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## From the Executive Director

### Gilles Bransbourg

Dear Members and Friends,  
Napoleon is arguably the most famous Frenchman in history. Far fewer people know he was born Genovese, therefore Italian. Corsica, his island birthplace, had belonged to the Republic of Genoa for many centuries, until given to the French King Louis XV in 1768 to administer. It was effectively occupied the following year, the same year Napoleon was born. France only officially declared sovereignty in 1789. It is a true pleasure to feature in this issue a fascinating contribution by ANS Fellow Prof. Clive Foss on the coinage of Napoleon in Italy.

Jumping ahead a little over a century and across the ocean to America, long-time ANS editor Oliver D. Hoover explores the complicated and sometimes tragic links between money and famed science-fiction author H. P. Lovecraft. In this issue, David Hill, our Archivist and Librarian, also tells us the story behind the digitization of the letters of legendary coin dealers Harry and Hudson Chapman, thanks to the generosity of the Newman Numismatic Portal. As always, you will be pleased to learn about our recent acquisitions presented by ANS Collections Manager Dr. Elena Stolyarik and to hear that among them are new holdings from the Abraham Sofaer collection, as well as from the former collection of Archer M. Huntington and of the Hispanic Society of America.

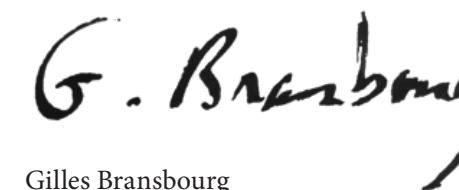
Most importantly, ANS Chief Curator Dr. Peter van Alfen offers a profile on Dr. Ute Wartenberg and a sincere appreciation of her extraordinary achievements during her 20 years at the helm of the ANS.

I would like to add some personal thanks: first of all, to our estimable Trustees, to whom I gratefully owe my unanimous appointment as the new Executive Director of the Society, and to Ute, who has provided all of us with such a model of accomplishment and stewardship. My move into this position would not have been possible without the strong support of the ANS staff. I wish to thank them all tremendously.

To our members goes my unreserved gratitude: without you there would simply be no ANS. I have been traveling across the country for several years now, meeting many of you not just in New York, but in Baltimore, Scottsdale, Dayton, Philadelphia, and Chicago, a list of places that continues to grow with each new year. It is a constant pleasure discussing and exchanging views about our common love for numismatics, and its related fields of finance, economics, visual arts, political and cultural history.

Finally, let me add words of thanks for my adopted home. I began my profession career in economics and finance and came to numismatics relatively late in life, as a result of academic research on the Roman economy. In Europe, there is, too often, a general lack of acceptance for people who wish to take a different path at some point in their professional life. Changing course is frequently viewed as the result of failure. I have experienced nothing but support for my change of path here. It may sound like a cliché, but in my experience the United States of America remains a land of opportunities. I feel truly grateful for this country's open culture and acceptance of foreigners, which ultimately has given me the privilege of serving you.

I hope that together we will move ahead building on what has been accomplished during the Society's long history, and most notably under Ute's outstanding leadership. Thank you for your support. As a not-for-profit institution, we belong to you. You are the ANS.



Gilles Bransbourg



Facing page: Portrait of Napoleon as King of Italy by Andrea Appiani, 1805 (Kunsthistorisches Museum).

## THE COINAGE OF NAPOLEON'S ITALY: From Autocracy to Liberty and Back Again

*Clive Foss*

Napoleon, who created the greatest empire in Europe since the fall of Rome, is famed for his battles—in Egypt, Central Europe, or Russia—as well as his civic reforms: the law code, and the reorganization of France, and the conquered territories. Yet his success and reputation derived from his lightning victories of 1796 in Italy. They led to French domination of the peninsula that lasted until the fall of his Empire in 1814. This brief epoch had long-range effects in terms of the role of church and state, law, politics, public works, and general reorganization of society. It falls into three parts: the Revolutionary (1796–1799) when radical ideas flourished; the Consular (1799–1804), a time of consolidation when Napoleon had achieved supreme power; and the Imperial (1804–1814), grandiose, oppressive, and standardizing. Each period was a time of division as Italy continued to consist of varying numbers of distinct states. Most of them struck coins that reflect changing regimes and ideologies, from the exuberance of the Revolutionary to the unvarying Imperial. This article will attempt to put the complex coinage into an historic context, and will to hope to resolve some natural confusion, for example: what is the difference between Cispadane and Transpadane, Cisalpine and Subalpine, Italian and Roman republics? Each one has a distinct meaning, reflected in the coinage.

On March 2, 1796, the young but experienced general Napoleon Bonaparte was given charge of the Army of Italy, to lead a diversionary attack through northern Italy against France's chief antagonist, Austria. Napoleon arrived in his headquarters, on March 23, to find a dispirited, underpaid, and underfed force. He rapidly reorganized troops and supplies and proceeded against the allied forces of Austria and its ally, the north Italian

state of Piedmont (whose ruler bore the title of King of Sardinia). Napoleon crossed the Apennines west of Genoa and within a month defeated the Piedmontese so badly that they withdrew from the war. He now moved against the Austrians who controlled Lombardy, the center of the north Italian plain, which he conquered by mid-May (fig. 1).

Meanwhile, the French government ordered an attack on the Papal States. Napoleon rapidly took Bologna (June 19, 1796) and forced Pope Pius VI (fig. 2) to consent to French occupation of the papal Legations of Bologna and Ferrara (the part of his territories north of the Apennines, so called because they were ruled by cardinals sent out as legates by the Pope) and to pay a huge indemnity of 15,000,000 lire in gold and 100 masterworks of art.

More fighting in the north (January 1797) marked the end of effective Austrian resistance in Italy. Napoleon now resumed his attack on the Pope, who signed a new treaty (February 19, 1797) that officially surrendered the Legations. The next month, the French forces crossed the Alps, descending on Austria whose emperor had little choice but to make a preliminary peace (April 18, 1797) that obliged Austria to recognize Napoleon's conquest of Lombardy.

Napoleon's rapid victories gave him control of the Austrian Duchy of Milan, which in August 1796 became the General Administration of Lombardy, essentially a French military occupation. In October, Napoleon turned it into the Transpadane ("Beyond the river Po") Republic, a civil regime, with its headquarters in Milan, the largest and richest city of Italy. Despite its size and wealth, the Transpadane issued no coins.



Figure 1: *The Battle of Lodi (May 10, 1796) by Baron Lejeune Louis-François, 1804 (Palace of Versailles).*

The conquests created new states and brought new coinages that reflected the policy and propaganda of the revolutionary regimes. They began in Bologna, which Napoleon proclaimed as a republic when he occupied it in June 1796. He restored the ancient autonomy that the city had lost to the Popes and put its senate in charge. Bologna, which had a long history of prolific coin production (second in the Papal states only to Rome), struck a full range in silver and base metals.

The silver 10-paoli (or scudo) had the following type (fig. 3):

Obv.: POPVLVS ET SENATVS BONON P10 1796 or 1797. Arms of the city with alternating quarters of LIBERTAS and a cross.

Rev.: PRAESIDIVM ET DECVS, Madonna and child on clouds over the cityscape.

This was a very unusual coinage. It was less “revolutionary” than the other Napoleonic issues, being the only one to bear a religious image. In that, its reverse seems a compromise with the papal tradition while the LIBERTAS of its obverse proclaims reform, with the Senate figuring prominently. The name of the Pope is conspicuous by its absence. These coins were struck in large quantities over a longer period than their dates indicate, hence their many varieties.

On October 16, 1796, at Napoleon’s urging, Bologna joined with Ferrara, Modena and Reggio, which had also proclaimed their independence, in proposing a Cispadane (“On this side of the Po”) Confederation of all four. In January 1797, this was formalized as the Cispadane Republic, an independent Italian state, with a democratic constitution much like the French, an army, and a novel flag of three broad stripes—red, white, and green—modeled on the French revolutionary banner (this is still the Italian flag) (fig. 4).

The Cispadane did not have an easy life. A complicated electoral system undermined the democratic constitution, while severe conflict between conservative landlords and clerics and the liberals and revolutionary masses became endemic (as in most of these states). The situation was made much worse by the French who were aggressively secular and who systematically looted everywhere they went. Napoleon was so incensed by the results of the elections of April 1797, manipulated by the aristocracy and clergy, that he transferred Modena and Reggio to the Transpadane and suspended the Cispadane parliament, calling another to meet in Milan. The Cispadane did not issue any coins.

Napoleon soon decided that a strong independent state in northern Italy would best serve as a buffer against



Figure 3: *Italy, Bologna. Silver 10 paoli coin. (ANS 1934.999.1578) 39 mm.*



Figure 4: *Flag of the Cispadane Republic, 1797.*



Figure 6: *Italy, Venetian Republic, Venice. Silver 10 lira coin, 1797. (ANS 1928.124.12) 40 mm.*

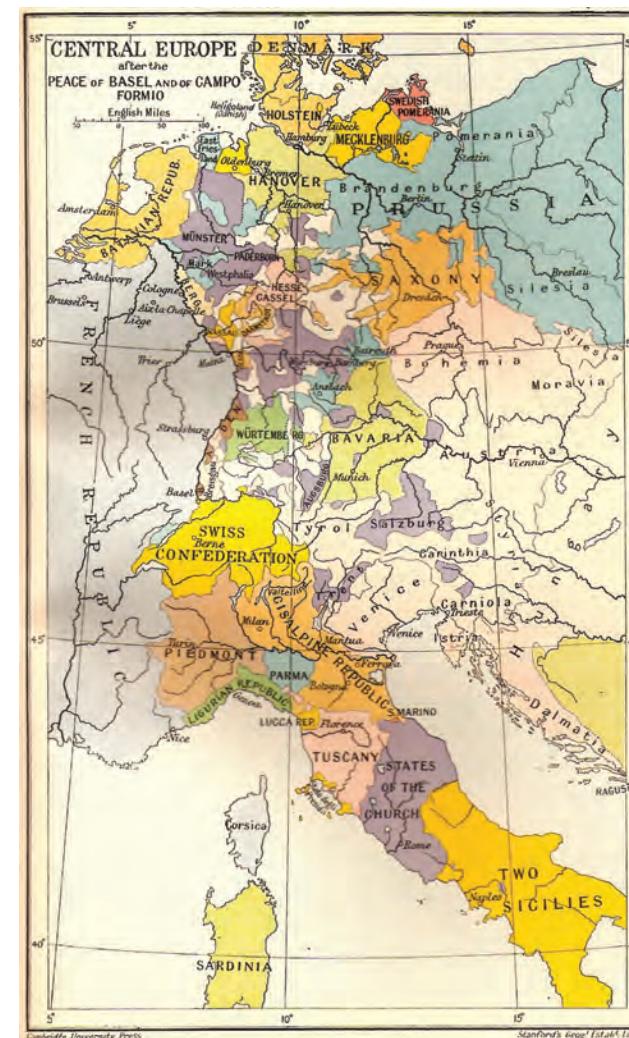


Figure 5: *Map of Italy and Central Europe following the Treaty of Campo Formio, 1797.*

neighboring enemies and a base for French power. He therefore created a new Cisalpine Republic on June 29, 1797. The Transpadane and Cispadane joined it in July, becoming part of a state that stretched from the Alps to the Adriatic. The new state had the usual French-style republican constitution and French civil law that established equality of all citizens and abolished aristocratic titles and privileges. The Cisalpine had its own army, whose officers, like the civil officials, were all Italian. It was recognized by the Pope and even the Austrians. Unfortunately, it suffered from social and economic problems, made worse by a treaty imposed by Paris in February 1798 that increased financial and military demands. Despite its size and importance, the Cisalpine Republic issued no coins in this period.

During the last stages of the campaign in northern Italy, Venice abandoned its neutrality and actively joined the Austrians. No sooner had he made peace with Austria

than Napoleon turned his fury on the republic, whose ancient oligarchic regime surrendered on May 31, 1797, on terms that stripped the state of much of its wealth, fleet and works of art. In the definitive treaty of Campo Formio (17 October 1797), however, Napoleon turned Venice over to Austria whose troops entered the city on 18 January 1798. This was some compensation for conceding the west bank of the Rhine to France, and recognizing the Napoleon’s Cisalpine and Ligurian republics (fig. 5).

The Ligurian Republic, based in Genoa, traditional rival of Venice, was another of Napoleon’s creations. He had intervened in a revolutionary situation in Genoa to impose a democratic regime on June 9, 1797. In September, after further troubles, French troops occupied the city, establishing a provisional government that became the Ligurian Republic on January 17, 1798. In a little over a year, Napoleon had completely transformed the map of Italy and brought France’s most powerful foe to its knees.



Figure 7: Italy, Ligurian Republic, Genoa. Gold 96 lira coin, 1801. (Heritage World Coin Auctions, NYINC Signature Sale 3037, January 4, 2015, lot 30216).

Figure 8: Italy, Ligurian Republic, Genoa. Silver 8 lira coin, 1798 (ANS 0000.999.43273) 41 mm.



Figure 9: The French Army enters Rome, February 15, 1798, by Hippolyte Lecomte.

Both Venice and Genoa issued coins, but on very different scales: since Venice was to be turned over to Austria, it received a provisional government that lasted six months. During this time, it struck only one type, a large silver piece of 10 lire (fig. 6):

Obverse: LIBERTA EGUAGLIANZA, standing Liberty holding fasces and a liberty pole; flags and weapons in the background.  
Reverse: LIRE DIECI VENETE in wreath surrounded by ANNO I DELLA LIBERTA ITALIANA 1797

The Ligurian Republic, on the other hand, issued a rich coinage in three metals, (four denominations each of gold and silver; one of brass) following the established Genoese standard:

Gold type (fig. 7):

Obverse: REPUBBLICA LIGURE, figure of Liguria seated left, holding spear and shield.  
Reverse: NELL' UNIONE LA FORZA, Fasces

between laurel branches

Silver type (fig. 8):

Obverse: LIBERTA' EGUAGLIANZA 1798 (or 1799), conjoined standing figures of Liberty and Equality.  
Reverse: REPUBBLICA LIGURE ANNO I (or II), liberty cap and fasces behind shield with cross; denomination below

This was a truly revolutionary coinage. Instead of the traditional ruler/arms, it portrays figures symbolic of liberty, with appropriate legends: "In union there is strength" or "Liberty Equality" (but never "Fraternity" the third part of the French slogan). It features symbols drawn from the ancient Roman republic: the fasces and the cap of liberty. The figures are portrayed in the Neo-classical style of the day.

Napoleon left Italy in November 1797 to conquer Egypt. When that failed, he returned to France and joined a

conspiracy that overthrew the ruling Directory and made Napoleon First Consul, with supreme authority in December 1799. He was away from Italy for a little more than two years.

During Napoleon's absence, new troubles had arisen in Italy when a riot in Rome killed a French general. The Directory sent the Army of Italy which entered the Holy City on February 11, 1798 (fig. 9), and proclaimed the Roman Republic, sending Pope Pius VI into exile in France, where he died on August 29, 1799. The French looted Rome mercilessly, carting off paintings, sculptures, manuscripts, and books, and stripping the wealth of the churches. The relentlessly secular Republic provoked widespread misery since so much of the population had depended on the Church for its livelihood. The resulting riots and revolts shook the French hold on the city. On November 26, 1798, Rome fell to the armies of Naples, who did more looting before French forces returned on December 10, restoring the republic that was to last another year, till September 29, 1799, when the eternal city was taken by an allied coalition that included Austria and Russia.

The numismatics of the Roman Republic (February 1798–September 1799) are complicated because of the large number of mints involved. The republican issues followed an outburst of papal coinage in at least 17 new mints, especially in 1796 and 1797. Many of them suffered from an acute shortage of small change exacerbated by the constant movement of troops who, like the population, needed coins for their daily transactions.

Further complication comes from the political situation. In January 1798 French troops overran the papal lands and set up provisional municipal governments, which maintained a local autonomy till they joined the Roman Republic, at varying times after it was proclaimed on February 15. In this period, a few cities (Fermo, Foligno, Gubbio, Macerata, and Pergola) issued their own coinage, for example, Fermo (fig. 10):

Obverse: ANN PMO REIP FIRM 1798 around shield  
Reverse: MEZZO BAIOTTO FERMO in wreath

Subsequently, under the Republic, Rome and ten smaller mints produced copper coins, most of them of the 2-baiocchi denomination, sharing common images and inscriptions (figs. 11–12):

Obverse: REPUBBLICA ROMANA, often in wreath, fasces with liberty cap  
Reverse: Denomination and name of mint, with or without date, usually in wreath

In addition, Rome and two other mints (Ancona and



Figure 10: Italy, Roman Republic, Fermo. Copper 1/2-baiocco coin, 1798 (ANS 1937.146.3117, estate of Herbert Scoville) 26 mm.



Figure 11: Italy, Roman Republic, Rome. Copper 2-baiocchi coin, 1798 (1937.146.3112, estate of Herbert Scoville) 35 mm.



Figure 12: Italy, Roman Republic, Rome. Copper baiocco coin, 1797 (1937.146.3119, estate of Herbert Scoville) 30 mm.



Figure 13: Italy, Roman Republic, Rome. Silver scudo coin, 1798 (ANS 1937.146.3103, estate of Herbert Scoville) 42 mm.



Figure 14: Italy, Piedmont Republic. Silver 1/2-scudo coin, 1798. (ANS 1937.146.3143, estate of Herbert Scoville) 38 mm.

Perugia whose issues are extremely rare) produced silver scudi (fig. 13):

Obverse: REPUBLICA ROMANA, Liberty standing holding fasces and liberty pole.  
Reverse: SCUDO ROMANO in wreath

This coinage is remarkable for the absence of any reference to religion, the Church or the Pope.

Toward the end of 1798, when France was under attack from Austria, Britain, and Russia, the Directory asked for support from the King of Sardinia/Piedmont. When he refused, French forces occupied Piedmont, forcing the king to take refuge in Sardinia.

Piedmont, like Venice, was a special case, having only a provisional government under French military control. Established in December 1798 and lasting until May 1799, it produced two denominations in silver, a half and a quarter scudo, dated to 1799. They give no indication of the region's status (fig. 14):

Obverse: LIBERTA VIRTU EGUAGLIANZA, Liberty, holding the fasces crowned by a cap of liberty, mountains in the background.  
Reverse: ANNO VII REP I DELLA LIBERTA PIEMONTESE around MEZZO SCUDO (QUARTO DI SCUDO) in wreath.

Only the South, ruled from Naples by the Bourbon Ferdinand IV, remained independent, but not for long. Late in 1798, the king renewed war against France. He managed to take Rome, but was soon driven out, only to face a revolt and civil war in Naples. On December 21, he rushed off to Sicily, leaving the radicals in charge. After a confused period of civil war, the French entered the city and on January 23, 1799, proclaimed a republic. With that, French control of Italy seemed assured.

The Republic of Naples issued a bimetallic coinage in two types in 1799, silver 6- and 12-carlini (fig. 15):

Obverse: REPUBBLICA NAPOLETANA, Liberty with staff, cap and fasces  
Reverse: ANNO SETTIMO DELLA LIBERTA around CARLINI DODICI (SEI) in wreath  
And copper 4- and 6-tornesi (fig. 16):  
Obverse: REPUBBLICA NAPOLETANA, fasces  
Reverse: ANNO SETTIMO DELLA LIBERTA around TORNESI SEI (QUATTRO) in wreath.

Napoleon and his troops were children of the French Revolution, enemies of kings, aristocrats and the Church. Wherever they went, they overturned existing

social and political structures, ostensibly bringing freedom and equality to the Italian cities whose governments were almost universally sunk in corruption, oppression and incompetence. The French were enthusiastically received by the educated middle classes whose liberal sentiments led them to believe that a new enlightened era was at hand. In fact, neither Napoleon nor the Directory wanted to encourage popular political movements that might create instability while war was still raging. So, at first military occupation regimes were established, but they were soon superseded by governments modeled on the French, with an executive board of Directors and junior and senior legislative chambers. Everywhere, republics replaced monarchs, princes and dukes, but they were in reality French puppet regimes.

These new states had the useful function of bringing their districts under firm central control and facilitating Napoleon's exploitation of money, manpower and loot on a grand scale. The French commissioners were empowered to enter any building, public or private, and take what they wanted. The booty was immense—cultural as well as financial.

The coins of these republics have much in common that identifies them as revolutionary issues. The Ligurian, Roman, and Neapolitan regimes proclaimed their status as republics; only the provisional regimes of Venice and Piedmont avoided self-definition. With few exceptions, the coins have the name or figure of liberty, usually accompanied by ancient Roman symbols evocative of a republic (the fasces) or of freedom (the Phrygian cap) or both. Bologna's only concession to liberty, however, is the LIBERTAS on its shield. Liberty is accompanied by Equality on the issues of Venice, Liguria, and Piedmont, reflecting the use of their joint names as the official slogan of many if not all the republics. These abstractions reflect the current type of the French silver coins, which show Hercules flanked by Liberty and Equality with the slogan "l'union fait la force" reproduced in "nell' unione la forza" of the Ligurian gold (cf. fig. 7).

Another common novelty is the use of a revolutionary calendar. Naples and the Roman copper count from the French revolution, while the Venice, Liguria and Piedmont announce a new beginning by employing a year one, which in Venice is proudly advertised as "the first year of Italian freedom." Likewise, the provisional governments on the Papal territories—Fermo and Macerata—proclaim a "year 1." Bologna uses only the Gregorian dating, perhaps because it issued these coins before the revolutionary calendar became prevalent, while the Ligurian Republic and Venice use both Gregorian and revolutionary dates.

The coinage of Liguria and Bologna is balanced, being struck in all three metals (gold, silver, and copper or billon). The ex-papal states produced very little silver but a lot of small change in copper, while Naples issued moderate quantities of both. The Venice, and Piedmont, however, struck only in silver. In general, crown-sized silver pieces (scudi) were favored, with the minor denominations struck in much smaller quantities. Each state followed its own monetary standards and denominations, not easily translated into those of its neighbors. Even when the coins of different states had the same ostensible denomination, they could vary in size, weight and purity. Exchange needed tables of current values, which could fluctuate, especially in view of the incessant problems of French demands, shortage of goods, and widespread inflation.

Proclamations of liberty and the colorful variety of coinage were not destined to last long. People celebrating the seventh (or first) year of liberty in 1799 might have believed that the liberal regimes supported or installed by the French were there to stay. If so, they were in for a sudden disappointment as the whole edifice of Liberty collapsed faster than it had been created. War began again on Christmas Eve 1798 with the formation of a new coalition led by Austria and Russia.

The rapid successes of Napoleon and the creation of new republics obscured the reality that the French were seriously overextended. They controlled the major cities, but even there had to face popular resistance—especially led by the Church and traditional ruling classes—as well as economic problems made much worse by the looting and indemnities the French extracted. The network of republics rapidly succumbed to a determined foe.

Between March and August 1799, the allied armies drove out the French. They took Milan on April 27, and a month later Turin. In northern Italy, only the powerful fortress of Mantua held out. Blockaded since April, the French defenders finally surrendered on July 31. During the siege, the city had issued an emergency coinage in billon in 10- and 5-soldi denominations (fig. 17):

Obverse: ASSEDIO DI MANTOVA ANNO VII R around fasces with liberty cap  
Reverse: X SOLDI DI MILANO in wreath

Elsewhere, on June 19, the last French defenders of the Neapolitan republic surrendered to King Ferdinand. The French evacuated Rome on September 19, leaving the city to the allies, who held it until July 2, 1800 when a new pope, Pius VII, resumed control of the papal domain. By then, in April 1800, the allies had begun a blockade of Genoa, the sole surviving republic. Its French defenders surrendered in



Figure 15: Italy, Neapolitan Republic, Naples. Silver 12-carlini coin, 1799 (ANS 1937.146.3141, estate of Herbert Scoville) 39 mm.



Figure 16: Italy, Neapolitan Republic, Naples. Copper 6-tornesi coin, 1799 (ANS 1909.78.117, estate of Matilda W. Bruce) 35 mm.



Figure 17: Italy, Lombardy, Mantua. Billon 5-soldi coin, 1799 (Auktionhaus H.D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 108, June 4, 2019, lot 1926).

Figure 18: *Napoleon Crossing the Alps* by Jacques-Louis David, 1800 (Château du Malmaison).



Figure 19: Italy, Cisalpine Republic, Milan. Silver 6-scudi, 1800 (ANS 1920.147.548, gift of W. R. Powell) 39 mm.



Figure 20: Italy, Cisalpine Republic, Milan. Silver 30-soldi, 1800 (ANS 1920.147.549, gift of W. R. Powell) 29 mm.



Figures 21–22: Plans for the Foro Buonaparte in Milan by Giovanni Antonio Antolini, 1801.

June. The entire Napoleonic edifice had collapsed; the brief age of the revolutionary republics was at an end.

The allies had not counted on Napoleon who rapidly turned the tables. In May 1800, he brought his army across the high frozen Alps and advanced on Milan (fig. 18), which he took on June 2. On the 14th, his decisive victory at Marengo determined the fate of northern Italy: Turin fell on the 20th and Genoa on the 29th.

A truce after Marengo recognized the new situation. In the north, France controlled Piedmont, Milan and the Legations, while Austria ruled the former territories of Venice. In the center and south, the Papal States were reinstated, because Napoleon wanted to reconcile the church, and Naples returned to its king whose friendship with Russia dissuaded Napoleon from further aggression. In the treaty of Luneville (February 9, 1801), the Austrian emperor specifically recognized the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics.

### Consular

From 1799 till 1804, Napoleon ruled France as First Consul; his image began to appear on the French coinage in 1802 but it was absent from the Italian issues, where some of the Republics continued their precarious existence, maintaining the images of liberty and independence, images that were increasingly meaningless. Nevertheless, although Liguria issued the same types as before, the Cisalpine and Piedmont produced some real novelties.

The Cisalpine Republic, restored after Marengo, was run so badly that Napoleon summoned a constituent assembly which met in Lyons and transformed the Cisalpine into the Italian Republic on January 26, 1802, with Napoleon as its president. By that time, it had issued two curious coin types, both in silver:

Scudo (1800) (fig. 19):

Obverse: ALLA NAZ FRAN LA REP CISAL RICONOSCENTE, figure of the Republic standing before a seated France  
Reverse: SCUDO DI LIRE TRE 27 PRATILE ANNO VIII in wreath

3- soldi (1801) (fig. 20):

Obverse: REPUBBLICA CISALPINA SOLDI 30 around allegorical female bust  
Rev: PACE CELEBRATA FORO BONAPARTE FONDATA ANNO IX

These are very rare examples of commemorative coins in this series. The first (fig. 19), inscribed “to the French nation, the grateful Cisalpine republic” celebrates the armistice that followed the battle of Marengo, dated by the French revolutionary calendar (in its Italian

incarnation) 27 Prairial yr. 8 = June 14, 1800. Its neo-classic personification of the Republic and France is probably the most elegant of the whole Italian series.

The smaller piece (fig. 20) commemorates the peace of Luneville (February 1801) and the foundation of the Forum of Napoleon, a vast open square in the heart of Milan, with a stadium and—a typical Napoleonic touch—a triumphal arch (figs. 21–22). These two types usually appear in excellent preservation, raising the question of whether they circulated as a regular coinage.

The Cisalpine’s successor, the Italian Republic, probably the richest and best-run state in Italy at the time, never issued coins at all, but only a series of patterns in all three metals and a range of proposed denominations.

The Ligurian republic, which had been occupied by the allies for less than a month, showed the greatest continuity. Under the new constitution Napoleon granted in October 1801, the city’s traditional ruler, the doge, was still nominally in charge though the French commissioner really ran the state. Coinage in three metals continued with the unchanged types of 1798. However, a new copper denomination, a very small 3-denari, was struck in 1802:

Obverse: R L A V [repubblica Ligure anno V] 1802 around large 3 D  
Reverse: a cross, no inscription.

The Austrian emperor had to recognize the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, but no mention was made of the Piedmont, under military occupation since the fall of Turin on June 20, 1800. Its numismatic history is curious, consisting of one type each of gold, silver and bronze:

20 francs gold (1801, 1802) (fig. 23):

Obverse: L’ITALIE DELIVREE A MARENGO, helmeted female bust  
Reverse: LIBERTE EGALITE ERIDANIA around 20 FRANCS and date in wreath

5 francs silver (1801, 1802) (fig. 24):

2 soldi bronze  
Obverse: GAULE SUBALPINE, figures of Liberty and Equality embracing  
Reverse: LIBERTE EGALITE ERIDANIA around 5 FRANCS L’AN 9 (or 10)

2 soldi bronze (1801) (fig. 25):

Obverse: NAZIONE PIEMONTESE around SOLDI DUE in circle  
Reverse: LIBERTA EGUAGLIANZA around *archipendolo* (a level) crowned with liberty cap, L’AN 9 below



Figure 23: Italy, Piedmont. Gold 20-franc coin, 1801 (ANS 1899.59.18, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 23 mm.



Figure 24: Italy, Piedmont. Silver 5-franc coin, 1801 (ANS 1920.147.559, gift of W. R. Powell) 38 mm.



Figure 25: Italy, Piedmont. Copper alloy 2-soldi coin, 1801 (ANS 0000.999.43276) 28 mm.

The gold coin, familiarly called the “Marengo,” commemorated Napoleon’s decisive victory. It makes no mention of Piedmont, but employs only the unusual designation Eridania, based on the Latin name for the river Po. The silver also bears this name as well as the equally novel Subalpine Gaul. Both have further peculiarities: their inscriptions are in French (not Italian) and they are struck to a French standard, using francs instead of local currency. These are the first decimal coins struck in Italy. The scudo evidently saw some use, for it commonly appears in very fine condition, but is rare in the higher grades. The bronze, though, enjoyed heavy circulation, for it often turns up badly worn.

On July 8, 1800, just weeks after the occupation, the French commissioner decreed that all acts of the state should be in the name of the “Nazione Piemontese.” On November 12, the government ordered the striking of five million copper 2-soldi pieces (fig. 26). They are the only ones that bear the official name of this puppet state.

“Subalpine Gaul” never had any real independence or international recognition. In April 1801 it was placed under direct military rule and on September 11, 1802 annexed to France, the first of the Italian regions to be absorbed by the metropolis. Turin, Piedmont’s capital, became a mint for the standard French coinage.

### Imperial

Napoleon’s image, absent from the Italian coinage, first appears on the French coins in 1802. At that time, he was First Consul, but everything changed after May 18, 1804, when he was proclaimed Emperor. The imperial era brought fundamental change to Italy—and to its coinage, where the word “Liberta” and the abstract figures that represented disappear. Not content with only the imperial title, Napoleon put on the ancient iron crown of Lombardy on May 26, 1805. With that, the Italian Republic became the Kingdom of Italy, and Napoleon, its king, had an official place in the Italian hierarchy, so far dominated by republics where he held no office. Napoleon entrusted the Kingdom to his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, who ran it successfully until the end of the Empire in April 1814. The kingdom was prolific in its coin production, which began in 1807 and consisted of 12 denominations struck in large quantities at Milan and Bologna. Like the other coins of this period, they revert to the traditional type, with the ruler on the obverse and the arms of the state on the reverse.

The gold and silver shared a common type (figs. 27–28):

Obverse: NAPOLEONE IMPERATORE E RE and date around bare-headed bust r.  
Reverse: REGNO D’ITALIA and denomination

around coat of arms

Fractional silver and copper displayed a crown instead of arms on the reverse, while the billon 10 centesimi had a crowned N as its device.

Napoleon won his greatest victory at Austerlitz on December 2, 1805; among the results was the cession of Venice and its territories to the Kingdom of Italy, for which Venice became a mint

The remaining years are marked by nepotism and consolidation, with many of Napoleon’s numerous siblings named to rule the Italian states that remained after major areas were annexed directly to France.

In 1804, the Ligurian senate requested annexation to France. Napoleon agreed; on the day of his coronation in 1805, the Ligurian Republic ceased to exist. It became a department of France and Genoa a mint for regular French coins.

Central and northern Italy also contained three small states (Modena, Parma, Lucca) and one substantial one (Tuscany), all under Austrian rule or influence until Napoleon arrived. Modena was the first to go, joined to the Cispadane Republic in 1797. Parma followed when its grand duke died in October 1801. Lucca maintained a precarious independence during the wars in Italy, when it had been periodically occupied and consistently exploited. On June 29, 1805, Napoleon, responding to the city’s request for a ruler from his family, appointed his sister Elisa and her husband Felice Baciocchi. They ruled successfully until the emperor’s abdication in 1814 and struck silver and copper from 1805 to 1808 (figs. 29–30):

Obverse: FELICE ED ELISA PP DI LUCCA E PIOMBINO, conjoined busts right.  
Reverse: PRINCIPATO DI LUCCA E PIOMBINO around denomination in wreath, date below.

Tuscany’s independence lasted longer than Lucca’s. Austria gave it up by the treaty of Luneville (February 1801) in favor of the Spanish Bourbons who ruled nominally (with the usual French garrisons and looting) until Napoleon imposed direct French rule on December 10, 1807. The Bourbons issued an abundant coinage with the name and image of their rulers.

Napoleon had left King Ferdinand in control of Naples, but when he openly sided with the English, Napoleon sent an army which entered Naples on February 14, 1806, bringing with them its new king, Napoleon’s elder brother Joseph (fig. 31). Two years later, on July 7, 1808, Joseph was transferred to be king of Spain, replaced in Naples by his brother in law, the successful



Figure 27: Italy, Milan. Gold 40-lira coin, 1814 (ANS 1920.147.562, gift of W. R. Powell) 27 mm.



Figure 28: Italy, Milan. Silver 5-lira coin, 1814 (ANS 1920.147.563, gift of W. R. Powell) 37 mm.



Figure 29: Italy, Lucca. Silver 5-franc coin, 1805 (ANS 1893.14.998, gift of Daniel Parish, Jr.) 37 mm.



Figure 30: Italy, Lucca. Copper 5-centesimi coin, 1806 (ANS 1920.147.518, gift of W. R. Powell) 28 mm.



Figure 31: Portrait of Joseph Bonaparte by Jean-Baptiste Wicar, 1808.

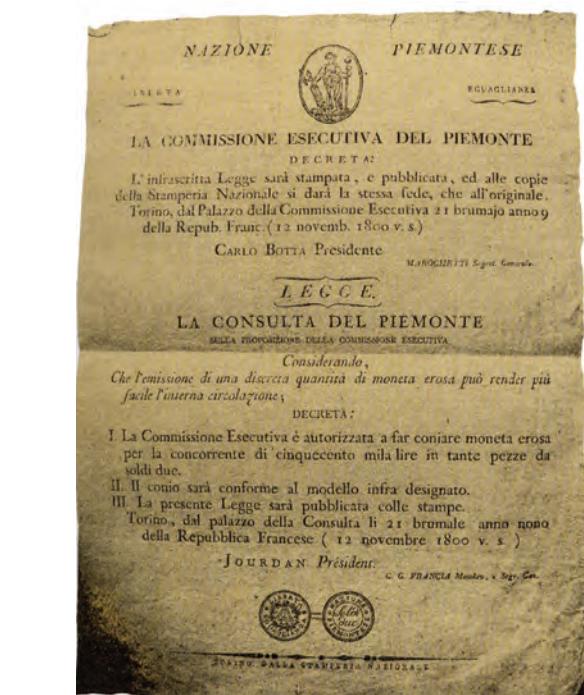


Figure 26: Decree ordering the production of the copper alloy 2-soldi coins.

Figure 32: Portrait of Joachim Murat by François Gérard, ca. 1808.



Figure 33: Italy, Naples. Silver 120-grani coin, 1806 (ANS 1969.222.3526, gift of P. K. Anderson) 38 mm.



Figure 35: Italy, Two Sicilies, Naples. Silver 5-lira coin, 1813 (ANS 1911.105.1171, estate of Isaac J. Greenwood) 38 mm.



Figure 34: Italy, Two Sicilies, Naples. Gold 20-lira coin, 1813 (ANS 1920.147.529, gift of W.R. Powell) 21 mm.



Figure 36: Italy, Two Sicilies, Naples. Copper 3-grani coin, 1810 (ANS 1917.33.346, gift of Edward T. Newell) 34 mm.



Figure 37: Italy, Palmanova. Base metal 50-centesimi siege coin, 1814 (Auktionhaus H.D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 108, June 4, 2019, lot 703).

Figure 38: Portrait of the Empress Marie-Louise by François Gérard, 1810.



Figure 39: Italy, Parma. Gold 40-lira coin, 1815 (ANS 1980.109.1319, estate of Arthur J. Fecht) 27 mm.



Figure 40: Italy, Parma. Silver 5-lira coin, 1832 (ANS 1920.147.522, gift of W. R. Powell) 37 mm.



Figure 41: Italy, Parma. Copper 5-centesimi coin, 1830 (ANS 1940.113.368) 27 mm.

general Joachim Murat, who was obliged to take the name Napoleon (fig. 32). He proved to be an able ruler, distinguished by his colorful dress and coiffure—he was called the “dandy king.” On January 11, 1814, seeing the handwriting on the wall, he deserted Napoleon and joined the allies, but during Napoleon’s Hundred Days, returned to his old loyalty, hoping at the same time to lead an Italian nationalism. This lacked support and he was finally executed by King Ferdinand on October 13, 1815.

Joseph struck only silver (fig. 33):  
120-grana 1806–1808

Obverse: IOSEPH NAPOL D G VTR SICIL REX, head l.  
Reverse: PRINC GALLIC MAGN ELECT IMP around arms; date and denomination below

Murat’s coins were issued in nine denominations and several types from 1809 to 1813 (figs. 34–36). The 5-lira piece bore his head and coat of arms:

Obverse: GIOACCHINO NAPOLEONE, head r., date below  
Reverse: REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE, arms, 5 LIRE below  
The gold and minor coins had on the reverse the name of the denomination in a wreath

Napoleon had kept Pius VII in power after his Italian victories of 1800, and even brought him to Paris to officiate at his coronation in 1804, but relations soon deteriorated, culminating when French troops entered Rome on February 2, 1808. They took over of the government, arrested the Pope and sent him into exile. Finally, on May 17, 1809 the papal state was annexed directly to France. Rome became a mint for French coins.

The map of Italy in 1810 was very different from what it had been when Napoleon arrived on the scene. Now, there were fewer states and the Emperor and his family had them firmly under control. Piedmont, Genoa, Tuscany, and Rome formed parts of France. Lombardy and Venice were under Napoleon’s own Kingdom of Italy, administered by his stepson. His brother-in-law Murat ruled the large kingdom of Naples, his sister Elisa the small principality of Lucca.

After the disastrous defeat in Russia in 1812, the empire declined rapidly. By 1813, the allies entered Italy, where they met little resistance. One spot that remained loyal to Napoleon was the heavily fortified outpost of Palmanova northeast of Venice. The town had been under siege by the Austrians for six months when news arrived of the emperor’s abdication in April 1814. During that short period, it issued a siege coinage in two

denominations, 50- and 25-centesimi, made from whatever metal the citizens possessed (fig. 37):

Obverse: MON. TA D’ASSE. O PALMA (*Moneta d’assedio* = siege money) 1814 around crown  
Reverse: NAPOLEONE IMP. E RE around CENT. 50 (25)

One of the small states, Parma, had a kind of Napoleonic afterlife when the victorious allies of 1814 assigned it—as the duchy of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla—to Napoleon’s second wife, the Austrian princess Marie-Louise (fig. 38). She reigned until 1847 and struck coins in ten denominations and three metals on the French standard: silver 5-lira (figs. 39–41):

Obverse: MARIA LUIGIA PRINC IMP ARCID D’AUSTRIA and date, bust facing l.  
Reverse: PER LA GRAZ DI DIO DUCH DI PARMA PIAC E GUAST and denomination around coat of arms, which on the gold is in a circle.

Imperial rule brought order and standardization. The multiple Italian denominations, with their varying weights and sizes, yielded to a universal French decimal system adopted in the annexed territories, the Italian kingdom and Lucca and finally spreading to Naples in 1811. Not surprisingly, though, it was not popular with Napoleon’s successors whose states mostly reverted to their traditional standards. The notable exception was the house of Savoy in Piedmont which used the decimal system consistently from 1816, as did Marie-Louise’s Parma. The government of Rome finally switched to it in 1866, and the revolutionary regimes of 1848 in Venice and Lombardy struck on the French standard as part of their political message. For most rulers of Italy, though, the memory of Napoleon and his reforms was not a happy one.

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There is also an extremely useful, up-to-date and comprehensive website: numismatica-italiana.Lamoneta.it.



## MONEY AND MYTHOS: Coins and Currency in the Works of H. P. Lovecraft

*Oliver D. Hoover*

### Endless Opportunities

I was recently given the great opportunity to work on the catalogue indices for the Medallion Art Company (MACO) medals purchased by the American Numismatic Society late last year (Fig. 1). This involved many hours looking over thousands of medal types with the associated information about artists, cities, and the institutions and individuals who ordered their production from the MACO. When faced with a large project of this kind, the first response of most serious numismatists is to pull up a favorite playlist on iTunes (most commonly involving Mozart or AC/DC), and dive right in. This time, however, I took a different tack and decided to listen to audiobooks in the background for a slight change of pace. After listening to the *Histories* of Herodotus and the majority of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* I discovered that it was possible to find audiobooks of more obscure modern authors that I recalled from my youth, but had not really read since my teens and early twenties. One such author was Howard Phillips Lovecraft (August 20, 1890–March 15, 1937), whose short stories are not really like anything else before or since in terms of their style and content (Fig. 2). I thought I was just going to hear some memorable stories, but as the reader moved through Lovecraft's complete works I discovered that a number of the stories made specific references to money—something I had never noticed before since the last time I read them I had not yet fallen into a career in numismatics. Since it would surely be wrong to keep such a discovery to myself, the following pages present the monetary references and attempt to offer a numismatic literary analysis, considering what coin information may or may not have been available to Lovecraft.

### About the Author

Although I have discovered over the years that there are more than a few numismatists with a taste for Lovecraft stories, some readers will perhaps be unfamiliar with the reclusive Rhode Island author. He wrote on a variety of literary and scientific subjects in his youth, but H. P. Lovecraft is best known for his weird fiction—a somewhat murky subgenre of speculative fiction often combining elements of mystery, horror, fantasy, and science-fiction. The subgenre is commonly considered to have been pioneered in the United States by Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849). In Lovecraft's own words,

*The true weird tale has something more than secret murder, bloody bones, or a sheeted form clanking chains according to rule. A certain atmosphere of breathless and unexplainable dread of outer, unknown forces must be present; and there must be a hint, expressed with a seriousness and portentousness becoming its subject, of that most terrible conception of the human brain—a malign and particular suspension or defeat of those fixed laws of Nature which are our only safeguard against the assaults of chaos and the daemons of unplumbed space.<sup>1</sup>*

Beginning in 1916, and picking up pace in 1919 and the years that followed, Lovecraft's fiction was published in a variety of amateur press journals and pulp magazines like *Weird Tales* and *Astounding Stories* in the 1920s and 1930s (Fig. 3). His most enduring contribution to weird fiction, in addition to his generous encouragement of numerous other young writers—most notably Robert E. Howard (the creator of Conan the Barbarian) and Robert Bloch (the author of *Psycho*)—is the

1. H. P. Lovecraft, "Supernatural Horror in Literature" in *Dagon and Other Macabre Tales* (Sauk City, WI: Arkham House, 1965), 638.

creation of the Cthulhu Mythos. This term, coined only after Lovecraft's death, refers to a series of stories often set in and around the fictional Massachusetts city of Arkham (a fictionalized version of Salem) and usually featuring the discovery of plots to restore various alien god-like beings, known as the Great Old Ones, who had once held power in times before the advent of humankind, but were subsequently imprisoned in the lonely places of the earth, at the bottom of the sea, and in the vastness of space. Trademark features of these stories are the verbose descriptions, often archaic language and spelling (e.g., "shew" for "show"), the bizarre and well-nigh unpronounceable names of the Great Old Ones (e.g., Cthulhu, Yog-Sothoth, Shub-Niggurath, Azathoth, Nyarlathotep), and the mention of the *Necronomicon*—a fictional medieval grimoire containing forbidden knowledge about the Great Old Ones and their minions still at work in the world.

The Cthulhu Mythos, which Lovecraft himself jokingly described as "Yog-Sothothery," had a way of taking on a life of its own, with many of his literary correspondents ("the Lovecraft Circle") writing their own stories building on the themes and especially the outré names and books that populated his own work. The best illustration of this development is probably the literary "duel" between Robert Bloch and H. P. Lovecraft. In 1935, Bloch published "The Shambler from the Stars," a story culminating in the death of a "mystic dreamer" from Rhode Island (obviously Lovecraft, himself) after he unwisely reads from an invented occult book and summons a vampiric entity from space. Lovecraft's "The Haunter of the Dark" appeared the following year, including the same book in a list of forbidden titles and featuring the disturbing discoveries made by the main character, suspiciously named Robert Blake. This sort of playful interaction between authors has led to the description of the Cthulhu Mythos as an "open-source fictional universe" and has no doubt contributed to its subsequent popularity with readers and writers.<sup>2</sup>

After the death of Lovecraft on March 15, 1937, his published stories, unpublished manuscripts, and vast correspondence were preserved by two of his younger friends, August Derleth and Donald Wandrei. They subsequently formed Arkham House, a small publishing house dedicated to the works of Lovecraft and other writers of weird fiction. Lovecraft's association with pulp literature caused his stories to be largely disregarded by literary critics in the 1940s and 1950s, but

they nevertheless managed to develop a sort of underground cult status. This expanded in the 1960s and 1970s, as the cosmic themes of the stories had an appeal to the counterculture of the of the period. Indeed, from 1967 to 1969 there was even a psychedelic rock band named in Lovecraft's honor—arguably something far more horrifying than anything the Rhode Island author ever conjured from his imagination. At the end of the 1970s, Lovecraft's works began to slowly shed their cult status and develop more general literary credibility.<sup>3</sup> The gradual emergence of Lovecraft as a legitimate figure in modern American literature continued in the decades that followed. In 2005, he was declared a classic American author and had a collection of his tales inducted into the Library of America as volume 155, located squarely between the letters and speeches of Theodore Roosevelt (vol. 154) and Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (vol. 156).

At the same time, Lovecraft's alien deities, particularly the octopoid Cthulhu (Fig. 4), from whom the Mythos derives its name, have been seeping into popular American culture. At present, one may purchase plush toys or children's coloring books related to Cthulhu from mainstream retailers while simultaneously reading academic articles about what this may mean (Fig. 5). During the 2016 U.S. election the cynically minded could join a movement fueled by filmmaker Guillermo del Toro calling for the election of Cthulhu as president on the specious grounds that voting for the greater evil should be given a chance for a change.<sup>4</sup> Most recently, Cthulhu was mentioned in an opening sketch for *The Late Show with Stephen Colbert* (first aired September 5, 2019), presumably with the expectation that the bulk of the viewing audience would be familiar with the name.

### Show Me the Money

H. P. Lovecraft's personal relationship with money was complicated and perhaps even tragic. He was born into a wealthy and aristocratic family in Providence, Rhode Island, on August 20, 1890. However, the various business interests of his grandfather, Whipple Van Buren Phillips—the source of the family wealth—began to fail in 1900 and fully collapsed in 1904. Phillips himself died of a stroke soon after. This was a serious blow to the financial security of young Lovecraft and his mother

3. For the development of the scholarly literature see Eric Hoepfner, "Lovecraft Rising: Tracing the Growth of Scholarship on Howard Phillips Lovecraft, 1990–2004" ([https://www.academia.edu/4621784/Lovecraft\\_Rising\\_Tracing\\_the\\_Growth\\_of\\_Scholarship\\_on\\_Howard\\_Phillips\\_Lovecraft\\_1990-2004](https://www.academia.edu/4621784/Lovecraft_Rising_Tracing_the_Growth_of_Scholarship_on_Howard_Phillips_Lovecraft_1990-2004)) and S. T. Joshi, *I Am Providence: The Life and Times of H. P. Lovecraft*, vol. 2 (New York: Hippocampus Press, 2013), 1034–42.  
4. Ed Mazza "Cthulhu for President?" Huffington Post (June 2, 2016) ([https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/entry/cthulhu-for-president\\_n\\_574fba9e4b0ed593f134933](https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/entry/cthulhu-for-president_n_574fba9e4b0ed593f134933)).



Figure 1: United States of America. Bronze advertisement medal for the Medallion Art Company, 1928. (ANS 1984.97.14, gift of M. J. Kirk) 72 mm (images reduced).

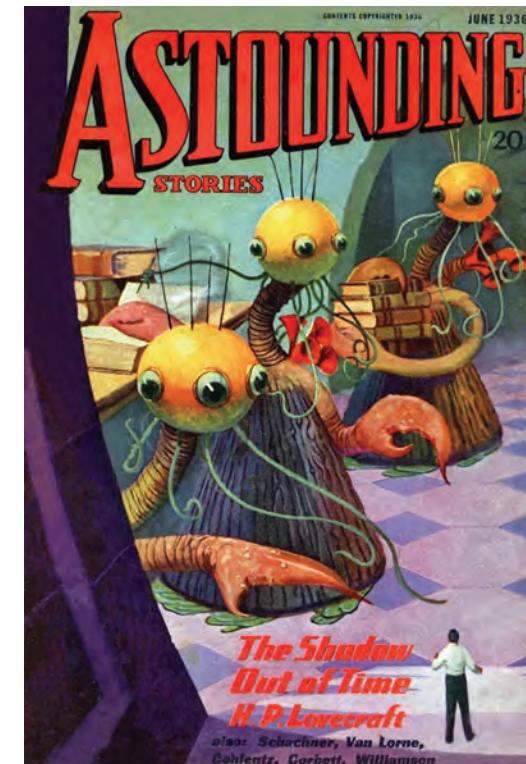


Figure 3: Cover of the June 1936 issue of *Astounding Stories* illustrating H. P. Lovecraft's "The Shadow Out of Time."



Figure 5: Plush toy of Cthulhu by Funko and sold by Walmart among other retailers.



Figure 2: Bronze bust of Howard Phillips Lovecraft by Bryan Moore, 2013, located in the Providence Athenaeum, Providence, Rhode Island (photo by J. W. Ocker).



Figure 4: H. P. Lovecraft's sketch of the image of Cthulhu featured in "The Call of Cthulhu" (1929) for R. H. Barlow, dated May 11, 1934.



Figure 6: Spanish-American gold cob eight-escudos of Philip V (1700–1746). Lima (Peru) mint, 1715. (ANS 1967.113.819) 31 mm.



Figure 7: Spanish-American silver cob eight-reales of Philip V (1700–1746). Mexico City (Mexico) mint. (ANS 1964.198.2) 35 mm (images reduced).



Figure 8: Spanish-American gold milled eight-escudos of Philip V (1700–1746). Lima (Peru) mint, 1743. (ANS 1980.109.678, gift of Arthur J. Fecht) 36 mm.



Figure 9: Spanish-American silver milled eight-reales of Philip V (1700–1746). Mexico City (Mexico) mint, 1732. (ANS 1947.135.1, gift of Robert I. Nesmith) 40 mm.



Figure 10: United States of America. Silver dollar. Philadelphia mint, 1794. (ANS 1965.97.1, gift of Mr. and Mrs. R. Henry Norweb Sr.) 38.5 mm.



Figure 11: Spain, Castile and Leon, Segovia. Silver 8 real. (ANS 1969.222.2725, gift of P. K. Anderson) 41 mm.



Figure 12: Spain, Seville. Silver 2 real (ANS 1969.222.3539, gift of P. K. Anderson) 26 mm.



Figure 13: United States of America. Gold \$5 half-eagle. Philadelphia mint, 1795. (ANS 1908.93.226, gift of the American Museum of Natural History) 25 mm.



Figure 14: United States of America. Gold \$5 half-eagle. Philadelphia mint, 1798. (ANS 1908.93.479, gift of the American Museum of Natural History) 25 mm.



Figure 15: United States of America. Gold \$2.50 quarter-eagle. Philadelphia mint, 1911. (ANS 2012.38.2, gift of Karen Alster) 18 mm.



Figure 16: United States of America. Gold \$20 double eagle. Philadelphia mint, 1925. (ANS 1925.188.2) 34 mm.

Sarah Susan Phillips since his father had already died in a psychiatric hospital in 1898 and it was not an age when respectable women took employment. A further blow came from the mismanagement of Sarah Susan's inheritance (\$5,000), by her ne'er-do-well brother, Edwin Everett Phillips, in 1911. Until the death of Sarah Susan Phillips in 1921, mother and son survived on what remained of their inheritances (H. P. Lovecraft had received \$2,500 from his grandfather's estate). After her death, Lovecraft's inheritance continued to decline and he attempted to eke out an existence by selling stories to the pulp magazines and by revising or ghostwriting for other authors. His failure to complete high school due to bouts of atypical depression and chorea had prevented him from gaining a higher education and made it difficult for him to find more lucrative employment. Lovecraft's peculiar personal character also worked against his ability to better his financial situation: In 1923, the publisher of *Weird Tales* offered to hire him as editor, which should have been Lovecraft's dream job, but the 34-year-old author declined to accept because it would have required him to move to Chicago, pointing out "the tragedy of such a move for an aged antiquarian" like himself. The job subsequently went to Farnsworth Wright, who later habitually refused first submissions of Lovecraft's work. This development damaged both the author's tenuous finances and his frail sense of self-worth. Lovecraft's finances continued to deteriorate through the 1920s and 1930s and at times he found himself forced to choose between the price of a meal and the price of postage to maintain contact with his many correspondents. He chose the postage. At last, on March 15, 1937, he died from intestinal cancer, his inheritance all but used up.

Notwithstanding these lifelong difficulties in relation to money, coins, and currency (most frequently old) are mentioned in several of Lovecraft's stories as an integral part of the plot, a device to build unsettling atmosphere, or simply as part of the detail-oriented narrative style. A review of the instances in which money is mentioned can raise interesting questions regarding the level of Lovecraft's numismatic knowledge and his potential sources.

### "The Terrible Old Man" (1921)

Not generally considered one of Lovecraft's finest early works, "The Terrible Old Man" was written on January 28, 1920, and was published in the July 1921 issue of the amateur press publication *The Tryout*. This very short story tells of the attempted robbery of a mysterious "very old and very feeble man" of Kingsport (a fictionalized version of Marblehead, Rhode Island) "who has no account at the bank, and who pays for his few necessities at the village store with Spanish gold and silver minted two centuries ago." The robbery goes



Figure 17: Cover of the May 1942 cover of *Weird Tales* (Canadian edition) illustrating H. P. Lovecraft's, "The Shadow over Innsmouth."

Figure 18: United States of America. Paper one-dollar silver certificate, 1928. (ANS 0000.999.57540) 156 × 66 mm (images reduced).



Figure 19: United States of America. Paper one-dollar silver certificate, 1923. (ANS 2015.49.1, gift of Barbara N. Fudge in memory of her mother Betty Marie Ward) 188 × 79 mm (images reduced).



awry and the bodies of the criminals are later found by the seashore, wounded “as with many cutlasses.” The implication here is that the old man was really a pirate as old as his gold who had extended his life through supernatural means.

The description of “Spanish gold and silver minted two centuries ago” combined with the piratical themes in the story would lead any numismatist to immediately think of the gold eight-escudos and silver eight-reales—the respective doubloon and piece-of-eight of traditional pirate lore. Likewise, the numismatist would most probably think first of the cob coinages produced at the Spanish-American mints to be carried back to Spain aboard the Treasure Fleets if they could avoid plunder by pirates (Figs. 6–7). Spanish-American cob coinage is distinguished by the irregular shapes of the flans obtained by cutting the end (*cabo* in Spanish, from which of the English word “cob” is derived) off a gold or silver bar and by the imperfectly hammer-struck types. However, in 1732, the mint of Mexico adopted the screw press to produce circular and well-struck milled coins, including the popular “pillar dollar” eight-reales (Figs. 8–9). Gradually the other Spanish-American mints followed until all cob coin production came to an end in 1767.<sup>5</sup>

Although someone with numismatic background would probably be aware that Spanish-American cob coins were the primary booty carried off by English and Anglo-American pirates plying their dubious trade in the Atlantic in the so-called Golden Age of Piracy (1650–1720), it is not so clear that this would have been well known to an individual outside of numismatic circles in 1920. There is no indication Edwin Everett Phillips, who included coin dealer among his various odd jobs, passed on any numismatic knowledge to his nephew. Likewise, Lovecraft’s personal library, which was catalogued only after his death in 1937, contained no titles dedicated to any aspect of numismatics.

In 1841, a little less than 60 years before “The Terrible Old Man” was written, a newspaper reporter was utterly amazed by the crudeness of the cob coins found in Maine’s famous Castine Deposit. With respect to the cobs, he reported: “Many of the coins are a curiosity, being of all possible shapes and forms. It would seem they were cut down to an exact weight. They have all upon them a coinage, but most of them very uncouth and without date, and clearly show the great

improvements made since the days of our fathers, in the coinage of money.”<sup>6</sup> Whatever cobs had circulated in the Anglo-American colonies in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century must have disappeared fairly quickly after July 1, 1793, when they ceased to be recognized as legal tender in the young United States.<sup>7</sup> They were clearly beyond the memory of newspaper reporters in Maine 48 years later. Thus one tends to suspect that cob coinage would have been largely beyond to ken of the average person in the early twentieth century as well.

Taking this evidence into consideration, it seems somewhat more likely that Lovecraft was thinking of Spanish-American milled silver and gold. New England was no stranger to the pillar dollar, which circulated widely in the eighteenth century. The ubiquity of the coin may be gauged by an Act of January 26, 1749/50 that established the value of the pillar dollar in relation to the paper money issued by the Province of Massachusetts Bay and by the deposit of dollars to back the 1750 emission of New Tenor Massachusetts paper money. The new notes are denominated both in English pence and in dollar fractions. Likewise, the December 23, 1758 Act for the issue of paper Lawful Money by the Colony of Rhode Island gives the total value of the issue in both English pounds and dollars.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the popularity of the pillar dollar in North America was not limited to New England alone. The Spanish-American milled denomination ultimately became the model for the U.S. silver dollar first struck in 1794 (Fig. 10).

While Spanish-American milled gold and silver may be a little less iconic for the piratical themes of “The Terrible Old Man,” they seem somewhat more plausible from the perspective that the title character manages to spend this old money at the village store. One suspects that the irregular and odd shape of cob coins so remarkable to the newspaper reporter in 1841 would have made them difficult to pass as money, particularly after 1857, when a new Coinage Act repealed the status of foreign gold and silver coin—especially the Spanish dollar—as legal currency in the United States. milled Spanish-American coins, which had similar size, regular round shape, and mechanized production process to U.S. gold and silver coins of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century presumably would have made them somewhat more likely than cobs to pass in commerce in 1920. Evidently there were still one or two eighteenth-century milled coins floating around when

5. Santiago de Chile began its milled coinage in 1751, Lima in 1752, Guatemala City in 1754, Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1759, and Potosí in 1767.

6. *Worcester (MA) Palladium*, June 30, 1841; J. Kleeberg, *Numismatic Finds of the Americas* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2009), no. 178.

7. Q. David Bowers, *American Coin Treasures and Hoards*, 2nd printing (Wolfeboro, NH: Bowers and Merena Galleries, 1998), 183.

8. E. Newman, *The Early Paper Money of America* (Iola, WI: Krause, 2008), 204–06, 391.

Lovecraft was writing. A hoard of U.S. paper money and gold coins sealed into the wall of a house in Seymour, Connecticut, in 1932, and found in 1950 is said to have included gold coins dated 1750.<sup>9</sup> Since a date this early shows that the coins in question cannot have been from the U.S. Mint at least part of the find is likely to have consisted of Spanish-American milled pieces.

A third possibility is that Lovecraft was entirely unaware of both cob and milled Spanish-American coinages and that the coins of the Terrible Old Man are less-specific imaginings based on general pirate lore. Stories of English pirates and the plunder of the Spanish Main were a staple of adventure literature of the late nineteenth century, most notably Robert Louis Stevenson's classic *Treasure Island* (1883), and Rhode Island had its own local history as a hotbed of piracy in the seventeenth century, both of which could have contributed to the formulation of the "Spanish gold and silver minted two centuries ago." However, none of the Rhode Island historical works in Lovecraft's library touch on piracy in the colony, nor does he seem to have owned a copy of *Treasure Island*, although he had Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) and a variety of collections including Stevenson's stories. Of course, there is no way to tell what he may have read from the Providence public library.

One wonders whether the entry for "Numismatics" in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*—a reference work that he is known to have mined for elements in other stories—might have provided a visualization for the Terrible Old Man's coins. It notes that, "The Spanish dollar of the 17th and 18th centuries was one of the most widely circulating currencies in the West" and provides a plate illustration depicting a milled 1660 eight-*reales* of Philip IV from the mint of Segovia in Spain (Fig. 11). If the encyclopedia entry served as a source, then the "Spanish gold and silver minted two centuries ago" imagined by Lovecraft was rather historically inaccurate. Eight-*reales* like that illustrated in the encyclopedia were produced at Spanish mints primarily for use in Spain and Europe and were not commonly found on ships plying the Atlantic, unlike the cob eight-*reales* and pillar dollars of the Treasure Fleets that were regularly targeted by English and Anglo-American pirates. They likewise do not appear in recorded North American finds. The only European Spanish coins that traveled to the New World with any frequency were the debased two-*reales* known in the Anglo-American colonies as pistareens (Fig. 12)—and no pirate was looking for them. When they first arrived in Massachusetts in 1750, they were held for almost

three years before they were permitted to enter circulation as a form of small change.<sup>10</sup> Their debased silver guaranteed that they would not be hoarded and would continue to circulate.

### "The Dunwich Horror" (1929)

The element of sinister old money from "The Terrible Old Man" returns almost a decade later in "The Dunwich Horror," one of the core stories of Lovecraft's Cthulhu Mythos. It was written in 1928 and published in the April 1929 issue of *Weird Tales*. The tale is often considered one of Lovecraft's best due to its rich atmosphere and skillful building of tension towards a shattering climax. It tells the story of a degenerate rural Massachusetts family composed of Lavinia Whateley; her unnamed father, simply known as Old or Wizard Whateley; and her monstrous children, the humanoid Wilbur Whateley and an invisible behemoth kept alive behind the closed doors of their modified farmhouse. Old Whateley buys cattle from surrounding farms in order to secretly feed the monstrosity, always paying "in gold pieces of extremely ancient date." Wilbur continues to expend these coins for buying cattle and to hush up enquiry about mysterious disappearances in the area after the death of his grandfather. Later investigation never reveals the source of the mysterious gold. The already disturbing situation comes to a head after Wilbur is killed while attempting to steal a copy of the *Necronomicon* a from the library of Miskatonic University (a fictional institution probably based on Brown University in Providence) and no one is left to feed his brother. The hungry creature at last bursts from its prison and runs amok among the neighboring farms before its horrific true appearance is revealed and it is banished from human reality through the arcane knowledge of Dr. Henry Armitage, the chief librarian at Miskatonic University.

With respect to the money mentioned in the story, it is necessary to ask what would have been considered an "extremely ancient date" in 1928? On June 30, 1841, the Castine deposit of the seventeenth-century coins was described in the *Worcester (MA) Palladium* as "a quantity of ancient coin." If roughly 200 years is the gauge for antiquity in a New England context, as seems to be the case from both the newspaper story and "The Terrible Old Man," then it seems probable that Old Whateley was buying his cattle with Spanish-American milled gold coins of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, one could imagine the earliest U.S. gold \$10 eagles and \$5 half-eagles (Fig. 13), struck between 1795 and 1797, or perhaps even the succeeding issues of 1797-1804 (Fig. 14) as having an air of antiquity in 1928. In this year the most

current U.S. gold coins were the highly artistic quarter- and half-eagles designed by Bela Lyon Pratt (Fig. 15) and double eagles designed by Augustus Saint-Gaudens (Fig. 16). Old U.S. gold might have had a better chance of acceptance than old Spanish-American gold by prospective sellers of cattle in 1928, given the fact that foreign gold coin ceased to have legal tender status in the United States in 1857. Of course, if Old Whateley's gold "of extremely ancient date" was being accepted in payment solely on the basis of its bullion value, then there is little to bar his use of Spanish-American milled gold coins, or even cobs, although as we have seen, there is no indication that Lovecraft would have been aware of the distinction.

### "The Shadow over Innsmouth" (1936)

Money is also briefly mentioned in "The Shadow Over Innsmouth," a novella written by Lovecraft over the course of November–December 1931, but which did not see publication until 1936. Initially rejected by *Weird Tales*, it was first published in book form by William L. Crawford's Visionary Publishing Company in 1936. *Weird Tales* later reprinted the story in the May 1942 issue (Fig. 17). Like "The Dunwich Horror," "The Shadow Over Innsmouth" is a core Cthulhu Mythos story. As the tale unfolds, the narrator, Robert Olmstead,<sup>11</sup> travels through parts of Massachusetts on a quest to expand his genealogical knowledge of his family. His enquiries lead him to Innsmouth (a fictional seaside town in the vicinity of Essex Bay) where he gradually discovers that the population has entered into a pact with an ancient race of humanoid undersea beings known only as the Deep Ones. In return for sacrifices and interbreeding with the human population, the Deep Ones provide the people of Innsmouth with plentiful fish and peculiarly formed gold jewelry in order to support them. The hybrid children of the town are born with a fully human appearance, but over time they develop bulging eyes, greyish skin and, at last gills in middle age. At this point they abandon their lives on land and enter the ocean to join their non-human parents and relatives.

Whereas old coins are tools for setting the mood in "The Dunwich Horror" and integral to the piratical themes in "The Terrible Old Man," when money appears in "The Shadow Over Innsmouth" it is entirely mundane. In order to reach Innsmouth from Newburyport, Olmstead, pays 60 cents to take a lonely bus, "extending him [the bus driver] a dollar bill and murmuring the single word 'Innsmouth.' He looked curiously at me for a second as he returned 40 cents change without



Figure 20: United States of America. Silver quarter-dollar. Philadelphia mint, 1892. (ANS 0000.999.6295) 24.3 mm.



Figure 21: United States of America. Silver quarter-dollar. Philadelphia mint, 1917. (ANS 1917.22.3) 24.3 mm.



Figure 22: United States of America. Silver dime. Philadelphia mint, 1916. (ANS 0000.999.4903) 17.9 mm.



Figure 23: United States of America. Silver dime. Philadelphia mint, 1892. (ANS 0000.999.4849) 17.9 mm.



Figure 24: United States of America. Silver dime. Philadelphia mint, 1837. (ANS 1980.109.2418, gift of Arthur J. Fecht) 17.9 mm.



Figure 25: United States of America. Cupronickel five-cent. Philadelphia mint, 1916. (ANS 1944.49.64, gift of H. E. Gillingham) 21.2 mm.

9. Kleeberg, *Numismatic Finds*, no. 871.

10. P. Mossman, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1996), 58–60.

11. The narrator is unnamed in the published story but his name is known from Lovecraft's notes, published in the posthumous collection, *Something About Cats and Other Pieces* (Sauk City, WI: Arkham House, 1949).



Figure 26: United States of America. Cupronickel five-cent. Philadelphia mint, 1906. (ANS 1944.49.61, gift of H.E. Gillingham) 21.2 mm.



Figure 27: United States of America. Cupronickel cent. Philadelphia mint, 1907. (ANS 0000.999.4588) 19 mm.



Figure 28: United States of America. Cupronickel cent. Philadelphia mint, 1858. (ANS 1980.109.2145, gift of Arthur J. Fecht) 19 mm.



Figure 29: Dutch Republic, Province of Holland. Silver gulden (guilder). Antwerp mint, 1680. Heritage Auctions Europe, Auction 52 (November 15, 2016), lot 1340.



Figure 30: Dutch Republic, Province of Zeeland. Silver ducatonen. Middelburg mint, 1660. (ANS 1941.89.2) 45.6 mm.



Figure 31: Dutch Republic, Province of West Friesland. Silver leeuwendaalder. Hoorn mint, 1674. (ANS 1959.207.106) 41.5 mm.

speaking.” Later, as evening falls and unnerved by the rumors he hears in the town, Olmstead tries to take a second bus away from Innsmouth, but he is prevented by problems with the vehicle’s engine. He is forced to spend the night in the town’s only available lodging, the Gilman Hotel, where he pays a second dollar for Room 428. Olmstead spends a harrowing night besieged at the hotel and only narrowly escapes capture by the monstrous inhabitants of Innsmouth by fleeing the town. He later discovers that he is actually a descendent of Obed Marsh, the patriarch of Innsmouth, and he is undergoing the physiological changes that will ultimately lead him to a new life under the sea with the Deep Ones.

Given the 1931 context of the story, the dollar bills paid out by Olmstead are most likely to be the small-size silver certificates issued in 1928 (F-1600 to F-1602) (Fig. 18). The small-size legal tender notes (F-1500) issued in the same year seem somewhat less probable given the much smaller numbers issued. The large-size silver certificates and legal tender notes of 1923 (Fig. 19) are perhaps also a possibility, but most of these would have been worn out by 1931, considering that the average survival rate for paper notes in circulation is just under six years. Although large-size national currency notes were issued by chartered National Banks in Massachusetts and Rhode Island in the 1920s their issues are not relevant here since no national currency note series had included any denomination smaller than five dollars since the First Charter Period (February 25, 1863–July 11, 1882).

It is rather more difficult to determine the nature of the 60 cents returned by the Innsmouth bus driver

in change since there is no indication of which denominations were involved. However, one can make an educated guess. Any quarters were probably either Barber quarters, named for their designer Charles E. Barber, and struck from 1892 to 1916, or Standing Liberty quarters, named after their reverse design and struck between 1916 and 1930 (Figs. 21–22). Any dimes are likely to have been Mercury dimes. These were struck between 1916 and 1945 and named for the winged head of Liberty on the obverse, which was popularly mistaken as a representation of the ancient Roman god of commerce. Barber dimes struck from 1892 to 1916 and possibly even Seated Liberty dimes, designed by Thomas Sully and Christian Gobrecht and struck from 1837 to 1891, also could have been mixed in (Figs. 23–24). Five-cent pieces are probably Buffalo nickels struck between 1913 and 1938, but the earlier Liberty Head nickels struck from 1882 to 1913 cannot be excluded (Figs. 25–26). Lastly, any cents in the change probably would have been Wheat Ear Lincoln cents struck between 1909 and 1958 or the preceding Indian Head cents produced from 1858 to 1909 (Figs. 27–28).

#### “Ibid” (1938)

Perhaps the most remarkable mention of money in a Lovecraft story occurs in “Ibid,” a spoof college paper written in 1927 or 1928. However, it was only published a year after Lovecraft’s death, in the January 1938 issue of *O-Wash-Ta-Nong*, a Michigan amateur publication. The “paper” recounts the life and posthumous adventures of the well-known and oft-cited *Ibid*, which turns out not to be the usual abbreviation of *ibidem* (“in the same place”) used to indicate a work already cited in a footnote

or endnote, but rather the cognomen of the fictional Late Roman rhetorician Caius Anicius Magnus Furius Camillus Æmilianus Cornelius Valerius Pompeius Julius Ibi-dus. In the Middle Ages, his exhumed skull was treated as a saintly relic, and in later times it traveled to New England as a family heirloom. It subsequently passed into the possession of members of the Pequot tribe who sold it to a Dutch fur trader for two guilders in 1680.

The price paid for the skull of Ibi-dus combined with the year of the purchase is very interesting. The silver guilder (from Dutch *gulden*) denomination only began to be struck continuously by the Dutch provinces of Holland and West Friesland in precisely 1680.<sup>12</sup> This new coin featured an obverse depiction of Athena holding in her right hand a lance resting on a bible and topped by a liberty cap while resting her left hand on a shield emblazoned with the lion of the Dutch Republic (Fig. 29). It is possible that Lovecraft here uses “guilder” merely as a Dutch unit of money without having any familiarity with the actual coin—previously the guilder had been a unit of account, except for the period 1544–1558, when it had been struck as a coin. As a denomination, the guilder may have been known to Lovecraft from his historical interest in colonial America. After all, Manhattan Island was famously purchased from its indigenous inhabitants for the value of 60 guilders in 1626, more than five decades before the introduction of the silver guilder. However, the coincidence of the 1680 date of the transaction between the Dutch trader and the Pequots in “Ibid” seems to imply that Lovecraft had some knowledge of the silver coin.

12. Previously the guilder had been a unit of account except for the period 1544–1558 when it was struck as a silver coin.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence to suggest that silver guilders of 1680 or even later date actually circulated in New England or North America. They have not been reported by archaeologists or metal detectorists, nor are they listed in valuation schedules of the Colonial period. Indeed, the 1680 guilder is a very rare coin anywhere today. In contrast, several multiples of the guilder did see circulation in North America: *ducatones* of three guilders (Fig. 30), *rijksdaalders* and *ducats* of two and one-half guilders, and debased *leeuwendaalders* (Fig. 31). This last denomination may have passed at times as two guilders since its value tended to fluctuate with values ranging between 36 and 42 Dutch *stuivers*.<sup>13</sup> Forty *stuivers* made up two guilders. While there seems little probability that Lovecraft was aware of any of these Dutch multiples, his apparent knowledge of the first year of the silver guilder is tantalizing. Presumably he must have obtained this information from a numismatic publication, although precisely what (a sale or collection catalogue?) and the means by which it came into his hands is very much unclear.

#### Conclusion

Coins and texts have long gone hand-in-hand for the study of the ancient world. The present brief foray into what might be justly described as “weird numismatics” serves to show (shew?) that coins and currency may also potentially open new avenues for literary criticism, raising questions about sources and authorial knowledge, as well as providing added context.

13. Mossman, *Money*, 64–65.



Facing page: The ANS's collection of Chapman letters have been kept for over 100 years in their original envelopes. They are now being rehoused and scanned for online use.

## THE LETTERS OF HUDSON AND HARRY: Historic Chapman Correspondence Goes Online

David Hill

In 1983, the children of legendary coin dealer Henry Chapman Jr. paid a visit to the ANS (fig. 1). His daughters, Helen, Henrietta, and Jane, and his son, Joseph, came up from Pennsylvania to see an exhibit of materials relating to their father, mostly items they had donated the previous year. A highlight was the original manuscript, galley proofs, page proofs, and bid book for the celebrated John Story Jenks collection, Henry's "magnum opus."<sup>1</sup> When the Society first learned that the family was thinking of making the donation, director Leslie Elam and librarian Frank Campbell wasted no time and went right down to the greater Philadelphia area to meet them. A genial exchange of letters followed, and the whole experience must have left a positive impression on Henrietta, because in 2002, after her death, the Society received a substantial set of early Chapman Brothers correspondence from her estate.<sup>2</sup>

At various times over the years, these letters, now filling about 12 large boxes, have been straightened, organized, alphabetized, and otherwise processed in various attempts to improve access. Unfortunately, as long as the letters were kept in envelopes, they remained difficult to use (facing page). Researchers had to guess which ones might be worth looking at, unfold them to find out, and then refold them before moving on. But now, thanks to work being carried out at the ANS on behalf of the Newman Numismatic Portal, the correspondence is finally being made fully accessible. Lara Jacobs, a technician with the Internet Archive, has not only been rehousing the letters, making them easier to

use in person, but has also been scanning and putting them online, where they become instantly available to researchers throughout the world. Lara finds many items of interest as she goes about her work, and I am indebted to her for letting me know about all of the fascinating things that she finds.

The letters mostly begin in 1878, the year Henry Chapman Jr. (fig. 2) and his older brother Samuel Hudson ("S. H.") Chapman (fig. 3) started their coin business, and the bulk of them end about the time the two went their separate ways businesswise in 1906. It's always fun to rummage around and get lost in old correspondence. There are all kinds of interesting things to discover, including photographs (fig. 4). Sometimes it's the little details that transport you to a different time—like when a doctor uses cocaine to treat S. H.'s wife's afflicted toenail.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes it's the unique characters you encounter, like the vaudevillian Al Emmett Fostell, who wrote to the Chapmans about some medals and other collectibles (fig. 5).<sup>4</sup> You learn a lot of new things, too, for example that the Chapmans' employed the noted photographer Edward Bierstadt—brother of the Hudson River School painter Albert Bierstadt—to print some of the plates for their catalogs (fig. 6).<sup>5</sup>

Lara hasn't processed all of the letters yet, but she has reached the letter C, and this is where you will find the correspondence filed under "Chapman." These were mostly generated as the brothers, along with their

1. John Adams, *United States Numismatic Literature, Volume I: Nineteenth Century Auction Catalogs* (Mission Viejo: Calif., 1982), 97.  
2. ANS Chapman accession records.

3. S. H. Hudson to Henry Chapman Jr., undated (ca. 1899?), letter begins "Mr. and Mrs. Jayne came over."  
4. Al Emmett Fostell to S. H. and H. Chapman, November 21, 1904.  
5. Edward Bierstadt to S. H. Chapman and Henry Chapman Jr., March 22, 1892.



Figure 1: Henry Chapman Jr.'s three daughters and son at the ANS, with family members and Society staff, including librarian Frank Campbell (far right), 1983.

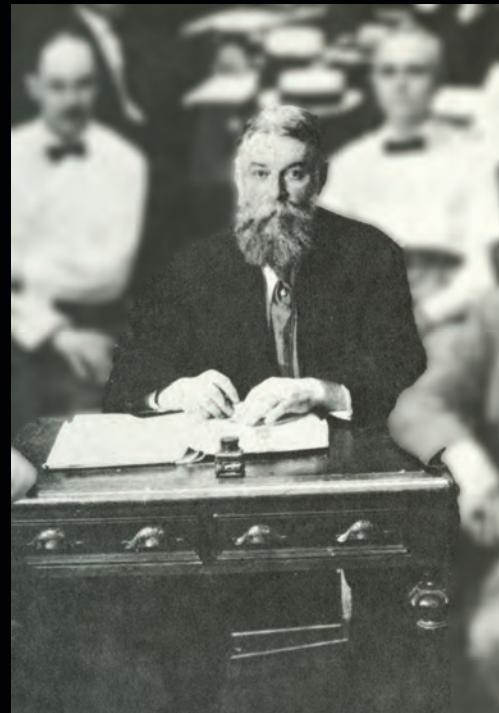


Figure 2: Henry Chapman Jr., 1912. He was "Harry" to his family.



Figure 3: Samuel Hudson Chapman, 1912. Known as "S. H." professionally, he was "Hudson" in the family's letters.



Figure 4: Letter sent to Henry Chapman Sr., along with a photograph showing his brother's grandson.



Figure 5: One of the Chapman letters online at the Newman Numismatic Portal. Vaudeville performer and manager Al Emmett Fostell bought medals and other collectibles from the Chapmans.

mother and father, wrote to each other, with the occasional aunt, uncle, and cousin thrown in. They give us a more intimate look at the Chapman family than anything else available. The first thing you notice are the mannerisms associated with their Quaker heritage, like the use of "thee" and "thou" in their letters to each other and the use of numbers instead of names for days of the week—"last fifth day" instead of "last Thursday," for example. The other thing that stands out is how the family addressed the brothers. Professionally, the two were always S. H. and Henry Chapman Jr., but to their family, they were Hudson and Harry.

Their father, Henry Chapman Sr. (1827–1907), is well represented in the letters. Numismatic researcher John Lupia has suggested that it was Henry Sr. who first got into the coin business. He arrived in the United States from Dublin, Ireland, in 1848 and at some point went into tea packing. He later became a money broker, making him "more or less a coin dealer," according to Lupia, who wonders if a correspondent signing off as "H. C." in *Mason's Coin and Stamp Collectors' Magazine* might have been Henry Sr., perhaps showing an interest in coins as early as 1868. Firmer evidence of his early numismatic activity is a patent for a coin cabinet filed under his sons' names in 1872. The cabinet seems to have been Henry Sr.'s modification of a printer's case

designed by his half brother. The boys would have been only 14 and 12 at the time.<sup>6</sup>

Henry Sr.'s business concerns would remain entangled with those of his sons. He sometimes borrowed money from their company to fund his other ventures.<sup>7</sup> In the 1870s, Henry Sr. filed patents for a centrifugal machine used to dry grains, again under the names of his young sons.<sup>8</sup> He sold these machines but also worked them himself, drying the leftover grains of brewers to resell as animal feed (fig. 7). Much of the earliest family correspondence, dating from 1880, was sent by him from New York City, where he had factories doing this work and where he was trying to put together deals with brewers. He had been told by one of them, George Robinson of Yuengling, that if he wanted to crack the market in the Northeast, he needed the blessing of Henry Clausen, founder of the U. S. Brewers' Association.<sup>9</sup> He eventually got it,<sup>10</sup> but the endless ups and downs tore at him. One week he would wire home, "all

6. John Lupia, "Henry Chapman," Numismaticmall.com.

7. Promissory note, Henry Chapman Sr. to S. H. Chapman and Henry Chapman Jr., January 23, 1880.

8. John Lupia, "Henry Chapman," Numismaticmall.com.

9. Henry Chapman Sr. to Jane Chapman and Henry Chapman Jr., March 8, 1880.

10. Henry Chapman Sr. to Jane Chapman and Henry Chapman Jr., April 6, 1880.

Figure 6: Letter from noted photographer Edward Bierstadt, who printed the plates for some of the Chapman catalogs.

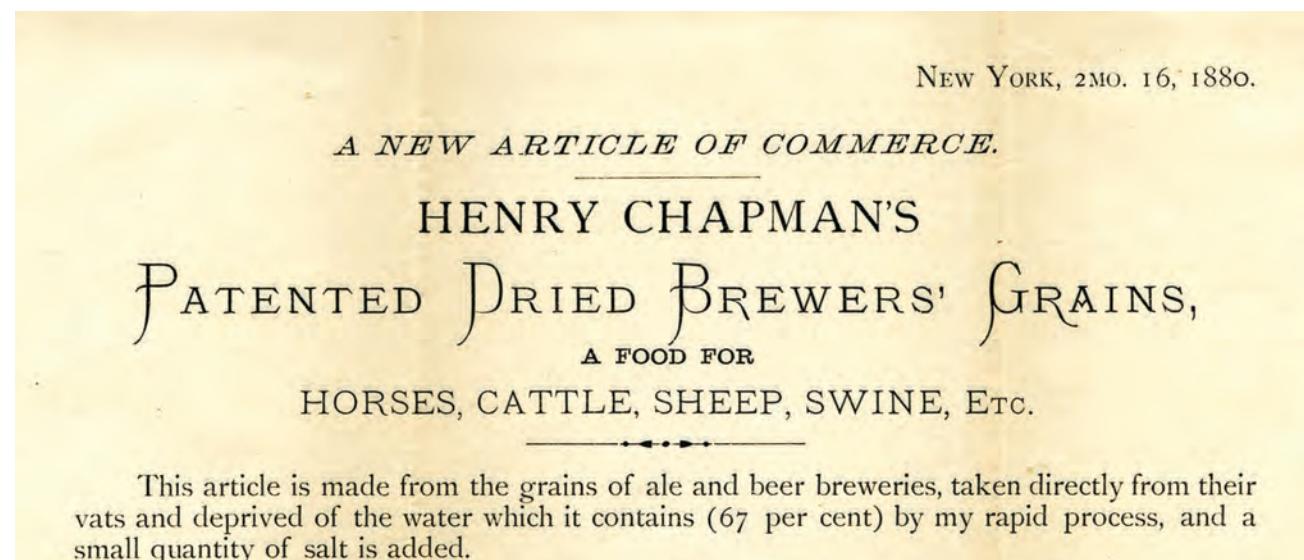
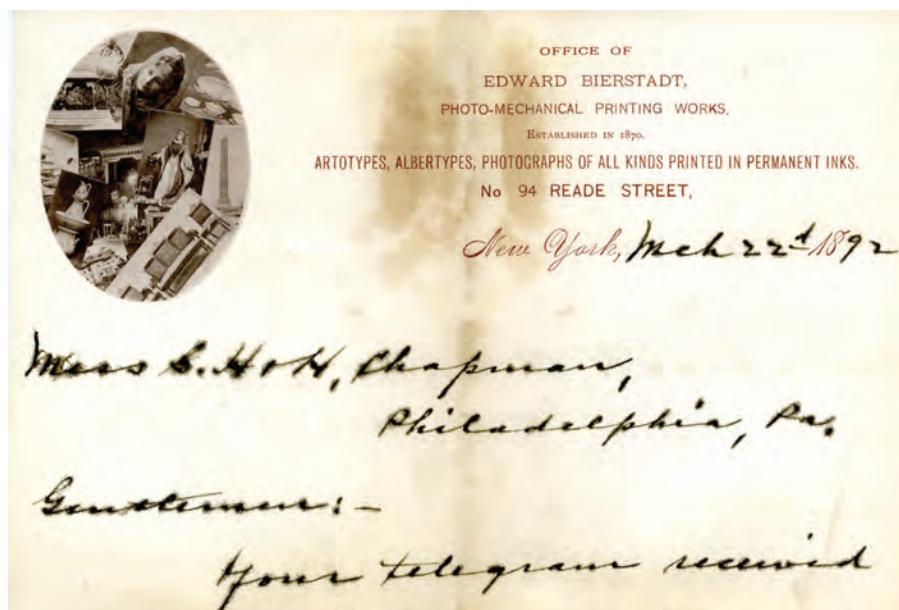


Figure 7: Part of a circular advertising Henry Chapman Sr.'s grain business.



Figure 8: Henry Jr. was traveling in Europe in 1889 and sent a 1724 Rosa Americana two-pence back to his brother, who proclaimed it to be unique, comparing the obverse to the one on this Rosa Sine Spina penny from their catalog of the Charles Ira Bushnell collection.

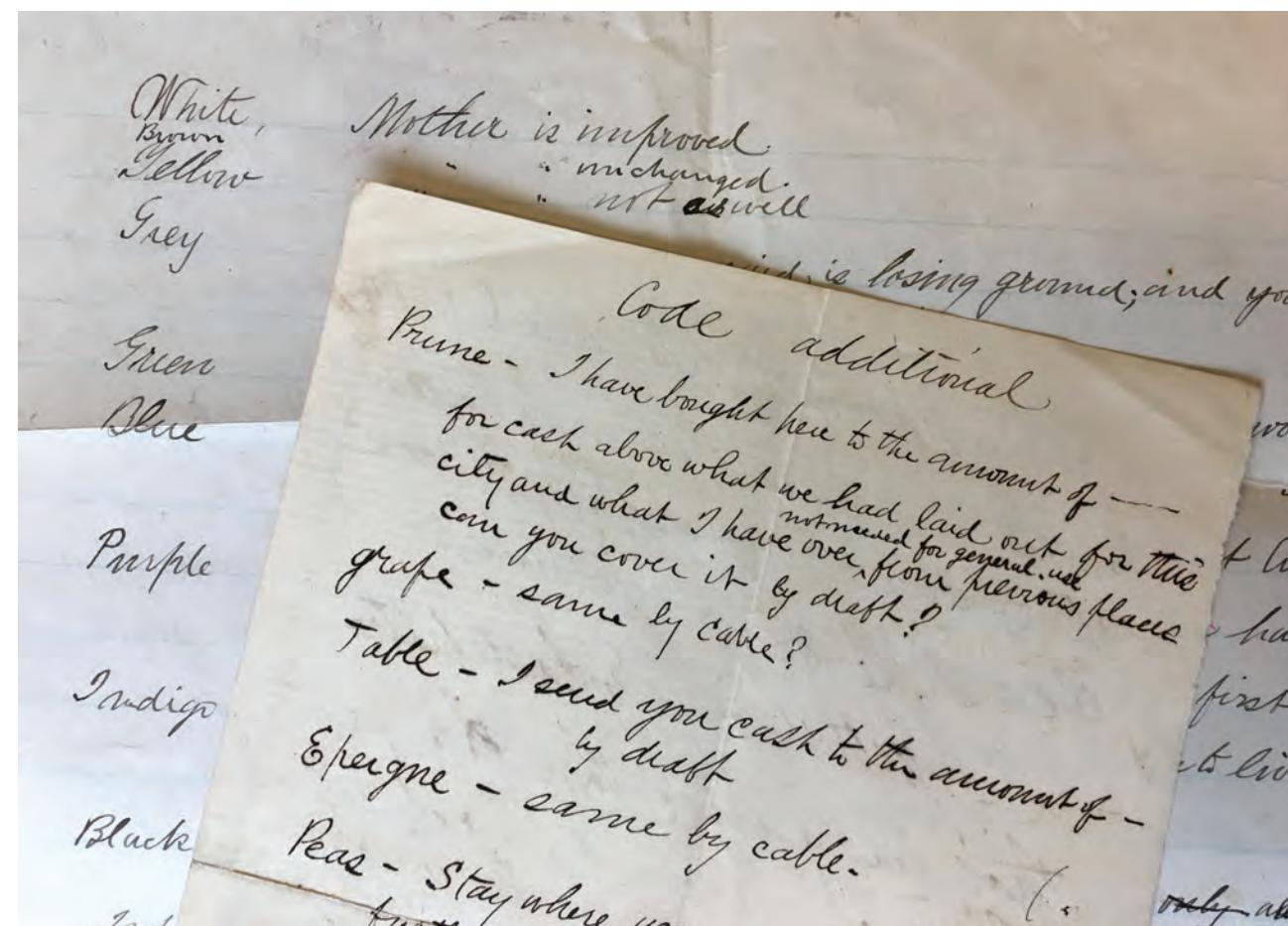


Figure 9: Code sheets used by the Chapmans to communicate by wire. The word “peas,” for example, meant, “stay where you are until you hear further from us.”

fixed, all settled, no more doubts or fears.”<sup>11</sup> Then later, when the brewers failed to show up for a demonstration of his grain operation, he would be anguishing: “I wish the struggle was over.”<sup>12</sup> But overall, it appears his business thrived. Five brewers paid \$10,000 for stock in his company and for the use of his machines.<sup>13</sup> Orders were coming in for hundreds of bags of grain,<sup>14</sup> and his centrifugal machines were also selling.<sup>15</sup>

Unfortunately, Henry Sr.’s wife, Jane, comes off as a rather tragic figure in the letters. There are many reports of her fluctuating health and of the effects of different climates on her condition as the family traveled around, Jane often confined to a “rolling chair.”<sup>16</sup>

She adored her sons, and when Henry Jr. was getting ready to come back from an extended business trip in 1889 his mother could barely contain herself, becoming “almost overcome with the excitement” contemplating his return.<sup>17</sup> So when Henry decided to stay overseas a little longer, it did not sit well with his older brother: “I do not approve of it and am astonished given the circumstances of mother’s ill health.” S. H. let Henry know that when their mother heard the news, “her face fell.”<sup>18</sup> In the letters, there is talk of lumps and pains in her chest, but when S. H. described her condition to a doctor in Boston, he was assured it likely wasn’t cancer, giving her husband hope that she “will come all round right again.”<sup>19</sup> Jane Chapman did hold on for a couple more years, but she died in 1891 at the age of 63.<sup>20</sup>

11. Henry Chapman Sr. to Jane Chapman, April 6, 1880.  
 12. Henry Chapman Sr. to Jane Chapman and Henry Chapman Jr., April 22, 1880.  
 13. Henry Chapman Sr. to Jane Chapman, March 22, 1880.  
 14. Henry Chapman Sr. to Jane Chapman and Henry Chapman Jr., April 13, 1880.  
 15. Henry Chapman Sr. to S. H. Chapman and Henry Chapman Jr., June 10, 1880.  
 16. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Jr., July 26, 1889.

The Chapman brothers made a name for themselves

17. Jane Chapman to Henry Chapman Jr., September 20, 1889.  
 18. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Jr., undated, but likely September 1889.  
 19. Henry Chapman Sr. to Henry Chapman Jr., August 6, 1889.  
 20. findagrave.com. The Chapmans are buried in Friends Southwestern Burial Ground, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania.

Figure 10: The Chapmans also dealt in non-numismatic items such as oil paintings. They sold a portrait of George Washington by Rembrandt Peale, for example. It was probably similar to this one, since the artist made 79 versions of it. Henry Chapman Jr. had Peale's great-great-grandnephew arrested for pocketing a coin at his shop. (Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)



numismatically in June 1882 with their work on the Charles Ira Bushnell collection, which, they claimed, had their rivals “driven frantically jealous by the success of the catalogue and the sale.”<sup>21</sup> S. H. had visited Bushnell two years earlier, writing to tell his brother about having examined 50 trays of his medals and coins as well as two safe boxes full of rarities, which included a Good Samaritan shilling and a Brasher doubloon. S. H. asked the venerable old collector how much he thought it all might be worth. Bushnell told him that he once had considered it to be worth \$15,000. He estimated that with about \$3,000 of that coming out in auction expenses, he stood to clear \$12,000, an amount far less than he would have considered selling it for in the past. He told S. H. that he preferred to sell it privately rather than at auction, unless it was sold first and then listed as having been formerly his property. The Chapmans already had a buyer in mind: collector and multimillionaire George Parsons of Columbus, Ohio.<sup>22</sup> But Bushnell died three months later before any progress could be made. The collection was then acquired by Lorin Parmelee, who consigned it to the Chapmans.

Apparently the Chapmans and Parmelee began discussing the terms of the sale pretty much as soon as Bushnell died, and the Chapmans took no chances when it came to their own interests in these negotiations. When a misunderstanding about fees arose with Parmelee, Henry carefully made a transcription of their conversation. The gist was that Parmelee claimed S. H. had told him he would catalog the collection for a 15% commission. “He never said that,” Henry told him. “So as I know he

always said 20% and he would never think of doing it for that.” S. H. later confirmed that Henry was right.<sup>23</sup>

There was also some trouble when it came time for Bushnell’s son to turn over his father’s collection. When the Chapmans and Parmelee examined the rarities, they found two to be missing, pieces worth about \$700. Bushnell refused to either deduct the figure from the total or supply the coins, leading S. H. to conclude that they meant to “cheat us out of them.”<sup>24</sup> The younger Bushnell refused even to sign a document saying he would turn them over if found, which the Chapmans’ father said “looks very bad on their part.” He advised them to remain “cool, calm, and don’t worry.”<sup>25</sup> Bushnell said if they didn’t like it, they could simply forgo the collection entirely, offering them a \$50 reimbursement for expenses. They refused, grumbling, “a bigger fraud we never experienced.” Parmelee blamed his rivals in Boston, particularly dealer William Elliot Woodward, who he suspected was conspiring with Bushnell. Parmelee ultimately decided that the matter wasn’t worth losing the whole collection over,<sup>26</sup> and S. H. agreed. The brothers concluded that at \$9,000, the amount Parmelee was paying, he would do all right even without the missing rarities.<sup>27</sup>

23. Henry Chapman Jr., “A Conversation between Mr. L. G. Parmelee and Henry Chapman Jr. in Messrs Bangs & Co.’s Auction Rooms, New York,” November 30, 1881.  
 24. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Sr. and Jane Chapman, February 5, 1882.  
 25. Henry Chapman Sr. to S. H. Chapman and Henry Chapman Jr., February 6, 1882.  
 26. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Sr. and Jane Chapman, February 5, 1882.  
 27. S. H. Chapman and Henry Chapman Jr., to Henry Chapman Sr. and Jane Chapman, February 6, 1882.

21. S. H. and H. Chapman, *Catalogue of a Fine Collection of Coins and Medals of the United States*, March 20, 1883, 34.  
 22. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Jr., June 17, 1880.

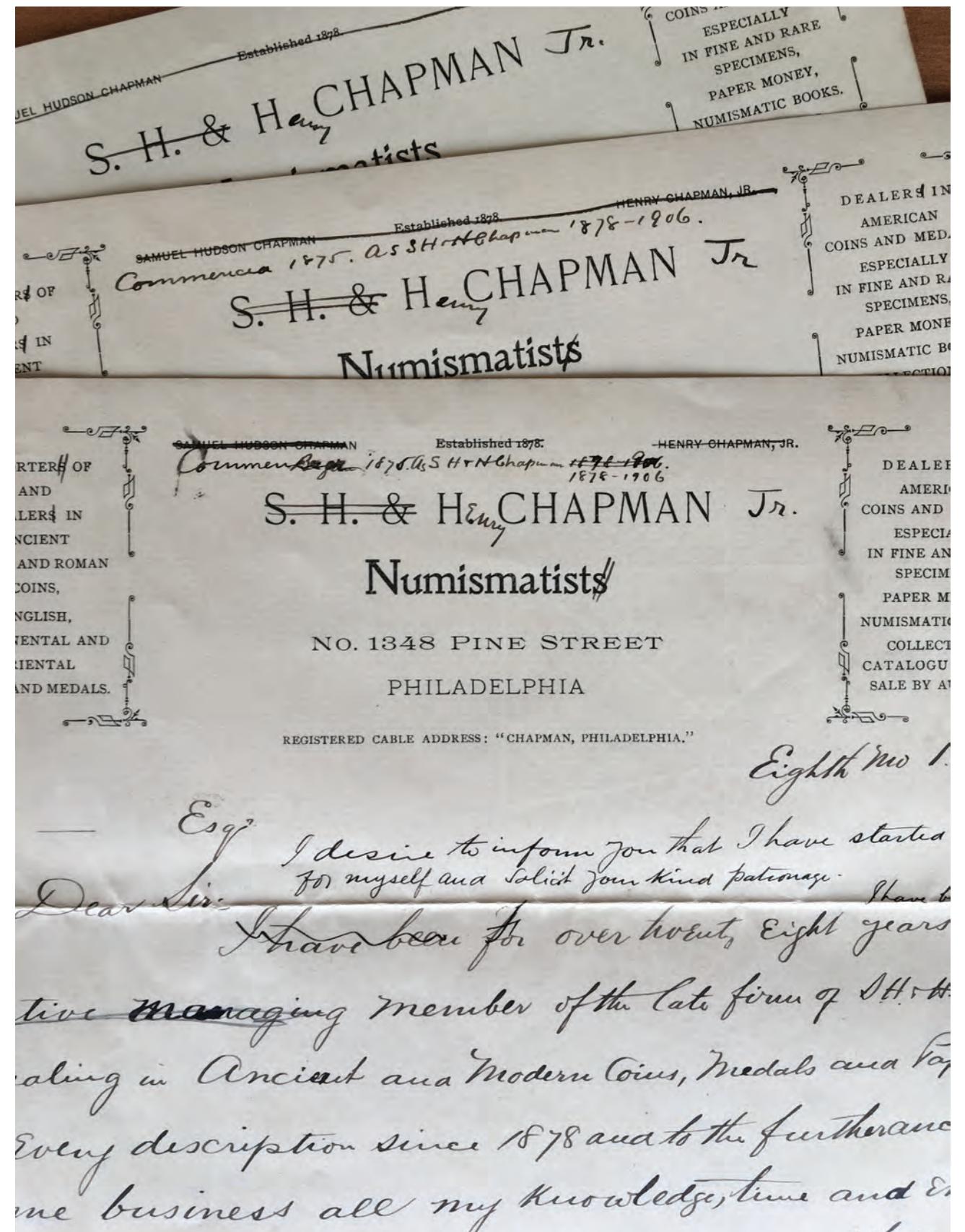


Figure 11: Draft of a circular written by Henry Chapman Jr. announcing the start of his independent business after splitting with his brother. It is written on their old letterhead, with references to S. H. crossed out.

Henry's 1889 trip abroad had him bouncing around to dealers in all the big European cities—London, Paris, Amsterdam, Cologne, Frankfurt, Dublin. He sold coins he brought with him and acquired others to send home for resale.<sup>28</sup> He became so overzealous with his purchases that his brother had to apply the brakes, telling him to “stop buying foreign coins or ancient coins” altogether.<sup>29</sup> But some coins he sent back generated excitement. “Just compared the Rosa Americana 2Pence, 1724,” S. H. wrote. “It is unique!” He knew of no others of that date and said the obverse portrait of George I was “different than preceding years,” noting that it was the same one found on the Rosa Sine Spina penny (lot 223) from their Bushnell sale (fig. 8).<sup>30</sup> Sydney Martin, in his book on Rosa Americana coins, lists up to 12 currently known specimens of the 1724 twopence.<sup>31</sup>

For secrecy and as a way to save money (since telegram fees were tallied by the word) the brothers had worked up a code to be used during Henry's travels (fig. 9). It substituted the names of fruits, colors, and furniture for other words and phrases. It irritated S. H. when Henry Jr. neglected to use the code when he ran out of money. “You had the code and could have telegraphed for six words,” he scolded.<sup>32</sup> Some of the code words related to his mother's condition and could be quite specific. The word “Grey” for example, meant, “Dr. Andrew said [she] is losing ground and you had better prepare to return.”<sup>33</sup>

Henry's 1889 trip wasn't all about coins. There are numerous references to an oil painting he was totting around trying to get authenticated, for example.<sup>34</sup> In fact, the Chapmans' dealings with paintings is a miniature theme in the letters. The brothers appear to have done a good business buying and selling them, reporting a profit of \$1,150 in one sale.<sup>35</sup> At one point, S. H. wrote to tell his brother that he had purchased oil portraits of Civil War generals George Meade and Ulysses Grant, replicas, he was told, of those at the Art Students' League of Philadelphia.<sup>36</sup> In 1903, Henry Chapman Sr. wrote excitedly to Henry about his plan to make big money selling a portrait of George Washington by Rembrandt Peale (fig. 10) to a woman said to be “rich and . . . nervous lest it should be sold before she gets here.” She was being represented by her

grandnephew.<sup>37</sup> Apparently, according to a news clipping filed with the letter, Henry Jr. had Rembrandt Peale's great-great-grandnephew arrested for pocketing a coin when he visited his shop, charges that were later dropped.<sup>38</sup> It is not clear, however, if the woman's nephew and Peale's descendent were one and the same. Henry Jr. had other troubles when it came to the Peales. He once bought what he thought was a portrait of Washington by Charles Willson Peale only to learn later that it was actually painted by Jacob Eichholtz.<sup>39</sup>

The Chapmans handled other kinds of collectables, too. James Ellsworth, who accumulated many coin rarities, including two 1804 dollars (one of which is now part of the ANS collection), turned to the Chapmans when he wanted a section of a Revolutionary War-era chain that had once been stretched across the Hudson River to protect against British incursion, asking them, “Can you not get me two pieces of three links each, or at least one piece of three links?”<sup>40</sup> Ellsworth got into a bit of a row with the brothers over another piece of memorabilia, a broadside, he bought from them. He had been led by their description to believe that it would come with a signed letter from Theodore Roosevelt. When that turned out not to be the case, he told them, “If I am going to do business with you, it is to accept every word you say or else not have any transactions whatever with you.”<sup>41</sup>

Henry had more than just business on his mind during his 1889 trip. He was also looking for a wife. One prospect was the vivacious and worldly Mamie Charles, who was staying in Paris at the time, growing bored of it, and making plans to escape to London. She had a “love of adventure and new sensations,” she said, and had recently gone up in a balloon at the World's Fair in Paris held that year. It went “100 feet higher than the Eiffel Tower,” she said, referring to the city's newest landmark, “and it is infinitely more enjoyable.”<sup>42</sup> When Henry reported back home that he was no longer interested in Miss Charles, his brother was relieved. She had a “roving disposition,” S. H. told him. “You have evidently had a narrow escape from a ruined life, for had you married her you would have been wretched.”<sup>43</sup> There was another woman, Florence, and when things didn't work out with her, S. H. was again pleased, this time

referring to her “horrendous temper.”<sup>44</sup> “So the girls are not equal to anticipations and thou hast concluded to pass them by!” he wrote. “Well, I don't think they are sufficiently attractive to love for *all time*.”<sup>45</sup> Henry did get married seven years later, to Helen Collings.<sup>46</sup> After he died, she would carry on his coin business.<sup>47</sup>

There is, of course, considerable discussion of regular coin matters in the letters, some of it relating to the Chapmans' easygoing policy of sending coins out on approval, which could sometimes cause problems. Dealer Thomas Elder wasn't happy to receive coins he didn't ask for and made sure he didn't lose any money sending them back. “A short time ago I told you not to send me anything that I did not ask you to send, consequently I return same C.O.D. and will deduct 13¢ on transportation for the lot from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh,” he told them.<sup>48</sup> (Elder's mother also makes an appearance in the letters, in the form of a sick note written for her son: “Gentlemen: My son Thos. L. Elder is sick in bed but expects to be out again in a few days.”)<sup>49</sup> When George Faber, a “cash boy” at the Einstein Department Store in Fresno, California, wrote to the Chapmans, they sent some coins for him to consider. His employer sent them right back. “He nearly fainted,” the store's president told the brothers. “The poor fellow had of course no idea you would send him a lot of coins representing more than he would make in a year.”<sup>50</sup>

S. H. Chapman has been credited as a pioneer in the production of photographic plates for the Chapman auction catalogs.<sup>51</sup> There are letters in which he expresses his excitement about acquiring and experimenting with camera equipment. In 1889, as a birthday present to himself, he bought “a complete photographic outfit for 6½ × 8½ inch plate,” telling his brother it would be a “diversion for me from our engrossing affairs” and promising to send him pictures of their mother.<sup>52</sup> He also acquired what he called a “vest” camera, amusing himself by concealing it and walking down Chestnut Street in Philadelphia, surreptitiously snapping photos of an unsuspecting acquaintance

and his wife. He even took it to the beach at the New Jersey shore, hiding the camera in his bathing suit and snapping pictures of “bathers in the surf.” His subjects remained unaware, but the noise of the hidden contraption did startle those near him.<sup>53</sup>

Henry Jr. suffered a great loss during the period covered by the letters, the death of his only son at the time, Henry Chapman III, who died at the age of three in 1901. The only mention I've seen so far regarding his death came from Henry Sr., who talked about how hard it had been for the boy's parents, but also for himself. The words “grandpa don't ever forget me” constantly ring in in my mind,” he said, along with his own internal response, “no my darling, never.”<sup>54</sup> Henry Sr., who lived with the younger Henry's family,<sup>55</sup> would sometimes fret over his son. He had been alarmed to receive a “long rambling letter” from Henry Jr. and was becoming increasingly concerned as the younger man gave incessantly repeated instructions to him about carrying out coin work. It “frightens me for his mental capacity,” he told S. H. “He is pushing and driving for all he is worth.”<sup>56</sup>

When the brothers split the business—by “mutual consent”—in 1906, Henry Jr. wrote up a multipage circular in three sections, touting his qualifications as a businessman and pledging to continue operating with the highest standards (fig. 11). He wrote the draft on the old company's letterhead, crossing out references to his brother but keeping the address the same, since he would continue to operate his business at the old location, 1348 Pine Street, which was also his home. Cataloging, he said, would be one of his “strong points,” and customers could expect the same quality as the “many and important” catalogs issued from his old partnership, “nearly all of which,” he said, “were from my pen.” He promised to continue his practice of sending “liberal parcels on approval.” His father added an endorsement at the end, saying his son “will act as he has never fail[ed] to during his life, with strict truth and uprightness,” but these words were crossed out in the draft.<sup>57</sup>

Henry issued his first catalog under his own name in the fall of 1906. His brother's followed in early 1907. Henry Chapman Sr. died a month shy of his 80th birthday on May 20, 1907.<sup>58</sup> Henry and S. H. ran their separate businesses for another two decades or so. S. H. died in 1931; his brother Henry in 1935.

53. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Jr., September 13, 1889.  
54. Henry Chapman, Sr. to S. H. Chapman, September 1, 1903.  
55. U.S. Census, 1900, ancestry.com.  
56. Henry Chapman, Sr. to S. H. Chapman, August 26, 1903.  
57. Henry Chapman Jr., circular letter announcing solo business, August 1, 1906.  
58. Pennsylvania, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Certificate of Death for Henry Chapman, Sr., 1907, ancestry.com.

28. Henry Chapman Sr. to Henry Chapman Jr., July 23, 1889.  
29. S. H. Hudson to Henry Chapman Jr., August 20, 1889.  
30. S. H. Hudson to Henry Chapman Jr., August 6, 1889.  
31. Sydney Martin, *The Rosa Americana Coinage of William Wood* (Fort Myers, Fla.: Colonial Collectors Club, 2011), 404–05.  
32. S. H. Hudson to Henry Chapman Jr., August 20, 1889.  
33. Undated code lists, likely 1889.  
34. Harry Chapman, Sr., to Harry Chapman, Jr., July 7, 1889.  
35. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Jr., September 13, 1889.  
36. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Jr., June 28, 1889.

37. Henry Chapman Sr. to S. H. Chapman, September 1, 1903.  
38. “Case Against Peale Dismissed,” news clipping, source and date unidentified.  
39. “A Picture of Washington by a Lancaster Artist,” *Papers Read Before the Lancaster County Historical Society* 22 no. 2 (1918), 28–29.  
40. James Ellsworth to S. H. & H. Chapman, December 3, 1902.  
41. James Ellsworth to S. H. & H. Chapman, December 9, 1902.  
42. Mamie Charles to Henry Chapman Jr., June 30, 1889.  
43. S. H. Hudson to Henry Chapman Jr., undated, but likely August 1889.

44. S. H. Hudson to Henry Chapman Jr., July 26, 1889.  
45. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Jr., July 23, 1889. Emphasis in the original.  
46. Wedding year based on letter of congratulations, V. J. Blakely to Helen Collings, November 29, 1896.  
47. Pete Smith, “Henry Chapman,” *American Numismatic Biographies* (2018), 66–67.  
48. Thomas Elder to S. H. and H. Chapman, June 2, 2019.  
49. Hannah Knox Elder to S. H. & H. Chapman, December 29, 1902.  
50. Leopold Gundelfinger to S. H. & H. Chapman, September 27, 1904.  
51. John Adams, *United States Numismatic Literature, Volume I: Nineteenth Century Auction Catalogs* (Mission Viejo: Calif., 1982), 83.  
52. S. H. Chapman to Henry Chapman Jr., undated, July 1889 (?), letter begins “Last Fifth-day I bought . . .”



## DR. UTE WARTENBERG: A Profile in Leadership

*Peter van Alfen*

On October 31, 2019, Ute Wartenberg ended her tenure as Executive Director of the American Numismatic Society, a position she held for over two decades, overseeing two monumental relocations, a fundamental revitalization of the ANS, and the serious expansion of the Society's innovative online initiatives. Her decision to step away from ANS administration had been years in the making as she had long wanted to return to research, one of her primary passions. As former Deputy Director Dr. Gilles Bransbourg now takes the helm of the ANS, Dr. Wartenberg will continue to stay on as a full-time Research Curator, while also serving as Curator of the Amastris Collection, a private collection of Greek coins.

Prior to joining the ANS, Dr. Wartenberg had already built an academic reputation, with a focus on ancient Greek coinage. After her education in Saarbrücken, Germany, she went to Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar and was awarded a doctorate in papyrology. Subsequently, from 1991 to 1998, she worked as Curator of Greek Coins in the British Museum in London. Her publications to date include over 50 books and articles on papyrology and numismatics, including *Coins Hoards VIII and Coin Hoards IX* (with Andrew Meadows), *After Marathon: War, Society and Money in Fifth-Century Greece*; and *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. LXIV. Among her many honors and academic awards are the Ehrenpreis der Gesellschaft für Internationale Geschichte and being elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

Dr. Wartenberg came to the ANS in 1998 hired initially as Assistant Director. The following year in 1999 she was named Executive Director during a period of severe financial crisis for the Society. At the time, the

ANS had purchased a building at 140 William Street, near Wall Street, where it planned to move from its nearly century-long residence at Audubon Terrace in the Washington Heights neighborhood of northern Manhattan. Before the move could take place, however, the Society had to undertake the gut-renovation of its new William Street headquarters, and simultaneously was forced to deal with an annual deficit of \$1 million and the inescapable necessity of cutting its staff roster in half. "This was the hardest task I faced in my two decades at the Society, and it undoubtedly had a huge impact in my subsequent commitment to the staff going forward," Dr. Wartenberg said. Delayed in part by the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City, the move to William Street eventually took place in 2004, a colossal undertaking requiring over a year of logistical preparation. Only a few years later, in 2007, the Society's Trustees decided to sell the Williams Street building, which helped put the ANS on a positive financial footing going forward, but necessitated another arduous move in 2008 to its present home on Varick Street.

During her tenure, Dr. Wartenberg carried out a rigorous program of modernization, which was based on the concept of maximizing the limited resources of the ANS to focus on a few discrete goals. "It would be an understatement to say that these early years as Director were straightforward," Dr. Wartenberg said, "but I benefited enormously from the advice and friendship I received from ANS Presidents Donald Partrick, Roger Siboni, and more recently Sydney Martin."

Among many efforts to secure the Society's future, Dr. Wartenberg engaged in extensive fundraising from members outside New York City. She also developed

## Wartenberg Appointed Executive Director

The American Numismatic Society has announced that Dr. Ute Wartenberg has been selected as the Society's Executive Director. Dr. Wartenberg's appointment was confirmed by the ANS Council on June 12, following a search for candidates that began in March.

In announcing the appointment, ANS President Arthur Houghton noted, "The American Numismatic Society is delighted to have been able to select, from a strong field of candidates, someone who has a strong background in areas of direct concern to the Society's future. Dr. Wartenberg brings to the Society's Executive Directorship a unique combination of museum experience, including

this new location, in the middle of the financial district of New York, will bring many new visitors to the ANS. We will have a much better environment in which to serve our members by creating a new library and research center. Most of all, I hope to show how fascinating coins are and share the enjoyment of coin study with a broader audience."

Ute Wartenberg comes to her new position with a strong university and museum background. Educated initially at Saarbrücken University where she studied history, archaeology and Greek literature, she went on to Oxford University where

*Continued on page 3*



Figure 1: The notice in the Summer 1999 (no. 83) issue of the ANS Newsletter of Dr. Wartenberg's promotion to Executive Director.



Figure 2: The current landing page of Hellenistic Royal Coinages, one of the several ANS online initiatives that has received National Endowment for the Humanities funding in recent years.

partnerships with other institutions, such as the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, which provided its magnificent ground-floor space for a museum. In 2001, Alan Greenspan opened *Drachmas, Doubloons and Dollars: A History of Money*. The exhibit highlighted many of the ANS's treasures and was viewed by more than 400,000 visitors over the course of the decade it was open.

Over the past 20 years, Dr. Wartenberg has steadily

built the ANS into an institution of both national and international renown, and she leaves her post with the Society in a far more secure position. Today, the endowment is at approximately \$43 million. Since 1999, over 45,000 coins and other objects have been donated to the Society's collection, including the Julius Korein Collection of Gobrecht Dollars, the Abe and Marian Scheuer Sofaer collections, and the Richard B. Witschonke Collection of provincial coins of the Roman Republic. In 2018, Dr. Wartenberg was able



Figure 3: Former ANS President Roger Siboni presents the Trustees' Award to Victor England at the 2010 ANS Gala. The first annual Gala was held in 2003 and has proven to be a popular and successful fundraising event.



Figure 4: The ANS's 140 William Street building, which housed the Society from 2004 until 2008.

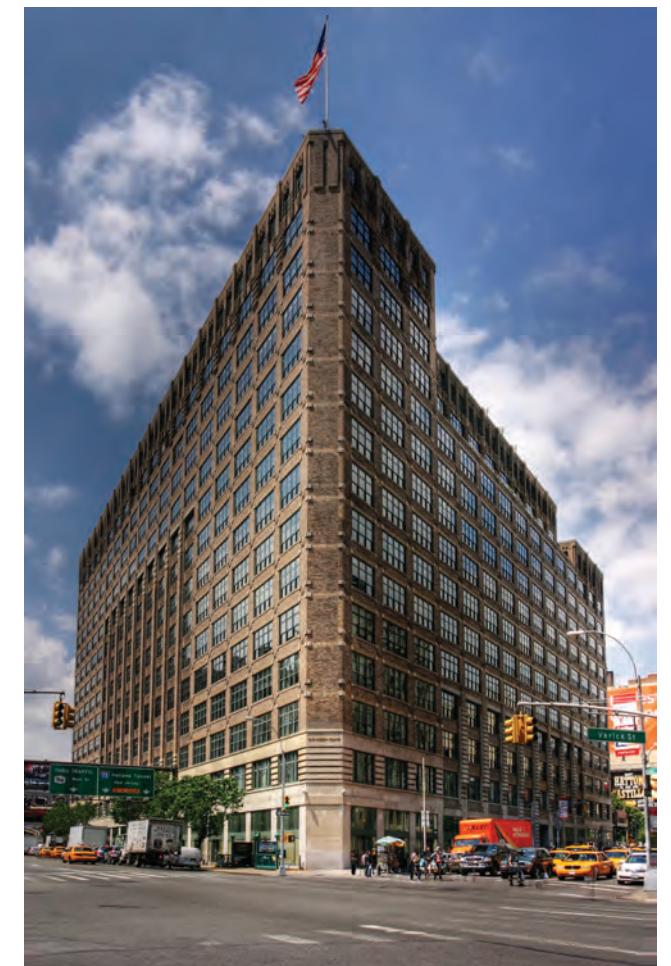


Figure 5: Since 2008, the ANS's home has been 75 Varick Street, Floor 11.



Figure 6: Dr. Wartenberg with Andrew Meadows and Kenneth Jenkins ca. 1995 when all three served at the British Museum. Dr. Meadows would later serve again alongside Dr. Wartenberg at the ANS as Deputy Director before his departure for Oxford University in 2014.

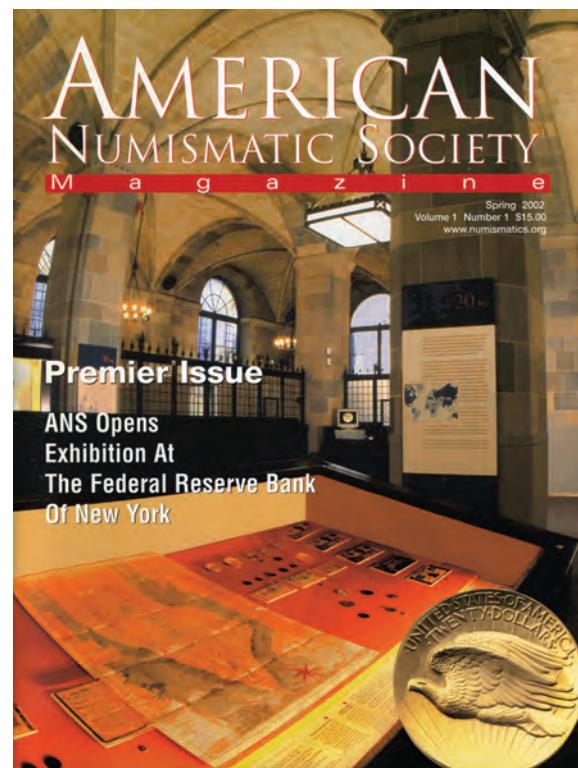


Figure 7: The ANS Magazine, one the Society's more popular publication series, was launched in 2002. The first issue featured the newly opened exhibition Drachmas, Dubloons, and Dollars at the New York Federal Reserve Bank.

to purchase for the Society in a bankruptcy court the archives of dies, medals, and die-shells of the Medallic Art Company, the largest private mint in US history, and thus save this invaluable treasure for the nation and for future scholarship.

One of her most important legacies will no doubt be the strong presence the ANS now has in the numismatic world online. Thanks to the visionary efforts of former ANS President Harry W. Bass, Jr., the Society's internet identity and its collection databases were already in place when Dr. Wartenberg took over in 1999, but she championed this program by adding staff and funding, and in recent years has directed an ever-increasing share of the Society's resources to online activities. Now, more than 500,000 coins, some 80,000 books and pamphlets, and 450 archival collection records are available online. The Society also supports collaborative efforts with other major coin cabinets both in the US and around the world in order to create Linked Open Data (LOD) numismatic resources, such as Online Coins of the Roman Empire ([numismatics.org/ocre](http://numismatics.org/ocre)) and Hellenistic Royal Coinages ([numismatics.org/hrc](http://numismatics.org/hrc)), which have largely been funded by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Additionally, the Society has revived its numismatic

publishing department, which is again one of the significant publishers of serious numismatic research in print and digital formats.

Dr. Wartenberg served on many committees during her term, including as first Chairperson of the Citizen Coinage Advisory Committee in Washington, D.C., and she continues her roles as a member of the International Numismatic Council and of the Anti-Counterfeiting Educational Foundation, Inc. She was also recently appointed Chairperson of the International Committee for Money and Banking Museums.

Through Dr. Wartenberg's two decades of leadership, the ANS has been transformed from a financially precarious organization into one that is considerably more healthy with a stellar reputation as one of the finest numismatic institutions of its kind in the world. Today the Society can boast not just of a magnificent and world-renowned collection, but also of significant scholarship and research, a thriving publications department, and an expanding digital presence, all supported by a healthy endowment. Dr. Wartenberg's own rigorous scholarship and her incredible charisma have transformed the Society into the flourishing institution that we are proud to be a part of today.

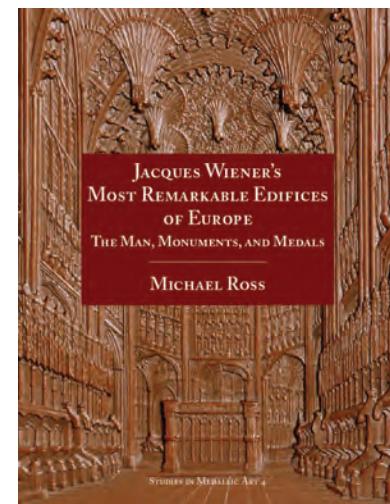


Figure 8: The most recent monograph (one of dozens published by the ANS under Dr. Wartenberg's tenure), is Jacques Wiener's Most Remarkable Edifices of Europe: The Man, Monuments, and Medals (Studies in Medallic Art 4), by Michael Ross.



Figure 9: The ANS staff after a long day of moving into the Varick Street location in 2008.



Figure 10: Unquestionably, one of the most important acquisitions in the Society's history was the purchase of the Medallic Art Company archives in 2018, which included over 50,000 objects. Following the purchase, Dr. Wartenberg led a team of staff and volunteers for a number of weeks in Nevada to pack the objects for shipment and storage.

# COLLECTIONS

Elena Stolyarik

## New Acquisitions

During the past summer and into the fall the ANS acquired numerous impressive objects.

Abraham and Marian Scheuer Sofaer continue to enrich the ANS collection with another portion of their important coins from the ancient Holy Land. The primary Sofaer collection was published by the ANS as the two-volume book *Coins of the Holy Land*. From that remarkable group, the Sofaers donated the Roman provincial coins to the Israel Museum, and the Judean and Nabataean coins to the ANS. This year the Sofaers gave the ANS more than 600 bronze and silver coins from the cities of Judea, Samaria, Phoenicia, and the Decapolis, during the Greek and Roman provincial periods (figs. 1–2), as well as numerous rare and scarce Judean coins from the Hasmoneans, Herodians, Jewish War, and Bar Kokhba Revolt. Also in the current donation was a remarkable and very rare group of 11 pre-coinage balance weights (nine of stone and two of bronze) from the Israelite Iron Age, around the eighth to seventh centuries BCE. Among these examples were weights of 4, 2, and 1 shekel as well as numerous fractions of the ancient shekel (which was approximately 11.4 g) (fig. 3). Later items in this gift included a group of Arab-Byzantine coins (fig. 4), Umayyad bronze coins (fig. 5), and a medieval lead seal impression of the Knights Hospitaller (fig. 6).

By purchase from Stephen Album Rare Coins (Auction 34, May 23–26, 2019, lot 106), the ANS acquired a very rare anonymous silver tetradrachm of Barce in Cyrenaica, ca. 485–475 BCE (fig. 7). This coin came from the remarkable Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644). Found in 1969 in central Egypt, this hoard contained coins from all over the Archaic Greek world. Its composition highlights the wide-ranging trade connections that brought coins from as far away as Sicily, southern Italy, and Thracian tribes to Persian Egypt in the Late Archaic and Early Classical period.

After the extremely important donation that the Islamic Department received at the end of last year, of coins from the former collection of Archer M. Huntington and the Hispanic Society of America, a number of Islamic and South Asian coins from that

collection turned up that had been overlooked when preparing the donation. This much smaller group of 142 coins has now been given to our permanent collection. Highlights of this group include a solidus of Ifriqiya from shortly after the Islamic conquest of Carthage (fig. 8), a fals of the Artuqids of Mardin in what is now southeastern Turkey (fig. 9), and a dirham of the emirate of Majorca in Spain (fig. 10).

Also from the former collection of Archer M. Huntington and the Hispanic Society of America, the Medieval Department received 1,227 Castilian coins, mostly billon *dineros novenes* of Henry II (1366–1379). This group includes much little-studied variation in details; examples include pieces from Santiago de Compostela (fig. 11), Burgos (fig. 12), and Cuenca (fig. 13).

An extremely important gift to the Medieval and Modern Departments comprised 340 French coins from the former collection of Archer M. Huntington and the Hispanic Society of America. The majority of the coins in this donation are late medieval *écus d'or* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (figs. 14–15). These large gold coins were issued by France to pay the extraordinary costs of the Hundred Years' War, and their fluctuating standards of weight and fineness reflect the ups and downs of France's fortunes in that long struggle. Also included in the same gift are some later coins, including unusual pieces such as fantasy coins of the Bonapartist pretenders Napoleon II (fig. 16) and Napoleon IV.

The Medieval Department also acquired by purchase a rare gold tremissis of the Suevian kingdom, which was based in what is now northern Portugal and northwestern Spain in the fifth and sixth centuries (fig. 17). This coin, previously in the John W. Garrett collection and Johns Hopkins University, has the obverse legend *LATINA EMERI MVNITA*. The interpretation of this legend is debated: some scholars consider it to be evidence for Suevian minting at Emerita (modern Mérida in Spain), otherwise not known to have been ruled by the Suevians in the sixth century, while others have proposed possible alternative identifications in Galicia or northern Portugal.



Figure 1: Judea. Caesarea Maritima. Bronze coin, Agrippa II, year 14 (73/4 CE). (ANS 2019.20.531, gift of Abraham D. and Marian Scheuer Sofaer, in memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer) 24 mm.



Figure 2: Judea. Eleutheropolis. Bronze coin, Macrinus, 217–218 CE. (ANS 2019.20.150, gift of Abraham D. and Marian Scheuer Sofaer, in memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer) 30 mm.



Figure 3: Judea. Limestone and bronze weights, 8th–7th century BCE. (ANS 2019.20.574–584, gift of Abraham D. and Marian Scheuer Sofaer, in memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer).



Figure 4: Umayyad Caliphate. Arab-Byzantine bronze fals, Iliya (Jerusalem). (ANS 2019.20.205, gift of Abraham D. and Marian Scheuer Sofaer, in memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer) 21 mm.



Figure 5: Umayyad Caliphate. Bronze fals, Hims (Emesa). (ANS 2019.20.184, gift of Abraham D. and Marian Scheuer Sofaer, in memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer) 16.5 mm.



Figure 6: Crusader states. Lead seal impression of Joubert of Syria, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller (Order of St. John of Jerusalem), ca. 1169–1177. (ANS 2019.20.573, gift of Abraham D. and Marian Scheuer Sofaer, in memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer) 36 mm.



Figure 7: Cyrenaica. Barce. Anonymous silver tetradrachm, ca. 485–475 BCE. Ex Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644). (ANS 2019.26.1, purchase) 26 mm.



Figure 8: Umayyad Caliphate. Ifriqiya. Arab-Byzantine gold solidus, 695–703 CE. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 8142. (ANS 2019.21.1, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 13 mm.



Figure 9: Artuqid Beylik of Mardin. Bronze fals, H 611 (1214–1215 CE). Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 24646. (ANS 2019.21.100, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 23.5 mm.



Figure 10: Emirate of Majorca. Billon dirham, Mubashir ibn Sulayman, 1093–1115 CE. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 1001.57.2678. (ANS 2019.21.104, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 21 mm.



Figure 11: Spain. Castile and León. Billon noven, Henry II (1366–1379), Santiago de Compostela mint. Ex Archer M. Huntington collection, HSA 28248 (ANS 2019.22.382, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 18 mm.



Figure 12: Spain. Castile and León. Billon noven, Henry II (1366–1379), Burgos mint. Ex Archer M. Huntington collection, HSA 28227 (ANS 2019.22.1067, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 18 mm.



Figure 13: Spain. Castile and León. Billon noven, Henry II (1366–1379), Cuenca mint. Ex Archer M. Huntington collection, HSA 28266. (ANS 2019.22.1225, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 17 mm.



Figure 14: France. Gold écu d'or, Philip VI (1328–1350), first issue (1337). Ex Archer M. Huntington collection, HSA 1001.57.262. (ANS 2019.25.26, gift of the Edlow Family Fund) 29 mm.



Figure 15: France. Gold écu à la couronne, Charles VII (1422–1461), Montpellier mint. Ex Archer M. Huntington collection, HSA 1001.57.437. (ANS 2019.25.203, gift of the Edlow Family Fund) 26 mm.



Figure 16: France. Bronze fantasy 10 centimes in the name of Napoleon II (1811–1832), ca. 1860. Ex Archer M. Huntington collection, HSA 1001.57.5823. (ANS 2019.25.342, gift of the Edlow Family Fund) 30 mm.



Figure 17: Suevian kingdom. Gold tremissis, Emerita (?), ca. 550–585 CE. Ex John W. Garrett, Johns Hopkins University, Lawrence A. Adams collections. (ANS 2019.31.1, purchase) 15.5 mm.



Figure 18: Austria-Hungary. Lead medal for Austria's 24th Infantry Regiment, by Anton Grath, 1917. (ANS 2019.15.1, gift of Adron Coldiron) 80 mm.



Figure 19: Portugal. Bronze medal dedicated to the Constituent Assembly election in 1975, by David Oliveira. (ANS 2019.15.8, gift of Adron Coldiron) 90 mm.

Long-time ANS member Adron Coldiron continued to expand our Medals Department with new interesting donations. His latest gift includes an Austro-Hungarian lead medal from the time of World War I, designed by Anton Grath. It is dedicated to Austria's 24th Infantry Regiment from Vienna. The obverse shows a soldier advancing and a farmer sowing; below it refers to the *Weltkrieg* (World War). The reverse has

an inscription in blackletter on a scroll over crossed swords, referring to the regiment as wine-growers of beautiful Lower Austria (fig. 18).

Also from Mr. Coldiron we received a fine group of Portuguese medals. Among them is a high-relief bronze example by David Oliveira celebrating the election in 1975 of the constituent assembly following



Figure 20: Portugal. Bronze medal, by José de Moura, 1981. (ANS 2019.15.9, gift of Adron Coldiron) 90 mm (images reduced).

the 1974 revolution, with an allegorical bust of the Portuguese Republic on the obverse and on the reverse an image of the São Bento Palace in Lisbon, along with the symbols and numbers of seats of the political parties in the assembly (fig. 19). Another medal in the group is an art medal by José de Moura (1915–??). This bronze medal shows curious images of a man flying under the burning sun on one side and a woman in a turban on the other (fig. 20). Also represented in Coldiron’s gift are medals of the Portuguese sculptor, painter, and medalist Irene Vilar (1930–2008). The figurative expressionism of her work includes dramatic, irregular forms, as seen in the examples newly added to the ANS collection, such as a bronze medal depicting the prolific nineteenth-century Portuguese novelist Camilo Castelo Branco (1890–1990) (fig. 21) and a commemorative medal of the famous cellist Guilhermina Suggia (1885–1950), one of the first professional female cellists (fig. 22).

The Coldiron donations also added several examples that we previously lacked of the *Coiffes de France* medallic series of the early 1900s, which shows images of traditional women’s headgear from various regions in France. This series was the artistic work of the French sculptor and medalist Ernesta

Robert-Mérignac (1859–1933) and was produced by the Paris Mint. Among our new items is a bronze plaque with an attractive obverse image of a woman from the Bourbonnais, a historic province in the center of France, and a pastoral scene of folk dances on the reverse (fig. 23). Another example of this series shows a woman in the regional clothing of the Boulonnais, a coastal area of northern France. The reverse of this plaque shows a view of the Calvary of the Fishermen, a shrine near Boulogne-sur-Mer (fig. 24).

Another portion of Adron Coldiron’s donation is dedicated to the medallic art of the Soviet Union. The monumental artistic style of the Soviet epoch was not only manifested in sculptures, paintings, and posters, but also in the art of medals. Soviet medals were mainly produced by the Leningrad and Moscow State Mints. One obligatory theme was to glorify the October Revolution, for example by commemorating the cruiser *Aurora*, which reportedly fired the first shot, signaling the beginning of the attack on the Tsar’s Winter Palace (fig. 25). The most important symbol in Soviet medallic art was the image of Vladimir Lenin, founder of the Bolshevik Party and architect of the Soviet state. Official Soviet propaganda held that Lenin’s ideas and leadership should live forever in the



Figure 21: Portugal. Bronze commemorative medal of Camilo Castelo Branco (1890–1990), by Irene Vilar, 1990. (ANS 2019.15.2, gift of Adron Coldiron) 83 × 73 mm (images reduced).



Figure 22: Portugal. Bronze commemorative medal of Guilhermina Suggia (1885–1950), by Irene Vilar, 1990. (ANS 2019.15.3, gift of Adron Coldiron) 78 × 58 mm.



Figure 23: France. Bronze plaque showing traditional women’s headgear of the Bourbonnais, *Coiffes de France* series, by Ernesta Robert-Mérignac (1859–1933). (ANS 2019.15.6, gift of Adron Coldiron) 62 × 52 mm (images reduced).

Figure 24: France. Bronze plaque showing traditional women’s headgear of the Boulonnais, *Coiffes de France* series, by Ernesta Robert-Mérignac (1859–1933). (ANS 2019.15.6, gift of Adron Coldiron) 62 × 52 mm (images reduced).



Figure 25: Soviet Union. Silver medal commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Leningrad Mint, 1987. (ANS 2019.15.7, gift of Adron Coldiron) 55 mm (images reduced).



Figure 26: Soviet Union. Bronze medal commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, by N. Akimushkin, Leningrad Mint, 1958. (ANS 2019.15.10, gift of Adron Coldiron) 70 mm (images reduced).



Figure 27: Soviet Union. Silver medal commemorating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, by A. V. Kozlov and S. A. Barulin, Leningrad Mint, 1977. (ANS 2019.33.1, gift of Adron Coldiron) 55 mm (images reduced).



Figure 28: Soviet Union. Bronze medal commemorating the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1967. (ANS 2019.33.4, gift of Adron Coldiron) 64 mm (images reduced).



Figure 29: Soviet Union. Bronze medal commemorating the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the USSR, 1982. (ANS 2019.33.2, gift of Adron Coldiron) 85 mm.



Figure 30: Soviet Union. Silver medal commemorating the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. (ANS 2019.33.3, gift of Adron Coldiron) 70 mm.



Figure 31: United States. Copper medal (with gold and platinum highlights) commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Chicago Coin Club, 2019. (ANS 2019.30.1, gift of Harlan J. Berk) 81 × 61 mm.



memory of the Soviet people, and this was reflected in numerous iconic images (figs. 26–27). Various Soviet medals were dedicated to the economic accomplishments of the Five-Year Plans. Industrial development and electrification were crucial to transforming the peasant basis of the country into a large-scale industrial economy. Among the medals dedicated to these achievements are ones with images of the great wonders of the Soviet industrialization program, like the Dnieper Hydroelectrical Station (fig. 28). Some medals proclaimed the brotherly friendship of the Soviet republics in connection with anniversaries of the foundation of the Soviet Union (fig. 29). Others were celebrated the establishment of Soviet power in these

republics (fig. 30). However, this multi-nation union did not stand the test of time and upon the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, the fifteen Soviet republics declared their independence.

This year the Chicago Coin Club, organized in 1919, celebrated its 100th anniversary. In conjunction with this milestone the club has issued oval-shaped medals, produced by Mint Masters Inc. A copper example of this issue was donated to the Society by our long-time member and Life Fellow, Anthony Terranova. We also received an additional example enhanced with gold and platinum highlights, contributed by another ANS Fellow, Harlan J. Berk (fig. 31). The obverse



Figure 32: Portugal. Cupronickel commemorative 2.5 euro, dedicated to the traditional Portuguese vocal music Cante Alentejano, by João Duarte, Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2016. (ANS 2019.28.6, gift of João Duarte) 27.9 mm.



Figure 33: Portugal. Cupronickel commemorative 2.5 euro, dedicated to 2018 FIFA World Cup in Russia, by João Duarte, Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2018. (ANS 2019.27.4, gift of Ute Wartenberg Kagan) 39.9 mm.



Figure 34: Turkey. Commemorative aluminum 50,000 lira issued to promote the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Istanbul, 1999. (ANS 2019.24.1, gift of Arif Yaci) 19.5 mm.



Figure 35: Malta. Commemorative set dedicated to the Great Siege of Malta in 1565: a silver printed sheet in the shape of a postage stamp and a silver proof 10 euro coin, Central Bank of Malta, 2015. (ANS 2019.32.2–3, gift of Mary Lannin) 38 × 28 mm; 38.5 mm.



Figure 36: Malta. Silver proof commemorative 10 euros dedicated to the 450th anniversary of the foundation of Malta's capital city of Valletta, Central Bank of Malta, 2016. (ANS 2019.32.1, gift of Mary Lannin) 36.5 mm.



Figure 37: United Kingdom. Copper-plated steel 2 pence, 2016, with PEOPLES VOTE counterstamp. (ANS 2019.34.1, anonymous gift ["Minty McFarthing"]) 25.8 mm.

of the medal features Chicago's famed Buckingham Fountain, constructed in 1927 in rococo style with multiple tiers and elaborate bronze sculptures. The reverse depicts a vertical view of Chicago's iconic Water Tower. Built in Gothic style in 1869, this impressive construction was a rare survivor of the Great Fire of 1871. It became a Chicago landmark, symbolizing old Chicago and its recovery from the fire. The image on the reverse is surrounded by 100 stars representing the 100 years of the Chicago Coin Club's existence.

The ANS collection of modern European coins has been expanded by a group of recent Portuguese issues, minted by the Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda in Lisbon. The coins were donated to the Society by their designer, João Duarte, the recipient of the Society's J. Sanford Saltus Award for Outstanding Achievement in the Art of the Medal in 2011. Among these are a cupronickel commemorative 2.5 euro, dedicated to a traditional form of Portuguese vocal music, *Cante Alentejano*, inscribed in 2014 by UNESCO as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (fig. 32) and a cupronickel 2.5 euro devoted to the 2018 FIFA World Cup in Russia (fig. 33).

Our colleague from Turkey, Dr. Arif Yaci, numismatist and archaeologist at Koç University, gave the Society a 50,000 lira coin of 1999. This commemorative coin was issued to promote the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. The main goal of this agency is to achieve food security for all people and leads international efforts to defeat hunger. The obverse of this issue depicts Teshub, god of sky, thunder, and storms of Bronze and Early Iron Age Anatolia. This allegorical figure reminds one of people's dependence on weather conditions, which affect food security (fig. 34).

In September members of the ANS's Augustus B. Sage Society had the opportunity to travel to the Maltese Islands (Malta, Gozo, and Comino), which lie virtually at the center of the Mediterranean. They explored Malta's long history and enjoyed the company of local numismatic enthusiasts. From this exciting trip ANS Trustee Mary Lannin brought back and donated to the Society a wonderful gift of silver proof uncirculated coins issued by the Central Bank of Malta and produced by the Royal Dutch Mint. Among these are a commemorative set dedicated to the Great Siege of Malta in 1565. It consists of a coin with an image of Antonio Sciortino's 1927 bronze monument to the fallen of the Great Siege and a small silver sheet printed with an image of Grand Master Jean de Valette of the Knights of Malta, as painted by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio (fig. 35). Another coin in

this gift commemorates the 450th anniversary of the foundation of Malta's capital city, Valletta. This coin features the architect Francesco Laparelli and his assistant Gerolamo Cassar discussing the plan of the new fortified city with Grand Master Jean de Valette (fig. 36). The foundation stone of this new capital was laid on March 28, 1566, and five years later, in 1571, the Order led by Grand Master Pietro del Monte transferred its quarters from Birgu to Valletta. In 1980, Valletta with its impressive fortifications and outstanding buildings and monuments was added to UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites.

In October the Society received an anonymous donation of a 2016 United Kingdom 2 pence with the counterstamp PEOPLES VOTE (fig. 37). This gift was sent by "Minty McFarthing," as she calls herself, a British artist who lives and works in Bristol. Since June she has hand-stamped thousands of coins. This work was inspired by the pennies stamped "Votes for Women" by suffragists in the early twentieth century. Her peaceful protest by stamping a message on small change is intended to support the campaign for a public vote on the final Brexit deal between the United Kingdom and the European Union.

## BOOK REVIEW

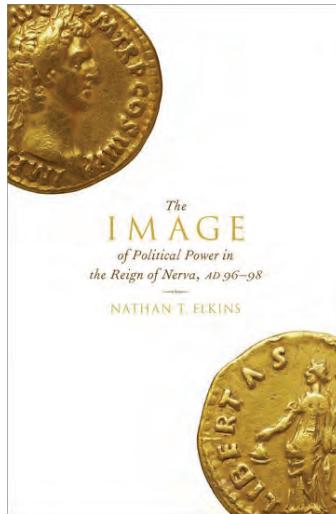
Nathan T. Elkins. *The Image of Political Power in the Reign of Nerva, AD 96–98*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. Pp. xvi+207. B/w illus. throughout. ISBN 9780190648039. \$85.00.

Recent years have seen a great advancement in the study of the coins of Trajan thanks to the appearance of works such as Bernhard Woytek's *Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98–117)* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012) and several studies by Martin Beckmann.<sup>1</sup> Trajan, and indeed also his Antonine successors, currently enjoy a good deal of popularity in numismatic scholarship. Nathan Elkins' new monograph does not stare into the sun that is Trajan, but instead takes a close look at the coinage of Nerva (AD 96–98), the adoptive father and predecessor of Trajan seemingly forever cast in his

The author posits that the numismatic evidence, both that of finds and typology, can be used to develop a fresh picture of Nerva's reign that challenges the traditional scholarly view (informed by late literary sources like Cassius Dio) of the emperor as "weak" and primarily the "Senate's man." In so doing, over the course of three chapters, he shows that the coinage was broadly communicative, reaching and attempting to speak to specific segments of Roman society at Rome, in Italy, and in the larger empire.

In the first chapter, "Nerva as Supreme Military Commander" (24–51), the emperor's difficult relationship with the army is viewed through a numismatic lens. Although the CONCORDIA EXERCITIVM with clasped hands type of Nerva's reign is often considered to have targeted a military audience and treated as a sign of the emperor's need for acceptance by the army, the find evidence shows that these types enjoyed a wide distribution with no particular focus on military installations. Therefore, as Elkins points out, the type should not be viewed as a special plea for the army's support, but as a general statement

1. M. Beckmann, "The Early Gold Coinage of Trajan's 6th Consulship," *AJN* 12 (2000): 119–56; "Trajan's Gold Coinage, AD 112–117," *AJN* 19 (2007): 77–130; "Trajan's Gold Coinage Dated COS V, AD 103–111," *AJN* 23 (2011): 169–88; "Trajan's Restored Coinage: Volume, Value and Purpose," *RBN* 161 (2015): 311–24.



of military stability similar to that of CONCORDIA EXERCITIVM issues struck by later emperors in times of relative peace. He also shows that the clasped hands type had a long history as a numismatic emblem of reconciliation extending back through the Civil War of AD 69 and into the late Republican period, further problematizing its interpretation as a message to the army.

At the same time that Elkins reinterprets the meanings and audiences of Nerva's early types, he also roots out coins that have unjustly contributed to the numismatic reading of his reign. After careful consideration, he condemns as false the rare PAX AVGVSTI *denarii* depicting the emperor clasping hands with a helmeted figure variously described as a soldier, Mars, or even Trajan(!), and which has sometimes been used to underline the Nerva's supposed desperation to gain the approval of the army. A peculiar artistic style and improper titulature cries out for the removal of this type from the corpus of Nerva's authentic coins (38–39).

Chapter 2, "Nerva, the Senate and People of Rome, and Italy" (52–101), surveys the reverse types of Nerva's coinage (excluding personifications of imperial "virtues") and moves away from the traditional

readings focused primarily on the senatorial point of view. Through find evidence, the use of specific types for precious metal and base metal denominations, and typological relevance, Elkins convincingly argues for the targeting of specific audiences at Rome and in Italy. Coins advertising the *congiarium*, *annona*, and *frumentum* clearly target the urban plebs of Rome since they were the beneficiaries of these imperial public welfare programs, while others, like those referring to the remission of the *vehiculatio* (the much-abused requirement of municipalities to provide vehicles, guides, and lodging for imperial couriers) were aimed at the Italian cities.

It is argued that the much-discussed FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA *sestertii* were aimed at the Roman and Italian elites and that their type indicates neither the temporary abolition of the Jewish tax nor the removal of the "insult" associated with its collection. Instead, Elkins again makes good use of the literary and legal sources to show that the *sestertii* actually advertise the end of false accusations (*calumnia*) of tax evasion that had been used to seize property under Domitian, thereby contrasting Nerva's mode of rule with that of his hated predecessor (84–87).

The challenge to the traditional "weak" characterization of Nerva's reign again returns in the discussion of the ROMA RENASCENS type (88–89). Elkins rightly doubts suggestions that the seated depiction of Roma here, wearing a long dress rather than her more strongly Amazonian attire points to a more pacific form of the city-goddess or a conflation with Minerva. Noting the host of examples of a similar Roma type struck by emperors of the second century AD, including the bellicose Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and the later "soldier emperors," the author sensibly concludes that, "it would be inordinately subtle" if Roma was considered differently on the coinage merely "because her knees were covered."

The typological targeting of specific audiences is also very sensitive to economic factors that could impact the distribution of particular types. A notable example is the concentration of Nerva's *sestertii* and the rare NEPTVNO CIRCENS CONSTITVT *asses* found

in England despite the fact that their types were clearly aimed at in Italian, if not specifically urban Roman audience. The author discounts the suggestion that the *asses* were consigned to Britannia because their type featuring Neptune would have had relevance to trade and transport across the English Channel and instead attempts to associate the consignment with Nerva's foundation of Colonia Nerva Glevensium (modern Gloucester) in AD 97 (61–64). While such a block transfer of coin in support of the new colony seems eminently plausible, it still begs the question as to why the Neptune *asses* seem to have been singled out for export. Could it be that they were indeed rendered obsolete at Rome by Nerva's reported austerity measures that ended chariot racing in the Circus Maximus? Elkins doubts obsolescence as a motivating force in the movement of the *asses* to Britannia, but does not seem to consider the possibility that the colonial foundation may have provided a convenient solution for a coin type rendered problematic in Rome by changes in policy.<sup>2</sup>

Elkins reviews the catalogue of imperial virtues (Aequitas, Fortuna, Iustitia, Libertas, and Pietas) depicted on the coins of Nerva in Chapter 3, "Nerva and the Roman Empire" (102–136). Here he connects their usage to tropes in contemporary panegyric and rhetoric, which often focus on pointing out the positive qualities of "good" emperors and condemning the negative features of preceding "bad" emperors. As part of the discussion, the author argues against the tendency of modern scholarship to understand Aequitas on coins as a personification strictly representing fiscal and financial wellbeing. Using literary evidence, which characterized the reign of Nerva as the restoration of *aequitas* and *iustitia* (fairness and justice) after the

2. For block transfers of obsolete coins in antiquity see now S. Frey-Kupper and C. Stannard, "Evidence for the Importation and Monetary Use of Blocks of Foreign and Obsolete Coins in the Ancient World," in *Infrastructure and Distribution in Ancient Economies. Proceedings of a conference held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna in October 2014*, edited by Bernhard Woytek, 283–354 (Vienna: Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2019), 283–354. It is perhaps also worthwhile to point out a general tendency for obsolete coin to be dumped in French and British colonies early modern times.

despotic rule of Domitian, Elkins makes a strong case for understanding the Aequitas of the coins in much broader terms. While the Aequitas issues were accompanied by other issues featuring Iustitia, further bolstering the connection to the virtues of Nerva in the literary sources, it is pointed out that the Iustitia types are rare compared to Aequitas, but the former appear more frequently in finds from Rome. From this, Elkins raises the interesting possibility that Iustitia types might have specifically targeted the Roman (especially the senatorial class) audience since it was at Rome that the injustice of Domitian had been most visible (118–119). In addition to these revised readings of Aequitas and Iustitia, it is convincingly argued that the Libertas type of Nerva's accession issue, which is common across precious and base metal denominations and which occurs in finds from Rome, Italy, and the empire at large, must have been intended for a wide audience, rather than focused on the senatorial elite (133–134).

A recurrent theme throughout the book is that the types and legends of the coins are drawn from the same ideological pool as contemporary imperial panegyric and rhetoric. This case is supported through frequent comparison with contemporary literary sources—most commonly the works of Martial, Frontinus, and the younger Pliny—and fully articulated in the Conclusion, “The Visualization of Political Rhetoric” (137–153). Elkins would see the coins and their types as hand-held metallic versions of the laudatory words of the silver-tongued panegyrist, even going so far as to suggest that they “reinforced positive expectations and perceptions of Nerva and his regime in an infinitely more effective way than Martial's or Frontinus's scrolls ever could” (154). We would tend to agree with this assessment since surely the coin-handling populations in Rome, Italy, and the Empire must have been vastly greater than the population of Latin literati or of a public assembly capable of witnessing performed panegyric.

Elkins' contextualization of the coin types in contemporary elite literary culture is masterful. However, one cannot help but feel some tension between the view that the types were developed at the mint without imperial involvement as a means of praising the emperor and the numerous clear cases of audience targeting through type and distribution that he adduces throughout the book.<sup>3</sup> If the coin is really a panegyric struck in gold, silver, or bronze, then the primary consumer of the type must be the emperor.

3. The influential and widely accepted view of types as praise directed towards the Emperor goes back to A. Wallace-Hadrill, “The Emperor and His Virtues,” *Historia* 30.3 (1981), 298–323.

In this case, it then it becomes unclear what need there was for targeting individual social groups with specific types. One imagines that the emperor would have received the flattery of the coinage regardless of whether issues featuring the *annona* reached the hands of the urban plebs or those announcing the end of *calumnia* or the return of *iustitia* entered the purses of the senatorial elite. There are almost certainly further avenues of exploration with respect to the coinage of Nerva, but Elkins has provided a more secure base for striking out into the unknown than there has ever been before. *The Image of Political Power in the Reign of Nerva, AD 96–98* is a welcome addition to the growing body of modern numismatic studies devoted to the “Five Good Emperors” who followed Domitian.

The text is illustrated by numerous black-and-white enlargements of the coins under discussion and supplemented by four important appendices. Appendix 1 tabulates the use of types across denominations for the six emissions of Nerva's coinage. The tables in Appendix 2 provide the dates of issue for each type while Appendix 3 give the relative frequencies for *denarius* types by emission. Appendix 4 details the regional distribution of base metal coins based on hoard and excavation finds.

—Oliver D. Hoover

## NEWS

### 2019 Augustus B. Sage Society Trip to Malta

In September, seven Sage Society members explored the complex history and beauty of an island nation centered at the crossroads of the Mediterranean. Malta's story, stretching from prehistory through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and modern times, is evident everywhere, in its buildings, artifacts, monuments, churches, and streets. The Maltese archipelago is truly an “open-air living museum,” and the group employed every means they could to explore it: by foot, vintage bus, limousine, sailboat, gondola, and antique cars.

Among the many unique spots they visited were Malta's Neolithic temple sites, which date to more than 1,000 years before Stonehenge or the Egyptian pyramids. The youngest was erected around 700 BCE; the oldest, the two Ggantija temples on the island of Gozo, date from around 3600 BCE, making them the world's second oldest existing manmade religious structure (after Gobekli Tepe, in the southeastern Anatolia region of Turkey). Walls built out of 20-ton boulders contrast with delicately carved diminutive goddesses, giving visitors a window into the sophisticated building and artistic skills of Malta's early inhabitants.

Also on the Sage itinerary was the below-ground



The group travels to Mdina by vintage bus.

UNESCO World Heritage site Hal Saflieni Hypogeum, which consist of three levels of ritual and burial chambers and a “hall of holies.” The Hypogeum, from the Greek for “underground,” was painstakingly dug out from the rock around 4000 BCE and was discovered by accident in 1902 when workers were cutting cisterns for a new housing development. The Hypogeum is one of Europe's only known such Neolithic structures and is remarkably well preserved. To ensure that it remains in this condition, the site's microclimate is strictly controlled, and visitors limited to only 80 per day. The Sage group was fortunate to be among those allowed to enter and explore.

Much of the history for which Malta is most famed comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The 1565 Siege of Malta, which pitted the Sovereign Military Order of Malta against the Ottoman Turks, is evidenced by numerous towers and other fortifications along the coast. This four-month siege devastated both sides and led to the necessary rebuilding by the Grand Master Jean Parisot de La Valette, who laid the foundation stone for Valletta, Malta's capital, in 1566.

The glorious St. John's Co-Cathedral, which was begun in 1572, is the burial place for many of the Knights



The Ggantija Temples (the Place of the Giants), among the oldest and best-preserved sites on the Maltese Islands dating back to 3500 BCE.



Visiting the Central Bank of Malta Coin Museum



Wine and olive oil tasting at San Niklaw Wine Estate.



Mdina.



Crossing the Harbor on the Barklori.

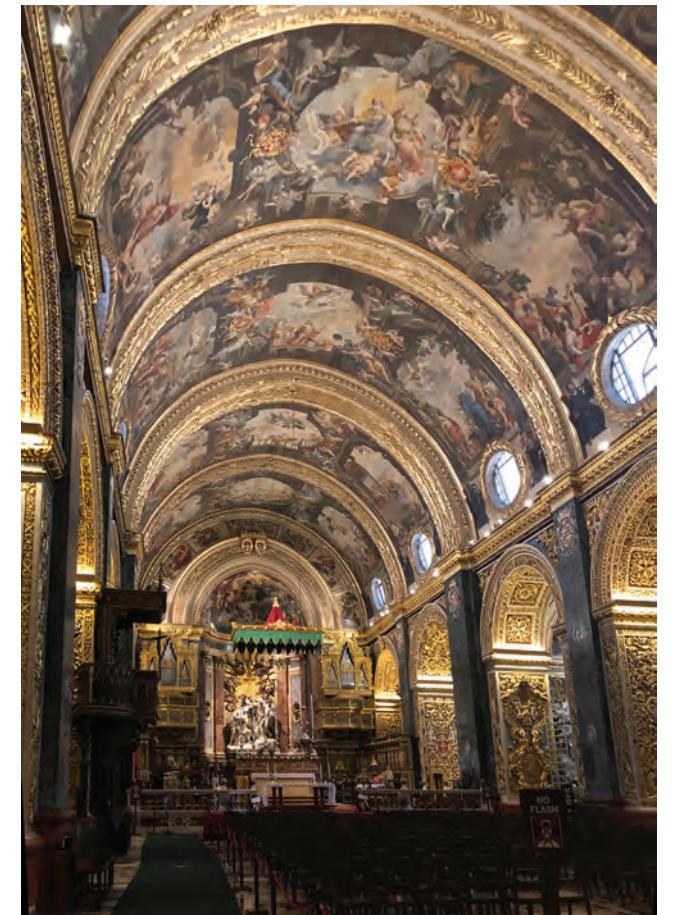


Xlendi Tower.

of the Order of St. John and Malta's Grand Masters. The Sage group had the privilege of a private tour of the Cathedral with the Cathedral's curator, allowing uninterrupted views of the art, including the Caravaggio painting of *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, the only painting ever signed by the artist and completed in 1608. The painting was commissioned by the Knights of Malta as an altarpiece. (Caravaggio himself briefly served as a knight before he found himself forced to flee to escape imprisonment for an unrecorded crime. He was defrocked in absentia as a "foul and rotten member" by the Order about six months after his induction; the ceremony took place in the Oratory, before this very painting.) His *St. Jerome Writing* hangs in the same chapel.

As would be expected in a place with such a long history, Malta has a rich numismatic legacy. Coinage began with the Carthaginians in 218 BCE and continues today with the Euro, adopted in 2009. The National Bank of Malta's collection provided Sage members with an extensive overview of all the times in between, with coins from the Roman occupation, and the successive rule of Arabs, Normans, Swabians, Angevines, and Aragonese, as well as that of the Order of St. John. The short French occupation of 1798 brought unique gold and silver ingots, while the British rule of the island introduced currency that lasted, albeit with many changes, through 1972.

As with many other Sage trips, the tour was greatly enhanced by meeting with local coin experts and authors Emmanuel Azzopardi, author of *The Coinage of the Crusaders and the World of Islam*, and Remy Said, who published the *Said Malta Coin and Banknote Catalogue* along with such publications as the "History of the Coinage in Malta" and the renowned 1977 numismatic reference book, *The Coinage of the Knights in Malta*. They joined the group for museum tours, followed by continued numismatic conversations over lunch.



St. John's Co-Cathedral.

### The 2019 J. Sanford Saltus Award for Excellence in Medallion Art

Mashiko is the recipient of the ANS's prestigious 2019 J. Sanford Saltus Award for Signal Achievement in the Art of the Medal.

Mashiko grew up in her father's home city of Kyoto, Japan. In 1962 she moved to the United States, and in 1964 to New York City. There, in 1993, she founded Medialia ... Rack and Hamper Gallery, a showplace for contemporary medallion art. Seven years later she founded New Approach, Inc., a nonprofit organization that promotes emerging artists and curators and serves as a contemporary medallion-art research center.

As a prolific sculptor and medallion artist, Mashiko has received numerous awards, including the American Numismatic Association's Excellence in Medallion Sculpture Award and the Grand Prix at the XXXV Fédération Internationale de la Médaille d'Art (FIDEM) Congress. Her stone sculptures, medallion art, silkscreen prints, and drawn illustrations are in numerous public collections around the world, including the Cincinnati Art Museum, the National Museum of Taiwan, Kyoto City Hall, the Queens Museum (New York), the American Numismatic Society, the American Numismatic Association, and the British Museum. Her many commissions, from organizations such as the British Art Medal Society and the New York Numismatic Club, include one for a memorial granite headstone for the feminist activist and author Betty Friedan. She has also been invited to submit designs to the U.S. Mint.

In addition to her extensive creative endeavors, she has also been a tireless teacher of her craft, offering courses in medallion and stone sculpture at The University of the Arts, Philadelphia, for two decades (1993–2013). Since 2001 she has also conducted private book-art, medal and urushi workshops.

"Mashiko is unquestionably deserving of the Award," noted Saltus Committee Chairman Donald Scarinci, "not only for her wonderfully creative medallion art, but for all that she has done to teach and promote the medal as well. We are especially pleased to present the Award to her this year, the centennial year of the Award."

The award was created with a grant to the American Numismatic Society by J. Sanford Saltus in 1913 to recognize and encourage excellence in the art of the medal. The first Saltus Award was presented in 1919; the silver award medal was designed by the prominent German-born numismatic and architectural sculptor Adolph Alexander Weinman.

Mashiko joins the ranks of other significant artists who have been awarded the medal including, among dozens of others, James Earl Frazer (1919), Victor D. Brenner (1922), Paul Manship (1925), Lee Lawrie (1937), Donald DeLue (1967), Kauko Räsänen (1986), Gustaaf Hellegers (2001), João Duarte (2011), and Bogomil Nikolov (2017).

Lost in the Odyssey  
by Mashiko.  
Produced for the  
British Art Medal  
Society, 2018.  
(ANS 2019.3.4).



### New Library Interns

We would like to welcome two new volunteer interns to the ANS Library.



Hilary Wang is a student at the Pratt Institute School of Information, where she is pursuing a degree in library information science with a concentration in archives and special collections, particularly focusing on digitization. She obtained a bachelor of fine arts from the Rhode Island School of Design and has worked at several art studios. She also served as a records coordinator for the conservation division of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Nicole Buehler is also a library information science student at Pratt. She earned her bachelor's degree in applied music from Kansas State University and has worked as a music instructor. She has also worked in several libraries, including the Derby Public Library in Kansas, Yeshiva University in New York, and the New York Public Library. She was also student library ambassador at her college. Nicole plans to concentrate on cataloging while pursuing her degree, and she will have plenty of opportunities to practice at the ANS.



### Obituary

#### Peter P. Gaspar

Peter Gaspar passed away on July 27, 2019, at the age of 84. He was Professor Emeritus of Chemistry at Washington University in St. Louis, where, after earning his BS from the California Institute of Technology and his Ph.D. from Yale, he taught and conducted his research from 1963 until his death. His specialty was the field of organosilicon chemistry, and among his many awards was the Frederic Stanley Kipping Award from the American Chemical Society. He was also a highly respected lecturer and served in this capacity for numerous organizations, including NATO and the French Ministry of Culture.

Professor Gaspar first joined the ANS in 1970 and became a Fellow in 1975. He was elected to the Board of Trustees in 2000 and served until 2010, helping during that time to articulate a vision for the future of the Society. He was the recipient of many numismatic honors, including the ANA's Heath Literary Award in 1980, when he also presented the Stack Memorial Lecture, entitled "The Machine Comes to the Mint." That topic reflected just one of his numismatic interests, which encompassed many aspects of metallurgy and technological innovation in minting. He was also fascinated by early English coinage and the British hammered series in particular. But his curiosity and his contributions to numismatic literature were substantial and wide-ranging, and his many contributions to the field were significant. As a learned colleague and a longtime friend of the Society, he will be greatly missed.

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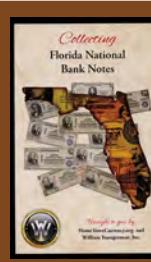


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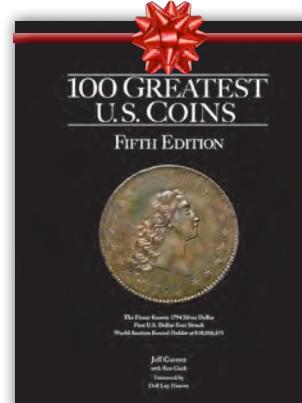
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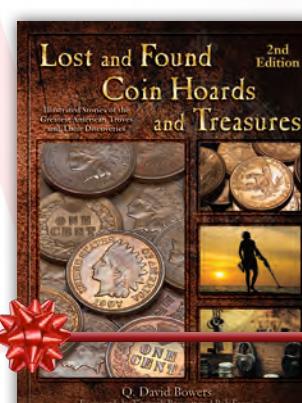
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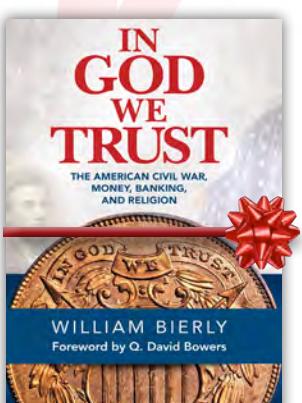
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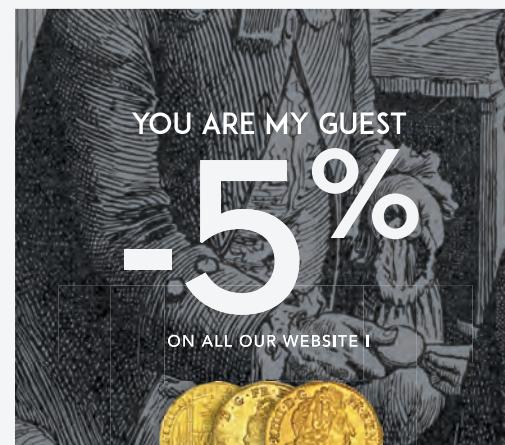


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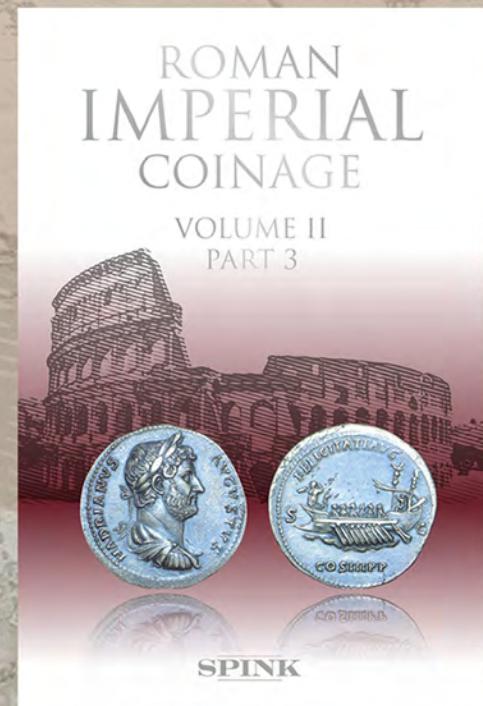
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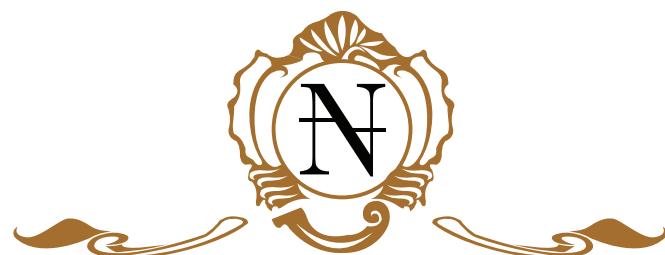
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