



Fall 2023

Volume 31, Number 3



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Ex Farouk and Norweb.



1760 Voce Populi Halfpenny. Nelson-17. Unique. EF-40 (PCGS).
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1787 Connecticut Copper. Miller 34-k.3. R-7. AU-58 (PCGS).
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The C4 Newsletter

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Membership questions, address changes, and dues should be sent to Charlie Rohrer at P.O. Box 25, Mountville, PA 17554. Dues are \$30 regular (including 1st class mailing of the Newsletter *within the U.S.*) and \$55 (for 1st class mailing outside the U.S.); \$10 for junior members (under 18 residing in the U.S.) and \$15 (under 19 residing outside the U.S.)



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PRESIDENT'S PAGE - OCTOBER 2023

(Christopher R. McDowell)

By the time you read this, our 2023 C4 Convention will be mere weeks away. A schedule of events is published in this *Newsletter* and a current schedule is on our website. The 2023 convention will bring our successful year-long focus on metal detecting to a close. However, many aspects of the effort will remain, including our metal detecting find of the year contest sponsored by Stack's Bowers Galleries. We have established a metal detecting committee within C4 to continue to push initiatives and manage our yearly contest. The members of this committee have met frequently to establish policies and work on the contest. The first annual cash prize winners are listed in Matt Virga's "Metal Detecting Corner" of this *Newsletter*. In addition to the cash prize winners, three other contestants will receive Will Nipper's outstanding book *In Yankee Doodle's Pocket* (actually I have already mailed the books to them). Please take a moment to read Matt's write-up of the contest winners. I think you will agree that our contest attracted some high-quality entrants. I wish to thank all the committee members for their hard work.

If you look at the schedule of events for this year's convention, you will see that there will be a first-ever metal detecting table at our Friday evening Happening event. This promises to be a very interesting table. I look forward to taking a peek at what the participants bring to share. If you wish to participate in the metal detecting Happening, you need to contact the table captain listed on the schedule immediately, seats are filling up fast at this and other tables. In order to get in the room, you must have a reserved seat and be a member of C4. Please check the schedule for a full listing of other tables at the Happening. We have made an effort to keep the topics fresh and diverse.

Before I move on from the Friday evening Happening, I would be remiss if I did not thank our 2023 sponsor of that event, Stack's Bowers Galleries. In previous years, the Club has picked up the entire cost of the event, but this year Stack's has graciously agreed to be our sponsor. As a result, the event will be bigger and better than ever before. C4 could not ask for a better partner than Stack's Bowers Galleries. If you compare the annual membership dues of C4 to other similar clubs, you will notice that our dues are the lowest and the benefits of our club are unmatched. This is due, in part, to the generous support of Stack's Bowers Galleries in many of our activities. If you see Stack's Executive VP and C4 Honorary Life Member Chris Karstedt at the convention, I hope you will thank her and the rest of the Stack's team for all they do for us. On a related note, I am pleased to announce that despite the inflationary cycle we are currently facing, the 2024 C4 dues will not be increasing except for international members where the cost of postage has caused us to make an adjustment in the membership price.

In addition to an emphasis on the metal detecting community, I have focused this year on our website. The website has come a long way in just a year. There is more work to come, but it is looking very good. A "Members Only" tab has been added. At the Annual Meeting on Saturday morning, I will announce the password to this portal, which will allow you to view all of the *C4 Newsletters* not currently on the Newman Portal. In the next year, I hope to add new features to the website. As I stated in my last President's Message, it is important that we have your current email address since it is a required item to gain entry to the new portal.

I hope you will take some time to look at the advertisements in this *Newsletter* and on our website. These advertisers help defray the cost of the *Newsletter* and website. We have the finest Club publication in numismatics. If I may let you in on a secret, the cost of producing the *C4 Newsletter* and mailing four issues to your home each year, exceeds the price of your individual membership on a per-member annual basis. The only reason why we are able to have such a great publication is because of the support we receive from our

many loyal advertisers. I would like to call out a few here. In future messages, I will laud more of our advertisers and dealers.

Kolbe & Fanning has been a long-time advertiser with us. If you learn one thing in numismatics, you must learn the first great truism, “Buy the Book Before You Buy the Coin.” Kolbe & Fanning has outstanding numismatic literature auctions throughout the year. In addition, you can find many titles at fixed prices on their website. If you have any book-related questions, I encourage you to seek out C4 member David Fanning or for that matter C4 member Charlie Davis and ask them for guidance on selecting the right book for your needs. Another advertiser is C4 Life Member Chris McCawley. Many coins in my private collection were purchased from Chris, whom I trust and love like a brother. Lucas Baldrige will be set up in the C4 area this year. Indeed, he has expanded his footprint, adding more space for his splendid colonial offerings. Make sure you visit Chris’s website and stop by and talk to Lucas at the convention.

As just mentioned, we have expanded the number of dealer tables for this year’s show. During Covid, we had to give up some of our space and feared we might never be able to claw it back. Fortunately, we have been able to reacquire all our space. Please come to the C4 area at this year’s convention and visit all of our splendid colonial coin dealers. Don’t forget to stop by the C4 table and renew your membership, and buy your ticket to the Thursday night dinner—the price for which we have been able to maintain at \$25. As you can see from our schedule, we shall have a book and donated lots auction at the dinner and you shall hear from our Newman lecturers. Educational Chairman and National Vice-President Jim Glickman has arranged some fantastic talks for your enjoyment during the dinner and throughout the convention. I am grateful for all that Jim does for this organization. I am lucky to have such a wise and thoughtful right-hand man who can take the helm when needed.

I hope to see you all at the convention. If I have not met you before, please come up and introduce yourself to me and let me know your numismatic interests.

Christopher R. McDowell,
President, C4
27 September 2023



C4 Convention
Schedule as of 20 SEPT 2023
Dates, Times, and Places Subject to Change

2023 C4 Annual Convention – Schedule of Events
Thursday, November 9 – Saturday, November 11
Baltimore, Maryland

Thursday

- 3:00 pm C4 Study Group (Convention Center, room 304)
6:00 pm C4 Social (Sheraton Rm.[to be confirmed]) C4 & EAC members
Tickets can be purchased at the C4 Table or at the door (\$25)

This is the Zoom link for the following presentations on Thursday evening:
<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/89006022974>, the Zoom session will begin around 7:00 pm.
The ID for the live Zoom event is 890 0602 2974.

It should not be necessary to enter a meeting ID, but if requested, use (will be provided).

- 7:00 pm Christopher R. McDowell, et al, C4 award presentations, donated books auction
7:45 pm Newman Lecture #1 (Mr. W. Shelby) “Metal Detecting and its Impact on Colonial Numismatics” (Live Streamed)
8:45 pm Continuation of donated book auction // Donated lots auction
9:00 pm Newman Lecture #2 (Dr. J. Kraft) “Cache on the Barrelhead: How Hoards and Shipwrecks Have Impacted Colonial Numismatics.” (Live Streamed)

Friday

- 8:00 am C4 Publications Committee meeting (Sheraton Orioles Grille)
2:00 pm Jim Glickman; “*Collecting American Colonials*” (Convention Center, room 304)
3:00 pm C4 Study Group (Convention Center, room 304)
7:00 pm Colonial Happening Sponsored by Stack’s Bowers Galleries (Room in Sheraton TBD, See below for more details)

Saturday

- 8:00 am C4 Board of Directors (Board members only) (Convention Center, room 304)
9:30 am C4 Annual Business meeting – All welcome (Convention Center, room 304)
10:30 am Ray Williams; “Continental Currency: The Paper Money That Funded Our American Revolution” (Convention Center room, 304)

NOTE: This schedule was accurate as of the time of printing. Please confirm times and room locations at the C4 table when you arrive.

**2023 C4 BALTIMORE HAPPENING
SPONSORED BY STACK'S BOWERS GALLERIES
RESERVE YOUR PLACE!**

There will be Five Happening Events at this year's C4 Convention one each for 1) Colonial Currency/Backed, Sewn, Pinned Notes; 2) Vermont Coinage; 3) New Jersey Coinage, 4) Metal Detecting Find; and 5) Counterstamped Colonial Coins. These events will take place Friday evening starting at 7:30 PM in (Room TBD in the Sheraton Hotel in Baltimore. All C4 members are welcome to participate subject to available space. There will be 10 chairs at each table (1 table for each event). Members must contact the event leader of the Happening table of interest in advance to secure a seat at the table. It is first come first serve. Food will be provided by the Club, coffee and water will be provided in the room, with other beverages available for purchase at the nearby bar. All five events will take place simultaneously so you must choose which one you want to be involved in. For security purposes, only those actively involved will be permitted in the room. Participants are asked to not bring extraneous numismatic items and to not leave their coins or paper money unattended. Participants agree to be responsible for their own items. The Club is not responsible for your stuff!

Event #1: Colonial Currency/Backed, Sewn, Pinned Notes. Table leader: Leo Shane, email: leo_j_shane@hotmail.com

The Happening will cover the following:

Backed, Sewn, Pinned Notes. (If time permits, we will look at currency denominated in values that correspond to specific coins. ie; Pistereens, Crowns, Johannas, etc.)

You need not have notes in all three categories (Backed, Pinned, Sewn). Any note or bill you can bring will add to the conversation and fun

Event #2: Vermont Coinage Happening. Table leader: John Hoskins, email: john.r.hoskins@gmail.com

The Happening will cover the following:

1) Vermont Ryder-Richardson varieties 2 thru 8 inclusive.

You need not have examples in all of the varieties. Any coin you can bring will add to the conversation and fun! In particular, please do not hesitate to bring additional examples of a variety if they demonstrate different die states/stages, are overstruck, or have any other interesting characteristics. We are not looking for the "best" of any particular variety – rather we want to drive conversation and learning for all of the attendees.

Event #3: New Jersey Coinage Happening. Table leader: Matt Virga, email: mvirga01@gmail.com

The Happening will cover the following:

1) Running Fox Varieties (74-bb, 75-bb, 76-cc, 77-cc, 77-dd (DS1, DS2, DS3)) in order to view the different die marriages.

2) There will be a period of time where if you would like to bring any variety of your choosing for show and tell, we will allocate time to share!

You need not bring every variety to participate.

Event #4: Metal Detecting Finds Happening. Table leader: Wayne Shelby, email: dughistory@juno.com

The Happening will cover the following:

Colonial era metal detecting finds. This is an opportunity to share your finds and discuss metal detecting with like-minded individuals.

Event #5: Counterstamped Colonial Coins. Table leader: David Palmer, email: dp1787@outlook.com

The Happening will cover the following:

State coppers and Colonial era coins that circulated mostly in what is now America that have been counterstamped with, *inter alia*, makers marks, initials, names, advertising, commemoration of an event, or just all-around silly marks.



MANY NUMISMATIC LITERARY GUILD AWARDS GO TO AUTHORS WRITING ON COLONIAL ERA TOPICS

(Christopher R. McDowell)

The American Numismatic Association's World's Fair of Money held in Pittsburgh, PA, from August 8-12, hosted this year's Numismatic Literary Guild (NLG) Awards Luncheon. Many of the highest awards went to authors who wrote on Colonial numismatic topics. The Colonial Coin Collectors Club's (C4) partner Stack's Bowers Galleries (Stack's) continues its legacy of monumental achievements. Stack's was awarded four top awards, more than all the other auction houses combined: three for Best Catalog and one for Best Numismatic Social Media Platform. Two of the catalogs pertain directly to colonial numismatics. Stack's honored the memory of former C4 member Syd Martin by carefully and professionally cataloging his collection. Stack's Executive Vice President and Honorary C4 Life Member, Christine Karstedt, accepted the awards from Patrick Ian Perez, Executive Director of the NLG on behalf of Stack's. Stack's awards include:

- **Best U.S. Coins Auction Catalog:** The Sydney F. Martin Collection, Part I
- **Best Exonumia Auction Catalog:** The Sydney F. Martin Collection, Part II
- **Best World Coins Auction Catalog:** The April 2023 Hong Kong Auction
- **Best Numismatic Social Media Platform:** SB Instagram – @StacksBowers



Executive VP Chris Karstedt receiving an award for Stack's Bowers Galleries from Patrick Ian Perez, Executive Director of the NLG.

The *Journal of Early American Numismatics* (*JEAN*) continues its dominance in NLG awards, once again receiving the **Best Club/Non-Profit Periodical** award. This is the second time in four years that *JEAN* has received this top award. *JEAN* is edited by C4 Life Member and President Christopher McDowell, and *JEAN*'s editorial staff is comprised mainly of C4 Members: Julia Casey, Lou Jordan, John Kleeberg, Jesse Kraft, John Kraljevich, Phil Mossman, Jeff Rock, Gary Trudgen, Ray Williams, and Vicken Yegparian. Andrew Reinhard of the American Numismatic Society is the publisher of *JEAN*. The publication's success is driven entirely by high-quality articles.

Two of this year's top articles across all numismatics appeared in *JEAN*. C4 Member Julia Casey received the **Best Column or Article: Numismatic History or Personalities** award for her monograph appearing in *JEAN* 5:1 (June 2022) titled "Benjamin Dudley: Maker of the Nova Constellatio Patterns." C4 Member Dr. Jesse Kraft received the **James L Miller Award for the Article or Story of the Year** for his article "The 'Wild Scheme' of Sydney P. Noe: The 1942 Exhibition of Massachusetts Bay Silver Coinage at the American Numismatic Society," which appeared in *JEAN* 5:2 (Dec. 2022). It should be understood that Julia and Jesse's awards are open to articles on any numismatic topic, not just articles on Colonial numismatics. However, over the past five years, almost every top numismatic literary award has gone to an article dealing with Colonial numismatics.

In addition to the above, the **Best Book: Token and Medals** went to *The Early Betts Medal Companion: Medals of America's Discovery and Colonization (1492-1737)* by Christopher McDowell, and the **Best Column or Article: U.S. Paper Money** was received by C4 Member Neil Musante for his article on early bank note engraving that appears in the *ANS Magazine* in 2023 titled "Vitriolic acid, geometry, and the early technology of bank note engraving." We are living in the Golden Age of American Colonial numismatics. The highest energy and greatest excitement in all of numismatics is in American Colonials.



Christopher McDowell, Julia Casey, Neil Musante, and Jesse Kraft hold their plaques at the ANA convention in Pittsburgh.

HISTORICAL/HYSTERICAL MEETING AT CINCINNATI COIN SHOW

(Christopher R. McDowell)

I attended this year's Cincinnati coin show on June 28th. Since I co-sponsored our nation's 14th president to come and interact with attendees and children, I was taking time to relax and chat with him. Mr. Lincoln told me why he had a Confederate \$5 note in his wallet that fateful day at Ford's Theater and several other interesting numismatic stories.



C4 President Christopher McDowell with Abraham Lincoln

Just as Honest Abe told of his visits to the Queen City, he stopped and said, "I see General Lee over there. I must go say hello." I looked over and saw my good friend Bruce Smith, C4's Region 6 Vice-President. I told Lincoln that it was not Lee but Bruce Smith; he would have none of it and walked right over. As I took a photograph of the two men, I had to admit the similarities were uncanny. Rumor has it they are now traveling the country visiting coin shows!



C4 Region 6 V-P, Bruce Smith and Abraham Lincoln

Early Currency **THE CHARLES BUSHNELL MANUSCRIPT – PART 1**

(Ray Williams)

On one visit to the ANS Library with Roger Siboni, I had the opportunity to view a handwritten manuscript, authored by Charles Bushnell, probably in the 1850s. The manuscript isn't dated, but it is bound in a beautiful, contemporary, approximately 500-page journal. The project obviously started off in an ambitious manner, but ended after 49 pages.

Great care was taken in writing this manuscript. The penmanship is clean and legible. There are few, if any, mistakes that were corrected. The pages are numbered, so he didn't rewrite any pages. This is a painstakingly precise documentation on the topic of early currency.

The manuscript's contents are mostly a compilation of laws, court accounts, and commerce in the 1600s colonial Dutch & British America. Transactions using wampum, beaver, tobacco, and barter items are recounted here. Bushnell does stray from the numismatic theme on occasion, bringing to light some of the social and religious laws and life of the times.

After reading the manuscript cover to cover several times, I wanted to know more about Charles Ira Bushnell the man. Of course I've seen the name before in pedigree listings. And Bushnell is one of those names I associate with great collectors of the 1800s. So I went to my library and pulled down *American Numismatics before the Civil War 1760-1860* by Dave Bowers (published by Bowers & Merena in 1998). In the index, I found 30 different locations where Bushnell was referenced.

Charles Bushnell was born on July 28, 1821, a date that has been verified by William Swoger in his genealogical research. He seems to have had a passion for numismatics and history, and his numismatic pursuits seems to have been the most active in the 1850s. He published his book on tokens in 1858, a scarce book today, which was well-written, illustrated, and without a doubt... the standard reference of the day.

On page 111 of *American Numismatics before the Civil War*, Dave states that Bushnell wrote about himself in the third person:

"He would further say that he is now, and has been for several years past, engaged in the preparation of two other works connected with the Numismatology of this country, but of a more extensive and elaborate character. A vast amount of interesting and valuable material has been gathered together, and the result of his labors will be given to the public in due course of time."

I found this quite interesting! Bushnell was working on two manuscripts at the time. In the next paragraph, Bowers states that *"Unfortunately for posterity, the 'two other works' never materialized."* It appears that these two manuscripts were made available to Crosby in the 1870s when he was writing *The Early Coins of America*. Several such Crosby references to the Bushnell manuscript are on page 282, concerning NJ Coppers. Crosby makes several direct quotes, crediting the manuscript as the source, all of which are of great importance to the students of the NJ Copper coinage.

It is now my suspicion that this manuscript in the ANS Library, entitled *Early Currency*, is one of the two manuscripts that Charles Bushnell was compiling on colonial numismatics – one of the two that Bowers fears were lost to posterity. The hunt should continue to find the second manuscript entitled *Numismatic Notes*. It may pop up in some historical society, a library, or a personal collection. I hope it is not lost to the ages.

Bushnell was a contemporary of Montroville Dickeson and John Hickcox. Dickeson published his important *American Numismatic Manual* and Hickcox published the classic *An Historical Account of American Coinage*. I believe that knowing of these works, Bushnell had a much more ambitious publication in mind.

Why did Bushnell not publish a book utilizing all the information in his manuscripts? No one knows for sure, but let me speculate... As with many potential authors, the first 80% of their research and writing comes quickly and is fun. That last 20% can be a killer (and often is) and takes forever. I know that Bushnell accumulated a lot of colonial numismatic information. There was still more he wanted to do, but personal drive, life circumstances, and any number of things prevented him from writing the book. Lending his manuscript information to Crosby had to be his final realization that he wouldn't publish. Having been referenced by Crosby 28 times in *The Early Coins of America*, I'm of the opinion that Bushnell's manuscript was the foundation for the book, or minimally made it the significant reference it became. Once he saw Crosby's magnum opus, whatever hopes Bushnell had to publish were put to rest.



Scene from Halloween 2022: Rendition of a Pine Tree Shilling in pumpkin, courtesy of Ron Swinnich of Westford, MA.

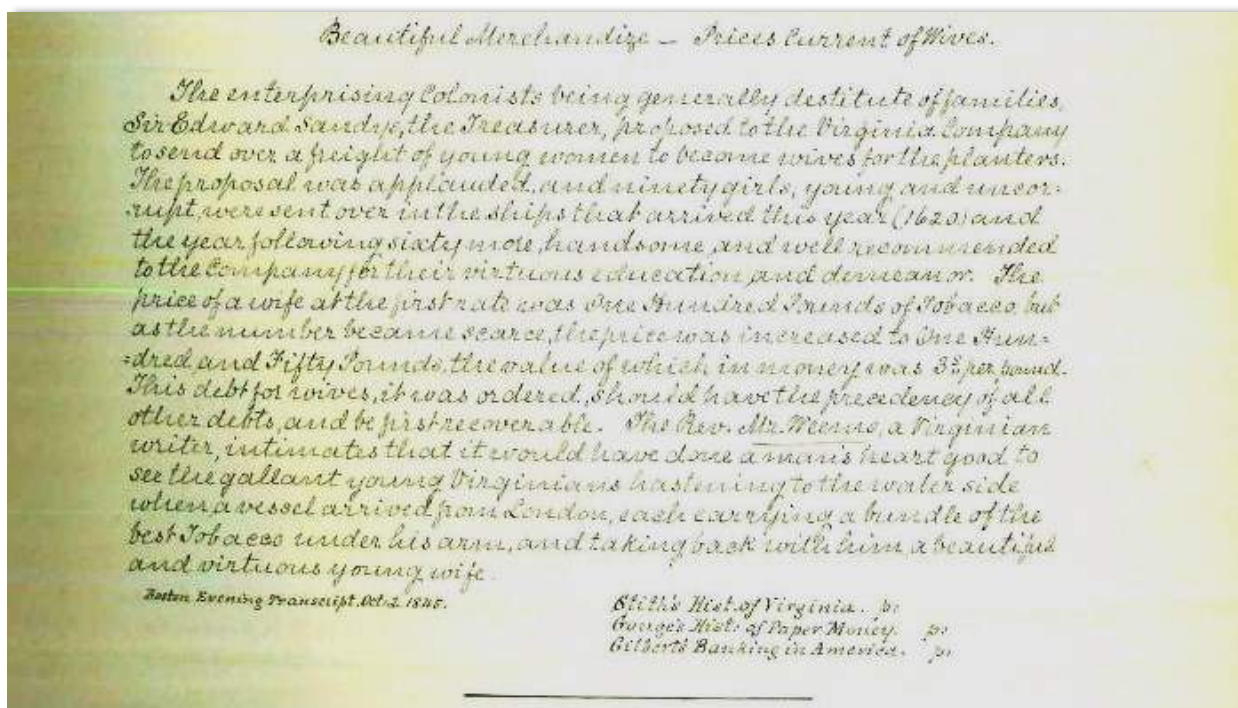
THE CHARLES BUSHNELL MANUSCRIPT – PART 2 TOBACCO WIVES

(Ray Williams)

The term of the title may seem politically incorrect for today, but it was contemporaneous. Many collectors of colonial monies obtain specimens of coins, paper bills, and tokens. Some of us also collect items traded in commerce. In the early colonial days, barter was most often the means of conducting business. Any items could be exchanged between two willing colonists. Tobacco was in great demand and held its value for many years.

The image below is from the original Bushnell manuscript (page 47) followed on the next page by an easier to read transcription. Now it is not my belief that women were being sold for 100 pounds of tobacco. I believe these women were given the opportunity for a new life in a new world and there were men willing to be married. The cost of 100 pounds of tobacco reimbursed the ship's captain for passage, food, and necessities for crossing the Atlantic. Of course a profit margin was built into the fee.

Not an expert on the topic, but marriage was not necessarily the love and courtship we expect from American society today. Marriage was often out of convenience or decided by families. My Italian grandparents (Mom's side) didn't even meet until a week before the wedding! And that marriage lasted over 70 years!!! Also, raising very large families on farms was commonplace as the children were needed to help work the farm.



Beautiful Merchize – Prices current of Wives.

The enterprising colonists being generally destitute of families, Sir Edward Sandys, the Treasurer, proposed to the Virginia Company to send of a freight of young women to become wives for the planters. The proposal was applauded and ninety girls, young and uncorrupt, were sent over in the ships that arrived this year (1620) and the year following sixty more, handsome and well recommended to the company for their virtuous education and demeanor. The price of a wife at first rate was One hundred Pounds of Tobacco; but as the number became scarce, the price was increased to One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, the value of which in money was 3..s per pound. This debt for wives, it was ordered, should have the precedence of all other debts and be first recoverable. The Rev. Mr. Weems, a Virginian writer, intimates that it would have done a man's heart good to see the gallant young Virginians hastening to the water side when a vessel arrived from London, each carrying a bundle of the best tobacco under his arm, and taking back with him a beautiful and virtuous young wife.

Boston Evening Transcript. Oct 2. 1845.

Stith's Hist. of Virginia. p:

George's hist: of Paper Money. p:

Gilbert's Banking in America. p:

When I originally read Bushnell's manuscript, this little snapshot in history stuck in my mind, and I thought I'd share it with you. It's a part of colonial life in early Virginia I was unaware of. Thank you to the Historical Society of Hamilton Township at the John Abbott House and docent Mary O'Neal.



JULY 5, 2023 INTERVIEW WITH DAVID FANNING, NUMISMATIC BOOK DEALER

(Jeff Burke)

INTRODUCTION

I am grateful to David Fanning, numismatic literature specialist, for his thoughtful responses to my questions about numismatic bibliographies, the genesis of Kolbe & Fanning Numismatic Booksellers, colonials, and the Annapolis Tuesday Club Medal. I conducted a Q & A interview with David through an exchange of e-mails in June and July 2023.

I had fun perusing the Kolbe & Fanning website (www.numislit.com) and learned more about categories of numismatic literature. I particularly liked reading through the auction lots.



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q: You earned a Ph.D. in English Language and Literature from the Ohio State University in 2003. How do you use your academic training in your daily work as a numismatic literature dealer?

A: My academic background does come in handy in my professional life. By sheer chance, my schooling coincided with the early proliferation of the internet. My undergraduate work was conducted entirely without the internet; my graduate work began in 1994, right when people outside the computer sciences were starting to get online. I became an early proponent of using the internet for research in the humanities; I actually gave a presentation to a couple of hundred academics in Zürich, Switzerland in 1996 on using the internet in their work, which I find funny to think about now. So a lot of my formal training in conducting research was based on physically going to libraries and searching through printed matter, and a lot of my early personal research work involved figuring out how the internet could best be used for such research. It is a combination that has served me well. In more specific terms, I studied bibliography to some extent while I was in school and became comfortable writing serious research papers.

Q: What led to your founding of Kolbe & Fanning Numismatic Booksellers in 2010?

A: When I was in high school, I became aware of the vast body of numismatic literature that had been published over the years, and my interest in coins and in old books quickly came together. I had been collecting coins for a few years, but started buying more serious coin books when I was 15 and started selling them when I was 16, placing my first ad in *Penny-Wise*, the Early American Coppers publications, in 1988. I stepped away from the hobby for a decade or so while I was at university, but when I returned my interest in numismatic literature was quickly revived. I started issuing fixed price lists in 2003 and held my first auction in 2008. I conducted three auctions on my own in 2008 and 2009. George Kolbe and I had been talking for some time about how to merge our businesses, which we eventually did in February 2010.

A: In a “Lunch with David Fanning” *Mint News Blog* from September 21, 2018, I learned of your fondness for the Annapolis Tuesday Club medal. Please describe why this is one of your favorite medals.

Q: A lot of its appeal has to do with the design. The clasped hands within a heart is a refreshing change from most medals of the period, which are usually concerned with trumpeting a monarch’s power or celebrating a military victory. While I appreciate those other medals for their historical value, the Tuesday Club medal is charming in a way that few other Betts medals match. The main motto, *Concordia Res Parvae Crescunt* (In Harmony, Small Things Grow,) a line from the Roman writer Sallust, is also meaningful to me. This motto is poorly translated and its meaning lost by some numismatic writers, which is unfortunate. Finally, as a numismatist, it’s important to me as an early medal made for Americans and because of its rarity.

Q: I read that you have an interest in colonials. If you had unlimited funds, which colonial issues would you most like to own?

A: Yes, my main area of interest as a collector is in North American colonial coins. I mostly collect Connecticut coppers, but have a strong interest in the so-called State Coppers in general (including Machin’s Mills and Vermont pieces), as well as in Massachusetts silver. If I could afford to, I would collect by the variety in all of those areas. As it is, I dabble as I can, placing a lot of emphasis on provenance—I really enjoy painted die varieties and other coins with known ownership histories. I occasionally catalogue colonial coins for Heritage Auctions, who have given me the opportunity to “play” with a lot of wonderful coins I couldn’t afford to buy myself. I was the primary cataloguer of Don Partrick’s collection of New Jersey coppers, and did cataloguing for some of the pieces in the Eric P. Newman, Chris Salmon and Alan Weinberg collections, among others.

Q: What are your current research interests?

A: My current work is on early numismatic photography. I’m working on a long article on numismatic photography from the 1840s to the 1860s that I want to develop into a book project with an expanded scope through the 1870s. I have also begun working on an edited edition of the correspondence of Eric P. Newman and F.C.C. Boyd, and am assembling materials for a revised edition of my bibliography of Walter Breen’s published numismatic writings.

Q: What advice do you have for new literature collectors who are just starting to acquire antiquarian numismatic books, auction catalogs, and periodicals?

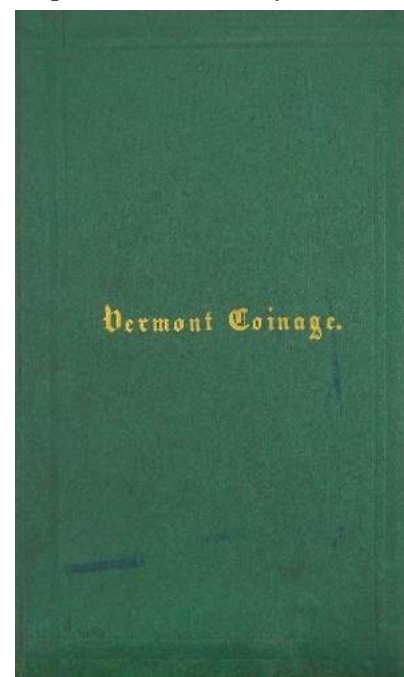
A: Really, it depends a lot on what kind of publications are being collected and why they are being collected. Regardless of specialty, there is probably at least one good bibliography about it, and those are useful regardless of whether one is forming a working research library or collecting books as artefacts of our hobby’s history. There are also good general books about books themselves—explaining the formatting of books, bindings, papers, typography, illustrative techniques, and so on. The more you know about books in general, the more savvy a book buyer you will be. Think of the kind of things you had to learn to be a knowledgeable collector of coins—grading, the minting process, varieties, how to properly store your coins, whether or not you should conserve them in some way... there are very similar things to learn about books.

Q: I really enjoyed listening to your NBS Bibliotalk Podcast on “Numismatic Bibliographies,” with Lianna Spurrier. Please tell us about some of your favorite numismatic bibliographies. What makes them stand out?

A: Thank you. Bibliographies can be fascinating, and I say that knowing that they can also be as dry as dust. Ideally, a bibliography is not simply going to be a listing of what has been written on a particular topic (or by a particular author, or during a certain period of time, or whatever its scope), but a tool that can open doors to both the casual reader and the serious scholar. I especially like annotated bibliographies, which augment the basic listing with commentary by the author. These can be brief notes on a book’s utility or focus, as can be found in the numismatic bibliographies by Elvira E. Clain-Stefanelli or Philip Grierson, or extensive notes such as those found in Adolfo Modesti’s bibliography of books on medals or some of Christian Dekesel’s books on antiquarian numismatic books (i.e., books printed before 1801). My favorite numismatic bibliographies are John W. Adams’s two volumes on *United States Numismatic Literature*, in which he provides a huge amount of information on American numismatic auction catalogues. I have other favorite numismatic bibliographies, on subjects further removed from colonial coins, including some going back to the late 17th century, which I actually still use when cataloguing early titles. In addition, I’d have to say that one of my very favorite bibliographies is not numismatic at all, but is still of interest to colonial specialists: Thomas Holmes’s six magnificent volumes of bibliographies on the writings of the Mather Family of colonial Massachusetts.

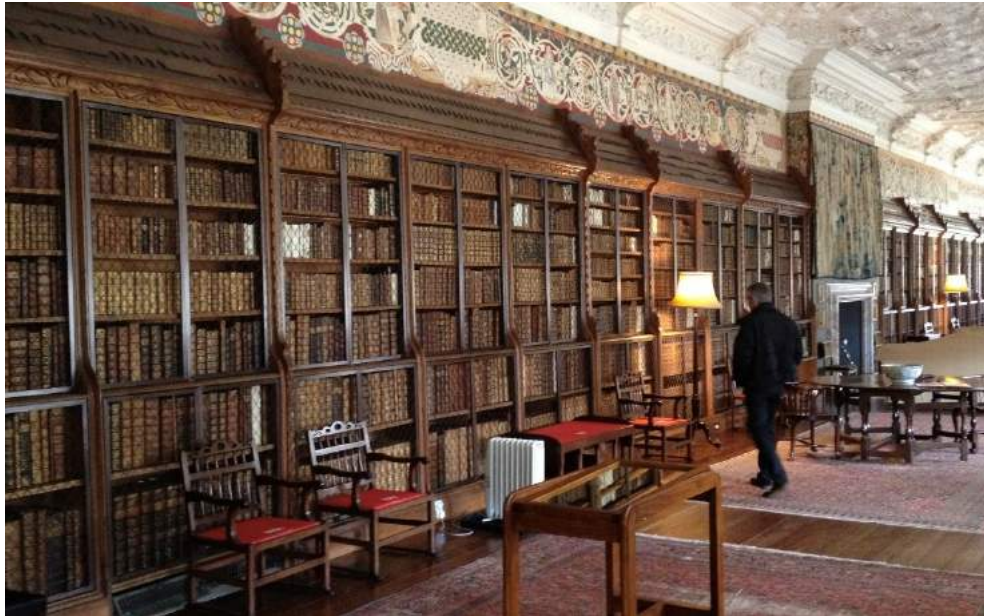
Q: Could you share an anecdote about an especially rare or unexpected work of numismatic literature that you discovered in your travels?

A: I suppose I have the same sort of stories most active collectors and dealers have. Focusing on colonial numismatics, I very much remember stumbling across a copy of the very rare offprint of Rev. Edmund Slafter’s 1870 work on *The Vermont Coinage*. Only 50 copies of this were produced, and very few have survived. I was looking at something else on eBay and at the bottom of the page was something like “You might also be interested in...” One of the photos jumped out at me: the Slafter work has a very distinctive bright green binding. I clicked on the link to find that it was indeed what I thought it was, it was an auction, the current bid level was somewhere around \$100, and it closed in about an hour and a half! The odds of my finding this were very poor. I entered a reasonably high bid, and then placed an even higher snipe bid just in case. I proceeded to spend a very anxious 90 minutes waiting to see if I would win this. And I did, for something ridiculous like \$130. I would have loved to keep it for myself, but bookselling is how I make my living, and this went into our Sale 150, which featured highlights from the John W. Adams Library, and sold for \$2700—not too shabby a profit margin.



On a trip to England in 2013, I toured Blickling Hall, the stately home on the estate where Anne Boleyn was born. It houses the massive and wonderful library formed by Sir Richard Ellys. The library includes a handful of numismatic titles, including a gorgeous copy of the 1702 folio on the medals of Louis XIV. But what really caught my attention was something non-numismatic but hugely important to colonial America. I was listening to a guide discuss the library, and she was barely holding my attention as I wanted to walk around and explore on my own. Keeping her discussion general, she mentioned a number of important books held by the library, including a Bible translated into the Algonquian Indian language. I

jerked my head up and practically yelled, “You have an Eliot Indian Bible?!” in an astonished, high-pitched squeak. It was a bit embarrassing, but this is one of the most important books printed in 17th-century America and I was amazed to find a copy of it there. You really never know what you might find in these old libraries.



Sir Richard Ellys' library at Blickling Hall



BULK SHIPMENTS FROM THE NEW HAVEN MINT THOUGHTS ON CONTAINERS FOR BULK FUGIO AND CONNECTICUT COPPERS SHIPMENTS

(Randy Clark)



We know from New Haven mint account records that small transactions were constantly being made for personal and business use, such as buying food and supplies. It is assumed those were made using wallets or bags, as the quantity of coppers was usually small (less than 100 coppers). But for bulk shipments (1000+ coppers), such as when a merchant purchased a large quantity or a mint shipment was made to a treasury board, what was used to handle these larger transactions? When the Hamden, CT production facility shipped blank planchets in bulk to New Haven for stamping, what was used to hold them?

There are several documented references to copper coin shipments from the New Haven mint for both Connecticut state and Fugio federal coppers. I thought it might be interesting to investigate what we know about bulk shipments and then infer what kind of barrel, keg or cask may have been used, based on weights, tare, and internal volume requirements.

After much time and research, however, there are scant few conclusions that can be made in this article, as there is little documentation or evidence directly related to shipment container types for 18th century coppers. Hence, the intent is to socialize the topic in the hopes that more definitive information might be found in the future.

FUGIO COPPERS

All known Fugio copper shipments were made in bulk from the New Haven mint by April 1788. The Fugios were shipped in partial fulfillment of James Jarvis' contract to supply the new federal "cent" coinage, authorized in 1787. Fugios were never legal tender anywhere (and looked very different from circulating coinages). They were of no value to the New Haven mint locally, so I am confident they would have been delivered per the Board of Treasury's instructions.

The New Haven mint account books document all were shipped to New York City to the care of local merchant John Blagge. It is not clear why they were all shipped there, but it is believed Blagge was acting as agent for the national Board of Treasury. It is possible the fledgling Bank of New York was the intended location to store the new federal coppers, pending their disposition. There is quite a bit of speculation on this topic, but it is not relevant to this article.

The term shipment is appropriate here, since the 57 "keggs" were shipped to New York on the sloops *Delight*, *Deborah Anne*, *Polly*, and *Friendship* from February 26, 1788 to April 24, 1788 (per the Jarvis & Platt account book held at the New Haven Historical Society/Museum). The specific weights and quantities are shown in the following table.

Gross Weight (lbs.)	Tare (lbs.)	Net Weight (lbs.)	Number Kegs (each)	My Estimated Coins/Keg *
209 ½	9 ½	200	4	9,333
210	10	200	11	9,333
210 ½	10 ½	200	3	9,333
211	11	200	11	9,333
211 ½	11 ½	200	4	9,333
212	12	200	2	9,333
215 ½	10 ½	205	1	9,567
217	12	205	1	9,567
219	11	208	1	9,707
221	11	210	1	9,800
226	11	215	1	10,033
227	12	215	1	10,033
229	9	220	1	10,267
231	11	220	2	10,267
231 ½	11 ½	220	1	10,267
232 ½	10 ½	222	1	10,360
235 ½	10 ½	225	2	10,500
240	10	230	2	10,733
240 ½	10 ½	230	1	10,733
241	11	230	3	10,733
241 ½	11 ½	230	1	10,733
249	9	240	1	11,200
261	11	250	1	11,667
TOTAL		11,910	57	555,800

* While the authorized weight of Fugio coppers was 157.5 grains, measurements of the Bank of New York coppers by Damon Douglas indicates the average weight is closer to 150 grains. The estimated number of coins per keg uses 150 grains.

As an aside, the "keggs" shipped above were numbered #2 to #58 and totaled 11,910 net lbs. of Fugio coppers. It is assumed keg #1 (undocumented) was shipped at an earlier date to demonstrate the mint's capability and held 200 net lbs. That totals up to 12,110 lbs. of Fugio coppers shipped from New Haven, which is the exact number the Jarvis-Platt New Haven mint account book documents on September 13, 1788 as the net Fugio production run (565,133 coppers using an estimated average coin weight of 150 grains each).

You may recall that during early production of Fugios, intended to be federal cents at 157.5 grains each, the famous "coppers panic" devaluation of coinage was undermining the basis for all copper coinage. By May 1788 the US treasury board knew the incoming Fugio coppers were now going to only be worth ¾ cent, and was looking for a way to halt their production. Jarvis, through his non-performance in producing too few-too late, gave the treasury board the opening it needed to cancel the Fugio contract in September 1788.

The Board of Treasury acknowledged receipt of only 8,968 lbs. of Fugios, which they later divested privately to Royal Flint in a single transaction on July 7, 1789. The rest are unaccounted for. I believe the remaining Fugios were shipped as documented in the Jarvis-Platt account book and were intentionally not received by the Board of Treasury to limit their financial exposure (i.e., held in limbo). Others do not share this view.

THE BANK OF NEW YORK (BONY) FUGIO KEG

W.C. Prime published an article in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* Volume XX, 1860 (p. 476) stating “only a year ago a keg filled with them [Fugios] was found in the vault of one of our New York banks, where they had reposed quietly for half a century.” The Bank of New York in February 1977 stated, “A keg containing the Fugio coins remained in the vault untouched until 1856, when the Bank building was razed for reconstruction.” Based on Damon Douglas’ 1950s-era unpublished manuscript on Fugio coppers, by 1926 the bank’s Fugio coppers were now contained in three cotton bags. Which means, unfortunately, there is no longer an original Fugio keg available to view.

It is unlikely the BONY keg seen in 1860 was part of the 8,968 lbs. the treasury board sold to Royal Flint in 1789. I suspect the Bank of New York Fugio keg was part of the excess inventory originally shipped by the New Haven mint, but not officially received or acknowledged by the Treasury, presumably remaining at the Bank of New York since 1788. But that is speculation.

Damon Douglas was advised that samples of Fugios from this keg were given out to important bank customers since discovery, such that by 1948 Douglas found only 1,640 pieces remaining (34.9 lbs worth of coins). He estimated that if the keg originally held 100 lbs of coins, then 2/3 of the Fugios had already been given away. However, it is documented that the lightest keg delivered from the New Haven mint contained 200 lbs net of Fugios. Clearly the origin of the Bank of New York keg and its contents are not yet fully understood.



The Bank of New York Fugios, *Bank One*, February 1977

CONNECTICUT COPPERS

Authorizing legislation for Connecticut coppers in 1785 required 5% of the production volume be submitted to the Connecticut Treasury for use at the state's discretion. There are records on the quantity of coppers submitted by the New Haven mint to the state in the Connecticut Treasury Day Book, held at the Connecticut State Library. About 1,400 lbs. was acknowledged as received, but there is little hard information on how they were physically shipped. Those deliveries received by the state in 1786 and early 1787 were accounted for only by weight or valuation. However, the last two shipments, received in late 1787 and early 1788, were documented as four "kegs," also called "casks."

After the state's coppers coining rights were suspended in June 1789, there were ongoing references to the last four "casks" of Connecticut coppers being held by the Connecticut State Treasury (any prior inventory must have already been divested). The itemized inventory below is found in the Connecticut Treasurer's Waste Book on June 27, 1789, at which point the coppers were being financially "carried forward" by the state Treasurer, Jedidiah Huntington.

Gross Weight (lbs.)	Tare (lbs.)	Net Weight (lbs.)	Number Kegs	My Estimated Coins/Keg *
289 $\frac{3}{4}$	16	273 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	14,194
210	10	200	1	10,370
151	11	140	1	7,260
210	10	200	1	10,370
TOTAL		813 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	42,194

* While the authorized weight of Connecticut coppers was 144 grains, measurements of thousands of coppers in the ANS and other holdings indicates the average weight is closer to 135 grains. The estimated number of coins per keg uses 135 grains.

The coppers were financially carried forward for two additional years before they were eventually divested/sold to an "E. Doolittle," in a transaction recorded on July 25, 1791.

Connecticut Treasury Office, Hartford, July 25th, 1791

19	Cash	D ^r 37.5.11			
165	To ... Coppers for 4 Casks wt. 813 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. sold E. Doolittle @ 11d per lb.		37	5	11

Julia Casey wrote an excellent article, "Was the 1792 Doolittle Bell Cast from Connecticut Coppers?" for the *C4 Newsletter*, Winter 2022, identifying "E. Doolittle" as Enos Doolittle of Hartford, CT. He is believed to have purchased the bulk coppers as raw material for his bell foundry business, specifically to make a bell for the courthouse of Lenox, Massachusetts.

These are the only known keg shipment weights for Connecticut coppers sent to the state treasury. Unfortunately, no documentation has been located that discusses any shipments between planchet production facilities in Hamden, CT, and a stamping location in New Haven.

Many New Haven mint transactions with local merchants were done in bulk, but in the 2 to 20 lb. range. In the mint's Leavenworth day book ledger for 1787, entries are shown for bulk sales to merchants ranging from 100s to 1,000s coppers each - transactions too small to warrant the use of a 200 lb. keg. (1,000

coppers weigh less than 20 lbs.). However, there is no information in the account books on types of carriers to hold coppers for these smaller transactions.

Some interesting examples were later found by C4 member Jay Knipe in the account books of New Haven merchants Eli & Thaddeus Beecher (see table below). In addition to selling the mint various items for use in the production of coppers, these merchants also arranged personal travel and shipments to New York City. Here the entries refer to “bags” and “keggs” of coppers being shipped to New York in 1787 ... which is interesting since Fugios were not yet in production, suggesting Connecticut coppers had been used in New York commerce (as were New Jersey coppers).

Date	Beecher Acct References	Price	Beecher Acct Comments
June 4, 1787	To freight 6 bags coppers to New York	£ 0.2.0	On Jeremiah Platt & Company account, p.59
June 19, 1787	To freight 1 “kegg” coppers to New York	£ 0.1.6	On Jeremiah Platt & Company account, p.59
Sept 12, 1787	To freight 2 bags coppers to New York & freight sundries	£ 0.3.0	On Mr. James Jarvis account, p. 60. Per Abel Buell.
Dec 10, 1787	To freight 32 bags coppers to New York	--	On Mr. James Jarvis account, p. 60. Mixed entry.

This is the first time I had seen the term “bags” used to ship New Haven mint coppers. To estimate how much a bag might hold, I took the June 19th keg weight of 180 lbs with shipment cost of 18d, and scaled the June 4th shipment cost of 24d to arrive at a per-bag weight of 40 lbs each (which is reasonable). The other entries on September 12 and December 10 are less useful, but confirm bags were a frequent form of shipment. It makes sense that bags, or sacks, were used to transport quantities of coppers that could be carried by hand (vs. needing to be rolled in a keg).

WHAT KIND OF KEG? SOME THOUGHTS.

I am not an expert on cask or keg technology, but have attempted to research the topic on the web.

While New Haven was an active port trading in rum, cider, and other liquid wares, I suspect the casks used to transport coppers were dry volumes (slack – not water tight) versus the more expensive and heavy water tight barrels otherwise used in trading. With a typical tare of 10 lbs and a shipment weight of 200 lbs I would estimate the capacity of each keg to be between 5 to 8 Gallons, requiring both a top and bottom “head” end to allow rolling. The use of wooden and iron hoops is said to have been mixed in the late 18th century America, and New Haven would have been capable of making both locally. For this size of keg, it seems four hoops/bands is common, one for each head end and one above and below the widest point (the bilge). I suspect whatever was least expensive and most available would have been chosen, and the kegs were likely reused, where possible.

You can find modern suppliers of water tight oak barrels of 5 Gallon capacity that weigh 20 lbs. (higher than what a slack keg would weight) and measure roughly 9-10” diameter at the head ends, 11-12” diameter at the bilge and 16-20” tall. As you might expect, there is quite a bit of variation in barrel dimensions today, and the same may have been true for the New Haven mint (unless they had kegs built to their own specifications).

Then I heard about a wooden keg at the ANS once said to have held US coins ... so let’s take a look at that.

THE ANS 19TH CENTURY KEG (FEDERAL COIN SHIPMENT)

In 2011 a federal coin keg was donated to the ANS, which is believed to have been used to ship US coins to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York at some time in the mid 19th century. The empty keg weighs 8.9 lbs. with one of its end caps missing and would be estimated closer to 9.5 lbs. if both caps were in place. The keg stands 14.8 " tall. The circumference at the ends ranges from 28.7" to 28.9" (diameter about 9.1") and is 33.5" at the bilge/middle (diameter about 10.6"). It is made of an unidentified wood and has four metal hoops. There is no bung or opening visible on the keg, although there is a wax seal of some type on one head end.

Erik Goldstein, Curator of Mechanical Arts & Numismatics at Colonial Williamsburg, comments, "Just looking at the nails and the style of the lettering & engine turning on the seal, I'd say the [ANS keg] probably dates c. 1860-1910."

Per Jonathan Hallman, Master Cooper at Colonial Williamsburg, "A quick estimate of volume of the ANS keg, allowing for the volume lost due to the substance of the wood and the inset of the heads, comes out at about 760 cubic inches. I would concur with Erik that its probably second half of the 19th century. Looking closely at the details, it seems to be a combination of machine and hand work. The staves appear to be quarter-sawn stock rather than split, and they appear to have been shaped at least partly by machine, looking at some of the tooling marks left on the surface of the wood. The preparation of the ends of the container to receive the heads, on the other hand, appears to have been done by hand."

Based on the weight and basic size/construction, is it possible this 19th century ANS keg is like what was used for 18th century copper shipments from the New Haven mint?

Jonathan adds, "I'd be inclined to guess that the Fugios from the mint were being shipped in a standardized container (although the last 2 casks listed seem outliers in terms of the total wight of coins). Its possible that the mint simply adopted a size of container already in use for something else, or they could have established their own standard. A cubic foot of volume equates to about 7.5 gallons, which amounts to 1,732.5 cubic inches. The ANS keg (at 760 cubic inches) is a good bit smaller than what you're looking for."

This led me to search the EAC *Penny-Wise* archives looking for any similar discussions on the shipment of federal large cents, since they were *roughly* the same size as Fugio and Connecticut coppers.

HOW MANY 19TH CENTURY FEDERAL LARGE CENTS IN A VOLUME CONTAINER?

The following was published in *Penny-Wise*, November 1998 (p. 431,) discussing federal large cents shipping in volume containers. It was also interesting to review this information to see if the ANS 19th century keg could have shipped US Federal large cents. *Penny-Wise* is the official publication of Early American Coppers, Inc. (Quoted here with permission.)

How Many Cents In A Keg? (1816-1848)

Craig Sholley, *Penny-Wise*, November 1998, (Excerpted)

"As most copper collectors are aware, the US Mint shipped large cents to banks, post offices, and directly to some commercial customers in kegs. This has, of course, led to the question of exactly how many centers were in a keg.

"I do a considerable amount of research in the Mint records which are held at the Regional Archives in Philadelphia. This past September I pulled a set of records I had not previously read - Entry 19, Letters Sent by the Treasurer of the Mint, 1816 - 1848.

"I found literally dozens of letters regarding the number of cents in a keg! The letters were replies to customers - banks, post offices, etc. - who had requested a "keg" or "kegs" of cents, and letters to insurers for shipping insurance on those kegs.

"The following are extracts from a few of the more interesting letters.

"Letter to John White, Esq., Collector of the Internal Revenue, Philadelphia, June 19, 1816: 'I have received your note of the 18th requesting of Cents ... I shall be happy to furnish you with one cask containing 180 Dollars.' Letter to Samuel Yale, Esq., Postmaster, Troy, NY, Sept. 13, 1816: '...two casks of cents each containing \$150 will be however at any time delivered to your order.'"

"And perhaps the most revealing letter I found on the subject, this one to Butler & Berry(?), New York, Nov. 17, 1821: 'Any further orders for cents will be promptly attended to, but as the casks in which the cents are packed generally contain 150, 160, 170, 180, & 190 Dollars, if your orders were extended to either of these sums it would save us much trouble.'"

"In scanning through the rest of the letters on this subject up to 1848, I found that the Mint did, in fact, ship in the quantities mentioned in this letter. However, the most predominant figures were those for 150, 160 and 180 dollars per keg. It therefore seems that there was not a "standard" cent keg.

"It therefore seems that there was not a 'standard' cent keg. The Mint was apparently using whatever kegs it had at hand to ship cents. The kegs were likely not only those in which the Mint had received planchets, but also other sundry items - nails, etc."

At 168 grains per 1816-1835 large cent, \$150 (15,000 coins) would weigh 360 lbs. and \$190 (19,000 coins) would weigh 456 lbs. Such federal cent kegs would be much larger than the 200 lb. kegs being discussing in reference to 18th century New Haven mint shipments, and likely not the ANS 19th century keg, either. Perhaps the ANS keg shipped gold or silver coins, instead.

ANY CONCLUSIONS?

Well, as I indicated earlier this article will be scant on conclusions. It does appear the New Haven mint favored smaller containers (200 lb typical) than the US federal mint used, which may have been simply for convenience based on what dry weight containers were in common use at the time. Mid-19th century volumes for federal cents were much higher, and distribution requirements much broader, such that their needs for volume were larger than what the New Haven mint would need.

The intent of this article was to broadly discuss the topic of New Haven mint shipping containers, as documented in contemporary records – and surmise what those containers might have looked like. Those records indicate the mint used kegs for their larger 200+ lb. shipments and bags for smaller transactions. After that ... well, the rest is, admittedly, informed speculation.

THE ANS 19TH CENTURY COIN KEG PICTURES



ANS 19th Century “Federal Reserve Bank of New York” Keg
Original Contents Unknown
[Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society]



BOOK REVIEW: **“SCOTT” COMPREHENSIVE CATALOGUE AND ENCYCLOPEDIA OF U.S. COINS BY DON TAXAY**

(John T. Bolger)

About forty years ago I co-authored an academic medical article that proposed a classification of an uncommon traumatic orthopaedic injury. The article is still regularly cited as... “*the first but now infrequently used*” classification scheme. I can relate to the following:

In the process of recording a recent numismatic purchase I found six different classification system numbers identifying the coin. Among these were a “Scott” number of a capital C followed by Arabic numerals, an occurrence I have seen before, albeit rarely recently for catalogued numismatic items. It was also different than the “C” number attached to this coin in the first 1990 edition of the *Coin World Comprehensive Catalogue & Encyclopedia of US Coins* edited by Alexander and DeLorey.¹ Our Librarian, Leo Shane, was kind enough to don his headlight and protective gear to descend into the C4 library and emerge with *Scotts Comprehensive Catalogue & Encyclopedia of US Coins*, 1971, by Don Taxay,² the numismatic man of mystery.³

An advertisement in *The Numismatist*, June, 1971⁴ issue from the Scott Publishing Co. crowed that “...for the first time in any book, every coin ever minted in this country is listed and classified under a unique numbering system devised by the author.” The numbers are simply sequential beginning with #1, the New England Shilling, a system similar to that found in the venerable *Scott Stamp Catalogue*, first issued in 1868. The 1971 edition is indeed a comprehensive listing of known, including some new, varieties with multiple pages of groups of decent black and white pictures strategically placed throughout the catalogue. Alas, the sequential number in this volume did not match that given to my coin and there was no “C” attached in this edition.

An ad in the September, 1975⁵ issue of *The Numismatist* from the Pine Tree Auction Company, Inc., gives a short biography of Don Taxay noting his authorship of the 1971 “*Scott Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of US Coins* but does not mention a new edition that came out shortly thereafter. Walter Breen who authored his own “*Complete Encyclopedia of US and Colonial Coins*”⁶ in 1988 is also noted as a Staff Numismatist at Pine Tree. Breen started his own sequential numbering system with #1, the Sommers Islands large sail shilling, and added an arguably gratuitous annotation to Taxay’s listing in Breen’s bibliography:

“Intended as a counterpart to the Scott’s Specialized Catalogue of U.S. Stamps. Cited herein largely for instances of disagreement with conclusions independently reached; obsolete, use with caution.”

¹ Alexander, David, and DeLorey, Thomas, Eds., *Coin World Comprehensive Catalog & Encyclopedia of United States Coins*, World Almanac, New York, 1990.

² Taxay, Donald, *The Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of U.S. Coins (cover date 1971)*, Scott Publishing Co., New York, 1970.

³ Homren, Wayne, “Don Taxay Where are you?” *The E-Sylum* Vol 9, Number 1, Article 9, January 1, 2006.

⁴ *The Numismatist*, June, 1971, p. 897.

⁵ *The Numismatist*, September, 1975, p. 2071.

⁶ Breen, Walter, *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins*, Doubleday, New York, 1988.

The ANA Librarian sent me a copy of the second edition of *The (Scott) Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of United States Coins*⁷ which was published in 1975 significantly “revised and expanded” by Joseph Rose and Howard Hazeltime. A brief book notice in *The Numismatist* January 1976⁸ issue notes that “Introduced here for the first time is the Scott coin numbering system...” Herein was the Scott “C” (i.e. Colonial) number for which I was looking with most of the excellent historical and descriptive material and sequential coin arrangement from the first edition with the improvement of placing pictures adjacent to their descriptions. Simply a significant change from the Redbook⁹ with added depth and breadth of material. In the Introduction to the section on “The Confederation Period” Taxay states in part: “Though sanctioned by long usage, it is incorrect to refer to Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey or New York coinage as ‘cents.’ These coins had no special denomination, and, like the English halfpence and French sous, were known simply as ‘coppers.’ On the other hand, the federal ‘Fugio’ cents and the Massachusetts cents and half cents had specifically designated denominations.”

The “Early American Coins & Token” chapter goes from C1 NE Shilling through most of Washingtoniana to C440, a silver small Success token. The Fugios C numbers continue into the “Regular Issues of United States Coins” chapter ending at C451. Jumping over 137 pages of other stuff we find the chapter on “Essays and Cabinet Coins” which has seven pages of introductory narrative prior to listing as “Essays and Patterns” the Continental Currency “Dollar Patterns,” Nova Constellatio patterns and two Fugio Patterns (EP1-EP14.) The Getz patterns, EP32-EP39, are under “U.S. Mint Essays 1791-92 Started Prior to Regular Mint Operations.” And finally, the John Gregory Hancock large and small eagle pieces including die trials are “Semi Official Essays” EP1386-EP1400.

The 1971 edition authored by Don Taxay built upon the practice of expanded narrative material found earlier in guides by Robert Vlack¹⁰ and attempted to devise a sequential classification which was better organized with accompanying photos in the second 1975 (1976) volume edited by Rose and Hazelcorn. Walter Breen captured the sequential numbering system and upped the narrative material ante by his fantastic style in his 1988 volume, but the flaw of giving groups of like varieties the same sequential number is being addressed in Q. David Bowers’ books.¹¹ Just as Physicists are searching for a Unified Field Theory that explains it all, Numismatists continue their own Holy Grail quest for the perfect system of classification.



⁷ Taxay, Donald, *The Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of U.S. Coins*, cover date 1976, 2nd ed., ed. By J. Rose & H. Hazelcorn, Scott Publishing Co., New York, 1975.

⁸ *The Numismatist*, January, 1976, p. 63.

⁹ Yeoman, Richard, *A Guidebook of United States Coins*, Whitman/Western, Racine, WI, annually, 1947-present.

¹⁰ Vlack, Robert, *Catalogue of Early American Coins*, Ovolon, Anaheim, CA, 1963 and Vlack, Robert, *Early American Coins* 2nd ed., Windsor Research Publications, Johnson City, NY, 1965.

¹¹ Bowers, Q. David, *Whitman Encyclopedia of Colonial and Early American Coins*, Whitman Publishing, Atlanta, GA, 2009; and Bowers, Q. David, *Whitman Encyclopedia of Colonial and Early American Coins*, 2nd ed., Whitman Publishing, Pelham, AL, 2020.



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BENNINGTON MUSEUM COLLECTION

(Mark Vitunic and Jack Howes)

MV: Following on the heels of our Vermont Historical Society (VHS) visit in 2018, then delayed by Covid for 3 years, we were finally able to schedule and make our long-anticipated trip to the Bennington Museum in Bennington, Vermont in late-May 2023. Our purpose was to document, photograph, and record the weights of their entire collection of Vermont coppers. Numerous colonial coin enthusiasts have previously visited the museum to view this outstanding collection, some even documenting their visit in writing^{1,2,3} ... with anecdotes of amazing coins ... but alas, no complete inventory and no published pictures. Relatively recently, the museum itself posted photographs of most of the collection on their website⁴- this was an enormous help to our research, but as these were mostly scans of 1970's-era black-and-white film print photographs, some sharp, some grainy, some missing, with no accompanying weights or other relevant data, we felt a visit was still a must.

We were warned ahead of time that there were nearly 200 coins in the collection! As we only had a single day, we calculated that we would need to spend no more than 1-2 minutes per coin to get everything done: viewing, weighing, photographing, and taking notes. On our scheduled day, the museum was closed to the public. We were greeted by Collections Manager Callie Raspuzzi, who escorted us to a second floor exhibit room where we were pleasantly surprised to see that many of the coins were on permanent public display. Hats off to the museum for not only having their mainline collection available for public viewing, but also for displaying both obverse and reverse where they had duplicates of a variety! A creative and most impressive exhibit. When I visited VHS, this was unfortunately not the case -that collection resides in a basement vault and is only viewable by appointment, which I found out occurs about once every 20+ years.



Count 'em: 59 Vermont coppers on permanent display at the Bennington Museum: 34 different Ryder varieties, 25 in duplicate allowing simultaneous display of obverse and reverse.

¹ Agre, John, <https://www.coinraritiesonline.com/february-22-2007-trip-to-the-bennington-museum/>

² Carlotto, Tony, *The Copper Coins of Vermont and Those Bearing the Vermont Name*, C4, 1998, p. 215.

³ Rock, Jeff, *The Bennington Museum Collection of Vermont Coppers*, The Colonial Newsletter, May 1996 Sequential pages 1619-22.

⁴ bennington.pastperfectonline.com/Search?search_criteria='vermont+copper+coin'&onlyimages=false

We set up a table and chairs near a window in that room and got started. We first photographed the “mainline collection” which were the 59 coins from that display followed by several boxes of additional duplicates- another 128 coins residing in 2x2 envelopes, for a total of 187 Vermont coppers!

The collection boasts 34 different Ryder varieties, missing only 5C, 5S, 32, 34, 38, and 39. For me the two biggest highlights were the Ryder 33 (low grade but easily identifiable, one of only 3 known; you can make out the date when tilting the coin at the right angle) and an absolutely stellar Ryder 9 (clearly the finest known, with exquisite detail, a beautiful planchet, red-brown luster, and four fully-defined wheat sheaves on the reverse shield). From the recorded weights- the lightest was a Ryder 3 at 62.6 grains and the heaviest was a Ryder 17 at 152.9 grains. Here’s the inventory of the 187 coins:

1x: Ryder 15, 19, 26, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37

2x: Ryder 1

3x: Ryder 21, 31

4x: Ryder 3, 18, 22

5x: Ryder 4, 29

6x: Ryder 6, 7, 9, 20, 23

7x: Ryder 10, 14, 17, 24

8x: Ryder 12

9x: Ryder 11, 25

11x: Ryder 2, 27

13x: Ryder 8, 13

14x: Ryder 16

plus one electrotype, and a Machin’s Mills Vlack 19-87C (same reverse as Ryder 13)

The electrotype created some momentary excitement. It was labeled as being a Ryder 2, but the reverse was actually from a Ryder 6! A new variety!? Unfortunately no; it turned out to be an electrotype, likely from the 1860-1880 period, and had actually been labeled as such on the envelope which we initially did not see.

Several of the coins in the duplicates boxes were nicer than the ones in the display case and this will hopefully get remedied following our photo project. In summary, the collection is outstanding with several important coins. However, the scattered inclusion of so many duplicates gives it some aspects of being a hoard more than a collection, with fully half of the varieties represented by 6 or more specimens each, many being low-grade coins with problems,.

Our sincere thanks to Callie Raspuzzi for hosting our visit and for being organized and patient.

JLH: This collection was the result of a donation from Hall Park-McCullough (HPM, 1872-1966) who was a direct descendant of two governors of Vermont, a successful NYC attorney and partner at Davis, Polk, Wardwell et al. Born in San Francisco, educated at Yale college and New York law school, he had homes in North Bennington (Hall Farm House) and in NYC (1035 Fifth Avenue) and was deeply involved in all things Vermont e.g., he and his wife founded Bennington college in 1932. The Vermont collection was first given to Bennington Museum in 1932 as a permanent loan and later as a gift. HPM was a director and benefactor of the Bennington Museum along with many other Vermont charities.

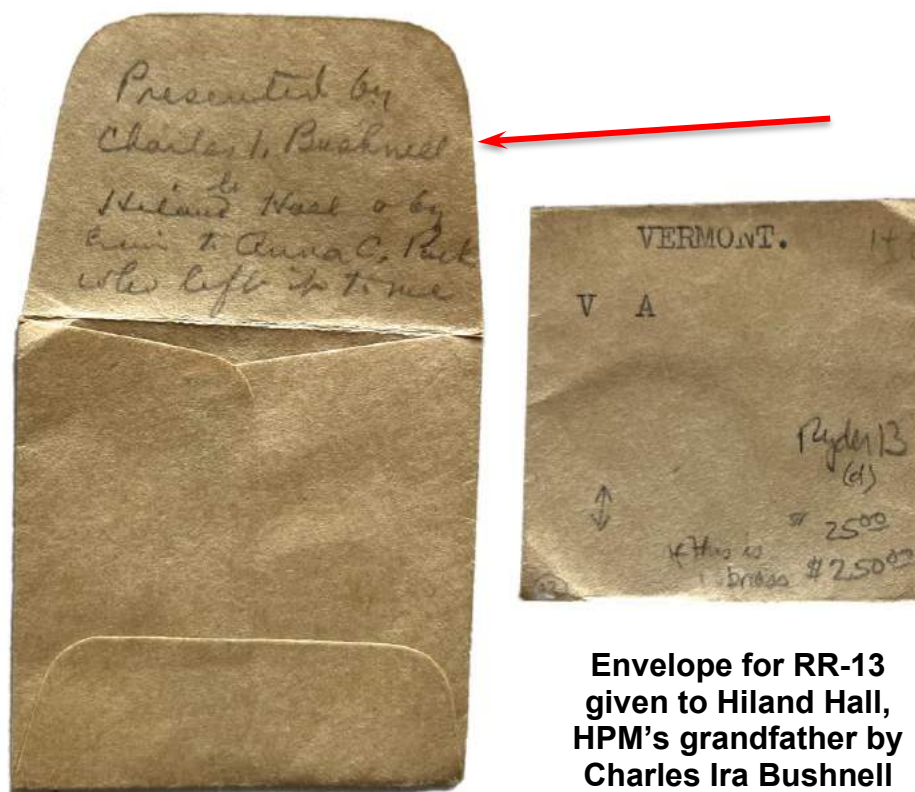
Late on a Sunday night or early Monday morning 15 March 1965, someone broke into the museum through a second floor window and stole 93 of the 96 coins in the collection. Approximately one third of the coins were recovered, most of those in the following weeks but several over the following years. The museum was insured and three experts (Richard Picker, Robert Vlack and Ted Craige) (PVC) were tasked with valuing the coins missing for insurance purposes. It is not clear that the person responsible was ever caught but a woman selling some of the stolen coins to Boston coin dealers was caught and charged but again it is not clear from the newspaper clippings we saw whether this person was convicted or knew where the coins were stolen from.

In the three years after the theft, the museum purchased replacement coins from Bob Vlack and Dick Picker and the resulting amalgamation is what we photographed. All the correspondence from this period was kept and we have images of most of this correspondence. From that it appears that Vlack sold the museum his entire collection of Vermont coppers which he called the second finest in existence. PVC were given a list of coins and grades along with photographs that had been taken earlier by Ken Bressett. An example of one of the photographs is below. Some of the original HPM coins were used in the plates for an article that Bressett wrote on Vermont coppers in "*Studies of Money in Early America*" edited by Eric Newman that was published in 1976.

Many of the highlight coins in the collection appear to be from the original Hall Park-McCullough collection but the records don't clearly show the provenance of all the coins. The fabulous Baby Head (RR-9) is definitely from the original collection. This collection was clearly put together over a long period of time starting with ancestors of HPM e.g., there is an envelope with a RR-13 that was given to his grandfather Hiland Hall who was a governor of Vermont. The coin was passed to HPM and perhaps was how he got interested in Vermont coinage. HPM appears more of a Vermont history person rather than a dedicated numismatist. He apparently collected many other Vermont items.

For me the highlights of the collection were the RR-1, red-brown 7, incredible 9, 10, red-brown 13, 14, 21, 26, 27, and a late die state 29. I include the RR-10 even though there is some light initials scratched on the back as it is still the best I have seen. The RR-7 is one of the best landscapes you will ever encounter. The RR-29 is the latest die state I have seen and must be close to the time the die broke up.





Bennington Museum Plate 1



RR-9
Baby Head
122.2 grains
A456.43



Bennington Museum Plate 2



RR-1
111.8 grains
A456.2



RR-7
127.4 grains
A456.29



RR-10
122.2 grains
A456.49



Bennington Museum Plate 3



RR-13
142.8 grains
A456.74



RR-14
120.2 grains
A456.85



RR-21
116.6 grains
A456.123



Bennington Museum Plate 4



RR-26
109.7 grains
A456.151



RR-27
119.9 grains
A456.152



RR-28
126.3 grains
A456.160



Bennington Museum Plate 5



RR-29
109.9 grains
A456.175



RR-33
118.1 grains
A456.169



RR-37
105.5 grains
A456.172



METAL DETECTING CORNER

(Matthew Virga)

Metal Detecting Competition 2023

The Colonial Coin Collectors Club held a Metal Detecting Finds Competition that ran from August 2022 to August 2023. The competition was proudly sponsored by Stack's Bowers Galleries. We are ready to announce this year's winning finds as well as the participants who made them!

Grand Prize Winner: Mike Schipritt, Newport County, RI

Finds: 2 Massachusetts Pine Tree Shillings, numerous William III / William & Mary halfpennies, scale weights, as well as a Spanish cob

In Mike's words:

"I drive by this house every day on my way to work and always thought it looked like an interesting place to try and detect. The house dates to the 1800's but the town was founded in the late 1600's; the area was mostly farm and pastureland. I happened to drive by recently and saw the owner outside, so I decided to stop. We talked for a few minutes, and he gave me permission to detect. After a few targets I hit the Pine Tree Shilling. Once I calmed down and got back to detecting I started to slowly spiral out from that point. Over the next hour or so I pulled 8 late 1600's King William and William and Mary ½ pennies, two knee buckles, two tombac nipple buttons, an iron key, and two musket balls, one fired, one dropped. All of it was within about a 50-foot circle around where I had found the shilling. This is a relatively large property for this area so there is plenty of area left to hunt."



First Pine Tree Shilling found by Mike



Eight William III / William & Mary halfpennies, plus assorted period buttons/buckles.



Coin weights



Potential coin weight for Massachusetts silver or British shillings.



Second Pine Tree Shilling recovered by Mike after a follow-up trip to the same site.

First Runner-Up: Brian Taplin

Find: 1787 Spanish 1 real lead mold, a counterfeit with both halves.



Both halves of the 1 real lead mold.

In Brian's Words:

"Road trip time!!!! With my favorite swinging team, Jewel and Tracy, we embarked on a road trip to the culture-rich Lowcountry area in South Carolina. Armed with my trusty Minelab Equinox 800 in waist-deep water, I hear a weak bullet sound and discovered instead a fancy piece of lead. I didn't think much of the discovery and kept on detecting. Only feet away, I hear another bullet sound and to my surprise, I uncover the front of a coin mold. Excitedly, I left my detector floating in the water and hurried to Tracy and Jewel to share the news! I discovered the front and back of a 1781 one-real coin mold, believed to be counterfeit."



Second Runner-Up: Don Mituzas

Find: 1788 Vermont Ryder-12 overstruck on a Nova Constellatio.



In Don's Words:

"This Ryder-12 overstruck on a Nova Constellatio was found in Dutchess County, New York on February 15th, 2023 on a group hunt at an old orchard. The sandy soil kept this example well preserved."

Honorable Mentions: Mike Robinson, Todd Jaycox, & Max Cane

Mike Robinson - 1731 2 reales pistareen



Todd Jaycox - 1787 New Jersey Copper - Maris 48-G



Max Cane - George Washington inaugural button



We thank all of our participants for this inaugural competition and we look forward to hosting our next metal detecting competition real soon! Now back to our regularly scheduled program!

George Washington Inaugural Button (recovered from Tonk, Pennsylvania)

Tim Chipkin is a colonial treasure hunter as well as an avid silversmith from Pennsylvania. Back in August, Tim was metal detecting a yard near his hometown of Tonk and got a very solid mid-conductive tone on his Nokia Legend metal detector. The target was reading 8 inches deep which for detectorists is usually indicative of a very old find. The site he was metal detecting had been deemed “hunted out”, a term that diggers typically love to say to each other when they feel a location has been heavily hunted. Nevertheless, as Tim dug deep, out popped a large round disk with a full shank.



As a veteran digger, Tim knew there was a possibility that this button could be something special. After lightly rubbing away the dirt, he saw the inner circular design and knew immediately that it was a George Washington inaugural button.



After brushing away the rest of the button's dirt, it was revealed to be a "Linked States" variety, attributed as: (1789) Washington Inaugural button. GW with Linked States Border. WHB-10A, Albert WI-4A, Cobb-9.



Tim was so over the moon about his find that he decided to tap into another one of his favorite hobbies: silversmithing. He made some incredible copies of the button he found. Some of his creations are shown below.



A Second George Washington Inaugural Button (recovered from Ashburnham, Massachusetts)

Laurie Thompson has been metal detecting for the past seven years, ever since she tried out her sister's metal detector. After finding her first axe head in the middle of the woods behind her home, she was hooked and knew she had to have her own detector.

She loves metal detecting woods sites and farm fields for colonial history and her interest in American colonial history also stems from her lifelong collection of antiques. She also has a particular affirmation for the everyday ordinary items she finds such as relics, ox shoes, parts for an old hay rake, loom weights, and buttons to name a few. Her dream find was to find a George Washington button, and it happened!

On a recent organized group hunt at a property dating back to the 1740s, Laurie made her GW button discovery in an established 20-acre field that looked to still be farmed for hay. The button was 10 inches down and gave a faint, inconsistent tone on a somewhat steep slope.



“To proudly hold a button that celebrates our first president is an honor and a privilege. I know all my fellow metal detectorists felt the same. They just wanted to hold it and their hands were shaking as much as mine.”

Laurie's button is attributed as “GW In Oval, Cobb-5, Albert WI-11A, DeWitt-GW 1789-7, Baker-1016”.

Conclusions

George Washington inaugural buttons are on the top of every metal detectorists bucket list. Some of our most extraordinary finds in the hobby of metal detecting happen when we least expect it! Incredible items have yet to be unearthed and we look forward to documenting more of our fellow colonial enthusiasts' epic discoveries.



IVY MILLS - PAPERMAKER FOR CONTINENTAL CURRENCY

(Roger A. Moore, M.D.)

INTRODUCTION

Most collectors of Continental Currency are well aware that the printers of the currency were David Hall and William Sellers. This is evident from a cursory inspection of the backs of bills where the text “PRINTED BY HALL AND SELLERS” is prominently displayed (Fig. 1) What is less known is who produced the paper when the Continental Congress passed thirty-seven currency legislations resulting in eleven currency emission between 1775 and 1779, the total value of which was a staggering \$241,552,780 of fiat currency debt.⁵

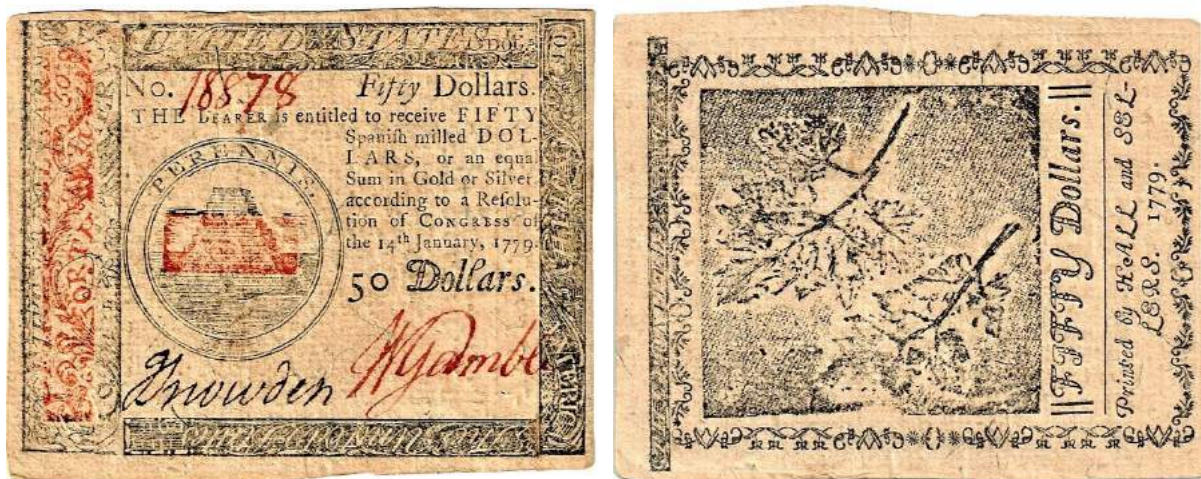


Figure 1. Continental Currency January 14, 1779, \$50 bill showing on the back “Printed by HALL and SELLERS” (author)
The focus of this paper is on the people responsible for producing the paper needed for printing the Continental Currency as well, as other paper products required by the Continental Congress.

COLONIAL PAPER PRODUCERS

Paper used in the American colonies before 1690 was obtained exclusively from foreign sources, primarily England, Holland and France.⁶ The colonies had no ability to make paper, which was a far more labor intensive and expensive endeavor than printing and additionally, which required a greater level of specialized, skilled labor.⁷ The first papermakers in America were Wilhelm Rittinghuysen and his son, Klaus,

⁵ Newman, Eric P., *The Early Paper Money of America*, 2023 edition, Virginia Beach, Graysheet (CDN) Publishing, LLC , USA, 2022, p. 15.

⁶ Hunter, David, *Papermaking in Pioneer America*, reprint from 1952 University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952, p. 10. England, Holland. and France supplied most of the paper used in early America even after paper production began to occur in colonial America due to the American paper being of lower quality than European paper. Eventually and out of necessity some American papermakers eventually began producing higher quality paper such as Ivy Mills of Chester County, Pennsylvania.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 9-10. A print shop could be establish cheaply in a few weeks using a rented room and a printing press, with paper, ink and a few fonts of type with wood cases. However, a papermaker mill required “a properly designed and strongly constructed building, with beater room, vat house, and drying loft.” In addition, a reliable source of water was required, with the building of a dam and development of the power (water wheel); an abundance of clear water was an important requisite.”

who were German-born Dutch Mennonite immigrants who settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania, located on the outskirts of Philadelphia. Once established in Germantown the Rittinghuysens anglicized their names to William Rittenhouse and Claus or Nicholas Rittenhouse respectively.⁸ The Rittenhouses were experienced in papermaking, having become skilled in that art when living in Holland. They established the first papermill on Monoshone Creek, a tributary of Wissahickon Creek, near their home. This paper mill remained the only paper mill in colonial America for 20 years until William DeWees, the brother-in-law of Claus, established the second American papermill in 1710, also on the Wissahickon Creek, though by then the Rittenhouse paper mill had been relocated due to the first mill having received severe damage from a flood.⁹

A few experienced papermakers continued to immigrate to America to start paper mill businesses, and even fewer apprentices from existing American paper mills, having learned the needed skills, tried to open their own paper mills. However, it was rare for any of these new papermakers to be successful. In 1739, it was estimated that some five paper mills existed in southeastern Pennsylvania and by 1749, this number had increased to eleven. By 1769, the number of paper mills throughout the country had grown to twenty-six with twenty having their operations in the Philadelphia region. While there was a slowly increasing number of colonial paper mills, most of the paper purchased by the colonists for their personal use continued to be imported from Europe due the lesser quality of paper made in America. However, with the onset of the War of Independence and the effective naval blockade by Britain of all products from Europe, including paper, a number of the colonial papermakers from necessity improved both the quality of their product as well as the quantity. Due to the importance of paper in the War effort, the establishment of additional paper mills was being encouraged in each colony with offers of financial support for the construction of these paper mills, as well as their operation. Despite this incentive few of the start-up paper mills were successful due to the lack of skilled papermakers and the paucity of needed raw materials to make paper. By 1810, it was estimated that one-hundred eighty-five paper mills existed in the United States.¹⁰

IVY MILLS FOUNDING

In 1729, the third papermaking mill was established in America on Chester Creek in Concord Township, Pennsylvania, by Thomas Willcox, a Catholic emigrant who came to America from Devonshire, England, around 1725.¹¹ His paper mill was called Ivy Mills and served as the primary source for high quality paper during the War of Independence.¹² (Figure 2) The mill was located some twenty miles away from Philadelphia and constructed in 1729. Willcox's son, Mark Willcox, was a key worker in the paper mill and

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 21-23.

⁹ Isaiah Thomas, *The Story of Printing in America: With a Biography of Printers and a Catalogue of Publications Previous to 1776*, 2nd edition printed posthumously, Burt Franklin, New York, 1874. (First edition was printed in 1810) p. 22.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 25. The estimate of 185 paper mills was made in the first edition but as more information became available this estimate for 1810 was increased to 195 paper mills.

¹¹ Willcox, Joseph, "The Paper Mill (Ivy Mills), 1729-1866," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. 8, no. 1, American Catholic Historical Society, March 1897, pp. 28-85. In various references the establishment of the Ivy Mills has been stated to be anywhere from the second through the fifth paper mill in America. It definitely was not the second and the records are questionable as to whether it was the third, fourth, or fifth paper mill founded. The author has repeated others indicating that it was the third.

¹² Ashmead, Graham, *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, L. H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia, 1884, illustration in Figure 2 located between pp. 492 and 493. The train imaged in the figure is not proper for the 1729 mill, but relates to two other Willcox mills built in 1836 and 1845 which were imaged in the picture but cropped out.

when his father died in 1779, he would take over ownership of the mill. However, it has been suggested that Mark took over running the mill soon after his father made out his will in 1772.¹³

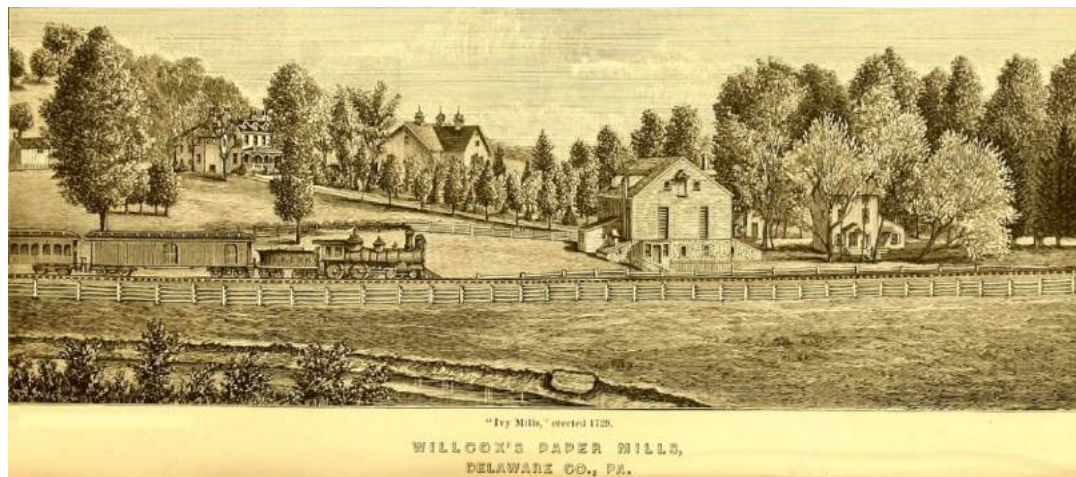


Figure 2. Cropped image from a mid-nineteenth century print of the three Ivy Mills with the one imaged being the mill established in 1729 by Thomas Willcox.

IVY MILLS: SUPPLIER OF PAPER FOR CONTINENTAL CURRENCY

Though printers of the Continental Currency that was used to fund the War of Independence are well known, as the Philadelphia duo, David Hall and William Sellers, less known is that all the paper they used to print that currency was produced by the Ivy Mills papermakers, Thomas Willcox and his son Mark. However, the honor of being given the commission by the 1775 Continental Congress to produce the paper for this authorized currency began well before 1775. Ivy Mills opened for business in 1729, which interestingly was the same year Benjamin Franklin opened his print shop.¹⁴ There is little doubt that Franklin was a frequent visitor to Ivy Mills, since that mill supplied much of the paper Franklin used in his print shop. It has been surmised that Franklin's frequent presence was the impetus for placing additives in the paper, such as mica and blue string, as methods to stymie counterfeiters. Though Franklin is given the credit for these anti-counterfeiting devices which were developed for use in currency, it was actually Mark Willcox that performed the ground breaking work of introducing these foreign materials into the paper. Specifics of the additives needed to be determined by the papermaker, such as the maximum quantity of mica that could be added to the fiber slush for making paper before interference occurred with adherence of ink to the paper. Also, the papermaker needed to be concerned about having enough mica added so that it could be easily observed by a shopkeeper trying to determine its presence to authenticate a bill as genuine. Similarly, the amount of mica that could be added to the paper slush had to be determined by the papermaker which would not interfere with the strength and integrity of the paper by weakening the paper matrix. Of course, Franklin's creativity and curiosity most likely played some role in this endeavor, but credit must also be given to the hands-on papermakers for implementing these measures.

¹³ Willcox, Joseph, p.34. The grand son of Thomas Willcox wrote, "When he wrote his will in January, 1772, which is 90n file in West Chester, he stated in it that he was then 'advanced in years and weake of body, but of sound mind.' Although he owned the mill until he died in November, 1779, he probably retired from the management of it about the time when he wrote his will."

¹⁴ Moore, Roger, Discovery of an Early Benjamin Franklin Print Job, *The Colonial Coin Collectors Club Newsletter*, in review.

Franklin was known as a friend and frequent visitor to the Willcox family and that friendship most likely had a significant influence in the success of Ivy Mills in winning government contracts.¹⁵ This included the early success of Ivy Mills being commissioned to supply quality paper to other colonies for their currencies prior to the advent of the War of Independence.¹⁶ The decision by the Continental Congress to select Ivy Mills as their paper supplier was most likely eased by Ivy Mills successes in these early commissions with individual colonies, as well as Benjamin Franklin's recommendations. Following the War, Ivy Mills continued to supply both the Confederation and later the Federal government and private banks with paper for printing their currencies and checks, as well as paper for debt and interest payment documents.¹⁷ In fact their paper was in such high regard for its quality and specialized anti-counterfeiting features that both European and South American countries imported Ivy Mills' paper for the printing of their currencies.

IVY MILLS: SUPPLIER OF PAPER FOR GENERAL USE

As might be expected, not only was Ivy Mills producing paper used to print the various currencies, including all Continental Currency, but was also contributing to the much needed supply of paper for general use in communications, orders, appointments, laws, newspapers, and the other myriad needs for paper during the War of Independence. Since the British embargo of all foreign supplies to the American colonies was quite successful, paper was one of many commodities that the colonies had to make for themselves. Paper was in very short supply during the war even to the point where there was a critical shortage of paper to make musket cartridges to fight the British.¹⁸

So, Ivy Mills stepped up its production as did other paper mills across the colonies. However, at this point in history trying to distinguish which papermaker made the paper used to write a surviving colonial document or letter can be problematic, unless the papermaker left some distinguishing mark on the paper. British and European papermakers had been marking their paper for decades by adding watermarks with their initials and symbols. These papermakers liked having their paper recognizable with a watermark since it served as a form of advertisement to others that might consider purchasing their paper. However, watermarks were produced by adding the designs directly onto the papermaking moulds, and in America there were no mould makers until 1776. Therefore, before 1776 any paper with a watermark in America was foreign made paper. In addition, prior to 1776 the primary source of moulds for the few American papermakers was cast off and used moulds from Europe which still had their original owners' watermark designs on them. Once moulds could be ordered from a local American source, individual American papermakers began requesting moulds having personalized watermarks. Also, as watermarks became increasingly prevalent in America, the buyers of paper would request the papermaker use a mould which identified themselves or their businesses.

For the January 14, 1779 emission of Continental Currency Ivy Mills made paper with either the watermark, CONFEDERATION on two lines or UNITED STATES on two lines as a counterfeiting

¹⁵ Willcox, pp. 33-34.

¹⁶ Ashmead, p.494. "*The Colonies were wont to issue each its own particular currency, and up to the time of the Revolution the paper for all the money of all the Colonies, from Massachusetts to the Carolinas, was manufactured by Thomas Willcox at his Ivy Mill; after which followed, out of the same mill, the paper for the Continental currency, and after that the paper for the government issues made necessary by the war of 1812.*" Despite this quote, not all paper in the colonies was produced by Ivy Mills and the quality of the paper used for these currencies varied greatly, not only between colonies but also between emissions.

¹⁷ Thomas, pp. 23-24.

¹⁸ Leonard, Eugene, "Paper as a Critical Commodity During the American Revolution," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 74, no. 4, October 1950, pp. 497-498.

deterrent.¹⁹ However, Ivy Mills also had its own distinctive watermarks placed on other paper products. A letter written on May 31, 1779, by Chaloner and White²⁰ at Camp Raritan forwarded a request by Major Gibbs²¹ for the delivery of “a waggon load of good beer” for his Life Guard troops who were responsible for protecting General George Washington, as well as the Continental Army’s currency and other official documents. (Figures 3, A and B)

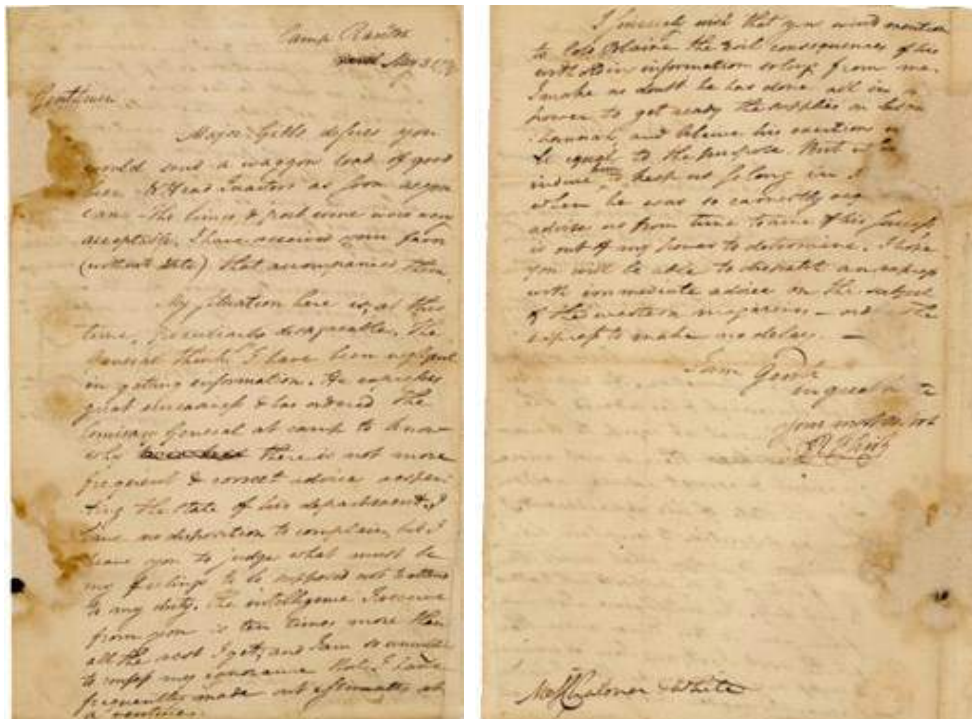


Figure 3, A and B. May 3, 1779 letter with a request from Major Gibbs for a supply of beer and additional concerns expressed about communication issues with of the commissioners in charge of supplies. (author)

¹⁹ Moore, Roger, “Always Examine the Third Side of Your Currency,” *The Colonial Coin Collectors Club Newsletter*, vol. 31, no. 2, Summer 2023, pp. 23-34.

²⁰ In June 1777, the Continental Congress divided the commissary department acquiring and issuing supplies to the Continental Army into two departments—purchasing and issuing. The purchasing department was responsible for acquiring provisions, which they delivered to issuing commissaries for salting, packing, storing, and issuing. John Chaloner (1748-1793) was born in Rhode Island and became a Philadelphia merchant and auctioneer. Commissary General Jeremiah Wadsworth appointed Chaloner as an Assistant Commissary in June 1778 to take possession of any provisions the British left behind when they evacuated Philadelphia. He and James White were assistants to Colonel Ephraim Blaine, the Deputy Commissary for the Middle Department, and many of the responsibilities for supplying Washington's army while in the Philadelphia area fell upon them. After the war, Chaloner had a business partnership with Charles White and also handled the Philadelphia accounts of Englishman John B. Church, Alexander Hamilton's brother-in-law. James White (1749-1809) attended school in France before studying medicine at the College and Academy of Philadelphia (now University of Pennsylvania). He and Chaloner assisted in the important task of supplying the needs of Washington's Army when encamped in the Philadelphia area. White was required to live near the Continental Congress, from which he could obtain and dispense funds for the department.

²¹ Major Caleb Gibbs was the commandant of a group of approximately 180 men in the "Life Guards," an elite unit whose mission it was to protect General George Washington and the Continental Army's cash and official papers.

TRANSCRIPT OF GIBBS LETTER:

Camp Rariton
May 3, 1779

Gentlemen

Major Gibbs desires you would send a waggon load of good beer to Head Quarters as soon as you can. The limes' & port wine were very acceptable. I have received your favor (without date) that accompanied them.

My situation here is, at this time, peculiarly disagreeable. The General [George Washington] thinks I have been negligent in getting information. He expresses great uneasiness & has ordered the Comisary General at camp to know why there is not more frequent & correct advice respecting the state of his department I have no disposition to complain, but I leave you to judge what must be my feelings to be supposed not to attend to my duty. The intelligence I receive from you is ten times more than all the rest I get; and I am so unwilling to confess my ignorance that I have frequently made out estimates at a venture.

I sincerely wish that you would mention to Colo Blaine the evil consequences of his withholding information so long from me. I make no doubt he has done all in his power to get ready the supplies on Susquehannah, and believe his exertions w[ill] be equal to the purpose. But what [?] induce him to keep us so long in s[uspense?] when he was so earnestly requested [to] advise us from time to time of his success, is out of my power to determine. I hope you will be able to dispatch an express with immediate advice on the subject of the western magazines— order the express to make no delay. Mes Chaloner & White.

Though the exact date that Ivy Mills began using their distinctive personalized watermarks is not known, examples of two known Ivy Mills watermarks are found on this letter. The first watermark gave the author some difficulty since when viewing the watermark through one side of the page, the three letters were thought to be in the order of “WMT.” (Figure 4-A) When attempting to determine the printer based on this description in the two most complete books on watermarks found on paper used in colonial America, no similar watermark could be found.²² However, when these letters were read through the other side of the page, the sequence was “TMW.” The letters were completely reversible, which illustrates one of the many pitfalls associated with identifying watermarks. (Figure 4-B) This sequence of letters pointed directly to Thomas M. Willcox (TMW,) the Ivy Mills watermark papermaker.²³

²² For American papermakers' watermarks, the key reference is: Thomas Gravell, George Miller, and Elizabeth Walsh, *American Watermarks*, Oak Knoll Press, New Castle, 2002, pp. 1-232; For foreign papermakers' watermarks used in America, the key reference is: Thomas Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalog of Foreign Watermarks Found on Paper Used In America*, Garland Publishing, New York, 1983, pp. 1-216.

²³ Thomas Gravell, George Miller, and Elizabeth Walsh, p. 203, illustration 935.

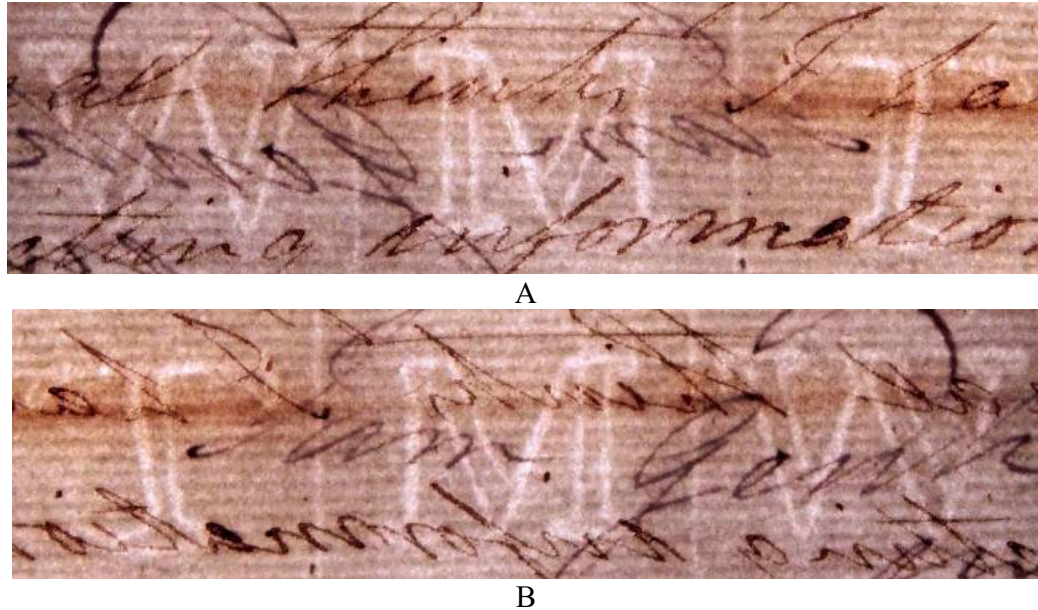


Figure 4. A) Watermark letters seen through one side of the paper as WMT should actually be viewed through the other side of the paper B) as TMW – the initials of Thomas M. Willcox who was the papermaker at Ivy Mills.

The other watermark from Ivy Mills found on the letter was a dove with an olive branch in its beak.²⁴ (Figure 5) Interestingly, the illustration of the dove in the Gravell reference shows the dove facing left but in Joseph Willcox's reference the dove is illustrated facing right.²⁵ Obviously depending on which side of the page the watermark is viewed the dove could be facing right or left. The author has chosen to have the dove portrayed facing right in this paper. Watermarks placed on the Ivy Mills paper used for the Continental Currency were not used until January 14, 1779. The mentioned letter with Ivy Mills watermarks was dated May 31, 1779, and other documents having these two watermarks date back to no later than 1778, so the author's presumption is 1778 was the date that these watermarks were introduced on Ivy Mills paper products.

Though the personalized Ivy Mills watermarks did not appear on papers until 1778, Ivy Mills had been utilizing watermarks on their paper for the currencies of New Jersey (in 1776) and Pennsylvania (in 1777) a few years earlier, using their respective Colonies'/States' names as the watermark.²⁶ All watermarks found on currency prior to 1776 were not printed using moulds made in America and any watermark appearing on these were either printed in England (Maryland - 1733 and Virginia - 1773) or the result of foreign watermarked paper being used to print the currency and inadvertently having portions of the foreign watermark appear on some of the bills of that currency emission.

²⁴ Willcox, Illustration of dove on page 55.

²⁵ Thomas Gravell, George Miller, and Elizabeth Walsh. Illustration 936

²⁶ Moore, pp. 28-30.



Figure 5. Ivy Mills watermark of a dove with an olive branch in its beak.

CRITICAL NEED FOR MOULDS BY PAPERMAKERS

Though the need for paper mills became critical during the War of Independence, the papermakers could not function without papermaking moulds. Moulds were a key element in papermaking and were rectangular wooden frames with copper or brass wire strung across the frame in one direction using 16 to 23 wires per inch depending on the quality of paper desired. The moulds were dipped into a vat of water with floating fibers and the water was sieved through the mould leaving a layer of fibers which became paper after a complex process of drying. All moulds used by American papermakers until 1776 were imported from England and Europe and often were the old and deteriorated moulds that had been decommissioned for use in those countries. No paper mould maker existed in the colonies until 1776 when Nathan Sellers (1751-1830) at the age of 25 brought to Darby, Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia, the engineering expertise for drawing wire and wire working which were necessary to produce moulds. Without him colonial papermaking would have ceased to exist.²⁷ In fact he remained America's primary manufacturer of moulds well into the nineteenth century. He and his younger brother, David, founded an official mould making company in 1779, called N & D Sellers though he had been making moulds since 1776.²⁸ This company was moved from its initial Darby location to central Philadelphia on Sixth and Walnut Street when N & D Sellers was established.²⁹

Watermarks were a product of the mould maker. The mould maker would design with bent wire the watermark design requested by the papermaker and it was sewn onto the mould. Because the layer of fibers that were laid down on the surface of the mould over the watermark wire was thinner than the layer of fibers on the rest of the mould, the watermark would be revealed as a brighter part of the paper when viewed by shining a light through it. Though the printer and the papermaker receive primary credit for supplying the needed paper products for printing currency, newspapers, pamphlets, and documents, it was actually the mould maker that served as the engine that allowed the papermaker and printer to function.

²⁷ Bidwell, John, "The Size of the Sheet in America: Paper-Moulds Manufactured by N. & D. Sellers of Philadelphia," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 87, no 2, October 1977, p. 302.

²⁸ *Ibid.* In addition to papermaking moulds the company made a variety of wire products with wool-carding combs being another important product.

²⁹ Hunter, p. 131.

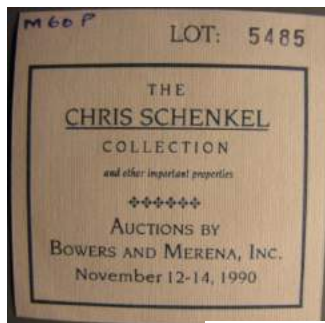
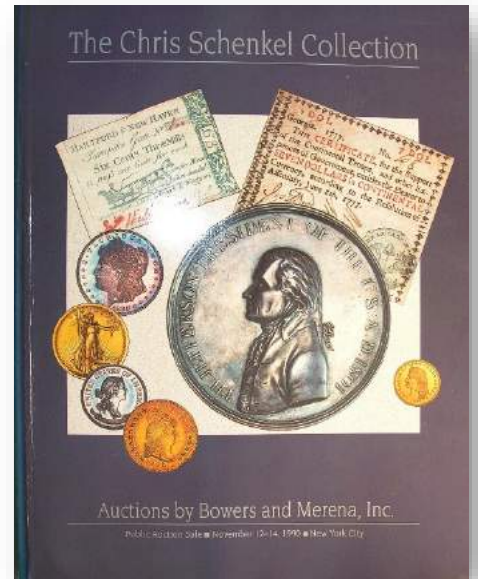
THE JERSEY ENIGMA

(Spencer Peck)

[Editor's note: The following is a reprint of an article that appeared in the January, 1991 issue of Penny-Wise, the official publication of Early American Coppers, Inc. (Reprinted with permission.)]

The November, 1990 "real" Bowers and Merena Chris Schenkel Sale (1) contained one lot, #5485, a Maris 60-P, among the Jersey Coppers offered, that piqued my interest. My curiosity was aroused by Michael Hodder's footnote that this piece was rimmed, the first he had ever seen.

The Auction session itself was attended by many numismatic notables, among them Bill Anton, Charles Davis, Michael Hodder, Bruce Kesse, John Lorenzo, Scott Rubin and Bob Vlack (who happened to be sitting next to me). The session moved along with generally strong prices realized (for that time, but cheap in retrospect now). The high point was Lot 5367, Jaazianiah Crosby's gold-pommelled cane, monogrammed with the initials "JC." Bob Vlack won this lot to cries of "You need it more than we do;" "Wait until they bring out his wheelchair" and other good-natured ribbing, at Bob's expense, all around. I thought I'd memorialize this incident as a bit of "Numistrivia" for future generations of readers.



Back to the 60-P; it occurred to me that Rimming or Milling machines are a rather specialized, and thus scarce item, especially in the Pre-Federal period. It also occurred to me that only the U.S. Mint would have a need and use for such a device, since the gang at Machins Mills were busy restamping coppers and scaring away the local kids. Would it be possible that this piece is a surviving Milling Machine "Trial Piece" from the initial days of the Philadelphia Mint's operation? New Jersey is about as close to Philadelphia as you can get.



This speculation prompted a brief review of the literature, which revealed the following:

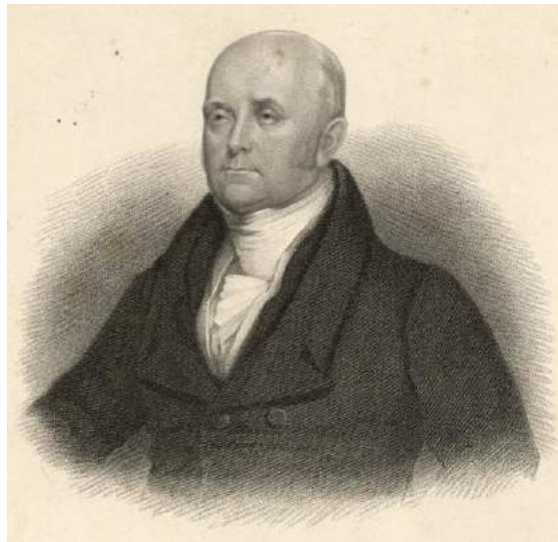
(2) From Taxay: “According to Boudinot’s report of February 2, 1795, the Mint possessed only one milling machine which was operated by a single hand.”

(3) From Breen: Speaking about Voight’s Chain Cent design of March, 1793: “Unlike later Cents prior to 1909, the border consists of a plain raised lip without beading. Because this plain border either did not strike up too well, or wore down too fast, or both, beads had to be added to the Wreath Cent dies, even as too the Half Cents. Without it, the coins most likely would not stack; a frequent complaint at any change of design even in recent years.

(4) From Crosby: “It appears from a paragraph in the Newburyport, Mass Herald of July 16, 1792, that the opinion then prevailed that Jacob Perkins was to be the Superintendent of the United States Mint. We know that he was employed in making dies for the Mint of Massachusetts, and it may be that he was concerned in the preparation of some of the patterns described in this chapter; but of this we have no proof.” The following is the article alluded to:

*“Several newspapers of the past and present week have prematurely mentioned that Mr. Perkins of this town as being sent for to Philadelphia for the purpose of Superintending the coinage there. Mr. Perkins’ abilities in that line are fully adequate to such an appointment, as the specimens he has exhibited in that line amply testify. Instead of the former method of performing the business he has invented a new machine, which cuts the metal into such circular pieces as are wanted, and gives the impression at the same time. its motion is accelerated by a balance wheel, and more than one third of the time and labor thereby saved. **He has also constructed another machine, for milling or lettering the edge, by which a boy can mill sixty a minute.**”*
(Emphasis added)

Would it be possible to speculate that Mr. Perkins, when called to Philadelphia, took a fast packet down Long Island Sound to New York (probably in late August or September, after the Yellow Fever season had passed); he could also have traveled by stage coach down the Boston Post Road, but it would have been a gut-wrenching ride --- thence the ferry to Perth Amboy, and finally a stage ride following the Post Road to New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton and ultimately Philadelphia? Would it also be possible to speculate that Perkins, in his travels across “The Jerseys” might have obtained and put aside a few of the Jersey Coppers then in circulation in that place? And lastly, would it not be reasonable to assume that Perkins, obviously a skilled mechanic, would want to save some examples of his work by putting aside a few examples from the trial of his machine???



It is pure speculation on my part, for no one can ever truly know whether this particular Jersey Copper was in fact a trial setup piece used by Perkins for his Milling machine, sometime in late 1792 or early 1793. This piece saw little if any circulation after it was rimmed, as the rims remain sharp and the coin itself not damaged or worn to any significant extent. As to the notion that the rimming may have taken place sometime later, in the 1800’s or 1900’s for example, I would reply that this could be; but if so, then the toning, especially on the rim, should differ to some greater or lesser extent from that

of the “Parent” coin itself. This is not the case, as this piece exhibits an even, “old cabinet” toning throughout.

We are deep into Winter when there is time to speculate on such things. If anyone has any other examples of early rimmed coins or ideas on this rather arcane subject, I’d appreciate hearing from you. If I receive anything new to report, I will do so for the good of the order, in an upcoming issue of P-W; and if the “Jersey Fever” meeting occurs this Spring, I’ll bring this piece along.

Post Script: About six months after this article appeared, the phone rang. It was Eric Newman (aka Sir Eric of Newman) who had just caught up on his reading. Eric indicated that he had seen only one rimmed Colonial in his career. This piece, an Albany Church Penny, is in his collection.

Subsequent to this article, I brought this piece to an ANS “Money of the Americas” Conference in New York City. The rim of this piece was compared to that of a 1793 Cent. The edges looked remarkably similar.....The beat goes on.

Sources:

1. Page 406: Bowers and Merena. The Chris Schenkel Collection.
Wolfeboro, N.H. November, 1990. 436p.
2. Page 96: Don Taxay. The U.S. Mint and Coinage.
New York: Arco. c1966. 400p.
3. Page 177: Walter Breen. The Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins.
New York: Doubleday. 1988. 754p.
4. Page 363-4: Sylvester S. Crosby: The Early Cents of America.
New York: Sanford Durst. Reprint of the 1875 edition. 1983. 378p. Note
that the emphasis on the last sentence is mine.

Spencer Peck
Oldwick, NJ
ANA LM4334

PS: The November, 2023 Baltimore Coin Show will also host the annual Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4) Convention. I will bring this piece along for anyone interested to examine. I will have it on display at the C4 table. Hope you can make it and the crab cakes are first rate.



DID CONFEDERATION-PERIOD COPPERS REALLY FLOAT WITH THE PRICE OF COPPER?

(Craig Sholley)

One of the more interesting propositions I've ever heard is that Confederation-period copper coins were denomination-less coins that "floated" in value according to the price of copper. Since I've never been presented with a cogent explanation nor seen or heard any supporting data, I decided to look into it myself.

The earliest article thus far found suggesting that the value of Confederation-period coppers rose and fell with the prevailing price of copper is Eric Newman's 1984 paper for the first Coinage of the Americas Conference entitled "Circulation of Pre-U.S. Mint Copper."¹

Following a discussion of the declining commercial value of pre-federal copper coins, Newman suggested that "...several years after the beginning of U.S. Mint coinage, the rise in the price of copper metal helped to restore mercantile confidence in copper coins and their acceptance was reestablished in some parts of the Middle Atlantic and northeastern states." His thesis was that a supposed rise in the price of copper in the mid-1790s along with the difficulties in converting equally between the new U.S. dollars and cents and the old pence and shillings caused the pre-federal coppers to remain in circulation.²

Newman further suggested that "*When the price of copper metal went high enough or when copper coin became unacceptable, then such coins would be driven from circulation into the melting pot as scrap.*"³ It should be noted that he did not present any data correlating copper prices to changes in the circulation value of pre-federal coppers.

It is not the purpose of this article to determine the exchange rate at which pre-federal coppers were valued against federal cents. There are plenty of anecdotal stories of them circulating side-by-side with the heavier U.S. cents and apparently being accepted at the same value. The purpose of this article is to determine if there is any validity to the proposition that the pre-federal coppers "floated" in commercial value with the prevailing price of copper.

THE VALUATION OF COPPERS AND THE "WORLD COPPER PRICE," 1785 - 1792

In his 1993 masterwork, Money of the American Colonies and Confederation, detailing virtually all aspects of early American coinage, Phillip L. Mossman suggested that one reason for the "Coppers Panic" of 1789 was a decline in world copper prices.^{4,5} While Mossman did emphasize the decline in his text on page 249, he also noted in a footnote on the same page that, "It was Mr. Newman who suggested to me the important role of world copper prices as the ultimate cause of the Coppers Panic." Furthermore, Mossman placed the declining value of copper 13th in his list of 18 reasons for the "Coppers Panic."⁶ There is thus somewhat of a

¹ Newman, Eric P., "Circulation of Pre-U.S. Mint Coppers," *America's Copper Coinage 1783-1857, Coinage of the Americas Conference*, Edited by Newman and Doty, Richard, New York, American Numismatic Society, 1984, pp. 102-116.

² Newman, pp. 108 – 110.

³ Newman, pp. 102 and 113 and pp. 113 – 114.

⁴ Mossman, Phillip L., *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation*, New York, American Numismatic Society, 1993, pp. 249 and 252.

⁵ Note that some refer to this price dislocation as the "Copper Panic" (copper in the singular.) The plural seems more appropriate as there is no substantive evidence of a panic in anything but the copper coins.

⁶ Mossman, pg. 252.

question as to exactly how much importance Mossman placed on the decline in “world copper prices” as the main cause of the Coppers Panic. Nonetheless, he is apparently the first (and only author I have found) to present a full discussion of the supposed connection.

In a summary table on page 249, Mossman presented data showing a decline in the copper price on the Amsterdam exchange from 10.7d. sterling in 1785, when state coppers were first minted, to 9.7d. sterling at the end of 1789, when the “Coppers Panic” had finally subsided. The prices presented are from Dr. Nicolas W. Posthumus’ noted work, *Inquiry into the History of Prices in Holland, Vol. 1*, which details monthly and yearly average prices for a number of commodities, including copper, traded on the Amsterdam exchange.⁷

174 NORWEGIAN GARCOPPER (NOORSCH GAARKOPER) b)													
Year	Jan.	Febr.	Mrch.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual average
1760	—	—	—	—	55.25	55.25	55.25	55.25	55.25	55.25	55.25	55.25	55.25
61	55.25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54.00	54.00	54.42
62	54.00	54.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54.00
63	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
64	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00	[64.00]	[64.00]	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00
65	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00	[64.00]	64.00	[64.00]	[64.00]	[64.00]	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00
66	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00	63.50	63.50	63.50	63.50	63.50	63.50	63.50	63.71
67	63.50	63.50	63.50	63.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00	59.50	59.50	61.04
68	59.50	59.50	58.00	[57.25]	56.50	56.00	56.00	55.50	55.50	54.00	54.00	54.00	56.31
69	54.00	54.00	54.00	54.00	54.00	54.00	54.00	53.00	53.00	[53.00]	53.00	53.00	53.58
1770	53.00	53.00	55.00	55.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	53.50	53.90
71	53.50	53.00	53.00	53.00	53.00	53.00	53.00	53.00	52.00	52.50	52.00	52.00	52.75
72	53.00	53.00	55.00	[55.00]	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	54.50	54.50	54.58
73	54.50	54.50	54.50	53.50	52.50	52.00	52.00	51.50	51.50	51.50	51.50	51.50	52.58
74	51.00	52.50	52.00	52.00	51.50	51.00	51.00	50.50	50.50	50.50	50.50	50.50	51.13
75	51.00	51.00	51.00	51.00	51.00	51.00	51.00	50.50	50.50	50.50	51.00	55.00	51.21
76	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	—	—	—	—	—	53.00	53.00	53.00	54.14
77	53.00	54.50	55.00	55.00	55.00	54.00	54.00	54.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	54.46
78	55.00	55.75	55.25	55.50	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.13
79	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	54.50	54.50	54.50	54.50	54.50	54.50	54.50	54.50	54.67
1780	54.50	54.50	54.00	[54.00]	[54.00]	[54.00]	[54.00]	[54.00]	[54.00]	[54.00]	[54.00]	54.00	54.08
81	54.00	54.00	54.50	55.00	55.00	55.00	55.00	54.50	54.00	54.00	54.00	54.00	54.42
82	54.00	54.00	54.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54.00
83	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	53.00	[53.00]	[53.00]	[53.00]	53.00
Trontheim copper (Drontheimsch koper)													
1784	[53.00]	[53.00]	[53.00]	53.00	53.00	52.50	52.50	52.50	52.50	52.50	52.00	52.00	52.63
85	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	51.50	51.50	51.50	51.50	51.83
86	51.50	52.00	52.00	52.00	52.00	51.00	51.00	51.00	51.00	50.50	50.50	50.50	51.25
87	50.50	[50.75]	51.00	51.00	50.50	50.50	50.50	50.50	50.00	[50.00]	50.00	50.00	50.44
88	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	49.00	[48.75]	48.50	48.50	48.50	48.00	49.27
89	48.00	48.00	48.00	48.00	47.50	47.00	47.00	[46.50]	46.00	45.50	45.50	45.00	46.83

Copper prices from Posthumus. Price per 100 lbs. in Dutch guilders.

Mossman also presented data showing that the Amsterdam exchange copper prices rose from 9.7d. sterling in 1790 to 13.9d. in 1793 and 14.2d. in 1794. In discussing this rise, Mossman stated that, “The recovery of world copper prices after 1790 was accompanied by a restoration of faith in the domestic copper medium,”⁸ but he did not present data showing the commercial value of coppers had risen along with the Amsterdam copper price.

⁷ Posthumus, Nicolas W., *Inquiry into the History of Prices in Holland*, Vol 1., Leyden, 1946, pp. 375. Photocopy of the page from which this table originates was graciously provided to the author by Adrian Nestmann of the Antiquariat Bookfarm in Germany.

⁸ Mossman, p. 249.

There is no question that both Amsterdam copper prices and the commercial valuation of coppers declined between the summer of 1787 and September of 1789. However, the data clearly show that the supposed correlation between the Amsterdam copper price and the New York value of coppers is questionable, at best.

The Amsterdam copper price data presented by Mossman shows a price decline from 10.7d. sterling in 1785, the year that state coppers were first coined, to 10.4d. in 1787, when the New York legislature devalued New Jersey coppers from 14 to 20 per local shilling.⁹ Thus, there was a 2.8% decline in the Amsterdam copper price while the commercial valuation of coppers declined by 30%, nearly 11 times as much.

The data do show that Amsterdam copper prices continued to decline from 10.4d. sterling in 1787 to 9.7d. in 1789 and there certainly was a huge decline in the valuation of coppers in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut in July 1789, commonly known as “The Coppers Panic of 1789.” However, the real question is, was there any significant correlation between the two declines? In fact, the data do not show a correlation.

During the July 1789 “Coppers Panic,” coppers declined in value as much as 48 to 60 to the shilling in New York City (and apparently even more in outlying areas,) before finally stabilizing at 24 to the shilling in September 1789.¹⁰ Since prices typically over-shoot during price panics and euphorias, it would be inappropriate to use the lowest valuations of coppers for comparison. Therefore, this analysis will use the stabilized price of 24 New Jersey coppers to the NY shilling.

The drop in valuation from 20 coppers to the NY shilling in 1787 to 24 to the shilling in September 1789 is a 16.5% decline in value. However, the decline in Amsterdam copper prices from 10.4d. sterling in 1787 to 9.7d. in 1789 represents just a 6.7% decline in price. So, the decline in the valuation of coppers was nearly 2.5 times as much as the decline in Amsterdam copper prices.

In the end, to believe that the decline in the commercial valuation of coppers correlates to a decline in Amsterdam copper prices, would require that we believe two minor declines in the copper price of 2.8% and 6.7% resulted in declines in the commercial valuations of coppers of 30% and 16.5%, respectively.

To put it another way, the data Mossman presented shows an overall decline in the price of copper on the Amsterdam exchange from 1785 to 1789 of just 1d. sterling (10.7 in 1785 minus 9.7 in 1789), an aggregate of 9.3% decline. At the same time, the New York valuation of coppers declined from 14 to the New York shilling to 24 to that shilling, or about 41.5%.

To suggest that a 9.3% decline in the Amsterdam exchange copper price was directly responsible for a 41.5% decline in the valuation of coppers in New York is not credible. That comparison is, of course, a conservative view. The divergence between the declines is much greater if the maximum decline in the valuation of coppers during the height of the panic is used. As previously noted, the comparison based on the September 1789 stabilized valuation of 24 coppers to the NY shilling was chosen to avoid the price over-shoot inherent in panics.

Additionally, the Amsterdam price data do not support Mossman’s previously quoted conjecture that “The recovery of world copper prices after 1790 was accompanied by a restoration of faith in the domestic

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Mossman, pp. 230 – 238.

copper medium.”¹¹ As noted above, the value of New Jersey coppers in New York stabilized at 24 to the local shilling in September of 1789 and remained there at least until November of 1792 when the New York State Assembly directed the treasurer to dispose of all the coppers on-hand at “the then customary rate of 24 to the shilling.”¹²

During this time, the Amsterdam exchange prices remained relatively stable, rising slightly from a low of 9.3d. sterling per pound in May 1790 to an average of 9.8d. in 1791. There is no Amsterdam exchange data recorded for 1792 (as noted by Mossman), but the Amsterdam price did rise to an average of 13.9d. in 1793.¹³ However, Mossman did not present any data showing the valuation for coppers in New York or anywhere else for 1793 on.

Since the New York valuation remained stable at 24 to the local shilling from 1789 to at least the end of 1792 and the Amsterdam copper prices likewise remained relatively stable at least through the end of 1791, the data do not support Mossman’s conjecture that a recovery in world prices after 1790 was responsible for renewed acceptance of coppers in the U.S.

As will be discussed below, the price for English copper sheet likewise remained stable at 10d. to 11d. sterling per pound in 1789 thru the end of 1793, further calling into question Mossman’s speculation that rising copper prices after 1790 had stabilized the value of coppers in the U.S. The obvious non-correlation of Amsterdam and English copper price to the valuations of coppers in the States is not the only issue with the data Mossman presented. As previously noted, Mossman quoted prices from Nicolas W. Posthumus’ compilations of monthly prices for various commodities traded on the Amsterdam exchange.



As-smelted “pig copper”

However, the Amsterdam prices quoted in Posthumus are for “Norwegian Garcopper,” as Posthumus clearly noted in the caption above the prices.¹⁴ Garcopper is an archaic term for unrefined “copper pig.” Norwegian pig copper contained a relatively high percentage of impurities, so it had to be refined (melted and fluxed) to remove those impurities prior to hammering or rolling.¹⁵ That is likely the reason I have not found any historical reference to copper pig being imported into the U.S. prior to the 1820s, and that was in reference to British pig, not Norwegian.¹⁶

¹¹ Mossman, pg. 249.

¹² Mossman, pg. 239.

¹³ Mossman, pg. 249.

¹⁴ Ibid.

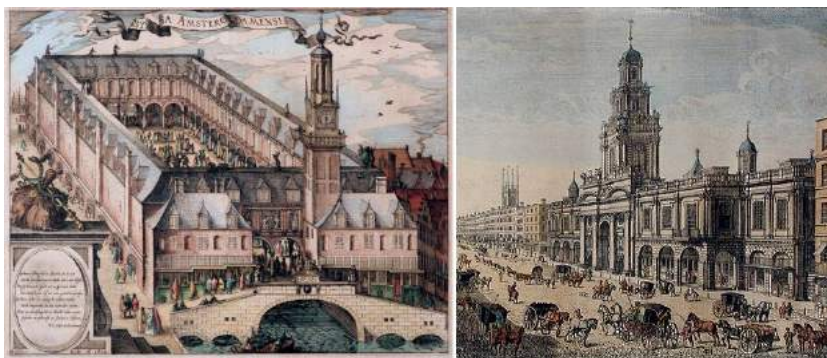
¹⁵ Ranestad, Kristin, “Copper trade and production of copper, brass and bronze goods in the Oldenburg monarchy: copperworks and copper users in the eighteenth century,” *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, Vol. 67, No. 2, pp. 190 – 202. Downloaded from JSTOR.

¹⁶ *American State Papers Finance*, “American State Papers Class IV, Commerce and Navigation, Vol II, March 3, 1815 to March 3, 1823,” published 1834, pg. 732, duty on copper pig imported from Great Britain in 1821.

COPPER IN THE U.S. - THE ENGLISH CONNECTION

Every period historical document I have found to date mentioning the source of copper imported into the U.S. has noted that source as English, principally sheet, but also scrap trimmings from sheathing production. Those documents include the 1787 report to the New York State Assembly, quoted in both Mossman and Crosby,^{17,18} and an online search of period newspapers.

There is very good reason for England to be the period source U.S. copper imports. At the time, England was the world's largest producer of copper in all forms – ore, ingot, sheet, and manufactured (nails, bolts, pans, kettles, stills, etc.). In fact, English copper production dwarfed the rest of the world combined. In 1788 alone, when the two major copper producers, Parys Mines and the Cornish Metal Company agreed to limit production to just 6,000 tons of refined ingot to prevent a further decline in price,¹⁹ Norwegian smelters only produced around 700 tons, 80% of which was sold on the Amsterdam exchange, the rest being locally used.²⁰



Amsterdam exchange, left, and London exchange, right. Downloaded from Wikipedia.

Furthermore, the Amsterdam exchange price was not the “world copper price” Mossman represented it to be.²¹ In addition to the London exchange, which traded multiples of the tonnage traded in Amsterdam, there were also exchanges in Rotterdam and Hamburg.²²

There clearly were price differences on all these exchanges as Matthew Boulton, who was a major stockholder in one of the largest English producers, the Cornish Metal Company, wrote to Thomas Williams of the Parys Mines (the other major producer) on Feb. 16, 1790, urging him to monitor the prices on the Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hamburg exchanges in case the price on those exchanges sank below that of the London exchange and English copper and brass mills started importing cheaper copper.²³

¹⁷ Crosby, Sylvester S., *The Early Coins of America*, Boston, 1875, pp. 291.

¹⁸ Mossman, pp. 222.

¹⁹ Hamilton, Henry, “The English Brass and Copper Industries to 1800,” London, Cass, 1967, originally published 1926, pp. 184.

²⁰ Ranestad, pp. 195.

²¹ Mossman, pp. 249 and 252. Although note that Mossman states Newman convinced him of this point in footnote 167 on page 249.

²² Hamilton, pp. 233.

²³ *Ibid.*



The English copper barons. Left, Thomas Williams. Right, Matthew Boulton.

Consequently, not only was the Amsterdam exchange copper price for a type of copper not imported into the U.S. at the time, it was also not the “world price” Mossman and Newman thought it to be. So, which type of copper and which price should have been used to see if there really was a correlation between the price of raw copper and the commercial value of copper coins in the U.S.?

The obvious answer is the price of English sheet copper and local U.S. scrap prices. That is what was being used for planchets, so those are the applicable prices. There is scant historical documentation of period U.S. scrap copper prices, however, the English sheet price will certainly serve for comparison since that price would effectively set a “floor” on local U.S. scrap. Obviously, those who had any quantity of scrap for sale would not let it go too cheaply when the only real alternative would be to purchase far more expensive English sheet.

Historical records show the price for English copper sheet was stable at about 10d. sterling per pound from 1789 through 1793 and only began rising in 1794 due to wars in Europe.^{24,25,26} Thus, once again, the data do not support the speculations that a decline in a supposed “world copper price” was responsible for a decline in the valuation of coppers in the U.S. or that the valuation of coppers later rose and fell with that supposed “world copper price.”

²⁴ Hamilton, p. 366. While this source only presents sheet data for 1786 on, other sources such as “A History of Prices and of the State of the Circulation from 1792 to 1856” by Thomas Tooke show that English refined ingot remained stable around £80 per ton and John Grenfell’s “Observations on the Expediency and Facility of a Copper Coinage” show that prices for manufactured copper (i.e., nails and spikes, rods, bolts, and wire) remained stable at around 11d. sterling per pound. Since the refined ingot was rolled into copper sheet for use and the manufactured copper price, which was about 10% higher than sheet, remained stable in 1785 to 1790, we can thus conclude that sheet in 1785 to 1786 was likewise about the same as that in 1787 to 1793.

²⁵ 10d. sterling was likewise noted as the price for English copper sheet in the 1787 report to the New York State Assembly quoted by both Mossman and by Sylvester Crosby in his *The Early Coins of America*.

²⁶ An article in the *Federal Gazette* from Aug. 1, 1789, likewise notes the price of English sheet copper as 10d. sterling (copy graciously provided by Julia Casey.)

THE VALUATION OF COPPERS FROM 1793 ON

In his 1984 paper for the first Coinage of the Americas Conference, “*Circulation of Pre-U.S. Mint Copper*,” Newman noted that there was an almost total lack of data on the valuation of Confederation-period coppers from 1793 on.²⁷ However, Newman went on to cite several anecdotal tales by well-known 19th century numismatists such as Montroville Dickeson, Horatio Rust, William C. Prime, John W. Haseltine, Lyman Low, and Ebenezer Locke Mason, relating that the old state coppers and even the counterfeit “Birmingham” coppers circulated side-by-side with (and apparently at the same value as) U.S. large cents in the 1830s to before the Civil War.²⁸

While anecdotal evidence is often viewed with some suspicion, that so many prominent numismatists agree the old coppers circulated alongside U.S. cents is fairly solid evidence that they did. This is not surprising since neither the old coppers nor the federal cents were legal tender nor were they “full-weight” coinage. And, in fact, there was little difference in the intrinsic value of metal in either group.

The most appropriate price to use in evaluating the intrinsic value of copper coins is the scrap value. Prices for sheet or other manufactured items are of little use since a number of coins would first have to be melted into ingot to get a useful volume to then be rolled into sheet or forged into bar for further use.

Historical records show the price of scrap copper was very consistent at about 72% of the sheet price. For example, the U.S. Mint paid 18 cents a pound for scrap and 25 cents a pound for sheet in 1793 to 1797 (the scrap price was thus 72% of the sheet price) and period newspapers quoted scrap at an average of 17.75 cents a pound and sheet at 25 cents in the 1820s to 1830s (a scrap price of 71% of sheet). The highest ratio found thus far was in 1852, where scrap was quoted at 21 cents per pound and sheet at 27 cents (77%).^{29,30,31}

The difference between a really light 110-grain copper and a 168-grain federal cent is just 58 grains. With scrap copper at 18 cents a pound, the difference in intrinsic value is less than two-tenths of a cent (58 grains divided by 7,000 grain per pound, times 18 cents a pound scrap price equals a 0.149 cent difference.) There is thus no real surprise that anecdotal tales suggest these coins all circulated at the same value from the mid-1790s up to the Civil war.

Since they were not redeemable for bullion coins, the pre-federal coppers and federal cents were all “token coins” of roughly the same size, weight, and intrinsic value. With these coins averaging around 50 to the pound, they remained in circulation as long as the price of scrap copper remained below about 50 cents a pound, which is exactly what the 19th century anecdotal tales noted above clearly show.

The only time scrap copper prices approached or exceeded that level was during the Napoleonic Wars, the War of 1812, and the U.S. Civil War. Both the old coppers and federal cents were certainly melted en masse during war-driven price run-ups, however, they otherwise remained in circulation because their circulation value exceeded their scrap value.

²⁷ Newman, pp. 102.

²⁸ Newman, pp. 110-113.

²⁹ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 23, 1828 and Dec. 18, 1830.

³⁰ *United States Economist*, Nov. 20, 1852.

³¹ United States Bureau of the Census, “Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States,” 1902, pg. 124 shows average yearly U.S. sheet prices from 1800 to 1865.

In fact, excluding the war years, U.S. prices for copper remained relatively stable from 1793 through 1862. For 1793 through 1797, U.S. Mint records show the mint paid 17 to 18 cents a pound for scrap copper and, on average, between 25 and 29.7 cents per pound for sheet, mostly imported from England.^{32,33}

In 1798, the U.S. Mint switched to pre-made planchets supplied by Matthew Boulton. In 1798 they paid 29.7 cents per pound of planchets and in 1799, they paid 28.3 cents per pound of planchets. Since the planchet cost included Boulton's cost for copper, manufacturing, and profit, the sheet price would obviously have been somewhat less.³⁴

While copper prices (including the U.S. Mint's cost for copper planchets) rose dramatically during the Napoleonic wars and War of 1812, by 1817 copper prices had once again settled down and remained that way until the run-up to the American Civil War. From 1817 through 1862, the U.S. price for copper sheet varied from 21 to 33 cents per pound.³⁵

Thus, copper prices from the later 1790s through 1862 do not support the thesis that rising copper prices stabilized the commercial valuation of the pre-federal coppers nor do those prices support the contention that the commercial valuation of those coins "floated" with the price of copper. Except for the war years, copper prices in 1793 to 1862 were little different than those in 1785 to 1789 and well below the point at which the pre-federal coppers (and federal cents) could be profitably melted. They thus remained in circulation.

I have little doubt that in rural areas the value of manufactured copper (such as nails, bolts, kettles, stills, and even washers) exceeded the circulation value of pre-federal and federal coppers and they were thus "convenience melted" to produce those goods. However, that is a very localized effect and it does not mean that the coins "floated" in value according to the copper price as it was not the base price of copper that caused the increased valuation of the manufactured goods, but rather the time and expense of transporting those goods to distant rural areas.

The old coppers and federal cents finally disappeared from circulation due to two significant factors. First, the U.S. Mint began a redemption program in 1857, exchanging the new small copper-nickel cents for the old, large coppers. For many years, debates in Congress and period newspaper articles had argued that the old coppers were unsightly due to the dark color, unwieldy, corroded, and unhealthy, with the New York *Evening Post* being especially critical.^{36,37}

As a result, the public jumped at the chance to get rid of the old coins and from May of 1857, when redemption began, to April of 1864, when it was suspended due to the Civil War, mint records show that 29,602,600 of the old coppers (both pre-federal and federal) were melted for use as alloy in the new cents and bullion coinage. From 1871, when redemption resumed, to 1901, when the mint records show the last large quantities being redeemed, the mint melted another 8.3 million old copper coins.

³² Stewart, Frank, *History of the First United States Mint*, Philadelphia, Franklin H. Stewart Electric Co., 1924, pp. 171-178. Also see National Archives, Record Group 104, Records of the U.S. Mint at Philadelphia, Entry 181, *Ledgers and Blotters of Ordinary receipts and Expenditures of the Mint, 1794 – 1837*.

³³ National Archives, Record Group 104, Records of the U.S. Mint at Philadelphia, "A Statement of the cost of Copper for Coinage," found by the author circa 1995 in the box containing Entries 42, 43 & 44.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ United States Bureau of the Census, pg. 124.

³⁶ *Debates and Proceedings of Congress*, "Report on the Current Coins Made to the Senate of the United States," Jan. 11.1830. The report noted a public objection to the coins as "too heavy for the purpose of money."

³⁷ *The Evening Post*, the Sep. 30, 1836 issue called the current copper coins "ponderous," "dirty," "poisonous metal," and urged the adoption of a smaller, more convenient coin made of German silver.

The other factor driving the old coppers from circulation was hoarding during the Civil War. Historical records show that by 1865 there was a dearth of any coinage - copper, silver or gold – in circulation. This absence led to the minting of millions of copper and brass “Civil War tokens” by various manufacturers.

No one knows how many old coppers wound up in the commercial melting pots as the manufacturers offered to buy copper for silver to both support the Northern war effort and strike token coins. However, since the Mint itself melted nearly 15.5 million “cents” during the war years if just half this amount were melted by Northern manufacturers, then some 7.5 million of the old, large coppers promptly vanished. What remains today are the scant remnants of the old, large, federal and pre-federal “cents” which had been gathered up by period collectors or kept as family keepsakes both prior to and after the Civil War.

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, the following conclusions can be made.

1. There was no “world price” of copper, then or now. Copper traded at different prices on different regional exchanges. The belief that there was a “world price” and that price was the Amsterdam exchange price is an incorrect conclusion on the part of Newman and Mossman.
2. The Amsterdam exchange price of copper was for a type of unrefined “pig copper” that was not imported into the United States at any time during the “state coppers period” of 1785 to 1789.
3. The Amsterdam exchange prices for copper were not reported anywhere in the U.S. from 1785 to 1789 and thus could not have had any effect on the valuation of coppers at that time.
4. The only foreign copper prices reported in the U.S. from 1785 to the 1820s were those for English sheet copper, bars, rods, and other manufactured forms.
5. There was no change in English copper prices from 1785 to 1789. There was thus no change in U.S. copper prices. That a supposed change in the “world copper price” was responsible for the “Coppers Panic” of 1789 is an incorrect conclusion on the part of Newman and Mossman.
6. The sole cause of the “Coppers Panic” of 1789 was the huge numbers of lightweight coppers imported into or struck in the U.S. by unscrupulous profiteers and the failure of public officials, including customs officials and politicians to put an end to this fraudulent practice.
7. Excepting the war years, the price of copper in the U.S. was both relatively stable and well below the melt value of the pre-federal coppers (and federal cents) from 1790 through 1862. There is thus no support for the proposition that those pieces “floated” in value with a supposedly changing copper price since the copper price did not materially change.

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MELTING OF COINS FOR INDIAN TRADE SILVER

(Geoffrey Stevens)

An interesting commodity in early America was Indian trade silver. The North American Indian had long practiced wearing their wealth as a display of prominence and adornment. Bands of Naumkeg or Wampum shell beads, as well as other items of shell and bone, stone, and even copper were used. After contact with European settlers during the late seventeenth century, silver became a very desirable item, for which the Indians would willingly trade. The Indians would come up with numerous ways to attach silver brooches, pinwheels and effigy pieces to their hide garments. Beavers and turtles were some of the more popular silver decorative items. Eventually this gave way to the popular practice of adorning their bodies with ear, nose rings, and bobs of silver. Sometimes the silver was used for larger, more expensive items such as armbands, crowns, crosses, and even gorgets. Due to the fact that most other fur trade items were strictly practical - clothing and blankets, as well as knives and guns - the silver adornment items really fit into the category of early money of America!

Some silver trade items were imported from Europe; however, the great majority of items were produced in British and French North America. Numerous independent silversmiths from the East produced untold thousands of items throughout the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century.

During this era, the French led the English in establishing trade with different tribes on a regular basis. This was not only a valuable outlet for commerce, but led to some important military alliances. Hudson's Bay Company dealt in all types of trade goods as well as long lists of different available silver items. Certainly many early silver coins in North America ended up in the crucible to supply the huge demand. Two letters taken from Exchange and Finance, Canadian Archives, illustrate this point.

Port Royal, December 8, 1704

"My Lord, I have refrained as far as possible from having any hand in the card money which is issued here. I have taken no part in it except for the first 4000 livres. As for the 6000 livres issued this year I have neither signed nor affixed my seal to them, which has entailed on me many hardships. I have redeemed cards to the amount of 10,295 livres 10 sols. It is not believed that more than exactly 10,000 livres were issued. Bills of exchange have been drawn for the whole amount.

"There will be much embarrassment in future in the commerce of the country when there is no more money. That which has fallen into the hands of M. de Brouillan and of Mile Barat has been melted and converted into silver plate. I have been informed that on the first occasion there were melted thirty two marks. What is certain is that one Pidart, goldsmith, and lance corporal of the Boularderie company has worked continuously from the month of July in making silver plate, that he has been relieved of service during this time, that he has had to make at the expense of the King, in the establishment of M. de Brouillan where he works, a furnace, a bench, iron moulds, forms and several other things for his use; they say that he has only melted dollars, indeed on sees no more of them and very little other silver. They have even

made crosses of St. Louis and other jewels for louis d'or, and piastres have been enhanced in value, for fear, they say, that they may leave the country."

June 3, 1705

"To Sr. Loppinot I have received the letter you wrote to me on the 14th of the month of December last.

"I have informed M. de Brouillan that he had done wrong in having shillings and dollars melted to make plate. He assured me that he was unaware that it was forbidden, and that there would be no further cause for complaint against him on that score, even though the coins should be of foreign countries. It is no more permissible to melt these than those of France, and you must prosecute those who may fall into such an irregularity in future."

Aside from French coins and dollars it is very interesting that shillings are specifically mentioned. English silver was very scarce within the British colonies during this time period, and obviously would have been even more so in Canada during Queen Anne's War. Is this an apparent reference to "Boston money?" One can only imagine the Oaks and Pines, some holed and heavily clipped, being liquefied along with the sols and reales! The next reference is apparently the official proclamation against this practice of melting coins for plate, from the same source:

"XV. We forbid all goldsmiths, jewelers and other artificers in gold or silver, to deface any money coins for the purpose of employing them in their products, on pain of the galleys for life; as also to buy or sell gold or silver bullion at a higher rate than what would be paid for it at our mints, on pain of confiscation and a fine at discretion which must not be less than the value of the confiscated money. "

Silversmiths were making handsome profits creating trade items, especially around the end of the eighteenth century. You may recognize some of the names included in a 1786 New York directory, of smiths offering goods for Indian trade: Myer Myers, Samuel Johnson, William Gilbert, Otto DePerizang (Otho Parisien), William Forbes, John Burger, Daniel Chene, Gary Dunn, Benjamin Halstead, Ephriam Brasher, Thomas Reynolds, Peter Bellodiére, and Peter Maverick.

Reference: Carter, W.H., North American Indian Trade Silver, Lancaster, OH: Hothem House, 1996.



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Wayne Shelby has agreed to store the back copies of the *C4 Newsletter*. People wishing to purchase back issues that are still available should send their money to our treasurer, Charlie Rohrer, whose contact data are at page 2. Upon receipt of the money, he will contact Wayne, who will mail out the material. Back copies of the *Newsletter* are \$10 for the first and \$8 for all after that placed at the same time. If you have questions of what material is available, you can contact Wayne at:

dughistory@juno.com

609-261-6662 (Home)

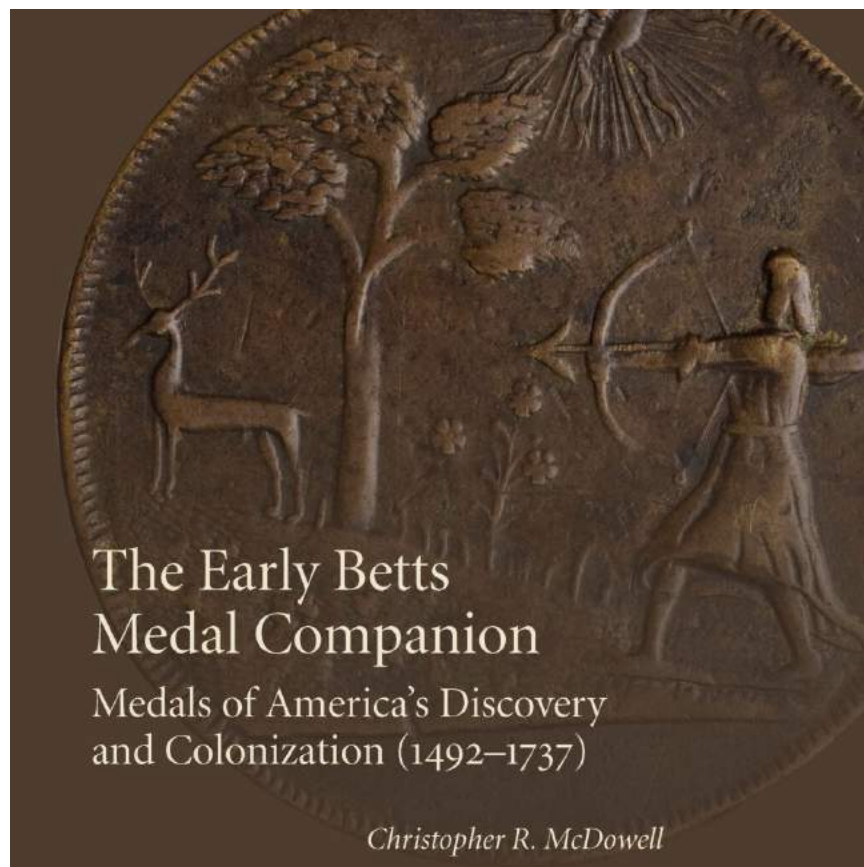
THE C4 NEWSLETTER IS ON THE NEWMAN NUMISMATIC PORTAL!

Past issues of The C4 Newsletter, and a plethora of other important numismatic resources are now available online, through The Newman Numismatic Portal, at:

www.archive.org/details/newmannumismatic

Early Betts Medal Book

By The American Numismatic Society



The American Numismatic Society (ANS) is pleased to announce the publication of *The Early Betts Medal Companion: Medals of America's Discovery and Colonization (1492-1737)*, the fifth volume in the Society's *Studies in Medalllic Art* series.

Authored by Christopher R. McDowell—ANS Fellow, editor of the *Journal of Early American Numismatics*, and President of the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4)—this book brings to fruition the dream of nineteenth-century numismatist Charles Wyllys Betts to illustrate American colonial history through contemporary medals. Focusing on medals from the period of discovery through the period of colonization of the New World, McDowell's volume is a companion to Betts's masterpiece, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*. This is the first of what is expected to be three volumes by McDowell concerning Betts medals.

Since Betts' text first appeared posthumously in 1894, new information has come to light regarding each medal he enumerated. *The Early Betts Medal Companion* updates and illustrates each listing in the first two chapters of Betts, known to collectors and researchers as Betts-1 to Betts-170. Although Betts stated that his work was an "illustrated" history, very few actual illustrations or drawings were included in the original. With only a few exceptions, every Betts medal discussed is illustrated here, many for the first time. In addition, the contextual history of each medal is told, explaining their design and importance. Finally, pricing information is included for every medal for which pricing is available.

The cost of the book is \$125 plus shipping and handling, with ANS members receiving 30% off. All members can apply the ANS30 discount code during checkout for the member cost of \$87.50. Pre-ordering is now open for *The Early Betts Medal Companion*, through the ANS distributor, Casemate Academic. Books will start shipping to customers in December 2022.

Dr. Jesse Kraft, ANS Resolute Americana Assistant Curator of American Numismatics, praised the book. He noted, “McDowell provides the most comprehensive resource on the subject of Betts medals. This book provides much-needed and up-to-date context to Betts’ work, ranging from U.S., North American, and world history to the evolution of American numismatics and, of course, about the medals themselves. Perhaps most striking about the updated understanding of this material is that some of the medals in the Betts book never even existed. Without McDowell’s meticulous research, future generations of numismatists would still be searching for them. For McDowell, this truly is a labor of love.”



The American Numismatic Society, organized in 1858 and incorporated in 1865 in New York State, operates as a research museum under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and is recognized as a publicly supported organization under section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) as confirmed on November 1, 1970.

Author Christopher R. McDowell



See the C4 website for contest details.

RESOURCE FOR THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Our C4 Newsletter has an index available on our website at www.colonialcoins.org. There are two indexes: one by author and a second by topic/title. This is a beginning and the index will improve over time. We have intentions of updating the index within a week or two of every issue being shipped. We ask past authors and contributors to the C4N to please review their work in the index and forward any corrections/additions/suggestions to Ray Williams at njraywms@optonline.net or call.

The American Numismatic Society lacks just 10 pieces of Continental Currency for a complete set. If you would like to donate to the study collection, please contact Curator of the Americas, Jesse Kraft, at jkraft@numismatics.org. The missing notes are as follows:

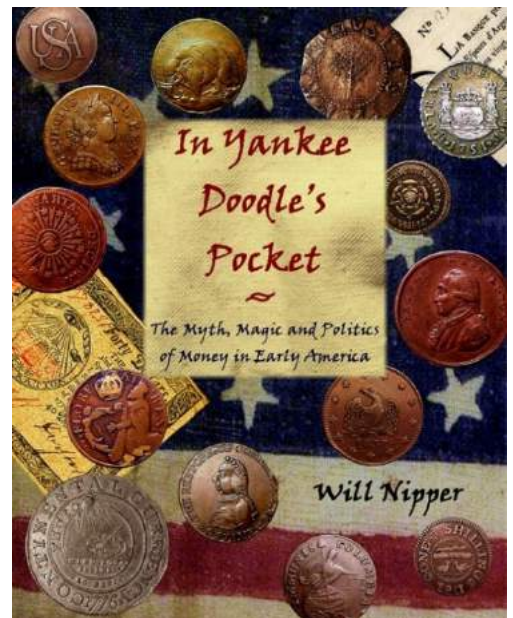
February 26, 1777, \$2, Friedberg.55 — May 20, 1777 \$4 Friedberg.65 — May 20, 1777, \$5, Friedberg.66 — May 20, 1777, \$7, Friedberg.68 — May 20, 1777, \$8, Friedberg.69 — April 11, 1778, \$6, Friedberg.73 — April 11, 1778, \$7, Friedberg.74 — April 11, 1778, \$8, Friedberg.75 — April 11, 1778, \$20, Friedberg.76 — April 11, 1778, \$40, Friedberg.78

The Daniel Frank Sedwick database of fake cobs is on ForgeryNetwork:
<http://www.forgerynetwork.com/default.aspx?keyword=cob>

ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO ADD TO YOUR NUMISMATIC LIBRARY

Thanks to a generous donation from Will Nipper, C4 is able to offer brand new copies of his 2008 book *In Yankee Doodle's Pocket ~ The Myth, Magic and Politics of Money in Early America* at a **Special Price to members only** for \$25 which includes shipping and handling. Junior C4 members can get the book for **FREE** by paying just \$5 for shipping and handling.

This 576-page profusely-illustrated book offers fresh perspectives on America's celebrated ascent from disparate colonial outposts to sovereign power. Through the day-to-day instruments of trade and commerce, this work reveals the myriad threads of culture and hidden history that together wove a new nation. Based on years of research, the associated facts, legends, and theories are presented in a conversational narrative that all audiences can read and appreciate. To order your book, contact Charlie Rohrer at treasurer.colonialcoins.org.



C4 Offers Important Colonial Books

For more information on the following books, published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4), visit the C4 website at www.colonialcoins.org. These books may be ordered directly from: Charles Davis' website at www.numisbook.com. Books marked with an asterisk are also available from Kolbe & Fanning Numismatic Booksellers at www.numislit.com.

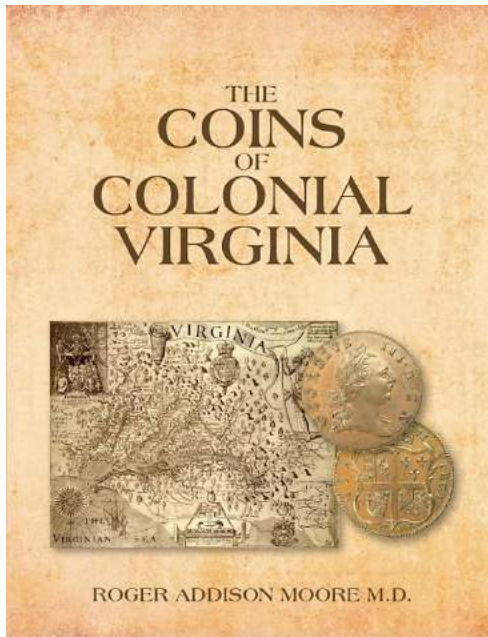
- (1) Carlotto, Tony. *The Copper Coins of Vermont, and Those Bearing the Vermont Name*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 1998. **OP**
- (2) Clark, Randall P. *The Identification and Classification of Connecticut Coppers (1785-1788)*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2021. **OP**
- (3) Howes, Jack, James Rosen and Gary Trudgen. *The History and Coinage of Machin's Mills*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2020. **OP**
- (4) Jordan, Lou. *John Hull, The Mint and The Economics of Massachusetts Coinage*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2002. Price: \$10.
- (5) McDowell, Christopher R., *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2015. **OP**
- (6) Martin, Sydney F. *French Coinage Specifically for Colonial America*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2015. Price \$50. *
- (7) Martin, Sydney F. *The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood (1722-1724)*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2007. Price: \$50. *
- (8) Martin, Sydney F. *The Rosa Americana Coinage of William Wood*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2011. Price \$50. *
- (9) Martin, Sydney F. *St. Patrick Coinage (for Ireland and New Jersey)*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2018. Price \$95. *
- (10) Moore, Roger A. *The Coins of Colonial Virginia*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2019, Price \$50.
- (11) Siboni, Roger S., John L. Howes, and A. Buell Ish. *New Jersey State Coppers*, American Numismatic Society and Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2013. **OP ***
- (12) Vlack, Robert A. *An Illustrated Catalogue of the French Billon Coinage in the Americas*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2004. **OP**

Books indicated with **OP** are out of print, though both booksellers occasionally have second-hand copies for sale.

* * * * *

C4 BOOKS STILL AVAILABLE

The Coins of Colonial Virginia by Roger A. Moore (2022 Winner of the Sydney F. Martin Numismatic Publication Award!)



The growth and development of Virginia into one of the most important North American colonies can be traced by the economic evolution of the Dominion State as it attempted to gain the necessary hard currency needed for commerce. The history surrounding the introduction of various coinages and the use of tobacco as a commodity currency over the 150 years leading up to the final authorization of the production of Virginia halfpence in 1773 is fascinating. Equally as absorbing are the twists, turns, and dead ends encountered by the Virginia colonists as they sought authorization from the English Crown for their own coinage. It is ironic that the long-desired copper Virginia halfpence finally provided to Virginia under Warrant from King George III became available to the colonists only fifty days before the beginning of the American Revolution.

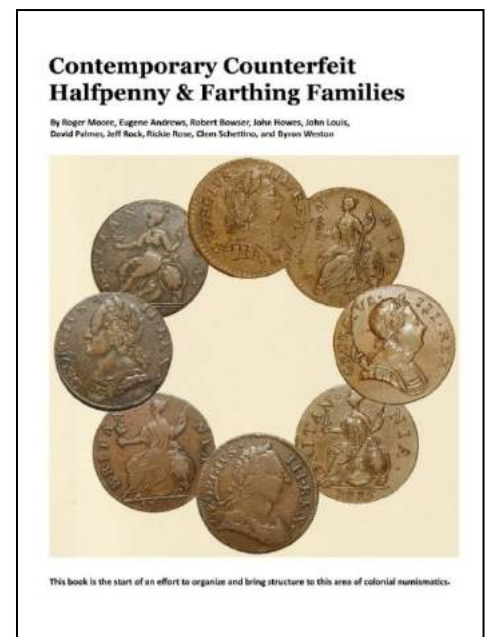
In addition to exploring the historic context in which colonial Virginia struggled to obtain hard currency, methods are provided for attributing and collecting 30 known die varieties of the 1773 copper Virginia halfpence. The book also enumerates the specifics of the Virginia halfpence metrology, rarity, and grading, as well as their numerous forgeries, facsimiles, fantasies, and oddities. Virginia halfpence can be appreciated and collected in nearly uncirculated condition and are important additions to any collection of American colonial coins.

Available at Charles Davis' website: www.numisbook.com.

Contemporary Counterfeit Halfpenny & Farthing Families (2nd printing)

by Roger Moore, Eugene Andrews, Robert Bowser, John Howes, John Louis, David Palmer, Jeff Rock, Rickie Rose, Clem Schettino, and Byron Weston

This monograph is the start of an effort to organize and bring structure to this area of colonial numismatics: it breaks down the vast number of different varieties into related groups called Families. A Family of contemporary counterfeits is a group of coins that likely came from the same minting operation at about the same time. Families are logical groups that share one or more of the following attributes: dies, die making punches, or similarities in the design style. This updated large format, glossy, 294-page and profusely-illustrated-in-color hardcover is available from Barnes & Noble, Amazon books, and other mass market retailers. Check specifically for ISBN 978-1-64255-857-9.



CLASSIFIED ADS

Effective starting with the Winter 2021 issue, there is no longer a price difference for color ads.

	1 issue	2 issues	3 issues	4 issues	Copy Size
Cover page	\$550	\$800	\$1,050	\$1,300	6" x 9"
1 page	\$300	\$450	\$600	\$750	6" x 9"
1/2 page	\$175	\$250	\$325	\$400	6" x 4.5"

Please send check with your ad to Treasurer, Charlie Rohrer, when placing your ad. We accept camera-ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file.

All members also have the right to include a free classified ad in the newsletter of up to 10 lines of **text only**.

NOTICE: The Colonial Coin Collectors Club does not review the ads provided for accuracy, nor does it assess any items offered for sale relative to authenticity, correct descriptions, or the like. C4 is not to be considered a party to any transactions occurring between members based on such ads and will in no way be responsible to either the buyer or seller.

EDITOR NOTE: FREE Classified Ads that have run for four consecutive issues will be discontinued unless instructed otherwise by the advertiser.



WATERMARK RESEARCH REQUEST - I would like a list of your colonial currency/documents with and without watermarks. Needed info is type of currency/document, denomination, date of emission and description of watermark. Particularly interested in counterfeit emissions.

Confidentiality kept for all information. Thank you. Any questions

- Roger Moore 435@yahoo.com 856-905-6844 (3/4)



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