for Boston publishers Edes & Gill for an American edition of *The Frugal Housewife* by Susannah Carter, a well-regarded British cookbook author.
50. See Keith Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society and Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 148. For an image of the earlier receipt see "Certificate of Attendance at Dr. Joseph Warren's Course of Anatomical Lectures," *Object of the Month*, November 2004, online blog, Massachusetts Historical Society.
51. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 148–51.
52. James Thatcher, *American Medical Biographies* (Boston, 1828), 2:257. See Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 146–48.
53. *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions, 1917–1919* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts), 20:462–63.
54. See Samuel Forman, *Dr. Joseph Warren: The Boston Tea Party, Bunker Hill, and the Birth of American Liberty* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 2011).

REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT

This transcription was made from the May 22, 1766, issue of the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter*, published in Boston by Richard and Samuel Draper on Newbury Street. The text, which describes celebrations in Boston upon the repeal of the Stamp Act and includes lines of poetry that appeared on a large obelisk, or pyramid, (fig. 26) built for the occasion, was reprinted in part or whole in numerous papers (examples are listed below).

From *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter*, May 22, 1766, 2.

BOSTON, May 22. Friday last to the inexpressible joy of all we received by Capt. Coffin, the important News of the Repeal of the Stamp Act, which was signed by His Majesty the 18th March last; upon which the Bells in the Town were set a ringing, the Ships in the Harbour display'd their Colours, Guns were discharged in different Parts of the Town, and in the Evening were several Bonfires. According to a previous Vote of the Town of Selectmen met in the Afternoon at Faneuil-Hall, and appointed Monday last for a Day of General Rejoicings on that happy Occasion. The Morning was ushered in with Musick, Ringing of Bells, and the Discharge of Cannon, the Ships in the Harbour and many of the Houses in Town being adorned with Colours—Joy smil'd in every Countenance, Benevolence, Gratitude and Content seemed the Companions of all. By the Generosity of some Gentlemen remarkable for their Humanity and Patriotism, our Goal [Gaol] was freed of Debtors. – At One o'clock the Castle and Batteries, and Train of Artillery fired a Royal Salute; and the Afternoon was spent in Mirth and Jollity. – In the Evening the whole Town was beautifully illuminated: — On the Common the Sons of Liberty erected a magnificent Pyramid, illuminated with 280 lamps: The four upper Stories of which were ornamented with the Figures of their Majesties, and fourteen of the worthy Patriots who have distinguished themselves by their Love of Liberty. The following Lines were on the four sides of the next Apartment, which referred to the Emblematical Figures on the lower Story, the whole supported by a large Base of the Doric Order.

*O thou whom next to Heav'n we most revere,
Fair LIBERTY! thou lovely Goddess hear!
Have we not woo'd thee, won thee, held thee long,
Lain in thy Lap and melted on thy Tongue:
Thro' Death and Dangers rugged Paths persu'd,
And led thee smiling to this SOLITUDE:
Hid thee within our Hearts most golden Cell,
And brav'd the Powers of Earth and Powers of Hell.
GODDESS! we cannot part, thou must not fly,
Be SLAVES; we dare to scorn it—dare to die.
While clanking Chains and Curses shall salute,
Thine Ears remorseless G—le, thine O B—e;*

*To you blest PATRIOTS! we our Cause submit,
Illustrious CAMPDEN, Britain's Guardian PITT;
Recede not, frown not, rather lett us be
Depriv'd of being, than of LIBERTY.
Let Fraud or Malice blacken all our Crimes,
No Disaffection stains these peaceful Climes;
O save us, shield us from impending Woes,
The Foes of Britain, only are our foes.
Boast foul Oppression, boast thy transient Reign,
While honest FREEDOM struggles with her Chain;
But know the Sons of Virtue, hardy, brave,
Disdain to lose thro' mean Despair to save:
Arrouz'd in Thunder, awful they appear,
With proud Deliverance stalking in their Rear:
While Tyrant Foes their pallid Fears betray,
Shrink from their Arms, and give their Vengeance way;
See in th' unequal War OPPRESSORS fall,
The Hate, Contempt, and endless Curse of all.
Our FAITH approv'd, our LIBERTY restor'd,
Our Hearts bend grateful to our sov'r'gn Lord;
Hail darling Monarch! by this act endear'd,
Our firm Affections are thy best reward;
Sh'd Britains self, against herself divide,
And hostile Armies frown on either Side:
Sh'd Hosts rebellious, shake our Brunswick's Throne,
And as they dar'd thy Parent, dare the Son;
To this Asylum stretch thine happy Wing,
And we'll contend, who best shall love our KING.*

On the top of the Pyramid was fix'd a round Box of Fireworks horizontally. About one hundred Yards from the Pyramid the Sons of Liberty erected a Stage for the Exhibition of their Fireworks, near the Workhouse, in the lower Room of which they entertained the Gentlemen of the Town. John Hancock, Esq; who gave a grand and elegant Entertainment to the genteel Part of the Town, and treated the Populace with a Pipe of Madeira Wine, erected at the Front of his House, which was magnificently illuminated, a Stage for the Exhibition of his Fireworks, which was to answer those of the Sons of Liberty; At Dusk the Scene opened by the Discharge of twelve Rockets from each Stage; after which the Figures on the Pyramid were uncovered, making a beautiful Appearance. – To give a Description of the great Variety of Fireworks from this Time till Eleven o'clock would be endless—the Air was fill'd with Rockets—the Ground with Bee hives and Serpents—and the two Stages with Wheels of Fireworks of various sorts. Mr. Otis and some other Gentlemen who lived near the Common kept open House, the whole Evening, which was very pleasant; the Multitudes of Gentlemen and Ladies, who were continually passing from one Place to another, added much to the Brilliancy of the Night: At Eleven o'clock the Signal being given by a Discharge of 21 Rockets, the horizontal Wheel on

the Top of the Pyramid or Obelisk was play'd off ending in the Discharge of sixteen Dozen of Serpents in the air, which concluded the Shew. To the Honor of the Sons of Liberty we can with Pleasure inform the World, that every Thing was conducted with the utmost Decency and good Order, not a Reflection cast on any Character, nor the least Disorder during the whole Scene. — The Pyramid, which was designed to be placed under the Tree of Liberty, as a standing Monument of this glorious Aera, by accident took fire about One o'clock, and was consumed: — The Lamps by which it was illuminated not being extinguished at the Close of the Scene it is supposed to have taken Fire by some of them.

On Tuesday Evening some of the Sons of Liberty apprehending the Lanthorns hung on the Tree of Liberty, which the Night before amounted only to the ever memorable No 45, would have made a more loyal and striking Appearance if increased to the glorious Majority of 108, met and procuring that number, disposed them on the Tree in a very agreeable picturesque Manner. The Houses next adjoining and opposite were decorated with Figures characteristic of Those to whom we bear the deepest Loyalty and Gratitude: Here, an imperfect Portrait of their Majesties, our most gracious King and Queen—there, the Royal Arms'—here, the illustrious Campden, Pitt, Conway, Barre, and others of late so conspicuous in the Cause of liberty and their Country: In short, Imagination must supply, the Variety exhibited on this Occasion, which Words are wanting to express.

The Honorable His Majesty's Council, at a previous Invitation of the Governor, met at the Province House on Monday Afternoon, where His Majesty's Health, and many other loyal Toasts were drank; and in the Evening his Excellency with the Council, walked in the Common, to see the Fireworks, Exhibitions, &c. who were well pleased with the Regularity the Inhabitants carried on their Demonstrations of Loyalty and Joy on this happy Occasion.

A Correspondent informs us, that the well-conducted Rejoicings on Monday last were ushered in very early in the Morning with a Subscription for liberating all the poor Prisoners in Goal [Gaal] for Debt, the Motion was readily agreed to by all the Humane, on that joyful day, the Money raised, and the Prison cleared. The charitable Deed originated in a fair Boston Nymph.

By the unanimous Request of the West Church in this Town, the Rev. Dr. MAYHEW preaches a sermon To-Morrow, on the present happy Occasion.—Divine service will begin at 4 o'clock P.M.

Another Correspondent sends us the following Relation of the late Rejoicings: MONDAY last was the Time appointed for the Publick Rejoicing on the Repeal of the Stamp Act—The Ardor of the People was so great, that immediately after the Clock strook One in the Morning, the Bell on the

Reverend Doctor Byle's Church (as being nearest to the Liberty Tree) was set a Ringing; which was soon answered by the Bells on Christ-Church, at the other End of the Town; and in a short Time all the other Bells of the Town strook in. Before Two o'clock Musick was heard in the Streets, the Drums beat, and Guns fired. As soon as it grew Light enough to see, the Steeple of the Meeting House next to the Tree of Liberty was hung with Banners—The Tree decorated with Flags and Streamers, and all round the Town, on the Tops of Houses, were displayed Colours and Pendants.—About Noon, the Guns at Castle William were fired, which were soon returned by those of the South, North, and Charlestown Batteries, the Train of Artillery in this Town, and Ships in the Harbour: In the Evening the Town was universally illuminated, and shone like Day: Fire-works of all kinds were every where play'd off; especially on the Common, where were exhibited the finest that were ever seen in New-England. Here also was erected an Obelisk, covered with various Hieroglyphics, and Poetical Lines, and illuminated within: A Print of which from Copper-Plate has been published. Amidst all this universal Joy, there was nothing tending to Riot or Disorder: all was Loyalty to the King, Blessings on the Parliament of Great Britain, Honour and Gratitude to the Present Ministry, and Love and Affection to the Mother-Country. About Twelve at Night, upon a Signal given in the Common, and the Beat of a Drum, the Populace retired to their respective Dwellings, the Lights were put out, and the Town was hushed in unusual Silence.

The Evening following, all the Gentlemen in the Town contributed Lanthorns to illuminate Liberty Tree, till the Boughs could hold no more, which made a most beautiful and splendid Appearance. And the Sashes of the Houses round were covered with illustrated Figures as large as the Life, the Colours all in a glow with the Lights behind them, representing the KING, the immortal PITT, CAMPDEN, BARRE &c. &c. &c. to whom LIBERTY addresses herself in an Inscription. Hail, PITT! *Hail, Patrons! Pride of GEORGE's, How round the Globe expand your Patriot Rays! And the NEW WORLD is brighten'd with the Blaze.* An elegant portrait of Mr. PITT, was on Monday Evening fixed up in the Front Window of the Houses of Capt. Dawes, and Mr. Thomas Symmes, Merchant, with the above inscription.

REPRINTED IN:

- *Boston Evening-Post*, May 26, 1766, 1.
- *Boston-Gazette and Country Journal*, May 26, 1766, 3.
- *Newport (Rhode Island) Mercury*, May 19–26, 1766, 2–3 (partially reprinted).
- *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser*, June 5, 1766, 2 (partially reprinted).

Colony of the

Massachusetts Bay.

[No 2018]

The 28th day of July

AD. 1775



Borrowed and received of Nathaniel Eaton the Sum of Eight Pounds nineteen Shillings lawfull money for the Use and Service of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, and in behalf of said Colony. I do hereby promise and oblige myself and Successors in the Office of Treasurer, or Receiver

General, to repay to the said Nathaniel Eaton or to his Order, the first Day of June one Thousand Seven hundred & Seventy Seven, the aforesaid Sum of Eight Pounds nineteen Shillings lawfull money, in Spanish Mill'd Dollars, at six Shillings each, or in the several Species of coined Silver & Gold, enumerated in an Act made and passed in the twentythird Year of his late Majesty King George the second, intituled "An Act for ascertaining the Rates at which coined Silver & Gold, English half pence & farthings may pass within this Government" and according to the Rates therein mentioned, with Interest to be paid annually at six per Cent.

Witness my hande

~~Henry Gardner~~

American Paper.

is Debt.

St. Hall, Jr.

Leah Kollock

£ 8. 19. —

Fig. 31. Paul Revere, promissory note, July 28, 1775. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society (cat. 87a).

“BORROWED . . . FOR THE USE AND SERVICE OF THE COLONY”: PAUL REVERE’S NATIVE AMERICAN IMAGERY

by Nan Wolverton

In his comprehensive study of the engravings of Paul Revere (1735–1818), Clarence Brigham attributes a 1775 promissory note to Revere, who had engraved it at the outset of the American Revolution for the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts (fig. 31). The elaborate rectangular design at the note’s left side is described by Brigham as featuring “the rather crude figure of a patriot holding in his right hand a staff surmounted by a liberty cap.”¹ Brigham’s 1954 work remains the authoritative reference for Revere’s engravings and while his attribution of the note to Revere is correct, he misreads the image. A closer examination suggests that the figure Revere engraved, crude though it may be, is not a rendering of a colonial patriot but rather a representation of a Native American armed with the symbols of liberty and freedom. Adjacent to the image and signaling the note’s function of securing loans for the colony, the text reads, “Borrowed and Received of . . . for the use and service of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay,” words that seem ironic in view of the full context of the figure represented.² This case study considers the backstory for Revere’s choice of the “crude figure” and, in doing so, offers insight on the circulation of imagery and ideas concerning race and empire in revolutionary Boston.

Revere hailed from the artisan or mechanic economic class, viewed as lower in status to the merchants, shop owners, lawyers, and clerics who were the leaders of colonial society. Yet he was an ambitious artisan and through his success as a silversmith, engraver, and prominent Freemason, he established the status and social network that allowed association with influential men such as Joseph Warren, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, who sought his assistance both as a messenger

and craftsman to serve the patriot cause. As a member of the Sons of Liberty, Revere was actively involved with most of the acts of resistance leading up to the Revolution. When Boston celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act on May 24, 1766, for instance, the Sons of Liberty erected a temporary, wooden-framed obelisk that included images of the leading actors in the Stamp Act crisis.³ In addition, three tableaux on the lower portion of the obelisk featured an allegorical representation of the American colonies as a mythic stereotype of a vulnerable female Indian figure wearing only a skirt of leaves and a feathered headdress.⁴ In the final tableau of the series, illustrating the impact of the Stamp Act on America’s liberty, the goddess of liberty (armed with a staff surmounted by a pileus) and the female Indian (armed with a bow and arrows) are positioned with Britannia between the two as peacemaker (fig. 32).⁵ The allegiance to King George III was still in place in



Fig. 32. Detail of Paul Revere, *A View of the Obelisk*, 1766. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society. Bequest of Mary L. Eliot, 1927. See fig. 26 for full image (cat. 2).



Fig. 33. Paul Revere, "Philip. King of Mount Hope," in Thomas Church, *The Entertaining History of King Philip's War*, 1772. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society (cat. 74b).

1766. As Revere's engraving of the obelisk suggests, Bostonians recognized the Native American figure as a symbol of America in distress. Nine years later Revere would merge aspects of liberty and Native representation into the figure on the 1775 promissory note, and this new version of America may have emerged from his developing views of parliamentary oppression and political allegiance within the landscape of power and imperial crisis that led to the Revolution.

In the years following the Stamp Act crisis Revere continued to use the female Indian as a symbol for the American colonies. But in 1772 he undertook the illustration of King Philip (the Pokanoket Wampanoag leader also known as Metacom or Metacomet) that would influence his ideas about how to represent America at the outset of the war against Britain. Revere's illustration of Philip appears in the 1772 edition of Thomas Church's *Entertaining History of King Philip's War*, first published in 1716 by Thomas's father, Benjamin Church (fig. 33).⁶ The book is the elder Church's memoir of the pursuit and brutal killing of Philip in 1676. For the 1772 edition of Church's narrative, Revere engraved a frontispiece of King Philip, a feature lacking in the first edition. Again, Brigham dismisses too abruptly Revere's rendering, describing the portrait of Philip as "a grotesque effigy of what Revere supposed the celebrated Indian chief looked like."⁷ In fact Bradford Swan observes in a 1959 pamphlet that Revere based his portrayal on the 1710 mezzotint portraits of two of the "Four Indian Kings" by John Simon (1675–1754), which in turn were based on four painted portraits of Native Americans by the Dutch artist John Verelst (1648–1734).⁸ The prints represented three Mohawk leaders and one Mahican leader who visited London in 1710 in service of a plan by the North American colonists to convince Queen Anne to support a second military expedition against the French and their Native American allies at Montreal, the capital of New France. The four had been declared "visiting royals" and were treated as such over the course of a several weeks' visit. Their kingly status was largely a fiction imposed on the men as part of the scheme to further the Crown's imperial agenda in North America. Essentially political pawns, they were shown great ceremony and feted at the court of Queen Anne, who ordered that their portraits be painted by Verelst, residing in London at the time.⁹

Swan observes that Revere took the print of *Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row* and substituted for the bow in his left hand the gun and forearm from the portrait of *Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow* in reverse

(fig. 34). He subsequently notes in a 1973 essay that Revere “borrowed shamelessly” from the mezzotints, “presumably on the ground that one Indian looks more or less like another.”¹⁰ How might Revere have known such images to borrow “shamelessly” from them? Kevin R. Muller has demonstrated how the portraits functioned in a transatlantic context soon after their production.¹¹ In 1712, just two years after the visit to London, the Reverend William Andrews traveled from London with 194 sets of the Simon mezzotints (776 individual prints) for distribution among the colonists and the Iroquois.¹² Eight unframed sets were delivered to Boston and one framed set went to the Boston Council chambers.

The framed prints at the Boston statehouse, where the workings of the colonial government occurred, would have reminded the council and assembly of their duty to uphold the alliance with the Iroquois as affirmed by the queen. The unframed sets likely circulated in or around Boston dwellings or print shops in the decades following, allowing access for copyists such as Revere.¹³

Revere’s “borrowing” of imagery for the King Philip portrait did not end with the Four Indian King prints. For the small group of Indians at the left in the portrait, Revere may have used a portion of an engraved illustration titled “The Indians Giving a Talk to Colonel



Fig. 34. John Simon after John Verelst, *Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row King of the Generethgarich* and *Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow King of the Maguas*. London, 1710. Mezzotints with engraved text. American Antiquarian Society.

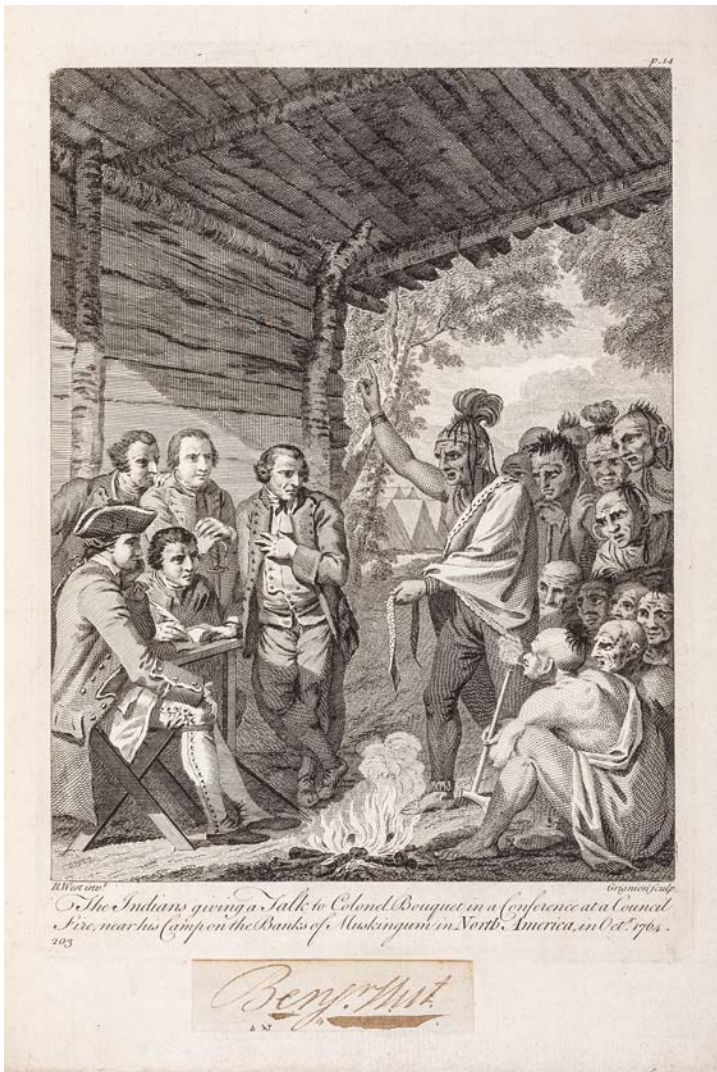


Fig. 35. Charles Grignion after Benjamin West, “The Indians Giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet . . .,” in William Smith, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians*. London, 1766. Engraving with etching. American Antiquarian Society.

Bouquet in a Conference at a Council Fire . . .” (fig. 35) in *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians* by William Smith (1766). The illustration was based on a Benjamin West painting of Seneca, Delaware, and Shawnese chiefs in discussion with the colonel at a council fire in 1764. Revere included a reverse version of the chiefs in his print to represent King Philip’s warriors. In West’s design a chief holds a wampum belt as a gift; in Revere’s version the same figure, probably representing Philip’s war chief, holds a

hatchet.¹⁴ The scene is one that Revere made use of yet again in 1774 as an illustration in the *Royal American Magazine*.¹⁵ This recycling of imagery was both expedient and cost saving.

Swan asserts that Revere was “notorious for using the work of others, making his own copies for his own purposes.”¹⁶ Certainly Revere copied the work of other engravers; this was common practice among printmakers in the period. Perhaps the most notable example in Revere’s case is his appropriation of Henry Pelham’s *Fruits of Arbitrary Power, or The Bloody Massacre* by engraving his own plate copied from Pelham’s design, printing it, and getting it on the market as his *Bloody Massacre* print before Pelham had a chance to sell his own (cats. 8, 9a). It is not surprising then that Revere would look to the Four Indian King mezzotints when undertaking an illustration of an Indian “king.” He would be drawing on a familiar story and its imagery to make his print “read” successfully as King Philip. Numerous accounts of the story of the four Indian kings were published soon after their visit to London and continued throughout the eighteenth century and even into the nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic. Ballad versions of *The Four Indian Kings* were widely printed and circulated.¹⁷ A 1762 ballad in cheap broadside form, presumed to have been printed by Zechariah Fowle and Samuel Draper in Boston, included two woodcuts atop the text.¹⁸ The images are now largely missing, but remaining evidence shows the distinctive moccasin-covered feet of one of the four kings in a stance likely derived from the Simon prints (fig. 36).

The political import of the Mohawk sachems’ prints resonated decades beyond their creation, making it easy to understand why Revere would have appropriated the imagery. Yet his King Philip image is more than a verbatim copy of the Verelst-Simon kings, just as it is more than a “grotesque effigy” of what Revere supposed Philip looked like. Despite the clear similarity of stance of Revere’s Philip to the Mohawk sachems, Revere made Philip’s accoutrements conform specifically to Church’s text regarding the killing of Philip in 1676. As described in Church’s albeit semifictional text, one of Philip’s oldest and most loyal warriors, Annawon, approached



Fig. 36. *The Four Indian Kings*, with inset detail. Broadside. Boston: Fowle & Draper, 1762. American Antiquarian Society.

Church following the killing of Philip, opened his pack, and pulled out Philip's belt, "curiously wrought with *wompom*, being nine inches broad, wrought with black and white *wompom*, in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts."¹⁹ The verbal description noted that Annawon handed Church another belt of wampum "which Philip was wont to put upon his head; it had two flags on the back part, which hung down his back, and another small belt with a star upon the end of it, which he used to hang on his breast; and they were all edged with red hair, which Annawon said they got in the Mohog's [Mohawk] country. Then he pulled out two horns of glazed powder, and a red cloth blanket. He told Captain Church these were Philip's royalties, which he was wont to adorn himself with when he sat in state."²⁰ When this text is considered alongside Revere's illustration of King Philip it becomes clear that Revere had read Church's description, following it quite specifically in rendering the sachem's appearance.

Three years later in the summer of 1775, Revere found himself engraving and printing currency and promissory notes for the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in Watertown, Massachusetts. He had arrived there the day after his now-famous midnight ride in April 1775 and was among the many colonists exiled from British-occupied Boston. Revere had smuggled out of Boston his tools, small press, copper plates, and paper for engraving. Both copper and paper were difficult to acquire, but he managed to print everything from six-shilling to four-pound notes during this tumultuous time.²¹ The words "American Paper" on Revere's engraved promissory note assert the colonists' aim of seeking industrial as well as political independence from Britain.²²

It was in July of these months of exile from his native Boston that Revere engraved the elaborate design for the promissory note (fig. 31) with the "crude figure"—it bears striking resemblance to his King Philip illustration, even if reversed in its stance. The figure

wears a long, belted shirt open at the neck, a mantle over the shoulders, and moccasins, but lacks details such as the wampum belts and powder horns specific to Philip in Revere's frontispiece. In this latest version Revere replaced the rifle with the staff topped by the liberty cap. The naked and vulnerable yet determined female Indian figure representing the American colonies in Revere's obelisk print gave way to a decidedly male, clothed sovereign "king" version of America. Perhaps by abandoning the vulnerable Indian princess warrior in favor of the Indian king figure, Revere was hoping to imply a changing power structure, using masculine authority to communicate the message. Could this transformation have been influenced by Revere's reading of Church's text when he created the Philip frontispiece? Did the story of Philip's demise as told by Church resonate with Revere somehow amid the violence and turmoil of the Revolution?

Revere's reading of Church's text in advance of engraving the 1772 frontispiece may indeed have influenced more than his rendering of Philip's accoutrements; it may even have led him to empathize with Philip's cause. In the earliest pages of his account Church notes that Philip had told Awashonks, "Squaw Sachem of the Sogkonate Indians," that Church's men "were gathering a great army to invade Philip's country."²³ These words may have had personal resonance for Revere, who had experienced the landing of British troops in Boston in 1768.²⁴ Now, in 1775, he was in exile, as Philip had been one hundred years earlier during King Philip's War. The coincidence was likely not lost on Revere—even more palpable with British occupation of his native Boston. Amid political crisis, he may well have identified with Philip's plight in the 1670s as a defender against an invading force. Revere and his fellow compatriots certainly had benefitted from Philip's defeat nearly a century earlier. Ironically, Revere now seemed to be borrowing on familiar imagery of Philip as sovereign to make a case for American sovereignty.

Revere was not an exceptionally skilled engraver of prints when compared to his contemporaries.²⁵ His renderings of human figures seem particularly lacking in

execution. His skill with engraving tools is much more evident in his silverwork and the designs he wrought on three-dimensional objects. Yet he was successful in communicating his message visually through printed imagery by using familiar tropes. Rather than simply accusing Revere of "looking for something to copy" in turning to Simon's prints for his representation of King Philip, we might consider Revere's "copying" as something more akin to what William Huntingt Howell describes as the "arts of dependence"—imitation, emulation, derivation, and repetition—methods of production that can be as valuable as or possibly even more valuable than an original.²⁶ Dependence, as Howell sees it, is not "helplessness" but rather a familiarity and acknowledgment of connection—"of hanging together."²⁷

Revere's borrowing from the Four Indian Kings prints for his rendering of King Philip, then, might be viewed as a pictorial strategy, the use of a familiar visual trope acknowledging the power of Native American sovereigns as individuals to be reckoned with through negotiation or warfare. Similarly, Revere's imagery for the promissory note three years after his rendering of Philip may be viewed as Revere's way of quoting this visual language to communicate the sovereignty of America, supported by the symbols of liberty and freedom, to those helping to finance the new government.²⁸ Revere's use of Native American imagery underwent a transformation from copied allegories of America as Indian princess to the 1772 portrayal of the sachem King Philip based on the Four Indian Kings and then to a single male Indian sovereign, stripped of the features that distinguished Philip but equipped with liberty's symbols, as America sought self-governance in 1775. For Revere, the appropriation of imagery representing Native Americans provided a symbolic cultural anchor to help galvanize colonists as they navigated British tyranny. His renderings of Native Americans point to the complexities of colonial politics and how conceptions of race and empire were played out visually during the emergence of the American republic.

Notes:

1. Clarence Brigham, *Paul Revere’s Engravings* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1954), 141.
2. Paul Revere, Colony of the Massachusetts Bay promissory note, July 28, 1775, American Antiquarian Society.
3. See Nancy Siegel’s essay, “The Work of Art and the Art of Work: Prints and Ephemera by Paul Revere,” in this catalog for more context on Revere’s obelisk print, 38–55.
4. The “Indian queen” had been used as allegorical representation of the American continent by European artists since the sixteenth century. By the mid-eighteenth century a younger “Indian princess” had become a symbol of the American colonies. Nancy Siegel suggests a more assertive figure—the female warrior. See “Mommy Dearest: Britannia, America, and Mother-Daughter Conflicts in Eighteenth-Century Prints and Medals,” in *A Material World: Culture, Society, and the Life of Things in Early Anglo-America* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2019).
5. The staff (an ancient Roman emblem known as a *vindicta*) and pileus (liberty cap) were symbols of emancipation familiar throughout early modern Europe in the eighteenth century, but the imagery received renewed interest after the German archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann discovered a bas-relief with a representation of liberty in Roman excavations and then published its description in 1766. Revere employed the use of the liberty goddess as a political symbol in engravings ranging from political prints to masthead designs for the *Massachusetts Spy* in 1771 and 1774 to the decorative surrounds of his likenesses of John Hancock and Samuel Adams for the *Royal American Magazine* in the spring of 1774.
6. Thomas Church, *The Entertaining History of King Philip’s War, Which Began in the Month of June, 1675*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1716; repr., Newport, RI, 1772).
7. Brigham, *Paul Revere’s Engravings*, 74.
8. Bradford Swan, *An Indian’s an Indian, or The Several Sources of Paul Revere’s Engraved Portrait of King Philip* (Providence, RI: Roger William’s Press, 1959). Swan was not the first to make this observation. Robert W. G. Vail noted the same in a book review of Brigham’s *Paul Revere’s Engravings* in the *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, 39, no. 4 (1955): 441–44.
9. The resulting four individual portraits are now known to be among the first painted portraits of Native Americans from the colonial period. John Simon reproduced the portraits in the form of mezzotints even before they were removed from Verelst’s studio to Kensington Palace, Queen Anne’s royal residence near London.
10. Bradford Swan, “Prints of the American Indian, 1670–1775,” in *Boston Prints and Printmakers, 1670–1775* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973), 269.
11. Kevin R. Muller, “From Palace to Longhouse: Portraits of the Four Indian Kings in a Transatlantic Context,” *American Art Journal* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 26–49.
12. Muller, “From Palace to Longhouse,” 44. Andrews was an Anglican minister sent by the Society for the Propagation for the Gospel, a religious organization backed by the English Crown to missionize among the Iroquois.
13. The set of Simon mezzotints owned by the American Antiquarian Society (AAS) may have come from its founder, Isaiah Thomas. Robert W. G. Vail notes that the set “was probably owned by the founder of that Society, Isaiah Thomas, the intimate friend of Paul Revere.” See Vail, *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, 39, no. 4 (1955): 443.
14. Thomas and Revere were fellow patriots and Freemasons. Thomas commissioned Revere to engrave mastheads for his newspaper, the *Massachusetts Spy*, as well as illustrations for the *Royal American Magazine* in 1774.
15. A version of West’s design also appeared in *Court Miscellany, or Gentleman & Lady’s Magazine* in 1766. It’s quite possible that Revere borrowed the vignette from this source.
16. *Royal American Magazine*, 1, no. 12 (December 1774).
17. Swan, *An Indian’s an Indian*, 269.
18. John G. Garratt, *The Four Indian Kings* (Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1985), 36.
19. Zechariah Fowle was Isaiah Thomas’s master when he was a printer’s apprentice. Given the connections between Thomas and Revere, this is yet another way that Revere may have seen the “Four Indian Kings” imagery. The ballad relayed how the youngest of the kings became smitten with an English lady seen walking in St. James’s Park.
20. Church, *Entertaining History*, 84.
21. Church, 84.
22. He recycled some of his earlier copper plates by engraving currency notes on the backs of the plates, including his *Boston Massacre* plate, now housed at the Massachusetts State Archives.
23. Watermarks on examples of this note in the AAS collections include the initials “J. B.” for James Boies, who operated a paper mill at Milton, Massachusetts.
24. Church, *Entertaining History*, 7.
25. Revere engraved his print *A View of Part of the Town of Boston in New-England and British [sic] Ships of War Landing Their Troops! 1768* in 1770 (cat. 7).
26. These include colonial engravers such as Nathaniel Hurd and Henry Pelham, among others.
27. William Huntingt Howell, *Against Self-Reliance: The Arts of Dependence in the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
28. Howell, *Against Self-Reliance*, 9.
29. The printing of the note also earned Revere much-needed income. He received in July 1775 the sum of fifty pounds for procuring and engraving this plate and three smaller plates for soldiers’ pay notes. See Brigham, *Paul Revere’s Engravings*, 144.

The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King-Street BOSTON on March 5th 1770 by a party of the 29th REGT



Engraved & Sold by J. RIVERS Boston

Unhappy Boston! see thy sons deplore
 The fallow'd walks betwixt with gutters gore
 While faithful T — n and his savage bands
 With murders Rancour tread their bloody bands
 Like fierce barbarians grinning o'er their prey
 Above the carnage and enjoy the day

And happy sufferers were Misses SAM^l GRAY SAM^l MAVERICK JAM^s CALDWELL CRISPUS ATTACKS PAT^r CAR
 Killed six wounded two of them (CHRIST^s MOK & JOHN CLARK) Mangled
 Boston (Printed & Published by Peter St. March 1770)

A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.
 The Patriots copious tears for each are shed
 The plaintive Gholls of Victims such as these;
 O it a weeping World can ought appease
 Where Justice trips the Murder of his soul;
 But know! Catamitons to that awful God!

Copy Right Secured.

REDISCOVERING REVERE: WILLIAM STRATTON'S FACSIMILE OF *THE BLOODY MASSACRE*

by *Lauren B. Hewes*

In early 1832 the Boston-based engraver William F. Stratton (1803–45) created an engraving that reproduced the print *The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King-Street Boston on March 5th 1770* issued in 1770 by Paul Revere (1735–1818). Stratton's copper printing matrix (which was steel-faced sometime later in the nineteenth century) is housed at the American Antiquarian Society and is a rare example of an American intaglio printing plate from the 1830s (fig. 37). The Society also holds two impressions from the plate, one done in the nineteenth century when the plate was new (fig. 38) and a later restrike. These objects have long been an ancillary part of the Revere collection at the American Antiquarian Society and have been predominantly viewed as curiosities that suggested the lasting legacy of Revere. During preparations for *Beyond Midnight: Paul Revere*, several questions arose about the plate. Who was Stratton? Who could have commissioned the facsimile? Why create a reproduction a full sixty-two years after the revolutionary events that unfolded in front of the Old State House in Boston? As research on this object and the associated prints progressed, some of these questions proved easier to answer than others. As the various facts were gathered, what emerged was the revelation that most of the nation in the early 1830s had little if any understanding of Revere and his graphic work. Stratton's facsimile was in fact the earliest attempt to reintroduce Bostonians to one of the most famous propaganda prints of the American Revolution and to the man who made the original.

William Frink Stratton was born in Boston in August 1803. His father was an auctioneer in the city who regularly sold and resold acreage, ships, and household furnishings. Nothing is known of Stratton's early training as an engraver and copperplate printer. There were multiple engraving shops in Boston in the 1820s where he might have learned the business, the largest of which were run by individuals such as engraver and publisher Abel Bowen (1790–1850), his student Nathaniel Dearborn (1786–1852), and William S. Pendleton (1795–1879), who also printed and sold lithographs. All of these shops employed multiple men and boys to prepare and engrave copper plates and operate intaglio rolling presses.

In 1825, at age twenty-two, Stratton married Martha Child (d. 1837).¹ His marriage announcement is one of the first times his name appears in the newspaper record, along with a brief mention of his role as secretary of the Lafayette Fire Society.² An 1829 advertisement placed by Stratton in the *Masonic Mirror*, a periodical circulated among masons and mechanics, described the services he offered:

ENGRAVING. WILLIAM F. STRATTON, Engraver in general, respectfully informs the public that his room for the above business is No. 38 Court St. a few doors above the old Court house, where engraving will be neatly executed in all its various branches, viz. Maps, Charts, Heads of bills, professional and visiting Cards, Bills of Exchange, Notes of hand, Frontispieces

Fig. 37. William F. Stratton after Paul Revere, printing plate, March 1832. American Antiquarian Society. Gift of Charles Henry Taylor, 1912 (cat. 111).

The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King - Street BOSTON on March 5th 1770 by a party of the 29th REG^T



Unhappy Boston! see thy Sons deplore,
Thy hallow'd Walks besin'd with guiltless Gore,
While faithless P—n and his savage Bands,
With murder's Rancour stretch their bloody Hands;
Like fierce Barbarians grinning o'er their Prey,
Approve the Carnage, and enjoy the Day.

If scalding drops from Rage from Anguish Wrung
If speechless Sorrows lab'ring for a Tongue,
Or if a weeping World can ought appease
The plaintive Ghosts of Victims such as these;
The Patriot's copious Tears for each are shed,
A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.

But know Ere summons to that awful Goal,
Where Justice strips the Murderer of his Soul;
Should venal C—ts the scandal of the Land,
Snatch the relentless Villain from her Hand,
Keen Execrations on this Plate inscrib'd,
Shall reach a JUDGE who never can be brib'd

Copy Right Secured.

The unhappy Sufferers were Mess^{rs} SAM^l GRAY, SAM^l MAVERICK, JAM^s CALDWELL, CRISPUS ATTUCKS & PAT^k CARE
Killed. Six wounded; two of them (CHRIST^r MONK & JOHN CLARK) Mortally
Boston, (Fac-Simile) Republished at 15 Water-St. March 5. 1832.

Fig. 38. William F. Stratton after Paul Revere, *The Bloody Massacre . . .*, 1832. Engraving with watercolor. American Antiquarian Society (cat. 112b).

*and Title Pages for publications, Labels, Door Plates of all patterns and prices, Stencils, Seals for corporations, societies, &c. Marking of every description, and Copperplate Printing attended to. Every attention given to small favors. Coffin Plates furnished at short notice.*³

This advertisement reveals that Stratton both worked as a decorative engraver—embellishing metal doorplates and coffin plates (decorative metal ornaments placed on the exterior of coffins), and personalizing items such as steel razors, pens, and scissors—and also engraved on copper for printed billheads, calling cards, and book illustrations. This ability to both decorate metal objects with engraved designs and to create printing matrices—which required the artist to cut a design into a plate in reverse to facilitate printing—indicates a degree of ease with the tools of metal engraving and a well-rounded understanding of the different metals involved, including copper, brass, and steel. Stratton was not unlike Revere in this regard. Revere comfortably engraved decorative coats of arms and flourishes on silver objects such as teapots and salvers (cat. 30) and also cut designs into copper plates in reverse to create prints, ephemera, and book illustrations (cats. 3, 71, 92).



Fig. 40. William F. Stratton, watch paper for Simon Willard Jr., 1828–38. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society.

Stratton is listed as an engraver in the Boston city directories for 1827 and 1828 at 10 State Street, and in 1829 and 1830 at 38 Court Street. Like many printers before him, he initially focused on job work, completing day-to-day commissions for his tradesmen neighbors, including making billheads, trade cards (fig. 39), and watch papers (small advertisements that were slipped into the back of pocket watches) (fig. 40). All of Stratton's engraved works from this period are cleanly designed and focus primarily on lettering work to transmit advertising messages. Borders and flourishes highlight but do not overwhelm the textual content.

In 1831, Stratton moved again, this time to 15 Water Street in Boston, a building also occupied by the counting room of his father's auction business. He remained on Water Street for two years, moving to Cornhill in 1833, then departing for New York City in 1834. The shop addresses are important in the study of the *Massacre* facsimile because, unlike all of his previous engraved work, Stratton did not sign the *Massacre* plate. Instead he inserted his address and the phrase: "Copy Right Secured / Boston, (Fac-Simile) Republished at 15 Water St. March 5, 1832." In 1912, then AAS Librarian Clarence S. Brigham (1877–1963) correlated the address with the Boston city directory

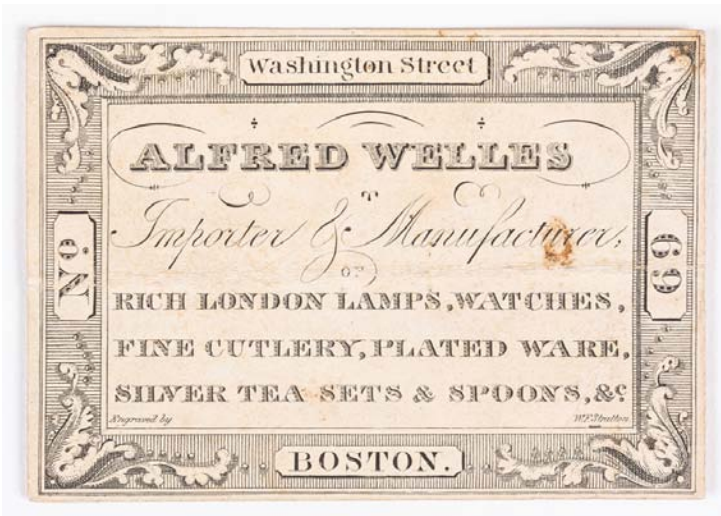


Fig. 39. William F. Stratton, trade card for Alfred Welles, 1830–33. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society.

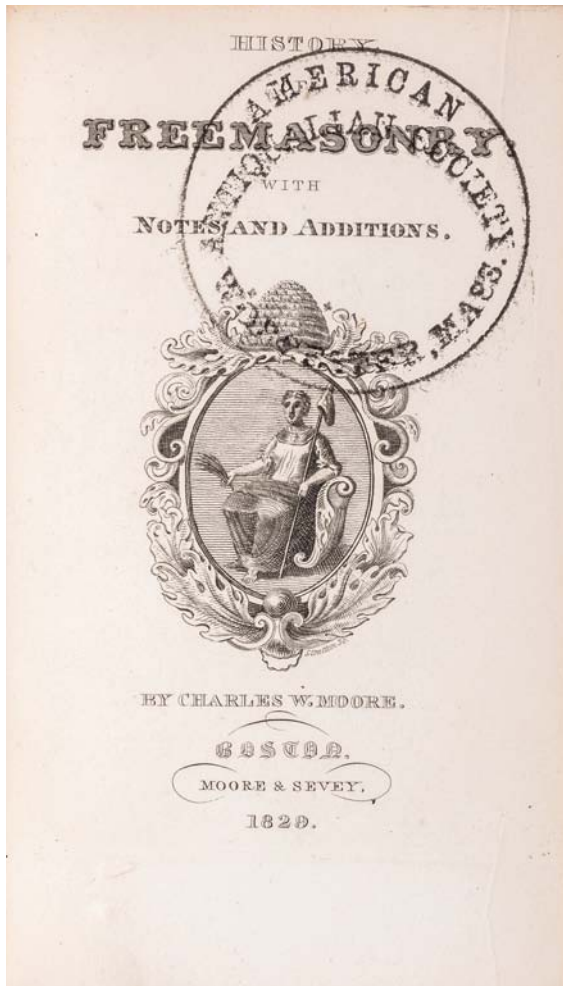


Fig. 41. William F. Stratton, frontispiece to *History of Freemasonry*. Boston, 1829. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society.

to make the attribution to Stratton.⁴ Once settled at the Water Street space in August 1831, Stratton expanded his stock and advertised for sale collections of shells and fossils for “fanciers,” as well as sheet music and prints.⁵ He continued to offer the same variety of engraving services as he had at his earlier locations.

When compared with the work Stratton was engraving before 1832, the *Massacre* facsimile features a more involved composition. Starting around 1830, Stratton expanded beyond simple job work, producing

a decorative frontispiece for *Lawrie’s History of Freemasonry* in 1829 (fig. 41), and schematic illustrations for a book on architecture published in 1830.⁶ Although more intricate than his earlier work, many of Stratton’s book illustrations were derivative and copied directly from European editions. Based on his extant oeuvre up to 1832, copying Revere’s print in reverse onto copper was a significant undertaking for Stratton, who had only been producing prints for four years. The plate is larger than anything he had done before. There is no evidence that he had ever used pictorial perspective, with foreground and background layered and reduced to create depth, nor had he ever depicted a scene of action. Stratton did not list the *Massacre* facsimile for sale in any of his advertisements and details of a specific patron sponsoring the reproduction remain elusive. Given the lack of evidence of public circulation in 1832 and 1833, it is possible that a civic organization such as the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association or a Boston masonic lodge or fraternal group may have ordered the prints from Stratton for private distribution internally to its members.⁷

Could the plate and its prints have been intended to commemorate the events of March 5, 1770? Examinations of newspapers of the era reveal that there was little discussion of the massacre in the late 1820s and early 1830s in the press. Massacre Day had been celebrated in Boston annually every March from 1771 through 1783 before falling out of favor after the war.⁸ There was no acknowledgement of the sixtieth anniversary in the 1830 newspapers, or even of the fiftieth anniversary in 1820. In fact, Stratton’s faithful copy of the Revere print emerges into something of a historical void in 1832, as many of the residents of Boston who had experienced the events of 1770 were no longer living. The facsimile, although likely circulated privately, allowed Revere’s propagandized depiction to be reintroduced to a new, albeit apparently select, group of Bostonians.

When Stratton made his *Massacre* copy in the early 1830s, Revere was primarily remembered in and around Boston as an active Freemason and industrialist. He was described in an 1831 city newspaper simply

as a bell founder.⁹ His service as first president of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association (founded in 1795) was toasted annually in 1832 and 1833 at meetings of that organization, and, in a speech in Pittsburgh in July 1833, U.S. Senator Daniel Webster (1782–1852) referred briefly to Revere as a “worker in brass.”¹⁰ Revere’s role as an industrialist would have been most familiar to Bostonians of the 1830s as they followed the achievements of Revere’s son Joseph Warren Revere (1777–1868), who was actively expanding the Revere Copper Company, founded by his father in 1801. The press covered in detail and with excitement, for example, the linking of the company’s factory in Canton, Massachusetts, to a new aqueduct and the growing regional railroad system.¹¹

A biographical article in the *New-England Magazine* in October 1832 enlarged upon this commonly held perception of Revere, discussing his roles as mechanic and silversmith, but also, for the first time, commenting in detail on his work as a printmaker. A lithographed portrait of the elderly Revere was followed by ten pages of glowing prose that mentioned both the original *Massacre* print and the March 1832 facsimile: “In 1770, Mr. Revere published an engraved print, representing the massacre in King-street, on the memorable FIFTH OF MARCH and in 1774, another, of a historical character, representing the landing of the British Troops in Boston. Copies of all these, though extremely rare, are still extant. A lithographic facsimile of the print first mentioned, has been recently republished.”¹² No lithographed version of *The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King-Street* from the 1830s is known today, only Stratton’s engraving. As it was not uncommon at this time for general audiences to use printmaking terms such as *engraving* and *lithograph* interchangeably, it is likely that the article is referencing Stratton’s facsimile of the *Massacre* print. The *New-England Magazine* editor and publisher was Joseph T. Buckingham (1779–1861), whose office at 22 Congress Street was just one block east of Stratton’s Water Street shop. Stratton’s printing of the *Massacre* facsimile could have come to Buckingham’s attention through a variety of networks. Buckingham, like Stratton, was active in

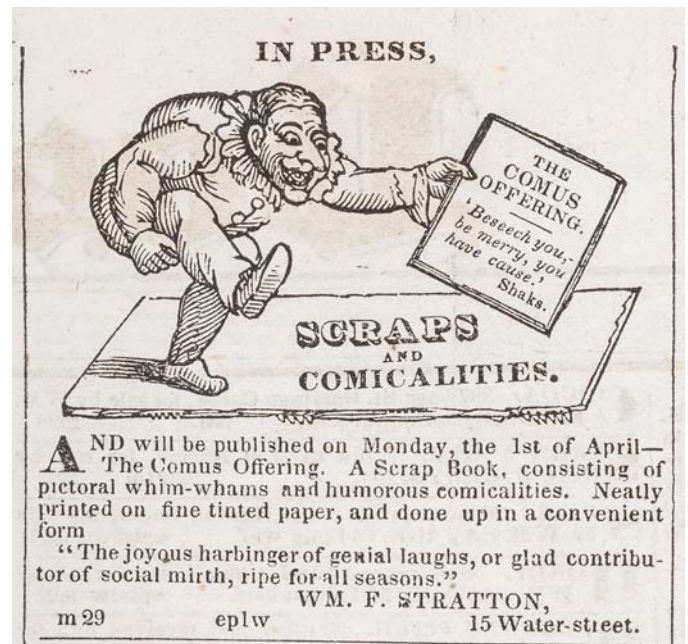


Fig. 42. Advertisement for *The Comus Offering*, in the *Boston Courier*, March 29, 1833. American Antiquarian Society.

masonic and mechanic organizations in the city. He also published the *Boston Courier* where Stratton frequently advertised and was president of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association from 1832 to 1834, an organization with which Stratton was later affiliated.¹³

A year after the production of the *Massacre* facsimile, in March 1833, Stratton advertised a forthcoming volume of comic engravings titled *The Comus Offering, Containing Humorous & Diverting Scraps & Comicalities* (fig. 42). Published by young stationer B. Franklin Edmands (1807–74), the volume consisted of four full-page engraved plates, each covered with a sampling of cartoons and satires, including visual puns and social commentary, all wrapped in a decorative cover. It was Stratton’s most ambitious production to date, and one can surmise that the work he did on the *Massacre* facsimile gave him confidence to work in a larger format on more complex compositions. Unfortunately, Edmands went out of business in April 1833 and completely dissolved his stock—two cases of India rubber toys, playing cards, and a large collection of prints and engravings, likely including many of Stratton’s freshly printed *The Comus Offering*.¹⁴ Shortly after, Stratton also closed up his shop

at Water Street and moved to New York City, where he worked at 359 Broadway, the home of a writing academy run by Englishman Thomas Chave (1790–ca. 1835).¹⁵

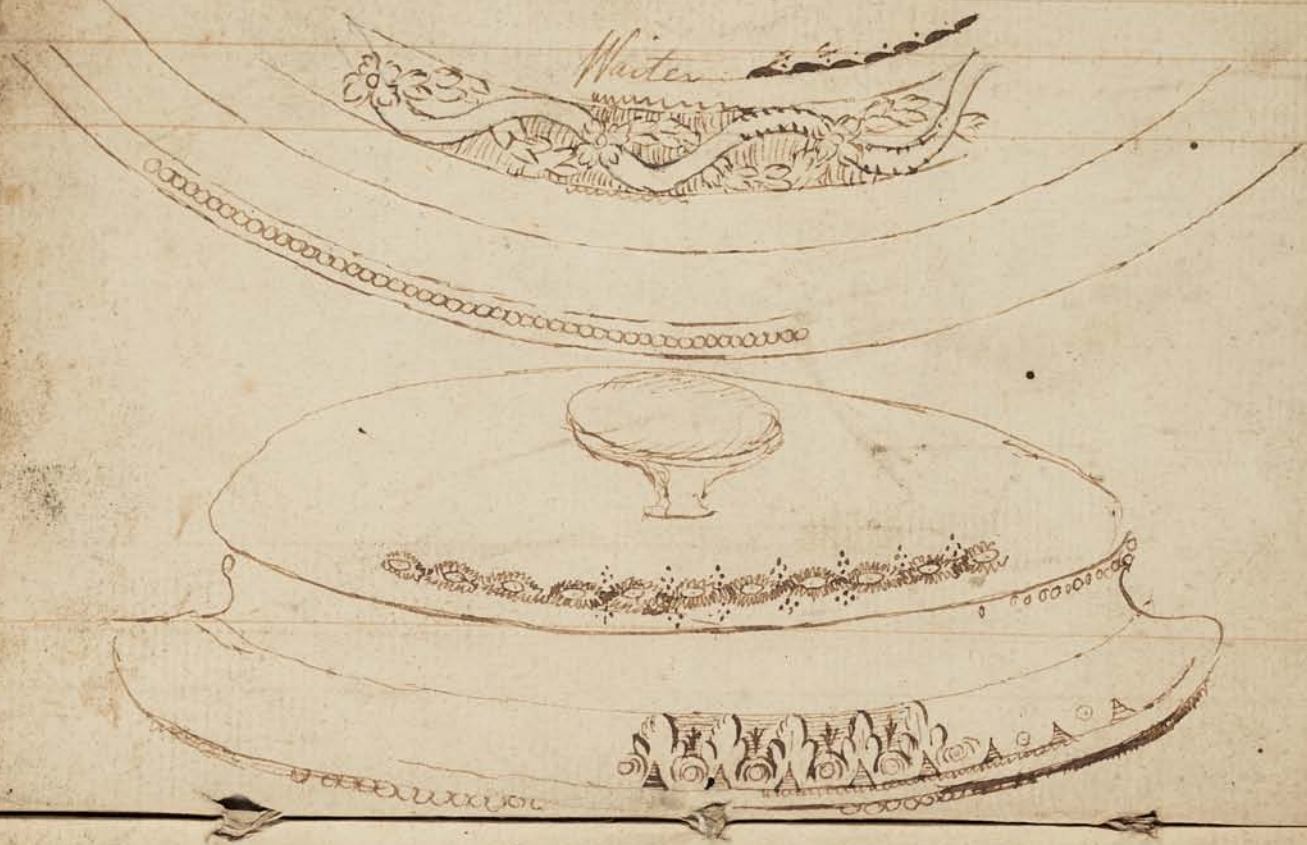
After he returned to Massachusetts late in 1835, Stratton was employed as a writing master at the Boston Academy of Penmanship & Bookkeeping, indicating his time in New York was probably spent studying with Chave.¹⁶ He continued this work for several years and exhibited his pen drawings at the first exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association in Boston in 1837. His drawing style apparently benefited from his training as an engraver. At the organization's third exhibition in 1839, Stratton entered a drawing entitled *Scriptural Illustrations*, which, according to a reviewer, "approaches the nearest, in appearance, to an Engraving, of any thing executed with a Pen that we recollect to have seen."¹⁷ In 1840, Stratton created engraved plates for a drawing manual entitled *Penman's Paradise: Both Pleasant & Profitable*, published in Boston. As in the past, Stratton based his plates on previously published designs from Europe. He copied parts of John Seddon's *Pen-Man's Paradis* (London, 1695) but he simplified the alphabets, reordered the pages, and recombined parts of Seddon's layouts.¹⁸ This volume was Stratton's last significant engraved work before his death at the age of forty-two in 1845.¹⁹

Stratton's engraved plate of *The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King-Street Boston on March 5th 1770* was made at a time when the populace of the young republic was just beginning to retell stories of the American Revolution to new generations of citizens who came of age after 1783, or who had immigrated to the country from abroad. Accounts of the massacre steadily began to appear in children's textbooks and family periodicals in the mid-1830s, just a few years after Stratton pulled facsimile prints from his plate. Revere's scene reappeared on copybook covers in 1837 and 1839 (cats. 113, 114) and was repurposed in prints related to the abolitionist movement (cat. 115) in the 1850s. Until 1861, when Revere's midnight ride entered the nation's consciousness via Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem "Paul Revere's Ride," Revere remained best known as a Boston craftsman and mechanic and, after 1832, as

the designer of the graphic representation of the events of March 5, 1770. William Stratton's engraved plate and the prints made from it serve as reminders of the city's nineteenth-century efforts to reclaim a collective memory of one of the events that sparked the American Revolution. It helped reintroduce Bostonians to the printed works of Paul Revere, a hometown patriot who was at the time better known for his bells and expertise with metals than he was for what is today arguably his most famous engraving—*The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King-Street*.

Notes:

1. The couple had three children by 1830. Their son, William David Stratton (1828–92) was also an engraver and is sometimes confused with his father. For more on the family, including William F. Stratton's second marriage to Lucy Sessions in 1839, see Harriet Russell Stratton, *A Book of Strattons, Being a Collection of Stratton Records from England and Scotland, and a Genealogical History of the Early Colonial Strattons in America* (New York: Grafton Press, 1908–18), 110–11.
2. "Communication. Lafayette Fire Society," *Boston Intelligencer*, September 25, 1825, 6. This civic organization was formed in September 1825 by a group of Boston residents who worked together to protect property in the case of fire.
3. "William F. Stratton, Engraver in General," *Masonic Mirror* (Boston), July 25, 1829, 32. The advertisement is repeated on p. 88 of the September 12, 1829, issue. Stratton's earliest known advertisement appears in 1828: "Engraving. William F. Stratton," *Boston Patriot and Daily Chronicle*, January 8, 1828, 4.
4. Clarence S. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1954), 71–72. Brigham incorrectly believed the plate was made of pewter.
5. *Boston Patriot and Daily Chronicle*, August 16, 1831, 7. This advertisement runs continuously through September 12, 1831.
6. Edward Shaw, *Civil Architecture, or A Complete Theoretical and Practical System of Building* (Boston: Marsh, Capen & Lyon, 1830). A second edition was printed in 1832.
7. Numerous 1830s-era printings of the Stratton plate reside in institutional and private collections around New England, including the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Boston Athenaeum; the Massachusetts Historical Society; and Yale University. Their existence in these collections (many were donated between 1880 and 1910) could be considered an indicator that the prints were initially distributed locally.
8. Hiller B. Zobel, *Boston Massacre* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), 301–2. For more on commemorations, see also Eric Hinderaker, *Boston's Massacre* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2017). It is not until much later, 1858, that a commemoration of the Boston Massacre was organized by William Cooper Nell, an African American abolitionist in Boston. See Karsten Fitz, "Commemorating Crispus Attucks, Visual Memory and the Representations of the Boston Massacre, 1770–1857," *American Studies* 50, no. 3 (2005): 463–84.
9. "A Mechanic," *Boston Patriot and Daily Chronicle*, December 12, 1831, 2.
10. "The Ninth Triennial Festival of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, October 15, 1833, 2. The toast reads: "To the memory of Paul Revere, the first president of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association—whose skill and industry as a Mechanic were only excelled by his patriotism as a Citizen and his integrity as a Man." For the Webster speech, see "Mr. Webster," *National Gazette and Literary Register* (Philadelphia), July 19, 1833, 2.
11. "The Revere Copper Company," *Boston Courier*, February 2, 1831, 4. The connection of the factory to the railroad was discussed throughout 1835; see, for example, "A Trip to Lowell over the Noble Railroad," *Lowell Patriot*, November 27, 1835, 1, which highlights Joseph Warren Revere's design of a spur that brought railcars directly to the main furnace in Canton.
12. "Early American Artists and Mechanics, No. II, Paul Revere," *New-England Magazine* 3 (October 1832): 304–14. In a note, the editors correct the fact that they had erroneously attributed the *Massacre* engraving to silversmith Nathaniel Hurd in their July issue, an error that underscores how few Bostonians were familiar with the details of the print at the time.
13. Buckingham was a force in Boston printing and publishing in the 1830s and had an antiquarian bent. In 1832 he helped organize a parade honoring the one hundredth anniversary of George Washington's birth, and in 1833 he began an organization to complete the Bunker Hill Monument (a process that went on for more than seven years).
14. The only known surviving copy of *The Comus Offering* is housed at the Boston Public Library, donated by the Estate of Joseph B. Center, July 14, 1903.
15. *Evening Star* (New York), September 10, 1834, 1. The lithographic house of Endicott & Swett was also at 359 Broadway.
16. *Boston Courier*, November 21, 1835, 2. Stratton also taught at the Pickney Street School for Boys in 1839 as the assistant instructor in writing for the secondary high school students; see *The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1839 & 1840* (Boston: James Loring, 1838), 227.
17. *Third Exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association Fair* (Boston: Isaac R. Butts, 1839), 113, item no. 42. At the 1837 fair, Stratton showed "Drawings of animals executed with a pen, in close imitation of the originals." See *First Exhibition and Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association* (Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, 1837), 86.
18. Ray Nash, *American Penmanship, 1800–1850. A History of Writing and a Bibliography of Copybooks from Jenkins to Spencer* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1969), 48–49, 210. Nash calls Stratton's production an act of "deliberate antiquarianism." Stratton had access to the copy of Seddon's book at Harvard University. A copy of Stratton's publication is held by Houghton Library, Harvard University.
19. Notice of Stratton's death appears in both the *Boston Evening Transcript*, August 12, 1845, 3 and the *Emancipator and Republican* (Boston), August 13, 1845, 63. The family genealogy, *A Book of Strattons*, incorrectly lists the year as 1846.



The Exhibition



Paul Revere, account ledger and cashbook for goldsmith shop, 1786-93. Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (cat. 43).

CHECKLIST OF THE EXHIBITION

The patriot and entrepreneur Paul Revere (1735–1818) was immortalized in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s 1861 poem “Paul Revere’s Ride,” but his genuine accomplishments have often been eclipsed by the evocative legend of his midnight journey. Along with his actions during the American Revolution, Revere was an innovator who ran multiple businesses in and around Boston, Massachusetts, including a silversmith shop, a foundry that produced bells and cannon, and a copper rolling mill. His versatility, knowledge of different metals, and his ever-expanding network of clients defined his career and secured his place among craftsmen, industrialists, and political leaders who worked to make the new American nation independent economically as well as politically.

This exhibition examines how Revere’s roles as an artist and a maker connected with his revolutionary and civic activities. It brings together rare engravings of the Boston Massacre, refined silver tea services, and commonplace items such as shoe buckles, thimbles, and paper currency—all made by Revere. Together these objects reveal the complex facets of Revere’s unique position at the intersection of social, economic, and political life in America before, during, and after his midnight ride.

This exhibition would not have been possible without support from lending institutions and individuals who contributed important works, including:

American Antiquarian Society
Cape Ann Museum
Dedham Historical Society & Museum
The Grand Lodge of Masons,
Massachusetts
The Hill School
Historic Deerfield, Inc.
Historic New England
Massachusetts Historical Society
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Ambassador J. William Middendorf II
Minneapolis Institute of Art
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Old North Church & Historic Site
Old Sturbridge Village
Patricia D. Klingenstein Library,
New-York Historical Society
The Paul Revere Memorial Association /
Paul Revere House
Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library
Robert A. Vincent
Worcester Art Museum
Worcester Historical Museum

In addition, we thank these lenders to individual venues:

Paul Cahn (N-YHS)
David M. Rubenstein Americana Collection (N-YHS)
Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (N-YHS)
Houghton Library, Harvard University (CM)
Neil and Anna Rasmussen (CM)
Roy J. Zuckerberg (N-YHS)

The following abbreviations are used throughout the checklist to identify the venues at which the objects were exhibited. The abbreviations are listed in the checklist in the order of venue appearance.

CB Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art,
Bentonville, Arkansas
CM Concord Museum, Concord, Massachusetts
N-YHS New-York Historical Society, New York, New York
WAM Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts

Note: Paul Revere’s life dates are given throughout the catalog as 1735–1818, in accordance with dates assigned by the Library of Congress. This practice follows the dating adopted by all British colonies with the passage of the Calendar Act of 1750. The new calendar shifted forward by eleven days in order to come into agreement with the Gregorian calendar, which was already widely in use throughout Europe. After the adoption of what was called New Style dating, Revere’s birthday of December 21, 1734, was reassigned to January 1, 1735 (New Style).

Revolutionary Revere

Paul Revere is best remembered for his midnight ride to Lexington, Massachusetts, on April 18, 1775, to warn residents there of impending British aggression. Long before that night, however, Revere had been active in the events leading up to the Revolution. He was one of the Sons of Liberty, a secret group organized in 1765 to protest British taxation in the colonies. In 1770, he engraved a scene of the Boston Massacre, an incendiary print designed to provoke anger among colonists. In December 1773, he helped dump loads of British tea into Boston Harbor in protest of taxes imposed by Parliament and King George III. After the outbreak of war in April 1775, Revere arranged reconnaissance of British troop movements in the Boston area, delivered Continental army dispatches to New York and Connecticut, and created propaganda in support of the patriot cause.

- 1 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
A View of the Year 1765, ca. December 1765
Engraving
American Antiquarian Society, 1913
N-YHS, CM, CB
Image, p. 46
- 2 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
A View of the Obelisk, 1766
Engraving
American Antiquarian Society
Bequest of Mary L. Eliot, 1927
N-YHS, CM, CB
Image, pp. 44–45, 57
- 3 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Enlistment certificate, ca. 1765
Engraving
American Antiquarian Society, 1949
N-YHS, WAM
- 4 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Copper plate for enlistment certificate, ca. 1765
Copper
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
N-YHS, WAM
- 5 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
A Warm Place—Hell, 1768
Engraving
American Antiquarian Society
Bequest of Mary L. Eliot, 1927
N-YHS, CM, CB
Image, p. 48
- 6 Richard Dimes Company (active 1908–55),
after Paul Revere (1735–1818)
The Sons of Liberty bowl, reproduction of the 1768 original, 1950
Silver
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Gift of George H. Edgell Family in memory of
George H. Edgell, APP.2012.6
N-YHS, WAM



Cat. 3



Cat. 4

Cats. 3 & 4

Around 1765, Revere began to repurpose his engraving skills (which he used to embellish silver objects) to create printed material using copper printing plates. His earliest known engraving is this enlistment certificate for an artilleryman at Boston's North Battery, depicted here with its corresponding printing plate.

The battery guarded the mouth of the Charles River and was an important military asset. The simplistic quality of Revere's stone fort, awkwardly depicted wharf, and jumble of buildings in Boston's North End neighborhood reveal his early struggles with the medium of engraving. He would improve and eventually used his talents to create printed propaganda supporting the patriot cause.

Cats. 8 & 9a

On a snowy March evening in 1770, British soldiers fired on a crowd of unruly colonists gathered in front of the Boston Custom House. The crowd was made up of a diverse group of residents, including sailors, a rope maker, and a justice of the peace. Three colonists were killed at the site, and two others died later from their wounds.

News of the incident traveled quickly through the colonies. Boston artist Henry Pelham made an engraved version of the event, seen here, which he apparently shared with Revere while it was in process. Without permission, Revere copied (with modifications) Pelham's design and had 200 copies of his version on sale by March 28 (cat. 9a). Pelham, whose 575 prints were not ready until early April, wrote an angry letter to Revere protesting being scooped.

Both prints were intended as propaganda, supporting the patriot cause and expressing outrage at the events of March 5. Revere's version was widely disseminated and was copied in turn by a watchmaker in Newburyport, Massachusetts, a publisher in London, and a Canadian powder horn carver living in New Hampshire.



Cat. 8

- 7 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
A View of Part of the Town of Boston in New-England and British [sic] Ships of War Landing Their Troops! 1768, April 1770
 Engraving, hand-colored, first state
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, CM, CB
 Image, cover and p. 12

- 8 Henry Pelham (1749–1806)
The Fruits of Arbitrary Power, or The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King-Street Boston on March 5th 1770 . . . , 1770
 Printed by Daniel Rea Jr., Boston
 Engraving, hand-colored
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM

- 9a Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Hand-coloring attributed to
 Christian Remick (1726–73)
***The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King-Street
 Boston on March 5th 1770 by a Party of the 29th
 Reg[imen]t, 1770***
 Printed by Edes & Gill, Boston
 Engraving, second state
 American Antiquarian Society
 Gift of Nathaniel Paine
 N-YHS, WAM
 Image, frontispiece



Cat. 7

- 9b Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Hand-coloring attributed to
 Christian Remick (1726–73)
***The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King-Street
 Boston on March 5th 1770 by a Party of the 29th
 Reg[imen]t, 1770***
 Printed by Edes & Gill, Boston
 Engraving, second state
 Collection of Ambassador J. William Middendorf II
 CB



- 10 Jacob Gay (active 1758–87)
**Powder horn for Hamilton Davidson, with Boston
 Massacre scene, 1772**
 Horn, base metal, brass, iron
 Courtesy of Historic Deerfield, Inc.
 Museum purchase with the generosity of William H.
 Guthman, 2005.20.44
 N-YHS, WAM



Cat. 10

- 11 **Teapot, 1740–60**
 Pewter, wood
 Associated with Crispus Attucks (d. 1770)
 Courtesy of Historic New England
 Gift of Miss S. E. Kimball through the Bostonian
 Society, 1918.1655
 N-YHS, CM, CB

- 12 ***An Account of a Late Military Massacre at Boston,
 or The Consequences of Quarters Troops in a
 Populous Well-Regulated Town, March 1770***
 Broadside with engraving by Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Printed and published by Edes & Gill, Boston
 Patricia D. Klingenstein Library, New-York Historical
 Society, SY1770 no. 22
 N-YHS, WAM



Cat. 11

- 13 **“The Fruits of Arbitrary Power, or The Bloody Massacre”**
A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston . . .
London: William Bingley, 1770
Engraving, proof before letters
American Antiquarian Society
Gift of James Melville Hunnewell, 1935
N-YHS, WAM
- 14 Jonathan Mulliken (1746–82)
***The Bloody Massacre Perpetuated in King-Street Boston on
March 5th 1770 by a Party of ye 29th Reg[imen]t***, ca. 1770–74
Engraving, hand-colored
Collection of Ambassador J. William Middendorf II
N-YHS, WAM
- 15 ***A Monumental Inscription on the Fifth of March***, 1772
Broadside with woodcut by Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Printed and published by Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831)
American Antiquarian Society
Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831
N-YHS, CM, CB
- 16 John Johnston or Johnson (ca. 1753–1818)
Green Dragon Tavern, 1773
Ink and watercolor on paper
American Antiquarian Society
N-YHS, CM, CB
- 17 **Tea salvaged from Boston Harbor after the
Boston Tea Party**, 1773
Glass, twill tape, sealing wax, tea leaves
American Antiquarian Society
Gift of Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, 1840
N-YHS, CM, CB



Cat. 13



Cat. 17

Cat. 17

Many colonists in America drank tea twice a day—with breakfast and in the mid-afternoon. Wealthy families used silver teapots like those made by Paul Revere for brewing and pouring tea. After British Parliament levied a tax on tea in 1767 and then passed more taxes in the 1773 Tea Act, the colonists protested against taxation without representation. Shiploads of tea were subsequently refused entry by colonial officials in Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York.

The Sons of Liberty, a secret organization of revolutionary-minded men that included Revere, met at the Green Dragon Tavern in Boston's North End and planned the most well-known protest, coordinating the destruction of a shipload of tea that had arrived in Boston Harbor. Revere was among the men who tossed bales of tea into the ocean in the event that became known as the Boston Tea Party. Afterward, loose tea leaves were gathered on the beaches near Boston and saved as mementos of the event.

THE
Massachusetts Spy
 Or, Thomas's Boston Journal.

Do thou Great LIBERTY inspire our Souls—And make our Lives in thy Possession happy—Or, our Deaths glorious in thy just Defence.
 VOL. IV.) THURSDAY, JULY 7, 1774. (NUMB. 179.)
 JOIN OR DIE

THE great demand for this paper, has often occasioned many good customers being disappointed, for which the publisher is very sorry: He will, in future, endeavour to prevent any thing of the like kind happening, so long as he may have the honour of being an hand-servant to the public.
 The gloomy prospect of public affairs, at present, in this devoted capital, has occasioned some pressing Demands upon him, which with great reluctance he informs his customers, he can by no means answer without their kind assistance: He is loath to trouble them with a "dunnino" advertisement, but his affairs make

In the House of Representatives, June 14, 1774.
WHEREAS there will become due in this month sundry notes given by the province-treasurer, and sufficient provision having been made for the paying off the same, and if the possessors of such notes should not bring them in to the treasurer to be paid, the province will suffer damage by such neglect:
 Therefore Resolved, That the possessors of such notes, who shall not bring them to the province-treasurer, to be paid by the last day of July next, shall not receive any interest on the same, after that time, and the province treasurer, is hereby directed forthwith to cause this order to be published in all the Boston News-papers, three weeks successively, that every one concerned may be notified hereof.
 Sent up for concurrence: T. CUSHING, speaker
 In council, June 15th. Read and concurred.
 JOHN COTTON, D. fec'ys.
 Confented to, THO'S. GAGE.

Riots and weak publications, by a small number of individuals, are sufficient reasons with Parliament to ruin many thousand inhabitants of a truly respectable town, to dissolve charters, to abolish the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and extirpate American liberty—for the principle reaches all. But in England the press groans with publications, seditious, treasonable and even blasphemous. The discontented swarm over the kingdom, proclaiming their resentments. Many enormous riots have disturbed the public peace. The sovereign has been insulted in passing from his palace to the Parliament-house, on the business of the nation. Is it to be concluded from these facts, that the **Body of the People** is seditious and traitorous? can his Majesty believe, that he is thought by his English subjects in general to be such a prince, as some of them have represented him? will the two houses of Parliament acknowledge what has been spoken and written and acted against them in England, expresses the sentiments of the

adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius, quam quod in **COMMUNE NONCONSULUNT.** Rarus ad populandam **commune periculum conventus.** Ita dum singulis pugnant comes vincuntur.]
 Why did the little Swiss cantons, and seven small provinces of the low countries, so successfully oppose the tyrants, that not contended with an empire founded in humanity and mutual advantages, unnecessarily and arrogantly strove to "EAT" the faithful and affectionate wretches "AT THEIR FEET"? Because, they wisely regarded the interest of each as the interest of all.
 Our own experience furnishes a mournful additional proof of an observation made by a great and good man, Lord president *Forbes*. "It is a certain truth," says he, "that all states and kingdoms, in proportion as they grow great, wealthy and powerful, grow wanton, wicked and oppressive, and the history of all ages gives evidence of the fatal catastrophe of all states and kingdoms, when the cup of their ini-



Cat. 18

- 18 **Massachusetts Spy, or Thomas's Boston Journal**, July 7, 1774
 Masthead designed by Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Printed and published by Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831)
 American Antiquarian Society
 Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831
 N-YHS, CM
- 19 **Lantern used in Old North Church**, original ca. 1770,
 reproduction 1970
 Glass, tin
 American Antiquarian Society
 Gift of Brad Sheets in memory of Robert Newman
 Sheets and Shirley Ann Sheets, 2019
 N-YHS
- 20 **John Hancock's trunk**, 1775
 Wood, leather, metal
 Worcester Historical Museum
 Transferred from American Antiquarian Society, 1895
 Gift of Dorothy White, 1925.67
 N-YHS, CM



Cat. 20

Revere the Maker

Paul Revere was a master craftsman who specialized in metalworking. He began his training as an apprentice in his father's silver shop. Revere was just nineteen when his father died in 1754; he then assumed all responsibilities for the shop and household. Throughout his life, Revere constantly tried new techniques, learned from his failures, and adapted his methods to keep up with the latest styles and inventions. This flexibility led him to create fashionable and functional objects from many different metals, including silver, gold, bronze, and copper. Eventually he expanded from the apprenticeship system of his colonial shop into the industrial realm, using paid labor and harnessing large-scale mechanical technology. Revere retired after spending fifty-seven years working with his hands making objects of all kinds, from delicate golden thimbles to sturdy bronze church bells.

- 21 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Waste Book & Memoranda, 1761–83
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Ms. N-652
N-YHS
Image, pp. 15, 26
- 22 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Bookplate for Paul Revere, n.d.
Removed from Hugh Latimer's *Sermons*, London, 1758
American Antiquarian Society
N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 23 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Copper printing plate for Revere's bookplate, n.d.
Copper
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
N-YHS, WAM, CB



Cat. 22

Cat. 22
Revere's lifelong ambition to better himself is clear from his own bookplate design, which features an adopted coat-of-arms. This image would have signified Revere's social and financial success to his peers. In 1792, Revere was one of the founding members of the Boston Society Library, along with leading ministers, local authors, and statesmen. He was a frequent reader, borrowing works by Shakespeare, copies of European magazines, and history texts from the circulating library.

- 24a Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin (1770–1852)
Paul Revere, 1801
Engraving, mezzotint, and roulette on paper
Worcester Art Museum
Bequest of Mrs. Albert W. Rice, 1986.69
N-YHS, WAM
Image, p. 22
- 24b Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin (1770–1852)
Paul Revere, 1801
Engraving, mezzotint, and roulette on paper
Paul Revere Memorial Association / Paul Revere House, Boston, PR 78.1
CM, CB
- 25 John Singleton Copley (1738–1815)
Paul Revere, 1768
Oil on canvas
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Gift of Joseph W. Revere, William B. Revere, and Edward H. R. Revere, 30.781
WAM
Image, p. 8
- 26 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Magnet/lodestone with tin box, ca. 1796
Brass
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 02.009, 03.029
N-YHS, WAM
- 27 John Singleton Copley (1738–1815)
Lucretia Chandler Murray (Mrs. John Murray), 1763
Oil on canvas
Worcester Art Museum
Bequest of H. Daland Chandler, 1969.37
N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 28 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Sugar bowl, 1761
Silver
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Pauline Revere Thayer Collection, 35.1781
N-YHS, WAM, CB
Image, p. 28



Cat. 26



Cat. 27

- 29 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Cream pot, 1761
Silver
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Pauline Revere Thayer Collection, 35.1782
N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 30 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Salver, ca. 1761
Silver
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Gift of Henry Davis Sleeper in memory of his
mother, Maria Westcote Sleeper, 25.592
N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 31 Paul Revere (1735–1818) after a design by
Nathaniel Hurd (ca. 1729–77)
Bookplate for Gardiner Chandler (1723–82),
ca. 1760
Engraving
American Antiquarian Society
N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 32 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Silver shop ledger, 1783–84
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society,
Boston, Ms. N-652
N-YHS, WAM
Image, p. 16
- 33 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Tankard, 1760–70
Silver, engraved with unidentified coat of arms
Worcester Art Museum
Gift of the Paul Revere Life Insurance Company, a
subsidiary of UnumProvident Corporation,
1999.502
N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 34 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Sugar urn, ca. 1795
Silver, engraved “H. C.”
Worcester Art Museum
Gift of the Paul Revere Life Insurance Company, a
subsidiary of UnumProvident Corporation,
1999.464
N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 35 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Fluted teaspoons, ca. 1785
Made for Nathaniel and Abigail (Odlin) Gilman of
Exeter, New Hampshire



Cat. 29



Cat. 31



Cat. 35

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Silver, with engraved monogram “N A G” on handle
Worcester Art Museum
Gift of the Paul Revere Life Insurance Company, a subsidiary of
UnumProvident Corporation, 1999.474, 475
N-YHS, WAM

36 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Coffeepot, 1760–70
Silver, wood
Worcester Art Museum
Gift of the Paul Revere Life Insurance Company, a subsidiary of
UnumProvident Corporation, 1999.458
N-YHS, WAM

37 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Bowl, ca. 1800
Silver, engraved with unidentified coat of arms
Worcester Art Museum
Gift of the Paul Revere Life Insurance Company, a subsidiary of
UnumProvident Corporation, 1999.496
N-YHS, WAM, CB

38 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Spatula, ca. 1760
Silver
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Marion E. Davis Fund and H. E. Bolles Fund, 2007.254
N-YHS, WAM, CB

39 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Pair of shoe buckles, ca. 1790–95
Silver; steel, copper
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Pauline Revere Thayer Collection, 35.1795a–b
N-YHS, WAM

40 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Child’s whistle and teether with bells, 1795–1800
Silver
Worcester Art Museum
Gift of the Paul Revere Life Insurance Company, a subsidiary of
UnumProvident Corporation, 1999.486
N-YHS, WAM, CB

41 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Spur, 1770–1800
Silver
Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Bequest of Alphonso T. Clearwater, 1933, 33.120.382
N-YHS



Cat. 40

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Cat. 42

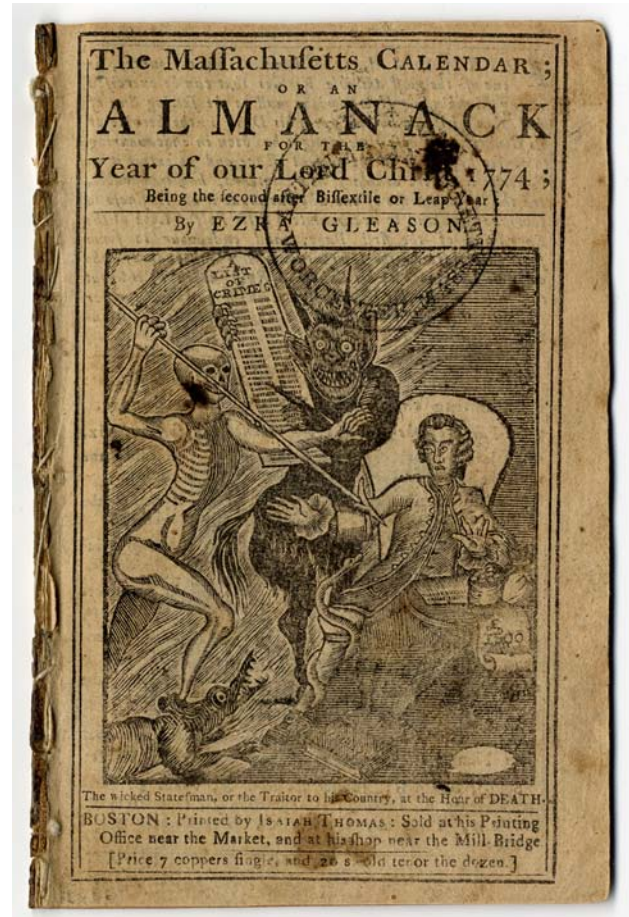
Cat. 42

Revere adapted readily to his clients' stylistic desires and boldly experimented with the latest technology. When crafting fashionable neoclassical-style wares such as this service, Revere employed sheet silver that could be cut to shape and seamed, rather than using the more costly and labor-intensive process of raising hollowware, an earlier method used by Revere to create pieces in the Paine family service (cat. 69). The fluted oval teapot, one of the silver forms most associated with Revere's shop, was nearly exclusive to the Boston area and has become an iconic American Federal silver form.

This tea service is one of Revere's most impressive silver sets. Between 1792 and 1793 John Templeman and his wife Mehitable ordered numerous pieces to fill out their service, including several unusual forms such as a tea shell for scooping tea leaves and a locking caddy for safekeeping precious and expensive tea. This set was purchased twenty years after the Templemans married. Originally from Salem, the couple moved to Maryland in 1794, where they owned twenty-five slaves. Undoubtedly, it was slave labor that kept this tea service polished to enhance the status of the Templeman name.

- 42 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Tea service, 1792–93
Silver, wood
Lent by the Minneapolis Institute of Art
Gift of James F. and Louise H. Bell; Gift of Charlotte Y. Salisbury, wife of Harrison E. Salisbury and great-niece of John Templeman Coolidge; Gift of James Ford Bell and his family, by exchange; and Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Byron Wenger, 1960–2001, 60.22.1–9, 94.88.1–2, 2001.165.1–7
N-YHS, CM
- 43 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Account ledger and cashbook for goldsmith shop, 1786–93
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Ms. N-652
N-YHS, WAM
Image, p. 72
- 44 Paul Revere (1735–1818), finishing work
Mourning ring, likely England, 1761
Made for the funeral of John Crowninshield (1696–1761)
Gold, crystal
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1.014
N-YHS, WAM, CB

- 45 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Wedding ring, ca. 1773
 Made for Rachel Walker Revere (1745–1813)
 Gold, engraved “[L]IVE Co[n]tented”
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Gift of Mrs. Henry B. Chapin and Edward H. R. Revere, 56.585
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
 Image, p. 17
- 46 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Thimble, ca. 1805
 Made for Maria Revere Balestier (1785–1847)
 Gold, engraved “Maria Revere Balestier” at a later date
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Gift of Mrs. Henry B. Chapin and Edward H. R. Revere, 56.113
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 47 **“The Wicked Statesman, or The Traitor to His Country . . .”**
The Massachusetts Calendar, or An Almanack . . ., 1774
 Illustration done in lead cut by Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Printed and published by Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831)
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS
- 48 ***Boston Gazette and Country Journal***, March 12, 1770
 Masthead designed by Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Printed and published by Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831)
 Typeset with lead-cut illustration
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS
- 49 **Pig iron**, 1789
 Iron, stamped “SALISBURY 1789”
 Made in Connecticut
 Collection of Old Sturbridge Village,
 Sturbridge, Massachusetts, 46.5.3
 N-YHS, WAM
- 50 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Trade card for Joseph Webb, 1765
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 Gift of Hollis French, 1937
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
 Image, p. 38



Cat. 47

- 51 Possibly Paul Revere and Son (after 1787)
Andirons, ca. 1787–1810
 Brass, iron, stamped “REVERE & SON”
 and “BOSTON”
 Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 The Sylmaris Collection, Gift of George Coe Graves,
 1930, 30.120.89
 N-YHS, WAM
- 52 Revere Foundry (active 1792–1801)
Courthouse bell, 1796
 Cast bronze
 Dedham Historical Society & Museum, Dedham,
 Massachusetts, 1894.1
 N-YHS, WAM, CB



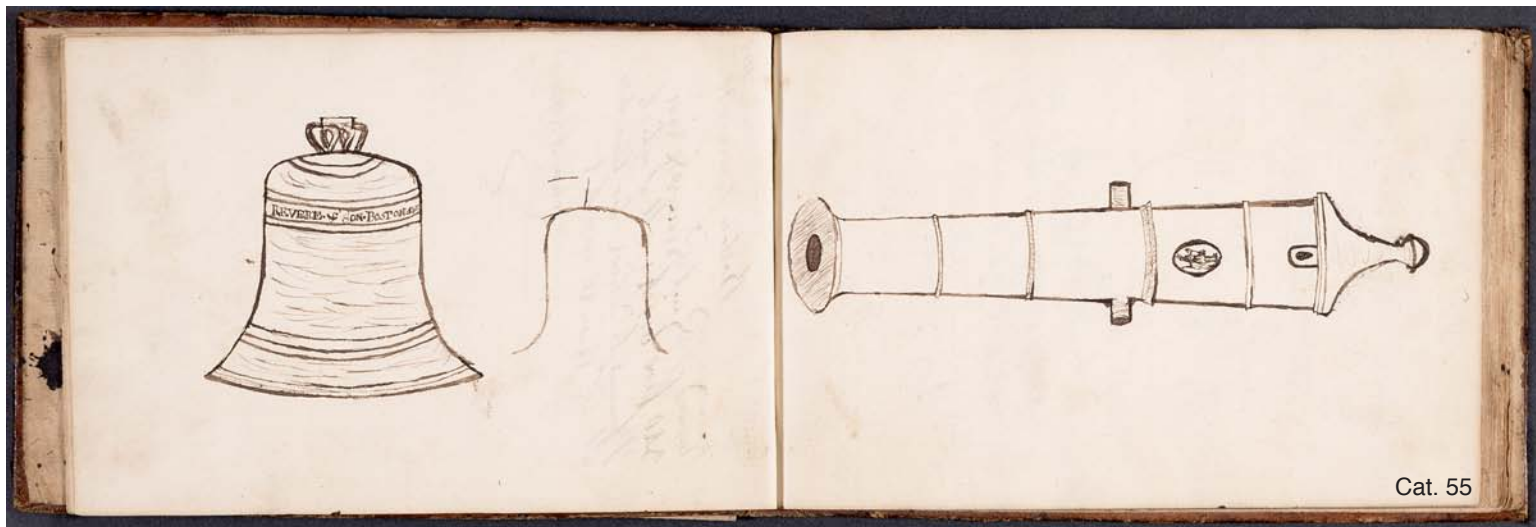
Cat. 53

- 53 Attributed to Revere Foundry (active 1792–1801)
Mortar, possibly used to test gunpowder, ca. 1799
Bronze
The Paul Revere Memorial Association /
Paul Revere House, Boston, PR 75.293
N-YHS, WAM



Cat. 54

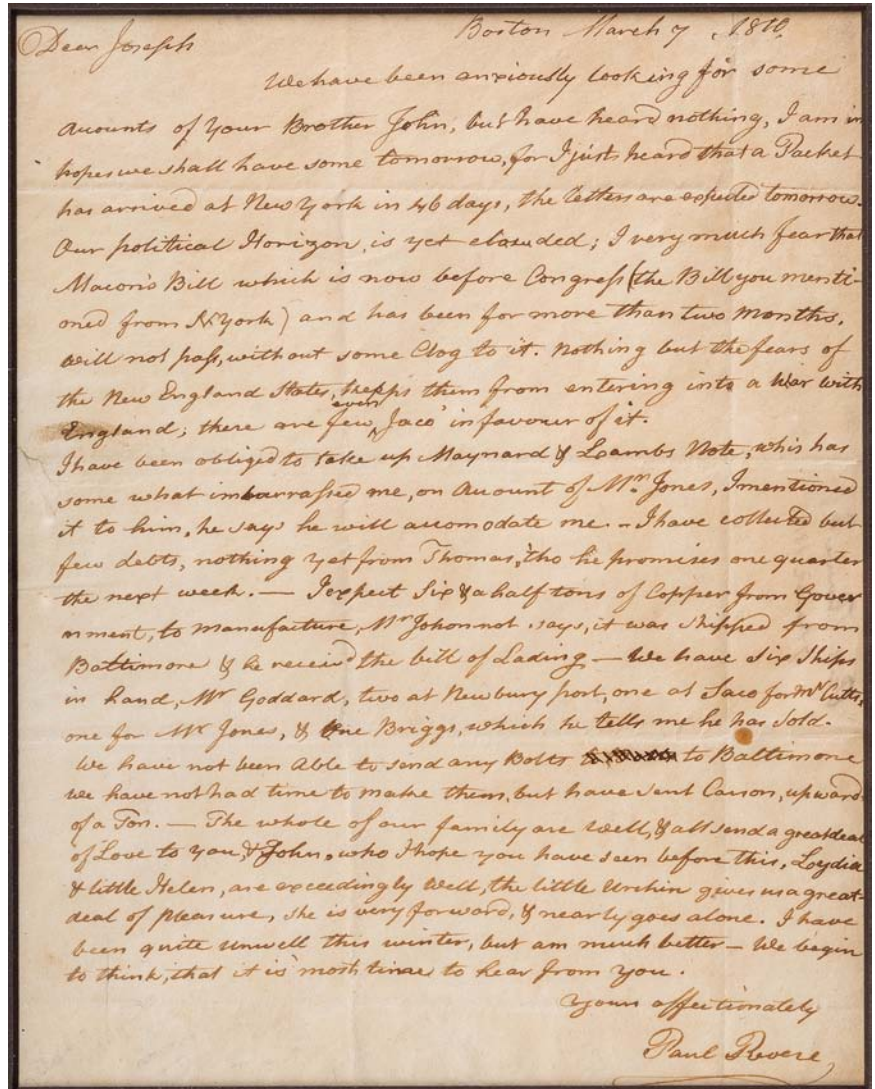
- 54 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Gunner's calipers, ca. 1770
Brass, engraved "P. Revere, Boston" and
"Lieut Williamson of Royle Artillery"
The Paul Revere Memorial Association /
Paul Revere House, Boston, PR 78.4
N-YHS, CM, CB
- 55 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Receipts, ca. 1780–1805
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical
Society, Boston, Ms. N-652
N-YHS
- 56 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Letter to Joseph Warren Revere, Boston,
March 7, 1810
Collection of Robert A. Vincent
N-YHS, WAM
- 57 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Spike for USS Ranger, ca. 1777
Copper
On loan from the Old North Church &
Historic Site, Boston
N-YHS, WAM
Image, p. 21



Cat. 55

Cat. 56

Written in 1810, just one year before he retired at age seventy-six, Revere shared with his second oldest son and business partner, Joseph Warren Revere, his knowledge of political events that eventually would lead to the War of 1812, details about the shipment of copper for the Paul Revere and Son manufacturing enterprise, and endearing pleasantries showing his devotion to family.



Cat. 56

- 58 Ebenezer Francis (1775–1858)
Receipt for copper bolts, January 25, 1800
American Antiquarian Society
N-YHS

- 59 Attributed to Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Sketch of copper mill and house in Canton, Massachusetts, ca. 1800
Pen and ink
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
N-YHS, WAM, CB
Image, p. 23

- 60 Attributed to Paul Revere and Son (after 1797)
Sheet copper rolled in Canton, Massachusetts, nineteenth century
Copper
Paul Revere Memorial Association / Paul Revere House, Boston, PR 88.6
N-YHS, WAM
Image, p. 21

- 61 United States Congress, Committee of Commerce and Manufactures
Report of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures . . .
Washington, D.C.: A. & C. Way, 1808
American Antiquarian Society
N-YHS
Image, p. 24

- 62 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Letter book, 1810–11
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society,
Boston, Ms. N-652
N-YHS, WAM

- 63 William Hunneman (1769–1856)
Hot water kettle, 1799–1825
Copper, brass
Courtesy of Historic Deerfield, Inc.
Museum Collections Fund, 97.13
N-YHS, WAM, CB
Image, p. 23

Revere's Network

The son of an immigrant artisan, Revere was part of the economic class referred to as mechanics, considered below the merchants, lawyers, and clergymen who were the leaders of American colonial society. Critical to Revere's success was his extensive network of patrons and family members. While his activities with the Sons of Liberty helped him earn commissions from fellow patriots, Revere sometimes set aside politics in business, also accepting Loyalist clients. As an active Freemason, Revere belonged to a lodge full of potential customers, including community leaders and members of the merchant class. Revere also actively sought government work, designing currency for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and, after the war, doggedly pursuing commissions from the new federal government to supply copper for the nation's first naval fleet. Networking was crucial to building a reputation that allowed Revere to raise his status and become a successful businessman in the early republic.

- 64 Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828)
Sarah Wentworth Apthorp (Mrs. Perez Morton), ca. 1802
Oil on canvas
Worcester Art Museum
Gift of the grandchildren of Joseph Tuckerman, 1899.2
N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 65 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Ladle, 1781
Silver
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Gift of Mary Sargent Thompson and Helena Apthorp Long, 1991.1084
N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 66 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Salt spoon, 1781
Silver
Worcester Art Museum
Gift of the Paul Revere Life Insurance Company, a subsidiary of UnumProvident Corporation, 1999.487
N-YHS, WAM



Cat. 64

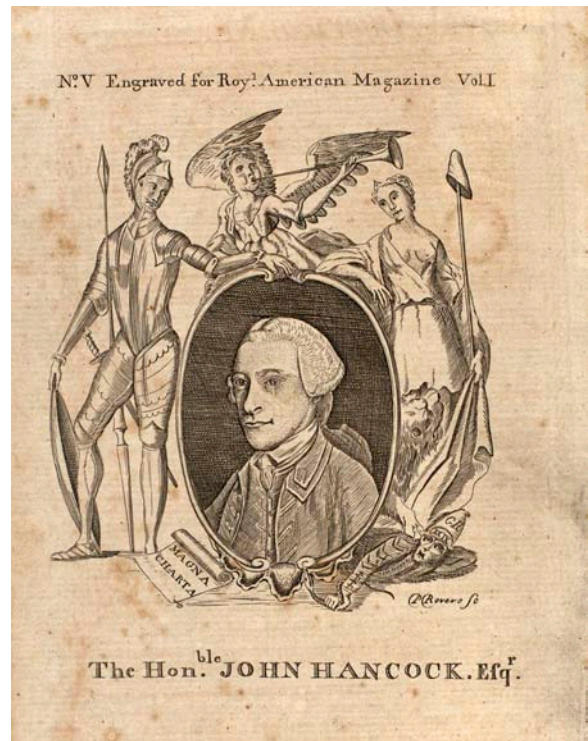


Cat. 66

- 67 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Bookplate for Perez Morton, 1784
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 68 Chester Harding (1792–1866)
William Paine, ca. 1830
 Oil on canvas
 American Antiquarian Society
 Bequest of Russell Sturgis Paine, 1959
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 69 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Tea service, 1773
 Silver, wood
 Worcester Art Museum
 Gift of Frances Thomas and Eliza Sturgis Paine in memory of Frederick William Paine; Gift of Frances Thomas and Bessie Sturgis Paine in memory of Frederick William Paine; Gift of Paine Charitable Trust; Gift of Richard K. Thorndike, 1937.55–59, 1965.336–337, 1967.57
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
 Image, p. 14
- 70 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Trade card for William Jackson, 1769
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
 Image, p. 40
- 71 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
“The Hon.ble John Hancock, Esqr.”
Royal American Magazine, March 1774
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 72 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
“Mr. Samuel Adams”
Royal American Magazine, April 1774
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831
 N-YHS, WAM, CB



Cat. 68

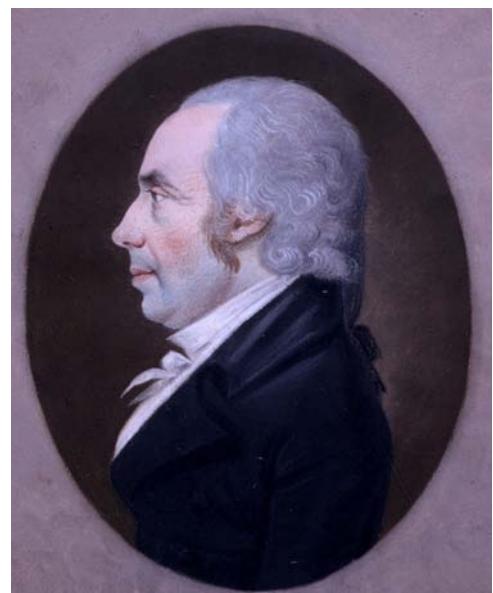


Cat. 71

- 73 John Hawkesworth (ca. 1715–73)
A New Voyage, Round the World . . .
 New York: James Rivington, 1774
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM
- 74a Paul Revere (1735–1818)
“Philip. King of Mount Hope”
 Frontispiece removed from Thomas Church (1727–97)
The Entertaining History of King Philip’s War
 Newport, RI: Solomon Southwick, 1772
 Engraving
 Collection of Ambassador J. William Middendorf II
 N-YHS, WAM
- 74b Paul Revere (1735–1818)
“Philip. King of Mount Hope”
 Thomas Church (1727–97)
The Entertaining History of King Philip’s War
 Newport, RI: Solomon Southwick, 1772
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 CB
 Image, p. 58
- 75a Paul Revere (1735–1818)
“America in Distress”
Royal American Magazine, March 1775
 Engraving
 Collection of Ambassador J. William Middendorf II
 N-YHS, WAM
- 75b Paul Revere (1735–1818)
**“The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing
 the Bitter Draught”**
Royal American Magazine, June 1774
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831
 CB
 Image, p. 49
- 76 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
“Hooded Serpent”
Royal American Magazine, June 1774
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831
 N-YHS, CB
- 77 Attributed to Gerrit Schipper (1775–ca. 1830)
Isaiah Thomas Sr., 1804
 Pastel on paper
 American Antiquarian Society
 Gift of Frances Crocker Sloane, 1945
 N-YHS, WAM
- 78 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Bookplate for Isaiah Thomas, ca. 1798
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
 Image, p. 4

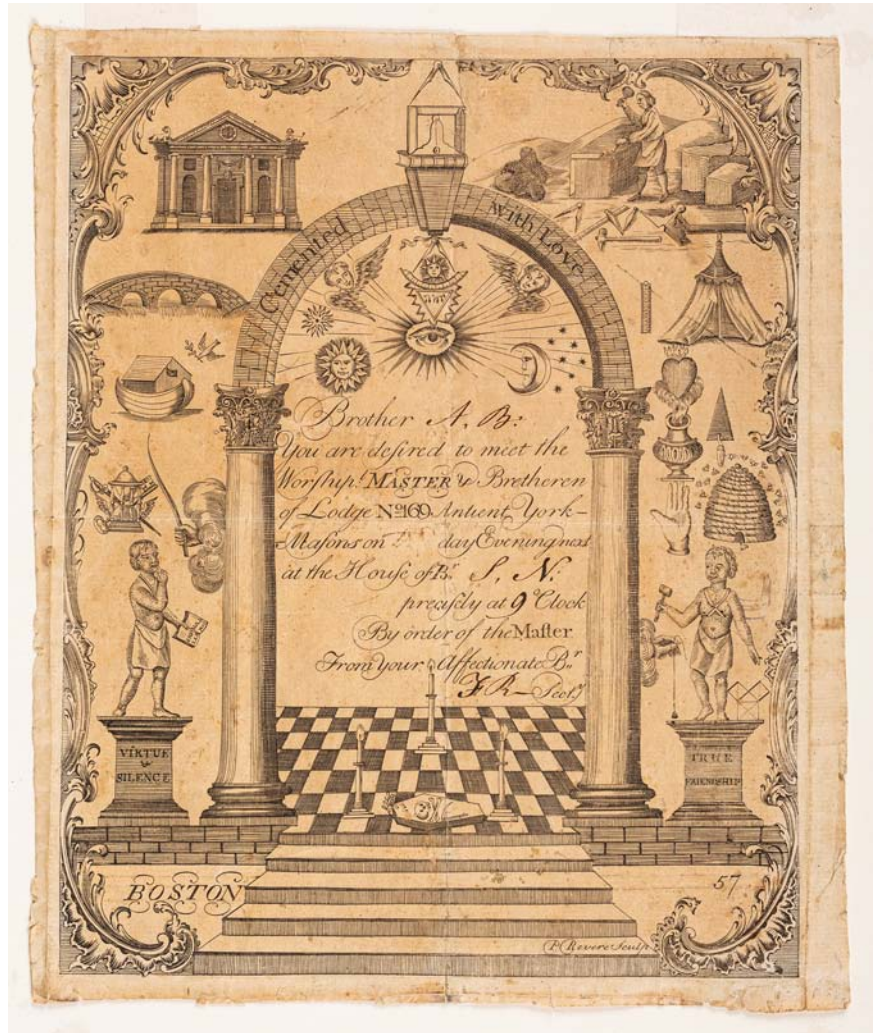
Cat. 77

Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831) was a good friend of Revere’s as well as a longtime business partner and Masonic brother. Like Revere, Thomas was of the mechanic class and a member of the Sons of Liberty. He received no formal education, but, again like Revere, he succeeded in his trade through his own initiative, eventually becoming one of the wealthiest men in the early republic. Thomas hired Revere to design an armorial bookplate, which he used frequently to identify his bound books and newspapers as his property (cat. 78). Thomas became an obsessive amasser of books and his collection forms the heart of the library he founded in 1812—the American Antiquarian Society.



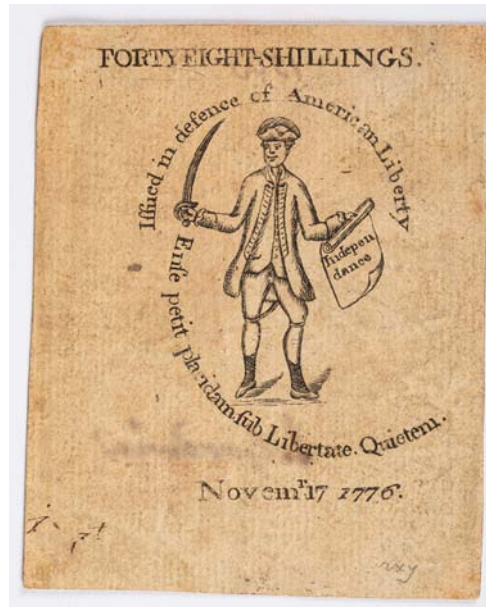
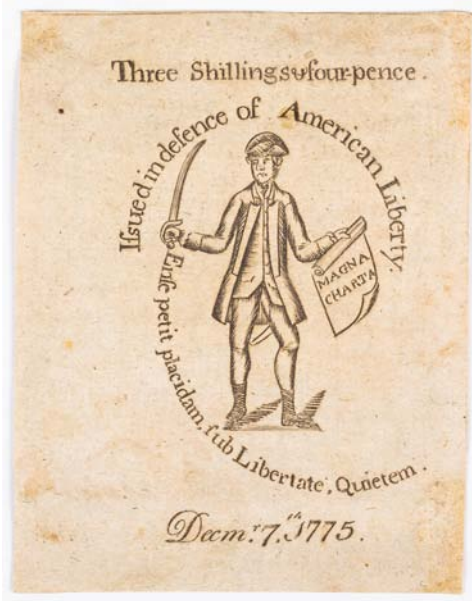
Cat. 77

- 79 *Massachusetts Spy, or Worcester Gazette*, May 24, 1781
 Masthead designed by Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Printed and published by Isaiah Thomas (1749–1831)
 American Antiquarian Society
 Bequest of Isaiah Thomas, 1831
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 80 **Chinese-export punch bowl**, ca. 1800
 Porcelain
 Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library, Lexington, Massachusetts, Special Acquisitions Fund, 84.7
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 81 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Ladle, 1765–85
 Silver
 The Grand Lodge of Masons, Massachusetts, Boston, GL 2004.1869
 N-YHS, WAM
- 82a Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Masonic certificate for St. Andrew's Lodge, 1767
 Engraving
 Collection of Ambassador J. William Middendorf II
 N-YHS
- 82b Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Masonic certificate for St. Andrew's Lodge, 1767
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 WAM, CB
- 83 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Cemented with Love, Masonic certificate, after 1771
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society, 1957
 N-YHS



Cat. 83

- 84 Edward Savage (1761–1817) after John Singleton Copley (1738–1815)
Joseph Warren, n.d.
 Oil on canvas
 Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society,
 Boston, 1.020
 N-YHS
- 85 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Medical lecture certificate, ca. 1785
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society, 1951
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
 Image, p. 50



Cats. 88 & 90

- 86 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Ten-shilling soldier-use currency, May 25, 1775
 Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
 Image, p. 31
- 87a Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Promissory note, July 28, 1775
 Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, CB
 Image, pp. 32, 56
- 87b Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Promissory note, July 21, 1775
 Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
 Engraving
 Private Collection
 WAM
- 88 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Three-shilling / four-pence bill, December 7, 1775
 Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
 Image, p. 7 (recto)

- 89 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Fourteen-shilling bill, December 7, 1775
 Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 90 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Forty-eight-shilling bill, November 17, 1776
 Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS

Cats. 88, 89 & 90
 By July 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts realized paper money in small denominations was needed to help residents and businesses pay bills across the colony. Massachusetts representatives asked Revere to create several copperplate engraved bills for the commonwealth. Between December of 1775 and November of 1776, Revere altered the verso of the bills, substituting the Declaration of Independence for the Magna Carta being held by the soldier. Revere continued to engrave and print currency in different denominations and designs for Massachusetts through 1779.



Cat. 92

- 91 ***A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes***
 Music engraved by Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Compiled and printed by Josiah Flagg (1737–94)
 Boston, 1764
 American Antiquarian Society
 Received in exchange with Rev. Charles L.
 Atkins, 1955
 N-YHS

- 92 ***The New-England Psalm-Singer***
 Frontispiece and music engraved by
 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Composed by William Billings (1746–1800)
 Boston: Edes & Gill, 1770
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS
- 93 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Bookplate of Epes Sargent Jr., 1764
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM
- 94 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
**Copper plate for bookplate of
 Epes Sargent Jr., 1764**
 Copper
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Annie A. Hawley Bequest Fund, 59.517
 N-YHS, WAM
- 95 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Christening basin, 1762
 Silver
 Cape Ann Museum
 Gift of First Parish (Unitarian) Church of Gloucester,
 1950, 1512.01
 Conserved with support from the Richard C. von Hess
 Foundation and the Henry Luce Foundation
 N-YHS, WAM

Cat. 95

Epes Sargent Jr. (1721–1779), a member of one of the wealthiest merchant families of Gloucester, Massachusetts, was a frequent customer of Revere's. He was also secretary of the Masonic Tyrian Lodge, which Revere helped to establish in 1770. Revere was commissioned by Sargent to create this impressive christening basin, which was then presented to the First Church of Gloucester. The basin illustrates Revere's skill in raising large amounts of silver from the base of the bowl, up over the domed center to the wide brim.



Cat. 95.



Cat. 96

- 96 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Pair of beakers, 1765
 Silver
 Cape Ann Museum
 Gift of First Parish (Unitarian) Church of Gloucester, 1950, 1512.02–03
 Conserved with support from the Richard C. von Hess Foundation and the Henry Luce Foundation
 N-YHS, WAM

- 97 Aaron Willard (1757–1844)
Tall case clock, ca. 1790
 Made in Roxbury, Massachusetts
 Mahogany case with brass and steel eight-day, weight-powered movement, rack and snail strike, painted steel dial
 Collection of Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts, 57.1.100
 N-YHS, WAM, CB

- 98 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Clock label with winding instructions, 1781
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 Gift of Wells (Maine) Historical Museum, 1954
 N-YHS, WAM, CB

- 99 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Watch paper for Aaron Willard, ca. 1781
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 Gift of Mark Bortman, 1948
 N-YHS, WAM

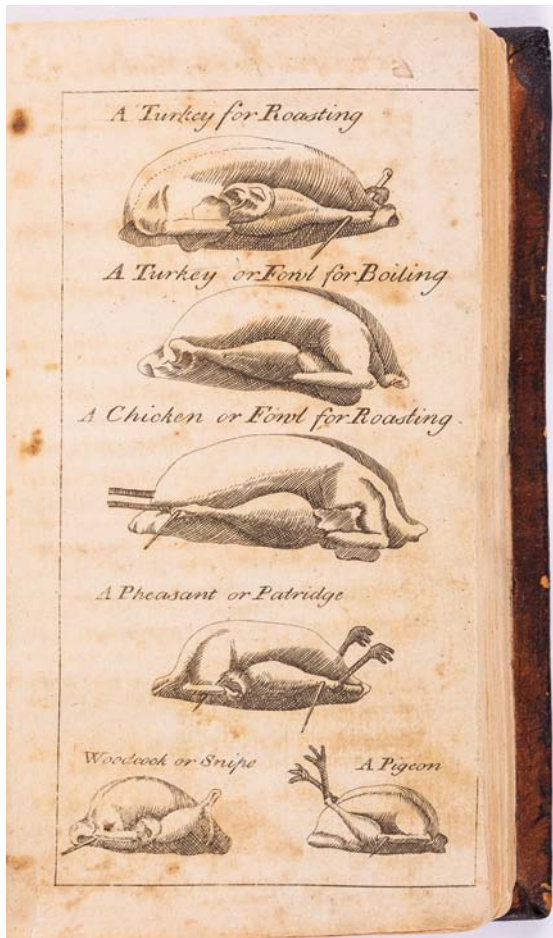


Cat. 100

- 100 Paul Revere (1735–1818), after a design by Joseph Chadwick (d. 1783)
Westerly View of the Colledges [sic] in Cambridge New England, 1767
 Engraving, hand-colored
 American Antiquarian Society
 Gift of Mrs. Henry E. Warner, 1950
 N-YHS, WAM, CB



Cat. 103



Cat. 104

- 101 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Trade card for William Breck, 1770
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM
 Image, p. 41
- 102 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Relief society membership certificate, after 1773
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 Gift of Mark Bortman, 1960
 N-YHS, WAM
- 103 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Billhead for Cromwell's Head Inn, before 1771
 Engraving
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM
- 104 *The Frugal Housewife, or Complete Woman Cook*
 Illustrations engraved by Paul Revere (1735–1818)
 Susannah Carter (active 1765)
 Boston: Edes & Gill, 1772
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM, CB
- 105 Paul Revere (1735–1818)
Pitcher, 1806
 Silver
 Inscribed "To Mr. Samuel Gilbert"
 Worcester Art Museum
 Gift of the Paul Revere Life Insurance Company, a
 subsidiary of UnumProvident Corporation, 1999.453
 N-YHS, WAM, CB



Cat. 105

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Cat. 105

Created as a gift of thanks for Samuel Gilbert (1777–ca. 1867), this pitcher is the latest dated piece of Revere silver known today. The pitcher recognizes Gilbert for his service as secretary of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, a support organization for mechanics and their families founded by Revere in 1795. Gilbert, who was deaf, was a partner in the printing firm Gilbert & Dean, publishers of the *Boston Weekly Magazine* as well as general printers of sermons, orations, and almanacs.

Revere the Legend

After his death in 1818, Paul Revere was remembered mainly as a successful businessman. His sons' expansion of the family copper mill kept the Revere name and its association with copper intact for another generation. After Revere's engravings were rediscovered in the 1830s by Americans seeking to learn about the nation's revolutionary past, his role as a patriot became part of the story. His depiction of the Boston Massacre was included in children's history books and was eventually repurposed by abolitionists in support of their cause. After a visit in 1860 to the Old North Church in Boston, poet and abolitionist Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82) was inspired to embellish the story of Revere's ride to Lexington. Longfellow's poem, which begins, "Listen, my children, and you shall hear / of the midnight ride of Paul Revere . . .," immortalized Revere's name and shaped the nation's collective memory for decades to come.

- 106 Chester Harding (1792–1866) after Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828)
Paul Revere, ca. 1823
Oil on canvas
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston,
Gift of Paul Revere Jr., 1973, 1.018
N-YHS, WAM, CB
Image, p. 25
- 107 Chester Harding (1792–1866) after Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828)
Rachel Walker Revere, ca. 1823
Oil on canvas
Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston,
Gift of Paul Revere, Jr., 1973, 1.019
N-YHS, WAM, CB

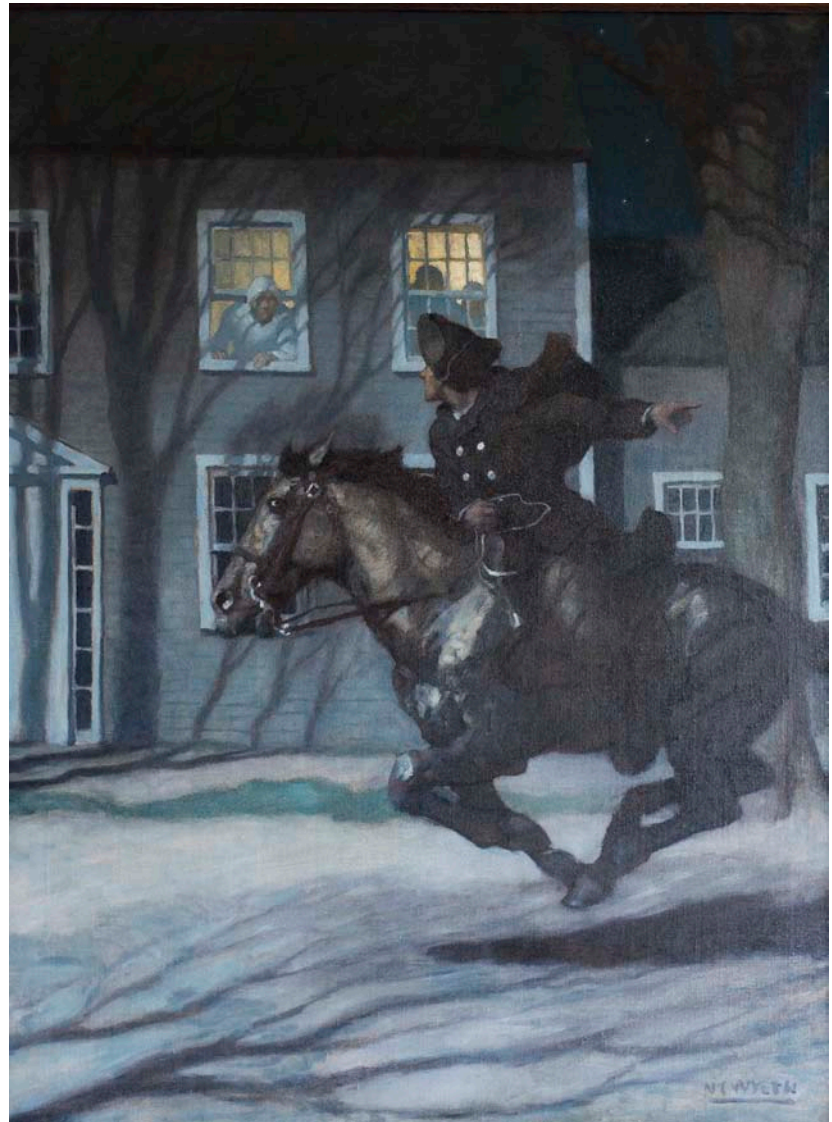


Cat. 107

Cat. 108

When the American artist N. C. Wyeth was asked to illustrate a new edition of patriotic poetry in 1922, he created this image to accompany Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride." The artist captured the intensity of the moment by showing Revere's horse at full gallop under a starry sky while its rider calls out to warn citizens of oncoming British troops.

The book was published less than a year after the United States signed the final treaties ending World War I. Advertising for the book included this scene, which would have been instantly recognized by potential consumers (see cat. 124).



Cat. 108

- 108 N. C. Wyeth (1882–1945)

Paul Revere, 1922

Oil on canvas

The Hill School, Pottstown, Pennsylvania

Gift of Michael F. Sweeney, 1923

N-YHS, CM, CB

- 109 Grant Wood (1892–1942)

Midnight Ride of Paul Revere, 1931

Oil on Masonite

Lent by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Arthur Hoppock Hearn Fund,

1950, 50.117

N-YHS

- 110 Cyrus Edwin Dallin (1861–1944)

Paul Revere, 1882–1940, reduced scale,
cast from plaster in 1976

Bronze

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Anonymous gift, 1982.73

N-YHS, WAM, CB

- 111 William F. Stratton (1803–45)

after Paul Revere (1735–1818)

*The Bloody Massacre, Perpetuated in King Street
Boston on March 5th 1770 by a Party of the 29th
Regt.*, March 1832

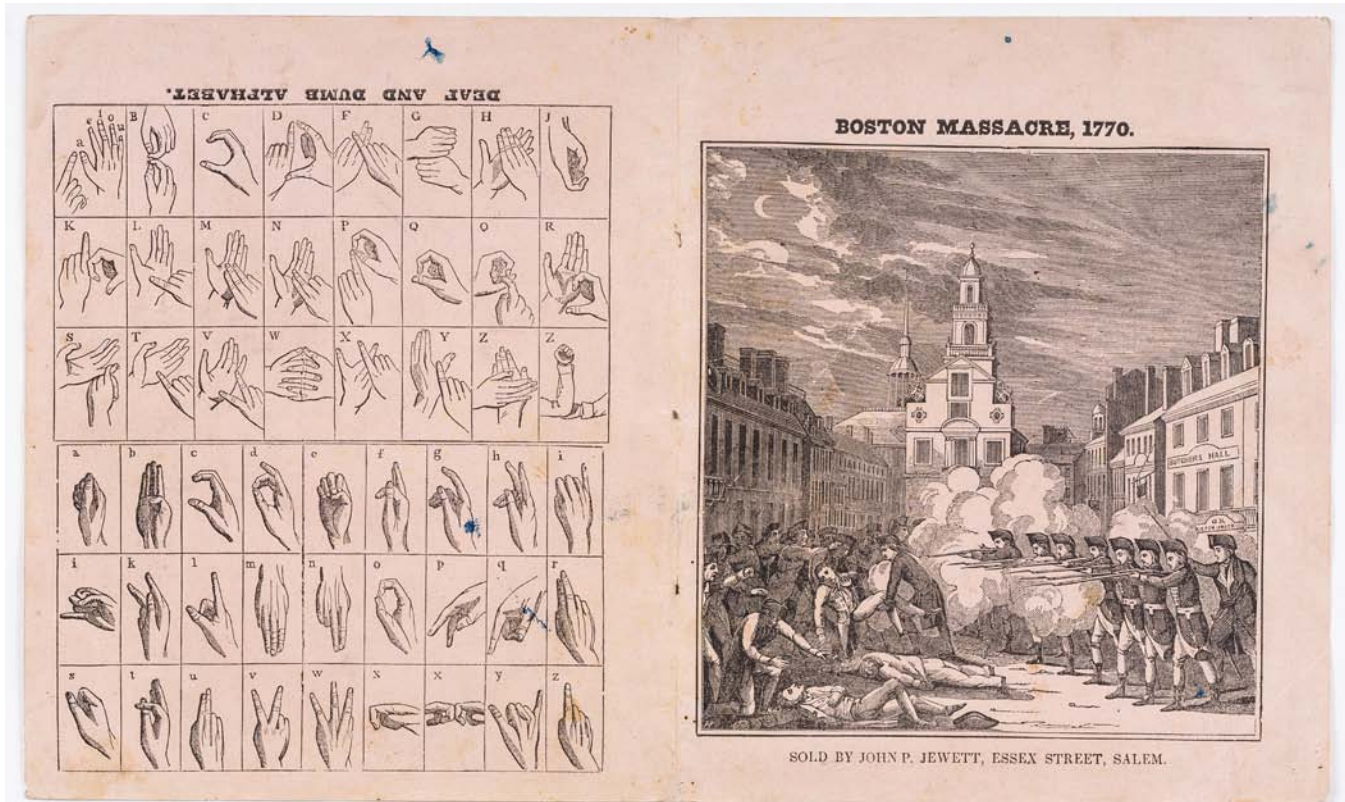
Steel-faced printing plate

American Antiquarian Society

Gift of Charles Henry Taylor, 1912

N-YHS, CM, CB

Image, p. 64



Cat. 114

- 112a William F. Stratton (1803–45)
after Paul Revere (1735–1818)
***The Bloody Massacre, Perpetuated in King Street
Boston on March 5th 1770 by a Party of the 29th
Regt., March 1832***
Engraving
Collection of Ambassador J. William Middendorf II
N-YHS
- 112b William F. Stratton (1803–45)
after Paul Revere (1735–1818)
***The Bloody Massacre, Perpetuated in King Street
Boston on March 5th 1770 by a Party of the 29th
Regt., March 1832***
Engraving with watercolor
American Antiquarian Society
CM, CB
Image, p. 66
- 113 ***Massacre in State Street Boston in 1770***
Boston: Prentiss Whitney, 1837
Copybook, used by Francis Cobb of Boston
Wood engraving and letterpress
American Antiquarian Society
N-YHS

Cats. 113 & 114

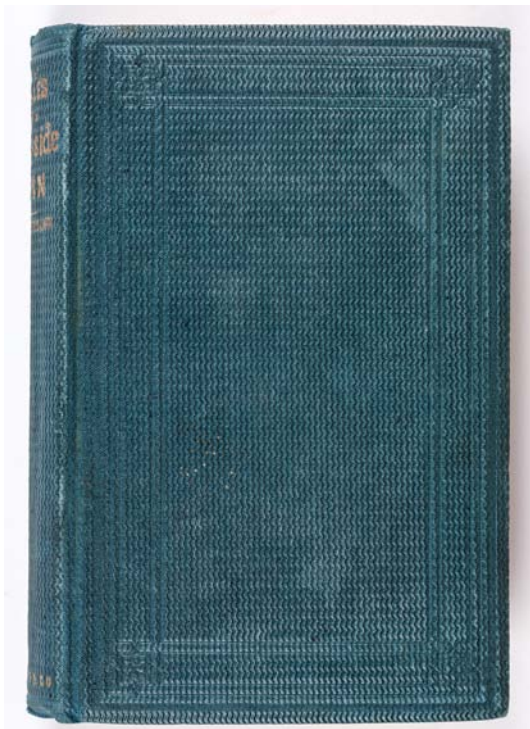
Written accounts of the Boston Massacre began to steadily appear in children's textbooks and family periodicals in the mid-1830s, often accompanied by wood-engraved illustrations of Revere's original 1770 design. Images of the event also decorated copybooks used by schoolchildren to practice penmanship or work out mathematical problems. A new generation of Americans was learning Revolutionary War history and Revere's print was one of the illustrations they would come to associate with events leading up to the war.

- 114 ***Boston Massacre, 1770***
Salem: John P. Jewett, 1842
Copybook cover
Wood engraving and letterpress
American Antiquarian Society
N-YHS, CM, CB

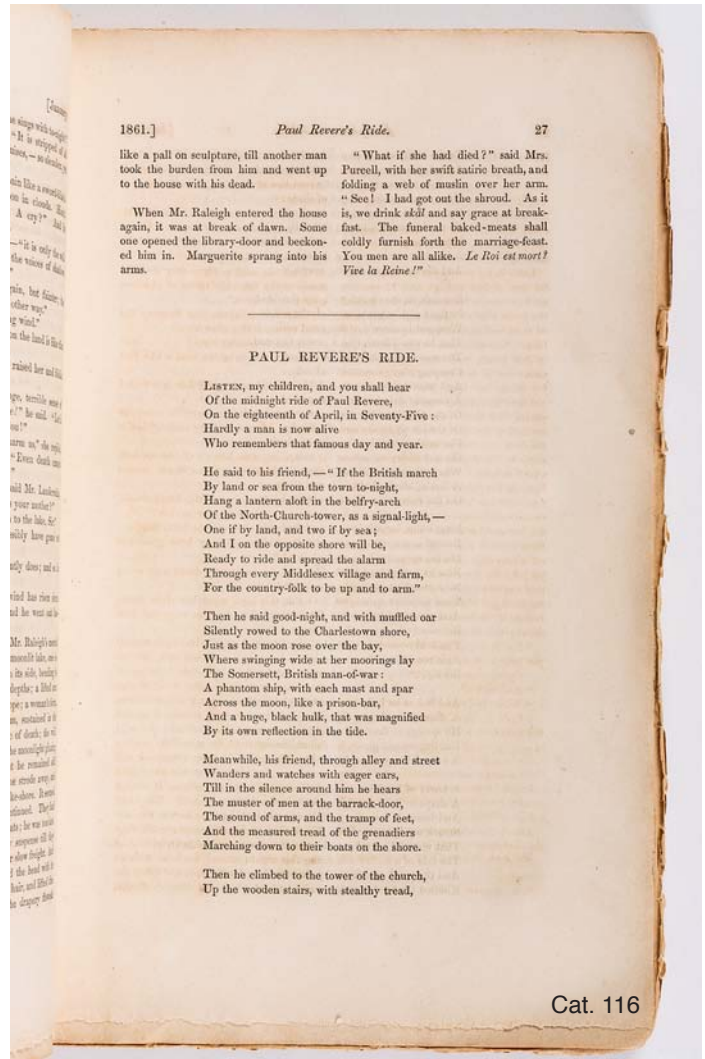
Cat. 116

American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82) was among the most popular writers in the United States and Europe from the 1830s until his death. He wrote lyric poems about love and loss, adventure, human frailty, and historical figures, including his famous lines on Paul Revere. Longfellow's stature as one of the world's most widely read poets helped change the narrative of Revere's life from one focused on his roles as silversmith and industrialist to the patriotic midnight ride for which he is best known today.

Longfellow's poem about Revere first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine published in Boston. Printed just three months before the start of the American Civil War, Longfellow's poem launched the story of Revere as a patriotic hero and served as a reminder of the nation's history of fighting for freedom. Longfellow glossed over historical fact when he constructed his poem, but he created a mythical image of Revere that has lasted for over 150 years.



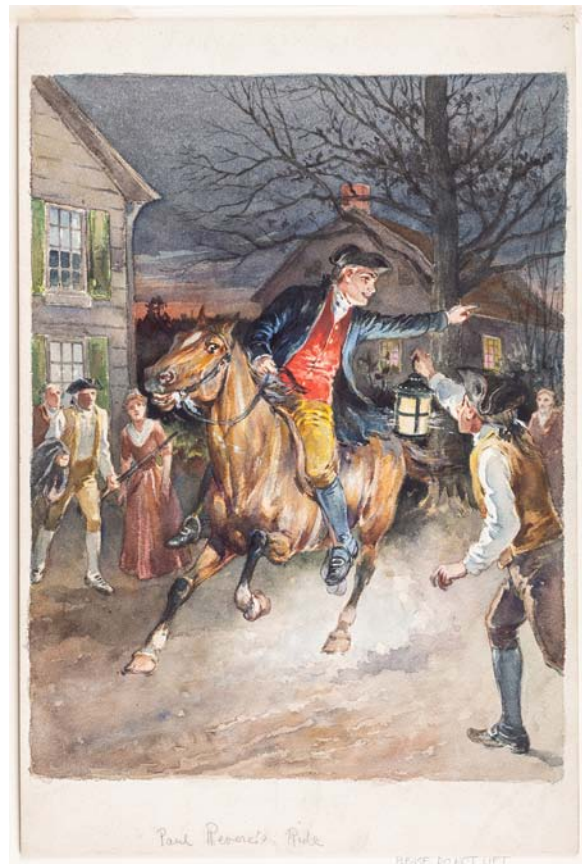
Cat. 117



Cat. 116

- 115 William L. Champney (active 1850–57)
Boston Massacre, March 5th 1770, 1856
 Boston: John H. Bufford, printer; Henry Q. Smith, publisher
 Chromolithograph
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, CM, CB
- 116 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82)
“Paul Revere’s Ride”
Atlantic Monthly, January 1861
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, CM, CB
- 117 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82)
Tales from a Wayside Inn
 Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1863
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, WAM, CM

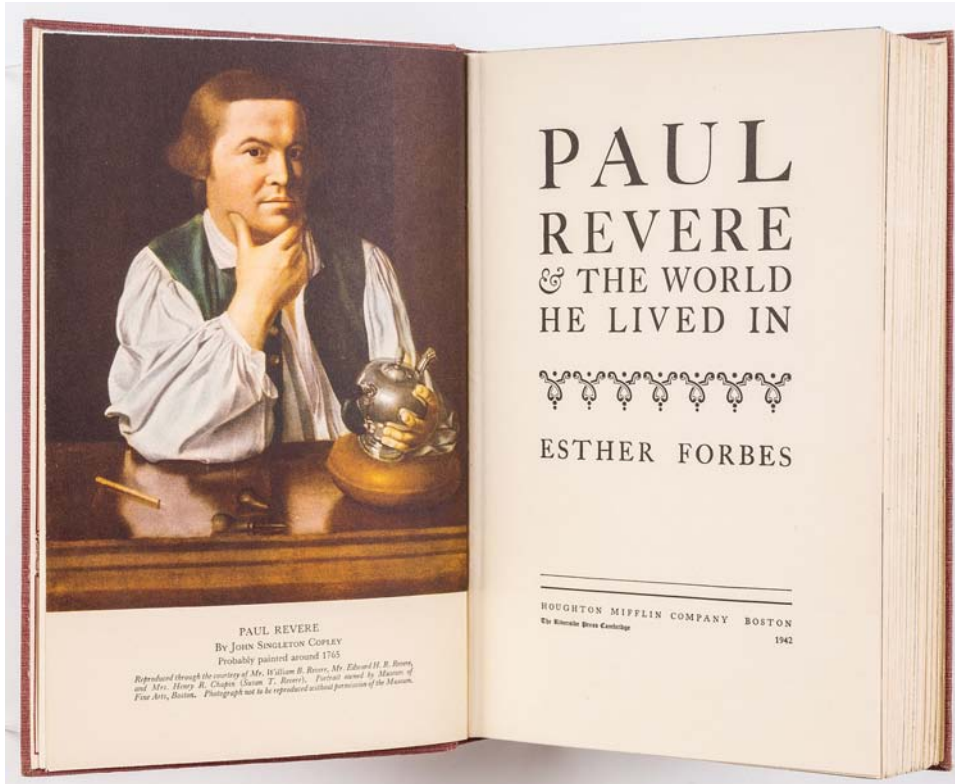
- 118 Thomas R. Lewis (d. 1901), photographer
Old North, Front, June 1876
 Stereo photograph
 American Antiquarian Society
 Gift of Abby and Will Csaplar, 2015
 N-YHS, CM, CB
- 119 Enos B. Comstock (1879–1945)
“Paul Revere’s Ride”
The Story of a Fight
 New York: McLoughlin Brothers, 1907
 Ink and gouache
 American Antiquarian Society,
 McLoughlin Brothers Art Archive
 Gift of Herbert H. Hosmer, 1978
 N-YHS, CM, CB
- 120 Charles Kendrick (d. 1914)
Paul Revere’s Ride, 1900
 Watercolor
 American Antiquarian Society,
 McLoughlin Brothers Art Archive
 Gift of Herbert H. Hosmer, 1978
 N-YHS, CM, CB
- 121 **Paul Revere’s Ride, March–Two Step**
 Composed and published by
 E. T. Paull (1858–1924)
 Lithographed by A. Hoen & Co.
 (active 1853–1981)
 New York, 1905
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, CM, CB
- 122 **Historical New England**
 Postcard set
 New York: Valentine Souvenir Company,
 ca. 1910
 American Antiquarian Society
 N-YHS, CM, CB
- 123 Sara Galner (1894–1982)
Flying, Fearless & Fleet, February 1917
 Revere Pottery, Saturday Evening Girls Club
 (active 1908–42)
 Earthenware tile with glaze
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Gift of Dr. David L. Bloom and family in honor
 of his mother, Sara Galner Bloom, 2007.374
 N-YHS



Cat. 120



Cat. 121



Cat. 125

Cat. 125

In 1942, Esther Forbes wrote a popular biography of Paul Revere that reintroduced him to yet another generation of Americans. She included as her frontispiece a recently rediscovered (and now famous) portrait of Revere in his shirtsleeves working on a silver teapot (cat. 25). The painting had been given by the Revere family to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1930. Its appearance in Forbes's biography, which was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for History in 1943, helped to put a face on the mythical rider created by Longfellow in 1861 and also reminded readers of Revere's skills as a silversmith.



Cat. 123

- 124 J. Brander Matthews (1852–1929), editor
Poems of American Patriotism

New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1922
American Antiquarian Society
N-YHS, CM, CB

- 125 Esther Forbes (1891–1967)
Paul Revere and the World He Lived In

Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942
American Antiquarian Society
Gift of Esther Forbes, 1942
N-YHS, CM, CB

- 126 Irwin Shapiro (1911–81)
Walt Disney's Paul Revere

New York: Simon & Schuster, 1957
American Antiquarian Society
N-YHS, CM, CB







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