

# THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Spring 2026

Volume 34, Number 1



**Paul Revere's *The Bloody Boston Massacre***

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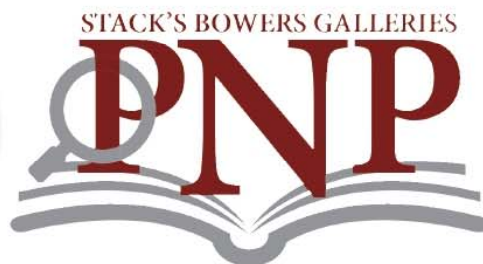
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# THE STACK'S BOWERS GALLERIES 2026 PROFESSIONAL NUMISMATIST PROGRAM

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This program is fully funded by Stack's Bowers Galleries with all expenses – travel, lodging, food, beverages and entertainment – provided by the firm upon acceptance to the program.

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- The Complete Auction Process

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- Numismatic Marketing
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- Coin Photography
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**Applications due by May 1, 2026 • Acceptance Notification: May 15, 2026**



## WHAT OUR GRADUATES SAY:

*"The PNP program is an incredible experience that offers meaningful insight into the professional numismatic field through leading experts and hands-on experience, from grading coins to understanding the auction process itself. Everyone involved was incredibly kind, eager to help, and shared a genuine passion for numismatics. The program's customizable courses allow students to explore interests across the full spectrum of numismatics. I can confidently say I have grown considerably as a numismatist and developed a deeper passion for coin photography as a result. I feel very fortunate to have had this opportunity and cannot recommend it highly enough to prospective applicants.*

– PNP Graduate K.W.

*PNP offered a wide variety of numismatic courses. I especially enjoyed the world grading course, which also provided valuable insight into the different minting processes of coins around the globe. My grading skills for both U.S. and world coins improved significantly.*

– PNP Graduate E.P.

\*Applicants must be 18-25 years old. Students will share hotel rooms. If you have a preferred roommate, please include that with your written application. If accepted, a waiver of liability for Stack's Bowers Galleries and an image release will be required.

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## **The C4 Newsletter**

Spring 2026, Volume 34, Number 1

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

Web address: [www.colonialcoins.org](http://www.colonialcoins.org)

**Disclaimer:** The views expressed in this newsletter are solely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of **The Colonial Coin Collectors Club, Inc.** organization.

### **C4 National Officers:**

|                 |                                                                                                                                                     |                              |                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| President:      | Christopher McDowell<br>5014 Leonard Street<br>Cincinnati, OH 45208<br><a href="mailto:President@ColonialCoins.org">President@ColonialCoins.org</a> | Secretary:                   | Carol Wolf<br>P.O. Box 118<br>Middleville, NJ 07855-9800<br><a href="mailto:Secretary@ColonialCoins.org">Secretary@ColonialCoins.org</a>             |
| Vice-President: | Jim Glickman<br>24 Coulton Park<br>Needham, MA 02492<br><a href="mailto:VicePresident@ColonialCoins.org">VicePresident@ColonialCoins.org</a>        | Immediate<br>Past-President: | Craig McDonald<br>10503 Briar Brook Lane<br>Frisco, TX 75033<br><a href="mailto:PastPresident@ColonialCoins.org">PastPresident@ColonialCoins.org</a> |
| Treasurer:      | Chris Pretsch<br>301 Fifth Avenue, #622<br>Pittsburgh, PA 15222<br><a href="mailto:Treasurer@ColonialCoins.org">Treasurer@ColonialCoins.org</a>     |                              |                                                                                                                                                      |

### **C4 Regional Vice Presidents:**

|                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Region 1 (CT, NJ, Canadian Maritimes, Quebec)<br>Matt Virga<br><a href="mailto:Region1VP@ColonialCoins.org">Region1VP@ColonialCoins.org</a>                                                               | Region 6 (IN, IL, OH, Ontario, Manitoba)<br>Bruce Smith<br><a href="mailto:Region6VP@ColonialCoins.org">Region6VP@ColonialCoins.org</a>                                                                                    |
| Region 2 (MA, ME, NH, RI, VT)<br>Tom Gesner<br>P. O. Box 243<br>Dedham, MA 02027<br><a href="mailto:Region2VP@ColonialCoins.org">Region2VP@ColonialCoins.org</a>                                          | Region 7 (IA, KS, MI, ND, NE, OK, SD, TX, WI)<br>Wayne Shelby<br><a href="mailto:Region7VP@ColonialCoins.org">Region7VP@ColonialCoins.org</a>                                                                              |
| Region 3 (DE, MD, NY)<br>Dr. David Menchell<br>P.O. Box 656832<br>Fresh Meadows, NY 11365<br><a href="mailto:Region3VP@ColonialCoins.org">Region3VP@ColonialCoins.org</a>                                 | Region 8 (AZ, CA, HI, ID, MO, MT, NM, NV, UT, WY, Mexico)<br>Dr. Chris Salmon<br>6328 E. Cactus Wren Rd.<br>Paradise Valley, AZ 85253-4249<br><a href="mailto:Region8VP@ColonialCoins.org">Region8VP@ColonialCoins.org</a> |
| Region 4 (DC, PA, TN, VA, WV)<br>Stan Stephens<br>1469 Fenwick Street<br>Star City, WV 26505<br><a href="mailto:Region4VP@ColonialCoins.org">Region4VP@ColonialCoins.org</a>                              | Region 9 (AK, CO, MN, OR, WA, British Columbia, United Kingdom)<br>Bill Mitchell<br><a href="mailto:Region9VP@ColonialCoins.org">Region9VP@ColonialCoins.org</a>                                                           |
| Region 5 (AL, AR, FL, GA, KY, LA, MS, NC, SC, Puerto Rico)<br>George Fernandez<br>19 Tallowood Drive<br>Medford, NJ 08055<br><a href="mailto:Region5VP@ColonialCoins.org">Region5VP@ColonialCoins.org</a> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |



**Member C1159162  
Since 1992**

### **C4 Newsletter Editor(s):**

Editor: Will Nipper, Editor@ColonialCoins.org

Associate Editors: Julia Casey and Randy Clark, AssistEditor@ColonialCoins.org

*Articles and classified ads should be emailed to both Editor and AssistEditor email addresses. 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

### **C4 Membership**

Membership questions, address changes, and dues should be sent to the C4 Treasurer (contact information on prior page). Annual dues are \$35 for Regular Membership (\$55 if outside the U.S.) and \$10 for Junior Membership (under 18 years of age; \$15 if outside the U.S.) 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 of your latest *C4 Newsletter* envelope. Because the newsletter is a significant club expense, we print just enough to cover our current membership. Having an up-to-date annual membership is required to receive *C4 Newsletters*, which are mailed quarterly in the Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter.

You can pay via Paypal (preferred) on the C4 website (ColonialCoins.org) or mail checks (made out to "C4") to the C4 Treasurer (contact information on page 1). Thank you for paying in a timely manner. It makes the Treasurer's job easier and will be much appreciated!

### **This Quarter's Prospective New C4 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 why any of the following should be denied membership in C4, please contact either your Regional VP or the C4 President. The new provisional members for this quarter are:

Anthony Barber - NC

Matt Becker - NY

Bill Bugert - PA

John Dietrich - VA

Floyd Messina - UT

Ernie Nagy - MI

Richard Rosenfeld - NY

Sean Ryan - CA

John Sideris - NY



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Search for "C4 - Colonial Coin Collectors Club"  
or scan the QR code.



## A FEW WORDS FROM YOUR C4 PRESIDENT

(Judge Christopher R. McDowell)

Welcome to another exciting issue of the *C4 Newsletter*. Our editorial team has outdone itself with this issue, which, in my opinion, features several articles that could be published in peer-reviewed university journals. The *C4 Newsletter* is the highlight of our club and, in itself, a reason to be a member of our organization.



We are calling for people to run for C4 officer positions (see the notice in this issue). If you're interested in getting more involved, this is your chance. President George Washington started a tradition in this country of running for office twice and then stepping down. Your current President, like General Washington and the Roman patrician Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, is also relinquishing the fasces of leadership and retiring to his Queen City mansion, where he shall tend to his fields (a small group of tomato plants). Now that I am a lame duck, I am freer to speak my mind, so watch out!

As many of you know, Ye President is a collector of Connecticut coppers and owns the largest variety collection of them. This month featured the sale of Dick August's collection of Connecticuts and some other series (the sale of his collection has been ongoing). Although Dick told me his collection surpassed the magic 300 by variety, the sale fell short of that number. Still, it was an impressive collection. Dick's overall collection teaches us all an important lesson. By acquiring knowledge, dedicating time, and working hard, he built a world-class collection across many colonial series and medals on a modest budget, showing that you don't need to be a millionaire to achieve your colonial numismatic collecting goals. His example should uplift us all.

I believe many of the Connecticut coppers in Dick's collection were, in my humble opinion, improperly graded. A clear example was Lot 1225, a coin with etching and scratch marks over the date, slabbed and graded as Fine 15. In the past, such a coin would have been "body bagged" and returned as ungraded. It's baffling how such a coin could slip past PCGS's quality control. Luckily, the Stack's cataloger honestly noted the flaw in the lot description, potentially saving an unwary buyer from an unanticipated surprise. The cataloger wrote, "Date area weak, but digits unhelpfully scratched in by hand, apparently first as '1777' and later weakly corrected to 1787!"



Lot 1225, Dick August Collection, March 2026



Will PCGS honor its “guarantee” on this coin, which sold for \$312? PCGS’s policy, which is full of exceptions, states that the guarantee does not cover:

A designation that is obviously incorrect. For example, if you had a 1945 Philadelphia Mercury dime and the bands on the reverse were as flat as a pancake and obviously not fully struck, but the PCGS holder showed the designation as “FB” for fully struck crossbands, this coin would not be covered [by] the (*sic*) PCGS Guarantee as the crossbands are obviously not fully struck.

In other words, if the error is obvious, *caveat emptor*! For those of you who think slabs always protect you, let that sink in for a minute. While I believe that slabbed coins hold a significant place in our hobby and have done much good, particularly in the area of prices, you should never buy a coin solely based on what the slab states; each collector should understand grading standards and make their own choices rather than depend on someone else’s judgment.

I also noticed that Connecticut copper prices were exceptionally strong in the March sale of the August collection. Clearly, new collectors are joining the hobby. Additionally, in several cases where I found hidden gems in the catalog, others were mining the same vein, leaving few bargains even for very experienced collectors. This also shows that these new buyers are more mature and discerning as they enter the market, whether through dealers’ help or their own efforts. This trend was not limited to Connecticut coppers, indicating to Ye President that our hobby remains very strong as we move into 2026.

This year we celebrate the 250th anniversary of our great nation. More than just a date on the calendar, our 250th anniversary offers a rare opportunity to reflect on a quarter millennium of effort, reinvention, and shared purpose. As the world’s oldest and most enduring modern democracy, we carry a legacy that has influenced nations well beyond our borders—showing that self-government, even if imperfect and always changing, can be both resilient and visionary. Marking this milestone encourages us to honor the generations that built and defended our democratic institutions while also challenging ourselves to strengthen them for future generations. It’s a moment to look back with gratitude and ahead with ambition, mindful of the responsibility that comes with such a remarkable inheritance. Since our club and members are rooted in colonial-era history, C4 will commemorate this occasion with special articles in the newsletter. A dedicated committee, led by Carol Wolf, has been established to help us honor the event.

The C4 Board is aware that our hotel accommodations for the 2026 annual convention will change. The Sheraton Inner Harbor in Baltimore has closed. But don't worry, we've formed another special committee that is actively searching for safe, affordable, and nearby lodging and event space. I am confident that we have already found a solution. The Baltimore Winter Expo is scheduled for Thursday, November 12, through Saturday, November 14, 2026. Mark your calendars now. This event is one of the largest and most popular numismatic and collectibles expos of the year, drawing coin collectors, dealers, and enthusiasts from across the country. A word of advice: once we announce the hotel where our events will be held, don’t wait until the last minute to reserve your room. The convention is after Election Day, so I will be there, and I hope you will be too. The annual convention is the colonial numismatic highlight of the year. If you have not attended before, I hope you will consider doing so in 2026.

Please know that your club and our hobby remain vibrant, and that the club’s current and future leadership are aggressively expanding the club's reach and influence within our hobby.

Until next we meet, may all your numismatic dreams come true.

Judge Christopher R. McDowell  
Cincinnati, Ohio  
20 March 2026



## C4 2025 ANNUAL REVENUE, EXPENSES, ASSETS SUMMARY

(Charlie Rohrer)

|                        |                                                                   |                           |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b><u>REVENUE</u></b>  | Membership Dues                                                   | 9,126.17                  |
|                        | Interest Income (CDs & Savings Acct.)                             | 1,796.86                  |
|                        | Stack's Bowers C4 Convention Contributions                        | 12,921.81                 |
|                        | C4 Convention Thursday Dinner attendance                          | 1,500.00                  |
|                        | C4 Convention C4 Dealer Tables reimbursement                      | 3,800.00                  |
|                        | C4 Convention Auction of extra C4 Library Books                   | 235.00                    |
|                        | C4 Convention Auction of Donated Lots                             | 2,350.00                  |
|                        | C4 Convention Program Printing                                    | 175.00                    |
|                        | C4-Published Books: sales revenue                                 | 17,765.94                 |
|                        | C4-Published Books: author's share of production costs            | 12,878.00                 |
|                        | C4 Newsletter Ads                                                 | 4,700.00                  |
|                        | C4 Newsletter Back Issue Sales                                    | 55.00                     |
|                        | C4 Medals Sales                                                   | 55.00                     |
|                        | C4 Mugs and T-shirts sold at Convention                           | 610.00                    |
|                        | Donation for Ray Williams Honorarium                              | 250.00                    |
|                        | <b><u>TOTAL REVENUE</u></b>                                       | <b><u>\$68,218.78</u></b> |
| <b><u>EXPENSES</u></b> | C4 Newsletter Printing & Mailing                                  | 17,767.35                 |
|                        | C4 Convention - Sheraton (\$6,726.00 was balance due for 2024)    | 14,717.01                 |
|                        | C4 Convention - Whitman                                           | 8,346.00                  |
|                        | C4 Convention - Program Printing                                  | 204.17                    |
|                        | C4 Convention - Ray Williams Honorarium                           | 250.00                    |
|                        | C4 Convention - printing of tri-folds, brochures and applications | 469.72                    |
|                        | C4 Convention - Thank You Gifts to Stack's-Bowers & Whitman       | 190.00                    |
|                        | C4-Published Books: production costs                              | 33,774.72                 |
|                        | C4-Published Books: author's share of sales revenue               | 3,232.25                  |
|                        | ANA Youth Scholarship                                             | 750.00                    |
|                        | C4 Table at ANA                                                   | 100.00                    |
|                        | ANA Dues                                                          | 4.00                      |
|                        | Metal Detecting Awards                                            | 675.00                    |
|                        | Advertising in <i>American Digger Magazine</i>                    | 324.00                    |
|                        | Tax Preparation                                                   | 825.00                    |
|                        | C4 Website Hosting & Maintenance                                  | 6,990.95                  |
|                        | Postage - Library Books Sales                                     | 74.06                     |
|                        | Postage - Misc. C4 Newsletter & Back Issues Sales                 | 183.59                    |
|                        | Postage - Miscellaneous                                           | 181.07                    |
|                        | Zoom subscription                                                 | 170.46                    |
|                        | Annual NJ State Registration                                      | 33.00                     |
|                        | C4 P.O. Box Rent                                                  | 102.00                    |
|                        | Bank Fees (checks, deposit slips, misc. fees)                     | 258.57                    |
|                        | C4 T-shirts                                                       | 301.73                    |
|                        | Miscellaneous C4 give-away items to attract members               | 436.31                    |
|                        | Misc. Supplies (receipts book)                                    | 21.19                     |
|                        | <b><u>TOTAL EXPENSES</u></b>                                      | <b><u>\$90,382.15</u></b> |
| <b><u>ASSETS</u></b>   | Checking Account Balance                                          | 24,371.55                 |
|                        | Savings Account Balance                                           | 2,185.82                  |
|                        | C4 Credit Card Balance (paid off monthly)                         | -331.00                   |
|                        | CDs Balance                                                       | 61,430.29                 |
|                        | <b><u>TOTAL FINANCIAL ASSETS</u></b>                              | <b><u>\$87,656.66</u></b> |
| <b><u>MEMBERS</u></b>  | <b>Total</b>                                                      | <b>414</b>                |
|                        | Life (included above)                                             | 63                        |



## **C4 CELEBRATES THE NATION'S 250<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY LOCALLY, REGIONALLY, NATIONALLY!**

(Carol Wolf)

Like many organizations around the country, C4 is looking forward to celebrating America's Semiquincentennial this year. We are currently planning special meet-ups, lectures, exhibitions, and more! All to coincide with our annual Convention and other numismatic events.

### **A Call to Participate**

We wish to encourage C4 members to get involved! Perhaps you'd like to give a presentation or create an exhibit at your local historical society, library, school, or community college? Or maybe you'd be interested in setting up a C4 table at a coin show, re-enactment, or metal detecting event?

C4 has created materials to help! We can send you a wonderful PowerPoint deck about Continental Currency, profusely illustrated and ready to present, created by Leo Shane. We will be printing new C4 membership brochures and a second edition of the Colonials 101 handbook. If you plan to set up at a show, we can send you an eye-catching C4 banner for your table.

If you would like to learn more or request any of the above-mentioned materials, please contact C4 Secretary Carol Wolf at [\*\*secretary@colonialcoins\*\*](mailto:secretary@colonialcoins). We'll be posting news about scheduled events on the C4 website, so watch for announcements!

## **NOTICE: C4 ELECTIONS 2026 CALL FOR NOMINATIONS**

### **C4 Members:**

Pursuant to Section 7.2 of the C4 By-laws, notice is hereby given soliciting candidates for elected positions for the next C4 Election, which will take place in October 2026. The C4 elected positions are President, National Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Regional Vice-Presidents. (Note that one does not need to live in a region to be a regional vice-president for that region.)

If you are a Regular or Life member of C4 in good standing and wish to be a candidate for any of these elected positions and added to the official ballot, you must write or email our Secretary, Carol Wolf, by August 15, 2026, notifying her of your candidacy. Carol's contact information is [Secretary@ColonialCoins.org](mailto:Secretary@ColonialCoins.org), P.O. Box 118, Middletown, NJ 07855. Ballots will be sent to members in September 2026. Finally, please note that a member may nominate another member for one of the above positions by submitting the nomination to the Secretary by the August 15, 2026 deadline stated above. The Secretary will contact the person nominated to query his/her willingness to accept the nomination and, if accepted, will add the nominated person's name to the ballot.

Please contact Christopher R. McDowell, [President@ColonialCoins.org](mailto:President@ColonialCoins.org); Jim Glickman, [VicePresident@ColonialCoins.org](mailto:VicePresident@ColonialCoins.org); or Carol Wolf, contact info above, if you have any questions.

**Deadline: August 15, 2026**

## A CALL FOR 2026 C4 NEWSLETTER ARTICLES

(C4 Newsletter Editorial Team — Will, Julia and Randy)

Our 2026 *C4 Newsletter* issues will celebrate the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by featuring articles on the Revolutionary War and the Confederation era, as well as the usual topics of general interest. We have several authors volunteering to write both short and long write-ups, but the editorial team always needs more members to contribute. Member contributions support our club newsletter, whether it is a half-page on a brief numismatic observation, a one-page on a general interest insight, or a several-page submission on a specialty topic. Our editors can only reflect what C4's colonial community chooses to share.

Our team is focusing on having as much Revolutionary War-era content as possible for the July 2026 Summer issue, with at least a nominal or passing relevance to period numismatics, medals, or Continental Currency. We want the issue to be special, to commemorate the July Declaration. Submissions will be needed by June 19<sup>th</sup> to be considered for inclusion. Similarly, the following Fall and Winter issues will carry through on the theme, so if you need more time or have a later idea, the team can accommodate it.

We have an outstanding editorial team of knowledgeable and responsive club volunteers who can assist with article submissions. Do not be intimidated by the process of working with the editors! Just send a draft, as crude or fancy as you like, to both [Editor@ColonialCoins.org](mailto:Editor@ColonialCoins.org) and [AssistEditor@ColonialCoins.org](mailto:AssistEditor@ColonialCoins.org). We typically respond within a day or two of receiving a submission to acknowledge receipt, and depending on the content, we will typically respond within a week with suggested edits or formatting (to align with the *C4 Newsletter* style).

Help support our *C4 Newsletter* with content, particularly if you believe we have been missing topics, observations, fun stories, or collecting areas that interest you.



## COLONIAL HAPPENING AT EAC 2026 CHARLOTTE, NC. THURSDAY APRIL 30TH 7:30 PM

(Ray Williams)

It's that time of year again when we copper collectors gather for our annual convention. **The Colonial Happening** is planned to be held in **Meeting Room F** of the Sheraton Charlotte Airport Hotel. All are welcome. Even if you are participating in the other Happenings, duck into the Colonial Happening when you can, just to check us out.

The Happening is a time of sharing numismatic items from the pre-federal period of our country. Items brought to share will be placed under a camera to be projected on a screen for all to enjoy and comment upon. The theme of this event will be colonial error coins. **But** please bring something — a recent acquisition, a favorite coin or paper money, a coin you'd like an opinion on, etc. But even if you don't bring something, bring yourself for a time of sharing and fun! No one will handle your coins except you and the person (me) operating the camera.

I hope to see many old friends and yet to be friends there. Double check the schedule upon arriving to make sure no changes had to be made. Contact me with any questions.

Ray Williams EAC 2928  
nraywms@optonline.net



## EAC CHARLOTTE, NC. CONVENTION UPDATE APRIL 29 – MAY 3, 2026

(Jerry Sajbel)

EAC 2026 in Charlotte is just around the corner, **April 29 to May 3**. The Sheraton Airport Hotel has us covered for rooms and space for all of our activities. We will have Registration open around noon Wednesday, with Security available for your valuables. This update is as of December 15<sup>th</sup>.

Thursday begins with the Grading Seminar—a great eye calibration exercise by Jim Carr. Dealers and Exhibitors can set up on the bourse. We'll have the Reception and Dinner at 5PM. Happenings will follow, including Large Cents run by Allen Ross; Half Cents by Tim Skinski, and **Colonials by Ray Williams**.

Friday the Bourse is open to the public and we expect a good influx of collectors from the area. The Educational Presentations will begin; consider submitting a talk to Chuck Heck. Saturday the Bourse is open to the public and Educational Presentations continue. The Sale starts late afternoon, including Terry Denman's Middle Dates, Part Two, as well as other important coppers. Of course on Sunday we will have our annual EAC Member Meeting at 9 AM and the bourse will be open for a few hours. Both the bourse layout and the Application/Contract may be seen with one click on our web site **EACS.org**.

EAC 2026 is shaping up and we hope to see you all there!

## EAC 2026 Convention Schedule, Charlotte, NC.

(Jerry Sajbel)

### Wednesday, April 29

Registration table 11:00–5:00

7:30PM – 9:00PM

Boys of '94 Meeting

Meeting Room E

### Thursday, April 30

Registration table 8:30–5:00

9:00AM – 11:00AM

Grading Seminar

Meeting Room DOS

NOON – 5:00PM

Dealer and Exhibitor Setup

Grand Ballroom

5:00PM – 7:00PM

Reception &amp; Buffet Dinner

Waterfall + ABC

7:30PM – 9:30PM

Large Cent Happening (*Allen Ross*)

Meeting Room E

7:30PM – 9:30PM

Half Cent Happening (*Tim Skinski*)

Meeting Room D

7:30PM – 9:30PM

**Colonial Happening (*Ray Williams*)****Meeting Room F**

### Friday, May 1

Registration table 8:30–5:00

Dealer Setup 8:00–9:00

Bourse open 9:00–5:00

9:00AM – 5:00PM

Auction Lot Viewing

Grand Ballroom

NOON – 1:00PM

Robert Scot's Signature

Junior Ballroom

(*Bill Eckberg*)

1:15PM – 2:15PM

Pedigree Research In A Modern Numismatic World

Junior Ballroom

(*Mark Borckardt*)

2:30PM – 3:30PM

**New Haven Restrike Fugio Cents**

Junior Ballroom

(*Craig Sholley*)

6:00PM – 9:00PM

Reception and Guest Speaker

Olde Mecklenberg

6:30PM – 6:45PM

Colonel Steve Ellsworth War Stories

Brewery

### Saturday, May 2

Registration table 8:30–5:00

Dealer Setup 8:00–9:00

Bourse open 9:00–5:00

9:00AM – 5:00PM

Auction Lot Viewing

Grand Ballroom

NOON – 1:00PM

The S48 Starred Reverse

Junior Ballroom

(*Chuck Heck*)

1:15PM – 2:15PM

**Massachusetts Cents & Half Cents**

Junior Ballroom

(*Mike Packard*)

2:30PM – 3:30PM

What I wish I knew About Collecting 40 Years Ago

Junior Ballroom

(*Craig Sholley*)

NOON – 4:00PM

Merit Badge Program

Meeting Room DOS

5:00PM – 10:00PM

**EAC Sale**

Junior Ballroom

### Sunday, May 3

Bourse open 10:00–2:00

9:00AM – 11:00AM

EAC Members Annual Meeting

Junior Ballroom



THE 2026 EAC CONVENTION AUCTION

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SATURDAY, MAY 2nd 2026, 5 PM EDT  
internet only session Tuesday, May 5th 2026, 5 PM CDT

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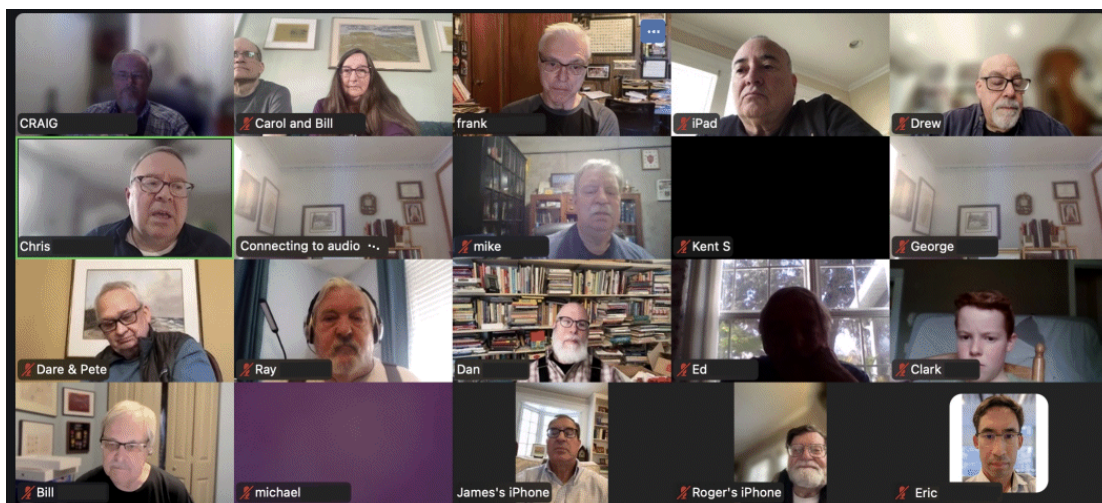
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## C4 MEMBERSHIP ZOOM CHAT NOTES, FEBRUARY 2026

(Jim Glickman)

On Saturday afternoon, February 28, 2026, with about 30 folks in attendance, C4 held its latest in an occasional series of Zoom Chats, which are virtual meetings for members to connect, learn, and share. They allow seasoned collectors to impart their knowledge and views, while newer collectors get a chance to soak up the experience.

At this Zoom Chat, we started out with a wonderfully informative presentation on New Jersey copper errors by C4 Secretary Carol Wolf. Armed with a well-illustrated and thorough PowerPoint presentation, Carol discussed errors found on New Jersey coppers such as double strikes, off-center strikes, brockages, and much more. The presentation was followed by a spirited discussion, along with general hobby discussion and Club news. Look for the next C4 Zoom Chat in late spring.



**A Sample Slide From Carol's Presentation**

# THE BLOODY BOSTON MASSACRE THE SPARK THAT IGNITED THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(Roger S. Siboni)

Of all the artifacts that represent the American Revolution, few have intrigued or eluded me more than Paul Revere's iconic *The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1770, by a Party of The 29<sup>th</sup> REGT*, more commonly known as *The Bloody Massacre* (hereinafter also the *Massacre*). Revere's well-known copperplate engraving measures 10 1/4 by 9 1/8 inches. It was first printed for wide distribution about three weeks after the confrontation as a deliberate and powerful propaganda piece to incite further anti-British sentiment among the colonists and their European supporters.



**Paul Revere's Engraving of *The Bloody Massacre*.**

Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

It portrays the British soldiers as “savage”<sup>1</sup> aggressors and the colonists as “victims of cruel barbarity.”<sup>2</sup> The engraving depicts a well-drilled orderly line of British Redcoat soldiers (including a distant sniper) firing a coordinated volley into a defenseless crowd, prominently featuring such igniting elements as a murdered African and Native American escaped slave,<sup>3</sup> a helpless woman and a small dog.

Beneath the engraving is an 18-line poem written by Revere describing the “inhuman tragedy”<sup>4</sup> and a listing of the known victims killed or mortally injured at the time of printing. The Poem reads:

*Unhappy Boston! see thy Sons deplore Thy hallow'd walks besmear'd with guiltless gore While faithless P~~~~n and his savage bands With murd'rous rancour stretch their bloody hands Like fierce barbarians grinning o'er their prey Approve the carnage and enjoy the day. If scalding drops from rage, from anguish wrung If speechless sorrow, lab'ring for a tongue Or if a weeping world can ought appease The plaintive ghosts of victims such as these The patriot's copious tears for each are shed A glorious tribute which embalms the dead. But know, Fate summons to that awful goal Where Justice strips the murd'rer of his soul, Should venal C~~~~ts, the scandal of the land, Snatch the relentless villain from her Hand Keen execrations on this plate inscrib'd Shall reach a Judge who never can be brib'd. The unhappy sufferers were Mesr's Sam'l Gray, Sam'l Maverick, James Caldwell Crispus Attucks, & Patr. Carr Killed Six wounded; two of them (Christ'r Monk & John Clark) mortally.<sup>5</sup>*

## The True Artisan

What is generally not known or widely discussed is that Revere's engraving was not original. It was almost an exact copy of an engraving by Henry Pelham, a Boston artist and half-brother of painter John Singleton Copley.<sup>6</sup> Pelham had created a proof print of the scene and lent it to Revere, no doubt to seek his reaction or impression of the exaggerated depiction. Instead, Revere immediately engraved a near-identical copy, under his own name, and rushed it to publication on March 28, 1770. This prompted Pelham to accuse Revere of plagiarism in a harsh letter the next day.

*Thursday Mornng. Boston, March 29, 1770.*

*Sir,*

*When I heard that you were cutting a plate of the late Murder, I thought it impossible, as I knew you was not capable of doing it unless you coppied it from mine and as I thought I had entrusted it in the hands of a person who had more regard to the dictates of Honour and Justice than to take the undue advantage you have done of the confidence and Trust I reposed in you. But I find I was mistaken, and after being at great Trouble and Expencc in compleating a Design, paying for paper, printing &c., find myself in the most ungenerous Manner deprived, not only of any proposed Advantage, but even of the expence I have been at, as truly as if you had plundered me on the highway. If you are insensible of the Dishonour you have brought on yourself by this Act, the World will not be so. However, I leave you to reflect upon and consider of one of the most dishonorable Actions you could well be guilty of.*

*H. Pelham.*

*P S. I send by the Bearer the prints I borrowed of you. My Mother desired you would send the hinges and part of the press, that you had from her.*

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<sup>1</sup> Described as such in Paul Revere's poem underneath the *Massacre* engraving.

<sup>2</sup> *Boston Gazette*, March 12, 1770.

<sup>3</sup> See the discussion regarding Crispus Attucks below.

<sup>4</sup> *Boston Gazette*, March 12, 1770, in describing the victims in the funeral procession.

<sup>5</sup> In this era, it was common practice not to name names for fear of being sued for slander. Especially in a propaganda-style printing like this. Instead, the first and last letters of a person's name were used with dashes inserted between the first and last letter. In this case, the omitted names are Preston and Courts. Both are discussed below.

<sup>6</sup> John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) was one of the premier portraitists of 18th-century colonial America, renowned for his highly realistic, detailed depictions of New England's elite.

Pelham then produced his own unsigned final print of the original engraving in early April of 1770, titled *The Fruits of Arbitrary Power, Or the Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th, 1770, by a Party of the XXIXth Regt.* Like Revere's copy, it depicts the same Redcoat firing line and crowd but with several differences that will be discussed in more detail below. And it includes a quote from Psalm 94 instead of Revere's poem.

*How long shall they utter and speak hard things and all the workers of iniquity boast themselves: they break in peices [sic] thy people Lord and Afflict Thine Heritage: They slay the Widow and the stranger and murder the Fatherless - Yet they say the Lord shall not see neither shall the God of Jacob Regard It. Psalm XCIV Psalm 94.*

Pelham's version was less widely circulated or retained, and surviving copies are extremely rare.



**Henry Pelham's engraving of *The Fruits of Arbitrary Power*.**  
Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

## Other Copies

Other contemporary copies emerged shortly after Revere's printing and distribution. In Newburyport, Massachusetts, clockmaker and engraver Jonathan Mulliken produced a version, under his own signature, in late Spring or Summer of 1770, titled *The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th, 1770*, based on Revere's version but engraved and struck from his own plate with further minor variations that will also be discussed below.



**Johnathan Mulliken's engraving of the Bloody Massacre.**

Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In May 1770, several adaptations of the *Massacre* also appeared in London as publishers sought to capitalize on the colonial unrest and reach sympathetic Britons. During this month, W. Bingley issued a broadside newssheet titled *The Fruits of Arbitrary Power: or The Bloody Massacre*, which reached a broad British audience by blending Henry Pelham's title with Paul Revere's narrative. Simultaneously, Pelham's original design was adapted as an engraved frontispiece for London reprints of the patriot pamphlet *A Short*

*Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston*, published in May 1770 by E. and C. Dilly and J. Almon. London periodicals also played a significant role in sensationalizing the event. The May 1770 issue of *The Freeholders Magazine* published a plate based on the Dilly frontispiece, while the *London Magazine* featured its own simplified engraving of the scene.

All early 1770s *Massacre* engravings are considered rare today, with Revere's remaining the most iconic and most coveted.



*The Massacre perpetrated in King Street, Boston, on March 5, 1770; in which Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Gray, Sam<sup>l</sup>. Maverick, James Caldwell, Crispus Attucks, & Patrick Carr, were killed, six others wounded, two of them mortally.*

*Freeholders Magazine*, Isaac Fell, publisher. *The Massacre perpetrated in King Street, Boston, on March 5, 1770; in which Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Gray, Sam<sup>l</sup>. Maverick, James Caldwell, Crispus Attucks, & Patrick Carr, were killed, six others wounded, two of them mortally.*, [London, May 1770].

## Original Marketing

The marketing of these prints was a fast-paced exercise in Patriot propaganda, designed to incite outrage and dominate the public narrative immediately after the March 5, 1770 shootings.

Before the famous *Massacre* engraving was made available by Revere, the imagery of death was first marketed through the press by another engraving he personally did design and produce. Revere carved four simple coffins, with skull and crossbones, bearing the initials of the first four victims: Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Crispus Attucks, who died during the event. This woodcut print appeared in the *Boston Gazette* on March 12, 1770, just one week after the March 5<sup>th</sup> events.<sup>7</sup>

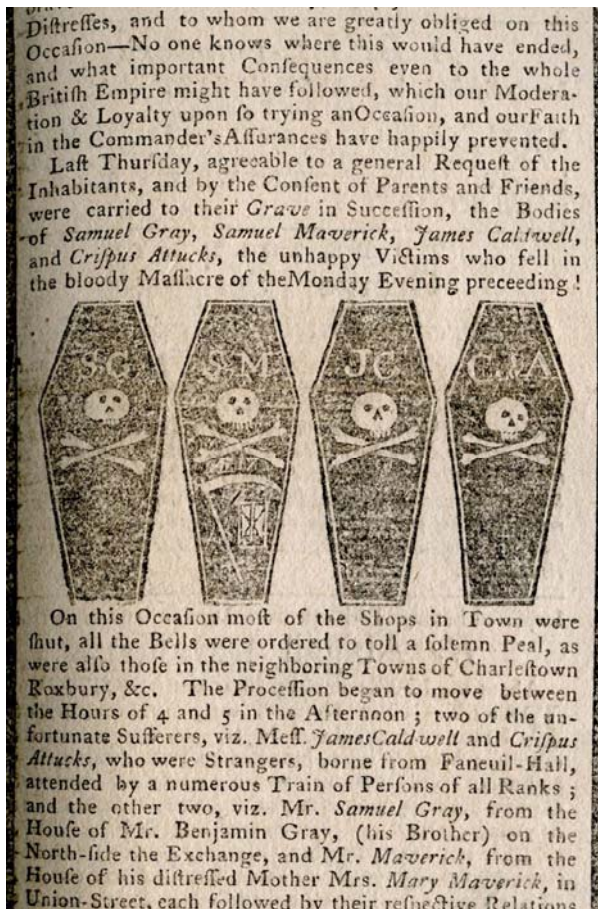


Figure A

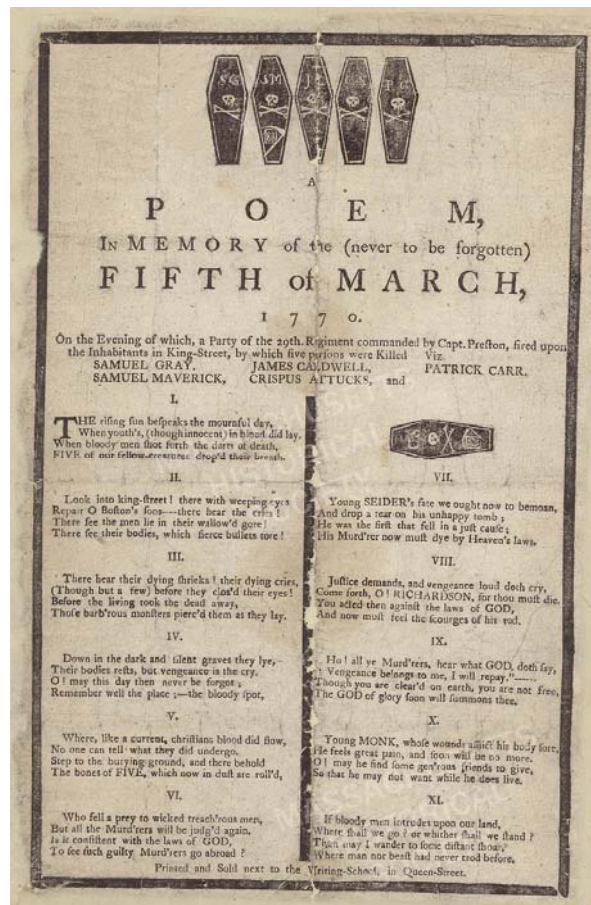


Figure B

**Figure A. Paul Revere's initial Four Coffins Engraving.** For the first four deceased “unhappy Victims” of the “bloody Massacre of the Monday Evening preceeding.” This article describing the funeral procession was published in the *Boston Gazette* on March 12, 1770. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

**Figure B. Paul Revere's Second Engraving with Five Coffins Printed After the Fifth Victim Died.** A Poem, in memory of the (never to be forgotten) fifth of March, 1770, broadside. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The reason the March 12, 1770, printing only shows four coffins, instead of the five that ultimately died, is that Patrick Carr, the fifth victim, was still alive at the time of first publishing. Carr had been mortally wounded in the abdomen and hip during the March 5 shooting but lingered for nine more days

<sup>7</sup> The markings on Samuel Maverick's coffin of a scythe, an hourglass, and the text “Æ 17” represent his youth of 17 years and the tragedy of a life being cut down so short. Gray was 51, Attucks 47, and Caldwell was also 17. But Maverick was a Boston apprentice ivory turner, a role that tied him closely to the local community. In 1770, a Boston “apprentice” was viewed as a “mother's son” and a protégé of the town, making his death seem more tragic and innocent. In contrast, James Caldwell was a mariner (sailor) from a visiting ship.

before succumbing to his injuries on March 14, 1770. The first image specifically illustrated the March 8 Boston funeral procession for the first four victims. Versions with five coffins exist but are quite rare.

### Print Runs, Distribution, and Survival

Historical records of the production and distribution of the *Massacre* engravings are based upon the artists' surviving business records. Paul Revere's *Waste Book* (ledger) confirms that he immediately commissioned an initial printing of 200 copies, deliberately moving quickly to capitalize on public outrage in the aftermath of the events of March 5, 1770. This figure represents only the first run. Demand remained strong, and the plate was repeatedly worked and re-inked as Revere's publishers continued distributing impressions across the colonies, resulting in a total output that materially exceeded the original order.

In contrast, Henry Pelham's records preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society and the British National Archives document a proof run of 35 copies, followed by a substantially larger distribution run of 575 copies of his *original* and artistically superior engraving.<sup>8</sup> On paper, Pelham's production significantly exceeded Revere's. Yet paradoxically, Pelham's prints are far rarer today.

This disparity is best explained by timing, politics, and branding rather than raw numbers. Revere's one-week head start allowed him to saturate the immediate market at the peak of public anger. His established Patriot credentials and close ties to printers such as Edes and Gill ensured rapid circulation and broad visibility. By the time Pelham's version reached the public, much of the colonial appetite for the image had been satisfied by Revere's earlier, cheaper, and more aggressively propagandistic print.

Revere further amplified demand through his collaboration with Christian Remick,<sup>9</sup> a sailor and artist whom he frequently employed. Revere's ledger entries show that Remick was paid to hand-color a significant portion of the *Massacre* engravings. The vivid application of red blood transformed the prints into emotionally charged keepsakes, increasing both their immediate appeal and their likelihood of long-term preservation. These hand-colored examples were more likely to be retained as political relics rather than discarded as ephemeral news imagery.

Jonathan Mulliken's Newburyport copies, by comparison, were distributed locally and in much smaller numbers, accounting for their extreme rarity today.

Revere's version also survived in greater numbers because it was embraced as a symbolic artifact of the Patriot cause. Pelham, a Loyalist-leaning artist who would eventually flee to England, lacked both Revere's political branding and his market timing. Although Pelham's engraving was more artistically refined, it was politically subdued and arrived too late to shape public memory. As a result, most impressions were likely discarded, lost, or repurposed rather than preserved.

Today, only two surviving copies of Pelham's original *The Fruits of Arbitrary Power* are known, one held by the American Antiquarian Society and the other by the New York Public Library. The latter impression is in black and white, while the former features more subdued water coloring. Unlike Revere's

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<sup>8</sup> A bill from Daniel Rea, Jr. found in Pelham's papers, now held in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, documents that Henry Pelham's print, *The Fruits of Arbitrary Power*, originally consisted of 35 proof prints followed by a commercial run of 575 copies.

<sup>9</sup> Christian Remick (1726–c. 1783) was a Boston-based mariner and watercolor artist specializing in topographical views. He is primarily known for hand-coloring early impressions of Paul Revere's *Massacre* engraving, which he often signed "Col'd by Christian Remick" in the lower margin, and for his 1768 perspective view of the British blockade of Boston.

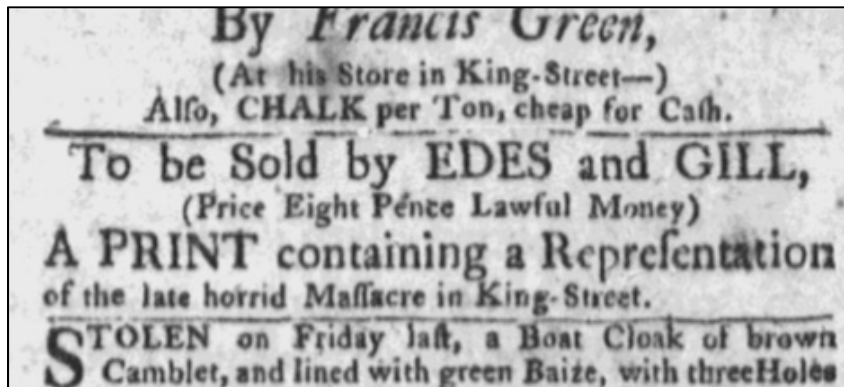
production process, Pelham's records contain no evidence of a hired watercolorist, leading historians to speculate that any coloring was executed by Pelham himself.

This disparity reveals that survival depended less on artistic quality or production volume than on speed to market, political impact, and public reputation. Revere's engraving appeared first and carried the authority of his Patriot credentials, allowing it to shape public memory. Pelham's later and more restrained print, despite its refinement, failed to achieve the same resonance. As a result, Revere's print endured as an icon of resistance, while Pelham's quietly faded from circulation and collective awareness.

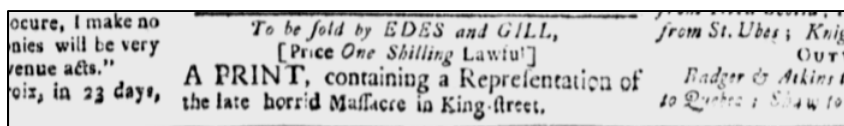
### Advertising the Massacre Prints

Revere's *Massacre* copperplate engraving was marketed as a standalone piece to deliver the highest possible visual impact of the shocking news. Revere began advertising this print for sale on March 26, 1770, through Edes and Gill, three weeks after the confrontation, in an attempt to dominate popular demand before Henry Pelham could release his own version. It was advertised in the *Boston Gazette* and sold for the "Price Eight Pence Lawful Money."

It was also advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for the price of one Shilling. It is believed that this was the price for hand-colored Remick augmented prints.



Advertisement by Edes and Gill for Revere's *Massacre* print, at Eight Pence.  
*Boston Gazette*, March 26, 1770.



Advertisement by Edes and Gill for Revere's *Massacre* print, hand-colored by Remick, at One Shilling. *Boston Evening Post*, March 26, 1770.

Pelham placed advertisements for his engraving in both the *Boston Evening Post* and the *Boston Gazette* on April 2, 1770, but it received a lackluster response.<sup>10</sup>

### Revere's Two Print States

Paul Revere's original copperplate *Massacre* engraving exists in two distinct states or editions, both produced in March 1770. The primary difference between them is a correction to the clock-face on the First Church, now (The Old Brick Church), in the upper left background, set back from the central Town House (sometimes referred to as The Old State House) at the end of King Street (now State Street), where the confrontation occurred.

In his rush to beat Henry Pelham to market, Revere made, perhaps, a deliberate chronological error. He initially engraved the hands of the clock on the First Church to point to 8:10. This was possibly an attempt to make the scene appear to have happened at dusk or early evening, as *respectable* citizens being out late at night were often viewed with suspicion in the 18th century. Only a few impressions were printed from this plate<sup>11</sup> because Revere quickly realized that the public generally knew the *Massacre* happened late at night and would spot the inaccuracy. Thus, the second, more widely distributed print has the First Church clock reading 10:20, nearer to the time the incident finally concluded.

The event and the imagery were continuously marketed to keep the heated revolutionary sentiment alive. On March 5, 1771, the first anniversary of the events depicted in the *Massacre*, Revere held an *Illuminated Anniversary Exhibition* to help reignite the revolutionary spirit during a period of relative calm. Revere placed his hand-colored prints in front of the windows of his home in North Square. By lighting them from behind with candles, he created a glowing, movie-like effect for passersby and the gathered crowd viewing outside after dark.

Revere used a combination of traditional print advertising and public spectacle to market the 1771 exhibition. Because he was an astute businessman as well as a Patriot, he treated the anniversary as both a political event and a commercial opportunity.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Advertisements like those in the spring 1770 *Boston Gazette* prioritized the commercial point of sale over artistic attribution. Edes and Gill were featured because they provided the physical location for purchase and held the privilege as publishers. At this time, engraving was classified as a mechanical trade rather than a fine art; consequently, the engraver was viewed as a hired craftsman whose identity was secondary to that of the printer who assumed the financial and political risk of publication. This promotional focus favored Revere, whose shared Sons of Liberty ties with Edes and Gill secured him a distribution advantage that left Henry Pelham's version to languish in obscurity. Despite Pelham's attempts to utilize the same printers, the firm's radical alignment with Revere meant his rival's work received the primary marketing push, effectively burying Pelham's original design.

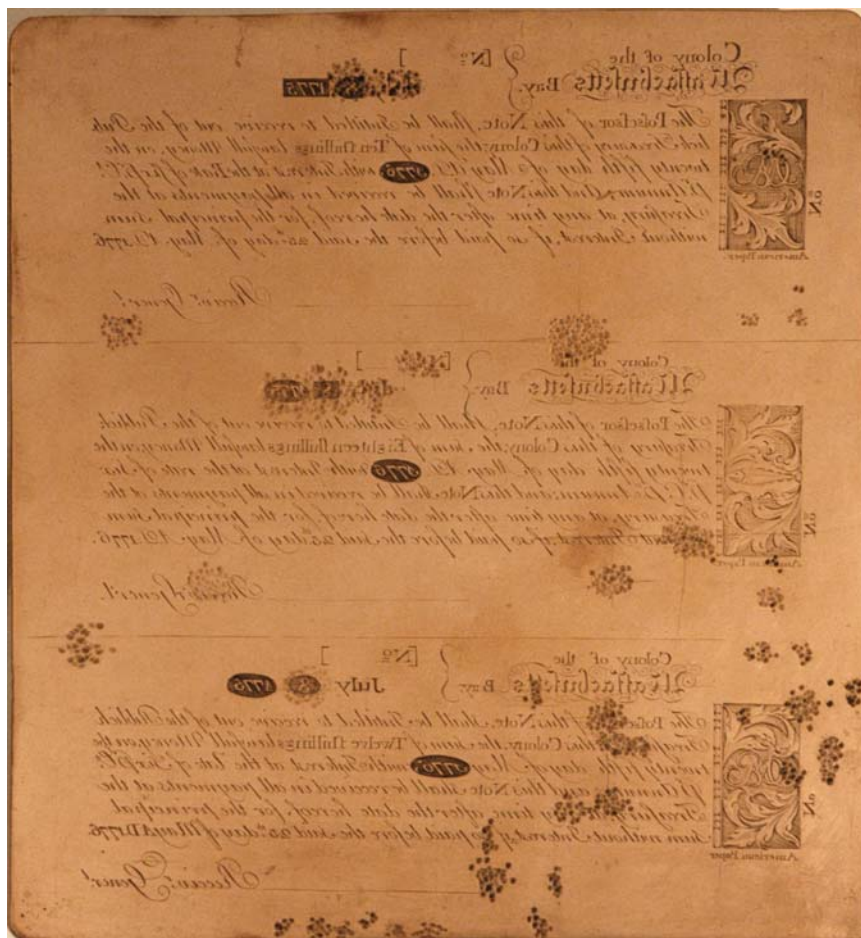
<sup>11</sup> While Clarence S. Brigham's *Paul Revere's Engravings* (1954), pp. 41–58, remains the standard authority for the rarity of the state one print, it is important to note that no contemporary ledger or journal explicitly confirms the exact number of 8:10 impressions pulled. Brigham's conclusion that only a few exist is an inference based on a physical census of very few surviving copies rather than a specific archival record of the initial press run. The absence of documentation regarding the mid-run correction suggests that while the rarity is a physical fact, the specific intent or original print count remains a matter of bibliographical deduction.

<sup>12</sup> Even beyond the famous copperplate engraving, Revere produced a cruder, smaller woodcut of the *Massacre* scene. This version was published in late 1771 in *The Massachusetts Calendar; or an Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1772*, printed by Isaiah Thomas in Boston. Unlike the larger, more expensive copperplate prints, this woodcut was intended for a much cheaper, mass-market publication, making the imagery accessible to an even wider range of colonists.

## The Numismatic Connection

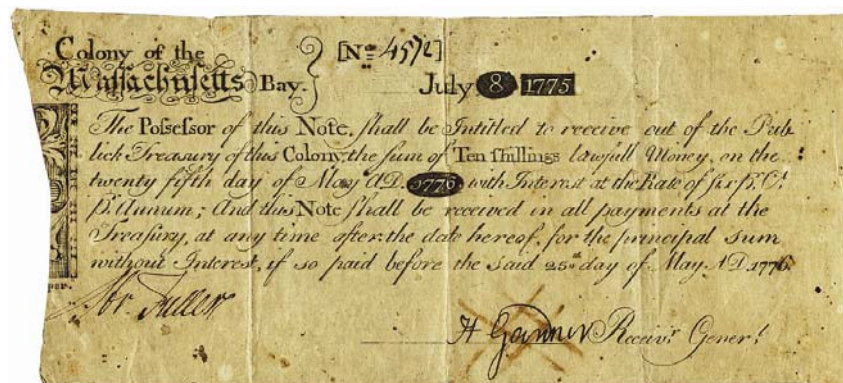
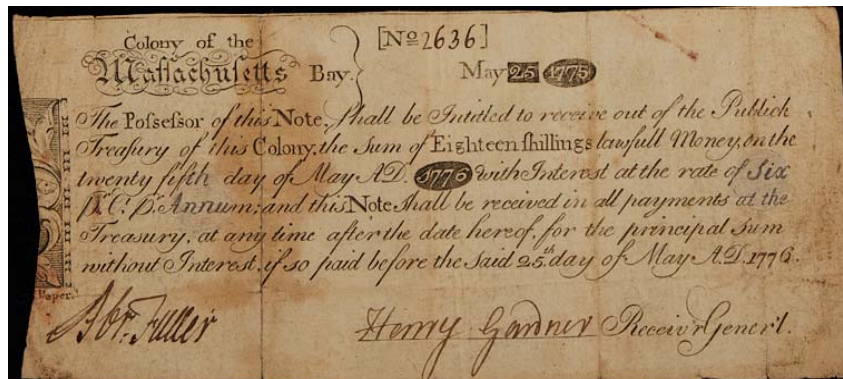
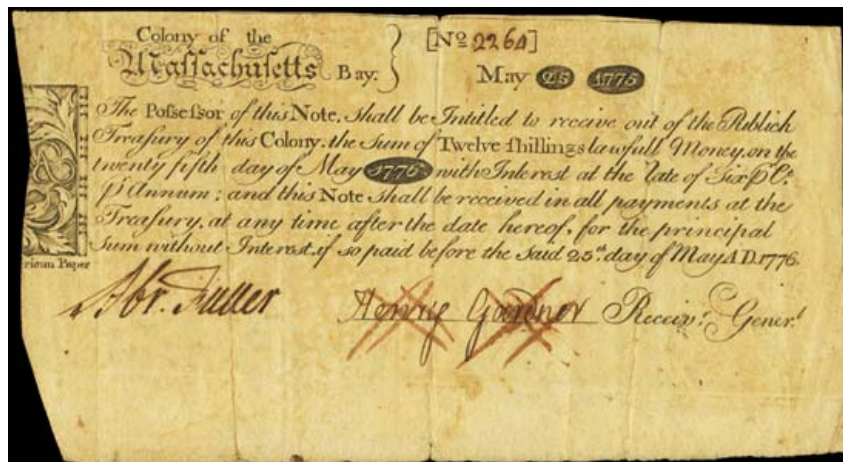
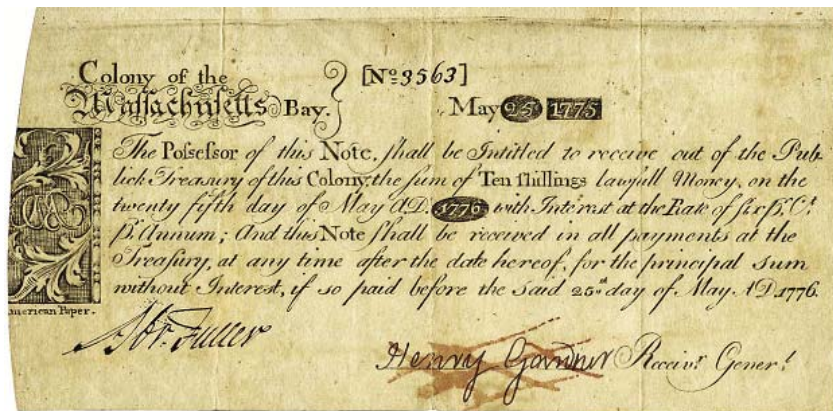
By April 1775, the Battles of Lexington and Concord had precipitated the Siege of Boston, effectively trapping British forces in Boston while a New England Army composed of militiamen from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island assembled around the town to form what eventually became the Continental Army. This sudden mobilization created an urgent financial crisis: the Massachusetts Provincial Congress needed to pay its troops but lacked both hard currency and the copper required to make plates to print new notes, due to the British naval blockade. On May 3, 1775, the Massachusetts Congress passed a resolve authorizing £26,000 in Soldiers' Notes, turning to Paul Revere to execute the task.

To overcome the metal shortage, Revere reformatted his original *Massacre* copper plate by cutting it down and engraving currency designs on the blank reverse. Revere essentially removed his title, poem, and naming of the dead and wounded from the top and bottom of the *Massacre* side of the plate. This repurposed plate produced sheets containing the 10-, 12-, and 18-shilling denomination Notes for the May 25, 1775, issue. As the siege intensified and expenses mounted, a much larger emission of £100,000 was authorized on July 8, 1775. Revere updated the plate for the July 8, 1775, issue by burnishing out the May 25, 1775, date and incising the new date in its place.

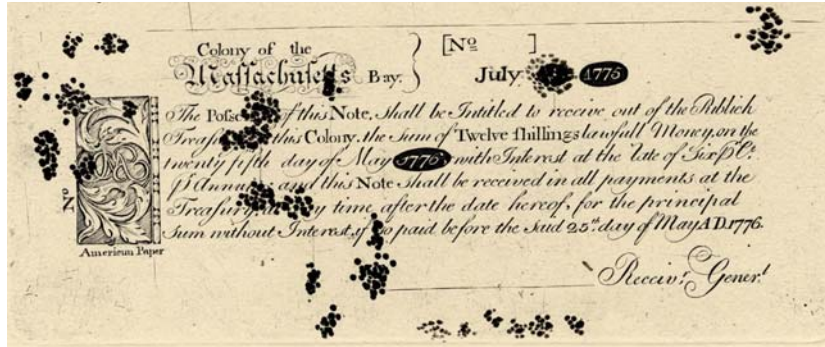


Paul Revere's 1775 Soldier's Notes engraving plate on the reverse side of the *Massacre*.  
AR22/series A084. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Archives.

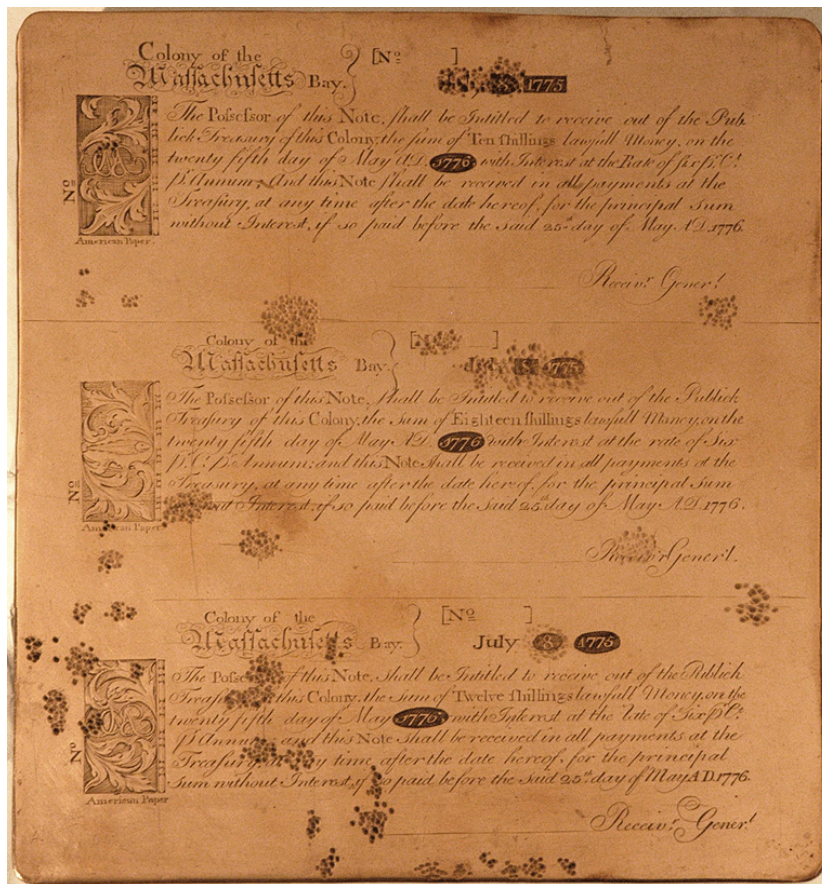
The few remaining extant Notes are quite rare today and highly prized by Paper Money Collectors.



Original May 25, 1775, Soldiers' Notes For 10, 12 and 18 Shillings followed by a July 8, 1775 Note for 10 Shillings. Courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries.



The absence of authorized signatures and indentation, together with minimal evidence of circulation wear, the appearance of white rag paper, and the presence of possible cancellation marks visible as hammer strike pebbling on the copper plate impressions illustrated above and below,<sup>13</sup> indicate that this July 8, 1775, 12-shilling Note held by the Massachusetts Archives is not an original issue. It is more likely a single note cut from the limited edition produced by R. E. Townsend Studio in 2005, issued in collaboration with the Commonwealth Museum of the Massachusetts Archives and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See the discussion below on **Revere Massacre Plate Restrikes**.



Right-reading of the original plate to compare to the notes above.

<sup>13</sup> Engraver and historian Andy Volpe, in conjunction with his work for the Massachusetts Archives' 250<sup>th</sup> year commemoration of the Massacre, theorizes in some detail that the hammer marks are indeed Revere's cancellation of the Notes. See also URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g5eBDlgmI8k>. See also Newman, Eric P., *The Early Paper Money of America: An Illustrated, Historical, and Descriptive Compilation of Data Relating to American Paper Currency from Its Inception in 1686 to the Year 1800*, 5th ed. Iola, WI: Krause Publications, 2008. p. 207.

## Print Survival and Auction History

Clarence S. Brigham's landmark study, *Paul Revere's Engravings*<sup>14</sup> provided the first systematic attempt to identify surviving original 1770-made impressions of Revere's *Bloody Massacre*. Brigham personally examined thirty-six examples, and his census shaped scholarly understanding for decades. Over time, auction houses began relying on a simplified estimate of 29 surviving impressions. This reduced figure circulated widely through repetition and eventually became a standard reference point in catalog descriptions, despite lacking updated verification.<sup>15</sup>

More recent research has considerably expanded the known population. This work has been led by Seth Kaller, one of the foremost specialists in early American manuscripts and printed Americana. Kaller's long career includes assembling and authenticating major acquisitions for museums, advising public institutions, assisting the National Archives, and handling many of the most important surviving documents from the founding era, including copies of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Emancipation Proclamation. Drawing on decades of cataloging, archival research, and private-collection documentation, Kaller assembled an extensive list of institutional holdings of Revere's *Massacre* engraving. The author contributed to this list as part of the present study.

This expanded research now demonstrates that institutional collections alone account for 49 surviving impressions, far exceeding the traditional 29-copy estimate long repeated in auction literature. When these public-collection examples are combined with documented auction appearances and a conservative estimate of long-held private copies, the total number of surviving original 1770 impressions likely reaches at least 75 or more. This broader count reflects discoveries and research advancements not available during Brigham's time and underscores the extent to which the earlier estimate became outdated.

Even with a higher documented survival count, original Revere engravings remain scarce in the marketplace. Just over ten examples have appeared at auction in the past two decades. The realized prices vary widely depending on condition, level of original coloring, provenance, and overall market conditions.

Because two of these appearances were resales of prints previously sold in earlier reported years, the full auction sequence is shown intact with resales footnoted for accuracy. The full list, in reverse chronological order, is as follows:

1. April 19, 2025, Early American History Auctions, Inc., Winchester, VA (From the Collection of J. William Middendorf II): \$218,750.<sup>16</sup>
2. May 5, 2023, Early American History Auctions, Inc., Winchester, VA (From the Collection of J. William Middendorf II): \$110,000.<sup>17</sup>
3. May 25, 2022, Christie's, New York, NY (From the Private Collection of William S. Reese): \$362,500.
4. November 2, 2021, Doyle, New York, NY (Property from the collection of New York advertising executive Monroe F. Dreher): \$429,000 (World auction record).
5. January 15, 2021, Christie's, New York, NY (From the Collection of J. William Middendorf II): \$412,500.

<sup>14</sup> Worcester, Mass. American Antiquarian Society, 1954, pp. 41-58.

<sup>15</sup> See Early American History Auctions (April 19, 2025), Christie's (May 25, 2022), and Doyle New York (November 2, 2021), each stating that there are approximately 29 recorded extant copies of the original 1770 hand-colored engraving.

<sup>16</sup> Ex: January 15, 2021, Christie's, New York, NY (From the Collection of J. William Middendorf II): \$116,500.

<sup>17</sup> Ex: April 8, 2014, Bonhams, New York, NY (From the Caren Archive): \$100,000.

6. January 24, 2019, Sotheby's, New York, NY: \$362,500.
7. April 13, 2019, Potomac Company (Potomac Auctions), Alexandria, VA: \$200,000.
8. September 20, 2016, Christie's, New York, NY (Property of the Jack Warner Foundation): \$75,000.
9. April 13, 2016, Christie's, New York, NY (Property from an Important New England Collection): \$118,750.
10. November 11, 2015, Northeast Auctions, NH: \$120,000.
11. March 1, 2015, Bonhams (Skinner's-Massachusetts, MA): \$135,000.
12. June 12, 2015, Christie's, New York, NY (The Forbes Collection): \$40,000.
13. April 8, 2014, Bonhams, New York, NY (From the Caren Archive): \$100,000.
14. May 18, 2012, Christie's, New York, NY (Albert Small): 146,500.
15. January 2008, Sotheby's, New York, NY (From the Estate of Elizabeth Bradford Storer): \$229,000.

Reproductions, restrikes, or later editions often sell for much lower amounts (\$50–\$4,000) and are not included here.

## Comparing The Three



Side-by-side comparisons of the three principal *Bloody Massacre* plates by Pelham, Revere, and Mulliken, respectively.  
Courtesy of The New York Public Library (Left) and Massachusetts Historical Society (Center, Right)

The three 1770 engravings of the *Massacre* by Henry Pelham, Paul Revere, and Jonathan Mulliken are fundamentally similar in composition, depicting a line of British soldiers firing into a crowd of colonists, with dramatic emphasis on the victims' innocence and the troops' aggression. However, they differ in several subtle details. Pelham created the original design; Revere plagiarized and adapted it for quicker publication, and Mulliken produced a direct copy of Revere's version, also trying to quickly capitalize on his more localized market demand. Pelham's is often regarded as having better perspective and artistic refinement with more accurate proportions and depth. In contrast, Revere's is cruder with flatter figures and less sophisticated line work. Mulliken's, as a copy of a copy, inherits Revere's crudeness but introduces minor engraving variances due to being struck from his own plate. Below is a list of major differences among the versions.

### Visual Differences

1. Crescent Moon Orientation: Faces left in Revere's and Mulliken's prints but faces right in Pelham's original.
2. Church Cupola Columns: On the First Church in the upper left background, set back from the Town House, there are eight columns in Pelham's engraving, seven in Revere's, and six in Mulliken's.
3. Chimney and Church Spire: In Pelham's engraving, to the upper right and behind the Town House, there is a slim smoking chimney in the background. Pelham's version also features a narrow church spire to the further right of the Town House.
4. Sign on the Royal Customs House to the right above the Redcoats: Boldly labeled "Butcher's Hall" in Revere's and Mulliken's engravings. This is a propagandistic jab by Revere to symbolize a slaughter. Pelham's is more discreetly labeled "Custom House" with "GR" above (for George Rex, referring to King George III).
5. Sniper: In Revere's and Mulliken's engraving, the barrel of a sniper's musket is depicted shooting into the crowd from the second-story window of the Customs House amidst a cloud of flint smoke. In Pelham's version, this is merely rising smoke from the soldier's firing in line and a window ledge. No doubt, this was one more propagandist embellishment by Revere to fuel further outrage.
6. Fleeing Figures in the Background: In Pelham's engraving, two figures with their arms raised appear to flee in the left background. No such figures appear in Revere's and Mulliken's renderings.
7. Clock on the First Church: Shows 10:20 in Revere's second series and Mulliken's engravings. The time is indistinguishable in Pelham's.
8. Woman in the Crowd: Depicted in the middle of the crowd in all three but rendered more clearly and prominently in Revere's than in Pelham's. Mulliken follows Revere.
9. Listing of the Dead and Mortally Wounded: Pelham placed the names of the five men killed: Gray, Maverick, Caldwell, Attucks, and Carr at the top of his print as part of its formal title. Then noting only generally that others were wounded. Revere moved the list to the bottom of the plate, following his 18-line poem. Revere provided more specific information than Pelham by naming not only the five dead but also the two wounded victims, Christopher Monk and John Clark. Mulliken maintained this bottom-aligned list of all seven names.
10. Overall Artistic Quality: Pelham's engraving shows the strongest draftsmanship, Revere's reflects his rushed adaptation, and Mulliken's inherits Revere's limitations.

### Title Differences

1. Pelham: *The Fruits of Arbitrary Power, Or the Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th, 1770, by a Party of the XXIXth Regt* (uses Roman numerals for the regiment).
2. Revere: *The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th, 1770, by a Party of the 29th REGT.*
3. Mulliken: Nearly identical to Revere's, with minor punctuation variations.

### Bottom Verse

1. Pelham: A quote from Psalm 94 ("He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see?"), flanked by ornaments (a skull and crossbones in a laurel wreath, and a lightning bolt breaking a sword); it does not specify the two wounded victims.
2. Revere: An original 18-line poem describing the "inhuman Tragedy," listing all the victims, and emphasizing British tyranny.
3. Mulliken: Copies Revere's poem almost exactly, with minor punctuation variations.

### Signature and Attribution

1. Pelham: Unsigned.
2. Revere: Prominently signed “Paul Revere Sculp.” in a rectangle to the right of the dog in the foreground.
3. Mulliken: Signed with his own name (“Jonathan Mulliken Sculp.”) in place of Revere’s.

### Rarity and Survival

1. Revere: Approximately 75 possible known survivors.
2. Pelham: Only 2 known survivors.
3. Mulliken: Brigham’s original census identified eight copies of Mulliken’s engraving. Later auction appearances and institutional discoveries have increased this number to between eight and twelve.

### Revere *Massacre* Plate Restrikes

Brigham attempts to distinguish the original 1770 impressions of the *Massacre* from all later restrikes. Brigham documents the initial printing of the 200 impressions produced by Edes and Gill as original. Many historians further estimate that an additional 200 to 300 *original* impressions were printed directly by Revere before the plate was cut down and repurposed for currency engraving in 1775. No evidence exists that Revere printed any impressions after the plate was physically altered for engraving the Soldiers’ Notes.



Paul Revere’s cut-down copper plate of the *Massacre* after using the reverse side to make Soldiers’ Notes.

Notice that both the title and legend are missing from the plate.

Courtesy of the Commonwealth Museum of the Massachusetts Archives.

Following Revere's death in 1818 and the discovery of the plate in his attic in 1830, a handful of restrikes were believed to have been produced during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (see image below). Brigham describes these impressions as having been pulled from a visibly defaced plate, bearing "scratches," "smooches," and surface distortions which are possibly cancellation marks as discussed in footnote 13. Crucially, there is no evidence that the plate was ever restored or repaired. No lines were re-cut, nor was the surface polished or otherwise altered. As a result, all restrikes preserve the plate's accumulated damage, a feature now understood as an essential marker of authenticity rather than a flaw.



"Circa 1800" printing made from Revere's defaced *Massacre* plate.  
Courtesy of the Henry Ford Museum of Innovation, Object ID 57.118.3.

After a period of private ownership by the Revere family, the plate was formally transferred to the Massachusetts State Archives in 1875, where it remains today. While William Stratton's 1832 issue was a re-engraved facsimile produced on a new plate (see image below), the principal authorized restrikes from the original cut-down plate consist primarily of two 20<sup>th</sup>- and 21<sup>st</sup>-century editions. The 1970 Imprint Society edition of 1,950 copies and the 2005 *Paul Revere Portfolio* compendium of 380 copies,<sup>18</sup> the latter was issued under the Massachusetts State Archives authorization in collaboration with the Commonwealth Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>18</sup> 500 were authorized but perhaps restrike demand limited production.



William Stratton's 1832 re-engraved facsimile of Revere's *Massacre*.  
Courtesy of the Smithsonian National Museum.

While restrikes from the *Massacre* side of the plate have been widely discussed, far less attention has been paid to impressions pulled from the Soldiers' Notes side. Archival records at the Massachusetts State Archives confirm that some impressions were made from the reverse side of the plate, though such uses appear to have been fewer in number and of more recent origin.<sup>19</sup> The 2005 *Paul Revere Portfolio* represents the *only* documented, coordinated modern project to produce authorized impressions from both sides of the original plate.

The 2005 portfolio includes three boxed, matted restrikes pulled from Revere's original copper plates: *The Bloody Massacre*; *A View of Part of the Town of Boston in New England and British Ships of War Landing Their Troops, 1768*; and *Soldiers' Pay 1775*—derived from the Soldiers' Notes side of the

<sup>19</sup> See the July 1775 12 Shilling Note illustrated above in the Numismatic Connection Section.

*Massacre Plate*: with restrikes of the 10-, 12-, and 18-shilling Notes. The Notes were printed on Arches Cover White 100 percent cotton rag paper and hand-colored by Jane C. Niebling. No evidence exists of any earlier or separately organized printing campaign from the Soldiers' Notes side of the *Massacre* plate beyond this authorized 2005 release.

What is frequently omitted from most *Massacre* reprint discussions is the origin of the plate's visible deterioration. The scratches, smooches, and surface marks present on all authentic restrikes are not the result of later mishandling, but rather the direct consequence of the plate's reuse for currency production.

In 1775, confronted with urgent wartime demands and a severe shortage of copper, Revere made a pragmatic decision that favored political necessity over artistic and historic preservation. He cut down the *Massacre* plate and engraved the 10-, 12-, and 18-shilling Soldiers' Notes on its reverse for the May and July emissions. The repeated high-pressure printing of these notes caused the currency designs to ghost through the copper, permanently altering the *Massacre* side. These physical traces now define every legitimate later restrike and stand as material evidence of the plate's dual function as both a revolutionary propaganda image and an instrument of wartime finance.



1775 Soldiers' Notes produced as part of *The Paul Revere Portfolio* at R. E. Townsend Studio, Robert Townsend and Katherine Hanlon. The portfolio was largely distributed in a collaboration between the Commonwealth Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

## Institutional Holdings

The following is a list of all known copies reported by Kaller with certain modifications researched by the author, collectively held in Institutional hands.

- |                                                            |                                                          |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 - American Antiquarian Society                           | 2 - Art Institute of Chicago                             |
| 3 - Boston Athenaeum                                       | 4 - Boston Public Library                                |
| 5 - Bostonian Society                                      | 6 - Brown University / Mrs. John Carter Brown Collection |
| 7 - City Art Museum of St. Louis                           | 8 - Clements Library, University of Michigan             |
| 9 - Colonial Williamsburg                                  | 10 - College of William and Mary                         |
| 11 - Concord Museum                                        | 12 - Connecticut Historical Society                      |
| 13 - Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco                    | 14 - Georgia Museum of Art                               |
| 15 - Gilder Lehrman Collection New York Historical Society | 16 - Harvard University                                  |
| 17 - Henry Ford Museum of Innovation                       | 18 - Historic Deerfield Museum                           |
| 19 - Hollingsworth Collection                              | 20 - Huntington Library                                  |
| 21 - Library of Congress (Color copy)                      | 22 - Library of Congress (Black and White copy)          |
| 23 - Lilly Library, University of Indiana                  | 24 - Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association      |
| 25 - Massachusetts Historical Society                      | 26 - Metropolitan Museum of Art                          |
| 27 - Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute                     | 28 - Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Revere Family copy)    |
| 29 - Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Color copy)              | 30 - Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Black and White copy)  |
| 31 - National Gallery of Art                               | 32 - Newberry Library, Chicago                           |
| 33 - New York Historical Society                           | 34 - New York Public Library (Record ID: MEZP)           |
| 34 - New York Public Library (Cat. Number: PC AME-177)     | 36 - New York Public Library (additional copy)           |
| 35 - Peabody Essex Museum                                  | 38 - Princeton University                                |
| 39 - Petersham Memorial Library                            | 40 - Philadelphia Free Library                           |
| 41 - Smithsonian American Art Museum                       | 42 - Smithsonian National Museum of American History     |
| 43 - Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery                 | 44 - Society of the Cincinnati of New Hampshire          |
| 45 - Williams College                                      | 46 - Winterthur Museum                                   |
| 47 - Worcester Art Museum                                  | 48 - Yale University Library                             |
| 49 - Yale University Gallery of Fine Arts                  |                                                          |

## The Reality of Events on the Evening of March 5, 1770

Contrary to the popular *Massacre* image of unprovoked, wanton Redcoats firing upon innocent and peaceful citizens, the incident was more like a street brawl that quickly escalated into a violent riot. The conflict started innocently enough with a mundane dispute over “hair dressing.” On the night of March 5, 1770, a wigmaker’s young apprentice named Edward Garrick accused a British officer of failing to pay for his master's services. Although the officer had already settled the debt and possessed a receipt confirming payment with him, the heckling went on. The sentry outside the Custom House, Hugh White, took offense to the harassment and struck the young, defiant apprentice with his musket.

According to the subsequent 1770 Trial Transcript, this act of force drew a large and volatile crowd of sailors, laborers, and apprentices to King Street. The crowd began to grow to roughly 300 to 400 agitators who quickly surrounded White. They pelted him with snowballs, ice, oyster shells, and clubs while continuously daring him to fire into the crowd. Captain Thomas Preston soon arrived with seven additional soldiers to extract White. The soldiers were quickly hemmed in by the aggressive mob. In the confusion, Private Hugh Montgomery was struck by a club, likely wielded by Crispus Attucks, and knocked him down.

As he rose, he reflexively fired his musket, reacting to the chaos and Attucks’ and the crowd taunting the soldiers to “fire.” Other soldiers, hearing “fire ... fire” emanating from the crowd, followed suit. Three men died instantly, and two others died later of their wounds. Six more were injured.



Don Troiani's *The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770*. An artistic depiction of the actual events on King's Street (now State Street) in Boston, Massachusetts.

Within hours of the shooting, Captain Preston and the soldiers were jailed to protect them from the enraged mob and to face legal proceedings.

Despite the enormous anti-British sentiment in Boston from the confluence of the Townsend Act, British occupation, the Quartering Act, and the heavily propagandized *Massacre*, John Adams, much to his reputational harm, consented to serve as defense counsel for Preston and the other British soldiers.

Despite his strong Patriot leanings, Adams took the case to uphold the principle that every person deserves a fair trial and to prove that the American colonies were a land of law, not mob rule. Adams was allegedly one of the few lawyers willing to take the case in the heat of the moment. He risked his reputation and law practice to ensure a fair legal process occurred.

Recognizing that a local jury would be biased, he successfully argued to seat jurors from outside the city. Adams presented evidence that the soldiers were provoked and physically threatened by a violent mob. He utilized the “dying declaration” of victim Patrick Carr, who stated on his deathbed that the soldiers had fired in self-defense after being brutally attacked. During his closing argument, Adams famously stated: *“Facts are stubborn things; and whatever may be our wishes, our inclinations, or the dictates of our passions, they cannot alter the state of facts and evidence.”*

Adams achieved a remarkable outcome for his Redcoat clients. Captain Preston was acquitted after Adams demonstrated that there was no evidence he had ordered his men to fire, and six of the eight soldiers were fully cleared of all charges. Only two soldiers, Hugh Montgomery and Matthew Kilroy, were convicted, and then only of the lesser offense of manslaughter. Montgomery, who fired the first fatal shot that killed Crispus Attucks, was viewed as having acted in panic after being struck by a club. Kilroy's conduct, however, appeared deliberate and vengeful. Three days earlier, he had taken part in the violent

ropewalk fight<sup>20</sup> against local laborers, including Samuel Gray, and witness Samuel Hemmingway testified that Kilroy had vowed he “would never miss an opportunity to fire upon the inhabitants.” On the night of March 5<sup>th</sup>, James Langford identified Kilroy as the soldier who deliberately leveled his musket at Gray, who stood unarmed with his hands in his pockets, before stepping forward to drive his bayonet into Gray’s fallen body. Reports that Kilroy’s bayonet was later seen “wet” with blood nearly to the socket reinforced the jury’s conclusion that his actions exceeded any claim of self-defense.

Benefit of Clergy was an antiquated legal loophole that required the accused to demonstrate literacy by reciting a so-called “neck verse” from the Bible to avoid the death penalty. Successful recitation allowed the court to commute a capital sentence to a physical punishment. Rather than being hanged, both men were branded on their right thumbs with a hot iron in the shape of the letter “M” for manslaughter. This mark functioned as a permanent criminal record, signifying that they had exhausted their one-time clerical immunity and would face immediate execution for any future capital offense. Following the branding, both soldiers were released back to their regiment and eventually returned to England, effectively ending their direct involvement in the escalating American conflict.

Later in life, Adams reflected on his role, calling it “one of the best pieces of service I ever rendered my country” because it established the standard of justice and the rule of law in the emerging nation.

### **Crispus Attucks**

Crispus Attucks has long been described as the first Patriot martyr of the American Revolution and has come to symbolize the early, often overlooked, role African Americans played in its outcome. The reality of both the man and the moment, however, is more nuanced and complex. Attucks was born around 1723 in Framingham, Massachusetts, to an enslaved African father and a Wampanoag Native American mother. Likely born into slavery himself, he escaped from his enslaver, William Brown, in 1750 and spent the next two decades working as a sailor, whaler, and dockworker along the Atlantic seaboard, often using the alias Michael Johnson to avoid recapture. In March 1770, he was only temporarily in Boston, waiting to ship out for North Carolina.

On the night of March 5, 1770, Attucks’s presence at the front of the crowd was said to be influenced by the pressures of working-class life in a port city, particularly resentment toward British press gangs and competition for maritime jobs from off-duty British soldiers. Witnesses described him as a physically imposing figure, wielding a cordwood stick, leaning into the soldiers’ bayonets, and daring them to fire alongside the jeering crowd. When Attucks reportedly struck Private Hugh Montgomery and grabbed at his weapon, Montgomery rose and fired, making Attucks the first casualty of the Revolution.

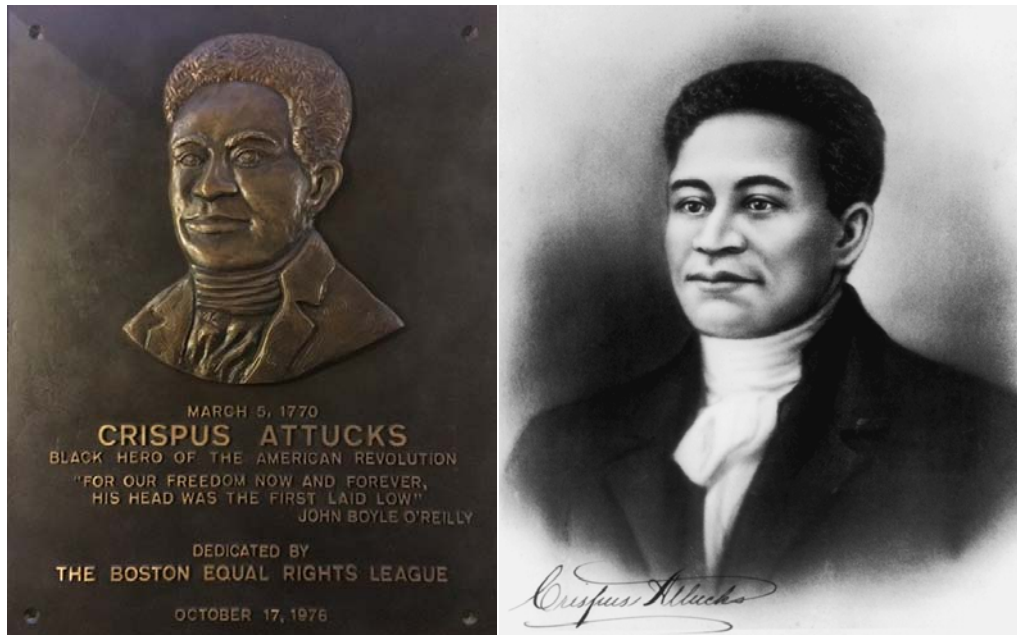
At trial, John Adams seized on these details. He portrayed Attucks not as a martyr, but as the ringleader of a dangerous mob, describing him as a “stout Molatto” whose appearance alone was “enough to terrify any person.” Adams’s strategy worked. By emphasizing Attucks’s size, behavior, and proximity to the soldiers, he reframed the shooting as an act of provocation rather than cold-blooded murder.

Yet in death, Boston chose a different story. Despite being a runaway slave and a sailor of color, Attucks was buried with full honors in the Granary Burying Ground alongside the other victims. The collective burial served a clear political purpose. It transformed a chaotic street riot into a unifying narrative

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<sup>20</sup> On March 2, 1770, Private Matthew Kilroy participated in a brawl at Gray’s Ropewalks after ropemakers insulted a British soldier. The ropemakers, including Samuel Gray, successfully drove off the soldiers, creating a personal vendetta that likely led Kilroy to intentionally target and kill Gray, only three days later, on the night of March 5<sup>th</sup>.

of American martyrdom, even as it quietly absorbed Attucks's distinct racial and cultural identity into a broader Patriot cause.



Because no contemporary images of Crispus Attucks were made during his lifetime, the 1897 portrait on the right by W.H. Curd was created over a century later to provide a dignified face for the first martyr of the American Revolution. This rendering became the historical standard used for Attucks and inspired the commemorative plaque dedicated on October 17, 1976, at Faneuil Hall. The plaque placed by the Boston Equal Rights League at the site where Attucks' body originally lay in state features a tribute by poet John Boyle O'Reilly honoring him as an enduring symbol of the struggle for American freedom and equality.

Paul Revere's famous March 1770 engraving reinforced that process. In the *Massacre*, Revere rendered Attucks as white, ensuring that the victims appeared familiar and sympathetic to a wide colonial audience. For decades, surviving hand-colored prints preserved that erasure. Only in the mid-nineteenth century, as abolitionist sentiment gained momentum, did later owners begin altering some impressions by darkening Attucks's face to reflect his African heritage. These changes corrected one historical omission while often obscuring another, replacing a complex, multi-ethnic individual with a simplified racial symbol that suited the political needs of a later era.

Modern audiences encounter yet another version. Viewers of Ken Burns's *The American Revolution* will recognize an Attucks recast as a central figure and deliberate political actor, emblematic of the Revolution's multi-ethnic origins. The distance between this portrayal and the man described in the 1770 trial transcripts is striking. It reflects more than two centuries of reinterpretation, showing how Attucks has moved from agitator, to martyr, to icon, shaped as much by politics and media as by the events on King Street itself.

## Acknowledgements

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## THE ORDEAL OF THE ANNAPOLIS SEPTEMBER 1775

(Julia Casey)



English Ship in a Gale<sup>1</sup>

To a colonial American, the prelude to the War of Independence might have been considered as much a civil conflict as it was a revolution. This was particularly true in 1775, when the thirteen colonies were in the throes of an internal struggle, before most of the Loyalists—those who could leave—returned to England or were exiled to Canada.

Like many colonial cities and towns, the citizens of Annapolis, Maryland, experienced this political strife. On August 31, 1775, when the *Annapolis*, a ship named for her home port, under Captain James Hanrick, cleared the customhouse, she was noted to be the last merchant ship permitted to set sail out of that port to England.<sup>2</sup> Along with a full cargo of tobacco, the *Annapolis* carried seven families bound for London, hoping to escape the coming troubles.<sup>3</sup> However, these families would not complete their journey on the *Annapolis*. The ship's story, her star-crossed passengers, and obscure numismatic connections will be told here.

Robert Eden, who would be Maryland's last colonial Governor, had entrusted an urgent letter to be delivered by Lloyd Dulany, a passenger on the *Annapolis*. Per Eden, Dulany was "leaving a considerable Estate here to escape with his Life from the persecution he has long been under, for having withstood every insidious and violent Attempt to draw him into Connections with men whose Measures he abhors."<sup>4</sup> Eden's brother Thomas was the owner of the *Annapolis* and had been her captain on previous trans-Atlantic routes.

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<sup>1</sup> *The English Ship 'Hampton Court' in a Gale* by Willem van de Velde II (1633–1707). Image courtesy of the Birmingham Museums Trust.

<sup>2</sup> *Edinburgh Advertiser*, November 21, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> *Leicester Journal*, October 28, 1775.

<sup>4</sup> "Correspondence of Governor Eden," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, March 1907, p. 12.

For the voyage of September 1775, James Hanrick was engaged to pilot her. Hanrick was an experienced, proficient captain who had commanded merchant, armed, and Letters of Marque vessels since the 1750s.

Eden's August 27, 1775, appeal was to Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Eden wrote with alarm that his attempts at "soothing measures" would no longer assuage the populace, "An assembly of rash people soon becomes a lawless and ungovernable Mob ... kept constantly heated by incendiary Harangues of their Demagogues, are a formidable Enemy to encounter with words only."<sup>5</sup> Eden advised Lord Dartmouth that there were still "many of His Majesty's Subjects here" who had been compelled to "sign Associations &c. to preserve their lives and property," but would be willing to fight for the King if supported by troops and ships of war.

Eden believed that his life "and that of many of His Majesty's Subjects here, who are known to be attached to Government and ready to Support it, would immediately be sacrificed on the publication of this Letter." He advised caution in future letters since "Those men among the Leaders of the Rebellion here whose sole Consequence depends on a general Convulsion, spare no pains of Expenses to obtain Copies of all the Letters sent home that can add to the Flame... and they intercept all Letters they can from England."<sup>6</sup> However, Dulany's arrival in London and the punctual delivery of Eden's letter would be at the mercy of the Atlantic hurricane season.

## The Independence Hurricane

When the *Annapolis* sailed out of the harbor on August 31, 1775, a massive storm was already impacting coastal North Carolina and Virginia, leaving shocking damage and death in its wake. The hurricane swept up Chesapeake Bay and knocked the *Annapolis* off course. When the storm hit the city of Annapolis on September 2<sup>nd</sup>, it blew down the market house and ripped the copper sheathing off the State House. The storm would later greatly impact Newfoundland, killing thousands of sailors, and the so-named Newfoundland or Independence Hurricane is listed today amongst the deadliest Atlantic hurricanes ever recorded. Historians remain divided on whether there was just one or two distinct hurricanes in the Atlantic in early September 1775.

One piece of historical evidence supporting the belief that there were consecutive storms is documented by the fate of the *Annapolis*. After encountering the first hurricane, the ship sailed on and reached the open sea. Then, on September 10<sup>th</sup>, about two hundred miles off the coast of Virginia, she was caught in another great storm, which left her completely dismasted in the middle of the ocean. Several hogsheads of tobacco were thrown overboard in the effort to keep the ship afloat, but most of the cargo was still in the hold.

After two days adrift, a schooner under Captain Stetson, sailing from Bristol to Baltimore, came to the aid of the *Annapolis* and helped her crew construct jury-rigged masts. When he reached Maryland on September 21<sup>st</sup>, Stetson reported that Captain Hanrick "was determined to proceed to Europe."<sup>7</sup> On September 19<sup>th</sup>, the *Annapolis* met the brig the *Two Brothers*, which took her passengers on board and carried them back to America. The erstwhile passengers of the *Annapolis* safely landed in Philadelphia on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September. With passengers offloaded, the *Annapolis* continued to sail to England with jury-rigged masts and valuable cargo.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, September 28, 1775.

Captain Hanrick was reported by Captain Brewster of the *Two Brothers* to have been about 150 miles east of Delaware, and “bound for the first port he could make.”<sup>8</sup> Further reports about the *Annapolis* appear in the newspapers. These accounts also support a general observation about how busy trans-Atlantic commerce must have been in 1775. It is incredible to ponder how, even without the use of modern instruments, the *Annapolis* would cross paths with so many other ships on the open sea.

On October 18, 1775, Captain Crawford of the *Harmony* arrived in Portsmouth, England, and told how he “spoke with the *Annapolis*, Henrick [sic.], from Maryland to London, in lat. 39.16. long. 61.20.<sup>9</sup> on the 27<sup>th</sup> of last month.” Crawford went on to say that the *Annapolis* “had lost all her Masts, and had washed away her Galleries, and all upon Deck, in a Storm on the 10<sup>th</sup> of Sept.” Crawford observed that “the *Annapolis* is on her passage to London with Jury Masts.”<sup>10</sup>

The London *Public Advertiser* of November 17, 1775, reported that Captain Cramer of the *Brothers*, sailing from Maryland, had arrived in England. At “Lat. 49. Long. 10.”<sup>11</sup> Cramer spoke with “the *Annapolis*, Henrick [sic.], who, in a violent Gale on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October [sic., he probably meant September], received considerable Damage.”

Then, in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on January 31, 1776, there was the most unfathomable account from London, under the date of November 10, 1775. Captain Nicholson, of the *Juno*, came across the “*Annapolis*, Capt. Hansick [sic.], on the 13<sup>th</sup> instant, in Mount’s Bay,<sup>12</sup> both close to the rocks, which Capt. Nicholson cleared with the greatest difficulty.” Nicholson believed “the *Annapolis* struck and went immediately to pieces, as he saw nothing of her afterwards,” and that “there was no chance of the people being saved, as it blew very hard.” To save the *Juno*, Nicholson threw 100 hogsheads of tobacco and many staves overboard.

Somehow, the determined captain and his resourceful crew saved the *Annapolis* once more, though it took over a month for her to limp from off the coast of Cornwall into the Downs anchorage. On November 18, 1775, Captain James Hanrick steered what was left of his ship into port in southern England with “not a mast standing, and all her sails torn to pieces.”<sup>13</sup>

### Captain Hanrick’s Gold Medal

For his extraordinary efforts, the marine risk underwriters of the remaining tobacco cargo of the *Annapolis*, now made even more valuable due to the trade restrictions, gratefully awarded Captain James Hanrick “a Compliment of a Gold Medal, a Silver Punchbowl, and a Purse of Money.” This was in appreciation “for his calm, brave, and steady Conduct, in reducing to Obedience the Marines of said Ship, who mutinied three several Times.”<sup>14</sup>

Remarkably, in the November 9, 1778, *Northampton Mercury*, in an article detailing these 1775 events, it was also noted that “In the same Ship [Hanrick] fell in with the *Independence* American Privateer, and fought her two Hours and a Half, although, in the Course of the Engagement, he had received a Shot

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> This is the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, about 600 miles east of New York City.

<sup>10</sup> *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24, 1775.

<sup>11</sup> This is the eastern Atlantic Ocean south of the coast of Ireland.

<sup>12</sup> This would be off the coast of Cornwall. England.

<sup>13</sup> *Hampshire Chronicle*, November 27, 1775.

<sup>14</sup> *Northampton Mercury*, November 9, 1778.

from a Swivel in his Thigh.” Though it is not clearly stated, it might be assumed that this later skirmish between the *Annapolis* and the *Independence* took place on another of Hanrick’s voyages, as it was also revealed that “nor was the ship given up till a second Shot struck him on the side, carried away the Flesh (leaving the Ribs bare), and laid him senseless on the Deck.”<sup>15</sup> In 1778, the Committee of the Reprisal Association<sup>16</sup> elected Hanrick to command their 32-gun privateer *Queen Charlotte*, which carried upwards of 200 men.<sup>17</sup>

While Captain James Hanrick’s gold medal is untraced today, a medal of a likely similar design exists in the Numismatics Collection of the Yale University Art Gallery. It is Betts-434, the 1760 French Privateers Repulsed Medal, engraved to Captain James Weir. The story of Captain Weir and his ship, the *Mars*, is colorfully told by Christopher McDowell in *Medals of the Americas: The Betts Companion (1747–1763)*, published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club in 2025.



**Betts-434, 1760 French Privateers Repulsed Medal.**

This Medall  
Given by the Underwriters  
to the Bearer Captain  
James Weir of the Mars for his  
Brave defence against  
Two French Privateers  
April & July  
1760

Image courtesy of the Numismatics Collection, Yale University Art Gallery, 2001.87.88401.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> The London Reprisal Association financed and operated privateer ships of war.

<sup>17</sup> James Hanrick, “master mariner,” died in London about 1801, see *The London Gazette*, February 28–March 3, 1801, for a notice to the creditors and legatees of his estate.

## The Passengers of the *Annapolis*

Reportedly, seven families had been on board the *Annapolis* when she set sail on August 31, 1775, bound for London. When the *Two Brothers* came upon the dismasted *Annapolis* at sea, it was decided that these passengers would be taken back to Philadelphia. The names of five of these passengers were specifically mentioned by the *Maryland Gazette* on September 28, 1775. That this group included two Loyalists, an inscrutable moderate, and two young men who would later ascend to prominence as Patriots might be considered representative of the population of the American colonies, who, in 1775, were also similarly divided.

There is much to delve into the relationships among these individuals, whose family trees and societal connections were intertwined as members of Maryland's upper crust. The following list contains only brief biographical data. It should also be mentioned that Lloyd Dulany and his wife Elizabeth, Dr. George Steuart and his son William, George Digges, and Edmund Brice took the *Harriot* mail packet from New York City to Falmouth, England, one month later.<sup>18</sup> In a bit of irony, the *Harriot* arrived in England in mid-November 1775, on nearly the same day that Captain Hanrick finally anchored the *Annapolis*.<sup>19</sup>

**Lloyd Dulany** (1742–1782) was an Annapolis native and London-trained lawyer who had built a handsome brick house in Annapolis on Conduit Street that reportedly cost him £10,000.<sup>20</sup> Dulany was carrying Governor Robert Eden's confidential letter to Lord Dartmouth, which he probably delivered belatedly. Dulany was travelling with his wife, Elizabeth, who was the sister of fellow passenger, Edmund Brice. Dulany was killed in a duel in London's Hyde Park by the "notorious" Reverend Bennet Allen, another expatriate from Annapolis.

**Dr. George Hume Steuart** (1700–1784) was an Edinburgh-trained physician and former mayor of Annapolis. He had emigrated to Maryland in about 1721, but still had an estate in Scotland, to which he returned in 1775. He left his wife, Ann Digges Steuart, the aunt of fellow passenger George Digges, in Maryland to manage his estate, Dodon. Steuart was travelling with his son William, who returned to Maryland after the war and inherited the Dodon estate.

Steuart was an authorized signer of Maryland paper money in the 1740s and 1750s.

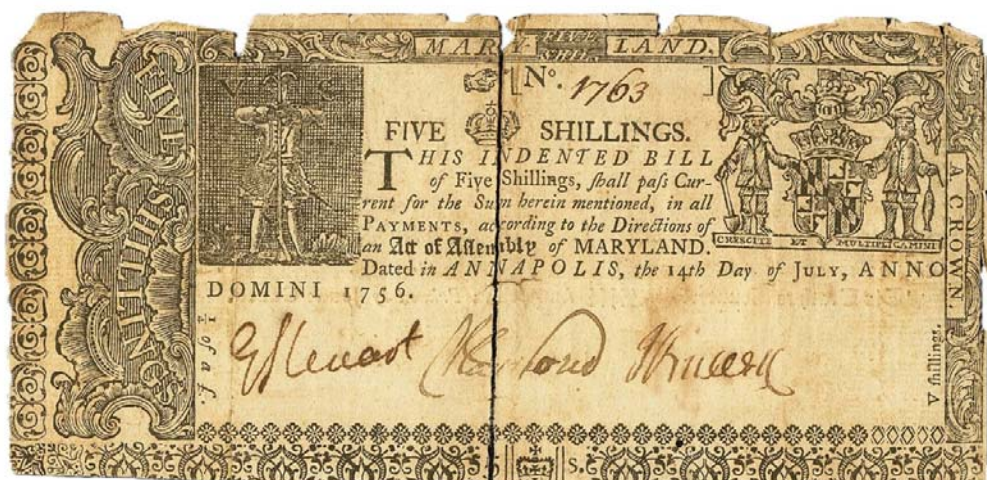
**George Digges** (1747–1792) lived on his family's Warburton estate, directly across the Potomac River from Mount Vernon, and frequently socialized with George Washington. He was the younger brother of Thomas Attwood Digges (1742–1821), a controversial figure with an important numismatic connection. George Digges was in England with his brother and in France until 1778, when he travelled back to Boston with Sir James Jay. Jay was the brother of Founding Father John Jay. However, his politics, like those of George Digges and Thomas Digges, were more ambiguous.

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<sup>18</sup> *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, October 28, 1775.

<sup>19</sup> *Belfast News-Letter*, November 28, 1775.

<sup>20</sup> Diary entry: 23 September 1771, *Founders Online*, National Archives, [Original source: The Diaries of George Washington, vol. 3, 1 January 1771–5 November 1781, ed. Donald Jackson. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978, p. 55.]



Maryland, July 14, 1756, 5 shillings, signed by George Steuart, Charles Hammond, and John Bullen.  
Image courtesy Heritage Auctions, December 7, 2025, 94088.

Thomas Digges “was trusted least by those who knew him best” and was described as “a liar, a speculator, a trader with the enemy, and a secret agent of the British government.”<sup>21</sup> However, he has remained an intriguing personality. His correspondence with Thomas Jefferson in 1793 revealed that private mints in Britain were endeavoring to strike the first copper coins for the United States. Digges named John Geogry Hancock as the engraver and described his Washington/Eagle cents.



1791 Washington Small Eagle Cent. Musante GW-17.  
Image courtesy of Stack’s Bowers Galleries, November 2025, 4043.

**Edmund Brice** (1751–1784) was a talented artist who studied under Charles Wilson Peale in Annapolis. Peale arranged for Brice to apprentice under Benjamin West in London. After his interrupted voyage on the *Annapolis*, Brice completed his journey to London in 1775 on the *Harriot*.

While studying in Europe, Brice met the Marquis de Lafayette and accompanied him to America as an aide-de-camp in June 1777. Through his association with Lafayette, Brice was commissioned as a major

<sup>21</sup> “Thomas Digges to Thomas Jefferson, 28 April 1791,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 20, 1 April–4 August 1791, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 313–322.]

and participated in the defense at Brandywine and the encampment at Valley Forge. By September 1778, Brice was dispatching reports on naval developments from Lafayette to George Washington. In October 1778, Congress made him a brevet lieutenant colonel.

After the war, Brice returned to Annapolis, married, and had a son before dying at the age of only 33.

**Alexander Contee Hanson** (1749–1806) was a Maryland native and lawyer. He was aboard the *Annapolis* to be ordained for the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in England. Hanson's plans changed when he was returned by the *Two Brothers* to Philadelphia and met there with his cousin, Colonel Robert Hanson Harrison, George Washington's chief secretary. Instead of attempting to find another vessel to take him to England, Hanson became the Assistant Private Secretary to General Washington in 1776.

Hanson shortly became very ill and had to give up the post within a few months. A delightful episode is recounted in a nineteenth-century biography of Hanson, when he visited Washington's headquarters just after the Battle of Brandywine. They spent the night at a farmhouse, where Hanson was so unwell that General Washington took pity on him and gave him his bed. Hanson later told of how "Alexander Hamilton lay down on the floor in the corner, and he never saw a man look so like a cat."<sup>22</sup>

Hanson excelled as a scholar of law and civics and served as the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chancellor of Maryland from 1789 until his death.

## Conclusion

As we approach Independence Day 2026, the pomp and spectacle of our patriotic commemoration are highly anticipated. Still, we should not forget that many things so admired as glorious were arduously and painfully created. Such was the scene in 1775, when America was not yet united, and her families, like the masts and sails of the *Annapolis*, were broken and torn apart by the magnificent storm of enlightened ideals.

The advertisement features a dark background with a collage of various colonial coins and metal fragments. On the left, a circular logo for the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4) is visible. The text is arranged in a clear, hierarchical manner, starting with the club's name and then the competition title. The dates for the competition are prominently displayed. The bottom section provides details about the eligibility and where to find more information.

THE COLONIAL COIN COLLECTORS CLUB (C4) ANNOUNCES THE

**2026 C4 Metal Detecting Find of the Year Competition**

For American Colonial numismatic items recovered in North America between August 1, 2025 and August 1, 2026.

Cash prizes and more!  
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For complete details, visit [colonialcoins.org/C4competition2026](http://colonialcoins.org/C4competition2026)

<sup>22</sup> William L. Marbury, *The High Court of Chancery and the Chancellors of Maryland*, (Presented to the Maryland State Bar Association at the 1905 Annual Meeting). Original source: "Winter of 1851–3," a manuscript by Charles W. Hanson.

## ROPER'S NEW ENGLAND SIXPENCE: SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS PROVES ORIGINALITY

(Christopher F. Pilliod, Christopher J. Salmon, James Rosen, Anthony Terranova)

*[Ed. An earlier version of this article appeared in the June 2025 Journal of Early American Numismatics, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 1-10.]*

### INTRODUCTION

When Stack's auctioned John L. Roper's New England sixpence in December 1983, it was described as "fabulous" and "the finest" of seven known specimens (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> This assessment was shared by many preeminent numismatists of the day, including John J. Ford, Jr., and is consistent with the sharply defined and essentially pristine appearance of the stamped NE and VI impressions.



**Figure 1.** The Roper New England sixpence.

The coin recently came under scrutiny because of anomalies visible in the unstruck obverse and reverse fields that some observers believed to be plugs used to repair two small holes.<sup>2</sup> Detailed research and analysis will show that the anomalies were present in the hand-made planchets before striking and do not represent subsequent remediation.

<sup>1</sup> *The John L. Roper, 2nd Collection of Colonial & Early American Coins*, December 8, 9, 1983, Stack's, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Rosen, James and Anthony Terranova. 2024. "A New England Sixpence...Re-visited," *C4 Newsletter*, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 58-61.

## METHODS

Christopher F. Pilliod, Senior Staff Metallurgist at Carpenter Technology in Reading, Pennsylvania, performed a series of physical tests on the sixpence, employing several state-of-the-art metallurgical techniques, including:

1. **Differential Interference Contrast Light Microscopy (DIC Microscopy).**

This technique enables high surface contrast to highlight physical features of the coin's surface in improved detail relative to conventional light microscopy (and in some cases reveals features that are impossible to detect by that modality).

2. **X-Ray Fluorescence Microprobe (XRF Microprobe).**

This is employed for compositional analysis. The advantage of the microprobe is that the chemical composition can be sampled in a nondestructive manner from a precise region, the area of which is slightly larger than the tip of a needle. The more commonly employed handheld or table gun XRF devices analyze much larger areas and, therefore, yield less accurate and less differentiating results. The microprobe enables elemental analysis to be confined specifically to anomalous regions of the planchet, independent of the surrounding coin surface, which can be examined separately for direct and precise comparison.

3. **Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM).**

This device utilizes electrons rather than light and can thereby render images in much higher resolution and in much higher levels of magnification than is possible with light microscopy.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

**DIC Microscopy** showed two distinct anomalies adjacent to one another. Figure 2 shows these at 11.4x magnification. The surface morphology of the anomalies is grossly similar to that of the surrounding unstruck field of the coin. Higher-resolution imaging with SEM, reported below, yielded significant additional information that was not as clearly seen using DIC microscopy.

The two anomalous areas are of roughly rounded configuration, each with a noticeably different maximum diameter on the obverse as compared to the reverse. The larger anomaly measured 3477 microns on the obverse and 2728 microns on the reverse, a 27% difference. The smaller anomaly measured 1875 microns on the obverse and 1388 microns on the reverse, a difference of 35%. For reference, the diameters of silver plugs employed by the U.S. Mint in Philadelphia for some 1795 Bust Dollars differ between obverse and reverse by 12.8%.<sup>3</sup>

**XRF Microprobe** is the ideal nondestructive method for compositional (elemental) analysis of a metal specimen. Findings are slightly limited because measurements are only made near the coin's surface.

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<sup>3</sup> C.F. Pilliod. Unpublished observation, based on direct examination of eighteen 1795-dated silver plug dollars.



**Figure 2. DIC Microscopy** showing the two adjacent anomalies. (11.4x magnification).

Two critical factors in obtaining accurate compositional analysis are the sensitivity of the measuring equipment and sample integrity. Sample integrity depends on the degree of homogeneity of the fabric of the item being examined, as well as sample preparation. For quantitative analysis, sample preparation can involve grinding or cutting into a specimen to remove surface effects and determine the composition of its interior. Of course, this was not desirable in the current study, for which only nondestructive testing was appropriate. As a result, caution is needed to properly interpret the results. This is especially important for older silver coins such as the subject piece. Such coins will often show a depleted level of copper due to the different galvanic potentials of silver and copper.<sup>4</sup>

This phenomenon occurs on the surface of the coin, the severity being dependent on the environmental history of the piece (e.g., soil conditions if the coin has been buried).<sup>5</sup> Notwithstanding this caveat, it is important to note that the silver and copper contents found in the anomalous areas and in the

<sup>4</sup> Salmon, Christopher J. 2011. "Silver Content of a Circulating Counterfeit of the Massachusetts Silver Series: Iconographic Similarities of a Previously Uncatalogued Circulating Counterfeit Overstrike." *The Colonial Newsletter*, pp. 3737-3747.

<sup>5</sup> Linke R., et al. 2004. "The Application of Photon, Electron, and Proton Induced X-ray Analysis for the Identification and Characterization of Medieval Silver Coins." *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Modern Physics Research Section B*, pp. 172-178.

surrounding planchet show quite good agreement. Each is found to be composed of about 95% silver and 4% copper.

As shown by previous research, these measurements are consistent with findings of Massachusetts silver coins of all series, as well as in all of the hollowware and flatware produced in the workshop of the mintmaster/silversmiths John Hull and Robert Sanderson, Sr.<sup>6</sup> Such high silver levels are not unusual for the Massachusetts Silver coins; nor are they unexpected, since they correlate with other contemporaneous data. Spanish American silver coins of this era, long regarded as the most common source of silver used in the Massachusetts silver coinage, generally had silver content exceeding sterling (i.e., >92.5%).

The 8-reales and its fractions had an authorized silver content of 93.05% until 1728. Such coins assayed at the Tower Mint in 1714 were found to have as much as 93.3% silver.<sup>7</sup> Thus, silver levels lower than sterling are not generally found in genuine Massachusetts silver coins (and might be difficult to explain). At all events, and however consistent the measurements of the current study are, they are semi-quantitative, given the aforementioned relative copper depletion at the surface.

More telling is the lead content. Lead was employed in the pyrometric refining of silver in the seventeenth century to separate it from copper. As a result, residual lead is normally found in silver coins of the period and can be found in silver coins minted as late as the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> XRF results for lead are considered more quantitative, since the galvanic potential and corrosion resistance of lead are significantly higher than even those of silver.

Sixteen lead measurements were performed, including eight in the anomalous regions and eight in areas of the planchet that were unaffected. Individual measurements, with averages and standard deviations, are as shown in the following table:

|      | Pb % (in anomalies) | Pb % (in unaffected planchet) |
|------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1    | 0.14                | 0.17                          |
| 2    | 0.16                | 0.17                          |
| 3    | 0.14                | 0.16                          |
| 4    | 0.12                | 0.19                          |
| 5    | 0.12                | 0.15                          |
| 6    | 0.14                | 0.17                          |
| 7    | 0.14                | 0.21                          |
| 8    | 0.12                | 0.14                          |
| Avg. | 0.135               | 0.17                          |
| S.D. | +/- 0.014           | +/- 0.022                     |

<sup>6</sup> Salmon, Christopher J. 2010, *The Silver Coins of Massachusetts*, New York: The American Numismatic Society, p. 72. Note that these findings were first reported by Yale University Art Gallery curator Patricia E. Kane on page 5 and Appendix A of her 1987 Yale PhD dissertation, John Hull and Robert Sanderson, Sr., *First Masters of New England Silver*.

<sup>7</sup> Mossman, Philip L. 2013. *From Crime to Punishment: Counterfeiting in Colonial and Pre-Federal America*. New York: American Numismatic Society, p. 46.

<sup>8</sup> Selinsky, Barry S. 2023. "Trace metal analysis of United States silver coins using ICP-MS and XRF." *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Modern Physics Research Section B: Beam Interactions with Material and Atoms*, p. 543.

In summary, the anomalies and the surrounding unaffected planchet show similar silver, copper, and residual lead levels, in proportions typically found in the seventeenth-century products of the Hull and Sanderson workshop.<sup>9</sup> It is doubtful that such consistent results would be observed if a silver plug were placed in the setting of a modern repair.

**SEM.** Surface imaging with SEM yielded highly detailed images for study. No evidence of mechanical movement, blending, or smoothing of metal between the boundary of the anomalies and the surrounding planchet was detectable. Evidence of purposeful movement of metal would be expected in the vicinity of a plug, whether it was introduced at the mint prior to striking or done later in the setting of a repair. The absence of these findings is thus significant and constitutes strong evidence that the small anomalous areas are not plugs.

In the Scanning Electron micrograph below at 43x (Figure 3), the seam at the lower right fades toward the upper left. In some areas, the seam vanishes completely. Once again, no evidence of mechanical movement or manipulation of metal can be observed. The fact that the seam vanishes in areas of the circumference effectively excludes the possibility that the metal was added as a plug prior to minting, such as for weight augmentation, or later to repair a hole.

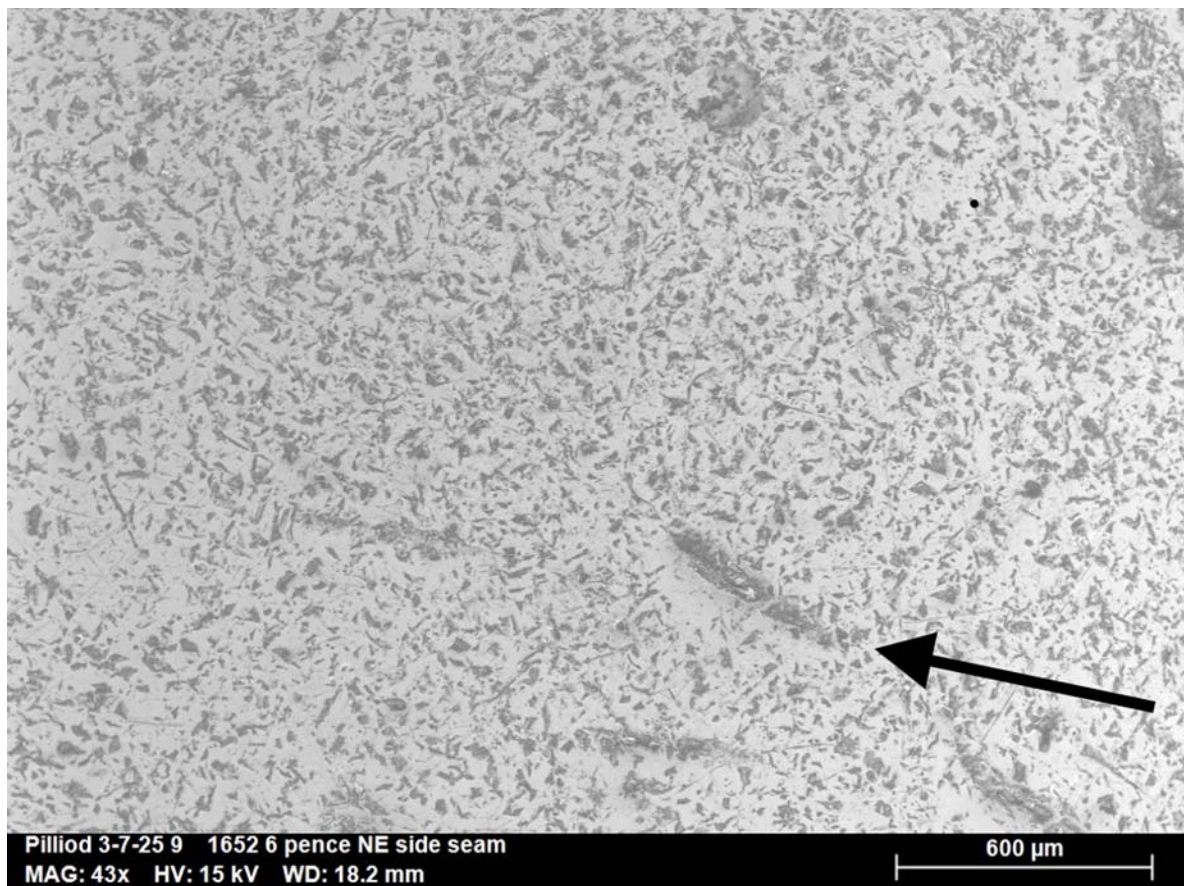


**Figure 3. Scanning Electron Micrograph (SEM).** The boundary of the anomaly is indicated by an arrow. (43x magnification).

<sup>9</sup> Including their silverware and coins. See, Kane 1987, fn. 6, *op. cit.*

However, the strongest evidence against plugging is found in closely examining the surface topography of the coin. Note that in Figure 2, the distribution of porosity and micro-tears is uniform across the anomalies and the surrounding planchet. This is of critical importance in determining the origin of the anomalies.

Knowledge of surface features in as-cast metals helps to interpret these findings by shedding light on the root cause. Molds employed in casting metal are normally reused until they are exhausted. Over time, a mold will oxidize, and its surface will become pitted and scaled. Additionally, if the molten metal is cast into the top of the mold, significant splashing will also occur, further degrading the ingot surface. The cast ingot will thus have a rough, porous, or spongy surface. To produce thinner strips for planchet preparation at Hull and Sanderson's small silversmith shop, the as-cast ingots<sup>10</sup> were hammered and planished rather than rolled.<sup>11</sup> Even after these steps, fine residual porosity, such as that seen on the subject coin, would likely remain.

Annealing of the metal, as was done in Hull and Sanderson's workshop,<sup>12</sup> could also produce micro-porous surfaces similar to what is observed on the subject coin. Hot working the planchet could do this as well, but this was not part of the routine at the early mint. For the New England sixpence, the NE and VI impressions were cold struck with individual punches in a manner entirely analogous to applying a silversmith's touchmark.<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 4.** Stainless steel ingot.

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<sup>10</sup> Kane, Patricia E. 1998. *Colonial Massachusetts Silversmiths and Jewelers*, New Haven: Yale University Art. Gallery, p. 1065. In Hull and Sanderson's workshop, rectangular iron ingot molds were employed.

<sup>11</sup> See, Salmon 2010, *op. cit.*, p. 72 for the multi-step procedure used by Hull and Sanderson to thin down the cast ingots and produce planchets.

<sup>12</sup> Kane 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 1053.

<sup>13</sup> Salmon 2010, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

In modern industrial processing, the roughness of as-cast ingots is often first addressed by grinding the ingot surfaces as cleanly as possible before downstream processing. To illustrate this, it is helpful to study two examples of modern-day ingot surfaces. Figure 4 is a photo of a top-poured stainless-steel ingot that has been ground to partially remove surface defects. Figure 5 is a photo of a titanium ingot still in its as-cast state. It is common in the titanium industry to cut (“trepan”) a rounded sample from the ingot surface for chemical analysis, accounting for the machine-produced circular areas seen in this illustration. Note that both the steel and titanium ingots have a surface appearance similar to the subject coin, but on a much larger scale. Note also that the roughness in the solidified titanium ingot has a depth to it, visible at the margins of the test drilling. Some ingots can require up to a 10% surface removal to achieve clean, solid metal.



**Figure 5.** Titanium ingot.

The subject sixpence demonstrates microporosity across its entire surface, except where the NE and VI impressions were made. In these areas, the substantial force of hammering by the silversmith-coiner completely flattened the pores and yielded uniform smoothing of the deep surfaces. In hand, these deeply struck areas retain some original mint luster.

The differential contrast micrograph in Figure 6 is the critical image of the subject coin, proving incontrovertibly that the anomalies were produced during planchet preparation and not either as a mint-produced plug (to correct weight or surface) or as a later repair. The stark difference between the smooth topography of the stamped area and the micro-pitted area of the planchet should be noted. A close examination of the struck area of the “VI”, zooming in on the vertical wall to the right of the “T”, shows that the porosity at the margin of the unstruck coin surface is similar in thickness to that seen in the titanium ingot in Figure 5.

Note as well that the less-compressed higher relief areas of the “I” retain some porosity. But the single most important feature is that the anomalous areas of the planchet exhibit the same microporosity as the surrounding unstruck portion of the planchet. This would not be observed if the plug were added as a repair. In addition, consider the degree of mechanical deformation needed to add a plug and then chase metal to ensure that it is in plane with the surrounding planchet. There is absolutely no evidence of such manipulation in the micrograph, and that possibility can be excluded with confidence.



**Figure 6.** DIC Micrograph. The anomalous areas exhibit the same microporosity as the surrounding unstruck portion of the planchet. Additionally, there is no evidence of tooling around the anomalous areas. Note as well that the recessed stamped area is smooth and shows no evidence of heating.

Lastly, molten metal is required to create plug repairs, resulting in significant heating of the surrounding planchet. Although heating can result in microporosity or blistering, none is found in the recesses of the nearby struck area.<sup>14</sup> The thermal conductivity of silver is very high, and any heating for repair work would instantaneously migrate to the recesses of the nearby stamped areas. The absence of such features is further evidence against plugging.

What, then, accounts for these anomalies? According to Pilliod, the most plausible explanation is that they result from small fragments of silver that never fully melted and were subsequently incorporated into the solid ingot as partially fused “inclusions.” He likens the process to placing an ice cube in a glass of water

<sup>14</sup> Borckardt, Mark, et al. 2022. (1652) “New England ‘NE’ Coinage Census,” *Journal of Early American Numismatics*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 35-114 (mentioned on pp. 40-41).

and then putting it in the freezer: once the surrounding liquid solidifies, the original ice cube remains as a distinct and discernible unit within the newly frozen mass.

The fact that the resulting areas never fully melted to blend homogeneously with the surrounding silver could account for a slightly different patina and overall appearance. The presence of the anomalies would be consistent with two small additions to the “heat” (batch) of molten silver that did not fully melt. The small pieces of silver could have been added late in the melting process to fill the mold more fully or may have simply fallen into the molten ingot, a not uncommon occurrence even in today’s world. Either scenario would be unsurprising at the nascent Massachusetts Mint, a single 16’ x 16’ room that doubled as America’s earliest established silversmith shop.

## CONCLUSION

The fact that the anomalies and the surrounding planchet share identical surface features proves that the anomalies were present in the coin as made. The deepest impressions of the struck areas are entirely devoid of microporosity, as the pores were entirely flattened and smoothed in these areas. These deep areas and their walls retain some original mint luster and show no evidence of secondary heating, as would be expected if a plug was introduced to patch a hole. The similar levels of residual lead in both the anomalous areas and the surrounding planchet provide further evidence that the anomalies are as made and were present in the original planchet.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The images in Figures 2 through 6 are courtesy of C.F. Pilliod.



### ***What is it?***

This is a feature which we insert from time to time to have a little fun and test the knowledge of our colonial experts. Metal detectorists are challenged to identify a coin from just a *tiny* piece of visible detail, often with no knowledge of which side is obverse/reverse, nor how to orient the coin. See if you can identify the coin or medal from the picture at the left. Most of the coins appearing here will be from types/series listed in the pre-federal section of the *Red Book*, but this one would be found in a different work by a C4 author.

You can find the answer on page 86.



## LEARNING ABOUT DICK AUGUST'S CONNECTICUT COPPERS

(Randy Clark)

Dick August had over a 50-year history of buying and selling Connecticut coppers, along with his other Vermont, Massachusetts, Fugio, and Machin's Mills interests. He was considered very reserved about what was in his personal collection, which added a certain mystique to what might have been in there. This mystique was further enhanced by Dick's reputation for canvassing local bourse floors and coin shops for finds that did not appear in public sales or auctions (i.e., fresh pieces). Added to that were higher-profile purchases Dick periodically made in named sales, such as the early Buckley, Turoff, Roper, Taylor, and Ford IX auctions, as well as the more recent Robert Martin, Partrick, Rothschild, and Anton/EPU sales.

Now that Dick's Connecticut coppers have been cataloged as part of the Stack's Bowers Galleries, March 9, 2026, "Spring Showcase Auction," we can compare what was known and suspected in his collection with the actual catalog. From the listings, Dick's collection totaled 290 of the classic Connecticut coppers varieties (out of 357), plus all six of the mules associated with the Vermont and Machin's series. While Dick advised several hobby peers he had over 300 Connecticut varieties, Stack's Bowers has confirmed no additional pieces have been held back for future sale. Perhaps we'll learn more, in time.



1787 M1.1-A Graded MS-62 from the Dick August Collection.  
Image Courtesy Stack's Bowers Galleries.

Assessing a condition census can be difficult for Connecticut coppers due to the large number of coins available and the weighing of color, surfaces, strike and natural flaws. Per my reckoning, using a living, 5-coin condition census, the Dick August holdings had 47 varieties that qualified for the census. Within those 47 coins, 11 are in competition for "finest knowns." This was quite an accomplishment for a collector who may have been more focused on other colonial series. There were a number of high-rarity varieties in the sale (17 from R7- to R8), as well as mint-state, more common varieties (a MS-62 1787 M1.1-A so nice that die polishing marks are visible in the fields and a MS-64 1787 M30-hh.1 with mint red).

It is interesting to review what we have learned about Dick and his Connecticut coppers, since his peers have often wondered "what did he have and where did he get it?" Even though relatively few of Dick's March 2026 coins have documented provenances, we are thrilled to have Dick's enigmatic collection finally revealed in its entirety.

## Dick August and Connecticut Coppers in the 1970s

There are two coins in the sale that have provenances dating to the 1960s, although it is not known if that is when Dick acquired them: 1787 M30-hh.1 (ex. David Wexler, 1961) and 1788 M16.3-N over a Massachusetts cent (ex. Mayflower Stearns Dec. 1966). Similarly, several coins appear to have come from Bowers "Rare Coin Reviews" (a 1786 M5.5-M from Sept. 1970 RCR#7 and a 1787 M33.2-Z.12 from Feb. 1974 RCR #19) which cannot be verified if were purchased directly by Dick. This was the period when Hathaway and Bowers Galleries, and Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, offered their fixed-price lists, sometimes referred to as "Rare Coin Reviews," with material from Norman Bryant, Ted Craige, and other Connecticut coppers collections.

The earliest mentions I have otherwise seen of Dick August and Connecticut coppers are found in the EAC75 catalog (Pine Tree, February 1975) in four lots consigned by Alan Kessler. These Kessler lots have Dick listed in the provenance, with references to "ex. Dick August Nov. 1970" and another "Oct. 1973." Kessler would likely have known of the Rare Coin Review sales, so it is assumed Dick was offering alternative material. By reputation, Dick was understood to be creatively opportunistic in his purchases made through local resources and is not believed to have frequently bought off of the widely marketed Bowers fixed price lists.

In preparation for a 2025 commemorative book on EAC75, I spoke with Dick about his recollections of the February 1975 event. He simply stated he did not attend the event, but did not provide any insight if he bid on or won any lots. Of Dick's March 2026 sale of Connecticut coppers (with an EAC75 provenance) only one stands out as possibly having been acquired directly by him from the 1975 sale, with no intermediary owners (lot 212, 1787 M33.10-W.6, won by unknown bidder #593 — the only lot won by that number). Two other EAC75 coins that went to the "Book," unsold on the floor, ended up in Dick's collection (1787 M39.1-ff.2, 1787 M56-XX), with no intervening provenance information. These could have been acquired by Richard Picker, Dick August, or anyone else looking for a bargain just after the sale and later ended up in Dick's holdings.

Other coins with an EAC75 provenance were acquired by Dick in later sales ("on the rebound"), such as the Feb. 1977 Stack's Allen sale (1786 M6-K), the Oct. 1984 Stack's Roper sale (1788 M17-Q), the Nov. 2019 Stack's Bowers Robert Martin sale (1787 M15-R), and the Nov. 2020 Stack's Bowers EPU/Anton sale (1787 M16.5-n).

Most mysterious was an important EAC75 coin purchased at that sale by Richard Picker for a targeted collector, which never reached the intended recipient. It makes a remarkable reappearance in the Dick August catalog. EAC75 lot 77, the (at the time) unique 1787 M52-G.2, was won by Richard Picker using Frederick Taylor's bidding information (as seen in Picker's annotated day-of-sale EAC75 catalog). This coin never made it to Taylor. How it ended up in Dick August's holdings has been a matter of speculation. One opinion was ventured that since Taylor had a nice 52-G.1 already, perhaps he did not decide to keep the newly designated 52-G.2 variety (or did not believe it was a new variant). It is not clear when it ended up in the August collection, either, since Robert Martin's scissor-cut-paste notes from November 1999 did not mention its whereabouts. The August collection catalog has the first color photograph known of this coin (Breen reused the EAC75 image in his 1988 *Encyclopedia*, and the 2009 Whitman *Colonial Encyclopedia* had a grainy sepia image, either reused from EAC75 or supplied later by Dick himself).



**1787 M52-G.2** from NN60th:334, EAC75:77, and the March 2026 Dick August Collection.  
Image Courtesy Stack's Bowers Galleries.

After the high prices of EAC75, there was a dramatic dip in values in the following sales; NERCA July 1976 and Bowers and Ruddy October 1976. In the NERCA sale of Richard Buckley's Connecticut coppers, it appears Dick August won several lots: #5 (Hall's 1785 M3.1-L), #21 (1786 M2.1-D.3), #65 (1787 M18-g.1), and #153 (1787 M49.1-Z.1). An additional Buckley coin, offered much later in the Stack's Bowers Galleries Glecker sale of November 2016 (1787 M48-k.3), was acquired by Dick August on the rebound.



**1787 M49.1-Z.1** from NERCA Buckley:153 and the March 2026 Dick August Collection.  
Image Courtesy Stack's Bowers Galleries.

The October 1976 Bowers "Turoff" sale of Edward Barnsley's Connecticut coppers shows additional buying action by Dick August. Lot #523 (1785 M4.1-F.4), #529 (1785 M6.2-F.1), #535 (1786 M1-A), #599 (1787 M29.1-a.2), #698 (1787 M40-N), and #719 (1788 M6-H, ex NN56th) were all acquired by Dick. Coming on the heels of the EAC75 peak in prices, the later sharp dip in prices was a good buying opportunity for Dick and others, but a bust for Ned Barnsley. As a result, Barnsley decided he would rather donate the rest of his collection than sell coins at such depressed prices (his coins are now in the ANS).



**1788 M6-H** from NN56th:40, Bowers Turoff:719 (Barnsley), and the March 2026 Dick August Collection.  
Image Courtesy Stack's Bowers Galleries.

### Dick August and Connecticut Coppers in the 1980s–1990s

The catalog of Dick's coins shows several coppers with provenances to the Stack's December 1983 John Roper sale (1786 M7-K, 1788 M17-Q) and March 1987 Frederick Taylor sale (1785 M3.4-F.1, 1787 M24-g.3, 1788 M4.2-R, and 1788 M16.7-P) that are believed to have been purchased directly by Dick.



**1786 M7-K** from NN33rd:779, Stack's Roper:235, and the March 2026 Dick August Collection.  
Image Courtesy Stack's Bowers Galleries.

Dick later acquired the Roper 1788 M12.2-E on the rebound from Don Mituzas and purchased another important Roper/EAC75 coin in the November 2019 Robert Martin sale (1787 M15-R). He also picked up other Taylor coins from Stack's Jan. 2009 (1787 M33.24-Z.10) and Heritage Partrick sales (1786 M5.2-O.2, 1787 M40-kk.1).

After Taylor, there is a gap in provenances to major public sales within Dick's collection. There are no known coins acquired directly from the 1980s Garrett, Bareford, Picker, Norweb, or Oechsner sales. Similarly, there are no coins purchased directly from the 1990s Ford Trust sales, Hessberg, or Perkins sales. One coin with a Hessberg provenance was later purchased from the Nov 2019 Robert Martin sale (1786 M4.2-R), and another coin with an Oechsner provenance was purchased from the November 2009 M&G C4 sale (1787 M33.34-Z.3).

However, Dick was quite active in buying/selling Connecticut coppers privately behind the scenes in the 1980s. In the January 1998 and January 2000 George Perkins sales by Stack's and Coin Galleries, there are twelve coins with a Dick August provenance from the years 1982–1989. Perkins had also bought heavily from Robert Vlack's second Connecticut coppers collection (the first having been sold to Edward Barnsley).

Another important milestone with Dick and his Connecticut coppers collection was when he allowed many of his rarities and important coins to be photographed at the annual C4 conventions in Boston in 1998 and 1999. This is when the hobby learned most of what was then known about his holdings — information which was not really supplemented until the March 2026 sale. These images can be found in Robert Martin's personal scissor-cut-past notes and were an invaluable tool for Stack's Bowers Galleries catalogers and many collectors. Robert stopped maintaining his notes in late 1999, so we have to fill in the rest from other sources.



**1787 M1.3-L** image from Nov. 1998 photo-shoot (ex. Stacks Apr. 1988:10) and the March 2026 Dick August Collection. Images Courtesy Stack's Bowers Galleries and Robert Martin's Personal Notes.

In November 1998 at the C4 Convention, Angel Pietri took color pictures of the following coins, which provided some of the first glimpses of the Dick August collection: 1786 M2.1-D.3, 1786 M7-K, 1787 M1.3-L, 1787 M3-G.1, 1787 M15-R MOS, 1787 M50-F, and 1788 M7-K. Each is in the March 2026 sale.

In November 1999, an unknown photographer took grayscale images of: 1785 M6.4-F.5, 1785 M6.5-M, 1786 M3-D.1, 1787 M5-P, 1787 M7-I, 1787 M9-D, 1787 M16.5-p, 1787 M33.10-W.6, 1787 M33.13-q, 1787 M33.17-r.5, 1787 M34-k.3, 1787 M52-G.1, and 1787 56-XX. Each of these coins is in the March sale.



**1787 M56-XX** image from Nov. 1999 photo-shoot (ex. EAC75:166) and the March 2026 Dick August Collection. Images Courtesy Stack's Bowers Galleries and Robert Martin's Personal Notes.

Noticeably absent in these convention photo-shoots was the 1787 M52-G.2 out of EAC75; hence, it is not known if Dick intentionally held the coin back to maintain privacy or that it was not yet in Dick's possession in the late 1990s.

### Dick August and Connecticut Coppers in the Early 2000s–Present

Dick was sometimes active in public auctions during this period, participating in various C4 M&G, Stack's, and Heritage sales, as well as the occasional eBay purchase. He did purchase four coins out of Stack's Ford IX, May 2005, five coins out of Stack's Robert Martin, November 2019, three coins out of Heritage Partrick, November 2020, one coin out of Stack's EPU/Anton, November 2020, and three coins out of Early Cents Rothschild, January 2021. This gave Dick a chance to acquire quality coins from respected peers as well as material with provenances to earlier, legacy sales like EAC75, Roper, and Taylor. In most cases, he was after high-rarity varieties to supplement his collection, rather than to upgrade or buy coins to resell. It may have been that Dick's collecting interests evolved during this time from shrewd clandestine acquisition to a nostalgic appreciation of the hobby he obviously loved.

However, the mystique of Dick's collection was not based on what he bought publicly, but more on what he bought in private transactions—coins without a provenance or clear chain of ownership. By my analysis of the August collection, out of the 358 total Connecticut coppers in the sale (290 varieties), only 72 pieces have some form of prior provenance documented in the sale catalog (or added "by inspection" afterwards). It is noted there may be additional information on Dick's coin envelopes that was not recorded in the sale catalog. In cases where Dick did not record a coin's prior history, as long as it was plated in another forum we will be able to eventually match it up. In some cases where the provenance is rather vague ("ex. Ringo," "ex. eBay") or one of his many bourse-finds, it is unlikely to be ever be linked to a prior owner. Which is just fine with many buyers looking for fresh material to add to their collections and statistics.

By June 2015, Dick had been able to supplement many of the Connecticut coppers in his collection and offered a series of over 17 duplicate coins, illustrated, at a fixed price to the hobby. Most were priced quite high and did not sell (and are included in the March 2026 sale, more than ten years later). This meant Dick was not in a rush to flip his duplicates, many of which were very respectable pieces.



**1787 M5-P** image from Dick's "Duplicate" listings June 2015 and the March 2026 Dick August Collection.  
Images Courtesy Stack's Bowers Galleries and Robert Martin's Personal Notes.

In the Spring 2010 issue of the *C4 Newsletter*, Dick authored an article, "The Rediscovery of Connecticut 1786 5.15-S" to relist the 1786-dated variety that had been added to the taxonomy by Frederick Canfield (in the 1924 *ANS Miller A&C*) but delisted in *The Colonial Newsletter* in May 1991. The reason for

the 1991 delisting was that the coin “is actually a very late die date of 5.14-S, with a cud developed at K-5 on the obverse.” However, in Dick’s 2010 article, he justified the relisting of the 5.15-S variety based on several differences he and other collectors had noted between 5.15-S and 5.14-S, which he argued proved they were different obverse dies, rather than die states. Of course, Dick had a specimen in his possession and was undoubtedly interested in adding yet another variety to his Connecticut coppers collection.



1786 M5.15-S written up (unplated) in the *C4 Newsletter* Spring 2010 and in the March 2026 Dick August Collection.  
Image Courtesy Stack’s Bowers Galleries.

### Dick August’s Connecticut Coppers Legacy

Dick was a contributor to the *C4 Newsletter* from 2010–2017, often writing “Auction Reports” on important colonial sales, such as the 2014 Eric Newman sale, the 2016 Anderson-Glecker sale, the 2018 Archangel sale, the 2019 Robert Martin sale, and the 2010 EPU/Anton sale. Dick had earlier co-authored a series of *C4 Newsletter* articles on Machin’s Mills coinages (1998-2001) and provided the *Newsletter* with an article on rarity ratings for Fugio, Vermont, and Machin’s coppers (Winter 2015). He knew his stuff!

It would have been interesting to have Robert Martin comment on Dick’s final collection, given he had tried for many years to view and catalog it. In his absence, perhaps Stack’s Bowers cataloger John Kraljevich sums up Dick’s Connecticut coppers best:

He strove for completion, an unavoidable conclusion when one considers the impressive number of varieties included here. He also sought sharpness, seeking the best detailed example of every variety. Numeric grades and surface quality were never his priority in this series, but he was an astute collector of Connecticut coppers and understood that the real challenges across this series were not necessarily in finding overall quality, but in finding coins that best represented each variety with excellent detail, centering, and planchets that were not severely flawed (where such could be avoided). He was not afraid to use any means to fill the hole for a variety he needed, but he remained on careful watch for sharper pieces along the way and was able to amass a rather remarkable collection of this specialty. The easy way to fill in so many Connecticut varieties—buying them at auctions of major collections—was not the route he tended to take. His strategy demonstrates patience and reliance upon his own body of knowledge, rather than commentary of auction catalogers and the bountiful offerings of the sales they wrote.



## THE RICHARD AUGUST CONNECTICUT COPPER COLLECTION A LOOK AT THE AUCTION RESULTS

(Jeff Rock)

After reviewing the results of the August 2025 sale of Dick August's Fugio coppers in the last *C4 Newsletter*, it's now time for a report on the sale of his Connecticut coppers. Unlike with Dick's Fugios, where I was just on the periphery (bidding on a couple of lots and winning none), for the March 2026 Connecticut coppers section I was going to be bidding furiously for several clients, as well as for my own inventory. CTs were my first love in colonials and are still the series I stock the most, so this was a must-do sale for me.

As Randy Clark has shown elsewhere in this issue, this was a series that Dick collected for over half a century—but it was clearly not one that he pursued as deeply as his Fugio, Vermont, and Machin's Mills coins during the first half of his collecting career. Dick certainly picked up some great coins during that period. He also cherry-picked rarities and sold them off to other collectors to help finance purchases in the areas he was more passionate about, as he was known to have done with New Jersey coppers. When those other series became difficult or impossible for him to add to, being a true collector, Dick turned his attention to fleshing out the other colonial series—as well as his other massive collections of medals, world coins, counterfeits, and the like.

It was only in the late 1990s and early 2000s that Dick seems to have gotten serious about his CT copper collection and started acquiring more varieties to reach the vaunted 300 goal. Something he said he hit, but even with counting the various VT and Machin's mules as CT varieties, seems to have fallen just short of.

Regardless of the actual number of varieties it contained, his collection of CT coppers was very impressive, with numerous rarities and Condition Census coins, many of which had not been offered at auction before and were unknown to most collectors. When a fabled collection, off the market for decades, full of "fresh" material appears, the results are nearly always the same: collectors foaming at the mouth to acquire things they need, dealers jumping on the bandwagon, and the frenzy attracting other bidders, all of which add up to strong prices realized.

There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, which usually occur during periods of economic uncertainty or the loss of a number of key players around the same time. Such things happened for the 1983 Roper sale, at a time when the country was just coming out of a 2-year recession, as well as the more modern sales of the Twin Leaf and Robert Martin collections. In 2026, with the stock market strong, property values high, and credit easy to get, many collectors were coming into this sale well-funded and ready to rumble. One of the clients I was bidding for had a low six-figure budget, which, prior to the sale, I figured would be enough to get most of the 50 or so coins we would be chasing. Based on prices for similar rarities/grades in the recent Syd Martin sales, this should have been sufficient. I was wrong.

While a small handful of bidder numbers won a significant proportion of the better material, a large number of bidders won coins, representing both collectors and dealers, with 30 or so individual bidding numbers winning lots, and more bidders in the fight, but not actually emerging victorious. It is no secret that the CT series has been weak in recent years, especially compared to the more robust New Jersey and Fugio coppers, both in price and demand. One reason is the loss of so many collectors in a few short years, and the

other is that the supply-and-demand equation was thrown severely out of whack by the offering of so many coins, including extremely rare ones, over a very short period of time.

While one could stretch back a quarter-century to include the George Perkins, John J. Ford, Jr., and Eric Newman collections (among other notable offerings sold by Stack's, Bowers and Merena, and McCawley-Grellman in the earlier C4 sales), you really only need to go back about a half-decade to see how the supply became so large. In 2019, we saw the sale of the Twin Leaf and Robert Martin collections. In 2020, it was the Don Partrick collection; in 2021, it was the Neil Rothschild collection. Then came the MANY coins in the Syd Martin collection that were offered from 2023–5. All these were in addition to the normal number of CTs that were consigned to the various auction firms, on dealer's price lists, or sold on eBay or at shows. But it appears that demand has caught up with supply—at least if the Dick August sale is a harbinger of things to come.

In my look at his Fugios, I went through the sale on a coin-by-coin basis. This would be impossible to do with the CTs, as that would likely fill up two or three full issues of the newsletter! So, I will instead look at the highlights of the sale, as well as some surprising results, of which there are many. In full disclosure mode, I will note any of the mentioned coins that I bought for myself or for clients, and readers can take any claim of price strength with an appropriate grain of salt, though I do promise to make every effort to be fair!

The sale got off to a reasonable start, with the 1785's mostly at fair retail-level prices. Of note, Lot 1044, a 1-E in straight-graded EF40 at \$600 (all prices given in this article will include the 20% buyer's fee), Lot 1047, a 2-A.1 in the same grade at \$1,440, and an AU-50 3.3-F.3 at \$900 all seemed at least a bit low. A gorgeous AU-50 3.4-F.2 without the heavy planchet flaws often found, sold at a more fitting \$2,040 as Lot 1058. Lot 1068, the 5-F.5 Miller plate coin, one of just a few varieties actually illustrated in his 1920 reference, was a bargain at \$780, despite being in an EF Details holder. Provenance counts for a lot, and I suspect that if either of the Martins—Syd or Robert—were alive, the coin would have sold for twice as much as it did; whoever bought it (and it wasn't me!) got a special coin at a great price.

It was only towards the end of the 1785 offering that things started to go wonky. Lot 1073 was a very sharp Miller 6.4-F.5, straight-graded as EF-40 despite some green spots on either side, which in the past would have likely meant a Details grade—but as collectors have surely noticed, the slab companies have become more forgiving of such things in recent times.<sup>1</sup> The 6.4-F.5 variety is certainly rare at R-6+, but there are nine different examples in the Stack's Bowers and Heritage archives, and one has been offered at auction every few years since 2010. So, we have enough recent auction appearances to draw some meaningful conclusions, which is worthy of a little digression.

While the August 6.4-F.5 coin was graded EF-40, the cataloguer rightly noted that there are two examples currently slabbed lower that are actually nicer overall. Both of which were in the John Ford primary collection, sold in 2005, one ex-Hall-Brand and the other presumably ex-Ryder since it was accompanied by a round collector's ticket. Both those Ford coins realized \$8,250, in what was the strongest CT copper auction yet. The Hall-Brand 6.4-F.5 coin went to Steve Tanenbaum, and when his collection was sold in 2012, it brought \$12,650 from Syd Martin. In the 2022 offering of Syd's frontline collection, the piece realized only \$4,800—for all the reasons noted earlier. The second coin from the Ford sale went to Don Partrick (who bought it from Jon Hanson after the auction and thus actually paid more than the \$8,250 it

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<sup>1</sup> This is especially true for colonial coins, which were seldom made with any sort of quality control. Even more so for first-year of coinages when minters were often still in the learning stages of how to make significant numbers of planchets, dies, and struck coins—each step allowing for problems of one sort or another!

hammered at), and when his collection was sold in 2020, it did even worse, bringing only \$2,400. Just a couple of years later, one would expect Dick August's coin to sell somewhere in that same range. His piece is a bit sharper but with surface issues, while the two Ford coins had lovely color and surfaces, and the Hall-Brand one was especially choice. This was the first really tough variety that I had a strong bid on for a client, a \$15,000 bid that surely would have won the lot, with money left over. Except it didn't. Opening at just \$2,400, the coin sold for \$22,800, with me stretching my max bid a couple of increments more, just in case.

Around this time, I sent out an email to the Google colonial group that read, "to paraphrase the late, great, Neil Sedaka, 'Connecticuts are back, baby'." But the pain of loss was just beginning!



**Lot 1073:** 1785 Miller 6.4-F.5, EF-40, exceeding all expectations at \$22,800.  
All illustrations in this article are courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries.

It's worth remaining within the 1785s to note a few other special varieties. Lot 1077, the Dr. Hall-Virgil Brand example of Miller 6.5-M in VF-35, brought \$8,400. This is about double what the Twin Leaf coin (VF-25, scratched) brought in 2019, but two grand less than Syd Martin's VF-30, which was sharper; overall, this seemed a fair price for the variety. A very sharp early die state 8-D, Lot 1080, in VF-35, had a \$2,200 winning bid, which was a bit of a bargain, as the slightly-sharper but heavily flawed Norm Peters coin in the same grade brought exactly twice as much in 2021.



**Lot 1080,** 1785 Miller 8-D, VF-35, in a rarer early die state, brought \$2,200.

Moving into the 1786-dated varieties, things started strong and continued that way for anything that was not average in rarity and/or grade. Lot 1082, a sharp EF-45 Miller 1-A with some discoloration, brought \$2,040. As all collectors know—or SHOULD know—the grade on the slab should never be the sole deciding factor when it comes to price. The next two lots illustrate this maxim perfectly. Both were the 2.1-A variety, an available issue, but an interesting one with a smaller, rounder head on the obverse and the reverse legend reading ETLIB INDE. Lot 1083 was in an EF-40 slab and realized a respectable \$1,920. Lot 1084 was in a VF-35 slab but brought more, \$2,280. Planchet quality, which is often the variable that causes pricing differences, was not the issue here, as the first coin was a bit lighter and glossier than the second, though with perhaps a few more of the light striae that the variety nearly always has. But the second coin was better struck, showing detail at the center of the reverse that is seldom seen—knowledgeable collectors realized that, and paid a premium for the coin over and above its slab grade.

Another digression is in order—those readers who care only about prices and pictures can skip ahead, but if you want some deeper insight into the market, read on! While prices in this sale were solid for the most part, there were only a few lots I would have called true bargains. The bidding demonstrated a very sophisticated level of knowledge among several individuals. This meant knowing more than what was simply printed on the slab label, and it involved doing actual research into how certain varieties normally come in terms of grade, strike, and surface quality, recognizing when something was “better than usual,” and bidding accordingly. But condition was not the only thing that these well-informed collectors took pains to learn. All rarity ratings are not created equal, and some R-6 or R-7s are actually rarer than others, or just appear for sale less frequently, and are thus worth pursuing harder whenever the chance arises.

As someone who attended the 1987 Taylor sale when the ONLY useful reference, other than the Miller book, was the 1975 EAC sale (which had much information that was very outdated just a dozen years later), I can say that we are truly living in the Golden Age of Numismatic Information, at least for our beloved colonial issues. For the CT copper aficionado, we are fortunate to have some amazing auction catalogues, which are inexpensive to buy (or free on the Newman Portal), and contain valuable information from the EAC '75 and Taylor sales, through to the present day.

We have the *Whitman Colonial Encyclopedia*, which finally gave us pictures of all varieties in one place, as well as some guidance on variety pricing (vs. the type pricing found in the *Redbook*). An essential reference is Randy Clark’s superb, award-winning book on the series, which makes it easy to attribute varieties and is filled with surprising insights on die varieties. For the cognoscenti, we also have the Robert Martin notebooks, which have all been scanned and are available for free on the Newman Numismatic Portal. The Robert Martin notebooks are a lifetime of work that was repeatedly consulted by the cataloguer of this sale and smart collectors alike. ALL of these resources are out there, and if you want to be a serious collector, you NEED to make use of them. The vast majority are free (Martin notebooks and online auction catalogues), or low-cost (even the admittedly hard-to-find Clark book will run you less than a common CT variety in VF, a bargain for what is to be found between its covers).

OK, enough schooling, back to the auction. Lot 1085 was a lovely example of 1786 Miller 2.1-D.3, which was also the plate coin for the variety in Walter Breen’s *Encyclopedia*. While “only” graded Fine-15 (which seemed a tad low to me), this was an exceptional example of the variety, light in color and with glossy enough surfaces, and just one very small green spot on the reverse, which could likely be conserved. Rated a Low R-7, only four other examples of the variety are in the SBG archives, and only one is found in Heritage. Three of those were graded VF—the Robert Martin-Syd Martin coin, the Anderson-Gleckler piece, and the Norweb-Perkins-Partrick coin, but all three are problematic. The first had rough surfaces and what appeared to be marks from a vise or counter-stamp, the second was dull and matte-like, and the third was

quite rough (while the other two in the SBG archive were much lower grade and very rough). The Martin-Martin coin brought \$9,000 in 2022, and despite the marks, it made it into a straight-grade VF-20 holder.

By any measure, the Dick August coin would bring less, right? A 15 is undoubtedly worth less than a 20. Nope—and in fact it went for far more than double the Martin coin, hammering at \$24,000! If you read the previous paragraph, you know why—this was a coin that was worth all the money, even if it wasn't as nice as others in terms of technical grade. This was also one I had a very strong bid on for a client, and again went a few bids past my max only to go home empty-handed, once again.

It is worth noting that this is a record price for the variety, shattering the \$17,625 that the Anderson-Gleckler coin brought a decade ago, in a stronger market, and at a time when it was the first example of the variety to appear for sale in over a dozen years. The fact that there have been a couple of the variety offered prior to the sale of the Dick August coin, filling holes for collectors who would have otherwise been in the hunt for this one, just underscores how much better this coin was, and at least a few bidders knew it.



**Lot 1085**, 1786 Miller 2.1-D.3, a record-breaker at \$24,000.

Prices for better 1786 varieties continued to be strong. The following lot was a lovely EF-40 Miller 3-D.1, which brought \$10,800—a strong price but a fraction of the \$66,000 realized by the finest known, an AU-53, from the Anton collection. Are 13 points worth 6x as much money? For the winning bidder and under-bidders, they certainly were. Another Dr. Hall coin, a 1786 Miller 4.2-R, brought \$9,000 in VF-35 as Lot 1089. This exact coin was in the 2019 sale of the Robert Martin collection, where it brought \$1,680, a level of appreciation rivaled only by a couple of stocks in the tech sector, but try to find a nicer one.

A surprise, this time in the other direction, was Lot 1098, a VF Details example of Miller 5.4-N. An underappreciated rarity, with only five other examples in the SBG archives and a single one in those of Heritage, with only the Ford coin known grading better. Though the August coin was lightly rough, it had excellent detail and fewer planchet flaws than the other couple of VFs known. With the Syd Martin and Twin Leaf coins bringing in the \$3–4,000 range, I figured it would take a comparable bid to bring this one home for a client, and I was pleasantly surprised to get it at just \$1,020. As stated, if you did your homework, there were some occasional good buys to be found.

A client also needed a nice Miller 5.14-S, and this sale had two. One straight-graded VF-20, weak in areas, but on a very choice planchet for a variety that is usually seen quite flawed. The other was a higher technical grade, EF Details, with a few more of those typical flaws, but with a much stronger reverse and a

particularly bold sword, which is what you want to see on the variety. It was going to be interesting to see which one the bidders preferred. The first hammered at \$10,200, well over my maximum for it, while I was able to get the second, sharper coin for \$2,400. Had I been offered the two coins at the same price, or with the first priced 25% higher, I would have certainly preferred that one, but at nearly 5x the cost, I was much happier with the one I bought.

The euphoria continued when I also won Lot 1119, the extremely rare 5.15-S variety, which is represented by exactly one example each in the SBG and Heritage archives, with the finest graded Fine and on a heavily flawed planchet. This rarity was missing from nearly every major collection, including Syd Martin's, and while it opened at \$3,200, there was a furious battle until it reached \$14,400, right at the top end of my budget.



**Lot 1119**, 1786 Miller 5.15-S, a High R-7 variety, which is unknown in choice.

I was also able to snag the gorgeous 1786 Miller 6-K in the following lot, 1120, a choice EF-45, which hailed from the infamous EAC '75 auction. With the VF Tanenbaum coin bringing nearly \$10,000 in 2012 and Syd's gorgeous AU-55 bringing \$26,400 a decade later, I figured a bid somewhere between the two would be needed to win this attractive coin with one of the best provenances around, and was overjoyed to win it at much less than budgeted, "just" \$9,000. The same could not be said for the following lot, which was the rarer Miller 7-K, the Roper coin, graded AU details with some corrosion removed, but bold and quite attractive in hand. The Dr. Hall-Brand-Newman coin in very choice AU brought \$19,200 when it last sold in 2019, so I figured a \$20–22,000 bid on this admittedly lesser coin would be enough—but I wasn't even the under-under-bidder as it sold for \$36,000. Whether this is a fair price or a strong one is up to the reader to decide, but I do note only three others in the SBG archives and none in Heritage, and the lowest-grade of those three, graded Good-4, still managed to bring \$8,400 just two years ago. Condition + Rarity = Excitement.

The 1787s started the same way the 1786s ended: strong. Lot 1122 was a very sharp MS-62 example of Miller 1.1-A, which hammered at \$14,400, while the much rarer 1.1-VV in the following lot opened at \$3,500 and soared to \$28,800, well over my \$15k estimate for a client. However, I did vainly chase it a few bids higher than my estimate. The lot after that was a nice early die state Miller 1.2-C "Muttonhead" variety graded F-15, but to my eyes, a tad better, which I thought was a bargain at just \$810 (and after the lot closed, I kicked myself for not bidding on it).

Other major types in the early 1787 issues were usually strong as well. Lot 1126, a nice example of the rare Miller 1.3-L, brought \$10,800 in VF-25—lot 1128, a Miller 3-G.1 in VF-35, sold at my max budget of \$6,000. The sharper of two Miller 5-Ps brought \$2,160, a tad less than I had estimated. Some other major types that are not particularly rare as varieties sold lower than they have in the past—an EF-45 Miller 4-L Horned Bust went for only \$720, and an EF Details (cleaned) Miller 6.1-M Laughing Head was just \$552. Both of those are Rarity-1 varieties and routinely available in EF and higher grade. The sophisticated bidders knew that and instead used their funds to chase things that were rarer or harder to find nice.

Lot 1136, a VF Details example of the rare 1787 Hercules Head, Miller 7-I opened and closed at \$1,440, rather low for this major type coin, though it is one that has dropped in rarity a bit as several lower-grade examples have been found over the years. A major surprise was Lot 1139, an AU-50 example of the scarce Miller 9-D. Dick August's coin was ex-Hall-Brand (inked on edge). Robert Martin's 2019 Choice EF example of the variety, ex-EAC '75 and Stepney Hoard, had gone for \$576. The provenances being about equally good between the two coins, with just a five-point gap in grade, so how much difference would five points in the grade make? Turns out, over \$10,000, as Dick's coin sold for \$10,800 in spirited bidding, after opening at about what the Robert Martin coin sold for 7 years earlier!



**Lot 1139**, another record breaker for the variety, Miller 9-D, ex-Hall-Brand.

Not all of Dick's coins sold for significantly more than what comparable specimens brought earlier. An example is Lot 1153, the very rare Miller 15-R, which had an enviable provenance of ex-EAC '75-Roper-Robert Martin. Dick bought it at that last sale, paying \$13,800, and it brought slightly less, \$12,000, in this sale. The only real difference here was one of timing—when Dick bought it in the Martin sale, only one example had been offered in the previous half-decade, while at the time of Dick's sale, three had crossed the auction block in just five years, which helped lessen the competition for this one. Dick had another example of the variety in the following lot—because of course he did—which was boldly double-struck, with two of the distinct 1787/1788 over-dates visible, which brought \$3,840.

Lot 1187, the rare Miller 29.1-a.2 in an EF Details (cleaned) holder, brought \$4,200 to me, for a client. This is an example of condition rarity, which you only learn by studying the series. Out of the nine examples in the SBG archive and one in that of Heritage, only a single coin graded VF, and that was in a details holder, as it was heavily porous. Syd Martin's frontline coin was slabbed as Good-4 (though slightly better), the Partrick coin, ex-Ford, was just VG and Robert Martin never found one nice enough that he wanted to own. When you see things like this, you know that an EF coin, even if imperfect, is something that you are simply never going to better, and you bid accordingly. This was the type of knowledge Robert

Martin had, and even though he never had a budget approaching that of some of the major players, he was able to execute surgical strikes at auction and walk away with condition rarities that most did not realize. As mentioned, that knowledge can now be yours with his notebooks available on the Newman Numismatic Portal.



**Lot 1194**, MS-64 Miller 30-hh.1, the nicest condition CT in the Dick August collection.

Lot 1194 was the condition highlight in the sale, a gorgeous MS-64 (!) example of a very common variety, Miller 30-hh.1. While there are several AUs and even another Unc or two of the variety known, this one was either the finest or very, very close to that claim, and soared to \$22,800. Another Unc example of this variety was ex-Hall-Brand-Hessberg-Partrick, graded MS-62, which brought just \$3,360 in 2020, while the Ford coin, graded AU in that sale, has since been regraded as MS-62 as well. Is a 2-point grade difference worth nearly 7x the price? Again, at least two bidders thought so!

I know that the various 1787 Draped Bust Left issues in the Miller 30-39 obverse series are either boring or befuddling to some, and there are a LOT of them, so I'll just briefly note a few of the more interesting varieties or prices. Specialists, of course, can review the catalogue and prices realized in far more detail.

Lot 1203 was one I was able to get for a client, a nice example of the rare Miller 32.4-F in F-15, at \$4,560. This is a variety that is simply unknown nice, and the few that are technically one grade higher are on very rough planchets—indeed, nearly the entire population would be in Details holders if submitted for grading today. Again, knowledge is power, and others certainly knew that a straight-grade and clean example was worth chasing, as the bidding started at just \$300 and rose quickly. Lot 1229 was an AU Details (cleaned) example of the rare Miller 33.10-W.6, from the EAC '75 sale, and brought \$2,640. Not exactly cheap, but less than I would have estimated, and one I wish I had put a bid on. Lot 1248 was a very choice example of the rare Miller 33.17-r.5, the only use of this reverse die, and went for \$1,560. I note that Steve Tanenbaum's F-15 coin brought \$500 more way back in 2012, so whoever got this one snagged a high-CC coin at a very fair price, congrats (again, not me!).

Lot 1259 was a Miller 33.24-Z.10, an R-7 variety, ex-Taylor, which brought \$2,640 in a VG Details slab. Dick purchased this one in a 2009 SBG auction and paid \$4,600 for it, again an issue of timing, as when he bought it, one had not appeared for public auction in many years. When it was sold in his sale, three had appeared in just the previous three years, two of them from Syd Martin's collection (where, oddly, a VG brought just a few bids less than an AU Details coin!). Lot 1268 was a lovely AU-53 Miller 33.28-Z.11, the Snipe Nose obverse, ex-Ford, and brought \$5,280. Lot 1287, a choice example of the R-7+ variety Miller

33.38-Z.18, slabbed as F-15 but to my eyes a full VF, brought \$7,200, a couple grand less than Syd Martin's frontline coin, an extremely rough VF. This was a coin that was well-bought by the lucky winner.

Lot 1303 was one of the highlights of the sale, the Rarity-8 Miller 33.47-TT, one of perhaps just three known of the variety. While only graded Good-4, the coin created a ferocious battle, opening at \$3,200 and selling at \$21,600. One of the other two known examples, the EAC '75-Tanenbaum-Syd Martin coin in VF Details, underscores the problem with ever definitively figuring out what such things are worth. It brought \$31,625 in the sale of the Tanenbaum collection, but just \$6,600 a dozen years later in the sale of Syd Martin's coins. Clearly, more than one collector regretted not chasing that particular coin further and bid strongly when this rare second chance was offered.



**Lot 1303**, the extremely rare Miller 33.47-TT, which brought \$21,600 in Good-4.

Legend errors are always popular in the CT series, but in this sale, they did not bring significant premiums unless they were extremely rare or choice. Lot 1328 was a VF-30 Miller 38-1.2, the AUCIORI obverse, which brought \$408. Lot 1330 was a Miller 39.1-h.1 AUCTOBI obverse in similar grade, that went for \$528. Yet lot 1331, Miller 39.1-ff.2 in VF-30 at \$630 was an unappreciated bargain; the provenance to the EAC '75 sale, for some reason, was not noticed by this writer when the coin was being bid on, and congrats to whoever won a nice coin at a cheap price! Also on the low side was Lot 1334, the Miller 40-N variety with an AUCTOPI obverse error, in a Fine details grade. This R-6 variety sold for just \$312.

Rarer and finer AUCTOPI varieties did much better, with Lot 1336 being a Choice AU-53 Miller 41-ii at \$3,120 and the following lot an example of the R-7 Miller 42-o in EF Details at \$3,600. But the biggest AUCTOPI surprise to most was Lot 1338, Miller 42-kk.2, in EF-45, a scarce Low R-5 variety, which received just a brief seven-line description. While there are quite a few VF examples known, anything in higher grade is legitimately rare, and only an AU-53 sold by SBG in 2020 would give this one a run for its money. But, oh, what a money run it was—that AU-53 sold six years ago brought \$2,280, while Dick's coin opened at \$1,100 and soared to \$18,000, with an awful lot of competition along the way!

The end of the 1787 series offered some interesting and rare varieties. Lot 1345 was a very sharp example of Miller 44-Z.10, in an EF Details (cleaned) holder, which soared to \$7,800. This was the highest-graded piece in the SBG archives by far, but the sole example in the Heritage archives was the Hessberg-Partrick coin, graded AU-55, and brought just \$1,440 in 2020. The following lot was a particularly choice example of Miller 45-CC, the “Hapsburg Jaw” variety, in AU-53, which soared well past my top bid and ultimately sold for \$14,400. This was the Robert Martin coin. In Robert's 2019 sale, it was in an AU-50 slab

and realized just \$2,640, so this was a rather healthy return on investment! Lot 1352 was a pleasing example of the rare Miller 49.1-Z.1 in VF-25, the Breen *Encyclopedia* plate coin for the variety, which brought \$16,800. Lot 1354 was the popular Miller 52-G.1 Roman Head obverse, in a VF Details (bent) slab, which soared to \$10,200. The bend was hard to see in the slab, and it certainly did not deter bidders!

Lot 1355 was inarguably the highlight of Dick's CT copper collection, a VF-35 example of the R-8 variety Miller 52-G.2. There are three examples of the variety known, one permanently off the market in the Yale University collection, the second sold by this writer to the Robert Marin-Michael Spencer consortium in the 1990s, a coin that has not been offered for sale since (despite Syd Martin's best efforts!). Dick's example was the EAC '75 coin, and while he may not have been deeply interested in it at the time as a Connecticut copper, he certainly would have chased it strongly for its tie to his beloved Machin's series. I had a very strong bid for this coin, which would give me the thrill of handling two of the three known if I were to win it. As the sale progressed and prices were strong, I got the OK to increase my max bid even further. This lot opened at \$11,000 and proceeded to climb steadily upwards. I stretched my max bid further still, but when the dust settled, I was the under-bidder (or, as I have been known to call it, "first loser"). This amazing coin broke the six-figure barrier, selling for \$102,000. Had this been the old days, when we were all sitting in the same room and bidding, applause would have surely broken out. I was bloodied and beaten, and congratulate the winning bidder on an exceptional coin.



**Lot 1355**, Miller 52-G.2, the sole six-figure CT copper in the Dick August sale.

Lot 1357 was the last of the 1787 issues, a decent Fine example of the extremely rare 56-XX, which sold at a bargain price of \$4,080. Syd Martin's coin was a grade lower and brought \$19,200 in 2023, while a newly discovered specimen in VF-25 was sold by SBG just a year ago and realized \$18,000. While not cheap, this was certainly one of the better buys in the auction, as the two recent sales had taken out some of the competition for the coin.

Moving into the 1788-dated varieties, it appeared that the bidding frenzy had quieted down—well, for the most part. Perhaps some of the strongest bidders had hit their limits, perhaps their eyes had just glazed over after so many CTs had marched across their screens. While containing fewer mega-rarities than the 1787 series, the 1788s have an interesting array of bust styles, most of which had to be struck a year or two after the date they bear. They also tend not to come as pretty as earlier years, and any sort of attempt at quality control was out the window by the time these were coined.

Lot 1358 was 1788 Miller 1-I, the first variety listed for the year, though it was most likely the LAST Connecticut copper variety to have been struck. This was a strong EF Details coin, given its roughness, but the obverse was quite bold. It opened and closed at \$3,360— compare that price to the straight-graded VF-25 example that Dick August kept with his VT coppers (as Ryder 39), which brought \$21,600 just four months earlier! I was able to pick up both the VF Details Miller 7-K and VF-30 Miller 8-K (Lots 1374 and 1375) comfortably under my max bids (\$3,120 and \$4,320, respectively), which helped assuage the loss of some of the earlier lots. Had these appeared earlier in the sale, or in an offering of only 1788 varieties, I suspect they would have gone much higher.

Lot 1397 was a nice VF-25 example of the Miller 16.3-N, over-struck on a counterfeit 1787 Massachusetts cent (Ryder 1-B). This was one of the earliest provenances in the collection, as Dick bought it in 1966 from the Mayflower auction of the Stearns collection. In Dick's sale it brought \$3,120, in line with recent offerings. Interestingly, there are a half-dozen or so of these overstrikes which exist in AU-Unc grades, usually with very strong under-types (a couple of which are nearly half CT and half MA!). To this writer's mind, they were almost certainly saved as oddities by early collectors shortly after they were minted, and I have no doubt that there were earlier, relatively serious collectors, decades before Matthew Stickney came on the scene. While their names are lost to history, many of the high-grade examples of colonials we have today are likely thanks to their efforts at collecting and preserving.



**Lot 1401**, 1788 Miller 16.7-P, a record price for the finest known by far.

Lot 1401 was a VF-35 example of the very rare Miller 16.7-P, ex-Taylor collection, and considered the finest known. Both the obverse and reverse were plate coins in the Randy Clark reference. Having lost out on some big-ticket coins, I had a healthy bid on this one, which opened at \$3,000 and hammered to me at \$36,000 after a spirited battle. Was it worth it? Clearly, the under-bidder(s) thought so, and with good reason. The highest straight-graded example in the archives is just Good-6, which Syd Martin considered his primary coin! There are a couple to be found in Fine and VF Details grades, though these are invariably heavily porous or damaged, and just not attractive.

Though this was the end of Dick August's 1788 Connecticut coppers, we aren't quite yet done, as he had two more varieties within his Machin's Mills coins, which are also collected as part of the CT series.

Lot 1446 was the extremely rare 1787 variety Miller 101-G.2, also known as Vlack 13-87CT. This is an R-7+ variety, with just seven examples known to exist. One of them is presently unseen but reliably reported, and another (a Dick August duplicate!) is permanently off the market in the collection of the ANS,

soon to have a new home in Toledo. This EF Details (due to even roughness) example is the sharpest of the known pieces, and all but the Ford-Syd Martin coin have problems of one sort or another which would merit a Details grade if slabbed. Even Syd's coin was on a heavily flawed planchet, though it managed to make it into a straight grade slab. This is also the same reverse used on the 52-G.2 CT copper, which I had been beaten on less than 100 lots earlier, and I was determined to make a stand on this one. While it opened at \$4,600, it took a bid of \$22,800 for me to bring it home for the same client who had narrowly lost the 52-G.2 variety.



**Lot 1446**, the exceedingly rare Miller 101-G.2, a mule with a Machin's Mills counterfeit British halfpenny obverse and a Connecticut copper reverse, one of just seven known.

The final CT copper in this offering of the Dick August collection was Lot 1464, the Miller 101-D, Vlack 13-88CT variety, which pairs the same obverse as the last coin with the more frequently seen 1788-dated reverse used on the Miller 2-D CT copper variety. This was graded AU-55 despite some noticeable obverse scratches, which many thought should have warranted a Details grade. Others disagreed, and the coin brought \$5,040, certainly in line with prices for straight-graded examples in recent years.

Some takeaways from an extremely long nine-hour day sitting in front of a computer, as I watched what was probably the last of the legendary "old school" collections of CT coppers sold. First, and most obviously, the drought that CTs had been in appears to have ended. It could be the case that more collectors came out to play for this major offering and won't be as aggressive in future sales. The number of winning bidders, the recent publication of Randy Clark's book, and the availability of census data online make it seem more likely that this is the start of a welcome trend of interest in the series. There will, of course, be ups and downs in any market, and only time will tell.

Second, quality is good, rarity is good, but when they are combined in a single coin, the goodness isn't just multiplied, it's raised by an order of magnitude! Accept it, plan on it, and adjust your bids accordingly. You may win fewer coins, but at least if you are in the ballpark, you stand a better chance of winning something, rather than getting shut out completely (as several collectors noted they were, after this session ended).

Third, be flexible, if financially possible. If the bidding is strong and your budget allows you the luxury of adding more to your maximum bids, do it. If you have a set amount that you can spend, then adjust your bids as you go along. Instead of being firm on your top price for each lot, consider adding some of the "extra" funds from those lots that you didn't win to those lots still to come, which you really want. Money is replaceable, but sometimes the opportunity to acquire a given coin, variety, or condition is not.

Finally, DO YOUR HOMEWORK. The information is out there and does not take much effort to find. While Stack's Bowers Galleries continues to give us excellent cataloguing and plating nearly everything that is single-lotted (and group lots often have photos online), one should always verify and do some more digging, especially for coins without extensive write-ups. While there is a wealth of information in the SBG and Heritage archives, they are incomplete and currently only useful for sales dating back to about 2010. Use your library—or the Newman Portal—to go back further. You might find a variety that only has three appearances in the on-line archives, but has another four different appearances in earlier sales, which could and should change your idea of value.

Many thanks again to the good people at Stack's Bowers. They did an incredible job of presenting Dick August's collection—as they have for so many others. The total prices realized for this offering were probably less than the single highest-price coin they sold in the last six months, which may have had a 3-page write-up. To put the time, effort, and money into presenting these coins the way they do is nothing short of a labor of love.

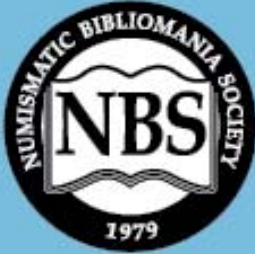


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# WAMPUM AND GLASS BEADS USED IN COLONIAL AMERICA FOR TRADE BETWEEN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND EUROPEAN SETTLERS

(Roger A. Moore)

Commerce between the settlers and the native population during the American colonial period, and to a lesser extent, during the Confederation period and early federal periods, was in part conducted through the exchange of beads and wampum. Identifying the origins of beads used by European settlers in trade with indigenous people is a complex and challenging study. However, many, if not most, of the glass beads used in trade can be traced to Venetian artists in Italy. Wampum was used during early trade with settlers and was produced by the indigenous population.<sup>1</sup> When the settlers discovered the value of wampum as a trading commodity, they also began producing it in large quantities. Figure 1 illustrates several examples of trade beads and wampum used during colonial times.



**Figure 1.** Examples of the colonial beads and wampum used during the colonial period.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the artifacts shown in Figure 1 were excavated from specific sites where large indigenous populations lived. A range of dates can be established for when the artifacts may have been lost, based on the time when the natives inhabited the site. However, no assurance can be given as to when the items were first obtained. Many of these beads and wampum could have been made long before being lost, and at places far from where they were found. Therefore, while hypotheses can be offered as to who, when, and where an item was lost, no set conclusions can be made about where and when the artifact initially originated. Some of the author's artifacts are discussed individually.

<sup>1</sup> Marc Shell, *Wampum and the Origin of American Money*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 2013, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> All images are courtesy of the author.

### Gold, Purple, and White Wampum, Found in Monroe County, New York, circa 1655-1675

The Native Americans used wampum (also called “peak,” “roanoke,” or “shell”) when trading or presenting gifts to other tribes, as well as when trading with the settlers. Wampum was fashioned from whelk and clam shells, broken into small beads, polished, and holed, and then strung together on a string so that they could be worn or made into ornaments. The style of wampum using disc-shaped beads was called “roanoke,” while the wampum fashioned with longer tube-shaped beads was known as “peak.” The wampum shown in Figure 2 is therefore referred to as “peak” and is a strand of 80 pieces of gold, purple, and white wampum beads made from shells recovered at the Dann site in Monroe County, New York, that borders on Lake Ontario, circa 1655-1675.

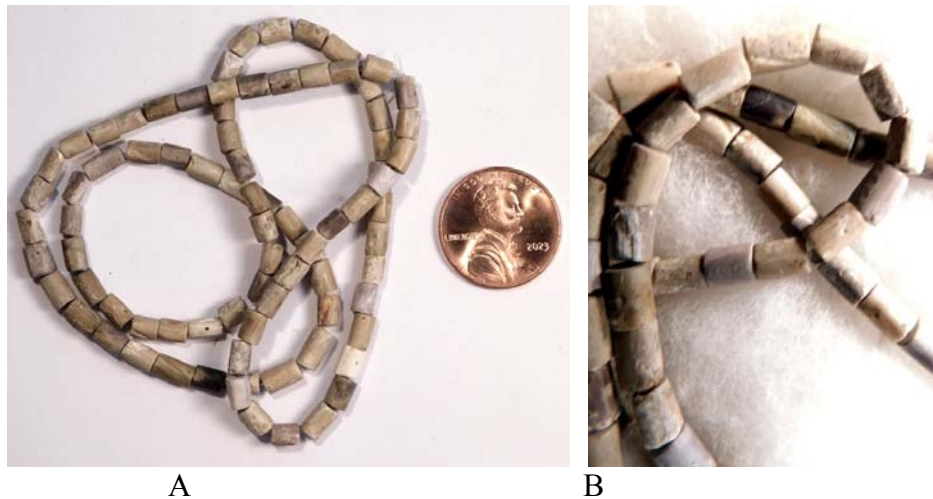


**Figure 2.** A) Wampum from Monroe County, New York, and B) a close-up of the wampum beads.

### Native American Flint Punches and Drills, circa 300 to 1500 A.D.

The Native Americans fashioned drills and punches made from flint to make holes in leather, wood, bone, and perhaps shells. Figure 3 shows a group of three such drills. It is conjectured that early wampum beads were holed using the smallest of these drills, though these small drills would be rapidly replaced once metal needles became available.



**Figure 3.** Three sizes of drills and punches, fashioned by Native Americans.

## Wampum and Blue Nueva Cadiz Beads, Found Near Jamestown, Virginia Site

Figure 4 shows a necklace made from glass and wampum beads that were found near the original site of Jamestown, Virginia. Many trade beads have been excavated during the research of Jamestown's hidden artifacts. The author saw them being categorized during his visit to Preservation Virginia, the research center for Jamestown artifacts. The glass beads used for the necklace were among the earliest trade beads used in America, originally introduced by Spanish traders. They are blue tubular beads called Nueva Cadiz beads. The name of these glass beads originates from the name of the first Spanish settlement in Venezuela, dating back to the early 1500s, where archaeologists first recovered them.

The blue Nueva Cadiz glass beads were thought to have been produced in Venice and were prized by the Indigenous people due to their blue coloration. The Nueva Cadiz beads found in Jamestown, Virginia, occur in both a long and short form (Figure 5A). The long form has a lighter blue coloration, and the shorter beads were made with darker blue glass. Both types were made using three layers of glass, with the outermost layer having the blue coloration. Additionally, a pendant was excavated, which was incorporated into the necklace; however, its actual relationship to the necklace remains unknown (Figure 5B). The beads were most likely used in trade with the most prominent Native American tribes in the area, collectively known as the Powhatan Confederation.

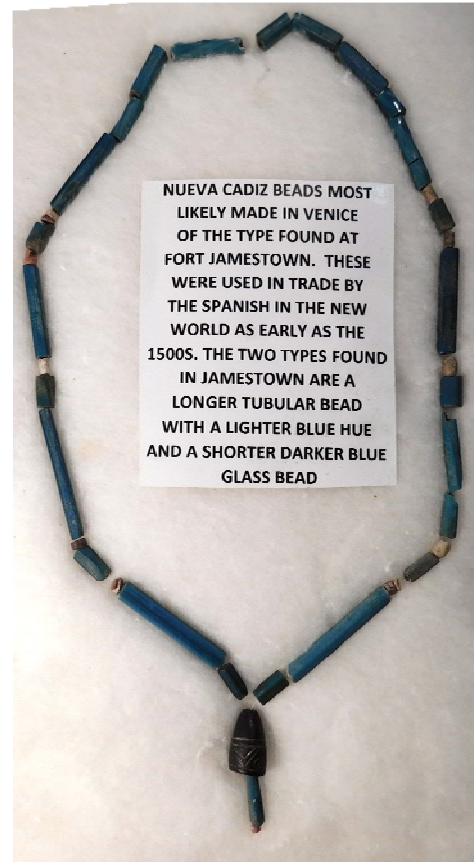


**Figure 4.** A necklace made from two types of beads found near the original Jamestown site, the glass blue Nueva Cadiz and wampum beads.



**Figure 5.** A) Close-up of both the short and long blue Nueva Cadiz beads, and B) the pendant added to the necklace

### Trade Beads from Cherokee Tribal Site in Great Tellico, Monroe County, Tennessee

Figure 6 shows beads excavated from the Great Tellico Site (Talikwa) in Monroe County, southeastern Tennessee, which are attributed to the Overhill Cherokee tribe, who lived in the area from the late 1600s to 1838. This site may have been occupied by indigenous people as early as the 1550s, but the introduction of trade with beads from the European settlers is believed to have not begun until the late 1600s. During the mid-1700s, many of the Cherokee Indians fled from more northern lands south to Tellico due to attacks by British troops. Oddly, during the War of Independence, the Cherokees aligned themselves with the British against American patriots. This brought the wrath of the adjoining colony of Virginia, whose militia attacked them in 1776 and finally destroyed the Cherokee town in 1780. However, after being destroyed, the Cherokee, over time, regathered in Tellico until 1838, when the sad historical event called the “Trail of Tears” ended the Cherokee occupation of the town. This string of beads was initially part of the Tony Bautis collection and, upon his death, was purchased by Tom Davis at auction on March 12, 2011. Alton Martin of Tyrone, Georgia, bought it before it passed to Garrett and then the author.



**Figure 6.** A) Assorted beads used in trade with the Tennessee Cherokee tribe, B) and a close-up of the diverse beads.

### Glass Trade Beads, From the Susquehannock Tribe Excavated in York, Pennsylvania

The Susquehannock tribe was an Iroquoian-speaking group whose territory extended along the Susquehannock River Valley, from New York through Pennsylvania into Maryland. The small glass beads shown in Figure 7 were excavated from a site (Oscar Liebhart) known to have been inhabited by the Susquehannock tribe in York County, in south-central Pennsylvania.

The Oscar Liebhart site is estimated to have been inhabited by approximately 1,200 Native Americans from 1655 to 1680 in one of the last stockaded Susquehannock villages. These small black and red striped beads are a challenge to find.

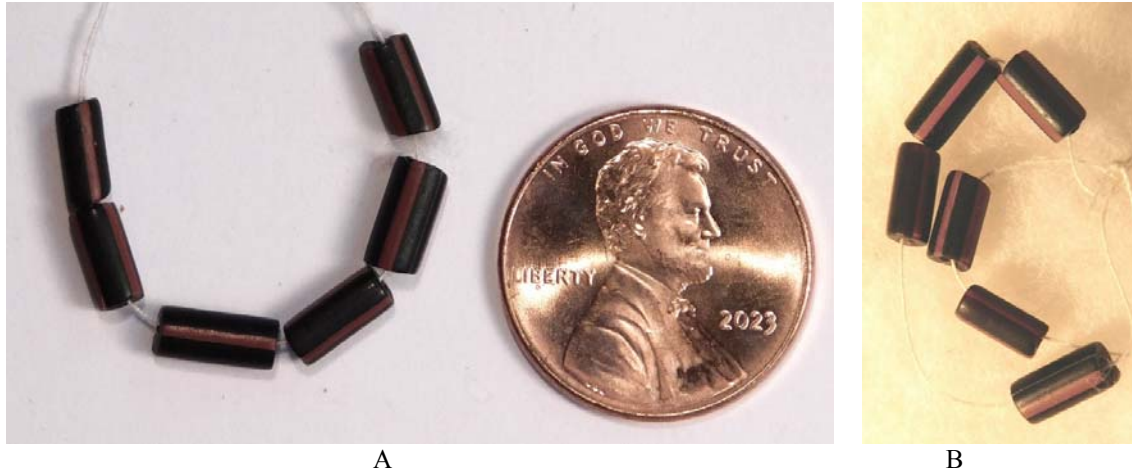


**Figure 7.** A) Trade beads found in the Oscar Liebhart site in York County, Pennsylvania, circa late 1600s, and B) close-up of the beads.

### **Glass and Shell Trade Beads Found in Mason County, West Virginia, circa 1666**

Mason County, West Virginia, near the Ohio border, did not have a specific tribe inhabiting its land in 1666; instead, several tribes used the region for hunting, with the Shawnee being the primary tribe in the area. Artifacts such as the glass trade beads shown in Figure 8 were discovered on the Rolf Lee farm, along with many other Native American artifacts that were carbon-dated to 1666. Rolf Lee's farm is situated on the Ohio River, below the mouth of the Kanawha. The site was excavated by the West Virginia Archeological Society, which yielded more beads than in any other West Virginia site. The recovered bead types included shell ornaments, European glass beads, and tubular brass beads. The beads shown in Figure 9 are a combination of both shell and glass beads.



**Figure 8.** A) Trade beads dated circa 1666, based on other Native American artifacts excavated in Mason County, West Virginia, and B) a close-up of beads.

## Trade Beads From the Cherokee Tribe in Hiwassee, Tennessee

The beads in Figure 9 were recovered on a farm site in Savannah, Tennessee, where the Cherokee Nation was located from the early 1700s into the early 1800s. The farm was located on the North bank of the Hiwassee River at the foot of the Chilhowee Mountains. The original Cherokee village was abandoned in 1738-1739 due to a smallpox epidemic, but was re-established by the Cherokee in 1756. Since many Cherokee settlements remained loyal to the British during the War of Independence, those driven from their homes by repeated attacks from Patriot militias sought refuge at the protected and strategically located Hiwassee village. However, after the Revolution, in 1788, the village of Hiwassee was attacked by an overwhelming force of Tennessee Militia commanded by John Serviers, driving the surviving Cherokee further south.



**Figure 9.** Beads recovered from Hiwassee (Old Town), Polk County, Tennessee, attributed to the Cherokee Nation, circa 1756-1821.

## Trade Beads Found in Muskogee, Talladega County, Alabama, circa 1770 to 1835

The beads shown in Figure 10 were excavated in Muskogee, Talladega (Talatigi) County, in central Alabama, and were most likely used in trade with the Creek Muscogee Nation. Most Creeks were antagonistic toward the European invasion of their lands, but some were loyal to the Patriots during the American Revolution. After the War, those who were friendly settled in Muskogee, a town with a mixed population where both the Creeks and Europeans coexisted. However, large numbers of Creeks in the surrounding areas were hostile to the Europeans, and on November 8, 1813, 1,100 hostile Creeks attacked the settlement. Andrew Jackson had a close Native American ally in the town, Chief Chinnabee, a Natchez leader. Chinnabee had his son, Selocta, disguised in a newly butchered hog skin, sneak by the hostile Creeks on his way to Fort Strother, where 2,000 soldiers were immediately sent to Muskogee. The ensuing battle ended with the killing of five hundred of the hostile Creeks and fourteen of the soldiers.



**Figure 10.** Trade beads were used by the Muscogee Nation of the Creeks in the area around Muskogee, Alabama.

### **Beads Used in Trade With Cherokee Indians in Raleigh, North Carolina**

The beads in Figure 11 are glass Venetian trade beads discovered at an excavation site near Raleigh, North Carolina. There were numerous Indigenous American tribes in that region, including the Tuscarora, Nansemond, Occaneechi, Haliwa-Saponi, and Sappony. Therefore, it is not possible to attribute these beads to a specific tribe. However, it is known that these tribes were actively engaged in trading with Europeans in the area. It is also known that significant conflicts arose between Native Americans and settlers over land disputes.



**Figure 11.** Venetian trade beads were found near Raleigh, North Carolina.

## Trade Beads Found at Various New Jersey Native American Sites

Less defined than the other beads in this article, Figure 12 features a mix of beads found at several New Jersey sites. Unfortunately, the locations of these sites and, therefore, the Native American tribes associated with their presence are unknown. The predominant tribe in New Jersey during the 1700s, and the majority of Native American artifacts found in New Jersey, can be attributed to the Lenape tribe. The Lenape tribe's range included New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, and Delaware. Although most of the beads found (six smaller beads) were likely produced in Venice, the origin of the two large beads remains unknown to the author since they depart radically from any of the other beads presented in this article.



**Figure 12.** Six small European trade beads and two large beads of unknown origin were purported to have been excavated at various Native American sites in New Jersey.

## Summary

The early colonists brought a myriad of articles with them for trade with the Native Americans, whose land they were taking for their own. Decorative beads were one of these items that the colonists found to be accepted trade articles. In turn, the colonists discovered that the Native Americans were already exchanging beads made from seashells and stone, as a form of trade and as a way of solidifying peace agreements. Therefore, beads and wampum were two of the earliest forms of currency used in the New World. Over time, the trade between the indigenous people and the colonists expanded in many directions, with knives, axes, rifles, and alcohol being among the most frequently requested items in trade. Due to the changing hostilities between settlers and various tribes at different times, the colonial legislatures began passing statutes outlawing colonists from using alcohol and arms as trade items.

The glass beads used during the colonial period were primarily made in Venice, Italy. However, other countries were also active in producing glass beads, with Bohemia (now part of the Czech Republic) eventually surpassing Venice as the major producer of beads. The Native Americans were also involved in producing beads, but rather than with glass, their beads were made using stone, shell, and clay. The brightly colored European glass beads served as a significant attraction for the Indians compared to their own less colorful beads. The diversity of beads found at different Native American sites is a testament to the extensive use of beads over a long period for trade purposes. Although not strictly numismatic items, beads and wampum served as cornerstones of early colonial commerce.





## **C4 Mugs now available!** **\$23 each** *(shipping included)*

At the most recent C4 Convention in Baltimore, we debuted C4's first SWAG item for sale...coffee mugs. We also had free pens for passers-by to the C4 table. Response was extremely positive, with almost the entire supply on hand selling out at the show. Now we're offering them to everyone who may not have been able to be in Baltimore.

The mugs are a light tan color with the Club's logo, in brown, emblazoned on both sides. So whether you're a righty or lefty, our logo will be visible when you drink. The mugs are offered at \$23 each, which includes shipping. All proceeds go directly to benefit C4! And with each mug ordered, we'll throw in a free pen, shown in photo.

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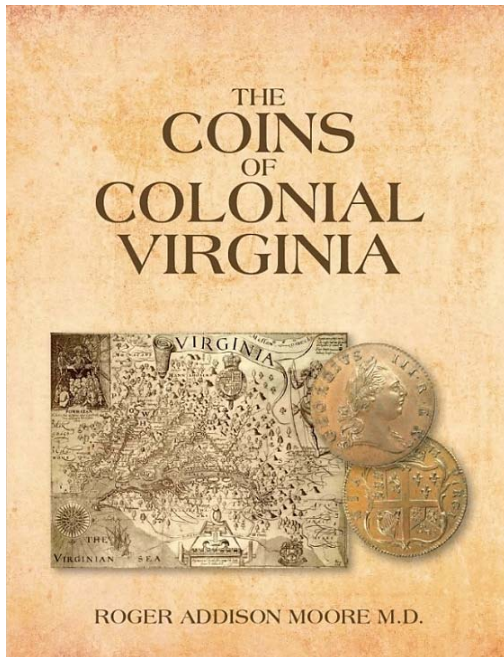
Introducing C4 T-shirts! These are Jerzees brand cotton t-shirts with the C4 logo emblazoned on the front. The shirts are available in sizes M, L, XL, 2XL, and 3XL, for \$28 each, which includes postage. As with all C4 swag items, all sales proceeds go directly to the Club.

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## THE COINS OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA

*By Roger A. Moore*

**(2022 Winner of C4's 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.

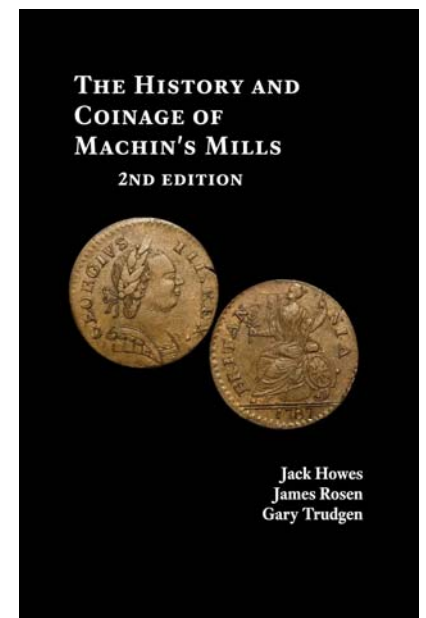
In addition to exploring the historic context in which colonial Virginia struggled to obtain hard currency, methods are provided for attributing and collecting 30 known die varieties of the 1773 copper Virginia halfpence. The book also enumerates the specifics of the Virginia halfpence metrology, rarity, 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](http://www.numisbook.com).

## THE HISTORY AND COINAGE OF MACHIN'S MILLS (2<sup>ND</sup> EDITION)

*By Jack Howes, James Rosen, Gary Trudgen*

**(2025 Winner of C4's Sydney F. Martin Numismatic Publication Award)**

The revised edition of the first book-length study of the intriguing series of coppers issued by various parties associated with Thomas Machin. Includes coverage not only of the series collected as Machin's Mills coppers, but also of those Vermont, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts coppers that are linked to this New York operation. The revised edition includes improved and updated information on die varieties and states, notable new discoveries, the mechanics of die manufacturing, and recent theories behind these enigmatic coins. This updated, 322-page hardcover is available from book distributors Kolbe and Fanning: <https://www.numislit.com/> and Charlie Davis: <https://www.numisbook.com/>



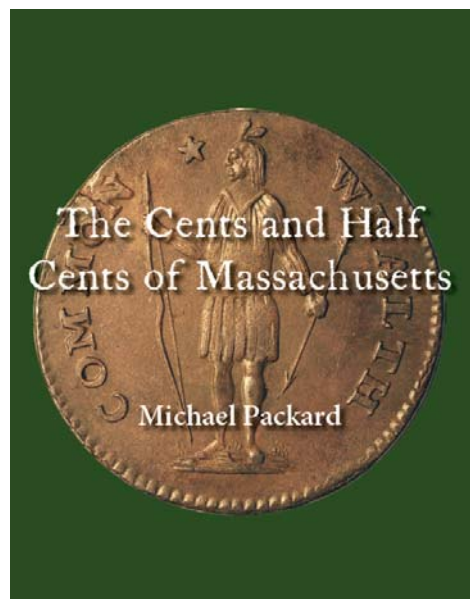
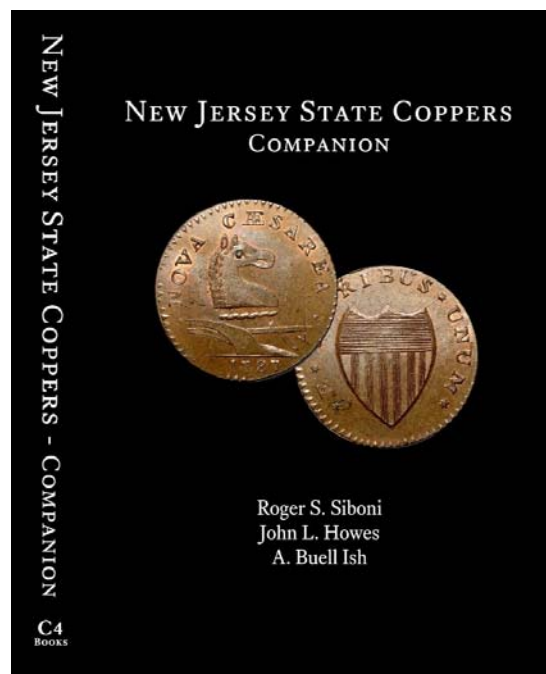
## NEW JERSEY STATE COPPERS COMPANION

*By Roger S. Siboni, John L. Howes, and A. Buell Ish*

The Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4) is pleased to announce the release of its latest book on American Colonial numismatics, the *New Jersey State Coppers Companion*. The book is authored by the collaborative team of New Jersey experts Roger S. Siboni, John (Jack) L. Howes, and Buell Ish. It is 400 pages and illustrated in color.

C4 President Christopher R McDowell says, "It should not be confused as merely a second edition of the authors' previously published and wildly popular book on the same topic." According to McDowell, "It contains original and largely updated information with many never-before-seen photographs of condition census coins. This census information is critical to collectors of all New Jersey coppers." McDowell adds, "This book is an absolute must-have for colonial coin collectors, specifically those interested in New Jersey coppers."

The book is available now from C4's book sellers Kolbe & Fanning: <https://www.numislit.com> and Charlie Davis: <https://www.numisbook.com>.



## THE CENTS AND HALF CENTS OF MASSACHUSETTS

*By Michael Packard*

This is a new (privately published) reference for the series that is generally recognized as the finest made of all state coppers. Massachusetts was the last of the states that tired of waiting for Congress to establish a national mint and authorized the minting of their own coins. It was the only state to mint cents and half cents. The book provides both a legislative history and the history of the mint once established. The latter identifies the location of the mint's buildings, the people who worked at the mint, why output was so low, and why it cost the Commonwealth \$2.64 to produce \$1.00 in cents and half cents. The attribution section describes every variety of Massachusetts cent and half cent and provides enlarged pictures of key diagnostic elements.

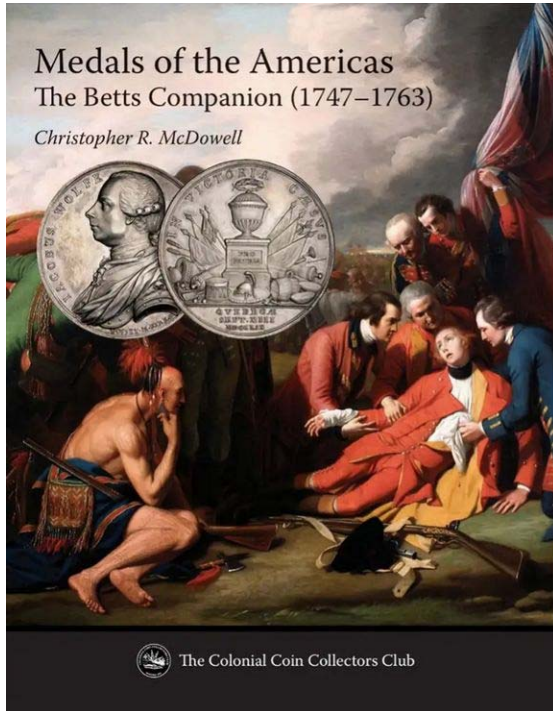
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## MEDALS OF THE AMERICAS: THE BETTS COMPANION (1747–1763)

By: Christopher R. McDowell

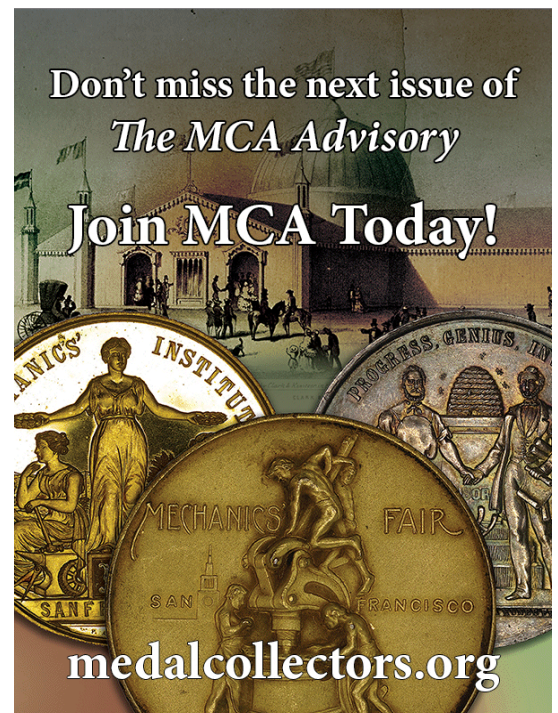


The Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4) is excited to announce the release of its latest book on American Colonial numismatics, *Medals of the Americas: The Betts Companion (1747–1763)* (C4, 2025). This fully illustrated, 445-page book is authored by Christopher R. McDowell, President of C4. McDowell, a prominent figure in the numismatic community, serves as a board member of the Medal Collectors of America, is a Fellow of the American Numismatic Society, a member of the Rittenhouse Society, and the long-time editor of the *Journal of Early American Numismatics*. He has written extensively on colonial numismatics.

This book, the second volume of a planned three-volume set, makes a significant contribution to understanding American colonial history. It fulfills Charles Wylllys Betts's ambition of illustrating this history through contemporary medals. This volume features Betts numbers 338 to 506, covering medals commemorating events from 1747 to 1763, including the French and Indian War. Notably, this volume thoroughly details Franco-American jetons and introduces a new taxonomy that encompasses the original medals issued by the

Paris Mint in the designated years, along with all restrikes and copies of these jetons. Images and realized prices are provided for every Betts medal included, many of which are available for the first time. Additionally, the history of each medal is narrated, aiding in understanding its design and significance.

Like the award-winning Volume I of this series, which focused on medals from the early colonial period, McDowell provides essential historical context for each medal. Researcher, writer, and numismatic expert Julia Casey says that "the medals from this era, listed by C. W. Betts in his classic work, are here gloriously brought to life by Christopher McDowell in this 2nd volume of *The Betts Companion*." "C4 is very proud to have led the way in publishing this important addition to American numismatics," says C4 Vice President Jim Glickman. He adds that "McDowell has done it again, this book belongs on the shelf of every collector." The book, a must-have for every American numismatist, is now available in limited numbers for \$140, plus shipping, from C4's book distributors, Kolbe and Fanning, at <https://www.numislit.com/> and Charlie Davis at <https://www.numisbook.com/>.



## C4 MEMBERSHIP DUES RECAP

Annual dues are currently \$35 for Regular Membership (\$55 if residing outside the U.S.) and \$10 for Junior Membership (under 18 years of age; \$15 if outside the U.S.) 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 of your latest *C4 Newsletter* envelope. Life Memberships can be purchased for \$1,000 with C4 Board approval. You can pay via Paypal (preferred) on the C4 website (ColonialCoins.org) or mail checks (made out to “C4”) to the C4 Treasurer (contact information on page 1). Thank you for paying in a timely manner.

## OBTAINING BACK COPIES OF C4N AND C4 AUCTION CATALOGS

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 a check (made out to “C4”) to our C4 treasurer (contact information is on page 1). Upon receipt of the money, we will contact Wayne, who will mail out the material. Back copies of the *Newsletter* are \$17 for the first one ordered and \$11 for any others ordered at the same time. If you have questions about back issue availability, please contact Wayne at: [dughistory@juno.com](mailto:dughistory@juno.com).

## C4 NEWSLETTER IS ON THE NEWMAN NUMISMATIC PORTAL

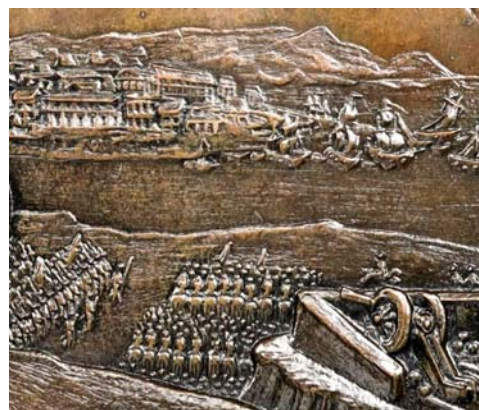
Issues of *C4N* that are more than three years old, and a plethora of other important numismatic resources, are available online, through The Newman Numismatic Portal, at: [www.archive.org/details/newmannumismatic](http://www.archive.org/details/newmannumismatic). Newer issues of *C4N* are available in the Members Only section of the C4 website (ColonialCoins.org).

## INDEX OF PAST C4 NEWSLETTERS

The *C4 Newsletter* has an index available on our website at [colonialcoins.org](http://colonialcoins.org). There are two indexes: one by author and a second by title/topic. 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](mailto:njraywms@optonline.net).

### **Answer to *What is it?* (from page 51):**

1776-Dated (c.1789) Comitia Americana Medal, “Washington Before Boston” (Courtesy of Stack’s Bowers)



**NEW JERSEY WANTED!** Shawn A Yancey from Earlycoppercoins.com is searching for the following NJs sold by Stacks Bowers, many of which I was the underbidder on. If you have any of these for sale or trade, please offer to me at [earlycoppercoins@outlook.com](mailto:earlycoppercoins@outlook.com) or 417-848-1090.

YES, I know that these are needles in a haystack, but this ad is my magnet!

| Variety        | Grade          | Collection        | Date            | Lot          | APR              |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|
| <b>10-G</b>    | <b>P20 D/S</b> | <b>August</b>     | <b>11/10/25</b> | <b>1275</b>  | <b>\$ 12,000</b> |
| 11.5-G         | Fine Det       | EPU               | 11/10/25        | 3018         | \$ 7,200         |
| <b>12-G</b>    | <b>P25</b>     | <b>Syd Martin</b> | <b>04/11/23</b> | <b>90091</b> | <b>\$ 4,560</b>  |
| 15-J           | P35 D/S        | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6029         | \$ 660           |
| 15-U           | P15            | EPU               | 08/16/23        | 3027         | \$ 1,560         |
| 16-L EDS       | P35 D/S        | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6029         | \$ 660           |
| 17-b           | P35            | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6039         | \$ 3,120         |
| 17-b           | P35            | EPU               | 08/16/23        | 3032         | \$ 1,920         |
| 19-M           | P30            | EPU               | 11/11/20        | 4181         | \$ 2,640         |
| 19-M           | VF Det         | EPU               | 08/16/23        | 3037         | \$ 2,880         |
| 21-N           | P30            | August            | 11/10/25        | 1298         | \$ 1,680         |
| 21-O           | P12            | August            | 11/10/25        | 1300         | \$ 840           |
| 30-L           | P45            | EPU               | 08/16/23        | 3053         | \$ 1,620         |
| 30-L           | P40            | August            | 11/10/25        | 1313         | \$ 1,320         |
| 35-J           | P10            | Peters            | 11/22/21        | 2085         | \$ 2,640         |
| 37-J           | P15            | Shaw              | 03/29/17        | 280          | \$ 3,055         |
| 37-Y           | P12            | Syd Martin        | 04/11/23        | 90106        | \$ 1,020         |
| 37-f           | P15 D/S        | Rancocas Creek    | 11/20/23        | 8173         | \$ 1,200         |
| 38-c           | N40            | Bullowa, Partrick | 11/01/22        | 3140         | \$ 960           |
| 40-b           | P3             | Peters            | 11/22/21        | 2091         | \$ 1,020         |
| 42-c           | P12            | August            | 11/10/25        | 1333         | \$ 1,140         |
| 44-d           | P35 D/S        | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6125         | \$ 1,440         |
| 48-g           | P20 D/S        | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6141         | \$ 780           |
| <b>49-f</b>    | <b>P12</b>     | <b>EPU</b>        | <b>08/16/23</b> | <b>3084</b>  | <b>\$ 3,360</b>  |
| <b>51-g</b>    | <b>P25</b>     | <b>EPU</b>        | <b>11/15/19</b> | <b>6146</b>  | <b>\$ 7,800</b>  |
| 52-i           | P53            | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6148         | \$ 1,200         |
| 55-l           | P10            | Peters            | 11/22/21        | 2100         | \$ 1,680         |
| 55-m           | P25            | Syd Martin        | 08/27/22        | 8101         | \$ 2,400         |
| 61-p           | P20 D/S        | EPU               | 08/16/23        | 3099         | \$ 2,160         |
| 61-p           | P15            | Syd Martin        | 04/11/23        | 90126        | \$ 1,320         |
| 66-v           | P35            | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6210         | \$ 2,160         |
| 66-v           | P35            | Peters            | 11/22/21        | 2108         | \$ 2,040         |
| 66-v           | EF Det         | EPU               | 08/16/23        | 3107         | \$ 1,920         |
| 71-y           | P12            | Syd Martin        | 08/27/22        | 8141         | \$ 4,320         |
| 72-z           | P10            | Peters            | 11/22/21        | 2110         | \$ 2,400         |
| 74-bb          | EF Det         | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6224         | \$ 3,120         |
| 74-bb          | AJ Det         | EPU               | 08/16/23        | 3114         | \$ 2,160         |
| 75-bb          | P30            | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6226         | \$ 3,120         |
| <b>75-bb</b>   | <b>P25</b>     | <b>Peters</b>     | <b>11/22/21</b> | <b>2112</b>  | <b>\$ 4,800</b>  |
| <b>77-dd-1</b> | <b>P35 O/C</b> | <b>EPU</b>        | <b>11/15/19</b> | <b>6228</b>  | <b>\$ 2,640</b>  |
| 77-dd-2        | P25            | Peters            | 11/22/21        | 2115         | \$ 3,360         |
| 77-dd-3        | P25            | Mar-11            | 03/28/11        | 198          | \$ 1,955         |
| 77-dd-3        | P50            | EPU               | 11/15/19        | 6231         | \$ 3,360         |

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Please send a check (made out to "C4") to the C4 Treasurer (contact information on page 1) when placing your ad. We accept camera-ready copy (image) 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**. Free ads should be sent to the C4N editors (contact information on page 2) and will run for four consecutive issues, unless otherwise instructed. See the counter next to the ad, e.g. [1/4 = first of four issues run].

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.

**RESEARCH ASSISTANCE NEEDED:** Does anyone know of another **Vermont Ryder 31** with a late die state break on the obverse above the E in REX, similar to the one recently appearing in Stack's Bowers sale of the Richard August collection 3/9/2026 Lot#1504 ? Please email Mark at [vitunic@verizon.net](mailto:vitunic@verizon.net). [1/1]

### **For Sale to a Good Home**

Leo\_J\_Shane@hotmail.com

PA Colonial Note, March 16 1785, 1s 6d (\$18/90), PMG VF 35 EPQ \$1100 +Ship

An Interesting note in great condition. Newman lists it at \$1250 VF \$2000 XF

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Heritage, Whittier Collection of Latin America Silver & Copper Coins, 2 June 2006, \$9 +Ship

EAN, Sale #2, ca July 1985, Mass Silver, Lord Baltimore, State Issues, Fugios & More, \$12 +Ship

**Check Out eBay site, ID "ColonialNut" for more catalogs, Email me before buying.**

[2/4]

### **Coin Cabinet**

[SpencerPeck@comcast.net](mailto:SpencerPeck@comcast.net)

Peter Nichols Classic Pheon Coin cabinet. Peter is the cabinet maker to the British Museum. Cabinet has 14 trays for (20) 40mm or 1½ inch coins each. Holds a total of 280 pieces. See Peter's website for additional details. Will include a supply of roundels to get you started. \$600 plus shipping at cost based on zip code. [2/4]

### **Shawn A. Yancey of Earlycoppercoins.com is pleased to offer these colonial coins:**

1785 CT M5-F.5 PCGS EF40 Mailed Bust Right ex-Ford CHOICE \$1,950

1786 CT M3-D.1 PCGS F15 Large Head Right Scholar's Head ex-Syd Martin \$3,850

1787 NJ M62-q PCGS EF40 ex-E PLURIBUS UNUM lot 3100 ULTRA-CHOICE LDS \$3,450

1788 NJ M50-f PCGS VF25 Head Left ex-E PLURIBUS UNUM lot 3087 \$5,500

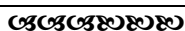
1772 Machin's Mills Vlack 5-72A R6 PCGS F12 \$2,200

1787 MA R2a-F Massachusetts Cent Transposed Arrows PCGS VG Syd Martin \$13,950

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**or 417-848-1090. Thank you for looking!**

[1/4]



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Eagle Reverse  
MS62 Brown PCGS



1787 New York Excelsior Copper  
Eagle Left  
VF35 PCGS  
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1818 New Spain Jola  
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