

ANS

AMERICAN
NUMISMATIC
SOCIETY

2015
ISSUE 3



U.S. COIN PLATINUM® & SIGNATURE® AUCTIONS
 August 12-17, 2015 | Chicago

THE DUQUESNE COLLECTION

to be offered in our upcoming official Chicago ANA Auction



1854-O Double Eagle
 AU55 NGC

1855-O Double Eagle
 AU58 NGC

1856-O Double Eagle
 AU55 NGC

1859-O Double Eagle
 AU55 NGC

1860-O Double Eagle
 AU58 NGC

1861-S Paquet Double Eagle
 AU58 NGC

1870-CC Double Eagle
 VF30 NGC

1871-CC Double Eagle
 MS60 NGC

1879-O Double Eagle
 AU58 NGC

1881 Double Eagle
 MS61 NGC

1882 Double Eagle
 AU55 Prooflike NGC

1883 Double Eagle
 PR62 Cameo NGC

1884 Double Eagle
 PR64 Cameo NGC

1885 Double Eagle
 AU55 NGC

1886 Double Eagle
 XF45 NGC

1887 Double Eagle
 PR65 Cameo NGC

Visit HA.com/1223 to view the catalog and place bids online.

THE WORLD'S LARGEST NUMISMATIC AUCTIONEER

DALLAS | NEW YORK | BEVERLY HILLS | SAN FRANCISCO | CHICAGO | PARIS | GENEVA | HONG KONG
 Always Accepting Quality Consignments in 40 Categories
 Immediate Cash Advances Available
 900,000+ Online Bidder-Members

800.USCOINS (872.6467)

HERITAGE
 AUCTIONS

Paul R. Minshull IL #441002067; Heritage Auctions #444000370.
 BP 17.5%; see HA.com. 35120



HARLAN J. BERK, LTD

A Leader in Numismatics Since 1964

Buy or Bid Sales - Auctions - Fixed Price List - Personal Catalogues



HJBLTD.com
 312-609-0018

31 North Clark St. Chicago

DEPARTMENTS



on the cover: Participants in the 61st ANS
Eric P. Newman Summer Graduate Seminar,
survivors of this year's "numismatic boot camp."

-
- 5 **From the Executive Director**
Ute Wartenberg Kagan
-
- 46 **Archives**
David Hill
-
- 52 **Collections**
Elena Stolyarik
-
- 62 **News**

FEATURES



-
- 6
Monuments in Miniature
Nathan T. Elkins



-
- 30
Coins of Numismatic Never-Never Lands
David Thomason Alexander



-
- 16
**A New Joint-Stock Pandemonium
Company: The Origins of Le Cercle de
San Francisco Token, ca. 1850**
Jesse Kraft

Director of Publications
Andrew Reinhard

Editor
Peter van Alfen

Advertising Editor
Joanne D. Isaac

Art Director
Lynn Cole

Design
Rocco Piscatello
Piscatello Design Centre

Photographer
Alan Roche

Contributing Staff
Gilles Bransbourg
Bary Bridgewater
Catherine DiTuri
Peter Donovan
Ethan Gruber
Sebastian Heath
David Hendin
David Hill
Oliver D. Hoover
Joanne D. Isaac
Natalie Jordan
Eshel Kreiter
Kristin Newby
Disnard Pinilla
Alan Roche
Elena Stolyarik
Peter van Alfen
Ute Wartenberg Kagan
Matthew Wittmann
James Woodstock

The *American Numismatic Society Magazine* is published four times a year by the American Numismatic Society. Annual subscription rate is \$72. Copies are mailed to all members of the ANS. Single copy is \$18. Overseas airmail is an additional cost. A membership in the ANS includes a subscription to the magazine. To inquire about a subscription please contact: ANS Magazine Subscription Dept. (212) 571-4470 ext 117, orders@numismatics.org. All rights reserved. No part of this magazine or its cover may be reproduced without written consent of the copyright proprietor. Opinions expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the ANS. Printed in Canada.

The American Numismatic Society, organized in 1858 and incorporated in 1865 in New York State, operates as a research museum under Section 501(c)(3) of the Code and is recognized as a publicly supported organization under section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) as confirmed on November 1, 1970. The original objectives of the ANS, “the collection and preservation of coins and medals, the investigation of matters connected therewith, and the popularization of the science of Numismatics,” have evolved into the mission ratified by the Society’s Board in 2003, and amended in 2007.

American Numismatic Society
75 Varick Street Floor 11
New York, NY 10013

Telephone
212 571 4470

Telefax
212 571 4479

Internet
www.numismatics.org

From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

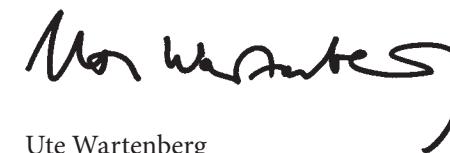
Dear Members and Friends,
As I am writing these lines, we are in the final weeks of our annual Eric P. Newman Summer Graduate Seminar. As in every year, it is so good to have the library full of students with their piles of books, while everyone is busily finishing their research papers. It is a fun time, and the ANS is fortunate to have such a generous endowment fund to undertake this annual seminar, which has already provided funding for two generations of students in the United States to study academic numismatics.

Such endowments are crucial for the long-term survival of our organization. The Society, which was founded in 1858, has funds going back over a century, which were set up by our members and others donors. How do such funds work? A sum donated is added to the overall professionally run endowment investment, and annually—sometimes even less often—five percent is used to support the intended program. Over time and through careful spending, the fund grows. Such donations can have a significant long-term impact, as the case of the Newman endowment gift illustrates nicely: the initial gift of \$500,000 was made in the 1980s, which is, with some additional gifts, fully restricted to running the seminar, and has grown over the years after all expenses by \$630,000 to well over \$1,100,000. There are other funds, which support our Greek and US curators as well as our librarian, but some other areas are in need of more money. More recently our member, Dr. Howard Minners, has donated funds which have created a new curatorial endowment in Medieval and early Modern Coinage, and we very much hope that other members will add to this fund to allow eventually the hiring of a full-time curator for that material. If you know anyone interested in helping the Society in this area, please do let me know. Ideally, the Society is trying to raise at least \$2,000,000 for such a position. The early European collections of the Society are quite extensive and in parts surprisingly good. We are fortunate to have our part-time curator David Yoon, but it would be wonderful to be able to have him as a full-time staff member.

Apart from this appeal, the Society has set itself a second, more ambitious goal: this is the creation of an endowment for the position of the Executive Director. This is a more difficult task, as an endowment fund of \$4,000,000 is ultimately required to fully fund a compensation package. A few months ago, the Trustees of the Society decided to quietly begin raising money, and we are very pleased to announce that to date just over \$1,150,000 has been pledged, of which \$413,700 has been already received. The entire board of Trustees has participated in this effort, and almost all donations so far are from current or former members of the board. Over the coming year, we will reach out to our members and friends in the community to continue raising money for this position. As part of this campaign, we will be also accepting gifts in kind, including coins and other objects, which we will auction to benefit the chair. I hope all members will participate in this effort, and I personally would like to thank the Trustees, who have so very generously contributed to this campaign.

The *ANS Magazine*, our autumn issue, has again some great articles, including one from our young intern Jessie Kraft, who has written a fascinating piece on tokens, of which the Society has such a wonderful collection that is still relatively unexplored. Don’t miss out looking at the latest photograph of our Summer Seminar group, which our brilliant photographer Alan Roche created. As I said at the beginning of my letter, we have a lot of fun at the ANS. Come and visit us sometime.

Yours truly,



Ute Wartenberg



Facing page: The cityscape on the west wall of the bedroom in the Villa of Publius Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale, c. 50–40 BC. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

MONUMENTS IN MINIATURE: Architecture on Roman Coinage

Nathan T. Elkins

The representation of monuments on Roman coinage arrests the curiosity of scholars and collectors alike. When interest in ancient art and coinage was revived in Renaissance Italy, Roman coins with architectural reverse types were widely sought after and inspired the highly intricate representations of buildings and monuments on the reverses of Renaissance medals. Modern fascination with buildings on Roman coins has, however, misdirected the study and understanding of architectural coin types at large. For example, many archaeologists and art historians have exclusively used representations on coins as confirmation that a building existed or as a means of architectural reconstruction. This approach does not account for the fact that the Romans would often depict monuments on coinage to celebrate a decree or intent to build, even though the structure may never have been realized (Prayon 1982; Fishwick 1984); it also suggests a modern bias in that we expect representations to be wholly faithful to the extant structure when, in fact, a Roman die engraver was working by hand, abbreviating some aspects of the monument and emphasizing others in order to make the image intelligible (Drew-Bear 1974; Burnett 1999). Some numismatists have also read architectural representations on Roman coinage too literally (e.g., Price and Trell 1977; Hill 1989).

Instead of obsessing over how coins might provide limited evidence for the existence or reconstruction of monuments in certain circumstances, a more worthwhile approach is to explore the phenomenon of architectural representation on Roman coinage within its cultural, historical, and political contexts. Why were the Romans the first people in history

to depict the built environment habitually on their coinage? Why did this habit of architectural representation emerge in the late second and early first centuries BC? In contrast, why did Greek city-states and Hellenistic kingdoms rarely place buildings on their coins until centuries after Roman domination? Why is there a marked decrease in the variety and frequency of architectural imagery in the coinage in the third and fourth centuries AD, until it ultimately disappears from the coinage in the fifth century? Why are these late images highly stylized, rarely referring to any built structure? This holistic approach to architectural representation on Roman coinage, from its first appearance in 135 BC to its disappearance in c. AD 435 under Valentinian III, is deployed in the forthcoming book *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage* (New York: American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies 29, 2015) and explores the emergence and evolution of architectural imagery within the broader cultural, historical, political, and artistic framework of contemporary Roman society.

The primary question surrounding architectural imagery in the Roman Republic is what prompted the emergence of architectural imagery on the coinage. After all, the built environment did not often feature on Greek or Hellenistic coinage. It was also rare in other art media in Italy; some notable exceptions include Villanovan hut urns, Apulian red-figure pottery, and especially Second-Style Roman wall painting. Second-Style painting was the predominant style of painting to decorate wealthy houses and villas in Rome and southern Italy in the first century BC, from c. 80 BC to c. 20 BC. It is also sometimes



Fig. 2: Denarius of C. Minucius Augurinus from the mint at Rome, 135 BC, ANS 1937.158.601 (images enlarged).



Fig. 3: Denarius of Ti. Minucius Augurinus from the mint at Rome, 134 BC, ANS 1944.100.466 (images enlarged).



Fig. 4: Denarius of Mn. Aemilius Lepidus from the mint at Rome, 114/113 BC, ANS 1941.131.97.



Fig. 5: Denarius of P. Licinius Nerva from the mint at Rome, 113/112 BC, ANS 1944.100.598 (images enlarged).



Fig. 6: As of C. Marcius Censorinus from the mint at Rome, 88 BC, ANS 1944.100.953.



Fig. 7: As of C. Marcius Censorinus from the mint at Rome, 88 BC, ANS 1944.100.954.

called the “architectural style” on account of the fanciful cityscapes and temples that often appear as decoration. A well-known example of Second-Style painting is the cityscape from the bedroom in the Villa of Publius Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale, c. 50–40 BC (fig. 1). While the earliest architectural representations on coins, from 135 BC to 62 BC, tended to be simplistic, two-dimensional renderings of the monuments (figs. 2–11), a technical relationship between Second-Style painting and coinage is discerned on certain coins in the 50s and 40s BC. *Denarii* of M. Aemilius Lepidus of 58 BC, depicting either the Basilica Aemilia or the Porticus Aemilia, show the structure with a trapezoidal roof and angled roof tiles to create a sense of three-dimensional space (fig. 12). On many extant specimens, it is clear that some columns are thinner than others, suggesting they, too, recede in space. These conventions are similar to those observable in Second-Style painting where roofs are angled to suggest three-dimensional space and details such as columns are thinner as space progresses to the background (compare fig. 1 with fig. 12). On the *denarii* of C. Considius Nonianus from 56 BC, the representation of the sanctuary of Venus Eryx suggests three-dimensional space through the use of the projecting curvilinear gate at the bottom of the flan and the small temple at the top of the mountain at the upper part of the coin (fig. 13). The use of the projecting and receding curvilinear lines to indicate dimension are similarly deployed in architectural spaces in Second-Style painting, as in the *tholos* from the bedroom in the Villa of Publius Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale from c. 50–40 BC (fig. 14). The round Temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum, which features on *denarii* of Q. Cassius Longinus from 55 BC, parallels depictions of *tholoi* in Second-Style painting with its use of curvilinear lines and its thinner columns abutted against thicker columns at the entrance to suggest receding space around the podium (compare fig. 14 with fig. 15). *Denarii* of P. Fonteius Capito depicting the Villa Publica, 55 BC (fig. 16), are reminiscent of the *denarii* of M. Aemilius Lepidus (fig. 12) and continue to share technical conventions with Second-Style painting (fig. 1). The *denarii* of M. Lollius Palicanus, 45 BC (fig. 17), that depict the Navalvia are similar to the coins of C. Considius Nonianus (fig. 13) with the use of curvilinear lines to depict space. Rare *aurei* of L. Servius Rufus from 41 BC depict a three-quarter aerial view of the cityscape of Tusculum (fig. 18). No identifiable structures are discernable, except for the large gate at the bottom and center of the coin, bearing the inscription, and the circuit of walls and towers that follow the edge of the coin. Nonetheless, the cityscape is comparable with cityscapes in Roman

painting (e.g., fig. 1) and also depicts details in the distance as at the top of the coin and smaller in stature, a convention also witnessed in painted cityscapes. Finally, *aurei* of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus from 41 BC depict a dynamic representation of a temple to Neptune (fig. 19). Rather than depicting the temple frontally and in two-dimensions, as was commonplace in the earlier first century BC, and also in the Imperial period, this representation simultaneously shows the top, front, and side of the temple, giving it a pronounced spatial presence. This convention is ubiquitous in cityscapes in contemporary Second-Style painting (e.g., fig. 1).

Fuchs (1969) observed that some Republican coins shared representational conventions with Second-Style painting, but did not believe there was a meaningful historical relationship between the two media. It is, however, remarkable that Italian art was largely devoid of the iconography of building until the late second and first centuries BC when buildings were increasingly depicted on Roman coins and painting. The correlation is well illustrated by a timeline that shows the years in which architectural reverse types appeared on the coinage (fig. 20). The timeline is not intended to suggest that architectural iconography is more or less “frequent” in any given year; it only is meant to illustrate years in which coins depicting buildings were struck. Compared with the previous eight decades when architectural representation on the coinage occurred infrequently, it is clear that it became a more common component of the iconographic repertory on coinage from the 50s BC onwards, at the same period when Second-Style painting with its emphasis on buildings and cityscapes was also popular.

The cultural and historical context of the late second and first centuries BC may explain why the iconography of buildings became a common component of the Roman visual repertory in this period, especially around the middle part of the first century BC. Rome became immensely wealthy with the acquisition of foreign territories and the inheritance of former Hellenistic kingdoms, such as Pergamon, in the second century BC. In addition to the influx of wealth, Rome became the dominant superpower in the Mediterranean world and had extensive contact with the Hellenistic kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean, and even meddled in foreign politics. Greek envoys were visiting Rome and Roman envoys and diplomats were dispatched to foreign cities. Romans saw Hellenistic capitals clad with centuries-old marble temples and stone buildings and yet Rome was largely an Archaic city of wood. The appearance of the city



Fig. 8: As of L. Rubrius Dossenus from the mint at Rome, 87 BC, © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 9: Denarius of C. Egnatius from the mint at Rome, 76 BC, ANS 1944.100.1970 (images enlarged).



Fig. 10: Denarius of M. Volteius from the mint at Rome, 75 BC, ANS 1937.158.123 (images enlarged).



Fig. 11: Denarius of L. Scribonius Libo from the mint at Rome, 62 BC, ANS 1944.18.188 (images enlarged).



Fig. 12: Denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus from the mint at Rome, 58 BC, ANS 1937.158.93 (images enlarged).



Fig. 13: Denarius of C. Considius Nonianus from the mint at Rome, 56 BC, ANS 1944.100.2600 (images enlarged).



Fig. 14: The tholos on the west wall of the bedroom in the Villa of Publius Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale, c. 50–40 BC. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 15: Denarius of Q. Cassius Longinus from the mint at Rome, 55 BC, ANS 1944.100.2631 (images enlarged).



Fig. 16: Denarius of P. Fonteius Capito from the mint at Rome, 55 BC, ANS 1944.100.3235 (images enlarged).



Fig. 17: Denarius of M. Lollius Palicanus from the mint at Rome, 45 BC, ANS 1944.100.3528 (images enlarged).



Fig. 18: Aureus of L. Servius Rufus from the mint at Rome, 41 BC, © Trustees of the British Museum (images enlarged).

was not as monumentalized as Athens or Pergamon. There may have been a perceived need to monumentalize the capital so that it might compete with foreign cities and so that its appearance might reflect Rome's role as the dominant Mediterranean power. With Roman control over Greek territories came an aristocratic demand for Greek sculptures and architectural elements that were imported to Rome. Furthermore, archaeological evidence and numismatics suggest a building boom in Rome in the late second and early first century BC while Rome was experiencing rapid population growth. Along with the upsurge in building came the invention of new building technologies, such as vaulted concrete construction. The need for new public building, coupled with an emphasis on monumentality and permanent building materials, perhaps influenced artists and patrons on a subconscious level, making the built environment an appropriate iconography for both coinage and painting.

Buildings and monuments became an even more regular component of coin iconography under the emperors. The representation of monuments directly referred to the ideological program of the emperor in some way. Some coins celebrated the construction, dedication, or reconstruction of a monument, such as the *sestertii* of Caligula that depict the emperor sacrificing before the newly inaugurated Temple of the Deified Augustus (fig. 21). Some coins marked the

intent to build something that may have never been realized or that was ultimately realized in a completely different form. One example is the Temple of Mars Ultor, which is shown in highly variable forms on the Spanish and Asian coinages of Augustus. On *cistophori* struck in Pergamon in 19–18 BC the temple appears as a small, round shrine (fig. 22). The temple to Mars Ultor was voted to Augustus after his Parthian Settlement and was to be the repository for the standards lost by Crassus a generation earlier. The small, round shrine on the Spanish and Asian coins appears to have celebrated the senatorial decree and, perhaps, the original intent to place the small shrine on the Capitoline where it would, in a way, emulate the small Temple of Jupiter Feretrius that was constructed to house spoils captured by a Roman military commander from a foreign commander. The Temple of Mars Ultor, which stands in the Forum of Augustus, was dedicated in 2 BC, decades after the coins were struck. The temple is much more monumental in form than the round temple that tends to be shown on the coins. It is plausible that the Senate had a small shrine on the Capitoline in mind for the temple, but that Augustus rejected that notion in favor of a more monumental temple as the centerpiece of his forum. Other coins depicted extant structures to connote imperial values, such as Vespasian's coins depicting the Ara Providentia that evoked the memory of Augustus and signified Vespasian's intent to establish a new dynasty (fig. 23) (Cox 2005).

Fig. 19: Aureus of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus from an eastern mint, 41 BC, © Trustees of the British Museum (images enlarged).



In the period from Nero through Trajan, there is a pronounced preference for placing buildings that benefit the masses on the coins, such as the Claudian harbor on Neronian *sestertii* (fig. 24) and the Colosseum on *sestertii* of Titus and Domitian (fig. 25). This trend reflects the emphasis of Neronian, Flavian, and Trajanic building programs with their focus on public building as opposed to temples and triumphal arches—the main element of earlier Julio-Claudian building in Rome. The fact that so many public buildings are displayed on coins from Nero to Trajan, and especially on base-metal coins such as the *sestertii*, may suggest that the regime wished to communicate the idea of the emperor's beneficence in the provision of popular buildings to common Romans. Recent research by Continental scholars has suggested that the Roman state not only targeted images to different audiences in the Roman Empire according to denomination, but also targeted consignments of bronze coins to different populations within the western Empire. A case study of the distribution of Flavian and Trajanic bronze coins bearing architectural reverse types (see also Elkins 2011) suggests that coins depicting specific monuments constructed in Rome to benefit the people are relatively rare and may have been introduced into the coin supply in Rome and Italy. Coins that depicted monuments that suggested broader values or imperial ideals, such as Vespasian's coins depicting the Ara Providentia that connoted a dynastic message (fig. 23), are much more common and found throughout western Europe in abundance. Perhaps more importantly the case study illustrates how relatively insignificant architectural iconography was on an emperor's coinage in the context of other images that pervaded the coinage. According to finds in Trier, buildings appear on 3.9% of the Vespasianic bronze coin finds, 0.58% of the Domitianic finds, and 1.9% of the Trajanic finds. In the finds from the city of Rome, buildings appear on 2.49% of Vespasianic bronze coins, 1.17% of the Domitianic finds, and 2.44% of the Trajanic finds. The finds-based study suggests that architectural iconography was only a small part of the array of images used to communi-

cate messages and highlights how modern scholars have perhaps overemphasized their importance in this regard.

After the reign of Trajan, architectural reverse types became less common on the coinage of the second century AD. This may have something to do with the declining economic situation, especially towards the end of the century, and the diminished number of new monuments associated with it. In the third and fourth centuries AD, few imperial coins depict extant structures in the city of Rome. Instead, there is a tendency to show nonspecific structures that connote some concept. Examples include the tetrarchic *argentei* that depict the tetrarchs sacrificing before a camp or city (fig. 26) and other tetrarchic (fig. 27) and fourth-century coins that show a camp or city gate. These images were struck at imperial mints throughout the Empire and cannot be reconciled with any specific structure. They evidently communicated the concept of the military strength of the Empire and may have also referred to bulwarking of the Empire's network of fortifications along its borders in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine. The general lack of coins depicting specific buildings is a consequence of the new Imperial mint system. Rome and Lugdunum no longer had a monopoly on the Imperial coinage, but branch mints were set up throughout the Roman Empire to provide a uniform currency. Monuments in the capital would have held little meaning to most of the Empire's inhabitants and a successful, uniform coinage also had to convey messages relevant to all citizens within the Empire, not just in Rome and Italy.

While the iconography of building became less frequent and more abstracted in the third century AD on the Imperial coinage, the provincial coinage in the Greek East preserved a tradition of architectural representation on the locally produced and locally used coinage. The semantic qualities of architectural representation on the provincial coinage were fundamentally different from the state-issued coinage,

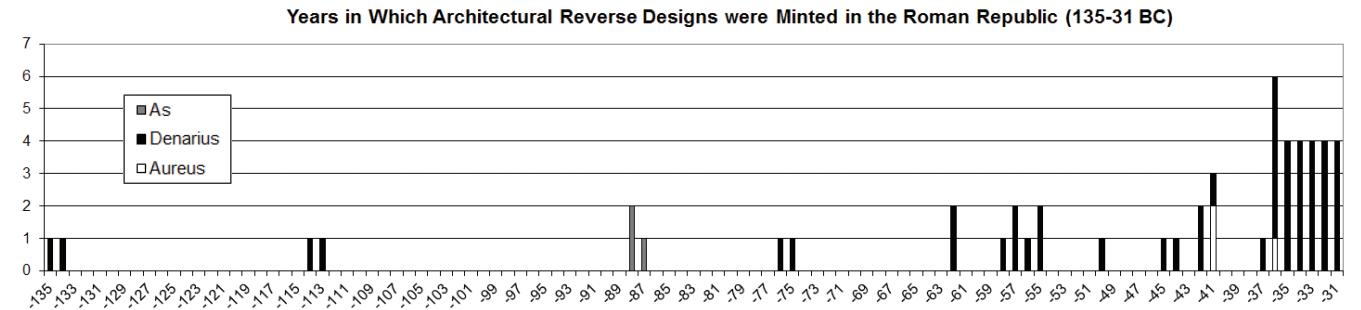


Fig. 20: Timeline showing the years in which architectural coin types were struck between 135 BC and 30 BC. Coins dated to one of two possible years, e.g., 114/113 BC, are displayed only for the first year. Coins dated within a range of years, e.g., 42–40 BC, are entered for each year. Four denarii from Octavian's IMP CAESAR series are displayed annually between 36 BC and 27 BC.



Fig. 21: Sestertius of Caligula from the imperial mint at Rome, AD 39–40, ANS 1967.153.113.



Fig. 22: Cistophorus of Augustus from the mint at Pergamon, 19–18 BC, ANS 1937.158.454.



Fig. 23: As of Vespasian from the Imperial mint at Rome, AD 71, © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 24: Sestertius of Nero from the imperial mint at Rome, AD 64–68, ANS 1954.203.155.



Fig. 25: Sestertius of Domitian for Divus Titus from the imperial mint at Rome, AD 81-82, ANS 1954.203.170.



Fig. 26: Argenteus of Maximian for Constantius I from the Imperial mint at Heraclea, Yale University Art Gallery 2008.217.20. Images enlarged.



Fig. 27: Argenteus of Diocletian from the Imperial mint at Nicomedia, ANS 1944.100.5496. Images enlarged.



Fig. 28: Bronze coin of Caracalla from the provincial mint at Augusta Traiana, Yale University Art Gallery 2004.6.928.



Fig. 29: Bronze coin of Quietus from the provincial mint at Nicaea, ANS 1951.64.11.

which referred to the ideology of the moneyer, potentate, or emperor. Architectural reverse types on provincial coinage typically depicted local monuments that evoked local identity. It is also clear that after the closure of the provincial mints in the late third century AD, local artisans were responsible for introducing what had been localized iconographies on the imperial coinage (see also Elkins 2013). In the later second and third centuries AD, for example, three-quarter aerial views of cities and frontal views of city gates had become popular on the coins of cities in Thrace (e.g., fig. 28) that soon the motif spread to cities in northwestern Asia Minor as well (e.g., fig. 29). When the first representations of cities and camps or their gates appeared on tetrarchic coins (see, for example, figs. 26-27), the design was introduced at Nicomedia, where Diocletian was in residence. Local die engravers drew upon the local visual culture and the images that had appeared on the provincial coinage. After the introduction of the localized imagery on the imperial coinage at Nicomedia, the iconography soon spread to imperial mints throughout the Roman Empire and was repeated in the fourth and fifth centuries, and was even imitated on Carolingian coins. Comparison of the late Imperial coinage with the provincial coinage thus allows some insight into the mechanisms in which late Roman art and iconography developed from local traditions and ultimately influenced early medieval art.

By taking a step back and considering architectural representations as a Roman phenomenon, rather than focusing on individual examples and their potential for architectural reconstructions, it is possible to gain insight into the role that architectural imagery played in Roman politics and society. At the same time, architectural coin types evolved through time due to social and cultural shifts, and responded to structural changes that affected the monetary system.

Selected Bibliography

Burnett, A. M. 1999. "Buildings and Monuments on Roman Coins," 137-164 in G. M. Paul and M. Ierardi (eds.), *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire*, E. Togo Salmon Papers II. Ann Arbor.

Cox, S. E. 2005. "The Mark of the Successor: Tribunician Power and the Ara Providentia under Tiberius and Vespasian," *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 34, 251-270.

Drew-Bear, T. 1974. "Representations of Temples on the Greek Imperial Coinage," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 19, 27-63.

Elkins, N. T. 2011. "Monuments on the Move: Architectural Coin Types and Audience Targeting in the Flavian and Trajanic Periods," 645-656 in N. Holmes (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIVth International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009*. Glasgow.

Elkins, N. T. 2013. "A Note on Late Roman Art: The Provincial Origins of Camp Gate and Baldachin Iconography on the Late Imperial Coinage," *American Journal of Numismatics*, Second Series, 25, 283-302.

Fishwick, D. 1984. "Coins as Evidence: Some Phantom Temples," *Echos du Monde Classique* 28.1, 263-270.

Fuchs, G. 1969. *Architekturdarstellungen auf römischen Münzen der Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit*. (Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine 1). Berlin.

Hill, P. V. 1989. *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types*. London.

Prayon, F. 1982. "Projektirte Bauten auf römischen Münzen," 319-330 in B. von Freytag, D. Mannsperger, and A.-M. Wittke (eds.), *Praestant Interna. Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann*. Tübingen.

Price, M. J. and B. L. Trelle 1977. *Coins and their Cities: Architecture on the Ancient Coins of Greece, Rome, and Palestine*. London and Detroit.



Au Bureau des Châtriers R. du Croissant 16.

Imp. d'Edouard Clément

L'OR EST UNE CHIMÈRE

Pour ceux qui n'ont pas le sou.

Facing Page: "Emotions Parisiennes. L'or est une chimère - pour ceux qui n'ont pas le sou." Lithograph print by Honoré Daumier, Paris, 1840. (Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-07529).

A NEW JOINT-STOCK PANDEMONIUM COMPANY: The Origins of Le Cercle de San Francisco Token, ca. 1850

Jesse Kraft

Sometimes things become misplaced. This is as true in numismatics as it is in life. What might seem like the most obvious approach to categorize a coin or token may obscure its proper origins and the intentions of its use. Le Cercle de San Francisco token (fig. 1) is a prime example. For over a century, American numismatists have placed this piece in a seemingly reasonable series, finding a home for it with late 19th-century California trade tokens. The inscriptions, CERCLE DE SAN FRANCISCO and MAUDUIT & COMPNIE, gave researchers the impression that a company of that name operated within the designated city. The denomination of 1/2 DOLLAR spread certainty that the piece held some sort of redemptive value at said establishment. A complete lack of contemporary information regarding either of these institutions, however, has kept the true origins of these tokens a mystery. Even Russell Rulau, in his near comprehensive *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens*, conceded that "thus far, Mauduit & Co.'s 'San Francisco Club' has eluded attribution."¹

The earliest mention of this token in numismatic literature was in a series entitled "The American Store or Business Cards," by Dr. Benjamin P. Wright, published in *The Numismatist* in 1898. The only historical information given was that "this card was not known to the Levick, Holland, Tilton, Geo. B. Mason, or Betts collections"—the finest contemporary gatherings of 19th-century tokens.² Neither Charles Kappen nor Donald Miller—other modern token experts—could offer any further information.³ This apparently led some numismatists to believe that the token did not originate in San Francisco. Without attribution, Rulau reported that "some authorities feel

it may be a Latin American token."⁴ There are some Latin American tokens that possibly help explain this attribution, namely the 1878 Cafetal la Esperanza (The Hope Coffee Plantation) token from Guatemala (fig. 2), with a similarly simplistic design. The Cafetal San Francisco (San Francisco Coffee Plantation) two-real token, issued by Mariano Ruiz in San Agustín, El Salvador, shares a commonality in name with le Cercle de San Francisco token (fig. 3).

These putative origins, however, have hampered historical engagement with the token. As it turns out, there is good reason why neither directories from San Francisco nor any Latin American sources reveal information regarding Mauduit & Compagnie or Le Cercle de San Francisco: it was, in fact, a fledgling joint-stock company attempting to raise money in Paris, France. Possibly the only contemporary English-language source that mentions either organization comes from the weekly British magazine, *Household Words*, edited by Charles Dickens throughout the 1850s. In an 1850-dated article, Dickens described "a new joint-stock pandemonium

1. Russell Rulau, *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700–1900*, 2nd ed. (Iola, WI: Krause Publications, 1997), 456.
2. Benjamin P. Wright, "The American Store or Business Cards," *The Numismatist* (1898): 230. To add some more confusion, Wright erroneously stated that the ampersand in MAUDUIT & COMPNIE was a cent sign, and every description of the token since with "erroneously described the piece as MAUDUIT ¢ [sic] ¢—COMPNIE—even in cases when the token was illustrated and clearly showed the ampersand.
3. Charles V. Kappen, *California Tokens* (El Cajon, CA: 1976) and Donald M. Miller, *A Catalogue of U.S. Store Cards or Merchants Tokens* (Indiana, PA: 1962).
4. Russell Rulau, *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens*, 456.



Fig. 1: Le Cercle de San Francisco token, ca. 1850. Rulau.Ca-SF.45 (ANS 1935.24.48) 28.1 mm.



Fig. 2: Guatemala, 1878 Cafetal de Esperanza token, 22.4 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 3: El Salvador, Cafetal de San Francisco token, 2 reales issued by Mariano Ruíz, ca. 1890s, 26.3 mm.



Fig. 4: Paris Moderne. View from the Jardin des Tuileries, ca. 1850. Drawing by C. Fichot; lithograph by Noury (Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-31565).

company” that promised “gaming without risk, certainty in chance, fortune showering her favours out of the dice-box.” M. Mauduit, the promoter, or *gérant*, of this “scheme,” registered the company on May 10, 1850, at the Chief Office, No. 17, Rue Vivienne, in Paris.⁵

Mauduit formed his new company in the same mold and manner as other French enterprises of the early and mid-nineteenth century, which was rooted in the political and economic upheavals of an earlier generation. After the creation of the Bank of France in 1800, Napoléon Bonaparte and the Conseil d’Etat listlessly moved towards updating the codification of French business. In 1805, however, the tempo changed when a British naval blockade prevented any of the debt owed by Spain—public or private—to enter France, leading to rumors that the Bank of France would soon run out of money. An economic crisis swept through France, highlighted by bank runs and bankruptcies throughout the following year. This finally persuaded Napoléon to hasten the efforts towards a definitive economic policy. Upon his return from campaigns in Prussia and Poland, Napoléon and the Conseil worked to create the *Code de Commerce*, a compliment to the new *Code Civil*. They largely modeled it after the 1673 *Ordonnance du Commerce*, by Jean-Baptiste Colbert—the first economic code of modern France.⁶ Beginning January 1, 1808, the 648 articles of the *Code de Commerce* provided the legal basis and processes for founding and operating companies in France through the 1850s.

Under this system, entrepreneurs only had a few options. Beyond individual business owners, the Code specified three types of associations. The first was a simple partnership, a *société en nom collectif*, with all investors—usually just two or three—fully liable for the performance of the company. The second, a *société anonyme*, allowed stockholders to participate in the operation of a company through the election of a board of directors; to vote for board members who would best guard their interests in the company. The bureaucracy that governed the formation of this type of company generally took one-and-a-half years, and, even then, the government ultimately rejected many applications. The third type of association, a *société en commandite*, did not operate under a board of directors, but under the sole discretion of a small percentage of the shareholders, with the balance of investors acting as so-called “sleeping shareholders.” The Code intended for smaller ventures to operate under this route and, unlike a *société anonyme*, it did not require government approval to form, only registration. Historian Charles Freedeman, in his

in-depth study of nineteenth-century French joint-stock companies, showed how excessive government regulation of *sociétés anonymes* inevitably enticed more people to form *sociétés en commandite*—between 1807 and 1867, only 642 of the former, compared to thousands upon thousands of the latter. Ultimately, the *Code de Commerce* proved detrimental to the French economy, as overregulation stifled any incentive to invest in larger developments.⁷

M. Mauduit founded his company as a *société en commandite* in 1850. As *gérant*, his plan was to raise 150,000 francs through the sale of 300 shares at 500 francs each. With that money, he proposed to sail to California to build and operate a gambling house named Le Cercle de San Francisco. M. Charles, chief-of-the-play at the brand new Casino Grand-Cercle house in the Savoy Palace, was supposed to follow by steamer in October. Mauduit hoped to have the casino in full operation by the end of the year with himself as Manager, and Charles as Director—both working the day-to-day operations in California, and sending back the profits to the investors in France. Mauduit went so far as to dream up a description of the hoped-for establishment in San Francisco:

A fine house of wood, of two stories, with a magnificent coffee-room on the ground-floor; a vast saloon on the first-floor for two roulette-tables; on the second, apartments for the manager, the servants, and the officers; the whole completely furnished, with all necessary appurtenances for warming and lighting. Tables, implements, counters, iron coffers for the specie, &c., are to be immediately exported by a sailing vessel.⁸

The specie discussed here by Mauduit must be the money he was attempting to raise in Paris, and the counters are le Cercle de San Francisco tokens, as numismatists know them today. The passage suggests that he likely planned to have a fair number of the tokens struck in Paris before he departed for California. Overall, Mauduit seemed confident in his busi-

5. Charles Dickens, “A New Joint-Stock Pandemonium Company,” *Household Words* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1850), 403–404.
6. Martin Robson, *Britain, Portugal, and South America in the Napoleonic Wars: Alliances and Diplomacy in Economic Maritime Conflict* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2011), 87. Charles E. Freedeman, *Joint-Stock Enterprise in France: From Privilege Company to Modern Corporation, 1807–1867* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 3, 10.
7. Charles Freedeman, *Joint-Stock Enterprise in France*, 13–14. Michael Lobban, “Corporate Identity and Limited Liability in France and England, 1825–67,” *Anglo-American Law Review* 25, no. 4 (1996): 406–409.
8. Charles Dickens, *Household Words*, 404.

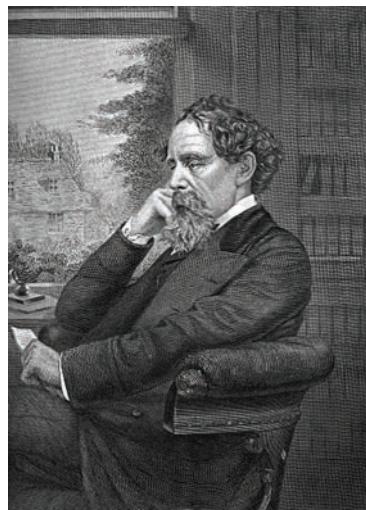


Fig. 5: Charles Dickens.



Fig. 6: Napoléon and his Grand Armée during the 1807 Battle of Eylau just before returning to Paris. Painting by Antoine-Jean Gros, 1808.



Fig. 7: French medal by Alfred Borrel commemorating the January 1, 1808 commencement of the Code de Commerce (ANS 1935.42.6, gift of David M. Bullowa) 36.1 mm x 38.9 mm.



Fig. 8: The Casino Grand-Cercle as it stands today.

ness idea. Although Dickens considered this “nothing less than a society for the propagation of gambling in San Francisco,” he quoted Mauduit, who promised that “there never was an enterprise more sure of gain. Three years, with twelve dividends, paid once a quarter, will produce enormous results... We have ascertained that each share of five hundred francs will yield an annual dividend of three thousand francs over and above interest at six per cent!”⁹

Dickens was skeptical. He considered the scheme as impudent as any that one could read in *Jerome Patûrot*, a popular and ridiculous satire on French society published in 1843 by Louis Reybaud. “Of all the bare-faced schemes that was ever presented to a French public,” Dickens contended, “this is surely the most extravagant.”¹⁰ And maybe he was right. Perhaps Dickens’s distrust and skepticism in Mauduit was not completely unfounded. Other contemporaries seemed to have similar sentiments. While speaking generally about *sociétés en commandites* in a contemporary *Journal des Économistes* article, editor Horace Say noted that “the *gérant* is thus the veritable dictator of the enterprise. The investors who

subscribe can exercise only an imperfect surveillance over his administration... The liability of the *gérant* in these companies is illusory, for, when the company goes bankrupt, he usually disappears.”¹¹ The experiences of another contemporary, Charles Lescoeur, led him to believe that at least one-third of all individuals who formed *commandites* with the sole interest to cheat money out of unsuspecting shareholders.¹² It is under these circumstances in which Dickens cautioned his readers about Mauduit & Compagnie, and further impugned the reputation of French businessmen. It is possible that Mauduit had no intentions of ever forming Le Cercle de San Francisco and attempted to swindle 500 francs from as many individuals as possible—a “bare-faced scheme,” as Dickens suspected.

The existence of the token, however, lends support to another scenario. Perhaps not enough investors chose to invest in Le Cercle de San Francisco; that Mauduit & Compagnie failed in finding support. More than likely, Mauduit made an honest attempt at raising funds in Paris to open a gambling house in San Francisco, but failed to find the necessary support. In this

context, Mauduit may have ordered these tokens as pattern or sample pieces to provide potential investors with a tangible representation of the planned casino—one of the few physical objects that Mauduit could provide for his would-be partners. Like countless coins and tokens before and since, it attempted to provide a sense of legitimacy for the issuer. With no mention of either Mauduit & Compagnie or Le Cercle de San Francisco in the directories and newspapers of aforementioned regions, one can only assume that the plans for the company as detailed by Dickens did not materialize as anticipated. Like the caption to the opening image (p. 16)—*L’or est une chimère - pour ceux qui n’ont pas le sou*, or “Gold is a myth, for those who don’t have a penny”—Mauduit’s inability to raise the necessary funds in Paris likely kept him from the jackpot of California gold that he had bet on. It continued to be nothing more than words in a newspaper; something of lore; a myth.

Historically, Le Cercle de San Francisco stood at the convergence of several developments. The first was the political instability of mid-19th-century France as rulers, revolutions, and republics came and went.

The French Revolution of 1848—also known as the February Revolution—and one of several that swept through Europe in that year—led to the end of the Orleans monarchy and the establishment of the democratically elected Second Republic. Continued instability led to The June Days Uprising, when workers in Paris rose up against the conservative turn that the Second Republic quickly took. On December 2, 1848, a largely peasant-based constituency elected Louis Napoléon-Bonaparte as President. After being barred from reelection, he led the strategically timed *coup d’état* on December 2, 1851 and declared declaring himself as Emperor Napoleon III. The Second French Empire continued until its demise in 1870, with the initiation of the present-day Third Republic in the following year.¹³

9. *Ibid.*, 404.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Horace Say, “Des sociétés commerciales en France et en Angleterre,” 349–350.

12. Charles Freedeman, *Joint-Stock Enterprise in France*, 107.

13. *Ibid.*, 100–114.



Fig. 9: Scène de Barricade. The June Days Uprising. Etching by Adolphe Hervier, 1848 (Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-79527).



Fig. 10: Napoléon III climbing his way toward the crown. Lithograph, ca.1850 (Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-02333).



Fig. 11: Joseph Pietri, the prefect of police in Paris, ca. 1850.



Fig. 12: German Spiel Marke gaming token, mid-19th century. (ANS 0000.999.57069) 25.5 mm.

These political shifts had dire consequences on the continued existence of the *Code de Commerce* and the state of joint-stock companies in France. After the 1847 depression, which helped induce the revolutionary events of 1848, the political stability of the Second Republic allowed for economic recovery. When Mauduit formed his company in 1850, a spike in registration had already begun. Under Napoleon III and the Second Empire, the number rose even greater, from an annual average of 173 *sociétés en commandite* per year in the 1840s to 348 per year in the mid-1850s. With this, the number of fraudulent *commandites* also grew and caused concern within the government. Reserves in the Bank of France shrank drastically. In an effort to end the “disastrous state of affairs,” Joachim Pietri, the prefect of police in Paris, recommended that the government subject *sociétés en commandite* to authorization. The resulting bill passed without much debate by the Conseil d’Etat in 1856. It resulted in a severe reduction in the powers of the *gérant* and forced the establishment of surveillance councils within each *société en commandite*. Almost immediately, registration numbers dropped. Depression ensued. In 1863, T. N. Bénard stated to the Société d’Economie Politique that “it is precisely the law of 1856 that has killed the *commandite* by deforming the position and character of the *gérant*, and eliminating honorable and prudent men from their functions as member of councils of surveillance.” Despite its lack of success, the more liberal regulatory era that ended in 1856, allowed for even the possibility of the creation of Le Cercle de San Francisco. It was not until the 1870s that the Conseil began to reverse the damages.¹⁴

The legal status of gambling in France was another dilemma. On July 18, 1836, the Conseil d’Etat declared all games of chance illegal due to its alleged immorality. Government officials ultimately had to rely on the National Guard to forcibly remove the gamblers who refused to leave the tables after January 1, 1838, when gambling houses across France shut down.¹⁵ It did not take long for casinos and gamblers

to move their establishments across the border. The legality as to whether or not a Frenchman could open a casino outside of France came to a head in 1846. M. Bernard and M. le baron Devaux co-owned a gambling house in the German spa city of Bad Pyrmont—formed in 1842 with capital gathered in Paris. Upon the death of Bernard, Devaux sought to bring on a new partner, but, instead, found himself in court. On May 22, 1849, less than a year before Mauduit registered his company, the case was finally resolved when the Court of Appeals in Paris sided with Devaux. Quoting the initial Civil Court of the Seine decision from two years before, the judge allowed Devaux to continue the operation with a new partner, considering that the casino was “in the principality of Waldeck, therefore outside of France...thus, the said company is not illegal.”¹⁶ Despite the fact that the government prohibited gambling within France, this decision allowed for French businessmen to continue the practice in foreign gambling houses and, ostensibly, the exportation of French francs to fund them. Mauduit, then, could legally register his company in Paris without any issues from the government. Finally realizing their losses in taxable revenue, France legalized gambling again in 1907.

The illegality of gambling within the borders of France forced Mauduit to look elsewhere to learn the ins-and-outs of the casino business. Despite the fact that his supposed partner, M. Charles, knew the daily workings of Le Casino Grand-Cercle—in Savoy—a part of the Kingdom of Sardinia, until annexed by France in 1860—Mauduit fashioned his operation on “the most conscientious calculations, based on the produce of the German gaming-houses.”¹⁷ One must wonder if this merely meant paying attention to the Bernard C. Devaux case, or if he actually studied German casinos. While the illegality of gambling in France shows why there are no French gaming tokens comparable to that of Le Cercle de San Francisco, Mauduit’s token is vastly different from those of 19th-century German gaming houses. The many different varieties of tokens often marked SPIEL MARKE or SPIEL MUNZE. The obverse of these tokens sometimes imitated United States or British coinage, other times they displayed distinctive designs (fig. 12). German gambling, however, did not survive unification, and the national government in Berlin forcibly shut down all gambling houses in 1873. Like in France, those in power began to see all games of chance as immoral and detrimental to society.

In the western United States—and San Francisco, in particular (fig. 13)—people saw gambling in a completely different light. Considered a part of San

14. Ibid., 103–112.
 15. Russel T. Barnhart, “Gambling in Revolutionary Paris—The Palais Royal: 1789–1838,” *Journal of Gambling Studies* 8, no. 2 (1992).
 16. M. Jourdain, presiding, “Tribunal Civil de la Seine,” *Gazette des Tribunaux: Journal de Jurisprudence et des Débats Judiciaires* (May 1847): 704. Jean-Louis Le Hir, editor, *Annales de la Science et du Droit Commercial et Maritime: Recueil Mensuel de Législation, de Doctrine et de Jurisprudence à l’usage des Magistrats Consulaires, des Avocats, des Avoués, des Agréés, des Négociants, des Banquiers, des Courtiers, des Agents de Change, etc.* (Paris: Bureau Rue du Cherche-Midi, 1850), 544–545.
 17. Charles Dickens, *Household Words*, 403.



Fig. 13: San Francisco, ca. 1850. Lithograph by Frank Marryat (Library of Congress, LC-DIG-pga-03436).

Franciscan life since the earliest days of the California Gold Rush, gambling quickly grew to become the biggest businesses in the region (fig. 14). Contemporary historian John S. Hittell posited that the large number of immigrants coming to the area and the large levels of available gold—along with a certain level of lawlessness—allowed for gamblers to have “the best buildings in the busiest streets, pay the largest rents, and [have] the most customers.”¹⁸ Like modern-day casinos in Las Vegas and Atlantic City, these early casinos in San Francisco made the biggest efforts to attract people through visual stimulation. They fully utilized strategic lighting, mini-orchestras and vocalists, and full bars with a panoply of alcohol. Green tables flanked the walls, where professional gamblers would rent the tables from the owners and wait for a customer to challenge them. A contemporary description of gambling in the burgeoning city stated that:

Gambling was a peculiar feature of San Francisco at this time. It was the amusement—the grand occupation of many—apparently the life and soul of the place. There were hundreds of gambling saloons in the town. The bar-room of every hotel and public house presented its tables to attract the idle, the eager and covetous. Monte, faro, roulette, rondo, rouge et noir and vingt-un, were the games chiefly played. In the larger saloons, beautiful and well-dressed women dealt out the cards or turned the roulette wheel, while lascivious pictures hung on the walls. A band of music and numberless blazing lamps gave animation and a feeling of joyous rapture to the scene. No wonder the unwary visitor was tempted and fell, before he had time to awake from the pleasing delusion. To make a fortune in the turning of a card was delightful—the very mingled hope and fear of eventual success was a charming excitement. For the moment, men felt as great conquerors may be supposed sometimes to feel; they manoeuvred on the green cloth—the field of

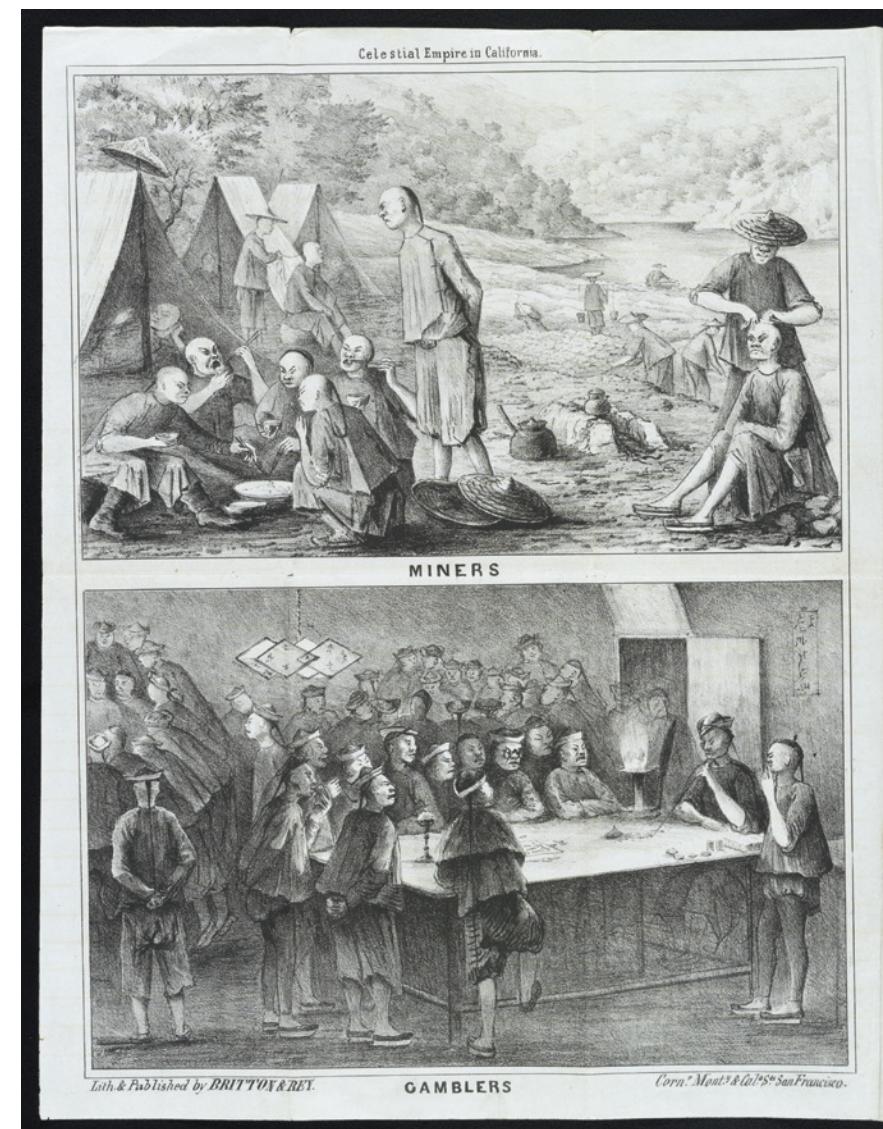


Fig. 14: Miners and Gamblers in San Francisco, ca. 1849. Lithograph published by Britton & Rey. (Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-32181).

*their operations—thinking their own skill was playing the game, when chance alone gave the result.*¹⁹

French gamblers generally opted to play *rouge-et-noir* and roulette, as these games permitted any number of participants, and only the dealer—or his assistant—could handle the articles used in the games, which allowed for fewer opportunities for cheating. Even as early as 1849, it was not uncommon for \$10,000 or more in gold to lie on each of the dozen-or-so tables inside an average gambling house.²⁰

To return to the token. Just shy of matching the diameter of a half dollar, and struck in white metal, Mauduit possibly used the physical components of the token in an attempt to remind his potential supporters of the United States coin that they most often encountered in the trade routes of the Atlantic the silver half dollar. This became especially true after

1806, when President Jefferson ended the minting of silver dollars due to their heavy exportation. Merchants, however, saw half dollars as a suitable replacement, and millions of them left the country over the course of several decades. With United States’ bank notes of no use to individuals in France, the California Gold Rush not quite showing itself internationally, and silver dollars produced in small

18. John Shertzer Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally of the State of California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1878), 235.

19. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco; Containing A Summary of the History of the First Discovery, Settlement, Progress, and Present Condition of California, and a Complete History of all the Important Events Connected with Its Great City: To Which are Added, Biographical Memoirs of Some Prominent Citizens* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1855), 248.

20. John Shertzer Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco*, 235–236.



Fig. 15: California, n.d., \$20 gold of the Diana Gambling House, likely a fantasy piece from the 1950s. (Smithsonian Institution 1968.159.1125) 33.4 mm.



Fig. 16: California, \$16 gold ingot of Moffat & Co. (Smithsonian Institution 1991.0357.0144).



Fig. 17: California, 1850, \$5 of Moffat & Co. (ANS 1912.42.2) 21.9 mm (images enlarged).

numbers since their reintroduction in the late 1830s, the people of Paris recognized half dollars as the most common type of money from the United States. Mauduit, then, was unaware, or at least unable to fully grasp the idea that his casino would deal in large amounts of gold, rather than in silver half-dollars. This silver denomination did not generally circulate in the San Francisco-area until their issuance by the Mint in that city in 1855—and even then in relatively small numbers.

Furthermore, there was most likely the chance that, once Le Cercle de San Francisco was up-and-running, Mauduit would not issue any tokens whatsoever. Throughout the entirety of the Gold Rush, not a single known gambling house issued their own tokens, neither as advertisements nor for in-house use. A good—and numismatically controversial—example is the Diana Gambling House. This was amongst the largest, most profitable, and most famous casinos in San Francisco, stretching an entire city block, from Clay to Commercial Streets. Despite the immensity of the casino, it did not issue tokens, neither for promotion nor for in-house use. The debate regarding this establishment is that at least two tokens do exist with this name, one of which is in the National Numismatic Collection at the Smithsonian Institution. Both tokens exist in solid gold and bear the denomination TWENTY DOLLARS (fig. 15). It has recently come to understanding, however, that the pieces are likely fantasy pieces struck in the 1950s. In his study of this, and other counterfeit California gold coins, John M. Kleeberg not only effectively proves the false status of this piece, but also that gaming houses in San Francisco would most likely not have ever issued tokens of their own, largely due to the time and capital involved, as well as the fact that the primary objective of a casino owner was to bring any-and-all gold in, not pay any out through extra and unnecessary expenses.²¹

Had Mauduit's idea survived his search for funding and actually found its establishment on the Pacific coast of the United States, he would have witnessed a cavalcade of different gold pieces march through his Le Cercle de San Francisco. One of the most common forms was, in fact, gold bars of many denominations. In 1849, numismatist William Debonnaire Haggard presented the Royal Numismatic Society, in London, with a \$16 ingot from Moffat & Company, and added that “there are other bars, from 14 to 60 dollars value, which pass as money; they are chiefly used in gam-

21. John M. Kleeberg, “How the West was Faked: Western Gold Bars and Other Forgeries” (unpublished manuscript available at: <http://www.cawa.fr/IMG/pdf/how.pdf>).



Fig. 18: Gold nuggets, a common sight in mid-19th century San Francisco gambling houses (ANS 0000.999.75817).

bling (figs. 16–17).”²² J. S. Hittell recalled that “in front of the dealer was piled up a stack of gold and silver coin. Mexican doubloons or ounces and Mexican dollars were in 1849 the bulk of the money; later by the mid-1850s the slug or fifty dollar piece and the American half dollars occupied a large place. Not unfrequently nuggets or purses of dust were thrown upon the table (figs. 18–22)”²³ The gold coins recovered from the wreck of the steamer *Winfield Scott* showed that California fractional gold pieces served as a majority of the small change in late 1853 San Francisco (fig. 23).²⁴ It is unlikely, however, that these lowly pieces—in denominations ranging from 25 cents to a dollar—found utility in the gambling establishments throughout San Francisco. One cannot stress enough the huge amounts of gold—in all forms—that passed through California gambling houses.

In global context, this token provides additional historical insight into the transference of knowledge and reputations in the mid-nineteenth century. The vice that flowed through the veins of early San Franciscan society pumped so hard that individuals as far away as Europe heard every beat. As newspaper accounts spread, the rough appeal of the city’s iniquity was strong enough that dreamers like M. Mauduit in Paris made actual attempts to become primary agents in the activities of the distant city—as managers and directors of gambling houses. Even more, the efficiency in this transference of information is astounding. It is rather remarkable to imagine that, only within two years of the discovery of gold in Sutter’s Mill, San Francisco grew to become a gambling town; Mauduit, despite living a quarter of the way around the world, was inspired to found a gambling house in that city, likely based solely off of hearsay from newspaper accounts; and Charles Dickens, writing in England, tapped the imaginations of his readers by figuratively putting them in the rooms of Le Cercle de San Francisco even before the construction of the establishment.

Perhaps some gamblers in San Francisco who read their copy of Dickens’s *Household Words*, which left them scratching their heads, wondering where Le Cercle de San Francisco was located. More than likely, however, no one in California ever heard of Mauduit & Compagnie or Le Cercle de San Francisco; it is equally as likely that none of these tokens ever saw the inside of a gambling house as intended. This would

explain why this piece was not a part of any of the great American token collections of the nineteenth century. After some decades, however, a few did make their way into American hands, coming to the attention of Dr. Wright. Thereafter, the inscriptions led American numismatists to consider it one of their own. To this day, the token remains held in rather high esteem, as this rare piece has traded with fairly significant results—even without any known historical context. Despite its French origins, Le Cercle de San Francisco token will, in all likelihood, remain “misplaced” in the collections of California trade tokens. One must wonder, however, if a small hoard waits to be uncovered somewhere in Paris.

Bibliography

Barnhart, Russel T. 1992. “Gambling in Revolutionary Paris—The Palais Royal: 1789–1838.” *Journal of Gambling Studies* 8: 151–166.

Dickens, Charles. 1850. “A New Joint-Stock Pandemonium Company.” *Household Words*: 403–404.

Freedeman, Charles E. 1979. *Joint-Stock Enterprise in France: From Privilege Company to Modern Corporation, 1807–1867*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Haggard, William Debonnaire. 1850. “California Gold.” *Numismatic Chronicle* 13: 37.

Hittell, John Shertzer. 1878. *A History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally of the State of California*. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co.

Jourdain, M., presiding. 1847. “Tribunal Civil de la Seine.” *Gazette des Tribunaux: Journal de Jurisprudence et des Debats Judiciaires*: 704.

Kagin, Donald H. 1981. *Private Gold Coins and Patterns of the United States*. New York: Arco Publishing, Inc.

Kappen, Charles V. 1976. *California Tokens*. El Cajon, CA: The Token and Medal Society.

Kleeberg, John M. “How the West was Faked: Western Gold Bars and Other Forgeries” (unpublished manuscript available at: <http://www.cawa.fr/IMG/pdf/how.pdf>).

Le Hir, Jean-Louis, editor. 1850. *Annales de la Science et du Droit Commercial et Maritime: Recueil Mensuel de Législation, de Doctrine et de Jurisprudence à l’Usage des Magistrats Consulaires, des Avocats, des Avoués, des Agrés, des Négociants, des Banquiers, des Courtiers, des Agents de Change, etc.* Paris: Bureau Rue du Cherche-Midi.

Lobban, Michael. 1996. “Corporate Identity and Limited Liability in France and England, 1825–67.” *Anglo-American Law Review* 25: 397–440.

Miller, Donald M. 1962. *A Catalogue of U.S. Store Cards or Merchants Tokens*. Indiana, PA, Henry Hall.



Fig. 19: Mexico, 1851-Mo G.C., 8 escudos (ANS 1957.48.1, gift of Mrs. R. Henry Norweb, Sr.) 36.4 mm.



Fig. 20: Mexico, 1848-Mo G.C., 8 reales (ANS 1963.29.2) 38.1 mm.



Fig. 21: California, 1851, \$50, Augustus Humbert, United States Assayer, .887 THOUS. (ANS 1906.198.1, gift of Archer M. Huntington) 40.7 x 43.8 mm.



Fig. 22: United States, 1846, 1/2 dollar (1944.49.114, gift of H.E. Gillingham), 30.6 mm.



Fig. 23: California, 1853, 1/2 dollar, M. Deriberpe. BG-417 (ANS 1980.109.2355, gift of Arthur J. Fecht) 11.2 mm (images enlarged).

Robson, Martin. 2011. *Britain, Portugal, and South America in the Napoleonic Wars: Alliances and Diplomacy in Economic Maritime Conflict*. London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.

Rulau, Russell. 1997. *Standard Catalog of United States Tokens 1700–1900*, 2nd ed. Iola, WI: Krause Publications.

Say, Horace. 1854. “Des Sociétés Commerciales en France et en Angleterre.” *Journal des Économistes* 6: 836–848.

Wright, Benjamin P. 1898. “The American Store or Business Cards.” *The Numismatist* 11: 211–235.

22. William Debonnaire Haggard, “California Gold,” *Numismatic Chronicle* (1850): 41.

23. John Shertzer Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco*, 237.

24. Donald H. Kagin, *Private Gold Coins and Patterns of the United States* (New York: Arco Publishing, Inc., 1981), 121.



COINS OF NUMISMATIC NEVER-NEVER LANDS

David Thomason Alexander

Since ancient times, coins have provided historians with a wealth of otherwise unobtainable information. Whether a researcher is delving into the royal succession in medieval France or England or is trying to trace descent of obscure dynasties in Central Asia or northern India, coins provide information obtainable nowhere else. Coinage has long been regarded as an attribute of sovereignty. Issuing of coins or items looking like coins has been a favorite gambit for many seeking to seize a crown or mount a throne already occupied by someone else. Coins struck for pretenders represent fascinating “might have beens” in both history and numismatics. Such pieces have fascinated generations of collectors and over the years; enterprising issuers with or without official standing have provided objects to collect. Coins bearing the names of regimes or countries that never existed were created to assert claims to thrones or for sale to collectors, particularly in the years between the French Revolution and the end of the 19th century. Others exist relating to far earlier times, and all of them together comprise a category to which the late J. M. Barrie’s evocative name of “Never-never Land” might apply.

For Want of a Throne England

In the Europe of the Middle Ages a lawfully crowned monarch was regarded as God’s anointed, and his or her person was inviolable. Ambitious nobles had to fall back on impugning the ruler’s legitimacy, or had to present pretenders they swore had a more solid claim by descent to a disputed crown. Imposters of varying credibility came forward claiming to be this or that lost heir, demanding the return of what was rightfully theirs. Most such claims generally ended badly in battle or on the gallows. The actual occupant

of the throne generally had a “home field advantage” in possession of the treasury and army, and could generally defeat any upstart rivals. England faced this institutional challenge several times.

By the 16th century, however, the English situation was vastly complicated by the religious upheaval begun under King Henry VIII (1509–1547) and his sickly son, the future Edward VI. Sectarian and doctrinal concerns now loomed large, adding an additional and potent uncertainty to dynastic wrangling. Desperate to produce a legitimate male heir, Henry VIII separated the church in England from union with the Catholic Church when the Pope refused to grant him a divorce from his first wife, Katherine of Aragon. Henry proclaimed himself Supreme Head of the Church in England and in 1533 obtained his earnestly desired divorce from his newly separated state church. The king remarried repeatedly, but never permitted the slightest deviation from church doctrine. He died in 1547 and was succeeded by his son Edward VI (1547–1553), in whose brief reign Protestant innovations were introduced. Chaos threatened on the young king’s sudden death. Henry VIII’s will had settled the succession after Edward on his daughters, Catholic Mary and Protestant Elizabeth.

However, there was a more distant claimant in the wings, their cousin the 15-year-old Lady Jane Grey (1537–1554)(fig. 1), whose mother was daughter of Henry VIII’s sister, Mary. Jane had married the forceful Lord Guilford Dudley who worked to seat his wife on the throne and rule England through her. He first induced Edward VI to publish his own will providing for Lady Jane’s succession, but the English population craved stability and rallied to Mary as legitimate heir.

Fig. 1: The Streatham portrait of Lady Jane Grey, 1590s? (National Portrait Gallery).



Lady Jane was actually proclaimed on July 10, 1553, but her occupancy of the throne (if it could be called that) lasted only nine days. There was no time to prepare coins bearing her name or image. She and her ambitious spouse paid with their heads for their ill-fated gamble on February 12, 1554. In later centuries Lady Jane would be presented as a romantic figure, with numismatic echoes in the mid-19th century.

The growth of coin collecting in Britain during the early 19th century set the stage for a particularly fascinating “Never-never Land” creation, a purported silver halfcrown portraying the “Nine Day Queen” (fig. 2). Dated MDLIII (1553) and bearing a Sun mint-mark, this silver piece bears a ¾ facing crowned bust in ermine robe with abbreviated Latin legend *IOAN: D G: ANG: FR: hIB: REGINA:* (“By the Grace of God Joanna (Jane) Queen of England, France and Ireland”). The reverse presents a crowned full-blown Tudor rose flanked by her cipher, a crowned *I - R* within a dotted circle and continued title *In: TERRIS: AnG: ET: hIB: ECCLES: CAPVT: SVPREM.* (“In the Realms of England and Ireland Supreme Head of the Church”).

Appearing in the 1840s, this piece was at first hailed as a great “discovery” by those who ardently wished it to be real. However, the newly discovered “coin” was quickly shown to be the creation of a then-active London numismatist (alternatively forger), Edward Emery, who died circa 1850. It was roundly denounced as a fantasy or forgery, but aroused such interest that it appears on plate II:I, page 63.1 of the great compendium *Medallic Illustrations of British History*. The artful Emery created several other imaginative forgeries of Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth alone. All are rare, though Emery’s contemporaries were critical of his lettering! In fact the relief was too pronounced for a 16th century coin and the strike far too precise. Em-



Fig. 2: England, fantasy silver halfcrown of Lady Jane Grey by Edward Emery, “1553” (private collection) 34.2 mm.

ery himself is believed to have left London after 1842 to escape debt, and died in Hastings around 1850. This was an example of a “coin” privately struck to fill a historic void in a nation’s coinage history. Elsewhere, entire countries have been invented to provide objects for collectors or to satirize opponents. France holds the record for sheer variety of pieces hailing royal and imperial pretenders, political struggles, changes in regime and revolutions, particularly in 1793–1900.

France

The years 1815–1816 were chaotic, highlighted by the first abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, the first restoration of the House of Bourbon in the person of King Louis XVIII, Napoleon’s return from Elba for his epic Hundred Days and final defeat at Waterloo in 1815. The second restoration of Louis XVIII then followed. Purporting to originate in this tumultuous era is a coin (fig. 3) of five-franc module dated 1815 A, bearing a uniformed bust l. and legend *PHILIPPE D’AUVERGNE* above the signature *CH. WÜRDEN*. The reverse presents a ducally crowned shield of horizontal red-white-blue stripes in oak and laurel within legend *DUC-SOUVERAIN DE BOUILLON*. The example in the ANS cabinet displays an edge with incuse sans-serif inscription *DOMINE SALVUM FAC REGEM* (“O Lord Make Safe the King”), as on the coinage of Louis XVIII. Though dated 1815, this piece dates from the 1870’s, created by one of the most prolific creators of unofficial patterns, Henri Charles Würden, who was not born until 1849. (Leonard Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, VI, p. 560).

Philippe d’Auvergne (1854–1816) (fig. 4) was a British naval officer, member of a noble family long settled on the Channel island of Jersey. Taken prisoner in the war with France, he was introduced to the elderly Godfrey de la Tour d’Auvergne, Duke of Bouillon, one

of the richest nobles of old France, which had included the great Marshal Turenne. The elderly duke had lost one son to the wars and was concerned over the incapacity of his surviving son. In desperate need of a competent heir, the duke adopted the young Englishman after seeking proof of the relationship of his family and the obscure Jersey branch represented by Philippe d’Auvergne. After the restoration, Philippe was acknowledged as duke by Louis XVIII, but the Congress of Vienna awarded Bouillon to the family of Rohan based on its relationship to the duchy.

Better known, yet still somewhat mysterious, are the silver or bronze pieces denominated 5 francs to 1 centime dated 1816, bearing a baby head left, with title *NAPOLÉON II EMPEREUR* and reverse legend *EMPIRE FRANÇAIS* (fig. 5). Now believed struck around 1860, these pieces portray Napoleon’s son the King of Rome, in whose favor his father abdicated in 1815. Taken from France by his mother the *soi-disant* Empress Marie Louise, the lad lived out his life at the court of his grandfather Franz I of Austria, bearing the title duke of Reichstadt until his death from tuberculosis in 1832 (fig. 6). Known to Bonapartists as *l’Aiglon*, the Eaglet, he was denied all contact with his exiled father who died on Saint Helena in 1821. His coins are known as overstrikes on a variety of hosts and also as more sharply struck pieces on prepared planchets. Numismatists have puzzled over them for generations. John W. Dunn tackled them in “Napoleon II - Emperor for a Day,” in *World Coins* magazine, January 1973, adding confusion by asserting that they were struck by the Paris Mint. Desperately seeking mintage information, Dunn confused the 1942 catalog prices in Victor Guilloteau’s *Monnaies Françaises* with numbers struck.

The historic record for untiring claims to a throne against other royal and imperial figures and two republics was held by Henri-Charles-Ferdinand-Marie Dieudonné, Duc de Bordeaux and Comte de Chambord, born September 29, 1820 and died August 24, 1883 (fig. 7). He was posthumously born “the Child of the Miracle” after the assassination of his father the Duc de Berri by republican diehard Louis Louvel. Following the abdication of his grandfather King Charles X in July 1830, and the stepping aside of his uncle the Duc d’Angoulême, Henri inherited the royal titles of the senior branch of the House of Bourbon. The actual occupant of the throne from 1830 until 1848 was his ambitious cousin the erstwhile First Prince of the Blood, the Duc d’Orleans, now “Citizen King” of the French as Louis Philippe I.

Henri first appears as a boy in uniform with the Order



Fig. 3: Bouillon. British Admiral Philip d’Auvergne, Sovereign Duke, Jan.-June 1815. Bronze 5 Francs 1815 by A. Würden, 1870-1880. KB X1.1, a, b, a. (ANS 0000.999.37116) 37.4 mm.



Fig. 4: British Admiral Philip d’Auvergne.



Fig. 5: France. Empire. Napoleon II. Silver 5 francs, 1816 (ANS 1893.14.586, gift of Daniel Parish, Jr.) 37.4 mm.



Fig. 6: Napoleon II by Leopold Bucher, 1832. (Malmaison, Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau).

Fig. 7: Henri V by Adeodata Malatesta. (Palazzo Ducale, Modena).



Fig. 8: France. Kingdom. Henri V 1831–1883. Silver 5 francs, 1831. Young bust by Niccolo Cerbara (ANS 1893.14.585, gift of Daniel Parish, Jr.) 37.4 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 9: France. Henri V. Silver, 1/2 franc, 1858 A. Signed "Speri" (private collection) 37.4 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 10: France. Henri V. Silver, 5 francs, 1871. Signed "Capel." Old head (ANS 1893.14.587, gift of Daniel Parish, Jr.) 37.8 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 11: New Kingdom of Aquitane. 1848 Revolution. Satirical copper 1 gascon, 1899, by B. Fourgeals. (Souvenirs Numismatiques Pl. XXX:8) (private collection). 40.7 mm (images reduced).

of the Holy Spirit on a variety of patterns of 5 francs through 5 centimes dated 1831 through 1843 (fig. 8). He reappears in 1858 on an enigmatic 1/2 franc with mature bearded head with fictional signature SPERI (fig. 9). His last 5 francs with aged bearded head is dated 1871 (fig. 10). Henri married Marie Therese Beatrix, Princess of Modena, but remained childless. His heir by dynastic succession was actually his rival of the Orleans branch, the Count of Paris. The National Assembly of the new and unstable Third Republic contained a large royalist contingent, and a compromise was worked out. Henri would be restored and would adopt the Count of Paris as his heir, healing the family rift.

Now unreality boiled over. With the crown of France virtually in his hands, Henri announced his rejection of the tricolor flag and his continued opposition to the principles of the great revolution, which Louis Philippe and his grandson accepted. A sketch in the pretender's own hand shows the three fleurs de lis of the Bourbons in the white stripe of the tricolor, but in the end he could not bend. His forebear Henri IV famously gained the French throne by an expeditious conversion to Catholicism, abandoning the reformed church with the statement, "Paris is worth a Mass." Henri V could not decide "Paris is worth a flag" and dropped the crown he had pursued all of his life. The compromise failed, and he returned to exile, dying in Austria in 1883, entombed at Frohsdorf beside Charles X, shrouded in his beloved white flag. A rare medal on the occasion of his death gave a glimpse into his extraordinary act, *C'ÉTAIT PLUS QU'UN GRAND ROY; C'ÉTAIT UN HONNÊTE HOMME! He was more than a great king...he was an HONEST MAN!*

All this lay in an unguessed future as the chaotic year 1848 began with the February overthrow of the "Citizen King" with whom France had become bored. In the ensuing confusion came calls for the enthronement of his young grandson the Count of Paris. Legitimists continued to demand restoration of Henri V. Bonapartists agitated for a restored French Empire under Prince Louis-Napoleon, nephew of the great Napoleon. The Second Republic was proclaimed, burdened with an unworkable constitution, its supporters sharply divided between middle class constitutionalists and extreme leftists and socialists. Violent civil war broke out in June in which the left was crushed. As it had since 1789, Paris continued to rule all of France, dominating the largely conservative provinces, who generally wished only for stability and order.

The strife of 1848–1849 was charted by hundreds of different political and satirical medals and medalets, ranging from crudely cast lead pieces to well struck

bronze, brass, and silver medals. Most of these unsigned pieces bear integral loops and were long disdained as beneath notice by serious numismatists. The only attempt at a complete catalog was Louis Félicien de Saulcy's 160-page *Souvenirs Numismatiques de la Revolution de 1848, Recueil Complet des Médailles, Monnaies et Jetons qui ont paru en France depuis le 22 Février jusqu'au 20 Décembre 1848*. (SN). (Reprint by Richard Lobel, London, 1973). This slim volume bore no author's name, but was the work of Classical numismatist and archaeologist de Saulcy.

Describing himself as "an old-time republican," G. Combrouse created three high-quality medals of 1848–1849 bearing complex circular monograms of "Heads of Reaction" Bugeaud, Molé, and Thiers. Two small medals paid unexpected tribute to members of the dethroned House of Bourbon-Orléans: Princess Hélène de Mecklenbourg, mother of the boy who might have been Louis Philippe II and to the Prince of Joinville and Duc d'Aumale for turning over French African possessions to the new republic (SN plate XXV:2, 8).

Far more imposing and wholly unlike the thin, cheaply produced "street medalets" of 1848 was a bronze "one Gascon" dated 1848 K (mint mark of Bordeaux), issued in the name of the "New Kingdom of Aquitaine" and designed by B. Fourgeals (fig. 11). De Saulcy described this well-made "pattern" as struck to ridicule the reactionary spirit of the rustic Bordelais. (SN plate XXX:8). Its obverse is inscribed *NOUVEAU ROYAUME D'AQUITAINE* above a medieval crowned shield with single lion, fleur de lis, and letter "B." The reverse states *UNDER THE DYNASTY OF SANDIS* over denomination *1 GASCON* in circle surrounded by a square of inscription announcing *THIS COIN WILL HAVE THE CIRCULATING VALUE IN THE FORMER FRANCE OF 10 CENTIMES*. Four tiny lions, privy mark Carrot (another jibe as the countryfolk), and mintmark complete the design. Needless to say, there was no serious plan for a new kingdom of Aquitaine and nothing more was heard from the Sandis. However, the reactionary Adolphe Thiers lived on to wreak savage vengeance on the ultra-left during the bloody 1871 civil war against the Paris Commune.

The chaotic Second Republic yielded to a dictatorship of Prince-President Louis Napoleon, who proclaimed himself Emperor Napoleon III in 1852 (fig. 12). France attained new heights in industry and transportation, colonial expansion, and international prestige before lurching into the disastrous war with Prussia and the other German States in 1870. When the smoke cleared, France was defeated, the emperor was in exile,

and the mighty German Empire now stood at her right side. The new Third Republic came into precarious existence, opposed by the same three monarchist factions active in 1848. There was considerable support for a Bonaparte restoration. When Napoleon III died in England in 1873 his son the Prince Imperial Napoleon Eugene Louis Joseph (born 1856) claimed the throne as Napoleon IV. The young prince studied at Woolwich and joined the British Army to seek military experience. While fighting the Zulus in South Africa, his patrol was ambushed on June 1, 1879, and his companion fled, leaving the Prince to die on Zulu spears (fig. 13).

Dated 1874 and marked C de F, a set of silver 5, 2, 1 franc, 50 and 20 centimes was struck at Chaux de Fonds, Switzerland bearing his head (fig. 14). Reverses bore the imperial Arms or crown in the style of Napoleon III. The same head graced a bronze 1874 10 centimes with high-relief imperial crown on the reverse. All are signed C DE F (Chaux de Fonds), but the bronze coin bears the Face Privy mark of Brussels, location of the Brichaut-Veyrat-Würden firm of private minters that produced so many of the fantasy coins that appeared during this era. This trio included Auguste Brichaut, described by Leonard Forrer as "editor of medals, jetons, unofficial pattern pieces," and author of an unfinished work, *Souvenirs Numismatiques de la Révolution Française, 1870–1871*. Adrien Hippolyte Veyrat (1826–1883) was a prolific engraver of Belgian historical subjects, pretender and fantasy coins. His works occupy two pages of Forrer's Biographical Dictionary of Medallists. Henri Charles Würden (born 1849) was an accomplished engraver with similarly impressive coverage in Forrer. Writer N. H. described many Würden productions in his article *Monnaies, Médailles et Jetons modernes contrefaits ou complètement inventés* in Dupriez' *Gazette Numismatique*, IV–VI!. These three names appear repeatedly in the saga of 19th century "Never-never Land" coins.

Spain

The spectacular growth in popularity of stamp collecting triggered a wave of new unofficial patterns or fantasy coins identified with these busy engravers. The idea of supplying coins for exotic countries existing without them was seductive. After all, if places like Andorra and Luxembourg, not to mention colonies in Africa and Asia, were supplied with distinctive stamps, why not add coins to the mix?

Related both to the tradition of pretender coinage and the newer "unofficial coinages" as the late Richard D. Kenney called them, were coins bearing the portrait of Spanish Carlist claimant Don Carlos VII (1848–1909)

Fig. 12: Napoleon III by Alexandre Cabanel, c. 1865 (Musée du Second Empire, Compiègne).



Fig. 13: Napoleon, Prince Imperial of France (Napoleon IV).



(fig. 15), who succeeded to the claims of the traditionalist branch of the Spanish Bourbons in 1868. Earlier coins inscribed to Don Carlos V are now believed to have seen limited circulation and are omitted here. Don Carlos VII was leader in the bitterly fought Second Carlist War (1872–1876) striving to recover the crown from his liberal cousin King Alfonso XII. Anti-constitutional and absolutist, the Carlists were merciless fighters of the “take no prisoners” variety. In 1875 their forces controlled wide regions of Spain, and Pope Pius IX formally recognized the claimant as “Carlos VII King of the Spains,” an older plural title reflecting Carlist regard for the regional rights long enjoyed by such areas as the Basque country.

Silver five peseta coins were struck by Veyrat-Brichaut in 1874–1875 and 1885, bearing the claimant’s laureate head (figs. 16–18). Some bore oddly bungled titles mixing Spanish and Latin terms, CAROLUS (Latin) VII DEI GRACIA (Spanish). A fictional engraver’s name P. Bembo appears at the truncation. Crowned quartered Arms of Castile and Leon with escutcheon of pretence of Bourbon and Granada at base join motto DIOS, PATRIA, REY, or *Deus, Patria, Rex, God, Country and King* on the reverses. These handsome pieces were fund-raisers for the Carlist cause, while bronze 1875-dated 10 and 5 céntimos de peseta signed O - T may have seen limited circulation in Carlist-occupied areas in northern Spain. These bear all-Spanish titles CARLOS VII P.L. GRACIA DE DIOS REY DE LAS ESPAÑAS (fig. 19).

Of less certain status are the silver and copper pieces bearing the monogram C VII and legend REAL CASA DE MONEDA, ONATE/ OCTUBRE/ 1875 (fig. 20). The Carlists were ultimately defeated, but continued their claim to the throne through the reigns of “Spurious Bourbons” Kings Alfonso XII and XIII and the Second Republic. Known in the 20th century as the *Comunión Tradicionalista*, Carlist Requeté fighters were vital to the victory of Generalissimo Francisco Franco in the Civil War of 1936–1939. While slowly setting the stage for a monarchical restoration, the canny Franco encouraged Carlist Prince Carlos Hugo as an alternative candidate for the Spanish throne. This prince married Princess Irene of the Netherlands, but the monarch actually enthroned in 1975 was a grandson of Alfonso XIII, who chose the dual name Juan Carlos to lay to rest the bloody ghost of Carlism.

For Want of a Home
Andorra

Nestled in the high Pyrenees between France and Spain is the tiny Principality of Andorra, whose co-rulers for centuries were the French Counts of Foix



Fig. 14: France. Empire. Napoleon IV. Silver, 5 francs 1874. Often attributed to Brichaut-Veyrat-Würden of Brussels, but signed C d F, Chaux de Fonds, Switzerland (ANS 1893.14.591, gift of Daniel Parish, Jr.) 38 mm.



Fig. 15: Caricature of the Carlist pretender, Charles VII (Leslie Ward-Vanity Fair 29 April 1876).



Fig. 16: Spain. Carlist Pretender Carlos VII. Silver, 5 pesetas, 1874. C. CAROLUS (Latin) DEI GRACIA (Spanish). Rev. HISPANIARUM REX (ANS 1893.14.1097, gift of Daniel Parish, Jr.) 38.2 mm.



Fig. 17: Spain. Carlist Pretender Carlos VII. Silver, 5 pesetas, 1874. “P. BEMBO.” CAROLUS VII (Latin) REY DE LAS ESPANAS (Spanish) (ANS 1893.14.1096, gift of Daniel Parish, Jr.) 37.8 mm.



Fig. 18: Spain. Carlist Pretender Carlos VII. Silver, 5 pesetas, 1885. CAROLVS VII D.G. HISPAN. REX (ANS 1969.222.4450, gift of P. K. Anderson) 38 mm.



Fig. 19: Spain. Carlist Pretender Carlos VII. 10 céntimos, 1875. Bronze. All-Spanish legends (private collection), 30 mm.



Fig. 20: Spain. Carlist Pretender Carlos VII. Module of 5 pesetas, 1875. Royal Mint of Oñate (ANS 1969.222.4449, gift of P. K. Anderson) 38.9 mm.



Fig. 21: Andorra. 10 céntimos, 1873. Bronze modeled on Spanish coinage by Oeschger-Mesdach, reverse inscribed CIENT PIEZAS EN KILOG., 100 pieces in a kilogram (ANS 1969.222.3715, gift of P. K. Anderson) 30.5 mm.



Fig. 22: South Africa, Cape of Good Hope. Bronze penny, 1889. Attributed to Otto Nolte & Co., Berlin (ANS 0000.999.23640) 30.4 mm.



Fig. 23: South Africa, Griqua Town. Bronze penny, 1890. Otto Nolte & Co., Berlin, with date. Inspired by the rare 1815 London Missionary Society coinage for the Griquas (ANS 1916.192.1021), 30.2 mm.



Fig. 24: South Africa, Griqua Town. Bronze penny, without date, general type as preceding, struck in the name of a vanished tribal band of an earlier era (private collection), 30.2 mm.

and the Spanish Bishop of Seo de Urgel. During much of the 20th century Andorra was a smugglers' paradise passing contraband between the neighboring countries. French francs and Spanish pesetas circulated, and there was no Andorran coinage until the beginning of an extensive collector series first launched by New York professional numismatist Hans M. F. Schulman and followed later by even more extensive issues denominated in diners and centimes in the name of the reigning bishop. At the time of the first Spanish Republic, there appeared a Würden style bronze 10 céntimos inscribed *REPUBLICA DE LOS VALLS DE ANDORRA* around quartered Arms in palm wreath (fig. 21). The reverse was clearly inspired by the plentiful bronze coinage of the neighboring republic, struck in quantity by the contract firm of Oeschger, Mesdach & Co. was 1 10 Céntimos inscribed *CIENT PIEZAS EN KILOG.*, 100 pieces to a kilogram. Older catalogs reported Andorran 5 céntimos and nickel 10 céntimos but these are not known today.

Southern Africa

Southern Africa offered a fertile field for unofficial coin promotion from 1874 to 1890. The region was divided between the British colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal; the independent Boer republics of the Orange Free State and South African Republic (*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*, ZAR or Transvaal); and African realms of the Basuto, Tswana, and Swazi peoples. The Cape was reasonably prosperous after two centuries of European settlement but the two republics were still frontier areas, arid and poor, racked by drought and cattle diseases. If the Orange Free State and South African Republic had stamps, the issuers must have reasoned, why not supply them with coins? The Veyrat-Brichaut-Würden firm was joined in this creative enterprise with the Berlin die-sinking firm of Otto Nolte & Co.

Pieces for Cape Colony identified with Nolte present a young head of Queen Victoria, not the maidenly head of 1838 British coinage but the somewhat stilted likeness of the 1870s with Latin title *VICTORIA D:G: BRITANNIAR: REG: F: D:*. Reverses known include the denomination 1/ PENNY within a classic oak and laurel wreath or the Arms of the colony (fig. 22). This included three gold annulets (rings) from the Arms of colony founder Jan van Riebeeck, supported by antelope and wildebeest, with crest of a seated figure of Hope and motto *SPES BONA*, Good Hope. Although it was the largest and most populous colony, the Cape would never see its own official colonial coinage.

Shedding some light onto the process of subject selection for unofficial coins are the 1-penny pieces bearing



Fig. 25: Thomas François Burgers.



Fig. 27: South African Republic, ZAR. Bronze penny, 1874. Value on cross-hatched field recalls contemporary Belgian coinage (private collection) 30.5 mm.



Fig. 29: South Africa, Orange Free State. Bronze EEN penny, 1874. *VRIJ STAAT*. The Wild Olive that became an Orange tree with fruit. Struck by Würden, Brussels (private collection) 31.2 mm.



Fig. 26: South African Republic, ZAR. Bronze 2 pence, 1874. *MUNTSPROEVE* (private collection) 30.5 mm.



Fig. 28: South African Republic, ZAR. Bronze penny, 1890. Double disselboom on trek wagon in the arms, Veyrat (private collection) 30.5 mm.



Fig. 30: South Africa, Orange Free State. Bronze penny, 1888. Similar tree on shield, *VRYSTAAT*. By Adrien Hippolyte Veyrat, Brussels (ANS 1916.192.1020) 31.2 mm.

a dove in flight with olive sprig in its beak, inscribed *GRIQUA TOWN*, with or without date 1890 (figs. 23–24). These pieces were inspired by the rare 1815 London Missionary Society coinage created by Rev. John Campbell that is distinctly rare and sought after today. The beneficiaries of Campbell's efforts were a mixed-race Dutch-speaking group first known as the Bastards, in modern Afrikaans Basters, led by Adam Kok, that had migrated from the Cape and settled near what would one day be Kimberley in the district of vast diamond discoveries. By 1890 the Griqua population was greatly reduced and the area was annexed to the Cape. The coin-makers, however, were ignorant of this and apparently assumed that Griqua Town still existed and would be a fitting target for unofficial coinage. The young head of Victoria was employed

and the dove of 1815 reappeared with or without the date 1890.

In 1874, several unofficial coins appeared bearing the names of two of the still-impoorished republics ruled by the Boers (descendants of Dutch settlers). The Calvinist Boers, today known as Afrikaners, had trekked into the vast interior decades earlier to escape British rule. Under their feet lay mineral riches of astronomical value that were only then beginning to come to light. Well-educated clergyman Thomas François Burgers (fig. 25) became president of the ZAR as gold was discovered at Pilgrim's Rest in 1874. Too progressive for the tastes of many of his bucolic fellow citizens, he began a national coinage with the first gold recovered, sent to Birmingham, England for refining



Fig. 31: Queen Ranavalona III.

and striking into 1-pound coins equal in weight and fineness to the British sovereign. Burgers traveled in Europe, picked up the finished coins and dies in Birmingham, and returned to Pretoria. The finished coins were proudly paid out to members of the *Volksraad* or legislature but drew shrill complaints that the use of Burgers' portrait violated the scriptural ban on graven images and that the president had not sought approval before launching the coinage project.

Burgers' European trip filled him with renewed zeal for change and improvement and almost certainly inspired the mysterious unofficial bronze "pattern" penny and 2-pence pieces by Veyrat dated 1874. The late Stan Kaplan and other South African numismatists denied the unofficial patterns' authenticity, but their 1874 date associates them with the European visit. Würden created these issues with input from Auguste Brichaut and Adrien Hippolyte Veyrat (Face and Lion privy marks and "V" on several reverses). Bearing denominations 2 PENCE and I/ PENNY are bronze coins whose obverses present an eagle-crowned oval shield flanked by six flags bearing three horizontal stripes and Dutch legend *ZUID AFRIKAANSCH REPUBLIK* (ZAR) with a small 5-point star in rays (figs. 26–27). The shields include a trek wagon with a single *Disselboom* or shaft. There should have been a

dash between *ZUID* and *AFRIKAANSCH*, and if the flags were intended to be the *Vierkleur* (red-white-blue and green) of the ZAR, a vertical stripe should have appeared at the hoist. Both denominations are precisely the same size: 30.5 mm with Privy marks Bee and Eagle Head. The 2-pence is inscribed *MUNTSPROEVE*, a cobbled-together Dutch equivalent to the German *MÜNZPROBE*.

The 1874 penny has a crosshatched field around the Roman numeral "I" in value, recalling the fields in the contemporary Belgian 10 and 5 centimes that were among the world's first copper-nickel coins. The Dutch *EENDRAGT – MAAKT – MAGT*, Union makes Strength circles the denomination, an old Netherlands motto also used by New York's Borough of Brooklyn. Dated 1890 is a ZAR penny without dotted circle but with two shafts on the trek wagon (fig. 28), *dubbel Disselboom* as erroneously shown on the later gold pond and silver crown of the ZAR struck for President Kruger in 1892 by the Royal Prussian Mint, Berlin. Oxen were inspanned on either side of the *Disselboom*, not bracketed between two shafts as on a horse-drawn carriage.

Appearing with the 1874 date were bronze coins presenting an orange tree in full fruit with title *ORANJE*

VRIJ STAAT over three hunting horns, Face and tiny Lion Privy marks (fig. 29). Denominations were *EEN/PENNY* or *2 PENCE* plus *MUNTSPROEVE*. Their obverses were derived from a coat of Arms painted by an itinerant German artist, H. R. Holzapfel, then residing in Bloemfontein for his health, intended for display in the legislative hall or *Raadsaal*. "Orange" in the republic's name refers to the Orange River, its rusty color imparted by eroding soil in its flow. The tree was described in law as a Wild Olive, but to Holzapfel orange meant fruit!

More dramatic was the silver kroon of 1887 with name *ORANJE VRYSTAAT* (one word) presenting tree and hunting horns on an ornate shield. The reverse bore the initial "L" possibly identifying the Nürnberg firm of L. Chr. Lauer and *ESSAY* at base of the wreath. Bronze 1888 penny pieces present a similar shield or a straight-sided version with the Veyrat "V" on their reverses (fig. 30). At least one kroon is known bearing the countermark of the Imperial East Africa Company that later ruled from the port of Mombasa. None of the Orange Free State patterns were officially adopted. Official coinage of 1892–1900 for the ZAR bore the bust of President S. J. P. Kruger, and no complaints were heard about graven images! ZAR coins sufficed not only for the Transvaal but were used in the Free State, Cape, and Natal.

Madagascar

Another happy hunting ground for numismatic creativity in the late 19th century was the "Great Red Island" of Madagascar off Africa's east coast. The island was ruled in the 1880's by a royal dynasty of the dominant Merina people, one of 18 ethnic groups on the island. Queen Ranavalona III reigned from 1883 through 1897 (fig. 31), when the French put an end to the island's independence. Foreign visitors were fascinated by the custom of marriage between queens and the able Hova Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony. Strategies against continuing French encroachment included fostering diplomatic relations with Britain and the United States. Queen Ranavalona III, a convert to Protestantism, addressed letters to Queen Victoria by right as *Ma très chère Soer*, "My Dear Sister". Coinage might have provided a bold assertion of independence but the only coins known are Veyrat-Brichaut productions with several unrelated contributions by English numismatist and Romantic Dr. Reginald Huth. Inscribed *RANAVALOMANJAKA, MPANJAKA NY MADAGASCAR* ("Ranavalona the Queen, Kingdom of Madagascar") were 1883-dated bronze 10 centimes and 5-franc pieces in silver and aluminum (figs. 32–33). These bore rather delicate floral designs around an elaborate rendition of the Madagascar



Fig. 32: Madagascar. Queen Ranavalona III. Aluminum 5 francs, 1883. (ANS 1916.192.1001) 37 mm.



Fig. 33: Madagascar. Queen Ranavalona III. Bronze 10 centimes, 1883. Struck 15 years before the French annexation (private collection) 30.6 mm.



Fig. 34: Madagascar. Queen Ranavalona III. Silver 1 kirobo, 1888. Equal to 1-1/2 francs (ANS 1924.119.64) 24 mm.



Fig. 35: Philippines. 2 centavos, 1859. Bronze, 30.4 mm, 1.5 mm thick. Titles of Isabel II, victor in the First Carlist War.

Fig. 36: President Yuan Shih-kai.



royal crown with its fan-shaped ornament. Reverses bore the denomination in wreath, the bronze showing “E” for Essai on a 5-pointed star in rays and elaborate “showboat” lettering. Typically both denominations are known in several metals. Presenting a half-length bust in elaborate coif and court dress without inscription are undated 5-franc pieces. Their reverses announce *S.M. RANAVALONA III, REINE D. MADAGASCAR ET SES DEPENDANCES* around eight flags of indeterminate design. Examples have been cataloged in silver, bronze, aluminum, and white metal. Somewhat similar but in more polished style is the bust on 5 francs dated 1886 bearing her title *S.M. RANAVONA III*. This type’s reverse has a large crowned “R” within *ROYAUME DE MADAGASCAR* with date between 6-pointed star and Face Privy mark. In their own distinctive category are well executed one kirobo silver coins dated 1888 weighing 6.8 g, presenting Ranavalona’s diadem head facing left (fig. 34). The kirobo was equal to 1-1/2 French francs, and the denomination reappeared after Madagascar recovered its independence after 1960.

Ranavalona III was overthrown by the French General Joseph Gallieni, who abolished the monarchy in February 1897. She was exiled to the distant island of Réunion and later to Algiers. After 1901 she was a frequent visitor to Paris where she achieved remarkable popularity among the upper classes. She died on May 25, 1917. Her heir-apparent Marie-Louise died without issue in 1948.

Philippines

One far eastern region with a long coinage history is the Philippines. During the reign of Queen Isabel II, victor in the First Carlist War, there appeared an 1859-dated pattern 2 centavos showing the same bungled inscription as Spain’s Carlist 5 pesetas attributed to Würden-Veyrat. The obverse presents the French (not Spanish) royal crown in circle of dots. The legend is mostly Spanish, *ISABEL 2a POR LA GRATIA DE DIOS*. The reverse presents denomination 2 Cs, *FILIPINAS PLUS-ULTRA, More Beyond* (the Pillars of Hercules) (fig. 35). Regular Philippine coinage in silver and gold began to be struck in 1861–64 but bore Isabel’s head and the proper Spanish crown.

China

Present-day study of Chinese coins has clarified many of the mysteries of machine-struck coins of the empire and republic, which long confused Western numismatists. Progress has been spurred on recently by the fantastic explosion of interest in the geometrically expanding market for Chinese coins. The late Austrian finance expert Eduard Kann, real father

of scientific study of modern Chinese numismatics, started the ball rolling by listing and condemning as fantasies a large number of rare items known to collectors since the 1920s. Outstanding among legitimate coins and patterns are pieces dedicated to a regime that was announced but never implemented, coins of a country that certainly existed but recalling a change of governance that died aborning. These are patterns recalling republican President Yuan Shih-kai (1859–1916) (fig. 36) and his elaborate 1915–1916 plan to abolish the republic proclaimed in 1911 and replace it with a new monarchy with himself as the Hung Hsien Emperor.

Italian engraver Luigi Giorgi created several portraits of this successful soldier and ambitious president in full uniform, either in profile, three-quarters facing or with a tall-plumed shako. The full profile Yuan Shih-kai silver dollar first dated Year 3 of the Republic dominated Chinese trade for decades after his death in a country that cherished the familiar over the new or experimental. Far more handsome was Giorgi’s nearly fully facing bust in full uniform wearing the Order of the Golden Grain and feathered shako. The nine characters on the first reverse (1914) announced *Founding of Republic of China* and English *ONE DOLLAR* around a rice wreath and Chinese denomination *I YUAN, One Dollar* (fig. 37). Two years later a striking new reverse appeared, a 5-claw imperial dragon flying left holding Buddhist thunder rod and five arrows. The inscription *Chung Hwa Min Kuo, Republic of China*, is replaced by *Chung Hwa Ti Kuo, Empire of China* (fig. 38). Genuine silver strikes are now rare as are the very rare gold offstrikes. Perhaps more common is a copper pattern 20 cash with the same uniformed bust. The reverse bears a flourish of rice plants used on many circulating republican copper coins with an English legend *THE FIRST YEAR OF HUNG SHUAN – TWENTY CASH* (fig. 39). Transliterating Chinese has undergone major changes in modern times: Yuan’s announced regnal name Hung Hsien, *Constitutional Abundance*, shown as *Shuan* on the coin, but is now rendered Hongxian in pinyin transliteration and corresponds to 1916.

To his mortification, Yuan met substantial and ultimately violent opposition to his monarchical plan, which he was finally obliged to cancel. Love of republican forms had almost nothing to do with it. A more significant contributor was China’s deterioration under the chaos of the early republic, giving free-wheeling warlords rule over extensive provinces. Few of these were ready to acknowledge the stern rule of a new emperor. Yuan abandoned his imperial plans and died soon after.



Fig. 37: China. Republic. Silver pattern dollar, 1914. Military bust of President Yuan Shih-kai by Luigi Giorgi of the Rome Mint. Reverse inscribed *Chung Hwa Min Kuo, Republic of China* (private collection) 39 mm.



Fig. 38: China. Empire. Silver dollar, 1916. President Yun is proclaimed the Hung Hsien Emperor of a new *Chung Hwa Ti Kuo, Empire of China*, an attempt which failed (private collection) 39 mm.



Fig. 39: China. Copper 20 cash, 1916. Similar bust with rice plants of contemporary republican coppers (private collection) 33.3 mm.



Fig. 40: Jules Gros.



Fig. 41: Independent Guiana. Bronze 10 centimes, 1889. Rare type with Liberty head (private collection) 30 mm.



Fig. 42: Independent Guiana. Base silver 20 centimes. This distinctive Würden Liberty bust was used on several other private pattern issues (private collection) 22.7 mm.



Fig. 43: Orllie-Antoine de Tounens.



Fig. 44: Aracania and Patagonia. Copper pattern, 2 centavos, 1874. Bronze, 30.8 mm. This projected kingdom in southern Chile was to be headed by French adventurer Orllie-Antoine I, shipped home as a lunatic. 30.8 mm.



Fig. 45: Trebizond. Bronze 10 centimes, 1955. Fifth centenary of conquest by Ottoman Turks and first modern fantasy issue (private collection) 30.1 mm.

The Americas

Latin America has seen endless upheavals since the wars of independence from Spain. There were a number of 19th century unofficial coins struck in the name of existing, if underserved countries seeking coinage including Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Nicaragua. These, however, are tied to existing nations with varying actual coinages and are omitted here.

One of the only non-Spanish territories was French Guiana or Guyanne, whose only notable attraction was Devil's Island off the north coast, place of imprisonment of Captain Alfred Dreyfus. This territory's ill-defined frontier with Brazil made it a kind of no-man's land for escaping Brazilian slaves and gold seekers. French adventurers including French travel writer Jules Gros of Vanves (fig. 40) got together to proclaim the Republic of Independent Guiana (Guyanne) at Counani near the equator in 1886. Gros was elected life president. Striking and sale of coins followed swiftly, identified by fabric and design with the busy Würden atelier. Their ambitious program included issuance of a crown-sized silver 5 francs (25.3 g, .7320 fine) and copper-nickel-zinc 20 centimes each bearing a Liberty bust that also appeared on Würden patterns for Argentina and the Central American Union (figs. 41–42). Two types of copper 10 centimes include a Maltese cross with clasped hands (Kenney 134, 135) and a rarer design with a round-headed Liberty in legend *REPUBLIQUE DE LA GUYANNE INDEPENDANTE*. The decoration depicted on the copper was called the Order of the Star of Counani and its advertisement for public sale in France led to prosecution by the Chancery of the Legion d'Honneur. Brazil and France ousted the promoters from South America, and they were last heard from in 1905 operating from an office in London. Today the territory remains a French overseas department.

Somewhat more fantastic was the Kingdom of Araucania and Patagonia, also known as New France, proclaimed by Orllie-Antoine de Tounens (1820–1878) (fig. 43), lawyer of Perigeaux, France. He arrived in 1858 in the desolate area of Chilean Patagonia, claiming the title of Prince in 1860 and proclaimed himself King in November 1860. Patagonia was in the process of being conquered by Argentina and Chile at this time and the Chilean authorities captured and imprisoned the would-be king before shipping him back to France as insane in 1862. Dated 1874 were copper 2 centavos coins (fig. 44). The obverse bore a quartered crowned shield bearing personifications of law, justice, agriculture and industry in a circle of 5-pointed stars and legend *ORLLIE-ANTOINE I. ROI D'ARAUCANIE ET PATAGONIE*. The reverse, often seen struck from a die shattered around the top, announces *NOUVELLE*

FRANCE, DOS CENTAVOS above the date. This was not a well-financed operation and the dies were used until they disintegrated. There later appeared on the European coin market very high quality crown-sized silver one-peso coins of the same general design bearing three different iterations of *UN PESO*. These are believed to have been produced by an unspecified Berlin coin dealer.

As the 20th century opened, the era of pretender and fantasy coins drew to a close. Plenty of new countries sprang up after two world wars to keep collectors scurrying. Then in January 1956, Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine ran a short story with the distinctly prophetic title, "Is It Starting in Coins?" Editor Lee F. Hewitt ran excerpts from the British Numismatic Circular heralding announcing a 3-coin set marking the Fifth Centenary of the fall of the Empire of Trebizond in 1461 (fig. 45). Located on the northeast coast of Asia Minor, this was the last independent Greek state after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Hewitt's translation of the Italian decree was a trifle clumsy but stated that the heir of the Royal-Imperial House of Angelus Comnenus of Thessaly had authorized 100 sets to the standards of the old Latin Monetary Union: .900 gold 100 francs, .900 silver 5 francs and bronze 10 centimes. Directing the issue was Baron Caesare Gamberini of Scarfea; design was by Prof. O. Piccione with striking by the Italian medallic firm of Lorioli of Milan. The pieces bore the head of *MICHAEL III ANGELUS COMNENUS THESS*. And a double-eagle with shield bearing two 8-pointed stars within mottoes *IN HOC SIGNO VINCES - EX ORIENTE LUX*. A few years later the Franklin Mint began its tidal wave of creations and another age of would-be and actual coin-issuing entities burst onto the world scene, dwarfing the more modest efforts of 19th-century issuers.

ARCHIVES: Mystery, Tragedy, and Drama: A Look at Some Past ANS Librarians

David Hill

It is such a great honor to be the Librarian of the American Numismatic Society, and there is a special kinship I feel with those who have come before me, an exclusive club of dedicated stewards who have assembled and cared for this astonishing collection for over a century-and-a-half. Alas, the list of such individuals I can commiserate with in person is quite short, as there have been only two librarians preceding me in the last 40 years: Frank Campbell, whose retirement in 2008 capped a career that spanned a third of the ANS's entire 150-year existence,¹ and my immediate predecessor, Elizabeth Hahn Bengé, who thankfully remains just an email away, ready to dispense advice when I most need it. I'm also, naturally, curious about those who came before us. Happily, not only do opportunities to explore such topics arise in the course of my regular day-to-day business, but I also have the great fortune to be surrounded by a unique set of historical records into which I can dive to find the answers to my questions. Such exploration usually just uncovers more areas to investigate. Recently, I found myself looking at the lives of several of the ANS librarians who were active at about the turn of the twentieth century. It was an era of big changes at the Society, as it moved into its new building at Audubon Terrace and brought in paid professional staff to handle operations previously carried out by member volunteers.

The catalyst for much of this historical probing was a curious figure I have been intrigued by for a while: A. H. (Arthur Henry) Cooper-Prichard, the Society's first professional (or paid) librarian (1911–1912). I became aware of him some time ago when I was contacted by the British author and playwright Merlin Holland, who was hoping that I, as the Society's archivist, could help clear up a bit of a mystery. Holland's main area of interest is Oscar Wilde (fig. 1), having written and edited a number of works on the writer and co-authored a play, which opened on the London stage in 2014.² Though it seems hard to believe, given that the era in which Wilde was delighting and scandalizing Victorian London seems to exist in a sepia world so far from our own, Holland is Wilde's grandson. His father, Vyvyan Holland, was one of Wilde's two sons. Holland first came across Cooper-Prichard's name as the author of two fanciful works, "Reminiscences of Oscar Wilde," published in *Cornhill Magazine* (1930), and a book, *Conver-*

sations with Oscar Wilde (1931), supposedly influenced by his having met the famous writer back in the 1880s.³ Holland has his doubts, saying that "it became fashionable in the 1920s to have claimed acquaintanceship with [Wilde] once the scandal had blown over and the liberal era of the 'Roaring Twenties' made such things acceptable." Cooper-Prichard also published other works, including a book called *The Buccaneers* (1927) and a translation from French of a *History of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg* (1950). The mystery is in the disconnect between this later part of Cooper-Prichard's life and his well established, but seemingly abandoned, earlier career as a numismatist. Though it is possible that these are two separate people, the unusual name would seem to make that unlikely.

Born in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1874 and educated in England, Cooper-Prichard's work as a numismatist is well documented. In fact, he recounts most of it himself in a long and somewhat rambling letter of application for "an official position" sent to ANS president Archer Huntington in 1907 (with which he included a handbill from a school play in which he appeared in the role of a "happy husband").⁴ Without a care for our modern notions of succinctness when it comes to application letters, his goes on for six pages, skipping from one topic to the next. He tells of getting his start in numismatics at the age of nine in the British Museum and subsequently building a collection of about 200 pieces (Greek and Roman mostly, along with some English and French regal coins), eventually securing positions as a cataloger for the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. He claims to have written "two voluminous works" that were nearly ready for publication, one on the coinage of England and another on primitive money, which, he says, "by the cruelest

1. Rick Witschonke, "Frank Campbell: An Appreciation of Five Decades of Service," *ANS Magazine* 7, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 52–54.
2. Vincent Dowd, "Wilde's Grandson Brings Scandal to Stage," *BBC News*, July 10, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-28215777>.
3. Joseph Bristow, "Picturing His Exact Decadence: The British Reception of Oscar Wilde, 1900–1987," in Stefano-Maria Evangelista, ed., *The Reception of Wilde in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2010), 39.
4. Arthur Cooper-Prichard to Archer Huntington, January 28, 1907.



Fig. 1: The celebrated playwright's grandson contacted the ANS looking for information about its first salaried librarian, A. H. Cooper-Prichard (1911–1912), who seems to have abandoned an early career in numismatics, later writing, among other things, two apparently fanciful works relating to Wilde.

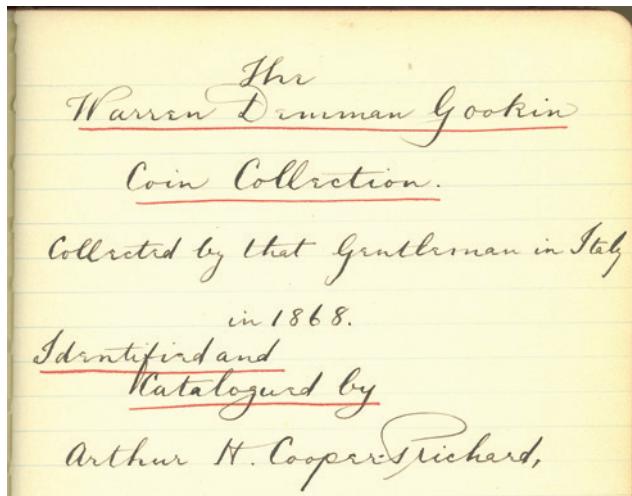


Fig. 2: A title page from Cooper-Prichard's catalog of the Warren Demman Gookin coin collection. He had talked Gookin's nephew out of donating the collection to the Brooklyn Museum, so over two thousand of his coins were given to the ANS instead. Cooper-Prichard then wrote to Archer Huntington applying for a position.



Fig. 3: The New York Times on the sad death of ANS Librarian Herbert Valentine (1896–1905).

stroke of fate, burned in my trunk en route for Canada," the flames also consuming his numismatic library and coin scales. Though discouraged and despondent, he found his interest in such work refreshed through time spent cataloging the extensive coin collection of Warren Demman Gookin (fig. 2). He had talked Gookin's nephew⁵ out of donating the collection to the Brooklyn Museum, where, he said, "the importance of coin collections and numismatic work was inadequately provided for" (the reason, he added, he could no longer continue to work there), and so instead over 2,000 of his Greek and Roman coins were given to the ANS.⁶ Cooper-Prichard's letter to Huntington came on the heels of this donation and he no doubt assumed it would be considered a feather in his cap by the president. Fully aware of Huntington's collecting interests, he also let it slip casually that "oddly enough, I have always taken a more than usual interest in all things pertaining to Spain and South America and the West Indies." His letter is followed by copies in his own hand of eight glowing testimonials from former employers and schools. It was all to no avail, at least at that time. He was told that "at the present time all official positions are filled" but that his application would be considered in the future.⁷ Four years later he was hired as librarian.

With his letter of application, Cooper-Prichard included a small advertisement for his services identifying "foreign and ancient coins" and cataloging using a "new and minute method." This was his own invention whereby coins of any kind from any period could "be classified upon a single page," an approach he says was adopted at the Boston Museum—or at least "an imperfect development of it." He boasted to Huntington that "no other system even approaches this for its useful facilities." (It is worth noting, however, that he felt it unnecessary to apply this method to his catalog of the Gookin collection). Cooper-Prichard was quite proud of his system and published a description of it in the Society's *American Journal of Numismatics*.⁸ Not everyone was so enthusiastic. That year, the Society's council members were looking at ways to improve the journal. One of the suggestions was blunt: "articles such as appear on page 157 of the present issue should be eliminated."⁹ This was Cooper-Prichard's "Proposed Arrangement of a Catalogue of Coins." In 2006, a researcher looking into Cooper-Prichard's life called it "one of the most entertainingly pompous pieces of writing I have seen in a long time,"¹⁰ citing in particular this quotation:

To omit a single detail of known information, regarding a coin or medal, whether on the specimen itself or outside, is unpardonable. Almost equally unpardonable is it to

place one word too much in such a description. That the greatest numismatic writers have sinned in both these ways is nothing in favor of such carelessness any more than bad jokes are excusable because Shakespeare, to please the inferior sort amongst his audience, disfigured his writings with them.

It is not clear why or under what circumstances Cooper-Prichard's tenure as librarian came to an end at the beginning of 1912. He refers at one point to "the termination of my service" at the ANS¹¹ but seemed to bear no ill-will toward it, telling secretary Bauman Belden he planned to come visit him and do some research but the writing of what was apparently a non-numismatic book was taking up much of his time. He referred also to promises he had made ("while I had every reason to believe myself still an officer of your Society") of having books sent to the British and Fitzwilliam museums and said he hoped the ANS would follow through in his absence.¹² By the end of the year he was in England seeking a position with the government there,¹³ and by 1915, three years behind in his dues, he was dropped from the Society's rolls.¹⁴ From that point on he seems to have disappeared from the historical record as a numismatist, reemerging later as the author of the above-mentioned non-numismatic works.

Another librarian, Herbert Valentine, whose tenure in that position would bridge the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (1896–1905), was also active in a different aspect of the Society's work, one related to another of the era's big changes: the reversion to its original name. Since 1864 it had been The American Numismatic and Archaeological Society, though the area of interest signified in the appended second half of the title never really generated much enthusiasm, particularly when it came to collection-building. From 1892 to 1894, Valentine was curator of archaeology, and he would be the last to hold the position. His first report on the state of the archeological collection was bleak: "besides a few flint implements and pieces of pottery, there is little worth mentioning."¹⁵ Apparently, not

much had changed in the 17 years since ANS president Charles Anthon described the holdings as an "unsightly mess,"¹⁶ a hodgepodge that included "a crooked stick, a small birch canoe, a piece of shell dug up in the City Hall Park, a tile . . . from the house of Benedict Arnold, an old brick from Sleepy Hollow Church . . . a scrap book containing a few caricatures, and some minerals,"¹⁷ to which was later added a presentation axe from King Kalakaua of Hawaii.¹⁸ Within two years of Valentine's report, the Society had discontinued the department.¹⁹ "Archaeological" was removed from the ANS's name in 1907.²⁰

Valentine was an active member of the Society for two decades, but his long years of service ended on a sad note. Though he had at one time kept busy bicycling, acting as a vestryman for his church, and participating in groups such as the New York Genealogical and Biological Society and the New York Botanical Gardens, by 1905 he had mostly withdrawn from such things and was battling depression and loneliness, particularly in the year-and-a-half since the death of his mother, with whom he had shared a house, himself having never married. Hoping to find some companionship that would rouse him from his funk, he resigned as ANS librarian and embarked on a months-long vacation,²¹ cruising to the Holy Land, Egypt, and various ports on the Mediterranean. Sadly, the trip only seemed to worsen his condition. His travel mates would recall their own shared camaraderie but remembered that Valentine kept to himself and "wandered among them alone." Returning to New York, Valentine went back to the hotel that now served as his home, went up to his room, and took his life with a revolver. The *New York Times* writer assigned to the story found much to make out of Valentine's supposed reputation for "being close fist and not good company," spotlighting "His Aversion to Tipping" in the headline (fig. 3). A closer reading tells a different story, that he "gave liberally to many charities, and that he was always generous toward the unfortunate." In fact, his last act was said to be handing a dollar tip

5. "Gifts of Rare Coins in 1906," *Sun*, December 30, 1906.
 6. William Poillon, "Report of the Curator," *ANS Proceedings* (January 21, 1907), 14.
 7. Bauman Belden to Arthur Cooper-Prichard, February 1, 1907.
 8. Arthur Cooper-Prichard, "Proposed Arrangement of a Catalogue of Coins," *American Journal of Numismatics* 45, no. 1 (January 1911), 157–158.
 9. ANS Minutes, February 3, 1912.
 10. Patrick McMahon, "A. H. Cooper-Prichard Information Sought," *E-Sylum* 9, no. 11 (March 12, 2006), http://www.coinbooks.org/esylum_v09n11a12.ht
 11. Arthur Cooper-Prichard to Bauman Belden, December 9, 1913.
 12. Arthur Cooper-Prichard to Bauman Belden, March 7, 1913.
 13. Arthur Cooper-Prichard to Bauman Belden, December 7, 1913.

14. Bauman Belden to Arthur Cooper-Prichard, December 28, 1915.
 15. Herbert Valentine, "Report of the Curator of Archaeology," *ANS Proceedings* (March 21, 1892), 12.
 16. Charles Anthon to Isaac Wood, February 6, 1875.
 17. ANS minutes, February 26, 1875.
 18. Howard Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society, 1858–1958* (New York: ANS, 1958), 100.
 19. William Poillon, "Report of the Historiographer," *ANS Proceedings* (January 15, 1906), 19.
 20. "Report of the Council of Administration," *ANS Proceedings* (January 20, 1908), 7.
 21. William Poillon, "Report of the Historiographer," *ANS Proceedings* (January 15, 1906), 19.



Fig. 4: United States. Atlantic Telegraph. Bronze medal, by William H. Bridgens. (ANS 0000.999.4501, gift of Samuel Valentine?), 30 mm. Samuel Valentine donated his brother's collection of nearly 3,000 items to the ANS, an eclectic mix of coins and medals of the world. A list was made of the items in 1906, but unfortunately they were not given individual accession numbers, so with most of them we can't be certain which he owned. Such is the case with this one showing "Brother Jonathan" (United States) and "John Bull" (England), still separated by the Atlantic Ocean but now able to communicate electronically over the first successful telegraph cable, laid between North America and Europe in 1858.

Fig. 5: William Weeks. Before becoming ANS Librarian (1908–1911), Weeks had once been jailed for alleged financial transgressions. He later had a falling out with the ANS.



Fig. 6: Georgia Cayvan wearing the spun glass dress she helped make famous. Weeks, a lawyer, defended the popular actress Cayvan in a divorce case.



to the bellboy ("a fact which caused great surprise in the hotel," the writer couldn't help but add).²² He certainly showed his generosity to the ANS, donating not only his time, but bequeathing it \$1,000. His brother transferred the Herbert Valentine Collection of nearly 3,000 coins and medals to the Society.²³ It would appear however, that his extensive collection was never given individual accession numbers at the time, so we are left to guess which can be traced to him, with the help of a detailed list of the donation (fig. 4).

It was a newspaper headline that grabbed my attention regarding another ANS librarian from that era, one that proclaimed "William R. Weeks in Ludlow Street Jail."²⁴ The particulars of the case were fairly tame. Weeks (fig. 5), a lawyer, was accused of mishandling the funds belonging to the daughters of a deceased dry goods store owner. But the *Times* writer did what he could to spice up the story, portraying Weeks's family living in the lap of luxury, in a "marble front three-story building artistically finished," and speculating that he must be a millionaire, adding melodramatic details such as that his wife "wept pitifully . . . on the verge of collapse when the time of parting came." It was certainly a step down for Weeks's reputation in the press. Only a few years earlier he had been celebrated for his role defending the honor of Georgia Cayvan, one of the most popular stage actresses of the period, who is also remembered for her role in marketing a new type of dress composed of finely spun glass (fig. 6).²⁵ Cayvan, named as the other woman in a divorce suit, needed legal representation, and it was said that the situation called for a "lawyer of the highest reputation and honor."²⁶ Weeks was hired, and Cayvan was exonerated.²⁷

It was Weeks (librarian from 1908–1911) who pointed out the problems that could arise when member volunteers like himself, who had other full-time professional obligations, were relied on to carry out ANS duties. In 1910 he lodged a formal protest that there was no official in charge of the library during the day to oversee the "proper care in the handling of the books and periodicals and the completion of the work of classification of the pamphlets."²⁸ The following year it was decided that a librarian would be employed for \$1,000 per year,²⁹ which led to the hiring of Weeks's successor, Cooper-Prichard.

In 1910, Weeks was elected to the ANS council, but there is evidence that his association with the Society then ended on a sour note. In 1919, librarian Sydney Noe sent him a routine inquiry regarding an issue of *Revue Belge de Numismatique* addressed to Weeks that Noe had received, taking the opportunity to pass along some pleasantries regarding the growth and changes



Fig. 7: United States. Peace of Versailles, American Numismatic Society. Bronze medal, 1919, by Chester Beach, Medallist Art Company. (ANS 1985.81.7, gift of Daniel M. Friedenber), 63 mm. Activities relating to the production of the Peace Medal prevented ANS librarian Sydney Noe from visiting Weeks, who died soon after.

at the library.³⁰ Weeks told him to keep the journal but went on to say that this was the "first good will, from any member or officer, in the last eight years, since, *without cause*, I was driven from office, as librarian, and as a member of the council." Furthermore, Weeks said, this was after his work as a lawyer for the ANS had "prevented its ruin" by clearing the way for the Society's move to Audubon Terrace and after he had "reluctantly" arranged its library. He mysteriously added that doctors had advised him that he'd been "badly poisoned by [the experience] and am still (at times) a severe sufferer."³¹ Noe, taken aback, told him he "had no knowledge of the conditions concerning which you write, as I have been connected with the Society only a little over three years," assuring him that "there has been a very great change with regard to these matters within the past three few years . . . Mr. Newell, our President, is a young man with great personal charm."³² Subsequent letters from Weeks continued on the theme of "the mystery of the wrong done to me." He could, he said, "not obtain the least explanation of the charges, if any, against me," and "deeply regretted my ill treatment." In spite of it all he seemed to bear no animosity, telling Noe, "if the society is in trouble, let me know!"³³ He sent Noe a gift of \$25 for the library fund³⁴ and an invitation to come to his home in New Jersey to see his collection of war medals.³⁵ Noe begged off, citing "pressure due to preparing for our Peace Medal" (fig. 7), but suggested he might find time in the future.³⁶ He never had the chance. Weeks died four months later.³⁷

We have looked at just three of the Society's librarians, but it's tempting to keep going. There is Noe (1915–1938), for example, a Rutgers engineering student who came to the ANS as a librarian in 1915 and retired

nearly 40 years later as chief curator. Or coin dealer Lyman Haynes Low (1886–1891), author of *Hard Times Tokens* (1899), who at one auction had to be physically separated from the hot-tempered numismatic gadfly Edouard Frossard as the two came to blows.³⁸ Or Richard Hoe Lawrence (1880–1886), a noted photographer and early user of flash technology who teamed up with author and muckraker Jacob Riis for "nighttime raiding parties into the tenement districts."³⁹ But their stories will have to wait for another time.

22. "Loneliness the Cause of Valentine's Suicide," *New York Times*, October 1, 1905, 3.
23. William Poillon, "Report of the Curator," *ANS Proceedings* (January 21, 1907), 14.
24. "William R. Weeks in Ludlow Street Jail," *New York Times*, December 13, 1901.
25. Quentin Skrabec, *Edward Drummond Libbey, American Glassmaker* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011), 86.
26. "William Raymond Weeks," undated clipping in Weeks biographical file, ANS Archives.
27. "Georgia Cayvan," *Brooklyn Standard Union*, Obituaries, November 20, 1906.
28. ANS minutes, April 9, 1910.
29. ANS minutes, January 14, 1911.
30. Sydney Noe to William Weeks, June 3, 1919.
31. William Weeks to Sydney Noe, June 5, 1919.
32. Sydney Noe to William Weeks, June 10, 1919.
33. William Weeks to Sydney Noe, June 11, 1919.
34. William Weeks to Sydney Noe, June 18, 1919.
35. William Weeks to Sydney Noe, June 12, 1919.
36. Sydney Noe to William Weeks, June 17, 1919.
37. Sydney Noe to Mrs. William Weeks, October 31, 1919.
38. David Alexander, "Lyman H. Low: Leaving a Legacy of Cataloging," *COINage* 42, no. 2 (February 2006): 43.
39. Joseph Cosco, *Imagining Italians: The Clash of Romance and Race in American Perceptions, 1880–1910* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 24.

COLLECTIONS

New Acquisitions

Elena Stolyarik

As always, the past months have witnessed much activity from our members who continued to improve our collections. It was heartwarming to the staff when our long-time volunteer, Fellow, and devoted friend, David Feinstein, donated to the Society some of the decorations he received for his service in the Korean War. Among them are a Korean Service Medal with three battle stars and a Purple Heart, one of America's oldest and prestigious military awards (fig. 1). We were impressed to discover among these items a Silver Star awarded to Mr. Feinstein for heroism (fig. 2). The citation, which came with this medal, reports that "Corporal David Feinstein, a member of Company E, 38th Infantry Regiment, 2nd Infantry Division, distinguished himself by gallantry in action on 14 March 1951 in the vicinity of Yusil-li, Korea. Corporal Feinstein's platoon had the mission of securing an enemy-occupied hill. Corporal Feinstein volunteered to be the leading scout of his platoon. As the platoon advanced upon the objective, it came under intense enemy small arms and automatic weapons fire and was momentarily held down. Determined to overcome the hostile resistance, Corporal Feinstein courageously crawled forward through the intense enemy fire and destroyed an enemy emplacement with hand grenades. His daring action enabled the remainder of platoon to advance and seize the objective, inflicting heavy casualties upon the enemy."

The ANS collection of U.S. Mint medals was enriched by another important donation from Dr. David Menchell. His latest gift includes a group of bronze Congressional medals issued in recognition of the dedication and valor of Native American code talkers during World War I and World War II. The name "code talkers" refers to those Native Americans who used their tribal languages as a means of secret communication during wartime. These medals include examples dedicated to the Cherokee, Choctaw, Comanche, Kiowa, and Muscogee (Creek) Nations from Oklahoma; Crow Creek Sioux, Cheyenne River Sioux, and Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate (Sioux) tribes from South Dakota; Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux tribes from Montana; Hopi tribe from Arizona; Tlingit tribe from Alaska; Oneida Nation from Wisconsin; and Meskawaki Nation from Iowa (fig. 3). Many of the Code Talkers earned medals such as Purple Hearts,

Silver Stars, Good Conduct Medals, and Combat Infantry Badges during and after the war. However, special recognition for the Code Talkers as a whole would not come for more than 40 years, mostly due to security concerns. After the programs were declassified people started to realize the importance of the Code Talkers' achievements. In 2000 the Navajo Code Talkers were awarded Congressional Gold Medals of Honor, and Congress passed the Code Talker Recognition Act of 2008 which expressed the nation's gratitude for "the dedication and valor of Native American code talkers" from 33 tribal nations. Finally, in November 2013, more than 250 original Code Talkers from 25 tribes received their medals.

Through David Menchell's latest gift we also received the Congressional medal dedicated to Raoul Wallenberg. This medal pays tribute to the famous Swedish businessman and diplomat in recognition of his heroic humanitarian actions during the Holocaust (fig. 4). While serving as Sweden's special envoy in Budapest between July and December 1944, Wallenberg issued protective passports (*Schutz-Pass*) and sheltered Jews in buildings designated as Swedish territory. His actions helped to save more than 100,000 Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust, many of whom later immigrated to the United States. The United States Mint initially prepared 13 different obverse designs and six different reverse designs for the medal. The official design was then selected by King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia of Sweden. The obverse, designed by Don Everhart, features a portrait of Wallenberg with the inscriptions "Raoul Wallenberg", "Act of Congress 2012," and "Hero of Heroes." The reverse, designed by Phebe Hemphill, depicts Wallenberg's view as he extends a *Schutz-Pass* and a background view of those he could not reach being boarded on a train bound for a concentration camp. The inscriptions read "He Lives on Forever Through Those He Saved" and "One Person Can Make a Difference." Today, hundreds of thousands of American Jews can directly or indirectly attribute their own lives to Wallenberg's heroic actions, and many of the people Wallenberg saved have been influential citizens contributing to American institutions and culture. Wallenberg's ultimate fate remains a mystery. On March 8, 1945, the Soviet-controlled Hungarian radio announced that Hungarian



Fig. 1: United States. Purple Heart. Military decoration awarded to David Feinstein during the Korean War (1950–1953). (ANS 2015.24.1, gift of David Feinstein) 80 mm.



Fig. 2: United States. Silver Star. Military decoration awarded to Cpl. David Feinstein for courage in action on March 14, 1951 (Korean War). (ANS 2014.24.2, gift of David Feinstein) 70 mm.



Fig. 3: United States. Meskawaki Nation Code Talkers. AE congressional medal, 2008. (ANS 2015.11.40, gift David Menchell) 76 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 4: United States. Raoul Wallenberg. AE congressional medal, 2012. (ANS 2015.11.64, gift David Menchell) 76 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 5: United States. Obverse and reverse steel dies for obverse and reverse of Audrey Hollander and Noel Hollander medal, by Emil Fuchs, 1921. (ANS 2015.25.1–2; gift of Scott Miller) 65 × 60 mm, 60 × 57 mm. Silver medal struck from these dies (ANS 2011.31.65, gift of the Brooklyn Museum, from the estate of Emil Fuchs) 32 mm.



Fig. 6: Austro-Hungarian Empire. Government 5 1/2% state war bond, 1,000 kronen. November 20, 1916. (ANS 2015.23.2, gift of Ute Wartenberg Kagan) 365 × 245 mm (image reduced).



Fig. 7: Austro-Hungarian Empire. AE medal commemorating assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, by Arnold Hartig, 1914. (ANS 2015.27.1, purchase) 50 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 8: German Empire. AE commemorative medal dedicated to Field Marshal Karl Wilhelm Paul von Bülow and the battle at Saint-Quentin, by A. Lowental, 1916. (ANS 2015.27.4, purchase) 82 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 9: German Empire. AE commemorative medal dedicated to German Field Marshal August von Mackensen (1849–1945) and the capture of Brest-Litovsk, by Fritz Eue, 1915. (ANS 2015.27.8, purchase) 118 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 10: Austria-Hungary and Germany. Emperors Franz Joseph (1848–1916) and Wilhelm II (1888–1918). Zinc medal commemorating the Austro-German alliance. (ANS 2015.27.7, purchase) 50 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 11: Austro-Hungarian Empire. AE medal commemorating Emperor Franz Joseph (1848–1916) by Arnold Hartig, 1914 (ANS 2015.3.25, gift of Adron Coldiron) 50 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 12: Soviet Union. AE medal commemorating Marshal Semyon Budyonny (1883–1983), 1973. (ANS 2015.3.79, gift of Adron Coldiron) 60 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 13: Soviet Union. AE medal commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of People's Commissar of Defense Marshal Kliment Voroshilov (1881–1969). (ANS 2015.3.101, gift of Adron Coldiron) 129 mm (image reduced).



Fig. 14: Soviet Union. Industrial medal commemorating the 1,000,000th tractor produced by the Ukrainian SSR Kharkov Tractor Factory. (ANS 2015.3.52, gift of Adron Coldiron) 65 mm (images reduced).

Nazis or Gestapo agents had murdered Raoul Wallenberg on his way to Debrecen. But according to reliable testimonies of the eyewitnesses, he was arrested by the NKVD (later known as the KGB), and imprisoned in the Soviet Union. On January 12, 2001, a joint Russian-Swedish panel released a report that did not reach any conclusion as to Wallenberg's fate. The Russians reverted to the claim that he died of a heart attack in prison in 1947, while the Swede's said they were not sure if Wallenberg was dead or alive.

In 2011 the Brooklyn Museum donated to ANS a marvelous collection of 283 medals and dies from the estate of Emil Fuchs. ANS Fellow Scott Miller has made a fine addition to this group with a generous new contribution. His latest gift consists of two steel dies (obverse and reverse) (fig. 5) for the Audrey Hollander and Noel Hollander medal, by Emil Fuchs. The medal, issued in 1921, depicts the children of Barnett Hollander, a New York lawyer, and Ruth Rosenfield Hollander, the heiress of the well-known Sunnybrook Distillery, of Chicago. The ANS received a silver example of the Audrey and Noel Hollander medal along with two bronze examples from Brooklyn Museum as a part of the Fuchs collection in 2011. Audrey Hollander, who was born in 1912, became a talented photographer and lived to the age of 99, dying on February 3, 2012. On the medal by Fuchs she will be forever a small girl.

Last year the world commemorated the centenary of the start of the First World War. Our collection of World War I artifacts continues to grow through donations and purchases. Dr. Ute Wartenberg Kagan generously presented an Austrian Government 5½% state war bond of 1,000 kronen, the fifth loan issued for the war in Austria-Hungary, dated November 20, 1916 (fig. 6). This provides an important document for the economic history of this struggle.

The ANS purchased a new group of Austrian and German medals representing military and political events of the war, such as assassination of Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914 (fig. 7) and the battle at Saint-Quentin in 1914, fought between French and German forces during the retreat to the Marne. The latter medal features images of Field Marshal Karl Wilhelm Paul von Bülow (1846–1921) and Hercules wrestling with a lion (fig. 8). Another medal from this group commemorates the German capture of Brest-Litovsk in 1915, with a portrait of Field Marshal August von Mackensen (1849–1945) and an image of a German infantryman standing near the burning Russian fortress (fig. 9). A medal dedicated to the Austro-German alliance shows busts of Emperor Franz Joseph

(1848–1916) and Kaiser Wilhelm II (1888–1918) on one side and soldiers on a hill firing down on their attackers on the other (fig. 10).

Another World War I commemorative medal, with a uniformed image of Franz Joseph and Victory watching a military attack (fig. 11), designed by the Austrian artist Arnold Hartig (1878–1972) is part of a large group of over 200 medals generously donated by Adron Coldiron. Most of items from this gift are dedicated to various aspects of the history of the Soviet Union. Among these are a number of commemorative medals of the Civil War period (November 1917–October 1922) devoted to the commanders of the Bolshevik Red Army, including the creator of the 1st Cavalry Army, Semyon Budyonny (1883–1973) (fig. 12), and the political commissar of this army, Kliment Voroshilov (1881–1969) (fig. 13), later a member of the Politburo and known as a close ally of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1878–1953).

Many of the items highlight the Soviet economy, when even in spite of the horrors of Stalinism, the people heroically developed modern industries during the 1930s. Some of the medals are dedicated to the achievements of Soviet factories, such as a commemorative medal (fig. 14) dedicated to the 1,000,000th tractor produced in the Kharkov Tractor Factory in what is now Ukraine. The medals issued in the post-Stalin period reflect new tendencies in many different aspects of social life and renovations of the Soviet cities (fig. 15). The medals from Adron Coldiron gift also include interesting examples showing sporting events and accomplishments of athletes of the Soviet republics (fig. 16). Numerous items were issued in memory of famous Russian scientists, writers, artists, and actors. Among those commemorated on these medals are the early Russian rocket scientist Konstantin Tsiolkovsky (1857–1935); Maxim Gorky (1868–1936), the founder of Socialist realism in Russian and Soviet literature; and the Russian theater pedagogue and producer Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko (1858–1943), known as a co-founder with Konstantin Stanislavsky of the famous Moscow Art Theatre in 1898. A beautiful issue is dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the birth of prima ballerina Anna Pavlova (1881–1931), the legend of Russian ballet, the most prominent dancer in the world at the end of nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth (fig. 17).

Another group of additions to our Medals department came from the New York Numismatic Club. This group includes a set of silver and bronze medals issued in 2014 to commemorate the 1939 and 1964 New York World's Fairs held in Flushing Meadows, Queens (fig. 18). The obverse, designed by Eugene Daub, represents



Fig. 15: Soviet Union. AE medal commemorating construction in Moscow by M. Eshba, Leningrad and Moscow mints, 1958. (ANS 2015.3.115, gift of Adron Coldiron) 65 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 16: Soviet Union. AE medal commemorating the Russian Federation of the Soviet Union for Physical Culture and Sports. (ANS 2015.3.40, gift of Adron Coldiron) 50 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 17: Soviet Union. AE medal commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Anna Pavlova (1881–1931), Leningrad Mint, 1981. (ANS 2015.3.114, gift of Adron Coldiron) 60 mm (images reduced).

the Tylon and Perisphere, known as the “Theme Center” of the New York World’s Fair of 1939–40: a man in flight, an atom-crowned radio tower, a streamlined locomotive, the parachute drop, and an inscription, “1939 WORLD’S FAIR”, surrounded by the rim legends “NEW YORK NUMISMATIC CLUB” (above) and “75th ANNIVERSARY 2014” (below). The reverse, designed by Joel Iskowitz and Luigi Badia, depicts a world-famous masterpiece, the statue of the Pietà by Michelangelo, which left the Vatican for the first time in order to be exhibited at the 1964 New York Fair and according to Pope Paul VI would not be lent out again. The reverse also bears a circle of fountains, the Unisphere and a rocket, a revolving restaurant tower, and the inscription “1964 WORLD’S FAIR” surrounded by the rim legends “NEW YORK NUMISMATIC CLUB” (above) and “50th ANNIVERSARY 2014” (below). In addition to this donation, the ANS received from Constatin Marinescu, 47th President of the NYNC, a pair of bronze medal stands produced specifically as bases for this commemorative medal issue by the famous New York sculptor, medallic artist, and long-time NYNC member Mashiko.

Current Exhibition

At the end of April 2015 the Academy Art Museum in Easton, Maryland, opened an exhibition entitled From Rubens to the Grand Tour. This remarkable show focused on two paintings by the legendary Flemish Baroque artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640): *Agrippina and Germanicus*, dated to 1614 (loaned by the National Gallery of Art, Washington) (fig. 19), and *Roman Imperial Couple*, dated to 1615 (loaned by the Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) (fig. 20). For centuries it was a tradition for artists to travel to Italy to observe the antiquities for inspiration. Rubens, renowned for his portraits, religious scenes, battles, hunts, and nude mythological scenes, as well as for his skillful diplomatic efforts, was also fascinated by ancient art, literature, and philosophy. He traveled to study and copy the Italian masters’ works and to build his knowledge. In 1600 Rubens visited Venice and latter settled in Mantua at the court of Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga, where he had access to the duke’s collection and decided to start collecting himself. In 1601 he traveled to Florence and Rome. From 1606 through 1608 he was mostly in Rome, studying classical art. His journey could be compared to what later was known as a “Grand Tour.” From his trip to Italy, he brought back to Antwerp (in modern Belgium) Roman coins, medals, and carved cameos. These artifacts may have inspired the artist to paint the profile portraits on display in the Academy Art Museum’s new exhibition. Along with the collector coin boxes, the kind of which Rubens may



Fig. 18: United States. Set of AR and AE medals commemorating the 1939 and 1964 New York World’s Fairs held in Flushing Meadows, Queens, by Eugene Daub (obv.) and Joel Iskowitz and Luigi Badia (rev). New York Numismatic Club, 2014. (ANS 2015.14.1–2, gift of New York Numismatic Club) 64mm. Two-part interlocking base [“Celebrating” and “Remembering”] integrating themes from both the 1939 and 1964 World’s Fair medals, by Mashiko. New York Numismatic Club, 2014. (ANS 2015.15.1–2, gift of Constatin Marinescu) 80 × 105 mm.

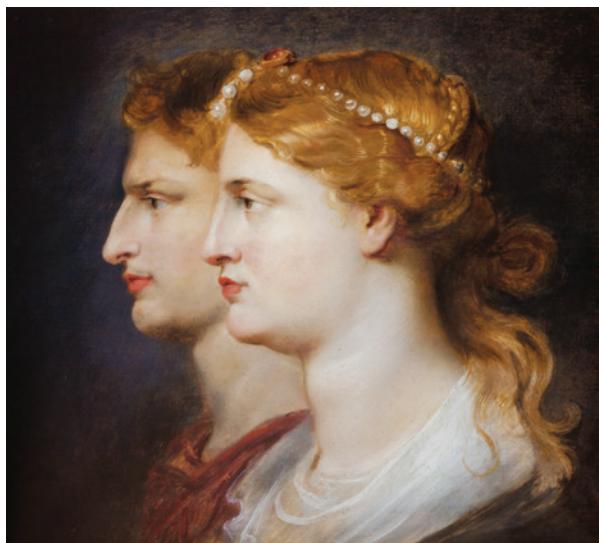


Fig. 19: Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). Agrippina and Germanicus, c. 1614. Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington. Andrew W. Mellon Fund.

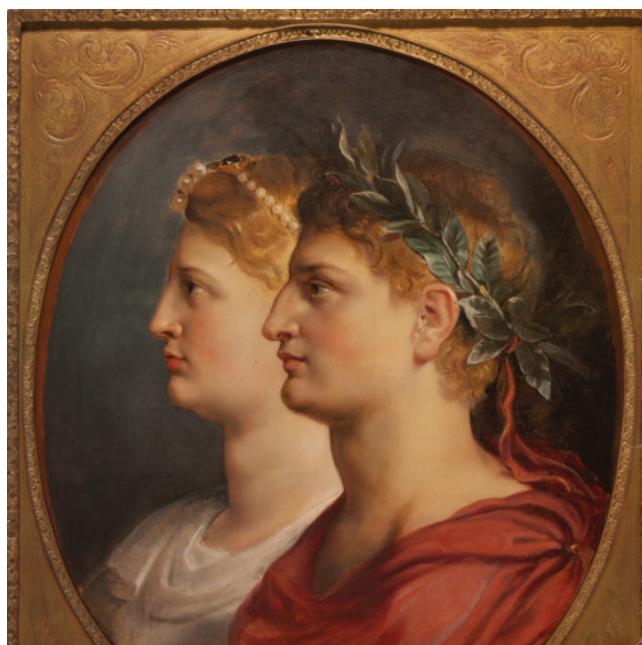


Fig. 20: Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). Roman Imperial Couple, c. 1615 Collection of the Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

have brought back with him, loaned to exhibit by the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, Maryland) were exhibited sculptured portrait of the Empress Livia, wife of Augustus, contributed by the Fortuna Fine Art Gallery (New York) and the rare seventeenth-century coin collectors' guidebooks as well as rare books on the Grand Tour from the National Gallery of Art Library (Washington, DC). Twelve coins from the American Numismatic Society are featured in this exhibit alongside Rubens' pictures. The selection of ANS coins features the Roman imperial members imagined by Rubens—Agrippina the Elder (14BC–AD 33) (fig. 21) and Germanicus (15BC–AD 19) (fig. 22)—and their family connections to the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Also among the ANS coins on display are a gold aureus of 41 BC depicting Augustus (Agrippina's grandfather) (fig. 23), a silver denarius of Tiberius (the stepson of Augustus and uncle and stepfather of Germanicus) (fig. 24), a bronze sestertius of Caligula (Agrippina and Germanicus' son, known for his extravagance) (fig. 25), a bronze as of Claudius (the brother-in-law of Agrippina) (fig. 26), and a bronze sestertius of Nero, the last emperor of Julio-Claudian dynasty (the grandson of Agrippina the Elder and Germanicus) (fig. 27).

In June 2015, an exhibition entitled *Lafayette: An American Icon* opened at the Boston Athenæum. The exhibition will be on display through the end of

September and it is dedicated to the heroic life of the Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834). Lafayette was a young French military officer when he came to America in 1777 to support the rebellious colonists during the Revolutionary War. He served with distinction in the Continental Army and played a pivotal role in enlisting French support for American independence. He was a close friend of George Washington, who thought of him as an adopted son. The Boston Athenæum's exhibit brings together portraits, sculptures, and engravings of Lafayette, as well as a small selection of contemporary documents, manuscripts, and maps. It was inspired by the completion of a replica of *Hermione*, which was the ship that brought Lafayette back to America in 1780 with the French government's promise of troops, ships, and financial support. The replica *Hermione* recently sailed across the Atlantic (fig. 28) and called at various American ports this summer, including New York and Boston. Objects in the exhibition were borrowed from a number of prominent institutions, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Smithsonian American Art Museum, the Massachusetts Historical Society, Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Cornell University, and Lafayette College. These objects join some of the Athenæum's own Lafayette-related treasures, notably Jean-Antoine Houdon's bust of Lafayette, acquired by the Athenæum in 1828 from Thomas Jefferson's descendants (fig. 29). Several items from the collections of the American



Fig. 21: Roman Empire. Agrippina the Elder (14 BC–AD 33). AD 37–41. AE sestertius. Rome. (ANS 1957.172.1524, bequest of Hoyt Miller) 35 mm.



Fig. 22: Roman Empire. Germanicus (15 BC–AD 19). AD 40–41. AE as. Rome. (ANS1957.172.1522, bequest of Hoyt Miller), 27 mm.



Fig. 23: Roman Republic. Octavian and Julius Caesar. 43 BC. AV aureus, Gallia. (ANS 1967.153.29, bequest of Adra M. Newell from the estate of Edward T. Newell) 21 mm.



Fig. 24: Roman Empire. Tiberius (AD 14–37). AR denarius, Lugdunum. (ANS 1935.117.356, gift of Mrs. George and DeWitt Endicott) 17.5 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 25: Roman Empire. Caligula (AD 37–41). AD 37–38. AE sestertius, Rome. (ANS 1944.100.39337, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 35mm.



Fig. 26: Roman Empire. Claudius (AD 41–54). AD 50–54. AE As, Rome. (ANS 1944.100.39403, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 30.5 mm.



Fig. 28: Replica of French frigate Hermione. Voyage 2015.



Fig. 27: Roman Empire. Nero (AD 54–68). AD 66–68. AE sestertius. (ANS 1935.117.364, gift of Mrs. George and DeWitt Endicott) 35 mm



Fig. 29: Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828). Marquis de Lafayette, before 1789. Paris. Plaster, painted white over the original terracotta-color paint. Boston Athenæum, purchase, 1828.



Fig. 30: United States. Marquis de Lafayette and George Washington. AE commemorative medal, 1824. (ANS 1944.56.1, gift of John Fredrick Jones) 28 mm.



Fig. 31: United States. General Lafayette. AR medal attributed to Moritz Furst, 1825. (ANS 1957.3.2, gift of G. J. Fuld) 30 mm.



Fig. 32: United States. The Lafayette AR commemorative one dollar by Charles Edward Barber (1840–1917). Philadelphia mint, 1900. (ANS 1925.104.3, purchase) 38 mm.



Fig. 33: France. Exposition Universelle with an image of a statue of Lafayette. AV-plated AE plaquette by Victor David Brenner (1871–1924). Paris mint, 1900. (ANS 0000.999.56829) 45 × 30 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 34: United States. AE medal commemorating the centenary of Lafayette's death, by John Flanagan (1865–1952), 1936. (ANS 1954.271.5, long-term loan by Albert E. Flanagan) 63 mm.

Numismatic Society are featured in the exhibition. These include medals struck on the occasion of Lafayette's much celebrated 1824 return tour of the United States like this bronze medal of Lafayette and Washington (fig. 30) and a silver medal attributed to Moritz Fürst (1782–1841) (fig. 31). Later numismatic representations of Lafayette such as the 1900 commemorative one dollar coin (fig. 32) and a small bronze plaquette made for the 1900 Universal Exposition by Victor Brenner (1871–1924) with an image of a statue of

Lafayette (fig. 33) have also been loaned. A 1936 medal by John Flanagan (1865–1952) commemorating the centenary of his death eloquently describes Lafayette as “America’s Adopted Son” (fig. 34). Assistant Curator of American Coins and Currency Dr. Matthew Wittmann represented the ANS at the opening reception and was given a tour of the exhibition by curator Dr. David Dearing. *Lafayette: An American Icon* is well worth a visit and brings together a wealth of materials that show how this French aristocrat became an American hero.

NEWS

ANS Annual Meeting, Board, Fellows and Officers Nominations

The 158th annual Meeting of the American Numismatic Society will be held at its New York City headquarters on Saturday, October 24, 2015, commencing at 3:00 PM. On the agenda will be the dedication of at least one new plaque to the Benefactors Wall (for donors that have contributed cumulatively \$500,000 in gifts and in-kind donations), remarks and presentations by officers and staff, and the election of Trustees. A reception will follow the meeting.

The Nominating and Governance Committee, pursuant to Art. V Sec. 12 of the ANS By-Laws approved for publication all of the nominees as follows:

The following Trustee candidates have been nominated for a three-year Term ending in 2018 for vote by the Fellows of the Society at the October 24, 2015, Annual Meeting:

Mr. Joel R. Anderson, of Florence, AL, has been a member since 2005, is one of the founding members of the Augustus B. Sage Society, and is a major donor to the Society and contributor to ANS appeals, galas, and special funds, including the Hudson Square Building Fund, and the Chair of the Executive Director Fund. He has served his community as director and chairman of several boards and has been recognized for his support of many civic and humanitarian organizations. In 2009 the ANS Board Room was named in honor of The Anderson Family. Mr. Anderson was elected to the Board of Trustees in 2006 and serves on the Nominating and Governance Committee.

Prof. Jere L. Bacharach, of Seattle, WA, has been a member since 1966, Fellow since 1981, served on the Board of Trustees from 1993–2000, and reelected to serve again in 2004. He is Professor Emeritus of Middle East History, The University of Washington, Seattle, where he taught from 1967–2007. A specialist in medieval Islamic history, Prof. Bacharach has written and edited numerous books and articles on Islamic numismatics. Prof. Bacharach has given his time and expertise on Islamic coinage to the ANS, served on and chaired several ANS Board committees, donated to the collection as well as to annual appeals, special funds and

projects. He divides his time between Cairo and Seattle.

Mr. Jeroen de Wilde, of The Hague, Netherlands, joined the ANS as a Foreign Associate in 2012, and is both an academic and IT entrepreneur. He is a PhD-c at the University of Groningen on Complexity in Economics, applied on the formation of monetary unions. His interests include history, and he is a guest curator to the Allard Pierson Museum for archeology in Amsterdam. He represents a long line of Dutch collectors, and was infected with the collecting-virus by his grandmother when he was 10.

Mr. Kenneth Lewis Edlow, of New York, NY, became a member in 1972, a Life Member in 1996, was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1991, and is one of the founding members of the Augustus B. Sage Society. A graduate of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Edlow was with Bear Stearns & Co. from 1969–2008, serving as Corporate Secretary from 1987. Mr. Edlow has been on various philanthropic boards and committees. Elected to the ANS Board of Trustees in 1993, he has served on several committees, and held the position of Treasurer from 2000–2004. In 2010 he was elected Chairman of the Board, a position he still holds. In 2015 he also became Assistant Secretary of the ANS, and now serves as a full-time volunteer with an office at the ANS. For his generous contributions to the ANS programs, galas, appeals, and funds, in 2009 the Curatorial Department was named by the Edlow Family in memory of Ken's father, numismatist Ellis Edlow. He and his wife Mary have been married for 45 years. They have two children and two grandchildren.

Mr. Joseph Jaroch, of Dear Park, IL, started researching how to develop software to defend and repair computers when he was 10 after his computer was infected with a virus. After a few years of iterative development, he released his first product, eventually selling his first company while in high school, later becoming the Chief Security Architect of a British cyber-security firm. After another successful exit to a larger software company, Mr. Jaroch held the title of VP of Engineering, leading and managing its international development organization. Today, he spreads his time across a variety of projects, most prominently as the co-founder of a “think tank” incubator focused on a range of disciplines,

ranging from particle physics to genetic research. Joe dedicates much of his spare time to numismatic studies, playing/composing music for cello and piano, and traveling.

Mr. Sydney F. Martin, of Doylestown, PA, has been a member of ANS since 1997, a Life Associate since 2002, was elected as a Fellow in 2009, and is one of the founding members of the Augustus B. Sage Society. Elected to the Board of Trustees in 2005, Mr. Martin served as Treasurer from 2009–2012 and Board President since 2012. After earning both a bachelor's and master's degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mr. Martin worked for a defense company until 1988 when he founded his own defense-oriented firm, Sytex, serving as president and CEO of The Sytex Group, Inc. (TSGI) until its sale to Lockheed-Martin in 2005. As part of the sale he retained control of a high-tech, defense subsidiary, Macaulay-Brown, Inc., presently a nationally recognized firm with 2,000 employees. He also founded Martin Enterprises, Inc., with interests in agriculture, real estate, and finance. Mr. Martin is a major contributor to the ANS. Recently his generous pledge helped to kick off the Campaign to Endow the Chair of the Executive Director. In 2009 the Society's Conference Meeting Room was named in his honor for his contributions to the ANS. Specializing in Colonial American coinage, Mr. Martin has written several articles on the subject for the *Colonial Newsletter*, and has presented papers at COAC, historical societies, and clubs. He has authored two books entitled *The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood (1722–1724)* and *The Rosa Americana Coinage of William Wood*, both published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4). He has been the editor of the award-winning *C4 Newsletter* since 2006. Mr. Martin is married and, with his wife Sharon, divides his time between Amelia Island, FL, and Doylestown, PA.

Pursuant to Article III, Section 1. The Nominating and Governance Committee nominates the following individuals to serve as Fellows for vote by the Trustees at their October 24, 2015, Regular Meeting:

Prof. Edward A. Allworth, of New York, NY, Professor Emeritus at Columbia University, NYC, has been an Associate since 1993, a Life Associate since 1999, and is a generous donor to the Asian cabinet.

Dr. Nathan Elkins, of Waco, TX, joined the ANS as a Student Associate in 2003, became a Full Associate in 2011, is an ANS contributor, and an alumnus of the 2004 Eric P. Newman Graduate Summer Seminar. An Assistant Professor of Art History at Baylor University, he specializes in Greek and Roman Art History.

Mr. David D. Gladfelter, of Medford, NJ, has been a Full Associate since 1997, is a contributor to the collection, as well as to the Francis D. Campbell Library Chair, and has written prolifically on the subject of colonial exonomia.

Ms. Mary Lannin, of San Rafael, CA, joined the ANS in 2010, became a Life Associate in 2012, and is a generous donor to the ANS appeals and publications programs. She was appointed as a member of the Citizens Coinage Advisory Committee (CCAC) in 2014, and since June 2015 (based on the recommendation of the House Minority Leader) has served as the CCAC Chairperson.

Dr. Evangelos G. Poulos, of Miami Lakes, FL, is a senior dermatologist at Global Pathology Laboratory Services. A Full Associate since 2007, and subscriber to *The Colonial Newsletter*, he is a generous donor the ANS General, Mid-year and Year-end Appeals.

Mr. Mark D. Tomasko, of New York, NY, joined the ANS as a Full Associate in 2005, has donated to the collection—most recently the Asian cabinet—and is a generous donor to the general and annual appeals. He is a collector, writer, and researcher on banknote engravings. In 2012 the ANS published the 2nd edition (revised and expanded) of his book *The Feel of Steel: The Art and History of Bank-Note Engraving in the United States*.

Pursuant to Article VI Sections 1 and 2 of the ANS By-Laws, the Committee nominates the following individuals to serve as Officers of the Board of Trustees, for vote by the Trustees:

Chairman of the Board and Assistant Secretary:

Kenneth L. Edlow
President: Sydney F. Martin
First Vice President: Mike Gasvoda
Second Vice President: Kenneth W. Harl
Treasurer: Jeffrey Benjamin
Secretary: Ute Wartenberg Kagan, Executive Director
Assistant Treasurer: Natalie Jordan, Director of Finance and Administration

Submitted respectfully,
Robert A. Kandel, Chairman,
Nominating and Governance Committee

Huntington Award

The 2015 Archer M. Huntington Award was presented to Arthur A. Houghton III on May 16, in recognition of his outstanding career contributions to numismatic scholarship. With attendance at maximum capacity, family, friends, and supporters were treated to a reception at the ANS that featured a welcome by Dr. Ute Wartenberg Kagan, Executive Director, and an introduction by Professor Jere Bacharach, Chairman of the Society's Huntington Committee, in which he praised the 2015 awardee:

Arthur's service to scholarly organizations is amazing... If we look at his scholarly contributions by going to DONUM (the ANS online library), we will find eighty references under his name, in which he is listed as author, co-author, or editor of seven books and numerous articles on ancient coinages, eco-

Seleucid coinage and are basically the major fundamental references for our work.... For many of us, "Arthur" and "Seleucid coins" are synonymous terms.

Mr. Houghton, an ANS Honorary Life Fellow and former Trustee, then proceeded to educate and entertain guests with his Silvia Mani Hurter Memorial Lecture, "Seleucid Excursions: More Questions than Answers." The event was followed by a reception in Mr. Houghton's honor at ROC Restaurant.

Mr. Houghton served as the President of the ANS Board of Trustees from 1994 to 1999. Born in New York City, Mr. Houghton graduated from Harvard College with a degree in Government and attained an M.A. degree in Middle Eastern Studies from the American University in Beirut. He served as a Foreign Service Officer for the U.S. Department of State and the National Security Council staff; attained a second M.A. degree in Art History from Harvard; was employed by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, CA; served as a senior staff member at the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy; and was president of Arthur Houghton Associates, Inc., a Washington, D.C. consulting firm. Mr. Houghton has also served on and contributed to many boards of directors and provided years of public service.

The award ceremony and lecture can be viewed at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=mvrZYWGMzko

61st ANS Eric P. Newman Summer Graduate Seminar

For eight weeks in June and July of this year, the ANS, under the direction of Dr. Peter van Alfen, held the latest Seminar in the Society's long running educational program. Begun in 1952 as a way of teaching select graduate students the methodologies and practices of numismatics, the two month long course continues to be the most prestigious and comprehensive numismatic program in North America. Thanks to the generous support of Eric P. Newman, we were able to invite Prof. Aleksander Bursche, a highly distinguished academic from the University of Warsaw, to be our Visiting Scholar. Our eight students this year included William Chiriguayo (Harvard); Lara Fabian (University of Pennsylvania); Patricia Kim (University of Pennsylvania); Rhyne King (University of Chicago); Stephanie Leitzel (Harvard); Jane Sancinito (University of Pennsylvania); Mariele Valci (University of Rome); and Felege Yirga (University of Ohio). Alan Roche, the Society's photographer, outdid himself with this year's class portrait, creating a faux movie poster for *Bimetallic Troopers*, a fitting tribute to the survivors of this year's coin boot camp (facing page).



nomics, art, and history. As a numismatic scholar his principle field of work has been Seleucid coinage. His scholarly contribution began with his earliest article written almost fifty years ago, and culminated in the publication of Seleucid Coins, Part I: Seleucus I through Antiochus III (New York/Lancaster, 2002) with Catharine Lorber and Seleucid Coins, Part II: Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII (New York/Lancaster, 2008) with Catharine Lorber and Oliver Hoover. These references have revolutionized our understanding of



Wartenberg Honored in Germany

On June 27, 2015, Ute Wartenberg, Executive Director, received the Honorary Medal of the Gesellschaft für Internationale Geldgeschichte (GIG). At a ceremony at the Historical Museum in Frankfurt, Christian Stoess, President of the GIG, awarded Dr. Wartenberg the medal. In a tribute to the honoree, Dr. Bernhard Weisser, long-time friend and Director the Coin Cabinet in Berlin, spoke about Dr. Wartenberg's career and life. She is the 20th honoree of this medal, which includes many well-known German and foreign numismatists. Peter Berghaus was the first recipient in 1974, who also won the ANS Huntington Medal ten years later in 1984.



The ceremony was part of a long weekend of celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the GIG. Founded in 1965, this society is Germany's largest organization of members interested in numismatics and monetary history. The society publishes a journal (*Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten*), holds regular meetings, and organizes trips for its members around Europe and elsewhere. When coin collecting was in its heyday in the 1970s, the society had over 4,000 members; today there are 800 members who form a very active group interested in all aspects of numismatics. As part of the ceremony, a number of distinguished German numismatists delivered lectures on a variety of topics.

ANS Intern

Born and raised in Seoul, South Korea, YooRim Choi came to the United States in 2006 as a high school exchange student. In May 2015, she received a bachelors degree in Classical Civilization from New York University. During her last semester at NYU, she was an intern at the ANS working with Dr. Peter van Alfen on the Pella project (www.numismatics.org/pella). Since graduating, she has returned to Korea to pursue her dreams related to the field of Classics.

Long-time Volunteer Departs

The ANS staff will miss long-time curatorial volunteer Bill Sudbrink, who moved to California with his wife Kathy earlier this year. Bill served as an engineer in the US Air Force for 27 years and later worked for the township of Teaneck, NJ. Soon after he retired in 2005, Bill began to volunteer at ANS on almost a weekly basis, soon becoming a highly valued member of the curatorial team. He has been a coin collector since his early years, and has a particular interest in the coins of the Roman emperor Trajan. He is a Fellow of the ANS, a life member of the American Numismatic Association, and a member of the Token and Medal Society. He has published a number of numismatic articles and won a Heath Literary Award from the American Numismatic Association for 1993.



YooRim Choi



Bill Sudbrink

In 2012, A H Baldwin & Sons sold the magnificent Prospero collection of Ancient Greek Coins at our sale in New York.

Now, after meticulous cataloguing, we are pleased to offer the accompanying library for general sale.

The library contains many of the standard reference works for Greek Coins, many of which are beautifully bound by Sangorski & Sutcliffe, and in superb condition.

Collections of numismatic reference books of this calibre appear for sale extremely rarely, so this is an unprecedented opportunity for anyone who is looking to extend their library, or an exceptional starting point for those looking to build one.

**CATALOGUE DUE
SEPTEMBER 2015**

For further details, please contact us:
prosperolibrary@baldwin.co.uk | +44 (0) 20 7930 6879

BALDWIN'S
The Name for Numismatics

MORTON & EDEN
Nash House St George Street London W1S 2FQ

Regular London Auctions of
Coins, Medals and Banknotes of all Types

Please contact us to discuss consignments,
valuations and future auctions

tel +44 (0)20 7493 5344 info@mortonandeden.com
fax +44 (0)20 7495 6325 www.mortonandeden.com

5th Wall Street Collectors Bourse
Coins, Currency, Stock & Bond Certificates,
Autographs, Photographs, Ephemera, etc....

October 22-24, 2015 - Admission Free Show
Museum of American Finance, 48 Wall Street
(moaf.org)

Talk by Thomas Tesoriero, Oct. 22nd, 2pm
The Twelve Caesars on Gold Coins

Talk by Joel Iskovitz, Oct. 23rd, 2pm
*Designing Congressional Gold Medals:
An Artist's Perspective*

Auction Oct. 24th, 10:30am

Show Info: wallstreetbourse.com - 203-292-6819
Auction Info:
archivesinternational.com - 201-944-4800

www.taxfreegold.de

NUMISMATIK LANZ MÜNCHEN

www.Lanz.com



AGORA

Ancient Coins

www.agora-ancientcoins.com

P.O. Box 141, 1420 AC Uithoorn
The Netherlands
+31 (0)6 233 042 80
info@agora-ancientcoins



A. Hirtius for C. Julius Caesar, Rome 46 BC; head of Venus to the right / lituus, jug and axe

Thomas M. Pilitowski & Associates

Buying, Selling, Trading
Better U.S. and World Coins



U.S. Rare Coin Investments
PO Box 496607, Port Charlotte, FL 33949
http://www.usrarecoininvestments.com
Tel. 1-800-624-1870

Specialist in Irish Rarities
All Periods

Del Parker



Online List includes: Gold Ring Money, Medieval Silver Coinage, Irish Siege Money, Irish Coppers including Gun Money in Silver, Cross Listed Irish Colonial American Coppers, Free State Coinage including Proofs and Morbiducci Patterns, Irish Art Medals, Irish Paper Money.

P. O. Box 7568
Dallas, TX 75209
Phone: 214-352-1475
Email: irishcoins2000@hotmail.com

www.irishcoins.com

IN NORTH AMERICA...
Not just a business – a passion!



Market makers for British coins, tokens, & medals
Quality Ancients

- Buying • Auctioning • Brokering • Selling
- Print catalogs • Full-featured online auctions

Davissons Ltd.

www.davcoin.com

PO Box 323
Cold Spring MN 56320
(320) 685-3835
info@davcoin.com



Schulman b.v.

professional numismatists since 1880



Large selection High-Grade World Coins and Medals.



Professional numismatic knowledge build up over 135 years.

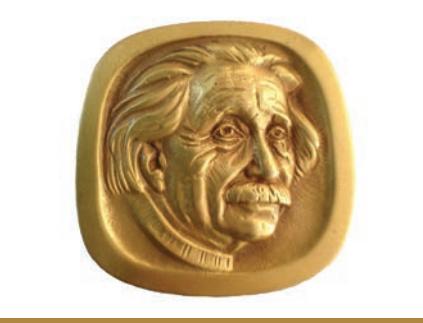


Request our Hardcopy catalogue.

Herengracht 500 - 1017 CB - Amsterdam - The Netherlands
Tel. +31 (0) 20 320 9101 - Fax +31 (0) 20 620 8040 - e-mail: auction@schulman.nl
www.schulman.nl

YOU ARE INVITED TO VISIT
www.amuseum.org/jahf

Administered by
the American Numismatic Society



Features include:

- Jewish-American Hall of Fame Medals by Eugene Daub and other medalists
- Harry Flower Collection of Einstein Medals
- First American Jewish Medal
- The making of a Medal



Kolbe & Fanning

Numismatic Booksellers

numislit.com

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

US & World Coins - US Paper Money - Estates - Appraisals



Hudson Rare Coins, Inc.

Mitchell A Battino, AAA

Phone: 1-212-819-0737
Fax: 1-212-819-9127
info@hudsonrarecoins.com
www.hudsonrarecoins.com

An In-Depth EVALUATION

...of the world's first coinage



Grade
The amount (or absence) of circulation wear is expressed using a familiar adjectival scale.

Strike
The strength, evenness and centering of strike, as well as die state and planchet quality, are assessed using a five-point scale.

Surface
The visible effects of circulation, burial and recovery are evaluated using a five-point scale.

Style
The Fine Style designation is awarded to coins of superior visual impact based on the quality of their style and composition.

Ch XF
Strike: 4/5
Surface: 5/5
Fine Style

NGC ANCIENTS

With its unique grading system, NGC Ancients provides an accurate and concise analysis of the quality of ancient coins. By separately assessing wear, strike, surface and style, we offer a more thorough evaluation of a coin's condition. Furthermore, coins of exceptional merit that stand out above their peers are awarded a Star Designation (★) — a feature exclusive to qualifying coins graded by NGC.

NGC ANCIENTS PROTECTION for the Ages

Discover the true value of your ancient treasures, visit NGCcoin.com/ancients

CIVITASGALLERIES.COM

- Shop Online: View 1000+ coins with high quality images.
- Sell to us: Offer us individual coins or entire collections with our E-Appraisal form.
- Register for our electronic newsletter to get first shot at new inventory!



 AUTHORIZED MEMBER/DEALER AUTHORIZED DEALER



CIVITAS

 GALLERIES

6800 University Ave | Middleton, WI 53562
 custserv@civitasgalleries.com | 608.836.1777

RAGO Seeking quality consignments for our December Coins and Currency Auction



Consignments/Inquiries:
 Chris Wise – chris@ragoarts.com

RAGO ARTS AND AUCTION CENTER
 333 North Main Street • Lambertville, NJ 08530
 609.397.9374 • info@ragoarts.com • ragoarts.com

Lost and Found Coin Hoards and Treasures

Every story inside this book is true.

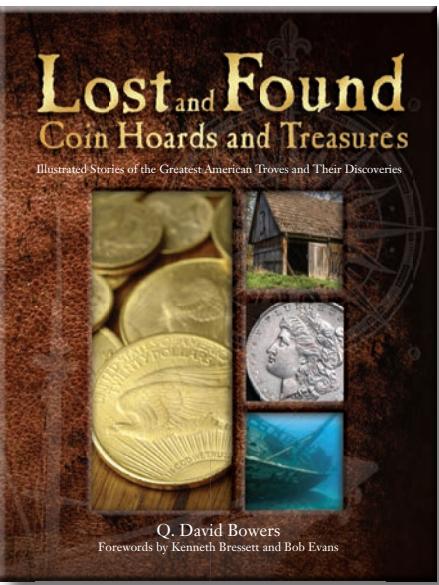
Tales of treasure from sunken ships, bank vaults and reserves, hidden compartments, buried chests and boxes, vintage safes, hiding places of pirates and privateers, old cornerstones, barrels and casks, Mint and Treasury storage, wrecked buildings, caves and crevices, ancient estates, dusty time capsules, forgotten collections, attics and basements, and other lost and hidden places.

Join Q. David Bowers, one of America's master storytellers, as he shines light on the most astounding, dramatic, unusual, and daydream-inspiring American coin hoards and treasures. Old colonial coins. Hefty silver dollars. Boxes of gleaming gold. Bundles of antique currency. Many treasures have already been found; many others are waiting for you to find them....

\$39.95 • 480 pages • 8.5" x 11"
Hardcover • 600+ color images

Pre-Order Now and Receive Free Shipping

To place your order, please call toll-free: 1-800-546-2995 • Email: customerservice@whitman.com
 Online: Whitman.com • Use code AN at checkout • Offer valid through October 31, 2015




 Whitman Publishing, LLC
 Follow WhitmanCoin on Facebook
 Follow WhitmanCoin on Twitter

MORE ARTICLES ABOUT ANCIENT JUDAEAN COINS, JUDAIC MEDALS, ISRAEL COINS, MEDALS & PAPER MONEY THAN IN ANY OTHER U.S. PUBLICATION.

THE SHEKEL

Quarterly magazine published by the American Israel Numismatic Association
 P.O. Box 20255 • Fountain Hills, AZ 85269
 818-225-1348 • www.theshekel.org

U.S. \$25/Year, \$48/2 Years
Foreign \$35/Year, \$67/2 Years

NYINC The 44th ANNUAL NYINC
 NEW YORK INTERNATIONAL NUMISMATIC CONVENTION
 America's Most Prestigious Ancient & Foreign Coin Show
 January 7-10, 2016
 Professional Preview—Thursday, Jan. 7th, 12-7PM—\$125

www.nyinc.info

The Waldorf Astoria Hotel • New York City
 301 Park Avenue between East 49th & 50th Streets

Hotel Reservations
 For hotel reservation and rate information at the Waldorf Astoria please visit our website, www.nyinc.info

Major Auctions, Educational Forums, Club Meetings & Exhibits
 Admission: Friday–Saturday–Sunday
 \$20 for a three day pass

General Information:
 Kevin Foley
 P.O. Box 370650
 Milwaukee, WI 53237
 (414) 807-0116
 Fax (414) 747-9490
 E-mail: kfoley2@wi.rr.com



Greek, Roman, Byzantine, World, & British Coins
WWW.CNGCOINS.COM
 • A User-Friendly Website For Historical Coins •

THE COIN SHOP
 400-500 coins available – new stock added regularly

ELECTRONIC AUCTIONS
 500-600 lot auctions every two weeks

PRINTED AUCTIONS
 Excellence in cataloging, photography, & presentation
 View and bid on our current printed sale
 View prices realized

BOOK LIST
 Important numismatic titles offered for sale

SEARCH ENGINE
 Search all coins for sale

CREATE A WANT LIST
 A customizable tool – receive advanced notification on new coins

RESEARCH
 Research over 225,000 coins sold for nearly \$200,000,000

HISTORICAL ARTICLES
 Over 400 informative articles on coins

Join over 15,000 registered users and 100,000 monthly visitors



US OFFICE
 PO Box 479, Lancaster, PA 17608-0479
 Phone: (717) 390-9194 Fax: (717) 390-9978
 Email: cng@cngcoins.com

UK OFFICE
 20 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3GA, UK
 Phone: +44 20 7495 1888 Fax: +44 20 7499 5916
 Email: cng@cngcoins.com

numismatic-shop.com

More than 35 years in the coin business
 7 coin shops in France

More than 50 000 items online
 - Ancient coins
 - World coins
 - World currency
 - Medals and Tokens

Authorized dealer:

 PCGS ANGC PMG
 Member of the ANA and ANS

Comptoir des Monnaies
 8, rue Esquermoise - 59000 Lille - France
 Tel. : +33 3 28 14 42 36
 Mail : grading@comptoir-des-monnaies.com



Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG

is proud to present

Auction 86 - 8 October 2015

The sale will take place at the Hotel Baur au Lac, Zurich

The Gasvoda Collection - Part I Coins of the Imperial Period and the Twelve Caesars



Pompey the Great, Denarius



Brutus Portrait, Aureus



Augustus & Julia, Denarius



Augustus, AEGYPT CAPTA Aureus



Caligula, Sestertius



Claudius & Nero, Aureus



Nero, Port of Ostia Sestertius



Clodius Macer, Denarius



Colosseum, Sestertius issued by Domitian

'The finest collection of this period to be presented at auction in over 50 years'

The Gasvoda Collection was formed over the past twenty-five years and comprises nearly 400 lots in gold, silver and bronze

Catalogues are sent upon request against payment of an annual subscription fee of USD 100.00.
Online bids can be placed via www.sixbid.com until 7 October. To register for live bidding visit www.biddr.com.
The catalogue will be available to view online 5 weeks prior to the auction.

Zürich
PO Box 2655, Niederdorfstrasse 43
CH - 8022 Zürich
Tel. +41 44 261 1703 - Fax +41 44 261 5324
zurich@arsclassicacoins.com

London
3rd Floor Genavco House - 17 Waterloo Place
London, SW1Y 4AR
Tel. +44 20 783 972 70 - Fax +44 20 792 521 74
info@arsclassicacoins.com

www.arsclassicacoins.com

Ancient coins - Greek - Roman - Byzantine - Medieval - Renaissance - Medals



Munthandel Verschoor

*Dutch Historical and Family medals in both silver and gold
Dutch Provincial, Colonial and Kingdom coins
Numismatic Literature and sale catalogues pertaining to Dutch Numismatics*



1691. PACIFICATION OF IRELAND. By D. Drappentier

Obv. Conjoined draped busts right of William, laureate and armored, and Mary. Legend: GUIL: ET MARIA D·G·M·BRIT:FR:ET HIB:REX:ET REGINA. Signed below busts D. Trappentier F.
Rev. Lion trampling upon Hydra; to left, a dog fawns submissively at feet of a lioness; in background, view of harbor and city at a distance; in two lines in exergue: HIB: PACATA / CIOCCXCI. (Ireland pacified 1691). Above it reads: PARCERE / SVBIECTIS, ET / DEBELLARE SVPERBOS. (to spare the humble and subdue the proud). Edge: . ET. REGNARE PARES, ET MIRE 'SE . INTER AMARE .
*(equal in governing and in the exceeding love they show each other).
v.L.III.548.1; MI.II.39/220; Eimer 340; silver, 54.5 mm., 80.22 grams. Heavy weight for this medal.

The medal refers to the attitude of the Jacobite party in England and Ireland, the Lion and Lioness representing the King and Queen, the Dog is a comment on the Jacobite party in England. The edge is complimentary to William and Mary personally, without any reference to the subject of the medal.

P.O. Box 5803 - 3290 AC Strijen - Netherlands
Tel.: +31 78 674 7712 - Fax: +31 78 674 4424

www.verschoor.com - info@verschoor.com



Member I.A.P.N.

Stack's Bowers Galleries in Association With Sotheby's Presents

The D. Brent Pogue Collection, Part II

September 30, 2015



Magnificent Gem Mint State
1794 Silver Dollar.
BB-1, B-1. MS-66+ (PCGS).
The Lord St. Oswald Specimen



Phenomenal Finest Known
1795 Capped Bust Right Eagle.
BD-4. 13 Leaves. MS-66+ (PCGS).
The Garrett Specimen

For more information visit StacksBowers.com/Pogue



800.458.4646 West Coast Office • 800.566.2580 East Coast Office
1063 McGaw Avenue Ste 100, Irvine, CA 92614 • 949.253.0916
Info@StacksBowers.com • StacksBowers.com
New York • Hong Kong • Irvine • Paris • Wolfeboro
SBG ANS Pogue II 150713

Stack's Bowers
GALLERIES

America's Oldest and Most Accomplished Rare Coin Auctioneer