THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Winter 2023 Volume 31, Number 4

A New Jersey Copper with an Abel Buell Counterstamp!

See Page 45

(Steven Prosser Photograph)



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Announcements and Ads: Classified, Sponsored, Reciprocal Club

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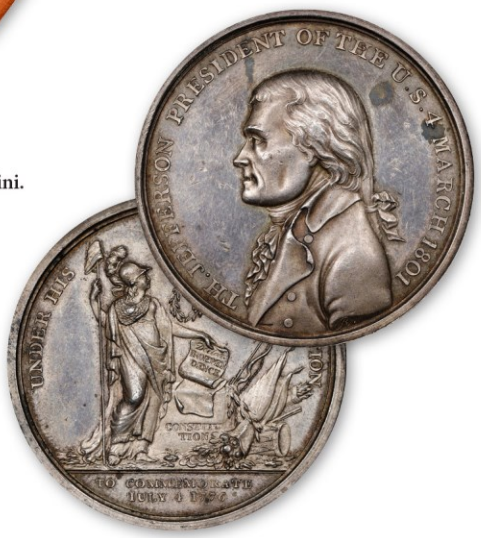
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The C4 Newsletter Volume 31, Number 4

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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 MESSAGE — JANUARY 2024

(Christopher R. McDowell)

Happy New Year everyone. Since our last issue, we enjoyed our 2023 C4 Convention. For those of you who missed it, we hope you will join us in 2024. The 2024 convention will be held from November 14-16 in Baltimore, Maryland. By all accounts, the 2023 convention was a smashing success! Many people told me it was the best yet. Our Happenings event continues to grow in popularity and expand in size. We were very fortunate to have Stack's Bowers Galleries sponsor this event. We will have another Happenings in 2024, and we hope even more members can attend.

For those unfamiliar with what I am talking about, the Happenings take place on Friday evening with tables organized around different colonial numismatic topics. The participants share items, discuss the topic, and learn from one another over food and beverages. This year, we had over fifty-five members take part at five tables. I am informed that some very rare items were shared at the Vermont table, providing those in attendance with a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. I wish someone had fetched me to see them. The New Jersey table had to be doubled up to accommodate everyone, the colonial paper group was riveted in thoughtful contemplation of the items being shared, the metal detecting table had some first-rate items to look at, and my table, led by David Palmer, had a great time looking at counterstamped coins and meeting new friends. I want to thank all the table captains for taking the time to help organize the event, which is quickly becoming the highlight of the convention for many people.

Our educational talks, arranged by Jim Glickman, were extraordinary. Moreover, the food that Dennis Wierzba ordered will be remembered for years! Good and plentiful food combined with learning about colonial coins, who could ask for more? If you missed the talks, don't worry; they have now been posted on our website, where you can watch them any time you like. I thought the contrast between Jesse Kraft's talk, dealing with archeological hoard finds, was enhanced by Wayne Shelby's perspective from an amateur metal detectorist's point of view. These talks should really be watched together; they complement one another very nicely. We also had a donated lots auction at the dinner—David Menchell generously provided some old and exciting etchings to be auctioned alongside our duplicate C4 library books. The auction raised a good bit of money for the Club, thanks in no small part to our delightful guest auctioneer, Dan Freidus, who kept things moving.

We also announced the winners of our metal-detecting finds contest (see the last *C4 Newsletter* for more details). We had some excellent items to select from in our inaugural contest; picking the winner was no easy task. We are expanding the contest in 2024, which Stack's Bowers Galleries will again sponsor. Anyone wanting more information about the competition can find it on the C4 website under the Metal Detecting tab.

At our annual meeting on Saturday, I announced the password for the Members Only section on the C4 website. For those of you who missed it, the secret password is **Crosby**. All you need is your email on file with the club and the password to gain access. All past *C4 Newsletters* not on the Newman Portal can be found in the Members Only section. In the future, I hope to populate the tab with more exciting content.

I am down to my last box of Will Nipper's outstanding book, *In Yankee Doodle's Pocket*. Will graciously donated books to the club to help raise funds, and they have been selling like hotcakes. I expect to be sold out soon. If you do not have the book, which I highly recommend, I strongly suggest you order it now. Information on how to order the book can be found elsewhere in this *Newsletter*. On behalf of the C4 Board of Directors, I want to thank Will again for his generous contribution of these books to our Club and his years of selfless service as the lead editor of this publication.

As reported at the annual meeting, our membership remains strong and growing, and our finances are rock solid. You are part of a vibrant and dynamic organization. Thank you to everyone who made 2023 a great year. Thank you for your loyalty and membership in the Colonial Coin Collectors Club.

I look forward to what awaits us in 2024.

Christopher R. McDowell,
President C4,
8 January 2024

MINUTES OF THE C4 GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

November 11, 2023-- Baltimore

At 9:30 the meeting was called to order by President Chris McDowell.

In Attendance: A circulating attendance sheet was signed by 28 members.

Following a brief round of introductions by the members, President McDowell made introductory remarks. He first highlighted the excellent relationship between C4 and SBG mentioning complementary remarks regarding C4 made by Brian Kendella and the recent discussions which led to the extension of the Auction contract (with same terms) until December 2027. Chris then summarized the status of the two initiatives undertaken in 2023. The first, Website Update, is essentially complete, largely due to the implementation of the website hosting contract with *WebFEATcomplete*. A few minor details will be resolved, but the website is already generating revenue and is considerably more user-friendly than the previous. Chris encouraged all members to use the site and revealed the log-in password for the members-only section. He stressed that the password is for members use only-not to be shared. The second 2023 initiative, Metal Detecting, has proved very successful, as demonstrated by the response to the first annual contest recognizing numismatic detecting finds, as well as the turnout and enthusiasm at the Detecting table at the Friday Happening.

The Business portion of the Meeting was then conducted.

Approval of 2022 General Membership Meeting Minutes: These minutes, which were previously published in the Newsletter, were unanimously approved.

Treasurer: Charlie Rohrer reported that club assets as of 11/5/23 were $98,254.75, with YTD income of $14,725.84 and expenses of $38,160.96. This reported income did not include either the SBG 2023 auction payment ($6250.00 base + additional allotment for final sale amount) or expected payments for newsletter ads. Charlie expected the overall club finances at the end of 2023 to be comparable to those at the end of 2022. The total club membership is 404. A question was raised regarding the increase in Website Maintenance costs ($6206.35 through 11/5/23 *vs* $1500.00 in 2022). This increase was a first-year phenomenon and will be lower in future years, especially when ad revenues rise to offset a portion of the costs.

Library: Leo Shane reported that, to downsize the club library, the sale of C4 Library duplicates is going well. However, no offers for the large collection *of Numismatist* back issues have been received. An attempt will be

made to break up this accumulation into smaller segments (*e.g*. 10-year intervals) at least for the older issues. The most recent issues should probably be recycled. Leo to pursue options.

Publication Committee: Dave Menchell reported that a supplement to the NJ Book is nearing completion (expected prior to 2024 convention); this will be smaller size and contain updated condition census information. Mike Packard has submitted an initial draft of the Massachusetts copper book for review. An updated version of the Machin's book is being planned.

Newsletter: Will Nipper and Mark Vitunic summarized the progress going to a bound newsletter and that the publishing costs have decreased and that the new format has been well received. Publication will be in January, April, July, and October with exact dates to be determined. New articles are always needed and encouraged.

Educational Report: Jim Glickman highlighted the well-attended and interesting Newman Lectures on Thursday evening by Wayne Shelby and Jesse Kraft, complementing each other within the themes of Metal Detecting and Numismatic Finds. The public presentations by Ray Williams and Jim Glickman were well-attended and reached non-colonial collectors. Jim also solicited suggestions for Newman Lectures at the 2024 convention.

In general comments, all agreed that the convention was a success, the Thursday program, with only two Newman lectures and a C4 donated book auction, was well attended, and viewed as a better format than three lectures. The Friday night Happening was also well attended and promoted exuberant discussions at each of the 5 tables. Dave Menchell noted the lack of sufficient exhibit space around the C4 Table and suggested that another Table might be needed next year. This space shortage was largely due to the excellent ANS exhibit on Connecticut paper (it was hoped that ANS would exhibit again next year).

New Business: The idea of creating a new position of C4 historian was discussed. All agreed that much material related to early C4 history and activities (especially relating to C4 formation) probably remains in the possession of individual members and has not been documented and compiled. There was agreement that this would be an important position and Craig McDonald was chosen to form a committee to gather more details.

There being no further New Business Chris McDowell took the floor and asked if there were any recently deceased C4 members to remember. None being named he then asked all Veterans in attendance to rise and took a moment to thank them for their service on this Veteran's Day.

Chris then spoke about two initiatives for 2024. The first is Outreach to Youth Members. Initially the Board will investigate ways to proceed using the $4800 donations and proceeds from sales of the *Fugio* book by Rob Retz. Information will be gathered about how other organizations (EAC, ANS, ANA) have approached this. Especially, guidance will be sought from the ANA (their YN programs) and ways to interact with these ongoing programs will be explored. The second initiative will be to explore new ways to Collaborate with these organizations (ANA, EAC, ANS). The Board will pursue this in tandem with the Youth efforts.

At the end of this discussion, Chris McDowell proposed to adjourn the meeting. A second was made, all were in favor, and the meeting was adjourned at 10:15.

Respectfully submitted,
Jay Knipe, C4 Secretary

VERMONT HAPPENING AT THE 2023 C4 CONVENTION

(John Hoskins)

The Vermont (Landscapes) Happening at the 2023 C4 Convention was held in the Camden Room at the Sheraton Inner Harbor Hotel in Baltimore, MD on November 10 from 7:00 in the evening until nearly 9:30. One of five separate Colonial Happenings that commandeered a good portion of the second floor of the hotel, it focused on the Vermont Landscapes, Ryder-2 through Ryder-8 inclusive. Yes, inclusive – it included LOTS of Ryder-5s!

The group shared and discussed the various die states and stages of each, die misalignments, how nice certain die marriages came, or how rare it was to see a nice one. Details of the evening follow (and my apologies for not taking more detailed notes of certain varieties).

Attendees:

John Hoskins (table captain)
Mark Vitunic
Jeff Lipsky
Jim Rosen
David Menchell
John Bolger
Jay Knipe
Chris McDonald
Shawn Yancey (dropped by to add an RR-2 with a solid tornado break to the viewing)
Roger Siboni (dropped in at the end to view the RR-5 examples being viewed)

Varieties:

RR-2 (11 examples displayed) - discussion centered on what constitutes an LDS, as a die crack at K1 Obv was apparent on only two of the viewed examples; Tornado formation at K6 Obv seemingly unrelated to crack appearance (difficult to verify given the worn examples)
RR-3 (8 examples displayed)
RR-4 (6 examples displayed)
RR-6 (7 examples displayed) – Noted as the "nicest" of the landscape varieties, generally presenting with good color and surfaces, but basically all were off-center and/or weakly struck to K6 Obv, likely due to die misalignment.
RR-7 (9 examples displayed)
RR-8 (6 examples displayed)
RR-5 (6 examples displayed) – rare opportunity to view, handle and photograph a substantial number of the known examples, with 5 of the 11 known cast examples on the table (four were raw, one slabbed), and 1 of the 5 known modern copies (also raw), but unfortunately none of the 5 known struck examples were available. Perhaps next year?

Discussion after variety review was completed included:

1. Why is there not a single remaining die, obverse or reverse, available for study? What happened to them all?
2. Why do Vermont obverse dies show failure so often while the reverse dies seldom do?
    a. Was there a preferred placement of the obverse in the hammer die which might have experienced more significant forces than the anvil die?
    b. It was noted that the obverse relief on landscapes is larger and centered while the fields are otherwise flat – this may have contributed to more rapid weakening of the obverse dies.
    c. The reverse has a sunburst design, with numerous radial arms that may act to distribute stress more effectively during striking, reducing the chance of die failure.
3. How were obverse and reverse dies selected for use as the hammer versus anvil die, and which side did the coiners consider to be the obverse? Were the anvil/hammer dies ever switched, or were the anvil and hammer dies designed differently, so they couldn't (easily) be switched?
4. Why did the failure of the obverse die mean that a reverse die was also immediately replaced? Only once was a die used on two varieties of landscapes – in all other cases die pairings were unique.
5. What kind of machines were used to strike the coins, and how many coins could be struck per minute?

The last question brought out numerous opinions, thoughts, and conjectures, which began to drift a bit as the evening and beverages progressed. As the other tables began to finish their own discussions, the attendees began to disperse, bringing to a close an excellent and thought-provoking evening of colonial discussion and camaraderie.



Five RR-5's in Baltimore! When was the last time they were all together at the same time?

Happenings at the 2023 C4 Convention





Roger Moore, Leo Shane, Jim Glickman and Stan Stephens discussing Colonial pinned and backed currency

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

I want to take a moment to thank C4 President Chris McDowell, the officers, and C4 members for the service award I received at our convention this year. What a surprise it was! Taking the microphone, I was able to get just a few words out before I would become too choked up to talk.

Being active in C4 has enabled me to work with some of the finest people in our hobby. And I cherish the resulting friendships I've made as a result. I'm thankful to the membership who voted to allow me to be president for several terms. While serving in this capacity, I developed relationships with key people across the hobby… curators, authors, publishers, researchers, and national officers. Many of these became friendships.

But, as I alluded to in Baltimore, my wife Diane is the one who deserves this medal. Without her patience, understanding, and support, I would not have been able to have half the fun I've experienced in C4. Many of you have met her at conventions and have befriended her. I'm sure that you all would agree that I married well.

Life is filled with obligations, demands and stress. There are some things we have that add to the quality of life, and I know you'll all agree that this hobby is one of them.

- Ray Williams



Diane (right) with Syd Martin's daughter Jessie

C4 REGION 2 MEETING AT THE NEW HAMPSHIRE COIN EXPO, SPONSORED BY STACK'S BOWERS





An open meeting of C4 Region 2, the second one this year, was held on Friday, October 27, 2023, again at the New Hampshire Coin and Currency Expo in Manchester, NH, chaired by Region 2 Vice-President Tom Gesner, and this time sponsored by Stack's Bowers. Twelve people were in attendance including the following C4 members:

Richard August	Jim Glickman	Mark Vitunic
Michael Callis	Bill Harkin	Charlie Wallace
Tom Gesner	Don Slater	Dennis Wierzba

The meeting began with the traditional attendee introductions: where they're from and collecting interests. Tom provided an update on activities at the board level, focused mainly on the upcoming convention and its agenda. Jim Glickman highlighted the lineup of speakers and Dennis Wierzba informed us of the expanded dealer bourse and food/room logistics for the Thursday and Friday night events. Most in attendance were looking forward to and planning to be in Baltimore in two weeks.

The floor then opened up for general discussion and show-and-tell. Michael Callis updated us on his research on the 1783 Georgius Triumpho copper, which prompted much lively discussion. We look forward to reading more about this enigmatic token/copper in a future C4N article. *[Editor: See page 50!]* Several numismatic items were passed around, including a 1786 counterfeit Nova Constellatio from the recent Martin III sale. Mark Vitunic shared images of Vermont coppers taken during a recent visit he and Jack Howes made to the Bennington Museum – all 187 (!) of them -an amazing collection, now well documented. Several Massachusetts colonial bills of credit were shown, including a 1776 42-shilling Sword-in-Hand from this year's auction of Ford/Boyd colonial currency by Kagin's. Bill Harkins related a visit to the Bela Lyon Pratt Gallery of Numismatics at Yale University by members of C4 and the New England Numismatic Association. The gallery, displaying many of its holdings from ancients to colonials to modern times, opened in 2022.

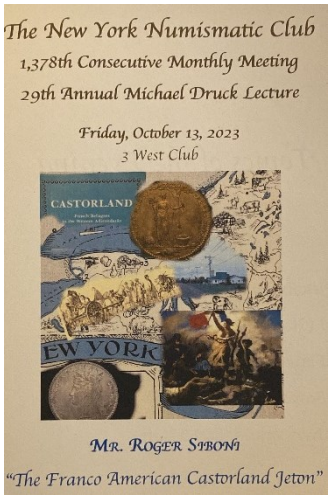
Fun was had by all and one guest took an application for membership in C4. Special thanks to Stack's Bowers, who sponsored our event and generously provided a light lunch for attendees beforehand, setting everyone in a good mood for the meeting! [TG]

NEW YORK NUMISMATIC CLUB TALK ON CASTORLANDS

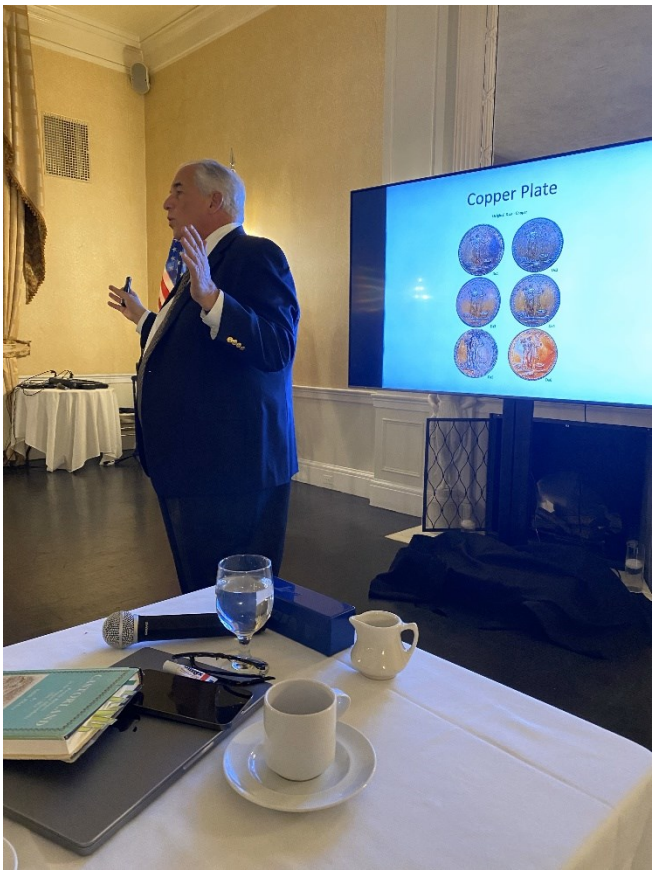
(Mark R. Vitunic)



(Coin photos courtesy of StacksBowers, others courtesy of Ray Williams)



Friday the 13th this past October witnessed the presentation of some numismatic "caviar" by our very own Roger Siboni at the New York Numismatic Club. The topic for the evening was the beautiful 1796 Castorland medals, which are listed in the *Red Book* under the section titled *Private Tokens After Confederation*. For most collectors, distinguishing originals from the various restrikes (which continue to be struck after more than 200 years) is a challenge, complicated by confusing and inconsistent terminology used in the marketplace by grading companies, auction companies, dealers, and collectors alike. In his 45-minute talk, Roger broke this down into an easy-to-follow attribution guide, highlighted by six die states of the original reverse die, culminating with its mid-19th century retirement and replacement. At some point, the obverse die was reworked and eventually replaced as well. Examples of all, from "Simon Pure" to modern were on display for all to examine. The rich diversity of striking metals, edge markings, and die orientations were covered and importantly, how these aid in dating the pieces and their intended use. Roger also covered the background history of the colony, its key participants, and how a fortunate accident of history corrected our understanding of this enigmatic issue.



Fun was had by all. We can look forward to seeing an article by Roger on this exact topic in a future numismatic publication!

THE TUESDAY CLUB OF ANNAPOLIS MEDAL

(Bruce Smith)

Ralph Kramden had the Loyal Order of Racoons, Bertie Wooster had the Drones, and Dr. Alexander Hamilton (no relation to the Founding Father) had the Tuesday Club of Annapolis. From 1745 - 1756 the Tuesday Club was a well known assemblage of Maryland's colonial capitol's cultural elite. The history and proceedings of the club as documented by the founder Dr. Hamilton may be found in the John Work Garrett Library at Johns Hopkins University. A study of the group by Wilson Somerfield, *The Tuesday Club of Annapolis (1745 - 1756) as Cultural Performance*, was published by the University of Georgia in 1996.

Writing in the Winter 2015 issue of the arts quarterly *Upstart Annapolis*, Lucia St. Clair Robson observed, *"*They gathered every Tuesday evening, most often at Dr. Hamilton's home on King George Street, and sometimes at Middleton Tavern. The Tuesday Club exemplified the Age of Enlightenment's enthusiasm for literature, music, theater, and philosophy. Dr. Hamilton and his colleagues added drinking, humor, and tomfoolery." Each member of the club took on a club name. Dr. Hamilton became Loquacious Scribble. Although not a member, Benjamin Franklin was a visitor and was dubbed Electro Vitrifico. Colonial printer (*Annapolis Maryland Gazette* and Maryland currency) Jonas Green became Jonathan Grog Esqr.

The meetings themselves featured a frequently refilled punch bowl, smoking, toasts, songs, riddles, and stories. Club bylaws forbade a serious response to a serious question. At the mention of Maryland politics members were required to respond with laughter. An annual parade through the streets of Annapolis was an important event. Dr. Hamilton's accounts of the club's activities are described by his editor, Robert Micklus, as, "a political satire representing the gamut of 18th century wit -pseudo- learned essays and digressions, bombastic letters and speeches, doggerel verse, riddles and conundrums, scatological humor and polite smut." The following line from one of the club's songs (music was an important component in club life) might serve as a summary of their approach to social discourse, "One bowl in hand, and another in Store, Enough's enough, and we'll have one more."

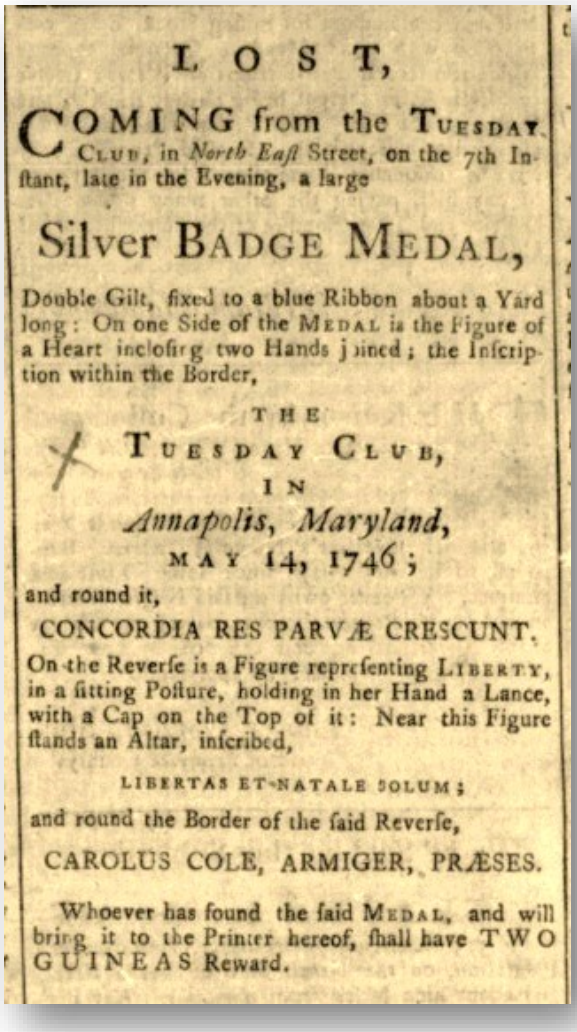
John Work Garrett and Jonas Green aside, the main numismatic connection to the club is derived from the medal that the club had struck for its members in 1746 (Betts 383). The medal is rare with only four examples surviving. Three are gilt silver, and one, the Ford example, is gilt copper. The badges were important. An account of the annual procession makes mention of the appearance given by the members wearing their "double gilt badges". The medals are not signed and the engraver is uncertain.

Edward Hawkins in his 1885 *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* attributed the work to John Kirk, but there is no clearly established connection. Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medalists* (1902) also credits Kirk. In the upcoming Volume II of his *Betts Medal Companion* series, Chris McDowell writes, "While we have a great deal of contemporary information about these medals, some important facts are still missing. Primarily, who was the London-based engraver who made them? Edward Hawkins stated that this medal was 'executed' in London, and the work of John Kirk…."

C. Wyllys Betts, copied this suggestion, and in a footnote also listed Kirk as the engraver. The highly respected catalogers of LaRiviere II, a team that included Q. David Bowers, Mark Borckardt, and John Kraljevich, questioned this belief, stating "We believe that the fabric of the Tuesday Club medal is too dissimilar to the known work of Kirk, the grand majority of which is signed, to continue to accept that conjecture." Whatever it was that led Hawkins to attribute this medal to Kirk is unknown as he failed to cite any support for his belief. It is interesting to learn that the piece in the British Museum came from Hawkins's

collection, and that to this day the British Museum attributes the Tuesday Club medal to Kirk. The LaRiviere II catalogers left out Ms. Freeman's possible explanation for why Kirk may have failed to sign the medal. She points out in her monograph that it is indeed unusual for Kirk to have not signed a medal, but that "the medal was in no way an original creation of the engraver, and consequently it may not have been deemed fitting to sign it. Or was it that the die-cutter had no desire to assume any responsibility for a Liberty in the form of a nude youth?" Ms. Freeman makes sound arguments for why Kirk may not have signed this medal. It should also be noted that not every Kirk medal is signed. In the end, Ms. Freeman concluded that the Kirk attribution should be accepted until disproven, which seems the proper course of action." The club had a London agent, Anthony Bacon, who was charged with having the medals struck. Interestingly, his instructions state that the badges were, "to be Cast with fine pinchbeck mettle, Instead of Silver according to the order of the Club, the mettle being fitter for gilding in Case the Gilding should in time wear off."

Due to my interest in all things Kirk (historical medallions, Sentimental Medals, store cards, counters, coin weights, and paper ephemera), and the possibility that this might be a Kirk product, I did a bit of sleuthing through contemporary newspapers to see what could be found. Although I was unable to locate any reference to the medalist responsible, two items popped up that tell an amusing tale all on their own. *The Annapolis Maryland Gazette* (printed by the aforementioned club member Jonas Green) of January 09, 1752 included the following advertisement:



LOST,

COMING from the TUESDAY CLUB, in *North East* Street, on the 7th Instant, late in the Evening, a large

Silver BADGE MEDAL,

Double Gilt, fixed to a blue Ribbon about a Yard long: On one Side of the MEDAL is the Figure of a Heart inclosing two Hands joined; the Inscription within the Border,

THE TUESDAY CLUB, IN *Annapolis, Maryland* MAY 14, 1746;

and round it,

CONCORDIA RES PARVÆ CRESCUNT.

On the Reverse is a Figure representing LIBERTY, in a sitting Posture, holding in her Hand a Lance, with a Cap on the Top of it: Near this Figure stands an Altar, inscribed,

LIBERTAS ET NATALE SOLUM;

and round the Border of the said Reverse,

CAROLUS COLE, ARMIGER, PRÆSES.

Whoever has found the said MEDAL, and will bring it to the Printer hereof, shall have TWO GUINEAS Reward.

LOST,

Coming from the Tuesday Club, in North East Street, on the7th Instant, late in the Evening, a large

Silver BADGE MEDAL,

Double Gilt, fixed to a blue Ribbon about a Yard Long : On one Side of the MEDAL is the Figure of a Heart inclosing two Hands joined; the Inscription within the Border,

THE TUESDAY CLUB, IN

Annapolis, Maryland
May 14, 1746;

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CONCORDIA RES PARVÆ CRESCUNT

On the Reverse is a Figure representing LIBERTY, in a sitting Posture, holding in her Hand a Lance,with a Cap on the Top of it : Near this Figure stands an Altar, inscribed,

LIBERTAS ET-NATALE SOLUM;

and round the Border of the said Reverse,

CAROLUS COLE, ARMIGER, PRÆSES.

Whoever has found the said MEDAL, and will bring it to the Printer hereof, shall have TWO GUINEAS Reward.

The advertisement provides a fine description of the medal, but how might one have lost such a significant and prized item? A two Guinea reward is substantial!





Photos courtesy of Heritage Auctions, HA.com.

Scribner's Monthly for January 1879 may provide some help. In an article titled "Old Maryland Manners" (available as a Google Book) mid-eighteenth century Annapolis society is examined. The will, done in rhyme, of horologist William Ferris is reprinted in this article. It begins: "Then, I leave and bequeath to my dear loving wife, in case she's a widow the rest of her life, plates, spoons, and dishes, pots, kettles and tables, With the red and white cow that inhabits the stables." *The Maryland Gazette* is plumbed for an advertisement advising that a reward is offered for the return of John Powell, a runaway servant. The following week, the matter is resolved as the subscriber reveals that Powell, alias Charles Lucas, had, "only gone into the country a cyder-drinking." The Tuesday Club is discussed at length, and the illustrations below make it clear just how such a medal might have been lost.



AT THE CLUB.



GETTING HOME FROM THE CLUB.

A NEW LOOK AT THE VLACK VT-87C REVERSE … WHERE DID THAT DIE BREAK GO?

(James Rosen)



Figure 1. Machin's Mills Vlack VT-87C, also known as Vermont Ryder-Richardson 13.

There are few things in pre-federal numismatics that are considered rock solid. One of them is that the Vlack 87C reverse in the Machin's Mills series of American-made counterfeit and imitation British halfpence is the most extensively used die in the series.[1] A Vermont mule, the Vlack VT-87C, also known as Ryder-Richardson 13 and Bressett 17-V, is believed to have been struck circa 1789 at Machin's Mills near Newburgh, NY (see Figure 1). As a mule, it is obvious that the reverse of this coin with its legend BRITAN NIA does not really belong with the VERMON AUCTORI obverse. But at the time that this coin was struck, it is likely that the U.S. Constitution had been ratified, which occurred on June 21, 1788, although it did not become effective until March 4, 1789. However, the handwriting was on the wall that production of counterfeit and imitation British halfpence would soon be a thing of the past, the production of coins being a federal responsibility. As the mint at Machin's Mills was closing down during the spring of 1790, it is believed that coppers that were no longer circulating were overstruck with New Jersey dies plus new coins were being struck with dies that clearly did not belong together…purely an economic play.[2]

This 87C reverse was used in no less than seven die marriages in the Machin's Mills series: 20-87C, 19-87C, 18-87C, 21-87C, 25-87C, 23-87C and VT-87C, and most likely in that order. The VT-87C is considered a R1 rarity, suggesting that more than 1000 pieces of this variety are extant. And with a typical period survival rate of approximately 1%, one could infer that perhaps 100,000 or more pieces of just this one die marriage with that 87C reverse were coined, a huge number indeed. The presence of a curved "die break" showing up initially in the reverse of 19-87C (see Figure 2) just to the left of the effigy's head has given me a reason to evaluate and assess this raised area, given that it seems to have mysteriously disappeared in the vast majority of VT-87Cs, a coin assumed to have been struck *after* the 19-87C. Recent examination of a large number of VT-87C reverses has provided an opportunity to understand exactly what happened to that apparent

[1] Howes, Jack, James Rosen, Gary Trudgen, *The History and Coinage of Machin's Mills,* Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2020.

[2] New Jersey coppers were legal tender within the state and continued to circulate while all other coppers were mostly no longer accepted after the Constitution became law.

die break and what if anything it could tell us about the existing sequence of the 87C die itself. The current thought on the emission sequence of this die has been put forth by Gary Trudgen[3] and more recently by Jack Howes and Roger Siboni[4] as: 20-87C, 19-87C, 18-87C, 19-87C (2nd time), 21-87C, 25-87C, 23-87C, and VT-87C, with Trudgen inserting the remarriage of 19-87C and Howes and Siboni including the recently discovered 25-87C. Remarriages, a topic not frequently discussed in colonial coinage circles, can play havoc with any proposed sequence. This raised area just to the left of the effigy's head has long been considered a die break[5] but looking at this area with a new set of critical eyes suggests that this just might not be the case.



Figure 2. Machin's Mills Vlack 19-87C with red arrow indicating the reverse "die break".

Howard Kurth, in a 1942 paper in the *Numismatist*, suggested that the 87C reverse as used in the VT-87C marriage was deliberately altered, possibly by lapping, to imitate wear in order for these coins to be more accepted into commerce.[6] Richardson in 1947 reiterated Kurth's theory that the die was altered.[7] However, almost 60 years earlier, in 1886, C. Wyllys Betts mentioned in his seminal article that he felt that the die was not altered but rather just worn out from use.[8] And in 1976, Bressett straddled both "sides of the coin" by saying that the reverse die was either worn or "intentionally" defaced.[9] Current dogma suggests that Betts was right. It is presently felt that the worn appearance of the VT-87C reverse looks the way it does is because of overuse and plain exhaustion rather than manipulation of the peripheral part of the die to make it look like wear.[10] While studying the reverses of a very large number of VT-87Cs, a conundrum that was initially very difficult to reconcile became apparent. The enigma was simple: what happened to this die break? Its answer was all but simple. How does an apparent die break in front of the effigy's face clearly seen on the reverses of 19-87C and 18-87C (see Figures 2 and 3) disappear with continued use of the 87C reverse as seen in the vast majority of VT-87Cs, a coin that clearly was struck afterwards? After looking at close to one hundred specimens of VT-87C, the reverse raised area in question was found in only a very small handful of

[3] Trudgen, Gary A., "The Illogical and Curious Vermont 'Britannia' Copper", *The Colonial Newsletter,* pp. 3157-3164, August 2007.
[4] Howes, John L., Siboni, Roger, "Machin's Mills V.25-87C: The First New Obverse Since the Vlack Plates", *The C4 Newsletter,* Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 5-6, Spring 2012.
[5] Trudgen, op. cit.
[6] Kurth, Howard, "Connecticut and Vermont Coppers of British Type", *The Numismatist,* American Numismatic Association, Vol. LVI, p. 102, February 1942.
[7] Richardson, John M., "The Copper Coins of Vermont", *The Numismatist,* pp. 331-354, May 1947.
[8] Betts, C. Wyllys, *Counterfeit Half Pence Current in the American Colonies and Their Issue form the Mints of Connecticut and Vermont,* New York, 1886.
[9] Bressett, Kenneth E., "Vermont Copper Coinage", *Studies on Money in Early America,* pp. 173-198, ANS, 1976.
[10] Howes et al., op. cit., p. 235.

specimens. Thus, was Kurth correct in his thinking that the die was lapped peripherally in this VT-87C marriage, and that this mechanical alteration wiped out the die break? Clearly not, as it is well known in the field of metallurgy that die breaks go deep into a die and in fact it is virtually impossible to lap out a die break.[11] So where did it go? Continued use of a die with a break would usually cause the break to enlarge as the die weakens. But clearly not in the case of the VT-87C. Could grease have invaded this apparent die break and caused the die break to disappear? Unlikely, as the effigy's head, just a fraction of a millimeter from the area in question, has maintained its integrity throughout the striking of this die marriage, and one would expect that grease would also have encroached into the recesses of the head. But here is where Occam's razor comes into play. An email to Gary Trudgen appears to have solved this puzzle. Gary now feels, and I certainly agree with his analysis, that what we are seeing in front of the effigy's head is not a die break after all but most likely a die chip. Does this make a difference? Absolutely. Like letters that are punched into a die, a die chip will most likely "fade" as the die wears out from repeated use, whereas a die break usually gets worse with repeated strikings. And this appears to be exactly the case. It is clear from studying 87C reverses that the die wears out from its edge to its center, as many of them have good central detail but poorly-defined legends and no visible date (see Figure 1). Die chips, like spalling, do not go deep into the die but rather are shallow and most likely will react to stress the same way that letters do.[12] And in fact, if one looks at the N in BRITAN on the reverse of the very few VT-87Cs that show any evidence of a slight raised area in front of the effigy's head, one will see that a stronger N corresponds to the presence of a more slightly raised area (see Figure 4), and conversely, a weaker N, consistent with more significant die failure, corresponds to a weaker or even absence of that same raised area (see Figure 5). Clearly, however, this phenomenon is not 100% as variabilities in the striking process of these coins is always an issue which can play havoc with this observed raised area. But die breaks, unlike a good bottle of wine, don't improve with age, and with time, this area does get better with age, leading to the eventual loss of the raised area.



Imaged by Heritage Auctions, HA.com Imaged by Heritage Auctions, HA.com

Figure 3: Machin's Mills Vlack 18-87C, also exhibiting the reverse "die break".

[11] Personal communication with Craig Sholley, 2021.
[12] Personal communication with Gary Trudgen, 2023.



Figure 4. Stronger N in BRITAN, raised line still present, but weak. Courtesy of HA.com.



Figure 5. Weaker N in BRITAN, raised line absent.

Given this revelation, would we thus have to re-evaluate the sequence of emissions of this die? Not really as it is certainly probable, as Trudgen points out quite clearly in his 2007 CNL article, that die remarriages occurred with the 87C die, just like they occur in federal coins. These die remarriages could help explain the apparent alteration in the emission sequence of the 87C die, as previously given, in which some 19-87Cs were struck *after* 18-87C. An example of an 18-87C with no raised area around the effigy's head (see Figure 6) is in marked contrast to the 19-87Cs, (see Figure 2) which would be hard to explain in the current emission sequence in any other way except for die remarriages. Since it is believed that the 19-87C was struck *before* the 18-87C, one would expect that the raised area around the effigy's head would always be smaller in the 19-87C and larger in the 18-87C as the chip evolved. One possible explanation for this apparent dichotomous observation of the absence of a raised area on the 18-87C might be that the coiners at Machin's Mills, for reasons unknown, could have rested a 19 obverse die early on in its use with an 87C reverse die before the chip developed (19-87Cs are known with no raised area[13]) and then married an 18 obverse die to that early 87C reverse to strike a number of 18-87Cs with no raised area around the effigy's head. Then the 18-87C developed the die chip, the obverse appeared to wear out, and the coiners replaced that 18 obverse with a worn 19 obverse and striking resumed with the 87C with a die chip, thus explaining the observation that some 19-87Cs have been detected with a larger raised area around the effigy's head than the 18-87C.

[13] Trudgen, op. cit.



Figure 6. Vlack 18-87C with no raised area around the effigy's head.

There are three other die marriages with the 87C reverse that clearly were made before the VT-87C, namely the 21-87C, 25-87C, and 23-87C in order of emission. So, what can be said about the raised area in question when it comes to these varieties? Obviously, the raised area is quite visible in the 21-87C die marriage, whereas in the 25-87C and the 23-87C marriages the raised areas are only but a ghost of the previous die marriages (see Figure 7). However, the very few examples extant of the 25-87C and 23-87C die marriages make any firm conclusions about the occurrence or disappearance of this raised area difficult at best. Certainly, however, this area is not getting larger as compared to the 21-87C and this data adds just another layer of certainty that this area in question is not due to a die break.



Figure7. Left-to-right: 87C reverse from 21-87C, 23-87C, 25-87C.

So, in conclusion, it is certainly possible, and most likely probable that a die chip is the answer as to why the "die break" disappeared with time as seen in the vast majority of VT-87Cs. This area would simply fade out like the letter N as the die continued to fail from overuse and exhaustion. And the remarriages can certainly explain the observation that some observed 18-87Cs have a smaller raised area around the effigy's head than many observed with the 19-87C specimens.

The author would like to thank Gary Trudgen for his insightful analysis of this conundrum, Mark Vitunic and Gary Trudgen for their time and efforts in reviewing this article and making very helpful suggestions to improve it, Jack Howes and Mark Vitunic for their help with the photographs and Jack Howes for analyzing many V. VT-87Cs for this phantom raised area.

JOHN WARREN:
BOSTON CONCHOLOGIST AND CASTINE HOARD VENDOR

(Julia Casey)

The Castine Hoard of coins has reached legendary status in the annals of numismatics. This treasure trove of up to two thousand[1] seventeenth-century silver colonial-era coins was first discovered in 1840 by members of the Grindle family on their Maine coast farm. For the next year, coins were dug up by the Grindles, and occasionally, eager members of the public traveled to the well-publicized site and were able to participate in the unearthing.[2] This event took place in an era before coin collecting had become much established as a popular American hobby, and it has long been presumed that the Grindle family sold many of the coins for scrap silver.[3] However, there may be many more coins available today that can be traced to this fabled hoard than were once believed. There is abundant evidence that the Grindles forsook the melting pot for what was perhaps a greater premium paid by John Warren, who marketed and sold coins from the Castine Deposit at his Boston shop.



[1] Estimates vary from a few hundred to a couple thousand pieces.

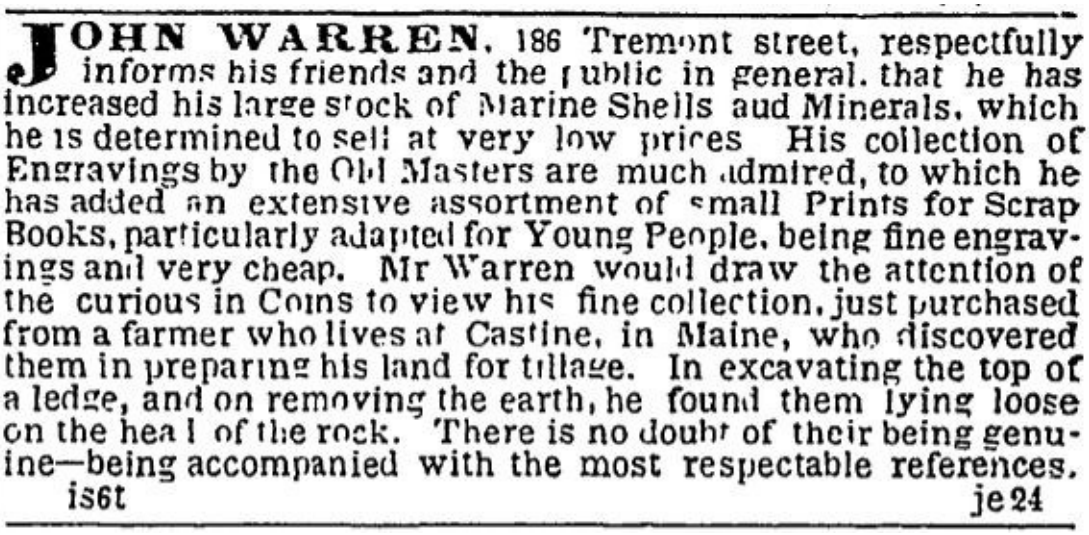
[2] Jesse Kraft, "The 'Wild Scheme' of Sydney P. Noe: The 1942 Exhibition of Massachusetts Bay Silver at the American Numismatic Society," *Journal of Early American Numismatics*, December 2022, pp. 19-20.

[3] Reference should be made to Joseph Williamson, *Castine, and The Old Coins Found There* (Portland: Brown Thurston, 1859). A cherished sampling of coins was preserved in a display by Dr. Joseph L. Stevens, a local resident. The Maine Historical Society presently holds this display. The 1769 cob at the bottom is known to have been later added to the grouping. See Dennis P. Wierzba, "The Castine Hoard Revisited: Dating the Hoard," *The Colonial Newsletter*, April 2016, p. 4372.

Warren was born in England in about 1766, and from the available records it appears that he came to America late in life, in 1831.[4] This "stout, florid, old Englishman"[5] established his curiosity shop on Boston's Tremont Street, which became the go-to resort for those interested in the latest craze of conchology, the collecting of fabulous and exotic seashells. Seeking to further establish his shop and promote the mania, Warren published *The Conchologist*, in 1834, which is credited as being "the first American conchological manual."[6]

In his acknowledgments for *The Conchologist*, Warren thanks George Williams Pratt as a patron.[7] Pratt was later a founding member of the Boston Numismatic Society and his 1876 *AJN* obituary notice[8] describes him as a "constant visitor and favorite of Mr. Warren." Pratt's death notice appears to have been written by the famed Boston numismatist, Jeremiah Colburn, and he gives some additional perspective on the conchology craze, "The prices of fine and rare shells have far exceeded the highest prices ever paid for medals or coins. To own a fine '*Cyprae Aurantium*' or a '*Conus Gloria Maris*' was as much desired then as collectors of coins of the present day are to possess a dollar of 1804 or the rarest Washington cent."

There is contemporary evidence that the Grindles sold the Castine Hoard coins to Warren, who at the time, was probably the only game in town, or anywhere near Maine, for selling these pieces. Warren advertised his acquisition in the June 25, 1841, *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*. After a promotion of "Marine Shells and Minerals," and "Engravings by the Old Masters," it is stated that "Mr. Warren would draw the attention of the curious in Coins to view his fine collection, just purchased from a farmer who lives at Castine, in Maine, who discovered them in preparing his land for tillage." Warren continues, leaving us with a certainty that these coins came directly from the Grindles, "In excavating the top of a ledge, and on removing the earth, he found them lying loose on the head of the rock. There is no doubt of their being genuine—being accompanied with the most respectable references."



JOHN WARREN, 186 Tremont street, respectfully informs his friends and the public in general, that he has increased his large stock of Marine Shells and Minerals, which he is determined to sell at very low prices His collection of Engravings by the Old Masters are much admired, to which he has added an extensive assortment of small Prints for Scrap Books, particularly adapted for Young People, being fine engravings and very cheap. Mr Warren would draw the attention of the curious in Coins to view his fine collection, just purchased from a farmer who lives at Castine, in Maine, who discovered them in preparing his land for tillage. In excavating the top of a ledge, and on removing the earth, he found them lying loose on the head of the rock. There is no doubt of their being genuine—being accompanied with the most respectable references.
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John Warren's advertisement from the June 25, 1841, *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*

[4] The 1850 Boston Census shows John Warren, age 82, Sarah Warren, age 60, and Frederick Warren, age 28. John's occupation is "Conchologist." An August 4, 1846, naturalization petition of Frederick Warren, a resident of Boston, states that he was born September 1, 1821, in Egham, Surrey, England, and came to New York City on June 12, 1831, as a minor.

[5] W.H. Dall, "Some American Conchologists," *Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington* (1888), p. 105.

[6] Richard I. Johnson, "On the Authorship of the First American Conchological Manual, John Warren's, The Conchologist," *Occasional Papers on Mollusks*, 1999.

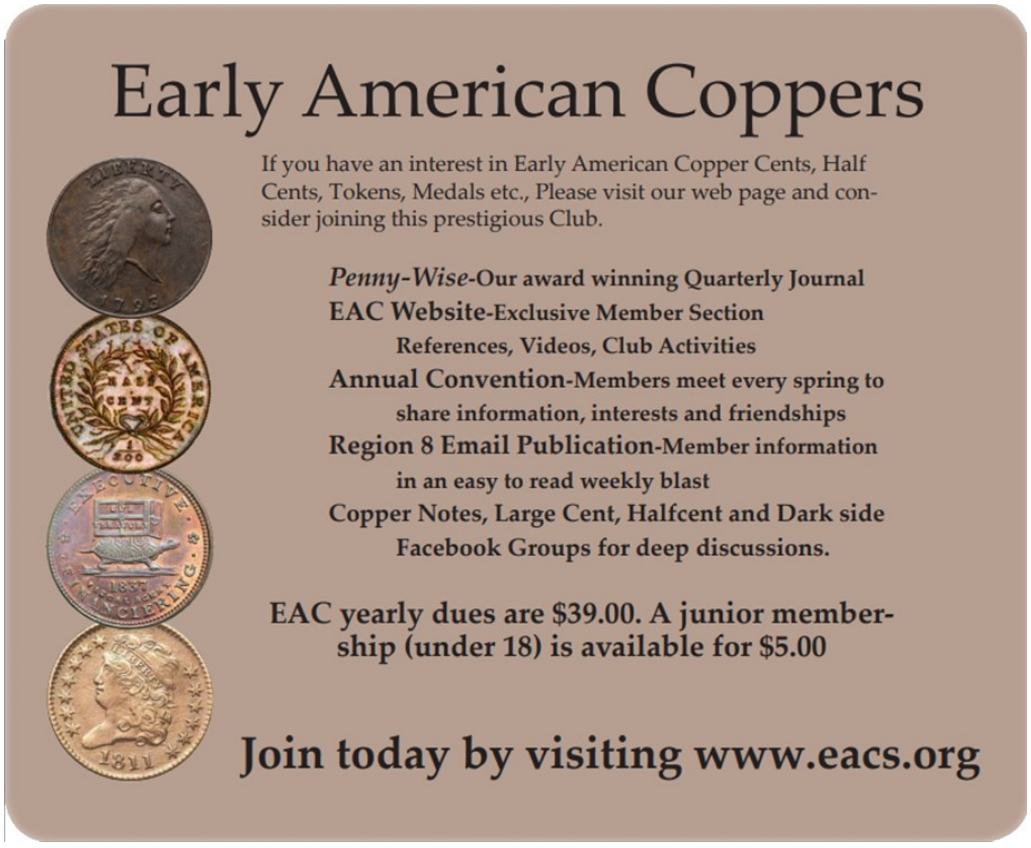
[7] John Warren, *The Conchologist* (Boston: Russell, Odiorne & Metcalf, 1834).

[8] *American Journal of Numismatics*, April 1876, p. 95.

If this is not enough evidence that at least a portion of the coins escaped the melting pot and were sold directly to collectors, the *New York Evening Express* of June 26, 1841, reported the Castine find. This article noted that "The man who found these coins being poor, sent them to Boston for sale, and they were purchased by Mr. John Warren, 186 Tremont street, where they may be seen." While this story may be a cross-promotion, with Warren working with the press to heighten the excitement, it has all the elements of validity.

There are also corroborating statements made in 1860 by the numismatist Matthew A. Stickney in his publication of "Notes on American Currency, No. 6." Stickney described Warren as "an Englishman, at one time a wealthy brewer" and the "first dealer of old coins in Boston, and perhaps in the U.S." Stickney indicated that most of the Castine coins were purchased by Warren and that "his price for a Pine-tree shilling was $1." Stickney related that upon Warren's death, "his whole collection was sold, at private sale, to some institution, I believe, in Connecticut."[9]

John Warren died at the age of 87 on March 16, 1853. It seems likely that had he been born one generation later he would have positioned himself among the great numismatists of the early Boston scene. However, as it stands, Warren has been largely overlooked for his contributions to the hobby. Perhaps further study will elevate his standing as an important conduit whose shop provided the means to save the coins of the Castine Hoard from the melting pot. These coins likely reside in collections today, albeit regrettably detached from the history of their discovery; their survival is yet a testament to Warren's pizazz.



[9] Matthew Stickney, "Notes on American Currency, No. 6," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, Vol. II, No. 5, October 1860, pp. 253-4. This reference is discussed by Kenneth Bressett, "'NE' The Elusive New England Countermark," *C4 Newsletter*, Summer 2015, pp. 5-19.

COLLECTOR'S NOTE: BREADTH VERSUS DEPTH

(Jim Glickman)

I find it helpful to occasionally look back and think about what and how I have chosen to collect, to see where I have been and where I am heading. In doing so, I am often faced with balancing two competing instincts that pull at me: *breadth versus depth*. How we balance these two aspects of our collecting experience defines us as numismatists and collectors. Especially for newer collectors, awareness of the tension between the two and the variety of possible approaches can help establish a thoughtful, satisfying collecting style.

As with any part of the hobby, collecting colonial-related coins, currency, and medals involves making decisions about how to manage two scarce hobby resources: money and time. When I was fairly new, an experienced colonial collector warned me, "you're going to start out wanting everything, but you can't have it all". He was right of course, more than I could have known at the time. We cannot feasibly collect or study in depth everything that calls out to us, at least not all in one period of time. With limited money and time, a choice to go deep in one area can limit exploring other collecting adventures; and a decision to branch out can limit depth elsewhere. There are opportunity costs to everything that we do as collectors, as we deepen and/or broaden our colonial-related horizons.

There are as many ways to address the choices of breadth versus depth as there are collectors. There are collectors who take great pleasure on focusing on depth, for example forming a Connecticut variety set. There are collectors who, in addition to collecting by variety, painstakingly assemble advanced die-state sets, such as of the NJ Maris 34-J or 65-u varieties (you know who you are). There are collectors who go deep into currency, for example collecting Continental currency by emission and denomination. Some collectors, by contrast, strive to build a *Red Book* or more advanced type-set collection, in order to experience the fun of assembling a representative collection of the coins or currency that circulated in pre-federal North America. Most of us fit somewhere in the middle along a continuum between these poles, perhaps collecting a series or two in depth while exploring in varying degrees a few other areas. (I fit into this pattern, as do many of us, although taming my appetite for exploring new areas is, I will admit, a challenge).

There are pros and cons to leaning toward either breadth or depth. Depth allows a focused, intense experience in a series, the acquisition of advanced knowledge and expertise along with a well-honed ability to attribute varieties, a defined goal towards which to work, and sometimes camaraderie with fellow dedicated collectors of the series (exemplified well by New Jersey collectors). However, depth can mean that there will be fewer paths to take, and less opportunities for pleasant exploration—the unbridled "messing around" that makes any hobby an adventure. Breadth allows one to cover more of what circulated and to experience the stimulating variety of what makes up our corner of the hobby. Breadth will encourage one to become familiar and conversant in many areas, less beholden to the demands of a particular series and "hitting a wall," and more likely to leave a coin show or auction with a new, prized acquisition since one is simultaneously searching in more areas. But breadth can limit series-specific expertise and the kind of finds that go with it.

How does it all actually work out over time? One can choose to steadily follow a well-disciplined plan or to be more flexible and more influenced by instinct. Both approaches, and anything in between, affect the choices involving breadth versus depth. I would argue that both have an appropriate place in establishing a successful collecting style. We may be traveling down one path when we read an article or peruse a book that captures our imagination. Or we see a neat coin that a friend shows us at a numismatic lunch (yes, Ray, I'm thinking of you). These and many other experiences can become portals through which we are propelled in a captivating and unforeseen direction. But what about the areas that we are already assiduously working on and

studying? Do we stick to our plan and say "maybe someday . . ." to the new opportunity? Or do we let our natural curiosity win the day, making room for this interloper, the new infatuation? Perhaps we give some time to study this new interest, but say "maybe someday" to acquiring an example (or two or three). (But, then again, how often does studying something interesting not lead to a new acquisition?) Whether or not we think of it through this framework, these are the sort of choices that, bit by bit, contribute to our collecting direction.

There are, of course, no right or wrong answers to all of this. I would suggest finding the right balance between going deep, striving for breadth, or some combination of the two. And over time, try to find a second type of balance, between maintaining a disciplined focus on a collecting direction versus exploration of unforeseen new interests and an openness to modifying that direction. It's your collection and you alone are in charge of it. So determine what degree of breadth and depth is best for your tastes, interests, and store of money and time, and be mindful of how your collecting choices contribute to your enjoyment, sense of accomplishment, and advancement as a collector and numismatist.



SUMMARY OF THE SYD MARTIN PRIMARY COLLECTION SALES: CONNECTICUT COPPERS

(Randy Clark)

In November 2023, the fifth Stack's Bowers sale of Syd Martin's colonial coinages was completed. These five sales, held from August 2022 to November 2023, represent perhaps the majority of Syd's front-line material for his colonial collection, including Connecticut coppers. Since the Connecticut material was spread over several of these sales, let's look at the combined statistics.

It is understood there is still quite a bit of material in Syd's collection for many of his colonial series, and Connecticut coppers will be no exception. In fact, with rare exception Syd was known to have at least two, often three and many times four (or more) examples of each Connecticut variety as he purchased whole collections or cherry-picked single coins of interest. Since these Stack's Bowers sales have generally included only one specimen of each Connecticut coppers variety, it is clear there will be future opportunities for collectors to share in enjoying Syd's collection. Whether Syd picked what was to be considered his primary holding, or whether the catalogers selected the pieces for these sales, is not relevant since many of those duplicates will be equally interesting.

First, however, we need an update on the known variety counts, as there has been some movement since publication of the Connecticut coppers book in March 2021. On Table 1, "Main Varieties" will refer to pairings where both obverse and reverse dies have legends consistent with Connecticut coppers legislation. This is different than "Mules" which will have a Connecticut reverse paired with a Vermont or counterfeit British halfpence obverse.

Table 1
Update: General Connecticut Copper Variety Counts (November 2023) (See Book p. 118)

Date	Obverse Varieties	Reverse Varieties	Main Varieties (Pairings)	Obverse Mules	Total Varieties incl. Mules
1785	22	20	31	0	31
1786	22	23	42	0	42
1787	137	128	247	1	248
1788	26	21	37	5	42
Total	**207**	**192**	**357**	6	363

Mules are defined as Connecticut dies shared with a non-Connecticut series, such as Vermont or Machin's Mills.

In the time-period between March 2021 to Nov 2023 there have been no new obverse or reverse dies discovered in the Connecticut series. However, there have been three new *pairings* of existing obverses and reverses discovered, resulting in an increase in the "Main" variety count from 354 to the 357 now known. These are identified as the 1786 M5.11-S (Jan2023), the 1787 M33.13-Z.18 (Oct2021) and the 1787 M33.42-T.2 (Nov2021). No new mule pairings have been identified with another colonial series, so those numbers remain stable with the traditional six already known.

In summary, the variety count is now 357 without including mules (main varieties), and 363 with mules being included. Neither number reflects any of the enigmatic "bungtown" varieties. Syd invested quite a bit of time with bungtowns knowing the lack of certainty regarding their history, but they are not considered main-stream for variety accounting.

Table 2. Syd's Combined Aug2022-Nov2023 Connecticut Coppers Statistics:

Date	Known Main Varieties	Syd's Main Varieties	Known Mules	Syd's Mules	Known Total Varieties w/Mules	Syd's Total Varieties w/Mules
1785	31	31	0	0	31	31
1786	42	40	0	0	42	40
1787	247	242	1	1	248	243
1788	37	36	5	5	42	41
Total	**357**	**349**	6	6	363	355

Table 2 compares the combined offerings of Syd's first five sales with the official variety count. From what is known about the entirety of Syd's Connecticut holdings, if he had the variety, it was included in one of these sales. This accounting is complete, since Syd's duplicates will not affect these numbers. Tables 4-6 go into detail on which varieties are present and which are not.

To put things into perspective, the next largest collections (per my accounting, main varieties) are in the ANS (319), EAC75 (312), Partrick (307), Taylor (305), Twin Leaf (302) and Perkins (302). Syd coming in at 349 is a phenomenal accomplishment and will actually help future collectors challenge the 300-variety barrier by making rarities and ultra-rarities more available to the public.

Table 3 shows the updated rarity distribution numbers for Connecticut coppers. When discussing rarity, it should be noted that these ratings are always being reviewed, an updated census for the series is ongoing and new specimens of rarities continue to be discovered. There has been some movement between the last numbers published March 2021 and November 2023, particularly in the R6-R9 range. For this "update" I'll just focus on the new R8 and R9 numbers – mostly because that is where Syd's collection stands alone.

Table 3 shows Syd had all the main varieties rated R1-R6, but was missing one R7+, two R8s and five R9s. Which isn't fair, because three of those R9s were discovered after Syd's passing, a fourth is impounded in the ANS and the fifth is the speculative "1787 M33.50-Z.24." Of the R8s, one was an impounded ANS R9 until a second specimen was found after Syd's passing. Syd's only "manageable gaps" would have been the R7+ 1786 M5.15-S and the R8 1787 M52-G.2.

Table 3. Connecticut Coppers "Main Variety" Rarity Distribution (Nov. 2023) (See Book p. 120)

Date	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	TOTAL
1785	1	2	5	7	8	3	2	2	1	31
1786	0	3	3	2	15	8	7	3	1	42
1787	8	13	13	14	90	51	32	18	8	247
1788	1	2	1	7	15	6	3	1	1	37
Main Series TOTAL	**10**	**20**	**22**	**30**	**128**	**68**	**44**	**24**	**11**	**357**
Syd's TOTAL (Aug22-Nov23)	**10**	**20**	**22**	**30**	**128**	**68**	**43**	**22**	**6**	**349**

Tables 4-6 walk through the specific varieties sold by sale and lot number from August 2022 to November 2023. I am sure there will be many more of Syd's Connecticut coppers coming available in 2024 and beyond. I hope you find this information interesting!

Table 4: Connecticut Variety Sale/Lot: Dated 1785 and 1786

Year	Variety	Sale/Lot
1785	1-E	II / 1287
	2-A.1	II / 1288
	2-A.4	II / 1289
	3.1-A.3	II /1290
	3.1-F.3	II / 1291
	3.1-L	II / 1292
	3.2-L	II / 1293
	3.3-F.3	II /1294
	3.4-F.1	II / 1295
	3.4-F.2	II / 1296
	3.5-B	II /1297
	4.1-F.4	II / 1298
	4.2-F.6	II /1299
	4.3-A.2	II /1300
	4.3-D	II / 1301
	4.4-C	II / 1302
	4.4-D	II / 1303
	5-F.5	II / 1304
	6.1-A.1	II /1305
	6.2-F.1	II / 1306
	6.3-G.1	II /1307
	6.3-G.2	II / 1308
	6.4-F.5	II / 1309
	6.4-I	II / 1310
	6.4-K	II / 1311
	6.5-M	II / 1312
	6.6-A.3	II /1313
	7.1-D	II / 1314
	7.2-D	II / 1315
	7.3-D	II /1316
	8-D	II / 1317

Year	Variety	Sale/Lot
1786	1-A	II / 1318
	2.1-A	II / 1319
	2.1-D.3	II / 1320
	2.2-D.2	II / 1321
	3-D.1	II / 1322
	3-D.4	II / 1323
	4.1-C	II / 1324
	4.1-G	II / 1325
	4.1-H.2	II /1326
	4.2-R	II /1327
	4.2-S	II / 1328
	5.1-H.1	II / 1329
	5.2-H.1	II / 1330
	5.2-I	II / 1331
	5.2-L	II / 1332
	5.2-O.2	II / 1333
	5.3-B.2	II / 1334
	5.3-G	II / 1335
	5.3-N	II / 1336
	5.4-G	II / 1337
	5.4-N	II / 1338
	5.4-O.1	II / 1339
	5.5-M	II / 1340
	5.6-M	II / 1341
	5.7-G	II / 1342
	5.7-H.1	II / 1343
	5.7-O.2	II / 1344
	5.8-F	II / 1345
	5.8-H.2	II / 1346
	5.8-O.2	II / 1347
	5.9-B.1	II / 1348-1349
	5.9-L	II / 1350
	5.9-Q	II / 1351
	5.10-L	II / 1352
	5.10-P	II / 1353
	5.11-R	II / 1354
	5.11-S	-
	5.13-I	II / 1355
	5.14-S	II / 1356
	5.15-S	-
	6-K	II / 1357
	7-K	II / 1358
	Bungtown	II / 1359

Part I The Sydney F. Martin Collection: Stack's Bowers August 27, 2022
Part II The Sydney F. Martin Collection: Stack's Bowers October 27 & 28, 2022
Part III The Sydney F. Martin Collection: Stack's Bowers March 20, 2023
Part IV The Sydney F. Martin Collection: Stack's Bowers August 19, 2023
Part V The Sydney F. Martin Collection: Stack's Bowers November 13, 2023

Table 5: Connecticut Variety Sale/Lot: Dated 1787

Year	Variety	Sale/Lot
1787	1.1-A	IV / 8240
	1.1-VV	IV / 8241
	1.2-C	IV / 8242
	1.2-mm	IV / 8243
	1.3-L	IV / 8244
	1.4-WW	IV / 8245
	2-B	V / 1147
	3-G.1	IV / 8246
	4-L	IV / 8247-8248
	5-P	IV / 8249
	6.1-M	IV / 8250
	6.2-M	IV / 8251
	7-I	IV / 8252
	8-N	IV / 8253
	8-O	IV / 8254
	8-a.1	IV / 8255
	9-D	IV / 8256
	9-E	IV / 8257
	9-R	IV / 8258
	10-E	IV /8259
	11.1-E	IV / 8260-8261
	11.2-K	IV / 8262
	11.3-K	IV / 8263
	12-Q	IV / 8264
	13-D	IV / 8265
	14-H	IV / 8266
	15-F	IV / 8267
	15-R	IV / 8268
	15-S	IV / 8269
	16.1-m	IV / 8270
	16.2-NN.1	IV / 8271
	16.2-NN.2	V / 1148
	16.3-l.2	IV / 8272
	16.4-n	IV / 8273
	16.5-n	IV / 8274
	16.5-p	IV / 8275
	16.6-NN.2	IV / 8276
	17-g.3	IV / 8277
	18-g.1	IV / 8278
	19-g.4	IV / 8279
	20-a.2	IV / 8280
	21-DD	IV / 8281
	22-g.2	IV / 8282
	24-g.3	IV / 8283
	24-g.5	IV / 8284
	24-FF	IV / 8285
	25-b	IV / 8286
	25-m	IV / 8287
	26-a.1	IV / 8288

Variety	Sale/Lot
26-kk.1	IV / 8289
26-AA	IV / 8290-8291
27-a.1	IV / 8292
28-m	IV / 8293
28-n	IV / 8294
28-o	IV / 8295
29.1-a.2	IV / 8296
29.1-n	IV / 8297
29.1-p	IV / 8298
29.2-N	IV / 8299
29.2-o	IV / 8300
30-X.1	IV / 8301
30-hh.1	IV / 8302
31.1-r.4	IV / 8303
31.1-gg.1	IV / 8304
31.2-r.3	IV / 8305
32.1-X.3	IV / 8306
32.2-X.1	IV / 8307
32.2-X.2	IV / 8308
32.2-X.4	IV / 8309
32.3-X.4	IV / 8310
32.4-F	IV / 8311
32.4-X.5	IV / 8312
32.4-Z.3	IV / 8313
32.4-Z.20	IV / 8314
32.5-aa	IV / 8315
32.6-X.6	IV / 8316
32.7-X.1	IV / 8317
32.8-aa	IV / 8318
33.1-Z.13	IV / 8319
33.1-Z.19	IV / 8320
33.2-Z.5	IV / 8321
33.2-Z.12	IV / 8322
33.2-Z.17	IV / 8323
33.2-Z.21	IV / 8324
33.2-Z.22	IV / 8325
33.3-W.1	IV / 8326
33.4-Z.2	IV / 8327
33.4-q	IV / 8328
33.5-T.2	IV /8329
33.6-KK	IV / 8330
33.7-Z.9	IV / 8331
33.7-Z.10	IV / 8332
33.7-r.2	IV / 8333-8334
33.7-r.4	IV / 8335
33.8-Z.13	IV / 8336
33.8-Z.19	IV / 8337
33.9-s.2	IV / 8338
33.10-W.6	IV / 8339

Variety	Sale/Lot
33.10-Z.7	IV / 8340
33.10-Z.8	IV / 8341
33.11-Z.18	IV / 8342
33.11-gg.1	IV / 8343
33.12-W.3	IV / 8344
33.12-Z.10	IV / 8345
33.12-Z.16	IV / 8346
33.12-Z.21	IV / 8347
33.12-Z.24	IV / 8348
33.13-Z.1	IV / 8349
33.13-Z.6	V / 1149
33.13-Z.7	IV / 8350-8351
33.13-Z.18	-
33.13-Z.27	IV / 8352
33.13-q	IV / 8353
33.13-ff.1	IV / 8354
33.13-hh.2	IV / 8355
33.14-Z.2	V / 1150
33.14-Z.14	IV / 8356
33.15-r.1	IV / 8357
33.16-T.2	IV / 8358
33.16-Z.15	IV / 8359
33.16-l.2	IV / 8360
33.17-r.1	IV / 8361
33.17-r.5	IV / 8362
33.17-gg.2	IV / 8363-8364
33.18-Z.24	IV / 8365
33.19-Z.1	IV / 8366
33.19-Z.2	IV / 8367
33.19-Z.4	IV / 8368
33.19-q	IV / 8369
33.20-Z.9	IV / 8370
33.20-Z.11	IV / 8371
33.21-Z.13	IV / 8372
33.21-k.4	IV / 8373
33.21-EE	IV / 8374
33.22-II	V / 1151
33.23-Z.4	V / 1152
33.23-hh.2	V / 1153
33.24-Z.10	V / 1154
33.25-W.3	V / 1155
33.25-Z.10	V / 1156
33.25-Z.24	V / 1157
33.26-W.3	V / 1158
33.26-W.5	V / 1159
33.27-Z.16	-
33.27-r.4	V / 1160
33.28-Z.7	V / 1161
33.28-Z.11	V / 1162
33.28-Z.16	V / 1163

Table 6: Connecticut Variety Sale/Lot: Dated 1787 (con't) and 1788

Year	Variety	Sale/Lot
1787	33.28-Z.20	V / 1164
	33.29-Z.7	V / 1165
	33.29-Z.25	V / 1166
	33.29-s.1	V / 1167
	33.29-gg.1	V / 1168
	33.30-EE	V / 1169
	33.30-SS	V / 1170
	33.31-gg.2	V / 1171
	33.32-Z.13	V / 1172
	33.33-Z.3	V / 1173
	33.33-Z.11	V / 1174
	33.34-W.2	V / 1175
	33.34-Z.3	V / 1176
	33.34-Z.11	V / 1177
	33.35-Z.1	V / 1178
	33.35-Z.9	V / 1179
	33.36-T.1	V / 1180
	33.36-T.2	V / 1181
	33.36-T.3	V / 1182
	33.36-SS	V / 1183
	33.37-Z.9	V / 1184
	33.37-Z.11	V / 1185
	33.38-Z.1	V / 1186
	33.38-Z.6	V / 1187
	33.38-Z.18	V / 1188
	33.38-Z.23	V / 1189
	33.38-gg.1	V / 1190
	33.39-Z.13	V / 1191
	33.39-Z.20	V / 1192
	33.39-s.1	V / 1193
	33.40-Z.1	V / 1194
	33.40-Z.2	V / 1195
	33.41-Z.11	V / 1196
	33.42-T.2	-
	33.42-Z.2	V / 1197
	33.43-q	V / 1198
	33.43-hh.2	V / 1199
	33.44-W.3	V / 1200
	33.45-W.2	V / 1201
	33.46-Z.21	V / 1202
	33.46-Z.22	V / 1203
	33.47-TT	V / 1204
	33.48-Z.25	V / 1205
	33.49-Z.7	V / 1206
	33.50-Z.24	-
	34-k.3	V / 1207
	34-ff.1	V / 1208
	36-k.3	V / 1209
	36-l.1	V / 1210
	36-ff.2	V / 1211

Variety	Sale/Lot
37.1-cc.1	V / 1212
37.2-k.5	V / 1213
37.3-i	V / 1214-1215
37.4-k.1	V / 1216
37.4-RR	V / 1217
37.5-e	V / 1218
37.6-B	V / 1219
37.6-k.4	V / 1220-1221
37.7-h.2	V / 1222
37.8-k.2	V / 1223
37.8-HH	V / 1224
37.8-LL	V / 1225
37.9-e	V / 1226
37.10-RR	V / 1227
37.11-ff.2	V / 1228
37.12-LL	V / 1229
37.12-TT	V / 1230
37.13-HH	V / 1231
37.14-cc.2	V / 1232
37.15-h.3	V / 1233
38-l.2	V / 1234
38-GG	V / 1235
39.1-h.1	V / 1236
39.1-ff.2	V / 1237
39.2-ee	V / 1238
40-N	V / 1239
40-kk.1	V / 1240-1241
41-ii	V / 1242
42-o	V / 1243
42-kk.2	V / 1244
43.1-Y	V / 1245
43.2-X.4	V / 1246
44-W.4	V / 1247
44-W.5	V / 1248
44-Z.10	V / 1249
45-CC	V / 1250
46-BB	V / 1251
47-a.3	V / 1252
48-g.5	V / 1253
48-k.3	V / 1254
49.1-Z.1	V / 1255
49.2-Z.1	V / 1256
49.2-Z.26	V / 1257
49.2-Z.27	V / 1258
50-F	V / 1259
52-G.1	V / 1260
52-G.2	-
53-FF	V / 1261
56-XX	V / 1262
101-G.2	V / 1263

Year	Variety	Sale/Lot
1788	1-I	III / 1001
		IV / 8436
	2-D	III / 1002
	3-B.1	III / 1003
	3-B.2	III / 1004-1005
	4.1-B.1	III / 1006-1007
	4.1-B.2	-
	4.1-K	III / 1008-1009
	4.2-R	III / 1010
	5-B.2	III / 1011
	6-H	III / 1012
	7-E	III /1013
	7-F.2	III / 1014
	7-K	III / 1015-1016
	8-K	III / 1017
	9-E	III / 1018
	10-C	III / 1019
	11-G	III / 1020
	12.1-E	III / 1021
	12.1-F.1	III / 1022
	12.2-C	III / 1023
	12.2-E	III / 1024
	13-A.1	III / 1025
	14.1-L.2	III / 1026
	14.1-S	III / 1027
	14.2-A.2	III / 1028
	15.1-L.1	III / 1029-1030
	15.2-P	III / 1031
	16.1-D	III / 1032
	16.1-H	III / 1033
	16.2-O	III / 1034
	16.3-N	III / 1035-1036
	16.4-A.2	III / 1037
	16.4-L.2	III / 1038
	16.5-H	III / 1039
	16.7-P	III / 1040
	17-O	III / 1041
	17-Q	III / 1042
	100-I	IV / 8426-8428
	101-D	III / 1043
	125-I	IV / 8414-8416
	128-I	IV / 8421-8422
	129-I	IV / 8423-8424

DIE BREAKS "OUTSIDE" THE DIE?

(Mark R. Vitunic)

Well, the title of this article is a bit of a misnomer, but there's a story behind it. At the recent C4 Convention, a new look at an old coin struck up some great conversations. I had brought a Vermont RR-2 to the Friday night Happening event which had a terminal-state die break extending from the inside of the active design area through the denticles and out into the open space *outside* of the denticles, all the way to the edge of the coin. This was only visible because the coin was struck off-center in just the right way. The coin is an example of Glickman Die State 6 (GDS6), described in a recent C4N article.[1] It came as a surprise to quite a few C4 members that for this to occur, the die face had to have been much larger than the design area of the coin. Many in our hobby naturally assumed that the die size and shape would be more or less the same as the design area to be struck.



RR-2s left-to-right: The conversation starter, a nicer one with the same die break, and a zoom-in on the die break. [Photos courtesy of StacksBowers.]

I certainly don't claim to have discovered this – both this coin and a nicer one with the same die break appeared in auctions in 2012 and 2008, respectively, and both lot descriptions made note of this anomaly and pointed out that the die had to have been "significantly larger" than the coin. So apparently this is common knowledge to some. But not to most, and the amount that it is larger is surprising. The diameter of the active design area of the RR-2 is approximately 29mm, but on this coin, the die break extends 3.5mm outside of that area. So assuming the design area would have been centered on the die face, it would have had to have a diameter of *at least* 36mm. I assume there must have been a good mechanical reason for this as good die steel was hard to come by when State coppers were being struck and Yankee frugality would have dictated making the dies no larger than absolutely necessary. The same principle likely resulted in the melting of broken dies for reuse- a theory supported by the absence of any single extant State copper die today.

It was suggested that with the die face being significantly larger than the planchet being struck, it is a wonder that there aren't more off-center strikes than there are, as manual alignment of the planchet to the design area would have been more difficult.

[1] Glickman, James, *A Die State Analysis of Vermont RR-2 Coppers: The Development of a Numismatic Tornado*, The C4 Newsletter, Fall 2022, pg. 14.

I decided to look at off-center strikes among the other Vermont landscapes to see if perhaps I could find something similar going on with other varieties. Though my search was by no means exhaustive, I did find an RR-4 which also appears to exhibit a die break extending outside of the active design area.



RR-4 with an apparent die break extending outside of the denticles. Zoom-in at right. [Photo courtesy of HA.com.]

In fact, if you look at off-center strikes of *any* of the regular-issue Vermont landscapes (RR-2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8), even the coins *without* die breaks, they are all more or less perfectly flat and smooth for a considerable distance outside of the denticles, all the way to the edge of the coin, and at a level even with the interior field. This can only occur if that area makes contact with a die face on both sides.



Off-center struck landscapes: RR-2, RR-3, RR-4, RR-6, RR-7, RR-8. [Top row photos courtesy of StacksBowers.]

Contrast these with the off-center struck RR-16 Vermont copper from the recent StacksBowers Syd Martin Part IV sale. Here the coin surface outside of the denticles is <u>not</u> smooth- instead it exhibits the texture of a raw planchet, where no contact with a die occurred. This suggests that while the die face for the landscapes was indeed oversized relative to the planchet, this was *not* the case for the RR-16 (and likely not for the other Vermont bust coins as well). In this case the die face was sized more or less the same as the planchet, consistent with conventional thinking. Perhaps this makes sense as the landscapes are believed linked to William Coley in the early days of the Rupert mint (1785-86), while most of the bust coinage is linked to James Atlee and the Machin's Mills coiners (1787-89), who perhaps employed different die-making technology.



Off-center struck RR-16. [Photos courtesy of StacksBowers.]

Coins like these are excellent study pieces which challenge our assumptions and aid our understanding of period minting technology. Is there anything similar going on in any of the other State copper series? My very cursory look at the coinages of MA, CT, NJ, and Nova Eborac indicate consistency with the RR-16 above, indicating a non-oversized die face. I encourage others to look closely at any off-center coins in their collections (this includes coins with multiple strikes) and let us know what you find!



A STAR IS BORN (IN THE CONNECTICUT COPPERS 1787 MILLER 4-L HORNED-BUST BREASTPLATE)

(Randy Clark)

Many newcomers to Connecticut coppers develop an interest in the 1787-dated Miller 4-L "Horned Bust," so named because of the large break that develops in the left obverse field. It is a common coin by Connecticut standards, with hundreds of listings in old and new auction catalogs that lead to an R1 rarity rating[1]. It is believed to be most rare in its earliest die states, with little to no die break showing. Horned busts become progressively more common in mid-states (with the "horn" formed but not yet touching the bust) and late-states (from onset of touching to the dramatic and deep horn). There have been articles published in the *Colonial Newsletter* and the *C4 Newsletter* discussing Horned Bust dies states, and how to bucket them, which readers may wish to seek out. As my interest in Connecticut coppers deepened over the years, I stopped paying attention to the most common varieties – such as the Horned Bust. I don't happen to own one and I have been collecting them for 20 years.

This year I started doing a condition-census for Connecticut coppers, by variety. I started with the 1785s, then the 1786s, then the 1788s, because I was dreading the 1787 long haul. Even then, I started the 1787s from the end of the series, trying to defer the most common, lower numbered varieties until the last moment. Eventually it could not be avoided any longer and I had to look at the common types, including Horned Busts. There are masses of AU-graded Horned Busts listed in catalogs and a handful of UNCs, as well, which makes choosing a small number to be considered the topmost pieces an "interesting" exercise. Early, middle and late die states will probably need to be considered separately - but that is not the topic I wish to discuss.



Early State



Mid-State



Late State

[1] The Sheldon rarity scale modified by EAC75 for use with colonial coppers assigns an R1 rarity to varieties with over 1,250 known specimens. Has anyone identified that many individual examples of <u>any</u> variety of Connecticut copper ? Unlikely; that's a very difficult task. But there are several varieties that are so numerous that they are assigned a comparative rarity of R1. These include the 1785 African Head 4.1-F.4, the 1787 Laughing Head 6.1-M, several varieties of 1787 type 33, and the 1787 Horned Bust 4-L. Of these, the one that stands the best chance of actually having 1,250+ surviving specimens is the Horned Bust,.

What I found by looking at a large number of high quality Horned Bust images was something new (to me). The breastplate evolves, such that late-state coins have a pronounced five-pointed star that does not appear in the earlier states. Hmmmm. Could it be there was something of interest lurking in that variety ?

Early- to mid-die state Horned Bust breastplate “medallions” appear to have a featureless, broad central area, with some interesting web-like die details to the left and right as it reaches the bust’s shoulder mail. This flat area is what I assumed all Horned Busts looked like, until I started looking at a wider range of images and die states.



Examples Of Early to Mid Die States



As the horn progresses, it appears the die is either lapped to reduce its effect, or simply wears down with repeated use, such that the breastplate features change. A five-pointed star appears. Whether this feature was always there and didn’t strike up ... or was added during die reworking ... is up for discussion. Note the web-like side details are mostly gone in later states. It does not seem like clashing seen on the latest die states has any impact in this area.



Examples Of Late Die States



As I continued to look at more images, it became apparent that a very limited number of early to middle die state specimens also showed signs of the five-pointed star. By far these are in the minority. These few outliers with both side (left and right) web-like details and a partial central star suggest the feature was always in the obverse die, but may not have consistently struck up until the die was either lapped or worn.



The Outliers ... a Limited Number of Early to Middle State Examples with Star Details

The reason small features like this can be important to understanding the Connecticut series is because such ornaments are an element of style that can sometimes be used to identify a die engraver or, potentially, a place of manufacture. In the case of the 1787 4-L Horned Bust, which is <u>not</u> believed to have been struck in Connecticut, there have been many suggestions who the die sinker was, and where the coppers were produced (often associated with Walter Mould and a New Jersey mint). None have yet stood the test of time. Perhaps this might be another clue to figuring that out.

The only Connecticut obverses with a star in the breastplate/medallion are seen with 1787 varieties 1.3-L, 4-L, 6.1-M and 6.2-M. Three of those use a six-pointed star that looks more like an asterisk than a star. Only obverse 4 uses a five-pointed star. Each of these is believed a non-Connecticut mint product and have been a source of ongoing conjecture.



1787 1.3-L **1787 4-L** **1787 6.1-M** **1787 6.2-M**

Whether this observation leads to new insights on where Horned Busts might have been made remains to be seen. At the very least, the feature gets added to the list of interesting things about a frequently overlooked, common Connecticut copper. A star is born !

THE CHICKEN OR THE EGG – WHICH CAME FIRST WHEN IT COMES TO THE CONTINENTAL CURRENCY RING DESIGN?

(David F. Townson, Ph.D.)

Earlier this year my wife and I had the occasion to visit the New Hampshire Historical Society Museum in Concord, New Hampshire. The museum celebrated its 200th anniversary this year and is located in downtown Concord. Though the exhibits lacked any colonial coinage or currency the museum provided a nice overview of New Hampshire history and for the price of a Starbuck's coffee it's an enjoyable way to spend some time. On this trip I happened across an early flag which is the subject of this writing. (See photo.)

The flag hangs high on a wall next to the staircase between the first and second floors which makes it difficult to examine and photograph up close. According to a small placard nearby the designer remains unknown and the exact date of creation is unknown as well, but this flag served as the colors of the 2nd New Hampshire regiment formed in May 1775.

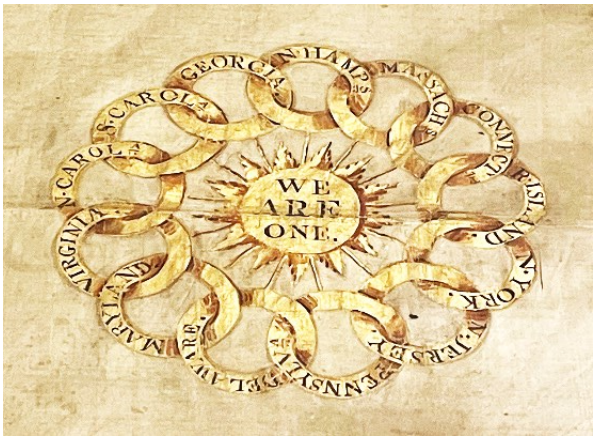
While none of the three New Hampshire regiments fought battles on state soil they did serve in the Continental Army from 1775 to 1783, as well as in the local militia. New Hampshire's 2nd Regiment fought at the battle of Fort Anne under the command of Enoch Poor and on July 8, 1777 was captured by the British Ninth Regiment of Foot commanded by Lt. Col. John Hill. The regiment's flag was later taken back to England as a war prize by Hill.

In 1912 the flag was purchased in England by Edward Tuck from Lt. Col. Hill's descendant, Col. George W. Rogers, and returned home to New Hampshire.

One might assume that the colors of New Hampshire's 2nd regiment were created around the time of its formation in May 1775. If so, this would place the creation of the ring design motif prior to such iconic numismatic stars as Hall and Sellers' continental currency notes (e.g. Fr. CC-21 and others) issued in early 1776, as well as the 1776-dated Continental Dollar pieces issued years later, not to mention of course Franklin's design for the 1787 Fugio coppers.

In comparing the placement of the state names within the rings I noted that on the New Hampshire 2nd regiment flag the top center spot is occupied by New Hampshire (N.Hamps) – just where I'd expect to see it if I were creating a design for my regiment. Coincidentally, this is also the same placement as on Hall and Sellers' notes produced about three-quarters of a year after the regiment's formation. The placement of rings and states differs slightly from the Continental dollars both in position and order.

While history attributes the ring design to Benjamin Franklin this flag makes one wonder if the design concept itself had earlier beginnings and perhaps served as inspiration for our subsequent currency. Either way, the ring design shows itself to be integral to the birth of our nation and an aspiration still relevant today.



1775 New Hampshire 2nd Regiment Flag, Designer unknown.
Photo by Author.

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Vol 6, No. 1, June 2023, page 29 and following.

"HONEST INDUSTRY" AND THE NOVA EBORAC COPPERS

(Gary A. Trudgen)

Introduction

The Coppers Panic that occurred after the new federal Constitution became the law of the land on March 4, 1789, is well known to numismatists. A similar, but lesser known event preceded the Coppers Panic of 1789 by two years after New York State passed a coppers act on April 20, 1787 during the tenth session of the New York Legislature.[1] Thomas Goadsby, a merchant who held a grant to coin coppers for the State of New Jersey, stated in a letter to Philadelphia merchants James and Samuel Fisher on July 15, 1787, that "[t]he circulation of coppers is put to a stop in New York."[2] During this turbulent period, a newspaper notice dated July 25, 1787 provides strong circumstantial evidence concerning when the Nova Eborac coppers were minted and by whom.

New York's Legislation

At the time of the subject newspaper notice, New Yorkers were reeling from a recent legislative copper coinage act that significantly lowered the value of circulating coppers and demonetized coppers that weighed less than ⅓ ounce avoirdupois. The statute was titled *An Act to regulate the circulation of copper coin in this state* and was to go into effect on August 1, 1787. Prior to the law's passage, the New York Assembly had received petitions from seven different men seeking a contract to coin copper money for the state. Large amounts of base coppers were being imported from England into the domestic marketplace, jeopardizing the country's financial system. This created a situation which required a regulated domestic copper coinage to help eliminate this foreign evil. Neighboring states had already started issuing their own copper money and New York was thinking of doing the same. On March 15, 1787, a legislative committee consisting of Alexander Hamilton, David Brooks, and John Lansing, Jr. was appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to establish a copper coinage in the state and to also regulate the coppers then in circulation. Three weeks later on April 9, Alexander Hamilton had convinced his colleagues not to establish their own copper coinage but rather to only regulate the coppers then in circulation.[3]

The upcoming August deadline caused a serious disruption of commerce within New York City that spilled over into the adjacent states. The copper coin act lowered the value of lawful coppers from 14 to 20 for one New York shilling.[4] Soon after the act was made public, it was suggested that the value of coppers be gradually devalued until 20 per shilling was reached on August 1 [Fig. 1.]

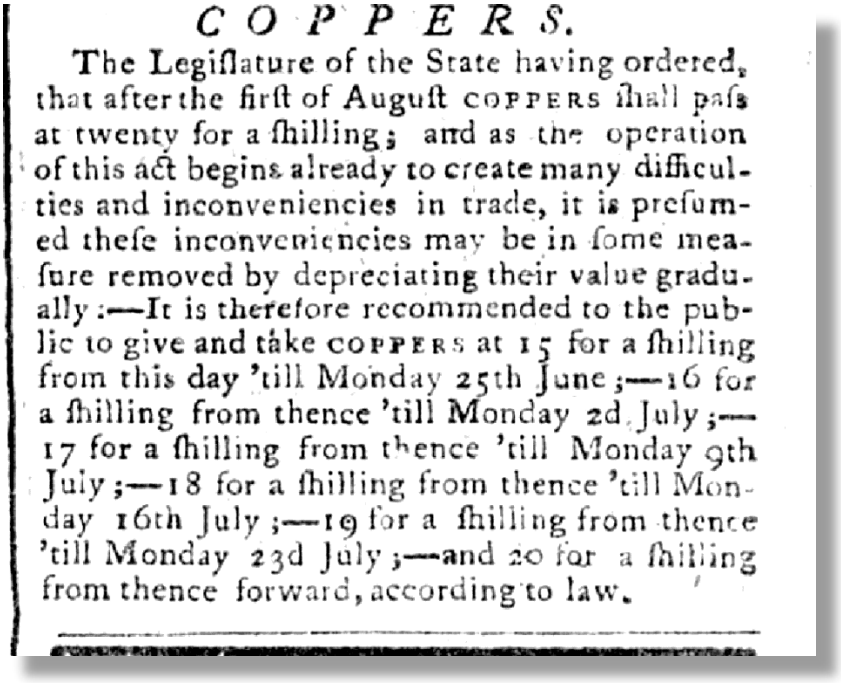
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[1] The New York Legislature consists of two houses: the Senate and Assembly.

[2] Jack Howes, Gary A. Trudgen, Julia H. Casey, "Thomas Goadsby's Letterbook," *The Journal of Early American Numismatics*, American Numismatic Society, New York, NY, Vol. 3, No. 2, December 2020, p. 16. Goadsby was selling the New Jersey coppers that they produced at a discount to New York merchants in order to place them into circulation. During this crisis he had to purchase New Jersey produce [agricultural fruits and vegetables] with the coppers and then sell the produce in order to convert the coppers into specie.

[3] Alexander Hamilton later served as the first United States Secretary of the Treasury from 1789 to 1795.

[4] The act defined a lawful copper as ⅓ ounce avoirdupois, or 145.83 grains, of pure copper.

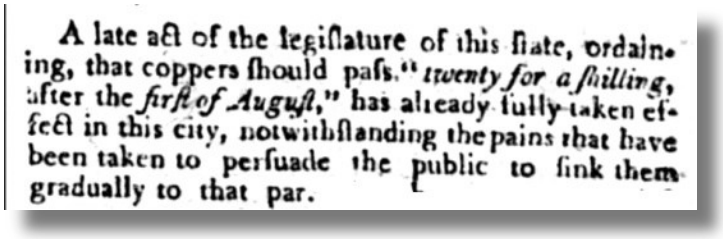


COPPERS.

The Legiſlature of the State having ordered, that after the firſt of Auguſt COPPERS ſhall paſs at twenty for a ſhilling; and as the operation of this act begins already to create many difficulties and inconveniencies in trade, it is preſumed theſe inconveniencies may be in ſome meaſure removed by depreciating their value gradually:—It is therefore recommended to the public to give and take COPPERS at 15 for a ſhilling from this day 'till Monday 25th June;—16 for a ſhilling from thence 'till Monday 2d July;—17 for a ſhilling from thence 'till Monday 9th July;—18 for a ſhilling from thence 'till Monday 16th July;—19 for a ſhilling from thence 'till Monday 23d July;—and 20 for a ſhilling from thence forward, according to law.

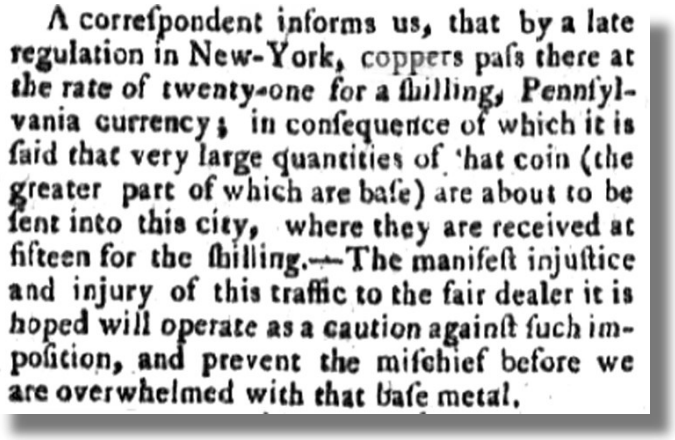
Figure 1: Newspaper notice suggesting that coppers be gradually reduced in value within New York State. *New-York Morning Post*, June 18, 1787.

However, this suggestion was ignored by many merchants who immediately started accepting coppers only at the new rate of 20 per shilling [Fig. 2]. Consequently, large amounts of coppers were collected in New York and shipped to the detriment of neighboring states where they passed at a higher rate [Fig 3].



A late act of the legiſlature of this ſtate, ordaining, that coppers ſhould paſs "*twenty for a ſhilling*, after the *firſt of Auguſt*," has already fully taken effect in this city, notwithſtanding the pains that have been taken to perſuade the public to ſink them gradually to that par.

Figure 2: Newspaper notice revealing that the new rate for coppers had taken effect before the deadline of August 1. *New-York Journal and Patriotic Register*, June 21, 1787.

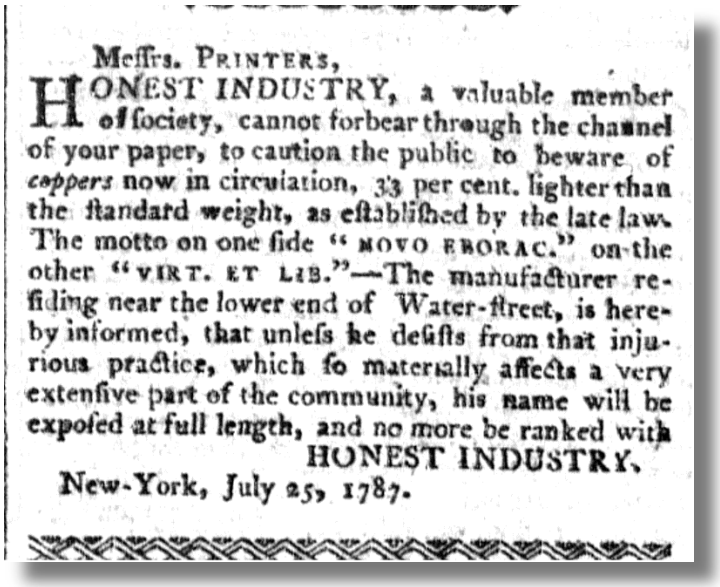


A correſpondent informs us, that by a late regulation in New-York, coppers paſs there at the rate of twenty-one for a ſhilling, Pennſylvania currency; in conſequence of which it is ſaid that very large quantities of that coin (the greater part of which are baſe) are about to be ſent into this city, where they are received at fifteen for the ſhilling.—The manifeſt injuſtice and injury of this traffic to the fair dealer it is hoped will operate as a caution againſt ſuch impoſition, and prevent the miſchief before we are overwhelmed with that baſe metal.

Figure 3: A newspaper notice warning that coppers were being collected in New York and sent to Philadelphia where they would pass at a higher rate. *The Pennsylvania Mercury and Universal Advertiser*, June 29, 1787.

"Honest Industry" Notice

The turmoil over coppers during the summer of 1787 encouraged a concerned New York City resident to take quill to paper and pen a public warning calling out a prominent city artisan [Fig. 4]. The warning notice concerning "Honest Industry" was published in the *New-York Packet* newspaper, located at 5 Water Street in the city which was owned and operated by Samuel Loudon.[5] The notice appeared only once in Loudon's newspaper and is not found in other newspapers during this time.



Meſſrs. PRINTERS,

HONEST INDUSTRY, a valuable member of ſociety, cannot forbear through the channel of your paper, to caution the public to beware of *coppers* now in circulation, 33 per cent. lighter than the ſtandard weight, as eſtabliſhed by the late law. The motto on one ſide "NOVO EBORAC." on the other "VIRT. ET LIB."—The manufacturer reſiding near the lower end of Water-ſtreet, is hereby informed, that unleſs he deſiſts from that injurious practice, which ſo materially affects a very extenſive part of the community, his name will be expoſed at full length, and no more be ranked with

HONEST INDUSTRY.

New-York, July 25, 1787.

Figure 4: Newspaper notice that alerted the public to the coinage of lightweight coppers within New York City. *New-York Packet*, July 27, 1787.

[5] The idiom "Honest Industry" was sometimes used in early America to characterize occupations that benefited society, such as farmer, cabinetmaker, milliner, etc.

The writer cautioned the public that lightweight coppers were presently being manufactured within the city and warned the responsible individual to stop or be reported to the authorities. He claimed these coppers were 33% underweight with respect to the new state law, which yields an average weight of 97.7 grains per coin.[6] Next, the legends found on the coin are given which positively identifies it as a Nova Eborac copper.[7] Finally, the location of the artisan responsible for minting the coppers is given as "near the lower end of Water-street," the location of John Bailey's workshop, which was only a few blocks distant from Loudon's printing office.[8] At the time of the notice, Bailey's workshop address was 21 Little Dock Street. Later in 1794, Little Dock Street was merged with Water Street and Bailey's workshop address became 60 Water Street [Fig. 5].[9] The author of the notice is unknown but was likely a businessman living and working in the vicinity of John Bailey's workshop.

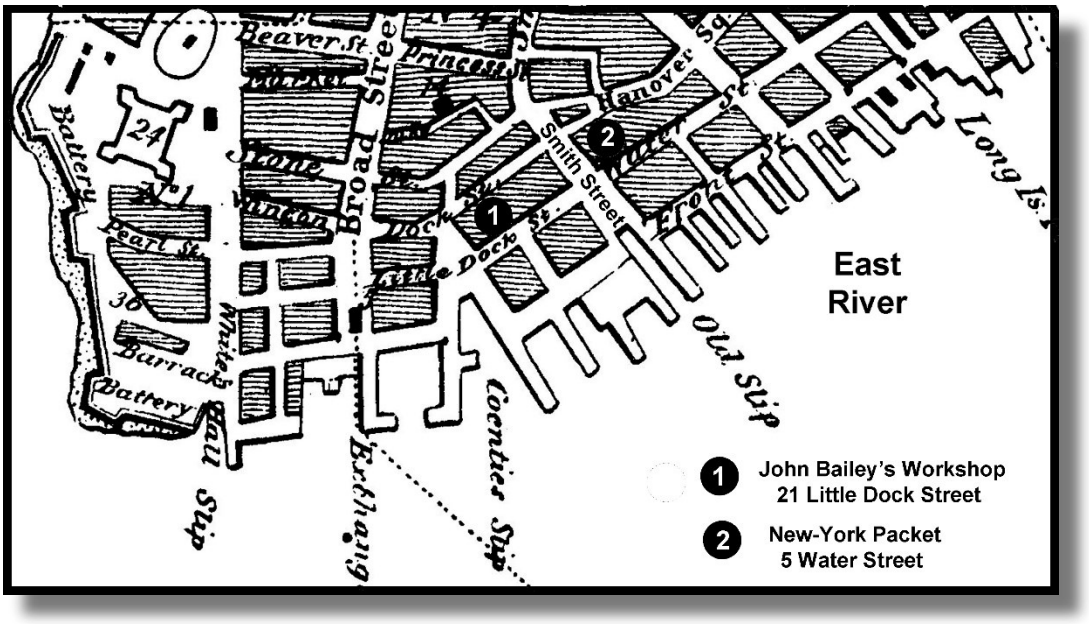


Figure 5: Street map of the southeast tip of Manhattan in 1789 showing the approximate locations of John Bailey's workshop and the *New-York Packet* printing office. The map was taken from *The City of New York in the Year of Washington's Inauguration 1789* by Thomas E. V. Smith, The Chatham Press, Riverside, Connecticut, 1972.

John Bailey was a Sheffield-trained, English cutler who immigrated to New York City in 1755 and sided with the patriot cause during the Revolutionary War. While in exile during the British occupation of New York City he provided cutlery items for the Continental Army during his time in Fishkill, New York. At the conclusion of the war he returned to the city, and finding the demand for cutlery items on the decline, he became involved in the need for a domestic copper coinage before eventually going into the brass foundry business.

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[6] One ounce equals 437.5 grains. Thus, the underweight coppers each averaged (437.5 ÷ 3) x (1 - .33) = 97.7 grains. This weight equates to approximately 72 coppers per pound. The new state law required 48 coppers or less per pound.

[7] The obverse legend "NOVO EBORAC" as given in the notice is incorrect which may be the result of the printer wrongly reading the handwritten notice while setting the type. It should have read "NOVA EBORAC."

[8] Samuel Loudon and John Bailey were acquainted as shown by a probate bond that Loudon witnessed when Bailey was assigned administration responsibility for Walter Mould's New York City estate on February 1, 1790.

[9] Gary A. Trudgen, "John Bailey's New York City Mint," *The Journal of Early American Numismatics*, American Numismatic Society, New York, NY, Vol. 2, No. 1, June 2019, p. 204, fn. 5.

During Bailey's venture into the coinage trade, he joined with his fellow cutler, Ephraim Brasher, Jr. Although Bailey and Brasher had no prior experience in the coinage trade, it is believed they gained their knowledge from Walter Mould, an English counterfeiter who had immigrated to America after serving time in prison.[10] Mould was awarded a contract to produce coppers for the State of New Jersey on June 1, 1786, along with his two partners, Albion Cox and Thomas Goadsby. Cox and Goadsby relocated to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, to start construction of their mint but Mould remained in New York City, where it is thought he advised Bailey and Brasher in setting up a mint in Bailey's workshop.[11] Initially, it appears that Bailey and Brasher focused on learning to produce coinage dies resulting in the two varieties of crude Connecticut Muttonhead coppers.[12] Afterwards, based upon punch linkage and style studies, they are thought to have focused on producing pattern coins for submission to the New York Assembly along with their coinage proposals, resulting in the Nova Eborac and Excelsior pattern coins. After failing to obtain a coinage contract, they continued to privately mint Nova Eborac coppers, which were then likely followed by the Brasher and Lima-style gold doubloons and Group 2 American-made British halfpence.[13] Finally, before closing mint operations in April of 1788, they produced the "running fox" New Jersey coppers which were struck for Walter Mould when he had difficulty making royalty payments to the New Jersey government.[14]

Nova Eborac Coppers

The 1787-dated series of Nova Eborac coppers is comprised of four die varieties: two of the varieties are rare while the remaining two are common. The obverse and reverse central devices are in similitude of British halfpence but the legends firmly apply to New York State. The obverse legend NOVA EBORAC is Latin for New York, while the reverse legend VIRT ET LIB is abbreviated Latin for Virtue and Liberty.[15] Sylvester Crosby catalogued the series in 1875 by assigning numeric labels to the obverse dies and alphabetic labels to the reverse dies.[16] Study of the four varieties indicates that the two rare varieties were made in preparation for presenting a petition for a copper coinage grant to the New York Assembly on February 12, 1787, whereas the two common varieties were minted as a private coinage after Bailey and Brasher had submitted their proposal.[17] It is believed that the "Small Head" was struck to hone their coinage capability before striking the "Large Head" variety which was then given to the Assembly as a sample of their work [Fig. 6 and Fig. 7]. After submitting their proposal to the Assembly the "Figure Left" was struck followed by the "Figure Right" variety. The emission sequence for the last two varieties is based upon the die state of the obverse die that was used for both varieties. The obverse of the "Figure Right" variety exhibits a die break along the outer edge of the quatrefoil that follows EBORAC of the legend. This die break is not present on the "Figure Left" variety [Fig. 8.][18]

[10] Gary A. Trudgen, "Walter Mould: Convicted Felon," *The Journal of Early American Numismatics*, American Numismatic Society, New York, NY, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 2018, pp. 1-18.
[11] John Bailey was a creditor of Walter Mould and had witnessed Mould's Power of Attorney assigning John Jarvis as his attorney on November24, 1787.
[12] Gary A. Trudgen, "The Mysterious Muttonhead," *Rare Coin Review*, Bowers & Merena, No. 63, Winter 1986/87, pp. 74-5. The two Muttonhead Connecticut copper die varieties are Miller 1.2-C and 1.2-mm of 1787.
[13] The Group 2 American-made halfpence varieties are Vlack 1-47A, 17-87A, 17-87B, and 17-87E. These varieties are often incorrectly attributed as a product of Machin's Mills.
[14] The 1788-dated "running fox" New Jersey coppers are Maris 74-bb, 75-bb, 76-cc, 77-cc, and 77-dd.
[15] James Glickman, "The Meaning of the Legend 'Virt Et Lib' on the Nova Eborac Coinage," *C4 Newsletter*, Summer 2019, pp. 6-12.
[16] Sylvester S. Crosby, *The Early Coins of America*, Burt Franklin, New York, 1875, pp. 340-41.
[17] Gary A. Trudgen, "The Nova Eborac Coppers," *The Colonial Newsletter*, September 1991. Serial No. 89, pp. 1261-72.
[18] *Ibid.*



Figure 6: The "Small Head" (Crosby 3-D) Nova Eborac copper. This variety was struck prior to February 12, 1787. *Photo courtesy of Heritage Auctions, HA.com.*



Figure 7: The "Large Head" (Crosby 2-C) Nova Eborac copper. This variety was struck prior to February 12, 1787. *Photo courtesy of Heritage Auctions, HA.com.*



Figure 8: The "Figure Left" (Crosby 1-B) Nova Eborac copper. This variety is believed to have been struck between February 12 and April 20, 1787. *Photo courtesy of the author.*

The Nova Eborac series is summarized in Table 1.

Byname	Crosby Label	Emission Sequence	Average Weight (grains)	Number of coins per pound
Small Head	3-D	First	132	53
Large Head	2-C	Second	136	51.5
Figure Left	1-B	Third	131	53.4
Figure Right	1-A	Last	106	66

Table 1: Summary of the Nova Eborac series of coppers with the most likely emission sequence and average weight obtained from *The Colonial Newsletter* article titled "The Nova Eborac Coppers." (See footnote 17.)

As is shown in the table, the "Figure Right" variety is closest to the weight given by the author of the newspaper warning. Thus, it is likely that he was referring to Crosby 1-A when he penned the "Honest Industry" notice [Fig. 9]. The copper coinage act was made public at the time it was passed as law on April 20, 1787. Thus, the petitioners for a copper coinage grant may not have known until this date that they would not be awarded a contract. Since the first three produced Nova Eborac varieties were struck at approximately the same weight, this suggests that the "Figure Left" variety was struck prior to April 20. Also, it appears that the weight reduction of the "Figure Right" variety was in response to the new law which lowered the value of coppers by 30%. The reduction in weight of the "Figure Right" variety was also approximately 30% indicating it was struck after April 20 and in circulation by the summer of that year as confirmed by the "Honest Industry" notice. Apparently, the minters of the "Figure Right" variety wished to get their product into circulation before the official value reduction of coppers occurred on August 1st of that year.



Figure 9: The "Figure Right" (Crosby 1-A) Nova Eborac copper. This variety is thought to have been produced between April 20 and August 1, 1787. *Photo courtesy of the author.*

Conclusion

Sylvester Crosby wrote in his book, *The Early Coins of America*, that the Nova Eborac coppers were "probably a private speculation of some English merchant."[19] More recent study determined that they were more likely a product of American artisans John Bailey and Ephraim Brasher.[20] Further study revealed that John Bailey had setup a mint in his New York City workshop when Bailey and Brasher attempted to obtain a copper coinage grant from New York State.[21] The "Honest Industry" newspaper notice provides further confirmation that the Nova Eborac coppers were struck at Bailey's mint located along Little Dock Street in

[19] Crosby, p. 341.
[20] Walter H. Breen, "Brasher and Bailey: Pioneer New York Coiners, 1787-1792," *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, New York, 1958, pp. 137-145.
[21] Trudgen, "John Bailey's New York City Mint," p. 203.

New York City and that the last of the four varieties (Figure Right) was in circulation and possibly still being struck in the summer of 1787.

The provenance of the Nova Eborac coppers is now firmly established thanks to the "Honest Industry" newspaper notice by a concerned citizen. They were an American-made speculative copper coin produced at John Bailey's mint in New York City in the year 1787. However, questions still remain. It is unknown how much involvement Ephraim Brasher had in the operations at John Bailey's workshop beyond the minting of the Brasher Doubloon and the pattern coins that were submitted to the New York Assembly. In a letter to President George Washington, dated April 17, 1790, John Bailey declared that he could make his own tools in support of mint operations.[22] The tools would have included puncheons, such as letter, numeral, and central device hubs, along with the dies. As a cutler, Ephraim Brasher should have had the same metal working capabilities as John Bailey but it is currently unclear to what extent he was involved with the mint located at John Bailey's workshop. Hopefully, future research will provide more answers to this and other questions concerning our early numismatic history.

Acknowledgments

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The Journal of Early American Numismatics (JEAN), is a research publication and the successor to *The Colonial Newsletter* (*CNL*), founded in 1960. The *CNL* published an assemblage of the most seminal studies on colonial and confederation-era coinage of the United States. *JEAN* expands the focus of the *CNL* by exploring contributions to colonial numismatics from all the Americas. *JEAN* is published as a bound scholarly journal twice a year in June and December. In 2019, *JEAN* received the Numismatic Literary Guild award for the Best Club or Not-for-Profit Periodical. Several articles published in *JEAN* have received NLG prizes, including: "The Authentic Fugio Restrike Dies" by Chris McDowell and Julia Casey, 2020, "Collecting American Colonial Coins in Eighteenth-Century England" by Jeff Rock, 2021, "The Coins Made 'for the Islands and Mainland of America' by the French West India Company 1670" by Jérôme Jambu, 2022, "John J. Ford: A Life in Three Portraits" by Q. David Bowers, 2020, and "The Crane Ring of Rupert, Vermont: A Family of Counterfeiters at Reuben Harmon's Mint" by Julia Casey, 2022.

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[22] *Ibid.*

A NEW JERSEY COPPER WITH AN ABEL BUELL COUNTERSTAMP

(Steven Prosser)

The name Abel Buell is widely recognized in colonial numismatics and various other fields of interest. You might have encountered his name if you are a map collector or a jeweler, but more commonly among those who collect Connecticuts, Fugios, or even Vermont coppers. Abel Buell was an achiever despite his troubled past, starting as a counterfeiter and later becoming a federally contracted coin engraver. Regardless of the task, Abel Buell was the person to accomplish it, even if it involved stealing a statue of King George III for materials to create printing type. He was both a patriot and a scoundrel, sometimes on the run and other times a necessity to the community.

Being a silversmith, few surviving pieces by Abel Buell exist, making it a daunting task to uncover an example of his work. If one is fortunate enough to succeed, it usually turns out to be a very small teaspoon from late in his career, bearing his AB mark in an oval with rays. Even locating his work in a museum proves to be quite challenging.

I consider myself a numismatic spoon collector, often on the hunt for silversmiths who also dabbled in coin making. It serves as an enjoyable diversion in between my pursuits of collecting coins. Honestly, it boils down to luck; typically, you need to be familiar with the silversmiths' names and patiently wait for an opportunity. You never know whose name will emerge from the hat; you simply have to be prepared when it does.

This all began when I started collecting colonials back in 2014—a passion that has only grown and flourished over time. The quest for the beloved Brasher Doubloons on eBay was no easy feat, but led me down the rabbit hole discovering there were actually spoons made by Ephraim Brasher himself! The old saying goes “If you can't afford a Brasher doubloon, there’s a Brasher spoon.” Over time, my collection of numismatic spoons grew. It's intriguing to ponder early American silver. Many pieces were crafted well before the minting of colonial coins, highlighting the substantial cost for their original owners! A teapot or tankard could weigh 20 or 30 ounces of silver, while spoons ranged between 1 and 2 ounces each, not to mention the labor invested in crafting each piece. Such items could cost a serious amount of Spanish Pillar dollars. Colonial American silver served as a banking system; it was easier to recover a stolen silver cup with family crests and initials than to retrieve looted coins from one's home.

Over time, I encountered some fascinating pieces: sets of spoons by Standish Barry, who fashioned a tiny threepence dated July 4th, 1790; a Brasher spoon with the same punch as the Brasher doubloon—how remarkable! Some spoons bore a tiny mark, V&C. Curiosity piqued, I discovered it was Voorhis and Coley, a rare partnership active from 1785 to 1786 while they minted Vermont landscape coppers. Other exciting finds included Peter Getz, associated with the Getz Pattern coinage, and John Chalmers, renowned for his Chalmers shilling. Chalmers was particularly elusive, leading me to think outside the box and search among Annapolis collectors. Then came a few Abel Buell spoons—quite a thrill! Additionally, I encountered names of foreign gold coin regulators like John Burger, Myer Myers, Daniel Voorhis, and Philip Syng. Some silversmiths left their marks on early American coins, such as Simeon Bayley. If I were to reflect on what I learned collecting spoons, it's how I gained most of my knowledge about colonial numismatics. As I couldn't afford most coins, collecting spoons became a fascinating alternative—often acquiring only 1 or 2 coins a year as well as a dozen spoons in the process.

As you may have drifted away from the original topic, my fondness for spoons unraveled an unexpected discovery—a New Jersey copper associated with Abel Buell.

Not what one might expect, this discovery posed quite a challenge. The AB mark on this copper had long been attributed by museums and silver books to Andrew Billings. In these silversmith books, tiny hand-drawn marks could easily be misinterpreted as belonging to another maker. However, there were subtle clues that could lead to the correct attribution. This particular New Jersey copper transitioned through various sales—from the E Pluribus Unum Sale to the Syd Martin Sale, then passed through the hands of a colonial numismatic dealer before finding its way into my collection. I encountered the coin multiple times in my searches, yet it remained elusive, nudging me to ponder whether it resembled the Abel Buell mark depicted in a book. Each time, upon reviewing the description, the name Andrew Billings surfaced.



1786 New Jersey Maris 23-R with counterstamps previously attributed to Andrew Billings. (Courtesy of StacksBowers.)

As I delved deeper, Billings' other marks bore no resemblance to this particular one. Its style appeared vastly different from his usual marks, yet it bore a striking similarity to Abel Buell's recognized mark—the AB enclosed in an oval with rays. I began meticulously comparing, overlapping, and aligning the mark on the New Jersey copper with his known mark, pondering if perhaps he had re-engraved his old punch to create a new one. They appeared remarkably similar, but the evidence wasn't conclusive.



Comparison to other known AB marks. Photos courtesy of the author.

My search persisted as I hunted for evidence that could defy all odds and attribute this New Jersey copper counterstamp to Abel Buell. Then, that eureka moment arrived. I stumbled upon a spoon in a museum attributed to Abel Buell and his master (his father-in-law), Ebenezer Chittenden. The spoon bore the marks EC AB and an Eagle head, albeit worn. Considering Abel had just completed his apprenticeship, Ebenezer's mark would naturally precede his on the spoon. This discovery served as the missing piece I sought, rightfully attributing this mark to Abel Buell of Killingworth, CT.



Tablespoon attributed to Ebenezer Chittenden and Abel Buel.
Courtesy Historic Deerfield Collection, 62.108.1. Photos by Penny Leveritt.





COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

(Ray Williams)

"99% of Lawyers give the rest a bad name."
- Steven Wright

I was reading a paper called *Financial History of Colonial Virginia*, authored by Richard Hoober and reprinted from the ANA's November Numismatist in 1953. It is a fascinating view of the colonial times in Virginia and the money of that colony. I highly recommend reading this thirty-two page paper.

On pages 22 & 23, I took notice of a specific counterfeiting operation that was busted. The perpetrators were caught in the act, along with the equipment for counterfeiting Spanish gold & silver coins and paper money. The criminals were named and brought to jail in Williamsburg. BUT... the article didn't say what happened to these counterfeiters!

I was curious... many colonial bills declare in print: "Tis Death to Counterfeit". I've understood from books and talks that rarely was anyone executed for counterfeiting in colonial times. What punishment would be assigned to these obviously guilty men?

I first sought the easy way to discover their fate - I asked Erik Goldstein, C4 member and Curator of Mechanical Arts and Numismatics at Colonial Williamsburg. He didn't know offhand, but provided a link to scans of the Virginia Gazette that are on the Colonial Williamsburg website. After reading through a number of issues, I found two related quotes. The first was about the capture of the criminals and the second (published two months later) reveals the results of their trial. In the latter, I included all of the published announcements so you can get an idea of what was currently happening in Williamsburg in April of 1773. I also used the original newspapers and spelling in the below quotes. Hoober had some errors, but none that affected the content.

Virginia Gazette Feb 25, 1773, p.3:

> "On Tuesday last Captain John Lightfoot arrived in Town from Pittsylvania, having executed the Commission he lately went upon to that County, by Instructions from the Governour [*sic*], in apprehending and bringing down, under a strong Guard, **Benjamin Cooke, Joseph Cooke, James Cooke, Benjamin Woodward and Peter Medley**, informed against by one John Short, formerly an under Sheriff there, who had been concerned with them in counterfeiting and passing the Treasury Notes of this Colony, as also in making and circulating several false Coins, particularly Dollars, Pistoles and Half Pistoles. They were taken about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, at Work in their Shop; with all their Tools for Engraving, Frames for making Paper, a Rolling Press, Dies for Dollars and Half Pistoles, besides a large Quantity of counterfeit Five Pound Bills, and a Plate for the Forty Shilling Bills. Upon their Arrival they were immediately carried to the Palace, and examined by the Honourable Peyton Randolph, Esquire, in Presence of His Excellency the Governour, the Attorney General, and other Gentlemen, who thought proper to order them all to be committed to the public Jail, except James Cooke, nothing criminal appearing against him; and next Tuesday they will be carried down to York, for a farther Examination."

"We hear of several others being committed to different County Jails, upon Suspicion of being concerned in the same Crime; and Gideon Rucker, and Shem Cooke, of Pittsylvania, and John Hightower, and William Hightower, of Lunenburg, are fled, for the apprehending of whom the Governor has been pleased to issue his Proclamation, offering a Reward of fifty Pounds each.

"It is hoped that a Nest of the same pernicious Crew to Society, in the Province of North Carolina, are by this Time apprehended, an Express having been sent to the Governour there, acquainting him of sundry Persons informed against; and thus a Stop be put to the Schemes and Machinations of a Gang of Villains, who would aggrandise themselves upon the Ruins of the Publick [*sic*]."

Virginia Gazette April 22, 1773, p.3:

"[marriages] Mr. John Boush, of Norfolk, to Miss Nancy
Waller, fourth Daughter of Benjamin Waller, Esq; of this city
[deaths] Mrs. Sarah Bolling, spouse to Archibald Bol-
ling, Esq; of Goochland.
Last Friday, Saturday, Monday and Tuesday, the following Prisoners were brought to the Bar of the General Court to take their Trials:
John Chapman, from Halifax, for Grand Larceny: Acquitted
John Dugard, from Caroline, for Bigamy: Acquitted
William Strange, from Stafford, for Horsestealing: Acquitted
James Hill, from Fairfax, for Horsestealing: Acquitted by the Grand Jury
William Nickens, from Lancaster, for Burglary; Acquitted by the Grand Jury
Leonard Burnett, from Essex, for the Murder of a Negro: Acquitted
Benjamin Cook, Benjamin Woodward, Joseph Cook and Peter Medley from Pittsylvania, for Counterfeiting Gold and Silver coins and passing counterfeit Treasury Notes: Acquitted [The Testimony of John Short, the principle Evidence against the Prisoners, was invalidated by sundry evidences their Behalf, who proved him a most atrocious Villain; and their Counsel even made a Motion in Court to have him indicted for Perjury.] N. B. He is since gone off, and has left behind him, in this City, a Wife and six helpless Children, in most pitiful Circumstances.
Moses Terry, from Halifax, for passing Counterfeits: Plead Guilty, and Pardoned.
Frances Sullivan, from Lancaster, for Grand Larceny: Acquitted
Peter Sidebottom, from Stafford, for Horsestealing: Guilty
Mary Murphey, from Augusta, for Grand Larceny: Guilty
Edward Brown, from Charles City, for Grand Larceny: Guilty
Eliphalath Musgrove, from James City, for Murder: Guilty
John Bentley, from Prince William, for Horsestealing: Remanded to Jail, and to be tried in June."

ACQUITTED!!! Without being there myself, and reading the February VA Gazette, these guys had to be guilty. They were caught “red handed” with the implements and the counterfeits! They must have had good lawyers representing them! I hope the lawyers were paid with counterfeit bills. I was anticipating some awesome punishment, and was very disappointed with my research results. I wonder if all the confiscated evidence was returned to these falsely accused honest citizens. (My sarcastic side peeping through).

Disappointment aside, what can we learn from these newspaper articles? There were counterfeit Spanish gold and silver coins - what ones, we don't know. There are some numismatic conclusions I can make about the counterfeit paper money.

The February 1773 VA Gazette states that a, "*large Quantity of counterfeit Five Pound Bills, and a Plate for Forty Shilling Bills*" were discovered. Referring to Eric Newman's 5th Edition of *The Early Paper Money of America*, I see that all 1773 VA bills were authorized after February, thereby not being eligible to be the counterfeit bills. The bills of 1770 were “redeemable by November 1771”, so also not eligible. So that leaves only the emission authorized by the July 11, 1771 Act as the likely counterfeit £5 bills that were found. Newman states that there are known £5 counterfeits of this date. With respect to the 40s printing plate, there were no 40s bills issued in 1771. But there was a £2 bill issued, which is the same value as 40s. Newman lists no known counterfeits of the VA 1771 £2 bills, so the plate for the 40s bill may have been confiscated before it could be put to use.

The Steven Wright quote below the title for this article came to mind during my research. I must admit I have a number of good friends who are lawyers! I also saw how prominent the topic of counterfeiting was in the newspapers of the time, not just these two I quoted. I now have a better appreciation for the problems of counterfeiting in colonial Virginia and in all of our colonies.



FIGURE 13.—NOVA CONSTELLATIO COPPERS.

From *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, March 1860

GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO 1783: A TOKEN OF SATIRE

(Michael Callis)

The Georgius Triumpho is an American token from 1783, the year of man's triumph of flight and a peace treaty marking the triumph of the American Revolution, which was evidently inspired in part by a satire from a Birmingham cartoonist.

The 1783 Georgius Triumpho token was intended for circulation in America, including the West Indies, and should be considered an early example of a non-governmental currency. For more detailed information on the token and its circulation, see the Notre Dame numismatic web site.[1] This article is focused on the satire depicted on the tokens' obverses and reverses, as they circulated in America following the Treaty of Paris that formally ended the American Revolution and the first flight of man in Paris.



The obverses are emblazoned with the motto GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO surrounding an image of King George III as seen on regal coinage in Ireland and the American colonies before 1783. The triumphant George is left ambiguous. It is up to the holder as to which George is triumphant in 1783: The General, George Washington or The King of Great Britain, George III.



The reverse of the token is emblazoned with the motto VOCE POPOLI (Italianate version of "Voice of the People") and surrounds either Britannia or Lady Liberty, in a woven basket of thirteen staves and a fleur de lis on each corner of the basket. King George III is associated with Britannia and Lady liberty with the U.S. The woven image in which the lady appears likely represents the basket of the Montgolfier balloon and the first flight of man by the French in Paris in 1783.

The British satirical political poster published on December 5, 1783, by James Sayers and the satire titled "Two New Sliders For The State Magic Lantern," published December 29, 1783, by Thomas Rowlandson of Birmingham, offer detailed clues in unravelling a political message meant to attract U.S. and British West Indies usage of the Georgius Triumpho tokens. The genius of the coin design becomes apparent after taking into consideration the political and scientific achievements that took place in the latter half of 1783. The motive for the Georgius Triumpho tokens was evidently to make a profit and have a design appealing to both the new Tory government in support of King George III, and to George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and the new United States.

The obverse of the token is deciphered with the aid of a political poster titled "Carlo Khan's triumphal Entry into Leadenhall Street." (See below.) The poster is credited with being pivotal by both the winning and losing candidates in a critical parliamentary election in which King George III was triumphant, in December of 1783. The obvious loser, Charles Fox, an antagonist to the King, is seen riding atop an elephant having the face of Frederick North. Lord North, the losing Prime minister who conducted the English response to the

[1] *"Georgius Triumpho Copper of 1783: Introduction,"* https://coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/WASHTriumpho.intro.html. Last viewed December 31, 2023.

American Revolution was anything but triumphant. The just signed 1783 Treaty of Paris marking peace between the newly liberated United States and Great Britain adds to the satirizing of Lord North's failure in the political poster. The poster was effective in the triumphal victory of King George III with William Pitt and the Tories.



"Carlo Khan's triumphal Entry into Leadenhall Street" by James Sayers and Thomas Cornell. Image courtesy of and © National Portrait Gallery, London.

The main issue involved in the political election held on December 17, 1783, was the governance of India. Leadenhall Street was the location of the India office and the gate in the poster represents the office. Playing the trumpet is the negrophobic Edmund Burke, chief proponent of the India Bill and an important member of the Fox-North Whig coalition against the Tories headed by William Pitt and King George III.

The obverse of the Georgius Triumpho is ambiguous as to which George is depicted by not giving the King his title while bestowing a triumphant year 1783. Most Americans would associate George Washington with a triumph for being the general who commanded the troops that forced the peace treaty to be signed under American terms. Judging from history and custom, many collectors do consider this a tribute to George Washington, but the King and his Tory friends were aware of a double interpretation as well as some enlightened patriots.

The reverse of the token was likely inspired by a satire involving a pair of Magic Lantern slides imagined by Thomas Rowlandson and titled "TWO NEW SLIDERS FOR THE STATE MAGIC LANTHERN." The two Magic Lantern slides for the state are designed as satire and consist of five boxes or frames, which complete a story, reminiscent of today's cartoons. Note that the first Magic Lantern slider emphasizes the relevance of the phrase Voce Populi on the reverse of the Georgius Triumpho tokens.

- The first frame is titled "VOX POPOLI out of DOORS" and depicts Charles Fox addressing a crowd out of doors. Vox Popoli is essentially the same meaning as Voce Popoli found on the reverse of the Georgius Triumpho tokens. Fox's brand throughout his political career was Vox Popoli and earlier images confirm this. The tokens' use of Voce may have been an attempt to draw contrast.

- The second frame, the "FIRST COALITION," shows the two losers, North and Fox. They are shaking hands, with their followers in tow as a flock of geese and a herd of four-legged animals.

- The third frame is "VOX POPOLI – in Doors" and again Fox is addressing a crowd of people.

- The fourth frame shows Fox lighting a fire under the Magna Carta and a liberty cap on liberty pole.

- The fifth frame "NEW STATE idol" shows Fox and North tied together on a pedestal of power.

- The sixth frame title (second slider) is "Ascending Political Mongolfier" [*sic*.] A fox is shown ascending on the hot air balloon. The sixth box or frame in the series gives meaning to Lady Liberty in the basket of a hot air balloon. The first successful flight of man was achieved months before by the Montgolfier brothers and is immortalized in the sixth frame in the series. Both the reverse of the Georgius Triumpho tokens and the Magic Lantern series are dated 1783 and emphasize first flight of man.

- The seventh frame shows a fox falling from the balloon into a pit. The title of the frame is "His Fall into the Pitt" [sic.] William Pitt is the triumphant new prime minister representing the King and the Tory party.

- The eighth frame, titled "The Coalition Candidate Rejected," shows Britannia with a bust of King George sentencing the two Whigs to be hanged from the gallows.

- The ninth frame, titled "LAST COALITION," shows Fox, North, and their trumpeter, Edmund Burke, being prepared to be hanged.

- Finally, in the tenth frame we see them in Hell. Burke is in the water as Tantalus, Fox is strapped to a wheel as Ixion, and North is Sisyphus doomed to rolling a rock.



Thomas Rowlandson's "Two New Sliders For The State Magic Lanthern."
Image courtesy of the MET, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959.

Rowlandson's cartoon clearly elicits a connection with the Montgolfier balloon. Moreover, the satire of the winning and losing parties immortalized in copper was clearly intended to spread propaganda and spin as to who was triumphant. Ultimately it was a clever way to win favor and acceptance with the American people, both British loyalists and U.S. patriots.

The Georgius Triumpho is another iteration of Rowlandson satire on the triumph of king George III. The Birmingham satirist incorporated the Montgolfier balloon, the first flight of man into his cartoon and so did the reverse of the tokens.

The first flight of man represented by the woven basket on the reverse shows Britannia as the pilot or it could be Lady Liberty representing the new U.S. Either way it would have special meaning to Benjamin Frankin. Franklin was the Master Mason for the Nine Sisters Masonic Order. The Montgolfier brothers were also members of the lodge and personal friends of Franklin.

Franklin casts a big shadow on the history of currency and commemorative medals in 1783. A 1784 satire by Rowlandson, in the form of a cartoon, and later a sculpture,[2] was made to compare the victory of America as represented by the infant Hercules on the Libertas Americana medal of 1783 and the triumphal election of William Pitt and the new Tory government. Franklin's Libertas was another example of medals and currency being satirized in 1783. The Libertas Americana medal shows an infant Hercules as the U.S. defeating two snakes, one in each hand, while the 1784 Rowlandson of Birmingham England satire depicts King George III as baby Hercules and the heads of Fox and North as the heads of the snakes. King George III is proclaimed Triumphant by the voice of the people according to talk in the parliament and tokens dated 1783.





(Left) Thomas Rowlandson's "The Infant Hercules," depicting the young William Pitt, sitting on the shield of his father, strangling serpents who represent Fox and North. Image courtesy of the MET, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959. (Right) Closeup of a Libertas Americana medal depicting the infant United States strangling Generals Burgoyne (Saratoga, 1777) and Cornwallis (Yorktown, 1781,) beneath the shield of Minerva (France.)

[2] *Editor's note: The sculpture, by an Italian artist, ca. 1790, has been called by Kim Sajet, Director of the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery, "The Ugliest Sculpture Ever." See: https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/ugliest-sculpture-ever-says-portrait-gallerys-director-180967938/ Director, National Portrait Gallery, January 25, 2018.*

Conclusions

The Georgius Triumpho tokens were a marketing scheme to mint money for change and draw attention to the political and scientific achievements current in 1783, to win acceptance and to make a profit.

The copper money recorded the Triumphant political and scientific achievements of 1783 with a token of tribute to satire.

Supplemental

- Several other "triumphal entry" posters beginning December 5, 1783 and running well into 1784 exist.

- November 25, 1783 was Evacuation Day in New York. The British Army departed ahead of the triumphal entry of Washington. His triumphal entry was complete with the planning of a triumphal arch being constructed for a reenactment in 1784. The point is the Triumpho token was both a celebration of King George III and his triumphal victory defeating the Fox coalition and of George Washington and his triumphal march in November of 1783.

- It is almost certain that these tokens could not have been produced earlier than 1784 when British posters hailing King George's victory and celebrations continued for Washington's triumphal entry on Evacuation Day.

- 1784 saw celebrations for both Georges and both used the phrase "Triumphal Entry." It was a great phrase for a token wanting to praise them both.



FIGURE 1.—THE WASHINGTON HALF-DOLLAR.
(From the collection of F. A. Paddock, Esq.)

From *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, March 1860

VIRGINIA HALFPENCE VARIETY 25-M REVERSE DIE ANOMALY

(Roger A. Moore MD)

Introduction

Of the 31 varieties of Virginia halfpence the 25-M is one of the most commonly encountered and is listed within the "Very Common" category.[3] A key distinguishing feature that appears in nearly every example of this variety is a small die "blip" in the bottom half of the upright shield bar appearing on the reverse. Fig. 1.



Figure 1. A die "blip" appears commonly on nearly all 25-M Virginia halfpence examples.

It is rare to find an example without this die blip though the size of the blip is generally the same size for most 25-M varieties as that shown in Figure 1. The lack of a die blip is due to either the coin being one of the first minted before the blip appeared on the die or it having been worn off the coin during circulation. A few differences in the die blip are shown in Figure 2. By far the most common sizes of the blip on most 25-M varieties are either medium or large.



No blip Small blip Medium blip Large blip

Figure 2. The die blip can vary in size.

[3] Roger Moore, *The Coins of Colonial Virginia*, Publication of the Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2019, p. 284-289. This author placed the 30 varieties (the 31st was discovered after the book was published) into four rarity categories - very rare, rare, common, and very common. The rarity categories were based on the frequency of appearance of the variety in collections and in dealer and internet auctions in the past.

Regarding the obverses of the 25-M halfpence, most examples have some evidence of clashing of the dies on the obverse as shown in Figure 3.

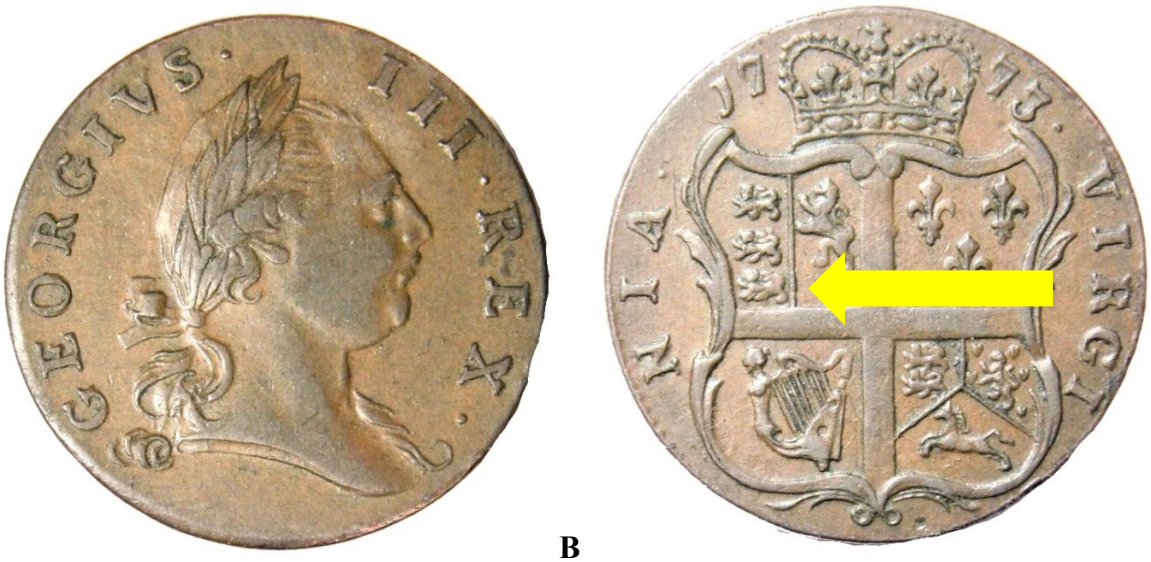


Figure 3. A) Obverse of a Virginia 25-M showing significant die clashing and B) a tracing of the prominent clash marks. (Courtesy of Heritage Auctions, HA.com)

There are examples of the 25-M variety lacking any clashing but they are far less common than those having clash marks. Die clashing must have occurred early in the life of the 25-M die. As of now, both the 25 obverse and the M reverse are known to be only paired with one another. These observations allow the presumption that when clash marks are absent on the obverse of a 25-M halfpenny, the state of the M reverse on that coin is also from an early die state. This may have ramifications for this paper with the discovery of an anomaly on the reverse of a 25-M Virginia halfpenny.

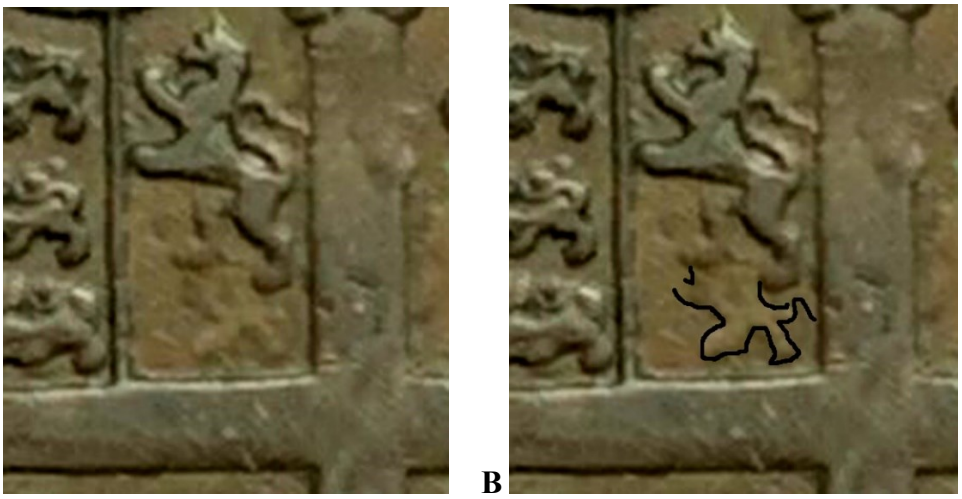
New Finding

Though the author has viewed thousands of Virginia halfpence over the past two decades, an eBay listing of an unattributed 25-M without the expected die blip on the reverse was found with what appeared to be the legs of a rearing lion under the normal lion in the right compartment of the upper left quadrant of the shield as shown in Figure 4. Having never seen that characteristic before, a review of all saved images of 25-M varieties was undertaken with no other similar example being found. It was also noted that though this specimen had seen circulation, it was in a high enough grade to note no evidence of any overt clash marks on the obverse. A close-up of the anomaly is shown in Figure 5.



A B

Figure 4. A) Early obverse die state and B) early reverse die state with a faint presence of a rearing lion's lower body under the full rearing lion. (wt. 114.2 gr.; dia. 25.1 mm.)



A B

Figure 5. A) Close-up of the anomaly and B) tracing of the image.

A second review of previously saved 25-M variety images of both internet and dealer auction appearances with particular attention to the reverse upper left shield quadrant was undertaken. What was found confirmed that varieties with the early die state reverse (without a blip) were much less common than those with the blip; and though the anomaly was found on a halfpenny with an early die state obverse and reverse, it was not found on the reverse of any other coin in any die state. In the place of the anomaly, the early die state reverses without the die blip had what seemed to be an area of cavitation as shown in Figure 6-A. Also, coins having a later die state reverse (die blip), as well as mid- and late-die state obverses (clashing) had an area below the rampant lion containing several small artifacts, as shown in Figures 6-B/C.



A B C

Figure 6. Upper left quadrant and right compartment reverses with A) early obverse and reverse die states, B) mid-obverse and reverse die states, and C) late obverse and mid-reverse die states.

How Virginia Halfpennies Were Produced

Minting of Virginia halfpence was performed at the Tower Mint in London in 1773 and excellent records are extant concerning this coinage. The first step in producing the tools for performing the minting was engraving obverse and reverse matrixes. The matrixes were engraved as mirror images of the design which would eventually be seen on the minted coin. The matrixes lacked legends and other details that would be seen on the final coin. From these matrixes, punches were made. The punches also lacked the legends and details and were simply mirror images of the matrixes. An example of one of the reverse punches used is shown in Figure 7. Note the lack of any legend, as well as the absence of the three lions in the upper left quadrant, the harp strings in the lower left quadrant, as well as in the lower quadrant of the shield the two small lions to the left, and the small hearts surrounding the single rampart lion to the right. The orientation of the design on the punch is in the same position as would be observed on the minted coin.

Figure 7. A reverse punch used to produce the reverse dies for minting the Virginia halfpence. Image taken by author with appreciation to the Royal Mint Museum.



The punches were used to make the dies, and the dies were then individually engraved with the missing elements needed to complete the coin design. The variations occurring from the slightly different placement of these added elements are the reason that different varieties of Virginia halfpence exist. Though the Virginia halfpence were minted in 1773, an accounting of the various tools used to mint the Virginia coinage did not occur until December 12, 1777, when an inventory of existing mint tools was conducted at the Tower Mint. The results of this inventory presently exist in the British National Archives and indicate that in 1777, two obverse matrixes, two reverse matrixes, two obverse punches, one reverse punch, forty obverse dies, and 30 reverse dies were identified.[4] The documentation of a single reverse punch seems odd but

[4] *Ibid*. pp. 292-296.

excellent research by Graham Dyer and Peter Gaspar in 1982, discovered a second reverse punch that had been misfiled.[5] It was this punch that is imaged in Figure 7. Following the 1777 inventory most of the tools were destroyed with the only remaining tools being one obverse matrix, one obverse punch, one reverse punch (which escaped destruction by being misfiled), and one reverse die that was never put into service.

Possible Causes for the Anomaly

The finding of a partially visible rampant lion under the normally positioned well-struck lion on the reverse of a 25-M variety of Virginia halfpenny was highly unusual. The Tower Mint was known for the high quality of its products and it was rare that minting errors escaped their attention. Despite the high quality of its usual products, the 25-M seems to have suffered from a lack of oversight due to most of this variety being minted with die defects on both the obverse (clashing) and reverse (die blip). Three possibilities are considered for having been the origin of the previously unrecognized anomaly.

DOUBLE DIE STRIKE OF PLANCHET - The author's first thought was that the faint image of the rearing lion's extra pair of legs was due to a double-struck planchet with the first strike being offset vertically by two mm. from the second strike. However, based on the large numbers of Virginia halfpence by the author, no double-struck planchets are known except for one significant exception that the author considers to have been produced fraudulently.[6] However, off-center-struck Virginia halfpence are known but all are off-center by only a few millimeters. An example of a Virginia halfpenny struck off-center is shown in Figure 8.



Figure 8. A Virginia halfpenny, 23-Q variety struck off-center by two millimeters.

Evidence for the anomaly possibly being due to a double-struck planchet is that off-center struck Virginia halfpence by only a few millimeters are known, which is consistent with the amount of offset seen between the faintly struck anomaly from the first strike and the more pronounced rearing lion from the second strike. However, an observation against this anomaly being due to a doubly struck planchet is there is no evidence on either the obverse or the reverse of the coin of any other remnants from a first slightly off-center

[5] Dyer, Graham and Gaspar, Peter P. "A Virginia Numismatic Discovery," *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes.* No. 27, 1982, pp. 231-237. This reverse punch was misfiled as a King George II reverse guinea punch until it was discovered by Dyer and Graham. All extant tools reside at the Royal Mint Museum in Cardiff, Wales.

[6] Moore, pp. 265-268.

strike. Numerous clear fields in the coin should provide at least some evidence of the first strike, so the lack of these remnants strongly argues against the anomaly being due to a double-die strike. However, this lack does not eliminate this possibility.

STRUCK OVER A PREVIOUSLY STRUCK VIRGINIA HALFPENNY – Another possibility is the anomaly represents a planchet that had been previously struck slightly off-center with a Virginia die. Only one other Virginia halfpenny has been purported to be struck over a previously struck planchet and the understruck coin was thought to be of French origin, as shown in Figure 9.[7]



Figure 9. A) Virginia 16-U with A) and C) showing an obverse with possible undertype remnants on the cheek and with B) and D) showing a reverse with possible undertype remnants on the shield's vertical and horizontal bars. (wt.107.9 gr; dia 25.3 mm.)

In this possibly overstruck Virginia halfpenny, the details of the undertype are only found on the most elevated parts of both the obverse and reverse. This could only occur if the Virginia die was cut so deeply in these areas that the undertype design would not have been obliterated. Regarding the Virginia halfpenny with the anomaly, the undertype would have had to be another Virginia halfpenny. In addition, the undertype halfpenny would have had to be struck two millimeters off-center. When the second strike occurred, it would require positioning the coin on the same axis as the first strike in order to position the lion's legs from the first strike directly under the lion's legs from the second strike. Finally, there is no other evidence of an undertype anywhere else on either the obverse or the reverse of the coin and no other Virginia halfpenny has been found having been over-struck on a Virginia halfpenny. Based on this evaluation it is improbable that the anomaly represents a residual design from an undertype.

[7] Syd Martin, A Virginia Halfpenny Overstrike, *The Colonial Coin Collectors Club Newsletter*, vol. 25, no. 1, Spring 2017, pp. 11-13.

DOUBLE STRIKE OF THE REVERSE PUNCH INTO THE ”M” DIE – One other possibility is the anomaly was produced when the punch was sunk into the die slightly off-center and then realizing the strike was off-center the minter repositioned the punch and struck the die with a more center punch. Similar to the double-struck planchet theory, the double-struck punch would require both punch strikes to be positioned on the same horizontal axis and the second strike of the punch to be positioned centrally. However, there are no other remnants of the first off-center strike, which would argue against this theory. It is of interest that the obverse and reverse of the coin with the anomaly both have rare early die states, which provides partial substantiation of this theory. All coins with later die states of either the obverse or reverse lack the anomaly and show in the area of the anomaly what looks to be an alteration. This would point to the minters having recognized their error on inspection after the first few coins were minted and caused them to retool the “M” die to remove the unwanted anomaly. This retooling would leave remnants of the alteration on coins minted thereafter, as shown in Figure 6.

Conclusion

A Virginia 25-M halfpenny with a rare early-die-state obverse and reverse was discovered with an unusual anomaly of a faint impression of lion legs under the rearing lion’s legs in the right compartment in the reverse shield’s upper left quadrant. This anomaly has not been seen on any other 25-M examples when previous appearances of the variety in internet and dealer auctions were reviewed. How the anomaly was produced was considered with three possible causes entertained, all of which were improbable. First, the anomaly could have been produced with a double strike of the planchet with a normal reverse “M” die. The first strike would have been slightly off-center and the second strike properly centered. Countering this possibility is the lack of any other remnants of the first strike on the reverse and the requirement that the positioning of the second strike was perfectly placed in the horizontal axis with the first strike. However, the lack of any other coins presently known with the anomaly provides some strength to this possibility, since this would be a one-off. A second theory is the anomaly represents the remnants of an undertype. However, the lack of any other remnants of the undertype on either the obverse or reverse as well as no other Virginia halfpenny being known to have been overstruck on another Virginia halfpence argues against this possibility. The third theory is the reverse die used to produce the “M” reverse was struck twice with the die punch with the first strike being vertically off-center by two millimeters and struck a second time with the punch positioned centrally. When the minters reviewed the first few coins produced, they noted the anomaly and retooled the offending area of the die with the result being all other “M” reverses showed only some artifacts of the retooling in the affected area. Though the author favors this explanation of the anomaly, its possibility is weakened by the lack of other remnants of the offset die design on the planchet from the first strike. One way this possibility could be established is by finding another early obverse and reverse die state Virginia 25-M variety with the same anomaly. However, due to the rarity of the early obverse and reverse die state of the 25-M variety, establishing the validity of this possibility will require the inspection of most extant 25-M Virginia halfpence.

If another 25-M with the anomaly is found please contact the author: rogermoore435@yahoo.com.

NEW JERSEY COPPERS DESIGNATIONS
Maris 77-dd, 77 1/2-dd, 78-dd, and 78 ½-dd or Maris 77-dd I, II, III and IV

(Ray Williams)

Collectors of colonial and Confederation era coinages derive a lot of pleasure from the study of the history of their coins and the classification of them. Most reading this know first-hand that this is true. We measure the diameters, the die axes, the weight (in grains!) and sometimes the specific gravity and XRF (X-ray fluorescence) metal content.

The hand-made dies and their differences provide particular fascination for us, and many collect these coins by **die variety**. As the dies wore down, or became damaged, we classify the resulting coins as **die states**. By definition, die states are NOT die varieties. Dr. Maris made a couple of mistakes in his 1881 treatise on NJ coppers. One of these was listing the 78-dd as a separate die variety, when it is actually a late die state of damaged 77-dd dies. Not knowing this fact could confuse a new collector.

Twenty-five years ago at a C4 Convention in Boston, C4 members and NJ Copper collectors had an open discussion about the then current count of NJ Copper die varieties. In the discussion, the consensus was that the Maris 77 ½-dd and 78-dd variety designations should be delisted and that the three die states of the Maris 77-dd be given with Roman numerals. Technical accuracy in classifications ruled the day.

With the popularity of the "Running Fox" varieties, I thought it appropriate to share my thoughts here. I don't want to minimize the importance of the die states as they are very collectible, fascinating to discuss and very important, but obtaining them doesn't increase your variety count! There are currently 144 recognized NJ Copper varieties. I hope that books, attribution guides and catalogers continue to correctly identify the die states with Roman Numerals.

For those readers who are unfamiliar with this Running Fox variety and its die states, DS I is perfect, DS II has the major obverse die damage and DS III has major damage to both obverse and reverse. These die states are very obvious and very collectible. I have all three and they are a welcome part of my collection.

Now, getting to what you were wondering since you started reading this article, what is a Maris 77-dd IV? Great question! Almost 20 years ago, Buell Ish wrote an article for the *C4 Newsletter* (Vol 12, No 3, 2004) entitled "A Third Ear Merits Study." It seems like yesterday! That article discussed Buell's discovery of a misplaced ear on the obverse. The article went into great detail about the sequence of die damage and failures. You will not be disappointed by finding the article and diving into it. I decided to search for an example and Buell assisted in finding one for me. The designation of 77-dd IV may or may not catch on, but the discussions about this third ear are fascinating and it's every bit as collectible as the other die states.

In conclusion, collect whatever is fun for you in any manner you wish. For those pursuing die varieties, obtaining some die states will not add to your variety count, but will certainly add to your hobby fun!



Maris 77-dd DS I



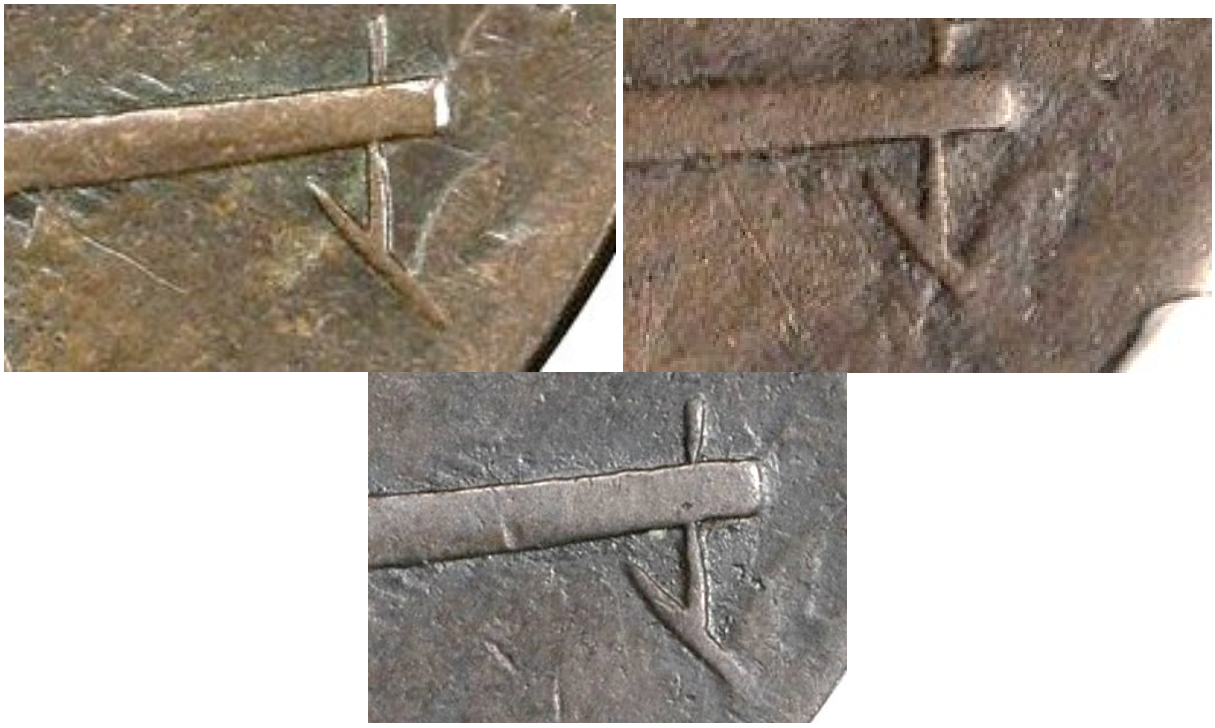
Maris 77-dd DS II



Maris 77-dd DS III



Maris 77-dd DS IV



Enlargements of “Third Ears,” which appear to be growing out of the singletrees.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

C4 BOOK SALE
BUILD YOUR NUMISMATIC LIBRARY



The Colonial Coin Collectors Library is deacquisitioning the following duplicate books from its inventory at fixed prices. The books are being offered at below market value to C4 members only. Limit two books per member every 3 months. Shipping included on orders totaling *over* $50. Junior C4 members (members 18 or under) may purchase up to three titles at half the list price (shipping is free on all orders to junior members). Books are sold first come first serve. In order to purchase, please contact Librarian Leo Shane in order to verify the book's availability at: librarian@colonialcoins.org. If the book is still available, Leo will confirm and provide payment instructions.

1. Anton, William T. & Bruce Kesse, *The Forgotten Coins of the North American Colonies*, Krause Publications, Iola WI, 1992 Hard Cover Copy, Very Good, No Stamps **$65**

2. Baker, Warren S., *Medallic Portraits of Washington*, Krause Publications, Iola WI, 1965, Hard Cover Copy, (Reprint of 1885 Work) From the Library of Mike Ringo, (C4 Stamp, Very Good) **$20**

3. Bowers and Merena Auction Catalog, *The Frederick B. Taylor Collection*, 26-28 March 1987, New York NY, Softcover (No Stamps or Writing, Spine has Rubs including a large one on the bottom, Good Condition) (A required catalog from any Connecticut copper collector's library) **$44**

4. Mayflower Coin Auctions Inc. Auction Catalog, *The Outstanding Collection of Colonial US and Canadian Coins formed by Mr. C. H. Stearns,* 2-3 December 1966, Boston MA, Softcover with PRL

(Good with C4 Stamp, Prices realized written in Large Cent section, ripped cover all other content good, Priced Accordingly) **$25**

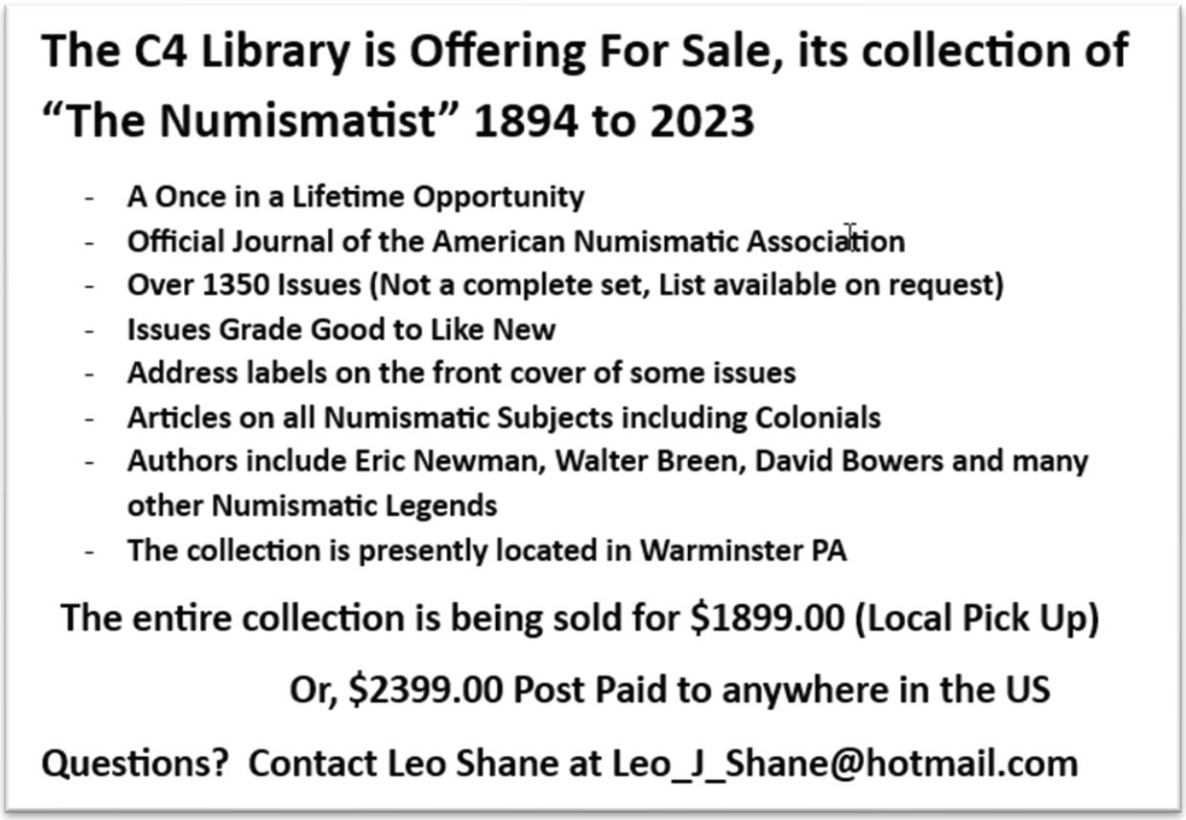
5. Vlack, Robert A., *An Illustrated Catalogue of the French Billon Coinage in the Americas*, C4 Publications, 2004 (C4 Stamp, Very Good,) **$75**
6. Maris, Edward, *The Coins of New Jersey with Plate*, Philadelphia PA, 1881 (Reprint by Quarterman Publications, Lawrence MA, 1974) Large format 16.5" X 11" (No Stamps, Good to Very Good with Dust Cover, teras on Dust Cover) **$95**

7. Jordan, Louis, *John Hull the Mint and the Economics of Massachusetts Coinage*, C4 Publications, Lebanon NH, 2002 New, No Stamps **$12**.

8. Newman, Eric P., *Coinage of Colonial Virginia - Numismatic Notes and Monographs Number 135*, The American Numismatic Society, New York NY, 1956 (C4 and Price Stamp, Good to Very Good) **$10.**

9. Kenny, Richard D., *Struck Copies of Early American Coins*, Sanford J. Durst Publications, New York NY, 1982 (18 page booklet originally published by Wayte Raymond 1952) (Ex Missouri Numismatic Society Library, Library Stamp, Underlining on page , Good) **$15.**

10. Richardson, John M., *Copper Coins of Vermont*, A Reprint from the Numismatist, American Numismatic association, Colorado Springs CO (24 page booklet) (C4 Stamp, from the estate of Mike Ringo, Good) **$10**



Medals from the 1st Annual C4 Convention in 1995!



Recently discovered and again available for purchase are a limited number of the very first C4 medals made! The obverse design, featuring part of the Vermont landscape copper motif, is very similar to that later used on our 25th anniversary medals, but from a different die. The reverse design displays images of a New Jersey copper, a Connecticut copper, and a Fugio. These medals are made of pure copper and can be purchased while supplies last for just $20 with free shipping!

*****

C4 25th Anniversary Medals (Prices Reduced!)



A limited number of C4 25th Anniversary Medals are still available. These medals have a very attractive design and a proof-like finish. Individual copper medals can be purchased for $4, individual silver medals (one ounce, .999 silver) can be purchased for $32, or a set containing one of each can be purchased for $35. Postage will be added to your total based on how many medals you order from this page. See below.

*****

NEW C4 30th Anniversary Medals!



Hot off the presses to celebrate C4's 30th anniversary is a counterstamping of our 25th anniversary medals. The reverse has a large "30" expertly struck over the prior "25" and the anniversary dates at the bottom were updated. Medals in both metals are available. Individual copper medals can be purchased for $5, individual silver medals (one ounce, .999 silver) can be purchased for $35, or a set containing one of each can be purchased for $38. A complete set of all 4 medals (25th and 30th Anniversaries in both metals) can be purchased for $69. Postage will be added to your total based on how many medals you order from this page. See below.

To reserve and purchase any of the above medals, contact Charlie Rohrer at treasurer@colonialcoins.org. Charlie will respond verifying availability and give payment instructions.

C4 Membership Dues

Annual dues are currently $30.00 for Regular Membership ($55 if residing outside the United States) and $10.00 for Junior Membership (under 18 years of age; $15 if non-US resident.) They are payable on a calendar year basis… due January 1. The year through which you are paid appears after your name on the mailing address label on the *C4 Newsletter* envelope. Life Memberships can be purchased for 25 times the annual membership cost, or $750.00. You may mail checks (made out to "C4") to: Charlie Rohrer, C4 Treasurer, P. O. Box 25, Mountville, PA 17554

Thank you for paying in a timely manner… It makes his job easier and will be much appreciated!

*****

PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS

In accordance with our by-laws, those who have recently joined C4 as provisional members are listed below. If any current C4 member in good standing has a reason any of the following should be denied membership in C4, please contact either your Regional VP or the President of the Club, Chris McDowell. The new provisional members this quarter are:

Lucas Baldridge - TX	Thomas Howard - IA	Ronald Simmons - NY
Greg Bennick - WA	Brent Iott - CT	Daniel Salinero - CA
Clark Davis - FL	John Lorenzo - NJ	Logan Track - CO
Terry Denham - MI	Joe Martin - MI	Eugene Yotka - FL
Gary Fogelman - PA	David Powell - NY	Winston Zack - NM

*****

Obtaining Back Copies of C4 Newsletter and C4 Auction Catalogues

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 Medallic 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

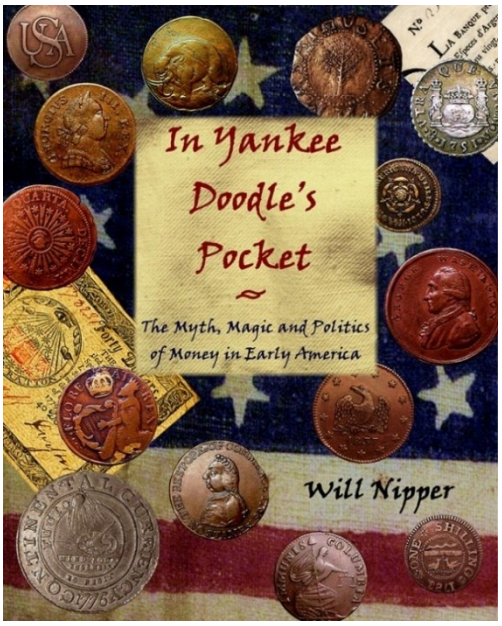
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The Daniel Frank Sedwick database of fake cobs is on ForgeryNetwork:
http://www.forgerynetwork.com/default.aspx?keyword=cob

*****

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** *

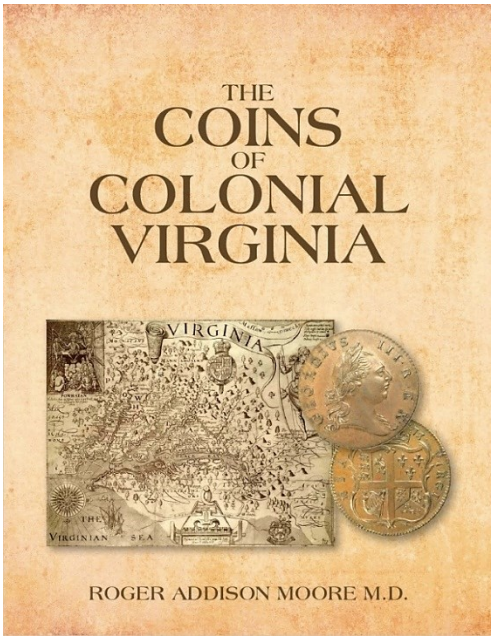
(12) Vlack, Robert A. *An Illustrated Catalogue of the French Billon Coinage in the Americas*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2004. **OP**

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

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C4 BOOKS STILL AVAILABLE

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

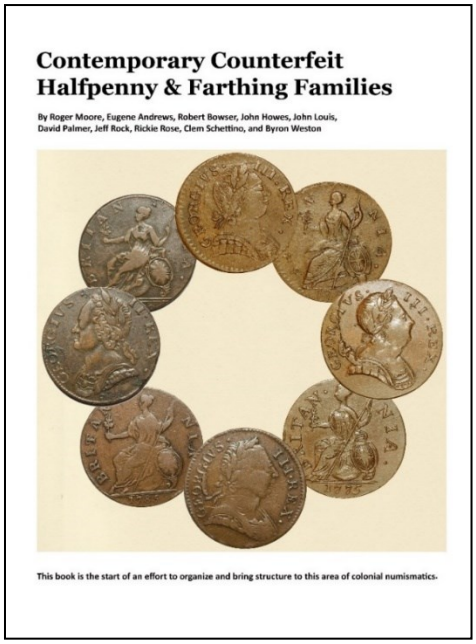


The growth and development of Virginia into one of the most important North American colonies can be traced by the economic evolution of the Dominion State as it attempted to gain the necessary hard currency needed for commerce. The history surrounding the introduction of various coinages and the use 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
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