

The History of United States Coinage

As Illustrated by the
Garrett Collection



By Q. DAVID BOWERS

FOR REFERENCE ONLY

ST. LOUIS COUNTY LIBRARY

E-35

NO LONGER THE PROPERTY OF
ST. LOUIS COUNTY LIBRARY

ST. LOUIS COUNTY LIBRARY

ST. LOUIS
MERCANTILE LIBRARY
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI - ST. LOUIS
FOUNDED 1846

MISSOURI
NUMISMATIC
SOCIETY

ST. LOUIS, MO

The History of United States Coinage

As Illustrated by the Garrett Collection

The History of United States Coinage

As Illustrated by the
Garrett Collection

by Q. David Bowers
for
The Johns Hopkins University

Bowers & Ruddy Galleries, Inc.
Los Angeles, California

Also by Q. David Bowers:

Coins and Collectors
 United States Half Cents 1793-1857
 Early American Car Advertisements
 Guidebook of Automatic Musical Instruments, Vol I
 Guidebook of Automatic Musical Instruments, Vol II
 How to be a Successful Coin Dealer
 Encyclopedia of Automatic Musical Instruments
 How to Start a Coin Collection
 Collecting Rare Coins for Profit
 High Profits from Rare Coin Investment
 Put Another Nickel In
 A Tune for a Token
 Adventures with Rare Coins

About the author: Q. David Bowers, a 1960 graduate of the Pennsylvania State University, received in 1976 the Alumni Achievement Award from that institution's College of Business Administration. He served as president of the Professional Numismatists Guild 1977-1979 and is a recipient of the PNG Founders' Award. A life member (No. 366) of the American Numismatic Association, he became a member of that organization's Board of Governors in 1979.

His weekly column, "Numismatic Depth Study," has appeared in Coin World for many years and has earned several "Best Columnist" awards from the Numismatic Literary Guild. His byline has appeared in all other major American numismatic publications, including The Numismatist, Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine, Numismatic News, Coins Magazine, COINage, and various specialized journals. In addition, he has written for the Encyclopedia Americana (the numismatic section).

Q. David Bowers is the author of over a dozen books, the most recent of which, Adventures With Rare Coins, was selected by the Numismatic Literary Guild in 1979 as the Numismatic Book of the Year.

*The author expresses appreciation to
 Richard A. Bagg
 John J. Ford, Jr.
 for major contributions to the work.*

*Library of Congress Card Catalogue Number: 79-54915
 International Standard Book Number (ISBN): 0-914490-41-9*

*Copyright © 1979 by Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, Inc.
 by arrangement with The Johns Hopkins University.
 Published by Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, Inc., Los Angeles, California*

All rights concerning this book are reserved by the author, publisher, and The Johns Hopkins University.
 Written permission is required for the reproduction of any information in this book,
 except for brief excerpts used in a review or magazine.

*First printing 1979: 5,000 copies
 Second printing 1980: 3,500 copies*

Contents

Acknowledgements vii

Preface xi

1. 19th Century Numismatics 11
2. 20th Century Numismatics 55
3. The Garrett Collection 79
4. Early Colonial Issues 101
5. Later Colonial, State, and Related Coinage 131
6. Washington Pieces 167
7. A History of the Mint 179
8. A Survey of Coinage 231
9. Reid and Bechtler Coinage 291
10. The California Gold Rush 303
11. Gold Coinage of California 343
12. Gold Coinage of Oregon, Utah and Colorado 389
13. Numismatic Americana 401
14. Appendix I: 19th Century Correspondence 423
15. Appendix II: 20th Century Correspondence 465
16. Appendix III: Inventory of the Garrett Collection 511

Bibliography 563

Index 566

Acknowledgements

The author and publisher express appreciation to the many individuals and organizations which provided assistance. The following were particularly helpful:

John Adams (information concerning one-cent pieces 1793-1814); the American Numismatic Society (Francis D. Campbell, Jr., librarian, and Margaret D'Ambrosio, assistant librarian; information concerning numismatic history and coin pedigrees); William Anton, Jr. (historical and variety data pertaining to New Jersey coppers); Walter Breen (general information); Kenneth E. Bressett (information and suggestions); David and Susan Doering (California small denomination gold); Rogers M. Fred, Jr. (proofreading); The Henry E. Huntington Library (Alan Jutzi; illustrations pertaining to the California Gold Rush and Utah); Denis Loring (variety, pedigree, and grading information concerning large cents 1793-1814); Lester Merkin (consultation); Nolie Mumey, M.D. (information and illustrations pertaining to Clark, Gruber & Co.); New York Historical Society (Sue Gilles, librarian; historical information and research concerning Ephraim Brasher); Eric P. Newman (information concerning colonial and early American coins); Richard Picker (colonial coin variety and historical information); Dexter Seymour (data and historical information pertaining to the coinage of Templeton Reid); Stack's (information concerning certain Garrett Collection coins sold in 1976).

Appreciation is expressed to the Board of Trustees of The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, and to the following JHU staff members: Donald Bickert (assistance with numismatic arrangements and details); Julia B. Morgan (material pertaining to the Garrett Collection in the archives of The Johns Hopkins University); Susan Tripp (information concerning the Garrett family, historical information, suggestions); Dr. Richard Zdanis (coordination of the book, advice and suggestions).

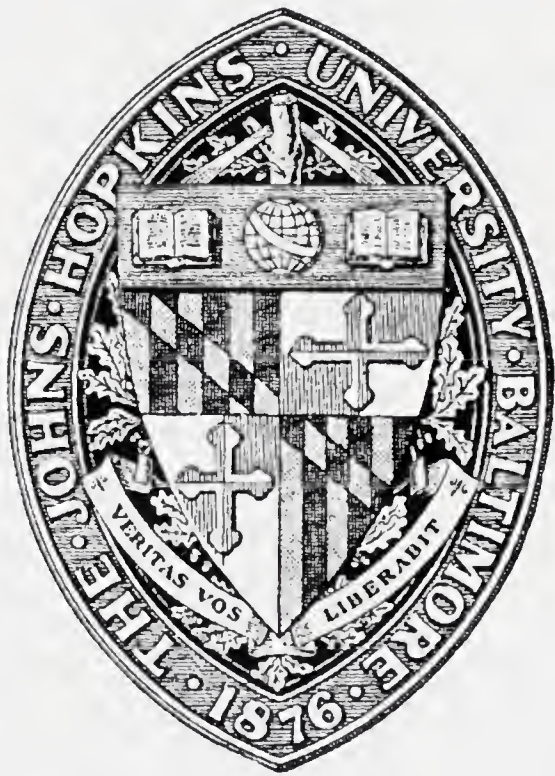
Richard A. Bagg of Bowers and Ruddy Galleries provided information on Ephraim Brasher and the dealers with whom the Garretts did business, coordinated the attributions and grading of the collection, researched the pedigrees, and compiled the Garrett inventory in concert with the staff, particularly Richard A. Kosta who attributed and graded the colonials, territorials and many pattern and regular-issue coins.

Carl W. A. Carlson provided major assistance with pedigree information concerning the Garrett Collection, data on 19th and 20th century numismatic history, and helped in other valuable ways.

John J. Ford, Jr. provided extensive assistance with the book, including considerable editorial consultation and the verification of research data.

Dr. Sarah Elizabeth Freeman of The Johns Hopkins University compiled much of the inventory and attribution information used in Appendix III.

The following Bowers and Ruddy Galleries staff members and consultants helped in the following ways indicated: Karen Andrews (supervision of graphic arts, composition, layout, proofreading); Linda Andrews (composition); Christine R. Bowers (editorial assistance); Nancy Kane Chapman (proofreading); James Clutterbuck (35mm photography); Frank Draskovic (foreign coin consultant); Lucy Gamez (coin weights and inventory compilation); Lorraine Gillman (composition, layout, proofreading); Elizabeth Grazi (composition, manuscript typing); William D. Hawfield, Jr. (coordination and suggestions); Jennifer Hill (composition, manuscript typing); James Jones (coin grading and attribution); Marti Korver (proofreading); Robert Korver (coordination; preparation of the text relating to the peace medals); Deborah Lapides (composition, manuscript typing, proofreading); Kent Loose (coin weights); Bruce Lorich (Hard Times tokens); Connie Moffatt (assistance with the classification of coins and illustrations); J. M. Muellner (graphic arts, composition, layout, proofreading); John Murbach (coin attribution and grading); Nancy Norsworthy (layout and proofreading); Karen Oshman (printing coordination and proofreading); Christina Ozburn (graphic arts, composition, layout, proofreading); Phil Starr (photography); Renette Zimmerly (layout, composition).



Preface

T. Harrison Garrett, whose family managed the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, began collecting coins while a student at Princeton in the mid-1860s. By 1880 Garrett aspired to own one of each major variety in the United States series. A frequent bidder in auction sales, he was soon recognized as one of the foremost connoisseurs in numismatics. A close association was developed with such early professional numismatists as Edouard Frossard, W. Elliot Woodward, S. H. and Henry Chapman, Dr. George Massamora, and Edward and George Cogan. In 1885 the *New York Herald*, reporting on coin collecting in America, noted that the Garrett holdings were among the finest in existence.

Garrett's acquisition of outstanding pieces from the Mickley, Bushnell, Ely, Anthon, and other collections caused much comment. The finest known 1802 half dime (the personal specimen of Harold P. Newlin, who wrote the first reference work on the series) went into the Garrett Collection as did the Berg Collection example of the famous 1804 silver dollar, gold Proof sets of the 1860s and 1870s from the Ely Collection, a gem Proof 1827 original quarter, a rare 1815 half eagle, and many other items. Gold, silver, and copper Proof sets were obtained directly from the United States Mint in Philadelphia during the years of issue.

When the collection of New Jersey copper coins formed by Dr. Edward P. Maris, who wrote the standard reference book on the series, came on the market in 1886 it was acquired intact by Garrett. An important collection of Hard Times tokens formed by Lyman H. Low, author of the standard book on the subject, was likewise incorporated into the Garrett cabinet, as was an important group of 1794 cents formed over a period of time by Edouard Frossard. By the time of his death in 1888 T. Harrison Garrett had formed one of the finest rare coin collections ever assembled.

Shortly after the turn of the century his son Robert Garrett loaned the collection to Princeton University where it remained on display for nearly two decades. Additions of scarce and rare issues were made, including copper, silver, and gold Proof coins obtained directly from the Mint, examples of the rare 1907 gold coinage, and related pieces.

In 1919 John Work Garrett, T. Harrison Garrett's other living son, acquired the coin collection from his brother by trading art objects for it. In March 1923, through the efforts of Wayte Raymond, a major addition was made to the holdings when Garrett was given first pick of items from the Col. James W. Ellsworth Collection. Included were many United States patterns of 1792, co-

lonial rarities, elusive gold issues, and other desirable pieces. John Work Garrett continued his numismatic activity until shortly before his death in 1942.

The combination of rarity, quality, and provenance in the Garrett holdings are unrivalled by any other coin collection. The colonial series includes Massachusetts silver coins of the NE, Willow Tree, Oak Tree, and Pine Tree series, including rare die varieties and pieces in full mint state. Maryland coinage includes a unique variety of the sixpence, one of two known pattern shillings, and other rarities. Among Rosa Americana pieces are to be found Proofs, patterns, and an extensive variety of other issues, some of which are unique.

The 1737-1739 copper coinage of Dr. Samuel Higley of Granby, Connecticut, is the finest such group ever formed and includes in addition to high grade examples of the regular varieties, the only known specimen of the threepence with the legend THE WHEEL GOES ROUND. Virginia coinage comprises the 1773 “penny” in Proof grade and the 1774 silver Proof “shilling” in addition to regular issues. The 1714 Gloucester shilling, also attributed to Virginia, is the finer of two examples known to exist.

Elephant tokens include mint examples of the Carolina varieties and a specimen of the exceedingly rare New England piece. New Hampshire coins comprise a Pine Tree copper and the WM issue, both of 1776.

Copper coinage of Massachusetts includes the only known specimen of the 1776 “Janus” copper, a 1787 cent with transposed arrows, and an extensive selection of die varieties. Bermuda coinage is illustrated by the shilling, sixpence, and twopence.

Copper coins of Vermont and Connecticut include many die varieties, some of which are in full mint state. The New Jersey coppers include many die varieties as well as rarities such as the 1786 with date under plow beam and die combinations with obverses depicting George Washington and the Immunis Columbia motif.

For many years the 1787 Brasher doubloon, struck in gold, has been considered the most desirable American coin. The piece has been the subject of countless numismatic articles and even furnished the title for a feature movie. The Garrett Collection is the only cabinet ever to have all three varieties of the doubloon: the variety with EB (for Ephraim Brasher) counterstamped on the eagle’s breast, the only known example of this variety; the finest known specimen of the regular issue with the counterstamp on the eagle’s wing; and the enigmatic 1742-dated Spanish-style doubloon.

The coinage of New York includes a number of extremely rare and unique mulings with Immune Columbia dies, the Clinton cent, various issues in the Immunis Columbia series, Excelsior coinage, and others.

Also associated with the colonial and state series are several original 1796 Castorland “half dollars” or medals, 1796 Myddelton tokens in copper and silver, the “New Yorke” token, an Albany church penny, several Continental dollars (including a specimen in silver), and others. Fugio coppers include patterns, Uncirculated issues, and other varieties seldom seen.

The Garrett Collection of Washington coins and medals is superb and features many outstanding rarities, including the 1784 “Washington the Great” piece in white metal (the only known example), a Proof 1792 Roman head cent, a Proof 1792 Washington Born Virginia cent, and a

number of unique varieties.

In 1783 Gouverneur Morris, assistant financier of the Confederation, proposed the first national coinage for America. Specimens to illustrate this concept were prepared and were based on the system of 1,000 units, or the mark. The Garrett Collection includes four examples derived from this concept, the bit (100 units), two types of the quint (500 units), and the mark (1,000 units). Two of these specimens were formerly the personal property of the secretary of the Confederation.

United States Mint issues in the Garrett Collection include the largest assembly of 1792 pattern pieces ever formed: eight different examples, most of which are in mint state. Later pattern coins include a magnificent collection of 1877 half dollars, rare pattern dollars, pieces struck in gold, and numerous extremely rare issues.

In the regular United States series half cents commence with 1793, the first year of issue, and continue to 1857. Included are many top condition coins, with numerous Proofs of the rare later years. Large cents are likewise outstanding and include top grade 1793 issues of the chain, wreath, and Liberty cap type, a collection of 1794 pieces (including the famous *Starred Reverse*), and many Uncirculated and Proof examples. Small cents, two-cent pieces, and three-cent pieces likewise contain outstanding examples in their respective series.

The Garrett Collection of half dimes, dimes, and quarters includes numerous early pieces in Uncirculated and Proof grade, including many rarities. Half dollars in the collection comprise Uncirculated early issues, a Proof 1836 with reeded edge, and an 1853-O without arrows and rays (the finest known specimen of this rare issue).

United States silver dollars begin with 1794 and continue through the 20th century. A 1795 with draped bust obverse and small eagle reverse has a full Proof surface and is without comparison to any other dollar known to exist. The 1804 silver dollar, a coin obtained from the Berg Collection by T. Harrison Garrett in 1883, is an example of what has been designated as the “King of American coins.”

Throughout the silver series from the three-cent pieces to dollars are numerous Proofs, most of which were obtained directly from the Mint during the years of coinage.

The Garrett Collection of United States gold coins is one of the finest ever formed. Included are many gold Proof issues from the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, including important rarities. Matte Proof gold sets from 1908 through 1915 were mostly obtained from Henry Chapman who acquired them from the Mint at the time of issue.

Interspersing the \$1, \$2.50, \$3, \$4, \$5, \$10, and \$20 issues are numerous rare dates, early Proofs, and other elusive pieces. The Type II 1854 gold dollar is illustrated by a Proof striking as is the \$3 of that year. Most of the quarter eagles of the early years are in high grades. The 1848 CAL. quarter eagle has a full Prooflike surface. Early half eagles are of outstanding quality and include many rarities. \$10 pieces, or eagles, commence with one of the finest known pieces of 1795 and continue with choice examples, including early Proofs.

As collecting by mintmark variety did not become popular until the 1890s (when Augustus Heaton’s study of the subject was published), the Garrett Collection, most of which was formed prior to 1888, emphasizes the Philadelphia Mint issues. There are, however, various Charlotte, Dahlonega, New Orleans, Carson City, San Francisco, and other issues interspersed throughout

the silver and gold series, but no attempt was made to collect them comprehensively.

The Garrett Collection of territorial gold coins is the finest ever assembled from the standpoint of quality. Included are examples from the personal holdings from Augustus Humbert (who was the United States Assayer of Gold in California), unique issues and patterns, pieces from the Society of California Pioneers and other coins, including many finest known examples.

Highlights include the Templeton Reid coinage of 1830; an extensive collection of Bechtler coinage; Baldwin \$5, \$10, and \$20 issues; the 1849 Cincinnati Mining & Trading Company \$10; a superb offering of Kellogg & Co. pieces, including what has been considered the finest known example of the 1855 \$50; an Uncirculated 1849 \$10 of the Miners' Bank; and many other issues. A highlight of the Garrett Collection is the \$50 ingot, or "slug," by F. D. Kohler, who was the California State Assayer of Gold and who issued the first ingot of this denomination. B. Max Mehl, who during the early 20th century handled more rarities and outstanding collections than any other American dealer, once described this piece as the most valuable of all United States issues and the most significant item he ever handled.

Other highlights among territorial pieces include an 1849 \$10 of J. S. Ormsby; a \$5 of the Pacific Company; 1851 Shultz \$5; a collection of Wass, Molitor & Company pieces, including the finest known 1855 \$50; 1849 \$5 and \$10 Oregon Exchange Company pieces; Mormon gold; Clark, Gruber & Company pieces. Likewise important are the \$5 of J. J. Conway and the 1861 \$2.50 and \$5 of John Parsons. Territorial pattern coins in the Garrett Collection include many unique pieces described by Edgar H. Adams.

Among other pieces in the Garrett holdings are numbered an extensive collection of Indian Peace medals (including a large oval silver medal of George Washington), Hard Times tokens, Hawaiian coins, early American medals, Leshner "dollars," and other numismatic Americana.

Selections from the Garrett Collection were sold at auction by Stack's in 1976. In 1979 the main part of the Garrett Collection of American coins was consigned for auction to Bowers & Ruddy Galleries. A series of sales was scheduled for 1979 to 1981.

The dispersal of the Garrett Collection provides numismatists with an unprecedented opportunity to acquire pieces which in many instances have not appeared on the market during the present century. With each coin goes part of America's numismatic heritage. And, with each coin goes important responsibility for its care and preservation. As John W. Haseltine, in his introduction to the Crosby Collection sale of June 1883 noted, "Be careful of the unique pieces ye collectors, for ye will be held to strict accountability by the numismatists of the world should you carelessly suffer them to be lost."

The formation of the Garrett Collection, which was built over a period of nearly a century from the mid-1860s until the early 1940s, furnishes a unique situation in the history of American numismatics. The present volume, written by Q. David Bowers at the request of the trustees of The Johns Hopkins University, owners of the Garrett Collection, describes the numismatic world of the 19th and 20th centuries as T. Harrison Garrett and his two sons, Robert and John Work, knew it. Historical information is given for the colonial, federal, territorial, and related coin series. Concluding the book are appendices containing excerpts from the Garrett family correspondence and a listing of coins in the Garrett Collection. All coin illustrations are from the Garrett holdings.

Coins have been called the footprints of history. The trying times experienced by colonial settlers, the difficulties of the fledgling federal Mint in Philadelphia, the California Gold Rush, and many other segments of American history are chronicled in the pages to follow, illustrated by coins that were there when it happened.

Evergreen, the Garrett family home in Baltimore.



Massachusetts Silver Coins



*NE Shilling
Noe 1-D*



*NE Sixpence
Noe 1*



*1652 Willow Tree shilling
Noe 1-A*



*1652 Willow Tree sixpence
Noe 1*



*Oak Tree shilling
Noe obverse 10*



*1652 Oak Tree shilling
Noe 10*



*1652 Pine Tree shilling
Large planchet
Noe 5*



*1652 Pine Tree shilling
Small planchet
Noe 29*

Early American Issues



Maryland shilling



*Maryland sixpence
MULTILICAMINI reverse*



St. Patrick's farthing



St. Patrick's halfpenny



*Rosa Americana
(1717) Pattern penny*



*Rosa Americana
1722 Penny*



*Rosa Americana
1722 Halfpenny*



*Rosa Americana
1733 Twopence*



*Wood's Hibernia coinage
1722 Halfpenny*



*Voce Populi
1760 Halfpenny*



1737 Higley threepence



*Higley threepence
Broad axe reverse*



1714 Gloucester shilling



Obverse, Higley threepence

Early American Issues



Virginia
1773 "Penny"



Virginia
1774 "Shilling"



Carolina Elephant token
PROPRIETERS



Carolina Elephant token
PROPRIETERS



New England Elephant token



New Hampshire
1776 Pine Tree copper



1783 Chalmers shilling
Short worm variety



1783 Chalmers sixpence



1783 Chalmers threepence



Standish Barry
1790 Threepence



Bermuda shilling
Small sail variety



Bermuda sixpence
Large portholes variety

State Copper Coins



1785 Vermont
Ryder 2



1785 Vermont
Ryder 4



1786 Vermont
Ryder 6



1786 Vermont
"Baby Head"
Ryder 9



1788 Vermont
Ryder 25



1788 Vermont
Ryder 23



1785 Connecticut
Miller 4.1-F.4



1786 Connecticut
Miller 7-D



1786 Connecticut
Miller 5.3-B-2



1787 Connecticut
Miller 6.1-M



1787 Connecticut
Miller 14-H



1787 Connecticut
Miller 28-m



1788 Connecticut
Miller 2-D



1788 Connecticut
Miller 12.2-C



1786 New York
Non Vi Virtute Vici

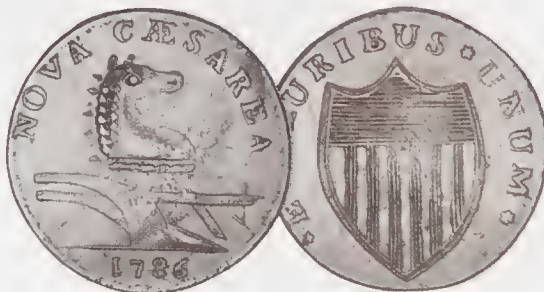
New Jersey Copper Coins



*Obverse, Maris 8-F
Date under plow beam*



1786 Maris 8-F



1786 Maris 14-J



1787 Maris 30-L



1787 Maris 60-p



1788 Maris 50-f



1788 Maris 51-g

State Copper Coins



1787 New York
Nova Eborac



1787 New York
Indian obverse
Eagle on globe reverse



1787 New York
Eagle facing right
on obverse



1787 George Clinton



1787 New York
Eagle facing left
on obverse



1787 New York
Transposed arrows and
branch on reverse



1786 Massachusetts
"Janus" copper



1787 Massachusetts
Cent
Horn from eagle's head



1787 Massachusetts
Half Cent



1787 New York
George III/Indian muling

1787 Brasher Doubloon



1787 Brasher doubloon (enlarged)
Punch mark on eagle's breast
The only known specimen

19th Century Numismatics

1

In the Beginning

When the infant Philadelphia Mint produced pattern coins for the first time in 1792 and copper cents and half cents for circulation in 1793 there was no collector interest in America. The Mint did not set aside samples of its own coinage, nor was there a government museum. In England, however, there was an intense interest in coinage. The enthusiasm for coins, tokens, and medals bordered on a mania and was fueled by thousands of different varieties of copper tokens, mostly of halfpenny size, issued as a substitute for royal coinage in circulation and also to whet the appetites of collectors. *The Virtuoso's Companion and Coin Collector's Guide*, published in England in 1795, contained engravings of many different pieces and helped the numismatists of the day to arrange their tokens in sequence. Pictured on these copper pieces, called *condor tokens*, were a seemingly endless variety of subjects ranging from Lady Godiva to serpents and rare animals. Certain of these tokens, primarily issued circa 1787-1796, bore legends relating to America or to George Washington.

While the interest of the typical British numismatist of the 1790s was apt to be confined to tokens, early coins of England, and classical issues such as Greek and Roman pieces, a number of collectors became aware of the new coinage of the United States. As a result, many select pieces minted during this era found their way into British cabinets. One British traveler visited the Mint in 1795, procured numerous examples of the new coinage, including two Uncirculated silver dollars minted in 1794, the year before, and upon his return incorporated them into his cabinet of specimens. Nearly 170 years later this illustrious group of American coins, by that time long forgotten, came to light in a Yorkshire estate. The pieces were auctioned in London,

much to the delight of numismatists who paid record prices for them.

As a result of collecting interest by British numismatists, many fine specimens which would have otherwise been lost to history were preserved for posterity. In the intervening time since then England has been an important source for early United States coins. In the 1920s, for example, Spink & Son, Ltd., London coin dealers, ran advertisements in *The Numismatist* proclaiming the firm as an important source "for coins, tokens, and medals of the American colonies and the United States."

One of the earliest collectors in America was Joseph J. Mickley. Born in 1799, Mickley was about 17 years old around 1816 when he sought a one-cent piece of his birth year. The 1799 cent, recognized today as the rarest issue of the entire 1793-1857 large cent series, was scarce at that time. Considerable effort was expended by young Mickley before an example was finally secured. His interest piqued, he went on to assemble a date sequence of other cents.

A serious fire damaged many facilities at the Mint in 1816. After the conflagration, excavations revealed a small subterranean vault which held two dozen or so dies of earlier United States coins. These were sold to a scrap iron dealer who in turn sold them to Mickley, a resident of the city.

Mickley's collecting interests expanded. His cabinet grew to include coins of the world and ancient issues as well as pieces of his native country. An often-told story relates that in 1827 Mickley visited the Philadelphia Mint. Seeking to obtain an example of the current year's quarter dollar, he was informed that no pieces had been made for circulation but that specimen or Proof pieces were available. In exchange for a dollar he received four Proof pieces at face value. Later these

were to be recognized as some of the rarest United States silver issues.

Mickley engaged in trade as a piano maker and repairman. In addition he repaired other types of musical instruments. Of an intellectual turn of mind, Mickley spoke French and German fluently. His library was well known among his friends and contained many rare volumes.

In 1867 coins valued at several thousand dollars were taken during a burglary. This attenuated his interest, and shortly thereafter he sold the balance of the collection for a similar amount.

In 1869 Mickley went to Europe, where he spent several years. While there, he learned to speak the Swedish language fluently. In Sweden he particularly enjoyed his acquaintance with Madame Leah Ahlborne, a young engraver who followed her father's position in the Mint. The admiration was mutual, and after Mickley's visit Leah Ahlborne engraved a medal of him.

William E. DuBois, who, following Mickley's death on February 15, 1878, wrote his obituary for *The American Journal of Numismatics*, commented on the wide diversity of Mickley's interests:

[Coin collecting] proved a great incentive to the study of languages, history, and antiquities, as a diversion from the daily labor of making pianos and repairing violins. Here I may say, his linguistic appetite was remarkable . . . He took pains to pick up a vocabulary in almost every country in which he visited during three years' travel. I once asked him for the various renderings of *railroad*; he gave it to me in Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Russian, and modern Greek. He could not answer for *ancient* Greek, although he was not without the classic touch. He said he had trouble keeping his Italian and Spanish from running into each other. In the entertaining manuscript journal of his travels, to show how the Russians are given to the study of other languages than their own, he states that at Nishni-Novgorod, a town well on to the border of Siberia, he went into a restaurant, where there were two young ladies, one of them smoking a cigarette. Supposing he might safely soliloquize in German, he said, "What a pity for such a nice girl to be smoking." Quickly she took out the cigar, and gave him to know that she understood women's rights and German besides. With his usual *naivete*, he adds, "how careful we should be." He seemed bound to see everything in Europe, as well as the borders of Asia and Africa. He was almost stifled in the crypt of an Egyptian pyramid; needed his overcoat in Lapland, where he went in June to see the sun go all around without making a dip; fell down the ancient well of Cicero at Rome, and was knocked down by a careless driver in Constantinople, and taken up for dead . . .

Two other pioneer collectors were James Hall of Allentown and Jacob Woole of Bethlehem, both in Pennsylvania, who had collections as early as 1820.

They bought the cabinet of coins and medals belonging to Bishop Huffel of Bethlehem, who had earlier assembled the collection in Germany, and divided it between themselves. It is not known whether United States coinage was represented among the specimens. Dr. Henry A. Muhlenberg of Reading, Pennsylvania, was also active at an early date. His collection was later sold at auction by Bangs, Merwin & Co., New York, June 9 and 11, 1863. By 1830 several Massachusetts collectors, including William G. Stearns of Cambridge, Matthew A. Stickney of Salem, and Henry Davenport and Jeremiah Colburn of Boston had all formed collections.

The Mint Takes an Interest

In June 1838 the Mint Cabinet was begun when Adam Eckfeldt, the chief coiner at the Mint, presented a few valuable pieces which he had collected earlier. At the time it was a practice to keep on hand representative samples of current and recent coinage, and these were incorporated as well. William E. DuBois took charge of the Mint Cabinet and supervised its formation.

Born in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, on December 15, 1810, DuBois was a son of a Presbyterian minister. From the age of six he was schooled in the classics. He early developed interests in languages, literature, and antiquarian pursuits. At the age of 16 he began writing for a weekly publication. At 22, then a law student, he was commended for his reporting of a famous trial. Subsequently he was admitted to the bar, but he gave up practice due to an affliction, which he carried throughout his life, which resulted in a weakness of voice. Unable to speak properly, DuBois became a prolific writer.

In September of 1833 Dr. Samuel Moore appointed him as director's clerk at the Mint. At the request of Jacob Eckfeldt, the assayer, he was transferred in 1835 to the Assay Department. In 1836 he was named an assistant assayer. Five years later he became the assayer's brother-in-law. In 1872 when Jacob Eckfeldt died, DuBois was appointed to take his place. DuBois died on July 14, 1881.

With his relationship to Adam Eckfeldt, the chief coiner, and Jacob Eckfeldt, the assayer, DuBois was in an ideal position to obtain factual information concerning the early operations at the Mint. Using this and other knowledgeable sources, he became a prolific numismatic writer. In later years he made many contributions to the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

In 1842 *A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins and Bullion*, by Jacob Eckfeldt and William E. DuBois, appeared. The publication was illustrated by engravings prepared by Christian Gobrecht, who had achieved recognition several years earlier for his work with 1836 pattern silver dollars and Liberty seated coinage.

Earlier it had been supposed that United States silver dollars were struck beginning in 1794 and ending in 1803. However, *A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins and Bullion* displayed a fine illustration of an 1804, a date previously unknown to collectors. Upon seeing the 1804 depicted, collector Matthew Stickney went to the Mint in 1843 and succeeded in obtaining an example of the previously-unknown dollar by trading a gold striking of an Immune Columbia cent for it. Apparently those with a collecting interest at the Philadelphia Mint recognized the appeal of the 1804 dollar, and in the next several decades additional specimens were made clandestinely. Typically, these were filtered out of the Mint through favored dealers and collectors, sometimes cloaked with the authority of a pedigree, "from a European collection," or something similar. For the next century the 1804 silver dollar was a constant source of controversy in numismatics. Its fame grew, and the piece acquired the designation of "King of United States Coins." In 1962 Eric P. Newman and Kenneth Bressett, in their book, *The Fantastic 1804 Dollar*, laid the matter to rest with a scholarly dissertation which revealed the origin of the pieces.

In 1834 the Department of State desired to send sets of specimen coins, called Proofs by collectors today, of the American coinage to the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam. Samuel Moore, director of the mint, ordered that sets be prepared containing one each of the authorized denominations from the half cent through the \$10 gold piece. At the time, 1834, all denominations were currently being made except the silver dollar and the \$10 gold piece which had been suspended 30 years earlier (the actual coinage had been suspended, not the legislation authorizing the coinage). Desiring to include a specimen of the dollar, the largest silver coin, and the eagle, the largest gold coin, and realizing that neither was being currently produced at the mint, Moore sought to determine the last date that these were regularly minted.

Checking the coinage records he found that in 1804 19,570 silver dollars were struck. 3,757 \$10 gold pieces were minted in the same year. What Moore did not know was that while the 3,757 \$10 gold pieces were indeed dated 1804 at the time, the 19,570 silver dollars reported struck in 1804 actually bore the dates 1802 and

1803. There was no such thing as an 1804-dated silver dollar!

In 1834 it was the custom to keep on hand dies from earlier years. There was no official provision for the destruction of dies. Some were destroyed when they were broken, others were discarded when designs were changed, and still others were kept on hand. Searching through the supply of back-dated dies, no dollar or \$10 dies with the 1804 date could be found. So, Moore directed that new dies be made up with the 1804 date, thus officially completing the specimen set with the last-dated specimens of each denomination. Thus was born, 30 years after its date, the first 1804 silver dollar.

In later years additional specimens of the 1804 dollar were struck on several different occasions. Some of these were traded, the specimen to Stickney included, to enrich the Mint Cabinet. Others were disposed of secretly for private gain. Throughout numismatic history of the 19th and 20th centuries more space, publicity, and acclaim was given to 1804 dollars when they appeared for sale than any other rarities.

Following its formation in 1838, the Mint Cabinet continued to grow. In 1839 Congress appropriated the sum of \$1,000 to augment the Mint Cabinet by the purchase of coins and mineral ores. Following the initial sum, \$300 per year was given to maintain the exhibit. This amount was considered sufficient for the purposes of the Cabinet. In the words of one writer, George G. Evans:

More has not been asked for or desired, for the officers of the Mint have not thought to vie with the long-established collections of the national cabinets of the old world, or even to equal the extravagance of some private numismatists . . .

Many important additions were made by taking coins from groups of pieces brought to the Philadelphia Mint for refining or assay. In 1846 DuBois described a number of the pieces in a monograph, *The Pledges of History*. DuBois believed that a coin should be prized for its historical teaching or artistic merit and discouraged the desire to own a piece simply because of its rarity.

In the 1849-1851 era, when many different private coiners were producing gold issues in California and elsewhere, large quantities were sent to the Philadelphia Mint for assay or for conversion into bullion. Prize specimens were saved, thereby providing the Mint Cabinet with numerous examples which later proved to be great rarities.

Coin Auction Sales Begin

Coin collecting increased sharply in the 1850s. Dur-

ing that decade several auction sales featuring coins were held. Earlier, coins were occasionally included as parts of estates in other sales, but no important cabinets of United States coins had been dispersed in this country. Sales, when they did occur, were apt to include foreign or ancient coins. For example, the *Salem Gazette*, published in Massachusetts on June 6, 1828, carried a notice of a sale described as:

Administrator's sale of books, furniture, coins, etc. On Wednesday Next will be sold at Public Auction at the House of Benjamin Watkins, Esq. in Marlborough Street, all the household Furniture of said deceased consisting of Beds, Bedding, Carpets, Table Linen, China, and Glassware . . . Sale to commence at 9:00 o'clock a.m. George Nicholls, Auct.

And on Tuesday Next, George Nicholls office, Court Street, will be sold all the books of said deceased comprising about 2,500 volumes; 500 copperplate engravings, 350 Ancient Coins, Pamphlets, newspapers, etc. . . .

In 1876 the numismatic bibliophile, E. J. Attinelli, wrote of this pioneer 1828 sale, which he believed to be the first coin sale to be held in the United States:

Mr. John H. Nicholls, then a youth of 17, made the catalogue, and as a clerk assisted his father at the sale of the collection, which, he informs me, that he is positive to the best of his recollection did not bring a sum to exceed \$1,000. Mr. Nicholls, now a resident of this city, purchased some of the coins for himself and became a numismatist, having a collection of his own at the present time.

Among the United States coins in the Watkins Collection were two Massachusetts NE shillings, two Massachusetts twopence pieces, and a Massachusetts threepence.

On April 28, 1852, E. H. Ludlow of New York sold at auction the collection of art objects and related items formed by Philip Hone, a traveler, writer, and at one time mayor of New York City. Honesdale, Pennsylvania was named after him. Included in the sale were coins and medals which fetched the sum of \$837.88 and numismatic books which realized the total of \$166.50.

On October 28th of the same year Lyman & Co., also of New York, offered a sale of books and related items which contained two lots of coins. One offering, Lot 100, consisted of a "Jefferson medal," and the other offering, Lot 101, comprised "ten old American dollars and two half dollars."

During the same decade several dealers issued price lists. Daniel E. Groux of Boston issued a 16-page catalogue of coins for sale on December 1, 1855. Numerous other price lists, often consisting of but a single sheet, were offered by various individuals and firms. There were no full-time professional numisma-

tists as such. Rather, coins formed a sideline for dealers in books, art objects, antiques, and curios.



Edward Cogan

The first professional numismatist in America was Edward Cogan, who began his business in 1858. In Cogan's own words:

Quite late in the year 1856, (I will observe here how curiously the most trifling circumstances will occasionally alter a man's occupation) a friend of mine brought into my store in Philadelphia an electrotype [forgery made by electro-deposition of metal] Washington cent of 1792 and persuaded me to purchase it for twenty-five cents; upon showing it, as a curiosity, to a gentleman he offered me fifty cents for it—and the curiosity was gone—but my friend had told me that a cent of 1815 would be worth at least \$5, and that there was a desire springing up for United States cents.

I immediately set about collecting an entire set from 1793 but had not the most distant idea, at that time, of ever making it a matter of business. I continued collecting from that time until the latter end of 1858, when finding the demand increasing, and the supply quite equal to it, I commenced selling my duplicates, and from that period have followed the coin trade almost exclusively as a matter of business.

Cogan believed that the change from the cumbersome old large copper cent to the new flying eagle cent in 1856 and 1857 was the prime factor increasing coin collecting interest in America. When he began business in 1858 he estimated that there were approximately 100 serious collectors in the United States. At the time he came into possession of 135 1856 flying eagle cents which he suspected originated with a person employed at the Mint. 1856 flying eagle cents became an item of commercial traffic, and by the end of the decade pieces were bringing \$2 each.

On November 1, 1858, Cogan had a mail bid sale. This was described in a two-page leaflet as well as in several newspapers. Offered were 77 lots which 19 suc-

successful mail bidders acquired for a total of \$128.63. Cogan observed that a notice of it:

... was published gratuitously by three of the principal journals in Philadelphia and was copied by several newspapers in most of the Northern and some few of the Southern states. At this time I had not more than one or two correspondents outside of the city of Philadelphia, where I was residing at the time. Within a few weeks, however, from the publication of the sale, I was receiving from 10 to 15 letters daily, some asking what I would give—and others—by far the greater number, what I would charge for certain coins; and for some year or two I had as much business as I could possibly attend to; and from that time up to the present moment I have followed the coin trade almost exclusively as a business. I have, therefore, always considered the publication of the prices these cents obtained, as a more immediate cause of the great demand there has been for coins, more or less, for the past seven or eight years.

Edward Cogan was born on January 5, 1803, in Walthamstow, Essex County, England. He came to America with his family in 1853 and settled in Camden, New Jersey, near Philadelphia. In the latter city he became a dealer in pictures, curios, and art objects. The wide publicity given to Cogan's mail auction sale of cents encouraged several others to enter the coin field.

Cogan moved to Brooklyn in 1865 because he felt that the business opportunities were greater than in Philadelphia. Many auction and other catalogues, one high point being the 1877 sale of the A. S. Jenks Collection, were issued under the Cogan imprint. Collectors and dealers of the time praised Cogan's strict grading and accurate descriptions. Unlike certain of his contemporaries, he declined the use of extravagant superlatives. Following his retirement from business on October 14, 1879, the firm was continued by his son, George, who did not always adhere to his father's strict business principles and ethics.

1858 was the year that Cogan established the first professional coin dealership in America. In the same year the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society (name later shortened to the American Numismatic Society) was formed. Less than a decade later, in May 1866, the first issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics*, the premier numismatic periodical of the 19th century, made its debut under the aegis of the organization.

In 1858 the Philadelphia Mint offered Proof coins to collectors for the first time. For \$3 one could obtain a complete set from the cent to the silver dollar. The term *Proof* was used publicly for the first time; earlier specially-struck pieces with mirror-like surfaces were

referred to as specimen coins or master coins. Only 80 Proof sets were struck in 1858, one ten-thousandth of the Proof set mintage of 100 years later, 1958.

The \$2 price commanded by 1856 flying eagle cents, which were the most popular scarce coin of the time, prompted certain individuals at the Philadelphia Mint, possibly including Theodore Eckfeldt (a relative of Adam and Jacob Eckfeldt, a youth who had earlier been discharged for dishonesty but who later secured a position at the Mint as a night watchman) to make re-strikes. During the late 1850s and early 1860s it is believed that over 1,500 additional 1856 flying eagle cents were made, all or nearly all in Proof grade. During the next several decades there was much additional tomfoolery at the Mint. Many of these shenanigans are chronicled in Don Taxay's book, *United States Mint and Coinage*, which described the United States Mint of the period as being a workshop for the private gain of certain employees and officials.

Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson (1812-1882) published his *American Numismatic Manual* in 1859. This large volume contained much information on coins, their background, and the collecting of them. The work sold well, and subsequent editions were released in the 1860s. The wide circulation of Dickeson's writings did much to stimulate numismatics.

The 1860s—Years of Growth

Considerable collector emphasis was put on coins, tokens, and medallic remembrances of George Washington. On February 22, 1860, the Washington Cabinet of Medals was formally opened at the Philadelphia Mint. In 1861, James Ross Snowden, director of the Mint, published *The Medallic Memorials of Washington in the Mint of the United States*, a compendium of different items represented in the display. Intense interest in Washington pieces was to continue for the next several decades.

W. Elliot Woodward, a pioneer dealer from Roxbury, near Boston, Massachusetts, offered as his second sale on October 23, 1860 a 36-page listing at auction of 1,222 lots. The coins subsequently realized \$240.53. Included were over 100 varieties of early American issues. Later, Woodward's auction sales achieved wide recognition in the numismatic fraternity and were regarded as being among the most authoritative published during the late 19th century.

It was the usual practice of Woodward, Cogan, and other dealers to form auction sales by using coins from their own stock, rather than from consignments. Pieces

EDWARD COGAN,

DEALER IN

COINS AND MEDALS,

Brooklyn, N. Y. ^{15th} March 1879

Dear Sir

In reply to your letter of the 12th I beg to
 I have only in stock at present in fine condition
 a fine proof Dollar of 1839 price \$43 + a
 fine half dollar of 1850 St. Orleans Mint \$1.50 -
 In a sale I shall have in April + of which I shall
 send you a Catalogue in a few days in which
 are the following pieces that you ask for I
 send the price I guess they will bring - to whatever
 they bring will be added the regular commission of
 10% Cent - 1836 Dollar about \$5 you will see by
 the Catalogue the condition of each piece - 1838
 + 1839 ^{Proof} \$35 + \$45 more or less - 1851 fine Proof \$30 + \$40
 1852 not proof \$25 + \$35 - 1854. 55 \$8 + \$10 - 1856 \$6 to 9.
 1858 Proof Set \$40 to \$50 a single dollar a little worn
 brought \$31. - Half Dollars - all NO Mint ^{\$1.25} 1849. ^{\$1.12} 57. ^{\$1.25} 52
 Quarter dollar 1796 about 75¢ - 3 Cent piece of 1871. 30¢
 None of the Gold in the sale

Yours faithfully
Edward CoganTo
J. H. Garrett Esq
Baltimore
M.

were assembled from a wide variety of sources, including general stock as well as collections purchased intact. There was no secret made of this. Often the *American Journal of Numismatics*, for example, would report on an auction sale and then comment upon its success by giving the amount for which the dealer had purchased the collection and the total the coins eventually realized at auction. Catalogues were prepared and distributed to interested numismatists, often free of charge. Sales with plates or upon large paper were sold at a premium. The sales themselves were conducted by independent auctioneers such as George A. Leavitt & Co. and Bangs, Merwin & Co. Such firms furnished sale rooms and facilities for viewing the coins. A given auction firm might furnish the arena for a coin sale on Monday and Tuesday of a given week, a sale of books on Wednesday and Thursday, and an auction of fossils and curios on Friday.

On May 26, 1862, the large collection of William A. Lilliendahl, a merchant, was sold at auction through Bangs, Merwin & Co. of New York. The catalogue was prepared by William H. Strobridge, a numismatist who had earlier formed a collection of ancient coins and other items which he sold to Lilliendahl. Strobridge, born in Barnet, Vermont, on January 9, 1822, followed several different trades. The study of ancient Greek and Roman coins became an early interest, followed by numismatics of Great Britain, continental Europe, and the United States. By 1862 he had established an office and was actively engaged in trading coins, archaeological specimens, and other artifacts.

One of the greatest numismatic events of the time took place on May 17, 1864, when the McCoy Collection, catalogued by W. Elliot Woodward, was offered in a 160-page catalogue which described 3,122 lots. Held at the sale room of G. A. Leavitt, New York, the sale fetched the record price of \$13,010.13.

John McCoy, a Pennsylvania leather merchant, sold his collection outright to Woodward. To McCoy's treasures Woodward added other items from his stock. Attinelli described McCoy as:

. . . well-known among numismatists for his genial, affable, generous disposition; he had dark brown hair, ruddy complexion, an eye usually beaming with a smile, slightly inclined to be portly in size; above average in height, active in his motions, sociable in conversation, quick in discernment. His tastes early led him to select fine specimens, and judiciously secure a rarity, even if not quite up to his standards, until an opportunity might favor him with a better example. He thus became the possessor of one of the *finest* collections in this country of American coins. Not having been so early in the field, as some few others, he, of course, failed to secure some of the rarities; it is much to be re-

gretted that he so early left the numismatic field, where his absence was so undesired.

Early in 1865 Joseph N. T. Levick produced a 41-page, 1,708-lot auction sale scheduled for April 27th. Following President Lincoln's assassination, it was decided to postpone the sale date. This was done, and the auction was subsequently staged on May 29th. The total realization was \$2,090.03.

In the same year, 1865, the United States Postal Service instituted free delivery of letters to all cities with 50,000 or more population. While Philadelphia, New York, and Boston furnished the locale for several dealers, most business was transacted by mail. Auctions were an exception. While mail was used to distribute catalogues to interested collectors, grading standards were so uncertain and descriptions were so inaccurate that most numismatists preferred to submit their bids to trusted dealers who would attend the sale in person, examine the lots, and bid on pieces considered to be worthy of merit. This practice continued for many decades until grading was standardized. A letter from Philadelphia dealer John W. Haseltine, written to John F. Tinkham on October 1, 1873, in regard to the latter's bids placed with Haseltine for execution in an auction sale are typical: "Everything in it was miserable; nothing near the description . . ." What one cataloguer would call Uncirculated, another might list as Extremely Fine. The term *Proof* was used with reckless abandon.

The first issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics* appeared in May of 1866. This became the first serial publication on coin collecting to be issued in the United States. Around the same time, young T. Harrison Garrett, a student at Princeton College, was fascinated by an old copper cent of New Jersey which he had acquired, thus igniting the spark which would eventually culminate in the formation of one of the greatest numismatic collections ever assembled.

The initial issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics* gave an overview of collecting at that time:

It is certainly a matter of some surprise, taking into consideration the extent of the interests involved, that the subjects of numismatics and archaeology have, until the present time, existed in this country without an organ or means of introduction to the public, or to those persons who make their study a specialty.

While the last ten years have seen the study of these subjects almost originate, grow up, and finally take such proportions, the only means for instruction, for the spread of information, or for the advancement of these sciences, in the literary point of view, has been an occasional paragraph in a

weekly paper, or an account of some coin sale or the discovery of some ancient relic, transiently made public in the newspapers, and perhaps cut out and preserved by interested collectors.

The collection of coins has not only become an infatuating and engrossing pursuit among thousands of persons of all ages and either sex, but out of it has grown up an extensive trade, furnishing the means of livelihood to numerous individuals in all our large cities. Prices have risen a hundredfold and in some instances almost incalculably and unreasonably. Speculation has been rife. In many instances, we regret to say, dishonesty has exhibited itself in its most glaring and disgusting form; and all this time there has been no publication attempted which, besides being of historical value, should act as a check upon all nefarious and improper acts, either in the manufacture, collection, or sale of coins and medals . . .

The American Journal of Numismatics . . . is offered as an exponent of the opinions of those that make these subjects their study, with the hope that through the assistance of that class of students for whose interest it is designed it may in time become a useful and valuable adjunct to historical and scientific literature.

Specie payments (payments in coin) were suspended by the Treasury Department during the Civil War and were not resumed until 1876. During this time, silver coins were absent from circulation, their place being taken by paper fractional currency notes. Proof sets could be ordered from the Philadelphia Mint, but payment had to be made in coins rather than paper money. During the middle of the Civil War, when gold was selling for over twice the price of paper money, few gold sets were ordered due to their high cost in coin. Copper coins, following intense hoarding in the 1862-1863 period, began to circulate toward the end of the war. Joining them were a wide variety of privately-issued cent-sized copper tokens with political and commercial legends. The nickel three-cent piece introduced in 1865 and the nickel five-cent coin introduced in 1866 served to stimulate the public's interest in coins and swell the ranks of collectors. By 1867 Augustus B. Sage, a dealer who had been in business since the late 1850s, estimated that there were 3,000 people in America who were interested in coin collecting. Several hundred of these qualified as serious numismatists. Many others casually saved coins from circulation, particularly cents of the old large copper style which were rapidly becoming collector's items.

In 1867 William Idler advertised as a "dealer in coins, medals, minerals, paper money, and antiques" at 109 S. 11th Street in Philadelphia. Idler had close secret ties with the Mint and was one of the privileged few who obtained restrikes, limited-issue patterns, and other pieces directly from the source of issue. Proofs,

patterns, and curious issues bearing earlier dates, often previously unknown to numismatists, were popping up in auction sales. It was correctly suspected that many of these were being currently made at the Mint. Many complaints arose. On May 22, 1867, William E. DuBois, curator of the Mint Cabinet, wrote a letter to Prof. Charles E. Anthon, secretary of the American Numismatic Society, to state that:

The new Director of the United States Mint, Hon. Henry R. Linderman, is very anxious to place the Department of the Mint which supplies medals and Proof coins upon a right and permanent basis; and to annex thereto, the distribution of pattern coins, hitherto distributed or withheld without any rule. This latter branch has grown into importance, not so much by its own intrinsic merit, as by the fancy or ambition which makes an eager competition, and creates a high price for such pieces. Properly speaking, they ought to be limited to their original purpose, and of course to a very small number of pieces. But it is found that the attempt to make this limitation is futile, and the smaller the number struck, the greater is the danger of abuse and partiality.

DuBois went on to say:

The question therefore arises, what would best satisfy collectors in general; whether to go back and strike pattern pieces of former years, so far as the dies are extant; or to let the past alone, and strike nothing, whether pattern or regular, except within the year of its date. The next question is whether, from this time henceforth, all applicants, within the year of striking, shall be able to obtain pattern pieces; paying a good price therefore, and ceasing to have that opportunity after the year has expired, so as not to make the pieces too cheap and uninteresting. The standing order will, of course, prevent any omission.

DuBois went on to say that it was proposed to stop coinage of "fancy pieces" being made up especially for collectors.

While DuBois' intentions might have been honorable at the time, the new director, Dr. Linderman, appears to have been personally responsible for restriking many earlier issues and creating other "fancy pieces" to enrich his personal collection and to benefit other insiders at the Mint. As an example of the practice, in 1866, when silver coins were first minted for circulation with IN GOD WE TRUST on the reverse, it was decided to create some "fancy pieces" for collectors. Obverse dies of quarters, half dollars, and dollars dated 1863, 1864, and 1865 were then combined with the IN GOD WE TRUST reverse (of 1866) to create special "patterns" in silver, copper, and aluminum. Not stopping there, the mint went on to fabricate 1866 quarters, half dollars, and dollars *without* IN GOD WE TRUST, thus creating more rarities. On one hand collectors despised these pieces, but on the other they were

forced to acquire them for the sake of completeness of their collections.

1867 was a busy year for W. Elliot Woodward, the Roxbury, Massachusetts dealer. For an undisclosed price variously estimated from \$12,000 to \$16,000 he purchased the remainder of Joseph J. Mickley's collection. Mickley's holdings were described as being "virtually complete in United States copper, silver, and gold series, lacking only a few pieces." During the same year Woodward, a man of many interests, reported the purchase for \$410 of the Gov. Eustis estate, which included a large building with a grand hall and many rooms, one of which had been designated as the "Lafayette Chamber," in honor of Lafayette's stay there. Woodward announced that he would personally attend to the restoration of the historic structure.

Woodward described the Mickley Collection in a 196-page catalogue comprising 3,349 lots, including additions from his own stock. There was wide interest in the offerings, due to the high quality of the pieces as well as Mickley's numismatic prominence, and numerous record prices were established. Included was the realization of \$750 for an 1804 silver dollar which was purchased by William A. Lilliendahl, who earlier had sold his collection at auction and who was now assembling another. Throughout numismatic history, 19th as well as 20th centuries, many collectors would build an illustrious holding in a particular series, sell it by auction or other means, and then set about forming still another collection, perhaps in a different series or with a different emphasis. So it was with Mickley, who, following the sale of his coins, acquired a strong iron safe made by Herring and began collecting anew.

The Mickley sale had its entertaining aspects as evidenced by the contradictory descriptions of Lots 2175 and 2176. The first, 2175, was described as:

Pattern three-cent piece, a circular piece of metal stamped III; believed to be the ugliest of all known coins, and certainly one of the rarest. In designing this, and the following, the artists of the Mint almost outdid themselves.

Then followed Woodward's description of Lot 2176:

Pattern cent of the same design as last, and equally beautiful.

William E. DuBois, curator of the Mint Cabinet, was always ready to clarify numismatic items pertaining to activities at the Mint, particularly those which happened since his tenure there. Concerning the Woodward description he wrote:

I have great respect for Mr. Woodward's intelligence, but in this case he has not been equal to himself. Those two pieces are neither coins nor patterns, in any proper sense; mere planchets. As to the designing of them, the writer

[DuBois] must take that credit to himself; the "artists of the Mint" did nothing but make the III and the 3, as requested. It was at a juncture when a three-cent piece was talked of; two mixtures of base silver were made, and these pieces were hastily struck, simply to show what the size would be. I should think that anybody might see that at a glance; and that the numismatic value of these . . . is not over three cents.

Among coins produced at the United States Mint, the 1804 silver dollar was one of the main topics of discussion whenever numismatists gathered. Its rarity, origin, and value were debated intensely, spurred, no doubt, by the record realization of \$750 of the Mickley piece at auction, the highest price attributed to a United States coin up to that time. Many letters to the *American Journal of Numismatics* were in relation to this piece.

While coins of the regular United States series were collected by date sequence (but with no attention paid to mintmarks), greater interest was directed toward medals, tokens, and other pieces with interesting histories. For example, in June 1868 the *American Journal of Numismatics* devoted nearly a page to the discussion of a rare early token issued by Ricketts' Circus in Philadelphia:

We are acquainted with only four of these curious and interesting pieces. Mr. Bushnell, in whose immense collection are generally found duplicates, triplicates, and quadruplicates of anything that is choice and difficult to obtain, possesses but one, in copper; while Mr. Levick, our co-editor, has not only one in copper, purchased for \$6 at Mr. Mickley's sale, also two in silver, one of which was bought for \$7.50 on the same occasion. These prices are in accordance with the excessive rarity of this token . . .

An interesting advertisement describing Ricketts' Circus appeared in the *Philadelphia Mail*, April 22, 1793, and stated:

CIRCUS. Mr. Ricketts respectively informs Ladies and Gentlemen of *Philadelphia*, that at 5:00, this afternoon to-day, his equestrian exercises will commence as usual. The President of the United States and Family will honor the Circus with their company. For the future, Mr. Ricketts will not particularize the exercises which he means to perform, being resolved always to exert his best abilities in rendering satisfaction to the generous and enlightened citizens of Philadelphia, whose liberal encouragement . . . he acknowledges with gratitude—and the continuance of whose patronage he will constantly endeavor to deserve. Mr. Ricketts attends at the Circus every morning from 6 to 8, for the purpose of instructing Gentlemen, and from 8 to 11 he will attend such Ladies as mean to perfect themselves in the plight and elegant accomplishment of riding and managing their horses . . .

Subsequent issues of the Philadelphia papers note that admission charges to Ricketts' Circus were \$1 for a

W. ELLIOT WOODWARD,

DEALER IN

Coins, Medals & Tokens, in Gold, Silver and other Metals.

PRE-HISTORIC RELICS, AMERICAN AND FOREIGN, IN COPPER AND STONE.

RARE BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS, BRIG-A-BRAC, ARMS, ARMOR, ETC.

Particular attention given to the Sale by Auction for Owners, Executors, and Administrators, of Collections of any of the above named objects.

WILL PURCHASE FOR READY MONEY COLLECTIONS OF ANY MAGNITUDE.

258 Dudley Street, Roxbury, Mass. Aug 24 1883

Dear Sir:

The coin arrived on the 22nd inst. It is
a matter of no consequence but I am anxious
to know if you prepared the parcel to run as
~~the~~ the company collected here.

In the enclosed Bill I charge you for No 65
\$125 - I miss it and as I do not find it in
the list ^{of coins} sent to you I suspect I lost it
here. If not sent to you please strike it off.

Yours Truly

W. Elliot Woodward

August 24, 1883, letter from W. Elliot Woodward written in his own hand to T. Harrison Garrett. Woodward's knowledge of technical numismatic information was highly respected by collectors and dealers alike.

box seat and 50c for a seat in the pit. Even though Ricketts said he was not going to "particularize" the various entertainments offered by his circus, he deviated from his intention and described, for example, on May 22nd: "Besides the number of new feats, Mr. Ricketts will ride a single horse, standing erect with Two Eggs fastened to the bottom of his feet."

On May 23rd Ricketts stated that, "The first Experiment of natural Philosophy with the Parachute or Falling Screen, that was ever made on the continent of America, will be made by Mr. Planchard."

On Wednesday, June 5, 1793, the same circus featured an exhibition in which a dog, a cat, and a squirrel were put in a basket, equipped with a parachute, affixed to the bottom of a hot air balloon. When the balloon was about a mile high, a burning fuse severed the cord between the basket and the balloon, and the animals were "brought back alive, with great triumph, to the Circus, surrounded by vast crowds of admiring spectators."

Emphasis was often placed on numismatic history

and importance rather than value. There were, to be sure, exceptions. In October 1868 J. N. T. Levick published a price survey of United States large cents dated 1793, as sold in 20 different coin auction sales from 1855 to 1868. He observed that \$262.80 had been paid for 20 pieces of chain AMERI coins, or slightly over \$13 each, with the highest being \$110 paid at the Mickley sale for a single coin by M. L. Mackenzie. For the same variety, but with AMERICA spelled out in full, \$328.15 was paid for 24 pieces (\$13.67 each), with the highest being \$31 paid by J. N. T. Levick for a specimen in a 1863 sale. Of the wreath cent of 1793, with vine and bars on the edge, 24 pieces were sold at auction for a total of \$293.05 (an average of \$12.21 per coin), with the highest being \$31 for the Joseph J. Mickley Collection specimen. Additional figures were given for the 1793 wreath cent with lettered edge (21 pieces were sold at an average of \$7.25 each, with the highest being \$28) and the Liberty cap cent of the same date (20 sales were traced for a total of \$325.50, or \$16.28 average each, with the highest being \$55 for the Mickley Collection coin). This study, which appeared

A TABLE,

SHOWING THE PRICES PAID FOR THE FIVE TYPES OF THE 1793 CENT, OF THE UNITED STATES COINAGE, SELECTED FROM TWENTY OF THE PRINCIPAL COIN-SALES IN THE COUNTRY, FROM 1855 TO 1868.

COMPILED BY J. N. T. LEVICK.

DATES OF SALES.	OWNERSHIP.	LINK "AMERI."	LINK "AMERICA."	WREATH, VINE AND BARS ON EDGE.	WREATH, LETTERED, OR "HUNDRED FOR A DOLLAR," ON EDGE.	LIBERTY-CAP.	Total number of pieces of each sale.	Total of each sale.	Average of each sale.	Highest priced Cent of each sale, with variety and purchaser.
1855 June 12	Kline, Jno. W., Phila. (known as the A. C. Kline Sale).	80 Burtiss.	80 Burtiss.	80 Burtiss.	50 Burtiss.		4	3 20	80	Link "America," 80 Burtiss.
1858 Nov. 1	Cogan, Edw., Private Biddings.		12 00 S. Gratz.		5 1 W. C. Tripler,	7 25 Jos. J. Mickley,	3	24 98	8 31	Link "America," 12 00 Simon Gratz.
1859 Mar. 7	Foot, Chas. B., Phila.	1 50	4 75 W. J. Jenks.	8 50 W. J. Jenks.	2 5	5 00	5	22 00	4 40	Wreath, Bars, 8 50 W. J. Jenks.
May 21	Gratz, Simon, Phila.	10 00 J. N. T. Levick.	15 00 W. J. Jenks.	11 00 W. J. Jenks.	6 00 Smith, Phila.	6 00 Emil Cuffman,	5	48 00	9 60	Link "America," 15 00 Wm. J. Jenks.
Dec. 10	Levick, J. N. T., Phila.	10 25 V. E. Evers.	4 00 H. N. Rust.	10 00 A. B. Taylor.	5 0 J. K. Wiggan,	10 50 Jno. K. Wiggan,	5	40 25	8 05	Lib. Cap, 10 50 Jno. K. Wiggan.
1860 May 21	Cogan, Edw., Phila.	4 50 Danl. Bertsch.	4 50 Danl. Bertsch.	9 00 N. Sleeper.	4 00 Barnard,	4 00 Banghurst,	5	20 00	5 20	Wreath, Bars, 9 00 N. Sleeper.
Oct. 18	" "	5 25 A. S. Robinson.	9 25 A. S. Robinson.	11 50 A. S. Robinson.	6 25 A. S. Robinson,	17 50 Francis S. Hoffman,	5	40 75	9 95	Lib. Cap, 17 50 Francis S. Hoffman.
1862 Mar. 25	Wiggin, Jno. K. by E. Cogan.	7 25 J. P. Leavitt.	4 50 Geo. F. Seavey.	7 25 Brechemann.	7 25 Dr. Aug. Shurtleff,	12 75 Dr. Aug. Shurtleff,	6	44 88	7 48	Lib. Cap, 12 75 Dr. Shurtleff.
May 26	Lilliendahl, W. A., New York.									
Nov. 11	Finotti, Rev. Jos. M., W. E. W. 1st S. A. Sale.	7 00 Davidson.	24 50 J. P. Leavitt.	3 50 Jos. Zanoni.	6 50 Jos. Zanoni,	16 50 J. Zanoni,	5	58 00	11 60	Link "America," 24 50 J. P. Leavitt.
1863 Jan. 19	Haines, Benj., Elizabeth, N. J.	15 00 Ed. Cogan.	4 25 Marshall.	6 00 Jno. K. Wiggan.	4 00 Ed. Cogan,	11 00 Jno. K. Wiggan,	5	40 25	8 05	Link "Ameri," 15 00 Ed. Cogan.
April 28	Woodward, W. E., 2nd Semi-An. Sale.	5 00 J. K. Wiggan.	16 00 A. S. Robinson.	5 25 Edw. Cogan.	7 75 Ed. Cogan,	6 75 Robt. B. Chambers,	5	40 75	8 15	Link "America," 16 00 A. S. Robinson.
Sept. 15	Leavitt, J. P.	7 00 C. Lightbody.	20 00 G. M. Parsons.	10 00 G. M. Parsons.		10 00 W. H. Strubridge,	6	68 25	11 37	Link "America," 20 00 G. M. Parsons.
May 22	Seavey, Geo. F. (Duplicates).		10 25 Danl. Bertsch.	10 25 Danl. Bertsch.						
Oct. 18	McCoy, Jno. F.	11 00 W. S. Appleton.	16 00 J. N. T. Levick.	2 87 Jno. Bailey.	4 00 W. E. Woodward,	30 00 W. S. Appleton,	5	63 87	12 77	Lib. Cap, 30 00 W. S. Appleton.
1864 May 17	Woodward, W. E., 5th S. A. Sale.	3 75 J. Bailey.	31 00 J. N. T. Levick.	5 00 Fdw. Groh.	4 00	10 00	5	54 25	10 85	Link "America," 31 00 J. N. T. Levick.
1865 Mar. 20	Woodward, W. E., 6th Semi-An. Sale.	18 50 J. Zanoni.	15 00 Dr. Edwards.	26 50 Jos. Zanoni.	12 00 J. N. T. Levick,	25 00 Colin Lightbody,	5	97 00	19 40	Wreath, Bars, 26 50 Jos. Zanoni.
June 29	Cogan, Edw.	3 25 Marshall.	27 00 J. Zanoni.	11 00 Jno. Bailey.	9 00 J. L. Hodge,	14 00 J. N. T. Levick,	7	94 25	13 46	Link "America," 27 00 Jos. Zanoni.
1866 Dec. 6	Lightbody, Colin.	5 00 Jenks.	7 75 R. B. Chambers.	22 00 Colin Lightbody.	8 00 J. L. Hodge,	8 00 J. L. Hodge,	6	65 25	10 87	Wreath, Bars, 24 00 Jos. Reakirt.
1867 Oct. 28	Mickley, Jos. J.	18 50	23 00 Mort. L. Mackenzie.	15 00 Edw. Cogan.	1 88	1 75	3	21 63	7 21	Link "Ameri," 18 50
" "	" "	8 00 Col. M. I. Cohen.	20 00 Thos. Cleneay.	20 00 Thos. Cleneay.	4 00 L. Bayard Smith,	40 00 Thos. Cleneay,	1	6	110 00	Liberty Cap, 40 00 Thos. Cleneay.
" "	" "	110 00 M. L. Mackenzie.	15 00 M. L. Mackenzie.	15 00 M. L. Mackenzie.	28 00 L. Bayard Smith,	55 00 L. Bayard Smith,	6	389 25	29 94	Link "Ameri," 110 00 Mort. L. Mackenzie.
" "	" "	11 25 Col. M. I. Cohen.	22 00 J. H. Applegate, Jr.	17 00 Col. M. I. Cohen.	17 00 E. J. Farmer,	37 50 Rich'd B. Winsor,	13			
" "	" "		11 00 S. S. Crosby.	13 50 Morris.	12 50 S. S. Crosby.					
Totals of 20 sales for each variety.		\$262 80 Total for 20 pieces.	\$328 15 Total for 24 pieces.	\$293 05 Total for 24 pieces.	\$152 37 Total for 21 pieces.	\$325 50 Total for 20 pieces.	109 pieces for 13 sales.	\$1,361 81	\$215 81	\$469 15 for 20 cents.
Highest priced piece of the 20 sales for each variety.		\$110 00 Purchased by M. L. Mackenzie.	\$31 00 Purchased by J. N. T. Levick.	\$31 00 Purchased by A. V. Jenks.	\$28 00 Purchased by L. Bayard Smith.	\$55 00 Purchased by L. Bayard Smith.	Averaging \$12 49 each.	Averaging \$10 79		Average, \$23 46 each.

RECAPITULATION.

20 Link "Ameri's"	realized a total of	\$262 80	averaging	\$13 14
24 "America's"	"	328 15	"	13 67
24 Wreaths, Vine and Bars edge	"	293 05	"	12 21
21 "Lettered edge	"	152 31	"	7 25
20 Liberty Caps	"	325 50	"	16 28
109 Cents of 1793	"	\$1,361 81	"	\$12 49

This shows us that from 20 Sales, 109 Cents of '93, brought the sum of one hundred and thirty-six thousand one hundred and eighty-one (136,181) cents. The average of the Liberty Cap Cent is the highest, and that of the Link "America" next, and so on.

1 Link "Ameri,"	\$110 00	Mortimer L. Mackenzie.
1 "America,"	31 00	Jos. N. T. Levick.
1 Wreath, Vine and Bars edge,	31 00	A. V. Jenks.
1 "Lettered edge,	28 00	L. Bayard Smith.
1 Lib. Cap,	55 00	L. Bayard Smith.
5	\$255 00	

Five distinct types or a set brought the above amount, an average of fifty-one dollars each.

Below we give the highest average of ten Sales selected from the above.

NUMBER OF PIECES.	SALES.	DATE.	PRICE.	AVG.
13 cents.	J. J. Mickley's Coll.,	Oct. 28, 1867,	389 25	averaging \$29 04
5 "	Jno. F. McCoy's Coll.,	May 17, 1864,	97 00	" 19 40
6 "	Colin Lightbody's Coll.,	Dec. 6, 1866,	110 00	" 18 33
7 "	Woodward's 5th S. A. Sale,	Oct. 18, 1864,	94 25	" 13 46
5 "	J. P. Leavitt's Coll.,	Sept. 15, 1863,	63 87	" 12 77
5 "	W. A. Lilliendahl's Coll.,	May 26, 1862,	58 00	" 11 60
6 "	Woodward's 2d S. A. Sale,	April 18, 1863,	68 25	" 11 37
6 "	6th " "	March 20, 1865,	65 25	" 10 87
5 "	G. F. Seavey's (Duplicates),	Sept. 22, 1863,	54 25	" 10 85
5 "	Edw. Cogan,	Oct. 18, 1860,	49 75	" 9 95
63	'93's brought the sum of		\$1,049 87	" \$16 66

From ten Sales 63 U. S. Cents of '93 sold for one hundred and four thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven (1,049 87) cents.

in the beginning *American Journal of Numismatics*, was the first systematic survey of coin price statistics and was the forerunner of hundreds of others which were to make their appearance during succeeding decades.

The collection of J. Colvin Randall, comprising 883 lots, was sold at auction in Philadelphia in October 1868. A total of 883 lots went under the hammer. The prices realized list indicated a total of \$1,294.45. Reporting on the sale, Edward Cogan voiced quite a few complaints:

The 1794 dollar brought \$42, this piece was not up to the description . . . The quarters presented no feature worthy of remark beyond the fact that five or six of them being described Proofs, without stating that they were considerably injured by circulation . . . The dime of 1796 brought \$2.12; 1798, \$3.75; 1800, \$3.25, these were much over-described, as you may suppose from the above prices . . . In regard to the cents, I regret to say that many of them were ridiculously over-described, in the earlier days especially. Lot 378 [a 1793 cent], described as a really beautiful coin, Uncirculated, brought the *high* price of \$9.75. For this, you may readily imagine, I had pretty tall bidding [a reference to commissions placed with Cogan by his customers who desired him to represent them at the sale], but could not think of even offering for it, except for my lowest bid, which was \$10.10; and I did not even offer anything like the price at which it was knocked down. This piece was very much rubbed, and upon my objecting to its description, I was coolly told that it was Uncirculated *for a 1793 cent*.

The two first coins in the colonial series, Lots 601 and 601½, the Non-Dependens Status and the Immunis Columbia, we were told, were put in by another party (and one well known to collectors), and that they would not be offered unless they were started at \$100 each!!! I offered to make an offer on the Non-Dependens Status on condition of the party having the option of returning it if he did not approve of the manner in which the piece had been represented in the catalogue. This proposition was rejected by the parties who got up the sale, as we were told it did not belong to them; but upon the remark being made that they were beautiful pieces, and perfectly Uncirculated, I denied that this observation was correct in regard to the first one, when I was told that it *was* Uncirculated then *for so rare a coin*, by a party in whose judgment I have placed more confidence than to suppose he would think it necessary to make anything so like an apology for a piece being misrepresented. The pieces were allowed to be withdrawn . . .

I had between sixteen and eighteen hundred dollars worth of orders; but from the manner in which the greatest portion of those I was instructed to bid upon were described, I have not been able to bid upon them, and purchased only to the extent of \$400.

Yours faithfully, Edward Cogan.

As might be expected, Mason & Co., cataloguers of the sale, objected to this report. On November 30, 1868, they printed a rebuttal:

Our attention has been called to a communication in the November issue of your journal, entitled "The Randall Sale in Philadelphia," over the signature of Edward Cogan.

As this article rather injuriously reflects upon us as managers of said coin sale, we ask the privilege of making a few corrections upon statements which have been doubtless *hurriedly* and *unwittingly* penned by our old and honored friend, Mr. Cogan. That Mr. C. was dissatisfied with the catalogue of the Randall sale, we have the most positive evidence, from his own hand, in a private letter written to us before the sale; and we also know, very positively, that his dissatisfaction was not caused entirely by the "over description" of the coins in the late sale, but arose from another and most important cause, which although written to us in a *confidential* communication—and we had Mr. Cogan's permission "to make full use of the idea"—we do not think it proper, at present, to make known; but, suffice it to say, that the reasons given by Mr. C. to us, why he did not purchase the full amount of his orders, were certainly good ones—not connected with the condition of the coins—and would have offended any honorable businessman.

Mr. Cogan, in complaining of the description of the coins in the Randall catalogue, is very vague and indefinite. He tells us the "1794 dollar was not up to the description," but neglects to play out the discrepancy . . . Again, Mr. C., in speaking of the quarter dollars, is very meager and unsatisfactory. He leaves the readers to infer that there were no silver dollars that could be strictly termed "Proofs" . . .

Mason & Co. went on to say that it was:

. . . customary with all persons cataloguing collections to omit the mention (on coins very nearly *unique*) of a spot so indistinct that a microscope would scarcely make the defect observable, and such excessively rare coins, in this condition, are usually described as Uncirculated.

Not to be outdone, Cogan then responded with a letter twice the length of his first letter. Quoting a popular play of the time, he said that, "If you are called rough, you put our back up, and when you puts our back up we shows our teeth, and when we shows our teeth, we bite." Cogan went on to say that his letter written to Mason before the sale expressed his dislike of such terms as "Gem of the first water," "Gem of gems," and the like. Cogan said that if the "Uncirculated" 1793 cent had been as described he would have paid a high price for it. He related that Mason had asked "How far is it from Uncirculated?," and Cogan had replied "A long way." Mason had then said, "Why, it is Uncirculated *for a 1793 cent*," inferring that because the coin was rare it should be graded differently from other cents. Cogan had the last word by stating "Mr. Mason has written the most contemptible and in some respects unintelligible and withal untruthful twaddle that ever was written, and he ought to have been ashamed . . ."

By April 1869 the Cogan-Mason feud apparently had

cooled down, for Cogan submitted a report of Mason & Co.'s sale of the E. J. P. Farmer Collection held in Philadelphia on April 13th and 14th. Descriptions and prices were given, and no special editorial comments were added.

In the same month Sylvester S. Crosby of Boston published an article, "The United States Cents of 1793." Appearing in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, it was illustrated by a photographic plate showing die varieties of obverses and reverses of that year. Described were three obverse and two reverse varieties of the chain cent, six obverse and six reverse varieties of the wreath cent, and three obverse and two reverse varieties of the Liberty cent. At the time interest in die varieties in American coinage was just beginning, and most series had not been subjected to the scrutiny of a careful cataloguer with a magnifying glass.

Crosby, who later was to achieve fame and distinction with the publication in 1875 of his classic *Early Coins of America*, was ideally suited to careful cataloguing and attention to details. In addition to his interest in numismatics, he was a watchmaker by trade and enjoyed pursuing astronomy, archaeology, and mushroom culture. Crosby, twice married but childless, lived at 21 Sacramento St., Cambridge, Massachusetts, for 40 years, until his death on August 18, 1914.

Another numismatist with a penchant for cataloguing varieties was Dr. Edward Maris, a Quaker physician, who was born on March 15, 1832, near Chester, Pennsylvania. Graduating from the Jefferson Medical College in 1856, he soon became attached to the Philadelphia Dispensary, where he served for 16 years before leaving to engage exclusively in private practice. Like Crosby, Maris had varied interests, including autographs. A prize possession was William Penn's original charter granted to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. As a Quaker he was a part of the Friends' Indian Committee and worked with inhabitants of an Indian reservation in New York State. His large home was located at 1106 Pine St. in Philadelphia. Maris was primarily a collector of coins, but he occasionally bought and sold for the account of others.

In 1869 Maris produced *Varieties of the Copper Issues of the United States Mint in the Year 1794*. This landmark work described 39 different varieties of cents issued in that year. Coins were distinguished by names taken from Dr. Maris' knowledge of Latin and from his medical training. Listed were such varieties as *Double Chin*, *Sans Milling*, *Tilted Four*, *Young Head*, *The Coquette*,

Crooked Seven, *Pyramidal Head*, *Scarred Head*, *Standless Four*, *Abrupt Hair*, *Severed Hairs*, *The Ornate*, *Venus Marina*, *Short Bust*, *Patagonian*, *Amatory Face*, *Large Planchet*, *Marred Field*, *Shielded Hair*, *The Plicae*, *Roman Plica*, and the *Nondescript*.

The *American Journal of Numismatics* editorially expressed pleasure with the curious adjectival descriptions and went on to say that the work was "The unquestioned authority on this theme, so that every cent of 1794 shall henceforth be known as 'Maris 1' or some other number, down to 'Maris 39.' "

During the late 1860s and 1870s the *American Journal of Numismatics* served as a sounding board for collectors and dealers who expressed for the first time in a serial publication many bits of historical information, facts, and figures, some contradictory, but which as a whole later went on to make up the compendium of numismatic knowledge as we know it today. How rare is the 1804 dollar? Who was the first coin collector in America? Who was the first dealer in America? What was the first auction sale? Comments were received by the publication, printed, and then debated by others. Many penned letters to share their experiences. For example, in 1869 Ammi Brown of Boston, Massachusetts, gave his personal experience at the Lewis Roper Collection auction held on February 20, 1851, by M. Thomas & Son, Philadelphia. This sale catalogue, one of America's earliest, contained 24 pages of descriptions of 698 lots, the last 45 of which were autographs. A total of \$1,172.47 was realized, a high figure for the time. Ammi Brown said:

The cent of 1793 in Roper's sale, in 1851, was bought by me. It was as fine as when struck, and probably had never been circulated. At that time but little interest was felt in American coinage, and this piece was knocked down to me for my first bid of ten cents. I was laughed at for paying \$5 for a Proof 1838 dollar, and a paragraph went the rounds of the papers giving this as an extravagant price for a silver dollar. I obtained at the same sale two Proof dollars of 1836 for \$1.62 each . . .

The 1870s—Collecting Comes of Age

In January 1870 John Swan Randall of Norwich, New York, informed collectors of the history of certain large cents which he had been selling to numismatists. Mason & Co.'s periodical magazine had noted these were restrikes. Randall hastened to deny this:

I should not sell a coin that I knew or believed to be a restrike without letting it be known. The bright, Uncirculated, new cents that I have sold of 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1825 I am very sure are not restrikes. I bought them

Phila 2.28.85

T. Harrison Garrett
 Baltimore
 Md.

Confidential.

I have concluded to offer
 at private sale, my celebrated collection
 of the Coins of New Jersey. It
 comprises all the pieces described
 in my work published in 1881, ex-
 cepting ^{all unique pieces} 8 - even of the latter num-
 ber - being represented by electrotypes.

A number of the pieces are unique
 & many of them are the finest
 specimens known. For instance
 a pair of the Mack Kewbics, quite
 uncirculated. Running horse on
 the reverse after the legend.

Punctuations with quatrefoil before
 & after legend, & many others that
 should be examined to be appreciated
 I want \$1000 - for the entire

Two-page letter from Dr. Edward Maris to T. Harrison Garrett, February 28, 1885. Maris, the leading researcher in the field of New Jersey copper coins of the years 1786-88, offers his private holdings to Garrett for \$1,000. Garrett declined

Collection — one of my finest books will also accompany it.

I also have a Silver Tugie, with the names of the States in the rings, in almost proof condition. Crosby mentions it as being unique & in the Collection of C. I. Bushnell.

When the B. Collection was offered for sale this piece was not found in it. I suspect Bushnell never owned one, but knew of this which was the property of a friend of his. If this is correct my piece is unique, & of course very interesting. I want \$500 — for it.

Nobody but my wife knows of my designs to sell the foregoing. Hence I request this may be strictly confidential. If T.H.S. could name a time to inspect the pieces, I should take pleasure in showing them.

Very respectfully
E. Leach.

the offer. Subsequently Garrett purchased the collection through Harold P. Newlin, who was acting as an agent, in the auction sale of the Maris Collection sold in 1886 by Stan V. Henkels of Philadelphia.

from William H. Chapman & Co., dry goods merchants of this village, and the head of the firm, William H. Chapman, informed me that he got them of a wholesale merchant in New York, who informed him that he got them from a merchant in Georgia; that he took them as payment on a debt, and that the Georgia merchant wrote him that they were found since the war in Georgia buried in the earth. Mr. Chapman said to me that he was in New York about the time the cents were received there, and that the merchant had thought they were too large to use, and he did not know what to do with them; and that he (Chapman) thinking that his customers here would be pleased with the bright cents, offered 90c a hundred for them, which was immediately taken. [This was less than face value!] Chapman & Co. commenced paying them out here, and their bright appearance and their old dates made many think they were counterfeits, and they were called "Chapman's counterfeits," and the firm stopped paying them out.

I then went to the store and asked William H. Chapman if he had disposed of many of his bright cents; he replied, "No, I made a bad bargain," and laughed about their being regarded as counterfeits. I then offered to take them at the price he paid—90c a hundred—and he was very willing to let me have them. They were loose together in a small keg, and the great mass of them were of 1818; and a great many, although apparently Uncirculated, were more or less corroded or discolored. I enclose herewith one of 1817 and 1818, discolored on one side and bright on the other. From this statement you will see that there can be very little doubt about their being the genuine issues of the United States Mint, of their respective dates.

Very respectfully, John Swan Randall.

As the decade of the 1870s began, numismatic activity continued apace. W. Elliot Woodward was as active as ever, as were his contemporaries such as S. K. Harzfeld, J. W. Haseltine, J. W. Scott & Co., and others.

Born in 1838, Haseltine became a captain in the Union Army during the Civil War. His military service remained important in his life, and after the conflict had ended he was active in the annual meetings and other affairs of the Grand Army of the Republic. In Philadelphia he established a business in coins and stamps. In the 1870s two young boys, Henry and S. Hudson Chapman, entered the coin business by joining his staff. He married the daughter of William Idler, who had special favored connections at the Mint, and was one of the several dealers in the late 19th century who served as an outlet for restrikes and other rarities.

The embarrassing situation of manufactured "fancy pieces" and other mint specialties kept rearing its ugly head. At the beginning of the decade Edward Cogan conversed with A. Loudon Snowden, chief coiner at the Mint, who controlled the dies, and learned that to Snowden's knowledge:

There is not a single die existing back of 1869; and, in regard to the nine patterns lately [a reference to the Standard Silver series], there are but 100 sets to be struck, and these dies will then likewise be destroyed. This information will, I'm sure, be very satisfactory to the whole body of collectors, as it will put an effectual stop to the practice, too much indulged in, of restriking pieces . . . and selling them at extravagantly high prices, and the plea of their being *extremely* rare, a practice which will leave an indelible disgrace on all connected with it, be they who they may.

In April 1870 J. N. T. Levick published a listing of 56 different copper tokens pertaining to the 1837 Hard Times. Around the same time Robert Coulton Davis compiled and published a list of 1838 pattern half dollars known to him. Article by article, contribution by contribution, the fund of American numismatic knowledge grew.

The William Fewsmith Collection, sold by Mason & Co. in October 1870, realized \$4,746.44 in an offering of 2,501 separate lots. Included was a fine collection of American silver coins, a 1792 pattern dime in copper, a 1792 cent, and numerous scarce colonial issues. Auction activity was increasing, and sales occurred at an ever-quickenning pace.

Seeking to obtain rare specimens, dealers published catalogues and price lists with prices paid. One enterprising numismatist traveled through towns with a wagon bearing banners which read \$25 PAID FOR A 1799 CENT. Others went door-to-door seeking pieces. While many catalogues of coins that were minted by the United States were issued, in 1871 Edward Cogan prepared a booklet which listed coins *not* minted, *Table of Gold, Silver, and Copper Coins, NOT Issued by the United States Mint*. In an era in which the date varieties of United States coinage were not known except to readers of numismatic journals (who often had to piece together several articles in order to come up with a tentative list), Cogan's intention was to inform the public of what pieces were not issued by the United States Mint since its inception. For example, of quarter eagles, first minted in 1796, he said, "None issued in 1799, 1800, 1801, 1803, 1809 to 1820 inclusive, 1822, 1823, and 1828."

On November 5, 1872, Susan B. Anthony, whose portrait was to grace an American dollar coin over a century later, was arrested in Rochester, New York, for voting. Collector interest in 1872 leaned heavily toward medals of Washington, Lafayette, Franklin, and other personages, toward tokens, and toward early colonial and state coins. Issues of the United States Mint from 1793 onward were discussed in print with

increasing frequency, however, and attention was being paid to the study of die characteristics.

The following year, 1873, saw the beginning of William S. Appleton's serial article, "The Medals of Washington," in the *American Journal of Numismatics*. The only other references of note available to collectors at the time were Snowden's *Medallic Memorials of Washington in the Mint of the United States*, published in 1861 and containing descriptions of 138 pieces, and W. Elliot Woodward's *List of Washington Memorial Medals*, printed in 1865, enumerating 48 medallic memorials of his death. It was Appleton's intention to add newly discovered pieces as well as recent productions to earlier listings.

William E. DuBois, curator of the Mint Cabinet, reported that 6,484 coins and medals were represented in the display, and the cost of these, including related items such as nuggets and ores, amounted to \$12,443.

The first whispering of numismatic interest in the forthcoming anniversary of one hundred years of American independence occurred in 1874. In anticipation of the Centennial Exhibition, to be held in Philadelphia in 1876, Diehl & Co. of the same city issued several medals dated two years in advance. During the next several years a torrent of medals pertaining to the Centennial would be produced.

There was no standard listing of coins available to the collector in 1875. Only by scanning a numismatic publication or reading general interest books (such as those published by Dickeson and Snowden) could the numismatist learn in what years different denominations were struck. In 1875 William S. Appleton, a well-known collector, began a serial listing in the *American Journal of Numismatics* describing different coinage from 1793 onward. Virtually no attention was paid to branch mint issues, so they were not deemed important enough to be included by Appleton. Most collectors were interested only in different *dates* of coins.

Sylvester S. Crosby's publication in 1875 of his monumental work, *The Early Coins of America*, elicited praise throughout the numismatic field. The *American Journal of Numismatics* said in part:

There is much that may be said in commendation of this elegant volume. The typographic execution . . . is very handsome. The paper, which is slightly tinted, is of excellent quality. The wood cuts are accurate, and the heliotype [a method of photographically illustrating coins] familiarizes numerous pieces, known only to many by descriptions. But the merit that overtops all others to which it may rightly lay claim is its *reliability*, this, for a historical work, is indeed all-important . . . The author is to be con-

gratulated that it is now completed and that he has succeeded so well . . . It is not likely to receive or to require any corrections other than those which the light that subsequent discoveries may throw upon the subject, show to be needed. The numismatist especially must hereafter regard it as an authority not to be questioned when brought into conflict with previous essays, excepting upon evidence of the most satisfactory character.

The Crosby reference stood the test of time well, and a century later it was still the standard reference book on the subject of colonial and early American coinage.

The same year, 1875, the outstanding collection formed by Col. M. I. Cohen, of Baltimore, Maryland, was catalogued by Edward Cogan and sold at auction by Bangs, Merwin & Co. The event featured ancient issues, coins of the world, and many United States pieces, including great rarities. The total realization was \$9,744 for 2,400 lots.

The Centennial Exhibition was the main event in America in 1876. Spread over 236 acres in a Philadelphia park, the buildings and related construction cost \$10 million. Dr. Henry R. Linderman, director of the Mint, declined to set up a display at the Exhibition but, instead, invited visitors to Philadelphia to call at the Mint:

. . . between the hours of 9:00 and 12:00 a.m. The United States Mint Cabinet numbers at present 6,443 pieces, of which the total number of United States mintages is 813; the number of colonials is 712; the number of Washington medals 244; and of other medals 635; the balance of the collection consisting of fine Greek, Roman, and foreign gold, silver, and copper coins.

Linderman went on to say that:

The rarest American coins at the Mint are a Brasher Doubloon in gold, the 1785 Immune Columbia cent in gold [acquired from Matthew A. Stickney in 1843 in exchange for an 1804 silver dollar], and the 1804 silver dollar.

While no special coins were produced for the Centennial Exhibition, several varieties of Mint medals were made as were dozens of private tokens and other pieces. At the fair itself J. W. Scott & Co., the well-known stamp and coin dealer, had a sales exhibit which attracted wide interest.

Eager to record the Centennial numismatic medals and tokens for posterity, the *American Journal of Numismatics* began a serial listing of different emissions in its January 1876 issue. The author was H. W. Holland. One popular set of medals was "struck" by squeezing black walnut wood which had been steamed until it was in a semi-pulpy condition. George H. Lovett, a diesinker of New York City, announced the issuance of a series of eight Centennial medals commemorating the battles of 1776. The obverse of each

1883

ED. FROSSARD,
IMPORTER OF ANCIENT AND MODERN
COINS AND MEDALS.
Dealer in Rare American Coins.



March 14th

Irvington, N. Y., March 14. 1883.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your favor of
12 inst. I have carefully revised the
list of rare Colonial coins as follows:

Brasher's doubloon	\$ 600. -
N. E. Sixpence	65. -
Mass. Cent arrows left	37.50
Carolina Elephant	80. -
Fugio; names of State	80. -
Immunis Col.	50. -
Pine tree 1650	42.50
Vermont 1785	8.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 963.00

The lot \$ 950. -

This I think is the very best
I am authorized to do. Very respectfully,
T. Harrison Garrett Esq. Ed. Frossard

P.S. I have not
offered these coins to anyone
since you saw them.

Invoice and letter from Ed. Frossard to T. Harrison Garrett, March 14, 1883. Offered are a number of important rarities including a 1787 gold doubloon by Ephraim Brasher of New York City, a 1652 NE sixpence struck by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a 1787 Massachusetts copper cent with transposed arrows, a 1694 Carolina Elephant token, a 1787 pattern Fugio copper cent, an Immunis Columbia copper, what is probably a 1652 pine tree shilling of Massachusetts (some imitation pieces dated 1650, as per the invoice, did cause confusion among numismatists of the period, but it is unlikely that Ed. Frossard would have been thus deceived; undoubtedly the date is a typographical error), and a 1785 Vermont copper piece.

portrayed the head of Washington, while the reverse listed the name and date of each conflict. The set was available in white metal for \$2, bronze \$4, or silver \$14.

William S. Appleton, who earlier prepared a listing of dates of various United States denominations, presented a survey of New Orleans Mint issues in July 1876, assisted by William E. DuBois. "It may not be absolutely perfect, but it is thought to be very nearly so," Appleton stated. "If omissions are to be found, I hope to be informed of them. I believe the same facts cannot be read elsewhere." The listing did include some errors (such as the 1861-O silver dollar which does not exist) and omissions (such as the 1838-O half dollar), but it did form a beginning. Still, the average collector did not care about mintmark varieties.

Auction activity continued strong. On June 12-17, 1876, a collection which was formerly the property of J. Carson Brevoort, of Brooklyn, and more recently the property of Lorin G. Parmelee, of Boston, was sold at auction by Leavitt & Co. Prepared by William H. Strobbridge, the catalogue comprised nearly 3,000 lots. It was Parmelee's practice to purchase a collection intact, remove the pieces wanted, and sell the remainder at auction. Or, sometimes Parmelee would auction a collection which contained pieces he wanted, and then bid on the pieces he desired, sometimes through an agent, until he acquired them, no matter what the cost would be. The price really made no difference as he owned the coins.

More publications began to appear. In December 1875 *The Coin Collector's Journal*, published by J. W. Scott & Co. and edited by Ed. (for Edouard) Frossard, made its debut. Two years later Frossard was to initiate his own publication, *Numisma*, a fiery and irreverent journal, spiced with many opinions, which continued in print until 1891. Frossard's ever-watchful eye was often focused on the machinations of the Philadelphia Mint and dealers privileged to do business with it, on his competitors' auction catalogues and other offerings, and on the numismatic scene in general. He found room in his schedule to prepare many auction catalogues during the same period. By the time of his death in 1899 he had conducted 160 sales.

In the December 1877 *Numisma* Ed. Frossard eagerly reported a startling new discovery in the field of American colonial issues. The obverse of the piece depicted the Earl's Crown and the legend PETER MINVIT. The reverse showed a triangular shield with a slightly curving border, and a beaver in a field of rippling waters, with the legend NOVUM BELGIUM

1623. Frossard described the piece as relating to New Netherland and stated that:

The date 1623 is commemorative of an establishment of the new West India Co., but the coin must have been struck in 1625, previous to the departure of Peter Minuit from Holland . . . The coin may possibly have been designed as a commemorative token, but it is much more probable that it was intended as a pattern of coinage, or perhaps as a coin to be used by the agents of the company in trade with each other and the natives of the countries they were about to colonize. It was issued under authority of the West India Co. whose counting rooms were at Amsterdam, and must have been minted there . . .



Ed Frossard.

Frossard printed a letter from Wilson Defendorf, a collector who had owned the piece for some time, and who stated to Frossard that "You deserve *all the credit* there may be attached in making this coin known to the people of the United States."

By March 1878 Frossard had learned, much to his chagrin, that the "Novum Belgium" piece was not a rare early colonial coin but, rather, had been fabricated

as an idle curiosity by C. Wyllys Betts, a young New Haven, Connecticut collector. Frossard's colleagues, remembering well the many barbs he had directed against their catalogues and other efforts, never let him forget this glaring blunder. When Frossard would make an authoritative comment which offended a competitor, they would remind him of his "expertise" concerning the colonial forgery.

Around the same time numismatists were delighted with another bit of news concerning colonial pieces, this one real. In October 1876 a group of 16 pine tree shillings, coined in Massachusetts and bearing the date 1652, were found when sand was being unloaded. These were apparently in a box which had decayed. The sand was sifted, and 14 additional specimens, each as bright as the day of mintage, according to contemporary reports, came to light.

Auctions continued to make numismatic headlines. In the absence of regularly-issued priced catalogues, auction sales together with lists of prices realized formed the early-day equivalent of today's *Guide Book of United States Coins*. To keep abreast of the market, the collector of the late 1870s was encouraged to subscribe to as many auction catalogues as possible and take note of the realizations. *The Coin Collector's Journal*, published by Scott, gave a view in 1877 of a typical coin auction sale:

Let us look in on one of these sales and see how it is conducted. The auction room, we shall suppose, is that of the well-known New York firm of Bangs & Co. on Broadway. The room is long and narrow, with the clerks' desks at the Broadway end, and a partition about five or six feet high running nearly the whole length of the room. Beyond this partition, on a raised platform, sits the persuasive auctioneer. During the forenoon of the day of sale, the coins are on view, and each piece enclosed in an envelope numbered so as to correspond with the catalogue, is lying orderly on a long table. Intending purchasers are busy inspecting the coins, carefully examining the pieces, one by one, and having compared them with the descriptions in the catalogue, mark down in their book the prices they are willing to pay. A couple of hours is consumed in this examination, so that it is now, perhaps, near the usual hour of the sale. An attendant replaces every coin in its envelope, and carries the whole collection inside the partition, no more to be seen or handled except by the purchaser after the sale. Chairs are next placed in front of the partition, and these are gradually taken possession of by the parties interested.

At three o'clock sharp, the auctioneer takes his place with perhaps only some 20 or 30 gentlemen in front of him. If the attendance be not large it is, at least, select, for almost every one of these buyers represents a large circle of wealthy customers whose orders have now to be filled.

"Gentlemen," says the auctioneer, "We have now to sell sundry copper coins and medals; Lot 1 in the catalogue,

what do you say? How much do you give for 1?" The audience perhaps is waiting, but the waiting tries the auctioneer's temper, and his voice is sharper. "Come gentlemen, let me have a bid. Be quick; speak it out."

At last someone speaks, and once the ice is broken, away they go. These sales usually occupy about three hours each day, during which time the coins are not handled by anyone in the room, but immediately at its close are delivered to the respective purchasers.

Such is the usual procedure at a coin sale. At the one that took place on the 1st or 2nd of February, in the Messrs. Bangs' room under the direction of Mr. Cogan, whose health, we regret to say, hindered him from being present, the following prices were obtained . . .

Then followed a recitation of various prices of the sale. Examples included a Proof 1851 silver dollar at \$34.50, a 1793 Liberty cap cent in Poor grade at \$4, an 1855 Proof cent at \$2, an 1856 flying eagle pattern cent at \$3, and a Carolina elephant token at \$17.

The year 1878 brought the Morgan dollar, the first regular silver dollar coin since 1873. The design was roundly criticized in the numismatic press, causing the engraver, George T. Morgan, to prepare additional patterns, some of unusual beauty. However, the adopted design remained in use for many years and was not replaced until 1921. During the same year *The Medallic History of the United States of America 1776-1876*, by J. F. Loubat, made its appearance. Issued in a large royal quarto 2-volume set, the books outlined early American medals and the legislation and documents pertaining to them.

Toward the end of 1878 a large hoard of coins secreted by the Harmony Society at Economy, Pennsylvania, during Morgan's Civil War raid, came to light. When the coins were discovered most were black or tarnished from oxidation. These were subsequently cleaned with abrasives. Before the value was discovered, a number of rare coins, including two 1796 half dollars and one of 1797, had been paid out at face value.

An inventory was later taken of this group of coins, which came to be known as the Economite Treasure, which showed that the group contained approximately 150 half dollars of 1794, 650 of 1795, 25 examples of the 1805/4 overdate, 1,500 of 1806, 100 of the scarce 1815, and many of other dates, including 111,356 half dollars of the 1808-1836 years. Among dollars were found one example of the rare 1794, 800 of 1795, 125 of 1796, and over 2,000 other early dates prior to 1804. Of the scarce issues in the hoard \$4,000 face value went to a dealer for \$6,500. The 1794 silver dollar was sold for \$22. By 1881, when the Economite Treasure was

discussed in *The Coin Collector's Journal*, it had been entirely dispersed.

Early in 1879 the numismatic world was surprised to learn that the Confederate States of America had actually produced a silver coinage. The first specimen of an 1861 Confederate States of America half dollar came to light and was described in various publications. B. F. Taylor, M.D., secretary and treasurer of the Louisiana State Board of Health, a person who had been chief coiner at the mint in New Orleans, stated that a design was submitted and approved, and that in 1861 four specimens were struck. For undisclosed reasons the CSA authorities vetoed the project. Remaining bullion was stamped instead with Union dies. The original 1861 Confederate reverse die came to light and was acquired by J. W. Scott. Desiring to make restrikes for collectors, Scott obtained 500 1861-O (New Orleans Mint) regular issue half dollars from circulation, planed off the reverse design, and stamped them with the Confederate die. The result was a restrike, lighter in weight than the original and with the obverse wavy and flattened from the second striking process.

Dealers continued auction activity at a frantic pace. In autumn 1878 numerous sales were held. On September 16, 1878, a sale which lasted over a week was catalogued by Edward Cogan and featured 2,607 lots described in 146 pages. On October 10th Leavitt sold the H. E. Jones Collection by a catalogue prepared by Scott. Edward Cogan's catalogue of the James B. Clemens Collection enticed bidders at an October 22nd-25th auction held at Bangs, Merwin & Co. Then on November 11th a week-long sale of the Holland Collection, catalogued by W. Elliot Woodward, crossed the block at Bangs & Co. On December 7th, S. K. Harzfeld held an auction at the same salesroom. Shortly thereafter, on December 9th and 10th, Scott & Co. had a sale. On December 16th to 18th attention turned to the James E. Root Collection catalogued by Edward Cogan. The second collection of Joseph Mickley was catalogued by J. W. Haseltine for an auction sale conducted on January 1, 1879.

By a year later, the autumn of 1879, the frantic activity had not abated. The *American Journal of Numismatics* reported that:

The activity among the coin dealers continues with but little signs of cessation. We have received catalogues of several [sales] which have just taken place, or will within a few days. So many of them occur just as we go to press, that in the present number we can only allude to them in a general way . . . From these sales it would appear that coin dealers certainly are feeling the revival of business, and the collections that they are offering are, many of them at least, filled

with very desirable pieces. We shall give as full reports of these different sales as our space will allow.

The same issue contained a report of Haseltine's sale of the Wilder Collection, another Haseltine offering of a private collection, an auction by Cogan, the Alfred Watkins Collection (sold by Scott), S. K. Harzfeld's Sixth Sale, three different sales by W. Elliot Woodward, a sale by Ed. Frossard, an auction by the Chapman brothers, and a sale by Strobridge.

Around the same time the country was experiencing a coin shortage. Western silver mining interests had forced passage of the Bland-Allison Act in 1878 which provided for the unneeded and unwanted coinage of \$2 million worth of silver dollars each month. As the Philadelphia Mint had superior facilities, much of the coinage burden fell on that institution. At the same time, the Philadelphia Mint was the only facility producing minor pieces such as cents, nickel three-cent pieces, and nickel five-cent pieces. At the end of 1879 the Mint was forced to discontinue these small denominations. This caused consternation on behalf of would-be purchasers, who petitioned the mint for increased supplies. The mint reported that \$35,000 face value worth of cents could be disposed of within a week, so great was the demand. Officials at the Philadelphia institution were surprised by a San Francisco request for \$1,000 face value worth of cents, said to be the first order from that part of the country for many years. The director of the Mint, in his annual report, recommended that nickel three-cent pieces be discontinued and that two-cent pieces be coined once again, the most recent production of that denomination having been in 1873. He stated that the demand for cents was beyond the production capacity, and that two-cent pieces would help alleviate the situation.

The problem of private sales from the Mint continued. Early in 1879 the *American Journal of Numismatics* reported that the patterns of the preceding year, 1878:

. . . were all distributed amongst members of Congress and friends of Mint officials, and were refused to societies [of collectors]. The whole business of Mint patterns has been very singularly managed and, to some extent, is so still. It has been estimated that in 1859 and 1860 \$50,000 worth of patterns were struck and disposed of at the Mint, without any benefits of the government at whose expense they were coined. Copies were not even put in the government collection of its own coins, which is inferior, except in Washington medals and pieces, to the most ordinary collections, while the officials, in whose charge it is, take no pains to fill its numerous gaps. During Mr. Lincoln's administration these abuses stopped, but of late years they have begun again. For example, numerous pattern dollars struck be-

IMPORTERS OF
AND
DEALERS IN
ANCIENT
GREEK AND ROMAN
COINS,
ENGRAVED GEMS,
BRONZES, POTTERY,
AND
ANTIQUITIES,
FOREIGN
COINS AND MEDALS.

SAMUEL HUDSON CHAPMAN.

HENRY CHAPMAN, JR.

S. H. & H. CHAPMAN,
Numismatists and Antiquaries,

NO. 2009 ARCH STREET,
PHILADELPHIA.

DEALERS IN
AMERICAN
COINS AND MEDALS,
AND ESPECIALLY IN
FINE AND RARE
SPECIMENS,
NUMISMATIC BOOKS,
INDIAN
POTTERY AND
STONE IMPLEMENTS,
PATENT CABINET.

Mo. 15th 1883

T. Harrison Garrett Esq

Dear Sir,

We desire to offer you the following
fine and desirable coins. viz. I will send on approval.

(1659) Lord Baltimore Sixpence Very fine. Brought \$6. at Ely sale. - 38. -

1783 Chalmers Annapolis Threepence. From Ely sale \$14.50. Extremely fine 15.25

1790 Staydick Barry. Threepence. Uncirculated. Perfect. 35.75

1792 Washington 1/2 dollar in copper. Uncirculated and one of the

the finest. Known Finer than Mr Bushnell's and which was
dented on edge. Extremely rare - 65. -

1792 Pattern Cent. Silver center. Uncirculated and probably the finest

known From Mr Massanoin's Sale where we purchased it \$76 much less

than we would have given for it. Finer than Mr Bushnell's which

Mr Parmelee purchased for \$120. ^{one of which is very poor.} Excessively rare only 5 known 120. -

1831 William IV of England. Crown. Beautiful proof Excessively rare 35. -

This crown would cost \$50. in England.

We also have many fine gold coins and foreign silver also medals.

Cents and half cents our stock is very fine, - would you send us
a list of the states you wish to improve.

Desiring an early reply, we remain

Very Respectfully
S. H. & H. Chapman

This January 18, 1883 letter, from S. H. & H. Chapman offers T. Harrison Garrett several important rarities. Quotations and offerings from the Chapman Brothers, which were very frequent during this period, usually were quite detailed and often gave comparative price and rarity information.

tween 1869 and 1874 have since then turned up and passed into the hands of collectors, none of which appear in the government collection or were distributed in a lawful manner to the numismatic societies, while favored individuals collected at a trifling expense sets which were sold at large sums. Over \$100 apiece has been paid for some of these mysterious pieces. We did notice in a late catalogue a medal described as a rarity which will no doubt bring a good price. The dies for it were made within two years at the government Mint, by the Mint workmen, with the Mint machinery, but none of the medals are in the government collection (or were as of a short time ago), and none have appeared in the Mint sale-list or for distribution in numismatic societies. All this seems to show that laws for the distribution of government favors are one thing, and their enforcement quite another.

The 1880s—Decade of the Chapman Brothers

The flood of coin auctions continued. In January 1880 the *American Journal of Numismatics* reported that:

The number of coin sales is unabated; indeed it is rather on the increase, and we might fill several pages of the *Journal* with notices of the various collections which have been recently offered, but must confine our remarks to a simple reference to the different sales and most interesting pieces . . .

Our readers will doubtless have noticed the large number of coin sales which have been chronicled in the *Journal* for the year just closed. It far exceeds that of any other year in our history and must be encouraging to the dealers. We hear of several others in preparation. Mr. Woodward, Mr. Harzfeld, and Mr. Frossard are all hard at work preparing catalogues.

So crowded was the auction calendar that the same publication noted after describing ten sales that:

We should be glad to allude to other recent sales, that of the Messrs. Chapman, which contains some very choice pieces, Mr. Woodward's sale of the Gertz, Pecker, and other collections, Mr. Harzfeld's Philadelphia sale, and others announced, but the crowded state of our pages forbids us to do so in the present number.

A few months later numismatists were delighted when an aged resident of Sag Harbor, New York, began spending 1,500 Uncirculated half dollars he had set aside years earlier in 1836 when they were first minted. These were saved at the advent of the Panic of 1837 and had been hoarded since that time. The appearance of such a large number of bright new coins in circulation caused much attention and was the subject of a newspaper article.

In April 1881 another half dollar story made the rounds when it was reported that:

A gentleman in Meriden, Connecticut, known as a persistent coin collector, has recently come in possession of a lot

of half dollars, from the first year of their mintage down to 1838. A large proportion of these half dollars are uncirculated—that is, just as they came from the Mint press. There is a curious story connected with these coins. During the war, a man living in Georgia had saved from year to year a great number of half dollars. He seemed to have obtained them directly from the Mint. Alarmed by rebel incursions, and equally afraid of a visit from Union soldiers, he made them up into several parcels, placed them in iron boxes, and buried the boxes in the ground. Some four years ago he died. Just previous to his death he revealed to his heirs where the money was buried, and they readily found part of the treasure, but it was only after a long search that the whole was discovered. There were originally several thousand of these half dollars.

The same year, 1881, Frank D. Andrews released a 54-page monograph, *A Description of 268 Varieties of United States Cents, 1816-1857, in the Collection of Frank D. Andrews*. Issues were described in minute detail. The edition of Andrews' book was limited to 40 copies, many of which were distributed among his friends. Remaining copies could be obtained for 25c each. The *American Journal of Numismatics* declared that the work was "of absolute necessity to collectors of American copper coins." The same publication noted that the Andrews book was much more scholarly than one published on the same subject by Ed. Frossard, *A Monograph of United States Cents and Half Cents*. Frossard's work was characterized as sloppy and incomplete, whereas Andrews' was noted as being quite precise and definite.

Auction activity continued its strength in 1881. The January 1882 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics* reported on sales of the last quarter of 1881, including Scott's sale on October 10; Woodward's 41st sale on October 25; Woodward's 42nd sale, featuring the John E. Burton Collection, on October 26-28; Woodward's 43rd sale on October 31-November 2; Frossard's 17th sale on December 8; Frossard's 18th sale on December 27; Scott's sale on December 19; Haseltine's sale on November 28-30, which featured a detailed "Type Table" of silver coins; Haseltine's sale of December 12-13 featuring the Louis Grauer Collection; a sale held on December 17 in Boston by a deputy sheriff, coins sold to satisfy creditor's claims; Charles Steigerwalt's 3rd sale, held on December 22; and a sale in London. W. Elliot Woodward reported that he was suffering from a "sad misfortune;" he was called for jury service and expected that some of his future sales previously announced would be delayed.

At the time it was a common practice for a commission of 5% to 10% to be charged to the *buyer* in auction sales. Occasionally reductions were given, as in the

March 13, 1882 sale of John W. Scott's personal collection, catalogued by Scott & Co., and sold at the sale rooms of George A. Leavitt and Co. The catalogue said:

In consideration of there being scarcely any lots in the catalogue worth less than \$2 our commissions will be reduced to 5% for purchasing of this sale. On amounts over \$500, 2½%; and on \$1,000 or over 1%.

The proliferation of studying coins by new die varieties was the subject of criticism by William S. Appleton in the January 1882 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics*. His article, entitled "Numismatics Run Mad," stated:

We can think of no better words [Numismatics Run Mad] to apply to such a pamphlet as the "Haseltine Type Table Catalogue," the contents of which were sold at auction on November 28-30, 1881. The only parts which concern us here are the United States regular coinage; 163 lots of silver dollars, 408 half dollars, 149 quarter dollars. In connection with these, the words "variety" and "varieties" are so used as to make it evident that Mr. Haseltine considers every die, however slightly made different from another, of which it was intended to be an exact reproduction, as constituting a variety. He finds, for instance, thirty dollars of 1798, twenty-three of 1799, thirty-two halves of 1795, etc. In two cases, lots 769 and 776, each as a separate number to a half dollar already described, because part of the profile is double, probably by slipping of the die or planchet; 147 and 149 are so numbered as two varieties, because the die cracked in use; but this is probably an oversight, as in other cases he does not give two numbers to such . . . we are far from saying it is not worthwhile to describe all differing dies, but we must protest against the use of "variety" as applied to such.

On June 20-24, 1882, the collection of Charles I. Bushnell was sold at auction. Bushnell, prominent New York attorney, had died at the age of 70 on September 17, 1880. Earlier, particularly in the 1850s, he was an avid collector and researcher in the field of coins, particularly tokens, medals, and other issues apart from the regular mint series.

Following Bushnell's death, the collection was offered intact by his son at \$10,000. The highest offer received was from Lorin G. Parmelee, a well-known Boston collector, who purchased it for about \$8,000. Parmelee selected the Chapman Brothers, S. H. and Henry, who earlier staged their first auction sale in 1879, to conduct the event, possibly because of their relationship as nephews of Bushnell.

Samuel Hudson Chapman was born on July 15, 1857, in Philadelphia, the son of two Irish immigrants. His younger brother Henry was born in the same city on October 18, 1859. In 1875, Henry Chapman, just 16 years old, was employed by Capt. John W. Hasel-



tine in his Philadelphia coin and stamp store. S. H. Chapman worked in the same dealership. In 1878 they started a business on their own under the name of S. H. & H. Chapman, familiarly known as the Chapman brothers.

With much ambition and a flair for showmanship, they soon incurred the jealousy of Frossard, Woodward, and other dealers, most of whom were quick to point out the slightest deficiency in a Chapman publication. The Bushnell Collection afforded the opportunity for a large white-covered hardbound catalogue with gold lettering on the cover. A special limited edition with twelve pictorial plates was sold for \$5, whereas the regular catalogues were offered for \$1 apiece. Filled with lengthy descriptions, flowery adjectives, and details designed to entice the buyer, the Chapman catalogue was criticized by the *Coin Collector's Journal*, the *American Journal of Numismatics*, *Numisma*, and others. Comments appearing in the *American Journal of Numismatics* in the July and October 1882 issues are humorous when read today, but must have been very embarrassing to the Chapmans at the time. Excerpts:

The sale of the late Charles I. Bushnell's collection is going on in New York, as we are printing the last pages of the *Journal* . . . In the next number we shall have a full notice of it. The catalogue, prepared by the Messrs. Chapman, is a quarto, 136 pages, 3,000 lots. We have had little time for studying it, but must confess to a certain disappointment at its contents . . . This feeling is quite general. Some exception may be properly taken to the expression of "opinion" so freely volunteered by the compilers, both as to the value of the pieces offered and on numismatic points of interest which must be taken with a grain of salt, and to their neglect to give credit to what others have done, but we must regard this as an oversight or an error of judgment . . . A few funny typographical errors have crept in, but the wonder is, in all these catalogues, that no more appear. We notice (in the description of Lot 368) that Harvard has moved down to New Haven . . . A rare Washington piece (Lot 1301) is mentioned as "unknown to Marvin," whereas on page 296 of Marvin's work he expressly refers to the identical piece as probably being in the Bushnell Collection. Of Lot 247 it is said that but three are known. This is doubtless an error; three times that number could readily be traced. The remark under Lot 920 seems to us to be in very questionable taste, to say no more. If they had read ALL that Crosby says, they would not have said what they have. Lot 2117 locates Salem, the home of witchcraft, in New Jersey!

Ed. Frossard, writing in his house organ, *Numisma*, was very acidic.

Except where it could not be avoided, the names of every American authority on coins and medals have carefully been excluded. Statements founded on the expressed and published opinions of others are uttered as if no one had ever before given the subject a thought. See, for instance, the remarks under Lot 247 about the Virginia halfpence. Who discovered these varieties of halfpence? And, who has repeatedly offered them for sale, singly and in sets, was it J. W. Haseltine? Would not the mention of his name have been a slight tribute of respect to him who first led the Chapmans into numismatic byways? This feature may be thought politic, but would it not have been more generous or less selfish to have granted something to others? The Revolutionary Peace Medals, for instance, are generally catalogued according to Mr. Appleton's list, who wrote something worth knowing about Washington medals; the names of Woodward and others are likewise studiously omitted when references to their catalogues are made; this of course is more than selfish, it is simply uncourteous. Messrs. Chapman apparently prefer to leave the collectors in the dark rather than to commit themselves so far as to mention a single name . . . While 50c is only a fair price for this large and handsomely printed catalogue, \$5 is too much by half for the illustrated one. There is but one opinion among collectors on this point. Phototype plates are obtained at very low prices; they are not as costly, handsome, or perfect as the best specimens of the heliotype, and were there 20 instead of 12, \$5 would still be a preposterous price for a coin sale catalogue. The former ridiculous pretensions of the compilers to the effect that the catalogue would form a se-

quel to Crosby's masterly work, *The Early Coins of America*, also fall to the ground . . .

Once the sale took place, Frossard attacked it again:

A plain and correct catalogue would have reflected honor on its compilers, but the Chapman brothers apparently exhausted themselves on the plates and the mechanical part of the work, unconscious of the fact that a proper use of English terms, and intelligible construction, also general accuracy in statements made, are of greater importance in a work of this kind than thick paper, new type, and gilt letters. Careless proofreading, tautology, and exhibition of boastful egotism can be overlooked; hazardous, overdrawn, incorrect statements of history, rarity, and condition, cannot; the latter, rather than the former, are the chief defects of the catalogue, but all combining, help make the Bushnell sale catalogue, as published, unworthy of the collection it is supposed to describe . . .

Frossard then devoted a full page of *Numisma* to criticism of lot descriptions on a coin-by-coin basis. To be sure, Frossard had some good things to say about the sale as well, but overall the review was quite scathing.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS

M

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SALES

OF THE

BUSHNELL, BRADBURY & SHANNON COLLECTIONS.

We would respectfully inform collectors that the celebrated collection of the late CHARLES I. BUSHNELL, Esq., of New York City, has been placed in our hands to catalogue and sell at auction, at an early day.

We expect to hold two sales within the next few months, viz:—

First.—The collection of Mr. H. B. BRADBURY, of Illinois, of American Coins, containing a collection of the United States series, including a 1794 dollar, very fine and rare dimes and half dimes, half-dollars, cents, etc.; and the collection of War Medals and Decorations of the late JOHN R. SHANNON, of Philadelphia, to be sold about April 14th.

Second.—The collection of the late CHARLES I. BUSHNELL, Esq., of New York City, of American Coins and Medals. This will be the finest sale of this description held within the past fifteen years, and, perhaps, the finest ever sold. Mr. BUSHNELL collected only pieces pertaining to this country. Among the Colonials, Washingtons and Early Patterns or issues of the U. S. Mint, are some pieces of the highest rarity, and several unique, and specimens of which have never been sold at auction. All the coins and medals are in the finest possible condition, almost without exception, as Mr. BUSHNELL did not spare expense to improve the condition of them.

The Colonials include the Massachusetts Samaritan Shilling, unique; Brasher's New York Doubloon; New York Excelsior, George Clinton, Liber Natus; Inimica Tyrannis; Virginia Shilling; Lord Baltimore Shilling, Sixpence and Groat in Silver, and Penny in Copper, unique; a Clalmer's Shilling, unique; New Jersey, date under the beam, unique, etc. The Washingtons include five silver half-dollars, one half-dollar, unique; naked bust cent, cents of 1791-2, etc. The Early Patterns or Issues are complete, containing the large Liberty Cent, by Birch; the cent of 1792, reverse, eagle on a globe, unique outside of Mint Cabinet; the Silver Centre Cent; the Disme and Half-Pisme. In the United States Mint issues, the 1794 dollar is fine and a good impression. Many dollars, half-dollars, quarter-dollars, dimes and half-dimes are in extraordinary condition. The cents and half-cents are one of the finest series ever sold, etc. The proof sets date from 1854. The collection of Medals is one of the finest in the country, containing 20 Silver Medals of the Peace of 1783, including the Libertas Americana; the Washingtons embrace several unique, and all the finest known, among them a set of the Season Medals in silver and copper. Those of Franklin, La Fayette, and the Presidents are very fine.

We will charge a small sum for the Catalogue of the Bushnell collection, and intend to make it a work of reference, and not spare expense in the execution of the letter-press. It will always be worth the price. Each copy will cost us for printing alone more than the amount charged. The Catalogue will be quarto size, with a large margin for binding, marking, and pricing.

We will publish a catalogue, with plates of quarto size, by the phototype process. It will require *ten plates* (10), and probably more.

This catalogue will be uniform with Crosby's "Early Coins of America." It will be a sequel to many of the "pieces belonging to an unknown owner" in his work, and which are not in his photographic plates.

The price of the catalogue, postage paid, 40c., 50 cents.

The catalogue and printed list of prices to be sent after sale, \$1.00.

The plate catalogues, 10 plates, quarto. A printed list to be sent after the sale, \$5.

It is our intention to print only about the number of catalogues necessary, and collectors are requested to send in their orders for the catalogues at once, as we desire to know how many will be needed before going to press, about April 10th.

S. H. & H. CHAPMAN,

Numismatists and Antiquaries.

2043 Tower St., Philadelphia.

The Chapman Brothers' 1882 sale announcement

Dear Sir. - Lancaster Jan 2 1882

Yours of 29th with remittance
\$51.65, received with Thanks. The Confederate
Cent I will guarantee original but I was
misinformed in regard to the number struck
which I have learned since cataloguing
to have been 55. Mr Haseltine of Phila has
the last one on which the die broke. All were
issued by Lortie in 1861 though probably without
any authority from the Confederate government.
Will you please look whether lot 18 was
sent with your lots by mistake. It is missing
- probably sent by error with some package.

Yours, truly
Chas. Steigerwalt
130 E. King St
Lancaster
Pa

On January 2, 1882, Charles Steigerwalt, Lancaster, Pennsylvania dealer, writes to T. Harrison Garrett with regard to an original 1861 copper-nickel cent.

MISSOURI NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

The Chapman brothers overcame all of this criticism and went on to become the most respected cataloguers of the next several decades. Nearly a century later, a copy of the much-maligned Bushnell catalogue, the special edition with plates, sold for \$500 to a collector.

Soon thereafter the Chapman brothers sold at auction the Warner Collection, which was described in a magnificent catalogue with photographic plates. Among many other Chapman sales, the Thomas Cleney Collection of December 1890, the Richard B. Winsor Collection of December 1895, the John G. Mills Collection of April 1904, and the H. P. Smith Collection sold in 1906 became famous.

In late 1906 the Chapman brothers dissolved their partnership and entered business independently. Each continued to be prominent in numismatics and to produce auction sales, with Henry, it seems, getting the larger share of the business.

The senior of the two, S. H. Chapman, sold the David S. Wilson Collection in 1907, the Henry L. Jewett Collection in 1909, the Julius L. Brown Collection in 1911, the William F. Gable Collection in 1914, the Charles Gregory Collection in 1916, and the W. H. Hunter Collection in 1920.

His younger brother Henry marketed some of the greatest collections ever to cross the auction block, including the Matthew A. Stickney Collection in 1907, the Capt. Andrew C. Zabriskie Collection in 1909, the George H. Earle Collection in 1912, the Clarence S. Bement Collection in 1916 and 1918, the A. W. Jackman Collection also in the latter year, and the remarkable John Story Jenks Collection in 1921. The latter catalogue stands as the most immense single volume ever produced for a United States auction sale. Seven thousand three hundred and two lots were described. It was Henry Chapman's finest—and best remembered—effort.

S. H. Chapman was particularly interested in photography and conducted many experiments in the field. He concluded that natural sunlight was the best light source, and for this reason he often had to wait for favorable weather before preparing illustrations to be included in the catalogue. In 1923 he published *The United States Cents of the Year 1794*, an error-filled work which was attacked strongly by George H. Clapp, an avid large cent collector who was a co-founder of the Aluminum Company of America. Stung, S. H. Chapman withheld the copies in favor of a revised edition which was subsequently issued in 1926. His knowledge of numismatics was well regarded by his contemporaries.

His death occurred on September 22, 1931, at the age of 75, at his Philadelphia home.

Henry Chapman was likewise regarded as knowledgeable, although a close examination of his catalogues and other writings reveal many inconsistencies and contradictions. Of a more aggressive nature than his brother, Henry was ever willing to seek coins for a customer's want list or to engage in research, often by making inquiries to friends at the Philadelphia Mint, with which both brothers had a close connection over the years. He died at the age of 75 on January 4, 1935, at his home in Philadelphia. Illness had rendered him inactive numismatically for several years preceding.

A highlight of 1883, the year following the Bushnell Collection sale, was the auction on April 10th of the Harold P. Newlin Collection. Charles Steigerwalt, a Lancaster, Pennsylvania, dealer reported on the auction which was conducted by Haseltine:

This gentleman, having made the collection of early half dimes a specialty, spared neither time nor expense for five years in his endeavor to obtain all the known types in the finest possible condition. He finally succeeded in securing some beautiful gems. In addition to this branch, the collection also contained a fine collection of dimes, an almost complete collection of Confederate notes (lacking only three pieces), and other choice coins. The 1802 half dime, a beautiful strictly Uncirculated specimen, was the gem of this collection, and Mr. Newlin gave for it in trade coins which subsequently brought nearly \$500. Many of the choicer pieces came from Europe, from whence many of the choicest of the early coins and prominent collections have originally come. During the early period of the United States Mint the closest relations between the states and the mother country, and the remittances of business or sending to relatives in Europe with specimens of the coinage of the new nation, often probably to numismatists there, has saved many a fine piece, to be rescued, every once in a while, from oblivion by some indefatigable searcher.

On June 7, 1883, Professor Charles E. Anthon died. Born in New York in 1823, he followed the study of history as a profession and became an instructor in Maryland. Beginning in 1852, he was a professor of history and *belles lettres* at the New York Free Academy, later called the College of the City of New York, in which position he continued until his health forced him to stop early in 1883. Around 1863 he became interested in coins. His first purchase was made at the Chilton Collection sale in March 1865. His interest soon spread, and within a short time he had assembled beautiful displays of ancient, world, and American issues. He was an editor of the *American Journal of Numismatics* in its earlier days and furnished many contributions. His contemporaries considered him to be one of the most knowledgeable numismatists and

JOHN W. HASELTINE,

DEALER IN

Curiosities, Coins and Medals, Autographs, Paper Money, &c.,

No. 201 South Eleventh Street.

Philadelphia, *Mar. 6th* 1884

Dear Sir:

I send you by Express for your inspection a very valuable 1792 pattern Cent at \$250.00. I do not think that more than 4 or 5 of these pieces are known, Mr. Crosby I believe only mentions three, the one enclosed has been previous unknown to collectors and has been in the possession of the owner for over 20 years, the inscription on the edge of this piece is the same as the one in the Bushnell sale which sold for \$290.00, the other known varieties have different inscriptions.

Would you care for a Washington $\frac{1}{2}$ Doll. in silver, with the stars grouped about the Eagles head, and not in a circle above, condition nearly very fine, price \$70.00

Yours Resp^{ly}J. W. Haseltine
per.

T. H. Garrett

scholars of the era. His 1883 death, in Bremen, Germany, where he had gone to seek restoration of his health, represented a loss to all who knew him.

Sylvester S. Crosby's personal collection went on the auction block in 1883 under the auspices of Capt. J. W. Haseltine, his 60th sale. Containing many rare colonials, the sale attracted wide attention. Some of the most elusive pieces were purchased by Lorin G. Parmelee.

In July of the same year Charles Steigerwalt's *Coin Journal* reported the sale of one of America's most famous coins to a leading Baltimore collector:

The Berg 1804 dollar sold with the Berg Collection at Bangs and Co., New York, May 24th, brought \$740. It was purchased by Mr. H. Garrett, of Baltimore, Maryland. This gentleman also purchased at the Newlin Sale the 1802 half dime for \$400; at a private sale and on private terms the Brasher New York doubloon, bought by Frossard at the Bushnell sale for E. F. Kuthan, of Burlington, Iowa, for \$505. Mr. Garrett's collection was already very fine, but these late additions to it add considerably to its value, and bring it to the front ranks.

The size, quality, and reputation of the Garrett Collection grew, and by 1885 it was ranked second only to the holdings of Lorin G. Parmelee in its scope.

Numismatic publications on various subjects continued to appear, although the time when a useful priced catalogue of United States coins, revised annually, would be published was still a half century distant. Typical of the ephemeral pamphlets of the mid-1880s was *The Current Gold and Silver Coins of All Nations*, a 22-page monograph by Ivan C. Michels, which listed coins of the United States arranged by years. Under each year listing was given a list of the pieces issued, without reference to mintmark varieties. In the absence of detailed study of mint records (which was not to begin until Edgar H. Adams researched the National Archives in the early 20th century and, beginning in the 1950s, Walter Breen delved into old mint data in depth) there was much speculation and many pet theories concerning the rarity of this or that coin. A Mint record was published showing the coinage of 26,006 \$5 gold pieces in 1801, yet no pieces bearing that date were known to collectors. In later years numismatists became increasingly aware that it was the practice of the early Mint to use dies after the year of their date, for reasons of economy and thrift, so that actual reported mintages might include coins of earlier dates.

The preceding 22-page monograph advanced a unique theory to explain the absence of 1801 half eagles:

On the 10th of June, 1801, the bashaw of Tripoli, a petty prince of the Barbary states, in the north of Africa, declared war against the United States. Ships of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco captured American vessels; and, not satisfied with ordinary piratical plundering, the crew and passengers of the captured vessels were reduced to a condition of servitude. Capt. Bainbridge was dispatched to cruise in the Mediterranean in order to protect American commerce. Before leaving the United States shores it is surmised that the purser of his vessel was provided with half eagles of that year's coinage; if so, it is probable that only a few coins ever reached our shores again.

In the May-June 1884 issue of *Steigerwalt's Coin Journal* the editor claimed a circulation of 1,000 readers. This was probably optimistic, for at the same time Ed. Frossard was only able to garner about a hundred subscribers to his *Numisma*. In the same year W. Elliot Woodward auctioned the Ely Collection, a group of coins remarkable for early United States Proof sets struck in gold (which realized \$45 to \$56 each), silver Proof sets of 1850, 1855, 1857, and 1858, among others, a run of colonials, as well as a good showing of

ANNOUNCEMENT

OF THE SALE OF THE

WARNER COLLECTION.

THE very large and well-known collection of THOMAS WARNER, Esq., of Cohocton, Steuben Co., N. Y., has been placed in our hands to catalogue and sell at auction. This cannot fail to interest every collector, as it contains specimens of all the divisions of Numismatic science. It consists of Coins of all countries and periods, and of modern Medals, comprising—

ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN,

GOLD, SILVER AND BRONZE COINS; ENGLISH COINS,

AMONG WHICH MAY BE REMARKED

OLIVER CROMWELL SOVEREIGN, CROWN, HALF CROWN AND SHILLING, WILLIAM IV CROWN;

FOREIGN GOLD, SILVER AND COPPER COINS AND MEDALS;

AMERICAN COLONIAL AND STATE COINS,

AMONG WHICH MAY BE MENTIONED

NEW ENGLAND SHILLING, LORD BALTIMORE SHILLING, GEORGE CLINTON, IMMUNE AND IMMUNIS COLUMBIA,

STANDISH BARRY THREEPENCE,

SET OF CHALMERS PIECES;

WASHINGTON COINS AND MEDALS,

UNITED STATES COINS.

Modern coins of GOLD, SILVER and COPPER, including the 1794 Dollar, etc., the set of Cents contains pieces from the first to the last issue.

PATTERN PIECES, AMERICAN MEDALS, MASONIC MEDALS, large and fine collection; NUMISMATIC BOOKS, INDIAN ANTIQUITIES, Etc.

We will issue a Catalogue in quarto size, large and with broad margins, (same style as Busch's) containing full descriptions of the principal pieces, and a full list of the principal pieces, at a small price for it, the principal pieces will be sold by lot, and the remainder by the piece. We will also issue a copy with the principal pieces, and a full list of the principal pieces.

The principal pieces will be sold by lot, and the remainder by the piece. A full list of the principal pieces to be sent after sale, and a full list of the principal pieces to be sent after sale, \$5. Orders for the Catalogue will be received by all the other principal dealers, and ourselves.

S. H. & H. CHAPMAN,

Numismatists and Antiquaries,

2009 ARCH ST., PHILADELPHIA.

An 1885 View of Coin Collecting in America

The New York Herald, Sunday, July 19, 1885, contained an article entitled "Among The Coin Hunters", which read in part:

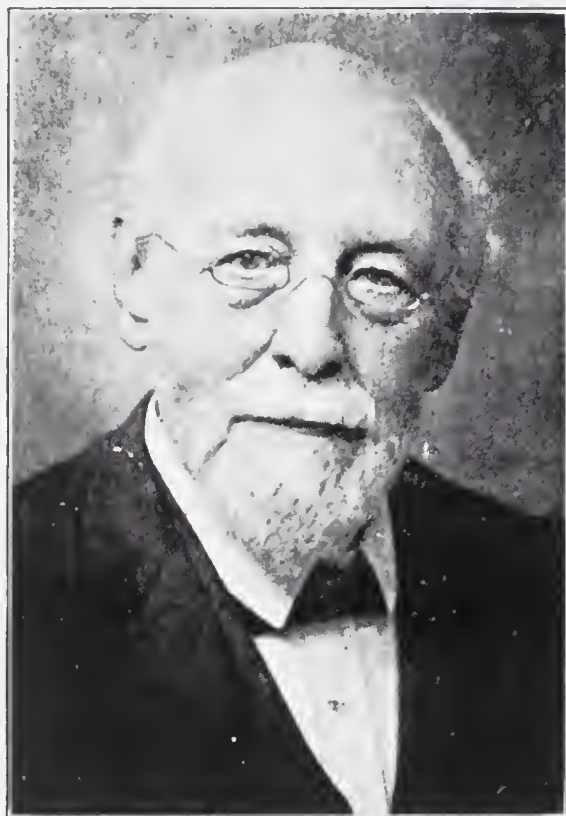
"In the window of an unpretentious store on Broadway rows of coins systematically arranged as to countries and epochs attract the gaze of the loitering passerby. To battered and worn copper cents, intrinsically almost worthless, are fixed prices which seem preposterous to the uninitiated, for they possess little of interest save to the numismatist or coin collector . . .

"A *Herald* reporter recently entered this coin mart and asked a sad-eyed man with a yellow beard, who appeared to be the presiding genius of the place, if he had for sale a certain rare gold piece of the United States mint series. The sad-eyed man did not seem to know whether he had or not and did not take the trouble to look, but he clearly intimated that if there was one in stock his questioner would not buy it. In this the sad-eyed man was quite correct.

"Subsequently, the reporter met a gentleman who has spent much time and money in collecting rare American coins, and from him learned many interesting facts concerning the growth of the science of coinage, the pieces most sought for by collectors, their respective values, and the recent discoveries in the numismatic field.

" 'Here is a curious little coin,' said the numismatist, as he carefully held up between thumb and finger a silver piece about the size of a dime. 'It bears the date of 1783 and is called *the Bit*. The obverse, as you can see, contains the legend "Nova Constellatio," or the new constellation of 13 stars representing the 13 original states, and the reverse "U.S." and "Libertas Justitia." It is interesting from a historical as well as from a numismatic point of view, for the series to which it belongs comprises the earliest effort looking to the establishment of the United States government coinage.

" 'In 1782 Robert Morris, the financier, reported a system of coinage devised by Gouverneur Morris, consisting of the crown of gold the value of 10,000 units or mills, equivalent to \$10; the mark, a silver piece of 1,000 mills or \$1; the quint or half dollar; the bit or 10c piece, and a copper penny. There are but four specimens of this system known to collectors, and these are this bit, one mark, and two quints. Probably no dies were made for the crown or a penny as no specimens of them have been discovered, there is no record of any having been struck. This bit was recently purchased in Scotland by W. Elliot Woodward, of Boston, and brought by him to this country.'



Sylvester S. Crosby

" 'Is the coin very valuable?' asked the reporter.

" 'Yes. Being the only one of the type yet found, it is unique and therefore of the highest rarity. Woodward offered it for sale at auction in New York last month, limiting it at \$550. As it was not bid up to that figure the piece was withdrawn. Just before the bidding commenced a bona fide offer of \$400 was made for it and promptly refused.

" 'That money is generally sought for the advantages and luxuries it will bring,' continued the numismatist, 'goes without saying, but the public in general have but little idea how many rich and cultured men are at present engaged in the collection of rare coins, and what enormous prices they sometimes pay for pieces whose face value is perhaps but a cent. The growth of the science—for it is a science and not a hobby—has been very rapid in the United States during the last few decades. Fifty years ago there were less than a score of collectors, and coins possessed little or no fictitious value. Now there are over 3,000 recognized numismatists in this country . . . [If prices] continue to increase in proportion to the number of collectors, in a few years one must need a moderate fortune to be able to purchase a dozen varieties . . .

" 'Every large city has several dealers who make the buying and selling of coins their exclusive business. Many of

them also publish journals devoted to the subject. By these dealers collections are often catalogued and sold, either privately or at auction, and the dealers themselves dispose of their surplus stock through the medium of the auctioneer. An auction house on Broadway has made a specialty of this branch of the business and annually disposes of 30 or more collections for an aggregate amount of from \$60,000 to \$70,000. It is almost impossible to estimate how many pieces change hands at private sales in the course of a year or what prices they bring, for both the transfer and the consideration are in most cases known only to the persons directly interested.'

" 'Which are the scarcest of the American coins, and at what figures are they quoted?'

" 'The 1804 silver dollar is the Kohinoor [referring to the famous diamond] of coins in this country and commands the highest price. One of this date was sold privately within a year for \$1,200, and another, not so well preserved, brought at auction in this city over \$750. A Philadelphia numismatist recently picked one up at a sale in Germany for the comparatively small sum of \$200.

" 'An almost Uncirculated half dime of 1802—the next rarest piece of the mint coinage, and probably the finest specimen of the date known—belonging to Harold P. Newlin, of Philadelphia, brought \$400 two years ago at public sale. An 1815 half eagle sold recently for \$280, and a quarter dollar of 1827 for \$225. Among the rare silver coins may be cited the dollar of 1794, the half dollars of 1796 and 1797, and the quarter of 1823, any of which, if in fine condition, not infrequently brings \$100 or more. Recent dates in the silver series sometimes command very respectable premiums, such as, for instance, the 20c pieces of 1877 and 1878, which readily command \$3 each, and the 3c pieces of 1864 and 1873 which do not go begging at \$1.50. The silver dollars of 1851 and 1852 are not dear at \$40 each, and that of 1858 is worth in the neighborhood of \$25. Some of the early copper pennies also, if as perfect as when dropped from the mint, are eagerly sought for at high prices. A 1793 cent in this condition brought at auction in this city within a year \$200. Had it been much worn or rubbed, although with well defined date, it might not have realized \$2. An 1804 copper, which had been laid aside and never found its way into circulation, the year previous was knocked down at \$205. A strictly Uncirculated cent of 1799, the rarest of the copper series, if such a one could be found, would probably be valued at from \$300 to \$500.'

" 'The state of preservation has then much to do with the value of even the rarest dates?'

" 'Collectors seem to value a piece almost solely according to its condition, the most trifling scratch, rub, or corrosion materially depreciating its worth. To illustrate this, a silver quarter of 1804, which has been used as money and somewhat rubbed, will bring but \$3 or \$4, but a bright new

one realized in the sale of the Britton Collection \$225. Genuine 1793, 1804, and even 1799 coppers, if very poor, can often can be bought for \$1 or so, and the same can be said of many other rare dates of small intrinsic value.'

" 'Are rare coins often picked up by accident or bought at very low figures from those who are not posted as to their scarcity?'

" 'Not frequently, but instances occasionally come to light. A rare Washington piece (a New Jersey cent of 1787, with the head of Washington on the obverse) was bought several years ago by John W. Haseltine, then a Philadelphia coin dealer, in a lot of coppers which cost him a cent apiece. It afterward found its way into the collection of Sylvester S. Crosby, the distinguished numismatist and author of an exhaustive work on the early coins of America. When Mr. Crosby disposed of his cabinet at auction in this city two years ago, the piece found a purchaser at \$620. It is the only coin of the type known to exist. A few weeks ago a Philadelphia dealer, on a visit to this city, saw in a pile of gold in a money broker's window at the corner of Ann and Nassau streets, a half eagle of 1822, and succeeded in buying it at a premium of \$6. He now values it at just 100 times the amount and as the piece is one of the rarest, if not the rarest of gold coins, the fortunate dealer will probably get his price. The half eagle had lain in the broker's window for a week.'

" 'By whom are the finest cabinets of American coins owned?'

" 'The list is headed by the magnificent collection of Lorin G. Parmelee of Boston, which two years ago was valued at over \$60,000, and is constantly being enriched by additions. Mr. Parmelee is the fortunate possessor of the mark and the two quints, designed by Gouverneur Morris; the unique New Jersey Washington cent, and many other equally rare specimens.

" 'T. Harrison Garrett, of Baltimore, son of the late John W. Garrett, founder and first president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, though a comparatively young collector, bids fair to rival Mr. Parmelee in the number and condition of his rarities, among which are the highly prized 1804 dollar and the \$400 1802 half dime.

" 'Among other notable cabinets may be mentioned those of Matthew A. Stickney of Salem, Massachusetts; R. C. Davis of Philadelphia; Thomas Cleneay of Cincinnati; Charles T. Whitman of Albany; and W. S. Appleton of Boston. Mr. Appleton does not confine himself to the collection of American coins, however, but seeks to compass the coinage of the globe. On account of its magnitude his cabinet is probably of greater monetary value than that of Mr. Parmelee. The United States Mint in Philadelphia possesses a very fine collection, but several pieces of the regular series are missing, conspicuous among which are the 1802 half dime and 1823 quarter of a dollar.' "

dollars, half dollars, quarters, and other series. The sale realized about \$7,300. Subsequently it was announced that the personal collections of two leading dealers of the time, Woodward and Frossard, would be sold at auction in the autumn.

Bidding in the sale of the Thomas Warner Collection conducted by the Chapman Brothers, Patterson DuBois, who took over the duties of his late father, William E. DuBois, as curator of the Mint Cabinet, acquired over 50 pieces of ancient and modern coins, including a 1798 United States dollar with small eagle reverse, a quarter of 1815, an NE shilling, an 1805 dime, an 1853 quarter without arrows at date, Proof cents and half cents of 1856, and an Uncirculated 1824 half eagle. At the time the Mint Cabinet had an annual appropriation of \$300 from which to make purchases.

On April 7, 1884, Edward Cogan, America's first professional numismatist, died. He was survived by several children, including his eldest son Richard who was with the auction firm of Bangs & Co., and the youngest son, George W., who continued his father's coin business in Brooklyn.

In midsummer 1885 the collection of J. Colvin Randall, catalogued by W. Elliot Woodward, was sold at auction by Bangs & Co. The catalogue noted:

Randall, a most important dealer in coins. Handling vast quantities of coins, he has for the last 25 or 30 years been almost earnest and persistent collector, and has made it a constant practice to reserve the finest and rarest pieces which are fallen into his hands during all this.

Indeed, the collection contained a number of outstanding rarities. Baltimore collector T. Harrison Garrett acquired from the sale the finest known specimen of the 1853-O half dollar without arrows and a 1795 silver dollar with a complete Proof surface, among other purchases.

In July 1885 the announcement was made that Ed. Frossard had made a business arrangement with George A. Leavitt & Co., of 787 Broadway, New York, and had been placed in charge of an expanded department with responsibilities concerning sales of coins and medals, postage stamps, antiquities, and related items. On Dec. 31st of the same year Frossard's *Numisma* printed a premature swan song. It noted, in part:

Our principal aim has been to disseminate correct information, especially on the subject of American coinage; nearly all the articles published were original. In fact we now look back upon the last nine years of the most active and laborious, though not the most successful part of our life. This statement may seem strange to some, but most coin dealers will agree with us when we say that no business has greater claim upon one's time, and none requires more

unceasing activity and attention than that of a coin dealer, and if to that you add, say, five hours of other distinct occupations, besides regular publications of a numismatic bi-monthly, it must be granted that very little time is left either for recreation, reading, or study . . .

To those who want a paper devoted strictly to numismatic literature and the current news of sales, etc. we warmly recommend the *American Journal of Numismatics*, published at \$2 per annum, at Boston, Massachusetts. This has always been, is now, and probably will be for many years, the most advanced, temperate, reliable, and interesting of all American publications on numismatic subjects.

Around the same time a bonanza was reported at the San Francisco Mint:

A precious carpet has been destroyed in San Francisco. It had covered the floor of one of the rooms of the Mint and had been used for five years. The dust of the precious metals used in the coinage had, during that period, daily fallen upon it, and when it was taken up the authorities had it cut in small pieces and burned in pans. The ashes were subjected to the process employed with refining dust, and they realized \$2,509. Thus the carpet after years of wear was more precious than when it was new.

For many years Dr. Edward Maris had collected copper coins of New Jersey. On June 21, 1886, the Maris Collection crossed the auction block in Philadelphia at Stan V. Henkels & Co. The prized collection of New Jersey cents, many specimens from which had been used to illustrate the Maris reference book on the subject, was acquired *en bloc* by T. Harrison Garrett.

The following year, 1887, saw the death of Charles Wyllys Betts. Born on August 13, 1845, Betts became interested in coin collecting while a youngster. In 1858 he discovered some dies for Fugio cents which had been located by the finder on the site of the Broome & Platt store in New Haven, Connecticut. The asking price for the group was \$10, a sum that young Betts could not afford, so they were subsequently sold at Betts' suggestion to a collector from New York City. The dies changed hands several times. As of Betts' death in 1887 they were the property of J. Colvin Randall.

Betts entered Yale College in 1863 and graduated in 1868. He then went to Columbia College Law School in New York and graduated two years later, after which he was admitted to the bar. From there he went to Yale for a postgraduate course in the fields of science and literature. These studies were concluded in 1871. During his career as an attorney he took part in much important litigation.

Betts was endowed with a brilliance combined with a sense of caprice which led him in the early 1860s, while still a teenager, to invent some interesting fabrications of colonial American coins, one of which, the so-called

"Novum Belgium" issue, considerably embarrassed Ed. Frossard, who proclaimed it as genuine and as one of the most important numismatic discoveries of all time. Writing to Frossard after the incident, Betts shed some light on his coinage endeavors:

It was in 1860 that I made my first attempt at die cutting, and the occasion was the receipt of a quantity of coins and medals from some New York dealers for inspection. After selecting those which my own collection lacked, I sold the rest to various collectors in New Haven, and thereupon in commemoration of this business enterprise I struck a medal with this obverse: "Connecticut" with three pine trees in center, and on the reverse my own name, with the words "Coins and Medals, New Haven, 1860." About a half dozen were struck in lead and one in copper. The latter is in the Yale College Collection and is a very good impression. The die is altered to 1861.

My next attempt at coinage was a leaden token with the inscription, "Colony of New Yorke," the latter words being on the obverse surrounding a head. One of these tokens I sent to Mr. Mickley of Philadelphia.

It was some time before I acquired sufficient skill to make impressions in any metal but lead. The dies were cut in copper or sometimes brass, and were so soft as to be often destroyed in the attempt to stamp upon copper or silver. I believe that my first successful impression upon copper was from dies having the obverse of the "Nova Eborac" and the reverse "Immunis Columbia."

The dies were cut upon coins of the halfpenny size, either worn smooth or filed away on one side. My only tools were an awl for cutting the letters and the outlines of the figures, and a knife for gouging out the broader parts of the design. When the cutting was finished each die was heated white hot and dipped into cold water. A third smooth copper of the halfpenny size was then heated and placed between the dies, and the three, being quickly rolled together in sheet lead, from a tea box, to prevent them from slipping, were pounded upon an anvil with a six-pound dumb-bell. The heating process gave an air of antiquity to the pieces . . .

Betts then provided a list of a dozen fabrications, including the aforementioned Novum Belgium piece and a fantasy shilling with Five United Colonies of New England, a pine tree, and the date 1643. "There may have been others, but these are all that come to mind which were made without the usual tools," Betts continued, and then he noted further:

Unfortunately someone about 1862 presented me with a set of letters and several engraving tools, and in learning the use of them I made a great number of storecards and medallions, most of which are unique, and all, I think, in the Yale College Collection.

The earlier ones I look upon with some interest because they used to afford me a great deal of amusement, not only in the making, but in the astonishment of collectors when looking over my cabinet.

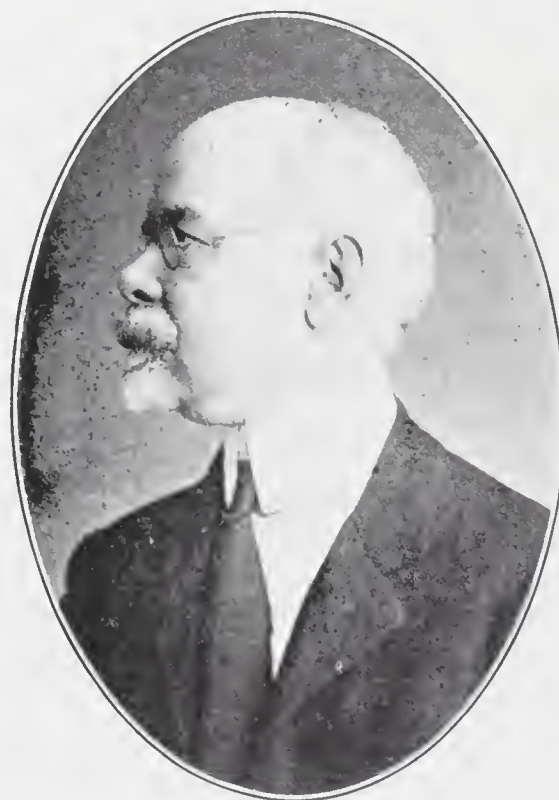
The collection of the late Dr. Henry Linderman was

scheduled to be sold at auction on Tuesday, June 28, 1887, by Lyman H. Low. Before its scheduled sale, the government intervened and it was withdrawn. Linderman, who had supervised operations at the Philadelphia Mint, used his position to enrich his personal holdings, not to mention his pocketbook. Following the withdrawal of numerous pieces which were seized by the government, the Linderman Collection was offered for sale again, this time by Scott Stamp & Coin Co. on February 28, 1888. The preface to the Scott catalogue read:

After mature consideration of all the questions of law and equity involved in the sale of trial and experimental pieces formerly classed as "pattern" pieces made at the United States Mint, the government has allowed us to sell the celebrated Linderman Collection. The decision of the government can be summed up as follows:

"The sale of experimental pieces made in 1888 or thereafter, and unless in the metal in which the coins were issued for circulation, is prohibited." The latter portion of the decision is retroactive and covers the period prior to 1888, as well as that subsequent to it.

Under this decision we have been constrained to withdraw the following lots from the Linderman Collection: 55, 76, 90, 96, 116, 117, 126, 127, 128, 162, 163, 171, and to reduce the number of pieces in the following lots: 80, 135, 136. With the above-named exceptions the catalogue is an exact reprint of the catalogue prepared by the late firm of Lyman H. Low & Co. in June 1887 . . .



LYMAN H. LOW.

Lyman H. Low, one of the most prominent dealers beginning in the 1880s, held 211 auction sales during his numismatic career, the final one being on December 1, 1923. He served as an editor of the *American Journal*

An 1895 Tour Among the Coin Dealers

In January 1895 the readers of *The Numismatist* were treated to an interesting article, "A Tour Among the Coin Dealers," by Augustus G. Heaton, a frequent contributor to *The Numismatist* and the person who had several years earlier advanced the interest in collecting mintmarks of United States coins by publishing a monograph on the subject. Heaton noted that the average member of the American Numismatic Association did not have the opportunity to visit dealers in person but was only able to deal by mail. His article, he stated, "will not only give greater confidence to distrustful or hesitating buyers and their efforts to improve their collection, but will equally benefit all sellers whose integrity and responsibility is evinced in insuing transactions."

The "tour" began in New York City:

"The Scott Stamp and Coin Company has become a conspicuous location on Madison Square, one of the handsomest centers of the metropolis. The stamp department occupies the large and deep first floor of the building and many clerks are employed. The coin department is in a basement floor nearly level with the pavement. Near the show window two or three young ladies are behind a counter, busy at desks, or showing any desired part of the coin stock of several large fireproofs [safes] to the customers. Many coin publications are on the counter. Far in the rear, in a skylit office and numismatic library, is found Mr. Lyman H. Low, the manager. He is a scrupulously attired gentleman in middle life, with white hair, mustache and goatee, a military aspect, but with a brisk genial manner. He is a member of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society of New York, one of the editors of the *American Journal of Numismatics*, and a man of great experience in the science and of sagacity in business.

"The New York Stamp and Coin Company is located in a spacious room on the second floor of a large building on Union Square. Its manager is D. [David] Proskey, still a young man but one of the best numismatic judges of coins in the trade and very just in valuation. He employs a clerk or two. The room contains a large stock of coins and stamps as well as minerals, curiosities, etc. Mr. H. P. Smith, wealthy collector and a shrewd numismatist, is the capitalist of the business and has brought several of the largest American collections into the market. He is often at the room and at sales and his friendly advice is of great value.

"Not far away along 14th Street is found a well known expert, Mr. Ed. Frossard, who, though of French origin, has an Anglo-Saxon stability of temperament. He is a rather

large middle aged man of smooth shaven, pleasant face. He has merely a desk and small fireproof in the office of an insurance company and carries little stock, but generally has some choice pieces to show and often more or less of some collection entrusted to him to be catalogued and sold. He issues at intervals a sheet entitled *Numisma* and has a wide correspondence regarding coins, curios, and objects of historic interest.

"Going down Broadway, one finds in a third floor front room the latest location of Mr. W. P. Brown, a rather taciturn and bearded philosopher who is most actively occupied in stamps and publications, but has a coin stock which has for years proved worth occasional visits from alert collectors.

"In the middle of downtown business life on John Street will be found the J. W. Scott Company. It occupies a spacious lower floor with two show windows on the street, and its manager, Mr. Scott, and a number of clerks are busy behind the counters and at desks over a large stamp trade. Coins, though subordinate, received considerable attention, and very choice pieces of all kinds are frequently to be found. Numismatic publications are also on hand.

"From this point it does not take long to reach a ferry and train and extend our tour to Philadelphia. Quaker city dealers are notable in giving no outward sign of their occupation, and for their domestic conduct of it. The small door plate HENRY CHAPMAN on a large single house of the quiet Philadelphia type in the best residential section of the city is the only evidence of a widely known firm of brothers of that name. Running the gauntlet of several Scotch terriers, the visitor ascends to a long second floor back room crowded with cabinets, bookcases and tables, pictures, curios, and antiquities. Everything indicates a pressure of business, but a genial reception and rich display of coins awaits the buyer. S. H. Chapman, who is approaching middle life, has very dark hair and beard, a rather pale studious face and large brow and in traveling through Greece in pursuit of numismatic treasures which are his special 'cult,' was always supposed a native. He is a skilled amateur photographer. Mr. H. Chapman is an attractive young gentleman with brown hair, cordial manner, and a fine fresh complexion, but there is nothing 'fresh' about him in business. Both brothers are bachelors and enjoy society, even beyond the Philadelphia brand. The sale catalogues of this firm are unequalled in their accuracy, style, and good taste.

"J. Colvin Randall, a veteran in numismatics, has an at-

tractive residence in the fashionable part of the city. He is well off and keeps up his interest in coins merely as a pastime. His 'den' is a second story back room which is full of cabinets, loaded bookshelves, rare prints, and curios. He has a shrewd genial face fringed with short grey hair and beard, talks fluently in clear cut Saxon, enjoys story telling and with special gusto, when someone's blundering in coins is subject of merriment. From May to November, however, he annually sheds his numismatic shell on the Jersey shore and then collectors may bait their hooks for him in vain.

"Dr. E. [Edward] Maris, whose celebrity as a coin expert and classifier is known to all experienced collectors, is a physician of repute and a member of the Society of Friends. He is now rather advanced in age and occupies a plain, commodious dwelling in the lower part of the city which bears simply his name on a doorplate. The genial doctor is one of the kindest and most conscientious of men. He is rather tall and spare, has a prominent nose and a face of generally strong character, clean shaven, except short side whiskers. The Friend's language is used with a winning voice and altogether one, in meeting him, reveres the moral strength which must have been exercised by such a man as a coin dealer. Of late years, however, he has largely relinquished his temptations, although having collections occasionally confided to him for sale by some intimate or correspondent who would not trust everybody.

"The American Stamp and Coin Company is a new Philadelphia claimant for numismatic business. It is notable from having a show window up Chestnut Street, though as yet the coin stock seems moderate and the stamp business is principal activity.

"Mr. Mason [E. B. Mason, Jr.], long prominent as a Boston coin dealer and editor, has a small shop in Philadelphia near City Hall where he sells coins, stamps, books, stationery, etc. Being thinner than of old and clean shaven, he would not at first be recognized by former patrons. A mention of this dealer leads us next to the city where he was once an authority.

"Mr. H. E. Morey was found by us when last in Boston in a narrow winding street of that city's busiest and most labyrinthine section, in an office on the second floor. A counter and showcase full of coins protected him from the class of people who want to know the premium on V nickels and '53 quarters with rays, and a big fireproof contained stock for a higher class of visitors. There was a little inner room also for retreat and possibly editorial labor, as Mr. Morey issues a little sheet called the *Numismatic Quarterly and Catalogue*. He is a middle-aged rather quiet man wearing spectacles and has the air of a schoolmaster.

"On a wide street in the same section of the city we found on a third floor front room of an office building the so-called 'Numismatic Bank' of W. Von Bergen. The room

contained a long counter and showcase of assorted coins, a safe or two, a young lady clerk at a table, and the dealer who is a rather large man with a dark beard and the deliberate manner of his nationality. We drew a few satisfactory copper coins from the 'bank' and made a deposit of some greenbacks and silver to add to its capital.

"From Boston we take a flying leap to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. There, in a prominent street, but beyond the business section, we find a low unpretentious but commodious three quarter dwelling where Charles Steigerwalt does quietly by correspondence more business than many merchants. A little ground floor room contains much of his stock which, however, is scattered in part through the house, as but few buyers make a personal visit. For the same reason, his coins are mostly in envelopes ready to mail. The well known dealer is a man of medium height and weight with brown hair and mustache, pleasant face, gentle manner and voice, rather quiet, and middle-aged. His frequent voluminous catalogues, extensive travel to visit large collectors and attend auctions, and his unrelenting attention to business have made Lancaster a numismatic metropolis.

"Baltimore comes next in our tour. Dr. George Massamore is there to be sought in two or three places. As a coin dealer, he has a counter, showcase, and fireproof and show window in one side of the store on North Charles Street, the other side being given up to an optician's business. As a dentist he is found at times at his residence, and as a politician he has long held some office at this City Hall. There he is perhaps now less occupied, as the Republicans have been drawing so many teeth of late that his party has very little of even a jaw left. Dr. Massamore is of middle age, of mild pleasant manner, somewhat bald, and has been known many years as a coin dealer of experience and a cataloguer of many collections.

"From Baltimore we journeyed to Washington. There a Mr. B. H. Collins, who was many years in highly responsible positions under Republican administration, has been persuaded by President Cleveland to devote himself entirely to longstanding personal predilections for the purchase and sale of coins, curios, gems, antique jewelry, rare glass, paintings, and a variety of aesthetic objects. His business parlors are on the first floor of his dwelling in the best business section of the city and are full of interesting things of preceding classification. Mr. Collins is prematurely grey, but of animated and very social disposition, and his experience, remarkable memory, and great enthusiasm make his shop very interesting. His private collection of cents is doubtless the best that exists.

"We now turn our attention to Cincinnati. Mr. Mercer, the only coin dealer, we think, in that city, has a spacious store in the principal business street near the station. He also deals in stamps and curios in great variety and, while fre-

quently having desirable coins, is often indisposed, from general business distractions, to show other pieces than those a collector knows that he needs. This saves time where triflers are in question, but advanced collectors are often tempted by an ample display of stock to buy additional coins.

"We will end our tour in the western metropolis Chicago. Stevens & Co. are found in the third or fourth floor of a large office building in the business center. The 'Co.' we have never seen, but Mr. Stevens is nearly always on deck entrenched behind a line of counters and showcases with a big fireproof at hand. He is a bearded philosopher of a social type, and when stamps and coins and idiotic inquirers are not absorbing his time, is always ready to discuss finance, religion, anarchism, or other weighty topic without gloves.

"In addition to the professed coin dealers thus far mentioned, we know personally a number of persons who do a small traffic in connection with some quiet distinct business, but think that they should not be mentioned in line with the regular trade, especially as they are mostly adequate to local patronage only.

"There are a few prominent dealers we know by correspondence merely and cannot therefore have the pleasure of introducing by description. The advertising columns present some of these, but all others interested can thus have their opportunity. In this article we give simply our personal observation without intending to express preference or give advice. Neither would we desire collectors to accept unreservedly the impressions of dealers in regard to each other as jealousies of competition are intense, friendships and enmities undergo phenomenal change, and no one is without some bitter accuser. One collector may have the pleasantest relations with a dealer that another would soon renounce. Each collector, therefore, must learn by personal experience where to buy and when to transfer his patronage. But if a collector understands some trade estimates of the condition of coins, studies priced catalogues to have some idea of values, gives some evidence of his responsibility, gets coins if possible on approval before purchase, pays promptly and promptly returns pieces not desired, he will be apt to get along without many difficulties or suspicions and have the favorable consideration of most of the trade."



of *Numismatics* for 15 years. In addition he produced a number of monographs and articles, the best known of which is his work on Hard Times tokens. Low died at his home at 28 Clinton Place, New Rochelle, New York, on February 10, 1924, at the age of 79. His wife, the former Miss Ella Mordaunt Peshine, had died five years previously. Earlier, Low gave an account of his life in coins:

Coins first attracted my attention in 1856. The fever continued possibly for a year and then other subjects engrossed me, doubtless from lack of congenial companionship, for I knew but one collector, and it was he who inspired me. I had not yet learned of a dealer, though Henry Cook of Boston—my native place—was engaged in business at the time. The summit of my joy was reached, and my El Dorado found at the toll house on the Boston side of the Chelsea Ferry, where I made weekly visits on Saturday afternoons and looked over a box of odd pieces. It was a custom of the tollman to accept anything having the semblance of a coin. If it proved to be something else than a piece of United States mintage it was thrown into this box. But nothing of special importance was ever secured, for my knowledge was limited, and my pocketbook small. My recollections are that Connecticut cents, Hard Times tokens, and an occasional store card composed the bulk of my treasures. It seems worthy of comment that I never found a half cent in any of the claims I prospected. It is certain at that period none were in circulation in Massachusetts. When the Civil War came on I took my collection to a State Street broker and sold it for \$5. I have never forgotten my first small accumulation.

During the Civil War more important matters demanded my time, and in the years which followed, until 1878, the subject was dormant. In that year, when I was a commercial traveler, I was sojourning in the West, on the Mississippi River, just below St. Paul. Many foreign copper and silver coins were in circulation in that community, and I soon found myself making a collection of the various kinds I met with. By this means I became acquainted with three collectors in the town, and their hoards were sufficient to rekindle the flame of 20 years previous. My ardor was thoroughly aroused, and the interest I took was intense. I dreamed and talked of coins incessantly. But I soon became rational, and launched into the subject in sober earnest. Almost immediately I began to sell as well as to purchase. The captures, whether of pieces or of customers, were not large or important. In the fall of 1879, after returning to New York from one of my trips, I passed the old store of Bangs & Co. on Broadway, opposite Astor Place, and read the bulletin at the door, "Coin Sale Today." A few brisk steps took me up into the spacious rooms, where the coins of the late Theodore Riley were displayed on those long flannel-covered tables, which some of you perhaps remember. I attended the sale that afternoon, and most of those that followed, whenever I was able to do so.

In 1883 I made dealing in coins my exclusive business, beginning at 838 Broadway. When I offered my collection, numbering some 15,000 pieces, to buyers, it was chiefly composed of copper coins. My career since that time is fairly

recorded in the catalogues with my public sales, the first being that of the late Alexander Balmano of Brooklyn . . .

During the Civil War, Low served with Company B, 13th Massachusetts Volunteers. Following the conflict, he went back to Boston, then in 1870 he went to New York. As noted, he entered numismatics full time in 1883 (by an association with Westermann & Co.). He then went to Scott Stamp & Coin Co., where he served as manager at the 178 Fulton Street outlet. He remained with the firm until 1896. In that year he went into business for himself as a dealer and auctioneer. In 1911 he moved to New Rochelle, New York, where he remained for the rest of his life.

The 1890s—"Mintmarks"

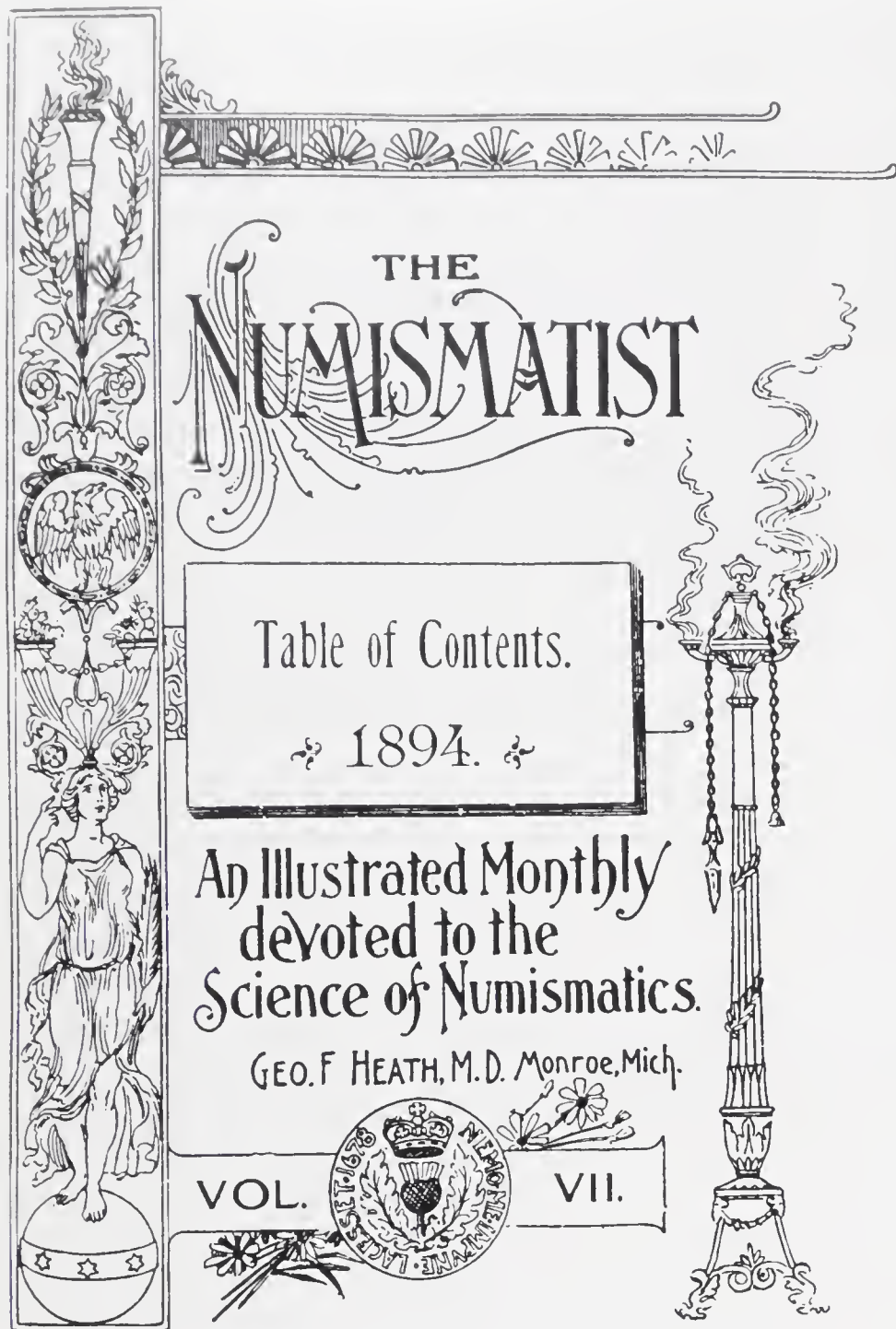
The 1890-1900 decade was initiated by the sale at auction of the Lorin G. Parmelee Collection. Catalogued by David Proskey and H. P. Smith of the New York Coin & Stamp Co., the sale featured 1,443 lots and was sold in the rooms of Bangs & Co.

Proskey, who began his interest in numismatics at an early age, was well known for his deep knowledge. A contemporary described him as being the best informed of the New York dealers. His business associations were several, and included the Scott Stamp & Coin Co., New York Coin & Stamp Co., and his own business. Among the many outstanding coins he handled are numbered pieces from a large hoard of Uncirculated Fugio cents which he offered for sale for \$1 each. Presumably these were from the large Bank of New York hoard which was discovered before the Civil War when the bank's old building at 48 Wall Street was demolished.

The Parmelee Collection, sold by Proskey and his partner in 1890, was considered to be the finest cabinet in America. Important among the specimens included were Nova Constellatio patterns in silver, one of two known examples of the Gloucester shilling, a 1787 Brasher doubloon, and the exceedingly rare 1776 Continental dollar in silver.

In 1891 the American Numismatic Association was founded. *The Numismatist*, a periodical established in 1888 by Dr. George F. Heath of Monroe, Michigan, was adopted as the organization's spokesman. Each issue contained news, answers to queries, an article or two, and a section of mail order advertisements.

A landmark in numismatic publishing occurred in 1893 when *A Treatise on the Coinage of the United States Branch Mints*, by Augustus G. Heaton, appeared. Prior to that time branch mints were a neglected field. Al-



An early cover of The Numismatist, official journal of the American Numismatic Association.



Official photograph of the 1894 American Numismatic Association convention held in Detroit.

though occasional references appeared concerning them in the *American Journal of Numismatics* and elsewhere, by and large they were ignored. Collectors were interested only in assembling date sequences of coins. Whether a coin had a mintmark or not seemed to be of little importance. For example, during the early 1870s, when the Carson City Mint was in its formative years, many silver issues were produced in exceedingly limited quantities. Although the affairs of the Carson City Mint were reported from time to time in collectors' publications, apparently no one had the interest or inclination to seek out the early dimes, quarters, half dollars, and other issues produced there. On the other hand, coins of the Philadelphia Mint, particularly pattern issues and Proofs, were eagerly sought and were the subject of many detailed articles and discussions.

Heaton's book told about the branch mints and described the New Orleans, Dahlonega, Charlotte, San Francisco, and Carson City coining establishments together with their identifying mintmarks. In the introduction, Heaton stated:

The writer, a few years since, after enriching his almost complete collection of silver and minor issues of the parent institution [Philadelphia] with all attainable varieties, became much interested in gathering United States coinage bearing the letters [mintmarks] to which he has referred. The attraction of his pursuits grew with each piece acquired, each series completed, and each unknown variety found, until his modern dates quite divided his consideration with the old. The difficulties encountered were the lack of any guide-book to this new territory, the remoteness of the very few collectors who were also attracted to it, the absence of information among collectors at large, as well as dealers and experts wise in older coinage, and consequently the entirely haphazard search for desired mintmarks among the large stocks in private accumulation, because such pieces were not distinguished from similar Philadelphia dates and saved in appreciation of a separate table of values.

The need for distinct estimates was evident. Preliminary searching proved that the rarity and consequent value of pieces of the same date from different mints were scarcely ever equal, and that some dates necessary to complete branch mint sequences never came into view . . .

Heaton examined coins as he could find them, for few auction catalogues or reference books even mentioned mintmarks. Heaton noted:

Such a search has only been delayed by the absence of exact lists of coins known to exist, close descriptions of them, and, in fact, some other information than that given in occasional catalogues of coin sales of stray mintmark pieces which the owner usually has acquired by chance on account of the date or condition alone.

This needed information, and our view at large upon the collection of branch mint coinage, we have decided to present publicly, as a cause of new interest in the United States

coinage at the beginning of its second century of existence, that others attracted to mintmarks may better know what they require; that general attention may be given to a most fascinating branch of numismatic study, and that rare or scarce branch mint pieces may be sooner rescued from circulation and new varieties found.

Heaton was eager to spread the word concerning mintmark collecting. In his preface he noted that:

The collection of the coinage of branch mints, in addition to that of Philadelphia, will not only sustain interest in the nation's coinages as a whole, and especially in the issues of the last half century, but will be found worthy of the enthusiasm of both the young collector and the most advanced numismatist.

He went on to list 17 distinct advantages of collecting mintmarks including:

1. Mintmarks in their progressive issue at New Orleans, Dahlonega, Charlotte, San Francisco, and Carson City showed the direction of our country's growth and its development of mineral wealth.
2. Mintmarks in their amount of issue in varied years at different points offer the monetary pulse of our country to the student of finance.
3. The denominations of any one branch mint, in their irregular coinage and their relation to each other at certain periods, indicate curiously particular needs of the given section of the land.
4. A knowledge of the branch mint coinage is indispensable to an understanding of the greater or lesser coinage of the Philadelphia Mint and its consequent numismatic value.
5. A knowledge of the coinage of the different branch mints gives to many usually considered common dates great rarity as certain mintmarks are upon them.
6. Mintmark study gives nicety of taste and makes a mixed set of pieces unendurable.
7. Several dies were used at branch mints which never served in the Philadelphia coinage, and their impressions should no longer be collected as mere varieties.
8. The varied irregularity of dates in some denominations of branch mint issues is a pleasant exercise of memory and numismatic knowledge.
9. The irregularity in date, and in the distribution of coinage, gives a collection in most cases but two or three and rarely three or more contemporaneous pieces, and thus occasions no great expense.
10. As the branch mints are so far apart the issues have a character of those of different nations, and tend to promote correspondence and exchange, both to secure common dates and fine condition and the rarities of each.
11. The United States coinage has a unique interest in this production at places far apart of pieces of the same value and design with distinguishing letters upon them.
12. As mintmarks only occur in silver and gold coins they can be found more often than coins of the baser metals in fine condition, and neither augment nor involve a collection of the minor pieces.

13. As mintmarks have not heretofore been sought, or studied as they deserve, many varieties yet await in circulation the good fortune of collectors who cannot buy freely of coins more in demand, and who, in having access to large sums of money, may draw therefrom prizes impossible to seekers after older dates.

14. The various sizes of the mintmarks O, S, D, C, and CC ranging from the capital letters of average booktype to infinitesimal spots on the coin, as well as a varied location of these letters, defy any accusation of monotony, and are far more distinguishable than the characteristics of many classified varieties of old cents and colonials.

15. Mintmarks include noble enough game for the most advanced coin collector, as their rarities are among the highest in value of the United States coinage, and their varieties permit the gathering in some issues of as many as six different modern pieces of the same date.

16. The face value of all the silver mintmarks to 1893 being less than \$150, they are within the means of any collector, as, aside from the economy of those found in circulation, the premiums for rarities are yet below those on many coins of far inferior intrinsic worth.

17. As the new mint at Philadelphia will have a capacity equal to all existing United States mints, it is probable that others will be greatly restricted or even abolished in no long time, and that mintmarks will not only cease, but be a treasure in time to those who have the foresight to collect them now.

Augustus Heaton promoted his book vigorously for many years. Collecting by mintmark varieties became extremely popular, and by the middle of the 20th century great premiums were attached to coins which differed from each other only by the presence of an identifying mint letter. For example, an 1894-S dime, struck in San Francisco in 1894, was valued at hundreds of times the premium assigned to the same design dime from the Philadelphia Mint.

Heaton became president of the American Numismatic Association. At the 1894 convention of the group held in Detroit, Heaton delivered a paper entitled "Auction Sales of Coins," which was later reprinted as a feature article in *The Numismatist*. Behind-the-scenes activity at certain auction sales was discussed, with both good and bad points being brought out. On the dark side it was alleged that certain buyers sometimes had their private pick of collection gems before the sale was catalogued. This was hardly news, for any astute reader of *The American Journal of Numismatics* or other numismatic periodicals of preceding decades would have known that this was often a favorite practice of dealers and collectors. Lorin G. Parmelee, for example, was well-known for buying a collection just to secure several desired pieces from it, and then auctioning the remainder. Heaton went on to

say that a dealer, representing his client at the sale (and charging a client a commission accordingly), could:

. . . take advantage of a bidder by sending him an inferior coin of the same character from his own stock if he covets the one bought . . . many other means of deceit will suggest themselves.

It was further noted that some commoner coins were sold so low that, after auction commissions were deducted, a higher price would have been realized by the owner by spending the pieces for face value.

This broadside at the auctioneering business brought a quick reaction in the form of a printed protest signed by Lyman H. Low (who at that time was associated with Scott Stamp & Coin Co.), the Chapman brothers, and David Proskey. Their answer to the Heaton diatribe noted that the original article was:

. . . a remarkable production and calls for notice, not so much by reason of the ignorance displayed by the writer of the subject of which he treats, as the undercurrent of malicious representation which pervades it . . . It is a matter of curious speculation from what source Mr. Heaton obtained a knowledge of all these and "many other means of deceit" practiced at sales, as his presence is about unknown; we have no distinct recollection of his having ever attended the sales . . .

The auctioneers went on to call Heaton "willful slanderer" and a "moral coward." The exchange continued as ANA President Heaton replied to the dealers:

. . . I am surprised at its stupidity and the curious excitement of its perpetrators . . . Despite the protest's evasive insinuation, I have attended several auction sales where the dealers signing it were present . . . My article on "Auction Sales of Coins" is considered by Mr. Low and his newly beloved bedfellows in the protest as insulting to the dignity of dealers and full of evil insinuations without proof. He has lately most kindly provided me with far more entertaining matter than I ever have been fortunate enough to witness and with a far more incriminating opinion of one prominent dealer, at least than I should have ever ventured to write. At a recent auction sale in New York, he, the conscientious Mr. Low, in his least beautiful phraseology as seen in the protest, ventured to call the prominent dealer and expert "a liar." Numismatic criticism is rarely so frank and so public and the accused gentleman proceeded forthwith to make a vigorous personal attack. The two numismatic sages were soon mixed up on a dusty floor in a manner that would have made football adversaries envious of their combat qualities, until, in a badly circulated condition, they were dragged apart by dismayed spectators . . . I will spare further shattering of our numismatic idols by avoiding any further reference to their doings at auction sales hereafter . . .

The Numismatist, after printing the charges and counter-charges, declared that the columns were hereby closed to the matter, and further charges would be referred to the American Numismatic Association

Board of Governors and not printed for all to read.

Controversy provided much spice during the late 19th century. Dealers were very liberal with their opinions, especially concerning competitors, and did not hesitate to spread them in print. A sour grapes attitude often prevailed, with the result that one dealer's major accomplishment in the way of an auction catalogue, discovery of a new coin variety, or other feat, would often be derided.

The dimes, quarters, and half dollars designed by Charles Barber and introduced in 1892 were not popular with collectors. It was contended that these pieces were mere tokens, devoid of artistic merit. Earlier, in 1878, even more complaints had been voiced by collectors concerning the new Morgan silver dollar design. In 1895 *The Numismatist* noted that the National Sculpture Society, acting in unison with the American Numismatic Society, was going to have an exhibition at the Fine Arts Building on 57th St., New York City, "at which designs for a new goddess of Liberty will be shown and for which two prizes of \$300 and \$200 will be given." The article went on to say that:

All the sculptors and artists in the United States have severely criticized the existing coinage. The designs of European coins, they declare, are infinitely superior. The French coins are probably the most artistic of any, although the St. George and Dragon of the British sovereign is undoubtedly a very handsome and artistic design. The first impression which the head of Liberty on the silver dollar gives, so say the sculptors, is that of weakness and indecision. This is not befitting a powerful, progressive nation like the United States. Sculptors also criticize the pose of the eagle . . .

A number of beautiful designs were submitted, but nothing ever came of the competition or the complaints so far as effecting a change in coinage designs. On several occasions during the 20th century artistic designs dated 1895 and ostensibly representing patterns for United States coins surfaced in numismatic periodicals and were the subject of much mystery and speculation, the 1895 competition by that time having been long forgotten.

By 1897 the American Numismatic Association had over 300 members, about one third of whom were delinquent in dues. The initial enthusiasm and momentum was lost about this time, perhaps due to the fact that two recent annual conventions were "flops" (in the words of *The Numismatist*) and to the ill feelings caused against the ANA, particularly on the part of dealers, by the loose pen of President Augustus G. Heaton. *The Numismatist*, still owned by Dr. George F. Heath, divorced itself from the ANA and no longer was its official publication. Without dealer support, and with collector interest slackening, it seemed as though the ANA might not survive. Finally, in 1899, following two years of estrangement, the ANA and *The Numismatist* rejoined company. Interest increased, the organization prospered, and before long the shaky period was forgotten.

A survey in 1900 showed that there were 21 full-time and part-time rare coin dealers in the United States. There were several thousand serious collectors, many of whom ordered Proof coins from the Mint each year. 1904 saw the American Numismatic Association membership stand at several hundred, of which only 40 were west of the Mississippi River. Twelve states had no members at all. The organization's periodical, *The Numismatist*, was becoming established as the main publication for current numismatic notes and events. In the meantime the American Numismatic Society was prospering, but in a more elite way. The same year, 1904, saw J. P. Morgan and Cornelius Vanderbilt join the Society. *The American Journal of Numismatics*, which during the 19th century had been the main numismatic publication, was becoming more specialized in its thrust, with erudite monographs filling much space. Items of current popular interest and controversy were printed infrequently. By a quarter century later, the American Numismatic Society in New York was the realm of the serious student and advanced collector, while the American Numismatic Association, with many more members, captured the public interest, held regular annual conventions, and served as a forum for the mainstream of numismatic activity.

20th Century Numismatics

2

The New Century Begins

In June 1903 young B. Max Mehl, of Ft. Worth, Texas applied for membership in the American Numismatic Association. In the December 1903 issue of *The Numismatist* the first of hundreds of Mehl advertisements that would be printed in that publication over the next 50 years made its appearance. The initial advertisement was a mail auction containing less than \$50 worth of coins, including five separate lots of circulated Columbian half dollars which Mehl undoubtedly had taken from circulation. Soon his advertisements offered the *Hub Coin Book* for sale. Then the *Star Rare Coin Encyclopedia* made its appearance. The latter book sold millions of copies over the years and was vigorously promoted by direct mail, newspaper, and even radio advertising. By 1952 the 55th edition had been published. This particular volume contained 208 pages of information. An overview of the history of money was given, together with a description of terms, information concerning mints, and related items. Then followed a listing of United States copper, silver, and gold coins, including commemoratives, together with prices paid, usually stated in a range such as \$10-\$30. For the famous 1913 Liberty head nickel he offered \$500, and for the unique Templeton Reid \$25 gold piece (the only known specimen was stolen from the United States Mint in 1858) he was quite safe in offering \$2,500, knowing that no one would take him up on the offer.

Throughout the book were sprinkled articles on various topics as diverse as encased postage stamps, Canadian issues, foreign and ancient coins, and other essays—including a lengthy dissertation on the 1877 \$50 gold pattern. Here and there throughout the *Star Rare Coin Encyclopedia* were pictures of B. Max Mehl himself, his offices, a huge stack of mail, and related things. At the end of the catalogue was an invitation

for the reader to become a coin collector by ordering special sets for beginners.

Mehl, born in Lithuania in 1884, came to America in 1893. Years later he gave a view of how his business started:

I discovered that my then meager earnings as a clerk [in a shoe store] went into my equally meager coin collection, which I must have started during my cradle days, as I do not recall my ever not being interested in coins. I heard of and read about the great rarities, which I did not even hope to see, much less to own. I thought that by dealing in coins it may be possible for me, if not to add to my earnings, to at least add to my numismatic joy.

An initial small advertisement brought fair results. I worked at the store during the day, and at numismatics during the evening and late into the night. Within two years I made sufficient progress and felt safe to take a chance and “resign” my clerkship and venture out as a full-fledged “numismatist.”

In 1903 my first coin circular appeared; in 1904 my first fixed price catalogue, the *Hub Coin Book*, made its appearance, and in 1906 my first auction sale made its debut. I was the cataloguer, typist, secretary, mail clerk, etc. My establishment consisted of a second-hand desk at home. It was then that I observed that the numismatic business was still being conducted in ruts made 30 or 40 years before. I noticed that no effort was being made by anyone to popularize coin collecting and create new collectors.

The idea occurred to me to try advertising in general publications. My first “large” advertisement appeared in *Collier's*, a five-liner, at the huge cost, at least to me then, of \$12.50. The results were gratifying. In the same year, 1906, I felt sufficiently warranted and financially able to move out of my “home office” into a small rented desk space in a downtown office. A year later, 1907, I experienced the thrill of moving into a real office; of course, only a single room, but nevertheless a real office. I could even afford the luxury of an assistant then . . .

I continued to expand my advertising in general publications so that in a few years I felt justified and able to plunge and pay \$1,000 for a single advertisement, a quarter page in

Collier's. By 1912 my business had prospered to the extent that it required an entire half floor of office space in a downtown office building, and a staff of 10 assistants.

During the next half century the name of B. Max Mehl became a byword on the American scene. His *Star Rare Coin Encyclopedia* achieved such a wide circulation that one municipal authority complained that the progress of streetcars was being impeded while conductors stopped to look through their change in hopes of finding a rare 1913 Liberty head nickel, for which Mehl offered to pay a fantastic price.

In addition to dealing with the public, Mehl was active with the collecting fraternity. A frequent visitor to annual conventions of the American Numismatic Association, he soon learned the names of important buyers. Col. E. H. R. Green, Waldo Newcomer, John Work Garrett and other prominent numismatists became his clients. Collectors and estate administrators favored Mehl with their selling business. The Ten Eyck Collection, auctioned in 1922, was a landmark, as were the Dunham, Geiss, Atwater, Neil, Olsen, and Royal (King Farouk) sales of years later. Mehl's colorful advertising methods and winning personality made him a favorite with collectors and dealers alike. On several different occasions the American Numismatic Association commended him for the contributions he made to the hobby.

In the first decade of the 20th century prices of rare coins increased steadily. The collection of John G. Mills, of Albany, New York, was sold in 1,848 lots on April 27, 1904, by S. H. and Henry Chapman, at the auction rooms of Davis & Harvey, Philadelphia. Many pieces had come earlier from the Parmelee Collection. The catalogue noted:

Nearly all came from famous cabinets, and Mr. Mills has in nearly every case preserved the pedigree of previous ownership . . . [The collection] contains specimens of the highest rarity and the finest state of preservation in every series represented. The greatest rarity and the chief piece in the collection is the 1776 Continental currency dollar in silver.

Many of the prize pieces went into the cabinet of James W. Ellsworth, an art collector who quietly assembled one of the most dazzling displays of rare coins ever gathered.

At the Harlan Smith sale, held in May 1906, a \$5 gold piece of 1822 sold for the record-breaking price of \$2,165. The collection, for which Smith had paid about \$15,000, brought him \$8,000 profit. At the end of the same year, 1906, S. H. & Henry Chapman dissolved their partnership which had been in effect since the late 1870s. Both pursued the coin business independently from that point forward.

The outstanding coin auction event of 1907 was the sale by Henry Chapman of the Matthew A. Stickney Collection. Chapman noted:

About 1823 he [Stickney] began to collect coins and was probably the first person in America to form a systematic collection of the various dates of the several series. This celebrated collection has for many years been a mystery, as hardly anyone of the present generation has seen anything of it, so that it has been a pleasure for me to undertake the work of writing the catalogue. . .

The great New York Brasher doubloon, a coin that Mr. Stickney prized beyond money and which I feel confident will now be appreciated as it should be [was the prize coin in the offering] . . .

The Brasher piece fetched \$6,200 and was subsequently advertised as "the world's highest priced coin." An 1804 silver dollar in the same sale fetched a record \$3,600.

Around this time Edgar H. Adams began to devote an increasingly large amount of his time to numismatic research. In 1912 and 1913 these efforts were to bear fruit in the form of standard reference works on the subject of United States territorial gold coins and patterns of the Philadelphia Mint. In addition, Adams found time to write "Current American Numismatic Notes," a column for *The Numismatist*, and other articles.

In the same era several new dealers joined the numismatic arena. Thomas L. Elder, a native of Pennsylvania, offered nearly 300 auction sales from 1903 to 1940. Such notable collectors and dealers as Peter Gschwend, Peter Mougey, William H. Woodin, Henry C. Miller, Lyman H. Low, D. W. Valentine, S. H. Chapman, George Alfred Lawrence, Edgar H. Adams, and many others sold their collections through Elder. He published a monthly catalogue from 1906 to 1909. With Gilbert he wrote *Varieties of the United States Cents of 1796* in 1909. In later years, perhaps envious of the success of B. Max Mehl's *Star Rare Coin Encyclopedia*, Elder issued a volume quite similar in format and intent, *The New Rare Coin Book*, 100 pages in length, which offered prices for various United States coins in different grades.

Elder was one of the most controversial dealers of the early 20th century. He was ever ready to voice an opinion concerning the current political situation, coin market, economy, competitors' personal habits (not to overlook their auction sales and other offerings), or almost any other aspect of numismatic or American life. His opinions on politics in particular were stated on various medals which he had struck to order.

Toward the end of the first decade of the 20th cen-

ture Wayte Raymond, who pursued the occupation of bank teller, entered professional numismatics. He proposed to B. Max Mehl that a partnership be formed, but Mehl, preferring independence, declined. Later, Elmer Sears joined Raymond in the United States Coin Co. In 1912 Raymond penned one of the first advertisements which promoted rare coins on an investment basis:

COINS AS AN INVESTMENT. Many harsh words are said about collectors who interest themselves in a natural speculation as to whether or not the coins they are buying today will have appreciated in value ten years from now.

Numismatists of the old school tell us that the true collector is not interested in any such appreciation in the value of his collection but derives his entire profit and pleasure from the coins while in his hands.

We feel, however, that the average American collector, while he greatly enjoys his coins, also feels very pleased if on disposing of his collection he realizes a profit . . .

Still later, he became associated with James G. Macallister in the field of numismatic auctions which were held on the premises of Morgenthau & Co. For a long period of time Raymond was connected with the Scott Stamp & Coin Co.

Raymond devoted vast amounts of time and expense to numismatic research. His *Standard Catalogue of United States Coins*, first published in 1934, was the first catalogue of coin mintages and prices produced on a regular basis. His "National" line of coin albums did much to advance the hobby during the 1930s as did his magazine, *The Coin Collector's Journal*, named after the 19th-century Scott Stamp & Co. publication of the same title. Still later, in the 1950s, he paid Walter Breen to engage in research in the National Archives. Numismatic scholar and dealer John Jay Ford, Jr. also received much encouragement from Raymond about the same time.

While Raymond engaged in many successful coin sales and promotions, including distribution of several commemorative half dollar issues, he is remembered today for his numismatic research and publications. Raymond, who died in New York City on September 23, 1956, at the age of 70, was considered a knowledgeable and friendly man who enjoyed art, fine food and wine, and luxurious surroundings. He considered his personal time to be valuable, so it was a rare beginning collector who had the opportunity to spend extended periods in conversation. But, for the numismatic scholar it was different. Raymond loved and enjoyed history and never tired of talking about it.

The collection of Capt. Andrew Zabriskie of New York City was sold at auction by Henry Chapman in

June 1909. Zabriskie, who had been president of the American Numismatic Society, was one of the oldest collectors in the United States. Included in his holdings were many important pieces. Of these, Chapman noted:

Of paramount importance is the magnificent 1787 New York Brasher doubloon, almost as fine as the one which made the world's record price for a single coin, either at public or private sale! Think of it!

Capt. Zabriskie some years ago had the good fortune to purchase from his executors a collection of coins left by Mr. Humbert, the California assayer, and from which collection he derived many of the most memorable of his pioneer gold coins which, added to his collection that has been forming for many years, makes his pioneer gold the best ever offered at public sale.

FOUNDED 1875

BELL TELEPHONE, WALNUT 2019

HENRY CHAPMAN

NUMISMATIST

1348 PINE ST., PHILADELPHIA, U. S. A.

The Great Zabriskie Sale

TOTAL \$26,235.00

The First Day Made a WORLD'S Record
For a Single Day \$23,203.00

Blithewood, Barrytown, Dutchess Co., New York

June 14, 1909

Dear Mr. Chapman:

I am perfectly satisfied with the result of the sale, and feel that I made no mistake in putting it in your hands.

Sincerely yours,

ANDREW C. ZABRISKIE

A Few Catalogues Are Yet On Sale. Order
At Once And Be Posted On Current Values

ZABRISKIE SALE PRICED AND PLATE CATALOGUES

Plate Catalogues, 13 plates and portrait, with printed list of prices realized bound in . . .	\$4.00
Plain Catalogue, with portrait and printed list of prices realized bound in . . .	1.00
Printed List of prices realized only, no catalogue75
Priced Catalogue of my June 5th sale35

Above prices include free delivery. Cash should accompany all orders
for priced catalogues

I desire to buy, for cash, large collections or rare individual coins

HENRY CHAPMAN

1348 PINE STREET

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

(Please Mention THE NUMISMATIST in Writing Advertisers.)

The Zabriskie Collection

Members of the American Numismatic Association were startled to read in *The Numismatist* in July 1909 that two coins had changed hands for \$10,000 each. Edgar H. Adams wrote the article which noted:

The two unique United States \$50 gold coins, each of different designs, which have long been regarded as the rarest coins in the world by American coin collectors, were purchased a short time ago by William H. Woodin, of New York City, for \$10,000 each, which figure by far exceeds all recorded high premiums paid for any coin ever sold.

The coins were bought of John W. Haseltine and Stephen K. Nagy, the Philadelphia coin dealers, establishing a new world's record. The previous record was held by a specimen of the New York Brasher doubloon in gold struck in New York in 1787, for which \$6,200 was paid at the Stickney Collection sale in Philadelphia a few years ago.

The newly discovered gold pieces are included in the United States series of pattern coins and represent the most interesting pieces in the American series, the denomination being equivalent to five eagles, or the "half union" recommended in 1854 by Secretary of the Treasury, Guthrie. They illustrate the single case where United States coins of this value were struck in gold. They never emerged from the experimental stage, although declared by experts to be the handsomest and the most striking coins ever issued at the United States Mint.

These two gold pieces have not been seen since the year of their mintage, 1877, and were supposed by all collectors to have been melted up.

Much excitement ensued, and it was claimed that the gold pieces were properly the right of the American people. They were subsequently returned to Haseltine and Nagy, who exchanged them for a large quantity of United States pattern coins of earlier years, which were then given to Woodin as compensation. Included were many unlisted pieces of various years, quantities of 1896 pattern coins, and others. Using the Woodin holdings as a basis, Edgar H. Adams in 1913 produced *United States Pattern, Trial, and Experimental Pieces*. For the first time United States pattern coins were illustrated and described in detail in one volume.

Coins and Collectors

On May 24, 1910, at the Philadelphia Mint a number of dies were destroyed by the order of Director A. Piatt Andrew. Unfortunately for numismatists today, no specific records were kept concerning the designs. Included were six hubs made between 1836 and 1844.

Also destroyed were two hubs for the famous \$50 gold coins of 1877, three incomplete hubs for the Lafayette commemorative silver dollar of 1900, one incomplete hub for the three-cent piece, and master dies and hubs for various other issues, including the double

eagle, eagle, half eagle, \$3, quarter eagle, gold dollar, silver dollar, 20c piece, trade dollar, Isabella quarter, the MCMVII \$20, Barber and Morgan pattern double eagles, and various commemorative issues. Also destroyed were 29 designs for Liberty heads by William Barber, intended for use on dollars, half dollars, quarter dollars, and dimes.

In earlier years, Woodward, Frossard, and others protested the mint's policy of keeping old dies on hand and issuing restrikes from them, or if old dies were not available with dates, then making new dies using old hubs. Snowden, Linderman, and a parade of others ostensibly agreed with numismatic writers of the day and promised that abuses would stop, but they never did. In an organization as vast and complex as the Philadelphia Mint there was always the opportunity for some "fancy pieces" to be made during an unguarded moment. As time went on, more facts were unearthed. Adams' 1913 pattern book gave much specific information concerning restrikes and other issues. Since that time, Don Taxay, Walter Breen, R. W. Julian, Kenneth Bressett, Eric P. Newman, and other scholars have delineated various restrikes and have described them as such. Interestingly enough, the status of whether or not a coin is a restrike does not necessarily affect its marketability, for in later years the two most valuable coins struck as regular issues (that is, not as patterns) at the Philadelphia Mint, both unofficial, were the 1913 Liberty head nickel and the 1804 silver dollar. The vast amount of printed space devoted to these two issues in various numismatic periodicals and reference books has contributed immeasurably to their fame.

During the early 20th century, interest in mintmarks, spurred by the popularity of Augustus G. Heaton's book, continued to grow. Still there were many discoveries to be made. In May 1911 it was reported that the first known specimen of an 1854-S San Francisco Mint quarter eagle had come to light. Earlier, numismatists knew that mint records related a coinage of 246 pieces, but not a single specimen had ever appeared. H. O. Granberg, a leading collector who made his home in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, acquired one for his collection. S. H. Chapman examined the coin, pronounced it authentic, and reported the find to collectors. Subsequently, a half dozen or so additional specimens were unearthed through diligent searching over a period of years.

Interest in the American Numismatic Association grew, and many collectors affiliated themselves with the group. In 1910 William Forrester Dunham, a Chicago collector, offered prizes to the four people

who proposed the largest number of ANA members by January 1911. First prize consisted of a 1908 Proof double eagle, second prize the Proof eagle of the same year, third the half eagle, and the fourth the quarter eagle.

In 1912 Wayte Raymond and Elmer Sears formed the United States Coin Co. with the previously unheard of high capitalization of \$100,000. Ft. Worth, Texas dealer B. Max Mehl announced the removal of his offices to New York City. New York proved to be less than he desired, so he promptly returned to the Lone Star State.

Interest in mintmark varieties of United States coins continued to expand. In June, 1912, Howard R. Newcomb wrote an article in *The Numismatist*, "Unappreciated Silver Mint Rarities—Dimes." It noted, in part:

Everyone knows the 1894 San Francisco dime is the rarest in the dime series and is one of the greatest rarities of all United States coins. There are many others which are worth careful consideration in any state of preservation, but that which stands out next in point of rarity is the Carson City dime of 1874. 1871-CC, 1872-CC, 1873-CC with arrows, follow next, and of these three only the 1871 have I heard of existing in Uncirculated condition. They are all of excessive rarity. I think I am safe in saying that a more recent coin now follows, 1885-S dime. 1860-O, 1870-S, 1858-S, 1859-S, 1856-S are next in the order named; and those possessing these, specially in Uncirculated condition, have some very nice prizes. All of the abovementioned pieces, together with a few others not noted, are vastly more rare than the so-called "very rare" 1860-S dime with stars



The American Numismatic Society

Articles such as this helped precipitate a shift of interest toward mintmarks and also toward high condition. In the 19th century condition was important, but in the absence of grading standards, high premiums would not necessarily be paid for an Uncirculated piece, unless it was of a very early issue.

Edgar H. Adams continued his prolific writing. He became editor of *The Numismatist* in January 1912, and

he brought a sense of editorial flavor, timeliness, and human interest which had not existed previously. Adams' enthusiasm was infectious, and numismatists of the day delved into varieties and intricacies in such varied series as Hard Times tokens, Civil War pieces, broken bank notes, patterns, territorials, and colonials.

In July 1912 it was reported that:

The great sale of the collection of George H. Earle of Philadelphia brought the greatest total ever realized by any sale of coins ever held in the country. Many price records were broken, and there was a large attendance . . .

A 1776 Continental dollar in silver brought \$2,200, while an impression in brass of the same coin brought \$54. A 1792 silver center cent fetched \$330, an 1877 pattern \$50 in copper brought \$140, an 1863 gold Proof set fetched \$340, an 1819 half eagle realized \$530, and other new highs were established. Interest was sharp in the territorial gold series, and a Kellogg & Co. 1855 \$50 brought \$1,100, while a \$50 of the same date issued by Wass, Molitor & Co. brought \$875. The total realized was \$55,821.63. Henry Chapman, who conducted the sale, announced that he purchased \$15,681 worth of items for his own stock and about \$10,000 worth of coins for customers who left bids with him.

B. Max Mehl announced in January 1913 that he would soon be selling at auction the silver coin collection of H. O. Granberg of Oshkosh, Wisconsin. This holding was described as "about the most complete collection of its kind ever offered," and included an 1804 silver dollar, an 1884 trade dollar, and many other rarities.

Commenting on the new-style Indian-buffalo nickel issued in 1913, *The Numismatist*, observed that:

The new piece certainly has radically changed the old-time tradition that Columbia is our best representation of "liberty." In view of the rather restricted character of both the Indian and the buffalo today, it is an open question whether either is a good symbol of "liberty." Saint-Gaudens, in an interview, once said that his conception of a symbol of liberty was that of a "leaping boy." We still prefer Miss Columbia as a proper representation of freedom and regret that she does not appear on the new five-cent piece . . .

In March of the same year, H. O. Granberg, whose silver coin collection was earlier placed in the hands of B. Max Mehl, was serving as a member of the Committee on Classification of the American Numismatic Association and was also chairman of the board of governors of that group. He proposed that:

Some scheme or uniform standard of classifying the condition of coins [should be adopted]. It can safely be said that every member has some standard by which he judges the

condition of coins, now it can be safely said that no two of these standards are exactly alike. Now, no two persons can think and see exactly alike in all respects. If some standard were given the utmost publicity there is no reason why everyone concerned would not think nearer alike. My experience has been that the holder or owner of a coin is inclined to overestimate its condition, and the non-owner of a coin is apt to underestimate its condition. In other words, the condition of a coin varies if you own the coin or if someone else owns it. It is human nature. This will be the hardest phase to adjust. If some descriptive standard was down in black and white this variance of opinion could be reduced. These remarks apply to collectors as well as to dealers. My experience has been that no two dealers judge condition exactly alike. But I think the dealer holds to his standard more consistently than the collector, who, to bid intelligently has got to learn the standard of each dealer. The learning of many standards I would like to do away with. The condition of wear such as "Fine," "Good," "Fair," etc. is not enough. Some qualifying words should be employed as well, such as "bright," "scratched," "tarnished," etc.

The following grades were proposed: Proof, Uncirculated, Very Fine ("the condition but little below Uncirculated, with imperceptible wear, or showing only under close scrutiny. Lightly tarnished coins may be placed under this classification, but the fact should be mentioned. Badly tarnished coins should never be called Very Fine nor should the coin be marred in any other way than a slight change of color"), Fine ("showing very slight traces of wear only in the parts of highest relief. Any blemishes should be noted"), Very Good ("a worn coin but every part distinct, nothing but very marked defects need be mentioned"), Good, Fair, and Poor.

Beginning with gold Proof sets of 1908, the Lincoln cent of 1909, and the buffalo nickel of 1913, various types of Proof coins with minute granular surfaces, called "sandblast Proofs," "Roman finish Proofs," or "Matte Proofs," depending on slight differences in the method of manufacture, were sold to collectors. Collectors almost unanimously preferred the traditional "brilliant" style, and many complaints were given to the Mint. As many of the new-style Proofs were not readily different from Uncirculated pieces, most collectors simply stopped ordering them. The mintage of Matte Proof gold coins in particular went to very low levels. In May 1913 the editor of *The Numismatist* echoed the sentiment of many collectors:

Proofs of the minor coins—cents and five-cents—are sold for 15c. Until recently the price was only 8c. The coins are struck by hand on the hydraulic press. Up to recently the planchets were burnished until they had a mirror-like surface, which remained on the field of the coin after striking, giving it a brilliant and attractive appearance. When the Lincoln cent was issued, however, a somewhat roughened

surface was given to the field, with the result that the former brilliancy was lost, and there was little difference between a Proof coin and one just issued for circulation.

The Proof of the five-cent piece is even more unsatisfactory than that of the Lincoln cent. While the lines of the designer are finer and struck up more clearly—the wrinkles on the buffalo's skin, and part of the Indian's head, for example—the appearance of the coin is practically the same as one struck for circulation.

The Numismatist announced in July 1913 the discovery of a new variety of a Higley copper piece struck in colonial Connecticut. One side of the coin was from a previously-unknown die and bore the inscription THE WHEEL GOES ROUND. A description was given:

The above illustration represents an entirely new discovery in the colonial series, being a variety of the well-known Higley series of coppers that has never been mentioned or known of until a short time ago, when it came into the possession of Mr. Howland Wood among a lot of old coppers. It was covered with dirt and verdigris to such an extent that its character was not suspected until it had been thoroughly cleaned . . .

Each summer the American Numismatic Association would hold its annual convention at a different city. Collectors and dealers alike vied to prepare interesting exhibits at the convention, often including prime rarities which might not otherwise be seen by the average collector. The 1913 ANA convention was typical and included a wide variety of pieces.

Judson Brenner, of DeKalb, Illinois, exhibited Civil War tokens issued in Detroit, Michigan circa 1863-1864; Lesher dollars issued in Colorado in 1900 and 1901, including a previously-unknown specimen bearing the imprint of Sam Cohen; and the original dies of the 1861 Confederate States of America cent.

Ben G. Green, of Chicago, Illinois, displayed a collection of encased postage stamps of 135 pieces, comprising four examples of the rare 90c denomination, including one issued by Lord & Taylor, of New York City. Also shown were two examples of 1851 and 1852 octagonal \$50 gold pieces from California.

The United States Coin Co., under the aegis of Wayte Raymond and Elmer Sears, was eager to impress, and succeeded in its objective. *The Numismatist* reported:

The display of this firm was undoubtedly one of the best and costliest of the whole exhibit and was estimated to be worth about \$40,000. It included very many representative specimens and great rarities in all the series of Americana.

Included were the following: an 1851 Baldwin & Co. \$10 Liberty head gold piece, a \$20 Cincinnati Mining & Trading Co. copper trial piece, a series of 44

A NEW VARIETY OF THE HIGLEY COPPERS.



The above illustration represents an entirely new discovery in the Colonial series, being a variety of the well-known Higley series of coppers that has never been mentioned or known of until a short time ago, when it came into the possession of Mr. Howland Wood among a lot of old coppers. It was covered with dirt and verdigris to such an extent that its character was not suspected until it had been thoroughly cleaned.

The reverse of this interesting coin bears the same device as Crosby's Type No. 3, Reverse C., which is illustrated on Plate VIII. of his work on the "Early Coins of America," and bears the number of 24. This is the broadaxe device, with the motto "I CUT MY WAY THROUGH." This reverse goes with the undated variety of the Higley pieces, which has the deer obverse, in contrast to the varieties bearing dates, respectively 1737 and 1739.

This would seem to show that the new variety was struck about the same time as No. 24. The curious obverse of the new variety, however, is entirely different in design from that of the other pieces of the series, although its quaintness of inscription clearly indicates the same origin. "THE WHEEL GOES ROUND," with the wheel as the central device, is exactly of the same workmanship as the Higeys showing the deer, and the letters and index hand are undoubtedly from the same punches.

The discovery of a new variety of Higley copper coin by Howland Wood as related in The Numismatist.

different \$3 gold pieces from 1854-1889, a complete set of gold dollars, a rare variety of Bechtler quarter eagle, the finest known specimen of the Maryland groat, and other pieces.

Edgar H. Adams, editor of *The Numismatist*, exhibited pattern pieces, including a set of 1882 "Shield Earring" silver coins, an 1872 "Amazonian" silver set, the beautiful 1879 "Schoolgirl" silver dollar, and an 1883 Hawaiian Proof set struck in copper.

B. Max Mehl displayed \$4 stellas of 1879 and 1880, a copper impression of the rare 1877 \$50 piece, and a very fine example of the 1884 trade dollar.

Dr. George P. French, of Rochester, New York, showed nearly 200 varieties of large cents as well as his collection of Hard Times tokens. Henry Chapman showed:

. . . [a] nice line of United States cents from 1793-1857, and a set of silver dollars 1794-1854, two especially rare half dollars of 1796, one of 1797, a very beautiful quarter dollar of 1827; a special series of Massachusetts shillings and threepence; especially fine Chalmers threepence issued in Annapolis, Maryland in 1783.

He also showed the newly discovered (by Howland Wood) Higley threepence with the wheel design on the reverse and the legend, THE WHEEL GOES ROUND, valued at \$1,500. He stated that he had bought it for "the highest price ever paid for a copper coin of American issue." Also in the Chapman exhibit were Proof sets of 1864 and 1876.

H. O. Granberg, of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, exhibited a number of items, including his 1804 silver dollar.

Farran Zerbe, of Tyrone, Pennsylvania, showed monies of the world and his extensive collection of satirical money relating to the presidential campaigns of William Jennings Bryan. Part of the exhibit also included paper money of such unusual denominations as 8c, 12c, 16c, 18¾c, 37½c, 62½c, \$11, \$12, \$15, and \$30.

Carl Wurtzbach, of Lee, Massachusetts, showed an extensive collection of colonial coins and medals bearing the portrait of George Washington, as well as other early American issues. Also included in the Wurtzbach display were 120 different varieties of Hard Times tokens.

Howard R. Newcomb, of Detroit, Michigan, showed part of his collection of United States regular series coins, including 30 different examples of half eagles from 1795 to 1830, nearly a complete collection of quarter eagles, and a complete collection of gold dollars (with the exception of 1856-D). He displayed his outstanding collection of half cents as well as a wide

variety of silver issues. Newcomb was quite interested in die varieties and illustrated many minute variations within the silver series. Several decades later, Howard R. Newcomb wrote the standard reference on United States copper cent die varieties of the years 1816-1857.

JUST FROM THE PRESS

United States Pattern, Trial

AND

Experimental Pieces

By Edgar H. Adams and William H. Woodin

1752 Varieties of the U. S. Patterns Correctly
Listed, Numbered and Described

200 PAGES OF INFORMATION

NEARLY EVERY DESIGN ILLUSTRATED

De Luxe Edition, Limited to Fifty Copies, Interleaved, Bound in Full Morocco, with Name of Subscriber and Number Printed on Fly Leaf. Price \$10.00. Regular Edition, Substantially Bound in Dark Blue Cloth. Price \$3.00. Postage free.

NOTICE: Those interested in patterns will find this book of especial value at the present time, as the large number of Patterns in the Jackson sale (the largest of its kind, to be held May 20, 21 and 22, by the U. S. Coin Co. of New York, will each be catalogued with the numbers of this book, enabling the immediate and exact identification of every variety.

EDGAR H. ADAMS

447a State Street

Telephone 1346 Main

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

1913 announcement for Edgar H. Adams'
book on United States pattern coins

In 1913 coin security was considered, but it was not a major factor in the minds of collectors or dealers. While some professional numismatists had electrical systems installed on their premises to announce break-ins, most did not consider the precaution necessary. Likewise, most collectors kept their coins at home or stored them in safe deposit boxes. There were occasional robberies and burglaries, the Mickley theft of the 1860s being the best remembered. In the summer of 1913 numismatists were shocked to learn that part of the collection of Waldo Newcomer, a Baltimore, Maryland collector who had one of America's finest

cabinets, was stolen from his home on Monument Street. Frederick Holtz, an electrician for the Holmes Burglar Alarm Telephone Co. of Baltimore, was alleged to have committed the theft while installing a burglar alarm system. Also arrested at the time was Otto H. House, an electrician. Some of the coins were put in the Coin Exchange Safe Deposit & Trust Co. vault in New York City. Frederick Holtz paid for the box rental by giving the attendant a \$50 gold coin from California. The keeper of the safe deposit boxes, Stanley R. Walker, subsequently showed this unusual coin to S. H. Chapman, the Philadelphia coin dealer, who immediately identified it as one he had sold to Newcomer over 20 years earlier. Holtz was traced and subsequently arrested. Most of the coins were recovered.

A special exhibition of coins from the American Numismatic Society's own collection plus loans from other collections took place in New York City early in 1914. *The Numismatist* noted that this was "the most important numismatic event in years." Shown were two of the three known 1776 Continental currency dollars in silver, four 1804 silver dollars, a 1787 gold Brasher doubloon, the unique 1783 set of Nova Constellatio silver coins (loaned by Hon. James W. Ellsworth of New York City), and others. Nearly four pages of the April 1914 issue of *The Numismatist* were devoted to describing the 1783 pattern coins, considered the highlight of the exhibit.

Coins belonging to Carl Wurtzbach, Charles Gregory, Judson Brenner, Howard R. Newcomb, Hillyer C. Ryder, George C. Ham, Farran Zerbe, Charles G. Dodd, Waldo C. Newcomer, Ben G. Green (lately deceased), F. C. C. Boyd, Dr. T. L. Comperette, S. Hudson Chapman, Edgar H. Adams, David Proskey, J. W. Scott, Elmer S. Sears, Howland Wood, William H. Woodin, and others were shown. A special medal was prepared and given to those who participated in this outstanding exhibition, a display which stands unequalled before or since.

S. Hudson Chapman sold on May 27-29, 1914, the collection of William F. Gable of Altoona, Pennsylvania. On June 24th to 27th, his brother Henry sold the George M. Parsons Collection. B. Max Mehl sold another outstanding collection, the Arthur C. Nygren holdings, on November 30th of the same year.

1915 brought with it the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Held in San Francisco, the event commemorated the opening of the Panama Canal as well as the rebirth of the city of San Francisco, following the earthquake and fire of 1906. At the Exposition

Farran Zerbe maintained a numismatic exhibit and sales area. Commemorative coins were issued in several different varieties.

Readers of *The Numismatist* learned that several years earlier \$1,100 face value of Kellogg & Co. \$20 pieces from San Francisco was found near Alexandria, Nebraska, by two boys who were playing in the woods. It is believed that these were hidden earlier by two men who had been pursued by Indians in 1867. The men had been killed, and at the time the gold believed to have been with them was presumed lost.

A collector reported that he had become interested in the one-cent pieces of 1877, so beginning in the year 1881 he kept a record of how scarce they were in circulation. In the first year of his record keeping he sorted through 1,250 Indian cents from the bank and found only six with the 1877 date. He kept a continuous log, and by 1883 the number of coins he examined had reached a total of 2,950 (including those seen earlier in 1881) with a total of 11 1877 Indian cents. By November 27, 1897, 28,450 Indian cents had been examined, resulting in the capture of just 35 of the prized 1877 pieces. Writing in 1915, the searcher ventured to say that 1877 Indian cents were rarer than ever: "I believe that it would take a very long day's work to secure even one out of a batch of 10,000."

B. Max Mehl moved into his own building in 1916. Completed at a cost of \$25,000, not including the land, the structure served as home for Mehl and nearly 10 helpers. A writer for the American Numismatic Association noted:

We congratulate Mr. Mehl on his success. Throughout his business he has been a steady, persistent advertiser, not only in *The Numismatist*, but in many other publications, and the extensive business which he has built up is no doubt largely due to that fact, coupled with close attention and remarkable energy.

Collecting standard denominations of United States paper money appealed to very few collectors at the time. Seeking to stir up interest, George W. Blake wrote an article on the subject, noting that:

Not much attention in the past has been paid to collecting paper money in the denomination of \$1 and over. A few collections contain notes from \$1 to \$5, and in some instances up to \$10, but seldom higher. Why the subject has not engaged the attention of a large number of collectors is a matter for conjecture. Possibly the need of a proper catalogue with the various issues has something to do with it

Minor changes affecting signatures or seals are likely to occur at any time. It is these minor changes which enlarge the field for bank note collecting and add interest to it. Many notes can be secured today at a small premium which in a



AUCTION SALE OF THE WILLIAM F. GABLE COLLECTION, MAY 27, 28, AND 29, 1914.

From left to right: William B. Hale, Robert Gable, William Pukall, G. Kraft, Henry Chapman, B. Max Mehl, Dr. J. H. Cornell, W. W. Garrabrant, J. A. Clouser, unknown, Dr. R. M. Scott, Thomas L. Elder, Jas. A. Walker, Clarence S. Bement, Hillyer Ryder, Elmer S. Sears, (back of S. H. Chapman,) William L. Fisher, J. P. Hale Jenkins, Dr. H. W. Beckwith, E. H. Adams, Gus Egolf. In front, Robert L. Moore, and S. H. Chapman. (The photograph given was taken on May 29, and there were several other collectors present upon other days who were not there on the day the photograph was taken.)

This view of the auction sale of the William F. Gable Collection, sold by S. Hudson Chapman in 1914, includes many of the most important dealers and other numismatic personalities of the day.

few years will be unobtainable in Uncirculated condition at any price. Start a collection now, even though you only begin with the notes in circulation at the present time. Collect as high denominations as you can afford, but endeavor always to secure crisp, Uncirculated notes, and make your collection complete as far as it goes. Two specimens of each note are desirable, so that both sides can be shown when they are mounted. Keep a close watch on all notes which pass through your hands and add to your collection as new ones are issued. In this way the cost will be minimum, and in the course of time you will have something which will be a wonder and a delight.

Blake noted that fractional currency was popular to collect, but that regular currency was not. Interestingly enough, Confederate notes and broken bank notes had a large following at the time.

In response to the European war Thomas L. Elder in 1916 issued several tokens, following his personal tradition. One of them bore the message: "Wanted! a bigger army and navy. Not wanted: Pacifists, Fords, Bryans."

On April 20, 1916, the *Cincinnati Times-Star* reported that:

A silver dollar of 1794, the first standard dollar ever coined by the United States, was received at the United States Sub-Treasury Wednesday from a Louisville bank, and it was redeemed with a \$1 silver certificate.

Fred L. Huddart, president of the Pacific Coast Numismatic Society, exhibited in San Francisco a number of pieces from the territorial gold coin collection of the Society of California Pioneers which he had recently purchased. Earlier the collection had been exhibited at the San Francisco Mint for a period of forty years. Most outstanding among the pieces was a \$50 Kohler gold bar, the only known specimen of that denomination, and the earliest \$50 piece known from California.

On February 18, 1917, Charles E. Barber, chief engraver of the United States Mint at Philadelphia, died at the age of 77 years. He was born in London in 1840, appointed as an assistant engraver at the Philadelphia Mint in 1869, and became chief engraver in 1881 when his father William died. Among the last coins designed by Barber were the quarter eagle and half dollar for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. "Mr. Barber cut the dies for a number of the pattern pieces, and is said to have possessed a splendid collection of these pieces," *The Numismatist* noted.

In June 1918 Henry Chapman was particularly busy. On the 26th and 27th of the month he sold at auction the Clarence S. Bement Collection, and for the following two days he auctioned the Jackman Collection. His

brother S. H. Chapman sold the gold coins from the H. O. Granberg Collection a few months later. Around the same time the American Numismatic Society announced that it had recently acquired as a gift from J. Sanford Saltus the first original 1861 Confederate States of America half dollar to come to light, a specimen first described to numismatists in 1879.

The 1920s

At the 1920 convention of the American Numismatic Association, Farran Zerbe proposed that a commemorative silver dollar be issued to observe peace. This subsequently resulted in production of the Peace dollar in December of the next year.

In July 1920 numismatists were dismayed at a Treasury Department report which noted that 60 million dollars of Confederate paper money had been

Founded 1875 Bell Telephone Locust C 155
Registered Cable address "Moneta" Philadelphia.

HENRY CHAPMAN NUMISMATIST

333-335 S. 16th St., - Philadelphia, Pa.

America's Leading Numismatic Dealer

JOHN STORY JENKS COLLECTION

DECEMBER 7 TO 17, INCLUSIVE,

Proved to be the Greatest Sale yet held in this country
and realized a grand total of

\$61,000.00.

IT WAS A SUCCESS.

Now you will want a priced catalogue.

Have a few left—the plain copies with price list of what each piece brought bound in at the back, strongly bound in muslin, 4to, transportation paid, \$5.

Same catalogue illustrated with 41 plates and price list, express charges prepaid, \$20.

The printed price list (no catalogue), separately, \$2.50.

If you have not ordered one, do so at once, and you will not regret it.

Announcement of coming important sales later.

I bought largely at the Jenks sale, and if you are interested in any number, advise me which it is, and if I purchased it, will price it.

The John Story Jenks Collection

IT'S BEEN ABOUT FIFTEEN YEARS
SINCE AN
1804 DOLLAR
WAS OFFERED AT AUCTION IN THIS
COUNTRY!

The most authenticated specimen of this famous coin is in the Collection of Hon. James H. Manning of Albany, N. Y.

Mr. Manning's entire Collection, including this "King of American Coins," will be sold by me at auction this month—May.

Fine catalogs have been sent out by insured mail to all who are on my list. The few remaining catalogs will be sent free to those who write for them.

PLEASE SEND IN YOUR BIDS EARLY.



Largest Numismatic Establishment in the United States.

The James H. Manning Collection sold by B. Max Mehl in 1921 and the James Ten Eyck Collection sold by the same dealer in 1922 created numismatic history. Each contained an example of the 1804 silver dollar, a piece which Mehl described as the "King of American Coins."

NO,—

THIS IS NOT A

Numismatists Dream!

But each of the following great rarities are in my "Next Sale"—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Brasher Doubloon. | 1834 \$2.50 Gold, With Motto. |
| 1804 Dollar. | 1875 \$3.00 Gold Piece. |
| 1838 Dollar. | Mormon Twenty. |
| 1796 Half Dollar. | Baldwin Ten, 1851. |
| 1823 Quarter Dollar. | Washington N. J. Cent. |
| 1827 Quarter Dollar. | Unique N. J. Cent 1786. |
| 1802 Half Dime. | New Hampshire Cent. |
| 1798 \$10.00 Gold, 2 varieties. | Virginia Shilling. |
| 1798 \$5.00 Gold, Small Eagle. | Washington Silver Half Dollar. |
| 1815 Half Eagle. | Washington Constellation Cent. |
| 1819 \$5.00 Gold. | Hundreds of Foreign Gold and Silver. |
| 1797 \$2.50 Gold. | |
| 1826 \$2.50 Gold. | |

The above are just a "Few" of the great rarities in my Sale of the Renowned James Ten Eyck Collection!

I am now preparing catalog. It will be the finest I have ever issued. Large size, beautiful plates, full historical data, etc.

The Price List of THIS Sale only \$1.00.

If not on my list, you can get the catalog by ordering Price List. Please order promptly.



Largest Numismatic Establishment in the United States.

recently destroyed "to relieve the congested condition of the Treasury vaults." The money had been seized from the Confederate Treasury at Richmond when the Southern capital was captured during the Civil War.

From December 7 to 17, 1921, the attention of numismatists was focused on Henry Chapman's sale of the John Story Jenks Collection. A massive catalogue comprising 7,302 lots was prepared. Jenks, born in 1839, began collecting at a young age in 1850. The cataloguer noted:

. . . that he was probably the oldest collector in the United States, and nearly every important sale has contributed to his collection . . . My brother and I have been favored with his exclusive business in our line since 1875. He was always alert to improve the condition of his coins, when a finer example was obtainable, the other was discarded, hence the high grade of nearly every coin in the collection.

WAYTE RAYMOND

489 Park Ave., New York City.

Fine Stock of Greek, Roman and European
Coins greatly augmented by purchases
made while abroad this summer.

RARITIES

FROM THE ELLSWORTH COLLECTION:

Choice Oak and Pine Tree Money.
Complete set of Lord Baltimore Coins.
Virginia Shilling.
Rare New York Cents.
Unusual Collection of Washington Pieces.
Collection of Proof Gold Dollars.
Superb Early Dollars.
1804 Dollar.
1865 Dollar with Motto.
Very fine pair of 1796 Half Dollars.
Many fine Early Silver and Copper Coins.
Complete set of Colorado Gold, 1860, '61.
Rare Bechtler Gold.

Prices quoted on request.

RECENT PRICE LISTS.

Numismatic Books, Jan., 1923.
Foreign and Ancient Coins, April, 1923.
Sent on request.

*Wayte Raymond offers coins
from the Ellsworth Collection*

Chapman went on to say that "this collection is the most extensive yet offered American numismatists." Prices were very strong, and over \$61,000 was realized. A half year later, on May 22, 1922, B. Max Mehl of Fort Worth, Texas, offered the collection of James Ten Eyck at auction. 2,754 lots were sold for a total of over \$45,000. Items offered included a Brasher doubloon, a complete set of half eagles except 1822 (but including the 1798 small eagle reverse), a complete set of \$3 gold, a complete set of quarter eagles from 1796 to 1834, and a complete set of pre-1834 silver coins, including the 1804 dollar. Colonials included a Virginia silver "shilling," a 1776 New Hampshire cent, one of two known specimens of the 1714 Gloucester shilling, and other items acquired earlier from the Parmelee Collection.

In Baltimore, Maryland, John Work Garrett, having acquired the T. Harrison Garrett Collection, with additions from his brother Robert, in 1919, began an intense interest in numismatics. From 1919 through the early 1920s reference books were purchased to round out the Garrett library, custom-made coin cabinets were ordered from the Art Metal Construction Co. in New York City, and intense study was made of existing numismatic literature. Garrett, deeply interested in art, literature, and other subjects, found that among American coins his favorites were colonials, early mint issues, and territorial pieces.

On March 10, 1923, *The New York Times* reported:

Wayte Raymond, dealer in coins, 49 Park Ave., has bought from M. Knoedler & Co. [a well-known dealer in fine paintings] the collection of early American and United States coins recently sold to the Knoedler Syndicate by James W. Ellsworth. Mr. Raymond paid about \$100,000 for the coins, said to be the largest amount ever given for a numismatic collection in this country. The collection has been known for years as the finest in the United States. Mr. Ellsworth, who has disposed of all his art work and other rare coin collections, with the exception of his Innes paintings and a Rembrandt, counted it as one of the most interesting and valuable of his possessions.

Among the valuable coins is the unique set of Nova Constellatio patterns for a decimal system struck in 1783, in denominations of 100, 500, and 1000 mills. This set was from the celebrated Parmelee Collection sold in New York in 1890.

There is also the doubloon struck in New York in 1787 by Ephraim Brasher, of which there are only four specimens known. There are also pieces of the colonial period and early trial pieces used before the regularly adopted coinage at the United States Mint in 1793, and a remarkable series of the gold, silver, and copper coins of the United States from the beginning of the coinage since 1793 up to the present time, including two 1804 dollars and the finest known specimens of many other rare dates.

An interesting part of the collection is a series of the early private gold coins struck in California, Colorado, Utah, Oregon, North Carolina, and Georgia. There are about 2,000 coins in the collection, making it the most important set ever sold here.

John Work Garrett had first pick of the collection and bought for \$50,000, in a check paid directly to Knoedler, substantial portions of it.

In 1923 the Mint Collection, earlier called the Mint Cabinet, was slated to be removed from Philadelphia to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Moritz Wormser, president of the American Numismatic Association, and one of the most popular numismatists of the time, proposed that the ANA form its own collection. The organization had recently acquired some pieces from a foreign medal manufacturer and proposed using these as a nucleus. "We hope that our members will enthusiastically and liberally respond to this suggestion," Wormser noted.

On April 29, 1924, 605 lots catalogued by Henry Chapman, formerly the property of A. C. Nygren, of San Francisco, California, were sold at auction for the order of Nygren's sister. The offering consisted of . . .

. . . the entire collection of pioneer gold coins, formed by him; a gentleman widely known as an ardent collector of this highly interesting and historical series. Such a grand array has rarely if ever been offered.

Of these 605 lots, 402 were specifically related to territorial issues. *The Numismatist* in 1924 included one issue, the "Lincoln Number," which was compiled by Robert P. King, of Erie, Pennsylvania. Featured was a 123-page monograph concerning paper money, tokens, coins, medals, and other items pertaining to President Lincoln, a truly monumental study. This set the stage for another special issue on Bryan money which was subsequently written for *The Numismatist* by Farran Zerbe.

In 1925 *The Numismatist* discussed, among other things, the estate of John A. Beck, a Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania collector. Beck, who was born on January 5, 1859, began collecting coins when he was about 10 years old. The article noted:

Mr. Beck is said to have had a fondness for the eagle cents of 1856, and it has been whispered among collectors that he never allowed one to be purchased by anyone else at an auction sale for less than the price he was always willing to pay for the coin. Several years ago he was reported to have had about 700 of these pieces . . . A few years ago Mr. Beck was reported to have about 125 \$50 gold pieces, both round and octagonal, and it is believed that he added at least a few more before his death.

The report was not quite accurate, for a specific in-

ventory taken in the early 1930s revealed "just" 531 1856 flying eagle cents, still an immense hoard. These pieces were disposed of in an orderly manner, without adversely affecting the market, in the mid-1970s by Jerry Cohen and Abner Kreisberg, well known professional numismatists.

Popular Mechanics magazine reported in 1925 that:

Owing to the spread of counterfeit coins in Siam, monkeys are being employed in the banks to test the spurious currency, it is reported. Installed behind the counters, the monkeys test the coins between their teeth. If good, no marks are left on the metal and the coins are thrown into a box at the animals' side. Should the coins be bad, the metal bears visible marks and is thrown on the floor, later to be swept up and destroyed.

The same year radio became an important part of spreading the numismatic gospel. On February 20th, from 7:45 to 8:00 p.m. Moritz Wormser, president of the American Numismatic Association, gave a talk on coin collecting on radio station WJZ of New York City. Covered were a brief history of coin collecting, its advantages, and related aspects. A second talk was given on the same station on February 21st from 9:45 to 10:00 p.m. On February 20, 1925, Frank H. Stewart, a collector who at one time owned and demolished the original 1792 Philadelphia Mint building, talked about George Washington and his relationship with the first United States Mint on radio station WLIT of Philadelphia. *The Numismatist* devoted considerable space to this new medium.

On May 5, 1925 B. Max Mehl sold the territorial gold coin collection of Judge Charles W. Slack. "The collection is not a large one, containing only 161 pieces, but is made up of almost exclusively gold coins about half of which are the private or territorial issues," Mehl noted. As was Mehl's usual practice, the "auction" was a mail bid sale. There was no public or floor participation. All mail bids had to be received by a certain deadline, after which the winners were tabulated by his secretarial staff.

The American Numismatic Association convention was held in Detroit in 1925. A new feature made its debut, a dealers' night during which dealers and members could buy and sell coins on the main exhibit floor. Previously, all transactions were private affairs held in hotel rooms or other places apart from the convention area. Reports indicated that trading activity was slow, and few coins changed hands. In later years the selling event was to become the well-known dealers' bourse, and at some ANA conventions held in areas with a large amount of floor space, 200 to 300 or more dealers would eagerly compete for the exhibit spaces offered.

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
AUGUST 21 TO 26, 1926.



First Row
(left to right)—

S. Wharton Haney.
S. Hudson Chapman.
Henry Chapman.
A. C. Hutchinson.
Charles Markus.
B. Max Mehl.
F. G. Duffield.
H. H. Yawger.
Mrs. Moritz Wormser.
Moritz Wormser.
George J. Bauer.
Harry T. Wilson.

Mrs. H. A. Sternberg.
Msis Ellen Belle Sternberg.
Miss Dana Mehl.
Miss Loraine Mehl.
Mrs. B. Max Mehl.
Mrs. J. M. Henderson.
Miss Lucille Henderson.
Mrs. J. M. Swanson.
Julius Guttag.
Mrs. Julius Guttag.

Second Row
(left to right)—

Charles H. Deetz.

Reinhold Faelten.
Mrs. H. H. Yawger.
Ludger Gravel.
Frederic E. Hodge.
George H. Russell.
Gustav H. Emery.
William F. Dunham.
D. C. Wismer.
Elmer S. Sears.
L. A. Renaud.
Fred W. Roerentrop.
Farran Zerbe 2d.
J. M. Henderson.
J. M. Swanson.

Third Row
(left to right)—

Howland Wood.
James G. Macallister.
H. M. Povenmire.
F. D. Langenheim.
Elmer Lawless.
W. B. Foster.
George A. Gillette.
H. A. Sternberg.
Rev. F. J. Donat.
Mrs. Elmer S. Sears.
Eldridge Tucker.
Mrs. Eldridge Tucker.
(Not identified.)
Mrs. L. B. Wright.

Fourth Row
(left to right)—

Mrs. George J. Bauer.
Miss L. Fischer.
Miss M. Kramer.
F. C. Parker.
Perley W. Locker.
J. F. Wacek.
E. E. Cruthers.
Gottlieb Kraft.
F. T. Joers.
John E. Morse.
Howard M. Foster.
Archibald Firestone.
Mrs. Victor Morin.
Victor Morin.

Official photograph of the 1926 American Numismatic Association Convention.



A CABINET FOR YOUR COINS.

A Cabinet
adaptable to
your needs. A
necessity for
the man desir-
ing orderly ar-
rangement of
his coins.



Practical.
Convenient.
Appropriate.
Attractive.
Desirable.
Useful.

Made of choicest materials. Covered with Imitation Seal Grain Leather. Fitted with Nickered Trimmings and good Lock. Five long and ten short Drawers, each $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch high, easy-sliding and lined with Felt. Outside dimensions, 16 inches long, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

PRICE \$25.00.

10 per cent. off for orders placed during September.

H. GERSTNER & SONS,

103 Columbia St.,

DAYTON, OHIO.

Until album pages became popular beginning in the late 1920s, most numismatists kept their coins in wooden cabinets.



Private Office of B. Max Mehl.

Scenes from the business of B. Max Mehl in the 1930s. At the time Mehl, who advertised widely in newspapers, magazines, and even by radio, had America's largest rare coin dealership.



General Offices Where Incoming and Outgoing Coin Consignments and Orders Are Taken Care Of.



General Correspondence, Filing and Dispatching Room, Preparing Outgoing Catalogs, Price Lists, Form Letters, Inquiries, Etc.



Sorting and Opening Incoming Daily Mail.
(During busy season average of 7,500 pieces per day.)



View of Part of the Printing Department.

In 1926 Virgil Brand, a wealthy brewer, died in Chicago. Brand, who had begun collecting coins around 1885, was 60 years of age at his death. Eccentric in his habits, Brand succumbed to food poisoning while eating in an unclean restaurant which mostly catered to the indigent. *The Numismatist* reported:

For years it has been said by other collectors that Brand has everything. Of course, this is a slight exaggeration, because since this was first said of him he has continued to add to his collection. But it was seldom a dealer who could offer him a coin of which he did not own a duplicate. His specialty was the numismatic field—ancient, medieval, and modern. His retiring disposition and dislike for numismatic publicity gives a peculiar interest into the contents of his collection. He took few into his confidence, and perhaps but himself knew just what it contained . . .

Mr. Brand was a bachelor and a man of wealth. With him, to desire a coin was to own it if it could be purchased, no matter what its degree of rarity or its price. He was a student of coins as well. For general numismatic knowledge few collectors were better posted. What disposition was made of his collection has not been made public. Some idea of its size may be gleaned from a statement made some time ago by a prominent European dealer, from whom many of Mr. Brand's purchases were made and who was, perhaps, better acquainted with its contents than anyone else. This dealer is reported to have said that he would appraise the collection at two million dollars.

Competing with Brand during the mid-1920s was Col. E. H. R. Green, the playboy millionaire son of eccentric Wall Street financier Hetty Green. Emphasis was on quantity, and Green purchased rarities by the twos, threes, and in the case of the 1913 Liberty head nickels, by the fives. Like Brand, Green was not a central figure in the numismatic field, preferring to collect privately and showing his collection to few outsiders.

Thomas L. Elder, who enjoyed regaling his listeners with interesting stories, told of an immense group of gold dollars which had been sold earlier to a dealer:

One day about two and a half years ago a tall young man with a slightly foreign accent, evidently British, drew a few samples of the coins [gold dollars dated 1849-1889] from his pocket and extended his hand with them in his palm across the counter of a well known New York coin dealer. Said he, "What will you offer for each? There are more of them—quite a few more." The price was quickly agreed upon per coin and no limit was placed on the number.

The next day in a spacious well furnished office resembling that used by directors in their meetings, three men sat around the table with two small bags that were open, and 1,700 of the tiny coins were rolled out into view. They were counted into three piles: the fine, the simply good, and the damaged. The deal being completed, the matter was then thought to be ended when, behold, some three months later the same tall British gentleman telephoned the dealer and asked if he would not come downtown since another

bag of gold dollars had arrived. Well, in that bag there were not only more than 2,000 gold dollars, but perhaps 20 of them were \$3 gold pieces. Here a really remarkable find had been disposed of, and all to one individual in the city of New York . . .

In that lot of over 4,000 gold dollars there were almost all dates, not quite all, nor quite all the mintmarks. There were two 1863s, two 1864s, and all the other dates in the 1860s except 1865. The dollar of 1865, therefore, must be rated as one of exceptional rarity—not one in over 4,000! Neither was there an 1875, but all the other dates in the 1870s of the Philadelphia Mint were there, including an Uncirculated 1870 of the San Francisco Mint . . .

In the first lot were a few of the C and D mints, but not nearly all. There was no 1855, 1859, 1860, nor 1861 of the Dahlonega Mint. There were a considerable number of the San Francisco Mint, such dates as 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, and 1860. There was only one 1850 of the New Orleans Mint. Strange to say, the larger lot of the two, the one of over 2,000, contained very few rarities . . .

Those 4,000 gold dollars were quickly absorbed—taken up so completely that not more than 100 of them remained in the original buyer's hands.

On the subject of gold dollars Elder related that a Mr. Lowe told him that he had gone to the Philadelphia Mint in 1889, the last year of gold dollar coinage, and the mintmaster urged him to take 1,000 brilliant new gold dollars, which had just been struck, for their face value, but the numismatist either did not have the means or the inclination and passed up the opportunity.

On June 26-28, 1929, Thomas L. Elder conducted an auction featuring the Dr. George Alfred Lawrence Collection. Included were many outstanding territorial gold coins, among which were the \$10 Baldwin of 1850 which sold for \$600; \$10 Baldwin 1851 \$1,550; \$10 Dubosq & Co. 1850 \$3,900; \$50 Kellogg 1855 \$2,150, and other rarities. Henry Chapman paid \$7,000 for a rare 1855 Wass, Molitor & Co. \$20 issue with large head obverse in the Lawrence sale, thereby establishing an all-time high record for a United States coin sold at auction.

After 1930—A New Era in Numismatics

In 1931 B. Max Mehl announced that he had spent a record \$18,500 for a single advertisement in the *American Weekly Sunday* supplement to sell the *Star Rare Coin Encyclopedia*. The editor of *The Numismatist* said, "Again we congratulate you, Max." Soon thereafter, Mehl advertised that he had purchased the collection of Waldo Newcomer, the famous Baltimore numismatist, whose holdings were valued at over \$250,000. The Newcomer Collection had many rarities, including an 1804 silver dollar, 1827 quarter, and rare pieces with mintmarks.



GUTTAG BROS.

16-18 EXCHANGE PLACE

"REGISTERED"

NEW YORK

December 30, 1925.

Mr. John W. Garrett,
950 Park Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed we are sending you on approval
the 1861 \$3.00 Gold Piece at \$65.00.

If you have the time to spare we would
be only too glad to have you look over our present
stock of coins. You could inspect them at your leisure
in our private office where you would not be disturbed.

However, if you are pressed for time,
if you will indicate just what pieces you would like to
see we would arrange for one of our representatives to
call at your address with them at your convenience.

*From 1 have had
no offer from
any one
W.G.*

Awaiting your reply, we remain

Very truly yours,

JG:HDL



1861 \$3.00 gold piece on approval
Postage and registry

\$65.00
 .19

\$65.19

*Please send receipt to me
at Baltimore*

In the 1920s the Gutttag Brothers, who were mainly in the securities and finance business, issued mimeographed price lists periodically. This letter of December 30, 1925, transmits an 1861 \$3 gold piece ordered by John Work Garrett.

In 1934 the California Stamp Co. issued *The National Catalogue of United States Coins*, a 160-page booklet which gave date and mintmark varieties of coins, their mintages, and prices in several grades. Prior to this new catalogue, collectors had to rely upon A. G. Heaton's 1893 book (and its subsequent revisions) to know what mintmarks existed, perhaps updating the information with dealers' catalogues, particularly those issued by Scott.

The same year marked the introduction on September 10th of the *Standard Catalogue of United States Coins and Currency*. Written by Wayte Raymond and distributed by Scott Stamp & Coin Co., the catalogue marked the first of over a dozen regularly-issued books with prices changed at regular intervals, the first regularly-issued price guide of a comprehensive nature. A prospectus described it as follows:

Describes for the first time in one volume, all United States coins and currency, giving prices at which most of them may be purchased from the publishers.

Early American coins, 1652-1796; United States gold, silver, and copper coins; private gold issues, 1830-1861; commemorative coins; early colonial and Continental notes; United States notes; fractional currency; Confederate and southern states notes. With nearly seven hundred illustrations.

The volume, which weighed nearly two pounds in its shipping carton, sold for \$2.50. The *Standard Catalogue* was an instant success and immediately became the "bible" of the numismatic field, the standard reference for dealers and collectors alike.

Lee Hewitt, a Chicago printer, began publishing the *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine* in 1935. This, too, was an immediate success. Within a few years it eclipsed *The Numismatist* in size. At the same time commemorative half dollars were capturing the fancy of collectors and public alike. Prices multiplied overnight in some instances, and more and more people were attracted to the field of collecting. In the late 1930s the Whitman Publishing Company produced its "pennyboards," printed stiff cardboard sheets with appropriately lettered openings for dates and mintmarks. Sold through Woolworth's, hobby stores, and other retail outlets, these sheets were distributed in vast quantities. Hundreds of thousands of people began looking through their change for a coveted 1909 Lincoln cent with an S mintmark on the obverse and tiny V.D.B. initials on the reverse. Likewise, the 1914-D and 1931-S cents achieved their own degree of fame.

In 1941 B. Max Mehl offered at auction the collection of William Forrester Dunham. Interest in the sale was so intense that over 2,500 copies of the catalogue

were sold in advance for \$3 each. Prices realized were commensurate. The 1804 silver dollar sold for a new record price, \$4,250, the highest figure ever for a United States silver coin. The 1822 half eagle was sold for \$11,575, the buyer being Amon Carter, of B. Max Mehl's own city, Fort Worth. Numerous other price records were broken.

In the marketplace the "date and mintmark syndrome" took a firm hold, and any date or mintmark variety with an especially low mintage outpaced its brethren in price. Proof sets, which had been discontinued by the Philadelphia Mint in 1916, were again issued in 1936. By 1942, when they were discontinued because of the World War II effort, they had become quite popular with collectors. In the last year 21,000 sets were made. In 1950 Proof mintage was again resumed, only to be discontinued in 1964, and resumed again in 1968.

The *Handbook of United States Coins* was released by Whitman Publishing Company with an inaugural 1942 edition. A few years later, in 1947, *The Guidebook of United States Coins*, written by Richard S. Yeoman, made its appearance. Within a decade, sales of the *Guidebook* had expanded to the extent that the *Standard Catalogue* was faltering. In 1957 the latter publication was discontinued, leaving *The Guidebook of United States Coins*, in its annual editions, the main pricing guide used by American collectors.

B. Max Mehl was the premier professional numismatist in the 1940s, although strong competition was mounted by the Numismatic Gallery (Abe Kosoff and Abner Kreisberg), Stack's, and several others. In 1949 *The Saturday Evening Post* ran a special feature article on B. Max Mehl, giving a romantic view of his coin dealership. So great was the response from Mehl's clients and admirers that Mehl himself issued a follow-up pamphlet. Titled *Recognition*, it contained reprinted letters from dealers, collectors, and others who paid tribute to the Texas dealer. By a decade later Mehl had died, thus ending the career of America's most colorful professional numismatist.

Chester L. Krause founded *Numismatic News* in Iola, Wisconsin in 1952. Eventually the publication grew to a weekly newspaper with many advertisements, editorial features, and news of the day. Krause Publications flourished, and *Coins Magazine* was added to the line, as were a number of important numismatic reference books. *Coin World*, a newspaper of weekly format, was launched in 1961 by the Sidney Printing and Publishing Co. in Ohio. Under the editorship of D. Wayne Johnson in the early years and Margo Russell later, *Coin*

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC ASSOCIATION

Federal Charter Granted 1912

HARRY H. YAWGER, INDIANA PA.
CHAIRMAN BOARD OF GOVERNORS

H. T. WILSON, 535 N. SAWYER AVE. CHICAGO, ILL.
GENERAL SECRETARY

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MORITZ WORMSER
95 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

November 12th, 1925.

Mr. John W. Garrett,
Redwood Street cor South,
Baltimore, Md.

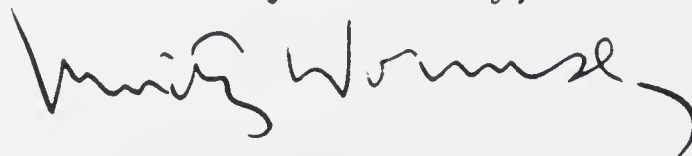
My dear Mr. Garrett:

I take pleasure in writing you further on the subject of the Smithsonian Washington Committee and herewith am happy to appoint you as a member of this Committee in accordance with our preceding correspondence and your kind letter of the 4th inst. I again wish to express to you my gratitude, personally as well as in behalf of the Association, for your willingness to serve.

As Chairman of this Committee, I have appointed Mr. G. H. Emery, Mc Gill Bldg., Washington, D.C. and as third member, Mr. F. G. Duffield, Editor of our magazine, and a member of the A.N.A, and ex-President for many years past. The Chairman is a young Attorney and as such I think can do very valuable work in Washington, not only in aid of the Smithsonian Institution but also in other matters that might come up in the Capitol, of interest to numismatics in general. Here is wishing good luck to the work of the Committee.

With renewed thanks and kindest regards, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,



PRESIDENT
AMERICAN NUMISMATIC ASS'N.

MF:HZ

On November 12, 1925, Moritz Wormser, president of the American Numismatic Association, appoints John Work Garrett as a member of the ANA's Smithsonian Washington Committee. Moritz Wormser played an active part in the affairs of the American Numismatic Association during the 1920s. In the next decade he formed the New Netherlands Coin Co. of New York City which engaged in auction and retail sales. In later years the business was continued by his son Charles.

World and its staffers garnered many numismatic literary awards. With *Coin World* and *Numismatic News* collectors, dealers, and others had numismatic information almost as soon as it happened. For those interested in price movements, the *Coin Dealer Newsletter*, first issued in the 1960s, provided additional data.

In 1955 the Professional Numismatists Guild was founded. It went on to become the leading American organization of rare coin dealers, often working with the International Association of Professional Numismatists (IAPN), a similar group but with a more international membership.

The past quarter century has been peppered with many items of numismatic significance and importance. The issuing again of United States Proof sets in 1950 created considerable interest, and by 1956 a great market had developed in them. Around the same time the gathering of coins by bank-wrapped rolls gained great impetus, fueled in part by publicity attached to the low-mintage 1950 Denver Mint nickel. The 1955 double die cent captured the fancy of collectors as pieces rose in value from 25c on the collector's market to many hundreds of dollars. In 1960 the Philadelphia and Denver mints produced two sizes of dates among Lincoln cents issued, the large date and small date. Small date issues of Philadelphia in particular were elusive. Several fortunate collectors found bonanzas by obtaining at banks \$10 bags of 1960 small date cents for face value. Some of these were subsequently sold for \$10,000 per bag and even more. In 1962 the Treasury Department surprised and delighted collectors by releasing from long-term storage such previously expensive coins as 1898-O, 1903-O, 1904-O silver dollars. The 1903-O in particular was considered a rarity and at one time catalogued \$1,500. The treasure hunt was on, and within the next several years several hundred million silver dollars poured forth into the hands of the public. Too late, the Treasury realized it had a bonanza, so at the end it kept back about 3 million prize dollars, mainly issues of the Carson City Mint from the late 19th century. These were subsequently offered to collectors in the series of postal auction sales.

The discontinuation of silver coins in 1965 and the

introduction of clad pieces stimulated the public's interest in coinage further, and additional collectors joined the ranks. Such new issues as the 1964 Kennedy half dollar, 1971 Eisenhower dollar, and the innovative 1979 Susan B. Anthony dollar further whetted collectors' appetites.

By the late 1970s over 30,000 people belonged to the American Numismatic Association. Perhaps a quarter million subscribed to *Coin World*, *Numismatic News*, *CoinAge*, *Coins*, *The Coin Dealer Newsletter*, and other numismatic publications, not to overlook specialized periodicals which appealed to enthusiasts in the field of tokens, paper money, medals, colonials, and other branches. The Professional Numismatists Guild numbered nearly 200 members, with thousands of other dealers each competing for a share of the market.

By 1979 several million collectors ordered Proof sets each year from the Mint. A vastly larger number, estimated from eight to ten million by a former director of the Mint, collected coins casually from circulation and through purchases from dealers.

Numismatic writing proliferated. The Numismatic Literary Guild, composed of several hundred authors in the field, numbered among its members many who had made important contributions, including updating of earlier standard reference books.

Investments had long been an important consideration for the numismatist; witness the United States Coin Co. advertisement of 1912, "Coins as an Investment." By the late 1970s investment had become a *primary* consideration for many. Inflation in the American economy climbed to previously unknown high rates. Collectible items in the art and antiques field, coins among them, offered excellent possibilities as a hedge. Toward the end of the 1970s decade an increasing number of money managers, pension funds, and others focused their attention on the coin market.

A survey of collector and dealer opinions in 1979 would have resulted in concern for such topics as grading, market prices, and availability of coins. Numismatic history tells us that the same survey taken a century earlier, in 1879, probably would have resulted in the same emphasis.

The Garrett Collection

3

Early History of the Garrett Family

Born in Lisburn, County Down, Ireland on May 2, 1783, Robert Garrett was the youngest of John and Margaret MacMachen Garrett's six children. He came to America with his family in 1790 and settled on a farm in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. In 1798 a move was made to another farm near Middletown in the same state. In the following year Robert Garrett, then 16, and his older brother traveled down the Ohio River to trade with the Indians. After spending the winter with Indian suppliers they returned in the spring of 1800 with many furs.

In 1801 Robert came to Baltimore where he was employed by Patrick Dinsmore for three years as a clerk in a produce and commission firm. He then formed his own company, Wallace & Garrett, which sold produce and other items from the Ohio River valley and in turn supplied settlers with manufactured Eastern goods. Robert married Martha Hanna of Baltimore in 1811. In December of the same year Sarah Margaret was born. Martha, age 21, died the following October. Garrett, a widower, dissolved the firm of Wallace & Garrett and returned to Middletown, Pennsylvania where he operated a retail store and became justice of the peace.

He traveled to Baltimore often to visit old friends and see again his favorite surroundings. There he met Elizabeth Stouffer, the daughter of a Baltimore city councilman and merchant. A courtship, mostly conducted by letters (preserved today in the Library of Congress), followed. They were married in May 1817 and made Middletown their home. Two years later Garrett sold his store and moved back to Baltimore. With the help of his father-in-law, Henry Stouffer, he established Robert Garrett & Co. in 1819. Drawing upon connections made earlier he purchased items along the frontier in western Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Beeswax, snakeroot, wool, dried apples, butter, feathers, ginseng, and whisky were shipped to Baltimore. In exchange Garrett sent to the West items which frontier merchants needed: medicine, chocolate, powder, hats and bonnets, shovels, flints, shoeblackening, shaving soap, chalk, and other supplies. In 1823 the business had prospered to the extent that a move was made to expand the firm into a three-story warehouse.

At the time most products were shipped westward by Conestoga wagon over the Cumberland Road, the first route built through the mountains to connect the seacoast with the frontier lands of Ohio. From Baltimore, rates for these wagons, huge conveyances pulled by teams of six horses, ranged from 1½c to 2½c per pound to Pittsburgh and from 3½c to 5c per pound to places further west than Ohio. Each wagon had a capacity of 4,000 to 5,000 pounds. From Baltimore it took 4 days to travel to Hagerstown, Maryland, 16 days to Pittsburgh, 18 days to Wheeling, Virginia (later to become West Virginia), and 24 days to Centerville, Ohio.

Baltimore had over 70,000 citizens in the year 1825. Garrett's firm was one of the most prominent in the city. Baltimore, the third largest city in America, was viewed as having a very bright future as a commercial link with the developing western states.

Robert Garrett became interested in other ventures and was an investor in the York & Gettysburg Turnpike Co. and may have participated in the financing of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co. From his second marriage several children were born: Henry Stouffer, John Work, Elizabeth Barbara, and Robert Close (who died at age five).

Young Henry and John Garrett attended the Voisseau Academy in Baltimore. At the age of 14 John W.

Garrett was sent to Easton, Pennsylvania, to attend the preparatory school operated by Lafayette College. There he stayed two years and learned Latin, French, history, surveying, and other skills. In the meantime the Garrett business grew. By the late 1830s the firm was buying shiploads of fish from New England, importing coffee from Haiti, shipping flour to Boston, and doing business with the United States Army in Florida. As a leading dealer in commodities, Robert Garrett established close contacts with other merchants in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston as well as other commercial areas. When the Panic of 1837 came many businesses went bankrupt. Robert Garrett & Co. survived. John Garrett, travelling in western Pennsylvania, wrote home, "I much regret to learn of the bad state of affairs in Baltimore. At the time was much gratified to learn of the state of comfortability of Messrs. R. G. & Co."

In February 1840 Henry Garrett, 21 years of age, and John W. Garrett, 20, became partners with their father, then 56 years of age, in Robert Garrett & Sons. The Robert Garrett & Co. name which had been in use for 21 years was discontinued.

The firm made its first transaction outside of the commission and merchandise business in August of 1843, when it acquired \$5,000 in Pennsylvania state 5% bonds at 49½. Less than a year later they sold them at 72½, making an attractive profit. The commission business expanded and grew to include cotton, tobacco, and hemp. In 1841 a second warehouse was constructed. 1845 saw the purchase of the Eutaw House, one of the finest hotels in Baltimore, for \$58,500. Several years later the Wakefield Inn was acquired, razed, and a new hotel, the Howard House, was erected on the site. The new structure was connected to a house built in 1798 by Henry Stouffer, Robert Garrett's father-in-law. The Stouffer structure became the Fayette Street entrance to the hotel.

Robert Garrett & Sons invested in the Baltimore Gas Light Co., the Baltimore Water Co., the Union Manufacturing Co., the Merchants' Fire Insurance Co., the Merchants' Shot Tower (which manufactured lead shot by dropping molten metal from a height into a pool of water), the Susquehanna & Tidewater Canal, and the Ocean Mutual Fire Insurance Co., among others. Robert Garrett was the founder of the Western Bank in 1837 and continued on its board until his death. In 1847 he founded the Eutaw Savings Bank. Later he was a director of the Savings Bank of Baltimore.

By the late 1840s Robert Garrett & Sons had a diversified business with an extensive overseas trade, par-

ticularly with England. The firm chartered ships and engaged in international banking. Often they would handle the foreign exchange notes, payments, and other transactions of other Baltimore merchants. In 1846 the company sent \$8,000 worth of supplies to the United States Commissary Department for use in the war with Mexico. Shipments of coffee, salt, and molasses were sent to Texas and from there were forwarded to American troops in Mexico. The arrangements continued through 1850.

Following the discovery of gold in California in 1848 and the boom which ensued in 1849, Robert Garrett & Sons became active in shipping provisions to San Francisco. Payment was received in gold bullion. In 1850 the *Monumental City*, a steamship of 733 tons, the largest ocean-going vessel built in Baltimore up to that time, was financed by Garrett. In December 1850 it left on its maiden voyage, a trip to California. The *Samuel Hicks*, a square-rigged sailing vessel, was purchased soon thereafter and was lost at sea on its first voyage. The Garretts then constructed the *Atlas*, which went to California with a cargo of white pine, bringing guano (bird dung for use as fertilizer) from Peru on the return voyage.

The B&O Railroad

While the Cumberland Road linked Baltimore with the West in the early nineteenth century, it was soon realized that canal transportation was cheaper than overland shipping. In the face of competition from the Erie Canal to the north (begun in 1817, opened for traffic in 1826), and a canal which was started in Pennsylvania in 1826, Baltimore's future seemed uncertain. To remedy this, Baltimore citizens determined to build America's first commercial railroad. In 1827 a charter was obtained for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. In January 1830 business commenced. By 1834 the tracks stretched to Harper's Ferry, and by 1842 to Cumberland. It was decided to extend the trackage to the Ohio River at Wheeling, Virginia, in 1846. Around that time the Garretts, who owned just 11 shares of stock, became interested in the line. Financing was needed. The 200-mile stretch between Cumberland and Wheeling crossed the Appalachian Mountains and involved an estimated cost of \$6 million. Credit of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was poor. In 1849 its shares sold for just 28c on the dollar. Railroads to the north, formed later than the B&O, had reached certain western areas first and were taking much of the traffic.

The Garrett family stepped in and helped the B&O

Railroad in several ways. Bonds were sold to finance the extension to Wheeling, and the firm assisted with various management situations. Henry Garrett joined the board of directors in 1852 but remained only for a year or so. John W. Garrett joined the board several years later. In 1858, at the age of 38, he was elected president of the railroad.

In the meantime, John had married Rachel Ann Harrison, the daughter of Thomas Harrison, a Baltimore merchant. In the summer John W. Garrett and his family lived on an estate, Lansdown, located to the southwest of Baltimore. During the rest of the year they lived nearer in the family's three-story mansion in the central city. John W. Garrett had four children: Robert, T. Harrison, Henry S., and Mary Elizabeth. Henry was an invalid all of his life. John's father, Robert Garrett, died on February 4, 1857, at the age of 74.

During the late 1850s the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad occupied much of John W. Garrett's time. Henry Garrett managed the day-to-day activities of Robert Garrett & Sons. The latter business grew even more. The company gained prominence in the field of stocks, bonds, and other securities. The old commodity business was discontinued for the most part, with business being done only on a limited basis to serve old accounts.

During the Civil War many problems occurred in domestic and international finance. Money was scarce in circulation, customers delayed payments, and other crises arose. Losses were often sustained by those who held United States currency and Treasury notes, for they were not readily accepted in the channels of commerce, due to the uncertain outcome of the Civil War. During one low point the Garretts wrote to another finance firm stating that "we may be led to discontinue entirely." Attempts were made to lease the Eutaw House and the Howard House.

Like many Baltimorean families, the Garrett family was divided in loyalty during the war. Henry favored the policies of the South, while John supported the North. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was a Northern railroad, despite the fact that its tracks were below the Mason-Dixon Line. As a result, many problems arose. At one time the governor of Virginia threatened to confiscate much of the railroad if Garrett allowed federal troops to use it. A letter, signed by 100 Southern sympathizers, threatened to destroy every bridge and the track of the railroad if Northern soldiers were carried on the route. Involved in the threat were some of Garrett's closest friends, for the letter stated

"many of our committee know you personally, some intimately."

Despite the danger, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was kept busy as the only rail link between Washington and the Northern states. It operated more or less continuously, with occasional interruption and much interference by the Confederate forces. In October 1862 John W. Garrett put a train at the disposal of President Abraham Lincoln, who journeyed to Antietam, inviting Garrett to join him. On October 3, 1862, Mathew Brady photographed Lincoln, George B. McClellan and John W. Garrett in front of Gen. McClellan's tent.

In January 1865 Abraham Lincoln personally penned a letter to John W. Garrett:

It is said we shall soon all be in the dark here, unless you can bring coal to make gas. I suppose you would do this, without any interference, if you could; and I only right now can say, it is very important to us; and not to say that you must stop supplying the army to make room to carry coal. Do all you can for us in both matters.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln

Lincoln paid a high tribute to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad for the services rendered and declared that John W. Garrett was "the right arm of the Federal Government in the aid he rendered to the authorities in preventing the Confederates from seizing Washington, and securing its retention as the capital of the loyal states."

Henry Garrett's sympathy for the Confederate cause resulted in numerous problems, including his arrest in 1861 for disloyalty. The charges were subsequently dropped. Apparently the difference in political orientation between Henry and John did not cause friction between the two. Henry suffered from illness throughout much of his adult life. On October 10, 1867, he died.

John W. Garrett's two sons began learning the family businesses in the summer of 1867. Robert Garrett, 20 years of age, graduated from Princeton College in June of that year. He chose the railroad business as his career. Soon he became president of the Valley Railroad following the term of Gen. Robert E. Lee, who had acquired the position following the Civil War. In July 1875 Robert Garrett went to work for the B&O. In 1879 he became third vice president, and in 1881 he became first vice president and a director. When his father John W. Garrett went to Europe in May 1883, he became president *pro tem* in his absence. He remained in that position during his father's illness. Following the death of John W. Garrett, Robert became president



President Abraham Lincoln, General George B. McClellan, and John W. Garrett at Antietam, October 3, 1862.

Executive Mansion
Washington Jan. 10. 1865

Mr. J. W. Garrett
My dear Sir.

It is said we shall soon all be in the dark here, unless you can bring coal to make gas. I suppose you would do this, without interference, if you could; and I only write now to say, it is very important to us, and not to say that you must stop supplying the army to make room to carry coal. Do all you can for us in both matters.

Yours truly
A. Lincoln

President Abraham Lincoln writes to John W. Garrett concerning the importance of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

RAILROAD ADVERTISEMENT. 177

BALTIMORE & OHIO

RAIL ROAD

RE-OPENED!

This Great National Thoroughfare

IS AGAIN OPEN FOR
FREIGHTS AND TRAVEL.

The Cars and Machinery destroyed are being replaced by
NEW RUNNING STOCK.

With recent improvements; and as the *Routes and Tracks* are again in substantial condition, the well-earned reputation of this Road for
SPEED, SECURITY & COMFORT.

Is more than sustained under the reorganization of its business. In addition to the *freight service* heretofore conceded to this Route, the *Passenger Service* is now extended to numerous points on the Road, between the Ohio River and Baltimore, of particular business interest.

CONNECTIONS.

At the Ohio River with Cleveland and Pittsburgh, Central Ohio, and Marietta and Cincinnati, and, through them with the whole Railway System of the Northwest, Central West, and Southwest.

At Harper's Ferry with the Winchester Road.

At Washington Junction with the Washington Branch for Washington City and the Lower Potomac.

At Baltimore with four daily trains for Philadelphia and New York.

The Baltimore and Ohio Through Tickets to Baltimore or the Northern Cities, give the privilege of stopping at any of the *stations* en route, being 2.00 lower than the cost by any other line, and the rate to Baltimore being 2.50 lower than their recently charged by way of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.

It is the **ONLY** Route by which passengers can procure *through tickets* and *freight* at *Washington City*.

J. H. SULLIVAN,
Agent at Baltimore, Md.

W. P. SMITH,
Master of Transportation,
BALTIMORE.

1863 advertisement for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

of the line. During his term a new branch was built to Philadelphia at a cost of \$10 million. Additional properties were acquired. In the summer of 1887 he went to Europe to secure financing to retire earlier Baltimore & Ohio Railroad debts. When he returned to the United States in October he discovered that the B&O Telegraph Co., which had been one of his favorite enterprises, had been sold to a competitor, Western Union, for \$5 million in stock, against his wishes. This news, plus declining health, caused his resignation. He continued on the board of directors for several years but did not take an active part in planning.

When John W. Garrett's two sons entered the family businesses in 1867 he still remained active. In the same year he arranged a dinner for Johns Hopkins, a wealthy Baltimore bachelor, and George Peabody, a London banker who was visiting Baltimore at the time. It was hoped to influence Hopkins to become interested in philanthropy, for he possessed a considerable fortune. It is believed that this meeting may have served as an inspiration to Hopkins, who later wrote his will with a provision for the establishment of Johns Hopkins University and Johns Hopkins Hospital. Twelve trustees were named for each of the two organizations, with John W. Garrett selected as a member of both groups. Johns Hopkins died in December 1873. The university bearing his name opened in autumn 1876. John W. Garrett remained active with the university and participated in its planning until 1883.

John W. Garrett lived in his family house on the southwest corner of Mount Vernon Place and Cathedral Street in Baltimore. This was subsequently enlarged to include a conservatory and an art gallery. Around 1870 Montebello, a stone mansion then on the outskirts of the city, was acquired. To the original estate, which consisted of about 600 acres, additional properties were added to comprise a nearly 3,000 acre spread. Sheep, horses, and cattle were bred there. Members of the British Parliament, bankers, and national political figures were regular visitors at Montebello.

Around 1878 he purchased Evergreen, a lovely estate on Charles Street which is believed to have been built in the 1850s by the Broadbent family. The house, originally built as a classic revival structure, featured a porticoed entrance. Surrounding were many acres of land maintained as an estate and park.

John W. Garrett spent the summer of 1884 at his summer cottage in Deer Park, in Garrett County at the western end of Maryland. The county had been formed in 1872 by dividing Allegheny County and had been

named in honor of him. On September 26, 1884, he died from an illness.

T. Harrison Garrett, Collector

T. (for Thomas) Harrison Garrett, a member of Princeton's class of 1868, did not graduate then. At a later time the institution conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts. He joined Robert Garrett & Sons and became active in the areas of finance, commodities, and real estate. The firm entered the oil export business by buying crude oil from western Virginia, bringing it to Baltimore by the B&O Railroad, and exporting it. Within the first year of operation 52 million gallons were shipped. The firm was an agent for the Baltimore & Savannah Steamship Co. Their real estate holdings expanded as did their interests in various companies and other commercial endeavors. After Jay Cooke & Co., the firm which acted as agent for the United States Treasury Department in the distribution of bonds, went bankrupt during the Panic of 1873, the business was mainly taken over by Drexel Morgan & Co. Robert Garrett & Sons assisted Morgan, particularly in Europe where the Garretts had many connections. Many government and other bonds were sold in Europe at the time, providing much of the capital for American business finance and expansion. At the time Europeans owned over \$1 billion worth of American government securities and an additional \$.5 billion in the stocks and bonds of American corporations.

In 1870 T. Harrison Garrett married Alice Whitridge, the daughter of Horatio Whitridge, of Baltimore. They eventually moved into Evergreen, the palatial mansion acquired by his father around 1878. Five children were born to the marriage: John Work, Horatio Whitridge, Robert, and a son and daughter who died in infancy.

Harold A. Williams, biographer of the Garrett family, noted in the history, *Robert Garrett & Sons*, that T. Harrison Garrett was a man of many interests. He was one of the incorporators of the Academy of Music in Baltimore, a playhouse built in 1875, which was considered to be the finest south of New York City. Among the famous actors who played there were Thomas W. Keene and Sir Henry Irving.

In the mid-1860s, probably about 1865, T. Harrison Garrett, then a student at Princeton, saw for the first time a copper cent of New Jersey made in the 1780s. Already a collector of books, Garrett immediately became interested in numismatics. From that point forward his collection grew.



T. Harrison Garrett.



Evergreen House, Baltimore, Maryland. Home of T. Harrison Garrett and John Work Garrett.



Patent Wooten desk, formerly the property of Sidney Lanier, the poet, presently displayed in Evergreen House.

At the same time he devoted intense effort to the study of manuscripts and autographs. His collection eventually grew to include several folios of Shakespeare (the first of which he acquired while a student at Princeton), a collection of the autographs of signers of the Declaration of Independence, and many rare books. In 1885 the Claghorn collection of prints came on the market. The group, numbering 28,000, was one of the finest ever assembled. Garrett purchased it intact. Today these prints, ranging from the era of Schongauer through Whistler, are on permanent loan exhibit at the Baltimore Museum of Art and form the basis for that institution's print collection, considered to be one of the finest in the country.

T. Harrison Garrett was also a member of the Maryland Historical Society and played an important part in the recovery of the Calvert papers that were found on the estate of Col. Henry Harford, near Windsor, England.

Beginning in the late 1870s, T. Harrison Garrett expanded his numismatic horizons and set about building a complete collection of United States coins. Desired was a specimen of each date variety. Mintmark collecting was not popular at the time, and dealers and collectors alike paid little heed to whether or not a coin bore a C, D, or other mint letter. In the silver series, the most important classic was the 1804 silver dollar. In 1883 Garrett obtained the Berg Collection specimen. The 1827 quarter, extant in original and restrike form, was another prime classic. Eventually Garrett acquired two originals, disposing of the less fine piece as a duplicate. The 1802 half dime which belonged to Harold P. Newlin, author of the standard reference work on the series, was incorporated into the Garrett collection, as were many other prime rarities.

In addition to regular United States series, Garrett had a deep interest in coins and medals of the colonial period. Historical detail fascinated him, and the more romantic a coin's history, the more he desired to own it. Ancient coins and coins of the world were also collected with enthusiasm.

From the United States Mint in Philadelphia were acquired copper, silver, and gold Proof sets at the time of issue. Gaps among earlier Proof coins were filled in by purchases at public auction and by private treaty, including an illustrious run of gold Proof sets from the famed Ely Collection.

From the late 1870s through the 1880s T. Harrison Garrett purchased hundreds of different United States and world coins through various auctions catalogued

by Woodward, Cogan, Scott, Haseltine, Frossard, and others.

Dr. George Massamore, a Baltimore dentist who also maintained an active coin dealership (he catalogued nearly 50 auction sales from 1880 to 1897), was often employed as an agent. In 1884 Massamore conducted a sale which featured some of Garrett's coins under the heading "Duplicates from an Advanced Collector's Cabinet." Included were such items as an 1875 gold dollar, quarter eagle, and \$3 in Proof, an 1815 half eagle, and other rarities. Harold P. Newlin also acted as an agent for Garrett on numerous occasions, as did certain other dealers. While most auction invoices were made out to Mr. Garrett personally, often the names of agents or pseudonyms were used. Hence, the Garrett file of invoices grew to include such buyers' names as DesForges, Newlin, Massamore, South, Harrison, Baltimore, and Hotchkiss.

An active correspondence was maintained with leading dealers. Excerpts selected from nearly 4,100 pieces of correspondence and other data appear in an appendix of the present book and furnish an interesting insight into numismatics of the late 19th century.

By 1885 the coin collection of T. Harrison Garrett was considered to be second only to that of Lorin G. Parmelee in size and completeness in the American series. In the following year, 1886, he acquired intact the famous collection of New Jersey copper cents formed over a long period of years by Dr. Edward Maris, who wrote the standard reference on the series.

Although T. Harrison Garrett was a founding member of the Baltimore Numismatic Society, he did not take an active part either in organization meetings or in-person attendance at coin sales, although there were some exceptions. He conducted his collecting activities with modesty and privacy. As his reputation and that of his collection spread, dealers eagerly offered him first chance at important collections and other properties acquired. In this way T. Harrison Garrett obtained many pieces which were not available in auction sales. With an eye for quality, Garrett rejected specimens, even rarities, which were not in a superb state of preservation. When the opportunity to acquire a finer specimen presented itself, he would buy the superior piece and sell or trade the lesser one. By the late 1880s the quality of his collection was unmatched by any other.

On Saturday morning, June 9, 1888, the *Baltimore Sun* carried a news item:

Mr. T. Harrison Garrett, second son of the late John W. Garrett, and the head of the banking firm of Robert Garrett & Sons, South Street, was drowned at a late hour Thursday

IMPORTERS OF
AND
DEALERS IN
ANCIENT
GREEK AND ROMAN
COINS,
ENGRAVED GEMS,
BRONZES, POTTERY,
AND
ANTIQUITIES,
FOREIGN
COINS AND MEDALS.

SAMUEL HUDSON CHAPMAN.

HENRY CHAPMAN, JR.

S. H. & H. CHAPMAN,
Numismatists and Antiquaries,

NO. 2009 ARCH STREET,
PHILADELPHIA.

DEALERS IN
AMERICAN
COINS AND MEDALS,
AND ESPECIALLY IN
FINE AND RARE
SPECIMENS,
NUMISMATIC BOOKS,
INDIAN
POTTERY AND
STONE IMPLEMENTS,
PATENT CABINET.

4th Mo. 21st 1883

T. Harrison Garrett, Esq.

Dear Sir.

We desire to offer to you the
rarest coin of the U. S. regular series, viz—
1815 Half Eagle, in uncirculated condition with perhaps
what might be termed the slightest touch of cabinet friction,
a strong, sharp, beautiful piece. Price \$480.

But four specimens of this date are known to
exist, which cannot, we think, be said of any other date of
U. S. coins; it is of greater rarity than the dollar of 1804
and in a few years when the collecting of gold develops.
it will no doubt command a very large figure.

Very Respectfully,

S. H. & H. Chapman.

P.S.

The U. S. mint collection does not contain a specimen.
One of the four mentioned above, is in the collection of the Swedish
mint.

night in a collision between his yacht *Gleam* and the steamer *Joppa* of the Maryland Steamboat Co. Mr. Garrett's life was the only one lost, his companions being merely roughly shaken up.

The collision occurred about three miles below the Seven-Foot Knoll and eighteen miles from the Lazaretto Light, in this port. The *Gleam* was on her return trip to Baltimore with a pleasure party aboard, and the *Joppa* was bound for her landings on the Choptank River, having left Baltimore at 9 p.m. The yacht was sunk. The steamer sustained no damage. After making a fruitless search for three hours for Mr. Garrett, hoping that he had clung to some floating object, the *Joppa* transferred to the steamer *Sue* the passengers and crew of the *Gleam* and two gentlemen and five ladies who were passengers on the *Joppa* and who desired to return to Baltimore. The *Gleam*'s crew was landed at Locust Point, with instructions to return to the scene of the disaster and renew the search for the body. The passengers were taken to Light Street wharf. The party on the *Gleam*, who were Mr. Garrett's guests, were George R. Snowden Andrews, of the firm of Andrews & Co., stockbrokers; William H. Blackford, president of the Maryland Life Insurance Co.; Joshua G. Harvey, president of the Western National Bank; and George A. Von Lingen, the German consul for the port of Baltimore. The invitations for the trip were sent out by Mr. Garrett Wednesday afternoon . . .

After T. Harrison Garrett's death in 1888, Evergreen was closed for several years. Later John Work Garrett wrote of his father:

I was already impressed with his knowledge of his books and of his prints, his other great hobby. I remember when he used to come home from his office down on South Street and talk with us youngsters, and then when we were packed off to bed, it was his habit to shut himself up in his reading room at the end of the hall upstairs—or what is now the writing room, then called the print room—and once there, no matter what went on in town, which was happily very much further away in those days than it is today, the orders were that he was to be left undisturbed. After his death in 1888 my mother took her three boys abroad and then lived with them for four years at Princeton, so for all these six years Evergreen House was shut up. I often think that the wonder of it is that none of his treasures, particularly the books, were lost.

John Work Garrett and Robert Garrett

Following her husband's death, Mrs. T. Harrison Garrett took her three sons, John Work, Horatio, and Robert, abroad for a grand tour. From 1889 to 1891 they traveled throughout Europe and the Near East. Robert Garrett later wrote:

We boys learned some things by observation and others through the earnest efforts of our tutor. We visited Egypt one winter and also Palestine and Syria. One of the greatest experiences was a three-week journey on horseback between Damascus and Jerusalem. I still have vivid memories of the

region of the conversion of St. Paul, with snow-capped Mt. Hermon toward the west; of the waters of Merom where we first crossed the Jordan; of camping on the shore of the Sea of Galilee at the site of Capernaum; and of visiting Nazareth and many other places of importance.

Upon their return to the United States John Work Garrett and Horatio Garrett entered Princeton. To be near them, their mother bought a house close to the college where she lived until her sons graduated. In 1895 John and Horatio completed their studies at Princeton. In the same year Horatio married Charlotte Doremus Pierson. An impressive mansion, named Evergreen, Jr., was built near the family home, Evergreen House, on Charles Street. Horatio Garrett contracted a rare bone disease and died a short time afterward. Years later Evergreen, Jr. became the faculty house of Loyola College.

Following graduation, John Work Garrett went to the Yellowstone Valley with the Princeton Geological Expedition. A scare arose when no word was heard from the party for two weeks after an Indian uprising in the area. Rumors spread that members of the expedition had been killed. Fortunately, all were safe. Following this introduction to the West, John spent much of his time in the western areas, particularly Arizona and New Mexico. At one time he became a partner in an insurance agency in Phoenix. In 1896 John Work Garrett became a partner in Robert Garrett & Sons. Although he maintained his partnership until 1934, he was not active in the business, preferring instead to spend his time in the diplomatic service, which he first entered in 1901. First he served in The Hague, followed by positions in Berlin and Rome. In 1908 he married Alice Warder.

His first ministerial post was in Venezuela from 1910 to 1911. Following that he served three years as minister in Argentina. Following the onset of World War I he was appointed as a special agent of the Department of State to assist Myron T. Herrick, the United States ambassador to France. In 1917 he was named minister to the Netherlands and Luxembourg. In the summer of 1918 he became chairman of a special diplomatic mission to Berne, Switzerland, where the treaty with Germany regarding prisoners of war was signed on November 11, 1918. After the conflict he returned to Baltimore. He served as secretary general of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament in Washington during the 1921-1922 years. President Herbert Hoover appointed John Work Garrett as American ambassador to Rome in 1929, the position which he retained until 1933. During the period he had the opportunity to observe the dictatorship of

Alice Warder Garrett.



John Work Garrett.



The Evergreen House library as it appeared circa 1940.





Fireplace in the library of Evergreen House. The portrait of John Work Garrett hangs above the mantel.



Presidents Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Theodore Roosevelt, and William H. Taft were among the many who paid tribute to Mr. & Mrs. John Work Garrett during the first several decades of the 20th century. These and other signed photographs are on view at Evergreen House in Baltimore.

Mussolini. Upon his departure he was given the Grand Cross of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, the highest order conferred on anyone except royalty by the king of Italy.

His wife, Alice Garrett, became a patron of the arts. At the family home, Evergreen, she established a theatre where visiting troupes from New York and other locations often played. Ballet was another interest, as was the world of art. During the early part of the century Louis Comfort Tiffany was employed to design lighting fixtures and to provide decorative art objects for the mansion. Mrs. Garrett became a friend of several French painters during the early part of the 20th century. The works of Dufy in particular were admired, and Evergreen eventually housed the largest collection of these in America outside of museums.

Robert Garrett, the youngest son of T. Harrison, graduated from Princeton in 1897. Deeply interested in athletics, Robert entered the discus-throw competition at the Olympics, held in Athens in 1896, following a suspension of nearly 1,200 years. In spite of having no previous competitive experience, he won the discus-throw and became the first American to capture a gold medal in the Olympics. He also took first honors in the shot put, placed second in the broad jump, and tied for second in the high jump.

In 1899 Robert Garrett was a member of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, a group which engaged in the first systematic exploration ever made of the area. Following the two-year study, findings of the archaeologists were recorded in four reference books, including one written by Robert Garrett. Returning to Baltimore, he studied history and economics at The Johns Hopkins University. A Republican newspaper, *The Baltimore County News*, was published by Robert Garrett and several friends in nearby Towson. He entered numerous political contests, but as a Republican in an overwhelming Democratic area, he was never elected.

Robert Garrett took Katharine Barker Johnson as his wife in May 1907. A mansion was purchased and renamed Attica. The couple had 10 children.

Robert Garrett Adds to the Collection

The coin collection passed to Robert Garrett. For safekeeping it was housed in vaults on the premises of Robert Garrett & Sons. In 1902 the firm moved from South Street to new quarters in the Continental Building, a 16-story structure which was the tallest in Baltimore at the time. On February 7, 1904, a conflagration levelled much of the business section of down-

town Baltimore. The imposing Continental Building "burned like a torch," in the words of one observer. Destroyed were many family records, correspondence, and other items. A few weeks earlier Robert Garrett, pleased with the reception of his loan exhibit of art objects and artifacts at Princeton, moved the coin collection there. Left behind was a collection of English 17th century tokens as well as a number of early medals, all of which were subsequently reduced to molten blobs.

Around the same time Robert Garrett took a renewed interest in the collection. He drew up a want list of pieces needed for the collection and sent it to the Chapman brothers in Philadelphia. Soon thereafter the Chapmans were enlisted to prepare a catalogue of the numismatic properties.

While the collection remained at Princeton, Robert Garrett made yearly additions of Proof sets and incidental items. Included over a period of time were complete sets of Matte Proof gold coins of the years 1908-1915, examples of the rare 1907 Saint-Gaudens coinage, and other pieces. Despite many solicitations from various dealers, Robert Garrett was a careful and cautious buyer and made only a limited number of additions.

John Work Garrett, Collector

In 1919 the collection went to John Work Garrett, who was then active in his diplomatic service career. For the next decade Evergreen House was a mecca for leading figures in the arts. In 1921 Leon Bakst, a Russian painter and ballet designer, stayed at Evergreen and decorated the theater which Alice Garrett maintained on the premises. Concerts, recitals, and stage productions were given with regularity. Later the Musical Art Quartet, organized by Alma Gluck, played there.

John Work Garrett was a collector with many interests, following the predilections of his father, T. Harrison Garrett. Ornithology formed an absorbing area of study. Garrett learned the Latin names of many different species. At Evergreen House books on birds included works by leading authors in the field. Audubon books comprised four volumes, elephant folio in size, with a total of 435 plates. Two original Audubon drawings, Morton's finch, 1841, and Bell's vireo, 1844, were prized possessions. Accompanying the Audubon books were 35 folio volumes by John Gould, which included 3,000 color prints painted from 1832 to 1888, birds of the Himalayan Mountains, birds of Europe and Australia, five books concerning hummingbirds, partridges in America, birds of Asia, birds of Great Britain, and birds of New Guinea. Over 30

other authors were represented in the ornithological section. Audubon's mammoth reference, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, an elephant folio set of prints describing mammals, was also part of the library.

The library at Evergreen House, which after 1921 contained the rare coin collection housed in a special vault, grew to comprise about 35,000 volumes, of which about 8,000 were considered to be especially choice or important. Books included a first folio of Shakespeare published in 1623, seven years after his death; a second folio printed in 1632; a third folio, 1664, third impression; and a fourth folio, 1685, ranking the holdings in this area as among the most important in the world.

Other Garrett favorites included such diverse items as the first edition, 1620, of *Novum Organum*; Hakluyt's *Voiages* (1589, first edition); Capt. John Smith's 1612 *Map of Virginia* and the first edition of his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*. From the age of incunabula, items from the first years of printing, were many imprints from Germany, France, Italy, and Britain. The famous British press of Caxton was represented by several pieces.

Autographs were an important interest of John Work Garrett, just as they had been for his father. The collection included a complete set of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, a group started by T. Harrison Garrett and completed by his son. Included was a letter of Thomas McKean of Delaware, dated 1813, and stating that the Declaration of Independence was not signed on July 4, 1776, or for many days thereafter. One of the signers actually signed *against* it, McKean wrote.

The library at Evergreen House included an extensive collection of early imprints published in or referring to Maryland. Included were two of the three known copies of the first printing of the "Charter" in 1632, which contained the first printed use of the word "Maryland."

Following his acquisition of the coin collection from his brother in 1919, John Work Garrett set about expanding it in all areas of United States, ancient, and world coinage of interest to him. The numismatic library, which had been formed by T. Harrison Garrett and which contained reference books and auction catalogues through the late 1880s, was brought up to date. Want lists were sent to leading dealers, most of whom, including B. Max Mehl and Wayte Raymond, had not done business with the Garrett family earlier.

In the field of American coins, Garrett was especially

interested in colonial and territorial pieces. He read avidly on the subject and soon was able to discuss the rarity and provenance of most issues.

In 1923 the collection of Col. John W. Ellsworth came on the market. Working with Wayte Raymond, Garrett paid \$50,000 (half the value of the entire collection) and obtained pieces he needed in the field of United States coinage. Prime among the items acquired were unique silver Nova Constellatio pattern coins of 1783, the only surviving examples of the first coins specifically minted for the United States government. Earlier, the Nova Constellatio pieces had been the main feature of the 1914 exhibit of coins held by the American Numismatic Society in New York and had been the subject of a four-page presentation in *The Numismatist*, journal of the American Numismatic Association. Important coins from the Parmelee, Mills, Stickney, Zabriskie, and other collections had earlier been acquired by Ellsworth and thus passed into the hands of Garrett.

The acquisition of large sections of the Ellsworth Collection resulted in many duplicates being obtained. These were subsequently sold through Wayte Raymond, B. Max Mehl, and others.

Throughout the 1920s there were many other important additions to the American collection, especially in the areas of colonial and territorial pieces. When the collections of Col. E. H. R. Green, Virgil Brand, and Waldo Newcomer were sold privately, Garrett was given an early opportunity to acquire pieces of interest. In 1940 B. Max Mehl, who had just purchased the magnificent collection of William Forrester Dunham of Chicago, Illinois, offered John Work Garrett first pick of the treasures in it. By that time, however, Garrett was no longer making additions to his holdings.

Correspondence between Garrett and leading dealers of the 1920s is excerpted in an appended section of the present book and furnishes a view of numismatics during the time. John Work Garrett is revealed as an astute and knowledgeable collector, a connoisseur of the first order.

Following his retirement from the diplomatic service in 1933, John Work Garrett spent most of his time at Evergreen House. His collections of coins and books were studied with renewed interest. In 1937 he was named to the board of trustees of The Johns Hopkins University. In 1941 his health failed. In June 1942 he died at Evergreen. His widow, Alice Warder Garrett, remained at Evergreen House until her death in July 1952.

Evergreen House, its contents, and the surrounding estate of 36 acres was given to The Johns Hopkins University.

Under the direction of Dr. Sarah Elizabeth Freeman, curator, the collection of coins was exhibited at Evergreen House after the death of Mrs. Garrett. Following Ms. Freeman's retirement Carl Carlson became curator of the numismatic treasures. Later, Susan (Mrs. David) Tripp supervised their care. In the 1970s, security costs became prohibitive, and the trustees of The Johns Hopkins University decided to move the valuable collection to a downtown Baltimore bank vault. It was subsequently resolved to sell certain pieces which were either duplicates or which differed from each other by date rather than by type. In 1976 Stack's, of New York City, conducted an auction sale

which featured many important pieces. By 1979 the trustees of the university believed that the assets represented by the main part of the Garrett collection of American coins could be better used in other areas of the university. Realizing also that in their bank vault location the coins were no longer readily available for scholarship, the university named Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, of Los Angeles, California, to sell the Garrett collection of United States, colonial, territorial, and related American issues. A series of sales was scheduled for the next several years.

So that the numismatic importance of the Garrett coins would be preserved, the trustees directed that the present volume, containing a history of United States coinage illustrated by the Garrett Collection, be prepared.

Early Colonial Issues

4

Money of the Colonial and Early American Period

Prior to establishment of the United States Mint in Philadelphia in 1792 and its subsequent production of coinage for circulation in 1793, money in the American colonies came in many forms. Foreign coinage, which was legal tender until 1857, comprised a wide variety of copper, silver, and gold issues from Spain, England, Portugal, Holland, France, Germany, and elsewhere. Predominant were coins of Spain and England. Indeed, it was not unusual for deeds, contracts, and other legal documents to be drawn in Spanish dollars or English pounds at the turn of the 19th century, well after the formation of the American government.

The Spanish-milled dollar, or eight-real piece, was divided into eighths or *bits*, each worth 12½c. From this the term “two bits,” or 25c, passed into the modern idiom. For larger transactions the Spanish eight escudo, or gold doubloon, equal in value to 16 dollars, was used.

The English pound, equal to 20 shillings, was used throughout the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. The shilling was comprised of 12 pence. Fractional parts of the penny were the halfpenny and farthing, the latter being a quarter penny. During the 18th century, copper English halfpennies and imitations of them were the most plentiful coins in circulation.

From time to time paper currency issues were produced by the various colonies. These usually adopted either the Spanish or English monetary system. For example, an early note of Pennsylvania bore the inscription:

This bill shall pass current for five shillings within the Province of Pennsylvania according to an Act of Assembly made in the 31st year of the reign of King George II. Dated May 20, 1758.

A note of Delaware was inscribed:

This indented bill shall pass current for Fifteen Shillings within the Government of the Counties of New Castle, Kent, Sussex on Delaware, according to an Act of Assembly of the said Government made in the 32nd Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George II. Dated the 1st Day of June, 1759.

When the first issues of the Continental Congress appeared in 1775 they specified payment in Spanish coin. For example, a typical note reads:

This Bill entitles the Bearer to receive EIGHT Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Resolutions of the CONGRESS, held at Philadelphia the 10th of May, 1775.

Paper money of various kinds, issued in large amounts during the 18th century, was often viewed with distrust. Counterfeiting was rife, notes or bills good in one area were valueless in another, and many other problems surfaced. Hard money in the form of coins was preferred.

During most of the 1600s, the first century of American colonization by Europeans, coins were scarce in circulation. To fill the demand for media of exchange a wide number of commercial products were used. In Maryland and Virginia tobacco and ammunition traded at set rates. On March 4, 1635, the Massachusetts General Court adopted legislation which provided:

It is likewise ordered that musket bullets of a full bore shall pass currently for a farthing apiece, provided that no man be compelled to take above XII [one shilling] at a time in them.

In the same colony grain, furs, and fish were also used in payment of debt.

In New Hampshire fish, lumber, and agricultural products saw service as currency. Citizens of the Carolinas often used tobacco, corn, peas, and even tar for the same purpose. In New York beaver skins were sometimes specified as payment in contracts.

Indian wampum, or shell money, was used, particularly in the northeastern areas. On November 15, 1637, the Massachusetts General Court ordered that wampum should pass at six per penny for any sum under 12 pence. On October 7, 1640, the same legislative body directed that white wampum shall pass at four per penny and blue at two per penny, with no more than 12 pence worth to be used at one time unless the receiver desired more.

The first coins specifically related to the European colonies in America were the pieces produced in England circa 1616 for the Sommer Islands (Bermuda). In 1652 the first coins to be struck in what is now the United States were produced by Massachusetts. This coinage continued for three decades.

Various coins were produced in England and distributed in America. For Maryland, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, caused a series of silver coins ranging from the groat (fourpence) to the shilling to be struck. Coins for Virginia were made in 1773 and shipped to that colony. William Wood, under a royal patent, produced the distinctive Rosa Americana issues. To the currency in circulation were added coins and tokens by a multitude of private issuers who produced coins for advertising or profit.

In the 1780s, following the Revolutionary War, copper coins were produced in large quantities by Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. Within a decade the Fugio copper cents, struck under the authority of Congress, made their appearance, as did numerous issues pertaining to George Washington.

Taken together, these diverse coinages are often referred to as *colonials* by numismatists today. These issues related to early America have a fascinating history.

Sommer Islands Coinage

The Sommer Islands, or the Bermuda Islands as they are known today, were first visited by Englishmen when a party including Henry May and Capt. Lancaster was shipwrecked there in 1591. Earlier, the islands had been discovered by Juan Bermudez, a Spaniard. By the turn of the 17th century Bermuda had a vast population of wild hogs, descended, it was said, from livestock which swam ashore earlier from a wrecked Spanish ship.

In July 1609 nine ships were sent from England with Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Capt. Newport, and 500 others to establish a new government in Virginia, where Capt. John Smith was governor.

Somers' ship was separated from the fleet during a

violent storm. After three days and nights in a ferocious tempest the vessel was cast upon the rocks until, in Capt. John Smith's words (in *The General History of Virginia, New England and the Sommer Isles*):

Not long it was before they struck upon a rock, until a surge of the sea cast her from thence, and so from one to another, until most luckily at last so upright betwixt two, as if she had been in the stocks . . . They unshipped all of their goods, victuals, and persons into the boats, with extreme joy, even almost to amazedness, arrived in safety, although then a league from the shore, without the loss of a man, yet were they in all 150 . . . and they found the land to be the richest, healthfullest, and pleasantest they ever saw . . .

Shortly after their arrival they killed 32 hogs and hundreds of other specimens of wildlife, mainly birds. By May 1610 two new ships of cedar, the *Deliverance* and the *Patience*, had been constructed and were stocked with provisions. On May 10, 1610, the adventurers sailed to Virginia, leaving just two people behind.

On June 19, 1610, Sir George Somers, then about 60 years of age, set sail on a ship of 30 tons weight to visit the Bermuda Islands again. Following an arduous journey, delayed by adverse weather, he finally arrived. Fortune did not attend him for long, and in the place called St. George's Island he died. In honor of Somers, the area became known as the Sommer (sic) Islands.

Sensing an economic opportunity, a group of 120 persons affiliated with the Virginia Company acquired the supposed right of the Virginia Company to the islands and separately obtained a patent from the king giving them authority over the area. Richard More was elected governor of the colony to be established there.

In July 1612 60 persons under the direction of Richard More arrived at the south side of Smith's Island. More governed until 1615, at which time he was succeeded by six governors, each of whom held the position for one month in alternation. Capt. John Smith's memoirs identify four of these governors as being Charles Caldicot, John Mansfield, Christopher Carter, and Miles Kendall.

Problems arose, and a new governor, Daniel Tucker, who was a planter from the Virginia Plantation, arrived in the middle of May 1616. Conditions had deteriorated. Tucker found that the colonists had fallen into idle ways, resenting leadership and avoiding labor. He instituted a strict administration and began the task of clearing trees, preparing timber, planting vines and fruits, and otherwise organizing the colony. Smith's memoirs note that at the time:

Beside meat, drink, and clothes, they had for a time a certain kind of brass money with a hog on one side, in memory of the abundance of hogs found at their first landing.

The Bermuda pieces, sometimes called "hogge money," properly belong to the British series, for Bermuda's political connection with the North American continent was severed when the Virginia Company claim was transferred in 1615. Even so, the Bermuda pieces, each of which depicts a wild hog on the obverse and a full-rigged sailing ship with the flag of St. George on the reverse, are traditionally included in American cabinets.

Pieces were struck in the denominations of two-pence, threepence, sixpence, and shilling, bearing the denominations II, III, VI, and XII, respectively. It is presumed that the coins, which exist in several die variations, were struck in England. Made of copper alloy, the pieces were apparently given a light silver coating at the time of issue. Today, all Bermuda coins are of extreme rarity.

Massachusetts Silver Coinage 1652-1682

In the early days of the Massachusetts Bay Colony commodities, including grain, fish, cattle, and furs, were used as currency in the channels of commerce. From time to time Indian wampum or shell money, first brought into Massachusetts by the Dutch in 1627, served in trade at set values established by the General Court. In 1635 the legislature enacted a provision which ordered that musket bullets of a full bore shall pass currently for a farthing apiece, provided that no man may be compelled to take above XII pence at a time in them. At the same time, British farthing coins in circulation were rendered invalid as currency. The intent of this legislation is unclear. Crosby, in *The Early Coins of America* notes:

The purpose of this order may have been to compel a more thorough distribution of the munitions of war, which at that time were liable to be called into requisition at a moment's warning, rather than the desire to drive from circulation the small brass or copper coins of English origin which must have formed a much more agreeable medium of exchange than the bulky and inconvenient substitute here authorized.

From time to time legislation was enacted regulating the value of wampum, agricultural products, and other goods in commerce. For example, on September 27, 1642, it was ordered that wheat and barley should pass at the rate of four shillings per bushel, rye and peas at three shillings, four pence per bushel, and Indian corn at two shillings, six pence per bushel in payment of certain levies.

Although British, Spanish, and other coins were occasionally seen in circulation in early Massachusetts, apparently a large part, possibly the majority, of com-

merce, was done on a barter basis. In October 1640, the shortage of circulating coins as money caused financial hardship. John Winthrop, first governor of the colony, noted in his journal:

The scarcity of money made a great change in all commerce. Merchants could sell no wares but for ready money. Men could not pay their debts though they had enough, prices of lands and cattle fell soon to the one half and less, yea to a third, and after one fourth part.

The Massachusetts General Court on September 27, 1642, took its initial action to establish the value of foreign coins:

This court, considering the oft occasions we have of trading with the Hollanders at the Dutch plantation and otherwise, do therefore order that the Holland ducatour being worth 3 guilders shall be current at 6 shillings in all payments within our jurisdiction, and the rix dollar being 2½ guilders shall be likewise current at 5 shillings, and the real of 8 shall be also current at 5 shillings.

Small English gold coins known as marks and nobles were also occasionally used in Massachusetts. For example, the records dated October 18, 1645, note that "The court, being often troubled with suits of particular persons, does order that Mr. Smith shall pay 20 nobles for defraying the charges of the court in hearing his case . . ." A 1690 citation observed that "The magistrates ordered that the said Thomas Hawkins pay 20 marks in money for the charges of his prosecution and imprisonment."

As time went on, the quantity of foreign coins in circulation increased sharply, particularly with regard to issues of England, Holland, and Spain, mainly acquired through extensive trade with the West Indies and with the European Continent. The value of such pieces was often subject to doubt, for counterfeits were abundant, and often coins showed excessive wear or evidence of clipping (removing pieces of metal from the edge). It was proposed that an official appointed by Massachusetts weigh and test individual coins and cause an official stamp to be impressed upon them, thus certifying their authenticity and weight. This proposal ran into difficulties, and it is not likely that many coins were stamped accordingly.

On May 26th or 27th, 1652 (the records of the House of Magistrates give the date of May 26th; the House of Deputies records show the May 27th date) an act was passed which provided that a mint be established. With regard to this, John Hull, who was appointed mint master, noted in his diary:

Also upon occasion of much counterfeit coin brought into the country, and much loss accruing in that respect (and that did occasion a stoppage of trade), the General Court ordered

Die Varieties of Massachusetts Oak Tree and Pine Tree Coinage



Oak Tree shilling
Noe-10



Oak Tree shilling
N-14



Oak Tree shilling
N-1



Oak Tree shilling
N-7



Oak Tree sixpence
N-15



Oak Tree sixpence
N-20



Oak Tree threepence
N-27



Oak Tree threepence
N-28



Oak Tree twopence
N-29



Oak Tree twopence
N-30



Pine Tree shilling
N-5



Pine Tree shilling
N-11



Pine Tree shilling
N-3



Pine Tree shilling
N-2



Pine Tree shilling
N-7



Pine Tree shilling
N-1

a mint to be set up, and to coin it, bringing it to the sterling standard for fineness, and for weight every shilling to be 3 pennyweight; that is, 9 pence at 5 shillings per ounce. And they made choice of me for that employment; and I chose my friend, Robert Sanderson, to be my partner to which the Court consented.

The act noted in part:

After the first of September the money hereafter appointed and expressed shall be the current money of this commonwealth and no other, unless English, and except it be at the receiver's consent thereunto. In pursuance of the intent of this Court, herein be it further enacted, ordered, and enacted by the authority of this Court, that all persons whatsoever have liberty to bring into the mint house at Boston all bullion plate or Spanish coin there to be melted and brought to the alloy of sterling silver by John Hull, master of said mint, and sworn officers, and by him to be coined into 12 pence, 6 pence, and 3 pence pieces which shall be for form and flat and square on the sides and stamped on the one side with NE and on the other side with the figure XII, VI, and III—according to the value which shall be each piece, together with a privy mark—which shall be appointed every three months by the governor and known only to him and the sworn officers of the mint.

And further the said master of the mint aforesaid is hereby required to coin all the said money of good silver of the just alloy of new sterling English money and for value to stamp two pence in a shilling of lesser value than the present English coin and the lesser pieces proportionately; and all such coin as aforesaid shall be acknowledged to be the current coin of this Commonwealth and passed from man to man and all payments accordingly within this jurisdiction only.

And the mint master for himself and officers for their pains and labor in melting, refining, and coining is allowed by this Court to take one shilling three pence out of every twenty shillings which he shall stamp as aforesaid. And it shall be in the liberty of any person who brings into the mint house any bullion plate or Spanish coin as aforesaid to be present and see the same melted, refined, and alloyed, and then to take a receipt of the master of the mint for the weight of that which is good silver alloyed as aforesaid, for which the mint master shall deliver him the like weight in current money; that is, every shilling weighing three penny troy weight and lesser pieces proportionately, deducting allowance for coinage as before expressed. And this order being of so great concernment may not in any particular thereof fall to the ground it is further ordered that Mr. Richard Bellingham, Mr. William Hibbens, the present Secretary Capt. John Leueret, and Mr. Thomas Clarke be a committee appointed by this Court to appoint the mint house in some convenient place in Boston, to give John Hull, master of the mint, the oath suitable to his place, and to approve of all other officers and determine what else shall appear to them as necessary to be done for the caring and end of the whole order

On June 22, 1652, the committee met and determined that a mint house would be built and the necessary tools and implements would be procured.

The mint site was determined:

The said mint house shall be set upon the land of the said John Hull; and if it is agreed between the said committee and said John Hull that when either by his death or otherwise the said John Hull shall cease to be mint master, then the country shall have the ground ye house stands upon at such price as two indifferent men, equally chosen by the country and ye said John Hull or his assigns shall determine, or else the said John Hull on the light term shall have the said house as two indifferent men shall judge it to be worth at the choice of the country.

It is provided that the mint house be “16 feet square, 10 feet high, and substantially wrought.”

In *The History of Massachusetts*, third edition, Volume 1, page 164, Hutchinson gives an account of this early mint which notes, in part:

The trade of the province increasing, especially with the West Indies, where the buccaneers or pirates at this time were numerous, and part of the wealth which they took from the Spanish as well as what was produced by the trade being brought to New England in bullion, it was thought necessary, for preventing fraud in money, to erect a mint for coining shillings, sixpence, and threepence with no further impression at first than NE on one side and XII, VI, or III on the other; but in October, 1651 [an error in dating; it should be 1652] the Court ordered that all pieces of money should have a double ring with this inscription, MASSACHUSETTS, and a tree in the center on one side, and NEW—ENGLAND in the year of our Lord on the other side.

The first money being struck in 1652, the same date was continued upon all that struck for 30 years after; and although there are a great variety of dies, it cannot be determined in what years the pieces were coined. No other colony ever presumed to coin any metal into money. It must be considered that at this time there was no King in Israel. No notice was taken of it by the Parliament or by Cromwell; in having been thus indulged, there was a tacit allowance of it afterwards even by King Charles II, for more than 20 years; and although it was made one of the charges against the colony when the charter was called in question, no great stress was laid upon it. It appeared to have been so beneficial that during Sir Edmund Andros' administration endeavors were used to obtain leave for continuing it, and the objections against it seemed not to have proceeded from its being an encroachment upon the prerogative, for the motion was referred to the master of the mint, and the report against it was upon mere prudential considerations. It is certain that great care was taken to preserve the purity of the coin. I do not find, notwithstanding, that it obtained a currency anywhere, otherwise than as bullion, except in the New England colonies. A very large sum was coined. The mint master, John Hull, raised a large fortune from it. He was to coin the money of the just alloy of the then new sterling English money; and for all charges which should attend melting, refining, and coining, he was to be allowed to take fifteen pence out of every twenty shillings. The Court was afterwards sensible that this was too advantageous a contract, Mr. Hull was offered a sum of money by the Court to

release them from it, but he refused to do it. [The accuracy of this statement was questioned by Crosby and others who could find no records to substantiate it.] He left a large personal estate, and one of the best real estates in the country. Samuel Sewall, who married Hull's only daughter, received with her, as was commonly reported, 30,000 pounds in New England shillings . . .

The initial Massachusetts silver coins produced under the June 11, 1652, authorization consisted of three denominations: threepence, sixpence, and shilling. Although no precise record of the coinage has survived, it is presumed that each piece is made by striking it twice. First, at the top near the border of the planchet, today considered the obverse by numismatists, the letters NE were stamped by a prepared punch. Then on the reverse side of the piece, and at the other end of the planchet (so that the NE impression would not be flattened), the denomination III, VI, or XII was stamped with another prepared punch.

The simplicity of these coins caused problems, so an official order was issued on October 19, 1652, which provided:

For the prevention of washing [dissolving the silver metal by acid] or clipping [trimming slivers of silver from the edge] of all such pieces of money as shall be coined within this jurisdiction:

It is ordered by this Court and the authorities thereof that henceforth all pieces of money coined as aforesaid shall have a double ring on either side, with the inscription MASSACHUSETTS and a tree in the center on one side, and NEW ENGLAND in the year of our Lord on the other side, according to this drawing here in the margin. [Here was shown a crude sketch.]

While clipping and washing seemed to have been problems at the time, surviving specimens of the NE coinage rarely show evidence of such damage. This is paradoxical, for later issues with tree designs often are found with extensive edge clipping.

It is believed that coinage of the NE series started sometime after June 22, 1652, and ended as soon after October 19th as the preparation of new dies permitted. Numismatists today have identified six different minor die varieties of the NE shilling, the piece coined in the greatest quantities. Three different obverse NE punches and four different reverse XII punches were used in various combinations. Of the sixpence, two different die variations occur, although it is believed one may have been a contemporary counterfeit. Of the threepence, just one die combination is known, the obverse NE die being from the same punch as used on the larger sixpence.

Following the order of October 19th, 1652, the design was changed accordingly. Obverse dies were

prepared for three denominations: threepence, sixpence, and shilling. Surrounding the center tree was the legend in abbreviated form MASATHVSETS IN, and on the reverse, NEW ENGLAND AN DOM, with 1652 in the center, and the denomination expressed as III, VI, or XII.

The tree, amorphous in shape, consists of curls and squiggles, rather than a depiction of any particular botanical species. Collectors today refer to this general type as the Willow Tree coinage.

The Willow Tree pieces were apparently produced by crude means, for all known specimens show evidence of multiple strikings. It is probable that the blank silver planchet discs were placed between steel dies and struck two or more times with hammer blows. No provision was made for securing the dies tightly to maintain their alignment, so succeeding blows cancelled out portions of the earlier impressions. Coinage of the Willow Tree series continued for a number of years, probably to about 1660.

The date remained constant as 1652 on this and on later coinages. It has been suggested that this was to mislead the British authorities into thinking that the silver coinage was a temporary situation, for the coinage had no authorization from the crown. In practice, this question raises several doubts. Massachusetts, under jurisdiction of a royal governor, openly operated a mint for many years after 1652. This obvious situation, plus the continuing presence of freshly-minted silver coins in circulation, belies any allegations that coinage was kept a secret.

Sir Thomas Temple lived several years in New England during the Cromwell government. After the Restoration he returned to England where King Charles II queried him about affairs in the Massachusetts colony. His Majesty complained that the colonists had invaded the royal prerogative by coining their own money. Temple, whose heart lay with the inhabitants of Massachusetts, informed the king that the colonists were not acquainted with detailed matters of law and that there was no wrong intent or intended crime when they coined their own money.

Another theory is quoted by Sylvester S. Crosby. It mentions the recollections of Edward Randolph, a commercial and political agent of the British crown who came to Boston in June 1676, as contained in a collection of papers pertaining to the history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony issued in Boston in 1769:

As a mark of sovereignty they coin money, stamped with the inscription MATTACHUSETS, with a tree in the center, on the one side, and NEW ENGLAND, with the

year 1652, and the value of the piece on the reverse. All the money is stamped with these figures, 1652, that year being the era of the common-wealth, wherein they erected themselves into a free state, enlarged their dominions, subjected the adjacent colonies under their obedience, and summoned the deputies to sit in the general court; which year is still commemorated on their coin.

The coinage apparently proceeded unhampered until 1665, when on May 8th the General Court recorded the letter sent by the King's Commissioners:

Gentlemen: We in His Majesty's name desire a book of your laws may be sent us, that we may have a perusal of your laws, such as are against this act, and such as are contrary and derogatory to the King's authority in government, mentioned in his gracious letter of June 28, 1662 may be annulled and repealed.

On May 24, 1665, the commissioners, having studied the book of laws, submitted a list of 26 items which they required to be repealed or changed. The 22nd article noted:

That page 61, title money, the law about a mint house, etc., be repealed, for coining is a royal prerogative, for the usurping of which ye act of indemnity is only a salvo.

Notwithstanding the threat, the General Court did not repeal the questioned law. Indeed, the production of the mint increased over the years, apparently without reprisal from the crown.

Despite generous mintages, Massachusetts coins were scarce in circulation. Various legislation was enacted to prevent the export of coinage.

Around the year 1660 the design of the silver coins was changed from the old Willow Tree configuration to a new so-called Oak Tree style. Coinage methods improved, and perhaps a screw-type press, or, in any event, a device which held the dies securely during striking, was instituted. Later Massachusetts silver issues show few signs of multiple strikes such as characterized the Willow Tree coinages.

The term "Oak Tree" was used from the earliest years. Crosby relates that Sir Thomas Temple, in 1662 when he was discussing the affairs of Massachusetts Bay, showed King Charles II pieces which must have been the Oak Tree coinage. When the king inquired as to the origin of the design, Temple said that it was the Royal Oak in which the king had secreted himself when Oliver Cromwell invaded the grounds of the palace!

Oak Tree coinage was effected in several different denominations, including the customary threepence, sixpence, and shilling, all with the 1652 date. In addition, a new denomination was introduced, the twopence which bore the date 1662, thus standing alone

among all Massachusetts silver coins in this regard. Did the date 1662 represent an error, or was 1662 used to observe the year in which this new denomination was authorized? Today opinion among numismatists is divided on this point.

The latter situation seems to be a strong probability, for on May 16, 1662, the General Court ordered the mint master "to coin twopence pieces of silver, in proportion according to the just value and alloy of the monies, allowed here, to answer the occasions of the country for exchange."

The arrangements with mint master Hull and his associate, Sanderson, were renegotiated on October 4, 1667. On May 12, 1675, another contract was arranged, extending the coining privilege to Hull and Sanderson for a further seven years. Crosby reports that during the Massachusetts silver coinage period numerous tributes, including ship masts, 3,000 codfish, and other material items, were sent to the king to incur his majesty's pleasure and to postpone any action on the Massachusetts coinage question.

The Oak Tree coinage continued in production from its inception around 1660 until about 1667, when it was replaced with a new design displaying on the obverse a clear representation of a pine tree. Denominations of the new coinage were the threepence, sixpence, and shilling. Shillings were made in two formats, earlier styles (until about 1675) on thin, broad planchets, and later issues (1675-1682) on smaller, thicker planchets. Both styles were made in large numbers. The number of specimens existing today suggests that the small-planchet Pine Tree shillings may have been made in the largest quantities of all.

Coinage of the Pine Tree style was continued until at least 1682. Crosby cites documents indicating that in 1684 the mint was mentioned in the past tense, suggesting it closed prior to that date. The agreement with mint master Hull expired in May 1682, so this probably marked the latest date pieces were struck. Hull died on October 1, 1683.

It has been suggested by Crosby and seconded by Sydney P. Noe that the small-planchet Pine Tree issues were made to prolong the life of coinage dies.

Of the Pine Tree issues of the various denominations Noe identified 37 different die varieties. Some of these undoubtedly were contemporary imitations. In addition, a number of different forgeries of Massachusetts silver pieces and related items were produced after the Massachusetts coinage had expired. These issues, including the romantic Good Samaritan shilling, have been described by numismatists.

Die Varieties of Massachusetts Pine Tree Coinage



Pine Tree shilling
N-29



Pine Tree shilling
N-25



Pine Tree shilling
N-19



Pine Tree shilling
N-16



Pine Tree sixpence
N-32



Pine Tree sixpence
N-33a



Pine Tree threepence
N-34



Pine Tree threepence
N-35



Pine Tree threepence
N-36

Rosa Americana Coinage



Undated (1722) twopence



1722 Twopence



1722 Penny



1724 Twopence



(1724) ROSA SINE
SPINA penny



1733 Twopence. Uniface
Trial piece

In summary, the Massachusetts silver coinage comprised four different designs or formats, the NE, Willow Tree, Oak Tree, and Pine Tree styles, and extended from 1652 until about 1682. Coinage was accomplished in large quantities, and from all accounts the venture was a success. Royal opposition to the issues persisted, but no direct action was ever taken to force cessation of minting.

Today, examples of the NE coinage are rare and come on the market only occasionally. Willow Tree coins are exceedingly rare and are not often encountered, even in larger collections. Oak Tree pieces are occasionally seen. Pine Tree issues, while scarce, are considerably more plentiful than the other styles. Massachusetts silver coins, representing the first native coinage in what is now known as the United States of America, are particularly important historically.

Maryland Coinage

On June 20, 1632, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, received from King Charles I of England a grant for a new province named for the queen, Mary, and designated as "Terra Maria," or Maryland. The king's royalty was to consist of one fifth of the gold and silver which might be found there plus a yearly tribute of two Indian arrows. On November 22, 1633, the *Ark* and the *Dove* left the Isle of Wight, near the coast of England, and set sail for the new territory. On February 24, 1634, the adventurers arrived in the colony of Virginia. After spending time there they left on May 8th for their new land. Much of what is known today concerning early Maryland coinage is drawn from S. S. Streeter's "Sketch of the Early Currency in Maryland and Virginia," a paper read before the historical society of Maryland and published in *The Historical Magazine*, Volume II, page 42. Streeter related that the principal commodity in Maryland in the early days was tobacco, as it was also in Virginia. For a time it saw service as a circulating medium. Rents for certain land were payable in tobacco at a stated value. Corn, furs, powder and shot, and other articles of trade and commerce also served as currency from time to time. Circulating metallic coinage was rare.

Governor William Stone, acting on the suggestion of some of the Maryland colonists, investigated having a coinage prepared in England for use in Maryland. Dies were prepared accordingly and specimens were struck. On October 16, 1659, Cecil Calvert sent letters to the governor and council and also to his brother. To the Council went the following communication:

After my hardy commendations, having of great pains and charges procured necessities for a particular coin to be cur-

rent in Maryland, a sample whereof, a piece of a shilling, a sixpence, and a groat [a silver coin of the value of four pence], I herewith send you, I recommend it to you to promote, all you can, to dispersing it, and by proclamation to make current within Maryland, for all payments upon contracts or causes happening or arising after a day to be by you limited in the said proclamation; and to procure an act of Assembly for the punishing of such as shall counterfeit the said coin or otherwise offend in that behalf, according to the form of an act recommended by me last year to my governor and secretary; or as near it as you can procure from the assembly, and to give me your advice next year touching upon what you think best to be further done in that matter touching coin; for its encouragement be given by the good success of it this year, there will be abundance of adventurers in it the next year.

At the same time the following letter went to his brother Philip, who was then serving as secretary of state:

To my most affectionate, loving brother, Philip Calvert, Esq., at St. Mary's, in Maryland.

I sent a sample of the Maryland money, with directions for the procuring it to pass, because I understood by letters this year from the governor and you and others that there was no doubt but the people there would accept of it, which if we find they do, there will be means found to supply you all there with money enough; but though it would be a very great advantage of the Colony that it should pass current there, and an utter discouragement for the future supply of any more, if there be not a certain establishment this year, and assurance of its being vented and current there, yet it must not be imposed upon the people but by a law there made by their consent in a General Assembly, which I pray fail not to signify to the governor and Council there together from me, by showing them this letter from your most affectionate brother, C. Baltimore.

Philip Calvert received a commission to act as governor. In November 1660 he set about complying with the wishes of his brother Cecil. In April 1661 an Assembly met in St. John's, and an act was drawn up and passed "for setting up a mint within the Province of Maryland." On May 1, 1661, an act was passed which provided that a mint be established to coin pieces of silver "as good silver as the current coin of English sterling money . . ." Suitable punishment was specified for those who counterfeited the proposed issues.

An act to promulgate the circulation of Maryland issues was passed on April 12, 1662. This legislation specified that every householder and freeman in the province should take ten shillings per poll in the new coinage for every taxable under their charge and custody, and that the same should be paid for in casks of tobacco valued at two pence per pound, to be paid for each family for a period of three years.

This caused a mandated exchange of sixty pounds of tobacco by every taxable person in trade for ten shillings of the new coinage. There were at least 5,500 taxable persons, so if this act was implemented some 2,500 pounds sterling would have reached circulation.

In 1671, Ogilby, referring to Maryland in his *Description of the New World*, noted that:

The general way of traffic in commerce there is chiefly by barter, or exchange of one commodity for another; yet there wants not, besides English and other foreign coins, some of his lordship's own coin, as groats, sixpences, and shillings, which his Lordship at his own charge caused to be coined and dispersed throughout that province; 'tis equal in fineness of silver to English sterling, being of the same standard, but of somewhat less weight, and hath on one side his Lordship's coat of arms stamped, with this motto circumscribed *Crescite & Multiplicamini*, and on the other side his Lordship's effigies, circumscribed thus, *Caccilius Dominus Terrae-Mariae, &c.*

The fact that certain coinage was actually effected in England is attested by the orders of the Council of State in England (reference: State Papers, London, Volume 157, page 646) which noted:

Tuesday, 4 October, 1659. Lord Baltimore to be apprehended. Upon information given by Richard Pight, Clerk of the Irons in the Mint, Cecil Lord Baltimore and diverse others with him, and for him, have made and transported great sums of money and due still go on to make more,

Ordered, that a warrant be issued forth to the said Richard Pight for the apprehending of the Lord Baltimore and such others as are suspected to be engaged with him in the said offence, and for the ceasing of all such monies, stamps, tools, instruments for coining the same as can be met with, and to bring them in safe custody to the Council.

On the following day a somewhat similar action was taken by the same group:

Wednesday, 5 October, 1659. Lord Baltimore to attend. The Council being informed that great quantities of silver is coined into pieces of diverse rates and values and sent to Maryland by the Lord Baltimore or his order,

Ordered, that the said Lord Baltimore be summoned to attend the Committee of the Council for Plantations, who are to inquire into the whole business and to report the state thereof to the Council.

The fate of the Council inquiry is unknown, but the success of the Maryland pieces in circulation have led historians to believe that some type of arrangement was made which did not prohibit the coins' further issue.

It is possible that additional pieces were coined in Maryland following the May 1, 1661 legislation which provided for the establishment of a native mint.

Specimens exist today of the various silver denominations, the groat, sixpence and shilling. In addition, several specimens are known of a copper-alloy denarium

or penny, apparently made only in pattern form.

Rosa Americana Coinage

William Wood, a metallurgist of Wolverhampton, county of Stafford, England, became interested in coinage as early as 1717, in which year he had prepared several pattern halfpenny, penny, and twopence coins. On July 12, 1722, he obtained two patents or contracts from King George I, who granted him the right to coin "tokens" for America and Ireland. It has been stated that the Duchess of Kendall, a German baroness who endeared herself to the king, helped Wood secure the royal privilege.

At the time there was a severe shortage of circulating coins in the American Colonies. Wood's proposed issues were to be made of a new alloy, called *bath metal*, consisting of 75% copper, 24.7% zinc, and 0.3% silver.

The royal patent specified that the privilege was to last for 14 years, during which time tokens, as they were referred to, in the denominations of halfpenny, penny, and twopence, could be struck to the extent of 300 tons. During the first four years of the term no more than 200 tons were to be struck, and for the last ten years of the term, no more than ten tons were to be struck in any given year.

Circulation for the pieces designated for America was limited to the "islands, dominions, or territories belonging to His Majesty, His heirs, or His successors in America, or any of them . . ." Elaborate provisions were made for assaying the coins at regular intervals to verify their metallic content. Legal precautions were taken against counterfeiting.

Apparently one Kingsmill Eyres, Esq., and a Mr. Marsland, the latter a hardware merchant in Cornhill, and several others were involved in the coinage. Crosby cites a reference by Snelling, who mentioned that Marsland "had great quantities of them in his cellar and was ruined by it." He died in poverty, serving as a housekeeper at Gresham College. It was further related that the dies were engraved by Messrs. Lammas, Standbroke, and Harold. "They [the coins] were struck at the French Change, in Hogg Lane, Seven Dials, by an engine that raised and let fall a heavy weight upon them when made hot, which is the most expeditious way of striking Bath metal, which was the sort of metal they were made of."

It was further related that Sir Isaac Newton was appointed comptroller to oversee the operation, but later Newton resigned and at his request Mr. Barton, his nephew, was appointed in his stead. It is believed that

examples of this coinage were struck both in London and in Bristol.

Although the pieces made for America, designated as the Rosa Americana coinage, were given the nominal values of halfpenny, penny, and twopence, in actuality they were only about half the weight of similar British denominations. For example, the Rosa Americana penny was of the same approximate size as a British halfpenny.

Efforts were made to have the pieces circulate in America. For example, on October 29, 1725, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the governor of Massachusetts Bay, enclosing a copy of the Wood patent and requested that the governor give "all due encouragement and assistance" to have the pieces used in the channels of commerce. Despite these and other efforts, Rosa Americana coins were not popular in the colonies. They circulated only to a very limited extent. Most of the specimens known today in American cabinets have been acquired from British sources in recent times, indicating that the Rosa Americana pieces, rejected in America, did see circulation in England, probably at values reduced from the denominations originally assigned to them.

The 1717 Wood patterns depict George I on the obverse and, on the reverse, the denomination ½, or I, or II, with a crown above. No reference was made to America. Beginning in 1722 an extensive series of Rosa Americana issues made its appearance. Most were dated 1722 or 1723. 1724 and later issues, considered patterns, were also circulated.

Typically the obverse of the Rosa Americana coinage consisted of a bold portrait of George I surrounded by the Legend GEORGIUS D:G: MAG: BRI FRA: ET HIB:REX., which signified that George was king of Britain and her possessions. The reverse depicted a rose surrounded by: ROSA AMERICANA and UTILE DULCI, translating to "the American rose" and "the useful with the sweet." The intention was to prepare a coinage which would be distinctly American, in contrast with the British coins in circulation in the American colonies at the time.

In 1724 several interesting patterns were produced, all of which are exceedingly rare today. An interesting design used on several different issues depicted a rose bush with the legend ROSA SINE SPINA ("rose without thorns"). One such piece depicted the bust of Wilhelmina, wife of King George I, on the obverse.

In 1727 a pattern halfpenny with the bust of George II on the obverse and with the ROSA SINE SPINA legend on the reverse appeared. In 1733 a large pattern

twopence depicting George II facing left and with a redesigned rose on the reverse was made. Varieties of these rare issues exist.

It is presumed that the American colonists, being aware of the intrinsic value of money, simply refused to accept Rosa Americana coinage at twice the value assigned to other contemporary coins then in circulation.

Wood's Hibernia Coinage

Concurrent with the Rosa Americana patent, William Wood obtained on July 12, 1722, a franchise to produce coins for circulation in Ireland. Patterns were produced in several design variations of the copper halfpenny and farthing. The adopted style depicted King George I on the obverse with the legend GEORGIUS DEL: GRATIA: REX: ("George, king by the grace of God"). The reverse bore the notation HIBERNIA ("Ireland") and the date. At the center was a seated goddess holding a harp.

Wood's coinage for Ireland, authorized to a total value of 100,000 pounds sterling, commenced in 1722. By 1723 a large furor arose in Ireland concerning the pieces. Jonathan Swift, among others, participated in a propaganda campaign, some details of which were related in his *The Drapier Letters*. It was asserted that the issues for Ireland were produced without Irish advice or consent, that the arrangements were made in secret and for the private profit of Wood, and that the pieces were seriously underweight. The allegations were true.

So great was the clamor that King George reduced the authorized coinage to a total value of 40,000 pounds sterling. The controversy continued, and in 1725 Wood relinquished his patent in exchange for a pension of 3,000 pounds per year divided into three separate payments of 1,000 pounds per year, for an eight-year period.

Numismatic tradition has long associated Wood's Hibernia pieces with America, but there seems to be no connection apart from the common authorship of the Rosa Americana and Hibernia coins. It may be that the Hibernia pieces, following their rejection in Ireland, were shipped to America, but if this was the case they circulated only to a small extent in America and were not the subject of any special attention or notice. Today, most Hibernia pieces in collectors' cabinets trace their origin to 19th and 20th century sources in England. It is presumed that the bulk of Wood's Hibernia coinage circulated in that country, possibly at a reduced value from that originally intended.

Voce Populi Coinage

Voce Populi coppers, mostly of halfpenny size, although some were made of the smaller farthing denomination, are believed to have been struck as a speculative venture in Dublin, Ireland, by a Mr. Roche in 1760. The legend VOCE POPULI is somewhat similar to VOCE POPOLI, or "the voice of the people" found on the Georgius Triumpho token dated 1783. As such, they have been adopted by American numismatists, although there is no evidence to suggest that Voce Populi pieces, which bear the legend HIBERNIA (Ireland) on the reverse, ever circulated to any extent on the North American continent.

There are several different busts portrayed on various die varieties of the halfpenny issues. It is thought that at least three, possibly five, different men were portrayed. Two of these were apparently the Jacobite Pretenders, James III (on the coins with P equal to "Princeps," the title used by Octavian before he became Emperor Augustus) and Bonnie Prince Charlie. Other halfpennies are thought to depict John Hely-Hutchinson, who was later to become Irish Secretary of State.

All pieces were intended to bear the 1760 date, although due to an engraving error the numeral 6 on one halfpenny was cut as a 0, thereby given an erroneous "1700" date. This die was later altered by putting a tail on top of the zero, transforming it to the correct 6.

Mark Newby's St. Patrick's Coinage

Mark Newby, a Quaker tallow chandler, arrived in New Jersey on November 19, 1681, with a group of emigrants from Dublin, Ireland. He brought with him a quantity of coins known as St. Patrick's halfpence. Newby, who subsequently became a member of the New Jersey State Legislature, influenced the province of New Jersey to pass an act on May 8, 1682, which provided:

That Mark Newby's half-pence, called Patrick's [sic] half-pence, shall from and after this said 18th instant, pass for half-pence current pay of this Province, provided he, the said Mark, give sufficient security to the Speaker of this House, for the use of the General Assembly from time to time being, that he the said Mark, his executors and administrators, shall and will change the said half-pence for any pay equivalent, upon demand: and provided also that no person or persons be hereby obliged to take more than five shillings in one payment.

Thus, by legislative act, these pieces became legal tender in New Jersey.

The coins were produced in two denominations, the

halfpenny and farthing. The obverse of the halfpenny depicted a kneeling king playing an Irish harp, with a crown above. During the coinage process these pieces, made of copper, had a small piece of brass inserted at the crown point so as to give it a golden appearance. The legend reads: FLOREAT REX ("may the king flourish"). The reverse depicts St. Patrick standing, surrounded by a group of followers, and with a shield. The legend notes: ECCE GREX ("behold the flock").

While the original records refer only to the halfpenny denomination, smaller pieces designated today as farthings were also made. The obverse design is similar to the halfpenny and depicts a kneeling king with an Irish harp. The reverse is different and depicts St. Patrick standing with a church to the right and vanquished serpents to the left, apparently a reference to St. Patrick driving the snakes from Ireland. The legend QUIESCAT PLEBS ("may the people be peaceful") surrounds. It is not known whether farthings were subsequently imported into the New Jersey province or whether they arrived the same time the halfpennies did. Apparently the farthings were not specifically authorized as legal tender.

Speculation concerning the origin of the Mark Newby pieces has been rife for several centuries. Various numismatists and writers, beginning with Evelyn in 1697, attributed them to Charles II. Silver impressions of Mark Newby issues, which exist and which are rare, were considered to be special medals.

In 1724 Bishop Nicholson attributed them to the coinage of Charles I and noted that "they are still common in copper and brass," and "are current for half pence and farthings."

In 1726 Leake noted that the pieces were issued in the time of Charles I "by the Papists, when they rebelled in Ireland and massacred the Protestants."

In 1749 Simon considered the pieces to be coins issued by rebels, around 1642, during the reign of Charles I. Observing the silver impressions of the Mark Newby coinage, he wrote:

It is thought that they were struck as medals, but for my part I think they were struck upon the same occasion, and intended by the Kilkenny Assembly to pass for shillings.

Dr. Robert Cane observed "that it was minted upon the continent for the use of the Confederate Assembly," and "was transmitted to Kilkenny to be there distributed." He believed the pieces were not of English or Irish origin but came from the European mainland.

Other authorities from time to time have considered

the pieces to be of native Irish origin, bearing as they do the arms of the city of Dublin.

Don Taxay, writing in *Scott's Catalogue and Encyclopedia of United States Coins*, postulates that the pieces were made during the reign of King Charles I, with the dies being engraved by Briot of the Royal Mint in London. He cites as evidence the similarity of the portrait of King David on the Mark Newby issues to that found on a pattern halfpenny of Charles I by Briot (recorded by C. Wilson Peck as variety 362).

Today, copper impressions of the halfpenny and farthing are regularly encountered in collections. Silver specimens, sometimes referred to as patterns, were perhaps intended to be shillings by the issuer, as many are found badly worn. A unique specimen known in gold may have been intended for use as a sovereign.

Virginia Coinage

On April 10, 1606, the charter granted by King James to Virginia specifically provided for the coinage privilege:

And that they shall or lawfully may establish and cause be made a coin, to pass current there between the people of the several colonies for the more ease of traffic and bargaining between and amongst them and the natives there, of such metal, and in such manner or form, as the several councils there shall limit and appoint.

No native coinage was ever produced as a result. Coins in Virginia were a mixture of British, Spanish, Dutch, and other issues, with British predominating. On November 20, 1645, the Virginia colony passed legislation permitting 10,000 pounds weight of copper to be produced in the values of two, three, six, and nine pence, as a substitute for tobacco which was then used for small change and circulation. No action was taken under the authorization.

In 1771 and the following year correspondence between England and Virginia considered the need for copper coins in commerce. On April 8, 1772, an act was passed authorizing the treasurer of Virginia to import 1,000 pounds value of specially-minted halfpennies, subject to British regulations. On May 20, 1773, the British crown authorized the coinage of halfpennies for Virginia, not to exceed a total of 25 tons weight. This was five times the quantity requested by the colony.

In February 1774 the ship *Virginia* under the command of Edward Esten arrived in Virginia with five tons of halfpence, which Eric P. Newman, student of the series, has equated to about 672,000 individual pieces. The obverse of each piece bore the portrait of

King George III facing right, with the inscription GEORGIVS III REX ("George III King") surrounding. The reverse depicted the coat of arms of Virginia with the date 1773 and with VIRGI to the right and the remainder of the name, NIA, to the left. In his definitive 1956 monograph on the subject, Eric P. Newman described 22 die varieties of the Virginia pieces.

Robert Nicholas, treasurer of Virginia, was reluctant to distribute the halfpennies in absence of specific instructions from Britain authorizing him to do so. On November 16, 1774, a royal proclamation provided that:

The said pieces of copper money so coined, stamped, and impressed, shall be current and lawful money of and in our said colony of Virginia and of and within the districts and precincts of the same; and shall pass and be received therein after the rate following, that is to say, twenty-four of the said pieces shall pass and be received for the sum of one shilling, according to the currency of our said province of Virginia . . .

The pieces were made current up to the value of 60 halfpence for a payment of 20 shillings or more and up to 24 halfpence for smaller payments. This proclamation did not arrive in Virginia until several months later. The first notice appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* on February 23, 1775. By that time the seeds of the Revolutionary War had been sown. Fears of war and inflation were rampant, causing all metallic coins to be hoarded. Although pieces did circulate extensively in the colony (as evidenced today by the presence of wear on specimens, and also, as reported by Eric P. Newman, the finding of Virginia halfpennies together with other contemporary coins in archeological excavations) apparently a large number were hoarded. Today many of the Uncirculated halfpennies which exist trace their pedigree to the large group in the collection of Col. Mendes I. Cohen, Baltimore, Maryland, which was obtained in an original keg from Richmond. This cache, which apparently consisted of many thousands of pieces, was dispersed slowly and carefully from 1875 until 1929, in which latter year the remaining 2,200 coins were dispersed at auction in one lot.

In 1774 a limited number of impressions were struck in silver from dies of the same diameter as the halfpenny but with the obverse portrait of George III much larger in size. Traditionally, these have been known as Virginia "shillings" due to their metallic content, but the weight falls about ten percent below the English standards for shillings at the time, and no official shilling coinage was contemplated for Virginia. Accordingly, these 1774 pieces are better described as pattern

Coins of the Colonies



1722 Wood's halfpenny



1723 Wood's farthing



Wood's pattern farthing



1760 Voce Populi farthing



1760 Voce Populi halfpenny
"VOOE" variety



1760 Voce Populi halfpenny



Mark Newby farthing
in silver



Mark Newby halfpenny



1773 Virginia halfpenny



1670 French colonies
5 sols



1721 French colonies
9 deniers



1720 French colonies
10 sols



1739 Higley threepence



Higley threepence
"Wheele" obverse



halfpennies in silver. Another interesting rare issue is the so-called 1773 copper "penny," a halfpenny struck in Proof on a broad planchet with a milled border. This was on an Irish 1/2d blank.

Coinage for the French Colonies

On February 19, 1670, Louis XIV authorized coinage for general use in the French possessions in America, including Canada and the West Indies. Coined at the time were silver pieces of the denominations of 5 sols and 15 sols. Of the former 200,000 were struck, and of the latter 40,000 were coined.

In December 1716 the regent for Louis XV authorized the coinage of 6-denier and 12-denier copper pieces to be struck at the Perpignan Mint in France. Problems developed with the quality of the copper to be used, and only a few pieces were struck. Some additional pieces under this authorization are dated 1720, but the origin of these has been questioned. The 1717-1720 issues are of great rarity.

Earlier (1709-1713), coinage of billon metal of the denominations of 15 deniers and 30 deniers, and later (1738-1764), half sou marque and sou marque, were coined in quantity at various mints in France and were circulated throughout the colonies. None bore a specific legend or reference to the Americas, however.

In June 1721 Louis XV authorized a copper coinage for the colonies, with the designation COLONIES FRANCOISES on each. These pieces, copper sous of the value of 9 deniers, were struck at the Rouen ("B" mintmark) and La Rochelle ("H" mintmark) mints in 1721 and, the following year, 1722, at the La Rochelle Mint.

While the earlier French colonies issues could claim a relation to Louisiana, which was ceded to Spain (areas west of the Mississippi river) in 1762 and to England (areas east of the Mississippi) in 1763, another French colonies issue struck in copper and dated 1767 is related only to the West Indies.

The copper issues, though made in large quantities, were not particularly popular with the colonists.

Higley Copper Coinage

Among the most interesting of all early American issues are the copper tokens struck circa 1737-1739 by Dr. Samuel Higley, of Granby, Connecticut. Higley, a medical doctor with a degree from Yale College, also practiced blacksmithing and made many experiments in

metallurgy. In 1727 he devised a practical method of producing steel.

In 1728 Higley purchased property on a hill near Granby which furnished the site for many copper mines, the most famous being the extensive mine corridors and shafts which were later used as the Newgate Prison. Mines on the hill were worked extensively during the early and middle 18th century. In October 1773 the Connecticut General Assembly passed an act which pertained to the various subterranean caverns and external buildings of the copper mines in Simsbury and converted them for use as a public jail and workhouse. Phelps, in his *History of the Copper Mines in Newgate Prison at Granby, Connecticut*, notes that:

The prisoners were to be employed in mining. The crimes, by which the acts subjected offenders to confinement and labor in the prison, were burglary, horse stealing, and counterfeiting the public bills or coins, or making instruments and dies therefore.

By the time Newgate Prison was abandoned in 1827, the buildings had been destroyed by fire three times. The cruel, dark, damp conditions precipitated numerous revolts and violent incidents. Escapes were frequent.

Following his 1728 purchase, Dr. Samuel Higley operated a small but thriving mining business which extracted exceptionally rich copper. Much if not most of the metal was exported to England. Sometime around the year 1737 Higley produced a copper token. The obverse depicted a standing deer with the legend THE VALUE OF THREE-PENCE. The reverse showed three crowned hammers with the surrounding legend, CONNECTICUT, and the date 1737.

Legend tells us that drinks in the local tavern sold at the time for three pence each, and Higley was in the habit of paying his bar bill with his own coinage. There was a cry against this for the Higley copper threepence was of a diameter no larger than the contemporary British halfpennies which circulated in the area; coins which had a value of just 1/6th of that stated on the Higley coin. Accordingly, Higley redesigned his coinage so that the obverse legend was changed to read VALUE ME AS YOU PLEASE. The pieces still bore an indication of value, the Roman numeral III below the standing deer. Two new reverses were designed, one of which pictured three hammers with the inscription I AM GOOD COPPER. The other reverse, picturing a broad axe, had the legend I CUT MY WAY THROUGH. The third obverse design, of which only a single specimen is known, depicted a wagon wheel with the legend THE WHEEL GOES ROUND.

While on a voyage to England in May 1737, on a ship loaded with copper from his own mine, Samuel Higley died. His oldest son, John, together with Rev. Timothy Woodbridge and William Cradock probably engraved and struck the issues of 1739.

Apparently the original Higley coinage was small, and circulation was effected mainly in Granby and its environs. Crosby relates that a goldsmith, who served his apprenticeship around 1810, told that Higley pieces were hard to find at the time and were in demand to use as an alloy for gold. The goldsmith related that his master delayed completing a string of gold beads for he was unable to find a copper Higley threepence with which to alloy the metal.

Today Higley issues of all types are exceedingly rare, and often a span of years will occur between offerings. Nearly all pieces show very extensive evidence of circulation, with most grading in the range of Good or Very Good.

Chalmers Coinage

John Chalmers, an Annapolis, Maryland, goldsmith and silversmith, produced in 1783 a series of silver coins of his own design. Values were of threepence, sixpence, and shilling. Several varieties were made.

Dr. John David Schopf, a German who visited America in 1783 and 1784, wrote of his visit to Annapolis and noted that the Chalmers Coinage was initiated to prevent some of the abuses then being practiced with fractional parts of the Spanish dollar. It was customary at the time to cut a Spanish silver dollar into halves, quarters, and eighths, with the eighths being known as "one bit" or 12½ cents. Unscrupulous persons would attempt to cut five "quarters" or nine or ten "eighths" out of one coin, thereby realizing a proportional profit. Schopf reported that Chalmers redeemed various fractional parts and exchanged his own coins for them, charging a commission to do so.

The building in which these pieces were coined stood at Fleet and Cornhill streets. Although the coins had no official status and were privately issued, apparently the government took no exception to them. Coinage apparently was quite extensive, for several hundred examples are known today. Most show evidence of considerable use in commerce.

The shilling denomination apparently was produced in the largest quantities, for these are most often seen today. Two birds tugging on the same worm furnished the motif for the reverse of this issue.

All Chalmers issues are elusive today. One variety of

the 1783 shilling with rings and stars on the reverse is exceedingly rare, and fewer than a half dozen are known to exist.

Elephant Tokens

The pieces known today as "elephant tokens" were struck in England by the Royal African Company, a group in which the Duke of York, brother of King Charles II, was a stockholder. Known as the Royal Company of Adventurers, the firm in 1672 was renamed the Royal African Company. From that time until 1697 the group had an exclusive trade franchise with the African coast, dealing in ivory, gold, and slaves. The copper metal from which the elephant tokens were made presumably came from West Africa.

The earliest issues were probably those pertaining to London. The obverse was devoid of inscription and had at the center a large and ponderous elephant. The reverse bore a shield, usually with a dagger at the upper left quadrant. The legend GOD PRESERVE LONDON surrounds it. One variety simply bore the name of the city, LONDON. The inscription is believed to refer to the 1665 plague and the 1666 fire which ravaged London.

Apart from their design and origin connection to the New England and Carolina tokens (see following), there is no reason to associate the London elephant tokens with America. While they may have circulated in certain English colonies, there is no contemporary evidence showing that the American colonies paid them any particular attention.

Later, new reverse dies, each bearing the date 1694, were combined with the elephant obverse. One bore the reverse legend: GOD: PRESERVE: NEW: ENGLAND: 1694. Another variety had the inscription: GOD: PRESERVE: CAROLINA: AND: THE: LORDS: PROPRIETERS: 1694. An error in spelling was realized, and the word PROPRIETERS was altered by overpunching one letter with an O so that a later variety from the same die read PROPRIETORS.

T. Snelling, in his 1769 survey, *On Coins of Great Britain*, Part V, "Pattern Pieces," did not mention the New England issues but did say of the Carolina piece:

We cannot ourselves conceive the intent of striking it, or for what purpose it was intended; however, we think it has no claim to be admitted as a piece of money, but rather is of the ticket kind, and we are of the same opinion in regard to another piece, which is certainly of the same class with this; be it what it will, it is what we call the London halfpenny, one side of both, that is the elephant, we apprehend was struck from the same die, which is still remaining in the Tower [the Tower of London, once used as a mint], and ap-

pears to be the work of [John] Roettier; on the other side instead of GOD PRESERVE CAROLINA AND THE LORDS PROPRIETORS, 1694, as upon this; there is upon that, round the city arms, GOD PRESERVE LONDON; we have heard two or three opinions concerning the intent of uttering this piece, as that it was for the London Workhouse; also, that its inscription alludes to the plague, and it was struck whilst it raged in London; and we have likewise heard that it was intended to be made current at Tangier in Africa but never took place.

A Guide Book of United States Coins suggests that the elephant pieces may have been struck “as an advertising stunt to enliven interest in the Carolina Plantation,” and that the New England issue was produced “as a promotional piece to increase interest in the American colonies.”

While London elephant tokens are seen with some frequency today, the Carolina issues are exceedingly elusive, with only a half dozen known of the variety with the PROPRIETERS misspelling. Of the New England variety just two pieces are known to numismatists today.

The Gloucester Shilling

One of the most curious of all early American issues is the so-called “Gloucester shilling.” Only two specimens of this issue, each struck in brass, are known to exist. Both show extensive evidence of circulation, so much that the full extent of the original inscriptions cannot be ascertained. The obverse depicts a building at the center with the denomination XII (12 pence equal to one shilling) below, and surrounded by: GLOUCESTER CO . . . (illegible) . . . VA. The reverse shows a five-pointed voided star with the inscription RIC (or RIG . . .) (illegible) . . . DAWSON. ANNO DOM. 1714.

It has been speculated that the piece may have been issued by one Richard Dawson of Gloucester County or Gloucester Courthouse, Virginia, and that the structure pictured on the obverse may be a building of public accommodation. As tobacco was the legal currency then in Virginia, the token must have functioned as a kind of warehouse receipt or scrip issue; there is no reason to assume, as some have done, that it represented a pattern for a silver coin, or a substitute for silver. This piece has been traditionally identified in numismatic catalogues and reference books as the “Gloucester shilling.”

American Plantations Token

A tin token bearing the obverse design of King James II on horseback has long been identified with the

American series. It is believed that these may have been issued following a patent granted in August 1688 to one Holt, a tin producer, but specific evidence is lacking. Holt proposed that new issues for America be made of tin and be of Spanish design to facilitate their acceptance in the channels of commerce.

The obverse of each American Plantations token bears the equestrian statue of James II, surrounded by a Latin legend in abbreviated form: JACOBUS II D.G. MAG. BRI. FRAN. ET HIB. REX. The reverse notes: HISPAN VAL 24 PART REAL. At the center of the reverse are four heraldic shields connected by chains.

Around 1828, sets of earlier dies were used by Matthew Young to produce three varieties of restrikes which were subsequently disseminated by W. S. Lincoln & Son, London coin dealers.

Pitt Tokens

The so-called Pitt tokens, issued in halfpenny and farthing size, made of copper, bear on the obverse a portrait of William Pitt with the surrounding legend: THE RESTORER OF COMMERCE 1766 NO STAMPS. The reverse depicts a sailing ship with the legend: THANKS TO THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY AND TRADE—AMERICA. The reference is to the Stamp Act, which was enacted on March 22, 1765. Through the efforts of William Pitt, an English statesman, it was repealed on March 18, 1766. Pitt stated that British control over the American colonies did not include the right of taxation. For this, Pitt was admired by the American colonists.

While the pieces may have been intended as commemorative medals, the larger size issues are referred to as halfpennies by numismatists today. The smaller copper issues, the “farthings,” bear a differently styled portrait and appear to be struck on thicker planchets which were cast prior to striking.

Little is known concerning the circumstances of issue. Robert Vlack speculates that the pieces may have been designed by Paul Revere. Striking may have been accomplished around 1769 by James Smither (or Smithers) of Philadelphia.

New Yorke Token

Very little is known about the New Yorke token. Certain authorities, *A Guide Book of United States Coins* for example, believe that it was issued at an early date, perhaps between 1664, when the name New Yorke was first officially adopted, and 1710, by which time it was

rarely used. Other authorities believe the token to be of more recent vintage, perhaps being made during the early 19th century.

The obverse depicts a perched eagle with the legend

NEW YORKE IN AMERICA. The reverse shows a palm tree with the figures of Venus and Cupid. Specimens are known in brass and white metal and are extremely rare.

Early Issues



*1783 Chalmers shilling
Rings on reverse*



*1783 Chalmers shilling
Long worm variety*



*1783 Chalmers sixpence
Large date*



*(1694) London
Elephant token*



Pitt farthing



Early Issues



1742-dated Brasher doubloon
Spanish style



George III muling with
1785 Immune Columbia



Non Vi Virtute Vici muling
with New Jersey reverse



1787 New York
Immunis Columbia



1786 New York muling
with New Jersey reverse



1786 Immunis Columbia muling
with New Jersey reverse



1670 Louis d'Or
French colonies



1670 15 Sols
French colonies



1796 Castorland
"Half dollar"



1796 Myddelton token
Silver



1796 Myddelton token
Copper



1778-9 Rhode Island
"Vlugtende" below ship



1766 Pitt "halfpenny"



(1790) Albany church penny



Kentucky token

1787 Brasher Doubloon



1787 Brasher doubloon (enlarged)
Obverse

1787 Brasher Doubloon



1787 Brasher doubloon (enlarged)
Reverse
Punch mark on eagle's wing

Early Issues



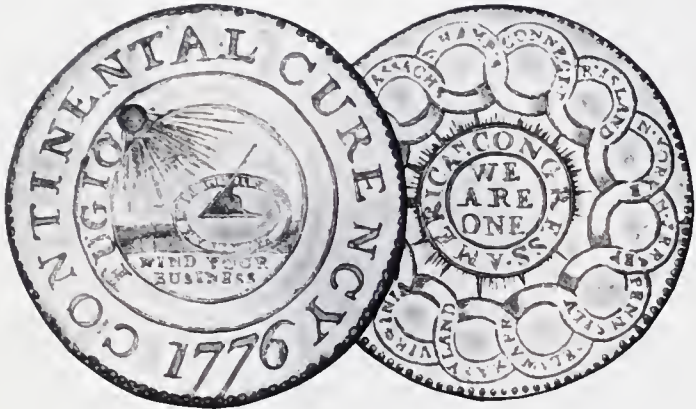
1789 Mott token



1794 Talbot, Allum & Lee
Cent



1776 Continental dollar
Silver



1776 Continental dollar
Pewter



1783 Nova Constellatio
Copper



1785 Nova Constellatio
Copper



1785 Immune Columbia
Copper



Washington obverse muling
with Confederatio reverse



1785 Immune Columbia
Extra star in border
Copper



1785 Immune Columbia
Blunt rays on reverse
Copper



Inimica Tyrannis/
Confederatio
Large circle of stars



Inimica Tyrannis/
Confederatio
Small circle of stars



1785 Immune Columbia
Silver



Copper Company of Upper Canada
Token



North West Company
1820 token

1783 Nova Constellatio Silver Patterns



1783 "Mark"



1783 "Quint" Type I

1783 "Quint" Type II



1783 "Bit"

(All illustrations
enlarged 2x)

Fugio and Washington Issues



1787 Fugio
American Congress reverse



1787 Fugio
United States reverse



Washington
Double head cent



1784 Satirical piece
"Washington the Great"



Washington obverse
New Jersey reverse



Liberty and Security penny
Circa 1795



Success token
Large size



1792 "Roman Head"
or
"Naked Bust" cent



1792 Large Eagle
Half dollar
Silver



Washington President
1792 Cent



Washington Born Virginia
Copper



1792 Small Eagle
Half dollar
Silver



1792 Small Eagle
Half dollar
Copper



1783 Draped Bust
Copper restrike



1791 Small Eagle
Cent

Half Cents and Large Cents



1793 Half cent
Gilbert-1



1795 Half cent
Gilbert-1



1796 Half cent
Pole to cap
Gilbert-1



1836 Half cent
Gilbert-1



1845 Half cent
Gilbert-1



1793 Cent
Chain AMERI. reverse
Sheldon-1



1793 Cent
Chain AMERICA reverse
Sheldon-3



1793 Cent
Wreath type
Sheldon-8



1793 Liberty cap cent
Sheldon-13



Obverse, 1793 Wreath cent
Sheldon-8



1794 Cent. Sheldon-48
Starred Reverse



1796 Liberty cap cent
Sheldon-84



1803 Cent Sheldon-254

Cents to Dimes



1811 Cent. S-287



1814 Cent. S-295



1816 Cent



1838 Cent



1847 Cent



1856 Flying eagle cent



1877 Cent



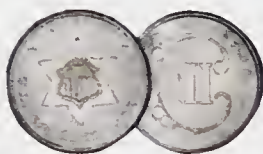
1909 V.D.B. cent



1864 Two-cents. Small motto



1865 Three-cents. Nickel



1851 Three-cents. Silver



1866 Shield nickel



1877 Shield nickel



1883 Liberty nickel. Without CENTS



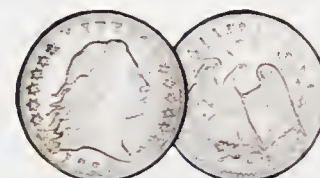
1883 Liberty nickel. With CENTS



1913 Buffalo nickel. Type I



1913 Buffalo nickel. Type II



1794 Half dime



1802 Half dime



1832 Half dime



1837 Half dime. Liberty seated



1847 Half dime



1864-S Half dime



1796 Dime



1798/7 Dime. 13 Stars



1809 Dime



1832 Dime



1837 Dime. Liberty seated



1838 Dime



1853 Dime. Arrows at date



1860 Dime

Later Colonial,
State, and
Related Coinage

Copper Coinage of New Hampshire

On March 13, 1776, the New Hampshire House of Representatives voted that a committee be established to consider the production of copper coinage.

The committee reported that it would be beneficial to produce copper issues as the Continental currency and other paper money issues in circulation were too large for use in small transactions. William Moulton was recommended for the franchise to produce up to 100 pounds' weight of coppers to be submitted to the General Assembly prior to circulating the pieces. It was further recommended that 108 of these pieces be equal to one Spanish milled dollar, with the weight of each individual coin being equal to the current English halfpenny. A design was submitted showing on the obverse a tree and the words AMERICAN LIBERTY, emblematic of the revolutionary spirit prevailing at the time. The reverse was to depict a harp and the date 1776.

On June 28, 1776, the House of Representatives' vote is recorded as follows:

... that the treasurer of this colony receive into the treasury, in exchange for paper bills of this colony, any quantity of copper coin, made in this colony, of the weight of five pennyweight and ten grains each, to the amount of any sum or sums not exceeding 1,000 pounds lawful money. . . which coppers shall have the following device: a pine tree with the words American Liberty on one side and a harp and the figure 1776 on the other side.

It is believed that William Moulton prepared patterns in accordance with the proposed recommendation, but that pieces were made in limited quantities and never circulated to any extent. Other New Hampshire 1776 pattern designs varying from that just described have appeared from time to time, but nothing is known today concerning their origin.

1778-9 Rhode Island Medal

Circumstances surrounding the issue of the Rhode Island ship medal, sometimes referred to as a token, are shrouded in mystery. The piece was virtually unknown to American collectors until a specimen appeared in W. Elliot Woodward's sale of the Seavey Collection on June 21-22, 1864, at which time it sold for \$40, an extraordinarily high price at the time.

The piece bears on one side a sailing ship with sails furled and an inscription relating to the flight of Admiral Howe's flagship from Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island, in October 1779. The other side refers to the flight of Americans from Rhode Island in August 1778.

The intent may have been satirical. The flight of the Continental Army on August 30, 1778, is ridiculed on one side, and on the other side the flight of Admiral Howe's flagship, attesting to his inability to retain the fruits of victory, is satirized. One 19th-century numismatist, George T. Paine, believed that it may have been struck in Holland by a sympathizer with the American cause who intended one side of the medal as a compliment to Americans on their successful retreat, and the other side as a scorning of the British fleet.

Specimens were issued in brass and pewter, pewter pieces being elusive today. The word VLUGTENDE ("fleeing") appears on the Garrett Collection coin below Howe's flagship. Apparently after a few were struck with this word, an ornamental wreath was cut over the word in the die.

Confederatio Coppers

The CONFEDERATIO legend appears on an interesting series of coins, all presumed to be patterns and all extremely rare, dated in the 1780s. The dies in many

instances appear to be the work of Thomas Wyon of Birmingham, England.

Combinations with the CONFEDERATIO dies were made in different mulings, including the standing figure of the Huntress Diana surrounded by the legend INIMICA TYRANNIS AMERICANA, a die featuring George Washington, a die with the seated figure of Columbia and with the legend IMMUNIS COLUMBIA, and others. Related to these are certain other pieces, also presumably by Thomas Wyon, bearing the IMMUNE COLUMBIA and IMMUNIS COLUMBIA legends but with different reverses. While most of these dies are thought to have been prepared in Birmingham, England, evidently many found their way to the United States and were used in New York City as well as in Machin's Mills, a private mint located near Newburgh, New York. Different die combinations are known.

Nova Constellatio Patterns for United States Coinage

In 1783 a remarkable group of pattern coins made its appearance: the "bit" of 100 units, the "quint" of 500 units, and the "mark" of 1,000 units. Sylvester S. Crosby said: "These are undoubtedly the first patterns for coinage of the United States and command an interest exceeding that of any others of this class."

Gouverneur Morris, who had been assistant financier of the Confederation, proposed these pieces. Jared Sparks, in *The Life of Gouverneur Morris* (1832), quotes Morris:

The various coins which have circulated in America have undergone different changes in their value so that there is hardly any which can be considered of the general standard, unless it be Spanish dollars. These pass in Georgia at five shillings, in North Carolina and New York at eight shillings, in Virginia and the four eastern states at six shillings, and in all other states, excepting South Carolina, at seven shillings and sixpence, and in South Carolina at thirty-two shillings and sixpence. The money unit of a new coin to agree, without a fraction, with all these different values of a dollar, excepting the last, will be the fourteen hundred and fortieth part of a dollar, equal to the sixteenth hundredth part of a crown. Of these units, twenty-four will be a penny of Georgia, fifteen will be a penny of North Carolina or New York, twenty will be a penny of Virginia and the four eastern states, sixteen will be a penny of all the other states, excepting South Carolina, and forty-eight will be thirteen pence of South Carolina.

It has already been observed that to have the money unit very small is advantageous to commerce; but there is no necessity that this money unit be exactly represented in coin; it is sufficient that its value be precisely known. On the present occasion, two copper coins will be proper, the one

of eight units, and the other of five. These may be called an Eight and a Five. Two of the former will make a penny proclamation, or Pennsylvania money, and three a penny Georgia money. Of the latter, three will make a penny New York money and four a penny lawful, or Virginia money. The money unit will be equal to a quarter of a grain of fine silver in coined money. Proceeding thence in a decimal ratio, one hundred would be the lowest silver coin, and might be called a *Cent*. It would contain twenty-five grains of fine silver, to which may be added two grains of copper, and the whole would weigh one pennyweight and three grains. Five of these would make a *Quint* or five hundred units, weighing five pennyweight and fifteen grains; and ten would make a *Mark*, or one thousand units weighing eleven pennyweight and six grains.

Some of the circumstances surrounding the issue of 1783 pattern coins were recorded by Robert R. Morris, the financier. His diary noted that on April 2, 1783, "I sent for Mr. Dudley who delivered me a piece of silver coin, being the first that has been struck as an American coin."

On April 16th it was noted that he "sent for Mr. Dudley and urged him to produce the coin to lay before the Congress to establish a mint." On the following day, the 17th, he "sent for Mr. Dudley to urge the preparing of coins, etc. for establishing a mint."

Morris reported on April 22nd that: "Mr. Dudley sent in several pieces of money as patterns of the intended American coins." On July 5th he noted that "Mr. Benjamin Dudley . . . also informs of a minting press being in New York for sale, and urges me to purchase for the use of the American Mint."

On August 19th he reports as follows:

I sent for Mr. Benjamin Dudley, informed him of my doubts about the establishment of a mint and desired him to think of some employment in private service, in which I am willing to assist him in all my power. I told him to make out an account for the services he had performed for the public and submit at the Treasury office for inspection and settlement.

On August 30th it was reported that "Mr. Dudley brought the dies for coining in the American Mint."

The dies for the bit and quint were cut by hand. The largest denomination, the mark, was made by the use of prepared punches. The pedigree of two pieces, the mark and the quint, obtained by John W. Haseltine in 1872 and years later sold into the Garrett Collection, was attested to by the seller, Rathmell Wilson, who on May 28, 1872, stated:

The history of the two coins which you obtained from me, viz. Nova Constellatio 1783, U.S. 1,000, Nova Constellatio, 1783 U.S. 500 is as follows.

They were the property of Hon. Charles Thomson, secretary of the first Congress. At his death the property was left

by will to his nephew, John Thomson, of Newark, state of Delaware. These two coins were found in the desk of the said deceased Charles Thomson, and preserved by his nephew during his life; at his death they came into the possession of his son Samuel E. Thomson of Newark, Delaware, from whom I received them. So you will perceive that their genuineness cannot be questioned; as they were never out of the possession of the Thomson family, until I received them.

Charles Thomson, born in County Derry, Ireland in 1729, came to America in his youth. He became a teacher and merchant in Philadelphia. Interested in politics, Thomson espoused the feeling for independence and was described as "the life of the cause of liberty" in Philadelphia.

From 1774 to 1789 he served as secretary of the Continental Congress, recording with enthusiasm the details of the birth of the United States. His hope of receiving an appointed office in the new federal government was not realized, so he retired to his estate where he engaged in biblical scholarship. He died near Philadelphia in 1824.

Among the accounts of the United States, under the category of "Expenditure for Contingencies," between January and July 1783, the following entries appear in relation to coinage:

February 8. Jacob Eckfeldt, for dies for the Mint of North America, \$5 and 18/90ths.

March 21. Benjamin Dudley employed in preparing a mint. \$75 and 24/90ths.

April 17. John Swanwick, for dies for the public mint \$22 and 42/90ths.

May 5. A. Dubois, for sinking, casehardening, etc., for pairs of dies for the public mint \$72.

June 30. Benjamin Dudley employed in preparing a mint \$77 and 60/90ths.

Of the 1783 mark just one specimen is known, the example which traces its pedigree to Hon. Charles Thomson. The obverse displays an all-seeing eye surrounded by rays and stars, with the legend NOVA CONSTELLATIO around. The reverse bears the legend LIBERTAS JUSTITIA 1783, a wreath, and within the wreath U.S. 1,000.

Of the quint there are but two specimens known to exist, each of which is a slightly different design. The obverse of one is similar to the mark, but of reduced size, and with the legend NOVA CONSTELLATIO surrounding an all-seeing eye with rays and stars. The second variety has the all-seeing eye with rays and stars, but lacks the NOVA CONSTELLATIO inscription. The reverse of both is similar to the mark but with the denomination 500.

Of the bit there are but two examples known, both of which have the same obverse and reverse design but differ in the treatment of the edge, the Garrett Collection piece having an edge with an olive leaf design, and the Eric P. Newman Collection piece having a plain edge. The obverse and reverse designs are similar to the mark but are of reduced size and bear the denomination 100.

Nova Constellatio Copper Coinage

In 1783 Gouverneur Morris, assistant superintendent of finance with the Continental Congress 1781-1785, and proponent of the 1,000-unit decimal coins and their fractional parts, the quint and the bit, ordered as a private venture a large quantity of coins bearing somewhat similar Nova Constellatio designs.

Morris (1752-1816) was born in Morrisania, New York, on the family estate. Graduating from King's College with a degree in law in 1768, he was admitted to the bar in 1771. He was an early supporter of the cause for independence. In July 1776 he participated in the New York State constitutional convention and with John Jay and Robert Livingston helped draft the 1777 frame of government which endured for nearly a half century. In 1778-1779 he was a member of the Continental Congress. Military, diplomatic, and financial matters interested him, and Morris chaired several committees. In 1778 he visited George Washington at Valley Forge to inspect the troops there. Seeking reelection to the Continental Congress in 1779, he was defeated. He became a citizen of Philadelphia where he engaged in the practice of law and participated in society. His February-April 1780 articles on Continental finance which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* attracted the interest of Robert Morris (no relation), the superintendent of finance, to enlist Gouverneur Morris as his assistant. Serving from 1781 to 1785, he conceived the decimal system of coinage.

It is believed that the Nova Constellatio copper issues, of halfpenny size, were distributed as a private speculation by Morris and were made to his order by George Wyon III at a private mint in Birmingham, England.

The obverse of each piece bears the inscription LIBERTAS JUSTITIA, a wreath within, and the letters U.S. The reverse depicts an all-seeing eye at the center surrounded with rays and stars and with the legend NOVA CONSTELLATIO. This is a reference to the "new constellation" or group of colonies which together formed the United States.

Specimens were made in large quantities with the

Established 1878

IMPORTER OF
AND
DEALER IN
ANCIENT
GREEK AND ROMAN
COINS
ENGLISH
CONTINENTAL
AND ORIENTAL
COINS AND MEDALS

S. H. CHAPMAN

Numismatist

1128 SPRUCE STREET

PHILADELPHIA

REGISTERED CABLE ADDRESS: "CHAPMAN, PHILADELPHIA"

TELEPHONE WALNUT 3427

DEALER IN
AMERICAN
COINS AND MEDALS
ESPECIALLY
IN FINE AND RARE
SPECIMENS.
PAPER MONEY
NUMISMATIC BOOKS
COLLECTIONS
PURCHASED OR
CATALOGUED FOR
SALE BY AUCTION

February 12, 1925.

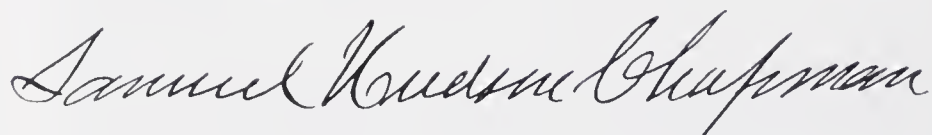
Mr. John W. Garrett.

My dear Mr. Garrett:

Your letter of February 11th. received. The history of the ownership of the United States Patterns of 1783, Mark and Quint, in silver. is as follows:

These pieces were found in the desk of Charles Thompson Secretary of the Continental Congress, and brought and sold by his nephew who found them, to John W. Haseltine in 1872. Mr. Haseltine sold them to Henry S. Adams of Boston, who sold them to Lorin G. Parmelee. They were sold in the sale of his collection in 1890 to H. B. Smith, or were bought in for Parmelee's account and were then sold to S.H. & H. Chapman, who sold them to George H. Earle, Jr. of Philadelphia, for whom they were sold by Henry Chapman, to James W. Ellsworth. They were subsequently sold to you, John W. Garrett.

Yours sincerely,



On February 12, 1925, S. H. Chapman advised John Work Garrett of the history and pedigree of the unique 1783 Nova Constellatio silver pattern coins.

1783 and 1785 dates. Numerous die variations occur. A few specimens dated 1786 are known, but these are contemporary imitations not from dies engraved by Wyon.

The Nova Constellatio coppers were well received and saw extensive use in commerce, as the number of well worn specimens extant today attests.

Vermont Copper Coinage 1785-1788

Of the several states which issued copper coins during the 1780s the earliest was Vermont, an independent area which was not formally a state until its admittance to the Union in 1791.

On June 10, 1785, Reuben Harmon, Jr. of Rupert, Bennington County, petitioned the House of Representatives for permission to produce coinage for Vermont. A committee consisting of Messrs. Tichenor, Strong, and Williams, with the addition of Ira Allen from the Legislative Council, was formed to consider the proposal.

On June 15, 1785, a bill authorizing Reuben Harmon, Jr. to coin copper pieces was sent to the governor and Council for their consideration and possible amendment:

Whereas Reuben Harmon, Jr., Esq., of Rupert in the county of Bennington, by his petition has represented that he has purchased a quantity of copper suitable for coining, and praying this legislature to grant him a right to coin copper, under such regulations as this assembly shall think meet; and this assembly being willing to encourage an undertaking that promises so much public utility, therefore:

Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted by the representatives of the freemen of the State of Vermont in general assembly met and by the authority of the same, that there be and hereby is granted to the said Reuben Harmon, Jr., Esq., the exclusive right of coining copper within this state for the term of two years from the first day of July, in the present year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five; and all coppers by him coined shall be in pieces of one third of an ounce troy each, with such devices and mottoes as shall be agreed on by the committee appointed for that purpose by this assembly.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that the said Reuben Harmon before he enter on the business of coining, or take any benefit of this act, shall enter into a bond of five thousand pounds, to the treasurer of the state, with two or more good and sufficient sureties, freeholders of this state, conditioned that all the copper by him coined as aforesaid, shall be a full weight as specified in this act, and that the same shall be made of good and genuine metal.

The bill was passed on the same day. On June 16th the required financial bond was obtained. Harmon found that his coins, regulated to be the weight of one

third ounce each, would be too heavy and would weigh more than contemporary pieces of halfpenny size circulating at that time throughout the United States. Accordingly, an amendment was passed on October 27, 1785, which stated:

Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted by the representatives of the freemen of the State of Vermont in general assembly met, and by the authority of the same; that all coppers coined by said Reuben Harmon, Jr., Esq., shall be of genuine copper in pieces weighing not less than four penny-weight fifteen grains each, and so much of the aforesaid act that regulates the weight of said coins is hereby repealed . . .

Sylvester S. Crosby quotes a letter from B. H. Hall of Troy, New York, to Charles I. Bushnell, of New York City, dated March 3, 1855, which gives a brief biography of Harmon and tells of the mint:

Reuben Harmon, Jr. came from Suffield, Connecticut, in company with his father, Reuben Harmon, Sr., about the year 1768, and settled in the northeast part of Rupert, Vermont. He was a man of some note and influence while there. At a meeting of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants held at Dorset, September 25, 1776, initiatory to their Declaration of Independence, Mr. Reuben Harmon [probably Jr.], was one of the representatives from Rupert. He was representative in the Vermont Legislature from Rupert in 1780, was justice of the peace from 1780 to 1790, and held several minor offices. In the year 1790 or thereabouts he left Rupert, for that part of the State of Ohio called New Connecticut, and there died long since.

His Mint House was located near the northeast corner of Rupert, a little east of the main road leading from Dorset to Pawlet, on a small stream of water called Millbrook, which empties into Pawlet River. It was a small building, about 16 by 18 feet, made of rough materials, sided with unplanned and unpainted boards. It is still standing, but its location and uses are entirely different from what they were originally. Its situation at present is on the border of the adjoining town of Pawlet whither it was long since removed, and what was once a coin house is now a corn house.

Col. William Cooley, who had worked at the goldsmith's trade in the city of New York, and who afterwards moved to Rupert, made the dies and assisted in striking the coin.

The same correspondent wrote to Charles I. Bushnell on July 18, 1855, with additional information:

The sun dial, or "Mind Your Business" copper coin, common in New England at the close of the last and at the commencement of the present century, was first manufactured by Abel Buel at New Haven, Connecticut, the original dies having been designed and cut by himself. Not long after this, his son William Buel, removed from the manufactory to the town of Rupert, Bennington County, Vermont, and in connection with a Mr. Harmon, established the mint-house on what is now known as Millbrook. William had taken with him the original dies used by his father at New Haven, and continued at Rupert the coinage of the coppers above referred to, until the coin had depreciated so much in

Coins of the States



1776 New Hampshire
W.M. copper



1778-9 Rhode Island
Ship medal



1783 Nova Constellatio
Blunt rays, small U.S.
CONSTELLATIO spelling



1785 Nova Constellatio
Pointed rays



1786 Nova Constellatio
Imitation dies



1786 Nova Constellatio
Imitation dies



1785 Vermont copper
Ryder 3
VERMONTS legend



1786 Vermont copper
Ryder 7
VERMONTENSIVM legend



1787 Vermont copper
Ryder 12



1787 Vermont copper
Ryder 13
BRITANNIA reverse



1785 Vermont copper
Ryder 1
IMMUNE COLUMBIA

value as to be worthless or nearly so, for circulation. The remains of the dam which rendered the waters of Millbrook eligible are still to be seen, and pieces of copper and specimens of the old coin are still occasionally picked up on the site of the old mill and in the brook below.

It is not known today whether Fugio coppers, referred to as the "Mind Your Business copper coin" above, were actually struck in Vermont, for the act which authorized Reuben Harmon, Jr. to strike coins specifically delineated the type of coins to be struck and provided strong penalties if there were deviations from those authorized. Eric P. Newman, writing "A Recently Discovered Coin Solves a Vermont Numismatic Enigma" in *The Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, New York, 1958, states the opinion that Buel brought with him punches and tools but not coining dies.

It was related that William Buel had become involved in an altercation with Indians who accused Buel of killing one of their number. It seems that Buel had obtained from a druggist a quantity of acid, and upon returning to his residence with a jug of this substance he was approached by some Indians who wanted to drink what they thought was rum. Buel told them the jug contained acid and would poison them, but the Indians did not believe it. Taking the jug from Buel, one of them swallowed a substantial portion and died soon thereafter from the effects. Buel was then accused of killing the Indian, and in accordance with tradition the dead man's companions sought revenge in kind. To escape the situation Buel fled to Rupert, Vermont, a recently settled area distant from Connecticut.

Abel Buel, William Buel's father, was involved in a number of adventures, including the counterfeiting of paper currency.

Julian Harmon, the grandson of Reuben Harmon, Jr., shed some further light on the early Vermont coiners in a letter dated June 4, 1855. He believed that Reuben Harmon, Jr. came to Vermont about 1760, having moved from Sandisfield, Massachusetts. He verified that William Buel of New Haven cut the dies and stated:

The mint house stood on Pawlet River, three rods from [Reuben Harmon, Jr.'s] house, a story and a half house, not painted, a furnace in one end for melting copper and rolling the bars, and in the other [west] end machinery for stamping, and in the center that for cutting. The stamping was done by means of an iron screw attached to heavy timbers above and moved by hand through the aid of ropes. Sixty per minute *could* be stamped, although 30 per minute was the usual number. William Buel assisted in striking the coins. Three persons were required for the purpose, one to place the copper, and two to swing the stamp. At first, the

coins passed two for a penny, then four, then eight, when it ceased to pay expenses. The British imported so many of the "Bungtown coppers," which were of a much lighter color.

It was further stated that Reuben Harmon, Jr., moved to Ohio about 1800 and engaged in the business of making salt at the Salt Spring Tract, in Weathersfield Township, Trumbull County, in which business he continued until his death on October 29, 1806, in his 56th year. Earlier, while in Vermont, Reuben Harmon, Jr. was a storekeeper in addition to his other activities.

B. H. Hall, in a letter to Charles I. Bushnell, dated June 14, 1856, gave another view of the mint:

On the north side of Millbrook the "old copper house" was first erected . . . From this location, in the town of Rupert, the "Mint House" was afterwards removed to and placed on the eastern bank of Pawlet River in the same town. Here it was also used for minting purposes. When the manufacture of coins was abolished, it was allowed to remain on Pawlet River for several years, but we could not learn to what uses it was put. Its third removal was to a spot north of the house of John Harwood, Esq., in the town of Rupert, on the east side of the main road. While here it was occupied as a residence by a family named Goff. It was again removed from its third location to a site nearly opposite, where it remained until its final journey which took place many years ago. This placed it on the farm of William Phelps about a mile north of John Harwood's residence in "the edge" of the town of Pawlet. Here it stood until last winter, when it was blown down.

The first coins produced by Harmon had a scenic motif and portrayed on the obverse a typical Vermont rocky mountain ridge forested with pine trees. To the right a sun peeping over the ridge appeared. Surrounding was the legend VERMONTIS RES PUBLICA and the date 1785. This was the Latinization of "Vermont Republic." The translation of "Vermont" into Latin was never standardized, so in 1785 and 1786 such varieties as the aforementioned "VERMONTIS" were seen as well as such variations as "VERMONTS" and the lengthy "VERMONTENSIMUM." On the lower part of the obverse was a plow, and beneath it, the date.

The reverse depicted an all-seeing eye from which emanated 13 short rays, with a star above each, and 13 long rays. The legend STELLA QUARTA DECIMA ("the 14th star," a reference to Vermont's ambition to become the 14th state) surrounded.

In 1786 it was decided that the Vermont coppers, being of a unique design not familiar to the citizens of Vermont or surrounding states, did not circulate as well as they would have if the design had been a more standard motif. Accordingly, new obverses and reverses

were adopted. One style, known today as the *Baby Head* variety, depicted a boyish bust facing right, with the legend AUCTORI VERMON: ("by the authority of Vermont") surrounding. The reverse depicted the seated figure of a woman modeled after the familiar Britannia used on contemporary British issues. The legend INDE ET LIB (an abbreviation for "independence and liberty") surrounded. The date 1786 was below. It apparently was felt that this design, while closer to the familiar coppers in circulation than the sun-over-mountains, could be improved further, so later in 1786 a new style featuring the bust of King George II facing to the left, copied from contemporary British halfpennies, was introduced. The inscriptions related to Vermont, and the seated figure on the reverse was retained. In 1787 a new style was adopted; a bust of King George III facing to the right. The Vermont inscriptions were kept.

The initial coining franchise was granted to Harmon for a period of two years. Before the expiration, Harmon, on October 23, 1786, petitioned the General Assembly to extend the term on the grounds that it was too short to indemnify him for the great expense of erecting a factory, acquiring machinery, and otherwise beginning the coinage of copper. On October 24, 1786, the franchise was extended. The design was officially modified, and following an initial period, Harmon was to pay a royalty for the coining privilege:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly in the State of Vermont that there be and hereby is granted and confirmed to the said Reuben Harmon, Jr., Esq., the exclusive right of coining copper within the state, for a further term of eight years from the first day of July, 1787; and that all copper by him coined shall be in pieces weighing not less than four pennyweight, fifteen grains each; and that the device for all coppers by him hereafter coined shall be, on the one side, a head with the motto "Auctoritate Vermontensium" abridged, and on the reverse a woman with the lettering INDE: ET LIB:, for "Independence and Liberty."

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that the said Reuben shall have and enjoy the aforesaid privilege of coining coppers within the state free from any duty to this state as a compensation therefore, for the full term of three years from the first day of July, 1787; and from and after the expiration of said three the said Reuben shall pay for the use of this state two and one-half percent of all the copper he shall coin for and during the remainder of aforesaid term of eight years.

It was further specified that appropriate bonds and guarantees were to be provided.

In 1787 Harmon entered into a partnership with a number of other individuals involved in coinage. Ownership interest and connection was formed between the Vermont coining enterprises and Machin's

Mills, a private mint, located on the shores of Orange County near Newburgh, New York.

Machin's Mills was established by an agreement dated April 18, 1787, which united the interests of Samuel Atlee, James F. Atlee, David Brooks, James Grier, and James Giles, all of New York City, with Thomas Machin of Ulster County, New York.

Capt. Thomas Machin was of English birth. Prior to the Revolution, he served as an officer with the British forces. During the war he entered the American Army as an engineer and in 1777 was employed by Congress to erect fortifications along the Hudson River and to stretch a chain across the river at West Point to prevent the passage of British ships beyond that point. Following the war, Machin located near Newburgh, New York, where he erected buildings subsequently used for the coinage venture.

It was provided that the profits from the coining enterprise should be split six ways, directly in proportion to the original stock which consisted of 300 pounds of capital, split into six shares valued at 50 pounds each. It was stated that Samuel Atlee and James F. Atlee "being possessed of certain implements for carrying on said trade, do agree to lend them to the parties to these presents for and during the continuance of their co-partnership without any fee or reward for the same."

It was further provided that "Thomas Machin, being possessed of certain mills, doth hereby agree to let the parties have free use of them for and during the continuation of their co-partnership . . ." Brooks, Grier, and Giles agreed to pay an additional 10 pounds each toward readying Machin's Mills to make them suitable for coinage. The management was to be by James F. Atlee and Thomas Machin.

On June 7, 1787, another agreement was drawn up. Ten partners participated, including the original six involved in the Machin's Mills enterprise, plus four others: Reuben Harmon, Jr., the Vermont coiner; William Coley (or Cooley), also of Vermont; Elias Jackson of Litchfield County, Connecticut; and Daniel Van Voorhis, a New York City goldsmith.

It was noted in the agreement that Reuben Harmon, following obtaining the coinage privilege from the legislature of Vermont, had taken in William Coley, Elias Jackson and Daniel Van Voorhis as equal partners. Now it was intended to merge the interests of Machin's Mills with those of the Rupert, Vermont minters. It was proposed that coinage be conducted in two locations: Machin's Mills, then in the process of readying for coinage, and at Rupert, Vermont in the

existing facilities there. Duties were divided among the various partners, with due provision being made for audits, settling accounts, and other business necessities.

Machin's Mills was located on Orange Lake, which at one time was also called Machin's Pond. A new outlet, which provided water to a large extent for Chambers' Creek, was tapped, and at the outlet the minting structure was erected. Originally this outlet was an overflow for times of high water, the natural one being further west at a place called Pine Point.

Charles I. Bushnell notified Sylvester S. Crosby:

The mint house at Newburgh, Ulster County, New York, was situated on the east side of Machin's Lake or Pond, about one eighth of a mile distant from the pond. The building was erected in 1784 by Thomas Machin, and was still standing in 1792, at which time the rollers, press, and cutting machine were taken out. The coins were struck by means of a large bar loaded at each end with a 500-pound ball with ropes attached.

Two men were required on each side, making four in all to strike the pieces, besides the man to set the planchets. The metal of which the coins were struck was composed of old brass cannons and mortars, the zinc from the copper being extracted by smelting in a furnace. About 60 of the coins were struck a minute. The sloop *Newburgh* (Capt. Isaac Belknap) carried for a number of years the coining press as part ballast. The coins were made by James F. Atlee. Many of them bore on the obverse GEORGIUS III, and on the reverse INDE ET LIB. Others bore the figure of a plough on one side. The mint ceased operations in the year 1791.

It was related that in the year 1789, 1,000 pounds of copper coins saw production. On October 14, 1790, James F. Atlee wrote to Thomas Machin to request that the partners dissolve the enterprise on suitable terms so as to avoid a tedious and expensive lawsuit.

Numismatists today believe that Machin's Mills coined a wide variety of coppers, probably anything that they thought could be circulated at a profit. Included were numerous counterfeits of contemporary British halfpennies. These bore on the obverse the portrait of George III with GEORGIUS III REX surrounding. The reverse depicted the seated figure of Britannia. At the same time it is virtually certain that pieces bearing legends relating to Connecticut, Vermont, New York, and possibly New Jersey were made as well. In some instances the dies were mixed, probably inadvertently, resulting in illogical combinations, such as a 1787 copper coin with a Vermont inscription on the obverse and with a reverse showing Britannia, a style intended for use on a counterfeit British halfpenny.

The business of Machin's Mills was conducted with secrecy. A guard with a hideous mask was employed to

frighten away the curious. In *The History of Orange County, New York* Eager noted that: "operations there, as they were conducted in secret, were looked upon at that time with suspicion, as illegal and wrong."

To aid in their acceptance into commercial channels the counterfeit British halfpennies were struck from dies deliberately made to produce coins which looked weak, as if they had been in circulation for a long time. Presumably the coins were toned or darkened to aid in the deception. At the time, America, newly independent from England, probably had little official concern as to whether or not American citizens counterfeited British coins.

It is possible that many 1787 Vermont coppers and most if not all of those dated 1788 were struck at Machin's Mills. Nearly all of these are lighter in weight than the earlier 1785-1786 issues, are less carefully engraved, and are often carelessly struck.

As stated earlier, the coinage of Vermont divides itself into a number of major categories. The first issues struck were those of the sun-over-mountains design and were made in 1785 and 1786. Then came the 1786 *Baby Head* with a young portrait facing right, a unique style. In the same year, 1786, and also in 1787, specimens with Vermont inscriptions but with the portrait of King George II facing to the left were made. In 1787 and 1788 the bulk of the coinage consisted of pieces bearing the portrait of King George III with Vermont inscriptions on both sides.

In addition, a number of mulings, or die combinations, some quite irrelevant, were produced. A 1785 Immune Columbia obverse die was combined with a Vermont obverse die, undoubtedly at Machin's Mills circa 1788, to produce an illogical combination. As noted, a Vermont obverse die was combined with a reverse die with the legend BRITANNIA intended for a counterfeit British halfpenny. A counterpart to this was the piece which combined the obverse die of a counterfeit British halfpenny with a Vermont reverse die. Another production combined a George III obverse with the Immune Columbia obverse. In still another instance, a Vermont reverse die was used in combination with an obverse die pertaining to Connecticut.

The Vermont copper coins struck in Rupert, the issues of 1785-1786 and the bust-left issue of 1787, were usually struck on imperfect planchets bearing many striae and fissures. Striking was irregular, with the result that Rupert-minted coins today often are weakly struck in certain areas while sharply defined in others. Well-centered, well-struck, sharply-defined pieces on perfect planchets are exceedingly rare.

"Bungtown" Tokens



*Double-struck imitation
British halfpenny*



*Double-struck imitation
British halfpenny*



*Machin's Mills imitation
British halfpenny*

Connecticut Copper Coins



1785 Miller 3.5-B



1785 Miller 6.3-G.2



1786 Miller 1-A



1786 Miller 5.3-B.2



1786 Miller 5.2-I



1786 Miller 5.6-M



1786 Miller 6-K



1787 Miller 1.2-C



1787 Miller 6.2-M

The 1787 and 1788 coinage, produced at Machin's Mills, consists primarily of lightweight pieces, usually with indistinct detail, not as a result of striking but purposely as a result of die preparation.

Bungtown Coppers

During the second half of the 18th century, counterfeit British halfpence flooded America. While some were produced in America (the Machin's Mills coinage of the late 1780s, for example), most emanated from England. Many were close copies of contemporary English halfpence, bore the portraits of George II and III, and incorporated the Britannia motif on the reverse. Others were made in England and were deliberately different in certain characteristics from the regular issues, the word REX being spelled ROX, for example, perhaps in an effort to evade counterfeiting laws. Still others are of a satirical nature and relate to persons, places, and events of the time.

Thomas L. Elder, writing in his May 26-29, 1920, catalogue of the Henry C. Miller Collection, noted:

They [Bungtown coppers] circulated largely among the early German colonists in the eastern part of the state [Pennsylvania]; in fact, the cataloguer has hardly met with a single example in western Pennsylvania, where he resided for many years. And a good many of them never left England.

In Pennsylvania the problem of counterfeit coppers was so intense that on July 14, 1781, Joseph Reed, president of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth, issued a proclamation stating that:

Diverse ill-disposed persons have manufactured or imported into this state quantities of base metal, in the similitude of British half pence, but much inferior in value and weight to the genuine British halfpence, to the great depreciation of that coin, the injury of the community in general, and the poor in particular, and we have, therefore, thought proper to prohibit, and do hereby strictly enjoin all officers—not to receive such base coin in any payments whatsoever—and do earnestly recommend to all the faithful inhabitants of this state to refuse it in payment—and to make due inquiry after offenders in the premises, that they may be brought to speedy and condign punishment.

The origin of the term "Bungtown" was debated by numismatists for many decades. It is strictly of American origin. This comical expression is explained in detail in Eric P. Newman's "American Circulation of English and Bungtown Halfpence", included in the American Numismatic Society's 1976 publication, *Studies on Money in Early America*.

Connecticut Copper Coinage 1785-1788

The first native coinage of Connecticut appears to be

the unofficial threepence pieces produced by Dr. Samuel Higley and his successors circa 1737-1739. In the latter year John Read, of Boston, Massachusetts, proposed to the Connecticut General Court assembled in New Haven that he be granted a patent to produce copper halfpennies and farthings from native Connecticut ore mined in the Simsbury-Granby area. William Cradock and Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, who are believed to have been associated with the Higley coppers of 1739, joined him in the proposal.

The Read petition came to naught, so the first authorized coinage did not occur until several decades later.

On October 18, 1785, Samuel Bishop, James Hillhouse, Joseph Hopkins, and John Goodrich petitioned the General Assembly of Connecticut to authorize the production of copper coins. It was stated in the petition that there was a great scarcity of small circulating coins in the state, and those that were seen were apt to be counterfeits.

On October 20, 1785, the petitioners were granted the right to establish a mint under the direction and superintendence of the General Assembly, with a royalty of one twentieth part of all copper coins to be paid into the treasury of the state.

The authorization was given to coin no more than 10,000 pounds lawful money in value of the standard of British halfpennies, to weigh six pennyweight each, and to bear a design of a man's head on one side with the letters AUCTORI: CONNEC: ("by the authority of Connecticut"). The reverse side was to depict the emblem of Liberty with an olive branch in her hand and with the inscription INDE: ET. LIB: 1785. Yet another condition was specifically stated:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to make such coppers a legal tender in payment of any debt, except for the purpose of making even change, for any sum not exceeding three shillings.

About the same time another act was drawn up to prevent counterfeiting:

No person whatever shall coin or manufacture any copper coin of any description or size without permission first had and obtained from the General Assembly on pain of forfeiting for each offense the sum of one hundred pounds lawful money . . .

On January 1789 a committee was appointed to inquire into the coinage. After meeting on April 7th of the same year, the committee gave a report to the Assembly the following May. It was related that on April 7, 1789, a meeting of the parties involved was held at a private home in New Haven. Attending were

Connecticut Copper Coins



1787 Miller 12-Q



1787 Miller 13-D



1787 Miller 23-c



1787 Miller 31.1-r.4



1787 Miller 32.2-X.4



1787 Miller 33.9-s.2



1787 Miller 33.6-KK



1787 Miller 43-Y



1787 Miller 46-BB



1787 Miller 47-a.3



1788 Miller 7-F



1788 13-A.1

Samuel Bishop, James Hillhouse, Mark Leavenworth, and John Goodrich. It was learned that on November 12, 1785, Samuel Bishop, James Hillhouse, Joseph Hopkins, and John Goodrich, the original persons named in the coinage act, entered into an agreement with Pierpoint Edwards, Jonathan Ingersoll, Abel Buel, and Elias Shipman to form a company to coin coppers. The business continued until February 1786 when Ingersoll and Edwards sold one sixteenth part of the company each to Goodrich. In March 1786 Hopkins sold one sixteenth part to Goodrich, and in April 1786 Edwards, Shipman, and Ingersoll each sold one sixteenth part to James Jarvis. Jarvis continued production of Connecticut coppers until some time in the summer of 1786 when the supply of copper metal was depleted.

On September 10, 1786, the company leased the apparatus to Mark Leavenworth, Isaac Baldwin, and William Leavenworth for a period of six weeks. They must have struck 1787 Nova Eborac (New York) coppers at that time.

Additional transfers of interest took place, so that in June 1787 the ownership stood as follows: James Jarvis, 9/16th part; James Hillhouse, 1/8th part; Mark Leavenworth, 1/8th part; Abel Buel, 1/8th part; and John Goodrich, 1/16th part. Around that time the business ended.

Inspectors from the legislature found out that 28,944 pounds weight of coppers were produced, with one twentieth part, or 1,477 pounds and three ounces of copper, being transmitted to Connecticut as a royalty. At the time the coppers passed in circulation at 18 pieces to a shilling.

The committee further learned that Major Eli Leavenworth, apparently a relative of the other two Leavenworths, earlier associated with the venture, made blank coppers in autumn 1788 and had them stamped in New York with various impressions. It is not known what pieces were struck on them.

It was further found that Abel Buel had gone to Europe. Before leaving he gave his son Benjamin the right to produce coppers. As of the committee meeting in 1789, Benjamin Buel had just begun to issue pieces of undetermined design.

James Jarvis, majority shareholder in the Connecticut enterprise at the close of business, was also the contractor for the 1787 Fugio copper coinage, to which we refer.

On June 20, 1789, the right to coin coppers was suspended. Thus concluded the official Connecticut production.

Charles I. Bushnell, who in the late 1850s did extensive research in the field of early American coins, medals, and tokens, entered the following in his manuscript notes:

Hon. Henry Meigs, late of this city (New York), deceased, informed me in September 1854 that Connecticut coins were made in a building situated under the Southern Bluff, near the center of the north shore of the harbor in New Haven, west of the Broome and Platt houses. Mr. Meigs lived at the time between the latter residences, at a short distance from the mint house. He visited it frequently and saw the press in operation. The building was a small frame house, and he thinks was painted red. Messrs. Broome and Platt, who had formerly been merchants in the city of New York, and who were men of fortune, he thinks must have had a subcontract for the manufacture of the State coinage, as Mr. Broome superintended the mint, and gave orders to the men, not more than three of whom were seen at work at one time. Both members of the firm would sometimes distribute some of the coins among the boys, among whom was my informant. Mr. Meigs said he saw the mint in operation in 1788, and that it had been in operation some considerable time before that. The coins were struck by means of a powerful iron screw.

The preceding account went on to note that the mint was located at Morris Cove, on the right hand side of the harbor about two miles above the lighthouse. It was further related that another source stated that a building at Westville, at the foot of West Rock, about two miles inland from New Haven, was also used for the coinage of Connecticut coppers. A derelict coining press and copper scraps were later seen at the site.

The dies for the Connecticut coins were made by Abel Buel and James Atlee, as evidenced by comparing the letter punches with other of their known works. While most of the 1785 coins were probably struck at the New Haven Mint, a number of the later issues, particularly those which were quite light in weight, were undoubtedly struck at Machin's Mills near Newburgh, New York. Bearing dates from 1785 through 1788 inclusive, Connecticut coppers were issued in over 300 combinations of dies, producing varieties. These coppers remained in circulation well into the 19th century as evidenced by their wear.

Connecticut coppers, which circulated widely, were considered to be "fair game" for other coiners. It is probable that in addition to unofficial coinage at Machin's Mills, other pieces were struck in Morristown, New Jersey, by the makers of New Jersey coppers.

As Connecticut coppers circulated at a higher value than certain of their contemporaries, many Irish halfpennies, counterfeit British halfpennies, and other

pieces were overstruck with Connecticut designs, probably at Machin's Mills. In the same location, Vermont coins, particularly of the 1787-1788 years, were similarly produced by overstriking pieces of lesser value.

New Jersey Copper Coinage 1786-1788

On June 1, 1786, the Council and General Assembly of New Jersey granted the coining privilege to a group composed of Walter Mould, Thomas Goadsby, and Albion Cox. Walter Mould, an Englishman, earlier had engaged in minting in his native country. It was specified that the pieces produced would be of pure copper of the weight of six pennyweight and six grains each.

On November 17, 1786, Goadsby and Cox petitioned the General Assembly to give them separately a 2/3 interest of the business, with Walter Mould to independently conduct the remaining 1/3. This bill was passed on November 22nd. Goadsby and Cox obtained the right to coin 6,666 pounds, 13 shillings, and 4 pence worth of coppers. Mould was given the separate right to coin 1/3 of the total amount, or 3,333 pounds, 6 shillings, and 8 pence value.

Walter Mould's mint was located in Morristown, New Jersey. The structure was described in a letter dated August 8, 1855, from W. C. Baker to Charles I. Bushnell:

There were two mint-houses in this State. One located in Morristown, and the other in Elizabethtown. The mint-house of the former place, which is still standing, was the residence of John Cleve Symmes, Chief Justice of the State of New Jersey, uncle to John Cleve Symmes, author of *The Hole at the North Pole* and father-in-law of Gen. William H. Harrison, President of the United States. The residence was called "Solitude." It was at one time occupied by Mr. Holloway, and is known by some as the "Holloway House." The mint here was carried on by Walter Mould, an Englishman, who previous to his coming to America, had been employed in a similar way in Birmingham. [Birmingham, England, was a manufacturing center at the time, and several private mints were located there.] In the coinage of the New Jersey coppers, a screw with a long lever was employed. This information is vouched for by Mr. Lewis Condict, of Morristown, who saw the mint in operation.

The building in Elizabethtown, used as a mint-house, is near to the house formerly occupied by Col. Francis Barber, of the Revolutionary Army, and is known as the "Old Armstrong House." It is still standing and is situated in Water Street, and the coins were made in a shed back of the main building. The coining here was carried on by a man named Gilbert Rindle, probably for the account of Messrs. Goadsby and Cox. I have this from Mrs. [name not given, a blank was substituted here], of Elizabethtown, who remembers the circumstance.

Bushnell mentioned another New Jersey coiner:

Mr. J. R. Halsted informed me some (20) years ago that an acquaintance of his knew a Mr. Hatfield, who claimed to have made dies and coined New Jersey coppers, in a barn (Mr. Halsted thought) below Elizabethtown, in striking which he was assisted by a Negro.

Charles I. Bushnell possessed a copy of an affidavit of John Bailey, who, it appears, also was involved in the coinage of New Jersey coppers:

City of New York,

Personally appeared before me, Jeremiah Wool, one of the Aldermen of the said City. John Bailey, of the said City of New York, cutler, who being duly sworn, deposeth and saith That since the fifteenth day of April 1788 he hath not either by himself or others, made or struck any coppers bearing the impression of those circulated by the state of New Jersey, commonly called Jersey coppers; and that what he so made previous to the said fifteenth of April was in conformity to, and by authority derived from, an Act of the State of New Jersey entitled, "An Act for the Establishment of a Coinage of Copper" in that state, passed June the first, 1786.

(signed) John Bailey.

Sworn this first day of August 1789

Before me, Jeremiah Wool, alderman

John H. Hickcox, Esq., of Albany, New York, who in 1858 wrote *An Historical Account of American Coinage*, received a letter from F. B. Chetwood, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, dated March 19, 1858, containing the following information:

My mother, the daughter of Col. Francis Barber, is now seventy-six years old and says that all of her recollection of the subject of your inquiry is that when she was a child ten or twelve years old she used to go into the house on the adjoining premises to her father's residence in this place to see them make coppers. The business was carried on in a room behind the kitchen, by Gilbert Rindle and a person whose name she thinks is Cox.

The *modus operandi* was as follows: in the middle of the room was a wooden box or pit sunk in the floor several feet deep, in the middle of which pit was placed an iron die, the top of which was about level with the floor of the room. A workman sat on the floor, with his legs inside the pit. He placed the smooth coppers on the die, and when stamped, brushed them off the die into the pit. The impression on the copper was made by a screw-press, which was worked by two men, one on each end of an iron bar or horizontal lever, attached to the screw at the center of its length, which was about nine or ten feet long.

My mother thinks it was in operation only a year or two, but her recollection on this point is not very reliable.

The copper was brought to that house, all finished, as she thinks, except the stamping. She has no recollection at all of any other branch of the business being carried on there. She recollects that the copper when coined was put into kegs and sent off somewhere, and that her mother used to pur-

chase a bureau drawer nearly full at a time, and pay them out in daily use for household expenses.

New Jersey coppers were produced with a single motif, but with variations. The obverse depicted a truncated horse head, usually facing to the right (although on a few varieties it faced to the left), with a plow below, and the inscription NOVA CAESAREA ("New Jersey") surrounding. The date, 1786, 1787, or 1788, appeared near the bottom rim. A rare type of 1786 has the date under the plow beam rather than at the bottom border. The reverse displays a shield in the center with E PLURIBUS UNUM surrounding.

Many New Jersey coins were produced by overstriking Connecticut coppers, Irish halfpennies, counterfeit British halfpennies, and other pieces, probably because these could be bought at a sharp discount in comparison to the going rate in commerce for New Jersey issues. An examination of the die work shows that many of them were cut by James Atlee, who was also involved in the coinage of Connecticut, Vermont, and various Machin's Mills issues.

In addition to the pieces produced at various locations in New Jersey and by Bailey in New York City, it is believed that Machin's Mills produced limited quantities of coppers bearing the New Jersey design. Various other counterfeiters and imitators produced still other varieties, mostly of very crude workmanship.

In 1881 *A Historic Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey*, by Dr. Edward Maris, was published. Maris, whose personal collection of New Jersey coppers was sold at auction intact to T. Harrison Garrett, was the first serious student of the series. Today, die varieties of New Jersey cents are still described by Maris' numerical designations.

The Copper Coinage of Massachusetts 1776 and 1787-1788

While silver coins were produced by the Massachusetts Bay Colony beginning in 1652 (and extending until 1682), it was not until over a century later, in 1776, that copper pieces were made. In the latter year several different varieties of coins, all presumably patterns, were struck. Very little is known today concerning their origin or under what circumstances they were made.

A 1776 Massachusetts copper "penny" bears on the obverse the representation of a pine tree. Surrounding is the legend MASSACHUSETTS STATE. Below the pine tree are the characters IC LM, presumably for "one penny lawful money." The reverse shows the

figure of a goddess seated on a globe, the legend LIBERTY AND VIRTUE surrounding, and the date 1776 below.

This coin, of which just one specimen is known, later became part of the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection. In 1875 Sylvester S. Crosby described it:

Now in the collection of Mr. William F. Appleton, was formerly owned by Mr. J. Colburn, of Boston, who obtained it about 1852, from Mr. Edward W. Hooper, then a schoolboy collector of coins. Mr. Hooper purchased it from a grocer at the northerly part of the city, who found it many years before while excavating on his premises, in the vicinity of Hull or Charter Street for the purpose of making an addition to his dwelling. He had long preserved it as a curiosity. We take this to be the first pattern for a Massachusetts cent . . .

Another curious 1776 Massachusetts "penny" is of a different design and features on the obverse the standing figure of an Indian. The reverse depicts a goddess seated. The only known specimen, considerably worn and pierced with a hole, is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society in New York.

The third 1776 pattern issue of Massachusetts has been known as the "Janus copper." Only one specimen is believed to exist, the example from the Garrett Collection. The obverse depicts three heads, with the legend STATE OF MASSA. surrounding, and the denomination ½D (D may be the abbreviation for denarium, or penny) below. The reverse shows the figure of a goddess seated and facing to the right, with the legend GODDESS LIBERTY around, and the date 1776 below.

Of the coin Crosby notes:

This piece, which has been known as the "Janus Copper" we think may more properly be called the Massachusetts Halfpenny. It has three heads combined instead of two as in a Janus head. This device resembles the Brahma of Hindoo mythology, which represents the past, the present, and the future.

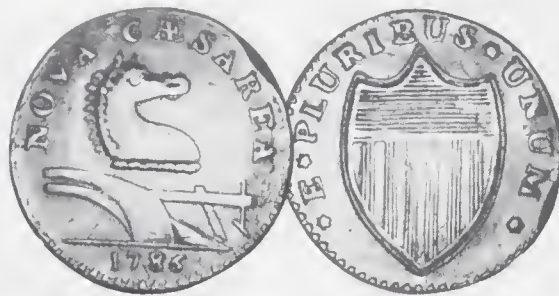
The only specimen known of this curious pattern is in the collection of Matthew A. Stickney, Esq., and was found with an engraved piece and some proof impressions from plates for Continental paper money engraved by Paul Revere; from this circumstance Mr. Stickney is inclined to the opinion that they were the work of that engraver. However this may be, the pine tree cent and this halfpenny sufficiently resemble each other in their workmanship to be considered the work of the same artist. They were probably private enterprises, as no mention of them is found upon any records.

Matthew A. Stickney, Esq., of Salem, Massachusetts, was one of the most prominent numismatists during the 19th century. His collection was catalogued by

New Jersey Copper Coins



1786 Maris 13-J



1786 Maris 15-T



1786 Maris 16-L



1786 Maris 17-b
Struck over Connecticut
narrow shield



1786 Maris 18-M
Bridle variety



1786 Maris 21-N



1786 Maris 24-P
narrow shield



1786 Maris 8 1/2-C



1787 Maris 28-S



1787 Maris 48-g
Double struck



1787 Maris 38-Z
small shield



1787 Maris 43-d

New Jersey Copper Coins



1787 Maris 54-k
serpent head



1787 Maris 61-p
PLURIBUS variety



1787 Maris 62-q
Large planchet



1787 Maris 63-q
Large planchet



1787 Maris 64-t



1787 Maris 70-x
Struck over a 1786 Connecticut



1787 Maris 72-z



1787 New variety with
outlined plow
Maris 83ii



1788 Maris 67-v



1788 Maris 75-bb
Running fox variety



1788 Maris 78-dd
Running fox variety



1788 New variety obverse
Reverse "r"
64 1/2r

Henry Chapman and was offered at auction in Philadelphia on June 25-29, 1907. In the preface to the catalogue Chapman noted:

About 1823 he began to collect coins and was probably the first person in America to form a systematic collection of the various dates in the several series. This celebrated collection has for many years been a mystery, as hardly anyone of the present generation had seen anything of it; so that it has been a pleasure for me to undertake the work of writing the catalogue [which includes such items as] the great New York Brasher doubloon, a coin that Mr. Stickney prized beyond money and which I feel confident will now be appreciated as it should be; half eagles from 1795 to 1837 complete except 1822; the 1804 \$1 which Mr. Stickney obtained from the United States Mint in 1843 and which has never been offered before for competition . . .

In 1786 the Massachusetts government gave serious consideration to the production of copper coins. In March of that year Seth Reed of Uxbridge, Massachusetts, petitioned the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts for the right to produce copper and silver coins made from metal extracted from native ore. The legislators, who heard the proposal on March 8th and 9th, were skeptical and requested that Reed bring evidence that the metals were indeed the products of mines located within the geographical confines of the Massachusetts state.

On March 15, 1786, a week after the Reed petition, another proposal was entered, this one by James Swan, who recognized the "want of a circulating medium, which may neither depreciate, be exported, or hoarded by the rich." He asked for a patent or license to coin 20,000 pounds sterling value in copper.

While neither the Reed nor the Swan petitions received favorable action, they did serve to stimulate interest in a native coinage. Accordingly, on March 23, 1786, a committee was formed with this stated purpose:

. . . to consider the best method to be adopted by this Commonwealth for the coining of silver and copper, to determine the value of the several sorts of coin, together with the quantity that it will be expedient to issue, with proper devices therefore, and what advantages may accrue to the Commonwealth thereby . . .

In the same month the committee recommended that the Massachusetts government itself should establish a mint to manufacture copper pieces. It was estimated that in order to coin 20,000 pounds lawful value money in coppers it would require a cost of 8,250 pounds value of copper metal plus 1,950 pounds value for the work-houses, presses, plating mill, and other apparatus together with the fuel, wages of the workmen, and other costs, for a total expenditure of 10,200 pounds, return-

ing to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a profit of 9,800 pounds.

The committee further reported:

The government will not be obliged to advance a great sum to set it a going as the public hath a large quantity of copper ore suitable for the business by them, if they choose to employ it that way, but if they should not incline to do that, they may purchase old copper enough at two or three months' credit, to be paid for in copper as soon as it is coined . . .

It was further recommended that copper should be coined in the denominations of one penny, one half-penny, and one farthing.

In June 1786 the governor of Massachusetts requested that the matter of coinage consideration be suspended pending the outcome of the action of the United States government in the matter of coinage. It was considered that the United States Congress, if it were to issue a coinage, would provide pieces which would have uniform value throughout the different states and would be more convenient to commerce than a native Massachusetts coinage. In July, in disregard of the governor's wishes, the House of Representatives prepared a bill for the coinage of copper and the erecting of a mint. On October 17, 1786, legislation was passed which provided the following:

. . . that there be a mint erected within this Commonwealth, for the coining of gold, silver, and copper; and that all the coin that shall be struck therein shall be of the same weight, alloy, and value, and each piece bear the same name . . .

There shall be a quantity of copper coins struck, equal to the amount of 70,000 dollars, in pieces of the two different denominations mentioned in the said resolve, and in convenient proportions; one of which to have the name *Cent* stamped in the center thereof, and the other *Half Cent*, with such inscriptions or devices as the governor with the advice of Counsel may think proper; and the said coin, when struck, shall be received in all payments in this Commonwealth.

It was further provided that a mint be established and that an assayer, workmen, supplies, and other utensils be obtained for the purpose of coining.

On May 2, 1787, the coinage committee reported that their subsequent investigation found it necessary to erect a furnace made of special fire brick, the clay for which could not be obtained until the spring of the 1787 year. Conversations were held with Captain Joshua Wetherle, and the committee found that he was suited to superintend the setting up and conducting of the business. During the same month copper suitable for coining was located, including 3,434 pounds weight of copper and 650 pounds of "sprews,"

belonging to the Commonwealth, as well as several mortars and cannon suitable for melting down for use in coinage.

On June 27, 1787, the designs were established:

. . . the device on the copper coin to be emitted in this Commonwealth to be the figure of an Indian with a bow and arrow and a star on one side, with the word COMMONWEALTH, and on the reverse a spread eagle with the words OF MASSACHUSETTS AD 1787.

When coinage did materialize the legends "OF" and "AD" were omitted.

On October 18, 1787, in a speech the governor noted that, "in consequence of an act made October 1786, a mint has been erected for coining cents, and a very considerable quantity of copper will soon be ready for circulation . . ."

Problems developed, and on January 16, 1788, the government expressed its concern with the slowness in mintage operations and ordered an investigation. Subsequently, Joshua Wetherle submitted a report which noted:

In May 1787 I received orders from the government to erect necessary buildings and to prepare machines suitable for the purpose of coining copper cents, etc., agreeable to an act of this Commonwealth, which was immediately begun to be put into execution, and no pains were spared to procure every article that was thought necessary. The iron furnaces which I was obliged to depend on for several articles which I could not do without were so nearly out of blast that I could not get the patterns made for the rollers and sundry other articles that were necessary, done so as to answer the purpose intended in the spring, therefore was obliged to go on as well as I could, and after spending some time and great pains in making the rollers, which I had cast, answer the purpose expected, was obliged to have a pair of rollers made of wrought iron, which have been made use of to this time, and are yet good.

The dies, with which the coin is struck, have been the means of great delay in the business, as it was not in my power to procure steel of a proper quality to receive the proper degree of hardness which is so absolutely necessary to sustain the great force of the machine in making the impression on the coin. I have now procured steel of that quality, which appears to answer the purpose very well. In addition to this, it must be supposed that some time would be spent to instruct persons in a business which has not been practiced in this country.

The moulds which I proposed to cast the copper into when melted, so as to have it in a proper situation for the rolling mill, without any further expense or trouble, was a matter of great consequence in the business; therefore I took the advice of all those persons that might be supposed to have good judgment in a matter of this kind; who unanimously agreed that it was not only a cheap but a very expeditious way of doing the business; therefore I pursued the plan, as soon as the first furnace that I could hear of was in blast, to

get such a number of them as would be sufficient to prove the experiment which took some time and trouble to have them in proper order for the business proposed; when this was done it appeared that the above plan would not be a means of saving money and expediting business as was expected, but would really injure the metal, employ more hands, and destroy more fuel, than casting it in much larger pieces, and drawing it with a trip hammer, which might be made, and fixed to the Mill at Dedham, which is now almost ready to operate; but before I began to fix the above hammers, I fully proved the experiment by having about a thousandweight drawn at Newton.

Thus far I have given a general account of the matter to this time, and have surmounted every difficulty that commonly occurs in any new business, more especially in one of this nature, without any expense to, or assistance from government other than thirty-five hundred pounds of rough copper, received from Hugh Orr, Esq.; and at your next meeting shall lay before you a more particular account of the state of the mint.

Most of the dies for Massachusetts half cents and cents were made by Joseph Callender, an engraver located at Half-Square, State Street in Boston. These dies were prepared at a cost to Massachusetts of one pound four shillings each. This was considered excessive, so Jacob Perkins, a silversmith of Newburyport, was engaged to produce additional dies at a payment of 1% value of the coins to be struck from the dies. It is believed that the shape of the letter S on the coins was distinctive with each engraver. In all issues of 1787 and in some of 1788, the S is open at the top and bottom. In both half cent die varieties of 1788 as well as several of the cents of the same year, the S is narrow and the serifs at the upper and lower part are close to the curves, resembling somewhat a figure eight. It is believed that the latter ones are Perkins' work.

Problems continued at the mint, and on June 17, 1788, Joshua Wetherle reported that many other unfortunate circumstances, including particularly harsh weather the preceding winter, caused additional difficulties and delays. It was stated that \$2,500 in coins had already been struck and was deposited to the account of the Commonwealth. It was anticipated that if the government could supply the proper amount of copper, the mint would be able to have a continuing output on the order of about \$50 per day in half cents and cents. An additional 600 pounds was requested in operating expenses so that work could continue. (It should be noted here that while the output of the mint was in half cents and cents, part of a decimal system with fractional parts of a dollar, the prevailing money in use in Massachusetts at that time was based upon the British pound sterling.)

On November 5, 1788, an accounting was presented

Jacob Perkins, Early Die Cutter



Jacob Perkins of Newburyport, Massachusetts, engraved 1788-dated dies for Massachusetts copper cents and half cents, supplementing the efforts of Joseph Callender. Over a decade later, in 1800, he produced several varieties of funeral medals portraying Washington, with the obverse inscription HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS.

He was born in Newburyport on July 9, 1766, the son of Mathew and Jane (Dole) Perkins. His father, a tailor by trade, brought up young Jacob strictly. It is related that in one instance Jacob, having committed some minor offense, was sent to his room. His father went there shortly thereafter to administer a spanking only to find the young Jacob had torn cloth into strips to make an escape rope.

At an early age he was apprenticed to a Mr. Davis, a goldsmith, who died during the third year of Jacob's training. There he learned to make gold beads, shoe buckles, and other items crafted of gold and silver.

Perkins became interested in die making and engraving. At the age of 21 he invented a machine to make nails by snipping off the iron and forming a head. Around the same time he made his first dies. Shortly afterward he engraved cent and half cent dies for Massachusetts.

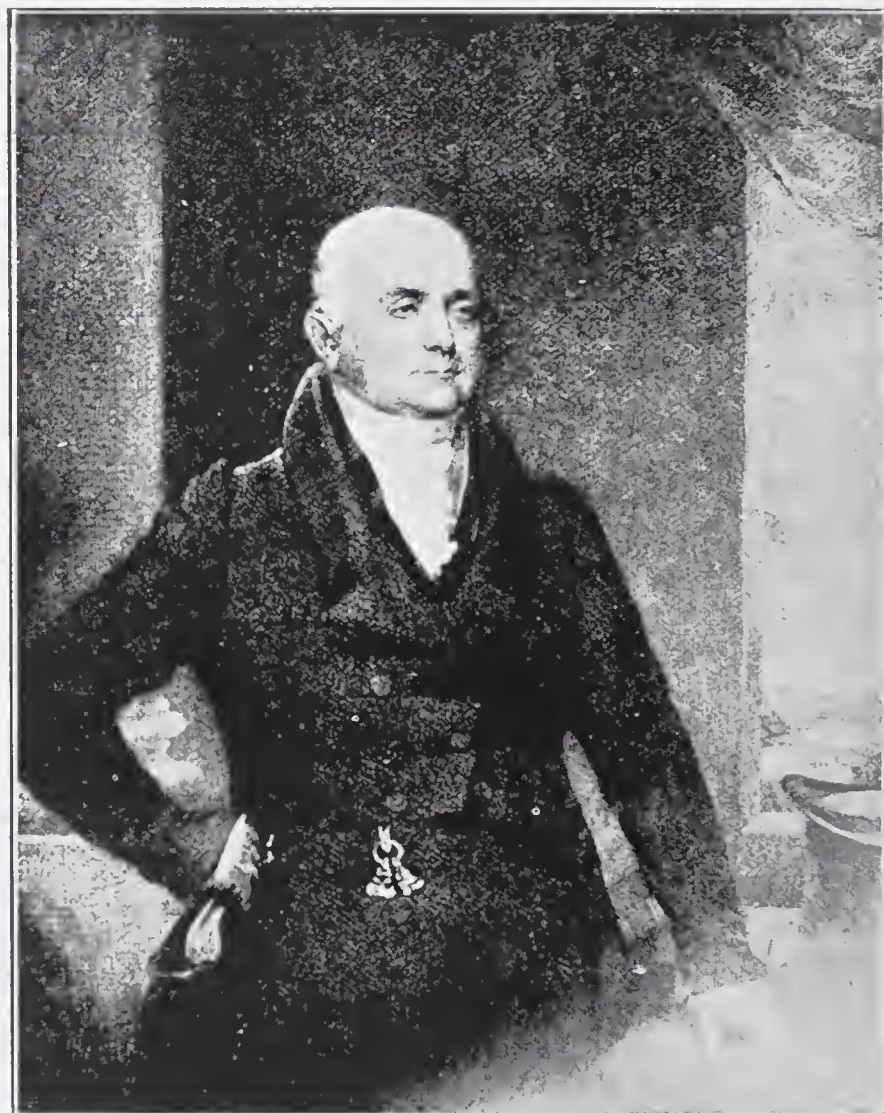
On November 11, 1790, he married Hannah Greenleaf. *The New Hampshire Packet*, issue of July 18, 1792, noted that Perkins had invented a machine to letter the edge of a coin as well as a device which would detect counterfeit money:

"Several newspapers of the past and present week have prematurely mentioned Mr. Perkins of this town being sent forward to Philadelphia, for the purpose of superintending the coinage there. Mr. Perkins' abilities in that line are fully adequate to such an appointment, as the specimens he has exhibited in that line amply testify . . . He has invented a new machine which cuts the metal into such circular pieces as are wanted, and gives the impression at the same time—its motion is accelerated by a balance wheel, and more than one-third of the time and labor thereby saved. He has also constructed another machine, of his own invention, for milling or lettering the edge, by which a boy can mill 60 each minute. Were it found necessary, he could apply steam to perform all the most laborious parts of the business. But what is of more importance, and will be found to be of more public utility than all the foregoing, is a check, which he has invented, for discovering counterfeits—this so contrived that 1/8 of a

minute is sufficient to determine, without the possibility of a mistake, whether a piece of money is genuine or not, and any town or merchant can be supplied at a small expense with said checks, and then rest assured that an imposition would be absolutely impossible."

Perhaps sometime shortly after that date he engraved a die featuring the bust of Washington in military attire, facing left, with the word "Washington" incuse above. Matthew A. Stickney, a prominent 19th-century collector, once owned a piece and described it as: "\$10 pattern dollar, 1793, by Jacob Perkins of Newburyport, given to me by his nephew—very rare."

On January 6, 1800, *J. Russell's Gazette*, published in Boston, printed this notice:



"Mr. Jacob Perkins of Newburyport has designed and executed a very beautiful medal of Gen. Washington. On one side is an excellent likeness of that illustrious personage; and on the reverse, a memoranda of the most remarkable periods of his life. They are struck in gold, silver, or white metal, and may be purchased of Mr. Perkins, or at the bookstore in Newburyport, and of Mr. Eben Moulton, a goldsmith in this town."

The legend of the pieces referred to, which bear the inscription HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS, is said to have been suggested by the Hon. Dudley A. Ting, who at one time was the revenue collector for the Port of Newburyport.

In 1799 Perkins developed a new method of banknote printing which prevented counterfeiting. This consisted of having the denomination of the bill spelled out dozens of times in minute type characters and used as a background to form the various designs of the bills. Perkins' interest in banknotes intensified, and in 1804 he devised a process by which steel plates could be hardened. Plates for engraving could be produced in quantities, in separate sections, with space provided for the bank name to be inserted. A booklet published by C. Stebbins, a Boston printer, in 1806, *The Per-*

manent Stereotype Steel Plate, with Observations on its Importance and an Explanation of its Construction and Uses, contained Perkins' description of the device as a case-hardened steel plate, with steel dies, one inch thick, keyed together in a strong iron frame, and firmly screwed to a metal plate one inch in thickness.

From that time forward he achieved fame in the field of banknote printing. At one time the Legislature of Massachusetts required all banks within that state to issue notes from Perkins-type plates in order to suppress counterfeiting.

In 1816 Perkins moved to Philadelphia, where he stayed for several years, after which he went to Liverpool, England. During the voyage across the Atlantic he formed the idea for a new invention, the "bathometer," which indicated depth in a moderate wind as well as on a calm sea. He later went to London where he devised a steam-operated gun which would discharge 1,200 balls a minute. A demonstration was arranged for the Duke of Wellington and others. The French government ordered an example. Other Perkins devices included a "steam rocket engine" and a "propeller for steam vessels," the latter design to be a substitute for paddle wheels. In England, where he died on July 30, 1849, he was known as "the American inventor."



NEWBURYPORT.

Massachusetts Copper Coins 1787-1788



1787 Half cent
Crosby 2/A



1787 Half cent
4/C



1788 Half cent
C. 1/B



1787 Cent
Transposed Arrows



1787 Cent
C. 3/G



1787 Cent
C. 6/G



1788 Cent
C. 1/D



1788 Cent
C. 3/A



1788 Cent
C. 6/N



1788 Cent
C. 7/M



1788 Cent
C. 10/L



1788 Cent
C. 12/M

which showed that as of that time 2,136 pounds, five shillings, seven pence had been expended in the operation of the mint, for which just 939 pounds value of copper coins were produced, leaving a loss of 1,197 pounds, five shillings, seven pence.

On November 22, 1788, realizing that each half cent and cent cost over twice its face value to produce, the Commonwealth thought to receive proposals "from any person who may offer a contract to carry on the coinage of copper within this Commonwealth . . ." It was further resolved to coin all of the copper metal presently on hand at the mint and, when this was completed, to discharge all persons associated with the mint.

In January 1789 the mint accounts were closed, and those employed were dismissed. Joshua Wetherle subsequently petitioned the government to allow him to use the buildings and mint apparatus until the government had further use for them, for they were erected on Wetherle's property and no rent had been charged. Apparently Wetherle conducted a copper-smithing business there.

Specimens of half cents and cents were struck bearing the dates 1787 and 1788. As the preceding text shows, most coinage materialized after late 1787, so most of the 1787-dated pieces were probably struck in 1788. Among all copper coins issued by the different states during the 1780s, the Massachusetts pieces were the best struck and of the most uniform weight.

The 1787-1788 Massachusetts copper coins are important as they represent the first appearance of the word CENT on a coin made within the United States. The denomination was intended to refer to a "cent" or one hundredth part of a Spanish milled dollar.

Coined in large quantities, Massachusetts half cents and cents of 1787 and 1788 are fairly plentiful today. Numerous die varieties exist. A major rarity is the 1787 cent with arrows in the eagle's right talon (to the observer's left on the left side of the coin), a transposition from the normal style.

The Massachusetts copper coins were well received in the channels of commerce and saw active circulation for several decades following their issue.

New York Copper Coinage

Although no official state authorization relating to a native coinage is known, a number of issues were made with legends pertaining to that state. On March 29, 1786, *The Massachusetts and New Hampshire Advertiser* contained a notice which stated that:

New York, Connecticut, and Vermont have authorized a person in each of those states to coin coppers; numbers of them are now in circulation; they are in general well made, and of good copper, those of New York in particular . . .

Under what authorization the New York pieces referred to were coined is not known today.

On February 11, 1787, John Bailey and Ephraim Brasher petitioned New York for the right to produce copper coins. On March 3, 1787, Capt. Thomas Machin did the same. Neither proposal was acted upon favorably.

In the same year the legislature studied coinage in circulation and endeavored to regulate existing coinage, which came from many different sources. It was reported at the time that the principal copper coins circulating within the state of New York were composed of:

A few genuine British half-pence of George the Second, and some of an earlier date, the impressions of which are generally defaced. A number of Irish half-pence, with a bust on the one side, and a harp on the other. A very great number of pieces in imitation of British half-pence, but much lighter, of inferior copper, and badly executed. These are generally called by the name of "Birmingham Coppers," as it is pretty well known that they are made there, and imported in casks, under the name of Hard Ware, or wrought copper.

There has lately been introduced into circulation a very considerable number of coppers of the kind that are made in the State of New Jersey. Many of these are below the proper weight of the Jersey coppers and seem as if designed as a catch-penny for this market.

It was further noted that it took 48 genuine British halfpennies, when new, to weigh one pound avoirdupois, but of the imitation or counterfeit pieces believed to be made in Birmingham, it took 60 to compose one pound weight. The genuine New Jersey coppers at six pennyweights, six grains each, equalled 46 and 2/5 pieces to the pound, or a slightly heavier standard than the British. It was noted at the time that all of these coppers passed without discrimination at 14 pieces to a shilling, or slightly less than the value of a penny, a shilling being composed of 12 pence. It was noted that at this rate a 57% profit would go to coiners of genuine British halfpence, a 96% profit to makers of imitation "Birmingham" halfpence, and a 65% profit to those who made New Jersey coppers.

To remedy these inequities, on April 20, 1787, an act was passed to provide that after August 1st:

No copper shall pass current in this State except such as are of the standard weight of one third part of an ounce avoirdupois, of pure copper, which copper shall pass current at the rate of 20 to a shilling of the lawful current money of this state, and not otherwise . . .

An extensive issue of 1787-dated copper coins, each with a head on the obverse surrounded by NOVA EBORAC ('New York') appeared. The reverse of these issues depicted a seated goddess with a sprig in one hand and a liberty cap on a pole in the other hand, with the legend VIRT. ET. LIB. ('virtue and liberty') surrounding, with the date 1787 below. The letter punches used on this issue are similar to those used on the Brasher doubloon die. It has been suggested that John Bailey and Ephraim Brasher operated a mint in New York City and produced these and possibly other issues, notably the EXCELSIOR coins.

Machin's Mills appears to have been the most prolific of New York-related coinage. As noted, Thomas Machin attempted unsuccessfully to acquire an official patent from the New York legislature. This failure apparently mattered little, for at the time Machin was busily engaged in the coining enterprise and was producing issues of Vermont, imitation British halfpennies, Connecticut coppers, and others.

Some of the dies associated with Machin's Mills and with New York are believed to have been made in Birmingham, England, by Wyon. These were used to strike certain pieces in Birmingham and were later shipped to the United States for continued use. There are many die combinations among these issues, some of which are not logical, and nearly all are of great rarity.

The GEORGE CLINTON and LIBER NATUR LIBERTATEM DEFENDO issues are thought to have been samples made by James F. Atlee for Thomas Machin's petition to the New York State Assembly, mentioned above. Machin formed his partnership to make private coppers on the very day the state senate rejected his petition. Atlee kept the LIBER NATUS die, and in the Machin's Mills mint's last demoralized days this die and others were used in any combination, no matter how illogical, creating pieces of exceptional rarity.

Another issue, struck from dies prepared by James Atlee, features on the obverse a crude bust of George Washington with the legend NON VI VIRTUTE VICI. The reverse contains a Latinization of New York, NEO EBORACENSIS, surrounding a seated figure of Liberty holding the scales of Justice and a Liberty cap, with the date 1786 below.

With the exception of the Nova Eborac coppers, which are scarce, all copper pieces bearing legends relating to New York and all die combinations of such pieces are of great rarity today.

The Coinage of Ephraim Brasher

One of the most famous of all American coin issues is the 1787 gold doubloon issued by Ephraim Brasher, New York goldsmith, silversmith, and jeweler. In the few instances that specimens have appeared in auction catalogues during the past century, great acclaim and publicity has been given to them. A motion picture, *The Brasher Doubloon*, used this coin as a theme some years ago.

Although Brasher and his coinage have been mentioned in many articles in *The American Journal of Numismatics*, *The Numismatist*, and elsewhere, as well as auction catalogues, the first detailed study did not appear until 1958 when Walter H. Breen wrote "Brasher & Bailey: Pioneer New York coiners, 1787-1792" for inclusion in the *Centennial Publication of The American Numismatic Society*. In 1979 Richard A. Bagg, working in the archives of the New York Historical Society, the American Numismatic Society, and elsewhere, was able to locate extensive additional information concerning Brasher's life. Unfortunately, specific details concerning the issuance of Brasher's famous 1787 doubloon remain elusive, as does data pertaining to the 1742-dated Lima-style doubloon also attributed to him.

Brasher was born in 1744 of Dutch stock. The family had several branches, some of whom used such spelling variations as Brasier, Brazier, Breser, Bresert, and Bradejor. Among family members through the years were other silversmiths, including Ephraim Brasher's younger brother Abraham.

Ephraim Brasher married Anne Gilbert in 1766. Little is known about her other than that her brother was a silversmith. The same year, 1766, possibly represents one of the earliest appearances of Brasher's work in the silversmith trade. A silver coffee pot bearing his hallmark, presently part of the Abbott-Lenox Fund Collection in the New York Historical Society, has been attributed to that date. By that time he was 22 years old and probably had completed his apprenticeship.

During the Revolutionary War, Brasher served as grenadier in the Provincial Army, 1775-1776. In 1783 he was part of the Evacuation Day Committee which celebrated the event of the British troops leaving New York City.

The civic and local affairs of the New York City government were not recorded until February 10, 1784, for New York City was under a military form of government during the Revolutionary period. After

that date systematic minutes were kept, some of which mention Brasher.

On August 31, 1785, Ephraim Brasher petitioned the Common Council that "he may be permitted to convert the fire Engine House in St. George's Square into a Place of Business on his erecting a fire Engine House on his own ground." Although several other local proprietors objected to the petition, it was granted on September 29, 1785. Perhaps it was intended to use the structure as a smithing location. St. George's Square was located at the intersection of Pearl and Cherry streets. The *New York City Directory*, first published in 1786, gave 1 Cherry Street as Brasher's address.

The Articles of Confederation, adopted in 1778 and continued in effect until 1789, stipulated that Congress had the power to regulate the value and alloy of coins struck, although the various states had authority to coin money. As Congress had not implemented a framework for federal production of coins, specimens in circulation continued to be a varied mixture which included much foreign coinage.

The Bank of New York, established in 1784, distributed a list of coins, their weights, and the accepted value at which various foreign gold coins would be received in payment. The *New York Register*, published in 1789, noted that "payments made at the bank must be examined at the time, as no deficiencies suggested afterward will be admitted."

Many of the gold coins circulating were counterfeit. It was considered unwise to accept a coin until it was pronounced genuine. Confusion arising from a wide variety of denominations, designs, and countries of origin aided counterfeiters. To this was added the problem of clipping (removing small amounts of metal from a coin's edge) and sweating gold coins.

It is believed that Ephraim Brasher was called upon to assay, test, and otherwise evaluate many of these foreign gold coins. Once this was done, apparently his counterstamp, usually in the form of the letters EB in an oval, was impressed upon each as a permanent identification. Several specimens of EB-marked foreign gold coins are known today, including a rose guinea of George III, a quarter guinea of George I, and a half joe of Joseph I which appeared in the James Ten Eyck Collection sale held by B. Max Mehl in 1922.

S. Decatur, in an article entitled "Ephraim Brasher, Silversmith of New York," (*American Collector*, 1938) asserted that "Brasher's reputation for probity was unquestioned; it was immediately recognized that his initials on a gold or silver coin was a guarantee of its

purity." The same thought was earlier advanced by Howland Wood, writing in an article, "The Coinage of the West Indies with an Especial Reference to the Cut and Counterstamped Pieces," which appeared in the *American Journal of Numismatics* in 1914. Dissenting was Vernon L. Brown, who in a 1964 article, "The Brasher Doubloon," which appeared in *The Numismatist*, questioned the theory as he found no evidence that other goldsmiths of the time performed such a service.

Ephraim Brasher served at one time as an assayer for the United States Mint. The *American State Papers*, Finance, Vol. 1, "Estimated Expenditures for the Year 1796," notes that a \$27 Treasury Warrant was made out:

. . . in favor of John Shield, assignee of Ephraim Brasher; being for assays made by said Brasher, in the year 1792, for the Mint on sundry coins of gold and silver, pursuant to instructions from the then Secretary of the Treasury.

In petitions said to have been dated February 11, 1787, Ephraim Brasher and John Bailey appealed to the New York State Assembly for the right to produce copper coins. The *Assembly Journal* records that "The several petitions of John Bailey and Ephraim Brasher, relative to the coinage of copper within the state, were read and referred (to committee)."

The original petitions no longer can be traced. It is not known whether separate petitions were presented by Brasher and Bailey or whether they combined their efforts. It is known that Brasher did not always work alone, and at one time John Bailey was associated with him, as were his brother Abraham and George Alexander at various times.

In 1787 the *New York Directory* lists Brasher's address as 77 Queen Street and Bailey's residence as 22 Queen Street, which indicates the possibility of a close relationship at the time.

On March 3, 1787, the committee appointed by the Assembly was "at a loss to determine the extent of the intended regulation, whether it was only to ascertain the value of the pieces now in circulation, or whether it was meant to extend to new coinage." It was argued that a new coinage would be subject to certain abuses. On March 15 it was resolved that a committee be appointed "to establish a coinage of copper in the state." By April 12th the intent of the bill apparently had been changed, for it emerged with the title "An Act to Regulate the Circulation of Copper Coins in this State." This legislation passed on April 20th.

Over the two month period from February 12th to the retitling of the Act on April 12th the legislators drifted from the original proposals for new coinage to

legislation providing only for the regulation of existing coinage. In *The Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of United States Coins* Don Taxay asserts that "possibly some or all of the doubloons were presented to the Legislature in order to effect a favorable verdict," as the size of the doubloon was identical to the planchet size for coining coppers. Walter H. Breen disagrees with the pattern theories and believes that the doubloons were actually made for circulation. In *The Standard Catalogue of United States Coins* (1954) Wayne Raymond proposed that a gold coinage was necessary for larger transactions during the 1787 era, and, therefore, the doubloon was minted for that purpose. Another theory purports the pieces were made as souvenirs.

In 1787 doubloons, which bear Brasher's surname in full as a signature, BRASHER, bear no mark of value. This was not an unusual situation, for when the United States Mint first produced gold coins in the following decade the pieces bore no mark of denomination. The same characteristics extended to numerous foreign gold coins then in circulation. The value of gold coins was determined by the metallic purity and weight. For this reason the countermark EB which appears on all known examples of the Brasher doubloon would have been a further indication of the coin's quality.

Probably dating from the same period is another type of gold coin attributed to Brasher, the so-called Lima doubloon which is a stylistic copy of an eight real piece of Philip V produced in Lima, Peru, 1742. The workmanship and execution of the Brasher piece are different and have been a subject of investigation. The two known pieces bear the full BRASHER signature and are countermarked EB.

Walter Breen, writing in 1958, noted that Brasher, circa 1787, may have made the 1742-dated pieces in order to have coins which would pass more readily in circulation than would examples of a new and unfamiliar design. A somewhat similar situation arose earlier when the Vermont copper coinage of 1785-1786 did not circulate readily as the design was not well known among the populace. The Vermont motif was changed to imitate the designs found on contemporary British halfpennies with which the population was familiar, and vastly larger numbers were subsequently made and successfully circulated. Breen writes:

Issues of any private mint would logically find more readily an unquestioning acceptance if they'd look like coins already in circulation. Pass a New York doubloon [of the distinctive 1787 Brasher design], with its strange design, and it would be looked upon with suspicion and possibly refused; pass a worn Mexican or Peruvian gold coin, or something enough

like it, and it would be accepted with hardly a second glance after the clear ring and heavy weight are noted . . . It is therefore safe to attribute such a motivation to Brasher. Now this man surely knew better than to make imitations of British guineas or other coins with a foreign ruler's name and titles. The seemingly anonymous Lima doubloons with their cabalistic initials must have appeared as a logical type for a private issue that would both match something already in circulation and not offend the patriotic sensibilities. Brasher's plainly readable signature on the coins would be an additional safeguard for anyone questioning the pieces . . .

As late as 1821 various individuals were counterfeiting Spanish-style doubloons in New York City. In that year the authorities visited a private mint where two gentlemen were busily producing imitation gold coins, roasting them and tumbling them in sawdust to give them the appearance of being old. Samples of the unauthorized coinage were sent to the United States Mint in Philadelphia. When they were found to be of correct weight and value, no objection was raised. In a similar vein, Brasher could have copied foreign gold coins earlier without government interference.

At the time Brasher had obtained considerable fame and reputation as a quality silversmith and goldsmith. George Washington owned silver pieces, including two tea trays, made by Brasher and hallmarked with EB in an oval. At one time Washington was a neighbor to Brasher's No. 1 Cherry Street address. Prior to Washington's moving into 3 Cherry Street, Samuel Osgood, past commissioner of the Treasury under the Congress of the Confederation, was "requested to put the same and the furniture thereof in proper condition for the residence and use of the President of the United States." Purchased from Ephraim Brasher for an amount slightly over 283 pounds sterling were "sundry articles of plate." Brasher's shop on Queen Street was just a short distance north of his home on Cherry Street.

In April 1790, after Washington moved to Broadway, he paid Ephraim Brasher 8 pounds, 8 shillings, and 4 pence for "4 silver skewers." During the same period Brasher made wares for other notables, including spoons for George Clinton.

Brasher's patronage by the President of the United States and other prominent people suggests that his reputation must have been unsurpassed at the time. He would have every reason to believe that gold coins prominently bearing his name would be accepted in the channels of commerce.

During the 1780s Brasher, in addition to his silver and goldsmithing, was busy with civic affairs. In 1784

and 1785 he served as sanitary commissioner. From 1786 to 1791 minutes of the Common Council indicate that Brasher was paid as a coroner "for taking inquests on dead bodies." In later years he served as an assistant justice (1794-1797), election inspector (1796-1809), and commissioner of excise (1806-1810).

Brasher remarried on December 2, 1797. It is not known whether his first wife died or if he was divorced. Brasher died in 1810. When his will was probated on December 11th of that year it was learned that his wife Mary was given "all my estate both real and personal."

Brasher doubloons first achieved numismatic recognition in 1838 when Adam Eckfeldt discovered a piece among gold coins which were sent to the mint for assay and melting. He withdrew the piece and gave it to the Mint Cabinet which at that time was at its early state of formation. In 1846 W. E. DuBois referred to the mint example as "a very remarkable gold coin, equal in value to a doubloon, coined at New York in 1787."

A dozen years later the obverse and reverse of the 1787 doubloon were described by J.H. Hickcox in *An Historical Account of American Coinage*, 1858. The several editions of Professor Montroville W. Dickeson's *The American Numismatic Manual* which first appeared in 1859 contained an illustration of the piece. Dickeson remarked that he had seen four examples and "it is said to have been duplicated in silver," although he had never seen one in that metal. He further noted that "it is inferable that this coin was gotten up as a pattern piece."

The first 1787 Brasher doubloon scheduled to appear at auction was the Seavey Collection specimen catalogued by W. H. Strobridge in 1873. However, Lorin G. Parmelee bought the entire collection intact before the sale took place, so the event was cancelled.

When Sylvester Crosby's monumental work *The Early Coins of America*, appeared in 1875, it contained an illustration of the Brasher doubloon. The author noted that "four of these doubloons have come to our knowledge; they are owned by Mr. Bushnell, Mr. Parmelee, Mr. Stickney, and the United States Mint at Philadelphia; the first has the punch-mark on the breast of the eagle."

The first Brasher doubloon to actually be sold at public auction was the Charles I. Bushnell specimen sold by the Chapman brothers in 1882. It realized \$505 and was subsequently sold to T. Harrison Garrett through Ed. Frossard. This remains today as the only known specimen of the variety with the EB punch-mark on the eagle's breast rather than the wing.

In 1890 the Robert Coulton Davis specimen was the second to be auctioned and became the fifth example known to exist. The third piece to cross the auction block was the Parmelee Collection coin sold in the same year. Today five specimens of the 1787 doubloon with a punch-mark on the eagle's wing can be traced. An outstanding example of this type was in the Matthew Stickney Collection (sold in 1907). This piece was an important part of the American Numismatic Society's Exhibition of United States and Colonial Coins held in 1914. The piece, then a part of the Col. James W. Ellsworth Collection, was acquired by John Work Garrett in 1923.

1776 Continental Dollars

One of the most significant early American issues is the 1776 Continental dollar. Bearing devices and inscriptions taken from Continental currency paper money (of the authorization of February 17, 1776), these bear on the obverse the 1776 date and, surrounding, the inscription CONTINENTAL CURRENCY. Within is a sundial, below which is MIND YOUR BUSINESS, with FUGIO ("I fly," a reference to the passage of time) to the left. The reverse displays 13 intertwined circles, each with the name of a state, joined to form a linked chain border. Within the center is the inscription AMERICAN CONGRESS — WE ARE ONE.

Little is known concerning the origin of the Continental dollar. The resolution of February, 1776, pertaining to the issuance of paper money, resulted in the production of different denominations from the 1/6 dollar through \$8, including the \$1 denomination. The resolution of May 9, 1776, provided for the various denominations from the \$1 through \$8. However, the resolution of July 22, 1776, omitted the \$1 and contained denominations from \$2 through \$30. Likewise, the final resolution of that year, November 2, 1776, omitted the \$1 note and began with the \$2. It may have been that it was intended that the metallic Continental dollar coin serve in the place of the \$1 note during the latter part of 1776.

Certain varieties have the inscription E. G. FECIT meaning "E. G. made it." Eric P. Newman, who studied the series extensively, believes the Continental dollar dies to be the work of Elisha Gallaudet, of Freehold, New Jersey, who also engraved the vignettes used for Continental Currency paper money.

Several different die varieties were made. The word *currency* was spelled three ways: CURRENCY, CURENCY, and CURRENCEY, the latter being im-

itative of an error found on the 1/6 dollar note of February 17, 1776, indicating that the engraver may have copied the specific legends on this particular design while making the dies.

Specimens of the Continental dollar, while elusive, do appear on the market with regularity, indicating that the original coinage must have been extensive. Nearly all known pieces were made of pewter metal. A few brass and silver examples are extant and are exceedingly rare.

1787 Fugio Cents

Fugio cents, bearing on the obverse a sundial with the inscription FUGIO ("I fly," a reference to the passage of time; a motif borrowed from the earlier 1776 Continental dollar), and MIND YOUR BUSINESS, and on the reverse a circle of links (representing the colonies) with the inscription UNITED STATES — WE ARE ONE at the center, were specifically issued under the authority of Congress in 1787.

Coinage was executed at James Jarvis' mint at New Haven, Connecticut, using facilities earlier set up for making Connecticut coppers. The dies were engraved by Abel Buel. The *Journal of Congress* reported Saturday, April 21, 1787, that a committee recommended the following:

. . . the Board of Treasury be authorized to contract for 300 tons of copper coin of the federal standard, agreeably to the proposition of Mr. James Jarvis, provided that the premium to be allowed to the United States on the amount of copper coin contracted for be not less than 15%, that it be coined at the expense of the contractor, but under the inspection of an officer appointed and paid by the United States . . .

On Friday, July 6, 1787, a resolution was reported that:

The Board of Treasury direct the contractor for the copper coinage to stamp on one side of each piece the following device: 13 circles linked together, a small circle in the middle, with the words UNITED STATES around it; and in the center, the words WE ARE ONE; on the other side of the same piece the following device: a dial with the hours expressed on the face of it, a meridian sun above, on one side of which is to be the word FUGIO, and on the other the year in figures 1787, below the dial, the words MIND YOUR BUSINESS.

On September 30, 1788, it was reported that:

There are two contracts made by the Board of Treasury with James Jarvis, the one for coining 300 tons of copper of the federal standard, to be loaned to the United States, together with an additional quantity of 45 tons, which he was to pay as a premium to the United States for the privilege of coining; no part of the contract has been fulfilled. A particular statement of this business, so far as relates to the 300 tons, has lately been reported to Congress. It

does not appear to your committee that the Board was authorized to contract for the privilege of coining 45 tons as a premium, exclusive of the 300 mentioned in the Act for Congress.

The other contract with said Jarvis is for the sale of a quantity of copper amounting, as per account, to 71,174 pounds; this the said Jarvis has received at the stipulated price of 11 pence farthing, sterling, per pound, which he contracted to pay in copper coin, the federal standard, on or before the last day of August 1788, now past; of which but a small part has been received. The remainder it is presumed, the Board of Treasury will take effectual measures to recover as soon as possible.

The foregoing indicates that by September 30, 1788, much of the anticipated huge coinage had not materialized.

James Jarvis bought a controlling interest in the "Company for Coining Coppers" on Water St., New Haven, as of June 1, 1787, and directed Abel Buel to prepare dies for making over 34,000,000 Fugio cents. He then left the mint in charge of Samuel Broome (his father-in-law) and headed for Europe, to obtain facilities for multiplying dies and importing copper blanks over and above the 31 tons of federal copper stored at Water St. In his absence, Broome used the federal copper to make Connecticut coins instead. To avert suspicion, on May 21, 1788 Broome shipped some 398,577 Fugios to the United States Treasurer. Nevertheless, on September 16, Congress voided Jarvis' contract for default. Abel Buel subsequently fled to Europe for two years; Jarvis and Broome went to Paris. On July 7, 1789, Congress found a buyer for its remaining Fugios, one Royal Flint, but two weeks later the value of all kinds of coppers collapsed to 25% of their former purchasing power, and Flint went to debtor's prison — being followed there three years later by Colonel William Duer, head of the Board of Treasury, who had accepted a \$10,000 bribe from Jarvis to assure him the coinage contract.

About 1860, one Major Horatio N. Rust, who 15 years later was listed as a subscriber to Crosby's *Early Coins of America* book, had copy dies made and "restrikes" (with thin links) struck in gold, silver, copper and brass at Scovill's button factory in Waterbury, Connecticut: the so-called "New Haven restrikes."

A large quantity of Fugio coppers, estimated at several thousand pieces, was for many years in the vault of the Bank of New York. As recently as the 1940s specimens were still available from that source, although by that time the hoard had been largely depleted. Most mint-condition pieces known today trace their origin to this particular group.

Diverse Early American Tokens

During the late 18th century a wide variety of tokens appeared in circulation in the United States. Many of these issues were made in England, primarily in Birmingham, while others were produced by various coiners within the United States.

Standish Barry, a Baltimore silversmith, struck a distinctive silver threepence token in 1790. Barry, 27 years old at the time, may have intended the piece to commemorate the anniversary of American independence, or perhaps some special celebration was held in Baltimore which occasioned its issue. The piece bears a male portrait on the obverse, perhaps Standish Barry himself. The legend BALTIMORE TOWN, JULY 4 90 surrounds. The reverse bears the words THREE PENCE surrounded by STANDISH BARRY. The specific day date, July 4, in addition to the year is a distinctive feature. The coinage production apparently was extremely limited, for Standish Barry threepence pieces are exceedingly rare today.

On January 4, 1790, the First Presbyterian Church of Albany, New York, authorized an issue of 1,000 copper tokens to be valued at a penny each. These were intended to be used in the church collection in lieu of the counterfeit and very worn pieces often contributed. Presumably they were sold to parishioners at the rate of 12 to a shilling.

Two different variations were produced. The first has CHURCH in block letters with PENNY in script. The second variety is the same but with the script letter D above CHURCH, "D" perhaps being the abbreviation for penny, or denarium, in the English monetary system. Today, these pieces are exceedingly rare. Fewer than a dozen exist of each variety.

The 1796 Castorland jeton or "half dollar" pertains to a French settlement of that name made during the 1790s on the Black River, about 20 miles from the present-day city of Watertown in the northern part of New York state. Peter Chassanis, of Paris, purchased in August 1792 a large tract of land. Following the French Revolution a number of exiles settled in the area, but hardships were encountered, and the venture was later discontinued.

The 1796 Castorland pieces, originally struck in silver and copper (restrikes and copies were later made in silver, copper, and gold; today modern copies are available from the Paris Mint), were possibly intended to circulate at the value of a half dollar, for the size and weight is similar to the standard United States issue of the time. The obverse depicts a crowned princess with the legend FRANCO-AMERICANA COLONIA sur-

rounding. CASTORLAND and the date, 1796, are below. The reverse depicts a standing goddess holding a cornucopia, with a rock maple tree nearby. Surrounding is the legend SALVE MAGNA PARENS FRUGUM. At the bottom of the reverse is a recumbent beaver, "beaver" in French being "castor" from whence the Castorland name came. Duvivier, who engraved many medals, is believed to have produced the pieces. Originals in silver and copper are exceedingly rare.

In the *History of Lewis County* (New York) occurs this poem by Caleb Lyon, of Lyonsdale, concerning the Castorland piece:

Then was struck a classic medal by this visionary band:
Sybele was on the silver, and beneath was Castorland;
The reverse a tree of maple, yielding forth its precious store,
Salve magna parens frugum was the legend that it bore.

Many tokens relating to America were produced in Birmingham, England, from about 1787 to 1796, during the great halfpenny token craze. During that period collecting of tokens in England became a national pastime. What began as the orderly assembly of merchant's and souvenir tokens soon changed into a scramble for varieties. Thousands of different tokens were issued, including many varieties differing from each other only in minor variations of edge lettering. Obverse dies were combined with irrelevant reverses, producing illogical and nonsensical coins. Examples are provided by tokens bearing on one side the imprint of Talbot, Allum & Lee, New York City merchants in the India trade, with such irrelevant reverses as a die honoring the Blofield Cavalry, another with John Howard, Philanthropist, and still another showing the York (England) Cathedral.

The Virtuoso's Companion and Coin Collector's Guide, published in England in 1795, depicted many different varieties and achieved wide circulation. By using this large volume the proper English gentleman could attribute his tokens.

Of all of the British coiners, the Soho Mint, operated by Boulton and Watt, was the foremost.

Matthew Boulton (Jr.) was born in 1728, the son of a wealthy manufacturer of buckles, buttons, and uniform goods. When about 30 years of age he entered the trade on his own and produced buckles of steel. In 1749 he married Mary Robinson (born 1727) who died in 1759. He then took as his second wife his sister-in-law, Anne Robinson, in 1760. Two children resulted, Matthew Robinson Boulton (1770) and Anne Boulton (1768).

Boulton had many interests. In 1784 he wrote to his

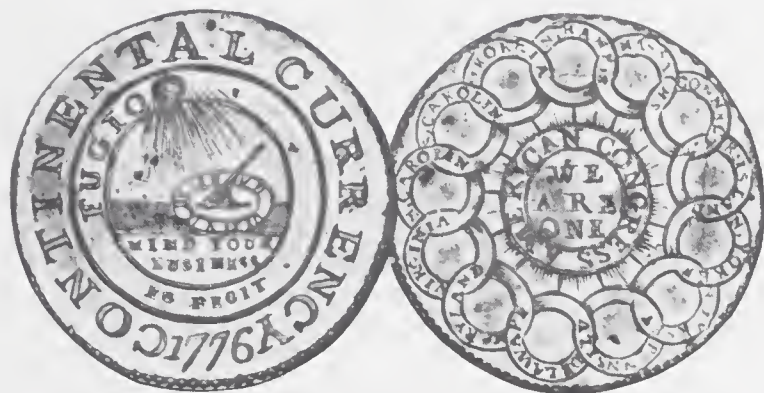
Early Issues



1776 Continental dollar
CURRENCY
Struck in brass. Newman 1-B



1776 Continental dollar
CURRENCY
Struck in pewter. N. 2-C



1776 Continental dollar
CURRENCY, E.G. Fecit
Struck in pewter. N. 3-D



1787 Fugio cent
Club rays, rounded ends



1794 Franklin Press token



1797 New York Theatre token



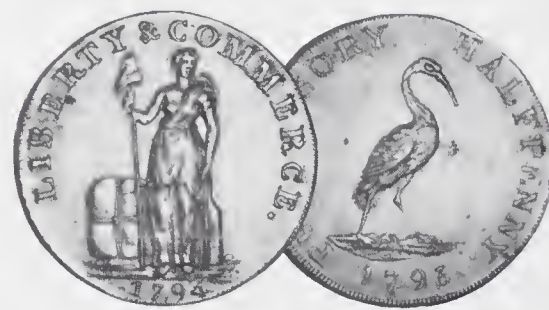
1796 Castorland medal
Milled edge, thick flan
Silver



Kentucky token



1794 Talbot, Allum & Lee cent



1794/1793 Talbot Allum & Lee muling

daughter Anne to describe a performance of Handel's *Messiah* which he had heard the month before at Westminster Abbey:

I scarcely know which was the grandest, the sound or the scene. Both were so transcendably fine that it is not in my power of words to describe. In the grand Hallelujah my soul almost ascended from my body . . .

The Lunar Society of Birmingham formed another interest, and he was a contributor and founding member.

In 1759, upon his father's death, Matthew Boulton inherited the family business. At the time just a few hands were employed in the manufacture of buttons, buckles, and related pieces. Seeking to expand, he evolved a grandiose plan to produce a large structure, which came to be known as the Soho Manufactory. Started in 1759, it was completed in 1766 under the direction of Samuel Wyatt. It was located on Hockley Brook, which was intended to supply power to drive the lathes and other manufacturing devices. The stream dried up, so the assistance of James Watt, manufacturer of steam engines, was enlisted to provide the motive power.

Old illustrations reveal that the factory was three floors high with a cupola at the center. To each side was a wing. To the rear were various buildings which presumably contained furnaces and smelting apparatus for heavier work. The main building probably contained most of the manufacturing area, although some of the upper rooms may have been occasionally used for residences by those associated with the endeavor. At one time 600 workmen were employed there.

From the Manufactory came forth a wonderful variety of silver and other implements, including candlesticks, cups, tureens, inkstands, pots, wine funnels, salt cellars, bread baskets, and other art goods.

James Watt, born in 1736, was working at Glasgow University in 1763 when he became intrigued with a model of Thomas Newcomen's steam engine, a device which had been sent from a classroom to be repaired. Watt studied the gadget and immediately conceived some improvements, one of which was a condenser which made it possible to produce a steam engine delivering the same amount of power but using only 1/3 to 1/4 as much fuel as was necessary earlier. In 1768 Watt spent two weeks at the Soho Manufactory as Boulton's guest. Boulton, who was in desperate need of power following the drying up of Hockley Brook, became interested in a business venture with Watt but could not agree on terms. Boulton wanted to have a majority interest, and Watt did not want this.

Finally, in 1773, a partnership was agreed upon. In 1776 a large steam engine embodying new principles was successfully demonstrated, after which orders were received for two installations, one to supply air to a furnace and the other to drain a coal mine. The business prospered, and soon Watt, who owned only a 1/3 interest in the partnership, became a wealthy man and the recipient of many honorary degrees and other distinctions. His finest honor came in 1814 with his election as one of eight foreign associates of the French Academy. He died in his mansion, Heathfield Hall, near Birmingham, in 1819.

The production of buttons, buckles, and small metal articles necessitated the use of dies and stamping apparatus. It is believed that one of the earliest small metallic products was a perpetual calendar, produced by Thomas Powell, who later headed the Button Department.

In 1786 a rotating-type steam engine was installed, a great improvement over the old oscillating type, thus greatly facilitating the production of stamped pieces.

Jean-Pierre Droz, a Swiss of great talent, became involved with the Soho Mint, as the coining branch was known. As a child Droz was apprenticed to his father, maker of agricultural metal tools and implements. He showed a proficiency for art and drawing, and at the age of 18 years, in 1764, he went to Paris to study engraving. By 1780 he had achieved a reputation as an exceptional medallist and in that year produced a medal commemorating Louis XVI's alliance with Basle. In 1783 he gained fame by suggesting to the Paris Mint some improvements. He intended to stay in France, working on innovations in die reproduction and other areas, but the political situation forced him to leave. He went to Birmingham where he became associated with the Boulton enterprise. While at the Soho Mint he engraved and produced dies for many different British and foreign coins and medals, including a long series of pattern British copper coins in the 1790s.

Boulton and Watt had an interest in copper mines in Cornwall, and as a result of this they specialized in copper issues, including the huge "cartwheel" 1797 twopence piece and related issues, the "cartwheel" penny, halfpenny, and farthing. Other diesinkers employed by the Soho Mint included Konrad Heinrich Kuchler, who produced the dies for the 1796 Myddelton halfpenny token and the famous Season Medals of Washington's second presidential term; John Phelps, Rambert Dumaresta (a Frenchman), and a Mr. Ponthon. These and other artisans engraved dies for many

pieces related to America, including tokens and medals relating to George Washington.

From 1788 to 1810, Boulton and Watt supplied steam-operated coining equipment to the Royal Mint in London. This type of motive power was not to come to the Philadelphia Mint in the United States until 1836.

In September 1789, Matthew Boulton described the advantages of his coining apparatus:

It will coin much faster, with greater ease, with fewer persons, for less expense, and produce more beautiful pieces than any other machinery ever used for coining.

The quantity of power or force requisite for each blow is exactly regulated and ascertained and is always uniformly the same, for the same pieces, thereby the dies are better preserved.

One of my coining machines will work much faster by the attendance of one boy than others can do by any number of men.

Can stop these machines at an instant by the power of a child and the same child can as instantaneously set them to work again.

Can increase or diminish the force of the blow at pleasure, in any proportion.

Can lay the pieces or blanks upon the die quite true and without care or practice and as fast as wanted.

Can work day and night without fatigue by two sets of boys.

The machine keeps an account of the number of pieces struck which cannot be altered from the truth by any of the persons employed.

The apparatus strikes an inscription upon the edge with the same blow that it strikes the two faces.

It strikes the ground of the pieces brighter than any other coining press can do.

It strikes the pieces perfectly round, all of equal diameter, and exactly concentric with the edge, which cannot be done by any other machinery now in use.

The products of the Soho Mint of the late 18th century stand today as magnificent examples of die workmanship and coinage production. Particularly outstanding in this regard is the Myddelton token, dated 1796, struck in Proof in copper and in silver, and intended for distribution by Philip Parry Price Myddelton, an entrepreneur who owned a large amount of land in Kentucky and who advertised extensively in England for settlers to emigrate to that location. Problems arose with the authorities, and the venture was never completed. The tokens depict on the obverse a family being welcomed by the goddess Liberty, with the legend **BRITISH SETTLEMENT KENTUCKY** around. The reverse shows the seated figure of Britannia, head downcast in sorrow from having lost some of

her citizens to Kentucky, surrounded by the inscription **PAYABLE BY P. P. P. MYDDELTON**. In his work *The Early Coins of America* Sylvester S. Crosby paid this piece the ultimate compliment: "In beauty of design and execution, the tokens are unsurpassed by any piece issued for American circulation."

The so-called Kentucky token, produced in England, was made in large quantities. The obverse illustrates a hand holding a scroll on which is imprinted the inscription **OUR CAUSE IS JUST**. Surrounding is the legend **UNANIMITY IS THE STRENGTH OF SOCIETY**. The reverse depicts a pyramid of 15 circles, surrounded by rays. On each circle is the abbreviation of a state with K, representing Kentucky, at the top, hence the token's name. **E PLURIBUS UNUM** surrounds. These were struck in a number of different varieties distinguished by their thickness and variations in edge lettering inscriptions.

The Franklin Press token, also struck in England, pictures on the obverse a hand press. The reverse has the notation **PAYABLE AT THE FRANKLIN PRESS LONDON**. Its association with Benjamin Franklin has made this 1794 issue popular with American numismatists.

The 1787 Auctori Plebis token, likewise struck in England, has on the obverse a draped bust facing left, very similar to the design found on Connecticut copper cents of the same year. The legend **AUCTORI: PLEBIS**: ("by the authority of the people") is around the border. The reverse depicts a goddess seated with a lion, anchor, and globe, with the legend **INDEP ET LIBER**.

Talbot, Allum & Lee, New York commission merchants who conducted an importing trade at 241 Pearl Street, had struck to their order large quantities of copper tokens bearing the stated denomination of one cent. The obverse features the standing figure of Liberty holding a cap with bales of merchandise nearby. The reverse shows a full-rigged sailing ship.

The firm was founded in 1794 by William Talbot, William Allum, and James Lee. Business continued until 1796, when Mr. Lee retired from the young company. The two remaining partners continued under the name of Talbot & Allum until the enterprise dissolved in 1798. Immense quantities of the tokens were imported into the United States from England and circulated primarily in New York and surrounding states. At one time in 1795 the United States Mint redeemed these tokens during a copper shortage and cut planchets for half cents from them. In addition to specimens made with designs pertaining to the New York firm,

some irrelevant die combinations were made with other English tokens, as noted earlier.

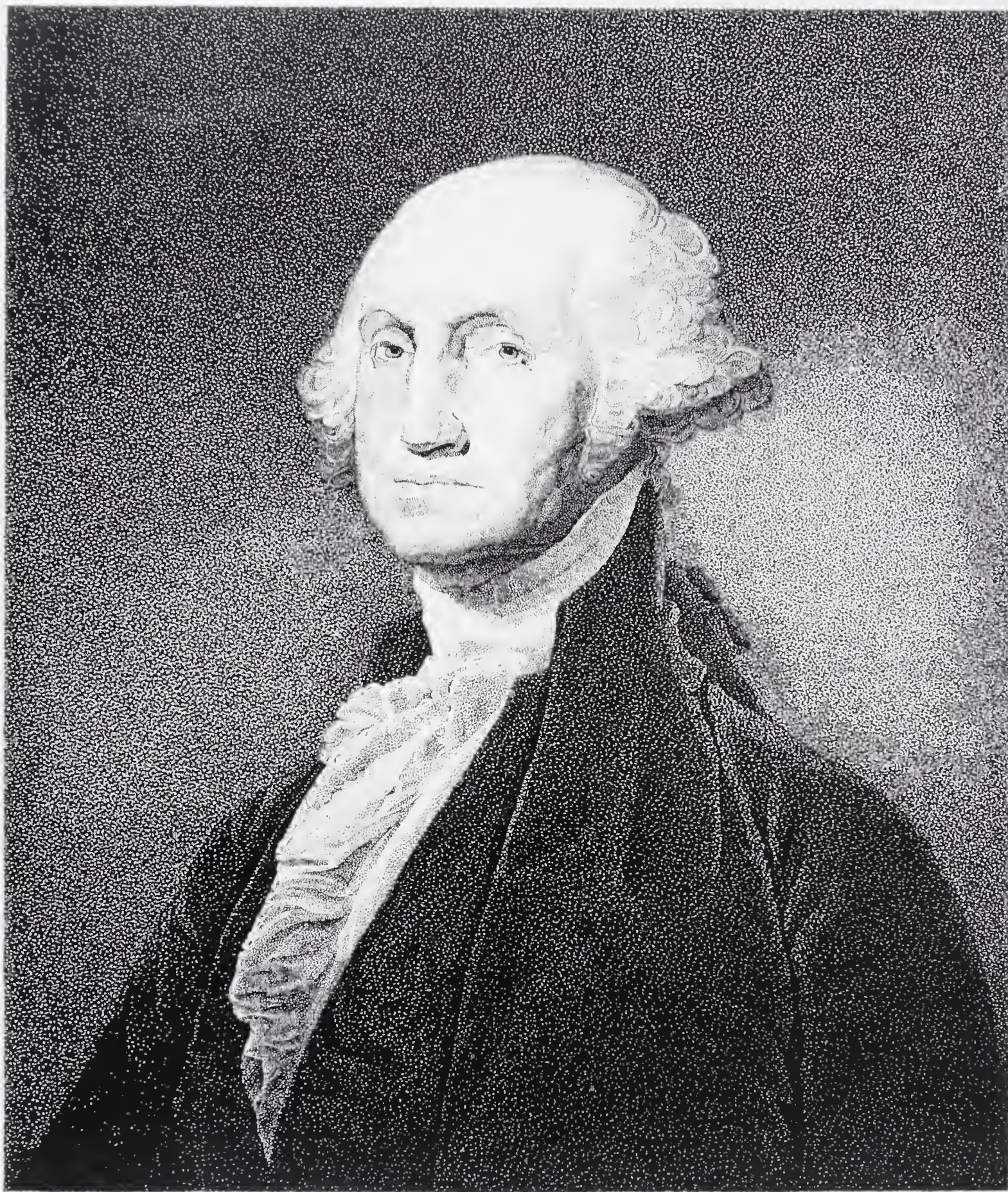
The so-called “Bar Cent” first appeared in New York City in November 1785. The distributor and coiner of this piece, possessing the simplest design of any token associated with early America, is unknown. The obverse is a simple monogram formed by the intertwined letters USA. The reverse consists of a series of 13 parallel bars. The design was copied from a button on parade uniforms for Revolutionary War soldiers.

William and John Mott, importers and manufacturers of and dealers in gold and silver wares, cloth, watches, and other art goods, issued a 1789-dated token which today is considered to be one of the earliest advertising pieces to have circulated in America. This copper issue was possibly struck in England, although the precise origin is not known. The obverse depicts a shelf clock, and the reverse shows an American eagle.

A large penny-size copper token was struck from dies engraved by Jacobs and was made by Skidmore in England, during the early 1790s. Depicted on the obverse is the Park Theatre of New York City, which was destroyed in a conflagration in 1797. Extant specimens are all in Proof condition, indicating that the piece may have been struck as a souvenir for collectors. Another possibility is that it may have been a pattern for an admission token or check.

Often collected by American numismatists are two later issues, the 1781-dated North America token, believed to have been struck in Dublin, Ireland, circa 1810-1820; and the North West Company token, dated 1820 and depicting George IV on the obverse and a beaver on the reverse, believed struck in Birmingham by John Walker & Company. These latter pieces were used in the Indian trade in the Pacific Northwest, particularly along the Columbia River and Umpqua River valleys.

Washington Pieces



DRAWN BY E. TROTTE.

ENGRAVED BY C. GORECH.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Portrait of George Washington engraved by Christian Gobrecht.

6

On February 22, 1860, the Washington Cabinet of Medals was formally inaugurated at the United States Mint in Philadelphia. This culminated over a decade of collecting medallic remembrances of our first president by mint officials and others.

Throughout the 1860s and the 1870s, growth years in numismatics, Washington pieces ascended to be one of the most popular areas in the American numismatic spectrum. Tokens, medals, and other pieces bearing the portrait of Washington, some made in England and France, but most made in America, were avidly sought. *A Description of the Medals of Washington*, by James Ross Snowden, director of the mint, was published in 1861 and described the Mint Collection. In 1885 the monumental work, *The Medallic Portraits of Washington*, by W. S. Baker, was published in Philadelphia. From the mid-19th century to the present, Washington pieces have formed an important plank in the platform of numismatics. Indeed, no major reference book is complete without mention of them, and no collection can be called comprehensive without containing examples of Washington coins and medals.

The words of Henry Lee, which John Marshall presented to the House of Representatives following Washington's death, illustrate the esteem in which the country held its first president. Washington, said Lee, was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

As time went on, many different sentiments were expressed as part of inscriptions on medals including such as TIME INCREASES HIS FAME; HE LIVED FOR HIS COUNTRY; A MAN HE WAS TO ALL HIS COUNTRY DEAR; GEORGE THE GREAT; HOW ABJECT EUROPE'S KINGS APPEAR BY THE SIGHT OF SUCH A MAN; and HAIL FAIR FREEDOM'S FAVORITE SON. HAIL IMMORTAL WASHINGTON.

Some medals gave an admonition or advice: GREAT WASHINGTON HAS LIVED FOR YOU, MARK WELL HIS STEPS, HIS COURSE PURSUE, and WHILE WE ENJOY THE FRUIT, LET US NOT FORGET HIM THAT PLANTED THE TREE.

Another medal bore the interesting inscription PROVIDENCE LEFT HIM CHILDLESS THAT THE NATION MIGHT CALL HIM FATHER. Perhaps the most poignant inscription is that which briefly states the impact our first president had and continues to have on the American public: TIME INCREASES HIS FAME.

George Washington was born on February 22, 1732, (February 11, 1732 on the old calendar which was in effect at the actual time of his birth), in Westmoreland County, Virginia. Augustine Washington, his father, was a landed gentleman, schooled in England, who presided over a large Virginia estate. He married Mary Ball, in 1731.

Details concerning George Washington's early life are sketchy. It is known that he spent his childhood at Ferry Farm on the banks of the Rappahannock River near the present day Fredricksburg, Virginia. In an attempt to fill in this historical gap, 19th century writer Mason Weems invented the cherry tree legend ("I cannot tell a lie, Father, I did it.") and other interesting stories. In a more numismatic vein, the story that George Washington "threw a silver dollar across the Rappahannock River" is probably mythical, or more generous, apocryphal, as well. The Rappahannock River is not well known nationally, so sometimes this tale is repeated with the Potomac River as the locale.

Mathematics provided an early interest for the young Washington. Studies also included English literature, geography, and laboratory sciences. Agriculture and animal husbandry were learned as well.

When George was 11 his father died, and his elder half-brother Lawrence became his guardian and gave him affection and care. The properties of the senior Washington were inherited by Lawrence who developed them further. A mansion, Mt. Vernon, was built on a 2,500 acre parcel. Lawrence married Anne Fairfax, daughter of a Virginia gentleman and landholder. In the home of Lawrence and Anne Washington, George was introduced to a world of society, culture, and refinement.

George Washington's interest in mathematics and geography combined and led him to surveying, which was his first professional endeavor. At the age of 16 he was an assistant in a surveying party sent by Lord Fairfax, who owned more than 5,000,000 acres in Virginia, to inspect his property with the view in mind to assert the owner's right to the many squatters who were infiltrating the lands from Pennsylvania to the north. In 1749, a year later, he was appointed official surveyor of Culpeper County. Surveying demanded a rigorous discipline and often involved extended trips under primitive conditions away from home.

In July 1752 Lawrence died. George was named his executor and administrator of his estate, with the heir being Lawrence's daughter Sarah. Sarah died two months later, and George, named in the will as the residual heir assumed ownership of Mount Vernon and the vast surrounding properties. His interest in farming was developed further, and within a decade, Mount Vernon was a thriving farming community complete with agricultural lands, forests, livestock, and sporting facilities.

On January 6, 1759, he married Martha Custis, (formerly Dandridge), a widow and the mother of two children. Martha's holding of about 15,000 acres of land, including much valuable property near Williamsburg, was incorporated into the family holdings.

Washington enjoyed plantation life. He became interested in all aspects. Fertilization of land, crop rotation, cross-breeding of livestock, and other concepts were tried. Tobacco and wheat were the main products of the Mount Vernon plantation, although other crops were planted as well. He endeavored to make the enterprise as self-sufficient as possible. Fishing facilities on the adjacent Potomac River supplied bass, shad, and other fish, some of which were preserved for future use. A stone mill for grinding flour, a still for producing rum, ovens for making charcoal, kilns for producing brick, a blacksmith shop, and livery facilities were part of the Mount Vernon establishment. At one

time a buffalo was introduced to Mount Vernon to test its desirability as a source of meat.

When Washington assumed control of Mount Vernon in 1752 there were 18 slaves. By 1760 the number had climbed to 49. From all accounts Washington was a benevolent slave owner and, in fact, was fundamentally against the practice: "I am principled against this kind of traffic in the human species," he noted. The slaves returned his care and affection, and few desired to leave.

Washington's military and political career began in 1752 when Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie awarded him the post of adjutant for the Southern District of Virginia at a salary of 100 pounds per year. The next year his duties were expanded to include larger territory. In 1753 Dinwiddie sent Washington, accompanied by an interpreter, scout, and four others, to land areas in the Ohio Valley which were being encroached by the French, in contravention of the wishes of the British crown. Following a hazardous journey Washington's group met with the French general at Fort Le Beouf, about 20 miles south of Lake Erie. He was informed in no uncertain terms that the French intended to occupy the Ohio region. Washington left hurriedly to carry the news back to Virginia. On the return trip there were two close brushes with death, one from an Indian arrow which was dispatched at close range but missed, another when Washington fell off a raft into the Allegheny River which in that season was filled with ice floes.

Dinwiddie, eager to secure the British hold on the area, established a campaign to obtain the Ohio River area. Joshua Fry was appointed colonel of a Virginia regiment and Washington was named as lieutenant colonel. Men were recruited early in 1754. In April, Washington and about 160 men left Virginia and made the journey to Pennsylvania. He learned that the French had captured the fort of the Ohio Company located at the beginning of the Ohio River at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, (site of the present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). Enlisting the help of friendly local Indians, Washington on May 28, 1754, surprised a detachment of 30 French troops, killed the commander and nine others, and took the rest as prisoners. This marked the inception of the last French and Indian War.

Washington's troops were augmented by others from Virginia and North Carolina as well as by local Indians. However, his force of 350 troops was not a match for 700 French who, after a day-long fight on July 3, 1754, forced him to surrender. Washington's

troops were disarmed and were allowed to return to Virginia after promising that the Virginia interests would not construct a fort on the Ohio River within the next year, and after Washington signed a paper acknowledging the responsibility for the death of Coulon de Jumonville, commander of the French detachment which Washington overwhelmed on May 8. Despite his defeat, Washington was welcomed with high regard upon his return to Virginia.

In 1755 Washington distinguished himself in service with Gen. Edward Braddock in his campaign to recapture the Ohio River properties. Washington was in the center of the battle on July 9, 1755, when Braddock's forces were ambushed and suffered defeat. The action was so intense that Braddock had four horses shot from under him and was killed while on his fifth horse. Washington had two horses shot from under him and had his clothes ripped by four bullets. Miraculously, he escaped serious harm. He rallied the troops in retreat and brought them back to Virginia. In the same year Washington, just 23 years of age, was appointed commander of the Virginia troops.

In 1758, following an illness from which he recovered by resting at Mount Vernon, Washington participated in the conquest of the French holdings at Fort Duquesne on the Ohio River. Fort Pitt was built on the same site.

Washington returned to Virginia, and was elected to the House of Burgesses. He resigned his military commission and looked forward to resuming his activities as a planter at Mount Vernon.

In the 1760s feelings arose against the British domination of the American colonies. By the end of the decade, following British taxation, restrictions on expansion, and other interference in American affairs, Washington was quite vocal on the proprietary rights of Virginians and others. In May 1774 he was one of the Virginia legislators who met and proposed a resolution for a Continental Congress. Learning of the troubles the citizens of Boston and surrounding communities were having with the British crown he made an eloquent speech in which he stated: "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston."

The Virginia legislators responded by naming Washington as one of seven delegates to the First Continental Congress. On September 5, 1774, the Congress convened in Philadelphia with Washington in attendance.

In March 1775 his fellow Virginians elected him to represent the colony at the second Continental Con-

gress. Meeting in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775, the main topic was the conflict with British troops which had occurred at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, April 19, 1775. Seeking to establish a military force, the Continental Congress unanimously voted to name Washington as its head. Delegates were impressed by Washington's courage, intelligence, abilities, and experience in many different areas.

From July 1775 until the British evacuated Boston in March 1776, Washington commanded a disorganized army which at its maximum strength numbered about 20,000 men. On March 4, 1776, Washington seized control of Dorchester Heights, south of Boston, a site which overlooked the city at the harbor and was the main strategic position in the area. The British general, Sir William Howe, planned to take Dorchester Heights, but a storm foiled his plans, and on March 17th he evacuated the city, leaving behind 200 cannons and many other military supplies. The Revolutionary War thus started with a victory for Washington.

During the next two years Washington's fortunes declined as the war see-sawed back and forth between the American and British forces, with the British eventually controlling New York, Philadelphia, and other strategic areas. The low point came in the autumn of 1777 when Washington, driven from the Philadelphia area, set up winter headquarters in primitive facilities in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. The troops were poorly housed, had few comforts, were short of food, and had inadequate clothing.

In the spring of 1778 an alliance was made with the French. The British troops, which had occupied Philadelphia during the winter of 1777-1778, retreated to New York City, believing that a French invasion via the Delaware River was imminent. By the summer of 1778, French troops and the Continental Army had isolated a large segment of the forces in the New York City area. Another group of British troops, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, was to the south. Strengthened by the French forces under Comte de Rochambeau, Washington prevailed upon Adm. de Grasse to assist the French fleet in an attack either on New York City to the north or the Cornwallis forces to the south. The French opted for the southern campaign, for they felt that the Chesapeake Bay provided more latitude for naval maneuvers.

Leaving a detachment of 4,000 men to fortify West Point on the Hudson River above New York City, Washington and his troops marched south to New Jersey, boarded ships in the Delaware Bay, and landed at Williamsburg, Virginia, on September 14, 1781. Corn-

wallis' force of 7,000 troops was concentrated at Yorktown. On October 19th of the same year Cornwallis surrendered, following a siege conducted by 3,500 Virginia militia men, 5,500 Continental Army troops, and 5,000 French troops.

The surrender of Yorktown brought the Revolutionary War to a close. Washington returned to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia to help form a new nation and to complete certain aspects of the war, important among them being claims for pay presented by army troops. When Col. Lewis Nicola suggested that he use his position as leader of the army to establish himself as king, Washington became very angry. In later years he was to show the same displeasure at similar suggestions given by others. All aspects of a monarchy were against his thinking. Later, when as president Washington was proposed for the motif on coins, he rejected the idea as being "too monarchial."

Washington, on December 23, 1783, resigned his commission and returned to his Mount Vernon home. His precise accounting of 24,700 pounds for personal expenses during the Revolution, not including any compensation for salary, was presented to Congress.

For the next several years Washington busied himself with affairs on his plantation. There were many problems to overcome. Mount Vernon had been neglected, and additional problems were caused by losses due to depreciation of the value of paper money. Soon, however, things were back to normal, and Mount Vernon was prospering once again. Washington, being socially inclined, constantly received visitors at Mount Vernon.

Washington corresponded with many leaders of the various colonies in an effort to implement the Articles of Confederation and to "form a more perfect union." Opinion at the time was divided. Some leaders preferred each colony to remain independent. Others wanted a close national union. In the spring of 1785, delegates from Virginia and Maryland met at Mount Vernon to discuss problems arising from navigation on the Potomac River which divided the two states. From this meeting came the suggestion for a convention to be held in May 1787 in Philadelphia to "render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the union." Subsequently, Washington was chosen as one of Virginia's five delegates to this meeting.

On May 13, Washington arrived in Philadelphia. The next day the Constitutional Convention opened. Washington was elected president of the meeting. During the next four months he skillfully worked with dif-

ferent factions to bring agreement and to promote harmony.

Following the close of the Constitutional Convention he looked forward to returning to Mount Vernon to again devote his attention to farming and plantation life. As the different colonies ratified the proposals of the Constitutional Convention, Washington's name became paramount in consideration for president of the new United States. Early in 1789, the electors each representing constituencies of various states, unanimously selected Washington as president. On April 30, 1789, he was inaugurated in New York City.

Washington selected Alexander Hamilton as his secretary of the treasury. Thomas Jefferson was named as secretary of state, Edmund Randolph as attorney general, and Henry Knox as secretary of war, thus forming the first cabinet. The relationship with Hamilton was especially important for at this time currency was in chaos and Hamilton's abilities were needed to establish the Bank of the United States and to restore order to the monetary system.

In 1792 Washington was unanimously re-elected president. His second term was marked by much bitterness. The Jay Treaty, signed by Washington on June 25, 1794, was particularly hotly contested. The House of Representatives requested that Washington deliver all the notes, papers, and correspondence relating to this treaty, and the president refused to comply.

In keeping with his family tradition, Washington maintained an active social life. So many requests were made for his time that Washington instituted a policy of advance invitations and arrangements, an exception being a weekly gathering open without prior appointment. Fine homes were rented in New York and in Philadelphia and were appointed with elegant furniture and other fixtures. Washington, seeking to establish a tradition, declined the hospitality in New York of Governor George Clinton, believing that the president should be the guest of no other person. It was stated that Washington would not return a call and would not shake hands with a visitor. He acknowledged greetings with a formal bow.

In 1796, Washington, feeling a desire to return to Mount Vernon, declined requests that he seek a third term of office. On September 19, 1796, he presented his Farewell Address, which contained advice pertaining to America's future, important among them being a philosophy of no entangling alliances with other countries.

In March 1797 he returned to Mount Vernon to look forward to a life of leisure and retirement.

On December 12, 1799 he contracted acute laryngitis after a ride on horseback through snow and bitter cold. He was confined to bed, and medical attention was sought. Remedies included the applying of leeches and drawing blood four times. A paste consisting of dried beetles was applied to his throat. At ten in the evening on December 14, 1799 he died.

As the news spread from Mount Vernon, the entire country went into mourning. Perhaps the sentiment of the entire nation was best expressed by the inscription on a medal at the time by engraver Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport, Massachusetts: HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS.

The field of Washington numismatic material is vast and encompasses thousands of pieces. In 1885 W. S. Baker described 651 different varieties made up to that time, and since then many others have been produced.

The earliest medal relating to Washington is believed to be the piece struck in Paris in 1778 to the order of Voltaire. The obverse depicts an imaginary portrait of Washington, as no graphic likeness was available to the engravers in France at that time. The inscription noted that Washington was general of the Continental Army in America. The reverse showed the instruments of war including a cannon, mortar, drum, trumpet, and flags. Many examples were struck in bronze, a small number in silver, and a very few in tin.

So far as is known, the first medal produced in America honoring George Washington is the so-called "Manly Medal." Engraved by Samuel Brooks, the Manly Medal features a portrait of Washington as an aged man. Baker believes that the model which inspired the portrait was furnished by Joseph Wright, who earlier (in 1784) executed a portrait of Washington from life.

On March 3, 1790, *The Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser* offered these medals for sale. Featured was a certificate dated February 22, 1790 (Washington's birthday anniversary) by Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania; Richard Peters, speaker of the House of Assembly; Christian Febiger, treasurer; and Francis Johnston, colonel of the army, who declared that the portrait was "a strong and expressive likeness and worthy of the attention of the citizens of the United States of America." Prices were given as one dollar for a medal in "fine white metal, to resemble silver," two dollars for a "fine gold-colored metal," four dollars for a fine silver metal, and it was noted that gold impressions were available at a price "in proportion to weight."

To minimize metal movement while being struck

and to facilitate production, the Manly Medals were cast in their approximate form and then were struck with dies to sharpen the details.

The obverse inscription reads GEO. WASHINGTON BORN VIRGINIA FEB. 11, 1732. The reverse, in multiple lines, consists solely of this inscription: GENERAL OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES 1775. RESIGNED, 1783. PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES 1789. At the bottom in tiny letters appears the name of the issuer J. MANLY & C.

One of the most important of all early Washington medals is the "Washington before Boston" piece. The evacuation of the British from Boston on March 17, 1776, following their failure to secure Dorchester Heights, resulted in great celebration. On March 25th the Continental Congress passed this resolution:

... that the thanks of this Congress in their own name and in the name of the thirteen united colonies whom they represent, be presented to his Excellency Gen. Washington and the officers and soldiers under his command for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston; that a medal of gold be struck in commemoration of this great event and presented to his Excellency; and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a letter of thanks, and a proper device for the medal.

John Adams, John Jay, and Stephan Hopkins comprised the committee. Following the end of the Revolutionary War, the resolution was acted on by placing an order in Paris in 1786. Pierre Simon Duvivier was the engraver. Designs were provided by the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. The portrait was from a bust by Jean Houdon, who modeled the bust from a cast of Washington's face taken at Mount Vernon in October 1785.

One specimen was struck in gold for presentation to Washington. It subsequently passed from the Washington family to Daniel Webster. Later, in 1876, 50 public-minded Boston citizens raised \$5,000 to purchase the medal and present it to the city. It subsequently reposed in the Boston Public Library. A few impressions were struck in silver metal for different Revolutionary War heroes. In later years restrikes were made from the original dies. The demand was so great that additional dies, similar in concept to the original but differing in certain design details, were made. Copies are still available today from the Paris Mint.

From about 1787 to 1796 the collecting of half-penny-size copper tokens became a national fad in England, as related earlier in this text. While some pieces were produced to ease a shortage of circulating currency, most were made to satisfy the whims of collectors. Private engravers and mints competed with

Washington Pieces



1783 UNITY STATES
Copper cent



1783 Large military
Bust cent



Uniface
Trial piece



Uniface
Trial piece



1791 Large eagle
Cent



1791 Small eagle
Brass cent



1793 Ship halfpenny
Brass



1795 Liberty & Security
Penny



1795 Liberty & Security
Halfpenny
Plain edge



Success token
Large size, brass
Reeded edge



Success token
Large size, copper
Reeded edge



Success Token
Small size, brass
Reeded edge

Washington Pieces



1795 Grate cent
Large buttons
Reeded edge



1792 Large eagle
Half dollar
Copper. Lettered edge



1792 Cent
Lettered edge



1792 Cent
Washington Born Virginia
Silver



1792 Half dollar
Copper
Ornamented edge

each other to turn out a wide variety of issues portraying subjects as varied as Lady Godiva, alligators, and British cathedrals. Often the obverse die of one token was deliberately combined or muled with a reverse of another token not related to the first.

George Washington formed a popular subject for many of these tokens. Several dozen different varieties bearing his bust and name were struck in England. The date of the pieces did not necessarily refer to the time of issue. The pieces dated 1783, for example, are believed by numismatists and scholars today to have been struck at a later date. As the portrait of Washington was not readily available in England, and as engraving styles varied from craftsman to craftsman, issues have a wide variety of portrait appearances.

Thomas Wells Ingram, following designs by Edward Savage and others, produced issues dated 1783. Numismatists today believe that these were struck sometime in the 1820 era. Another 1783-dated production is a close copy of the reverse of a United States copper cent of about the year 1803, with the exception that the country name is spelled as UNITY STATES OF AMERICA, perhaps as an attempt to evade counterfeiting laws.

A 1791-dated halfpenny has on the obverse a portrait of Washington, in this instance fairly realistic, with the inscription WASHINGTON PRESIDENT surrounding. The reverse represents a nonsensical combination and shows a sailing ship surrounded with the legend LIVERPOOL HALFPENNY. On the edge of this piece is lettered PAYABLE IN ANGLESEY LONDON OR LIVERPOOL. This was issued as part of the token-collecting fad. Also satisfying the whims of collectors at the time were several varieties of a 1795 halfpenny known today as the "grate token." The obverse depicts Washington surrounded with the inscription G. WASHINGTON THE FIRM FRIEND TO PEACE & HUMANITY. The reverse shows a coal-burning fireplace and grate with LONDON 1795 below, and the inscription PAYABLE BY CLARK & HARRIS 13 WORMWOODS BISHOPSGATE. This particular piece was struck by Kempson & Son, prolific issuers of tokens.

Also issued for collectors were several different varieties of Liberty and Security halfpennies and pennies. The halfpenny in its most traditional form features a portrait of Washington on the obverse with his name surrounding. The reverse shows an eagle perched on a shield with the inscription LIBERTY AND SECURITY 1795. Variations to intrigue collectors were made

with such reverses as a design with the standing goddess "Hope" and an anchor with the legend IRISH HALFPENNY surrounding. Issued at the same time and bearing the same design as the standard halfpenny was the large copper Liberty and Security penny. The edge was lettered AN ASYLUM FOR THE OPPRESS'D OF ALL NATIONS, a tribute to America as a haven for refugees. Still another issue, the rare "Roman Head cent," usually referred to in 19th century catalogues as the "Naked Bust cent," bears the portrait of Washington as a Roman emperor. The intention, no doubt, was satirical. Another important piece of the era is that dated 1791 which bears Washington's portrait on the obverse and the legend WASHINGTON PRESIDENT. The reverse was made in two forms: a small eagle with upraised wings, and a larger eagle with downcast wings, both with the denomination ONE CENT. These pieces were made in large numbers in England and shipped to a Philadelphia merchant for distribution. The likeness in this instance is quite realistic.

A controversial token, perhaps of French or English origin, is that portraying a fanciful bust on the obverse with the inscription GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO surrounding. The reverse depicts a standing goddess behind a railing composed of 13 bars and fleur de lis, the latter being a French emblem. The legend VOCE POPOLI surrounds. Presumably this refers to the end of hostilities in the Revolutionary War when in 1783 the final British troops departed for home, following the 1781 surrender of Cornwallis. As is the case with many issues, the exact circumstances of production and distribution may never be known.

Another intriguing British production of the time is the so-called "Double Head cent" which bears a fanciful portrait of Washington on both sides. Above one portrait is the inscription WASHINGTON, and above the other identical portrait on the other side, ONE CENT.

While most of these tokens were neutral politically, one apparently was quite satirical. The obverse bears an unrealistic portrait of Washington, bald (without his wig), and without his teeth. Surrounding is the legend WASHINGTON THE GREAT D.G. "D.G." was the common inscription on British coins at the time and was an abbreviation of "Dei Gratia," which translates to "by the grace of God." But, in this instance, it has been theorized that the D.G. may have referred to "Dictator General."

Other Washington obverse dies were made by

Wyon in Birmingham, England, and later found their way to the United States, where they were combined with reverse dies pertaining to New Jersey and other topics. All of these die combinations are rare.

Singular among Washington pieces of the era is the so-called 1795 "North Wales halfpenny." This piece, which comes undated but is believed to have been struck around 1795, bears on the obverse a crude portrait of Washington with the letters GEORGE IVS WASHINGTON. The reverse shows a crowned harp and the legend NORTH WALES. Several varieties exist. These coins are from crudely made dies and were very carelessly struck, exhibiting weaknesses in most areas of the design even when the issues were first made. Contrasting from most other British-made Washington issues, which are usually fully struck with excellent detail, the North Wales halfpenny may have been a contemporary imitation or counterfeit. Its light weight and poor fabrication indicate it may have been designed with this intention and may have been used in commerce at the valuation of a halfpenny.

The Mint Act of April 2, 1792, originally written in the Senate, proposed that:

Upon one side of each of the said coins, there shall be an impression or representation of the head of the president of the United States for the time being, with an inscription which shall express the initial or first letter of his Christian or first name, and his surname at length, the succession of the presidency numerically, and the year of the coinage. . .

It also provided that the reverses of the gold and silver coins were to bear the figure or representation of the eagle with the inscription THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and the reverses of the copper coins were to be with an inscription expressing the denomination. The House of Representatives, probably acting in accordance with Washington's oft-expressed wishes, deleted the portion referring to the head of the president and substituted that "upon one side of each of the said coins there shall be an impression emblematic of liberty, with an inscription of the word, LIBERTY." It is believed that Peter Getz, an engraver of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who was 23 years old at the time, prepared the dies, with the lettering added by another artisan. The silver impressions of the pieces prepared under this proposal may have been distributed to members of the Senate, while copper pieces, made in larger quantities, may have gone to members of the House of Representatives.

The obverse of the so-called "Washington half dollar" depicts a portrait of Washington facing left with a date of 1792 below it and the inscription G.

WASHINGTON PRESIDENT I surrounding. The reverse shows a heraldic eagle with the inscription THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In 1800, Jacob Perkins, an inventor, engraver, and diesinker of Newburyport, Massachusetts, who earlier produced dies for Massachusetts copper coins and who later became distinguished for his work in engraving bank note plates, produced several funeral medals honoring Washington. Typically these bear on the obverse a portrait of the first president with the inscription HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS. The reverse depicts a funeral urn and biographical data of Washington in abbreviated form. Most examples seen today are in silver or white metal (pewter), although gold and copper pieces were also made. This issue set the stage for many medals which paid tribute to Washington's greatness.

One medal had a twist of satire. In 1805 Daniel Eccleston, of Lancaster, England, issued a large-diameter piece which is known today as the "Eccleston Medal." Eccleston, a Quaker, was "well known for his eccentricities," Baker observed. He spent two or three years in America, and during that time saw Washington in Alexandria, Virginia, and received an invitation to spend a few days at Mount Vernon. His "admiration" for Washington was expressed in a most interesting way.

The obverse of his medal depicts Washington encased in a heavy suit of armor, "a singular conceit," notes Baker. The legend surrounding is: GENERAL WASHINGTON INSCRIBED TO HIS MEMORY BY D. ECCLESTON. LANCASTER MDCCCV.

The reverse shows an Indian standing, head downcast, with an arrow in his right hand and leaning on a bow. The legend surrounds in several concentric circles: HE LAID THE FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN LIBERTY IN THE XVII CENTURY. INNUMERABLE MILLIONS YET UNBORN WILL VENERATE THE MEMORY OF THE MAN WHO OBTAINED THEIR COUNTRYS FREEDOM. Then, surrounding the Indian at the center, are the words THE LAND WAS OURS. In retrospect, the medal appears to be more of a commentary of the expropriation by colonists of Indian lands than a tribute to Washington.

In 1832 the centennial of Washington's birth produced a wide variety of medals as did the 1876 celebration of the centennial of American independence. Today, the most highly prized Washington medals are those struck during Washington's lifetime and during the first decade of the 19th century.

A History of the Mint

In a report to Congress on January 15, 1782, Robert Morris, superintendent of finance, proposed a national coinage. On February 21, 1782, suggestions for a government mint were approved. As a result, in 1783 Robert Morris commissioned A. DuBois to prepare dies. He was paid \$72 on May 5, 1783 for “sinking, case-hardening, etc. four pair of dies for the Public Mint.” John Jacob Eckfeldt, father of Adam Eckfeldt (who was later associated with the United States Mint at Philadelphia), a German immigrant who came to America from Nuremberg in 1765, was also paid for dies in the same year. Presumably, this work was for the 1783 Nova Constellatio silver coinage consisting of the 1,000 units, or “mark,” and its fractional divisions.

Despite the efforts of Morris and others, the mint did not materialize. Congress on July 6, 1785, gave its approval to the dollar as the basic currency unit with decimal subdivisions, but no action to establish a mint was taken at that time. On April 15, 1790, Congress instructed Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton to prepare a plan to establish a national mint. On January 20th of the following year a report was submitted to Congress, and on March 3rd President George Washington approved the joint resolution of Congress to establish a coining facility.

On April 2, 1792, an additional law “establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the United States” was approved by Congress, which then immediately proceeded to carry out the intention of the act. The original legislation, prior to its April 2nd passage, proposed that:

Upon each of the said coins there shall be an impression or representation of the head of the President of the United States for the time being, with an inscription which shall express the initial or first letter of the Christian or first name, and his surname at length, the succession of the presidency

numerically, and the year of the coinage; the reverse of the gold and silver coins to bear . . . an eagle with the inscription UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Washington protested the use of the president’s portrait as being “too monarchical,” so the section referring to this was changed to specify “an impression emblematic of liberty with an inscription of the word Liberty, and the year of coinage . . .”

The so-called Washington half dollars of 1792, struck in copper and silver and believed to be the work of Peter Getz, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, conformed to the initial coinage proposal and may have been struck as a bid for a contract coinage. W. S. Baker, in his book *Medallic Portraits of Washington*, notes that:

The original text of the bill is founded on specimens submitted to the Senate committee, a number being struck in copper for that purpose, as well as for presentation to the different members of both branches of Congress.

John Harper, a Trenton, New Jersey saw maker who had premises in Philadelphia at the corner of Sixth and Cherry streets, worked with government officials during 1792 and is believed to have struck certain pieces, including coins intended as a proposal for a private contract. The idea of coining by contract persisted, and from time to time in subsequent years it was brought up in Congressional hearings and other forums.

A lot for the Mint was purchased on Seventh Street in Philadelphia, between Market and Arch streets. At the time it was occupied by an old still-house and a frame structure. David Rittenhouse, an astronomer, philosopher, and former treasurer of Pennsylvania, was named by President Washington on July 1, 1792, to be the first director of the Mint. The Rittenhouse Society, an organization of numismatic scholars formed in the 1950s, is named after him. Work to remove the old buildings on the lot commenced on July 19th. At 10 a.m., July 31st, David Rittenhouse laid the corner-

stone. The framework was raised in the afternoon of that day. By September 7th the building was sufficiently completed that operations were able to begin. The following Tuesday, September 11th, saw the purchase of six pounds of old copper acquired for one shilling, three pence per pound—being the first metal acquired for coinage. Coining presses had been ordered from England and arrived on September 21, 1792. President Washington, who lived on High Street only two or three blocks from the Mint, was said to have been a frequent visitor.

In his fourth annual address, November 6, 1792, President Washington mentioned that the national coinage had commenced: "There has been a small beginning in the coinage of half dismes; the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them."

It is believed by Walter Breen, Don Taxay, and several other students of the early Mint that the initial production of 1792 half dimes, called half *dismes*, took place not at the Mint but in Harper's cellar at Sixth and Cherry streets or at another coining facility in a coach house on Sixth Street above Chestnut Street. At the time Albion Cox, assayer of the Mint, and Henry Voigt, chief coiner, had not yet posted the bonds which in accordance with law would have permitted them to have begun coinage in the precious metals, gold and silver. The Act of April 2, 1792 required that:

The said assayer, chief coiner, treasurer, previous to entering upon the duties of the respective offices, shall each become bound to the United States with one or more sureties to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury, the sum of \$10,000 . . .

This bond requirement was onerous and was responsible for no silver coins being issued during the first year of Mint operations. On August 15, 1793, Thomas Jefferson wrote concerning the bond:

Mr. Albion Cox, engaged in England by Mr. Pinckney as Assayer of the Mint, has not yet qualified himself by giving security as required by law; in the meantime has been of necessity employed at the Mint in his proper capacity, and of course he is entitled to payment for his services. The Director of the Mint asked instruction on this subject, and should I be of the opinion he might pay him for his services at the rate allowed by law, for the time he has been employed by him, and out of the general fund for which he pays his other workmen . . .

The Director also informs me that much silver is brought to him to be exchanged for coin, but not having the coin ready the silver is carried away again. He is of the opinion that if the treasurer was instructed to deliver to him 1000 dollars to be coined into dismes and half dismes, and to be permitted to be in the Mint until wanted for by the Treasury, it would

serve in the meantime as a stock for exchange, and enable him to take in the parcels of silver offered as before mentioned. He would by this means throw small silver into circulation and greatly relieve the demand for copper coinage.

Later, on March 3, 1794, Congress provided that the bond of the assayer be reduced to \$1,000 and that of the chief coiner to \$5,000. Cox and Voigt complied, with the result that the first silver coins were issued in that year. The year following, 1795, saw the first gold mintage.

The coinage of 1792 silver pieces outside of the Mint is substantiated by a document located by Walter Breen. Dated April 9, 1844, the statement of J. R. McClintock, an official of the Treasury, notes:

In conversation with Mr. Adam Eckfeldt today at the Mint, he informed me that the Half Dismes . . . were struck at the request of Gen. Washington to the extent of One Hundred Dollars which sum he deposited in Bullion or Specie for the purpose—the Mint was not at the time fully ready for going into operation—the coining machinery was in the cellar of Mr. Harper's, saw maker at the corner of Cherry and 6th streets, at which place these pieces were struck.

The first coins produced at the United States Mint itself were probably struck in December 1792. Henry Voigt's account book has the notation "Struck off a few pieces of copper coin" under the date of December 17th. On the following day, December 18, 1792, Thomas Jefferson wrote to President Washington with information pertaining to coinage:

Th. Jefferson has the honor to send the President two cents made on Voigt's plan by putting a silver plug worth $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent into a copper worth $\frac{1}{4}$ cent.

Mr. Rittenhouse is about to make a few by mixing the same plug by fusion with the same quantity of copper. He will then make of copper alone of the same size & lastly he will make the real cent as ordered by Congress, four times as big. Specimens of these several ways of making the cent may now be delivered to the Committee of Congress now having the subject before them.

Frank H. Stewart, a Philadelphia electrical contractor who demolished the original Mint buildings during the early 20th century, found at the time two planchets used for making 1792 pattern silver center cents, thus verifying that the pieces were almost certainly struck on the Mint premises.

Pattern coins of 1792 were made in several formats. The silver center cent was an attempt to reduce the size of the denomination by inserting in the center a plug made of silver, a more valuable metal than the surrounding copper. From the same dies pieces were struck in so-called fusible alloy, a mixture of silver and copper. The latter alloy was not satisfactory, for only

an expert metallurgist would have been able to distinguish the presence of silver.

Most famous of the 1792 pattern pieces are the Birch cents. Produced in several variations, the obverse depicts a female head, said by some to be Martha Washington, facing to the right. Surrounding is the inscription LIBERTY PARENT OF SCIENCE & INDUSTRY. The date 1792 is below the portrait. On the truncation of the neck appears the name BIRCH. The identity of "Birch" has never been completely verified. Thomas Birch, born in 1779, was only 13 years old in 1792 and was not a likely candidate to engrave the first government coinage. Further, *Appleton's Cyclopedia* notes that he did not come to Philadelphia before 1793.

Don Taxay, in *United States Mint and Coinage*, cites an early advertisement signed by "B. Birch" and noted that it was Robert "Bob" Birch who produced the 1792 pattern coinage. His earlier advertisement in the November 25, 1784 *New York Packet* is quoted:

Likenesses (simply imitative of the originals) are painted in crayons, at one guinea each; with elegant oval gilt frames included.

Seals and Copperplates, Cyphers, Crests, Toys, Trifles, &c. Engraved.

Hair Devices set in Rings, Locketts, &c. Watches Repaired: And any wheel, Arbor, Pivot, Spring, Cock, Slide, Figure-piece, Verge, &c. made new and fitted. Watch glasses fitted at one shilling each, and a quantity to be sold cheap for ready cash. Any curious Punch or Instrument made in steel, iron brass, &c. By B. Birch, from London.

Birch's address was given as Mr. Stite's, No. 178 Queen Street.

Alexander Vattermare and James Ross Snowden both associated Robert Birch with the early pattern issues. Existing records include no payments to anyone named Birch. Walter Breen notes that the omission is not conclusive, for in 1793, the following year, no payments are recorded to Jean Pierre Droz or Joseph Wright for the dies they engraved.

Carl W. A. Carlson, a student of early coinage, is investigating another possibility: the Birch cent dies may have been engraved in England.

A unique variant of the Birch cent, struck in white metal and known only from the example in the Garrett Collection, omits the Birch signature on the obverse. The reverse, instead of bearing the denomination 1/100, has the initials G. W. Pt., for "George Washington President."

The 1792 half disme, struck in silver, was apparently minted to the extent of between 1,500 and 2,000 pieces. The obverse depicts a female head, similar to

that found on the larger Birch cent but reversed and facing to the left. The reverse shows a wingspread eagle. As President Washington's November 6, 1792, address noted, the pieces were specifically made for circulation. Apparently the half dismes were released into the channels of commerce, for nearly all specimens known today show extensive wear.

The 1792 disme bears on the obverse a female head facing left with long flowing tresses. The engraving may have been done by Joseph Wright, who is believed to have cut the dies for the 1793 half cent which bears a related portrait. The reverse shows a wingspread eagle, below which is the denomination DISME. The "disme" term was derived from the French language; the pronunciation is the same as the "dime" we use today. Soon the superfluous S was dropped.

Distinctive among 1792 patterns are the quarter dollar issues, in copper and white metal, engraved by Joseph Wright. Taxay quotes a description of the piece, erroneously designated as a cent, furnished by William Dunlap, an artist who was one of Wright's contemporaries:

He [Wright] was a modeller in clay and practiced die sinking, which last gained him the appointment, shortly before his death, of die-sinker to the Mint. (I have before me a design for a cent, made by Mr. Wright, and dated 1792. It represents an eagle standing on the half of a globe, and holding in its beak a shield with the thirteen stripes. The reverse has been drawn on the same piece of paper, and afterwards cut out.)

Early Mint records show that Wright was paid to engrave dies for a quarter dollar. As the 1792 piece is the size of a later quarter dollar (quarter dollars were first issued by the Mint in 1796), and as it bears an eagle on the reverse (a design not authorized for copper coins), it most certainly is not a cent. The quarter dollar attribution seems correct.

George G. Evans, in the *History of the United States Mint and Coinage*, relates that during the discussion which resulted in the eagle being selected as the bird depicted on our coins, the following ensued:

A member of the House from the South bitterly opposed the choice of the eagle, on the grounds of its being the "king of birds," and hence neither proper nor suitable to represent a nation whose institutions and interests were wholly inimical to monarchical forms of government.

Judge Thatcher playfully, in reply, suggested that perhaps a goose might suit the gentleman, as it was a rather humble and republican bird, and it would also be serviceable in other respects, as the goslings would answer to place upon the dimes.

This answer created considerable merriment, and the irate Southerner, conceiving the humorous rejoinder as an insult,



Three Philadelphia Mints: Above is an artist's representation of the 1792 Mint and related buildings. To the right is a circa 1900 photograph of the second United States Mint used after 1832. Below is a 1905 picture of the third Philadelphia Mint. Still later a fourth facility was constructed.



sent a challenge to the judge, who promptly declined it. The bearer, rather astonished, asked "Will you be branded as a coward?" "Certainly, if he pleases," replied Thatcher, "I always was one and he knew it, or he never would have risked a challenge."

The affair occasioned much mirth, and in due time the former existing cordial relations were restored between the parties; the irritable Southerner concluding there was nothing to be gained in fighting with one who fired nothing but jokes.

For the first several years of the Mint's operation copper presented a severe problem. Despite newspaper advertisements, amounts acquired were sparse. Toward the end of November 1792 Thomas Jefferson wrote to George Washington requesting that copper be imported from Sweden. Washington approved of this but suggested that the search not be limited to just one country abroad. On April 23, 1795, over 1,000 pounds of copper Talbot, Allum & Lee tokens were received by the Mint. From these, planchets for half cents were cut out. Later, in 1800, 5,750 half cents were struck on planchets made from misstruck United States cents. The entire production of 1802 half cents was accomplished the same way. One United States half cent is known overstruck on a copper half cent of Massachusetts, indicating another source. In 1796 the director of the Mint ordered 10 tons of sheet copper from which planchets were cut in England. On October 20, 1796, the director wrote to William L. Coltman, the London supplier, stating that the planchets had arrived on the *Rebecca* and were badly executed, "being cut from coarse rolled sheet copper almost as rough as cast iron and not clean."

In 1797 15 tons of planchets were ordered from Boulton & Watt of Birmingham, England. These arrived on the *Adriana* and were in excellent condition. During the same year a substantial quantity of planchets amounting to 9,296 pounds weight arrived from the Governor & Company of Copper Miners on the *William Penn* and was stated to be a very poor lot. The planchets were bulged at the center, making them convex on one side and concave on the other. They had to be cleaned and processed before coinage. This was the second group of poor planchets from the same company. Following this experience, nearly all later orders were placed with Boulton & Watt. The planchets, milled (with raised rims to facilitate the movement of metal in coinage), were shipped to the Philadelphia Mint in wooden kegs. These same kegs were later used to reship cents from the Mint to various banks and other outlets.

On March 1, 1793, the first coins were delivered by

the chief coiner of the United States Mint to the treasurer. The initial shipment consisted of 11,178 cents. The first deposit of silver bullion at the Mint was made on July 18, 1794, by the Bank of Maryland and consisted of slightly over \$80,000 worth of silver coins of France. On October 15, 1794 the first silver coins were sent by the chief coiner. The shipment consisted of 1,758 silver dollars. On December 1st 5,300 half dollars were shipped. These two groups comprised the majority of the silver coinage of the 1794 year.

On February 12, 1795, Moses Brown, a Boston merchant, made the first gold bullion deposit at the Mint, a group of ingots totalling \$2,276.22. On July 31, 1795, the first gold coins were sent from the chief coiner to the treasurer, a group of 744 half eagles. The first eagles, a group of 400 pieces, were delivered on September 22nd of the same year.

Prior to the commencement of coinage at the Mint it was desired to acquire the services of Jean Pierre Droz as the chief engraver. Correspondence from Jefferson to various European intermediaries sought to employ Droz, but the engraver was beset by personal problems and changing ideas, so his employment never materialized. He did, however, assist with the procurement of coining presses in England.

Joseph Wright, a portrait painter, was the first engraver to be named for a position at the Mint. Before he received his official appointment, although he worked at the Mint in the meantime, he succumbed to yellow fever in September 1793. Henry Voigt, the chief coiner, prepared certain dies during the same year. Robert Scot was named by Jefferson to be the first official chief engraver of the institution. Scot continued until late 1823 or early 1824.

David Rittenhouse, the first director of the Mint, served until June 1795. In July of the same year his successor, Henry William DeSaussure, took office. He remained only until October. From that point until July 1805, Elias Boudinot filled the position. Following his term, Robert Patterson was director of the Mint from January 1806 to July 1824.

Expenses of the infant Mint were high, production was irregular, deliveries were often inconsistent, and many other problems arose. From time to time outside proposals for a contract coinage were received. Earlier, Matthew Boulton proposed his services in Birmingham, England, but as the right of coinage was important to the United States, his overtures were refused. At the time the coins and tokens produced by Boulton & Watt were of superb quality and finish, far above those subsequently produced by the Philadelphia Mint.

On January 18, 1795, Albion Cox, the assayer of the Mint, replied to inquiries given him by Director of the Mint Elias Boudinot, who was in charge of a Congressional committee looking into the situation at the Mint. Unfortunately, the original questions do not survive, but Cox's reply gives an indication of the situation:

I enclose to you my answers to different questions communicated to me as assayer of the Mint—the last question put to me in a trying situation. I do not wish to condemn but if a remedy is not pointed out to alter the present proceedings of the Mint I anticipate its destruction very shortly—three years has very nearly elapsed since the Institution was first made—more than twenty thousand dollars has been expended in Complex Machinery—without producing $\frac{1}{2}$ that sum in Coins—I will take the liberty of recommending to you a practical man who operated in the Jersey Coppers—he will give you such Information with respect to the proceedings of coinage as will appear almost Incredible when contrasted with the present proceedings—I mean this only that you may be acquainted with defects & see the remedy & apply it—

I declare to you Sr that I have no personal enmity ag't any officer of the Mint—but the nature of my obligations to the publick requires me to give every Information in my power to remedy the defects in the Institution of which I am concerned as a publick Officer—I should have endeavored to have made such remarks as have come under my knowledge but accidentally meeting this person Friday even'g—who is much better inform'd than I possibly can be & who is willing to communicate his knowledge regarding the practice of Coinage in England—this Information I trust Sr will remain in yr own breast & not be communicated; if any question should arise from my answers I shou'd be glad to answer them personally . . .

The person I allude to is Jno Harper now very extensively in the Saw making business near the Iron works at Trenton—he will return to Trenton on Wednesday—I will communicate anything to him should you think proper.

Possibly as a result of the previous correspondence, John Harper, who in the meantime had been an adviser and a supplier to the Mint, wrote a proposal to the institution on November 4, 1795:

I propose to engage with you or any other gentleman on the following terms—that is to say—to receive sheet copper of the right size—and coin the same into cents complete for circulation at the rate of \$80 per ton. To return the same in cents and shruff, deducting twenty-five pounds in each ton for waste. I will also forge and harden all the dies, beds, and punches for the same.

Harper was apparently encouraged in this proposal, for at a later time Elias Boudinot persuaded legislators to appropriate \$100 to compensate Harper for dies in his possession. Presumably samples were made in 1795 to demonstrate Harper's ability. Numismatists today believe that the so-called 1795 *Jefferson Head* cents,

coins which bear a distinctive portrait unlike that used at the Philadelphia Mint, were Harper's work.

Periodic visitations of yellow fever wreaked havoc on the operations of the Mint during the early years. Of all the eastern cities Philadelphia in particular seems to have been severely afflicted. The reputation of Philadelphia in this regard was such that several other locations prohibited visitors from Philadelphia from passing through. At the time the source of yellow fever had not been traced to mosquitos, and many widely varying theories were proposed.

In 1793 yellow fever claimed the lives of Joseph Wright, the engraver, and Joseph Whitehead, who worked in the assaying department. The Mint was closed because of yellow fever from September 1 to November 7, 1797; from August 20 to November 1, 1798; from September 20 to November 1, 1799; and September 24 to about November 1, 1803.

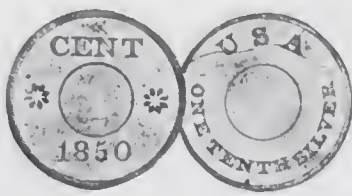
Director Boudinot, on August 24, 1799, prepared instructions for closing the Mint against the epidemic. The provisions specified, among other things, that all bullion and expense accounts were to be closed before August 31st and workmen were to be paid. Gold and silver given by the treasurer to the coiner were to be produced into coins as fast as possible, deposits were to be paid, any remaining bullion was to be stored in vaults (distant from the Mint) so that the Mint closing without a guard on hand would give no problems, all officers were to return to the Mint any coins, clippings, or other items they had belonging to the Mint, machines were to be prepared for the hiatus and presses were to be dismantled. Unusable dies were to be destroyed, and usable dies were to be put in strong-boxes in the Bank of the United States. Other small Mint property and records were also to be stored with the same bank. Mr. Eckfeldt was to take care of pasturing the Mint horses. At the time, coins were struck by the use of hand presses. Horses provided power to operate rollers used in planchet preparation.

In turn, the Mint employees signed a promise to come back to the Mint once the fever had ended:

We, the subscribers, do hereby promise and engage to return to the service of the Mint as soon as the same shall be again open after the prevailing fever is over, on the penalty of twenty pounds. As witness our hands this 31st day of August, 1799.

In the early days the Mint operated 11 hours daily. From March 10th until September 10th the workday began at 5 a.m. and continued until 8 a.m., at which time one hour was allowed for breakfast. At 9 a.m. work resumed and continued until 1 p.m. Two hours

United States Pattern Coins



1850 1 Cent
Judd-124



1853 1 Cent
J-149



1855 1 Cent
J-168



1858 1 Cent
J-202



1858 1 Cent
J-206



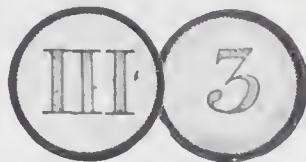
1868 1 Cent
J-608



1881 1 Cent
J-1665



1863 2 Cents
J-305



1849 3 Cents
J-113



1850 3 Cents
J-125



1863 3 Cents
J-320



1870 3 Cents
J-799



1881 3 Cents
J-1668



1866 5 Cents
J-473



1866 5 Cents
J-479



1866 5 Cents
Unlisted in Judd



1866 5 Cents
J-489



1866 5 Cents
J-525



1867 5 Cents
J-561



1867 5 Cents
J-570



1867 5 Cents
J-572



1869/6 5 Cents
Unlisted in Judd



1871 5 Cents
J-1050

United States Pattern Coins



1883 5 Cents
Judd-1631



1883 5 Cents
J-1707



1884 5 Cents
J-1724



1870 1/2 10c
J-816



1871 1/2 10c
J-1059



1871 1/2 10c
J-1068



1863 10 Cents
J-326a



1868 10 Cents
J-645



1869 10 Cents
J-696



1869 10 Cents
J-716



1871 10 Cents
J-1074



1871 10 Cents
J-1084



1874 20 Cents
J-1354



1875 20 Cents
J-1392



1865 25 Cents
J-426



1870 25 Cents
J-883



1871 25 Cents
J-1090



1871 25 Cents
J-1099

United States Pattern Coins



1838 50 Cents
Judd-73



1838 50 Cents
J-76a



1838 50 Cents
J-79



1859 50 Cents
J-237



1861 50 Cents
J-277



1863 50 Cents
J-340



1869 50 Cents
J-742



1870 50 Cents
J-935



1871 50 Cents
J-1105



1871 50 Cents
J-1114



1877 50 Cents
Unlisted in Judd



1877 50 Cents
J-1518

United States Pattern Coins



1877 50 Cents
Judd-1520



1877 50 Cents
J-1522



1877 50 Cents
J-1524



1877 50 Cents
J-1539a



1877 50 Cents
J-1541



1879 50 Cents
J-1599



1871 \$1
J-1121



1878 \$1
J-1554



1879 \$1
J-1605



1879 \$1
J-1620

United States Pattern Coins



1879 \$1
Judd-1631



1880 \$1
J-1656



1852 \$1
J-141



1859 \$1
J-256



1860 \$5
J-272



1868 \$5
J-659



1874 \$10
J-1374



1877 \$10
J-1545



1859 \$20
J-257



1865 \$20
J-453

were set aside for lunch before work began at 3 p.m. At 7 p.m. the Mint closed. From the 10th of September until the 10th of March, during the darker winter months, the work day was ten hours long, one hour shorter than the summer, and began at 7 a.m. Breakfast was from 9 a.m. until 10 a.m. and lunch was from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. The Mint closed at 7 p.m.

A pay roster of October 10, 1795, reveals that the following salaries were paid at the Mint: Henry William DeSaussure, director, \$2,000 per year; Nicholas Way, treasurer, \$1,200; Henry Voight, chief coiner, \$1,500; Albion Cox, assayer, \$1,500; Robert Scot, engraver, \$1,200; David Ott, melter and refiner (*pro tem*), \$1,200; Nathan Thomas, clerk to treasurer, \$700; Issac Hough, clerk to director and assayer, \$500; Lodewick Sharp, clerk to chief coiner, \$500; John S. Gardiner, assistant engraver, \$936; and Adam Eckfeldt, die sinker and turner \$500.

Wages for workmen ranged from 50c per day paid to Sarah Waldrake and Rachel Summers, who adjusted the weight of planchets, to \$1.80 per day for John Schreiner, the chief pressman.

By 1800 the Mint had been in operation for the best part of the decade. Problems continued to plague the institution and those connected with it. Coinage shipments were irregular. The Mint claimed it was difficult to distribute copper cents for there was little demand for them. On the other hand, banks reported that they did not have an adequate supply of cents because it was impossible to procure them from the Mint. Contradictions abounded.

Expenses were high. There were many complaints about the conduct of employees and officers of the Mint, many of whom used the Mint facilities for private purposes or conducted unrelated business during working hours.

On March 14, 1800, a committee of the United States Senate, chaired by James Hillhouse (who earlier was involved with the copper coinage of Connecticut in 1785), recommended that the Mint be abolished for the coinage expense was too high in relation to production. Coins that were released into circulation often were hoarded and did not remain in commercial channels, and there were other problems. Hillhouse recommended that:

Perhaps a more economical and the most effectual mode would be by contract . . . as the removal of the Mint must be attended with expense, and probably a derangement of many of the officers, if a change of the system is to take place, the present is beyond a doubt the most convenient time for effecting it.

Accordingly, the Senate on May 5, 1800, resolved to abolish the Mint and to arrange with the Bank of the United States for a contract coinage. However, it was ultimately decided that the Mint should be continued in operation at least through the early part of 1801.

The Mint remained open. In 1802 there were additional complaints, resulting in the introduction in Congress in April of that year of another bill to end operation of the coining facility. At one time the Mint seemed to be so near closing that Director Elias Boudinot made an inventory of the Mint's assets. The debate continued through 1802 and early 1803. Finally, on January 18, 1803, the proposal died while in the hands of the Committee on Unfinished Business.

Gold and silver coins produced by the Mint did not circulate readily. When Alexander Hamilton first proposed the ratio of values between gold and silver to be 15 to 1 the figures represented the current world market for those metals. By 1799 the ratio in Europe had climbed to nearly 16 to 1, resulting in undervaluation of gold coins. Many if not most gold issues left the country and were melted down into gold bullion. The gold in a \$10 eagle was worth more than ten silver dollars. At the same time new silver dollars from the United States Mint could be obtained by exchanging worn Spanish dollars of lesser weight and value, which resulted in the massive export of freshly-minted full-weight United States dollars. Because of this situation, coinage of the \$10 and \$1 denominations was suspended in 1804. This effectively put an end to the practices of gold and silver speculators. Later, the same problem was to recur. Gold coins of the 1820s and early 1830s (prior to August 1834) were minted in large quantities, however few actually reached circulation. Most were melted, for their intrinsic value was slightly higher than their face value.

John Reich joined the Mint in 1807 as an assistant to Robert Scot. He came from Germany, it was said, at the request of Henry Voigt, the chief coiner. Reich remained at the Mint for about a decade, reportedly resigning on March 31, 1817, due to ill health. Beginning with the new half dollar and \$5 issues of 1807, the tendency was to make coins of all denominations bear the same design. The practice of having different coins of different denominations and metallic content bearing the same emblems was sharply criticized. In the 1830s the policy was again changed, and different designs were used for coins of different metals.

In 1808 Moritz Furst, a German, became an assistant to the engraver. He served for over two decades, during which time he engraved medals for the heroes of

1792 Mint Patterns



Silver center cent



*Fusible alloy cent
(without silver center)*



Birch cent in copper



*Birch cent in white metal
G.W. Pt. reverse*



*Half dime
Silver*



*Disme, reeded edge
Copper*



*Disme, plain edge
Copper*



*Separate obverse and reverse
die trials for 1792 quarter dollar*

1792 Birch Cent



Obverse

1792 Birch Cent



Reverse

Pattern Coins



1856 Cent. Judd-184



1858 Cent. J-199



1858 Cent. J-208



1863 Cent. J-299



1884 Cent. J-1721



1836 Two cents. J-52



1865 Two cents. J-407



1866 Five cents. J-487



1882 Five cents. J-1690



1879 Dime. J-1584



1879 Dime. J-1586



1879 Quarter. J-1590



1879 Quarter. J-1593



1838 Half dollar. J-72



1839 Half dollar. J-95



1839 Half dollar. J-99



1859 Half dollar. J-235



1872 Half dollar. J-1200



1877 Half dollar. J-1501



1877 Half dollar. J-1503



1877 Half dollar. J-1512



1877 Half dollar. J-1516



1877 Half dollar. J-1530



1877 Half dollar. J-1535

Pattern Coins



1877 Half dollar J-1509



1879 Half dollar J-1597



1836 Dollar J-58



1836 Dollar J-65



1870 Dollar J-1003



1876 Dollar J-1463



1877 Dollar J-1544



1879 Dollar J-1603



1879 Dollar J-1613



1879 Dollar J-1629

Pattern Gold Coins



1879 Gold “Quintuple Stella”



1879 \$20. J-1643
(Illustration enlarged)

Pattern Coins



1877 \$50. J-1547
(Illustration enlarged)



1868 Aluminum Proof Set

the War of 1812, various Indian peace medals, and other items. Apparently most if not all of his employment as an assistant engraver was done on a contractual basis, for he was not considered to be a regular employee of the Mint. During the same period he advertised his independent services as a diesinker and engraver. The patronage of Philadelphia citizens was solicited.

During the first decade of the 19th century, copper planchets for cents were received regularly from Boulton & Watt of Birmingham. The final importation consisted of 20 tons in 1812. After that point the War of 1812 with England forced suspension of shipments. On December 2, 1814, the director of the Mint instructed that the remaining supply of 357,830 copper planchets be struck into one-cent pieces and that they be used to pay the wages of workmen at the Mint. Due to lack of copper no cents were struck the following year, 1815. In February 1816, by which time the war had ended, 25 additional tons of copper were ordered from Boulton.

Following the death of Henry Voigt in 1814, Adam Eckfeldt, who had served at the Mint since its earliest years, was named to the post of chief coiner, a position which he continued until 1839. His mechanical skill, generosity, and personality were widely admired. After his resignation he continued to be a frequent visitor at the Mint, often giving advice. He died on February 6, 1852, at the age of 83.

On January 11, 1816, Robert Patterson, director of the Mint, wrote to President James Madison:

I have the mortification to inform you that this morning, about 2:00, fire broke out in the mill house, a wooden building belonging to the Mint, which was consumed together with an adjoining building containing the rolling and drawing machines, also the melting house. The front part of the building, containing the coining presses, the office, and the assayer's department is uninjured. The manner in which the fire originated is perfectly unaccountable. No fire is ever kept in the part of the building where it was first discovered; nor had any of the workmen been there for some days.

No loss of gold or silver will be sustained of any consequence, nor will a copper coinage be in the least impeded.

I shall not fail to give you necessary information on this subject as soon as an examination can be made, and the damage is ascertained.

Four days later another letter from Patterson to Madison continued on the same subject:

On the morning of the eleventh I had the painful task of acquainting you with the destruction of a part of the Mint by fire. At the time its origin was entirely unknown and unsuspected by any of the officers or workmen belonging to

the establishment; but on examining a barrel in a neighboring yard partly filled with wood ashes, taken from the hearths of an adjoining dwelling house, and which had been set in actual contact with the weather boarding of our mill house, a wooden building, where the fire was first discovered, no doubt remains that here the fire originated. Several distressing fires in this city and elsewhere, particularly that by which the Lutheran Church on Fourth Street was some years ago consumed, have been ascertained to have proceeded from a similar cause.

As there are not at present, nor are there likely to be for some time, any deposits of bullion in the Mint of any consequence, the public, therefore, will not probably experience any inconvenience from the above disaster until the damages can be repaired; and I am happy to be able to assure you that this can be done, and that on a much improved plan, without any special appropriation for that purpose, merely from the balance from former appropriations not yet carried to the surplus fund. But, Sir, I would not presume to make these repairs without your approbation.

On March 16, 1816, another letter from Patterson said in part:

. . . but the repairs which the late fire have now rendered necessary being so considerable, I would not venture to undertake without your approbation, which is therefore, Sir, most respectfully solicited.

No estimate of the expenses or time necessary for these repairs can at present be made with any degree of accuracy; but it is believed that the balances of the last two years' appropriation not yet carried to the surplus fund, together with that for the present year, will be more than sufficient; and that the whole may be accomplished in eight or ten months from the time of commencement.

In truth, except the mere building, which was ill-contrived and of little value, no great loss has been sustained by the fire. The principal parts of the machinery were, in fact, nearly worn out, and must have been replaced in a short time though no such accident had occurred.

The only difficulty at present foreseen will be in procuring rollers; two or three pair of which would be wanted. These can, I believe, be best obtained through the agency of Mr. Boulton of Soho, the gentleman who has for many years supplied the Mint with copper; but in answer to a letter which I addressed to him some years ago on the subject of rollers, he informed me that they were among the articles which could not be exported without obtaining permission from the government. This, however, might probably be effected through the application of our minister at London.

Three pairs of hard cast rollers were subsequently ordered. On July 1, 1817, Patterson wrote again:

The repairs of the Mint, which you were pleased to authorize, are now nearly completed. A substantial brick building has been erected on the site formerly occupied by an old wooden building; and in the apparatus and arrangement of machinery which has been adopted many important improvements have been introduced. Among these is the substitution of a steam engine for the horsepower heretofore employed; a change which it is believed will not only



The Philadelphia Mint of 1792 as it appeared decades later, in the 1850s, after it had been converted to other uses.

diminish the expense of the establishment, but greatly facilitate all its principal operations.

The steam engine referred to in the Patterson correspondence was supplied to the Mint by Oliver Evans, the first builder of this type of device in America. As steam-powered coining presses were not introduced in the Mint until 1836, Evans' engine was probably used to replace horses in the operation of rollers during the preparation of metal strips from which planchets were cut.

On January 1, 1818, Patterson wrote to President James Monroe, Madison's successor, and informed him that as of May 1817 coinage was back to normal:

About the beginning of May, the repairs of the Mint having been nearly completed, and a considerable quantity of silver bullion in our vaults, the coinage was recommenced; and since that time, as will appear from the statement of the treasurer, herewith transmitted, there have been struck, in silver coins, 1,215,567 pieces . . .

The fire in 1816 prevented the coinage of gold and silver that year. On February 16, 1817, Patterson wrote to Richard Peters, judge of the United States District Court, and several others who would have engaged in the annual assay, a ceremony in which prominent citizens inspect samples from the preceding year's coinage to determine that the statutory requirements for weight and fineness have been met:

As there has been no coinage of the precious metals of the Mint, since the last annual assay, it may, perhaps, be unnecessary for the commissioners to attend on Monday next, the time appointed by law for that purpose.

Beginning in 1817 Proof coins, struck on specially-prepared planchets using highly polished dies, were struck on special occasions. Called specimens or master coins at the time (the term *Proof* was not used in Mint correspondence until 1854 and did not reach print until 1858), these pieces had mirror-like fields on the obverse and reverse. From 1817 until they were first sold to the public in 1858, Proof coins were made only at irregular intervals throughout the year as gifts for visiting foreign dignitaries, congressmen, persons of influence, and occasionally for collectors who had connections at the Mint. From what can be learned, Proofs were first made on a steady basis beginning about 1839 or 1840. It was the practice at the time to polish a pair of dies, use specially prepared planchets to strike Proof coins, and once a few specimens had been struck off, to then use the dies to coin pieces for regular circulation so as to avoid waste. As Proof dies were prepared at several intervals during certain years, multiple die varieties of Proof specimens exist for certain issues. It was not customary to keep accounting records of Proof coins.

Mint production figures do not list, for example, half cents of 1840-1848 which were made only in Proof; no business strikes of these years were made for circulation. For some reason only a few Proof coins were made of certain denominations of the years 1849-1851 and 1853.

An invoice for an 1844 Proof set, complete from the half cent to the \$10 gold, shows a total face value of \$19.41½, a case at \$3.08½, or a total price of \$22.50. Apparently no charge was made at the time for producing Proofs, the only fee being the case plus the face value of the coins. In 1858 James Ross Snowden offered Proofs to collectors for the first time. The price of a set of minor and silver coins was established at \$3, and a set of gold Proofs from the \$1 to the \$20 was priced at \$43. This schedule remained in effect at least through the next decade.

Mint correspondence contains numerous references to scattered Proof issues prior to 1858. For example, in 1854 the Treasury Department sent a Proof set, complete from the half cent to the \$20, to Bremen, Germany, in appreciation for 43 different copper, gold, and silver coins received as a gift from that city. In the same year 15 Proof specimens of the new \$3 denomination were struck before the design was officially adopted. M. Alexandre Vattemare, a Frenchman who was eager to promote relations between the United States and his country, visited America in 1839-1841 and again in 1847-1850. Specimens of Proof coins were furnished to him, some of which were subsequently given to the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

After 1858, when Proofs were first sold to collectors, production remained continuous until the early 20th century. Proof coinage of gold and silver issues ceased in 1915, and Proofs of the cent and nickel ended the following year. After a hiatus, Proof sets were again sold to collectors during the 1936-1942 period, again 1950-1964, and continuously from 1968 onward. In 1858 just 80 silver and minor Proof sets were sold to collectors. Over a century later, in the 1970s, Proof set mintages averaged over 3 million sets per year.

Following suspension of silver dollar coinage in 1804, the half dollar became the largest silver denomination produced for circulation. During the next 25 years large quantities of these were struck. Many went into storage and were used in bank-to-bank transfers. During the same period gold coins were rarely seen. During the 1820s and 1830s money in circulation consisted of a wide variety of privately-issued bank notes, tokens, and scrip, together with coins of

foreign nations (which were legal tender until 1857). United States Mint issues were scarce.

On January 29, 1824, William Kneass, born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1781, was appointed engraver of the Mint, following Scot. Prior to his appointment he engaged in the engraving trade in Philadelphia. Kneass' engravings for books were widely admired.

Kneass served until his death on August 27, 1840. He became ill during the last several years of his tenure, with the result that most of the extensive work done on pattern coins in 1836-1839 was accomplished by Christian Gobrecht, his assistant. Kneass probably designed the modified quarter eagle and half eagle motifs instituted in 1834. An 1838 pattern half dollar bearing the portrait of Liberty with a draped bust and a hair ribbon inscribed LIBERTY has traditionally been attributed to Kneass, but as the engraver suffered a stroke on August 28, 1835, this attribution is uncertain. Possibly the hub was produced earlier by Kneass.

In 1824, the same year that Kneass became the engraver of the Mint, President James Monroe appointed Samuel Moore, M.D. as fifth director of the Mint, following Robert Patterson. Moore served until July 1835, after which he was succeeded by Robert Maskell Patterson who continued in office until July 1851.

On January 1, 1825, Samuel Moore posted rules for the conduct of the Mint and its employees:

The operations of the Mint throughout the yard commence at 5:00 in the morning, under the superintendence of an officer, and continue until 4:00 in the afternoon except on Saturdays, when the business of the day will close at 2:00, unless on special occasions it may be otherwise directed by an officer. Extra work will be paid for in proportion, on a statement being made of it through the proper officer, at the end of each month. A strict account is to be kept by one of the officers, as they may agree, of the absences from duty; if the absence be voluntary, the full wages for the time will be deducted, if it arrives from a sickness the deduction will be made at the discretion of the proper officer . . .

The allowance under the name of *drink money* is hereafter to be discontinued, and in place of it \$3 extra wages per month will be allowed for the three summer months to those workmen who continue in the Mint throughout that season. No workman can be permitted to bring spirituous liquors into the Mint. Any workman who shall be found intoxicated within the Mint must be reported to the Director, in order that he may be discharged. No profane or indecent language can be tolerated in the Mint. Smoking within the Mint is inadmissible. The practice is of dangerous tendencies; experience proves that this indulgence in public institutions ends at last in disaster.

Visitors may be admitted by permission of an officer, to see the various operations of the Mint on all working days ex-

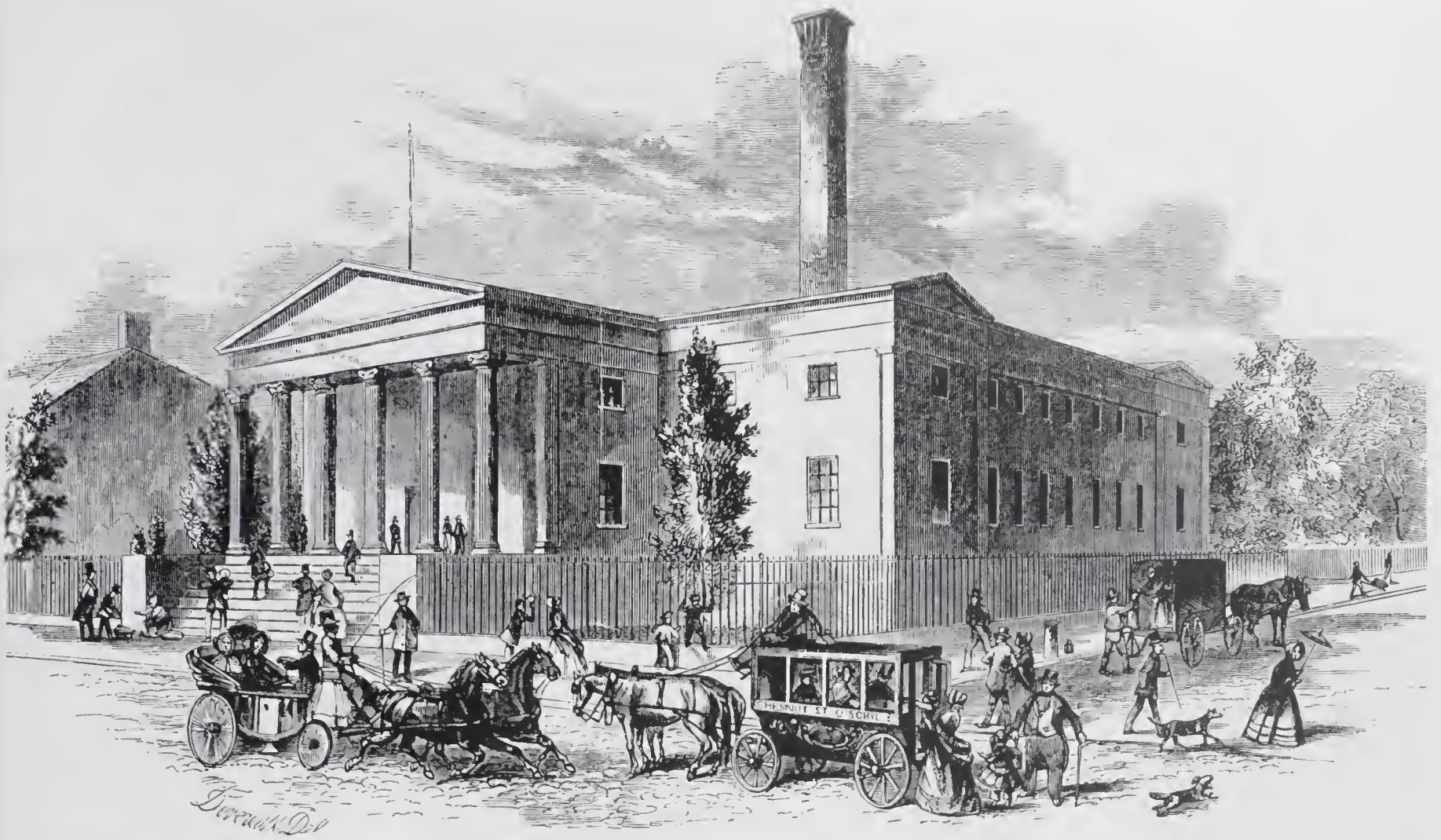
cept Saturdays and rainy days; they are to be attended by an officer, or some person designated by him. The new coins must not be given in exchange for others or to accommodate visitors, without the consent of the Chief Coiner. Christmas Day and the Fourth of July, and no other days are established holidays at the Mint. The pressman will carefully lock the several coining presses when the work for the day is finished, and leave the keys in such places as the Chief Coiner shall designate. When light is necessary to be carried from one part of the Mint to the other, the watchman will use a dark lantern but not an open candle. He will keep in a proper arm chest securely locked, a musket and bayonet, two pistols and a sword. The arms are to be kept in perfect order and to be inspected by an officer once a month, when the arms are to be discharged and charged anew.

The watchman of the Mint must attend from 6:00 in the evenings til 5:00 in the morning, and until relieved by the permission of an officer, or until the arrival of the doorkeeper. He will ring the yard bell precisely every hour by the Mint clock, from 10:00 until relieved by the doorkeeper, or an officer, or the workmen on working days, and will send a watchdog through the yard immediately after ringing the bell. He will particularly examine the compartments of the engine and all the rooms where fire has been on the preceding day, conformably to his secret instructions. To this purpose he will have keys of access to such rooms as he cannot examine without entering them.

If an attempt be made on the Mint he will act conformably to his secret instructions on that subject. In case of fire occurring in or near the Mint he will ring the alarm bell if one has been provided, or sound the alarm with his rattle, and thus as soon as possible bring someone to him who can be dispatched to call an officer, and in particulars will follow his secret instructions. The secret instructions given him from time to time he must be careful not to disclose. The delicate trust reposed in all persons employed in the Mint presupposes that their character is free from all suspicion, but the Director feels that it is his duty nevertheless, in order that none may plead ignorance on the subject, to warn them of the danger of violating so high a trust. Such a crime as the embezzlement of any of the coins struck at the Mint, or of any of the metals brought to the Mint for coinage, would be punished under the laws of Pennsylvania, by a fine and penitentiary employment at hard labor. The punishment annexed to this crime by the laws of the United States, enacted for the special protection of deposits made at the Mint, is death . . .

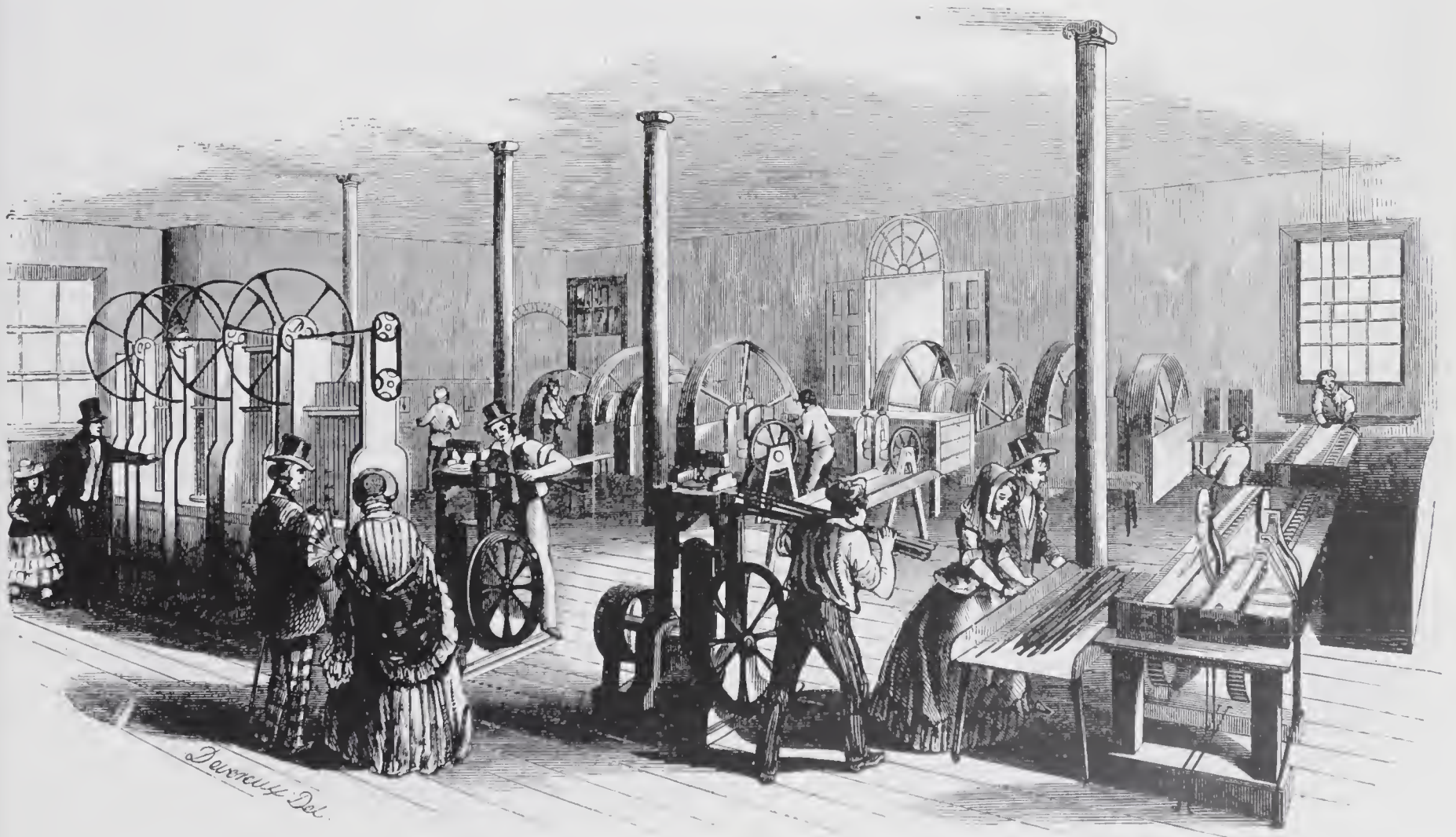
Samuel Moore, Director.

By 1828 the Mint had outgrown its facilities. Congress on March 2, 1829, granted appropriations for a new structure. A section of land on Juniper Street was purchased on April 30th. The cornerstone was laid on July 4th of the same year. Designed by architect William Strickland, the building was of marble and was copied from a Grecian temple near Athens. It was anticipated that the Mint, for which \$120,000 had been appropriated, would be ready for occupancy in 1832. With this in mind an advertisement appeared on July



EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES MINT, PHILADELPHIA.

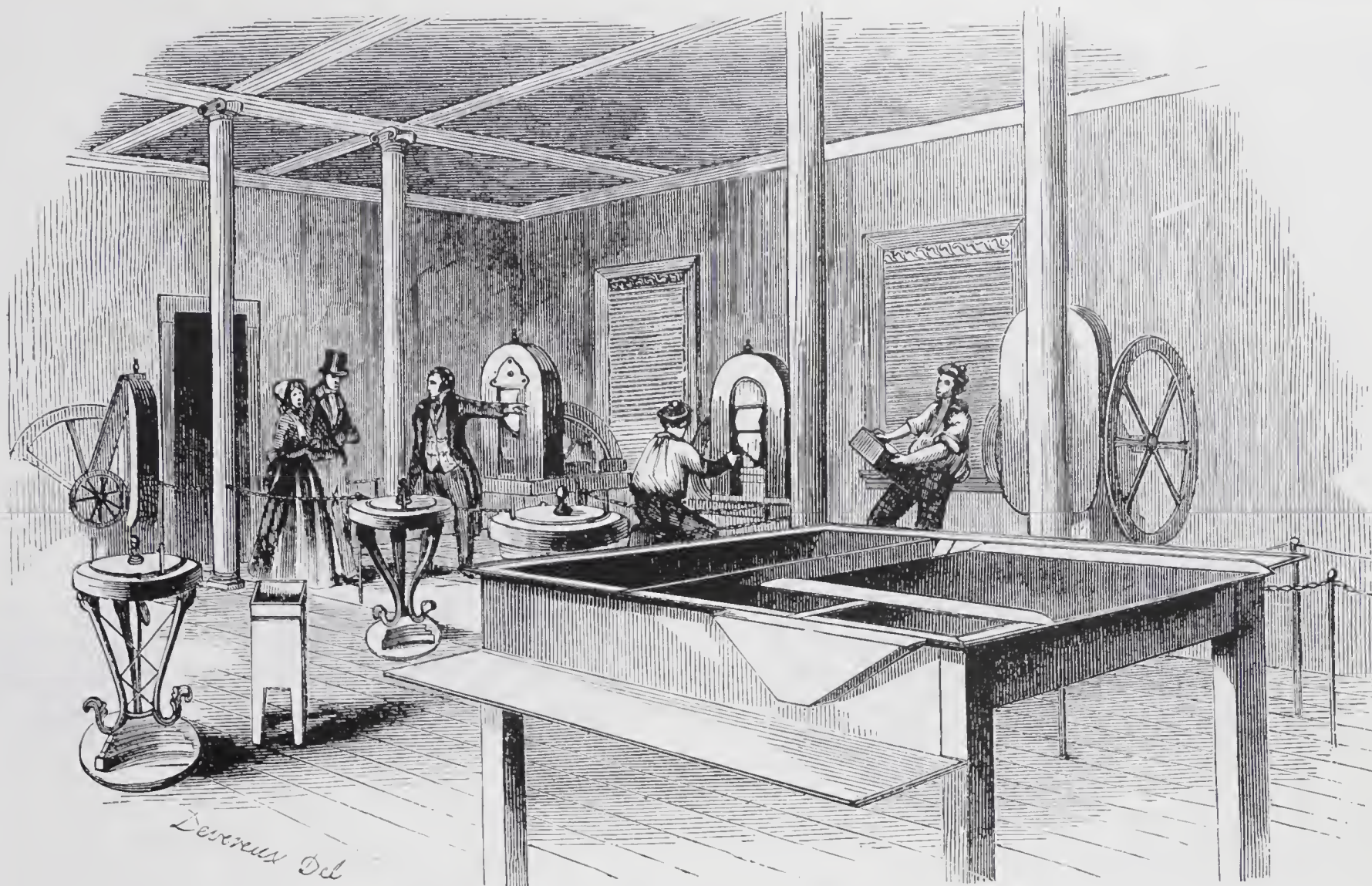
The United States Mint, Philadelphia, in the 1850s.



GENERAL PRESSING AND CUTTING ROOM OF THE UNITED STATES MINT, PHILADELPHIA.



Operating a steam-powered coining press at the Philadelphia Mint, circa 1853.



PRESSING AND MILLING ROOM OF THE U. S. MINT, PHILADELPHIA.

Scenes in the Philadelphia Mint in the 1850s.

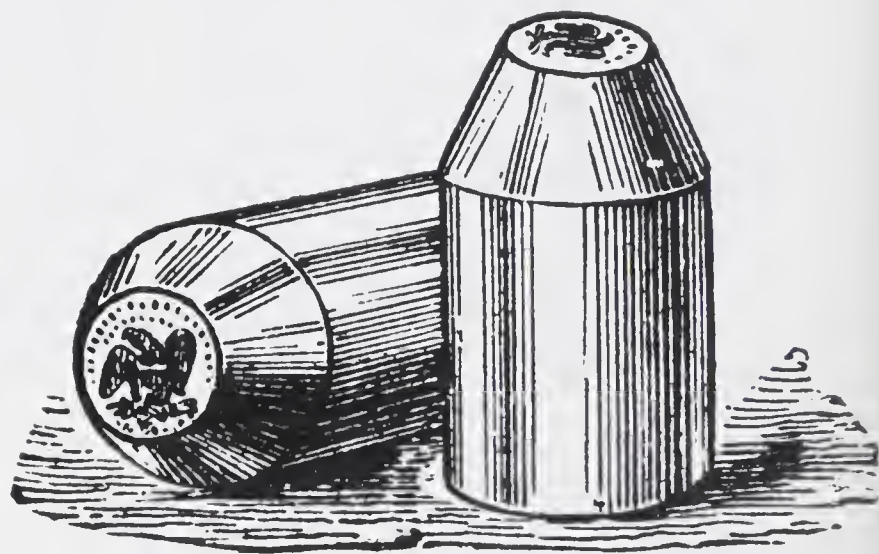


ADJUSTING ROOM OF THE UNITED STATES MINT, PHILADELPHIA.

On this page are shown several implements and devices relating to late 18th and early 19th century coin production.



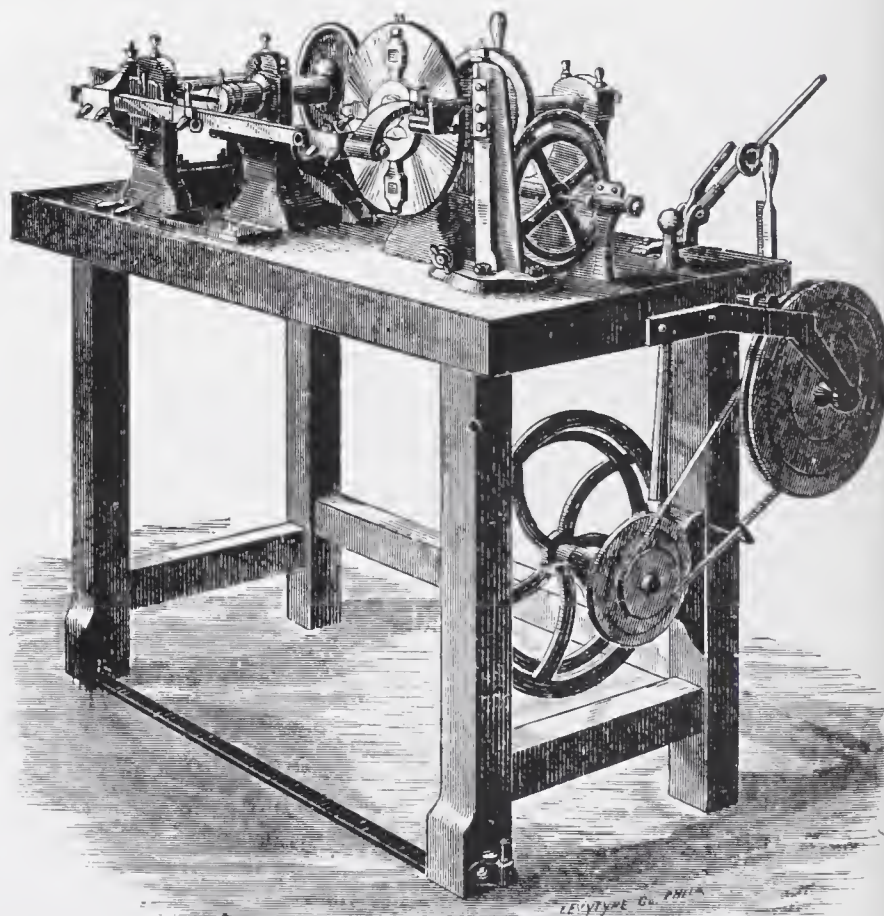
Rolling machine for the preparation of planchet strips.



Steel dies used in coinage.



Early coining press of the general type used at the first Philadelphia Mint beginning in 1792. Operation was by hand.



The transfer lathe, a device used at the Mint beginning in the 1830s, made it possible to prepare dies from larger models.

2nd offering the old Mint property for sale to the highest bidder. July 19, 1832 at 8:00 p.m. was set as the sale time. The new Mint was not ready on time, so sale of the old facilities was postponed. Finally on April 8, 1833, the old buildings, not including contents, were auctioned for \$10,100. The new facility, finally completed at a cost of \$209,230, was occupied in the same year. Equipment used in the original Mint was transferred to the new. Later, in 1856, extensive additional work was performed on the Mint to render it fireproof.

On April 20, 1832, Jacob R. Eckfeldt, son of Adam Eckfeldt, became assayer of the Mint, a position which he subsequently held for over 40 years. Together with William E. DuBois he built the Mint Cabinet, the official coin collection, beginning in 1838. Eckfeldt and DuBois, both numismatists, studied extensively and wrote about various issues.

Franklin Peale, a son of Charles Willson Peale (a prominent artist and founder of Peale's Museum), was born on October 15, 1795, in the Hall of the American Philosophical Society. When he was four months old his father suggested that the Society should name him. He was thus given the name Franklin, after the founder and first president of the group.

At an early age Franklin Peale exhibited an interest in mechanics. He soon gained skill and engaged in trade as a mechanic and draftsman. Later he helped Baldwin build the first steam locomotive in the United States. In 1833 he began employment at the Mint. Director Moore sent him to Europe to evaluate foreign coinage methods. He remained there for two years, during which time he ordered French weights, beams, furnaces, and other appliances. Returning to the Mint, he instituted a number of improvements based upon his observations abroad. In 1836 Peale was appointed melter and refiner. In 1839 he became chief coiner. He remained at the Mint until 1854. During his stay he helped with the introduction of the first steam coining press (1836), the automatic milling machine, and other devices. Historian Don Taxay has written that Franklin Peale was a fraud and despite the acclaim given to him by others, he contributed very little to the Mint. In 1851 a former Mint employee brought accusations against Peale which outlined numerous abuses which had been perpetrated. Apparently Peale used Mint employees to work in his home and to do various personal tasks. It was charged that furniture for Peale's home was made at the Mint, that his personal silverware was cleaned there, and that when fine silverware and other objects wrought of precious metals were

brought to the Mint to be converted into bullion, Peale bought them personally at the metal price, thereby realizing a profit. Nine workmen at the Mint testified that Peale used them for personal services during Mint hours.

Titian Peale, also a son of Charles Willson Peale, was involved with the Mint during the 1830s. At the request of the director, he submitted a number of drawings of Liberty heads and other emblems. A year later, 1833, Thomas Sully, another well known artist, contributed sketches. None of these saw adoption.

On June 28, 1834, Congress passed a law which reduced the weight of gold coins, effective August 1st of that year. This was done to reduce their intrinsic value. Previously, nearly all gold coins were exported or melted as soon as they were released from the Mint, for the metallic content was greater than face value. The new legislation provided that the \$10 piece would be reduced from 247.5 grains of gold to 232 grains. The full weight, including the alloy, was set at 258 grains. The lower denomination gold coins were adjusted in proportion. Kneass redesigned the half eagle and quarter eagle, removing E PLURIBUS UNUM from the reverse and restyling the head on the obverse.

In 1835 Christian Gobrecht joined the Mint staff. Prior to his employment at the Mint, he was used on a contract basis to prepare letter punches and to do other work. For example, he received \$100 in August 1826 for preparing models of dies and for executing designs.

Gobrecht who was to become one of the Mint's most famous engravers, was born December 23, 1785, in Hanover, York County, Pennsylvania. He was the sixth son of John Christopher Gobrecht, a German who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1753, where he became a clergyman in the German Reformed Church. In 1811 Christian Gobrecht went to Philadelphia where he engaged in engraving bank notes, seals, bookbinder's dies, calico printer's rolls, and other things. Then he went to Baltimore and continued work in the same field.

In 1817 he invented a medal-ruling machine. The device permitted an engraving or illustration of a medal to be prepared by moving a tracing point over the medal itself. The final result showed the correct shading to indicate the relief. A device constructed with Gobrecht's ideas was put into operation in London in 1819 by Asa Spencer.

Gobrecht wrote to President James Monroe on December 1, 1823, to seek the Mint engravership. Nothing came of the request. On August 23, 1825, the director of the Mint wrote to the president as follows:

The individual with whom it would be my first wish to introduce on this occasion into the Mint, as assistant engraver, is Mr. Gobrecht, a native American artist of much merit, residing in this city. A trial was made of his talent for the execution of dies by Mr. Patterson on the occasion of the death of Mr. Scot in 1823, and before the appointment of Kneass, the present engraver, and his work was highly approved. We resort to him now for the letter stamps of the inscriptions on our coins, his specimens of which are not surpassed by any known at the Mint. He is at present engaged in modelling the medallions here before alluded to, some of which have been privately seen by Mr. Biddle, Mr. Sergeant, Mr. Sully, and Prof. Patterson, and the style of their execution highly commended by those gentlemen . . .

The request to employ Gobrecht was denied. On January 12, 1826, the president reconsidered, with the provision that Congress would have to appropriate \$600 per year for Gobrecht's salary. As Gobrecht was earning more than this as an engraver outside of the Mint, he was not interested in the proposal. Nearly a decade later, in 1835, he joined the Mint staff as an assistant at \$1,500 per year.

Gobrecht's work received high acclaim. Of his Franklin medal, John Nehele wrote:

I am delighted with it, and as a specimen of art, am proud to acknowledge it from the hands of a friend. I had the opportunity of comparing it in one hand with the same head by the celebrated Dupre in the other, and it gives me great pleasure to say that, in my opinion, it surpasses the other very far in merit. Yours has more of the genuine character of our great philosopher and statesman.

In 1835 and 1836 Gobrecht worked with what was eventually to become the Liberty seated design for silver coins. Inspired by the seated Britannia figure on English coinage, the device was suggested by Director Patterson. At the same time a new eagle concept for the reverse was tried. Gobrecht prepared patterns based upon sketches by Peale, Sully, and Kneass. These efforts culminated in December 1836 with the production of pattern dollars depicting on the obverse the seated figure of Liberty and on the reverse an eagle flying upward amidst a field of 26 stars. In the field above the date on the obverse Gobrecht's signature appeared boldly as C. GOBRECHT F (for "C. Gobrecht made it"). The appearance of the engraver's name in such a prominent position caused some criticism in the press, so in response the signature was relocated to an inconspicuous place on the base of Liberty.

From the pattern dollar of 1836 a new design for silver coinage was made. Liberty seated half dimes and dimes made their appearance in circulation the following year, 1837. Within the next several years the device was adopted for the quarter, half dollar, and silver dollar as well.

In November 1836 a new style of half dollar which featured a reeded edge and a smaller diameter, a redesigning of the motif used earlier, was issued. On November 8th ten Proofs were sent by the director of the Mint to the secretary of the Treasury. These were the first specimens of silver coinage using steam-powered presses. Patterson's letter of transmittal said:

I have the pleasure to send you herewith, and beg you to exhibit to the President, the first specimens of our coinage of silver by steam, executed this afternoon. The milling, as well as the striking, has been done by the new machinery, and the steam-power; and the saving of labor, and the acceleration of our work, will be very great. Heretofore we have used only two screw presses for coining half dollars, one of them only occasionally. The smaller of these presses required three men to work it, the larger four. The steam press, with a single hand to feed the planchets, will do more work than these two presses with seven hands. You will observe, too, that the work is better done. The old coin was struck in what we term an open collar; this was struck in a closed collar which makes the edges of the pieces thicker, and gives a mathematical equality to their diameters.

I think, also, you will not fail to see a considerable improvement in the impressions themselves. We do not, indeed, consider this as a new coin, such as the dollar will be; yet both the face and the reverse have been altered in many particulars, as you will see by a comparison with the old half dollar. These alterations, including a change in the diameter of the piece, are such as we introduced in the quarter dollar and have met with the approbation of the government.

I shall, in a short time, send you an impression of the new dollar. We are busily engaged in making a press suitable for coining it . . .

Following the death of Kneass, Christian Gobrecht was appointed on December 21, 1840, as the chief engraver of the Mint. He continued in that post until he died on July 23, 1844.

An attraction at the Mint around this time was Peter, a pet eagle. Writing in the 1880s, George G. Evans described Peter, then stuffed and on exhibit in the Philadelphia Mint:

Near the exit door of the Cabinet, in a large glass case, is a magnificent American eagle, which is worthy of the visitor's attention. It is superbly mounted, with grand breadth of wing and wondrous piercing eyes. The portrait of this "pet" can be recognized on the reverse of the pattern silver dollars of 1836-1839 and on the obverse of the 1856 flying eagle cent.

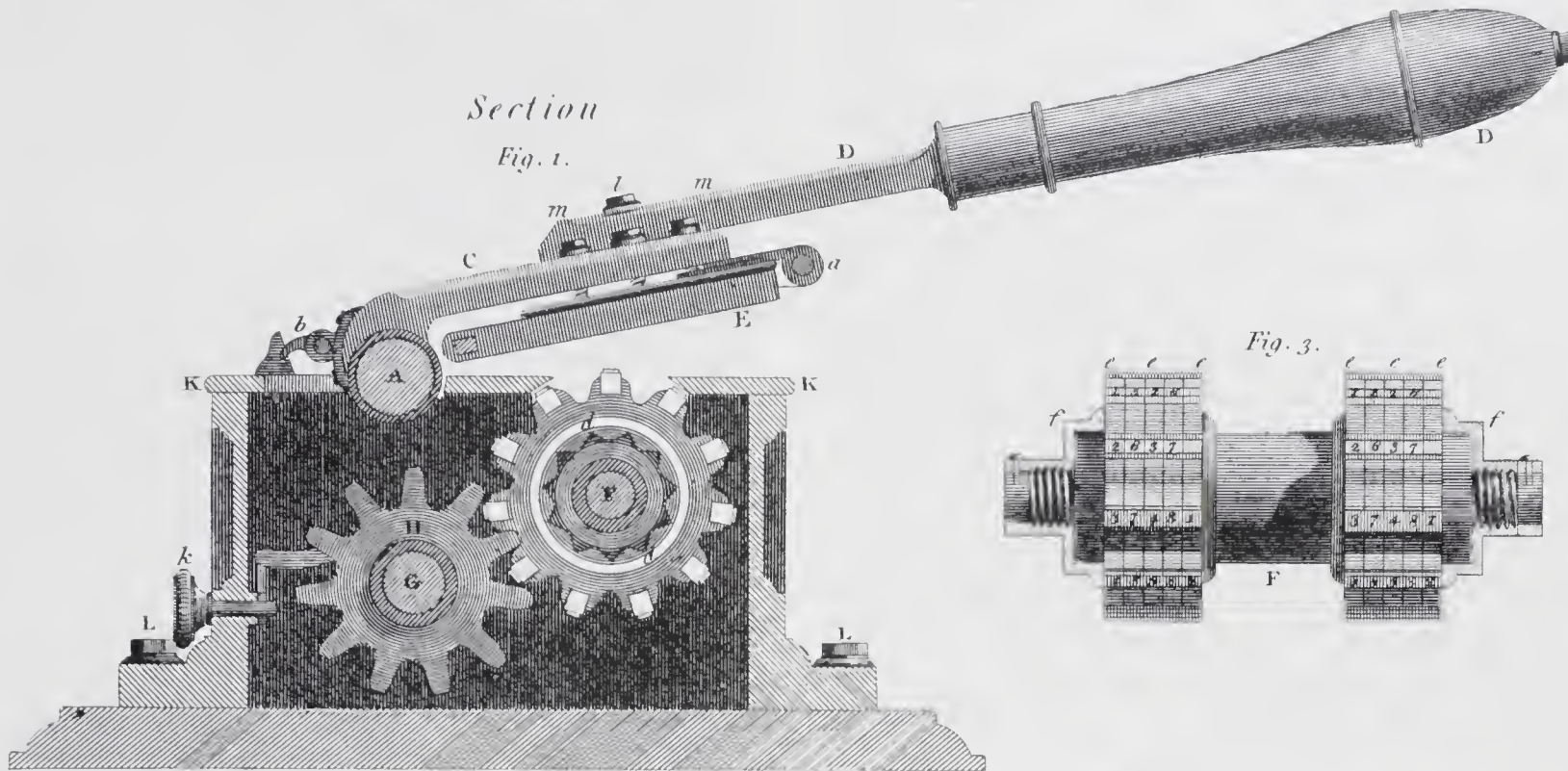
Peter is the name which the noble bird recognized. He was an inhabitant of the Mint for six years. He would fly about the city, but no one interfered with the going or the coming of the "Mint bird" and he never failed to return from his daily exercise before the time for closing the building. In an evil hour he unfortunately perched upon a large flywheel, and getting caught in the machinery received a fatal injury to his wing, and this ended rather an unusual career for an eagle.

M^r Bramah's Bank note Printing machine.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Inches

Section

Fig. 1.



Plan

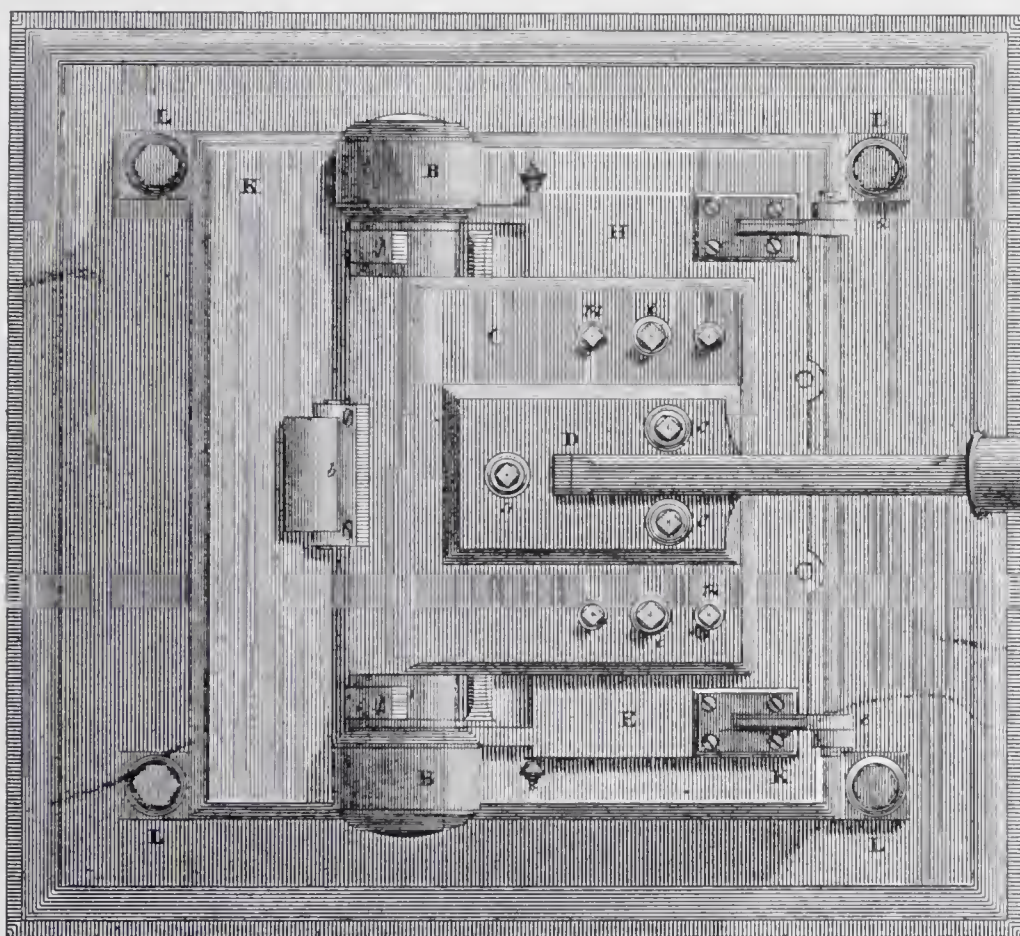


Fig. 3.

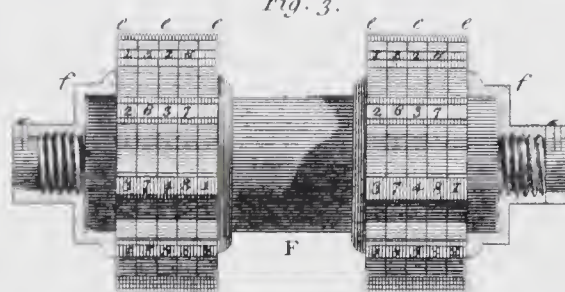


Fig. 5.

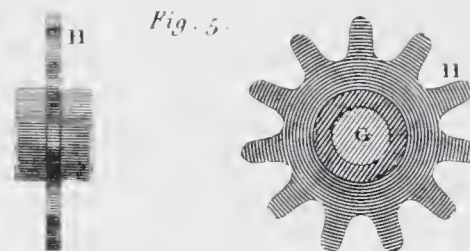


Fig. 2.

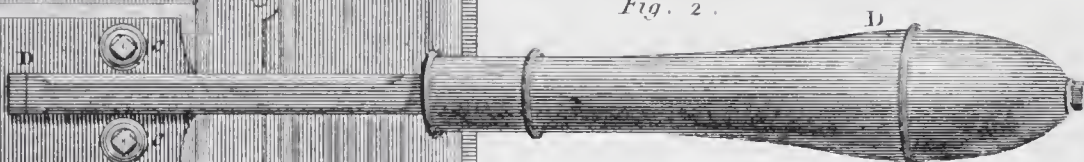


Fig. 6.

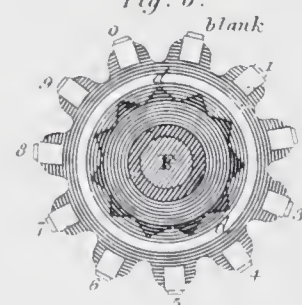
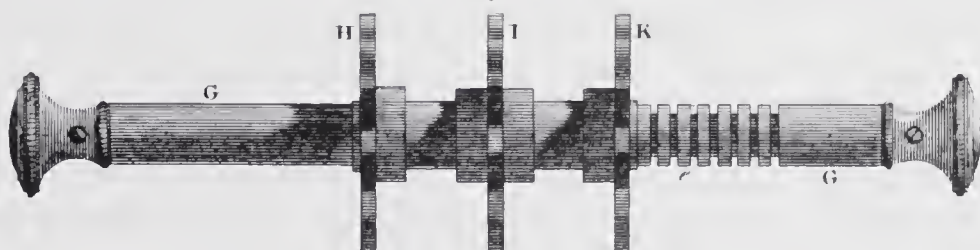


Fig. 4.



Christian Gobrecht, perhaps the Philadelphia Mint's most famous engraver, earlier produced many illustrations for publications. Here is shown Gobrecht's depiction of a banknote printing machine.

The preparation of coinage designs was modernized in 1836 with the purchase of a reducing pantograph, the French *Tour a Portrait de Contamin*, or portrait lathe. Using the new method, an engraver or artist could sculpt or model a wax representation of the design about six inches in diameter. Previously the design had to be cut actual size into a steel die. With the enlarged diameter, artistic refinements were possible, not to overlook greater ease of design preparation. From the wax model a plaster cast was prepared. From this another cast, in metal, was made. The portrait lathe employed a stylus which would trace the relief of the large model and transfer it to any reduction desired on a hub die.

The coinage law of January 18, 1837, provided changes in the alloy of certain denominations. Gold coins were set to be precisely 90% gold and 10% alloy. The weight of the silver dollar was reduced to 412.5 grains from the earlier standard of 416, but the amount of pure silver remained unchanged. Thus, from that time onward the dollar and lesser silver denominations contained 90% precious metal and 10% alloy. Earlier the silver coinage had been .893 fine. Provision was made for the resumption of silver dollar and \$10 gold coinage which had been discontinued in 1804.

In 1838 and 1839 numerous patterns of various designs, mostly of the Liberty seated motif, were made of the half dollar and silver dollar denominations. The following year, 1840, silver dollars were coined in quantity for circulation. Interestingly enough, Gobrecht's flying eagle reverse used on pattern dollar issues 1836-1839 was dropped, and an heraldic eagle was used.

In 1838 salaries at the Mint included \$3,500 paid to the director, \$2,000 to the chief coiner, \$2,000 to the assayer, \$2,000 to the engraver, \$1,500 to the second engraver, plus other compensations for a total salary to officers and directors (not including workmen) of \$20,400.

In 1838 the first branch mints were opened. Earlier an act of Congress, March 3, 1835, provided that branches of the Mint of the United States be established at New Orleans, Louisiana, Charlotte, North Carolina, and Dahlonega, Georgia.

On June 19, 1835, the city of New Orleans presented the United States government with a prime parcel of land for the Mint structure. William Strickland, who earlier designed the new Philadelphia Mint built 1829-1832, was designated as the architect. In September 1835 the cornerstone was laid. When completed, the building was impressive in size and ap-

pearance. It extended 280 feet across the front and stood 3 stories high. Construction was completed in 1838, and the first coinage commenced on March 8th of the same year. The initial output for circulation was limited to half dimes and dimes. In addition a small number of Proof half dollars, said to be 20 totally, were produced. Coins struck at the New Orleans Mint bore a distinctive O mintmark.

Initially presses at the New Orleans facility were operated by handpower. In 1845 the first steam press was installed. On January 31, 1861, the Mint was taken over by the state of Louisiana. The regular Mint officers and employees were retained in their positions. On March 31st the building changed hands again and became the property of the Confederate States of America, under whose direction it operated until closure on May 31st of the same year. During the Confederate occupation a number of half dollars were struck from silver bullion on hand. Regular United States coinage dies were used. In addition, four silver pattern half dollars of a special Confederate design were made.

The New Orleans Mint was reopened on October 23, 1876 as an assay office. Coinage operations resumed in 1879 and continued until 1909, at which time production ceased, for the more modern facilities at Denver and San Francisco were felt to be sufficient to take care of the demand for circulating coins.

The Charlotte Mint, budgeted at \$50,000 by the Congressional authorization of 1835, opened on July 27, 1837, and received gold for assay and refining. The first coins were struck in the following year. Coinage of gold coins only was commenced from that time forward. Each piece bore a distinctive C mintmark. Produced were gold dollars, quarter eagles, and half eagles. On the night of July 27, 1844, a severe fire damaged the building, halting production for a year and a half, until 1846.

From 1838 to 1861 \$5,059,188 worth of gold coins were struck at the Charlotte facility. In the latter year the Mint was seized by Confederate forces on April 20th. Prior to that time in 1861 5,992 half eagles had been struck. After the seizure, 887 additional half eagles were made using the same dies.

Throughout the balance of the Civil War the building was used as an office by the Confederacy. Later it was occupied for a brief time by Union forces. Still later it became an assay office. In 1935 it was decided to demolish the building. A group of interested Charlotte citizens acquired the structure and moved it to a new site where today it serves as an art museum.

The Dahlonega Mint was opened in Georgia in 1838 as an accommodation to gold miners in the area. The branch produced only gold coins, mostly of the half eagle denomination, but with a lesser number of quarter eagles and gold dollars as well. Only one \$3 issue was struck at Dahlonega, that dated 1854.

The Confederate States of America seized the Dahlonega Mint on April 8, 1861. It is believed that there was \$13,345 worth of gold in hand at the time, but as the records disappeared later, this was never verified. It is believed that 1861 gold dollars bearing the Dahlonega "D" mintmark, coins for which no federal record exists, were struck when the facility was occupied by the Confederacy.

Later the structure was used by the Confederate Treasury as a depository. After the Civil War the building was given to the state of Georgia. It became the main building of North Georgia College in 1873. Five years later it was destroyed by fire. The following year another building was erected on the same foundation.

In 1838, when the three branch mints were opened the country's economy was suffering from the effects of the Panic of 1837. Bankruptcies and financial problems were common. Fear caused coins of all denominations to be hoarded. In their place circulated many worthless issues of paper money (later called broken bank notes), Hard Times tokens (privately issued pieces the size of a copper cent which bore political or advertising legends), and other unofficial pieces. The monetary situation remained chaotic for several years thereafter.

On September 16, 1844, following the death of Gobrecht, James B. Longacre, a Philadelphia engraver of plate illustrations, was named to the post of chief engraver. Born in Pennsylvania on August 11, 1794, Longacre spent the early part of his adult life as an apprentice doing line and engraving work with George Murray. Before securing his freedom in 1819 he worked on numerous plates. In the early 1830s he produced from life illustrations which appeared in his *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, published in 1834. While Longacre was a skilled plate engraver, he had no experience with coinage dies. As a result, many overdates, blundered dies, and other errors committed during the early years of his tenure at the Mint can doubtless be traced to his inexperience in this area.

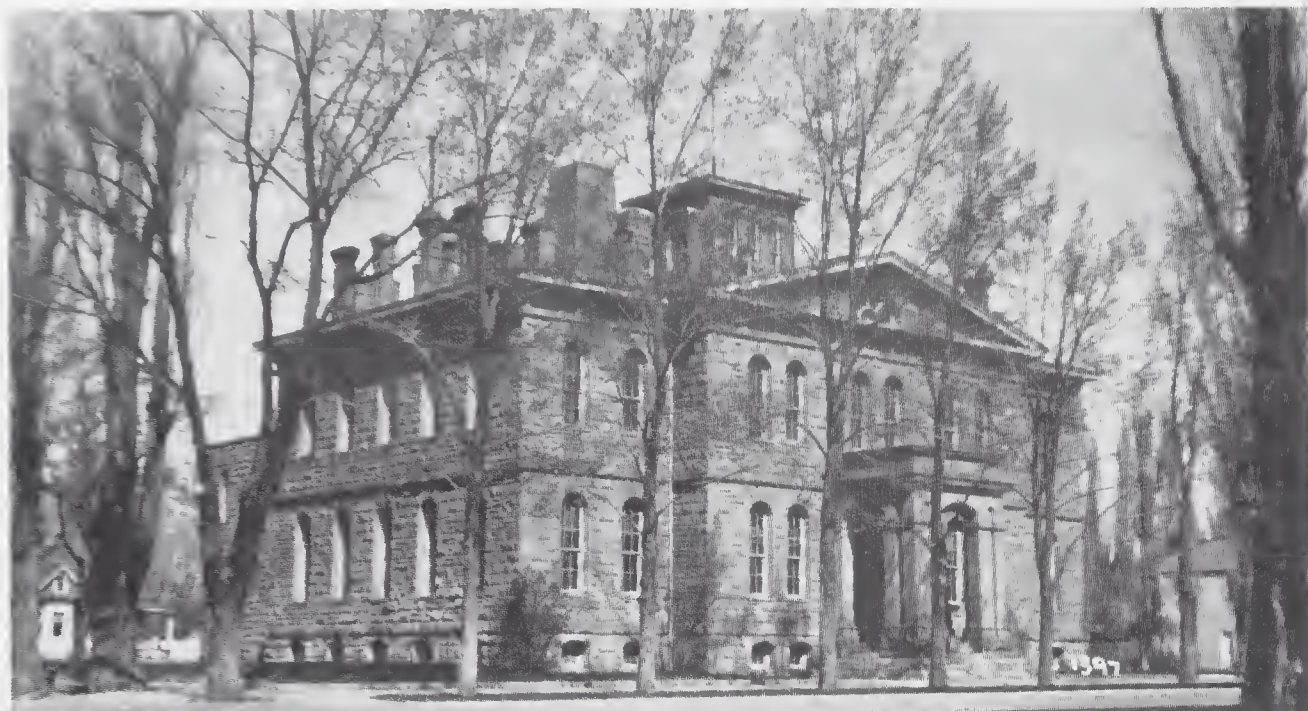
During his term of office, which continued until his death on January 1, 1869, Longacre was assisted by several other engravers. Important among these was

Anthony Paquet, a German who was born in Hamburg in 1814 and who came to America in 1848. He was appointed assistant engraver in 1857, a post which he held until 1864. Paquet's abilities were limited, and his dies exhibit what Don Taxay has described as "a peculiar ugliness in portraiture, stiffness in anatomy, and tall, thin lettering." With the exception of one reverse variety used for a brief period on the 1861 double eagle, none of his designs was ever used for circulating coinage. William H. Key, from Brooklyn, was appointed as an assistant to Longacre in 1864 and continued at the Mint for many years thereafter. T. F. Cross, a native of Sheffield, England, served several years with Longacre and died in 1856.

In 1849 Longacre produced the first dies for two new issues, the double eagle and the gold dollar. A new face of Liberty showing strength and beauty was devised. This same head (with a different headdress) was later used in 1854 on the \$3 gold piece, in 1865 on the nickel three-cent coin, and with an Indian bonnet, on the cent of 1859. Throughout the 1840s and early 1850s there were many complaints about Longacre's ability as a diesinker. Some of these complaints were justified, but others were made out of malice. In 1849 when Longacre produced the first dies for the double eagle the Mint director criticized them severely, saying the relief was too high and they would not stack properly, which, if the only specimen surviving today (the coin in the Smithsonian Institution) is an indication, was not true. Other problems arose as well. It was proposed that another engraver be brought to the Mint as a replacement. New York diesinker Charles Cushing Wright, whose formidable engraving talents brought him much fame, was suggested. A conspiracy against Longacre was mounted in 1850, but nothing came of it, and Longacre stayed on at the Mint until his death. The *American Journal of Numismatics* described Longacre as "Quite tall and spare, of refined and gentlemanly appearance, dignified in bearing, although very quiet and unobtrusive."

The silver three-cent piece, the smallest-size United States coin, was authorized by Congress on March 3, 1851. Issues produced from that year through 1853 were composed of 75% silver and 25% copper, a unique departure from the federal standard. Later, beginning in 1854, the composition was changed to the standard 90% silver and 10% copper.

The weight of all United States silver coins, except the silver dollar, was reduced under legislation passed by Congress on February 21, 1853. This was made necessary by the vast speculation which had driven most



*Early 20th century views
of three United States
Mints. Above: Carson City,
Nevada. Right: New Or-
leans, Louisiana. Below:
Denver, Colorado.*



silver coins from circulation. Earlier the coinage legislation of 1834 had changed the values of gold coins, resulting in the comparative value of silver being set too low. After that date many American silver coins were bought by speculators and sold as bullion at a profit. There were not many silver dollars in circulation at the time, so speculators dealt with the smaller coins from the half dime to the half dollar. Commerce suffered. To remedy this the 1853 legislation lowered the weight of the half dollar from 206.25 to 192 grains of standard silver alloy (90% silver and 10% copper). Other denominations were reduced accordingly. Arrowheads were placed at each side of the date of the denominations which were affected—half dimes, dimes, quarters, and half dollars—to signify the difference.

In 1854 a new denomination, the \$3 gold piece, made its appearance. Intended to facilitate the purchase of three-cent stamps in sheets of 100, the \$3 denomination was never popular. Although coinage was continued until 1889, only a small number of pieces reached circulation.

Another branch mint opened in 1854. In San Francisco the facilities of Curtis, Perry & Ward, who earlier operated the United States Assay Office of Gold, were expanded and became the San Francisco Mint. Coinage the first year, between April and December 1854, was limited to gold, due to inadequate supplies of silver and the necessary materials for refining. Slightly over \$4 million worth of gold coins were produced, each with a distinctive S mintmark. In the following year, 1855, silver coins were produced for the first time.

In 1870 work was begun on a new mint building for San Francisco. Completed several years later, the facility was occupied in the summer of 1874. In 1870 a specimen of the 1870-S \$3 gold piece, one of just two struck, was put into the cornerstone. Years later when the cornerstone was opened the coin was not to be seen. The second San Francisco Mint, located at 5th and Mission Streets, was one of the few structures in the downtown area to escape destruction during the earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906.

In 1937 another move was made, this time to a three-story marble structure. Coinage ceased at San Francisco in 1955, for it was believed that Denver and Philadelphia, each with more modern facilities, could strike coins more efficiently. The coin shortage of 1965 resulted in the reopening of the facility in that year. From that time forward coins have been made there. Included, beginning in 1968, have been Proof coins made with the S mintmark, a departure from the Philadelphia Mint Proof coins produced in earlier years.

The Coinage Act of 1857 prohibited the circulation of Spanish silver pieces and other foreign coins as legal tender, thus ending a long chapter in American monetary history. Coins of other nations soon disappeared from circulation within the United States. By the same legislation the cumbersome large cents, which by that time had become an annoyance to the public, and the little-used half cent denomination were abolished. In place of the old-style cent a new cent, the flying eagle design, of smaller diameter and made of copper-nickel alloy appeared. In 1864 the weight of the cent was reduced further, and the composition was changed to a mixture of 95% copper and 5% tin and zinc, an alloy which was continued for many years thereafter.

James Ross Snowden, director of the Mint from June 1853 to April 1861, had a deep interest in coins and wrote extensively about them. Under his directorship, particularly in the 1858-1860 years, restrikes were made of certain earlier issues, including 1856 flying eagle cents, Gobrecht silver dollars dated 1836-1839, and others. Some of these were sold for private profit through favored collectors and dealers. Others were traded to enrich the holdings of the Mint Cabinet. In 1861 James Pollock was appointed director of the Mint by Abraham Lincoln. He served until 1867, then again 1869-1873 following the first term of Dr. Henry Linderman. Pollock, born in Pennsylvania in 1810, graduated from Princeton College in 1831. In 1833 he began practicing law. He served in Congress for three terms. In 1854 he was elected governor of Pennsylvania.

In 1861 Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the Treasury under Lincoln, received communications from various people suggesting that the Deity be recognized on our coins as He was on issues of other nations. On November 30th of that year Chase wrote to the director of the Mint at Philadelphia urging this, stating that "No nation can be strong except in the strength of God, or safe except in His defense. The trust of our people in God should be declared on our national coins." He directed that "You will cause a device to be prepared without unnecessary delay with a motto expressing in the fewest words possible this national recognition."

Various mottos such as "God Our Trust" and "God and Our Country" were proposed. "In God We Trust," from a verse in Francis Scott Key's *Star Spangled Banner*, was finally adopted. In 1864 IN GOD WE TRUST appeared for the first time on a coin for circulation, the two-cent piece. This denomination, produced until 1873, was a short-lived attempt to alleviate the need for an increased number of cents.



Two views of the San Francisco Mint during the early 20th century. The bottom illustration shows the Mint during the earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906. The structure was one of the few that survived.



In 1865 the nickel three-cent piece made its debut, followed the next year by the nickel five-cent coin. Specie payments had been suspended since the Civil War, and silver and gold coins did not circulate. It was not until the late 1870s that Liberty seated dimes, quarters, half dollars, and other coins were again seen in circulation. In the meantime the need for a medium of exchange was filled by bronze and nickel-alloy coins as well as many different issues of paper fractional currency notes. Beginning in 1869 many pattern coins, designated as the Standard Silver series, were made. Lighter in weight than regular coins, the Standard Silver dime, quarter, and half dollar issues were intended to replace fractional currency notes in circulation. It was thought that their light weight would prevent melting or exporting. To enrich certain privileged Mint officials varieties were made in a multiplicity of formats including silver with plain edge, silver with reeded edge, copper with plain edge, copper with reeded edge, aluminum with plain edge, and aluminum with reeded edge. During the late 1860s and 1870s many complaints were voiced by numismatists concerning the distribution of pattern and Proof issues to those with connections. During part of this time Dr. Henry R. Linderman, an avid coin collector, was director of the Mint. He served his first term from April 1867 to April 1869, and then following a term by James Pollock, served again from April 1873 to December 1878 as Director of the Bureau of the Mint.

Linderman was born in Pennsylvania on December 25, 1825. He studied medicine and graduated from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons. After serving in medical practice for several years he was appointed chief coiner at the Philadelphia Mint in 1855 through the efforts of his uncle who was a United States senator. In 1864 he resigned and entered business as a banker and broker in Philadelphia. Following an appointment by President Andrew Johnson, Linderman served as director of the Mint for two years, 1867-1869. He resigned but retained his interest in coinage. In 1870 he went to the Pacific Coast to investigate certain problems with regard to the branch mints. In 1871 he journeyed to Europe to study the coinage systems of various leading nations there. In the following year he helped to set up an improved government refinery at the San Francisco Mint. During the same year he wrote a detailed study of the gold and silver market of the world. The Mint Act of February 12, 1873, was largely his work.

President U. S. Grant in 1873 appointed Linderman first director of the Mint Bureau under the new act,

the office being in charge of all of the mints and assay offices of the United States. He served in that position until he became ill in the autumn of 1878. He died in January 1879.

Legislation was passed on March 3, 1863, to establish a branch mint in Nevada. It was believed that this would be a convenient place to coin the output of the silver mines nearby in the Comstock Lode. On December 27, 1867, a group of three citizens was appointed to select a site. Abe Curry, a wealthy silver producer, was one of the three and donated a city block for the purpose. A cornerstone was laid on September 18, 1866. On January 8, 1870, the Carson City Mint was opened to receive bullion. Coinage production began the same year and continued until 1885, when on November 6th the facility was closed except for bullion activities. On July 1, 1889, the coinage department was reopened after four years of idleness. Minting commenced on October 1, 1889, and continued until June 1, 1893. After that time the building served as a depository for silver and gold. In 1899 the former Mint received status as an assay office. Volume declined over the years, and operations finally ceased on June 30, 1933. The structure later passed to the state of Nevada and became the location of the Nevada State Museum. Coins struck at Carson City were given a distinctive CC mintmark.

Following the death of James B. Longacre, William Barber, who earlier served as an assistant, was appointed in January 1869 as fifth engraver of the Mint. He served until his death on August 31, 1879.

Born in London, May 2, 1807, Barber learned his trade from his father John. Emigrating to America, Barber followed the engraving trade for about 10 years in Boston. In 1865 he joined the staff of the Mint. Assisting him during his tenure were his son Charles, William H. Key, and George T. Morgan.

The Mint (or Coinage) Act of 1873, sometimes called the "Crime of '73," was authored by Dr. Henry Linderman, who became the first Mint official to have his office in Washington. Prior to 1873 the Philadelphia Mint was considered the "mother mint" and the director there supervised all of the branches. The Act of 1873 provided that the Department of the Mint be established as a separate bureau of the Treasury with the director of the Mint located in Washington. The title of the chief officer at Philadelphia was changed to superintendent.

Under the same legislation the bronze two-cent, silver three-cent, and half dime pieces were discontinued. The trade dollar was added to the series. It was ex-

MEDALS AND CABINET COINS.

Mint of the United States,
Philadelphia, January 25th 1886

REGULATIONS.

1. The price of Medals, Proof Coins, Pattern Pieces, &c., shall be fixed by the Superintendent of the Mint, with the approval of the Director.

2. No Coin or Pattern Piece shall be struck after the year of its date, nor in any other metal or alloy than that in which the coin was issued or intended to be issued, except experimental pieces in Copper or other soft metal to prove the dies, under the direction of the Superintendent. The dies shall be defaced at the end of each year, and such impressions as the engraver may find necessary to take while preparing the dies shall be destroyed in the presence of the Superintendent when the dies are finished.

3. When a Pattern Piece is adopted and used in the regular coinage in the same year, it shall then be issued as a proof, at a price near its current value; or, if it comes out early in the year, it will be placed in the regular Proof Set. The Superintendent will furnish, without charge, on application therefor, a Pattern Piece to any incorporated Numismatic Society in the United States. In such cases, if the pattern is in Gold or Silver, the value of the metal will be required.

4. The price of the regular Proof Set of Gold Coins will be Forty-three Dollars; the Proof Set of Silver and Minor Coins, Three Dollars; Minor Coin Proof Sets, Twelve Cents each. Single Gold Pieces, in proof, are sold at Twenty-five Cents each above their intrinsic value. Silver Sets are not separated. Proof Sets are furnished of the current year only. The Mint has no Coins or Sets of back dates for sale.

5. The Coins of the United States are:

GOLD.	SILVER.	COPPER-NICKEL.
Double-Eagle,	Dollar,	Five Cents,
Eagle,	Half-Dollar,	Three Cents.
Half-Eagle,	Quarter-Dollar,	
Three-Dollar,	Dime,	BRONZE.
Quarter-Eagle,		One Cent.
Dollar,		

The coinage of the Silver Dollar of 412½ grains, the Five and Three Cent Silver Pieces, and Bronze Two-Cent Piece was discontinued under the Coinage Act of 1873, which went into effect on the 1st of April of that year. The Silver Dollar was restored by the Act of February 28, 1878. The coinage of the Silver Twenty-Cent piece was authorized by the act of March 3, 1875, and terminated by the Act of May 2, 1878.

A List of Medals, with the prices thereof, is annexed.

All inquiries, orders, and remittances must be sent to the Superintendent of the Mint at Philadelphia.

Approved:

JAMES P. KIMBALL,

Director.

DANIEL M. FOX,

Superintendent.

The cost of one gold and 3 silver
proof sets will be as you may
observe \$52.00.

On January 25, 1886, the Philadelphia Mint sent T. Harrison Garrett the above circular which gives ordering instructions for Proof coins and other issues.

LIST OF MEDALS

IN

Copper Bronzed, also in Gold and Silver,

WHICH MAY BE OBTAINED AT THE MINT

ARMY.		Size.	Price.	SUB-NATIONAL MEDALS.		Size.	Price.		
1.	WASHINGTON before Boston	42	\$2 50	62.	CAPTAIN PERRY (State of Pennsylvania), for the Cap- ture of the British Fleet on Lake Erie	40	\$1 50		
2.	MAJOR-GENERAL GATES, for Saratoga	34	1 50	63.	PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS, Action on Lake Erie	40	1 50		
3.	GENERAL MORGAN, for Cowpens	35	1 50	64.	MAJOR-GENERAL SCOTT (Commonwealth of Virginia)	56	3 00		
4.	JOHN EAGER HOWARD, for Cowpens	28	1 50	MISCELLANEOUS AMERICAN.					
5.	COLONEL WM. WASHINGTON, for Cowpens	28	1 50	64a.	PROF. LOUIS AGASSIZ MEDAL	30	1 50		
6.	COLONEL GEO. CROGHAN, for Sandusky	40	1 50	65.	COLONEL ARMSTRONG, for Destruction of the Indian Village of Kittanning	27	1 00		
7.	MAJOR-GENERAL HARRISON, for the Thames	40	1 50	66.	INDIAN PEACE MEDAL	27	1 00		
8.	GOVERNOR ISAAC SHELBY, for the Thames	40	1 50	67.	CAPTAINS CREIGHTON, LOW, and STOUFFER, Wreck of Steamer San Francisco	47	2 00		
9.	MAJOR-GENERAL SCOTT, for Chippewa and Niagara	40	1 50	67a.	DITTO, by Congress	50	3 00		
10.	MAJOR-GENERAL GAINES, for Fort Erie	40	1 50	67b.	CORNELIUS VANDERBILT, by Congress	48	2 50		
11.	MAJOR-GENERAL PORTER, for Chippewa, Niagara, and Erie	40	1 50	68.	DR. HOSACK	21	25		
12.	MAJOR-GENERAL BROWN, for the same	40	1 50	69.	FIRST STACK COINAGE	16	25		
13.	BRIGADIER-GENERAL MILLER, for the same	40	1 50	70.	COMMODORE M. C. PERRY, from Merchants of Boston	40	2 00		
14.	BRIGADIER-GENERAL RIPEY, for the same	40	1 50	71.	PACIFIC RAILROAD MEDAL	29	1 25		
15.	MAJOR-GENERAL MACOMB, Battle of Plattsburgh	40	1 50	72.	EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION MEDAL	29	1 00		
16.	MAJOR-GENERAL JACKSON, Battle of New Orleans	40	1 50	73.	CYRUS W. FIELD, Atlantic Cable Medal	64	8 00		
17.	MAJOR-GENERAL TAYLOR, Palo Alto	40	1 50	74.	DR. JOSEPH PANCOAST	48	3 00		
18.	" " for Monterey	40	1 50	75.	GRANT'S INDIAN PEACE MEDAL	40	3 00		
19.	" " for Buena Vista	56	3 00	75a.	HAYES " " " (oblong)	2 00			
20.	MAJOR-GENERAL SCOTT, for Battles in Mexico	56	3 00	75b.	GARFIELD " " " "	2 00			
21.	MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT	64	8 00	75c.	ARTHUR " " " "	2 00			
21a.	COLONEL LEE, "Light-Horse Harry"	29	1 50	76.	"LET US HAVE PEACE"	29	1 25		
21b.	COUNT DE FLEURY, for Stony Point	25	1 25	76a.	SEWARD-ROBINSON	48	2 50		
NAVY.				76b.	METIS (Shipwreck) MEDAL	42	1 50		
22.	JOHN PAUL JONES, for Serapis	36	2 00	76c.	JOHN HORN (Life Saving) MEDAL	30	1 00		
23.	CAPTAIN THOMAS TRUXTON, for the Action with the Frigate L'Insurgente	35	1 50	76d.	U. S. DIPLOMATIC MEDAL, July 4, 1776	45	2 00		
24.	CAPTAIN HULL, for Capture of Guerriere	40	1 50	76e.	VALLEY FORGE CENTENNIAL	25	50		
25.	CAPTAIN JACOB JONES, for Capture of the Frolic	40	1 50	76f.	GREAT SEAL MEDAL	39	1 50		
26.	CAPTAIN DECATUR, for Capture of Macedonian	40	1 50	WASHINGTON MEDALS.					
27.	CAPTAIN BAINBRIDGE, for Capture of the Java	40	1 50	77.	PRESIDENCY RELINQUISHED	25	1 00		
28.	CAPTAIN LAWRENCE, for Capture of the Peacock	40	1 50	78.	THE CABINET MEDAL	37	1 00		
29.	CAPTAIN BURROWS, for Capture of the Boxer	40	1 50	79.	TIME INCREASES HIS FAME	16	50		
30.	LIEUTENANT MCCALL, for Capture of the Boxer	40	1 50	80.	COMMENCEMENT OF CABINET	12	25		
31.	CAPTAIN PERRY, Capture of British Fleet on Lake Erie	40	1 50	DIRECTORS OF THE MINT.					
32.	CAPTAIN ELLIOTT, for the same	40	1 50	81.	DAVID RITTENHOUSE	28	1 25		
33.	CAPTAIN WARRINGTON, for Capture of the Epervier	40	1 50	82.	ROBERT M. PATTERSON	42	1 50		
34.	CAPTAIN BLAKELY, for Capture of the Reindeer	40	1 50	83.	JAMES ROSS SNOWDEN	50	2 50		
35.	CAPTAIN MACDONOUGH, Capture of the British Fleet on Lake Champlain	40	1 50	84.	JAMES POLLOCK	29	1 25		
36.	CAPTAIN HENLEY, for the same	40	1 50	85.	H. R. LINDERMAN	50	2 00		
37.	LIEUTENANT CASSIN, for the same	40	1 50	SUPERINTENDENT.					
38.	CAPTAIN BIDDLE, for Capture of the Penguin	40	1 50	86.	A. LOUDON SNOWDEN	50	2 00		
39.	CAPTAIN STEWART, Capture of the Cyane and Levant	40	1 50	FINE GOLD MEDALS.					
39a.	CAPTAIN ED. PREBLE, before Tripoli	40	1 50	See Rule 3.					
MISCELLANEOUS.				TIME INCREASES HIS FAME				16	12 00
40.	RESCUE of Officers and Crew, Brig Somers	36	1 50	JAMES A. GARFIELD				16	9 00
41.	CAPTAIN INGRAHAM, for Rescue of Martin Koszta	64	3 00	COMMENCEMENT OF CABINET				12	6 25
42.	SHIPWRECK MEDAL	40	1 50	WASHINGTON AND JACKSON				10	4 50
43.	U. S. COAST SURVEY, for Gallantry and Humanity	21	1 00	LINCOLN AND GARFIELD				10	4 50
44.	JAPANESE EMBASSY MEDAL	48	2 00	FINE SILVER MEDALS.					
45.	DR. FREDERICK ROSE, for Skill and Humanity	48	3 00	See Rule 3.					
46.	ALLEGIANCE MEDAL	18	25	CABINET MEDAL				37	6 00
PRESIDENTIAL.				PRESIDENCY RELINQUISHED				25	3 00
46a.	JOHN ADAMS	32	1 50	ALLEGIANCE MEDAL				18	1 00
47.	THOMAS JEFFERSON	47	2 50	TIME INCREASES HIS FAME				16	75
48.	JAMES MADISON	40	1 50	JAMES A. GARFIELD				16	60
49.	JAMES MONROE	40	1 50	PENNSYLVANIA BI-CENTENNIAL				16	50
50.	JOHN Q. ADAMS	40	1 50	COMMENCEMENT OF CABINET				12	35
51.	ANDREW JACKSON	40	1 50	WASHINGTON AND JACKSON				10	25
52.	MARTIN VAN BUREN	40	1 50	WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN				10	25
53.	JOHN TYLER	40	1 50	WASHINGTON AND GRANT				10	25
54.	JAMES K. POLK	40	1 50	WASHINGTON WREATH				10	25
55.	ZACHARY TAYLOR	40	1 50	LINCOLN AND GRANT				10	25
56.	MILLARD FILLMORE	40	1 50	LINCOLN BROKEN COLUMN				10	25
57.	FRANKLIN PIERCE	40	1 50	LINCOLN AND GARFIELD				10	25
58.	JAMES BUCHANAN	48	2 00	VALLEY FORGE CENTENNIAL				25	1 50
59.	ABRAHAM LINCOLN	48	2 00						
60.	ANDREW JOHNSON	48	2 00						
61.	ULYSSES S. GRANT	48	2 00						
61a.	RUTHERFORD B. HAYES	48	2 00						
61b.	JAMES A. GARFIELD	48	2 00						
61c.	CHESTER A. ARTHUR	48	2 00						
61d.	GROVER CLEVELAND	48	2 00						

Q-28 The diameter of the Medals is expressed by numbers, each of which indicates the sixteenth of an inch. Medals struck to order in Gold, Silver, or Bronze, from dies of Public Institutions.

Price list of medals sent to T. Harrison Garrett on January 25, 1886.



Henry Wm. Desaussure
Elias Boudinot

Robert M. Patterson
David Rittenhouse
George N. Eckert

Robert Patterson
Samuel Moore

Directors of the United States Mint from 1792 to 1851.



Col. A. Loudon Snowden
Adam Eckfeldt

James Pollock
Col. O. C. Bosbyshell
Daniel M. Fox

Henry R. Linderman
J. Ross Snowden

Directors and superintendents of the United States Mint from 1853 to 1892.

pected that the trade dollar, heavier than the silver dollar, would provide more effective competition for the Mexican dollar in the Orient. For the first four years after this Act there were no standard silver dollars made, but 35 million trade dollars were struck. The hoped-for results from the trade dollar, following an initial enthusiastic reception, were not realized. Many of them circulated in the United States later at a discount from face value.

Under the same 1873 legislation the half dollar weight was changed to the metric system, 12.5 grams, and the quarter and dime were adjusted proportionally. The intention was to bring the silver coins into harmony with the system used in Europe. Arrowheads were added to each side of the date of the pieces produced in 1873 under the new weight standard. This distinctive feature was continued in 1874, after which it was dropped.

In 1875 a new denomination, the twenty-cent piece, made its appearance. The coin was immediately unpopular, for the public confused it with the quarter dollar of similar size and appearance. In 1878 the denomination was discontinued. The Specie Resumption Act of 1875 provided for the redemption of fractional paper currency by coins. At the time nearly \$50 million worth of fractional currency was outstanding. From 1875 to 1879 over \$45 million worth of silver coins left the presses. Eventually, all but \$15 million worth of fractional currency was redeemed. It is presumed that most of the missing amount was lost or destroyed.

Col. O. C. Bosbyshell became coiner at the Philadelphia Mint on December 15, 1875. He continued this position until 1885 when he resigned. Later, 1889 to 1894, he was superintendent of the Philadelphia Mint. Bosbyshell had the distinction of being the first Union soldier to be wounded during the Civil War, a situation which occurred while he was marching through Baltimore on the way to Washington on April 18, 1861. He was hit on the head by a brick thrown by a Southern sympathizer. He later distinguished himself in the conflict between the states. During Bosbyshell's term as coiner many unusual and interesting patterns were produced at the Mint, a number of which were retained by Bosbyshell for private sale.

In 1876 silver coins appeared in circulation once again. The Liberty seated design, which had not been in circulation since the Civil War, was unfamiliar to many citizens. The press voiced many complaints about the design, calling it "uninteresting and lifeless," among other things. In response, the Philadelphia Mint prepared many pattern coins, some of which were of

great beauty. Working on these were the Chief Engraver William Barber and his assistants, Charles Barber, Anthony Paquet, and William H. Key. George T. Morgan, who had been hired in October 1876 as a special engraver, also helped with the situation, often competing with William Barber.

In 1877 pattern half dollars were issued in an unprecedented variety of designs. Made in limited numbers, these were sold privately by Col. O. C. Bosbyshell, the chief coiner, and others. In the same year patterns in copper and gold for a \$50 gold piece were issued, the only coin of that denomination to be struck at the Philadelphia Mint. It was intended that the \$50 piece be styled after the contemporary double eagle and that it be relatively thin so as to discourage drilling or hollowing out the center, a practice engaged in by certain unscrupulous people. It was subsequently announced that the gold impressions had been melted. Collectors were surprised years later in 1909 when two specimens surfaced (through coin dealers with close connections to the Mint) and were sold to industrialist William H. Woodin for \$10,000 each, a record price. A great controversy ensued, and the two pieces were eventually returned to the Mint. Today they repose in the Smithsonian Institution.

The Bland-Allison Act of February 28, 1878, pushed through Congress by western mining interests who were concerned by the falling market price of silver, authorized the secretary of the Treasury to purchase \$2 million to \$4 million worth of silver each month and to coin it into silver dollars as fast as possible. Faced with the immediate necessity to coin millions of silver dollars, the Mint rushed preparations for a new design. The Liberty seated motif had been discontinued earlier in 1873. Patterns were prepared by George T. Morgan and William Barber. On February 21, 1878, acting with urgency in view of the impending passage of the Bland-Allison Act, Director Linderman selected Morgan's design, but he specified that certain changes be made. On February 28th, the day the legislation passed, Morgan's design was officially adopted.

Don Taxay quotes a letter from Director Pollock of the Philadelphia Mint to Linderman, dated March 1, 1878:

Your telegram of today and your communication of yesterday, by mail, have been duly received.

I had an immediate conference with Mr. Morgan who will proceed with all possible dispatch to complete the hubs for his design, which you informed me has been adopted. Our engraver, Mr. Barber, has been instructed and will proceed as soon as possible to make the requisite collars and working dies.

I have directed the melter and refiner to put his whole available force and furnaces to work immediately turning out ingots for the new silver dollars and to deliver to the coiner daily all the ingots that the latter can receive, and to store in his vaults any ingots that may be over from time to time, until the coiner can take them.

The coiner had been instructed to roll the ingots, and cut, anneal, and clean planchets to as large an amount daily as the facilities at his command will permit, and to accumulate as large a store of finished planchets as may be possible, so that when the working dies are ready we can proceed immediately to strike dollars to the full capacity of our coining presses, and maintain thereafter as continuous and large an outturn of these coins as the operative force of the machinery at the Mint will permit.

This politically-motivated situation resulted in the coinage in 1878 of over 22 million silver dollars, about three times more than had been minted in all years of silver dollar coinage previously from the first year of issue, 1794, to the last, 1873. Unneeded and unwanted silver dollars piled up by the millions in Treasury vaults. The Act of July 14, 1890 provided that silver purchases be *increased*. The secretary of the Treasury was authorized to purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver each month, or a half million more ounces than the maximum amount authorized under the earlier 1878 legislation. From 1878 to 1904 silver dollars were minted to the total face value of \$570,166,793. A hiatus followed, and in 1921 additional Morgan dollars were minted. Years later, in the 1960s, hundreds of millions of dollars, including Morgan dollars dating back to 1878, were released from Treasury vaults, much to the delight of numismatists who obtained many date and mintmark varieties for face value.

Many complaints were printed concerning the Morgan dollar design. The head of Miss Liberty was variously called “ugly,” “timid,” and “lacking character.” Responding to these attacks, George T. Morgan produced several varieties of pattern dollars, including the beautiful 1879 “Schoolgirl” design, considered by numismatists today to be one of the most beautiful products ever to emanate from the confines of the Philadelphia Mint. Morgan’s original design, however, lived on until it was replaced in 1921 by the Peace dollar.

Following William Barber’s death in 1879, his son Charles was named to the post of chief engraver. He maintained the position until his own death on February 18, 1917. His designs produced for circulation were the 1883 Liberty head nickel and the dime, quarter, and half dollar of 1892. In addition he produced many patterns and several commemoratives.

During the 1878-1880 period numerous experiments

were made at the Mint with different alloys and standards. The 1879 and 1880 \$4 gold pieces, called “stellas,” were patterns for an international coinage suggested by John A. Kasson, minister to Austria. It was believed that a \$4 gold coin would facilitate exchange with the Austrian 8 florin, Italian 20 lire, French 20 franc, Spanish 20 peseta, and Dutch 8 florin pieces. However, fluctuating international exchange rates proved the idea unfeasible. Nevertheless, 415 examples were struck of the 1879 design with flowing hair produced by Charles E. Barber. Apparently many of these were given to congressmen and others of influence. Related to the stella was the 1879 metric double eagle, or “quintuple stella,” which specified its metallic content and weight in the metric system as part of the obverse legend. Goloid, a special alloy containing gold and silver in addition to copper, was experimented with, but its use was never implemented in coinage for only an expert metallurgist could differentiate between a coin struck in goloid metal and containing a portion of gold and a similar-appearing coin struck in standard silver alloy.

From March 1, 1879, to June 1885 Col. A. Loudon Snowden served as the superintendent of the Mint. Originally he joined the Philadelphia Mint on May 7, 1857, when he was offered the position of registrar by his uncle, James Ross Snowden, director of the Mint. He later served as coiner. President Rutherford B. Hayes in December 1878 offered him the position of director of all mints of the United States, but not wanting to live in Washington, Snowden declined. In 1879 a new offer was made, this time the superintendency of the Philadelphia Mint, which Snowden accepted.

In 1887 James P. Kimball, director of the United States Mint at the time, mentioned in his annual report the popular desire for improvement in coinage designs. The Liberty seated motif was considered trite, and Morgan’s dollar motif had few admirers. He observed that a public competition had been considered, but it was the experience of the Mint that better results could be obtained by engaging artists who were “distinguished in their representative departments of art.” In 1890 the Treasury Department proposed to hold a design competition to include 10 distinguished artists. Letters of invitation were sent to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel French, and others. The artists discussed the situation among themselves and then reported that the terms of the competition were such that no good could result from it. They submitted a counterproposal, which included the provision that competition awards would be selected by presidents of

U. S. MINT SERVICE.
Form No. 147.—8 x 10 1/2

Mint of the United States at Philadelphia.

INFORMATION RELATING TO COINS AND MEDALS.

All correspondence with the Mint should be addressed "Superintendent of the Mint of the United States, Philadelphia." Articles which are expected to be returned by mail must be accompanied by eight cents for return registry fee.

The Mint does not buy old coins or paper money, except some rare Colonial coins in fine condition, which are desired for the Mint Cabinet. Mutilated or uncurrent United States gold and silver coin is purchased as bullion, the gold at the rate of \$18.60 per ounce troy, and the silver (in amounts of not less than \$3.00) at the rate of _____ cents per ounce troy.

The Mint has no pattern pieces for sale.

The Government pays no premium for the return of any of its coins or paper money.

New coins can not be struck until authorized by an Act of Congress.

The Mint supplies United States coins only, and not of any past date.

The fifty-dollar gold piece and the half-dollar and quarter-dollar pieces in gold (?) were struck by private parties and not by the United States Government.

The coinage of the following ceased in the years named: Half and one cent, copper, in 1857; one cent, nickel, 1864; half dime and three cents silver, and two cents bronze, 1873; twenty cents silver, 1878; trade dollar, 1883; one dollar and three dollars gold and three cents nickel, 1889. The Columbian half dollar was coined in 1892 and 1893 and the Isabella quarter in 1893. The Lafayette dollar was struck in 1899, the date on the coin (1900) being that of the unveiling of the memorial.

MINT MARKS.—Coins struck at the Philadelphia Mint have no mint mark, those struck at all other mints of the United States are distinguished by a small letter on the reverse near the bottom; these letters are: "C" for Charlotte, N. C., discontinued in 1861; "CC" for Carson City, Nev., discontinued in 1893; "D" for Dahlonega, Ga., discontinued in 1861; "O" for New Orleans, La.; and "S" for San Francisco, Cal.

The coin dealers are the proper persons to apply to for the value of old coins. It is very unsatisfactory and usually impossible to give the value of an old coin without seeing it, as so much depends upon the variety and condition of preservation of the coin.

The Mint does not publish and can not supply any book or list giving the prices of old coins.

The coins of the United States, now authorized by law, are:

GOLD: Double Eagle,	SILVER: Dollar,	MIXOR: Five cents, nickel,
Eagle,	Half Dollar,	One cent, bronze.
Half Eagle,	Quarter Dollar,	
Quarter Eagle.	Dime.	

The five-cent and one-cent pieces are known as "minor" coins.

A "proof coin" is one struck by hand on a hydraulic press from a specially polished die, using a polished blank. They are made at the Philadelphia Mint only.

The price of the set of gold proof coins is \$38.50; the proof set of silver and minor coins, \$2.50; the proof set of minor coins, 8 cents. Single gold pieces, in proof, may be had for 25 cents each above their face value, but the other sets will not be separated.

Proof coins of the present year can be had from about January 15 to December 31, unless, as is sometimes the case, the stock is exhausted a day or so before December 31. Dies wear with use, therefore coins struck late in the year may not be as perfect as those struck earlier. The Mint has no coins or sets of coins of other than the present date for sale.

Private-medal dies can not, under the law, be prepared at the Mint, but when the regular business of the Mint will permit, medals may be struck from dies furnished by individuals, public institutions, and incorporated societies, at a charge sufficient to cover the cost of the operation and the value of the metal.

A list of medals, which can be supplied on order, with the prices thereof, will be found on the other side.

The remittance should accompany the order and should be in cash or money order. Make money orders payable to the "Superintendent of the Mint of the United States, Philadelphia."

Small packages of proof coins or medals can be sent by registered mail, if eight cents are inclosed for registry fee, otherwise they will be forwarded by express, "charges collect."

JOHN H. LANDIS,

Superintendent.

APPROVED:

GEORGE E. ROBERTS,

Director of the Mint.

PRICE LIST

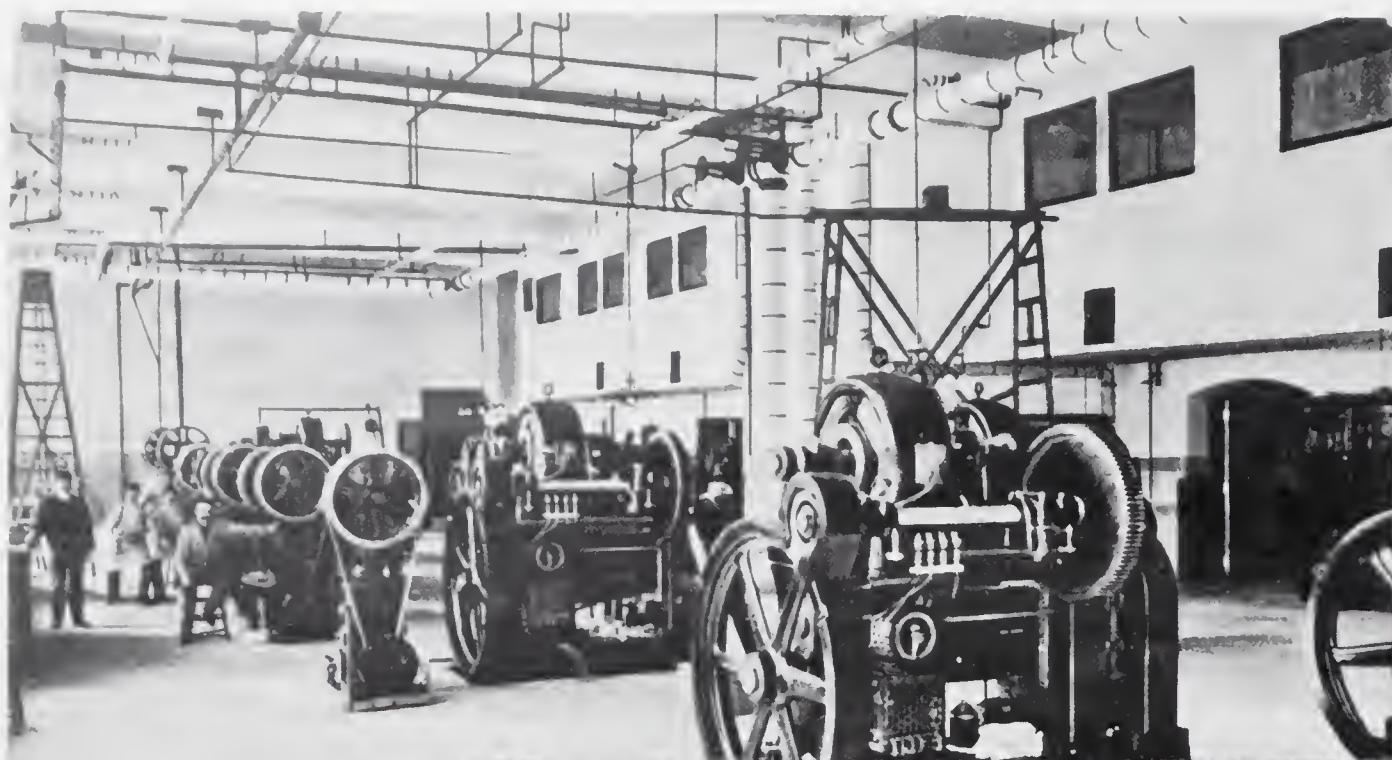
OF

GOLD, SILVER, AND BRONZE MEDALS

Which can be obtained at the Mint of the United States at Philadelphia.

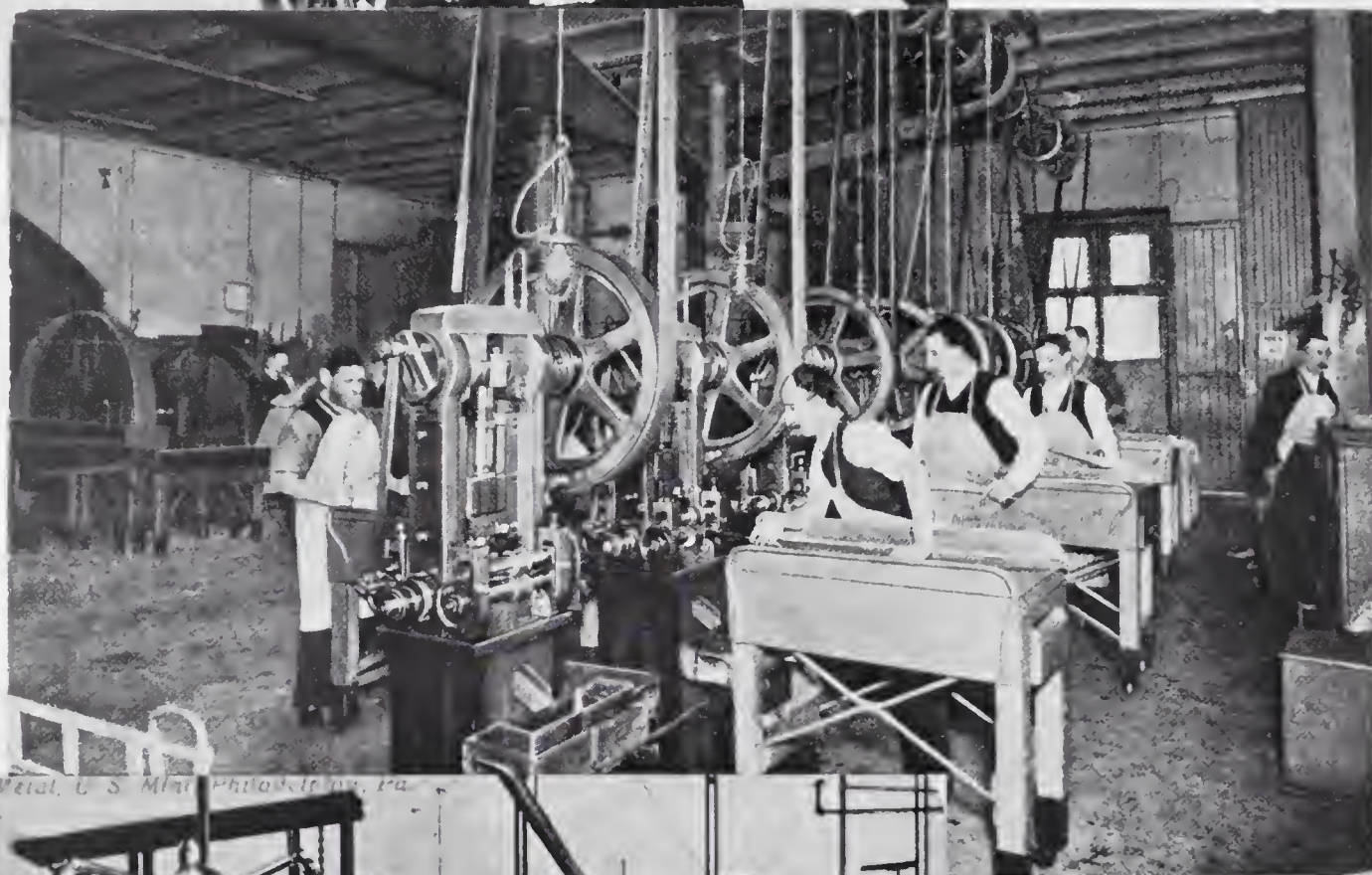
FINE GOLD MEDALS.		Size.	Price.	PRESIDENTIAL—Continued.		Size.	Price.	
(Struck on order only.)								
TIME INCREASES HIS FAME	16	\$9.00	62. ANDREW JACKSON	48	\$2.00			
JAMES A. GARFIELD	16	9.00	63. MARTIN VAN BUREN	48	2.00			
COMMENCEMENT OF CABINET	12	6.25	64. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON	48	2.00			
WASHINGTON AND JACKSON	10	4.50	65. JOHN TYLER	48	2.00			
LINCOLN AND GARFIELD	10	4.50	66. JAMES K. POLK	48	2.00			
				67. ZACHARY TAYLOR	48	2.00		
				68. MILLARD FILLMORE	48	2.00		
				69. FRANKLIN PIERCE	48	2.00		
				70. JAMES BUCHANAN	48	2.00		
				71. ABRAHAM LINCOLN	48	2.00		
				72. ANDREW JOHNSON	48	2.00		
				73. ULYSSES S. GRANT	48	2.00		
				74. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES	48	2.00		
				75. JAMES A. GARFIELD	48	2.00		
				76. CHESTER A. ARTHUR	48	2.00		
				77. GROVER CLEVELAND	18	2.00		
				78. BENJAMIN HARRISON	48	2.00		
				79. WILLIAM McKINLEY (Bronze)	48	4.00		
				80. THEODORE ROOSEVELT (Bronze)	48	4.00		
FINE SILVER MEDALS.				SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.				
(Struck on order only.)				A. WILLIAM WINDOM (Secretary of Treasury)	48	2.00		
CABINET MEDAL	37	6.00	B. J. G. CARLISLE	48	2.00			
PRESIDENCY RELINQUISHED	25	1.50	C. DANIEL MANNING	48	2.00			
ALLEGIANCE MEDAL	18	1.00	D. LYMAN J. GAGE	48	2.00			
TIME INCREASES HIS FAME	16	.75						
JAMES A. GARFIELD	16	.60						
PENNSYLVANIA BI-CENTENNIAL	16	.50						
COMMENCEMENT OF CABINET	12	.35						
WASHINGTON AND JACKSON	10	.25						
WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN	10	.25						
WASHINGTON AND GRANT	10	.25						
WASHINGTON WREATH	10	.25						
LINCOLN AND GRANT	10	.25						
LINCOLN BROKEN COLUMN	10	.25						
LINCOLN AND GARFIELD	10	.25						
VALLEY FORGE CENTENNIAL	25	1.50						
ARMY—Bronze.								
1. WASHINGTON before Boston	42	2.00						
2. MAJOR GENERAL GATES, for Saratoga	34	1.50						
3. GENERAL MORGAN, for Cowpens	35	1.50						
4. JOHN EAGER HOWARD, for Cowpens	28	1.50						
5. COLONEL WM. WASHINGTON, for Cowpens	28	1.50						
6. COLONEL GEO. CROGAN, for Sandusky	40	1.50						
7. MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON, for the Thames	40	1.50						
8. GOVERNOR ISAAC SHELBY, for the Thames	40	1.50						
9. MAJOR GENERAL SCOTT, for Chippewa and Niagara	40	1.50						
10. MAJOR GENERAL GAINES, for Fort Erie	40	1.50						
11. MAJOR GENERAL PORTER, for Chippewa, Niagara, and Erie	40	1.50						
12. MAJOR GENERAL BROWN, for the same	40	1.50						
13. BRIGADIER GENERAL MILLER, for the same	40	1.50						
14. BRIGADIER GENERAL RIPLEY, for the same	40	1.50						
15. MAJOR GENERAL MACOMB, Battle of Plattsburgh	40	1.50						
16. MAJOR GENERAL JACKSON, Battle of New Orleans	40	1.50						
17. MAJOR GENERAL TAYLOR, Palo Alto	40	1.50						
18. " " " for Monterey	40	1.50						
19. " " " for Buena Vista	56	3.00						
20. MAJOR GENERAL SCOTT, for Battles in Mexico	56	3.00						
21. MAJOR GENERAL GRANT	61	8.00						
22. COLONEL LEE, "Light Horse Harry"	29	1.50						
23. COMTE DE FLEURY, for Stony Point	25	1.25						
24. ANTHONY WAYNE, for Stony Point	33	1.50						
25. NATHANIEL GREEN, for Eutaw Springs	36	1.50						
NAVY.								
30. JOHN PAUL JONES, for Scrapis	36	1.50						
31. CAPTAIN THOMAS TRUXTON, for the action with the Frigate D'Inferente	35	1.50						
32. CAPTAIN HULL, for Capture of the Guerriere	40	1.50						
33. CAPTAIN JACOB JONES, for Capture of the Frolic	40	1.50						
34. CAPTAIN DECATUR, for Capture of the Macedonian	40	1.50						
35. CAPTAIN BAINBRIDGE, for Capture of the Java	40	1.50						
36. CAPTAIN LAWRENCE, for the Capture of the Peacock	40	1.50						
37. CAPTAIN BURROWS, for the Capture of the Boxer	40	1.50						
38. LIEUTENANT McALL, for Capture of the Boxer	40	1.50						
39. CAPTAIN PERRY, Capture of the British Fleet on Lake Erie	40	1.50						
40. CAPTAIN ELLIOTT, for the same	40	1.50						
41. CAPTAIN WARRINGTON, for Capture of the Eperveir	40	1.50						
42. CAPTAIN BLAKELY, for Capture of the Reindeer	40	1.50						
43. CAPTAIN MACDONOUGH, for Capture of the British Fleet on Lake Champlain	40	1.50						
44. CAPTAIN HENLEY, for the same	40	1.50						
45. LIEUTENANT CASSIN, for the same	40	1.50						
46. CAPTAIN BIDDLE, for Capture of the Penguin	40	1.50						
47. CAPTAIN STEWART, for Capture of the Cyane and Levant	40	1.50						
48. CAPTAIN ED. PREBLE, before Tripoli	40	1.50						
WASHINGTON MEDALS.								
53. PRESIDENCY RELINQUISHED	25	1.00						
54. THE CABINET MEDAL	37	1.00						
55. TIME INCREASES HIS FAME	16	.25						
56. COMMENCEMENT OF CABINET	12	.25						
PRESIDENTIAL.								
57. JOHN ADAMS	32	1.50						
58. THOMAS JEFFERSON	48	2.00						
59. JAMES MADISON	48	2.00						
60. JAMES MONROE	48	2.00						
61. JOHN Q. ADAMS	48	2.00						

The diameter of the Medals is expressed by numbers, each of which indicates the sixteenth of an inch.

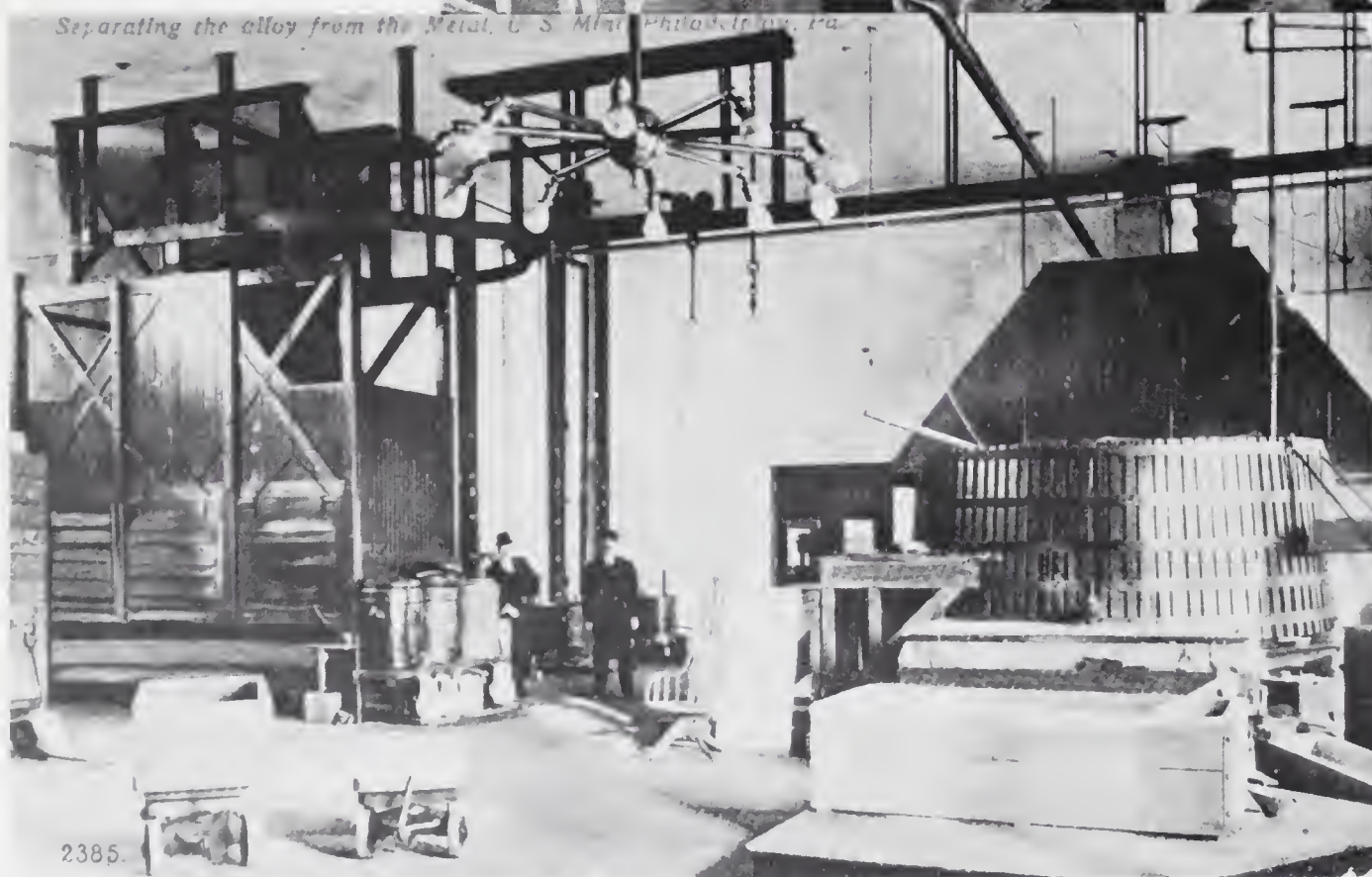


2389.

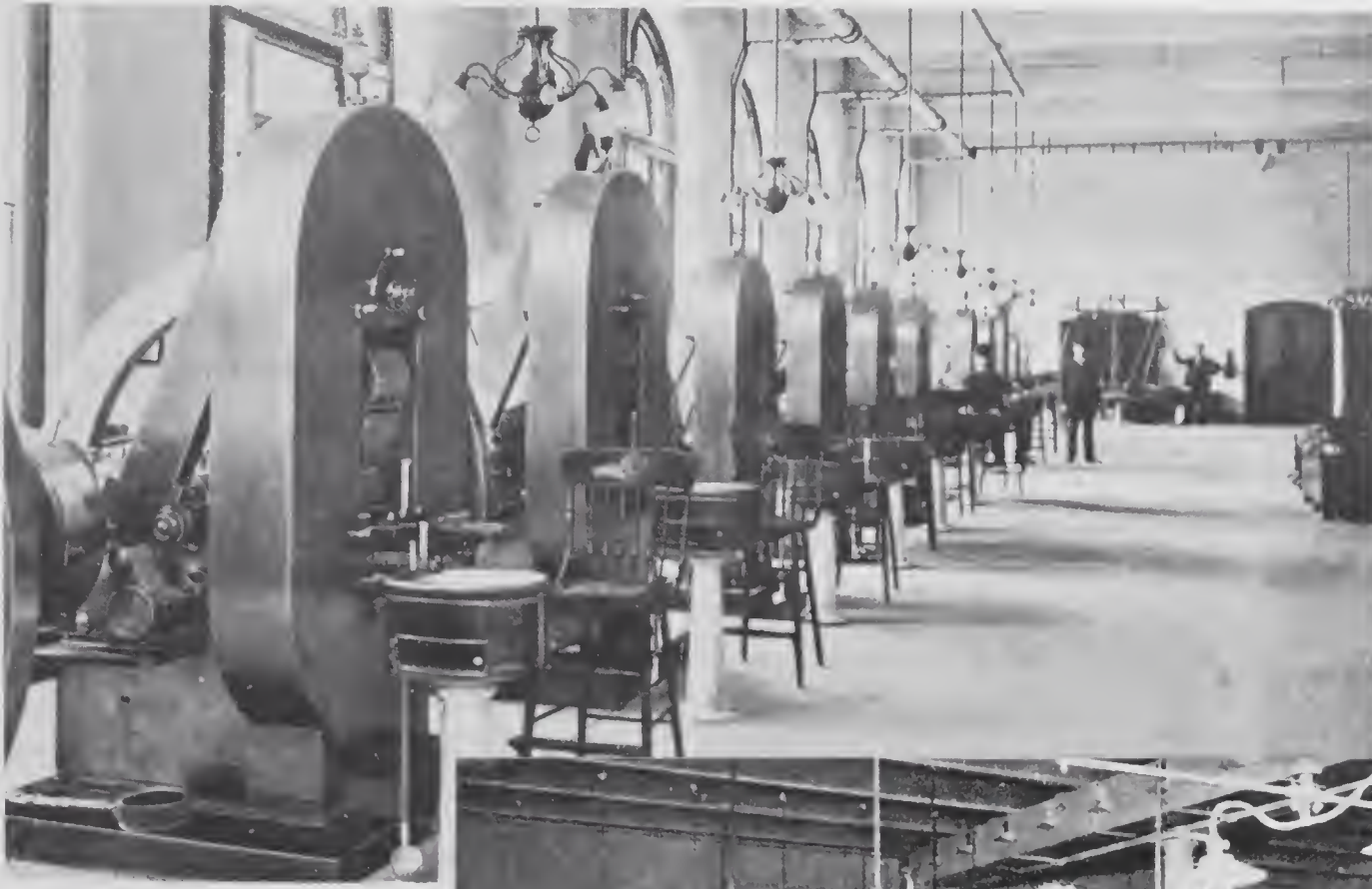
Views in the Philadelphia Mint, circa 1904. Above: metal preparation. Right: preparation of planchets. Below: milling machines which put raised rims on the planchets.



Separating the alloy from the Metal, U. S. Mint, Philadelphia, Pa.



2385.



1904 views in the Philadelphia Mint. Above: coining room. Right: checking the weight of silver and gold coins. Below: verifying the weight of gold coins.



Working 1914 coin. One Mill in 1904. 2383. in Gold in Sight Philadelphia, Pa.

art institutions or by a vote of the competitors rather than by the Mint, that payment be given for every sketch and design submitted whether or not it was a winner, that the same artist design both the obverse and reverse of a given coin, and that the present reverse designs of the half dollar, quarter, and dime were to be abandoned, among other ideas. The Treasury Department reacted by dropping the proposal.

It was then suggested that a public competition be held with Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Henry Mitchell (a gem and seal engraver from Boston), and Charles Barber (the Mint engraver) acting as judges. This did not come to pass. Charles Barber then prepared his own designs for a new silver coinage, one with a standing figure of Liberty, and the other with the familiar Liberty head as subsequently used for coinage in 1892. Barber's design encountered much criticism. In October 1894 the American Numismatic Society and others, reacting to the Barber coinage as well as the long-offending Morgan dollar, initiated a competition for a new silver dollar design. In 1895 various artists prepared sketches, designs, and models, but these never received serious consideration from the Treasury Department.

On April 22, 1896, a site in Denver was purchased for a new mint at a cost of about \$60,000. Earlier, the government conducted assaying and refining using facilities acquired from Clark, Gruber & Co. in the 1860s. During the first year of operation of the new Denver Mint, 1906, silver coins from dimes to half dollars amounting to \$3.2 million were produced as were \$23.8 million worth of gold coins. Each coin bore the mint letter D, the same identification that had earlier been used by the Dahlonega Mint 1838-1861. The Mint was enlarged in 1937 and again in 1945.

In June 1901 a new Philadelphia Mint was completed on Spring Garden Street between 16th and 17th streets. New mechanization was brought to the Mint, particularly in the area of refining in which electrolytic methods were used.

In 1909 the Indian cent design, which had been used in circulation since 1859, was discontinued in favor of the new Lincoln cent. Several years later, in 1913, a new style of nickel featuring an Indian on the obverse and a buffalo on the reverse made its appearance. In 1916 it was desired to redesign the Barber Liberty head

coins which had been in use for 25 years. Contracts were given to Adolph Weinman and Hermon MacNeil to provide new designs, after the Treasury Department, in connection with the Commission of Fine Arts, had reviewed a number of submissions. Arrangements were made for the two artists to visit the Mint to acquaint themselves with coinage procedures. Apparently George T. Morgan, the assistant engraver, was very friendly and receptive, but Barber, the chief engraver, was sullen and sulky. It was Barber's unpopular design for the dime, quarter, and half dollar that was to be replaced.

Throughout the first three decades of the 20th century gold coins were struck in immense quantities. These were used in foreign exchange, particularly with countries in Europe and South America. In addition, millions of pieces were stored in Treasury vaults. On March 6, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt prohibited banks from paying out gold coins. Subsequently, the public was required to return gold coins of earlier dates to the Treasury Department. Exceptions, following certain rules, were made for numismatists. Thus ended the American privilege of redeeming paper money with gold coins.

World War II and the resultant need for strategic materials forced suspension of the bronze Lincoln cent in 1943. For one year zinc-coated steel was used for cent coinage. Then for the remainder of the war a modified copper alloy was used. The composition of nickel 5-cent pieces was changed in 1942 to a new alloy containing silver. This was continued through 1945.

The Coinage Act of 1965 changed the composition of dimes, quarters, and half dollars to reduce or eliminate the silver content. Later, silver was removed from the dollar also. Exceptions were made with certain silver-content coins sold at a premium to collectors.

By the late 1970s the United States was operating four coinage facilities: the standard mints at Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco, plus a provisional coinage facility at West Point, New York (coins struck there bore no mintmark indicating origin). Denominations produced comprised the cent, nickel, dime, quarter, half dollar, and dollar.

Characteristics, designs, and other features of the various coin denominations issued for circulation from 1793 onward are given in the chapter to follow.

A Survey of Coinage

8

Half Cents 1793-1857

The copper half cent, the lowest denomination United States coin, made its debut in 1793. The first design, a type made only in 1793, featured the head of Liberty facing to the left with a Liberty cap on a pole behind her tresses. The Liberty cap, a symbol of freedom derived from the cap given to freed slaves in Roman days, was subsequently used on several other coinage designs of various denominations. Dies for the 1793 half cent may have been cut by Adam Eckfeldt. W. Elliot Woodward's catalogue of the Jeremiah Colburn Collection, October 20-24, 1863, Lot 2021, consisted of a 1793 half cent which Eckfeldt had presented to a gentleman "as a sample of his work." Eckfeldt did certain die forging and turning. It is possible that he also may have engraved dies.

In 1794 the design was changed to a large Liberty head facing to the right. The engraver was Robert Scot. From 1795 through 1797 a variation of the 1794 design, but with the obverse motif in reduced scale, probably the work of John Smith Gardner, an assistant engraver at the Mint, was used. From 1793 until 1795 half cents were struck on thick planchets with the edge lettered TWO HUNDRED FOR A DOLLAR. From 1795 onward pieces were made with a plain edge, with the exception of a variety of 1797 which occurs on a thin planchet with a lettered edge. In 1795 and 1796 varieties were made with pole to cap and without pole. The absence of the pole on the 1795 variety was due to resurfacing a die which removed this feature, the pole being in shallow relief. The omission of the pole on a rare variety of 1796 half cent was an engraving error.

Robert Scot's draped bust design was used in the half cent series from 1800 to 1808. Earlier this configuration had been introduced on cents in 1796. Throughout the half cent series, designs followed closely those used on

cents, but often the first appearance on half cents was several years later.

Among half cents of the early years there are many interesting varieties to intrigue the numismatist. Certain issues of 1795 and 1797 were struck on planchets cut from Talbot, Allum & Lee tokens which were acquired by the Mint during its continuing search for copper, a problem which plagued the early coinage operations. Sometimes planchets were also cut from misstruck large cents.

On one die of 1797 the engraver punched the first date numeral, 1, far too high. Then the date was cut in the proper position, resulting in the so-called 1 above 1 variety. Vagaries and inconsistencies in die cutting accounted for several varieties in 1804-1806 without stems on the reverse wreath and with variations in the date numerals. Overdates among early half cents include 1802/0 and 1808/7.

In 1809 John Reich's classic head style was adopted. This was continued through 1836. One variety of 1809 has the final digit cut over an inverted 9, the so-called 9 over 6 die error. A variety of 1828 half cent has 12 stars instead of the usual 13.

The Mint stopped producing half cents in 1811 as banks did not want them. The last delivery was on July 9th of that year and consisted of 63,140 coins. A lapse ensued from then until 1825, in which year Jonathan Elliott & Sons, of Baltimore, Maryland, requested a supply of the denomination. The design hub used during the 1809-1811 years was resurrected, and 63,000 1825 half cents were produced. The Mint apparently sensed that a new demand for half cents would be forthcoming, for large quantities were struck in 1826, 1828, and 1829. In the latter year an inventory at the Mint disclosed that 43 kegs of half cents containing 848,000 pieces were on hand in the coiner's vault. By

United States Half Cents



1795 Gilbert 5



1797 G-3



1797 G-4



1800 G-1



1802 G-1



1806 G-1



1806 G-3



1809 G-2



1810 G-1



1840 Original Proof



1844 Original Proof



1846 Original Proof



1849 Restrike Proof



1852 Restrike Proof



1857 Proof

United States Cents



1794 Sheldon 21



1794 S-22



1794 S-24



1794 S-28



1794 S-30



1794 S-31



1794 S-44



1794 S-56



1794 S-57



1794 S-60



1794 S-63



1794 S-64

June 19, 1833, the number had been reduced to 9 casks containing 141,000 pieces.

In 1831 Proofs were struck for presentation purposes. Only 2,200 business strikes were made for circulation. 1832-1835 saw a modest coinage for use in commerce. After this date the inventory was sufficiently large that no additional pieces were made for circulation until 1849. Proofs were struck in 1836 and from 1840 through 1848. In later years, probably 1858-1860, and again in the late 1860s, restrikes were made for collectors. Originals of the 1840-1848 years are distinguished by having large berries in the reverse wreath. Restrikes occur in two varieties: the so-called first restrike, with NT of CENT and portions of the wreath ribbon recut, and the second restrike with diagonal parallel die striations over RICA in AMERICA. Restrikes of both types have smaller berries than on the originals. 1849 half cents with small date numerals were also struck in Proof.

Proofs of the 1840s utilize the braided hair design by Christian Gobrecht. The same style was utilized from 1849 to 1857 for coins made for circulation, an exception being 1852 which was struck only in Proof.

Rare dates in the half cent series include the 1793, popular as the only coin of its design type, 1796 with pole and without pole, 1802, and the Proof-only issues of 1831, 1836, 1840-1848, 1849 small date numerals, and 1852. References pertaining to the half cent series include *United States Coinage of 1793, Cents and Half Cents*, by Sylvester S. Crosby, published in Boston in 1897; *United States Cents and Half Cents 1793-1857* by Edouard Frossard, Irvington-On-Hudson, New York, 1879; *United States Half Cents*, by Ebenezer Gilbert, New York, 1916; *United States Half Cents 1793-1857*, by Q. David Bowers and James F. Ruddy, New York, 1963; and *American Half Cents, the "Little Half Sisters,"* by Roger S. Cohen, Jr., Baltimore, 1971.

Large Cents (1793-1857)

The first American copper cents issued for circulation bore on the obverse the head of Liberty facing right and on the reverse a chain of fifteen links. The legend UNITED STATES OF AMERI. surrounded. The engraver, probably Henry Voigt, fearful that AMERICA would not fit symmetrically on the coin, dropped the last two letters.

On March 25, 1793, *The Argus*, published in Boston, contained this notice concerning the new pieces:

The American cents (says a letter from Newark) do not answer our expectations. The chain on the reverse is but a

bad omen for Liberty, and Liberty herself appears to be in a fright. May she not just cry out in the words of the Apostle, "Alexander the copper-smith has done me much harm; the Lord reward him according to his works."

The reference to Alexander pertained to Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the Treasury. Other varieties of the chain cent were made with AMERICA spelled out in full. Comments such as the preceding were undoubtedly responsible for the design being changed to a more full and supple head of Liberty on the obverse and a wreath design on the reverse. Still later in the year the design was again modified to the Liberty with cap and pole style, probably the work of Joseph Wright. Early types of 1793 cents had the edge ornamented by a vine and bars design. Later the lettering ONE HUNDRED FOR A DOLLAR was used, a style which continued through part of 1795.

Toward the end of November 1794 John Smith Gardner was hired as an assistant engraver. His work was probably mostly with half cent and cent dies. Walter Breen postulates that a scarce variety of 1795 half dollar with an unusually small head on the obverse may have been his work as well.

Cents of the year 1794 are favorites with numismatists. Several dozen different varieties were produced, one of which, the *Starred Reverse*, remains a numismatic enigma. Around the reverse border denticles are 94 tiny five-pointed stars. This curiosity, chronicled by Dr. William H. Sheldon in his landmark reference on cents of the years 1793-1814, *Penny Whimsy*, designated this as variety S-48. Opinion is divided concerning the origin of the piece. Don Taxay described it as a pattern, while Dr. Sheldon was inclined toward the view that it was just a curiosity, the result of a whim by an engraver during an idle hour at the Mint. Whatever its origin or intent the *Starred Reverse* is the most famous cent of the year.

In the late 19th century Dr. Edward Maris used his knowledge of Latin and medicine to give 1794 cents, which he studied in detail, such names as *Ornate*, *Venus Marina*, and *Shielded Hair*, to mention just a few. One early cent die is known to collectors as the *Office Boy Reverse*, presumably because no regular engraver could have produced such an amateurish job. Fanciful description given to cents of 1794 and other early years has heightened their appeal. The Early American Coppers club publishes *Penny-Wise*, a journal devoted to the rarity, prices, and idiosyncrasies of 1794 cents and other early copper issues, particularly of the 1793-1814 era.

In 1795 the weight of cents was reduced from the old standard of 208 grains to 168. This was done to circum-

United States Cents



1795 S-75



1795 S-78



1796 S-93



1797 S-120-b



1797 S-123



1797 S-135



1797 S-138



1798 S-161



1798 S-179



1799 S-188



1799 S-189



1800 S-204

United States Cents



1800 Sheldon 209



1801 S-216



1802 S-230



1802 S-236



1803 S-250



1803 S-258



1803 S-261



1804 S-266



1805 S-267



1806 S-270



1809 S-280



1810 S-281

United States Cents



1811/10 Sheldon 286



1812 S-290



1813 S-292



1817 Newcomb 6



1818 N-10



1819 N-8



1822 N-11



1823 N-2



1824 N-2



1824 N-4



1825 N-6



1825 N-9

United States Cents



1826 N-8



1829 N-6



1831 N-11



1834 N-1



1839 N-8



1839 N-14



1840 N-2



1841 N-1



1848 N-19



1849 N-18



1855 N-10



1857 N-3

vent an impending crisis in the face of the rising price of copper. Copper subsequently declined in value, but the weight reduction was nevertheless put into effect. Lower weight cents struck on thin planchets dated 1795 and later were issued with plain edges.

In 1795 numerous die varieties were produced. Interesting among them are the reeded edge cent, whose origin and purpose are unexplained, and the so-called *Jefferson Head*, presumed to have been a pattern issued by John Harper, a saw maker, who supplied material to the Mint at various intervals during the period and who actively solicited a contract for private coinage.

The uncertain supply of copper remained a problem which was not solved until regular shipments of prepared planchets (complete with raised rims) were received from Boulton & Watt, of Birmingham, England, toward the end of the decade. Previous to that time copper was of irregular quality. Supplies from certain sources were coarse and discolored. This accounts for the wide variation of metallic surfaces observed on early copper coins of the period.

The Liberty cap design, in use since the end of 1793, was discontinued part way through 1796 in favor of Robert Scot's draped bust design, a style which was subsequently utilized through 1807. Within this period are to be found many different die variations, including such errors as the 1796 LIHERTY, several varieties lacking stems to the reverse wreath, and one famous blundered die, the so-called *Three Errors Reverse*, which lacks one wreath stem, has the mathematically meaningless fraction 1/000 (instead of 1/100), and has UNITED spelled as IUNITED. The rarest date in the large cent series, the 1799, is also of the draped bust style. A search for a cent of his birthdate, 1799, led 17-year-old Joseph J. Mickley to learn more about coins. Later he was to become the most prominent American numismatist of the early 19th century. The 1804 cent, also of the draped bust style, is remarkable for its rarity.

In 1808 Reich's classic head style was adopted. Coinage continued through 1814, when lack of copper planchets forced suspension. Cents from this era are often weakly struck and are on planchets which discolored easily.

In an 1893 article, "Early Engineering Reminiscences," George Escol Sellers described a visit to the Philadelphia Mint in 1812:

In the rear room, facing on the alley, with a large lowdown window opening into it, a fly press stood, that is a screw-coining press mostly used for striking old copper cents. Through this window the passersby in going up and down

the alley could readily see the bare-armed vigorous men swinging the heavy endweighted balance lever that drove the screw with sufficient force so that by the momentum of the weighted ends this quick-threaded screw had the power to impress the blank and thus coin each piece. They could see the rebound or recoil of these end weights as they struck a heavy wooden spring beam, driving the lever back to the man that worked it; they could hear the clanking of the chain that checked it at the right point to prevent its striking the man, all framing a picture very likely to leave a lasting impression, and there are no doubt still living many in Philadelphia who can recollect from this brief notice the first mint.

One day in the charge of my elder brother I stood on tip-toe with my nose resting on the iron bar placed across the open window of the coining room to keep out intruders, watching the men swinging the levers of the fly press; it must have been about noon, for Mr. Eckfeldt came into the room, watch in hand, and gave the signal to the men who stopped work. Seeing me peering over the bar, he took me by the arms and lifted me over it. Setting me down by the coining press he asked me if I did not want to make a cent, at the same time stopping the men who had put on their jackets to leave the room. He put a blank planchet into my hand, showed me how to drop it in, and where to place my hand to catch it as it came out; the lever and the weights were swung, and I caught the penny as we boys called cents, but I at once dropped it. Mr. Eckfeldt laughed and asked me why I dropped it? Because it was hot and I feared it would burn me; he picked it up and handed it to me, then certainly not hot enough to burn; he asked if it was not cold when he gave it to me to drop into the press; he told me to look and see that there was no fire, and feel the press that it was cold; he then told me that I must keep the cent until I learned what made it hot; then I might, if I liked, spend it for candy.

In 1816 Robert Scot redesigned the cent. Miss Liberty appeared with a coronet on which the word LIBERTY was inscribed. With several variations, this style was continued until 1839, at which time it was superseded by Gobrecht's braided hair style. The braided hair motif, also with several variations, continued through 1857. Cents of the later years were chronicled by Howard R. Newcomb in *United States Copper Cents 1816-1857*, published in 1944. Scarce dates among later cents include the 1821, 1823, and 1857. 1839 saw the production of several different distinct varieties: the *Head of 1838*, the *Head of 1840* (braided hair style), and the curiously-named *Silly Head* and *Booby Head*.

In 1849 the Committee of Ways and Means advised Robert Maskell Patterson, director of the Mint, that it was studying the reduction of the size of the one-cent piece. In 1850, the following year, the Mint produced several patterns. Struck in billon (an alloy of 90% copper and 10% silver) and copper, the pieces had holes

at the center in the manner of Chinese coins. The diameter approximated that of a dime. In 1851 additional patterns were made of the so-called annular, or ring, cent. The cumbersome large cent was finding increasing disfavor with the public, and many complaints were registered with the Mint and government officials. In 1853 patterns containing nickel and copper in various alloy mixtures were produced. It was believed that nickel, being valued at \$2 per pound, would permit a smaller diameter coin to be made with the intrinsic value remaining sufficiently high. The following year, 1854, saw the production of additional patterns. Made in copper and related alloys, the pieces depicted various designs including Liberty seated (crudely reduced on a pantograph lathe from the obverse of an 1854 silver dollar), a Liberty head style similar to that used on regular issue large cents but without stars, and a flying eagle design resurrected from Gobrecht's pattern silver coins of 1836-1839. In 1855 additional flying eagle patterns were made.

As experimentation continued, demand for the abandonment of the old-style copper cent increased. James Ross Snowden reported that by 1857 the production of large copper cents and half cents barely paid the coinage expenses involved. The Act of February 21, 1857, provided that a new standard be adopted and thus sounded the death knell for the old-type coppers. The public was urged to redeem all cents of the old standard. Within a few years large cents became curiosities.

Small Cents (1856 to Date)

Following considerable experimentation with reduced-diameter cents and various alloys, Director Snowden decided in 1856 that a mixture of 88% copper and 12% nickel, the compound later called copper-nickel, was best. Initially about 50 trial pieces were made from regular half cent dies to test the new alloy. Encouraged, Snowden requested that Mint engraver James B. Longacre produce new cent dies of small diameter featuring a flying eagle on the obverse, modeled after the Gobrecht patterns. This was subsequently done, and somewhere between 600 and 700 examples, with the frosty surface known today as "Uncirculated" (rather than Proof), were distributed to members of the Senate and House of Representatives, 200 pieces to the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, four to President Franklin Pierce, a number to various newspaper editors and others of influence, and additional pieces to persons associated with the Treasury Department. In later years

the 1856 flying eagle cent became a popular collector's item, and additional pieces were restruck.

Following passage of the 1857 coinage legislation on February 21st, production of 1857 flying eagle cents commenced at a rapid rate. Eventually over 17 million were coined. A booth was set up in the yard of the Mint. Citizens could obtain the new flying eagle cents in bags of 500 pieces by exchanging Spanish and Mexican coins (made uncurrent by the new legislation) or large cents for them.

From the outset grave problems arose with striking the flying eagle design. Particularly affected were parts of the head and tail of the eagle, for these were opposite parts of the wreath on the coin dies. During the striking process there was insufficient metal flow to fill the recesses in the head and tail of the eagle as well as the wreath at the same time. On November 4, 1858, James Ross Snowden recommended to Howell Cobb, secretary of the Treasury, the adoption of a new Indian head design, by Longacre, to take effect on January 1, 1859. It was believed that the balancing of the relief parts, the obverse center with the Indian head and the reverse with a thin wreath around the edge, would result in a better metal flow. Previously, a number of pattern variations, including a flying eagle redesigned to be much smaller and more delicate in size, were struck in an attempt to remedy the problem.

In 1859 cents with the Indian design on the obverse and a laurel wreath on the reverse were produced. On December 13th of that year Snowden advised the secretary of the Treasury that:

A modification of the devices on the reverse of the cent is desirable. I propose to introduce the shield upon the reverse. This will give it a more National character, and be a decided improvement upon the present coin. I enclose a few specimen pieces I have caused to be struck . . .

In the following year, 1860, a new reverse embodying an oak wreath surmounted by a shield was adopted. Striking of Indian cents on thick copper-nickel planchets continued through early 1864.

In 1862 and 1863 uncertainty concerning the outcome of the Civil War resulted in widespread hoarding of coins of all types, including copper-nickel cents. In their place a flood of privately-issued tokens filled the channels of commerce. Struck by the millions, these featured a wide variety of political and advertising designs and inscriptions. Made of bronze for the most part, the thin Civil War tokens were readily accepted by merchants and others, an observation not lost on officials of the Mint who for several years had encountered problems with striking the thick copper-nickel

cents. The hard copper-nickel alloy caused frequent die breakage and rapid wear. James Pollock, director of the Mint, wrote to Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the Treasury, on December 8, 1863:

In my last annual report I recommended the disuse of nickel in our cent coinage, and the substitution of the alloy lately introduced in France and England, called *bronze*. It is composed of 95% copper, 3% tin, and 2% zinc, and makes a beautiful and ductile alloy.

This change of the material of the cent is not only desirable in itself as an improvement in the quality and appearance of the coin, but becomes an absolute necessity from the advanced, and still advancing, price of nickel—our entire dependence for a supply upon the foreign market, paying for it in gold or its equivalent, and the probability of a failure to secure an adequate supply for the future at any price, the difficulty of melting, the destruction of dies and machinery, etc., thus increasing the cost of production, which will soon exceed the value of the product, if the price of copper, labor, etc., continues to increase, as it is almost certain to do. In that event the coinage of the cent must cease.

It is not proposed to change the size or devices of the cent, only the weight. The weight of the new coin will be 48 grains, or one tenth ounce troy. Enclosed I send you specimens of the bronze cent, which is very superior in every respect to the *slumpy* nickel. . . .

In 1864 the thin bronze Indian cent became a reality, and millions were struck for circulation. Toward the end of the same year a small refinement was made to the Indian design. The initial L, for Longacre, was added in an almost imperceptible location on the ribbon below the lowest feather in the Indian headdress. Coinage of the Indian cent continued through 1909.

In 1877 coinage of cents was halted because of prevailing nationwide economic problems and because the director of the Mint believed that a nickel-alloy format would be approved to replace the bronze standard. Total cent production for the 1877 year was just 852,500 pieces, a record low for the era. Although nickel was not popular with Mint officials, production of nickel-alloy trial pieces continued in the cent series throughout the late 1860s and 1870s. Undoubtedly some of these were made as curiosities for collectors.

In 1908 the San Francisco Mint struck 1,115,000 cents, marking the first production of a minor coin at a mint other than Philadelphia.

In 1908 Victor D. Brenner, a sculptor who had earlier prepared a medal and plaque of Lincoln, proposed to President Theodore Roosevelt that Lincoln be used on a coin. Although Washington and Lincoln had appeared on pattern issues of the 1860s, as of 1908 no American president had ever appeared on a coin made for regular circulation. Roosevelt was intrigued with

the idea and suggested that Brenner prepare designs. By early 1909 models had been submitted, and the Mint was busy at work on a new cent. Originally a reverse was proposed featuring a design with a single sprig in the center, inspired by the French two-franc piece. Another idea proposed the standing figure of Liberty, also modeled after a French coin. These were rejected, and a reverse depicting two symmetrically-arranged wheat stalks was used. In honor of the designer the initials V.D.B. were placed at the bottom of the reverse. Pieces were subsequently struck for circulation. On August 2, 1909, Lincoln cents were introduced to the public. *The Numismatist*, official journal of the American Numismatic Association, described what happened:

Some day in the far distant future the numismatist may occasionally have to answer: "Say, Mister, how much will you give me for one of those rare Lincoln cents made way back in 1909 when the United States were in America—it's the rare kind with V.D.B. on it?" But today, and for untold days, so frequent will be the question that it seems advisable for the coin merchant to have in constant operation a phonograph that will grind out, "No premium on Lincoln cents with V.D.B. on them, or with anything else on or off them."

No new coin type has ever commanded the interest of the public and editorial reference and news space in the general press as has the Lincoln cent. Heralded long in advance, it was issued to an expectant populace on August 2nd. About 25 million had been coined and distributed to various sub-treasuries and banks throughout the country so that distribution could commence in all parts on the same day. As soon as it became known that a new coin had been issued places of distribution were besieged, particularly in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis, where long lines formed leading to sub-treasuries, and continued each day until August 5th, when the sign was displayed "No More Lincoln Pennies."

Those not content to stand in line and obtain a supply at face value (one hundred was the most that would be supplied an individual), offered to purchase at a premium, and for a few days newsboys, messengers, and street fakirs had a harvest in selling the new coins at two or three for five cents. When no more were obtainable at Government supply places, stories in explanation were invented, "going to be called in," etc., and prices soared in different sections, as much as a dollar each being paid for specimens.

Favorable comment on the design, the artist, and the interest of the public appeared in the first day's papers, many illustrating the new type . . . but the next day, and for several succeeding days, the papers turned to adverse criticism, and about everything denunciatory that is possible to say in relation to a coin was published, even stating that you could not spend them, which was the claim of some slot machine operators.

The origin of these criticisms has been traced to Philadelphia and Washington, from sources where selfish comments are

United States Coins



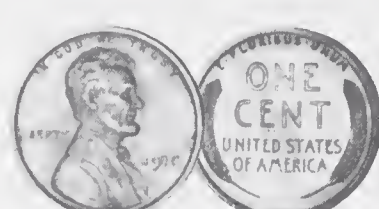
1857 Flying eagle
Cent



1859 Indian cent



1860 Indian cent



1910 Lincoln cent



1873 Two-cent piece



1877 Nickel
Three-cent piece



1851-O Silver
Three-cent piece



1854 Silver
Three-cent piece



1859 Silver
Three-cent piece



1795 Half dime



1796/5 Half dime



1803 Half dime



1805 Half dime



1831 Half dime



1838-O Half dime



1853 Half dime
Without arrows



1854 Half dime



1856 Half dime



1860 Half dime
Transitional



1860 Half dime
Regular issue



1873 Half dime



1797 Dime
16 stars on obverse



1797 Dime
13 stars on obverse



1798/7 Dime
16 stars on reverse

not unknown when a coin type has been issued other than that produced by a government employee. Sifting all the criticisms, there was but one for which a just claim could be made, the designer's mark (initials V.D.B.) appeared a little more prominent than on the coins now in use. This was brought to the attention of the Secretary of the Treasury, who, we are informed, without question as to custom or propriety of designer's marks, ordered the coinage stopped. It was then announced that the letter B, to denote the engraver, would appear on the coins. Evidently, from the fact that the immediate demand was great and that it would require considerable time to produce dies with the letter B properly centered or inconspicuously placed, everything to indicate the designer was removed from the dies and in a few days the coins were in plentiful supply with the initials removed.

When it was suggested that the B initial be used, Charles Barber, chief engraver at the Mint, complained vociferously about this, for he felt that it might be confused with his own initial, and he was against the Lincoln cent and did not approve of the design.

The government's position was quite inconsistent, for designers' initials had appeared on many other United States coins, including pieces then in circulation. Charles Barber's initial B was prominent on the neck of the dime, quarter, and half dollar of the period; Morgan's initial appeared on the silver dollar he designed; Longacre's initial was on the Indian cent, the initials B.L.P. indicated the designer of the contemporary \$2½ and \$5 pieces; and the \$20 coin, largest issue of the United States, bore the prominent monogram of Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

Cents were produced without initials until 1918, during which year the V.D.B. letters were added in microscopic form to the obverse.

In 1909 coinage of both varieties, with V.D.B. and without, was accomplished at the Philadelphia and San Francisco mints. The 1909-S V.D.B., with a low mintage of just 484,000 pieces, became a rarity. Coinage at Denver commenced in 1911, marking the first minor pieces to be produced by that institution. From then until the present time production has been effected at the Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco mints, but not on a continuous basis. Also, in recent years pieces have been struck at West Point, New York, in a provisional coining facility, but as coins minted there bear no distinguishing mintmarks they are indistinguishable from Philadelphia issues.

In 1943 a critical shortage of copper forced the mints to produce cents of zinc-coated steel. From 1944 through 1946 salvaged cartridge cases were melted down and used for cent production. In 1947 the standard bronze alloy was resumed. During the earlier years

of Lincoln cent coinage a number of scarce issues were minted, including the aforementioned 1909-S V.D.B. as well as the 1914-D and 1931-S. No cents were struck at Philadelphia in 1922. Certain 1922-D (Denver Mint) issues were produced from weak obverse dies with the mintmark indistinct. These captured the fancy of certain collectors who likened them to the Philadelphia Mint (without mintmark) issues and accordingly expressed a willingness to pay high figures for them.

In 1955 a curious variety was produced from a defective die which had the date and letters on the obverse sharply doubled. In 1972 this type of error was repeated, although the doubling was not as sharp.

In 1959 a new reverse was adopted for the Lincoln cent. Designed by Frank Gasparro, the motif featured the Lincoln Memorial. In 1962 the cent alloy was changed to 95% copper and 5% zinc. Despite the negligible purchasing power of the one-cent piece, which declined in worth as inflation increased during the 1970s, mintages soared to record levels. The use of the small coin to make change in transactions involving sales tax furnished the explanation.

Two-Cent Pieces (1864-1873)

In 1863 Director of the Mint James Pollock urged the coinage of a two-cent piece, believing that it would be a great convenience for the public. At the time cents were scarce in circulation, and countless Civil War tokens, mostly bronze, were seen in everyday change. Silver coins, following the suspension of specie payments, did not circulate, so it was believed that a bronze two-cent piece, which presumably would not be hoarded, would be of great public utility.

Numerous patterns were made for the proposed two-cent pieces, including several varieties featuring the bust of George Washington surrounded by the legend GOD AND OUR COUNTRY. As part of the Mint Act of April 22, 1864, a design by James B. Longacre featuring an obverse with a heraldic shield and arrows and a reverse with wreath of wheat was adopted. On the obverse appeared IN GOD WE TRUST on a ribbon, the first use of this motto on a coin made for circulation.

In 1864 nearly 20 million pieces were struck. A relatively small number of these had the motto in small letters, the so-called *small motto* variety. In 1865 coinage declined to less than 14 million. In 1866 it fell precipitously to just slightly more than 3 million. Year by year the total diminished. In 1872 just 65,000 were struck. By that time the coin had become a nuisance in

circulation. Shopkeepers did not care for the odd denomination, and they found little favor with the public at large. In 1873, the last year of coinage, no pieces were made for circulation. Striking was limited to a relatively small number of Proofs for inclusion in collectors' sets.

Nickel Three-Cent Pieces (1865-1889)

The three-cent piece composed of 75% copper and 25% nickel, but of a silvery appearance, was authorized by the Act of March 3, 1865. It was designed to take the place of silver-alloy three-cent pieces (made since 1851, but in greatly reduced numbers after 1862) and to provide an alternative to the three-cent paper fractional currency notes. The design, featuring a Liberty head with a tiara on the obverse and the Roman numeral III within a wreath on the reverse, was the work of James B. Longacre.

The first year, 1865, saw a mintage of over 11 million pieces, a figure more than double the next highest mintage year, 1866. The coin did not prove as popular as had been hoped, and the mintage figures trended downward. By 1876 interest had dropped to the point at which just 162,000 pieces were made that year. No coins were struck for circulation in 1877 and 1878, although a limited number of Proofs were made for collectors. In 1879 coinage for circulation resumed, but in limited quantities, for the denomination was unpopular and the Philadelphia Mint was busy coining silver dollars at a record pace. From 1879 until the last year of mintage, 1889, quantities produced were small. An anomaly was 1881, a year in which over a million were made.

With the exception of date changes, all nickel three-cent pieces are similar. A variation was provided by the 1887/6 overdate, a coin struck for the most part in Proof grade, although some were issued for circulation.

In 1889 the coinage of nickel three-cent pieces was discontinued. During the same year its larger denomination counterpart, the \$3 gold, also met its demise.

Silver Three-Cent Pieces (1851-1873)

In 1849 a three-cent piece was suggested. In that year several patterns were made, two of which combined the obverse of a standard silver half dime with the reverse numeral as 3 and III. Another particularly curious piece was simply a combination of these two numbers, 3 and III, one serving as the obverse and the other as the reverse, thus creating the most simplistic

pattern ever produced at the Philadelphia Mint. Actually, the piece was not produced as a pattern but was simply made to illustrate the size of the proposed denomination.

In 1851 additional patterns were made. The obverse depicted a Liberty cap with rays surrounding. The reverse bore an inscription and a palm branch arranged in a circle.

When the silver three-cent piece, or *trime* as it is sometimes called, was first issued in 1851 it was hoped that it would help with postal transactions, for the letter rate was revised to 3c about that time. Also it was hoped that the pieces would relieve some of the demand for large cents. The initial pieces minted 1851-1853 differed from other silver issues and contained 75% silver and 25% copper. From 1854 to 1873 the alloy was the standard 90% silver and 10% copper.

It has been related that during the first several years of its issue the silver three-cent piece was the main silver coin seen in circulation in the country. The half dimes, dimes, quarters, and half dollars were exported or melted, for the most part (causing the authorized weight to be reduced in 1853). In 1854 the diameter of the silver three-cent piece was broadened to facilitate ease of handling, and the design was changed slightly. Problems developed in striking the coin properly, with the result that in 1859 the design was modified again. As a result, most 1854-1858 silver three-cent pieces seen today are very weakly struck, particularly on the borders.

Primary production of the silver three-cent piece occurred during the 1851-1853 years. After that time, the weight reduction of other silver denominations caused their return to circulation, and the need for the three-cent piece was not as acute. Mintages diminished. After 1862 the coinage of silver three-cent pieces became an exercise in futility, for the coins were hoarded or exported whenever they reached circulation. Although modest numbers were made for circulation purposes from 1863 to 1872, most specimens seen today are from the Proofs coined for collectors. Most of the coinage of the 1860s and 1870s, stored in Treasury vaults during the suspension of specie payments, was probably melted at a later date. When specie payments were resumed in 1876 and silver coins were again seen in circulation, the three-cent denomination had been discontinued.

1873, the last year of silver three-cent coinage, was limited to just 600 Proofs struck for inclusion in sets sold to collectors. The coinage act of that year abolished the silver three-cent piece together with the two-cent piece and the silver half dime.

Nickel Five-Cent Pieces (1866 to Date)

On June 30, 1865, James Pollock, director of the Mint, proposed that a coin made of nickel alloy in the denomination of five cents would be a good substitute for the five-cent fractional currency notes then in circulation. Although half dimes were being produced, they, like other silver denominations, did not circulate. In the same year a number of patterns for the new coin were made. On May 16, 1866 the nickel five-cent piece was officially adopted. Composition was specified as 75% copper and 25% nickel.

Although a number of interesting patterns were made featuring the portraits of Washington and Lincoln, James B. Longacre's shield design used earlier on the 1864 two-cent piece was adopted. With modifications it formed the obverse. The reverse depicted the numeral 5 surrounded by a circle of stars with a ray between each. Soon the motif became known as the shield type. In advance of the design's release it was described by the *American Journal of Numismatics*:

This new coin will soon be in circulation. It is of pure nickel, approaching very nearly the appearance of silver, it is a very neat coin. It is a trifle larger than the nickel cent. On one side it has for a center relief the ordinary shield crowned with a laurel wreath, which hangs gracefully over the sides; this is surmounted by the motto "In God We Trust," and at the base the date, 1866. On the reverse is the denomination—a figure 5 in the center of a circle of stars; over the figure are the words "United States," and under it the word "cents."

Following the release of the new shield nickel into circulation a Boston reader wrote to the same publication with a commentary concerning it:

After a careful search during the first half of the present year, I have at length succeeded, by the help of a friend, in obtaining a Proof set of the one, two, three, and five-cent pieces of 1866; and, inasmuch as the latter piece, particularly, is an "original," both in design and workmanship, perhaps a description of it may prove acceptable.

I say it is an "original," because I have seen nothing like it in my collection, which abounds in all sorts; "bung-towns," Chinese cash, and German stubers, hellers, and kreuzers; therefore, I think I am correct in this statement.

On the obverse of this remarkable coin, the first *thing* that attracts the attention is the highly elaborate and highly ornamented gridiron, the clumsy handle of which appears to be broken from the body, thus rendering this culinary utensil almost useless. The upper part and sides of this gridiron are hung with leaves of some sort, strongly resembling one of the savory bunches of herbs displayed in a market-house in autumn, or of a green grocer's sign in huckleberry time. Perhaps the same accident that severed the handle of the gridiron also fractured the lower part, for we notice it is there skewered by two arrows, pointing in opposite directions. The motto "In God We Trust" is very opportune,

for the *inventor* of this coin may rest assured that the devil will never forgive him for such an abortion.

The reverse of this thing is less objectionable, for the inventor appears to have almost exhausted his remarkable skill on the obverse. However, he has made a bold push and brought forth something. Here we have the circle of stars intersected by 13 bars of 3 scratches each (perhaps he never saw a Nova Constellatio), around the top of which are the words "United States of America" in very delicate letters. The makeup of this coin is completed by the insertion in the field of a big, loud 5, "cents," in the exergue, which must be pronounced in the peculiar oyster saloon style, thus: *Five cents!*

Mr. Editor, did we ever have such another coin?

In the second year of circulation of the design, 1867, it was determined that the bars or rays on the reverse caused too much metal displacement and resulted in striking difficulties. Indeed, surviving specimens of the with-rays design minted in 1866 and 1867 often display weakness. As a result, following a nominal coinage of 1867 nickels with rays, the feature was dropped. The new design, without rays, was continued through 1883.

The appearance of the without-rays nickel in 1867 caused public confusion, and many merchants and others refused to handle them, believing the pieces to be counterfeit. An explanation from the Mint apparently was worded in a confusing manner, for soon a percentage of the populace believed that the earlier nickels *with rays* were the counterfeit ones, whereas the without-rays style coins were genuine.

The nickel five-cent piece found ready acceptance with the public. Mintages were generous during the first several years of its introduction. A vivid exception was provided by the 1877, struck in a year when other minor denominations experienced reduced mintages. It is believed that fewer than 1,000 shield nickels were issued that year, all sold as part of the Proof sets distributed to collectors. The following year, 1878, saw a mintage of just 2,350 pieces, also struck only in Proof condition for collectors. Mintages of the 1879-1881 years were also low, primarily because the Philadelphia Mint was concentrating on silver dollar production at the time. In 1882 11 million were coined. In 1883, the last year of the shield nickel design, 1,456,919 were struck.

Hardness of the nickel alloy caused many striking problems. As a result, numerous shield nickels today are seen with evidence of die breaks, ranging from minute to major. Still other coins show weak striking in areas. Indeed, a perfectly struck shield nickel, sharp in all details and without any evidence of die breaks, would be unusual among coins struck for circulation.

Proofs for collectors were made of each issue from 1866 through 1883 inclusive. Only a few 1867 Proof nickels with rays were made, for the design was changed early in the year. While Proof mintage figures for the 1867 with-rays style apparently were not kept, an estimate would be in the range of 50 to 100 pieces. 1877 and 1878 shield nickels are Proof-only issues, as noted. No examples were struck for circulation in those years.

The hard nickel alloy resulted in rapid die wear. To extend the life of dies, some were softened and then repunched with the hub, thereby sharpening the impression. The result is that numerous recuttings occur on the letters and other features of many issues. Recut dates are likewise common. Two sharp overdates, the 1879/8 and 1883/2, exist in the series. Another coin with a recut date has been styled as "1869/8" by some authorities, although the undertype is not sharp enough to permit unequivocal identification.

In 1881 Col. A. Loudon Snowden, director of the Philadelphia Mint, encouraged engraver Charles E. Barber to prepare a new series of pattern designs so that the one-cent, three-cent, and five-cent pieces would be of uniform style. The resulting coins, issued in pattern form only, featured the head of Miss Liberty on the obverse, modeled, some said, after the classical goddess Diana. The reverse showed a wreath of cotton and corn enclosing respectively the Roman numerals I, III, and V.

In 1882 additional patterns of the five-cent denomination were minted. Most featured Barber's head of Liberty and differed from each other in the placement of stars and descriptions. One interesting variation had five equally-spaced raised ridges on the edge so that blind persons could determine the denomination of the coin by its touch. The idea was never officially adopted.

In 1883 the new Liberty head design by Barber was adopted for circulation. In its final form the style consisted of the head of Liberty on the obverse surrounded by 13 stars and with the date 1883 below. On the earliest issue the reverse depicted the Roman numeral V within a wreath. There was a slight problem: the word CENTS appeared nowhere on the coin. The only indication of value was the V.

The subject of a design change for the nickel five-cent piece was brought up on May 4, 1911, by Eames MacVeigh, who wrote to his father, Franklin MacVeigh, secretary of the Treasury:

A little matter that seems to have been overlooked by all of you is the opportunity to beautify the design of the nickel or five-cent piece during your administration, and it seems to me that it would be a permanent souvenir of the most at-

tractive sort. As possibly you are aware, it is the only coin the design of which you can change during your administration, as I believe there is a law to the effect that the designs must not be changed oftener than every 25 years . . .

James Earle Fraser, a noted sculptor, learned that the Mint was considering new designs and began corresponding with the institution in 1911. Receiving encouragement, he proposed an Indian head and a buffalo as being truly American in design. "The idea of the Indian and the buffalo on the same coin is, without doubt, purely American and seems to be singularly appropriate to have on one of our national coins," he wrote on September 19, 1911.

Work continued through 1912. There were a number of suggestions about revisions, particularly from one Mr. Hobbs, who was in the coin machine manufacturing business and who claimed that the Indian-buffalo nickel would not work properly in such devices.

In 1913 the buffalo nickel, as it is now known, made its appearance. Part way through the year the reverse design was modified slightly to depict the buffalo on flat rather than raised ground. Striking of the buffalo style continued through 1938 and was accomplished at the Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco mints.

The design, in unusually high relief, presented many problems with striking. Today a generous portion of the specimens extant, particularly those emitted from the Denver and San Francisco mints, are very weakly struck on the higher portions. One of the most famous buffalo nickels is the 1918/7-D overdate. First identified years after it was struck, the piece is rare in all grades, particularly in mint condition. 1926-D is remarkable for weak striking. Nearly all Denver Mint issues this year were struck very poorly. In 1937 a die being used at the Denver Mint became clogged, with the result that the buffaloes on the nickels produced had three legs instead of the zoologically correct four. The variety became famous.

Perhaps the most unusual issue among buffalo nickels is the curious 1938-D over S, a coin which shows an S mintmark clearly under the D. First discovered in 1962, it was the first "overmintmark" identified in the United States series. Here was a coin with a connection to two widely separated mints. It was produced as the result of an unused San Francisco reverse die being overpunched with a D mintmark at Philadelphia, the mother mint, where dies for branch mints are prepared. Interestingly enough, within the next decade a number of other overmintmarks came to light in scattered 20th century series.

Dimes to Quarters



1892 Dime



1916 Dime



1876 Twenty cents



1804 Quarter



1806/5 Quarter



1818 Quarter



1822 Quarter
25/50c reverse



Obverse, 1827/3 original quarter

Quarter Dollars to Half Dollars



1840-O Quarter



1860 Quarter



1853 Quarter
Arrows and rays



1873 Quarter
Arrows at date



1892 Quarter



1916 Quarter
Liberty standing



1795 Half dollar



1803 Half dollar



1815/2 Half dollar



1836 Half dollar
Reeded edge



1838 Half dollar



1839 Half dollar
Liberty seated



1853-O Half dollar
Without arrows and rays



1853 Half dollar
With arrows and rays



1871-CC Half dollar



1914 Half dollar



1916 Half dollar

1804 Silver Dollar



1804 Silver dollar
(Illustration enlarged)

Silver Dollars to Quarter Eagles



1795 Silver dollar
Draped bust



1798 Silver dollar
Heraldic eagle reverse



1840 Silver dollar



1866 Silver dollar



1878 Silver dollar



1921 Peace dollar



1873 Trade dollar



1849 Dollar
Gold



1854 Dollar
Gold



1876 Dollar
Gold



1796 \$2½
No obverse stars



1796 \$2½
With obverse stars

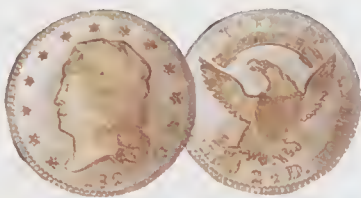


1806/5 \$2½

Quarter Eagles to \$4 Gold



1808 \$2½



1821 \$2½



1826/5 \$2½



1848 CAL \$2½ reverse



1834 \$2½
No motto



1877 \$2½



1848 \$2½
CAL.



1908 \$2½



1854 \$3



1876 \$3



1880 \$4 Stella
Flowing hair



1879 \$4 Stella
Coiled hair
(Illustration enlarged)

Half Eagles



1795
Small eagle reverse



1795 Large eagle reverse



1798 Small eagle reverse



1815



1819 5D/50 reverse



1827



1829 Large date



1829
Large date



1829
Small date



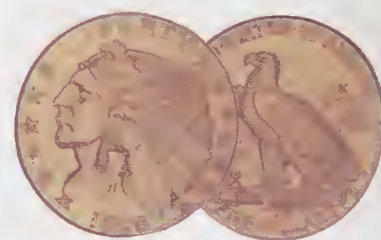
1829 Small date



1834 With motto



1834 No motto



1908

Eagles and Double Eagles



1795 \$10



1787/7 \$10
Stars 9x4



1803 \$10



1845 \$10



1866 \$10



1907 \$10
Wire rim. Periods



1907 \$10
Round rim. Periods



1910 \$10



1860 \$20



1866 \$20



1877 \$20



1880 \$20



1908 \$20



MCMVII High relief \$20

Commemorative Coins



1893 Isabella
Quarter



1915 Octagonal \$50



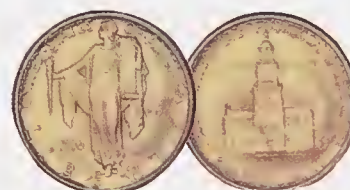
1900 Lafayette dollar



1915 Round \$50



1936 Albany
Half dollar



1926 Sesquicentennial
\$2½



1928 Hawaiian
Half dollar



1904 Lewis & Clark
Gold dollar



1935 Connecticut
Half dollar



1935 Hudson
Half dollar

In 1938, the 25th year of the buffalo nickel, it was decided to replace it with a new design. A public competition was announced with a prize of \$1,000 to be awarded to the winner. Eventually 390 plaster models were submitted. Felix Schlag, a German immigrant who settled in Chicago nine years earlier, was announced as the winner on April 24th. After modifications the design, featuring Thomas Jefferson on the obverse and his home, Monticello, on the reverse, was adopted for circulation. Mintage commenced in 1938 and has continued since that time. Certain nickel varieties from 1942 to 1945 were struck in a special alloy composed of 56% copper, 35% silver, and 9% manganese, to omit nickel which was in strong demand for war purposes. Several interesting varieties occur in the series, including an issue of 1939 with the inscriptions MONTICELLO and FIVE CENTS doubled, and several overmintmarks, the 1949-D over S, 1954-S over D, and 1955-D over S.

United States Half Dimes (1792-1873)

The first coin in this series, the 1792 half disme (later the "s" was dropped), was most certainly made as a circulating issue. Harold P. Newlin, in his limited-edition monograph (just 100 copies were printed) *A Classification of the Early Half Dimes of the United States*, published in 1883, singled out two favorite issues for detailed treatment. The first was the 1792 half disme, and the second was the 1802 half dime. Concerning the 1792 issue Newlin wrote:

It is, I believe, generally conceded by numismatists, that the first regular coinage of the United States Mint was in 1793—consisting of the copper cent and half cent.

This belief would seem to exclude the 1792 half dime, known as the Martha Washington half disme, from the regular series, and for the reason that it is considered a pattern piece, not intended for general circulation and struck before the regular series commenced. Without desiring to place myself in direct opposition to this accepted opinion, I would simply say that having studied the history of the half dime with some degree of care, I can find in it nothing to indicate that it was intended simply for a trial piece.

Washington, in his annual address, November 6, 1792, having said, *inter alia*, "there has been a small *beginning* in the coinage of half dimes, the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them," and it would certainly seem reasonable to accept the words of this gentleman, whose general reputation for veracity is, I believe, conceded to be good, and consider the 1792 half dime the "small beginning" in the said series. Mr. Snowden, in his book [*Description of the Coins in the Cabinet of the United States Mint*] expresses his opinion thus: "We consider that the piece was intended for general circulation."

The 1792 half disme is discussed together with 1792 issues elsewhere in this book.

The first half dimes struck at the Philadelphia Mint (the 1792 half dimes were struck in nearby facilities outside of the Mint) were dated 1794, although the first pieces bearing this date were not struck until February of the next year. 1794 and 1795 half dimes are of the flowing hair style and are believed to have been the work of Robert Scot. No mark of denomination appears on the coin, either on the faces or the edge.

In 1796 the draped bust design made its appearance, a style which was continued for two years. The reverse of this style displays a small eagle perched on a cloud, encircled by a wreath. Varieties of 1797 were made with 13, 15, and 16 stars on the obverse. It has been postulated that as additional states joined the Union the Mint considered increasing the number of stars on the coins accordingly, but when the designs seemed crowded the original 13 stars were used.

No half dimes were coined in 1798 or 1799. The following year, 1800, marked the introduction of a new reverse, the heraldic eagle style. Based upon the Great Seal of the United States, the motif displayed an eagle with wings spread upward and with a shield on its breast. This reverse style, in combination with the draped bust obverse introduced earlier, was continued through 1805.

Included among half dimes of the period is one of the greatest rarities in the American silver coinage, the 1802. Don Taxay, in *Scott's Catalogue & Encyclopedia of United States Coins*, gives a mintage figure of just 3,060 pieces for the issue. The *Guide Book of United States Coins* lists a mintage of 13,110. During the early years of the Mint, dies were often used until they wore out, even if this was two years after their date. As a result, mintages listed for any given year in the official Mint reports are apt to pertain to pieces which were dated otherwise. Complicating the problem is the early Mint practice of keeping usable dies of earlier years on hand until they could be utilized. A study of Mint records shows that deliveries of copper, silver, and gold coins were made only at intervals throughout the year. That is, deliveries were not made from the Mint on a daily basis. In some instances coins of a given denomination might be shipped on, say, February 15th, October 1st, and December 15th of a certain year. Using the relative rarity of varieties as studied by numismatists today, students have attempted to isolate certain deliveries as being from certain dies or as representing certain types. For example, if in the hypothetical mint year given above the coin in question

The 1802 Half Dime



The 1802 half dime has always been considered a major rarity among early United States silver coins. Mint statistics indicate that 13,010 pieces were struck during the 1802 *fiscal* year, but apparently only a few bore the 1802 date. In the early years it was the custom at the mint to keep serviceable dies on hand until they became unfit for use, either through wear or breakage. It is probable that most of the half dimes reported coined in 1802 actually bore the date 1801 or possibly also 1800.

Harold P. Newlin, a Philadelphia attorney with offices in the Supreme Court Rooms, was an active numismatist during the 1870s and 1880s. He assembled a choice grouping of United States coins in various series including copper, silver, and gold. Although Newlin was the owner of many rarities, his favorite coin was the 1802 half dime.

When John W. Haseltine sold the Newlin Collection at auction in 1883 the purchaser of the 1802 half dime was T. Harrison Garrett. Newlin, recognizing Garrett's eye for quality, began in that year a lengthy series of correspondence which resulted in his selling many outstanding pieces to Garrett. His correspondence which is excerpted in detail in an appendix in this book, reveals that in certain series, gold coins in particular, some of the finest examples were not included in the auction sale. On May 3, 1883, Newlin wrote to Garrett:

"I have been making a list of 1802 half dimes, the number known, their condition when sold, and prices realized. I have also examined several specimens and have either seen or have photographs of the finest, and I hesitantly say that I believe without doubt that your specimen [the one purchased by Garrett in the Newlin Collection auction] is the finest known. If you care to clean your piece it will come out nearly a Proof . . ."

Harold P. Newlin's comprehensive study of half dimes was published in the same year, 1883, by John W. Haseltine. The reference was entitled *A Classification of the Early Half Dimes of the United States*. It was 24 pages in length, plus

covers, and was printed to the extent of just 100 copies.

Newlin, who was a student and connoisseur of United States coins, felt that the half dime denomination had been neglected while certain other series, particularly large copper cents, had been studied in detail and received much attention from numismatists. Accordingly, his monograph sought to give the half dimes their share of attention. From 1883 until D. W. Valentine produced *The United States Half Dimes* in 1931, the Newlin reference was the only detailed work on the subject.

The introduction to Newlin's work reflects the author's feeling, indeed affection, for the half dime series.

"In an exhaustive search to determine the varieties of the early Half-dimes the numismatist encounters two very serious obstacles; the extreme difficulty of securing a sufficient number of the rare dates to classify with much accuracy their varieties and their respective degrees of rarity, and the further difficulty of obtaining the different specimens and conditions suitable for illustration upon plates. The writer contributes the following article, entirely conscious that it possesses little or no merit, in the hope that it may awaken an interest in the subject, and that at no far distant day, a numismatist, eminently better qualified for the work, will give to the fraternity the benefit of his researches.

"The entire absence upon the part of cataloguers of collections to describe with any degree of minuteness the varieties of the Half-dimes, would seem to indicate, either that collectors are generally ignorant of the fact that varieties exist, or that they deem them of too little importance to note. It seems unjust that these small but interesting coins should be so slighted, especially when the larger members of the family, the dollars, halves, quarters and cents, are treated by their admirers with such distinguished attention, and so many articles written descriptive of their beauty. An 'Amiable face' [the reference here is to the *Amiable Face* 1794 one-cent piece given that designation by Dr. Edward Maris in his monograph on

the subject], the length of a curl, in short, in a coin any marked peculiarity *sui generis* seems to insure for it a greater appreciation and value, and one experiences no small feeling of pride in being the happy possessor of a *unique* piece. In view of this fact I have described the varieties, as far as I have discovered them, in order that collectors may examine their specimens, and perhaps bring to light other varieties thereby adding their valuable observations to my own . . .”

Newlin went on to describe early issues of half dimes from 1792 (the first year, a pattern) to 1864. Newlin's favorite issue was the 1802, and to this he devoted eight pages, a third of his monograph. He gave his opinion that the 1802 half dime is the most desirable issue in the American silver series. He then listed 16 specimens (of which his appeared as No. 7) and gave history and pedigree of each. Newlin's discussion of the 1802 half dime is one of the most thorough pieces of numismatic research accorded to any individual United States coin issue up to that time. This section is given in its entirety herewith:

“The Half-Dime of 1802”

“I have endeavored, in the following article, to give a list of the number of the Half-dimes of this date known to collectors, and also a brief history, if I may so term it, of each individual piece, describing its condition, price realized when sold at public or private sales, and as far as I am able, the names of the purchasers. I write thus in detail, because I think it may be interesting to collectors to learn all they can about this—the most desirable piece of the American silver series. I foresee, that some Numismatists will take issue with me in the statement, that the 1802 Half-dime is the most desirable of the silver series. My reason for giving it the most exalted place, I will endeavor to explain. If a collector were asked to name the four rarest American silver coins, he would, I am sure, naming them in the order of their denominations, say: the 1804 dollar, 1823 quarter, 1827 quarter, and 1802 Half-dime. I will assume that these are the rarest.

“The 1804 dollar has been re-struck. The dies were not destroyed till the year 1860, and I believe the pieces were re-struck from the dies, upon two occasions, a short time prior to this year. Disgraceful as the fact is—true it is, that these pieces were re-struck in the United States Mint by some of its employees, no doubt, for the purpose of speculation; and a re-struck specimen now graces the Mint Cabinet, and is described in the most glowing terms to strangers, as one of the most valuable pieces in the collection, worth, no doubt, one thousand dollars. The custodians of the collection know full well, that their piece is a re-strike, for I am indebted to one of them for this information. I wonder that they allow the piece to remain, testifying as it does to the past queer doings of the Mint.

“The 1827 quarter has also been re-struck. The 1823 quarter is struck from the altered die of the quarter of the preceding year, and possesses no characteristics of its own. The 1802 Half-dime is open to none of these objections. It has never been re-struck. The dies were made for that year and were destroyed. I have seen many dangerous counterfeits of the 1804 dollar and of the 1823 quarter, but I have never seen one of the 1802 Half-dime.

“Upon these facts I base my opinion, that the Half-dime of

1802 is the most desirable of the silver series.

“There are, I believe—and I make this assertion, having given the subject a good deal of study and research—but sixteen specimens of the Half-dime of this year, known to be in the possession of dealers or collectors. That a larger number were coined I do not doubt, but what that number is, will never become known, as the Mint authorities declare there is no way of ascertaining it. In 1863, but three specimens had been discovered—the number is now more than quintupled, and it may be further increased, but very gradually, I am sure, and not at all in proportion to the increasing demand.

“No. 1. The first 1802 Half-dime, sold at public auction, brought \$340. It was sold in the collection of Wm. A. Lilliendahl, of Tremont, N.J., Dec. 15, 17, 1863. Catalogued by Wm. H. Strowbridge, thus: ‘1802—The finest of three known. This piece is the rarest of the American series, and more desirable than the dollar of 1804. Never before offered at auction.’ (This specimen was in only *Very Good condition*.) I do not know by whom it was purchased.

“No. 2. Catalogued by W. Elliot Woodward, in Mickley's Sale—‘1802. Not fine, but in *Very Fair condition*. This piece is rarer than any other coin in the American Silver Series, there being but three specimens known, one of which is finer than this, the other not as good. The former sold in Mr. Lilliendahl's sale for \$360.’ (Error, it brought \$340.) Purchased by Mr. Sanford for \$45.

“Subsequently sold in the Sanford collection of coins for \$45. Purchased by Mr. Parinelee, afterwards sold in one of Mr. J. W. Haseltine's sales for \$56 to Wm. H. Cottier, Esq., of Buffalo, New York, and again sold in a sale of that gentleman's silver series, May 5th, 1882, for \$39 to Mr. Sampson, Dealer.

“No. 3. In the sale of the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of New York, catalogued by Mr. W. Elliott Woodward, May 17-21, 1864, another specimen appeared, thus described: ‘1802: Obverse in very satisfactory condition; the date and every portion of the head, together with the stars in front of the face and the word Liberty, with the exception of two letters together with a portion of the stars back of the head, are perfectly distinct. Some of the stars are partially and others wholly obliterated, as are the letters Li in Liberty. The piece is further blemished by two slight scratches across the face; the reverse is scratched and very badly worn. This piece was originally from the Stearn collection and more recently from that of Dr. Augustus Shurtleff. Of its genuineness there is no possible doubt, being one of but three existing, it is the very rarest and most desirable of the silver series.’ Sold for \$50, name of purchaser not known.

“No. 4. In the sale of the collection of Henry S. Adams, Esq., October 30, 1876, catalogued by Edward Cogan, a specimen was sold, described thus: ‘1802: The obverse of this extremely rare Half-dime is in better condition than any I remember to have been offered at auction for some years, and is decidedly better than the one in the Langford collection, which sold for \$45. In this condition it will be desirable for any collection.’ Brought \$70, purchased by Mr. Ashworth.

“No. 5. A very poor specimen was purchased by Mr. John W. Haseltine from Mr. Brown, a dealer in New York. It ap-

(continued)

(The 1802 Half Dime continued)

peared in no less than six sales, and brought prices varying from \$12 to \$40; but, although guaranteed genuine (and genuine undoubtedly it was, for I owned the piece at one time and compared it very carefully with another in my possession) it was always returned by the bidder as 'too poor'—it was finally sold as one of a lot of poor Half-dimes, described in Chapman's sale, November 19th and 20th, 1880. '1802: Obverse shows 802, the 1 being indistinct; all the word *Liberty*, excepting the letter y; the head, bust, and a few stars to right of bust visible; the inscription on bust is barely visible.' It brought in this sale \$40.

"No. 6. Another specimen sold in the sale of the Smith Cabinet October 19-21, 1880, catalogued by Mason & Co., thus: '1802: Good specimen in date, bust, word *Liberty* and stars very little worn, but weak in stars on left of bust and slightly indented. Reverse not quite as good as obverse; guaranteed original, cost owner \$77.50; of the highest rarity, in any condition. Brought \$95.' Was purchased by Mr. H. P. Newlin, of Philadelphia.

"Sold in the Burton sale, October 26-28, 1881. Catalogued by W. Elliott Woodward, as follows: 'This piece is bent, but for which circumstance it could be only fairly described as Fine. The bust shows but little evidence of wear; the hair is only a trifle worn, but has two or three little nicks. *Liberty* is Fine and distinct; the date bold; the stars facing well struck up and prominent, those back of the head all distinct, but not so well struck. The reverse about as good as the obverse. The eagle very good; lines on the shield, feathers on the wings, perfectly distinct, as are the clouds and nearly all the stars. Every letter in the legend plain. Most desirable for any collection.' Brought \$100. Purchased by C. P. Britton, Esq., of New York, and subsequently sold in the Britton sale, January 29, 1883, for \$115. Bought by Scott & Co., for a customer.

"No. 7. This piece was picked up in Europe, and was bought by Mr. Betts, for \$125. It was sold in Cogan's sale, September 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, 1878, and was described as follows: 'This is one of the best specimens of this Half-dime I have ever known to be offered at auction, and certainly the best, if I except the one sold in the Redlick sale, by Mr. Scott, which had been too highly polished to cause me to value it very highly. This is unusually fine, and the rarest Half-dime known. The piece was purchased at the sale by Mr. Haines, for \$130.' It was again sold in W. Elliott Woodward's sale of Haines' collection, October 13-16, 1880, and was thus described: '1802: Barely circulated, having only the slightest marks of friction; polished surface; believed to be as fine a Half-dime of the date as exists.' This piece was bought by Mr. E. Burton, for \$240, and was purchased indirectly from that gentleman by Mr. Newlin. Sold in the Newlin sale for \$400; bought by Mr. Garrett, of Baltimore, in whose possession it remains. It is undoubtedly the finest known if we except the uncirculated specimen in the collection of Mr. L. C. Parmelee. As I have never seen this piece, I cannot give my opinion. One gentleman, who had seen both pieces, informs me, that Mr. Parmelee's is the better. Another gentleman, who likewise examined them both, declares this to be much the finer. So I think, that the honors should be divided.

"No. 8. This piece was picked up in Charlotte, Va., in the

following rather curious manner:

"A colored man purchased a loaf of bread with it. The baker used it for street-car fare, putting it in one of the Slawson boxes in use in the cars. The receiver, who unlocked the boxes and counted the fares, noticed the date of the piece, and found, upon reference to the printed price-list of a dealer living in the vicinity, that he could obtain \$10 for it. This he hastened to do. The dealer sold it for \$20, to Mr. C. F. W. Moser, of Charlotte, Va. Mr. Moser sold it to Mr. John W. Haseltine, the well-known dealer, for \$60. Mr. Haseltine sold it in the Ahlborn collection June 16 and June 17, 1881, describing it thus: '1802: The date bold and well defined; the obverse well struck; the reverse a little weak in a few places; a very good specimen, and might be termed fine for date; excessively rare; desirable for any cabinet; the owner has been offered, and refused \$100 for the piece; it is limited to that price.' Purchased by Mr. L. C. Parmelee, for \$117.

"No. 9. A very fine specimen—'picked up' by Mr. Gambo, coin dealer, in St. Louis; sold by him to Mr. Brown, coin dealer, N.Y., afterwards sold at public auction, by Scott & Co., in the Redlick sale, for \$172, and later sold by Mr. Sampson, dealer, to Mr. Parmelee, of Boston.

"No. 10. In December, 1882, Mason & Co. picked up another specimen in poor condition, for \$10. It was sold to a collector, and again appeared in Haseltine's 64th sale, January 18, 1883. Catalogued thus: "1802: Poor, very much battered; head and most of stars distinct; undoubtedly genuine, and guaranteed excessively rare." Brought \$15.

"No. 11. Dr. E. Maris, of Philadelphia, purchased a collection, containing a very fine 1802 Half-dime, from a gentleman in Wilmington Del. S. K. Harzfeld, dealer, purchased the piece from Dr. Maris for \$100, and sold it again for \$125 to Mr. Jackman, of Bath, New Hampshire, in whose possession it still remains.

"No. 12. About two years ago, Mason & Co. purchased a very fine specimen from a stationer, in Louisville, Ky., for \$75. Now the property of Mr. R. C. Davis of this city. Never offered for public competition.

"No. 13. An uncirculated specimen, in the cabinet of L. C. Parmelee, of Boston, Mass. This piece has never been offered for public competition.

"No. 14. Mr. Woodward offered a very fine specimen in one of his recent sales, limited at \$300. It was not sold, but I am informed, that Mr. Woodward subsequently sold it, at an advance over the limit, to Mr. Chas. A. Rice, Chelsea, Mass., in whose possession it now remains.

"No. 15. A specimen, in fair condition, was offered for sale in Philadelphia and Baltimore last spring. Purchased by Dr. Massamore for \$45.

"No. 16. A specimen was sold at the Cohen sale, October 25th to 29th, 1875, catalogued by Edward Cogan, as follows: '1802: Rarest of the Half-dimes; head rubbed; reverse poor, battered; extremely rare.' Brought \$23.

"It was the intention to photograph all the varieties herein described, but the idea was abandoned, as it was found impossible to have the pieces produced with sufficient clearness, to note with ease the slight varieties." [Reprinted from *The Early Half-Dimes* by Harold P. Newlin]

is very rare today, but coins of the year before are common, and if the first mint delivery given above on February 15th is a large quantity, and the other mint deliveries are small quantities, it might be inferred that the February delivery represents coins dated a year earlier. This type of procedure is guesswork as, with certain exceptions, mint records do not list design types.

While mintage can be a key to rarity, it is only one indication. Was a given issue hoarded, exported, or melted? These and other questions must be considered.

In his 1883 monograph Newlin considered the 1802 half dime to be the most desirable rarity in the American silver series. Indeed, contemporary auction catalogues and sale reports would devote close attention to the offering of an example.

After 1805 half dime coinage was suspended for more than two decades. When specimens were struck again in 1829, the design was by John Reich and followed the style of the half dollar motif first introduced in 1807. This style, called the capped bust type, was produced through 1837. In the latter year Gobrecht's Liberty seated design made its appearance. Specimens of the Liberty seated motif, without stars on the obverse, were coined in 1837 at the Philadelphia Mint and in 1838 at the New Orleans facility.

In the following year, 1838, stars were added to the obverse. This design was continued through 1859. Examples dated 1853-1855 show arrowheads to each side of the date, symbolizing the weight reduction which first took effect at that time. The curious 1858 over-inverted date variety can probably be attributed to James B. Longacre's carelessness. The date was first punched into the die upside down, and then it was corrected.

In 1860 the design was modified. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA was transferred from the reverse to the obverse. The wreath on the reverse and certain other features were changed as well. This style remained in effect until the last year of half dime coinage, 1873.

In 1860 Director James Ross Snowden caused a transitional "pattern" to be made. The obverse was of the style in use the preceding year, with stars, but the reverse was of the 1860 type. Interestingly, this unusual combination of dies produced a coin which did not mention the country of origin. He announced that just 100 pieces were struck. The number of specimens extant today suggests that this figure was publicized in order to help promote sales of the piece; several hundred would be a better production estimate.

The half dime denomination has possessed a special

charm for several leading numismatists, among them Newlin and, in the 20th century, Dr. W. E. Caldwell.

Dimes (1796 to Date)

Following the establishment of the Philadelphia Mint in 1792, it was contemplated to issue copper, silver, and gold coins. High surety bonds in the amount of \$10,000 each were required of certain Mint officials before silver and gold could be struck, with the result that the first year, 1793, saw the production of only copper. Later the bond was reduced, and in 1794 the first silver issues made their appearance, followed in 1795 by the first gold coins. The first 10-cent pieces, or dimes, were struck in 1796. The design, similar to the half dime of the same period, features on the obverse the draped bust style and on the reverse a small eagle perched on a cloud. In 1798 the reverse was changed to the heraldic eagle format, a style which was continued through 1807.

Among early dimes are several interesting varieties. 1797 pieces are found with 13 stars or 16 stars on the obverse. 1798 varieties are found with 13 stars or 16 stars on the reverse. One variety of 1804, the 14-star reverse, was struck from the identical reverse die used in the same year to make gold quarter eagles.

No dimes were struck in 1808. In the following year, 1809, John Reich's capped bust design was employed. This style was continued through 1827. In 1828 the diameter was reduced slightly and other minor modifications were made. As was the case with certain other denominations, coinage was intermittent. For example, no dimes were coined bearing the dates 1810, 1812, 1813, 1815-1819, or 1826.

In 1837 Gobrecht's Liberty seated design was used for the first time. This style, made in 1837 at Philadelphia and in 1838 at New Orleans, is without stars in the field, the same style as used on the half dimes, but not on other silver issues made for circulation. In 1838 stars were added to the obverse, a format that was continued through 1860. Arrows appear at the date of certain 1853 issues and all dated 1854 and 1855, signifying a weight reduction initiated during that time.

In 1860 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA was transferred from the reverse to the obverse of the dime. Other changes were made as well. This style was continued through 1891. Arrows appear at the date of certain 1873 issues and all of 1874, signifying a change in the standard weight begun at that time.

In 1892 Charles E. Barber's Liberty head design

United States Dimes



1800 Dime



1801 Dime



1804 Dime
14 stars on reverse



1811/09 Dime



1814 Dime
Large date



1821 Dime
Small date



1822 Dime



1827 Dime



1828 Dime
Small date



1828 Dime
Large date



1830 Dime



1831 Dime



1837 Dime
Bust type



1838-O Dime



1846 Dime



1859 Dime
Regular issue



1859 Dime
Transitional



1873 Dime
Arrows at date



1901 Dime



1938 Dime

made its appearance. Without change this style was continued through 1916. In the latter year the Liberty head style designed by Adolph A. Weinman made its appearance. For many years numismatists had been sharply critical of America's silver coin designs. Barber's dime, quarter, and half dollar were disliked as was Morgan's dollar. So, the advent of the new issue, soon called the "Mercury" dime, created considerable excitement.

The Numismatist printed the reactions of several prominent collectors and dealers. Farran Zerbe of San Francisco said:

I am delighted with the new dime.

J. W. Scott in New York City said:

The new dime is the best piece of work that the United States Mint has turned out in a century.

Henry Chapman, the well-known Philadelphia dealer, noted that:

I think the new dime is a very creditable production, and am glad to see such an artistic coin come out from this country.

Edgar H. Adams, the most prominent numismatic student of the time, observed that:

The new dime, in my opinion, is one of the handsomest coins of the denomination that has been issued for regular circulation in the country. There are a few minor features that may be criticized, but the general effect is quite commendable. I hope the designs for the new half and quarter dollars will be as satisfactory.

Wayte Raymond, who was gaining prominence as a rare coin dealer, said:

I think very favorably of the new dime. The head of Liberty has considerable resemblance to some coins of the Roman Republic, and is very artistic. The only criticism I have to make is the fact that the words "In God We Trust" and the date seem to be placed on the die as an afterthought, as there really is no space for them on the obverse.

B. Max Mehl, the Texas dealer, shared his opinion:

To my mind it does not require very artistic efforts to excel the old issue. The new issue is indeed a welcome addition to our coinage, and one which I think will meet with the approval of thinking numismatists. From a business standpoint I think any new issue is a good thing for the numismatic profession, as it seems to stimulate interest not only among collectors, but among non-collectors, and is the means of bringing out a considerable number of collectors.

Thomas L. Elder, who was always willing to give his opinion on any subject from pennies to politics, wrote a very lengthy comment which said, in part:

We have in the new United States dime, designed by Adolph Alexander Weinman, the handsomest American coin . . . so, after years of waiting and not a little agitation, in which I claim a share, we have here a coin which is sec-

ond to none we have issued, and it will compare favorably with any in Europe, which is saying much. Let us hope the new quarter and half dollar, soon to appear, will be as creditable.

The Mercury dime was produced from 1916 to 1945. Following President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's death in the latter year, plans were made to honor him on the ten-cent piece, for during his lifetime he was closely associated with the March of Dimes campaign.

John R. Sinnock, who became chief engraver in 1925, replacing George T. Morgan, was named to submit models for the new design. These were ready in October 1945.

The Commission of Fine Arts did not like the design and proposed that a competition be held among leading artists. This idea was rejected for it was felt that the new dimes had to be ready by January 1946 for the March of Dimes program. Accordingly, despite many protests the Sinnock designs were modified and used. Coinage of the Roosevelt dime continued from that date.

Twenty-Cent Pieces (1875-1878)

Senator J. P. Jones of Nevada introduced a bill in February 1874 which provided for the coinage of a twenty-cent piece. Authorization for the new denomination was provided by the Coinage Act of March 3, 1875.

The director of the Mint reported in 1874:

The issue of a coin of that denomination will not only be in accordance with our decimal system of money, but will remove a difficulty in making change which now exists upon the Pacific Coast and in Texas where the five-cent copper-nickel coins do not circulate, and where it was formerly the practice to apply the term "bits," "two bits," "four bits," respectively to fractions of the Spanish dollar which circulated there.

It was further suggested by others that the twenty-cent piece was more fitting to our system of currency, for in the large denomination paper money notes there were issues of \$10, \$20, and \$50, but none of \$25. Thus a twenty-cent piece would be more compatible.

Joseph K. Bailly, a Philadelphia sculptor, prepared models for the new denomination. Director Pollock believed that Bailly's design, the figure of Liberty seated on a globe, resembled the quarters too closely and suggested that William Barber prepare additional patterns. In 1875 further designs were submitted.

Despite Pollock's original concern, when a motif was selected for circulation it was the regular Liberty

seated style as used on the quarter of the period. The eagle was copied from the trade dollar. With a size, shape, and design somewhat similar to the quarter (although the twenty-cent piece had a plain edge rather than a reeded edge), the new denomination caused much confusion when it was introduced to the public. A twenty-cent piece would be given as payment for a five-cent ferry boat ride, and the ticket seller, mistaking it for a quarter, would give too much change. Complaints of this nature were voiced often. After a mintage of over one million pieces the first year, 1875, production dropped sharply. In 1876 fewer than 25,000 coins were struck for circulation, and of this number apparently most were melted. The two following years, 1877 and 1878, were limited solely to Proof strikings made for collectors. After that time the denomination was discontinued. From the series emerged a great rarity, the 1876 Carson City issue. Although 10,000 were struck, apparently nearly all went to the melting pot. Fewer than 20 specimens are known to exist today.

Quarter Dollars (1796 to date)

The first quarter dollars did not appear until 1796, in which year 6,146 were coined. Many of these were struck from polished dies and resembled what would later be called Proofs. Following the design of the contemporary dime and half dime, the quarter featured the draped bust motif on the obverse and an eagle perched on a cloud on the reverse. Like the early half dimes and dimes, the 1796 quarters bore no indication of value.

Following the modest coinage of 1796, no quarters were produced until 1804, in which year the reverse style was changed to the heraldic eagle design. Pieces of this format were made through 1807. Then followed a hiatus, broken by the issuance of quarters in 1815. Following other silver coinage, the format was John Reich's capped bust style. This design was continued through 1838. Engraver Kneass reduced the diameter of the quarter in 1831, eliminated *E PLURIBUS UNUM* from the reverse, and made other modifications of the basic design.

Coinage of the capped bust type, 1815-1838, was not continuous in the early years. No examples were coined with the dates 1816, 1817, 1826, 1829, or 1830.

On one variety of 1822 quarter the engraver, believing he was working on a half dollar die, placed the denomination 50C on the reverse. The error was noticed, and the numerals 25 were overpunched. Six years later in 1828 the same blundered die was used again.

1823/2, an overdate (no non-overdate quarters were produced in 1823), is a rarity. Curiously, nearly all known specimens show a high degree of wear.

The most famous rarity in the entire quarter series is the 1827. Although mint records indicate 4,000 pieces were struck, apparently these coins must have been struck from earlier-dated dies or possibly the production was melted and never released. In any event, no 1827 quarter showing evidence of circulation has ever come to light. There were, however, Proof quarters made in 1827 for use in presentation sets. Joseph J. Mickley, the pioneer Philadelphia collector, visited the Mint that year and obtained for face value four examples. Others were made as well. Today numismatists believe that about 10 are known to exist.

Many decades later a crude restrike of the 1827 quarter was made from rusted dies. Whereas the 2 in 25c on the original 1827 Proof quarter has a curled base, the restrikes were made with an incorrect reverse which has a square-base 2.

The 1827 quarter die was produced by altering an unused die bearing the date 1823. Close examination of the last digit of the date reveals that the issue properly should be designated an overdate, 1827/3. Other overdates abound among early capped bust quarters. As noted, coinage was not continuous, with the result that dies prepared for a given year were not always used in or near the year indicated. Later when they were used the date was altered in the die, producing an overdate.

The Liberty seated design with stars on the obverse appeared in 1838 and was continued through 1891. To signify the weight change in 1853 arrowheads were added to each side of the date and an aura of rays was added to the eagle on the reverse. The rays were discontinued, but arrowheads were retained in 1854 and 1855. 1866 saw the introduction of the motto *IN GOD WE TRUST* to the reverse design. In 1873 and 1874 arrowheads were added near the date.

The Liberty seated quarter series contains a number of rare issues, including the 1842 with small date numerals (this variety was issued only as part of the relatively few Proof sets issued this year—1842 quarters made for circulation had larger date numerals), 1849-O, 1853 without arrows and rays, and the Carson City issues from 1870 to 1873. Philadelphia Mint quarters from 1879 to 1890 were made in limited numbers, as were half dollars of the same decade, for the facilities of the Mint were severely taxed by the immense coinage of silver dollars made in response to the Bland-Allison Act.

United States Coins



1877 Twenty-cents



1807 25c



1815 25c



1819 25c
Large date



1820 25c
Small 0



1821 25c



1823/2 25c



1825 25c



1828 25c



1835 25c



1853/2 25c



1854 25c



1879 25c



1892 25c



1938 25c

Charles E. Barber's Liberty head quarter dollar made its debut in 1892. The design was continued without major change until 1916, although two minor reverse varieties were made of the 1892 issues. Three varieties, all from the San Francisco Mint, are remarkable for their low mintages: 1896-S, 1901-S, and 1913-S. The 1914 Proof quarter, with a mintage of just 380 pieces, represents the lowest recorded mintage figure for any Proof of this denomination since 1860.

In 1916 a new design, the standing Liberty type, the work of Hermon A. MacNeil, appeared. The obverse featured Liberty standing between two revetments, holding a shield in one hand and an olive branch in the other. The reverse showed an eagle in flight. Miss Dora Doscher, 22 years of age, 5'4½" tall, served as the model for the new design. *The Numismatist* noted that:

Through her own efforts she has developed from a half invalid child to a most perfect type of American womanhood. Her days are spent in artistic and intellectual pursuits. She is a lecturer, scenario writer, and trained nurse . . . The measurements from which the late Karl Bitter modelled the figures for mounting the Pulitzer Memorial Fountain that stands in the Plaza in New York City were taken from Miss Doscher. Mr. Bitter's *Diana* that stands in the Metropolitan Museum of Art was modelled from the coin girl . . .

The appearance of the new 1916 silver designs, the dime, quarter, and half dollar, were welcomed by numismatists and others who had been very critical of the earlier Barber coinage. Indeed, the Mint was pleased as well, as the director's report for the year indicated:

By far the most notable achievement of the Mint service during the fiscal year 1916 was the selection, with your approval, of new designs for the dime, quarter dollar, and half dollar pieces. For the first time in the history of our coinage there are separate designs for each of the three denominations, and their beauty and quality, from a numismatic standpoint, have been highly praised by all having expertise in such matters to whom they have been shown. The striking of these coins for general circulation will doubtless be well under way by the coming of the Christmas holiday season.

The process of selecting the new designs . . . began on January last, when, with your permission, I conferred with the members of the Commission of Fine Arts. Noted sculptors were commissioned to prepare a number of sketch models, and from more than 50 submitted 3 sets were chosen. It is a pleasure to note that the models which you and I selected were also the choice of the members of the Commission of Fine Arts.

The dime and half dollar are the work of Mr. Adolph A. Weinman. The design of the half dollar bears a full-length figure of Liberty, the folds of the Stars and Stripes flying to the breeze as a background, progressing in full stride toward the dawn of a new day, carrying branches of laurel and oak, symbolical of civil and military glory. The hand of the figure is outstretched in bestowal of the spirit of liberty.

The reverse of the half dollar shows an eagle perched high upon a mountain crag, his wings unfolded, fearless in spirit and conscious of his power. Springing from a rift in the rock is a sapling of mountain pine, symbolical of America.

The design of the 25-cent pieces intended to typify in a measure the awakening interest of the country in its own protection.

The law specifies that on the obverse of the coin not only the word "Liberty" but a representation of Liberty shall be shown. In the new design Liberty is shown as a full-length figure, front view, with head turned toward the left, stepping forward to the gateway of the country, and on the wall are inscribed the words "In God We Trust," which words also appear on the new half dollar, mentioned above. The left arm of the figure of Liberty is upraised, bearing the shield in the attitude of protection, from which the covering is being drawn. The right hand bears the olive branch of peace. On the field above the head is inscribed the word "Liberty," and on the step under her feet "1916." The reverse of this coin necessitates by law a representation of the American eagle, and is here shown in full flight, with wings extended, sweeping across the coin. Inscription: "United States of America" and "E Pluribus Unum" and "Quarter Dollar" below. Connecting the lettering above an outer circle are thirteen stars.

The design of the dime, owing to the smallness of the coin, has been held quite simple. The obverse shows a head of Liberty with winged cap. The head is firm and simple in form, the profile forceful. The reverse shows a design of the bundle of rods, with battle-ax, known as "fasces," and symbolical of unity, wherein lies the nation's strength. Surrounding the fasces is a full-foliaged branch of olive, symbolical of peace.

The obverse of the 1916 quarter, featuring the undraped bosom of Miss Doscher, aroused some unfavorable comment, with the result in 1917 it was modified by encasing her in a protective suit of armor. The reverse design was changed slightly by rearranging the stars.

The standing Liberty quarter was minted through 1930. There are several scarce issues in the series, including 1916, the 1918/7-S overdate, and 1927-S. The design presented difficulties in striking, so with the exception of certain early issues of 1917, most quarters produced at the Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco mints 1916-1930 show weaknesses in certain areas, particularly on the high parts of Miss Liberty's head.

With the approach of the bicentennial of George Washington's birth the Treasury Department proposed that a commemorative half dollar be made to honor the first president. Later it was decided that a quarter denomination would be made. Authorization came on March 4, 1931. It was recommended that Laura Gardin Fraser, wife of James Earle Fraser (designer of the buffalo nickel), be selected, for she had won a government

competition for a Washington medal and also had designed several commemorative half dollars.

The administration changed, and Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon rejected the Commission of Fine Arts' suggestion and the enthusiasm expressed by others concerning Laura Gardin Fraser's designs, and adopted one by John Flannagan.

The Numismatist commented on the new 1932 quarter when it appeared:

The new Washington quarter dollar was officially placed in circulation August 1, and for a few days afterward they were handed out sparingly through the banks of the country to those who applied for them. The purpose of this is not clear. It was announced that only a few would be allowed any one person, the object being to prevent, if possible, their being sold at a premium. But as a matter of fact the policy of making them scarce and difficult to get encourages their sale at a profit. During June and July 6,248,800 quarters were struck, and it is expected the Philadelphia Mint at least will continue their coinage in corresponding quantities for some time, and in a few weeks everybody will be able to secure all they want at any bank.

It should be remembered that, although the coin commemorates the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Washington, it is not a commemorative coin as the term is generally used by collectors. It is a regular government issue of a new design and supplants the design first issued late in 1916 along with the new designs for the 50 cents and the dime . . .

An almost universal objection to the design just discontinued [the standing Liberty motif] was that after a little wear the date on the obverse became almost obliterated. This objection was partly overcome a few years ago, and the Washington bicentennial offered an opportunity to adopt an entirely new design. The objection to the old design must have been in Mr. Flanagan's mind while preparing his model, for he has placed the date between the truncation of the bust and the rim of the coin, both of which are considerably higher than the figures in the date, giving it ample protection from wear.

All in all, it is an attractive coin. The bust of Washington stands out in strong relief in contrast to the reverse, which appears somewhat crowded, particularly the part above the eagle's head. But sculptors are better judges of such things than laymen.

When sculptors were asked to submit designs for the new coin, one of the considerations named was that the bust of Washington must be modelled along the lines of the celebrated Houdon bust.

Jean Antoine Houdon, a French sculptor, was commissioned in 1785 to model a bust of Washington. He had recently executed a statue of Benjamin Franklin while the latter was staying in Paris. On Franklin's return to the United States he was accompanied by Houdon, who visited Washington at Mount Vernon,

where he modelled a marble bust of him. A short time later he decided to return to Paris, taking the model with him for completion.

Washington quarters have been produced from 1932 onward. 1932-D and 1932-S, produced at Denver and San Francisco during the first year of the design, have been considered scarce ever since they were first released. Relatively few were saved by collectors at the time of issue.

For the bicentennial of American independence a special 1776-1976 quarter was prepared. This issue featured a reverse design by Jack L. Ahr which depicted a colonial drummer.

Half Dollars (1794 to date)

The first United States half dollars, minted in December 1794, were of the flowing hair design by Robert Scot. This style, which was continued in 1795, matched that used on the half dimes and dollars of the same dates.

In 1796 the style was changed to the draped bust configuration. The reverse depicted a small eagle perched on a cloud. This design, minted in very limited quantities in 1796 and 1797, is considered to be the rarest major half dollar type.

No half dollars were coined with dates 1798 to 1800. In 1801 the half dollar again appeared. The design featured Scot's draped bust on the obverse. The reverse was of the heraldic eagle style. This was continued through 1807. In that year John Reich's capped bust type, often referred to as the *Turban Head*, was initiated, a style which continued, with modifications, through 1839. From 1807 to 1836 specimens were made of large diameter. The denomination was lettered on the edge: FIFTY CENTS OR HALF A DOLLAR. In December 1836 a new design, smaller in diameter and with a reeded edge, appeared. The obverse featured Christian Gobrecht's adaptation of Reich's capped bust design. The reverse was also an adaptation of the earlier style, but with the denomination changed from 50C to 50 CENTS. In 1838 the reverse was again revised. Changes were made in the lettering, and the denomination was revised to HALF DOL.

Coinage was continuous from 1807 to 1839 with the exception of 1816, the year of the disastrous Mint fire.

Half dollars of the early years have formed the object of several important studies and references, including M. L. Beistle's *Register of United States Half Dollar Varieties and Sub-Varieties* and Al C. Overton's *Early Half Dollar Varieties 1794-1836*.

United States Half Dollars



1794 50c



1795 50c



1796 50c
16 stars



1796 50c
15 stars



1797 50c



1801 50c



1805/4 50c



1805/4 Overdate



1805 50c



1806 50c
Pointed 6



1807 50c
Draped bust type

United States Half Dollars



1809 50c



1832 50c



1836 50c
Lettered edge



1837 50c



1839-O 50c



1842 50c
Medium date



1854 50c



1856 50c



1866-S 50c
Without motto



1871-CC 50c



1873 50c
With arrows



1892 50c

Among early half dollars, the first year of issue, 1794, is elusive in all grades. As noted, the draped bust half dollars with small eagle reverse minted only in 1796 and 1797 are rare. Other scarce issues include 1815/2, 1817/4, and 1836 with reeded edge. 1838-O is a major rarity. Struck in the first year of operation of the New Orleans Mint, this coin was apparently produced to the extent of only 20 pieces.

Gobrecht's Liberty seated design with obverse stars made its appearance in 1839. With modifications, the type was continued through 1891. In 1853 arrowheads were added near the date and an aura of rays was added to the reverse. The following two years, 1854 and 1855, were produced with arrowheads at the date, but the rays were discontinued. Prior to the use of the dies with arrowheads and rays the New Orleans Mint early in 1853 coined a very small number of half dollars without these features. These are recognized as major rarities.

In 1866 the motto IN GOD WE TRUST was added to the reverse. 1873 and 1874 saw the addition of arrowheads near the date to signify a weight change. As was the case with quarters during the same period, half dollars of 1879-1890 were of severely reduced mintages due to the preoccupation at the Philadelphia Mint with the tremendously expanded coinage of silver dollars.

In 1892 Charles E. Barber's Liberty head design made its appearance. The type was continued through 1915.

Adolph A. Weinman's Liberty walking design was issued from 1916 through 1947. Collectors today recognize a number of scarce issues in the series, including pieces struck at Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco in 1921. Throughout the series many issues are weakly struck.

In 1948 the Franklin design of Mint engraver John R. Sinnock was selected for the half dollar, despite strong objections of the Commission of Fine Arts. The Franklin type was minted from 1948 to 1963. Beginning in 1964 the Kennedy half dollar, with the obverse design by Gilroy Roberts and the reverse by Frank Gasparro, made its appearance. To celebrate the bicentennial of American independence a special 1776-1976 Kennedy half dollar was made with a reverse design by Seth Huntington which showed Independence Hall, a design not much different from that used on the commemorative quarter eagle minted in 1926 for the 150th anniversary of independence.

Silver Dollars (1794 to date)

Although the term *silver* dollars has traditionally been

used to describe these large coins, the use of silver metal was discontinued (except for special pieces made for collectors) in 1971. Since that time "silver dollars" have been made of other alloys.

The first United States silver dollar made its appearance in 1794. Portraying Robert Scot's flowing hair design of Liberty on the obverse and a perched eagle with delicate wings on the reverse, this style was continued through part of 1795 as well. During the first year, 1794, 1,758 dollars were minted. An article which appeared in *The New Hampshire Gazette*, December 2, 1794, noted:

Some of the dollars now coining at the Mint of the United States have found their way to this town. A correspondent put one in the editor's hand yesterday. Its weight is equal to that of a Spanish dollar, but the metal appears finer. One side bears a head, with flowing tresses encircled by fifteen stars, and has the word "Liberty" at the top, and the date, 1794, at the bottom. On the reverse is the bald eagle, enclosed in an olive branch, around which are the words "United States of America." The edge is well indented, in which are the words "one dollar, or unit. Hundred cents." The *tout ensemble* has a pleasing effect to a connoisseur; but the touches of the graver are too delicate and there is a want of that boldness of execution which is necessary to durability and currency.

The 1794 dollar has always been a famous coin in numismatics. Walter Breen, Jack Collins, and others have studied surviving examples, which number close to 100.

Writing in 1861, James Ross Snowden credited the artist Gilbert Stuart with the inspiration for the draped bust design engraved in 1795 by Robert Scot:

The head of Liberty of the dollar of 1795 was designed by Stuart, the celebrated portrait painter, at the request of the Director, as we learned from a relation of the family, Stuart facetiously remarking that "Liberty on the other coins had run mad," referring to the disheveled hair on the previous coins. "We will bind it up and thus render her a steady matron."

The draped bust style with small eagle reverse was continued in use until 1798, when early in the year the reverse was changed to the heraldic eagle type. Specimens of the new design were subsequently minted through 1804.

Although mint records note that 19,570 silver dollars were minted in 1804, apparently these were struck from dies with earlier dates.

Close to 1½ million silver dollars were produced during the 1794-1803 years. Few were actually seen in circulation, however. Many of the coins when first minted were found to be worth slightly more in silver content than the popular Spanish milled dollars then in

circulation. Vast quantities of the American-made coins were sent to the West Indies and exchanged at a slight advantage for a larger number of Spanish milled dollars. The Spanish milled dollars were then brought back to exchange for American dollars at par. The mintage of silver dollars and \$10 gold pieces was suspended for this reason in 1804.

In 1834 the Department of State desired to send specimen Proof sets of American coinage to the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam. The Mint director wanted to illustrate one example each of all authorized denominations. At the time the \$1 and \$10 values were not being struck, their coinage having been suspended in 1804. A search was probably made for 1804-dated dies in order to illustrate the most recent examples of these denominations, but no dies came to light. So, new dies for the 1804 \$1 and \$10 were created and coins were struck from them.

At the time it is probable that Mint officials did not realize that the 19,570 dollars listed in the Mint report were not dated 1804. Thus, inadvertently they created the first 1804 dollar three decades later!

The desirability of this coin was soon recognized, and additional specimens were struck on several occasions. In 1843 one was traded to collector Matthew A. Stickney of Salem, Massachusetts, in exchange for a 1785 Immune Columbia cent in gold.

More articles, commentaries, and column inches of print have been devoted to the 1804 silver dollar than to any other single United States coin issue. In 1962 an entire book was devoted to this coin, *The Fantastic 1804 Dollar*, by Eric P. Newman and Kenneth E. Bressett.

During the early 20th century, Texas dealer B. Max Mehl, who extensively promoted the 1913 Liberty head nickel, considered the 1804 silver dollar to be what he styled the King of American Coins. On the infrequent occasions when an 1804 dollar appeared in an auction sale, the catalogues of Mehl and others were devoted to fascinating multiple-page descriptions. Today the fame of the 1804 silver dollar is unsurpassed by any coin in the American silver series.

In 1835 and 1836 Christian Gobrecht prepared new silver dollar designs at the Philadelphia Mint. In December 1836 his Liberty seated obverse design in combination with a reverse depicting an eagle in flight was used to strike patterns. The first issues had Gobrecht's signature displayed prominently in the field of the coin above the date. In response to local newspaper criticism, the engraver removed his name from that location and replaced it in an inconspicuous

spot on the base of Liberty. Additional patterns of various designs were struck in 1838 and 1839.

Despite the acclaim given to Gobrecht's work, when silver dollar coinage in quantity was resumed in 1840 the flying eagle reverse was not used. In its place a more conservative eagle perched on an olive branch and clutching three arrows was employed. Liberty seated dollars were produced steadily from 1840 onward. In addition to those made for the channels of commerce, each year several dozen were struck in Proof condition. During this time silver dollars were rarely seen by the public. Most were kept in bank vaults, were exported, or were melted.

In 1866 the motto IN GOD WE TRUST was added to the reverse of the Liberty seated dollar. Coinage remained continuous until 1873, when the legislation of that year made no provision for continued production.

Among rare issues in the Liberty seated dollar series are to be found the 1851 (two varieties, originals and restrikes), 1852, 1858, 1870-S, and the Carson City issues 1871 to 1873.

In 1876 and 1877 several pattern dollars were made. The following year, 1878, saw the resumption of silver dollar coinage. The Bland-Allison Act, adopted on February 28th of that year, and subsequent legislation eventually provided for the coinage of over a half billion silver dollars. Produced as the result of pressure from western mining interests, the dollars were not needed by the public nor wanted by the Treasury. As a result, the vast majority of them piled up in Treasury vaults in Mint-sealed bags of 1,000 pieces.

The silver dollar design produced from 1878 to 1921 was the work of George T. Morgan. Modelled after Miss Anna Williams, a girl of 19, the portrait first appeared on a pattern half dollar of 1877.

Morgan, born in Birmingham, England, in 1845, attended the South Kensington Art School. Later he became a student at the Royal Mint under Wyon. In 1876, Director Henry R. Linderman brought Morgan to the United States and employed him as an assistant to William and Charles Barber. His initial appointment was for six months, but it later turned out that he stayed at the Mint for 48 years.

By the end of 1904 over 570,000,000 silver dollars of the Morgan design had been struck. What was to be done with all of these dollars? Clearly, there was no need for them in commerce. Silver dollars had never been popular with the public. The only place they circulated to any extent was in the western states, and this was mostly as the result of a determined effort to make

United States Coins



1794 \$1



1795 \$1
3 leaves, 13 berries



1800 \$1



1872-CC \$1



1893-CC \$1



1880 Trade dollar



1849-D
Gold \$1



1854-S
Gold \$1



1858-D
Gold \$1



1877
Gold \$1

the public conscious of silver metal. Relatively few were needed for normal channels of commerce. As a result, most went to the Treasury vaults for long-term storage.

The Pittman Act of April 23, 1918, resulted in 270,232,722 silver dollars of earlier dates being melted down, slightly less than half the total minted earlier. Interestingly, three years later in 1921 another 86 million Morgan dollars were struck, despite the wholesale destruction of hundreds of millions of pieces under the Pittman Act earlier. A poignant commentary on the situation is given by silver dollar specialists Leroy C. VanAllen and A. George Mallis in the book *The Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of United States Morgan and Peace Dollars*, "As is obvious, the Morgan and Peace silver dollars were made a political football throughout their unsettled existence like no other coins in American history!"

For years the Treasury Department released quantities of earlier-dated dollars whenever the public called for them, especially around the Christmas season when they were popular as gifts. In 1962 the pre-holiday release included several dates which were considered scarce by collectors, 1898-O, 1903-O, and 1904-O. 1903-O, which catalogued \$1,500 Uncirculated in the current edition of the *Guide Book of United States Coins*, was considered a major rarity. It was estimated that only a half dozen or so Uncirculated pieces were known to be in collectors' hands. As Mint-sealed bags of 1,000 pieces turned up in several areas, the price dropped to the \$35 level per coin, and then as low as \$17. The silver dollar treasure hunt was on! During the next two years hundreds of millions of silver dollars came forth from the Treasury vaults. Toward the end of the free-for-all distribution, the Treasury Department decided that it should save some profit for itself, so about three million coins, consisting primarily of Carson City Morgan dollars, were held back. Subsequently these were offered for sale in a series of mail bid auctions.

Today collectors recognize a number of rarities in the Morgan dollar series. The 1895 Philadelphia Mint issue has a mintage figure of 12,880 coins, divided into 12,000 business strikes intended for circulation plus 880 Proofs sold to collectors. While Proofs exist today and are quite elusive, no Uncirculated coin from the 12,000 business strikes has ever come to light. Presumably, all were melted under the Pittman Act in 1918. Among branch mint issues the 1893-S is considered to be the most desirable. Specimens are rare in all grades. In the Morgan dollar series, among issues originally intended for circulation, mintage is not necessarily a guide to

present-day rarity, for when vast numbers were melted under the Pittman Act no record was kept of the specific issues involved. For example, of the 1885-CC issue 228,000 pieces were coined, but in 1973 the United States Government announced that it had available 130,807 pieces—from those held back during the great 1962 Treasury release. In other words, well over half of all the 228,000 1885-CC dollars originally coined still exist today and are in Uncirculated grade. On the other hand, of the 100,000 1893-S silver dollars coined, few if any Uncirculated examples came to light during the great Treasury release. While the number of mint state 1893-S dollars is not known today, it is probably less than 100 specimens.

In 1920 at the annual convention of the American Numismatic Association, Farran Zerbe proposed that a new design for the silver dollar, a motif depicting peace, be adopted. This suggestion was acted upon, with the result that in December 1921 the Peace dollar, designed by Anthony De Francisci, made its appearance. The obverse featured the head of Liberty modelled after the artist's wife. The reverse showed a perched eagle. The new dollar met with heavy criticism, particularly from members of the American Numismatic Association who felt that their original proposal had been compromised. Many adverse comments appeared in the pages of *The Numismatist*. Amidst general complaints about the design it was pointed out that the lettering was inconsistent. On the obverse the letter U appeared as a V in TRVST. On the reverse, the same letter U appeared in its regular form in UNITED STATES OF AMERICA and E PLURIBUS UNUM. The extremely high relief of the 1921 Peace dollar caused great problems in striking, with the result that in 1922 the design was considerably modified to a very shallow relief. In this style dollars were minted through 1935. Coinage was not continuous, and none were struck from 1929 to 1933 inclusive.

On August 3, 1964, an act was passed which provided that 45 million additional dollars be struck of the Peace design. On May 5, 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered that they be struck. At the Denver Mint 316,076 pieces were made. Although striking of the silver dollars occurred in 1965, they bore the date 1964. At the same time the country was dropping silver coinage and switching to the new cupro-nickel standard. It was decided that only a few of the 1964 Peace silver dollars, if released, would actually reach the public. Most would be seized by collectors and speculators or would be otherwise hoarded. According to later Mint announcements, *all* of the 1964 Peace dollars were

melted down. The legend persisted that some had been saved.

A letter from Denver dealer Dan Brown, reprinted in the author's book *Adventures With Rare Coins*, sheds some light on the subject and affords an interesting speculation:

I was talking with Fern Miller a few years back when she was director of the United States Mint here in Denver. She was telling me that when the order came stating that the Denver Mint was to make the new Peace dollar everyone at the Mint was elated. They set up the machinery for it, and at the proper time struck a large quantity. As has been the custom throughout the years, Mint employees were each allowed to buy two of these new dollars. Quite a number of the Mint employees took advantage of it and bought two pieces each. Soon afterwards, word came in from Washington that they were not to strike any more dollars, and that if any had been given out they were to be taken back and held until further orders, which probably would mean that the coins would be melted down at a future date.

Mrs. Miller did mention the fact that she thought everyone who had purchased the dollars in the morning they were first coined turned them in, but as no record was kept of the purchasers, there really was no way of knowing for sure. So, as a result, there possibly are some of the dollars still in existence. These may show up in future years. Of course they would be great rarities. I don't think that the Mint could declare them illegal under the circumstances and confiscate them, although this is a legal point.

In 1971, in response to the demand from gambling casinos in Nevada, dollars were again struck. Designed by Frank Gasparro, chief engraver of the Mint, the obverse features the portrait of President Dwight D. Eisenhower. The reverse depicts an eagle landing on the moon. Specimens struck for circulation were made of copper-nickel clad metal. For collectors, special issues of a silver clad metal were struck. Coinage of the Eisenhower dollar continued through 1978. A special 1776-1976 issue was made for the bicentennial celebration. The reverse, a design provided by Dennis R. Williams, depicted the Liberty Bell superimposed on the moon.

On July 2, 1979, a new dollar design was released to the public. Featuring Susan B. Anthony on the obverse, the issue was of small diameter, midway between the quarter and half dollar, and was designed to facilitate use in coin-operated vending machines. By that time, the half dollar, which was rarely seen in circulation after the early 1960s, was not in common use. Patrons of vending machines desiring to make purchases would often have to use three, four, or more quarter dollars. It was hoped that the conveniently-sized Anthony dollar would find great public utility. In addition, the government hoped to effect a substantial

savings, for the coin could withstand many years of use in circulation, whereas a paper currency dollar had a useful life of only about 18 months.

Trade Dollars (1873-1885)

Trade dollars, first called *commercial dollars*, were struck in pattern form beginning in 1871. Shortly before that time American trade with the Orient had increased considerably. Chinese and other merchants disliked gold and refused paper money. Silver metal was preferred. Prominent in circulation throughout the Orient were dollar-size Mexican coins which weighed slightly more than standard United States silver dollars. To compete with the Mexican issues, Congress in the subsequent Coinage Act of 1873 authorized the trade dollar to weigh 420 grains and consist of nine-tenths silver. The standard silver dollar weighed 412½ grains and was made of the same alloy.

The first commercial dollar patterns were made in 1871 and employed the seated Indian princess design earlier engraved by James B. Longacre. In 1872 additional patterns were made employing designs by Longacre, Barber (who copied the Longacre motif), and Gobrecht (the regular Liberty seated silver dollar obverse of the year).

In 1873 many more varieties of pattern trade dollars were made. Some of these were undoubtedly struck with the correct intent in mind, to eventually formulate a design for use in circulation. However, the majority seem to have been capricious combinations of dies struck to enrich privileged insiders at the Mint who quietly sold them to dealers and collectors.

In its adopted form the trade dollar design consisted of Liberty seated on bales of merchandise at the seashore. The reverse displayed a perched eagle grasping arrows and an olive branch. Although trade dollars were legal tender in the United States up to the amount of \$5, virtually the entire production of the first several years was shipped abroad. In 1873 the *American Journal of Numismatics* reported:

We were shown yesterday at the works of Morgan & Orr, 1219 Calowhill Street, the new coining press, just built by them for the purpose of coining at the San Francisco Mint all denominations of silver and gold coinage, but especially the new silver trade dollar ordered by the Department of the Mint.

This new machine weighs 18,000 pounds and is made entirely of the best steel, iron, and brass produced in Philadelphia. The steel plate above the coinage stamp is homemade and equal, if not superior, to the finest English, a fact that speaks well for our Philadelphia industry. The

beautiful heavy brass beam was cast seven times over to secure its accuracy and exactness as well as finish and strength. The large flywheel is cast hollow and loaded with base metal so as to give it additional weight to counterbalance a heavy brass beam. This flywheel is cast in sections and securely united. In the front of the machine is a finely-made brass cylinder to hold the unstamped coin which, as the wheel revolves, slip one at a time upon the sliding bedplate of iron with apertures made to receive a single coin, then drawn into the machine, the stamp descends, and the new trade dollar is carried out complete by an interior inclined plane. The heavy brass beam referred to of course controls the stamp. Perfect simplicity characterizes the machine, which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times beyond the capacity of any other coining machine that the firm ever made for the government. It is capable of striking eighty \$20 gold pieces equal to \$1,600 per minute, or twenty silver trade dollars in a minute.

During the first several years coinage of trade dollars was done at the Philadelphia, Carson City, and San Francisco mints. In 1873 and 1874 the pieces met with an enthusiastic reception abroad. At the Calcutta Mint in India 233,000 trade dollars were received during the first three months of 1874. In Peking, China, it was announced that the trade dollar would be the official coin for trade in that country and would replace the Mexican silver peso of lighter weight.

Demand for the trade dollar continued in 1875. During that year Superintendent LaGrange of the San Francisco Mint noted:

At no time since the commencement of the present calendar year has the mint been able to accumulate a surplus of trade dollars, and the public demand has not been fully met. The limited capacity of the Mint and the unusually large coinage of gold, which is given precedence over silver, has materially abridged the supply of this international coin at San Francisco, but the favorable introduction of the trade dollar into China has most effectually destroyed the use of the Mexican silver dollar as the medium of exchange between this city and the ports in the Chinese Empire. The city banks report an excessive demand for trade dollar exchange. The coinage capacity of the new Mint, shortly to be occupied, will, it is hoped, fully meet the requirements for all gold and silver coins. Great care has been given in the manufacture of the trade dollar to reach the closest approximate perfection in assay value, weight, and execution

Despite earlier reports of shortages and rosy predictions for its future, the trade dollar was reported as "fast becoming a drug on the market" in 1876. The *San Francisco Chronicle* noted:

Our banks and money broker offices are becoming glutted with them. Their greater intrinsic value as well as their novelty threatened for a while to crowd the familiar half dollar and the handy quarter out of sight. Chinamen remitting their hard-earned savings to their far distant land would have nothing but trade dollars. Oriental commerce was, and still is to a large extent, conducted on the solid

basis of this bright, new, and ringing silver representation of value. But the Orient, like San Francisco, is beginning to find that it is possible to be surfeited with even so much coveted a treasure as the trade dollar. The result is that a reaction has set in against the coin on this market, it no longer enjoys a preference over other silver. On the contrary, although a trade dollar is intrinsically worth eight cents more than two half dollars, the two halves will sell in the street from a half to three quarters of a cent more than the dollar. The reason for this is primarily because of the superabundance of the latter. But there is another reason which is not generally understood. Halves and quarters of the coinage of the United States are legal tender for all debts up to a certain amount; the trade dollar is not legal tender at all for any amount. It is merely a stamped ingot, having a certain value, like an ounce of gold, diamond, or a bushel of wheat. It is a commodity, the value of which fluctuates according to the supply and demand.

The preceding legal tender reference relates to Congressional action on July 22, 1876, which revoked the legal tender status of trade dollars and limited their coinage to export purposes. After this time many employers and others who paid wages would buy trade dollars at a discount and use them to pay workers. The recipients would spend them at face value, with merchants and others taking a loss when they subsequently were forced to sell them at a discount to banks. This practice was widespread, and many articles concerning the abuse were printed. By 1883 the silver in a trade dollar was worth only about 85 cents.

On February 19, 1887, legislation was passed which provided for the redemption of trade dollars which had not been mutilated. Over 8 million pieces came back to the Treasury, including about 2 million which were returned from China.

Trade dollars were coined for circulation from 1873 through 1878. After that time commercial production was discontinued. From 1879 until 1883 coinage was limited to Proofs struck for sale to collectors as part of the yearly sets.

Early in the 20th century numismatists were startled to learn that Proof trade dollars dated 1884 and 1885 existed. This discovery, which came through William Idler and John W. Haseltine, who had close connections with the Mint, aroused suspicion. Although Haseltine stated that 10 1884 trade dollars were struck and, later, that 5 1885 pieces were minted, Edgar H. Adams reported that 264 examples of the first date were produced. Farran Zerbe asked if the situation was a Mint "deal" and wrote an article for *The Numismatist*, which said, in part:

Seven of the ten trade dollars known to have been struck dated 1884 were sold by one dealer within a few months at prices ranging from \$150 to \$400.

The trade dollar, which for all time will be remembered as one of Uncle Sam's very few repudiated obligations, had nothing associated with its coinage to make it of particular interest to the numismatist until a few months ago when specimens dated 1884 came on the market, and the not previously known date of this coin has since caused it to be a discussion of considerable interest.

As to why trade dollars were coined in 1884 and not entered in the reports of the Mint there is no explanation. That ten pieces, and ten only, were struck is now an accepted fact. That their existence was surrounded with mystery and guarded as a secret for almost 25 years, is but one other of the gradually coming to light unexplainables from the old money mill that stood on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia. Of the ten specimens recorded as struck, two of them have not been located; of the other eight specimens, Mr. A. M. Smith has selfishly guarded one for many years; another collector, unnamed, did likewise, and six were the property of one man. Not many months ago these six came into the possession of Capt. John W. Haseltine, and then, for the first time, it was a published fact, with the coin in evidence, that 1884 trade dollars existed . . .

That the issue of trade dollars in 1884 was hinted at and doubted is shown by the following, written by the late Ed. Frossard, a numismatic expert and authority of his day, and published in his journal *Numisma*, March, 1884:

Our critic of the Sandham sale recently, almost openly, insinuated that trade dollars have been quietly manufactured at the Mint during the present year; in other words, that notwithstanding the positive assertions of the Mint authorities to the contrary, a trade dollar with the date 1884 does exist.

We hold that the plain but positive statement of the Mint officers on this point should be considered conclusive evidence, and they say that no trade dollars have been issued in the Philadelphia Mint, nor in any mint of the United States during the present, or dated 1884.

But as doubts on this point may still exist in the minds of those who heard the report, we are authorized to make the following offers: \$100 cash each for any number of United States trade dollars of 1884, coined at the Philadelphia or other United States mint; \$25 cash down to anyone who will show us such a dollar.

It is time that absurd and untruthful if not slanderous statements about so-called "deals" at the National Mint should cease. The present management has proved itself most honorable, impartial, and just, and no one has unusual facilities to obtain pattern pieces and Proof sets, all collectors in this respect being treated alike; that is, what is obtainable by one at the Mint is obtainable by all . . .

Farran Zerbe then noted in his article, "In the light of late developments this [Frossard's 1884 commentary] is somewhat amusing to read. There must have been so-called 'deals' at the Mint."

Gold Dollars (1849-1889)

In 1836 the Philadelphia Mint struck patterns for

two denominations which would not see regular circulation until many years later, the two-cent piece (which was first minted for circulation in 1864) and the gold dollar. Pattern gold dollars of that year display on the obverse a Liberty cap surrounded by resplendent rays. Later, the same design was to be used on a medal struck in the same year to observe the first use of steam power at the Mint for coinage. The reverse of the pattern dollars displayed a palm branch arranged in a circle or loop. Examples were struck in gold as well as other metals. Despite the success of the patterns, gold dollars were not adopted at the time.

In January 1849 James B. Longacre engraved on gold discs several patterns for a dollar. To increase the diameter of the coin but retain the same metallic content a hole was put in the center, in the manner of Chinese coins. On March 3rd of the same year the gold dollar denomination was authorized by Congress. The weight was established at 25.8 grains.

The adopted design differed from the engraved pattern issues and consisted of a compact head of Liberty wearing a coronet and with her hair tied in a bun. From 1849 through 1854 specimens of this design were made at the Philadelphia, Charlotte, Dahlonega, and New Orleans mints, and, beginning in 1854, the San Francisco Mint. The small diameter of 13 millimeters caused many problems in handling. Pieces were easily misplaced, and the designs and inscriptions could not be observed comfortably. As a result, in 1854 the design was modified. The diameter was increased to 15 millimeters, and the head of Liberty was redesigned to be an Indian princess.

Problems with the new design arose immediately. The head of Liberty was in high relief on the obverse. Because of this there was not enough metal flow during striking to fully bring up the details of the obverse while at the same time filling the inscription on the reverse. Accordingly, examples were weakly struck, usually at the two central figures of the four-digit date. In 1856 Longacre redesigned the portrait of Liberty to a larger size and with a plumed headdress (similar to that used on the \$3 gold piece first issued in 1854) to alleviate the problem. Dollars of the third design were minted until 1889, at which time the denomination was discontinued.

From 1849 until the Civil War gold dollars were made in large quantities. Despite their inconvenient size, they found ready use in circulation. After the Civil War, with the exception of a few scattered years, coinage diminished sharply. The nadir was reached in 1875, when just 400 business strikes plus 20 Proofs were

struck. During the early 1880s gold dollars became a popular item of speculation, and coin dealers, collectors, jewelers, and others hoarded them, causing current issues to sell for a slight premium. Because of this, mint-state examples of the 1879-1889 years exist today in large quantities relative to their modest mintages.

There are numerous rare issues among the 1849-1889 gold dollars. All pieces from the Charlotte and Dahlonega mints are elusive, and several, including 1849-C with an open wreath on the reverse, 1854-D, 1855-C, 1855-D, 1856-D, 1857-D, 1858-D, 1859-D, 1860-D, and 1870-S are very rare. One of the most famous of all rarities is the 1861-D issue. These pieces were apparently struck after the Dahlonega Mint was captured by the Confederate States of America forces. No coinage records were kept. Most Charlotte and Dahlonega (in particular) pieces are very weakly struck. The same situation occurred with most quarter eagles and half eagles from the same two mints.

Quarter Eagles (1796-1929)

The first \$2½ gold pieces, or quarter eagles, bear the date 1796. The initial pieces struck display Robert Scot's capped bust to right design on the obverse, without stars. The reverse is of the heraldic eagle type. It is believed that 963 pieces were made of this style. The obverse design was modified to include stars to the left and right, and an additional 432 1796 quarter eagles were struck with the new design. Coinage continued, with intermissions, until 1808, when John Reich's capped bust to left design was used. In that year 2,710 pieces were made. After that time coinage was suspended. In 1821 quarter eagle production resumed. The design was modified slightly to what is known today as the capped head (instead of bust) to left type. The diameter was reduced from about 20 millimeters to about 18.5. Quarter eagles were struck intermittently through 1834.

Effective August 1, 1834, the weight of gold coins was reduced, a step intended to eliminate the melting and exportation of coins which had resulted in the destruction of nearly the entire quarter eagle and half eagle mintage of the 1820s and early 1830s. To signify the standard change, the diameter was reduced slightly to 18.2 millimeters and the motto *E Pluribus Unum*, which had been on the reverse of the quarter eagle since 1796, was dropped. The adopted portrait was Kneass' classic head type. Specimens of this design were struck through 1839.

In 1840 the coronet or braided hair type, designed by Christian Gobrecht, made its appearance. This style

was produced continuously without change until 1907, a span of years unequalled by any other United States coinage design.

A number of rare quarter eagles occur throughout the 1796-1907 period. Due to limited mintages plus exportation and melting, all quarter eagles of the 1796-1834 type are extremely rare. The 1796 issue without stars on the obverse and the 1808 capped bust left have received a special degree of attention as these types were struck only in one year. The 1804 quarter eagle with 14 stars on the reverse was struck from the same reverse die used to coin a dime variety.

Charlotte and Dahlonega quarter eagles minted during the 1838-1860 years are all elusive. 1841, called the *Little Princess* by some cataloguers, was struck only in Proof condition and is exceedingly rare. 1854-S, a variety of which just 246 were struck, is likewise a major rarity. The mintage of 1875 quarter eagles stands at just 400 business strikes for circulation plus 20 Proofs, the same mintage as the gold dollar of the year.

From 1908 to 1929 the Indian quarter eagles were struck. Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, a friend of Theodore Roosevelt, proposed a coinage of intaglio or recessed design. The idea received a favorable reception, for Roosevelt believed that American coinage was very unattractive in comparison to pieces of antiquity. Bigelow engaged Bela Lyon Pratt, a well-known Boston sculptor, to prepare models in the early part of 1908.

Toward the end of the year quarter eagles and half eagles of the Pratt design reached circulation. *The Numismatist* commented:

The new half and quarter eagles are out. To most people these came unheralded and with very little warning. The public press has very little to say about them although they depart much more from the accepted standards than Saint-Gaudens' pieces did.

The chief departure from the world's accepted standard of how money should be made is the treatment of the background or field. Heretofore, the field of the coin has been the most depressed part, while the design has stood out in more or less greater relief. On these new coins the background has become the foreground and is now on the same plane with the highest part of the relief. The design is formed by countersinking into the field. This design is in relief as in other coins but is differentiated from the background by an incuse line, the shape of which follows the outline of the relief. The idea of depressing the design below the face of the coin originated with Dr. William S. Bigelow of Boston, who commissioned Mr. Bela L. Pratt, a noted Boston sculptor, to make the designs. These designs were submitted to Washington and were accepted several months ago.

United States Coins



1797 \$2½



1798 \$2½



1802/1 \$2½



1804 \$2½
14 stars on reverse



1805 \$2½



1806/4 \$2½



1807 \$2½



1824/1 \$2½



1825 \$2½



1827 \$2½



1829 \$2½



1830 \$2½



1831 \$2½



1832 \$2½



1833 \$2½



1850 \$2½



1860 \$2½



1865 \$2½



1866 \$2½



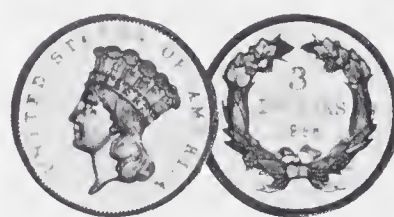
1915 \$2½



1860 \$3



1861 \$3



1865 \$3



1873 \$3

After the coins reached circulation numerous criticisms arose. It was stated that the sunken portions of the coin would act as a receptacle for dirt and a conveyor of disease, that the coins would not stack solidly but would tend to rock back and forth when put in piles, that the pieces were thinner than previous issues so that a pile of quarter eagles or half eagles consisting both of old and new designs would not be of uniform height (bank tellers would have to sort out the pieces by design rather than using the standard method of making stacks), the coins were not beautiful, and so on.

Issues of the Indian design were made at the Denver Mint in 1911, 1914, and 1925. The identifying mint letter D was raised in the field so that it became the first area of the coin to wear. In 1929 quarter eagle coinage was suspended. During the coinage period 1908-1929 production was divided into two spans, 1908-1915 and the second continuous coinage 1925-1929. Coins of the last several years did not circulate actively but remained in Treasury vaults. Most were melted during the 1930s.

Three-Dollar Gold Pieces (1854-1889)

The \$3 gold piece, authorized by Congress on February 21, 1853, made its debut in 1854. Mint records reveal that on April 28, 1854, in advance of the regular coinage, 15 Proof coins were sent by James Ross Snowden to the secretary of the Treasury.

The obverse of the \$3 piece bears the portrait of an Indian princess with plumed headdress. The reverse bears an inscription within an agricultural wreath. The basic design remained constant from the first year of issue, 1854, until the last, 1889. Specimens were struck continuously during this span at the Philadelphia Mint. Pieces were struck at Dahlonega and New Orleans in 1854 only. San Francisco coinage was accomplished in 1855, 1856, 1857, 1860, and 1870. Of the 1870-S, two were struck and just one is known today. Other rare dates in the series include the 1854-D, 1875 (struck only in Proof, recorded mintage 20 pieces), and 1876 (struck only in Proof, 45 pieces made).

After the first several years \$3 pieces lost favor with the public, with the result that examples struck later did not circulate to any significant extent. Due to the relatively low mintages throughout the entire series, no \$3 pieces are plentiful. All are considered scarce.

Four-Dollar Gold Stellas (1879-1880)

In 1879 and 1880 pattern \$4 gold pieces, called stellas from the five-pointed star design on the reverse, were

struck. Two types were produced, the flowing hair style by Charles E. Barber (copying a design made by his father William for a pattern \$5 of 1878), and the coiled hair design by George T. Morgan. Fifteen examples of the 1879 flowing hair design were struck in the year dated. In the following year, 1880, due to the demand for them, an additional 400 were made. The mintage of the 1879 coiled hair, 1880 flowing hair, and 1880 coiled hair pieces is not known with certainty but is estimated to be less than two dozen pieces of each variety. Apparently a large number of 1879 flowing hair pieces went into the hands of congressmen and other legislators.

Despite their status as patterns, the short-lived \$4 stellas have been adopted into the collections of many numismatists who display them with the regular series. Specimens of all varieties are highly prized today.

Half Eagles (1795-1929)

The first gold coins struck at the Philadelphia Mint were the half eagles of 1795. The initial designs featured on the obverse Robert Scot's capped bust to right design, an obverse style that was continued through 1807. The reverse showed an eagle perched on an olive branch and holding a wreath aloft in its beak. Beginning in 1798 the heraldic eagle reverse style was adopted. However, the Mint paid little attention to the dates on dies during the period, so around that time 1795 and 1797 obverses were used in combination with the heraldic eagle reverse.

Examples of the small eagle reverse exist of the years 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1798. The 1798 small eagle is one of America's greatest gold coin rarities. Only about a half dozen are known to exist.

Heraldic half eagles are known of the dates 1795, 1797, and then 1798, with the intermission of 1801, through 1807. In the latter year John Reich's capped draped bust to left style was adopted, a format which was continued through 1812. In 1813 Reich's capped head to left style made its debut. This format was continued in use through 1834. Beginning in 1829 the diameter of the half eagle was reduced slightly and other minor changes were made. The 1829 large date half eagle is of the early style, while the 1829 small date half eagle is of the reduced-diameter configuration.

All half eagles 1795-1834 are rare. Particularly notable are the 1798 small eagle, 1815, 1822 (just three are known, two of which are in the Smithsonian Institution), both varieties of 1829 (large and small date), and 1832 with 12 obverse stars. In addition, various

United States Half Eagles



1796/5
Small eagle reverse



1797 15 Stars
Small eagle reverse



1797 16 Stars
Small eagle reverse



1797/5 15 Stars



1798 Large 8
Large eagle reverse
13 reverse stars



1804 Small 8



1814/3



1815



1818



1820
Square base 2



1821



1823



1824



1825/1



1826

United States Coins



1828 \$5



1830 \$5
Small 5D



1831 \$5



1832 \$5
Square base 2



1833 \$5



1838-D \$5



1865 \$5



1876-S \$5



1915 \$5



1796 \$10



1797 \$10
Small eagle



1797 \$10
Large eagle



1798/7 \$10
Stars 7x6



1799 \$10



1801 \$10

United States Coins



1838 \$10



1860 \$10



1865 \$10



1873 \$10



1874 \$10



1876 \$10



1877 \$10



1908 \$10
With motto



1915 \$10



1850 \$50



1860 \$20



1873 \$20



1874 \$20



1876 \$20



1877 \$20

overdates and die cutting errors are very elusive.

Following the reduction of weight which became effective August 1, 1834, the half eagle was changed to William Kneass' classic head type, a style which was continued through 1838. In 1839 the Liberty head or coronet type with braided hair, designed by Christian Gobrecht, made its appearance. This was continued through 1908. In 1866 the motto IN GOD WE TRUST was added to the reverse.

In 1908 Bela Lyon Pratt's incuse design, following the same motif used on the quarter eagles, was adopted. This style was continued through 1929. Half eagles of the Indian type were minted from 1908 through 1916 and then finally in 1929. Apparently most of the 662,000 pieces struck in the last year of coinage did not circulate but were later melted. Today 1929 is a rarity.

Eagles (1795-1933)

The first \$10 gold piece struck at the Philadelphia Mint was presented in 1795 by Director Henry William de Saussure to President Washington, by whom he had been appointed to the office as second director of the Mint (following Rittenhouse). Half eagles of the 1795-1797 style bore Robert Scot's capped bust to right design on the obverse and an eagle perched on an olive branch and holding a wreath aloft in its beak on the reverse.

Beginning with pieces dated 1797 the large heraldic eagle reverse was employed. This design was minted through 1804. Coinage was suspended in the latter year for by that time \$10 pieces did not circulate. Most went into the hands of bullion dealers and speculators who exported or melted them.

In 1838 eagle production was resumed. Gobrecht's Liberty head or coronet type with braided hair was employed. This design was continued through 1907. In 1866 the motto IN GOD WE TRUST was added to the reverse.

In 1907 the Liberty head style was replaced by an Indian head motif design by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, one of America's most prominent sculptors. As President Theodore Roosevelt objected to the name of the Diety on coinage, considering that it came close to sacrilege, IN GOD WE TRUST was omitted from the Indian eagles of 1907 and many produced in 1908. In the latter year Congress restored the motto. Several rare or experimental varieties were produced in 1907, including the so-called "wire edge" variety which possessed a sharp rim and had periods before and after the E PLURIBUS UNUM motto. Just 500 pieces were

struck. Of the same variety but with rounded rim, only 42 were struck. Subsequent pieces made for circulation lacked the periods indicated.

Indian head eagles were struck intermittently until 1933.

Among \$10 issues there are many rarities, including all issues 1795-1804 (considered particularly rare is 1798/7 with 7 stars to the left on the obverse and 6 to the right), 1858, 1875, the aforementioned 1907 limited issues, 1920-S, 1930-S, and 1933. Proofs of all years are exceedingly rare. Although several dozen gold Proofs were minted of many different 19th-century issues, various numismatists believe that many were never distributed. As early as the 1880s such professionals as W. Elliot Woodward and Ed. Frossard considered Proof gold coins of the 1860s and early 1870s to be major rarities.

Double Eagles (1849-1933)

Following experimentation by James B. Longacre, several \$20 pieces were produced in 1849. Only one example survives today of the initial coinage, the piece exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution. In the following year, 1850, double eagles were first struck for circulation. The obverse design, which was continued through 1907, featured the head of Liberty with a coronet. The reverse, which showed an eagle with various embellishments, was modified several times. Beginning in 1866 the motto IN GOD WE TRUST was added. Beginning in 1877 the denomination, previously expressed as TWENTY D., was changed to TWENTY DOLLARS. In 1861 a new reverse, similar to the regular reverse but with tall letters in the inscription, designed by Anthony C. Paquet, was used for a short time. It was learned that the style caused excessive die breakage along the rim, so it was withdrawn, but not before at least several specimens were struck at Philadelphia and thousands at San Francisco.

Among double eagles of the Liberty head type there are many rarities, including 1854-O, 1856-O, the Paquet issues of 1861, and all Proofs. 1883, 1884, and 1887 Proofs are particularly sought after as no Philadelphia Mint coins were struck for circulation in those years.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens, one of America's most prominent sculptors, was part of a Mint committee in 1890 which considered coinage designs submitted by public competition. In 1892 he combined his talents with those of Charles E. Barber to design a medal for

the Columbian exposition, with Saint-Gaudens' work appearing on the obverse and Barber's on the reverse. The combination with Barber's work apparently was against his wishes, for as Don Taxay notes in his monumental reference, *The United States Mint and Coinage*, the sculptor avoided the Mint from that time onward until 1905.

In the latter year Theodore Roosevelt commissioned Saint-Gaudens to do his inauguration medal. Pleased with the result, Roosevelt began a correspondence with the sculptor with the view in mind of improving the designs of the national coinage. A letter from Roosevelt dated November 6, 1905, notes:

How is the gold coinage design coming along? I want to make a suggestion. It seems to me to be worthwhile to try for really good coinage; though I suppose there will be a revolt about it. I was looking up some gold coins of Alexander the Great today, and I was struck by their high relief. Would it be well to have our coins in high relief, and also to have the rims raised? The point of having the rim raised would be, of course, to protect the figure of the coins; and if we have the figures in high relief, like the figures on the old Greek coins, they will surely last longer. What do you think of this?

Saint-Gaudens reply is quoted in part:

You have hit the nail on the head with regard to the coinage. Of course the great coins (and you might say the only coins) are the Greek ones you speak of, just as the great medals are those of the fifteenth century by Pisani and Sperandie. Nothing would please me more than to make the attempt in the direction of the heads of Alexander, but the authorities on modern monetary requirements would I fear "throw fits" to speak emphatically if the thing were done now. It would be great if it could be accomplished and I do not see what the objection would be if the edges were high enough to prevent the rubbing. Perhaps an inquiry from you would not receive the antagonistic reply from those who have the say in such matters that would certainly be made to me.

Up to the present I have done no work on the actual models for the coins, but I have made sketches, and the matter is constantly in my mind. I have about determined on the composition of one side, which would contain an eagle very much like the one I placed on your medal with a modification that would be advantageous; on the other side some kind of a (possibly winged) figure of Liberty striding forward as if on a mountain top, holding aloft on one arm a shield bearing the stars and stripes with the word Liberty marked across the field; in the other hand perhaps a flaming torch, the drapery would be flowing in the breeze. My idea would be to make it a *living* thing and typical of progress. Tell me frankly what you think of this and what your ideas may be. I remember you spoke of the head of an Indian; of course that is always a superb thing to do, but would it be a sufficiently clear emblem of Liberty as required by the law?

Correspondence continued, and Saint-Gaudens devel-

oped models for the \$10 and \$20 coins, working with his assistant Henry Hering, because of his own failing health.

Subsequently the Saint-Gaudens design, bearing on the obverse the walking figure of Liberty holding a torch, and on the reverse a flying eagle, made its appearance. The relief was very high, almost sculptured in appearance. The date 1907 appeared in Roman numerals as MCMVII. Immediately great problems occurred with striking. It was found that three blows of the press were necessary in order to bring the relief up to the required sharpness. Realizing that the design was unacceptable for high speed coinage production, Mint officials decided to strike a limited number and then modify the design. Accordingly, 11,250 of the high relief, Roman numerals design were made. The Saint-Gaudens design was then changed to a shallow relief. The Roman numeral date, which caused confusion with the public, was dropped. As was the case with the first Saint-Gaudens eagles, IN GOD WE TRUST was omitted in reference to President Roosevelt's personal preferences. In 1908 Congress restored the motto.

Coinage of Saint-Gaudens double eagles continued through 1933. Most issues of the 1920s and 1930s did not circulate but were kept in Treasury vaults or were shipped overseas in payment for international transactions. Following the recall of gold coins in 1933 and their subsequent melting, it was learned that many issues of the 1920s and 1930s, despite high mintages, were rare. After World War II, Switzerland, Argentina, and other countries released large quantities of double eagles and other American gold coins from their vaults, thereby providing a supply for collectors.

Many numismatists today consider Saint-Gaudens' MCMVII design to be the most beautiful ever used on a regularly circulated American coinage.

United States Commemorative Coins

In 1824, when Lafayette, French hero of the American Revolution, returned to America for a visit, numerous United States coins (particularly cents and half dollars) were counterstamped in the center by small medal dies depicting on one side Washington and on the other Lafayette. While not of official origin, these commemorative issues did mark a special occasion and circulated to a wide extent.

In 1848, when the first official deposits of gold from the California discoveries at Sutter's Mill was brought to the Mint, an estimated 1,389 quarter eagles, being the smallest gold denomination in use at that time,

were struck as commemorative pieces with the distinguishing countermark CAL. on the reverse of each to distinguish them. These became the first commemorative coins to be officially issued by a United States Mint.

While many countries in Europe and other parts of the globe issued commemorative coins centuries earlier, the first United States pieces of this nature to be specifically distributed in quantity to the public were those made in 1892 and 1893 in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition. From 1892 until 1954, 48 different design types of commemorative half dollars were issued. Including mintmark varieties and minor variations, 142 different types were made. In addition, the 1893 Isabella quarter dollar, 1900 Lafayette silver dollar, and over a dozen varieties of commemorative gold coins were produced.

For the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, several different commemorative issues were made. The first was the 1892 half dollar, the obverse of which was designed by Charles E. Barber, and the reverse by George T. Morgan. Although the pieces were offered to the public for \$1 each, many remained in Treasury vaults and were subsequently released into circulation at face value. As a publicity stunt the Remington Typewriter Co. paid \$10,000 for the first 1892 Columbian half dollar struck.

At the Exposition itself a large model of the United States Treasury Building composed of Columbian commemorative half dollars was placed in the entrance to the Administration Building for the public to see. In the Liberal Arts Building nearby was another model made from Columbian half dollars, a 20-foot high shaft.

Vast quantities of Columbian half dollars were coined. In 1895 the Treasury Department announced that 3,600,000 pieces dated 1892 and 1893 were still remaining in its hands. Many of these were subsequently melted. The total released into circulation or sold to visitors at the Exposition comprised 950,000 of the 1892 issue and 1,548,300 of the 1893.

On March 3rd of the latter year authority was given to the Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition to issue a special souvenir quarter dollar. The obverse depicted Queen Isabella, the reverse a kneeling woman. These pieces were offered at \$1 each to the public. Most potential buyers thought that the Columbian half dollars, with the face value of 50c, were a better value at the sale price of \$1 than were the lower denomination quarters, so only a small number of the Isabella pieces reached the hands of the public. For the

next several years large quantities were available. 24,191 pieces were distributed, and about 15,000 were melted.

The next commemorative issue appeared in 1900 and was a special silver dollar bearing on the obverse the portraits of George Washington and General Lafayette. These coins, struck in December 1899 but bearing the 1900 date, were offered for sale by the Lafayette Memorial Commission at \$2 each. Fifty thousand were coined, but only 36,000 were distributed, some long after the time of issue. A 1904 photograph of a Treasury vault shows bags of 1,000 pieces of 1900 Lafayette dollars still remaining in government hands. On the numismatic market Lafayette dollars dropped in value from the \$2 issue price to about \$1.10 causing dissatisfaction among collectors. Isabella quarters, which had risen in value to about \$1.50, dropped in value also, as quantities—including 400 in one single auction sale—came on the market. Following the 1900 Lafayette dollars, commemorative silver coins were limited to the half dollar denomination.

In 1903 the Louisiana Purchase Exposition opened in St. Louis. Announcements were made that 250,000 commemorative gold dollars would be struck for the event and offered at \$3 each. Collectors reacted unfavorably to the news. The editor of *The Numismatist* suggested that readers would be well advised to save their money until later when the price would surely drop.

In an effort to broaden the sales appeal, gold dollars were made in two designs, one featuring the portrait of Jefferson and the other of McKinley. Two hundred and fifty thousand pieces were struck, but despite heroic sales efforts, including selling brooches and stick pins containing two or three coins each, only 35,000 examples escaped the melting pot, 17,500 of each variety. For years later quantities of these were in the hands of dealers who offered them for sale at special prices.

In 1904 and 1905 coins were issued for the Lewis & Clark Centennial Exposition held in Portland, Oregon, during the latter year. Gold dollars of special commemorative design were made depicting Meriwether Lewis on the obverse and William Clark on the reverse. Designs were by Charles E. Barber. Mintage of the 1904 issue was 10,025 (the odd 25 pieces being reserved for assay), and of the 1905 issue, 10,041 (41 being for assay). Apparently most of these pieces were distributed at the fair, for they soon became scarce. Collectors were slow to order them, so most went into the hands of the public, undoubtedly accounting for the rarity in Uncirculated grade of these pieces today.

The 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition, held to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal as well as the rebuilding of San Francisco from the 1906 destruction, furnished the occasion for the most impressive array of commemorative coins ever issued by the United States. Prepared for the event were a commemorative half dollar, gold dollar, quarter eagle, and two varieties of \$50 pieces, the latter being the only coins of that denomination ever struck for public distribution by an official United States Mint. Farran Zerbe, a leading collector of the time, managed the numismatic sales exhibit there. By the close of the event he reported revenues of nearly \$250,000. Most impressive were the special sets enclosed in a copper frame with descriptions of the coins printed in gold on purple ribbons. These were offered for \$200 each, or a double set, containing two of each variety, could be obtained for \$400.

Fifty dollar pieces were first struck at the San Francisco Mint on June 15, 1915. Hon. T. W. H. Shanahan, superintendent of the Mint, extended invitations to about 80 persons who came to witness the historic event. Striking the octagonal \$50 pieces was accomplished on a huge press, weighing 14 tons, shipped from Philadelphia. The first coin was struck by Superintendent Shanahan, who then presented it to Charles C. Moore, president of the Panama Pacific International Exposition. Various other visitors were then allowed to strike pieces. The second was produced by Moore, the third by Capt. C. Mirando (from Argentina), the fourth by Julius Kahn (the Congressional representative who authored the act which provided for the coinage), and continuing until the 29th coin, which was struck by Superintendent Shanahan for presentation to Gen. Goethals. After the 29th piece, the remainder were struck by regular mint procedure.

Goethals, whose work on the Panama Canal was celebrated by the exposition, arranged that sets bearing numbers corresponding to the ages of his two sons, 24 and 29, be struck for them. The round \$50 gold pieces were struck later and were first delivered to the exposition on July 12th.

Sales were not up to expectations, and of the \$50 pieces just 645 octagonal coins were sold and just 483 round ones. Octagonal pieces proved more popular due to their distinctive shape. A substantially larger number of each went to the melting pot.

1916 and 1917 saw the issuance of commemorative gold dollars, funds from which were used in part to pay for the McKinley Memorial at Niles, Ohio, the birthplace of the assassinated President. Nearly 10,000 of

each year found buyers. Only about half the total number went to the public, however, for a bulk quantity was acquired by B. Max Mehl, the well-known Texas dealer.

The Illinois Centennial in 1918 furnished the occasion for another commemorative half dollar. The obverse was the work of George T. Morgan, and the reverse was done by John R. Sinnock. The design of the piece was admired by collectors. One hundred thousand were eventually distributed, mostly to the public. Two years later, 1920, saw the appearance of the Maine Centennial half dollar, of which 5,028 were distributed. During the same year the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts Bay was observed by a special Pilgrim tercentenary half dollar, of which 152,112 were made. In the following year 1921, 20,053 were made of the same design.

The Missouri Centennial was celebrated in 1921. A special commemorative half dollar was sold by means of large display advertisements in *The Numismatist* and elsewhere. By December 1921 anyone who cared to part with \$1 had acquired an example. Orders were falling off, so an uplift in sales was accomplished by an unusual device. Advertisements appearing at that time noted:

All of the unsold coins of the design previously illustrated in "The Numismatist" have been withdrawn from the market and returned to the United States Mint for recoinage. . . . A special issue of 5,000 of the coins containing the "Star 24" indice, none of which were sold or offered for sale up to this time, are now being placed on the market by the Sedalia Trust Co. of Sedalia, Missouri, official custodians of the Missouri Centennial Memorial Coins, and so long as the supply lasts will be sent postpaid to any address in the United States for \$1 each. This offering of the limited number of this special mintage will soon be exhausted after which no more will be obtainable. If you want one or more of these beautiful souvenirs act quick. . . .

By means of this sales trick another 5,000 were sold. One merchandising innovation usually follows another, so in the same year, 1921, when Alabama celebrated its centennial, 49,038 pieces of the regular design were distributed as well as 6,006 of a "special" design with a small "2x2" in the field. Again, history repeated itself, and in the same year when commemorative half dollars and gold dollars were issued to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Ulysses S. Grant's birth, varieties were made with and without a tiny 5-pointed star in the obverse field. In order to have a truly complete collection, the numismatist was forced to buy two of each coin.

The Grant half dollars without stars were first offered for sale at \$1 each. When all sales had been con-

summated, the coins were offered at a discount price of 75c each in lots of 10 or more. Varieties with the star in the field commanded an extra premium and were offered at \$1.50 per coin.

In June 1923 the motion picture industry held a conclave. Issued for the event was the Monroe Doctrine Centennial half dollar, struck at the San Francisco Mint. 274,077 coins were distributed, an unusually large issue for the time. The pieces achieved a particularly wide circulation with the public, especially in California.

The next commemorative issue occurred in 1924 when the 300th anniversary of the settlement of the Huguenots and Walloons in America was celebrated. 142,080 coins were distributed.

In 1925 several commemorative half dollar issues appeared. The Lexington-Concord Sesquicentennial piece celebrated the 150th anniversary of the battles fought in colonial Massachusetts in 1775. On the obverse of each coin the famous Minuteman was shown. The 75th anniversary of the admission of California into the Union furnished the occasion for another commemorative half dollar. The obverse depicted a miner panning gold. The reverse showed a bear. In the same year Fort Vancouver celebrated its centennial with a commemorative half dollar. The Stone Mountain Memorial in Georgia furnished another occasion for a commemorative, and 1,314,709 pieces were eventually distributed.

In 1926 the 150th anniversary of American Independence provided the occasion for a commemorative half dollar and a quarter eagle. During the same year the first Oregon Trail Memorial half dollar was made. The Oregon series continued intermittently until 1939.

1927 brought the Vermont Sesquicentennial half dollar. In the following year, 1928, just 10,008 Hawaiian Sesquicentennial half dollars were made. The Hawaiian issue was not particularly popular with numismatists, so most were sold to residents of the Hawaiian Islands. Soon they became scarce.

In 1934 several issues appeared. Maryland celebrated its 300th anniversary, Texas celebrated its centennial (with a series which would continue until 1938 and be struck at the Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco Mints), and the bicentennial of Daniel Boone's birth was observed. Subsequently Boone pieces were made through 1938.

1935 commemoratives included the Connecticut Tercentenary, the first of many Arkansas Centennial issues (which extended until 1939), and the first of two San Diego pieces. Included among the 1935 issues were

two varieties, the Hudson Sesquicentennial and the Old Spanish Trail. Each was made to the extent of just 10,008 pieces. Both were sold out almost immediately. There were numerous complaints from disappointed collectors who had their checks returned.

In December 1935 in *The Numismatist* one of the most famous advertisements in the history of numismatics appeared. Placed by C. Frank Dunn, the distributor of Boone commemorative half dollars, who lived in Lexington, Kentucky, the advertisement noted that:

Responsive to collectors' requests LIMITED coinages have been struck at the D and S Mints, 2,000 only each mint. Boone Half Dollar, with small 1934 on dies. Offered for three weeks only at \$1.85 each prepaid. Sold only by the pair, \$3.70.

Something happened, however, before the advertisement appeared. A feature story about the rare pair of half dollars appeared in the New York City newspapers in late November, causing a flood of mail to be sent to the distributor. By the time that *The Numismatist* readers learned about the coins, they had been sold out. Disappointed collectors and dealers had their checks returned marked "OVERSUBSCRIBED, REMITTANCE HEREWITH." The price of the coins promptly jumped to \$75 per pair. The great commemorative half dollar boom, which was to last through 1936, was underway!

Protesting the practice of commemorative half dollar issuance, a reader of *The Numismatist*, styling himself as "A. Shornlaemb," wrote to the editor of the publication concerning the 1935 Hudson half dollar which had been offered to the public for \$1.18 but which had been unavailable to most people ordering them, a situation which was repeated with other issues as well:

In looking over the index of the 1935 "Numismatist" it was noted that no description of the Hudson half dollar had been given, and I hasten to fill this gap in numismatic literature. So far as is known, this piece is the first ever dedicated to the coin collector. Everything about it shows a purpose for which it was issued.

Behold, on the obverse, a ship of Hudson homeward bound in all of its triumph. Is it not laden, oh, my friends, with a catch of a most profitable expedition to the Sea of Suckers, where a proverbial one is born every minute . . .

The description went on in the same vein and included a request for the editor of *The Numismatist* to insert an illustration of the obverse and reverse for the benefit of readers. The editor replied that he had no illustration of the Hudson half dollar, and considering the circumstances, he didn't want to purchase one at the current market price.

In 1936 one could read about or speculate in such issues as the Cleveland Great Lakes Exposition half dollar (many of the pieces were actually struck in 1937, no pieces were ready by the time the Great Lakes Exposition opened in 1936—but it didn't make much difference, sales were intended for gullible numismatists, not for the public), the 1936 Wisconsin Territorial Centennial half dollar, the Long Island Tercentenary half dollar of the same date, a half dollar observing the 100th anniversary of York County, Maine, another issue celebrating the sesquicentennial of Lynchburg, Virginia, and another of the centennial of Elgin, Illinois. Still another marked the 250th anniversary of the Charter of Albany, New York, and one more observed the opening of the Oakland-Bay Bridge.

1936 also saw the issuance of the Cincinnati half dollars struck at the Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco Mints. Thomas G. Melish, a well-known numismatist who was associated with the issue, helped push the piece. There were many charges that these coins, which were issued at \$7.75, and which were ostensibly "sold out," then to rise to \$50, were in fact distributed to favored insiders. The issue itself was a sham. The obverse depicted Stephen Foster, who had no particular relation to Cincinnati. The reverse noted that Cincinnati was "a musical center of America." Cincinnati was no more prominent musically than were any number of other American cities.

P. T. Barnum, who is said to have made the statement "There is a sucker born every minute," furnished the obverse design of the 1936 Bridgeport Centennial half dollar, much to the delight of certain numismatic writers.

Columbia, South Carolina celebrated its sesquicentennial with an issue of half dollars from the Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco Mints. A special Arkansas half dollar of 1936 was made bearing the portrait of Sen. Joseph T. Robinson on the obverse.

The 1936 Delaware Tercentenary half dollar bore the date 1936, was struck in 1937, and was for a celebration to be observed in 1938! Likewise, the 1863-1938 75th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg was celebrated two years in advance by a 1936 commemorative half dollar issued, of course, to take advantage of the collectors' market. Norfolk, Virginia celebrated its bicentennial in the same year with a special issue.

Others were eager to get on the bandwagon, and many new commemorative issues were proposed. Some that "might have been" included:

The 50th anniversary of the founding of Wilkins-

burg, Pennsylvania; the 150th anniversary of the expedition of Gen. Benjamin Logan in Ohio; the centennial of Montgomery, Alabama; the construction of the Fort Peck Dam (the distributor was so confident that he would be selling these soon that he ran many advertisements offering them for \$2 each; the coin never materialized, and the funds had to be returned); the centennial of the changing of a town's name from Sawpit, New York, to Port Chester; the centennial of the University of Louisville; the 150th anniversary of the Berwick, Pennsylvania land grant, also the 118th anniversary of Berwick's status as a borough; the 350th anniversary of the introduction of American-grown tobacco in England; the commemoration of the Wichita Mountain Easter Sunrise Service in Oklahoma; and the 180th anniversary of the birth of John Beckley, the founder of Beckley, West Virginia.

Charles M. Prager, a Baltimore numismatist, wrote an article, "The Lighter Side of Commemoratives," which noted in part:

The obverse of the new Wisconsin half dollar pictures a badger. It seems regrettable that various other issues, notorious for their powers of multiplying dates and mint-marks, fail to picture a guinea pig.

A centennial celebration is, after all, a birthday party. And isn't it queer when a birthday party lasts three years? It would seem to indicate the host is doggone hungry.

Many a state and city enjoyed an admirable reputation—until it began celebrating it.

Soon we will be spelling it buy-centennial.

If Daniel Boone were alive today, he could learn plenty about trapping.

There is not much danger of commemorative half dollars being counterfeited these days. It is so much simpler to apply to Congress and get out an issue of your own.

Comments such as this soon had their effect, and by 1937 the market fell. Large quantities of certain 1936 half dollars remained unsold and were offered at discounts. New issues such as the 1937 Roanoke 350th anniversary half dollar and the piece celebrating the 75th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam met with sharply reduced collector interest. The next year, 1938, saw the issuance of a coin observing the founding of New Rochelle, New York, in 1688. Collectors were apathetic. New commemoratives ceased, not to reappear until after World War II when in 1946 Iowa celebrated its centennial with 100,000 pieces sold mainly to residents of that state. The issue was widely distributed and met with a favorable reception. The abuses of years earlier had been largely forgotten. Collectors did not constitute a major market.

Beginning in 1946 a series of commemorative half

dollars appeared featuring Booker T. Washington. Date and mintmark varieties were issued through 1951, in which year the design was changed to feature both the portraits of Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. Additional coins were struck at the Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco Mints through 1954. These coins were distributed erratically,

and complaints were made to the government and others. After 1954 commemoratives ceased.

Today, the wide number of designs, types, and varieties of commemorative half dollars and other coins makes them popular with collectors. In the intervening years since their issue many have become rare.

Reid and Bechtler Gold Coinage

9

Introduction

During the 19th century rich gold deposits were discovered in Georgia, North Carolina, California, Oregon, Colorado, and other locations. While the United States government eventually established branch mints in Georgia, North Carolina, California, and Colorado, in the early years assaying and refining of gold was accomplished by private individuals and the banks. Some of these produced coins which today are variously referred to as private, pioneer, or territorial issues.

While the 1787 gold doubloon produced by Ephraim Brasher in New York City is a private issue, collectors today primarily associate the field with the coinage produced by Templeton Reid in Georgia in 1830, the pieces produced by the Bechtlers in North Carolina beginning in the 1830s, the wide array of California gold issues of the period 1849-1855, the 1849 \$5 and \$10 of Oregon, the Mormon coinage dated 1849-1860, and issues of Colorado 1860-1861. Jacob R. Eckfeldt and William E. DuBois of the United States Mint studied and described various California, Mormon, and other gold coins as they were received for assay and testing at the Mint shortly after the time of issue. Collector interest emerged at an early date, and by 1877 the Spier Collection, which later passed to the Society of California Pioneers, contained many outstanding pieces. Examples were numerous in auction sales of the late 19th century.

Beginning in the first decade of the 20th century, Edgar H. Adams studied the field, examined original newspapers, records, documents, and gathered what remains today as the most important informational source. Adams' *Official Premium List of the United States, Private, and Territorial Gold Coins* appeared in 1909, to be followed in 1912-1913 by the publication in

sections of his monumental *Private Gold Coinage of California, 1849-1855*. In more recent times Clarence Griffin has written on the Bechtler coinage, Dexter C. Seymour has brought to light many previously unknown facts concerning Templeton Reid, Nolie Mumey has gathered together data relating to Clark, Gruber & Co., and others have made additional important contributions.

Gold Coinage of Templeton Reid

Templeton Reid's private Georgia mint only operated for about three months. Coinage was effected during part of July, all of August and September and part of October, 1830. Many of his coins were subsequently melted by the United States Mint, accounting in part for their extreme rarity today. Dexter C. Seymour, who studied the series intensively and from whose writing much of the following was derived, has suggested that only about 1,600 coins were produced totally, including approximately 1,000 quarter eagles, 300 half eagles, and 250 eagles.

On April 3, 1811, Templeton Reid, a resident of Milledgeville, Georgia, advertised in the *Georgia Journal* that he, together with Thomas Reid, was ready to "make complete cotton gins, for the coming season, at three dollars per saw, with valuable improvements . . ." On August 11th of the same year an advertisement in the *Georgia Argus*, published in Milledgeville, announced Reid's entry into the watch making business by stating that he had "established the business of repairing clocks and watches in its various branches, having every material and convenience necessary; and hopes by moderate charges, workmanship, and attention, to merit a liberal patronage." By June 22, 1814, the firm of T. & E. Reid was engaged

in "all kinds of watch and clock repairing," according to an advertisement.

In 1822 the announcement was made that Templeton Reid had relocated his shop to a "new and convenient house on Hancock Street two doors west of the *Southern Recorder* office where all orders will be thankfully received and promptly attended to." Templeton Reid advertised in 1824 that:

The subscriber is prepared to make rifles of a very superior order priced from one to five hundred dollars, and barrels fifty dollars. Specimens of his workmanship may be seen here, and as to his skill in making a close shooting gun, being more than ordinary, it cannot be questioned by any who know him as a rifleman. Templeton Reid.

Gold had been discovered in Georgia during the 1820s. By the latter part of the decade news had spread and many fortune seekers had arrived in the district. Milledgeville, then the state capital, was one of the centers of activity. Reid, who from his experience in rifle-making and watch making had an engraving skill, thought to fill a commercial need by converting gold dust, then traded by weight in the area, into coins. On July 24, 1830, an article appeared in the *Southern Recorder* which told of Reid's new enterprise:

We have examined, during the past week, with great pleasure, an apparatus constructed by our very ingenious fellow citizen, *Mr. Templeton Reid* for the purpose of putting gold into a shape more convenient than that in which it is originally found. He makes with great facility and great neatness, pieces worth ten, five, and two and a half dollars. No alloy is mixed with it, and it is so stamped that it cannot be easily imitated. He sets out soon for the mines, and intends putting his apparatus into operation, as soon as he reaches them.

About \$1500 worth of Georgia Gold has been stamped by our ingenious townsman, Mr. Templeton Reid, with handsome dies, showing the actual value of each piece of metal, in parcels of \$2.50, \$5, and \$10. The pieces of ten dollars have on one side this inscription: GEORGIA GOLD, 1830, and on the other, TEN DOLLARS, TEMPLETON REID, ASSAYER. The die of the five dollar piece is not inferior in execution to the stamp on the coin issued from the National Mint. Mr. Reid informs us that the gold dust stamped by him will be taken at the Mint and at most of the Banks for the value it purports on its face to bear. This will give it a pretty general currency, and make it answer the purposes of money. Mr. R. intends making an establishment in the gold region for the purpose of assaying and marking the gold as it may be found which will be a great convenience in saving to the miners, who have heretofore been obliged to part with the precious metal in its crude state at a loss from five to fifteen per cent.

Shortly thereafter Templeton Reid moved to Gainesville, Georgia, which was situated closer to the center of actual mining activity. Coins were made and

put into circulation, including one specimen which, unfortunately for Templeton Reid, found its way to a disgruntled citizen who styled himself anonymously as "No Assayer" in a letter to the *Georgia Courier* August 16, 1830:

Mr. Editor:

Although no *assayer*, I have taken the trouble of having a piece of Mr. Templeton Reid's coining, purporting to be worth \$10 assayed at the mint. It was found to be but 22½ carats fine; consequently worth a trifle more than Georgia Gold dust. The actual value is \$9.38c, giving Mr. Reid a profit of about 7 percent. The value of Mr. Reid's Coin may be estimated as follows:

\$10 pieces \$9.38; \$5 pieces \$4.69; \$2.50 pieces \$2 and 34½c.

No Assayer.

Apparently Reid produced his coins from native metal without alloying it to a standard fineness. Although his pieces were worth substantially less than the face value indicated upon them, it is not known whether Reid was seeking an unusually high profit from his coinage or whether the situation was inadvertent.

On August 25, 1830, Templeton Reid replied from Gainesville. The *Georgia Journal* of September 11th carried his rebuttal:

Messrs. Editors:

I have just seen an article in the *Courier* of the 16th inst. which I wish you to re-publish, with my remarks on the same. It is over the signature of No Assayer.

No Assayer begins by acknowledging he is no assayer, which was unnecessary; for I expect everybody knows that, even before *his expose* on the subject of my coin. But if he had ended by saying he was no calculator, nor knew anything about the standard worth of gold by the carat, he would deserve some credit for his candor.

He says he "has taken the trouble to have a piece of my coin, propoing to be worth \$10, assayed at the Mint. It was found to be but 22½ carats fine." Now reckon again—the \$10 piece I have estimated at 96 cents per dwt—he at 22½ carats fine—value \$9.38—"a trifle—consequently worth a trifle more than Georgia gold dust." And another strange calculation, "\$9.38 cents, giving him a profit of about 7 per cent" when it is well known that the buyers have to give from 87½ (the lowest) to 90 cents per dwt at the mines, which is more than 22 carat gold is worth at the Mint. And the gold dust taken collectively from the mines, with the ordinary cleaning, will lose from 3 to 6 per cent in fluxing. Where, then is the "7 per cent profit." No buyer can average one month's business, for the gold fluxed, to cost him as low as the worth of 22½ carats fine at the Mint. I do not no how much that "trifle more than Georgia gold dust" is, and it might save some of the heavy buyers, perhaps some in Augusta, to know, if it is not to late, how much they may lose on their gold in fluxing. For according

to No Assayer's weighty statement, they must be engaged in a bad speculation, unless they get a premium for the sand, etc.

But as the currency and demand for my coin, and its credit in some of the Banks, seem to warrant the course, I shall continue to stamp and issue the Georgia gold and pieces of \$10, \$5, and \$2.50.

TEMPLETON REID

The Milledgeville, Augusta, Macon, Columbus, and Athens papers, will please publish the above, and forward their accounts to me, if it convenient to do so. TR

Gold in its native state is always alloyed with other metals, including silver and tin. It seems that Templeton Reid believed his gold to be nearly pure, which was not the case. The *Georgia Courier* reported on September 16, 1830:

We are informed, that about \$230,000 of Georgia Gold has been received in this city during the last nine months.

NO ASSAYER's reply to Mr. TEMPLETON REID is received, and will appear on Monday.

Report says, Mr. TEMPLETON REID, whose reply to No Assayer we published today, is coining and stamping, in his mint in Gainesville, not less than \$700 of Georgia Gold per day. Allowing No Assayer's calculation of his profits to be correct at 7 per cent, he is making about \$15,000 per annum. This is better business than gold digging.

On September 20, 1830, "No Assayer" attacked Templeton Reid's calculation from several different angles. He again repeated that at the Mint the value of Reid's \$10 gold pieces were found to be worth but \$9.38. Further, he stated that Reid was issuing coins contrary to the Constitution of the United States. No Assayer went on to say:

If he has the right, every individual has the same prerogative. That being the case, does not the evil at once bear upon an honest community? I see no good to result from such a profession as "assayer of Georgia Gold" but much injury.

He continued in the article to excoriate Reid for wanting the community to understand that:

The Mint of the United States, managed by men of strictest integrity, and chosen for their knowledge in the science of mineralogy, and bound by the oaths and bond for their faithful discharge of the duties connected with this department of government, is beyond a doubt wrong . . .

Fancying himself as a public defender, "No Assayer" went on to inform readers that Templeton Reid "cares not for the Constitution of the United States or the value of gold at the proper place of coining, the Mint." He further asserted that Templeton Reid's claim that banks would take his coins was false. Concluding, "No Assayer" said that "I shall take them at their proper value, \$9.38, and no more, although they may have

\$10 marked upon them in bold figures. So much for the 'Georgia Assayer' and his mint."

Thus the activities of "No Assayer" effectively put an end to the faith in Templeton Reid's coinage and forced a cessation of production.

Reid's business activities were brought to the attention of the public again in 1832 when he published in the *Southern Recorder* a notice that he had removed his business to the residence of Elisha Reid in Putnam County and was engaged in making cotton gins and firearms. By 1836 he had moved to Columbus, Georgia, and advertised that his "cotton gin manufactory" was doing business at the corner of St. Clair and Oglethorpe streets and was ready to supply "lathe irons with centers complete" and Reid's late-invented "Regulating Circuling and Tooth Cutting Engine."

It is believed that between February and May 1839 Reid traveled to Austin, Texas to apply in person for patent on a new method of constructing the brush in a cotton gin. To obtain a patent from the Republic of Texas at the time it was necessary to apply in person and to state the intention of becoming a citizen there. An advertisement in the *Houston National Intelligencer* informed those wanting his patented cotton gin to write to him in Columbus, Georgia, or apply through his Texas agent, John Cornick & Co. in Houston.

In 1840 Reid advertised the impending publication of a book entitled *Prospectus of the Cotton Gin Maker and Giner's Guide*, written by himself. The book was to sell for \$10 to advance subscribers. Apparently little interest resulted, and it is believed that the book never saw publication. Around this time Reid apparently dropped his plans to move to Texas and concentrated his efforts on building cotton gins. Advertisements for cotton gins and other mechanical equipment appeared in Columbus, Georgia during the 1840s. In 1846 he apparently severed business connections with his brother Elisha. During the same year he suffered a serious fire in his place of business, although many valuable tools and machinery articles were saved.

Toward the end of 1847 Templeton Reid was the defendant in two court cases. Early in 1850 he received a warrant which was levied on "all the tools and material in the workshop of Templeton Reid," in favor of Seaborn Jones. In his studies of Reid's coinage, Dexter C. Seymour relates that Reid's place of business was mentioned in a report to the city council, and in May 1849 his name appeared on the monthly list of mail unclaimed at the Columbus Post Office. Reid's name did not appear on the June 1849 list, which indicates that the unclaimed mail must have been picked

up by Reid or an agent sometime toward the end of May.

On March 25, 1851, the *Columbus Times* reported that Templeton Reid had manufactured a number of items to be exhibited at the World's Fair in London. Included were a model cotton gin in a small mahogany box elegantly finished. Also seen by the newspaper reporter were some examples of his silversmith work. "We wish the old gentleman a pleasant voyage to and from the 'Crystal Palace' and a high price for the specimens of his art," the report concluded.

Reid's name never appeared on the official list of exhibitors at the Great Exhibition, and it is believed that he did not go there. He died in the same year, and his obituary was carried in the *Columbus Times* on August 5th:

FOUND DEAD. We are pained to state that Mr. Templeton Reed [sic], one of the oldest citizens of Columbus, and a man far advanced in years, was found dead this morning near the river, in the lowest part of the city. There is a spring near the spot, and it is surmised that in attempting to reach it, he fell down the bank which is high and steep and being too much hurt to seek relief, he expired before morning.

Mr. Reed was in many respects an extraordinary man. His genius as a mechanic was of the first order. His skill was equal to his inventive powers. He was a capital artificer in wood and in the metals. His business was that of a gin maker, and his machines have long engaged a high celebrity. His industry was as untiring as his genius was fine. Yet, like so many bright spirits who have gone before him, he failed to accumulate much of this world's goods. Mr. Reed has left behind him many friends, who valued his excellent and kindly qualities of heart, and we'll remember him as one of those good but eccentric men, who was his own worst enemy.

In 1849 two of Templeton Reid's gold coins, each bearing an imprint of California, and of the denominations of \$10 and \$25, came to the United States Mint at Philadelphia. The \$25 is presently unaccounted for as it was never recovered following its theft from the Mint Cabinet on August 16, 1858.

Edgar H. Adams, in *Private Gold Coinage of California, 1849-1855*, noted that "judging by the meager information available in relation to the Reid issue, it would almost seem as if Reid never reached California," yet the assayers indicated that the gold in the first two coins which reached the Mint indicated all the peculiar qualities which distinguished the precious metal mined in California. When Moffat & Co. wrote on January 28, 1850, defending their right to strike private coins (in San Francisco, California) they pointed to Templeton Reid's coining establishment in Georgia

in 1830 as an illustration of the legality of such issues. It referred to Reid, "who formerly conducted the assay office in Georgia," but did not make the slightest allusion to the fact that when they wrote, or shortly before (in 1849) Reid had been engaged in the conduct of a similar business in California.

Dexter C. Seymour has written the opinion that Reid never went to California in 1849. To have done so by the most expeditious means would have required a month or two of travel by the Isthmus of Panama and the sea route in each direction, plus time actually spent in California. Reid at that time was affected by old age and suffered from rheumatism and the after-effects of a broken thigh. Jacob R. Eckfeldt and William E. DuBois of the Philadelphia Mint stated that the two California pieces bearing the Templeton Reid imprint appeared to be made of California gold. If this was the case, it could be explained by Reid's having received some samples of California gold brought to him by a returning adventurer. Perhaps Reid produced the pieces in Georgia and contemplated moving to California at a later time. It remains a mystery why dies for two different denominations were made, not to overlook the efforts required to prepare planchets and to set up a coining press and other apparatus.

On the other hand, Templeton Reid, who is believed to have journeyed to Texas and who made numerous peregrinations around his home state of Georgia, may have joined the adventuring spirit and made a brief sojourn to California, returning soon after his arrival. This would explain his unclaimed mail.

Today the California-imprint coins of Templeton Reid remain a major numismatic mystery.

Bechtler Gold Coinage

During the 1830s the Bechtler family coined \$2,241,850.50 worth of gold coins. Bearing the imprint CAROLINA GOLD or GEORGIA GOLD, depending upon the state in which the coinage metal originated, the pieces were produced in the denominations of \$1, \$2.50, and \$5 from minting facilities in the Rutherfordton, North Carolina vicinity. Today, while Bechtler gold coins are scarce, as a group they are among the most frequently encountered of all privately minted issues of the 19th century.

At one time during the early 19th century North Carolina was the primary gold-producing district in the states. From 1814, when \$11,000 worth of gold was received, until 1824, the Philadelphia Mint received modest but continuous deposits of gold from the North

Carolina region. During this time sums averaged not more than \$2,500 per year. In 1825 the deposits jumped to \$18,000, then to \$20,000 in the year following, and then to \$21,000 in 1827. In 1828 deposits of North Carolina gold jumped to \$46,000, then to \$128,000 in 1829. By 1831 the total had increased to \$294,000.

On March 26, 1830, the *North Carolina Spectator and Western Advertiser*, published in Rutherfordton, noted:

A large number of new mines have been discovered in both this and Burke counties, and others which were sometime since declared of little value have proved to be rich and profitable under a system of preserving an intelligent operation. We have heard of few or none but which have produced one pennyweight to the hand, even during the short, cold days of winter, and of many which have produced from 1½ to 2 pennyweights per day to each hand employed and some much richer than this.

A mine of late has been discovered on the 2nd Broad River, in the Burke County, on the lands of James Jeans, from which the amount of \$2 per day has been washed with a pan, and is said to be as rich as any discovered in this neighborhood. It was immediately sold to Gen. Bryan for \$4,500.

There have been several new mines discovered in this county which promised to be very rich; only one of which, however, has yet been worked to any extent, and even this (Avery and Carson's) has been tried no more than digging out the rock, and erecting machinery to pulverize the rock and collect the gold. Should this mine, upon a further trial of the ore, prove rich (and there's little doubt of it) the value and extent of the mines in this county are without calculation, as the same vein may be seen for several miles, and from partial experiments it seems to be of about the same comparative thickness.

We have just been shown a specimen of ore from a vein lately discovered on the land of John Logan, Esq., near the junction of Cane Creek with 2nd Broad River, which is very thick set with particles of gold, large enough to be plainly seen with the eye . . .

To give our readers an idea of the value of the mines in this region, we state on authority of a gentleman from the mines that the mine formerly owned by Mr. Dorsey, now by Mr. Carson, which with twelve hands on Saturday last produced 50 pennyweights, worth \$40; and at the Brindle mine, on the same day, with forty hands under direction of Col. Butler, produced \$3.50 to the hands, making \$140.00.

An estimate appearing in the same paper dated June 24, 1831, said that in Burke County about 3,000 pennyweights per day, equal to about \$2,400 per day or \$14,000 per week was being extracted. It was estimated that Rutherford County had a production approximating that of Burke County. If that was the case, then each county would have produced nearly three quarters of a million dollars worth of gold each year.

The same periodical announced on June 28, 1831, that many new mines had been opened on Richardson's

and Floyd's creeks and their branches. Peter Green, who lived on Richardson's Creek, was offered \$3,500 for certain mines on his property. A mine belonging to Hugh Cook, apparently not as rich in prospect, changed hands for \$1,500. Philip Robins and Robert Mintz, who lived in the area, were offered a substantial sum for their interest in a mine and refused it. The same newspaper on October 22, 1831, noted that:

Mr. C. Bechtler showed us a specimen of gold a few days since, taken from the mine of Mr. P. H. Richardson, of Richardson's Creek, which he assayed and ascertained it to be worth 23½ carats fine—worth 94 cents per dwt. This is the richest native gold yet assayed by Mr. Bechtler and is probably the finest obtained from the mines in this region.

Christopher Bechtler, the elder, and several members of his family came from Baden, the Black Forest area of Germany, to Rutherfordton, North Carolina in 1830. Accompanying him were his two sons, Charles and Augustus, and his nephew who is known as Christopher Bechtler, the younger.

The elder Bechtler was born in Baden in 1782. Leaving from the port of Le Havre, France, he arrived in America on October 12, 1829. In Philadelphia on October 25th of the same year he filed his application for naturalization papers. In the court of Rutherford County on July 14, 1832, the elder Bechtler and his son Augustus, who was then 19, became American citizens.

The elder Bechtler, trained in the art of the gunsmith and goldsmith, established a jewelry store shortly after his arrival. Trade was conducted in a house situated about four miles north of Rutherfordton. There was gold-bearing earth on his property, and several shafts were sunk to exploit it. His son Augustus shared his interests and abilities and was a capable assistant. It was said that Augustus was a large and handsome man who enjoyed company and conviviality and who numbered hunting among his sports.

Christopher Bechtler, the younger, was a stocky man with heavy eyebrows and a dark complexion. His ability as a gold and silversmith was well known. Some of his craftsmanship must have been accomplished with difficulty, for historian Clarence Griffin, in *The Bechtlers and Bechtler Coinage*, written in 1929, noted that:

Christopher the younger was always smoking. He would go to the saloon and smoke and drink at the same time. It is reported on reliable authority that he would drink from two to four glasses of lager beer before breakfast, and as he went from his shop at lunch time he would go by the saloon, stopping to consume from two to four more glasses of beer, smoking as he did so. This performance would be repeated

again at night, after quitting work, and frequently between morning and luncheon periods.

Charles Bechtler committed suicide near Rutherfordton shortly after coming into the country, after learning that he married an unvirtuous woman. Occasional historical mention is made of Edward Bechtler, but no reliable data supports his existence. When the will of the elder Christopher Bechtler was read following his death in 1842, five children were mentioned, some of whom were with their mother who apparently never came to Rutherfordton.

Bechtler's entry into coinage occurred in the summer of 1831 when on July 2nd an advertisement appeared in the *North Carolina Spectator And Western Advertiser* and continued for several weeks thereafter. It was announced that Bechtler was ready to receive gold and coin it into \$2.50 and \$5 pieces at his store-residence located 3½ miles north of Rutherfordton on the road leading to Jeanstown. In the same issue the editor, Roswell Elmer, Jr., noted:

Gold Pieces.

We have been shown a specimen of the ingots assayed and stamped by Mr. Christopher Bechtler at his establishment near this town. The piece shown us, in point of execution of the relief letters is not as handsome as we had wished to have seen; but Mr. B. informs us that he intends to prepare new dies and make such improvements as had suggested themselves to his mind. The pieces are 20 carats fine, or 2 carats below the standard coin of the United States. The piece of \$2.50 weighs 3 dwts, and ¾ gr., and that of the \$5.00 piece 6 dwt, 1½ gr., or very nearly so—making them worth about 82 cents, 6m. per dwt. This standard has been assumed on account of the great variety which exists in the fineness of the gold, as obtained from the mines—some of it being 22 and other only 19 carats, fine. Mr. B. has undertaken this enterprise at the suggestion of several gentlemen of the highest standing among our miners, for the purpose of putting into use the actual resources of this region, as a circulating medium in the transaction of business. Since the State Bank has limited her issues and is drawing into her vaults the notes which have been loaned to our citizens, in the settlement of her outstanding accounts, great inconvenience has been felt in business transactions with the Bank, and also for the common purposes of commerce. How far this scheme will succeed in effecting these objects, we have yet to learn.

The risk and expense of sending gold to the mint is such that the owners of the mines often find it difficult to dispose of the products of the mines at fair value, as things now are. The urgent petition to Congress for the establishment of a branch of the United States Mint in the gold region having failed, and the gold produced being in a fair way to entirely disappear from the country and fall into the hoards of Europe, this scheme has been resorted to as the only means of effecting the objects in view—the retaining of this precious metal among us.

To give stability in effect to this scheme it is necessary that implicit confidence should be reposed in the Assayer. Mr. Bechtler is unquestionably a man of competent science and skill to assay and bring the gold of the mines to a standard value, in the form of coins; and we believe that he has the entire confidence of all who have had any acquaintance with him. That he is a man of the strictest honesty and singleness of purpose, and we trust, public confidence will not be disappointed in regard to him, as it has with some others who have attempted the assaying and stamping of gold. [The reference here apparently is to the earlier efforts in Georgia of Templeton Reid.]

Mr. B's advertisement will be found in another column, where his terms of assaying, etc. will be seen.

Beginning on August 27, 1831, and continuing until November of the same year, the following advertisement appeared in the *North Carolina Spectator And Western Advertiser*:

NOTICE To Gold Miners And Others.

The undersigned having coined a great quantity of North Carolina Gold into pieces of \$2.50 and \$5.00 value of 20 carats fine, and being well prepared to increase the business to any extent, at his establishment 3½ miles north of Rutherfordton on the road leading from Rutherfordton to Jeanstown, invites the attention of miners in S. Carolina and Georgia, as well as North Carolina, to the advantage which would result from having the product of their mines coined, or made into ingots, bearing their just value, rather than disposing of it in its fluxed state, without an assay, and therefore liable to produce an improper value; gold in a fluxed state, of 22 and 23 carats, is generally sold for 84 cents per dwt. in the Bank, whereas its intrinsic value, if coined, is 90 and 94 cents—consequently an actual saving of 6 cents per dwt. will be made by having it coined—after paying all the expense of coining, etc. Should encouragement be given, new dies will be made especially for stamping S. Carolina and also Georgia Gold.

He would also here make known the plan which was adopted and will pursue: On receiving a bar of fluxed gold, to be coined, the same will be divided, a portion assayed (by a fire ordeal) for the purposes of ascertaining its exact fineness, and he will be accountable for the amount of the value of the whole so ascertained; at the same time returning to the owner ½ dwt. of each assay, which he may keep for his own satisfaction or for the purpose of having it assayed elsewhere to find its value, that no deception or fraud may be practiced, and, in case there should be, that he might have the means of detecting the same—for all which he holds himself responsible. The following are his prices: for fluxing 400 dwts, or less, \$1.00 for assaying (by a fire ordeal) 1000 dwts, or less \$1.00; for coining 2½ per cent. When the gold is to be coined no charge is made for the assay.

He has also on hand a handsome assortment of jewelry, watches, etc. Any particular kind of jewelry will be executed to order, in the neatest and most skillful manner.

C. BECHTLER.

August 27, 1831.

It is believed that pieces of the \$1 denomination were first produced in 1832. From that time onward specimens were produced of three denominations, \$1, \$2.50, and \$5. The weight and fineness was prominently lettered as part of each coin's inscription. In addition the origin was stated as CAROLINA GOLD, GEORGIA GOLD, or NORTH CAROLINA GOLD.

While minting coins, manufacturing and selling jewelry, and mining native ore, Bechtler was also engaged in his gunsmithing trade. Around 1832 a device was invented which fired a rifle at the rate of eight balls per minute.

On June 28, 1834, the United States government enacted legislation reducing the weight of gold in standard coins produced at the Philadelphia Mint. The secretary of the treasury recommended that the inscription "Aug. 1, 1834," the effective date of the legislation, be put on each gold coin minted after that date. Rather than do this, the Philadelphia Mint simply changed the design of the coin slightly and eliminated the E PLURIBUS UNUM motto, thus creating a distinction between the old and new coinage. Learning of the legislation and official recommendation, Christopher Bechtler placed the August 1, 1834 date on one variety of a \$5 piece around that time. However, soon thereafter the inscription was dropped.

The metallic content and appearance of Bechtler gold coins varied depending upon the source of the metal. Generally, the pieces struck from Georgia metal and gold from certain areas in central North Carolina had a bright yellow appearance. Gold from the North Carolina mountain range and from certain South Carolina areas tended to have a dull appearance.

The United States Treasury investigated the Bechtler coining operation around 1834. They learned that the gold content of the Bechtler coinage was higher than that of federal coins.

Realizing the service that the Bechtler minting operation was providing to miners and tradesmen of the area, the government made no effort to stop them. The Treasury investigation did provide the data which led Congress in 1835 to provide for the establishment of a branch mint at Charlotte. In 1838 the Charlotte Mint issued its first coins for circulation.

In 1837, G. W. Featherstonhaugh traveled through North Carolina and wrote of his recollections, which were subsequently published in an article, "A Private Mint in North Carolina," by Dr. Thomas Featherstonhaugh, a grandson of the traveler, in *The Publications of the Southern History Association*, March 1906:

After breakfast I walked a few miles to visit a German of the name of Bechtler. I passed a great part of the day with him at his cottage in the woods. He had resided seven years in this country and had established for himself a character for integrity as well as skill in his profession. I found him rather mystical and imaginative, as many Germans are. It was probably this bias that induced him to settle in the gold region of North Carolina. The greater part of the small streams in this part of the gold region have more or less gold in them. Bechtler had obtained some in the usual manner, and having made a die, coined his gold into five dollar pieces. At the period of my visit his gold coin circulated more freely than that of the United States, which were very scarce.

It would be in his power to take improper advantage of the confidence placed in him, but I heard of no instances of his having attempted this. When I mentioned the possibility of this, he answered that it was what an honest man would not do, and that if any man were to do it, he would soon be found out, for the gold did not remain long in circulation, since it found its way very soon to the United States Mint, where it was necessary for him to keep a good character . . .

Bechtler's maxim was that honesty is the best policy; and that maxim appeared to govern his conduct. I never was so pleased with observing transactions of business as those I saw at his house during the time I was there. Several country people came in with rough gold to be left for coinage. He waited before them and entered it in his book, where there was marginal room for noting the subsequent assay. To others he delivered the coin he had struck. The most perfect confidence prevailed betwixt them, and the transactions were conducted with quite as much simplicity as those at a country grist mill, where the miller deducts [his fee] for the grist he has manufactured. As gunsmiths, he and his son are preeminent for their ingenuity; they had invented various modes of firing rifles eight times in a minute. One with a chain of sixty caps, revolving by a catch of the trigger, was very neatly constructed and very curious.

Following the death of the elder Christopher Bechtler in 1842, the business was conducted by his son Augustus. By this time the success of United States branch mints in Charlotte, North Carolina and Dahlonega, Georgia had lessened the demand for Bechtler's coinage services. Augustus apparently continued production of coins for a year or so and then was succeeded by the younger Christopher Bechtler, the nephew of the original coiner. Apparently standards of honesty and quality declined, for Director of the Mint R. M. Patterson made a report which stated:

Assays repeatedly made at this mint showed that the coins thus fabricated [by Bechtler] are below the nominal value marked upon; yet they circulate freely at this value, and therefore it must be more advantageous to the miner to carry his bullion to the private rather than the public mint.

Augustus Bechtler died sometime prior to 1847. The younger Christopher Bechtler moved to Spartanburg in

the early 1850s, at which time the Bechtler coinage was discontinued.

The coining press on which the pieces were struck was built by Christopher Bechtler the elder. The press, certain dies, and other memorabilia survived and were preserved. Around 1908 Philadelphia coin dealer Henry Chapman produced restrikes in Proof condition (a quality which was not originally manufactured by the Bechtlers) of several \$5 varieties. Shortly thereafter the coining press and related items were presented to the American Numismatic Society in New York.

The Bechtler coinage extended over a period of 20 years and was successful in every respect. It received the

implied consent of the United States government and at the same time was widely accepted in the channels of commerce in many districts in North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Based upon the recorded coinage of \$2,241,850.50 from the period 1831-1840 plus additional specimens made in the next decade, it is probable that close to a million coins, if not more, were struck bearing the Bechtler imprint. Their prevalence in circulation at one time was attested to by one of Rutherfordton County's older citizens who during the early 20th century told researcher Clarence Griffin that he was 16 years old before he ever saw any coins other than those minted by Bechtler.

The California Gold Rush

10

The California Gold Rush: Sutter's Fort

In the early 1840s California, which became a state in 1850, was mainly devoted to the peaceful pursuits of farming and ranching. In the southern part of the state Los Angeles was a quiet community of Spanish-style buildings. In the early 1840s gold was discovered in a canyon several dozen miles to the north of the community, but interest in it was short-lived, and by 1847 the precious metal had been all but forgotten.

The most prominent city in California was San Francisco, earlier called Yerba Buena, about 400 miles to the north. In August 1847, Lt. Edward Gilbert, acting under instructions from Col. R. B. Mason, Jr., governor of the area, took a census of San Francisco. Excluding military officers and soldiers and not including residents associated with the Mission Dolores, 459 people were counted, of whom over half were Caucasian. The remainder were mostly of Mexican and Spanish descent.

Since the beginning of 1846, 157 new houses had been built, mostly of the wooden frame type in the style of northern Europe, a sharp increase from approximately 30 residences located there earlier. Thirty-five adobe houses, mostly older, seemed more prominent due to their bright exteriors. Several vessels were to be seen in the harbor area at any given time, including one or two of ocean-going size. Bales, barrels, and boxes of merchandise were arranged in neat order awaiting shipment. Other goods, recently arrived, awaited dispersal to local merchants, shipment to other areas, and transportation to Sutter's Fort, located inland.

With its rapid growth in the late 1840s, San Francisco was challenging Monterey for leadership in the area. A major jump occurred in May 1847 when *The Californian*, a newspaper, moved from Monterey to San

Francisco and closed its office in the former town. From that time onward San Francisco boasted two newspapers, the only ones in the district.

The area around San Francisco was covered with grass interspersed with small shrubs. Here and there a patch of dwarf oaks provided a splotch of deep green color.

George Hyde was the alcalde (mayor). Rules and regulations were provided by the city council which met at regular intervals.

Inland from San Francisco was Sutter's Fort, located on a small hill near the confluence of the American and Sacramento rivers. Founded in 1839 by John Sutter, a Swiss, the establishment consisted of an adobe parallelogram about 500 feet long by 150 feet wide, with fortifications at the angles. Within the fort, which was guarded by a dozen cannon, were dwellings, warehouses, granaries, shops, stores, and other accommodations. Sutter himself occupied a central building and served as judge, "priest," and general overseer to the residents of the fort and the surrounding area. Furnishings in his own private section were crude and mainly consisted of a set of furniture made in California earlier by the Russians.

Sutter's Fort acted as a trading center for New Helvetia (New Switzerland), at the center of a large expanse of territory used for ranching, farming, and other activities. It was originally intended that the fort would be the manor-seat or governing area of the district, and that Sutterville, a town located three miles below on the Sacramento River, would furnish the main living area. In the mid-1840s Sutter built the first house in Sutterville, followed by Hadel and Zins, the latter building the first brick structure in the district.

In December 1847 Sutter counted in the district 289 white people, 16 Hawaiians, Negroes, and half-breeds,

and 479 friendly Indians. In or around the fort there were 60 houses, 6 mills, and 1 tannery. Sutter was the owner of 10,000 to 15,000 sheep, 12,000 cattle, 2,000 horses and mules, and 1,000 hogs. People in the New Helvetia district depended upon Sutter for employment. Included were many immigrants who had come into the district to settle as well as many Mormons who were on their way to Great Salt Lake. In 1846 about 200 Mormons arrived in California, followed shortly thereafter by a Mormon battalion of the United States Army comprising about 350 additional men. By early 1848 a number of Mormon travelers and soldiers were in the district, while others had continued eastward.

During the day Sutter's Fort was a beehive of activity. Wagons came and went, blacksmiths, mechanics, and traders engaged in their respective pursuits, and others attended to pears, apples, grapes, almonds, olives, and other crops in a nearby garden. At night there was often singing, merrymaking, and revelry.

In the early days trade with San Francisco, the link with the eastern United States and foreign ports, was conducted by a 20-ton sloop, the *Amelia*, which was owned by Sutter and manned by a crew of a dozen Indians. During busy times of the year there were two other vessels which made trips up the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. From the Sutter's Fort landing a canoe was used to shuttle goods back and forth to the *Amelia* which anchored in deeper waters.

Six miles up from the American River a group of Mormons were busy building a flour mill for Sutter. This was to be a large enterprise with four immense stone grinding wheels, powered by a dam which fed water into a mill race four miles long.

Lumber was in short supply at New Helvetia. Planks and boards had to be imported from San Francisco at great expense. Nowhere in the Sutter's Fort area was there the combination of suitable trees and water power to drive a sawmill. The closest possibility was in the foothills of the Sierras. Sutter envisioned that a sawmill built in the foothills would not only provide needed lumber for construction in and around New Helvetia, but it would also provide an article of commerce for shipment to San Francisco, thereby reversing the usual flow of trade. Sutter dispatched several exploration parties to find a suitable site. The upper Sacramento River was explored as was the Feather River.

Sutter's Sawmill

In the summer of 1847 the explorations were increased. Important among those seeking a sawmill location was James Wilson Marshall, 33 years old, who

was born in Hope Township, New Jersey. After being an apprentice wagonmaker to his father, Marshall became a drifter. When financial necessity arose, he sought employment as a carpenter or a farmer. After attaining his majority he joined the western current of migration through Indiana, Illinois, and finally to Missouri, where he homesteaded on a claim. Following an illness, he left Missouri in 1844 for the Pacific coast, leaving in May of that year and going by way of Fort Hall to Oregon, where he spent the winter. The following summer, in 1845, he joined Sutter as a mechanic. Soon thereafter he purchased from one S. J. Hensley a small parcel of land on Butte Creek, on which he placed some livestock. He left the land for a short time, and when he returned he learned that his cattle had been stolen or had strayed.

Marshall and Sutter, in 1847, discussed the building of a sawmill. On May 16th Marshall, accompanied by an Indian and two white men named Treador and Graves, set out toward the foothills. On the 20th of May they were joined by one Gingery. They went up to what was later known as Weber Creek to its head, and then on to the American River where they came to Coloma (later called "Coloma," the Indian word for "beautiful valley"). Within the valley were verdant groves of trees and low bushes. The Coloma Indians settled here and lived peaceably. Located 35 to 40 miles distant from Sutter's Fort, Coloma was considered to be the best site as it combined abundant water power with a seemingly unlimited supply of nearby timber. It was calculated that the building of a road back to the fort would present no unusual difficulty. Lumber would have to be hauled 18 miles overland and then transported the rest of the way by floating.

When Sutter was told of the location he drew up a contract with Marshall giving the latter an interest in the enterprise. Sutter agreed to furnish the labor, supplies, and financing. Marshall was to supervise the construction and to operate the mill once it was completed. Shortly after the agreement was signed, Marshall left Sutter's Fort with Mexican oxcarts hauling supplies and tools and with an accompanying flock of sheep to be used as food. It took a week to make the journey.

At Coloma a double log house was built with a passageway connecting the two main parts. This was situated on high ground about a quarter mile from the mill site. One section of the house was occupied by the laborers, and the other was the residence of the Wimmer family, with Mrs. Wimmer serving as cook for the group. A disagreement erupted later, and the men built a separate cabin near the partially completed mill and

did their own cooking. The menu mainly consisted of salted salmon and boiled wheat with lamb stew providing variety.

By New Year's Day 1848 the main frame of the mill had risen on the banks of the American River. By mid-January a dam made of brush and rocks had been completed, despite a flood which had nearly swept everything downriver.

To save time in constructing a mill race or channel to power the sawblade, an old existing river channel, long since dried up, was chosen. This had to be deepened and widened to make it suitable for use. This was accomplished by blasting at the upper end to admit water into the course. The stream would then wash accumulated rocks and debris and would deepen the lower part of the channel. During the day the flow of water would be blocked and the work crew removed the larger stones by hand, sometimes aided by blasting. The crew consisted of 10 white men (mostly Mormons from the disbanded battalion, who intended eventually to go on to Salt Lake) and local Indians, supervised by Marshall's assistant Peter L. Wimmer. Once the day's work was done, the channel would be opened at the upper end and water would rush through during the night.

Thus the scene was set for the discovery of gold in California, an event which would reverberate around the world. The discovery itself is believed to have occurred in the afternoon of Monday, January 24, 1848. This date was given by Henry W. Bigler, a Mormon worker there who kept a detailed journal. James Marshall later asserted that the discovery took place "on or about the 19th of January," but the 24th seems to be a stronger possibility, not only from Bigler's account but from several other verifications.

During the afternoon of the 24th Marshall was walking along the mill race to inspect the work in progress. He noticed the yellow glint of a few flakes in the stream bed but paid little attention to them. Soon, after noticing more, he sent an Indian to fetch a tin plate. Scooping up sand and yellow flakes he swirled the mixture around in water and separated a small quantity of yellow particles. His attention was then diverted to other things, and the search for yellow flakes was temporarily stopped.

That evening Marshall is said to have remarked, "Boys, I think I have found a gold mine." His listeners were skeptical.

The next morning Marshall went down to the mill race to see what the effects were from the water which had rushed through during the previous night. Beneath

about six inches of water he saw a tiny yellow nodule. If it were gold it would have a value of about a half dollar. Although Marshall was not a metallurgist he did know that gold was heavy and could be flattened by hammering. He tested its weight in his hand, bit it, and then flattened it by hammering between two stones. As historian Hubert H. Bancroft was later to write, "It must be gold! And the mighty secret of the Sierra stood revealed!"

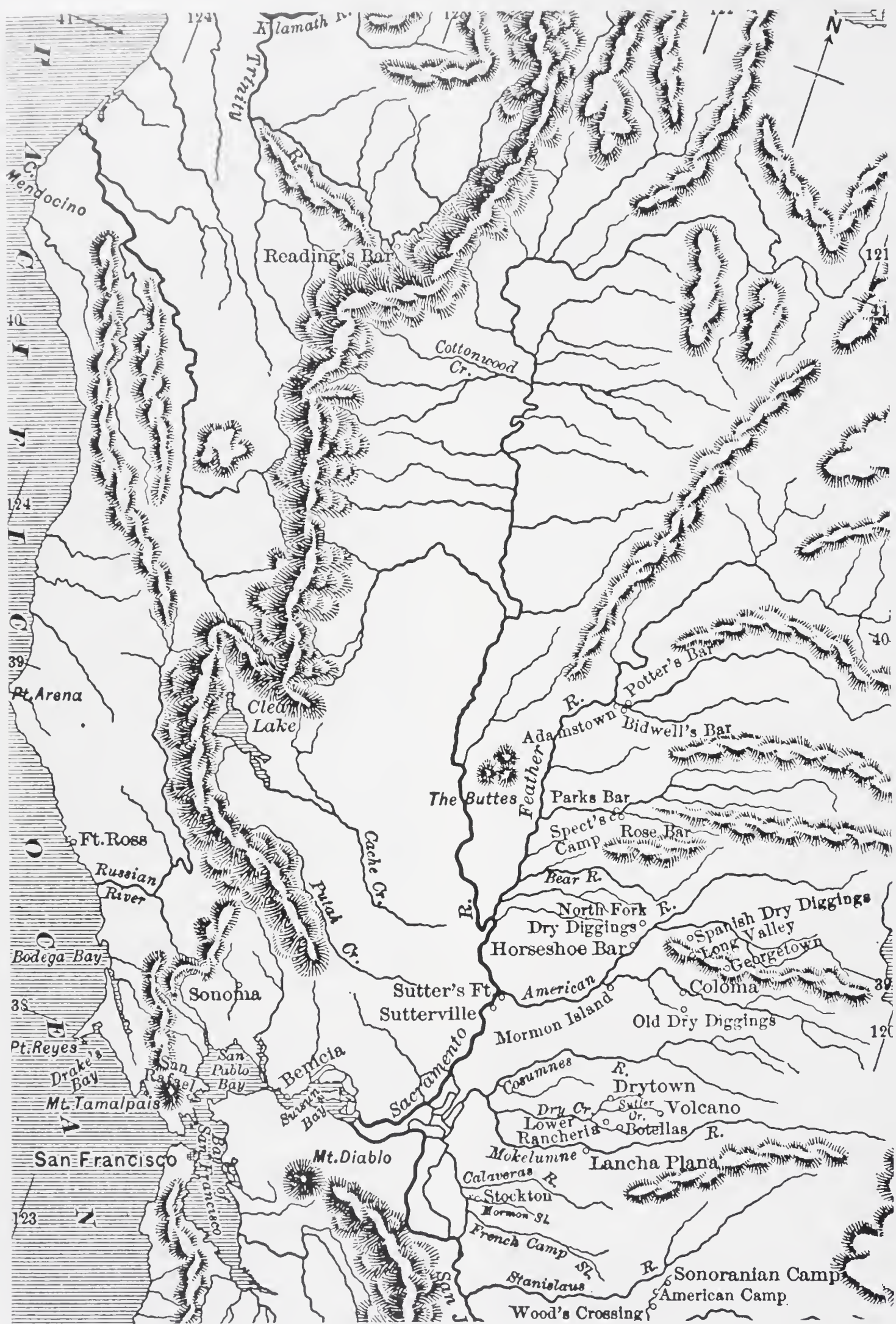
In later years four who were present at the time, Bigler, Marshall, Wimmer, and Wimmer's wife, each gave different versions of what happened during the actual gold discovery. Bigler was the only one who kept a written journal at the time, so Bancroft considered his testimony to be the most reliable.

Two days after the initial discovery Marshall took several ounces of the gold he had collected and rode to Sutter's Fort. Late in the afternoon of January 28th he arrived at New Helvetia and found Sutter busily writing. Marshall requested a private meeting, and he and Sutter went into a separate room and bolted the door.

A volume of an encyclopedia kept at the fort was called for, and the section on gold was carefully studied. First, the yellow metal was subjected to acid, and it remained impervious. Then \$3 in silver coins was put into one pan of a scale balance and an equal weight of gold into the other. Both pans were immersed in water, and the side with the gold dust went down and the silver coin up, proving that the metal was heavier than silver. After further study and consideration, all doubts disappeared.

Upon confirmation of the gold discovery, Marshall wanted to return to the American River immediately. It had been raining throughout the day, and Sutter invited Marshall to spend the night. The latter was eager to return, so he left immediately through the rain and darkness. The next morning Sutter followed his steps. Halfway there he saw something stir in the bushes. Investigating, he found it was Marshall, who had been to the mill and was on his way back to meet Sutter.

Arriving at the mill late in the afternoon, Sutter and Marshall examined the mill race. The next morning, Sutter, Marshall, and the workmen all went down to the channel to see what had been washed by the water during the previous night. Sutter acquired an ounce and a half of gold, some of it given to him by workmen but much found by himself. Subsequent investigations up and down the river showed that gold was present in tributary creeks and ravines.



Map of the California gold regions as they were settled in 1848. (From Bancroft)

After staying at the mill for two days Sutter returned to New Helvetia. He viewed the gold discovery as an unfortunate situation. He felt that if the laborers became distracted the mill would not be completed. Sutter swore the workers to secrecy and had them agree to continue their labors for six weeks, by which time he hoped the flour mill (being built by Mormons closer to Fort Sutter) would be completed using the new lumber and that the lumber mill itself would be in good operating order. This would give him time, so he thought, to get his other affairs in order should there be additional problems with his workers. The men readily agreed to this for the steady wages of mill operation were preferable to the unknown and possibly shortlived attractions of gold seeking. At the time the extent of the gold discovery was not realized.

The News Spreads

Although Sutter demanded secrecy from all others involved, he could not resist the temptation to tell his friends about the new-found gold. Writing to an acquaintance on February 10, 1848, he said, "I have made a discovery of a gold mine, which, according to experiments we have made, is extraordinarily rich."

Sutter realized the desirability of getting good title to the land, a difficult situation in view of the war with Mexico and the impossibility of obtaining Mexican grants. From the Coloma Indians he obtained a three-year lease on a tract 10 to 12 miles square in the area by paying some articles of clothing and trinkets. In the meantime the Indians were allowed to remain in their homes and follow their normal pursuits.

Realizing that the title with the Indians was not a sure defense for all claims, Sutter sent a messenger to Monterey to acquire better title through the office of Col. R. B. Mason, Jr., then chief representative of the United States government in California. Charles Bennett, who was second in responsibility to James Marshall at the mill, was chosen to make the trip. He was instructed not to mention the gold at all but to acquire the land with its pasture, mill, and mineral privileges, giving as a reason for including mineral privileges "the appearance of *lead and silver* in the soil."

Bennett, however, was not equal to the task. Arriving at Pfister's store in Benicia with six ounces of gold in a buckskin pouch, Bennett was told that *coal* had been found near Monte Del Diablo, and as a result California would become very important in the eyes of the United States, soon to administer control over the district. Bennett could not contain his secret at this point and said, "Coal! I have something here which

will beat coal, and make this the greatest country in the world." At that point he showed the pouch of gold to those present.

Arriving in San Francisco, Bennett learned of Isaac Humphrey, who earlier had been engaged in gold mining in Georgia. Bennett sought out Humphrey and showed him the pouch of gold, which Humphrey at once declared to be the genuine article. Humphrey was pleased with the quality of the gold and said that the discovery was probably much more important than the gold found in Georgia. Later, Humphrey returned to the Coloma area with Bennett and found gold in large quantities.

Although Sutter himself was responsible for the spread of the news, he wanted to stop communications from the sawmill. To do this, no messengers were sent from Sutter's Fort to Marshall during the early part of February. Toward the end of the month it was necessary to send provisions to the mill. Sutter selected a Swiss teamster who was considered especially reliable to undertake the mission. Arriving at Coloma, the driver found one of the Wimmer children who said, "We have found gold up here." The teamster ridiculed the idea, thus annoying Mrs. Wimmer who produced some gold to prove that her son was telling the truth. Samples were given to the visitor.

Returning to Sutter's Fort after the journey, the teamster sought a drink. Many times before at the store of Smith & Brannan he sought to quench his thirst from the barrel of whisky there and to settle accounts for the same by promising payment at a later date. On this occasion he asked for a bottle of whisky and boldly presented gold dust in payment. The secret thus escaped in another direction. Twenty-eight years later in a reminiscence Sutter said, "I should have sent my Indians instead."

Around the time that Bennett was dispatched to Monterey to secure better title, Sutter's ship went down the Sacramento River with some gold specimens. Folsom, who was quartermaster in San Francisco, learned of the gold in this manner. John Bidwell further spread the news in the area. In these and other ways the news of the gold discovery spread throughout the district.

In the meantime at Sutter's mill the workers, finding time when they could during the day and also working on Sunday, used knives and spoons to extract yellow metal from crevices and rocks, acquiring gold at the rate of \$3 to \$8 per day. In order to determine the value of what they found, a small pair of wooden scales was built to weigh silver coins against the gold. In this

manner a Mexican silver real or "bit" worth 12½c would be balanced in weight by \$2 worth of gold, which was valued at \$16 per ounce; less than it was worth in the more civilized districts, but more than it would bring in the mining districts a few months later. Gold that would balance a full dollar-size silver coin would be equal in value to \$16, or one ounce.

On February 6th, the second Sunday after Marshall's initial discovery, all the workers were busily searching for gold in the mill race. Henry Bigler and James Barger crossed the American River and found in a crevice in a rock on the other side gold valued at \$10. On the following Saturday Bigler went a half mile down the river and in the seam of some rocks found a half ounce. On the next Sunday, a week later, he found another ounce. On Tuesday, February 22nd, snow prevented work at the mill, so Bigler went downstream to the same area and obtained an ounce and a half of the precious substance. Prior to this time he kept his private discoveries away from the mill a secret, taking a gun with him on the pretext of shooting ducks. Returning from the last sortie he was questioned closely by his companions. He informed them of his success, and on the next Sunday five of them went with Bigler to the same location where they were all rewarded with success.

In the opposite direction up the American River three miles Marshall and James Gregson found a place which they called Live Oak Bar. According to Gregson they picked up from the surface a pint of gold, with some nuggets being the size of a bean. Gregson, an Englishman who had come to California in 1845 and who had engaged in lumbering for Sutter, later gave up his employment with Marshall and during the balance of the year acquired several thousand dollars in gold dust. Helping him was his wife.

Around the 21st of February Bigler wrote to certain of his comrades from the Mormon battalion—Israel Evans, Ephraim Green, and Jesse Martin, who were working on the construction of Sutter's flour mill—telling them of the discovery of gold and admonishing them to repeat it only to those who could be trusted. As a result, on the evening of February 27th three persons came to Sutter's mill at Coloma to engage in the search for the yellow metal. Marshall received them graciously and gave them permission to look in the mill race. The next morning they all went there and met with success, one Wilford Hudson finding a nugget worth \$6. They continued until March 2nd, when they returned to the flour mill. The three people who made the journey, Sidney Willis, Fiefield, and Wilford Hud-

son, told everyone at the flour mill that they had gone to the sawmill merely to pay a social visit, the only one knowing the truth being Jesse Martin who told them of the gold discovery originally.

Hudson and Willis followed the river downstream looking for gold, and Fiefield, accompanied by Bigler from the sawmill, went by road back to the flour mill. On regrouping at the flour mill, Hudson showed a few particles not worth more than a half dollar in value which had been found on a bar opposite a small island halfway down the river. Other Mormons became interested in the tale, and a group of them returned to the downstream sand bar, hoping to find more. Later, this became famous as the very rich Mormon Diggings, and the sand bar, made of gravel and earth about a half mile long and a quarter mile wide, cut by a canal across the neck, was known as Mormon Island.

Earlier many Mormons had arrived in California on the ship *Brooklyn*. Others came overland by way of Santa Fe. Some remained at San Francisco, others went to New Helvetia to settle with Sutter, and still others settled on the Stanislaus River. Many of the Mormons, especially those associated with the Mormon battalion which had earlier disbanded in California, were on their way to Great Salt Lake. They stopped at Sutter's Fort to work for a time in order to add to their supplies and provisions and to wait for a more favorable season to journey across the high mountains. It was during this winter period that gold was discovered at Coloma. With the arrival of spring the Mormons intended to resume their journey eastward to Great Salt Lake.

On March 11, 1848, Sutter's sawmill was complete and in operation. The employees fulfilled their promise to finish the project. On April 7th Bigler, Brown, and Stevens went to Sutter's Fort to settle their accounts and to discuss their journey to Great Salt Lake. June 1st was selected as the starting date. Sutter was informed of this so he could make preparations to have others employed in their stead. The Mormons sought to buy supplies and provisions, including cattle, horses, seed, and two brass cannon.

Bigler, Brown, and Stevens started their return to Coloma on April 11th. Camping overnight on a stream 15 miles above the flour mill, they found \$10 worth of gold. They later continued to Mormon Island where seven of their friends in one day had extracted \$250. Drawing closer to Coloma, they found a site on the river below the sawmill. An arrangement was made with Sutter and Marshall, who furnished provisions and tools in exchange for a percentage of the gold found. This agreement was continued for a short time,

then payments to Sutter and Marshall were discontinued. It was reported that at one time Samuel Brannan, a Mormon merchant at Sutter's Fort, obtained 10% of the gold found by certain Mormons on the pretext of it being a tithe to the church.

Later in July, their migration delayed due to the gold fever, 45 Mormon men and one woman started eastward to Great Salt Lake.

More and more people returned from Coloma with gold particles and nuggets. One trader offered a half pound of gold at a store in exchange for supplies. At the time gold was usually accepted at the rate of about \$8 an ounce, less than half of its true value. The storekeepers showed the metal to other visitors and created additional excitement. Person by person, tale by tale, rumor by rumor, the news continued to spread.

In the early months the news of gold was mainly confined to Sutter's Fort and those associated with it. There were some believers and many skeptics in San Francisco. Further away there was no news or interest. Gold had been mentioned many times earlier as a possible attraction in California, just as the precious metal had often been given as a reason for going to many other distant lands, whether or not gold actually existed.

Semple, a Benicia man, was told of the gold discovery in the early days and said, "I would pay more for a good coal mine than for all the gold mines in the universe." Capt. J. L. Folsom, quartermaster at San Francisco, saw some gold flakes and declared they were mica. Later a man came in with 20 ounces of gold which he claimed to have gathered in eight days on the American River, and Folsom expressed disbelief. In April, Folsom wrote to Col. R. B. Mason, Jr., in Monterey and mentioned casually that there was a rumor of gold existing in the Sutter's Fort area. In May, Bradley, a friend of Folsom, journeyed to Monterey and was asked by Mason if he knew anything of gold on the American River. "I have heard of it. A few fools have hurried to the place, but you can be sure there is nothing in it," was the reply.

On Wednesday, March 15th, *The Californian*, one of two weekly newspapers published at the time, carried the first printed notice:

Gold Mine Found. In the newly made raceway of the saw-mill recently erected by Capt. Sutter on the American fork, gold has been found in considerable quantities. One person brought \$30 to New Helvetia, gathered there in a short time. California no doubt is rich in mineral wealth; great chances here for scientific capitalists. Gold has been found in every part of the country.

On March 18th the other weekly paper, *The California Star*, carried a brief notice that gold had been found 40 miles above Sutter's Fort.

No particular excitement was created by these notices, as other natural wealth was thought of with equal interest—including quicksilver, coal, silver, and to even a greater extent, agriculture and fruit growing.

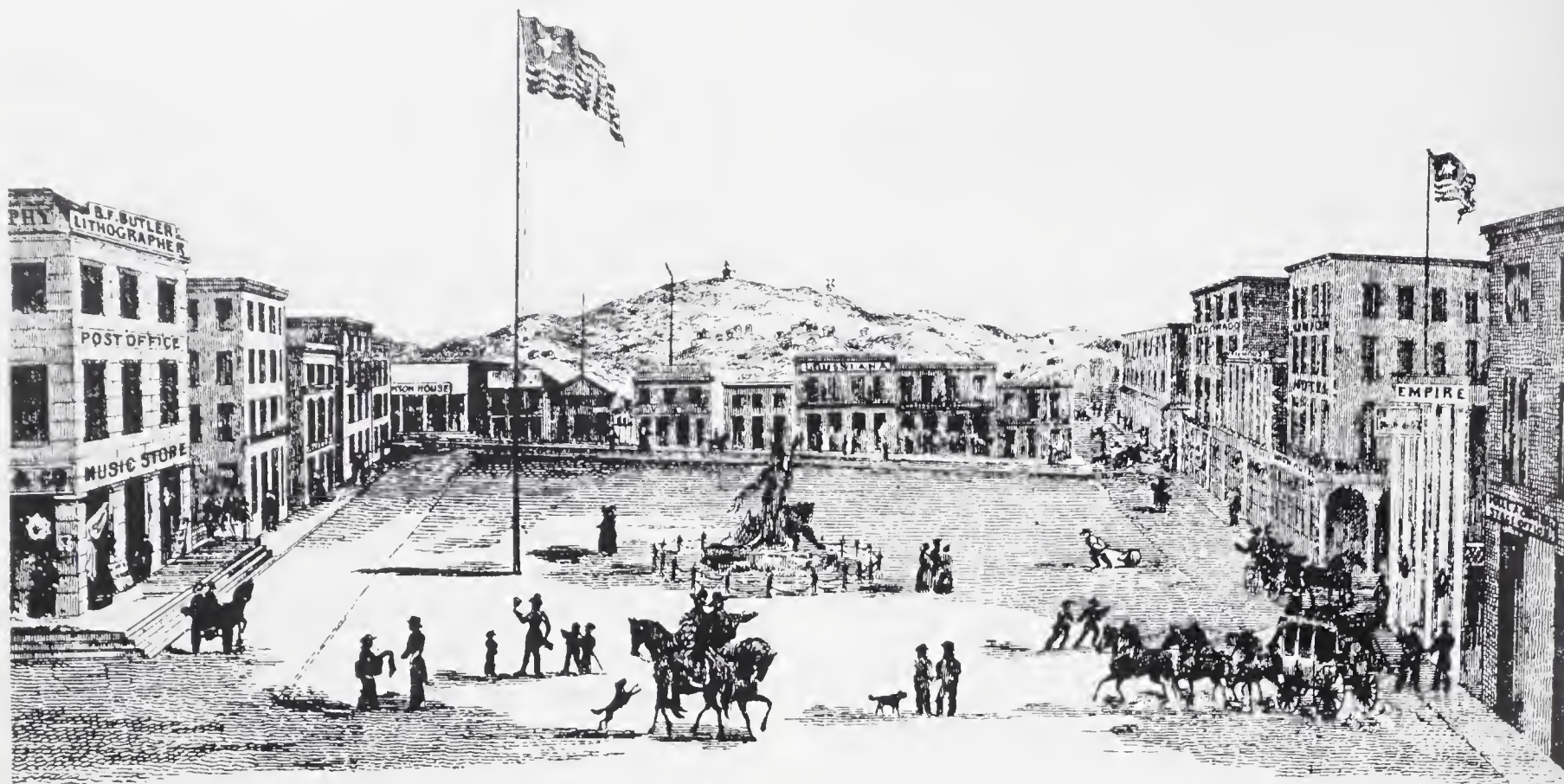
On March 25th *The California Star* noted that "so great is the quantity of gold taken from the mine recently found at New Helvetia that it has become an article of traffic in that vicinity." His interest piqued, E. C. Kemble, editor of the newspaper, set off to inspect the situation for himself. Reaching New Helvetia he was accompanied by Sutter who journeyed with him to Coloma. Arriving at the mill in the middle of a working day, Sutter was pleased to find that the employees were busily tending to the lumber business. Gold seekers who had come to the area had moved up or down the American River and were not looking for gold at the mill site. Kemble returned to San Francisco to report that from his personal experience reports of gold at Sutter's mill were false.

Certain business interests in San Francisco who hoped to increase the return on their investments in land and commerce commissioned Dr. Victor J. Fourgeaud to write a monograph which was subsequently called *The Prospects of California*. Believing that Missouri in particular represented a fertile source for investors in San Francisco, the business interests there, who had no connection with the new gold discoveries, dispatched a courier overland in April with 2,000 copies to distribute in Missouri. It was planned that a second edition, to be printed as an extra and to contain expanded information, would be issued on June 1st.

While Fourgeaud did not give the gold discovery undue prominence or speculate on its future impact to California, he did state the following:

We saw a few days ago a beautiful specimen of gold from the mine newly discovered on the American fork. From all accounts the mine is immensely rich, and already we learned that gold from it, collected at random and without any trouble, has become an article of trade at the upper settlement. This precious metal abounds in this country. We have heard of several other newly discovered mines of gold, but as these reports are not as yet authenticated, we shall pass over them. However, it is well known that there is a placero [Spanish term for placer, pronounced "plasser," a sand and gravel deposit containing gold flakes] of gold a few miles from Ciudad de Los Angeles, and another on the San Joaquin.

The same monograph noted that on the American River:



Engraved according to act of Congress in the year 1850 by Joseph E. Atwill in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the Northern District of the State of California.

B. F. Butler's Engraving.

THE GRAND PLAZA, SAN FRANCISCO.

ATWILL & CO. Publishers, SAN FRANCISCO.

ADAMS & CO'S BANKING AND EXPRESS

HOUSE,

Parrott's Granite Building, Montgomery Street, near California;

AND

IN EVERY TOWN

THROUGHOUT

THE STATE.

Above: the Plaza in San Francisco formed the focal point for the community during the decade following the discovery of gold in California in 1848.

Left: advertisement for Adams & Co., an important banking and express house during the early years of gold activity.

. . . [gold] is found at a depth of three feet below the surface, and in strata of soft sand rock. Exploration made southward to the distance of 12 miles and to the north of 5 miles reports the continuance of this strata and the mineral equally abundant. The vein is from 12 to 18 feet in thickness. Most advantageously to the new mine, a stream of water flows in its immediate neighborhood, and the washing will be attended with comparative ease.

In early May the merchant Samuel Brannan, leader of the Mormons in California, held a bottle of gold dust in one hand and swung his hat in the other hand and went along the street shouting, "Gold! Gold! Gold from the American River!"

The gold fever continued to spread. Recalling the events of the time one person later wrote:

A frenzy seized my soul. Unbidden, my legs performed some entirely new movements of polka steps; I took several. Houses were too small for me to stay in. I was soon in the street in search of necessary outfits. Piles of gold rose before me at every step. Castles of marble, dazzling the eye with their rich appliances, castles of slaves bowing to my beck and call, myriads of fair virgins contending with each other for my love, were among the fancies of my fevered imagination. The Rothschilds, Girards, and Astors appeared to me to be but poor people. In short, I had a very violent attack of the gold fever.

Exodus to the Gold Fields

Nothing except the new gold discoveries attracted popular attention. Business affairs were put in order, offices were closed, real estate was put up for sale, and other activities were set aside for the exodus from San Francisco and other cities to the mines.

The quickest route to the gold fields was by water, up the bay into the Sacramento River. Others went to Sausalito by boat, and then by foot or horseback by way of San Rafael and Sonoma. Still others went around the southern end of the bay and through Livermore Pass.

The March 1848 census reported 810 people in San Francisco, of whom 177 were women and 60 children. In the month of May it was estimated that at least 150 adult males had left San Francisco, a figure equal to a quarter of the male population at the time.

There was a shortage of ships. It was reported that a \$50 rowboat would sometimes command \$400 or \$500 from someone eager for quick passage. In the San Francisco area a pack animal could still be obtained for \$15, although it was reported that one rider who took animals to the mines was able to rent them for \$100 per week upon arrival there. Charles L. Ross, who wrote a manuscript, "Experiences of a Pioneer of 1847 in

California," for historian Hubert H. Bancroft, noted that by the middle of May at Martinez there were 200 wagons waiting to cross at the ferry:

Having collected there in that short time, within two weeks, men, women, children, families who had left their homes . . . They had organized a committee; each man was registered on his arrival and took his turn at crossing. The boat ran night and day, carrying each time two wagons and horses and the people connected with them. Some had to camp there quite a while. After a time somebody else got a scow and started another ferry, and they got across faster.

Semple, who operated the ferry and who earlier had expressed disbelief in the gold discovery, now was charging \$20 each for some crossings. He worked alone at his business, but then one man offered to help him for a term of just two weeks at \$25 per week.

By the middle of June 1848 three-quarters of San Francisco's male population had left for the mines. On May 27th *The Star* reported:

Stores are closed and places of business vacated. A large number of houses tenantless, and various kinds of mechanical labor suspended or given up entirely, and nowhere the pleasant hum of industry salutes the ear of late; but as if a curse had arrested our onward course of progress, everything wears a desolate and somber look, everywhere all is dull, monotonous, dead.

In the same issue of *The Star* appeared an advertisement which noted: "The highest market price will be paid for gold, either cash or merchandise, by Mellous & Howard, Montgomery Street."

San Francisco real estate dropped in value precipitously as there were few people willing to stay in the city. Some places sold for half the price of a few months earlier. On the corner of Pine and Kearny streets was a house which cost \$400 to build. The house and lot together were put on the market at \$350. On the doors of other houses were to be seen notices which stated "Gone to the diggings" or some variation of this sentiment.

An observer, Brooks, wrote in his journal on May 17, 1848, of the lack of workers in San Francisco:

Work people have struck. Walking through the town to-day I observed that laborers were employed only upon half a dozen of the 50 new buildings which were in the course of being run up.

Waiters and cooks were demanding and getting wages of \$10 and \$15 a day. Faced with the lack of local subscribers *The Californian* expired on May 29th and *The Star* on June 14th. In its swan song *The Californian* noted:

The whole country from San Francisco to Los Angeles and from the seashore to the base of the Sierra Nevada resounds

to the sordid cry of Gold! Gold!! Gold!!! while the field is left half planted, the house half built, and everything neglected but the manufacture of shovels and pick axes, and the means of transportation to the spot where one man obtained \$128 worth of the real stuff in one day's washing, and the average for all concerned is \$20 per diem.

In the meantime John Sutter was having many problems. The flour mill, which was in the process of construction, was never completed, despite an expenditure of over \$30,000, an immense sum at the time. Sutter was later to write:

My grist mill was never finished. Everything was stolen, even the stones. There is a saying that men will steal anything but a mile stone and a mill stone. They stole my mill stones. They stole the bells from the fort and the gate weights. They stole hides and salmon barrels. I had 200 barrels which I made for salmon. I was just beginning to cure salmon then. I had put up some before, enough to try it, and to ascertain that it would be a good business. Some of the cannon at the fort were stolen, and some I gave to neighbors so that they could fire them on the 4th of July. My property was all left exposed, and at the mercy of the rabble, when gold was discovered.

My men all deserted me. I could not shut the gates of my fort and keep out the rabble. They would have broken them down. The country swarms with lawless men. Emigrants drove their stock into the yard and used my grain with impunity. Expostulation did no good. I was alone. There was no law. If one felt one's self insulted, one might shoot the offender. One man shot another for a slight provocation in the fort under my very nose. Philosopher Pickett shot a very good many who differed with him on some question.

The men in Sutter's fields demanded more pay, until their demands reached \$10 per day, and Sutter discharged them. Then the cook left, and then those who were working on the flour mill deserted. "The Mormons did not like to leave my mill unfinished, but they got the gold fever like everyone else," Sutter remarked. By summer the tannery, which was just becoming profitable, was abandoned, and hides and leather were left to rot.

In San Francisco the town council suspended its sittings. The church on the plaza halted services for there was no congregation left on Sunday mornings. The mayor's office was closed. Ships were deserted as soon as they came into port. One captain who sensed this was happening quickly gave the order to head out to sea again. His crew refused to obey. At night they gagged the watchman, lowered the ship's boat, and rowed to shore—off with others to the gold fields.

Around the same time a ship from Peru entered the bay, the first vessel to arrive in San Francisco in three weeks. A strange scene prevailed. No one came to greet the ship. All was silent and dead. At length the captain

was able to learn from a passerby that everyone had gone northward where the valleys and mountains were made of pure gold. The crew abandoned ship immediately!

Among the first ships to be deserted was one owned by the Hudson's Bay Co. The crew left, and the captain soon followed behind, leaving the vessel in charge of his wife and young daughter. It was reported that every ship lost most of its crew within 48 hours of the time it arrived.

In San Jose the jailkeeper, Henry Bee, had 10 Indian prisoners, two of whom were charged with murder. He wanted to turn these over to the mayor for custody, but the mayor had already left for the gold fields. Finally he decided to take the prisoners along with him to the American River, where they worked for Bee until other miners, jealous of Bee's ingenious method for obtaining labor, incited the prisoners to revolt. In the same city John M. Horner left 500 acres of planted wheat behind when he and his family abandoned their farm and headed for the mines. It was subsequently reported in Sonoma that "not a laboring man or mechanic can be obtained in town."

Writing from San Francisco on June 1, 1848, Thomas O. Larkin advised Secretary of State James Buchanan of the discovery. About that time \$20,000 worth of gold had been exchanged for merchandise. About 200 or 300 men had left San Francisco to work in the mines. It was reported that \$10 to \$50 per day was the going rate of return in the mines, with one man averaging \$25 per day for 16 days. Miners would sometimes go, spend a short time, and then return to San Francisco to more completely provision themselves. Sometimes those returning from the gold fields would bring 20 to 30 ounces or more each. Over half of the dwellings in San Francisco were boarded up. Lawyers, mechanics, storekeepers, and laborers had all gone to the mines. Many United States soldiers had deserted the post at San Francisco. The United States ship *Anita* had just six men left on board. One ship captain, realizing it was useless to prevail upon his crew to stay, made a deal to continue the pay of the crew if one person would stay on board to watch things while others went to the mines. The captain agreed to furnish tools and supplies in exchange for two thirds of the metal found.

Shovels, which earlier sold for \$1 each, brought \$10 or more at the mines, with one offer of \$50 being reported.

On June 28, 1848, T. O. Larkin wrote a second letter to Buchanan. He informed the secretary of state that he had visited the mining area and had found it to be all

that earlier rumors had suggested, and perhaps even more. Two of his nights had been spent in a tent occupied by eight Americans, two of whom were sailors, one a clerk, two carpenters, and three laborers. They mined by means of rockers, each ten feet long and made like a cradle without the ends, consisting of about 100 feet of lumber, which cost on the spot about \$150 for supplies, or \$1.50 per board foot. These eight people every evening brought in about two pounds of gold, which equated to four ounces for each man. At \$16 per ounce, this was \$64 per man per day! Larkin interviewed two brothers who worked using a single tin pan and found that in one day one had obtained \$7 worth of gold and the other, luckier, had found \$82 worth. Larkin himself tried to hire a carpenter to construct a rocker, but the carpenter was busy mining and wanted \$50 per day for his labor. According to Larkin's estimates there were about 2,000 people at the mines, nine tenths of whom were foreigners. There were about 100 families, mostly Americans, with teams, wagons, and tents.

Larkin believed that the gold would last several years at the least. Others with whom he talked thought it would extend a century or more. There were no scientists or geologists to give reliable reports, so one guess was as good as another. At the time of Larkin's second letter nearly three quarters of the houses in San Francisco were vacant. A lot with a house on it was being sold at the price an empty lot sold for earlier.

In Monterey to the south the same situation was happening. Houses were abandoned, tradesmen left, and commercial activity was at a virtual standstill.

At the mines Larkin had seen a gentleman who earlier had served as attorney general for the king of the Sandwich Islands. Now he was digging an ounce and a half per day of gold. Nearby were judges, attorneys, and administrators doing the same thing.

At Monterey Col. R. B. Mason, Jr., governor of California, became increasingly concerned as he observed nearly the entire working population leaving for the gold fields. On June 17, 1848, he left Monterey accompanied by Lt. William Sherman. Arriving in San Francisco three days later he found that nearly all the male inhabitants had gone. On his earlier visit the same town had been a busy and thriving community.

Crossing San Francisco Bay in a launch to Sausalito, and then going by way of Bodega and Sonoma to Sutter's Fort at New Helvetia, he arrived on July 2nd. During the trip he saw stray horses and cattle wandering through abandoned fields of wheat, farms growing up in weeds, and countless vacant houses. Sutter's Fort

was a beehive of activity. Goods were coming and going and activity was bustling. Only two mechanics remained on hand to help Sutter build things, each of whom earned \$10 per day. Storekeepers were paying Sutter \$100 per month for a room at the fort. A two-story house within the fort enclosure had been leased as a hotel at \$500 per month.

From the fort Mason went 25 miles up the American River to the Lower Mines, also known as the Mormon Diggings, where about 200 miners were busy and where a store had been set up. From that point he went about 25 miles further up the river to Coloma. He spent several days examining the mining area in the company of James Marshall and Capt. Charles M. Weber. At that time he estimated that 4,000 people were engaged in mining activity. At one place he saw a trench about 300 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 2 or 3 feet deep. From this area two men and their employees in a week's time had taken \$17,000 in gold. After paying the employees, the two leaders had \$10,000 net profit remaining. He saw another small ravine which yielded \$12,000. Nearby were many other ravines and tributaries which appeared to be quite similar but which no one had yet touched.

An incident reported at Weber's store, made of brush and located on Weber's Creek, illustrates how plentiful gold was at the time and how it was regarded. A prospective customer came in and picked up a box of seidlitz powder, an effervescent used as a mild cathartic, and asked the price. Weber said that it wasn't for sale. The man offered an ounce of gold for it, but Weber told him that although he had just paid 50c for the powder he didn't want to sell it. Weber was then offered an ounce and a half, valued at \$24 at the time, so Weber felt he couldn't refuse. The exchange was made.

Mason had hoped to visit the mines which had developed on the Yuba, Feather, and Bear rivers, but before he had a chance to do so he was recalled to Monterey. He returned home after having been away a month. On his way back he visited a quicksilver mine at New Almaden, located about 12 miles south of San Jose. He took note of the manner in which the quicksilver ore was reduced. The furnaces consisted of large iron kettles of the type originally made to process whale oil aboard ship. Each furnace was comprised of two of these kettles, one inverted with the bottom up over the other, thereby forming a closed iron chamber. From a hole in the top kettle a brick-lined flue led to a separate condensing chamber of cooler temperature, at the bottom of which was a small iron reservoir.

Each morning the furnace would be filled with ore.

All day an intense heat would be applied to the bottom of the furnace chamber causing the quicksilver, or mercury, to volatilize or sublime, and in the form of vapor pass through the flue to the chamber. Upon cooling the metal would condense on the chamber walls and trickle down to the iron reservoir at the bottom, from which salable metal could be extracted.

During the two days of Mason's visit he saw four such ovens operating, yielding a net of 656 pounds of mercury, salable at the time for \$1.80 per pound at Mazatlan, Mexico. In California there was no need for quicksilver yet, but within a short time it was to become an important part of the gold extraction process.

Upon his return to Monterey, Mason gathered together his notes. He estimated that from \$30,000 to \$50,000 per day was being produced in the mines. He considered the possibility of securing for the government a royalty, or rent, from the miners, but after contemplating the vastness of the land, the character of the people, and the difficulty of enforcing such an idea, it was dropped. He believed that the government should not interfere unless crime or other problems arose. At the time there was very little crime in the gold districts. In fact, it was almost unknown. Miners would carry hundreds or thousands of dollars worth of gold with them or would leave it in their tents, and there would be no problems.

Col. R. B. Mason, Jr. called upon the people on July 25, 1848, to help apprehend deserters from the military forces. There were no people in the military to help, for the officers were just as eager to go off to the fields as were the men. Furloughs were given to many soldiers and officers, and many who could not obtain leave simply deserted. Faced with demands of up to \$300 per month for a cook's wages, few officers and officials could afford their services, so they prepared their own food. One reported:

This morning for the fortieth time we had to take to the kitchen and cook our own breakfast. A general of the United States Army and commander of a man-of-war, and the mayor of Monterey in a smoking kitchen, grinding coffee, toasting herring, and peeling onions!

The military situation became so bad that by November 1848 an advertisement in *The Californian*, which had since resumed publication, advised that the sum of \$40,000 was available for the capture of deserters from a certain squadron, to be divided as follows: for the first four people deserting since July, \$500 each, and for all others \$200 each, the reward to be paid in

silver dollars upon delivery of the deserter.

On August 17, 1848, ten days after the proclamation at Monterey of the treaty transferring sovereignty of the California Territory from Mexico to the United States, Col. R. B. Mason, Jr., wrote an account of the gold situation. He enclosed as many facts as he could as well as specimens of gold nuggets and cinnabar (mercury ore). The account and its enclosures were sent by special messenger to Washington. Using this information, President Polk in his annual message of December 5, 1848, informed the American people of the situation.

The Mormons carried news of the gold discovery over the Sierra and spread stories among the people at the Great Salt Lake settlement. A number of Mormons subsequently came to the gold field using missionary work for the church as a reason.

The Hawaiian ship *Louise* under Capt. Menzies sailed from San Francisco on May 31, 1848, arriving in Honolulu on June 17th. News of the gold discovery reached the editor of *The Polynesian*, who in the edition of June 24th repeated the news earlier reported in California papers and congratulated Honolulu merchants on the prospect of having their debts from California merchants paid off quickly. The July 8th issue of *The Polynesian* chronicled the rising excitement of the people. The issuing of passports in Hawaii, except to debtors, was detailed. On July 15th the same paper reported that "one crowded vessel departed on the 11th and a half dozen others are making ready; 24 persons gave notice of their intention to depart this kingdom; 200 will probably leave in two months if passage can be procured." On August 5th it was reported that 69 passports had been granted and as many more have left without waiting for this formality. On the 26th of August it was noted that three vessels had sailed within a week and one man had set out in a whaleboat. On September 23rd the increasing excitement was reported; a vessel advertised to sail, and every space was secured by eager travelers. On September 30th it was noted that in Hawaii real estate was depressed, business was at a low tide, and the whole character had changed. Books and other items needed at home were not selling, whereas shovels were bringing increasingly high prices. The term "when are you off?" was heard everywhere in the streets.

On October 7, 1848, the *Lahaima* left Hawaii with 40 passengers. On October 21, 1848, it was reported that 27 vessels had left Honolulu since the gold discovery and that 300 Europeans plus many native Hawaiians, called Kanakas, were aboard. "The islands suffer in consequence," it was noted. On October 28th it

was reported that some natives had returned, some bearing as much as \$500.

The news reached Oregon by means of commerce in and out of Honolulu, the overland trip from California through the northern mountains being more difficult and slower. News traveled northward via the employees of the Hudson's Bay Co. to Victoria and other places in British Columbia, to forts Nisqually and Vancouver, finally reaching Oregon City early in August. As more and more information reached Oregon, many settlers in that area left for the California gold fields. It was estimated that 10,000 white people lived in Oregon in the midsummer of 1848, and that two thirds of the adult male population left for California.

Between October 1848 and November 1849 nearly 5,000 people left Sonora, Mexico for the gold fields. During the spring of 1850 close to 6,000 left taking with them 14,000 animals.

By the autumn of 1848 gold seekers had arrived in quantity from Chile, Peru, the South Sea Islands, and other diverse locations as the news continued to spread. San Francisco, formerly idle, became a bustling commercial center. Many of the former inhabitants, tired of working in the mines, found that a quicker fortune lay in store by selling supplies to the eager adventurers. Newspapers revived, employment strengthened, and real estate values resumed their upward march.

The first notice printed in the Atlantic states of the gold discovery appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* on September 20, 1848. By that time many Easterners had received letters from relatives working in the gold fields. Most urged their friends to give up whatever they were doing and come to California. As recipients of letters compared them with others, the gold fever increased. More and more people dreamed of California and the golden riches which awaited them.

Shortly thereafter the *New York Journal of Commerce* published a dispatch bearing the date of August 29, 1848, from Monterey, California, which noted:

At present the people are running over the country and picking it out of the earth here and there, just as 1,000 hogs, let loose in a forest, would root up ground-nuts. Some get 8 or 10 ounces a day, and the least active one or two. They make the most who employ the wild Indians to hunt it for them. There is one man who has 60 Indians in his employ; his profits are \$1 a minute. The Indians know nothing of its value, and wonder what the pale-faces want to do with it. They will give an ounce of it for the same weight of it in coined silver or for a thimbleful of glass beads or a glass of grog. And white men themselves often give an ounce of it, which is worth at our mint \$18 or more, for a bottle of brandy, a bottle of soda powders, or a plug of tobacco. As

to the quantity which the diggers get, take a few facts as evidence. I know seven men who worked seven weeks and two days, Sundays excepted, on the Feather River; they employed on an average 50 Indians, and got out in those seven weeks and two days 275 pounds of pure gold. I know the men and have seen the gold . . . I know ten other men who worked for 10 days in a company, employed no Indians, and who averaged in those 10 days \$1,500 each . . . I know another man who got out of a basin in a rock, not larger than a washbowl, 2½ pounds of gold in 15 minutes . . . No one of these statements would I believe, did I not know them to be plain matter-of-fact men—men who open a vein of gold just as coolly as you would a potato hill . . .

With few facts to guide them and lacking dispatches or news of their own, other eastern newspapers took the *Baltimore Sun* and *New York Journal of Commerce* stories and whatever other information they could gather, embellished it, and contrived new and "original" stories of their own. In *The New York Tribune* Horace Greeley stated:

We are on the brink of the Age of Gold! We look for an addition, within the next four years, equal to at least \$1,000 millions of dollars to the general aggregate of gold in circulation and use throughout the world. This is almost inevitable.

Every bit of written information about California was eagerly purchased. Old almanacs and encyclopedias were consulted for additional facts. Newspapers and bulletins were scanned. Every rumor was listened to intently. Gold was the topic of the day. Gold, gold everywhere!

As time went on, publications were issued to aid the traveler. Such pamphlets as *California and the Way To Get There*, *The Pocket Guide to California*, and *The California Gold Regions* attracted eager readers. *The Pocket Guide to California* was described as:

. . . a sea and land route-book, containing a full description of the El Dorado, its agricultural resources, commercial advantages, and mineral wealth, including a chapter on gold formations, with a Congressional map, the various routes and distances to the gold regions.

Another was said to contain:

. . . a full account of its mineral resources, how to get there and what to take, the expense, the time, and the various routes.

There were several ways to go to California. The longest was the sea route from New York, Boston, New Orleans, or another eastern port, around the tip of South America, and up the western coast of South America northward to San Francisco. Another route was from eastern ports to Central America on the Caribbean Sea, overland at Panama or Nicaragua, and then a continuation by ship northward along the Pacific

MINER'S LIFE.—Illustrated.



MINER'S HOME.



MINER SICK.



MINER'S DREAM.



MINER'S SLUMBERS.



FRIENDS IN COUNTRY.



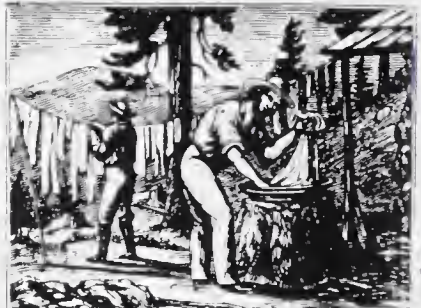
FRIENDS IN CITY.



MINER COOKING.



LETTERS FROM HOME.



WASHING DAY.



MINER'S CLAIM.



MINER'S CABIN.



MINER'S EVENING.

THE HONEST MINER'S SONGS.

The One he Sung at Home.

TUNE—*Susannah*.
 Like Argos of the ancient times,
 I'll leave this modern Greece;
 I'm going to California Mines.
 To find the golden fleece
 For who would work from morn till night
 And live on hog and corn,
 When one can pick up there at sight
 Enough to buy a farm?
 CHORUS.—Oh California! that's the
 land for me,
 I'm going to California the gold dust for
 to see.

There from the snowy mountains side
 Comes down the golden sand,
 And spreads a carpet far and wide
 O'er all the shining land;
 The rivers run on golden beds,
 O'er rocks of golden ore,
 The valleys six feet deep are said
 To hold a plenty more.
 Oh California! &c.

I'll take my wash bowl in my hand,
 And thither wind my way,
 To wash the gold from out the sand
 In California.
 And when I get my pocket full
 In that bright land of gold,
 I'll have a rich and happy time:
 Live merry till I'm old
 Oh California! etc.

The One he Sings Here.

TUNE—*Irish Emigrant's Lament*.
 I'm sitting on a big quartz rock,
 Where the gold is said to grow;
 But I'm thinking of the merry flock,
 That I left long ago:
 My fare is hard, and so is my bed,
 My claim is giving out,
 I've worked until I'm almost dead,
 And soon I shall "peg" out.

I'm thinking of the better days,
 Before I left my home:
 Before my brain with gold was crazed,
 And I began to roam.
 Those were the days, no more are seen,
 When all the girls loved me:
 When I did dress in linen clean,
 They washed and cooked for me.

But awful change is this to tell,
 I wash and cook myself;
 I never more shall cut a swell,
 But here must dig for pelf.
 I never shall lie in clean white sheets,
 But in my blankets roll:
 An oh! the girls I thought so sweet,
 They think me but a fool.



SATURDAY NIGHT.

Sheets such as this told families back home in the East what life was like for a California miner.

Articles in a Miner's Creed.

HE BELIEVES in fifty cents to the pan and the bed-rock "pitching."

HE BELIEVES that feathers in straw pillows should not be over six inches long and an inch square.

HE BELIEVES in the top dirt paying wages, and water money; and the bottom dirt—a fortune.

HE BELIEVES that sheets in hotels should not be considered clean after five week's use without washing.

HE BELIEVES that Gold is found in quartz, but he would be satisfied to find it in pints—or, even half-pints.

HE BELIEVES in going to bed to sleep, and not to chase fleas—even in dreams—moreover,

HE BELIEVES that all over a quarter of an inch in length should be caught by the—landlady.

HE BELIEVES there is plenty of gold here, but precious little falls to his share—somehow; yet,

HE BELIEVES that it do'n't pay to sell out everything to come to California, and then go home without the "oro."

HE BELIEVES that butter sent to the mines should not be used as a motive power—although strong enough for anything.

HE BELIEVES that labor is not the only capital now required for a good claim.

HE BELIEVES in "the good time coming," but thinks it must have started for the mountains on a prospecting trip, and got lost in a snow storm.

HE BELIEVES that if old Father TIME had any regard for our prosperity, he would take the juvenile by the ear and thus admonish him,—“My son, if you're coming, why don't you come along?”

HE BELIEVES that hard work, hard prospects, hard beds and hard living will harden him into premature old age. Still

HE BELIEVES after all that three or four dollars a day is better than six bits.

HE BELIEVES that hash set upon the table twice a day for two weeks, after that, should be considered pickles.

HE BELIEVES that "prospecting" may have paid others, but it never did him.

HE BELIEVES that a good Sunday dinner is not hard to take after a week's work and fasting on slapjacks and molasses.

HE BELIEVES in HOPE, but thinks he has lived on that long enough, and would now like something a little more substantial.

HE BELIEVES it uncomfortable to feed flat-backed live stock in beds, after being charged for his lodgings.

HE BELIEVES that every man separated, so long from his family or friends, and the comforts and pleasures of a good home, deserves to be well paid, after striving hard for it, if he isn't.

HE BELIEVES—or rather thinks—that those who labor the hardest, are not always the best paid—at least that's his experience.

HE BELIEVES in big vegetables, because he sees them; but wonders if there is any other kind of fruit than dried apples, dried apples scalded, and dried apples with the strings in.

HE BELIEVES that every man who plays at cards when he should be at work, would look rather foolish and ashamed if his friends could just drop in and see him.

HE BELIEVES that nine persons sleeping in one room only twelve feet by ten, should not allow the landlord to double the number—at the same charge.

HE BELIEVES that hill diggings will last for ages, and quartz diggings forever; and that all the waters of every mountain stream will yet be required for mining purposes.

HE BELIEVES that blankets used over three years without washing or airing, are entitled to "walk off" on their own account "for parts unknown;" and that no saddle-horse and lasso should be kept in readiness for their re-capture.

HE BELIEVES that his cabin looks rather lonely at night; and further, that it would not, if some one that he knows lived within it.

HE BELIEVES that man to be a knave who foolishly squanders his hard earnings here, and allows his wife and children to be starving at home.

HE BELIEVES that a change of cooks in hotels should not always be known by the different colored hairs in his pudding.

HE BELIEVES that no able-bodied man need want in California—if he is willing to work. Moreover,

HE BELIEVES it better not to wait for "something to turn up," but in going to work at once and turning something up.

HE BELIEVES that where he is, there his family should be—and that one home for one family has less expense and immeasurably more comfort than two can have.

HE BELIEVES, too, that with gentle hands to aid him, gentle words to cheer him, and gentle smiles to welcome him, he could enjoy life as it passes, and work hard and willingly until fortune should crown his labors with success—for

HE BELIEVES that California, with all its social drawbacks, is not only a "great country," but that it is in every sense the best place in the world for a working man, and only awaits the coming of a good, sensible, intelligent, and contented class of noble-minded women to make "the desert to blossom as the rose," and man to become rich, contented and happy.

So mote it be.

FORTY-NINE.

coast to California. Overland via several different routes from Missouri was another way.

To California by Sea

The first rush to California was by ship toward the end of 1848. Several vessels left in November. By December a stampede was in progress. Old schooners, transport steamers, and virtually any other vessel considered remotely seaworthy were pressed into service. Between December 14, 1848 and January, 1849, 61 ships with an average of 50 passengers each left Boston, Salem, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Norfolk. Additional vessels left from Charleston, New Orleans, and other ports.

In the meantime interest in gold was fueled by President Polk's annual address in December 1848 and by the arrival of gold at the Philadelphia Mint in the same month.

The first deposit in 1848 of California gold was given to the Philadelphia Mint by David Garter on December 8th. Mint Director Robert M. Patterson reported that the deposit of 1,804.59 ounces assayed slightly over \$18 per ounce.

On December 9th, the following day, 228 ounces averaging .894 fine were deposited at the Philadelphia Mint from gold sent by R. B. Mason, Jr., in California. This metal had been purchased at \$10 per ounce by the quartermaster in California under the sanction of the acting governor, using money from a civil fund. This gold was transmitted from California with a letter dated August 17, 1848, via a messenger, Lt. L. Loeser. When Loeser arrived in New Orleans on November 24th, on his way to Washington, the *Commercial Times* of that city printed an account which attracted wide interest among citizens.

When Loeser subsequently arrived in the capital *The Washington Union* stated that:

We readily admit that the account so nearly approached the miraculous that we were relieved by the evidence of our own senses on the subject. The specimens have all the appearance of the native gold we had seen from the mines of North Carolina and Virginia; and we are informed that the Secretary will send the small chest of gold to the Mint, to be melted into coin and bars, and most of it to be subsequently fashioned into medals commemorative of the heroism and valor of our officers. Several of the other specimens he will retain for the present in the War Office as found in California in the form of lumps, scales, and sand; the last named being of different hues, from bright yellow to black, without much appearance of gold. However skeptical any man may have been, we defy him to doubt that if the quantity of such specimens as these be as great as has been represented, the

value of gold in California must be greater than has been hitherto discovered in the old or new continent; and great as may be the immigration to this new El Dorado, the frugal and industrious will be amply repaid for their enterprise and toil.

Secretary of War W. L. Marcy wrote to Patterson, director of the Philadelphia Mint, concerning the first official government deposit of 228 ounces, which arrived on December 9th:

If the metal is found to be pure gold, as I doubt not that it will be, I request you to reserve enough of it for two medals ordered by Congress and not yet completed, and the remainder, with the exception of one or two small bars, I wish to have coined and sent with the bars to this department. As many may wish to procure specimens made with California gold, by exchanging other coin for it, I would suggest that it be made into quarter eagles with a distinguishing mark on each.

At the time, the smallest United States gold coin was the quarter eagle; the gold dollar was not introduced until the following year, 1849. The estimated 1,389 quarter eagles from the first government deposit were counterstamped on the reverse with the letters CAL., thus making them the first commemorative coins ever issued by a United States mint.

In February 1849 it was announced that 60 ships were going to sail from New York, 70 were destined to depart from Philadelphia and Boston, and 11 were scheduled from New Bedford. As months went on, sailing activity intensified. During the winter of 1849 and the spring of 1850 approximately 250 vessels left for California from the eastern ports of the United States. On one single day 45 ships arrived in San Francisco.

In April 1849 two of the November departures arrived in San Francisco; in June one arrived, in July 40, in August 43, and in September 66, after which the numbers declined, giving a total of 233 ships which arrived from American ports during a nine month period. During the same interval 316 vessels arrived from other ports, making a total of 549.

Sometimes the ships were in very poor condition, as, for instance, an old transport steamer used in the Mexican War which was resurrected during the 1849-1850 winter to service the route between New Orleans and Panama and which was described as being "so rotten and leaky that she wriggled and twisted like a willow basket."

Temporary decks were often added to ships to accommodate tiers of shelving which served as bunks. Food was bad, and much deprivation was caused by thirst, scurvy, and starvation. In the early days

passengers were often obtained under false pretenses. The ships which carried them were sometimes ill-provisioned. In other instances the captains were miserly with the food on hand, preferring to save whatever they could for resale at a profit in San Francisco. In 1849 the captains of two ships were overthrown by passengers. In each instance the captains proved to be drunkards, so no legal action followed.

On the other hand, the captains sometimes had their own complaints, as related by one:

No, no! Save me from a shipload of Yankee passengers. You will find that just as soon as they recover from their first seasickness they will hold a mass meeting on the quarter-deck, without asking the captain's permission, and prescribe rules for the government of the ship; or perhaps they will depose the captain altogether and put in his place a popular sailor taken from before the mast, as their idea will be to run the vessel on democratic principles. So, excuse me from the command of a California passenger ship.

In their eagerness to get to California many gold seekers sailed from the east coast to Chagres or Colon to cross land at the Isthmus of Panama, in order to get another ship on the western coast to take them to San Francisco. Upon arriving on the eastern side, travelers would secure transportation across the narrow land by going up the Chagres River in canoes, pulled by natives or propelled by poles, to the head of navigation at Gorgona or Cruces. There they would proceed overland by pack animal if they were lucky, but often on foot, to the western shore. The swampy ground on the Atlantic side was disease ridden, and many died from illness. On the western side there would be many gold seekers, sometimes hundreds or thousands, waiting until passage came to take them northward to California. The interval was spent in riotous living, drinking, and merrymaking.

Captains along the western coast would often exact high fares from the waiting passengers, who often had no alternative. Sometimes even when a very high fare was paid and accommodations were agreed upon, the captain would not deliver. This practice resulted in many lawsuits, a good proportion of which were resolved by damages being assessed against the ship captains and owners. In May 1849 the Dutch ship *Alexander Von Humboldt* advertised to take passengers aboard at Panama, although it had originally been chartered to carry coal as a cargo. Three hundred dollars was the price for cabin accommodations, and \$100 was charged for steerage. In their greed, the owners of the ship sold nearly 100 extra tickets above the approximately 400 persons, including the crew, which could be accommodated. This one trip alone

nearly repaid the \$60,000 cost of the entire ship with its supplies and accessories.

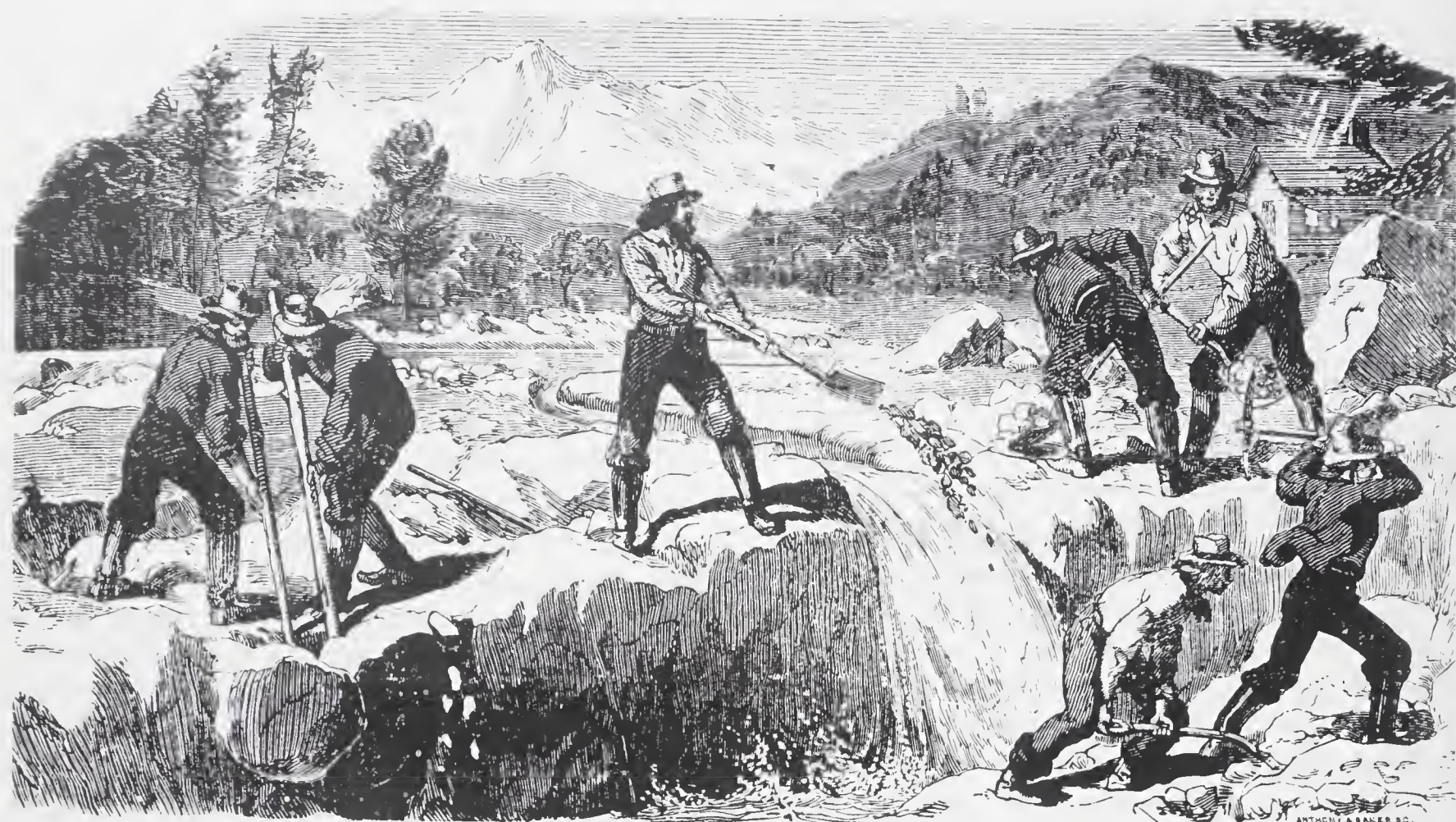
The passengers, learning of the excess ticket sales and deception, seized the owners as prisoners and held them captive until they promised on bended knee to charter another ship to carry the excess amount of people. The result was that 84 people, selected by a drawing, were transferred to another ship.

Further investigations showed that the amount of food aboard was not nearly what was needed for minimum sustenance. The passengers demanded redress, and in the absence of this purchased the needed supplies and attached a lien against the vessel for the money. After a delay of a week caused by these problems the Dutch ship set sail with 355 passengers.

A somewhat similar situation occurred on the British ship *John Ritson* which left Panama for San Francisco in February 1849 with 49 passengers in steerage and 7 in cabin accommodations. The rate for cabin fare was \$200. Steerage cost \$150. After they embarked the steerage passengers found they were served biscuits full of worms and bugs. At first the captain returned their complaints with a grin, but after the mistreated passengers had obtained a barrel of good provisions and had helped themselves, he threatened to throw any passenger overboard who opened another barrel. The plight of the steerage passengers incurred the sympathy of the cabin passengers, and they united to confront the captain with the ultimatum that if the situation were not straightened out properly, the captain himself would be thrown overboard. All of the passengers enjoyed good food for the rest of the journey.

A whaling ship, the *Equator*, out of New Bedford, Massachusetts, encountered the *John Ritson* at sea and subsequently reported upon landing at Panama that the passengers had taken over the ship and had jailed the captain and his crew. As a result, a British man-of-war was sent in furious pursuit, but it never caught up with the San Francisco-bound vessel.

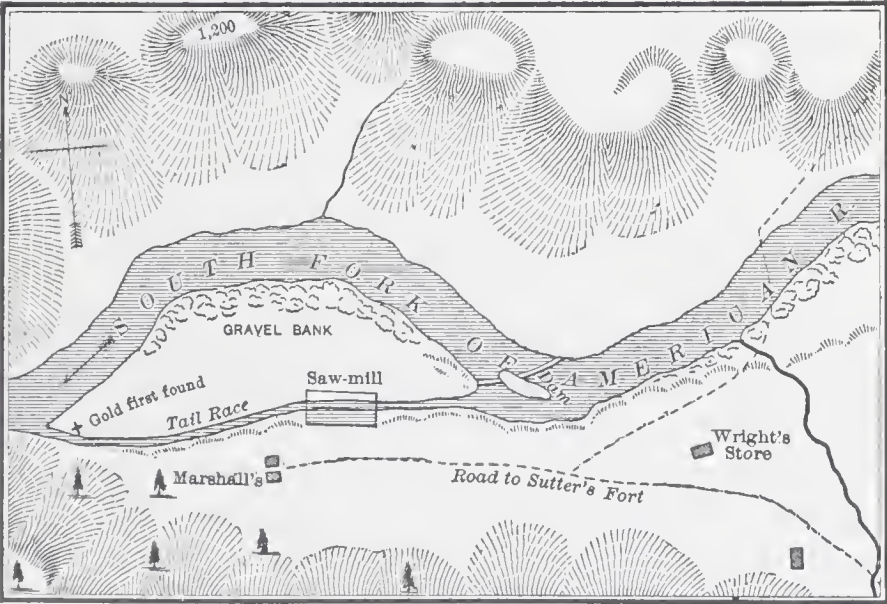
Sometimes companies would be formed in the Atlantic states to assist members with ocean passage. Typically such a group would consist of 10 to over 100 members who hoped to negotiate more favorable rates. In some instances shares cost as high as \$1,000 each, enough to purchase a vessel, equip it with a cargo including wooden houses in sections, machinery, and goods for trade. As an example, the Kennebec Trading & Mining Co. group sailed from New Bedford, Massachusetts, on the *Obed Mitchell* on March 31, 1849, and arrived in San Francisco on September 17th. The adven-



[Published at the WIDE WEST OFFICE, 181 Clay Street, San Francisco.]

CALIFORNIA MINING.—GROUND SLUICING.

One of several methods of gold production.



SCENE OF DISCOVERY.

Site of Marshall's gold discovery in 1848. (From Bancroft)

turers laid out a new town, opened a sawmill, and later operated a river steamer.

The Mattapan & California Trading & Mining Co., comprising 72 members, left Boston on the *Ann*. The *Edward Everett*, with a party of 152 voyagers, left Boston in December 1848. The *Robert Brown* sailed from New York in February 1849 with 200 passengers. Seven people left Nantucket, Massachusetts in December 1849 in the *Mary and Emma*, a small ship of just 44 tons displacement, and arrived in San Francisco after a 149-day voyage. Other sailing companies were designated by the names of the locations in which they organized, such as Albany, Utica, and Buffalo.

Some people desired to go to California, but due to business or other obligations they were not able to go. As a result many individuals made investments of large sums in some of the parties, with the expected return of a share of the profits. In virtually every instance the loans or partnership investments were lost, not through dishonesty or intent, but due to unforeseen expenses and—as was more usually the case—the dissolution of the parties once they reached California. Bancroft related that:

Few of the companies held together . . . They found on reaching California their company had no place there. Every miner was for himself, and so it was with mechanics and laborers . . .

Immigration to California was greatly facilitated by the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. which was incorporated before the gold rush and without knowledge of it. Earlier, J. M. Shively, postmaster in Astoria, Oregon, a leading fur trading center on the Pacific coast, visited Washington in 1845 and advised that mail steamers be established between Panama and Astoria. Other requests were made for mail service between Panama and California.

Following an act of March 3, 1847, the secretary of the Navy advertised for bids for two lines of steamers, one to carry mail between New York and Chagres on the Caribbean side of the Isthmus of Panama, and another line to connect from the western coast of Panama to Astoria. The Atlantic-Caribbean line was to consist of five steamships of 1,500 tons each, to be constructed in such a manner that they could be easily converted into warships, “for which purpose the government might by appraising them purchase them at any time.” The route was specified as being “from New York to New Orleans twice a month and back, touching at Charleston, if practicable, Savannah, and Havana; and from Havana to Chagres and back twice a month.”

For the Pacific steamship line three vessels were specified, two of not less than 1,000 tons and the other of 600 tons. These were to take the mail “from Panama to Astoria or to such other port as the secretary of the Navy may select in the Territory of Oregon, once a month each way, so as to connect with the mail from Havana to Chagres across the Isthmus.”

The Atlantic contract was awarded to Albert G. Sloo on April 20, 1847. This was later transferred to three others of New York City on August 17th. The government allowed \$290,000 annual compensation under the agreement. The first two vessels were to be completed by October 1, 1848.

The Pacific contract was given to Arnold Harris, who assigned it to William H. Aspenwall. It was provided that the annual subsidy for 10 years would be \$199,000. The awarding of the contract was under disputed circumstances, and a long series of litigations resulted.

It was then decided that San Francisco would be the northern terminus for the steamship line. At that point mail for Oregon would be transferred and taken further north by sailing vessels.

On April 12, 1848, the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. was incorporated with a capital stock of \$500,000. In 1850 the stock was raised to \$2 million, in 1853 to \$4 million, and to higher amounts in subsequent years. Three sidewheel steamers were constructed quickly.

The first of these, the *California*, sailed from New York on October 6, 1848. In the two following months the *Oregon* and the *Panama* left. At the time of sailing of the *California* on October 6, California gold was merely a rumor in the East and no passengers left for the gold fields.

On December 29 when the ship reached Callao a number of people eager for passage to California came on board, although only 50 could be assigned state-rooms, due to an earlier understanding that on her maiden voyage the *California* would take no passengers until it reached Panama.

In Panama a crowd of approximately 1,500 people desired passage. Many of them had earlier paid for room aboard the *California*. These people during the preceding nine weeks had arrived on the Caribbean side of the isthmus and had proceeded up the Chagres River in dugout canoes. Malaria abounded, and a malignant form of cholera struck many others. Casualties were numerous. From Cruces, the head of navigation on the Chagres River, pack animals were taken to the Bay of Panama on the Pacific side. A shortage of beasts of

burden developed, so many travelers had to abandon their luggage, merchandise, and other possessions to the hands of unscrupulous agents who gave uncertain indications that they would be forwarded. In their eagerness, many travelers made the remaining journey to the Pacific side on foot.

The *California* arrived at Panama on January 30, 1849, three weeks behind schedule due to fog and other problems encountered during the maiden voyage. It was built with accommodations for over 100 people, of which only a portion remained due to staterooms sold earlier at Callao. Many who had purchased tickets were turned away at first. After the crowd grew frantic, over 400 people were eventually taken on board to secure accommodations in any manner they could. Historian Bancroft noted that "many a one, glad to make his bed in a coil of rope, paid a higher fare than a stateroom holder; for steerage tickets rose to very high prices, even, it is said to \$1,000 or more."

The *Panama*, the second steamer scheduled to arrive, was also delayed, with the result that the *Oregon*, which had left New York toward the end of December, arrived first, coming to Panama around the middle of March. There was again mass confusion as people scrambled for the relatively small number of spaces on board. About 500 were accommodated. Many expressed the fear that they were already too late and that the gold in California had by that time already been secured by earlier travelers. When the *Panama* arrived in the early part of May confusion continued. It was asserted that 700 tickets for the *Panama* had been sold for cash, far in excess of what could be provided for. Lots had to be drawn for steerage accommodations, and those who were successful had to pay a \$100 surcharge.

To help alleviate the worsening problem of passengers waiting on the Pacific side, additional vessels, some quite decrepit, were pressed into service from surrounding ports. Still the crowd remained huge. It was reported that "one small schooner, 70 tons, was offered for sale in 28 shares at \$300 a share; another worthless old hulk of 50 tons was offered at \$6,000." Some people in their eagerness to go north went in log canoes, hoping to follow the shoreline closely. In these instances the travelers either perished or were forced to return.

After making several stops the *California* entered San Francisco Bay on February 28, 1849. The arrival was greeted with great celebration by the local populace. Soon after arrival the *California* was deserted. The only one remaining behind was the third assistant engineer, F. Foggin, who was subsequently awarded the post of

chief engineer for his loyalty. It was proposed that the rest of the crew be given a two month furlough so that they could work the gold fields and then return. While a few took advantage of this idea, most never came back, preferring the attraction of riches and the exciting life of the gold district. As a result the *California* was unable to begin the return trip.

The *Oregon* arrived on April 1st. The captain observed a conspiracy between the crew and passengers. To prevent mutiny he placed certain of the leaders under arrest. Some still managed to slip away. The rebellious sailors were kept confined until they agreed to accept a pay increase from \$12 a month to \$112 a month. With a reluctant crew the *Oregon* left on April 12th with the first mail, gold, and passengers to depart San Francisco.

The *Panama* arrived in San Francisco Bay on June 4th. By that time the *California* had obtained a new crew and fuel and had left for Panama. From this time onward trips by the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. were made with regularity. Three additional ships were added to the route in 1851.

In 1855 crossing of the Isthmus of Panama was eased by the opening in January of the Panama Railway. Those who made the journey to California by ship in the early days were referred to as "Argonauts," after Jason's crew in mythology which searched for the Golden Fleece.

By the end of 1849 San Francisco's harbor was clogged with deserted ships. Many were unseaworthy when they arrived, and once deserted by their crews were simply left to rot. Others were eventually re-equipped for the coastal trade. Still others gained new crews and participated in ocean commerce.

Lumber was scarce and labor to build structures was at a high premium, so certain abandoned ships were converted for use as hotels, storehouses, and in one instance, the *Euphemia*, the city jail. The *Apollo*, which after it had been abandoned was first used to store merchandise, was converted to a drinking establishment and hotel called the Apollo Saloon. As time went on, landfill was employed to enlarge the lower areas of San Francisco, with the result that in later times the Apollo Saloon, still looking very much like the ship that it once was, presented a novel sight surrounded by blocks of commercial activity.

Another vessel, the *Thomas Bennett*, saw service as a fire station before a permanent engine house was constructed.

Perhaps most famous of all was the *Niantic*, of 450

tons displacement, which had been dragged to a lot on the northwest corner of Clay and Sansom streets. The masts, rigging, and some of the ballast were removed. Extra timbers were affixed to the sides to keep the ship upright. It was first used for storing commercial goods. In May 1851 the upper portions of the *Niantic* were destroyed by fire. Shortly thereafter the remains of the ship were utilized as the foundation for a new hotel, the Niantic House, which served until it was torn down in 1872.

Passenger service in and around San Francisco Bay was accomplished by several small steamships. The forerunner was a boat purchased in 1847, before the gold rush, by William A. Leidesdorff, who obtained it from the Russians at Sitka, Alaska. It was put into service in San Francisco Bay, but it sank shortly thereafter. In September 1849 the *Pioneer*, a small steamboat made of iron, brought in sections from Boston and assembled in San Francisco, began making regular trips from San Francisco up the Sacramento River. On October 2, 1849, the *Mint*, a small steamship, made its first trip. It was joined on October 26th of the same year by the *McKim*, which began regular trips from San Francisco to Sacramento. The *McKim* and the *Mint* ran on alternate days and charged \$30 for cabin passage with \$5 extra for a berth, \$20 for deck passage, and \$2 for each meal. Soon thereafter the steamer *Senator* replaced the *Mint* which was transferred to another route.

A new type of ocean-going vessel, the clipper ship, revolutionized travel to San Francisco in 1850. Instead of the old squared-off hulls of earlier times, clipper ships featured slim, sleek lines with sides curved to glide easily through the water, with extra sails and canvas, and with a sharp bow. The *Sea Witch* was one of the first clippers to arrive, coming from New York in July 1850 after a 97-day passage around Cape Horn at the tip of South America. The *Trade Wind*, *Meteor*, *Flying Cloud*, *Squall*, *Swordfish*, and *Surprise* were among other clipper ships of the era. In February 1851 the *Swordfish* made the transit in just 90 days. The record was set by the *Flying Cloud* in August 1851 with an 89-day voyage. By the end of the following year 75 clipper ships had called on the port of San Francisco. These speedy ships were very much in demand, and it was said that some of them earned enough profit on their first voyage to repay the cost of construction. In later years Currier & Ives and other lithographers were to memorialize the romantic clipper ship era.

Sea voyages to California were made mainly by adventuresome men. Women and families were in the minority for few cared to brave the rigors. It was in-

tended at the time that most men who headed families in the East would go to California for a year or two, make a fortune mining, and then return to live with their families in wealth for the rest of their lives.

Gold fever spread throughout the world. By the middle of January 1849 at least five different mining and trading companies destined for California were registered in London with aggregate capital of over a million pounds sterling. Virtually every other European port had one or more ships preparing to leave for the land of gold. The European banking community expressed fear that gold would become common and lose its value. Holland resurrected an old law which enabled it to sell all of the gold in the Bank of Amsterdam in order to replace it with silver.

The Chinese likewise were afflicted with gold fever, and many sought passage to California. In October 1849 an English steamer arrived from Canton, China, with many Chinese aboard. Bancroft reported that on February 1, 1849, there were 54 Chinese known to be in California. By January 1st of the following year, 1850, the number had increased to 791. By the end of the same year there were over 4,000. People from Colombia, Peru, the Marquesas Islands, and dozens of other localities came to California. Ship captains and masters, when they stopped at various ports around the world, spread the gold fever in an effort to enlist passengers at high rates for the trip to the golden paradise.

Overland to California

The arrival of spring in 1849 saw the opening of overland routes to California. Groups, companies, and associations were formed to provide for common defense against the Indians and to guard the processions. The usual starting point was on the Missouri River at St. Joseph or Independence. From these points there were two main ways westward: by the route which had been followed by Mormons and others, and by the southern route, or Santa Fe Trail. At the jumping-off spots people gathered with animals, wagons, and equipment. Vehicles ranged from small hand-built wagons of flimsy construction to huge "prairie schooners." Many bore colorful banners and inscriptions. Heavier vehicles were often equipped with three yoke of oxen plus additional animals which accompanied the procession to be used in relays or in combination with the main team for particularly difficult passages.

Contributions to companies and groups were as-

sessed from the various members for the purchase of wagons, provisions, animals, and various trading goods. Those who could not afford to make a cash contribution often could gain passage in exchange for labor as a driver or an assistant.

One group formed in Monroe, Michigan in 1849 comprised 10 members who were interested in mining and trading. Two members remained at home and subsidized the group with \$5,000 in return for half of the anticipated profits. The company's plans did not materialize and the individuals later separated.

Another company comprised of 40 members who paid \$200 each left Cincinnati. The Pittsburgh & California Enterprise Co. was the name selected by another group, this one with 250 members. The Cumberland Co. comprised 50 men who subscribed \$500 each.

One ambitious group of about 70 people from Tennessee established its own form of government complete with a constitution and bylaws, president, vice president, a legislature, three judges, a court of appeals, nine sergeants, and other officers. The officials were all exempt from menial duties around camp. While this worked in theory and was eagerly discussed before the large group of wagons left on the westward trail, in practice it caused a rebellion. Eventually a group of over 20 wagons seceded from the organization and went its own way separately.

Careful people among the travelers brought extensive supplies, including clothing and food to last a year or two. Others took merchandise and equipment which they hoped to sell for large profit once they reached California. Some even took coining equipment and presses as well as heavy mining apparatus. Cats, dogs, and other pets as well as art objects and decorations were among the baggage of still others.

Unlike the sea voyages, which were largely limited to adventurous men, many families made the overland trip, often with women and children riding inside the wagon while the men walked outside. However, in many instances the entire family walked for the wagons had no seats, or else the wagons were small and provided a bumpy ride.

The mass gathering on the frontier began in April 1849. By the end of the month about 20,000 people from virtually every city and hamlet in the eastern states were camped waiting until the prairie grass grew to sufficient height to feed the animals. Early in May the first travelers departed. For the next month one group after another left until there was a long string of

wagons, pack trains, animals, and people on foot from Missouri to Fort Laramie. One adventurer, Kirkpatrick, recorded in his diary on Thursday, June 18th:

Met a man whose train was on ahead who told us that he had counted 459 teams within nine miles. When we started after dinner there were 150 that appeared to be in one train.

On Friday, July 22nd, the same writer observed:

Passed the Upper Platte ferry. The ferryman told me he had crossed 900 teams, and judged that there were about 1,500 on the road ahead of us. Yet they still come.

At night there was one long string of camp fires along the trail as far as the eye could see. Another traveler, Bayard Taylor, noted that at the beginning of the trip:

A single traveler could have journeyed for 1,000 miles, as certain of his lodging and regular meals as if he were riding through the old agricultural districts of the middle states.

With food in abundance, the alluring prospect of unlimited gold in California ahead, many things to talk about, and songs to sing, the first weeks on the trail were cheerful and happy. Every afternoon the groups would break and would halt around 5:00 p.m. to make camp. Wagons would be arranged in a circle, or sometimes on the edge of a river in a semi-circle, to provide protection against Indian raids. However, in the early times problems with Indians were few and far between. The enclosure of wagons made a corral for the animals which were set free to graze and rest. Each night was filled with campfire stories and singing.

A sentinel or two was posted to guard the wagons throughout the night. As soon as the first traces of daylight appeared, a man from each party was awakened to move the animals to a better feeding location. Around 4:00 a.m. the entire camp was awake, making breakfast, and getting ready for the day's journey. By 6:00 the group was underway again.

During the day the wagon trains would usually stop at meal time for a brief rest, but the urge was to move forward, and pauses were brief. Food consisted of bacon and salt pork, sometimes varied with fresh buffalo meat or venison, beans, baked bread, and pancakes. The latter were made by mixing flour and water together, adding salt and some baking soda, and frying the mixture in a pan with animal fat. When the pancake was done on one side the frying pan was grasped by the handle and the cake was flipped so as to land on the uncooked side. These "flapjacks," as they were called, were very popular. Sometimes contests were held to see who could flip the pancakes with the most dexterity.

There being no courts in the area, justice was administered by the travelers. The "Lynch Law," or justice on the spot, was practiced. However, as the riches of California beckoned, there were relatively few problems along the trail. In one instance a man who shot another traveler who had seduced his wife was tried and acquitted. In another instance a traveler, eager to get to California and for some perverse reason seeking to impede the progress of his fellow travelers, deliberately set fire to a grassy area in a spot where grass was scarce. His companions gave chase and shot him.

The scenery was quite varied until the Platte River was reached about 10 or 15 days after the start of the journey. From this point onward the following of the shallow stream became rather monotonous. Spats and quarrels broke out among the travelers, often over some trivial infraction of rules or some inconsequential matter. Weeks and weeks went by without much change. Morning, noon, afternoon, evening, and night were the same. The terrain eventually changed from a grassy prairie with streams to a sterile plain to bleak mountains to swamps, and then to sandy areas, followed by alkali wastes and salt flats. Heat, rains, and dust storms were annoying. While the 2,000 mile journey was tedious for some, many others, particularly those with much energy, enthusiasm, and good health found it to be quite enjoyable.

Cholera, which caused widespread devastation along the Atlantic seacoast and which came up the Mississippi River to the starting point, killed many travelers. The disease followed the wagon trains throughout the journey until the high mountain areas past Fort Laramie. All along the road there were many fresh graves often marked by a simple headboard or stake, and usually showing signs of being disturbed by coyotes and other predators. It is believed that about 5,000 people died from this dread disease, including many heads of families on the westward journey. The nature of the disease was not completely known, so often victims were left ill to perish along the wayside while their companions, fearful of contracting the disease, continued forward without them.

The Platte River area abounded with wild game, including antelope, turkeys, and other animals. Meadows, fields, marshes, and springs provided abundant water and grass. From the Platte the route went along the north branch from Ash Hollow to Fort Laramie, which was then the most western outpost of the United States. One diary of the time stated that it took six weeks to travel the 670 miles between Independence and Fort Laramie.

From that point the route went across mountainous country to the Rocky Mountains, continuing to the beginning of the Pacific Slope at Green River. Next came Fort Hall, at the junction of the Oregon Trail. Beginning in this area hardships increased. Grass to feed the animals became scarce or nonexistent, and water often was tainted. Many people gave up the journey to return back along the trail toward the east. Others stayed with the Mormon community at Great Salt Lake.

One group of travelers comprised a wagon train drawn by mules, with the planned trip from St. Louis to California to take 60 days. The group had paid \$200 each in advance to entrepreneurs who had organized the caravan as a business venture, with departures along the route planned at regular intervals. After Fort Hall the mules could go no further. As the belongings and the equipment being hauled in the wagons could not be transported beyond that point, everything was distributed among the passengers. Most of it had to be left behind. A few obtained stray mules which enabled them to go ahead. Most had to be content with a knapsack containing a small amount of food, some blankets, and a few other necessities.

As the journey proceeded westward Indians became more of a threat. In the Klamath region six immigrants in a party of seven were killed. Often the Indians would steal cattle.

More and more things were abandoned as the journey continued. Countless wagons were left behind and the passengers continued on foot. In other instances horses and cows were put together in the same team. Thousands of animals died and were devoured by vultures who hovered overhead, and by coyotes which circled at a distance. The dry alkali plains, desert, and for those who took the southern route, the Death Valley, offered little of the way of food or water for man or beast. The Death Valley route in particular caused much suffering.

There were some amenities. Near the headwaters of the Humboldt River, "a post office and reading room" was set up near a spring shaded by a tree. Newspapers and other reading material were available. Posted nearby was a request to "read and leave them for others."

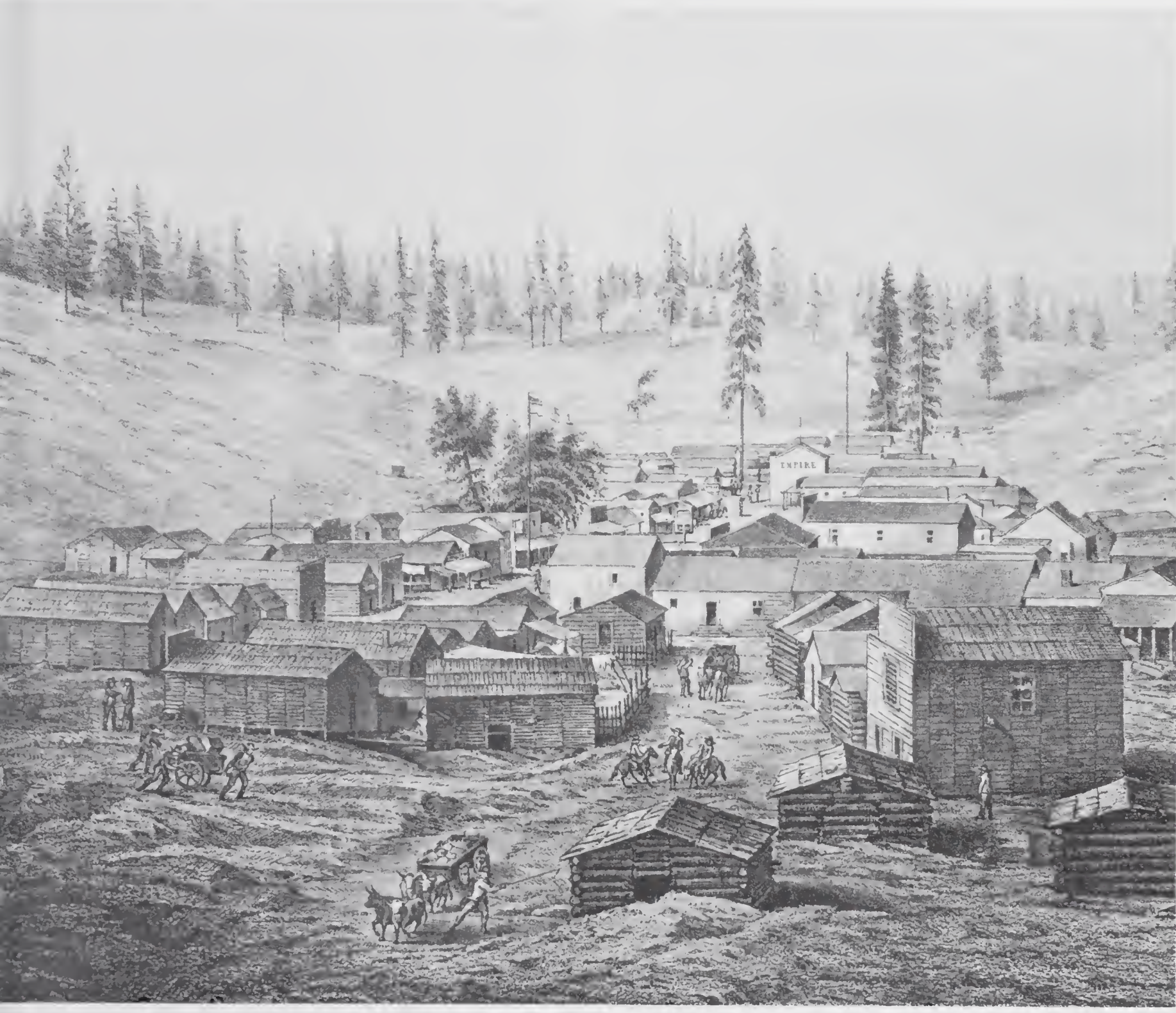
While many if not most travelers were considerate of their fellow adventurers, some did their best to thwart others. Often when property was discarded due to inability to transport it forward, it would be destroyed so that others could not use it. Flour would be mixed with dirt and salt, turpentine would be poured on



Typical gold mining camp, circa 1852.



A gold sluice near Auburn, California, circa 1850.



PLACERVILLE.

Lith & Published by Quirot & Co corner Montgomery & California Sts S Francisco

Placerville, earlier called Hangtown (and, before that, Dry Diggings), was one of the most famous communities in Gold Rush times.

sugar, clothing would be torn into shreds, and wagons would be burned.

As the groups arrived in California they told many tales of horror and distress. The authorities there appropriated \$100,000 for the relief of travelers. Several groups went eastward to help those suffering along the trail. Often the only food encountered along the way consisted of decaying animal carcasses. Drinking from alkaline pools would often increase torment, sometimes resulting in suicide. In one day along the Humboldt River five people drowned themselves. It has been estimated that by the time the first wave of immigrants arrived in California nine tenths of them were on foot with little in the way of food or supplies, and less than half their oxen and less than a quarter of their horses were accompanying them. Still coming behind them were tens of thousands more, most of whom were also suffering. After snow began to fall, the last part of the journey, the Sierra Nevada Mountains, became exceedingly dangerous. The terrible fate of the Donner party in 1846 was recalled by many.

Historian Theodore H. Hittell in *The History of California* estimated that in 1849 42,000 people, of whom 33,000 were Americans, came by the overland route. By sea during the same year came an estimated 35,000 people, of whom 23,000 were Americans. Added to that figure were about 3,000 sailors who had deserted their ships. Both Hittell and Bancroft estimated that approximately 100,000 people, not including native Indians, populated California by the end of 1849.

Searching for Gold

As gold seekers poured into California, those who were already in the mining district continued to explore new tributaries, creeks, and ravines for additional traces of gold. After the discovery of gold at Coloma in January 1848, riches were soon found elsewhere along the American River, including the deposit at Mormon Island. By May 1848 streams and ravines for 30 miles to each side of Coloma were occupied with hundreds of miners busily at work. In June T. O. Larkin estimated that 2,000 miners were engaged in activities, including about 100 who had brought their families. In July Col. R. B. Mason, Jr., estimated 4,000 workers, including Indians, were seeking gold. By the end of the year 1848 it was believed that the population of white miners was somewhat less than 10,000 people.

John Bidwell came to Coloma toward the end of March and upon seeing the gold-bearing earth remem-

bered that similar indications existed in the vicinity of his ranch at Chico. He returned home and looked in the streams there. He soon found a rich placer deposit in the Feather River which was subsequently called Bidwell Bar.

Far to the north P. B. Reading discovered gold near his ranch at Clear Creek. Within a short time the gold fields extended for more than 200 miles.

Several different methods were employed to extract gold. The simplest was panning. A pan made of sheet iron about 5 or 6 inches deep and 8 to 12 inches in diameter with sloping sides was dipped into a stream and filled with a mixture of sand and gravel. In other instances dry earth was brought from a distance or from a river bank and mixed with water. The slurry was then agitated in a circular motion which washed the lighter sediment over the edges while the heavier substances, including gold, remained at the bottom. If large nuggets were present they were picked out as soon as they were seen. Otherwise, at the very end of the washing microscopically-sized bits of gold dust would be collected.

In prospecting new areas a pan would be taken along. If the deposit looked promising a sample would be placed in the pan and taken to a nearby stream for processing in the usual way. If gold was present the pan was said to "show color."

Winnowing or "dry washing" was another method of gold extraction. In areas in which gold was not found near a stream dirt was often spread on a large canvas or animal hide, dried, pounded from lumps into dust, and then tossed up into the air. Lighter particles would be blown away by the breeze. After this was done repeatedly only the heavier substances, including gold, would remain. This method was used only in areas in which the gold was present in small grains and in which the surrounding earth could be easily crumbled. Mexican miners from Sonora, where they had earlier practiced this method, were especially adept at winnowing. The method was dry, dusty, and dirty, and found little favor among white miners. In later years winnowing lost its favor as sluices were constructed to bring water to previously dry areas.

Shortly after gold was discovered on the American River at Coloma, Isaac Humphrey, who earlier had worked claims in Georgia, introduced the rocker. This consisted of a large wooden trough which had a sieve or perforated sheet iron container at the top end. This would be filled with several shovelfuls of earth. Extending along the lower part of the rocker were crosswise strips of wood spaced about a foot apart. The device

was operated by rocking the trough back and forth by means of a long handle affixed to the side. At the same time quantities of water were poured into the sieve at the upper end. As the dirt and gravel washed away it was replaced with additional quantities. Large rocks and other pieces which would not fit through the sieve would be pulled out by hand. The rocker often would be worked by several people, one rocking, another shoveling, and still another adding buckets full of water (in areas in which water could not be fed by placing the rocker below an outlet). Gold, being heavier than the other substances, would accumulate in the riffles or crossbars.

As time went on, the rocker was replaced with long stationary troughs into which water was introduced at the upper end. Behind each cleat or riffle mercury metal was deposited. Small gold flakes, bits of gold dust, and other minute gold particles would form an amalgam with the mercury and would be captured. Later, the mixture would be heated and the mercury would vaporize, to be condensed in a cooling chamber into liquid for further use, with the gold remaining at the bottom of the oven or retort.

Closely related to the rocker was the long tom. This device was usually made of boards 15 feet more in length and from 1 to 2 feet wide, usually wider at the downstream end. Water and dirt were introduced at the upper end. The mixture would flow down the sluice to the lower end where a sieve was located. At that point a miner would take out the large rocks and other items which would not fit through the sieve holes, letting the remainder fall through to another box with crosswise cleats, in the manner of a rocker. Gold was deposited behind the cleats or was caught in a mercury mixture in the cleats.

The sluice was an expanded version of the long tom. Often measuring several feet wide, it would accommodate a rapidly running stream of water. Riffles would be located at the upper part of the sluice. Part way down the sluice at the end would be a sieve to facilitate the removal of heavy rocks and other large items. On the other side of the sieve were more riffles, some of which contained mercury to form amalgam. Water was supplied to the sluice by diverting a stream bed or by means of a water wheel. The latter device resembled the paddle wheel of a steamship. The bottom dipped into the river and caused the wheel to rotate as the current pushed against it. This in turn would operate a chain of pails or buckets and lift water high to the beginning of a trough.

The sluice was occupied by a crew of men, each per-

son having a separate function. Large amounts of gold-bearing earth and sand could be processed quickly in this manner.

In home workshops and laboratories in the eastern part of the United States many inventors and future travelers to California devised machines to assist in the mining of gold. Many of these large and cumbersome devices, which would have proved impractical at the mines, were abandoned along the overland trail. In 1849 and 1850 many such gadgets which had come by ship could be found abandoned in Sacramento and San Francisco. Nearly all had been devised in the East and had been brought to California with much hope.

In some areas gold was claimed by making excavations in the manner of digging a well. Often this would be done by sinking a vertical shaft and hoisting dirt up from the bottom by means of a crank-operated windlass. In other instances the tunnels would be horizontal and would extend into a hillside. This method was called "coyote mining." It was said that one place near Nevada City was so honeycombed with "coyote mining" holes that it was called Coyoteville until it was washed away in later years by hydraulic mining procedures.

Hydraulic mining, a method by which whole mountain sides were washed away using high pressure water from hoses, became popular several years after the gold discovery. A pioneer was A. Chabot, a Frenchman, who mined a gravel deposit on Buckeye Hill, near Nevada City, by using a high-pressure water hose to wash gold-bearing gravel and earth into a sluice box. In 1853 E. E. Matteson, who had a claim on American Hill near Buckeye Hill, fashioned a hose with a metal nozzle (which the Chabot device did not have) and aimed it directly at a gravel bank, thereby washing down large amounts of material. Later, devices called "monitors" were made. These used one or more high pressure nozzles, often mounted on an iron or wood framework, which directed streams of water up to several hundred feet away.

Hydraulic washing caused extensive devastation to stream beds, filling them with gravel and filth, and, in the lower ranges, causing havoc to agricultural areas. Finally the courts prohibited this method.

In later years one of the most famous hydraulic mining areas was near North Bloomfield, about 10 miles northeast of Nevada City. Earlier gold was discovered there by two adventurers, an Irishman and a German, who found a promising deposit around 1851. One of them went to Nevada City to obtain supplies. Following a drinking session, he regaled his listeners with

glowing tales of immense wealth, without divulging the exact location of the find. The next morning a large crowd of people followed him back to the discovery area. He apparently diverted them, so the group began prospecting along a creek and met with little success. Later, in 1853, when hydraulic mining commenced there, a town named Humbug, after "humbug" or hoax, was started in that location. In 1856 the citizens, upon the establishment of a United States Post Office, changed the name to the more proper-sounding North Bloomfield.

In the early days of 1848 and 1849 gold was obtained with a minimum of effort. One prospector, Buffum, later wrote of his adventures in *Six Months in the Gold Mines*. He told of his first discovery:

I shall never forget the delight with which I first struck and worked out a crevice. It was the second day after our installation in our little log hut, the first having been employed in what is called "prospecting" or searching for the most favorable place at which to commence operations.

I had slung pick, shovel, and bar upon my shoulder and trudged merrily away to a ravine about a mile from our house. Pick, shovel, and bar did their duty, and I soon had a large rock in view. Getting down into the excavation I had made and seating myself upon the rock, I commenced a careful search for a crevice and at last found one extending longitudinally along the rock. It appeared to be filled with a hard, bluish clay and gravel, which I took out with my knife; and there at the bottom, strewn along the whole length of the rock, was bright yellow gold in little pieces about the size and shape of grains of barley.

Eureka! Oh, how my heart beat! I sat still and looked at it some minutes before I touched it, greedily drinking the pleasure of gazing upon gold that was in my very grasp and feeling a sort of independent bravado in allowing it to remain there. When my eyes were sufficiently feasted, I scooped it out with the point of my knife and an iron spoon and, placing it in my pan, ran home with it much delighted. I waited and found that my first day's labor in the mines had made me \$31 richer than I was in the morning.

On the Yuba River, a tributary of the Feather, Patrick McChristian, J. P. Leese, Jasper O'Farrell, William Leery, and Samuel Norris found \$75,000 worth of gold in three months. For a group of Mormons a rich gold deposit on a branch of the American River at a place known as Spanish Bar yielded more than \$1 million worth of metal. "Dry Diggings," often shortened to "Dry Diggins," was the name at one time for nearly 50 different locations, some just small spots, which lacked abundant water. The Middle Fork of the American River was considered to be the richest area of all and contained more sand bars than any other tributary, several of which were said to have yielded from \$1 million to \$3 million each. Camps and

settlements along the river included Michigan Bluff, Rector Bar, Sailor's Claim, Horseshoe Bar, Massachusetts Flat, Condemned Bar, Long Bar, Whiskey Bar, Rattlesnake Bar, Milk Punch Bar, Dead Man's Bar, Manhattan Bar, Oregon Bar, Murderer's Bar, Wildcat Bar, Willow Bar, Hoosier Bar, Green Mountain Bar, Poverty Bar, and countless others. Mud Canyon and American Bar are said to have yielded \$3 million each, whereas Horseshoe Bend, Volcano Bar, Greenhorn Slide, and Yankee Slide yielded sums from \$1 million upward.

As years went on, water was often transported long distances at great expense to work areas in fields, hillsides, and other locations not along streams. By the end of 1855 El Dorado County had over 600 miles of sluices erected at a cost of \$1 million.

The area between the Middle and North forks of the American River was quite rich. The district around Auburn was opened up in 1848. One of the best deposits was found in the ground beneath House's Hotel and enabled the proprietor to earn about \$100 a day digging in his basement. On the nearby Bear River the town of Dutch Flat became prominent. In the community one limestone structure, with doors and windows covered by heavy iron plates as was customary in the area to provide security against unauthorized visitors and protection against fire, served as an assay office and bank.

Miners who spent the 1848-1849 winter on the Yuba River made a number of new discoveries. The town of Rough and Ready became an important mining center, and in 1850 nearly 1,000 voters participated in the election. During one skirmish with the government, Rough and Ready declared itself to be an independent nation. However, soon all differences were resolved.

The largest nugget discovered in the early 1850s was probably that found at Carson Hill, Calaveras County, in November 1854. Hittell described it as "a lump, 15 inches long by 6 inches wide by 4 inches thick, weighing about 195 pounds troy, and worth over \$43,000," whereas Bancroft described the same object in this fashion:

. . . 161 pounds, less approximately 20 pounds for quartz; at \$17.25 per ounce the nugget was worth \$38,916. The nugget measured irregularly about 15 inches long by 6 inches wide by 4 inches thick. It was found by a company of four Mexicans and one Swiss.

J. G. Player-Froud, in his memoir, *Six Months in California* (London, 1872), reported that:

A resident of Sonora, while leading his mule and cart down the main street of the town, following a heavy rain, hit a large stone. Stooping to remove it, he found that it was a

solid gold nugget weighing 35 pounds! Each day hundreds of people had passed by it!

It was reported that a 96-pound nugget was found near Downieville, a 72-pound nugget at Columbia, a 54-pound nugget at Dogtown, and a 51-pound nugget in French Ravine. Years later, in August 1886, a group of Chinese miners reported a nugget which was of even greater value than the immense lump of gold found in Calaveras County in 1854.

Other nuggets weren't what they seemed to be. In New York City a stranger brought a huge nugget weighing 2,319 ounces to an assay office, stating that it had been found in California. He directed that it could be assayed only at one point on the nugget as he did not want to damage its natural appearance. The assay at this particular point proved favorable, and the owner thereby obtained a loan of \$6,000 on it. Subsequently the "nugget" was found to be a gold-covered piece of lead.

Bancroft relates some interesting incidents involving gold discoveries. Once a dispute arose between two miners concerning the common boundary of their claim. An arbitrator was called in to settle the situation. As compensation the judge received a small strip on the border between the two. As soon as the matter was resolved to the satisfaction of the two disputing miners they set about to evaluate their claims. Each was found to be worthless. The arbitrator was busy in the meantime with his small strip. With a little digging he found a pocket which yielded \$7,435 worth of gold.

In another instance a cook found a gold nugget worth \$7 in a chicken gizzard.

While tales of immense earnings and large nuggets proved enticing for newspaper subscribers, in actuality mining was usually hard work. In the early times of 1848 and 1849 it was estimated that \$8 or more could be earned per day, with an energetic miner making \$16 (equivalent to one ounce of gold) or more. As gold became harder to find each year, the average decreased. By 1851 the average earnings were on the order of \$10 per day, but many miners earned no more than \$3 or \$4.

The typical miner was a rugged individual, usually of substantial build, and of good endurance and health. Red or blue wool or cotton plaid shirts and pantaloons were the outfit of the day. A leather belt usually supported a gun and knife. Heavy leather boots provided footwear. Most miners were bearded. Their hair, combed infrequently if at all, was often protected by a dirty hat. On Sundays, when miners would spend the day in camp gambling or trading, brighter colors and cleaner dress prevailed.

Conversations were spiced with profanity. The gold areas had no room for pretensions or sham. Religion was seldom practiced on the Sabbath. Instead, it provided the occasion for more drinking and card playing than usual. Names such as Rough and Ready, Groundhog's Glory, Puke Ravine, Lousy Ravine, Gitup and Git, Brandy Gulch, Gouge Eye, Hangtown, and Hell's Delight given to mining camps indicate the tenor of life there.

Life in a mining camp, Rich Bar, was chronicled by Mrs. L. A. K. Clapp, a lady who was the wife of a physician and who wrote a narrative under the pseudonym of "Shirley."

"Shirley" and her husband started their journey to the gold fields on mules. After an exceedingly rough trip during which they strayed thirty miles out of their way and ran considerable risk of being attacked by Indians, they reached their destination around the middle of September 1851. They stopped in what was called the hotel, the only two-story building in the place. It was built of planks of the roughest description, had two or three glass windows (a luxury unknown in all of the other dwellings in Rich Bar), and a roof covered with canvas. Nearly the entire front of the hotel was covered by a huge canvas sign on which was painted in immense letters THE EMPIRE. "Shirley's" narrative follows:

Upon entering, the first apartment was the barroom, trimmed with crimson calico from the midst of which gleamed a large mirror flanked and set off with rows of decanters, cigar vases, and jars of brandied fruit.

A table covered with green cloth, upon which were a pack of monte cards, a backgammon board, and piles of trashy novels, together with a few uncomfortable-looking benches, completed the furniture of that portion of the apartment constituting the barroom. The other side did duty as a store and shop, where velveteen and leather, flannel and calico, lay indiscriminately mixed up with ham, preserved meats, cans of oysters, and groceries.

From the barroom a flight of four steps descended to the parlor, which was carpeted with straw matting and contained a looking glass, a sofa 14 feet long by 1½ feet wide covered with red calico, a red table with a green cover, six cane-bottomed chairs, red calico curtains, cooking stove, and a rocking chair.

From the parlor another flight of four steps led to a narrow hall on the second story of the house, on each side of which were four bedrooms, 8 by 10 feet in size, the floors of which were covered with straw matting. The windows of wooden lattice work were festooned with curtains of the all-pervading crimson calico. Each chamber had a tiny table covered with oil cloth and a bedstead so heavy that nothing short of a giant's strength could move it. All floors were so uneven that from one point to another, even in the same

room, there was either an ascent or descent; or the surface might be called rolling.

The doors were made of slight wooden frames, covered with dark blue cotton drilling, and hung on leather hinges. The dining room of the establishment was of the most primitive description or, in other words, on a par with everything else about the place; and yet this was one of the fine houses of early mining times and there were few better and none more pretentious in any of the remoter mountain towns.

Before "Shirley" came to Rich Bar she had heard many accounts about the doctor's office, which was the only one in the area. It was described as being quite extraordinary, so she had an eager anticipation of seeing it for the first time. Upon arrival she found that it was so much different from what she expected that she laughed until she cried.

The office consisted of a building ten feet long and not quite as wide. It had no floor except the earth, but a bench composed of two rough planks ran along two of the sides. In one corner of the rear was a sort of nondescript table on which was ranged the medical library consisting of a half dozen volumes, and behind it on shelves, which looked like sticks hastily snatched from a woodpile and nailed up without trimming, was an imposing array of medicines. In front a white canvas window stared everybody in the face with the information, painted in perfect capitals, but not quite as tall as those of the Empire House, that this was the DOCTOR'S OFFICE.

In addition to "Shirley" there apparently were only three or four other women at Rich Bar. One was the 25-year-old hostess of the Empire House who had a complexion described as being "tanned to a dark and apparently permanent yellow by her trip across the plains." It was related that:

Upon setting out for California she had left in her old home a nursing baby eight months old together with two other children; and now she had a two week old infant, which during most of the time its mother was engaged in cooking for guests and patrons of the house, liked kicking furiously in its champagne-basket cradle, and screaming.

Another woman was usually known as the "Indiana girl," from the name of her father's hotel. Still another was a slight girl, just 68 pounds in weight, who was the mother of three children and the wife of a man who operated the Miner's House, a bar.

Women were rare throughout all of the mining camps, especially in the early years. In 1850 hundreds of prostitutes came to work in the camps and mining saloons. On October 23rd of that year the *Pacific News* reported that 900 prostitutes were expected from France. However, only about 50 actually arrived. In another instance a famous prostitute claimed to have earned \$50,000.

In the mining camps the place of women at dances was often taken by a man who would wear a white band on his arm or other indication that he was the "female" partner. Miners would often travel far just to see a newly-arrived woman or view with mock ecstasy some piece of feminine apparel. One man related that he traveled 40 miles to behold a woman.

A number of ventures to import women were initiated. Kidnapped females from the Marquesas Islands were brought to the mining camps, as were Indian women. One Mrs. Farnham issued a notice in New York in February 1849 offering to take a number of respectable women, not over 25 years of age, to California, each person to contribute \$250 to the expenses. The organizer fell sick, so the project was temporarily postponed. A good number of miners married Indians or Mexicans who were in greater evidence. One miner took three or four Indian squaws as wives and became the head of a large household.

In the early days of mining the sudden abundance of gold lowered the value of the metal at the mines. In November 1848 it was reported that an ounce of gold would be occasionally traded for a silver dollar and that miners would buy an ounce of gold from the Indians by paying 50c for it. It was typical at the mines to sell gold dust for \$4 an ounce, and seldom was more than \$8 to \$10 realized. The Indians in particular helped to lower the value of gold, for they did not realize its true value and would exchange it for trinkets and other things that appealed to them. Gradually the Indians gained experience and grew wiser. Rates were established and prices were posted.

Scales were often inaccurate, sometimes deliberately with many transactions involving Indians, and other times inadvertently. In the latter category a Mr. Green reported that he sold a cart and a pair of oxen to a Frenchman for \$600 in gold, with the weighing done by the Frenchman who used improvised scales. Taking the metal to Sutter's Fort, the seller had the gold weighed there and found it to be worth \$2,000.

With gold so abundant, inflation was rampant. A horse worth \$6 before the gold rush started might command \$300 at the mines. Goods and services of all kinds often sold at many multiples of the prices in San Francisco. Traders often reported profits of several hundred percent.

Gold production estimates for the period of greatest activity are difficult to compute as few records were kept. Estimates of production for the first year, 1848, ranged from \$2 million, the officially reported export figure (which was just a fraction of the total amount

DRY DIGGINGS



CALIFORNIA MINING

ILLUSTRATED.

BARBER & BAKER, Publishers, cor. J & 3d sts, Sacramento.

THE modes of working the gold mines of California are various in different localities, each depending on the character and position of the deposit in which the gold is found. The accompanying views represent the more familiar modes of mining in the WET AND DRY DIGGINGS. The one on the left representing the Dry or Hill-Diggings, and that on the right the Wet or River-Diggings.

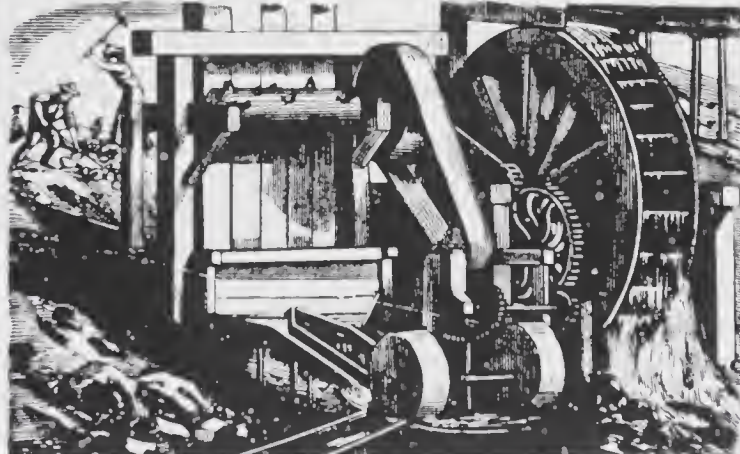
Below is the representation of a Quartz Mill, by means of which, the quartz rock containing gold is pulverized by a number of trip hammers, and the minute particles of gold gathered and amalgamated with quicksilver. This Mill is represented as carried by water power; many of these Mills, however, are worked by steam power.

At the top of the left hand cut, the letter A designates a flume or aqueduct, by means of which water is conveyed in mining regions across the various ravines. The letter B designates a ditch by which the water is conveyed along on the sides of the hills. By the aid of these aqueducts and ditches, the water is brought by a gradual fall from the summits of the Nevada, and the regions of perpetual snow, along the mountain sides, across yawning chasms and frightful ravines, on to the level of the hill tops in the lower ranges, from whence it is distributed in smaller flumes to various surrounding mining localities, and purchased by the miners at so much the square inch of running water. These enterprises are generally conducted by stock companies, known as Flume Co's, and are often very expensive, costing many thousands of dollars, and extending fifteen or twenty miles. The letter C designates a pack trail, by which mules laden with provisions reach many places remote and difficult of access and impossible to reach by wagons. The letter D denotes what is known in the mines as the RAILROAD, by which enormous earth is transported from one place to another, more accessible to water; it is generally conveyed to the bank of some stream, and by means of a slide, as in the cut marked G, dropped to the bed of some creek, into a sluice box, marked J. The sluice box is the most common method in use for separating the gold from the dirt; it consists of a long trough, about 18 inches wide on the bottom, across which, at intervals are small slats or riffles; towards the end or tail piece, the riffles are more numerous, and often contain quicksilver, and designed to catch the small particles of gold, while the dirt and stones of lighter substance pass over and are carried off by the force of a current of water, which is properly graduated for this effect. Ofttimes the box is liable to be filled up by stones, and requires a hand constantly to oversee and keep it from clogging. The letter E represents the mouth of a shaft, or a deep well to reach the bed rock and ascertain the richness of the lower strata of gravel. These are often sunk to the depth of several hundred feet; the water and earth being drawn up by steam power. The letter F designates a reservoir, frequently constructed where water is valuable, near some small rivulet, to gather water that otherwise might escape during the night. It represents a DRIFT or TUNNEL, penetrating into the side of the hill; through this the auriferous earth is obtained and carried out for washing. These tunnels are often very extensive. One hill in California contains upwards of 3 miles of continuous tunneling. The letter I designates the hose frequently used to convey water a short distance for the use of a TOM or SLUICE; they are of more service, however, in the use of the hydraulic power, as at K, where, by an elevated head of water, great power is obtained, and a stream forced against the banks with great effect, dislodging and removing immense quantities of earth in a single day. The current is generally sufficient to carry off every thing but the larger rocks, through the sluice box, as at L.

M designates what is termed GRAUND SLICING. A stream of water being turned upon a hill side, and the earth being gathered in the current, passes off, through a riffle box. At the close of the day, and sometimes oftener, the riffle box is cleaned, and the gold, and heavy black sand, with which it is always accompanied, are placed in a pan, in which they are PANNED OUT, and the gold separated from the sand by washing, when it is ready for sale, or the mint.

The engraving on the right represents the manner of obtaining gold in the river-beds. This kind of mining is not so extensively carried on as that of the hill-diggings, though in the earlier days of California mining, the rivers were the principal field of operations; at this day however, they are often very extensively worked, and the river is sometimes seen taken from its bed for miles. River-mining is generally more uncertain than bank-diggings, and it can only be worked for a limited period of time, on account of the seasons. As early in the summer as the water will admit, preparations are made, and the river finally taken from its canal, at an expense of several thousands of dollars. In October the rains usually commence, and the rapid rise of the water generally sweeps every vestige of labor in its course. FIG. 1, in the cut, indicates the flume by which water from a neighboring ravine is preserved at a certain height for mining use and carried across the larger streams. FIG. 2, denotes the FLUME, and 3, the natural BFT of the river. These fluming enterprises are generally undertaken by a number of miners, combining together in stock and labor companies, each shareholder contributing his proportion in labor and money; if a shareholder does not work, he usually employs a substitute, or pays so much per day. FIG. 4, indicates the FOOT-DAM, by which the water is kept from running back into the bed of the stream; the bed is kept dry by means of pumps, worked by hydraulic power, as shown at FIG. 4. Sometimes the continued leakage requires a great number of these to be kept in constant use day and night. FIG. 6, indicates a BAR, seen at intervals on the rivers and often found extremely rich; many of the bars have been worked over several times, but at this day they are thought to pay but small wages, and are usually left to the undisturbed possession of Chinamen and individual laborers. FIG. 7, designates what is termed a WING-DAM, by which the water is crowded from its course, in order to enable the miner to reach a particular point in the bed of the stream. FIG. 9, indicates the HEAD-DAM, by which the river is gathered up into the flume. It is a difficult work to accomplish, to render these impervious to water, on account of the great pressure they have to withstand; the leakage, as was before mentioned, is taken up by the pumps denoted by the FIG. 10.

QUARTZ MILL.



WET DIGGINGS



Entered according to Act of Congress, A. D. 1855, by BARBER & BAKER, in the Clerk's office of the District Court, for the Northern District of California.

Different ways of extracting gold as illustrated on an 1855 letter sheet.

mined) to \$10 million (Hittell and Bancroft) to \$45 million. Hittell's estimate, later seconded by Bancroft, was that about \$10 million value was gathered by about 8,000 to 10,000 miners averaging an ounce a day, equalling about \$1,000 or more per person for the season, notwithstanding the fact that most miners worked only part of the year.

Bancroft's total estimates for production follow: 1848 \$10 million; 1849 \$40 million; 1850 \$50 million; 1851 \$60 million; 1852 \$60 million; 1853 \$65 million; 1854 \$60 million; 1855 \$55 million; 1856 \$56 million; for a total in the period 1846-1856 of \$456 million.

As the various streams along the western slopes of the Sierras contained gold it was presumed that this had washed down from a higher source, the so-called "mother lode." It was believed that near the summits of the mountains or the heads of the rivers there were areas in which gold could be picked up in its solid state by the shovelful. All attempts to find this solid metallic treasure were in vain, and gold continued to be found scattered throughout the district in stream beds and mixed with quartz and other minerals in veins, but not concentrated in any one spot.

Mining in the early years was accomplished by individual miners and small groups. Later, large companies engaged in hydraulic mining and deep shaft mining, the latter method bringing to the surface quartz which was processed by stamping in an iron mill. By the mid-1850s countless thousands of miners had turned to farming, ranching, trading, and other pursuits. The gold rush was over.

San Francisco

From the earliest days of the gold discovery in 1848 San Francisco maintained its leadership as the main commercial center, first for commerce, then banking, and, finally, coinage.

The first bank in San Francisco was opened on January 9, 1848 as the "Exchange and Deposit Office" of Henry M. Naglee and Richard H. Sinton and was situated in the building known as the Parker House on Kearny Street opposite Portsmouth Square. Before that time deposits of citizens and commercial interests were made with different mercantile establishments possessing large safes and storage facilities, Cross & Co., Macondray and Co., Mellous, Howard & Co, and others being examples. In Sacramento similar services were offered by Hensley, Reading & Co., Priest, Lee & Co., and the Mormon merchant, Samuel Brannan.

Richard H. Sinton retired from San Francisco's

pioneer bank in July 1849, and Naglee continued the business alone. In the meantime, on June 5, Burgoyne & Company opened a banking establishment. September saw B. Davidson establish a bank, followed in October by Thomas G. Wells' establishment of Wells & Co. James King, or, as he was known, "James King of William," opened a bank on December 5, 1849.

King, who was to become one of San Francisco's most colorful personalities during the Gold Rush era, was born in Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, in January 28, 1822. In 1841 he became a clerk at the bank of Corcoran & Riggs in Washington. He was married in 1843. James King was not an unusual name, so the designation "of William" was assumed by him to differentiate himself in accordance with an old Virginia custom.

King sailed in May 1848 from New York to Cartagena, in New Granada. From there he went to Panama, then to Callao, Peru, and then on to Valparaiso, Chile, which he reached on July 25th of the same year. He had hoped to follow the steps of his brother who had earlier joined a western exploration party headed by Fremont. In Chile he learned of gold in California and became excited by the prospects. Acquiring passage on the *Undine*, of American registry, he arrived in San Francisco on November 10th. He journeyed to the South Fork of the American river, but disliking the rigors of mining life he went to Sacramento to become a partner and bookkeeper in a merchandising firm, Hensley, Reading & Co. In autumn 1849 he returned to San Francisco, establishing on December 5th, with Jacob R. Snyder as his partner, The Banking House of James King of William & Co. Snyder remained a partner until his resignation on March 5, 1852, after which time King was the sole owner.

In May 1851 his family, consisting of his wife and four children, joined him. He built a beautiful home, had a fine carriage and horses, and lived in a gracious and elegant manner. From time to time King was called upon to make public statements, particularly when he headed the Grand Journey in 1853. Hittell notes that he became "widely known as a man not only of honor and integrity but also of intelligence and courage." At the same time he acquired a number of bitter enemies.

One of his employees was careless and made an investment in certain mining and ditch properties in Tuolumne County which nearly resulted in financial disaster. In June 1854, while King was in an uncertain financial position due to the unwise Tuolumne investments, Isaiah C. Woods of the express and banking

firm of Adams & Co. suggested that if he would turn all of his bank's assets over to Adams and enter business with that firm it would assume all of the liabilities and pay him a salary of over \$1,000 per month. King, after due consideration, accepted the offer, believing Adams to be financially solid. For Adams it likewise seemed to be an attractive situation, for King's assets, after deducting his liabilities, still resulted in a net value. With King's previous banking experience and success Adams would surely prosper more than ever.

For a time everything went well, but soon King became dissatisfied with certain of Woods' business ideas. He also disagreed with some of Woods' associates, including in particular Alfred A. Cohen. In August 1854 King sharply questioned the manner in which Cohen, acting for Adams & Co., sold gold dust to Page, Bacon & Co.

At the time business conditions were uncertain. The previous year, 1853, marked the high-water mark of San Francisco prosperity in the early days. This was the year of the greatest gold exports and the time of highest prices realized for buildings and other commercial properties. In 1854 a business depression took place. Indication of this occurred at a public sale on March 9 and 10, 1854, when some government property near the waterfront was sold, 93 beach and water lots, for an average of \$2,400 per lot, only about a quarter of the average price realized at a similar sale held on December 26, 1853.

In 1855 there were many bank failures and commercial disasters. During the previous year, 1854, there were 77 bankruptcies. In 1855 the figure increased to 197, with liabilities in excess of \$8 million. On February 23, 1855, a date later known as the "day of the great crash" or the "Black Friday of San Francisco," there was a run on the banks, and several prominent institutions closed. Page, Bacon & Co., Adams & Co., Wright & Co., and Robinson & Co. failed, and others had a difficult time as well. Adams' failure was the most disastrous as the largest sum of money was involved. There was a great uproar about this, for the bank closed with a large amount of bullion on hand. This asset formed a rich prize for lawyers to fight over. Subsequently it was nearly all lost in litigation expenses which extended for many years.

On July 14, 1855, a few months after the failure of the Page, Bacon & Co. and the Adams & Co. firms, and amidst the excitement in reference to the Adams situation, James King of William published a newspaper advertisement to the effect that Isaiah C. Woods had said on several occasions in his presence that Adams

& Co. made \$100,000 a year by selling gold dust to Page, Bacon & Co. King asserted that he himself had no knowledge of improper dealings until a few days earlier, but now it was evident that a fraud had been perpetrated.

Three days later King and Alfred A. Cohen, who had been accused in the transactions along with Woods, had an argument on Montgomery Street. Cohen challenged King to a duel. Next day King replied through the newspaper that he was morally opposed to dueling and stated his duty to his family as an additional reason. At the time dueling, while opposed by many, was considered by others to be a gentlemanly way to resolve disputes.

The Adams furor increased and aroused many comments in newspaper articles. King was called upon frequently to state his opinion, which he did very candidly. His desire to make his views more widely known led to his founding of a newspaper, the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, which first appeared on Monday, October 8, 1855. King minced no words and lashed out at Palmer, Cook & Co., another San Francisco bank, and its connection with Adams, referring to the members of the firm as "sneaking money lenders and political wire-pullers," among other things. He also attacked David C. Broderick and accused him of being involved in the Jenny Lind Theatre swindle, of stealing money from the city, of spreading crime and immorality, of corrupting elections, and of selling political offices to the highest bidder. Other San Francisco newspapers were attacked and were described as being cowardly, dishonest, and indecent. Soon King's publication became the largest circulation paper in the city and had a print run of nearly 3,500 copies.

On the evening of Saturday, September 17, 1855, William H. Richardson, United States marshal, was killed in the street by Charles Cora, a gambler. Apparently Richardson was drunk and argumentative at the time. This caused great public excitement, for Richardson was well respected. Thirty-three years old, he had just recently been married. Cora was believed to be a citizen of Italy. He dressed very stylishly and was a professional gambler. Many citizens demanded the lynching of Cora, who had been taken into custody shortly after the crime was committed.

King printed rumors that a plot was underfoot to set Cora free and stated that \$40,000 had already been raised to accomplish this. He printed that Billy Mulligan, the county jail keeper, was a friend of Cora's and would probably help with the escape. Further, King suggested that if this happened Mulligan should

be lynched as well as the sheriff. "Citizens of San Francisco, what means this feeling, so prevalent in our city, that this dastardly assassin will escape the vengeance of the law?" King wrote. Cora's defense was financed by a close friend and associate, a prostitute named Belle. Expensive attorneys were retained. On January 17, 1856, the trial was held. After consulting for 24 hours, the jury could not agree. Seven voted for murder, one for manslaughter, and four for acquittal. King seized the stalemate as an opportunity to rally the citizens of San Francisco to take justice in their own hands as was done years earlier by the first Committee of Vigilance. The committee had been formed in June 1851 as a protection group against thieves and ruffians who arrived from all parts of the world and who were believed responsible for fires, murders, thefts, and other crimes. At the time, in 1851, the city officials were ineffective and many criminals went unpunished. John Jenkins, an Australian who stole a small iron safe, was "tried by the Committee of Vigilance, found guilty, and hanged in the public plaza." The next day the committee, quite proud of its action, directed that a list of its members, over 180 people, including some of San Francisco's most prominent citizens, be published for all to see. The next month James Stuart, an Englishman, was sentenced by the Committee to death. Order, if not law, soon returned, and flagrant crime in the streets diminished.

Eager to stir up trouble, James King of William reported in May 1856 that James P. Casey, San Francisco's supervisor, earlier had been incarcerated in a New York prison. Casey protested stating that "I don't want my past acts raked up. On that point I am sensitive." King showed him to the office door, at which time Casey said he would take care of the matter appropriately. An hour later while walking home King was shot to death by the aggrieved official.

In 1856, due to this and other dissatisfaction with the law and public violence which was becoming a problem in the streets once again, a second Committee of Vigilance was set up. Casey and Cora were set for a "trial" by the Committee to be held on May 20, 1856. The two prisoners had been forcibly taken from the jail and were in the custody of the Vigilance Committee. The "trial" was held, the two were convicted, and both were executed by hanging. The Vigilance Committee spread far and wide in a search for San Francisco's criminals and made many arrests, passing sentences of varying harshness. Action of the Vigilance Committee ceased in 1857, by which time its presence had instituted many municipal reforms.

Fire was a recurring problem in San Francisco during the early days. Devastating conflagrations occurred in 1849, 1850, and 1851. The initial blaze, which came to be known as "the first great fire," started at 6 a.m. on December 24, 1849, in Dennison's Exchange on Kearny Street, opposite Portsmouth Square. The fire raced on to consume the Parker House and nearly all other buildings in the area, including the gambling district. Fifty structures were destroyed with an estimated loss of \$1 million. Reconstruction started immediately, and within a few weeks the area was rebuilt.

The second fire occurred on Saturday, May 4th. It started at 4 a.m. in the United States Exchange, a saloon and gambling parlor which had been built on the site of the old Dennison's Exchange. In all, 300 buildings valued at \$3 to \$4 million were burned. Mainly affected were commercial establishments.

The city council, after observing that fires attracted many onlookers of whom only a few were willing to help fight the flames, passed an ordinance that every person had to help fight fires and save property when such a need arose, on a penalty of a fine up to \$100. It also provided that wells should be dug, water reservoirs should be provided in various areas of the city, and that every household had to keep filled water buckets on hand.

Despite these precautions, the third great conflagration began on Friday, June 14, 1850, in a bakery on the east side of Kearny Street, between Sacramento and Clay streets. About 300 houses and other structures valued at \$3 to \$4 million were destroyed.

After the third fire, emphasis shifted from the previous style of wood and canvas structures to substantial buildings of brick.

The fourth large fire started on September 17, 1850, at the Philadelphia House saloon on Jackson Street. One hundred and fifty structures valued at \$500,000 went up in flames. A number of smaller fires occurred thereafter, including a December 14, 1850, blaze which destroyed a number of business houses on Sacramento Street. The so-called "fifth great fire" happened on May 4, 1851. Starting in an upholstery store, the blaze eventually consumed 16 entire blocks and portions of 7 others comprising over 1,000 structures. Property valued at \$10 to \$12 million was destroyed. Included were the new four-story brick Custom House, the Union Hotel, the Jenny Lind Theatre (on the former site of Dennison's Exchange and the Parker House), the higher portions of the old ship *Niantic*, several banks, and the City Hotel.

On November 4, 1852, the city council of San Francisco adopted as an emblem a phoenix rising from flames in front of the Golden Gate.

During the Gold Rush period entertainment in San Francisco took many forms. Gambling, a favorite pastime of the mines, was equally popular in the city. Gold seemed to stimulate the gambling instinct. Indeed, such an instinct was necessary in the first place to go to the mines and risk one's time and life in search for the precious metal.

In San Francisco the plaza was the focal point of gambling activity. The El Dorado Saloon was busy day and night with spinning roulette wheels, clicking dice, and piles of gold coins wagered on the turn of a card. The Rendezvous, Bella Union, Diana, Verendah, Aguila de Oro, Empire, and a parlor on one floor of the Parker House attracted additional patrons, often miners who were returning from months of social deprivation in the interior part of the country. Laden with gold, they succumbed readily to the lure of red velvet tapestries, crystal chandeliers, drinks in unceasing supply, and attractive women hostesses.

The Empire, which opened in May 1850, was particularly impressive and measured 140 feet long. Very often the facades of gambling halls were decorated with bright colors, flags, and lamps. The Diana was flanked by two sphinxes. Within the walls entertainment was provided by a variety of musicians and other performers. At the El Dorado a female violinist proved popular, while at the Aguila de Oro (eagle of gold), a group of Ethiopian serenaders livened up proceedings. Still another establishment featured a strolling group of five Mexican guitarists. Games played included monte, preferred by those of Latin extraction; faro, a favorite of American and British gamblers; roulette; chuck-a-luck; and a wide variety of other card and dice games. Usual bets ranged from 50c to \$5, but often hundreds or even thousands of dollars would be seen on a table. Bancroft relates that amounts as high as \$45,000 were risked on the turn of a single card and that in one evening a \$16,000 bag of gold dust, 1,000 ounces, was covered by a faro dealer with scarcely a comment. It was further reported that some professional gamblers would ship thousands of dollars each month back home to the East. One man who started with \$5,000 gained \$100,000 by games of chance. He then lost half of his winnings, bought a steamer ticket, and went home. Another gambler is said to have borrowed \$10 as a stake at the tables. By the following morning he had won \$7,000. But for every tale of winning there were hundreds if not thousands of tales of losses. In San Francisco

gambling was a licensed pursuit. A permit cost \$50 a month with \$25 extra for each Sunday that gambling took place. In September 1850 Sunday gambling was prohibited.

Another form of gambling was the lottery. Many different lotteries were held, often with jewelry, otherwise unsalable merchandise, and products being given as prizes. One lottery held in the autumn of 1850 comprised 4,000 tickets sold at \$100 each. Offered as prizes were 500 lots in the central city area. The firm of Tucker & Reeves offered lotteries at regular intervals with the first prize usually being a gold ingot valued at \$6,000 to \$8,000.

Contests with and between animals furnished popular entertainment. In the San Francisco area there were two bull rings at the mission and, later, two more were constructed within the city limits. Fights between a bull and a bear attracted interest as did cock fights.

On June 22, 1849, Stephen C. Masset began an entertainment series with a concert in the plaza schoolhouse. Included were songs, recitations, and mimicry, with the accompaniment of a piano. The admission was \$3 per person. Over \$500 was received for the first event. The audience included just four women.

Rowe's Olympic Circus on October 29, 1849, offered admission prices of \$2 and \$3 with box seats costing \$10. The show continued until January 17, 1850, when it was closed, later to reopen on February 4th as an amphitheater with drama in addition to the circus acts. At one time Rowe's Olympic Circus performed in a tent with a capacity of over 1,200 people and with tickets scaled at \$3, \$5, to a high of \$55, the latter price probably being for a box containing several seating spaces.

October 22, 1849, saw the Philadelphia Minstrels begin a season at the Bella Union Hall. Tickets fetched \$2 each.

The first professional dramatic performance to take place in the gold area was held on October 18, 1849, at the Eagle Theatre in Sacramento. The structure had canvas sides and a metal roof, measured 30 x 95 feet, and cost \$75,000. Tickets were sold at \$2 and \$3 for the opening performance, a melodrama entitled *The Bandit Chief*, which subsequently received a poor review. The Tehama Theatre opened soon thereafter in San Francisco and rendered strong competition.

On January 16, 1850, the Eagle Theatre Company of Sacramento gave a performance of *The Wife* and the farce *The Sentinel* near the northwest corner of Kearny and Washington streets, charging \$3 each for tickets.

At the end of February in the same year the National Theatre opened in San Francisco. Then followed Robinson & Everard's Dramatic Museum, Dr. Collyer's Athenaeum (with erotic exhibitions of models), and, opening in October 1850 on the plaza, the Jenny Lind Theatre. The latter structure was destroyed in the fire of June 22, 1851, but was rebuilt and subsequently reopened on October 4th of the same year. It was proposed that the city of San Francisco pay \$200,000 for it plus about \$100,000 for alterations and modifications. The structure was never quite suitable for its purpose and had to be repaired and strengthened repeatedly. David C. Broderick, who appeared to have a financial interest in the situation, manipulated the deal through the city council thus causing a great public uproar. This became known as the "Jenny Lind Theatre Swindle."

At one time it was proposed that Jenny Lind, "the Swedish Nightingale" brought to America and exploited by P. T. Barnum, be brought to San Francisco and that the public subscribe \$500,000 to assist in this effort. At the time Jenny Lind, after whom the theatre was named, was the most prominent dramatic personality in America, largely due to Barnum's massive publicity and promotion.

Atop Telegraph Hill in San Francisco was a small observation station which had an unobstructed view of the Golden Gate channel and which could be seen from most areas of San Francisco. At the top of the building was a semaphore pole to which were attached two large black arms that could be raised, lowered, or put in various positions to indicate to the populace the arrival of ships through the Golden Gate. The designation for a sidewheel steamer of the type used by the Pacific Mail Co. consisted of the two black arms extended horizontally on opposite sides of the pole. When this was shown, there was a great rush to the wharf to greet friends, to receive mail from the East, and to view new merchandise. An interesting theatre incident indicates what an institution this signal was. Sheridan's play, *The Hunchback*, was playing to a packed house. On the stage Julia had quarreled with Clifford, when Walter, dressed in black which showed in bold relief against the light-colored walls of the drawing room, excitedly rushed on to the stage, and throwing out his arms exclaimed, "What does this mean?" For a moment there was no response. Then a voice from the audience shouted, "Sidewheel steamer!" The house burst into laughter.

By 1851 most interior towns of 1,000 or more people had a community hall for entertainment. Especially appreciated were female vocalists who sang old-time

songs from back home. Often such performances were rewarded with showers of gifts and money. One such singer was delighted when "gold pieces of \$10, \$20, and \$50 came raining down, although smaller pieces were more common."

An idea of life in San Francisco at the end of 1853, several years after the Gold Rush had started, can be gained by Hittel's description. At that time about 50,000 people lived in the city, about one seventh of the population of the entire state. It is estimated 26,000 were Americans; 6,000 English, Scotch, or Irish; 5,500 Germans; 5,000 French; 3,000 Spanish-Americans; 3,000 Chinese; and 1,500 of other races. Of this number about 8,000 were women and about 3,000 were children.

There were 626 brick and stone buildings plus many thousands of frame structures, some of which were partly canvas. Included in the city were 160 hotels, 66 restaurants, 63 bakeries, 5 public markets, 43 butcher shops, 20 bathing establishments, 5 flour mills and saw-mills, 13 foundries and iron works, 18 livery stables, 19 banking houses, and 9 insurance companies. Ten public schools had 21 teachers and 1,250 pupils. There were 18 churches, 14 fire companies, 6 military companies, 2 public hospitals, 8 lodges of secret associations, 4 public benevolent societies, a chamber of commerce, a mercantile library association, and various professional, literary, social, and religious groups. A gas company and water company provided utility services.

In addition there were resident consulates for 27 different governments, 12 daily newspapers (including one in German), 2 tri-weeklies (both in French), 6 weeklies, and 2 monthlies. Entertainment was provided by five American theatres, one French theatre, one Chinese theatre, a music hall for concerts and exhibitions, a gymnasium, and two race courses, not to overlook the numerous gambling establishments previously mentioned. In 1853 about 745,000 tons of goods valued at over \$35 million were imported into San Francisco. Exports were about \$55 million worth of gold dust and \$700,000 worth of quicksilver. One thousand and twenty-eight vessels arrived in port, of which 634 were American and 394 foreign; 1,653 vessels departed in the same year. Imports consisted, among other things, of 100 million pounds of flour and meal worth \$5 million, 20 million pounds of butter worth \$4 million, 25 million pounds of barley worth \$500,000, and 18 million board feet of lumber worth \$4 million. In addition, large quantities of pork, beef, sugar, soap, candles, coffee, tea, boots, rice, shoes, dry goods, coal, and other merchandise came into the harbor.

Imports of liquor, including brandy, whisky, rum, gin, wine, ale, port, and beer were enormous. By the middle of 1853 there were 537 places in San Francisco where liquor was sold, including 42 wholesale stores.

Including those who worked part time, there were 743 bartenders, or one for about every 68 inhabitants.

In this commercial arena trade was facilitated by a wide variety of coins . . .

Gold Coinage of California

The Monetary Situation

Early in 1848 coins in San Francisco comprised a wide variety of United States and foreign issues. Transactions were calculated in either American dollars or Mexican pesos. Virtually any silver coin approximately the size of a dollar would circulate at that value. The French 5-franc coin traded for \$1 in the channels of commerce except at the Customs House, even though it had an intrinsic value of only 93 cents. Indian silver rupees circulated at the value of a half dollar, and English shillings were freely traded for a quarter dollar. The latter denomination was usually referred to as "two bits." A bit, or 12½ cents, originally referred to a fractional cut part of the silver Spanish Mexican eight real coin. Trading at the value of 12½ cents were the American dime, English sixpence, and French half franc. Silver coins were in special demand, as many imported goods came from China, where gold was not in favor and silver was demanded for payment. Interestingly enough, copper coins were virtually nonexistent. This situation prevailed for decades. At the turn of the 20th century it was reported that one-cent pieces were still unpopular in California and were rarely seen in banking and commercial channels.

The need for gold coins was mainly filled by English sovereigns. Spanish, Mexican, and other gold issues were occasionally seen as well.

As news of the Gold Rush spread, San Francisco became a bustling commercial center. As the main trading point for mining supplies the city continually increased its need for circulating coins. While paper money issued by banks and others was plentiful in the East, paper notes were not used in California.

In the summer of 1848 a shortage of coins developed. The government required that customs duties on imports had to be paid in coins, but coins were not

available for this purpose. Col. Richard B. Mason, Jr., was petitioned to supply a solution.

He instructed the collector of customs to receive gold dust at the rate of \$16 per ounce, the valuation agreed to by local merchants and mining interests. He then realized that United States law specifically stated that customs duties could only be paid in coin, so he rescinded his earlier order. A compromise was worked out whereby merchants were allowed to deposit gold dust with the customs office at the rate of \$10 per ounce on account, to be redeemed in coins within 60 days (if indeed coins could be found). If the gold dust was not redeemed it would be sold at auction. Coins were virtually unobtainable, so merchants were put in the position of seeing their gold dust, which was worth \$16 an ounce in San Francisco (and \$18 or more in Philadelphia) sold at auction at \$6 to \$8 an ounce to buyers who somehow had been able to obtain the required coins in order to bid.

There was a mass meeting on July 22, 1848, at which merchants sought to determine how to solve the problem and how to prevent catastrophic losses. They requested that Col. R. B. Mason, Jr. extend the redemption period to six months.

Mason countered with the suggestion that the customs collector could allow the gold dust owner to redeem half of it with silver or gold coins any time within 90 days and the other half within 180 days, such agreement to be temporary because of the coin shortage. He said he personally would be pleased to comply with the 180-day suggestion, but this would in effect end all receipts at customs for a period of six months, and this would be viewed with disfavor by higher authorities who expected him to rigorously follow his duty to collect customs payments in silver and gold coins. He went on to say:

You can readily perceive the situation in which I am placed. A large amount of duties will be received in San Francisco. Should some ten or twenty thousand dollars of this gold dust received at the customs house, reckoning at the rate per ounce at which it will be received, fail to be redeemed at the stipulated time, then I shall be forced by the want of funds to throw suddenly this large amount into the market to be sold for cash, and should it not bring this sum, I would be held personally and individually responsible and accountable to the Department at Washington for the loss sustained in consequence of departure of my orders and instructions.

I am very sure that none of the merchants of your town would desire to see me assume a risk of becoming pecuniarily involved by departing from my instructions for their accommodations; and therefore I feel, by departing from my orders in this instance, in permitting goods, wares, merchandise to go at once into the market, and waiting three to six months before the duties could be realized, that the precautions I take to guard both the public and myself from any loss are not unreasonable or greater than the occasion calls for.

I shall strongly recommend, in my first communication to the Department, the immediate establishment of a mint in Upper California.

On July 27, 1848, a number of prominent San Franciscans, Walter Colton, Talbot H. Green, J. S. Ruckle, Thomas O. Larkin, C. Wooster, Milton Little, J. Spence, and Jose Abrigo, wrote to Col. Mason to recommend that private assayers issue gold coins to remedy the situation. Mason responded favorably to the idea on July 28, 1848:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of yesterday's date. Under the circumstances you mentioned, and which are so well known to me—the almost entire absence of gold and silver coin—I have no hesitation in saying that, if the California grain gold, now in such abundant quantities in the country, can be wrought into convenient shapes, so as to answer as a substitute for gold and silver coin, I will order it to be received at the Custom House in payment of duties, at its intrinsic value.

Before any action was taken under this suggestion, the governor realized that this was in contravention of prevailing law. He wrote again to the petitioners on August 8, 1848:

In my letter of the 28th of July, replying to yours of the day previous, you were informed that "if the California grain gold could be wrought into convenient shapes, so as to answer as a substitute for gold and silver coin, I would order it to be received at the Custom House in payment of duties, at its intrinsic value." By reference to the Act of Congress, August 6, 1846, you will see that it would be manifestly illegal to do. I was not aware of all the requirements and prohibitions of that Act, at the date of my letter above mentioned.

On September 9, 1848, a large public meeting was held in San Francisco for the purpose of establishing the

value of an ounce of gold dust. This was the greatest public assembly ever held in the city up to that time. It was decided that \$16 per ounce would be the valuation, although there were many dissenters, for in the East good quality unrefined California gold sold for \$18 per ounce or more.

After mid-September 1848 the government submitted its own bid at the rate of \$10 per ounce, thereby making for itself a large profit. An order from H. W. Halleck, lieutenant of engineers and secretary of state, Monterey, September 10, 1848 to Capt. J. L. Folsom of San Francisco states:

. . . As soon as the time of redemption of the gold dust in your hands received on deposit as security of the payment of duties expires, you will give due notice, and sell it at public auction. In order that there may be no loss to the revenue, you will bid it in at the value for which it was deposited. If it sells for more, the surplus, after the expenses of sale are deducted, will be paid over to the depositors. The gold dust received in payment of duties, with the privilege of redemption, of course becomes the property of the United States if not redeemed at the expiration of the time specified, without any sale.

Norris, Gregg & Norris

In 1849 privately-minted gold coins made their first appearance in San Francisco. *The Digger's Handbook*, published at Sydney, Australia, apparently early in 1849, stated concerning California:

There is no coinage in the country. A Company, however, has been formed, which has imported from the United States all the material necessary for striking coins, and it is doubtless at the present time in full operation; that is, if it has succeeded in procuring coal to carry on the works, for wood is here much too dear for the purpose.

The newspaper *Alta California* noted on May 31, 1849, the existence of:

. . . a five-dollar gold coin struck at Benicia City, though the imprint is San Francisco. In general appearance it resembles the United States coin of the same value, but it bears the private stamp of Norris, Gregg & Norris and is in other particulars widely different.

The firm was earlier located in the East. *The New York Directory* of 1849 noted that Thomas H. Norris, a civil engineer, did business at 62 Gold St. and had his home at 68 Jay St., Brooklyn. Hiram A. Norris, whose name later appeared on a sailing list of a vessel bound for California in 1849, was also a civil engineer at the same business address. His house was at 310 Gold St., Brooklyn. Charles Gregg, an engineer at the same business premises, had his house at 209 Pearl St., Brooklyn. A New York advertisement of the period noted:

Norris, Gregg & Norris. Manufacturers and dealers in raw iron pipes and fittings of all kinds for steam, water, gas, etc. No. 62 Gold St. (between Beekman and Fulton streets, New York). Mills and public buildings heated by steam. Tubular boilers of various sizes. Thomas H. Norris, Charles Gregg, Hiram A. Norris.

Gold coins of the \$5 denomination were subsequently made in several varieties by the Norris, Gregg & Norris firm in California. Three of the pieces were assayed at the Philadelphia Mint and showed finenesses of 870, 880, and 892 thousandths, and respective intrinsic gold values of \$4.83, \$4.89, and \$4.955, not including the silver alloy (which if added would have given them each about 2½ cents extra value).

Examples of the coinage with the imprint of San Francisco were made in large quantities and circulated extensively. Varieties were made with plain or reeded edges. In the 1960s numismatists were informed that a new variety, previously unknown, had been discovered. Bearing the address of Stockton, the piece was acquired by James Kelly of Dayton, Ohio.

The firm of Norris, Gregg & Norris is believed to have been the first quantity issuer of gold coins in California. Albert Kuner, who arrived in San Francisco on July 16, 1849, stated that he made at least one pair of dies for Norris, Gregg & Norris. As the initial coinage with the San Francisco imprint had already appeared, it is possible that Kuner produced dies for a variety which was made only in pattern form and never reached circulation, or perhaps the variety was one which is not known to exist today.

The appearance of Norris, Gregg & Norris \$5 pieces signaled a cascade of gold issues from different bankers, assayers, and other firms which would continue until 1855. Some coins would be the products of firms which organized in the East and came to California with great expectations, only to encounter difficulties of one sort or another once the land of gold was reached. Other coins were issued by large concerns such as Moffat, Kellogg, and the United States Assay Office of Gold.

The Cincinnati Mining & Trading Co.

Perhaps typical of an unrealized coinage dream was the experience of the Cincinnati Mining & Trading Co. Its activities are today shrouded by the veil of time, and its very existence at one time in California is not certain. Contemporary accounts seem to indicate that members of the firm came overland and probably reached California in the autumn of 1849. Edgar H.

Adams, in his monumental reference *Private Gold Coinage of California, 1849-1855*, noted that Almarin B. Paul, of San Francisco, who conducted an extensive business in Sacramento in 1849 and 1850, and through whose hands passed many of the private gold issues, stated that neither he nor any of the pioneers with whom he had consulted remembered seeing coins of the Cincinnati Mining & Trading Co. in circulation. Both John J. Ford, Jr. and Don Kagin, present-day specialists in western proprietary issues, are of the opinion that the Cincinnati Mining & Trading Co. coins were actually struck in San Francisco, in limited amounts, in the autumn of 1849. It is their belief that the firm of Broderick (later United States Senator) & Kohler (later State Assayer) were the issuers, having apparently acquired the Cincinnati Mining and Trading Co. dies from members of that company when it disintegrated upon reaching California.

The company seems to have been one of many composed in the East by investors eager to reap profits by producing coins in California. The firm was officially known as the California Mining & Trading Co. of Cincinnati, Ohio. J. H. Leavering served as president, W. B. Norman as vice-president, David Kinsey as treasurer, Samuel T. Jones as secretary, and A. H. Colton as bookkeeper. The firm's Board of Finance was composed of Joseph Talbert, G. W. Letter, and L. M. Rogers. Nearly four dozen other individuals were included in the lengthy roster of the company's regular members.

The Cincinnati Gazette on March 10, 1849, reported that the steamer *Bay State* under the command of Capt. Collier departed from Cincinnati for a trip down the Ohio River with the Cincinnati Company on board. Another paper, *The New York Tribune* of March 18, 1849, stated that on the same date, March 10th, the members of the Cincinnati Company started overland by way of St. Louis. The same periodical on July 7, 1849, printed a letter dated May 17th, written to a Cincinnati newspaper, by a member of an overland company. While the company name was not mentioned, Adams was of the belief that the Cincinnati adventurers were the ones being referred to. "Coining apparatus," intended for use in California, is specifically mentioned. The letter was posted from Fort Childs located 300 miles to the west of Independence, Missouri:

On the 10th we arrived at the junction of St. Joseph's Road and in the course of the morning saw so many wagons that we thought we must lighten our loads and get in advance of the tide of emigration, or our mules and oxen must suffer in consequence of short feed; therefore about noon we stopped

and held a meeting, and passed a resolution appointing a committee to examine all the wagons and throw out and abandon everything that was not absolutely necessary. Accordingly, we left behind the wagon that we purchased for carrying corn, which cost \$210; blacksmith tools, consisting of anvil, forge, sledge-hammers, etc.; about 200 mule shoes, several extra axle-trees, and came very near leaving the coining apparatus, most of the company being in favor of doing so, it being very heavy. We also changed the sugar, rice, etc., from boxes into bags. While we were engaged in this business a train of over 50 wagons passed. They reported that they had passed between 600 and 700 wagons since they left at St. Joseph's, and that a great many of them had to throw away part of their loading, almost everyone loading too heavy. One team they passed had abandoned 1,200 pounds of bacon, among other things. So many trains have started that fears are entertained that they cannot all get through, as there will not be grass enough for the animals. This and the anxiety to get to the gold diggings as soon as possible, are the causes of property being abandoned. Among the wagons that passed us was one train from Georgia with a carriage or hack containing a man and his wife; that train also had several Negroes with them. Our wagons are made too heavy and strong. There are none like them. Other trains have just such as come out of the market at Cincinnati, many of them poorer. We might have saved \$600 and had wagons more suited for the trip.

There are two companies of regulars, mounted riflemen, stationed here for the protection of the encampments. I stopped at the store and found it full, there being two or three trains encamped close by. Among them is one of thirty wagons from Alton, Illinois. Almost every article can be had at an advance from 200 to 400 percent over prices in the United States. The sale of liquor was yesterday prohibited by an order from the officer at the fort. One man told me that he bought, previous to the order being given, fifteen gallons at thirty cents, and had since been offered \$8 per gallon. The houses, consisting of about a dozen, are built of turf or sod cut from the prairies, having a frame of wood inside, wood being very scarce—the nearest on this side of the Platte being thirty miles. We have been all forenoon picking up what wood we cooked our dinner with, finding it stick and chip at a time, from old encampments.

We first came in sight of the Platte yesterday, and struck it at the head of the "Grande Island," as it is called, being an island 90 miles long. Near us are encamped a wagon and six men, Mormons, just from California. I saw a specimen of the "dust;" it is in scales, about the size of a large pin's head hammered out. According to their account, there is enough for all who go; but, like some other places, it takes hard work to procure it. The specimen I saw weighed just ten dollars, pure gold—this was all they had convenient. I asked them how much they had made. They said they had dug until they were satisfied, and had all they wanted, which must be a large amount, if they are as greedy as some of us. One of them told me the most he ever made in the shortest time was \$750 in half a day; he said they averaged \$150 per day apiece.

More Gold Issues Appear

The firm of Moffat & Co. became a leading factor in selling and assaying gold. Beginning in the summer of 1849 the enterprise produced rectangular ingots or bars stamped with various values, with the \$16 denomination, equal to one ounce of gold, being the most popular. Toward the end of July or early in August a \$10 coin was issued by Moffat.

By the end of 1849 many different issues were to be seen. Some coins closely resembled United States Mint issues and had on the obverse a representation of the head of Liberty, but with the company name instead of LIBERTY on the head band; and on the reverse, an American eagle. Others were of original and distinctive designs. Adding to the flood of locally-made issues, gold coins produced by the Mormons at Great Salt Lake and pieces from the north in Oregon were occasionally seen.

Coiners who were particularly conscientious and honest endeavored to impart nearly full intrinsic gold value to their coins. Others issued debased pieces. Among the latter was the firm of Wright & Co., which on August 7, 1849, requested permission to issue gold coins of the \$5 and \$10 denominations. They stated that they were willing to post performance bonds and that their coins would be equal to the intrinsic value of the pieces produced by the United States Mint. The proposal was rejected.

Wright & Co., exchange brokers, was located at the corner of Washington and Kearny streets, Portsmouth Square, San Francisco, early in September 1849. During the following November they organized as a banking firm. Composing the company were Stephen A. Wright, John Thompson, Samuel W. Haight, and J. C. L. Wadsworth. Known as the Miners' Bank, the institution was housed in a wooden frame structure for which \$75,000 rent per year was paid. It is believed that coins of the denomination of \$10 were produced by the firm in the autumn, apparently before the November 1849 partnership was completed, for William P. Hoit, assayer of the New Orleans Mint, reported on December 13, 1849, that he had assayed a Miners' Bank \$10 nearly two months earlier:

On the 16th of October I assayed one ten-dollar piece, coined at San Francisco, nearly a facsimile of the United States gold eagle (Moffat & Co.); weight 258 grains; title 888 milliemes of gold, 60 do. of silver, and the balance of copper; value \$9.78. This is the only coin in which art has been resorted to in making an alloy that I have seen. Also on the same day one ten-dollar piece of the Miners' Bank of San Francisco; stamp very different from that of the U.S.;

weight 259 grains, title 866 milliemes of gold, 105 do. of silver, value \$9.65.

As the intrinsic value of the Miners' Bank pieces was significantly below the face value, the issues were not readily accepted. On December 14, 1850, the company dissolved. The issue of *Alta California* dated April 11, 1850, reported that:

The issue of the Miners' Bank is a drug on the market. Brokers refuse to touch it at less than 20 percent discount. Moffat's issue will probably soon be no better; he already refuses to redeem it in American gold. Those who have it would do well to get five-franc pieces to the dollar, which is really 7 percent discount for it, at Moffat's counter now, as it is not impossible that they may refuse to pay even that for it soon.

Assays proved that \$10 pieces issued by Ormsby were worth \$9.37, and the Pacific Company's \$5 and \$10 pieces were worth just \$4.48 and \$7.86 respectively, a low for the period. \$10 coins issued by Moffat were intrinsically worth about \$9.78.

These and other issues soon came into disrepute. Coins of the Mormons were refused by all, once their especially low intrinsic value was known. One by one the various private coiners ceased business, as there was no longer a market for their pieces, except at a discount below their stamped value. In 1850 Moffat & Co. was the only surviving firm which did business earlier in 1849.

Merchants and the public alike complained about the losses sustained. As a result Mr. Woodworth, a member of the state legislature, introduced a bill which was subsequently recorded in the *Alta California* on January 26, 1850. It noted that various persons were making coins but were refusing to redeem the same in legal money of the United States, thereby inflicting an economic hardship on the population and deceiving the people. It was stated that:

The making and circulating of pieces of metal representing the coin of the United States is in direct violation of an Act of Congress, and subjects the maker or passer of such coin to the penalty imposed upon coiners and counterfeiters, and whereas great loss has been sustained by holders of this spurious coin, therefore be it resolved . . . that all such persons as have made or caused to be made and circulated such representations of money be compelled by this Act to redeem all such pieces of coin or money as they may have issued or caused to be issued, within 30 days after the passage of this Act. And all such persons refusing to redeem the same within the time prescribed by the law in good and lawful money of the United States, and all persons who hereafter shall make or cause to be made, or issue or cause to be issued, "tokens," coins, or pieces of metal or other substance representing money, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to such penalties as are imposed by the laws of the United States upon counterfeiters and coiners.

In the same issue of *Alta California* on January 26, 1850, an editorial outlined the abuses of private coinage and reiterated the fact that the pieces were not usable at the Custom House or at the Post Office and that many merchants refused to take them in trade, and that bankers would not accept them at face value. It was observed that the coins "are looked upon with suspicion and distrust . . . they are perfectly illegal, if not absolutely counterfeit coins." The editor went on to say "we cannot countenance a system which, if suffered to exist any longer, will be the cause of defrauding the community to the greatest extent." Moffat & Co. penned a strong reply:

The Resolution offered in the House of Assembly by the Hon. Mr. Woodworth, in regard to the issue of coin by individuals, and your remarks thereon, published in Saturday's edition, have met our observation, and as we are engaged in the manufacture of \$5 and \$10 we beg leave to use your column through which to offer some vindication of our character and standing from the charge of being counterfeiters and open violators of the laws of the United States, and to assure the public that whenever Congress shall enact laws forbidding the manufacture of gold into pieces representing coin by individuals, we shall bow with the greatest respect to such law.

Private mints have been in operation for many years in the United States, and have been the subject of consideration and complaint by the Director of the Government Mint and his reports to Congress. The establishments for this purpose have been that of Templeton Reid of Georgia, now discontinued, and that of Christopher Bechtler in North Carolina, still in operation. This mint is located at Rutherfordton, North Carolina, and is of considerable importance. Its operations were commenced in 1831, and are still carried on, although there is a Branch Mint of the United States less than eighty miles distant. Mr. Bechtler has stated the amount of his coinage to February, 1840 (nine years), at \$2,241,890.

An assay of the coinage of Mr. Bechtler by the Mint of the United States developed the fact that his \$5 pieces on the average were worth but \$4.84, and this practice is still going on in the United States, not only where the necessity does not exist for the want of a circulating medium, but directly at the portals of the Mint of the United States; and nothing is done to prevent it by the public authorities because no law forbidding it exists. The Director of the Mint, in his Report to Congress for the year 1840, after a brief statement in relation to Mr. Bechtler's coinage, observed: "It seems strange that the privilege of coinage should be carefully confined by law to the General Government, while that of coining gold and silver, though withheld from the States, is freely permitted to individuals, with the single restriction that they must not imitate the coinage established by law." We cannot but believe that had there existed any law against the coining operations of Mr. Bechtler or other individuals, the Director of the Mint, and those upon whom it devolved to see that so important an interest of the United States should be protected, would have

enforced it. But we do not place ourselves in the category so designated in the Resolutions referred to. We aver that we have violated no law of the United States in regard to coining money; that we have defrauded no man of one cent by the issuing of our coin; that we have in no instance refused or failed to redeem in current coin of the United States all of such issues without detention or delay, and we hold ourselves ready now and at all times hereafter to do so. We have too high an opinion of the wisdom and good sense of the Legislature of this State to believe that they will pass any Act in pursuance of the Resolutions referred to, as the subject belongs only to Congress, and is not usurped or interfered with by any of the State Authorities. In regard to the value of our coin, we assert, and submit it to the test of any assaying establishment, that each piece is worth more than it purports to be, and will pay a handsome profit to anyone who will take them to the Government in Bullion.

While upon this subject we beg your permission to say a few words in regard to another source of complaint by some, in connection with our business. We refer to the bars or ingots prepared for merchants, bankers, and others, for export. We have been called on in some instances to redeem such in current coin, because our name, together with the carat, and weight, is stamped thereon; the unreasonableness of this requirement must be manifest to every reflecting person. We receive from a banker, merchant, or miner 62½ ounces (\$1000) of dust, with a request to put it into bars, and stamp it with its true value, according to our Government Standard, and for this service we receive fifty cents per ounce. After having performed our labor, delivered the bars, and received our \$31.25, the banker modestly demands of us the amount of his bar in current coin. To be sure, we have been benefited, after paying our expenses, perhaps \$15, by the patronage of our friend, and with his benefit he asks us to pay him the mint value of his bar, because we have asserted by our stamp that it contains so many ounces, and is of such a carat fine, and is therefore worth at the Mint in dollars and cents so much money. The absurdity of such a demand must be apparent. We hold ourselves responsible for the accuracy of our stamp, whether it be upon bullion or in the form of ingots or coin. If there be error the party aggrieved has his remedy at common law.

If we are counterfeiters the criminal courts are at all times open. Our guilt or punishment cannot be affected by any action of the State Legislature. We shall endeavor to pursue such a course in our intercourse with our fellow-citizens as not to impose on their rights, or outrage laws and good order; and while we thus deport ourselves we claim to be exempt from the unjust charge of being felons and counterfeiters by those who ought not to plead ignorance of the law in extenuation of their acts.

Moffat & Co.

Frederick D. Kohler, State Assayer

In the summer of 1848 it was considered that gold had a value of \$18 per ounce. Assays of California gold, depending upon the location from which it was taken, revealed values from about \$17.90 to \$18.20 per ounce.

However, gold was accepted in trade at just \$16 per ounce. Metal which had been extracted by the quicksilver or amalgam process would often trade for even less, at \$14 per ounce. There were strong complaints about this, for it was felt that many purchasers of gold at \$14 per ounce were simply shipping it to the East and gaining a profit of \$4 on each ounce sold in this manner. It was believed that the institution of a state assay office of gold would remedy this problem and would enable gold to be exchanged for its true value.

The first movement to establish a state assay office was as early as July 22, 1848, when citizens of San Francisco met and requested Col. Richard B. Mason, Jr., military governor of California, to select one or more assayers to test the quality of gold taken from the various mines. It was requested that the assayer supervise the making of ingots which were to be stamped with the name of the owner of the gold, the weight, and the fineness. Mason did not approve of this, so nothing was accomplished.

In April 1850 there was another meeting of San Francisco businessmen. Concern was voiced over gold which had been extracted by the quicksilver process. The amalgam of metals made adulteration easy. It was believed that official assaying would remedy the problem. The Legislature was requested to establish an assay service to make ingots of metal in the same denominations as issued by the United States Mint, charging a 5% commission or discount for the service. It was further suggested that unrefined gold be received at \$16 per ounce for this purpose.

On April 6, 1850, nearly 400 citizens sent a petition to the California Legislature asking for the creation of the office of state assayer, such office to refine gold dust and issue ingots with appropriate stamps indicating the fineness, weight, and value. On April 12, 1850, another petition was sent to Governor Peter Burnett requesting that Frederick D. Kohler be appointed the state assayer. Kohler, earlier a jeweler and alderman in New York City, came to California in 1849. In partnership with David C. Broderick, he operated an assaying business in San Francisco. Both Kohler and Broderick had been firemen in New York. When they reached California they became active in fire protection, with Kohler becoming the first chief engineer and Broderick attaining the post of foreman of the Empire Company. Broderick later became a prominent California politician and was elected as a senator.

It is believed that D. C. Broderick and F. D. Kohler (as Kohler & Co.) made the \$5 and \$10 pieces of the Pacific Co., dated 1849, among others.

The office of state assayer was created by the Legislature on April 20, 1850. The enabling legislation provided that "There shall be established in the city of San Francisco a state office for assaying, melting, and refining gold." It further noted that the governor was to appoint two competent persons to take charge and perform the duties of the establishment, one as director and the other as assayer, melter, and refiner of gold. Each official had to submit a bond in the amount of \$50,000 before beginning his duties. The appointment was to be for a term of one year and until their successors were appointed and qualified. Business was to be transacted daily, except Sunday, from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m.

The director was to procure a set of standard weights to correspond with the troy weights of the United States Mint, consisting of pound weights and fractions thereof. He was to receive gold dust for bullion in quantities of at least two ounces, troy weight, offered for assay or refining.

All such gold dust or bullion shall be weighed, when practicable, in the presence of the depositor, and the director shall be responsible on his bond for the safekeeping and delivery of the same. If the dust or bullion is in such a state as to require melting before its value can be ascertained, the weight after melting shall be considered as the weight of the dust or bullion so deposited.

The director was to keep records of all bullion or dust deposited, the time it was received, the name and address of the depositor, the quantity received, and the county from which the metal originated. It was then to be delivered to the assayer who was to furnish a receipt to the director. The director was to keep a record of such receipts, one of which was to be given to each depositor with the required information on it. These were to be kept in numerical order. The state assayer was to:

... carefully refine and assay any or all gold dust or bullion placed in his hands by the director for that purpose, and to cause the same to be made into ingots or bars, in the form of an oblong square, and of such weight as shall be desired by the depositor. Provided, that no ingots or bars shall be made or issued of less weight than two ounces.

It was also stated that the state assayer was to keep appropriate records. Further, it was provided that:

The State Assayer shall regularly number and stamp upon the ingots or bars thus made the true value in dollars and cents, and the correct weight in carats, fineness thereof in accordance with the United States Mint standard; also the letters CAL., the date, and his own initials in plain letters over the words "State Assayer," and upon each end and side of any ingot or bar so issued, some uniform stamp or impression, and shall, as soon as thus prepared, place it in the

hands of the director, taking his receipt in a book kept by the assayer for that purpose, and the director shall hand it over to the depositor, if demanded, within four days after the deposit of the dust, unless the time shall be prolonged by the depositor by a written agreement, when the weight given shall be returned to the director, who shall cancel and keep the same.

The State Assayer and director shall be entitled to charge and collect from each depositor one percent each upon the value stamped upon the ingots or bars issued, out of which they shall pay all expenses attending upon their duties as prescribed in this Act. The balance shall be equally divided between them. They shall also in addition collect and retain in their possession three-fourths of one percent upon the total amount assayed and issued by them, which sum so retained they shall at the end and expiration of every sixty days, pay or cause to be paid into the State Treasury for the use of the State.

It was further stipulated that:

All ingots or bars of gold bearing the stamp of the State Assayer, as provided by this Act, shall be received in payment of all state and county dues, taxes, and assessments, at the value expressed therein in dollars and cents, provided that such ingots and bars have not been mutilated nor reduced in size, weight, or value.

It was further provided that the governor, if petitioned to do so, could establish branch offices in Sacramento, Stockton, or Sonora. The director and assayer:

... shall give additional bond of \$50,000 for each branch formed under the provision of this Act, and all ingots and bars made at either branch shall be either stamped, marked, and numbered as directed, and in addition the words "Sacramento," or "Stockton," or "Sonora."

Appropriate penalties were provided for those who altered, mutilated, reduced in value or otherwise tampered with bars or counterfeited them. It was further noted that the office of state assayer would be abolished by the governor at such time as an official branch mint of the United States began operation.

It was stipulated that should there be any error in the weight, quality, or value of the gold stamped on the ingots the assayer and director would forfeit the percentage allowed to them and would be personally liable for the difference between the value stamped on the ingots and the true value at the United States Mint's standards. Any earlier provisions of the Act of April 8, 1850, which prevented the coining of money by individuals, were to be repealed if they were in conflict with the setting up of the state assay office.

When the Act was passed, Governor Burnett appointed O. P. Sutton as the director and Frederick D. Kohler as the state assayer. Kohler sold his private assaying business to Baldwin & Co. An announcement

to this effect appeared in *Alta California* on May 24, 1850:

The undersigned have opened an office in the building now occupied by Messrs. Baldwin & Co., south side of Portsmouth Square, and will be prepared to receive gold dust for smelting and assaying on Monday the 13th, in accordance with the provision of the law passed by the Legislature of the State, April 20, 1850. In making this announcement we beg leave to state that desiring to establish an office at the earliest practicable moment our arrangements are necessarily less complete than they otherwise would have been; nevertheless, we trust that they will be found sufficient to meet the needs of the wants of the community.

O. P. Sutton, Director

F. D. Kohler, Assayer.

On the first day of operation nearly 5,000 ounces of gold were deposited with the state assayer. On the following days the amounts increased. Adams noted that one deposit showed an original weight of 689½ pennyweight, which after smelting weighed 682½ pennyweight. The fineness of the lot was 20¾ carats, the value of \$570.54. On this bar the gold dust brokers had marked a value of \$519, and the gold had been bought by them at \$14 an ounce. This demonstrated the advantage of the state assay office.

Within a few days 40 fake gold nuggets weighing from a few ounces up to a pound were brought in.

Around July 1, 1850, a branch was opened at Sacramento, in accordance with the original legislation. The *Sacramento Daily Transcript* dated June 28, 1850, contained the notice:

STATE ASSAYER'S OFFICE. The undersigned have opened an office on Third, near the corner of J Street, Sacramento City, and on the 1st of July will be prepared to receive gold dust for smelting and assaying in accord with the provisions of a law passed by the Legislature of the State, April 20, 1850.

John Bigler, director.

F. D. Kohler, Assayer.

Apparently each ingot was cast, and then it was dressed by hitting the sides with a hammer. Large bars were apparently subdivided into several smaller ingots. A November 20, 1868, article in the *Alta California* gave the recollections of a pioneer:

Nineteen years . . . ago I gazed into the Assay Office of Fred Kohler, situated on the south side of Clay Street, watching for the first time the process of converting gold dust into bars, and the chipping of the bars into \$50 ingots. "Slugs" was the name given them. The "bankers," Monte, Faro, and others, [a reference to gambling establishments], being short of coin, and having plenty of dust, had it converted into slugs of that denomination, which they circulated as freely as any other coin, the stamp of the assayer in all cases being taken at its true value. Wass,

Molitor & Co., Moffat & Co., an assayer at San Jose, and others of Mormon vintage, circulated as late as 1852, when they finally disappeared, the octagon slug taking their place . . . the actual value of Kohler's slugs being \$52 at the Philadelphia Mint.

The preceding contained a reference to assays performed at the Philadelphia Mint which showed that there was some variation in Kohler's work, and on the average his ingots were worth about 1% to 1½% more than the value stamped on them.

Certain business establishments refused to accept the State Assay Office ingots, preferring to weigh gold dust or bullion themselves in order to make an additional profit later when the raw metal was sold. On July 15, 1850, the *Sacramento Daily Transcript* commented on this practice:

But the bankers and others in San Francisco interested in keeping gold below its real worth to further their own ends were not to be so easily checked in their lucrative operation. Previous to the appointment of the Assayer they called a public meeting, formed an association, and by combined efforts succeeded in defeating the good end which the law aimed to secure. Strange to say, that up to this time the people—merchants, miners, mechanics, laborers—have permitted this combination to hold the sway, decrying the value of the ingots, *refuse* to receive them at their par value, and thus *prevent* their general circulation and the good results which would necessarily have followed . . .

First, then, the miner parts with his gold at \$16 the ounce. If he has 50 ounces it nets him in gold coin \$800; but suppose ingots are circulated at their par value, as they should be, the miner then takes his 50 ounces to the assayer's, where he pays for assaying it, say \$1 per ounce and it yields him in ingots, after the expense is paid, \$17 per ounce. Fifty ounces at \$17—\$850—making a difference of over 6 percent in his favor.

But a still greater saving might be effected on quicksilver gold than 6 or even 8 percent. Quicksilver gold brings only \$14 per ounce. Does the miner and do the people generally know that this gold is worth more intrinsically than any other? If they do not, the Assayer will tell them so. The particles of gold taken up by the quicksilver are doubly refined and pure, and those who ship it to the States make the enormous profit of from \$4 to \$5 on every ounce shipped, all of which comes out of the pocket of the miner and laborer. The question may be now asked, what is the true value of the ingot, and it will probably surprise some of our readers to be informed that these ingots which are refused by this combination are worth more than American gold coin and yet such is the case; every ingot stamped \$37 will realize \$40 in gold coin at the United States Mint . . . shall the whole community suffer in order that those who are engaged in this gold shipping business may be aggrandized? We say emphatically No! Let us receive the ingots.

Edgar H. Adams quotes Almarin B. Paul, a California pioneer:

Private and Territorial Gold Coins



1830 Templeton Reid \$2½



1830 Templeton Reid \$5



C. Bechtler
\$1 gold



C. Bechtler
\$2½



C. Bechtler
\$5



Baldwin & Co.
1850 \$10



Baldwin & Co.
1851 \$10



Baldwin & Co.
1851 \$20



Miners' Bank
(1849) \$10



1849 Cincinnati Mining & Trading Co. \$10
(Illustration enlarged)

Private and Territorial Gold Coins



*U.S. Assay Office of Gold
1852 \$10
884 THOUS.*



*U.S. Assay Office of Gold
1852 \$50
887 THOUS.*



*U.S. Assay Office of Gold
1852 \$20
900 THOUS.*



*U.S. Assay Office of Gold
1853 \$10
900 THOUS.*



*U.S. Assay Office of Gold
1853 \$20
884 THOUS.*



*U.S. Assay Office of Gold
1853 \$20
900 THOUS.*



*Norris, Gregg & Norris
1849 \$5*



*J.S. Ormsby
1849 \$10*



*Pacific Company
1849 \$5*



*Shultz & Co.
1851 \$5*

1851 Augustus Humbert \$50



1851 Augustus Humbert \$50
887 THOUS.
(Illustration enlarged)

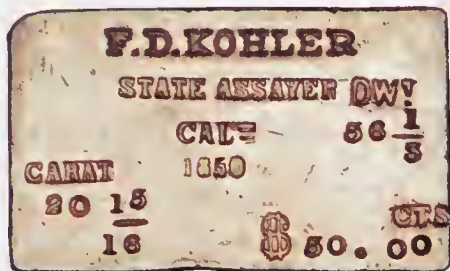
Private and Territorial Gold Coins



Kellogg & Co.
1854 \$20



Kellogg & Co.
1855 \$50



Kohler \$50 ingot



Moffat & Co.
\$16 ingot



Moffat & Co.
1849 \$10



Moffat & Co.
1850 \$5



1851 Humbert \$50
880 THOUS.



1852/1 Humbert \$10



1852/1 Humbert \$20



1852 Humbert \$50
887 THOUS.

1855 Wass, Molitor & Co. \$50



1855 Wass, Molitor & Co. \$50

Private and Territorial Gold Coins



Wass, Molitor & Co.
1852 \$5 Large head



Wass, Molitor & Co.
1852 \$5 Small head



Wass, Molitor & Co.
1855 \$10



Wass, Molitor & Co.
1855 \$20 Small head



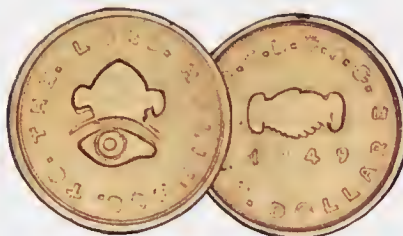
1849 Oregon \$5



1849 Oregon \$10



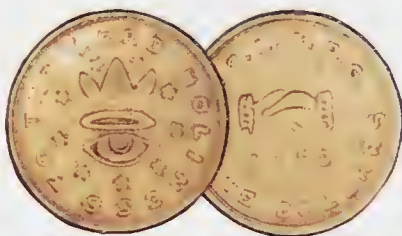
1849 Mormon \$5



1849 Mormon \$10



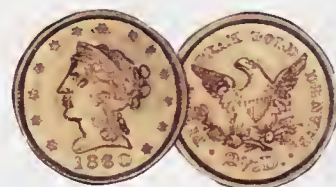
1849 Mormon \$20



1850 Mormon \$5



1860 Mormon \$5



Clark, Gruber & Co.
1860 \$2 1/2



Clark, Gruber & Co. 1860 \$5



Clark, Gruber & Co.
1860 \$20



Clark, Gruber & Co.
1861 \$10



Clark, Gruber & Co.
1861 \$20



J.J. Conway \$5



Parsons & Co. \$2 1/2



Parsons & Co. \$5



Columbus Co. Pattern \$5



J.H. Bowie. Pattern \$1



Pelican Co. Pattern \$2 1/2

Numismatic Americana



Confederate States of America
1861 Cent
Copper-nickel original



1900 Leshmer "dollar"



Confederate States of America
1861 Cent
Silver restrike



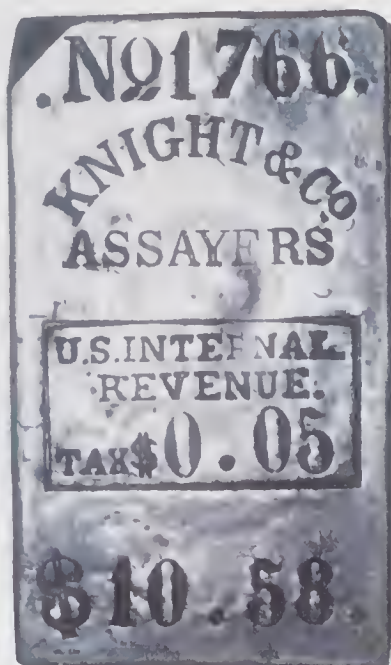
Washington "Season medals" struck in silver
Three obverse designs



Season medal
Reverse



A. P. Molitor
\$5.06 gold and
\$2.46 silver ingot



Knight & Co.
\$10.58 silver ingot



U.S. Assay Office
New York 1911
10.95 oz. silver ingot

Washington Indian Peace Medal



*1795 Washington
Indian peace medal
engraved by Richardson*



The first fifty-dollar gold piece was made at the State Assay Office in Sacramento City, located on Third Street, near J, and if my memory is correct, in June or July, 1850. John Bigler, afterward Governor of California, was chief of this office, and Milton S. Latham, afterward a United States Senator, was Bigler's first assistant. Mr. Latham brought over and showed to me a fifty-dollar piece which he said was the first piece made about this time, when I was doing a mercantile business near the office, on J Street.

Apparently quite a few ingots were issued at Sacramento, for the August 8, 1850 issue of the *Sacramento Daily Transcript* notes that as of that time 161 depositors had submitted gold worth \$59,028.80 at \$15 per ounce or, using the Mint standard as a valuation, \$66,596.84.

When the United States Assay Office began operations in San Francisco early in 1851, the state assay office was discontinued. After that time Frederick Kohler conducted his own private assay office. The *Daily Alta California*, issue of July 28, 1853, contained a typical advertisement: "UNITED STATES ASSAY OFFICE. Frederick D. Kohler, United States Assayer. Office at Wass, Molitor & Co., Merchant Street, San Francisco."

It is believed that Kohler issued ingots up to the value of \$150. Of the numerous ingots once issued at Sacramento, just two examples, one each of the \$36.55 and \$47.71 values, are known today.

In the early 1870s the Spier Collection, consisting of over 10,000 coins of the world, was kept in the vaults of the Bank of California, which pronounced the collection as "The best and most valuable in existence." Spier had an intense interest in gold issues of California and was among the first to assemble a collection of them. Around 1877 these passed to the Society of California Pioneers. Exhibited at the San Francisco Mint, the Society's collection was examined by Farran Zerbe in 1905, who reported to the numismatic fraternity the existence of the Kohler \$50 slug which formed a part of the group. A decade later this \$50 piece and other coins from the Society of California Pioneers became the property of Fred L. Huddart. Subsequently, the \$50 piece was acquired by John Work Garrett. The ingot is considered especially significant as it is the earliest California gold piece bearing this denomination, a value which was later to become famous when Augustus Humbert produced them in large quantities for the United States Assay Office of Gold.

More Private Coins Appear

Despite the disrepute with which privately issued gold coins were held by the public, two new firms were

added to the roster of coiners in 1850: Baldwin & Co. and Dubosq & Co.

On April 8, 1850 the State Legislature effectively ended most private coinage by passing an act, the main provision of which is quoted.

Any person who shall stamp or impress, or shall cause to be stamped or impressed, upon any piece of gold less than four ounces Troy weight, whether pure or alloyed, any figures, letters, or marks, indicating or purporting to indicate its weight, fineness, or value, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished as provided in the preceeding section.

On April 20, 1850, a law establishing the office of State Assayer was enacted. This subsequently led to the appointment of Frederick Kohler in that capacity. Also on the same date a law which required the private coiners to redeem their issues was passed:

Section I. Any person or company who shall make or cause to be made, within the State, any piece of gold or silver, whether pure or alloyed, in the form of coin or otherwise, and intended or calculated to circulate as money, shall be held responsible to the holder thereof for the marked value thereof, or at the rate at which such coin is uttered, and shall on presentation redeem all such coins at such a rate with legalized coins of the United States.

Section II. If any person making or uttering such coins shall refuse or neglect to redeem the same in the manner prescribed in Section I, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor . . .

Section III. If any person shall hereafter make or utter any piece of gold or silver as described in Section I, without stamping upon the same the day, month, and year of its manufacture, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor . . .

Section IV. If any person shall hereafter make or utter any coin, or piece of gold or silver, such as described in Section I of this chapter, of less value than its marked or nominal value, or the value at which it is issued, he shall be deemed guilty of fraud . . .

Section V. This Act shall take effect on the fifth day after its passage.

The law provided that coins had to be redeemed with legal coins of the United States, which were scarce in circulation and often not readily available, that the intrinsic value had to be equal to the face value (thereby removing any profit, even if nominal), and that not only the year had to be stated, but also the day and the month (making it virtually impossible to manufacture coins with standard dies on a high-speed production basis). For a while the impact of this legislation deterred several who wished to issue coins.

Early in 1851 private coinage resumed at a furious pace. Baldwin, Shultz, and Dunbar produced generous quantities. On March 21, 1851, the Banking House of James King of William sent sample coins to Augustus

Humbert, who by that time had been appointed as United States Assayer, and requested findings. Transmitted were the following coins: Baldwin & Co. \$20, 13 coins; \$10, 10 coins; \$5, 28 coins; Shultz & Co. \$5, 45 coins; Dubosq \$10, 7 coins; and \$5, 3 coins.

Augustus Humbert responded on March 26th with an assay which showed that the Baldwin \$20 issues had an intrinsic value of \$19.40, the \$10 issues \$9.74 and the \$5 issues \$4.91. The Shultz half eagles were worth on the average \$4.87 each, while the Dubosq \$10 pieces assayed as \$9.93 and the \$5 pieces by the same maker were worth \$4.96.

The *Alta California* editorially noted that the holders of Baldwin \$20 gold pieces would lose 60 cents on each coin, and that the best value was received by owners of Dubosq pieces who would lose only seven cents on each \$10 transaction. The result of this editorial discussion was that banking houses immediately refused to handle any coins at face value with the exception of those made by Moffat & Co.

On April 4, 1851, San Francisco businessmen met to discuss the private coinage situation. An investigative committee was appointed. On the following day the *Alta California* had a lengthy editorial on the subject. It was stated that private coins, which had no legal standing whatever, caused all sorts of financial hardships.

The present indications are a return to condition of things similar to what succeeded the issuing of Miners' Bank coins, the introduction of Mormon coins, and similar operations, by which a large portion of the people who are good-natured enough to receive those vile falsehoods in the shape of coin, found themselves cheated out of twenty percent. Most, perhaps all, of the coins in circulation are much better than those, but the public has no security that ere a month, or at any future time, those yet to be issued will really be worth as much as were the Miners' Bank and Mormon issues. There is every reason, except such as conscience might repudiate, for alloying these coins to any extent which a determination to make money by the operation would dictate. When once a company of individuals have established the credit of their issues sufficiently to give them currency, not holding themselves under any obligation to redeem them, what is there to restrain any amount of swindling by lowering the fineness and stamping a piece of metal as worth ten dollars although it may not be of the value of five? We know of nothing except a refusal on the part of the public, businessmen, and others, to receive this currency which is open and liable to any conceivable amount of adulteration, and consequent loss by the recipients . . .

In the same editorial Moffat's assertion that its coins were worth more than contemporary United States gold issues also drew a comment:

It is rather singular if their coin is worth more than United States coins, as some assert. The assertion that it is so seems

to prove too much or nothing. What conceivable object is there to make it so? If a single coin should prove it so it is evidently made by mistake, or else by design to be one of a few mixed for the specific purpose, to create public confidence in the entire issue upon the strength of an assay made upon one or more extra pieces. The whole system is as bad as it can well be . . .

The *Alta California* went on to say that it:

. . . wished not to be understood as charging intentional fraud upon the persons engaged in coining. The evil lies in the system itself. Individuals cannot get permanent confidence in any issues of their own. Nothing short of national guarantees can do it . . .

The editor further contemplated the inconsistency of the public's practice of accepting French 5-franc pieces for one dollar when they were intrinsically worth just 93c, and accepting English shillings at the value of a quarter.

On April 9th the businessmen's committee, which had been appointed several days earlier, reported that although it did not wish to censure any of the private mints, the system in its entirety should be condemned. They found that the coinage of the United States Assay Office, which was authorized by the United States government and which was receivable at the Custom House for payments, should be accepted in trade, but only as a temporary measure as it:

. . . does not seem to meet the necessities of the country. Great delay now occurs in the coinage of dust left at the Office, and it may be doubted if the capacity of the establishment will enable it to supply the country with a circulating medium.

It was recommended that the United States government establish an official mint as soon as possible. After the report was read, a resolution was passed which stated that "no coin of private coinage be received as currency by the mercantile community."

Now, for the second time in San Francisco history, private issues were not accepted by merchants. The only issues accepted were the large \$50 octagonal pieces made by the United States Assay Office of Gold. To the melting pot went other private issues. Small denominations became rare in circulation. Moffat & Co. on April 14, 1851, petitioned the secretary of the Treasury to allow the coinage of small denominations, but this was refused. On December 9, 1851, authorization finally came to make \$10 and \$20 pieces, but this permission was cancelled on the next day.

The private coining establishments which operated at various times from 1849 to 1851 produced many issues which, while once common (the Banking House of James King of William's assay of 45 pieces of the

Shultz & Co. \$5 is an example), are of great rarity today.

Albert Kuner

Prominent among San Francisco die cutters was Albert Kuner, who produced the dies for several different companies. Born in Lindau, Bavaria, on October 9, 1819, George Ferdinand Albrecht Kuner, later known as Albert Kuner upon his arrival in America, learned to be a gold and silversmith. He came to the United States toward the end of 1848, intending to engage in cameo cutting, but learning of the California Gold Rush he went westward. Arriving in San Francisco in July 16, 1849, he secured employment with Moffat & Co., for whom he cut dies, including those for the first privately issued \$10 piece in California. From that time until his death on January 23, 1906, at 86 years of age, he cut hundreds of other dies, including in addition to those made for coiners, the seal of California, medals made by the Mechanics' Institute, and other enterprises.

In October 1849 Kuner began his own business on Clay Street. He soon moved to Kearny Street between Jackson and Pacific. Following the destruction of his premises by fire in May 1850 he went back to Clay Street. Fire struck again in May 1851 and destroyed his premises, so he relocated in Dr. Mitthall's Building, on Montgomery Street. In 1852 he occupied a part of Braverman & Levy's store, remaining there 15 years. From that point he moved to several other locations.

Edgar H. Adams stated that Kuner was quite methodical and had a carefully prepared record of every item he engraved, including impressions in wax, various dies, and other items. Unfortunately, these and his papers were destroyed during the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 when his house at the corner of Golden Gate Avenue and Gough Street burned. His annotated copy of Eckfeldt and Dubois' 1851 book illustrating California gold issues survived and was used by Adams in his research. Thus it is known that Kuner cut the dies for Norris, Gregg & Norris, the Moffat pieces of 1849-1850, the Shultz & Co. \$5 pieces of 1851, the Dunbar & Co. \$5 of the same year, the Baldwin \$5, \$10, and \$20 pieces of 1850 & 1851, and the large \$50 octagonal piece with the denomination reading FIFTY DOLLS. having Humbert's name on the border of the obverse.

Adams notes that the illustrations of the Miners' Bank \$10, the Pacific Co. pieces, the Massachusetts & California Co. \$5, the Templeton Reid pieces, the Cin-

cinnati Mining & Trading Co. coins, the Ormsby pieces, and the Dubosq productions were not marked and therefore apparently were not his work.

Kuner engraved the dies for all of the coins issued by Wass, Molitor & Co., a firm which achieved great prominence 1852-1855, particularly with its extensive coinage of the latter year. 1860 \$5 pieces issued by the Mormons in Salt Lake City (but not the 1849-dated pieces) were Kuner's work as well.

Kuner charged as much as \$500 per pair of dies during the early 1850s. To engrave the first date seal of California he was paid \$600. In 1862 the government of British Columbia considered issuing gold coins. Kuner was commissioned to make dies for \$10 and \$20 issues.

J. S. Ormsby & Co.

J. S. Ormsby & Co. was prominent among the early issuers of private California gold coins. The firm was composed of Dr. J. S. Ormsby, who is believed to have come from Pennsylvania, and Maj. William M. Ormsby, who in 1860 was killed in a battle with the Indians at Winnemucca, Nevada. Ormsby County, Nevada, bears his name.

Seeking to be closer than San Francisco to the gold fields, the company opened its doors early in 1849 on K Street in Sacramento. Apparently an extensive assaying, smelting, refining, and coining business was conducted. Although specimens of the Ormsby coinage, made in the denominations of \$5 and \$10, were once plentiful, today they are great rarities. The pieces, which bear no date and have as part of the design the initials JSO, were struck by a sledgehammer rather than a coining press. The principal workman at the enterprise was Dr. William W. Light, a dentist who earlier came from Bethel, Claremont County, Ohio. Following an education in dentistry and medicine he departed on January 31, 1849, for California, reaching there in August. In the *History of Sacramento County* Winfield J. Davis noted that:

He found employment almost immediately with the Ormsbys, who had set up a mint and were coining gold. Not knowing how to do the annealing, however, they were making bad work of it, and were glad to employ the Dr. at \$50 a day, to superintend the work, but he shortly after quit that situation and went mining.

According to an article in the *New York Herald*, May 11, 1849, the Ormsbys came to California as members of a party which was at the jumping-off spot at St. Joseph, Missouri, at that time. Listed were Dr. J. S.

Ormsby and L. P. Ormsby; Maj. William Ormsby and J. K. Trumbull of Kentucky; and several others from Westmoreland, Pennsylvania. The group was provided with four wagons, six mules for each, and necessary provisions.

Adams quotes an article which appeared in the *San Jose Pioneer*, issue of May 5, 1877, written by a California pioneer. Included are some interesting data concerning Ormsby and related activities:

In the flush days of '49 gold was so plentiful in San Francisco, Sacramento, and other towns, that its value was not readily appreciated. There was plenty of gold, but no coin. This was the basis of one of the first speculations of the country.

In the general rush to California, consequent upon the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill, among other machinery brought here was a quantity for the purpose of coining the precious metals. Almost every company crossing the plains or rounding the Horn brought with them ample machinery for this purpose, and several well-known institutions of this kind did an extensive business in San Francisco.

The singularly-shaped block of granite found buried in the sand at the time of the excavation for the foundation of the California Market, some years since, which is still to be seen at the junction of Sumner Street with the market nearest Montgomery Street, and which excited so much speculation at the time of its discovery, was undoubtedly intended for this purpose, and portions of iron-work designed for similar use lay within a few years past scattered about various portions of Sacramento.

A private mint was established in Sacramento in 1849, and continued through the following year, by J. S. Ormsby & Co. The company consisted of Maj. Ormsby, who was killed by the Indians in the Winnemucca War, famous in the early annals of the State of Nevada, and his brother, Dr. Ormsby, who some years after represented the County of Sonoma in the California Assembly.

This establishment, which was located on K Street, just below the site of the Golden Eagle, did an extensive business, the miners bringing dust to be coined forming a line and awaiting their regular turn. The gold was melted here, and without alloy, as it came from the mine, cast into bars, rolled into strips, the rollers used for this purpose being still in the possession of Dr. Light, a leading dental surgeon of Sacramento, who was the chief operator of the establishment at a salary of \$50 per diem.

Coins of the denominations of \$5 and \$10 were issued, stamped with the name of the proprietors, who received a royalty of \$4 on every \$20 coined. It is the opinion of the gentleman named as the chief operator of the concern, who was the melter and aided by an assistant rolled out the bullion and struck the dies with a sledge hammer, that the crucibles used in melting the dust, and which have long been buried by the filling of the street, contain a large amount of gold, so wasteful was the operation and so plentiful the precious metals, in those days which constituted the flush time in California.

Today only one specimen of the \$5 denomination is known, a coin formerly owned by Jacob B. Moore, Jr., since its coinage in 1849. Moore was employed by his father, the postmaster of San Francisco, as an assistant during that year.

Ten-dollar pieces are of great rarity, and only a few are known to exist. Near the time of issue several pieces reached the Philadelphia Mint, where the assay of one showed a fineness of 842 thousandths and an intrinsic value of \$9.37.

Designs of the two Ormsby denominations are very plain. Undated, each bears the initials JSO, the denomination, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and a circle of stars. The \$5 piece has the notation CAL. Devoid of adornment, the Ormsby coins were strictly functional. At the time they served a good purpose, as the line of miners bringing dust to be coined, as mentioned in the quoted article, indicates.

Massachusetts & California Co.

The operations of the Massachusetts & California Co., another early coiner associated with California, are largely an enigma. Several \$5 issues are known, but they are alloyed extensively with copper, unlike pieces made from native California gold which contains a high silver content. It is quite possible that the pieces were issued in the East, probably as patterns, in the manner of the known impressions from the same dies in copper and silver.

The firm, formed in Massachusetts, may have transacted business in California, for Adams relates that letterheads of the Massachusetts & California Co. were discovered in California and that Frederick P. Tracy, who later became a prominent California attorney, served as the group's secretary.

Much of the information known today about the Massachusetts & California Co. is derived from several articles which appeared in *The New York Tribune* in 1849.

On January 23 it was reported that "In Northampton (Mass.) Rev. F. P. Tracy is the agent of a company who have raised \$6,000, and are soon to leave." The same newspaper reported on February 3 that the brig *Mary Wildern* had departed for the gold regions with the Massachusetts & California Mining and Trading Co. aboard. Another issue provided a list of companies organized to go to California and mentioned that the Massachusetts & California Trading Co. had a membership of 150 people.

Most significant was an item from an unnamed May 1849 newspaper, probably published in Massachusetts, which was reprinted in the *American Journal of Numismatics* in January 1898:

The Massachusetts & California Co., formed in Northampton, Mass., which originally contemplated a capital of only \$6,000, has increased it to \$50,000. Only a quarter of the amount, however, is to be paid in at the outset. Josiah Hayden of Haydensville is president of the company, and S. S. Wells of Haydensville, Miles G. Moies, and others, directors. Rev. F. P. Tracy goes out to California as its active agent. It is the intention of the Company to establish a private mint at California, and, with the approbation of the Government, to make coins of the same denominations as the coins of the United States, and of equal, if not a little higher, value. Mr. William H. Hayden goes out as assayer, having qualified himself for the purpose by a series of studies under Prof. Silliman, and by all the information that could be obtained at the United States Mint. Mr. Hayden is a graduate of Yale College, and is son of the president of the company. The machinery will coin about \$10,000 a day. It is the intention of the Company to purchase gold dust, at the current price, and transform it into coin for circulation. Should the Government establish a Mint there, it will be worth its denominational value, or more, at the Mint. The agent and those who accompany him will go by one of the land routes.

Pacific Company

The maker of the 1849 \$5 and \$10 pieces bearing a Liberty cap with resplendent rays and the name of the Pacific Co. is unknown. Adams and subsequent authorities, basing their suppositions on several sources, some of which are contradictory, have concluded that the assaying firm of D. C. Broderick and F. D. Kohler made the \$5 and \$10 pieces bearing the stamp of the Pacific Co., dated 1849.

Pacific \$5 and \$10 pieces assayed at the Philadelphia Mint showed intrinsic values of \$4.48 and \$7.86 respectively. Adams wrote that the \$10 of the Pacific Co.:

... enjoys the distinction of being the least valuable of all varieties of \$10 pieces ever struck by private persons in this country, making the much condemned Baldwin \$10 stand out as the acme of purity in contrast.

No \$5 or \$10 coins bearing the names of Kohler or Broderick are known today, so articles such as the following, from an unnamed source quoted by Adams, lead to the supposition that the Pacific Co. coins may have been made by them:

Broderick met some former friends on the coast in the spring of 1849, and, as there was a lack of coin on the coast, and several months being required to procure it from the East, it was proposed to form a company to assay and coin gold. Frederick D. Kohler was selected for the assayer, and

Broderick became his associate, performing the severe manual labor required. They coined so-called five and ten dollar pieces, and the profits upon these coins, which contained only four dollars and eight dollars respectively, and upon the gold purchased at \$14 per ounce, soon placed Broderick in good circumstances, and laid the foundation for a fortune large for those times. In the autumn of 1849 the firm sold the business and Broderick began to think of returning to politics.

Today, \$5 and \$10 pieces of the Pacific Co. are among the rarest in the California series. Only a few specimens are known to exist. In addition patterns or trial pieces exist of the \$1, \$2.50 and \$5 values.

Dubosq & Co.

Coins issued by Dubosq & Co., San Francisco, were once very plentiful in circulation. Today they are among the most elusive. The only known examples are \$5 and \$10 pieces bearing the 1850 date, although records suggest that coinage was accomplished in 1849 and 1851.

The *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, January 18, 1849, noted that the *Gray Eagle* had sailed and gave a passenger list, including Theodore Dubosq, Sr., Theodore Dubosq, Jr., and Henry A. Dubosq. The article noted:

Mr. Theodore Dubosq, jeweler, North Second Street, we understand, takes out with him machinery for melting and coining gold, and stamping it with a private mark, so as to establish a currency which will afford the greater convenience and facility for dealing in the raw material.

On May 31, 1849, the *Alta California* carried this notice: "We learn that Mr. Theodore Dubosq, jeweler from Philadelphia, who recently arrived in the *Gray Eagle*, has brought with him the necessary machinery for striking private coins."

Although Dubosq arrived at a time in which coins were rare in circulation and other private minters met with success, it is not known whether gold coins were actually struck by him in the 1849 year, although trial pieces in copper of that date are known to have been made.

An 1851 article noted that from January 1st to March 31st of that year Dubosq & Company had produced \$150,000 value in gold. As no specimens bearing the 1851 date are known, they may have been dated 1850.

The Banking House of James King of William sent seven \$10 and three \$5 Dubosq coins to the United States Assayer, Augustus Humbert, for evaluation on March 21, 1851. It was subsequently reported that the \$5 issue had an intrinsic value of \$4.96 and the \$10 was

worth \$9.93. Even though the report was very favorable to Dubosq, the firm, which conducted business in the name of Dubosq & Godwin (although the coins were simply marked "Dubosq & Co."), wrote to say that the pieces, due to the value of silver in them, were worth even more than the high figure reported:

Having read in the *Daily Alta California* an account of the assays of the different private coins made in San Francisco, assayed by you, in which you have not mentioned the value of silver contained in our coins, if it is not too much trouble, we should like you to make public what our coins would yield in Philadelphia . . .

In reply, Humbert wrote:

In answer to your letter of this day, stating that I had not mentioned the value of the silver contained in your coin as you call it (but which was stamped "Dubosq & Co."), and also what it will yield in Philadelphia, I beg leave to say in reply to the first, that the coin above mentioned was assayed according to the instructions given to this office by the Government, and the same on which all assays are here made. Your coin was found to be 880 thous. fine, and the value of the gold only calculated.

You asked what your coin would yield in Philadelphia. I answered that I do not think it worth any more there than in San Francisco. If you desire to know what it would be worth at the United States Mint, I must refer you to them. Their charge for separating, alloying, toughening, etc., would absorb, I think, nearly, if not all, the silver.

I further beg leave to refer you to the following extracts from the manual of Coins and Bullion, issued by the Assay Office of the United States Mint at Philadelphia, December, 1849: "Silver considered merely as an alloy of gold coin, except that it can be profitably parted out, goes for no more than copper in the same predicament."

A. Humbert, United States Assayer.

Baldwin & Co.

The gold issues of Baldwin & Co., once plentiful in San Francisco, were the object of public contempt and scorn once it was learned that their intrinsic value was significantly below the denominations indicated on them. The firm was owned by George C. Baldwin and Thomas S. Holman, jewelers, who were in business as early as April 1, 1850. During that month they acquired the coining apparatus and related equipment of F. D. Kohler & Co. On May 1, 1850, the *Pacific News* contained the following notice:

Successors to F. D. Kohler & Co., assayers, refiners, and coiners, manufacturers of jewelry, etc. George C. Baldwin and Thos. S. Holman. All kinds of engraving. Our coin redeemable on presentation.

The undersigned, having disposed of their stock in trade, machinery, etc. to Messrs. Baldwin & Co., would cheer-

fully recommend them to the confidence of the public.

F. D. Kohler & Co.

The coinage of Baldwin was quite extensive and was second only to that of the United States Assay Office. From January 1 to March 31, 1851, it outranked the Assay Office by producing \$590,000 worth of coins as compared to efforts totalling \$530,000 by the latter firm.

In the assay conducted by Augustus Humbert for the Banking House of James King of William, a large number of Baldwin coins were submitted: 13 \$20 pieces, 10 \$10 pieces and 28 \$5 pieces. It was found that the \$20 pieces averaged an intrinsic value of \$19.40, the \$10 pieces averaged \$9.74, and the \$5 pieces were valued at \$4.91. This seemingly unreasonable profit on the part of the coiners caused much public indignation, and from that point forward Baldwin coins were rejected by merchants. Later they changed hands at a 20% discount, a figure significantly less than their metallic value. It is believed that upon disclosure of Humbert's findings the firm ceased coinage immediately.

On April 9, 1851, the *Pacific News* had the following commentary:

THE GOLD COIN SWINDLE. It is perhaps a matter of no especial wonder that the community feels outraged because of the fact that nearly all of the gold coin put in circulation by the private manufacturing establishments is short of weight. A citizen last evening went to Baldwin's establishment, and, presenting two of their own Twenty Dollar gold pieces, asked their redemption in silver. These were taken, and thirty-eight dollars returned.

This is about as cool and direct a piece of shaving as has come under our eye, touching the short-weight gold coin swindle. Why should the community suffer this to go on longer? Why not refuse every dollar of Baldwin's coin? as well as that of every other that is not of full value and redeemed on demand. A bank-bill is worth no more than the bare paper upon which its pretty picture is printed, except from the fact that securities are pledged for its redemption. So also with Baldwin's coin. It is worth no more than the actual value of the gold when compared with the Government standard.

In the instance we refer to, there was a loss of five percent, and as Baldwin's establishment has an immense deal of coin in circulation the proprietors must make a very neat little speculation out of the country and ultimately amass wealth at the expense of the honest and industrious citizens. The only way to stop this swindle seems to be to refuse the coin altogether, not only that issued from Baldwin's mint, but from every other that proves a short weight and not to be redeemed on presentation.

The end of the enterprise was chronicled by the *Pacific News* on April 17, 1851:

We hear a story, which is pretty well authenticated, that Messrs. Baldwin & Bagley, the manufacturers of "Baldwin's Coin," left in the steamer *Panama* on Tuesday for the Atlantic states. This is of course what might have been anticipated as the finale of so magnificent a financial operation as the coinage of one or two millions of circulating medium upon which they have pocketed a profit from 10 to 15 per cent, less the expense of manufacturing the stuff. Unable longer to impose their false tokens upon the community, an outraged public will now pocket the loss and congratulate themselves that the swindle has been exposed even this early.

The amount of this coin in circulation is not less than \$1,000,000, and is probably nearer to two. But suppose that the smaller sum be correct, the profit to the manufacturers is one hundred thousand dollars. Whose swindling false token establishment is next to be chronicled amongst the "departures for Panama?"

In addition to Humbert's assay, a \$10 piece of 1850 evaluated at the Philadelphia Mint was found to have an intrinsic value of \$9.96. A group of 100 \$20 pieces of 1851, assayed at the same institution, were found to have an average value of \$19.33.

In 1850 Baldwin made \$5 and \$10 pieces, the \$10 featuring a vaquero, or mounted horseman. In 1851 \$10 and \$20 denominations were produced. The dies were cut by Albert Kuner.

Dunbar & Co.

Half eagles bearing the imprint of Dunbar & Co., 1851, were apparently issued by Edward E. Dunbar, who at one time operated the California Bank in San Francisco. An early advertisement noted that the banking office of Edward E. Dunbar would redeem the coin of Baldwin & Co. It is possible that when Baldwin & Co., whose coins were refused in the channels of commerce except at a large discount, stopped striking coins the machinery went to Dunbar & Co. The only examples known today of Dunbar coinage are of the \$5 denomination.

At a later time Edward E. Dunbar went to the East to form the Continental Bank Note Company which produced a wide variety of paper currency, of the type known today as "broken bank notes," for numerous banks in the eastern and midwestern section of the country as well as federal issues.

While only three Dunbar & Co. half eagles are known today, apparently at one time they were plentiful in circulation. In 1851 a group of 111 pieces reached the Philadelphia Mint. An assay showed them to have an average weight of 131 grains, a fineness of 883 thousandths, and an intrinsic value of \$4.98.

Shultz & Co.

Half eagles were struck in 1851 by the firm of Shultz & Co. The design is a close copy of the contemporary United States \$5 gold coin. The obverse bears on the coronet of Liberty the inscription SHULTS & CO., a misspelling incorporating a final S instead of the Z. To-day the coins are of considerable rarity. Adams located only three when he studied the series early in the century, but since then additional pieces have appeared.

Shultz & Co. (also spelled Schultz) was comprised of Judge G. W. Shultz and William Thompson Garratt. The latter conducted a brass foundry on Clay Street, San Francisco, behind Baldwin's coining establishment as early as 1850 and produced many of the dies used for private coinage by other firms in the city.

In *Builders of a Great City*, published in 1891, the following information appears:

William T. Garratt was born in Waterbury, Connecticut. Judge Shultz and he went into business in October, 1850, making all the dies in use in San Francisco for private coining except those of Moffat, whose \$50 slugs will be remembered by all old-timers. Albert Kuner did the engraving for these dies. Besides the actual manufacture of the dies the firm also coined five dollar pieces. Owing to a scarcity of coin in circulation, the firm built the machinery for coining five and ten dollar pieces, and continued until the Legislature passed a law placing private coiners on a banking basis, and on account of this law they discontinued. The firm coined for Burgoyne & Co., and Argenti & Co., brokers. This department of the business had been under the management of Mr. Shultz, and when it was given up he retired. Garratt was originally a mechanic by trade.

In later years William T. Garratt furnished a description of the early activities:

We made a great many dies for private coining. Albert Kuner, who is still in business here, would do the engraving and I the turning—that is, the machine work on the dies, for which at the time we would get \$100 per day per man on that special job.

After that, Shultz took a notion to go into coining for Burgoyne & Co. and Argenti & Co., who were bankers here at the time. They would buy the dust and we would do the coining. We ran for a while, and then Shultz and I separated, he taking the coining establishment and I the foundry, he keeping the room over the foundry for his business. He continued only a short time before the Legislature passed a law prohibiting private coining. We took gold at \$16 an ounce, and put it through the refining process, and then would add 10% copper. That of course would take a very little copper, just enough to make the coin hard enough to wear. I think the Legislature prohibited it altogether; I am not exactly clear on that point. Moffat was allowed to go ahead. We continued in the same place after Shultz had quit. We had moved from Clay Street down to Leidesdorff, near Sacramento. While we were there we separated. He continued coining until he was shut

off by the Legislature; it might have been two months. From that he went up into the mountains and I continued with the business. Judge Shultz was connected with the Gold Mountain Quartz Mining Co.

Three Shultz & Co. \$5 pieces assayed at the Philadelphia Mint in 1851 showed an average intrinsic value of \$4.94 each.

Patterns and Other Issues

A number of other firms produced patterns for California gold coinage, either in the East prior to planned departure for the gold areas or in California. Only two gold specimens were ever located bearing the imprint of Templeton Reid, the famous Georgia coiner, with the imprint of California. Dated 1849, these pieces, of \$10 and \$25 denominations, came to the Philadelphia Mint for assay around that time. It is not known whether Templeton Reid issued these pieces in Georgia as patterns, with the thought in mind of moving soon to California, or whether he was in California for a short time and produced a limited coinage issue. The \$25 piece is the only privately issued gold coin of that denomination.

A copper trial piece, struck on a United States large cent of 1849 and bearing the imprint of the Ithaca Mining Co. is known to exist and may possibly have represented a contemplated coinage by a firm bearing that name. Copper trial pieces are known of a \$10 issue of Moran & Clark, a Sacramento firm, although the patterns mention San Francisco. Associated with the company was Dan Moran who by November 28, 1850, had returned to the eastern United States and was believed to be conducting an auction business in New York City. Meyers & Co. issued a copper trial piece for a half-ounce coin. A gold ingot is also known.

Blake & Agnell (or Agrell), refiners and assayers located at 52 J Street in Sacramento, between Second and Third streets, in 1855 produced pieces with their imprint as did the successor to the firm, Blake & Co., composed of Gorham Blake and W. R. Waters. Blake & Co. operated under that title from December 29, 1855 until Blake retired in 1859, after which the business was continued as Waters & Co. Coins and ingot patterns exist bearing the dates 1855 and 1856.

A trial piece with the name of H. Schaeffer, attributed to the 1849-1850 era, is known to exist in copper. The piece is believed to have been the work of Heinrich Schaeffer, who earlier was an employee of Bechtler in North Carolina and who witnessed the will of the elder Christopher Bechtler. Prof. William E.

Hidden, who investigated the piece and reported his findings to Adams circa 1912 wrote:

I learned in Rutherfordton [North Carolina] from a son of Heinrich Schaeffer that his father had a set of dies made soon after the discovery of gold in California, and it was his intention to hasten there and begin a mintage business similar to that which had been so prosperous under the Bechtlers. This set must have been made as late as 1849 or 1850, some half a dozen years after the death of both the original Bechtlers [Christopher and his son Augustus]. It follows that the old punches [of letters] were used for the Schaeffer dies, and the design shows a continuance of the Bechtler ideas

Described by Adams as having the "most artistic design of any of the California private issues" are the pieces bearing the inscription SAN FRANCISCO STATE OF CALIFORNIA. Denominations were made of \$2.50, \$5, \$10, and \$20. The largest denomination depicts the head of Liberty surrounded by 13 stars, LIBERTY on the coronet, and the date 1851 below. The reverse shows the arms of California: a seated female figure, gazing through the Golden Gate, holding a spear and resting upon a shield, a bear at her feet. The denomination 20D. is given. Examples are known in silver, copper, and white metal. The workmanship on the \$20 and other denominations is much more detailed and elaborate than that found on other California issues of the 1850s, indicating their British origin.

A \$20 size issue with the legend CALIFORNIA GOLD MINES A.D. 1850, depicting two bears embracing on the obverse, and with the reverse showing an eagle on a wheat sheaf, is thought to have been the work of William Lemme, an early San Francisco die cutter. It is not known whether this piece was intended as a pattern for a \$20 coinage or was simply used as a token or gaming counter in one of the gambling halls or other places of public accommodation.

Trial pieces and coins bearing the names of Pelican Co., Sierra Nevada Mining Co., J. H. Bowie Co., (who may have been the first California coiner), and others have attracted interest.

Related to the issues of private companies may be the "model" series of California issues. They are of the denominations of quarter dollar, half dollar, dollar, quarter eagle, and half eagle, and were used as game counters or "spielmunzen" (play money). The design of the half eagle is typical. The obverse shows the inscription MODEL HALF EAGLE in three lines within an open olive wreath. Above appears CALIFORNIA, with the date 1849 below. The reverse shows an heraldic eagle surrounded by 13 stars.

Circulating in large numbers from the 1850s until several decades later were tiny California gold pieces, usually anonymously issued, of the denominations of 25c, 50c, and \$1. Pieces were made both in the round and octagonal shape and typically bore on the obverse a liberty head or the head of an Indian. Hundreds of different varieties, most of which had relatively low gold content, were issued and some served as small change.

Moffat & Co.

Moffat & Co., while not the first coiner of gold in California, became the most important private mint in San Francisco. At a time when the coinage of other assayers, bankers, and minters was being seriously questioned, the issues of Moffat were readily accepted by merchants. Later, the facilities of the firm were incorporated into the San Francisco Mint.

A biographical sketch of John Little Moffat was provided to Edgar H. Adams by R. Burnham Moffat, of New York City, a grandson who in 1909 published the *Moffat Genealogies*:

John Little Moffat at the age of twenty-three years married Hannah Curtis, daughter of Reuben Curtis, of Danbury, Connecticut. Fourteen children were born to them, but only five survived infancy, and but three of those five married and had issue. Mr. Moffat lived in New York City from his marriage until about the middle of the 'thirties, when he moved to northern Georgia, in the valley of the Nacoochie, where he had purchased some gold mines which he had begun to operate. He had previously owned a gold mine in North Carolina, and on three separate occasions during his life made, and as many times lost, what in those days was deemed a very considerable fortune. In his youth he learned the trade of a silversmith, and throughout his life found satisfaction in the thought that he "had a trade." Lack of persistence seems to have been the defect in what otherwise was a character of high purpose, charm, and manly loveliness. He was identified in turn with the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Dutch Reformed, Quaker, Methodist, and Swedenborgian faiths, but found the satisfaction he sought in none of them—except possibly the last, with the teachings of which he became familiar during the closing years of his life.

When the *gold fever* fell upon the country, following the discovery of gold in California, it found Mr. Moffat at the bottom of one of his waves of financial success, and he joined the throng of "forty-niners" . . . While in California he became Assayer for the United States Government, and during the few years of his stay there established a reputation for unswerving integrity in the assaying of gold, which survived, for many years, his return to the East. He died in Brooklyn, New York, at the home of his son, Dr. Reuben Curtis Moffat on June 19, 1865, at the age of seventy-seven years, idolized by his daughter and surviving sons.

Moffat, born in Goshen, New York on February 12, 1788, was in his early sixties when he joined the California adventurers. *The New York Tribune* on February 14, 1849, told of his departure from that city:

The good bark *Guilford* sails today from the foot of Wall Street. Whatever success may attend the various adventurers, associated or individual, they will require a certain medium of circulation, or a fixed standard for their gold-dust. This end may be obtained through the operations of Messrs. Moffat & Co., who go out in the *Guilford*, with proper assistance, and most complete machinery and apparatus, to supply the want of Californians; in other words, to establish a sort of mint, to receive the gold-dust, smelt and assay it, and by their stamp to give it a currency and value, which must, in the absence of a Government character, be received by the merchants and consumers. Mr. John L. Moffat, known as the standard assayer in this city for many years, carries with him testimonials of our most eminent merchants, bankers, and bullion dealers, including a certificate of the strongest character from Messrs. Beebe, Ludlow & Co., the heaviest bullion dealers in the United States; the most eminent gold dealers in the city, together with Hon. R. J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury, have indorsed the circular of Messrs. Moffat & Co. They have our best wishes for their success.

Moffat, who in New York was associated with the firm of Wilmarth, Moffat & Curtis, began business in San Francisco in the summer of 1849. Associated with him were Joseph R. Curtis, P. H. W. Perry, and Samuel H. Ward. Their office at Clay and Dupont streets was busy with the activity of trading in gold dust, refining it and converting the metal to bars and ingots to ship to the East for sale. An advertisement of the time read:

MOFFAT & CO.

John L. Moffat, Joseph R. Curtis, S. H. Ward, P. H. Perry, have erected suitable furnaces, and are provided with all the necessary apparatus and most ample facilities for smelting and assaying Gold Dust.

The highest market price paid for Gold Dust.

They refer to the annexed testimonials from the most eminent Bankers, Merchants, and Bullion Brokers of New York, the originals of which, with other evidences of character, may be seen at their office . . .

Then followed testimonials from various bankers and others, including R. J. Walker, secretary of the United States Treasury.

Moffat produced small rectangular gold ingots ranging in value from \$9.43 to \$264. Most were of the value of \$16. These are believed to have been first issued in June or July 1849.

The engraver Albert Kuner, who arrived in San Francisco on July 16th, was employed by Moffat & Co. Dies for a \$10 issue were cut shortly thereafter. When

Mr. Kuner's personal effects were examined following his death, an impression in wax of a Moffat & Co. undated \$10 was found, accompanied by a note stating that the impression had been taken on July 31, 1849, and was for Moffat's first coin. The piece in question resembled a United States government \$10 but had legends referring to Moffat & Co. The reverse was inscribed S. M. V. CALIFORNIA GOLD, "S. M. V." meaning "standard mint value."

At the Philadelphia Mint Jacob Eckfeldt and William Dubois examined certain of the 1849 issues and pronounced them to be inferior in quality to the standard of the Mint. However, the average value of the \$10 piece was \$9.977, which was far above the value of other California issuers. The same Philadelphia assayers noted that the value of Moffat's ingots was apt to vary. While the weights were correct, the fineness or value would often be higher or lower than that marked on the pieces, "varying grossly," they said. "What has surprised us, both in this case and that of the private mint in North Carolina, is that the valuation should be wrong even upon their own data, being deducible by a simple rule of arithmetic." In other words, using the fineness and weight stamped on the bars as a means for calculation, in combination with the current value, the value did not conform to what should have been correct.

Shortly after the \$10 pieces made their appearance, a Moffat \$5 coin, also engraved from dies cut by Kuner, reached circulation.

In the following year, 1850, only pieces of the \$5 denomination were made. *Prices Current*, a financial publication issued in San Francisco, noted on December 14, 1850, that Moffat coins were being traded at their face value:

Gold dust \$16 to \$16.25; quicksilver \$15 to \$15.50; Moffat's coin, par; doubloons \$16; sovereigns \$4.85; 20-franc pieces \$4, or at the Custom House \$3.85; tenguilder pieces \$4; ten-thaler pieces \$8; Spanish dollars \$1; Mexican dollars \$1; Peruvian dollars \$1; Chilean dollars \$1; 5 francs, 95 cents.

It was noted that at the time \$1.5 million worth of coins was stored in the Custom House, thereby making pieces very scarce in general circulation. During the same period in 1850 most other private gold coins were quoted at a discount of 8% or more.

In September 1850 Congress authorized the secretary of the Treasury to contract with a well-established assaying business in California to affix the stamp of the United States to bars and ingots:

The Secretary of the Treasury . . . be authorized and directed to contract, upon the most reasonable terms, with the proprietors of some well-established works now in successful operation in California, upon satisfactory security, to be judged by the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall, under the supervision of the United States Assayer, to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, perform such duties in assaying and fixing the value of gold in grains and lumps, and forming the same into bars, as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and that the said United States Assayer shall cause the stamp of the United States, indicating the degree of fineness and value, to be affixed to each bar or ingot of gold that may be issued from the establishment; provided, that the United States shall not be held responsible for the loss of any gold deposited with said proprietors for assay.

Moffat & Co. received the honor. Appointed to the position of United States assayer was Augustus Humbert, a New York City maker of watch cases.

Moffat & Co. ceased their private business and prepared to issue coins under the government contract. New premises were secured on Montgomery Street between Clay and Commercial streets. The *Daily Alta California* published this advertisement on January 29, 1851:

UNITED STATES ASSAY OFFICE.

We give notice that on or about the first of February ensuing we will be prepared to receive gold dust for smelting and assaying, and forming the same into ingots and bars, in accordance with our recent contract with the Secretary of the Treasury, authorized by Act of Congress approved September 30, 1850, under the supervision of the United States Assayer, August Humbert, Esq., who will cause the United States stamp to be affixed to the same.

MOFFAT & CO.

Due notice will be given of the removal of the United States Assayer's office to Montgomery Street.

On January 30 or 31, 1851, Augustus Humbert arrived in San Francisco. At the same time the first octagonal \$50 gold piece bearing his stamp was issued. The *Pacific News*, February 1, 1851 noted that "the dies for this purpose—the striking of the \$50 pieces—have been procured, and the first coin produced by them was shown us yesterday."

Edgar H. Adams expressed the opinion that the dies for the first two varieties of the octagonal \$50 pieces were the work of Charles Cushing Wright, one of America's most famous engravers, who at the time lived in New York City. He believed that Augustus Humbert commissioned Wright to make assayer's stamps. Humbert probably believed that he would be engaged in smelting and assaying raw gold, making ingots from the same, and then impressing the stamp of the United States Assayer on them to certify the gold to

be of a certain weight, fineness, and value. Wright's original (\$50) "eagle" steel hub, lacking legends, is presently on display at the Bank of California's Museum of Money of the American West in San Francisco.

The existence of bronze pattern pieces supports Adams' thoughts. One piece is signed on the edge by Wright as "Wright fec," for "Wright fecit" (Latin for "Wright made it"). Inscriptions on these patterns as well as the first octagonal ingots produced for circulation have simply the letters D C DWT. GRS. It was intended that the value in dollars and cents and the weight in pennyweights and grains could simply be stamped in the place provided. In this way ingots of \$50, \$100, \$200, or any other desired denomination could be produced, differing from each other only by size, weight, and fineness, but incorporating the same stamp.

On February 14, 1851 *San Francisco Prices Current* contained an article relating to the \$50 slugs, indicating their regular production was about to begin:

The above cut represents the obverse of the United States ingot, or, rather, coin, of the value of \$50, about to be issued at the Government Assay Office. It is precisely of this size and shape.

The larger ones of one and two hundred dollars are exactly similar, except they are proportionately thicker. The reverse side bears an impression of rayed work without any inscription. Upon the edges the following: "Augustus Humbert United States Assayer—California Gold 1851." Those of five hundred and one thousand dollars are in form parallelograms, about five inches in length, and one and three-quarter inches in breadth, and ranging in thickness—the smaller ones being about three-tenths of an inch and the larger six-tenths.

The fifty-dollar pieces will be of uniform value, and will be manufactured in the same manner as coins—the others may vary according to weight and fineness from the denomination mentioned.

By order of the Secretary of the Treasury these ingots and coin are to be received for duties and other dues to the United States Government, and our bankers, we are advised, will receive them at their stamped value.

This will produce an important change in the monetary affairs here, gold dust will immediately go up, and as a necessary consequence foreign and domestic (Eastern) exchange will be at a premium 5 to 7% . . .

The *Daily Alta California* commented on the new \$50 pieces on February 21, 1851:

The new 50-dollar gold piece, manufactured under the Act of Congress appointing a United States Assay Office in California, and made under the supervision of the United States Assayer, was issued by Moffat & Co. yesterday. About three hundred of these pieces have already been

struck off. The larger ones, of one and two hundred dollars, will be of the same stamp and size, differing only in thickness. Those over \$200 will contain the same stamp, but will be struck in the form of bars. These coins are of course a legal tender and are the coins of the United States Government to all intents and purposes. The coin is peculiar, containing only one face, and the eagle in the center, around which are the words "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA." Just over the eagle is stamped "887 THOUS." signifying the fineness of the gold. At the bottom is stamped "50 DOLLS." The other face is ornamented with a kind of work technically called engine-turning, being a number of radii extending from the common centre, in which is stamped, in small figures. "50." Around the edge is stamped the name of the United States Assayer. We trust our readers may learn the character of this new coin by ocular demonstration.

Adams noted that it was supposed that the variety with the letters "D C" on the obverse and "50" on the reverse was the first issue. The account in the *Daily Alta California* would seem to indicate another variety. Commenting on this, Adams wrote:

So far as is known, the variety with the "50" in the center of the reverse has always been accompanied by an obverse showing the letters "D C," which is still believed to be the first variety issued. But according to the *Alta California* the \$50 ingots described by it were stamped "50 DOLLS," which style of obverse, so far as we know, always accompanies the reverse with the "50" omitted. If our recollection is correct, the cut in the *Prices Current* [a reference to the previously-quoted article], showed the "D C" variety. Therefore, as this appeared on February 14, and the *Alta California* account on February 21, it may be that both varieties of obverse were struck within this period, and that there was such a variety as mentioned in the latter account. However, there is also a chance for a mistake on the part of the newspaper writer, especially if both varieties of \$50 ingots had been made at that time. Such a trifling die difference would not be apparent to him.

Coins were sorely needed to pay duties at the Custom House, so the matter of the \$50 slugs' legal tender status in this regard was a matter of prime concern to California merchants and others. Seeking to determine the status of the coins, Moffat & Co. applied to the collector of customs, the results of which were noted on the editorial pages of the *Daily Alta California* on January 30, 1851:

Some persons having expressed doubt whether the stamped ingots or coins to be issued by Moffat & Co. under the late Act of Congress, under the supervision of the United States Assayer, will be received in payment of Government dues, Mr. Curtis of the above firm has addressed Mr. T. Butler King, Collector of the Port, upon the subject, to which he has replied, "I am authorized to receive those bars and ingots at the Custom House."

We can further state that the most eminent lawyers in the United States, and also men in the most eminent positions,

have given it as their unqualified opinion that after due deliberation and investigation of the question, that these ingots and bars will be a legal tender; that they are coins of the United States Government as is the dollar and the eagle, being, like them, issued by Act of Congress, and bearing the stamp of the Government.

Notwithstanding this, much confusion would develop later on the subject. On April 23, 1851, George N. Eckert, director of the Mint, when asked his opinion, stated that while Augustus Humbert was the United States Assayer in California, his stamping of bars for owners of bullion did not make them legal tender.

Around the same time, early in 1851, coinage by various other San Francisco assayers, bankers, and refiners increased at a rapid pace. From January 1st to March 31st Baldwin & Co. produced \$590,000 worth of coins, Dubosq emitted \$150,000 worth, Shultz made \$93,000 in \$5 pieces, and Moffat & Co., in the 27 days before they stopped coinage to begin work at the United States Assay Office, made \$89,000 worth of pieces. (These were probably of the \$5 denomination, although no 1851-dated issues are known to exist today.)

In the first quarter of 1851 the United States Assay Office of Gold produced \$530,000 worth of pieces.

On April 14, 1851, Moffat & Co. wrote to Hon. Thomas Corwin, secretary of the Treasury, to report on the success of its coining operation. Importantly, the letter noted that "all issues of the Assay Office have been of the denomination of \$50," implying that no higher denominations had been produced (or lower ones either). Apparently \$100 and \$200 slugs or ingots were not made for circulation. The same letter, which is quoted herewith, requested permission to make coins of smaller denominations:

To Hon. Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the United States Treasury.

In compliance with your instructions, we herewith send our report for the month of March. It will appear from it and our previous report that the business of the United States Assay Office had from its commencement steadily increased. From present appearances its amount for the current month will greatly exceed that of the last. The objects of the assay law now seem to be in a fair way of accomplishment. The effect of its operation upon the gold dust market and upon the monetary affairs of this country has already been great indeed. It has within the last fortnight produced almost an entire revolution in our financial transactions, of which a brief history may not be uninteresting.

We have hereto informed you that the Assay Office encountered the opposition of bankers. Their hostility arose from the belief that its successful operation would conflict with their interests, first, by advancing the price of gold dust; secondly, by compelling them to increase the rates of

exchange, and, thirdly, by destroying certain private mints to which they were selling large quantities of gold dust at a profit. In our last we informed you that the first two results had already happened. Since then the third has been accomplished. Those private mints (four in number) encouraged, if not established by bankers, had for some time been flooding the country with their coins. All this coin was manufactured from the gold of the country without any process of refining; and although of full United States standard weight, yet under mint value because the average fineness of California gold is much below the mint standard. Careful assays of the coin had been made by the United States Assayer, and the fact demonstrated that it was on the average some three percent below its purported value. A correspondence between the United States Assayer and one of our bankers, showing the result, was published. [This is a reference to the previously-mentioned assay done by Augustus Humbert at the request of James King of William.] The effect was instantaneous and overwhelming; the private mints were at once compelled to suspend operations, and their issues amounting, we have reason to believe, to a million and a half, have since been purchased at a discount of from 5 to 10 percent, and it is not at all likely that another private coin will ever be struck in California. In the meantime the issues of the Assay Office were popular with the merchants and the people generally. They had the impress of authority, bore the United States stamp, were considered to all intents and purposes a United States coin, and bankers began to find that to discredit it was beyond their power. They have, therefore, made a virtue of necessity, and from enemies have become its friends. They not only now receive it and pay it out as they do other coins of the United States, but they have been the largest depositors of dust at the Assay Office. It will be seen from the report that *all the issues of the Assay Office have been of the denomination of \$50*; such too has been the case in the present time. This is owing to the absence of a sufficient supply of legal currency; they are not shipped but go into circulation here, and the chief complaint against the office has been that it has not been authorized to make its issues of still less denominations. The necessity for such authority is augmented by the sudden withdrawal from circulation of so large an amount of private coin. We are waiting with much anxiety such instructions as will enable us to supply this desideratum.

Ingots of large denomination will be in demand only when they shall be required for shipment; that they will soon be so required we have every reason to believe. The advance in the price of gold dust as a gradual increase in the rate of exchange convinced us that the day of profit on shipment of dust is nearly passed, and that ere long the miner, the producer, will obtain the full value of his gold, while the merchant will have to rely for his profit on his goods, and the banker on his exchange, and not upon gold dust.

Moffat & Co.

P.S. Lest it might be inferred with the private coins spoken of, that of Moffat & Co. is included, we deem it proper to say that we discontinued its issue before commencing operations under the Government contract; that it still has, as it has ever had, the confidence of the public and continues to circulate at par quite freely as coin of the United States.

Even though the need for smaller denominations was acute, a letter from William L. Hodge, acting secretary of the Treasury, in reply to the foregoing, refused permission:

In reference to the suggestion made in your letter of the 14th of April, giving the results of the assaying and stamping of gold ingots during the month of March, that authority should be given to assay and stamp ingots of denominations and values under fifty dollars, I have to state that it is not deemed expedient at this time to authorize the assay and stamping of ingots of less denomination or value than \$50.

One contemporary newspaper account noted that the cumbersome \$50 slugs were about as annoying as "the plagues of Egypt." The *Alta California* on July 25, 1851, wrote:

. . . The machinery at the slug mill of Moffat & Co. has at last been repaired, and re-commenced operations yesterday. The monstrous fifty-dollar chunks are becoming a decided nuisance, unless privately taken in large quantities. It is fast becoming one of the greatest favors you could ask of a store-keeper to accommodate you by changing one of them, such is their sluggishness in the market. We hear, in fact, of varying instances where various individuals have purchased a pair of gloves or some other small article for which they have no earthly use, merely for the purpose of getting one of these pieces changed. No longer ago than on the occasion of the departure of the last steamer one of them was changed at our counter for a person who was excessively anxious to make a cash purchase of a steamer paper. Price of paper \$0.25.

Moffat again repeated its request to produce smaller coins. On August 26, 1851, acting Secretary of the Treasury William L. Hodge again refused. The scarcity of small coins was the subject of an editorial in the *Picayune*, a San Francisco newspaper, on October 21, 1851:

The scarcity of gold and silver coin not only in our city but throughout the State has for some time been a growing evil, and such a one as not only embarrasses our heavy moneyed men but annoys all classes and confuses business of every kind. Since the suspension of small gold coinage by Moffat & Co. this scarcity has been pressing more and more upon the community, as the great proportion of our current coin of the \$5 and \$10 denominations came from their mint. This currency, together with that afforded by Mexican and the various South American doubloons, has been of almost inestimable value in the conducting of business. Immense quantities of these coins have been melted up into ingots or shipped to foreign countries, which has resulted in a complete derangement of the currency of this State and the substitution of another circulating medium which, as it has happened, is not at all adapted to the ordinary wants of the community.

Until within a few months it was not generally supposed that the issue of ingots by the United States Assay Office would have the effect of driving the smaller kinds of gold coins from circulation, except perhaps the fraudulent and

uncurrent issues of some of the private mints; and this last was a result which was contemplated by all with none other than feelings of satisfaction. Of Moffat's coin there was already in circulation an amount supposed to be ample for years, as none of it would find its way out of the State. But a great share of it has gone into the Assay Office and has reappeared in the shape of fifty-dollar ingots. Many of the doubloons have taken a similar course, though most of them have been shipped away, the increased price of gold dust having destroyed in a great measure the opportunity for the profitable investment here.

The amount of American gold in circulation has always been very limited; for a considerable time past its exportation has exceeded its influx, owing to the demand by our increasing emigration and the stringent condition of the eastern money market. If the present rate of drainage be continued it will very soon exhaust our supply of national gold currency.

Of silver coin also the supply is too small to meet the wants of the community. This, to be sure, partially arises from the fact that the gold is being absorbed or shipped away, as we have just stated. But even though there were the same amount of silver coin in the State now that there was a year since, it would not be found sufficient to supply the vacuum in the convenient currency created by the withdrawal of the smaller gold coin. The great bulk of our silver currency has been composed of Mexican and Peruvian silver dollars, with a considerable sprinkling of five-franc pieces. For smaller trade we have had a most varied assortment of fractional silver, comprising representations of the currency of well nigh every nation in the world. Mexican dollars have always stood first in favor, because of their well known purity of standards, their convenience for all, and their necessity for some of our Pacific Trade. Therefore we find that this coin has for a long time commanded 2 percent premium for the China and East India trade. The supply at the same time has continued to diminish. Like the doubloon, they can now be more profitably invested elsewhere. Instead of being shipped here for the purchase of gold dust they are sent direct to the Atlantic states and Europe, where there exists a pressing demand, and they at present command high rates of premium.

This monthly inconvenience, now in fact almost amounting to a currency crisis, will not probably continue much longer. Only the prospect of speedy relief, and the fact of the recent increase in the value of gold dust has hindered the re-commencement of private coinage, notwithstanding the existence of the statute prohibiting the same, and the knowledge of the evils certain in the end to result from it. But we entertain no doubt that relief of a satisfactory and durable nature will soon be afforded. Several months since, we believe, a request was forwarded to the Treasury Department by the United States Assay Office in this city asking for authority to issue gold coins of all the federal denominations. It is probable that such power will be granted him, and that so far as gold currency is concerned a full supply of the desired denominations will be introduced. Within another year we anticipate seeing a regularly organized United States Mint in operation here, receiving our twin staples, gold and silver, and issuing coins sufficient not only to supply our own State, but to rule the currency and trade of the Pacific.

Up to the end of 1851 the situation continued to be acute, with 4% often charged to change \$50 slugs into small denominations. This was no improvement on the earlier situation when the coins of Dubosq, Shultz, and others were accepted in commerce at a slight discount from face value.

Finally, relief came in a letter dated December 9, 1851, from acting Secretary of the Treasury William L. Hodge, addressed to Joseph R. Curtis:

In reply to your letter of the 6th instant suggesting the expediency of authorizing the United States Assayer in California to affix the United States stamp to ingots or bars of gold of denominations and values under fifty dollars, I have to inform you that the Department has under this date authorized Mr. Augustus Humbert, the United States Assayer in California, to stamp ingots or bars of gold of the denomination and value of twenty and ten dollars respectively, and has so informed Messrs. Moffat & Co. of San Francisco, the contractors of the Treasury Department.

Unfortunately, the expected relief did not occur, for the next day, December 10, 1851, Hodge wrote to Moffat:

As a bill has been introduced into Congress in connection with a Mint and Assay Office at San Francisco, you will, until further instructed on the subject, suspend any action under the authority in the letter of the Department of the 9th Inst. relative to the stamping of ingots of twenty and ten dollars.

Around the same time the partnership interests in Moffat & Co. were changed. On December 24, 1851, the *Daily Alta California* carried this notice:

Co-partnership noted. The firm heretofore known and existing under the name and style of Moffat & Co. is this day dissolved by mutual consent, the entire interest of the special partner, John L. Moffat, having been purchased by the remaining partners, who have the right to use the name of Moffat & Co.

The Declaration was signed by John L. Moffat, Joseph R. Curtis, Samuel Ward, and Philo H. Perry. It was further stated that "the firm will hereafter consist of the undersigned remaining partners, and its business until further notice will be conducted under the name and style of Moffat & Co." The addendum was signed by Curtis, Perry, and Ward.

On December 31, 1851, Augustus Humbert, the United States Assayer in California, without having seen the correspondence earlier in December, wrote to Hon. Thomas H. Corwin, secretary of the Treasury, in Washington, D.C. and noted that the situation demanding smaller denominations was becoming acute.

Accompanying this Messrs. Moffat & Co. send you the monthly report of the transactions of this office, showing a sad falling off in its business, not to say its usefulness; it is an

incontestable fact that the great scarcity of small coin (say, 5s, 10s, and 20s) has its influence, for in the greater portion of the transactions of the country the \$50 ingots are too large, even the bankers have to restrict their depositors to checking for round amounts, or submit to a serious loss, as they are obliged to pay from 1½ to 2% premium on the small coin necessary for their daily transactions, thus showing the urgent necessity existing for the issue of ingots of smaller denomination than 50s from this office.

Several of our most influential merchants and bankers as a matter of absolute necessity, not choice, have been urging somebody to make small coin with a private stamp, and I understand the dies are already in the hands of the engraver; whether or not these dies will be used will probably depend on the decision you may have taken with regard to the application presented to you by Mr. J. R. Curtis, etc. I sincerely hope it will be favorable and soon at hand, as I am well satisfied that if private coin again resumes the place it once had among us, the door will be open for greater frauds than was before perpetrated.

On January 15, 1852, the letters from the Treasury which authorized the coinage of smaller denominations and then on the next day rescinded the authorization, reached Moffat.

Early in the month Moffat had received a petition signed by over 50 leading San Francisco merchants and citizens urging them to strike smaller denominations:

To Messrs. Moffat and Co.:

The great inconvenience attending all monetary operations, in consequence of the scarcity of gold coin, induces the undersigned to request that you will issue some \$300,000 additional coin of Moffat & Co. which will be sufficient, in our judgment, to relieve the business community of its present embarrassment.

The application of the United States Assayer, Mr. Humbert, to the Secretary of the Treasury for authority to issue ingots of lesser denomination than \$50, whatever its final success, may not be granted thirty or sixty days to come. The necessity for an increased amount of small gold coin in the meantime becomes daily more pressing, and this necessity must and will encourage a resort to private coinage. Any increase of private coin, especially of the coin of individuals who have not established a reputation for correctness and integrity, is much to be deprecated, and were it not that public convenience urgently demands it, we would not make this appeal to you for a new issue of your coin. Inasmuch, however, as private coin must inevitably have an increased circulation, we consider it not less important than desirable that it should bear a stamp in which the public have confidence. The coins of Moffat & Co. have attained and now hold that confidence, and are therefore preferable to any new coin which may be put in circulation.

This will of course be a temporary measure, the necessity for which will cease upon the receipt by the United States Assay Office of the requisite power to issue ingots of \$5, \$10, and \$20 denomination. But temporary as it may and will be, the issue of the coin of "Moffat & Co." to the extent we propose will confer a great public benefit, and we feel no doubt

that the whole community will sustain, as we certainly shall sustain, the effort to furnish a safe and more convenient currency. Indeed, we cannot comprehend what objection can be made in any quarter, here or elsewhere, to a measure of relief which has its origin in and is founded upon an overruling necessity. The Federal Government, although earnestly petitioned, has not provided the remedy for the inconvenience and embarrassments consequent upon the scarcity of small gold coin, under which this community has been and now is suffering. The State Government has no power to coin money, nor to make laws and regulations as to its coinage, and consequently there is no other mode by which the present exigency can be met, more practicable than or so satisfying as that which we have indicated.

Responding to the petition, Moffat wrote on January 7, 1852:

We have your letter of the 5th in which you request that we issue some \$300,000 additional of the coin of "Moffat & Co.," which you seem to think will be sufficient to relieve the business community of the great inconvenience consequent upon the scarcity of small gold coin. We have no desire, gentlemen, to issue any more private coin, and have been exceedingly anxious for the redemption of that bearing our stamp now in circulation. Acting upon this principle, and anticipating that the United States Assay Office, in response to the petition some six months ago of a number of the most influential citizens of San Francisco, would receive timely instructions to provide for the present exigency, we have hitherto declined the many and earnest appeals of the like character with yours, which have recently been made to us. The instructions to which we refer, and which we have every confidence will be finally given, have not yet been received. Under these circumstances, with a full knowledge of the necessity for an increased supply of small gold coin, and with this appeal to us from the principal bankers and merchants of this city, we feel that we are in some measure bound to aid in furnishing a more convenient currency.

There is nothing in the law establishing the United States Assay Office, nor is there anything in our contract with or bond to the secretary of the Treasury, which precludes or prohibits this issue of the coin of "Moffat & Co." Still we would not consent to it except in obedience, as you have remarked, gentlemen, to "an overruling necessity." In now consenting to it we are influenced solely by the desire to relieve this necessity, to silence the present discontents, and to sustain the institution with which we are connected as contractors with the Government. And we trust that this issue of our coin will have the effect to prevent the further hoarding of and brokerage in small coin, and thereby place the \$50 ingots of the United States Assay Office and other coins upon the same equality in all business transactions.

The coin of "Moffat & Co." will be issued of course upon our own responsibility, independently with our connection with the United States Assay Office, and will be redeemed here in the issues of that institution, and in New York, as our coin now is, and always has been by our agent, Messrs. Beebe & Co., in the regular coin of the Mint. We propose to issue the first of this coin on Monday next, by which time we believe all our arrangements will be completed.

With our sincere thanks to you, gentlemen, for the confidence which you are pleased to repose in us and in the coin which bears our stamp, we are, with high respect, your obedient servants, Moffat & Co.

Upon receiving the Treasury refusal on January 15, Moffat wrote to the Treasury to inform the Department of its impending coinage in response to the aforementioned petition:

We have heretofore represented to the Department that in consequence of the great scarcity of small coin in this state the issues of the Assay Office are at a discount of 2 to 3 percent; that the Office has incurred the odium of the people on account of the great inconvenience and actual loss they were subjected to by the depreciation of its issues; that its issues were consequently daily diminishing in amount; that private coinage would be again resorted to and coin with a private stamp be at a par, whilst that stamped by authority of the U. S. Government would be at a discount and the object of the Assay Office defeated, unless authority should be speedily granted to issue ingots of smaller denominations than that of fifty dollars.

To these representations we have now to add that the state of things above described has been continually growing worse; that a private establishment (that of Wass, Molitor & Co.), without reputation or responsibility, commenced operations early last week; that its issues are at a premium of 2 to 3 percent over those of this office; that the business of this office has nearly ceased, and not having been for the last 30 days sufficient to pay its current expenses, a humiliating and lamentable position for a Government establishment.

For months past we have been solicited by bankers, merchants, and others to issue a limited amount of "Moffat & Co." coin. Expecting, however, at each successive arrival of the mail to receive the desired authority from the Department, we declined their appeals. At last, however, the exigencies have become so great we could not resist the impression that duty to the Assay Office, to the community, and to ourselves required our assent . . .

We have not yet commenced the issue, but shall do so in a few days, and will of course discontinue it should the instructions of the Department of the 9th December ult. (and countermanded by those of the following day) be confirmed . . .

Apparently the smaller denomination Moffat coins, which had a value of \$10, made their appearance around the middle of January. Replying to the letters from the Department of the Treasury which arrived on January 15, Moffat noted that "We have not yet commenced the issue, but shall do so in a few days," as quoted earlier. The issue of *Prices Current* dated January 14, 1852, states that "Messrs. Moffat & Co., and Wass, Molitor & Co. have again commenced to issue small coins." The *Picayune* of January 23 noted that the Moffat \$10 had appeared in circulation the day before and that Moffat did not intend for the moment to issue any coin denominations less than \$10.

In February 1852, the Treasury Department commission to make smaller denominations was finally received. On February 12, 1852, the *Daily Alta California* carried an advertisement which stated:

Moffat & Co. take great pleasure in announcing to the public that they have received by the mail of yesterday instructions from the Treasury Department authorizing the issue from the United States Assay Office of ingots of the denomination of ten and twenty dollars, and that they are prepared to issue the same this day.

The tens will have a fineness of 884 thousandths, and will weigh 262-7/10 grains. The twenties will be of the same fineness and will weigh 525-4/10 grains.

No more coin will be manufactured bearing the stamp of "Moffat & Co.," and that already issued will be redeemed whenever demanded.

Moffat & Co.

Notice. Moffat & Co. will hereafter, independently of their contract with the United States Government, receive gold dust for melting and assaying, and return the same in bullion, at a charge of 1% on its value. The bars will at all times be ready for delivery within 48 hours.

Prices Current on February 16, 1852, described the new \$10 piece of the Assay Office:

The United States Assayer now has the authority from the Government to issue ingots or coin of the denomination of ten and twenty dollars. The obverse of these pieces is in design what is termed "engine turned," with a band across the centre bearing this inscription: AUGUSTUS HUMBERT UNITED STATES ASSAYER OF GOLD CALIFORNIA 1852.

The reverse has an eagle similar to the fifty-dollar piece; over the scroll indicative of the fineness of the coin in thousandths—"884 Thous."—under the eagle "Ten Dols." with the legend "United States of America." This is far preferable to the system of private coinage, although certainly not so desirable as a regular mint issue.

On February 28th the same publication contained a notice concerning \$20 pieces:

The United States Assay Office commenced this morning issuing the twenty-dollar pieces. In our last we neglected to give the fineness in weight of these, and also the \$10 pieces, which is as follows: The fineness of both pieces is 884 thousandths, the weight of the twenty 525.4; of the tens, 262.7 grains.

The *San Francisco Herald* contained a notice of February 16, 1852, which advised the public that:

The following denominations of coin are now authorized to be issued by the Treasury Department from the Assay Office: Ten Dollars, Twenty Dollars, and Fifty Dollars; also bars of Five Hundred Dollars and One Thousand Dollars . . .

From February until the autumn of 1852 very little mention of the Assay Office appeared in the San Francisco periodicals. There were only scattered comments

from time to time, including an editorial which stated that the existence of the Assay Office was contrary to the purpose of establishing an official government mint in California, and that the owners of the Assay Office would find their business in jeopardy and would press hard against the establishment of a mint.

On September 4, 1852, the United States Treasury wrote to the collector of customs of San Francisco:

The authority previously given me by the Department to receive the gold coins of the United States Assay Office at San Francisco in payment of dues to the Government is hereby revoked, as Congress in the second section of the Civil and Diplomatic Bill, approved August 31, 1852, has prohibited them from being received in any payments to the United States . . .

You are therefore requested and instructed in the future to receive in payment for dues to the United States only the issues of the United States Mint and its branches, and the following foreign coin at their respective values, as noted below, agreeably to existing laws, authorizing and receiving of such foreign coins for public dues: the silver dollar of Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Central America at 100 cents, in accordance with the conditions proscribed in the Act of 25 June, 1834, and the gold coins of Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Mexico, and Colombia, agreeably to the conditions of the Act of 28 June, 1834 . . .

This in effect meant that certain foreign coins, many of which were of less consistent fineness and value than those of the United States Assay Office, were acceptable for United States customs purposes, but United States Assay Office issues were not!

The news reached San Francisco early in October. On the 9th of that month various business people met at the Merchants' Exchange to take action. T. Butler King, collector of customs at San Francisco, was among those present. King stated to the public that he was just as embarrassed as any others in the audience were concerning the situation. He then went on to say that as collector of customs he would continue to receive the Assay Office issues if the merchants of San Francisco would agree to indemnify him against any personal loss. A point of contention was that the \$50 slugs and other Assay Office pieces were 887 thousandths or less in fineness whereas United States government issues from the Philadelphia Mint were 900 fine. Concerning this, King stated: "Whether by design or accident, in the recent Act the term fineness, instead of value, was inserted, thereby rendering it impossible for the Secretary to take them in payment of public dues." Following the meeting, a memorandum outlining the various hardships being suffered by the business community was prepared and forwarded to Hon. Thomas Corwin, secretary of the Treasury, Washington. The notice included:

From inquiries of the Honorable Collector of this Port, we learn that the amount of duties payable monthly to this office averages nearly \$200,000. And we have ascertained that the American coin held by seven principal bankers in this city, whose united deposits exceed \$1,500,000, does not amount to \$100,000, sufficient to discharge the duties accruing and payable within the next fifteen days. The inability of the merchants of San Francisco to comply with the stringent instructions of the Department is therefore apparent. It is not a question of convenience, of additional imports, or of impracticability, but is shown to be an impossibility.

In this emergency, the Collector of the Port having readily consented to the only measure of relief which did not subject him to the penalties of the law, by continuing to receive assay ingots as a deposit merely, securing himself by individual guarantees against loss in their ultimate exchange into American coin, it becomes our duty in earnest but respectful terms to memorialize the Department to approve and confirm his action in relation thereto, and to request that upon the issue by the Assay Office of ingots of standard fineness of American mint coinage, to authorize their receipt in payment of all public dues.

The public became confused concerning the fineness of the gold issues being produced by the Assay Office. On October 13, 1852, Augustus Humbert printed an explanation in the *San Francisco Herald*. He stated that the issues produced were of the fineness 880, 884, and 887 thousandths as these figures were about the average fineness of gold found in California. He noted that coins with a lower degree of fineness would have a greater total weight of metal so that they would possess the full intrinsic value equal to coins from the United States Mint.

Humbert went on to say that gold received in more recent times was higher in fineness than earlier deposits, so that it would be possible from that point forward to adhere to the Mint standard of 900 thousandths fine, with the remaining alloy being silver as originally found in connection with the gold. The Coinage Act of January 18, 1837, provided that:

The standard for both gold and silver coins of the United States shall hereafter be such as of 1,000 parts by weight, 900 shall be a pure metal, and 100 of alloy; and the alloy of gold coin shall be of silver and copper, provided the silver does not exceed one half of the whole alloy.

Humbert pointed out that in order to strictly conform to the Mint standard and to have coins with the fineness of 900 thousandths, and with an alloy of "not more than one half silver, and the balance copper," it would be necessary to separate the silver from the gold and to substitute copper in its place. He went on to say:

It is very evident that this long, tedious, and expensive process cannot be adopted until the proper facilities are afforded by the branch of the Mint which is to be established in San

Francisco, connected with which there must necessarily be refining and chemical work for the manufacture of acids.

After October 1852 nearly all ingots issued by the Assay Office were 900 thousandths fine. Shortly thereafter, Curtis, Perry & Ward published a new tariff schedule which noted that it would cost, if a large amount of bullion was submitted, 1½% to change gold into \$50 slugs, and the same percentage to change it into \$20 pieces. Over 20 years ago a hoard of United States Assay Office of Gold coins and ingots, consisting mainly of gold patterns and trial pieces dated 1853, was found in Arizona. This group included a unique \$200 ingot ("quadruple" slug), tablets of Proofing gold, and a number of experimental alloy strikings of the design of the conventional 1853 \$20.

The *Daily Alta California* on March 22, 1853, contained a description of the Curtis, Perry & Ward establishment:

The machinery made use of by Messrs. Curtis, Perry & Ward is of the same description, made by the same mechanics, and is as perfect in all respects, as that of the United States Mint at Philadelphia. The capacity of their press is such to enable them to coin \$360,000 in \$10 pieces and \$720,000 in \$20 per day, and it keeps up with their facility for drawing, cutting, and adjusting by being worked only a few hours per day. The mechanical execution of the coin itself is fully equal to that of the United States Mint, as will be seen by a comparison of the coins. Too much credit cannot be awarded to Messrs. Curtis, Perry & Ward for the radical change in the facilities for coinage offered by them to the people of this State while at the same time it is advantageous to them personally.

In 1853 a \$20 piece bearing the name of Moffat & Co. appeared. The design, except for the inscriptions, was quite similar to that of the current United States double eagle being struck at Philadelphia. Notice concerning the new issue appeared in the *Daily Alta California* on July 26, 1853:

Moffat & Co.'s Assay Office. The new double eagles lately issued by this firm are attracting much admiration for their beautiful workmanship. The coin is a facsimile of that struck by the United States Mint, with the head instead of bearing the motto LIBERTY has MOFFAT & CO. As regards design and finish, the piece is scarcely inferior to the issues of the Mint and reflects great credit upon Messrs. Moffat & Co.'s taste, enterprise, and artistical skill.

The reason for issuing a distinctive Moffat & Co. double eagle at the same time coins of identical denomination were being produced by the United States Assay Office of Gold, under the same management, is enigmatic.

The total production of the United States Assay Office of Gold during the years of its operation is not known. It was estimated during the first quarter of

Small Denomination California Gold Coins



1854 \$1



1854 \$1



1870 \$1



1871 \$1



1872 \$1



1853 50c



1853 50c



1854 50c



1872 25c



1872 25c

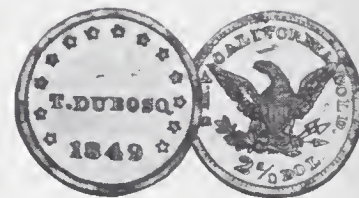
California Gold Patterns



1856 Blake & Co.
\$20
Copper



1850 California
Gold Mines



1849 \$2 1/2
Dubosq & Co.
Silvered copper



E. Meyers & Co.
Copper



\$10 Moran & Clark
Copper



San Francisco \$2 1/2



San Francisco \$5



San Francisco \$10



San Francisco \$20

California Gold Patterns



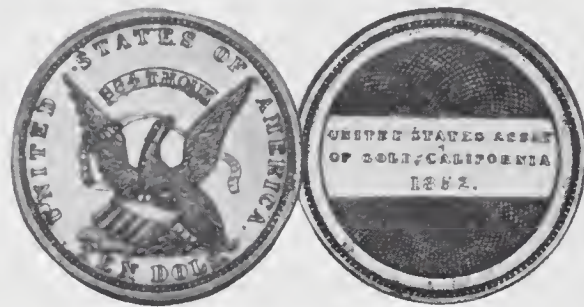
\$50 1851 Lettered edge
925 THOUS.
Gilded copper



\$50 1851 Lettered edge
D.C. DWT. GRS.
Copper



\$50 1851 Plain edge
Copper



\$10 1852 Copper



\$20 Kellogg & Co.
Copper



\$5 Mass. & Cal. Co.
Silver



\$5 Mass. & Cal. Co.
Copper



\$5 Mass. & Cal. Co.
Copper



1849 Ormsby \$10
Silver



1849 Pacific Co. \$2 1/2
Silver

1851 that \$600,000 worth of coins of the \$50 denomination were made. *Prices Current* on September 30, 1851, noted that the Assay Office had been increasingly busy in recent times and occasionally had attained the production of \$100,000 in \$50 ingots per day. What happened to them all? Adams notes that certain foreign bankers preferred octagonal ingots to regular American coins, thus leading to the export of huge quantities, some from San Francisco and others from New York City. A newspaper item of January 13, 1853, notes that the steamer *Asia* from New York to Liverpool carried \$200,000 in \$50 pieces from California.

On December 14, 1853, the United States Assay Office of Gold ceased operations. Machinery and equipment were transferred to the new San Francisco Mint.

On July 3, 1852, Congress passed an act for the establishment of a branch mint in San Francisco. Proposals for the erection of a building were advertised, but no contract was awarded. On March 3, 1853, the deadline for receipt of proposals was extended. The construction contract was given to a Mr. Butler at \$239,000. This was subsequently acquired by Curtis, Perry & Ward, who negotiated a new contract with the secretary of the Treasury. The partnership undertook to provide both the building and machinery. Curtis supervised construction details while Perry tended to arrangements for the machinery.

Part of the Curtis, Perry & Ward establishment was utilized in the construction. The San Francisco Mint, as finished, consisted of a structure 60 feet square and 3 stories high; 20 feet wider on the western side than the earlier private mint, which measured 40 by 60 feet.

With the capacity of coining nearly \$100,000 in gold daily, or \$30 million per year, the San Francisco Mint began operations on April 3, 1854. On April 15th, the first coins, double eagles each of the federal design and with a distinctive S mintmark, were struck.

Wass, Molitor & Co.

Among the private issuers of gold coins in San Francisco Wass, Molitor & Co. was one of the most important, although their initial production did not begin until relatively late, in 1852. Count S. C. Wass and A. P. Molitor, Hungarians, earlier were engaged in refining and assaying as a notice in the *San Francisco Herald*, November 19, 1851, observes:

Messrs. Wass, Molitor & Co. have removed their establishment into Naglee's fireproof building, in Merchant St., where they are now busily engaged in smelting irons of all kinds, melting down and assaying gold for the largest

houses in the city, and attending generally to all business connected with mining, for which their scientific attainments and long experience eminently fit them. They have now an excellent laboratory, fitted up in the most approved style, with powerful furnaces and every species of apparatus required from the most delicate and accurate analyses.

These gentlemen have acquired a thorough and practical knowledge of mining and all its ramifications, in the celebrated School of Mines of Germany; having perfected that knowledge by working in the gold mines of their native land—Hungary—for many years, and later those of this country. This establishment therefore is almost the only one in California capable of making those delicate assays which are so much needed just at this time.

They are prepared to furnish mining plans and information as to the best and cheapest method of working the mines, which will be invaluable at the present time, when attention is so much directed toward them. We consider the scientific experience of these gentlemen a valuable acquisition to the State. They are compatriots and were companions-in-arms of the heroic Kossuth throughout the memorable Hungarian Revolution. Their hope of liberty in their native land crushed, their fortunes confiscated, and themselves exiled by the ruthless Austrian, they have sought a home in our land, the refuge of the oppressed of every nation.

On November 25, 1851, the *San Francisco Herald* carried a notice concerning the beginning of the business:

ASSAY OFFICE. IMPORTANT ADVANTAGE. New subscribers are now ready to melt and assay gold dust, and will pay to parties depositing the dust the net proceeds as soon as the dust is melted and assayed, less the usual percentage for assaying.

The advantage in this arrangement is that the depositor gets his money within forty-eight hours after depositing the dust.

Wass, Molitor & Co.

Merchant St., Naglee's Building.

In the same issue the *San Francisco Herald* commented editorially:

It would be seen from the announcement of Wass, Molitor & Co. that the public have a prospect of being relieved from any great addition to the torrent of cumbrous slugs which for the last nine months has been inundating the country. These gentlemen, of whose peculiar fitness as smelters and assayers we have heretofore spoken, are prepared to receive gold dust, melt it down, and by assay determine its mint value. Then, deducting the usual percentage for their labor, they will pay over to depositors the net proceeds of their gold in forty-eight hours from the time of deposit. The United States Assay Office, we are informed, makes a return—and that return in slugs—in eight days from the time of deposit. By this new arrangement, therefore, the depositor not only saves six days' use and interest on his gold, but relieves the currency from the addition of as many slugs as his gold could be coined into. Messrs. Wass, Molitor & Co. pay over the proceeds in any coin that may be current at the banks. They do not of course undertake to coin themselves. Their establishment will be a great conven-

ience to the public, while it will, to the extent of the business done by them, check the incessant stream of unwieldy slugs that clog the ordinary transactions of business to a most serious extent.

Toward the latter part of 1851 a severe scarcity of small coins in circulation developed. Moffat & Co., the most respected coiners at the time, petitioned the Treasury Department for permission to coin small denomination issues, but their pleas were rejected. At the time \$50 slugs were the only plentiful coins in circulation, thus inflicting great hardship upon customers and merchants engaging in transactions involving lesser amounts. Recognizing the need for small coins, Wass, Molitor & Co. prepared a \$5 piece similar to the United States Mint issue and design but with inscriptions pertaining to the private firm. The *Daily Alta California* of January 8, 1852 noted:

The day before yesterday we were shown a piece of the denomination \$5 which Messrs. Wass, Molitor & Co. are preparing to issue from their assay office, Naglee's Building, in Merchant St. It has the head and stars like the American coin, with the letters WM & CO. in the place occupied by the word LIBERTY on our National currency. Below is the date, 1852. On the reverse is the eagle, with the words "In California Gold—Five Dollars" around it. The coin has the pale yellow appearance which is peculiar to the private coinage of the State, and which is caused by the silver alloy natural to the gold, whereas the issues from the United States Mint are slightly alloyed with copper.

On the same date another newspaper, the *San Francisco Herald* commented favorably upon the new enterprise:

The very serious inconveniences to which the people of California have been subjected through the want of a mint, and the stream of unwieldy slugs that have issued from the United States Assay Office have imperatively called for an increase of small coins. The well known and highly respectable firm of Wass, Molitor & Co. have come forward in this emergency, and are now issuing a coin of the value of \$5 to supply the necessities of trade. Their coining establishment, located in Naglee's fireproof brick building in Merchant St., is now complete, being provided with the most powerful and improved machinery for such purposes.

The mechanical execution of the coin issued by these gentlemen certainly reflects the highest credit upon their skill. It is a beautiful specimen of art, far superior in finish to anything of the kind ever gotten up in California. It is surrounded by a raised milled edge to protect the surface from being defaced by friction, and is almost a *facsimile* of the United States coin.

But the most important part to the public is its fineness and weight, as upon these two qualities combined must depend its value. In this particular it will be found highly satisfactory, and at once secure the confidence of the community. It has a uniform standard of .880, and contains no other alloy than that of silver which is found naturally combined with gold. The weight of each of the \$5 pieces, which are the

only ones at present issued, is 131 - 9/10s grains.

The standard fineness of the United States Five Dollar piece is .900, weight 127 grains. It is therefore 20/1000 finer than Wass, Molitor & Co. pieces, but this is more than counterbalanced by the latter's being 4 - 9/10 grains heavier, so that the new Five Dollar gold piece is in reality worth five dollars and four cents, as sufficient excess to pay the expense of re-coinage at the United States Mint without cost to the depositor.

The reasons Messrs. Wass, Molitor & Co. have adopted this standard of .880 is because this is about the average fineness of California gold, and further because the cost of refining California gold to the United States standard is exceedingly heavy, and the necessary chemicals cannot be obtained in this country. But it will be remembered that the difference is more than made up by the increased weight of 4 - 9/10 grains, which everyone can try for himself on a pair of scales. These coins will be redeemed on presentation in funds received at the Custom House and banks. The high reputation for honor and integrity enjoyed by Count Wass and his associates in this enterprise is an additional guaranty that every representation made by them will be strictly complied with. The public will be glad to have a coin in which they can feel confidence, and which can't depreciate in their hands. The leading bankers, too, sustained and encouraged this issue, and will receive it on deposit. Among others are the heavy houses of Adams & Co., Burgoyne & Co., and Page, Bacon & Co.

Messrs. Wass, Molitor & Co. coining establishment, which is entirely disconnected from the smelting and assaying office, now in active operation, is capable of turning out from \$7,000 to \$8,000 in Five Dollar pieces per day.

A description of the minting process appeared in the *San Francisco Herald* on January 17, 1852:

We gave a detailed description a few days ago of the new Five Dollar piece issued by this enterprising firm. Since then they have prepared a die for coining Ten Dollar pieces, some of which we have seen struck off. They are superior in mechanical execution to the Five Dollar pieces, and will compare favorably with any coin now on the market. They are similar to the smaller coin, with the exception of being stamped on one side, "SMV (standard mint value) Ten Dollars." A quantity of their coin has been sent on to the Mint, by the bankers who receive it, so that by an official assay the public may be entirely satisfied that it is worth all that it purports to be.

The process by which the crude gold dust is converted into coin is quite intricate and interesting. The metal has to pass through half a dozen different stages in the hands of a dozen workmen before it is turned out of the press ready for circulation. In the first place the dust is placed in suitable vessels and smelted by the heat of a powerful furnace. In its molten state it is run into thick bars or ingots. These are separately assayed with extreme care and nicety by Count Wass. The fineness of each bar being ascertained, silver is either added or subtracted, according as it is above or below the standard fineness, so as to attain a uniform mixed degree of purity. It will be remembered that there is no alloy of copper in these coins as in those issued from the United

States Mint, and hence they have a lighter yellow color.

After the bars had been made of a requisite fineness they are resmelted and cast into smaller bars. These are hammered out, then drawn through slits in a powerful machine—the width of the slit being diminished. By this means it is made to assume the shape of a golden hoop. It is then drawn through a powerful rolling machine graduated to the required thickness, from which it issues a long, thin strip, brightly polished, and of the thickness of the coin. It is then placed under another ingenious machine in which it is cut up into circular pieces the size of the proposed coin. These pieces are generally adjusted to the standard weight on very nice scales prepared for the purpose. If they weigh a little too much, as they always do, they are reduced by filing. They are now ready to be stamped.

The first stage in this process consists in placing them in a milling machine of great power. From this they receive a neat, raised milled edge. Nothing remains now but to place them in the press, where they are stamped. This press operates on the principle of the screw. The circular piece of gold—the embryo coin—is placed upon a die which is to give its impress to one side, while another die, which stamps the other side, is made to descend with great force by whirling the heavily loaded arms of a lever passing through the screw. It is a current Five or Ten Dollar piece, as the case may be. The finishing touch is put to it by roasting it, so as to give it a bright color. All these different processes of course require great scientific and mechanical skill, extreme accuracy, and heavy and complete machinery. All of these requisites Messrs. Wass, Molitor & Co. possess.

In 1852 pieces of the \$5 and \$10 denomination were made. No pieces were struck, so far as is known, bearing the dates 1853 or 1854. In 1855 denominations of \$10, \$20, and \$50 were made. The \$50 pieces were round and were the only pieces of that shape and denomination to circulate. Of attractive appearance, the coins found ready acceptance in the marketplace. Large numbers were coined. The *Sacramento Daily Union* on April 30, 1855, noted:

Col. Pardee of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express has exhibited to us the new Fifty Dollar piece, which in a great measure is destined to supplant the old fashioned octagon slug now in circulation. This coin is circular, almost entirely destitute of ornament, and plain as a maiden's countenance who has breathed the air of fifty summers. At the outer edge of one side are the words "Wass, Molitor & Co. San Francisco," inclosing on the centre of coin the figures "900" and abbreviated word "Thous." with the figures "50" underneath and the word "Dollars" below the latter figures. On the reverse of the coin is a homely head of Liberty and the figures "1855." The coin certainly has no pretensions to beauty; nevertheless we would not like to refuse a few to break with our friends.

The *Alta California* reported on May 16, 1855 that:

Wass, Molitor & Co. have commenced issuing their Fifty and Twenty Dollar pieces at the rate of \$38,000 per day.

The coin is above the United States standard, and is confidently received throughout the State.

Wass, Molitor & Co. were prolific issuers of gold ingots for bankers and merchants. An ingot bearing the name of Adams & Co., dated 1851, having the stamped value of \$54.33, is in the Smithsonian Institution, while another issued for Wells, Fargo & Co., Bankers, dated 1854, with a marked value of \$323, is held in a private collection. Both pieces bear the initials of W. M. & Co. as the manufacturing assayer.

Kellogg & Co.

A late entry in the field of private coinage was Kellogg & Co. of San Francisco, which produced its first coins in 1854.

John Glover Kellogg, of Auburn, New York, came to San Francisco on October 12, 1849. He secured a position with Moffat & Co. and remained with them during the operations of the United States Assay Office of Gold. When the latter institution discontinued business on December 14, 1853, Kellogg formed a new partnership with G. F. Richter, who earlier had worked with the United States Assay Office as an assayer. On December 19, 1853, the *San Francisco Herald* carried this advertisement:

ASSAY OFFICE. The undersigned, who have been connected with the United States Assay Office from its commencement, have opened an office for melting and assaying gold in the basement of J. P. Haven's Building, No. 106 Montgomery St., one door of Lucas, Turner & Co.'s banking house and nearly opposite Adams & Co.

Kellogg & Richter.

Appended to the advertisement was an endorsement by Augustus Humbert:

Messrs. Kellogg & Richter have been employed (the former as cashier and the latter as practical assayer) in the United States Assay Office from its commencement to its close. We take pleasure in bearing testimony to their industry, integrity, and skill, and in commending them to the confidence and patronage of the public.

Curtis & Perry,

A. Humbert, Late U. S. Assayer.

On January 14, 1854, a number of leading banking houses of San Francisco and Sacramento addressed a petition to Kellogg & Richter imploring them to produce coins, in the period after which the United States Assay Office of Gold had ceased operations and before the United States Mint at San Francisco had begun. The merchants indicated their willingness to receive any coins that would be produced. Kellogg & Richter replied on January 31, 1854:

Your letter under date of Jan. 14th, requesting us to issue our own private coin, is at hand. We shall be able to comply with your request ten days from this date. With many thanks from your expressions of confidence in our abilities as Assayers, and in our integrity, we remain,

Yours truly, Kellogg & Co.

On February 9, 1854, the first Kellogg coin was issued, as evidenced by a notice which appeared in the February 15, 1854 issue of *Alta California*:

Messrs. Kellogg & Richter have established a private coining house on Montgomery St., in the basement of the building adjoining Adams & Co.'s old banking house. They issued their first coin on the 9th. It is like United States coin, except that in place of LIBERTY are the words KELLOGG & CO. They expect to be able to issue \$20,000 per day.

An observation concerning this situation was made on February 15, 1854 by *San Francisco Prices Current*:

We have to notice that the alterations of the old Assay Office of Curtis, Perry & Ward are progressing well, the additions and changes being by virtue of contract for the erection of the United States Mint Buildings and the supplying of suitable machinery. To supply any deficiency or vacuum which may arise before the Mint can commence operations, or indeed afterward, we have to notice that Messrs. Kellogg & Richter, Assayers, have commenced the issue of private coin, the first pieces of this stamp, "Kellogg & Co." having made their appearance this week, and of the denomination \$20. They are similar in their general style to the United States coins, but easily distinguishable by their yellow appearance, which is the natural color of California gold, while the peculiar appearance of the regular Double Eagle [a reference to the United States Mint issue] is the result of copper alloy.

Following the opening of the San Francisco Mint production at the government facility was quite limited. Kellogg & Co. therefore did a large business by continuing their private coinage. Toward the end of 1854 the firm of Kellogg & Richter was dissolved and a new firm, Kellogg & Humbert, took its place, with Augustus Humbert, formerly the United States Assayer, joining. This partnership continued until 1860, although the last coins were struck in 1855.

On May 1, 1855 *Alta California* noted Kellogg & Co. was producing a quantity of coins vastly greater than the United States Mint in the same city. It noted that about \$1.5 million was the largest coinage per month from the mint, whereas Kellogg & Co. for many weeks made from \$60,000 to \$80,000 worth of coins per day.

Adams noted that Kellogg & Co. was credited with having produced \$6 million worth of \$20 gold pieces during its time, and that a large number of these were lost "by the sinking of a steamer in the Pacific on its way from San Francisco to New York."

The most impressive Kellogg & Co. piece is a large \$50 coin, of round shape, bearing on the obverse the head of Liberty, with a Kellogg inscription, and on the reverse a standing eagle. Adams noted that:

This represents one of the handsomest pieces of die cutting in the entire California series. No information concerning this Kellogg \$50 piece seems to be attainable. It is quite certain, however, that it was issued at the same time as the Wass, Molitor & Co. pieces of the same value, and like the latter, owes its origin to the demand of San Francisco merchants for gold pieces of larger denominations for quick counting purposes.

Coins in San Francisco 1854-1856

By the time the 1855 Wass, Molitor & Co. and Kellogg & Co. \$50 pieces were made, coins of this denomination were no longer seen in the channels of commerce. Octagonal \$50 slugs of the United States Assay Office of Gold, last made with the 1852 date, had been exported or melted for conversion into smaller denominations. By the spring of 1854 they were not to be seen.

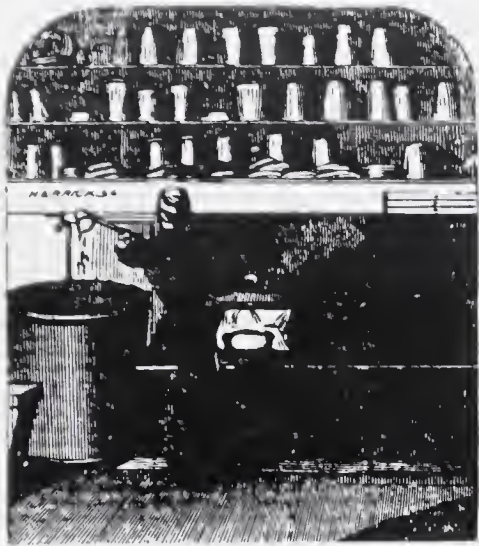
A request was sent to Congress that the San Francisco Mint be allowed to make \$50 gold pieces, similar to the \$20 double eagle in design, and circular in format. The *San Francisco Herald* on March 1, 1854, commented on this petition:

A petition has been circulated today, and very generally signed, addressed to the Congress of the United States, calling attention to the coinage that is to be made at the Branch Mint in San Francisco, and praying that a law may be passed authorizing the issue of Fifty Dollar pieces of the same shape and fineness as the United States Double Eagle. It will of course be signed by every businessman in the community, the advantages of such an issue being self-evident. In a country like our own, where the currency is purely metallic, it is of great importance to have coins issued of a size which will admit of rapid and easy counting, both in receiving and paying money; the experience of our businessmen goes to show that in the absence of bank notes the Fifty Dollar piece is the most convenient coin for such purpose. The alteration in shape, and putting the coin up to the United States standard, would make it all that could be desired. If such a coin could be issued, it would in all probability speedily reduce the premium on ounces for East India shipments.

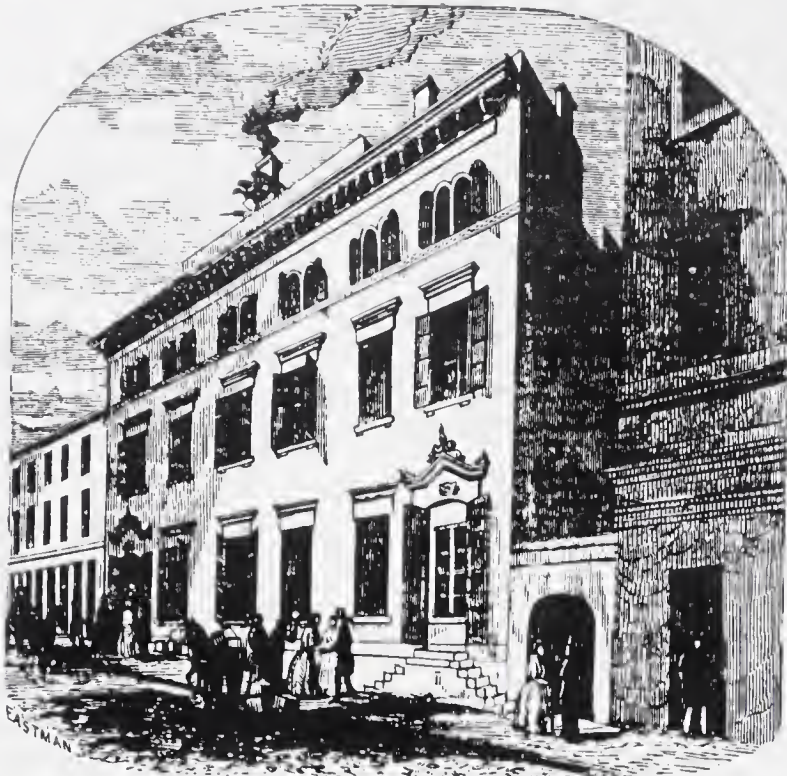
The petition was sent to Sen. William W. Gwin, a California representative in Congress. Gwin in turn sent it to James Guthrie, secretary of the Treasury, who replied favorably on March 21, 1854:

I have duly considered the Memorial which you placed in my hand this morning, of merchants and bankers of San Francisco, Cal., praying Congress to authorize the coinage at the Branch Mint at that place of gold-pieces of the denomination of Fifty Dollars. Upon the subject matter of

COINING MONEY AT THE SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH MINT.



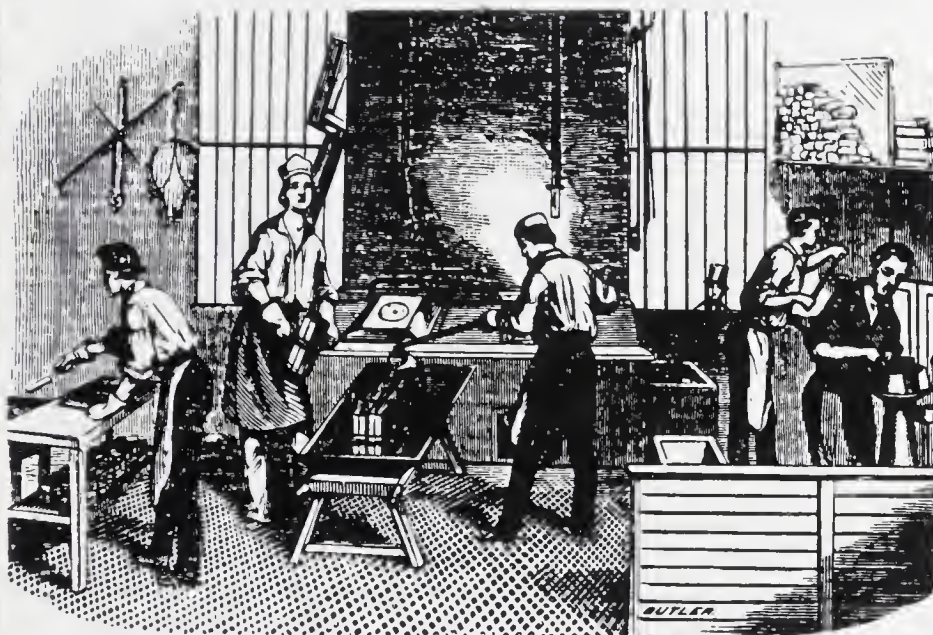
MAKING THE GRANULATIONS.



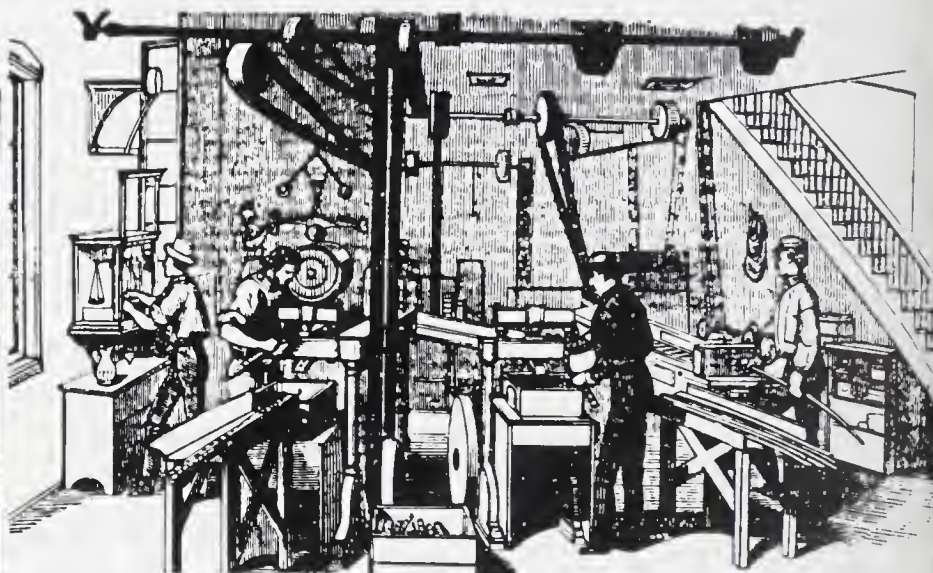
FRONT VIEW OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH MINT.



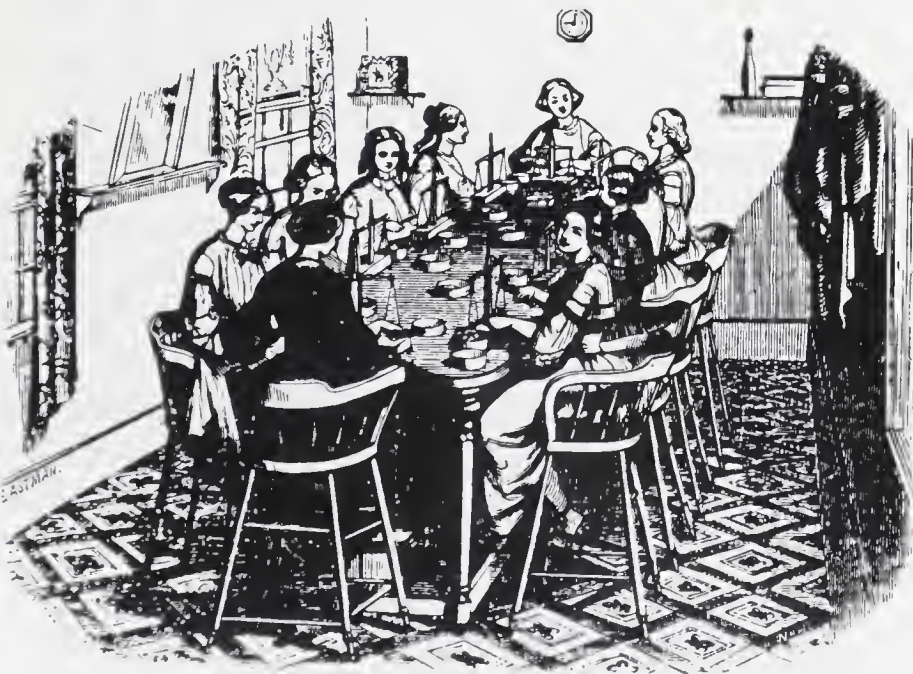
CLEANING THE PLANCHETS.



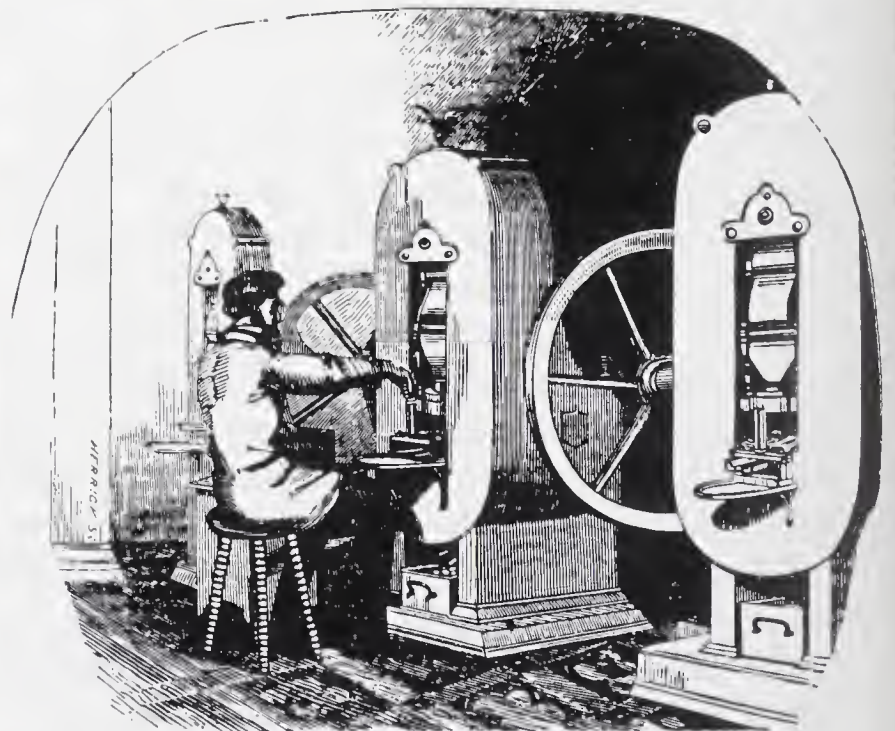
RUNNING THE GOLD INTO INGOTS.



ROLLING AND CUTTING ROOM.



ADJUSTING ROOM.



STAMPING INTO COIN.

[Excelsior Print, Clay St.]

this memorial, you desire my opinion, and I have therefore the honor to say that in the present condition of California, as it respects its currency, the measure recommended in my opinion would be judicious and proper.

The large denominations of gold coinage are not found to be adapted to circulation in the Atlantic states. It is found that few of the Twenty Dollar pieces, and not a great many of the Tens, remain in private hands, but are soon passed into the possession of the banks and bankers, and their places supplied by bank paper. The larger pieces are also more convenient for transportation, and being thus carried to the South and West, prevent the transit of the smaller coins which would, if transmitted, remain in permanent circulation amongst the people of those sections of the country. For these and other reasons it appears to me to be desirable to increase the coinage of the smaller denominations, and to diminish the larger for circulation on this side of the Union, and the increased capacity of the Treasury for coinage, arising from the establishment of the Branch Mint at San Francisco and of the Assay Office at New York, will enable us to carry this view into effect.

But there are peculiarities in the condition of California which recommend a different skill of coinage in that region. These are: First, the fact stated in the Memorial, of the prohibition and entire exclusion of paper money; and, second, the high scale of prices prevalent in California for commodities and services. These circumstances will make larger denominations of coin convenient, particularly in counting and passing large sums. To this may be added that time which will be saved in coining, which may be of much consequence to miners and others, at least until the capacity of the Branch Mint shall be ascertained to be equal to the gold offered.

In order to harmonize the proposed large coins with the present recognized coins I would recommend that the coinage be authorized to pieces of \$100 and \$50 and \$25, to be called "Union," "Half Union," and "Quarter Union" but that the "Half Union" only be struck for the present.

This proposal went to the Committee on Finance. Acting on Guthrie's recommendation, Sen. Gwin presented a bill for the coinage of \$100 and \$50 pieces which read in part:

That there may be coined and issued by the United States, or by such of the Branch Mints as the Secretary of the Treasury shall direct, gold coin of the weight of 2,580 grains of the value of One Hundred Dollars; and another of the weight of 1290 grains, of the value of Fifty Dollars, each of which coin shall be of the standard fineness now prescribed by law for the gold coins of the United States.

That the Secretary of the Treasury cause the necessary dies and other apparatus to be prepared by proper and skillful artists, under the superintendence of the Director of the Mint at Philadelphia, for coining the above coins, with such devices, motto, and figures as may be approved by the President of the United States, the expenses of which shall be defrayed from the ordinary appropriation for the expenses of the Mint and Branch Mints of the United States . . .

On May 29, 1854, Sen. Gwin again brought the

coinage proposal before the Senate. The discussion was delayed, but on June 16th the Senate overwhelmingly passed the bill. However, the bill never was voted upon by the House of Representatives, and the proposal died.

In 1855 the need for large coins was met by the round \$50 pieces made in large quantity by Wass, Molitor & Co. To a lesser extent the similar coins of Kellogg & Humbert, about which little information exists, may have played a part.

Notwithstanding several years of private coinage and intermittent intervals during which California's problem of coins in circulation seemed to be solved, by late 1855 there was still much confusion, as an October 23rd article in the *Alta California* indicated:

There probably never has been any single State in the Union so imposed upon with a mixed and debased currency as California. Even before her adoption into the Union as one of the Federal States the evil began, and the old Spanish or Mexican currency of Ounces and Dollars and their subdivisions was interfered with by clipped coins from the southern coast, adulterated Dollars from Bolivia, "Milreis" from Brazil, and other pieces the value of which would puzzle the Director of the Mint to determine. The discovery of gold in untold quantities in our mountains created a still greater demand for coin, which had to be supplied by some means or other, and in the absence of legalized issues private coiners commenced operations, and we had "Beaver" pieces from Oregon, Mormon coin, both from Utah and various points in the State, not to speak of "S. M. V.," "Wright's Miners' Bank," "Baldwin's Half Eagles," etc. These have all passed away, although many of them were practically a "shave" on the recipient, in value, they answered a good purpose. The presence of an assayer, be he good or bad, helped the miners by establishing a standard of gold, and by the time that Mr. Humbert (a man who has done more than any single person we know of, and has met with no reward at all commensurate with his services) had got through his labors as a United States officer, most of them had disappeared.

The age of gold having passed away, that of silver came into full operation and we were deluged with Francs, Pistareens, Double Reals, and countless other pieces all going to represent Quarter Dollars, and ranging in value from 16 to 18¾ cents. We need not recall to the recollection of our readers the position of our currency a year ago. It presented a perfect anomaly. Four single Francs for all purposes of business equalled in value a single piece of Five Francs. Four Pistareens (sixty-four cents) ranked as equal to a Spanish milled Dollar, worth with the premium certainly \$1.05. The New Granada eighty-cent Dollar was equally worth \$1.05 (the Spanish milled Dollar), and sixty-four cents (say, four pistareens). Everything in a word was confusion, worse confounded.

The evil at last was so great that it became imperative on the part of the bullion dealers to make an effort to stop its course. The importation of Francs, which had been carried on to a great extent by outside operators at a few foreign

houses, was stopped by the action of the bankers in refusing to take them for more than twenty cents, which, although representing a trifle over their real value, sufficed to drive them out of circulation. In fact, as soon as the rate became reduced in banks the value sank still further outside, and in common trade they were passed for only 12½ cents, or 7½ cents less than they were actually worth.

The movement made last year was a good one, but it did not go far enough. We might almost say now that the ages of both silver and gold were passed, but that the age of brass had set in. We have at present in circulation a Pistareen (value 16 cents); the Chile Double Real (value about 19 cents); the Rupee (value 44 cents), and a number of German and Spanish coins, the value of which we cannot at the moment determine, but which all pass in common for twenty-five cents, the Rupee ranking at fifty cents, or six cents more than its actual value. We also have the Sovereign, passing for \$5, when its actual value is but \$4.85; the Napoleon, value \$3.88, passing for \$4, and Thalers, \$3.88, and Double-Thalers, \$7.74, circulating for a large advance on their actual worth . . .

By early 1856, notwithstanding the mint production of several million dollars' worth of gold each month, private coins circulated as extensively as ever in San Francisco and made up nearly the entire bulk of pieces seen in trade. At the time no private coins were being struck, Wass, Molitor & Co. and Kellogg having ceased operations the year before. It is estimated that early in 1856 from \$5 to \$8 million worth of private coins were in circulation. By the end of 1856 several conferences were held by merchants and bankers for the purpose of restoring the state's currency to a more stable basis. On March 25, 1856, at the office of Alsop & Co. it was resolved that:

In our opinion the time has arrived for placing the currency of the State on a sound basis, and that to continue to receive as currency private coinage is attended with present inconvenience and possible loss to the community. Resolved, that we use all legitimate means to discountenance the circulation of private and illegal coin.

The *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 10, 1856, commenting on the situation among merchants and bankers, told of an interesting coinage of Mexican pieces in San Francisco, and gave other views:

. . . The fact that the meeting seems to have been confined to the larger class of houses, comprising by the way some of the best names in the city, however objectionable it may seem (and it does so seem to us), on the ground of its being a movement restricted to a few persons and therefore liable to the suspicion of having private ends in view, should not prevent a fair inquiry into the case. The interests of larger merchants are undoubtedly more directly affected at present than the smaller ones; but a further inquiry will show that, in looking after their own interests, they are also acting for the good of all. At some time or other this private coinage must cease, and that of the Mint be the only currency. It is

right that it should be so, because in the Mint, the public has the only sure guaranty that they will be protected. In the absence of a Mint to supply our wants, private coinage has been of much benefit to our people; but that time has passed, and the question arises whether this coinage should not be stopped at once? We think it should be, and the loss of one-half percent had better be suffered now at the present than at the latter on a much larger sum. The bankers of course feel a reluctance to start this matter, because it will be thrown back at them that they had an active part in getting the money in circulation, and this the bankers cannot deny. They will, however suffer their proportion of the loss, for until there be a general agreement to refuse this coin the bankers cannot do otherwise than take it at the counter, and all their efforts to "work it off" will prove ineffectual.

The American decimals are not the only coins that have been made in this city. It is well known that Woods had a contract with Santa Anna to coin Mexican Ounces in this city, under the sanction of the Mexican Government. Woods sent Sam Ward to Mexico, and Ward agreed to pay the one-legged Dictator a certain sum for the privilege. Drafts were drawn on Adams & Co., and, as we understand, were cashed in Mexico, Santa Anna pocketing the proceeds. Woods accepted the drafts here, but as far as we can learn they were never paid, as before they became due Adams & Co. had failed. The Ounces were coined on Montgomery St., and when, after the failure of Adams & Co., we heard of the gold dust "doctoring," we once suspected that there was some doctoring about these Ounces which we believed were all shipped to China, through Bolton & Baron, who bought them of Woods' broker without knowing anything about where they were made. It was thought best to say nothing about this affair until a return from China could be had, to see if the Ounces were of good weight and fineness. We were subsequently told that returns had been received and the coin [found to be] both of full weight and fineness, and then so far as Woods was concerned, the matter was dropped, for it was very questionable whether with the sanction of the Mexican Government any law had been violated, unless it could be proven that the coin fell short of the value it purported to be.

It is admitted, we believe, that no law exists to prevent the private coinage of Kellogg & Co., which coin, as successor to [that of] Moffat & Co., has always stood fair, and has never been questioned. But when it is borne in mind that Mr. Kellogg is not bound to redeem that coin in case it should fall short, it will be admitted on all hands that if the Mint be able to supply the wants of the community, we had better confine our currency to the issues of that establishment. It is said that Kellogg & Co. are not now making any of this coin, have not been doing so for some time, and do not intend to. If this be so, then Mr. Kellogg's interests are not affected at all, and the matter rests solely with the people.

One objection alleged against this coin of Kellogg's is that not having as much alloy as the Mint coin it is softer and wears away faster. This is a good reason for getting it out of the way before it wears off too much. Supposing the amount of private coin in circulation to be as large as stated—\$8 million—the loss to the entire community at

one-half percent discount will be \$40,000. [This is in reference to a proposal by the merchants that they accept private coins for deposit only at a one-half percent discount.] Has not the evil extended far enough, or shall we wait until, by the wearing away of the coin, the percentage be increased to one instead of one-half percent? We are decidedly in favor of stopping it where it is, and we think this meeting of the merchants, in looking to their own direct interests have also been caring for the public good. All the bankers except two, we are told, agreed to the wishes of the merchants. Those two were Messrs. Tallant & Wilde, and B. Davidson. The reason urged by Tallant & Wilde was that one half percent was not enough to pay for recoinage or for shipping. Mark that! "Not enough!" If one-half percent be not enough now, what will be enough for you hence?

For the present, we simply remark that we regard this matter as one of those evils which the sooner remedied the better. Medicine is not pleasant at any time, but if the nauseous draught produce a cure, the sooner it be taken the better for the patient. The bankers are no more to be blamed for circulating this coin than any other class. Mr. Kellogg is not to be blamed, for at the time he issued the coin it was needed, and it has been a great convenience to all commercial transactions. The public are not to be blamed, although they are now about to suffer the loss. The whole blame rests on the Federal Government, which, by not supplying us with the Mint when we needed one, forced us to adopt the only remedy left us. The public unfortunately are the sufferers throughout. They suffered in the case of Wright, Baldwin, and other coiners. They suffered in the United States Assay Office Slugs, and now the winding-up, that all foresaw

must come sooner or later, has at last arrived, and we have now to suffer in this Moffat-Kellogg coin, which was among the first, is the last, and has been to the people the best of the whole. Well, let it come; it is the last, and the sooner it is over the better. These are our opinions. If any of our readers differ with us our columns are open to them.

The condition continued acute throughout the summer of 1856. The demand for gold coins of specified standard weight in value for export became so great that the entire production of the San Francisco Mint was shipped to distant areas in payment for goods as soon as it was released. The closing of the San Francisco Mint for repairs in September further aggravated the situation and caused the supply of private gold coins in circulation to be reduced further, as numerous pieces were used in export transactions. On September 19, 1856 *Prices Current* noted that unless something were done the private coiners would have to resume production.

Within a month the mint reopened. Gradually, private coins were replaced by mint issues. Within a few years, the coins of Kellogg & Co., Wass, Molitor & Co., and the other private coiners were no longer seen in circulation and were regarded as curiosities. By the 1860s they were desired by numismatists, and by a decade later several collectors had formed extensive groups of them.

Gold Coinage of Oregon, Utah and Colorado

Oregon Territorial Gold Coins

During the 1840s there was a migration along the Oregon Trail to the territory of the same name. Earlier, few people lived there except representatives of the Hudson's Bay Co., the Northwest Co. and other fur traders plus, of course, the native Indians. Residents were not certain whether the area was controlled by Britain or by the United States.

Around 1820 the Northwest Co. had several forts or trading posts in the area which served as headquarters for transactions with the Umpqua Indians and others. Beaver skins were a medium of exchange. Often an 1820-dated token, holed at the top for suspension, and minted in Birmingham, England, by John Walker & Co., would be exchanged for a skin, such token being redeemable for merchandise at one of the company's forts. These tokens were highly prized by the native Indians who were sometimes buried with their earthly treasures. Thus, over a century later, in the 1960s on the banks of the Umpqua River, an Indian gravesite was found which contained a skull, 26 of the 1820 Northwest Co. tokens, and a copper kettle, the latter serving as the repository.

The provisional government of the Oregon Territory passed an act on December 10, 1845 which provided that:

Treasury drafts, approved orders on solvent merchants, and good merchantable wheat at market value, delivered at such places as is customary for merchants to receive wheat, shall be lawful tender for the payment of taxes and judgment rendered in the courts of Oregon Territory, where no special contracts have been made to the contrary.

When gold was discovered in California in 1848 news spread quickly to Oregon. By 1849 a sizable percentage of the white population had journeyed southward to seek gold. Many returned to the Oregon Territory in the same year bringing with them quan-

ties of gold dust. Earlier in 1849 there were a number of petitions to establish a mint in Oregon, one of which petitioned the Legislature of Oregon Territory as follows:

We the citizens of said Territory would humbly beg leave to urge upon your Honorable Body the necessity of establishing a mint in this Territory under the direction of the Government. Your Honorable Body is aware that vast quantities of gold dust were brought to this country in a manner that is useless and dead to the community. They must either sell it at a great discount or not sell it. Farmers find it very inconvenient to deal in these articles as but a few are provided with scales and if they have them they find it very difficult to trade it. Your petitioners would humbly beg your Honorable Body to take the necessary steps to grant the prayer of such petitioners . . .

Oregon City, February 7, 1849.

Another petition, this one bearing the signature of 50 citizens, stated:

We the undersigned petitioners of Oregon Territory respectfully represent to your Honorable Body that in consequence of the failure or neglect of the government of the United States to extend jurisdiction and protection over this long-neglected Territory, the time has arrived when the people through their representatives should act with firmness and decision for the protection of their interest against the combined monopolies of the wheat and gold dust trade. We your petitioners are of the opinion that the only sure method of securing the disease is to remove the cause, the cause being the scarcity of coined money in the hands of the people, and to remove that cause, we your petitioners pray your Honorable Body to establish a mint in Oregon Territory for the coinage of gold to be equal in fineness to the gold coin of the United States, and to be lawful tender in the amount of debts and to place such safeguards and restrictions around said mint as you may in your wisdom think best and also to regulate the price of uncoined gold.

The Legislature, on February 15, 1849, passed by a vote of 16 to 2 an act which provided for the establishment of a territorial mint in Oregon City. It was provided that any profits arising from the coinage would

be used to pay the debt of the Cayuse Indian War.

The Treasurer was authorized to purchase gold dust of virgin purity at \$16.50 per ounce. The coin should be lawful tender throughout the Territory at \$1 per pennyweight. Punishment was provided for anyone who traded gold of false weight or who stamped gold without legal permission. The mint was to be established in Oregon City, an important village 15 miles distant from Portland. The act provided that:

The dies for stamping shall represent on one side the Roman figure 5 for the pieces of five pennyweights and the Roman figure 10 for the pieces of ten pennyweights. The reverse side shall have the words "Oregon Territory" and the date of the year of stamping, around the face, with the arms of Oregon in the center.

Joseph Lane, the governor, declared the legislative act to be unconstitutional on March 3rd, for it seemed to be in conflict with United States government coinage laws. To remedy the situation a group of eight prominent merchants and citizens banded together to establish a private mint. The principals were W. K. Kilborne, Theophilus Magruder, James Taylor, George Abernathy, W. H. Willson, William H. Rector, J. G. Campbell, and Noyes Smith. The firm was designated as the Oregon Exchange Co.

Hamilton Campbell, a Methodist missionary, was employed to cut dies for a \$5. Victor Wallace, machinist, engraved the dies for a coin of the \$10 denomination. The coins produced were to be virgin gold without alloy.

The \$5 gold dies bore on the obverse the initials K.M.T.A.W.R.G.S., representing the names of the company members. The G was an error and should have been C for Campbell. The obverse of the \$5 piece pictured a beaver on a log, facing to the right, the same animal which, being a trademark of the Territory, was earlier used on the Northwest Co. tokens. Below was the designation T.O. for Territory of Oregon, and below that, the year 1849, with branches to the sides. On the reverse appeared the notation OREGON EXCHANGE COMPANY, 130 G. NATIVE GOLD 5 D. The pieces contained 130 grains of gold, or nearly 5½ pennyweight.

The \$10 design was similar to the \$5 except that the error of the G initial was corrected and the letter C substituted. The initials of Abernathy and Willson were omitted, perhaps because they had left the firm by the later time that the \$10 issues were made. The abbreviation of Oregon Territory was changed to O.T. rather than the earlier T.O. With the exception of the denomination and weight information, the design

closely followed that of the earlier \$5. The dies were engraved very lightly on the reverse, with the result that coins struck were characteristically very weak on that side.

Thomas Powell produced the necessary machinery for preparing the metal and striking the coin using as a source iron from wagon wheel rims. The Oregon Exchange Company paid him \$1 a pound for all the iron he was able to obtain for this purpose from old wagons that had crossed the plains and other sources. Powell did the forging, and William Rector, one of the partners in the Oregon Exchange Co., did the lathe work.

Coinage amounted to approximately 6,000 of the \$5 pieces and 2,850 \$10 coins. These were accepted as legal tender throughout the Oregon Territory, which at that time included the present states of Oregon and Washington and all land toward the east reaching to the Rocky Mountains. Oregon City had approximately 1,000 white citizens, while the entire Territory comprised about 9,000 inhabitants.

Many of the Oregon issues were sent to California in payment for merchandise. Eventually nearly all were melted. By a decade after the original issue only a small number of Oregon coins existed.

Mormon Coinage

In the autumn of 1848 Mormons returning from California brought large quantities of gold dust into the Great Salt Lake area. Mormon Island, located downstream from Sutter's Mill at Coloma on the American River, was one of the richest gold deposits. Mormons were among the most active miners during the early part of the era, and gold estimated to have been worth several millions of dollars was located by them.

In Utah, Dr. Willard Richards, an official of the Mormon Church, weighed the gold dust and distributed it in paper packages which contained from \$1 to \$20 in value. In November 1848 coinage designs were formulated. Each piece was to depict on one side the priesthood emblem, a 3-point phrygian crown over the all-seeing eye of Jehovah, with the phrase "Holiness to the Lord." The reverse was to bear the inscription "Pure Gold," clasped hands, and the denomination.

On December 10, 1848, Mormons with gold dust were invited to leave it for coinage. The first deposit was made by William T. Follett, who received a credit of \$232 for 14½ ounces at the rate of \$16 per ounce. Soon thereafter 46 \$10 gold pieces had been minted by John M. Kay, a Mormon who earlier had been employed with a private mint in Birmingham, England.

It is believed that the pieces struck in December 1848 were dated the following year. The ten-dollar coins were designed by Brigham Young, John Mobourn Kay, and John Taylor. They were dubbed "Valley Coin."

Problems developed, and by December 22, 1848, the equipment was inoperable.

Additional facilities for coinage were ordered through a church agent in St. Louis. Dies were prepared for \$2.50, \$5, and \$20 pieces. Coinage at the church mint commenced on September 12, 1849. From that point through early 1851 about \$75,000 face value in gold pieces was produced. Designs followed those suggested a year earlier, but the words "Pure Gold" were represented by the initials P.G., and for Great Salt Lake City the letters G.S.L.C. were added.

The coinage saw a ready acceptance in the church community. A reporter for the *Deseret News* wrote in the issue of October 5, 1850, that "we stepped into the mint, the other day, and saw two or three men rolling out the golden bars like waggon tires ready for the dies. That is what makes trade brisk."

The \$10 issues were worth about \$8.70 each. Apparently there was little understanding or interest in Salt Lake City concerning the fineness or purity of gold, and only the total weight was considered when the coins were made. This caused the Mormon coinage to be condemned in many areas, particularly in California where it became the subject of many vituperative comments in the press, which noted coins as being "spurious," "vile falsehoods," and "debased." In areas other than Salt Lake City they circulated only at a discount of 10% to 25% from face value. Within Salt Lake City itself there were numerous questions raised, and in 1851 and 1852 many were reluctant to accept the pieces, but the church applied pressures which made the coins circulate. Eventually Brigham Young, the Mormon leader, closed the mint, and the pieces disappeared from circulation.

During the period of coinage it was proposed to increase the supply of Mormon gold by allowing members of the church to go to California to prospect. Many young Mormon "missionaries" eventually participated.

In 1860 Albert Kuner, the prominent San Francisco engraver, cut dies for a new \$5 Mormon piece. The obverse depicted a couchant lion facing to the left, with an inscription surrounding and the date 1860. The reverse showed a beehive behind which was an eagle. The legend DESERET ASSAY OFFICE PURE

GOLD surrounded, and the denomination 5 D was below. Apparently a large number of pieces emanated from these dies.

Colorado Gold

During the early 19th century numerous scattered gold discoveries were made in the Territory of Colorado. Between 1832 and 1836 hunters and trappers occasionally brought small quantities of gold to the trading post located at the mouth of Clear Creek. One Rufus B. Sage reported that he found gold near the Vasquez Fork in the winter of 1843-4. During the early 1850s there were reports of gold discoveries on the Sweetwater and in South Park. In August 1849 gold-bearing quartz ore was found along the Cache la Poudre. This resulted in a flurry of excitement which attracted several groups to travel to that river in search of the metal.

The first gold discovery in Colorado to create widespread public interest occurred in 1858. While it was said that John Cantrell, of Westport, Missouri reported the initial discovery, most historians believe the honor goes to William Green Russell, of Georgia, who, upon learning of gold in Colorado from some Cherokee Indians, formed a party in February of that year to explore for the metal. On June 24, 1858, they made a camp near the junction of Cherry Creek and the Platte River. The explorers, who numbered about 100, spread out and searched many square miles of the adjoining area. After many disappointments, gold was found in quantity. Several hundred dollars' worth of gold was obtained from one sandbar on the Platte, and in another area a spot yielded nearly \$500 of the metal.

Word soon spread to the East, and a repeat of the California Gold Rush was staged, although with less intensity, with hundreds of miners traveling to the Rocky Mountains, some in wagons bearing inscriptions like "Pikes Peak or bust." Within the span of a few years Georgetown, Central City, and other towns to the west of Denver became thriving communities.

Business in local saloons and other enterprises was often conducted by using pinches of gold dust. To remedy the situation and provide a convenience for miners, several assayers and coiners began business. George W. and Samuel Brown arrived in Denver in June 1860 and commenced the purchase of gold dust in a log structure. In the same month the firm of Turner & Hobbs opened for business.

The firm of Clark, Gruber & Co., Leavenworth, Kansas bankers, established a branch in Denver. From

that beginning was to grow Colorado's largest mint, an operation which subsequently laid the framework for the government mint in the same city.

Austin M. Clark was born the son of John and Eleanor Clark in Brown County, Ohio, on October 14, 1824. Milton Edward Clark was born on May 6, 1827, in the same area. Austin lived until 1877, and Milton's life span ended in 1904.

Emanuel Henry Gruber was born in Hagerstown, Maryland, March 25, 1833.

An interview with Emanuel Henry Gruber, then 71 years of age and a resident of Cripple Creek, Colorado, appeared in the *The Denver Times* in 1904 and gave information concerning the firm's beginning and subsequent operations:

My firm was one of the heaviest purchasers of gold dust in the early days. When we bought a large quantity of dust we had to ship it to the states to have it coined into money. This was a rather expensive proceeding, as there were only stage coaches and pony express reaching the city in those days, and we had to pay 5% of the value of the dust as an insurance against loss in transit and another 5% expressage. Our dust was out of our hands anywhere from three weeks to three months, and often times the cash we would have in transit would total nearly \$300,000.

This was considerable money to have and yet not be able to use for a month at a time, so one day the idea struck me that the firm of Clark, Gruber & Co., bankers, should also be coiners. I spoke to one of my partners, Austin M. Clark, who with his brother, Milton E. Clark, was interested in all my enterprises in those days, about the matter. He was a lawyer, and after spending several days looking up the authorities, he gave it as his opinion that there was no law of the United States which could be construed as against the coining of money by individuals, provided it was made of full weight.

Not entirely satisfied, I consulted two of the most prominent attorneys in the state of Kansas on this matter, and their opinion was the same as that of my partner, Mr. Clark . . .

We went ahead then and ordered the machinery required in the coining of gold, and in 1860 built the old mint building, which still stands at the corner of 16th and Market streets, and having installed our machinery set to work to turn the dust of the miners into coin of our company.

Our gold differed little from those of Uncle Sam. We had the Goddess of Liberty on the face of them, but in the fillet that bound her hair, instead of the word "Liberty," we placed the word "Pikes Peak" and on the obverse side, instead of the words "United States of America," we stamped "Clark Gruber & Co." In this year we coined only \$10 and \$20 pieces [also \$2½ and \$5]. We made them of virgin dust, without any alloy, they were really worth more than those of the government, which were alloyed . . .

The next year we coined \$2.50, \$5, \$10, and \$20 gold pieces, but having found our pieces of the preceding year a

little soft, as they were pure gold, we did not make the coins of 1861 as pure as those of 1860; still they were purer than the government coin. In 1862 we did not coin very much money, as the conditions were changed and the government greenbacks did not fluctuate as they did in the first years of the war.

Instead of putting the dust into coins this year we molded it into small bars, which we stamped with our firm's stamp, giving the value in ounces and its cash value. These ingots were accepted all over the world at their stamped value, some of them finding their way to Europe and even Australia.

When Horace Greeley came west in the early 60s, he visited our mint and, seeing the gold ingots lying on the counter, sent the following message to his paper in New York: "Colorado is essentially a gold state. In the establishment of Clark, Gruber & Co. I saw immense quantities of gold bars lying on their counters. COME WEST."

In 1863 Uncle Sam bought our machinery and the mint building from us . . .

Besides gold pieces we issued greenbacks for the convenience of the miners, who did not wish to be weighed down with gold coin. These bills were always redeemed at their face value and did not fluctuate as did the government greenback, but were in reality gold notes, having the same value as the yellow metal itself.

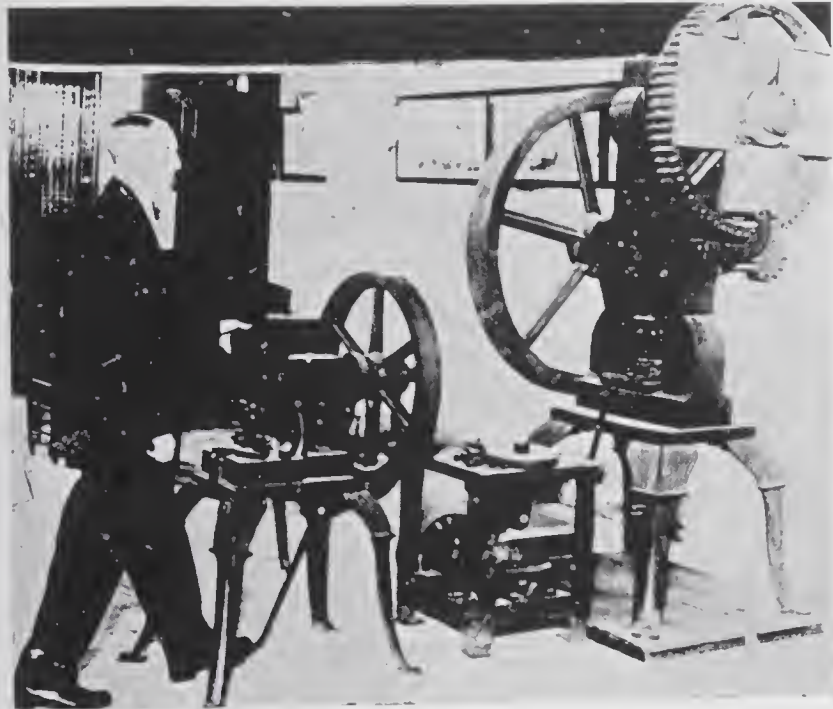
Framework for the minting business was begun in December 1859 when Milton E. Clark journeyed to New York and Philadelphia to make arrangements in person to acquire coining and metal processing machinery. It is believed that Bailey & Co., Philadelphia jewelers, made arrangements for the dies. In the spring of 1860 Austin Clark and Emanuel H. Gruber arrived in Denver and purchased several lots on the northwest corner of McGaa and F Streets, later to become Market and 16th streets. An imposing 2-story brick structure with a stone basement was set up. In April the machinery arrived by an ox-drawn wagon. By July 16th the building was complete inside and out, and coinage operations were ready to begin. William Byers, editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, received on July 20th this invitation:

We shall be pleased to have you visit our coining room and witness the process of stamping our first coin from Pikes Peak gold.

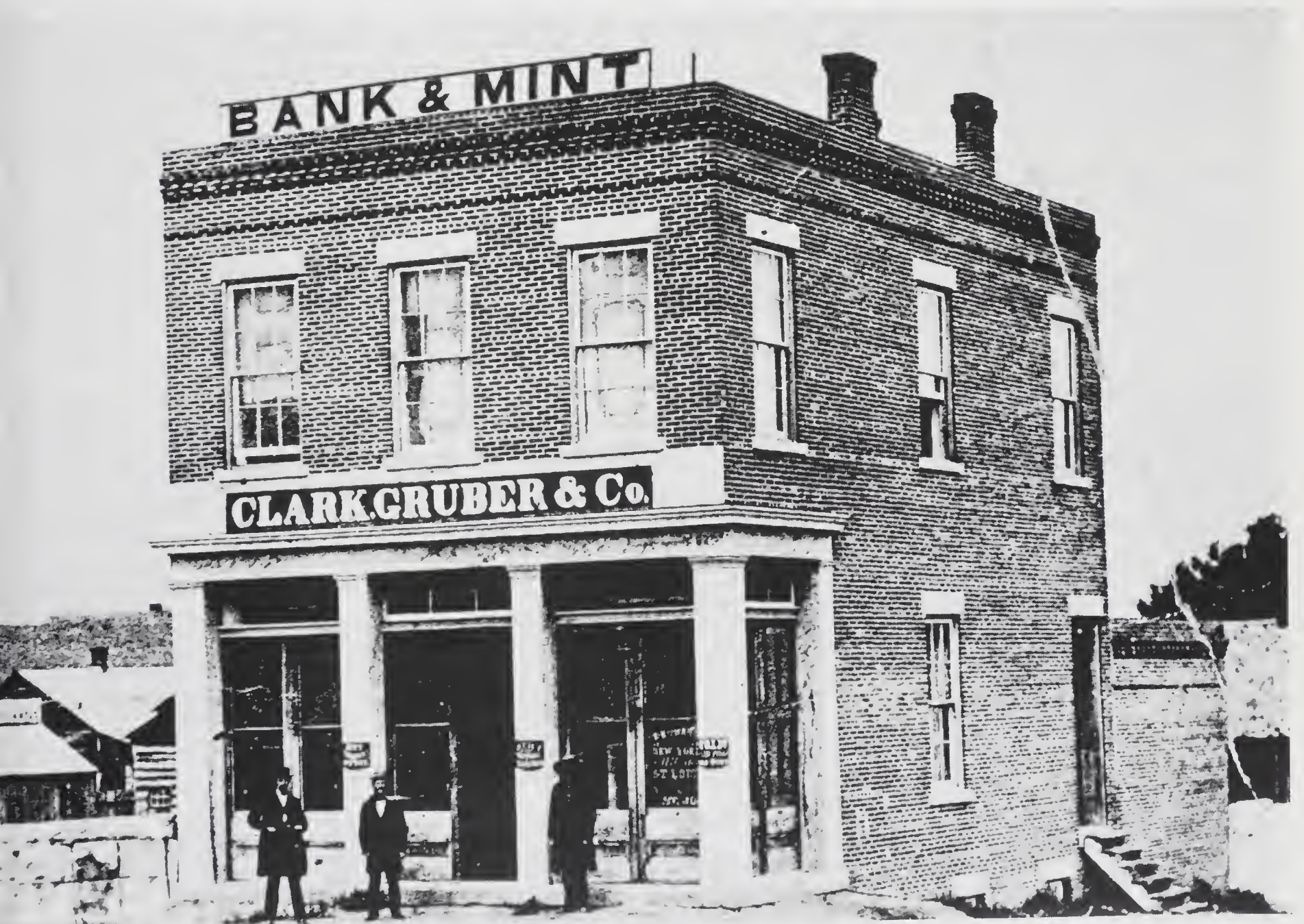
Very respectfully, Clark Gruber Inc.

On July 25th, the same Denver newspaper reported the visit:

In compliance with which invitation we forthwith repaired to the elegant banking house of the above firm on the corner of McGaa and F streets, and were admitted to their coining room in the basement, where we found preparations almost complete for the issue of Pikes Peak coin. A hundred "blanks" had been prepared, weight and fineness tested, and last manipulation gone through with prior to their pas-



Left: coining presses and related equipment used by Clark, Gruber & Co. (From The Numismatist)



The banking and minting establishment of Clark, Gruber & Co. in the early 1860s. The structure was subsequently sold to the United States government. (From the State Historical Society of Colorado, courtesy Nolie Mumey.)

sage through the stamping press. The little engine that drives the machinery was fired up, belts adjusted, and between 3 and 4 o'clock the machinery was put in motion and "mint drops" of the value of \$10 each began dropping into a tin pail with the most musical "clink." About \$1,000 were turned out, at the rate of fifteen or twenty coins a minute, which was deemed satisfactory for the first experiment.

The coins—of which none but \$10 pieces are yet coined—are seventeen grains heavier than the United States coin of the same denomination.

On the face is a representation of the Peak, its base surrounded by a forest of timber, and "Pikes Peak Gold" encircling the summit. Immediately under its base is the word "Denver" and beneath it "Ten D". On the reverse is the American eagle, encircled by the name of the firm "Clark Gruber & Co.," and beneath it the date, "1860."

The coin has a little of the roughness peculiar to newness, but is upon the whole, very credible in appearance, and a vast improvement over "dust" as a circulating medium.

The *Rocky Mountain News* carried an advertisement for Clark, Gruber & Co. on August 8, 1860:

We have in connection with our banking house a mint and are prepared to exchange our coin for gold dust.

The native gold is coined as it is found alloyed with silver. The weight will be greater, but the value the same as the United States coin of like denominations.

The *Rocky Mountain News* reported on the continuing progress of the firm in an article in the August 29, 1860 issue:

OUR MINT. Clark Gruber & Co. melted and coined about \$18,000 in \$10, \$5, and \$2.50 pieces. As specimens of coinage these pieces are far superior to any of the private mint drops issued in San Francisco, and are nearly as perfect as the regular United States Mint issues. The faces of the \$5s and \$2.50s are a good imitation of the government coinage—the head of the Goddess of Liberty, surrounded with thirteen stars, with the name of "Clark & Co." occupying the head tiara. The reverse is occupied, of course, with "our noble bird" encircled by the words "Pikes Peak Gold, Denver 2½D." Altogether it is a creditable piece of work, and we hope to see hosts of it in circulation before the snow flies. The fineness of this coin is 828½; and the excess of weight over U.S. coin is 23 grains in a \$10 piece. The value in gold is the same as government coin of like denomination, with an additional value in silver alloy equal to near 1%. Deduct the cost of coining at the U.S. mint, about ½%, and the actual worth of Clark & Co.'s coin is ½% more than any other coinage.

The initial coinages were of the \$10 and \$20 denominations. Later, pieces of \$2.50 and \$5 were made, as noted in the preceding article. By October 1860 the coins were in wide circulation throughout the "Jefferson" Territory. The mint operated both day and night, and by October \$120,000 worth had been struck.

Toward the end of 1860 Clark, Gruber & Co. opened a branch office in Central City, Colorado. At the time, Central City, and its neighbor, Black Hawk, were among the most active gold mining areas. In 1861 bank notes of \$5 face value were issued. As they were backed in gold, in 1862 they were worth more than United States notes, which at that time sold at a sharp discount from government gold coinage.

In 1861 new dies were produced. Gold content of the Clark, Gruber & Co. coins was increased to 1% more than that used by the United States government mints. The *Colorado Republican and Rocky Mountain Herald* wrote on August 3, 1861, of a visit to the coining establishment:

We yesterday stepped into the fine banking house of Messrs. Clark, Gruber & Co. and by invitation of the gentlemanly proprietors took a look at the machinery and fixtures for minting . . . The gold is first refined by chemicals, then put into a crucible, melted, and run into bars. Then it is run through a rolling machine, which reduces it to the proper thickness; it is then taken to a punching machine where it is cut in the proper size; a man then takes it and reduces it to the proper weight, when it is taken to the die and stamped, then the edges are milled, which is the finishing stroke.

The citizens of Colorado Territory, nearly 30,000 in number, desired to have an official United States branch mint to provide a greater quantity of coins for circulation and to act as a depository for bullion. On December 19, 1861, a bill to this effect was introduced in Congress by Hiram P. Bennett. The legislation passed the House and Senate and became effective on April 21, 1862. By this time the owners of Clark, Gruber & Co., having minted gold coins in the total amount of \$594,305, desired to sell the building and related facilities. A description of the firm's assets was provided:

A private mint in Denver owned by Clark, Gruber & Co. is a two-story brick building 25 feet front by 40 feet deep with a basement opening out on level ground at the back end of the building.

Walls of basement story 2 feet thick; 2 floor 16 inches [referring to the thickness of the walls]; 3 floor 12 inches; upper story 4 rooms plastered 11 feet high. 2 story level with the street in front 13 feet high plastered and painted open front. Glass 30x40 in transepts lights above doors. 4 double doors in front, side doors and stairs back leading up to 3 story. Partition 10 feet from back wall. A well furnished circular oak counter and 4 desks of like quality; door and stairs leading down to basement. Basement room contains the machinery and apparatus for coining. Basement 9 feet high with large double doors in rear end and 4 windows plastered. Engine house 16x20 feet, brick. 3 doors and windows. Acid room adjoining 8x20, with 1 door and window. 7 acid furnaces built in the outer wall; flues of same 25 feet high, flues and furnaces 12 to 14 inches square. Melting

M. CLARK. E. H. GRUBER. M. E. CLARK.

CLARK, GRUBER & CO.,
Denver and Leavenworth K. T.
BANKERS,

And Dealers in

EXCHANGE, CURRENCY

—AND—

GOLD DUST.

DEPOSITS RECEIVED.

WE draw on the American Exchange Bank, New York; Gillmore, Dunlap & Co., Cincinnati; Allen, Copp & Nesbit, St. Louis; Marine Bank, Chicago, and Clark, Gruber & Co., Leavenworth City.

We have in connection with our Banking House a Mint, and are prepared to exchange our coin for Gold Dust.

The native gold is coined as it is found alloyed with silver. The weight will be greater, but the value the same as the United States coin of like denominations.

CLARK, GRUBER & CO.

Denver, Aug. 8, 1860. 2-16tf

Clark, Gruber & Co. advertisement in the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Jefferson Territory, August 8, 1860. (All illustrations on this page courtesy of Nolie Mumey.)

A. M. CLARK.

E. H. GRUBER.

M. E. CLARK.

CLARK, GRUBER & CO.,

LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, DENVER, COLORADO,

BANKERS

DEALERS IN

EXCHANGE, COIN & BANK NOTES,

Buy Gold Dust at Best Rates.

DEPOSITS RECEIVED,

Collections Made on All Accessable Points,
and Returns Made on day of Payment.**FOREIGN EXCHANGE.**

We draw our own Drafts direct on all parts of Europe.

We have in connection with our Banking House a
MINT, and are prepared to exchange our**COIN FOR DUST.**

The Native Gold is coined as it is found alloyed with silver. The weight will be greater, but the value the same as the United States Coin of like denomination.

WILL ADVANCE ON GOLD DUST.

To those who prefer sending dust east, we will forward to New York Assay Office, or Mint, advancing its approximate value in N. Y. Exchange, at lowest rates, and pay balance as soon as returns from the Mint are received.

WE DRAW ONAMERICAN EXCHANGE BANK,.....New York.
BANK OF COMMERCE....." "
DREXEL & CO.....Philadelphia.
STATE SAVING ASSOCIATION,.....St. Louis
ALLEN, COPP & NESBIT,....." "
MARINE BANK.....Chicago
GILMORE, DUNLAP & CO.,.....Cincinnati.**CLARK, GRUBER & CO.**

July 12d 1861

Advertisement in the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colorado Territory, July 24, 1861.

M. A. CLARK.

E. H. GRUBER.

M. H. CLARK.

CLARK, GRUBER & CO..

LEAVENWORTH.....DENVER, K. T.

BANKERS,

AND DEALERS IN

EXCHANGE, CURRENCY,

—AND—

GOLD DUST.

DEPOSITS RECEIVED.

WE draw on the American Exchange Bank, N. Y.; Gillmore, Dunlap & Co., Cincinnati; Allen, Copp & Nesbit, St. Louis; Marine Bank, Chicago; and Clark, Gruber & Co., Leavenworth.

We have in connection with our Banking House, a
MINT, and are prepared to exchange our**Coin for Gold Dust.**The native gold is coined as it is found, alloyed with silver. The weight will be greater, but the value the same as the United States coin of like denominations.
2-16tf

CLARK, GRUBER & CO.

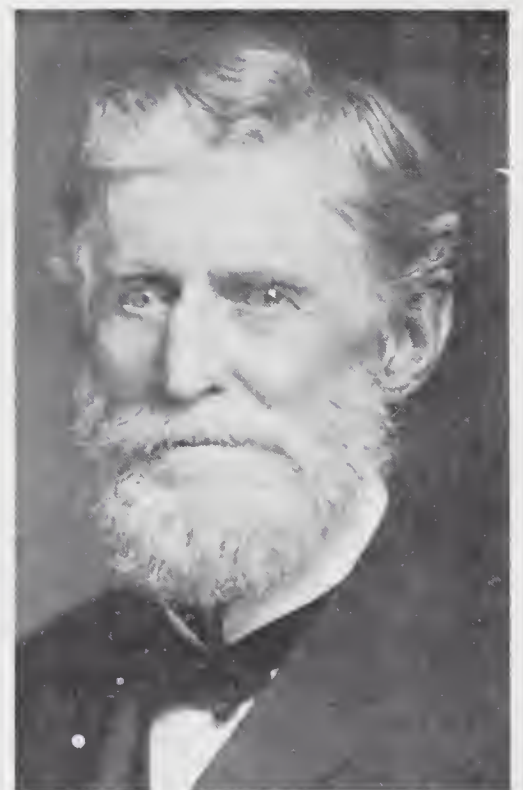
From the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colorado Territory, May 7, 1861.



Austin M. Clark.



Emanuel H. Gruber.



Milton E. Clark.

furnaces are 3x4 feet outside, 16 inches square inside, 18 inches deep, iron bars for grates. All the rooms and apartments fitted up with the necessary furniture . . .

The rolling, milling, punching, and coining machinery may all be run at the same time.

All is in perfect working order and good machinery made by the best workmen in Philadelphia and New York ready for working United States coin by substituting United States dies.

Lot on which building stands is 15x125 feet enclosed by board fence 8 feet high. Good well supplying ample water for all purposes.

Appended was a list of machinery, including a pair of 6-inch rollers, a coining press, a milling machine, punching press, two melting furnaces, six acid furnaces, one cupel furnace, one steam engine of 8 to 10 horsepower and fixtures, one pair of level shears, 450 crucibles, and various accessories and supplies.

It was stated that the capacity for coining at a 10-hour-per-day rate would be \$120,000 value in double eagles, \$60,000 value in eagles, \$30,000 value of half eagles, and \$15,000 in quarter eagles. "This is the speed at which it is ordinarily run; but double that amount may be coined in the same time if desired."

As the earlier production of Clark, Gruber & Co. did not come close to the maximum capacity of the coining press, it is probable that the presses were run only occasionally, for a greater amount of time proportionately was needed to assay, refine, and prepare the metal for coining.

Evaluation of the Clark, Gruber & Co. offer took a long time. On the evening of August 18, 1862, about 300 people, irritated with the delay, gathered at a meeting to discuss the problem. The government was urged to act promptly. On November 25, 1862, the secretary of the Treasury offered \$25,000 for the building and its contents. Congress on March 3, 1863, passed a resolution which enabled the secretary of the Treasury to obtain title to the mint. Actual government possession took place in April of the same year. Clark, Gruber & Co. vacated in May and moved to a building adjacent to Warren Hussey's Bank on F Street.

It was intended to begin coinage in Denver right away, but this was not accomplished. It was not until several decades later, in February 1906, that coins were actually struck in Denver by the United States government, and that was done not at the Clark, Gruber & Co. plant but at the new Denver Mint. On June 30, 1906, Congress passed an act which provided for the sale of the Clark, Gruber & Co. mint building, which it had owned since March 3, 1863. On August 28,

1906, the high bid of \$31,000 offered by Charles Boettcher of Denver was accepted. The new owner tore the building down in September 1907, despite the fact that it was not until August 11, 1909, that the title transfer was finally completed.

On March 10, 1864, Emanuel Henry Gruber withdrew from Clark, Gruber & Co. The Clark brothers continued under the name of Clark & Co. until May 9, 1865, when the business was transferred to the First National Bank in Denver, an organization of which the Clarks were founders and stockholders. The Central City branch was sold to George T. Clark, who was first cashier of the First National Bank in Denver, and Evan Smith. The business, which later included a branch at Georgetown, was continued under the name of George T. Clark & Co. Throughout the 1860s the main office of Clark, Gruber & Co. remained in Leavenworth, Kansas. Accounting and financial reports were prepared in the Kansas facility.

Gruber, following his March 10, 1864 resignation, returned to Leavenworth, where he continued in the banking business until 1866. He had business interests in New York and Louisiana as well. In July 1878 he went to Leadville, Colorado, then experiencing a silver boom, and became an owner of the Pendery Mine. A three-story building, the Gruber Block, was erected in Leadville in the summer of 1880 at Harrison Avenue between Fourth and Fifth streets. By August 15th of that year every square foot of space in the facility, then considered to be the best business location in Leadville, was rented.

By the end of 1882 Gruber had suffered some financial reverses in his mining investments. He left Leadville and moved to Gunnison. In July 1883 he relocated to Denver, where he engaged in the selling of mining claims, real estate, and insurance until 1892, when he moved to Cripple Creek. Located on the western side of Pikes Peak, Cripple Creek was a boom town. Gold had been discovered there, and miners, including many from the Central City and Georgetown areas (which were then experiencing a depression, for mining had turned from emphasis on gold to silver, and silver prices were low), came to seek new fortunes. Overnight many people became wealthy, and within a few years the Cripple Creek area had grown to include 60,000 people, including over 30 millionaires. Gruber stayed in the area during its most prosperous times. He left in 1904 because the altitude, about 9,500 above sea level, was unfavorable for his wife's health.

Numerous die trials were made of the various Clark, Gruber & Co. issues. Most closely followed the regular

issues (of Clark, Gruber & Co.) in design, although one, a pattern 1860 double eagle struck in copper, featured Pikes Peak in the shape of a pyramid and was presumably rejected due to its unnatural appearance.

Among regular issues, the \$10 and \$20 of 1860 depicted Pikes Peak, in the shape of a volcanic cone (not at all like the real appearance of the mountain), on the obverse. The \$2.50 and \$5 of 1860, and four denominations of 1861, the \$2.50, \$5, \$10, and \$20, are all copies, except for the inscriptions, of contemporary United States Mint gold coins.

Several other coiners were active in the Jefferson Territory during the 1860-1861 period. Patterns are known today bearing inscriptions of the Denver City Assay Office, 1860, but little is known concerning the firm's operations.

In 1859 Dr. John Parsons, of Quincy, Illinois, came to the South Park area of Colorado. In the next year, 1860, he set up coining dies and presses at Tarryall.

\$2.50 and \$5 gold coins were issued bearing his imprint. The obverse of each depicted a stamping mill of the type used to reduce gold-bearing quartz. The word ORO, Spanish for "gold," appears on each. The reverse shows a perched eagle, similar to the United States design, but with different inscriptions. Although the issues of Parsons are said to have enjoyed a wide circulation in Denver and surrounding areas, examples are exceedingly rare today.

In August 1861 the banking firm of J. J. Conway & Co., Georgia Gulch, Colorado, produced several varieties of \$2.50, \$5, and \$10 pieces bearing their imprint. Apparently coinage was only for a short time. Little is known concerning the background or operations of the company. Examples of the coinage are exceedingly rare today.

The close relationship of the privately-minted gold coins of Colorado, California, and other areas with the people, economy, and romance of the times has made them favorites with numismatists today.

Numismatic Americana

Hard Times Tokens 1833-1844

The series known as Hard Times tokens comprises tokens issued privately in the United States from 1833 to 1844. The pieces, mostly made of copper and the size of a United States cent of the period, can be divided into several categories:

1. Pieces referring to the United States Bank and the controversy surrounding it.
2. Those with inscriptions relating to political and satirical situations of the era.
3. Tokens with inscriptions and designs closely resembling the regular cent coinage but with some differences in order to evade the counterfeiting laws.
4. Examples bearing the advertisements of private merchants; "store cards".
5. Die mulings, combinations with the obverses or reverses of any of the preceding.

Hard times tokens were first described in 1858 by Charles I. Bushnell in *An Arrangement of the Tradesmen's Cards, Political Tokens, Election Medals, etc.* Bushnell, who died in 1880, began collecting around 1850. During the first decade of his collecting activity he engaged in considerable research concerning colonial coins, Hard Times tokens, and related items. Tokens, medals, and numismatic pieces with a *story* behind them especially intrigued Bushnell. While he collected regular United States Mint issues, these were secondary in importance, as evidenced by the preface to the June 20-24, 1882, auction catalogue of the Bushnell Collection prepared by S. H. and Henry Chapman:

Mr. Bushnell told me he never spared expense in improving their condition, that no matter how fine a specimen was, if he could improve it he did so; he also told us that he cared but little for the dates of the United States Mint silver issues, and the series of which he never completed, his atten-

tion being devoted to the coins and medals relating to the history of this country.

Bushnell visited several original issuers and manufacturers of Hard Times tokens and was able to obtain undistributed pieces as well as have some special striking made to his order.

In the April 1870 issue of *The American Journal of Numismatics* J. N. T. Levick enumerated and described 56 different issues. In 1886 Lyman H. Low produced a 16-page pamphlet describing additional pieces. Low became extremely interested in the field. He wrote extensively and traveled widely to interview those once associated with the issuance of the tokens. He sought relatives of merchants who once advertised on the pieces. From early newspapers, commercial journals, and other sources additional information was obtained. The result was his definitive work, *Hard Times Tokens*, of which the 1900 revised second edition remains today the standard work on the series. William F. Dunham, a Chicago numismatist whose magnificent collection was sold at auction by B. Max Mehl in 1941, issued an *easy finding list*, or cross-index of the series. In the 1950s Charles V. Kappen, a California devotee of tokens and medals, reissued Low's earlier work and combined it with Dunham's information, plates made from photographs (Low's illustrations were line drawings), and furnished a table of prices and rarity information.

The Hard Times tokens with political motifs center on issues of the Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren administrations.

Andrew Jackson, military hero of the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, defeated John Quincy Adams' reelection bid to gain the presidency in 1828. Jackson, not an educated man, was the subject of much ridicule. His "Roman firmness" was mentioned on tokens as was his statement made at a Democratic banquet in

Hard Times Tokens



Low 1. 1832 Andrew Jackson token. The reverse refers to Jackson's campaign against the Bank of the United States.



Low 7. 1834 token commemorating the Whig victory. The reverse implores citizens to "save your constitution."



Low 8. This 1834 token ridicules Jackson's efforts to abolish the Bank of the United States.



Low 12. The obverse of this token refers to Jackson's presidency.



Low 19. The turtle and safe motif is a satire on the slowness with which deposits were being moved from the Sub Treasury.



Low 26. The obverse is styled after the contemporary United States cent.



Low 44. Obverse with ship marked "Experiment" wrecked on shore. Reverse with Andrew Jackson, Van Buren's predecessor, emerging from safe.



Low 45. The phoenix rising from flames refers to the destruction of worthless paper money and a new system arising from it.



Low 49. This token, the size of a contemporary half cent, was made in large quantities and circulated extensively.



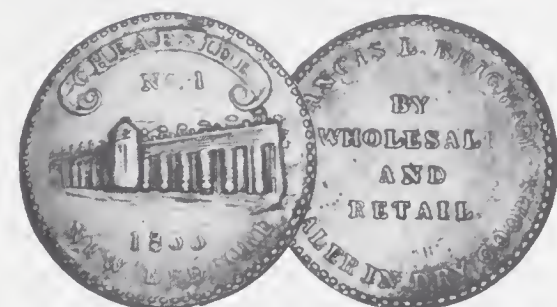
Low 54. This slavery token referred to a question which was becoming increasingly important in the political arena.



Low 55. "Loco Foco" inscribed on the coronet of the female head refers to a nickname given the Democratic party at the time.



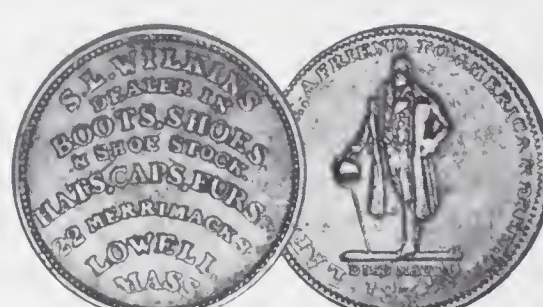
Low 56. With the portrait of Martin Van Buren. All specimens seen by Lyman H. Low were holed.



Low 73. Token of Francis L. Brigham, Cheapside, New Bedford, Massachusetts. One of two varieties issued by this merchant.



Low 83. Issued by H. M. & E. I. Richards, manufacturer of jewelry and tokens.



Low 86. Issued by S. L. Wilkins of Lowell, Massachusetts. The token was produced by Richards.

Hard Times Tokens



Low 92. Issued by Bucklin, of Troy, New York, this piece is from badly cut dies with indistinct areas.



Low 94. Token of Clark & Anthony, Providence, Rhode Island. 36,000 of these were struck.



Low 95. The Merchants' Exchange, 1827-1835, is the subject of this issue. The building burned December 16, 1835.



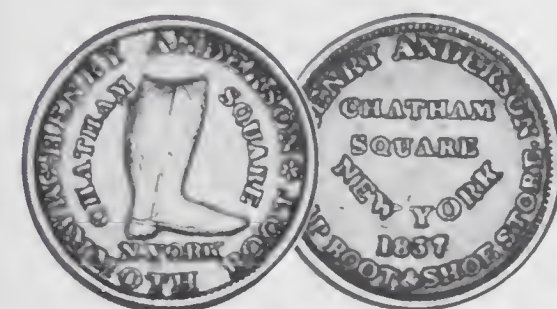
Low 98. Illustrates the new Merchants' Exchange, successor to the building which burned in 1835.



Low 99. The so-called "plough penny" issued by Walsh achieved wide circulation in upstate New York.



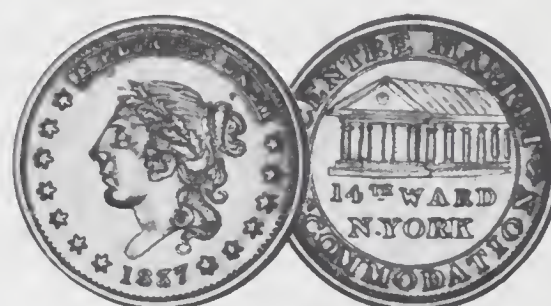
Low 103. This token of R. & W. Robinson reproduces on the obverse an award medal received from the American Institute.



Low 107. Issued by Henry Anderson, proprietor of a boot and shoe store in Chatham Square, New York.



Low 108. German silver token good for one glass of soda water. Issued by R. L. Baker, Charleston, South Carolina.



Low 111. One of several tokens issued by the Centre Market of New York City.



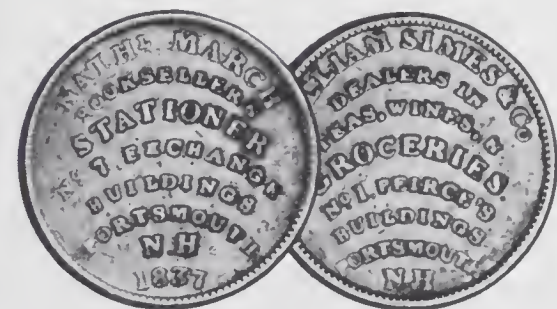
Low 112. Depicting a large umbrella, this token was issued by Henry Crossman, a New York City manufacturer.



Low 113. A variation of the Crossman token shows an eagle on the obverse.



Low 114. Token of J. H. Dayton's Union Steam Washing Establishment, New York City.



Low 124. Token combining the advertisements of Nathaniel March and William Simes & Co., both of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.



Low 125. Token of S. Maycock & Co., manufacturers of the "Ever Pointed Pencil Case."



Low 140. The obverse of this token issued by Ezra B. Sweet, a dealer in metal ware, is an imitation of the United States cent of the period.

April 1830, "our federal union must be preserved," or, as some have remembered it, "our federal union, it must and shall be preserved." In 1832 Harvard College conferred upon Jackson an honorary Doctorate of Laws. This LLD degree caused much amusement. As Lyman H. Low has stated, "the judicious grieved, and his enemies rejoiced at the absurdity of the title; and it was not long before the honorary degree appeared upon a token which ridiculed him."

One of the most widely circulated tokens of the era depicts Jackson emerging from a chest of money holding a purse in one hand and a sword in the other. This was a reference to the fear, subsequently reported in the *Albany Argus* on October 1, 1842, that the liberties of the Union were threatened "by Union of the purse and sword in the same hands," a reference in this instance to the following administration of Martin Van Buren. Presidential power over the nation's money and military has been the subject for concern at intermittent intervals since that time. In 1832 Jackson campaigned against Henry Clay. The president's stand against the Bank of the United States struck a popular chord and resulted in an overwhelming victory for him. In order to lessen the effectiveness of the Bank of the United States, which was chartered to continue until 1836, Jackson removed federal deposits from it and placed them in state banks. This and his July 1836 specie circular were among the causes of the nationwide financial panic of 1837 and the consequent depression.

In May 1835 Martin Van Buren, Jackson's vice president, was nominated for the presidency. His platform included opposition to rechartering the Bank of the United States. During his administration the main problem concerned the nation's depressed economy. Van Buren urged that an independent Treasury be established apart from the United States government and that the Treasury surplus was not to be distributed to the states. His stand on this and other issues alienated many conservative Democrats and at the same time caused him to be denounced by the Whigs. Seeking re-election, he was defeated overwhelmingly by William Henry Harrison in the 1840 election campaign.

In his inaugural address Van Buren declared, "I follow in the steps of my illustrious predecessor," a reference to Jackson. Caricaturists of the era represented the newly-elected president carefully stepping in the footprints of a jackass, a sentiment which extended itself to certain tokens of the time.

The Panic of 1837 resulted in many business failures and a hoarding of coins in circulation. This period was

generally referred to as the era of "Hard Times," the title of which was later adopted to include tokens of the wider 1833-1844 period.

To fill the need for small change in circulation, a wide variety of copper tokens appeared in 1837. One issue bore the legend SUBSTITUTE FOR SHIN-PLASTERS, a reference to the flood of often-worthless paper money issues distributed by banks, merchants, and others, which were called "shin-plasters" and which had backing no stronger than the financial credit of the issuer, which was sometimes nil.

Important among the issuers of Hard Times tokens was the firm of J. M. L. & W. H. Scovill, of Waterbury, Connecticut. This firm and its successors have a rich numismatic history. In 1862 Scovill produced encased postage stamps. Later the firm supplied planchets to the United States Mint for the production of nickel alloy coins.

Scovill's beginnings can be traced to 1802 when Abel Porter & Co. produced buttons. The company was composed of Silas Grilley (who earlier had made pewter buttons in Waterbury), Abel Porter, Levi Porter, and Daniel Clark. Brass was formed into ingots on the premises, transported to nearby Bradleyville, where it was rolled into strips, and then returned to Waterbury for cutting and stamping. In 1806 Levi Porter withdrew from the firm in order to enter the clock business with Eli Terry, a pioneer Connecticut manufacturer. David Hayden, a manufacturer of brass buttons in Attleboro, Massachusetts, came to Waterbury and became a partner. A water-powered mill was constructed on the site later occupied by Scovill. In 1809 Grilley left the business, and in 1811 the firm was dissolved. A new company was founded by Frederick Leavenworth, David Hayden, and James M. L. Scovill under the name of Leavenworth, Hayden & Scovill. The former business of Porter was acquired. In 1827 Hayden and Leavenworth left the firm, and W. H. Scovill, J. M. L.'s younger brother, acquired a half interest in the business. The title was changed to J. M. L. & W. H. Scovill.

On March 31, 1830, the main building was destroyed by fire and all of the machinery was lost. Restoration began immediately and it was completed by the following July. In 1836 John Buckingham, their brother-in-law, was admitted as a partner in a separate enterprise which manufactured hinges under the name of Scovill & Buckingham. In 1840 the son of John Buckingham (Scovill M. Buckingham) and his son-in-law, Abram Ives, were taken into the business of J. M. L. & W. H. Scovill. For the next ten years but-

tons were manufactured under the name of Scovill & Co., while the original J. M. L. & W. H. Scovill name was used in the manufacture of rolled brass and brass wire.

Shortly after their invention in 1839, daguerrotype plates were introduced into the United States. By 1842 a strong demand was created for the devices, which were composed of silver-plated copper with a mirror-like surface. Scovill entered the field and soon became the largest manufacturer of these in the United States. Cameras and other photographic goods were soon added to the line. Branches were established in New York, Boston, and Chicago.

In 1850 the various Scovill enterprises were combined under a stock company which adopted the name of Scovill Manufacturing Company. The firm continued its growth and entered many new product lines. By 1912 the company had a capitalization of \$5 million and employed 4,000 people.

Among the Hard Times tokens made by Scovill are those listed by Low as numbers 31-40, 45-48, 58-65, 67, 68, 95-97, 107, 110, 111, 115, 122, 123, 127, 130, 133-136, 138, 153, and 154.

In Attleboro, Massachusetts, the firm of H. M. & E. I. Richards, controlled by two cousins, Henry Manning Richards and E. Ira Richards, produced a wide variety of Hard Times tokens. Low traces the beginning of the firm to Ira's father, also named Ira Richards, who began manufacturing jewelry in Attleboro about 1815. The two cousins were employed by him until 1830, when the firm of H. M. & E. I. Richards was formed. The company later dissolved, and in 1837 H. M. Richards went to Philadelphia where he continued the manufacture of jewelry articles.

In Belleville, New Jersey, John Gibbs, who on a token known as Low 150, described himself as MANUFACTURER OF MEDALS AND TOKENS, was a senior partner of Gibbs, Gardner & Co. His business was located in a building on the same premises as Stevens, Thomas & Fuller, a company which produced dies and struck minor coins for Brazil, Liberia, Santo Domingo, and various private merchants. Stevens had earlier obtained his training in Birmingham, England.

The coining facility became known as the *Belleville Mint*. Many different varieties associated with the Hard Times token series, including some bearing the evasive legend NOT ONE CENT, were made there. In addition, similarly-sized copper coins known as *bouquet sous* were made for circulation in Canada. The floral bou-

quet design was used in one instance as a reverse for a token issued by William Gibbs, father of John Gibbs, who proclaimed himself to be an AGRICULTURIST.

Another piece issued at Belleville bears the same reverse as the Canadian bouquet sou. The obverse has the inscription T. DUSEAMAN BUTCHER, BELLEVILLE.

T. D. Seaman operated a hotel in Belleville around 1837 and also apparently engaged in trade as a butcher. He was probably the same as one Tobias D. Seaman who was proprietor of the Mechanics' Hotel, 188 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey, from about 1845 to 1850, and, following that, in 1851 the South Ward Hotel at 398 Broadway, also in Newark. It is probable that the token known as Low 148 and bearing the DUSEAMAN legend was in reality issued for Seaman. The workmanship is very crude, and for this reason the piece was probably rejected by Seaman when he first saw it. A diecutter at the Belleville Mint simply added an extraneous U in place of the period between the D and SEAMAN, creating the *Duseaman* name. After the U was added the piece was suitable for general purposes and could be sold to anyone in quantity. As such pieces sold for less than a cent but circulated at the value of one cent each, a profit was to be made.

Hard Times tokens designated as Low 72 and 73 were issued by Francis L. Brigham, who advertised as a DEALER IN DRY GOODS BY WHOLESALE AND RETAIL at Cheapside, New Bedford, Massachusetts. Low relates that *Cheapside* was the designation given in the 1830s to a portion of Pleasant Street which formed the east side of what was then called Market Square. It was bordered by a long one-story building which is shown on the 1833 tokens issued by Brigham. A few years later, in 1836, Brigham was listed in the New Bedford directory as a dentist with an office at 24 Purchase Street. Brigham died at the age of 42 on September 18, 1845.

Isaac B. Bucklin, of Troy, New York, issued a number of tokens, many of which advertised his "Bucklin's Bookkeeping Simplified," 1834. According to the token, this system SHOWS ONE VIEW THE EXACT STATE OF YOUR BUSINESS. The reverse of the piece described as Low 77 states: BUCKLINS INTEREST TABLES. 100 DOLLARS FOR DETECTING AN ERROR OF 1 CENT. SHOWS THE INTEREST AT A GLANCE OF ANY SUM FOR ANY TIME AT 6 AND 7 PER CENT. PRICED FROM 25 CENTS TO 2 DOLLARS. Bucklin, a Troy school teacher, lived in nearby West Troy. He furnished special instruction in bookkeeping and also

engaged in printing and selling interest tables and various accounting devices. From 1839 on he was a stove dealer at 221 River Street in Troy.

The token described as Low 81 was issued by the Howell Works Garden in 1834. This was apparently a resort or social area connected with the Howell Works, manufacturers located in Howell, Monmouth County, New Jersey. Founded as Monmouth Furnace in 1814, the enterprise was acquired by James P. Allaire around 1822. The name was changed to the Howell Works, under which designation business was conducted for about a quarter century. At one time the enterprise issued paper money in such denominations as 6¼c, 12½c, \$3, \$5, and \$10.

The Merchants' Exchange located in Wall Street, New York, furnished the motif for one of the most widely-circulated tokens of the era. The obverse depicts the building with the legend MERCHANTS EXCHANGE WALL ST. N. YORK BUILT 1827 BURNT 1835. The structure was begun in 1825 and was first occupied on May 1, 1827. On December 16, 1835 it was destroyed by fire.

Walsh's General Store in Lansingburgh, Rensselaer County, New York, issued the token described as Low 99. This 1835 issue shows on the reverse a plow with the legend SPEED THE PLOUGH, IT FEEDS ALL, a reference to the interest in horticulture and farming shown by the issuer, Alexander Walsh. He conducted a store for more than 30 years. Locally his enterprise was known as *Walsh's Museum* due to the interesting and unusual variety of stock it contained.

Walsh achieved prominence in his own area. In 1825 he was a guest of Governor DeWitt Clinton and accompanied him on the first boat in ceremonies observing the opening of the Erie Canal. He was a recipient of a special silver medal struck to commemorate the event. In 1839 Henry Clay was a guest at Walsh's home in Lansingburgh. In 1846 he retired from business. On August 4, 1849 he died. Several varieties of tokens, struck by H. M. & E. I. Richards, were issued by Walsh. Those with the aforementioned design were known as "Plough pennies" in the upstate New York area, where apparently they achieved an extensive circulation.

One of the most plentiful of all Hard Times tokens is the variety designated as Low 120. The obverse illustrates a standing eagle with a serpent in its talons, with the date 1837 below. The reverse bears the inscription ONE CENT in the center with FEUCHTWANGER'S COMPOSITION surrounding. The issue is of small diameter, 18.5 millimeters,

and is struck in a light-colored material known as German silver. Numerous minor die variations are known to exist.

These pieces and certain related issues of the three-cent denomination were the product of Dr. Lewis Feuchtwanger. Born at Furth, near Nuremberg, Germany in 1807, he went on to attend school and graduate from Heidelberg University. Duelling was a special interest, and he was said to have won each of the nine duels in which he fought. Feuchtwanger came to America sometime in 1831 or earlier, for in that year he wrote for *Silliman's American Journal of Science and Arts* an article about arsenic. In the same year Feuchtwanger's composition metals, to which the name *German silver* was given, were mentioned in print, but it is possible that it was first compounded at an earlier time.

In 1831 he was in the drug business at 377 Broadway, New York, where he remained until 1836. In 1835 and 1836 he was awarded silver medals by the American Institute for his metallic composition and for his exhibit of over 100 different articles made from the substance.

On March 15, 1837, he advertised in the *New York Courier and Enquirer* that he would execute upon short notice orders for items cast in German silver, and that he had on hand 400 dozen German silver teaspoons, 200 dozen teaspoons of the same material, as well as 50 dozen forks, 50 dozen butter knives, an unspecified quantity of sugar tongs, napkin rings, ladies' scissors, hooks, children's mugs, and other articles. In the same year he relocated to 2 Cortland Street, at the corner of Broadway. On September 13, 1837, he submitted a lengthy petition to Congress urging the adoption of his metal as a substitute for copper in minor coinage. The petition read:

FEUCHTWANGER COMPOSITION

That your memorialist (Lewis Feuchtwanger of New York City) after repeated labors, has succeeded in making and perfecting a metallic composition, known as German silver, of clean, white, and durable material, of specific value, from which coins and all articles can be advantageously manufactured, as are now wrought out of pure silver.

Your memorialist proposes to your honorable body to substitute this composition for the copper currency of the country, by striking off pieces of the size of a dime, and of the value of one cent, specimens of which he has prepared for inspection. [This is in reference to the pieces known today as Low 120.] Your memorialist proposes to furnish this substitute for copper as cheaply as copper is now furnished to the Mint, and is confident that the "silver cent" thus proposed as a substitute for the cent pieces would be more acceptable, more portable, and will be more generally used in making up the fractional parts of a dollar. Your

memorialist prays your honorable body to take the subject under your consideration . . .

Sen. Thomas Hart Benton wrote to Robert Patterson, director of the Philadelphia Mint, inquiring about the merits of the Feuchtwanger petition. On January 4, 1838, Patterson replied:

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 14th of October, accompanied by a "memorial of Lewis Feuchtwanger, praying Congress to substitute his invention, called German silver, in place of the copper coinage of the United States."

On this memorial you asked my opinion, to be laid before the Committee on Finance of the Senate at the present session. I have accordingly given the matter my full consideration, and have been led to form an opinion unfavorable to the project of Mr. Feuchtwanger for reasons which I now proceed respectfully to lay before you.

1st. The German Silver, argentan, or packfong is a complicated and very variable compound, as is shown by the following table of analysis, in which:

No. 1 exhibits the composition of the best argentan manufactured by Henninger in Berlin in Prussia.

No. 2 that of packfong, a compound long since employed in China and analyzed by Engstrom.

No. 3 another kind of packfong, is said to cost, in China, one fourth its weight in silver, analyzed by Dr. Fife.

No. 4 compound known in Central Germany for more than eighty years, as the Lühler White Copper, analyzed by Keferstein.

No. 5 argentan, manufactured in England in 1833 by Professor James C. Booth, now of the Franklin Institute . . .

Patterson went on to relay the specific analyses of the different compounds and to give objections concerning them. It was stated that Feuchtwanger's composition resembled silver closely, so that embarrassment and loss might occur from confusing the two kinds of metal. "Our present coins of gold, silver, and copper do not offer any such difficulty," Patterson said. It was further alleged that alloying was very difficult, and that part of the zinc used in the alloy volatilized when the alloy was made and had to be replaced with a fresh quantity of zinc, therefore making it impossible to produce a compound of consistently uniform proportions.

Once the German silver compound was rejected by Congress, Feuchtwanger did not seem to pay the petition much further attention. He concentrated on his chemical and drug business. In 1839 his establishment was located at 7 Gold Street. In 1840 he was at 320 Broadway as an "apothecary and operative chemist." In 1842-1843 his address was 1½ Wall Street, and later in 1843 at 2 Wall Street.

In 1838 Feuchtwanger wrote a treatise on gems, a special interest. This was carried through several edi-

tions, with the 1872 edition, published many years later, having 528 pages. In 1873 he wrote a book on soluble glass.

Feuchtwanger attended the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851 and wrote magazine articles concerning the gems there. For a time his personal collection of valuable stones was exhibited in New York's Central Park. Later the pieces were presented to the Society of Ethical Culture at Central Park West and 62nd Street. He was a member of the New York Lyceum of Natural History, the American Association of Science, the Maryland Academy of Science, and other organizations. He died on June 25, 1876, at the age of 69.

The token described as Low 124 apparently was a joint venture of two Portsmouth, New Hampshire merchants. The obverse bears the inscription: NATHL. MARCH, BOOK SELLER & STATIONER NO. 7 EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, PORTSMOUTH, N.H. 1837. The reverse describes the activities of another merchant: WILLIAM SIMES & CO. DEALERS IN TEAS, WINES, AND GROCERIES. NO. 1 PEIRCE'S BUILDINGS PORTSMOUTH N.H.

Nathaniel March was born in Portsmouth on June 14, 1807. He became a junior partner in the firm of Childs & March, the successor to Childs & Sparhawk. Childs left the firm soon thereafter, and business was subsequently conducted as Nathaniel March & Co. until about 1839. After that time the business was conducted simply in his personal name, Nathaniel March. He died on July 19, 1846, after which the trade was continued by Samuel A. Badger.

William Simes was born in Portsmouth on April 9, 1806. He entered business in 1828. At different times Thomas E. Call and Henry F. Gerrish were partners. His business was sold in 1860 to Moulton & Blaisdell, who continued the trade for many decades thereafter. In 1861 and 1862 William Simes was elected mayor of Portsmouth. A third nomination was subsequently declined. The token issued by March and Simes is believed to have been struck by H. M. & E. I. Richards of Attleboro, Massachusetts.

The legend PHALONS NEW & SPLENDID STYLE OF HAIRCUTTING is found on Low 127, a token issued in 1837 by Edward Phalon who at that time was located at No. 35, Bowery, New York City. He began business as a hairdresser several years earlier. In 1834 he was located at 161 Chatham Street, one of at least 11 addresses, including that given on the token, listed for him from 1834 to 1860. In 1842 he was

Hard Times Token



The obverse of the Hard Times token designated as Low 51 depicts President Andrew Jackson emerging from a safe.

(Photo Enlarged)

situated at 214 Broadway, opposite St. Paul's, where he sold the "Amazon toupee" and "wigs and scalps," for which the American Institute awarded him a silver medal in 1841 and a premium in 1842. The American Institute itself is commemorated on several other tokens of the series, Low 75 issued by Robinson's, Jones & Co., in 1833, being an example. The American Institute conferred many awards and citations on different merchants and products, many of whom used the institute's seal in their advertising, a forerunner of the numerous exposition and fair awards which were to become popular during the last part of the 19th century.

In 1848 Phalon was located at 61 Broadway and advertised his "Chemical Hair Invigorator." Lyman H. Low relates that:

The height of his popularity was reached when, after several other removals, he occupied a gorgeous shop in the St. Nicholas Hotel, where the prices charged for service and for the various cosmetics which he offered for sale were in accordance with the brilliancy of the numerous mirrors, the gilded frames, the marble basins, and their silver-plated fixtures, which adorned the place. Here he remained until the hotel was closed.

Low had a personal interview with him in 1886, but by this time Edward Phalon could not recall specific information concerning the issuance of the 1837 tokens distributed nearly a half century earlier.

The Roxbury Coaches furnished the subject for an 1837 token designated as Low 129. The coaches were large omnibuses with a capacity of 16 to 20 people. Drawn by four horses, they made the route through what later became Washington Street, Boston, to the top of the hill in Roxbury, where a stop was made at the Norfolk House. Low relates that the coaches were handsomely painted in yellow and bore scenic designs as well as such names as *Regulator*, *Conqueror*, and *Aurora*, the latter with the scene of a goddess in a cloud-borne chariot painted on its yellow sides. By 1856 horse-drawn street cars had made the Roxbury Coaches obsolete.

Low 133 bears on the obverse the face of a clock and the inscription TIME IS MONEY. The reverse notes that it was issued by Smith's Clock Establishment located at No. 7½ Bowery, New York, in 1837. Andrew B. Smith's third-floor shop offered a wide variety of clocks for sale, mostly of the shelf type. In November 1838 the firm name was changed to A. B. Smith & Co. In 1841 it was conducted as Smith & Brothers. By that year a branch was established at No. 5 North Fifth Street in Philadelphia. Several different varieties of the Smith token are known today, in-

dicating that original production must have been quite extensive.

In 1840 the Bergen Iron Works issued a token classified by Low as No. 142. The obverse depicted an eagle with wings spread, on a section of wire cable, with the legend BERGEN IRON WORKS STORE. The reverse bore the inscription BONAE FIDEI SIGNUM, "A token of good faith." The date 1840 appears below.

The Bergen Iron Works was located at Bricksburg, later called Lakewood, New Jersey. At that time the Bergen Iron Works and its competitors engaged in the smelting of low grade "bog ore." When richer iron deposits in Pennsylvania were exploited, most of the New Jersey iron smelters ceased operations. By the late 19th century remains of some of the Bergen Iron Works buildings, which had long since been abandoned, were still to be seen. Apparently the Bergen Iron Works token was issued in conjunction with a company store operated by the firm.

Lyman H. Low described 183 different types of tokens from the 1833-1844 period. Since that time a number of other pieces, some undated but with devices, inscriptions, or appearances which suggest origin from this era, have been identified by collectors as being part of the series.

These tokens, the size of a contemporary American copper cent, circulated freely at the value of one cent. A profit was shown by the issuers who paid less than face value for them. Eugene H. Richards, a descendant of one of the founders of H. M. & E. I. Richards, informed Lyman H. Low that the token manufacturing firm shipped pieces by the thousands in kegs to customers at 60c to 75c per hundred. A token issued by Clark & Anthony, Providence, Rhode Island jewelers (listed as Low 94) was struck to the extent of 36,000 pieces, for which the jewelry firm paid Richards \$270.

The number of well-worn Hard Times tokens in existence today is abundant proof of the status which these pieces once enjoyed as a circulating medium of exchange. By the late 1850s scattered examples were still to be seen in commercial channels.

Confederate States of America Coinage

During its brief existence the Confederate States of America was responsible for two coins: the cent made on a contractual basis by a Philadelphia die cutter, and the half dollar struck in the New Orleans Mint.

In 1908 John W. Haseltine described his discovery of the Confederate cent:

I have been asked to say something about the so-called Confederate cent. A little circular issued by myself and Mr. Randall some years ago tells all the history of the striking of all these pieces, but I do not think it mentioned how I obtained the dies. One day I was told by a gentleman that a bartender in West Philadelphia had a Confederate cent. I doubted it. Mr. J. Colvin Randall (now deceased) was told the same. He conferred with me in reference to it. We decided that if either of us obtained it we would share in any profit that would accrue from it. I saw the bartender and purchased the coin from him. It was in nickel and he said that he received it over the bar. I knew by the head on the obverse that it was Mr. Lovett's work. I called on Mr. Lovett and he denied ever having made such dies. At numerous times I called to induce him to give me some information about them, but he always stuck to his story that he did not make them, until one day he pulled out a drawer in one of his cabinets and I beheld a line of little Confederate cents. He then owned up and told me that he had eleven of them but formerly there were twelve, he having lost one. He said he received the order to make them for the Confederacy through a well-known jewelry firm in Philadelphia but that his wife became timid about his delivering them for fear that the United States government would arrest him for giving assistance to the enemy so he buried them in his cellar until long after the war was over, and even then he was afraid to show them. I purchased the dies from him, and, as you all probably know, did not strike any in nickel, considering them to a certain extent as originals, but we had three struck in gold and I believe five in silver and fifty-five in copper, the die breaking on the 55th piece, which is in existence, showing the break in the die.

Early in 1861 the Confederate States of America contacted Bailey & Co., Philadelphia jewelers, concerning supplying one-cent pieces for the South. Bailey commissioned Robert Lovett, Jr., a die sinker of that city, to prepare the pieces. Earlier Lovett had produced a one-cent-size token with an attractive bust of Liberty on the obverse and with his own advertisement on the reverse. This attractive design was considered ideal for use on the Confederate cent. Lovett then struck a small number of pieces, as Haseltine related. For over a decade the secret was kept. Numismatists were not aware of their existence.

Following Haseltine's discovery of the 1861 cents and the dies, he enlisted the help of J. Colvin Randall and Peter L. Krider, also of Philadelphia, to produce restrikes. They were careful not to produce any restrikes in the original metal, copper-nickel, thus preserving the integrity of the twelve pieces originally struck in 1861 by Lovett. The story of the restriking was told in an advertisement used to sell the subsequently-produced coins:

Philadelphia, April 2, 1874

Having succeeded in discovering and purchasing the dies of the Confederate cent, we, the undersigned, have concluded

to strike for the benefit of collectors a limited number, and in order to protect those gentlemen who had the [copper-nickel] pieces originally struck in 1861, we determined to strike none in that metal. Our intention was to strike 500 in copper, but after the 55th impression the collar burst and the dies were badly broken. They are now in the possession of Mr. Haseltine and may be seen at any time at his store, No. 1343 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

The history of this piece is probably known to most collectors, but for the information of those who are ignorant of the facts we will state that the dies were made by Mr. Lovett, of Philadelphia, in 1861, who says that they were ordered in that year by the South, that he struck but twelve pieces, but probably thinking that he might have some difficulty in reference to them (having made the dies for the South), he mentioned the matter to no one until a few months since, when he parted with ten pieces, struck in [copper-nickel] which he stated were all that he had, having lost two pieces. One of the said two pieces was the means of the dies and pieces being traced. Although the Confederacy did not adopt this piece, it will always be considered interesting as the only coinage designed for said Confederacy . . .

Seven restrikes were made in gold, 12 in silver, and 55 in copper. By April 2, 1874, the date of the preceding notice, six of the ten 1861 Confederate States of America copper-nickel cents had been sold.

The 1861 Confederate States of America half dollar also has an interesting history. In February of that year the state of Louisiana turned over to the Confederate States of America the United States Mint at New Orleans which had come under control of the South. Dr. B. F. Taylor, chief coiner of the Confederate States of America Mint, related on April 7, 1879, the story of the Confederate half dollar coinage in response to a request made by Marcus J. Wright of the War Department in Washington:

Your favor requesting a statement of the history of the New Orleans Mint, in reference to the coinage under the Confederate Government, is received. That institution was turned over by the state of Louisiana, the last of February 1861, to the Confederate States of America, the old officers being retained and confirmed by the government; William A. Elmore, superintendent; A. J. Guyrot, treasurer; M. F. Bonzano, M.D., melter and refiner; and Howard Millsbaugh, assayer. In the month of April orders were issued by Mr. Memminger, secretary of the Treasury, to the effect that designs for half dollars should be submitted to him for approval. Among several sent, the one approved bore on the obverse of the coin a representation of the Goddess of Liberty, surrounded by 13 stars, denoting the 13 states from which the Confederacy sprung, and on the lower rim the figures 1861. On the reverse there is a shield with seven stars, representing the seceding states; above the shield is a Liberty cap, and entwined around it stalks of sugar cane and cotton, "Confederate States of America." The dies were engraved by A. H. M. Patterson, engraver

and die sinker, who is now living in Commercial Place. They were prepared for the coining press by Conrad Schmidt, foreman of the coining room (who is still living), from which four pieces only were struck. About this time an order came from the Secretary suspending operations on account of the difficulty of obtaining bullion, and the Mint was closed on April 30, 1861.

Of the four pieces mentioned, one was sent to the government, one presented to Professor Biddle of the University of Louisiana, one sent to Dr. E. Ames of New Orleans, the remaining one being retained by myself. Upon diligent inquiry I am unable to find but one piece besides my own, that being in the possession of a Confederate officer of this city, who transmitted it to his son as a souvenir of his father's in the Confederate cause . . .

As was true with the Confederate cent, the existence of the Confederate half dollar was unknown for many years after its coinage. It was not until 1879 that Dr. Taylor revealed that he owned a specimen. In April of that year Taylor sent his coin, together with the original reverse die, to E. Mason Jr., a Philadelphia coin dealer, with the instructions to tell the public of the coin's existence.

The die subsequently found its way to J. W. Scott & Co., coin and stamp dealers. David Proskey, a former employee of Scott, related how restrikes were made from the original die:

J. W. Scott bought the die of the reverse of the Confederate half dollar, together with the Proof specimen of the only known Confederate half dollar, at that time, from E. B. Mason, Jr., of Philadelphia. The United States Government had seized the obverse as its property, and could have seized both sides, as at the close of the war in 1865 the U.S. government became the heir of the Confederacy.

Scott decided to strike impressions from his die, and he sent out circulars offering silver restrikes at \$2 each, agreeing to have only 500 pieces struck. Preparing for this issue, Scott purchased 500 United States half dollars of New Orleans mintage and had the reverses drilled off. Then for fear that the die would break, a steel collar was affixed, and 500 impressions in white metal were struck in order to be able to supply something should the die go to pieces, but the die held intact even after the silver pieces were struck. Each of the latter obverses (Liberty seated) was placed on a blank of soft brass and then struck on a screw press. This helped to keep the obverse from flattening. The writer supervised the process so that the workers kept no specimens for souvenirs. The die was then softened and cut across, so that no more could be struck from the perfect die. The die now reposes in the collection of the Louisiana Historical Society, the gift of Mr. J. Sanford Saltus. A couple of brass impressions exist showing the ridge across. These are now in the collection of Mr. Elliott Smith, New York City.

When all were struck Scott sent out circulars with the coins to the subscribers offering to pay 50c each over the subscription price for the return of any of the pieces, stating as a reason "oversubscription," which was untrue. It was

doubtful if over 250 were sold, as Scott had a plentiful supply of them for over 30 years thereafter. He gradually raised the price to \$15 each. The original Proof half dollar was several times placed in various auction sales, but always "bought in." Finally the writer sold it to Mr. J. Sanford Saltus for \$3,000, who presented it to the American Numismatic Society.

Medals

Medals form a rich part of American numismatic history. Literally thousands of different varieties have been produced since the earliest colonial times. Mostly of private issue, medals describe a wide variety of persons, places, things, and events.

Prior to his death in 1887, C. Wyllys Betts, one of the most prominent numismatists of the late 19th century, compiled a listing of over 600 medals which saw publication posthumously in 1894 under the title *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*. Betts divided the subject into the following categories: The Period of Discovery (1556-1631), The Period of Colonization (1632-1637), The Vernon Medals (1739-1741), American Proclamation Pieces of Ferdinand VI of Spain (1746-1747), The Period of Intercolonial Wars (1745-1763), American Proclamation Pieces of Charles III of Spain (1760-1761), From the Peace of Paris to the Revolution (1763-1775), The Period of the Revolutionary War (1775-1782), and The Independence of America Recognized (1782-1786).

Each medal in the Betts reference was assigned a number and given a description. For example, Betts-400 described a medal pertaining to the destruction of Kittanning by Col. Armstrong on September 8, 1756. The obverse depicts the arms of the City of Philadelphia. The reverse was described as:

Log cabin village in flames; to the right a river; in the foreground an officer accompanied by two men points to a soldier firing under cover of a tree; an Indian falling on the bank of the river at the right.

Kittanning was an Indian village on the Alleghany River, 45 miles from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, which was destroyed in the French and Indian War by Col. Armstrong of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Each of the commissioned officers in the engagement received one of these medals in silver. The dies were made by Edward Duffield, a watch maker at Philadelphia, and are now in the United States Mint. Restrikes have been made in bronze.

Betts-614 describes a medal combining the reverse design of the 1776 Continental dollar with an obverse described as:

FELICITAS : BRITANNIA : ET : AMERICA (Literally, Happiness, Britain and America). In exergue, in two lines,

MDCCLxxxiii SEPT. 4. At the right Britannia seated, facing the left; by her side a shield with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew; in her left hand is a spear, and her right is extended towards an Indian Queen, who is advancing with a bow in her right hand, and a quiver behind her back; between them flies a dove with an olive-branch; in the distance is a view of London, in which appear St. Paul's Cathedral and the Monument.

Certain tokens which have been incorporated into reference books listing early American coins and medals, the 1778-9 Rhode Island ship medal for example, were described in Betts.

In 1878 J. F. Loubat published *The Medallic History of the United States of America, 1776-1876*, which covered many medals of the period following the colonial era. Particularly significant are many United States Mint medals of the early 19th century, including numerous varieties depicting events of the War of 1812.

Throughout the 19th century private medals were struck on many occasions. The 1876 Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia furnished the occasion for hundreds of different issues ranging in size from tiny medalets to large productions measuring several inches in diameter. The 1889 centennial of Washington's inauguration, the 1892 400th anniversary of Columbus' arrival in America, and other events saw a rich outpouring of medallic art. The tradition has been continued to the present day.

Many 19th- and 20th- century medals of the approximate diameter of a silver dollar have been designated as so-called dollars by collectors. A reference work, *So-Called Dollars*, by Harold E. Hibler and Charles V. Kappen, chronicles over 1,000 issues. The 1826 completion of the Erie Canal, the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and the Hudson-Fulton celebration of the same year, the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, the William Jennings Bryan presidential campaigns of 1896 and 1900, and the feelings and beliefs of private individuals ranging from Thomas Elder, the well-known coin dealer, to Aaron White (a Connecticut lawyer who distrusted paper money and who in the 19th century produced a token with the inscription NEVER KEEP A PAPER DOLLAR IN YOUR POCKET TILL TOMORROW), were among the many issuers and events in the so-called dollar series.

Particularly significant among so-called dollars are the 1900-1901 Lesher referendum *dollars* made in Victor, Colorado. Lesher, who believed in the future of silver despite its depressed price, issued a series of octagonal medals at the *face value* of \$1.25 each, promising to redeem them at any time. To assure redemption

an equivalent amount of money was deposited at a local bank. The idea spread, and Lesher pieces were soon distributed by a wide variety of local businesses, including A. B. Bumstead, a Victor grocer; J. M. Slusher, a grocer in nearby Cripple Creek; Sam Cohen, a Victor jeweler, and others. Adna Wilde, who studied the series in detail and published his findings in a 1978 issue of *The Numismatist*, estimated that fewer than 1,900 Lesher dollars were made totally. Of this number he was able to trace the precise location of 384 individual pieces which appeared in exhibitions, auction sales, and dealers catalogues over the years, a task made easier by the fact that nearly all Lesher dollars were stamped with a distinctive serial number.

Indian Peace Medals

The discovery of America forced both a new world and a new people into the mainstream of European thought and politics. England, France and Spain each cultivated the loyalty and friendship of the Indian tribes surrounding their colonies. Good relations obviously added to the security of the fragile settlements, and loyal tribes were valuable allies when the interminable European wars spread to the colonies.

Silver medals, bearing the royal image, were awarded to the Indian chiefs and important warriors as an integral part of the European Indian policy. Trade goods and even firearms had practical advantages as gifts and rewards, but only the medals conveyed the esteem and prestige of favor with the European *fathers across the water*. The medals, worn proudly around the neck, fostered the same sense of honor, rank and loyalty to the Crown that European orders and decorations symbolized to the European aristocracy.

The Jesuits, on the leading edge of European intrusion into the wilderness, gave the Indians religious medals and symbols in their crusade to convert and civilize the *savages*. The peace medal was another replacement for their totems, and was undoubtedly believed by them to have the power of a talisman.

Two centuries later, it is difficult to fully appreciate the fragility of this new nation under the administration of George Washington. Most of the Indians had sided with the British during the Revolution, or better stated, had sided against colonial expansion. With the founding of an independent American nation, established on a continent largely populated and controlled by Indians hostile to the colonists, with loyalties established by custom to the now ousted foreign government, the new government faced the challenge of

Indian Peace Medals

See color plate 40 for Washington peace medal

All photos reduced



Louis XV, France
Circa 1735



"Season" medal obverse
Washington's second term
Circa 1797



Reverse of James Garfield medal
Circa 1882



Reverse of Thomas Jefferson medal
1801



Reverse of Abraham Lincoln medal
1862



Reverse of Millard Fillmore medal
1850

establishing an equitable yet effective Indian policy. This new policy, which provided for the establishment of peaceful relations while allowing for expansion beyond the artificially imposed boundaries of colonial rule, brought changes in the symbolism and purpose of the Indian peace medals. The Indians were realists and soon recognized that they must deal with a new *Great White Father* on this side of the Atlantic. At one of the earliest peace conferences, with the Choctaw in 1786, the American commissioners reported to Congress that the Indians wished to exchange their British medals and commissions for new American ones. As the government negotiated new treaties, terms often called for the conferring of *great medal chiefs* with appropriate ceremony and gifts. This young nation, conceived as a magnificent experiment in the tolerable limits of diversity, would be forced to test this concept with regard to these native inhabitants. As the attitude of the citizenry changed over the next hundred years, changes in government policy were dictated. The medals reflected these changes and the process and development of the culture which produced them. Today these medals provide a permanent and tangible history of our nation's expansion across a continent, as *civilization* was brought to the wilderness.

The first large oval silver medals issued by the Washington administration (circa 1789) were inscribed with his name, and a design intended to symbolize peace and friendship between the two cultures. By 1792, the design had been changed to include Washington in a posture of friendship with the Indian chief. The reverse of the Washington medals featured the arms of the United States; the eagle with extended wings, shield on breast, carrying an olive branch and 13 arrows.

The decision to change the design, from the allegorical figure of Minerva, to a portrait of Washington, was probably prompted by a desire to give the Indian an association with the new leader. The European medals had featured the reigning monarch, and the new medals were fashioned in the same tradition. The Washington medals, all quite rare, were individually engraved by private silversmiths. When one sees the enormous variations in the figure of Washington on the early oval medals, one is thankful that they chose not to fill the obverse of the medal with his face alone. The medals vary in style, although they seem to fall into three sizes for presentation to differing ranks of chiefs. The European medals had been produced in round shape from engraved dies, but America did not have this minting capability until after 1792. The

medals honoring Revolutionary heroes and victories had been ordered from France. The Washington medal added one new and very important symbol to the design. The background of one design featured a house and a farmer plowing with a yoke of oxen. The Americans' dream for their new land, and hopefully the role of the Indian of the future, could not have been made clearer.

Washington made his policy towards the Indians clear while addressing a delegation of Cherokees:

When I have retired to my farm I shall hear of you; and it will give me great pleasure to know that you have taken my advice, and are walking in the path which I have described. But before I retire, I shall speak to my beloved man, the Secretary of War, to get prepared some medals, to be given to such Cherokees as by following my advice shall best deserve them. For this purpose Mr. [Silas] Dinsmoor is from time to time to visit every town in your nation. He will give instructions to those who desire to learn what I have recommended. He will see what improvements are made; who are most industrious in raising cattle; in growing and weaving; and on those who excel these rewards are to be bestowed.

The Indian peace medals were intended to encourage agricultural and domestic skills as well as foster loyalty to America.

Washington ordered a series of medals for his second term to be made in England of a design featuring agricultural and domestic scenes, which became popularly known as *Season medals*. The medals did not arrive until the administration of Adams, who used them instead of ordering personal medals. The supply of Season medals survived until as late as 1806 when they were used by Lewis and Clark.

Changing the medals to the older European style after the individually engraved Washington oval medals is of some interest. Father Francis Paul Prucha, in his marvelous study, *Indian Peace Medals in American History*, suggests that the Federalist administrations, under attack for monarchical tendencies, shied away from the more regal bearing of the European medals. This reason is undoubtedly partially responsible for the original choice of style for American peace medals. However, it is also true that until the establishment of a national mint, the government did not have the technical ability, nor the engravers, to produce a quality product. America aspired to be a world power even at this early date and one of the first concerns of the Congress was establishing a mint and issuing currency. With this

All quotes taken directly from Indian Peace Medals in American History by Father Francis Paul Prucha.

accomplished, America had the capacity to imitate more closely the medals produced in Europe. Although proudly aware of newly won freedom from *old world* restraints, American culture continued to model and judge itself on the basis of its European heritage. Having selected their leader, the decision to use his face and figure on the medals was logical. With the exception of John Adams, who used the Season medals ordered by Washington, the tradition was maintained as each new president came into office. Continuing through the administration of Benjamin Harrison, in 1889, the Indian peace medal carries the image of the *Great Father* in Washington. In the 1840s special Adams medals were struck to *complete* the presidential series. The design decision proved to be a good one, as for all appearances the Indians cherished the new full portrait of their *Great White Father*.

The expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, 1804-1806, marked the beginning of the *Manifest Destiny* that would bring America to the Pacific. Attempting to fill the power vacuum left by the French, Spanish and British in the vast interior, the expedition was well equipped with peace medals. Their inventory indicated three large size Jefferson medals; 13 Jeffersons of the second size; 16 Jeffersons of the third size; 55 of the fourth size (Washington Season medals); and a few additional pieces.

The medals were awarded by Lewis and Clark with great ceremony, usually including gifts, certificates, flags, clothes and the firing of guns. In their desire to make friends for themselves and their country, Lewis and Clark did not practice the restraint of the early Europeans, who awarded fewer medals, with the attendant honor being proportionately greater. With their saturation method, and their failure to record who among the Indians they made *medal chief*, they started a tradition that was regrettably followed by other explorers and eventually the Bureau of Indian Affairs as well.

The 32 Jefferson medals were produced by the Mint in a design which was to set the tradition for many years. Round in the traditional shape and style of European medals, the obverse featured a portrait of Jefferson; the reverse the clasped hands of Indian and settler, the legend PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP, and a crossed tomahawk and peace pipe. Robert Scot, Mint engraver, probably cut the dies; but it is not known if the reverse design of clasped hands was his idea alone. One possible conclusion is that a change in policy eliminated the farmer in favor of the chevron. Bauman L. Belden, who produced the first serious study of the Indian peace

medals in 1927, felt that the Jefferson medals were the work of the German engraver John Reich. Reich arrived in America in 1801 but did not become Scot's assistant until 1807. Perhaps the change in design was simply a result of Reich's unofficial influence. The Mint did not possess sufficient machinery to strike the pieces in solid silver, so they were made hollow and held together by a ring.

While medals and coins are among the longest lasting symbols of the age which produces them, it is dangerous to draw conclusions from them alone. The PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP reverse lasted through the administration of Zachary Taylor at mid-century. It would be tempting to assume that this showed fifty years of consistent Indian policy, when in fact, the opposite is true. Between 1790 and 1834, six Indian acts were passed by Congress, each encouraging the orderly advance of the frontier. Of course, *advance* meant conflict as more and more Indian territory was usurped by white settlers. The policy called for assimilating the Indian into our advancing civilization by educating him and subverting his culture into the way of the white man. The frontiersman tended towards a more direct approach.

The issuance of the medals achieved status as an official government tradition during the 1830s and 1840s. Moritz Furst, a well-known medalist, produced the obverse dies for the medals of James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren.

The administration of Millard Fillmore marked the first new medal reverse in half a century. The clasped hands were replaced by a white civilian and Indian in blanket, with the American flag, as a backdrop for the two figures. The background of plow, ax and farm recalls the earliest Washington oval medals. PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP was replaced by LABOR, VIRTUE, HONOR. The dies were cut by Joseph Wilson and Salathiel Ellis, who also made the subsequent medals for Franklin Pierce.

The medals of James Buchanan featured yet another new reverse by Ellis and Wilson, showing a central image of an Indian farmer contrasting against a surrounding scene of a scalping. This same reverse was used for the Lincoln medals.

Anthony C. Paquet designed another new reverse for the Andrew Johnson medals, and still another for Ulysses S. Grant, which eliminated any hint of Indians except for one small peace pipe.

The Indian in headdress reappeared for the Ruther-

ford B. Hayes medals, engraved by George T. Morgan. His peace medal design featured the settlers pointing out the advantages of civilization to the Indians in an oval design. Morgan's oval design lasted to the final issue of Benjamin Harrison. The last of the Indian peace medals returned to a round form with still another new reverse.

The Mint was already producing bronze restrikes of the official medals in 1842, under the direction of Robert M. Patterson, who wished to assemble the Mint Cabinet as part of America's heritage and who traced the old dies. Patterson solicited the order for the Tyler medals, as he wished to try using a portrait lathe to cut the dies, rather than using a die engraver. The result was apparently well received in Washington. Patterson also muled a set of dies bearing the portrait of John Adams, to correct the omission of nearly a century before and to complete the presidential series. Unfortunately, Patterson was more concerned with the numismatic tradition of a national series of medals than he was with the symbolism of the medals themselves.

In fact, government records show that practical concerns far overshadowed the symbolic aspects of the medal tradition. The most important consideration was who would engrave the president's portrait. For the Madison medals, the names of Hornton, Saint-Memin and Gilbert Stuart were among those considered. Ultimately, John Reich was utilized, with instructions to design a medal which would be solid (unlike the hollow Jeffersons) and with a legend that would not be defaced by the suspension hole. It was by no means certain that the Mint could or would produce the medals or even which office in Washington should be responsible for ordering them. The only certainty was that the Indian agents on the frontier were always in need of them and they were always late in arriving.

In spite of production problems, there is no question that both the Indians and the government considered the medals important. Thomas L. McKenney, head of the Indian Office, wrote to the Secretary of War in 1829 about the custom of awarding medals:

So important is its continuance esteemed to be that without medals, any plan of operation among the Indians, be it what it may, is essentially enfeebled. This comes of the high value which the Indians set upon these tokens of Friendship. They are, besides this indication of the Government Friendship, badges of power to them, and trophies of renown. They will not consent to part from this ancient *right*, as they esteem it; and according to the value they set upon medals is the importance to the Government in having them to bestow.

Unfortunately their increasing use as rewards for favors or for good behavior lessened their impact as symbols of leadership. This was obvious to many of the more experienced agents and explorers. A certain disillusionment was noted by some observers of the scene, as related in this letter from Lieutenant James Wilkinson, son of the commander of the U.S. Army, accompanying Zebulon Pike:

Indeed, sir, our grand medals have become so common, that they do not carry with them the respect which they should. I recollect one of the deputation who was at the seat of government, the year before the last, came out with a large medal, and an intermediate sized one. On our arrival at the villages, I calculated on his acting a conspicuous part, but to my utter astonishment, he was not permitted to sit among the chiefs or even the warriors at the council.

You will know, sir, how particular the Spaniards, and the British especially, have been in their distribution of medals, and if I mistake not, an Iowa chief, who had been to the seat of government, and there received a small medal, returned it in preference to giving up a large British medal, as he valued it more because it was a *certain* distinguishing mark of a chief.

As the Indian agents moved up the Missouri River and into the West, the medal policy was further weakened by unofficial medals distributed by traders. Under the relentless encroachment of white civilization the chiefs found their roles changing. Chief Smutty Bear, of the Yankton Sioux, complained to the agent:

We are called chiefs, but we are only chiefs in name. Our power has departed, we no longer have influence with our tribe. The young men are fools [who] have no ears for they no longer listen to us We were proud of [our medals]. They commanded respect and gave us influence with our people but the traders soon flooded the country with medals giving and selling them to the young men until they have quite all become chiefs and great men. They have refused to listen to our advice but do as they please. We have laid aside our medals as they are no longer of any use to us.

The Indian medal policy followed the expansion of the territories of trappers and farmers following the Civil War, although by this time there was nothing left of the original tradition. The Indian had simply faded from the mainstream of American consciousness. The tribes were no longer practically considered independent nations, and the years of competition for loyalty with the European powers were long past. There was no question that the United States was a world power and it had the military might to do as it wished between the two oceans. The medals were deliberately awarded to the multitudes, as Father Prucha pointed out:

To de-emphasize the importance of the chiefs and thus strike

Numismatic Americana



1861 C.S.A. 50c
Restrike



1824 Houck's Panacea
(Baltimore) counterstamp on an
1824 French 5 francs



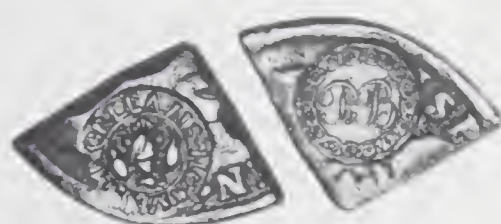
Civil War Tokens



Leshor Medal
Victor, Colorado



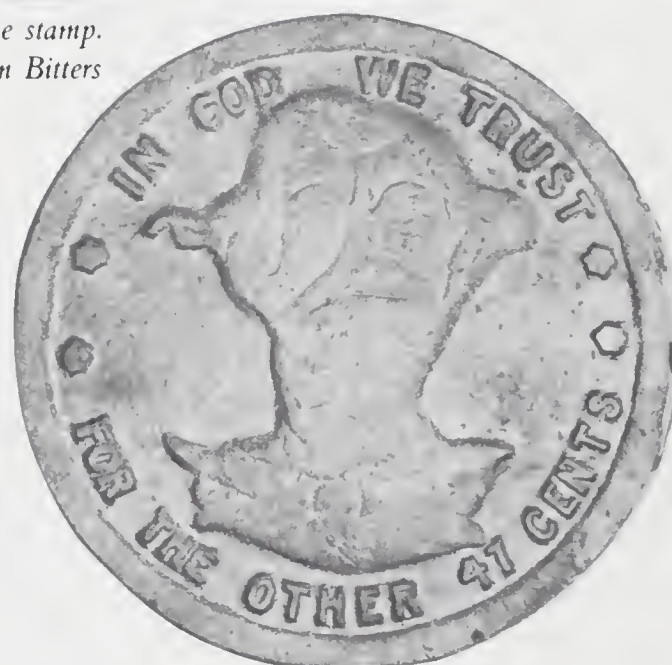
1c Encased postage stamp.
Drake's Plantation Bitters



Puech Bien & Co.
(New Orleans)
counterstamp



Lee and Reynolds token
Indian Territory



William Jennings Bryan campaign "dollar"
Photo reduced (actual size: 87.5mm)



Circa 1783 pewter medal. Betts #614



Capture of Kittanning medal

at the roots of tribalism, which many reformers came to consider a great obstacle in the acculturation of the Indians.

By 1859, the Indian was already sufficiently past history to earn a commemorative role on the Indian head cent. The great massacre of the centennial year would make headlines, and General Howard would chase Chief Joseph for many months, but the focus of American energies had shifted to the railroads, the steel mills, the grain towers, and the building of large cities.

While the last of the Indian peace medals were awarded in 1896, their demise is best illustrated by the story of Battist de Roin, an Oto Indian, who in 1887 petitioned the president for a medal, asserting that he was an Indian, not a half-breed, had always been friendly, was a Catholic and therefore was entitled to receive one. De Roin ultimately received his medal, on the condition that he was to reimburse the government \$10.71 for its cost.

Coins of Hawaii

Hawaii, the 50th state to be admitted to the Union, has an interesting coinage history. Of particular importance are several issues that were struck in quantity: the cents of 1847 and the coinage of 1883.

In 1847 an agent for the Hawaiian government ordered 100,000 copper cents from a New England coiner. The pieces bore on the obverse the bust of King Kamehameha III and on the reverse a wreath. Despite the intentions of the government the coins did not meet with public favor. In 1862, 15 years after their issue, fewer than 12,000 pieces had been distributed. In 1885 approximately 88,000 coins which remained in the hands of the government were melted for their metal value.

Claus Spreckels, a wealthy Hawaiian landholder and merchant, was responsible for the striking of \$1,000,000 face value of 1883-dated Hawaiian coins. The mintage was divided into 250,000 dimes, 500,000 quarter dollars, 700,000 half dollars, and 500,000 silver dollars. Dies bearing the portrait of King Kalakaua I on the obverse and the arms of Hawaii on the reverse were prepared in Philadelphia by Charles Barber. Proofs were struck at the Philadelphia Mint. Coinage for circulation was subsequently effected at the San Francisco Mint, although the coins bore no mintmark.

In 1903 the United States government passed legislation which provided for the redemption of outstanding Hawaiian silver coins at face value in exchange for United States issues. After January 1, 1904 the pieces

ceased to be legal tender. At that time nearly \$200,000 face value worth of pieces remained outstanding.

In addition to the regular issues there were a number of Hawaiian pattern issues produced from time to time. In 1881 pattern 5c pieces were made in several varieties. These were produced in Europe on speculation as a proposal for a Hawaiian nickel coinage. Among pattern and trial pieces of 1883 the best known is the hapawalu, or eighth dollar. It was originally intended to include the eighth dollar, or 12½c piece, as part of the 1883 series, but after dies had been prepared and patterns had been struck it was decided to use the standard 10c piece in conformity with contemporary United States coinage.

In the 1890s Reginald Huth, an English numismatist, produced private pattern coins of beautiful designs depicting Queen Liliuokalani and Princess Kaiulani of Hawaii. These pieces were struck by Pinches & Co., London medallists. These patterns, unofficial in origin, are unsurpassed in their beauty by any of the regular coinage. As such they are favorites with collectors today.

In addition to the aforementioned coins and patterns a wide variety of tokens made an appearance in Hawaii. These are widely collected by numismatists.

Miscellaneous Tokens

During the middle years of the Civil War official United States coins of all copper, silver, and gold denominations were hoarded. To fill the need for circulating change a variety of substitutes appeared, including privately-minted pieces known today as Civil War store cards. Most of these were made of bronze and were of the same diameter as a contemporary Indian cent. Many different designs and advertising inscriptions were used. In addition to store cards, which featured advertisements of merchants, a wide variety of patriotic tokens appeared, most of which referred to one or another aspect of the war.

Encased postage stamps, the invention of J. Gault, were patented in August 1862. Each unit consisted of an official United States postage stamp of a denomination between one cent and ninety cents, encased in a stamped brass frame with a protective clear mica cover. These circulated in 1862 and 1863 and furnished a convenient unit for small transactions. Most issued were of the one-, three-, and five-cent denominations.

The back of each piece bore the inscription of a merchant who purchased advertising space. Gault himself,

through his firm Kirkpatrick & Gault, 1 Park Place, New York City, advertised as did many others. Dr. J. C. Ayer, patent medicine promoter from Lowell, Massachusetts, used encased postage stamps to sell his Cathartic Pills and Sarsaparilla. Another prolific advertiser on encased postage stamps was Drake's Plantation

Bitters, an alcoholic preparation which was marketed in amber bottles shaped like a log cabin. It is believed that most encased postage stamps were produced by the Scovill Company of Waterbury, Connecticut. Earlier, Scovill was a leading manufacturer of Hard Times tokens.

Appendix I:
19th Century
Correspondence

19th Century Correspondence

The correspondence between T. Harrison Garrett and coin dealers of the 1870s and 1880s provides a fascinating insight into numismatics of the era.

The correspondence has been edited to reflect modern usage (such as the capitalization of coin grades) and to delete passages not germane to United States coinage—such as sections and letters about ancient and world coins, transmitting of checks and statements, and accounting items.

Unfortunately, much of the T. Harrison Garrett correspondence has been lost, some in the Baltimore fire of February 7, 1904. Included among the missing items are letters from 1887 and 1888, with the result that many of the letter files end abruptly.



Correspondence With the American Numismatic Society

The American Numismatic and Archeological Society (name later shortened to the American Numismatic Society) was founded in 1858. During the time of T. Harrison Garrett's activities it was the leading American organization of coin collectors. The Society grew to have the largest numismatic library of any organization and one of the most extensive coin collections.

On May 19, 1883, William Poillon, secretary of the American Numismatic and Archeological Society, then located in the New York University Building in Washington Square, New York City (later relocated in the early 20th century to its present premises at 155th Street and Broadway, New York) wrote to T. Harrison Garrett:

We have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your acceptance [as a member] and at the next meeting you will be duly elected an annual member. In the meantime you enjoy all the privileges of a regular member and will receive the publications, etc.

On August 11, 1883, the American Numismatic and Archeological Society acknowledged a receipt of \$50 for a life membership. Although T. Harrison Garrett received the organization's publications during the remainder of his lifetime, there is no indication that he played an active part in the Society.



The Chapman Brothers

The correspondence involving three members of the Garrett family, T. Harrison Garrett, Robert Garrett, and John Work Garrett, with the Chapman brothers, S. Hudson and Henry C., forms the largest group of letters in the Garrett Collection archives.

Born in Philadelphia in 1857, Samuel Hudson Chapman spent most of his life dealing in coins in that city. He began his career with John W. Haseltine, a prominent numismatist of the era, in 1876. Soon he left Haseltine to join his brother, Henry, who also had worked with Haseltine, to form one of the greatest numismatic partnerships ever known. The alliance was created in 1878 and began operations in 1879. From then until the brothers went their separate ways in 1906, the Chapmans catalogued many of the finest collections to be offered at public auction.

After the split with Henry in 1906, S. Hudson Chapman went on to catalogue nearly 30 sales, including the collections of David Wilson, Henry Jewett, William Gable, W. H. Hunter, Dr. H. W. Beckwith, F. R. Alvord, and F. G. Simpson.

In 1923, S. Hudson Chapman published "U.S. Cents of The Year, 1794", which represented his scholarly effort to depict 1794 large cents by die variety.

S. Hudson Chapman died of pneumonia in 1931, having by that time completed 55 years as a professional numismatist.

Henry Chapman, born in 1859, began dealing in coins in 1875. In 1878 he joined his brother to form the partnership which until it was dissolved in 1906 would result in nearly 80 auction sales being catalogued. Included were collections of some of the most prominent numismatists of the era.

The reputation of the Chapman Brothers was established in 1882 with the auction of the Charles I. Bushnell Collection. Bushnell, who died in 1880, took 30 years to form his cabinet. The result was one of the grandest offerings ever to be offered at public auction sale, a group especially rich in early colonial and American issues. Other notable collections sold by the Chapman Brothers included those of Ferguson Haines, Thomas Warner, Thomas Cleneay, Richard Winsor, George Massamore, Dr. Edward Maris, John Mills, William Woodin, and Harlan P. Smith.

After dissolving his partnership with S. Hudson in 1906, Henry catalogued another 50 sales until 1932. Included were the cabinets of Matthew Stickney, Capt. Andrew Zabriskie, George Earle, Charles Steigerwalt, Clarence Bement, Allison Jackman, A. P. Nygren, and John Story Jenks. He was also responsible for cataloguing the first American Numismatic Association Convention sale in 1908. At the age of 75, Henry Chapman died in his sleep following a long illness.

Many of the catalogues issued by the Chapman Brothers prior to 1907 and by the brothers individually after that date were of a large hardbound format with photographic plates. Today they are revered by collectors as representing some of the most important auction catalogues ever produced.

The correspondence between the Garrett family and the Chapmans furnishes an interesting insight into numismatics of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Selected excerpts from individual letters highlight these insights.

One of the earliest contacts with T. Harrison Garrett was on March 14, 1879, when S. H. and Henry Chapman, located at 2043 Tower Street, Philadelphia, responded to an earlier want list submitted by Garrett: "Your favor of March 13th received. We can send you on approval the following pieces which are now in stock . . ." Offered were such items as an Uncirculated

1866 gold dollar at \$2, an 1876 Proof of the same denomination, an Uncirculated 1797 half dime with 16 stars at \$15, and a lesser grade specimen of the same variety at \$9, an 1864 Proof half dime at 40 cents, an 1864 Proof silver three-cent piece at 50 cents, a 1796 quarter dollar in Poor grade with a hole at \$1.15 and others. Over the next several years numerous shipments were received from the Chapman brothers and many purchases were made.

The Chapman brothers employed a secretary who submitted extensive multiple-page letters and gave detailed descriptions of many items; descriptions which were far more elaborate and specific than those submitted by other dealers of the era. Doubtless, this influenced T. Harrison Garrett to favor the Chapman brothers with his extensive coin dealings.

During the 1870s, T. Harrison Garrett was primarily concerned with acquiring dates and major varieties of regular United States coinage. By the early 1880s, his interest had broadened to include medals and related pieces of historical importance. On November 3, 1882, for example, the Chapman Brothers submitted an 8-page letter and invoice which accompanied an approval shipment valued at a total of \$548.10. Item No. 8 is a typical example of the Chapmans' style of description:

Medal of the Columbian Order. Obverse: A scene commemorating the discovery of America. Columbus holding a staff from which floats the Spanish flag, standing on a sea coast, shaking hands with an Indian, who is smoking the calumet, a ship in background. WHERE LIBERTY DWELLS THERE IS MY COUNTRY. OCT 12 AD 1492. Reverse: A rattlesnake coiled in the grass, etc. Silver. Perfect. Unique. This unique medal was sold in the sale of October 18-22, [18]64 for \$80, and purchased by Mr. Bushnell at the sale of March 20-25, [18]65, for \$49. It is the only one known. \$30.

Garrett declined to purchase the Columbus medal but did elect to acquire from the invoice such varied items as a West Point Military Academy medal at \$2, a medal honoring Adam Eckfeldt (chief coiner of the United States Mint) at \$1, a medal honoring James R. Snowden (director of the United States Mint) at \$2, a Proof silver medal honoring Joseph J. Mickley (one of America's most prominent numismatists during the early 19th century) at \$3, a Sir Walter Scott medal at \$2, a medal of Charles Green (the aeronaut) at \$1, and a "medal of the Seventh Regiment of New York, very rare \$1."

The same invoice submitted on approval number of large cents and other American coins. In the former category were such items as a cent described:

1793 Wreath. Uncirculated. Even, sharp impression, with even milling. Original bright red color on obverse. Reverse steel color. An exquisite and beautiful specimen of the first year of the United States cent.

It is very seldom that so perfect and sharp a cent of this date is obtainable, and in all our experience we have only seen one to surpass it, and that one we sold for \$200. This is an extraordinary and magnificent piece. Price \$75.

The same invoice offered, to the present day remains a numismatic enigma, since it is not known where and how it was struck:

1795 "Jefferson" head. About as good as usual. We lately paid \$30 for one in the same condition at a sale. Extremely rare. \$15.

The Jefferson head cent, which differs in design details from contemporary cents, is believed by some to have been a pattern made outside the Philadelphia Mint as a proposal for contract coinage.

Numismatic information was often shared in the Chapmans' letters. This description, also part of the preceding invoice, describes the striking of a particular cent:

1809 Uncirculated. Light olive, and for this date a splendid specimen, finer than Mr. Bushnell's which sold for \$40. All cents of 1809 are weakly struck and thus are very easily worn. A most difficult date to get so fine and of much rarity. \$30.

Toward the end of the same invoice was a rare half cent:

1847 half cent. Restrike, but we are not sure if any originals exist, [Originals do exist of the 1847 half cent and have larger berries on the reverse wreath.] the only difference would be that the berries on the reverse are slightly larger than on the originals of other 40s. \$10.

On December 13, 1882, The Chapman brothers sent a nine-page approval invoice offering 172 pieces, mostly in the American series. Included were such items as a pair of pieces priced at \$60 and described as:

George Washington. Season medals. Two in silver of the most difficult designs to obtain. Extremely rare. The price \$60.

We purchased the pair at a sale by Scott [Capt. J. W. Scott, a prominent stamp and coin dealer] some few months since for \$25.50 each, or \$51. Expenses added equals about \$5, at \$60 they are very cheap.

On the same invoice this pair of coins was offered at \$30.

1878 patterns for the Bland dollar. [At that time the new design for the silver dollar was referred to as the "Bland dollar" after the legislator who first proposed the coinage.] One Morgan design. One Barber design. Extremely rare and brilliant Proof.

T. Harrison Garrett may or may not have been able

to decipher the Chapman Brothers cost code which, at the time, was the word GERMANICUS, used by substituting each letter in order for the digits 1 through 9, plus 0. In addition, the letters H and X also represented 0. Other letters were sometimes added to the cost code to confuse, but had no value. Under this system, the code EGHA for the preceding pair of dollars which Chapman sold for \$30, indicates that the cost to the Chapmans was \$21.05.

Grading was not carefully delineated at the time, so a typical invoice from Chapman or any other dealer would list only basic grades such as Good, Fine, Very Fine, Extremely Fine, Uncirculated, and Proof. Such modern day refinements as Almost Uncirculated (AU) and varying degrees of Uncirculated and Proof were not used.

From this same December 13, 1882 invoice, a run of half dollars, each described as Uncirculated, was offered at the following individual prices: 1808/7 \$2, 1809 \$1.50, 1811 \$1, 1812 \$2, 1813 \$1.25, 1814 \$1.75, 1815 "Very rare" \$12.00, 1819 \$1, 1820 "rare" \$2, 1822 \$1.25, 1824 "beautiful" \$1.50, 1825 "Brilliant Proof surface on obverse" \$2.00, 1826 "Brilliant Proof surface on obverse" \$1.25, 1827 \$1, 1831 75c, 1847 \$1.25, and an 1851 "Brilliant surface O Mint. Rare." \$2.50.

Among the half dimes also offered on this invoice were:

1795 Uncirculated strong, sharp, even impression—in condition as it fell from the die. Very rare. \$9, 1795 Extremely Fine (cost us \$5) \$5.25. . . 1800 Very Fine \$2.20, 1829 Proof 75c, 1832 Uncirculated 25c, 1837 Liberty seated. Straight and curved dates. Uncirculated. Mint lustre. 2 at 50c each, \$1. . . 1844 Uncirculated. Scarce. \$1 and 1845 [ditto] 35c.

Garrett considered the invoice very carefully, compared the offering with specimens in his own collection, and selected numerous pieces for purchase.

During this period, T. Harrison Garrett upgraded his coins on many different occasions. On January 18, 1883, this policy of improving coins is mentioned in a letter from Chapman:

We also have many fine gold coins and foreign silver, also medals, cents and half cents. Our stock is very fine—would you send us a list of the dates you wish to improve. . .

The same letter offered several important coins for sale:

1783 Chalmers, Annapolis threepence. From the Ely sale at \$14.50. Extremely Fine \$15.25, 1790 Standish Barry threepence, Uncirculated. Perfect. \$35.75, 1792 Washington half dollar in copper. Uncirculated, and one of, if not the finest known. Finer than Mr. Bushnell's coin which was dented on edge. Extremely rare \$65, 1792 Pattern cent. Silver

center. Uncirculated and probably the finest known. From Mr. Massamore's sale where we purchased it at \$76, much less than we would have given for it. Finer than Mr. Bushnell's, which Mr. Parmelee [referring to Lorin G. Parmelee, one of America's most active numismatists at the time]; purchased for \$120. Excessively rare. Only five known, one of which is very poor. \$120.

This letter from the Chapman brothers, on April 21, 1883, was devoted to one single coin:

. . . 1815 half eagle, in Uncirculated condition, with perhaps what might be termed the slightest touch of cabinet friction. A strong, sharp, beautiful piece. \$480.

But four specimens of this date are known to exist, which cannot, we think, be said of any other date of the United States coins; it is of greater rarity than the dollar of 1804, and in a few years when the collecting of gold develops it will no doubt command a very large figure . . . The United States Mint Collection does not contain a specimen. One of the four mentioned above is in the collection of the Swedish Mint.

On June 11, 1883, the Chapman brothers wrote to T. Harrison Garrett:

We have in stock and desire to offer you a 1793 cent, Liberty pole and cap. Extremely Fine, almost Uncirculated. Very even impression, with broad margin outside of beads which are sharp and even on both obverse and reverse. Light olive color. One of the finest specimens we have seen. A collector of cents who has seen this and the one sold in Frossard's sale of the 2nd for \$107 pronounces ours the finest. Price \$85. Will send on approval if you wish.

Garrett ordered the coin on approval, and it was sent on June 15th, only to be returned by Garrett on the 21st. When the coin arrived back at the Chapman brothers store they wrote on June 22nd:

Your letter and package containing the 1793 Liberty cap cent received.

The cent is good value for the money; the 1793 Liberty caps in the Crosby collection [referring to Sylvester S. Crosby, a dealer and researcher who wrote a monograph on 1793 coinage] are no comparison to this, and the one in the Jenks sale is only Fine. We sold it to Mr. Jenks for \$13.

We have taken the liberty to send a selection of fine pieces on approval, \$189.45 by express today, all charges prepaid. The prices are low and reasonable and the coins desirable. We hope you will find some to suit you. Please examine and return those not wanted at your earliest convenience . . .

We will attend the sales next week and will be pleased to execute any bids you may send. You can rely on our buying as low as possible!

Another letter concerning some particularly desirable large cents in stock, was sent from the Chapmans on August 14th:

We have in stock some Very Fine and Uncirculated cents of the following dates. 1793 chain Extremely Fine \$35, and a Fine Liberty Cap \$22. Sold the one we offered you to the

next gentlemen to whom we offered it at \$85. 1794, two Uncirculated, \$30 and \$25, which are the most beautiful of any we have seen. Extremely Fine \$8 and \$9, and Fine \$2.50. 1797 Uncirculated \$12. 1798 small date. Extremely Fine \$3.50, others nearly as fine \$2.50 and \$3. 1800 over 1799 Uncirculated, partly red, \$25. Others Extremely Fine up to \$9. 1801 the finest for impression and in every way that we have seen \$20, others Extremely Fine \$8 and \$10 . . .

A large approval shipment, on October 5, 1883, included a 1793 Chain cent, perhaps the one quoted earlier:

1793 Chain. AMERICA. Large date and "Liberty." Extremely Fine, sharp impression showing all the minute lines in the hair. Extremely rare in such condition. \$35.

We imported this coin from Europe at a cost of \$30 cash and sold it to a collector for \$40, again purchased it when he disposed of his cabinet.

During the 1880s, many letters went forth from the Philadelphia offices of Chapmans to T. Harrison Garrett in Baltimore. Typically, approval invoices would contain dozens of items in all series from American issues and related items such as medals, to ancient and foreign coins. Garrett had his own ideas, and he would often purchase items mentioned briefly by Chapman while at the same time ignoring some other items which the Chapman Brothers described at great length. With an eye for quality, he nearly always selected the finer grade pieces.

Garrett's tastes were far ranging. Thus he was attracted on October 5, 1883, to a "Confederate Volunteers Badge. Confederate seal in center 50c," and a couple of years later, on March 11, 1885, he responded to a Chapman offering which noted that:

We take the liberty of sending a few coins and some remarkably beautiful medals on approval to a total value of \$94 and hope you will retain many or all of them.

We would call your attention to the Brown medal which is we believe the only one in the United States in silver and is cheap at the price.

The invoice described the Brown medal in detail:

John Brown, by Wurden. Splendid portrait, and excessively rare. Only one (that in bronze) ever sold in the United States sold for \$20 at the Warner sale in 1884. Silver, beautiful Proof \$25. Unobtainable in Europe. We wrote to the largest dealers and several collectors in England and Europe and they all replied "cannot be had." This came from a fine private collection and is a gem. The only fine medal of Brown.



Correspondence with Edward D. and George W. Cogan

Edward D. Cogan was the first full-time professional numismatist in America. Born in Great Britain, he

sailed to America in 1853 at the age of 50, accompanied by his wife and six children. In 1855 he opened a store to deal in curios. Within three years, his business was devoted exclusively to rare coins.

He moved to Brooklyn, New York, in 1865 where he continued as a professional numismatist until his retirement in 1880. His youngest son, George W., continued the business. Edward D. Cogan died in 1884.

On March 15, 1879, Edward Cogan wrote to T. Harrison Garrett:

In reply to your letter of the 12th I beg to tell you I have only in stock at present in fine condition a Proof dollar of 1839, price \$43, and a Fine half dollar of 1850, New Orleans mint, \$1.50.

In the sale I shall have in April and of which I shall send you a catalogue in a few days are the following pieces that you asked for. I send the price I guess they will bring. To whatever they will bring will be added the regular commission of 5%. 1836 dollar about \$5. You will see by the catalogue the condition of each piece. 1838 and 1839 \$1 Proof \$35 and \$45, more or less. 1851 fine Proof \$30 to \$40. 1852 not Proof \$25 to \$35. 1854, 1855 \$8 to \$10, 1856 \$6 to \$9. 1858 Proof set \$40 to \$50, a single dollar a little worn brought \$31. Half dollars, all New Orleans Mint, 1849, \$1.25, 1851 \$1.12, [sic] 1852 \$1 or \$2. Quarter dollar 1796 about 75c. Three-cent piece of 1871 30c.

From this point forward all correspondence is from George W. Cogan, Edward D. having retired. On February 24, 1882, Cogan wrote to Garrett:

I noticed in the sale of last week made by Mr. Sampson you were the purchaser of Lot 956, the set of coinage for 1868 in aluminum. I had left with me for sale a set of 1867 in copper Proof at \$50 and also a silver half dollar of 1838 Liberty seated (which is excessively rare) at \$60. If you take the two lots the price is \$100. I never saw the set in copper before and the half dollar I have not sold in 6 or 7 years. Will you kindly let me know whether you would like to purchase them or not. I also have a Proof quarter of 1827 at \$140.

At the same time George W. Cogan published an announcement to his clients indicating his willingness to act as agent for several forthcoming auction sales. The collection of Charles I. Bushnell, to be sold by the Chapman brothers, was most significant and Chapman's description was reprinted by Cogan in his announcement:

We would respectfully inform you that the celebrated collection of the late Charles I. Bushnell, Esq. of New York City, has been placed in our hands to catalogue and sell at auction

This will be the finest sale of this description held within the past 15 years, and perhaps the finest ever sold. Mr. Bushnell selected only pieces pertaining to this country.

Among the colonials, Washingtons, and early patterns or

issues of the United States Mint are some pieces of the highest rarity, and several unique, and specimens of which have never been sold at auction.

All the coins and medals are in the finest possible condition, almost without exception, as Mr. Bushnell did not spare expense to improve the condition of them.

The colonials include the Massachusetts Samaritan shilling, unique; Brasher's New York doubloon; New York Excelsior, George Clinton, Liber Natus; Inimica Tyrannis; Virginia shilling; Lord Baltimore shilling, sixpence, and groat in silver, and penny in copper, unique; a Chalmers shilling, unique, etc.

The Washingtons include four half dollars and cents in silver, one half dollar, unique; naked bust cent; cents of 1791, etc.

The early patterns or issues are complete, containing the large Liberty cent by Birch; the cent of 1792, reverse with eagle on a globe, unique outside of the Mint Cabinet; the silver center cent; the dime and half-dime.

In the United States Mint issues the 1794 dollar is Fine and a good impression. Many dollars, half dollars, quarter dollars, dimes, and half dimes are in extraordinary condition. The cents and half cents are one of the finest series ever sold, etc. The Proof sets date from 1854.

The collection of medals is one of the finest in the country, containing 20 silver medals of the Peace of 1783, including the Libertas Americana; the Washington's embrace several unique, and all the finest known, among them a set of the Season medals in silver and copper. Those of Franklin, Lafayette, and the presidents are very fine.

We will charge a small sum for the catalogue of the Bushnell Collection and are, we may almost say compelled, to do so for several reasons, the truth of which nearly every collector may observe.

The first reason is the enormous waste of catalogues under the free distribution; collectors receive a copy from each of the dealers with whom they are corresponding (some have informed us they are sent 5 to 6 copies of every sale), whereas, by issuing a notice and charging for the collectors of the catalogues, a collector may send his order for it and for the sale to any dealer he selects. Some persons . . . write requesting catalogues who are not collectors, and would not do so if they cost them anything.

We will print a less number than usual on the above account, and intend to make it a work of reference, and not spare expense in the execution of the letter press. It will always be worth the price. Each copy will cost us for printing alone more than the amount charged

Of the pieces Cogan offered, the 1827 quarter was of interest as expressed in a letter written by him on March 17, 1882:

Your favor of the 13th at hand. What is the most you will give for the quarter of 1827? I will get it for you just as cheap as I possibly can. Will send the illustrated Bushnell catalogue as soon as issued. I have had a very fine lot of gold left with me for sale and also a silver pattern set of California gold, \$20, \$10, \$5, and \$2.50, the only set I have ever seen or heard of, price \$125.

Washington D.C.

May 3rd 1877.

Lewis S. Hayden Esq.

Sir;

At your request I will state
 That the impression, ^{on a copper planchet} from the reverse die for
 a twenty dollar gold piece, showing eagle and
 star, presented to you by me, is the only
 impression ever struck from said die.
 The die was engraved by myself about the
 year 1861, as a pattern, and not having been
 accepted, it was, by direction of the Direc-
 tor of the U.S. Mint, destroyed by me perso-
 nally after this impression had been taken
 Very respectfully.

Anthony C. Paquet

May 3, 1877, letter from mint engraver Anthony C. Paquet advising a correspondent that "the impression on a copper planchet from the reverse die for a twenty dollar gold piece, showing eagle and star, presented to you by me, is the only impression ever struck from said die."

Also a pattern in copper, reverse by Paquet, [Anthony C. Paquet, mint engraver] for a \$20 gold piece. This is the only impression ever taken from the die. I have the letter from Paquet. Price for this \$50. I give below the condition and price of the gold.

To the letter was appended a listing of gold coins, including a 1799 eagle (barely circulated) at \$13, an 1802/1 half eagle Very Fine at \$7.50, an 1875 Proof half eagle at \$6.50, an 1856 Uncirculated \$3 gold piece at \$4.50, an 1875 Proof \$3 gold piece (today recognized as a major rarity) at \$4.50, an 1859 Proof quarter eagle at \$4, an 1875 Proof quarter eagle at \$3.25, an 1861 gold dollar at \$1.75, and an 1875 Proof gold dollar at \$3.

The aforementioned letter from Cogan concerning the pattern striking, was written in a secretary's hand and signed by Anthony C. Paquet, mint engraver:

Washington D.C., May 3, 1877. Lewis S. Hayden, Esq.

Sir, at your request I will state that the impression on a copper planchet from the reverse die for a \$20 gold piece, showing eagle and star, presented to you by me, is the only impression ever struck from said die. The die was engraved by myself about the year 1861, as the pattern, and not having been accepted, it was, by direction of the director of the U. S. Mint, destroyed by me personally after this impression had been taken.

Very respectfully, A. C. Paquet.

On March 21, 1882, Cogan wrote to Garrett:

Your favor of the 20th at hand. I will send you the gold tomorrow by the B&O Express. Did you receive my catalogue of the sale of March 29? You will find some very fine gold and many of the pieces you want: half eagles 1795, 1797, 1823, 1825. Quarter eagles 1797, 1798, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1808, 1821, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, and a dollar of 1863. I should be pleased to receive your orders on the above and will buy for you as cheap as I possibly can. In the meantime I may be able to procure for you the entire lot you are in need of. Will write you again in a few days.

In regard to the 1827 quarter, the piece has been placed in my hands for sale and the owner asks \$140. I will sell it for \$135. It costs the gentleman \$145.50. I do not think the price is too high.

I have for sale a pattern 1836 gold dollar, and an 1852 ring dollar in gold. The two varieties \$120 for the lot. The above are all very rare. All in Proof condition.

On March 29, 1882, Cogan wrote again:

Your favor of the 27th at hand. I will send the gold tomorrow. \$25 is the lowest for the 1798 eagle (in sale today \$24.65) and \$45 lowest for the 1797 quarter eagle. I will send the 1804 eagle with the above . . .

I will see if I can procure you the 1875 Proofs (of the gold coins) and at what price.

I have already had \$125, \$127.50, \$129 offered for the 1827 quarter. The owner will sell for \$130 and no less.

I have the Barber pattern dollar of 1878, Brilliant Proof at \$20. Would you like to purchase it?

On April 3, 1882, the next letter was sent:

Your favor of the first at hand, and I acknowledge the receipt of a draft \$191 with thanks. I did not notice the 1802 and 1803 were overdates. I have the same dates offered at \$10 apiece. I will write and see if they are perfect dates and let you know. The same gentleman has an 1821 quarter eagle Proof for which he asks \$35. This is a very rare piece. I sent the other pieces on yesterday and hope they will be satisfactory.

Expect the Bushnell catalogue will be issued shortly and will forward immediately upon receipt of them.

Garrett also refused the 1827 quarter. In his letter of April 5th Cogan explained:

Your favor of the 4th with the 1827 quarter enclosed has just reached me. I sent it to you as it is *impossible* to obtain an original. [Apparently a restrike 1827 quarter was sent and was subsequently returned by Garrett who preferred an original.] We purchased the last four that have been sold at auction and I have never seen an original. The one purchased by me at the Britton sale last October is not so fine as this. If you decide to take it please send me a telegram. I suppose you will keep the 1798 and the 1797? I have the refusal of \$5, \$3, \$2.50, \$1 1875 gold pieces Proof. I have the pieces in hand and they are all brilliant. Below you will find the prices.

1875 half eagle \$10, 1875 \$3 gold \$11, 1875 quarter eagle \$6, 1875 gold dollar \$5. The above date is the rarest of the 1870s.

On April 7, 1882, George W. Cogan again wrote:

I have succeeded in getting the refusal of an 1815 half eagle (this is the rarest piece of gold in the American series and only a few of them are known to exist). The price asked for it is \$325. It is barely touched by circulation and the finest I have ever seen. Will you kindly let me know in regard to the other gold.

On April 11, 1882, the following communication was sent:

Your favor of the 10th at hand. I sent you by B&O Express Co. the four 1875 Proofs. I expect a lot of gold in this weekend. Will let you know if it contains any of the pieces you want. Will you make an offer for the 1815 half eagle?

Accompanying the preceding was an invoice listing a 1798 eagle at \$25, 1797 quarter eagle at \$45, 1875 half eagle at \$10, 1875 \$3 at \$11, 1875 quarter eagle at \$6, and an 1875 gold dollar at \$5, totalling \$102, all of which were subsequently purchased by Garrett.

On April 12, 1882, the following communication was sent:

I have just received an invoice of gold but the only piece it contains which you want is the 1821 quarter eagle at \$35 Brilliant Proof and excessively rare. Please let me know whether you want this or not.

On July 1, 1882, a copy of the Bushnell catalogue with plates was sent by Cogan together with an invoice for \$5 which was subsequently paid. On July 15, 1882, Cogan sent a 1798 quarter eagle at \$30, an 1821 quarter eagle at \$35, and an 1855 eagle at \$20, all of which were subsequently purchased.

On December 18, 1882, George W. Cogan wrote:

I have a very fine silver collection which I shall sell sometime during January. I will give you an idea of what the rare pieces are: dollars 1794, 1836 name on base, 1836 Gobrecht in field, 1836 name on base with reverse of 1839 dollar (exceedingly rare), 1838, 1839, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1858. Half dollars: 1794, 1795, 1796, 1802, 1815, 1836 (exceedingly rare), 1852. Quarters: 1796, 1804, 1815, 1823, 1827. All the dimes. Half dimes: 1794, 1795 Proofs. 1796, 1801, 1802, 1805. The above are with two or three exceptions Uncirculated or nearly so, or Proofs. I will send you a catalogue when issued and cheerfully give any information I can about any of the pieces.

On January 16, 1883, Cogan wrote:

I arrived home last evening, and we have had such poor weather the plates will not be ready for a day or two, so I send you the approximate prices of coins you have seen. [This apparently refers to the practice of using sunlight to take coin photographs at the time; correspondence with the Chapman brothers also indicates this. Cloudy skies forced postponement of photography on numerous occasions.] I give you what I think is the highest and lowest. I will buy for you as cheap as I possibly can.

To this was appended a list of estimates, including \$100 to \$125 for a 1794 dollar, \$45 to \$50 for an 1838 dollar, \$35 and \$55 for a 1797 half dollar, \$135 to \$175 for an 1827 quarter, and \$100 for an 1802 half dime, as well as evaluations for many others.

Throughout this period Cogan was an active bidder for Garrett in numerous sales. During the same time numerous approval invoices were submitted. Correspondence mainly dealt with bids in auction sales and the results thereof.

On February 9, 1883, Cogan wrote:

In regards to the 1852 dollar, in the sale it sold for \$68. I was offered the one I sent you at \$60, it being a better piece, and as your order with the commission added was \$57.75, I thought you would rather give a little more and secure a better piece.

Would you like to purchase one of the finest sets of cents and half cents in the country?

On February 16, 1883, Cogan wrote again:

Sickness has prevented me answering your kind favor of the 12th before. The owner of the cents and half cents asks \$2,000 for the set. I will let you know more about it in a few days. Do you refer to Maris on 1794 cents? [This is in reference to the monograph by Dr. Edward Maris.]

I am getting along with the Aulick Collection, and I expect

to place it in the printer's hands next week. I want to send them abroad and not circulate them to dealers for some time. I will send you one but do not let anyone know of it or see it. I will also send such pieces as I think you would like to see. I expect to have a sale sometime in April, and if you have any duplicates that you would like to sell, send them to me and I will put them in the sale.

On February 23, 1883, Cogan wrote Garrett:

It will be impossible for me to send purchases from Sampson's sale until tomorrow as I hurt my foot yesterday and am unable to leave the room. I will forward tomorrow morning. I send in the packages a set of 1877 pattern half dollars for your inspection at \$150. This is the first set that I have even seen, and I will give you a letter stating that only 15 sets were struck. They will not be sold in any sale.

On March 5, 1883, the following letter was sent on the same subject:

The pattern 1877 half dollars I don't think can be purchased any cheaper. I will write to the party and see what he says about them. I do not think a set will ever be offered at auction.

I have the set of cents I wrote to you about and it is one of the finest in the country. Do you want me to send them to you?

The original invoice dated March 18, 1883, enclosing a set of 1877 pattern half dollars at \$150 was paid in full. On the same invoice were such items as an 1872 pattern commercial dollar at \$85, a 1796 half dollar at \$85, a Proof 1850 dollar at \$13, and a Longacre pattern dollar of 1870 at \$30.

During the next several months Cogan purchased literally hundreds of individual lots of coins in various sales for Garrett. Correspondence mainly reports on sale results.

On May 16, 1883, Cogan wrote:

I saw the owner of the \$20 goloid piece and can get it for you at \$185. [This is in reference to an 1879 pattern \$20 gold piece struck in gold metal; the "quintuple stella."] Please let me know. He guarantees that only three were struck.

On June 7, 1883, the subject was discussed again:

Will you kindly let me know if you want the \$20 goloid pattern at \$180. If not, the owner desires me to return it.

Haseltine's 68th sale, an event which featured the Berg Collection was coming up on May 23 and 24, 1883. Among the items was a great American rarity, the 1804 silver dollar. On May 19, 1883, Cogan wrote:

If you order on the 1804 dollar in Haseltine's sale and I buy it for you I will not charge you 5%.

This was subsequently done, and at the sale Lot No. 568, the 1804 silver dollar, was purchased for \$765.

In a letter of May 26, 1883, Cogan refers to the sale purchases:

I forwarded purchases from the sale of the 23rd and 24th the first thing this morning. I sent you the catalogue of the Haseltine sale of June 6 in which you will find an 1815 half eagle. If you buy it I will not charge 5%. I shall hold a sale in August or the first part of September, and if you will send me your duplicates I will sell them for you.

At Haseltine's 69th sale, the Jenks Collection, held on June 6, 1883, the 1815 half eagle sold for \$100 and was purchased by George W. Cogan for the account of T. Harrison Garrett.

Apparently all was not well with Cogan's reporting of his purchase activities, for Garrett complained about several differences, including the 1804 silver dollar which Garrett discovered sold for \$740 at the Berg sale and not the \$765 paid. On June 20, 1883, George W. Cogan wrote to explain that the \$765 for the 1804 dollar included a commission of \$25, although this commission was not stated in the original invoice, and although earlier correspondence indicated that no commission would be charged. Another error involving a \$53 accounting discrepancy was resolved in Mr. Garrett's favor. It could be that these incidents persuaded Mr. Garrett to take his business elsewhere, for after this point the correspondence file with George W. Cogan ends.



Correspondence with Thomas S. Collier

On March 5, 1879, Thomas Collier, of New London, Connecticut, wrote to T. Harrison Garrett with some offers and advice:

I am sorry that my coin figures seem high to you, but in reality they are not so. Take, for instance, the four rare dollars you wrote for, and compare my prices with those that these pieces have brought at the Clemens & Root sale's last autumn. These are the figures:

1797 with six stars facing Clemens Sale, Poor \$3, Root's Sale, Fine \$15, my price Fine \$5; 1836 Clemens Sale Proof \$11.50, Root's Sale Fine \$9, my price, has been Proof \$9; 1839 Clemens Sale Proof \$42, Root's Sale Proof \$37.50, my price Uncirculated \$30, 1851 Clemens Sale Proof \$45, Root's Sale \$43, my price Fair \$15.

These coins are very scarce. The number of 1836 dollars is about 150; of 1839, about 125; of 1852 about 100; and of 1851 about 90. There are but 60 1858 dollars, and an Almost Uncirculated 1797 such as I offered you is a rarity. If you will notice I put prices for cheaper ones.

If you are desirous of filling your sets you had better do so now. Not that I say this to make you take mine, but putting my coins out of the question, you will never get them cheaper. I have authentic news that the dealers will advance on the prices of all rare coins next fall and perhaps some of the 1836 dollars will be advanced to \$15, \$18, and \$20, and other rare ones in proportion. If coins in these times of little cash sell at the auction prices I have given, will they be lower in better times? Dealers, you know, buy up all the

scarce coins and set their prices. Not being a dealer, but a collector, and my coins being simply such as have come to me in large purchases, I prefer that collectors should have them at the same prices I gave. Had you taken the entire lot I mention my profit would not have been \$2, and some of the coins were bought when prices ranged much lower than they do now.

Sincerely then, and caught by my own experience which led me to pay \$2.75 for an 1846 half dime I might have bought for \$1, I advise you to buy copies of all the rare coins you need now. Don't buy them of me if you think I write this to induce you to do so, but I will give you my experience with that 1846 half dime. I bid for it 50 cents. It sold for \$1. Then I told my agent to buy it, he would have got it for \$1.10. At the next sale I bid 75 cents; that coin went for \$1. I increased my bid 25 cents each sale, and yet they kept from me, until getting vexed, and being tired of such work, I told a friend who was to attend the sale to buy me one. He did, paying as I said \$2.75. That coin has since been sold for \$4, and could I get it today, I could get \$5 for it.

Experience has told me to buy a coin I need when it first comes up for sale. It never grows any cheaper. I foolishly let a chance to buy 1796 and 1797 half dollars at \$20 each go by me. I would give \$50 each for those same coins now.

If you desire any of these coins I will give you the memoranda I use in such cases. My first man for cheapness is H. G. Sampson, corner of Fulton Street and Broadway, New York. My next W. P. Brown, 145 Nassau Street, New York, and next J. Colvin Randall, of Philadelphia. Mr. Randall will be more apt to have the coins than either of the others, and I have always found his prices reasonable. You can see by this that I have no desire to inflict my prices upon you, but simply a collector's friendly wish that you may be able to fill your sets.



Correspondence with B. H. Collins

B. H. Collins, a rare coin dealer, was an employee of the Internal Revenue, Treasury Department, Washington, D.C.

On September 23, 1884, B. H. Collins wrote to Robert (sic) Garrett concerning pattern coins. Apparently he had heard that one of the Garretts was a coin collector but did not know which one:

I am the possessor of one of the rare sets (Barber & Morgan designs for the Mint) pattern \$10 and \$5 gold pieces of 1878 of great rarity and almost unique. From the most reliable information obtainable but five sets were struck. One is in the collection of Hon. S. J. Randall. One Mr. Snowden, Superintendent of the Mint. One in another Philadelphia collection. One recently acquired by Mr. L. G. Parmelee of Boston at \$200, and the one I own.

The pieces, two gold eagles and two half eagles are Brilliant Proof in perfect preservation, and very beautiful, the one design was adopted for the silver dollar and to be appreciated should be seen.

A Dr. Massamore of Baltimore wanted me to leave them with him to dispose of to you. See his postal enclosed.

T. H. Garrett New York, *Feb. 27* 1878.
Mr. Des Forges
 Bought of BANGS & CO.

Terms, Cash in Current Funds.

656 BROADWAY, near Bond Street.

Lot.				
✓ 64	<i>1000</i>		4	
✓ 65	<i>1000</i>		4	(18)
✓ 69	<i>1000</i>		405	
✓ 70	<i>1000</i>		405	
✓ 72	<i>1000</i>		388	
✓ 201	<i>1000</i>		80	
✓ 254	<i>1000</i>		1	2173
				253

A typical auction invoice for the account of T. Harrison Garrett. Dated February 27, 1878, the invoice notes that Mr. Des Forges purchased seven lots of coins at an auction held at Bangs & Co., New York. Bidders for T. Harrison Garrett often instructed the auctioneer to make the invoice out to the agent's name or to a pseudonym, as this invoice in the Des Forges name for the account of T. Harrison Garrett illustrates.

I visit him at times and if you will write me when it would be convenient for you to see me and inspect the pieces I will call, and if you want them will give you a bargain as I have no use for them. Several dealers, notably H. P. Smith of New York City, want them.

P.S. See Lot 428 of Frossard's coming October 2/84 sale for silver 1878 dollar. One of my eagles and half eagles same in gold, and of much greater rarity.

On October 9, 1884, Collins wrote to T. Harrison Garrett:

About two weeks ago I addressed this want of proper information in a letter to Robert Garrett, care of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, upon the subject of four remarkable and rare gold pattern eagles and half eagles of 1878, Barber & Morgan's design.

Mr. Parmelee of Boston recently acquired a set of \$200. But five sets were struck. One is in the possession of Mr. Parmelee. One Mr. Snowden of the Mint. One Hon. S. J. Randall and one in another private collection not for sale, and this is mine that is for sale as I am not a gold collector. Dr. Massamora has seen them and wanted me to let him dispose of them to Mr. Garrett and I see I erred in supposing it to be Robert Garrett.

I would be pleased to let you inspect them if you will inform me when you could spare me 10 minutes. I frequently visit Baltimore and will call when and where you say.

These pieces are brilliant Proofs and of the most beautiful design in perfect condition and almost unique, and I will be very modest in my figures though it is the only set left in the market. H. P. Smith, a dealer in New York, wanted them badly as his letters and telegrams in my possession will demonstrate.

Collins wrote again on December 30, 1884:

I find I can do nothing in the way of business through Dr. Massamora, and take the liberty of addressing you myself and in the hope that I will receive the courtesy of a reply.

The four pattern 1878 eagles and half eagles are for sale. I don't know any buyer. Do you want them cheap and what will you give? Will take \$120 for them.

Nearly two years later, September 14, 1886, Collins still owned the sets and wrote again concerning them:

I have within a few days come into positive and undeniable information that but two sets in gold were ever struck of the almost unique pattern (Barber & Morgan designs) 1878 eagles and half eagles—one of which I sold Mr. Parmelee and the set I submitted for your purchase through Dr. Massamora and which I still own, and in time expect you to buy for the superb collection I heard you are making. Even the Mint Cabinet does not contain these extremely rare patterns in gold, theirs being copper Proofs only, and in copper in all there were not over eight sets struck—two only in gold, Mr. Parmelee's and mine.

I have no use for them and would like you to own them, will sell for \$125 and give bond to buy them back at \$100 any time, should more than these two in gold turn up. The dies and hubs are destroyed I know.

I can satisfy you as to the commercial value of my guarantee.

I have had and can produce three separate offers from dealers at \$75, \$85 and \$100 respectively, but for certain reasons I prefer you to have them even though I get an offer of \$125 from either of the three.

I fear you think me a little importunate but it is not from being pecuniarily pushed I can assure you, and judging from the prices patterns sold for at Maris's sale, these four gold patterns are cheap at \$250, and time will certainly enhance their value.



Correspondence with Edouard Frossard

Edouard Frossard was born near Geneva, Switzerland in 1838. Following his education in France he came to America. During the Civil War he served with distinction, was cited for bravery, and achieved the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Following the war service he became a language teacher in Irvington, New York, while at the same time dealing in coins, an interest which began in the year 1872. From that point onward he catalogued more than 150 auction sales for himself, W. Elliot Woodward, Bangs & Co. and Sampson. During his career he offered collections belonging to George W. Merritt, Lyman H. Low, George Parsons, Captain Andrew Zabriskie, Joseph Hooper, Ferguson Haines, Frank Bowman, and Howard Newcomb, among others.

At one time he was editor of the *Coin Collector's Journal*, which was published from 1876 to 1888 and was, together with the *American Journal of Numismatics*, one of the leading numismatic periodicals of the time. During the 1877-1885 period he also produced his own publication, *Numisma*, a listing of coins for sale interspersed with spicy comments on coin collecting, mint activities, and other topics of interest. Doing business from his home at Irvington-on-Hudson, he shortened his first name and was known simply as Ed. Frossard.

Frossard contributed many articles to the *American Journal of Numismatics* and *The Numismatist*. In 1879 he published his most memorable work, *A Monograph of the United States Cents and Half Cents*. With Hays, in 1893, he produced *Varieties of United States Cents of the Year 1794*, followed by *Franco American Jetons*. In 1899 Frossard died of complications from rheumatism.

An extensive correspondence between Ed. Frossard and T. Harrison Garrett took place during the mid-1880s. Selected excerpts from these letters are given below, beginning with Frossard's response, on September 11, 1882 to a telegram from Garrett received that same day:

Your telegram reached here this p.m. and in compliance

with your request I send tomorrow a.m. a package containing the major part of the rare coins advertised in the September *Numisma*. Since the orders are coming in I will ask you as a personal favor to return as soon as you possibly can such coins as you may not wish to purchase. Make up a package of those you know you shall not want and return at once; those you wish to think about, etc., keep not over 3 or 4 days, and by doing so, you will greatly oblige me. I never wish to press my customers, but in this instance the orders will come in every day and each expects to receive whatever he orders without delay.

I add the rare 1838-O half dollar advertised in the July *Numisma* and the 1836 Proof half. These you can retain as long as you please.

Under the supposition that you may make a pretty large selection I will offer you a concession of 2½% on the gold if you take \$100 or more of 5% on the silver if you take \$100 or more and 7½% (on the silver) if you take \$250 or more.

I will state that it will be difficult to duplicate a large number of the coins sent, even abroad. The large pieces all came from a small collection abroad bought entirely by me and made by a gentleman who collected only from and over the double crown size, and he was a long time in forming this collection.

On January 4, 1883, Frossard wrote:

In a few days I shall receive a fine invoice of large and beautiful coins, and as soon as it is at hand I will forward a number for selection.

In the American gold series I may have what you want. I mentioned as in stock a \$50 1855 round California, \$2.50 and a \$5 Bechtler, a 1796 eagle and half eagle, etc.

During this period Frossard had sent numerous invoices to Garrett. Most were composed of world coins with occasional American issues interspersed. On January 18, 1883, one of the offerings included:

Silver Immune Columbia [cent] 1785. This specimen I believe to be the finest one known as Parmelee wanted to exchange it for his and get something in the trade. I got this from the Legras Collection about 18 months ago, sold it to a gentleman for about \$70, and he now relinquishes colonial coins for American medals, and I got it back. \$65.

On January 19, 1883, Frossard sent a lengthy invoice of world coins, prefaced by the following comment:

I regret the delay in replying to your favors. Three catalogues of coin sales to prepare, *Numisma* for January besides 4 or 5 hours each day devoted to my ordinary occupation as a teacher have completely filled up my time.

I have nothing or next to nothing in cents at present, except my set of 1794 cents, not for sale, but add to the lot forwarded today from New York by Adams Express a few very rare and fine colonial coins . . .

On January 26, 1883, Frossard wrote:

I fear that if I don't reply to your favor at once some time will elapse before I can do so. Tomorrow I have a sale at Bangs & Co. Then come in quick succession the Britton and Smith sales.

The small package of American coins sent to you on approval was not my property and the prices were not fixed by me. I agree that most of them were too high and some I did not send at all because they were altogether too high.

As regards the Immune Columbia in silver, the only one I believe out of the lot you kept for further examination, I do not think the price is high, as the owner invoiced it to me at less than cost. It is the finest and I believe the only strictly fine impression known and originally came to me from the Legras' cabinet invoiced at 500 francs. But, of course, I did not pay that much for it. If the price pleases you, you may retain it at \$60 which is at cost to me, or what I have to pay the owner in case of a sale. The other coins from stock I marked at as low rates as the cost would warrant. If there are any among those returned that you would like at slightly lower rates please specify the numbers and if I can possibly make reductions I will do so, but fine coins have gone up so that I really marked as I stated very close, and the reductions would be slight.

On January 30, 1883 Frossard wrote:

I am glad that you kept the Immune Columbia at \$60 and think that you will eventually consider it as one of your cheapest and most desirable acquisitions. To judge from the excessively high prices paid yesterday at Burton's sale the tendency of prices for fine American coins is decidedly upward. Never have I seen such a concourse of buyers and such prices realized. The \$50 round California gold will be reserved and sent on approval at first opportunity.

Additional invoices sent to Garrett, included one on February 8th for "Frossard's 27th sale"; and later one with the note "I may be able to offer you very soon a few extremely rare coins (Colonial American). On February 20, 1883, Frossard wrote regarding the next shipment:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of yesterday with check for \$521.55 in full for your account to date, and for which please accept my thanks. On or before Monday next I will send you a package containing the balance of crowns wanted. Also the \$50 1850 California round, and a number of rare Colonial coins. Most of these were at the time bought by me for a gentleman who now relinquishes the colonial coinage to perfect his set of United States silver and copper coins. I shall beg you to keep the fact of my sending you these private as I propose to advertise them in the March *NUMISMA* if you do not purchase them, and I do not want coin dealers to know that prices on them have been fixed or the coins submitted to anyone.

The ROSA AMERI farthing lately sent to you is a good example of these coins, and I was surprised that you did not take it, as in Uncirculated condition it is one of the rarest of American coins. I am glad that you got some of the coins at the Leavitt sale and are pleased with them. They sold generally at very fair rates—our New York friends, interested in their so-called coin boom, do not attend my sales, and in fact do everything to prevent their success, but I am not at all sorry as it brings me directly in correspondence with bona fide buyers, and if the prices are not quite so high they are nevertheless satisfactory.

Frossard's letter of February 27, 1883 discussed the

price of the Brasher doubloon, in which T. Harrison Garrett was interested:

Your favor of the 26th with a check for \$145.50 in full to date, also coins returned, duly received. Please accept my thanks for your promptness.

When I bought at the Bushnell sale for the present owner of the doubloon I had many other orders from him which remained unfilled, because we thought they sold too high, and I limited my bids to what might be considered as good but not extravagant prices for rarities. There can of course be an honest difference of opinion as regards the value of the doubloon, but I believe with the exception of the 1804 dollar it is the most desirable and valuable of all American coins. Its sale will only be a question of time. The piece will be offered in the March number of *Numisma* and any offer from you for it (and the others) will be at once communicated to the owner. In the meanwhile I am authorized if I can't get \$700 to take \$650 which I respectfully communicate to you. In the event of no buyer being found through the ad in *Numisma* it is barely possible that the piece will be offered at auction in the fall.

On March 10, 1883 Frossard wrote:

In reply to your favor of the 6th I will state that since you returned to me the colonial coins I have not offered them to anyone, hence I can still send you the "New Yorke" in America at \$12.50 herewith enclosed, or if we can come to an understanding, the entire lot forwarded to you on approval. I am authorized by the owner to use my judgment in disposing of all these fine coins, and I think that by making slight concessions to each other we can come to an understanding. I am prepared to sell you the entire lot for about what I understand Scott [a reference to Capt. J. W. Scott, leading dealer of the time] has said he could obtain for the doubloon alone if it had been placed in his hands for sale instead of mine.

On March 14, 1883, Frossard sent the following note and invoice:

In reply to your favor of the 12th, I have carefully revised the list of rare colonial coins as follows:

Brasher doubloon \$600; NE sixpence \$65; Massachusetts cent, arrows left \$37.50; Carolina elephant token \$80; Fugio cent with names of states \$80; Immunis Columbia \$50; Pine tree 1650 [sic] \$42.50; Vermonts 1785 \$8; total \$963; the lot \$950.

This I think is the very best I am authorized to do.

On March 19, 1883, Garrett countered with an offer which Frossard agreed to pass along:

I will communicate your offer to the owner of the coins but scarcely think he will accept, it being considerably under actual cost of the coins . . .

On March 31, 1883, Frossard corresponded further on this subject:

Your favor of the 30th reached me this evening. I regret that several of the numbers wanted had already been sold, but I shall express to you on Monday the following . . .

Further, the letter contained a reference to some medals in which Garrett was interested:

My agent in sending me the Commune Medals which I added to Palmer Sale wrote as follows: [Translated from the French—"Struck from day to day during the siege; despite the horrors of the war and of the famine, the enthusiasts assembled daily and awaited the striking of new ones in this complete and unique series."'] Nevertheless I had previously obtained other Commune medals, but of different workmanship and size—some satirical against Napoleon III & William of Prussia. One which I kept and now have in my small cabinet is a trial impression of an obverse on a lead planchet: Pegasus in the center, around which in 2 lines: Cheval Pegase, ne du sang qui jaillit de la tete de Meduse/Paris affame devore sa chair pendant que repose o a Muse." [While the Muse was sleeping, starving Paris devoured the flesh of the horse Pegasus who was born from the blood which burst from Medusa's head.] RF Siege de Paris 1870. This is in allusion to the horse flesh diet of the Parisians during the siege.

In regards to colonial coins, immediately upon receipt of your order I communicated the same to the owner, adding on my own responsibility that the gentleman who wants to buy might possibly accept a compromise of \$875 (halfway between your offer and his price), if you would authorize me to sell at this figure. Up to this evening I have not heard one word from him, but if you should accede to this, telegraph to me and I will telegraph to him and get a final assent or denial. In the meanwhile, and until I see that no understanding can be reached, I will not sell a piece out of the lot you wanted, while you of course are not under obligation to take them, and this arrangement you will, I am sure, consider very fair.

The 1854 and 1855 Proof sets (the latter lacks the quarter) I will sell you for \$150. It seems to be an open secret that \$100 has been offered for a perfect set of 1855 in a coming sale, hence the price may not be deemed extravagant . . .

Frossard notified Garrett, on April 4, 1883, that his offer was accepted.

Your dispatch was duly received but I could not then accede to your offer of \$850 for the lot of colonial coins. This morning I am in receipt of a communication from him authorizing me to accept the amount suggested by me to him as a compromise, \$875. This concession on his part brings you so near together that unless I hear from you to the contrary, I will send you the lot on Friday at the price of \$875, together with a fine selection of coins in gold and silver from a lot just received.

I really think you are getting a most desirable lot of coins at very low rates. I am sure Smith could have got \$1,000 for the doubloon alone through Scott at a public sale, and several dealers have assured me that they have customers who would pay \$700 for this piece.

On April 5, 1883, the Brasher doubloon and other pieces were invoiced to T. Harrison Garrett at \$875 net, together with an assortment of world coins. On April 12, 1883, Frossard wrote:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 10th with a draft of \$875 in full for the colonial coins. Please accept my

thanks and my congratulations on your securing this really rare lot at what must be considered very fair figures.

In a separate communication Frossard further noted that the Brasher doubloon had earlier appeared in the Charles I. Bushnell Collection, sold by the Chapman Brothers in 1882 as lot 872. The NE sixpence sold as Bushnell lot 141, the Carolina elephant piece as Bushnell lot 185, the Fugio cent with the names of the states as Bushnell lot 726, and the Vermonts 1785 as Bushnell lot 740.

On April 17, 1883, Frossard sent a selection of ancient coins and world coins to which the following footnote was appended:

Have you a Virginia shilling? 1774? A gentleman of Wall Street, New York, put one in my hands for sale. Condition is Very Fine. He wants \$100 for the piece but I should be pleased to transmit any offer for the same.

Whenever the occasion presented itself, T. Harrison Garrett would upgrade the quality of coins in his collection. Thus in April he sent a group of unneeded pieces of lower grades to Frossard who replied on April 24th with offers. Included were such issues as silver dollars of 1794, 1799, 1800, 1847, 1850, 1859, 1861, 1862, 1866, 1871, 1872, 1873; trade dollars of 1873, 1876 and 1878; a half dollar of 1796, and many other issues.

The Virginia shilling was shipped April 25, 1883 with these comments:

The piece belongs to a Mr. Lawrence, a New York banker, who took it in payment of an old debt. Having seen the prices at which this sold he wants \$100 for the piece which I think, considering its condition, is too much. If you want it, make an offer which I will communicate to him . . .

I should be pleased to attend any of your bids at coming sales in New York, especially in the sale of H. G. Sampson which will contain very fine cents and desirable foreign crowns. Having catalogued these for him I can personally vouch for the correctness of the descriptions. On purchases amounting to \$100 or more I charge a small sum, and I buy at the lowest possible rates and always endeavor to do my customers full justice. I do not attend all New York sales, but do so whenever I have sufficient bids to make it any object. The Sampson Sale (catalogue not yet out) I shall certainly attend.

In his next letter, April 30, 1883, Frossard offered an interesting rarity:

The Virginia shilling was the property of Mr. Cyrus W. Lawrence, member of the New York Numismatic Society, a Wall Street banker, and a gentleman of the highest honor. I believe he got this piece from a coin dealer. Of course the piece is guaranteed. I did not examine it with the same care as I would had it come from some other quarter. Anything suspicious about it? If so, pray return it and I will examine it myself again and let others examine it.

I have here for sale a Colonial coin of the highest rarity and

in Very Fine condition. See Crosby page 321, cut 64. Obverse with Indian "Liber Natus Libertatum Defendo." Reverse with Neo Eboracus" and eagle on section of globe, [reverse B].

On page 322 Mr. Crosby says "We can call to mind but three with reverse B. but can place only those of Mr. Appleton and Mr. Bushnell."

Now on turning to the Bushnell catalogue I cannot find this coin; it certainly is not lot 886 or 887; it is 888 with another reverse, so that either Mr. Crosby erred in stating that Bushnell had it, or the coin was taken out before the sale and is now in Mr. Parmelee's cabinet, which is quite probable.

If you want this I will agree not to offer it elsewhere for the present. Price is not yet fixed, yet it will probably be not less than \$250.

On May 7, 1883, Frossard wrote :

The chief object of the present is to tell you that I received a telegram from the owner of the "Liber Natus Libertatum Defendo," reverse with eagle on segment of globe, asking me to withhold the coin if not sold (for the present).

On May 8, 1883, Frossard reiterated on both colonials which he had placed with Garrett:

The "Liber Natus Libertatum Defendo" with the reverse eagle on segment of globe is the property of the gentleman who during the last three years has gradually disposed of his coins through me at private sale. He sent this with a large and unique Washington medal in silver, and before a positive price had been fixed, telegraphed me to withdraw the piece. I have not since heard from him but will no doubt.

The Virginia shilling is the property of Mr. Cyrus Lawrence of 31 Broad Street, New York. He told me that he wants \$100 net for it, which is too much. If you had found the piece to be perfectly satisfactory, I would suggest that you offer me \$50 for it. I will communicate to him the offer and we can then ascertain if he feels disposed to sell and what his lowest price is.

Frossard's invoice of May 14, 1883 offered:

I send to you per express this day the largest and finest selection of coins I have ever sent on approval, being the entire invoice received by me from Europe, except duplicates, poor coins, or such that I know that you already have . . .

Enclosed in the invoice were \$73.50 worth of Roman bronze coins, \$606 worth of ancient and modern gold coins, \$191.50 worth of Greek silver and bronze coins, and \$663 worth of modern silver coins, for a total invoice value of \$1,534.

The price on the Virginia shilling proved inflexible and on May 18th, 1883, Frossard advised Garrett:

Mr. Lawrence does not wish to take less than \$100 for the Virginia shilling, and as in the event of his not selling at this price he will probably make a present of the piece to our New York Numismatic Society, it would be well perhaps to let him have his way.

I do not consider the price of this piece worth \$100 as it is

not a Brilliant or even Uncirculated piece, and I have no doubt that at some future time you will be able to buy one perhaps better for less money. There is no hurry about returning the piece, (if returned). You can do so when you send back coins (as I suppose you will) from my last invoice.

Frossard presented a new opportunity to acquire an interesting rarity in his letter of May 23, 1883:

I have the cents, types only, of Honorable George M. Parsons for whom I have been selling many coins at private sales during past years. There is a 1793 wreath (No. 4 in the monograph), sharply struck, nearly Proof, and bright red, just as it fell from the dies; also a chain 1793 nearly the same condition, but I should want \$300 for the former and \$150 for the latter, and even then I could not afford to sell unless a few of the others were taken, so as to assure me that I would come out whole, but I would take \$750 for the entire lot and will send you a complete list if you desire to buy it.

About that 1793 wreath—Messrs. Haseltine, Cogan, Smith, Sampson and others to whom I showed the piece at a recent sale all concurred in the opinion that it is without exception the finest cent of this type that they ever saw.

As a footnote to his May 24, 1883 statement Frossard wrote:

If you are a bidder tomorrow at the Haseltine Sale for the 1804 silver dollar I hope you will be successful at a reasonable price. I have not one bid on this.

Garrett made his selections from the Parsons list and they were invoiced to him on June 13, 1883:

I send you today per express . . . medal of Washington as far as I know unique \$125; 1793 chain and wreath, the two at \$425; these are the property of Hon. George M. Parsons, and I quote his prices. It may please you to see them, even if you do not buy.

In succeeding months several invoices went from Frossard's, including on October 4, 1883 an invoice offering several coins which the owner "claims to have purchased from the Montcmono cabinet sold abroad." His cover letter for the February 2, 1885 shipment also requested:

If you have two starred [reverse] cents of 1794 I hope that you will send me your duplicate. My customer is a gentleman who at the time of my October 2-3 sale telegraphed (dispatch received too late) to buy the set of 1794 cents at \$500! He is very anxious to have me make up another set and I am on a fair way of accomplishing the task, but unless I can secure the "starred" from some cabinet like yours I see no prospect of placing that rare variety in the set!

Exactly one year later, February 3, 1886, Frossard offered Garrett:

. . . a unique willow tree shilling seen by Crosby and pronounced genuine by him, which I would like to submit to you before offering elsewhere. The shilling has been in the same collection for 30 years and has never been offered to any prominent collector. The price asked is \$100. I may offer for it a little less.

Correspondence with John W. Haseltine

John W. Haseltine, born in 1838, was one of America's most prominent numismatists during the late 19th century. From his store at 1225 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, he offered coins at fixed prices and also catalogued auction sales. From 1869 to 1898 nearly 100 collections were described by him and offered for public competition. Included were properties of J. Colvin Randall, Joseph J. Mickley, Harold P. Newlin, Sylvester S. Crosby, William J. Jenks, and Dr. Edward Maris. Haseltine is most remembered for his "Type Tables," which gave die varieties of United States silver coins and which described part of his sale conducted on November 28-30, 1881.

Many coins from Haseltine auctions were acquired by T. Harrison Garrett.

In 1908, at the American Numismatic Association convention, Haseltine discussed two important discoveries: the silver 1000 and 500 mills Nova Constellatio patterns; pieces which subsequently were sold to Col. James W. Ellsworth, and then in 1923, to John Work Garrett. Also mentioned by Haseltine at the convention were the New Jersey cent with Washington obverse and the 1861 cent made by Lovett for the Confederate States of America. Haseltine died in 1925 of infirmities due to old age.

Haseltine sent out a circular notice on March 15, 1883, announcing his upcoming auction:

It is with satisfaction that I will soon offer for public competition at auction the well known numismatic collections of S. S. Crosby of Boston, O. H. Berg of Baltimore, and H. P. Newlin, of Philadelphia.

Almost every collector of coins has his pet specialties, or some particular line in which he takes a special interest; he will take more than ordinary pains to complete his favorite department and will wait patiently for the opportunity to secure the coveted additions, the best his means will allow. This pursuit with him is part of his life; he will devote his leisure time and bend all his energies to finish the end that he has in view. After the achievement of the task that he has set before him, he feels that he has accomplished his aim, which he generally guards with a too-jealous care. Still, his success is only an incentive to new fields of labor; he begins to realize that he has not yet reached the end, and he continues on amid new researches to accomplish that which has no end. This industry is not only a harmless recreation, but it is a useful one, from which a fund of enlightenment is gleamed. The student of numismatics will, no doubt, cordially welcome the advent of the following sales, as they will present the opportunity that he has long sought (and which may never occur again) of acquiring specimens of special interest, rarity, and excellence of condition.

Harold P. Newlin's Collection. The cabinet of this indefatigable collector embraces many of the finest Dimes and

Half Dimes. As a whole, the collection has not its equal in this country. Many excessively rare patterns of the United States Mint will be offered; and, also, the most complete line (lacking only two or three specimens) of Confederate Notes. The entire collection, with scarcely an exception, is in the most superb condition. To be sold at Bangs & Co's, No. 739 and No. 741 Broadway, New York City, the early part of April.

O. H. Berg's Collection. This cabinet contains a genuine 1804 dollar, and an unsurpassed line of Foreign Copper and Silver Coinage. Mr. Berg was a collector of types and not dates. As may be expected, many beautiful examples will appear. A rich treat is here in store for the advanced collector. To be sold at Bangs & Co.'s about the latter part of April.

S. S. Crosby's Collection. This cabinet, as is generally known, is principally rich in the Colonial Coins of America. Mr. Crosby was one of the very early collectors whose assiduous pursuit in quest of examples of our early coinage resulted in gathering together one of the finest and most complete collections known of American Colonials, Coins and Medals of the Confederation, Washingtons, etc. It contains a number of unique pieces never before offered at auction. A more extended notice of this sale will be given. To be sold at Bangs & Co's, shortly after the sale of the Berg Collection.

Haseltine wrote to T. Harrison Garrett on June 15, 1883 informing him of his upcoming invoice:

I shipped you this date by express a box of valuable coins and medals amounting to \$1,465.30 as per invoice. I hope you will find many to suit you and improve your collection, although I should judge you now have one of the most valuable and interesting in the United States.

Presuming that as a railroad magnate you will have no expressage to pay, I do not prepay it, but if I am in error and you are obliged to pay the express charges you can deduct it from what you select. Please return the invoices with what pieces you return to me.

On March 6, 1884, Haseltine sent Garrett a 1792 Pattern cent:

I am sending by express for your inspection a very valuable 1792 pattern cent at \$250. I do not think that more than four or five of these pieces are known. Mr. Crosby, I believe, only mentions three, the one enclosed has been previously unknown to collectors and has been in the possession of the owner for over 20 years. The inscription on the edge of this piece is the same as that on the one in the Bushnell sale which sold for \$290. The other known variety has different inscriptions.

Would you care for Washington head half dollar in silver; with the stars grouped about the eagle's head and not in the circle above, condition nearly Very Fine, the price \$70?

During the mid-1880s a number of invoices were sent by Haseltine to John Work Garrett, representing primarily coins sent on approval as well as pieces purchased in various Haseltine auctions.

Correspondence with Lyman H. Low

Lyman Haynes Low, born in Boston, Massachusetts in 1844, was in the dry goods business until 1883. At that time he became a full-time numismatist in connection with B. Westermann & Co., of 838 Broadway, New York. On August 1, 1883, an announcement from Westermann read:

We take pleasure in announcing that we have determined to establish a coin department in connection with our regular business. In view of this fact we have consummated a connection with Mr. Lyman H. Low, whose reputation as a numismatist and earnest student in this science is too well known to need comment . . . It is the desire of Mr. Low to become personally acquainted with all coin collectors, and with those living out of town correspondence is solicited, which will meet with prompt and careful attention. He stands ready at all times to impart any information relative to coins and will take special pleasure in describing any obscure or doubtful piece. For such services he makes no charge . . . Mr. Low will be pleased to receive from collectors lists of pieces especially desired to complete series or for other purposes. These will receive particular attention, and every effort will be made to procure such pieces, for which we have unusual facilities, both in this country and in Europe.

In 1884, Low entered the auction field. From that time until 1923 he was a prolific writer and catalogued more than 200 sales. Included were the collections of Foster Ely, Henry R. Linderman, Henry C. Miller, Benjamin Betts, Edward Groh and many others. He died at his home in New Rochelle, New York on February 10, 1924 at the age of 79.

His written contributions to the numismatic field include *A Descriptive Catalogue of Hard Times Tokens*, first published in Boston in 1886, and an association with C. Wyllys Betts, who compiled a reference on American colonial history as illustrated by medals and related numismatic items. Today, Low is particularly remembered for his work in the Hard Times tokens series. Specimens are still attributed to his original numbers.

The primary transaction between Lyman H. Low and T. Harrison Garrett was a fraud, inasmuch as the Sommer Islands "20 shilling" piece described was a fraudulent fantasy conceived by Wuesthoff, a New York dealer, who was located at 113 Canal Street during the 1880s. Whether or not Low was aware of the deception is not known today. During his lifetime T. Harrison Garrett never realized that the coin purchased from Mr. Low was a fantasy made about the same time he paid the substantial price of \$500 for it. On October 21, 1884, Lyman H. Low wrote T. Harrison Garrett:

Having concluded to dispose of my Sommers Isle 20 shilling gold piece I am reminded by your letter of the 14th that you



Obscure coins accurately attributed and described free of charge. Information relative to the subject cheerfully given to collectors. Invoices of coins and medals submitted on approval to parties furnishing satisfactory references. Personal attention given to auction sales of coins. Correspondence invited. Largest stock of numismatic works in America. Catalogues of coins, and books relating to them. American and Foreign numismatic periodicals on sale, and subscriptions received. Auction sale catalogues, priced or unpriced.

New York, Oct 24 1884.

Mr. Harrison Garrett.
Baltimore

Dear Sir

I have concluded to dispose of my Sommer's 20 shilling gold piece. I am reminded by your letter of the 14th inst that you were anxious your collection to the series relative to America and I have determined to place this piece before you for your inspection, and have shipped it by Express to your address to day. I consider it the greatest rarity and choicest gem which has come into my hands.

It is Silver alloyed. 19 Carats fine and weighs 110 grains and so far as known it is unique. My theory is that a number of them were struck off, but proving useless, they probably found their way to the melting pot. Price \$500⁰⁰. I beg that you will take most critical examination and deliberate consideration. I will stake that of the genuineness of the piece I have never had a doubt. I bought it on my judgment and sell it on my reputation.

Yours very truly

Lyman H. Low.

On October 24, 1884, Lyman H. Low offered T. Harrison Garrett his specimen of the so-called Sommer Islands "twenty shillings gold piece." Today numismatists consider the coin to be a fantasy or fabrication, the work of one Wuesthoff, a New York City coin dealer, made during the early 1880s. In 1884 the coin was controversial, a fact not mentioned by Low.

In the December 1, 1883, issue of his house organ Numisma, Ed. Frossard illustrated the coin and noted, in part: "this coin, invoiced to Mr. Lyman H. Low from Magdeburg, Germany, as the Summer Island [sic] medal, was exhibited by him at a meeting of the American Numismatic Society on the 20th of November. The January number of Numisma will contain an article on this remarkable and interesting coin which lack of space prevents us from inserting in this issue."

The preceding notice was seen by one of the editors of The American Journal of Numismatics who then declared in print that he considered the coin to be highly questionable in origin. Frossard did not mention the coin editorially again until May 1884 at which time he wrote, in part: "THE SUMMER ISLAND GOLD COIN. Since the first description of this certainly very curious and remarkable coin, published in Numisma for November 1883, we have heard or read nothing about it except a brief notice under the head of 'Editorial' in the columns of our talented and able senior, The American Journal of Numismatics. We regret to take issue with this paper, yet with due respect to the adverse opinion expressed, remain firm in the opinion that this coin cannot be utterly condemned and rejected simply because 'an examination of the coin by one of the publishing committee of the Journal did not lead him to accept it as an original.'"

now confine your collection to the series relating to America, and I have determined to place this piece before you for your inspection, and have shipped it by express to your address today. I consider it the greatest rarity and choicest gem which has come into my hands. It is silver alloyed, 19 carats fine, and weighs 110 grams, and so far as is known it is unique. My theory is that a number of them were struck off, but proving useless, they probably found their way to the melting pot. Price \$500. I beg that you will take a most critical examination and deliberate consideration. I will state that of the genuineness of the piece I have never had a doubt. I bought it on my judgment and sell it on my reputation.

On October 29, 1884, Low wrote again:

Yours of the 27th duly received. In reply I state that the only history I have of the piece is that it came from Germany about a year ago labeled "Sommers Island gold medal," showing clearly in my mind the lack of numismatic intelligence on the part of the owner as to the real name and denomination of the coin. A more correct knowledge would undoubtedly have prevented it from falling into my hands. The record of the coinage for the islands are indeed meager. The shilling and sixpence alone have brief mention, by some stated to be brass, but the fact is that all specimens of them I have seen were copper and had the appearance of being washed with silver. A little over a year ago a threepence was discovered on the island and quickly found its way here and into a noted cabinet. Hence there is no history of either the threepence or the twenty shilling pieces to detail to you as much as I should like to furnish it. As regards to the price I attach to it I will say I arrived at such conclusion after the most mature deliberation, and I feel that continued thought on the subject would lead me to a still higher appreciation of the value. The New York doubloon [Brasher], Good Samaritan shilling, and Lord Baltimore penny have all realized higher figures. I class this with the greatest rarities both in point of historical interest and market value.

On October 31, 1884, Low wrote to Garrett:

I have received yours of the 30th with a check for \$500 for the Sommers Island XX shilling gold piece for which please accept my best thanks. I am especially gratified that it has found a resting place with so many other noted pieces of the American series which I believe you to possess. I hope it may be my good fortune to be the means of further ornamenting your cabinet.

On January 5, 1885, Low offered Garrett a group of colonial coins:

Some ten days since I purchased a small collection of American colonial coins. I have just finished preparing them and propose to give you first choice. There is a fair percentage of good things and one especially rare. I have carefully estimated the values and forwarded to you today charges prepaid. They are mostly numbered according to Maris and Crosby. Should you find a large percentage which you do not already own which may be increased by the possible improvement in condition over these you now have, I offer an incentive for you to take them all at a discount of 10% off.

Offered were various pieces valued from 25c to \$40,

the latter for a New York copper of 1787. On September 2, 1885, Low wrote:

I have this day forwarded to you by express, charges prepaid, what I believe to be the finest and most complete set of 1837 tokens ever offered in this country either at auction or at private sale, which I submit to you for your inspection. I claim to know something about the series and when an amateur gave it much study, I contributed to the article in the *Coin Collector's Journal* (which numbers I now use in designating them) and will say that in establishing my price for the above set I carefully reviewed every point worthy of consideration in order to arrive at a fair value and reasonable figure which is \$200. I challenge any man in this country whether dealer or collector to duplicate it, (to say nothing of the condition of the pieces) with the single exception, that exception being a customer of mine for whom I have purchased the leading rarities that have come up in sales during the last four or five years; his valuation of the same today is \$500, and they have cost him quite that amount. There are a few missing links which however do not belong to the leading rarities and are obtainable at reasonable prices. I may add that my friend has one in silver that came from the Bushnell Sale, Lot 2169 which I bought for him. No other specimen that I am aware of has appeared and which is now considered to be a rarity manufactured to order; that is to say the dies were intentionally destroyed after a single specimen had been struck. I venture to remark that Lot 1666 in WEW's [W. Elliot Woodward] coming sale does not belong to the series. This identical piece I picked out some two years ago from the remains of Ponce de Leon's Collection and sold to Frossard for \$5. I think Mr. Woodward bought it out of his sale. The obverse is the same type as the reverse of the gold coinage of the Pacific Company of California 1849; there is no reverse die to the piece. I beg that you will give them a careful examination at your convenience . . .

On September 7, 1885, Low wrote:

Yours of the 5th received but I have sent by Adams Express tonight volume six of the *Coin Collector's Journal*. The Levick Sale May 1884, the Bushnell, and the Haseltine type table (the latter no extreme rarity) have contained the greatest number of these series offered at any sale; each of them will show the prices realized. Mr. Levick also several years ago described them in the *American Journal*. You will note that there are several on the lots submitted to you that were unknown to Scott plus some he did not include with this series, that others do, such as the Belleville Seaman, Gibbs, etc. With his degrees of rarity I do not agree. Numbers 1 and 10 grade in the same degree of rarity as No. 2. No. 12 is more difficult to obtain than either of these. I am satisfied that the most careful investigation on your part will establish the fact that I have placed a low price on them. I consider numbers 1, 10, and 12 as obtainable. They have never realized more than \$5 or \$7, more times between \$1 and \$2.

On September 8, 1885, Lyman H. Low wrote:

I should have mentioned in my letter of yesterday that numbers 1 and 10 are considered by everyone (Scott excepted) as purely political. I enclose a small piece which belongs in the series, and the history of which is unknown.

On October 21, 1885, an invoice was sent which listed 73 pieces of 1837 tokens for \$200. Included were the following items attributed to Low's numbers: 1, 3-8, 14-17, 19-52, 54, 55, 57, 59-74, 76-82, and 84-86. Included was this note:

I have shipped to you today by Baltimore & Ohio Express Co. to your address the above tokens which I hope will reach you safely. Those that are marked with a cross in red ink are in addition to those sent on the first invoice [numbers 1, 27, 41, 81, 85, and 86]. Above you have my numbers to correspond with Scott's, by which the new arrangement is shown.

On November 13, 1885, Lyman H. Low wrote:

I am sorry to hear you have been indisposed. I hope you will not put yourself out respecting the coins as there is no immediate hurry. I was only anxious to know that you had received them.

On December 3, 1885, Low wrote:

Your telegram is received in reply will state that I went over the ground pretty carefully before I made my price. I consider cheap at the price and will challenge anyone to duplicate them. I cannot afford to take less than \$200 since I must adhere to this evaluation of them.

On December 8, 1885, Low wrote:

I have to acknowledge the letter of the 5th with your check for \$200 in payment of the 1837 tokens for which please accept my best thanks. I enclose the bill duly receipted and regret that the acknowledgement of the check was overlooked yesterday.



Correspondence with Dr. Edward Maris

Born in 1832 in Woodside, Pennsylvania, Edward Maris, M.D., was to become known as one of the earliest authorities in the field of early American copper coinage.

He began as a mathematics instructor at Haverford College in Pennsylvania. In 1855 he graduated from the Jefferson Medical College and in 1869 he published *Varieties of Copper Issues of the United States Mint of 1794*. Drawing upon his knowledge of medicine, history, and Latin, he gave colorful descriptions to one-cent pieces of the 1794 year. Such terms as *Amatory Face*, *Pyramidal Head*, *Ornate*, and *Roman Plica*, are still used today. Maris then went on to assemble one of the finest collections of American state coinage, with particular emphasis on the copper coins of New Jersey minted from 1786 to 1788. His collection of the latter series formed the nucleus of his book, *A Historical Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey*, published in Philadelphia in 1881.

The Maris Collection was offered by Stan Henkels & Co. in 1886. Included was his complete collection of New Jersey cents which was listed individually but was

sold in the sale as a single lot to Harold P. Newlin (refer to Newlin correspondence for details), who was acting as an agent for T. Harrison Garrett.

Maris, who died in 1900, had just one significant exchange of correspondence with Garrett. On February 28, 1885, he wrote to Garrett with an unusual offer.

Confidential. I have concluded to offer at private sale my celebrated collection of the coins of New Jersey. It comprises all of the pieces described in my work published in 1881, excepting No. 8 (all unique pieces)—seven of the latter number being represented by electrotypes.

A number of the pieces are unique and many of them are the finest specimens known. For instance, a pair of the Mark Newby, quite Uncirculated. Running horse on the reverse *after* the legend. Punctuations with quatrefoil before and after the legend, and many others that should be examined to be appreciated. I want \$1,000 for the entire collection. One of my finest books will also accompany it.

I also have a silver Fugio with the names of the states in the rings, in almost Proof condition. Crosby mentions it as being unique and [contained] in the collection of C. I. Bushnell. When the Bushnell Collection was offered for sale this piece was not found in it. I suspect Bushnell never owned one, but knew of [one] which was the property of a friend of his. If this is correct my piece is unique and of course very interesting. I want \$500 for it.

Nobody but my wife knows of my desire to sell the foregoing. Hence I request this may be strictly confidential. If [you] could name a time to inspect the pieces I should take pleasure in showing them.

The transaction was never consummated with Maris, and, as noted, Maris consigned them to public auction sale where the set was bought by H. P. Newlin, acting as Garrett's agent.



Correspondence with George B. Mason

George B. Mason wrote to Robert (sic) Garrett on February 10, 1885, with the following offer:

Owing to a severe illness for three years past I desire to sell my entire private collection of coin catalogues, one of the most complete collections in the country, extending from 1823 to 1880, many of which are excessively rare. Most of them are priced in the finest manner and the pricing alone cost me over \$100. If you care to collect coin catalogues I would be glad to send you a list of them, or if desired could forward them for examination which however would involve considerable expense, or if you are in New York I would be glad to show them to you at my house, 104 Eleventh Street, South Brooklyn.



Correspondence with Dr. George W. Massamore

Dr. George Massamore, a dentist who lived most of his life in Baltimore, was born in 1845. An enthusiastic stamp and autograph collector, he also enjoyed coins and catalogued nearly 50 sales from 1880 to 1897.

G. W. Massamore
 GRAND CENTRAL HOTEL,

New York, April 10 1883

Mr T. Harrison Garrett,

My dear Sir. I was successful on most of the lots, capturing the 1802 Key Coin, at the limit \$400. Some of the lots went out of sight. I got all the Confederate Notes.

The 1853 (mosses) quarter sales for \$22.50 my eyes failed to see my mint luster, with my hand on the one in the Auction Sale. Scott did not attend the sale, think his poor eyes must have gotten his eyes opened. I sold my 1802 directly after the sale to a Gentlemen from Lowell Mass. Was right lucky. The cents were abominably discolored. You can judge from the prices. I am afraid you

Dr. G. W. Massamore, a Baltimore dentist who was also actively involved in the coin trade, often acted as an agent for T. Harrison Garrett in auction sales. On April 10, 1883, he writes to Garrett with regard to John W. Haseltine's 66th sale

will be disgusted with the
two I bought. I bought some
nice bargains for you 65 + 66
are very cheap. I gave a few
pieces ~~below~~ below of Mike I
bought

Yours truly
M. W. E. Samuels

Lot		Sold for	
1	25.00	12	10.00
4	3.25	67	21.50
5	9.00	70	21.00
30	10.50	77	30.00
65	7.50	78	28.00
66	8.00	87	34.00
72	7.50	106	18.00
73	5.25	122	10.00
74	2.50	160	29.00
86	11.00	162	30.00
287	6.50	168	30.00
298	12.00	174	24.00
299	10.00	286	11.00
352	36.00		
353	76.00		
354	86.00		
355	26.00		

which featured the Harold P. Newlin Collection. "Captured the Half Dime at the limit \$400. Some of the lots went out of sight... The Cents were abominably described. You can judge from the prices."

In an 1884 sale some of T. Harrison Garrett's coins were offered by Massamore under the heading "duplicates from an advanced collector's cabinet." An 1875 gold dollar, quarter eagle, and \$3 in Proof, an 1815 half eagle, and 1798 eagle were a few of the duplicate pieces described. On two other occasions Massamore offered additional Garrett coins.

His monograph, *Descriptive and Chronological Catalogue of Confederate Currency*, was published in Baltimore in 1889 and was probably inspired by his service in the Confederate Army. Massamore died in 1898, and his remaining coins were auctioned by S. Hudson and Henry Chapman in 1899.

Massamore acted as an agent for T. Harrison Garrett in many auction sales, often bidding under pseudonyms. A letter dated April 10, 1883, mentions the acquisition of Harold P. Newlin's famous 1802 half dime:

I was successful on most of the lots [Haseltine's 66th sale, featuring the Newlin Collection]. I captured the 1802 half dime at the limit of \$400. Some of the lots went out of sight. I got all of the Confederate notes. The 1853 no arrows quarters sold for \$22.50. My eyes failed to see any mint lustre. I will try my hand on the one in the Aulick sale. Scott did not attend the sale. Think his gold buyer must have gotten his eyes opened. I sold my 1802 directly after the sale to a gentleman from Lowell, Mass. Was right lucky. The cents were abominably described. You can judge from the prices. I am afraid you will be disgusted with the two I bought. I bought some nice bargains for you. Lots 65 and 66 were very cheap. I give a few prices below of what I bought

Massamore reported further to Garrett in his letter of April 11, 1883:

I was not quite as successful today. I bought Lot 146, the 1853 quarter dollar. It is a very handsome and rare gem. It is far superior to the one sold on the 10th. Price \$23. Lot 162 sold for \$32.50. Lot 266 for \$46. Lot 227 for \$93. I bought a number of pieces you bid on. Talk about an 1805 half dime, I saw one today that is worth two of the one sold today. It is without doubt the most beautiful piece in existence. You ought to have it with the 1802. By the way, I am sure that if your 1802 was put up tomorrow it would sell for \$700. \$100 is the price of the 1805. If I can I will try to get it on approval. Will see you Saturday and will deliver over the gems.

On June 25, 1883, Massamore wrote with regard to W. Elliot Woodward's 58th sale, the William J. Jenks Collection in a letter dated June 25, 1883:

I was very successful today, both in regard to the number of pieces bought, and the low prices at which they were secured. Buyers seem to be holding off for the Crosby Sale . . . Parmelee is here, and I suppose he will make things lively on the colonials. You will see by the invoice enclosed of today's sale that I got the gem for you. Parmelee has a

mate to it and says it is fully rare as the 1804 dollar and considers it cheap at \$300. I bought for you a cheap lot of coins today. I hope to be as successful during the week. I will forward the first thing in the morning. Went to the B&O and Adams [express companies] after the sale but they would not receive money packages so late in the day. Would you be so kind to send me a New York draft for \$200 on account? I will need more money than I thought I would. Send care of Bangs & Co. and oblige.

Massamore continued to report to Garrett, on the progress of the sale, in his letter of June 26, 1883:

Most of the lots you bid on are secured amounting in all to about \$35 . . . I got everything very cheap. There were very few good things in today's sale. Lots of trash, and very badly described. I scratched a number of your bids yesterday on that account

On January 8, 1884, Massamore wrote in relation to W. Elliot Woodward's 62nd sale, the Ely Collection:

I was obliged to cancel quite a number of your bids on account of overdescription. The 1827 quarter is a magnificent piece. I secured it at \$215. No. 90 was struck from the original die and is a gem. I had hoped to secure it but was disappointed; it sold for \$130. No. 444 was an alteration. The Pattern Pieces sold cheap. Hope to secure the rare Colonials tomorrow. Bids for the third day's sale sent any time tomorrow will reach me in good season.

During this period numerous auction invoices were sent to T. Harrison Garrett for sales attended on his behalf by Massamore. Included were many interesting items (such as lots 850 to 900 inclusive), a set of 1794 large cents, sold to Garrett for \$420 from Ed. Frossard's 37th sale on October 18, 1884.

Massamore wrote with regard to Woodward's 69th sale on October 14, 1884:

I bought everything you bid on in the sale today at extremely low figures. The unique gold Washington "Chowder Club Medal" for \$23.25, the piece at \$50 would have been cheap. The three Washingtons with blank reverses I got at \$7.25 each, less than one third your bid. Hope you are as successful during the remainder of the sale.

Massamore continued on October 20, 1884:

The Anthon sale brought out a great many of the best and most advanced collectors. Everything is of the first order and genuine. He was a very learned "numismatist" and fully competent to judge the genuineness of everything he bought. And he would only buy the finest that could be had. I secured everything but the 1801 and the 1857 dollars. The first lot sold for \$16, and the latter, Lot 140, sold for \$13. I secured Lot 117 at \$110 and had made up my mind to pay at least \$150.

At the close of the sale Mr. Frossard offered \$120 for it. The most important piece in the collection is the Washington half dollar, Lot 407. That is positively "unique". I had no idea from the catalogue what it was, but as soon as I saw it I made up my mind to buy it for you. Haseltine ran it up to \$124. I got it at \$125, and I consider it worth \$250.

Parmelee paid \$650 for a Sommer Islands sixpence some years ago. This piece [referring to the Washington item just mentioned] in my judgment is preferable. Lot 408 I bought for \$17. For this Professor Anthon paid \$60. I was told this by those who were at the sale when he purchased it. I do not know if this piece was overlooked by collectors except that Mr. Cogan forgot or neglected to state in his description that it is the thin planchet.

Want to call your attention to the two 1793 cents in Frossard's sale. They are the Parsons cents. For the AMERI Mr. Parsons paid \$125. This I may secure at your bid of \$75, but the wreath cent is beyond all question the finest known. You remember Frossard sent it to you on approval at \$300. You showed it to me and I afterward saw it exhibited at Bangs & Co. in the presence of all the prominent dealers and collectors at the Crosby sale, and it was universally acknowledged by all present to be the finest ever seen. If I had known that these cents were the same ones exhibited by Frossard I would have placed much higher bids upon them or at least upon the wreath cent. You ought by all means to have them both. I would like permission to increase my bids to \$100 for the chain cent and \$150 for the wreath. I may not get them at these prices but I think I can. If they can be bought cheaper so much the better. I will buy them just as cheap as I can. I would love to see you have these pieces in your collection. It would be as much pleasure for me as it would for you. Please advise.

Massamore wrote an additional letter on February 8, 1888:

I send by the mail a catalogue of our next sale and beg to call your attention to the beautiful "Baltimore Town Piece," Lot 848. [The reference here is to a Standish Barry threepence.] The piece you have is too poor to occupy a place in your splendid collection. It cost you \$23 in the Bushnell sale. The Crosby, Ely, and in fact none of the fine collections sold for many years, contained this piece. All your other Maryland pieces are very fine, and I am very anxious that you would have this, as an opportunity to possess so fine a one may never occur again. I sent it with some other rare pieces to Mr. Newlin in Philadelphia for examination, as he will not be able to attend the sale in person. I think it will bring about \$50 to \$60. If you want me to buy it for you, will do so free of commission, and take yours at cost in exchange. Would love to see you have the piece. Lot 874 is my individual property. This you have not at all. This with Lot 875 and 501 you ought to have, but at all cost secure the Standish Barry "Baltimore Town Piece" as I am sure you will wait many years before an opportunity again occurs to secure a perfect specimen. Trusting that you and your family are well and having a splendid time I remain very truly yours.



Correspondence with Harold P. Newlin

From 1883 through 1886 Harold P. Newlin, a dedicated numismatist and author of the first detailed specialized work ever to appear on the half dime series (*The Early Half Dimes*, published by John W. Haseltine, Philadelphia, 1883), corresponded with T.

Harrison Garrett concerning a variety of matters. Newlin, an attorney with offices in the Supreme Court Rooms in Philadelphia, was a private collector.

The first letter from Harold P. Newlin to T. Harrison Garrett is undated and was written early in 1883:

I understand that you bought some of my best pieces in Haseltine's sale of my collection of dimes and half dimes, and I likewise am informed that you are collecting fine pieces. I write this note for the purpose of advising you that I retained a very few of my choice pieces because I could not make up my mind to part with them. I find now however that having these few is a temptation for me to collect again, and it is too expensive a luxury. I shall have to forego the pleasure and content myself with collecting a few unimportant and inexpensive things. Should you desire to see a few coins I have, I shall be glad to send them to you for your inspection. Is your line of gold complete? If not, what do you lack? I have a few quite rare pieces. Hoping you will pardon this informal way of writing to you, I am very truly yours,

Harold P. Newlin

Attorney at Law

Supreme Court Offices

Philadelphia.

P.S. I would state that you are the first to whom I have offered my pieces.

Newlin's next letter is dated September 28, 1883:

I send you this day per express the remainder of my coins. I hope you will not think the prices too high. My fine pieces have cost me nearly the prices I have marked them to you at, and I bought them several years ago before this great boom in prices. I have never before offered them for sale, although I have frequently been asked to part with them.

Mr. Frossard, a dealer, once offered \$35 for my 1796 half dimes two years ago. I have marked my prices as low as I can possibly sell them for in order that you may be satisfied with pieces and prices. I regret that I could not have offered you the *set* of dimes and half dimes for I think it is a great pity they were ever broken. I congratulate you having bought the finest pieces or many of them, and I hope they may afford you as much pleasure as they have me.

I have been making a list of the 1802 half dimes, the number known, their condition, when sold, and prices realized. I have also examined several specimens and have either seen or have photographs of the finest, and I unhesitatingly say that I think without doubt that your specimen is the finest known. If you care to clean your piece it will come out nearly a Proof.

Some of the pieces I send you can be greatly improved by judicious cleaning, but I am too busily engaged to undertake it. I hope that the package reaches you safely.

In his letter of May 3rd, Newlin discussed the value of his pieces:

Your favor received. In reply I would say that my list is at my house. You will find however that the price is marked on each envelope. I regret that I cannot further reduce them but I have already put them as low as I can consistently. My sale was a disappointment to me. My finest pieces would have brought double what they did had it not been that a

My dear Sir:

I understand that you bought some of my best pieces in Haseltine's sale of my collection of dimes and half dimes. and as I likewise am informed that you are collecting fine pieces, I write this note for the purpose of advising ^{you} that I retained a very few of my choice pieces because I couldn't make up my mind to part with them. I find now however that having these few, is a temptation for me to collect again, and

as it is too expensive a luxury, I shall have to forgo the pleasure & content myself with collecting a few unimportant and inexpensive things. Should you desire to see the few coins I have, I shall be glad to send them on to you for your inspection. Is your time or coin complete? if not, what do you lack. I have a few quite rare pieces, Hoping you will pardon this very informal way of writing to you, I am

Very truly, Yours

Harold P. Newlin,
att'y at Law

Superior Court Office,
Phila.

P.S. I would state that you are the first to whom I have offered my pieces.

In this 1883 letter Harold P. Newlin introduces himself to T. Harrison Garrett after learning that Garrett was the successful purchaser of many of the finest pieces in John W. Haseltine's sale of his collection. "I understand that you bought some of my best pieces in Haseltine's sale of my collection of dimes and half dimes, and as I likewise am informed that you are collecting fine pieces, I write this note for the purpose of advising you that I retained a very few of my choice pieces because I couldn't make up my mind to part with them."

certain collector who pays extravagant prices for fine coins was away from home and did not send one bid. What you do not take I shall send to him at private sale.

I fully expected my 1802 half dime to bring \$700 or \$800, and I believe that if it were put in a sale now it would bring that amount. I also believe that if the fine pieces I sent you were put in a sale now they would bring double or triple the prices I ask. I happen to know that the collector of whom I speak is now sending unlimited bids for everything fine.

In the Britton sale my 1804 quarter brought \$225. The party sent a bid of \$1,000 for it.

Several months later on September 13, 1883, Newlin informed Garrett . . .

. . . he had recently secured two pieces which were obtained at the mint in the year they were struck, by the gentleman from whom I got them. They are the gold dollar and quarter eagle of 1863. They are in beautiful brilliant Proof condition. The former is rare and the latter in my estimation the rarest of the series of quarter eagles.

In my former gold collection (originally the Adams Collection) I had an 1863 \$5 gold piece but never could obtain the quarter eagle. There were I believe but 30 struck in this year, and certainly not a half dozen of these are now known to collectors. I do not know if you have the piece, but if you care for it I am willing to dispose of it as I have broken up my set. The price is \$30, and \$5 for the 1863 dollar. Will you kindly let me know what you lack in gold as I have one or two fine pieces left.

Have you the 1829 half eagle of the new type? I have the 1838 and 1847 eagles.

Newlin apparently received a letter from Garrett stating that he was going on a trip, for on September 26, 1883, Newlin responded:

Your favor of the 19th received. I shall hold the 1863 quarter eagle and other pieces subject to your decision upon your return.

The next communication is dated October 22, 1883:

I received your favor of October 20th this morning and in reply would say that I have sent you my 1829 half eagle for inspection. I do not offer this for sale at present, for I am rather undecided whether I shall part with the few half eagles I have in addition. I will say however that in the event of my selling them I shall give you the first opportunity of inspecting them at the view to purchase.

The eagle of 1838 I obtained from Mr. William S. Jenks, an old collector of this city. I saw him today and asked him about its rarity. He says that he considers it rarer even than the 1804 eagle and that he waited three years before he got this one. I bought it from him in a set of eagles, therefore I cannot tell what it cost me. I value it at \$25. I think it brought about \$38 in the McCoy sale. I value the 1847 eagle at \$15. Will you kindly let me hear from you at your convenience.

P.S. In looking at the McCoy catalogue I find I am mistaken in stating that the 1838 eagle brought \$38. There was no 1838 eagle in the McCoy sale, but I certainly have the mention of its sale in some old catalogue for about that price.

On October 24, 1883 the following short note was sent:

I enclose with the gold an 1801 half dime. As you are collecting curiosities and varieties I send it for your inspection. I have never seen or heard of another like it. Should you desire the half dime you can retain it, price \$5.

Apparently, as suggested by Carl Carlson in his 1976 articles in *The Numismatist*, Newlan inadvertantly wrote the date wrong. It should have been 1800 (not 1801), as the piece almost certainly was the atypical uniface strike in copper, Judd Appendix A, having Liberty's bust in unusually high relief.

Regarding the sale of the eagles Newlin responded with:

In reply to your note received this morning I would say that the eagles are for sale at the prices stated in my note, but I have not yet decided to sell the half eagles. When I do I shall advise you. In the event of my selling them would you want both or only one, and which one? [This is in reference to the pair of 1829 half eagles, large date and small date.]

There is a space of nearly a year before the next letter is encountered, dated October 21, 1884 in which Newlin offers his rare half eagles:

I wrote you some weeks ago but find that I have misdirected my letter. I promised you that should I ever conclude to sell my 1829 half eagle, new type, I would give you first chance. I now think of selling my gold at private sale and offer you the 1829 Uncirculated for \$100 net. It is very desirable showing the change of type and width. With the exception of one in the United States Mint this is the only one I have ever seen or heard of. It is therefore rarer than the 1815 or 1822, or which three each are known.

October 24, 1884, the following letter was sent by Newlin with the half eagle "for your inspection":

. . . You asked me what other gold I have. I have a complete set of gold eagles in very fine condition up through and inclusive of 1838. [The notation "very fine" in this instance apparently refers to the quality of the coins in a generic way, rather than being a specific description of individual coin grades.] Of half eagles I have 1795 large and small eagles, 1796, 1797 large and small eagles and nearly all dates to 1834 new [referring to the new reverse design adopted this year] including, I believe, the finest 1815 and 1824 half eagles known, both strictly Uncirculated.

Quarter eagles—nearly complete to 1834 new, including 1796 without stars, strictly Uncirculated, 1796 with stars, 1797 Proof, and 1826 Proof.

I have also an 1864 Proof set struck in pure copper. I have only seen two sets—one owned in N.Y. by a dealer at one time, and mine. If you are collecting mints, I have the 1873, S mint. I have two varieties of both Carolina gold \$2½, one large, the other small. Both about Uncirculated.

Gold Proof sets 1864 and 1865 and a complete set of gold dollars nearly all Proof.

Should you care to see any of the above I should be happy to send them to you for your inspection.

P.S. Dr. Robert Davis, of Philadelphia, was in Boston and called to see W. E. Woodward, who had both 1815 half eagles, yours and mine. Dr. Davis said that one was infinitely better than the other. I am inclined to think mine is the best one. If you are collecting coins in their most perfect condition I would be willing to trade half eagles with you providing mine is the finest and providing we agree upon their respective values, which I believe we can do. I bought my piece from Woodward privately and am assured it is the finest of the three known. If you want to see mine, send yours. I will then compare them and send both back to you so that you may compare them.

Newlin penned this extensive letter on October 29, 1884:

Your favor received and this day I send you some gold for inspection. I have included a few coins that you did not ask to see, only because I thought you might like to compare them with your specimens and perhaps would desire to trade. I have made it a point in my collecting always to buy the very finest pieces for they are the most satisfactory and becoming more difficult to obtain every year.

I send you eagles, 1798 four stars facing, Uncirculated, with file marks on the planchet before striking. 1798 six stars facing, Extremely Fine. This is the finest pair of eagles of this date that I have ever seen. For the pair \$70, your choice \$37.50.

Half eagles 1796 and 1797 [no price stated], 1802 half eagle \$8. 1804, pair for \$18, your choice \$10. 1809 half eagle \$10. 1818, (not fine enough for you so did not send). 1822, I have none. 1815 half eagle finest known. Mr. Woodward refused an offer of \$400 cash for this piece before I bought it. The offer was made by a Philadelphia collector named Bruce.

1796 without stars, quarter eagle, the only Uncirculated one I have ever seen or heard of. In this condition I consider it one of the rarest of the gold coins, \$60—I will trade for your 1796 with the difference to be determined when I see your piece.

This also applies to the 1815 half eagle and the 1824 half eagle. I believe it to be the finest known. 1797 quarter eagle. Proof. Formerly Mickley's. 1808 quarter eagle. Not fine enough to send (weakly struck).

1854 gold dollar brilliant Proof, \$10. 1861 gold dollar, brilliant Proof \$4.50.

From 1849 to 1859 I have no Proofs but my pieces are in the most beautiful condition. I got one from old Mr. McAllister of Philadelphia who got them at the Mint each year. I value them almost as highly as Proofs but I will not send them until I hear from you.

In regard to the prices which I set upon my pieces I have this to say, that I have never asked more than I think the piece is really worth in point of rarity or condition, and I have paid in many instances large prices for the coins. For instance, for the 1797 half eagle and the 1828 half eagle only Fine I paid \$100, and for my 1797 quarter eagle \$65. You will therefore see I have been willing to give good prices for fine pieces,

and I have never yet regretted it. I hope some of the coins please you.

Newlin's letter written October 31st, discussed the negotiations:

Your favor received, enclosing a check for \$240, for which receive my thanks. You say I did not set any price upon the 1797 quarter eagle. I did not care to sell it unless you took the 1796 but now that my set is broken I would just as soon sell as trade. I obtained the piece from Mr. Woodward about two years ago. He sent it on to me at \$75 stating it had formerly belonged to Mickley and was the finest specimen known of that date. I wrote him that I did not care to pay so much for the piece, and he put it then at \$65, and we agreed upon that basis. I have several times refused an offer of \$55 from Mr. Jenks of Philadelphia, an old gold collector. If the piece is better than yours you may have it for \$65 net. In regards to my 1815 half eagle, I value it at \$500 as it is the only perfect specimen known, and I know that Mr. Woodward, at least so he said, refused an offer of \$400 cash for it, and I was offered \$400 cash by a collector, in Philadelphia whose name I can give you should you desire it. I have not yet seen your piece but this I may tell you that Mr. Robert Davis of Philadelphia, our oldest collector, told me the other day that he had seen both pieces in Mr. Woodward's collection and that he considered the best one worth fully 100% more than the other, and that as a collector he would give that difference. Mr. Davis did not and does not know that I had bought the best 1815 half eagle from Mr. Woodward. Nor does he know that you and I were the purchasers of the two pieces that he saw. If you wish, I can get Mr. Davis' written opinion as to the difference in value. I write this at length because I want you to be perfectly satisfied, and also I do not wish to ask you one cent more than the difference is really worth, and I should be glad if you would write me your views of the matter of what you value your piece at. My only reason for parting with my gold is that I cannot afford to keep it. I have not bought one of the pieces with a view to speculation. Did the 1861 and 1854 dollar not suit you? I will wait to hear from you before writing again.

A second letter was sent the same day, and was intended to settle the sale:

I am in receipt of your package containing my coins except . . . 1797 quarter eagle and 1854 and 1861 which you have reserved. I also have your 1815 half eagle. It is certainly not so fine as mine, and under a glass shows slight marks of circulation, besides lacking brightness and lustre that an Uncirculated piece has. I had thought that \$150 was a fair difference between them as I think mine being the finest known will command \$500. However, to close the matter I will give you my 1815 half eagle, 1797 quarter eagle, 1854 and 1861 dollars, for \$200 each, and I will keep your 1815. This I think is a fair trade to you and no more than the pieces are really worth at any time. I make this proposition in order to save you the trouble of writing. Hope that this will meet your approbation.

The next letter was strictly an academic question:

How many varieties of the 1797 half eagle have you? I have two: 1797, obverse with 15 stars, [struck over 5], reverse

large eagle; and 1797, obverse 16 stars, reverse small eagle. A collector writes to me that he has 1797, obverse 15 stars, reverse *small* eagle. This would seem to make three distinct varieties. I am writing a little article on gold and am desirous of gathering all the information I can about the very rare pieces. Have you this third variety? In any event it must be exceedingly rare and I want to get at the number known.

In his next letter dated November 26, 1884 Newlin offers . . .

. . . one of the rarest quarter eagles in brilliant Proof condition. In regard to its rarity, you will find in *Snowden's Mint Manual of Coins* pg. 115 that he says the act reducing the standard [weight] was passed June 28, 1834, and there were coined 4,000 quarter eagles of the old type. "These were in the hands of the chief coiner at the time the act was passed and were returned by him to the treasurer two days after, on the 30th. This fact makes it extremely doubtful whether there was any issue of any quarter eagles of the old standard, as it is probable that the last return would be immediately recoined at the reduced standard, as they would yield a considerable profit."

I believe but few of these coins got into circulation. I bought the piece that McCoy had. (Mickley never had one) which was described as Fine but is only Very Good. There was also one sold in the Jenks Collection sold in Haseltine's 69th sale in January. It was only Good and brought \$22. I think the piece rarer than the 1797 quarter eagle or 1796, and I believe that a really fine specimen has never been offered.

I value the piece at \$50 and think it worth that amount in rarity and point of condition. Should you desire the piece for your cabinet it is at your service and should you think the price I ask is too high, you can send me a check for any amount you may deem the piece worth. I doubt if you will ever again have an opportunity of getting a piece in such condition.

Newlin wrote again to T. Harrison Garrett on November 28, 1884:

I send you for your inspection a set of three patterns for \$5 and \$2.50 gold pieces. They were made with the idea of increasing the size of the coin and making them thinner. Mr. Morgan, who designed them, told me they were extremely rare. I do not believe more than two or three sets were struck. They are not in the Mint Cabinet.

They differ very materially from the set in the Massamore sale, both in size and design. These have never been offered for sale either privately or in public, and I send them to you first. If you do not care for them then I shall forward them to Mr. Parmelee. I hardly know what valuation to put on them, but I think \$50 for the set would be reasonable. If, however, you think it too much you may send me any amount you think them to be worth. I am perfectly willing to accept your judgment in the matter. I shall, if you desire, give you the first opportunity of seeing anything of unusual rarity that I may secure.

The next letter, is dated December 1, 1884; suggests a trade as an alternative:

Should you not care to purchase the coins I sent to you, it occurs to me that you ought to be willing to trade your 1796 and 1797 quarter eagles—the ones you had in your collection prior to the time you bought the finer specimens from me. I intend to send you for your inspection a Proof 1796 quarter eagle with stars.

Send on the two pieces and we may come to a trade. I have a brilliant Proof 1858 gold dollar also an 1800 brilliant Proof half eagle and a beautiful 1810 half eagle with large date.

The next letter from Garrett brought his 1834 half eagle for consideration in trade; however, Newlin was not interested in this particular date, as:

I have one which came from the McCoy sale and therefore do not care to trade. If you will send your 1796 with stars, 1796 no stars, 1797, and 1798, I may trade with you provided mine are finer. I sent you a 1796 quarter eagle with stars in Proof. It is not scratched, but the planchet was slightly filed before striking as is often the case with early pieces. Also a 1798 quarter eagle Proof and an 1874 twenty-cent piece. This is so rare that I have never seen or heard of but two specimens [this is in reference to the 1874 twenty-cent piece which is a pattern]. If you will kindly send me your pieces I will examine and suggest what I consider a fair difference.

On December 13, 1884, Newlin sent Garrett several coins with the following note, again suggesting he send his duplicates in trade:

I have sent you for inspection gold coins as follows: quarter eagles, 1796 Proof, 1798 Proof, 1834 old type Proof, 1874 twenty-cent piece. Should these prove better than your specimens I would be willing to make a trade and would like you to send me the following: quarter eagles, 1796 with stars, 1796 no stars, 1797, and 1798—I mean those you will discard for sure. I have let you have the choice of my rare gold and want the pieces to fill up the gaps.

The next letter from Newlin, on December 22nd, was a lengthy discussion of several rarities:

I received your registered letter this morning with the 1796 and 1798 quarter eagles. I enclose the 1797 small eagle reverse, the only Uncirculated one I have had. I got this from Mr. Parmelee, who paid me a little call several weeks ago. His price to me was \$50 net, and as the last two in only Fine brought \$40.00 and \$42.50 in sales I took it. I should like to get \$60 for it. In regards to the 1822 half eagle, I think its price depends upon its condition. Mr. Parmelee has one in his collection, and he told me that Mr. Appleton of Boston had two at one time, but Mr. Appleton has sold his gold and I do not know where they now are.

It is only very recently that the 1822 was known to be rare. Nobody thought of looking for it. Now that it is more generally known and sought for, more specimens may turn up. H. P. Smith of New York City lately found one at a broker's office in the window and got it for \$6, at least so he wrote me, and I believe it. The mint has one, and with Parmelee's, Smith's and two of Appleton's, there would seem to be five known. Parmelee thinks it's the scarcest *after* 1815, but it will never bring as much as that date as the

1815 has always been considered the rarest coin in the U.S. series and has been advertised for and looked after for 25 years, without another specimen being brought to light.

I do not think the 1829 [large date] is any rarer than the 1829 small date. I should consider the market value of an Uncirculated one to be \$150 and a Very Fine one \$100. Mr. Parmelee thinks it is worth \$100.

I want for the 1874 twenty-cent piece and the 1834 quarter eagle Proof \$75. Outside of the Mint Cabinet I have never seen the 1874 in silver. One in copper brought \$29 in Haseltine's sale about a year ago. I mean the sale that had an addenda.

P.S. I have a strictly Uncirculated 1796 half dollar.

On December 31, 1884, Newlin thanked Garrett for his check and enclosed a Proof 1834 quarter eagle, apparently of the new or second type, at \$22.

Thereon January 10, 1885, Newlin ventured:

As you wrote to me to send for your inspection anything good that I may have, I enclose a 1797 half dollar which I think is by far the best one in point of condition I have seen. Should it prove superior to yours and should you care to trade, if you will send yours to me I will let you know what I consider a fair difference.

On January 19, 1885, Newlin wrote again:

Your registered letter reached me safely. I cannot tell just what value to put upon the 1797 half dollar as I do not know of an Uncirculated specimen ever having been sold. There was an Uncirculated 1796 half dollar sold in the Burton sale for over \$300, and the same piece was sold in a Harzfeld sale for I think \$325. Mr. Woodward considers a 1797 half dollar rarer than the 1796, in Uncirculated condition.

I believe the piece I sent you is worth between \$175 and \$210 and I believe your piece is worth, on the same basis of estimation, \$80 and \$100. The history of the piece I send you is as follows. It was picked up over a counter by a man who keeps a liquor store here about three years ago and was bought by a doctor who takes some interest in coins for \$75 on speculation. I purchased it from him. I should be glad to have your ideas concerning the piece, and I do not want to appear to be asking more than the real value. I doubt if it can be duplicated in point of condition. I shall very cheerfully be guided by your opinion of the matter. I shall send you some gold you lack per express.

Harold P. Newlin sent the gold to T. Harrison Garrett the same day as promised:

I send you per express today [January 19, 1885] per your instructions the following: double eagles 1852 Uncirculated \$28, 1855 Uncirculated \$28, 1856 Uncirculated \$25, 1861 Uncirculated \$28, 1876 Uncirculated \$25. Eagles: 1850 Uncirculated \$14, 1852 Uncirculated \$15. Half eagle: 1808/7. Extremely rare variety. \$13.

I have also a brilliant Proof set, gold, silver, and copper, of 1885. I got them early because the Proofs first struck are best. You can have the set at the mint price, of course, if you have not already secured yours. I hope to send you a few more dates that you want shortly.

P.S. Do you not want that 1792 large Liberty, Parent of Science cent in the Smith sale, plain edge? It is a beauty and I think it will not bring its worth. I wish I could afford to buy it for myself. If you want it telegraph me and I think I can get it cheap for you.

Newlin's acknowledged receiving a package of gold from Garrett but rejected his offer saying:

In reference to the 1797 half eagle, I would say that I believe to a collector of fine pieces the coin is worth a fancy price as it is the only perfect specimen I have ever seen. In accepting your offer of \$60 difference I would be out of pocket \$7. I think \$75 difference would be very advantageous to you. If you think not I will be willing to take \$67. I await your pleasure in the matter.

The next letter from Newlin to Garrett on February 3, 1885, confirms the sale:

I thank you for your courtesy in sending the check. I am glad that you concluded to take the piece, not on account of the slight benefits that accrued to me thereby, but because I think you have added a gem to your collection. Some time ago when trading for my 1802 half dime (now yours) I said to Woodward that an 1804 quarter I gave was worth \$150. He thought it was ridiculous and allowed me about \$35 in trade. The same piece was put in the Burton sale and realized by fair bidding \$225. I merely state this to show that having studied the condition and varieties of scarce pieces I can speak somewhat intelligently as to their value. My estimate is often borne out by the prices they subsequently bring in auction.

In regard to your 1802 half dime, this is by far the best known. Woodward's not nearly so fine brought recently at auction \$365 and was bought by Sampson who had a bid of \$600 on the piece.

The next letter is dated March 16, 1885 and describes the superb collection:

I have an opportunity of purchasing probably the finest (and most complete with regard to varieties) line of dollars, half dollars and quarters. They belong to a friend of mine who has been collecting for 35 years and now through ill health and old age is compelled to give it to us. When I tell you that there are nearly 800 pieces in the collection, you can appreciate its magnitude.

I do not know how far you go into varieties, but if you care for them, this is by far the most perfect collection known. Numbers of Uncirculated beautiful pieces in the early dates, for example 1795, 1796, 1797 1798, etc. The set of quarters is really remarkable. The 1796 Proof. The 1804 Proof. This is finer than mine which brought \$225 in the Britton sale. 1805, 1806 strictly Uncirculated. 1807 bright and strictly Uncirculated. Never in a sale, and unique in point of condition. Parmelee has not one approaching it. This has long been known as the best. It was bought in Europe. The other dates are Uncirculated except the 1823. My friend wants to sell the three lines but he might be induced to part with the quarters alone. If so, would you not desire the Uncirculated specimens? There is a brilliant Proof 1795 fillet head dollar absolutely perfect and unique. Also an 1853 half dollar without arrows or rays, also unique. Would you care to come to

Philadelphia to have a look at the collection? I think it would repay you for your troubles, and I should be most happy to extend you the hospitalities of my house.

These coins have never been offered except to me and will not be until I hear from you. In other words, I have the refusal of them.

The next letter is dated March 30, 1885:

I have a Sommers Island shilling that is as good as the two known. Have you it, or does it interest you? The United States Mint will buy it, but I shall wait to hear from you before offering it to them.

During your absence I sent you an 1876 \$20 gold and an 1876 dollar at \$30 per registered letter.

He sent the shilling April 1st and gave this interesting history:

I enclose the Sommers Island piece, 1615. The first American coin. Crosby knew of but two, both of which were very much corroded. The enclosed is about as fine I think as Parmelee's, in fact it has been but slightly rubbed. I showed it yesterday to the mint, and they wanted me to put a price on it stating that they wanted it, but I didn't until I hear from you. The mint recently got a sixpence (likewise corroded) which a lady in Bermuda sent them. It was dug up by a colored man and rubbed on a brick to make it discernible. The United States Mint sent \$75 to the lady for the piece. This is the only one I have ever seen. I doubt if you will again have an opportunity of buying one. If you care for it let me know what you think a fair price, and it is yours.

Garrett accepted the piece and Newlin wrote a brief acknowledgement on April 15, 1885:

I am glad you secured the Sommers Island shilling. I had an offer of \$55 for it. You wrote me that you had forwarded a check for the gold at \$30. It has not reached me, and I only mention it fearing it may have miscarried in the mail. I have an 1876 \$5 Proof. Also a Georgia \$2.50 gold piece that I have never seen before. Would you like to see them?

The next communication from Newlin is a telegram dated May 8, 1885:

Can buy a unique Immunis Columbia recently discovered and undescribed. \$300 offered and not accepted. Would you offer \$500? Genuineness guaranteed. I think Parmelee would buy it, but I give you preference. Telegraph answer.

The next letter is dated May 16, 1885:

Your favor received. I don't think much of Chapman's cheap learning and nothing they would say relative to a piece would influence me. I heard two dealers declare that they had no confidence in the 1804 dollar sold at the sale. It was sold, however, to Mr. Scott, a dealer, who paid \$1,000 for it for a customer.

I am still trying to get that unique colonial at a reasonably fair price, but the owner is obstinate. If I get it I shall at least send it on for your inspection.

When Woodward's catalogue of the Randall Collection comes out, you will have an opportunity of adding some gems to your cabinet. I have already examined the pieces

most carefully and I will be able to give you a fair idea of the value of any you may want. I shall attend the sale and will buy anything for you, I fancy more cheaply than collectors' bids are generally executed.

In his next letter, dated June 23, 1885, Newlin gives his opinion of the forthcoming Randall Collection sale and makes bidding suggestions. Two days later he gives a report on results obtained on behalf of Garrett in the Huffnagle sale of curios. Newlin was further successful at the Randall sale, where acting as Garrett's confidential agent, he . . .

. . . purchased for you the gems at about a third less than your bids. I paid cash for the pieces, and no one has any idea that I was not buying for myself. I telegraphed you for a check not because I need the money, but because I leave town on Friday for the summer and wanted to pick it up before then.

I consider the cheapest piece in the sale was the 1853 half dollar. Woodward today offered me an advance if I would let him have it, said he was sorry he allowed it to be sold, and thought it well worth \$500. It was unquestionably admitted to be genuine and unique by every dealer and collector present.

The 1796 half dollar went above your bid, as also the two 1796 quarters. These were bought by Randall for speculation. I think you might have them (I mean the quarters) for your set. If you want them telegraph me and I'll see what I can do with Randall.

The 1804 quarter was cheap at \$100. The same piece brought \$135 years ago in the Stentz sale, and is as fine as mine that brought \$225 at the Britton sale. The fillet head 1795 is worth \$300, and the 1804 quarter is very cheap. Hope you like the coins. I add a commission and have not so much compunction in doing it because it's my only solace for having lost so many gems, for I got for you nearly all the pieces I had picked out for myself. The 1795 flowing hair is I think perfection, but if you think not, send it to me and I will remit a check. I shall send the coins to you per Adams [Express] to Deer Park. Hope you will like them. The 1797 half eagle was poor.

Garrett was pleased at the success. When next Newlin wrote, in late July, it was to send . . .

. . . a few pieces which I have obtained from my friend Colonel O. C. Bosbyshell, who was chief coiner in the mint from 1877 until his resignation a few months ago.

While in the mint, neither myself nor any collector could obtain a pattern coin from him, but few were struck between 1877 and 1884. He promised me long ago that should he ever sell the pieces he had (he kept one of each in silver and one in copper) that I should have them. About a week ago he sent them to me. He assures me that he kept a most careful record in that the pieces are very rare. I did not know of the existence of several of them at all; they are not in the Mint Cabinet. I have shown them to no one and shall keep the copper pieces. Considering their rarity I myself bought them at a low price, and think I have put them to you at a very moderate figure. I am assured that neither Mr. Robert Davis nor Mr. Parmelee have them, nor do I think they have

ever been offered at auction. The Colonel informs me that he has a few more patterns in silver of 1882 but he is unable to lay his hands on them. When he does they will be sent to me. He also has a \$50 piece dated 1877, (the only die ever made at the United States Mint for that denomination). It is struck in copper, heavily gold plated, and is a beautiful piece. He tells me but two were struck in gold, one of which he melted up. The other he feels confident was also returned and melted. [This information later proved to be incorrect, for in 1909 John Haseltine and Stephen Nagy sold two 1877 \$50 pieces, each struck in gold and each of a different variety. Either additional specimens were struck Bosbyshell was unaware of, something which seems improbable for Bosbyshell was the chief coiner and was quite interested in producing unusual rarities, or, he gave incorrect information to Newlin.] Should I get the piece from him, would you like to see it?

An additional rare pattern became available which Newlin offered in his letter of September 15, 1885:

I send you herewith a package of coins which you may like to add to your collection. The 1879 silver dollar [pattern] is extremely rare, for I never knew one to be offered. You will notice it has neither "E Pluribus Unum" nor "In God We Trust." The former pieces were designed at the United States Mint, and I got them from the chief coiner who told me there were but a half dozen Proofs struck from the dies—the \$10 gold, (or rather, gilt or gold plated) is also very rare. I value the lot, including also the gun money [Irish coinage], which is Fine, at \$40 for the lot.

In regard to the price, I think it fair, but as the pieces have never been sold before, it is hard to determine their value. For instance, the 1879 silver dollar is much rarer than the 1836 Gobrecht in field dollar which brings \$50 [a reference to the rare variety of the 1836 Gobrecht pattern silver dollar with the engraver's name in the field between the date and the base of Liberty.] I bought these with a lot of other pieces and therefore did not know what they cost me. If, therefore, you think the price too high you may reduce it to what you think proper and remit the check at your convenience.

The following letter was sent October 17th:

I received your favor and in reply sent some pieces for your inspection. I have held them for you and had no duplicates except one each of the 1879 half dollars in copper [patterns] which I sent over to H. P. Smith to put in his next sale. The catalogue of this will be out in a few days. In regard to the patterns I can only reiterate what I before wrote, that I got them from Col. O. C. Bosbyshell of the United States Mint, who was chief coiner from 1877 to 1884. He is a gentleman of strict honesty and integrity and he struck the pieces he knows and has kept. He has kept a record of exactly the numbers coined. The pieces with hardly an exception are extremely rare and you need have no fear of purchasing on the grounds that many will appear, as the Colonel destroyed every die himself. In addition to this, I stand ready at any time to take back the pieces and refund the money to you cheerfully should they not turn out to be as represented in point of rarity. For the most part they have never been offered either at public or private sale, and I am quite positive they are not in the hands of collectors. Col-

onel Snowden may have them in his cabinet or possibly Mr. Barber, the engraver, but neither of these gentlemen would part with their specimens.

In addition to the patterns I send you a number of other pieces which possibly may improve your cabinet. There is another piece in my possession which I think you ought to have. It is an 1877 \$50 piece in copper, heavily gold plated. Colonel Bosbyshell informs me that there is no known specimen in gold, and he knows of but five in copper, two of which are at the mint, and therefore cannot be sold. The third is probably in Colonel Snowden's collection, and the fourth I can probably obtain for you as I know the owner. The piece is most interesting as it is the only \$50 piece ever gotten up by the United States Mint. It is certainly far more rare than the 1804 dollar and it is more interesting. I cannot estimate its value, but I think it would produce a large price in a sale. If you will write what you are willing to give for it I will make the offer to the party and doubtless I can obtain it for you. I called upon Robert Davis who has the finest collection of pattern coins in this country, and he told me that he did not have the piece, but would like greatly to obtain one. The piece I refer to is in beautiful condition, and being heavily gold plated, looks precisely like a solid gold piece. As there is no piece struck in solid gold, this must take its place. If you would care to buy the piece, please advise me as soon as possible in order that I may secure it. In regard to the other pieces I hope you will use your convenience in inspecting them as I am not in a hurry for them.

Recognizing that these following pieces were missing in Garrett's collection he sent them on November 16, 1885, with this letter explaining:

I take pleasure in enclosing for your inspection two pieces which I think will about complete your goloid set. [Goloid was a mixture of gold and silver produced experimentally at the mint and used to produce several varieties of patterns. As goloid was silver-colored and was indistinguishable by the layman from pieces struck of silver, it was never used for regular coinage.] I also enclose a clipping from Haseltine's sale describing the two coins. No. 90 is one of two in copper, gold plated, the other specimen being in the mint. You will notice that the only specimen ever offered of the dollar is described as only being Fine.

Hoping that the pieces may please you and that you are making important additions to your cabinet.

Regarding the Chapman Brothers sale, Newlin again volunteered to act as agent:

Doubtless you have received Chapman's catalogue. I expect to attend the sale [December 15, 1885] and would be glad to execute any bids you may care to send. In looking over the lots, I would call your attention to the following numbers . . . I have kept a memorandum of these numbers, and if you want me to purchase for you at a reasonable price I am glad to do so and will bid as carefully as if the pieces were for me. I never have any transaction with the Chapmans as I do not admire them, but they have offered some rare pieces in their sale, and at public sale they will probably sell for half of what they would at a private sale, especially as I have learned they are short of money. Should you be too busy to write you may send a telegram to buy the lots mentioned in the letter and I will understand it.

Garrett commissioned Newlin, who was again enormously successful and on December 7, 1885, Newlin wrote:

I secured all your pieces in Chapman's sale and forwarded them to you today. The amount due me for the coins retained by you is \$346.50 plus purchases at the sale of \$45.75, equalling \$392.25.

A list was appended detailing the successful bids for Lots 287, 311, 337, 427, 1198, 1221, and 1224.

The \$392.25 was paid in full and on December 31, 1885, a statement outlining purchases since the preceding September was sent. Included were such diverse items as an 1872 commercial dollar at \$20, a Nevada silver medal at \$3, the gold-plated \$50 piece at \$100, a 1792 disme with plain edge at \$40, an 1879 \$20 in copper at \$20, an 1806 quarter eagle at \$50, and two nickel five-cent pieces, otherwise unidentified, at \$2.50.

The subject of Newlin's next letter in May, 1886, was the news of the sale of the magnificent Maris Collection:

Dr. Maris has just informed me that he intends to sell his collection of American coins at auction in this city. He has many rare and valuable pieces, among them his collection of New Jersey cents, and many rare and some unique colonials. I shall expect to attend the sale and will send you a catalogue with plates, as soon as they come out. I shall be glad to execute your bids, and if you should care to examine the pieces or any of them before the sale, I can no doubt send them to you.

And on May 31, 1886, Newlin forwarded:

. . . a plate catalogue of the Maris Collection. I have also taken the liberty of noting on the margin the pieces that would probably add to your cabinet. I have, at the Doctor's invitation, examined the pieces with great interest, and I am very pleased with them. From what I am able to learn, his descriptions of rarity and condition are accurate. I shall expect to attend the sale and should be very glad to execute the bids. I can obtain any of the pieces that you may desire to see, and either bring or send them on to you for inspection. Maris, of course, shall not know they are to be sent to you; nor shall anyone know that I am buying for you. In this way the bidding will be fair, and there will be no running up.

I think the United States Mint should buy the New Jersey cents, for such a set can never be gotten together again; they are to be sold seriatim. If you want them, (and I strongly advise you to buy them), you might send me on what you already have so that I can compare them with the Maris lot and buy for you what you lack. In this way you will avoid duplicates. I believe Parmelee and the best collectors will be represented at the sale.

P.S. If you would not desire the set of New Jerseys, would not the Maryland Numismatic Society buy them? They should never be separated and should be on exhibition somewhere. I have personally not the slightest interest in it except as a numismatist. A number of the pieces are much

finer than the plates would indicate. I see by the catalogue that the New Jersey cents will be offered at first as a set and then sold separately if there is no bid.

The sale was scheduled for June 21st. In the meantime a chain of letters went to Garrett advising him on bidding. On June 12th, Newlin informed Garrett:

In reply to your favor I send you a list of prices which the lots may bring. Of course if Parmelee and some of the other large buyers are represented the pieces will sell for more. If not, I may get them for you at much less. If you remember in the Randall sale I got your pieces at a third less than the bids.

This letter included a long list of lots and individual suggested evaluations, and the following appraisal:

The set of Jerseys is worth \$900 or more. Many unique pieces. In regard to bids on these colonials, any that Parmelee may not have may bring several times the amount of my estimates I would advise you to buy the Jerseys as a set. If not, I would buy all the Uncirculated specimens. Lot 501 is unique, and is the only piece in the sale that does not belong to Maris (except one New Jersey cent) and will be limited by the owner, who is an expressman, at \$250. I consider the piece worth more as it is unique. I have kept a copy of these bids and you may simply telegraph me if you want me to execute them. There are many very important pieces which will add greatly to your cabinet.

On the June 16th, Newlin wrote:

Should you not be desirous of buying the set of New Jersey cents (I have just examined them and ascertained from Dr. Maris that unless a bid of \$800 for the set is made they will be sold separately) I would suggest that you buy the following numbers which I have selected more for their fineness of condition than for their degrees of rarity: 350, 351, 352, 355, 356, 359, 360, 367, 369, 370, 371, 375, 383, 385, 390, 392, 397, 405, 407, 428 (perfection), 431, 445, 449, 451, 452, 462, 465, 466, 467, 470, 471, 480 (a beauty), 483, 488 (only one specimen known struck over a Constellatio cent), 492 (very valuable), 493, and 494.

These if you desire I can buy for you at such prices as I myself would pay if I were collecting them. I, however, advise you to buy the entire set as I believe it will produce more money if sold separately. For example, a number of the rarest pieces Parmelee has not and would pay almost any price for them, but as he already has a large number of Jerseys he might hesitate to buy the set thinking it would give him so many duplicates. I went over the pieces the other evening and put down in pencil what they might bring if sold separately at fair bidding and found it comes to over \$1,350. So, if this set can be bought for \$800 I really think it is a bargain. Of the bids I marked for you at New York I would say that they may go for one half my estimates or may bring much over them. In any event, I am at your service. I hope to receive a line from you at my Supreme Court address. I have kept a memorandum of these lots as well as of the bids I sent in the previous letter, so you need not refer to them specifically unless you so desire.

And again on the 18th, another letter was sent:

I hope you won't think I am annoying you with so many letters, but as you expressed yourself interested in the Maris Collection it might further interest you to know that I saw Dr. Maris this morning and he told me that he intended to put up the New Jersey collection for a starting bid of \$400. He also said that he had within a week or two been offered \$500 for them and that he considered them worth much more than that but he desired to fix a modest limit and leave the rest in the hands of the buyers. I merely state this that you may know how to bid on them. At the low estimate he fixes (and they will positively go if there are two bids) I think they will without doubt go as a set, and the estimates on the individual pieces will not serve you as they in all probability will not go singly. Indeed, if they sell for any such price, I shall feel strongly tempted to be the buyer. The sale as you know is Monday next.

On June 22, 1886, Newlin wrote again, this time using a piece of stationery from Stan V. Henkels & Co., the Philadelphia auctioneers at 1117 Chestnut Street, who sold the Maris Collection:

I send you today per express the coins purchased for you at the sale as per your telegram. A few of the pieces I did not buy because they went at exorbitant prices. The balance I consider were fair according to the rarity of the pieces.

The collection of Jerseys brought slightly more than your bid, but I consider them cheap and Dr. Maris fully expected them to produce \$1,000. [Lots 350 to 500 inclusive in the sale, the collection of New Jersey cents, was purchased by Newlin for Garrett at \$551.]

The silver Franklin I believe was the gem of the sale. It is worth \$500 [the Franklin issue, Lot 338, sold for \$201]. I hope you will be pleased with the coins. The bidding was spirited, the New York dealers being present in force. Dr. Massamore was here and asked if I did not have your bids but I gave him no satisfaction. I bought all the pieces in my name that were for you. The pieces bought for myself I bought under another name. I enclose the bill. A letter of bids for Scott of New York on the pattern pieces came just after the sale. He showed them to me and in nearly every instance offered me an advance on the prices I had paid for you.

On June 24, 1886, Newlin wrote a lengthy letter to Garrett:

In reply to your favor, I would say that it was widely circulated in New York that H. P. Smith had bought the Maris Collection, and to correct this, Smith made a public announcement just before the sale that every piece in the sale except two, Lots 488 and 501, belonged to Dr. Maris.

Maris was present and vouched for this statement, and if you prefer I can get you his written statement to that effect. So that anyone who has informed you otherwise has done it either to dissatisfy you with me or because I bought so much under *my name*. Since the sale, many of the dealers have hinted that I was interested in buying in the pieces for Dr. Maris [reference to bidding on the coins on behalf of the consignor]. I bought for you under my name to divert suspicion, and no one knew I was bidding for you. I represented several other bidders at the sale and had all of Samp-

son's orders, as he wrote me he was unable to come on. I do not consider the prices are excessive at all. And although your telegram instructed me to *buy* (without any qualifications), yet I allowed the 1838 to go to Frossard at \$117.50 and the 1802 dime to Steigerwalt at \$34, because I consider they were bringing more than they were worth. I called at the United States Mint yesterday, and the curator, speaking of the prices, said *inter alia* that he thought the Centennial dollar worth fully all it brought, that the engraver Mr. Barber had been interviewed relative to it and that he, Mr. Barber, did not have one or know of another. I wrote you that after the sale Scott & Co. showed me a large line of bids on all the important patterns in the sale and thinking I had bought them either for Dr. Maris or myself offered me advances on a great number of them over the prices I had paid. So, if you should be dissatisfied with any of the pieces or prices on any of the patterns, if you will send them to me I feel confident I can dispose of them to Scott & Co. without any loss to you.

In regard to the unique Franklin at \$201 I did not let it go because I thought it worth \$500. Maris always valued it at that sum. He bought it of Randall 10 or 12 years ago for \$100. I was run on it by H. P. Smith who had bid \$200 on it. I heard Chapman say they had \$150 on it. Maris fully believed his New Jerseys would produce from \$1,000 to \$1,200, and he refused a cash offer of \$500 before the sale. On the goloid \$20 piece I had another bid for a dealer of \$100 and can use it at that price now. I think the Chapmans are trying to impune the sale in every way by [illegible word] throwing out insinuations such as you have heard. They do this, I think, from their animosities to H. P. Smith because they did not get the cataloguing of the sale. It is possible that a gentleman in Baltimore has some motive in trying to dissatisfy you with me. [The reference here is to Dr. George Massamore, who on other occasions had himself offered to represent T. Harrison Garrett.] After the sale he tried to find out if I was buying for you, and I refused to tell him. I should feel extremely sorry that you should feel disappointed with any purchases I make for you. I feel very sure that many of the pieces you purchased cannot be duplicated at any price and I very much hope you will not hesitate to return the pieces that I have mentioned if they do not meet with your entire approval. More than this I cannot in all fairness do.

P.S. Should you prefer to keep the pieces and yet feel that they brought high prices I shall greatly prefer that you will not add my commission.

A second letter was sent also dated June 24th, this from Newlin's home:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the package containing three pieces. Your telegram of bids was not handed to me until ten minutes before the sale commenced and in all the confusion incident to entering them I bought the three pieces in the name of "Newlin" instead of "Scholl" for whom I really bought them. In stating in my letter today that you might return any of the pattern pieces that you thought too high, I do not mean to convey the impression that I should return them to Maris, but that I would offer them at private sale to Scott & Co. who had bids on them that arrived too late for the sale.

Maris, or, rather, H. P. Smith, the dealer who managed the sale, would not take back any pieces unless they should prove counterfeits. I am just willing to render any service, however, in the disposal of any pieces that may not suit you. As fully stated in my letter this morning I believe fully that you have made very important acquisitions to your cabinet in the purchase of many pieces that cannot be duplicated for the prices paid or in fact at any price.

P.S. I desire to contradict the statement that Maris, and another party, and myself were financially involved in the sale.

You did not mention that you were dissatisfied with your pieces and the pricing, but from the tenor of your note I gathered it. Lot 146 was from the Parmelee Collection and was replaced by one slightly finer for which he paid Haseltine \$110.

On June 30, 1886, Newlin wrote:

I am in receipt of your checks with thanks. I enclose receipted corrected bill. Relative to the numbers upon which you made note, I would say Lot 146 "very high for its state." This is the only specimen I have ever seen offered. It was until recently in Parmelee's Collection. He replaced it for one a little finer for which he paid \$110. This piece is worth all I paid for it. Concerning Lot 147, "is this genuine?" Yes, without doubt, as it came from the Mint Cabinet.

It is the finest disme known and I think worth \$100. Lot 314. Relative to this I would say that as but two are known, it is worth any amount it may bring. Your telegram ordered me to buy, and if the piece had brought \$150 I should have been forced to let it go. I enclose Scott's letter relative to the United States patterns which you may destroy when you have read it. Scott had large bids on the important patterns, excluding lots 146 and 147 mentioned above.



Correspondence from David Proskey

On June 4, 1884, David Proskey, writing from the office of Proskey Brothers, manufacturers of yellow pine lumber and cypress shingles, and general storekeepers, 4448 River Street, Paterson, New Jersey, offered T. Harrison Garrett colonial issues from a recent find:

Enclosed please find rubbings of four rare copper colonials recently dug up on a farm in this state. Each is for sale at the price marked, with a full guarantee of genuineness.

The "Inimica Tyrannis" I believe is better than that in the Bushnell Collection—the "non Vi" certainly is—the Nova Eborac is of the scarce variety described in Lot 894 Bushnell. The Bar cent is the first specimen I have seen for years which could be warranted genuine.

Should you care for any of these pieces they could be sent to you on approval.

Respectfully yours, David Proskey.



Communication from J. W. Scott & Co.

T. Harrison Garrett subscribed for an 1879 restrike

of the 1861 Confederate States of America half dollar made by Scott & Co. of New York. On October 17, 1879, Garrett received a printed circular, dated October 17, 1879, from Scott which noted:

It is with great pleasure that we present you with the restrike Confederate Half Dollar, subscribed for in the 4th ult., and hope it will meet with your approbation. We regret the delay in forwarding, which was caused by the die breaking on the first trial, it then had to be set in a heavy steel band to prevent further damage; before risking the die again on the hard silver, we thought it advisable to strike the requisite number (500) in white metal, with the following inscription for a reverse: "ORIGINALS STRUCK BY ORDER OF C. S. A. IN NEW ORLEANS 1861. REV. SAME AS U.S. (FROM ORIGINAL DIE SCOTT)." These will be sold in any quantity to those who subscribe to the Silver Confederate piece; at 50 cents each. It was with difficulty we procured the 500 half dollars of a special mintage on which the pieces had been struck by a new method over genuine 1861 N.O. mint U.S. half dollars, and in consequence they must rank high above ordinary restruck coins. The die (damaged only sufficiently to prevent restriking) is a very valuable and interesting relic, and is now for sale. Price \$50.

Up to the 10th inst. we received orders for 567 pieces; the odd 67 subscribers have been supplied from a like number of patrons who ordered two copies; this we conclude would be the more equitable plan for all parties concerned. Amateurs who ordered two will please remember that by this plan they will certainly get one; whereas if they had gone for chances they might have been left without any. We have received quite a number of orders since the 10th inst. all of which we are unable to fill, unless some of our subscribers, who get two, will kindly return one, for which we will be pleased to pay \$2.50.

Respectfully, Scott & Company.



Correspondence with H. P. Smith

On December 18, 1884, H. P. Smith, a well known New York City coin dealer, wrote from 269 West 52nd Street of that city to offer an 1822 half eagle, a prime rarity. The coin was not purchased by Garrett:

I have an 1822 \$5 gold piece, nicks but Fine. Will sell at \$600. If you wish me to send on approval will be happy to do so. I understood from Richard Cogan that you had sent a list of the American gold that you wanted to his brother George, and that the 1822 was not on the list. If you have one in your collection there will be no necessity for you to answer this note.



Correspondence with The United States Mint in Philadelphia

There was regular correspondence between T. Harrison Garrett and the United States Mint at Philadelphia. Each year Garrett purchased gold and silver Proof

Mint of the United States at Philadelphia

Feb 10th 1880

Sir

For the two drafts amounting to \$51.⁰⁰
in your letter of the 29th of Jan'y, we send by
Adams Express -

1 Gold Proof Set of 1880	43.00
2 Silver " " " @ 4. ⁰⁰	8.00
	<u>\$51.00</u>

The Gold Proof Sets were delivered to us just one
hour ago.

We have no Patterns of any dates for sale
and this is the only Mint that strikes proof sets.

Yours respectfully
A. Loudon Snowden

Mr T. H. Garrett

Superintendent

No 7 South St
Baltimore

Per Boggs

Ma

February 10, 1880, invoice to T. Harrison Garrett from the Philadelphia Mint for one gold Proof set of 1880 and two silver Proof sets of the same year. Apparently February 10th represented the first day that gold Proof sets were available, for the letter notes: "The Gold Proof Sets were delivered to us just one hour ago."

coins. In addition, he developed a deep interest in medals and often ordered pieces of various series.

For example, on September 4, 1879, he received a receipt from A. Loudon Snowden, superintendent of the United States Mint:

In return for the drafts for \$43 gold and \$8 currency enclosed in your letter of the second, we send by Adams Express, one gold Proof set of 1879 \$43; two silver Proof sets of 1879 \$4 each, total \$51.

A letter dated February 10, 1880, from Snowden to T. Harrison Garrett furnishes information as to when gold Proof coins were first struck that year:

For the two drafts amounting to \$51 in your letter of the 29th of January we send by Adams Express: one gold Proof set of 1880, \$43; two silver Proof sets of 1880, \$4 each, total \$51.

The gold Proof sets were delivered to us just one hour ago. We have no Patterns of any date for sale and this is the only mint that strikes Proof sets.

Mint policies and regulations of that time are explained in a notice to T. Harrison Garrett dated January 25, 1886.

1. The price of Medals, Proof Coins, Pattern Pieces, etc. shall be fixed by the Superintendent of the Mint, with the approval of the Director.

2. No Coin or Pattern Piece shall be struck after the year of its date, nor in any other metal or alloy than that in which the coin was issued or intended to be issued, except experimental pieces in copper or other soft metal to prove the dies, under direction of the Superintendent. The dies shall be defaced at the end of each year, and such impressions as the engraver may find necessary to take while preparing the dies shall be destroyed in the presence of the Superintendent when the dies are finished.

3. When a Pattern Piece is adopted and used in the regular coinage in the same year, it shall then be issued as a Proof, at a price near its current value; or, if it comes out early in the year, it will be placed in the regular Proof Set. The Superintendent will furnish, without charge, on application therefore, a Pattern Piece to any incorporated Numismatic Society in the United States. In such cases, if the pattern is in Gold or Silver, the value of the metal will be required.

4. The price of the regular Proof Set of Gold Coins will be Forty-three Dollars; the Proof Set of Silver and Minor Coins, Three Dollars; Minor Coin Proof Sets, Twelve Cents each. Single Gold Pieces, in Proof, are sold at Twenty-five Cents each above their intrinsic value. Silver Sets are not separated. Proof Sets are furnished of the current year only. The Mint has no Coins or Sets of back dates for sale.

5. The Coins of the United States are: GOLD: Double-Eagle, Eagle, Half-Eagle, Three-Dollar, Quarter-Eagle, Dollar; SILVER: Dollar, Half-Dollar, Quarter-Dollar, Dime; COPPER-NICKEL: Five Cents, Three Cents; BRONZE: One Cent.

The coinage of the Silver Dollar of 412½ grains, the Five

Cent and Three Cent Silver Pieces, and Bronze Two Cent Piece was discontinued under the Coinage Act of 1873, which went into effect on the 1st of April of that year. The Silver Dollar was restored by the Act of February 28, 1878. The coinage of the Silver Twenty Cent piece was authorized by the Act of March 3, 1875, and terminated by the Act of May 2, 1878.

A list of Medals, with the prices thereof, is annexed.

All inquiries, orders, and remittances must be sent to the Superintendent of the Mint at Philadelphia.

Approved: James P. Kimball, Director; Daniel M. Fox, Superintendent.

Appended was a list of slightly over 100 medals of various topics. Included were such categories as medals pertaining to the Army, the Navy, the presidency, Washington, directors of the Mint and superintendents of the Mint.

The last transaction of T. Harrison Garrett with the United States Mint at Philadelphia was on February 17, 1888, when the Mint shipped one gold Proof set and three silver Proof sets by Adams Express.

Correspondence with W. Elliot Woodward

W. Elliot Woodward was born in Oxford, Maine, in 1825. In 1848 he opened a drugstore in Roxbury, Massachusetts, which he would operate until his death.

Beginning in the 1850s, Woodward developed a coin business. Starting with a sale in Boston in June 1860, auctions were held regularly, usually in Boston or New York, but in one instance in Providence. In addition, coins were sold by direct offers and on a commission basis. Woodward styled himself as a “dealer in coins, medals, and tokens, in gold, silver, and other metals; prehistoric relics, American and foreign, in copper and stone; rare books and pamphlets; bric-a-brac, arms, armor, etc.” The 17th-century witch craze in Salem, Massachusetts was an area of particular historical interest to Woodward. In his later years, Woodward suffered a malady of the eyes and he died of pneumonia in 1892.

While cataloguing such outstanding numismatic sales as those featuring the coins of John McCoy, Joseph J. Mickley, Ferguson Haines, William Jenks, A. Dohrmann, and J. Colvin Randall, W. Elliot Woodward actively corresponded with collectors and dealers in America and Europe and obtained many items through direct purchase.

During the 1880s, he supplied T. Harrison Garrett with many fine specimens in various areas of numismatics, foreign and domestic. One of Garrett’s

first significant purchases of American coins from Woodward occurred in January of 1883. On January 17th, Woodward sent a telegram listing dates of gold coins and followed it up with a letter of the same day which read, in part:

Today I have seen the owner of the gold collection and he declines an arrangement unless I purchase outright \$725 worth, so I fear I shall not be able to supply you with the required pieces.

This letter which you will receive tomorrow will explain a telegram which leaves here at this moment. My reason for telegraphing is I am compelled to give my final answer today as the man leaves Boston tonight and takes the gold with him, and if you send word that you will take the pieces, I will buy the lot and take my chances.

The following day, January 18th, Woodward wrote:

Yesterday morning the man who owned the gold told me that he would leave town last night but should be at a store in the city until 6 p.m. Your message arrived late. I went in town and searched my party, found that he had left, but suspecting that he might have deferred his journey on account of the storm, I went over to Brookline where I thought he might be, and had the good luck to find the surmise correct, and to make a long story short, bought the entire collection.

I think I mentioned to you that I once owned the collection, but a much more interesting fact I did not mention is that the pieces form the gold cabinet of Joseph J. Mickley. After purchasing his coins I sold the gold collection entirely, and it has now come back to me.

Living close to the mint and beginning early, Mickley had facilities for collecting superior to any other person, and he knew well how to avail himself of them. With possibly one exception I do not believe that for quality the collection can be equalled. They will average about like the pieces concerning which I telegraphed you, which I doubt not you will agree with me, are much better than the terms of my message led you to expect.

As I feel sure you would like to see them whether you buy them or not I have picked out and sent to you for examination and purchase if you want them the most remarkable pieces, remarkable either for rarity or condition

Accompanying the letter was an invoice detailing such items as a 1797 half eagle with 15 stars at \$25, 1795 half eagle with large eagle reverse "nearly Proof" at \$40, a 1798 half eagle with small eagle reverse at \$100, a pair of 1799 half eagles at \$15 each, an 1820 half eagle at \$25, an 1830 half eagle at \$25, a 1797 quarter eagle "said to be the finest existing specimen" at \$75, a 1798 eagle with small eagle reverse, four stars facing, "the rarest variety of the eagles" at \$35, an 1821 quarter eagle described as "Proof—I cannot find a record of the sale of this piece" at \$20, and an 1827 quarter eagle "nearly Proof" at \$12, plus many other issues. Many of these specimens still remain in the Gar-

rett Collection. On January 23, 1883, Woodward wrote:

Your favor of January 22nd reached me this morning. The package has not yet arrived, but doubtless it will be here tomorrow as requested. I enclose a full statement of your account which I trust you will find correct.

I will look out for your half eagles of 1802 and 1803 if such exist. It is certainly strange if they do not, and yet I do not find either of them in the catalogues to which I have referred, though I find the overdates. [Today numismatists know only the 1802 and 1803 half eagles in overdate form, as 1802/1 and 1803/2. No "perfect dates," non-overdates, are known to exist.]

I have been looking up the subject of 1815 half eagles. I know of one abroad, and I am pretty certain there are three in this country. I knew of one in New York some 20 years ago which I have lost track of, and I am not certain whether it is one of those referred to. If it is, the number known is four. If it is not, there must be five. I am now trying to purchase one but if I get it I shall have to pay \$250. I offered for the one referred to in New York \$400 cash on behalf of Mr. W. A. Lilliendahl. My offer was declined, and I never heard directly of the price afterwards.

On January 25, 1883, Woodward wrote further on the same subject:

Last night I had a talk with a man whose knowledge of American gold is very extensive, and he gave it as his opinion that all the 1801 and 1802 half eagles are overstrikes or altered dates, but afterwards he said that possibly one of them might be found with a plain date.

Concerning a half eagle, Woodward again wrote on January 30, 1883:

I think there is only one 1815 half eagle that can be bought, and the price fixed on that is \$250. I know about the sale you refer to, and I think the price was \$150, but the sale was a sham. If you would like this piece please let me know and I will obtain it for you. I have not seen it but the owner, who is an excellent judge, says that it is Uncirculated.

On February 8, 1883, Woodward offered the previous coin:

Please find bill of coins retained from last invoice. Thank you this time and all others for the prompt return of those not wanted, which greatly facilitates my business.

I congratulate you sincerely on the good buys you got on the lot of American gold coins I telegraphed you about. My luck was not quite so good but I have nothing to say.

I can get an 1815 half eagle but the owner is stiff at \$250. It is the same one once put into an auction and bid in at \$150, but if you want the piece I will get it for you at any time.

Woodward on February 24, 1883, discussed further gold offerings:

I avail myself of the opportunity to send you some American gold which I have just bought. Many of the pieces are common, though it is always hard to pick up a date that is wanted. If you need the pieces you will not object to the

prices. Many of them you will observe are marked at a little more than a nominal advance.

I have sets of gold Proofs from 1862, 1864, and 1865, each six pieces, par value each \$41.50. They cost in gold when issued \$43. [The United States Mint demanded payment in gold coin for gold Proofs. Currency was not acceptable, as it had been substantially devalued.] The number issued was very limited, probably not over half a dozen, especially in 1864 and 1865 . . . I offer them to you at \$48 a set, the offer being contingent upon their not being sold before I hear from you.

Enclosed was an invoice including such items as a 1798 eagle with four stars facing at \$28, a Bechtler half eagle at \$7, a Pikes Peak half eagle at \$8, an 1831 quarter eagle at \$8, an 1832 quarter eagle at \$8, a Proof 1834 quarter eagle at \$8, an 1854 \$3 gold piece \$3.30, an 1855 \$3 gold piece at \$3.10, 1856 and 1857 \$3 gold pieces at \$3.15 each, and \$3 gold issues of 1858, and 1859, 1861, and 1862 at \$3.10, plus other pieces. Only a few items were retained by Garrett.

On February 28th additional gold pieces were sent. Included were many issues, among which Garrett kept an 1800 eagle at \$18, an 1806 half eagle at \$7, an 1807 half eagle at \$7.50, an 1834 "Proof" half eagle at \$10, a coin marked "1850 half eagle C for California, scarce" at \$6.50 (apparently an 1850-C Charlotte, North Carolina piece!) and two gold Proof sets at \$48 each. Woodward discussed new purchases on March 10, 1883:

I attended the Fowle sale all through and succeeded in getting a fair proportion of what you ordered. Prices ruled very high.

Most of the things that I missed on your bids were bought by a party on unlimited orders. What I did procure, though, I was able to make a large saving on, and I feel certain you will be pleased with the purchase.

Thursday night a man leaving the sale to take a train for Philadelphia grabbed up my goods instead of his own and carried them home. The mistake was discovered at once here and by him, and they will be back in Boston today as the porters at the auction room knew nothing of packing coins. I shall have your coins sent to me, and I will pack them carefully and forward them on Tuesday . . .

I bought from my old friend, Mr. Taylor, his rare and desirable pieces in the silver and copper series several years ago. The gold I bought recently, and you have had a view I think of every desirable piece. His collection did not contain the 1831 half eagle, but I have recently parted with one to whom I cannot say. I will try to find you one.

On March 17, 1883, Woodward answered Garrett's queries and offers further items:

I agree with you that the coins sent are high priced, but unfortunately they are not my own and I get but a moderate commission for selling them. I am unable to abate anything for the price. I wish I could.

My remarks concerning price do not fairly apply to the whole lot, for I think that many are reasonable and some are very cheap.

Have you the 1826 half eagle? I can answer the question myself. I think I remember I sold you one. It is a very rare piece and I expect to receive one today and thought I would offer it to you.

Do you collect Confederate notes? I have the rarest note of the series—\$500 of the Montgomery issue, also the \$100 note, same issue, both Extremely Fine. A collector has the refusal of them, but quite likely he will not take them.

On March 21, 1883, Woodward wrote:

I enclose the Confederate notes, the price of which is \$50. I have never owned one of the \$500 before. The one sold in December in the Maas Collection cost \$45. I had a bid on it at \$39 but bought it for \$35. The one that I have is much finer than the one sold. Indeed, mine, as you will see, is nearly perfect. The other was fine, but by no means up to this.

There was further correspondence, about the Confederate \$500 note which Garrett had purchased.

Of course I am not sure but I believe you have got the best \$500 [extant]. I have been trying for five or six years to get these two bills but could not succeed till a few days ago. They were sent to a friend of mine just after the war in payment of a debt with a promise of redemption. My friend is dead and whether the redeemer lives or not I am not sure.

A Woodward letter of May 9, 1883, reflects on market conditions:

I have just returned from New York and Philadelphia and find your favor awaiting me, including the two packages of coins and the medals, for all of which I am much obliged.

The rare gold which you have bought of me lately you secured at just the right time. The rare pieces of the American gold series, those that are strictly rare, are now commanding almost any price.

May 25, 1883, Woodward commented on the 1815 half eagle:

When at my house we had some talk about an 1815 half eagle. I have now got an 1815 half eagle which will appear in my 58th sale on June 25th and 26th. The piece is Very Fine. It is also genuine, and as far as I am aware there is but one other collection that contains a specimen in this country. There is one in Sweden, and the gentleman who owned another is now dead, and I think he died possessed of the piece. I offered him \$400 for it, but he declined any less price than \$500, and whether he ever parted with it or not, I do not know. The four which I mentioned I think complete the list of all known genuine specimens.

On July 31, 1883, Woodward offered Garrett an outstanding group of American gold Proof coins:

I presently own and shall have in my possession 23 full Proof sets of American gold 1860-1883 inclusive, wanting only the 1861. All I believe are in perfect order, many of them in the papers in which they left the mint. The early sets, as you are aware, cost \$43 in gold when a dollar in gold was worth

\$1.20-\$2.85 [in paper money at the time]. I do not know what you or other collectors may have, but I have never seen or heard of such an extensive line of American Proof gold.

The entire set is for sale, and if you would like to buy it I will buy of you such sets, or what would be the same thing, retain such sets as you may have in your cabinet, providing the number is small. The idea is that I want the whole to go together, and while I would not like to break them up I would have no objection to having a few odd sets in stock. The lowest price for the whole line is \$1500.

If you do not purchase please do me the favor not to mention that I have offered them to you.

I spent a day in Baltimore lately and should have called on you had you been in the city.

Woodward wrote on August 18, 1883:

I send you by today's express a very remarkable little parcel. It contains a set of the 1879 patterns as follows: six silver dollars, three half dollars, two quarters, three dimes. I am informed that no other set ever left the mint. They do not belong to me, and the owner will not sell them to me unless I pledge myself not to put them in an auction sale. This of course I will not do. The price of the set is \$175. This is \$25 off from the price that they were first offered to me at with the condition named.

I send also two pattern copper dollars. One is the commercial dollar by Barber, plain edge. The other is the commercial dollar by Longacre, reeded edge. For this pair, if I do not return them, I am to pay \$75 net. If you buy them the price is 10% above what I pay, say \$82.50.

I am sorry you decided against the gold Proofs. I know of no similar collection. Appleton has none. Parmelee left off his series years ago and I know of no collector who has anything approaching so full a line. Several of the sets are worth at least \$75 or \$80 each.

On August 31, 1883, Woodward again took up the Proof set situation:

About the Proof sets, I have a pretty good offer for them as a whole but have not accepted it. If you care to make me an offer for the different years separately please do so. I must say in advance, however, that the offer must be a pretty liberal one to be as advantageous as the one I already have. You are of course aware that three of the sets are excessively rare, particularly the 1863 and 1876.

Woodward wrote further on September 5, 1883:

I made on behalf of a western customer an offer for the pattern pieces, but the owner absolutely declined to take for the 1879 set anything under \$150 net cash. He will take that sum but will allow me nothing [as a commission]. On the copper dollars he will make no discount.

I wish to sell all the gold sets together, but if I break the series you shall have the first offer of such as you want.

This is not an offer, for I am not prepared to make an offer, but fair prices would be about as follows, I think: 1860 \$65, 1863 \$85, 1866 \$65, 1868 \$65, 1870 \$65, 1872 \$65, 1873 (the rarest set but one) \$85, 1874 extremely rare \$80, 1875 the rarest set \$85.

On September 10, 1883, Woodward wrote a letter and sent that day:

. . . a remarkable collection of gold coins. They appeared to me high, and I add nothing to the dealer's price. If I sell any I get a commission of 10%, no more. The coins referred to are in yellow [holders] I was about to say, but I have changed them into white ones.

If you're determined not to keep the pattern sets will you be kind enough to put them in the package that you may return from this invoice.

On September 18, 1883, Woodward drafted the following:

It has been so long since I wrote you about the 1879 patterns that I've really forgotten what I did write. If you've decided to keep them, will you have the kindness to refer to my letter and tell me I will make a bill to conform, or if you please you can remit for them and I will send a receipt.

On October 1, 1883, Woodward asked again whether Garrett wanted the pieces before their return:

May I ask a favor of a reply to my letter of September 18th? I have retained the pattern pieces of 1879 far beyond the limit allowed me by the owner and am desirous of returning them or making payment, but cannot do so till I have your decision on the subject.

On October 8, 1883, Woodward makes known:

Thanks for your favor with remittance. I did not feel quite authorized to consider the pattern pieces sold without further instructions from you.

I enclose two very desirable coins for your examination. I do not own either of them. The silver center cent [a 1792 mint pattern issue] is the property of a correspondent in California. The Non Vi [referring to the Non Vi Virtute Vici early American copper] I am under the impression is from abroad, but I don't know. It is with one exception, I think, the finest I have ever seen. The price of the Non Vi is \$75. The silver center cent \$125. A former holder of the silver center priced it at \$300. That price was far too much, but my price is low. I sent you today a catalogue of my next sale. It contains a great many things that seldom if ever appear here, especially amongst the large coins of continental Europe.

On October 13, 1883, Woodward presents the possibility of selling Garrett many Proof sets:

I have just received my gold Proof sets and write to you about them as I promised to do.

This is the whole story. I have a fair offer for the whole 23 sets which I have not yet accepted, and I am open for an offer for the lot. You want nine sets. If you will not buy the whole, if you will make me a fair offer for each one of the nine that you do want, in case the other party who bids for the whole will take the remainder, I will let you have the nine.

As the man is anxious to know my decision will you oblige me with an answer at your earliest convenience?

I am about beginning the catalogue of the Ely Collection. It

has been a long time since so fine a cabinet was dispersed. It is very rich in pattern pieces and contains every mint issue, I mean of date and denomination, except four.

On October 19, 1883, Woodward wrote:

I wrote you several days since concerning the gold Proof sets. I think I wrote you that I had an offer for them which I held in abeyance waiting your decision. My customer would like an answer. Would you kindly let me know if you wish to purchase the nine sets concerning which you wrote, or any portion of them. The owner of the Non Vi is also anxious for my decision. Will you please give me yours. I beg you will excuse me if I seem importunate, but I am only anxious on account of my correspondents who hurry me.

In a catalogue which I sent you the other day, if you will look it over you will discover some very desirable things.

Proof sets were again discussed in this letter from Woodward dated October 22, 1883:

I am sorry you did not keep the Non Vi for it is a good one and seems to me to be well worth the money.

Concerning the gold Proof sets I have had an offer for the entire line but for a fair price I will take out and sell you such as you want. 1860 is scarce, 1861 is very scarce, 1863 is one of the very rarest. 1866 and 1868 are both rare, also 1870 and 1872. 1873 is even rarer than 1863. 1874 is rare and 1876 amongst the rarest. The \$3 piece alone is held at \$25. I am of the opinion that if sold at auction the nine sets would bring about \$660. They ought to. I will send them to you for \$560. I would send them in advance for examination but of course you know just how they appear. Mr. Ely kept them wrapped as they left the mint.

On October 25, 1883, Woodward sent the Proof sets, and asked for the return of a previous Garrett letter:

I am sorry to find I have got these things a little mixed in the matter of the gold Proofs. In my first letter to you on the subject I stated that I had the series 1860-1883 complete, wanting only 1861. In your letter to me of September 3rd which I enclosed you said, "I want only" etc. In my reply I quoted prices amounting to \$660 for the nine sets. When I received your letter of the 19th, I turned to your September 3rd favor, cast up the aggregate amount \$660, deducted from it 10%, leaving \$594, from which I took \$34, making

my offer \$560. It is only now that I've discovered that you included in your list 1861, a set which I never had and could not possibly obtain.

I send you the nine sets which I suppose you inquired about, and which I supposed I was offering, and enclose you a bill for the same \$550, but this implies an obligation on your part to purchase them. They are however very cheap at that price, and I don't believe they can be duplicated in the country.

I am very sorry for all this bother. Your letter of September 3rd be kind enough to return to me as I have an unbroken file of the entire correspondence of my business life.

The nine Proof sets in gold were subsequently purchased by Garrett and a receipt was sent by W. Elliot Woodward in acknowledgement. On December 24, 1885, Woodward wrote:

On Saturday last I secured another coin of scarcely less rarity which I take the liberty to send for your examination. You will recognize it at once as a French colonial quarter crown struck for or by [John] Law of the Mississippi Scheme, so well known as the "Mississippi Bubble." A full account of this coin, written by Professor Charles E. Anthon, may be found in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, another by R. W. McLachlan in the same work.

If you happen to have the catalogue of the collection of George M. Parsons, a still better description may be found therein. Parsons' was offered at a limit of \$325. I have never before possessed the coin. I think the number known is limited to either three or four. I know three and suspect the one sent to you is a fourth. And I never before had the opportunity of purchasing one but once, one of the three referred to, which was offered to me for \$450.

A Canadian collector proposed to buy this one (the one sent) at \$250, but the owner, feeling doubtful about the responsibility of the man, declined to send the piece even on approval, so he sold it to me at a reduced price. I offer it at \$200. And considering its rarity the piece must be considered very moderate.

From this point forward the Woodward correspondence dealt mainly with coins of the world. Scattered purchases were made from Woodward through the year 1886.

Appendix II: 20th Century Correspondence

20th Century Correspondence

Correspondence of the 20th century is between various dealers and others with Robert Garrett 1903-1919 and John Work Garrett 1919 and later.

While the Chapman brothers and a few others had corresponded with T. Harrison Garrett earlier, most 20th-century letters are from a new generation of numismatists.

The following excerpts, edited and paraphrased to reflect modern usage, pertain to United States coins.



Correspondence with Edgar H. Adams

Edgar H. Adams was born in Grafton, West Virginia, in 1868. At the age of 12 he was accidentally shot by a friend. The lameness which developed in his leg caused him to be bedridden for most of his early education.

His first articles on coins appeared in the *New York Sun* in the early 1900s. During this time he was an active member of the American Numismatic Association and the New York Numismatic Club.

Research became a particular interest of Adams', and during the first decade of the 20th century he searched through old newspapers, mint records, correspondence, and other source material to develop two books which became classics for their respective series.

The Private Gold Coinage of California, 1849-1855, published in serial form in *The American Journal of Numismatics*, and in book form in 1913, gave background information on coins minted during the California Gold Rush era. Through his association with William H. Woodin, a prominent collector whose coins he studied (Woodin later became Secretary of the Treasury under President Franklin D. Roosevelt), he

produced *The United States Pattern, Trial, and Experimental Pieces* also in 1913. For the first time, pattern issues of the United States Mint from 1792 until the early 20th century were catalogued, described, and in many instances illustrated.

From 1912 to 1915, he served as editor of *The Numismatist*, official journal of The American Numismatic Association. Adams had an eye for the unusual and the interesting, and during his editorship *The Numismatist* sparkled with his contributions.

Adams' writing culminated during the middle 1930s during which time he contributed many fine articles to Wayte Raymond's *Coin Collector's Journal*. In 1940 he died at his home in Bayside, Long Island, New York, at the age of 72, having spent the last eight years in bed as an invalid.

John Work Garrett's correspondence with Edgar H. Adams, was brief and is excerpted below.

On September 24, 1920, Adams, having begun correspondence with Garrett, wrote:

It is a great pleasure for me to know the whereabouts of the rare coins mentioned. [Apparently John Work Garrett had provided Adams with information concerning pieces in his collection.] Their location had been quite a mystery to me. I knew of the T. Harrison Garrett collection, and some of the rarities in it, but I have never seen it nor have I seen a catalogue of it, although I believe there is one in existence. The copper trial pieces of the Humbert series seem to be unique. I have never heard of others.

With regard to specimens of the California, Mormon, Oregon, and Colorado series, the commoner ones are still fairly easy to obtain and at reasonable prices, but the rarities command high premiums and are not often offered for sale, either privately or publicly. I am in a position to obtain a number of the rarities and possibly may be able to provide some of the commoner pieces. Would it not be a good idea for me to see what pieces are lacking in the collection and then let you know ones obtainable and the prices?

John Work Garrett responded with a detailed listing of the individual gold items in his collection, a more comprehensive schedule than had been sent earlier, and indicated that a visit from Adams would be welcome. On September 28, 1920, Adams replied:

It would be a great pleasure to visit the collection, and I will be glad to accept your invitation. Early in November will be convenient for me if that time will suit you. I have gathered a good deal of data concerning the Oregon, Mormon, Colorado, Georgia, and North Carolina private issues which have not been published, and therefore I am well acquainted with these issues. I am interested to note that you have the rarest of the quarter eagles of the Bechtler mint, namely the one with “& 5” on the obverse. There are quite a number of Bechtler varieties which are not generally known. I also note that the collection contains the great \$5 rarities of the same mint, with and without “150 grs.”

Most of Adams' correspondence was from his address at 40 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, although some of it was from Box 320, Oyster Bay, New York. From time to time, Adams offered individual pieces to Garrett, several of which were purchased. A typical acquisition was the Massachusetts & California Co. pattern \$5 piece in copper acquired on January 29, 1921, for \$100.

The last correspondence from Edgar H. Adams was datelined Bayville, New York, September 11, 1933, and offered a major rarity which John W. Garrett declined to purchase:

I am pleased to be able to offer you what I regard as the most rarest and most interesting coin I have ever handled. It is a \$20 piece of the Saint-Gaudens series, with an Indian head and with a reverse the same as the other Saint-Gaudens pieces. This coin is absolutely unique and was found among the effects of Mr. Charles E. Barber, the former chief engraver of the Mint. There is a \$10 piece bearing an Indian obverse, and this piece seems to be somewhat similar in design. The owner of the piece is Mr. Waldo Newcomer, who is not extremely anxious to dispose of the coin, but I persuaded him to let me have it for sale. The price is \$10,000.



Correspondence with the American Numismatic Association

On December 6, 1920, John Work Garrett, who was a member of the American Numismatic Society, received a form letter from Frank G. Duffield, editor of *The Numismatist*, the official magazine of the American Numismatic Association:

You have been a regular reader during the past, by reason of your being a member of the American Numismatic Society, New York City. You have probably been advised that the arrangements by which members of that society receive *The Numismatist* each month have been terminated, ending with

the December 1920 issue, and we feel quite sure that you have found pages of sufficient interest to want to continue your subscription and your regular reading of our paper.

As you know, our magazine is not issued for business purposes, but solely as an educational and scientific numismatic publication, owned and published by the American Numismatic Association, for the benefit of its members who are recruited from the ranks of American coin collectors.

Our subscription price, \$1.50 per year is very low, and we wish to take this opportunity of inviting you to continue your subscription for next year, by remitting that amount to us promptly, in order that your new subscription may follow upon the subscription to which you are entitled as a member of the American Numismatic Society, and your files of our magazine may remain a completed sequence

Although Garrett became a member of the American Numismatic Association, he played a minimal part in its activities. An exception to this was his acceptance on November 4, 1925, to serve as head of the ANA Smithsonian Committee. This was in response to American Numismatic Association President Moritz Wormser's invitation. Wormser noted:

I am quite sure that the duties of the committee will in no respect be onerous and at the same time I consider that your addition as a member of it will be productive of great good for numismatics in the shape of valuable suggestions which the ANA may be able to make to the Smithsonian Institution.

I am happy to accept your offer to at least serve as a member of the Committee, and soon as I have succeeded in definitely deciding on the other two members of the Committee, shall fully inform you. Of course, I quite understand the reservations which you have made in your letter as to the time which you would be able to give to the work of the Committee and, nevertheless, I am glad to have you serve on it, even with any limitations which you are compelled to set



Correspondence with the American Numismatic Society

In the early 20th century John Work Garrett became a member of the American Numismatic Society and corresponded with the organization from time to time, usually on the subject of Indian peace medals and scarce issues in other series. Occasionally he subscribed modest amounts to assist with purchases of items for the Society's collection. On December 18, 1920, the Society wrote to John Work Garrett:

We were successful in getting most of the Indian peace medals which we wanted in Mr. Chapman's recent sale. We got the two we most desired, namely the American Fur Company medal with the head of John Jacob Astor on it, and a large size Jefferson medal, as well as some of the minor colonial ones. These cost us \$688. We would have gotten more if we felt we had more money to spend.

We would appreciate it very much if you could send us a check by the first of the year. I think Mrs. Reilly told me you had said you had subscribed \$50. I want to thank you most sincerely for this . . .

The Society wrote on the same subject on May 2, 1921:

I understand that you have one of the large oval Indian peace medals of Washington which is different from any in this Society's collection.

We would greatly appreciate it if you would be willing to place this on loan here for a while thereby giving us the opportunity of studying it and comparing it with those we have. My impression is that your medal is of a little later type than the large one we have, and probably by a different engraver. While each individual medal of this series was engraved by hand and consequently will vary in some particulars from others, there are, as far as I can make out, four distinct varieties of which we have three and yours is the fourth.

The first variety bears one date only—1789. But the second and third each have two dates—1792 and 1793, the difference being a large and small size. The fourth variety has the dates 1793 and 1795.

The Washington Indian peace medal was loaned with a Lord Baltimore medal, the receipt of which was acknowledged on May 13, 1921 by Howland Wood, curator of the American Numismatic Society collection. The Washington Indian peace medal proved to be of great interest, and Bauman Belden, chairman of the Committee on Indian Medals of the American Numismatic Society, wrote on May 25, 1921 to say:

I had the pleasure of looking at your Washington medal a few days ago, and it confirms my opinion that these oval Washington medals are by three different engravers, showing three styles of work.

The one of 1789, of which we have the only specimen that I have ever seen or heard of, is very crude and quite different from the others.

Then came the two sizes of 1792 and 1793, all of which are quite similar and evidently by the same hand. We have a large one of 1793 and a small one of 1792.

Lastly are those of 1793 and 1795, with the initials J. R. (Joseph Richardson of Philadelphia), and which differ in several ways from the others.

I am very glad to have the chance of comparing your medal of 1795 with those in the Society's collection and hope that you will not be in a hurry to take your medal away as it is of great interest and advantage to have the different varieties where they can all be seen and studied at the same time.

In response to an inquiry by Howland Wood, curator of the American Numismatic Society, Garrett replied on December 21, 1922, to indicate the scope of his collection and his present collecting interest:

My collection, or rather the collection made by my father and to which my brother and I have added, consists of a pretty complete series of Colonial and Continental coins, in-

cluding a number of great rarity; a very complete series of American mint issues; nearly 400 patterns of the Philadelphia Mint; a good series of Hard-Times tokens; "Confederate" pieces; and hundreds of medals, including some of the rare presidential ones. I am not adding to the above series at the present. Something over one-half of the California and other private issues are also represented in the collection, some of the pieces being quite unique so far as I know.

I have not yet begun really to specialize, although I think I am tending that way. Aside from the Greek series which interests me at present, most of all, I have been, as you know, interested in the Mohammedan coins and in European issues before 1500. I also have a pretty good series of Byzantine gold and a number of Imperial Roman Aureii. There is also a number of Confederate, broken bank, and fractional notes, but I have not even checked them up.

From time to time throughout the 1920s John Work Garrett made contributions to help with various projects, including acquisitions of new coins, cases, cabinets, and other items.

Bauman Belden wrote to Garrett with a request on June 12, 1925:

Many thanks for your letter of June 9, in which you state you will contribute \$50 toward the purchase of the Indian medals regarding which I wrote you on June 5. We have sent in a number of bids on these medals and trust they will be successful.

Would you mind examining your 1795 Washington Indian medal and noting very carefully if it appears to be solid silver? There is a silver medal of the same date in the National Museum at Washington, which Mr. Wood looked at some time ago. He informed me that instead of being solid silver it was a plate of heavily silver-plated copper, probably what would be known as "Sheffield plate," as he could see the copper where the engraver's tool had cut through the silver plating.

Whether solid silver or copper silver-plated like the National Museum specimen, the value of the medal is the same. The only reason I am making this inquiry is that in my history of these medals I describe both of these specimens and I am most anxious that my descriptions should be correct.

Until Mr. Wood told me about the National Museum medal, I had supposed that all of these medals were entirely of silver, and this raises the question as to whether those made in 1795, which was the last date, may have been made of copper with heavy silver plating, or whether this individual specimen was made that way, and the others made solid. There are so few of these medals known that it seems to be impossible to do more than simply describe each one of which I can get a description.

John Work Garrett replied with his findings on July 3, 1925:

I have looked very carefully at my 1795 Washington Indian medal as you asked me to in your letter of June 12th, and I can see no signs at all of its having any copper in it. Even in the deepest cuts there is no change in color or other indication of anything other than silver as far as I can tell.

Despite the fact that during 1925 the American Numismatic Society showed a deficit in its general fund and solicited donations from Garrett and others, in 1926 (the following year) it had apparently found itself in a position to produce additional publications. A letter dated November 17, 1926, from Sydney P. Noe, secretary of the American Numismatic Society at that time, noted:

It was a disappointment that there was not an opportunity after the council meeting last week to speak to you about the publication of your [American] rarities.

You'll remember that early last year, when you were in our building, you thought it could be done, and you offered to bring your cards describing the pieces when you came up again. This, therefore, is merely in the nature of a reminder, although I should be grateful for a word from you as to whether, for any reason, you decided to give up the plan. I sincerely hope not. It would be a help if you would let me hear from you, because we plan a meeting of the Publication Committee soon.

Apparently nothing came of this project, for ensuing correspondence to John Work Garrett mainly was concerned with donations to help with operating expenses.

On February 7, 1904, Baltimore was ravaged by fire. Fortunately, the main part of the Garrett Collection was on loan exhibition at Princeton University in New Jersey and escaped injury. However, some medals and other items were left behind and were extensively damaged. John Work Garrett corresponded with Edward T. Newell of the American Numismatic Society concerning this matter on February 19, 1929:

I am sending you by express today the medals of which I spoke to you the other day. They were damaged by the Baltimore fire. If they are of no use to the Society dump them in the river. They were on the 7th floor of the Continental Building in what were then temporary offices of Robert Garrett & Sons. The building was completely gutted and everything was lost except the contents of vaults, most of which were saved.

On receiving the letter of February 19, 1929, Howland Wood replied:

Mr. Newell handed your letter to me, and the medals from the Baltimore fire have come to hand. A few of these we can salvage and make use of. Thank you for sending these on.

Later that year Garrett was appointed American ambassador to Italy. As a result he felt he must resign from the American Numismatic Society. On September 17, 1929, Garrett wrote from Paris with this request:

Owing to my appointment to Rome [as American ambassador to Italy] and the necessarily long absence from America therein involved, I must, to my regret, ask you to bring before the board of the Society my resignation as one of its members. Of course this will not mean any lessening in my interest in the great work of the Society.

Sydney P. Noe, secretary of the American Numismatic Society, responded to his request in a letter (dated November 11, 1929) sent to John Work Garrett at the United States Embassy in Rome.

Permit me to inform you that at the meeting of the Council of The American Numismatic Society, held yesterday, Mr. Newell presented your resignation as a member of that body. On motion, that resignation was accepted with regret, but was accompanied by the hearty wishes of the Council for success in your new field.

It is my pleasure to add that a subsequent motion, carried unanimously, made you an Honorary Councilor of The American Numismatic Society for life.

Garrett continued his interest in the activities of the Society, as this letter, of December 19, 1931, to Edward T. Newell, reflects.

I have had some correspondence with the Baltimore Committee for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Washington. The Committee is trying to collect photographs of all the portraits of Washington, and it occurred to me that the American Numismatic Society might like to get out during the two hundredth anniversary a small volume illustrating all the known coins and medals with Washington's portrait on them, or particularly relating to Washington. If there is any chance of your wanting to do this and you would like to have photographs of some of the pieces in my collection, which are very rare or unique, I will have the photographs made for you if you will let me know at once your wishes. I shall have to know at once for I am sailing to Italy on January 5, and will have the photographs taken before then, if at all.

I have added a few colonial pieces from Mr. Newcomer's collection, although I am restricting my purchases very much at the present time. It makes my collection of colonial coins about as complete as possible to make it, excepting for die varieties of Connecticut, Vermont, and New York cents. Of these I have examples of all the types . . . My collection of New Jersey cents I believe is complete with the following exceptions: 1786 10-H, 11-G, 15-U; 1787 35-W, 79-ee, and 81.

During the early 20th century it was common practice for collectors to put cast or struck copies of coins in their collection to fill gaps or to illustrate types that would not otherwise be available. Indeed, in London the British Museum specifically sold casts of coins to collectors for this purpose, and in New York the American Numismatic Society did as well. In the aforementioned letter there is a paragraph concerning pieces not represented in the Garrett collection with a request that:

I do not know where most of the pieces are, but I should like very much to have casts of them for my collection, and I wonder if you could put me in the way of getting them.

The proposal for the Washington publication came to nought, as a letter from Sydney P. Noe, dated

December 22, 1931, reveals:

. . . Will you be so good as to let me know the number of Washington pieces in your collection with special emphasis on the unique ones? Our publication funds for the small form would be available but some of the Washington material such as the Indian Peace medals is too small [this apparently is an error and should be "too large"] for the small form. Furthermore, it is almost absolutely out of the question to have anything ready to issue by next February 22. Mr. Newell is absent for a few days, and it will be impossible to obtain a definite decision pending his return, but if you will let me have the information requested above I can lay it before him when he comes.

On December 31, 1931, Garrett wrote to Howland Wood:

Thank you very much for sending me the plaster cast of the Good Samaritan shilling and the Massachusetts pattern cent which -I am very glad to have. I have "The Wheele Goes Round" piece [a Higley copper coin of Connecticut] which you discovered and I bought years ago. I shall try and get casts of the other pieces about which I wrote you.

In 1934 America was in the midst of the Great Depression. Affected were the fortunes of nearly everyone, John Work Garrett and the American Numismatic Society included. On January 18, 1934, Edward T. Newell, then president of the American Numismatic Society, wrote to Garrett:

Recently an exceptional opportunity to build up the collections of our Society was offered to us. A member, who has been collecting bronze and copper coins for nearly his entire lifetime and whose cabinet now contains something like 30,000 items, has offered the first choice of these coins which are in unusually fine condition to the Society under terms which are extremely reasonable. It is felt that the present is hardly a time to ask our members for contributions. If, however, you have, as we should like to hope, been more fortunate than the others and feel that you would like to make even a modest contribution which could be used to take advantage of this opportunity, we should feel very grateful indeed. Moreover, if you do not feel in a position to contribute, we shall understand.

Garrett replied on January 26, 1934 with his comments:

I should like to make a real contribution to the Society to help purchase the coins about which you wrote me on January 18, but all I feel justified in doing is to send you a check for \$25 which won't help much unless you get a good many more like it. We all hope that things will be going better next year, but there is no assurance of it as far as I am concerned.

Edward T. Newell (who was staying for a brief visit at the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall Hotel in Atlantic City), New Jersey, responded on February 3, 1934:

Your letter of January 26 reached me a few days ago, and your recent note with your generous check enclosed came just as I was leaving New York for a short sojourn in Atlantic City.

Please accept the Council's and my own personal thanks for your friendly and very helpful contribution. I am glad to say that a number of our good friends have all contributed a little, in these very difficult times, so that at present our fund stands at about \$500. This will enable us to fill in the most serious gaps, even if it does not allow us to secure all the pieces we like. I feel that this is a very real achievement at such a time as this, and I am deeply grateful to our loyal friends for their generous cooperation.



Correspondence with M. L. Beistle

On January 11, 1929, M. L. Beistle, president of the Beistle Company, manufacturers of "seasonable tissue paper novelties," wrote to John Work Garrett. Later that year Beistle published a comprehensive book on United States die varieties of half dollars, a reference which was to remain a standard in the field until Al C. Overton's research superseded it in the 1960s.

As you perhaps know, during the past 15 years I have been specializing in half dollars, and at the same time I have been writing up a check book, and now I have this just about ready to go to press.

It appears that you have the only 1853 half dollar [New Orleans Mint] without Rays and without Arrows, and I was just wondering if you would care to send this to me for examination and listing, and then I would give you credit in my book as owning same. I also would like to photograph it along with a few other rarities. My book will contain seven or more photograph inserts . . .

On January 17, 1929, John Work Garrett replied:

I have no objection at all to my half dollar of 1853 without Rays and without Arrows being photographed, but I make it a practice not to send any of my pieces away. Perhaps I could have such photographs as you want made here, but I should like to tell you what a pleasure it would give me to have you see my collection, and I wonder if you could not come down here some day to look it over . . .

By the way, the half dollar which you mentioned is from the New Orleans Mint, and I have heard that it is not unique, though I do not know where another specimen is to be found.

On January 18, 1929, Beistle replied that his business schedule did not permit a trip to Baltimore. Accordingly, on February 6, 1929, John Work Garrett responded:

Mr. Duffield, editor of *The Numismatist*, has been good enough to make photographs suitable for publication of the 1853-O 50c piece without rays, and also of the 1795 50c piece which may be Haseltine's No. 21, about which you inquired. I am sending these photographs to you for such use as you may wish to make of them . . .



Correspondence with Raymond L. Caldwell

Raymond L. Caldwell, a wholesale and retail florist with a shop on Highland Avenue, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, researched certain issues of early American coins during the 1930s. John Work Garrett was ever willing to help with numismatic research and occasionally initiated contacts as this exchange of correspondence in April 1935 indicates:

Although I know one does not like to know of another rarity in someone else's collection, I thought nevertheless I would write to you after reading your interesting article in the April *Numismatist* about the 1798 half eagle with the small eagle reverse.

An exceedingly fine example of this coin was in the collection of my father, the late T. Harrison Garrett, who died in 1888, and I now have it in my collection. Unfortunately I do not know where my father got it.

On April 10th Caldwell replied:

I was very glad to get your letter and to learn about your 1798 half eagle with small eagle reverse. I believe it clears up the fact that I was unable to verify. I was positive there was another specimen but I could not locate it.

You will note that in my article I mentioned that the Ely catalogue says "four known." One was the Ely specimen, one the Parmelee, and the third of one of these four I am sure was the one I own, the fourth one I could not locate. My article only lists the Earle specimen as No. 3 because it was the third one to be offered at sale. But as the Earle catalogue states that was the first known of in New Jersey about 1900, I felt sure it was not one of these first four, and from the information I had from Mr. Mehl concerning the specimen he had discovered I was sure it was not the missing one.

However I believe from the date you mentioned in your letter, that yours is that other specimen. I have been searching through catalogues and trying to gather as much accurate information as I can get concerning the number of our rarer coins in the different series. In this case your letter has supplied just the information I needed to clear up all the known facts concerning this rarity.

One other thing I noticed in my article, I did not say anything as to the present ownership of any of the coins, excepting of course my own. For, as you suggest in your letter, most collectors do not care for the publicity concerning the rarities in their collection.

Might I ask you do you happen to have the 1822 and 1815 half eagles in your collection, as I am also gathering information concerning these two dates.

This elicited a reply, and on April 13, 1935, Garrett responded:

I am very glad that it has been possible for you to set straight the question of the location of the 1798 half eagles.

I regret to say that I have not got an 1822 half eagle, of which, if I remember rightly, there are only three known examples, but I am fortunate in having the 1815, which belonged also to my father, and it is an exceedingly fine

specimen. A card in my index describing it calls it "one of five known."

On April 25, 1935, Caldwell replied:

Thanks for your reply of the 13th. I have been so busy during Easter season that I had no time for my hobbies.

My data is not yet complete on the 1822 and 1815 half eagles, though I can only locate information concerning three 1822s, but I believe that there are some eight or nine 1815s known. I will have to do some more checking on it before I can be sure, for it may just be that due to change in ownership one or more of them may be the same specimen reported twice. I hope to prepare a little article concerning the known specimens of the above dates if I can get the necessary information.



Correspondence with S. Hudson and Henry Chapman

Following T. Harrison Garrett's death in 1888, correspondence with the family did not resume for a number of years.

On March 11, 1904 the Chapman brothers wrote to Robert Garrett inquiring about the status of the family collection:

. . . May we ask whether the collection now at Princeton University is your father's entire collection of coins and was it presented to the university or was it only loaned to them? Do you desire to add to it, or are you interested in the collecting of coins?

We are about selling at public auction the superb collection of John G. Mills, of Albany, New York, one of the richest collections that has ever been sold of American coins. The edition deluxe is being published with 14 plates of the greatest rarities and finest specimens, at a charge of \$5. Should be glad to have your subscription for copy.

On May 6, 1904, S. H. and Henry Chapman wrote to Robert Garrett acknowledging receipt of a check for \$849.55 for purchases and noting that:

We have in stock a few fine pieces which we think may interest you. Will be glad to send them to you on approval. May we do so?

On May 16, 1904, the same spirit of salesmanship was evident in another letter:

We shall be glad to have you call and see us and to show you any coins we have. If you could let us know about when we might expect you, we will be pleased to keep any appointment which you will make and have the coins arranged so that you could see them without delay.

On August 25, 1904, the Chapman brothers wrote to thank Robert Garrett in advance for a check in the amount of \$1,400.20, which presumably included payment for an original 1861 Confederate States of America cent struck in copper-nickel. It was noted that:

The small medalette of Jefferson Davis and the cards [medallic tokens] of Lovett [designer of the Confederate cent] we sent you without any charge as interesting specimens connected with the Confederate cent . . .

About when will you desire us to begin the work of arranging and cataloguing the collection at Princeton, [this is the first reference to the enormous task they were considering] and what would be the hours at which we could work there?

There seems to have been some problems with the check for \$1,400.20, for during the following month, September, there was additional correspondence requesting the same funds, accompanied in one instance by a plea:

Having made a heavy purchase, we are short of ready funds and have \$2,500 to pay. Could you conveniently send your check for the \$1,400.20 now? If you could it would be grand and help greatly.

We hope you will pardon our asking for it, we would not have done so if necessity had not urged it.

We see you have the nomination for Congress. Will be no doubt of your election, so accept our congratulations.

On September 24th, after examining the coins of the Garrett collection on display at Princeton, they wrote:

The line of Proof gold coins in the United States is broken for about ten years in your collection, we hope that some of the following may help to fill the omission. They are from a private collection, and it is seldom they can be had, and as it is so we would advise their purchase as the smaller denominations are more readily obtained than these \$10 and \$20. We have and can send—an early order requested as we will hold them pending your reply—\$10 all Proofs, \$15 each, select such as you desire, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900. \$20 Proof 1897 \$22.50. \$20 1861 Very Fine, chafed on obverse \$21. \$20 1862 Proof but hairmarked \$24.

On October 13, 1904, the Chapman brothers wrote again with much the same thought in mind:

There were ten years of United States gold coins which your collection lacks. I cannot find the memorandum I made at the time, but it seems to me it was 1888 to 1898 inclusive. There is an opportunity presenting itself at the present time in the collection of Mr. Woodin [William H. Woodin was a leading collector of the time; decades later he was to become Secretary of the Treasury during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration] which we sell on October 20th, to secure the \$5 pieces of these years, and as we have secured the \$10, it would be well to embrace the opportunity to fill up the line that much.

Kindly pardon our writing to you in regard to them, but the opportunity to secure this Proof gold rarely presents itself and as you have the sets prior and subsequent to these ten years, it has been the cause of our troubling you again about them.

The Chapman brothers wrote yet a third time on February 15, 1905, to convince him to buy the Proof

gold coins:

Would you now take an interest in the series of brilliant Proof \$10 gold pieces which we have from 1887 to 1905? We believe that if you will examine the collection at Princeton you will find these years to be missing. Any of them you wish to purchase we will sell at \$15 each. There were ten years that you told me after your father's decease you did not get the gold sets, and this is an opportunity that seldom presents itself. We also have \$20 gold of 1897 as well as a gold Proof set of last year and this year, and a few colonial coins which may be of interest to you. If you would like us to send them on approval, we will do so with pleasure.

Robert Garrett was not enthusiastic about the proposal, and on February 21, 1905, the following letter was sent to the Chapman brothers:

I received in due time your letter of the 15th. I beg to say in reply that I do not care at the present time to purchase the Proof coins to which you refer. Some of them are missing in our collection, though not all, but even so I do not feel willing to make this expenditure just now on the collection.

I hope it will not be long before I shall have an opportunity to confer with you again concerning the cataloguing of our coins.

After considerable correspondence, Robert Garrett arranged with the Chapman brothers to have the T. Harrison Garrett collection catalogued. The collection remained essentially as T. Harrison Garrett had left it in 1888, with the addition of a small number of specimens purchased by his son Robert. The Garrett Collection at the time was on loan exhibit at Princeton University in New Jersey, a fortuitous circumstance as the balance of the Garrett holdings in Baltimore, mainly medals, were damaged or destroyed in the great fire which leveled the business district of that city in 1904.

In their letter of February 23, 1905, the Chapmans approached the question of cataloguing the collection from a personal viewpoint, signing themselves, as usual, "S. H. & H. Chapman":

Your letter of the 21st received, and it caused the suggestion to arise in my mind that if the collection was to be catalogued this summer, it will require much time to accomplish it, and possibly you could give me the name or address of a real estate man at Princeton or inform me whether it would be possible to rent a small place for the summer months, say the middle of June to the middle of September, and at a reasonable figure. We had expected to go to Lake Placid and occupy my cottage there, but it may be possible to arrange for the family to stay at Princeton and rent the cottage [to someone else] at Lake Placid.

Will thank you very much for an early reply to this as the gentleman who had the cottage last year is desirous of having it again this year.

Robert Garrett's response on February 27, 1905:

It is probable Mr. Thornton Conover, whose office is on Nassau Street, Princeton, will be able to give you all the information necessary concerning houses that will be for rent during the coming summer. Before you make any arrangements through him, however, I hope we can go over more in detail the question of preparing a catalogue of our collection of coins. I realize that it is hard to estimate the cost of such work especially when the exact size of the collection is not known, but before finally deciding to ask you to do this work, I should like you to give me some idea of the probable cost.

This reply dated March 4th, from the Chapman brothers gives an interesting insight into the problems of cataloguing a major collection:

We have been giving the matter consideration . . . but before we are able to make any estimate as to the cost of it we find it is necessary to understand more clearly what you desire the catalogue to be.

Do you wish it merely as a list for your own keeping, or do you wish it as a scientific catalogue of the collection to be published as a museum catalogue?

If the latter, do you wish to preserve it merely in manuscript or have it immediately printed and have us revise the proofs, or do you wish a card catalogue of it solely for preservation in the museum? Do you desire the specimens numbered?

To be a proper museum catalogue it should be on about the lines of our Mills and Bushnell catalogues, and to be thoroughly scientific it should have the weights and sizes of the coins before the establishment of the Mint accurately stated which would require much additional time.

It is difficult for us to estimate the exact amount of our time it would take. Now we will show you what time it takes to catalogue such a collection. We estimate your American collection is about equal to the Mills Collection work which required six months solid time for one member of our firm. He took the collection to his cottage in the Adirondacks the latter part of July and began to work with the stenographer the first of August. He worked for one and one half months and then began about the first of October, and during October, November, and December he gave it about half his time, and that is about all the time he could give it with some attention every day to general business. Then in January, February, and March he gave it all his time.

It would be necessary almost to have the collection in our possession in sections. We would hold ourselves responsible for it while in our hands from all risks of loss. Mr. Mills, for instance, gave us his full permission to take the collection to our cottage at Lake Placid. The advantage of doing this is that the one who is working on it is able to give it his undivided attention. If we could take a portion of it with one of us next summer, we could put through the work more rapidly. Your ancient and foreign coins of course will take more time in proportion than the American . . .

Discussion continued on the same subject in their next letter dated the 20th:

After giving the matter further consideration we find it would be impracticable for us to undertake to do the work

entirely at Princeton as we estimate the collection will require at least six months work. We see that we cannot be away from our office and our home for such a period of time or even one half that time. We would first come to Princeton and arrange the entire collection in order roughly, which would require at least a week and we would then remove sections for cataloguing and return them as each section was completed before taking another section. We would hold ourselves responsible for all loss either by fire or theft.

If you desire to make any inquiries as to our character, we would refer you to any party for whom we have sold a collection. Mr. Mills will be happy to answer any inquiries you may desire to make. We give you the following references who know us personally and socially as well as professionally.

John Story Jenks, director of the Western National Bank and Savings Fund, Seventh and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, and director in many other financial institutions. He has one of the largest general collections in America and a man who is worth personally more than a million dollars.

George H. Earle, Jr., president of the Finance Company of Pennsylvania, where we keep our accounts, also president of the Trademen's and Market Street National Banks, director of the Union Traction Company, and one of the most prominent financiers in Philadelphia and has a very fine collection of high grade coins.

Mr. John C. Garrett, Rosemont, Pennsylvania, former vice president of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, who has known us from infancy.

It is very tedious work to catalogue a collection as it must be done with such absolute accuracy. The careful work required in the Colonial series consumes an immense amount of time. All the large collections have each occupied for us six months. The Bushnell collection took six months. The Warner collection took over six months with both of us working at it. The Mills Collection required six months entire time of one.

As to naming the exact fee for our services, we find we do not know sufficiently well what is in the collection and would wish to inspect it and would be glad to meet you there any time you may see fit. Any time next week and any time thereafter except April 3 through April 6 and the week of April 17 to April 22. During the latter week we will hold the Morris sale.

Robert Garrett sent this immediate reply dated the 22nd:

The reason I said I did not feel willing to let our collection leave Princeton temporarily was not because of any lack of confidence in you, but simply because I am well aware that accidents do happen even when circumstances are extraordinarily favorable. If I had not had perfect confidence in you, I would not have discussed with you at all the question of cataloguing our collection of coins.

As I have indicated before, I cannot say definitely that I should like you to go ahead with the work until I can gain some idea of the total cost that I shall have to meet. Your suggestion that you come here to inspect the collection is a

good one, and I shall be glad to see you here any day between now and the first of April, for I expect to be here until the week after next.

On Thursday, March 30, 1905, the Chapman brothers met with Robert Garrett at Princeton as they had proposed. The results of this meeting were summed up in a subsequent letter from the Chapmans:

As we agreed in conversation on Thursday last at Princeton, we will arrange, catalogue, and revise the proofs of the catalogue of the collection which you exhibited to us, for the sum of \$5,000, to be paid on completion of the work, with proportionate partial payments as the work progresses, we to complete the work within two years. We will leave what portion of the work shall be proceeded with and the proportionate partial payments to be mutually agreed upon as the work progresses.

A formal agreement was proposed by the Chapman Brothers "for our mutual benefit . . . in case any of the various vicissitudes or accidents of life might occur." Accordingly, a legal document was submitted by them on April 10th for Robert Garrett's approval. Following a further chain of correspondence various compromises were reached. The agreement was approved on July 3rd, with some reservations on both sides. While Garrett recommended additional clauses "in order to be superabundantly cautious," the main point of contention continued to be the Chapmans' determination to have the coins at their residence in Philadelphia to be studied. Robert Garrett finally conceded to having selected sections removed from Princeton to Philadelphia only with his written consent in each instance. However, the problem of security plagued them throughout the project.

Work on the first section of the catalogue was completed by November 14, 1905, and it was forwarded to Robert Garrett. A bill for \$714.28, for professional services and a letter accompanied their manuscript:

We send you herewith the catalogue, typewritten, of the first section of your collection of coins, comprising the coins of the British colonies in North America prior to the Revolution, coins of the United States, and of the states, prior to the establishment of the mint in 1792. We have carried out the work on a more extended scale than our best auction sale catalogues, and have inserted the size and weight of all specimens, and references to the work of Crosby on these series. [*The Early Coins of America*, by Sylvester S. Crosby, published in 1875, was then and remains to this day the standard reference on early colonial and state coinage.] It has entailed a tremendous amount of work, even with all our practice, and far more than seems to appear on the surface of these finished sheets.

S. Hudson and Henry Chapman continued cataloguing the coins at Princeton and Philadelphia as time permitted. Difficulties arose. The Chapman brothers were busy with various pressures of business, and Robert

Garrett was distant in Baltimore and could not personally supervise the cataloguing procedure. On January 3, 1906, Robert Garrett wrote to the Chapman brothers:

On December 16, 1905, your Mr. S. H. Chapman handed me the enclosed slip. I beg to return it now with the request that you embody what it contains in a letter which I may have to put on file with the other papers concerning our coin collection in Princeton.

If you will refer to our agreement of July 3, 1905, you will see that there is a clause in which it is stated "that no part of any section of this collection of coins above referred to, shall be removed by the said party of the second part without the written consent, upon receipt of a list of the coins to be removed, having been first given by the said party of the first part, etc."

I take it that in presenting me with the enclosed slip, you are not living up to the agreement. If you are not satisfied with the agreement, and do not care to continue the work in accordance with its provisions, please let me hear from you to that effect, so that the agreement may be cancelled when you have completed the catalogue of the second section, and I have settled with you for the work that you have done.

I must insist that the coins taken shall be returned without delay, and that while you are completing the second sections, upon which you are now working, no other coins shall be removed without my written consent.

In the meantime, two more sections were completed: section two, coins of the United States, and section seven, pattern coins of the United States, and were sent to Baltimore on January 4, 1906. These sections were each paid for at \$714.28 in accordance with the July 3rd agreement.

In April 1906, the Chapmans reported on their progress with cataloguing the collection:

We are working at the present time, and just today spent most of the time cataloguing the Hard Times tokens belonging to your collection and expect to shortly visit Princeton and return them to their cabinet.

The large catalogue of the Smith sale has been an arduous undertaking and has consumed almost our undivided attention for the last three months . . .

On May 2nd, they made an effort to interest Robert Garrett in acquiring the 1822 half eagle offered in the Smith sale:

Your letter was duly received and we sent to you in Baltimore yesterday one of the plate catalogues [of the Smith Collection]. The great rarity of the collection which is the only gold coin your collection lacks, is No. 210, the 1822 half eagle. Of the entire set of the United States coins, with of course the exception of a few of the later pieces in the '50s, this is the only gold coin which your collection lacks. The only other specimen known is in the collection of Mr. Virgil M. Brand which will probably never be sold, and the one in the Mint Collection which is of course out of the market, and it would prove a great acquisition to your

splendid collection and we should be glad to see you the purchaser of it. As to what it will bring, it is a most difficult problem to guess from the fact that the piece has but once been offered at auction, this identical one in the Parmelee sale in 1890 where it brought \$900. We look forward to it bringing a greater sum today. In fact, it is almost impossible to tell what it will bring as we know of several great collectors who would like to possess it. Should you wish to bid for it, we would like a fairly definite limit named by you and we would buy it as much under as possible. The other coins in the sale which would add to your collection are enumerated on the enclosed list.

Robert Garrett declined:

I am sorry that I do not care to bid on the half eagle of 1822, as I do not feel in a position to spend much money on the collection at present.

Early in 1907 Robert Garrett noticed that the old letterhead of the firm S. H. & H. Chapman had been discontinued, and a new letterhead appeared bearing the name of S. H. Chapman alone. S. Hudson Chapman gave this explanation:

The reason for the change in the name of the firm is that it has been dissolved, but we will continue and fulfill existing contracts, for which we are both willing, and I am advised that such contracts continue binding on all parties, in spite of a dissolution.

We shall carry out the work as if no dissolution had occurred, either doing the section to which he may have given the greater attention and to which he would have done, had the partnership continued. I do not think, therefore, that it will have any effect upon cataloguing your collection, which we have planned to complete at the timely limit you appointed, two years, or next summer.

From this point forward S. Hudson Chapman and Henry Chapman each corresponded individually with Robert Garrett. At first Henry Chapman used the designation Henry Chapman, Jr., but soon the "Jr." was dropped from his letterhead. On May 31, 1907, Henry Chapman wrote:

I have just purchased and can offer you gold Proof sets from 1890 to 1896. I really have the line from 1890 to 1907 inclusive. I believe your collection lacks the sets from 1890 to 1896 inclusive, and as you have so splendid a line, beginning with 1860, I feel that it might be desirable for you to secure those which you lack. As far as I can see, you lack seven sets. I will sell the seven sets for \$500, which would be from 1890 to 1896 inclusive.

I have been working desperately on the catalogue of the Stickney collection, but as soon as it is completed and out, I hope to finish the work which I have already nearly completed on the foreign gold coins in your collection.

Relating to the cataloguing project, on June 1, 1907, S. Hudson Chapman wrote:

Yesterday I obtained the keys from my brother, who has done some work on the modern foreign gold section, but at present he is not working on it. I propose soon to take up

another section, that of the medals . . . I note your statement "I should like now to have all the material in hand within a few months . . ." and I will endeavor to meet your wishes on the matter.

Henry Chapman wrote again on June 15th, giving a detailed appraisal of the contents of the Stickney Collection, which he was offering for sale at auction:

The collection of pattern pieces from [lot] 445 to 608 is probably the next largest to your own collection in existence. There are a few pieces that are lacking in your collection . . . Also permit me to draw your attention to No. 418, the great set of Season or Peace medals issued by George Washington during his second presidency. What this set will now bring is difficult to determine, but I think it is likely that they will bring from \$300 to \$500 per set of six pieces. I shall be very glad to have your permission to purchase them, and I believe they will add greatly to your collection . . .

On June 17, 1907, Robert Garrett postponed considering any additional purchases until the autumn, as he was leaving Baltimore for the summer the same day he received Henry Chapman's letter.

On December 18, 1907, Henry Chapman inquired whether Garrett had ". . . secured the \$20 by Saint-Gaudens with the date in Roman numerals?" Chapman went on to relate that these issues were already scarce. A specimen was acquired by Henry Chapman and invoiced on December 23, 1907 to Robert Garrett at \$31. At the same time a 1907 Saint-Gaudens double eagle of the later design with Arabic numerals was sent at the face value of \$20. "I spent nearly all day Saturday trying to get these pieces," Henry Chapman related.

On February 28, 1908, Henry Chapman furnished Robert Garrett with information concerning the 1907 gold issues:

I wish to give you some information. If you will act quickly upon it I think we will secure for you a couple of coins which are worth large sums. In fact, I have paid \$150 cash for one of them myself. The director of the mint, Mr. Frank A. Leach, at Washington, has in his possession, and is distributing at face value, to collectors or public museums, to the latter he writes me more especially than to the former, special \$10 gold pieces of the Saint-Gaudens design, 1907.

If you will write him and ask him to send you a specimen of the \$10 gold piece, Saint-Gaudens design 1907, from die No. 1 *without any border*, and die No. 2, with a wire or thin edge, you might say to him that you have been informed that he has a few of these for distribution to collections which are exhibited to the public. I would tell him that your collection is on exhibition at Princeton College and that you would like to have him send you them. Send him \$20 in gold notes and 12c in postage stamps, and I think you will succeed. Do not mention my name or your source of information.

IMPORTER OF
AND
DEALER IN
ANCIENT
GREEK AND ROMAN
COINS,
ENGLISH,
CONTINENTAL AND
ORIENTAL
COINS AND MEDALS.
MEMBER OF
AMERICAN AND
OTHER NUMISMATIC
ASSOCIATIONS.

FOUNDED 1875.
MEMBER OF THE LATE FIRM OF S. H. & H. CHAPMAN 1878-1906.

HENRY CHAPMAN, JR.

Numismatist

NO. 1348 PINE STREET
PHILADELPHIA

REGISTERED CABLE ADDRESS: "MONETA, PHILADELPHIA."

BELL PHONE, WALNUT 2019D.

DEALER IN
AMERICAN
COINS AND MEDALS,
ESPECIALLY
IN FINE AND RARE
SPECIMENS,
PAPER MONEY,
NUMISMATIC BOOKS.
COLLECTIONS
CATALOGUED FOR
SALE BY AUCTION.
APPRAISEMENTS
MADE FOR EXECUTORS
AND COLLECTORS.

12th month 23rd, 1907.

Mr. Robert Garrett,

My Dear Mr. Garrett,

I have just succeeded in getting a superb speci-

men of the St. Gaudens \$20 with date in Roman numerals. They are very scarce indeed and I was bid \$31 for one on Saturday in this city. I send herewith:-

1907 St. Gaudens \$20 gold piece, first design Roman numerals, \$31.

1907 St. Gaudens \$20 gold piece, Arabic numerals 20.

Postage

.14

\$ 51.14

I spent nearly all day Saturday trying to get these pieces. With compliments of the season,

Yours very truly,

Henry Chapman

This December 23, 1907, letter from Henry Chapman to Robert Garrett provides an interesting view on the scarcity of the MCMVII (1907) Saint-Gaudens double eagle. "They are very scarce indeed . . . I spent nearly all day Saturday trying to get these pieces," Chapman noted.

Of the coin without the border, 500 were made, of number 2 only 50 were kept out of several thousand that were minted. The rest were melted.

As he has but a few of the wire edge, which he refuses to let me have a specimen of, I would suggest that you write immediately upon receipt of this. If you can bring to bear any influence of your senator or congressman, it might be well to do so, but I think that it is possible you will get them without bringing anyone else into the matter, which might cause delay. If you succeed in getting them, you are going to get two coins worth \$400.

No Proof sets of 1908 gold are yet issued, and now when they are it is likely the die without In God We Trust will not be used, but a new die with the motto. I have those without the motto laid aside if you want them.

Two weeks later, Henry Chapman wrote giving additional information about the 1907 gold coinage:

The first issue of the \$20 gold piece, in fact the first two issues, would be magnificent pieces for you to secure specimens of. They would really be worth \$1,000 apiece, but I do not know if you will be successful in securing them. They are known as the first impressions (patterns) of the Saint-Gaudens design for 1907. One is of the diameter of the \$10 gold piece but double the thickness of the \$10. Of this the mint has lately rolled out ten pieces [destroyed them by flattening them] and I am told that the two in the cabinet are the only ones saved. Of the other [extremely high relief style of normal diameter] 19 were struck and are given out through the personal distribution of the director.

During the years 1908 and 1909 there was additional correspondence from Henry Chapman and S. Hudson Chapman on a variety of subjects, including many inducements for Robert Garrett to buy coins at various auction sales. The cataloguing of the Garrett Collection apparently became a matter of low priority. On November 10, 1909, as S. Hudson Chapman wrote:

I should consider my services in writing the introduction included in those I am to perform for the fee already agreed upon. When I complete this section it will leave but two sections remaining to be done by my brother, Henry Chapman, Jr., and we will then take up the final arrangement of the catalogue and its publication. I should also be ready to take up the making of the plates and the general makeup of the book with you, and should like to complete it for possibly this season, as I am liable to be very much engaged after April next.

On March 31, 1910, Henry Chapman gave the following progress report:

I have been working on the catalogue of Princeton and have the gold about completed. This will leave the section of foreign silver coins to be done, as my brother S. H. Chapman has the medals nearly completed.

I have a large and fine stock of large gold coins which I think would add greatly to the collection and would like to know if you would like to see some of them with a view to purchase.

I noticed in the collection at Princeton that you lacked the 1909 and 1910 silver and gold Proof sets. I have not the 1909 gold Proof set in stock at present but can supply the others if you wish them. Also, did you get the Proof cents of 1909? There were several issues of which two turned out to be rare.

Robert Garrett replied on May 11, 1910:

. . . I shall be glad to have you furnish the 1910 silver and gold Proof coins, and if possible to secure those of 1909. I presume that the premium is very slight, if any. I did not get the Proof cents of 1909 that you speak of.

With this assurance, Henry Chapman invoiced to Robert Garrett a 1910 gold Proof set (\$37.50 face value) for \$38.50, and a 1910 silver Proof set for \$1.50 on December 13, 1910. One year later, on December 15, 1911, gold and silver Proof sets of the 1911 year were sent by Henry Chapman at the same figure, which he noted as "exact cost at the mint." The 1909 Proof set remained elusive:

I have not yet been able to get you the 1909 gold Proof set, but will be on the lookout for one and as soon as I secure it will let you know. I have made inquiries in every direction.

Henry Chapman reported quite a remarkable situation in his letter dated February 6, 1912:

The word has been given out by officials that no gold sets will be struck for 1912. I have taken the matter up with the director of the mint at Washington, and have at last got their consent to strike off five sets in June, when the two new states are added to the Union, when they will add two more stars on the [edge of] coins. I will watch them carefully for you and will put them with the others. . .

There has come into my possession, and it is the only specimen I have been able to secure, [a piece] which I consider one of the greatest American gold coins as it marks such an utter departure in the coinage of the United States. I allude to the \$20, first design by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 1907, the one with the deep hollowed out field, which comes up to a thin knife edge all around. There were eighteen of these struck, of which one was presented by [President Theodore] Roosevelt to the king of Italy, one was deposited in the Mint Cabinet, one given to the family of Saint-Gaudens, and I have heard it stated, but I am not able to substantiate it, that some seven or nine were rolled out and destroyed. At all event, it is of the utmost rarity, and strange as it may seem to you, it is not a pattern but a legitimate, authorized coin and the specimens which had the wire edge and were in high relief and afterwards flattened down are really the patterns, as it was a sample of this piece that was submitted to Congress and authorized by them. The specimen which I have is in brilliant Uncirculated condition, price \$1,500.

He then invoiced at \$40 on May 7, 1912: ". . . gold and silver Proof sets for 1912 which I will place with your collection [in Princeton]"

Garrett received a letter from S. Hudson Chapman also in May:

I have been working on a monograph of silver coins of Massachusetts from 1652 for about two years and propose now to complete it and publish it. My intention is to illustrate it by direct photographs of the finest coins known, and I write to ask you to allow me to remove the Massachusetts silver coins from your collection at Princeton for, say, about two weeks to use them in my illustrations. I guarantee that they will not be injured and they will be returned to you safely.

There are some of the finest examples known among those you purchased at our sales of the Mills and Smith collections.

In the meantime, the completion of the Garrett Collection catalogue was still being delayed. Robert Garrett registered his dissatisfaction in a letter to S. Hudson Chapman:

About seven years have elapsed since your brother undertook to prepare catalogues for sections No. 4 (foreign gold) and 5 (foreign silver and other coins) of our collection at Princeton. During this time all that I have been able to get from him has been promises. It is true that on several occasions he claimed to have practically finished section No. 4. Under the circumstances I believe you will agree my impatience has been entirely justified . . . I should therefore like to ask whether you feel competent to undertake cataloguing the sections mentioned . . .

It wasn't until January 18, 1913, Henry Chapman finally reported success in his long hunt for 1909 Proof coins:

After advertising for months for the 1909 gold and silver Proof sets I have at last succeeded in getting them and will place them with the others I am holding for you. The 1913 gold Proof set is now ready, but the silver is not, but I believe it will be within the month.

The 1909 gold set was invoiced at \$65 along with the 1913 set at the usual \$40 price. On March 24, 1914, Henry Chapman acquired the next set:

I have purchased 1914 silver and minor Proof coins and have laid them aside for your collection. The gold set has not yet been struck and I cannot get any definite reply as to when it will be ready. I will try to get it for you, and as soon as I succeed will lay it aside.

I have not forgotten about the work at Princeton and am in hopes of getting some time to spend there shortly.

On April 13, 1914, Henry Chapman wrote further:

I expect to complete the work at Princeton this summer . . . I cannot get the government to strike Proof sets either in gold or silver yet. I have urged it several times.

Robert C. Sharretts, employed with Garrett & Sons, summarized the state of the cataloguing situation in this report to Garrett:

. . . around 1907 the firm of S. H. & H. Chapman [dissolved]. At this time Mr. Henry Chapman was given the Sections 4 (foreign gold) and 5 (foreign silver and other coins) to catalogue. Mr. S. H. Chapman was to take the

rest of the sections that are unfinished. In September 1909 Mr. S. H. Chapman reported that he had practically finished the last of his section, namely No. 6 (medals), and in May 1910 this section was delivered to you and paid for. In his letter, written at the time, S. H. Chapman stated that his brother would finish the two sections entrusted to him. Since that time I think no less than a dozen letters have passed between you and Mr. Henry Chapman, you urging him to complete his sections and he in turn promising to do so in a short time. In six years we have not seen any indication of his having done anything. He has stated a number of times that he has practically completed the foreign gold section. In May 1913, he stated that one more week would finish the matter and that he expected to give this week in June. This is not the only illustration of carelessness on his part. Under the circumstances I would urge that all negotiations with Henry Chapman be closed up and that S. H. Chapman be engaged to finish the two sections in question so as to get this matter settled.

This information was communicated to S. Hudson Chapman, who was at his cottage at Lake Placid, New York. On August 10, 1914, he wrote to Robert Garrett:

I have received your letter of the 5th forwarded from Philadelphia. I agree with your position in regard to completing the catalogue. I have several times spoken to my brother in regard to it and almost two months ago urged him to finish his sections and told him our delay weighs upon my conscience. He can work on it now for he is spending the summer at Rosemont, a suburb on the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and I will write and urge him to do so and tell him if he will not go on with the work I must do so. Have you made a request within two months? I am at my summer home, Birch Point Camp, and if I had a section here I could give it undivided attention with my stenographer. I have catalogued two collections here, the splendid Mills Collection in 1904—you may remember bidding on the Massachusetts silver—and the Lambert Collection in 1910. If my brother will not now go on I would go down to Princeton and remove it if you would be willing. I am of course competent to catalogue the foreign silver—see my catalogue of the Jewett Collection, 1909. But I should wish to await the effects of a recent letter from you to him as I should not wish him to think that I in any way have seized his emolument. I think he will now go off the work. . .

Garrett suggested to S. Hudson Chapman that he inform his brother of the current mood. On August 19th Henry wrote directly to Garrett:

My brother S. H. Chapman has forwarded me your letter. Allow me to say at the outset that while my actions have not borne out what I am now to express, nevertheless it is true. I have not forgotten for one moment my obligation at Princeton and have had an earnest desire to complete the work of the section I have been working on. It has been very tedious, but I have it practically completed. . . I had fully expected to go over it today to work there, but I was in New York on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, and was so exhausted by the heat and fell so ill that I have not been well

since. I have to be in Springfield, Massachusetts, on Saturday to attend the convention of the American Numismatic Association where I always make a large and usually the finest exhibition. I yesterday endeavored to select the coins for this exhibition, but I have not gotten it completed. I am very weak today, but if it is possible I will go to Princeton on Friday, and put in a day's work, going on to New York and Springfield. But if my health does not permit this, I will stop over on my way back on the 27th. After this section is completed it will leave only the section of foreign medals, I believe, which is extensive and difficult. I will do all I can to complete the work as quickly as possible to your entire satisfaction.

On September 30, 1914, Henry Chapman advised Robert Garrett that the 1914 gold and silver Proof sets had been obtained for \$39.75 and would be placed in the exhibit at Princeton. On November 4, 1915, the 1915 gold Proof set, at the cost at the Mint of \$30.50, and the 1915 silver and minor Proof set, for the cost at the Mint of \$1.16, were acquired.

Still concerned with the cataloguing being done by Henry Chapman, Robert Garrett requested information on the financial condition of Henry Chapman from Bradstreet's credit reporting firm. The report arrived on December 6, 1915. It noted that Henry Chapman, age 50, was married and . . .

has been engaged in the business for the past 24 years or more, having quite a reputation in his business, which he operates from his residence here. He is of good reputation, does quite a good business out of which he makes a good living and lives well, his means being moderate and invested in the stock of coins and in certain assets, and his responsibility not estimated.

His business is entirely upon a cash basis, but he has at times been credited for his personal supplies to the extent of \$50 to \$100, which bills have been paid about according to terms and satisfactory.

Henry Chapman's correspondence to Robert Garrett steadily maintains his good intentions towards the work waiting for him at Princeton and blames the postponements mostly on his ill health:

. . . have been longing for an opportunity to go to Princeton and work on your collection. You do not know how this matter worries me, but everything seems to retard my getting to Princeton. This month I have been on the Grand Jury, and just now I am confined to bed with a bad cold and bronchitis. Please be lenient with me. I wish to assure you that my not getting the work finished is not from a lack of desire to do so. All last summer I suffered from carbuncles . . . I took a cottage at Cape May hoping to be near Philadelphia so that I could run over to Princeton, but having the carbuncles which needed attention prevented my doing as I fully expected to do.

On March 27, 1916, a memo from Robert Garrett's secretary advised him that "I still feel strongly that

S. H. Chapman should be secured to do this work. Frankly I am becoming suspicious that things are not as they should be." Acting on his secretary's suggestion, on May 12, 1916, Robert Garrett wrote to Henry Chapman:

In anticipation of some changes I expect to make in relation to the coin collection belonging to my brother and myself I desire to recall my authorization to have access to this collection until further word from me.

The tedious correspondence concerning the catalogue continued, and on June 30, 1916, S. Hudson Chapman agreed to complete the work in Henry's behalf:

I have now most successfully held the sale of the great Gregory Collection and have it off my hands, and I should like to take up with you the question of finishing the catalogue of your collection this summer, which has been hanging fire so long because my late partner has not completed the sections allotted to him. It has been over five years since I completed my sections.

I will be in this vicinity this season as for a change I have taken a cottage at Cape May and have rented my camp at Lake Placid for \$2000 for the season and I therefore, can work on your catalogue during the summer . . .

Late in 1916, a compromise was reached whereby Henry Chapman and S. H. Chapman were allowed to jointly resume cataloguing the collection. In a letter addressed to both Chapmans, Garrett expresses himself:

I earnestly hope and urge you both, now that this arrangement has been completed, that you will let nothing interfere with the immediate prosecution of the work until it is finished.

On January 16, 1917, Henry Chapman wrote to say:

There were no Proof sets coined last year, the government having discontinued them, and none will be struck in the future. I have laid aside for you the 1916 coins as follows: quarter dollar, dime, nickel, and cent, old type; half dollar, quarter dollar, and dime, new type, also the half and quarter dollar of 1917, and as quickly as other coins come out will keep them together and will put them in the cabinet at Princeton on my next visit there, which I hope will be shortly.

There has been no gold struck at the Philadelphia Mint, and I have been unable to find out what has been struck at the other mints but intend on getting one of each denomination struck.

A new suggestion for the collection occurred to Henry Chapman, and two days later this letter followed:

Would you like to have a set of the Panama Pacific Exposition coins consisting of the \$50 gold pieces, round and octagon, \$2.50, \$1 gold pieces, and the half dollar in silver? It is just occurred to me that I have not supplied you with the set. Price \$235. I have the No. 25 struck and the statement to that effect from the director of the mint at San Francisco.

The same coins were the subject of the next letter from Henry Chapman dated February 19, 1917:

The coinage of the San Francisco Exposition coins has all been melted down with the exception of those which were sold. The set I offered to you at \$235 is the same set sold by the Commission at \$200 in 1915, and all those remaining unsold at the time were melted down, so that it has left only about 500 in existence of the \$50 gold pieces. I myself paid \$400 cash a few days ago for the two sets, one of which I have since sold to a New York gentleman, and having sold it I am willing to make a concession of \$10 in the price to make a quick turnover of the money and give you the set for \$225.

The set I am offering to you is either the 22nd or 24th set struck [actually it was the 25th set struck according to the documents which later arrived when the set was purchased], in the original envelopes as certified by the supervisor of the mint, and coming to me by a high official of the government. [If I did not have] these two sets I would not know how to duplicate them. As far as I know, no dealer stocked them. I myself have handled about 12 of the full sets, sending some of them to Europe. . . I am trying to get to Princeton at the end of the week and proceed with work there . . .

Additional problems came up, as Henry Chapman's letter of February 21, 1917 indicated:

I have been at Princeton since you granted the request and worked there.

My father-in-law died today, the funeral will be on Saturday, and while I had hoped to devote the last days of this week to Princeton, I will have to defer it until next week unless I go there tomorrow and put in the day. If I can do so I will do it. I am not unmindful of your kindness in this matter and had the coins been in Philadelphia where I had easy access to my library I would have had the work done long ago.

Possibly your secretary has told you of my terrible loss or mislaying or possibly of it being thrown out, a large part of the manuscript which I had prepared, by one of my secretaries. I bought the property in the northeast corner of 16th and Pine Streets, and after extensive alterations will move there by the first of June, and am hoping that as everything has to be removed from this house, of finding the manuscript. Of course, it is a serious matter to me if it is not found as I will have to do it all over again, but there are other coins to work on until that time so that the work is really not retarded on this account.

Henry Chapman published a "Notice of Removal" which on September 25, 1917 stated:

Owing to the large increase in my business and an ardent wish to be enabled to serve my customers in the future even better than in the past has compelled me to enlarge my facilities and I have purchased the four-story residence, No. 333 and 335 South 16th Street, northeast corner of 16th and Pine Streets, two squares west of my old address. After nine months of rebuilding I am moving the 25th of this month into my new home, and in the new building I have three floors devoted exclusively to my numismatic business.

When all of my stock is ticketed and arranged in the five large burglar-proof safes as well as some 25 cabinets I will be able to display what I believe is the finest stock in America of ancient and modern coins of the world.

Problems still plagued the cataloguing project, and numerous letters were exchanged. On November 9, 1918, Henry Chapman wrote:

I have just returned last night from Princeton where I worked for three full days up to 10:30 at night. I got the foreign coins again catalogued. This is the third time I have done them. This time I bought a book to write the manuscript in, and it will not be lost again.

In 1919 John Work Garrett acquired the coin collection from his brother Robert by trading for it certain objects and other properties. From this time forward all correspondence was conducted exclusively with John Work Garrett.

As new owner of the collection he immediately showed an intense interest in research aspects and sought to broaden the numismatic library, ordering many reference books. John Work Garrett's numismatic interests were cosmopolitan and included the United States series of territorial gold and colonial issues especially. He became an active buyer of ancient and world coins as well.

Whereas most of the pieces supplied to Robert Garrett had been from Henry Chapman, John Work Garrett dealt heavily with S. Hudson Chapman who wrote on November 11, 1919 offering him an extensive list of coins. A number of pieces were acquired, including several rare Bechtler gold issues and a rare quarter eagle issued in Colorado by Parsons & Co., the latter at \$1,300.

S. Hudson Chapman's letter of November 20th discusses the Parsons piece:

This excessively rare piece is the specimen from the Gregory sale, 1916, No. 2413, where I purchased it for \$1,100, and priced it at a moderate advance at \$1,300 a few days after the sale and have offered it to you for the same price, though all great rarities are advancing. I recently sold the half eagle, of which there are three specimens known, for \$4,200. This specimen is in fine condition for the piece. All show weakness of impression on the reverse because the reverse die is sunk or became concave and did not give full impression in the center of the coin, and this shows on the uprights of the stamp-mill, which are not struck up on the other two specimens I have seen, one of which is in the United States Mint. How excessively rare this piece is may be noted from the fact that this is the only specimen that has been offered at auction within the last 15 years or more. I do not think, therefore, that you could obtain a finer specimen than this piece.

By this time the controversy concerning the cataloguing of the Garrett Collection by the Chapman

brothers must have been resolved, as there is no further mention of it in the correspondence.

The subject of the next exchange of letters was John Work Garrett's expressed desire to acquire certain great colonial rarities which were not presently in the collection. Chapman, referring to the Ellsworth Collection (which was subsequently purchased by Garrett; the duplicates were later sold by Wayte Raymond in the autumn of 1923), replied:

Confidentially, there is a great and magnificent collection of United States coins which might possibly be purchased, but the collector is determined not to offer them himself at auction and to insist on selling en bloc. I have conferred with him within the year concerning it.

His collection contains the greatest pieces, such as the Nova Constellatio 1,000 mills, unique; 500 mills (two known); 100 mills (two known), which we formerly owned. He paid, as well as I can recall, about \$7,500 or \$8,000 for the three pieces, but they would probably bring a great deal more today. He also has the George Clinton [cent] and exceedingly rare colonial and state coins and great rarities in the United States regular series.

I will propose a way by which you might secure these pieces, which was the way the late L. G. Parmelee who had the finest collection of United States, colonial, state, and government issues until his collection was sold about 1890, used to obtain great rarities. For instance, we bought the Bushnell Collection from which your father obtained many of his greatest rarities including the Brasher doubloon, which he bought there for \$500 (a specimen which we formerly owned also sold last year for \$3,600) and then Mr. Parmelee bought it from us, selected what he needed or left the pieces in the collection, placed it in our hands for sale at auction, and bought back the rarities for his collection. He thus made certain that these pieces did not get away from him. He backed us for the amount of the purchase money. We wrote the first catalogue of coins ever published in quarto size, with autotype plates, and made the sale a great success and realized a net profit for him, over all expenses, of about \$3000 dollars.

The present collection is valued, I think the owner stated to me, about \$60,000. If you had the pick of this collection it would make your collection absolutely the finest collection of the United States coins. If you would go into a similar arrangement with me as above mentioned, I will try to obtain a definite price and terms from the owner.

John Work Garrett developed an interest in mintmarks, which their collection had a very small representation of, as during its initial formation in the years before T. Harrison Garrett's death in 1888 mintmarks were largely ignored by collectors. Thus, for example, on December 16, 1919, he bought from S. Hudson Chapman a number of branch mint gold coins including an 1854-D half eagle at \$8, 1839-O quarter eagle at \$4, 1849-C coin of the same denomination at \$3.50, and a rare 1859-D quarter eagle at \$35. In

February 1920, John Work Garrett purchased an additional \$130.40 worth of coins at the Kingman Sale, for which Chapman charged \$6.52 (5%) commission. After receiving his invoice John Work Garrett was prompted to write:

I enclose my check for \$140.92 to pay for the coins you bought for me at your recent sale, and the Proof coins of 1918 and 1920 [apparently an error; the coins were probably Uncirculated]. I am rather disappointed in the condition of many of the coins which you purchased which do not seem to come up to the mark. I notice that you exceeded my bids in four cases out of the eleven on which I was successful. I am very much surprised that the bidding went so high on the [1840] half cent restrike and should be curious to know who was so desirous of having it besides myself.

On March 11, 1920, S. Hudson Chapman tried to clear up the confusion:

I tried, as always, to be careful in describing these pieces. No. 117, 1811 large 8, [half dollar], Uncirculated, mint lustre, was fully up to description as far as I remember, but I recollect a curious circumstance: No. 116, the lot ahead of it, when we came to deliver it lacked the 1811 straight date. Now it might be that this piece was pushed down on No. 117, and 117 stolen. Is the piece delivered to you the large 8? If it has not the large 8, I should like to see it.

Nearly all the pieces around these dates are almost never perfectly struck up, and sharp, and if the stars are not struck up it has nothing to do with the preservation. The condition refers to the preservation. If the piece is defective, it is mentioned, but as weak stars are usual in these early dates, it is not mentioned; and when an unusually sharp specimen occurs we mention it, see No. 114.

When the John Story Jenks Collection was sold at auction on December 7-17, 1921, (a sale which stretched over a week in length) by Henry Chapman, John Work Garrett enlisted his brother, S. Hudson Chapman, to bid for him. He was ultimately successful in the purchase of \$2,313.15 worth of lots, plus \$115.65 commission (5%), plus \$20 for a catalogue with pictorial plates and price lists, and one dollar for a duplicate copy of the catalogue without plates; altogether a total invoice of \$2,449.80. At first, Garrett gave bids on various lots authorizing the maximum expenditure of \$1,000. However as the sale progressed, two telegrams were sent to S. Hudson Chapman raising the authorization. Chapman's reports of the sale furnish interesting commentary on one of the greatest auctions of the early 20th century. As he wrote on December 21:

I have carefully endeavored to follow out your instructions and to buy for you the coins you indicated or I deemed you most desired of those you listed in the Jenks Collection.

Beginning under your limit of \$1,000 for the total purchases, I soon realized that I would overrun this amount in the first day alone as I obtained for you the most beautiful

coin of the sale and in itself an extraordinarily beautiful specimen of the piece, the Syracusan medallion, at \$510, which the coin is fully worth, and began using my discretion in passing pieces, particularly if I knew I could supply you in the future, such as the Mythridentes tetradrachm at \$85. I also let some desirable lots go that went over what I considered full price.

I then subsequently received your telegram in reply to my letter reporting the result of the first day's sale, increasing your limit to \$1000 more, and then your second telegram making the limit \$2000, not including the Chalmers shilling at \$300, the Oregon at \$160, and the Mormon Lion at \$75. According to the latter telegram I obtained the Chalmers shilling for you at the very great bargain of \$200. On the Oregon I had to go to exactly your limit, and a Mormon Lion went to \$150, or double the previous price. Nearly all United States gold coins are bringing double or triple what they sold for two years ago.

Not obtaining the Mormon Lion for you and seeing that I had about \$200 under the \$2,000, I went on and bought a few interesting pieces for you in the Central and South American coins, but checked myself on these as otherwise I would have gone far beyond the amount indicated.

Regarding the Rosa Americana pieces, after I wrote you my last letter I read over a Crosby's mention of the Rosa Americana pattern and felt more inclined to coincide with him and to think that he had made a very strong argument for the piece and concluded to watch it on your account. Bidding very cautiously, I was able to secure it for you when it reached a flat \$100, which is certainly very cheap for it.

I then also secured for you No. 5417, the excessively rare 1724 twopence, of which only three specimens are known in this country and in Europe, and is so mentioned by Dr. Nelson in his work. I looked up our bid book of the Mills sale where we bought it for Mr. Jenks at \$120 and I found that your father had sent us also a bid of \$100 on it. The room pushed me to exactly \$120 again. . . I trust my action for your account will be satisfactory. I enclose the bill herewith and send the coins by express to your Washington address.

On December 27, 1921, S. Hudson Chapman commented further:

I received yesterday your letter of the 24th and enclosing check in payment in full for the purchases I made for you at the sale of the Jenk's Collection and the catalogues, and I thank you for your very prompt remittance.

I am grateful to you for your kind expression of satisfaction with my conduct in purchasing the lots bought for you. I certainly endeavored to purchase for you the most important pieces that you desired that would come within your limit of the amount. Everything I bought for you is desirable and worth its price and difficult to obtain in beautiful preservation for its rarity, like the Rosa Americana pieces and the Lord Baltimore shilling, which I consider were very cheap.

I bought many of the finest pieces throughout the sale for my own account, over \$6,000, outside of my orders. I was proud to see that these coins, all bought from us, were in superlative preservation throughout. In the United States

series, the 1792 silver center cent I bid up to a record price, trying to obtain it for myself, to \$440, about three times what it cost Mr. Jenks. Then I secured the next lot, the Birch cent, for only \$500 to my gratification and surprise as I had intended to bid up to \$800 for it. After this day's sale I was congratulated by Messrs. Ryder and Wurtzbach, collectors of the finest and rarest pieces, on obtaining the rare specimens I had. Mr. Wurtzbach said "I think the Birch cent you got at \$500 was the bargain at the sale." I ran Mr. Wurtzbach up to \$510 on a 1793 cent, bright red, at a miscellaneous sale of Elder's about a year ago, and I guess he and Mr. Ryder thought it was hopeless to try to outbid me on the Birch cent and gave up. I know Mr. Ryder wants it very much.

. . . I sold a specimen [of the Birch cent] which I discovered about four years ago which was brought to my office from an old collection, to Mr. Newcomer for \$1000, and I consider this the true valuation of the piece, and I have set this as the price also for this specimen. There are only seven specimens known in all and of these one I know and think one of the others may be incomplete, that is, the edges were not finished and are unlettered. It is a most interesting pattern of the United States as it was the regular pattern for the coinage and the design was also made for the dime and was issued in the half dime denomination. This is the second time I have owned this specimen. In fact, this Birch cent is probably not only a pattern but was regularly issued and only a few pieces struck when it was realized that it was overweight, just as with the dime, of which was too large, of which only two specimens are known in silver and a few in copper. The full issuance of the half dime of the same design gives sound ground for taking this view.

On March 20, 1922 John Work Garrett responded to S. Hudson Chapman's notice of an impending visit to Baltimore:

I shall be delighted to see you in Baltimore at anytime this week. I would suggest that you let me know the day before when you are coming so I can make arrangements to see you. Nearly all of my coins are in my office in the Garrett Building, corner of South and Redwood Streets, and I am there myself most of the day.

On July 31, 1922, S. Hudson Chapman requested to "borrow" part of the Garrett Collection explaining:

I am writing a monograph that I have had in mind for years on the cents of 1794, and have on loan the finest collections in the United States.

Knowing you were so occupied I tried to avoid requesting any from you, but today whilst making some final dispositions I found a question and referred to the Mills sale catalogue to see his 1794 Liberty cap [cent]. We bought it for \$49 and sold to your brother for \$55. I see it is the finest impression of the reverse known and need it badly, as the others are weakly struck causing them to appear as if ground down . . . this is worth \$100 today. Would you please lend me your 1794 cents, particularly this variety H-3, and if possible send registered post by return mail as I hope to make the plates [soon].

On August 2, 1922, John Work Garrett complied:

I sent you yesterday by registered mail 41 1794 U.S. cents as requested by you in your letter of July 31st . . .

S. Hudson Chapman returned most of the pieces quickly and expressed his admiration for the "many superb specimens and I am much obliged to you for the loan of them." He further noted "I think I will have my paper in good enough shape to read at the convention of the American Numismatic Association, and if I succeed with the plates in the next few days, I will exhibit my arrangement on lantern slides."

Several months later, in February 1923, S. Hudson Chapman wrote to return the remainder of the 1794 cents on loan and commented on his progress with the monograph. He mentioned a problem which has bewildered many publishers, both before and since:

On account of the pose of the head, they are very difficult to place. Many of them, if we place them at what seems the most pleasing angle, caused the date to be too far to the left. Whereas if we place them by the dates, the heads appear too much tilted upwards.

Another matter pending in February 1923 was the Bement Collection in which Garrett had earlier expressed an interest. Chapman reported on negotiations in his letter of the 17th:

The New York son-in-law of Mr. Bement came over this morning, and I have had a meeting with the two executors regarding the collection of coins. The amount of the cost of the collection, Mr. Bement informed them before his death, was \$237,000. After discussion they announced they would make the price \$200,000, including my commission of 5%; but as I am acting under your requests, on your behalf, according to your previous letter and that of the 5th in which you write, "I count on you to keep me in touch with developments," I name the net price to the estate to you of \$190,000, and you to pay my commission, so you may know that I am working in your interest and received no fee nor profit from the estate

The collection contains about 5,000 pieces, they say, and it certainly is one of the finest collections in the world. Every piece in it is of the highest preservation and quality, and selected with the most fastidious care

About three or four years ago, Mr. Bement had Mr. Comperette, keeper of the Mint Collection, write a brief monograph about a selection of unusual and important pieces in the collection. There were 350 specimens in all, not including, I think, the specimens from the Weber Collection, which he acquired more recently.

Garrett subsequently replied that the purchase of the collection intact "did not appeal to me because it took away all the pleasure I get out of the 'act of collecting.' My interest in the Bement collection was due to the possibility that I might be able to get from it a dozen or so pieces that might fit into my collection."

Throughout the 1920s, S. Hudson Chapman acted as

an agent and bid in many sales for Garrett. Sometimes purchases were minor. Other times, as in April 1924, the purchases were substantial. In this instance, Garrett was invoiced \$5,118.75 including Chapman's usual 5% commission for purchases at the Nygren sale. This purchase added two major pieces to the collection: an 1830 Templeton Reid \$5 gold piece of Georgia for \$2,350, and an 1851 Baldwin & Company California \$20 gold piece for \$2,525. A Baldwin \$10 gold piece also offered in the Nygren sale went well below Chapman's \$2,000 estimate and "had I any more [of your] money left, I would have bid on this piece." Garrett also regretted the missed opportunity and on May 2nd he suggested to Chapman:

If the Baldwin \$10 was secured by a dealer it might be possible for you to get it for me at a slight advance, which I feel I could afford to pay in view of the fact that it sold so much below estimates.

To this Chapman replied on May 7, 1924:

The Baldwin \$10 was secured by a dealer for stock, and I am informed that he would have gone higher for it. It is just as rare as the \$20 and should have brought \$2,000, for which same amount you had my estimate before the sale. I secured it and send it to you herewith for \$850, which will include my profit. I have learned that one was sold some years ago for \$2,000. None of the great sales has ever contained it, nor did Mr. Newcomer have it at the time his collection was stolen in 1913 . . . I have never had nor seen before another specimen of the Baldwin \$10.

On May 13, 1924, Garrett paid the price asked; however, he registered a mild protest:

I think I shall keep the Baldwin \$10 although I am disappointed that the price has gone up so quickly on it. I enclosed my check. One of these pieces sold in the Ten Eyck sale for \$525, another in the Ulex sale for \$300. Low sold one in 1902 for \$300.

On May 23, 1924, S. Hudson Chapman wrote to offer three "rare minor pieces" of territorial coins. He mentioned that his son, S. Hudson Chapman, Jr., was studying for his doctorate in Paris and offered his services to execute orders for Garrett in French sales of interest.

On February 11, 1925, John W. Garrett wrote to S. Hudson Chapman:

I have recently been cataloguing my American colonial coins, and there are a number of questions I should like to ask you about certain pieces which you sold either to my brother or myself, or to Colonel Ellsworth, but there is only one that I will ask you now.

The ownership of the mark and quint [referring to the Nova Constellatio pattern coinage] which you sold to Colonel Ellsworth and which I bought from him is traced by Crosby. . .to J. W. Haseltine in 1872. To this you add on the card of Colonel Ellsworth's Collection that Henry

S. Adams purchased them from Haseltine. Could you give me the history of these two pieces from the time they left Adams' possession to the time they came into the hands of Colonel Ellsworth?

Chapman replied immediately in a letter dated February 12th:

The history of the ownership of the United States patterns of 1783, the mark and quint, in silver, is as follows:

These pieces were found in the desk of Charles Thompson, secretary of the Continental Congress, and sold by his nephew, who found them, to John W. Haseltine in 1872. Mr. Haseltine sold them to Henry S. Adams of Boston, who sold them to Lorin G. Parmelee. They were sold in the sale of his collection in 1890 to H. P. Smith, or were bought in for Parmelee's account, and were then sold to S. H. & H. Chapman, who sold them to George H. Earle, Jr., of Philadelphia, for whom they were sold by Henry Chapman to James W. Ellsworth. They were subsequently sold to you, John W. Garrett.

John Work Garrett summed up his collecting philosophy in a single sentence contained in his response of March 8, 1925 to an offer from Henry Chapman:

I do not want any coins that are not in first rate condition no matter what the price may be or how rare they are.

Garrett used the services of Henry Chapman in the late 1920s to bring his collection of commemorative half dollars up to date. For example, in February 17, 1926, he purchased from Chapman specimens of the 1925 Lexington-Concord, 1925 Stone Mountain, and 1925 California Diamond Jubilee issues.

By the late 1920s John Work Garrett's interest in United States coins had diminished, and from this time all but a few of his purchases were in the field of Greek and other classical issues. A letter dated May 8, 1928, to S. Hudson Chapman is indicative:

I have practically stopped buying American coins so it is hardly worth while for me to recheck [the want list form which you sent]. From time to time I might buy colonial or California pieces not in my collection.



Correspondence with Charles E. Clapp

Charles E. Clapp of Bedford Hills, New York, formed an outstanding collection of United States colonial issues and other pieces. There was a brief correspondence between Clapp and John Work Garrett which took place in 1934:

Clapp's first letter to Garrett was on June 21, 1934:

I understand you have a magnificent collection of coins. For many years I have specialized in choice American colonials, and a policy of always replacing a specimen if a better one came on the market accounts for the unusual condition of my collection.

It is now necessary to dispose of it, and while I would prefer to sell it as a whole, realize it is hard to find a buyer and also that an important collector like yourself would probably only be interested in individual specimens.

The Massachusetts silver series is the most nearly complete of any collection I know of, and many specimens are the finest known of the varieties.

Rosa Americanas are mostly Uncirculated, even the 1733 two-pence of which there are only three or four known, is Uncirculated. The Washington half dollar, copper, is the finest known. Also the Proof naked bust. Carolina elephant token Uncirculated. Confederatio Inimica Tyrannis, Crosby plate No. 7 picture 13, Very Fine. My Washington Confederatio is only Very Good. I merely mention a few, but if you are interested I shall be glad to send a complete list. I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you.

Garrett responded that he would "not care to buy a collection as it would inevitably duplicate many of my pieces." In return he received an inventory of some of the rarest pieces in Clapp's collection from which he was invited to choose "when you decide to add to your collection."



Correspondence with the Gutttag Brothers

During the mid-1920s John Work Garrett corresponded on several occasions with Julius Gutttag, a member of the firm of the Gutttag Brothers, coin dealers located at 52 Wall Street, New York, and later, at 16-18 Exchange Place in the same city.

On May 2, 1923, the Gutttag Brothers sent out a circular describing a Nova Constellatio pattern 100 unit or "cent" piece. This coin was a duplicate sold by John Work Garrett through Wayte Raymond and was part of the colonial section of the Col. James W. Ellsworth Collection acquired by Garrett earlier in the same year. The coin was described by the Gutttag Brothers as follows:

THE MOST INTERESTING COIN OF THE ENTIRE UNITED STATES SERIES.

THE CENT.

Obverse with an eye forming the center of a glory of 13 points, the points intersecting a circle of 13 stars. Legend with NOVA CONSTELLATIO, Beaded border. Reverse with a wreath enclosing the letters "U.S." and the figures "100." Legend with LIBERTAS JUSTITIA 1783, beaded border. Silver, the size of a dime.

There are many coins which dealers call extremely rare and very rare, but the coin we describe herein is practically unique as it is the only one obtainable at any price. It is far more desirable than the Brasher doubloon or the 1822 Half Eagle. We consider it the gem of the entire United States series as it is the foundation upon which the present decimal coinage was raised.

A postage stamp sold recently for about \$35,000 in comparison to which, from every viewpoint, this coin should be

worth \$100,000. Of course, we do not expect to obtain a price anything like the price of the stamp referred to, but we feel sure that at some future date this piece will bring more than the rarest postage stamp.

Please do not take my word for this—ask any numismatist. Not more than one dealer ever owned this rare United States coin or sold it at auction.

We are going to give everyone in the United States the same chance to buy this rarity, and therefore, we will not sell it until May 23, three weeks from above date. If you are interested we should be pleased to hear from you before that date, thus giving everyone interested a chance to communicate with us and get our price.

The first coin minted for the government of the United States; the first coin to bear the letters "U.S."

On December 22, 1923, Julius Gutttag wrote to John Work Garrett:

We have the following Higley threepence pieces on hand at this time: Crosby plate VIII, numbers 21, 24, 25, 26. If you wish to inspect any of these we shall be glad to forward same to you on approval. What pieces are you extremely anxious to obtain at this time?

On December 28, 1925, Garrett wrote and ordered an item from a price list:

I should be much obliged if you will send me on approval the 1861 \$3 gold piece, brilliant Proof, mentioned in your bulletin Series 3, No. 7 page 5. As I am to be in New York for several days it would perhaps be more convenient if you sent it to me at my address there—950 Park Avenue.

Julius Gutttag wrote Garrett of a recent acquisition on February 2, 1927:

We have recently obtained the Willow Tree threepence. As you know this piece is exceedingly rare. We do not know whether you already have it in your collection, but if not we would be glad to send it to you for your inspection.

Julius Gutttag sent the piece to Garrett for his inspection on February 4, 1927:

Replying to your letter of February 3, it would be very difficult to describe the condition of the Willow Tree threepence. For that reason we are sending it to you for your inspection. The price of the coin is \$2,250; you will note from the February issue of *The Numismatist* this piece cost us 305 pounds plus other charges. It would be useless for us to go into the rarity of this coin as you probably know more about it than we do.

Garrett decided against purchasing the piece and replied on February 5, 1927:

I am obliged to you for letting me see the Willow Tree threepence which I am however returning to you today. I do not care to pay so enormous a price for it.

On January 9, 1928, John Work Garrett wrote:

I should be much obliged if you would send me on approval the Grant Indian peace medal as quoted in your bulletin series No. 5, No. 7.

This was duly sent, and on January 16, 1928 Garrett forwarded his check in payment for it.



Correspondence with William Hesslein

From 1919 through the late 1920s John Work Garrett made numerous purchases, mostly of small items, from William Hesslein, a dealer located at 101 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts. During this time Hesslein offered in fixed price lists and in auction sales a wide variety of issues.

On October 16, 1919, Hesslein wrote to Garrett:

In offering this lot of territorial gold, probably the finest I have offered in a good many years, I wish to especially advise that if you hope to accumulate a collection of these pieces, to purchase as liberally as possible as an opportunity like this is rarely offered.

Appended to the foregoing was a list of over two dozen territorial issues. The letter was not directed specifically to Mr. Garrett but, like much of Hesslein's correspondence, was one of several carbon copies which apparently Mr. Hesslein sent to important prospects on his mailing lists.

On November 25, 1919, John Work Garrett purchased a number of pieces from Hesslein, including these quarter eagles: 1846 \$4.25, 1854 \$3.65, 1858 \$3.75, 1848 CAL. \$85; an 1854-D \$3 gold at \$47.50; and an 1825/1 \$5 gold at \$95. Hesslein sent Garrett another offering of gold dollars on December 2, 1919:

On December 2, 1919, Hesslein wrote:

In offering you the collection of gold dollars as below given you will find almost a complete set of these pieces, some of which are very rare. I would also call your attention to the collection of California minor gold coins which certainly should interest you.

Offered were such items as a \$4 gold stella (presumably of 1879) and two gold pattern dollars, the group at \$95; an 1852 Proof gold dollar described as "no record of this piece in this condition, of excessive rarity in this state," and other issues.

Over the next several years numerous invoices were sent from Hesslein to Garrett. On September 2, 1921, William Hesslein sent a listing which included:

Joseph Leshner's Referendum Souvenir \$1, one ounce of coin silver, price \$1.25 mfgd. Victor, Colorado, 1900 . . . of excessive rarity, only a few known to exist. All pieces are octagonal, Fine. \$55; Joseph Leshner's Referendum silver Souvenir \$1 mfg. Victor, Colorado, 1901. Reverse "IN THE PEOPLE WE TRUST," a commodity, will give in exchange merchandise at J. M. Slusher, Cripple Creek, Colorado . . . Very Fine, excessively rare, first I have had bearing this date. \$45.; Joseph Leshner's Referendum Souvenir Dollar, one ounce coin silver, price \$1.25 mfg.

Victor, Colorado . . . a commodity, will give in exchange merchandise at A. B. Bumstead . . . Very Rare, Extremely Fine, \$20; same as above only without scroll at coat of arms, in like condition, Extremely Rare, first offered, \$25. Send your order at once if you wish to secure these . . .

Garrett requested that pieces be sent to him for inspection. He wrote to Hesslein on March 15, 1922:

I shall be very glad if you will send me on approval the pieces mentioned in the enclosed list from your catalog No. 29, part 1. Please take particular pains to pick perfect examples of the Peace dollar.

On April 10, 1922, Garrett wrote again:

I am returning the two Grant coins in the hope you will be able to pick out for me somewhat better specimens than these two. Even if it takes a little waiting I should prefer that to putting in my collection two specimens which are really not very good . . .

On April 11, 1922, Hesslein wrote to Garrett:

I am sending you such coins as I have on your list, also two selected Grant pieces, and hope that they will please you. The time I sent out the gold dollar I did not notice that it was not absolutely perfect. Will you kindly make prompt returns on these coins as I have no duplicates of some of the pieces that I sent you.

On April 12, 1928, William Hesslein quoted a rare piece to Garrett:

I have in my possession an 1870-S Mint silver dollar. While it is not an extremely fine coin, nevertheless it is in Fine condition. At some time or another it has been abused in the field on the obverse, though this is hardly noticeable and the coin is good enough to grace any cabinet.

There are about two of these pieces known. The other is better and is held for a large amount, and as I understand it, \$2,500 is asked for it.

I am asking \$1,300 for this coin, and I only get a small percentage for handling it. It is an excessively rare piece, and if it graces your collection you will have a piece that is worthwhile. The mint record does not show any coinage at this time whatsoever. If you are interested in this piece I will be pleased to send it to you on approval.

Nothing ever came of this transaction, probably because John Work Garrett was mainly interested in pieces of higher quality, irrespective of their rarity.



Correspondence with Burdette G. Johnson

Burdette G. Johnson, proprietor of the St. Louis Stamp & Coin Company, was the main agent for disposal of numismatic material from the estate of Virgil Brand. Brand, was a wealthy Chicago brewer who over a long period of years amassed an extensive holding of United States coins, including duplicates of many rarities. On May 23, 1934, B. G. Johnson wrote to John Work Garrett:

I enclose herewith a list of some of the Brand colonial silver coins. The copper Colonial coins which contain most of the rarities are now being worked into shape, and there are also a number of rare silver pieces which are not yet listed. The collection is so large and unwieldy that it is going to take a long time before everything is in order. If any of the enclosed interest you I will be glad to send them to you on approval and will also send you a later list of the Colonials as we get them in shape.

Enclosed was a list containing many items including nearly three dozen Massachusetts silver pieces; a gold Washington funeral medal ("He Is In Glory, The World In Tears") at \$75; a 1723 Wood's farthing in silver, earlier from the Hall Collection, at \$300; and a 1785 silver pattern of the Immune Columbia cent at \$600. To this offering Garrett replied:

I have just received your letter of the 23rd and the enclosed list. As I am sailing tomorrow for Europe I shall not be able to consider this list until my return in September.

Johnson sent Garrett another listing on October 27, 1934:

We are enclosing herewith a further list of Colonial coins from the Brand Collection, some of which may appeal to you. Some of the pieces are extreme rarities. We also list a few private gold patterns.

There is also in the Brand Collection a number of very rare Colonial coins not yet divided, among them being the unique Baltimore shilling in copper, from a different die from the common piece in silver.

Included was a listing giving detailed descriptions of several different coins. Among the pieces offered were:

1694 New England halfpenny. Obverse with elephant. Reverse GOD PRESERVE NEW ENGLAND 1694. Parmelee and Crosby specimen. Excessively rare if not unique. Very Good \$750; an 1849 \$5 Columbus Co. obverse with name and date. Reverse CALIFORNIA GOLD DOLS. 5 in center in circle. Bronze, Uncirculated. Unknown in gold. \$250.

Garrett replied on November 1, 1934 with his reaction:

I am much interested in the list you sent me with your letter of October 27, of the coins that you have for sale from the Brand Collection, but many of the pieces seem very high.

There are two pieces, nevertheless, that I should like to consider, and should be glad if you would send them to me on approval, at the same time seeing if you could not reduce the prices. They are: the 1694 "God Preserve New England" and the 1849 Columbus Co. pattern.

Johnson informed Garrett on November 8, 1934 that he had responded to his request:

In accordance with your favor of recent date we are sending today by registered mail the two coins you wish to inspect at net prices per invoice. The New England halfpenny is the Parmelee specimen and is illustrated in that catalogue. Mr. Adams knew that the Columbus Co. pattern existed but at the time he wrote his book he did not know of its whereabouts. It is probably unique. I also note your remarks

about the prices of some of the other pieces and have forwarded your letter to Mr. Brand. None of these coins have so far been offered to anybody.

Garrett replied with his acceptance on November 15, 1934:

I have decided to keep the two coins sent with your letter of November 8 and I enclose my check in payment of them.

Johnson again wrote Garrett on September 30, 1938, telling him of a piece he thought would be of interest:

Several years ago I sold you a number of patterns of private gold coins from the Brand Collection. This week I came across a pattern of a private gold coin which, to the best of my knowledge, is entirely unpublished and issued by a company not hitherto known to have struck coins.

The piece is: \$2.50 silver coin with milled edge, of the Sierra Nevada Mining Company, dated 1853. Obverse with 13 stars, small Liberty head to right. Reverse with the name of the company. Eagle on olive branch, copied from the United States quarter eagle. Small star above the eagle's head, value beneath eagle.

The coin is obviously contemporary and apparently has seen considerable circulation, probably as a dime. Price \$150, which I think is very moderate for a presumably unique pattern of a private gold coin.

John W. Garrett replied on October 14, 1938:

Thanks very much for your letter of September 30 in regard to a pattern of a private gold coin. I am interested in knowing about the piece but I do not wish to buy it.



Correspondence with Lyman H. Low

Correspondence with Low, who earlier dealt with T. Harrison Garrett, is resumed many years later when there is an exchange of letters between John Work Garrett and Low. On June 16, 1922, Low, then located in New Rochelle, New York, wrote to Garrett:

I have yours of the 14th, covering a check for \$1.67 received in payment for Lots 335 and 361 207th sale. Lot 363 is also here and I thank you for returning it. It is not on your bid sheet.

There certainly was a strange muddle in both cases and my secretary is to blame for both; he is now away on his summer outing or he might explain how he fell into it however that would not correct the error.

Lot 359 was purchased for you, it appears on your bill and on the bookkeeper's record, but later changed to another bidder and for much less sum—not having the buyers present at the sale, who pushed me to the sum it sold for. I have written to the party and hope to get it back.

Your offer for lot 362 was by error copied against 363. Lot 362 you were outbid nearly four times the amount you gave, therefore there is no possibility of obtaining it. I very much regret that our commencement was not free from mistakes, and all at this end of the line.

T. Harrison Garrett was an occasional patron of mine. I

believe he was drowned on his yacht off Staten Island some 30 years ago.

On June 22, 1922, Garrett replied:

I have received your letter of the 16th. If Lot 359 comes back to you I shall be glad to have it.

I know that my father, the late T. Harrison Garrett, had been a patron of yours. My interest in coins was due to the collection in which he made and which I began to take an interest in only a couple of years ago. He collected chiefly American, colonial and mint and modern European coins, and there was so little that could be profitably added along these lines, or that seemed to interest me, that I have devoted myself to the ancient and medieval series with occasional purchases of Mohammedan and a few miscellaneous items which the collection lacks . . . I shall be very glad to hear from you when you have any pieces of these series for sale.



Correspondence with B. Max Mehl

B. Max Mehl, who did business in Ft. Worth, Texas, from the start of his numismatic career in 1904 to his death in 1957, did more to publicize and popularize coin collecting in America than anyone else during the first half of the 20th century. He has been called "the P. T. Barnum of the coin business." Mehl can be contrasted to dealer Wayte Raymond, who during the same approximate period devoted as much attention to numismatic publishing and research as Mehl did to publicity and promotion. Their combination would have been dynamic. Interestingly, this was proposed by Raymond in 1912, but nothing ever came of it.

Born in 1884, B. Max Mehl was from Lithuania. He settled in Ft. Worth, Texas, and intended to follow a career in the shoe business. In 1903 he became acquainted with numismatics, and in the following year he ran his first advertisement in *The Numismatist*, the official journal of the American Numismatic Association. *Mehl's Numismatic Monthly*, an informative magazine containing numismatic news, articles, and listings of items for sale, made its appearance in 1908 and continued until 1919.

In the field of coin auctions, actually what today would be termed as "mail bid sales" (for participation was by mail rather than by public attendance), Mehl achieved his greatest prominence. The first Mehl auction took place in 1906. From that time onward he was to conduct over 100 sales. Included would be some of the greatest collections ever to be offered for public competition, including the holdings of William F. Dunham, purchased intact by Mehl and subsequently auctioned (in 1941), the most outstanding collection of American coins to be sold during the second quarter of

OFFICES
MEHL BUILDINGCABLE ADDRESS
MEHL FORT WORTH

B. MAX MEHL

NUMISMATIST

IMPORTER of and DEALER in
RARE COINS MEDALS and PAPER MONEY
of ALL COUNTRIES and PERIODS

Approval Department

Fort Worth, Texas

January
23,
1920.

Mr. John W. Garrett,
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sir:-

I am certainly indebted to Mr. Newcomer for his kindness in referring you to me, and I assure you that I shall do my utmost to prove worthy of the kindness accorded me by Mr. Newcomer.

While, as you realize, it is quite impossible to keep a complete stock of all coins at all times, but I endeavor to keep an interesting stock on hand. I am pleased to be able to submit you on approval, as per enclosed invoice, a number of the coins, as list of which you so kindly sent me, and shall be pleased to submit you from time to time such specimens as you may desire to add to your collection. Of course you understand that anything I may send you upon your request or otherwise, is sent without the slightest obligation on your part, and any or all of the items submitted may be returned without argument or question.

In submitting the coins, as per enclosed invoice, I remembered well your instructions that you desired only the best possible specimens and I am sending you the best that I have in stock. Besides these, I have other rarities, such as the 1802 Half Dime, some very beautiful U. S. Pattern coins, a selection of which I shall be pleased to send you with your kind permission.

Thanking you very kindly, and assuring you of my best attention at all times,

Cordially yours,

BMM/MF.

QUOTATIONS ON COINS YOU WANT CHEERFULLY MADE WITHOUT OBLIGATION ON YOUR PART SELECTIONS
FROM MY LARGE STOCK SENT ON APPROVAL TO PARTIES WHOSE GOOD STANDING IS
KNOWN TO ME OR ON SATISFACTORY REFERENCE

January 23, 1920, letter from B. Max Mehl to John Work Garrett, apparently the first correspondence from Mehl to the Baltimore collector. During the 1920s Mehl handled more important collections and rarities than any other dealer.

the 20th century. Other sales included the holdings of H. O. Granberg, A. C. Nygren, Elmer S. Sears, J. H. Manning, James Ten Eyck, Judge Slack, Albert A. Grinnell, Belden E. Roach, Fred Olsen, William C. Atwater, Frederick W. Geiss, William Neil, King Farouk of Egypt, and C. W. Green.

B. Max Mehl once proclaimed that he employed more people than everyone else in the coin business combined. This was largely the result of his activities popularizing coin collecting with the public. The *Star Rare Coin Encyclopedia*, initially sold for one dollar, was distributed by the millions and listed premiums paid for scarce issues. Mehl advertisements were placed in newspapers, magazines, and Sunday supplements. At one time he even had his own radio program. The American Numismatic Association conferred upon him a special award for the goodwill he created.

The Waldo C. Newcomer Collection was purchased in installments by Mehl for nearly a quarter million dollars in the early 1930s and was one of the greatest collections ever dispersed. Individual items were sold by price lists and private quotations.

Following many months of illness with a heart condition, B. Max Mehl died at his home in Ft. Worth, in 1957.

Mehl's introduction to John Work Garrett came in early 1920 at the recommendation of Waldo Newcomer, the well-known Baltimore collector whose holdings were to be purchased later by Mehl. On January 23, 1920, B. Max Mehl sent his initial letter to Garrett:

I am certainly indebted to Mr. Newcomer for his kindness in referring you to me and assure you that I will do my utmost to prove worthy of the kindness accorded me by Mr. Newcomer.

While, as you realize, it is quite impossible to keep a complete stock of all coins at all times, I endeavor to keep an interesting stock on hand. I am pleased to be able to submit you on approval, as per enclosed invoice, a number of the coins from the list which you so kindly sent me, and I shall be pleased to submit to you from time to time such specimens as you may desire to add to your collection. Of course you understand that anything I may send you upon your request or otherwise is sent without the slightest obligation on your part, and any or all of the items submitted may be returned without argument or question.

In submitting the coins, as per enclosed invoice, I remembered well your instructions that you desired only the best possible specimens, and I am sending you the best that I have in stock. Besides these, I have some other rarities, such as the 1802 half dime, some very beautiful United States pattern coins, a selection of which I shall be pleased to send you with your kind permission.

At this time John Work Garrett, having recently acquired the collection from his brother Robert, was endeavoring to fill remaining spaces in the United States date series. The want list included the following:

Half dimes: 1797 13 stars, 1800 LIBEKTY, 1837 bust type with small 5c, 1837 Liberty type without stars, 1846, 1848 large date, 1849/48, 1860, 1863-S, 1864-S, 1865-S, 1867-S.

Dimes comprised the following: 1797 13 stars, 1801, 1802, 1823/2 large and small Es, 1824/2, 1836, 1838 Liberty without stars (actually 1838-0), and 1859 with reverse of 1860.

He also requested twenty-cent pieces: 1875-CC, 1875-S; and quarters: 1819 large date, 1820 large 0, 1824 perfect date, 1827/3 (he already owned an 1827/3, but as it was inventoried simply as 1827 he thought the 1827/3 was a different variety), 1831 large letters, 1836, 1840 with drapery.

He needed also for his collection the following fifty-cent pieces: 1795 with three leaves, 1801, 1806 stemless, 1807 face to left with large stars, 1817, 1827 curled 2, 1839 Liberty seated without drapery, 1844.

Garrett also required these silver dollars: 1841, 1842, 1843, 1871-CC, 1872-CC, 1872-S, 1873, 1873-CC.

His desires for gold were listed as well. Quarter eagles: 1802, 1836, 1851, 1857.

Three dollars: 1854-O, 1855-S, 1856-S large and small mintmark, 1860-S.

Half eagles: 1798 large eagle with 14 stars and large wide date, 1802/1, 1806 with pointed 6, 1807 bust right with small stars, 1808, 1820 with curled 2, 1828/7, 1832 curved 2 and with 12 stars, 1837, 1842 small letters and large letters, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1855, 1857, 1889.

Many of the items on this want list were not particularly scarce or rare at the time. Some pieces apparently were overlooked by T. Harrison Garrett when the original collection was formed. Others may have become strayed in the meantime, and still others probably were not obtainable in top condition by T. Harrison Garrett, although worn pieces would have been quite inexpensive.

By 1920 there was a great awareness of mintmarks. Although the collection formed earlier by T. Harrison Garrett had very few mintmarks, for there was very little interest in them by numismatists at the time, when the want list was formulated in 1920 selected mintmark issues were included. There seems to have been no particular pattern to this. Perhaps issues that John Work Garrett found interesting formed the basis.

The colonial want list at the time included the following: Fugio cents (no specific variety specified; John Work Garrett personally found the series quite interesting and probably wanted to examine all he could). 1722 Rosa Americana twopence. Vermont cents: 1786 bust left, 1787 bust right, 1787 bust left, 1787 Britannia.

His want list also included Connecticut coppers: 1786 draped bust left, 1787 mailed bust right, 1787 draped bust left, Auctori Plebis (this is not a Connecticut copper but apparently was included in the want list as the design somewhat resembles the Connecticut series).

The Clinton cent, Irish halfpenny with Liberty and Security die, 1795 North Wales Washington halfpenny, Washington Success to the United States, Wood's pieces of 1722 and 1724, Dublin pieces (probably Mark Newby), Pitt farthing, Franklin Press token, and New York Theatre token complete the list.

B. Max Mehl eagerly responded to this want list, and on an invoice dated January 23, 1920, sent 69 different pieces and groups. From the listing John Work Garrett purchased the following:

1841 silver dollar "semi-proof" \$3; 1842 dollar "semi-Proof, nearly equal to a brilliant Proof," \$4.50; 1843 dollar, "semi-Proof, former owner purchased it as a brilliant Proof and paid over \$20 for it," \$5; 1872-S dollar Uncirculated \$8.50; 1844 AU half dollar \$2; and numerous other coins, totaling \$133.

Apparently John Work Garrett had a chance to reconsider his want list, for his letter of February 2, 1920, to B. Max Mehl reads:

I have been very much interested in going over the coins that you were good enough to send for my approval and I have added the following items to my collection: Lots No. 1, 2, 3, 6, 12, 15, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 32, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 60, 61, 62, 68, 69, amounting in all to \$133 for which I enclose my cheque. The remaining 44 lots valued at \$249.83 I am returning to you by registered mail with many thanks.

Some of these are already in my collection, and others were not, for various reasons, desirable, chiefly on account of not being in fine enough condition. I should be glad to hear from you in regard to any other items you may have from time to time on the tentative list which I have sent you. There are a few items not mentioned on that list which I should like and which you may also have, for example:

Half cents: 1797 with 1 overdate, 1800, 1808, 1809 circle inside O. Large cents: 1793 with chain and period, 1839 type of 1838. Five-cent nickel [pieces]: 1866 without rays (pattern), 1867 with rays, 1883 Liberty with cents. 1913 value in ground [type I], these last four [issued as] Proof only. Dimes: 1837 Liberty, with straight date, condition not less than Very Fine, 1838-O, 1841, 1843, 1844, 1846,

1847, 1848. Quarters: 1840-O without drapery, 1841, 1851. Half dollars, 1856 perfect date. Silver dollars: 1796 small date with small inscription, 1799 with five stars facing, 1859-O, none of these to be less than Very Fine. And the following gold pieces, none of which I want less than Very Fine:

Eagles: 1798, 15 and 16 stars, 1908 no motto (Proof only), 1839, 1840-1844, 1846, 1848-1854, 1856, 1859, and Proofs of 1861 and 1889. Double eagles: 1851, 1859, and Proofs of 1861 and 1889; 1907 with Roman figures and wire edge, and 1908 without motto.

On February 10, 1920, B. Max Mehl sent another group of 23 pieces.

While many pieces in the group were on the want list, on speculation Mehl sent a number that were not, including the following with their descriptions:

1863 complete set silver and copper, 3c to \$1, WITH MOTTO. Excessively rare. This and the following set are said to have cost \$300 each. Not more than five or six sets in existence. \$150. [It is presumed that this should have read "25c to \$1," for the set includes the 25c, 50c, and dollar denominations.] 1864 complete set as last. Extremely rare. \$150.

1781 Early American medal. LIBERTAS AMERICANA. Silver. Original. Perfect. Extremely rare. \$50.

An accompanying letter noted Mehl was:

... taking the liberty of submitting a few highly interesting pattern coins and the extremely rare Libertas Americana Medal in silver. These pattern coins and Medal are the first that I have ever owned, and I feel confident that if you do not already possess them, they will always be a gratifying source of possession to you.

These rarities were not purchased and were returned, together with a check for \$68.50, by John Work Garrett on February 25, 1920. His letter read, in part:

I enclose my check for \$68.50 which includes the cost of the items kept and \$1 for a copy of your *Star Coin Encyclopedia* which I should be very much obliged if you would send me.

Garrett from that point on received many form letters in association with different auction sales held by Mehl. This letter of March 1, 1920, is representative:

Whether you are interested in United States or foreign coins, you will find some that you want in my sale of March 10th. The catalog is certainly worthy of your attention.

I will not bother you with a long letter; I will simply enclose another bid sheet in a return envelope and will be disappointed if you don't answer "present" when your name is called for bids on the day of the sale.

Now is the "best" time to send in your bids.

On March 4, 1920, not quite certain that the *Star Coin Encyclopedia* which listed values much less than current numismatic selling prices and which was oriented toward the beginner, would be of interest to a numismatist of Mr. Garrett's advanced standing, Mehl wrote:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the *Star Rare Coin Encyclopedia* and trust it will prove of interest to you. However, if it is not what you expected, kindly return it and the purchase price will be immediately refunded.

Garrett was also the recipient of many special offers, most of which were sent unsolicited. A form letter undoubtedly sent to many other Mehl clients as well was dated April 6, 1920, and is typical:

The two gold dollars enclosed, which you will recognize as the official McKinley issue, are sent to you as a special offer I am making to a number of my friends.

As you know, these gold dollars were minted by the government for the McKinley Memorial Association who sold them at \$3 each. The proceeds being applied to the fund for the erection of the beautiful McKinley Memorial.

Ordinary gold dollars are now selling at \$3 or \$4 each. These McKinley dollars have, likewise, increased in value, they have been selling at \$3.25 to \$3.75.

More than half of the issue has been sold by the Commission. I have the sale of the remainder. But before offering them to the general public I decided to give my numismatist friends an opportunity to purchase at a special price of only \$2.50 each. You know the history of all gold dollars. They are all rare and difficult to obtain. This is the first and only opportunity of this kind that collectors of the country ever had to invest in gold dollars. Take advantage of this opportunity and "salt away" ten or twenty of these for yourself or your friends. You'll be glad that you did. They'll come in handy around Christmas time.

Eager buyers will be in evidence upon the issuance of this offer, therefore immediate action on your part is necessary if more are desired. You don't have to write a special letter, simply pin your remittance to this letter for the two enclosed coins and for as many more as you want, and mail in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention.

John Work Garrett responded appropriately and sent his check for \$5 which was received by Mehl on April 17. When a receipted invoice was sent Mehl added a postscript which gave a further offer:

You may NOW get a few more of the gold dollars at the following special prices. Five more will cost you \$2.45 each, 10 more \$2.40 each, 20 more \$2.35 each, better order more NOW. (At my sale of March 10th, the R. G. Snow Collection, these McKinley gold dollars sold for \$3.60 and \$3.40 respectively, or \$7 for the two).

John Work Garrett became a regular bidder at B. Max Mehl's auction sales. To a great extent the correspondence between Mehl and Garrett in the 1920s was concerned with participation in these events. There were also other important matters such as the opportunity offered in Mehl's letter of September 16, 1922:

While I realize that you are awfully busy just now, I have two coins which I know you will appreciate my at least giving you an opportunity to consider.

One is a specimen of the greatest rarity, John Parsons &

Co., Colorado, half eagle, of which as you undoubtedly know only five specimens exist, including the one in the Mint Collection. This coin has an auction record of over \$4,000.

The other coin is no less a rarity than the Mormon \$10 gold piece.

If you haven't these pieces in your collection I shall be very pleased to have you advise me immediately so that I can arrange to submit them to you, as these may be had at very reasonable prices. In fact the two coins can be had practically for the value of only one.

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your courtesy in receiving me. It was indeed a pleasure for me to meet you personally. And I hope for an opportunity of serving you often.

Mehl wrote again with the offer of more territorial gold on September 25, 1922:

Read with a great deal of interest your kind note of the 22nd just received.

I doubt if you gave the Parsons \$5 gold and the Mormon \$10 gold pieces due consideration, as the price suggested in my former letter was far below their records. The value of these pieces as well as the other great rarities are of course based on their great rarity. Comparing them with equal rarities of other series, say stamps or other antiques, the prices for really rare coins are far below what they would command had they been rarities of other lines.

While of course it is quite impossible for me to sell anything at private sale that has been placed with me at auction, but I do know of a \$16 ingot [Moffat & Co.] which I shall try to obtain for you.

Just as soon as the catalog is ready I will see that a copy is sent you, or, if you prefer, I will be glad to send you advance sheets of it.

I shall also be very glad to have you consider the Parsons \$5 gold and the Mormon \$10, as I feel confident that they would be a gratifying source of possession for you.

Mehl sent this additional note on September 26, 1922:

I overlooked to tell you in my letter of yesterday that the owner of the \$16 ingot piece is also the owner of the Parsons half eagle. I am negotiating with him and feel confident that I will be able to offer you both coins at a price which you will readily recognize as being worthy of being called a "bargain."

You will know definitely within the next four or five days, at which time I shall immediately advise you. In the meantime, I thank you for your kind consideration.

On September 28, 1922, B. Max Mehl followed up on the situation:

In response to my telegraphic communications, my client finally agreed to dispose of the Moffat ingot provided he could sell the Parsons coin with it. I called his attention to the fact that it may or may not be possible to do, but he came back with the statement that since he is offering the two coins for considerably less than the average record for the Parsons piece alone, he thought the proposition a fair one.

It is not necessary for me to tell you anything about the value of these great rarities.

Of the three specimens of the Parsons coin that have been offered at auction in the past 15 or 20 years, the average record for it is over \$2,800. One specimen having brought as much as \$4,250.

The \$16 ingot is a far more valuable coin than is generally known or recognized by collectors. I investigated the piece and feel quite confident in making the statement that of the half dozen or so specimens offered in the past 20 years, at least four or five of them were the identical coins being re-offered. I have been in this business some 20 years and believe I have handled more pioneer gold than any other numismatic dealer, and this is only the third specimen of the ingot that has passed through my hands.

I cannot help but feel that you will recognize the two coins as a most advantageous purchase and an addition to your collection that will prove a gratifying source of possession to you.

On September 28, 1922, an invoice was sent in the amount of \$2,500 for the John Parsons & Co. \$5 gold without a condition or grade being stated, and the Moffat & Co. \$16 ingot, also without any statement of grade. Payment was received by Mehl on October 12, 1922, at which time the following letter was sent:

Thank you very much for your kind note of the 9th enclosing your check for \$2,500 in full settlement of your invoice of the 28th, receipted statement for which is herewith enclosed.

Regret that just now I have not any of the rarities that you mention, as you can readily understand that these rarities are seldom in stock, as usually when we obtain a specimen or two we have a number of buyers for them. However, the party of whom I secured the last two rarities I sold you has quite a collection, and I believe he is endeavoring to dispose of them piece by piece. I will communicate with him in an endeavor to secure some of the pieces you asked for. I believe I can arrange to have them submitted to you without the slightest obligation on your part.

You will hear from me within the next few days.

In his letter dated October 16, 1922. Mehl offered the second chance within a month for Garrett to add a pair of desirable rarities to his collection:

I am pleased to be able to send to you today by prepaid express the excessively rare set of Clark, Gruber & Co. \$20 gold pieces and trust they will reach you without delay.

In securing these two coins it was necessary for me to also secure the balance of the coins constituting the set, but as I am sure that you have the others I did not send them.

The 1860 Pikes Peak \$20 is the second specimen that has ever passed through my hands. The only other specimen I have ever offered was in my sale of the Cowell Collection in 1911. At that time the coin brought \$900.

The 1861 Pikes Peak \$20, while not as rare as the 1860, has a record of about \$350. But the 1860 \$20, in my opinion, is far more rare than is generally known. I doubt if more than six specimens are known, and considering the number that

have appeared in the market in the past 20 years or so, I consider the coin as rare as many of the pioneer gold pieces which have sold at double and triple the amount of this rarity.

I feel confident that after you will kindly consider the great rarity of this coin and its past record, you will readily recognize my price a very fair one for this set.

The pair of Clark, Gruber & Co. double eagles was invoiced at \$1,250 on October 16th. Garrett examined the coins but delayed payment. On October 30, 1922, Mehl wrote further on the subject:

Received your letter and read it very carefully. Am wiring the owner of the two coins and will let you hear from me in the next day or two. I believe I can have him shade the price a bit for you.

With regard to the state of preservation of 1861 \$20, I believe if you will kindly compare it with the description of those that have been offered in the past, you will find that it compares most favorably, as these pieces were not struck up very sharply and most of them, and in fact, all of them, have a copper alloy, far more so than the specimen of 1860, that gave them a rather dark appearance.

Will also endeavor to secure for you the souvenir Panama Pacific Exposition gold pieces you mention.

As your last two letters came to me from New York, I am uncertain as to whether you want me to address you to your New York or Baltimore address, so I thought it best to send this letter to your New York address and a copy of it to Baltimore. [During the 1920s, John Work Garrett was active in the diplomatic service and maintained an address in New York City in addition to his Baltimore home. Occasionally correspondence was sent to a Washington address as well.]

You will hear from me within the next day or two.

Mehl's letter written the next day, the 31st, reports success:

After a little dickering back and forth I finally obtained what I consider, and which I believe you will recognize a genuine "bargain price" for the two rare Colorado \$20 gold pieces I have with you. The price I secured is only \$1,075 for the pair. This brings them down to lower than their auction records. I cannot help but feel that you will recognize this as a most advantageous purchase.

Was a little dubious about getting a reduction, but am rather elated to be able to do this for you, and feel confident that you will readily recognize them as acceptable after you have considered the great rarity of the pieces.

The price was indeed acceptable, and Garrett's check for \$1,075 was acknowledged by Mehl on November 8.

Upon release of the 1923-S Monroe commemorative half dollars B. Max Mehl sent his customers, John Work Garrett included, a letter which read in part:

Did you know of or hear about the 1923 issue of the Monroe Doctrine United States half dollar, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine?

These historically interesting coins are "just out." The

obverse bears the conjoined portrait of Adams and Monroe . . . on the reverse is a view of the Western Hemisphere . . .

Have just received today an Uncirculated supply of them. Of course you want one or more. My price is \$1.50 each. It's an unusually attractive coin and a worthy companion to our series of commemorative coins. Have just received today an Uncirculated supply of them. Of course you want one or more. My price is \$1.50 each. Let me have your order for what you want now.

You don't have to write a letter; just sign your name and address on the back of this note, pin your remittance for the number of coins you want and mail it to me now in the addressed envelope which I have enclosed for your convenience. And, the coins will come to you as the Spanish say "Pronto"—dam [sic] quick.

Garrett penned a brief note asking Mehl to "send one, check enclosed."

Mehl's next offer, addressed to "My dear Mr. Garrett," was another opportunity, this time for the:

. . . very rare United States Assay Office \$20 gold piece, 1853; the variety with 884 THOUS.

As you expressed interest in this coin some time ago, I thought it best to give you first opportunity at its purchase, as I am able to offer it at what I consider to be a very fair price. That is only \$100. As you know, its latest record is \$138.

Shall be pleased to send it on approval without the slightest obligation on your part.

Will you kindly advise me promptly whether or not I may send it on approval?

The permission was forthcoming, and on June 11, 1923 Mehl wrote:

Very pleased to herewith send you on approval a rare United States Assay Office \$20 gold piece which I trust will prove satisfactory.

Also herewith enclosed the best specimen of the Monroe Doctrine half dollar I have. I personally selected this for you and trust it will prove just what you wanted.

The Assay Office piece proved satisfactory, as Mehl had hoped, and John Work Garrett sent a revised want list:

I have received your letter of June 5th and the two coins, for which I am very much obliged. I will keep the United States Assay Office \$20 gold piece and enclose my check for it.

There are a few more territorial pieces that I might like to buy from time to time for my collection, and the following is a revised list of them:

Humbert \$50 (Adams variety 11), Humbert \$50 (Adams 12), U. S. Assay Office \$50 (Adams 20), U.S. Assay Office \$10, 1853 (884 THOUS, Adams 25), 1852 Wass Molitor \$10 (Adams 47), 1852 Wass Molitor \$10 (Adams 48), 1855 Kellogg \$20 (Adams 56).

Patterns: Model \$1, 50 cents and 25 cents (Adams 101, 102, 103), Moran \$10 (Adams 67), U.S. Assay \$50 (Adams 83), Kellogg \$50 (Adams 93), Pikes Peak obverse, Clark \$20 1860.

If you come across any of these from time to time at fair prices and in very fine condition, I should like to hear from you. Of course, there are some of the rarer California pieces that are not in my collection, but either they are unobtainable, or prices are too high to make it worth my while to get them. If you ever come across a Conway piece, however, I should like to consider it.

On June 28, 1923, B. Max Mehl quoted John Work Garrett \$2,500 for a Dubosq & Co. \$10 gold piece, but it was declined. Later on November 27th, Mehl sent a lengthy description of a rare British Columbia set of \$10 and \$20 gold pieces, one of several such sets which Garrett was offered by various suppliers during the 1920s:

As you know, these coins were designed and the dies struck by Kuner, the designer of the majority of all the pioneer gold coins . . . I submitted [this set] to Mr. Newcomer; he already possesses a duplicate set. My set I obtained direct from the son of Mr. Kuner, and this set is the first struck from the original dies.

This offer was declined, despite additional encouragement from Mehl.

John Work Garrett studied coins in some detail. His correspondence indicates an in-depth knowledge of many issues. For example, in rejecting the British Columbia pieces he explained:

These British Columbia pieces, while extremely interesting, do not appeal to me to the extent of making me willing to pay a great sum for them. Mr. Newcomer has shown me your letter to him in regard to them, and I have also examined the pieces. How many of these pieces are in existence? I do not exactly know, but besides those mentioned by Mr. Kuner as being in the British Museum, there are four specimens, two gold and two silver in Mr. Newcomer's collection, and the \$10 and \$20 in gold in the collection of Mr. Brand. Moreover, it appears that the dies may be still extant, and I am rather chary of paying for pieces that might be restruck. The mere fact that they might be restruck lowers their value very greatly. Mr. Kuner evidently was not aware that pieces other than his own and those in the British Museum existed, with the possible exception of one other pair, and he certainly did not seem to know of the silver ones that Mr. Newcomer has.

In 1923 John Work Garrett purchased a portion of the Col. Ellsworth Collection from Knoedler & Co., New York art dealers. In the Ellsworth Collection were many duplicate coins. Garrett contacted several dealers concerning the disposal of these. Including B. Max Mehl, who on May 9, 1924, wrote to Garrett expressing his interest:

I want to take advantage of your kind offer to submit to me now all of your duplicate coins, a list of which you gave me. I want to go over them carefully and advise you just what I can do with the entire lot. I shall be glad to go over them and advise you what I will pay for them in cash, analyzing each and every piece, giving my reason for the price on each

coin, and then if you prefer, I shall be glad to handle them for you.

Garrett shipped the duplicates, on May 13, 1924:

I am sending you under separate registered cover the duplicates from my collection about which we talked and about which you wrote me. The list I gave you shows from which collection (the Ellsworth or the Garrett) these pieces came.

Many of the pieces, especially the New Jersey cents and the small California pieces, are in boxes from the Ellsworth Collection, although in some cases pieces from my father's collection have been substituted for the Ellsworth pieces. This is shown clearly in the list I gave you, but I call your attention to it because as a result, the description of the condition of the coins and in some cases the price marked on the boxes do not describe the actual pieces I am sending you.

I feel, in regard to these coins, especially a few of them of high value, that I should prefer to wait and hold them in my collection, rather than sell them now at a sacrifice. I have sold all the other duplicates from the Ellsworth Collection practically at the prices I paid for them, which were somewhat less than the prices paid originally by Mr. Ellsworth, less 10% which went to the dealer to sell them for me as his commission, and only that I may come out even on the duplicates as a whole, which is what I am trying to do, I cannot afford to sacrifice any of the pieces I am sending you. I am returning the Clark patterns you sent me. I have nine of these patterns, all Proofs, and I am not very anxious to get one piece that is missing except in Proof . . .

On May 16, 1924, Mehl sent an "1852 trial piece, in silver, of the \$50 gold piece. Perfect. Very Rare. \$50." on approval, explaining:

The enclosed item just came in, and I thought it would prove of much interest to you. This piece is originally from the Gilhousen Collection. It is, I believe, one of the earliest impressions of the original \$50 slug die, as it still has the Kuner name below the eagle. It is the only specimen I have ever handled.

Apparently John Work Garrett was a closer reader of certain reference books than B. Max Mehl was, for on May 20, 1924, Garrett inquired:

I think I should like to keep the silver impression of the California slug, but I wonder if you could not get it for me for a more reasonable price than \$50. According to Adams, in describing this piece, the obverse die was rescued from the San Francisco fire and turned up in Los Angeles, and has been used to make impressions similar to the one you sent me as well as on souvenir spoons. It looks therefore as if there may be any number of these impressions and practically that there is no limit to the number that may be struck in the future. Will you see what you can do?

Mehl's answer covered both the subject of the silver slug and the duplicates:

Your duplicate coins were delivered to me yesterday, and as I have quite a large sale on next Tuesday, the 27th, I am fairly snowed under with work. And right after the sale I am leaving for a week's trip to Kansas City. I wonder whether I

would be imposing upon your good nature too much if I delayed making a report on these coins until my return from Kansas City, as I want to consider these different items carefully, as I feel confident that I can handle them for you either direct or otherwise to your entire satisfaction. As you know, I handled, I believe, all of Mr. Newcomer's duplicates, which amounted up to \$20,000 at one time.

Regarding your favor of the 20th, referring to the silver impression of the California slug, this came from the Gilhousen Collection, and is the only impression of this kind that I have ever seen or handled. I do not know of another. Of course, this does not mean that I claim the piece to be unique, but I do believe that it is quite scarce. I feel, however, that you know more about these pieces than I do, and therefore if you think the price is a little high for it, kindly tell me whether you think, say, \$40 would be a fair price. If so, I can arrange to let you have it at that price.

To this John Work Garrett replied on May 26, 1924:

I am in no hurry about the duplicates I sent you the other day. The only thing is I am leaving Baltimore about the middle of June and am going abroad on the 2nd of July, so if you have any suggestion to make, I must hear from you before the former date.

Although I am rather afraid of the silver slug, I do want it in my collection, and I am sending you my check herewith for it . . .

During the summer and autumn of 1924 many of the Garrett duplicates were sold by Mehl. On January 8, 1925, B. Max Mehl began a lengthy correspondence on a Conway & Co. \$5 gold piece:

As you recall, when I visited you last spring, and when you mentioned the particular varieties of the pioneer gold that interested you, I then told you that I knew of a Conway & Co. \$5 gold piece and that I would endeavor to secure it for you.

You will, therefore, I am sure, be interested to know that my negotiations have gotten to the point where the owner is in a mood to sell, and at a price which I believe to be consistent with its great rarity. (Only three or four are known, including the specimen in the Mint Collection.)

Delayed writing to you a few days as I wanted to submit the coin to you. This I am doing today, by prepaid express, and trust the coin will reach you without delay. Upon examination, you will find the coin, I believe, as choice a specimen as any of the other two or three known specimens.

Of course, it is not necessary for me to tell you anything about the great rarity of this coin. You know about it as much as I do. There is only one record of auction sale of this coin, 13 years ago (1908) where it brought \$3,200. A little later, I understand a specimen sold to a Western collector for \$4,000. In fact, before mentioning this coin to you, I placed myself in the position as your representative. I analyzed its great value from *my* point of view. In other words, I weighed carefully every phase of its rarity, value, etc., as though *I were buying it for myself*. I placed it in comparison with all the great numismatic rarities of the world, and I could find very few to surpass it or even equal it in rarity and value.

But then your knowledge of the pioneer series is such that it is not necessary for me to tell you about this great coin. Suffice it to mention that during the past 20 years I have spent more than \$75,000 for numismatic advertising. This season's expenditure alone is over \$14,000. Then too, every year I circularize each and every one of the more than 30,000 banks in the United States and Canada. But through all these years, although other great rarities were unearthed, not a single specimen of this great coin appeared. Therefore, the opportunity to secure this great rarity now certainly justifies the expression that its purchase truly represents "the chance of a lifetime."

The price first asked for this coin was \$4,000, but after an exchange of correspondence I am able to make you a price of \$3,500 which, I believe after you will kindly consider the coin and compare it with the other great rarities, records, etc. you will recognize the price as fair and consistent with the value of the coin.

As mentioned to you over the telephone while in New York, while this transaction will be on a cash basis as far as the owner is concerned, but in order to make the deal, I would consider to accept as part payment some of the duplicate coins from those you have with me, as listed in my letter to you of June 11. These coins I will accept at their present auction prices, not deducting any commission from them. I enclose a duplicate list of the coins that I could use. The average current auction price for this list of coins is \$1,341.90. I will allow you \$1,500 for this lot on the purchase of the Conway coin. This, together with the fair price for the coin, will, I believe, be recognized by you as a most advantageous purchase for you.

After several letters were exchanged concerning the value of duplicates and the price of the coin, John Work Garrett acquired the Conway \$5 gold piece. On February 20, 1925, Mehl acknowledged receipt of a check to settle the account. He noted:

The Conway piece that you have, originally (came), I believe, from the Granberg Collection, purchased by Mr. Woodin, and then purchased by Mr. Newcomer of whom I purchased all of his duplicates when he purchased the Granberg Pioneer Collection about 12 years or so ago.

In the spring of 1925, B. Max Mehl corresponded with John Work Garrett concerning the Judge Slack Collection of territorial gold coins, resulting in the purchase by Garrett of one piece which he needed for his collection: Lot 12, a Shultz & Co. \$5 gold piece for \$1250. No other notable purchase was contracted through Mehl during this time. However, on June 21, 1926, Mehl sent a telegram to Garrett stating that he had an urgent need for an 1804 silver dollar. Understanding that Garrett possessed two of them, he desired to buy one. To this Garrett replied that "have only one which I don't care to sell." In April 1927, the subject of Garrett's 1804 dollar came up again, in an entirely different context:

Since the publication of my reprint of the *Haseltine Type Table* and my inclusion thereto of the list of known 1804

dollars, I have received numerous inquiries, or requests and complaints, as is usual whenever new publications appear.

These communications are welcomed by me, as my purpose for republishing Haseltine's was more or less to bring out either the unknown or unpublished facts regarding the series covered in that work.

From some comment received, I believe that my list of the 1804 dollars is not complete nor entirely correct. One friend informs me that you possess an 1804 dollar not given on my list. If so, first of all, I want you to know that the omission was not intentional, and I shall be glad to have any information that you may care to give me regarding the 1804 dollar or dollars that you may possess in your collection.

Garrett immediately replied on April 28, 1927:

I have your letter of April 22nd in regard to the 1804 dollar in my collection. I have only one which was in the collection of my father, the late T. Harrison Garrett, and was obtained by him from the Berg Collection in 1883. It is apparently the one numbered 9 in your list. It is the one described in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, Volume 25, as No. 10. It is in Fine condition. Your No. 13, which is accredited to me, never belonged to me, and the one above is the only one that I have. I bought part of the Ellsworth Collection, but did not buy the 1804 dollar which belonged to him. That was bought by Mr. Wayte Raymond, and I do not know who is now possessor of it. I think Mr. Raymond bought your No. 3 which was also in the Ellsworth Collection.

On April 4, 1931, Mehl wrote Garrett to offer a trial piece of a Cincinnati Mining & Trading Co. issue, and on learning Garrett already possessed a gold striking in his collection sent his congratulations on "... the ownership of the Cincinnati Mining & Trading Company gold coin, a specimen of which I have never had the pleasure of even handling."

Later that year, B. Max Mehl was working on the extensive collection of Waldo Newcomer in Baltimore, Maryland. He wrote to Garrett from the Lord Baltimore Hotel (with "700 rooms, 700 baths, a radio in every room" according to the letterhead) to negotiate the terms for sale of the colonials:

Following your kind suggestion, I have carefully analyzed the colonial section of the Newcomer Collection with the idea of your obtaining the specimens that you desire at a minimum cost. I believe you will find the following analysis attractive and one which will prove satisfactory and profitable.

Promptly upon my return from my visit to you this morning I added up on a machine the total of the colonial collection. I find the total is \$52,569.

Mehl proposed that Garrett buy the colonial section at a 15% discount or \$44,684. This would have provided Garrett with many duplicates which Mehl proposed to sell on a commission basis.

On October 26, 1931, Garrett wrote to Mehl who by that time had returned to Ft. Worth, Texas:

I have gone over all the coins you left with me very carefully and have selected the ones that I want to purchase, of which I enclose the cards. You will see from them that the total as far as the colonial pieces are concerned, is \$8,081.25.

I have not yet made up my mind in regard to the three territorial pieces that you left with me, but I expect to take one of them at any rate. I enclose a check to your order for \$10,000 as a preliminary payment and shall be glad to hear just what percent, if any, you consider necessary to add to the colonial purchases. We can settle this matter by correspondence, or, preferably by conversation, if and when you come East before I leave about the middle of December for Rome.

I am sending you by express today the coins that I do not want to keep and I have insured them for \$40,000. I am also sending under separate cover the cards for those coins.

I am sorry that it was not possible under the unusual circumstances to come to a different arrangement about the pieces that I want, but I explained the whole matter very frankly from my side as you did from yours.

The coins sent you are all of those you left with me with the exception of (1) those on the enclosed cards, (2) the three gold pieces, and (3) the Brasher doubloon which you took away in your pocket.

On October 26, 1931, B. Max Mehl, who was staying at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City wrote about the three territorial gold pieces which he had included with the colonials:

In conversation with some prominent collectors here, my acquisition of the Newcomer Collection created quite a sensation as the collection contains so many rarities which come on the market probably only once or twice in a lifetime.

I am particularly anxious to make a good and prompt showing with results for Mr. Newcomer. [This seems to indicate that Mehl may have purchased the Newcomer Collection for sale on a commission basis or with extended payments.] For that reason I would now be prepared to sell a goodly portion of pieces much lower than they would command a little later on. I have in mind the three great territorial rarities I left with you.

With your knowledge of rarities I shall not say anything about the Kohler \$50 gold piece. However, I feel certain that in the not too distant future this unique rarity will be valued at more than the total amount I priced the *three* coins I left with you.

Of the Massachusetts & California \$5 gold piece there are only three specimens known, including the one in the United States Mint Collection. Since the coinage of this piece, over 80 years ago, only one heretofore unknown specimen came to light, the one in the Lawrence Sale, which was discovered and sold about two years ago. Dr. Lawrence paid \$5,000 for it, and when his collection was sold at auction the same coin brought \$7,900.

The Templeton Reid \$10 gold is certainly as rare as the Massachusetts & California \$5. Not a single specimen of the Templeton Reid \$10 has ever been offered at auction. To the best of my knowledge, only three specimens are known to exist. There are at least six specimens known of the Templeton Reid \$5, the last of which, a slightly mutilated

piece, sold for over \$4,000, and I understand that another specimen was held sometime ago for \$7,500. Surely the \$10 coin is worth a great deal more.

After the above analysis I feel that the three rarities would be fairly priced at \$25,000. Don't you think, Mr. Garrett, that my price of \$21,000 is most fair and consistent with the value of the coins?

However, as mentioned above, I am anxious to make a prompt and favorable showing to Mr. Newcomer, and if you think the amount you suggested, that of \$20,000 is sufficient, I will abide by your opinion and accept that amount for them now.

I am positive that the ownership of these three great coins and their addition to your wonderful collection will prove a most gratifying source of possession to you.

I am leaving for home this afternoon and shall be glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience. In the meantime, I want to thank you for the courtesies you so kindly extended me while in Baltimore. It was a genuine pleasure to see you, again.

During the following month, B. Max Mehl made several proposals to John Work Garrett, offering him combinations of colonial and territorial gold pieces, with varying discounts and trade-in allowances. The \$50 Kohler piece, valued at \$10,000 in the transaction, was the subject of numerous comments. Mehl wrote to Garrett on November 4, 1931:

When we consider that more than 20 years ago the 1877 \$50 gold piece sold for \$10,000 I believe you will agree with me that my evaluation of the Kohler unique \$50 gold piece is fair and equitable. It is to my mind, not only the rarest but by far the most interesting, historically and numismatically, of any coin of our territorial issues.

In Mehl's letter of November 12, 1931, he reminds Garrett:

. . . there is only one Kohler \$50 slug. This coin has always been considered not only the rarest and most valuable, but also the most interesting historically of all the territorial coins. It was always thought out of reach of collectors for all time when it was in the collection of the Society of California Pioneers.

After further negotiations, John Work Garrett purchased 25 colonial coins, the \$50 Kohler slug, and doubloon. The sale was confirmed by telegram on November 30th, when Mehl wrote requesting a favor:

I appreciate very much your kindness in telegraphing me the acceptance of my offer, and I hasten to compliment you on the acquisition of the greatest of all American rarities, the Kohler \$50 piece.

As I told you when I had the pleasure of seeing you personally, it is my intention to issue a very elaborate catalogue of the Newcomer Collection, more as a monument to the numismatic interest of Mr. Newcomer, and also as a record of one of the finest collections that has ever been formed. It is my intention, of course, to have the more valuable pieces photographed. I wonder, therefore, if I may impose on your

good nature to extend to me the loan of the rarest of the items you just purchased. I would like to have the Washington half dollar, 1792, (Crosby fig. 99 unique \$1,500.), Washington cent, 1795, \$250; Fugio cent \$425; Maryland sixpence, \$500; Gloucester shilling; New Hampshire cent; the Brasher Spanish doubloon; the Washington cent, E. Pluribus Unum, \$1,100; the New Jersey cent \$1,000; New Jersey cent \$1050; New Jersey cent, 1788, the unique variety, \$400, and of course, the Kohler \$50 slug. If you will send these by express, collect, I will be responsible for them, of course, and will return them at my expense within a day or two after I receive them.

I have a photographer here who can do the work, and it is my intention to have practically every rarity of the entire collection photographed. When I issue the catalog I will not have any half tone plates made but simply will have sets of the actual photographs included in the catalogue. If you can do this for me I will greatly appreciate it.

John Work Garrett was enthusiastic about Mehl's catalogue project and desired to cooperate. He declined to ship the coins and instead, had a qualified local Baltimore photographer take photographs to B. Max Mehl's satisfaction. On October 17, 1932, B. Max Mehl wrote:

From the current *Paramount News* I was pleased to see that you are on your annual visit home [a reference to Garrett's ambassadorship to Italy]. I regret to note in the current issue of *Time* of the illness of Mrs. Garrett and hope that she will soon recover and regain her permanent good health.

Last year when I had the pleasure of seeing you, you indicated that you may be interested in other sections or specimens of the Newcomer Collection. If so I shall be pleased to take up the matter with you and submit whatever coins you may be interested in and which you may lack in your wonderful collection. If there are any quantity of these coins which are of interest to you, I am certain that I could offer them to you at most advantageous prices.

Also pleased to herewith enclose a photograph of a new discovery I made just recently: a heretofore unknown specimen of a Moffat bar!

As you know, the only varieties of the Moffat bars heretofore known are the \$16 bar and the unique \$9.43 bar in the Mint Collection.

Comparing the photographs of this newly discovered bar and the \$9.43 bar, you will note the irregularity of the first bar and the perfected shape of this one. You will also notice that the \$9.43 bar is 21 7/16 carats; the \$14.25 bar [the value of the bar recently discovered by Mehl] is 21 3/4 carats. Also, this new bar is stamped on the reverse the same as is the \$9.43 bar, only, of course, giving the different weight. I discovered this bar in a small town in California and have just succeeded in purchasing it. You are the first collector who is being informed of my possession of it. I feel that with your ownership of the Kohler bar, that this coin would be a valuable and appropriate addition to your collection. I shall be glad to hear from you what you think of it and whether or not you would be interested in it and any of the greater rarities of the pioneer and colonial series of the Newcomer Collection.

It will undoubtedly interest you to learn that I have sold all of the United States gold and nearly all of the United States silver of the Newcomer Collection. I only have a number of the other great rarities of the pioneer and colonial pieces left.

I'm planning to be East shortly.

A day later, October 18, 1932, B. Max Mehl wrote enclosing a copy of a letter he received from the former owner of the Moffat bar. This letter, unsigned, was dated October 15, 1932, from Pacific Grove, California:

Regarding the history of the Moffat ingot I sold you, I regret to say that I can give you very little information concerning it, except that it was purchased by myself from one of the oldest members of a very prominent family dating back to 1849. This party mentioned was a trader conducting a general merchandising establishment in the Sutter Creek district, 60 miles northeast of Sacramento, California, and as far as he could remember, the bar in question was the only one of the \$14.25 denomination that he had ever seen and had been kept in his possession as a relic until one year ago when I purchased it from him. As to the name, I am unable to give it, as I kept no record of same. I may say, however, that I never could have bought it from him had it not been for the old story we hear every day (depression).

This piece was not to be included in the Garrett Collection, for on October 26, 1932, Garrett responded:

Of course I am very much interested in the discovery which you have made of a Moffat bar, but I am sorry to say that at the present time I cannot consider its purchase. Perhaps later on I should be able to take up with you some of the Newcomer pieces, but for those also, as far as I am concerned, the present moment is not propitious. Besides all this, I am going back to Rome in a few weeks, and I am so busy that I have not yet even had time to even look at my coins. I congratulate you on having sold the Newcomer gold and silver. If you are in the East before I sail about the end of November I should be very glad to see you.

Mehl sent additional correspondence from time to time concerning the Newcomer Collection, but for the next several years nothing substantial was purchased from that source.

Mehl sent on February 20, 1937:

Under separate cover by insured mail I am sending you an especially bound advance copy of a booklet that I have just issued on United States commemorative coins, and which I trust will prove of interest to you. Please accept it with my compliments.

John Garrett thanked him and added a sentiment concerning the commemorative situation, which had developed into a numismatic scandal by that time.

Thank you very much for your booklet on commemorative coins, which I have looked through with much interest.

I started adding these coins to my collection years ago and kept it up for a long time, but when it became a racket I gave it up. I think it is a pity that it should have been so unworthily overdone.

During the 1935-1936 years United States mints at Philadelphia, Denver, and San Francisco struck many different designs of commemorative half dollars, sold them at face value to various local, regional and state organizations, which in many instances, added substantial markups and sold them to collectors. Often distribution was spotty, with insiders obtaining pieces which were in short supply and which soon thereafter could be resold at a substantial profit. The situation caused much adverse commentary in the numismatic press at the time. However, Mehl was a businessman, as his response clearly shows:

I appreciate your kind note of the 22nd. I agree with your remarks relative to the commemorative coins. In fact until about two years ago I made no effort to handle any quantity of them, but naturally being in the numismatic business it is necessary for me to handle the class of coins that a goodly proportion of the new collectors are interested in, therefore I went into it in a big scale and now own probably the largest stock of commemoratives in the country.

Should you be interested to fill out the balance of your set, I shall be glad to send them to you at very special prices.

I also have a few of the rare patterns of the pioneer gold pieces. These, of course, are struck in copper. They are from the Newcomer Collection, and if you care to see them, I shall be glad to send them to you without any obligation on your part.

Mehl's letter of April 1, 1937 deals further with the commemorative scandal:

While I am an extensive dealer in the commemorative coins of the United States I have only been interested in them for the past two or three years as I never approved of the manner in which they were offered to the public by the Commissions.

As you probably know, at this moment there are at least 30 or 40 bills before Congress on the coining of more commemorative issues, some for the most insignificant and ridiculous motives. I am endeavoring to use what influence I have in stopping this practice.

I wonder if you would object to my using an excerpt of your letter of the 22nd where you mention that you gave up the collecting of commemoratives on account of the promiscuous issues. I will appreciate this courtesy on your part.

I felt sure that you would not object, but I did not want to do so without your kind consent.

On March 30, 1937, B. Max Mehl sent John Work Garrett a listing of 15 different pioneer gold patterns for consideration and on April 3, 1937, Garrett requested that Mehl send a number of the pioneer patterns on approval. This was subsequently done on April 6th. In his request Garrett noted that: "I have an original of the Cincinnati \$5." Sent on approval to Garrett and subsequently paid for (on April 20, 1937) were a \$20 Kellogg & Co. pattern without date, Uncirculated, at \$125, and four varieties of Clark, Gruber

& Co. patterns. Mehl's cover letter for the April 6th shipment included his congratulations:

Thanks a lot for your kind note of the third just received. First, I want to congratulate you on your possession of an original Cincinnati \$5. I was under the impression that the Mint specimen was the only one known.

Enclosed are the coins you asked for and trust they will meet with your entire approval. Also want to thank you for your kindness in permitting me to use quotations from your letter relative to the commemorative coins. I am endeavoring to put a stop to the present practices of their issue.

Mehl's next offer was on November 4, 1937:

Just returned from a little trip on which I secured a nice collection of coins, among which I find three or four very unusual assay bars.

As I know you are interested in them, would you care for me to send them to you on approval without the slightest obligation on your part? I will not offer these to anyone else until I hear from you so I will, therefore, appreciate a response from you at your early convenience.

I don't mind telling you that these items are from the great Brand Collection of Chicago.

In lieu of sending the coins, Garrett on November 5, 1937, suggested:

Before sending them on approval I should prefer to have you send me details about the assay bars mentioned in your letter of November 4, as well as prices. I have not been buying much lately, but I might possibly be interested at this time.

I see that the Brand Collection has finally been divided, and I should be glad to hear what it really contains, especially in the American colonial series.

Mehl responded with the following information on November 9th:

Pleased to send you herewith descriptions of the most unusual assay bars mentioned in my letter of the 14th. I trust you will find them to be of interest to you and I shall be glad to send them to you on approval without the slightest obligation on your part.

With regard to the Brand Collection, this collection has been divided some four or five years ago. The news items regarding it referred only to a difference between two of the heirs, but this was only a small portion of the collection, the greater portion of which, especially the United States part, has been disposed of. I have handled a great quantity of coins from this collection. As you probably know, it originally contained practically everything in numismatics. There are still many rarities to be disposed of, among which are a large portion of the coins from the Dr. Hall Collection. As far as I know, there is no catalog or list of the collection available. But if you could kindly send me a list of the American colonials you lack, I should be glad to advise you which of them are still available and at what prices they may be had. I am sure that I could arrange to have anything you want submitted to you on approval without any obligation on your part.

Attached to the above was a description of the following assay bars: an electrum (mixture of gold and

silver) bar of unknown origin at \$55; a large silver bar, serially numbered 1320, issued by Blake & Co., Assayers, located at Owyhee priced at \$90; 1912 Denver Mint bar containing 840 parts gold, 140 silver, and valued at \$125; and a round 1907 Baker City, Oregon, bar marked "In Gold We Trust" and of approximately two ounce weight. Pricing the latter item at \$160, B. Max Mehl noted: "I think this should be classified as a necessity piece. This is the only one I have ever seen."

On November 19, 1937, John Work Garrett replied that the assay bars were not of interest and requested a listing of the rare colonial coins. Apparently nothing resulted from this.

September 8, 1939, Garrett wrote briefly, informing Mehl:

Although I always look through your catalog with interest, I am not now buying any coins. I think, perhaps, it is only fair to let you know this so that you will not continue to send me your catalogues.

This letter from Mehl, dated September 9, 1939, apparently crossed Garrett's earlier letter in the mail:

I have a beautiful specimen of the Parsons & Co. \$5 gold struck in copper. It is by far the best I have ever seen and is better than the specimen in the Newcomer Collection. My price for it is only \$125. The Newcomer specimen cost \$250.

I will not offer this coin to anyone else until hearing from you and, therefore, will appreciate a reply from you at your earliest possible convenience.

Garrett expressed interest saying:

Although I wrote to you . . . I have stopped buying coins for the time being, I think it would be just as well for me to add to my collection the Parsons \$5 trial piece. Would you send it to me on approval? I will either take it or return it to you immediately if I decide against it.

The coin was sent, and on September 15, 1939, Garrett wrote:

I am glad to keep the Parsons trial piece and enclose my check in payment. There are a few patterns that might interest me if you come across them, for instance, the Denver City Assay Office 1860 reverse with eagle, and also reverse with pan, shovel and pick. I have the reverse with a whorl [a spiral design]. They are all in copper. I also might consider the original Mormon 1849 \$10 gold piece.

There was no further business between Mehl and Garrett in 1939. In 1940, in a letter which he dated "February 27th of my 40th Numismatic Year, 1940," Mehl offered:

Knowing you are interested in the unusual trial pieces of pioneer gold, I am sure you will be interested in a specimen I have just discovered and which I believe is the first and only specimen known. It is an impression of the Parsons \$2.50 gold piece of Colorado struck on a United States

silver half dollar of 1855. It is undoubtedly, of course, a trial piece, as there are other pieces of similar issues struck on various United States silver coins, but they are usually of the same size. What I mean by that is that a \$2.50 gold piece would be struck on a United States dime, etc.

As you know there is a Shultz \$5 or trial piece known to be struck on a Mexican silver dollar. This was in the Newcomer Collection, for which Mr. Newcomer paid approximately \$1,500.

As the demand for these pieces is not so great, I would sell the Parsons piece for only \$150. Of course, I shall be delighted to send it to you on approval for your inspection. Even if you do not care to purchase, but only want to see it, I shall be glad to send it to you.

John Work Garrett expressed his interest and the piece was invoiced March 6th with Mehl's accompanying comment:

This is the first and only specimen of this piece I have ever seen or heard of, and I feel quite certain that I would be safe in pronouncing it as unique.

The coin was retained for the Garrett collection. On June 6, 1940, another offer came from Mehl:

It has been so long since I have had the pleasure of viewing your wonderful collection, and as it contains so many rarities, I do not recall if you have the greatest of all United States rarities, the 1822 half eagle. If you do not have it, would you be interested in its purchase?

As you know, there are only three specimens known to exist, one of which is in the United States Mint Collection, and two in private hands. I think one of them may be now obtained, and if interested, I shall be glad to hear from you. Of course, I understand that any expression from you shall be without the slightest obligation on your part.

Garrett refused this particular opportunity giving his same reason used on previous occasions:

Of course the 1822 half eagle ought to be in my collection, but I feel at this time quite unable to set aside the money for its purchase in view of other calls.

I should be glad to know in whose hands it goes when you dispose of it. It would interest me also to know where the third example is.

According to his next letter, dated June 14th, Mehl received Garrett's letter just as " . . . I was leaving for the train, leaving on a trip to endeavor to purchase a collection including the 1822 half eagle." However, he took the time to provide the following information on the location of the three half eagles:

The three specimens of the 1822 half eagle are the one in the Mint Collection, the other in the Dunham Collection (formerly in the Harlan P. Smith Collection). Then there is another specimen in the Brand Collection in Chicago, but this piece is not pedigreed. I have never seen it, and there seems to be a little "cloud" about it. I realize the importance of a coin of this kind with a pedigree. Of course, the specimen in the Dunham Collection is the only other specimen outside of the Mint specimen which has been known

for the past 75 years or more.

I don't know just exactly what the coin may be purchased for at this time, but I believe if I secure the collection it may be possible for me to offer the coin at a great deal less than what it would have brought a few years ago. Should I secure the collection I shall be glad to again get in touch with you and we may be able to work out some sort of a deal on it.

On June 15, 1940, Mehl wrote from the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago (erroneously dating the letter May 15, 1940):

I am happy to advise you that after more than three years of negotiation I have finally secured the famous collection formed by the late William F. Dunham. This collection, as you probably know, includes every date of United States coinage, including the only pedigreed 1822 half eagle outside of the United States Mint Collection. Originally it was in the Harlan P. Smith Collection, from which Mr. Dunham secured it in 1906.

The collection also contains the Dexter 1804 dollar as well as all other rarities.

I don't mind telling you that when I first wrote you regarding the 1822 half eagle I referred to the specimen in the Brand Collection. This coin was originally held at \$20,000. I was offered the exclusive sale for it at a net price of \$13,000. I was not sure whether I cared to handle it for the reason that the coin is not in nearly as good a state of preservation as the Dunham specimen, also it does not have a pedigree.

The Dunham 1822 half eagle is practically Uncirculated. I feel that you should certainly have it in your great collection. And at this time I would dispose of it for \$10,000. As far as rarity, I believe that you will agree with me that it can be classed as almost unique.

Should you be interested, I shall be most happy to hear from you. I am leaving for home tonight.

On June 20, 1940, John Work Garrett wrote:

All that you say about the desirability of the 1822 half eagle is true, but as I have already written you, I am not in the market for it.

As B. Max Mehl did not sell the coin to Garrett, it was included in the 1941 auction sale of the Dunham Collection conducted by him. The purchaser was Amon Carter of Fort Worth, Texas. In the 1960s this coin was sold into the Josiah K. Lilly Collection, and, later it went with the Lilly Collection to the Smithsonian Institution, where it presently reposes together with the specimen earlier in the Mint Collection. The Brand specimen of the 1822 half eagle was sold into the Louis Eliasberg Collection where it resides today.



Correspondence with Waldo Newcomer

Waldo Newcomer, a prominent collector in Garrett's own city of Baltimore, Maryland, formed one of the most outstanding collections of the United States

coins ever assembled. It was subsequently sold by private offerings through Fort Worth, Texas, dealer B. Max Mehl in the early 1930s (see Mehl correspondence). Correspondence between both Robert Garrett and John Work Garrett, and Waldo Newcomer was conducted on several occasions.

On May 12, 1916, Robert Garrett wrote to Waldo Newcomer:

I must apologize for not answering your letter of April 4 sooner. My delay has been due first to the fact that I have been extremely busy with other matters and second because I had not formulated any definite plan of action; in fact I have not yet decided what I shall do finally but as a preliminary I plan to have a talk with S. H. Chapman, whose services have always been satisfactory, as a result of which I shall probably instruct him to complete my catalogue.

I shall bear in mind your request concerning a copy of the catalogue when it is completed and shall see that one is sent to you.

John Work Garrett wrote to Waldo Newcomer on February 25, 1925:

I bought a Conway \$5 piece a little while ago from Mr. Mehl, and in reply as to where it originally came from he tells me:

The Conway \$5 piece you have, originally came from the Granberg Collection purchased first by Mr. Woodin and then . . . by Mr. Newcomer from whom I purchased all the duplicates when he [acquired] the Granberg Pioneer Collection about 12 years or so ago.

I like to keep the history of any rare pieces in my collection, and I should appreciate it very much if you could tell me whether this piece came from the Granberg Collection, or whether the one you kept is from that collection, and the names of any other collections that it has, as far as you know, been in.

To this, Waldo Newcomer replied on February 27, 1925:

Replying to your letter of the 25th, when I purchased the Granberg Collection I sold Mr. Mehl a Conway piece that was originally Granberg's, retaining one that I had purchased from Elder a number of years back. I have no further information regarding the history of the piece.

Mr. Mehl is not quite correct in saying that he purchased all the duplicates of the Granberg Collection, as I sold quite a number of them through Adams, then selling the residue to Mehl, but he was perfectly honest in making the statement.



Correspondence with Wayte Raymond

Wayte Raymond, born in 1886 in South Norwalk, Connecticut, became interested in coins while he was a bank teller. In 1912, after an unsuccessful attempt to form a partnership with B. Max Mehl, he established the United States Coin Company.

Conducting his own auctions in the early years, and later working with Anderson Galleries and Morgenthau & Co., he was responsible for cataloguing over 150 sales. Included were the numismatic holdings of Malcolm Jackson, F. W. Doughty, H. O. Granberg, William H. Woodin, George P. French, and Judson Brenner.

His penchant for writing did not stop with auction catalogues, however. He produced over 100 books and articles relating to all phases of the United States and world numismatics.

He joined J. W. Scott & Co. in 1934, where he began publishing the *Coin Collector's Journal*, which survived until the 1950s. At the same time he produced the *Standard Catalogue of United States Coins*, which in the years before Whitman Publishing Company's *Guide Book of United States Coins* came on the market was the standard periodic reference for United States coin pricing. The *Standard Catalogue* was published until 1958 and went through 18 editions. John J. Ford, Jr., the well known dealer who at one time was a protégé of Wayte Raymond, wrote a tribute to him, "Wayte Raymond: The Man and the Era," which appeared in *The Numismatist* in 1957, one year after Raymond's death. Ford noted "It was the Raymond publications that gave the boost to numismatic interest in the United States."

In 1923 Raymond purchased the Colonel James W. Ellsworth Collection for the astounding price of \$100,000. Half of this amount was paid to the seller, the Knoedler Syndicate, by John Work Garrett, who obtained first pick of items he desired from the collection. Included were the remarkable 1783 Nova Constellatio patterns and the 1787 Brasher doubloon, the latter formerly the property of Matthew Stickney.

Wayte Raymond's numismatic interests were cosmopolitan. He conducted auctions, issued price lists, attended conventions, conducted a retail store, was a major distributor of coin albums and holders, and handled the original issuance of several commemorative half dollars. But, his greatest contribution to numismatics stemmed from his interest in research. The *Standard Catalogue of United States Coins* made available for the first time on a widespread basis information concerning mintage, relative rarity, and other data. During the 1950s he paid Walter Breen to do research in the National Archives in Washington and to conduct other intensive numismatic studies, certain results of which were incorporated into a series of monographs. Much hitherto unknown numismatic information came to light. At the same time he encouraged John J. Ford, Jr. to delve into numismatic history

and research.

Most of Wayte Raymond's correspondence during the 1920s with John Work Garrett was on the subject of foreign coinage, however part of it related to the United States series. Excerpts from this American-related correspondence are given below.

In 1920 John Work Garrett, having recently acquired the Garrett Collection from his brother Robert, endeavored to fill in gaps by sending want lists to several dealers. In response to this he received numerous shipments. For example, on July 21, 1920, Wayte Raymond sent a shipment, which Garrett retained, containing such items as an 1864 two-cent piece at 75c, an 1866 two-cent piece at 45c, an 1801 dime at \$100, an 1851 half dollar at \$1.75, an 1840-C half eagle at \$15, and numerous other issues. Many of the pieces on the Garrett want list at this time were not necessarily rare. They represented omissions in the collection; pieces which may have been obtained earlier but had strayed or in some instances pieces which T. Harrison Garrett had not been able to obtain in the high grades desired.

On September 14, 1920, Raymond wrote:

I have just acquired the following patterns which may be of interest to you.

Silver dollars 1863, 1864, 1865 with motto over eagle as on the type adopted in 1866, at \$200 each. Half dollars of 1863, 1864, same type at \$125 each. Quarter dollars, 1863, 1864, same type at \$75 each.

All of these patterns are excessively rare, and probably not over six of any of them were struck. None of them are in your collection.

On February 5, 1921, Wayte Raymond submitted a \$500 invoice for appraising the Garrett Collection of United States coins, medals and tokens, etc. A detailed inventory of 26 typewritten pages was submitted.

On March 3, 1923, John Work Garrett gave his check for \$50,000 to M. Knoedler & Co., New York art dealers, who were agents for the collection of Colonel James W. Ellsworth. Acquired was a vast array of coins, including pattern issues of 1792, United States gold issues and rare colonials. The transaction was arranged through Wayte Raymond who purchased the remainder of the Ellsworth Collection for a matching sum of \$50,000, for his own inventory. After the sections acquired by Garrett, were checked against his current holdings, the duplicate and unwanted pieces were consigned to Wayte Raymond to be sold.

On April 3, 1923, Garrett wrote to Raymond:

I am very much obliged for your two checks of \$164.92 and \$554.85 (less \$35 for a coin I bought) on account of the Ellsworth coins you have already sold for me.

I am sending you by registered mail today two boxes containing all the other duplicates I wish to sell, with the exception of the New Jersey cents and the California dollars, halves, and quarters, which I have not yet been able to go over. I enclose herewith the cards for these as well as other cards you asked for, and those that I have brought down by mistake. I shall be much obliged if you will consider the prices that can be put on the coins now sent up.

Raymond wrote regarding this sale on April 10, 1923:

Enclosed please find check in the amount of \$4,608.90 to balance the colonial coins sold. My time has been entirely taken up with jury duty this week, but I will check up the

other items we talked of and let you hear from me as soon as possible.

On April 21, 1923 Raymond wrote again:

I am enclosing payment for private gold coins sold as well as a check (\$1,030.50) to pay for same. I have also sold three slugs [referring to octagonal California \$50 gold pieces] amounting to \$1,850 but I have not yet received a check for them yet.

The books went out by express early in the week and I presume we have received them. Three of those sent out were not on the previous bill. I am sending you by express today the coins that I have been holding for you . . .

<u>STATEMENT</u>			
NEW YORK, <u>Apr. 21</u> 192 <u>3</u> .			
<u>Mr. John W. Garrett</u>			
<u>Baltimore, Md</u>			
TO WAYTE RAYMOND, <u>Dr.</u> Cr.			
NUMISMATIST			
Coins Sold.		489 PARK AVENUE	
7	U. S. Assay 1853 20 DOL. A. 23	28	—
8	N. G. & N. 1849 5 DOL. 34	40	—
9	Miners Banks. 10 DOL 38	175	—
10	Baldwin & Co. 1850. 10 DOL. 41	550	—
"	" " 1850 5 DOL. 42	100	—
16	Oregon. 1849. 5 DOL	80	—
17	Utah. 1849 2 1/2 DOL	65	—
20	Utah. 1860 5 DOL	65	—
36	Carolina. 5 DOL. 140 G. 20 C	35	—
40	Carolina. 1 DOL. 27 G. 21 C.	7	—
		1145	
Less 10%		114.50	
			\$1030.50
Check enclosed.			

On April 23, 1923, Garrett acknowledged the check and expressed his satisfaction:

I have received your check for \$1,030.50. I believe I have already acknowledged receipt of the previous checks . . . I am very much obliged to you for handling these coins so promptly, and I hope you will be able to dispose of all the others equally to my satisfaction.

I am sending you today by registered post the duplicates of the New Jersey cents for which I enclose herewith the cards. Although there were very few in Mr. Ellsworth's collection his specimens were for the most part in very fine shape . . .

On May 2, 1923, after having received the shipment of New Jersey cents Raymond "made a memo of what I think would be fair prices for them":

Your favor received, also the New Jersey cents. I have made a memo of what I think would be fair prices for them and enclosed the same. I enclose a check for \$900 to pay for the round slug [a reference to a Wass, Molitor & Co. \$50]. I am sailing for England on May 23 and will make every effort to clean up as many of your coins as possible before then.

Appended to this letter was a list of the duplicate New Jersey cents disposed of at the time, mainly from the Maris Collection as noted:

14-j Uncirculated (the grades given here are those assigned by Raymond), 16-L, Uncirculated, 17-b, Poor; 17-K, Very Fine, 18-M, Fine, 20-N, Extremely Fine, 21-N, About Uncirculated, 21-P, no grade given, 24-P, Extremely Fine, 28-L, Fine, 28-S, no grade given, 34-J, no grade given, 43-D, Uncirculated, 46-e, no grade given, 48-g, Uncirculated, 62-q, Fine, 63-q, Fine, 63-q, about fine, 67-v, Uncirculated, and 77-bb, to be Very Fine.

On May 8, 1923, Garrett wrote to Raymond:

If you are going to the Elder sale on May 16-19th I wonder if you could buy for me, if they could be gotten at reasonable figures, the following numbers:

No. 6 Clark \$20 1860 in copper, No. 7 Clark \$20 1860 silver plated (I don't want this if I can get No. 6) and No. 9 Clark \$20 1861.

Of these three the only one I really want to complete my set is No. 6. I should also like to have No. 2179 if it is the die with the tail of the "S" above the bottom of the "U". I expect to be in New York on the 15th and shall come in to see you either that day or the next . . .

On May 17, 1923, Garrett wrote to Raymond:

I hoped to be in New York, but circumstances have prevented it, and I do not now know whether I shall be able to get there before you sail [to Europe]. I am returning to you herewith the coins which you sent me with the exception of a few I have kept and for which I enclose my check.

I should particularly like to have a talk with you before you go, not only in regard to the coins which you are selling for me, but other matters as well. Perhaps if I am not able to go to New York I can call you up on the telephone. Schulman is having a sale sometime in June, and there are a few pieces in the catalogue which I should like to have. I wonder if you are going to attend the sale or if you could undertake to get

them for me while you are abroad. If so, let me know, and I will send you the catalogue with the pieces marked. There are none of them of any great value.

I received a circular from a man who bought the 1783 Morris pattern, and I should be curious to know what he sells it for. [This is a reference to a detailed listing and description of the 1783 100 units or "bit" piece sold as a duplicate from the Colonel Ellsworth Collection to Julius Gutttag of Gutttag Brothers, New York.] I hope that he will have such good luck that he will want to buy some other of my pieces now in your hands.

This immediate reply came from Raymond, dated the following day, May 18, 1923:

Your favor of the 17th received, and I thank you for the check enclosed. I hope you will get over before I sail on the 23rd, but in case you do not do so the following are the principal things I have to inform you about.

I have sold quite a good many more of your coins including nearly all the Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont. Before I go I will send you a statement and check. There will be an amount of about \$1,500 to \$2,000 which will not be in until next month but I will make arrangements with my bank to have remittance sent to you as soon as the payments arrive. I sold most of the small California stuff, but had to let it go at marked prices and still have about \$75 worth on hand. Would you be willing to allow 5% on the whole, then I will retain everything in the California lot? I expect to see a man Monday or Tuesday in regards to the New Jersey cents, want to clear them in one lot if possible. I have been rather disappointed not to have moved any more of the private gold, although the Moffat bar and the Pikes Peak \$20 are now out on approval. The Bechtlers have not moved at all. However, I think we can sell them in the fall.

. . . The lots you wanted in the Elder sale sold for about \$12 each, and I let them go as they are not worth any such price. The bar cent was your own coin. I sold it to Elder. My coins will be sold today and tomorrow, and I am hoping for good results.

I will be in London until June 10th. Paris until the 18th, then to Switzerland, and back to Paris about July 2nd, London about the 12th. I sail on Wednesday the 23rd so will not get any mail here after Tuesday. I do not expect to attend the Schulman sale but will be glad to advise you as to bids.

On May 22, 1923, the day before his departure, Raymond wrote to Garrett:

. . . I sent back all your coins today with notes on those sold and a check for part. I think everything explains itself except the \$16 Moffat bar and the Pikes Peak \$20. These are out on approval to a perfectly responsible person. I think they will be sold. I have requested a report to be sent to me in Paris. I hope to have many things to show you when I return.

Statements from Raymond to Garrett during early 1923 show duplicate items sold, including: Washington half dollar, \$100, Rosa Americana pattern penny (date not given), \$165; Rosa Americana pattern with Rosa Sine Spina, \$350; Carolina 1694 elephant half-

penny, \$150; New Hampshire 1776 cent, \$350; several varieties of New York cents as pictured in Crosby; Immune Columbia cent in silver, \$100; Inimica Tyrannis cent, Crosby plate 7, picture 2, \$1,000; Nova Constallatio 100 mills in silver, \$2,200; Baldwin & Co. 1855 \$5, \$100; Miners Bank \$10, \$175; 1849 Oregon \$5, \$80; 1855 Wass Molitor & Co. \$50, \$1000; many Massachusetts silver pieces; and a wide range of other items. From these prices Wayte Raymond deducted a 10% selling fee.

On August 10, 1923, Wayte Raymond, who was staying at Ledge End Inn at Twilight Park, Hainesville Falls, New York, wrote to Garrett:

Your favor of the 7th received. You do not have to hurry any in deciding on the coins sent the other day.

I will be glad to get at the balance of the duplicates . . . and think we can move them in a short time as I have two or three new prospects for such pieces. I found practically nothing in fine American coins abroad.

Will you please take credit on the consignment you have for the Moffat bar \$500, less 10%, \$450.

On December 26, 1923, Garrett wrote to Raymond:

Thanks very much for the Bement catalogue which arrived this morning. I shall look it over and let you know what pieces I should particularly like to have.

By the way, I noticed in your list you sent me some time ago that my Virginia shilling and Annapolis sixpence were not mentioned as well as a few lesser pieces of mine that you have for sale. In looking over Mr. Newcomer's collection a couple of weeks ago I noticed he did not have the Virginia shilling and wondered if you had offered mine to him.

On December 27, 1923, Raymond replied proposing a meeting for after the New Year holiday:

I am leaving town tonight and will not return until the 23rd, after which I will be glad to come down and see you in regard to the Bement sale. There will be plenty of time. Will hold all my bids until I hear the lots you are interested in so as not to interfere.

My impression is that I offered Mr. Newcomer the Virginia shilling, but I will bring it to his attention again.

On March 5, 1924, John Work Garrett wrote a lengthy letter to Wayte Raymond about a much different matter from his concern over selling the Ellsworth duplicates:

I have decided to take all that Spink sent on approval with the exception of No. 494 which I am returning to you. I have deducted the purchase price of that coin plus 15% from the total amount of Spink's bill and enclosed for you herewith a draft to his order for \$3,756 pounds sterling, together with his bill. It is advisable to forward this draft by registered mail, requesting return receipt to guard against falling into the wrong hands, as European banks may pay without requiring identification. I should be glad if you would send the bill to him and obtain his receipt.

I think it would be well for you to tell him at the time of the condition of some of the coins and suggest that it would add to the desire of American purchasers like myself to obtain sales in Europe. When we are precluded from seeing the coins themselves the catalogues should be made to describe the "defects" of the coins as well as their merits. The use of the word "superb" is greatly overdone and when you come down to examination of coins so designated you very often find that it means nothing, or at least that it is far from accurate. It seems to me that bad discoloration should be noted.

One other thing that is particularly noticeable in the Bement catalogue is the fact that the plates, having been made from impressions of the coins (as is indeed usual, I believe) and not directly from the coins themselves, show the defects in the edges very indifferently. [It was the standard European practice to make plaster casts of the coins and photograph the casts rather than the coins themselves, so that the lighting would be more even, the details more sharply defined, and the coin more "pleasing" in appearance.] Indeed, in some cases the edges appear quite perfect, when in reality they are not so at all. I am very much pleased with the majority of the pieces, however, and I think that Spink or rather, his man whose name that I have forgotten, executed my bids satisfactorily.

I am keeping only four of the pieces you sent me in your last invoice, which totaled \$290, which with your bill of incidental expense for the Bement Sale makes \$299. You may deduct this from the \$540 that you owe me on account of the sale of my Virginia shilling.

On April 8, 1924, a very interesting and rare specimen became available and Raymond suggested a possible trade:

I have had placed in my hands for sale the very rare Washington Confederatio cent, Crosby plate VII.14. It is in about the same condition as the Ten Eyck specimen (Newcomer Collection) which sold for \$1,050. To the best of my knowledge there are only three known. The price is \$900, and I think the owner might be inclined to take a fair part of that amount in some of your duplicate colonials. This coin is the Appleton specimen mentioned by Crosby.

On April 11, 1924, Raymond wrote:

I am sending you another package of coins and include the Washington cent. It has some wear but is not a bad piece. I think it is as fine as the Parmelee, Ten Eyck, Newcomer specimen. It has a good pedigree and is the very piece mentioned by Crosby as being in the Appleton Collection. I have made up the means of a possible basis of exchange for part payment. I will waive my 10% commission to make it as attractive as possible for you.

During the mid-1920s John Work Garrett spent a great deal of effort acquiring Ancient Greek and foreign coins for his collection and added only an occasional American piece. Apparently Wayte Raymond presented a proposal to acquire the Garrett Collection of American coins, for on March 16, 1926, Garrett wrote:

WAYTE RAYMOND
489 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK

RARE COINS AND MEDALS

NUMISMATIC BOOKS

March 9, 1927.

My dear Mr. Garrett

I bought the Oregon 10⁰⁰ Sol.
for you at \$425. and hope you will be
pleased with it. I have never seen a
better one. Lot 318 is the first I have
seen of this variety.

The coins will be sent by express
to-day.

Yours very truly
Wayte Raymond

Wayte Raymond advises John Work Garrett of the purchase of an 1849 Oregon Territory \$10 gold piece at auction for his account.

I have thought over the matter about which you came down to see me the other day very carefully and have decided that I do not care to sell my collection of American coins.

On February 18, 1927, nearly a year later, Garrett's interest in the American collection revived and he wrote to Raymond regarding:

. . . There are three coins in your sale of March 7, 1927, that I might like to bid on and I should very much like to know your suggestions as to what you think they will bring and whether you can bid on them for me. They are: No. 308 Oregon \$10, No. 319 Wass Molitor 1852 \$10, and No. 441 \$3 1856-S (the latter only if it is the large "S").

On February 19, 1927, Raymond replied:

My estimates on the coins you mentioned are as follows: Lot 308 \$2,000 to \$3,000. Lot 318 \$200 to \$350. Lot 441 \$7 to \$10. The Oregon \$10 has the usual center weakness which I believe is peculiar to all specimens known (the letters in the center of the reverse do not show). I will be glad to execute any bids for you.

On February 25, 1927, Garrett placed his bids with Raymond:

I should be very much obliged if you will get for me at the sale of March 7th the following: No. 318 Wass, Molitor & Co. (provided it is in Very Fine condition). The condition is not mentioned in the catalogue, and I do not want one unless it is really a fine specimen; No. 441 provided it is a "large S" variety. As to the Oregon \$10, No. 308, I think it hardly worth my while to try for it. If it can be had for not more than \$1,500 I will take it.

On February 28, 1927, Wayte Raymond replied:

In regard to the Oregon \$10 I will of course bid up to whatever you say. I have entered your bid for \$1,500, but if you really want the coin I would advise you to raise this a little. It is really a very fine piece but has of course the weakness in the center of the reverse which all known specimens have.

Lot 308 was subsequently acquired at \$1,425 (plus 5% commission) to Raymond. Lot 318 was acquired for \$170 (plus 5% commission). At the time it was often the practice for dealers to charge a commission to the buyer, in addition to the successful bids.

The invoice was followed up on March 9, 1927:

I bought the Oregon \$10 for you at \$1,425 and hope you will be pleased with it. I have never seen a better one. Lot 318 is the first I have seen of this variety. The coins will be sent by express today.

On March 14, 1927, Garrett made these comments on the purchase:

I am very well satisfied with the Oregon piece but I want to ask you some questions . . . In regard to the Wass, Molitor, the "2" of the date seems to be made with a plugged die as it has a distinct circle around it. I know that the 1855 pieces were dated with plugged dies, but I did not know that the earlier dates were, and I can find no description of such a piece in Adams or in the American Numismatic Society's

exhibition catalogue. Please let me know something more about it. And I should like to know in addition if you know from which collection these three pieces came.

Raymond provided the following information on March 16, 1927:

In regard to the Wass, Molitor & Co. \$10 I am afraid I cannot tell you very much. I noticed the plugged die, and Adams' [illustration] is so hazy that it is impossible to tell if that piece is similar. We have so little opportunity to make comparisons of these coins that it is difficult to arrive at a conclusion. I think Mr. Newcomer has the same variety and do not doubt that he would be glad to show it to you.

The Oregon piece came about two years ago from the collection sold by Mehl as the "Judge Slack Collection." The Wass, Molitor & Co. piece came from a small dealer who acquired it somewhere in the West, I believe.

I am leaving for abroad on March 29th and would be glad to know if there is anything special you would like me to be on the lookout for. My address will be the Guaranty Trust Company, Paris, as usual, but as I expect to be traveling in Southern Europe, I will not reach Paris until early in May. I have a few more interesting things to be sent to you this week.

Correspondence from this time onward is mainly related to ancient and world coins with a few exceptions. One of these is Wayte Raymond's letter of February 3, 1931:

I am very sorry to report that it has been impossible to secure any of the 1930 coins for you. The 1c, 5c, 10c, 25c pieces and the \$10 and \$20 pieces were struck, but only the cents released. These coins can only be secured by a special order from the secretary of the Treasury, so I presume if you will write a personal letter to him, the coins will be forthcoming.

After a two year hiatus, correspondence resumed between Wayte Raymond and John W. Garrett, who had recently returned home from diplomatic service in Rome, with Raymond's July 1, 1933 letter:

I am very pleased to know that you are home again and hope we can again open up our numismatic relations.

You asked me some time ago in regard to the Jacob Perkins dollar. Until quite recently the only specimen known was the shell from the Stickney Collection, now owned by W. H. Woodin. I was fortunate enough to discover in an old Philadelphia collection a solid specimen of this piece which I enclose together with a hitherto unknown pattern of 1819 which compares with the pattern cent of 1818. All of these pieces are undoubtedly made by Perkins' machine. [Jacob Perkins, an engraver of Newburyport, Massachusetts, devised an engraving process for bank notes which became well known. He also engraved numerous coin dies.]

It may interest you to know that I am in the position to get almost anything you want from the Brand Collection. Perhaps some of the private gold might interest you?

On October 8, 1933, Garrett wrote to Raymond:

I have just looked over the catalogue of the Morgenthau sale

to take place October 18th. Although I have not been buying coins lately, there are a few items in the sale that I may want to bid on, and I wonder if you would handle my commissions for me.

The items in which I am interested are No. 266, the Humbert pattern \$50, and the two Pacific Company patterns, No. 275 and No. 276. Is No. 282, the Wass, Molitor \$10 the large or small head?

I shall be glad if you will let me have your opinion as to fair bids on these pieces, and if you would also send me a copy of Scott's new catalogue of Early American coins, mentioned on page 5 of the sales catalogue.

Raymond complied with the request for suggested bids however when Garrett saw them he was "rather disconcerted by the valuations . . . I do not feel that I can possibly go to such limits . . ." Also, Raymond called his attention to Lot 242 as "this is the only Bechtler trail piece I have seen and is a different die from the gold one." The lots purchased from the sale for Garrett were 242 at \$80, 266 at \$535 and 276 at \$175. Garrett was pleased with the success, especially about Lot 266, as his letter of October 23, 1933 indicates:

Thanks very much for executing my order at the Morgenthau sale. The pieces arrived in good condition and I enclose my check. I am particularly glad to get the Humbert piece which, as far as I know, makes my collection of California slugs as well as my patterns of them, complete.

In January 1934, Raymond sent:

. . . by registered mail, the commemorative coins and the lot of counterfeit British halfpence. These last are selected from some 300 to 400 and are in the most unusual condition.

During this period Raymond supplied Garrett with many contemporary commemorative coins. The British halfpence referred to are the so-called "bungtown tokens" made in imitation of British halfpence but with different legends so as to evade the counterfeiting laws.

On January 27, 1934, Garrett replied:

I enclose my check in payment of the counterfeit British and commemorative coins.

To complete my set of commemoratives I need two more of the Oregon pieces, namely those dated 1926 of the Philadelphia and San Francisco Mint. I have checked off my catalogue with a list of your types of United States coins, and I believe that there is only one type, as distinguished from the die variety, missing from my collection, namely the quarter dollar of 1932 with the head of Washington. If you have this in Uncirculated or Proof condition I should like to have them from all three mints, and if there are any new types issued since your lists were published, I should like to have them too.

In response to this request Raymond supplied the commemoratives necessary to complete the collection.

His invoice of January 29, 1934, included a 1926 Oregon half dollar for \$1.50, 1926-S Oregon at \$2, 1932 Washington quarter at 50c, and 1932-D and 1932-S quarters at \$1.50 each. Wayte Raymond enclosed a note informing Garrett, "The quarter dollar mint marks are very scarce, have never had over five or six of each."

While completing the commemoratives Garrett had the idea:

It might be interesting for me to add to my collection, if it is not against the law, the last gold pieces, \$20, \$10, \$5, \$2.50. I do not know whether any or all of these were struck last year, but perhaps if you can come across the actual last ones, in Proof or Uncirculated condition you might set them aside for me.

On March 6, 1934 Wayte Raymond made a startling inquiry:

Would you consider selling either one of your Brasher doubloons? I have an inquiry which may or may not be serious.

However, Garrett would not consider the idea, saying:

I do not want to sell my Brashers, at least not now. Some day I may want to.

Finally on March 29, 1934, Raymond answered his earlier inquiry concerning current gold coins:

In reference to your inquiry February 3, 1934 about gold coins, I would say that the \$10 and \$20 were struck in 1933 but I have never been able to get them.

On August 23, 1936, Wayte Raymond wrote from his summer home on Montauk, Long Island:

I have recently acquired a Kohler bar \$37.31 in perfect condition and I am wondering if you would be interested in it. The price is \$3,000. I expect to be in New York Wednesday afternoon and all day Thursday and August 26th and 27th, if you wish to phone me at WI2-9114 or at the Ritz Tower WI2-5000.

Garrett replied that he did not want to buy the Kohler bar as he already had the \$50 issue, but asked where the piece came from. On February 12, 1937, Wayte Raymond writing from his 465 Park Ave. New York City address, said:

I feel quite ashamed to answer your letter of September 28th at this time. It came while I was abroad and in some way got buried in my basket.

The Kohler bar was bought from an old family in New Haven by the name of Castle. I purchased it through a stamp dealer in that city. So far I have not offered the piece to anyone else and it is still available if you are still interested.

The last recorded transaction with Wayte Raymond was the purchase of a copy of the *Standard Catalogue of United States Coins* at \$2.50 plus 11c delivery charge on December 5, 1940.

Correspondence with Elmer S. Sears

A brief exchange of correspondence took place between Elmer S. Sears and John Work Garrett in 1925. On April 23, 1925, Elmer Sears wrote:

You may remember meeting me personally and being introduced by Mr. Wayte Raymond at Mr. Raymond's office a year or so ago.

I am taking the liberty of writing to offer you a great rarity in the Colonial series. It is very unusual that I am enabled to offer you anything which I think would interest [you] other than what your very large and extensive collection already contains . . . but I have at this time a coin which I believe is most desirable and a rarity which I am sure that you will appreciate. The coin is no more or less than a half doubloon struck by Ephraim Brasher in 1787. The coin is the exact die of the doubloon but differs materially in its weight. The weight of the specimen which I have is 196.7 grains against 406-407 grains for the doubloon. The die used in striking it was the exact die used in striking the doubloon but of course was struck on a thinner planchet to make the desired weight. It was not unusual in those days to do this as the weight and fineness governed the value of the coin.

The piece which I am offering is practically Uncirculated and I am asking \$7,500 for the coin. If you feel upon receiving this that you are at all interested and will advise me I shall be glad to submit the coin for your approval, otherwise I will ask your indulgence for bothering you with this letter and trust that you will pardon the same.

John Work Garrett replied with appreciation on May 4, 1925:

I am much obliged to you for writing me about the Brasher half Doubloon. I have never heard of this piece before and naturally find your statement about it exceedingly interesting, but I am not adding to my collection of American coins at present and do not desire to take this piece. Thank you very much.



Correspondence with the U. S. Mint

Robert Garrett, keeping up with the precedent set by his father, T. Harrison Garrett, ordered coins from the Philadelphia Mint at the time of issue. On January 15, 1903, he sent a remittance for \$41.08 for a set of the current year gold, silver, and copper Proof coins. He placed his order after receiving United States Mint Service form No. 417 which stated policies at the time:

INFORMATION RELATING TO COINS AND MEDALS

All correspondence with the Mint should be addressed: "Superintendent of the Mint of the United States, Philadelphia." Articles which are expected to be returned by mail must be accompanied by eight cents for return registry fee.

The Mint does not buy old coins or paper money, except some rare Colonial coins in fine condition, which are desired

for the Mint Cabinet. Mutilated or uncurrent United States gold and silver coins are purchased as bullion, the gold at the rate of \$18.60 per ounce troy, and the silver (in amounts of not less than \$3) at the rate of [not filled in] cents per ounce troy.

The Mint has no pattern pieces for sale.

The Government pays no premium for the return of any of its coins or paper money. New coins can not be struck until authorized by an Act of Congress.

The Mint supplies United States coins only, and not of any past date.

The fifty-dollar gold piece and the half-dollar and quarter-dollar pieces in gold [?] were struck by private parties and not by the United States Government.

The coinage of the following ceased in the years named: Half and one cent, copper, in 1857; one cent, nickel, 1864; half dime and three cents silver, and two cents bronze, 1873; twenty cents silver, 1878; trade dollar, 1883; one dollar and three dollars gold and three cents nickel, 1889. The Columbian half dollar was coined in 1892 and 1893 and the Isabella Quarter in 1893. The Lafayette dollar was struck in 1899, the date on the coin (1900) being that of the unveiling of the memorial.

Mint Marks. Coins struck at the Philadelphia Mint have no mint mark, those struck at all other mints of the United States are distinguished by a small letter on the reverse near the bottom; these letters are: "C" for Charlotte, N.C., discontinued in 1861; "CC" for Carson City, Nev., discontinued in 1893; "D" for Dahlonga, Ga., discontinued in 1861; "O" for New Orleans, La.; and "S" for San Francisco, Cal.

The coin dealers are the proper persons to apply to for the value of old coins. It is very unsatisfactory and usually impossible to give the value of an old coin without seeing it, so much depends upon the variety and condition of preservation of the coin.

The Mint does not publish and can not supply any book or list giving the prices of old coins.

The coins of the United States now authorized by law are: GOLD: Double Eagle, Eagle, Half Eagle, Quarter Eagle; SILVER: Dollar, Half Dollar, Quarter Dollar, Dime; MINOR: Five cents nickel, One cent, bronze. The five-cent and one-cent pieces are known as "minor" coins.

A "proof coin" is one struck by hand on a hydraulic press from a specially polished die, using a polished blank. They are made at the Philadelphia Mint only.

The price of the set of gold proof coins is \$38.50; the proof set of silver and minor coins, \$2.50; the proof set of minor coins, 8 cents. Single gold pieces, in proof, may be had for 25 cents each above their face value, but the other sets will not be separated.

Proof coins of the present year can be had from about January 15 to December 31, unless, as is sometimes the case, the stock is exhausted a day or so before December 31. Dies wear with use, therefore coins struck late in the year may not be as perfect as those struck earlier. The Mint has no coins or sets of coins of other than the present dates for sale.

Private-medal dies can not, under the law, be prepared at the Mint, but when the regular business of the Mint will permit, medals may be struck from dies furnished by individuals, public institutions, and incorporated societies, at a charge sufficient to cover the cost of the operation and the value of the metal. A list of medals, which can be supplied on order, with the prices thereof, will be found on the other side.

The remittance should accompany the order and should be

in cash or money order. Make money orders payable to the "Superintendent of the Mint of the United States, Philadelphia."

Small packages of proof coins or medals can be sent by registered mail, if eight cents are enclosed for a registry fee, otherwise they will be forwarded by express, "charges collect."

Approved: George E. Roberts, Director of the Mint; John H. Landis, Superintendent.

Appendix III:
Inventory of the
Garrett Collection

16

Inventory of the Garrett Collection

The inventory listed on this and the following pages represents American colonial, federal, territorial and related numismatic items consigned to Bowers and Ruddy Galleries for auction, together with other pieces which were previously traded or which were sold in 1976 by Stack's. Those traded or sold prior to 1979 are indicated by an asterisk. Occasionally, certain information concerning die varieties, for example, was not available for those coins. Duplicate coins sold on many earlier instances (including several auction sales by George W. Massamore in the 1880s, private sales by Wayte Raymond, B. Max Mehl, and others in the 1920s, and other transactions prior to recent years) are not included.

The inventory includes a tabulation of provenance so far as could be determined through working with the original statements and notations of T. Harrison Garrett, Robert Garrett, and John Work Garrett, together with their correspondence with many dealers.

Positive determinations of pedigrees and rarity ratings were sometimes impossible to determine with absolute certainty; however, working information is provided for future research or discoveries. The terms *possibly*, *probably* and *believed* were used in that order to indicate the relative certainty with which the rarity and quality of a specific coin could be described.

The following attribution sources were used in the order indicated: Noe numbers for Massachusetts Silver coinage; Nelson numbers for Wood's Hibernia coinage; Betts numbers for Pitt tokens, Rhode Island and certain other early medals; Ryder numbers for Vermont and Massachusetts copper coinage; Miller numbers for Connecticut copper coinage; Maris numbers for New Jersey copper coinage; Newman numbers for Continental dollars; Gilbert and Cohen numbers for half cents; Sheldon and Newcomb numbers for large cents; Valentine numbers for half dimes; Overton numbers for half dollars; Bolender numbers for silver dollars; Judd numbers for pattern, trial and experimental pieces; Lee numbers for California small denomination gold and Low numbers for Hard Times tokens. Specific reference work titles appear in the bibliography. A bibliography of auction sales cited appears at the end of this appendix.

Colonial Coins

Sommer Islands Coinage

Twopence. 23.9 grains. Fine.

Sixpence. Large portholes. 40.8 grains. Extremely Fine.

Shilling. Small sails. 70.9 grains. Fine. Holed. From Newlin on April 1, 1885. Possibly finest known.

"Pound" gold. Wuesthoff Fabrication. 109.4 grains. Fine. From Low on October 31, 1884.

Massachusetts Silver Coinage

New England Coinage (1652)

Sixpence. Noe 1. 33.5 grains. Very Fine. From Frossard on April 15, 1883, previously from the Parsons and Bushnell collections. Believed six known.

Shilling. N-1D. 70.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From S. H. Chapman on December 19, 1919, previously from the Jackman Collection.

Shilling. N-2A. 71.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*

Willow Tree Coinage (1653-1660)

Sixpence. N-1. 35.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth, Caldecott, and Murchison collections.

Shilling. N-1A. 74.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Earle and Mills collections.

Shilling. N-3C. 72.7 grains. Very Fine.*

Oak Tree Coinage (1660-1667)

Twopence. N-29. 10.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.

Twopence. N-30. 11.3 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Crosby Collection.

Twopence. N-31. 12 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*

Threepence. N-27. 11 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney and Smith collections.

Threepence. N-28. 16.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Mills Collection.

Threepence. N-28.5. 16.2 grains. Very Fine. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Whitman Collection.*

Sixpence. N-15. 36.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Bushnell Collection.

Sixpence. N-16. 36 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.*

Sixpence. N-20. 34.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Sixpence. N-22. 33.2 grains. About Uncirculated.*

Shilling. N-1. 71.3 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection.

Shilling. N-4. 72.0 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Earle Collection.*

Shilling. N-5. 71.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*

Shilling. N-7. 72 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.

Shilling. N-9. 71.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Earle Collection.*

Shilling. N-10. 72.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Earle and Stickney collections.

Shilling. N-11. 70.7 grains. Extremely Fine.*

Shilling. N-13. 71 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Mills Collection.*

Shilling. N-14. 70.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.

Pine Tree Coinage (1667-1682)

Threepence. N-34. 18.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection.

Threepence. N-35. 16.2 grains. Very Fine.

Threepence. N-36. 16 grains. About Uncirculated. From Frossard on February 23, 1883.

Sixpence. N-32. 37.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth collection, previously from the Mills Collection.

Sixpence. N-32. 34.2 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Sixpence. N-33a. 33.4 grains. About Uncirculated.*

Shilling. Large planchet. N-1. 71.5 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons Collection.

Shilling. Large planchet. N-2. 71.3 grains. Very Fine.

Shilling. Large planchet. N-3. 70.1 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Earle Collection.

Shilling. Large planchet. N-4. 72.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from Smith.*

Shilling. Large planchet. N-5. 69.9 grains. Very Fine. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Crosby Collection.

Shilling. Large planchet. N-7. 69 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Crosby Collection.

Shilling. Large planchet. N-10. 71.6 grains. About Uncirculated.*

Shilling. Small planchet. N-11. 71.4 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Shilling. Small planchet. N-15. 74.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*

Shilling. Small planchet. N-16. 69.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Mills, Winsor and Crosby collections.

Shilling. Small planchet. N-17. 66.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.*

Shilling. Small planchet. N-19. 71.4 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Shilling. Small planchet. N-22. 70.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*

Shilling. Small planchet. N-23. 69.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*

Shilling. Small planchet. N-25. 71.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Mills Collection.

Shilling. Small planchet. N-26.3. 66.4 grains. Very Good.*

Shilling. Small planchet. N-29. 71.3 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Maryland, Lord Baltimore's Coinage

Fourpence. Silver die trial. 40 grains. Fair. Holed. From the Winsor Collection, previously from the Crosby Collection. Unique.*

Fourpence. 30.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Sixpence. 37.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Mills Collection.*

Sixpence MVLITILICAMINI. 44.2 grains. Very Fine. From the Newcomer Collection. Unique.

Shilling. Copper pattern. 72.4 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed five known.

Shilling. 68.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Mills Collection.

Rosa Americana Coinage

- 1722 Halfpenny. VTILE DVLCI. 57.2 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1722 Halfpenny. D:G: REX UTILE DVLCI. 61.8 grains. About Good. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1722 Halfpenny. D:G: REX UTILE DVLCI. 54.5 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1722 Halfpenny. DEI GRATIA REX UTILE DVLCI. 72.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1723 Halfpenny. Uncrowned rose. 67.9 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Crosby Collection.
- 1723 Halfpenny. Uncrowned rose. 72.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1723 Halfpenny. Crowned rose. 61.4 grains. Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Winsor and Bushnell collections. Possibly finest known.
- 1723 Halfpenny. Crowned rose. 62.3 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- (1717) Undated. Penny. Pattern. 114.8 grains. Uncirculated. From the Jenks Collection. Believed three known.
- 1722 Penny. VTILE DVLCI. 118.1 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1722 Penny. GEORGIVS VTILE DVLCI. With two rosettes. 118.2 grains. Extremely Fine.*
- 1722 Penny. GEORGIVS VTILE DVLCI. Copper. 145.8 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed finest of five known.
- 1722 Penny. UTILE DVLCI. Copper. 123.9 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed unique.
- 1722 Penny. UTILE DVLCI. Brass. 130.7 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Crosby Collection. Believed three known.
- 1722 Penny. UTILE DVLCI. With two rosettes. 125.5 grains. About Uncirculated.*
- 1723 Penny. UTILE DVLCI. Struck on twopence planchet. Two rosettes. 198.2 grains. Good. Believed unique.
- 1723 Penny. 108.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1723 Penny. 134.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1723 Penny. 147.7 grains. About Uncirculated.*
- 1723 Penny. 147.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1724 4 over 3. Penny. Pattern. 125.4 grains. Fine. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Bushnell Collection. A few known.
- (1724) Undated. Penny. ROSA:SINE:SPINA. 91.8 grains. Fine. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Parmelee, Bushnell and Mickley collections. Five or six known.
- (1722) Undated. Twopence. "Iron Rosa." No label. 269.3 grains. Fine. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Parmelee Collection. Crosby plate coin. Two known.

(1722) Undated. Twopence. 211.7 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.

- 1722 Twopence. Period after REX. 261.9 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons Collection.
- 1723 Twopence. No period after REX. Period after date. 205 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1723 Twopence. Thin planchet. 142.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons Collection. Believed unique.
- 1723 Twopence. 212.6 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1723 Twopence. 208.1 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from Frossard.
- 1724 Twopence. Bath metal pattern. 198.9 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Jenks Collection, previously from the Mills Collection. Several known.
- 1733 Twopence. Pattern. 265.1 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parmelee Collection. Believed finest of four known.
- 1733 Twopence. Obverse die trial. Steel. 212 grains. About Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman on October 16, 1923.

Wood's Hibernia Coinage

- 1722 Farthing. D:G: REX. Pattern. Nelson 2. 56.6 grains. Uncirculated. From Raymond on September 12, 1921, previously from the Newcomer Collection.
- 1723 Farthing. D:G: REX. Pattern. N-6. 57.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1723 Farthing. N-7. 61.7 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1723 Farthing. N-7. 52.8 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Miller Collection.
- 1723 Farthing. N-7. 53 grains. Very Fine.
- 1724 Farthing. N-10. 59.1 grains. Uncirculated. From the Miller Collection.
- 1724 Farthing. N-10. 60 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection.
- Undated. Farthing. Pattern. N-18. 77.3 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons Collection.
- 1722 Halfpenny. Pattern. N-1. 133.1 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1722 Halfpenny. N-3. 135.4 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1722 Halfpenny. N-4. 117.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Miller Collection.
- 1723 Halfpenny. N-5. 110.8 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1723 Halfpenny. N-8. 125.7 grains. Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
- 1723 Halfpenny. N-8. 108.4 grains. Extremely Fine. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.

- 1723 Halfpenny. N-8. 121.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Mills Collection.
- 1723 Halfpenny. N-8. 109.3 grains. Fine. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
- 1724 Halfpenny. N-11. 112.4 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1724 Halfpenny. Pattern. N-13. 118.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Ulex Collection. A few known.
- 1724 Halfpenny. Pattern. N-15. 134.1 grains. Uncirculated. From Raymond on April 20, 1921. Believed four known.

Voce Populi Coinage

- 1760 Farthing. Large letters. 55.9 grains. Fine. From the Miller Collection.
- 1760 Halfpenny. 92.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons Collection.
- 1760 Halfpenny. 126.7 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1760 Halfpenny. VOOE POPULI. 117.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1760 Halfpenny. P in front of face. 126.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons Collection.

Mark Newby's St. Patrick's Coinage

- Farthing. Copper. 112.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Crosby Collection.
- Farthing. Copper. 112 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- Farthing. Nimbus. Copper. 105 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- Farthing. Silver. 116.3 grains. Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Crosby Collection.
- Farthing. Silver. 99.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- Farthing. Nimbus. Silver. 108.1 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons and Caldecott collections. *ANS Exhibition* plate coin. Unique.
- Halfpenny. 130.9 grains. Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.
- Halfpenny. 145 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- Halfpenny. 126.2 grains. Very Fine.*

Virginia Coinage

- 1773 Halfpenny. No period after GEORGIVS. 114.9 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 Halfpenny. No period. 115.6 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 Halfpenny. No period. 122.7 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 Halfpenny. No period. 107.1 grains. Fine.
- 1773 Halfpenny. Period. 116.4 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 Halfpenny. Period. 97.7 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.

- 1773 Halfpenny. Period. 119.3 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 Halfpenny. Period. 113.8 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 Halfpenny. Period. 112.2 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 Halfpenny. Period. 116.1 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 Halfpenny. Period. 114.2 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 Halfpenny. Period. 113.3 grains. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1773 "Penny". 136.8 grains. Proof. From Mehl on January 23, 1930, previously from the Crosby Collection.
- 1773 "Penny". 130 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1774 "Shilling". 83.3 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Gschwend Collection. Believed six known.

French Colonies Coinage

- 1670 Louis d'Or. 103.9 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection.
- 1670 5 Sols. Silver. 35.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1670 15 Sols. Silver. 104.1 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1720 1 Sol. John Law. Copper. 89.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1720 5 Sols. John Law. Silver. 56.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1720 10 Sols. John Law. Silver. 124.5 grains. About Uncirculated.
- 1721-H 9 Deniers. Copper. 97.8 grains. Very Fine. From the Miller Collection.
- 1722 9 Deniers. Copper. 90.4 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Higley Copper Coinage

- 1737 THE VALVE OF THREEPENCE/CONNECTICVT. 151.1 grains. Fine to Very Fine. From the Ely Collection.
- 1737 THE VALVE OF THREEPENCE/CONNECTICVT. 133 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1737 VALUE ME AS YOU PLEASE/I AM GOOD COPPER. 144.1 grains. Good. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1737 VALUE ME AS YOU PLEASE/J CUT MY WAY THROUGH. 162.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Miller Collection. One of finest Higleys known.
- (1737) Undated. THE WHEEL GOES ROUND/J CUT MY WAY THROUGH. 151.9 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from Wood. Believed unique.
- 1739 VALUE ME AS YOU PLEASE/J CUT MY WAY THROUGH. 119.5 grains. About Good. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed five known.

Chalmers Coinage

- 1783 Threepence. 10.9 grains. About Uncirculated. From Chapman on January 18, 1883.
- 1783 Sixpence. Small date. 27.8 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1783 Sixpence. Large date. 25.8 grains. Very Fine.
- 1783 Shilling. Short worm. 55 grains. Very Fine. From the Mills Collection.
- 1783 Shilling. Long worm. 44 grains. Very Fine.
- 1783 Shilling. Rings. 54.2 grains. Fair/Fine. From the Jenks Collection. Three or four known.

Elephant Tokens

- (1694) Undated. GOD PRESERVE LONDON. 205.5 grains. Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on March 20, 1883.
- 1694 Carolina. PROPRIETERS. 141.6 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from H. Chapman and the Parsons, Parmelee and Ely Collections. *ANS Exhibition* plate coin. Six known.
- 1694 PROPRIETORS. ORS over ERS. 151.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed finest known.
- 1694 New England. 132.4 grains. Very Good. From the St. Louis Coin Co. on November 15, 1934, previously from the Brand, Parmelee, Seavey, and Clay collections. Two or three known.

Gloucester Token

- 1714 Token. Brass. 61.1 grains. Very Good. Finer of two known. From the Newcomer Collection, previously from the Ten Eyck, Parmelee, Seavey and Clay collections.

American Plantations Token

- (1688) Undated. Tin restrike. 138.3 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Pitt Tokens

- 1766 Halfpenny. Betts 519. 85.1 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1766 Farthing. B-520. 64 grains. Very Fine. From the Jenks Collection.

New Yorke Token

- Undated. Brass. 44.6 grains. Fine. From Frossard in 1883.

New Hampshire Copper Coinage

- 1776 Pine Tree. 154.9 grains. Very Good. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection. Crosby plate coin.
- 1776 WM. 79.5 grains. Fair. From the Newcomer Collection.

Rhode Island Medals

- VLUGTENDE. Brass. Betts 561. 151.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Possibly two known.
- Without wreath. Brass. B-562. 137.6 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- Wreath. Pewter. B-563. 129 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- Wreath. Brass. B-563. 151.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Confederatio Coppers

- 1785 INIMICA TYRANNIS AMERICANA. 148.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Crosby plate coin.
- 1785 INIMICA TYRANNIS AMERICA. 112.4 grains. Very Good. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parmelee Collection.
- 1785 GEN WASHINGTON/CONFEDERATIO. 87 grains. Fine. From Raymond on April 11, 1924. Six known.

Nova Constellatio Patterns for United States Coinage

- 1783 Bit. 100 Units. Edge with twin olive leaf device. Silver pattern. 27.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parmelee Collection. *Guide Book* and Taxay plate coin. Unique.
- 1783 Quint. 500 Units. Type I. Silver pattern. 134.6 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Earle, Smith and Parmelee collections; Haseltine and Charles Thomson. *Guide Book* and Taxay plate coin. Unique.
- 1783 Quint. 500 Units. Type II. Silver pattern. 109.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. *Guide Book* and Taxay plate coin. Unique.
- 1783 Mark. 1000 Units. Silver pattern. 268.5 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Earle, Smith and Parmelee collections; Haseltine and Charles Thomson. *Guide Book* and Taxay plate coin. Unique.

Nova Constellatio Copper Coinage

- 1783 Pointed rays, large U.S. 116.6 grains. Very Fine.
- 1783 Pointed rays, small U.S. 123.3 grains. Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection.
- 1783 Blunt rays, small U.S. 135.3 grains. Uncirculated. From the Miller Collection.
- 1785 Blunt rays. 126.4 grains. Very Fine.
- 1785 Pointed rays. 108.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1785 Pointed rays. 131.9 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed finest known.
- 1785 Pointed rays. 118.4 grains. Extremely Fine.
- 1785 Pointed rays. 132.8 grains. Extremely Fine.
- 1785 Pointed rays. 125 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Miller Collection.
- 1786 Pointed rays, small U.S. 115.3 grains. Fine. Probably finest known.
- 1786 Pointed rays, small U.S. 114.7 grains. Good. From Raymond, previously from the Newcomer Collection.

Immune Columbia Pieces

- 1785 Without extra star. Copper. 121.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. *ANS Exhibition* plate coin.
- 1785 Without extra star. Silver. Reeded edge. 133.7 grains. Very Fine. From Frossard on February 13, 1883.
- 1785 Extra star. Copper. 146.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons and Bispham collections. *ANS Exhibition* plate coin.

- 1785 Blunt rays with Nova Constellatio reverse. CON-STELATIO. Copper. 109.1 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection. Believed two known.
- 1785 IMMUNE COLUMBIA/GEORGIVS III REX. Mule. 122.4 grains. Fine. From the Mills Collection.

Vermont Copper Coinage

- 1785 VERMON AUCTORI/IMMUNE COLUMBIA. Ryder 1. Mule. 118.2 grains. Very Good.
- 1785 VERMONTIS. R-2. 121.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection. Believed finest known.
- 1785 VERMONTIS. R-2. 139.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1785 VERMONTIS. R-3. 114.8 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection.
- 1785 VERMONTIS. R-4. 113.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1785 VERMONTENSIMUM. R-6. 118.4 grains. Very Fine. From Woodward's 56th Sale.
- 1786 VERMONTENSIMUM. R-7. 118.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Winsor Collection.
- 1786 VERMONTENSIMUM. R-8. 103.5 grains. Extremely Fine.*
- 1786 Baby Head. R-9. 113.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1786 VERMON AUCTORI. R-10. 127.9 grains. Fine.
- 1786 VERMON AUCTORI. R-10. 111.6 grains. Very Good. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 VERMON AUCTORI. R-12. 120.1 grains. Very Fine.
- 1787 VERMON AUCTORI/BRITANNIA. R-13. 111.8 grains. Very Fine. From Raymond on December 11, 1919.
- 1787 AUCTORI VERMON/BRITANNIA. R-13. 115.8 grains. Very Fine. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
- 1787 VERMON AUCTORI. R-14. 120.2 grains. Very Fine.
- 1787 VERMON AUCTORI. R-14. 115.8 grains. Fine.
- 1788 VERMON AUCTORI. R-16. 118 grains. Very Fine.
- 1788 VERMON AUCTORI. R-20. 125.6 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1788 VERMON AUCTORI. R-21. 118 grains. Very Fine. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
- 1788 VERMON AUCTORI. R-23. 131.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From Adams, previously from the Newcomer Collection. One of finest known.
- 1788 VERMON AUCTORI. R-25. 137.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 VERMON AUCTORI. R-25. 97 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 VERMON AUCTORI. R-27. 126 grains. Very Fine. From the Miller Collection.
- 1788 Vermont/GEORGIVS III REX. Mule. R-31. 113.8 grains. Very Fine.

Bungtown Coppers (121 pieces)

Connecticut Copper Coinage

- 1785 Bust right. Miller 3.5-B. 126.6 grains. Very Fine.
- 1785 Bust right. M-4.1-F.4. 133.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed finest known.
- 1785 Bust right. M-6.3-G.2. 138.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1785 Bust left. M-7-D. 141.6 grains. Extremely Fine. Probably finest known.
- 1786 Bust right. M-1-A. 124 grains. Fine.
- 1786 Bust right. M-3-D.1. 148.3 grains. Fine.
- 1786 Bust left. M-5.2-I. 127.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Probably finest known.
- 1786 Bust left. M-5.3-B.2. 121.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Probably finest known.
- 1786 Bust left. M-5.4. Unlisted reverse die: INDE. ET-LIB: 118.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1786 Bust left. M-5.5. Unlisted reverse die: INDE-ET LIB. 241.4 grains. Very Good. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed heaviest known Connecticut copper.
- 1786 Bust left. M-5.6-M. 125.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1786 Draped bust. M-6-K. 166.7 grains. Fine. From the Miller Collection. Miller plate coin.
- 1787 Mutton bust. M-1.2-C. 124 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Mailed bust left. M-4-L. 138 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Mailed bust left. M-5-P. 127 grains. Very Good. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Mailed bust left. M-5.8-H.2. 144.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Laughing bust. M-6.1-M. 119.3 grains. Uncirculated. One of finest known.
- 1787 Simple bust. M-6.2-M. 116.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed finest known.
- 1787 Mailed bust left. M-10-E. 133 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Mailed bust left. M-12-Q. 127.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Mailed bust left. M-13-D. 139.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Mailed bust left. M-13-D. 138.5 grains. Fine.
- 1787 Mailed bust left. M-14-H. 102 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. Probably finest known.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-26-kk.1. 163.1 grains. Very Good. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-28-m. 138.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-31.1-r.4. 163.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-32.2-X.4. 153.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

- 1787 Draped bust left. M-33.37-Z.9. 137.4 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-33.6-KK. 136.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-33.9-s.2. 138.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-34-ff.1. 144.9 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Draped bust left, CONNFC. M-43.1-Y. 156.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. Probably finest known.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-45-CC. 149.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-46-BB. 133.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Draped bust left. M-47-a.3. 151.2 grains. Very Fine.
- 1788 Mailed bust right. M-2-D. 127.1 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 Mailed bust right. M-4.1-B.1. 109.6 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 Mailed bust right. Struck over Nova Constellatio copper. M-5-B.2. 114.1 grains. Fine.
- 1788 Mailed bust left. M-7.E. 115 grains. Uncirculated. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1788 Mailed bust left. M-7.F.2 114.8 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 Mailed head. Struck over Nova Constellatio copper. M-12.2-C. 122.3 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed finest known.
- 1788 Mailed bust left. M-13-A.1. 120.9 grains. Extremely Fine. Probably finest known.
- 1788 Draped bust left. M-16.1-D. 121 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1788 Draped bust left. M-16.1-D. 112.1 grains. Very Good.
- 1788 Connecticut/GEORGIVS III REX. Mule. (Vlack 13). 116.4 grains. Fine.

New Jersey Copper Coinage

- 1786 New Jersey/IMMUNIS COLUMBIA. Maris 3-C. 153.4 grains. Very Fine. From Frossard on April 5, 1883, previously from the Parsons and Bushnell collections.
- Undated. Washington/New Jersey. M-4-C. 128.6 grains. Very Fine. From the Newcomer Collection, previously from the Ten Eyck and Parmelee collections. Believed three known.
- 1786 E. PLURIBUS UNUM, Heraldic eagle/New Jersey shield. M-5-C. 133.3 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1786 (NON) VI VIRTUTE VICI/New Jersey. Mule. 112.6 grains. Good. From the Parmelee Collection. Possibly unique.
- 1786 M-6-C. 147 grains. Extremely Fine. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-6-D. 158.8 grains. Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1786 Date under plowbeam. M-7-E. 122.2 grains. Very Fine. From the Newcomer Collection, previously from the

Parmelee Collection. Maris plate coin.*

- 1786 Date under plowbeam. M-8-F. 116.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Newcomer Collection, previously from the Ten Eyck, Parmelee and Bushnell collections.
- 1786 M-8½-C. 146 grains. Fine. Possibly two known.
- 1786 M-9-G. 148.7 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1786 M-10-G. 148.9 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1786 M-11-H. 155.7 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1786 Coulterless. M-11½-G. 135.2 grains. Good. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Parmelee Collection.*
- 1786 M-12-G. 140.9 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1786 M-12-I. 167.3 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1786 M-13-J. 157 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Crosby Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1786 M-14-J. 151.3 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1786 M-15-J. 140 grains. Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1786 M-15-L. 154.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1786 M-15-T. 145.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1786 M-15-T. 140.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Newcomer Collection.
- 1786 M-16-J. 158.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1786 M-16-L. 163 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Bushnell Collection.
- 1786 M-17-b. 131.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1786 Struck over Connecticut copper. M-17-b. 131.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1786 Struck over an Irish 1782 halfpenny of George III. M-17-b. 125.7 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1786 PLUKIBUS. Struck over Immunis Columbia copper. M-17-b. 175.7 grains. Very Good. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1786 Struck over a French 1774 1 Sol of Louis XV. M-17-b. 189.5 grains. About Good. From the Maris Collection.
- 1786 Struck over 1787 Connecticut copper. M-17-J. 149 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1786 M-17-K. 146.9 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1786 Struck over Connecticut copper. M-17-K. 124.5 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection.
- 1786 M-18-J. 136.4 grains. Very Fine. From Maris.

- 1786 M-18-L. 151 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.*
- 1786 Bridle variety. M-18-M. 157.6 grains. Uncirculated. From Ellsworth, previously from the Parmelee Collection.
- 1786 M-18-N. 157 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.*
- 1786 M-19-M. 141.4 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1786 M-20-N. 155.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from Mills and Winsor.
- 1786 M-21-N. 150 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Mills Collection.
- 1786 M-21-O. 136 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1786 M-21-P. 148.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1786 M-21-R. 141 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.*
- 1786 Coulterless, without die break. M-22-P. 126 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1786 M-23-P. 151.5 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1786 M-23-R. 160.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1786 M-24-P. 173.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Mickley Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1786 M-24-Q. 149.4 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1786 M-24-R. 163 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection.
- 1786 M-25-S. 163.7 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Betts Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1786 M-26-S. 138.6 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Bushnell Collection.
- 1786 M-27-S. 150.6 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-28-L. 151.8 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Winsor and Mills collections.*
- 1787 M-28-S. 146 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. Maris book plate coin. Possibly finest known.
- 1787 M-29-L. 149 grains. Very Good.
- 1787 M-30-L. 156.4 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Betts Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-31-L. 162.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-32-T. 149.6 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-33-U. 150.9 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-33-U. 136.7 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 M-34-J. 153.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 M-34-V. 119 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 787 over 887. M-35-J. 139.3 grains. Good. From the Maris Collection. Maris book and sale plate coin.
- 1787 M-36-J. 133.3 grains. Very Fine.
- 1787 M-36-J. 127.8 grains. Fair. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 M-37-J. 167.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-37-X. 156.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-37-Y. 151.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-37-f. 165.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-38-Y. 148.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-38-Z. 149 grains. Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Randall Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1787 M-38-a. 140.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-38-b. 137.6 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-38-c. 148.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-39-a. 152 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-40-b. 160.4 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Dickeson Collection. Maris sale and book plate coin.
- 1787 M-41-c. 155.2 grains. Good. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin. Possibly unique.
- 1787 M-42-c. 148.2 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 M-43-Y. 142.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-43-d. 157.9 grains. Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 M-44-c. 144.2 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 M-44-d. 138.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-45-d. 149.4 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-45-e. 157.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-46-e. 152.4 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 M-47-e. 147.7 grains. Good. From the Maris Collection. Maris book and sale plate coin.
- 1787 M-48-f. 142.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-48-g. 160.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

- 1787 Double struck. M-48-g. 140.4 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 Horse head left. M-49-f. 146.6 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1788 Horse head left. M-50-f. 152.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1788 Horse head left. M-51-g. 166.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Newcomer Collection.
- 1788 Horse head left. M-51-g. 147.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-52-i. 155.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Betts Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-53-j. 149.8 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 Serpent head. M-54-k. 129.1 grains. Extremely Fine.
- 1787 M-55-l. 146.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 M-55-m. 158.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1787 M-56-n. 123 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from Maris.*
- 1787 Struck over a British 1775 Halfpenny of George III. M-56-n. 111.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 Struck over Vermont copper. M-56-n. 93.5 grains. About Good. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1787 Struck over Vermont copper. M-56-n. 120.2 grains. Fair. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 Struck over Connecticut copper. M-57-n. 129 grains. Good. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 M-58-n. 136.8 grains. Very Fine. From the Newcomer Collection.*
- 1787 Struck over Connecticut copper. M-58-n. 142.2 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1787 Struck over Connecticut copper. M-58-n. 140.2 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Betts Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 M-59-o. 144.2 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 PLURIBS Variety. M-60-p. 164.8 grains. About Uncirculated.
- 1787 PLURIBS Variety. M-61-p. 150.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection, previously from the Bushnell Collection.
- 1787 M-62-q. 153.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Bement, Earle, Mills, Parmelee and Bushnell collections. One of finest known.
- 1787 M-63-q. 148.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 M-63-q. 146 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.
- 1787 M-63-r. 154.4 grains. Very Fine. From Maris.*
- 1787 M-63-s. 150 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1787 M-64-t. 149.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Newcomer Collection, previously from the Ten Eyck Collection.
- 1787 M-64-t. 170.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Mickley Collection.
- 1787 M-64-u. 155.8 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1788 M-65-u. 149 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1788 Braided mane. Double struck. M-66-u. 136.5 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1788 M-66-u. 108.3 grains. Very Good. From the Newcomer Collection.
- 1788 M-66-v. 121 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1788 M-67-v. 152 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Mickley Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1787 M-68-w. 176.5 grains. Good. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 M-69-w. 131.7 grains. Fair. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 Struck over 1786 Connecticut copper. M-70-x. 144.6 grains. Good. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1787 Struck over Connecticut copper. M-71-y. 124 grains. Fair. From the Maris Collection. Maris book and sale plate coin.
- 1787 M-72-z. 95.2 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1787 Struck over Nova Constellatio copper. M-72-z. 104 grains. Fair. From the Maris Collection.
- 1787 Struck over Connecticut copper. M-73-aa. 132.7 grains. About Good. Maris book plate coin.
- 1788 Running fox. M-74-bb. 142.4 grains. Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin.
- 1788 Running fox. M-75-bb. 142.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale and book plate coin.
- 1788 M-76-cc. 128.6 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection. Maris sale plate coin.
- 1788 M-77-dd. 162.3 grains. Very Good. From the Newcomer Collection.
- 1788 Running fox. M-78-dd. 142.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1788 Running fox. M-78-dd. 145.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1786 M-80-ff. 128.3 grains. Very Good. From the Maris Collection. Maris book plate coin. Believed unique.*
- 1787 M-82-hh. Contemporary counterfeit. 127.4 grains. Poor.
- 1787 Outlined plow. Unlisted in Maris. 105 grains. Good. From the Maris Collection. Believed unique.
- 1788 M-64½-r. New variety: Broad chest, large plow with slightly curved beam. Period after Caesarea/Reverse r. 147.9 grains. Very Fine. Possibly unique.

Massachusetts Copper Coinage

- 1776 Engraved pattern attributed to Paul Revere. 86.6 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection. Crosby plate coin. Unique.
- 1776 Halfpenny. "Janus" copper. 81.2 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection. Crosby and *Guide Book* plate coin. Unique.
- 1787 Half cent. R-1-D. 88.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Half cent. R-2-A. 73 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Half cent. R-4-B. 69.3 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Half cent. R-4-C. 81.4 grains. Uncirculated. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Half cent. R-5-A. 75.8 grains. Uncirculated. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Half cent. R-6-A. 78.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 Half cent. R-1-B. 82.5 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection. Believed finest known.
- 1787 Cent. Arrows in right talon. R-2a-F. 185 grains. Fine. From Frossard on April 12, 1883, previously from the Parsons Collection. Believed four known.
- 1787 Cent. Horn from eagle's head. R-2b-A. 159 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 Cent. R-3-G. 158 grains. Uncirculated. From the Miller Collection.
- 1787 Cent. R-4-D. 142 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 Cent. R-6-G. 166.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1788 Cent. Period. R-1-D. 157 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 Cent. Period. R-3-A. 157.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 Cent. No Period. R-6-N. 160.8 grains. Very Fine.
- 1788 Cent. Period. R-10-L. 150.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 Cent. Period. R-10-L. 155.9 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1788 Cent. Period. R-11-C. 153 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1788 Cent. Period. R-12-M. 139.7 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

New York Copper Coinage

- 1786 NON VI VIRTUTE VICI. 134.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Be-ment, Smith and Parmelee collections.
- 1787 NOVA EBORAC. Figure facing left. Large head. 156.9 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 NOVA EBORAC. Figure facing left. Small head. 133.1

grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Probably finest known.

- 1787 NOVA EBORAC. Figure facing right. 117.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1787 EXCELSIOR. Eagle on globe facing right. 153.3 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection.
- 1787 EXCELSIOR. Eagle on globe facing left. 134.4 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Smith and Parmelee collections. Probably finest known.
- 1787 EXCELSIOR. Eagle on globe. Arrows and branch transposed. 165.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons Collection.
- 1787 EXCELSIOR. Indian and New York arms. 166 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1787 EXCELSIOR. Indian and Eagle on globe. 121.8 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection. Probably finest known.
- 1787 George Clinton. 165.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Ten Eyck Collection.
- 1785 Immunis Columbia. 179 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1787 New York/IMMUNIS COLUMBIA. Ornamented edge. 144.8 grains. Very Fine. From H. Chapman on January 9, 1925. Believed unique.
- 1787 New York/IMMUNIS COLUMBIA. Struck over New Jersey copper. Large planchet. 155 grains. Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection. Believed finest known.
- 1787 LIBERNATUS LIBERTATEM DEFENDO/GEORGIVS III REX. Mule. 118.9 grains. Good. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Parmelee, Bushnell and Mickley collections. Three known.

Ephraim Brasher's Coinage

- 1787 Doubloon. Brasher's hallmark on eagle's left wing. Gold pattern. 407.9 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection. *Guide Book*, *ANS Exhibition* and *Centennial* plate coin. Finest of five or six known.
- 1787 Doubloon. Brasher's hallmark on eagle's breast. Gold pattern. 411.5 grains. Very Fine. From Frossard on April 5, 1883, previously from the Parsons and Bushnell collections. *Guide Book* and *ANS Centennial* plate coin. Unique.
- 1742 So-called "Lima style". Imitation of a Peruvian 8 escudos piece. 407.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Newcomer Collection through Mehl.

Brasher Counterstamps

- 1718 ¼ Guinea of Great Britain (George I). 31.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Ten Eyck collection.
- 1734 Guinea of Great Britain (George II). 126 grains. Very Good.
- 1749 Guinea of Great Britain (George II). 125.5 grains. Very Good. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1755 4 Escudos of Portugal (Joseph I). 216 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Chapmans on March 20, 1883.

(1775-1778) Guinea of Great Britain (George III). 123 grains. Very Fine. From the Ten Eyck Collection.

1818 Quarter of United States. 95 grains. About Good. Brasher died in 1811.

Continental Dollars

1776 CURRENCY. Copper. Newman 1-B. 222.9 grains. Very Fine. From the Lermann Collection.

1776 CURRENCY. Silver. N-1-C. 375 grains. Very Good. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Parmelee, Seavey and Clay collections. Believed unique.

1776 CURRENCY. Pewter. N-1-C. 250 grains. Uncirculated.

1776 CURRENCY. Pewter. N.2-C. 244.4 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1776 CURRENCY. E. G. Fecit. Pewter. N.3-D. 266.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1783 FELICITAS BRITANNIA ET AMERICA/Continental dollar reverse. Pewter. Betts 614. 344.9 grains. Very Fine. Four known.

Fugio Cents

1787 AMERICAN CONGRESS. Copper pattern. Newman 1-CC. 144.6 grains. Uncirculated. From Frossard on April 5, 1883, previously from the Parsons and Bushnell collections. Believed four known. *Guide Book* plate coin.

1787 Club rays, rounded ends. 150.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman, previously from the Parsons and Miller collections. Probably finest known.

1787 Club rays, rounded ends. 152.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1787 UNITED STATES, pointed rays. 141.1 grains. Uncirculated.

1787 UNITED STATES, pointed rays. 154 grains. About Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.

1787 UNITED above, STATES below. 130.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1787 STATES UNITED, raised rims. Cross after date. 150.2 grains. Fine. From S. H. Chapman on October 27, 1920, previously from the Miller Collection.

1787 STATES UNITED, pointed rays. 149.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1787 STATES UNITED, pointed rays. 149.8 grains. Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on March 20, 1883.

1787 STATES UNITED, pointed rays. Label with raised rims. 170.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From S. H. Chapman on October 27, 1920, previously from the Miller Collection.

1787 STATES UNITED, pointed rays. 140.3 grains. Very Fine. From the Wilharm Collection.

1787 STATES UNITED, 8 pointed star on label. 122.9 grains. Very Fine.

1787 UNITED STATES. Sun and sundial in plain field. Silver. 19th century fantasy. N-101-EE. 151.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Newcomer Collection. Believed two known.

Undated. AMERICAN CONGRESS. Sun and sundial in plain field. Silver. 19th century fantasy. N-101-BB. 153.2 grains.

Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection. Believed two known.

1787 Club rays, concave ends. New Haven restrike. N-104-FF. 139.3 grains. About Uncirculated.

North American Token

1781 Copper. 109.2 grains. Very Fine.

Bar Cents

(1785) Undated. Copper. Bolen copy. 76.1 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection.

(1785) Undated. Silver. Bolen copy. 116.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Auctori Plebis Tokens

1787 AUCTORI PLEBIS. 116.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.

1787 AUCTORI PLEBIS. Obverse striking. Employs a different die from that used for the regular coinage. (Atkins 8). 112.8 grains. Very Good. From the Miller Collection.

Mott Tokens

1789 Thick Planchet. 163.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1789 Very Thick Planchet. 202.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From Raymond on December 10, 1919.

Standish Barry, Baltimore, Maryland

1790 Threepence. 12.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Morris Collection.

Albany Church Penny

(1790) Undated. Without D. 93.7 grains. Very Fine. Holed. From the Jenks Collection. *Guide Book* plate coin. Probably four known.

Castorland Medals

1796 Milled edge. Thick flan. Silver. "Original". 238.5 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1796 Milled edge. Thick flan. Copper. "Original". 249.2 grains. Very Fine. From Frossard's 17th sale.

1796 Milled edge. Thin flan. Copper. "Original". 195.7 grains. Fine. From Chapman on December 19, 1919.

1796 Milled edge. Thick flan. Brass. "Original". 220.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection. Believed unique.

1796 Milled edge. Thin flan. Silver restrike. 178.8 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1796 Plain edge. Gold restrike. 302.5 grains. Proof. From a Sampson sale on April 20, 1883.

1796 Plain edge. Silver restrike. 178 grains. Proof.

Myddelton Tokens

1796 Copper. 161.4 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1796 Silver. 174.8 grains. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.

Copper Company of Upper Canada

1794 Halfpenny. 201.1 grains. Proof. From the Mills Collection.

New York Theatre Token

- (1797) Undated. 409.8 grains. Proof. From Raymond on December 1, 1922.

North West Company Token

- 1820 Copper. 166.1 grains. Fine. Holed. From Raymond in November 1925.

Kentucky Tokens

- (1792-1794) Undated. Cent. Plain edge. 150.8 grains. Uncirculated.
- (1792-1794) Undated. Cent. Engrailed edge. 148.8 grains. Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection.
- (1792-1794) Undated. Cent. Lettered edge: PAYABLE IN LANCASTER LONDON OR BRISTOL. 179.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Crosby Collection.

Franklin Press Tokens

- 1794 116.9 grains. Uncirculated. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1794 119.1 grains. About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on May 17, 1920.

Talbot, Allum & Lee Cents

- 1794 Obverse: LIBERTY & COMMERCE; 1793 Reverse: STORK, PROMISSORY HALFPENNY. Mule. (Fuld 2). 149.1 grains. About Unc. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1794 Large &, no New York. 144.8 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1794 Small &, New York. 147.4 grains. Uncirculated. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.
- 1794 Small &, New York. 161.6 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1795 156.5 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1795 156.3 grains. Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection.

Washington Pieces

- 1783 UNITY STATES. Baker 1. 119.4 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Mills Collection.
- 1783 Draped bust. No button. B-2. 113.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1783 Small military bust. Plain edge. B-4a. 112.3 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Jenks Collection.
- 1783 Draped bust. Button. B-5. 112.3 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1783 Draped bust. Engrailed edge. Copper restrike. B-5. 146.4 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.
- (1783) Undated. Cent double head. B-6. 129 grains. About Uncirculated.
- 1783 Georgius Triumpho. B-7. 135.5 grains. Extremely Fine.
- 1784 Satirical piece. Washington the Great. White metal. B-8a. 125.5 grains. Poor. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Petry and Wood collections. Believed unique.
- 1791 Cent. Large eagle. B-15. 193.3 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- Reverse die trial. Large eagle. UNUM E PLURIBUS. ONE

CENT. Edge: BERSHAM BRADLEY WILLEY SNEDSHILL. B-15. 189.7 grains. Uncirculated. From Woodward's 69th Sale, previously from the Bushnell, Colburn and Davenport collections.

Reverse die trial. Large eagle. UNUM E PLURIBUS. ONE CENT. Edge: "PAYABLE AT SHREWSBURY***". B-15. 167.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From Woodward's 69th Sale. Believed unique.

Reverse die trial. Large eagle. UNUM E PLURIBUS. Hub impression. B-15. 161.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed unique.

1791 Cent. Small eagle. Copper. B-16. 194.7 grains. About Uncirculated.

1791 Cent. Small eagle. Brass. B-16. 187.9 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Two known.

Obverse die trial. WASHINGTON PRESIDENT. Military bust left. Edge: "PAYABLE AT THE WAREHOUSE OF THOS & ALEXR HUTCHISON.". B-16. 192.4 grains. About Uncirculated. From Woodward's 69th Sale, previously from the Bushnell, Colburn and Davenport collections. Believed unique.

1791 Halfpenny. LIVERPOOL. B-17. 134.8 grains. Very Fine.

1793 Halfpenny. Ship. B-18. 172.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1793 Halfpenny. Ship. LIVERPOOL edge. Brass. B-18. 158.3 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Bushnell and Mickley collections. Believed unique.

1792 Cent. Roman head. B-19. 198.5 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.

1792 "Half dollar". Large eagle. Copper. Lettered edge. B-20. 179.1 grains. Very Good. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed three known.

1792 "Half dollar". Large eagle. Silver. B-23. 194.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Newcomer Collection, previously from the Parmelee Collection.

1792 "Half dollar". Small eagle. Silver. B-24. 214.1 grains. Very Fine. From the Mills Collection.

1792 "Half dollar". Small eagle. Plain edge. Copper. B-25. 265.8 grains. Uncirculated. From Frossard's 30th Sale.

1792 "Half dollar". Small eagle. Ornamented edge. Copper. B-25. 190.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Anthon Collection.

1792 "Half dollar". Small eagle. Copper. 217 grains. Extremely Fine. Idler Counterfeit.

1792 "Half dollar". Large eagle. Silver. PRESIDENTI. B-23. 213.5 grains. Very Fine. Idler Counterfeit. From the Anthon Collection. Unique.

1795 Halfpenny. Grate token. Large buttons. Reeded edge. B-29. 143.3 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1795 Halfpenny. Grate token. Large buttons. Reeded edge. B-29. 141.1 grains. Extremely Fine.

1795 Halfpenny. Grate token. Large buttons. Reeded edge. Brass. B-29. 147.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed unique.

- 1795 Halfpenny. Grate token. Small buttons. Reeded edge. B-29a. 144 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- (1795) Undated. Penny. Liberty and Security. B-30. 305.6 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- (1795) Undated. Penny. Liberty and Security. B-30. 301.8 grains. Uncirculated. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.
- 1795 Halfpenny. Liberty and Security. Plain edge. B-31. 110.3 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1795 Halfpenny. Liberty and Security. LONDON edge. B-31. 146.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1795 Halfpenny. Liberty and Security. BIRMINGHAM edge. B-31. 116.1 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1795 Halfpenny. Liberty and Security. ASYLUM edge. B-31. 151.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1795 Halfpenny. Liberty and Security. Muled with an Irish halfpenny. 133.1 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1795 Penny. Liberty and Security. B-32. 291.6 grains. Very Good. From the Raymond Collection, previously from the Newcomer Collection.
- 1795 Halfpenny. North Wales. B-34. 97.2 grains. Fine.
- 1792 Cent. WASHINGTON PRESIDENT. Plain edge. B-59. 177.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Parsons Collection.
- 1792 Cent. WASHINGTON PRESIDENT. Lettered edge. B-59. 179 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Stickney Collection.
- (1792) Undated. Cent. WASHINGTON BORN VIRGINIA. Copper. B-60. 186.4 grains. Proof.
- (1792) Undated. Cent. WASHINGTON BORN VIRGINIA. Silver. B-60. 160.8 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Winsor Collection. Believed three known.
- Success token. Large. Plain edge. Copper. B-265. 80.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- Success token. Large. Reeded edge. Copper. B-265. 65.5 grains. Extremely Fine.
- Success token. Large. Reeded edge. Brass. B-266. 65.8 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- Success token. Large. Reeded edge. Gilded brass. B-266. 68.1 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- Success token. Large. Reeded edge. Brass. B-266. Different portrait. 59.4 grains. Very Fine.
- Success token. Small. Plain edge. Copper. B-267. 27.9 grains. About Good.
- Success token. Small. Reeded edge. Brass. B-267. 30.6 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1797 Masonic medal. Head left. G. WASHINGTON PRESIDENT 1797/Masonic emblems in large circle. AMOR. HONOR. et JUSTITIA GWG G.M. Silver. 193.4 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Believed unique.
- 1797 Military bust left. George Washington President. Obverse striking. Silvered copper. 139.5 grains. Fine. Holed. Believed unique.

Miscellaneous

- Undated. Ships. Colonies. Commerce. 65.3 grains. Extremely Fine.
- Undated. Ships. Colonies. Commerce. (W&B NY). 68.7 grains. Extremely Fine.

Pattern, Trial and Experimental Pieces

1792 Patterns

- 1792 Silver Center Cent. Judd 1. 70.5 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1792 No Silver Center Cent. J-2. 63.1 grains. Very Fine. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Seavey Collection. Four known.
- 1792 Birch Cent. Lettered edge. Copper. J-4. 220.5 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from David Rittenhouse. Believed finest known.
- 1792 Birch Cent. White metal. J-6. 104.5 grains. Uncirculated. *Guide Book* and Taxay plate coin. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Bascom Collection and a Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge sale. Unique.
- 1792 Half Disme. Silver. J-7. 20.9 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1792 Copper Disme. Reeded edge. J-10. 58.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1792 Copper Disme. Plain edge. J-11. 61.1 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Mint Collection. Two known.
- 1792 Wright Quarter. White metal die trials. Belongs with J-12-13. Obverse weighs 480.8 grains and grades Extremely Fine; reverse weighs 432.9 grains and grades Very Fine. From the Bushnell Collection. Each unique.

Half Cent

- 1856 J-177. 69.3 grains. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.

Cents

- 1850 J-124. 31.8 grains. Uncirculated. From the Dohrmann Collection.
- 1853 J-149. Proof. From the Bushnell Collection.*
- 1853 J-149. 40.4 grains. Proof. From the Bushnell Collection.
- 1854 J-161. 96.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From Frossard's 27th sale.
- 1855 J-168. 96.5 grains. Uncirculated. From the Bushnell Collection.
- 1856 J-184. 68.6 grains. Proof. From Haseltine's 65th sale.
- 1858 J-191. Proof.*
- 1858 J-192. 72.6 grains. Proof.
- 1858 J-192. 72.9 grains. Proof.
- 1858 J-193. Proof.*
- 1858 J-199. 84.1 grains. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
- 1858 J-202. 71.2 grains. Proof.
- 1858 J-203. Proof.*
- 1858 J-204. Proof.*
- 1858 J-206. 71.6 grains. Proof.
- 1858 J-208. 71.2 grains. Uncirculated.
- 1858 J-211. Proof.*
- 1858 J-212. Proof.*
- 1858 J-213. Proof.*
- 1858 Unlisted in Judd. Similar to J-217 except struck in nickel.

71.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection.

- 1859 J-230. Uncirculated.*
- 1863 J-299. Proof.*
- 1863 J-299. 48.7 grains. Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
- 1864 J-356. Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection.*
- 1865 J-404. Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th sale.*
- 1865 J-406. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
- 1868 J-608. 22.8 grains. Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th sale.
- 1868 J-609. Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th sale.*
- 1869 J-666. 22.2 grains. Proof. From the Mickley Collection.
- 1881 J-1665. 24.2 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
- 1884 J-1721. 29.4 grains. Proof.
- 1884 J-1721. Proof.*

Two Cent Pieces

- 1836 J-52. 62.1 grains. Proof. From the Anthon Collection.
- 1836 J-54. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.*
- 1863 J-305. 91.3 grains. Proof.
- 1864 J-371. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
- 1865 J-407. 51.9 grains. Uncirculated. From a Smith sale on March 16, 1883.

Nickel Three Cent Pieces

- 1863 J-319. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.*
- 1863 J-320. 43.7 grains. Proof. Believed two known.
- 1865 J-413. 40.3 grains. Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
- 1865 J-414. Uncirculated.*
- 1867 J-558. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
- 1867 J-559. 28.2 grains. Uncirculated. From Frossard's 26th sale.
- 1868 J-618. 46.1 grains. Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th sale.
- 1868 J-619. Proof. From the Mickley Collection.*
- 1869 J-676. 45.3 grains. Proof. From the Mickley Collection.
- 1881 J-1668. 45.6 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.

Silver Three Cent Pieces

- 1849 J-113. 24.6 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1850 J-125. 10.8 grains. Proof. From a Cogan sale on September 16-20, 1878.
- 1867 J-560. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
- 1870 J-799. 17.5 grains. Proof.

Nickels

- 1865 J-416. 77.1 grains. Proof. From Haseltine's 65th sale.
- 1866 J-461. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.*
- 1866 J-473. 76.7 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1866 J-479. Broad planchet. 92.9 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1866 J-487. 59.3 grains. Proof.
- 1866 J-489. 54.1 grains. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885.

- 1866 J-504. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885.*
- 1866 J-517. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.*
- 1866 J-521. 72.1 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1866 J-522. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.*
- 1866 J-523. 88.1 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1866 J-525. 86 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1866 J-476. Mule. Obverse: George Washington, IN GOD WE TRUST; Reverse: Regular die without rays. Broad planchet. 84.3 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection. Believed unique.
- 1867 J-561. 22.4 grains. Proof.
- 1867 J-570. 75.9 grains. Proof. From the Mickley Collection.
- 1867 J-572. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
- 1867 J-572. 73 grains. Proof.
- 1867 J-573. 73.2 grains. Proof. From the Britton Collection.
- 1867 J-584-a. Struck in nickel alloy. 85.1 grains. Proof.
- 1867 J-601. 86.1 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection. Believed two known.
- 1868 J-623. Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1868 J-626. Proof. From the Bradbury Collection.*
- 1868 J-633. 76.6 grains. Proof. From the Mickley Collection.
- 1869 Unlisted in Judd. Mule. Obverse: Head of Liberty, type of J-683; Reverse: George Washington, IN GOD WE TRUST, dated 1866. Proof. 96.1 grains. From the Crosby Collection. Believed unique.
- 1869 J-684. Proof. From the Mickley Collection.*
- 1871 J-1050. 75.3 grains. Proof. From Haseltine's 65th sale.
- 1871 J-1051. Proof. From Haseltine's 65th sale.*
- 1871 J-1053. 76.6 grains. Proof. From Haseltine's 64th sale.
- 1871 J-1054. Proof. From the Bradbury Collection.*
- 1881 J-1671. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1882 J-1675. 78.1 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Believed three known.
- 1882 J-1677. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1882 J-1680. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1882 J-1684. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1882 J-1687. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1882 J-1690. 73.8 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
- 1883 J-1704. 81.1 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
- 1883 J-1707. Proof.*
- 1883 J-1707. 88.4 grains. Proof.
- 1883 J-1710. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1883 J-1715. Proof.*
- 1883 J-1717. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
- 1884 J-1724. 74.1 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.

Half Dimes

- 1800 Obverse die trial. Judd Appendix A. 32 grains. Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.
- 1867 J-586. From the Britton Collection.*
- 1870 J-816. 19.8 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.

- 1870 J-817. Proof.*
- 1871 J-1059. 19.2 grains. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
- 1871 J-1068. 19.2 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.

Dimes

- 1863 J-326a. 24.9 grains. Proof.
- 1863 J-327. 10.8 grains. Proof.
- 1863 J-327. Proof.*
- 1863 J-329. Proof.*
- 1863 J-330. 28.2 grains. Proof.
- 1864 J-383. Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1867 J-587. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
- 1868 J-644. Proof.*
- 1868 J-645. 38.6 grains. Proof. Believed three known.
- 1869 J-696. 30.6 grains. Proof.
- 1869 J-697. Proof.*
- 1869 J-702. Proof.*
- 1869 J-703. 30.6 grains. Proof.
- 1869 J-708. Proof.*
- 1869 J-709. 30.6 grains. Proof.
- 1869 J-715. 36.4 grains. Proof. From Haseltine's 69th sale.
- 1869 J-716. 45.6 grains. Proof.
- 1870 J-832. 37.6 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
- 1870 J-834. Proof.*
- 1870 J-837. Proof.*
- 1870 J-843. Proof.*
- 1870 J-849. Proof.*
- 1871 J-1074. 34.9 grains. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
- 1871 J-1084. 39.9 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
- 1879 J-1584. 38.6 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
- 1879 J-1586. 38.5 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
- 1879 J-1587. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885, previously from Bosbyshell.*
- 1879 J-1588. Proof. From Woodward on October 18, 1883.*
- 1879 J-1589. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885.*

Twenty Cent Pieces

- 1874 J-1354. 77.1 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Mint Collection.
- 1875 J-1392. 77.2 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.

Quarters

- 1865 J-426. 93.4 grains. Proof.
- 1866 J-537. 92.8 grains. Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
- 1867 J-590. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
- 1869 J-721. Proof.*
- 1869 J-722. 76.8 grains. Proof.
- 1869 J-727. Proof.*
- 1869 J-728. 76.8 grains. Proof.
- 1869 J-733. Proof.*

- 1869 J-734. 76.7 grains. Proof.
 1870 J-883. 95.9 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1870 J-884. Proof.*
 1870 J-888. Proof.*
 1870 J-894. Proof.*
 1870 J-900. 84.2 grains. Proof.
 1871 J-1090. 92.2 grains. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
 1871 J-1099. 91.5 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1879 J-1590. 96 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
 1879 J-1593. 96.5 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
 1879 J-1594. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885, previously from Bosbyshell. Possibly four known.*

Half Dollars

- 1822 Obverse die trial. Restrike. Judd Appendix A. 250.1 grains. Proof. From Woodward's 46th sale. Believed four known.
 1838 J-72. 191.4 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1838 J-73. 197 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1838 J-76a. 191.2 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1838 J-79. 205.4 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1839 J-95. 191.5 grains. Proof. From the Frossard Collection. Possibly two known.
 1839 J-99. 192 grains. Proof. From the Frossard Collection. Believed two known.
 1859 J-235. 191.6 grains. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
 1859 J-236. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
 1859 J-237. 191.1 grains. Proof. From the Mickley Collection.
 1859 J-239. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1859 J-240. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
 1859 J-241. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1861 J-277. 190.4 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1861 J-279. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1862 J-293. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1862 J-295. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1863 J-338. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1863 J-340. 191.6 grains. Proof. From Frossard May 6, 1882.
 1865 J-432. 161.6 grains. Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th sale.
 1867 J-591. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
 1869 J-742. 153.4 grains. Proof.
 1869 J-743. Proof.*
 1869 J-749. 153 grains. Proof.
 1869 J-754. 153.5 grains. Proof.
 1869 J-755. Proof.*
 1870 J-934. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1870 J-935. 164.4 grains. Proof. From Bangs & Co. in 1880.
 1870 J-939. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1870 J-951. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1870 J-957. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1871 J-1105. 184.4 grains. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
 1871 J-1114. 184.6 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1872 J-1200. 189.5 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1877 J-1501. 185.4 grains. Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1883. Believed two known.
 1877 J-1503. 183.7 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
 1877 J-1504. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1877 J-1506. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Believed two known.*
 1877 J-1509. 175 grains. Proof.
 1877 J-1511. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1877 J-1512. 186.2 grains. Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1883.
 1877 J-1513. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1877 J-1514. Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1883. Believed three known.*
 1877 J-1516. 185.2 grains. Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1883.
 1877 J-1517. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1877 J-1519. 175 grains. Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1883.
 1877 J-1520. 182.6 grains. Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1883. Possibly unique.
 1877 J-1521. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1877 J-1522. 183.2 grains. Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1883. Possibly two known.
 1877 J-1523. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1877 J-1524. 186.2 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Believed two known.
 1877 J-1530. 181.2 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
 1877 J-1530. Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1883.*
 1877 J-1534. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Believed three known.*
 1877 Unlisted in Judd. Similar to J-1534 except struck in silver. 185.1 grains. Proof. Believed unique.
 1877 J-1535. 192.2 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Possibly unique.
 1877 J-1539a. 182.2 grains. Proof. Possibly two known.
 1877 J-1541. 174.2 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
 1879 J-1597. 192 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
 1879 J-1599. 192.2 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
 1879 J-1600. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885, previously from Bosbyshell.*
 1879 J-1601. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.*
 1879 J-1602. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885, previously from Bosbyshell.*

Silver Dollars

- 1836 J-58. 411.6 grains. Proof. From a Chapman sale on March 20, 1882.

1836 J-60. Proof. From the Anthon Collection.*
 1836 J-63. Proof. From the Anthon Collection.*
 1836 J-65. 411 grains. Proof. From Woodward's 58th sale. Possibly three known.
 1838 J-84. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1839 J-104. Proof. From Bangs & Co. on June 28, 1880.*
 1865 J-435. 404.4 grains. Proof.
 1866 J-541. 365.5 grains. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
 1867 J-592. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
 1869 J-763. Proof.*
 1870 J-1003. 409.3 grains. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.
 1870 J-1005. Proof.*
 1870 J-1009. 396 grains. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
 1870 J-1011. Proof.*
 1870 J-1015. 408.3 grains. Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1883.
 1870 J-1017. Proof. From Haseltine's 65th sale.*
 1871 J-1121. 407.3 grains. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
 1871 J-1146. Proof. From Frossard on May 6, 1882.*
 1871 J-1148. 376.3 grains. Proof. From Haseltine's 65th sale.
 1872 J-1214. 420 grains. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
 1872 J-1215. Proof. From G.W. Cogan on March 17, 1883.*
 1872 J-1217. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885, previously from Bosbyshell.*
 1873 J-1274. Proof. Possibly three known.*
 1875 J-1420. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
 1875 J-1423. 420 grains. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
 1876 J-1463. 400.4 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
 1877 J-1542. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1877 J-1544. 169.5 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
 1878 J-1550. 411.7 grains. Proof.
 1878 J-1554. 412 grains. Proof. From a Chapman sale on March 20, 1883.
 1878 J-1555. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1878 J-1557. 257.5 grains. Proof.
 1878 J-1562. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1878 J-1564. Proof.*
 1878 J-1565. 342.8 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Possibly three known.
 1879 J-1603. 411.3 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
 1879 J-1605. 412 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
 1879 J-1608. 412 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
 1879 J-1611. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.*
 1879 J-1613. 412.6 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.
 1879 J-1615. 411.4 grains. Proof. From Woodward on August 18, 1883.

1879 J-1618. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.*
 1879 J-1620. 99 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
 1879 J-1623. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885.*
 1879 J-1624. 99.6 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
 1879 J-1627. Proof.*
 1879 J-1629. 54.8 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
 1879 J-1631. 217.2 grains. Proof.
 1879 J-1633. 55.4 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection.
 1880 J-1647. 100 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Believed three known.
 1880 J-1650. 99.6 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Believed three known.
 1880 J-1651. Proof.*
 1880 J-1653. 55.2 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Probably four known.
 1880 J-1656. 54 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Probably four known.

Trade Dollars

1873 J-1276. 419.7 grains. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.
 1873 J-1281. 420 grains. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.
 1873 J-1293. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.*
 1873 J-1310. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.*
 1873 J-1315. 419.7 grains. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.
 1873 J-1322. 420 grains. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.

Gold Dollars

1836 J-67. Proof. 25.7 grains. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.
 1836 J-70. Proof.*
 1849 J-116. 19.2 grains. Proof. From the Bushnell Collection. Possibly four known.
 1852 J-140. 21.8 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Anthon Collection.
 1852 J-141. 32.1 grains. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
 1852 J-145. 25.5 grains. Proof. From the Anthon Collection.
 1859 J-256. 15.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Dohrmann Collection.
 1867 J-594. Proof. From the Britton Collection. Possibly three known.*

Quarter Eagles

1861 J-282. 34 grains. Proof.
 1867 J-595. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*

Three Dollar Gold Pieces

1867 J-596. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
 1872 J-1237. 17.4 grains. Proof.

Four Dollar Gold Pieces

- 1879 J-1637. Proof. From the Maris Collection.*
 1879 J-1640. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Believed three known.*
 1880 J-1659. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Possibly three known.*
 1880 J-1662. Proof. From the Maris Collection. Possibly two known.*

Judd 1635, 1638 and 1657 are listed with regular issue coins.

Half Eagles

- 1860 J-272. 64.9 grains. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.
 1861 J-283. Proof.*
 1865 J-446. 75.4 grains. Proof. From the Bradbury Collection.
 1867 J-599. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
 1867 J-601. Proof. From the Crosby Collection. Believed two known.*
 1868 J-659. 28.3 grains. Proof. From Haseltine's 67th sale.
 1869 J-778. 67 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection. Judd plate coin. Believed unique.

Eagles

- 1861 J-285. 146.5 grains. Proof. From the Dohrmann Collection.
 1861 J-287. Proof. From the Dohrmann Collection.*
 1862 J-297. Proof.*
 1862 J-298. Proof. From the Bradbury Collection.*
 1863 J-349. 257.6 grains. Proof. From Woodward's 69th sale, previously from the Ely, Dohrmann, and Cohen collections. Unique.
 1863 J-350. Proof. From the Dohrmann Collection.*
 1863 J-351. 258.5 grains. Proof. From Woodward's 69th sale,

previously from the Ely, Dohrmann, and Cohen collections. Unique.

- 1863 J-352. Proof.*
 1865 J-450. 142.6 grains. Proof. From the Bradbury Collection.
 1867 J-602. Proof. From the Britton Collection. Possibly three known.*
 1868 J-663. 39.8 grains. Proof. From the Maas Collection.
 1874 J-1374. 235.5 grains. Proof. From the Gutttag Bros. on May 25, 1927.
 1877 J-1545. 139.2 grains. Proof. From Newlin on September 15, 1885, previously from Bosbyshell.

Judd 1774 and 1775 are listed with regular issue coins.

Double Eagles

- 1859 J-257. 317 grains. Proof. From the Crosby Collection.
 (1859) Undated. J-262. Proof. From the Maas Collection.*
 (1861) Undated. Reverse Pattern. Judd Appendix A. 966.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Britton Collection, previously from the Lefferts Collection and G. W. Cogan. Unique.
 1865 J-453. 289.6 grains. Proof. From the Bradbury Collection.
 1867 J-604. Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
 1879 J-1643. 539.6 grains. Proof. From the Maris Collection, previously from the Hebbard Collection, Haseltine and Hubbell. Believed four known.
 1879 J-1644. Proof. From Newlin on November 16, 1885, previously from Bosbyshell.*

Fifty Dollar Gold Piece

- 1877 J-1547. 757.7 grains. Proof. From Newlin on December 31, 1885, previously from Bosbyshell.

Pattern Set

- 1868 Original cased set struck in aluminum: Cent through double eagle. (16 pieces). J-612, 614, 621, 622, 636, 639, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 660, 664 and 665. Proof. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.

Regular Issue Coins

Half Cents

Liberty Cap, head left (1793)

- 1793 Gilbert 1, Cohen 3. Very Fine. From the Harold P. Newlin Collection.*
- 1793 G-3, C-2. Extremely Fine. From the Newlin Collection.

Liberty Cap, head right (1794-1797)

- 1794 G-1, C-9. Very Fine. From S. H. Chapman on December 19, 1919.*
- 1794 G-4, C-4. Very Fine. From S. H. Chapman on December 19, 1919.
- 1794 G-5, C-2a. Very Good. From the Frossard Collection.*
- 1795 Lettered edge. Pole. G-1, C-1. Uncirculated.
- 1795 Lettered edge. Punctuated date. G-3, C-2a. Extremely Fine. From the Chapmans on March 20, 1883.*
- 1795 Plain edge, no pole. G-5, C-6a. Extremely Fine. From S. H. Chapman on December 19, 1919.
- 1796 Pole. G-1, C-2. Extremely Fine. From the Chapmans on December 20, 1883.
- 1797 Plain edge. G-2, C-30. Very Fine.*
- 1797 Plain edge. G-3, C-2. About Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1797 1 above 1, plain edge. G-4, C-1. About Uncirculated. From Mehl on February 15, 1921.

Draped Bust (1800-1808)

- 1800 G-1, C-1. Uncirculated.
- 1802 2 over 0. G-1, C-2. Very Fine.
- 1803 G-2, C-1. About Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman on December 19, 1919.
- 1803 G-3, C-3. About Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman on December 19, 1919.*
- 1804 Plain 4, stemless. G-2, C-13. About Uncirculated.
- 1804 Crosslet 4, stems. G-5, C-9. Extremely Fine.
- 1804 Spiked chin. G-11, C-5. Extremely Fine.*
- 1805 Small 5, stemless. G-1, C-1. About Uncirculated.
- 1805 Large 5, stems. G-2, C-4. Fine.
- 1806 Small 6, stemless. G-1, C-1. Uncirculated.
- 1806 Large 6, stems. G-3, C-4. Uncirculated.
- 1807 G-1, C-1. Extremely Fine.
- 1808 Normal date. G-2, C-3. Very Fine.

Classic Head (1809-1836)

- 1809 G-2, C-6. Uncirculated.
- 1809 G-3, C-2. Very Good.*
- 1810 G-1, C-1. About Uncirculated.
- 1811 G-2, C-1. Very Fine.
- 1825 G-1, C-2. About Uncirculated.
- 1826 G-2, C-2. About Uncirculated.
- 1828 13 stars. G-1, C-3. Uncirculated.
- 1828 12 stars. G-3, C-2. Uncirculated.
- 1829 G-1, C-1. About Uncirculated.

- 1831 Original. G-1, C-1. Very Fine.
- 1831 Large berries. Reverse of 1836. G-2. Restrike. Proof.*
- 1832 About Uncirculated.*
- 1832 G-2, C-1. Uncirculated.
- 1833 G-1, C-1. Proof. From Haseltine's 65th sale.
- 1834 G-1, C-1. Uncirculated.
- 1835 G-2, C-1. Uncirculated.
- 1836 Original. G-1. Proof. From the Dohrmann Collection.

Braided Hair (1840-1857)

- 1840 Original. G-1. Proof.
- 1840 2nd Restrike. Proof.*
- 1841 Original. G-1. Proof.
- 1841 2nd Restrike. Proof.*
- 1842 2nd Restrike. Proof.
- 1843 2nd Restrike. Proof.
- 1844 Original. G-1. Proof.
- 1844 2nd Restrike. Proof.*
- 1845 Original. G-1. Proof.
- 1845 2nd Restrike. Proof.*
- 1846 Original. G-1. Proof.
- 1846 2nd Restrike. Proof.*
- 1847 2nd Retrike. Proof.
- 1848 Original. G-1. Proof.
- 1848 1st Restrike. G-2. Proof.*
- 1849 Small date, 1st restrike. G-2. Proof.
- 1849 Large date. G-3, C-1. Uncirculated. From the Kingman Collection.
- 1850 G-1, C-1. About Uncirculated.
- 1851 G-1, C-1. About Uncirculated.
- 1852 2nd Restrike. Proof. From Bangs & Co. on September 1880.
- 1853 G-1, C-1. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 64th sale.
- 1854 G-1, C-1. Uncirculated.
- 1855 G-1, C-1. Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.*
- 1855 G-1, C-1. Proof.
- 1856 Reverse of 1854. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
- 1857 G-1, C-1. Uncirculated.*
- 1857 Recut CENT. G-1, C-1. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.

Large Cents

Flowing Hair. Chain (1793)

- 1793 AMERI. Sheldon 1. About Uncirculated. From the Ely Collection.
- 1793 AMERICA. S-3. Uncirculated. From Frossard's 38th Sale. One of finest known.

Flowing Hair. Wreath (1793)

- 1793 Vine and bars edge. S-8. Uncirculated. From a Chapman sale on March 20, 1883.

- 1793 Lettered edge. S-11b. About Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.*

Liberty Cap (1793-1796)

- 1793 S-13. About Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection, previously from the LeGras Collection.
- 1794 Head of 1793. Wide straight date. S-17a. Very Good.*
- 1794 S-18b. Uncirculated. From the Mills Collection, previously from the Parmelee Collection.*
- 1794 S-19b. Very Fine. From the Frossard Collection.*
- 1794 Head of 1793. Straight date. S-20. Good. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1794 S-21. About Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1794 S-22. Extremely Fine.
- 1794 S-24. Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1794 S-25. Very Fine. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1794 S-26. Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.*
- 1794 S-28. About Uncirculated.
- 1794 S-30. Extremely Fine.
- 1794 S-31. About Uncirculated.
- 1794 S-32. Very Fine.*
- 1794 S-40. Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.*
- 1794 S-41. Very Fine.
- 1794 S-42. Extremely Fine.*
- 1794 S-44. About Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1794 S-46. Very Fine. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1794 S-47. Fine.*
- 1794 Starred reverse. S-48. Very Fine.
- 1794 S-49. Fine.*
- 1794 S-50. About Uncirculated.*
- 1794 S-54. Very Fine.
- 1794 S-55. Very Fine. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1794 S-56. Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection, previously from a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882. Believed finest known.
- 1794 S-57. About Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection, previously from a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.
- 1794 S-58. Very Fine.*
- 1794 S-59. Very Fine.*
- 1794 S-60. About Uncirculated.
- 1794 S-61. Very Fine.*
- 1794 S-63. Extremely Fine. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1794 S-64. Extremely Fine.
- 1794 S-65. Extremely Fine.*
- 1794 S-70. Very Fine. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1794 S-71. Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.*
- 1794 Head of 1795. S-72. Very Fine. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1795 Lettered edge. S-73. Fine.*
- 1795 Lettered edge. S-75. About Uncirculated.

- 1795 Plain edge. S-76b. Fine.

- 1795 Plain edge. S-77. Fine.*

- 1795 Plain edge. S-78. About Uncirculated.

- 1795 Jefferson head. S-80. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Maris Collection.

- 1796 S-84. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.

Draped Bust (1796-1807)

- 1796 S-93. About Uncirculated.
- 1796 LIHERTY. S-103. Fine.
- 1796 1st Reverse. S-109. Very Good.*
- 1796 3rd Reverse. S-114. Very Good.*
- 1796 3rd Reverse. S-115. Very Good.*
- 1797 Gripped edge. S-120b. Extremely Fine.
- 1797 S-123. Uncirculated.
- 1797 Stems. S-126. Very Good.*
- 1797 Stems. S-130. Very Fine.*
- 1797 S-135. Uncirculated.
- 1797 S-138. Uncirculated.
- 1797 S-139. About Uncirculated.*
- 1798 S-154. Extremely Fine.
- 1798 S-161. Extremely Fine.
- 1798 S-167. About Uncirculated.*
- 1798 S-173. Very Fine.
- 1798 S-179. Uncirculated. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1799 9 over 8. S-188. Very Fine.
- 1799 S-189. Very Fine. From the Frossard Collection.
- 1800 800 over 798. S-190. Very Fine.
- 1800 800 over 179. S-196. Very Fine.
- 1800 S-204. About Uncirculated.
- 1800 S-208. Very Fine.*
- 1800 S-209. About Uncirculated.
- 1800 S-211. Fine.
- 1801 S-216. Uncirculated.
- 1801 Three errors. S-219. Very Good.
- 1801 1/100 over 1/000. S-221. Fine.
- 1801 1/000. S-223. Extremely Fine.
- 1802 1/000. S-228. Extremely Fine.
- 1802 S-230. About Uncirculated.
- 1802 S-236. About Uncirculated.
- 1802 S-237. Very Fine.*
- 1802 S-239. About Uncirculated.
- 1803 Small date, small fraction. S-250. About Uncirculated.
- 1803 Small date, small fraction. S-251. About Uncirculated.
- 1803 Small date, small fraction. S-254. Uncirculated.
- 1803 Small date, small fraction. S-255. About Uncirculated.*
- 1803 Small date, large fraction. S-258. About Uncirculated.
- 1803 Small date, large fraction. S-261. Very Fine.
- 1803 Small date, small fraction. S-263. Very Fine.*

- 1804 S-266. Very Good.
- 1804 S-266. Extremely Fine. From the Crosby Collection.
- 1805 S-267. Extremely Fine.
- 1805 S-269. Fine.
- 1806 S-270. Extremely Fine.
- 1807 7 over 6. S-273. Extremely Fine.
- 1807 Large fraction. S-276. Very Fine.

Classic Head (1808-1814)

- 1808 S-278. Very Fine.
- 1808 S-279. Very Fine.*
- 1809 S-280. About Uncirculated. From Massamore's 22nd sale.
- 1810 10 over 09. S-281. Extremely Fine.
- 1810 S-283. Extremely Fine.*
- 1810 S-284. About Uncirculated.
- 1811 11 over 10. S-286. Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.
- 1811 S-287. About Uncirculated.
- 1812 S-288. Extremely Fine.
- 1812 S-290. About Uncirculated.
- 1813 S-292. Very Fine.
- 1813 S-293. Very Fine.*
- 1814 Crosslet 4. S-294. About Uncirculated.
- 1814 Plain 4. S-295. About Uncirculated.

Coronet (1816-1857)

- 1816 Newcomb 2. Uncirculated.
- 1816 N-8. Uncirculated.*
- 1817 13 Stars. N-6. Uncirculated.
- 1817 13 Stars. N-9. About Uncirculated.*
- 1817 13 Stars. N-12. Uncirculated.*
- 1817 13 Stars. N-13. Uncirculated.
- 1817 13 Stars. N-14. Uncirculated.
- 1817 15 Stars. N-16. About Uncirculated.
- 1818 N-7. About Uncirculated.
- 1818 N-10. Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.
- 1819 N-2. Uncirculated.
- 1819 N-2. Uncirculated.*
- 1819 N-8. Uncirculated.
- 1819 N-8. Uncirculated.*
- 1820 20 over 19. N-1. Extremely Fine.
- 1820 N-5. Uncirculated. From Massamore's 22nd sale. One of finest known.
- 1820 N-13. Uncirculated.
- 1821 N-1. Extremely Fine.
- 1821 N-2. Extremely Fine.
- 1822 N-1. About Uncirculated.
- 1822 N-11. About Uncirculated.
- 1823 3 over 2. N-1. Very Fine.
- 1823 N-2. Extremely Fine.

- 1824 N-2. Uncirculated.
- 1824 N-3½. About Uncirculated. Probably finest known with double profile.
- 1824 N-4. Uncirculated.
- 1825 N-4. Uncirculated.*
- 1825 N-6. Uncirculated.
- 1825 N-7. About Uncirculated.*
- 1825 N-9. About Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection.
- 1826 N-1. Very Fine.
- 1826 N-5. Very Fine.
- 1826 N-8. Uncirculated.
- 1827 N-5. About Uncirculated.
- 1827 N-6. About Uncirculated.
- 1827 N-8. About Uncirculated.*
- 1827 N-11. Very Fine.*
- 1828 Small date. N-10. Extremely Fine.
- 1828 N-11a. Extremely Fine.
- 1829 Large letters. N-1. Extremely Fine.*
- 1829 Large letters. N-6. Bronzed Proof.
- 1830 Large letters. N-2. Very Fine.*
- 1830 Large letters. N-4. Uncirculated.
- 1830 Large letters. N-7. About Uncirculated.*
- 1831 Large letters. N-8. About Uncirculated.
- 1831 Medium letters. N-11. About Uncirculated.
- 1832 Medium letters. N-1. About Uncirculated.*
- 1832 Medium letters. N-2. Uncirculated. From Chapman on December 13, 1882.
- 1832 Large letters. N-3. About Uncirculated.
- 1833 N-2a. About Uncirculated.
- 1833 N-5. About Uncirculated.*
- 1833 N-6. Extremely Fine.*
- 1834 N-1. About Uncirculated.
- 1834 Small 8, large stars and medium letters. Double profile. N-1½. Extremely Fine.*
- 1834 N-3. Extremely Fine.
- 1835 Small 8 and stars. N-5½. Extremely Fine.*
- 1835 N-8. About Uncirculated.
- 1835 N-14. About Uncirculated.
- 1836 N-3. Uncirculated.*
- 1836 N-6. Uncirculated.
- 1837 N-8. About Uncirculated.
- 1837 N-9. Uncirculated.
- 1838 N-1. Uncirculated.*
- 1838 N-11. Proof.
- 1839 9 over 6. N-1. Very Good.
- 1839 N-2. About Uncirculated.
- 1839 N-4. Extremely Fine.
- 1839 N-8. Uncirculated.

1839 N-14. Uncirculated.
 1840 N-2. Proof.
 1840 N-4. Extremely Fine.*
 1840 N-6. Uncirculated.
 1841 N-1. Proof.
 1842 N-1. Extremely Fine.
 1842 N-7. Uncirculated.
 1843 N-4. Extremely Fine.
 1843 N-12. Uncirculated.
 1844 N-1. About Uncirculated.
 1845 N-4. Uncirculated.
 1846 N-9. Uncirculated.
 1846 N-15. Uncirculated.
 1847 N-13. Proof.
 1847 N-17. Uncirculated.
 1848 N-19. Proof.
 1849 N-11. Uncirculated.*
 1849 N-18. Proof.
 1850 N-12. Uncirculated.
 1851 N-10. Uncirculated.
 1851 N-18. Uncirculated.*
 1852 N-6. Uncirculated.*
 1852 N-11. Uncirculated.
 1853 N-2. Extremely Fine.*
 1853 N-11. Uncirculated.*
 1853 N-25. Uncirculated.
 1854 N-23. Uncirculated.
 1855 N-4. Uncirculated.
 1855 N-9. About Uncirculated.
 1855 N-10. Proof.
 1856 N-2. Uncirculated.*
 1856 N-5. Proof.
 1856 N-6. Uncirculated.
 1857 N-1. Uncirculated.
 1857 N-2. Uncirculated.*
 1857 N-3. Proof.

Small Cents

Flying Eagle (1856-1858)

1856 Proof.
 1857 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
 1857 Uncirculated.*
 1858 Small Letters. Proof.*
 1858 Small Letters. Uncirculated.*

Indian Head (1859-1909)

1859 Proof.
 1860 Proof.
 1860 Uncirculated.*
 1861 Proof.

1862 Proof.*
 1862 Uncirculated.*
 1863 Proof.*
 1863 Uncirculated.*
 1864 Copper nickel. Proof.*
 1864 Copper. Uncirculated.
 1864 L. Uncirculated.*
 1865 Proof.
 1866 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.
 1867 Proof. From Leavitt on December 9, 1878.*
 1868 Proof.*
 1869 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1870 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1871 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1872 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1873 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1874 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1875 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1876 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1877 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1878 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1879 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1880 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1881 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1882 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1883 Proof.*
 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
 1885 Proof.*
 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
 1889 Proof.
 1890 Proof.*
 1891 Proof.
 1892 Proof.
 1893 Proof.*
 1894 Proof.*
 1895 Proof.*
 1896 Proof.*
 1897 Proof.*
 1898 Proof.*
 1899 Proof.*
 1900 Proof.*
 1901 Proof.
 1902 Proof.
 1903 Proof.*
 1904 Proof.*
 1905 Proof.*

- 1906 Proof.*
- 1907 Proof.
- 1908 Proof.
- 1908-S Uncirculated.*
- 1909 Proof.
- 1909-S About Uncirculated.*

Lincoln Head (1909-)

- 1909 Proof.
- 1909 VDB. Proof. From H. Chapman on January 13, 1913.
- 1910 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 13, 1910, directly from the Mint.
- 1911 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 15, 1911, directly from the Mint.
- 1912 Proof. From H. Chapman on May 7, 1912, directly from the Mint.
- 1913 Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913, directly from the Mint.
- 1914 Proof. From H. Chapman on April 2, 1914, directly from the Mint.
- 1915 Proof. From H. Chapman on November 4, 1915, directly from the Mint.
- 1916 Uncirculated.*
- 1917 Uncirculated.*
- 1918 Uncirculated.*
- 1919 Uncirculated.*
- 1920 Uncirculated.*
- 1920 Uncirculated.*
- 1938 Proof.*

Two Cent Pieces

- 1864 Small Motto. Uncirculated. From an Elder sale on February 8-10, 1923.
- 1864 Large Motto. Uncirculated.
- 1864 Large Motto. Proof. From Raymond in 1920.*
- 1865 Proof.
- 1866 Proof. From Raymond in 1920.
- 1866 Uncirculated.
- 1867 Proof.*
- 1868 Proof.*
- 1869 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1870 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1871 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1872 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1873 Open 3. Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.

Nickel Three Cent Pieces

- 1865 Proof.
- 1866 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.
- 1867 Proof. From Leavitt on December 9, 1878.*
- 1868 Proof.*
- 1869 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*

- 1870 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1871 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1872 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1873 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
- 1874 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
- 1875 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1876 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
- 1877 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
- 1878 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1879 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
- 1880 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale
- 1881 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1882 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
- 1883 Proof.*
- 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
- 1885 Proof.*
- 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
- 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
- 1887 7 over 6. Proof.
- 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
- 1889 Proof.

Silver Three Cent Pieces

- 1851 Proof. From the Maris Collection.
- 1851-O About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.
- 1852 Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on December 13, 1882.*
- 1853 Uncirculated.*
- 1854 Proof. From Woodward's 55th sale.
- 1855 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
- 1856 Proof.*
- 1857 Proof.*
- 1858 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
- 1859 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
- 1860 Proof. From the Randall Collection.
- 1861 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
- 1862 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
- 1863 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
- 1864 Proof. From an E. Cogan sale on December 20, 1877.*
- 1865 Proof. From the Ely Collection.
- 1866 Proof. From an E. Cogan sale on December 20, 1877.
- 1867 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
- 1868 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
- 1869 Proof. From the Wight collection.*
- 1870 Proof. From an E. Cogan sale on December 20, 1877.*
- 1872 Proof. From an E. Cogan sale on December 20, 1877.*
- 1873 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on March 11, 1880.

Nickels**Shield (1866-1883)**

- 1866 Proof. From an E. Cogan sale on December 20, 1877.
 1867 Rays. Proof. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.*
 1867 No Rays. Proof. From a Leavitt sale on December 9, 1878.*
 1868 Proof.*
 1869 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1870 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1871 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1872 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1873 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1874 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1875 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1876 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1877 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1878 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1879 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1880 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.
 1881 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1882 Proof. From Frossard's 26th sale.*
 1883 Proof.*

Liberty Head (1883-1912)

- 1883 No cents. Proof.
 1883 Cents. Proof. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.
 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
 1885 Proof.*
 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
 1889 Proof.
 1890 Proof.*
 1891 Proof.
 1892 Proof.
 1893 Proof.*
 1894 Proof.*
 1895 Proof.*
 1896 Proof.*
 1897 Proof.*
 1898 Proof.*
 1899 Proof.*
 1900 Proof.*
 1901 Proof.
 1902 Proof.
 1903 Proof.*
 1904 Proof.*
 1905 Proof.*
 1906 Proof.*

- 1907 Proof.
 1908 Proof.
 1909 Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913.
 1910 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 13, 1910, directly from the Mint.
 1911 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 15, 1911, directly from the Mint.
 1912 Proof. From H. Chapman on May 7, 1912, directly from the Mint.
 1912-D Uncirculated. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.*
 1912-S Uncirculated. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.*

Buffalo (1913-1938)

- 1913 Type I. Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913, directly from the Mint.
 1913 Type I. Fine.
 1913 Type II. Proof.
 1914 Proof. From H. Chapman on April 2, 1914, directly from the Mint.
 1915 Proof. From H. Chapman on November 4, 1915, directly from the Mint.
 1916 Proof.
 1917 Uncirculated.

Half Dimes**Flowing Hair (1794-1795)**

- 1794 Valentine 1. About Unc. From the Randall Collection.
 1794 Extremely Fine.*
 1795 V-3. About Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.
 1795 About Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.*
 1795 V-8. About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.
 1795 Extremely Fine. From the Newlin Collection.*
 1795 Extremely Fine. From the Newlin Collection.*

Draped Bust, Small Eagle (1796-1797)

- 1796 Extremely Fine. From Steigerwalt's 12th sale.*
 1796 6 over 5. V-1. Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.
 1797 15 stars. V-2a. Fine. From Bangs & Co. on March 9, 1880.
 1797 16 stars. V-3. Very Fine. From Chapman on December 13, 1882.

Draped Bust. Heraldic Eagle. (1800-1805)

- 1800 V-1. Extremely Fine. From the Newlin Collection.
 1801 V-1. Fine. From the Newlin Collection.
 1802 Extremely Fine. From the Newlin Collection, previously from the Burton, Haines and Betts collections.
 1803 V-2. Extremely Fine. From the Newlin Collection.
 1805 V-1. Extremely Fine. From the Randall Collection.

Capped Bust (1829-1837)

- 1829 Uncirculated. From Chapman on December 13, 1882.
 1830 About Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman on December 19, 1919.
 1831 Uncirculated.*
 1831 Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.

- 1832 About Uncirculated. From Chapman on December 13, 1882.
- 1833 Uncirculated. From Chapman on December 13, 1882.
- 1834 Uncirculated. From Chapman on December 13, 1882.
- 1835 Small date, small 5c. Uncirculated.*
- 1835 Small date, small 5c. About Uncirculated.
- 1835 Small date, large 5c. About Uncirculated.
- 1835 Large date, small 5c. Uncirculated.*
- 1835 Large date, small 5c. Uncirculated.
- 1835 Large date, large 5c. About Uncirculated.
- 1836 Small 5c. About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.
- 1836 Large 5c. Uncirculated.
- 1837 Large 5c. Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
- 1837 Large 5c. About Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.

Seated Liberty (1837-1873)

- 1837 Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on December 13, 1882.
- 1837 Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.*
- 1838 About Uncirculated.
- 1838-O About Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.
- 1839 Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on December 13, 1882.*
- 1840 No drapery. Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on December 13, 1882.*
- 1840 Drapery. Uncirculated.
- 1841 Uncirculated.
- 1842 Uncirculated.*
- 1843 About Uncirculated. From Mehl on February 10, 1920.*
- 1844 Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.*
- 1845 Uncirculated. From the Chapmans in 1882.*
- 1846 Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman on March 20, 1920.*
- 1847 Proof.
- 1848 Medium Date. Uncirculated. From the Britton Collection.*
- 1849 Proof. From S. H. Chapman on December 19, 1919.*
- 1849 About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.*
- 1850 Proof. From the Ely Collection.*
- 1851 Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on December 13, 1882.*
- 1852 Proof. From the Berg Collection.*
- 1853 No Arrows. About Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.
- 1853 Arrows. Extremely Fine.
- 1854 About Uncirculated. From Woodward's 55th sale.
- 1855 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
- 1856 6 over 4. Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
- 1857 Proof.*

- 1858 Proof. From Massamore's 19th Sale.*
- 1859 Proof.
- 1860 Transitional. Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
- 1860 Uncirculated. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.
- 1861 Proof. From Massamore's 19th Sale.
- 1862 Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.*
- 1863 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
- 1863-S About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1864 Proof. From the Wight Collection.*
- 1864-S Uncirculated. From the Kingman Collection.
- 1865 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
- 1866 Proof. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1866-S Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.*
- 1867 Proof. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.*
- 1867-S Uncirculated.*
- 1868 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on June 16, 1881.*
- 1868-S Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.*
- 1869 Proof. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.*
- 1869-S Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.*
- 1870 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
- 1871 Proof. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.*
- 1871-S Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.*
- 1872 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
- 1872-S Mintmark above bow. Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.*
- 1872-S Mintmark below bow. Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.*
- 1873 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
- 1873-S Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.*

Dimes

Draped Bust, Small Eagle (1796-1797)

- 1796 Uncirculated.
- 1797 13 stars. Extremely Fine. From S. H. Chapman on March 20, 1920.
- 1797 16 stars. Extremely Fine.

Draped Bust, Heraldic Eagle (1798-1807)

- 1798 8 over 7. 13 stars. About Uncirculated.
- 1798 8 over 7. 16 stars. Very Fine. From Newlin on April 28, 1883.
- 1800 Extremely Fine. From the Chapmans on January 14, 1885.
- 1801 Extremely Fine. From Raymond in 1920.
- 1802 Good.
- 1803 Very Fine.
- 1804 14 stars. Very Fine.
- 1805 Four berries. About Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on December 13, 1882.
- 1807 Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.

Capped Bust (1809-1837)

- 1809 Uncirculated. From the Britton Collection.
 1811 11 over 09. About Uncirculated.
 1814 Small date. Extremely Fine. From the Britton Collection.
 1814 Large date. Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.
 1820 Large O. Extremely Fine.
 1821 Small date. Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.
 1821 Large date. Uncirculated.
 1822 About Uncirculated.
 1823 3 over 2. Small Es. About Good.
 1823 3 over 2. Large Es. About Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman on December 19, 1919.
 1824 4 over 2. About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.
 1825 Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on December 20, 1919.
 1827 Uncirculated. From Massamore's 19th sale.
 1828 Large planchet. About Uncirculated. From Newlin on April 28, 1883.
 1828 Small planchet. Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.
 1829 Small 10c. About Uncirculated. From the Britton Collection.
 1830 30 over 29. About Uncirculated.
 1831 Uncirculated. From the Ely Collection.
 1832 About Uncirculated.*
 1832 About Uncirculated.
 1833 Uncirculated. From the Britton Collection.
 1834 Small 4. Extremely Fine. From the Britton Collection.
 1834 Large 4. Extremely Fine. From the Britton Collection.
 1835 About Uncirculated. From the Britton Collection.
 1836 About Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
 1836 Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
 1836 Fine.*
 1837 About Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.

Seated Liberty (1837-1891)

- 1837 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
 1838-O Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.
 1838-O Very Fine. From the Kingman Collection.*
 1838 Small Stars. Uncirculated.*
 1838 Large Stars. Uncirculated.
 1839 Uncirculated. From Leavitt on December 9, 1878.
 1840 No Drapery. Uncirculated.
 1840 Drapery. Extremely Fine.
 1841 Uncirculated.
 1842 Uncirculated. From the Newlin Collection.*
 1843 About Uncirculated.*
 1844 Very Fine.*
 1845 About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 30, 1919.*

- 1846 Proof.
 1847 Very Fine.*
 1848 Extremely Fine.*
 1849 Uncirculated.*
 1850 Uncirculated. From the Britton Collection.*
 1851 Uncirculated.*
 1852 Uncirculated.*
 1853 No Arrows. Uncirculated.
 1854-O Extremely Fine.
 1855 Uncirculated.*
 1856 Small Date. Uncirculated.
 1856-S Very Fine. From the Raymond Collection.*
 1857 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
 1858 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
 1859 Proof. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.
 1859 Transitional. Proof. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
 1859-O Uncirculated.
 1860 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
 1860-S Extremely Fine.
 1861 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
 1862 Proof. From Massamore's 19th sale.*
 1863 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
 1864 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
 1865 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
 1866 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
 1867 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
 1868 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
 1869 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
 1870 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
 1871 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.*
 1872 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
 1873 No arrows. Proof. From Massamore's 19th sale.
 1873 Arrows. Proof. From Massamore's 19th sale.
 1874 Proof. From the Newlin Collection.
 1875 Proof. From Woodward's 55th sale.*
 1875-CC About Uncirculated.
 1876 Proof. From the Igo Collection.
 1876-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
 1877 Proof.
 1877-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
 1878 Proof. From Massamore's 19th sale.*
 1878-CC Uncirculated. From the Raymond Collection.*
 1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.
 1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 10, 1880.
 1881 Proof.*
 1882 Proof.*
 1883 Proof.*
 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*

- 1885 Proof.*
- 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
- 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
- 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
- 1889 Proof.
- 1890 Proof.*
- 1891 Proof.

Barber (1892-1916)

- 1892 Proof.
- 1893 Proof.*
- 1894 Proof.*
- 1895 Proof.*
- 1896 Proof.*
- 1897 Proof.*
- 1898 Proof.*
- 1899 Proof.*
- 1900 Proof.*
- 1901 Proof.
- 1902 Proof.
- 1903 Proof.*
- 1904 Proof.*
- 1905 Proof.*
- 1906 Proof.*
- 1906-D Uncirculated.
- 1907 Proof.
- 1908 Proof.
- 1909 Proof.
- 1910 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 13, 1910, directly from the Mint.
- 1911 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 15, 1911, directly from the Mint.
- 1912 Proof. From H. Chapman on May 7, 1912, directly from the Mint.
- 1913 Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913, directly from the Mint.
- 1914 Proof. From H. Chapman on April 2, 1914, directly from the Mint.
- 1915 Proof. From H. Chapman on November 4, 1915, directly from the Mint.
- 1916 Uncirculated.

Mercury Head (1916-1945)

- 1916 Uncirculated.*
- 1916-S Extremely Fine.
- 1918-D Extremely Fine.

Twenty Cent Pieces

- 1875 Proof. From the Chapmans on March 20, 1883.*
- 1875-CC About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.*
- 1875-S Uncirculated.*

- 1876 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on September 3, 1880.
- 1877 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on September 10, 1880.
- 1878 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on April 9, 1880.*

Quarters**Draped Bust, Heraldic Eagle (1804-1807)**

- 1804 About Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection, previously from the Stenz Collection. One of finest known.
- 1805 Extremely Fine. From the Randall Collection.
- 1806 Extremely Fine.
- 1806 6 over 5. Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1807 About Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.

Capped Bust (1815-1838)

- 1815 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1818 8 over 5. Extremely Fine.
- 1818 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1819 Small Date. About Uncirculated.
- 1819 Large Date. Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1820 Small O. Uncirculated.
- 1820 Large O. About Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman on March 20, 1920.
- 1820 Large O. Fine.*
- 1821 About Uncirculated. From Frossard's 33rd Sale.
- 1822 Uncirculated. From Bangs & Co. on July 31, 1879.*
- 1822 25 over 50c. Proof. From the Randall Collection.
- 1823 3 over 2. Fine. From the Randall Collection.
- 1824 4 over 2. Very Fine. From the Gray Collection.
- 1824 4 over 2. Extremely Fine. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.
- 1825 5 over 3. Uncirculated. From the Wight Collection.
- 1827 Original. Proof. From the Ely Collection, previously from the Mickley and McCoy collections.
- 1828 Uncirculated. From Chapman on March 20, 1883.
- 1828 25 over 50c. About Uncirculated.
- 1831 Large letters. Extremely Fine.
- 1831 Large letters. Extremely Fine. From the Kingman Collection.
- 1832 About Uncirculated. From Leavitt on December 9, 1878.
- 1833 About Uncirculated.
- 1834 About Uncirculated. From the Wight Collection.
- 1835 Proof. From the Ely Collection.
- 1836 Extremely Fine.
- 1836 About Uncirculated.
- 1837 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1838 About Uncirculated. From the Raymond Collection.

Seated Liberty (1838-1891)

- 1838 About Uncirculated. From Bangs & Co. on October 22, 1879.
- 1839 Uncirculated.*
- 1840 About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.
- 1840-O No drapery. Extremely Fine.*

- 1840-O No drapery. About Uncirculated. From Mehl on February 20, 1920.
- 1840-O Drapery. About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.
- 1841 Very Fine.*
- 1841 Extremely Fine.
- 1842 Uncirculated. From the Wight Collection.*
- 1842-O Large Date. Extremely Fine.*
- 1843 Extremely Fine.*
- 1844 Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 69th Sale.*
- 1845 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.*
- 1846 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.*
- 1847 Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 69th Sale.*
- 1848 Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 18, 1919.*
- 1849 Proof. From the Randall Collection.*
- 1850 Proof. From Leavitt on September 5, 1879.*
- 1851 Uncirculated. From Hesslein in 1920.*
- 1852 Uncirculated.*
- 1853 No arrows. Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection.
- 1853 Arrows. Uncirculated.
- 1854 Proof. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1855 Uncirculated.*
- 1856 Proof.
- 1857 Proof.*
- 1857-S About Uncirculated.
- 1858 Proof.*
- 1858-S Very Fine.*
- 1859 Proof.*
- 1860 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
- 1861 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on March 11, 1880.
- 1862 Proof. From Woodward's 55th Sale.*
- 1863 Proof. From Woodward's 55th Sale.*
- 1864 Proof. From Leavitt on September 5, 1879.*
- 1865 Proof. From Woodward's 58th Sale.
- 1866 Proof. From the Ely Collection.
- 1867 Proof. From the Ely Collection.*
- 1868 Proof. From the Ely Collection.*
- 1869 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.*
- 1870 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
- 1871 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.*
- 1872 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.*
- 1873 No arrows. Proof. From the Aulick Collection.
- 1873 Arrows. Proof.
- 1874 Proof. From the Ely Collection.
- 1875 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.*
- 1876 Proof. From the Ely Collection.
- 1876-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1877 Proof.
- 1877-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.
- 1878 Proof.*
- 1878-CC About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.
- 1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 10, 1880.
- 1881 Proof.*
- 1882 Proof.*
- 1883 Proof.*
- 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
- 1885 Proof.*
- 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
- 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
- 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
- 1889 Proof.
- 1890 Proof.*
- 1891 Proof.
- Barber (1892-1916)**
- 1892 Proof.
- 1893 Proof.*
- 1894 Proof.*
- 1895 Proof.*
- 1896 Proof.*
- 1897 Proof.*
- 1898 Proof.*
- 1899 Proof.*
- 1900 Proof.*
- 1901 Proof.
- 1902 Proof.
- 1903 Proof.*
- 1904 Proof.*
- 1905 Proof.*
- 1906 Proof.*
- 1906-D Uncirculated.
- 1907 Proof.
- 1907-D Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1908 Proof.
- 1908-D Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1909 Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913.
- 1909-D Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1910 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 13, 1910, directly from the Mint.
- 1911 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 15, 1911, directly from the Mint.
- 1911-D Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.*
- 1912 Proof. From H. Chapman on May 7, 1912, directly from the Mint.
- 1913 Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913, directly from the Mint.
- 1914 Proof. From H. Chapman on April 2, 1914, directly from the Mint.

1914-D Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*

1915 Proof. From H. Chapman on November 4, 1915, directly from the Mint.

1915-D Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*

1916-D Uncirculated.*

Standing Liberty (1916-1930)

1916 Uncirculated.

1917 Type II. Extremely Fine.

Washington (1932-)

1938 Proof.

Half Dollars

Flowing Hair (1794-1795)

1794 Overton 101. Extremely Fine.

1794 O-105. Extremely Fine. From Elder on February 3, 1922.

1794 Fine.*

1795 Very Fine.*

1795 Fine.*

1795 Very Good.*

1795 Very Good.*

1795 2 leaves. O-109. Uncirculated.

1795 2 leaves. O-122. Extremely Fine.

1795 2 leaves. O-125. Uncirculated.

Draped Bust, Small Eagle (1796-1797)

1796 15 stars. O-101. Very Fine. From G. Cogan in 1883.

1796 16 stars. O-102. Fine.

1797 Very Fine.*

1797 O-101. Extremely Fine. From the Randall Collection.

Draped Bust, Heraldic Eagle (1801-1807)

1801 Very Fine. From Woodward's 80th Sale.*

1801 O-101. About Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman on March 20, 1920.

1802 O-101. Extremely Fine. From the Randall Collection.

1803 Large 3. O-101. About Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.

1805 5 over 4. About Uncirculated.*

1805 5 over 4. O-101. Extremely Fine.

1805 5 over 4. Fine.*

1805 O-112. About Uncirculated.

1805 Fine.*

1806 6 over 5. O-101. About Uncirculated. From the Wight Collection.

1806 Knobbed 6, small stars. O-107. Extremely Fine.

1806 6 over inverted 6. O-111. Extremely Fine.

1806 Pointed 6, stem through claw. O-120. Uncirculated. From Bangs & Co. on March 24, 1881.

1807 Uncirculated.*

1807 O-105. Uncirculated. From Woodward's 58th Sale.

Capped Bust (1807-1839)

1807 Small stars. About Uncirculated.*

1807 O-112. About Uncirculated.

1808 8 over 7. O-101. About Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on December 13, 1882.

1808 O-102. Extremely Fine.

1809 O-107. About Uncirculated. From the Chapmans in 1885.

1810 O-101. About Uncirculated. From the Ely Collection, previously from the Seavey Collection.

1811 Small 8. Uncirculated.*

1811 11 over 10. O-101. Uncirculated.

1811 Large date. O-104. Uncirculated.

1812 O-109. Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.

1813 O-106. Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.

1814 4 over 3. O-101. Very Fine. From the Gray Collection.

1814 O-104. Uncirculated.

1815 5 over 2. O-101a. About Uncirculated. From Wuesthoff on February 16, 1884.

1817 7 over 3. O-101a. Extremely Fine. From the Chapmans on December 13, 1882.

1817 O-110. About Uncirculated. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.

1818 8 over 7. Small 8. O-102. Extremely Fine. From Wuesthoff on February 16, 1884.

1818 O-111. About Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.

1819 O-107. Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.

1820 20 over 19. Curl base 2. O-102. About Uncirculated. From Chapman on December 13, 1882.

1820 Square base, knobbed 2. O-105. About Uncirculated.

1820 Square base 2, no knob. O-108. About Uncirculated.

1821 O-106. About Uncirculated. From Wuesthoff on February 16, 1884.

1822 O-105. Uncirculated. From the Staeblein Collection.

1823 Patched 3. O-102. About Uncirculated. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.

1823 O-107. About Uncirculated.

1824 Uncirculated.*

1824 Over various dates. O-103. Extremely Fine. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.

1824 O-105. Uncirculated.

1825 O-113. About Uncirculated.

1826 O-102. About Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on December 13, 1882.

1827 Square base 2. O-107. About Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.

1828 Curl base 2, no knob. O-103. About Uncirculated.

1828 Square base 2, large 8s. O-109. About Uncirculated.

1828 Square base 2, small 8s, large letters. Uncirculated.*

1829 9 over 7. O-101. Extremely Fine. From Hesslein in 1920.

1829 O-110. About Uncirculated. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.

1830 Small O. O-115. Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.

- 1830 Small O. Uncirculated.*
- 1831 O-102. About Uncirculated.
- 1832 Small letters. O-106. Proof. From the Randall Collection.
- 1833 O-113. About Uncirculated.
- 1834 Large date and letters. O-102. About Uncirculated.
- 1834 Large date, small letters. O-108. Uncirculated.
- 1834 Small date and letters. O-109. About Uncirculated.
- 1835 O-106. Uncirculated.
- 1836 O-109. Proof. From the Randall Collection.
- 1836 Reeded edge. Proof. From the Ely Collection.
- 1837 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1838 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1839 About Uncirculated. Reeded edge. From Hesslein on December 18, 1919.
- 1839-O About Uncirculated.

Seated Liberty (1839-1891)

- 1839 Drapery. Uncirculated.
- 1839 Drapery. About Uncirculated. From Chapman on December 15, 1885.
- 1839 Drapery. Extremely Fine.*
- 1840 Small letters. Uncirculated. From the Berg Collection.*
- 1840-O Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.
- 1840-O Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.*
- 1841 About Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1841-O Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.*
- 1842 Medium date. Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1842 Small date. Uncirculated.*
- 1842-O Medium date. Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1842-O Medium date. Very Fine.*
- 1843 Uncirculated.*
- 1843-O Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1844 Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.*
- 1844 Very Fine.*
- 1844-O Extremely Fine. From Raymond in 1920.*
- 1845 Uncirculated.*
- 1845-O Uncirculated. From Raymond in 1920.*
- 1846 Tall date. Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.*
- 1846 Medium date. Uncirculated. From Leavitt on December 9, 1878.*
- 1846-O Medium date. Uncirculated. From Mehl in 1920.*
- 1846-O Extremely Fine. From Raymond in 1920.*
- 1847 Proof. From the Randall Collection.*
- 1847-O Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.*
- 1848 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.*
- 1848-O Uncirculated.*
- 1849 Proof. From the Randall Collection.*
- 1849-O About Uncirculated. From Hesslein in 1920.*

- 1850 About Uncirculated. From Bangs & Co. on March 14, 1879.*
- 1850-O Uncirculated.*
- 1851 Extremely Fine. From Raymond in 1920.*
- 1851-O Uncirculated.*
- 1852 Uncirculated.*
- 1852-O About Uncirculated. From Hesslein in 1920.*
- 1853-O No arrows. Very Fine. From the Randall Collection. Finest of four known.
- 1853 Arrows. Uncirculated.
- 1853-O Arrows. Very Fine.
- 1854 Proof. From Haseltine's 65th Sale.
- 1854-O Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.
- 1855 5 over 4. Uncirculated.*
- 1855-O Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1856 Proof. From Mehl on February 13, 1920.
- 1856-O About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1856-O Extremely Fine.*
- 1857 Proof. From the Anthon Collection.*
- 1857-O Extremely Fine.*
- 1858 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
- 1858-O Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.
- 1859 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
- 1859-O Uncirculated. From Raymond in 1920.*
- 1859-S Extremely Fine.
- 1859-S Very Fine.*
- 1860 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on December 7, 1878.
- 1860-O Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1861 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on March 11, 1880.
- 1861-O About Uncirculated. From Elder on July 9, 1920.*
- 1862 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
- 1863 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
- 1864 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.*
- 1865 Proof.
- 1866-S No Motto. Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1866 Motto. Proof. From Massamore's 19th sale.
- 1867 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
- 1868 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
- 1869 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.*
- 1870 Proof. From the Ely Collection.*
- 1871 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.*
- 1871-CC About Uncirculated.
- 1872 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.*
- 1872-CC Very Fine. From Raymond in 1920.*
- 1873 No arrows. Proof. From Bangs & Company on March 11, 1880.
- 1873-CC No arrows. Uncirculated.
- 1873 Arrows. Proof. From Massamore's 19th sale.
- 1873-CC Arrows. About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.

- 1874 Proof. From Leavitt on December 9, 1878.
- 1875 Proof. From the Bradbury Collection.*
- 1875-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1876 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on March 11, 1880.
- 1876-CC Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.*
- 1877 Proof.
- 1877-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
- 1878 Proof.*
- 1878-CC Uncirculated.*
- 1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.
- 1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 10, 1880.
- 1881 Proof.*
- 1882 Proof.*
- 1883 Proof.*
- 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
- 1885 Proof.*
- 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
- 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
- 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
- 1889 Proof.
- 1890 Proof.*
- 1891 Proof.

Barber (1892-1915)

- 1892 Proof.
- 1893 Proof.*
- 1894 Proof.*
- 1895 Proof.*
- 1896 Proof.*
- 1897 Proof.*
- 1898 Proof.*
- 1899 Proof.*
- 1900 Proof.*
- 1901 Proof.
- 1902 Proof.
- 1903 Proof.*
- 1904 Proof.*
- 1905 Proof.*
- 1906 Proof.*
- 1907 Proof.
- 1908 Proof.
- 1909 Proof.
- 1910 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 13, 1910, directly from the Mint.
- 1911 Proof. From H. Chapman on December 15, 1911, directly from the Mint.
- 1912 Proof. From H. Chapman on May 7, 1912, directly from the Mint.
- 1913 Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913, directly from the Mint.

- 1914 Proof. From H. Chapman on April 2, 1914, directly from the Mint.
- 1915 Proof. From H. Chapman on November 4, 1915, directly from the Mint.

Walking Liberty (1916-1947)

- 1916 Uncirculated.
- 1917 Uncirculated.*
- 1918 Uncirculated.*
- 1918-S Very Fine.*
- 1919 Uncirculated.*
- 1920 Uncirculated.*
- 1938 Proof.*

Silver Dollars

Flowing Hair (1794-1795)

- 1794 Bolender 1. Very Fine.
- 1795 Two leaves. Extremely Fine.*
- 1795 Two leaves. B-4. About Uncirculated.
- 1795 Three leaves. Uncirculated. From Mehl on February 10, 1920.*
- 1795 Three leaves. B-5. About Uncirculated.

Draped Bust, Small Eagle (1795-1798)

- 1795 B-14. About Uncirculated.
- 1795 B-14. Proof. One of finest Draped Bust dollars known. From the Randall Collection.
- 1795 Extremely Fine.*
- 1796 Small date and letters. Very Fine.*
- 1796 Small date, large letters. B-4. Extremely Fine.
- 1796 Large date, small letters. B-5. About Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on June 22, 1883.
- 1797 9 stars left, 7 right. Small letters. B-1. Extremely Fine.
- 1797 9 stars left, 7 right. Large letters. Very Fine.*
- 1797 10 stars left, 6 right. B-3. Very Fine. From the Chapmans on December 23, 1882.
- 1798 13 stars. B-1. Extremely Fine.
- 1798 15 stars. B-2. About Uncirculated.

Draped Bust, Heraldic Eagle (1798-1804)

- 1798 Wide date. Extremely Fine.*
- 1798 B-14. About Uncirculated.
- 1798 B-27. Uncirculated.
- 1799 7 stars left, 6 right. Fine.*
- 1799 8 stars left, 5 right. B-23. Very Fine.
- 1799 B-11. Extremely Fine. From a Sampson sale on February 16-17, 1882.
- 1799 9 over 8. B-1. About Uncirculated. From Leavitt on September 5, 1879.
- 1800 B-18. About Uncirculated.
- 1801 B-3. About Uncirculated. From the Chapmans on May 25, 1883.
- 1802 B-6. Very Fine. From Newlin on December 17, 1883.

- 1802 2 over 1. B-2. Extremely Fine. From Leavitt in 1879.
 1803 Large 3. Fine.*
 1803 Small 3. B-5a. Extremely Fine.
 1804 Class III. Extremely Fine. From the Berg Collection, previously from the Koch Collection. Newman-Bressett plate coin. Six known.

Gobrecht dollars are listed with patterns, trial and experimental pieces. (Judd 58, 60, 63, 65, 84 and 104).

Seated Liberty (1840-1873)

- 1840 Proof.*
 1840 Proof. From the Randall Collection.
 1841 Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.*
 1842 Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.*
 1843 Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.*
 1844 Proof.*
 1845 Proof.*
 1846 About Uncirculated.*
 1846 Proof *
 1846-O About Uncirculated.
 1847 Uncirculated. From the Cohen Collection.*
 1848 Uncirculated.*
 1849 Proof. From the Randall Collection.*
 1850 Proof. From the Randall Collection.*
 1850-O About Uncirculated. From Raymond in 1919.
 1851 Proof restrike.*
 1852 Proof. From the Britton Collection.*
 1853 Proof. From the Ely Collection.*
 1854 Proof. From the Ely Collection.*
 1855 Proof. From the Randall Collection.*
 1856 Proof. From the Ely Collection.*
 1857 Proof. From Massamore's 25th Sale.*
 1858 Proof. From a Sampson sale February 16-17, 1882.*
 1859 Proof. From the Aulick Collection.*
 1859-O About Uncirculated. From Mehl on February 20, 1920.
 1859-S About Uncirculated. From Raymond in 1919.
 1860 Proof. From the Wight Collection.
 1860-O Proof.*
 1861 Proof. From Frossard's 28th Sale.
 1862 Proof. From Frossard's 28th Sale.*
 1863 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
 1864 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on December 19, 1878.*
 1865 Proof. From the Ely Collection.
 1866 Proof. From Frossard's 28th Sale.
 1867 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on February 27, 1878.*
 1868 Proof. From Woodward's 58th Sale.*
 1869 Proof. From E. Cogan on December 20, 1877.*
 1870 Proof. From Woodward's 55th Sale.*
 1870-CC Very Fine. From Raymond on December 18, 1919.

- 1871 Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.*
 1871-CC Extremely Fine.
 1872 Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.*
 1872-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.
 1872-S Uncirculated. From Mehl on February 23, 1920.
 1873 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on March 11, 1880.
 1873-CC Very Fine. From Hesslein on February 28, 1920.

Morgan (1878-1921)

- 1878 7 Tail feathers. Proof. From the Randall Collection.
 1878 8 Tail feathers. Proof.*
 1878 8 Tail feathers. Proof.
 1878-CC About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 12, 1920.
 1879 Proof.
 1879-CC About Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.
 1879-CC Extremely Fine. From the Wilharm Collection.*
 1880 Proof.
 1881 Proof.*
 1882 Proof.*
 1883 Proof.*
 1884 Proof.*
 1885 Proof.*
 1886 Proof.*
 1887 Proof.*
 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
 1889 Proof.
 1890 Proof.*
 1891 Proof.
 1892 Proof.
 1893 Proof.*
 1893-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on February 18, 1920.
 1894 Proof.*
 1895 Proof.*
 1896 Proof.*
 1897 Proof.*
 1898 Proof.*
 1899 Proof.*
 1900 Proof.*
 1901 Proof.
 1902 Proof.
 1903 Proof.*
 1904 Proof.*
 1921 Uncirculated.
 1921-D Uncirculated. From Hesslein on October 29, 1921.
 1921-S Uncirculated.

Peace (1921-1935)

- 1921 Uncirculated.
 1922 Uncirculated.

Trade Dollars

- 1873 Proof. From Massamore's 19th Sale.
 1873-S About Uncirculated.*
 1873-S About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.
 1874 Proof. From Woodward's 55th Sale.
 1874-CC Uncirculated.*
 1874-S About Uncirculated. From the Kingman Collection.*
 1875 Proof. From the Igo Collection.*
 1875-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
 1875-S Uncirculated.*
 1876 Proof. From Bangs & Co. on March 11, 1880.
 1876-CC Uncirculated. From Hesslein on March 13, 1920.*
 1876-S Uncirculated. From Raymond on December 18, 1919.*
 1877 Proof.
 1877-CC Uncirculated. From Bangs & Co. on January 6, 1882.*
 1877-S Uncirculated.*
 1878 Proof.*
 1878-CC About Uncirculated. From the Willharm Collection.
 1878-S Uncirculated. From Raymond on December 18, 1919.
 1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.
 1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 10, 1880.
 1881 Proof.*
 1882 Proof.*
 1883 Proof.*

Gold Dollars

Liberty Head (1849-1854)

- 1849 Open wreath. Small head, L. About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 18, 1919.
 1849 Closed wreath. About Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection.
 1849-C Closed wreath. Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on December 11, 1919.
 1849-D About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 11, 1919.
 1850 Extremely Fine.*
 1850-O About Uncirculated.
 1851 About Uncirculated.*
 1851-C Uncirculated. From Hesslein on December 11, 1919.*
 1852 Uncirculated. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1882.*
 1853 Uncirculated.*
 1854 Uncirculated.*
 1854-S About Uncirculated.

Indian, Small Head (1854-1856)

- 1854 Proof. From Newlin on October 31, 1884.
 1855 Very Fine.*

Indian, Large Head (1856-1889)

- 1856 Slanted 5. Extremely Fine.
 1856 Upright 5. About Uncirculated.*

- 1857 Uncirculated.*
 1858 Extremely Fine.*
 1858-D Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on December 11, 1919.
 1859 Uncirculated.*
 1860 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
 1861 Proof. From Newlin on October 31, 1884.
 1862 Proof.*
 1863 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
 1864 Proof.*
 1865 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
 1866 Proof.
 1867 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*
 1868 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
 1869 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*
 1870 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
 1871 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*
 1872 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
 1873 Closed 3. Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
 1874 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
 1875 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
 1876 Uncirculated. From Newlin on March 30, 1885.
 1877 Proof.
 1878 Proof.*
 1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.
 1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 10, 1880.
 1881 Proof.*
 1882 Proof.*
 1883 Proof.*
 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
 1885 Proof.*
 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
 1889 Proof.

Quarter Eagles

Capped Bust, Heraldic Eagle (1796-1807)

- 1796 No stars. About Uncirculated. From Newlin on October 31, 1884.
 1796 Stars. Extremely Fine. From G. W. Cogan on August 15, 1882.

- 1797 About Uncirculated. From Newlin on October 31, 1884, previously from the Woodward, Mickley and Appleton collections.
- 1798 Extremely Fine. From G. W. Cogan on July 15, 1882.
- 1802 2 over 1. Extremely Fine. From Bangs & Co. on February 28, 1880.
- 1804 14 Stars. Extremely Fine.
- 1805 Extremely Fine. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
- 1806 6 over 4. About Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1806 6 over 5. About Uncirculated. From Newlin on December 31, 1885.
- 1807 Extremely Fine.

Capped Draped Bust (1808)

- 1808 Extremely Fine. From the Maris Collection.

Capped Head (1821-1834)

- 1821 Proof. From G. W. Cogan on July 15, 1882.
- 1824 4 over 1. About Uncirculated.
- 1825 About Uncirculated.
- 1826 6 over 5. Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
- 1827 About Uncirculated. From Woodward's 58th sale.
- 1829 Uncirculated. From Woodward's 58th sale.
- 1830 Uncirculated. From Woodward's 58th sale.
- 1831 Uncirculated. From Woodward's 58th sale.
- 1832 About Uncirculated. From G. W. Cogan on March 23, 1882.
- 1833 Uncirculated. From Woodward's 58th sale.
- 1834 Motto. Uncirculated. From Newlin on December 31, 1884.

Classic Head (1834-1839)

- 1834 No motto. Proof.
- 1835 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
- 1836 About Uncirculated.*
- 1837 Uncirculated.*
- 1838 Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 69th sale.*
- 1839 9 over 8. About Uncirculated.*
- 1839-D 9 over 8. Uncirculated. From S. H. Chapman on December 16, 1919.

Coronet (1840-1907)

- 1840 Uncirculated. From Hesslein on November 28, 1919.
- 1840-C About Uncirculated. From Mehl on June 22, 1920.
- 1841-C About Uncirculated.*
- 1843 Extremely Fine.*
- 1844-D About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on November 28, 1919.
- 1845 Uncirculated.*
- 1846 Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on November 25, 1919.*
- 1847-D About Uncirculated.

- 1847-O Very Fine. From Hesslein on November 28, 1919.
- 1848 Extremely Fine.*
- 1848 CAL. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection. One of finest known.
- 1848-C Uncirculated.*
- 1849 Extremely Fine.*
- 1850 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection
- 1851 Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 24, 1883, previously from the Taylor Collection.*
- 1852 Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 24, 1883, previously from the Taylor Collection.*
- 1853 About Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 24, 1883, previously from the Taylor Collection.*
- 1854 Uncirculated. From Hesslein on November 25, 1919.*
- 1855 Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 24, 1883, previously from the Taylor Collection.*
- 1855-C About Uncirculated. From Mehl on June 22, 1920.*
- 1856 Uncirculated. From the Ely Collection.*
- 1857 About Uncirculated. From Mehl on January 23, 1920.*
- 1859 Uncirculated. From the Ely Collection.*
- 1859-D Extremely Fine. From S. H. Chapman on December 16, 1919.*
- 1859-S About Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.
- 1860 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1860-C Extremely Fine. From Mehl on June 22, 1920.*
- 1861 Uncirculated.*
- 1862 Proof.*
- 1863 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1864 Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 23, 1882.*
- 1865 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1866 Proof.
- 1867 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*
- 1868 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1869 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*
- 1870 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1871 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*
- 1872 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1873 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1874 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1875 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1876 Uncirculated.
- 1877 Proof.

- 1878 Proof.*
- 1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.
- 1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 10, 1880.
- 1881 Proof.*
- 1882 Proof.*
- 1883 Proof.*
- 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
- 1885 Proof.*
- 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
- 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
- 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
- 1889 Proof. From S. H. Chapman on December 16, 1919.
- 1890 Proof.*
- 1891 Proof.
- 1892 Proof.
- 1893 Uncirculated.*
- 1894 Proof.*
- 1895 Proof.*
- 1896 Proof.*
- 1897 Proof.*
- 1898 Proof.*
- 1899 Proof.*
- 1900 Proof.*
- 1901 Proof.
- 1902 Proof.
- 1903 Proof.*
- 1904 Proof.*
- 1905 Proof.*
- 1906 Proof.*
- 1907 Proof.

Indian Head (1908-1929)

- 1908 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on November 16, 1908, directly from the Mint.
- 1909 Roman Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913.
- 1910 Roman Proof. From H. Chapman on December 10, 1910 directly from the Mint.
- 1911 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on December 15, 1911, directly from the Mint.
- 1912 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on May 7, 1912, directly from the Mint.
- 1913 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913, directly from the Mint.
- 1914 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on September 30, 1914, directly from the Mint.
- 1915 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on November 4, 1915, directly from the Mint.

Three Dollar Gold Pieces

- 1854 Proof.
- 1854-O Extremely Fine. From the Wilharm Collection.
- 1855 Proof.*

- 1856 Proof.*
- 1856-S About Uncirculated. From Hesslein on January 2, 1920.
- 1857 Proof. From Haseltine's 69th sale.*
- 1858 Proof.*
- 1859 Proof.*
- 1860 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1861 Proof. From the Gutttag Bros. on December 30, 1925.
- 1862 Proof.*
- 1863 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1864 Proof.*
- 1865 Proof.
- 1866 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1867 Proof. From the Hebbeard Collection.*
- 1868 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1869 Proof. From the Hebbeard Collection.*
- 1870 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1871 Proof. From the Hebbeard Collection.*
- 1872 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1873 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1874 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1875 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1876 Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 23, 1882.
- 1877 Proof.
- 1878 Proof.*
- 1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.
- 1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 10, 1880.
- 1881 Proof.*
- 1882 Proof.*
- 1883 Proof.*
- 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
- 1885 Proof.*
- 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
- 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
- 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
- 1889 Proof.

Four Dollar Gold Pieces

- 1879 Flowing Hair. Judd 1635. Proof. From the Nygren Collection.*
- 1879 Coiled Hair. J-1638. Proof. From Bangs & Co. on January 6, 1882.
- 1880 Flowing Hair. J-1657. Proof.

Half Eagles**Capped Bust, Small Eagle (1795-1798)**

- 1795 About Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 69th sale.*
 1795 About Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.
 1796 6 over 5. Extremely Fine. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1797 15 stars. Extremely Fine. From Haseltine's 69th sale.
 1797 16 stars. Extremely Fine. From Newlin on February 3, 1885.
 1798 Extremely Fine. From Woodward on January 18, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections. Seven known.

Capped Bust, Heraldic Eagle (1795-1807)

- 1795 About Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 18, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1797 7 over 5. 15 stars. Extremely Fine. From Woodward on January 18, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1798 Large 8, 13 stars. About Uncirculated.
 1799 Extremely Fine. From Woodward on January 18, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1800 About Uncirculated.
 1802 2 over 1. Extremely Fine. From Woodward on January 18, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1803 3 over 2. About Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 18, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1804 Small 8. About Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 69th sale.
 1804 Small 8 over large 8. Extremely Fine.
 1805 About Uncirculated. From the Dohrmann Collection.
 1806 Pointed 6. Extremely Fine.
 1806 Round 6. Uncirculated.
 1807 About Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 28, 1883, previously from the Taylor Collection.

Capped Draped Bust (1807-1812)

- 1807 About Uncirculated.
 1808 About Uncirculated. From the Maris Collection.
 1809 9 over 8. Uncirculated. From Newlin on October 31, 1884.
 1810 Small date, tall 5. Uncirculated. From the Dohrmann Collection.
 1810 Large date, large 5. Extremely Fine. From Haseltine's 69th sale.
 1811 Large 5. Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 28, 1883, previously from the Taylor Collection.
 1812 Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 28, 1883, previously from the Taylor Collection.

Capped Head (1813-1834)

- 1813 Uncirculated.

- 1814 4 over 3. About Uncirculated. From Sampson on February 16-17, 1882.
 1815 About Uncirculated. From Newlin on October 31, 1884, previously from Woodward.
 1818 STATESOF. Uncirculated. From Sampson on February 16-17, 1882.
 1819 5D/50. Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections. Believed finest known.
 1820 Square base 2. About Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1821 About Uncirculated. From the Dohrmann Collection.
 1823 About Uncirculated. From G. W. Cogan on March 23, 1882.
 1824 Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1825 5 over 1. Uncirculated. From Hesslein on November 25, 1919.
 1826 Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1827 Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1828 About Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
 1829 Large planchet. Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 23, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections. One of finest known.
 1829 Small planchet. About Uncirculated. From Newlin on October 31, 1884.
 1830 Small 5D. Uncirculated. From the Dohrmann Collection.
 1831 About Uncirculated. From Newlin on April 28, 1883.
 1832 Square base 2, 13 stars. About Uncirculated.
 1833 Small date. About Uncirculated. From Woodward's 27th sale.
 1834 Crosslet 4. Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 69th sale.

Classic Head (1834-1838)

- 1834 Plain 4. Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 28, 1883, previously from the Taylor Collection.
 1834 Crosslet 4. Extremely Fine.*
 1835 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.*
 1836 Uncirculated. From the Randall Collection.*
 1837 Extremely Fine. From the Wilharm Collection.*
 1838 Uncirculated. From Haseltine's 69th sale.*
 1838-D Extremely Fine. From the Wilharm Collection.

Coronet (1839-1908)

- 1839-C About Uncirculated.
 1839-D Extremely Fine. From Elder on November 18, 1920.
 1840 Uncirculated.*
 1840-C Extremely Fine. From Raymond in 1920.*
 1840-D Extremely Fine. From Elder on November 18, 1920.*

- 1843-D Proof. From Haseltine's 69th sale.*
- 1845 Extremely Fine. From the Wilharm Collection.*
- 1847 Uncirculated.*
- 1848 Extremely Fine.*
- 1855-C Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.*
- 1857 About Uncirculated.*
- 1860 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1862 Proof.*
- 1863 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1864 Proof.*
- 1865 Proof.
- 1866 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1867 Proof. From the Hebbeard Collection.*
- 1868 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1869 Proof. From the Hebbeard Collection.*
- 1870 Proof. From Woodward from September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1871 Proof. From the Hebbeard Collection.*
- 1872 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1873 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1874 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1875 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1876-S Uncirculated.
- 1877 Proof.
- 1878 Proof.*
- 1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.
- 1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 10, 1880.
- 1881 Proof.*
- 1882 Proof.*
- 1883 Proof.*
- 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
- 1885 Proof.*
- 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
- 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
- 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
- 1890 Proof.*
- 1891 Proof.
- 1892 Proof.
- 1893 Uncirculated.*
- 1894 Proof.*
- 1895 Proof.*
- 1896 Proof.*

- 1897 Proof.*
- 1898 Proof.*
- 1899 Proof.*
- 1900 Proof.*
- 1901 Proof.
- 1902 Proof.
- 1903 Proof.*
- 1904 Proof.*
- 1905 Proof.*
- 1906 Proof.*
- 1907 Proof.

Indian Head (1908-1929)

- 1908 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on November 16, 1908, directly from the Mint.
- 1909 Roman Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913.
- 1910 Roman Proof. From H. Chapman on December 10, 1910, directly from the Mint.
- 1911 Matte Proof. H. Chapman on December 15, 1911, directly from the Mint.
- 1912 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on May 7, 1912, directly from the Mint.
- 1913 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913, directly from the Mint.
- 1914 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on September 30, 1914, directly from the Mint.
- 1915 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on November 4, 1915, directly from the Mint.

Eagles

Capped Bust, Small Eagle (1795-1797)

- 1795 Twelve leaves under eagle. Uncirculated. From Bangs & Co. on February 28, 1880.
- 1796 About Uncirculated. From the Dohrmann Collection.
- 1797 About Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 18, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.

Capped Bust, Heraldic Eagle (1797-1804)

- 1797 Extremely Fine. From Bangs & Co. on December 19, 1878.
- 1798 8 over 7. 9 stars left, 4 right. Uncirculated. From Newlin on October 31, 1884.
- 1798 8 over 7. 7 stars left, 6 right. About Uncirculated. From Newlin on October 31, 1884.
- 1799 About Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 18, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.
- 1800 About Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 28, 1883, previously from the Taylor Collection.
- 1801 About Uncirculated. From G. W. Cogan on March 17, 1882.
- 1803 About Uncirculated. From Woodward on January 18, 1883, previously from the Mickley and Appleton collections.

1804 Extremely Fine.

Coronet (1838-1907)

1838 Extremely Fine. From Newlin on October 22, 1883.

1845 Proof. Believed four known.

1847 Uncirculated. From Newlin on October 22, 1883.*

1855-O Very Fine.*

1860 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.

1862 Proof.*

1863 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*

1864 Proof.*

1865 Proof.

1866 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.

1867 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*

1868 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*

1869 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*

1870 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*

1871 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*

1872 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*

1873 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.

1874 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.

1875 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*

1876 Proof. From G. W. Cogan on March 13, 1882.

1877 Proof.

1878 Proof.*

1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.

1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 1, 1880.

1881 Proof.*

1882 Proof.*

1883 Proof.*

1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*

1885 Proof.*

1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*

1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*

1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*

1890 Proof.*

1891 Proof.

1892 Proof.

1893 Proof.*

1894 Proof.*

1895 Proof.*

1896 Proof.*

1897 Proof.*

1898 Proof.*

1899 Proof.*

1900 Proof.*

1901 Proof.

1902 Proof.

1903 Proof.*

1904 Proof.*

1905 Proof.*

1906 Proof.*

1907 Proof.

Indian Head (1907-1933)

1907 Rounded edge. Periods. Judd 1775. Uncirculated. From John H. Landis, Superintendent of the Mint.

1907 Wire edge. Periods. J-1774. Uncirculated. From Frank A. Leach, Director of the Mint.

1907 No periods. Uncirculated.

1908 Matte Proof.

1909 Roman Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913.

1910 Roman Proof. From H. Chapman on December 10, 1910, directly from the Mint.

1911 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on December 15, 1911, directly from the Mint.

1912 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on May 7, 1912, directly from the Mint.

1913 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913, directly from the Mint.

1914 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on September 30, 1914, directly from the Mint.

1915 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on November 4, 1915, directly from the Mint.

1916-S Uncirculated.*

Double Eagles

Liberty Head (1850-1907)

1850 Uncirculated. From the Kingman Collection.

1851 About Uncirculated. From Elder on July 9, 1920.*

1860 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.

1862 Proof.*

1863 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*

1864 Proof.*

1865 Proof.

1866 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.

1867 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*

1868 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*

1869 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*

1870 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*

- 1871 Proof. From the Hebbard Collection.*
- 1872 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1873 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1874 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.
- 1875 Proof. From Woodward on September 5, 1883, previously from the Ely Collection.*
- 1876 Proof. From Newlin on March 30, 1885.
- 1877 Proof.
- 1878 Proof.*
- 1879 Proof. From the Mint on September 4, 1879.
- 1880 Proof. From the Mint on February 10, 1880.
- 1881 Proof.*
- 1882 Proof.*
- 1883 Proof.*
- 1884 Proof. From the Mint on February 7, 1884.*
- 1885 Proof.*
- 1886 Proof. From the Mint on February 2, 1886.*
- 1887 Proof. From the Mint on January 25, 1887.*
- 1888 Proof. From the Mint on February 17, 1888.*
- 1890 Proof.*
- 1891 Proof.
- 1892 Proof.
- 1893-S Uncirculated.*
- 1894 Proof.*
- 1895 Proof.*
- 1896 Proof.*
- 1897 Proof.*
- 1898 Proof.*
- 1899 Proof.*
- 1900 Proof.*
- 1901 Proof.
- 1902 Proof.
- 1903 Proof.*
- 1904 Proof.*
- 1905 Proof.*
- 1906 Proof.*
- 1907 Proof.

St. Gaudens (1907-1933)

- 1907 High relief. Roman numerals. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on December 23, 1907.
- 1907 Arabic numerals. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on December 23, 1907.
- 1908 Motto. Matte Proof.
- 1909 Roman Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913.
- 1910 Roman Proof. From H. Chapman on December 10, 1910, directly from the Mint.

- 1911 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on December 15, 1911, directly from the Mint.
- 1912 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on May 7, 1912, directly from the Mint.
- 1913 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on January 23, 1913, directly from the Mint.
- 1914 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on September 30, 1914, directly from the Mint.
- 1915 Matte Proof. From H. Chapman on November 4, 1915, directly from the Mint.
- 1916-S Uncirculated.*

Commemorative Coins

Quarter

- 1893 Isabella. Proof.

Half Dollars

- 1892 Columbian Exposition. Uncirculated.*
- 1892 Columbian Exposition. Proof.
- 1893 Columbian Exposition. Uncirculated.
- 1893 Columbian Exposition. Uncirculated.
- 1915-S Panama-Pacific Exposition. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 20, 1917.
- 1918 Lincoln-Illinois Centennial. Uncirculated.
- 1920 Maine Centennial. Uncirculated.
- 1920 Pilgrim Tercentenary. Uncirculated.
- 1921 Alabama Centennial. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1921 Alabama Centennial. 2x2 in field. Uncirculated.
- 1921 Missouri Centennial. Uncirculated. From Hesslein on October 19, 1921.*
- 1921 Missouri Centennial. 2x4 in field. Uncirculated. From Hesslein in October 1922.
- 1921 Pilgrim Tercentenary. Uncirculated.*
- 1922 Grant Memorial. Uncirculated. From Hesslein on April 14, 1922.*
- 1922 Grant Memorial with star. Uncirculated. From Hesslein in October 1922.
- 1923-S Monroe Doctrine Centennial. Uncirculated. From Mehl on June 15, 1923.
- 1924 Huguenot-Walloon Tercentenary. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 22, 1926.
- 1925-S California Diamond Jubilee. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 22, 1926.
- 1925 Lexington-Concord Sesquicentennial. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 22, 1926.
- 1925 Stone Mountain Memorial. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 22, 1926.
- 1925 Vancouver Centennial. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 22, 1926.
- 1926 Oregon Trail Memorial. Uncirculated. From Raymond in 1933.
- 1926-S Oregon Trail Memorial. Uncirculated.*

- 1926 Sesquicentennial of American Independence. Uncirculated. From Mehl on April 2, 1927.
- 1927 Vermont Sesquicentennial. Uncirculated. From Raymond in 1933.
- 1928 Hawaiian Sesquicentennial. Uncirculated. From Raymond in 1933.
- 1928 Oregon Trail Memorial. Uncirculated.
- 1933-D Oregon Trail Memorial. Uncirculated.
- 1934 Maryland Tercentenary. Uncirculated.
- 1935 Connecticut Tercentenary. Uncirculated.
- 1935 Daniel Boone Bicentennial. Small 1934. Uncirculated.
- 1935 Hudson, New York Sesquicentennial. Uncirculated.
- 1935 Old Spanish Trail. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Albany, New York Charter. Uncirculated.
- 1936-S Arkansas Centennial. Uncirculated.
- 1936-S San Francisco Oakland Bay Bridge. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Bridgeport, Connecticut Centennial. Uncirculated.
- 1936-S Cincinnati Music Center. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Cleveland, Great Lakes Exposition. Uncirculated.
- 1936-D Columbia, South Carolina Sesquicentennial. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Delaware, Tercentenary. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Elgin, Illinois Centennial. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Battle of Gettysburg. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Long Island Tercentenary. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Lynchburg, Virginia Sesquicentennial. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Norfolk, Virginia Bicentennial. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Rhode Island, Tercentenary Providence. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Robinson-Arkansas Centennial. Uncirculated.
- 1936-D San Diego, California-Pacific Exposition. Uncirculated.
- 1936-S Texas Centennial. Uncirculated.
- 1936 Wisconsin Territorial Centennial. Uncirculated.

- 1936 York County, Maine Tercentenary. Uncirculated.
- 1937 Battle of Antietam, 75th Anniversary. Uncirculated.
- 1937 Roanoke Island, North Carolina, 350th Anniversary. Uncirculated.
- 1946 Iowa Centennial. Uncirculated.
- 1951 Booker T. Washington Memorial. Uncirculated.
- 1951 Washington-Carver. Uncirculated.

Silver Dollar

- 1900 Lafayette Dollar. Uncirculated.

Gold Dollars

- 1903 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (Jefferson). Uncirculated.
- 1903 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (McKinley). Uncirculated.
- 1904 Lewis and Clark Exposition. Uncirculated.
- 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition. Uncirculated.
- 1915-S Panama-Pacific Exposition. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 20, 1917.
- 1916 McKinley Memorial. Uncirculated.
- 1917 McKinley Memorial. Uncirculated.
- 1922 Grant Memorial. Uncirculated. From Hesslein on April 12, 1922.
- 1922 Grant Memorial. With star. Uncirculated. From Elder on December 9, 1922.

Quarter Eagles

- 1915-S Panama-Pacific Exposition. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 20, 1917.
- 1926 Philadelphia Sesquicentennial. Uncirculated. From Mehl on April 2, 1927.

Fifty Dollar Gold Pieces

- 1915-S Panama-Pacific Exposition. Round. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 20, 1917.
- 1915-S Panama-Pacific Exposition. Octagonal. Uncirculated. From H. Chapman on February 20, 1917.

Territorial and Private Gold Coins

Templeton Reid

- 1830 \$2½. 62.1 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection.
- 1830 \$5. 123.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Nygren Collection.

The Bechtlers

Christopher Bechtler

- \$1 CAROLINA. 28 gr. N reversed. 27.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From Mehl on June 22, 1920.
- \$1. N. CAROLINA. 28 gr. centered. No star. 27.2 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- \$1. N. CAROLINA. 30 gr. 29.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From Hesslein on November 25, 1919.
- \$2½. CAROLINA. 67 gr., 21 c. Gilt copper die trial. 52.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From Morganthau's 311th Sale.
- \$2½. CAROLINA. 67 gr., 21 c. 66.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Bement Collection.
- \$2½. CAROLINA. 70 gr., 20 c. 68.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection.
- \$2½. GEORGIA. 64 gr., 22 c. 63.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Anthon Collection.
- \$2½. NORTH CAROLINA. 75 gr., 20 c. 73.8 grains. Extremely Fine.
- \$2½. NORTH CAROLINA. Without 75 gr. 72.1 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection.
- \$5. CAROLINA. RUTHERFORD. 140 gr., 20 c. Dated. 138.1 grains. Extremely Fine.
- \$5. CAROLINA. RUTHERF. 140 gr., 20 c. Plain edge, dated. 140 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- \$5. CAROLINA. RUTHERF. 140 gr., 20 c. Dated. Extremely Fine. From the Mickley Collection.*
- \$5. CAROLINA. RUTHERF. 134 gr., 21 c. Plain edge, not dated. 133.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- \$5. GEORGIA. RUTHERFORD. 128 gr., 22 c. 127.3 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection. Possibly three known.
- \$5. GEORGIA. RUTHERF. 128 gr., 22 c. 127.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- \$5. NORTH CAROLINA. 150 gr., 20 c. 148.9 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection. Believed finest known.

August Bechtler

- \$1. CAROLINA. 27 gr., 21 c. 26.5 grains. Plain edge. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- \$5. CAROLINA. 134 gr., 21 c. 133.7 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Hebbard Collection.
- \$5. CAROLINA. 128 gr., 22 c. 126.7 grains. Very Fine. From

the Ellsworth Collection.

- \$5. CAROLINA. 141 gr., 20 c. 138.8 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Baldwin & Company

- 1850 \$5. 130.2 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie and Stickney collections.
- 1850 \$10. 263.1 grains. About Uncirculated. From Raymond on December 11, 1922, previously from the Zabriskie Collection.
- 1850 \$10. Kuner dies. White metal restrike. 118.9 grains. Proof. From Elder in 1920.
- 1851 \$10. 259.9 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Nygren Collection.
- 1851 \$20. 517.1 grains. Very Fine. From the Nygren Collection.

Blake & Company

- 1856 \$20. Copper pattern. 290.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Nygren Collection. Adams plate coin.

J. H. Bowie Company

- 1849 \$1. Copper pattern. 19.9 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Jackson, Zabriskie and Stickney collections. Taxay and Adams plate coin. Unique.

California Gold Mines

- 1850 \$20. Gilded copper pattern. 353.2 grains. Proof. From an Elder sale on November 18, 1921.

Cincinnati Mining & Trading Company

- 1849 \$10. Reeded edge. 257.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie and Woodward collections. Four known of type.

Columbus Company

- 1849 \$5. Copper pattern. 87.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the St. Louis Coin Company on November 15, 1934, previously from the Brand Collection. Unique.

Dubosq & Company

- 1849 \$2½. Silvered copper pattern. 38.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Bushnell Collection.

Augustus Humbert United States Assayer

- 1852 \$10. Perfect die. 262.3 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Mickley Collection.
- 1852 2 over 1. \$10. 262.4 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1852 2 over 1. \$20. 407.6 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection. Humbert's own specimen. Two known.
- 1851 \$50. Gilded copper pattern. Lettered edge. 925 THOUS. 1,022.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From Morganthau's 311th Sale. Unique.
- 1851 \$50. Copper pattern. Lettered edge. DC DWT GRS. 1,011.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Bushnell Collection. Unique.

- 1851 \$50. Copper pattern. Plain edge. 1077.4. About Uncirculated. From the Bushnell Collection. Unique.
- 1851 \$50. 880 THOUS. Without 50. 1,318.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1851 \$50. 880 THOUS. Without 50. 1,317.7 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1851 \$50. 887 THOUS. With 50. 1,309.7 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1851 \$50. 887 THOUS. Without 50. 1,310.1 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection. Humbert's own specimen.
- 1852 \$50. 887 THOUS. 1,309.1 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Zabriskie Collection. Probably finest known.

Kellogg & Company

- (1854) Undated. \$20. Copper pattern. 269.7 grains. Proof. From Mehl on April 6, 1937. Probably three known.
- 1854 \$20. About Uncirculated. From the Wilharm Collection.*
- 1854 \$20. 515.7 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection. Humbert's own specimen.
- 1855 \$20. 516.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1855 \$50. 1,308.3 grains. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection. Humbert's own specimen. Believed finest known.

F. D. Kohler California State Assayer

- 1850 \$50. Ingot. 1,348.9 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Newcomer Collection, previously from the California Pioneers' Society. Taxay plate coin.

Massachusetts & California Company

- 1849 \$5. FIVE D. Open wreath. Silver die trial. 85.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Nygren Collection.
- 1849 \$5. FIVE D. Closed wreath. Copper pattern. 91.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1849 \$5. No FIVE D. Closed wreath. Copper pattern. 99.5 grains. Very Fine. From Adams on January 28, 1921.

Meyers & Company

- (1849) Undated. Stamp for ½ ounce of gold on U.S. Large 1c. Pattern. 148.7 grains. Good. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection and Woodward's 67th sale. Taxay plate coin.

Miners Bank

- 1849 \$10. 257.2 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Model Series

- 1849 25c Brass. 4.8 grains. Uncirculated. From the St. Louis Coin Co. on January 31, 1927.
- 1849 50c Brass. 8.4 grains. Very Fine. From Mehl on May 5, 1924.
- 1849 \$1. Brass. 12.1 grains. Very Fine. From the Nygren Collection.
- 1849 \$5. Brass. 23.4 grains. Very Fine. From Adams on January 28, 1921.

- 1849 \$5. Silvered brass. 28.7 grains. Very Fine. From Mehl on April 2, 1927.

Moffat & Company

- 1849 \$5. 130.2 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection.
- 1850 \$5. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1850 \$5. 129.9 grains. Uncirculated. From Hesslein on November 25, 1919. Probably finest known.
- 1849 \$10. TEN D. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.*
- 1849 \$10. TEN DOL. 258.1 grains. Very Good. From Adams on January 22, 1921.
- 1849 \$10. TEN DOL. 257.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1852 \$10. Wide date. 262.9 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection.
- (1849) Undated. \$16 Ingot. 436.5 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1853 \$20. 512.3 grains. Very Fine. From Woodward's 34th Sale.

Moran & Clark

- (1849-1850) \$10. Undated. Copper pattern. 160.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Nygren Collection.

Norris, Gregg, & Norris

- 1849 \$5. Reeded edge. 128.6 grains. Very Fine. From the Igo Collection.
- 1849 \$5. Plain edge. 129.3 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

J. S. Ormsby

- (1849) Undated. \$10. Silver die trial. Struck over an 1815 Mexican two reales piece. 97 grains. Very Good. From the Cleveland Collection, previously from the Herman Collection. Unique.
- (1849) Undated. \$10. 254.7 grains. Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection and Humbert.

Pacific Company

- 1849 \$2½. Silver pattern. 34 grains. Very Fine. From Morgenthau's 311th Sale.
- 1849 \$5. 129.7 grains. Very Fine. Possibly three known.

Pelican Company

- 1849 \$2½ Brass pattern. 35.6 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie and Callender collections. Taxay plate coin. Unique.

San Francisco State of California

- 1851 \$2½. Silver pattern. 25.3 grains. Proof. From the Britton Collection.
- 1851 \$5. Silver pattern. 66.7 grains. Proof. From the Britton Collection.
- 1851 \$10. Silver pattern. 113.4 grains. Proof. From the Britton Collection.
- 1851 \$20. Silver pattern. 248.9 grains. Proof. From the Britton Collection.

Shultz & Company

1851 \$5. 122.6 grains. Very Good. From the Slack Collection.

United States Assay Office of Gold

1852 \$10. 884 THOUS. Copper die trial. 136.6 grains. Proof. From the Bushnell Collection. Probably unique.

1852 \$10. 884 THOUS. 262.5 grains. Uncirculated. From Mehl on December 12, 1922.

1853 \$10. 900 THOUS. 257.4 grains. Uncirculated. From Woodward on July 5, 1882.

1853 \$20. 884 THOUS. 523.1 grains. Extremely Fine. From Mehl on June 5, 1923.

1853 \$20. 900 THOUS. 514.7 grains. About Uncirculated. From Frossard's 17th Sale.

1852 \$50. 887 THOUS. 1,309 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1852 \$50. 900 THOUS. 1,285.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Nygren Collection.

1852 \$50. 900 THOUS. Obverse silver pattern restrike. Octagonal. 279.2 grains. Uncirculated. From Mehl on May 26, 1924.

Wass, Molitor & Company

1852 \$5. Small head. 131.7 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1852 \$5. Large head. 129.5 grains. Fine. From Mehl in 1920.

1852 \$10. Small head. 261.9 grains. Fine. From Raymond on March 7, 1927.

1855 \$10. 254.5 grains. Very Fine.

1855 \$20. Small head. 514.5 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Nygren Collection.

1855 \$50. 1,287.9 grains. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection. One of finest known.

Oregon Exchange Company

1849 \$5. 129.6 grains. Fine. From the Jenks Collection.

1849 \$10. 258.3 grains. Very Fine. From Raymond on March 7, 1927.

Mormon Gold Pieces

1849 \$2½. 58.5 grains. Very Fine. From Bangs & Co. on April 6, 1881.

1849 \$5. 111.2 grains. Very Fine. From Mehl on December 12, 1921.

1850 \$5. 109.3 grains. Very Fine. From Hesslein on November 25, 1919.

1860 \$5. 113.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ten Eyck Collection.

1849 \$20. 445.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection, previously from the Zabriskie Collection.

Clark, Gruber & Company

1860 \$2½. Copper die trial. 50.1 grains. Proof. From the Bushnell Collection.

1860 \$2½. 69.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection.

1861 \$2½. Copper die trial. Reeded edge. 28.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From Mehl on April 6, 1937.

1861 \$2½. Copper die trial. Plain edge. 72 grains. Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.

1861 \$2½. 73.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1860 \$5. Copper die trial. 83.4 grains. Proof. From the Bushnell Collection.

1860 \$5. 140.9 grains. Uncirculated. From Woodward on February 24, 1883.

1861 \$5. Copper die trial. Reeded edge. 100.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From Frossard's 26th Sale.

1861 \$5. Copper die trial. Plain edge. 78 grains. Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.

1861 \$5. 143.4 grains. Very Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1860 \$10. Copper die trial. 141.7 grains. Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection.

1860 \$10. 276.4 grains. About Uncirculated. From the Aulick Collection.

1861 \$10. Copper die trial. Reeded edge. 147.8 grains. Proof. From Frossard's 26th Sale.

1861 \$10. Copper die trial. Plain edge. 228.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.

1861 \$10. 287.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1860 \$20. Obverse die trial. 72.6 grains. About Uncirculated. From Mehl on April 6, 1937.

1860 \$20. Copper die trial. Reeded edge, stylized. 280.7 grains. Extremely Fine. From Mehl on April 6, 1937.

1860 \$20. 566.5 grains. About Uncirculated. From Mehl on November 8, 1922.

1861 \$20. Copper die trial. Reeded edge. 283.1 grains. Proof. From Mehl on April 6, 1937.

1861 \$20. Copper die trial. Plain edge. 336.7 grains. Proof. From Steigerwalt's 12th Sale.

1861 \$20. 588.4 grains. Very Fine. From Mehl on November 8, 1922.

J. J. Conway & Company

(1861) Undated. \$5. With numeral. 140.8 grains. Extremely Fine. From Mehl on February 20, 1925, previously from the Newcomer Collection. *ANS Exhibition* plate coin. Possibly four known.

Denver City Assay Office

1860 \$5 Copper pattern. Serpentine design. 101.7 grains. Extremely Fine.

John Parsons

(1860-1861) Undated. \$2½. Die trial on U.S. 1855-O 50c. 187.1 grains. Very Good. From Mehl on February 27, 1940.

(1860-1861) Undated. \$2½. 73.2 grains. Very Fine. From S. H. Chapman on November 11, 1919, previously from the Gregory Collection. *ANS Exhibition* plate coin.

(1860-1861) Undated. \$5. Copper die trial. 87.6 grains. Extremely Fine. From Mehl on September 15, 1939.

(1860-1861) Undated. \$5. 130.7 grains. Very Fine. From Mehl on September 28, 1922.

Related Numismatic Items

California Small Denomination Gold

Liberty 25 Cent Octagonal

- 1853 Lee 2-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1853 L-3-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1854 L-5-A. Uncirculated.
- 1854 L-5-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1854 L-6-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1855 L-8-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1856 L-10-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1859 L-13-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1867 L-24-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1869 L-30-B. About Uncirculated.
- 1870 L-31-A. Uncirculated.
- 1870 L-32-A. Proof.
- 1870 L-33-F. Uncirculated.
- 1871 L-36-D. Uncirculated.
- 1871 L-36-F. Extremely Fine.

Indian 25 Cent Octagonal

- 1868 L-28-B. Uncirculated.
- 1872 L-40-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1875 L-47-A. Uncirculated.
- 1876 L-50-B. Uncirculated.
- 1880 L-51-E. About Uncirculated.

Washington 25 Cent Octagonal

- 1872 L-39-A. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1872 L-39-B. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Liberty 25 Cent Round

- Undated. L-2-A. Uncirculated.
- Undated. L-3-C. About Uncirculated.
- Undated. L-4-C. Extremely Fine.
- Undated. L-5-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1859 L-16-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1860 L-17-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1865 L-22-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1869 L-29-B. Extremely Fine.
- 1870 L-32-B. Extremely Fine.
- 1871 L-36-B. Uncirculated.
- 1871 L-36-E. Proof.
- 1876 Unlisted in Lee. About Uncirculated.

Indian 25 Cent Round

- 1874 L-45-A. Uncirculated.
- 1875 L-40-B. About Uncirculated.

Washington 25 Cent Round

- 1872 L-39-A. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Liberty 50 Cent Octagonal

- 1853 L-3-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1853 L-3-B. About Uncirculated.
- 1855 L-7-A. Extremely Fine.

- 1864 L-12-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1869 L-18-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1870 L-21-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1870 L-21-C. About Uncirculated.
- 1871 L-22-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1873 L-29-A. About Uncirculated.

Indian 50 Cent Octagonal

- 1872 L-28-B. Very Fine.
- 1873 L-30-A. Uncirculated.
- 1875 L-34-B. Uncirculated.
- 1876 L-36-D. About Uncirculated.
- 1880 L-38-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1881 L-40-B. Proof.

Liberty 50 Cent Round

- 1852 L-2-B. Extremely Fine.
- 1853 L-8-B. Extremely Fine.
- 1853 L-9-B. Extremely Fine.
- 1853 L-10-A. Very Fine.
- 1854 L-11-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1854 L-13-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1855 L-16-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1856 L-18-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1864 L-25-A. Proof.
- 1869 L-35-B. Uncirculated.
- 1871 L-39-A. Uncirculated.
- 1871 L-40-C. Extremely Fine.
- 1871 L-41-A. Uncirculated.
- 1874 L-48-A. About Uncirculated.

Indian 50 Cent Round

- 1868 L-33-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1872 L-44-B. Uncirculated.
- 1875 L-53-A. About Uncirculated.
- 1876 L-55-A. Uncirculated.
- 1878 L-55-E. About Uncirculated.

Liberty \$1 Octagonal

- 1853 L-2-B. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1853 L-4-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1854 L-6-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1854 L-6-A. Extremely Fine.
- 1854 L-7-A. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1855 L-9-A. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1856 L-10-A. Uncirculated.
- 1868 L-14-A. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.
- 1869 L-15-A. Extremely Fine.

1870 L-17-A. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Indian \$1 Octagonal

1872 L-20-A. About Uncirculated.

1873 L-21-A. About Uncirculated.

1874 L-23-A. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1875 L-24-A. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1875 L-24-B. Very Fine.

1876 L-26-E. About Uncirculated.

Liberty \$1 Round

1854 L-3-A. Extremely Fine.

1854 L-3-A. Extremely Fine. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1854 L-7-C. About Uncirculated.

1870 L-5-B. Proof. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1871 L-7-A. About Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

Indian \$1 Round

1872 L-8-A. Extremely Fine.

Miscellaneous Small Denomination Gold

Alaska Gold Tokens

1897 1/4 Pinch. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1897 1/2 Pinch. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1897 1 Pinch. Uncirculated. From the Ellsworth Collection.

1909 1/4 DWT. About Uncirculated.

1909 1/2 DWT. About Uncirculated.

1909 1 DWT. About Uncirculated.

Hudson-Fulton Gold Tokens

1909 \$1. Hudson. About Uncirculated. From Hesslein in 1920.

Louisiana Purchase Exposition Gold Tokens

1904 25c Uncirculated.

1904 25c Uncirculated.

1904 25c Uncirculated.

1904 50c About Uncirculated.

1904 50c About Uncirculated.

Oregon Tokens

1905 25c About Uncirculated.

Ingots

(1868-1870) Undated. A.P. Molitor, Assayer. Ingot of 2.27 ounces silver \$2.46, gold \$5.06. With revenue stamp. Fine.

Undated. E. Ruhling & Co. Silver ingot of 4.16 ounces. Value stamp of \$5.40. Very Fine.

(1870) Undated. E. Knight & Co. Silver ingot of 8.72 ounces. Value stamp of \$10.58 and Revenue stamp of 5c. Very Fine.

1911 Silver ingot of New York Assay Office. 10.9 ounces. Extremely Fine.

1911 Gold bar of New York Assay Office. 5.46 ounces. Very Fine.

Indian Peace Medals

1795 George Washington. Silver. Oval 6 1/4 x 4 1/8 inches including the suspender. Extremely Fine.

1796 George Washington "Season" medal. Silver. Round 1 7/8 inches. Obverse: Loom. Reverse: Second Presidency. With link. About Uncirculated.

1796 George Washington "Season" medal. Silver. Round 1 7/8 inches. Obverse: Farmer. Reverse: Second Presidency. Very Good.

1796 George Washington "Season" medal. Silver. Round 1 7/8 inches. Obverse: Family of Animals. Reverse: Second Presidency. About Uncirculated. With attached loop.

1801 Thomas Jefferson. Silver. Round 4 inches. Shell and Band. Very Fine.

1809 James Madison. Silver. Round 2 1/2 inches. Very Good. Holed.

1817 James Monroe. Silver. Round 2 1/2 inches. Very Fine. Holed.

1829 Andrew Jackson. Silver. Round 2 inches. Very Good. Holed.

1837 Martin Van Buren. Silver. Round 3 inches. Very Fine. Holed.

1841 John Tyler. Silver. Round 2 1/2 inches. Extremely Fine. Holed. With ring.

1849 Zachary Taylor. Silver. Round 3 inches. Very Fine. Holed.

1850 Millard Fillmore. Silver. Round 2 1/2 inches. Extremely Fine. Holed.

1853 Franklin Pierce. Silver. Round 3 inches. Very Good. Holed.

1862 Abraham Lincoln. Silver. Round 3 inches. Extremely Fine. Holed. With ring.

1865 Andrew Johnson. Silver. Round 3 inches. Extremely Fine. Holed. With original ornamental suspender.

1871 Ulysses S. Grant. Silver. Round 2 1/2 inches. Extremely Fine. Holed. With ring.

1881 James A. Garfield. Silver. Oval 3 inch x 2 1/4 inches. Very Fine. Holed.

Miscellaneous Medals

(1735) Undated. Franco-American. Louis XV. Silver. Round 2 1/4 inches. Very Fine.

1756 City of Philadelphia. Silver medal on the capture of Kittanning. Round 1 3/4 inches. Extremely Fine.

1776 "Washington before Boston." Copper. 2 3/4 inches. Restrike. Proof.

1782 Holland. "John Adams admitted as Envoy". Silver 1 3/4 inches. Proof.

1783 Holland. Peace of Versailles. Pewter with copper plug. 1 3/4 inches. Very Fine.

1787 France. John Paul Jones. Resolution of Congress. Bronze. 2 1/4 inches. About Uncirculated.

1800 Captain Thomas Truxton. Vote of Congress. Silver. Round 2 1/4 inches. Proof.

- 1825 John Quincy Adams. Silver Inaugural medal. Round 2 inches. About Uncirculated. Believed three known.
- 1834 Kosciusko and Lafayette. Bronze. 2 inches. Proof.
- (1860) Undated. Declaration of Independence die by Wright combined with die describing history of America. Silver. 3½ inches. Proof.
- 1881 Reproduction of the Howard medal. Bronze. 1¾ inches. Proof.
- Undated. France. Artist proof of The U.S. Diplomatic medal. Lead. 2¾ inches. Extremely Fine.
- Undated. George Washington. Incuse medal. Iron. 4¼ inches. Extremely Fine.
- Undated. Benjamin Franklin. Incuse medal. Bronze. 3¾ inches. Extremely Fine.
- Undated. LIBERTATIS VINDEIX, GUL PITT / BRITTANICA ET AMERICA IUNCTAE. Betts 521. 146.4 grains. Extremely Fine.

Confederate States of America

- 1861 Cent. Copper. Proof.
- 1861 Cent. Copper-nickel. Extremely Fine.
- 1861 Cent. Silver. Proof.
- 1861 Wealth of the South set. Brass, copper and gilt. (Three pieces). Uncirculated. From Woodward's 69th Sale.
- 1861 Half dime. Holed twice. Very Fine. From the Jenks Collection, previously from the Maris Collection.
- 1861 Dime. Jefferson Davis. About Uncirculated. Holed. From the Jenks Collection, previously from the Wilcox and Betts collections.
- 1861 Dime. Jefferson Davis. Extremely Fine. Mounted and gilt. From the Maris Collection.
- 1861 Half dollar. Restrike. About Uncirculated.

Hawaiian Coinage

- 1847 Cent. About Uncirculated.
- 1847 Cent. Very Fine.
- 1881 Nickel. Pattern. Uncirculated.
- 1883 Dime. Silver. Proof.
- 1883 Dollar. Silver. Proof.
- 1891 Dollar. Queen Liliuokalani. Silver pattern. Proof.

Hard Times Tokens

- Andrew Jackson. Low 1. Very Fine.
- 1834 L-7. Very Fine.
- 1834 L-8. Uncirculated.
- 1834 L-12. About Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-19. Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-26. Uncirculated.

- 1837 L-44. Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-45. Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-49. Extremely Fine.
- 1837 L-51. Uncirculated.
- 1838 L-54. Uncirculated.
- 1838 L-55. About Uncirculated.
- 1840 L-56. Very Fine.
- 1833 L-73. Extremely Fine.
- 1834 L-83. Very Fine.
- 1834 L-86. Extremely Fine.
- 1835 L-92. Extremely Fine.
- 1835 L-94. Extremely Fine.
- 1835 L-95. About Uncirculated.
- 1835 L-98. About Uncirculated.
- 1835 L-99. Very Fine.
- 1836 L-103. Extremely Fine.
- 1837 L-107. Extremely Fine.
- 1837 L-108. Very Good.
- 1837 L-111. About Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-112. About Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-113. About Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-114. Very Fine.
- 1837 L-114. Very Fine.
- 1837 L-117. Feuchtwanger 3c. Very Fine.
- 1837 L-117. Feuchtwanger 3c. Very Fine.
- 1837 L-120. Feuchtwanger 1c. About Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-122. About Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-124. Very Fine.
- 1837 L-125. About Uncirculated.
- 1837 L-140. Extremely Fine.
- 1837 L-141. Extremely Fine.
- 1837 L-145. Fine.
- 1837 L-148. Very Fine.
- Undated. L-150. Extremely Fine.
- Undated. L-150. Extremely Fine.
- Undated. L-153. About Uncirculated.
- Undated. L-153. Very Fine.
- Undated. L-154. Extremely Fine.
- Undated. L-155. Extremely Fine.
- Undated. L-155. About Uncirculated.

A small group of coins, tokens, paper money and other numismatic items are not listed. These include coins traded and/or sold during the 19th and 20th centuries for which sketchy information exists, certain coins attributed to the Garrett Collection by Judd, Taxay and others apparently in error, and coins which did not contribute to the scope of this volume.

Bibliography of Auction Sales Cited

- Charles E. Anthon Collection (Part V) catalogued by George W. Cogan, held on October 20-22, 1884.
- J. Wily Aulick Collection catalogued by George W. Cogan, held on April 12-13, 1883.
- George J. Bascom Collection catalogued by Henry Chapman, held on January 16, 1915.
- Clarence S. Bement Collection catalogued by Henry Chapman, held on May 29, 1916.
- O. H. Berg Collection from John W. Haseltine's 68th sale, held on May 23-24, 1883.
- Samuel A. Bispham Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held on February 11-12, 1880.
- H. B. Bradbury Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held on April 14, 1882.
- Charles P. Britton Collection catalogued by George W. Cogan, held on January 29, 1883.
- Charles Ira Bushnell Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held on June 20-24, 1882.
- James T. Callender Collection catalogued by Lyman H. Low, held on December 21, 1898.
- Charles Clay Collection catalogued by William H. Strobridge, held on December 5-7, 1871.
- Edmund James Cleveland Collection catalogued by Lyman H. Low, held on February 28, 1903.
- Sylvester S. Crosby Collection from John W. Haseltine's 70th sale, held on June 27-29, 1883.
- A. Dohrmann Collection from W. Elliot Woodward's 45th sale, held on March 6-11, 1882.
- George H. Earle Collection catalogued by Henry Chapman, held on June 25, 1912.
- Heman Ely Collection from W. Elliot Woodward's 62nd sale, held on January 8-10, 1884.
- Edouard Frossard's Collection catalogued by Frossard, held on October 2-3, 1884.
- Edouard Frossard's 17th sale held on December 8, 1881.
- Edouard Frossard's 26th sale held on January 27, 1883.
- Edouard Frossard's 27th sale held on February 8-10, 1883.
- Edouard Frossard's 29th sale held on June 2, 1883.
- Edouard Frossard's 30th sale held on June 30, 1883.
- Edouard Frossard's 33rd sale held on December 12-15, 1883.
- Edouard Frossard's 38th sale held on October 23-24, 1884.
- Charles Gregory Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson Chapman, held on June 19-24, 1916.
- Peter Gschwend Collection catalogued by Thomas L. Elder, held on June 15-16, 1908.
- Noel Gray Collection catalogued by Scott Stamp and Coin Co., held on October 27-28, 1897.
- Ferguson Haines Collection from W. Elliot Woodward's 32nd sale on October 13-16, 1880.
- John W. Haseltine's 64th sale held on January 18, 1883.
- John W. Haseltine's 65th sale held on March 1-2, 1883.
- John W. Haseltine's 67th sale held on April 26-27, 1883.
- John W. Haseltine's 69th sale held on June 6, 1883.
- John W. Haseltine's 80th sale held on July 7-8, 1884.
- Hebbeard Collection catalogued by H. P. Smith, held on April 24-25, 1883.
- H. Herman Collection catalogued by Scott Stamp and Coin Co., held on June 26-27, 1881.
- John Igo Collection catalogued by himself, held on May 26-27, 1881.
- Allison W. Jackman Collection catalogued by Henry Chapman, held on June 28-29, 1918.
- Malcolm N. Jackson Collection catalogued by Wayte Raymond of the United States Coin Co., held on May 20-22, 1913.
- John Story Jenks Collection catalogued by Henry Chapman, held on December 7-17, 1921.
- G. D. Kingman Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson Chapman, held on February 26, 1920.
- Lefferts Collection catalogued by Edward Cogan on August 16-20, 1878.
- I. M. A. Lermann Collection from W. Elliot Woodward's 70th sale, held on December 29-31, 1884.
- Paul J. Maas Collection from W. Elliot Woodward's 54th sale, held on December 28-29, 1882.
- Edward Maris Collection catalogued by Maris, held on June 21, 1886.
- George W. Massamore's 19th sale held on March 22, 1883.
- George W. Massamore's 22nd sale held on November 30, 1883.
- Henry C. Miller Collection catalogued by Thomas L. Elder, held on May 26-29, 1930.
- John G. Mills Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held on April 27-29, 1904.
- Morgenthau's sale catalogued by Wayte Raymond and J. G. Macallister, held on October 18, 1933.
- Charles Morris Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held on April 19-20, 1905.
- Harold P. Newlin Collection from John W. Haseltine's 66th sale, held on April 10, 1883.
- Arthur C. Nygren Collection catalogued by Henry Chapman, held on April 29, 1924.
- Lorin G. Parmelee Collection catalogued by David Proskey and Harlan P. Smith, held on June 25-27, 1890.
- George M. Parsons Collection catalogued by Henry Chapman, held on June 24-27, 1914.
- Nicholas Petry Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held on May 10, 1893.
- J. Colvin Randall Collection from W. Elliot Woodward's 77th sale, held on June 29-30, 1885.
- H. G. Sampson catalogued a sale held by Bangs & Co. on February 16-17, 1882.

George F. Seavey Collection catalogued by William H. Strobridge, held in 1873.

Judge Charles W. Slack Collection catalogued by B. Max Mehl, held on May 5, 1925.

Harlan P. Smith Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held in 1906.

Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge sale held on March 7, 1888.

Theodore Staebelin Collection catalogued by John W. Haseltine, held on January 26-27, 1882.

Charles T. Steigerwalt's 12th sale held on March 5-6, 1883.

George Stenz Collection catalogued by William H. Strobridge, held on May 17, 1875.

Matthew Adams Stickney Collection catalogued by Henry Chapman, held on June 25-29, 1907.

James Ten Eyck Collection catalogued by B. Max Mehl, held on May 2, 1922.

George F. Ulex Collection catalogued by Lyman H. Low, held on August 8, 1902.

C. T. Whitman Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held on August 10-11, 1893.

W. Elliot Woodward's 27th sale held on March 9-12, 1880.

W. Elliot Woodward's 34th sale held on January 10-13, 1881.

W. Elliot Woodward's 46th sale held on April 19-21, 1882.

W. Elliot Woodward's 55th sale held on May 2-4, 1883.

W. Elliot Woodward's 56th sale held on June 12-13, 1883.

W. Elliot Woodward's 58th sale held on June 25-26, 1883.

W. Elliot Woodward's 67th sale held on May 26-29, 1884.

W. Elliot Woodward's 69th sale held on October 13-18, 1884.

Edwin B. Wight Collection from W. Elliot Woodward's 71st sale, held on February 24-25, 1885.

Charles Wilcox Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held on November 6-7, 1901.

G. F. E. Wilharm Collection catalogued by B. Max Mehl, held on February 15, 1921.

Richard B. Winsor Collection catalogued by Samuel Hudson and Henry Chapman, held on December 16, 1895.

William H. Woodin Collection catalogued by Thomas L. Elder, held on March 2-4, 1911.

Andrew C. Zabriskie Collection catalogued by Henry Chapman, held on June 3-4, 1909.

Bibliography

- Adams, Edgar H., *Private Gold Coinage of California, 1849-1855, Its History and Its Issues*. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York, 1912-1913.
- American Journal of Numismatics*, various issues beginning with Vol. I, No. 1, May 1866. Bulletin of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society (later American Numismatic Society), New York, New York.
- American Numismatic Society Exhibition of United States and Colonial Coins*. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York, 1914.
- American Portrait Gallery, The*. Portraits engraved by J. W. Orr, text by A. D. Jones, J. M. Emerson & Co., New York, New York, 1855.
- American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. I. "Estimated Expenditures for the Year 1796," p. 366.
- Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events*. D. Appleton & Co., New York, New York, various years 1876-1888.
- Arrington, Leonard J., *Great Basin Kingdom*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958.
- Attinelli, E. J., *Numisgraphics, or a List of Catalogues, in Which Occur Coins or Medals, Which have been Sold by Auction in the United States*. New York, New York, 1876.
- Avery, C. L., *American Silver of the XVII and XVIII Centuries*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1920.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of California*. The History Co., San Francisco, California, 1888.
- Betts, C. Wylls, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*. Edited by William T. R. Marvin and Lyman Haynes Low, Scott Stamp and Coin Co., New York, New York, 1894.
- Bolender, Milfred H., *The United States Early Silver Dollars from 1794 to 1803*. Freeport, Illinois, 1950.
- Bowers, Q. David, *Adventures with Rare Coins*. Bowers & Ruddy Galleries, Inc., Los Angeles, California, 1979.
- ibid.*, *Coins and Collectors*. Windsor Research Publications, Johnson City, New York, 1965.
- Breen, Walter H., "Brasher & Bailey; Pioneer New York Coiners, 1787-1792," *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York, 1958.
- ibid.*, "Proof Coins Struck by the United States Mint 1817-1921," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 20, Nos. 2 and 3. New York, New York, March-April and May-June, 1953.
- ibid.*, "Silver Coinages of the Philadelphia Mint, 1794-1916," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, No. 159. Wayte Raymond Publications, Montauk, New York, 1958.
- ibid.*, "United States Half Dimes: A Supplement," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, No. 160. Wayte Raymond Publications, Montauk, New York, 1958.
- ibid.*, "The United States Minor Coinages 1793-1916," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 3. New York, New York, May-June, 1954.
- ibid.*, "The United States Patterns of 1792," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 2. New York, New York, March-April, 1954.
- ibid.*, *Walter Breen's Encyclopedia of United States and Colonial Proof Coins 1722-1977*. FCI Press, Inc., New York, New York, 1977.
- Brooks, J. Tyrwhitt, *Four Months Among the Gold-Finders in Alta California*. London, England, 1849.
- Brown, Vernon L., "The Brasher Doubloon," *The Numismatist*, Vol. 77. 1964.
- Buffum, E. Gould, *Six Months in the Gold Mines*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1850.
- Bushnell, Charles I., *Crumbs for Antiquarians*. Privately printed, New York, New York, 1864.
- Carlson, Carl W. A., "An Historical Study of the Relations of Two Major Numismatists of the 1880's: Newlin and Garrett." *The Numismatist*, February 1976; March 1976.
- ibid.*, "An Historical Study of the Relationship Between a Semi-Professional Dealer and a Major Collector of the 1880's: Frossard and Garrett." *The Numismatist*, February 1978; March 1978.
- ibid.*, "Former Curator of Famed Garrett Collection Relates Background of Johns Hopkins Coins." *Numismatic News*, July 21, 1979.
- Carson, J. H., *Early Recollections of the Mines, and a Description of the Great Tulare Valley*. Stockton, California, 1852.
- Catalog of Colonial United States and Pattern Pieces from the Cabinet of Dr. Edward Maris of Philadelphia*. Stan V. Henkels & Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 21, 1886.
- Catalogue of Coins, Tokens, and Medals in the Numismatic Collection in the Mint of the United States, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*, (3rd ed.) Prepared under the direction of the Director of the Bureau of the Mint. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1914.
- Clifford, Henry H., "Pioneer Gold Coinage in the West—1848-1861," *The Westerner's Brand Book*, Book 9. Los Angeles, California, 1961.
- Cohen, Roger S. Jr., *American Half Cents, the "Little Half Sisters"*, 1971.
- Coin Collector's Journal*, various issues 1875-1885. J. W. Scott & Co., New York, New York.
- Coin World Almanac*, (3rd ed.) Compiled and edited by the staff of *Coin World*, Amos Press, Inc., Sidney, Ohio, 1978.
- Colonial Newsletter, The*, various issues. Edited by J. C. Spilman, Huntsville, Alabama.
- Crosby, Sylvester S., *The Early Coins of America*. Boston, Massachusetts, 1875.

- Cross, Ira B., *Financing an Empire, History of Banking in California*, Vol. I. S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago-New York-Los Angeles, 1927.
- Decatur, S., "Ephraim Brasher, Silversmith of New York," *American Collector*, Vol. 7, 1938.
- Delieb, Erick, and Roberts, Michael, *Matthew Boulton, Master Silversmith*. November Books, Ltd., London, England, 1971.
- Dickeson, Montroville Wilson, M.D., *The American Numismatic Manual*, (3rd ed.) J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1859.
- Eckfeldt, J. R., and DuBois, W. E., *New Varieties of Gold and Silver Coins*, (2nd ed.) Putnam, New York, New York, 1851.
- Elder, Thomas L., *Catalogue of the Splendid Rare Coin Collection of the Late Henry C. Miller, Esq., of New York City*, auction catalogue May 26-29, 1920. Elder Coin and Curio Co., New York, New York.
- Evans, George G., *Illustrated History of the United States Mint*. Published by the author, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1890.
- Frossard, Edouard, *Numisma*, various issues 1877-1885.
- Gilbert, Ebenezer., *The United States Half Cents: From the First Year of Issue in 1793, to the Year When Discontinued, 1857*. New York, 1916.
- Greene, R. H., "Genealogy of the Family Named Brasier, Brasher, Breser, Bresert, Bradejor," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Review*, Vol. 27. New York, New York, 1896.
- Griffin, Clarence, "The Bechtlers and Bechtler Coinage," *Forest City Courier*. Forest City, North Carolina, 1929.
- Gutttag Brothers, *New Jersey Cents*. Gutttag Brothers, New York, New York, 1925.
- Heaton, Augustus G., *A Treatise on the Coinage of the United States Branch Mints*. Published by the author, Washington, D.C., 1893.
- Hickcox, J. H., *An Historical Account of American Coinage*. Munsell, Albany, New York, 1851.
- Hittell, Theodore H., *History of California*, Vols. I-IV. N. J. Stone & Co., San Francisco, California, 1898.
- John Work Garrett Collection (The Johns Hopkins University). Public Auction catalogued by Stack's, held on March 12-13, 1976.
- John Work Garrett and His Library at Evergreen House. Essays by B. Howell Griswold, Jr., and John Work Garrett, privately printed, Baltimore, Maryland, 1944.
- Johns Hopkins University, The. Ferdinand Hamburger Archives; Julia B. Morgan and Susan Tripp. Location of the Garrett documents and correspondence cited.
- Judd, J. Hewitt, *United States Pattern, Experimental and Trial Pieces*, (6th ed.) Western Publishing, Racine, Wisconsin, 1977.
- Julian, R. W., "The Copper Coinage of 1795," *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, December, 1964.
- ibid.*, "The Patterns of 1792," *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, July, 1962.
- Kenney, Richard D., "Early American Medalists and Die-Sinkers Prior to the Civil War," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1. New York, New York, January-February, 1954.
- ibid.*, "Struck Copies of Early American Coins," *The Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1. New York, New York, January-February, 1952.
- Lapp, Warren A. and Silberman, Herbert A., editors, *United States Large Cents, 1793-1857*. Quarterman Publications, Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1975.
- Lee, Kenneth W. *California Gold, Dollars, Half Dollars*. University Press, Los Angeles, California, 1970.
- Low, Lyman Haynes, *Hard Times Tokens*, 2nd edition. Published by the author, New York, New York, 1900.
- Maris, Edward, *The Coins of New Jersey*. Quarterman Publications, Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1974.
- Marryat, Frank, *Mountains and Molehills*. New York, New York, 1855.
- Masterpieces of American Silver*. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia, 1960.
- Medcalf, Donald, and Russell, Ronald, *Hawaiian Money Standard Catalog*. Published by the authors, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1978.
- Michels, Ivan C., *The Current Gold and Silver Coins of All Nations*. R. S. Menamin, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1883.
- Miller, Henry C. "The State Coinage of Connecticut." In *The State Coinages of New England*. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York, 1920.
- Miller, V. I., *Silver by New York Makers*. Museum of the City of New York, New York, New York, 1937.
- Mumey, Nolie, Clark, Gruber & Co., *a Pioneer Denver Mint*. Artcraft Press, Denver, Colorado, 1950.
- Nelson, Philip. *The Coinage of William Wood, 1722-1733*. Durst Numismatic Publications, New York, New York, 1978.
- Newcomb, Howard R. *United States Copper Cents, 1816-1857*. Stack's, New York, New York, 1944.
- Newlin, Harold P. *A Classification of the Early Half Dimes of the United States*. Haseltine. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1883.
- Newman, Eric P., *Coinage for Colonial Virginia*. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York, 1956.
- ibid.*, *The Early Paper Money of America*. Western Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin, 1976.
- ibid.*, "A Recently Discovered Coin Solves a Vermont Numismatic Enigma," *Centennial Publication of The American Numismatic Society*. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York, 1958.
- Noe, Sydney P., *The Silver Coinage of Massachusetts*. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York, 1943 and 1947. Reprinted in one volume by Quarterman Publications, Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1973.
- Numismatist, The*, various issues from 1890 to date. Journal of the American Numismatic Association.
- Overton, Al C. *Early Half Dollar Die Varieties, 1794-1836*. (rev. ed.) Published by the author. Colorado Springs, Colorado, 1970.
- Peck, C. Wilson, *English Copper, Tin, and Bronze Coins in the British Museum, 1558-1958*. Trustees of the British Museum, London, England, 1960.

- Phillips, J. M., Parker, B. N., and Buhler, K. C., *The Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr. Collection of Portraits and Silver*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1855.
- Player-Froud, J. G., *Six Months in California*. London, England, 1872.
- Prucha, Francis Paul, *Indian Peace Medals in American History*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1971 (reprint of the edition published by State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison).
- Raymond, Wayte, *The Standard Catalogue of the United States Coins*, (17th ed.) Wayte Raymond, New York, New York, 1954.
- Ryder, Hillyer. "The Colonial Coins of Vermont." In *The State Coinages of New England*. American Numismatic Society, New York, 1920.
- Sawyer, R. C., *Abstracts of Wills for New York County, 1808-1814*, Vol. 2. Published by the author, New York, New York, 1936.
- Sellers, George Escol, "Early Engineering Reminiscences," *The American Machinist*, May-June, 1893.
- Seymour, Dexter C., "The 1830 Coinage of Templeton Reid," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York, 1977.
- ibid.*, "Templeton Reid, First of the Pioneer Coiners," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York, 1974.
- Sheldon, William H. *Early American Cents, 1793-1814, An Exercise in Descriptive Classification with Tables of Rarity and Value*. Harper & Row, New York, 1949.
- Sipsey, E. T., "Dies by Wyon, an Exercise in Fact and Supposition," *The Colonial Newsletter*, 1965 and 1966.
- Smith, A. M., *Illustrated History of the United States Mint*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1884.
- Snowden, James Ross, *A Description of the Medals of Washington*. J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1861.
- Stebbins, L., *Progress of the United States*. Hartford, Connecticut, 1870.
- Steigerwalt, Charles, *Coin Journal*, various issues 1883-1884. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
- ibid.*, *Illustrated History of United States and Colonial Coins*. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1884.
- Stewart, Frank H., *History of the First United States Mint*. Privately printed, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1924.
- Stone, Wilbur Fisk, *History of Colorado*, Vol. I. F. J. Clark Publishing Co, Chicago, Illinois, 1918.
- Strobridge, W. H., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Seavey Collection*. University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1873.
- Taxay, Don, *The Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of United States Coins*. Scott Publishing Co., New York, New York, 1976.
- ibid.*, *The United States Mint and Coinage*. Arco Publishing Co., New York, 1966.
- Taylor, William, *California Life Illustrated*. Published by the author, New York, New York, 1860.
- Thayer, William M., *Marvels of the New West*. The Henry Bill Publishing Co., Norwich, Connecticut, 1887.
- Thorn, C. J., *Handbook of American Silver and Pewter Marks*. Tudor Publications, New York, New York, 1849.
- Valentine, Daniel W. *The United States Half Dimes*. American Numismatic Society, New York, 1931.
- Vlack, Robert A., *Early American Coins*. Windsor Research Publications, Johnson City, New York, 1965.
- Wallechinsky, David and Wallace, Irving, *The People's Almanac*. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, New York, 1975.
- Williams, Harold A., *Robert Garrett & Sons, Inc., Origin and Development, 1840-1865*. Robert Garrett & Sons, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland, 1965.
- Wood, Howland, "The Coinage of the West Indies with Especial Reference to the Cut and Counterstamped Pieces," *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. 48, 1914. American Numismatic Society, New York, New York.
- Yeoman, R. S., *A Guide Book of United States Coins*, various editions 1946 to date. Western Publishing Co., Racine, Wisconsin.

Index

- A
- Adams, Edgar H., 41, 58, 60, 61, 64, 65, 263, 275, 296, 337, 347, 352-360, 363-365, 368-371, 380-382, 466, 467
- Adams, Henry S., 259, 483, 484
- Adams, John, 173, 417, 418
- Adventures with Rare Coins*, 274
- Ahlborne, Leah, 14, 260
- Ahr, Jack L., 267
- Albany Church penny
Garrett inventory, 523
- Allen, Ira, 137
- Alsop & Co., 386
- American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, 413
- American Fur Company medal, 467
- American gold in foreign countries, 284
- American Half Cents, the "Little Half Sisters,"* 236
- American Journal of Numismatics*, 14, 17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 29, 33, 35, 36, 39, 44, 46, 51-53, 156, 213, 247, 274, 403, 463, 466
- American Numismatic Association, 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58, 60, 61, 65, 70, 71, 76, 77, 97, 243, 273, 466, 467
- American Numismatic Manual*, 17
- American Numismatic Society, 20, 59, 228, 300, 467-469, 506
- American Numismatic Society's Exhibition of U.S. & Colonial Coins in 1914, 159
- American Plantations token, 119
Garrett inventory, 517
- American Stamp & Coin Company, 47
- Anderson Galleries, 501
- Andrew, A. Piatt, 60
- Andrews, Frank D., 35
- Anthon, Charles E., 20, 39, 463
- Anthon sale, 446
- Anthony, Susan B., 28, 274
- Appleton, William S., 29, 31, 451, 504
- Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, 183
- Argenti & Co., 367
- Arrangement of the Tradesmen's Cards, Political Tokens, Election Medals, etc., An*, 403
- Arrowheads, 261
- Assay Department, United States Mint, 14
- Astor, John Jacob, 467
- Athenaeum, Dr. Collyer's, 340
- Atlantic-Caribbean Line, the, 323
- Atlee, Samuel and James F., 140, 141, 147, 156
- Attinelli, E. J., 16, 19
- Atwater, William C., 489
- Atwater sale, 58
- Auctori Plebis token, 164
Garrett Inventory, 523
- Audubon, John James, 96, 97
- Ayer, J. C., 421
- B
- Bagg, Richard A., 156
- Bailey & Co., 412
- Bailey, John, 146, 155-157
- Bailly, Joseph K., 263
- Baker, W. C., 146
- Baker, W. S., 169, 181
- Bakst, Leon, 96
- Baldwin & Co., 62, 73, 351, 361, 362, 366, 367, 372, 385
- Baldwin & Co., cont.
Garrett Inventory, 553
- Baldwin, Isaac, 145
- Ball, Mary, 169
- Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, 82, 85
- Baltimore & Ohio Telegraph Co., 85
- Baltimore & Savannah Steamship Co., 85
- Baltimore County News, The*, 96
- Baltimore Gas Light Co., 82
- Baltimore, Savings Bank of, 82
- Bancroft, Hubert H., 307, 313, 322, 323, 325, 330, 332, 333
- Bangs, Merwin & Co., (Bangs & Co.), 14, 19, 33, 44, 49
- Barber, Charles E., 53, 67, 222, 223, 228, 248, 261, 266, 271, 274, 279, 283-285, 420, 462, 467
- Barber, Col. Francis, 146, 217
- Barber, William, 222, 223, 271
- "Bar cent," 165
- Bar cents
Garrett inventory, 523
- Barger, James, 310
- Barnum, P. T., 288, 340
- Bath metal, 112
- Bechtler, Augustus, 297, 299
- Bechtler, Charles, 298
- Bechtler, Christopher (the elder), 297, 299, 300, 349, 368
- Bechtler, Christopher (the younger), 297, 299
- Bechtler, Edward, 298
- Bechtler gold, (North Carolina and Georgia), 296-300, 480
- Bechtlers and Bechtler Coinage, The*, 297
- Bechtlers, the
Garrett inventory, 553
- Beck, John A., 70
- Beckwith Collection, H.W., 425
- Beebee, Ludlow & Co., 369, 375
- Beistle, M. L., 470
- Belden, Bauman L., 417, 468
- "Belleville Mint," 407
- Bellingham, Richard, 107
- Bement Collection, Clarence S., 39, 67, 483, 504
- Bennett, Hiram P., 396
- Berg Collection, 89, 432, 439, 440
- Bergen Iron Works, 411
- Betts sale, Benjamin, 440
- Betts, Charles Wyllys, 32, 44, 45, 160, 260, 413, 440
- Bidwell, John, 330
- Bigelow, William Sturgis, 277
- Bigler, Henry W., 307, 310
- Bigler, John, 352, 361
- Birch cents, 183, 482
- Birch, Thomas, 183
- Bishop, Samuel, 143, 145
- Bitter, Karl, 266
- Blake & Agnell, 368
- Blake & Co., 499
Garrett inventory, 553
- Blake, George W., 65, 67
- Bland-Allison Act of 1878, 33, 222, 264, 271
- Board of Treasury, 160
- Bosbyshell, Col. O. C., 222, 453, 454
- Boudinot, Elias, 185, 186, 192
- Boulton & Watt, 185, 201, 241
- Boulton, Matthew, 163, 164
- Boulton, Matthew Jr., 161
- Bowers & Ruddy Galleries, 98
- Bowie Co., J. H., 368
Garrett inventory, 553
- Bowman Collection, Frank, 434
- Boyd, F.C.C., 65
- Braddock, Gen. Edward, 171
- Bradstreet Co., 479
- Brand Collection, 486, 498, 500
- Brand, Virgil M., 73, 97, 474, 486, 493
- Brannan, Samuel, 311
- Brasher doubloon, 29, 41, 58-60, 65, 69, 150, 156, 157, 437, 442, 481, 484, 501, 507
- Brasher, Ephraim, 155-159, 294, 508
Coinage, Garrett inventory, 522, 523
- Brasher, Mary, 159
- Braverman & Levy's Store, 363
- Breen, Walter H., 41, 60, 156, 158, 182, 236, 270, 501
- Brenner, Judson, 62, 501
- Bressett, Kenneth, 15, 60, 271
- Brevoort, J. Carson, 31
- Brigham, Francis L., 407
- British Columbia coins, 493
- Britton, C. P., 260
- Britton sale, 436, 449, 452
- Broderick & Kohler, 347, 350, 365
- Broken bank notes, 61
- Brooks, David, 140
- Broome, Samuel, 160
- Brown, Ammi, 25
- Brown Collection, Julius L., 39
- Brown, Dan, 274
- Brown, George W., 393
- Brown, Samuel, 393
- Brown, Vernon L., 157
- Brown, W. P., 433
- Bryan Campaign "dollar," 419
- Bryan, William Jennings, 64, 414
- Buchanan, James, 314, 417
- Bucklin, Isaac B., 407
- Buel, Abel & William, 137, 139, 145, 160
- Buffalo nickels, 248, 257
- Bumstead, A. B., 414
- Bungtown tokens, 142, 143, 507
- Burgoyne & Co., 367, 381
- Burton Collection, John E., 35, 260
- Bushnell, Charles I., 36, 37, 137, 139, 141, 145, 146, 159, 403
- Bushnell Collection, 27, 39, 41, 426, 427, 430, 437, 438, 440, 443, 457, 473
- C
- Caecilius Dominus Terrae-Mariae, &c., 112
- "CAL." (California gold counterstamp), 285, 320
- Caldwell, Raymond L., 471
- California (steamship), 323, 324
- California gold, 306-337, 466, 502
- California gold mines
Garrett inventory, 553
- California gold patterns, 378, 379
- California Mining & Trading Co. of Cincinnati (See Cincinnati Mining & Trading), 347
- California small denomination gold
Garrett inventory, 556, 557
- California Stamp Company, 75
- Callender, Joseph, 152

- Calvert, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, 104, 111, 112, 482
 Calvert, Philip, 111
 Cane, Dr. Robert, 114
 Carlson, Carl, 98
 Carolina gold, 296, 299
 Carolina tokens, 118
 Carson City Mint, 214, 275
 Carter, Amon, 75
 Casey, James P., 338
 Castorland medals, 161, 162
 Garrett inventory, 523
 Centennial Exhibition of 1876, 29, 414
 Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society, 139
 Chalmers coinage, 118, 126
 Garrett inventory, 517
 Chalmers, John, 118
 Chalmers shilling, 482
 Chapman, Henry, 36, 46, 59, 61, 64, 70, 73, 150, 263, 300
 Chapman, Samuel H., 36, 39, 46, 60, 65-67, 136
 Chapman, S. H. & H. (Chapman Bros.), 28, 34-39, 44, 52, 58, 403, 425-428, 438, 454-456, 466
 Chapman, S. H. & H., correspondence, 39, 425-428, 471, 472
 Chapman, William H. & Co., 28
 Charles I, King of England, 115
 Charlotte Mint, 212, 299
 Chase, Salmon P., Secy. of Treasury in 1861, 215
 Cherokee tribe, 416
 Chetwood, F. B., 146
 Chief Smutty Bear, 418
 Childs & March (Nathaniel March & Co.), 409
 Chilton Collection, 39
 Choctaw nation, 416
 Cholera, 327
 Cincinnati Mining & Trading Co., 62, 347, 363, 495, 498
 Garrett inventory, 553
 Civil War tokens, 61, 242, 245, 419, 420
 Clapp, Charles E., 484
 Clapp, George H., 39
 Clapp, Mrs. L.A.K., 333
 Clark & Anthony, 411
 Clark, Austin M., 394
 Clark, George T., 398
 Clark, Gruber & Co., 228, 393-399, 492, 498
 Garrett inventory, 555
 Clark, Milton Edward, 394
 Clark, William, 416, 417
 Clarke, Thomas, 107
Classification of the Early Half Dimes of the United States, A, 257, 258
 Clemens Collection, James B., 33
 Clemens sale, 433
 Cleneay Collection, 39
 Cleneay, Thomas, 43
 Cogan, Edward D., 16-18, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 44, 89, 259, 260, 430, 431
 Cogan, Edward D. & George W., correspondence, 428-433
 Cogan, George, 430, 457
 Cogan, Richard, 457
 Cohen, Col. Mendes I., 29, 115
 Cohen, Roger S., Jr., 236
 Cohen, Sam, 62
COINage, 77
 Coinage Act of 1849, 391
 Coinage Act of 1857, 215, 242
 Coinage Act of 1873, 274, 459
 Coinage Act of 1875, 222
 Coinage Act of 1965, 228
 Coinage Law of 1837, 212
Coin Collector's Journal, The, 31-33, 36, 59, 442, 466, 487, 501, 504
Coin Dealer Newsletter, 77
Coin Journal (Steigerwalt's), 41
Coin World, 75, 77
Coins magazine, 75
 Coins of Great Britain, 118
 Coins, United States:
 Patterns (see Pattern, trial and experimental pieces)
 Commemorative coins, 284-289
 Garrett inventory, 551, 552
 Half Cents, 235, 236
 Garrett inventory, 531
 Cents, large, 43, 236-242
 Garrett inventory 531-534
 Cents, small, 242-245
 Garrett inventory, 534, 535
 Two-cent pieces, 244-246
 Garrett inventory, 535
 Three-cent pieces, nickel, 20, 244, 246
 Garrett inventory, 535
 Three-cent pieces, silver, 43, 244, 246
 Garrett inventory, 535
 Nickel five-cent pieces, 247-257
 Garrett inventory, 536
 Half dimes, 42, 43, 244, 257-261, 446, 447, 452, 489
 Garrett inventory, 536, 537
 Ten-cent pieces, 244, 261-263
 Garrett inventory, 537-539
 Twenty-cent pieces, 43, 222, 263-265, 489
 Garrett inventory, 539
 Quarters, 43, 264-267, 277
 Garrett inventory, 539-541
 Half dollars, 43, 267-270
 Garrett inventory, 541-543
 Silver dollars, 13, 15, 41, 43, 65, 68, 75, 89, 203, 270, 271, 276, 432, 500
 Garrett inventory, 543, 544
 Trade dollars, 272, 274-276
 Garrett inventory, 545
 \$1 gold, 272, 276, 277
 Garrett inventory, 545
 \$2.50 gold, 277-279, 489
 Garrett inventory, 545-547
 \$3 gold, 74, 215, 246, 278, 279, 489
 Garrett inventory, 547
 \$4 "stella" gold pieces, 279
 Garrett inventory, 547
 \$5 gold (half eagles), 90, 279-281, 283, 489, 500
 Garrett inventory, 548, 549
 \$10 gold (eagles), 281-283
 Garrett inventory, 549, 550
 \$20 gold (double eagles), 282-284
 Garrett inventory, 550, 551
 Colburn, Jeremiah, 14, 147
 Collier, Thomas, correspondence, 433
 Collins, B. H., 47
 Collins, B. H., correspondence, 433, 434
 Collins, Jack, 270
 Colonial Coins
 Garrett Inventory, 513-525
 Colorado gold, 466, 467, 492
 Coltman, William L., 185
 Columbian Exposition, 284, 285
 Columbus Company
 Garrett inventory, 553
 Commemorative coins, 284-289
 Garrett inventory, 551, 552
 Commemorative medals, 426
 Commission of Fine Arts, 263, 267
 Committee of Ways & Means, 241
 Comparette, Dr. T. L., 65
Comprehensive Catalogue & Encyclopedia of United States Morgan and Peace Dollars, The, 273
 Confederate States of America Coinage, 411-413, 419
 Garrett inventory, 558
 "Confederate Volunteer's Badge," 428
 Confederatio Coppers, 133
 Garrett inventory, 517
 "Confederatio Inimica Tyrannis," 484
 Connecticut copper coins, 144
 Garrett inventory, 518, 519
 Conover, Thornton, 473
 Continental Bank Note Company, 367
 Continental Building, 96
 Continental Congress, 484
 Continental dollars, 58, 159, 160, 162
 Garrett inventory 523
 Conway & Co., J. J., 399, 494, 495
 Garrett inventory, 555
 Conway & Co. \$5 gold piece, 494, 495
 Cook, Henry, 49
 Cooley, Col. William, 137, 140
 Coolidge, Calvin, 95
 Copper Company of Upper Canada
 Garrett inventory, 523
 Copper tokens, English, 173-176
 Cora, Charles, 337, 338
 Cornwallis, Lord, 171
 Corwin, Hon. Thomas H., 374, 376
 Cottier, William H., 259
 Counterfeiting, 103
 Cox, Albion, 146, 182, 186, 192
 Cradock, William, 118, 143
 Cripple Creek, Colorado, 394, 398
 Crosby Collection, 440
 Crosby, Sylvester, 25, 29, 37, 41-43, 108, 112, 137, 141, 147, 164, 236, 428, 438, 439, 442, 482, 483, 504
 Cross, P. F., engraver, 213
 Crystal Palace Exhibition, 296, 409
Current American Numismatic Notes, 58
Current Gold and Silver Coins of All Nations, The, 41
 Curtis, Joseph R., 369, 374, 377
- ## D
- Dahlonge Mint, 213, 276, 279
 Davenport, Henry, 14
 Davis & Harvey, 58
 Davis, Jefferson, 472
 Davis, Robert Coulton, 28, 43, 159, 260, 450, 453
 Decatur, S., 157
 Defendorf, William, 31
 De Francisci, Anthony, 273
 De Grasse, Adm., 171
 Denver City Assay Office
 Garrett inventory, 555
 Denver Mint, 214, 274, 499
 De Roin, Battist, Oto Indian, 420
 De Saussure, Henry William, 185, 192, 283
Description of the Medals of Washington, A, 169
Description of 268 Varieties of United States Cents, 1816-1857, in the Collection of Frank D. Andrews, A, 35
Descriptive & Chronological Catalogue of Confederate Currency, 446
Descriptive Catalogue of Hard Times Tokens, A, 440
 Dexter sale, 500
 Dickeson, Dr. Montroville W., 17, 29, 159
Digger's Handbook, The, 346
 Dinwiddie, Lt. Gov. Robert, 170
 Directors of the Mint, 20, 221
 Dodd, Charles G., 65
 Dollar, the 1804, 68, 75, 89
 Donner party, 330
 Doughty, F. W., 501
 Drake's Plantation Bitters, 421
 Drapier Papers, The, 113
 Droz, Jean Pierre, 183, 185
 "Dry Diggins," 332
 Dubois, A., 135, 181
 DuBois, Patterson, 44
 DuBois, William E., 13, 14, 20, 21, 29, 31, 44, 159, 294, 296

Dubosq & Co., 73, 361-363, 365, 366, 372, 374, 493
 Garrett inventory, 553
 Duffield, Frank G., 76, 467
 Dufy, artist, 96
 Duke of Newcastle, 113
 Dumaresta, Rambert, 163
 Dunbar & Co., 367
 Dunham Collection, 499
 Dunham, William Forrester, 60, 75, 97, 487, 500
 Dunham sale, 58
 Dutch Flat, 332
 Duvivier, Pierre Simon, engraver, 173

E

Eagle Theatre Company, 339
 Earle, George H., 61, 484
 Earle Collection, George H. Jr., 39
 Earle specimen, 471, 473, 484
 Early American Coppers Club, the, 236
Early Coins of America, 25, 29, 37, 105
"Early Finding List" for Hard Times tokens, 403
Early Half Dimes, The, 447
Early Half Dollar Varieties, 1794-1836, 267
 Eccleston, Daniel, 177
 Eckert, George N., 372
 Eckfeldt, Adam, 14, 159, 181, 182, 201, 235, 241, 426
 Eckfeldt and Dubois, 363, 370
 Eckfeldt, Jacob, 14, 15, 135, 209, 294, 296
 Eckfeldt, Theodore, 17
"Economite Treasure," 32
 Edward, Charles, 114
 Edwards, Pierpoint, 145
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 274
 Elder, Thomas L., 58, 67, 73, 143, 263, 414, 503
 Elephant tokens, 118, 120
 Garrett inventory, 517
 Eliasberg Collection, Louis, 500
 Elliott & Sons, Jonathan, 235
 Ellsworth Collection, 69, 97, 159, 494, 501, 502
 Ellsworth, James W., 58, 483, 484, 494, 501, 504
 Elmore, William A., 412
 Ely Collection, 41, 440, 446, 471
 Emery, G. H., 76
 Encased postage stamps, 419-421
 Eutaw House, 82
 Evans, George G., 15, 183, 210
 Evans, Israel, 310
 Evergreen House, 85, 87, 91, 96, 98
 Evergreen Jr., 91
 Evergreen, library of, 97
"Exchange and Deposit Office," 336

F

Fairfax, Anne, 170
Fantastic 1804 Dollar, The, 15
 Farouk, King of Egypt (Royal sale), 58, 489
 Featherstonhaugh, G. W., 299
 Feuchtwanger Composition, 408, 409
 Feuchtwanger, Dr. Lewis, 408
 Fewsmith Collection, William, 28
 Flannagan, John, 267
 Follett, William T., 392
 Folsom, Capt. J. L., 311, 346
 Ford, John J., Jr., 347, 501
"Forty-niners," 369
 Fourgeaud, Dr. Victor J., 311
 Fowle sale, 461
Franco American Jetons, 434
 Franklin, Benjamin, 267
 Franklin Press tokens, 164
 Garrett inventory, 524
 Fraser, James Earle, 248, 266
 Fraser, Laura Gardin, 266, 267
 Freeman, Sarah Elizabeth, 98

French Colonies coinage, 116, 117
 Garrett inventory, 516
 French, Daniel, 223
 French, Dr. George P., 64, 50
 Frossard, Edouard, 30-33, 35-37, 41, 44-46, 60, 89, 159, 236, 276, 283, 446
 Frossard, Edouard, correspondence, 434
 Fry, Joshua, 170
 Fugio coppers and cents, 139, 160, 162
 Garrett inventory, 523

G

Gable Collection, William F., 39, 66
 Gallaudet, Elisha, 159
 Gardner, John Smith, 236
 Garratt, William Thompson, 367
 Garrett Collection, 69, 89, 134, 135, 147
 Garrett Collection—world coins, 81, 89
 Garrett, Henry, 81
 Garrett, Horatio Whitridge, 85, 91
 Garrett, John W. (the elder), 81, 89
 Garrett, John Work, 58, 69, 91-97, 361
 Garrett, Robert & Co. (and Sons), 81, 82, 85, 89, 91, 96
 Garrett, Robert (the elder), 81, 82
 Garrett, Robert (the younger), 81, 85, 91, 96
 Garrett, T. Harrison, 18, 19, 26, 27, 30, 34, 40, 41, 43, 44, 85-91, 147, 159, 258
 Garter, David, 320
 Gasparro, Frank, 245, 270, 274
 Gault, J., 420
 Geiss Collection, 58
General History of Virginia, New England and the Sommer Isles, The, 104
 Georgia gold, 294-296, 299
German silver, 408
 Getz, Peter, 177, 181
 Gibbs, John (Gibbs, Gardner & Co.), 407
 Gilbert, Ebenezer, 236
 Giles, James, 140
 Gloucester token, 119
 Garrett inventory, 517
 Goadsby, Thomas, 146
 Gobrecht, Christian, 15, 204, 209-211, 241, 242, 261, 267, 271, 274, 277, 283, 454
 Gold Mountain Quartz Mining Co., 368
 Goloid, 223, 432, 454
 Goodrich, John, 143, 145
 Gorham, Blake and W. R. Waters, 368
 Granberg, H. O., 60, 61, 67
 Grand Plaza, the, (San Francisco), 312
 Grant, Ulysses S., 217, 417
 Great Exhibition, the, (London in 1851), 296
Great Medal Chiefs, 416, 417
Great White Father, 416
 Greeley, Horace, 394
 Green, Ben G., 62, 65
 Green, Col. E. H. R., 58, 73, 97
 Green, Ephraim, 310
 Gregg & Norris, 346, 347, 363
 Gregg, Charles, 346
 Gregory Collection, Charles, 39, 65
 Gregson, James, 310
 Gridiron, 247
 Grier, James, 140
 Griffin, Clarence, 294, 300
 Groh sale, Edward, 440
 Ground sluicing, 322
 Groux, Daniel E., 16
 Gruber, Emanuel Henry, 394, 398
 Gschwend, Peter, 58
Guidebook of United States Coins, A, 32, 75, 119, 257, 273
 Guttag Brothers, 74
 Gwin, Sen. William W., 383, 385

H

Haines Collection, 260, 426, 434
Half dimes, 182
 Hall, B. H., 137, 139, 498
 Hall, James, 14
 Ham, George C., 65
 Hamilton, Alexander, 172, 181, 192
Handbook of United States Coins, 75
 Hanna, Martha, 81
"Hard Times" tokens, 49, 61, 213, 403, 404, 406-411, 419
 Garrett inventory, 558
 Harmon, Reuben, Jr., 137, 139, 140
 Harmony Society, 32
 Harper, John, 181, 186, 241
 Harrison, Rachel Ann, 83
 Harrison, William Henry, 406
 Harwood, John, 139
 Harzfeld, S. K., 28, 33, 35
 Haseltine, Capt. J. W., 19, 28, 33, 37, 40, 41, 43 60, 89, 134, 258-260, 275, 276, 411, 447
 Haseltine, John W., correspondence, 439, 457, 483
 Haseltine Type Table, 495
 Hawaii, coins of, 420
 Garrett inventory, 558
 Hawaiians in the Gold Rush, 316
 Hayden, Josiah, 365
 Hayden, Lewis S., Esq., 431
 Hayes, Rutherford B., 223, 418
 Heath, Dr. George F., 50, 53
 Heaton, Augustus, 46, 49, 51-53, 60, 75
 Henkels, Stan V. & Co., 44, 443, 456
 Hesslein, William, 485
 Hibbens, William, 107
 Hibernia coins, 113
 Hibler, Harold, 414
 Hickcox, John H., 146, 159
 Hidden, William E., 368
 Higley copper coinage, 62-64, 116, 117
 Garrett inventory, 516
 Higley, Dr. Samuel, 117, 485
 Hillhouse, James, 143, 145
Historical Account of American Coinage, An, 146, 159
Historical Magazine, The, 111
Historical Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey, A 443
History of California, The, 330
History of the Copper Mines in Newgate Prison at Granby, Connecticut, 117
History of Lewis County, 161
History of Massachusetts, 107
History of Orange County, New York, 141
History of the United States Mint and Coinage, 183
 Hittell, Theodore, 330
 Hodge, William L., 373, 374
"Hogge money," 105
 Hoit, William P., 348
 Holland Collection, 33
 Holland, H. W., 29
 Holman, Thomas S., 366
 Holtz, Frederick, 65
 Hone, Philip, 16
 Honest Miners Songs, the, 318
 Hooper, Edward W., 147
 Hoover, Herbert, 91, 95
 Hopkins, Johns, 85
 Hopkins, Joseph, 143
 Hopkins, Stephan, 173
 Houdon, Jean Antoine, 267
 Howe, Adm. Richard, 133
 Howe, Sir Gen. William, 171
 Howell Works, 408
Hub Coin Book, 57
 Huddart, Fred L., 67, 361
 Hudson, S., 471
 Hudson, Wilford, 310

Huffel, Bishop, 14
 Hull, John, 105-109
 Humbert, Augustus, 361, 362, 365-367, 370, 371, 374, 376, 377, 382, 383, 385, 466
 Garrett inventory, 553, 554
 Humbug, California, 332
 Hunter Collection, W. H., 39
 Hutchenson, Hely (provost of Dublin College), 114
 Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts, The*, 107
 Huth, Reginald, 420
 Hyde, George, 305
 Hydraulic mining, 331

I

Idler, William, 20, 275
 Immune Columbia, 29, 436, 486, 504
 Garrett inventory, 517, 518
 "Immunis Columbia," 45
 Indian cents, 242, 243, 420
 Indian peace medals, 201, 414-420, 467, 468
 Garrett inventory, 557
 Indian princess (trade dollar pattern), 274
 Ingersoll, Jonathan, 145
 Ingots
 Garrett inventory, 557
 Ingram, Thomas Wells, 176
 "Inimica Tyrannis," 457, 504
 International Association of Professional Numismatists (IAPN), 77
 Isabella quarter, 508

J

Jackman Collection, A. W., 39
 Jackson, Andrew, 403, 406, 410
 Jackson, Elias, 140
 Jackson, Malcolm, 501
 "Janus copper," 147
 Jarvis, James, 145, 160
 Jay, John, 135, 173
Jefferson Head cent, 186, 241, 427
Jefferson Medals, 417
 Jefferson Territory, 396
 Jefferson, Thomas, 172, 182, 185, 257
 Jenkins, John, 338
 Jenks, A. S., 17
 Jenks Collection, John Story, 39, 67, 69, 426, 433, 477, 481, 482
 Jenks Collection, William J., 446
 Jewitt Collection, Henry L., 39, 425
 Johns Hopkins University, The, 96, 98
 Johnson, Andrew, 217
 Johnson, Burdette G., 486
 Johnson, D. Wayne, 75
 Johnson, Katharine Barker (Mrs. Robert), 96
 Johnson, Lyndon B., 273
 Jones Collection, H. E., 33
 Jones, Sen. J. P., 263
 Jones, Seaborn, 295
 Julian, R. W., 60
 Jumonville, Coulon de, 171

K

Kagin, Don, 347
 Kaiulani, Princess, 420
 Kamehameha III, King, 420
 Kappen, Charles V., 414
 Kasson, John A., 223
 Kay, John M., 392
 Kellogg & Co., 61, 65, 73, 382, 383, 385-387, 498
 Garrett inventory, 554
 Kentucky token, 162
 Garrett inventory, 524
 Key, Charles, 217
 Key, William H., 213, 217, 222

Kimball, James P., 223, 459
 King of Siam, 15, 271
 King of William, James, 336-338, 361, 362, 365, 366
 King, Robert P., 70
 King, T. Butler, 371, 376
 Kingman sale, 481
 Kingsmill Eyres, 112
 Kirkpatrick & Gault, 421
 Kneass, William, 204, 209, 264, 277
 Knoedler & Co., M., 69, 501
 Knox, Henry, 172
 Kohler, Frederick D., 350-352, 361, 366
 Garrett inventory, 554
 Kohler & Co., 67, 496, 507
 Krause, Chester L., 75
 Kuchler, Konrad Heinrich, 163
 Kuner, Albert, 347, 363, 367, 369, 370
 Kuthan, E. F., 41

L

Lafayette dollar, 508
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 284
 Landis, John H., 509
 Lane, Joseph, 392
 Large cents, 236-240, 242
 Larkin, Thomas O., 314, 330
 Latham, Milton S., 361
 Lawrence Collection, Dr. George Alfred, 58, 73, 496
 Lawrence, Cyrus W., 438
 Leach, Frank A., 475
 Leavenworth, Maj. Eli, 145
 Leavenworth, Mark, 145
 Leavenworth, William, 145
 Leavitt & Co., 19, 31, 33, 36, 44, 436
 Lee, Henry, 169
 Lee, Gen. Robert E., 83
 Lemme, William, 368
 Leshner "dollars", 62, 414, 419
 Leueret, Secy. Capt. John, 107
 Levick, Joseph N. T., 19, 23, 28, 403, 442
 Lewis, Meriwether, 416, 417
 Light, Dr. William W., 363
 Lilioukalani, Queen, 420
 Lilliendahl, William A., 19, 21, 259, 460
 Lilly Collection, Josiah K., 500
 Lincoln, Abraham, 83, 84, 215
 Lincoln Memorial, 245
 Lind, Jenny, 340
 Linderman, Dr. Henry R., 20, 29, 45, 217, 271, 440
List of Washington Memorial Medals, 29
 Live Oak Bar, 310
Liverpool Halfpenny, 176
 Livingston, Robert, 135
 Longacre, James B., 213, 217, 242, 245, 247, 261, 274, 276, 283, 462
 "Long tom" the, 331
 Loubat, J. F., 32, 414
 Louis XV, King of France, 117
 Lovett, George H., 29
 Lovett, Robert Jr., 412
 Low, Lyman, 45, 46, 52, 58, 73, 403, 406, 409, 434, 441
 Low, Lyman, correspondence, 440-443
 Ludlow, E. H., 16
 Lyman & Co., 16

M

Maas Collection, 461
 Macallister, James G., 59
 Machin, Thomas, 140, 141, 155
 Machin's Mills, 140, 141, 143, 145, 147, 156
 Mackenzie, M. L., 23
 MacNeil, Hermon A., 228, 266
 MacVeigh, Eames, 248

MacVeigh, Franklin, 248
 Madison, James, 201
 Mallis, A. George, 273
 Manning, J. H., 489
 Manning, James H., 68
Manual of Gold and Silver Coins and Bullion, A, 15
 March, Nathaniel, 409
 Maris, Dr. Edward, 25-27, 44, 47, 89, 147, 236, 258, 260, 426, 442, 455, 456, 502, 503
 Marshall, James Wilson, 306, 307, 309, 310, 322
 Marshall, John, 169
 Martin, Jesse, 310
 Maryland, Lord Baltimore coinage
 Garrett inventory, 514
 Maryland Numismatic Society, 455
 Mason & Co., 24, 25, 28, 260
 Mason, E. B. Jr., 33, 47, 413
 Mason, George B., correspondence, 443
 Mason, Col. Richard B., 309, 315, 316, 320, 330, 345, 350
 Massachusetts & California Co., 363, 364, 365, 496
 Garrett inventory, 554
 Massachusetts Bay Colony, 105, 147
 Massachusetts coinage, 106, 107, 147, 151-153, 154
 Massachusetts copper coinage
 Garrett inventory, 522
 Massachusetts Pine Tree, 110
 Massachusetts silver coinage
 Garrett inventory, 513-515
 Massamore, Dr. George W., 47, 89, 426, 433, 451, 456
 Massamore, Dr. George W., correspondence, 434, 443-447
 Mattapan & California Trading & Mining Co., 323
 McClintock, J. R., 182
 McCoy Collection, 19, 449
 McCoy, John F., 19, 259
 McKenney, Thomas L., 418
 McKinley Memorial Association, 491
 McLachlan, R. W., 463
Medallic History of the United States of America, 1776-1876, The, 32, 414
Medallic Memorials of Washington in The Mint of the United States, The, 17, 29
Medallic Portraits of Washington, The, 169, 181
 Medals of the United States Mint, 219, 225
 Medals of Washington, The, 29
 Mehl, B. Max, 57-59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 69, 72, 75, 97, 157, 263, 403, 471, 487
Mehl's Numismatic Monthly, 487
 Melish, Thomas G., 288
 Merchants' Exchange, 408
 "Mercury" dime, 263
 Merritt Collection, 434
 Meyers & Co., 368
 Garrett inventory, 554
 Mickley, Joseph J., 13, 14, 21, 23, 33, 64, 264, 426, 439, 460
 Mickley sale, 259, 450
 Miller, Fern, 274
 Miller, Henry C., 58, 440
 Mills Collection, John G., 39, 97, 473
 Mills, John G., 58, 426
 Miners' Bank, 349, 362, 363, 385, 504
 Garrett inventory, 554
 Mint Act of 1792, 177
 Mint Cabinet, 14, 15, 20, 21, 29, 44, 159, 209, 215, 296, 434
 Mint errors, 235
 Mintmark collecting, 51, 52, 481
 Mintmarks, 508
 Model series
 Garrett inventory, 554
 Moffat & Co., 296, 348, 349, 352, 362, 363, 369, 370-377, 381, 382, 386, 387, 491, 492, 497, 503
 Garrett inventory, 554

"Monitors," 331
Monograph of United States Cents and Half Cents, A, 35, 434
 Monroe, James, 204, 209
 "Montebello," 85
 "Monticello" of Thomas Jefferson, 257
Monumental City, 82
 Moore, Richard, 104
 Moore, Dr. Samuel, 14, 15, 204
 Moran & Clark, 368
 Garrett inventory, 554
 Morey, H. E., 47
 Morgan & Orr, 274
 Morgan, George T., 32, 217, 222, 223, 245, 263, 271, 279, 285, 418
 Morgan, J. P., 53
 Morgan, William T., 427
 Morgenthau & Co., 59, 501
 Morgenthau sale, 506, 507
 Mormon coinage, 294, 327, 332, 392, 491
 Mormon Diggings, 310, 316
 Mormon gold pieces
 Garrett inventory, 555
 Mormon Island, 310
 Mormons, 348, 349, 362
 Morris, Gouverneur, 42, 134, 135
 Morris, Robert R., 42, 134, 135, 187
 Moser, C.F.W., 260
 Mott, John, 165
 Mott tokens
 Garrett inventory, 523
 Mott, William, 165
 Mougey, Peter, 58
 Mould, Walter, 146
 Moulton & Blaisdell, 407
 Moulton, William, 133
 Mount Vernon, 170-173
 Muhlenberg, Dr. Henry A., 14
 Mumey, Nolie, 294
 Mussolini, Benito, 91, 92
 Myddelton, Philip Parry Price, 163, 164
 Myddelton tokens
 Garrett inventory, 523

N

Nagy, Stephen K., 60
Naked Bust Cent, 176
 National Archives in Washington, 501
National Catalogue of United States Coins, The, 75
National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans, 213
 National Sculpture Society, 53
 Nehele, John, 210
 Neil, William, 489
 Nevada City, 331
 Newby, Mark, 114, 115, 443
 St. Patrick's coinage, Garrett inventory, 516
 Newcomb, Howard R., 61, 64, 65, 241, 434
 Newcomen, Thomas, 163
 Newcomer, Waldo, 58, 64, 65, 73, 97, 467, 482, 489, 493, 495, 497, 499, 500, 504
 New England coinage, 133
 New Hampshire, 138
 Copper coinage, Garrett inventory, 517
 New Helvetia, 305-307, 310, 311, 315
 New Jersey copper coins, 148, 149
 Garrett inventory, 519-521
 Newlin Collection, Harold P., 39, 258, 260, 261, 439
 Newlin, Harold P., 27, 43, 89, 257-259, 439, 443
 Newlin, Harold P., correspondence, 447-457
 Newman, Eric P., 15, 60, 115, 135, 139, 159, 271
 New Netherlands Coin Co., 76
 New Orleans Mint, 212, 214, 411, 412
New Rare Coin Book, The, 58
 Newton, Sir Isaac, 112

New York copper coinage
 Garrett inventory, 522
New York Herald, The, 42
 New York Historical Society, 156
 New York Numismatic Club, 466
 New York Numismatic Society, 438
 New York Stamp & Coin Company, The, 46, 49
 New York theatre token
 Garrett inventory, 524
 New Yorke tokens, 119
 Garrett inventory, 517
 Nicholas, Robert, 115
 Nicholls, George, 16
 Nicholls, John H., 16
 Nicholson, Bishop, 114
 "No Assayer" controversy, 294, 295
 Noe, Sydney P., 109, 469
 Norris, Gregg & Norris
 Garrett inventory, 554
 orris, Hiram A., 346
 Norris, Thomas H., 346
 North American token, 165
 Garrett inventory, 523
 North Carolina Gold, 299, 467
North Wales Halfpenny, 176
 Northwest Company token, 165, 391
 Garrett inventory, 524
 Nova Constellatio copper coinage
 Garrett inventory, 517
 Nova Constellatio patterns, 65, 69, 97, 134, 135, 137, 138, 181, 481, 483, 484, 501, 504
 Garrett inventory, 517
Nova Eborac, 45, 457
 "Novum Belgium," 31, 45
Numisma, 36, 37, 41, 276, 436, 437, 441
Numismatic Literary Guild, 77
Numismatic News, 75, 77
Numismatic Quarterly Catalogue, 47
Numismatist, The, 13, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58, 60-65, 70, 73, 75, 97, 156, 243, 266, 267, 273, 275, 287, 414, 466, 467, 470, 471, 485, 487, 501
 Nygren, A. C., 70, 426, 483, 489

O

Office Boy reverse (cent), 236
Official Premium List of the United States, Private, and Territorial Gold Coins, 294
 Ogden, Matthias, 156
 Olsen, Fred, 489
 Oregon Exchange Co., 392
 Garrett inventory, 555
 Oregon gold, 294, 323, 324, 466, 467, 504, 506
 Ormsby, Dr. J. S., 363
 Garrett inventory, 554
Ornate large cent, 236, 443
 "Overmintmark," 241
 Overton, Al C., 267, 470

P

Pacific Co. pieces, 363, 365, 442
 Garrett inventory, 554
 Page, Bacon & Co., 337
 Paine, George T., 133
Panama (steamship), 323, 324
 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 65, 286
 Panic of 1837, 406
 Paquet, Anthony C., 213, 222, 283, 417, 429
 Parmelee Collection, 49, 58, 69, 97, 159, 260, 433, 457
 Parmelee, Lorin G. 31, 36, 41, 43, 49, 259, 438, 451, 453, 455, 462, 481, 484, 504
 Parsons & Co., 480, 491, 492, 499
 Parsons Collection, George M., 65, 434, 439, 447, 463
 Parsons, Dr. John, 399
 Garrett inventory, 555

Pattern, trial and experimental pieces
 Garrett inventory 526-530
 Patterson, A.H.M., 412
 Patterson, Robert, director of the Mint, 185, 201, 204, 241, 299, 409, 418
 Patterson, Robert Maskell, 204
 Paul, Almarin B., 347
 "Peace & Friendship," 417
 Peale, Franklin, 209
 Peale, Titian, 209
 Pelican Co., 368
 Garrett inventory, 554
Penny Whimsy, 236
 Perkins, Jacob, 151-153, 177, 506
 Perpignan Mint, 117
 Perry, P.H.W., 369, 374, 380
 Peters, Richard, 203
 Phalon, Edward, 409, 410
 "Philadelphia Minstrels", 339
 Philadelphia Mint, 13, 46, 60, 67, 75, 103, 184, 185, 202, 205-208, 224, 226, 246, 275, 352, 370, 507
 Pierson, Charlotte D., (Mrs. Horatio W. Garrett), 91
 Pight, Richard, 112
 Pikes Peak Expedition, 418
 Pikes Peak gold, 492, 503
 Pinches & Co., 420
 Pine Tree style, 109
 Pitt tokens, 119, 120
 Garrett inventory, 517
 Pitt, William, 119
 Pittman Act, the, 273
 Pittsburgh & California Enterprise Co., 326
 Placerville, California, 329
 Planchet making, 208
 Platt, Jeremiah, 160
 Player-Froud, J. G., 332
Pledges of History, The, 15
 Poillon, William, 425
 Polk, James K., 320
 Pollock, James, 215, 217, 222, 245
 Ponce de Leon Collection, 442
 Prager, Charles M., 288
 Pratt, Bela Lyon, 277, 283
 Princeton College, 83, 85, 96
 Princeton Geological Expedition, 91
Private Gold Coinage of California, 1849-1855, 294, 347
Private Mint in North Carolina, A, 299
 Proof coinage, 15, 17, 75, 203, 218, 246, 248, 264, 266, 273, 275, 420
 Proskey, David, 46, 52, 65, 413
 Proskey, David, correspondence, 457
Prospects of California, 311
Prospectus of the Cotton Gin Maker & Giner's Guide, 295
 Prucha, Father Francis P., 416, 418
 Pulitzer Memorial Fountain, 266
Pyramidal Head cent, 443

Q

Quicksilver gold, 352
 "Quintuple stella," 432

R

Randall, J. Colvin, 24, 44, 46, 412, 433, 439, 456
 Randall, John Swan, 25, 28, 434
 Randall sale, 24
 Randolph, Edmund, 172
 Randolph, Edward, 108, 109
 Raymond, Wayte, 59, 61, 62, 69, 75, 97, 263
 Read, John, 143
 Reading, P. B., 330
 Redlick sale, 260
 Reed, Joseph, 143
 Reed, Seth, 150

Register of United States Half Dollar Varieties & Sub-Varieties, 267

Regular issue coinage, (see Coins, United States, for particular denominations)

Reich, John, 192, 235, 261, 267, 279, 417

Reid, Templeton, 294-300, 349, 363, 368, 483, 496

Reid, Thomas, 294

Revere, Paul, 119

Rhode Island medal, 133, 138

Garrett inventory, 517

Rice, Charles A., 260

Richards, H. M. & E. I., 407, 408, 410

Richards, Dr. Willard, 392

Richardson, Joseph, 468

Richardson, William H., 337

Ricketts' Circus, 21, 23

Rittenhouse, David, 181, 185

Rittenhouse Society, 181

Roach, Belden E., 489

Roberts, George E., 509

Roberts, Gilroy, 270

Roman Head "cent," 176

Roman Plica cent, 443

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 228, 263, 466, 472

Roosevelt, Theodore, 277, 284, 477

Root Collection, James E., 33

Roper Collection, Lewis, 25

Rosa Americana, 104, 110, 113, 436, 482, 484

Garrett inventory, 515

Rosa Sine Spina, 113

Ross, Charles L., 313

Ross, James, 169

Rowe's Olympic Circus, 339

Roxbury coaches, 411

Royal African Company, 118

Russell, Margo, 75

Ryder & Wurtzbach, 482

Ryder, Hillyer C., 65

S

Sage, Augustus B., 20

Sage, Rufus B., 393

Saint-Gaudens, Augustus, 223, 228, 283, 284, 477

St. Louis Stamp & Coin Company, 486

St. Patrick's halfpence, 114

Salem Gazette, 16

Saltus, J. Sanford, 67, 413

Sampson, H. G., 433

Sanderson, Robert, 107

San Francisco Mint, 44, 216, 274, 275, 380, 507

San Francisco, State of California

Garrett inventory, 554

Savage, Edward, 176

Schaeffer, Heinrich, 368

Schlag, Felix, 257

Schoolgirl design, 223

Schopf, Dr. John David, 118

Scot, Robert, 185, 192, 235, 241, 257, 270, 279, 283

Scott, J. W. & Co., 28, 29, 31-33, 36, 45, 46, 49, 52, 59, 65, 75, 260, 263, 437, 456, 457, 501

Scott's Catalogue & Encyclopedia of United States Coins, 115, 257

Scovill & Co., 406, 407, 421

Scovill, J.M.L., 406, 407, 421

Scovill, W. H., 406, 407, 421

Seaman, T. D., 407

Sears, Elmer, 59, 61, 65, 489

Season medals, 416, 417, 427, 475

Seavey Collection, 133, 159

Sea Witch, 325

Seawall, Samuel, 108

Seymour, Dexter C., 293-296

Shannan Collection, 37

Sharretts, Robert C., 478

Sheldon, William H., 236

Shield design, 247

Shielded Hair cent, 236

Shipman, Elias, 145

Shultz & Co., 362, 363, 367, 368, 374, 495

Garrett inventory, 555

Shurtleff Collection, Augustus, 259

Sidney Printing & Publishing Co., Ohio, 75

Sierra Nevada Mining Co., 368

Silliman's American Journal of Science & Arts, 408

Silly Head cent, 241

Silver center cent, 482

Simes, William, 409

Simpson Collection, F. G., 425

Sinnock, John R., 263, 270

Six Months in California, 332

Six Months in the Gold Mines, 332

Slack, Judge Charles W., 70, 489, 506

Smith, A. B. & Co., 411

Smith Collection, H. P., 39, 436, 457, 499, 500

Smith, Elliott, 413

Smith, Harlan, 46, 49, 58, 434, 437, 451, 456, 457

Smith, Capt. John, 104

Smither, James, 119

Smithsonian Committee, ANA, 467

Smithsonian Institution, 279, 283

Smithsonian Washington Committee, The, 76

Snelling, T., 118

Snowden, Col. A. Loudon, 28, 29, 223, 248, 257, 433, 434, 454, 459

Snowden, James Ross, 17, 183, 215, 223, 261, 270, 426

Snowden's Mint Manual of Coins, 451

So-Called Dollars, 414

Society of California Pioneers, 294, 361

Society of Friends, 47

Soho Manufactory, 163

Soho Mint, 164

Sommer Islands coinage, 104, 105, 440, 442, 447, 453
Garrett inventory, 513

Spanish-milled dollar or eight-real piece, 103, 270, 271

Specie payments, 20

Spier Collection, 294, 361

Spreckels, Claus, 420

Stack's, 98

Standard Catalogue of United States Coins and Currency, 59, 501, 507

Standard Silver series, 217

Standish Barry

Baltimore coinage, Garrett inventory, 523

Standish Barry threepence, 447

Star Rare Coin Encyclopedia, 51, 58, 73, 489-491

Starred Reverse cent, 236

Steam-powered coining presses, 203

Stearn Collection, 259

Stearns, William G., 14

Steigerwalt, Charles, 35, 38, 39, 41, 47

Stellas, 223

Stevens & Co., 48

Stevens, Thomas & Fuller, 407

Stewart, Frank H., 182

Stickney Collection, Matthew A., 39, 58, 60, 159, 426, 475, 506

Stickney, Matthew A., 14, 15, 29, 43, 97, 147, 150, 152, 157, 159, 271, 501

Stone, Gov. William, 111

Stouffer, Elizabeth, 81

Streeter, S. S., 111

Strickland, William, 204

Strobridge, William H., 19, 31, 259

Stuart, Gilbert, 270

Sully, Thomas, 209

Sultan of Muscat, 15, 271

Sutter, John, 305, 306, 314

Sutter's Fort, 305, 306, 315

Sutter's Mill, 284, 306, 307, 309, 310, 392

Sutton, O. P., 351, 352

Swan, James, 150

Swanwick, John, 135

Swift, Jonathan, 113

Symmes, John Cleve, 146

T

Taft, William H., 95

Talbot, Alum & Lee cents, 162, 164, 185, 235

Garrett inventory, 524

Taylor, Dr. B. F., 33, 412, 413

Taylor, Zachary, 417

Taxay, Don, 17, 60, 115, 158, 182, 183, 209, 213, 222, 236, 257

Temple, Sir Thomas, 108, 109

Templeton Reid

Garrett inventory, 553

Ten Eyck Collection, James, 58, 68, 157, 489, 504

Territorial and private gold coins (see particular issues)

Garrett inventory, 553-555

Thomas & Son, M., 25

Thomson, Hon. Charles, 134, 135, 484

Thomson, John, 135

Thomson, Samuel F., 135

Three Errors Reverse cent, 241

"Three-legged" Buffalo, 248

Tiffany, Louis Comfort, 96

Tinkham, John F., 19

Tracy, Rev. F. P., 364, 365

Trade dollars (or Commercial dollars), 217, 274, 275

Transfer lathe, 208

Treasury Department, 381

Treatise on the Coinage of the United States Branch Mints, A, 49

Trime, 246

Tripp, Susan (Mrs. David), 98

Tucker, Daniel, 104

U

United States Assay Office of Gold, 362, 372, 373, 376, 381, 383, 493

Garrett inventory, 555

United States Cents and Half Cents, 1793-1857, 236

United States Cents of the Year, 1794, The, 39, 426

United States Coin Co., 59, 61, 62, 77

United States Copper Cents, 1817-1857, 241

United States Half Cents, 236

United States Half Cents, 1793-1857, 236

United States Half Dimes, 258

United States Mint, correspondence, 457-459, 508

United States Mint and Coinage, 17, 183

United States Pattern, Trial & Experimental Pieces, 60, 466

United States Treasury, 376

V

Valentine, D. W., 258

Valley Railroad, 83

Van Allen, Leroy C., 273

Van Buren, Martin, 403, 406

Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 53

Van Voorhis, Daniel, 140

Varieties of the Copper Issues of the United States Mint in the Year 1794, 25, 443

Varieties of the United States Cents of 1796, 58

Varieties of United States Cents of the Year 1794, 434

Vatteniare, Alexander, 183

"V.D.B." cents, 243, 245

Venus Marina cent, 236

Vermont copper coinage, 137-141

Garrett inventory, 518

Virginia coinage, 115, 116

Garrett inventory, 516

Virginia Company, 105

Virtuoso's Companion & Coin Collector's Guide, The, 13, 161

Vlack, Robert, 114, 119
Voe Populi coppers, 114, 116, 176
 Garrett inventory, 516
 Voigt, Henry, 182, 185, 192, 201, 236
 Von Bergen, W., 47
Von Humboldt, Alexander, 321

W

Wagon trains, 326, 327
 Walder Collection, 33
 Walker, John & Company, 165
 Walker, Hon. R. J., 369
 Wallace & Garrett, 81
 Wallace, Victor, 392
 Walsh, Alexander, 408
 Wampum (shell money), 104, 105
 Ward, Samuel, 374
 Warder, Alice (Mrs. John Work Garrett), 91, 92, 95-98
 Warner Collection, 39, 41, 426
 Washington, Augustine, 169
 Washington Cabinet of Medals, 17, 416
 Washington, George, 135, 168, 177, 181, 182, 185, 414
 Washington half dollar, 177
 Washington, Lawrence, 170
 Washington, Martha, 170, 183
 Washington medals & tokens, 168-177
 Washington pieces
 Garrett inventory, 524, 525
 Wass, Molitor & Co., 61, 73, 352, 361, 375, 380-383,
 385-387, 502-504, 506, 507

Wass, Molitor & Co., cont.
 Garrett inventory, 555
 Watkins, Benjamin, 16
 Watkins Collection, 16, 33
 Watt, James, 163
 Way, Nicholas, 192
 Weems, Mason, 169
 Weight reduction, 261
 Weinman, Adolph A., 228, 263, 266, 270
 Wells & Co., 336
 Wells Fargo & Co., 382
 Westernmann & Co., 49, 440
 Western Bank, 82
 West Point, New York, 245
 Wetherle, Joshua, 150, 151
 White, Aaron, 414
 Whitehead, Joseph, 186
 Whitman, Charles T., 43
 Whitman Publishing Company, 75
 Whitridge, Alice (Mrs. T. Harrison Garrett), 85, 91
 Williams, Anna, 271
 Williams, Dennis R., 274
 Willis, Sidney, 310
 Willow Tree threepence, 485
 Wilson Collection, David S., 39, 425
 Wilson, Rathmell, 134
 Wilson, Woodrow, 95
 Wimmer, Peter L., 307
 Winnowing or "dry washing", 330
 Winsor Collection, Richard B., 39

Winthrop, John, 105
 Wood, Howland, 62, 63, 65, 468-470
 Wood, William, 112, 113, 116
 Woodbridge, Rev. Timothy, 118, 143
 Woodin, William H., 58, 60, 65, 222, 466, 472, 495,
 501, 506
 Wood's Hibernia coinage
 Garrett inventory, 515, 516
 Woods, Isaiah C., 337, 338
 Woodward, W. Elliot, 17, 19, 21, 22, 28, 29, 33, 35,
 36, 41, 42, 44, 60, 89, 133, 259, 260, 283, 434, 452
 Woodward, W. Elliot, correspondence, 459-463
 Woole, Jacob, 14
 Wormser, Moritz, 76, 467
 Wright & Co., 348
 Wright, Charles Cushing, 213, 370, 371
 Wright, Joseph, 183, 185, 186
 Wurtzbach, Carl, 64, 65
 Wyatt, Samuel, 163
 Wyon, Thomas, 134, 135, 165

Y

Yeoman, Richard S., 75
 Young, Brigham, 393
 Young, Matthew, 119

Z

Zabriskie Collection, Capt. Andrew C., 39, 59, 97, 426,
 434
 Zerbe, Farran, 64, 65, 263, 273, 275, 276, 361

ST. LOUIS COUNTY LIBRARY



37124203

FOR REFERENCE ONLY

ST. LOUIS COUNTY LIBRARY

E-35

NO LONGER THE PROPERTY OF
THE ST. LOUIS COUNTY LIBRARY

R737.4 BOWERS, Q. DAVID

B786H

THE HISTORY OF UNITED STATES COINAGE :
AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE GARRETT COLLECTION

BOWERS & RUDDY

1979
10/96

