The problem of identifying the notes and bills of credit engraved by Revere during the Revolution is difficult. Revere did not enter the charges in his Day Book and in no case are the engravings signed. Only through the various records of the Provincial Congress and of the General Court, and the records of payment made to Revere, can his part in the engraving of the bills be determined. It should always be kept in mind that the large-sized notes were for loans to the Colony filled in for the amounts loaned and redeemable at certain fixed dates, whereas the small-sized bills were printed for stated amounts and were to supply currency for public use.

The first Revere engraving was for the notes authorized by the Provincial Congress on May 3, 1775 (Lincoln, Journals of Provincial Congress, page 185), confirmed by the General Court August 23, 1775. The issue was for £100,000, to be dated when borrowed and to be paid with six per cent annual interest on June 1, 1777. The form of the note was given in exact wording. A committee was appointed, consisting of Samuel Dexter, Joseph Warren, and Moses Gill, to procure a copper-plate for the Province notes and to countersign them. It was also resolved that Henry Gardner, the Receiver-General, should not issue any notes for a sum less than four pounds. Moses Gunn replaced Dr. Warren on June 17, 1775, after the latter's death at Bunker Hill, and Stephen Hall replaced Gunn on July 10. Later Lemuel Kollock, Daniel Hopkins, Samuel Phillips, and Edward Rawson countersigned, although no record of their appointment is found.

The entire note is engraved except for the number of the note, the month, date, the name of the lender and the amount lent, and the signatures of the Receiver-General and of the countersigners. At the left border of the plate is an elaborate rectangular design, with a codfish at the top, and the rather crude figure of a patriot holding in his right hand a staff surmounted by a liberty cap. Underneath
are the words "American Paper." There are at least three different water-marks in the specimens examined. One of the water-marks is the large design of Britannia, surmounted by a crown, and underneath "J.B.," the initials of James Boies who operated the paper-mill at Milton. The engraving is unquestionably Revere's. The lettering is characteristic, especially the engraving of the abbreviation "No" in brackets, which Revere almost alone used in his bookplates and many other designs. In the American Antiquarian Society collection are ten examples of this note dated in July and August, 1775. The payment for engraving this note was included in the payment of £50 to Revere, July 1, 1775, for engraving four plates, the details of which will be given later. (See Plate no. 73.)

After ordering the £100,000 issue of notes upon which money could be borrowed for the Colony, the Provincial Congress took up the matter of providing advance pay for the soldiers through one-year notes. On May 15, 1775, the Congress appointed a committee to draw up a form for such notes and to employ an engraver to prepare a plate for printing them (Lincoln, *Journals of Provincial Congress*, page 228). It was originally intended to pay the soldiers in two twenty-shilling bills as advance pay. On May 20, 1775, the Congress ordered that Colonel Jedediah Foster, Dr. Samuel Holton, and Major Eleazer Brooks "be a committee to confer with Mr. Revere, respecting his proposal for an alteration in the value of the colony notes, which have been ordered to be struck off" (Lincoln, page 244). On the same day the committee brought in lengthy resolves, which were accepted, providing that soldiers would be paid twenty shillings, lawful money, as advance pay, or if they would accept, they would be paid forty shillings in three notes on 6 per cent interest to be paid one year from the date of the notes. The resolve provided for an issue of £26,000, made up in notes of 20, 18, 16, 15, 14, 12, 10, 9, and 6 shillings, with 4333 of each denomination (Lincoln, page 246, and original resolve in Massachusetts Archives, Volume 157, page 464). The wording of the note, dated May 25, 1775, was given, and followed exactly by the engraver.

The Journal of the Provincial Congress from May 21 to May 31, 1775, was not kept or at least is not preserved, although a few fragmentary records have been gleaned from original documents in the Massachusetts Archives. Therefore some
possible references to the engraving or signing of the notes may be lost for these ten days. On June 1, 1775, the Receiver-General stated that he had several hundred of the advance-pay notes ready to deliver and that he should be able to pay off at least one regiment a day (Lincoln, page 282). On June 2, Colonel Ezra Richmond was deputed to countersign the advance-pay notes in place of Major Abraham Fuller (Lincoln, page 291). On June 3, Mr. Revere was requested “to attend the business of stamping the notes for the soldiers, all the ensuing night, if he can, and to finish them with the greatest despatch possible” (Lincoln, page 296). On June 4, it was ordered that two members “be appointed to attend Mr. Revere whilst he is striking off the notes for advance pay to the soldiers, night and day, till they are all struck off.”

The detail of numbering and countersigning the notes was constantly before the Congress. On June 5, it was ordered that John Pickering, Jr., Samuel Phillips, and Ichabod Goodwin, Jr., be appointed to number the notes for advance pay — Mr. Pickering to number the sheets struck off on the first plate, Mr. Phillips those of the second, and Mr. Goodwin those of the third; also that Colonel Jedediah Foster be appointed to countersign the 20, 14, and 6 shilling notes (Lincoln, page 297). On June 14, Samuel Thatcher was appointed to number the notes in place of Samuel Phillips, and Colonel James Prescott was chosen to countersign the notes in place of Colonel Foster (Lincoln, page 333). On June 16, Deacon Thomas Plympton was appointed to countersign the “small notes,” in place of Colonel Richmond (Lincoln, page 347). On June 21, a committee was ordered “to apply to Mr. Paul Revere, desiring him to take care, that he does not leave his engraving press exposed, when he is absent from it; and said committee are directed to take the plates into their hands, and deliver them to this Congress, when the notes are all struck off” (Lincoln, page 369). On June 22, Major Abraham Fuller was appointed to take care of the plates until further order of the Congress (Lincoln, page 375). On June 23, 1775, William Holmes was appointed to number the notes signed by Deacon Plympton (Lincoln, page 381).

Revere submitted to the Congress his bill for engraving and printing the notes, on June 22, 1775. The original bill is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume 157, number 477. It shows a charge for engraving four copper-plates of the Province
notes, at £6 each, or £24; and for printing 14,500 impressions, at £3–6–8 per thousand, or £48–6–8. This made a total of £72–6–8. The account was assigned to a committee on June 22, was re-committed on June 27, was deferred on June 29, was considered and the committee report not accepted on July 1, until finally, on the afternoon of July 1, 1775, it was resolved that “there be paid, out of the public treasury of this colony, to Mr. Paul Revere, or order, the sum of fifty pounds, in full, for procuring and engraving four plates, and printing 14,500 impressions of colony notes” (Lincoln, pages 375, 404, 421, 437, 441). The four plates comprised the large plate for the £100,000 loan, and the three small plates for the soldiers’ pay notes.

The nine engraved notes for soldiers’ pay were engraved on three plates — the 20, 14, and 6 shilling bills on one plate, the 10, 18, and 12 shilling bills on another plate, and the 16, 15, and 9 shilling bills on a third plate.

In the American Antiquarian Society collection are examples of seven of the nine notes. Other examples are scattered in collections throughout the country. All of the notes are indented through the engraving at the left margin to match the cutting on the stub. One whole bill is preserved by the American Antiquarian Society with the contemporaneous inscription, written in the handwriting of Paul Revere, “This was the Patern Bill Struck for the 26,000 £ Emission and can be of no use but to keep in being the form and Tenour thereof that those who Come after may see the same.” It is this specimen which is reproduced. (See Plate no. 74.)

On July 7, 1775, the Provincial Congress provided for more paper currency to pay small bills. It was resolved that, since the plates engraved for the payment of the soldiers “are still sufficient for the striking off a number of impressions on each plate,” that there be struck off 667 sheets on the 10, 18, and 12 shilling plate, 667 sheets on the 16, 15, and 9 shilling plate, and 540 sheets on the 20, 14, and 6 shilling plate. From the last plate 127 sheets had already been struck off, but unsigned, which made 667 sheets for this plate also. This made a total of 2001 sheets which, since each sheet impressed currency to the amount of 40 shillings, made a total of £4002. This, added to the sum of £25,998, already perfected of the notes, made a total emission of £30,000. A committee was appointed to agree with Mr. Revere, or some other suitable person, for the striking off the above num-
ber of sheets. Captain William Holmes was “directed to inquire of Mr. Revere, how many sheets of notes or bills of credit can be struck off, from the plates he now has by him, more than six hundred and sixty-seven, which were directed to be struck off, by a resolve of this Congress, this day passed” (Lincoln, pages 464–467).

In furthering the details of this additional printing, the Congress on July 8 voted that Abraham Fuller should countersign and number the 18, 12, and 10 shilling notes, Stephen Hall the 16, 15, and 9 shilling notes, and Lemuel Robinson the 20, 14, and 6 shilling notes. They resolved that Mr. Paul Revere should be employed to strike off the 1874 sheets, at the rate of six shillings for each hundred sheets, provided said Revere find ink, and house room, and procure suitable paper, the Colony to pay only the prime cost of said paper. The committee was “instructed to direct Mr. Revere to alter the date of the notes to July 8th, if it can be done” (Lincoln, pages 472–473). On the same date the Congress resolved that the sum of twelve shillings be paid to John Cook, for the use that Mr. Paul Revere had made of his house, while he was striking off the Colony notes.

The Provincial Congress was dissolved July 19, 1775. On the same day the new House of Representatives was formed at Watertown, and thenceforth the record of currency legislation is to be found in the original printed Journals of that body, and in the manuscript records of the Council. On August 5, 1775, the House received from Paul Revere his account “for Printing two Thousand Sheets of Soldiers Notes, &c.” (Journal, page 46), although the actual bill, dated August 2, was for printing one thousand impressions. On August 12 the Treasurer was directed to enquire of Mr. Revere how long before he can “strike off any Number of the Bills he was ordered by the House to print.” He replied that he would not be able to strike off any bills until Thursday or Friday next. It was ordered that he “strike off 500 more Blanks for Province Notes” (Journal, page 69). On August 17 it was voted that one thousand more blanks for Province notes be struck off and that Daniel Hopkins, Samuel Phillips, and Edward Rawson should countersign the same (Journal, page 76), amended two days later to substitute Thomas Rice and Dummer Jewet in place of Mr. Phillips and Deacon Rawson.
In the Massachusetts Archives, Volume 164, number 3, is a manuscript account in the handwriting of Paul Revere, as follows:

1775 The Colony of Massachusetts Bay to Paul Revere Dr
  To riding for the Committee of Safety
  from April 21 1775 to May 7th, 17 Days at 5s
  To my expenses for self & Horse during that time
  May 6th, To keeping two Colony Horses 10 Day at 1s per horse
  Augt 2d To Printing 1000 impressions at 6s per Hund

Errors Excepted

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<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-16-0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-0-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paul Revere

At the bottom of the document is written, in the hand of a member of the committee the words “Soldiers Notes” under the charge for printing, and “N.B. ye Government does not charge ye Charges of Impression for ye Money emitting for other Uses than ye Army,” and further “reduced his Labour to 4s per Day.” This lower charge for “riding” made the bill amount to £ 10-4-0. On the back of the document is entered the vote of the House of Representatives dated August 22, 1775, authorizing the payment of £ 10-4-0 to Revere, and signed by James Warren, Samuel Adams, James Otis, John Adams, and other members of the Council.

In the Massachusetts Archives, Volume 206, number 294a, is a bill in the handwriting of Paul Revere, dated July 17, 1775, as follows:

1775 The Colony of the Massachusetts Bay to Paul Revere Dr
  July 17 To printing 2000 Sheets of Soldiers Notes at 6/pr Hudd
    To two Reams of Paper at 18/
    To Printing 1000 Colony Notes at 6/ 

Errors Exceptd.

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<td>£6-0-0</td>
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</table>

Paul Revere

On the reverse of the document are entered the votes of the House and of the Council, dated August 24, 1775, approving the account. In the printed Journal of the House, page 105, under date of August 24, 1775, is the resolve for paying £ 10-16-0 to Paul Revere.
The nine additional notes for soldiers' pay were identical with the May 25, 1775, issue except that they were dated July 8, 1775. The American Antiquarian Society has only one specimen, that for 14 shillings, although there are examples for 9, 12, 14, and 16 shillings in the F. C. C. Boyd collection. It is true that the issue was very small, with the chance of but few surviving. That they were identical with the May 25 issue, except for the change of date, is shown by the original copper-plates which still survive and are in the office of the Massachusetts Archives. (For reproduction, see Plate no. 74.)

There are six copper-plates in the State Archives office. Three of these are for the issue of July 8, 1775, altered by Revere from the earlier issue of May 25, 1775, and can be described as follows:

The plate for the 10, 12, and 18 shilling notes is defaced, and is 9 ¼ inches high by 8 ½ inches wide. On the reverse is Revere's original plate of the Boston Massacre, cut off at the top and at the bottom to bring the plate down to proper size.

The plate for the 6, 14, and 20 shilling notes is slightly defaced and is 10 ¼ inches high by 7 ¾ inches wide. On the reverse is Revere's original plate of Harvard College, cut off at the left, constituting half of the original copper.

The plate for the 9, 15, and 16 shilling notes is not defaced in any way, and measures 10 7/8 inches high by 7 ¾ inches wide. On the reverse is the original engraving of Samuel Willard which was the frontispiece of Samuel Willard's *Compleat Body of Divinity*, Boston, 1726.

There have been restrikes on modern paper of all of these plates, with impressions from both sides. The three other coppers, for the issues of December 7, 1775, and November 17, 1776, and the "Rising Sun" emission of 1779, will be described later.

The two emissions of notes above described established a loan to the Province of £100,000 on May 3, 1775, and an issue to pay the soldiers on May 20, 1775, of £26,000, later increased, by altering the dates on the notes, to £30,000. Then came the problem of defraying the public expenses and providing a paper currency for the people to use in business transactions. After occasional discussion of the subject, the Committee of Safety on July 6, 1775, recommended that the Pro-
PAUL REVERE'S ENGRAVINGS

Provincial Congress should provide for an issue of £100,000 of bills of credit, suggesting details as to the size and number of the bills, although many of these suggestions were not followed (Lincoln, page 588). The Congress dissolved July 19, and further action on the subject was brought before the newly created House of Representatives. On July 27 a committee reported in favor of an emission of £100,000, with the amounts extending from one to forty shillings (House Journal, page 17). The House, on August 1, appointed a committee to procure suitable paper for the printing of the bills and ordered that the bills should be printed on types (Journal, page 31). On August 4 the House voted that the bills should be printed on copper-plates and that an agreement should be made with Mr. Revere for printing the same (Journal, page 46).

Finally, the House and the Council agreed upon the details of the emission and the Act authorizing the bills of credit was passed on August 23, 1775. This provided for an issue of £100,000, to be “stamped on copperplates,” of the following denominations: 1, 2, 2/6, 4, 5, 6, 7/6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 17, 20, 24, 30, and 40 shillings, with 10,000 of each denomination. Four-tenths of each issue was to be redeemable on August 18, 1778, three-tenths on August 18, 1779, and three-tenths on August 18, 1780. On the back of each bill was to be stamped its value, its date, and the figure of an American, with a sword in his right hand, with the inscription suspended therefrom, “Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem;” and from his left hand, “Magna Charta,” and around the figure these words “Issued in Defence of American Liberty.” A tax was levied, as part of the Act, to take up the payment of the bills.

A committee was appointed by the House, on August 23, to attend Mr. Revere while he is striking off the bills, that they take the plates into their own hands when Mr. Revere has done with them, and that Joseph Wheeler, Daniel Hopkins, Ebenezer Sayer, and William Story, with such others as shall be joined with them, be a committee to sign and number the bills; that any three of the committee be sufficient to sign the bills (House Journal, page 96). On the same day it was ordered that one of the committee should sign in red ink, one in black, and one in blue. Later in the day Thomas Plimpton was put on the committee in place of Mr. Story (Journal, pages 97, 99). On August 24 it was voted that Joseph
Wheeler, Joseph Cushing, Ebenezer Sayer, and Thomas Plimpton number and sign the bills, any three, in red, blue, and black ink. The House then adjourned to September 20, 1775.

On September 22 it was ordered that the first thousand of the bills of lower denominations, from one to eight shillings, should be signed by any two of the committee and the remaining nine thousand by any one of the committee. Since four thousand of the bills from ten to forty shillings had already been signed by three signers, the six thousand remaining bills were to be signed by any two of the committee (Journal, page 114). On October 17, an order was passed for the removal of the chest containing the bills of credit and the plates, to the Treasurer’s office, since all the bills had been stamped (Journal, pages 172, 174).

On October 20, 1775, the House resolved that £ 133–6–8 be paid to Paul Revere for his printing 133,000 bills for the use of the Colony (Journal, page 179). This action was confirmed by the Council, October 21, 1775 (Manuscript Records, Volume 17, page 140). On November 11, 1775, the House adjourned to November 29. On December 22, James Prescott, who had been on the committee for signing the bills, petitioned for a discharge from the trust, since the committee had finished the business, and on January 9, 1776, it was discharged (Journal, page 133).

The bills of credit, as made by Paul Revere, were engraved exactly in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 23, 1775. They were dated August 18, 1775, and were four inches high by three wide. There were sixteen denominations, 1, 2, 2/6, 4, 5, 6, 7/6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 17, 20, 24, 30, and 40 shillings, and each plate had to be separately engraved. On each plate in the lower left corner was an oval frame with a cut of a ship or tree, each different in design. The mantling, the lettering, and the usual abbreviation of “No,” were all characteristic of Revere’s engraving. On the reverse was drawn a soldier, with a sword in his right hand, and a scroll with the words “Magna Charta” in his left; with two mottoes, “Issued in defence of American Liberty” above, and “Ense petit placidam sub Libertate Quietem” below; also the amount and the date. Each denomination had a different date of payment, August 8, 1778, 1779, and 1780. Of the sixteen denominations those for 1, 2, 2/6, 4, 5, 7/6, 10, 12, 30, and 40 shillings are in the...
American Antiquarian Society collection, with one or more variations of each. The F. C. C. Boyd collection has examples of every denomination. The bill reproduced is that for forty shillings, both front and reverse, and is signed by J. Prescott and T. Plympton. (See Plate no. 75.)

Scarcely was the £100,000 emission of August 18, 1775, put in circulation before another issue was required, in order to take care of the public debts. During the month of December, 1775, the details of a new issue of bills of credit for £75,000, were agreed upon, although not until December 22, 1775, was the Act passed by the General Court. It provided that an issue of £75,000 of bills of credit, to be dated December 7, 1775, should be stamped on copper-plates, with denominations of 8d, 1/4, 1/6, 1/8, 3, 3/4, 4/6, 7, 10, 14, 16, 22, 28, 36, 42, and 48 shillings. It should be noticed that every denomination, except for the ten shilling issue, was different from those in the previous emission. There were to be 6250 of each denomination, with four-tenths of each denomination redeemable on December 7, 1781, three-tenths on December 7, 1782, and three-tenths on December 7, 1783. The reverse of the bill was to have the same design as the previous issue of August 18, 1775.

In the meanwhile, since the provisions of the Act were already agreed upon, plans were made to prepare the bills. Paul Revere, writing from Watertown, December 8, 1775, sent to the House the following message:

"I the Subscriber agree to Engrave the Plates & make the necessary alterations in the same, and Print the number of Bills the Honble House of Represtas. shall order, for the sum of one penny half penny old Tenor, each Bill, and finde the Paper, and all the materials, the paper to be equal to the last Emmission.

As the alteration & engraving will not be quite so much work as the last, I agree to allow thirty Shillings L. Money out of the whole

Paul Revere

Memorandum

The Paper for the last, cost me Six dollars, a Rheam, when I did not expect to give but four, which made 44 Dollers odds, the Committee of the House ordered the paper to be made, & did not agree for the price, & I was obliged to pay the paper maker his demand."

(Original, in Paul Revere's hand, in Massachusetts Archives, Volume 138, number 271.)
On the document appeared the record ordering "Mr. Cooper to bring a resolve for Engaging the above price to Mr. Revere & to direct ye plates to be dd to him."

On December 8, 1775, the House passed the following resolve:

"Resolved, That Henry Gardner Esqr.; Receiver General of this Colony be, and hereby is directed to deliver unto Mr. Paul Revere, Engraver, the two Pair of Copper-Plates, now in the keeping of said Receiver General, from which the last Emission of Bills was struck off; one Pair of said Plates to be delivered upon the return of the other, and that Mr. Revere be directed to proceed with all expedition, in the cutting or engraving a New Sett of Plates for the striking off Bills of public Credit, to the Amount of Seventy-five thousand Pounds, of the Denominations specified in the Bill, now pending for the Emission of said Sum, provided the same passes into an Act, and that he be allowed for said Service One Penny and a Half Penny O. T. for each Bill he shall strike off, he finding Paper, and every Material that shall be necessary, and allowing a Deduction to be made from the foregoing Allowance of the Sum of Thirty Shillings Lawful-Money for the Advantage he will receive from the old Plates; and that Col. Thompson be a Committee to take into keeping said Revere's Press, until the Plates shall be ready for the striking off said Bills, or any Part of them. Sent up for Concurrence." (House Journal, page 28.)

For six weeks after the passage of the Act, both the House and the Council spent much time trying to find members who could afford the time to sign the bills. Members were appointed, and then were excused or replaced. To sum up the votes, Joseph Wheeler, Abner Morgan, Daniel Hopkins, Joseph Batchelder, William Pynchon, Dummer Sewall, Thomas Rice, and Benjamin Ely were chosen at different times, but some of the votes included the names, adding "and others." The only names which I have found on the bills were those of J. Wheeler, Benja. Ely, J. Batchelder, Wm. Pynchon, D. Hopkins, Thos. Rice and A. Morgan.

It was also voted, on December 30, 1775, that the bills from eight pence to seven shillings should be signed by any one of the committee, and the bills from ten to forty-eight shillings by any two, one in black ink and one in red (House Journal, page 94). By January 24, 1776, it was stated that all the bills had been struck off.

There were sixteen denominations of the December 7, 1775, issue, with 62,50 of each denomination. On January 24, 1776, the House authorized the payment of £81-16-8 to Paul Revere for printing 100,000 bills at sixteen shillings,
eight pence, per thousand (House Journal, page 197). This was confirmed by the Council, January 29, 1776 (Manuscript Council Records, Volume 17, page 236).

Revere’s work in engraving the bills of December 7, 1775, was comparatively small as his chief labor was in altering the dates and lettering of the previous emission. Of the sixteen denominations in the December 7 issue the American Antiquarian Society has fourteen — those for 8d, 1/4, 1/6, 2/8, 3, 3/4, 4/6, 10, 14, 16, 28, 36, 42, and 48 shillings. The F. C. C. Boyd collection has all sixteen denominations. The bill for 36 shillings is in the best condition and is the one reproduced. (See Plate no. 75.)

In the Massachusetts Archives is the original copper-plate, with reverse blank, for eight of the December 7, 1775, bills. The plate measures 7 7/8 inches high, by 12 1/2 inches wide. The denominations of the bills are for 8d, 1/4, 1/6, 2/8, 3, 3/4, 4/6, and 7 shillings. In the Montrose Natural History and Antiquarian Society of Montrose, Scotland, is the original copper-plate for the 42 shilling bill of the December 7, 1775, issue, which was picked up in a brass founder’s shop at Montrose in 1868. An impression from the plate is in the American Antiquarian Society collection.

In an early ledger of Vose, Lewis & Crane, of Milton, owned by the Crane and Company Museum at Dalton, is entered the charge, dated January 4, 1776, against Major Abraham Fuller and John [Jonathan] Brown of £26 for thirteen reams of “Money Paper,” at forty shillings. The debt was discharged by an abatement of £2–8–0 on the paper, and a cash payment, on January 11, 1778, of £23–12–0 from Paul Revere. Major Fuller and Jonathan Brown generally obtained the paper from Milton for the General Court. But why Revere paid up the account as late as 1778 is not shown by any records.

In the spring of 1776 Paul Revere entered into military service. On April 10 the House of Representatives appointed him Major of the regiment to fortify the town and harbor of Boston, for a service of thirty days. On May 10 he was chosen Major in Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Craft’s artillery regiment, and on November 27 Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment. He continued in service until May 4, 1780, including the command of Castle Island in 1778 and 1779, and his participation in the Penobscot expedition in the summer of 1779.
As a result of his career in the army, Revere did not have too much time for engraving. In the year 1776 the earliest concern of the Province was to borrow money on notes. The last note previously issued was that of July 28, 1775, engraved by Revere. There were four issues of notes in 1776, the Acts being dated May 8, July 2, December 2, and December 6 (Acts and Resolves, 1886 edition, pages 504, 551, 604, 608). The total amount to be raised was slightly over £550,000. All of the four notes were printed, with a border of type ornaments. They were identical typographically, except for the insertion of such explanatory words as “Bounty Note” or “Committee War.” The last two issues, those of December, 1776, had the word “State” in place of “Colony,” and also were embossed with a stamp with the motto “Dat Vires Unio.” The American Antiquarian Society owns examples of the two December issues.

The earliest 1776 issue of bills of credit, or paper currency for the Province, was that of June 18, 1776. There were twenty-four denominations, from three pence to forty-eight shillings, of which the American Antiquarian Society collection has nineteen. They were all printed from type by Benjamin Edes, the smaller denominations, about two by three inches in size, having a single border of type ornaments, and reverse blank. The higher denominations were about 3½ by 2½ inches, with an ornamental design in type metal and the reverse carrying the value, translated into dollars.

The next issue of bills of credit was that dated September 17, 1776, authorized September 16 (Acts and Resolves, 1886 edition, page 559). The issue was for £50,004, in denominations of 10, 14, 16, 22, 28, 36, 42, and 48 shillings, with 4630 bills of each denomination. It was ordered that these bills should be stamped on copper-plate. On September 6, 1776, the House appointed a committee “to wait upon Mr. Revere, to know if he can recut the former plates, to answer in part for the new emission of bills; agreed to be emitted,” and also to obtain from the Treasurer the copper-plates in his possession for the emission of December 7, 1775. On September 10, Oliver Wendell was ordered to “wait on Mr. Revere, to desire him to alter the word Colony, in the plate on which the bills of credit are to be struck off, and insert State in the room thereoff.” On September 16 a committee consisting of John Murray, Thomas Cook, Abraham Fuller, Jonas Dix, John
Bliss, Jonathan Brown, John Lewis, and Henry Hill were authorized to sign and number the bills, but the same day Aaron Davis and Ichabod Goodwin were substituted for Fuller and Bliss. Any two of these men could sign. On September 18 Captain Brown of Watertown was ordered to bring paper for the money from Milton to Watertown (House Journal, pp. 93, 95, 97, 108, 109, 112).

The eight denominations from ten to forty-eight shillings were chosen because they were the same as the higher denominations on the bills of December 7, 1775. Thus the copper-plates could be easily altered by inserting the date of September 17, 1776, and the word State in place of Colony. The Boston Public Library (Chamberlain Coll.) has the original bill from Revere to the State of Massachusetts Bay, 1776, as follows:

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<td>Sep 27</td>
<td>To printing 37040 Bills @ 2d O. Tr/pr Bill</td>
<td>41-3-1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov'r</td>
<td>To engraving two plates anew</td>
<td>8-0-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>To Printing 37040 Bills @ 2d O. Tr/pr Bill</td>
<td>41-3-1½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£ 90-6-3

Errors Excepted Paul Revere

On the reverse it was noted that the bill was allowed on December 30, 1776, and receipted by Revere on January 2, 1777. Eight denominations of 4630 bills each would total 37040 bills. The Massachusetts Historical Society has an example of the 36 shilling bill of this issue. (Plate no. 76.) The Boyd collection has the bills for 14, 22, 36, and 48 shillings.

When this issue of September 17, 1776, was planned, it was at first intended to have an additional issue of £100,000, engraved on two plates of twelve bills each — the smaller for bills from two pence to four shillings sixpence, and the larger for bills from one dollar to twelve dollars. A committee recommended this on September 16 but no resolve was passed (House Journal, p. 109).

On October 29, 1776, an Act was passed for an issue of £50,004, to be dated November, 1776 (Acts and Resolves, 1886 ed., Vol. 5, p. 589). They were to be engraved from the same plates by Revere, and were to be numbered and signed by any two of Jonas Dix, Jonathan Woods, Jonathan Brown, Ichabod Goodwin, Israel Hubbard, William Drew, Ezra Sergeant, and Joseph Noyes. But this Act seems to have been repudiated by that of December 6, 1776.
In December, 1776, two Acts were passed providing for more bills of credit. On December 6 an Act provided for an issue of £20,034 to be dated November 17, 1776. The denominations were 10, 14, 16, 22, 28, 36, 42, and 48 shillings, with 1855 bills of each denomination, and the bills were to be redeemed December 7, 1781 (Acts and Resolves, 1886 edition, Volume 5, page 606). On December 5 it was stated that this issue was to be "from the last plates," and on December 7, a committee was appointed "to agree with some persons to strike off the last emission of bills, and to inspect the press." On the same day it was ordered that Joseph Henderson, Dummer Jewett, Thomas Ivers, Nehemiah Abbot, Ezra Sergeant, Henderson Inches, Jonathan Hastings, Jr., and David Cheever, or any two of them, should sign and number the bills (House Journal, pages 186, 189). Three days later Nathan Adams was appointed to sign the bills in place of Henderson Inches, and Nathaniel Barber in place of Joseph Henderson. Barber was later replaced by George Partridge.

The selection of the eight denominations on the issue of November 17, 1776, from ten to forty-eight shillings, was because these were the denominations on the previous issue of September 17, 1776. The new issue required only the altering of the date; also on the reverse the words "Magna Charta" on the scroll were changed to "Independence." Undoubtedly this was done by Revere, as he originally engraved the plates and the change would have required little time on his part. On December 2, 1776, he submitted the bill cited above to the House of Representatives, which was read and committed to the Committee on Accounts (House Journal, page 180). The House printed record, however, does not state the amount or nature of the account. In the American Antiquarian Society collection are the 10, 16, and 48 shilling issues. The Boyd collection has the 10, 14, 16, 22, 36, 42, and 48 shilling issues. In the Massachusetts Archives is the original copper heavily defaced, showing the reverse of the eight issues of November 17, 1776. Many re-strikes have been made from this copper. On the opposite side of the copper is Revere's plate of the View of the Town of Boston and the Landing of the Troops, issued in 1776. The plate was cut at the left and bottom sides, to suit the size of the currency plate. (The bill of November 17, 1776, is shown on Plate no. 76.)

The second issue authorized in December, 1776, was planned nearly two
months earlier. On October 10, 1776, the House appointed a committee to prepare a bill for an emission of £75,000. The bill was read on October 19 for the third time, engrossed and sent up to the Council for concurrence (House Journal, pages 116, 127). But the Council did not act upon the bill until December 7.

On November 6, 1776, the House voted that “Col. Orne be added to the committee to get the plate for the last emission of bills compleated; and that if the committee shall think proper, they take the plate from Mr. Hurd, and employ some other person to compleat the same.” On November 27 it was ordered “That the committee appointed to cut plates for a new emission of money, take from Mr. Hurd the plates he began to engrave, and deliver the same to Mr. Revere, to be compleated” (House Journal, pages 145, 175).

The Council finally, on December 6, 1776, concurred with the House in passing the bill and on December 7 it was enacted. The Act provided for an emission of £75,000, dated October 18, 1776, of the following denominations: 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9 pence, 1, 1/6, 2, 3, 4, 4/6, 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, 42, 48, 54, 60, 66, and 72 shillings. There were to be 5143 bills each of the lower denominations to 4 shillings 6 pence, and 3000 of each denomination from 6 to 72 shillings. The front of the bill was to be engraved on copper-plate, “with a handsome border” and the back of the bill was to be printed on type metal, with suitable ornaments (Acts and Resolves, 1886 edition, Volume 5, pages 610, 693). (See Plate no. 77.)

The bill itself was 2½ inches high, by 3 inches wide. The engraved face included columns at either side, a codfish at the top, a scroll with the words “Massachusetts State,” and the amount of the bill in several places. The reverse carried a border of ornaments, the value of the bill, a tree, and the imprint of “Boston: Printed by John Gill. October 1776,” all in type metal. The American Antiquarian Society has all of the bills under 6 shillings, and the 30 shilling bill, and the Boyd collection also has the 12, 18, 36, 48, 66, and 72 shilling bills. The reason for the scarcity of the bills of larger denomination was because they were called in, October 13, 1777, to be exchanged for notes. On February 9, 1779, the House voted that such bills turned in should be burned. The same committee which was to number and sign the bills of the issue of November 17, 1776, also signed this
issue of October 18. The bills of 6 shillings and over were to be signed by any two of the committee and the smaller bills by any one.

Paul Revere submitted his charge to the House on December 2, 1776, Nathaniel Hurd on December 7, and John Gill on December 30 (House Journal, pages 180, 190, 205), but in no case does the printed record state the nature or amount of the charges. The Committee on Accounts, to which the bills were submitted, could make the payments without reporting to the House.

In the year 1777 there were five varieties of notes issued. They all carried an elaborate engraved border on the two sides and at the bottom; a circular design at the upper left made by a coiled snake, enclosing a figure with a sword in hand and holding a scroll with the word “Independence,” and the motto “Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem;” the words “State of Massachusetts Bay” at the top, with penmanship scrolls, and the words “No” and “1777.” The above were all engraved. The entire remainder of the wording of the note was in type. The size of the note was seven inches high, by over seven inches wide. The engraving was done by Nathaniel Hurd, copying exactly a border of a note which he had engraved in 1769. On a specimen of this earlier note, dated April 10, 1771, in the American Antiquarian Society can be seen in minute lettering on the left border, “Nath. Hurd Sculp. 1769.”

The first issue of notes was enacted on May 2, 1777, and the Journal of the House includes several references to the fact that Hurd engraved it (Acts and Resolves, 1886 edition, Volume 5, pages 638, 720). This note was to be paid May 10, 1782. The next issue was enacted October 13, 1777, with one variety of notes to be paid March 1, 1781, and the other March 1, 1782. In these two forms of notes the words “Committee” and “Witness my Hand” were engraved instead of set in type. Another issue, also payable March 1, 1782, was enacted on October 22, 1777. A fifth variety of the notes of 1777 had the same Hurd border and engraving, but was made payable June 1, 1780, in lawful money, in Spanish milled dollars, or in coined silver and gold. The American Antiquarian Society has specimens of all of these notes. Although they are sometimes carelessly advertised as engraved by Revere, they positively were engraved by Hurd. Since they were not engraved by Revere, less attention is here paid to the details of their enactment.
No emissions of bills of credit were authorized or enacted in 1777. The General Court had reached the conclusion that money could be raised only through loans and taxes, and that the depreciation in paper money, complicated by frequent counterfeiting of the larger bills, constituted a serious danger to the State's economic system. Therefore on October 13, 1777, the General Assembly passed an Act for drawing in the bills of credit that had been issued and redeeming them by Treasurer’s notes. An exception was made for small bills of less than one dollar, which could continue to be circulated, and also for bills upon which the State had promised interest. The notes were to be for sums not less than £10. The bond issue was for £250,000, a larger amount than any previous loan. Bills had to be handed into the Treasury before January 1, 1778.

Several towns in the State voiced opposition to the Act, believing that it worked a hardship on holders of small bills and that too short a time was provided for redemption. After listening to a number of petitions from the towns, stating grievances, the General Court passed an Act, December 15, 1777, extending the time for exchanging the bills until April 1, 1778. On December 15, 1777, the House of Representatives authorized the preparation and printing of a handbill explaining the reasons for the Act calling in the bills of credit. It was printed in a folio leaflet of four pages, and copies are to be found in the American Antiquarian Society and other libraries.

In 1778 the General Court decided to call in all the small bills, which had been excluded from the Act of October 13, 1777, redeeming the larger bills through an issue of notes. The new Act was passed October 13, 1778, the preamble stating that “the currency of the small bills of credit emitted in this state before October 18, 1776, suffers much from great numbers of them being much torn and otherwise defaced.” The Act provided for an emission of £28,000, with denominations of 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, and 9 pence, and 1, 1/6, 2, 3, 4, and 4/6 shillings, with thirty thousand of each denomination to be dated October 16, 1778. They were to be “stamped on the copperplates prepared for the last emission,” with the same form and device except for the change of date from October 18, 1776, to October 16, 1778. The Treasurer was authorized to exchange the new bills for all bills of less than six shillings which had been emitted before October 18, 1776, and
penalties were provided for those who did not turn in the bills before March 1, 1779. Thomas Dawes, George Partridge, John Greenough, Richard Cranch, and Jonathan Brown were appointed a committee to number and sign the bills, any one name being sufficient. The final date for redeeming the bills was later lengthened to June 1, 1780 (Acts and Resolves, pages 921, 995).

Although the engraved face of the plate was not changed except for the alteration in the date, the reverse, being merely printed, was changed from “Boston: Printed by John Gill. October 1776” to “Boston, October 1778,” also with alteration of printer’s ornaments. The faces of the plates were much weaker, because of overuse, and in some bills the lines are very faint. Any engraver could have performed the simple task of changing the dates on twelve plates, and there is nothing on record to show who did it, but they were certainly Revere’s plates which were altered. The American Antiquarian Society has all of the twelve bills in its collection, as does the Massachusetts Historical Society and F. C. C. Boyd. The Historical Society also has a restrike of the reverse of the plate, showing all twelve bills with the date of “October 1778.” This restrike has the autograph inscription “Presented by Mr Thomas Fleet the printer 14 Septem 1799,” indicating that it was Fleet who printed the reverse of the plate, in place of John Gill who was the printer of the previous issue. (See Plate no. 77.)

The House soon discovered that the impressions from the old plates were not satisfactory. On January 7, 1779, it was ordered “That the Committee appointed to sign the Bills of Credit, ordered to be emitted by an Act passed the last Session, be a Committee to bring in a Bill for repealing so much of the said Act as they shall judge necessary, and for procuring another Plate for the Impression of said Bills” (House Journal, page 89). This resulted in an Act, passed January 26, 1779, altering the tenor and denominations of the Act of October 13, 1778. The new Act stated that “the copperplates are found insufficient for stamping the number of bills required.” Thirty thousand of each denomination was evidently too much for the plates to stand. Therefore the Act provided for a new plate with a new set of denominations as follows: 1, 1/6, 2, 2/6, 3, 3/6, 4, 4/6, 4/8, 5, 5/4, and 5/6 shillings. Of the £28,000 of the previous emission, £20,000 was to be paid in bills of the new emission (Acts and Resolves, 1886 edition, pages 921, 1010).
The same committee which had signed the bills of October 16, 1778, was authorized to sign the new bills.

This was known as the “Rising Sun” emission, because of the device of a crudely drawn sun set in a square on each bill, with the word “Rising” underneath. There was a border, in design, on either side. The bill was not dated on the engraved face, but stated that it was redeemable December 1, 1782. On the reverse was the amount, the familiar pine tree of previous issues, and at the bottom “Boston, 1779,” all enclosed in a border of type ornaments, and all set in type. The Boston Public Library (Chamberlain Collection) has the original bill from Revere to the State of Massachusetts Bay for 1778, as follows:

To Engraving a Copper plate for a State Note £ 20-00-0
Nov. 16 To Engraving a Copper plate over again for 12 small bills 72-00-0
To printing 8000 impressions at 6 pence 200-00-0
1779 To Engraving a Copper plate for 12 small bills 108-00-0
May Bills of the emission of 16 Oct. and the plate 355-00-0
20 To printing 9400 impressions at 8 pence £755-00-0

Errors Excepted Paul Revere
Deduct for error 41-13-4
£713-6-8

Received the above in the full, by an Order on Mr. Benjamin Sumner one of the Collectors for the Town of Boston.

Boston Octo’r 7, 1779.

Thos. Dawes
Jon’n Brown
Richard Cranch

Among the Revere coppers in the State Archives Division is the original copper of the emission, 12 3/4 by 8 inches, showing all the twelve bills, but with blank reverse. Both the American Antiquarian Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society have restrikes from this copper. In the latter collection is also a restrike from the printed reverse plate, showing the twelve bills, with “Boston, 1779” underneath, and all in type. Inscribed in autograph on this restrike are the words
"Presented by Mr. Thomas Fleet the printer 14 Septem. 1799." This might indicate that Fleet, who printed the Journal of the House from May, 1777 to May, 1779, was the printer of the reverse of the bill instead of John Gill, who had printed the reverse of the issue of October 18, 1776. Of this 1779 emission the American Antiquarian Society collection and the Boyd collection have all of the twelve issues. (See Plate no. 77.)

There is no evidence that Revere engraved any notes or bills of credit from 1779 to the close of the Revolution. He was busily concerned with military affairs, especially in the summer of 1779 when he was one of the officers commanding the Penobscot expedition, after which he spent nearly three years clearing himself of charges connected with that unfortunate campaign. The notes from 1779 to 1783 were for lotteries, advance pay for officers, and various needs of government. Some were engraved, including notes signed by J. M. Furnass, and some were printed from type metal. The only issue of bills of credit was authorized May 5, 1780, was guaranteed by the United States Congress, and was printed by Hall and Sellers of Philadelphia. Revere's work in engraving for the State was confined to the earlier part of the Revolution, and in the later years he returned to gold- and silversmithing, and even ventured into trade as a merchant. The Boston Public Library (Chamberlain Collection) has an original bill from Revere to Massachusetts Commonwealth for 1781, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep'r</td>
<td>To Engraving a Brass Type for the Treasurer</td>
<td>£1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>To repairing it twice</td>
<td>£1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dec. 26, 1781. I hereby Certify the above service was performed for my Office.

H. Gardner Treas.

The statement has been frequently made that Revere engraved the Continental Congress issues of paper money of 1775. It apparently was first made by Benson J. Lossing in his Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, 1851, Volume 1, page 317, where he describes the issuing of bills of credit by the Continental Congress in 1775 and says: "The plates were engraved on copper by Paul Revere, of Boston." But Lossing evidently changed his mind. He wrote an article on "Con-
tinental Money” for Harper’s Monthly Magazine for March, 1863, page 436. It was an anonymous article, but in the general index to the volume it was credited to B. J. Lossing. Here Mr. Lossing says that the United Colonies “employed Smithers, a gun-engraver (who had come to Philadelphia, from England, two years before), to prepare the plates. It is believed that Paul Revere engraved some of the later ones. They were rude specimens of art. The ornamental portions were engraved on type-metal, in the style of wood engraving introduced into this country by Doctor Anderson twenty years afterward; while the body of the lettering was in common movable type.”

An anonymous Review of the Article on Continental Money, in Harper’s Magazine for March, 1863, privately printed, 1863, and signed “Antiquarian” scathingly attacked the article in detail, and said: “We would also like his authority for Smithers. The general impression borne out by the Journal of Congress, is that Paul Revere was the engraver of the notes; he appears, and also in Force’s Archives, but Smithers we cannot find anywhere. Where did he come from?”

The printed record in the Journals of Congress, authorizing the issues of May 10 and November 29, 1775, makes no mention of an engraver of the bills. The first issue, although dated May 10, 1775, was authorized, as to denomination and form, on June 23, 1775, and a committee of five, John Adams, John Rutledge, James Duane, Benjamin Franklin, and James Wilson, were ordered “to get proper plates engraved, to provide paper, and to agree with printers to print the above bills.” The total emission was for two million dollars. On July 21, 1775, a committee of three was authorized “to superintend the press, and to have the oversight and care of printing the bills of Credit ordered to be struck by this Congress.” On July 25 a further emission of one million dollars was ordered, to be struck in bills of thirty dollars each; and twenty-eight signers, not members of the Congress, were appointed to sign the bills. On October 3 the account of Frederick Bicking for fifty-six reams of paper for printing the bills was deemed reasonable. On October 10 a charge of David Rittenhouse for “36 cutts for the continental money amounting to 48 dollars” was allowed. The definition of the word “cutts” is uncertain. On November 29, 1775, a second emission of three million dollars was
authorized, to be printed from the same plates used in the previous emission.

An exhaustive search in the Federal archives, both in the Library of Congress, in the National Archives, and in other record offices, fails to reveal any committee report or document referring to the engraver of either of the two emissions of bills of 1775.

The assumption that Revere engraved the Continental Congress bills persisted. Goss, in his *Life of Paul Revere*, 1891, Volume 2, page 424, states boldly “The plates were engraved by Revere,” and in a footnote credits his authority to Lossing’s *Cyclopedia of United States History*, 1881, Volume 1, page 320, where the author resolved all previous doubts by saying “The plates were engraved by Paul Revere, of Boston.” W. L. Andrews, in his *Paul Revere and his Engraving*, 1901, page 19, follows Goss.

Yet all of the above authors apparently failed to notice the earliest and most important reference to the engraver of the Continental bills. William Dunlap, in his *History of the Arts of Design*, 1834, Volume 1, page 156, states positively: “Smither engraved the blocks for the continental money.” Dunlap, born in 1766, knew personally most of the artists and engravers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and had unparalleled opportunity to obtain facts. His word counts for much.

James Smither was the one engraver in Philadelphia in 1775 to whom the Continental Congress would have turned. His advertisements in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* of April 18, 1768, and January 16, 1769, show that he was skilled in all forms of engraving and even had conducted a school for drawing and design. The design and composition in the Continental Congress bills of 1775 are totally unlike Revere’s work. The bills bear no characteristics of Revere. William Dunlap’s statement made in 1834 that James Smither engraved these bills can well be allowed to stand.

Francis Hopkinson, although he had nothing to do with the engraving of the Continental bills, undoubtedly was concerned with designing them. In a letter to the United States Board of Admiralty, May 25, 1780, he stated that he had designed “7 devices of the Continental Currency,” and “the Borders, Ornaments & Checks for the new Continental Currency now in the Press” (see George E.

As will be observed, the above chapter makes no attempt to write a history of Massachusetts paper currency. The only concern is with the bills and notes which Revere did engrave or may have engraved. Most of his engraving for the Province and for the State is supported by documentary evidence. In a few cases committees handled the business of obtaining engravers and printers and their reports are not on file. A close student of Paul Revere's engraving can generally identify his work through the formation of his lettering and by the use of designs which were characteristic with him. It is to be hoped that documents will be discovered in the future which will add to our knowledge of his engravings.