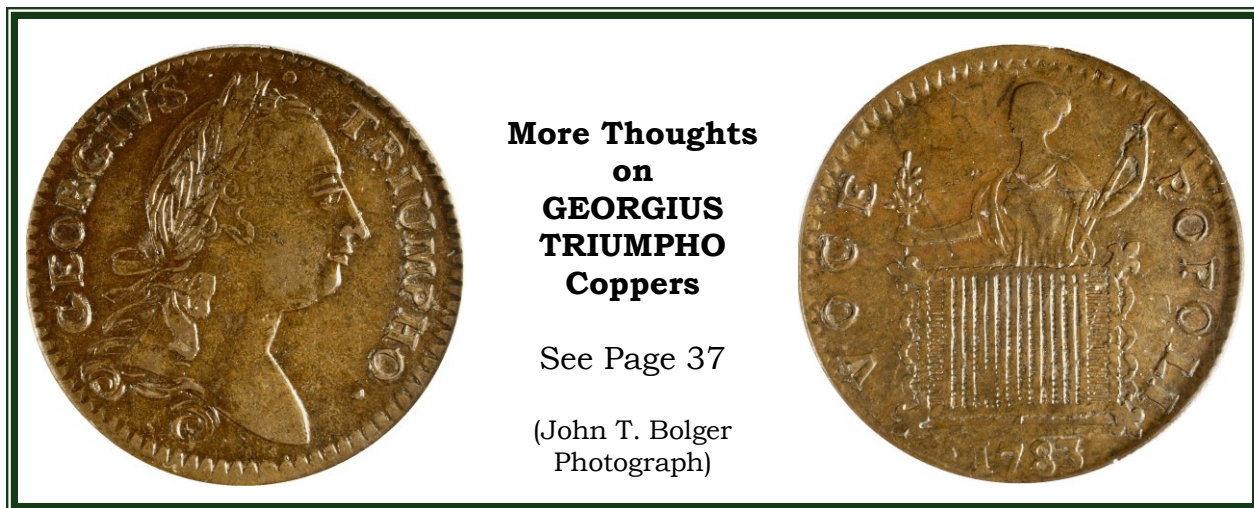




Spring 2024

Volume 32, Number 1



Featured in this issue:

President's Page (C. R. McDowell)

C4 Region 2 Meeting in New Hampshire (T. Gesner)

C4 Annual Financial Report (C. Rohrer)

1748-Dated Lead/Pewter Farthing Found (W. Shelby)

In Pursuit of Henry Phelps' Painted Die Variety Connecticut Coppers (R. Clark)

Interview with Vicken Yegparian, Stack's Bowers VP of Numismatics (J. Burke)

The Wyon Problem (G. Trudgen)

Georgivs Triumpho: A Modest Proposal (J. Bolger)

More on the Virginia July 11, 1771 Currency (R. Moore)

An Interesting "FODS" Undertype (M. Vitunic)

C4N Classic from 2013: An Eighteenth Century Purchase (L. Shane)

Announcements

Ads: Classified, Sponsored, Reciprocal Club



The Sydney F. Martin Collection – Part VI

Featured in Stack's Bowers Galleries' August 12-16, 2024 Global Showcase Auction



1652 Willow Tree Shilling. Noe 2-B.
Rarity-7. VF Details (PCGS).
Ex Hain Collection.



Undated (1659) Maryland
Lord Baltimore Shilling.
AU-55 (PCGS).



Undated (ca. 1652-1674)
St. Patrick Farthing. Martin 4d.1-Gg.1.
Rarity-6. No C in QVIESCAT.
Fine-15 (PCGS).



1724 Wood's Hibernia Pattern Halfpenny.
Martin 9.2-P.1. Rarity-7. Neptune/ Scepter &
Trident Reverse. Proof-40 (PCGS).
Ex Appleton, Ryder, Boyd & Ford Collections.



1773 Virginia "Penny."
Newman 1-A. Rarity-6.
Proof. Uncirculated Details (PCGS).
Ex Ford Collection.



1783 John Chalmers
Sixpence. Large Date.
EF Details (PCGS).
Ex Ford Collection.



1787 Massachusetts Cent.
Ryder 2-F. Rarity-6. Transposed Arrows.
VG Details (PCGS).



1787 New York Excelsior Copper.
New York Arms / Heraldic Eagle Reverse.
Eagle Facing Right, Arrows at Right.
VF-35 (PCGS).



1771 Machin's Mills Halfpenny.
Vlack 4-71C. Rarity-7. VG-8 (PCGS).



1787 Columbia and Washington Medal.
Copper. VF-30 (PCGS).



1759 Quebec Taken Medal. Betts-421. Gold. MS-61 (PCGS).
Ex LaRiviere and Ford Collections.



1781 (ca. 1789)
Daniel Morgan
at Cowpens Medal.
Betts-593. Bronze.
Original dies.
SP-62 BN (PCGS).
Ex Adams Collection.



1787 Fugio Cent. Club Rays. Newman 2-C.
Rarity-6-. Concave Ends, FUCIO,
UNITED STATES. EF Details (PCGS).



1787 Fugio Cent. Pointed Rays.
Newman 8-B. Rarity-2. UNITED STATES,
4 Cinquefoils. MS-64 RB (PCGS).

FOR MORE INFORMATION: John Pack (JPack@StacksBowers.com) or Vickie Yegparian (VYegparian@StacksBowers.com)

LEGENDARY COLLECTIONS | LEGENDARY RESULTS | A LEGENDARY AUCTION FIRM

1550 Scenic Ave., Ste. 150, Costa Mesa, CA 92626 • 949.253.0916 • Info@StacksBowers.com
470 Park Ave., New York, NY 10022 • 212.582.2580 • NYC@stacksbowers.com
84 State St. (at 22 Merchants Row), Boston, MA 02109 • 617.843.8343 • Boston@StacksBowers.com
1735 Market St. (18th & JFK), Philadelphia, PA 19103 • 267.609.1804 • Philly@StacksBowers.com
California • Boston • New York • Philadelphia • New Hampshire • Oklahoma • Virginia
Hong Kong • Paris • Vancouver

Stack's Bowers
GALLERIES

America's Oldest and Most Accomplished Rare Coin Auctioneer

SBG C4 SFM6_Aug2024 240401

AN ANA WORLD'S FAIR OF MONEY® AUCTIONEER PARTNER • AUGUST 2024

The C4 Newsletter

Volume 32, Number 1

A quarterly publication of **The Colonial Coin Collectors Club, Inc.**

Web address: www.colonialcoins.org

C4 National Officers:

President:	Christopher McDowell 5014 Leonard Street Cincinnati, OH 45208 President@ColonialCoins.org	Secretary:	Dr. Jay Knipe P. O. Box 4696 Wallingford, CT 06492 Secretary@ColonialCoins.org
Vice-President:	Jim Glickman 24 Coulton Park Needham, MA 02492 781-449-1645 VicePresident@ColonialCoins.org	Immediate Past-President:	Craig McDonald 10503 Briar Brook Lane Frisco, TX 75033 PastPresident@ColonialCoins.org
Treasurer:	Charlie Rohrer P.O. Box 25 Mountville, PA 17554 Treasurer@ColonialCoins.org		

C4 Regional Vice Presidents:

Region 1 (CT, NJ, Canadian Maritimes, Quebec) Matt Virga Region1VP@ColonialCoins.org	Region 6 (IN, IL, OH, Ontario, Manitoba) Bruce Smith Region6VP@ColonialCoins.org
Region 2 (MA, ME, NH, RI, VT) Tom Gesner P. O. Box 243 Dedham, MA 02027 Region2VP@ColonialCoins.org	Region 7 (IA, KS, MI, ND, NE, OK, SD, TX, WI) Wayne Shelby Region7VP@ColonialCoins.org
Region 3 (DE, MD, NY) Dr. David Menchell P.O. Box 656832 Fresh Meadows, NY 11365 Region3VP@ColonialCoins.org	Region 8 (AZ, CA, HI, ID, MO, MT, NM, NV, UT, WY, Mexico) Dr. Chris Salmon 6328 E. Cactus Wren Rd. Paradise Valley, AZ 85253-4249 Region8VP@ColonialCoins.org
Region 4 (DC, PA, TN, VA, WV) Stan Stephens 1469 Fenwick Street Star City, WV 26505 Region4VP@ColonialCoins.org	Region 9 (AK, CO, MN, OR, WA, British Columbia, United Kingdom) Bill Mitchell Region9VP@ColonialCoins.org
Region 5 (AL, AR, FL, GA, KY, LA, MS, NC, SC, Puerto Rico) Gregory Field P. O. Box 11961 Charlotte, NC 28220 704-293-4426 Region5VP@ColonialCoins.org	

C4 Newsletter Editor(s):

Editor: Will Nipper, Editor@ColonialCoins.org, 501-514-0785

Associate Editor: Mark Vitunic, AssistEditor@ColonialCoins.org

Articles and classified ads may be emailed to Will or Mark. Authors submitting articles for possible publication are, by such submission, attesting that the material is original and/or properly cited.

C4 Librarian:

Leo Shane; 1130 Woods Lane, Warminster, PA 18974; Librarian@ColonialCoins.org

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.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

President's Page (C. R. McDowell)	3
C4 Region 2 Meeting in New Hampshire (T. Gesner)	5
C4 Annual Financial Report (C. Rohrer)	6
1748-Dated Lead/Pewter Farthing Found (W. Shelby)	7
In Pursuit of Henry Phelps' Painted Die Variety Connecticut Coppers (R. Clark)	11
Interview with Vicken Yegparian, Stack's Bowers VP of Numismatics (J. Burke)	25
The Wyon Problem (G. Trudgen)	29
Georgivs Triunpho: A Modest Proposal (J. Bolger)	37
More on the Virginia July 11, 1771 Currency (R. Moore)	45
An Interesting "FODS" Undertype (M. Vitunic)	52
C4 Classic from 2013: An Eighteenth Century Purchase (L. Shane)	53
Announcements	57
Ads: Classified (65), Sponsored (24, 66-69, Covers), Reciprocal Club (44,51)	

PRESIDENT'S PAGE—APRIL 2024

(Christopher R. McDowell)

It seems like so much of our activity as a Club takes place in the fall and winter, with spring and summer being a little more relaxed. Yet, there are still plenty of coin auctions and shows to attend. I want to encourage everyone to take stock of what you have. Accumulating coins, medals, and tokens is fun and exciting. However, it is good to slow down and enjoy our collections every once in a while. Inevitably, whenever I go through my Connecticuts, I find something I either did not know I had or look at something differently now that my knowledge of the series has increased. Sometimes, I look at a coin and think I made a mistake. But more often than not, I realize that something that I thought was ordinary is extraordinary. A weekend alone with my collection is an all-too-infrequent blessing. I have many different Connecticut varieties, along with numerous duplicates. I spread them out on a table, ensuring they are what the envelope says, matching the coin with my database, and double-checking everything against Randy Clark's book. It can be rewarding to look into the history of some coins to determine their previous caretakers or examine them under magnification, particularly when there is an undertype. The best part is that it costs me nothing and provides a weekend of sheer enjoyment. What's the point of accumulating coins unless we can stop and enjoy them occasionally. I encourage everyone to take some time this summer to sit and enjoy your collection.

Concerning Club news, the Board had voted to organize a writing contest to send a student to the ANA Summer Seminar. I will publish the rules for the contest in the next *Newsletter*. However, we have decided that the young person must be eighteen or younger, attend at least one class on colonial numismatics, and write an essay for our *Newsletter* on the experience. To kickstart the process, we decided to send a young man to Colorado Springs this year and have him write about the experience. We must have selected wisely because he later received a full scholarship from ANA, which mooted our monetary contribution. Nonetheless, he has graciously agreed to attend a colonial class and write a short monograph detailing his experience. I hope that his diary of events and lessons learned will encourage others to apply for a scholarship to attend and provide helpful advice to next year's recipient. If you know a young person or if you would like to participate in next year's ANA Summer Seminar, please keep our contest in mind and watch for details in the next *Newsletter* and on our website. The applicant does not need to be a C4 member, but we shall give preference to members.

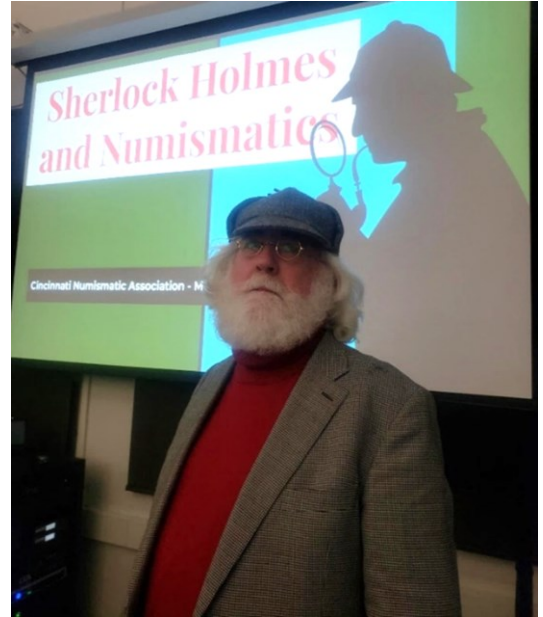
We have less than ten copies of Will Nipper's excellent 576-page book, *In Yankee Doodle's Pocket*. An advertisement can be found elsewhere in this *Newsletter*. The price is \$25, including shipping, and is FREE to Junior C4 members who pay \$5 for postage. This book provides an excellent colonial numismatic overview. I do not expect them to be around much longer.

Region 5 Vice-President Gregory Field informed me that he will not run for the Board again. Region 5 covers Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Puerto Rico. Although you do not have to live within the region to be elected or appointed to the position, it is preferable if you do. Mr. Field has been an outstanding Board member and advocate for his region and will be missed. If you are interested in being appointed or running for the position, please get in touch with me. As more people move south, this region represents an excellent opportunity to grow our club.

Speaking of active C4 Regional VPs, Region 6 VP Bruce Smith came down from Columbus to give a talk to the Cincinnati Numismatic Association. When I last captured his image in the Queen City, he was gabbing with Old Abe, who mistook him for General Lee. Mr. Smith is a man of many disguises. This time, he was dressed as Sherlock Holmes. All kidding aside, Bruce gave an informative talk on numismatic items hidden within the pages of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's classic detective series. I must say, I learned a thing or two from his presentation. When I told this to Bruce, he exclaimed it was all "Elementary!"

I hope to see everyone soon. Enjoy your summer!

Christopher R. McDowell
President C4
1 April 2024





THE COLONIAL COIN COLLECTORS CLUB (C4) ANNOUNCES THE

2024 C4 Metal Detecting Find of the Year Competition

For American Colonial numismatic items recovered in North America between August 1, 2023 and August 1, 2024.

Cash prizes and more!
Open to everyone – members and non-members

For complete details, visit colonialcoins.org/C4competition2024



C4 REGION 2 MEETING AT THE NEW HAMPSHIRE COIN EXPO

An open meeting of Region 2 was held on Friday, March 29, 2024, at the New Hampshire Coin and Currency Expo in Manchester, NH, chaired by Region 2 Vice-President Tom Gesner. Fourteen persons attended the meeting, all of whom are current Colonial Coin Collectors Club members:

Michael Callis	Ronny Flodquist	Tom Gesner	Jim Glickman
Bill Harkins	Jesse Jaycox	Joe Mulcahey	Julian Palmer
Don Slater	Kevin Vinton	Mark Vitunic	Charles Wallace
Dennis Wierzba	Dave Wnuck		

The meeting began with attendee introductions, where they're from and collecting interests. Several members extended congratulations to Michael Callis for the recent publication of his article on the Georgius Triumpho medal in the C4 newsletter. Announcements for two local events were given. The Thomas Rockwell Lecture will take place at 7:30 PM on April 23, 2024 at the New Light Korean Church in Waltham, MA, at which Joseph Casazza will present "Secrets of a Hidden Hoard". And in the Addison Gallery of American Art at Phillips Academy, Andover, MA, a numismatics exhibit featuring colonial coins is ongoing. The exhibition is open to the public through the remainder of the academic year.



A talk titled "*A Tale of a Massachusetts Treasury Certificate and An Ouroboros*" was given by Tom Gesner. The presentation related how a wintery January afternoon study session revealed timely messages from the ancient iconography and vignette on the certificate.



Several numismatic items were passed around. An attractive string of wampum, framed and pedigreed, garnered much attention and discussion. A 1741/42 Massachusetts two shilling note, ex-Ford/Boyd (possibly unique), also drew much member attention, followed by a beautiful Noe-22 Pine Tree shilling. How fortunate to have such wonderful eye candy to cap off the meeting!

A special thanks to StacksBowers, represented by Boston store manager Stanley Chu, who once again sponsored this event, generously providing a boxed lunch for attendees beforehand, setting everyone in a good mood for the meeting.
[TG]



[Editor: Below our annual financial report courtesy of C4 Treasurer Charlie Rohrer]

<u>C4 2023 Revenue/Expenses</u>		
REVENUE		
	Dues	\$11,311.94
	CD Interest	2,581.41
	Savings Interest	1.07
	C4-Published Books Sales	184.58
	C4 Newsletter Ads	4,700.00
	C4 Website Ads	400.00
	Stack's-Bowers C4 Convention Contribution	15,625.00
	Stack's-Bowers Convention Friday Happening Contribution	1,261.18
	C4 Convention Thursday Dinner	1,425.00
	Convention C4 Dealer Tables	3,300.00
	C4 Library Book Sales/Convention Auction	1,693.50
	C4 Convention Auction of Donated Prints and Books	1,090.00
	"In Yankee Doodle's Pocket" Book Sales	730.00
	C4 Newsletter Back Issue Sales	138.00
	C4 Medals Sales	1,166.00
	Donation for Newsletter Postage	29.43
	<u>TOTAL REVENUE</u>	<u>\$45,637.11</u>
EXPENSES		
	C4 Newsletter Printing & Postage	\$18,848.45
	Dropbox Subscription for Newsletter	239.76
	Award Plaques	111.79
	Award Medals & Engraving	594.57
	Metal Detecting Awards	300.00
	C4 Convention - Sheraton	5,329.96
	C4 Convention - Whitman	6,946.00
	C4 Convention - Numismatic Marketing, LLC	2,456.28
	C4 Convention - Program	186.01
	C4 Convention - Thank You Gifts: Whitman/Stack's-Bowers	300.00
	Tax Preparation	675.00
	C4 Website Hosting & Maintenance	7,231.35
	Library Book Postage	174.40
	"In Yankee Doodle's Pocket" Book Sales Postage	388.17
	Miscellaneous C4 Newsletter Postage (back issues, etc.)	366.01
	C4 Medals Sales Postage	28.09
	Miscellaneous Postage	113.85
	Zoom Subscription	159.80
	10 Red Books for Youth, incl. postage	166.36
	Annual NJ State Registration	33.00
	C4 PO Box Rent	100.00
	<u>TOTAL EXPENSES</u>	<u>\$44,748.85</u>
ASSETS		
	Checking Account	\$32,780.60
	Savings Account	\$2,184.28
	CD's	\$87,612.98
	<u>TOTAL ASSETS</u>	<u>\$122,577.86</u>
MEMBERS		
	TOTAL	407
	LIFE (included above)	56

A 1748-DATED LEAD/PEWTER CAST COUNTERFEIT GEORGE II FARTHING RECOVERED BY METAL DETECTOR IN SO. NJ

(Wayne H. Shelby)

John Blanda, a local metal detectorist friend of mine, recently recovered a 1748-dated lead/pewter cast counterfeit George II farthing (see Figure 1) in a Springfield (Burlington County), New Jersey farm field. This piece is an unusual and exciting discovery since it is identical to many of the lead/pewter cast counterfeits recovered in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A recommended in-depth read on this topic can be found in a recent issue of *The Journal of Early American Numismatics (JEAN)*.¹

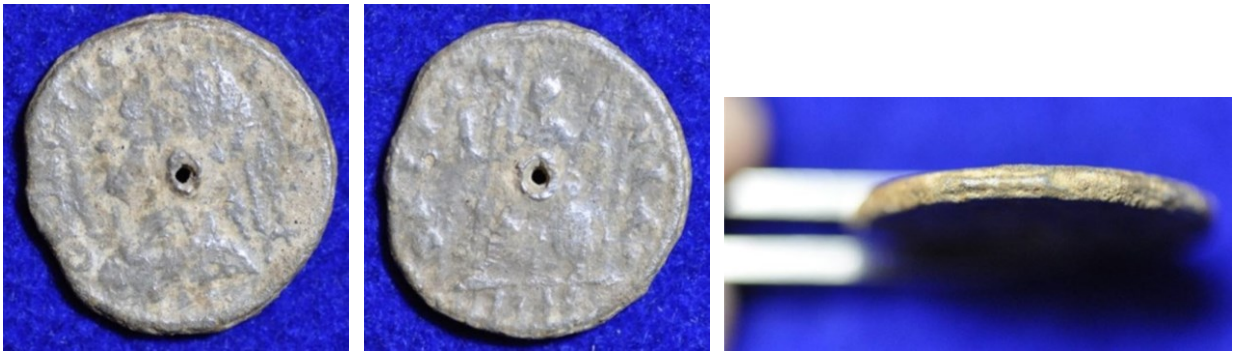


Figure 1. Left-to-right: obverse, reverse, and edge of Blanda's find

The specifics of Blanda's find are as follows:

Weight in grains: 91.3

Diameter in millimeters: N/S 23.60, E/W 22.96

The cast counterfeit farthing is holed at center, the seam where the 2 halves were joined is prominent, and the rough casting edges filed. The farthing is close to coin turn at approximately 10% off alignment. The striations or ribbing on the surface of the cast counterfeit follows suit with the majority of the recoveries from the Philadelphia I-95 site. The cause of the striations or ribbing is not known. Eric Newman theorized that "...the molds might have been flattened with a piece of grainy wood before an impression of the model was made. However, this trait strongly suggests they were all made by the same counterfeiting operation".²

X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) was performed on Blanda's find, both on the obverse and on the reverse, with the following results from Figure 2:

<u>XRF Obverse:</u>		<u>XRF Reverse:</u>	
Iron:	3.66%	Iron:	3.02%
Tin:	54.41%	Tin:	59.09%
Copper:	0.571%	Copper:	1.22%
Lead:	41.35%	Lead:	36.61%

¹ R. Moore, D. Knight, P. Douvres, W. Shelby, D. Hartman, and C. Bruns, *Evaluation of Lead/Pewter Cast Counterfeit Coins Found in Philadelphia During the Construction of Route I-95*, JEAN 3:2 (2020), pp. 139-161, The American Numismatic Society.

² Eric P. Newman and Peter P. Gaspar, "The Philadelphia Highway Coin Find", *The Numismatist*, Vol. 91 (March 1978) p.463.



Figure 2. XRF readings

The slight differences between the readings of the obverse and reverse may be due to the embedded dirt still attached to the cast counterfeit farthing. Blanda recovered the lead/pewter cast counterfeit farthing in a farm field that encompasses three colonial/early American era sites. All the sites at this location have been heavily metal detected by numerous individuals over the years including myself. The findings were never documented due to the reasons stated above.

It is difficult to place Blanda's find into context since it was recovered in such a heavily settled community. It appears an approximate date range for activity at this three-site community would fit nicely between the early 1700's to early 1880's.

Some of the recoveries at this location include the following:

- 1717 English George I halfpenny
- 1723 English George I halfpenny
- 1755 Portuguese Brazil 5 reis
- Half a dozen or so George II halfpennies
- 2 New Jersey coppers (varieties unknown)
- Half a dozen or so US large cents (dates & varieties unknown)
- 1811 over 1809 Capped Bust dime
- George Washington Inaugural Button (Linked States)
- 2 Gold guilt back marked E Pluribus Unum buttons
- 2 Andrew Jackson back marked buttons (types unknown)
- Numerous types of flat buttons dating approximately 1720 to 1840
- Some post-1840 hollow 2-piece buttons
- Some Indian Head cents dating between 1859 and the early 1880's

Figures 3 and 4 show examples of George II Young Head and Old Head, respectively, as pictured in the 2020 JEAN article.



Figure 3. Examples of Lead/Pewter Cast Counterfeit George II Young Head Halfpennies Recovered at the Philadelphia I-95 site. Casts #1 & #2 reside at the Philadelphia Independence Seaport Museum, Cast #3 resides in a private collection. All examples above exhibit ribbing.



Figure 5. Examples of Lead/Pewter Cast Counterfeit George II Old Head Halfpennies Recovered at the Philadelphia I-95 site. Casts #4 & #5 reside at the Philadelphia Independence Seaport Museum and Cast #6 resides in a private collection. Most examples exhibit ribbing. Cast #5 is holed at center as is John Blanda's find.

The 6 cast Philadelphia I-95 finds reveal a wide range in their metal make up as well as their overall weight in grains³:

Lead: High 97.4%, Low 7.18%
Tin: High 90.23%, Low 0.395%
Iron: High 11.415%, Low 0%
Copper: High 16.655%, Low 0%
Weight in Grains: 82.0 to 205.9

In addition to Blanda's find, the author has personally recovered two lead/pewter cast counterfeit George II halfpennies by metal detecting in New Jersey, one at Site #70 in Plumstead Township (Ocean County), NJ and a second at Site #77 in Vincentown (Burlington County), NJ⁴. The two pieces do not exhibit the ribbing as the Philadelphia I-95 recoveries do, however, they certainly add to the possibility that these coins were accepted and passed as currency in commerce.

Conclusion to John Blanda's Lead/Pewter Farthing find:

X-ray Fluorescence brought to light the extreme variances in the percentage of metal make-up for all the cast counterfeits recovered at the Philadelphia I-95 site. Blanda's Burlington County, NJ find appears to follow suit as well. However, the data indicates the counterfeiter(s) smelted whatever metal stock was available at the time.

Another interesting point to consider is the weight of Blanda's *farthing* at 91.3 grains being higher than cast #5, a George II old head *halfpenny* weighing 82.0 grains. Furthermore, there is a very lightweight George II young head halfpenny at 94.6 grains, a mere 3.3 grains heavier than Blanda's farthing.

At this point in time, Blanda's find may possibly be the only known lead/pewter counterfeit farthing recovered in the general Philadelphia area and it reveals no denomination was too small for a counterfeiter's agenda. Then again, we must recognize that regal tin farthings were minted in Great Britain between 1684 and 1692 and circulated in colonial America.

It appears Blanda's find was most likely made in Philadelphia by the same counterfeiter(s) as the I-95 recoveries. In addition, Blanda's New Jersey recovery along with the two New Jersey pieces found by the author give further credence to lead/pewter cast counterfeits being accepted and passed as currency during colonial and early American times.

****A big thank you to John Blanda for bringing this find to my attention and study, and to Ken Lembo and Steve Dolnack who assisted in recollection of their personal coin and artifact recoveries.****



³ Moore, et. al., op. cit., pp. 145-151.

⁴ Wayne H. Shelby, "Survey of Colonial Coins Recovered in Southern New Jersey (Part III)" The Colonial Coin Collectors Club website article p. 32 and p. 35 and accessed via <https://colonialcoins.org/colonial-metal-detecting-articles/>

IN PURSUIT OF THE HENRY PHELPS PAINTED DIE VARIETY CONNECTICUT COPPERS

(Randy Clark)

Summary

This article started with the intent to locate the Connecticut coppers inked by Henry Phelps - a topic that researcher Robert Martin spent many years trying to resolve. Unlike the more famous inked 19th century collections of Dr. Thomas Hall, Frederick Canfield, and William Wallace Hays, the Phelps collection was broken up before it could be identified by modern collectors. In 2024, five years after Robert's passing, it seemed like an answer was finally at hand. But as fate would have it, the process of investigating the topic led to unexpected findings and more work will be needed to see if a conclusion can be reached. That could take quite some time and this article will document the findings to-date.

On March 30, 1908, the Henry Phelps collection of Connecticut coppers was sold by Lyman Low in eleven lots, many consisting of over 20 pieces each. The cataloger noted, "The specimens are numbered according to Crosby, in *Early Coins of America*, with small figures, in white paint, a custom that is both common and necessary among those who make a specialty of the series; a few are labeled with a ticket pasted on." Sale lots 38-47, comprising 161 Connecticut coppers, appear to be the lots numbered with white paint. Lot 48 contained 22 pieces of "various unnumbered" Connecticut coppers.

Henry Phelps (1821-1907) was a contemporary of early Connecticut coppers researchers and collectors Sylvester Crosby (1831-1914), Dr. Thomas Hall (1841-1909), William Wallace Hays (1821-1899), Frederick Canfield (1849-1926), Hillyer Ryder (1850-1928), and Henry Miller (1844-1920), each of whom also collected other colonial, state, and federal coppers. Phelps was a government lawyer who mostly lived in Worcester, MA, but had worked in the Washington DC Agricultural Bureau for many years. He is *not* known to have collected or researched Connecticut coppers in any depth (being better known for his 1794-dated large cents and a historic almanac collection). The time commitment Phelps made to acquire, attribute, and "number in white paint" his Connecticut coppers implies he occasionally focused on the series, and he was known to have exchanged coins and information with his peers.

Such white paint identification on Connecticut coppers is commonly referred to as a "Painted Die Variety" (PDV), ink known to have been applied in a fine hand on the collections of Dr. Thomas Hall, William Wallace Hays, and Frederick Canfield. Specialist Robert Martin was able to research and assign specific styles of PDVs to Hall, Hays, and Canfield, but was never able to determine what PDVs from the Henry Phelps collection looked like – a glaring loose end in the Connecticut coppers knowledge base. These early collectors had the choice of identifying their coins using Connecticut variety designations as assigned by Crosby (1875), Hall (c.1892), or Miller (1920), depending on the timing and interest level in their collecting.

It is not common for collectors to place ink on their coins. The practice is rarely seen with ancients, foreigners, or US federal coins. In fact, many grading services refer to such ink as "museum marks," assuming the paint is an accession number for accounting purposes (rather than a variety designation). Connecticut coppers seem to have been singled out for particular attention by 19th century collectors who chose to ink their coins with small numbers and letters to identify its variety. This is in part because of the large size and commonality of the series, its complex textual descriptions and a lack of photo plates for guidance. But perhaps

also because of the tight knit collecting community of the era, sharing information, discovering new finds, and exchanging coins as they grew their collections.

It should be noted Henry Phelps, William Wallace Hays, and Dr. Thomas Hall were wrapped up in a similar PDV situation with 1794-dated large cents, which were inked on edge. The EAC organization has been proposing interpretations for quite some time, such as seen in *Pennywise* March 1977 in an article by John W. Adams entitled “A Numismatic Whodunit.” However, I do not believe the topic has been resolved to everyone’s satisfaction among the large cent community.

Collecting Connecticut coppers had been formalized by publication of Sylvester Crosby’s 1875 *Early Coins of America*, but his book only roughed out basic groupings of each colonial series. Crosby appears to have walked away from colonial coppers as of the June 1883 sale of his collection by John Haseltine. Boston-based Dr. Thomas Hall and contemporaries William Wallace Hays, Henry Phelps, and Frederick Canfield, among others, were independently buying Connecticut coppers at that time.

We start to see several collectors in the 1880-1890s putting inked Crosby attributions in the left field of their coins, in some cases supplementing them with ad-hoc index numbers in an attempt to differentiate between appearances within a Crosby group. That is the purpose of this article – it was not well known, over the last 140 years that anyone took this approach. Crosby attributions are so brief, and there is enough similarity in ink styles, that it is difficult to differentiate between the hands inking them.

In the mid- to late-1880s, Dr. Hall singularly took on the task of laying out and documenting a detailed taxonomy for each and every die variety of Connecticut coppers, adding the nuances that Crosby considered beyond the scope of his 1875 book. Hall went through several taxonomy revisions and it was not until 1889 that he laid out, via a lengthy handwritten manuscript, a complete system that could be shared with his peers. He is known to have shared parts of his personal manuscript with Hays, Phelps, and Canfield starting in 1890-1891, where we start to see information and coins being exchanged. But it was not until Hall formally published the 1787-dated material in his 1892 *Descriptive List of the Coppers ... for the State of Connecticut*, that we see significant collaboration among his peers. In the period from c. 1895-1920 we see Hall attribution numbers being applied on coins, not only in Dr. Hall’s “ink on edge” collection, but also in the left field of coins in the collections of William Wallace Hays and Frederick Canfield.

The ink styles between collectors painting more complex Hall attributions, with its sub-variety alphanumeric, vary enough that we can usually tell which collector inked a coin. Perhaps deliberately so, assuming each shared their approach to styling the ink on their coins. Much of that work has already been published.

The differences between Crosby, Hall and Miller variety assignments can be summarized as follows:

- Crosby grouped Connecticuts by common legend and broad characteristics but did not differentiate between coins within a group, meaning there are no “sub-varieties” in Crosby’s taxonomy. For example, there is only one large group of 1787 type 33 obverses and Z reverses. The many variations within those groups are not singularly identified. Crosby used only capital letters for reverse varieties, some being confusingly reused - there is a 1787 9 E, a 1787 37 E and a 1787 39 E (the latter in italics), each of which represents a different reverse. Crosby did not ink his coppers, as evidenced by the lack of any such descriptions in the Haseltine sale of Sylvester Crosby’s collection in June 1883 – and it was generally believed no other collector inked Crosby varieties on their Connecticut coppers.

- Hall's taxonomy added sub-varieties to Crosby's groupings. Dashes are used to designate the individual types, such as 33-13 or Z-9. Hall moved away from Crosby's reuse of reverse capital letters and added a superscript instead. For instance, Crosby's 39-*F* became 39-1-F²-2. Both Thomas Hall and William W. Hays inked their Connecticut coppers collections with this type of attribution.
- Miller's taxonomy changed some of Hall's sub-variety assignments and migrated away from dashes to the use of superscripts, such as 33¹³ and Z⁹, mixing upper and lower case letters for reverses. Hall's 39-1-F²-2 became 39¹-ff². While Henry C. Miller did not ink his coppers (as evidenced by his 1919 text and Elder's May 1920 Miller Sale plates), Frederick Canfield was the only one of his peers that lived to see publication of Miller's book, and is known to have inked Miller varieties (in addition to Crosby & Hall) on his Connecticut coppers. Modern versions of Miller's taxonomy (1970s to date) eliminated superscripts, difficult for typewriters and computers, and migrated to periods as stops in the variety name, such as 39.1-ff.2.

Before we further discuss Henry Phelps and what the look and feel of his inked coins might be, let's review what is known about the other sponsors of inked Connecticut coppers.

Thomas Hall PDV Review

Robert Martin determined that Dr. Thomas Hall (1841-1909) inked his front-line Connecticut coppers with his own "Hall" variety assignments on the edge of the coins, in white India ink (c. 1900). This is referred to as "Ink on Edge" or IOE. This is confirmed by the fact that Hall's front-line collection was sold intact to Virgil Brand (c. 1909), and later passed to dealer B.G. Johnson of St. Louis Stamp Coin for sale through various venues (Fixed Price Lists, New Netherlands, private sales, etc.) from 1935-1968. The coins and provenances are traceable. Examples can often be found in many prestigious collections.



Figure 1. Examples of Dr. Thomas Hall "Inked on Edge" Coins.
Research and images courtesy of Robert Martin and Neil Rothschild.

William W. Hays PDV Review

William Wallace Hays (1821-1899) also numbered his coins with Hall's variety assignments, but on the face of the coin with a line separating the obverse and reverse assignment (a fractional style). Hillyer Ryder acquired the W.W. Hays Connecticut coppers collection intact from the Charles Steigerwalt Fixed Price List of October 1903. Hays had included a round cardboard ticket with each coin denoting the variety and any provenance, some of which were trades with Dr. Hall. When Ryder acquired the Hays collection, he wrote a "circle H" on each round ticket to document it was from the Hays holdings.

Ryder's collection was generally acquired by Frederick C. Boyd (through Wayte Raymond in 1945) and later by John Ford (in 1959). Ford brought the coins to market in a number of "Ford trust" sales in the 1990s, culminating with the famous February 2005 Stack's "Ford IX" sale. Many Hays-inked coins still have the associated Ryder "circle H" ticket. The coins and provenances are traceable.



Figure 2. Examples of W.W. Hays "Inked on Obverse" Coins.
Research and images courtesy of Robert Martin and Neil Rothschild.

Frederick Canfield PDV Review

Martin had identified Frederick Canfield's (1849-1926) ink numbering as on the front side of the coin, as well, but without a line separating the obverse and reverse assignment. Canfield was the only one of his contemporaries to have seen the 1920 publication of Henry C. Miller's work on Connecticut coppers and is known to have inked a mix of Hall and Miller variety assignments. In most cases, if there is a single variety inked on a Canfield coin, it is the Miller type, often accompanied by an "M" in the right field. If there are two varieties numbered on a single coin, usually the left field contains the older Hall variety designation and the right field contains the newer Miller designation. While Canfield PDVs can be found in various private holdings and public sales (duplicates from the collection), the majority of the front-line Canfield collection was donated in 1926 to the New Jersey Historical Society and, as of 1935, now resides in the American Numismatic Society (ANS). The coins and provenances are traceable.



Figure 3. Examples of Frederick Canfield "Inked on Obverse" Coins.
Research courtesy of Robert Martin and Neil Rothschild. Images courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

Phelps PDV Discussion

In March 1908, we know there were 11 lots of inked Connecticut coppers, for a total of 161 coins, said to have been "*numbered* according to Crosby, in *Early Coins of America*, with small figures in white paint," attributed to Henry Phelps. There was also an offering of New Jersey coppers, 8 lots for a total of 54 coins, also said to have been "*numbered with small figures and letters in white paint, according to Dr. Maris's work.*" Neither Phelps' Connecticut coppers nor New Jersey coppers have yet been positively identified. A sizable

offering of Vermont coppers in the Phelps sale, 25 lots for 33 coins, do not appear to have been inked; several of which were purchased by Hillyer Ryder and later became part of the F.C.C. Boyd and John Ford collections.

Lyman Low had limited experience cataloging Connecticut coppers, with the only other significant offerings being the earlier “New England Consignment” in October 1903 and the later “Duplicates from the Collection of the Late Mr. Hall of Boston” in February 1911 (all cataloged by Crosby varieties, which is particularly ironic for Hall duplicates). This means Lyman Low did not know about the advanced Connecticut coppers taxonomy prepared by Dr. Thomas Hall in the years prior to 1892, and may not have known what supplemental numerics (or sub-varieties) looked like.

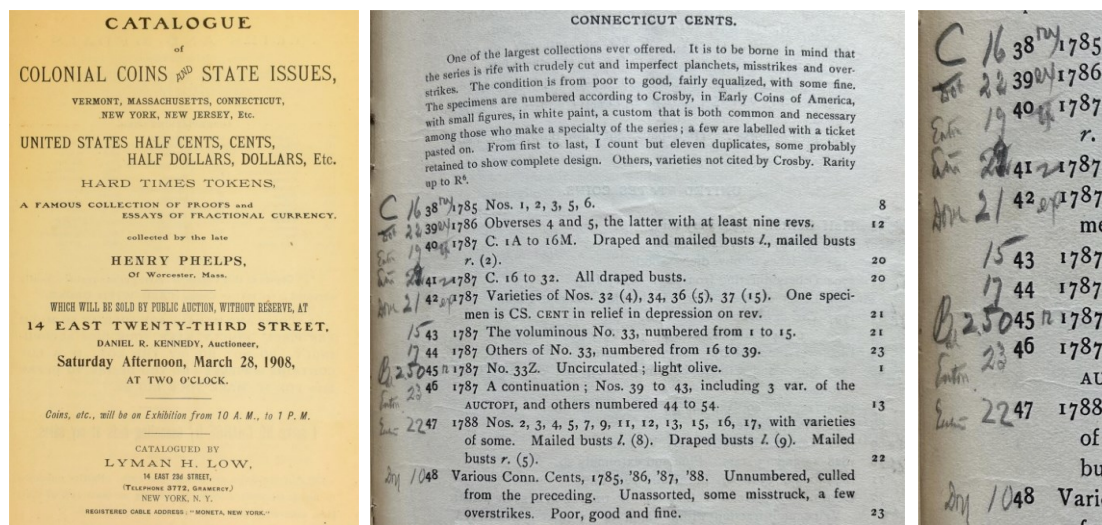


Figure 4. The Henry Phelps Sale, Lyman Low, March 1908.
(Named detail courtesy of the American Numismatic Society)

The American Numismatic Society (ANS) has a “named” copy of the March 1908 Lyman Low “Phelps” sale but the initials and abbreviated names are not entirely understandable. The “C” could possibly stand for Chapman. What appears to be “Eaton” is likely Commodore W.C. Eaton (1851-1936), whose own sale in May 1929 included a large number of Connecticut coppers, with no references to any being inked. The “B” or “Bd” (?) might possibly be either Virgil Brand (1862-1926) or a young F.C.C. Boyd (1886-1958). The “D” or (?) is unlikely an ailing Dr. Thomas Hall (he passed in May 1909). Having a “named” copy of the sale actually does not help identify to whom the Phelps coins were sold (since we were looking for possible future appearances of Phelps’s inked Connecticut coppers).

The cataloger, Lyman Low, stated “The specimens are numbered according to Crosby, in Early Coins of America.” We need to determine how literally to interpret that description because Thomas Hall had been circulating his new taxonomy among his peers since the 1890s, particularly with Phelps’ friend and collaborator, William Wallace Hays. Since Miller did not publish his taxonomy until 1920, that style of PDV is not in the discussion. It’s either Crosby or Hall.

None of the other “PDVers” had been identified as using Crosby taxonomy assignments. Recall Crosby had only defined one large group of 1787-dated 33 Z varieties, despite knowing there were 40 obverses of type “33” and 23 reverses of type “Z”. Since that is one of the most numerous groups of Connecticut coppers, it would be the first place to start looking for inked Crosby varieties.

For the Connecticut coppers, Lyman Low further commented, “the specimens are numbered according to Crosby.” This is different language than used for the New Jersey coppers, where Low says, “numbered with small *figures and letters*.” Using numbers only would be an incomplete way of defining Connecticut coppers, even with the Crosby taxonomy. Crosby assigned a number to each obverse type, but used letters to denote reverse type. Hence, a complete Connecticut copper designation would require both a number and letter. It is possible a collector such as Phelps might have chosen to only designate the obverse numeric variety type, perhaps due to expediency or difficulty. But let’s assume that Lyman Low was not literally correct here, and look for Crosby PDV assignments with both a number and letter.

Lot	Description	Coins	Varieties (Modern)
38	1785. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6	8	Definitely 1-E, 5-F.5 <i>Likely</i> 2-A.1 (unknown 3.x and 6.x)
39	1786 Obverses 4 and 5 (with 9 rev)	12	<i>Likely</i> 4.1-G, 5.3-N, 5.4-G, 5.4-O.1 (Rarity 2’s) (other unknown 4.x and 5.x)
40	1787 C(rosby). 1A to 16M	20	Here Lyman Low explicitly adds a rev letter. Why? If Low is correct, then Definitely 1.1-A, 16.1-m <i>Likely</i> 4-L, 6.1-M, 11.2-K (Rarity 1’s, 2’s) (other unknown 1.x thru 16.x)
41	1787 C(rosby). 16 to 32	20	<i>Likely</i> 19-g.4, 30-hh.1, 31.1-r.4, 32.2-X.1, 32.3-X.4 (R2’s) (unknown other 16.x thru 32.x)
42	1787 Nos. 32 (4), 34, 36 (5), 37 (15) One is CS CENT in relief on rev.	21	Definitely Canfield’s CS CENT 37.8-k.2 The 32 (4) overlaps with lot #41 (unknown 32.x) <i>Likely</i> 34-ff.1, 36-l.1, 37.3-i, 37.4-k.1 (least rare) (unknown other 34.x thru 37.x)
43	1787 No. 33 numbered from 1 to 15	21	Low’s “numbered” likely means an index number in ink. Is the number ad-hoc or Hall’s (unknown 33.x)
44	1787 No. 33, numbered 16 to 39	23	Low’s “numbered” likely means an index number in ink. Is the number ad-hoc or Hall’s (unknown 33.x)
45	1787 No. 33Z. Uncirculated	1	Here Lyman Low explicitly adds a rev letter, again. Why? There are many unc coins of 33-Z. (Unknown 33.x)
46	1787 Nos. 39 to 43, including 3 var. of AUCTOPI, others numbered 44 to 54.	13	Note: Crosby only went up to obv number 43. Are the numbers 44 to 54 examples of Hall variety, or ad-hoc? Definitely 41-ii, 43.1-Y (unknown 39.x, 40.x, 42.x) (unknown 44.x thru 54, Hall’s numbers?)
47	1788 Nos. 2,3,4,5,7,9,11,13, 15, 16, 17	22	Definitely 2-D, 5-B.2, 9-E, 11-G, 13-A.1 <i>Likely</i> 4.1-K, 7-E, 16.1-D, 16.3-N, 17-Q (lowest rarities) (others unknown 3.x, 4.x, 7.x, 15.x, 16.x)
48	Various 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788 unnumbered, unassorted	23	unknown

Table 1: Interpretation of the Lyman Low March 1908 Phelps Sale of Connecticut Coppers.

Table 1 shows there are very few varieties known for certain in the Phelps sale. Using Crosby variety numbers, these would be 1785-dated 1 E and 5 F, 1787-dated 1 A, 16 M, 37 K, 41 I, and 43 Y, and 1788-dated 2 D, 5 B, 9 E, 11 G, and 13 A. The rest are all “likely” unknown. The 1787 37 K is the counter-stamped CENT coin now in the ANS Canfield collection, and it’s original ink was removed and replaced by Canfield with a post-1920 Miller variety.

A search was conducted looking for examples of Henry Phelps’ handwriting to assist in understanding how he might have styled numbers (and letters) inked on his coins. Julia Casey located an August 1890 envelope from Henry Phelps which has a small sample of his script and the number 3 (good for comparing to obverse 33 inks). Handwriting on the envelope compares reasonably well with annotations said to be in Phelps’

hand, found in a copy of Dr. Hall's 1892 book on Connecticut coppers. While I have been unable to verify if this book is truly associated with Henry Phelps, it does appear plausible.



Figure 5. Henry Phelps envelope August 1890.

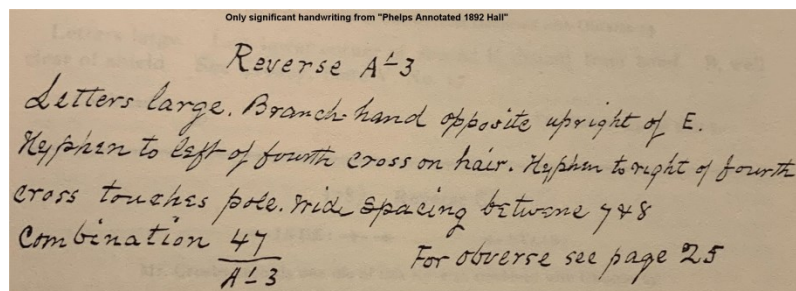


Figure 6. Book annotation attributed to Henry Phelps.

With the assumption we are looking for both numbers and letters, several coins were identified that appear to have Crosby-variety PDV inks (no sub-varieties). While these examples do not appear to use a common handwriting/script, let's see what we can infer.



Figure 7. Connecticut Coppers with Painted Crosby Varieties.

(1787 Crosby 17 G, 1787 Crosby 31 R, 1787 Crosby 31 G, 1787 Crosby 41 I)
 (1787 Hall 17 G¹-3, 1787 Hall 31-2 R¹-3, 1787 Miller 31-1 G²-1, 1787 Miller 41 I²)
 (1787 Miller 17-g³, 1787 Miller 31²-r³, 1787 Miller 31¹-gg¹, 1787 Miller 41-ii)

Perhaps most interesting are the two rightmost coins. In modern lingo, they are a 1787 M31.1-gg.1 and a 1787 M41-ii variety, both considered reverse legend error types. Crosby assigned italic letters to those reverses, in this case to make varieties 31 *G* and 41 *I* (reverse *G* is an ETLIR and reverse *I* is an ETIIB). Both rightmost coins have an underline inked below the reverse letter G or I, apparently to ensure it was known to be an italic reverse (i.e. G and I). That confirms they are Crosby designations, as the newer Hall and Miller taxonomies abandoned the use of italics.

This led to a search for other PDVs, looking for Crosby 1787 reverse error legends (i.e. italic) *A-K*, *R-S* that might also be underlined. More were found, but in an unexpected location – the ANS's *Frederick Canfield Collection*! There we find more examples of G, but also find an example of R, (1787 M15-R) which was an italic in Crosby.

A New Line of Thinking

What if Phelps's PDV coins started out as Crosby varieties, as described in the Lyman Low sale of March 1908, but were modified at a later date or by another hand, to reflect more modern Hall or Miller taxonomies? Such as by Canfield. What if the Phelps PDVs were hiding in plain sight the whole time, underneath the plethora of Canfield PDVs?

However, a more disruptive alternative interpretation also needs to be explored. **What if Canfield inked his own coins with a Crosby variety first, then modified them to add Hall and Miller?** What if those coins have nothing to do with Henry Phelps? Are we back to square on looking for Phelps PDVs?

Each of the coins shown below were once owned by Frederick Canfield and are either now in the ANS as a front-line coin, or in the public domain as a divested duplicate. Only Frederick Canfield, among his peers, lived long enough to see the publication of Henry Miller's 1920 book *The State Coinage of Connecticut*, and was able to ink his coins with Miller's updated taxonomy/variety assignments.



Figure 8. Connecticut Coppers with Painted Crosby Varieties - Modified to Hall Varieties.
(1787 Crosby 33 G, 1787 Crosby 33 G, 1787 Crosby 33 G, 1787 Crosby 33 G)
(1787 Hall 33-15 G²-1, 1787 Hall 33-38 G²-1, 1787 Hall 33-13 G²-2, 1787 Hall 33-13 G²-2)
(1787 Miller 33¹¹-gg¹, 1787 Miller 33²⁹-gg¹, 1787 Miller 33¹⁷-gg², 1787 Miller 33¹⁷-gg²)



Figure 9. "Dual Ink" Canfield PDVs – Triple PDVs (Crosby, Hall, Miller Varieties).

The interpretation is that each of the coins above were initially inked with a simple Crosby attribution, Crosby 33 G (italic G), reflecting the ETLIR error legend type. Since adding an italic in ink could be confused with a standard character, the inker appears to have underlined the letter instead, to denote its significance. A good idea. As a Crosby-only variety there would be no additional characters in the left field (other than 33 over G) and no characters in the right field. The "floating 4" is believed an ad-hoc index number applied before the Hall and Miller varieties were established.

It is premature to claim this was done by Henry Phelps. In Figure 8, several of the coins have a number "3" that looks the same for the older left-field attribution as it does for the newer right-field Miller attribution

(and we know only Canfield lived to 1926, long enough to see the 1920 Miller text). In fact, there is a concern that the different inks and time points of Canfield's characters may vary enough that we might not be able to differentiate between Phelps' and Canfield's hands. In Figure 10, it is assumed Canfield inked the Miller variety in the right field, but who inked the original Crosby designation in the left field? The left image Crosby designation is 33 Z, the right image Crosby designation is 33 R.



Figure 10. Canfield Comparison (Right Field is Canfield Ink, Left Field is Unknown Composite)
(3s in Left Field Not Similar to Right), (3s in Left Field More Similar to Right)

Most importantly is, perhaps there has been no way to directly associate coins from the 1908 Phelps sale with Frederick Canfield. None of the buyers shown in the “named” copy of the Phelps catalog appear to be Canfield or anyone that Canfield might use as an agent. Of course, it is always possible Canfield bought Phelps coins on the “rebound” (i.e. afterwards through private treaty) – particularly if the new owner did not appreciate an inked coin's appearance. Canfield would likely not have cared about prior ink on any coins, knowing he could supplement it at a future date, anyway.

Let's explore the premise that either Phelps or someone else initially inked Connecticut coppers with a Crosby attribution in the coin's left field and, at a future date, modified/updated the Crosby designation with ink to reflect newer Dr. Thomas Hall sub-variety designations (as being used by Hall and W.W. Hays). That process would require changing a simple italic *G* into G^2-1 (Hall's way of differentiating the error legend reverses from the other uses of *G* in the Crosby tables) and the addition of obverse and reverse numeric sub-varieties. One can see the color, style, and crudity of inked characters changes over time. The rightmost image is of the actual coin; the simulation “removes” ink as it moves left.



Figure 11. SIMULATION: Morphing from Crosby, to Hall, to Miller Painted Die Designations.
(1787 Crosby 33 *G*, 1787 Crosby 33 *G* Index 1, 1787 Hall 33-38 G^2-1 , 1787 Miller 33²⁹-gg¹)

Note the floating “1” in Figure 11. The two Phelps sale group lots containing 1787 obverse 33 varieties were said to have been “numbered from 1 to 15” and “numbered from 16 to 39.” Since Crosby had not assigned sub-varieties for obverse 33, this is interpreted as being an ad-hoc assigned index number by the collector, to identify different obverses. It is unlikely to be a rarity rating, since such numbers are found with higher values than a rarity system would use. Similarly, it is unlikely to denote the number of known specimens, as that would be a moving number and inappropriate to ink on a coin. When the “1” or other index numbers were added is unclear – in some cases it was clearly added when the 33 was inked, in other cases it appears to have been added afterwards, but probably before the Hall designation was completed. It is possible there were a groups of obverse 33s being laid out and indexed to keep them separated, without the benefit of Hall or Miller’s future sub-variety work.

Was it Canfield All Along?

Once the general premise of Frederick Canfield potentially owning (& modifying) Phelps’ Crosby PDVs is proposed, it is then necessary to look at the rest of Canfield’s collection (in the ANS and public domain) looking for other, perhaps less obvious Crosby-Hall-Miller ink transitions. Many other examples are found in the ANS Canfield collection; a couple from each date are shown below. Each has different colors/styles as the inked attribution evolves. In fact, there are so many other examples that it becomes increasingly apparent that Canfield must have inked Crosby attributions on his own coins, and the premise that he could have inherited Phelps’s PDVs gets increasingly difficult to substantiate.



Figure 12. Examples where main variety ink looks different than sub-variety ink. Crosby designation first (6 G, 5 H, 33 Z, 12 F), later supplemented to Hall or Miller variety.

What About Numbered-Only Examples?

Let’s explore the Lyman Low statement, “the specimens are numbered according to Crosby.” Are there coins out there that appear as if only an obverse designation, a number, appeared first? And, if a reverse letter does appear, it was clearly added later. In the examples shown below, the first coin never did have a reverse designation (a clear example). On the next three coins, the Crosby obverse numeric 33 and 25 designation appear in different inks than any other numbers or letters. More work is underway to try to more clearly identify Phelps’ numeric/letter styles versus Canfield’s styles. It is known the New Jersey coppers experts, working with the same March 1908 Phelps sale, are also trying to identify the New Jersey coppers “numbered with *small figures and letters* in white paint,” and it is hoped their investigations there might be helpful to identify Phelps’ script.



Figure 13. Connecticut Coppers with obverse numeric only (reverse and sub-varieties applied later).

(1787 Crosby 38 G, 1787 Crosby 33 Z, 1787 Crosby 33 H, 1787 Crosby 25 B)
 (1787 Hall 38 GG, 1787 Hall 33-12 Z-22, 1787 Hall 33-44 H²-2, 1787 Hall 25 B¹)
 (1787 Miller 38-GG, 1787 Miller 33²-Z²², 1787 Miller 33⁴³-hh², 1787 Miller 25-b)



Figure 14. Connecticut Coppers with obverse numeric only (reverse and sub-varieties applied later).

[The obverse number ink (5 or 33) is clearly older than the reverse letter or sub-variety numbers].

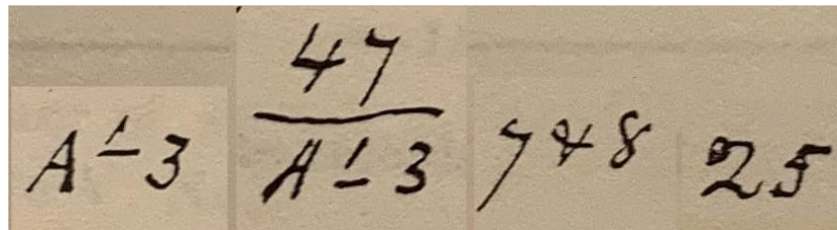


Fig 15. Number samples supposedly attributed to Henry Phelps (inconclusive).

Could Canfield Have Owned (and Modified) Phelps' Connecticut?

It should be reiterated that there is no evidence (*with one exception*) that Frederick Canfield was the owner of any Phelps Connecticut coppers sold in the March 1908 Lyman Low Sale. The auction house copy of the sale identifies bidder initials, none of which appear to be Canfield.

In fact, several of the Connecticut lots (40, 41, 46, 47) appear to have been purchased by another contemporary collector, Commodore William Colgate Eaton (1851-1936). Eaton's collection was later sold by Henry Chapman in May 1929, several years after Canfield died (1926) and, at first blush, his ex-Phelps coins could not have been part of Canfield's collection. While those Phelps lots won by Eaton were all said to have been inked, no mention of this was made in the May 1929 Eaton sale (either by cataloger omission, or the ink had been removed or Eaton had divested of any inked coppers at a prior date). It is technically possible Eaton could have sold or traded his inked Phelps coins to Canfield ... perhaps because he did not approve of the ink on the coins (Canfield would not mind, since he was already inking his own coins). This is purely speculation, at this point.

The One Known Canfield Owned Phelps Sale Connecticut Copper

It is conclusive that Frederick Canfield did own at least one of the Henry Phelps March 1908 sale coins, from lot #42. This was a group lot of 21 pieces, one of which is called out as a Connecticut copper counter-stamped (CS) with “CENT in relief in depression on rev.” That piece is now found in the ANS Canfield collection (1931.58.783) as a Miller 1787 M37⁸-k² (Crosby 37 K, Hall 37-5 K¹-2). Figure 16.

The ink on the coin is uniformly white, and uses the post-1920 Miller variety number, so was clearly done during Canfield’s collecting era. In Crosby this coin would be a 37 K and in Hall this would have been a 37-5 K¹-2. However, Canfield would normally put an “M” in the right field (designating Miller) when inking a Miller variety in the left field, so this coin is somewhat of a mystery. Lot 42 of the Phelps sale is among those listed as inked. Could Phelps’ prior ink have been removed? Possibly, as there do appear to be smears or remnants in the left field.



Figure 16. ANS Canfield Connecticut Copper with CENT counterstamp (from Phelps Sale Lot #42).
(1787 Crosby 37 K, 1787 Hall 37-5 K¹-2, 1787 Miller 37⁸-k²).

Conclusions & Suspensions:

Every time I look at plates of supposedly Canfield-inked Connecticut coppers I see more nuances in characters, colors, and styles. It is possible there might be some Phelps inks in the Canfield collection, but it’s hard to tell. A definitive example of a Phelps ink has yet to be found, since the one known Phelps piece from the 1908 sale now has Canfield ink on it (with the Phelps ink likely removed).

Here’s what we do actually know.

- 1) Inked PDVs in the Frederick Canfield Connecticut coppers collection, both in the ANS and the public domain, can be identified by their use of post-1920 Miller attributions, with lowercase characters and superscript sub-varieties. There are more recent, crude hands similarly adding Miller ink (such as Ted Craige), but they can usually be isolated from Canfield inks.

- 2) Many of the Canfield PDVs have Hall varieties inked in the left field and Miller varieties in the right field. When only a Miller variety is inked, it was usually put in the left field and an “M” put in the right field (except for the 1788s, which Canfield seems to have left off the “M”).
- 3) Some of the Canfield PDVs were initially inked as Crosby varieties, then modified to Hall varieties, then to Miller varieties. It is not certain if the initial Crosby variety was inked by Canfield or another collector, such as Henry Phelps. The ink color/consistency, handwriting, and quality of the evolving characters can vary widely as the PDV evolves.
- 4) At least one known Phelps March 1908 sale coin, the “CENT”-counterstamped 1787 M37.8-k.2, is in the ANS Canfield collection. It currently has Canfield ink, but might have held a prior ink that had been removed.
- 5) There are lots of samples of Canfield’s ink style, as seen on many of Canfield’s colonial coins and his mineral collection. But his style varies quite a bit over time and may be difficult to pin down ... particularly if he had other hands put ink on for him.

I suspect Phelps may have inked with a Crosby number only, as literally described by the cataloger. There is enough evidence of obverse numeric-only inked coins to support what Lyman Low called “*numbered according to Crosby ... with small figures.*” Many of these are now in the ANS Canfield collection, for which I do not have an explanation. That counterstamped 37.8-k.2 is existence proof that at least one Phelps coin made it there (and others could have, as well). Note, though, it is known that Phelps and Thomas Hall did communicate from 1891-1900, per Hall’s manuscript, so Phelps would have known about the work Hall was doing to expand on Crosby’s taxonomy. Phelps also appears to have owned (and annotated) a copy of Hall’s 1892 book on 1787-dated Connecticut coppers, which means there are still open issues understanding the Phelps inks and collection.

I also suspect Canfield was initially inking his own Connecticut coppers with a Crosby obverse number over a Crosby reverse letter. From that, he would later supplement his inks to add a Hall sub-variety and, later yet, in the right field added a Miller variety. If/when Canfield inherited coins from the Phelps sale, he would have similarly modified the single numeric identifier to make a complete Hall variety, then again added the Miller variety in the right field. More work is needed to untangle Canfield’s collection.

There is still quite a bit of work required to identify Phelps characters versus Canfield characters, to determine who inked these coins, and in what order, to clarify the evolution of inks. This is visualized to take some form of detailed optical analysis (or perhaps chemical) on different inks and characters. All that we need is to identify one Rosetta Stone-like copper (Connecticut or New Jersey), known to be from the Phelps sale with ink in his hand, to nail down what Canfield and Phelps were doing.

Next Actions

- 1) The most complex inks are seen on the Canfield collection at the ANS. These require closer inspection to determine how Canfield initiated and modified the PDVs on his Connecticut coppers.
- 2) A search needs to be conducted to see if Canfield left records of his coin purchases, looking for ways that Phelps-inked coins may have entered Canfield’s collections. It is known some of Canfield’s archives are at the New Jersey Historical Society and others at Rutgers University. There do not appear to be any held at the ANS.

- 3) More work is needed to see if the style of various numbers and letters can be attributed to a specific hand, be it Phelps, Canfield or other (since we do not know if any of the PDVs put the ink on with their own hand, or used other resources).
- 4) In the end, working on this topic is a “war of attrition” ... how badly does the hobby really need to know which coins, if any remain, from the Phelps collection were inked PDVs. Since Phelps was not a major researcher-collector of the series, the 80-20 rule might apply, in that 80% of the information on this topic has already been analyzed fairly quickly ... the remaining 20% of the information (perhaps including the answer, itself) will take a significant amount of time to uncover.

There have been several talented researchers, such as Robert Martin and Neil Rothschild, who have searched for the Henry Phelps Connecticut coppers PDVs without conclusion. In retrospect, the only outcomes for this search would be all the Phelps PDV coins are still stowed away somewhere in a hoard, or the inks were removed and are no longer PDVs, or, such as being investigated here, the ink on the coins was modified in a way to obscure the fact they were once owned by Phelps (i.e. possibly “hiding in plain sight”).



Kolbe & Fanning
Numismatic Booksellers
numislist.com

*The source for new, rare and
out-of-print numismatic books*



141 W. Johnstown Road • Gahanna Ohio 43230 • (614) 414-0855



INTERVIEW WITH VICKEN YEGPARIAN, VP OF NUMISMATICS AT STACK'S BOWERS GALLERIES IN NEW YORK"

November 5, 2023

(Jeff Burke)

Introduction

I am very grateful to Vicken Yegparian for taking time from his hectic schedule to respond to my questions about his numismatic background, collecting interests, colonial coins and colonial notes at Stack's Bowers, the Stack's Bowers Galleries Professional Numismatist Program, and other topics. I conducted a Q & A interview with Vicken through an exchange of e-mails in October and November 2023.

I first met Vicken Yegparian, Vice President of Numismatics at Stack's Bowers Galleries in New York, when he was the distinguished guest speaker for the nine-hundredth meeting of the New Jersey Numismatic Society (NJNS) at the Madison Public Library in Madison, New Jersey, in January 2014.

Yegparian's topic was, "The Medals of the Literary Society of King's College in New York, 1767-1771: The Unheralded First Civilian Medals Produced in America." Vicken gave an engaging Powerpoint presentation featuring images of medals and archival documents at the well-attended meeting. He explained that in 2001, Stack's was responsible for a hand-engraved silver medal of King's College, the colonial precursor of Columbia University. Although the medal was little known or understood by numismatists at the time, his research in primary source documents at the New-York Historical Society and a study of the three surviving King's College medals have increased our knowledge of the items. As a Columbia alumnus, Vicken had a particular interest in researching these works of art, the third earliest colonial medals.



Vicken. (Dale Issac photo.)

Q: As teenagers, you and John Kraljevich were star young numismatists as members of the New Jersey Numismatic Society. How did being a part of the NJNS help mentor you as a young collector?

A: Being a part of the NJNS in the early/mid 1990s and attending meetings was an absolute treat, as it allowed me to rub shoulders with an amazing group of collectors and provided an amazing basis for my future activities in numismatics. I lived in Toms River in southern New Jersey at the time, and the Society met in Madison in northern New Jersey – a solid hour and a half drive. But as a teenager, I didn't have a car. So, after school on meeting nights when I was able to attend, my mother would drop me off at Arno Safran's house in Lakewood, New Jersey, about a 15-minute drive from home, and the late Chris Connell would join us at Arno's. We would pile into somebody's car for the very enjoyable numismatic trek to Madison, which is where the amazing world coin dealer/auctioneer Henry Christensen once had his offices well before my time. I had met Arno and Chris through the Ocean County Coin Club, and their unbridled enthusiasm for

their respective numismatic interests made them amazing mentors—both had served stints as president and editor of the OCCC. (As an aside, I believe Arno, now in his 90s, still owns a “protruding tongue” New Jersey copper that I sold to him in my teens at a meeting of the OCCC!). But the NJNS, modeled after the elite New York Numismatic Club, operated at an even higher level than the robust OCCC, attracting a pool of amazing numismatists from the NYC metro area and a roster of speakers that was a cut above your average club. The talks were about US coins, tokens, ancient coins, world coins, Byzantine coins (one of Chris Connell’s great loves and specialties), etc. Mentor-of-all-mentors Ray Williams attended the NJNS meetings, and I don’t recall if I met Ray there or at a coin show in the New Jersey area. But I do remember one meeting when Ray had brought a little plastic container of miscellaneous coins into the meeting—I don’t remember the exact circumstances behind the coins, but there was one coin in the group that was bugging me, and I asked Ray if I could take it home to puzzle out. For all who know Ray, “no” would not have been an answer, and I went home with the coin. At the time I was avidly collecting contemporary counterfeit halfpence, and with my small but growing library, I was able to figure out that it was one of just a few known examples of the 1787 Machin’s Mills Vlack 23-87C variety. I asked Ray if I could sell it for him, and I sold it for \$500 to Ed Sarrafian, who was avidly hunting Machin’s Mills halfpence. And in a classic episode of Ray’s generosity, he gave me a \$5 Liberty gold coin that he had won at a coin club raffle for helping him sell the coin! And to bring things full circle, when I was reviewing Syd Martin’s collection of Machin’s Mills halfpennies, I realized that the same coin had again fallen into my hands after nearly three decades! This time, however, it sold for \$6,600 in Stack’s Bowers’s March 2023 auction of Part III of Syd’s extensive collections.

The treks to Madison were an exhausting but very worthwhile numismatic-social evening. They would start with a dinner at a nearby restaurant with some of the NJNS members in the early evening, continue with the meeting, lecture, and show and tell, and end with a late-night, post-meeting trip to a local Friendly’s for sundaes before embarking on the late-night trip home. I think it would be 1:00 a.m. or later before I got to bed on a school night! I now live not too far from that same Friendly’s, so every time I pass it, I get a rush of fond memories of the NJNS and that time of my numismatic life.

Q: Larry Gentile directed a YN program in the tri-state region for many years. What are your fondest memories of being a part of this YN program in New Jersey?

A: Larry was an amazing force in the YN program in the New York metro area – his enthusiasm was infectious, and I know many of the local dealers supported his programs. I loved going to the shows where he held his programs, which I believe were usually on Saturday mornings to accommodate kids’ school schedules. I remember Larry would direct the programs but also encourage the participation of all of us YNs, so being a part of these programs was a chance to share my enthusiasm for coins with my peers. I would attend the programs, but I remember itching to get to the bourse floor, where I was able to find coins for my collection and meet lots of interesting collectors and dealers. At that time, my interests in more advanced numismatics were growing faster than I had the time or resources to keep up with it! So, in order to juggle everything I wanted to accomplish at the local coin shows, I would sometimes play hooky from school on the Friday of a show to be able to set up an exhibit, hit the bourse floor, *and* attend Larry’s program!

Q: What are your current collecting interests?

A: In my adult life I have collected a variety of things that are very personal for me—Armenian coins and medals reflecting my heritage; banknotes and tokens from Ocean County and Toms River, where I grew up; and medals from Columbia University, where I attended college. This is in addition to colonial coins and early American medals. For example, I collect the very rare badges and other numismatic items of the Tammany Society, which is the fraternal organization founded in 1789 that spawned the famed Tammany

Hall political machine that you learn about in grade school social studies and history classes. The Tammany Society was obsessed with celebrations of July 4, so that made me interested in early manifestations and representations of July 4, 1776 and the Declaration of Independence in numismatics. The Tammany badges and early, pre-Civil War numismatic commemorations of July 4 are some of my favorite pieces. And some are so rare that it will take a lifetime to find and acquire all the pieces I want. There are some pieces I have only seen references to and have never seen an example, or even a photo of one. And there are other pieces that so far exist only in museums. I will also buy the occasional colonial type coin, as well as the occasional NJ copper in honor of the state where I've spent much of my life. I mean, who can resist a nice-looking horsehead copper? So, I don't have a single area of collecting, and I try to add significant pieces to my collections whenever the right opportunity arises. Over the years, I, like many collectors, collected and accumulated lots of coins and notes. But at some point a decade or so ago, I realized that I had lots of coins but was not actively enjoying them, so I decided to whittle my collections to fewer pieces and to focus only on items that were truly significant to me, whether they cost \$100 or stretched the budget. I think the refocusing increased my enjoyment of collecting, and I have helped other collectors do the same in my role at Stack's Bowers.

Q: Please describe some of your favorite colonial coins or paper money that you have handled while at Stack's Bowers.

A: Jeez, what a hard question. I have quite literally had tens of thousands of colonial coins and notes pass through my fingers at this point in my nearly quarter century long career, so choosing favorites is nearly impossible. It's easy to remember the "big ones" like a Massachusetts 1690 note. Around 2005 give or take, Larry Stack had purchased one of the very few in private hands for inventory, and being able to hold and learn about the first paper money issues in the western world was just incredible. I believe the 1690 note we had was from the second emission of notes from Massachusetts, as there are no notes of the first emission in private hands.

A favorite colonial coin is a New England shilling that I got on consignment out of England. It was late 2012, and my wife was working for Sotheby's at the time, and I had joined her on a business trip to London to watch our six-month-old son while she was in meetings. The week before the trip, an English client emailed me with the subject line "New England Shilling" or something like that. Expecting to see a fake NE shilling when I clicked open the attached images, my jaw dropped when I saw what looked like a perfectly genuine coin! I arranged to meet the client in our hotel room while I was in London. I put my son in his playpen while I reviewed and authenticated the coin, so whenever I think of or see that specimen that we ended up selling in our January 2013 Americana Sale, I always think back fondly to that trip and the time in our hotel room when I was pondering a previously unknown NE shilling while my infant son was cooing in the background!

Photos courtesy of
Stack's Bowers.



Q: Can you give us an update on your latest research regarding contemporary counterfeit Irish halfpence?

A: I must confess that I no longer avidly research contemporary counterfeits. Though whenever I see or handle one, it brings me fond memories of hunting these coins at shows and learning from the great collectors of them like Clem Schettino and Bill Anton, who are unfortunately no longer with us, and Ed Sarrafian, with whom I corresponded by snail mail in the early/mid 1990s. I still have a little dossier of his handwritten letters to me, and a few years back Ed had sent me a pile of my original letters to him! I recall that during my active collecting, I had started to puzzle out the die pairings of 1783 Irish counterfeit halfpence. And in response to my frustrations of easily finding information on contemporary counterfeit halfpence, I had created a rather extensive bibliography of all sources that touched upon them. I had spent hours and days looking for references to counterfeits in the ANA Library and other places, well before the internet. So, there was quite a bit of brute force involved in finding the information without the ability to run targeted searches online. I never finished or published either, but I believe I had passed along my notes to other researchers along the way—having information is great, but hoarding it is not!

Q: What colonial coin and paper money topics have you discussed in “The Auctioneer’s Dispatch,” your weekly *Coin World* column?

A: One of my great numismatic loves is colonials and early American numismatics in general, so it often infiltrates my *Coin World* column. Things like the ongoing sales and experience bringing Syd Martin’s collections to market provide abundant fodder for my columns. But I have also written about other colonial numismatic topics in the nearly two years I’ve been doing the column—off the top of my head, I’ve written about the NE shilling I mentioned in an earlier answer, Gordon Shaw’s previously unheralded collection of New Jersey coppers, and the hundreds of Fugio cents from several collections that filled Stack’s Bowers’ NYC vault around 2012-2013.

Q: Please tell us about the new Stack’s Bowers Galleries Professional Numismatist Program. How did it originate?

A: Numismatics is a niche business, and it’s always been hard for auction companies and big dealerships to hire enough talent to keep the businesses going at full speed. As an example, when I was hired by Stack’s in very late 1999, I was 22 years old at the time. The next youngest employee was about 45, and most were in their 50s, 60s, and 70s. So, I was the youngest employee by half on an aging staff. We slowly added new employees to replace those who were retiring or who would be in the coming years. Through mergers, acquisitions and hiring of talented numismatists and support staff, we have grown Stack’s Bowers into the international firm of today. But finding those talented young numismatists who are the right fit for what we do has always been difficult. So, the idea was hatched to build a program that would bring together young numismatists to offer them an insight into our business and to provide some training in the practical aspects of the business. In turn we hope that we will find talented individuals to come work for us now and in the future. People often ask me if there was any formal training to learn what I do at Stack’s Bowers. And the unfortunate answer is “no.” I read a lot, went to coin shows, networked, attended the ANA Summer Seminars, and did lots of other stuff before I came to work for Stack’s. So, it was a combination of my prior experiences and on the job training and experiences that got me to where I am today. When I was young adult, there was nothing like the PNP to find and train dedicated young numismatists to fill the ranks of a place like Stack’s Bowers, though I wish there was! So, if you know of any young adults with a strong interest in making a career of numismatics, encourage them to reach out to us to become part of the PNP.



THE WYON PROBLEM

(Gary A. Trudgen)

Introduction

One Hundred and fifty years ago, a watchmaker self-published the most important book ever written on pre-federal coinage in America. Of course, the author was Sylvester Sage Crosby and his book is titled *The Early Coins of America*. Numismatists continue to build upon his foundational work today, but not all of the information in the book has been found to be correct. For example, Crosby speculated that the Nova Eborac coppers were the product of an English merchant. However, subsequent research has shown this to be incorrect, but rather the product of a domestic artisan.¹

In the section of his book titled Patterns and Tokens, under the sub-section labeled Confederations and Excelsiors, Crosby attempts to make some sense out of many pattern dies that were married with inappropriate dies, and writes “The dies for these patterns we believe to have been made by Thomas Wyon of Birmingham, England... .” This again is pure speculation by Crosby, likely based upon the quality of the die engraving for the patterns which was believed too good to have been done by an American engraver.² Fast forward a full century and Walter Breen, who was considered the foremost coin historian at this time, picks up Crosby’s speculation concerning Thomas Wyon and amplifies it. In his 1988 *Complete Encyclopedia of U. S. and Colonial Coins*, Breen states that Thomas Wyon’s father, George Wyon III, was operating a mint in Birmingham and had schooled Walter Mould in die engraving. He goes on, without providing sources, saying that Wyon fabricated several of the pattern dies done for an American coinage and Walter Mould carried them to America.³

Recent Historical Research

More recent research, supported by historical documentation, shows that Breen’s speculations concerning this branch of the Wyon family was inaccurate. George Selgin’s well-researched book on money in England during this period reveals that George Wyon III had worked for Matthew Boulton’s Soho mint in the Silver, Plated, and Ormolu Goods department until 1783 or 1784 when he set up his own die engraving business in Birmingham with his two sons, Thomas and Peter.⁴ Both sons apprenticed with their father, learning the die engraving trade. Thomas was the elder son, born in 1767. In the 1790s, both sons went on with careers in die sinking, primarily for copper tokens and Kempson’s medals. There is no historical information that confirms their father had also operated a mint, in addition to his die engraving business, as claimed by Breen.

Walter Breen’s claim that Walter Mould was a pupil of George Wyon III can also be shown to not be true. Mould was arrested in Bristol, England, on February 10, 1776, for counterfeiting halfpence. He was caught with a large number of tools for making coinage dies and sent to the Castle Jail in Gloucester, England,

¹ Trudgen, Gary A., “‘Honest Industry’ and the Nova Eborac Coppers,” *The Journal of Early American Numismatics*, The American Numismatic Society, NY, June 2023, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 29-37.

² The Thomas Wyon attribution came from Charles Ira Bushnell (1826-1883). Crosby relied extensively on Bushnell’s Numismatic Notes, which can no longer be located.

³ Breen, Walter, *Walter Breen’s Complete Encyclopedia of U. S. and Colonial Coins*, Doubleday, New York, NY, 1988, pp. 117-122.

⁴ Selgin, George, *Good Money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginning of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821*, The Independent Institute, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2008, p. 134.

where he was incarcerated for 11 months. During his imprisonment, his wife and children were entered into the London workhouse. Upon Mould's release from prison, his wife was discharged from the workhouse on June 24, 1777. It is unknown when Walter Mould sailed for America but he was definitely in the New York City area in 1783, as shown by his association with James Jarvis.⁵ Thus, he could not have been a pupil of George Wyon III because Wyon did not start his own die engraving business until Mould was already in America.

Crosby and Breen's speculation concerning the Wyon's involvement with early American coinage is not supported by the historical record. Thus, several coppers previously assigned to George Wyon III and his sons will be examined in an effort to determine their true origin. All of these coppers have dates during the period when Congress was debating the need for a regulated copper currency. Shortly after Congress relocated to New York City on January 11, 1785, they generated a comprehensive report on coinage which gained the attention of several local individuals. One of the authors of the report, Rufus King, stated in a letter that he wrote, dated September 3, 1785, that "a company are here who brought with them from England the various machines & implements necessary for a coinage, and have rendered their services."⁶ The individuals from England interested in coinage during this period are known. They are Samuel Atlee, arriving in this country on November 2, 1783, and Walter Mould, who had preceded him, arriving at an unknown date. Atlee was a brewer who refurbished the large Harrison brewery, which had been heavily damaged during the late war, and it is believed he worked a deal with James Jarvis and Walter Mould, allowing them to set up a mint within the confines of the brewery.⁷

Common Denominator

Jarvis and Mould's future business ventures establishes that they were attempting to obtain a coinage grant from Congress while working at the mint in Atlee's brewery.⁸ Mould ran the mint operations while Jarvis may have provided financial backing. To help support the mint operations, Mould produced several die-interlocked counterfeit British halfpence.⁹ A study of these halfpence may provide clues about the various patterns that were previously credited to Wyon.

There are twelve varieties of counterfeit British halfpence believed to have been produced at the brewery mint during 1785. Two distinctive features are found on all of the obverse dies of these halfpence which may help evaluate the 1785-dated patterns. These features are an unusual letter S and heavy triangular dentils, often referred to as sawtooth dentils. The S punch has a large lower serif that points directly to its

⁵ Trudgen, Gary A., "Walter Mould: Convicted Felon," *The Journal of Early American Numismatics*, December 2018, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 1-18. It is not known under what circumstances Walter Mould came to America. There is an historical record that suggests he may have arrived not long after his wife's discharge from the London workhouse. At a court hearing in Frederick, VA, on March 3, 1779, it was recorded that "John McGinnis was found guilty for harboring Robert Martin and Walter Mould, deserters from the continental line" (Frederick Findings, Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 1988). If this is Walter Mould, the coiner, he was in America well before George Wyon III started his own die engraving business. Interestingly, Walter Mould's son, Walter, Jr., was apprenticed to James McGinnis, a cabinetmaker in Cincinnati, Ohio, circa 1801. It is unknown if John and James McGinnis were related, but if they were it would help to verify when Walter arrived in America and under what circumstances. (Mayhugh, Marc, "Walter Mould, Jr.," *The C4 Newsletter*, winter 2001, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 20-4.)

⁶ Trudgen, Gary A., "The Brewery Mint and Decad Coppers," *The Journal of Early American Numismatics*, The American Numismatic Society, NY, December 2021, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 95-105.

⁷ Trudgen, Gary A., "Samuel Atlee's New York City Brewery and Mint," *The Journal of Early American Numismatics*, The American Numismatic Society, NY, December 2018, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 27-55.

⁸ Walter Mould eventually obtained a coinage contract with the State of New Jersey on June 1, 1786, while James Jarvis obtained a federal coinage contract on April 20, 1787.

⁹ Trudgen, Gary A., "James Atlee's Imitation British Halfpence," *The Colonial Newsletter*, 1987, pp. 966-74.

midsection while the midsection bulges slightly downward toward the lower serif almost touching it. The sawtooth dentils were used by Walter Mould on dies that he fabricated, as shown by his signed 1787 62.5-r New Jersey copper, thus confirming his involvement with this group of halfpence (Fig. 1).

Figure 1: Brewery mint halfpenny obverse, Vlack 6, illustrating the distinctive S punch and sawtooth dentils.



When studying the coins themselves, numismatists use three types of evidence to determine if a particular coin was manufactured by the same minting operation. The strongest evidence is *die linkage* where various coins are interlocked, sharing the same obverse or reverse dies. The next is *punch linkage* where the same letter or numeral punches were used for sinking the dies that were used to strike the coins. The weakest evidence is *style linkage* where the engraver used the same style techniques to create the composition of the central device found on the coin dies. The more types of linkages found on a group of coins results in more confidence that this group was manufactured by the same minting operation. All three of these types of evidence, along with the historical record, will be used to study the following coins.

Decad Coppers

Congress issued a Grand Committee report on the status of the new country's monetary system on May 13, 1785. Within the report there is a suggested reverse design for a proposed copper coin which was called a Decad because it was to be part of a new decimal money system. Based on the suggested reverse design, two types of patterns were made and placed before Congress. Crosby labeled these patterns Confederatios, after the legend on the reverse die. Today, they are sometimes referred to by their obverse die legend – Inimica Tyrannis. Once again, Crosby and Breen attributed these patterns to Wyon.

Both patterns are often identified by their reverse die (Fig. 2 & Fig. 3). One die exhibits a large diameter circle containing 13 large stars with short rays emanating outward from the circle, while the other die sports a smaller diameter circle enclosing 13 small stars and longer rays. It is apparent that the die engraver wished to provide two design options for Congress to consider.



Figure 2: Large Stars Decad copper. Photo courtesy of Heritage Auctions.



Figure 3: Small Stars Decad copper. *Photo courtesy of Jack Howes.*

Using the previously discussed Common Denominator criteria, this author put forth in a recent article the reasons why these patterns should be attributed to Walter Mould, not Wyon.¹⁰ The same distinctive S punch and sawtooth dentils that are found on the counterfeit British halfpence attributed to the mint at Samuel Atlee's brewery are also found on the Decad patterns. Furthermore, the punches used for the legends of the halfpence are the same as found on the legends of the Decads.

As previously discussed, *punch linkage* evidence is not the strongest when determining if coins struck from different dies came from the same mint and engraver. In this case, the stronger *die linkage* evidence could not be used to verify if the Decad coppers are linked to the counterfeit British halfpence struck at the brewery mint because they are an unrelated coinage. It has been speculated that puncheons may have been readily available for purchase from commercial sources at this time, making punch evidence not conclusive. However, this has never been verified and at best it is likely that commercially available puncheons were only available in limited circumstances from regional vendors. Plus, contemporary sources show that certain minters and engravers made their own puncheons, such as John Bailey, who later operated a mint in New York City, and the famed European die engraver Jean Pierre Droz. Thus, the unusual distinctive S punch and sawtooth dentils are the best evidence offered by the coins themselves concerning the source of the Decad coppers. Furthermore, the historical record strengthens this evidence as the *Journals of the Continental Congress* record that Walter Mould offered to operate a mint for Congress on August 18, 1785, and the Decad coppers were probably given to Congress as samples of his work.

The Immune Columbia Die

Without providing source information, Walter Breen wrote that Walter Mould in 1785 brought to America from Wyon's mint in Birmingham, England, several dies which included the Immune Columbia die.¹¹ Unfortunately, the previously described Common Denominator methodology cannot be applied to this die in an effort to determine if it is linked to the counterfeit British halfpence struck at Atlee's brewery mint because there is no S in the legend. Also, the Immune Columbia die had a larger diameter than the planchets when it was married with an obverse die, resulting in very little evidence of dentils when struck. However, if the coin was struck off-center, then the dentils can be seen and when that happens, sawtooth dentils are present. Since there is no S in the legend to examine, another method must be used.

The Immune Columbia copper is a reverse die pattern dated 1785 and is found married to three obverse dies from the Nova Constellatio series and two crude obverse dies, one intended for a counterfeit British

¹⁰ Trudgen, Gary A., "The Brewery Mint and Decad Coppers."

¹¹ Breen, Walter, *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U. S. and Colonial Coins*, p. 119.

halfpenny and the other for a Vermont copper. The central device, which symbolizes Justice sitting on a crate for commerce, is very similar to a 1786-dated reverse die pattern with the legend *Immunis Columbia* (Fig. 4). The *Immunis* pattern die is found married to the large stars Decad reverse die and the Maris C New Jersey reverse die which indicates through the strongest evidence of *die linkage* that it was made in the same mint as the Decad coppers. The *Immunis Columbia* die does have an S in its legend and it was made by the distinctive S punch, plus sawtooth dentils are present along with matching legend letters from the same punches for both dies. If the central devices of both dies are connected through *style linkage*, then there can be little doubt that both dies originated from the same mint. Even a cursory view of the style found on the central devices shows that they were engraved by the same artisan, the most significant difference being that the globe was substituted for the crate on the *Immunis* die.

Figure 4: 1785 Immune Columbia (left) and 1786 *Immunis Columbia* (right). Photos courtesy of Heritage Auctions (left) and NGC Photo Vision (right).



Thus, the Immune Columbia die and *Immunis Columbia* die were made at the brewery mint in New York City, most likely in the year of their dates, as shown by their connection to the counterfeit British halfpence that were struck at the same mint. The Immune Columbia die was NOT engraved by George Wyon III or his sons in England and brought to this country as claimed by Walter Breen, but was a domestic product made by Walter Mould as he proactively sought a copper coinage contract from Congress or the State of New Jersey.

Nova Constellatio Coppers

The Nova Constellatio coppers were a private coinage, first appearing in circulation in the United States in late 1785, according to newspaper notices. They were obviously inspired by Benjamin Dudley's pattern coins that were struck in the spring of 1783 in Philadelphia for Robert Morris. Sylvester Crosby labeled the various dies, yielding a total of ten varieties, which is still in use today. Crosby also quoted Charles Ira Bushnell saying that the Nova Constellatio coppers were made in Birmingham, England, on order from a New York gentleman believed to be Gouverneur Morris. Eric Newman wrote in 1996 that the gentleman may have been William Constable, rather than Morris, because Morris was a resident of Philadelphia when the Nova Constellatio coppers were minted. He justified the selection of Constable because Morris was a silent partner in Constable's firm.¹² However, the speculation about Gouverneur Morris isn't supported by the known facts during this period. Michael Hodder debunked Newman's claim that William Constable was responsible for the Nova Constellatio coppers by looking into the life of Constable's London agent, John Rucker.¹³ Recently, Julia Casey authored an award-winning article about Benjamin Dudley where she offered a logical scenario, based upon known facts, concerning the provenance of the Nova Constellatio coppers.¹⁴

¹² Newman, Eric P., "New Thoughts on the Nova Constellatio Private Copper Coinage," *Coinage of the American Confederation Period*, American Numismatic Society, NY, 1996, pp. 79-113.

¹³ Hodder, Michael, "Who was John Rucker? Did He Order the Nova Constellatio Coppers?" *The C4 Newsletter*, summer 1997, pp. 14-18.

¹⁴ Casey, Julia, "Benjamin Dudley: Maker of the Nova Constellatio Patterns," *The Journal of Early American Numismatics*, American Numismatic Society, NY, June 2022, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 69-97.

In February 1783, King George III ordered a permanent ceasefire, ending the Revolutionary War, resulting in Loyalists fleeing New York City while exiled Patriots and newcomers moved in. James Jarvis, the future coiner of the Fugio coppers, moved back to the city in April from Boston, where he had married Samuel Broome's elder daughter, Amelia. Broome later became involved, through his son-in-law, with the New Haven, Connecticut mint. On July 5 of that year, Robert Morris wrote in his diary that Benjamin Dudley was communicating with someone in New York City who had offered to sell him a minting press. It is unknown who this person was, but later that same year, Jarvis sent Walter Mould back to England on an undisclosed mission. When Mould reached Ireland on February 20, 1784, he wrote Jarvis concerning their intended business, providing enough information to reveal that they were intending to set up a coinage mint in America.¹⁵

In a detailed article, primarily focused on the obverse legend word order of the Nova Constellatio coppers, Louis Jordan determined that the model used for the Nova Constellatio coppers was Dudley's 5-unit copper pattern.¹⁶ About the same time that Walter Mould arrived back in New York City, Samuel Curwen, an American Loyalist in London, was given one of Dudley's 5-unit patterns on May 15, 1784. These recorded events are very suggestive that Dudley had given a 5-unit pattern to Jarvis and Mould in July, when he was inquiring about the minting press, to be used as a model for a private coinage. Mould took the pattern to Birmingham in early 1784 and made arrangements to have the Nova Constellatio coinage struck, while procuring the machinery and implements he needed to set up a mint in or around New York City. Thus, the gentleman in New York who ordered the coinage to be struck most likely was James Jarvis, not William Constable.¹⁷ During the war, while in exile, James Jarvis did business as a merchant, first in Norwalk, CT, and later in Boston.¹⁸ If it can be shown that the brewery mint was somehow involved in the coinage of the Nova Constellatio coppers, this would provide additional evidence that James Jarvis was the New York merchant responsible for this coinage.

Study of the coins themselves reveals that not all of the Nova Constellatio coppers were made at the same mint. Numismatists believe that 1783 Crosby 1-A and 1786 Crosby 1-A were struck at different mints than the majority of the varieties. Recently, Julia Casey published research showing that a couple of the dies were fabricated with the Common Denominator punches, as illustrated earlier in this article.¹⁹ This observation suggests that the Nova Constellatio coppers were initially produced in England, but at a later time some of the unfinished dies were brought to America and finished at Samuel Atlee's brewery mint. Nova Constellatio coppers were first seen in circulation in America in late 1785, which indicates that they had been shipped from England to America in the fall of that year, and it's likely that any usable and unfinished dies were included in the shipment. James Jarvis had traveled to Europe in the spring of 1785 and was in Paris and on his way to Holland, according to Thomas Jefferson on June 22, 1785.²⁰ It is unknown what the purpose of his travels were or when he returned home, but undoubtedly he visited England and at this point he may have made arrangements to ship the finished Nova Constellatio coppers and usable dies back to New York, where the dies

¹⁵ Trudgen, Gary A., "Samuel Atlee's New York City Brewery and Mint," p.58.

¹⁶ Jordan, Louis, "An Examination of the "Nova Constellatio" coppers in Relation to the Nova Constellatio-Constellatio Nova Debate," *The Colonial Newsletter*, December 2000, pp. 2127 – 2155.

¹⁷ Crosby wrote that the coinage was struck on order from a New York gentleman, but a more contemporary reference (*Morning Chronical and London Advertiser*) states on March 16, 1786, that it was done "by order of a Merchant in New York."

¹⁸ Douglas, Damon G., "James Jarvis: Extracts from the Manuscript James Jarvis and the Fugio Coppers," *The Colonial Newsletter*, July 1969, pp. 261-65.

¹⁹ Casey, Julia, "Benjamin Dudley: Maker of the Nova Constellatio Patterns," p. 88.

²⁰ Douglas, Damon G., "James Jarvis: Extracts from the Manuscript James Jarvis and the Fugio Coppers," p. 263.

could be used to continue minting these coppers in the mint that he had helped to setup with Walter Mould, the previous year.²¹

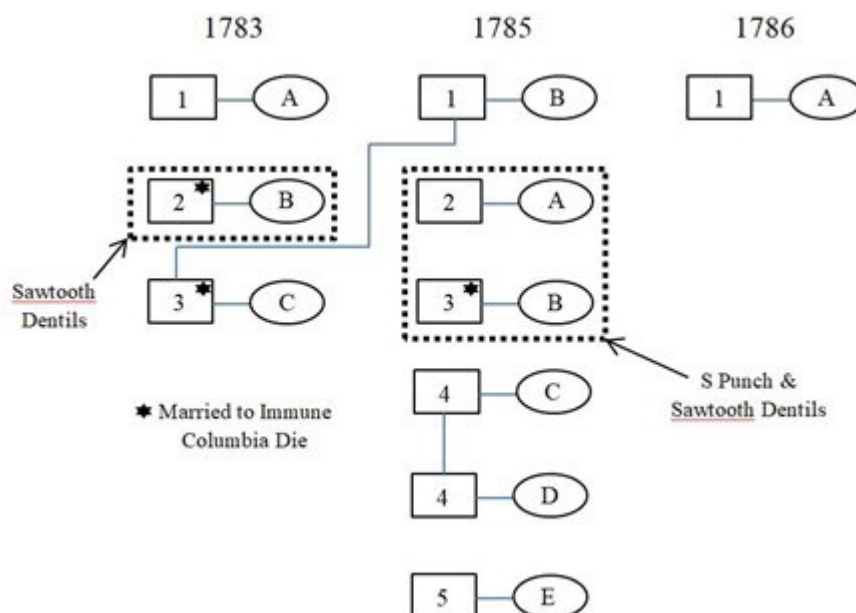


Figure 5: Nova Constellatio Die Chart

A chart of the Nova Constellatio varieties, as labeled by Crosby, is shown in Figure 5. Three varieties display the previously discussed Common Denominator criteria: 1783 Crosby 2-B exhibits sawtooth dentils, while the 1785 Crosby 2-A and 3-B show both the distinctive S punch and sawtooth dentils. The starred Nova Constellatio obverse dies were married to the Immune Columbia die, which has been shown to have been fabricated at the brewery mint and not by Wyon in England.²² Based on the dies that were married with the Immune Columbia die, plus the dies that are tied to the counterfeit British halfpence, through the Common Denominator criteria, at least seven Nova Constellatio dies were in use at the brewery mint (Table 1).

Brewery Mint Nova Constellatio Dies			
1783		1785	
Obverse	Reverse	Obverse	Reverse
2	B	2	A
3		3	B

Table 1: Nova Constellatio dies used at the brewery mint in New York City. 1783 Crosby obverse 3 was not fabricated with the distinctive S punch and sawtooth dentils, implying that it was a finished die when it was brought to America. The remainder of these dies were unfinished when they were imported.

Also, it seems likely that the Nova Constellatio/ Immune Columbia mules were intended as patterns for a national coinage. There are three mules in copper employing the following Nova Constellatio obverse

²¹ James Jarvis was definitely back in America in April 1786. At this time he became part owner of the Company for Coining Coppers in New Haven, CT.

²² Walter Breen in his 1988 Encyclopedia confused the die sequence for the Nova Constellatio/Immune Columbia mules and Q. David Bowers followed suit in his more recent Whitman Encyclopedias. They both list the Immune Columbia as the obverse die and the obverse Nova Constellatio as the reverse die. In actuality, it is the opposite of what they illustrate: the Nova Constellatio is the obverse die, while the Immune Columbia die is the reverse.

dies, 1783 Crosby 2 & 3, and 1785 Crosby 3; one in silver with 1785 Crosby 3; and one in gold using 1783 Crosby 2.

Conclusion

Charles Ira Bushnell, a lifelong resident of New York City and coin collector who studied law but never practiced it, started it all. In his *Numismatic Notes*, which were never published, he claimed that many of the pattern dies produced during the Confederation, in the hope of obtaining a national coinage contract, were done in England by the Wyon family. Sylvester Crosby relied on Bushnell's notes when he published his magnum opus in 1875 and from that point forward numismatists accepted Bushnell's claim as gospel, until recently. Historic research and study of the coins themselves has shown that Bushnell was wrong and that many of the dies credited to the Wyons were actually fabricated in this country by a talented, but unscrupulous, English immigrant, Walter Mould.

The year 1785 saw a lot of interest in copper coinage when Congress declared that a domestic copper currency was an immediate priority because the new country's financial system was being jeopardized by large amounts of base coppers being imported into the marketplace. Connecticut and Vermont authorized their own copper currency, in the hope of stabilizing the market, while Congress considered a national coinage which spawned the production of copper patterns that were presented to Congress, with the anticipation of obtaining a contract for coinage. James Jarvis and Walter Mould were at the forefront of this activity, with Mould working at a mint that he and Jarvis had founded within Samuel Atlee's New York porter brewery.

Study of these patterns has shown that they can be linked to a series of counterfeit British halfpence believed to have been made at Atlee's brewery mint in 1785. Additionally, the private coinage of coppers, known as Nova Constellatio coppers, which are based upon Benjamin Dudley's pattern coinage that he minted in Philadelphia for Robert Morris in 1783, can be traced to Jarvis and Mould. Eric Newman's speculation that the Nova Constellatio coppers were ordered by William Constable is not supported by the historical record, nor by study of the coins themselves. It is much more likely that the New York merchant responsible for these coppers was James Jarvis.



Figure 6: Left-to-right comparison of the distinctive S punch as found on the 1786 Immunis Columbia obverse, the 1785 Crosby obverse 3 Nova Constellatio, the 1785 Crosby obverse 2 Nova Constellatio, and the 1772-dated Vlack 6 counterfeit British halfpenny.²³

Acknowledgment

This article was reviewed and improved by Jim Rosen.

²³ Legend letters often appear slightly different on struck coins even though the same puncheons were used in the preparation of different dies. Letter and numeral puncheons were tapered to strengthen the punch and to allow the displaced metal to rise above the die face when the punch was driven into the die. After the legend and date were applied to a die, the displaced metal was lapped off. If the same punch was used on two different dies, the resultant intaglio image of the punch could vary dependent upon how deeply the punch was driven into the die face and also at what angle. Ideally the punch should be driven into the die orthogonally or at right angles to the die face. Also, when multiple coins are struck from the same die, the resultant letters and numerals can appear differently on the struck coins because the coins were struck without retaining collars. The resulting images on the coin are dependent upon how well the copper blanks or planchets were annealed (softened) prior to striking and how much force was applied to the blank when struck. During this period, coinage screw presses were manually operated and the amount of force was dependent upon how energetically the men swung the lever arm.

GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO: A MODEST PROPOSAL

(John T Bolger)

This paper presents a modest proposal to explain some of the *Georgivs Triumpho* token (Fig. 1) reverse elements in the context of iconography that was contemporary to the population of Britain, the nascent United States Confederation,¹ and indeed the fringes of Western Europe.



Fig. 1. *Georgivs Triumpho* token, copper, 28mm. (Author's collection)

The reverse has several design elements which have proven problematic in identification, not necessarily to any one author but certainly to the historical collection of authors.² In brief, the elements include 1) a rendering of Britannia or Liberty, 2) behind, caged in, or imprisoned by 3) a framework, tapestry, loom, weaving frame, cage, or gate of 4) thirteen columns or rails with 5) four corner *fleurs de lis*, and 6) the central figure holding an olive branch or laurel branch in her right hand, and 7) a pole or staff held in the left hand, possibly a spear, trident,³ or Liberty pole. This upper end of the staff arguably blends into the adjacent denticles and its lower end oddly is exposed below the central device parallel to, but shifted rightward from the top of the staff. This indicates that the central barrier was not re-engraved over the bottom of the seated figure and whatever objects may have been present, but was an integral part of the initial die cutting. The remaining elements include the surrounding denticles, the legend *VOCE POPOLI*, considered to be an Italianate rendering of the Latin *VOCE POPULI* ("voice of the people"),⁴ and the date 1783 below the exergue line.

Recently, Q. David Bowers, crediting as well Andrew W. Pollock III and John Pack, has promoted and meritoriously defended a proposal in which the central device represents Miss Liberty in a balloon basket or

¹ Martin, S. & M. Ringo (2002). Discovery of a new U.S. Colonial Coin Type. *The Colonial Newsletter*, August, 2002, pp.2361-2365.

² Martin, S. (2003). The Georgius Triumpho/Danish West Indies Mule. American Numismatic Society, Groves Forum and Coinage of the Americas Conference. May 16, 2003. Unpublished. See brief conference summary *ANS Magazine*, Summer, 2003, p.51.

³ Nipper, W. (2008) In Yankee Doodle's Pocket. *The Myth, Magic and Politics of Money in Early America*. Bowmanstone Press, Conway, AR. pp.256,270-271.

⁴ Jordan, L. (2019). The Coins of Colonial and Early America. Georgius Triumpho Copper of 1783. University of Notre Dame, Department of Special Collections. Last revision 18-Feb-2019
www.coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/WASHTriumpho.intro.html

gondola.^{5 6} Artistic license could account for the omission of basket support lines and the curious gap between the wall and floor of the basket; however, we can stipulate that such license can be a confounder without documented hard evidence. The present paper, alas, not free of this confounder, will offer an alternative interpretation and theory in due course.

The Path of Britannia/Liberty



Fig. 2. Gold stater of Lysimachus, Tomis, 286–281 BCE, reverse of Athena seated holding Nike. (ANS 1952.57.8 Images courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.)

Britannia's origin, and specifically her pose as on British coinage, typically seated in a triangular configuration, facing her right with a shield resting in front of her on the ground, can be found in the general layout of Athena on the reverse of the gold stater minted c.286–281 BCE under King Lysimachus of Thrace (Fig. 2). Hoberman⁷ continues this ancestry by stating:

“The design of this reverse probably provided the model for the Roman Sesterius of Antonius Pius (Fig. 3) and most certainly the inspiration for the Britannia design which appears on British coins from the reign of Charles II.”

Fig. 3. Bronze sestertius of Antoninus Pius, Rome, AD 143–144. Britannia seated on rock holding standard in right hand and resting left elbow on shield with a spear resting against her left arm. 32mm. (ANS 1944.100.48428. Images courtesy of The American Numismatic Society.)



Hadrian (emperor AD 117–138) famously visited Britain in AD 121, set up the seat of government in York, and erected a shrine to the goddess Britannia. She was first personified and appeared on coins minted in Rome in commemoration of this occasion; however, this Britannia was in a different configuration, usually standing. It was during the reign of Hadrian's successor, Antonius Pius (emperor AD 138–161) that the personification of the seated Britannia was coined but then lay dormant until John Roettier from Antwerp designed the Britannia reverse for the regal halfpenny and farthing coppers first issued in 1672 in the reign of

⁵ Bowers, Q.D. (2012). Full of Hot Air. *The Numismatist*. January, 2012, pp.94-95.

⁶ Bowers, Q.D. (2016). George on My Mind. *The Numismatist*. October, 2016, pp.117-118.

⁷ Hoberman, G. (1981). *The Art of Coins and Their Photography*. Spink & Son, Ltd and Lund Humphries Publishers Limited. pp.65, 98.

Charles II (Fig. 4).⁸ Modifications were most significantly made by John Coker who became the Royal Mint's chief engraver in 1705. He brought the right upper limb from a position of an acutely flexed elbow holding the olive branch at the level of the head to a less flexed elbow bringing the branch to shoulder level and subsequently extending the elbow from Britannia's side holding the branch to chest level. Conversely, Britannia's left hand slips up the spear shaft nicely balancing the composition. A shield, displaying initially a combination of the St. Andrew and St. George crosses and subsequently adding the diagonals of St. Patrick to form a representation of the Union Jack, rests at Britannia's left side slightly behind her. A boatload of 1749 halfpence and farthings arrived in Boston on the Mermaid Sept. 18, 1749 (Fig. 5).⁹ This design continued to the final copper halfpence and farthing George III issues of 1775. A major change occurred later with Britannia's spear becoming a trident and the addition of waves lapping at the foot of Britannia and her shield on the 1797 "cartwheel" two pence, and the 1799 halfpence and farthing.



Fig. 4. Great Britain, Halfpenny, copper, Charles II, 1673. (Images courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries—StacksBowers.com)

Fig. 5. Great Britain, Farthing, copper, George II, 1749. (Images courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries—StacksBowers.com)



Oliver Hoover has previously provided an excellent exposition of the origin of Britannia and Liberty personifications on early post Confederation coinage, concentrating on the peculiarities of Connecticut 1787 counterfeit coinage and in so doing looks at the transition of the Liberty cap (pileus aka Phrygian cap) to the "narrow brimmed capotain hat" resembling the Dutch version of the "free-hat." (Fig. 6) With further modification:

"...it looks like the counterfeiter has attempted to remodel the design by taking elements of the Liberty who appeared on coins issued by the provinces of the United Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."¹⁰

⁸ Bass, K.J. (1963). The Britannia Reverse. Seaby's Coin and Medal bulletin, July, pp.222-225, August, pp.263-266, September, pp.296-298, October, pp.327-330, November, pp.366-368, December, pp.411-415.

⁹ Kraljevich, J. (2006). Early American Money: The Coins of the Mermaid. The Numismatist. 119(1)January, 2006: pp.61-64.

¹⁰ Hoover, O. (2007). A Note on the Liberty Reverse Type of the Connecticut Coppers (1785-1788). American Journal of Numismatics, Second Series. American Numismatic Society. 19(2007) pp.169-182.



Fig. 6. Connecticut, 1787, copper, “Muttonhead” W-2720. (Author’s collection)

The anachronism of the 1783 *Georgivs Triumpho* and the 1787 counterfeit Connecticut coin notwithstanding, this is an example of a Dutch emblem having significance to an American populace.¹¹

The Path of the Maid of Holland in Her Garden

The Maid of Holland (aka The Virgin of Holland, The Dutch Maiden, or The Maid of Dort, i.e., Dordrecht) in her Garden is another icon embraced by the Dutch from the early years of the Eighty Years’ War (1566/1568–1648), the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish Philip II, and thereafter.¹² The imagery can be traced further back to representation of the *Hortus conclusus* or “enclosed garden” (Fig. 7), itself derived from the Hebrew scripture Song of Songs 4:12, although arguably, the metaphor has been transformed from Love to Bellicosity with the Maid of Holland shown brandishing a sword (Fig. 8).

Fig. 7. *Hortus conclusus*, “Agony in the Garden” miniature, 1440. (Courtesy of Spencer Collection, New York Public Library)



Fig. 8. Maid of Holland jeton. Dugniolle-2591, copper, 1573. (Peacock, p.75, Open JSTOR Collection)



¹¹ Bolger, J. (2020). A Dutch Jeton that Inspired the Colonies. The C4 Newsletter. The Colonial Coin Collectors Club. Vol.28,Num.1 (Spring 2020) pp.20-29.

¹² Peacock, M. M. (2019). The Maid of Holland and Her Heroic Heiresses. In S. J. Moran & A. Pipkin (Eds.), *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Vol. 217, pp. 68–127). Brill. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctvrk3hp.9>

The garden proper is surrounded by a protective wattle fence made with horizontal flexible saplings or branches woven between vertical stakes, often accompanied by a conspicuously closed gate. The Maid has variously been supplied with symbolic props as a martyr's palm branch of triumph, sword, shield, bible, flowers, tree, Liberty Pole, or Burgher's Liberty Hat. She is frequently and popularly accompanied by a rampant *Leo Belgicus* who himself may brandish a sword, a behatted Liberty pole, or most commonly a bundle of seven arrows (as the seven provinces of the Union of Utrecht) properly grasped in his paw (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9. Maid of Holland fire back. 1644. (Peacock, p.119, Open STOR Collection.)



The earliest association of: “The use of a hedge or fence as a Dutch emblem originated from the successful use in the siege of Hagesleyn by Count William (VI) of Holland in 1406.”¹³ The allegory was a familiar, easily assimilated and propagandistic representation of a fruitful and successful independent federation at peace but vulnerable to an outside jealous and hostile world. Simply stated: “...the Dutch Republic has frequently been viewed as the ‘Garden of Holland’: an enclosed space of bourgeois exception surrounded by aggressive monarchs.”¹⁴

The Merging Paths of Our Patriotic Emblems

First impressions and free association are weak proofs of correlation so the horizontal wattle fence commonly used in the representation of the Dutch garden fence gives pause to explaining the vertical bars on the *Georgivs Triumpho* token reverse. However, Moore notes the hidden treasures of watermarks which leads to an interesting observation.¹⁵

Yoklavich looked at early editions of Laurence Stearnes’ *Tristram Shandy*, first published in 1759, and describes the watermarks found therein, giving an excellent and clear description of the Pro Patria (i.e., Maid of Holland) and Britannia watermarks:¹⁶

“a. The Pro Patria is a common watermark used, according to Heawood,¹⁷ by Dutch makers from about 1700 on. It shows the maid of Holland seated within a picket fence; she is holding a hat on the point of a spear. Within the palisade also is a lion holding arrows or bolts of lightening in one paw and a sword in the other; the words *Pro Patria* appear above the lion.” (Fig. 10)

“b. In the Britannia watermark sits Britannia with a shield; she holds a spear in one hand and an olive branch in the other. Within the thin circular lines that form the band of the watermark

¹³ Parish, D. Jr. (1887). Dutch Jetons of the Sixteenth Century. Read at the March 5, 1886 meeting and published in Proceedings of the American Numismatic and Archeological Society of New York. Issue 29, 1887, p41. I have been unable to independently verify the assertion of Daniel Parish, Jr.

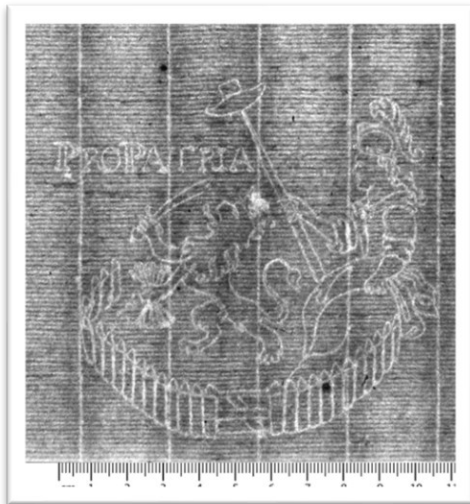
¹⁴ Helmers, H. & G. Janssen. (2018) Introduction: Understanding the Dutch Golden Age. The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age, ed. by Helmers & Janssen. Cambridge University Press. 2018, pp.1-12.

¹⁵ Moore, R. (2023). Always Examine the Third Side of Your Currency. The C4 Newsletter. The Colonial Coin Collectors Club. Vol.31, Num.2 (Summer 2023) pp.23-34.

¹⁶ Yoklavich, J. M. (1948). Notes on the Early Editions of Tristram Shandy. *PMLA*, 63(2), 508–519. <https://doi.org/10.2307/459427>

¹⁷ Heawood, E. (1931). *Papers Used in England after 1600*. The Library, 4th Ser., XI, p.485.

appears, sometimes the legend *Pro Patria Eiusque Libertate*, sometimes the legend *Pro Rege et Pro Patria*, or sometimes a design of diamonds, or circles, as noticed especially in the later editions (of *Tristram Shandy*) by (publishers) Becket and Dehondt. A crown rests on the band. One common countermark is the crown over the letters GR.” (i.e. *Georgius Rex*) (Fig. 11)



(Left) Fig. 10. Garden of Holland *Pro Patria* watermark. (Image courtesy of Smoorenburg Collection, image 36, metmuseum.org)



(Right) Fig. 11. Britannia *Pro Patria* watermark sketch. (Image courtesy of Churchill #225 [CXCIX])

Review of variations of these watermarks in Churchill show the preponderance of Dutch *Pro Patria* watermark garden fences are the vertical picket-style instead of the horizontal wattle thatches.¹⁸

Clearly, Yoklavich establishes this use of these pertinent watermarks in the publication of books in Great Britain. Proof of similar, if not identical, watermarks in the Colonies and early years of the Confederation is found in examination of the handwritten “An Essay on Slavery” (dated November 10, 1786) authored by the slave Jupiter Hamman, a servant to the Hillhouse family in New York and Connecticut. May & McCown describe the laid writing paper used by Jupiter Hamman and the context to associate it to the Colonies prior to 1783:

“The poem is written on a large, full sheet of laid paper, characteristic of the type of paper that was produced widely in Europe during the eighteenth century. . . . The page is folded in half creating two leaves that make a folio of four pages on which the twenty-four stanza poem is written. The paper also has watermarks centering each of the two halves of the unfolded document. The left side of the page has a large Maid of Dort form of the Pro Patria watermark in the center, while the right side of the page contains a Georgius Rex countermark (Fig. 12). These marks indicate that Hamman was writing on paper that was imported from the Netherlands for the British market. Several of the letters and other writings in the Hillhouse collection written by Hillhouse family members during the middle to late eighteenth century have the same Pro Patria and Georgius Rex watermarks on them, though the large sheets of laid paper were usually torn into quarters before being used.”¹⁹

¹⁸ Churchill, W. (1935). *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection*. Hertzberger, Amsterdam. <https://archive.org/details/b31345736/>

¹⁹ May, C. & McCown, J. (2013). “An Essay on Slavery”: An Unpublished Poem by Jupiter Hammon. *Early American Literature*, 48(2), 457–471. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24476358>

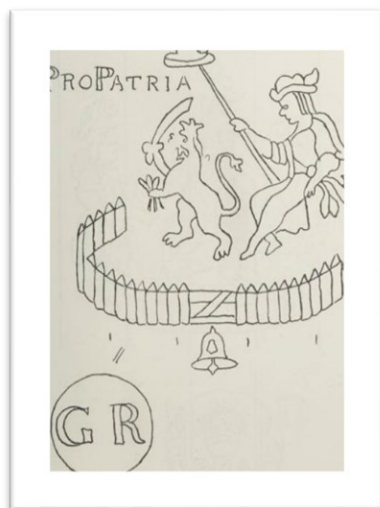


Fig. 12. Garden of Holland *Pro Patria* watermark with GR countermark sketch (Image courtesy of Churchill #146 [CXI])

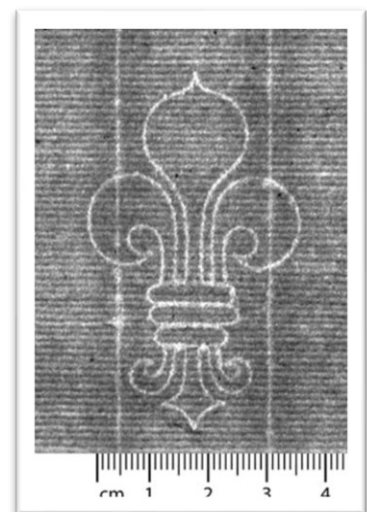
The Britannia watermark was not only of interest to the European British but must have been familiar to the Americans with partial variations found in multiple state and local issues, e.g., Chelsea Lottery, Norwich, CT, June, 1794 (Fig. 13). The watermark is indeed found in “American Paper” engraved by Paul Revere for The Colony of Massachusetts Bay loan certificate, the “King Philip” note, printed in 1775 with a due date of June 1, 1777: “. . . Underneath are the words ‘American Paper.’ There are at least three different water-marks in the specimens examined. One of the water-marks is the large design of Britannia, surmounted by a crown, and underneath ‘J.B,’ the initials of James Boies who operated the paper-mill at Milton.”²⁰



Fig. 13. Partial Britannia watermark, Chelsea Lottery, Norwich, CT. June, 1794. 145x53mm. (Author’s collection)

Finally, the Maryland State Archives²¹ have posted multiple examples of *fleur de lis* watermarks in public documents printed in America, dated throughout the eighteenth century on paper of European origin (Fig. 14).

Fig. 14. *Fleur de Lis* (Lilly) watermark.
(Image courtesy of Smoorenburg Collection, image 75, metmuseum.org)



²⁰ Brigham, C. (1954). *Paul Revere's Engravings*. American Antiquarian Society. Worcester, MA pp.141-142.

²¹ Maryland State Archives. (2010). The Spawn Collection. Watermarks: Bringing to Light Hidden Information. https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/stagser/s1259/103/spawn_collection_website/html/case_1/watermarks.html (Accessed 1/6/2024)

Conclusion

We have examined the ambiguous features of the reverse central design on the 1783 dated *Georgivs Triumpho* copper piece and have identified icons and emblems that must have been familiar to the citizens of both Great Britain and the early Confederation of the United States. There is evidence presented to identify the reverse central device as an imitation of the Maid of Holland in her fenced Garden. A person contemporary with the circulation of these tokens could have had preconceived connotations of these icons or emblems in that configuration. Exposure to these various icons, including Britannia or Lady Liberty, imitating the Maid of Holland in her Garden behind the protective fence with the decorative or honorably French *fleurs de lis*, could plausibly have been from jetons, coins, illustrations, and paper watermarks, conflated in such a way as to be visually familiar, vaguely propagandistic, but not flagrantly partisan.

Author's note: I have been thinking about this subject for several years but hit a wall, so to speak, early on regarding the construction of the garden fence. Coming across Roger Moore's simple request for colonial watermark material in the Colonial Coins Google Groups (and citation above) was serendipitous for me, and for his curiosity in that subject I am very grateful.



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.

Issues of JEAN often exceed 200 pages and contain articles on a variety of early American numismatic topics. Since 1960, the pages of the CNL and JEAN have advanced our understanding of the history of colonial numismatics.

Subscribe to JEAN at the American Numismatic Society: <https://numismatics.org/about-us/publications/journals/>. JEAN is available as an added benefit to your ANS membership or at \$85 per year for non-members. Contact, Christopher R. McDowell, Editor, crmcowell@strausstroy.com for additional information.



MORE ON THE VIRGINIA JULY 11, 1771 CURRENCY

(Roger A. Moore MD)

Introduction:

The last *Colonial Coin Collectors Club Newsletter* had an interesting paper from my good friend Ray Williams that discussed his findings concerning the trial and outcome of a gang that counterfeited Virginia's July 11, 1771, £5 notes, as well as various gold and silver coinages.¹ A newspaper article written contemporaneously with the capture of the counterfeiters reported that items taken from the counterfeiting operation included "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."² Therefore, this was a well-funded and advanced counterfeiting operation.

Eric Newman indicated that the authorized July 11, 1771 emissions only consisted of £2, £3, and £5 notes, and of these, the £5 note was counterfeited.³ Interestingly, for these three denominations, Newman also included in parentheses the valuations in crowns - £2 (8 crowns), £3 (12 crowns), and £5 (20 crowns.) Newman did not indicate their valuation in shillings, which might be the reason Ray stated in his paper that no forty-shilling notes were printed. The use of multiple terms to denote the same denomination can understandably lead to confusion, especially for those of us not routinely using these interchangeable terms for describing the same value. The reason Newman may not have included shillings as a denomination listed for this issue in his book may be due to having only a counterfeit £5 note to base this decision. Extant July 11, 1771 notes are extremely rare, and Newman used a counterfeit £5 note to illustrate this issue in his classic book. An example of a counterfeit £5 note is shown in Figure 1. The prominent denomination on this note is "FIVE POUNDS," with a much smaller denomination of "Twenty Crowns" placed below the coat of arms and the denomination of "100 shillings" almost hidden in the right edge panel. Since the most notable denomination on the note was in pounds and, to a lesser extent, in crowns, Newman may have understandably chosen to use only these monetary units for representing the issue's denominations.

However, an example of an extremely rare £2 note is shown in Figure 2. It is evident that the primary monetary unit on this note is "FORTY SHILLINGS," with much smaller indicators that the note is also valued at "TWO POUNDS" and at "Twenty Crowns." Had Newman seen one of these notes, he might have selected pounds and shillings as the denominations for his listing of these notes. Having three designations all representing the same monetary denomination can understandably lead to confusion.

¹ Williams, Ray, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia," *C4 Newsletter*, vol. 31, no. 4, Winter 2023, pp. 48-50.

² "Williamsburg," *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, February 25, 1773, p. 3.

³ Newman, Eric P., *The Early Paper Money of America*, CND Publishing, 2022, p. 419.



Figure 1. Virginia July 11, 1771, counterfeit £5 note. Observe “Twenty Crowns” under the coat of arms and “100 SHILLINGS” in the right panel. (Courtesy of Joseph Daragan)

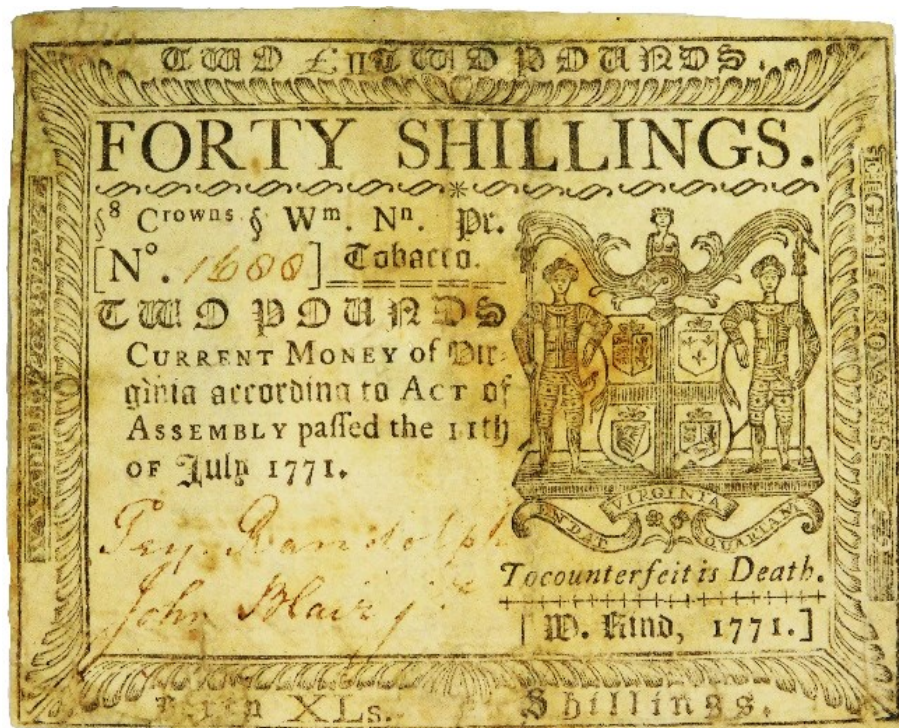


Figure 2. Virginia July 11, 1771, “FORTY SHILLINGS” note with smaller “TWO POUNDS” and “8 Crowns” indications. (Author)

Nature-Made Disaster Leads to July 11, 1771 Issue:

The Virginia House of Burgesses was a fiscally conservative body that did not like or trust fiat currency. In fact, they were the last of the thirteen colonies to authorize the printing of paper money, which occurred in June 1755, because of a desperate need to fund their militia at the beginning of the French and Indian War.⁴ Though a number of other emissions of paper currency were authorized over the following fifteen years, they were also primarily used for funding what would later be called the Seven-Year War and the reissuing of new emissions to cover the cost of redeeming their previous issues. On November 7, 1769, the Virginia House of Burgesses authorized what they expected to be their final currency emission, and these notes went into circulation in 1770. However, the best-laid plans do go astray, and in May 1771, a major storm struck Virginia, causing massive flooding and the destruction of many government-run tobacco warehouses.⁵ The government at the time required all tobacco growers to have their tobacco inspected and stored in government-run warehouses. The growers would receive “tobacco notes” from these warehouses reflecting the amount of tobacco they had stored, and the planters used these notes in the place of money for needed purchases.⁶ The loss of these government warehouses with the planters’ tobacco was a huge blow to the planters, the government, and the colony’s commerce. Therefore, the House of Burgesses, during their July 11, 1771 session, was forced to respond with an emergency resolution for a new currency emission of £30,000, specifically for covering tobacco losses incurred by the devastating storm. The issues had the word “tobacco” printed on their faces to indicate the reason this emission was authorized.⁷ (see Figures 1 and 2)

Human-Made Disaster Leads to Recall of the July 11, 1771 Issue:

As the colony of Virginia recovered from the natural disaster over the next two years, a human-made disaster would evolve. By January 1773, it became apparent that both the currency authorized on November 7, 1769, and the currency emitted from the July 11, 1771 authorization had been counterfeited.⁸ Counterfeiting currency frequently occurred in the colonies despite the threat of *To counterfeit is Death* printed on the notes. Unfortunately, the counterfeits of the 1771 issue were extremely well made and, therefore, quite deceptive. In addition, the counterfeiting of the £5 was so extensive that the entire intra-colony commerce was threatened by an increasing loss of the government's financial credibility, and this perception also began destabilizing trade with surrounding colonies.

One can only imagine the anxiety within the Virginia House of Burgesses when this counterfeiting came to light. In a letter written on February 22, 1773, by Robert Carter Nicholas, who served as the Treasurer of Virginia, to John Norton, who was Carter’s friend and a merchant stationed in London, the deceptiveness of the counterfeit 1771 £5 notes was described:

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 416.

⁵ Mason, Francis, *John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia*, The Dietz Press, Richmond, 1937, pp. 106, 159-160, and 171. Continuous rain for two weeks caused the James River to rise over 40 feet above its normal level, causing the loss of the tobacco warehouses, which were usually located along the riverside. In addition, many buildings and lives were lost, as well as large tracts of farmland.

⁶ Moore, Roger, “Two Existing Printing Plates for Virginia colonial Currency: Their Authorizers, Makers, and Preservers,” *JEAN*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2022, pp. 158-162.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁸ Newman, p. 441. The counterfeiting of the currency authorized on November 7, 1769, involved the twenty-shilling (4 crowns) and £5 (20 crowns) notes.

There have been lately discover'd some of the most ingenious & and therefore the more alarming Forgeries, of our two last Emissions. The Counterfeits are so exquisitly done, that they have deceived the most penetrating Geniuses amongst us; it cost a select Committee & myself two Days Examination before we could fix any certain Criteria to distinguish the good from the forged Bills.”⁹

These findings made it necessary to undertake an immediate recall of the currencies of November 7, 1769, and July 11, 1771. On March 13, 1773, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed as the first Act of this session the printing of £36,340 in “promissory notes” should the same amount not be raised otherwise by lenders, for the sole purpose of a complete recall and destruction of all November 7, 1769, and July 11, 1771, authorized notes.¹⁰

There was one positive result of this entire counterfeiting debacle. Since the countering operation was discovered in Pennsylvania, Virginia authorities had little jurisdiction to intervene with actions occurring in another colony. At that time in colonial history, most colonies acted with complete independence from one another in regard to laws and regulations. Since counterfeiting of currency and coins was a problem for every colony, agreements between colonies would benefit all when promoting active intervention against any counterfeiting operation, no matter what colony’s currency or coins were being counterfeited. For Virginia, this was established by the second Act the House of Burgesses passed during its March 13, 1773 session.¹¹ Soon after Virginia passed this Act, other colonies passed similar legislation, which was a major step forward toward colonies working as one on issues affecting the common good.¹² The seeds of this unity of purpose would grow as discontent with British rule escalated.

For Virginia, no private lenders to fund the recall effort could be found, so new printed currency was required. Rapidly establishing a new currency that was printed in such a manner as to confound counterfeiters was problematic. Eventually, Harry Ashby in London was recruited to produce high-grade 1773 currency for Virginia with a number of anti-counterfeiting devices.¹³ However, an immediate recall and replacement of the old, heavily counterfeited currency was required. The solution was to use previously printed “Virginia James River Bank” notes for a proposed private Virginia Bank that had never been founded due to an edict by King George III. The James River Bank notes were modified for use as a stop-gap substitution for the eventual currency. (Fig. 3)

⁹ Mason, pp. 302-303. Also see letter from John Norton published in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon) July 16, 1773. – “The Forgeries were executed in so very ingenious and masterly a Manner, that those, who might be supposed best acquainted with the Money, were deceived. The Signers, the Engraver, the Printer, and the Numberers of the Notes could not, for some time, be convinced of the Counterfeits.”

¹⁰ Hening, William Waller, ed., “Act for the better securing the public credit of this colony,” *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*, Richmond, Franklin Press, 1821, vol. 8, pp. 647-651.

¹¹ The Act was called an “Act to prevent counterfeiting the paper money of other colonies.” (Hening, vol. 8, pp. 651-652.) It states, “That if any person or persons shall within this colony prepare, engrave, stamp, or print, or cause or procure to be prepared, engraved, stamped, or printed, the counterfeit resemblance of any paper money which now is, or hereafter may be, circulated in payments by legislative authority, in any British colony plantation in America, with intention that such counterfeit paper shall be passed in payments, whether the same be so passed or not, or if any person or persons shall in this colony pay, or tender in payment, any such counterfeit money, knowing the same to be forged or counterfeited, altered or erased, every such person, being lawfully convicted, shall be adjudged a felon, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.”

¹² Moore, pp. 169-170.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 174-179.



Figure 3 – James River Bank April 1, 1773, twenty shillings note with April 1, 1773. A) Face showing multiple areas where information was written into blank areas, and B) Back showing extra printing required by the House of Burgesses. (author)

A number of modifications on the face of the original James River Bank notes were required for them to serve as the new Virginia currency. First, the name “James River Bank” had to be removed, but rather than blacking out these words, any words to be ignored were placed in parentheses. In Figure 4, the parentheses can be seen placed before and after “James River Bank,” as well as the handwritten currency book number and the note’s serial number. The parentheses were used a number of times on the note’s face to indicate words to be voided.

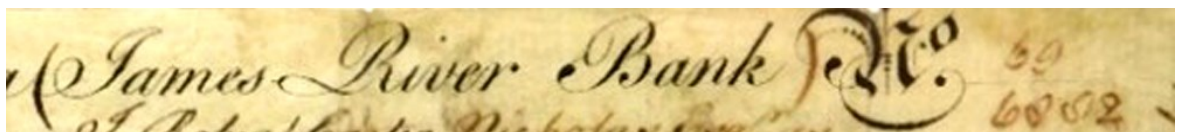


Figure 4, Close-up of the words James River Bank enclosed in parenthesis, which was the method used by the Virginia Treasurer to indicate unwanted verbiage. Also, note the handwritten book number (69) and serial number (6882) on the note.

Another modification on the face of the note was a number of handwritten additions, including the note's denomination – *Twenty* ,, (Figure 5), the Treasurer's name and position - *Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer of the Dominion and Colony of ...* (Figure 6), the date of redemption - *...or before the tenth Day of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five* (Figure 6), and the date of issue - *...my Hand this first Day of April one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three* (Figure 7).

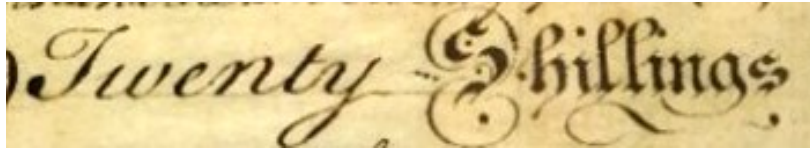


Figure 5. Close-up of handwritten denomination of “Twenty” shillings for this note.

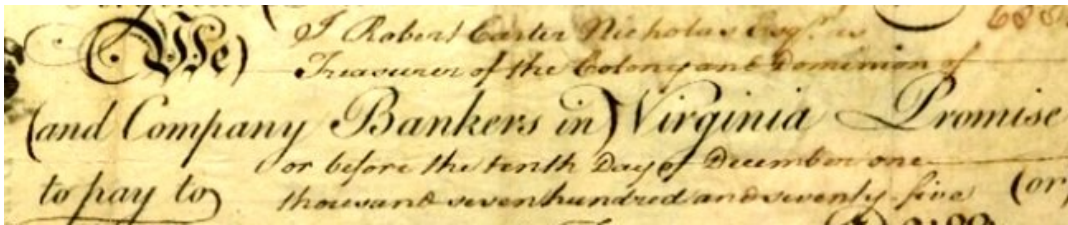


Figure 6. Close-up of handwritten Treasurer's name and position, as well as the date of redemption for the note.

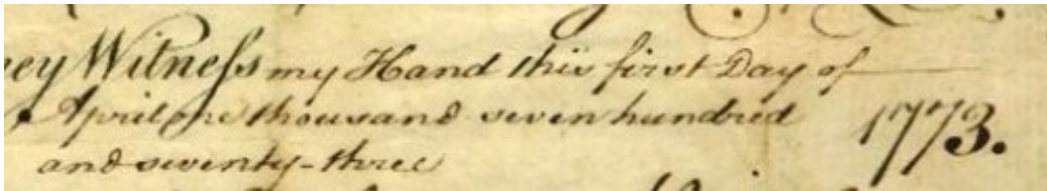


Figure 7. Close-up of handwritten date of issue for the note.

Finally, the note has the signatures of three separate signers - *John Blair, Robert Carter Nicholas, Treas., and B. Dandridge*. The back of the note also has additions, which include a partially printed border, the denomination of the note, and the words *DEATH to COUNTERFEIT* (Figure 8).

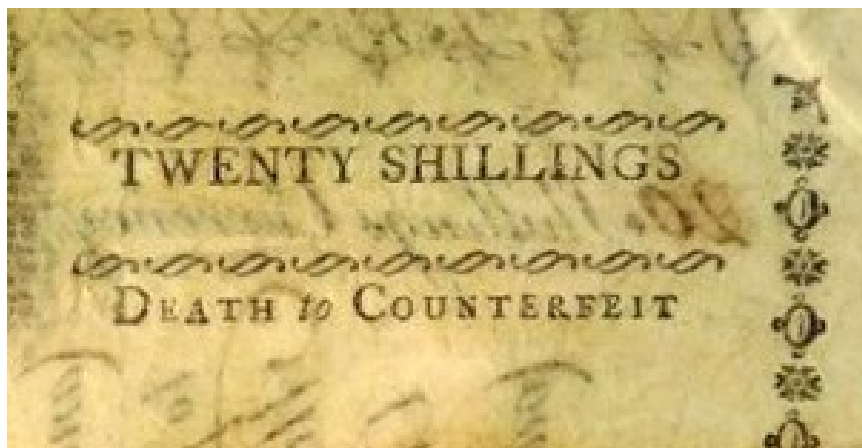


Figure 8. The back of the James River currency had the addition of a partially printed border, the note's denomination, and a warning of Death to Counterfeit.

Conclusion:

The purpose of this article was to compliment Ray Williams for having performed a deep dive into the outcome of a trial for major counterfeiters who caused significant monetary damage to the colony of Virginia. Though “Death to Counterfeit” was commonly found on many colonial currencies, death was rarely the outcome for arrested counterfeiters. The other reason for this paper was to clarify that 40 shillings notes were actually printed for the July 11, 1771 emission, though Eric Newman listed them as £2 notes. The seemingly complex relationships between different designations for the British coinage can be very confusing. Basically, £2 is the same as eight crowns, which is the same as 40 shillings, which is the same as 120 groats, which is the same as 480 pence.

The author would be interested in knowing if anyone else has either official or counterfeit notes from the Virginia July 11, 1771 emission. RogerMoore435@yahoo.com



Early American Coppers



If you have an interest in Early American Copper Cents, Half Cents, Tokens, Medals etc., Please visit our web page and consider joining this prestigious Club.

- Penny-Wise*-Our award winning Quarterly Journal
- EAC Website-Exclusive Member Section
- References, Videos, Club Activities
- Annual Convention-Members meet every spring to share information, interests and friendships
- Region 8 Email Publication-Member information in an easy to read weekly blast
- Copper Notes, Large Cent, Halfcent and Dark side Facebook Groups for deep discussions.

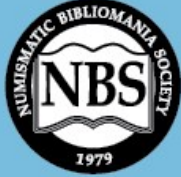
EAC yearly dues are \$39.00. A junior membership (under 18) is available for \$5.00

Join today by visiting www.eacs.org

Do you love coins?

Do you love books?

Do you love books about coins?



Join the

Numismatic Bibliomania Society

coinbooks.org



AN INTERESTING “FODS” UNDERTYPE

(Mark R. Vitunic)

FODS, short for “flip-over double strike”, refers to a type of minting error in which a coin is double struck but with the second strike occurring obverse-over-reverse and reverse-over-obverse. How does this happen? The simplest explanation, would be the “man in the pit” mistakenly placing a previously struck coin instead of a fresh planchet under the press. It is then a 50/50 chance that the coin will be simply double-struck or FODS. Suppose there are two baskets in use, as in the picture to the right¹⁴: one for blank planchets and one for freshly struck coins- it is not hard to imagine a coin or two falling into the wrong basket. Another explanation, more devious, would be the same thing happening with willful intent, but I am skeptical of this argument as the resultant error does not seem dramatic enough (to their eyes, not ours) that they would waste time, energy, and money producing it. In my opinion, such tomfoolery, if it existed at all, would have been reserved for making something really crazy like a two-headed coin.



A FODS is relatively rare, but not exceedingly so – they exist in virtually every State copper and colonial coin series. What I have never seen before is a FODS used as a *host planchet*, or undertype for another coin. That is, until I stumbled upon one in a recent re-reading of Carlotto¹⁵. On page 116 Tony shows a Vermont Ryder 12 which is overstruck on a 1785 Nova Constellatio (see below). It looks pretty standard until you realize the all-seeing eye and rays are visible on both sides – a FODS in the undertype. Additionally on the reverse the script *US* at center is *mirrored* (and incuse, although that detail is hard to verify from a photo) which means the undertype also had brockage. A triple whammy! And an amazing coin. The undertype appears to be Crosby 4-D, shown at the right below. Are there more ones out there?



¹⁴ From Diderot's *Encyclopédie* 1751-1766.

¹⁵ Carlotto, Tony, *The Colonial Coins of Vermont and Those Bearing the Vermont Name*, C4, 1998.

[Note: This article, long a favorite of your editor's, first appeared in the Spring 2013 issue of C4N]

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PURCHASE

(Leo Shane)

(Any similarity between the characters in this story to real life individuals is purely coincidental. <BG> Thanks to Neil Rothschild for the photos.)

The setting: The summer of 1775 in West Jersey America. Mr. Williams is a maker of barrels and has just received a very large order which he needs to deliver quickly. He cannot produce all of the barrels in time with his current workmen and turns to his friend Mr. Rosen, a woodworker of NY to make a number of barrel staves.

Mr. Williams: G'morning to ye Mr. Rosen, and how are you this fine August day?

Mr. Rosen: I am well Mr. Williams and hope the same for ye.

Mr. Williams: I am glad that you were in the area and stopped for a visit, I have a need which I hope you can be of assistance to me.

Mr. Rosen: We have been friends for many a year. I could not have come to West Jersey and not call upon ye. If I may assist, I will gladly be in your service.

Mr. Williams: Yes, Mr. Rosen, you are a true friend and that is the reason I bring this proposition to your attention. I have contracted for a large number of barrels, the largest I have ever had. My workmen are very hard workers but I do not think they are up to the task of delivering said barrels in the time allotted. I believe they can be assembled but want of the time needed to produce a large portion of the staves. I pray that my good friend Mr. Rosen can produce for me at a reasonable cost, 515 staves of the shape and size of the one I now give to you. I trust that this can be done in a manner that is most beneficial to both of us.

Mr. Rosen: Mr. Williams, of course I am only too happy to be of service to you and can deliver what you desire in a fortnight. Now as to cost, I assume that you would prefer my compensation in money of Pennsylvania. That being determined, my normal cost would be 4d a piece delivered. But, Mr. Williams you being a life long friend of mine and a past president of that fine organization that I am now president of, that being C4 (Colonial Coopers, Cobblers and Craftsmen), I will give you the needed staves at 3d a piece. Is this satisfactory for your needs?

Mr. Williams: Mr. Rosen, yes, I very much enjoyed my time as president of C4. There are many upstanding individuals who make up the membership of that organization. I am truly indebted to you for giving me consideration for our friendship and my service to C4. Yes, this price is satisfactory as is the delivery in a fortnight.

Mr. Rosen: Well then, let us make the calculation of the entire transaction. I have in my possession this well worn *Ready Reckoner* which I have with me at all times to make this calculation. (Mr. Rosen takes a copy of his well used 1774 *Ready Reckoner* by Christopher Sower printed in Germantown, Pennsylvania and turns to the page for items costing 3d a piece. He then looks to the line for 500 pieces and finds that the cost is 6£ 5s 0d. He then looks to the line for 15 pieces and sees the cost to be 0£ 3s 9d. By adding the two costs, the total comes to 6£ 8s 9d.) By my reckoning Mr. Williams, the total in money of Pennsylvania comes to 6£ 8s 9d. If it be possible, I ask that this be paid upon delivery and in hard money. I have had ill experience with paper script and have no method of storing or reselling produce or tobacco as is done by those in the southern countries.

At 3 Pence.

N.	l.	s.	d.	N.	l.	s.	d.	N.	l.	s.	d.
1	—	—	3	45	—	11	3	89	1	2	3
2	—	—	6	46	—	11	6	90	1	2	6
3	—	—	9	47	—	11	9	91	1	2	9
4	—	1	—	48	—	12	—	92	1	3	—
5	—	1	3	49	—	12	3	93	1	3	3
6	—	1	6	50	—	12	6	94	1	3	6
7	—	1	9	51	—	12	9	95	1	3	9
8	—	2	—	52	—	13	—	96	1	4	—
9	—	2	3	53	—	13	3	97	1	4	3
10	—	2	6	54	—	13	6	98	1	4	6
11	—	2	9	55	—	13	9	99	1	4	9
12	—	3	—	56	—	14	—	100	1	5	—
13	—	3	3	57	—	14	3	101	1	5	3
14	—	3	6	58	—	14	6	102	1	5	6
15	—	3	9	59	—	14	9	103	1	5	9
16	—	4	—	60	—	15	—	104	1	6	—
17	—	4	3	61	—	15	3	105	1	6	3
18	—	4	6	62	—	15	6	106	1	6	6
19	—	4	9	63	—	15	9	107	1	6	9
20	—	5	—	64	—	16	—	108	1	7	—
21	—	5	3	65	—	16	3	109	1	7	3
22	—	5	6	66	—	16	6	110	1	7	6
23	—	5	9	67	—	16	9	111	1	7	9
24	—	6	—	68	—	17	—	GH 112	1	8	—
25	—	6	3	69	—	17	3	Gr. 114	1	10	—
26	—	6	6	70	—	17	6	200	2	10	—
27	—	6	9	71	—	17	9	W 256	3	4	—
28	—	7	—	72	—	18	—	500	3	15	—
29	—	7	3	73	—	18	3	400	3	—	—
30	—	7	6	74	—	18	6	500	6	5	—
31	—	7	9	75	—	18	9	600	7	10	—
32	—	8	—	76	—	19	—	700	8	15	—
33	—	8	3	77	—	19	3	800	10	—	—
34	—	8	6	78	—	19	6	900	11	5	—
35	—	8	9	79	—	19	9	1000	12	10	—
36	—	9	—	80	—	20	—	2000	25	—	—
37	—	9	3	81	—	20	3	3000	37	10	—
38	—	9	6	82	—	20	6	4000	50	—	—
39	—	9	9	83	—	20	9	5000	62	10	—
40	—	10	—	84	—	21	—	6000	75	—	—
41	—	10	3	85	—	21	3	7000	87	10	—
42	—	10	6	86	—	21	6	8000	100	—	—
43	—	10	9	87	—	21	9	9000	112	10	—
44	—	11	—	88	—	22	—	10000	125	—	—

365 Days in a Year, at 3d, per Day, is 4l. 11s. 3d.

3d table from 1774 Ready Reckoner
by Christopher Sower



1695 William III Guinea of England



1775 Portuguese/Brazil 6400 Reis or "Half Joe"



Mr. Williams: I agree with your calculation and accept your terms. Now let us enjoy some tea and talk of current events and days gone by. (Mr. Rosen and Mr. Williams adjourn to the parlor the business at hand concluded.)

(Forward a fortnight plus 2 days, it now being early September 1775. Mr. Rosen visits Mr. Williams to conclude payment of the bill, the staves having been delivered 2 days prior.)

Mr. Rosen: G'day to yee Mr. Williams, there is a bit of a nip in the air t'day. I trust that the staves delivered were satisfactory.

Mr. Williams: G'day to yee Mr. Rosen, yes the days of summer seem to be past. I thank you for delivering the staves on time and to the specifications needed. My workman have already used near a quarter of them in assembling barrels. Not one as yet has failed to fit in good order.

Mr. Rosen: I am delighted that you are satisfied. My workmen are of the highest skill as you can now attest to. Mr. Williams as you are satisfied with my product, I pray that we can now conclude the transaction.

Mr. Williams: Yes, Mr. Rosen I have secured for our business hard currency as you requested. Here I have two guineas, a half joe and 18 ha'penny that I render in payment.

Mr. Williams: I now show to you a chart of coin values listed in my *Father Abraham Almanack*, which I have used for the past years. (Father Abraham's Almanack for the year 1771, by Abraham Weatherwise and printed in 1770.) As you can see, the value of a guinea is 1£ 14s 0d Pennsylvania, two being worth 3£ 8s 0d and the half joe at 3£ 0s 0d Pennsylvania. I give ye these coins plus 9d in ha'penny being a total of 6£ 8s 9d, the sum which we agreed upon a fortnight and two days ago.

A TABLE of the Value and Weight of Coins, as they now pass in *England, Philadelphia, and New-York.*

	<i>Sterling.</i>			<i>Philad.</i>			<i>N.York</i>			<i>Wt.</i>	
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	dwt.	gr.
E ng. Guineas, at	1	1	0	1	14	0	1	16	0	5	6
French ditto	1	1	0	1	13	6	1	15	0	5	5
Moidores - - -	1	7	0	2	3	6	2	6	0	6	18
Johannes's - - -	3	12	0	6	0	0	6	6	0	18	8
Half ditto - - -	1	16	0	3	0	0	3	3	0	9	4
Frenchmilled Pistoles	0	16	6	1	6	6	1	8	0	4	4
Spanish ditto - -	0	16	0	1	7	0	1	9	0	4	6
Doublons - - -	3	6	0	5	3	0	5	16	0	17	8
English Crowns -	0	5	0	0	7	6	0	8	0	17	6
French ditto -	0	5	0	0	7	6	0	8	0	17	6
* Spanish Dollars - - -	0	0	0	0	7	6	0	8	0	17	6
English Six-pence -	0	0	6	0	0	9	0	0	9		

* Most Sorts of *Spanish Silver* are sold in *London* by the Ounce, and often vary, but seldom or ever exceeds $\frac{5}{5}$. In *Pennsylvania* it sells for $\frac{8}{6}$. per Ounce. In *Boston* and *Connecticut*, Dollars pass for $\frac{6}{s}$. and Gold by Weight.

Coin chart from Father Abraham's Almanack for the year 1771.

Mr. Rosen: I have always made it a policy to weigh coins of gold and silver since there are many scoundrels about that would shave or sweat coins for ill-gotten gains. I trust you my friend but in looking at the half joe you render, I fear that you may have been a victim of one of these unscrupulous individuals. Look here at the rim. It appears that someone has shaved a few grains from it.



Close up of shaved rim of 1775 "Half Joe"

Mr. Williams: I see what you say. I have just acquired the half joe from a merchant from New York just four days ago. I trusted this person but now see that in fact is a scoundrel in this matter. Please do weigh the gold coins presented so that we may conduct a proper transaction.

Mr. Rosen: As you wish. (Mr Rosen opens a small wooden box containing his pocket scales and removes the scale, guinea weight and half joe weight.) Mr. Williams, I hold the scale up to show you that the pans are at the same height and the pointer is fully vertical. This shows that with no weight, the scale is in balance. Next, I'll place one of the guineas on one pan and the guinea weight on the other. The pointer of the scale is upright and shows that this coin is of the proper weight. I repeat this for the other guinea and it also appears to be of full weight. Next I will place the half joe on one pan and the half joe weight (36 Shillings in money of England, see Almanack coin chart) on the other. The scale pointer is not vertical but tips to the side of the weight. This shows me that your half joe is light.



Wooden Box with coin scale and weights, ca 1770's.

Mr. Williams: This is disturbing. If I were a man of violence, I would pummel the perpetrator of this deed about the head and shoulders for his nefarious deed. As I am not, I shall be seeing my New York friend and will tell him of his misdeed.

Mr. Rosen: Now let us determine the extent to which this coin has been clipped. I use the grain weights here of 4, 5 and 6 grains. Using combinations of these weights allows me to determine deficiencies in weights of 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,9,10,11 and 15 grains. An estimate for 8 grains can be made using 7 and then 9 grains of weight. I do not usually accept coins where the weight is light by more than 10 grains unless it be near the weight of another coin that I have a weight for. If forced to accept any other, I may do so but at a severe discount. By this method, I see that this coin is two grains light. Since the standard weight for a half joe is 9dwt 4gr, each grains is worth 3-1/2d (actually approximately 3.27d rounded up). The 2 grains means that this coin is 7d deficient.



Guinea Coin Weight



"Half Joe Coin Weight



4, 5 and 6 Grain "Adjustment" weights

Mr. Williams: This is most disturbing. Mr. Rosen, you have educated me this day and given me a lesson I shall not soon forget. I, of course, render the gold coins plus 1s 4d in ha'penny to conclude our transaction.

Mr. Rosen: Yes, I myself have been a victim in the past and have learned to take care in accepting gold and silver in payment. Come now, our transaction is complete. Let us talk of things other than commerce.

Mr. Williams: Yes, let us discuss the doings of C4 and the next meeting. It is always such a joyous occasion to see my old friends and imbibe in a pint or two.

(Their transaction concluded, Mr. Rosen and Mr. Williams clasp hands and go off to the publick house to discuss the latest disturbing news of the occupation of Boston, more taxes and the resentment brewing against the king.)



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. Hardcover copy, very good, no stamps: **\$65**
2. Baker, Warren S., *Medallic Portraits of Washington*, Krause Publications, Iola, WI, 1965. Hardcover 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, tears 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 stamps, good to very good: **\$10**
9. Vlack, Robert A., *Early American Coins*, Windsor Research Publications, Johnson City, NY 1965. Previous owner's stamp, C4 stamp, good to very good: **\$45**
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**



The C4 Library is Offering For Sale, its collection of "The Numismatist" 1894 to 2023

- A Once in a Lifetime Opportunity
- Official Journal of the American Numismatic Association
- Over 1350 Issues (Not a complete set, List available on request)
- Issues Grade Good to Like New
- Address labels on the front cover of some issues
- Articles on all Numismatic Subjects including Colonials
- Authors include Eric Newman, Walter Breen, David Bowers and many other Numismatic Legends
- The collection is presently located in Warminster PA

The entire collection is being sold for \$1799 (Local Pick Up)

Or, \$2299 Post Paid to anywhere in the US

Questions? Contact Leo Shane at Leo_J_Shane@hotmail.com

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:

Thomas Giorgianni - NY
Greg Kimpton - OH

Joseph Lessard - NH
Gary Malkowsky - AR

Dan Tumolo - NJ

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 \$17 for the first and \$11 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:

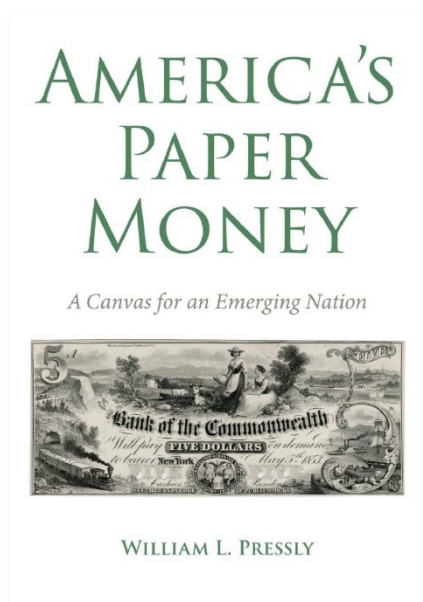
www.archive.org/details/newmannumismatic



Smithsonian Institution
Scholarly Press

America's Paper Money: A Canvas for an Emerging Nation

By William L. Pressly



America's Paper Money is the first in-depth study of the imagery on the country's paper currency before 1900. Because paper money circulated everywhere, it was the country's most widely distributed iconography. Art historian William L. Pressly examines how for two centuries American creativity and technical ingenuity generated images that helped establish and enhance the nation's imagined self.

In 1690, when the Massachusetts Bay Colony became the first government in the Western world to issue paper money, it initiated this indigenous American art form of remarkable dynamism and originality. After the Revolutionary War, disillusioned by how quickly its promiscuous printing of Continental currency had led to hyperinflation, the U.S. government left it to private institutions, such as state-chartered banks, to carry on this artistic tradition. In 1861, in response to the Civil War, the federal government began taking charge of the paper-money supply, achieving its finest designs in the 1896 "Educational Series."

America's Paper Money celebrates this distinctive American art form, one that has for too long been overlooked or misunderstood.

PUBLICATION DATE: 12/20/2023

PAGE COUNT: 363

ISBN (ONLINE): 978-1-944466-66-4

CATEGORIES: Art history; North American history; American history; American paper currency; Numismatics

SERIES: Open Monographs

WILLIAM L. PRESSLY taught at Yale University, Duke University, and the University of Maryland, where he served as chair of the Department of Art History and Archaeology. He is a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. Pressly received a Morse Fellowship from Yale University, a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, a Mellon Senior Fellowship from the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, a Residency Fellowship at the Yale Center for British Art, and was a Smithsonian Institution Senior Fellow. His book *James Barry's Murals at the Royal Society of Arts: Envisioning a New Public Art* won the 2015 William M.D. Berger Prize for British Art History.

For more information or if you have any questions, please email Sarah Fannon at FannonS@si.edu

**AVAILABLE FOR FREE ON THE SMITHSONIAN
INSTITUTION SCHOLARLY PRESS WEBSITE:**

<https://doi.org/10.5479/si.24871410>

RESOURCE FOR THE C4 NEWSLETTER

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

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

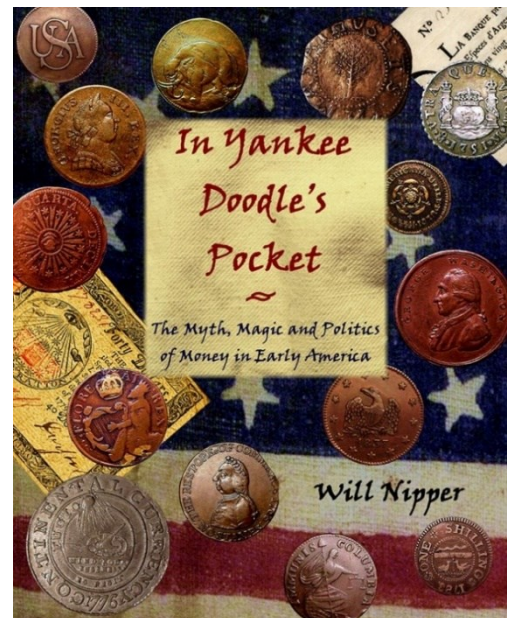
February 26, 1777, \$2, Friedberg.55 — May 20, 1777 \$4 Friedberg.65 — May 20, 1777, \$5, Friedberg.66 — May 20, 1777, \$7, Friedberg.68 — May 20, 1777, \$8, Friedberg.69 — April 11, 1778, \$6, Friedberg.73 — April 11, 1778, \$7, Friedberg.74 — April 11, 1778, \$8, Friedberg.75 — April 11, 1778, \$20,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

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

ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO ADD TO YOUR NUMISMATIC LIBRARY

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

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



C4 Offers Important Colonial Books

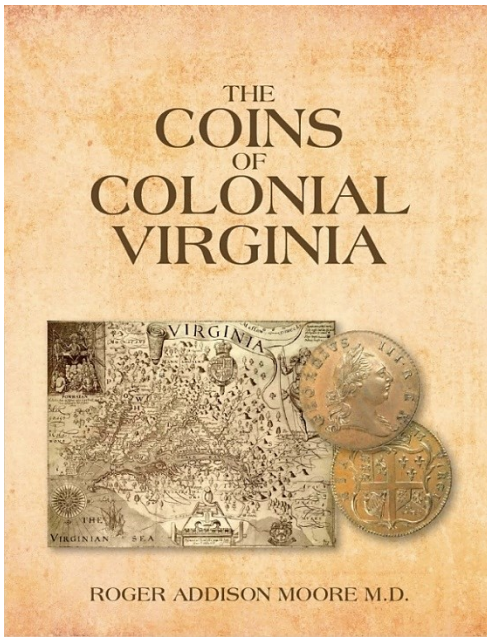
For more information on the following books, published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4), visit the C4 website at www.colonialcoins.org. These books may be ordered directly from: Charles Davis' website at www.numisbook.com. Books marked with an asterisk are also available from Kolbe & Fanning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

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

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

C4 BOOKS STILL AVAILABLE

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



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

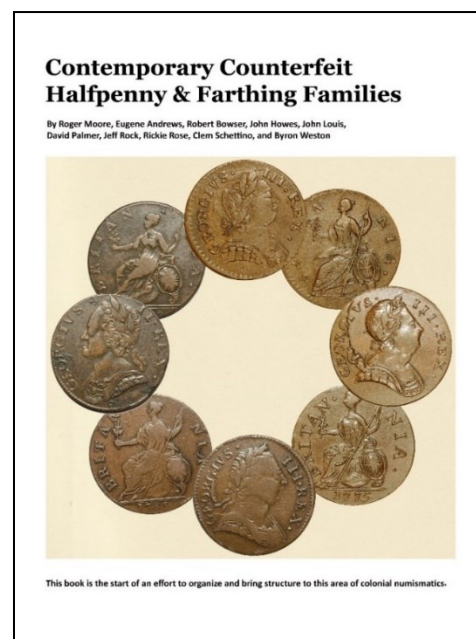
In addition to exploring the historic context in which colonial Virginia struggled to obtain hard currency, methods are provided for attributing and collecting 30 known die varieties of the 1773 copper Virginia halfpence. The book also enumerates the specifics of the Virginia halfpence metrology, rarity,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

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

Contemporary Counterfeit Halfpenny & Farthing Families (2nd printing)

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

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



CLASSIFIED ADS

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

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

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

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

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

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



Member downsizing-

Set of back issues of the C4 Newsletter for sale. Complete set except for 2001 vol 9, #2 summer and 2002 vol 10 #4 winter. Note 1996 only had 3 issues and one is mislabeled 1997. Only 2 issues in 1993, the first year. Set ends 2023. 118 issues sold as set only for \$200.00 plus shipping. Contact halcherry@msn.com. (1/4)



John Kraljevich Americana

www.jkamericana.com

C4 Member since that dinner at the 1994 ANA Convention in Detroit

High Quality Colonial and Early American Coins
Important American Historical Medals
Extensive Inventory of World Coins That Circulated in Early America

Expert Auction Counsel
Want Lists Energetically Serviced
Online Inventory Updated Regularly
Always Buying Superb Coins, Medals, Tokens, and More

jk@jkamericana.com

Cell: 443.454.7588.
PO Box 1939
Fort Mill, SC 29716





EARLY CENTS COLONIALS FIXED PRICE LIST



EARLY CENTS COLONIALS FIXED PRICE LIST



EARLY CENTS

www.earlycentsauctions.com | info@earlycentsauctions.com
P.O. BOX 6400, Austin, TX 78762
Lucas Baldrige, Texas Auctioneer Lic#18106

OUR FIXED PRICE LIST IS OUT

CONTACT

CHRIS MCCAWLEY AT 405-226-5072 OR
LUCAS BALDRIDGE AT 972-310-9497
TO ORDER CATALOG OR MAKE A PURCHASE



WWW.EARLYCENTS.COM

www.earlycents.com | info@earlycentsauctions.com | P.O. BOX 6400 | Austin, TX 78762
Chris McCawley 405-226-5072, cmccawley@aol.com | Lucas Baldrige, 972-310-9497, friscomint@live.com
Lucas Baldrige, Texas Auctioneer Lic#18106



Ebay Store



AUCTIONS

THE 2024 EAC CONVENTION SALE

MAY 17-18, 2024 5:00PM EDT

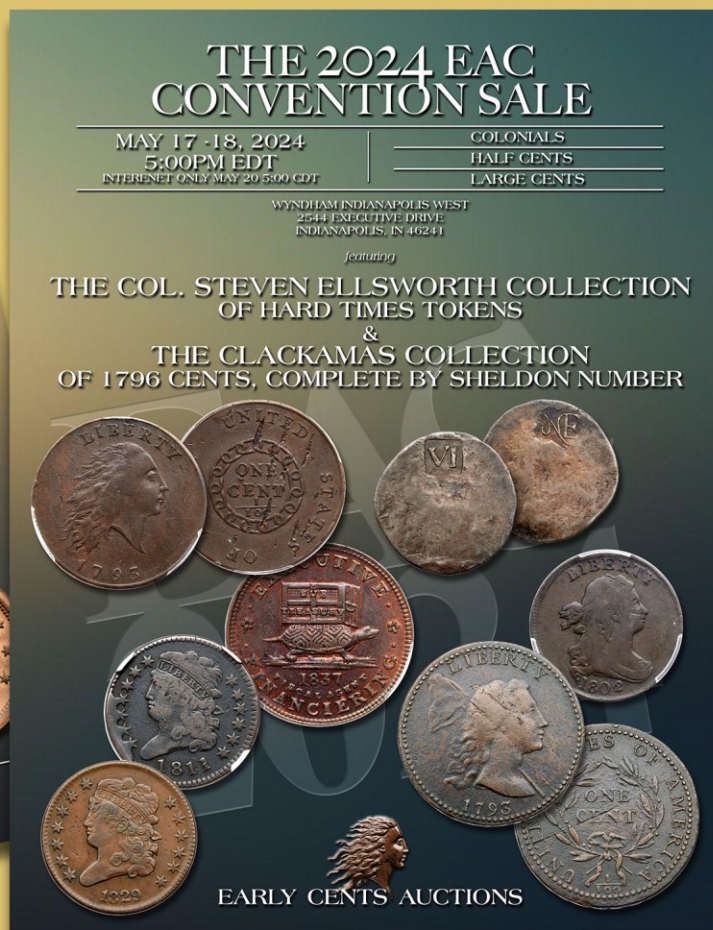
INTERNET ONLY MAY 20 5:00PM CDT

featuring

THE COL. STEVEN ELLSWORTH COLLECTION
OF HARD TIMES TOKENS

&

THE CLACKAMAS COLLECTION
OF 1796 CENTS, COMPLETE BY SHELDON NUMBER



ALL PROCEEDS OF THE COL. ELLSWORTH
HARD TIMES TOKEN COLLECTION
WILL BENEFIT THE EARLY AMERICAN
COPPER CLUB

WWW.EARLYCENTS.COM

www.earlycents.com | info@earlycentsauctions.com | P.O. BOX 6400 | Austin, TX 78762
Chris McCawley 405-226-5072, cmccawley@aol.com | Lucas Baldrige, 972-310-9497, friscoint@live.com
Lucas Baldrige, Texas Auctioneer Lic#18106



EA AUCTIONS

North America's #1 coin and currency show

BALTIMORE

20

24



**WE are excited. WE are ready.
WELCOME to the new Baltimore!**

WEC whitman expos™

SAVE THE DATE

June 13–15, Halls A-B

**BALTIMORE
CONVENTION CENTER
1 WEST PRATT ST**



404 214 4373

info@whitmanexpo.com

<dealer registration

Stack's Bowers

OFFICIAL AUCTION COMPANY

whitmanexpos.com



@whitmancoin

NOW ACCEPTING CONSIGNMENTS



**CONTACT US TO SEE WHAT SETS US APART
FROM THE BIG AUCTION HOUSES**

Chris McCawley
cvm@earlycentsauctions.com
405-226-5072

Bob Grellman
jrgrellman@gmail.com
407-221-1654

Travis Hollon
travis@earlycentsauctions.com
214-912-6644

Lucas Baldrige
lucas@earlycentsauctions.com
972-310-9497

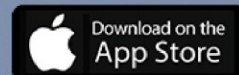
Lyle Engleson
lyle@earlycentsauctions.com
818-645-1602



Ebay Store



AUCTIONS



EARLY CENTS AUCTIONS

www.earlycentsauctions.com | info@earlycentsauctions.com | P.O. BOX 6400 | Austin, TX 78762
ChirsMcCawley 405-226-5072, cmccawley@aol.com | Lucas Baldrige. 972-310-9497, friscomint@live.com
Lucas Baldrige, Texas Auctioneer Lic#18106  EarlyCents