

AN AMERICAN IDENTITY: SHOEMAKER'S LABELS IN COLONIAL,
REVOLUTIONARY AND FEDERAL AMERICA, 1760-1820

by

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DEDICATION

To my husband, Danny,
Who has never been in doubt about who I was, and where I was going.
Thank you for giving me the world, every single day.

Daniel Patrick and Ashby Thomas, my sons, who I hope will be proud of me when they
look back on my life.

My parents, Paul and Suzanne Devlin, my sister Bronwyn,
Who have watched me grow patiently, allowed me to thrive and supported my dreams
from the beginning.

To Ebenezer Breed,
To whom I hope my research did him justice as a patriot
And advocate of the American shoe industry.

To future shoe historians,
I hope this research inspires you to look “beyond the label”.

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ABSTRACT

**AN AMERICAN IDENTITY: SHOEMAKER'S LABELS IN COLONIAL,
REVOLUTIONARY AND FEDERAL AMERICA, 1760-1820**

Meaghan M. Reddick, M.A.

George Mason University, 2014

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Women's shoes were one of the first fashion garments to be branded with labels in the eighteenth century. Most costume historians have traditionally overlooked the existence of such labels for their fancy British counterparts. American shoemakers in the 1760s and 1770s were labeling their products in an effort to sway patriotic consumers who were looking for an alternative luxury product. Craftsman of all disciplines were united in their awareness of changing consumption patterns due to the boycotting against British taxation. Early American shoe labels illustrate the rise of the shoe industry and the division of labor occurring in the shoe manufacturing process as the market was developing for retail and wholesale as opposed to bespoke.

At the forefront of the shoe manufacturing business was Ebenezer Breed, a Lynn shoemaker and merchant capitalist who labeled his shoes with a Philadelphia label. Breed was active politically to ensure the protection of the domestic shoe industry in the 1780s,

when cheap British shoes were pouring back into the American market after the American Revolution. This paper discusses the American shoe industry and trade through the illustration of women's shoe labels, arguing that the American shoe industry succeeded in becoming a global leader in the nineteenth century because of women's consumer choices and the efforts of Ebenezer Breed.

PREFACE:

Shoe labels are an unlikely thesis topic; they seem rather modest and straightforward, as examples of early marketing. Yet, when I choose to research a pair of white satin Philadelphia labeled shoes for a class assignment, I found that little information was available about early labels (Fig.1). The printed paper examples used in shoes were derived from the printed trade cards and shop receipts that documented a particular maker's products. Of all clothing items, labels for shoes and flat brimmed hats were the first to be used.

My initial research concluded that more analysis needed to be done. I had too many questions left unanswered: Where and how did labels originate? Why was an American shoemaker using labels? Why were American labels seemingly rare? Why had costume historians and other decorative arts scholars dismissed these paper labels as nothing more than an advertisement? The majority of scholars in the field just glazed over them. However, those scholars were mainly focused on British shoemaking, not American. Nancy Rexford's pioneering scholarship on American shoes and shoemaking in her book *Women's Shoes in America 1790-1930* provided the groundwork for my search to find some answers.



Figure 1: White satin shoes, c. 1795 (remade around 1810). Label: “John Peckworth, Ladies Shoemaker, No. 147, South Second Street, Philadelphia.” Private Collection.

T.H. Breen’s *The Marketplace of Revolution* inspired me to think about shoes in the context of the early economy and American manufacture. During the Stamp Act crisis, nonimportation agreements prevented many Americans from purchasing British goods in an effort to promote the domestic economy in order to gain Independence. Shoes were one of the many items boycotted by early Americans during the tumultuous time before the Revolution. Dr. Kate Haulman’s *Politics of Fashion and Eighteenth Century America* and her article, “Fashion and the Culture Wars of Revolutionary Philadelphia”, directly referenced the politicization of fashion and the role women played in consuming such objects. These works together confirmed that the use of shoe labels must have been connected to these events. Recently I discovered that Dr. Kimberly Alexander, author of the blog *SilkDamask*, had posted her research regarding a pair of American made wedding shoes dated to 1767. The shoes were worn by the wife of a

documented Gaspee patriot, the evidence of which gave further strength to my argument. The shoes not only had patriotic ties, but were dated to the beginning of the Townshend Acts which placed additional duties on foreign imports.

After examining over thirty pairs of eighteenth century American women's shoes with labels from New England and the Mid-Atlantic regions, I propose in this thesis that these labels documented an independent economy which was emerging in the years after the war with Britain. I believe that since women were buying American-made goods in an effort to be patriotic, these purchases also included shoes, which were essential components of every lady's wardrobe. Fancy, imported shoes were not as easily available, and thus a new luxury market opened for American shoemakers that had not been possible before.

INTRODUCTION: LOOKING BEYOND THE LABEL

Today, the purchase of ready-made shoes is taken for granted. We are able to walk into a variety of department stores and specialty shops that offer shoes in diverse styles and sizes that satisfy most customers. In the eighteenth-century, fashionable and wealthy Americans were largely reliant on luxury imports from Britain. In contrast, less affluent customers purchased simply made and less expensive shoes, both new and used, that were available from local shoemakers and retail shops. The act of purchasing luxury shoes could be a difficult process. One needed to travel to the nearest town or city, reliant on the talents of the milliner or dry goods shopkeeper to procure the latest fashions.

Often women's shoes were remade multiple times, either for reasons of thriftiness, to remain fashionable, or to fit an entirely different owner. The majority of women's eighteenth-century shoes found in museum collections were remade in some way. Wedding shoes were the most frequently preserved because of their sentimental associations and they were often worn by multiple generations of women.

The varieties of consumer choices were facilitated by both the expansion of the retail market and the increased demand for ready-made luxury shoes. American bespoke, or custom made, shoemakers who once had no competition, suddenly needed to ship their goods to neighboring towns and cities to sell their products. The chain of manufacturing and selling shoes evolved from rural, domestic income and bespoke, or custom, work into

the hands of merchant capitalists who were subcontracting out work and expanding the markets in which shoes were sold. As shoes were shipped further for selling, the shoemaker was distinguished by his label. The shoe “brand” or shoemakers label was a mark of superior craftsmanship. The most successful British shoemakers labeled their goods with elegant printed labels for the American market. In response, American labels demonstrated a consumption phenomenon: the preference to support American-made products over British goods.

The Revolutionary Era offered an opportune time for the development of the shoe industry. As social historian Alan Dawley stated, “The growth of the shoe industry was directly tied to the emergence of a new nation”.¹ Craftsmen of all disciplines were united in their political awareness of changing consumption patterns due to nonimportation agreements occurring between merchants and consumers during the 1760s and 70s. Patriotic citizens were no longer relying on foreign imports, and they began looking to American manufactures to fill their homes and their wardrobes. As historian T.H. Breen has recognized, this was the first time in the history of the colonies that a social consciousness about consumption had occurred. The politics of the Revolution and its aftermath allowed American ladies’ shoemakers to develop a luxury market in direct competition with Britain. Shoemaking was an important American manufacture which contributed to the emergence of an independent economy.

Ebenezer Breed (1763-1839) is well documented in Lynn, Massachusetts as an important advocate for the early American shoe industry. As a ladies shoemaker, he made

¹ Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 14.

and sold his labeled wares in Philadelphia until he began capitalizing on the talents of Lynn shoemakers to expand his business as far south as Savannah, Georgia. Examples of his shoes made between 1790-1792 have been found in the Delaware Historical Society, the Maryland Historical Society, and the private collection of the Lady's Repository Museum. For the first time, we can pair the history of Breed with his surviving artifacts. One pair was worn by a Dorcas Armitage Lewis, wife and granddaughter of documented American patriots. Shoes produced by Ebenezer Breed are also possibly some of the earliest labeled American shoes which promoted the "wholesale and retail" market as opposed to bespoke.

This thesis analyzes the history of shoemaking in America, its relationship to the shoe trade, and how shoes were sold throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The growth of the shoe trade and the rise of retail establishments contributed to the use of labels, which is the reason why American shoe labels suddenly begin appearing in abundance within the late eighteenth-century. Over thirty labeled shoes in north-eastern collections have been discovered, most of which are dated to the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. These makers' labels are the precursor to branding; as the rise of mechanized production created "branding" as opposed to a bespoke shoemaker's label. This analysis of shoe labels will hopefully inspire more research into the subject of American made labeled products and the connection to patriotic consumerism.

The thesis has been organized as follows: Chapter One, *The Eighteenth Century Shoe Trade in America* outlines the history of shoemakers and manufactures in America,

focusing on shoe production in Lynn, Massachusetts; Chapter Two, *The Emergence of Labels for Shoes and Other Decorative Arts in the Colonial and Federal Era* considers the practice of using of maker's imprints and labels for other decorative arts and its economic and political influence on the shoe trade; Chapter Three, *Labels and Politics, Creating an American Identity* discusses the contemporary impact of the war on American manufacture, focusing on the effects of non-importation agreements of the 1760s and 1770s and the consumption of fashionable goods, such as shoes. It also covers the War's impact on trade and the economy; Chapter Four: *Classicism and Republican Ideas for a Federal Style*, focuses on the rise of American shoe branding and its relationship to the classical revival and the emerging national attitudes towards dress, politics and society; Chapter Five: *Ebenezer Breed and the Emergence of a Modern American Shoe Industry* documents the life of the shoemaker and entrepreneur, Ebenezer Breed; Postscript discusses the legal, educational and social environment that influenced the role of women as consumers during the Colonial and Federal Eras. Finally, an *Index of American Labeled Shoes* has been included to assist other researchers interested in shoes and shoemaking.

CHAPTER ONE: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SHOE TRADE IN AMERICA

Shoemaking is one of the oldest American trades, but its early manufacturing history prior to the Industrial Revolution has been largely overlooked. The town of Lynn, MA played a pivotal role in the growth of the American shoe industry, and it became one of the most important centers of shoemaking in the world. Before 1760, Lynn shoemakers were crafting only a few thousand pairs each year.² A few years later, an article in the *Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary* from December 1767 claimed that Lynn was producing 40,000 shoes annually.³ Another source claimed that early as 1768, the small town of merely 2,000 was producing up to 80,000 pairs of shoes.⁴ George Washington made a note in his journal of his travels through Lynn in 1789, writing that 175,000 pairs of shoes were made there.⁵ In the late eighteenth-century, the manufacture and sales of ladies shoes dominated the market in Lynn, MA. This trend was typical since affluent women purchased many more shoes than did men, whose consumer habits were much more practical. Unlike women, men tended to wear their shoes out, which is why so few examples have survived in comparison with women's. There are not figures available which can determine what percentage of shoes were made for the women's luxury shoe market, thus we must rely on the general shoe trade statistics. However, the

² Dawley, *Class and Community*, 15.

³ *The Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary*, December 24, 1767, http://www.masshist.org/database/viewer.php?item_id=294 (accessed on January 23, 2014)

⁴ Nancy Rexford, *Women's Shoes in America 1795-1930* (Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2000), 9.

⁵ Dawley, *Class and Community*, 15.

documentation available demonstrates the strength of the American shoe industry which grew after Independence.

Retail, Wholesale and the Bespoke Shoe Industry

The craft of shoemaking in second half of the eighteenth-century was in transition. The market was developing for retail and wholesale as opposed to custom made shoes, or bespoke.⁶ The bespoke trade was considered superior, as the shoemaker personally customized his product and knew his clients.⁷ Bespoke shoes were made especially for a certain customer, fitting the needs of the foot and its unique structure. This relationship certainly shifted as ready-made shoes related the shoemaker to its product rather than the customer.⁸ Many bespoke workshops were inseparable from family life, as the shoemaker typically employed his whole family for his business.⁹ The workshop was designated to a ‘ten-footer’, or a 10 by 10 wooden structure near the home which could separate the industrial work from the home. The shoemaker was a producer and a shopkeeper. This shop could be as simple as placing a counter between the workshop and the entrance.¹⁰ In a rural area, the workshop and the shop were usually located within the home. Shoemaking could provide additional income to the household,

⁶ Jerald E. Brown, *The Years of the Life of Samuel Lane 1718-1806* (Hanover: University of New England, 2000), 185.

⁷ Giorgio Riello, *A Foot in the Past: Consumers, Producers, and Footwear in the Long Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 54.

⁸ Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution, Lynn Massachusetts 1780-1860* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 54.

⁹ Ibid., 92

¹⁰ Claire Walsh, “Shop Design and the Display of Goods”, *Journal of Design History* 8, no. 3 (1995), 160.

especially to a family of farmers who had slow seasons. Providence, RI boot and shoemaker, Robert Perrigo, sold butter in addition to shoes (Fig. 2).¹¹

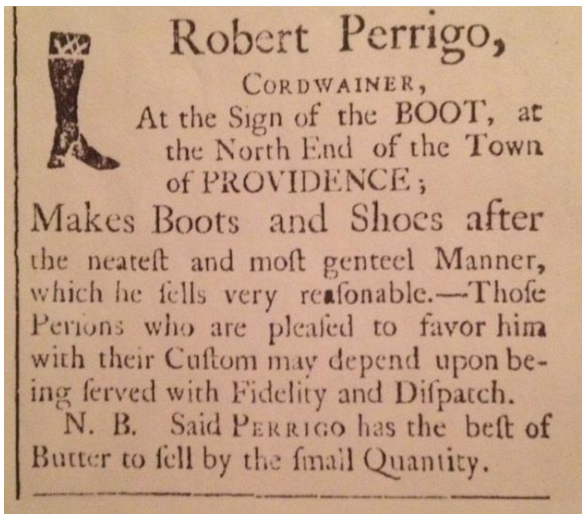


Figure 2: Newspaper Advertisement; *The Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, January 7, 1754; Vol. II, Issue 64.¹²

An involuntary result of the bespoke trade was the occasional unwanted product, or the reality of the slow season when the shoemaker needed to sell in a different kind of market.¹³ There were four principal methods for selling shoes if a bespoke shoemaker could not sell to the original customer, due to misfit or poor quality. The shoes could be displayed in the shop window to persuade passing shoppers to purchase them (Fig.3). The shoemaker could also carry shoes with him and show them to neighbors or travelers. The craftsman could attempt to sell the shoes at an event such as a local market or fair. Lastly,

¹¹ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 92; Dr. Kimberly Alexander, pers. comm., March 1, 2014.

¹² Kimberly Alexander, email to author, March 1, 2014.

¹³ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 94-95.



Figure 3: Joseph Lye's Shoe Shop (ten-footer); Lynn, Massachusetts; Late-eighteenth century, Lynn Historical Society.¹⁴

the shoes could be placed in the village general store, in which he was separated from his goods in order for the customer to purchase them.¹⁵

The competition was fierce for shoemakers, especially when entering a larger market. American shoemaker, Samuel Lane (1718-1806) noted in 1796 that shoes annually exported from Lynn amount to near 300,000 per year.¹⁶ Originally a bespoke maker, Lane was in direct competition with other makers as he entered the retail market

¹⁴ NOBLE Digital Heritage, Item #10178, <http://heritage.noblenet.org/items/show/10178>, (accessed April 16, 2014).

¹⁵ Boris Parl, "An Analysis of the Shoe Manufacturing Industry with Special Emphasis on Changes and Trends in the Use of Various Distribution Channels by Shoe Manufacturers." (PhD Diss., Northwestern University, 1960), 208. These four methods were offered by Parl.

¹⁶ Brown, *The Life of Samuel Lane*, 185.

in the 1740s, traveling to Portsmouth eight-thirteen times a year to sell his wares. He served his local clientele of families that rarely needed more than a few pairs of shoes per year.¹⁷ Small shoemaking shops received most of their orders from such bespoke work, since distributing their product was typically difficult due to limited capital and poor transportation.¹⁸ Lane would have had the resources to invest in his business in order to make shoes before traveling and gain reliable transportation. By 1750, his shoe business was thriving, which coincides with the trend of ready-made shoes for the retail market in America.¹⁹

The Contribution of Women

Women worked in the kitchens of their homes binding, or hand-sewing, the leather uppers of women's slippers and shoes and boots and rough brogans for men.²⁰ Traditionally it was accepted that the sexual division of labor in the shoemaking household allowed Lynn to dominate the women's shoe industry. The light leathers of women's shoes utilized female needlework skills, as opposed to men's shoes which were too thick for women to sew. Conversely, Blewitt claims that "Sewing tough leather was not a barrier to women's participation in domestic production. A careful analysis of how and where women were recruited to work on shoes in the late eighteenth century demonstrates that the social context of an artisan craft and the interest of merchant-capitalists in expanding production shaped the creation of a new work for women."²¹ The

¹⁷ Ibid., 42

¹⁸ Parl, "An Analysis of the Shoe Industry", 211.

¹⁹ Ibid., 42.

²⁰ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 15.

²¹ Mary H. Blewitt, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 10.

increase in shoe production that occurred in Lynn between 1768 and 1783, with little change in the population size, is evidence of the recruitment of female family members to contribute to the shoemaking work.²²

Manufacturers, Journeymen, Shoe Bosses and Merchant Capitalists

Shoemakers, or shoe manufacturers, such as Lane, were investing their own capital and thus owning both the raw materials and the finished product. Social historian Paul Faler claimed that the command of capital and the ownership of materials was what distinguished the manufacturer from the journeyman. The manufacturer was an independent agent, who typically operated a small, central shop employing family members or other journeymen. The manufacturer worked beside his journeymen in the capacity of shoemaker or cutter and took it upon themselves to access the market either to local clientele or in the nearest city. By 1750, in Lynn, there were only three master shoemakers who employed journeymen, either as shoemakers or cutter. Most manufacturers were master shoemakers. However, not all master shoemakers would be considered manufacturers as even the master and his shop could be subcontracted out by merchants. As the demand for shoes grew in the second half of the eighteenth century, the chain of command for shoe manufacturing did as well.²³

Shoe bosses emerged who were as independent as the shoe manufactures with one distinct difference. They served no part in the actual labor of making shoes. Quite often the shoe boss had originally been a master shoemaker who gained control of a significant

²² Ibid, 14.

²³ Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 58.

amount of capital to employ a large number of workers. The shoe boss owned the materials and the finished product, subcontracting out the labor stage. The shoemaker employed by a shoe boss did not have access to the market or to raw materials. Paul Faler, who wrote extensively on shoemaking and the history of labor history in Lynn, explained that the “rise of shoe manufacturing lay in their command of capital” and that the “possession of capital enabled them to gain independence from the merchant and secure control of the raw material from which the shoes were made.” Shoe bosses had the possession of raw materials, the access to markets, and employees of wage labor.²⁴ The largest shoe boss from Lynn was Micajah Pratt, who employed hundreds of workers and sold thousands of shoes annually. Pratt shipped his “stamped shoes” to the South in the nineteenth century, and was so popular that his name was a “household word”.²⁵

The merchant capitalists were another distinct group. They did not perform the labor of making shoes, but like the shoe boss, they owned the materials, the finished product, and had access to the market. The merchant capitalists were responsible for selling the product and profiting from buying and selling the merchandise. As shoemakers were increasingly reliant on merchants to sell their wares, the shoemaker no longer knew his customers. Ebenezer Breed, for example, contracted with shoemakers for an agreed price through this agent in Lynn and he supplied the raw materials for them. The shoemaker earned his income after he had paid his journeyman from the amount he had received from Breed. This relationship was essentially a form of subcontracting, as

²⁴ Ibid., 58.

²⁵ Ibid., 19.

the shoemaker had lost control of materials and the market. The finished product was no longer the shoemakers, but the merchant capitalist who had funded production.²⁶

Subcontracting, Marketing and Distribution

Dr. Giorgio Riello argued in his paper *Strategies and Boundaries: Subcontracting and the London Trades in the Long Eighteenth Century*, that subcontracting was an innovative response to the profound market changes in the eighteenth century that historians have described as the “consumer revolution”. Commodities, such as footwear, were being consumed at a rapid rate and to keep up with these demands, trades used subcontracting for flexibility in the creation of goods.²⁷ The relationship between producers and consumers was changing, as the bespoke trades could only handle a certain amount of customers per individual shoemaker. By implementing subcontracting, or dividing up the tasks amongst specialized artisans outside the walls of the workshop, a maker could attain a level of sophistication in his products that may have been too expensive or complicated to complete himself.²⁸

Samuel Foster, a shoemaker in Portsmouth, NH ran an advertisement in the New Hampshire Gazette on June 24, 1768: “...in Queen Street Where he Makes, Men’s Shoes of all Sorts, as neat and Cheap as any Shoe Maker in Town, Women’s Silk, Cloth, Calamanco and Leather Shoes, as neat and strong as ever was Made of brought from the famous Shoe Town of Lynn.”²⁹ This advertisement provides evidence that documents the competitive environment of the shoemaking trade, and the methods employed in gaining

²⁶ Ibid., 21.

²⁷ Giorgio Riello, “Strategies and Boundaries: Subcontracting and the London Trades in the Long Eighteenth Century”, (Paper presented at the Business History Conference, 2008), 244.

²⁸ Ibid., 247- 268.

²⁹ Brown, *The Years of the Life of Samuel Lane 1718-1806*, 185.

customers. Here, Foster is acknowledging the reputation of Lynn's shoes, yet he claims his shoes are just as good. By 1795, the city produced 300,000 pairs of women's shoes with 200 master workmen and 600 master journeymen.³⁰

American economist, Douglas North claimed "the internal trade of the period between 1790-1814 was preponderantly local, connecting the major seaports with the hinterland". These internal trade routes describe how shoes were being sold, which is further illustrated by the distribution of shoes. Inland transportation was poor for any shoemaker attempting to sell shoes in a nearby town or city until the construction of toll roads and turnpikes beginning in the 1790s.³¹ Philadelphia was both the major market and collection point for the Delaware River and the Chesapeake Bay. Baltimore was the primary port for the Chesapeake, and New York's merchandise was transported along the Hudson River and across Long Island. However, few exact figures exist to provide concrete evidence of the growth of this trade...".³² For instance, the Delaware Historical Society has multiple pairs of Philadelphia made shoes during the period which illustrates the dependence of obtaining fashionable wares from the nearest city. Philadelphia made shoes are also found in the Maryland Historical Society, labeled for "Retail and Exportation." (Fig.4)³³

³⁰ Rexford, *Women's Shoes in America*, 9. From Blanche Hazard, quoting from the Palladium of February 6, 1827, in "The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875", *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 27, no.2 (February 1913), 29.

³¹ Parl, "An Analysis of the Shoe Industry", 218.

³² Douglas North, *The Economic Growth of the United States 1790-1860*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. ,1966), 32-33.

³³ Printed leather shoes, lace pattern 1975.95.4ab, and geometric pattern 1975.95.2a-b, given to the MdHS by Mr. Paul Barehowsky.



Figure 4: Label from leather stamped shoes; c.1800; Maryland Historical Society. Accessions 1975.95.4 a-b and 1975.95.2 a-b. Gift of Mr. Paul Barehowsky. Photograph taken by author. Permission from Maryland Historical Society.

Micajah Burrill (1764-1863) from Lynn, MA made his fortune in the decade after 1800 as a shoemaker and Baltimore merchant. Living to almost ninety-nine years of age, he manufactured shoes for forty to fifty years. Credited with making the first “buffed” bottom shoes in Lynn, and he could also weave his own linen. In his twenties, he was already manufacturing shoes. He would walk the entire distance to Boston, after selling stock he would walk the eleven miles back again. He had a two-story shop that was located just east of his home where he was able to expand his business. In addition, Burrill operated a shoe store in Baltimore. Working with David Silsbee, together they

owned their own ships which allowed them to trade freely with towns along the southern-seaboard.³⁴

Burrill was successful, but he suffered a lot of financial losses during the War of 1812 (known as the Great War with Britain) during which he was unable to collect \$30,000 in notes from Southern customers. In addition, \$20,000 worth of his shoes were lost in a ship wreck, that had been bound for the South. The Southern market was increasingly becoming the most important market for shoemakers. Between 1825 and 1830, Burrill lost most of his massed fortune. The success and losses of his business was certainly not unique for merchants of the shoe trade during this period.³⁵

Even before the Southern trade dominated the American shoe industry, Lynn manufacturers were focused on their own local markets or other internal trade routes. Outside of urban centers, one could typically find a country store fifteen to twenty miles from home.³⁶ There were also secondary urban centers where shops and craftsman were available: Hartford and Lancaster, PA, Chestertown, MD, and Alexandria, VA.³⁷ Quincy Reed, of Weymouth, MA documented his experiences of selling shoes during the early nineteenth century:

“My brother, Harvey, began it by taking chicken to Boston. He had a pair of chaise wheels in the ban, and putting on a top piece, loaded her up and drove to town. He

³⁴ The Register of the Lynn Historical Society, vol. 10-12, (Lynn Historical Society, 1906), 103; Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 18.

³⁵ Ibid., 103.; Ibid., 18.

³⁶ Richard Bushman, “Shopping and Advertising in Colonial America”, In Cary Carson, *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), 240-242.

³⁷ Ibid., 242.

hung some shoes on the chaise and we sold them in Boston. We did not have a wagon then—I can’t remember when there wasn’t a wagon in this part of the town, and between here and East Abington there was only one pair of wheels. All of the shoes, before we began business, were carried into Boston in saddle bags... We hired a store of Uriah Coting, at 133 Broad Street, and fitted it up. Then I used to keep a chest of shoes in a cellar near Dock Square, and on Wednesday and Saturday would bring out the chest and sell. I got fifteen and twenty dollars a day by it in 1809. I was sixteen and my brother was eighteen years old then...”.³⁸

The Southern Market for New England Shoes

The South has been credited with rise of the shoe industry in Lynn.³⁹ There were few shoemakers in the agricultural communities of the South. In this region, Charleston was the largest city and center for trade for the South.⁴⁰ As early as 1760, New England had established a solid exportation system to supply the southern colonies with surplus shoes that could not be sold in the north.⁴¹ An estimated 300,000 pairs of shoes were exported to the South in the year 1795. By 1860 a total of over 30,000,000 pairs of shoes, and over 11,000,000 pairs of boots were exported. In a petition for the establishment of a new bank in 1804 to extend their trade, a group of Lynn shoe bosses claimed that the trade with the South “amounted annually to \$500,000”. The industry’s

³⁸ Parl, “An Analysis of the Shoe Industry”, 219.

³⁹ Faler, *Mechanics and Manufactures*, 17-18.

⁴⁰ Parl, “An Analysis of the Shoe Industry”, 218.

⁴¹ Ibid., 218.

value was well over \$37,000,000 in Massachusetts alone.⁴² In her book “Women’s Shoes in America, 1790-1930, Nancy Rexford explained that an important part of the early New England Shoe Industry was the production of heavy, poorly fitting, rough brogans, nicknamed “slaps”. These “Negro Shoes” were intended for wear by slaves on the plantations in the South and the West Indies.⁴³

Due to the lack of available currency, casks of American shoes were exchanged as agricultural commodities from Southern plantations, along with sugar, molasses, coffee, and hides. Rexford notes that “beginning in the late 1790s, wholesale shoe stores in Boston either established branch stores in the South or developed close connections with southern factors in cities such as Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, including the owners of grocery, dry-goods, and hardware stores throughout the South and the expanding West”.⁴⁴ Like Burrill, many shoemakers from Lynn sold their wares in Boston rather than relying on bespoke work in their own community. Their desire to move into distant markets such as New York and Philadelphia kept the shoe market growing and thriving..⁴⁵

⁴² John L. Hayes, *Protection, a Boon to Consumers: An Address Delivered Before the National Association of Knit Goods Manufacturers, at the Second Annual Meeting in New-York City, May 1, 1867*(Boston: Press of John Wilson & Son, 1867), 38.

⁴³ Rexford, *Women’s Shoes in America*, 9. From Hazard, *Boot and Shoe Industry*, 29; Faler, *Mechanics and Manufactures*, 18.

⁴⁴ Rexford, *Women’s Shoes in America*, 10.

⁴⁵ Dawley, *Class and Community*, 21.

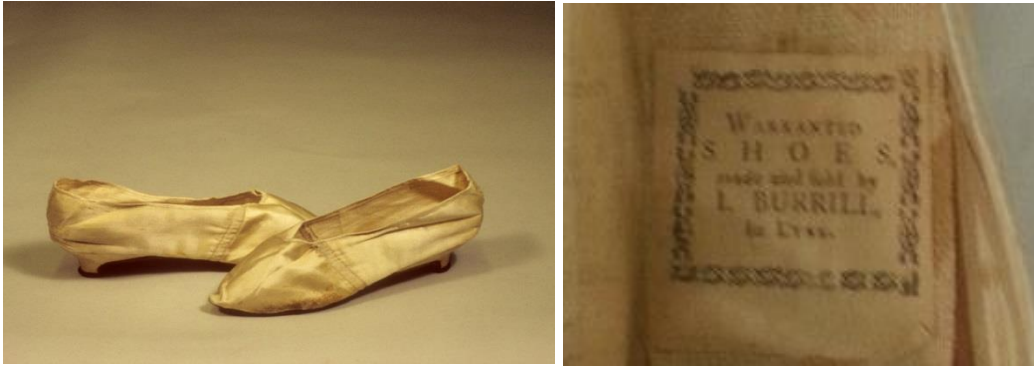


Figure 5: White satin heeled shoes, ca. 1795. Label: “Warranted Shoes made and sold by L. Burrill, in Lynn.” Historic New England. Images Courtesy of Historic New England.

The Evidence: Diverse Locations for Shoe Manufacturing

Surviving examples of American labeled women’s shoes provide the primary evidence of the growth of the shoemaker’s trade. Although the earliest specimens found in public and private collections date from the 1760s, the majority were produced from the mid-1780s onwards. In the short period between 1768 and 1772, the average quantity of American shoes being exported from New England to the middle colonies was 25,675 pairs. Extant labeled shoes were produced in Boston, Haverhill, Lynn and Rehoboth, MA as well as Providence, RI. In the Mid-Atlantic region, Burlington, NJ, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore were popular shoemaking centers and shoe markets. In fact, Philadelphia was considered Lynn’s leading competitor, which is documented by the number of shoes produced with the city’s name on the label.⁴⁶ Yet, there are some

⁴⁶ James Shepherd, “The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies, 1768-1772”, *The Journal of Economic History* 32, no.4 (December 1972), 785.

Philadelphia labeled shoes known to be Lynn products.⁴⁷ The growth of the shoe trade from Lynn to major seaports as far as Charleston provide evidence for why shoes were being labeled, as they were traveling further and further from the hands that made them (Fig.5).

⁴⁷ Ebenezer Breed was selling shoes in Philadelphia (labeled “Philadelphia”) which were made in Lynn.

CHAPTER TWO: THE EMERGENCE OF LABELS FOR SHOES AND OTHER DECORATIVE ARTS IN THE COLONIAL AND FEDERAL ERAS

Shoemakers in Colonial America and abroad in the eighteenth-century were typically anonymous artisans, not marking their craft or leaving any evidence to distinguish between shoes and shoemakers. However, there were shoe makers who labeled their creations with small printed, paper labels adhered inside the shoe at the heel or arch. Maker's labels could be simple, stating the name of the maker and the address where he could be found. More elaborate labels include a design motif, such as a crest or royal insignia, or a fancy border around the name and address.

Innovative Early Labels

These early labels are what can be considered evidence of early branding of fashion garments. It is widely accepted that labeling any garment with a maker's name during the eighteenth-century was reserved for the makers who were promoting superior craftsmanship. These labels can identify makers or distributors of the early American market. Dr. Kimberly Alexander's research on the eighteenth-century British shoemaking family, the Hose firm, has suggested that labels may have been related to imports and duties on foreign goods into Colonial ports (Fig.6).⁴⁸ This is quite possible, considering export textiles typically came with a stamp or bale seal indicating that the

⁴⁸ Dr. Kimberly Alexander, "Goods to America": The Hose Family Exports Shoes from London, c. 1730-1797," *The Portsmouth Athenaeum Journal* (2013), 34.

goods had passed through a “searcher”, part of a system of regulation, taxation, and quality control (Fig.7).⁴⁹



Figure 6: Shoes, White silk brocade with floral motif, made by John Hose, ca. 1750. Worn by Hannah Kortright, mother of Elizabeth Monroe. Label: “Made by John Hose, at the Rose in Cheapside near Milk Street, London.” Lawrence Gouverneur Hoes Collection, JM76.239. Image courtesy of James Monroe Museum.

⁴⁹ Thom-Shaw Lead Bale Seal, Screen Capture, courtesy of George Washington’s Ferry Farm. Cites Geoff Egan, “Lead Cloth Seals and Related Items in the British Museum”, vvi.



Figure 7: Cloth (Bale) Seal, “Thom-Shaw”, found at Ferry Farm. George Washington Foundation. Image courtesy of George Washington’s Ferry Farm.

Shoe labels illustrate the evolution of competition within their retail trade, the need for a maker to gain recognition among the thousands of shoemakers and the need to promote his wares in an acceptable and innovative way. The first labeled shoes to appear in America were from the best bespoke shoemakers from Britain, who took advantage of the open luxury market. As there were believed to be over 30,000 shoemakers in London alone by 1738, it is incredible how few labels and shoes survive from the eighteenth century.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ D.A Saguto, *The Art of the Shoemaker* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2009), 2.

The French shoemaker's guilds required producers to mark their products to distinguish one atelier from another. This was considered a positive effect of the restraints set by the guild, as all products needed to be marked with a distinct label. The French shoemakers were highly competitive with Britain, for two reasons in particular: the development of the designation of left and right shoes instead of straights, and the method of branding (Fig.8).⁵¹ The inside of each shoe would be marked *gauche* or *droite* to distinguish the left or right shoe, which was a popular marketing tool for British and American makers as well.⁵² Only a few British shoemakers were able to achieve popular recognition before 1815.⁵³ The concept of 'griffe' (the superior brand) was introduced into footwear by the end of the eighteenth century and widespread in the 1830s.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 210.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 210.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 210-211.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.



Figure 8: White satin slippers, made by the French brand, “Estes”, ca. 1830. “Droite” and “Gauche” are marked in ink, New Castle Historical Society. Photograph taken by author. Permission from the New Castle Historical Society.

As demand for fashionable goods grew, the bespoke shoemaking trade expanded to include subcontracting and a division between workshop and home. Shoes which were once sold out of a shoemaker’s workshop were being transported into large towns and cities to stimulate sales and supply the larger populations. Branding emerged as a way to

distinguish makers, during a time when most shoes were indistinguishable as craft products. I believe that when shoes were separated from the home workshops and into the retail market, makers began labeling their shoes to compete with others in this new retail sphere where production and storefront had been entirely separate. Labels emerged in America with the retailing of ready-made shoes in shops where the product was placed in a retail environment entirely absent from the sphere of production.

The content of labels evolved from the mid-eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century according to the division of manufacture and the distribution of goods in the retail market. Early shoes simply state the name of the shoemaker and an address. When wholesale and retail establishments were established specifically for shoes, the name on the label typically was not the actual maker but the distributor or merchant capitalist (Fig.9). Other labels bear two names: the name of the maker and the name of the seller.

The most distinguishing change which occurs in shoe labels is the separation of maker and seller. When wholesale and retail shops were established specifically for shoes, the name on the label typically was not the actual maker but the distributor or merchant capitalist. The seller illustrated here, Elijah Blake, inherited a tannery from his father and opened a shoe store by 1808 (Fig.10). Blake sent leather from his tannery to Ephraim Sweetser, a well-known shoemaker in Lynn, who crafted ready-made men's, women's and children's shoes to sell in his shop.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Mary Doering, pers. comm., March 14, 2014.



Figure 9: Cream Wool ca. 1815 with Partial Philadelphia Label. Ink Signature of Customer, Miss Willis (Example of Bespoke with Maker's Label). Private Collection. Photograph taken by author.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The customer's name, Miss Willis, was most likely added by the bespoke maker before construction was completed. The label was probably added after the shoe was completed.



Figure 10: White kid leather shoes with silk bows and linen lining; Made by Ephraim Sweetser c. 1816. Private Collection.

Branded, or labeled items, were not a typical commodity, and they were generally reserved for use by successful craftsman or merchants. Instead, shops were filled with stocks of non-standardized items.⁵⁷ It is usually difficult to tell whether any shoe, labeled or not, was made bespoke or ready-made. The retail environment and consumption patterns were evolving. Ready-made shoes were featured in shops where shoe production of all types was also changing. Branded shoes emerged during this period of the consumer revolution. It is also within this history of retailing that we can explore the range of marketing strategies which producers and shopkeepers used to create and brand an image in a highly competitive trade.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Claire Walsh, "Shop Design and the Display of English Goods," 157-175.

⁵⁸ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 91.

It can be difficult to determine whether a shoe was made for the middle-class market, or if it was considered a luxury object meant to be placed in a high-class shop for purchase. All of labeled shoes found for this study were created using expensive materials and made to be worn by women who were not expected to do labor of any kind while wearing them. Professor Giorgio Riello explains in his book, *A Foot in the Past*, “Little is known about important subjects such as the relationship between footwear and class, footwear and the environment, and footwear and occupation.”⁵⁹

Retail shops in Eighteenth Century London and America

In 1786, Sophie von Roche wrote about London window shopping, telling that “now large shoe and slipper shops for anything from adults down to dolls can be seen’ and that ‘behind great glass windows absolutely everything one can think of is neatly, attractively displayed, and in such abundance of choice as almost to make one greedy.”⁶⁰ Urban shopkeepers were employing many marketing strategies to gain clientele and entertain the ones they had. The interior design of the shop, the display of goods, and advertising through trade cards and newspapers were all methods employed to attract business. Claire Walsh argues in her article, “Shop Design and the Display of English Goods in Eighteenth Century London”, that shop design in the eighteenth century was a form of marketing since it promoted both the shop and its wares, similar in its effectiveness to the branding of goods in the nineteenth-century.⁶¹ Walsh’s article

⁵⁹ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁰ Walsh, “Shop Design and the Display of Goods”, 110.

⁶¹ Ibid., 157.

focuses on high class shops, but speculates that non-elite, middle and lower class shops used the same techniques of display and design, but on limited budgets.⁶²

The ‘revolution’ in shoe selling occurred with the creation of multiple stores or chains that combined both retail and wholesale.⁶³ Through evidence of trade cards, Walsh found that shop design could imitate the fashionable design of other luxurious environments of the upper classes, such as theatres and pleasure gardens.⁶⁴ Walsh found that upholstered furnishings, such as chairs, for the customer frequently appear in shop inventories.⁶⁵ A place to sit ensured the customer could relax and enjoy a presentation given by a sales person. Such high-class interiors are responsible for transitioning the shopping experience into a leisure activity for entertainment and socializing.⁶⁶ This private sphere also allowed women to try on shoes without being observed by “indiscreet eyes”.⁶⁷ Traditionally, shopping was one of the few activities in which women could participate without speculation concerning their propriety, so the discreet environment offered by the shops was most welcome.

All goods benefitted from the attractiveness of a well-designed shop, which also enhanced the pleasure of browsing, shopping, and ultimately buying. However, it was not only the design of the shop or the display of the goods, but the quantity and variety of choices available to the customer.⁶⁸ A labeled shoe displayed in such an environment would be appealing, as the customer would feel elite purchasing and wearing a shoe with

⁶² Ibid., 159.

⁶³ Ibid., 113.

⁶⁴ Walsh, “Shop Design and the Display of Goods”, 173.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 166.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 173.

⁶⁷ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 110.

⁶⁸ Walsh, “Shop Design and the Display of Goods”, 173.

a well-designed label in a top-class shop. Walsh explains that the design chosen for the shop was intended to influence the customer's judgments about the shop itself and the reputation of the shopkeeper.⁶⁹

The goods were displayed in glass cases, boxes, drawers or pigeon holes.⁷⁰ Milliners and 'lacemen' were known to use 'show boards' to pin small items, which could be propped up inside or on the street.⁷¹ Higher class shops used boxes and drawers which would be placed on the counter and formally presented.⁷² Shops of lower standing used wrappers or papers to organize and contain smaller items, such as ribbons.⁷³ It is easy to imagine a shopkeeper unwrapping a pair of ladies shoes on the counter for a customer. The goods, the labels, the design of the shop and the effectiveness of the visual displays created an environment meant for consumption.

Shopkeepers, such as milliners, and their associates, dedicated much time to organizing and arranging their goods to present them in a visually stimulating way.⁷⁴ If shelves were well stocked, this communicated to the customer that the shopkeeper had reliable supply contacts when perhaps in reality the display was hiding a lack of stock.⁷⁵ All classes of shops typically sold a range of goods, including imported, second-hand, and recycled goods.⁷⁶ Smaller wooden lock-up shops and market stalls would not have

⁶⁹ Ibid., 168.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 164.

⁷¹ Ibid., 164.

⁷² Ibid., 164.

⁷³ Ibid., 164.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 164.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 164.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 160.

been able to attract customers with good quality furnishings, or ornate interior design, but instead needed to rely upon their ability to emphasize their variety of goods.⁷⁷

In Colonial America, organization was very different in a lower-class store (Fig.11). In a Virginia probate inventory of 1728, Richard Walker's Middlesex County rural store listed the goods for sale and the location within the store where they would be found.⁷⁸ Shoes were placed "under the shelves on the floor" among books, ironmongery, and small items like beads and spectacles⁷⁹. In this poorly organized store, goods were usually stored in small containers and boxes, but it must have been exhausting for a customer to search without assistance.⁸⁰ As Walsh explains, in London's poorer shops the objects were wrapped in paper to be stored. However this could add to the 'drama' of the shopping experience when small containers were opened and the wrappers removed.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Ibid., 164

⁷⁸ Ann Smart Martin, "Commercial Space as Consumption Arena: Retail Stores in Early Virginia" *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 8 (2000): 204.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 204.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Walsh, "Shop Design and the Display of Goods", 164.



Figure 11: Lewis Store, built 1749, Fredericksburg, Virginia. Historic Fredericksburg Foundation.⁸²

Shoes were sold in London much like they were in America. It was around the 1730s that in London, ‘retail chains’ officially flourished as ‘shoe warehouses’ that were opened by wholesalers (Fig.12).⁸³ These shoe warehouses exploited the rapidly increasing metropolitan market of the lower, laboring classes by providing them with cheap, ready-made shoes.⁸⁴ While traditional guild-member shoemakers marketed their goods by providing high quality and well-fitting shoes, the beginning of shoe retailing introduced other practices. The warehouses used trade cards and newspaper advertisements to draw in customers with promises of ‘reasonable rates’, associating such shops with lower-class consumption.⁸⁵ Such shops were filled with, “especially night-

⁸² Fielding Lewis Store, <http://hffi.org/fieldinglewisstore.html>, (accessed April 17, 2014). The Lewis Store is possibly oldest retail building in America.

⁸³ Ibid., 94-96.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 96.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 94-99.

men, penny-post-men, and slaughter-house men, who have just received their week's wages". Wholesalers not only served the lower class of Britain, they also exported shoes to the American colonies in the years before the American Revolution.

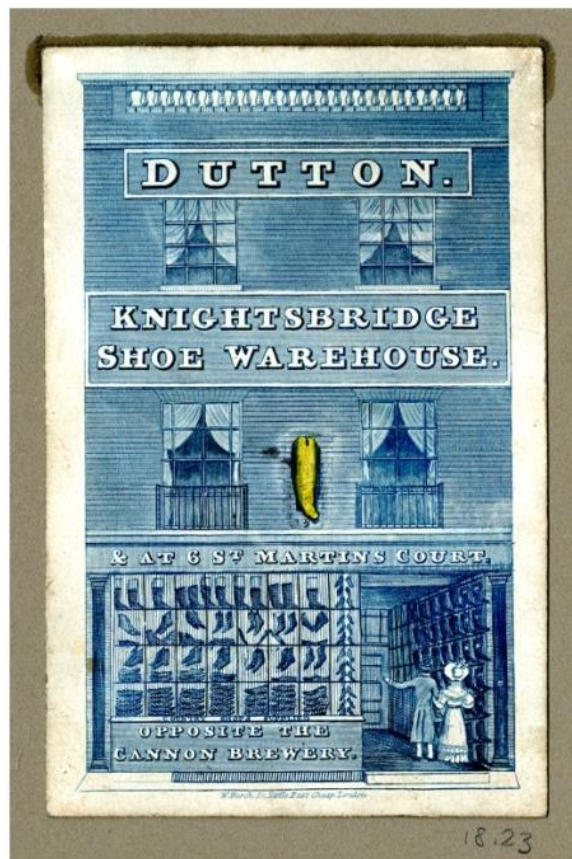


Figure 12: Trade Card, London, early nineteenth century, British Museum.
Permission from British Museum.

Milliners were certainly supplying ready-made shoes straight from London. The successful Virginia business owner, Catherine Rathell, ordered a variety of shoes through John Norton and Sons to sell her shops in Williamsburg and Fredericksburg in the 1770s-80s.⁸⁶ Shoemakers and wigmakers were also selling ready-made imported fashionable accessories.⁸⁷ Williamsburg milliner, Mary Davenport imported a London brand, “Greshams” to sell in her shop.⁸⁸ If Davenport preferred one brand over another, it is possible that other milliners in America had similar arrangements.

Journeyman cordwainers, or shoemakers, were common in the Tidewater region. In the southern colonies, leather shoes were the only shoes that could be successfully made. Immigrant cordwainers repeatedly tried to market quality shoes, yet, “southern gentlemen” persisted in purchasing English imports for themselves and their families.⁸⁹ Virginians were known to have shoemakers in their own families, only to order “stuff”, or cloth, shoes from Britain.⁹⁰ If the Virginia gentry were not shopping in the millinery shops, they typically placed orders with merchants who were traveling back and forth from Europe. We know that James Madison’s wife Dolly ordered her shoes by the dozen from France through the Zantzingers, a merchant family in Philadelphia.⁹¹ George Washington regularly ordered goods through Robert Cary & Co. In a note written to London shoemaker John Didsbury in London, Washington explains that he sends a “fresh

⁸⁶ Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 90.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 88.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 88.

⁸⁹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 14.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 14. As told by a Lancaster County merchant in 1748.

⁹¹ Dolly Payne Todd Madison’s Memorandum to Mr. Zantzinger for Purchases, [1801-1807]. University of Virginia Press, The Dolly Madison Digital Edition. She ordered “1 Doz. Pr. Shoes with heels-one doz. Pr. Without”.

measure for myself,” as the shoes which he received recently were “rather too small”.⁹² Standardized sizes were not always consistent, and shoes could be ordered by the length of the foot. Martha Washington, for example, wore the “smallest fives”.⁹³ Washington complained about his poorly crafted and ill-fitting shoes repeatedly, yet he continued to purchase his goods from London, products he could have been purchasing from Philadelphia.⁹⁴

In the 1760s, stores were opening specifically to sell local or domestically made products. Artisans and craftsman were eager to contribute to the “Buy American” campaign which occurred as a consequence of the Stamp Act. For instance, a large store in Philadelphia opened to sell only items manufactured in Pennsylvania. Merchant Caleb Bull in Hartford was carrying shoes made in Lynn, MA, local sole leather, and Hartford nails in an effort to win over customers who were participating in import boycotts. As far as Charleston, Thomas Shute was carrying “All American Manufactures brought from northern cities.”⁹⁵ In 1775, John Blaney & Company opened in Petersburg, Virginia, announcing that “a manufactory of men’s boots and shoes, women’s Leather, Cloth, Calimanco, Silk and satin shoes” were being made by “many of the hands who have worked in Didsbury and other capital Tradesman in that branch.”⁹⁶

⁹² The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition, The University of Virginia Press, 2008. To John Didsbury, July, 18, 1771 (from Williamsburg).

⁹³ Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 90.

⁹⁴ Bushman, “Colonial Advertising and Shopping”, in Cary, 233-234.

⁹⁵ Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman*, 178.

⁹⁶ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 15.

Ebenezer Breed's shop on South Third Street, below High Street (now Market Street) in Philadelphia sold both retail and wholesale shoes. Although it is not known how Breed organized his shop or merchandised his wares, it is documented that in the years following the sale of the Breed's shop, a "fancy-goods" merchant, John Bringhurst, occupied the space. Bringhurst ordered the most coveted ornamental wares made by Josiah Wedgwood and sold them in his shop. The shop probably had display window which would have allowed anyone to peek in to see an array of merchandise. The shop must have been fashionable enough to showcase both a women's shoe store and a fancy-goods merchant.⁹⁷

The quality of the displays and the interior were understandably important in order to be successful at selling goods. However, to gain clientele or persuade one's patrons to return, shopkeepers relied on printed advertising. As early as the 1730s, weekly newspapers and monthly magazines were becoming widespread in Britain.⁹⁸ By the later eighteenth century, American newspapers were available in every major city. Philadelphia offered its readers seven different newspapers.⁹⁹ These printing houses were directly related to the printing of books, stationery, trade cards, and labels. This coincided with the growing consumer awareness of retail design and fashion.¹⁰⁰ Printed material was mainly an urban phenomenon, reserved for only the most successful of businesses

⁹⁷ Harwood Johnson and Diana Edwards, "Ornamental Wedgwood Wares in Philadelphia in 1793", *The Magazine Antiques* 145, no.1 (January 1994), 166-171.(accessed through Proquest Research Library).

⁹⁸ Matthew Craske, "Plan and Control: Design and the Competitive Spirit in Early and Mid-Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of Design History* Vol. 12, No.3 (1999):195.

⁹⁹ Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman*, 98.

¹⁰⁰ Craske, "Plan and Control,"195.

who could afford it.¹⁰¹ Printed material especially for the promotion and professionalization of the shop emerged during the eighteenth century.¹⁰²

American Trade Cards and Printing

The shoemakers label was a form of marketing and advertising, yet how did shoemakers inform potential customers of their business? Shoemakers in urban environments were less likely to use newspaper advertisements and instead relied on trade cards. Trade cards are important in the discussion of branding, as much is known about them and the printing process surrounding them. The practice of printed advertisements developed at the end of the seventeenth century. Trade cards emerged around 1700, as a way for skilled craftsman to reach out to the literate and aristocratic class.¹⁰³ The precursor to the modern business card, trade cards illustrated a range of images from the interior design of a shop, the royal arms, or a more specific item such a shoe. Only the most successful shops would have been able to afford printed advertisements.

Shopkeepers relied on printed trade cards to entice customers back to their store and to eventually gain new ones. Trade cards were actually not a card at all but a small piece of quality paper, up to folio size, which could offer a visual representation of the

¹⁰¹ Victoria Morgan, "Beyond the Boundary of the Shop: Retail Advertising Space in Eighteenth Century Provincial England," in *Cultures of Selling: Perspectives on Consumption and Society since 1700*, ed. John Benson and Laura Ugolini (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 66.

¹⁰² Ibid., 64.

¹⁰³ Robert Jay, *The Trade Card in Nineteenth-Century America* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 1.

shop, insignia, or perhaps even fashionable customers browsing.¹⁰⁴ In other instances, some shopkeepers used exotic imagery from foreign lands, and others the familiar lion and unicorn of the royal arms (Fig.13).¹⁰⁵ Billheads featured the address, which reinforced the relation of the shop to the town (Fig.14).¹⁰⁶ In her article “Beyond the Boundary of the Shop: Retail Advertising Spaces in Eighteenth Century Provincial England”, Victoria Morgan explains, “The resources to commission such printed material implied a wealthy and large establishment likely to be of high quality which, indirectly, carried implications about the people who shopped there (Fig.15).”¹⁰⁷

The printers who were commissioned to make trade cards referred to themselves as ‘engravers of shopkeeper’s bills’.¹⁰⁸ Copperplate engraving was the most popular method of printing trade cards and other business material during the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁹ The stationery they provided for shopkeepers could be used interchangeably; trade cards were sometimes used as billheads where a receipt or bill was written on the back.¹¹⁰ Robert Jay, author of *The Trade Card of Nineteenth Century America* claims that trade cards could also be used as labels and wrappers.¹¹¹ This begs the question: did labels evolve out of the trade card? I think this is extremely likely given that printed advertising material was limited in many ways. Labels could have appeared out of one shopkeeper’s

¹⁰⁴ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 110.; Heal, 1

¹⁰⁵ Morgan, “Beyond the Boundary of the Shop”, 65.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁰⁸ Jay, *The Trade Card*, 4.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4-5.



Figure 13: Black silk slippers, ca. 1815, made by Hoppe, London. Private Collection.

innovative idea of placing their shoemaker's trade card inside of a shoe to further remind a customer of her experience in the shop each time she put on her shoes. This idea could have been so successful that printers began offering labels in their stationary wares. This a particular subject which needs more research.

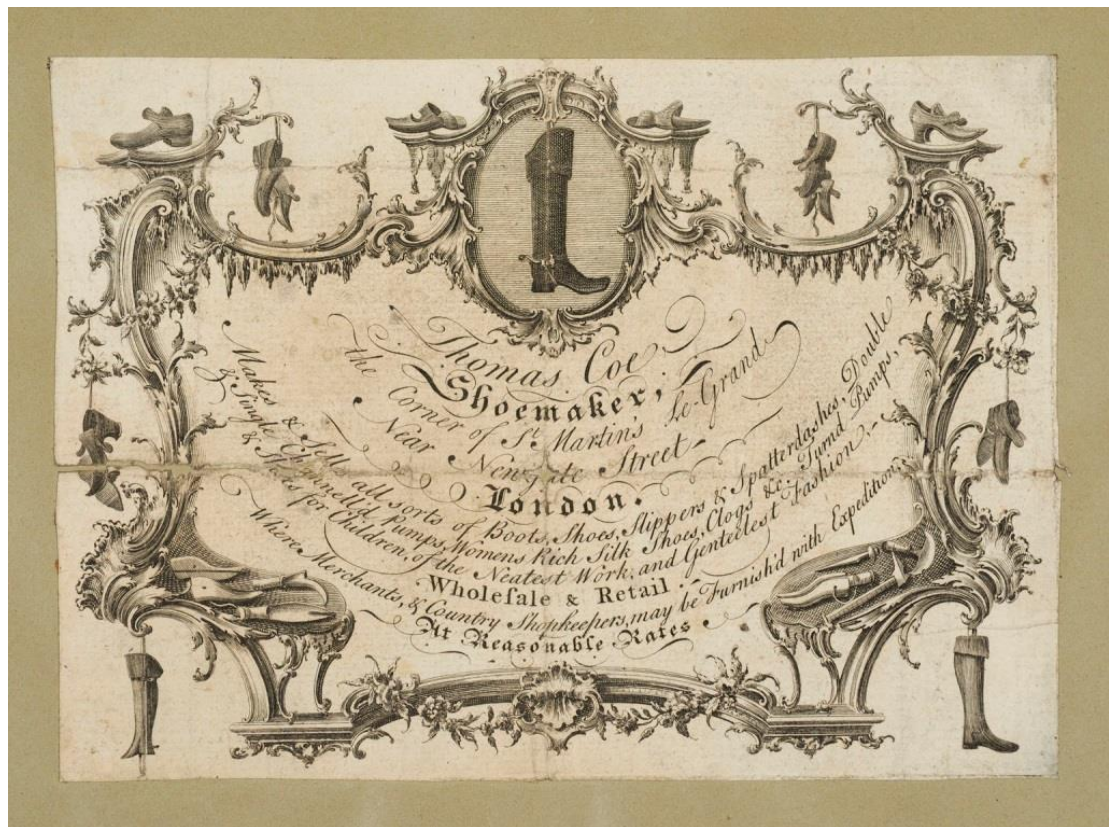


Figure 15: “Thomas Coe, Shoemaker” Trade Card, London, 1733-1769.
Lewis Walpole Library.¹¹³

¹¹³Thomas Coe, shoemaker, the corner of St. Martin's Le Grand near Newgate Street, London, , <http://images.library.yale.edu/walpoleweb/oneitem.asp?imageId=wlpr19421>, (accessed April 17, 2014).



Figure 16: “Peter Walter, Boot, Shoe & Fire-bucket Maker”, ca. 1783-84, Philadelphia. Image courtesy of the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Digital Collections.

The major cities of colonial America quickly adopted the use of trade cards, which they modeled after British examples.¹¹⁴ Boston printed the earliest trade cards in the colonies; however, by the mid-century Philadelphia produced the most elaborate trade cards, as several immigrant copperplate engravers and printers resided there. The accessibility of printers most likely contributed to the rise of labeled products from Philadelphia (Fig. 16).¹¹⁵ We know that there may have as few as five copperplate

¹¹⁴ Jay, *The Trade Card*, 1.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

printing presses in America before 1750, which limits the capability of reaching a large number of clientele even in a busy city.¹¹⁶

Francis Dewing is believed to have brought the first copperplate press from England to the early American colonies in 1717.¹¹⁷ The first engravers, such as Dewing, were all trained in England and brought their design ideas with them. This explains the similarities in the designs of trade cards from England with those from early America.¹¹⁸ The limited availability of copperplate engraving may explain the lack of American shoe labels, as well as the expense of competing with the flood of English made shoes being imported into the colonies.

There were several well-known engravers, the most famous of them probably Paul Revere. Revere, who earned his living as a fine silversmith, also ventured into copperplate engraving (Fig.17). Engravers were in great demand and worked closely with printers to design bookplates, letterheads, trade labels and silverware.¹¹⁹ The printer supplied the community with handbills, legal forms, business papers, pamphlets, books, and typically newspapers. Newspapers offered an advertisement medium for businesses who otherwise had no other outlet to do so.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 7.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 7-9.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 7-9.

¹¹⁹ Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman*, 99.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 98.



Figure 17: Watch Label, c.1781. Printed by Paul Revere.
American Antiquarian Society.¹²¹

Revere's trade cards from the later part of the eighteenth century feature Thomas Chippendale's elaborate motifs.¹²² There were twenty-nine known copies of Chippendale's *Gentleman and the Cabinet-Maker's Director* in colonial America prior to the Revolution, possibly all in the Philadelphia area.¹²³ Design sources such as Chippendale's book was heavily relied upon to produce imagery which was fashionable and sophisticated. Many of the plates featured abstract designs that could be integrated into any medium. Philadelphia cabinetmakers rivaled British craftsman by implementing the Chippendale style which distinguished the city for its unique appeal.¹²⁴ Design in

¹²¹ American Antiquarian Society, <https://www.americanantiquarian.org/Inventories/Revere/b1.htm#f4>, (accessed April 17, 2014).

¹²² Jay, *The Trade Card*, 7

¹²³ Ibid.; Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman*, 79.

¹²⁴ Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman*, 79.

advertisements, and in labels, offered shops a visual distinction. After the American Revolution, American engravers were breaking away from the British design tradition.¹²⁵

American Furniture with Labels: William Savory, Benjamin Randolph, and John Seymour

Women's shoes were not the only products being labeled during this period. Furniture makers like William Savory and Benjamin Randolph from Pennsylvania were labeling their pieces. The relationship between cabinetmaker's decorative arts designs and shoe labels can also be illustrated. John Seymour and Sons was one of the most important Boston cabinetmakers firms working during the Federal period which labeled their crafts. Labels found on American furniture have been extremely helpful for furniture scholars. Furniture makers' labels provide a foundation for which other unlabeled pieces can be attributed to known craftsman.

A Quaker craftsman, Savory was a trained joiner who became one of the most successful furniture makers in the Chippendale style in Philadelphia (Fig.18) He did not own a single carving tool, instead he employed talented carvers and other specialists for his shop.¹²⁶ By 1765, Philadelphia was full of artisans who could challenge Britain's dominance in manufacturing. This incredible city was self-sustaining, producing anything that could be found in London.¹²⁷ In 1765, Samuel Powell, on his way home to America after his grand tour of Europe, received a letter from his uncle, Samuel Morris, who wrote

¹²⁵ Jay, *The Trade Card*, 11.

¹²⁶ Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman*, 80.

¹²⁷ Charles Olton, *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1975), 2.

to him, “Household goods may be had here as cheap and as well made from English patterns.” He urged the young Powell to restrain himself from shipping back English goods, since “Quaker City folk” were openly opposed to imported goods.¹²⁸



Figure 18: William Savory, Label and Desk, ca. 1760s, Chester County Historical Society. Photograph of label by author. Photograph of desk courtesy of Chester County Historical Society.

American cabinetmaker Benjamin Randolph used trade cards and labels to advertise and mark his Philadelphia Chippendale style furniture. The respected antique furniture dealer and author, Albert Sack, referred to one of Randolph’s chairs as “the ultimate of this type and one of the greatest of the Philadelphia chairs”.¹²⁹ Coincidentally, Randolph was also a Quaker craftsman who operated out of a shop on Chestnut Street. Thomas Jefferson lodged with Randolph in 1775 and 1776. According to tradition,

¹²⁸ Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman*, 179.

¹²⁹ Phillip Zimmerman, “Labeled Randolph Chairs Rediscovered”, <http://www.chipstone.org/publications/1998AF/Zim/1998ZimIndex.html>, (accessed March 7, 2014).

Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence on a lap desk made by the cabinetmaker.¹³⁰

Randolph's trade card from c.1770 is as elaborate of the carvings found on his surviving masterpieces (Fig. 19). John Smither, the card's engraver, was active in Philadelphia and considered the most gifted copperplate engraver in the community. Trade card scholar Robert Jay considered this card possibly "the most flamboyant of any printed in eighteenth-century America", it symbolizes the "aristocratic taste in American furniture of the late colonial period, as well as an indication of the specific design sources that influenced that taste."¹³¹ The design of the card is pulled from three sources: The card includes Chippendale-style framework and recognizable furniture designs from Chippendale's *Director* and *Household Furniture in the Present Taste*, and the tall case clock recognizably from Thomas Johnson's *Designs for Furniture* of 1758.¹³² In contrast, Randolph's furniture label resembled shoe labels and the William Savory label. Block letters and simple ornamental border was the only decoration used to create his trade label from 1765-1770 (Fig.20).

¹³⁰ "Benjamin Randolph", <http://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/benjamin-randolph>, accessed March 7, 2014.

¹³¹ Jay, *The Trade Card*, 9.

¹³² Ibid., 10.



Figure 19: “Benjamin Randolph, Cabinet Maker, Philadelphia” Trade Card, c. 1770, John Smither, engraver. Library Company of Philadelphia.¹³³

¹³³ Library Company of Philadelphia, <http://www.librarycompany.org/economics/riskybusiness/crafting.htm>, (accessed April 21, 2014).



Figure 20: Trade Label and Side Chair, Benjamin Randolph, made in Philadelphia, Mahogany, 1760-75, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.¹³⁴

A mahogany card table, ca. 1794, made and labeled by John Seymour provides an interesting design comparison to an existing shoe label (Fig.21). On the front veneer of the table is a satinwood inlay of tapered bell-flower swag that connects to a satinwood bow-knot, repeating around the table, which opens up to a full circle (Fig.22). These design elements originated from English cabinetmakers, such as George Hepplewhite and Thomas Sheraton.

¹³⁴ “Side Chair (One of a Pair)”, <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/side-chair-one-of-a-pair-43970>, (accessed April 17, 2014).

The bow-knot was a popular design motif which is found on a shoe label from the Philadelphia shoemaker, Ebenezer Breed (Fig.23). The label features a bow-knot at the top which connects to swag of oval “beads”, overlapping an oval-beaded circle which resembles a necklace. Within the center of the circle, the script reads “Ebenezer Breed, MAKER, Philadelphia.” Breed must have been relying on the talents of an engraver to print a label which would have attracted the attention of a buyer who was informed of such fashionable design elements.



Figure 21: *Card Table*, made and labeled by John Seymour, Boston, 1794. Kaufman Collection. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.



Figure 22: Bow-knot and Bell-flower swag detail from *Card Table*, made and labeled by John Seymour, Boston, 1794. Kaufman Collection. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.



Figure 23: Bow and oval-beaded swag, from shoe label ca. 1790. Delaware Historical Society. Photograph taken by author. Permission from Delaware Historical Society.

CHAPTER THREE: LABELS AND POLITICS, CREATING AN AMERICAN IDENTITY

*“That to be clothed in manufactures fabricated in the Colonies ought to be considered as a badge and distinction of respect and true patriotism.”*¹³⁵

The American shoe industry would not have prospered if it were not for Britain’s oppressive taxes which ultimately propelled the American colonists to act together and begin consuming domestically made products (Fig.24). The series of taxes in the form of the Sugar/Revenue Act (1764), Currency Act (1764), Stamp Act (1766), and Townshend Act (1767) led American leaders to encourage the boycott of imported commodities in an effort to retaliate against the mother-country. These acts were conceived by the British Parliament in an effort to raise money for the damaged British economy and support the newly expanded territory in North America after the Seven Years War.

The Sugar Act reinstated a 1733 duty on sugar and molasses, meant to encourage trade between the “sugar colonies” and Britain. Furthermore, the Act focused on the consumption of women’s luxury goods such as exotic textiles from Persia, China, and the East Indies. The act also taxed items such as coffee and Madeira wine.¹³⁶ The tax on these luxury items depressed Philadelphia’s commercial economy, as specie and paper currency was quickly flowing out of the colonies and back into the pockets of the British

¹³⁵ T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 327. Note 90: An Assembly in Prince Georges County.

¹³⁶ Kate Haulman, *Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 105.

government.¹³⁷ However, the paper money was disappearing only if Americans continued to purchase the imported goods flooding the market from England. Provincial governments were not granted the right to print their own currency, and since America imported more than they exported, British currency continued to flow out instead of circulating in the economy.

The Sugar Act was the first time that colonists were directly taxed and quickly become aware of their dependence on British goods.¹³⁸ The economic depression in Philadelphia inspired nonimportation agreements which could protect the market by promoting American manufacturing. Citizens were urged to “be frugal in their use and consumption of all Manufactures except those of *America*.”¹³⁹ Boycotts against the use and importation of British goods spread through the colonies, namely to Boston with a worse recession, where their boycotts later “took a more violent approach.”¹⁴⁰

The disruption of goods wasn’t necessarily the best choice for everyone, since to refrain from all imports would also cut off the source of raw materials for craftsman such as shoemakers. It became the task of American craftsmen, or mechanics, to support the market by offering sufficient goods. In this protected market, Britain’s effort to drain the economy was countered with a changed attitude in what Olton described as “nothing short of embryotic economic nationalism, predating Independence by a decade.”

¹³⁷ Massachusetts Historical Society, <http://www.masshist.org/revolution/sugar.php> , (accessed November 4, 2013).

¹³⁸ Haulman, *Politics of Fashion*, 105; Massachusetts Historical Society, <http://www.masshist.org/revolution/sugar.php> , (accessed November 4, 2013); Olton, *Artisans*, 28.

¹³⁹ Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 27.

¹⁴⁰ Haulman, *Politics of Fashion*, 105.

Most American craftsmen during the period were living close to the poverty line, unless they were ingenious with their talents to market themselves, or to create unique objects.¹⁴¹ Charles Olton, scholar of Philadelphian artisans and mechanics during the American Revolution, claimed that in an aggressive and competitive market which was competing with English wares, the “manufacturing community in Philadelphia would begin to consider ways in which they might reorient the local market and their fellow citizen’s attitude toward home manufactures.”¹⁴² Shoemakers, or cordwainers, prospered during the pre-revolutionary period due to the non-importation agreements that increased the demand for American-made products. Artisans, such as shoemakers and cordwainers, also supported the interests of their fellow craftsmen.¹⁴³ Philadelphia tradesmen pledged to wear “Nothing but Leather for their working habits...and that to be only the Manufacture of this Government”.¹⁴⁴

T. H. Breen explains in his article, “The Bauble of Britain”, that the success of the first boycott was pervasive. Breen argues that it was the mental attitudes associated with British goods that changed the consumption patterns of the colonists and began straining their ties with England.¹⁴⁵ Prior to the 1760s, most Americans would not have been conscious of their consumption habits since they were perceived as private experiences.

¹⁴¹ Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 25.

¹⁴² Ibid., 25.

¹⁴³ Mechanics, craftsman, and tradesmen are used interchangeably which all refer to artisans working in the decorative arts for the purpose of this paper.

¹⁴⁴ Billy Smith, “*The Lower Sort*”: *Philadelphia’s Laboring People 1750-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 122; Haulman, *Politics of Fashion*, 106, from *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 30, 1764; *Boston Gazette*, September 24, 1764.

¹⁴⁵ T.H. Breen, “Baubles of Britain”: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century,” in Cary Carson, ed., *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1994), 465.

Breen argues that these private purchasing events became profound public acts, drawing attention to everyone's buying choices.¹⁴⁶ As Breen and Olton argue, the mindset of colonists had changed regarding their consumer choices. This dramatic change in attitude set the stage for developments that followed Independence, and the emergence of American manufactures, such as shoes.



Figure 24: *Sons of Liberty Bowl*, Paul Revere Jr , 1768. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Honoring 92 members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives who protested the Townshend Acts.¹⁴⁷

Mary H. Blewitt proposed in her book, “Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780-1910”, that Lynn shoemakers were positively impacted by political resistance to British products during the non-importation

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 465.

¹⁴⁷ Boston Museum of Fine Arts, <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/sons-of-liberty-bowl-39072>, (accessed April 17, 2014).

agreements beginning in 1765.¹⁴⁸ Women were purchasing American commodities, including shoes, in an effort to claim patriotic status and to support American manufactures. Given the political circumstances, it is probable that some American women's shoemakers labeled their shoes in an effort to reach out to such women who were looking for an alternative luxury product. As we have reviewed, shoe manufacture in Lynn expanded dramatically after the Revolution and the Federal period in America. The people of Lynn seized the opportunity to promote regional manufacture and create goods that otherwise would have been purchased from England.¹⁴⁹ Shoe production in Lynn increased dramatically due to the Revolution: 80,000 pairs of shoes were made in 1768, and 400,000 pairs annually by 1783.¹⁵⁰

Consumption boycotts most likely contributed to the decline in British imported shoes during the 1760s and the following decades. Around 1760, about 300,000 British shoes were being exported annually, which declined to under 200,000 by the end of the decade. However, the total number of shoes exported from Britain increased to 500,000 shoes by 1800, but most of these goods did not make their way to North America. From 1763-1778, North America constituted 42% of British shoe exports. That number changed dramatically during the post-Revolution period. From 1797-1805, North American exports were reduced to only 8%. British shoe exports had shifted to the West Indies, which comprised 74% of the total. If only 8% of the exports were making

¹⁴⁸ Mary H. Blewitt, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and the Artisan Tradition in New England Shoemaking, 1780-1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 9.

¹⁴⁹ Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 12.

¹⁵⁰ Rexford, *Women's Shoes in America*, 9.

their way to America, then it is reasonable to assume that the new nation was actively supporting its own developing shoe industry.¹⁵¹

During the 1760s and 1770s, American non-importation agreements between merchants and consumers were introduced that challenged Britain's dominance of the luxury goods market. Women heeded the pressure to buy American goods, and they played an important role as virtuous and patriotic consumers who deliberately chose to acquire American made products (Fig.25). Alexander Rutherford advertised shoes in 1765, "to inform such of the ladies of Philadelphia, as are resolved to distinguish themselves by their patriotism and encouragement of American manufactures, that he makes and sells all sorts of worsted (wool) shoes, of all sizes, as neat and cheap as any imported from England."¹⁵² Boston shoemaker, John Shepard, advertised for the ladies that he had "lately employed a Number of Hands from Europe, in their branch of Shoemaking, such as Silk, Stuff, or Leather," and he hoped "they would favor him with their custom", since they were Boston made.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 50. From Elizabeth B. Schumpeter, *English Overseas Trade Statistics 1697-1808* (Oxford, 1960), 32-3.

¹⁵² Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 27.

¹⁵³ Quoted in Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman*, 74.

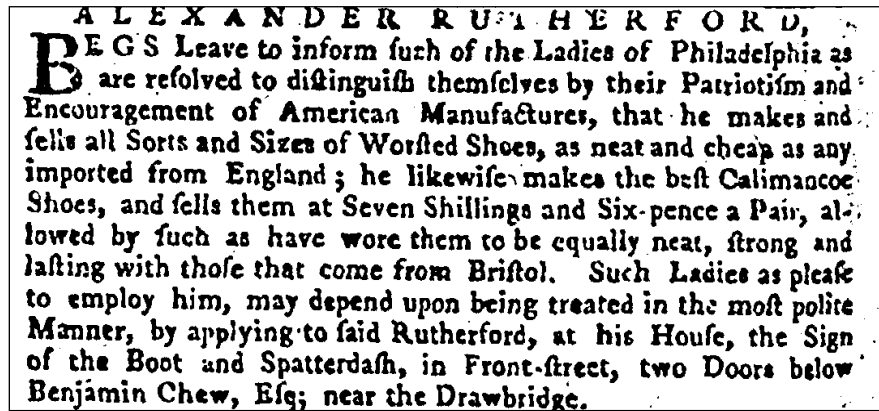


Figure 25: Newspaper Advertisement, Pennsylvania Gazette, page 4, June 27, 1765.¹⁵⁴

American Labeled Shoes with Patriotic Ties

Suspending the purchase of British goods framed a social understanding for the promotion of American manufactures, as the Revolution brought about the need for self-reliance. The earliest known pair of American shoes which bare a maker's label were made by John Gonsolve of Providence. The pair of silk damask shoes were Phebe Wardell's wedding shoes when she married the future *Gaspee* Patriot, James Smith of Bristol (Fig.26). Written on the label is the date "1767", the date of Wardell's wedding. Dr. Kimberly Alexander featured these shoes sold by Augusta Auctions on her blog,

¹⁵⁴ America's Historical Newspapers including Early American Newspapers, Series 1 and 2, 1690-1900.

SilkDamask. Dr. Alexander was able to identify the strong patriot ties of Wardell's husband.¹⁵⁵

The shoes are made of sage-green silk damask with a white kid leather heel and rand (the narrow band above the sole that was a hallmark of superior craftsmanship). As Gonsolve has clearly labeled his shoes as made in Providence, it begs the question of whether he was British or a British trained shoemaker. Because of intense competition in the mother country, many skilled British craftsmen emigrated to America. Wardell's shoes are very different than shoes of the previous decade, as the heel has sunk lower but retained the thick, waisted appearance. The toe is rounded with latchets which indicate they were worn with a buckle.



Figure 26: Green silk damask shoes, worn by Phebe Wardell, 1767. Made by John Gonsolve, label shown. Images courtesy of Augusta Auctions and Kimberly Alexander.

¹⁵⁵ *SilkDamask*, <http://silkdamask.blogspot.com/2013/08/a-cordwainer-wedding-shoe-gaspee-patriot.html> (accessed April 21, 2014).

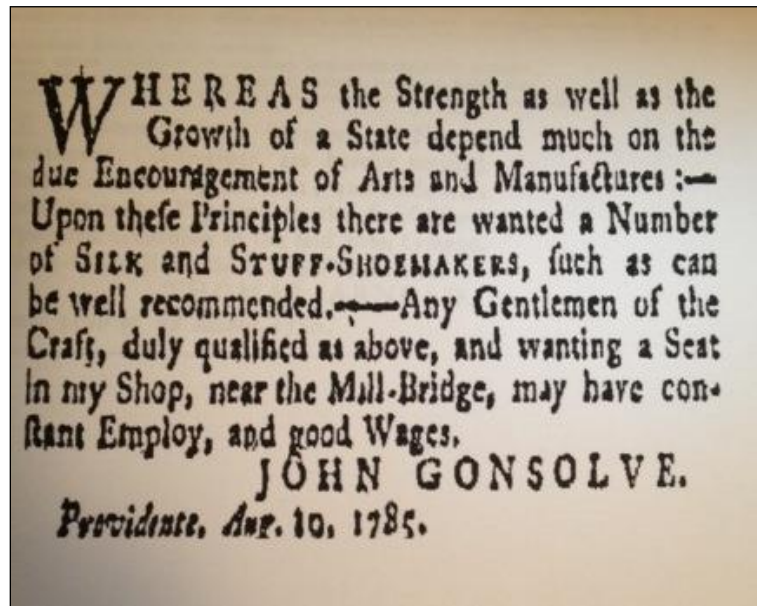


Figure 27: Newspaper Advertisement., Providence Gazette, page 4, vol. XXII, iss. 1131 September 3, 1785. Image courtesy of Dr. Kimberly Alexander. Featured on *Silkdamask*.

In 1772, Smith was involved in the burning of the British cutter *Gaspee* in Providence River. His intense involvement in the Revolutionary cause raises questions as to whether Phebe Wardell may have purchased these American shoes because of her strong patriot ties (Fig.27). Her wedding date of 1767 marked the beginning of boycotts against British manufactures. The fine quality of craftsmanship and materials used in her shoes provides evidence of the existence of superior luxury brands of shoes being produced in the colonies before the nation's independence.

Phebe Wardell's shoes are not the only American shoes with patriotic ties. Even in their poor condition, a gold-toned single shoe worn by Rachel McCleary in the

late 1780s provides compelling evidence of a woman's patriotic consumption during the nation's early period (Fig. 28). McCleary was the adopted daughter of Governor Richard Bassett of Delaware, who was a Revolutionary supporter and member of the Continental Congress. Rachel married Dr. Joshua Clayton in 1767, who was an aide and surgeon to General George Washington at the Battle of the Brandywine and later the Governor of Delaware (1793-1796).¹⁵⁶

This shoe was traditionally believed to be Rachel's wedding shoe, but unfortunately this date cannot be supported based upon the design and style of the shoe. The pointed toe and matching pointed tongue indicate a later date, as well as the wedged high Italian heel. It is unfortunate that this shoe has been altered, possibly many times. There appears to be an oblong cut-out decoration on the center-front and one closer to the toe.¹⁵⁷ Prominent British shoe scholar June Swann has suggested that the gold tone of the leather was added in the 20th Century for fancy dress.

Despite the poor condition of the shoe, there is a circular label on the instep which visibly reads "Eben...Philadelphia". Since it is established that Ebenezer Breed was living and working in Philadelphia in the 1780s, it is entirely possible that this shoe could be an early example of his work. The wedged Italian heel is slightly precarious, but similar in design to the two shoes from his years in the wholesale business. Regardless of whether Breed made them, the Philadelphia label is evidence of Rachel's consumer

¹⁵⁶ "Label Recognition: A Browse Through Our Shoe Collection," www.thismorningishistory.wordpress.com January 28, 2013, (accessed January 28, 2013).

¹⁵⁷ June Swann, email message to author, October 18, 2013.

choice. As the daughter and wife of American politicians, there is reason to suggest that she purchased this domestically produced shoe because of her patriotic affiliations.



Figure 28: Shoes worn by Rachel McCleary Clayton. Philadelphia Label, c. 1780s. Delaware Historical Society. Images courtesy of Jennifer Potts.

*W*HEREAS this Province labours under a heavy Debt, incurred in the Course of the late War ; and the Inhabitants by this Means must be for some Time subject to very burthening Taxes : And as our Trade has for some Years been on the decline and is now particularly under great Embarrassments, and burthened with heavy Impositions, our Medium very scarce, and the Balance of Trade greatly against this Country :

WE therefore the Subscribers, being sensible that it is absolutely necessary, in Order to extricate us out of these embarrassed and distressed Circumstances, to promote Industry, Oeconomy and Manufactures among ourselves, and by this Means prevent the unnecessary Importation of European Commodities, the excessive Use of which threatens the Country with Poverty and Ruin, DO promise and engage, to and with each other, that we will encourage the Use and Consumption of all Articles manufactured in any of the British American Colonies, and more especially in this Province ; and that we will not, from and after the 31st of December next, purchase any of the following Articles, imported from Abroad.

Loaf Sugar, Cordage, Anchors, Coaches Chaises and Carriages of all Sorts, Horse Furniture, Men and Womens Hatts, Men and Womens Apparel ready-made, Household Furniture, Gloves, Men and Womens Shoes, Sole-Leather, Sheathing and Deck Nails, Gold and Silver and Thread Lace of all Sorts, Gold and Silver Buttons, Wrought Plate of all Sorts, Diamond Stone and Paste Ware, Snuff, Mustard, Clocks and Watches, Silver Smiths and Jewellers Ware, Broad Cloths that cost above 10s. per Yard, Muffs Furrs and Tippetts, and all Sorts of Millenary Ware, Starch, Women and Childrens Stays, Fire Engines, China Ware, Silk and Cotton Velvets, Gauze, Pewterers hollow Ware, Linseed Oyl, Glue, Lawns, Cambricks, Silks of all kinds for Garments, Malt Liquors and Cheese—And we further agree strictly to adhere to the late Regulation respecting Funerals, and will not use any Gloves but what are Manufactured here, nor procure any new Garments upon such an Occasion, but what is absolutely necessary.

Boston, OCTOBER 28, 1767.

Figure 29: Broadside, Boston. This non-importation agreement includes imported “Women’s Shoes” (third paragraph) as articles not to be consumed under the agreement. Early American Imprints, Series 1, no. 41695 (accessed April 23, 2014).

Importance of Women's Consumption of Shoes during the Revolutionary Era

Women were the primary buyers for their households and its management. Their consumerism was vital to deciding whether America could survive as an independent economy through its commodities, or if it would fail. For instance, the domestic production of homespun was not sufficient to support the growing populations in America. If women and their daughters refused to purchase imported goods while increasing their production of homespun textiles, it was believed that the boycotts could be effective.¹⁵⁸

Women's shoe consumption was a subtle but important gauge of individual patriotism. Some women must have felt conflicted when they chose to adopt the latest fashions but were discouraged from purchasing imported shoes, in fear of compromising their position as patriotic women or "Daughters of Liberty" (Fig.29).¹⁵⁹ Non-importation agreements relied upon women's consumer choices in order to be successful. Mary Beth Norton writes in "Liberty's Daughters" that as a result of the economic boycotts, women's domestic roles as household managers achieved a political significance.¹⁶⁰ Women who adhered to non-importation policies were not moving out of the feminine sphere; they were simply consuming and shopping in the politically correct fashion.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1980), 151.

¹⁵⁹ Broadside; Boston, October 28, 1767. In a broadside encouraging the use of manufactures from the British American Colonies, Women's shoes and shoe leathers were listed as items not to be purchased from Abroad. Accessed through America's Historical Imprints (Fig.29).

¹⁶⁰ Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 151

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 163.

It's clear that a woman's role as a virtuous American and patriotic consumer was an important aspect of this period. Perhaps, the pressure placed on women encouraged them to consume American made shoes. Blewitt suggests that the "Daughters of Liberty", the patriotic groups of women in Boston and Philadelphia who "wore homespun and drank a patriotic brew [herbal teas] thought twice before purchasing a pair of English slippers".¹⁶² In an "Address to the Ladies" in November of 1767, a writer in the *Boston-Post Boy and Advertiser* encouraged the patriotic ladies to "Love your country better than Fine things," and to "wear none but your own country linnen" and "encourage our Own Manufact'ry!" (Verse from page 3 of *The Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser*, Number 535, 16 November 1767).¹⁶³

Women in the South were also formally organizing themselves as "Ladies of Liberty". Four hundred miles north of Charleston was the site of the famous Edenton Tea Party in Edenton, North Carolina. Fifty-one women organized an effort to boycott tea and other British products in October 1774. Penelope Barker, the instigator and organizer of the tea party, created a document claiming they would adhere to the nonimportation policies, marking the first time women would publicly claim a political voice.¹⁶⁴ The event was satirized in English newspapers, but it was taken seriously among the American public (Fig.30).

¹⁶²Blewitt, *Men, Women, and Work*, 9.

¹⁶³"An Address to the Ladies", November 16, 1767, no. 535, *Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser*. Massachusetts Historical Society, http://www.masshist.org/revolution/imageviewer.php?item_id=380&img_step=1&tpc=&pid=2&mode=transcript&tpc=&pid=2#page1 (accessed November 24, 2013).

¹⁶⁴ Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 16.



Figure 30: *Edenton Tea Party*, 1774. Image courtesy of North Caroline Office of Archives and History.

Shoemaker Winthrop Gray was creating goods for the luxury shoe market in Boston and directly competing with products coming into the busy port city. Gray's shoes, dated to 1765-1775, could have been worn as a response to the nonimportation agreements (Fig.31). The uppers are made with dark grey silk brocade with large stylized flowers in silver and gold metallic thread on a geometric pattern ground. Their rounded toes and thick English style heel is consistent with the time period. However, the textile used on the upper is earlier than the style of the shoe. The appearance of the white rand is indicative of fine English craftsmanship, yet these shoes seem to be American-made.

Gray's label is even more interesting than most American labels, as they include a Freemason emblem. Many American patriots were Freemasons including George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, John Hancock and Paul Revere to name a few. More research is necessary to complete a biological sketch of Gray. The survival of these Revolutionary Era shoes, as well as the ones made by John Gonsolve for Phebe Wardell, document the existence of a small but significant domestic luxury shoe market.



Figure 31: Shoes made by Winthrop Gray, ca. 1765. Label: [Masonic Symbol] Made by Winthrop Gray, near the [corn], Boston. Historic New England. Images courtesy of Historic New England.

Conversely, women did not need to purchase new shoes but instead could alter them locally. Women often chose this option regardless of political affiliations. Many families altered clothing and shoes during the Revolutionary period to deal with trade blockades or non-importation. June Swann's research has demonstrated that *many* shoes

were altered in some manner until the 20th century.¹⁶⁵ As demonstrated in the shoes made by Winthrop Gray, he could have easily been the one who altered the shoe not the man who originally made them. The white rand on the shoes made by Gonsolve and Gray imply British manufacture, which begs the question of whether the shoes were initially crafted in America, or made in the British style.¹⁶⁶

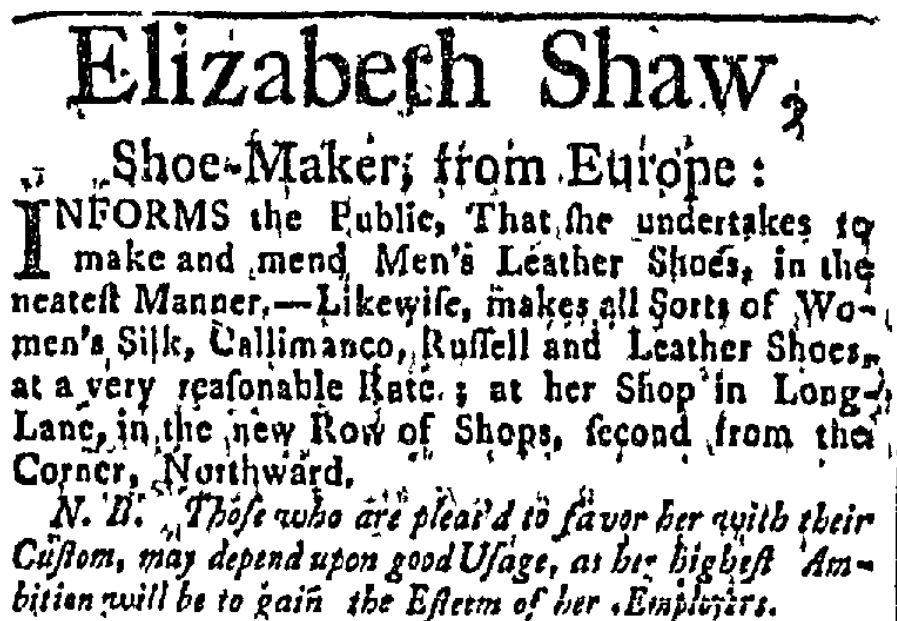


Figure 32: Newspaper Advertisement, Boston Post-Boy, published as The BOSTON Post-Boy & Advertiser, Issue: 514; Page: 3, June 22, 1767. This shoemaker was using her talents as a “European” shoemaker to earn business, as American colonists still desired imports from the most skilled craftsman (or women!).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ June Swann, email to author, February 24, 2014.

¹⁶⁶ The rand is the white band apparent between the sole and the upper portion of the shoe.

¹⁶⁷ America’s Historic Newspapers including Early American Newspapers, Series 1 and 2 1690-1900.

During the 1760s- 70s, imported shoes were still valued and desired (Fig.32).¹⁶⁸ Surviving examples of notable British shoe “brands” such as Chamberlain & Sons, William Hose, Jonathon Hose and Thomas Hose, Thomas Ridout, and James Davis are represented in American museum collections. Their fine craftsmanship demonstrates the level of quality that the American shoemakers were competing against. Eliza Lucas Pinckney wore a pair of blue satin shoes with silver braid applique made by Thomas Hose during the later 1760s to 1780s (Fig. 33). Eliza Lucas Pinckney (1722-1793) is a well-documented entrepreneur and early American feminist who successfully made indigo a major export crop in America. Her sons were active in the American Revolution and she herself was a supporter of Independence. Pinckney’s London shoes are testament to the dependence that wealthy women had on Britain’s products even if it was a contradiction to her political beliefs. The shoes were altered years later probably by an American shoemaker. The poorly created precarious Italian heel is not original to the uppers. This is particularly noticeable on the heel, where the ornamentation is poorly matched. Scholar June Swann doubts that these shoes were remade for Pinckney herself, but more likely by another family member or servant.

¹⁶⁸ Haulman, *The Politics of Fashion*, 108.



Figure 33: Shoes worn by Eliza Lucas Pinckney, made by Thomas Hose, London. Label: "Made by Thos. Hose, Shoemaker No. 33, Lombard Street ,London." Ca. 1770. Charleston Museum. Image courtesy of Kimberly Alexander, Permission from Charleston Museum.

British shoes continued to pour in after the Revolution, suggesting that some American patriots were thrilled to be through with resisting the commodities they so desired. However, cordwainers in Philadelphia pushed for a tariff to stop, as much as

possible, the flood of cheap manufactures on the American market.¹⁶⁹ In 1785, a group of cordwainers published an announcement that it was “a duty we owe to our country and to ourselves, to stop, as much as in us lies, the importation of boots and shoes of all kinds.”¹⁷⁰ Another separate group of cordwainers declared they would not buy or sell imported wares, nor “directly or indirectly” work for anyone who was buying or selling imports.¹⁷¹ The efforts of these shoemakers would not go unnoticed. The tenacious entrepreneur, Ebenezer Breed, would campaign in the coming years to ensure that shoemakers would thrive in the infant nation.

¹⁶⁹ Smith, “*The Lower Sort*”, 123; Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 101-103.

¹⁷⁰ Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 103, from “To the Public,” *Evening Herald*, March 22, 1785.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 103.

CHAPTER FOUR: CLASSICISM AND REPUBLICAN IDEALS FOR A FEDERAL STYLE

As the seat of American revolutionary meetings and the nation's first capital, Philadelphia transformed from a "Quaker town" to an extravagant vista of high style.¹⁷² In the 1790s, the adoption of simple garments to proclaim freedom became the prevailing mode of dress for women and men. The return to an ideal age, the romanticism of the ancients, was adopted through dress as a vehicle for social change. As the seat of the American revolutionary meetings and the nation's first capital, Philadelphia transformed from a "Quaker town" to an extravagant vista of high style.¹⁷³ Elite women began dressing in Grecian style gowns by the late 1790s, which visually symbolized their participation and inclusion in politics and the "realm of the state".¹⁷⁴ Philadelphia was not only the seat of national government, but a location where fashion was intertwined with politics as members.

The Enlightenment spread new ideas about the body and how it should be adorned. Medical literature in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century proposed that shoes needed to be evaluated in terms of health and comfort, not just style. The short Italian style heels found on many Federal period shoes demonstrate the fashionable taste for classicism and Continental attire. Lavish embroideries, high

¹⁷² Kate Haulman, "Fashion and Culture Wars of Revolutionary Philadelphia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 62, no.4 (October 2005), 625.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 625.

¹⁷⁴ Haulman, *Politics of Fashion*, 217.

powdered wigs, and high heeled shoes were exchanged for Rousseau's natural aesthetic.

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As women played a political role in their consumption practices during the Revolutionary era, their choices in fashion and dress remained a topic of discussion even after the war was won. Lavish clothing that resembled the "ancient regime" was shunned, but fashionable ladies continued to follow the European fashion trends. Women's adoption of imported styles and continuing reliance on foreign imports was scrutinized even if it signified to other women a knowledge and participation of American politics. Dr. Kate Haulman describes the contradiction that women faced:

"The neoclassical gown that appeared in such harmony with prescriptions of republican simplicity and even with calls for a national dress could never secure access to political rights because it was an imported style that made legible the female body and reinforced the association between fashion and women."¹⁷⁶

After living through the Revolution, many women were unsatisfied about returning to their simple domestic roles without political standing, after devoting their lives and resources to the patriot cause. The role of the Republican mother came to symbolize the ideal American woman who raised her children to be outstanding citizens of virtue. Women may not have been able to voice their opinions on the political stage, yet that did not stop them from participating in the classic continental fashions.

¹⁷⁵ Haulman, "Fashion and Culture Wars of Revolutionary Philadelphia", 625.

¹⁷⁶ Haulman, *Politics of Fashion*, 224.

Influence of the Fashion Press

The British publication, *The Lady's Magazine*, was the first periodical to regularly include fashion illustrations, or plates, beginning in 1770. The magazine was an influential resource for readers in Britain as well as North America and it remained in print until 1837.¹⁷⁷ During the Colonial and Federal eras, women's clothing underwent a transformation from the rigid eighteenth-century silhouettes that were shaped by heavily boned stays (corsets) and stiff hoops, to the more natural, body conscious garments inspired by the classical revival. While the earlier fashions relied on densely woven silks that were manipulated into a variety of shapes, including the polonaise poufs shown in Fig. 34, the contours of the high-waisted, flowing muslin gowns of the early nineteenth-century were defined by flexible cotton corsets and soft petticoats.

Another influential publication was *The Gallery of Fashion* created by Nicholas Von Heideloff (1761-1837), a German printmaker who left Paris for London during the political and social upheavals of the early 1790s. Introduced in 1794, the magazine soon became the most exclusive fashion journal in Britain, with members of the Royal family included among its subscribers. It was issued on a monthly basis, and each edition contained at least two handcolored fashion plates, all carefully numbered. *The Gallery of Fashion* continued in print until 1803.¹⁷⁸ Despite its royal patronage, copies of *The Gallery of Fashion* were enthusiastically acquired by wealthy American subscribers as a mark of sophistication. (Fig.35). Unlike the consumption of imported shoes, the exchange of European fashion illustrations continued uninterrupted during times of conflict.

¹⁷⁷ Vyvyan Holland, *Hand Coloured Fashion Plates 1770-1899* (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd, 1988), 54.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 42-47.



Figure 34: *The Lady's Magazine*, 1775. Private Collection.



Figure 35: *The Gallery of Fashion* by Nicholas von Heideloff, May, 1800.
Private Collection.

Evolution of Federal Shoe Styles

In the second half of the eighteenth century, heels became slimmer, lighter, and usually rather unsteady. Beginning in the 1760s, the influence of Italian fashion was expressed in men's 'Macaroni' fashions and women's Italian heeled shoes. Young, wealthy travelers were going on the Grand Tour of Europe and bringing European fashion back with them. After a short trend of high heels, supported by metal spikes, the

interest in more comfortable walking shoes shortened the height of the heels.¹⁷⁹ In 1797, the English publication, *The Lady's Magazine*, proclaimed that “Small Italian heels are again coming in with the rising generation”.¹⁸⁰

From the 1790s to the early 1800s, heels became shorter and shorter, evolving into the flat, functional “slippers” that imitated classic footwear. Rexford notes that *The Lady's Magazine* in 1802, called them “sandal slippers” and reported they were worn “in the morning by pedestrian fashionables.”¹⁸¹ British and American shoemakers were looking to French styles of classically inspired footwear, incorporating the use of leather which was considered more “democratic” than using more luxurious products, such as silk.¹⁸² Colorful leather was also being used along with stamped or painted patterns that offered quite a contrast to the white or light colored garments worn by most women (Fig. 36 & 37).¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Lucy Pratt and Linda Wooley, *Shoes* (London: V&A Publishing, 2008), 58.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁸¹ Rexford, *Women's Shoes in America*, 73.

¹⁸² Jonathon Walford, *The Seductive Shoe* (New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang, an imprint of Harry Abrams Inc., 2007), 54.

¹⁸³ Rexford, *Women's Shoes in America*, 72.



Figure 36: Blue leather slipper with tie, c. 1790s. Label: “Warrented and made by Wilbur Mason, for Thomas Kinnicutt, Rehoboth, Mass.” Historic New England. Images courtesy of Historic New England.



Figure 37: Leather stamped slipper with geometric patterns. Label: “Wm. MURRAY & Co., Ladies’ Shoemaker, Retail and Exportation, No. 183, South Second, between Spruce & Union Sts. Philadelphia.” Maryland Historical Society. Accessions 1975.95.4 a-b and 1975.95.2 a-b, Gift of Mr. Paul Barehowsky. Photographs taken by author. Permission from Maryland Historical Society.

Colonial Williamsburg owns a pair of leather green shoes, circa 1816, which have a Boston label from “T.A. Chadwick Shoe Store, located at 92 ½ Court Street in Boston”. The open leather flat shoes, or sandals-slippers, imitated the Grecian and Roman fashions of laced sandals (Fig.38).¹⁸⁴ The green leather shoes made by “T.A. Chadwick” illustrate

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 72.

many of the prevailing trends in women's footwear. At this date silk was normally being used just for trim, as illustrated by T.A. Chadwick's contrasting white silk for the trimming and the rosettes.



Figure 38: Green leather flats with white trimming. Sold by T.A. Chadwick, Boston, MA, ca 1816. Dewitt-Wallace Decorative Arts Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Photo by author. Permission from the Dewitt-Wallace Decorative Arts Museum.

The label is faded, but appears to feature a patriotic image of a woman in neo-classical attire. Alongside her is a medallion with the maker's information.¹⁸⁵ After the American and French Revolutions, printers began to develop their own imagery and no longer relied on Britain as a design source.¹⁸⁶ Nineteenth century trade cards reflected the interest in neoclassical motifs and patriotic imagery, which was reinforced by the War of

¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the label is too light to be seen in an image.

¹⁸⁶ Jay, *The Trade Card*, 1.

1812.¹⁸⁷ The ‘shoe shops’ offered a variety of goods that may have only included ready-made shoes from a variety of producers that placed the shops’ label inside.



Figure 39: Brown silk slippers with short stacked heel, ca.1810-1815. Label: Ladies Shoes of All Kinds, Manufactured and sold by Garland Chamberlain, at his shoe manufactory at No.3 N Sixth Street, Philadelphia.” Chester County Historical Society. Photographs taken by author. Permission from Chester County Historical Society.

During the early nineteenth-century a variety of shoe styles were worn which reflected the increased manufacture as well as the diversity of consumer preferences. From about 1805 onwards the pointed toes became more rounded, which then evolved into a longer, oval shape by 1815. Although many shoes were flat, heeled shoes were also worn. The brown silk shoes shown in Fig.39 are believed to have a Quaker provenance, possibly being worn by an older woman who preferred the higher heels of her youth. In addition,

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 13.

Rexford notes that a low stacked heel also enjoyed brief popularity in the 1820s as an alternative to the ubiquitous flat soled shoes. (Fig.40).¹⁸⁸



Figure 40: Bespoke wool shoe with stacked heel; inscribed, “Miss Thompson” ca. 1820-25. Private Collection.

The majority of early nineteenth century women’s shoes were made with straight soles that were not shaped to fit a right or left foot. Shaped soles did not become standard until the mid-nineteenth-century. However, there were a few exceptions to this rule. A pair of young girl’s shoes made by the English maker “Hoppe” ca. 1815 were clearly designed for each foot. (Fig.41) and the soles show wear corresponding to the correct alignment of the feet.

¹⁸⁸ Rexford, *Women’s Shoes in America*, 72.



Figure 41: Black silk slippers made by the English firm Hoppe. Private Collection.

In addition to domestically made shoes, many women wore imported slippers. French made shoes were so popular in the 1820s and 1830s that both Britain and America placed high import duties on foreign footwear although the regulations appeared to have been ignored (Fig.41 & 42).¹⁸⁹



Figure 42: French satin slippers by Melnotte ca. 1825. Victoria and Albert Museum.¹⁹⁰

Slippers or 'sandal shoes', continued to be worn well into the mid-century although by the 1850s they were used mainly for formal wear in black or white. This pair of shoes is a typical example of the sandal style. The thin leather sole and delicately hand-stitched satin uppers were relatively simple and cheap to produce. Retailers or wearers would then

¹⁸⁹ Walford, *The Seductive Shoe*, 63.

¹⁹⁰ Victoria and Albert Museum, (Acc. T.527&A-1913) <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O170943/pair-of-shoes-melnotte>, (accessed April 1, 2014).

customize shoes with rosettes, bows or ankle ties. There is evidence that this pair once had silk ribbon ankle ties sewn into the sides, but only fragments of these remain. The small silk bow at the throat of each shoe, would commonly have been covered with a larger more elaborate bow or rosette.¹⁹¹

American shoemakers imitated the style of flat white or black slippers with ribbons to tie over the instep and around the ankle. These kinds of slippers were sometimes used for dancing, as their thin soles were meant for indoor use (Fig.43).



Figure 43: White silk slippers with white silk ties, c. 1825. Inner soles marked "gauche" and "droit" Square toes, flat heels. Label: "Middleton & Ryckman, Makers, 327 Broadway, New-York". Litchfield Historical Society.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Ibid. (accessed April 1, 2014).

¹⁹² Litchfield Historical Society, <http://collection.litchfieldhistoricalsociety.org/collection/record/CB5054DA-2FC6-4300-979D/>, (accessed November 25, 2013).

The existence of numerous pairs of surviving slippers with both American and European labels attests to the growth of the world wide shoe industry. The expansion of the ready-to-wear shoe trade in the nineteenth-century parallels the development of the Industrial Revolution in America, of which the manufacture of clothing and textiles played a major role.

CHAPTER FIVE: EBENEZER BREED AND THE EMERGENCE OF A MODERN AMERICAN SHOE INDUSTRY

Ebenezer Breed (1766-1839), shoemaker and merchant capitalist, has been credited with the expansion of the American shoe market as a major promoter of American manufactures. He was born in Lynn as the son of a wealthy, Quaker family which had strong ties to shoe business as decedents of the first settlers in the town.¹⁹³ Aware of the most important marketing strategies, Breed labeled his fine ladies shoes with a Philadelphia label. From three existing pairs of his shoes with labels intact, it's possible to illustrate the evolution of his career as a shoemaker into an important merchant of the late eighteenth century.

Breed has not gone unnoticed by historians. Paul Faler and Alan Dawley, as well as early twentieth century writers of Lynn History, documented the life of Ebenezer Breed. This compelling tribute of Breed's life was recorded in the Register of the Lynn Historical Society, written in 1912:

“He who builds up the trade of his native land is greater than he who wins her battles. Lynn cannot overestimate her debt of gratitude to Ebenezer Breed, for although he did not found the shoe industry here, it was he who established it on a basis to compete with foreign trade. Acknowledging this, the National Committee of Commerce and Manufacture awarded him a vote of thanks.

¹⁹³ Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 13.

Without his work our shoemakers must have succumbed to foreign competitors. Much honor is due to those who, by their victories, won our independence and fully as much to those who, by their perseverance and energy, gave our infant republic a means of livelihood.”¹⁹⁴

At the young age of twenty, Breed arrived in Philadelphia with a warm welcome from Friends. He is said to have won favorable notice from affluent businessmen in a short period of time, due to his talents and “favorable deportment”.¹⁹⁵ Breed established a friendship with Stephen Collins, the head of large group of Quaker merchants, who introduced him to other merchants in Philadelphia and financial support. As Faler points out, it could have been through these important contacts that Breed was able to secure transportation for the shoes he planned to ship from Lynn to other ports on the East Coast.¹⁹⁶

According to the documentation provided by two early surviving Philadelphia labels, Breed operated out of a retail establishment on Third Street below Market, near the bustling city market at the intersection of Second and Market (Fig.44).¹⁹⁷ He purchased the storefront in 1790 and sold it just two years later.¹⁹⁸ The deed to the address in Philadelphia claims that the building was a three story brick building which

¹⁹⁴ *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society 15 & 16*, Lynn Historical Society 1912, 77-78.

¹⁹⁵ Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, including Lynnfield, Sagus, Swampscot*, (Boston: John L. Shorey, Publisher, 1865), 520. Google eBook.

¹⁹⁶ Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 13.

¹⁹⁷ Mary Schweitzer, “Spatial Organization of Federalist Philadelphia, 1790”, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24, no.1 (Summer 1993), 34-35.

¹⁹⁸ The fancy goods merchant, Bringhurst, was selling Wedgwood wares out of the same space...Harwood Johnson and Diana Edwards, “Ornamental Wedgwood Wares in Philadelphia in 1793”, *The Magazine Antiques* 145, no.1 (January 1994), ProQuest Research Library (accessed Dec. 1, 2013).

included “one Room in first Story prepare[d] for a Store”.¹⁹⁹ Breed, like Burrill, was able to secure a market for his wares in a distant city by setting up a shop. Breed’s shop distinguished him as a shopkeeper and not just a shoemaker or merchant capitalist. Breed could rely on his own location to reach clientele visiting Market Street, securing his success in a city whose population had grown to 43,654.²⁰⁰



Figure 44: South East Corner of Third and Market Street (Philadelphia), drawn and engraved by William Birch and Son, 1799.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 169. From Note 12, “The description is from a survey taken for a fire-insurance policy in 1797, in the Philadelphia Contributionship records, microfilm reel XR3:5, pg. 127 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia)”.

²⁰⁰ Population of Philadelphia and its two surrounding suburbs in 1790. Schweitzer, *Spatial Organization of Federalist Philadelphia*, 34-35.

²⁰¹ Russell F. Weigly, ed., *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York: Norton and Company, 1982), 176.

Shoes made by Breed and their Labels

. Out of the three labeled shoes, one pair could have certainly been made by his own hands which would document his skill and knowledge of current European fashion. Lynn shoes from the mid to late eighteenth century were not considered particularly prestigious. In fact, they had a reputation of being rather cheaply made. It was Breed who challenged the traditional preference for British styles and products, and he promoted not only the small shoemaking town of Lynn, but the newly formed nation through his craft and business.

Dorcas Armitage Lewis wore a pair of Breed's shoes for her wedding day on January 1, 1791. Born Nov. 17, 1762, Dorcas was the granddaughter of the Delaware patriot, Thomas Cooch who served as Colonel in the Delaware militia and prior to that had served in the French and Indian War. A famous Revolutionary Battle, at Cooch's Bridge, was fought on his property in 1777. Dorcas married Phillip Lewis II who was selected as a grand jurymen in Kent County in 1792. He produced a number of speeches and essays, some of which addressed the proper behavior for a patriot.²⁰² They lived on east side of Academy Street in Newark on land now owned by the University of Delaware. She was the mother of five children, only one of whom made it to adulthood. Dorcas died on Feb. 24, 1800 probably as a result of childbirth.²⁰³ Dorcas may not have lived long, but one of her white silk wedding shoes with an Italian heel has survived in

²⁰² University of Delaware, "Lewis Family Papers", <http://www.lib.udel.edu/ud/spec/findaids/lewisfam.htm> (accessed April 21, 2014).

²⁰³ Jennifer Potts, pers. comm.. January 2013. This research was featured in the Delaware Historical Society's blog, <http://thismorningishistory.wordpress.com/> on January 28, 2013

the collection of the Delaware Historical Society. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Dorcas, the grand-daughter and wife of a well-known American patriot, choose to wear American made shoes for her special day.



Figure 45: Wedding shoes of Dorcas Armitage Lewis, made by Ebenezer Breed. Worn c.1790. Delaware Historical Society. Photograph by author. Permission from the Delaware Historical Society.

The shoe has latchets, which were quickly losing favor as buckles were no longer considered to be the height of women's shoe fashion. Its dating of 1790 is probably accurate and the shoe shows little wear (Fig.45). The label found on the instep names Ebenezer Breed as a "Maker" in Philadelphia, with no specific address. To name himself as the maker of the shoe is interesting, as his next set of labels distinguish him not as the maker, but as the owner of a retail establishment. The format of the neo-classically

inspired oval label is simple with its chain-like bead design that swags at the top and centers in a bow.

Of the three existing shoes labeled by Breed, the labels change from “ladies shoemaker” to “wholesale and retail warehouse”. The two other existing pairs which describe him as retailer are slip-on shoes with Italian heels, found in the Maryland Historical Society and in the Lady’s Repository (Fig.46 & 47).²⁰⁴ These shoes demonstrate the stylistic transition into slip-on shoes and the absence of latches, or specifically the use of buckles for women’s shoes in the last decade of the eighteenth century. More importantly, Breed was distinguishing himself as a wholesale and retail warehouse that documents his own transition from a maker to an entrepreneur. His short time at his location on Third Street was clearly well funded. The price of purchasing a building, subcontracting Lynn shoemakers, covering shipping costs, supplying raw materials, and printing labels to adhere to his shoes were all expensive.

²⁰⁴ Shoes made by Ebenezer Breed, MdHS 1948.70.45 given by Dr. William S. Hall.



Figure 46: Black silk slip-on shoe with Italian heel, made by Ebenezer Breed, 1790-92, Ladies Repository Museum. Image courtesy of Rachel Kinnison.



Figure 47: White silk slip-on shoe with Italian heel, made by Ebenezer Breed, 1790-92, Maryland Historical Society, 1948.70.45 given by Dr. William S. Hall. Image courtesy of Yve Colby. Permission from the Maryland Historical Society.

Breed's Investigation into European Shoemaking

At the age of 27, he set about investigating the art of shoemaking in England and France. It appears that after selling his retail shop in 1792, he travelled abroad to Europe to secure business relationships and establish sources for fashionable cloth “stuffs” to sell to Lynn shoemakers.²⁰⁵ The term “stuffs” generally referred to woolen cloth which was a less expensive alternative to silk.²⁰⁶ In an effort to improve shoe manufacture in Lynn, Breed spent a fair amount of time in Europe in order to understand trade secrets and

²⁰⁵ Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, 523; Ebenezer Breed to Amos Rhodes, July 17, 1792.

²⁰⁶ Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984).

secure business connections through which he could ship fine quality materials back to Lynn (Fig.48). Breed had the courage to visit Europe at the tumultuous time of the French Revolution to learn the secrets of shoe manufacture to bring back to Lynn, including the use of Moroccan leather.²⁰⁷

Amos Rhodes, his agent in Lynn, was appointed to sell shoe manufacturers cloth stuffs which were being used in the best manufactories in Europe. While in England, Breed visited Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Liverpool, and other towns north of London to establish solid business connections. In a letter to Amos Rhodes, he tells of seeing bindings being made in a factory which he purchased and shipped back to Lynn.²⁰⁸ On the ship returning to Philadelphia, he claims that he had “several hundred pounds worth of goods in this ship, all bought and paid for.”²⁰⁹ Cloth stuffs was not all Breed brought back with him. He also smuggled back two shoemakers, one for Lynn and the other for Philadelphia!²¹⁰

It is not clear if his efforts to instruct Lynn shoemakers paid off. Breed complained frequently of the poor craftsmanship of Lynn shoemakers, and their less than successful utilization of the quality goods he had paid for. At times he was unable to collect on goods sold when the product was so poor it was unsalable.²¹¹ Breed’s disagreement is clear in his letters to Rhodes, “I wish thee to procure cash on our goods,

²⁰⁷ *Register of Lynn Historical Society*, 74.

²⁰⁸ Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, 523; Ebenezer Breed to Amos Rhodes, July 17, 1792, from London.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 524.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 524.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 525; Ebenezer Breed to Amos Rhodes, July 25, 1793, from Philadelphia.

if possible, and tell those who deal with thee that unless they can make shoes on more honorable terms we can't have any from them.”²¹² Riello explains that in subcontracting relationships, standards of quality were difficult to monitor when there were long chains of manufacturers, contractors, and final retailers.²¹³ There was a “language of standardization” through the establishment of shoe sizes was necessary when filling large orders.²¹⁴

Years prior, John Dagyr had established Lynn's reputation for ladies shoes directly competing with English products.²¹⁵ The competition relaxed during the American Revolution when the standards of craftsmanship were lost along with the high quality raw materials that no longer were available without Britain's trade. Faler suggests that the deterioration of quality may have been due to the short supply of material and the rush for makers to use inferior materials.²¹⁶

²¹² Ibid., 525.

²¹³ Riello, “Strategies and Boundaries”, 259.

²¹⁴ Ibid, 260.

²¹⁵ Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 15.

²¹⁶ Ibid.,15.



Figure 48: Painted Waiter depicting Ebenezer Breed (far right) being introduced to a British Merchant, painted by Benjamin West, 1792. Lynn Historical Society. Image courtesy of Lynn Historical Society.²¹⁷

²¹⁷ This waiter, painted by Benjamin West, was presented to Breed either in Philadelphia or Paris. The image portrays Breed being introduced to an English Merchant by William Roach, a wealthy citizen of New Bedford, at the time living in England.

Contributions to the American Shoe Industry

Soon after the Revolution had ended, French and English shoes were being sold at a cheap rate which was discouraging for American shoemakers.²¹⁸ With the support of Stephen Collins and other Philadelphia merchants, Breed played the role of lobbyist and proposed to Congress that a protective tariff to be placed on imported shoes and boots. Congress was at the time holding their sessions in Philadelphia. At various dinner parties hosted by his Quaker allies who offered up their large homes, Breed was able to demonstrate his passion for the protective tariff.²¹⁹

The most successful dinner party was held in honor of James Madison, and hosted in the same house in which just a few years before, Thomas Jefferson wrote the draft for the Declaration of Independence. “Charming ladies” including Miss Dolly Payne insured the attendance of certain Congressmen and other government officials. That evening, shoes were discussed between every course and by the end Breed had persuaded Madison to place a high duty on shoes and boots.²²⁰ On imported boots, twenty-five cents per pair was taxed and on shoes, five cents a pair. It was during one of these events that Ebenezer Breed delivered a powerful message:

“Will you stand tamely by and see this infant industry swallowed
up by the raging lions of Britain and Gaul? Will you see the homes of
these operatives destroyed or abandoned and not hold out your strong
arms to shield them as they shielded you when war bent his horrific front

²¹⁸ Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, 536.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 536.

²²⁰ Hayes, *Protection*, 38. Breed had the political backing of successful Quaker businessman, Zaccheus Collins, another Lynn native who lived in Philadelphia. Breed convinced Collins that the increase of duties on foreign boots and shoes would benefit their home town.

over our fair land? No, I trust, and New England expects that by your suffrages we shall obtain the desired relief when the matter comes before your honorable body.”²²¹

The demand for American-made shoes rose significantly in the 1790s, with the help of protective tariffs and the events of European wars.²²² The United States changed the tables on Britain’s shoe market. In the early 1790s Britain exported about eighty thousand pairs of shoes annually, but the total dropped to fifty thousand pairs the end of the 1790s.²²³ The increased demand for American-made shoes is illustrated by the proliferation of labels and branding found in women’s shoes that began during this period and expanded throughout the nineteenth century. These developments made America a global leader in shoe manufacture.

Labels dating from the Post-revolutionary period are much more common possibly due to the efforts of the Federal Legislation Tariff which protected the American manufacture of shoes. Blewitt suggests that the tariff that Breed helped to initiate likely helped the Lynn shoe industry survive its direct competition with Britain in the post-war political era. Creating a link between the flow of fashionable goods and non-importation agreements during this period is certainly not new. American shoe manufacture was allowed to flourish in the aftermath of the changed social mindset and its willingness to promote American manufactures. However, it is difficult to tell through surviving

²²¹ Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 15. An address given by Ebenezer Breed in Philadelphia.

²²² Smith, “*The Lower Sort*”, 123.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 123.

documentation how many women actually adhered to the changing consumer politics. More research is needed regarding the consumers themselves.²²⁴

Convincing Americans to purchase domestic goods was no easy task. Not even Madison's own sister could commit to the exclusive wearing of American products. James Madison's sister, Mrs. Sally Catlett Madison Macon wore white ivory satin and leather shoes on her wedding day in 1803 to Thomas Macon (Fig. 49).²²⁵ The shoes date to the later part of the eighteenth-century, with their short heels and buckle straps on the instep. The label reads, "Chamberlain & Sons, Shoe Makers. In Cheaps London". Cheaps is most likely the neighborhood of Cheapside, a major center for luxury trade and fashionable goods since before the sixteenth century.²²⁶ This label doesn't have a motif, but relies only on the words and perhaps the neighborhood to provide an identity for the consumer. The shoes were most likely worn originally by another family member. It was not uncommon for prominent Americans to use British goods in the decades following the American Revolution. George Washington himself continued to order a variety of British goods for his family's personal use as well as Mount Vernon's domestic furnishings.

²²⁴ T.H.Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 285.

²²⁵ Wilton House Collection Object Report, 1900.0069.

²²⁶ D. Keene, "Sites of Desire: Shops, Selds, and Wardrobes in London and other English Cities," in *Buyers & Sellers: Retail Circuits and Practices in Mediaval and Early Modern Europe*, B. Blondé, et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 127.



Figure 49: Wedding shoes of Sally Catlett Madison Mason, made by Chamberlain & Sons, worn 1803. Shoes were originally created ca. 1785-1790. Wilton House Collection. Image courtesy of Wilton House.

In contrast, merchant capitalists such as Breed saw the potential in protective tariffs to seek new markets domestically.²²⁷ Protective tariffs only increased in the coming decades. In 1816, 1824, and 1842 more tariffs were passed to promote the American shoe industry which was becoming one of the most important manufactures in the world.²²⁸ In 1816, the tariff had risen to \$1.50 per pair of boots.²²⁹ Leather shoes and boots continued to be taxed, however women's silk slippers were not affected by the duties. Rexford notes that this must be why there are so many surviving imported labeled

²²⁷ Blewitt, "Work, Gender and Artisan Life", 223.

²²⁸ Rexford, *Women's Shoes in America*, 11.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

silk slippers in museum collections from the 1830s and 1840s. The French firm of Vialt-Este was the most common label to appear.²³⁰

The separation of the shoemaker from his customers is what Faler described as the first phase of the domestic system which lasted until the introduction of the factory.²³¹ A letter between Amos Rhodes and Breed illustrates the change in the relationships between merchant and shoemaker which occurred in the 1790s:

“Capt. Needham leaves us tomorrow, and by what I can learn he intends to be in the shoe business - to lend the shoemakers money on the usual interest, with the privilege of taking his pay in shoes, they allowing him five per cent commission for selling what price he can. This mode of business will no doubt do for him, but how will it prove to our business? Why, it is my opinion, and always has been, that I can never do anything here while shoes are brought and sold in such a manner. But if it must be so, I prefer Capt. Needham to many others. I think if several of us would join and take such a quantity of shoes at Lynn as to make them more difficult for so many hawkers to get, it would be an advantage. But we might as well think of raising Egg Rock from its bed, and bringing it to Philadelphia on our shoulders to exhibit for a show in the streets; and in fact by this I think we should make much more money.”²³²

²³⁰ Ibid.,11.

²³¹ Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 20.

²³² Ibid.,20 ; Ebenezer Breed to Amos Rhodes, Philadelphia, May 16, 1793, (reprinted in Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, 524).

Unlike Breed, Needham was prepared to lend capital to masters and take repayment in shoes which he would sell in the open market. He would not provide materials.

Breed expanded his trade all down the eastern seaboard, shipping to Baltimore, Richmond, Petersburg, Charleston, Augusta, and Savannah. The existence of his shoes in the Delaware and Maryland Historical Societies are testament to the effectiveness of his marketing and trade relations. In 1796, he wrote to Rhodes from Charleston. The extent of the actual business that took place there is not clear, but his correspondence did express continued enthusiasm for the growing shoe trade. Even with this limited information, Breed's experiences reveal the realities of shoe manufacturing and trade in America.

Unfortunately in his later years, Breed was back in Lynn on Breeds Hill making a poor living off cutting leather for shoes. He was known to be an opium consumer and alcoholic, and as he grew older his blindness kept him close to the almshouse in which he resided.²³³ Nevertheless, he was still loved by his community and other noted individuals. Dolley Madison periodically sent him money to keep him comfortable in his old age. Breed had been present at Dolley's first marriage in Philadelphia, and he sent her shoes, as gifts, during his more prosperous years.²³⁴

Breed's life and the products he made is just one example of the many shoemakers whose lives are waiting to be discovered. His rise and fall from the industry was also not unique. Yet his impact on the political and economic landscape in

²³³ Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, 521-528.

²³⁴ *Register of Lynn Historical Society vol. 15-16*, 76.

Philadelphia is one that was meaningful for American shoemakers in the decades to follow.

POSTSCRIPT

During the Colonial and Federal periods, American women played an important role as consumers of goods at a time when their legal, economic and educational spheres were both restricted and regulated. Marital status was an important indicator of a woman's rights. In the eighteenth-century a single white woman was known as a *femme sole* and she was allowed to earn an income, acquire and dispose of property, enter contracts and run a business just as any freeman would. After marrying (usually in her early twenties), a woman became a *femme covert*, or a non-person under the law. She then lost all the legal rights she was entitled to as a single woman. A married woman could not negotiate contracts, earn money or write a will without her husband's consent. Unless there was a prenuptial agreement, the husband gained ownership over all property including household goods and clothing. A married woman regained her legal rights only when she became a widow. The legal limitations of the *femme covert* continued well into the nineteenth century.²³⁵

A startling percentage of the eighteenth-century population in America was illiterate. Nearly 67% of white women and 33% of white men could not read or write.²³⁶

Literacy was equated with social class and more affluent young men were likely to

²³⁵ Darnall's Chance House Museum, *Obedient Wife, Dutiful Mother: 18th Century Women* (Companion booklet for the exhibition, "This Fair Lady: The Life of Lettice Lee," 2004), ps. 2-3.

²³⁶ Ibid, 1. Originally published in Jean B. Lee, *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County, MD.* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994).

receive a classical education from either private tutors or public boarding schools. This curriculum often included Greek and Latin literature, English grammar, geography, mathematics (algebra, geometry, and trigonometry) and the sciences (botany, biology, physics or geology). Elite young women were taught the basic academic subjects, but instruction in the classics, mathematics and the sciences was often omitted. At best, women only received a secondary school level of education, since admittance to colleges did not become a reality until the 1830s. However, the literacy rate among women did continue to rise during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, although the instruction for many still focused upon useful domestic and social skills such as proper penmanship, sewing, ornamental needlework, cooking, and deportment.²³⁷ In 1806 a writer in the Charleston, SC *Spectator* commented that, “an inquiry into abstract and speculative truths, into the principles and axioms of the sciences . . . is not the province of women . . . neither have they sufficient attention and precision to succeed in mathematics.” The modern term “Republican Motherhood” was created to convey the belief that a good, basic education was necessary for girls because as mothers they would educate their children to be good citizens.²³⁸ By 1850, the American census measured literacy and found no distinct difference between the sexes.²³⁹

Contemporary newspapers, periodicals and advertising required a level of literacy. The introduction of American labeled goods and related marketing directly appealed to elite and educated consumers. The branding of American manufactured

²³⁷ Ann B. Wass, *Clothing Through American History, Part One: The Federal Period, 1786-1820* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2010), 36-37.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

²³⁹ Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 193.

goods during the Colonial and Federal periods document how the expansion of economic, political, social and educational objectives was closely intertwined. To paraphrase a modern advertising slogan, “an educated consumer was indeed the best customer” during the Colonial and Federal periods.

Index of American Shoes with Maker's Labels, 1760-1820

CHS	Connecticut Historical Society
CCHS	Chester County Historical Society
CM	Charleston Museum
DHS	Delaware Historical Society
HN	Historic Northampton
HNE	Historic New England
MDHS	Maryland Historical Society
MCHS	Monmouth County Historical Society
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
LHS	Litchfield Historical Society
LRM	Ladies Repository Museum
PC	Private Collection
PHM	Philadelphia History Museum at Atwater Kent

BREED, Ebenezer. Philadelphia, PA.

1. 1791: White satin heeled shoe with latches. Label: "Ebenezer Breed, Ladies Shoemaker, Philadelphia." DHS
2. 1791-1792: White satin heeled slip-on shoe. Label: "Eben. Breed, No.2 Third Street, Below Market, Philadelphia." MDHS
3. 1791-1792: Black satin heeled slip-on shoe. Label: "Eben. Breed, No.2 Third Street, Below Market, Philadelphia." LRM

BREINTNALL, D. Philadelphia, PA.

c.1795: White satin heeled slip-on. Label: All [sorts of?] Shoes, Goods made and sold cheap, Wholesale and Retail, by D. Breintnall. No. [?] Second Street opposite the City Tavern, Philadelphia, [sandals?] in the newest fashion."CCHS.

BURRILL, I. Lynn, MA.

1795-1800: White satin heeled slip-on. Label: "Warranted Shoes made and sold by I.Burrill, In Lynn." HNE, 1922.968AB.

CHAMBERLAIN, Garland. Philadelphia, PA.

c.1810-15: Brown silk slip-on shoes with knock-on heel, brown rosettes. Label: "Ladies Shoes of all Kinds, Manufactured and Sold by Garland Chamberlain, No.3 N. Sixth Street, Philadelphia.

DRIVER, & Co., Salem, MA.

c.1825-1830: Black leather slippers, flat. Label: "Driver & Co, Manufacturers, Salem, Mass." PC.

GILES, J. Providence, RI.

c.1795: White heeled wedding slip-on shoes. Label: "J.Giles, at Sign of the Golden Slipper, Shoemaker, Providence."PHM.

GONSOLVE, John. Providence, RI.

1767: Sage green and beige silk damask, heeled, with white rand, latchets. Label: "Shoes made and Sold by John Gonsolve in Providence". Sold at Augusta Auctions (Location unknown).

GRAY, Winthrop. Boston, MA.

c. 1765: Dark gray brocaded heeled shoes with stylized flowers, with latchets. Label: "[Masonic compass at top] Made by/Winthp Gray/Near the corn [illegible]/Boston." HNE, 1949.130AB

FAIRBANKS & [GREEN]. Location unknown.

c.1810-15: Children's Red Moroccan leather flat shoes with silk ties. Label: "Warranted shoes-made particularly-Fairbanks & G[reen]- No. 89 Market Street."HNE, 1970.36.

FITCH, Amos. Boston, MA.

c.1807: Blue leather slipper with blue ribbon. Label: Warranted Shoes, Sold, Wholesale & Retail by Amos Fitch, No. 33 Cornhill, Boston Fancy Shoe Store." HNE, 1966.60.

FOGG, Nathaniel. Exeter, NH.

c.1790: White satin heeled shoe, with latchets. Label: "Shoes Made and Sold by Nathaniel Fogg, Exeter." HNE.

MASON, Wilbur. Rehoboth, MA.

c. 1805-1810: Blue leather, flat slippers with pink lining and ties. Label: "Labeled "Warranted/and made by Wilbur Mason/for Thomas Kinnicutt/Rehoboth, Mass." HNE, 1918.934AB.

MURRAY, William. Philadelphia, PA.

1. c.1800: Leather stamped flat slippers. Label: "Wm. Murray, & Co., Ladies Shoemaker, Retail & for Exportation, No. 183 South Second Street, between Spruce and Union Sts., Philadelphia." MDHS, 1975.95.4 a-b.

2. c.1800: Leather stamped flat slippers. Label: "Wm. Murray, & Co., Ladies Shoemaker, Retail & for Exportation, No. 183 South Second Street, between Spruce and Union Sts., Philadelphia." MDHS, 1975.95.2 a-b.

PECKWORTH, John. Philadelphia, PA.

c. 1795 (remade c.1800-1805): White satin slipper with Italian heel, rounded toe. Label: "John Peckworth, Ladies Shoemaker, No.147 South Second Street, Philadelphia." PC.

SWEETSER, Ephraim. Lynn, MA.

1816: White kid leather flat slippers with silk bows. Label: "Warranted Shoes Particularly Made for *Elijah Blake*, Springfield by *Ephraim Sweetser*, Lynn". PC.

WOLFE, John. New York, NY.

c. 1775-80: White satin high heeled shoes, with latchets. Label: "Made by John A. Wolfe, No.24, at the corner of Crown and Smith Street, New York." CHS.

c. 1780: White satin heeled slip-on shoes, with ties. Label: "Made by John A. Wolfe, No.24, at the corner of Crown and Smith Street, New York." MCHS.

SHOES WITH DAMAGED LABELS:

c. 1785: Gold-toned slip on heels. Labeled: "Eben.... Philadelphia." DHS.

c. 1808: Floral embroidered slippers. Labeled: "Shoes/Made and Warranted/by H[enry?] [Burd]ick,/Beverly." HNE, 1964.79AB.

ca. 1810: NEWHALL. Label: (illegible) "Newhall". PC.

ca. 1815: Cream Wool with Partial Philadelphia Label. Ink label of customer, "Miss Willis." PC.

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CIRRICULUM VITAE

Meaghan M. Reddick graduated from Mountain View High School, Centreville, Virginia, in 2002. She attended the Miami Art Institute for Fashion Merchandising. She received her Bachelor of Arts from Hollins University in 2008, majoring in philosophy. She spent several years in fashion retail, as a visual merchandiser and manager, later working as an art gallery assistant before deciding to study the history of decorative arts. During her time enrolled in the Smithsonian-Masters M.A. program, she has interned with George Washington's Ferry Farm researching folding fan fragments found on the home site. She also interned at the Manassas Museum, organizing and cataloging the nineteenth and early twentieth-century costume and textiles collection. Her thesis research into the early American shoe industry, and Ebenezer Breed, is expected to be the beginning of further research. She lives in Bristow, Virginia with her husband and son, while she expects her second son in June.