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AMERICAN  
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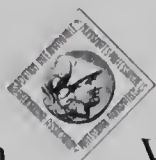


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## DEPARTMENTS



*on the cover: Iron exchange object in the form of a knife or spearhead; used for socially significant transactions such as bridewealth among the Nkulu of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (ANS 2013.17.3; gift of Alan Helms).*

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# ANS MAGAZINE

## 2013

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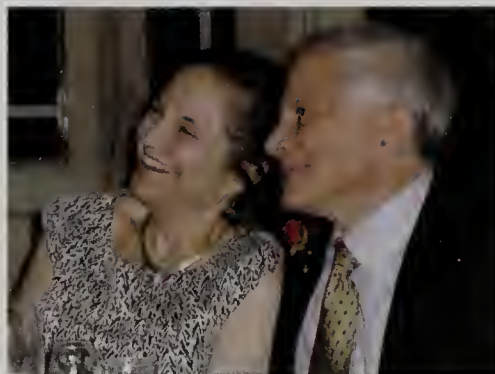
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# From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

Dear Members and Friends,  
2013 has come almost to an end, and we are looking back at an exciting year, during which the Society has done well. During our annual meeting in October, we were able to inform members that financially the ANS had a very good year, in which our generous donors donated much more than usual and our investments performed well. We are now into the next financial year and as usual at this time of year we ask all those who share our passion for coins and currency to make a donation that will allow the American Numismatic Society to continue its work. This year, however, our appeal is coupled with an extraordinary opportunity: an anonymous donor has pledged to match every donation, dollar for dollar, up to \$50,000. That means that if you make your donation by December 31, you will be offering us double the help, with no extra expense or effort on your part. Several members have told me that they cannot help with big sums of money, and I want to assure you that even a small donation counts. Last year, over 200 members of the Society contributed to our operations, and most of these gifts were under \$100. No gift is too insignificant, and I know that many of our larger donors are greatly encouraged to see such support from our membership as a whole.

In recognizing the efforts of our members, we are very pleased to honor at our upcoming gala in January our dear friends and supporters, Marian Scheuer Söfaer and Abraham D. Söfaer, who have done so much to the field of numismatics over the last few decades. Their collection of coins from the Holy Land—from the Persian period to the Middle Ages—is one of the great historical treasures, and the American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum in Jerusalem have been very fortunate that the Söfaers have begun to donate significant parts of their collection to the two museums. The Society has been fortunate to have the support of the Söfaers to publish this amazing collection in a two-volume work this year, which appeared after almost a decade's work. We will be very happy to celebrate with



*Marian and Abe Söfaer.  
Photograph by Laurie  
Cameron McNamara*

Abe and Marian in January, and I hope many of you will join in thanking them for their outstanding accomplishments as benefactors and collectors.

I hope you enjoy this special issue of the magazine. Our editor, Peter van Alfen, has focused this issue on Africa, looking at problems associated with African exchange objects, colonial currency, and colonialism more generally. This focus was inspired, in part, by the recent donations by Alan Helms from his extraordinary collection of African exchange objects, which was acquired over many decades. The article by David Yoon, which features items from the Helms collection, provides fascinating observations on how such objects were used and how this use relates to our own concepts of money. Equally informative, but on very different subjects, are the articles by David Alexander on German East Africa, and by Peter van Alfen on the Exposition Coloniale held in Paris in 1931. I hope you enjoy this issue of the magazine!

In closing, I wish all our members on behalf of the entire staff a happy holiday season and a good start to 2014.

Ute Wartenberg Kagan  
Executive Director





Facing page: A smithy of the Bakuba people in what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The smith is hammering a knife or knife-shaped object to shape, while his two assistants work the bellows. Traditional African iron-working was a highly sophisticated preindustrial technology, handed down in families of iron-workers and guarded by complex social and ritual proscriptions (© Trustees of the British Museum; BM Af,G.T.2624, lantern slide of drawing from Emil Torday expedition, 1900–1909).

# THE COLONIAL GAZE AND EXCHANGE SYSTEMS IN CENTRAL AFRICA

David Yoon

Since Aristotle, Western thinkers have defined money in terms of the functions it performs in our economic transactions (*Politics* 1.8–10, *Nicomachean Ethics* 5.5). Aristotle, like us, lived in a society where economic activity outside the household was dominated by market exchange using government-issued money. Without getting into the specifics of his argument (and those of most economists ever since), money can generally be seen both as a substance that carries economic value and as an abstract system of units for measuring economic value. An economic transaction can be effected by transferring monetary objects, and the value of the transaction can be measured in terms of monetary units.

This is not a bad way to describe what money does in our society, and in many others from the past. Historically, though, not all societies have worked in this way, and as a result there are types of exchanges and types of objects that test the boundaries of this definition of money. Many such examples can be found among the variety of objects sometimes described, from the perspective of modern Western society, as “primitive money”.

## The Meaning of Money

This category of primitive money is what is sometimes called a garbage can category, one that lumps together a wide range of phenomena that have little in common apart from a failure to fit other, more familiar categories satisfactorily. What they do have in common with each other, and with modern money, is that they are objects used in gifts, exchanges, and other transactions, and that they generally have no utilitarian function outside of these transactions. However, the word “primitive” denotes a judgment that they are also not quite the same thing as our money, that they are somehow an imperfect, undeveloped version of it. Perhaps it would be more useful to step back from the implicit assumption there, and take a look at what they are in their own context, rather than just how much they do or don’t resemble our culture.

When comparing the exchange objects that are described as primitive money to the coins and currency with which we are familiar, a number of differences are apparent. Our money is made to be easily portable and highly standardized, and it is normally intended that ordinary consumers should not be able to produce more of it on their own. The exchange objects traditionally lumped under the term “primitive money” typically differ from our money in one or more of these qualities.

With regard to portability, the *rai* stones of Yap are renowned as an especially nonportable form of exchange object (fig. 1), but stone axe heads, strings of shell beads, bundles of iron rods, and many other types of exchange objects are generally more cumbersome than is usual for coined money—leaving aside unusual exceptions like the Swedish plate money of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Individuality, the opposite of standardization, is a characteristic of some systems of exchange objects, in societies as far apart as Melanesia and medieval Europe (Malinowski 1922, 89; McCormick 2001, 284). Far from being standardized, each *mwali* arm ring of the Trobriand Islands or each saint’s relic of medieval France had its own history, and its value depended on that history and individual reputation, not on some measurable quantity such as weight. And most of the societies that have used these exchange objects had no state institutions to create official money; in some cases the exchange objects were exotic materials traded in from some other region (as with the money cowries used in West and Central Africa, for example), but in many others they were produced by people within the society that used them, on the basis of individual initiative.

The most important difference, though, is not one of these material features but rather the ways they can be used. The material characteristics of coins and paper money are based on their function as objects that carry economic value; the function of money as an abstract system of

Fig. 1: This stone rai is of moderate proportions but is still 40 centimeters in across and weighs about 10 kilograms. It was given to an American doctor as a gift, in the manner of traditional gift exchange rather than a commercial transaction (ANS 2005.23.1, purchase).



Fig. 2: In some kinds of social interactions, the social meaning and moral evaluation may be completely changed if a direct monetary transaction is involved (photograph by Kay Chernush for the U.S. State Department; <http://www.gtippphotos.state.gov/gtip.cfm?galleryID=542&id=6>).



(map) Fig. 3: Locations of the African peoples discussed in the text.

measurement, on the other hand, depends on the notion of money as a universal equivalent, a substance that can be exchanged for anything. Although this is not quite literally true even in our own society, most types of “primitive money” are much farther from this abstract principle.

Economic theory that deals in abstract quantitative units requires systems of measurement. It is no surprise that money is widely used as an abstract measure of exchange value for our society, providing a way to determine equivalencies and relative values of transactions, things, and people. Reducing all of these to interchangeable abstractions has its uses, since the dominant economic sectors in our society are fairly close to this degree of abstraction. However, by abstracting the participants and their behaviors to this degree—reducing the person, in Veblen’s sardonic phrase, to “a homogeneous globule of desire of happiness”—certain types of activity even within our own society are not well described (Veblen 1898, 389).

Not all transactions have the same social significance or moral evaluation, regardless of their monetary value. When one obtains a bag or two of food at the grocery store, there is a social and moral expectation of immediate

payment in money. When one receives a birthday present from a friend, on the other hand, even if the monetary value is the same as a bag of groceries, an immediate payment in money is not at all appropriate. The direct, immediate, monetary payment would mark the interaction as impersonal, in a context where it should not be (fig. 2). In other words, even in our market-dominated, thoroughly monetized society, money is charged with social meanings; its role in the transfers of goods and services in our society can be highly problematical (Zelizer 1996). Although money is supposed to be impersonal, when we interact with those close to us—family, friends, neighbors—we are socially obliged not to be completely impersonal.

### Exchange Objects in Central and West Africa

Consider, now, life in a different kind of society. Imagine life in a society of small villages, where there are no cities and minimal or no governmental institutions, where almost all of one’s interactions are with relatives, neighbors, and friends. In such a society, transactions can hardly be impersonal in the way that buying something online is. The sort of abstract, impersonal behavior assumed by neoclassical economic theory is something that can only be approached in the least significant situations; anywhere else it would be sociopathic.

The precolonial societies of Central and West Africa were generally of this sort (fig. 3). Their social structures varied tremendously in many details, but they were societies of subsistence farmers living in small villages, relying primarily on a varying mix of grains, root crops, tree crops, and animals. Their societies might have less or more social and economic inequality, but few had any really dominant institutions of political or economic control. In the absence of the organizational structures that dominate our lives, such as employment and government, kinship and residence were the main forms of connection on which people could depend for protection in times of danger, economic support in times of difficulty, and assistance with social obligations.

This being the case, two complementary generalizations can be made—although people had some opportunities for relatively impersonal transactions with non-relatives from other villages, these were not predominant in their lives, and because kinship and other personal connections were so important, people were deeply concerned with creating, marking, and reinforcing such relationships.

This is not to say that casual economic transactions did not occur; neighbors might barter a basket of yams for a chicken or help clear a field for a gourdful of millet beer. But these exchanges rarely required any assistance from a special technology such as money. Despite the myths made up by economists to explain the origin of money, in



*Fig. 4: Iron exchange object of the Mfumte and Yamba region of Nigeria and Cameroon. The form has been compared to a shovel or a pair of fused hoes. The larger items of this type, such as the example seen here, are reported by Hermann Gusler to have been made in the Mfumte village of Kwaja (ANS 2013.17.1; gift of Alan Helms).*



Fig. 5: Iron exchange object in the form of an oversized agricultural hoe; this example is thought to be from the Ngas people of central Nigeria (ANS 2012.55.1; gift of Alan Helms).

which it is seen as a solution to the problem of arranging a barter transaction when the wants of the two parties do not coincide with what they have to offer, in a society with few goods and little surplus production, the coincidence of wants is not a major difficulty, especially among individuals who know they will continue to interact regularly in the future. In fact, such a transaction, even if somewhat disadvantageous, can be a social obligation whose refusal would offend. Even a neighbor who didn't particularly need the millet beer, for example, would likely help clear the field anyway, in the expectation of reciprocation in the future when he needs help clearing a field.

The transactions that were complicated to carry out were not these everyday, low-value barter transactions but rather the ones that were more important for their social content than for their economic value. These might include such things as the creation of exchange friendships, fees for initiation into ritual statuses or secret societies, payments for supernatural services, compensation

for homicide, or most importantly marriage. In our society, marriage is a major personal event that commonly occasions extravagant social ceremony, but in a kinship-based society, marriage—the creation of kinship connections—is even more important. It not only connects two persons, it connects their whole extended families, and thus the marriage transaction is an event carried out by the families, not just two individuals.

Among the Yamba of northern Cameroon, the ideal way for a marriage to be arranged was by an exchange in which each family gave a woman to the other. More typically, though, the man's family would pay bridewealth, a series of socially prescribed payments to the woman's family (Gufler 1995). This was often misunderstood by early European observers as purchase of the woman, but it is better understood as a formal gift given in anticipatory reciprocity for the children that she would contribute to the family she married into. The marriage itself was formalized through a series of rituals over a period of weeks; in the final stage, the bridegroom's family gave the bride's family several gourds of palm wine, a number of iron exchange objects called *so* (fig. 4), and some peanut-and-corn rolls. Later, the husband owed his wife's family certain services, such as assisting in chores like housebuilding or palm-tapping, and he had to give additional payments of palm wine and chickens or other foods to them when his wife first became pregnant and when she bore her first child. Finally, in some Yamba villages, the bridewealth payments were only fully completed when the wife reached menopause or when her first daughter had a child—at this time a final payment of *so* was made.

These *so* were used by a number of peoples along the border between Nigeria and Cameroon, including the Mbembe and Mfumte as well as the Yamba (Gufler 1995, 94; Jeffreys 1962, 152). Unlike the palm wine and chickens, *so* had no other use apart from bridewealth transactions. They could, of course, be recycled as scrap iron for making tools, just as old scrap iron could be used for making these exchange objects. Because iron-smelting in this region was a labor-intensive part-time pursuit carried out in the agricultural off-season, by men from a limited number of families with an iron-working tradition, iron was not so abundant that these objects were trivial to obtain (cf. Sassoon 1964). Nevertheless, these were items that any family could have a smith make for them; in that respect and in their use for only a single type of transaction, they do not fit the concept of money as usually understood.

Throughout the region from the Congo to Nigeria and beyond, a great variety of such metal objects existed. Not every society used them, but among those that did, each cluster of tribes or villages had its own characteristic form of metal exchange object, used only for transactions

within the local area. Iron exchange objects might take the form of simple bars or rods, or they might be made in imitation of the form of some tool, commonly in a symbolic form that was not actually usable.

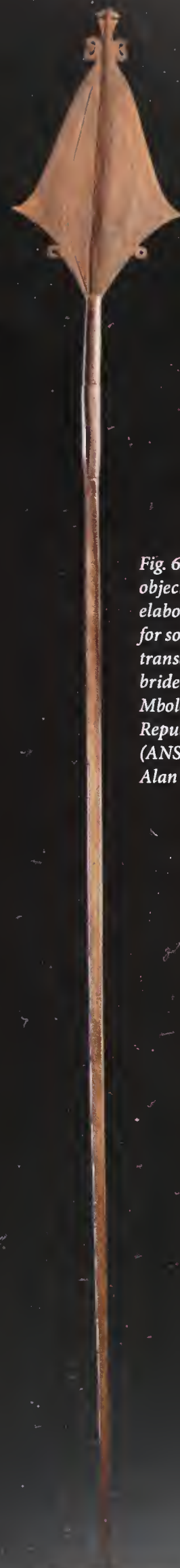
Across a large region from northern Nigeria to western Sudan, the hoe, which was the main agricultural implement, inspired the form of many types of exchange object (fig. 5). To the south, knives, spearheads, and axes were often imitated (figs. 6–8). In their largest and most elaborate forms, such as the Mbole “spear” illustrated in figure 6 and the Topoke “spearheads” in figure 8, such items were almost entirely restricted to use for bridewealth and similar transactions of personal status (Guyer 1993, 251). However, these large and elaborate types are not typical of the region as a whole.

For the most part, the exchange objects of central Africa were less individualized or prestigious than those from western Oceania on which many anthropological theories of exchange systems have been based (Malinowski 1922; Firth 1939). Instead of being too large or ornate for practical use, many are reduced to vaguely symbolic representations of the original tool, such as the miniature axes used as exchange objects among the Fang of Gabon and adjoining regions (fig. 9).


Unlike the canoes and armshells of Oceania, Fang “axes” and many other exchange objects were not firmly restricted to specific types of exchanges. Although bridewealth was the most important use, they were used in other kinds of exchanges, some basically social in purpose, such as gambling or initiation fees for religious clubs, some for other valued exchange objects such as livestock or cloth, but some for utilitarian items such as food or labor services (Guyer 1986).

The *bikie* bundles of the Ewondo are one of the more extreme examples of this possibility (fig. 10). Because their fungibility allowed them to be used as a medium for transformations between marriage, household work, and the obtaining of goods that could be exported in long-distance trade, the rapidly expanding trade with Europe in the late nineteenth century created an expansion in demand. The radically simplified form of these items, a local derivation of the symbolic spearheads used as valued exchange objects among neighboring peoples, is the end result of a massive increase in production. This simplification itself facilitated their use for a wider range of transactions, as the production cost of an Ewondo “spearhead” was a tiny fraction of that of an Mbole “spear”.

Such exchange objects occupy a middle space between money as we understand it and exchange objects that function in a manner very unlike our money. Some



*Fig. 6: Iron exchange object in the form of an elaborate spear; used for socially significant transactions such as bridewealth among the Mbole of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (ANS 2012.55.3; gift of Alan Helms).*



**Fig. 7: Iron exchange object in the form of a knife or spearhead; used for socially significant transactions such as bridewealth among the Nkutu of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (ANS 2013.17.3; gift of Alan Helms).**

exchange systems in Africa had even more money-like characteristics. One of the exceptions to prove the rule can be found in the kingdom of Kongo, located in what is now northern Angola and the western part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As noted earlier, there were some exceptions to the generalization that precolonial societies in central Africa lacked complex governmental institutions, and the kingdom of Kongo was one of the most significant exceptions.

When Portuguese explorers first visited the area in the late fifteenth century, they found a large state whose king ruled, and collected taxes from, a population of several hundred thousand people (Thornton 1982). Various goods were used by the Bakongo for bridewealth, tribute, and other payments, including pieces of palm-fiber cloth and copper ingots; one of the most important was the shell of the sea snail *Olivella nana* (formerly known as *Olivancillaria nana*), called *nzimbu* in Kikongo (Darteville 1953; fig. 11). Writing around 1508, the Portuguese explorer Duarte Pacheco (1892, 84) reported that these shells were used both for royal gifts and for small transactions such as purchasing chickens. Unlike most of the other types of exchange objects considered in this article, *nzimbu* had the money-like qualities of portability, standardization, and abundance, and the king controlled the fishing grounds for these snails, and thus the supply of money (Dorsin-fang-Smets 1970, 99). Although the kingdom's administrative structures were fairly limited, the king's use of *nzimbu* for many payments, and their acceptance (among other goods) in payment of taxes, gave them a more generalized value than most African exchange objects; they could be used in state transactions, social transactions, and casual transactions for utilitarian goods.

It should be noted that the Kongo system is unusual in another important respect. Because its rulers converted to Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were literate observers living in the society and writing about its institutions, before the European slave trade and colonialism drastically altered local economies. Many of the exchange systems observed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in West and Central Africa, especially near the coast, were already entwined with European economic systems.

As Europe expanded into the Atlantic world, the demand for coerced labor for growing plantation crops came to be satisfied mostly by slaves from Africa (fig. 12). A type of slavery had already existed in many African societies, and these slaves were regarded as prestigious and valuable goods, in much the way that inanimate exchange objects were. The socially significant transactions in which exchange objects typically circulated often included transfers of cattle or slaves as well. European merchants wanted

to supply, at a low price, whatever sort of goods would be valued by people who could offer slaves in exchange, and they found that traditional exchange objects could often be exchanged against rights in humans. Thus, exchange objects that could be imitated or obtained cheaply were shipped to Africa in huge quantities, including cowries, glass beads, and brass manillas (fig. 13).

With the termination of the slave trade, imperialism became an alternative European method for making money from Africa. In the colonial territories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, administrators used various policies to extract both money and labor, such as requiring payment of taxes, sometimes in a traditional exchange object such as cowries, but more often in a European-style money. The combined effects of the slave trade and colonial taxation served to create a new sphere of alien, impersonal, long-distance transactions, from trading slaves obtained from neighboring regions for manillas made in England and cowries fished in the Maldives, to working as a migrant laborer on a European palm oil plantation to obtain cash for taxes. In this process, traditional exchange objects sometimes became more general-purpose and money-like, at least until either the supply was inflated to worthlessness or their use was banned by colonial administrators who preferred the use of European-style money.

### African Objects and Western Markets

African exchange objects vary considerably, then, in the degree to which they performed money-like functions. At one end of the spectrum are those cases where the presence of a state made real money possible, such as the *nzimbu* of Kongo and the cowries used in slave-trade-era West Africa. These approached being money, and to the extent that they did serve as such, there is no reason to add a dubious qualifier such as “primitive” to the term. At the other end of the spectrum are objects that served no function except to perform particular social transformations, such as the Mfumte “shovels” and Mbole “spears”. To call these a form of money misses the entire point. They are, in some sense, the opposite of money, in that their whole purpose is to be socially meaningful rather than abstract, impersonal, and interchangeable.

This point may be better understood with reference to a less unfamiliar culture. In medieval Europe, relics of saints were highly valued objects (fig. 14). They were used in prestigious gift transactions, they were trafficked over long distances, they brought prestige and legitimated forms of power, their powers could be exchanged against other currencies such as coinage, and they were used in mediating supernatural transactions (Geary 1990). However, their fungibility was limited to specific social spheres; they could be exchanged for



Fig. 8: A group of Topoke men in what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, posing for the photographer holding a mixture of functional spears and large symbolic spearheads used as exchange objects (© Trustees of the British Museum; BM Af,Ca152.10, photograph from Emil Torday expedition, 1900–1909).

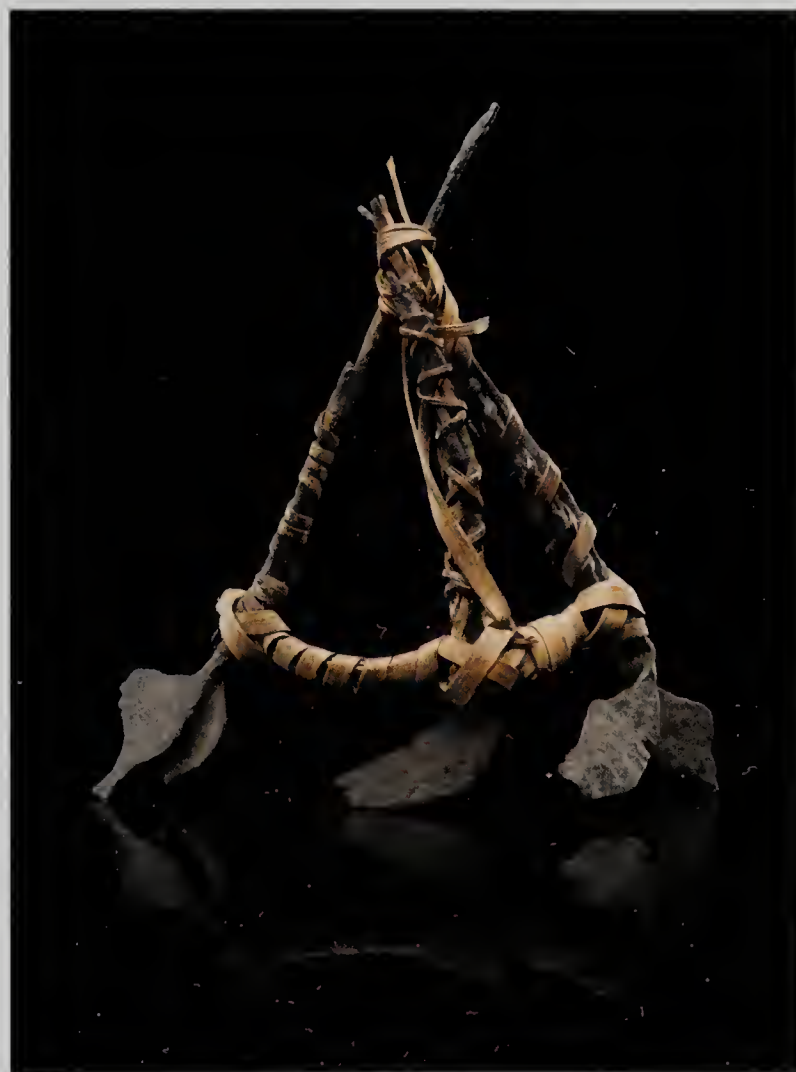


Fig. 9: Bundle of five miniature symbolic iron axes tied with raffia palm wrappings; these bundles were used as exchange objects among the Fang of modern Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon, and Republic of the Congo (ANS 0000.999.75840).

Fig. 10 (left): Bundle of iron rods, derived from miniature symbolic spearheads but reduced by the early twentieth century to little more than irregular sticks. These bundles of iron exchange objects (*bikie*) were used among the Ewondo of southern Cameroon, who referred to this form as *minbas*. Due to the abundance of these objects by the early twentieth century, thousands of these “spearheads” were needed for marriage (ANS 1935.105.2; acquired by exchange).



Fig. 11 (right): Decorated wooden box containing *nzimbu* shells, from what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo (© Trustees of the British Museum; BM Af1907,0528.396.a).



Fig. 12 (below): Engraving of a coffle of slaves being marched from the interior to the coast for sale to European traders (from R. C. G. de Villeneuve, *L'Afrique, ou histoire mœurs, usages et coutumes des africains*, vol. 4: *le Sénégal* [Paris: Nepveu, 1814]; image reference VILE-43, as shown on [www.slaveryimages.org](http://www.slaveryimages.org), compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the University of Virginia Library).



Fig. 13: Manillas are penannular brass rings made in the form of anklets or armlets, although some are too small to be worn. They were manufactured in Europe in imitation of earlier copper ornaments used as exchange objects in precolonial West Africa (ANS 1998.143.1; gift of Chicago Coin Club).

prayers but not (at least in theory) for a bushel of wheat. In all these respects, they were very much like the more individualized, high-value items sometimes regarded as “primitive money”. However, we do not normally regard medieval saints’ relics as a half-developed form of money; we take them as something that had a different kind of meaning, because we are acquainted with how the culture that produced them understood them.

In fact, some of the items that are sometimes marketed as African “money” were considerably less money-like than medieval relics of saints. One example can be seen in the Igbo staff of office known as a *ngwu agiliga* (fig. 15). As insignia of a special ritual status, these items were prestigious and highly valued, but they were not, at least in principle, transferrable to anyone else, and thus could not in any sense function as a currency.

As this last example illustrates, the perception of traditional African metalwork has been substantially distorted by the development of collector markets for African art and for primitive money. Both markets have reinterpreted these items in frameworks alien to their original

meaning, but in different directions (cf. Kopytoff 1986). Whereas the art market has tended to concentrate on the larger, more elaborate items, seeking to individualize them as creative acts, the numismatic market has, in a process reminiscent of Marx’s concept of commodity fetishism, sought to remove their social significance and reduce them to typologies and numerical values. Thus, a catalogue oriented toward marketing such material in a Western context, such as Roberto Ballarini’s *The Perfect Form* (2009), in assembling a large quantity of variably accurate factoids about African metalwork, creates a profoundly misleading picture as a whole.

For understanding how these objects were used, two key points deserve emphasis. First, these objects are do not belong to a single category of “primitive money”. Although they could function as a store of value and were used in exchange, for the most part they were not used in exchange a money-like way. Instead there was a spectrum of possible uses, most of which were concerned with the facilitation of social relationships, but in the context of state administration or trade with Europe (or North Africa) these uses could take on money-like qualities.



The other key point is that these exchange objects were not the only valued goods that served to facilitate social transactions. In many cases, living items such as cattle or slaves might be transferred along with or substituted for the cloth, shell, and metal exchange objects. They should be considered just as much “money” as the Mfumte “shovel” or the Mbole “spear”, if not more so—but they are omitted because museums and collectors do not normally acquire examples of cattle and slaves.

In light of how the modern function of African metal exchange objects in our own culture has distorted our understanding of them, it is worth considering the degree to which this may be true of other items included within the scope of numismatics. While we understand intuitively that modern proof coins and presentation pieces are not really intended to function as money, to what degree do our assumptions about what money is and how it works distort our understanding of coins from the more distant past?

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Fig. 14: This relic of Saint Hyacinth, part of a hoard found in a twelfth-century German portable altar, can be considered a traditional European exchange object (© Trustees of the British Museum; BM 1902,0625.1.m).



Fig. 15: This iron staff with openwork sections at middle and top, decorated with copper wire wrappings, known as a *ngwu agiliga*, served to mark the status of an *ozo*, the highest level of religious-political initiation among the Igbo of Nigeria (ANS 2012.55.2; gift of Alan Helms).



DEUTSCHE KOLONIEN

*Facing page: Cover of a German cigarette card album produced in 1936. This album was intended to inspire renewed interest and claims on Germany's former colonies.*

## “GERMAN EAST,” COINS OF ADVENTURE

*David T. Alexander*

Germany's colonial efforts were comparatively short-lived. Born of a late nineteenth-century desire to compete with other European colonial powers, German businessmen, adventure seekers, and eventually the Emperor claimed overseas territories for the glory and profit of the Reich. This all ended with Germany's defeat in World War I, and with it came the end of an often overlooked colonial currency. Some today may puzzle over brass or bronze coins that present a crown over the bold 1916 and letters “D.O.A.” They soon learn that these stand for Deutsch-Ostafrika, German East Africa, a one-time colony the size of Germany and France combined that now forms most of the Republic of Tanzania. Such coins are the numismatic legacy of “German East,” as the British troops fighting there in 1914–1918 called the 993,500 square kilometer territory that was home to some 7,646,000 Africans, Zanzibari Arabs, and vastly smaller numbers of German officials, soldiers, and colonists. The German Empire established by Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in 1871 ultimately possessed Togo and Kamerun in West Africa, the sprawling colony of South-West Africa, as well as extensive island possessions in the South Pacific and the treaty port of Kiaochow in Shantung, China (fig. 1). Only “German East” is particularly notable for its coinage, some of which was produced within the colony under the wartime conditions of World War I.

Until the early 1880s, even old-line colonial nations

such as Britain and France discouraged occupation and annexation in Africa outside old-established colonies such as South Africa and Senegal. African expansion was seen as costly and dangerous, made difficult by tropical diseases, poor-to-nonexistent communications, and native hostility. The disaster that overwhelmed Egyptian forces in the Sudan led by British General Charles George “Chinese” Gordon at the hands of an militant Islamic reformer who promoted himself to Mahdi of Islam changed Britain's attitude. After Gordon's death at Khartoum, annexation and expansionism triumphed. Bismarck initially saw no role for Germany in the colonial sphere until 1883–1884, when German merchant Adolf Lüderitz sought protection for trading posts along the coast of Southwest Africa around Walfisch Bay. Bismarck asked if Britain had interests in this area and was ignored. Piqued, the “Iron Chancellor” shifted course and announced that South-West Africa was now a German protectorate.

In November 1884, German merchant-adventurer Dr. Carl Peters (1856–1918; figs. 2, 37) arrived in the offshore East African Sultanate of Zanzibar. He was greeted by a Foreign Ministry telegram informing him that he could expect no official help for any colonial ventures that he might be considering. Shrugging his shoulders, Peters headed for the mainland with a stack of blank treaties in hand. Five weeks later, he had obtained signatures on new treaties of



ÜBERSICHT ÜBER DIE DEUTSCHEN KOLONIEN VOR DEM WELTKRIEGE

Fig. 1: Map of German colonies c. 1914. From the cigarette card album, *Deutsche Kolonien* (Dresden, 1936), p. 3.

Fig. 2: Dr. Carl Peters (Bundesarchiv Bild 183-R30019).



Fig. 3: Print of the Berlin conference of 1884 which divided Africa among the European powers.



Fig. 4: Sayyid Barghash bin Said Al-Busaid (1837-1888), Sultan of Zanzibar.

protection from African chiefs from the Pagani River to the port town of Dar-es-Salaam and extending about 200 miles into the hinterland. He dispatched his treaties home where they sat under Bismarck's hand as the Berlin Conference decided the future of a continent (fig. 3). Working with his erstwhile enemy France to curb the British, Bismarck's international conference outlawed the slave trade and denied an ancient Portuguese claim for recognition of its central African empire from Atlantic to Indian Ocean. It declared all of middle Africa a free-trade zone, recognized the newly created Independent State of the Congo under personal rule of Belgian King Leopold II, and decreed that all colonies would be neutral in time of European war. The conference declared that any area not presently colonized could be legitimately seized by any European power that proclaimed its annexation or protection. Bismarck had received Peters' treaties on February 7, 1885, but waited to publish them until May 2 after the delegates had departed. The British and their client, the sultan of Zanzibar, expressed outrage. The sultan claimed suzerainty over the coast and backcountry, harking back to the heyday of the Zanzibari slave trade. Sultan Barghash (fig. 4) capitulated to the demands of a German admiral, who came ashore in August 1885, and consented to accept Peters' treaties plus their presence in the Witu-Kilimanjaro area and the Germans' use of the port of Dar-es-Salaam (fig. 5). The Anglo-German Treaty of October 1886 assured the sultan a 10-mile-deep coastal domain from Tana to Tunghi Bay, which the Germans promptly gave to Portugal. The sultan ended up with only his home islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia, and Lamu. The new German colonial area extended from the river Rovuma to Cabo Delgado and to the great inland lakes and the Congo. Sparring in Uganda led to the Anglo-German Treaty in 1890, with Witu going to Britain in exchange for the North Sea island of Helgoland.

Germany's new mainland possession was to be governed by the Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Compagnie, the German East Africa Company (DOAC), headed by Carl Peters (figs. 6). The company was given full powers to rule the African tribes residing in the territory, seek and exploit minerals, regulate commerce and communications, establish customs duties, and create coinage. Peters worked to extend and consolidate German authority by any means. Districts were first ruled indirectly through appointed African officials called Jumbe, assisted by Afro-Arab functionaries called Akida. German officers were first confined to small, fortified *bomas*, leaving day-to-day rule in the hands of these often cruel and incompetent middlemen (fig. 7). Major challenges included ending

tribal war, and diverting the natives from subsistence agriculture and hunting to a cash economy based on commercial crop planting of rubber and cotton. German demands triggered an uprising led by the half-Arab Chief Bushiri and African Chief Bwana Heri, which overwhelmed the company (fig. 8). Captain Hermann von Wissman (fig. 40) suppressed the rebellion with 1,000 men including Sudanese, Zulu, and Somali mercenaries and German marines in May 1889. In November 1890 the imperial government took over administration. Resistance of the Nyamwezi, Hehe, and Chagga tribes was ended by Germans under Colonel von Schele.

The introduction of coinage began under Zanzibari rule, when the famous Maria Theresa thaler (MTT) (fig. 9) was widely circulated in the slave trade. First struck at Günzburg in Further Austria in 1780, the MTT captured a leading role in commerce throughout the Middle East and East Africa by the 19th century, millions of restrikes being produced by the Vienna Mint and later also at Rome, London, and Bombay. By the late 19th century, the silver Indian rupee (German spelling *rupie*, Italian and Portuguese *rupia*) infiltrated the islands and coast (fig. 10). DOAC decreed the rate of 1 Maria Theresa thaler (MTT) = 2 rupien = 35 to 100 glass trade beads of specified types = one U.S. dollar.

The company ordered coins from the Royal Prussian Mint in Berlin in 1890. The unit was to be a one rupie struck in .917 fine silver, equal to 64 copper pesa (pice in British India and Uganda coinage)(figs. 11–13). The first pesa coins arrived on January 5, 1890 (fig. 14). They bore the single-headed German imperial eagle with Hohenzollern shield on its breast, which was used on the Reich coinage from 1890 through World War I, designed by Otto Schulz. The legend identified the issuer as the DEUTSCH-OSTAFRIKANISCHE GESELLSCHAFT and bore the date 1890, 1891, or 1892. The reverse of these coins was designed by Emil Weigand and bore a laurel wreath around a solid circle enclosing an Arabic inscription *sharrakat almaniya sanat*, followed by the date in the Islamic calendar: the German Company, Year of the Hijra 1307, 1308, or 1309. The reeded-edge silver coins bore a half-length bust of Kaiser Wilhelm II facing left in an eagle-crowned, lobster-tail helmet and dress uniform of the Garde du Corps regiment, the Imperial Life Guard. This bold design was based on a medal by Professor Lenbach with the simplified Latin title GUILIELMUS II IMPERATOR, William II Emperor. Homeland coins bore the longer statutory titles "German Emperor" and "King of Prussia." The common reverse by Otto Schultz presented a circle



Fig. 5: German East Africa 10 rupien note, 1905 (ANS 0000.999.24811) 132 x 85 mm. The port of Dar-es-Salaam is featured in the vignette on the obverse showing both native craft and a German steamer.

around company shield bearing a lion passant under palm tree with the date below. The legend spelled out the company name and denomination ZWEI RUP-PIEN (2 rupien), EINE RUPIE (1 rupie), ½ RUPIE or ¼ RUPIE. The 35-mm 2 rupien was equal to the MTT and was only struck in 1893 and 1894. It is today in great collector demand and, like so many rarities, has attracted counterfeiters. The 1 rupie is known dated 1890 through 1894, 1897–1902 inclusive. Scarcest date is the 1894 with only 48,200 struck. The half rupie is known dated 1891, 1897, and 1901, the quarter rupie, 1891, 1898, and 1901. All were struck in Berlin without mintmark.

Bold economic development followed pacification and introduction of modern coinage. The German Treasury invested directly in East Africa, more than \$50 million for railway construction, port facilities, creation of initially successful rubber plantations, and the longer-lasting cotton boom. European-like education boomed, based on the codification of the Swahili language and fostering of literate native officials (fig. 15). The high point of economic development was reached in 1901–1906 under Governor Adolf von Götzen, who eliminated indiscriminate shooting and flogging of African natives. Before the reforms took hold, the massive *Maji-Maji* rebellion broke out in July 1905 in response primarily to heavy taxation and brutal treatment of native populations. The leader of the rebellion, Kinjikitile “Bokero” Ngwale, a healer and spirit medium, gave his followers war medicine (*maji-maji*) he claimed would turn European bullets to water as the fighters hurled themselves on German troops. Bokero and his followers were defeated by a ruthless policy of slash and burn after 18 months of intense struggle.

The Germans aired their colonial problems with exceptional candor before a Reichstag committee and Colonial Minister Dr. Dernburg was unsparing in his dedication to total reform. A small settler population simplified reform; only some 5,000 Europeans were living in East Africa in 1914, including several hundred Boers who had resisted British conquest of their South African homeland in 1899–1902. None of these settlers were given any voice whatever in running the colony. The German government itself took over administration from the company on November 15, 1902. On April 1, 1903 the Reich took control of colonial currency, instituting a decimal rupie divided into 100 heller on February 28, 1904. Reich 10 mark gold coins were valued at 7.50 rupien, 20 mark coins at 15 rupien. The gold pound of the old South African Republic was likewise valued at 15 rupien. The 2 rupien and copper pesa were discontinued and the silver



Fig. 6: Map of “Petersland,” the territories of the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*, the German East Africa Company (DOAG), headed by Carl Peters.

1, half, and quarter rupie were given a new reverse by Otto Schultz (figs. 16–17). DEUTSCH OSTAFRIKA appeared over the denomination, date, and mint mark in a palm wreath. Coins were struck at Berlin (mint mark A) and Hamburg (J) to the order of the Foreign Ministry. The same portrait of a helmeted kaiser continued on the obverses. The new design rupie was struck at Berlin in 1904–1906 and at Hamburg, 1905–1914. Berlin struck the half rupie in 1904, 1906, 1909, and 1913 and Hamburg in 1906–1907, 1910, and 1912–1914. The quarter rupie was struck in Berlin in 1904, 1906, 1909, and 1913, and Hamburg in 1906–1907, 1910, and 1912–1914.

Bronze denominations bore the imperial crown under DEUTSCH OSTAFRIKA (date below) designed by Carl Kuehl of Hamburg (figs. 18–20). The reverse presented the denomination and date in laurel, the work of Emil Weigand. Largest was the 37mm 5 heller struck only in 1908 and 1909 at Hamburg, withdrawn in 1912. One heller coins were struck in Berlin in 1904–1906 and 1913, in Hamburg 1904–1913. The half heller appeared from Berlin in 1904–1905, in Hamburg 1905–1906, but was dropped from the roster as having too little spending power. New and smaller center-hole denominations were struck in copper-nickel, 10, and 5 heller with imperial crown above center hole (fig. 21), DEUTSCH OST-AFRIKA below. Note the break between OST and AFRIKA

## Deutsch-Ostafrika



85 Felduniform eines Unteroffiziers der Schutztruppe Deutsch-Ostafrika. Diese zählte 2500 farbige Soldaten und war in 14 Kompanien eingeteilt. Daneben gab es noch eine Volkstruppe von 1500 Mann.



86 Feste von Waanja am Südrand des Viktoriasees. Sie lag, um bei etwaigen Aufständen besser verteidigt werden zu können, auf einem Hügel. In ihr waren zwei Bataillone der 14. Kompanie der Schutztruppe untergebracht.



87 Askari der Schutztruppe Deutsch-Ostafrika. Als Askari bezeichnete man die farbigen Soldaten der Schutztruppe und der Volkstruppe der Kolonie.



88 Askarihütten in Muansa. Die farbigen Soldaten der Volkstruppe und der Schutztruppe waren teils in Hütten, teils in grasbedeckten Rundhütten heimischer Bauweise untergebracht.



89 Kämpfende Schutztruppe. Während des Weltkrieges kämpften die Askari treu Seite an Seite mit den Deutschen unter General von Lettow-Vorbeck gegen eine Übermacht von Feinden.



90 Der verlorene deutsche Kreuzer „Königsberg“. Nachdem es der „Königsberg“ gelungen war, am 20. 9. 1914 vor Sansibar den englischen Kreuzer „Dagaus“ zu vernichten, wurde sie 1915 von 16 feindlichen Schiffen im Rufidibelta blockiert und dort am 31. 6. 1915 auf Befehl ihres Kommandanten versenkt. Davon erinnert heute am Ufer ein schlichtes Denkmal.

Boma in Mruscha am Meru

Fig. 7: Scenes of a boma and fighting using askaris from the cigarette card album *Deutsche Kolonien* (Dresden, 1936), p. 41.

that appeared only on these holed coins. The silver and bronze decimal coins presented DEUTSCH OSTAFRIKA as two words; the copper-nickel made it three words, DEUTSCH OST-AFRIKA. Both Ls in HELLER boasted a zig-zag lower serif within a forward-pointing tip, suggesting a swan afloat. The 10 heller was struck at Berlin only in 1911, Hamburg in 1908–10 and 1914. The 5 heller was struck in Berlin in 1913, Hamburg in 1913–1914.

By August 1914, German East Africa had achieved internal peace and growing prosperity. July saw completion of the 750-mile-long Central Railroad upcountry to Ujiji and a new military commander had arrived. This was 44-year-old Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck (figs. 22, 34), son of a general and a soldier of unique qualification in regular and colonial wars from Kamerun to China, the Hottentot rebel-

lion in Southwest Africa to the Anglo-Boer War. The colonel had served on the staff of South African General Louis Botha and spoke near-perfect English. The British and Belgians soon experienced his fighting spirit as the First World War began. British officers in nearby Kenya and Uganda looked confidently to rapid desertion by Germany's African soldiers and a walk-over once actual shooting started. No one seemed to recall that the Treaty of Berlin had decreed neutrality of all colonies in the event of European war. Civil Governor Heinrich Schnee's attitude was the opposite (fig. 23). He wholly lacked fighting spirit, wishing only to keep his head down and avoid conflict. He was unwilling to realize German East Africa's great resources for resistance, including the great Usambara railroad linking the port of Moshi to Kilimanjaro and the Central Railroad line from Dar-es-Salaam to Lake Tanganyika. He opposed Lettow-



Deutsch-Ostafrika



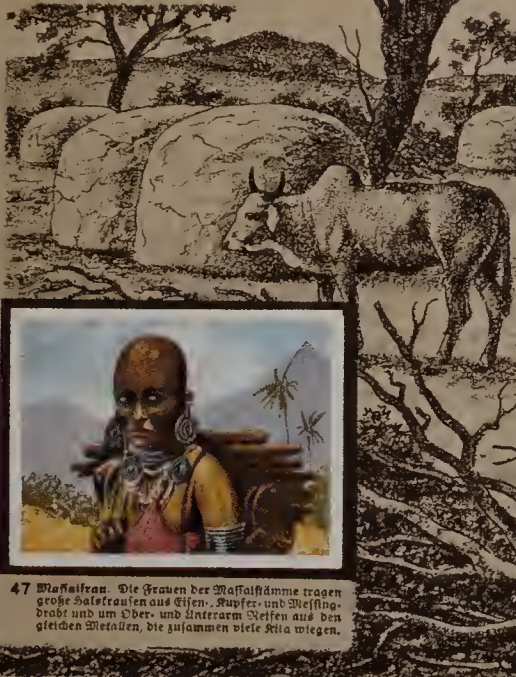
43 Bahumadort in Norderuanda. Die Bahuma gehören zu den von Norden her in Ostafrika eingewanderten Stämmen. Sie sind wohl die größten Menschen der Erde und überragen im Durchschnitt 1,80 m. Ihre Ruppelbüten zeigt das Bild.



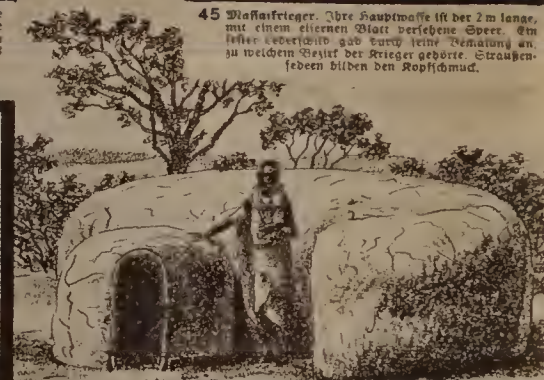
44 Maffaikeger im Schmutz. Die Maffai sind eine heimliche Volksguppe, die in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts aus Norden her in Ostafrika einwand und sich weitbin zu Herren des Landes machte.



45 Maffaikeger. Ihre Hauptwaffe ist der 2 m lange, mit einem tierischen Blatt versehene Speer. Ein jeder überträgt sich durch seine Bemalung an, zu welchem Geschlecht der Krieger gehörte. Straußenfedern bilden den Kopfschmuck.



46 Einzelner Maffaikeger. Die Männer der Maffai stämme tragen Köpfe, Bein- und Arminge sowie tiefe Ohrschalen, so daß die Ohren bis zum Hals anfang reichen.



47 Maffaikegerin. Die Frauen der Maffai stämme tragen große Halsketten aus Eisen, Kupfer- und Messingdröhen und am Ober- und Unterarm Ketten aus den gleichen Metallen, die zusammen viele Kilo wiegen.



48 Schilde und Bogenmittel. 1 Maffaikegerbild, 2 Bogenmittel (Bifangu) aus dem Süden Deutsch-Ostafrikas, 3 Schild der Waichafai (Völker des Viktorias).  
Maffaikegerin

Fig. 8: Illustrations of native East Africans from the cigarette card album *Deutsche Kolonien* (Dresden, 1936), p. 34.

Vorbeck at every turn and complicated defense by insisting on printing and transporting a vast quantity of emergency notes of the Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Bank, officially designated *Interimsbanknoten* but referred to satirically as *Buschnoten* (fig. 24). Some 50 main types of this currency occupy several pages in Albert Pick's *Standard Catalog of World Paper Money, General Issues*.

Lettow-Vorbeck began with an armed force of only 216 European officers and 2,540 native troops or askaris. Militarized police numbered 45 Europeans and 2,154 askaris. With much effort the German commander increased his force to 3,000 Europeans and 11,000 askaris. Another weapon providentially at hand was the German cruiser SMS *Königsberg*, built in 1905 and the most dangerous warship on the coast (fig. 25). Lettow-Vorbeck received an unexpected

boost from what would otherwise have been a naval disaster when the *Königsberg* was cornered 10 miles up the Rufiji River and sunk (fig. 26). Her sailors and marines joined his forces, while ten 4.1-inch guns and supplies of needed metal from the shattered hull all strengthened the defenses of German East (fig. 27). British forces were even more chaotic, consisting of few trained officers, askaris, British settlers, and hunters. In Uganda were units of the King's African Rifles, a better-trained force with some combat experience. Among the most colorful and able men in the British forces was intelligence officer Captain Richard Meinertzhagen (fig. 28), nephew of Socialist leader Beatrice Webb. German territory was first invaded by British and British-Indian forces in General Aitken's disastrous amphibious landing at Tanga. South African generals Jan Christiaan Smuts and Jacob Louis van Deventer, troops with experience on both sides of



Fig. 9: Austria. Silver Maria Theresa thaler, 1780 (restrrike)(ANS 1992.57.46, gift of Jane Weil) 40 mm.



Fig. 10: India. Proof silver rupee, Calcutta mint, 1878 (ANS 1919.95.7) 30.6 mm.



Fig. 11: German East Africa Company. Silver 2 rupien, 1893 (ANS 1924.119.68) 35 mm.



Fig. 12: German East Africa Company. Silver 1 rupee, 1890 (ANS 1916.192.1010) 30 mm.



Fig. 13: German East Africa Company. Silver 1/4 rupee, 1891 (ANS 1902.21.3, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 19 mm.



Fig. 14: German East Africa Company. Copper pesa, 1890 (ANS 0000.999.23390) 25 mm.

Fig. 15: Scenes of "progress" and economic activity from the cigarette card album *Deutsche Kolonien* (Dresden, 1936), p. 41.



the Anglo-Boer War, and the recent conquest of German Southwest Africa fared somewhat better. Belgian and Portuguese troops launched several invasions, but Lettow-Vorbeck defied all comers for four long years and his colony proved amazingly self-sufficient in creating needed supplies and even medicines out in the bush. His was a war of constant motion, encirclement, advance, and evasion.

One of the most remarkable achievements was the creation of the Tabora Mint, located in the temporary colonial capital some 1,200 km above sea level and site of great railway workshops (fig. 29). The colonial government moved there from endangered Dar-es-Salaam and the mint was improvised by geologist Dr. A. Krenkel and mining engineer-chairman of the Kironda Mining Company, Dr. Schumacher. Schumacher later described his efforts in the German mining journal *Metall und Erz* for April 1918 (reprinted in 1973 in the numismatic journal *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten*). He recalled, “When I met with the governor, he asked me whether I could make coins. I answered that I had studied gold mining but had no experience with coinage. He then took a huge dictionary off his desk and stated ‘We must bring gold coins to our people. We have no silver but we have enough gold. Here in this lexicon you will find everything you need!’” Heavy rail-cutting equipment was modified into a coining press, and a supply of copper and brass for the 23mm 5-heller coins and 29mm 20-heller pieces was formed from scrap metal, spent cartridges, and artillery shell casings. Metal was also salvaged from the sunken *Königsberg*, whose guns and flag provided an example of wartime recycling. The 5 and 20 heller were not struck of pure metal, but are found with a predominance of copper with overall red color and yellow brassy appearance, traditionally called copper and brass (figs. 30–31). These were designed and master dies cut by a government functionary named Wolf. Unnamed Indian goldsmiths made striking dies, though hardening the die steel proved difficult, resulting in frequent breakage and constant need for new dies. Such dies brought numerous varieties to the finished coinage. We recognize two basic obverses and three reverses, defined by the size of the imperial crown on the obverse and the shape of “LL” in “HELLER” on the reverse. Obverse I presents a broad imperial crown with figured ribbons flying above cross-like ornaments flanking “1916,” “DOA” between dashes, and Mint mark “T” below near the lower rim. Obverse II has a notably smaller, compressed crown with “1916” nearly touching its base, “DOA” between thick dashes, and “T” high above the lower rim. The die cutters carefully copied the distinctive lettering from the regular colonial coinage. First came “HELL-



Fig. 16: German East Africa. Silver 1 rupie, 1911 (ANS 1924.37.5) 30 mm.



Fig. 17: German East Africa. Silver ½ rupie, 1904 (ANS 1924.119.67) 24 mm.



Fig. 18: German East Africa. Bronze 5 heller, 1909 (ANS 1916.192.1007) 37 mm.



Fig. 19: German East Africa. Bronze 1 heller, 1904 (ANS 1950.122.522, gift of Wayte Raymond) 20 mm.



Fig. 20: German East Africa. Bronze ½ heller, 1904 (ANS 1916.192.1004) 18 mm.



Fig. 21: German East Africa. Copper-nickel 10 heller, 1909 (ANS 0000.999.23392) 26 mm.



Fig. 22: Lithograph poster by Fritz Grottemeyer, 1918. 69 × 47 cm. The poster shows General Paul Emil von Lettow-Vorbeck on horseback leading African soldiers. Text at top reads Colonial War Funds; on bottom is facsimile of von Lettow-Vorbeck's signature. (Library of Congress LC-USZC4-11559).

ER” with the two complete curling-serif “L”s, as the letters on the holed copper-nickel 5 and 10 heller pieces. (The Krause-Mishler Standard Catalog of World Coins calls this Reverse C). Far more common were coins of both obverse types showing the curving serif missing or broken on the first “L” (KM reverse A). The next major reverse type copied the “LL” on the colonial bronze 5, 1 and half heller, presenting two sharp triangular serifs like knife blades pointing straight up. (KM Reverse B). Scarcest of all these wartime 20 heller are the copper pieces with obverse-reverse combinations I-C and 2-C. The 5 heller coin is a simpler proposition. The great German cataloger Kurt Jaeger in his classic reference *Die deutschen Muenzen seit 1871* noted what he called the Normal Die showing a flat-base crown and Modified Die whose crown shows a compressed oval base (KM 14.2 and 14.1). Reportedly thick and thin varieties exist, but the 5 heller, by and large, escaped notice of the variety-seekers. Five heller pieces in the author’s collection are from two distinct reverse dies combined with the Normal Die obverse. One coin has a small, well-shaped berry curving down toward the last “R” in “HELLER,” with a die crack from the rim at 3:00 bisecting the “R” and filled oval at the wreath tie. The second shows what appear to be three leaves at the right top of the wreath, bold doubling on the right wreath creating an apparent double berry next to a boldly doubled final “R” on “HELLER” and a hollow oval “0” at the wreath tie.

The “king” of all German colonial coins was a gold necessity coin created in the modern world, the .750 fine gold 15 rupien struck at Tabora in 1916 (fig. 32). German East was now isolated, with no possibility of getting the gold back to Germany. Governor Schnee wanted to be able to pay his government’s obligations in “real” money and reasoned that the gold in coin form could be dispersed among the population rather than being seized in bar form by the advancing Allies. A safari of 200 Africans and 20 Germans carried a million marks worth of gold bars through 170 km of bush from Sekenke, site of the Kironda mine, to the Tabora workshops. A German named R. Vogt designed the 7.1 g, 22.5 mm coin, and the complicated dies were cut by what Dr. Schumacher described as “a Singhalese goldsmith from Ceylon who did his best work under the influence of alcohol.” The obverse presented a bull elephant trumpeting before Mount Kilimanjaro, with the date 1916 flanked by dots in the exergue. The reverse bore the crowned imperial eagle within the legend “DEUTSCH OSTAFRIKA \* 15 RUPIEN \*.” Until the 1960s, there was debate over the two distinct varieties of the reverse: one with the arabesque atop the left wing under “SC” of



Fig. 23:  
Heinrich Albert Schnee  
(1871–1949),  
the last Governor of  
German East Africa.

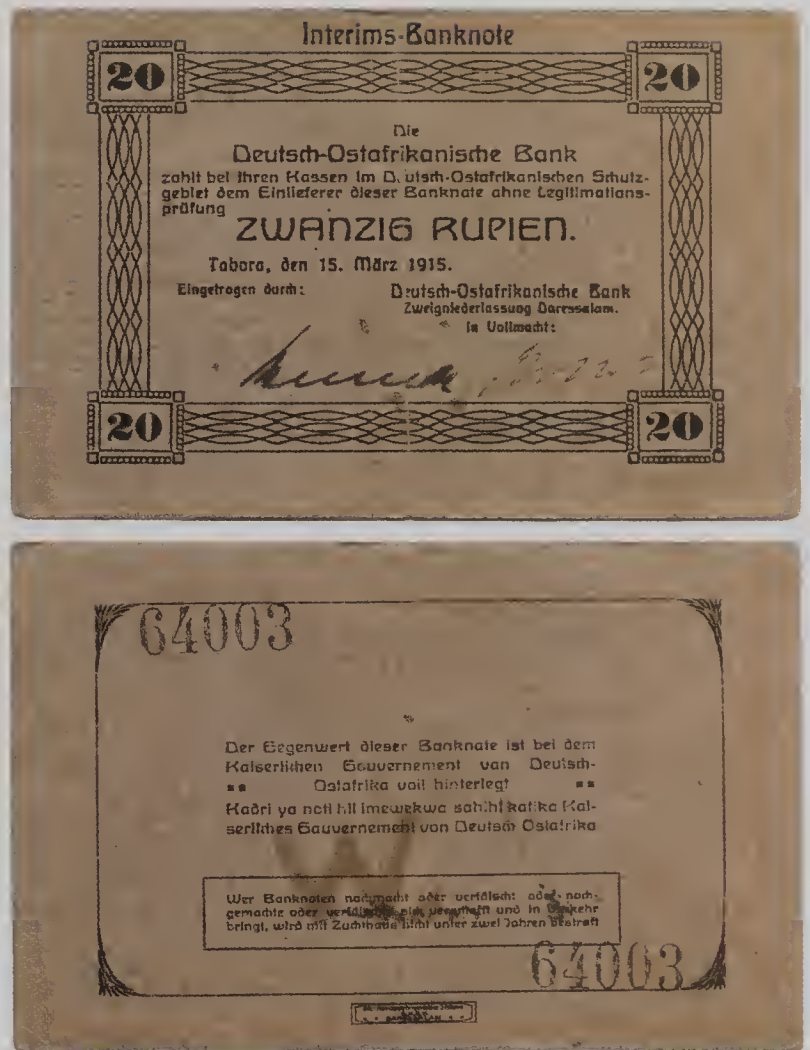


Fig. 24: German East Africa. 20 rupien Interimsbanknoten, 1915  
(private collection) 154 × 100 mm.



Bundesarchiv Bild 105-DOA3002  
Foto: Dabbertin-Walther | 1914/1915



Bundesarchiv Bild 105-DOA3013  
Foto: Dabbertin-Walther | 1915 Juli - August



Bundesarchiv Bild 105-DOA3000  
Foto: Dabbertin-Walther | 1916/1917

Fig. 25 (top): SMS Königsberg underway in the Rufiji River, 1915 (Bundesarchiv Bild 105-DOA3002).

Fig. 26 (middle): SMS Königsberg sunk in the Rufiji River, 1915 (Bundesarchiv Bild 105-DOA3013).

Fig. 27 (bottom): Königsberg gun in the field, 1916 (Bundesarchiv Bild 105-DOA3000).

“DEUTSCH” (6,395 struck), and the second under “CH” of the same word (9,803 struck). The alloy was somewhat imprecise thanks to the primitive equipment at hand, the coins containing 750 parts gold, 150-200 parts silver, and 50-100 parts copper. Efforts were made 40 or more years ago to condemn one variety as counterfeit, but today both are recognized as genuine. Unfortunately, modern-day counterfeits for the collector market are known. Tabora fell to the Belgians in September and all gold in government hands was seized, although private holdings were not molested. At the time of the Belgian occupation, Indian merchants were paying more than 200 rupien for each coin.

The coastal towns and Tabora fell, but Lettow-Vorbeck remained fighting in the field, carrying Governor Schnee and his bank notes over thousands of miles of bush, savannah, and jungle. His British adversaries developed the greatest respect for him, particularly South Africa’s Jan Smuts (fig. 33), who knew something about African warfare. Smuts may not have been aware of Lettow-Vorbeck’s stated determination not to be defeated “by that damn Dutchman!” The German government made an audacious attempt to send help by zeppelin, designing a special cloth envelope that was to be re-used to create tropical uniforms for Lettow-Vorbeck’s troops. Khaki uniforms waiting to be transported from Hamburg could not be delivered. These ended up being sold in the early 1920s as war surplus to an obscure nationalist activist named Adolf Hitler, who outfitted his storm troopers in the brown shirts and breeches. Lettow-Vorbeck surrendered on November 25, 1918, two weeks after the Western Front Armistice. His forces were invading British Northern Rhodesia when the East African war ended. Britain had employed at least 130,000 men against his small army, spending more than 72 million pounds sterling; at least 48,328 British soldiers died of malaria and tropical diseases out of total losses of 62,220. “German East” was partitioned. Ruanda-Urundi became a Belgian Mandate; the Kionga Triangle was awarded to Portugal and the vast majority of the territory became British-ruled Tanganyika Territory. Lettow-Vorbeck was feted by his adversaries and returned as a general to a Germany convulsed by civil war, helping suppress a Communist uprising in Hamburg. He became a friend to Smuts and Meinertzhagen and visited England for reunions with his former foes. He despised the fast-rising Hitler and refused appointment as “Minister for the Colonies in Waiting” in the Fuehrer’s cabinet, sending a startling barrack-room insult along with his rejection (“Tell Hitler to kiss my ass!”). His sons died in World War II and he was kept



Fig. 28: Richard Meinertzhagen with a Kori Bustard in Nairobi, 1915.



Fig. 29: Tabora Market, 1918 (Bundesarchiv Bild 105-DOA0731).



Fig. 30: German East Africa, Tabora. Brass 20 heller, 1916 (ANS 1918.154.16, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 29 mm.



Fig. 31: German East Africa, Tabora. Brass 5 heller, 1916 (ANS 1919.286.2, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 23 mm.



Fig. 33: Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870–1950) here in 1919.



Fig. 32: German East Africa, Tabora. Gold 15 rupien, 1916 (ANS 1918.154.19, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 22 mm.



Fig. 34: Germany. Silver Gedenkthaler featuring Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck (private collection) 33 mm.



Figs. 35-41: Germany. 75 pfennig Notgelder issued for German-Hanseatic Colonial Remembrance Day, 1922 (private collection) 103 x 74 mm (images reduced). All six notes share a common reverse.







Fig. 42: Germany. Bronze medal issues by the German Colonial Society, 1934 (ANS 1958.233.1, gift of Nat Wiltner) 81 mm.

alive with food parcels from Smuts in 1945–47 when thousands of Germans died of hunger. In the 1950's he visited Tanganyika, where he was received with adulation by cheering natives.

A portrait “Gedenkthaler” in .990 silver was designed by August Hummel and struck by L. Chr. Lauer in Nuremberg, showing the general in uniform and slouch hat (fig. 34). The reverse presents a German soldier in ragged colonial uniform supporting a banner with the tribute “German Heroism in East Africa – Loyal unto Death.” Lettow-Vorbeck is also portrayed on a 75 pfennig Notgeld note, part of a 1922 seven-note set issued for German-Hanseatic Colonial Remembrance Day “in remembrance of our colonies.” Other notes in the set portray Bismarck, Luederitz, Carl Woerman, Carl Peters, and Hermann von Wissman (figs. 35–41). These notes, with the exhortation to *Gedenkt unserer Kolonien* (“think of our colonies”), embodied the sense of frustrated loss that was only to grow in the coming decade. Soon after the Nazis came to power, the desire to reoccupy the lost colonial empire was manifested in many ways, including promoting the work of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (German Colonial Society, founded 1887), which issued a medal in 1934 with the ominous inscription *Mehr Raum* (“more room”), with a nude Aryan on the obverse charging through African brambles (fig. 42).

LE TOUR DU MONDE EN UN JOUR

# EXPOSITION COLONIALE INTERNATIONALE

LE TOUR DU MONDE EN UN JOUR



*Fernand Léger*

PARIS 1931

ROBERT LANG, Éditeur - PARIS

# “HEAD HUNTING”:

Emile Monier, Malvina Hoffman and the rhetoric of race at the 1931 Exposition Coloniale, Paris

*Peter van Alfen*

Late in the summer of 1930 on the slummy eastern edge of Paris, an odd city within the city began to take shape. In the Bois de Vincennes, Paris' other and less renowned park, one could catch glimpses of the temple of Angkor Wat rising above the trees, minarets of various sizes and shapes, and the occasional sleek Art Deco tower (fig. 1). If one listened closely, one might hear tam-tam drums and conversations in dozens of languages, none of them European. Such curiosities only increased the anticipation. By the time the gates were opened on May 6, 1931, the extensive grounds of the Exposition Coloniale would be swarmed. In its six months of existence over seven million people, one million of those foreigners, visited the Exposition on the promise that they could tour the world in one day. Few left disappointed. If they had the stamina to experience all that was available for them, the visitor could tour Mount Vernon (fig. 2), home of George Washington, stroll through Algerian and West African villages (fig. 3)—complete with imported colonials in local costume—visit mosques and be entertained by native dancers while eating exotic food—like coucous and humus. As night fell, weary visitors wanting to return from some far off corner of the globe would be brought back again to the heart of Europe by the technical sophistication of dazzling light and water shows (fig. 4).<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult for us today to appreciate fully the notion of the world fair, especially one like the Exposition Coloniale. Only the spectacle of the Olympics comes close, but even that event, with all its infrastructure, local disruptions, and millions spent, is small and truly fleeting compared to the fairs held in Paris, London, Berlin, Chicago, New York City, and elsewhere in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These ephemeral cities were built by the world's best architects, adorned

by the best artists, and teemed with residents and visitors for a matter of months before all vanished, crushed by the wrecking ball save, on occasion, for a monument like the Eiffel Tower or the Unisphere. Competitive nationalism drove states to create even bigger and more pretentious spectacles, always promoting a national agenda of some sort while inviting the world to participate and attend.<sup>2</sup>

The 1931 Exposition Coloniale was one of the most lavish and successful pre-World War II fairs, financially and critically. As visitors enjoyed themselves in this realm of sensory overload, the organizers of the Exposition hoped to convey the notion that colonialization was a really good thing: good for France (and other colonial powers), good for the natives, and certainly good for business. The Exposition came at a time when many colonizing populations were beginning to doubt the whole colonizing project, when apathy, at least in France, towards the colonies was high, and when colonized populations were asserting their right, usually by violence, to rule themselves. The anti-colonial movement, in fact, staged its own small counter-exposition in Paris in the autumn of 1931, but only four thousand people attended.<sup>3</sup>

Of course, this was not the first time that colonization had been featured in world fairs. Just the year before, in

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1. For an overview of the Exposition's features and pavilions see Morton 2000: ch. 1.

2. Geppert 2010.

3. Entitled *La Vérité sur les Colonies* (The Truth about the Colonies), the counter exposition opened in September 1931 and featured, among other things, exhibits on forced labor and the use of colonial troops in World War I. See Blake 2002; Hodeir and Pierre 1991: 111–125; Morton 2000: 122–123.



*Les pavillons Les colonies françaises. (Aquarelle de J. Bouchaud)*

Fig. 1: Watercolor by Jean Bouchaud depicting an overview of the Exposition Coloniale, 1931.



*Vue d'ensemble du palais et du village constituant la section de l'Afrique occidentale française.  
(Olivier et Lambert, archit) — Aquarelle de J. Bouchaud.*

Fig. 3: Watercolor by Jean Bouchaud depicting the section of the Afrique-Occidentale française (AOF, French West Africa) at the 1931 Exposition Coloniale.

fact, the Belgians had held their own colonial exposition in Antwerp as the British had done in London in 1924. The French too had held a colonial exposition in Marseille in 1922, and, in their several Parisian expositions—those in 1889 and 1900 especially—had carved out sections devoted to colonial themes and reconstructions of far-off places. But what set the 1931 Exposition apart, aside from its sheer enormous scale, was the pointed didacticism of the organizers and their intention to divest the Exposition of the vulgarity and the carnival-like ambience of the previous spectacles. Their approach, guided by Marshal Louis Herbert Lyautey (fig. 5), the director of the Exposition and the recent “pacifier of Morocco,” was to insist on authenticity and accuracy in the presentation of the colonies; all architecture, imported natives, crafts, performances, food, and the like, had to be an accurate reflection of that found abroad. There was no room for the type of hybrid exoticism then popular in Paris like that found in the cabaret performances of Josephine Baker (figs. 6–7), the “patron saint of *négrophilie*,” Africanizing art, or even that supposed eastern staple: the belly dance.<sup>4</sup> Metropolitan hybridity, it was argued, distorted the true nature of the colonies and distracted people from their enormous cultural and economic value. The purpose of the 1931 Exposition Coloniale, Lyautey insisted, was the serious, scientific mission of instruction and education.<sup>5</sup> This no doubt would have surprised many of the visitors.

It is within this calculated program of scientific edification that we can begin to understand the development and presentation of eight rather striking medals commissioned from Émile Adolphe Monier for the Exposition (figs. 8–15). A student of Hubert Ponscarme, and later both Victor Peter and Alexandre Charpentier, Monier lived and worked in Paris throughout his long career—he was born in 1883 and died in 1970—producing scores of medals and other sculptural works. Like many of his peers, Monier also saw the Exposition as an outlet for selling private works, and so produced a number of faience and bronze busts of African types as souvenirs (e.g., fig. 39). A number of these busts were displayed in the Musée des Colonies (fig. 16), the only structure to survive the end of the Exposition in place, which has since become the Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration. His eight medals stand out, however, not only among his extensive oeuvre, but also among the other commissions and souvenir offerings at the Exposition.

Medals, of course, had a long association with world fairs even before 1931. Serving as commemorative pieces, awards, as simple souvenirs, and in the case of the 1900 Paris exposition, as subjects of contemplation



Fig. 2: France. Bronze medal for the 1931 Exposition Coloniale depicting George Washington and Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette on the obverse and Washington’s home, Mount Vernon, on the reverse (private collection). 68 mm.

4. Morton 1998: 376; 2000: 71; cf. Archer-Straw 2000; Berliner 2002.

5. For Lyautey’s agenda see Morton 2000: 73–79; for Parisian hybridity and “*négrophilie*” see Archer-Straw 2000 and Berliner 2002.



*Le « Grand Signal », fontaine lumineuse.  
(A. Granet et Expert, archit.)*

*Fig. 4: Watercolor depicting one of the light and water shows at the 1931 Exposition Coloniale.*



*Fig. 5: France. Bronze medal by Henry Dropsy of Marechal Hubert Lyautey, 1930 (ANS 0000.999.52473). 68 mm (images reduced).*

in their own right, dozens of medals might be commissioned and produced for an exposition to serve any of a number of functions. Yet as we survey examples of the other medals produced for the 1931 Exposition, we can appreciate how dramatically different Monier's medals are from the standard fare. The commemorative medals, by Lucien Bazor and Edouard Blin, among others, for example, all follow a similar format, one used for the posters for the Exposition, of grouping colonial natives—a “typical” Asian, North African, and black African (figs. 17–18). Marianne, the national emblem of France, also makes an appearance on some of the medals, like fig. 17, shining her beneficence upon her subjects. A set of four, smaller souvenir medals by four different artists—Louis Desvignes, Anie Mouroux, Lucien Bazor, and Pierre-Alexandre Morlon—which came boxed as a set and were available in three different finishes (silvered, bronze, and brass), offer images that were clearly meant to evoke a romantic exoticism, while referring in the most general way to far-off regions and the people who inhabited them (figs. 19–20). The lack of cultural or even temporal specificity in these four medals is most apparent in the “America” medal, with an image representing the concept of a Native American but without reference to a specific Native American people; this image operates much like the unspecified images of Native Americans found on early-twentieth-century US coinage. In a similar unspecified vein, another series of six medals by Edmond-Émile Lindauer featured French Indochina, with individual medals devoted to the colonies of Annam, Cambodia, Cochichina, Laos, and Tonkin (figs. 21–22). None of these medals had much to do with Lyautey's agenda, but instead were produced to feed the visitor's quest for the Other and the Strange no less than the many other types of kitschy souvenirs and postcards that were available at the Exposition (figs. 23–25).

By contrast, Monier's medals are sharply focused in their depiction of eight cultural groups that were then inhabiting parts of west Africa. Specificity was underscored by the maps Monier provided on the reverse of each medal to show where exactly these people lived. The contrast with the Exposition's other medals is significant, not only because Monier's eight are in greater alignment with Lyautey's educational agenda than any of the other medallic offerings, but also because the realism and specificity of the medals contrasts sharply with the generalized depiction of colonial natives, particularly black Africans, found in other French cultural products of this time, including items produced for the Exposition. Significantly, this was not the only place where such artistic realism and educational specificity of racial types, presented in an elegant, artistic format, could be found in Paris in the early 1930s. At the same



Fig. 6: Josephine Baker wearing the “Banana Dance” costume.

time that Monier was working on his eight medals, the American sculptor Malvina Hoffman (1885–1966) was working in her Paris studio on a commission from the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago to produce over 100 bronze full-size statues and busts for a new permanent exhibit to be called the Hall of the Races of Mankind. Opened in 1933, the Hall was populated by Hoffman’s bronze statues, arranged as in a fine arts museum, depicting types of the “mongoloid, white, and negro” races (figs. 26–27, 38), offering, in the words of assistant curator Henry Field (1933: 146), “a unique and unprecedented opportunity for studying and comparing the divergent forms and the striking similarities of the various branches of the human family.” A New Yorker by birth, Hoffman was equally at home in Paris, having studied under Auguste Rodin before the outbreak of the First World War; she was also familiar with her subject matter, having completed a tour of Africa in 1926–27 (at roughly the same time that Emile Monier was also touring Africa!) subsequent to which she sculpted a number of stylized African portraits (fig. 28).<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 7: Poster for *La Revue Nègre*, 1925.

Here I would like to explore the parallels between Monier and Hoffman’s projects set against the backdrop of contemporary racial science and race representation in other media. It is my contention that while Monier’s eight medals were highly unusual within the context of the 1931 Exposition, they are even more singular within the history of medallic art because of their attempt to combine the conventions of medallic portraiture with the—since dismissed—racial science of the day. I start by considering the way in which Africans, particularly sub-Saharan Africans, were depicted in France and in Europe at the time. Here I focus on three types of visual media, advertisements, postcards, and medallic art, which were accessible to, and consumable by, most of the population and therefore likely to resonate with popular opinion and reflect popular mores.

6. Hoffman’s *Heads and Tales* (1936) recounts her upbringing in New York City, her studies with Rodin, and travels prior to and during her Field Museum commission.







*Figs. 8–15: France. Set of eight bronze medals produced for the Afrique-Occidentale française (AOF, French West Africa) section of the 1931 Exposition by Emile Monier. The medals depict “types” from Dahomey, Senegal, the Sudan, Guinea, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Nigeria, and the Ivory Coast (ANS 1954.32.44–51, gift of the Institut Français aux Etats-Unis). 60 mm (images reduced).*



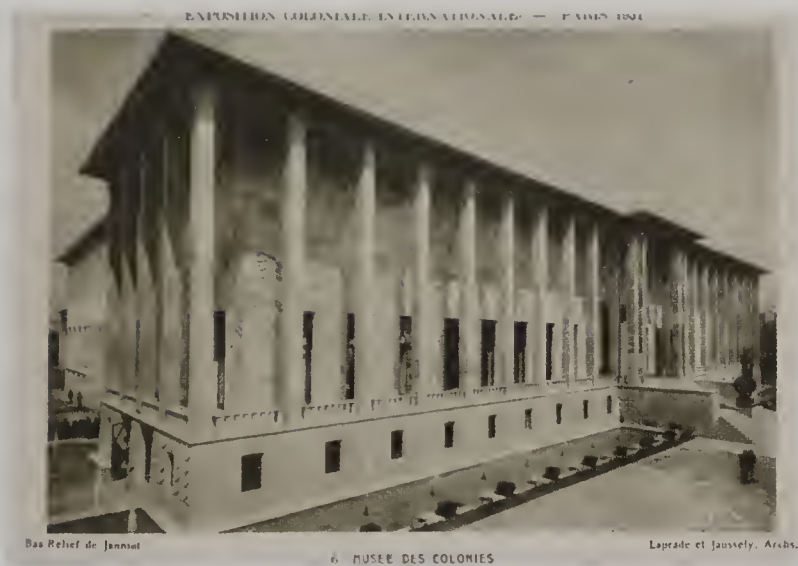


Fig. 16: Postcard depicting the Musée des Colonies, which now has become the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration.

A number of scholars have recently turned their attention to the representation of colonial natives in French advertising in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Dana Hale (2008), for example, considers the three major groups of French colonial natives—North Africans, which include the mostly Arab populations of the Magreb, Sub-Saharan Africans, or the “black Africans” in French popular imagination, and the various Indochinese populations—and has compared their treatment in advertisements over time. Hale argues that each of the three groups, although collectively considered to be children of Mother France in her civilizing mission (fig. 29), nevertheless had different statuses within the Empire. The French were generally sympathetic to the Indochinese and respectful of their cultural achievements; they were, as Hale notes (p. 60), “assigned a special place in the colonial family as the ‘gifted child.’” Consequently their depiction generally reflected this respect. The depiction of North Africans was also generally neutral or even positive, tapping into the romance of Orientalism, particularly the exoticism of alluring women in palace salons and harems (cf. fig. 36).

Black Africa, however, was long regarded as hopelessly backward in its material culture, social development, and morality, and thus in desperate need of French guidance. In a speech given during the 1931 Exposition, for example, one French official remarked: “...in Africa, above all, the most unfortunate of the continents, we have, one could say, literally saved an entire race from extinction.”<sup>7</sup> The evolutionary retardation of the black Africans could be seen, it was argued, simply by looking at them. In contemporary social and racial science, a person’s physiognomy, his or her outward characteristics, were indicative of inner traits. The linkage of the perceived inner qualities of black Africans as dim-witted, passive, and subservient, with their generally ill-regarded outward appearance is found repeatedly in publications of the time, both satirical and scientific.<sup>8</sup> Likewise in advertising this link was translated into a depiction of Africans that tended to conflate all blacks and exaggerate outward characteristics and types of behavior. Skin tones were sometimes darkened to a pure black, lips and noses were emphasized, and the gestures and expressions were buffoonish. To be expected, caricature was ubiquitous in advertising, most of it highly unflattering (figs. 30–31).<sup>9</sup> Such caricature was also found in other European (and US) popular media, including childrens’ comic books like *Tintin in the Congo* (1931), which in more recent years has been at the center of controversies over its continued availability and racist portrayals.

Caricature of black Africans is also found in medallic art, in the medals of the German Karl Goetz most

notoriously, whose work shown here protests the use of French African troops in the post-WWI watch on the Rhine and the purported danger these troops posed for German maidens (fig. 32). Generally, such caricature was eschewed in the serious business of French and Belgian medallic art, where black Africans more often appear as nude women, who symbolically represent an entire people and who are invariably found in poses of subservience to Europeans (fig. 33). But where black Africans achieve at least partial parity with Europeans in French medallic art, and sometimes in other media as well, is in their role as soldiers, particularly those colonial soldiers who fought and died in the trenches of Western Front during the First World War. Of necessity, the rhetoric of “brotherhood” at times supplanted the rhetoric of “childhood” in French colonial matters, particularly in the rather touchy subject of bringing subjected natives over to die in European wars.<sup>10</sup> Thus we find in contemporary medallic art colonial troops of all kinds, Africans included, standing shoulder to shoulder with their French commanders, as on a medal for the 1931 Exposition (fig. 34). The French understood that mocking these soldiers in a public venue, as Karl Goetz did, rather than honoring them, was not in their best interest. But, such visual veneration was effectively isolated to this particular, politically motivated realm of depiction. One which was, significantly enough, resurrected after the Second World War by Émile Monier himself, when colonial troops again were used to fight European wars (fig. 35).

The popularization of medallic art in late nineteenth century France coincided with the popularization of photography and especially its use in postcards. As Jennifer Yee (2004: 6) has noted, “[i]n the early 1900s the sheer ‘repeatability’ of the postcard made it a choice object for collection by the new middle classes. Facilitating such collections, the world of the postcards was extremely ordered, each card having its place as one of a numbered series produced by a particular photographic studio. Such cards also set out, in their own humble way, to organize and classify the world, and French postcards were generally divided into the categories of ‘Scènes’ (urban or rural) and ‘Types.’” The human “Type,” derived from the racial science of the day, was, in the context of the postcards, generally a pseudo-scientific portrayal of an individual displaying recognizable characteristics of his or her culture and age group;<sup>11</sup> they were pseudo-science because the agenda of the photographers was not so much ethnography, whence such typologies were derived and which imbued the photographs with a *National Geographic*-like air of scientific respectability, but instead was often either pornography or exoticism or some such combination, which was calculated to sell



Fig. 17: France. Bronze medal by Lucien Bazor commemorating the 1931 Exposition Coloniale (ANS 2013.55.1). 68 mm (images reduced). The reverse of this medal depicts a map of the Exposition Coloniale.



Fig. 18: France. Bronze medal by Edouard Blin commemorating the 1931 Exposition Coloniale (ANS 0000.999.56777). 68 mm (images reduced).

7. Olivier 1933: 11. Translated by and quoted from Hale 1998: 8.

8. See below for further discussion.

9. Hale 2008: ch. 5; Berliner 2002: ch. 5; Blanchard and Chatelier 1993.

10. Hale 2008: 91–92.

11. See Teslow (1998) and Rosen (2001) on the creation of racial typologies and the role these played in the Hall of the Races of Mankind; see further below.

Figs. 19–20. France. Set of four bronze medals by Lucien Bazor, Louis Desvignes, Alexandre Morlon, and Anie Moroux for the 1931 Exposition Coloniale (private collection). 35 mm (images reduced). Note that Africa here is represented by a North African.





Figs. 21–22. France. Set of six bronze medals produced for the Indochinese section of the 1931 Exposition Coloniale by Edmond-Émile Lindauer featuring the colonies of Annam, Cambodia, Cochichina, Laos, and Tonkin (ANS 2013.50.1 gift of Jonathan Kagan). 60 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 26: View of the Hall of the Races of Mankind, Field Museum (1933). ©The Field Museum, CSA77747.



Fig. 27: Malvina Hoffman, *Unity of Mankind*, Hall of the Races of Mankind, Field Museum. ©The Field Museum, MH89. This centerpiece of the Hall depicted three men representing the three core racial groups, "black, white, and yellow," supporting a globe.



cards. Photographic studios in the colonies, such as Fortier and Lehnert & Landrock, offered various series of combined scenes and types, which saw wide circulation in the interwar period.

Just as Dana Hale argued was the case with the depiction of colonial natives in advertising, Jennifer Yee has argued that the postcard depictions of Asians, North Africans, and black Africans was also ordered along lines of French perceptions of the various peoples. Overt pornographic representation, for example, is most apparent in postcards depicting North African “types” (fig. 36). Public nudity was not a component of North African or Asian cultures, so the presentation of half-naked women and girls, in what is construed as everyday scenes, like serving coffee or fetching water, is clearly meant to titillate. Bare-breasted women were, however, frequently encountered in sub-Saharan Africa, and are found, of course, in postcards depicting types from that area (fig. 37). But here the message of the postcards is not always so clear: is the image ethnographic or erotic or both? Nudity, as it generally is in portrayals of black Africans, is complicated. On the one hand, the European gaze often saw nudity in an African context as a symbol of primitiveness, of social and cultural retardation. But on the other, there was little that stood in the way of sexualizing the naked African woman, whether the native of the postcards or the faux-native of *La Revue Nègre* (cf. fig. 7), and construing her as an object of desire.<sup>12</sup> But while the fantasy element is rampant in the North Africans type postcards, it is less conspicuous in the postcards depicting black Africans, confusing their ethno-erotic interpretation. This blurred line between sexuality and primitiveness was and is a component of nearly all European depictions of nude Africans, an ambiguity that artists could play upon to great effect (cf. fig. 43), but also something that artists might, on occasion, want to avoid.

Sculptors, like Monier, were surely aware of these postcards and used them as inspiration for their work; it's entirely plausible that Monier turned to postcards in working up his eight medals. Indeed, one iconic postcard inspired a great deal of artistic output, including some of Monier's. Photographs that were taken during a motorized trek across Africa, *La Croisière Noire* (The Black Crusade, 1924–25, sponsored by French car maker André Citroën), and were later serialized as postcards included an image of a Mangbetu woman named Nobosodrou, which inspired Monier to create a set of faience bookends, Hoffman to create one of her type busts, and later Pierre Turin to create a medal for the Brussels International Exposition in 1935 (figs. 37–40).<sup>13</sup>



Fig. 23: Bakelite souvenir from the 1931 Exposition in the form of a stylized West African.



Fig. 24: Postcard from the 1931 Exposition.

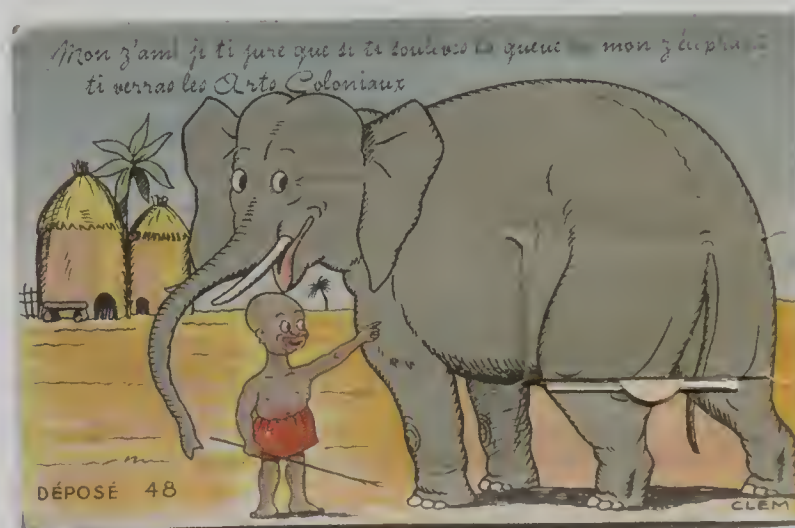


Fig. 25: Postcard from the 1931 Exposition. The inscription exhorts the reader in pidgin French to lift the elephant's tail, out of which spills a number of small black and white images of the Exposition.

12. Berliner 2002: 136–139.



Fig. 28: Malvina Hoffman. Senegalese Soldier, 1928. Black stone (Brooklyn Museum, Dick S. Ramsay Fund, 28.385) 50.8 × 25.4 × 38.1 cm.



Fig. 29: France. Obverse of a bronze medal by Daniel Dupuis showing Marianne, the emblem of France, as a mother instructing her colonial children, 1894 (ANS 0000.999.70937). 68 mm.



Fig. 30: Sanchoc bicycles advertisement, early twentieth-century.



Fig. 31: Bougie Oléo advertisement by Raoul Vion, c. 1910.





Fig. 32: Germany. Bronze satirical medal by Karl Goetz accusing French black garrison troops of raping German women, 1920 (Keinast 262)(ANS 1979.38.352, gift of I. L., and M. Goldberg). 58 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 34: France. Bronze medal by H. Robert commemorating the colonial troops of World War I (ANS 2013.55.2). 50 mm.



Fig. 35: France. Bronze medal by Emile Monier commemorating the service of black African troops in WWII, 1946 (private collection) 68 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 33: Belgium. Bronze medal by Godefroid Devreese commemorating the return of Prince Albert from a voyage to Congo, 1909 (ANS 0000.999.3881). 41 x 88 mm.



Fig. 36: Fortier postcard, c. 1910, depicting an Algerian "type," "La Belle 'Zinah'".



Fig. 37: Postcard portrait of Nobosodrou, wife of a Mangbetu chief, taken by George Specht during the Haardt-Audouin Dubreuil Citroën Expedition to Central Africa (*La Croisière Noire*) c. 1924.



Fig. 38: Malvina Hoffman, Mangbetu Woman, Hall of the Races of Mankind, Field Museum. ©The Field Museum, MH14A.

Fig. 39: Henriot Quimper faience bookends by Émile Monier produced as souvenirs for the 1931 Exposition Coloniale. Monier designed a number of other objects featuring black Africans produced by Quimper. At the same time Quimper produced a number of statuettes and busts featuring black Africans by other artists such as François Bazin, Gaston Broquet, and Anna Quinquaud for the 1931 Exposition. Images courtesy of Galerie Philippe Théallet.



Fig. 40: Belgium. Obverse of bronze medal by Pierre Turin for the Brussels International Exposition, 1935 (ANS 0000.999.70660). 35 mm.



Fig. 41: Tobacco advertising poster from the 1931 Exposition Coloniale.

Nobosodrou's image also found its way into advertising (fig. 41). Monier must have been aware too that the presentation of African "types" on his medals would bring to mind the "types" found on postcards. Yet despite the prevalence of nudity found on the postcards and in some of his other work depicting Africans, Monier avoids it completely. His avoidance of nudity is all the more conspicuous in light of the predominance of female subjects on his medals, obverse and reverse, as well as the ubiquitous use of nudity on other near-contemporary medals depicting African women. I would suggest that this avoidance, especially where the non-bust format would allow it as in fig. 8, is primarily a function of a desire to distance his work from the postcards and their confused sexual and quasi-scientific messages while enhancing the serious scientific nature of the eight medals. If we consider as well the general depiction of black Africans in advertising, we can appreciate the even greater distance Monier put between his work and depictions found in society at large. Other material from the 1931 Exposition, such as souvenir trinkets and postcards, reproduced the types of images found in this larger cultural milieu, including its studied nudity and caricatures (figs. 23–25).

To be sure other art forms—not trinkets and souvenirs—entered the discourse of African nudity at the Exposition. Alfred Janniot's murals on the exterior of the Musée des Colonies and Albert Pommier's limited edition large cast medal are two examples (figs. 42–43).<sup>14</sup> However, I would not place these works, both surprisingly identical in their composition and execution, in direct correlation with Monier's medals, partly because they enter the discourse from the avenue of the Orientalist art tradition, toned by a healthy dose of contemporary (Art Deco) aesthetics, but also because these were not mass produced for mass consumption in the same way Monier's medals, postcards, and advertising were. As purer expressions of art for art's sake, Janniot and Pommier's work did not react so directly to popular media in the way I feel Monier's medals did, nor did their work express the same scientific basis, which we'll turn to in a moment. Where at the Exposition Monier's work found its closest analogy, at least in terms of the attempt to combine science and art, was, perhaps, in the eight statues produced by Fourny that "depicted the great native races that people our colonies." Displayed in a gallery of "colonial anthropology," which included, among other things, vitrines containing skulls, skeletons, and photographs of racial types, here was art that was nominally in the service of science.<sup>15</sup>

Malvina Hoffman's Field Museum commission had a similar agenda to use art in the service of science.

Her charge was to travel the world with a list of over 120 predetermined racial types in hand, find suitable individuals representing these types, and sculpt them. Her bronze statues and busts would then populate the new Hall of the Races of Mankind, which along with vitrines of artifacts and wall charts would tell the story of the three great racial trunks of humankind—the black, yellow, and white—and their offshoots (fig. 28).<sup>16</sup> The conceptual underpinnings on which the curators of the Field Museum based their idea for the new hall can be traced to anthropological and ethnological studies of the late nineteenth century, which sought through obsessive cranial measuring and other quantifying methods to delineate the biological and physiognomical differences between the races.<sup>17</sup> As it was understood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, race could be quantified, since it was a fixed and tangible aspect of our biological being rather than an intangible social construct as we think of it today. Needless to say, scholars were already running into problems with their attempts to quantify and delineate races accurately before the First World War, which led some to refocus their efforts from precise measurement of presumed fixed traits to an exposition of general characteristics. Borrowing the concept of "type specimen" from biology, scientists began to seek out the median of physiognomical and cultural characteristics in individuals and wider groups as a way of narrowing the definition of a race. As it stood in 1930, there was a general consensus among some scientists that there were roughly 150 discrete races worldwide; Hoffman's list, drawn up by the Field Museum's curators, included most of them. Still there were disagreements among the curators and others about the characteristics of some races—such as the correct size of a Hottentott woman's derriere—which plagued Hoffman as she sought out type specimens.<sup>18</sup>

13. The profile image of Nobosodrou was reproduced in various media and art forms in the 1920s and 30s, but generally only from the neck up. Cf. Kinkel 2011: 60–62. Hoffman's bust alone preserved the problematic nudity of the original photograph, which as Rosen (2001: 138) argues, depicted Nobosodrou "at once seductive in her child-like innocence and degenerate in her abject primitivism." La Croisière noire was followed in 1930–31 by a similar Citroën-sponsored trek across central and east Asia called La Croisière jaune (The Yellow Crusade).

14. Morton (1998: 368) discusses aspects of nudity in Janniot's murals, noting correlations between sexualized depictions and race: black Africans are depicted nearly completely nude and sexually available, North Africans less so, while women of French Indochina appear modest and chaste.

15. Morton 2000: 82, quoting Oliver 1933: 51.

16. Field 1933b; Hoffman 1936: ch. 1.

17. Rosen (2001) reviews the science of racial stereotyping in the 1930s, which relied both on anthropometry, an attempt to systematize structural anatomy through precise measurements, and on physiognomy, which purported to give insights into innate and inherited character traits.

In the end, as Hale notes (1998: 63), “each of the types in the exhibit were supposed to be both precise copies of live individuals and representatives of types that encompassed a degree of variation.” For this project, Hoffman envisioned herself simply a conduit, transferring a living type specimen to a bronze copy, a method that differed from her earlier, more artistically stylized forays into native portraiture (fig. 28).<sup>19</sup>

By the time the 1931 Exposition Coloniale opened, Hoffman was already in her Paris studio, “head hunting”, taking advantage of the proximity of the many racial types by “borrowing” natives from the Exposition, taking them, with permission, to her studio for sittings.<sup>20</sup> After a few months, she left Paris for the US, heading to Hawaii and from there continued westward around the world sculpting as she went. The Hall of the Races of Mankind opened on June 6, 1933, coinciding with another world fair, the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, the grounds of which were next door to the Field Museum. In the hall, Hoffman had painstakingly helped to arrange her thirty full-length figures and sixty-eight life-size heads and busts for maximum visual effect, including the central piece called the “Unity of Mankind” (fig. 27). Within a few years, photographs of Hoffman’s bronzes were incorporated in C.S. Hammond Company’s *World Atlas* and the *World Book Encyclopaedia*, where generations of schoolchildren studied them. In Chicago, the exhibit remained in place for over thirty years until finally being dismantled in 1969, a few years after Hoffman’s death, in the face of changing scientific perceptions of race and virulent accusations from civil rights groups that the exhibit was inherently racist.<sup>21</sup> Today, selected statues and busts grace the corridors of the museum, where they serve more of a decorative than educational function. Some also serve as parts of other exhibits, but most of the pieces are now locked away in storage. Out of sight, certainly, but hardly out of mind.

The cultural significance of Hoffman’s work in its own right, as symbols of a type of racism that permeated ethnography before the Second World War and the use of art to propagate these views, has caught the attention of several scholars. Tracy Teslow’s studies (1998, 2002) situate Hoffman’s project within the context of prewar physical anthropology and how knowledge about race was produced and shaped for the public by museum curators and scientists. Teslow’s focus on the cultural production of Hoffman’s bronzes is balanced by Marianne Kinkel’s study (2001) of the consumption of these works by the public, particularly how notions of race can be acquired and sustained through encountering images like the bronzes. Both Teslow and Kinkel have developed ways of looking at Hoffman’s work that are

also useful for looking at Monier’s eight medals.

The specific terms of Monier’s commission remain unknown, but it is clear that it must have originated from the Gouvernement Général of the Afrique-Occidentale française (AOF, French West Africa), which had oversight of a federation of eight countries: Dahomey, Senegal, the Sudan, Guinea, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Nigeria, and the Ivory Coast. These, of course, are the countries corresponding to Monier’s eight medals. The AOF produced one of the largest sections at the 1931 exposition (fig. 3), which Patricia Morton (2000: 252) in her study of the architecture of the Exposition decried as a “monotonous collection of pavilions based on a mélange of African styles.” She argues that this uniformity of the architecture was an indication of the lack of importance attached to the eight individual countries that made up the AOF. While this conflation of cultures and peoples typified attitudes towards black Africa, as we’ve seen in examples of contemporary advertisements, the AOF did take pains to present this “heterogeneous mosaic” in its diversity. In paying homage to the individuality of the eight countries, the AOF commissioned a series of dioramas by French artists to illustrate everyday scenes typical of each colony that were to be installed in the pavilions. These dioramas, interestingly enough, were recently rediscovered, restored, and now are on exhibit in the Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration. Monier’s commission must have been part of this project to present the diversity of the AOF, but focusing more on its racial diversity, and in a format that would be attractive and easily consumable, both in terms of the intellectual consumption of the message, and in the physical consumption of objects that could be purchased and transported home for continued contemplation.

It is this racial diversification in Monier’s medals and its distance from other contemporary representations of race that align his work most closely with Malvina Hoffman’s. There is no mention that Hoffman knew Monier, that the two of them discussed their individual projects together, but it is possible that given her long residence in Paris and movement in Parisian art circles

18. Hoffman 1936: ch. 1 and 155–56; Rosen 2001: 144–45.

19. Hoffman (1936: 12) remarks: “I watched the natives in their daily life, fishing, hunting, praying, and preparing their food, or resting after a day’s work. Then I chose the moment at which I felt each one represented something *characteristic of his race, and of no other* (her italics)...I had to efface my personality completely and let the image flow through me directly from the model to the clay, without impediment of any subjective mood, or conscious art mannerism on my part.”

20. Hoffman 1936: 172–178; Kinkel 2011: 1, 59.

21. Kinkel 2011: ch. 6 and Conclusions.

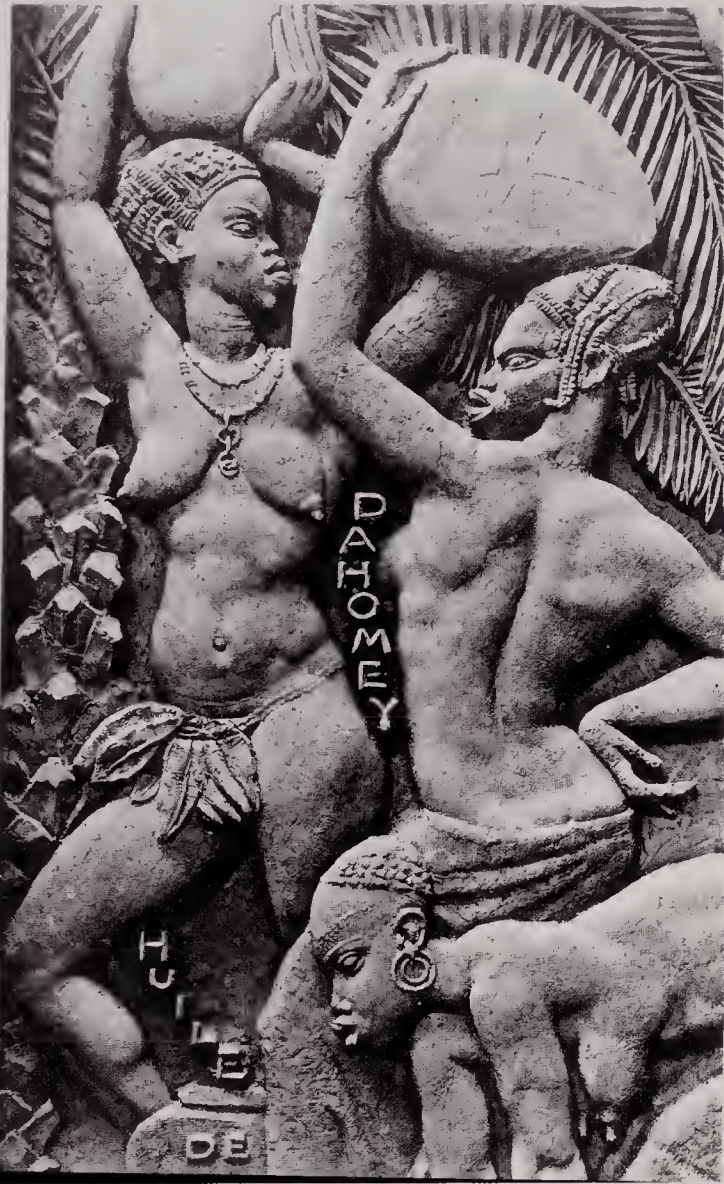


Fig. 42: Detail of the bas-relief mural by Alfred Janniot stretching around the Musée des Colonies.



Fig. 43: France. Cast bronze medal by Albert Pommier for the 1931 Exposition Coloniale (ANS 1940.100.2310, bequest of Robert James Eidlitz). 100 mm (images reduced).



that they met at some point. Its unknown, too, to what extent French ethnologists had a hand in Monier's work as US-based ethnologists had in Hoffman's, but it is nonetheless clear that Monier's typology, evident in his label, and use of what effectively amounts to a type specimen for the representation of each race, was grounded in contemporary ethnological and racial thought. How Monier was guided to select his specimens and whether he used live models or photographs, even postcards, must for the moment be questions that remain unanswered.

The ethnographic rhetoric of race apparent in Monier's medals was an omnipresent feature of the 1931 Exposition, which, under Marshal Lyautey's direction, had as its primary directive the education of the French public in colonial matters, including the classification of its racial types. This rhetoric was reproduced in other media at the Exposition—in the architecture, the native performances, and in the notices and booklets produced by the AOF and other sections—seeking to fix the racial characteristics of native peoples in their appearance, behavior, and material culture. Certainly Monier's medals were meant to educate in the same way Hoffman's bronzes were; they served to guide viewers in developing a scientific understanding of the classification of West African racial types, and in this way fulfill Lyautey's agenda.

Reproducing these notions of scientific racism in a set of medals was highly unusual, but nevertheless effective. Like Hoffman's bronzes, the production of medals adorned with racial types served to immobilize the notions of race, fixing a stereotype in a hard metal object that could be passed through generations. This metallic immobilization, both of race in general and of a type specimen in particular, gave the viewer a comfortable space in which to stare at and contemplate the subject, even to touch it. Tactile voyeurism with live beings, even zoo animals, with which Africans were often compared, was hard to obtain.<sup>22</sup> Fingering the Other was even more a factor in the consumption of Monier's medals than in Hoffman's bronzes because the medal is an object meant to be held. By holding the medal, touching it, and viewing it closely, instruction in racial classification was intensely personalized. One's pleasure in this act, and response to the scientific message, was enhanced by the art of the medal.

As art, Monier's medals are striking, not just because of the modeling of the type specimens, but because they supplant the usual Caucasian busts found on the obverse of medals and coins with the subaltern Other (cf. figs. 2, 5). We can only imagine the curiosity of the public in 1931 upon seeing these medals; these are not the races nor the hairstyles that viewers of medallic art were accustomed to see posed so prominently. Indeed, the prominence and seriousness of these racial types, not to mention their lack of Caucasian accompaniment, is a first in the history of the medal. Olin Levi Warner's (1844–1896) and Edward Sawyer's (1876–1932) earlier series of medallic Native American portraits, for example, while similar in some regards nevertheless differ significantly from Monier's work because they portray named individuals, not representative types (fig. 44). Monier's ingenious use of this traditional portrait format and his elevation of an otherwise unworthy and unnamed native to this hollowed ground of European privilege catches the viewer off-guard, and gives pause for further contemplation. And here is Monier's uneasy triumph; his art renders the Other elegant and inviting; the incomprehensible and distant accessible. We hold, we stare, we touch, and we ingest the "science"—just as Marshal Lyautey intended.

22. Natives within enclosures at world fairs and elsewhere going about their daily activities being observed by visitors was a feature of the 1931 Exposition. For such interwar "human zoos" see Bancel et al. (2004).



Fig. 44: United States. Uniface bronze medal by Edward Sawyer depicting Chief Sota of the Oglala Sioux tribe, 1912 (ANS 0000.999.45988). 71 mm.

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# Collections

## New Acquisitions

By Elena Stolyarik

From our friends and members, the ANS has again received a variety of additions to the collections. The Society's US collection has received an example of a Capped Bust dime from 1836 as a donation from Dorette Sarachik (fig. 1). This example exhibits some proof-like characteristics, but its strike lacks the definition required of a true proof. It is one of a mere handful of examples known in mint state.

Another important donation to our American cabinet came from Rita Shulak: a Capped Head quarter eagle from 1834, with motto (fig. 2). Walter Breen called this coin "the most famous of these years and one of the most illustrious American gold coin rarities." This coin displays wonderful, brilliant mirror fields with a scattering of handing marks. Yet another important donation to our US cabinet from Ms. Shulak is a California souvenir gold octagonal half-dollar token from 1872, with the head of Washington (fig. 3). The die of Washington's left-facing bust is from an earlier half-dollar token (Breen-Gillio 818). The reverse is inscribed "CALIFORNIA / 1/2 / GOLD / CHARM." This coin was struck after the actions of Secret Service agent Col. Henry Finegass in the 1870s to suppress the manufacture and sale of tokens inscribed with their denominations.

The Society's collection of Americana has also been expanded by a gift of fifty-five fantasies, facsimiles, and forgeries of Indian Peace Medals, donated by long-time friend and generous benefactor Anthony Terranova. Only a few fields of American numismatics have been overwhelmed by such large numbers of copies and re-strikes. These problematic pieces clearly demonstrate an increase in popularity and a strong interest in genuine examples in the series. Among Terranova's gifts is group of facsimiles of the George Washington oval Indian Peace Medals of various dates (fig. 4) and a group of fantasy oval medals, similar in style and fabric to the Washington silver oval "Treaty of Greenville" medal, which bear a reference to the well-known agreement with the Ohio Valley Indians enacted by the United States government on August 3, 1795 (fig. 5). Fantasy small-sized oval Indian Peace Medals were possibly produced for sale on reservations or trading post stores (fig. 6).

More skillfully produced copies and fakes can be very deceiving, however. One such medal included in Ter-

ranova's gift is the Montreal Medal military reward that was conceived for the loyalty of the 182 Native Americans who remained with Sir William Johnson and the British army until the end of the Montreal campaign in 1760. Our new example of this medal is not only an engraved fantasy in its rimmed shells, but also shows a stamped fake silversmith's hallmark (fig. 7). Other medals include privately issued Indian Peace Medals of John Adams (1735–1826)—signed "LEONARD"—and William Henry Harrison (1773–1841), two presidents who never had official medals issued (fig. 8). These pieces are yet more fantasy items for the Indian Peace Medal market. Many of the spurious examples from Terranova's gift—such as the fake issue of John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) (fig. 9)—could have been found at gun shows, antique shows, modern *rendez-vous*, or the like.

For twenty years, the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4), founded in 1993, has provided a forum for collectors of numismatic material related to the Early American era, discussed different aspects of the colonial economy and the relations between England and its colonies, and presented an interesting variety of the coins, tokens, medals, and currency designs of the period. Many of the C4 active members are also long-term members and donors of the ANS. This year, the Society's collection of received two medals commemorating the first and second annual conventions of this leading numismatic club, generously donated by ANS member Ray Williams (fig. 10).

Next year, the world will note the passage of 100 years since the beginning of the First World War. Through purchase we have been expanding the Society's collection of World War I medals. Among these is a uniface medallion, "Serbia Surrenders Only to God" (fig. 11). It bears a female personification of Serbia ("Vila Ravijojla"), of Greek type, looking up toward the sky and wearing the crown of Czar Lazar, the national hero of Kosovo; she is holding a sword with a cruciform handle in front. This medal was designed by the American sculptor Anna Coleman Watts Ladd (1878–1939) and issued in 1916 by the Gorham Co. to commemorate a fundraising event in Boston in support of the Allies during the war. A talented artist, who was raised in Paris and lived and studied in Rome for twenty years, Ladd founded the American Red Cross "Studio for





Fig. 1: United States. Capped Bust dime, 1836. BE 3211 (ANS 2013.29.1, gift of Dorette Sarachik) 18 mm.



Fig. 2: United States. Capped Head 1/4 eagle, 1834 with Motto. Breen-1, BE 6137, Bass-Dannreuther 1, Garrett-Guth p.53 (ANS 2013.30.1, gift of Rita Shulak) 18 mm.

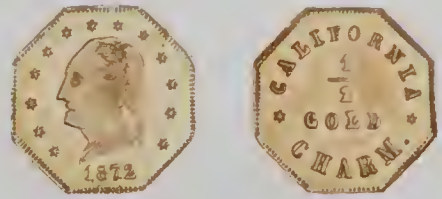


Fig. 3: United States. Washington Head Octagonal 1/2 dollar, 1872. Baker 505, Burnie 64A (ANS 2013.30.2, gift of Rita Shulak) 11 x 10.5 mm.



Fig. 4: United States. Group of fantasies and forged facsimiles of George Washington oval Indian Peace medals, various dates; (ANS 2013.32.1-4, gift of Anthony Terranova) 145 x 106 mm; 106 x 76 mm, 170 x 125 mm, 145 x 106 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 5: United States. Group of fantasies and forgeries of Oval Indian Peace medals, "Treaty of Greenville"; (ANS 2013.32.5-7, gift of Anthony Terranova) 106 x 76 mm, 106 x 78 mm, 107 x 78 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 6: United States. Group of fantasies of oval Indian Peace medals; (ANS 2013.32.12-14, gift of Anthony Terranova) 61 x 40 mm, 61 x 40 mm, 61 x 40 mm.



Fig. 7: United States. French and Indian War "Montreal medal" with silversmith's hallmark; forged fantasy composite with rim attached. (ANS 2013.32.11, gift of Anthony Terranova) 82.5 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 8: United States. Indian Peace medals fantasies of John Adams (1735–1826) and William Henry Harrison (1773–1841); (ANS 2013.32.9-10, gift of Anthony Terranova) 61 mm; 60.5 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 9: United States. Indian Peace medal forgery of John Quincy Adams (1767–1848); (ANS 2013.32.8, gift of Anthony Terranova) 76 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 10: United States. Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 1st Annual Convention Medal. Ex John Griffie Collection, Auction October 20-22, 1995 (ANS 2013.35.1, gift of Ray Williams) 39 mm.



Fig. 11: United States. "Serbia Surrenders Only to God," by Anna Coleman Watts Ladd (1878–1939), 1916. (ANS 2013.31.1, purchase) 260 mm (image reduced).



Fig. 12: United States “Free as a Bird – Hang gliding”, by Marion Roller (ANS 2013.20.1, from the Marion Roller Estate) 220 x 210 mm (image reduced).

Portrait-Masks” in late 1917, where she collaborated with surgeons to fit disfigured soldiers with sculpted faces. For her distinguished service, she was awarded the Croix de Chevalier of France’s Legion of Honor and the Serbian Order of Saint Sava.

*Free as a Bird – Hang Gliding*, a bronze medal with a rich green patina (fig. 12), was obtained from the estate of Marion Bender Roller (1916–2012). This work was exhibited in the 21st World Exposition of the Fédération Internationale de la Médaille (FIDEM), held at the American Numismatic Association in 1987. Ms. Roller was born in Boston, Massachusetts, studied at the Vesper George School of Art and the Art Students League of New York, and earned her BA from Queens College. She was equally adept in small-form terracotta works or monumental works in cast bronze. Roller was awarded numerous honors for her medals, which include Brookgreen Gardens’ annual Plantation Award medal (2000), an award medal for the National Academy of Design, and the Butler Institute of American Art’s Life Achievement Award in American Art (2001).

As an anonymous gift the Society received a gilded bronze medal commemorating gifted numismatist and historian Georges Le Rider (fig. 13). Le Rider started his career in Paris in 1958 as a curator at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and later became director of the Cabinet des Médailles. In 1975, he became the General Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Among his numerous awards, Le Rider is an Officer of the Legion of Honor. In recognition of his outstanding contributions

to numismatic scholarship, the ANS awarded him the Archer M. Huntington Medal in 1969. The newly acquired plaquette of this eminent scholar is in the form of a miniature book, with a profile portrait of Le Rider on one side and effigies of ancient coins of Philip II, Alexander III, and Seleucus I on the other, reflecting the topics of Le Rider’s major publications. It was designed by the prominent French artist, sculptor, and medalist Roger Bezombes (1913–1994) and was issued in 1978.

From long-time ANS member Robert W. Schaaf, the ANS Medals department received an interesting small bronze medal from 1908, dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the Austrian Dog Breeder’s Club in Vienna (fig. 14). It is an attractive work designed by the superbly talented artist Franz Kounitzky (1880–1928).

For its European section, the ANS Modern department was given by Matthew R. Karges a group of Danish kroner previously lacking in the collection. We also received an anonymous gift of a 2012 Principality of Monaco brilliant uncirculated silver 10-euro piece. Struck in an edition of 6,500 examples, this series commemorates the start of use of the title “Prince of Monaco” by Honoré II in 1612; up to that point he had been “Seigneur of Monaco” like his predecessors (fig. 15).

### Current Exhibitions

At the end of September, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York opened their Centennial Exhibition at the Museum of American Finance in New York. For this special show, the ANS provided a commemorative

Fig. 13: France. Georges Le Rider. Bibliothèque Nationale. Bronze commemorative medal, by Roger Bezobes, 1978 (ANS 2013.27.1, anonymous gift) 90 × 64 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 14: Austria. Dog Breeder's Club. 25th Anniversary AE medal, by Franz Kunitzky, 1908 (ANS 2013.34.1, gift of Robert W. Schaaf) 29.5 mm.



Fig. 15: Principality of Monaco. 10 euro. Silver. Proof. 2012. Commemorative issue celebrating 400 years of the title of Honoré II Prince of Monaco (ANS 2013.28.1, anonymous gift) 37 mm.

bronze medal of Carter Glass (1858–1946), the US Secretary of the Treasury under President Woodrow Wilson, widely known as co-sponsor of the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, which enforced the separation of investment banking and commercial banking and established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (fig. 16).

Coins from the ANS collection are featured in a new exhibition entitled *Measuring and Mapping Space: Geographic Knowledge in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, organized by the Institute for Study of the Ancient World at New York University. This innovative exhibition explores how the Greco-Roman world understood, perceived, and recorded geographic spaces. This show not only presents the existing evidence for ancient Greek and Roman maps, but also introduces the public to ancient representations of the terrestrial globe. Roman coins from the ANS collection illustrate imperial uses of terrestrial imagery for political propaganda. More specifically, as a group, our coins demonstrate that the globe became a symbol of choice for Roman emperors in their efforts to exert political and military control over the empire (figs. 17–20). This

exhibit will be on view through January 5, 2014. Five objects from the Society's Medals collection were included in an exhibition entitled *Cleopatra's Needle*, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Organized by the Department of Egyptian Art, this exhibition celebrates the completion of an extensive program by the Central Park Conservancy to conserve the obelisk of Thutmose III (see *ANS Magazine* vol. 11, no. 2 [2012], pp. 8–18). Relying primarily on the Metropolitan's own collection, the exhibit explores the meaning of obelisks in ancient Egyptian divine and funerary cult and considers how these massive monuments were created and erected. An equally important part of the presentation demonstrates the significant impact of this ancient architectural form on Western culture and shows how it ultimately led to the erection of the Central Park obelisk. To enhance the portions of the story centered on the modern history of the obelisks, from the time of the Italian popes of the late sixteenth century (fig. 21) through the celebration of the Central Park obelisk itself in the nineteenth (fig. 22), the Metropolitan Museum borrowed ANS medals that depict and commemorate obelisks. The exhibit will be on display until June 2014.



Fig. 16: United States. Carter Glass, AE Commemorative medal, 1920 (restrike 1970) by G. T. Morgan (ANS 0000.999.3269) 76 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 17: Roman Empire. Octavian, 31–29 BC. AR denarius, Brundisium and Rome (?)(ANS 1937.158.439, gift of J.C. Lawrence) 20 mm.



Fig. 18: Roman Empire. Tiberius. AD 35–36. AE As. Rome (ANS 1941.131.695, gift of George H. Clapp) 27 mm.



Fig. 19: Roman Empire. Vespasian. AD 77–78. AE As. Lugdunum (ANS 1944.100.41615, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 28 mm.



Fig. 20: Roman Empire. Diocletian. AD 293–295. Antioch (ANS 1960.175.44, gift of Elizabeth A. Chalifoux) 19 mm.



Fig. 21: Papal States. AE Medal for Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) by N. De Bonis, Rome? (ANS 1956.163.1683, gift of Frederick C.C Boyd) 38 mm.



Fig. 22: United States. AV medal commemorating the erection of Cleopatra's Needle in Central Park, by Charles Osborne and Gaston L. Feuardent, 1881 (ANS 2012.9.1, purchase) 41.7 mm.

## Archives

# Heads of the Red State: Lenin and Trotsky at the ANS

*David Hill*

It's 1921 and the horrors of the Great War are at last receding into the mists of memory. The ANS, during the conflict, had mounted exhibits that reflected the times, with themes such as the military medals of the world and, in recognition of a heightened sense of patriotism, the coinage of the United States and colonial America. Some of the Society's officers, overcome with wartime fervor, had called for the expulsion of German and Austrian members, or at least the restricting of council membership to the American-born. But now peace was at hand and Americans were ready to embrace it. However, the vanquishing of distant threats brought into focus newly perceived domestic ones. There was a growing fear, particularly following a series of bombings in 1919, of the presence at home of revolutionary Bolsheviks and anarchists, a collective sense of anxiety that would come to be known as America's first Red Scare. Given the new climate, how might the Society, this association of genteel collectors and scholars who study and celebrate the artifacts of capital exchange, present itself to the world? If you said, "perhaps with an exhibit showcasing the revolutionary communist leaders of Russia, but with absolutely no numismatic content," then you and the great ANS patriarch Archer Huntington think alike!

The show featured the sculptural works of Clare Sheridan (fig. 1), the highborn niece of Lord and Lady Churchill and first cousin to their son Winston. She had been making headlines and shocking British high society ever since the fall of 1920, when she trekked to Moscow, took up residence in the Kremlin, and was received into its innermost chambers. There, she molded the busts not only of Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky (figs. 2-3), but other Bolsheviks, such as Felix Dzerzhinski (fig. 4), the first director of the regime's brutal police force—its gruesome record of mass executions and torture already well underway—and other heroes of the Revolution, who, if they were lucky enough to live through the 1920s, would only find the bloody hand turned back against them with their own extermination in the 1930s under Joseph Stalin. Her family was appalled, and we needn't wonder about the opinion of Winston, already on record regarding the "foul baboonery of Bolshevism...a pestilence more destructive of life than the Black Death or the Spotted Typhus."

To escape her disapproving family, and to capitalize on her fame at the moment it burned brightest, Sheridan arranged a lecture tour in the United States to promote the published diaries of her Moscow jaunt. Finding American audiences decidedly unenthusiastic, at times openly hostile, and her own abilities as a speaker in serious doubt, she rapidly found herself living a "public nightmare." Churchill, who in spite of everything retained a soft spot for his rebellious cousin, had already asked Bernard Baruch to watch over her, given the likelihood, as the legendary financier put it, of her getting "into hot water because of Bolshie propensities." With Baruch's help, she was able to wriggle out of her speaking tour contract and focus her energies on a new project. A family acquaintance, Archer Huntington, had graciously offered to exhibit her sculpture—depicting not only the Russians, but also Churchill, her son Richard ("Dick"), a baby's head (*John*) (fig. 5), and many others, twenty-four in all—at the American Numismatic Society. Baruch was again enlisted, this time to ensure a full social calendar that would promote her and the exhibit, and she commenced cavorting with the publishing, art, and business elite of the city. "She ran around New York like a fire engine out of control," he would remember: attending Fifth Avenue "hen luncheons" one day, visiting the converted stables that served as bohemian artist studios of Greenwich Village the next, and finding time in between for the opera, Eugene O'Neill's reputation-making play *Emperor Jones* at the Princess Theatre, a private tour of George Grey Barnard's collection of medieval sculpture in the northern Manhattan woods that would one day become the Cloisters museum, and so on.

The exhibition was so hastily arranged, the ANS curator, Howland Wood, reached by secretary Sydney Noe at his family home in Brookline, Massachusetts, had no idea it was happening. "We are in the throes of getting ready for an exhibition," Noe told him, "tied into knots getting the invitations engraved, etc., etc." In preparation, all of the display cases in the main hall had to be removed, their contents sent back to the cabinet, and the walls draped with burlap. A scheduled slide lecture on the Artemis of Sardis was moved to the neighboring American Geographical Society. To contribute to the chaos, Gutzon Borglum's marble New Theatre plaque—which would, incidentally, find itself eight decades later mostly



Fig. 1: Clare Sheridan and her son Richard ("Dick") arrive in New York on the RMS Aquitania, February 1921.



Fig. 2: Sheridan in her studio with the marble of Lenin, surrounded by her other works. A plaster cast was displayed at the ANS.

obscured behind a drop ceiling, the revealed portion ignominiously slathered with paint (figs. 6-7)—was being installed in the entrance hall. "It is to be nothing less than the work of Mrs. Clare Sheridan," the harried Noe noted wryly, "a protégée of Mr. Huntington's—hence these tears!" Though she described him as "a friend of my family's," Sheridan seemed only vaguely familiar with Huntington. She did record her impression of him, having dined amidst the Goyas at his home; he reminded her of Lenin. She also assumed the ANS was "owned by him." Considering that he bankrolled its first employees, donated the land and money for its headquarters, and rescued it numerous times from insolvency, that's perhaps not such a stretch. She'd likely have gotten no argument on the point from the overworked Noe.

Sheridan had sent over a packet of press clippings on her work. "The one that counts *most*," she scribbled on the envelope, "is the one by Sir Claude Phillips," and this is the one quoted in the Society's catalog of the exhibit. It is probably the most reserved of what were generally glowing reviews: "Mrs. Sheridan's ambitions in sculpture are of the loftiest, and if sometimes she finds herself unable to express to the full her conception... she rarely fails to command sympathy, she rarely fails to give fair promise of higher things in the future." It's not surprising, however, that she would favor the one that came from a hand with the touch of nobility.

Though possessing a pedigree that gave her a perch in the rarified world of British society, her footing was shaky from the start. Her father was Moreton Frewen—"Mortal Ruin"—who, as the third son in an old landed family, had no expectation of an inheritance

and so instead sought adventure and fortune in the American West, where he was an unsuccessful rancher and a dabbler in failed schemes like "Electrozones," a cure-all concoction consisting of electrified seawater. His family was left in a perpetual state of near destitution, a tradition his daughter Clare would continue as she came of age. In 1910 she married Wilfred Sheridan, to the distress of his landed and aristocratic parents, who didn't relish the thought of this union with the penniless Clare and who therefore put the couple on an abbreviated allowance that forced Wilfred to take a job, a notion foreign to the young couple. Clare found her situation even more dire when her husband was killed in the Battle of Loos in 1915, leaving Clare with a three-year-old daughter and a baby son, born a week earlier.

She had taken up sculpting seriously in 1914 as a therapeutic measure, designing a memorial for a third child lost in infancy to tubercular meningitis. Eventually it would be her ticket to independence, as she went from producing plaster flowers for interior decoration to portraiture, sculpting those in her social orbit, such as former Prime Minister H.H. Asquith and H.G. Wells. She was persuaded by Trotsky's brother-in-law, Lev Kamenev—in London hobnobbing with the upper crust on a trade delegation—to join him in Moscow so she could sculpt the ruling elite of the new worker state. She got off to a rocky start when his wife, Trotsky's sister, unamused by the sight of this vivacious English bourgeois emerging onto the train platform, refused to take Sheridan to her home, where she was supposed to be lodging. With gentle coaxing from her anxious husband, this "thin-lipped



Fig. 3: Leon Trotsky, bronze.



Fig. 4: Felix Dzerzhinski, director of the Cheka, Lenin's ruthless political police, bronze.



Fig. 5: Referred to as "Baby Head" in the hastily prepared circular for the exhibit, this marble was ultimately listed in the catalog as John.

hard-eyed bitchovich," as Sheridan saw her, eventually yielded. As a sitter, Lenin was at first "completely detached," though he later opened up. Trotsky, amiable but unsmiling from the start, was a different matter altogether. Sheridan was quite taken by this "snarling wolf" with the flashing eyes, who at one point told her he "would not hesitate to shoot [her] down with [his] own hand" were he to find she was a threat to his "revolutionary cause." Her reaction? "I admit that I found this vaunted ruthlessness most attractive!" Rumors of an affair inevitably followed.

In America she quickly grew tired of being interrogated about her Bolshevik associations, such as severe questioning by Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, who demanded to know who paid for her Moscow trip. In vain she tried to avoid the subject of politics, mostly for fear of exposing her ignorance, though she admitted she "both endured and reveled in the Bolshevik label." When pressed, she mostly expressed vague opinions about keeping an open mind, or spouted idealistic celebrations of free-thinking revolutionary intellectuals, only occasionally expressing a more concrete and controversial opinion, such as that the working man did indeed seem better off in Russia. One is left with the impression not of a true believer or proselytizer, but rather a sympathetic observer identifying with the downtrodden. "During the Russian phase she dressed more or less like a Cossack," her daughter Margaret would remember. The British Secret Service, however, was convinced she was a spy and monitored her mail until 1942.

On February 18, 1921, Sheridan arrived back in New York by train from a bruising side trip to Pittsburgh,

where she had faced some of her most hostile audiences, and went directly to Audubon Terrace to see the opening of her new exhibit. All of the hard work and preparations had paid off. Having arrived in town "a weary wreck," she was happy to find that very few final touches would be necessary, praising the ANS staff, who "must have worked like supermen." "I was delighted," she enthused. "It is very thrilling to see one's own exhibition." She would return on other days, her five-year-old son Dick tobogganing around Audubon Terrace, while inside hundreds passed through the exhibit. She was amused by the "stout middle-aged ladies, in high ostrich plumed hats, scrutinizing closely and carefully through lorgnettes the unflinching bronzes of the Soviet leaders," noting that "all kinds of cranks introduce themselves to me." Some overheard comments were reported to her: "Lenin is my hero," "How wicked they look," "Trotsky looks like the devil." One woman, having surveyed the heads for a good half hour, asked where the exhibition was.

The show ran through March 19 and there is no indication, despite scattered negative comments, that it caused any broader controversy. Rather, it appears to have been a great success, and when it was over the pieces moved to Knoedler's gallery on Fifth Avenue where they were shown for another two weeks. Sheridan soon decamped for Mexico, filing stories on her adventures to Herbert Bayard Swope, editor of the *New York World*. By the end of the year she was in Los Angeles, summoned by Samuel Goldwyn at the behest of Charlie Chaplin, who wanted to meet her after reading the Moscow diaries. He was enchanted, and they soon set off on a camping trip, tenting in a eucalyptus grove along the Pacific coast (fig. 8). Reporters seized on this as evidence of an



impending marriage. Ever sensitive to press misrepresentation, she retreated back to New York, tearfully complaining to Baruch about the unfair treatment.

It was time to leave America and it was Swope who gave her the opportunity. As a roving reporter for the *World*, she departed for Europe, surveying the war-torn continent, at times from the sidecar of a motorcycle commandeered by her brother, Oswald. She would henceforth treat the world like she had New York, bouncing about, alighting wherever there was a story, meeting and sculpting momentous personages of the twentieth century, such as Kemel Atatürk, Benito Mussolini, and Mohandas Gandhi. She reportedly attended one of Adolf Hitler's Munich Nazi rallies in 1923 but was unable to wheedle the ascendant dictator into sitting for her. She wrote two novels and for a time lived at an art colony attached to an American Indian reservation. She slowed down in her later years, but as long as her health held out she continued to travel, write, and sculpt, now mainly religious works, having converted to Catholicism in the 1940s. She passed away in 1970 at the age of 84, leaving behind a multitude of often contradictory opinions about her. Baruch thought she was "too wild." Her brother Oswald had chided her, "your Russian exploit I laughed at, your Communist ravings I ignored." Her daughter called her "lovely, but embarrassing." To her cousin and biographer Anita Leslie, she was "magnetic." She is buried near the Frewen Estate at Brede Place, Sussex, where the Russian busts are still displayed.

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Fig. 6: The installation of Gutzon Borglum's New Theatre plaque—seen here in 2004 having weathered decades of indignities—complicated the last-minute staging of the Sheridan exhibit.



Fig. 7: The New Theatre plaque today—liberated, restored, and standing proud at the ANS headquarters.



Fig. 8: Sheridan and Charlie Chaplin on a camping trip in California, November 1921.

# Library

## Two Rare Book Room Acquisitions

*Elizabeth Hahn*

James Edwards. *A catalogue of imperial gold coins : to be sold at the prices affixed to each, On Monday the 8th of March, 1790, at Mr. Edwards's, No. 102, Pall-Mall.* [London] : [s.n.].

Agostino, Antonio. 1592. *Discorsi del S. Don Antonio Agostini sopra le medaglie et altre anticaglie divisi in XI dialoghi : tradotti dalla lingua spagnuola nell'italiana con l'aggiunta di molti ritratti di belle, et rare medaglie...* Rome: Presso Ascanio, et Girolamo Donangeli.

In August 2013, the Harry W. Bass, Jr. Library acquired two important new additions for the rare book collections, detailed above. The first is an 18th century, fixed price list published in London, which I hope to discuss in detail at a later date. The sale took place on March 8, 1790 and was organized by the Edwards family, a group of eager bibliophiles originally from Halifax. The catalog is 22 pages and lists 400 lots, all kept together in a rather unremarkable soft paper binding. The full title of the sale appears as: *A catalogue of imperial gold coins : to be sold at the prices affixed to each, On Monday the 8th of March, 1790, at Mr. Edwards's, No. 102, Pall-Mall.* Based on the address (no. 102 Pall-Mall, in London), we can identify this as the store of Edwards & Sons, established by James and John Edwards in 1784. The Edwards family had a long tradition in the book industry, dating back to the 17th century. Richard Edwards (?1691–1767) was a schoolmaster and stationer and his son William (1722–1808) flourished as an established bookseller, bookbinder, and publisher. William began selling books through auction around 1749 and continued through 1760 in Halifax where he owned a bookshop. Two of his sons, James and John, worked in the Halifax bookshop before setting up shop in London in 1784. They opened Edwards & Sons at the no. 102 Pall-Mall address, which appears on their catalogs from January 1785 through 1791. James Edwards was primarily responsible for these sales, which focused primarily on paper-based materials, and soon established him as one of the most important antiquarian booksellers of his time. He had a particular fascination with vellum bindings and his sales often included spectacular examples of fine bindings. In addition to being booksellers, the Edwards family was perhaps best known as bookbinders with extraordinary talent and artistic skill. They invented and patented a technique for painting

under the surface of vellum, creating a highly distinctive binding known today as the “Edwards of Halifax” binding (fig. 1).

This fixed price list of imperial gold coins seems to be the only occasion where Edwards sold anything other than books, manuscripts, prints, or designs. As noted on the cover, the sale took place at his bookshop at no. 102 Pall-Mall in a building that no longer exists; the space was demolished in 1836-7 to make room for construction of the Reform Club, which occupies the site today. It is unclear what prompted this unique sale of coins, but a note on the title-page verso states: “to prevent any suspicion of partiality, those who intend to become purchasers are desired to deliver in, on Saturday [6 March], lists of such Medals as they choose, and each list shall be supplied as fully as possible, in the order they shall stand as to value.” This suggests that individuals purchasing the most items would get the first choices.

The Edwards’ catalog of imperial gold coins makes a fine addition to the ANS Library collections for obvious reasons, but it is also interesting to see how it fits into the wider context of rare books and binding history. Moreover, fixed price lists make up a substantial portion of the ANS Library collections, with several hundred in the general stacks as well as in the rare book room. However, unlike the auction catalogs in the library collection, the fixed price lists do not appear in the online library catalog. They are arranged in alphabetical order according to the dealer-name who sells the coins, and those that date to before 1950 are housed in the rare book room, while those after 1950 can be found on shelves in the general stacks. Because of the sheer number of fixed price lists received, former librarians from the first half of the 20th century decided against cataloging individual lists. Although one card catalog tray devoted to these early lists does exist (and appears in the printed version of the ANS card catalog), it was not included when the card catalog was computerized in the late 1990s simply because it was not a complete record of the fixed price list holdings. This means that we essentially need to start from scratch in order to create records for these important sales in our online catalog. Thankfully, our full-time library cataloger, Katie Risetto, has caught us up on other important aspects of the cataloging and can soon



Fig. 1: Example of books in "Edwards of Halifax" bindings. Photo courtesy of Special Collections, University of York.

begin to address this issue. This is one of the next big projects that we hope to tackle, but is one that will also take some time to complete.

The second item acquired in August 2013 is an Italian translation of Antonio Agustin's popular *Dialogos de Medallas inscripciones y otras antiguedades*, which was originally published posthumously in 1587. This translation is one of two completed in Italian in the same year (1592) and printed by the firm of Ascanio and Girolamo in Rome. It contains seventy-two engraved plates, which depict many more coins than the

original publication (which contained only fifty-one plates). The other Italian version was translated by Dionigi Ottaviano Sada (a copy of which also exists in the ANS Library) and also depicts additional coins not found in the original and inserted within the text. The newly acquired anonymous translation adheres more closely to the original text and production of engraved plates produced in 1587 (fig. 2), while the Sada translation incorporates woodcut coin illustrations within the text (fig. 3). In fact, only the plates for the first two dialogues were completed before Agustin's death in 1586 and those original copper plates have since been lost. (There is a good deal of scholarship written on Agustin. For example, see: Immaculada Socias Batet in the 2011 volume of the *American Journal of Numismatics* who discusses the details of Agustin's work and the mystery of the missing plates).

Antonio Agustin (1517–1586) was a humanist and jurist and an important figure in the early development of numismatic literature. Born in Saragossa, Spain, he developed an interest in classics and antiquities that soon brought him to Italy, where he was actively engaged with other important figures of the 16th century, including Fulvio Orsini (1529–1601) and Pirro Ligorio (1510–1583). He returned to Spain in 1564 as the archbishop of Tarragona. Agustin's numismatic work is a collection of eleven dialogues, each of which addresses an important aspect of ancient coinage including metals and denominations, iconography, the Roman Republic and Empire, provincial Spain, inscriptions, and forgeries. His consideration of coins as primary sources was significant for his day. This is an important translation of an early work of numismatic literature and makes an essential addition to the ANS Library collections.

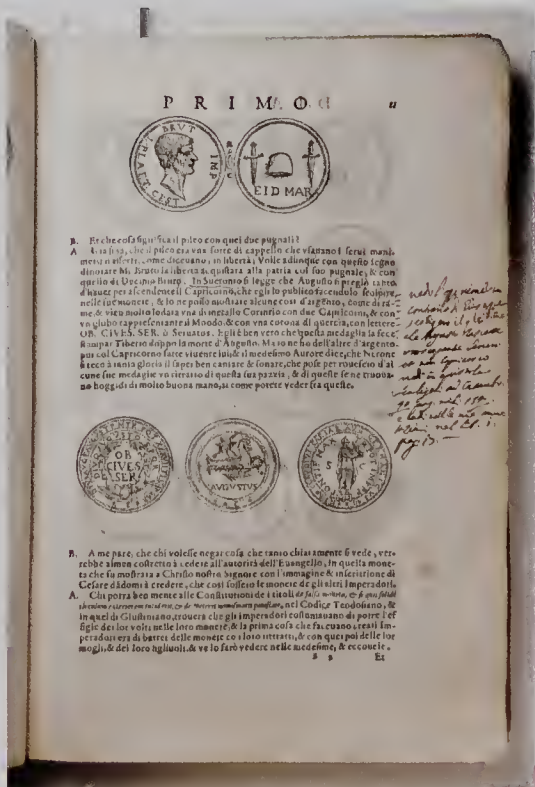


Fig. 2 (left): Agustin, Antonio. 1592. *Discorsi del S. Don Antonio Agostini sopra le medaglie et altre anticaglie divisi in XI dialoghi: tradotti dalla lingua spagnuola nell'italiana con l'aggiunta di molti ritratti di belle, et rare medaglie...* Rome: Presso Ascanio, et Girolamo Donangeli, plate 4.

Fig. 3 (right): Agustin, Antonio. 1592. *Dialoghi intorno alle medaglie, inscripciones et altra antichità, tradotti di lengua spagnuola in italiana da Dionigi Ottaviano Sada.* Rome: Appresso Guglielmo Faciotto: p. 11.

# News

## Augustus B. Sage Society trip to Turkey

The Augustus B. Sage Society's annual trip brought a small group of members to the land of ancient Lycia in southern Turkey. The ANS chartered a small boat, which took the group along the famous mountainous Lycian coast. The tour's leader, Richard Ashton, was able to introduce the members to some of the most remote and obscure sites of the ancient Mediterranean. Due to popular demand, next year's trip will be probably the urban environment of Rome, Italy. We hope to visit the various coin collections in the eternal city, including the Vatican. If you are interesting in this trip, contact Ute Wartenberg Kagan or Eshel Kreiter.



### ANS Interns

Jesse Kraft has collected coins since the age of eight, with a current focus on United States one-cent pieces, Byzantine folles of Justinian I, and coins of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, as well as modern world coinage. Jesse earned his B.A. in History, as well as a L.I.B.A. in Numismatics, from the Richard Stockton College of New Jersey. He is currently working on an M.A. in American Studies from the same institution, where he curated “Coining the New World: How the Americas Have Conceptualized Themselves.” Jesse is also a graduate of the Florence Schook School of Numismatics of the American Numismatic Association, as well as a past Vice President of the Atlantic County Numismatic Society. At the ANS, Mr. Kraft has been working on the collection of early Canadian tokens.

Sylvia Czander is currently a junior at Brooklyn College and Macaulay Honors College where she is majoring in Classics and Linguistics. Though she will be applying to graduate schools for Classics next fall, this fall she is assisting in editing the *ANS Magazine* and in the reorganization of the Alexander coinage in the ANS collection. After studying imitative Alexander types in the collection, she hopes to have a paper on this subject polished in time for the first issue of the 2014 *ANS Magazine*.



Jesse Kraft



Sylvia Czander

### ANS Elections

During the October 19, 2013 Annual Meeting, the following Trustee candidates were elected or re-elected by the Fellows of the Society for the term ending 2016: Dr. Lawrence A. Adams, Dr. Keith M. Barron, Mr. Richard M. Beleson, Mr. Jeffrey D. Benjamin, Dr. Andrew M. Burnett, Ms. Beth Deisher, Mr. Michael Gasvoda, Prof. Kenneth W. Harl, Mr. Lawrence Schwimmer.

During the regular meeting of the Board of Trustees, the following ANS Members were elected as Fellows of Society: Mr. Leonard Augsburg, Prof. Martin Beckmann, Dr. David F. Fanning, Dr. Ursula Kampmann, Dr. Hubert Lanz, Mr. Brent Pogue, Dr. Dimitris G. Portolos, Mr. Hadrien Rambach, Mr. Sydney Rothstein, Dr. Alan S. Walker, Dr. Thomas D. Wooldridge.

The following Trustees were appointed Officers of the Society: Kenneth L. Edlow, Chairman of the Board; Sydney F. Martin, President; Michael Gasvoda, First Vice President; Kenneth W. Harl, Second Vice President; Jeffrey Benjamin, Treasurer; Ute Wartenberg Kagan, Secretary/Executive Director; Anna Chang, Assistant Treasurer.

### American Numismatic Society 2014 Annual Gala

On Thursday, January 9, 2014, at its Annual Gala at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York, the American Numismatic Society will honor longtime benefactors Marian Scheuer Sofaer and the Honorable Abraham D. Sofaer.

The Sofaers have been closely involved with the ANS for more than four decades, most recently as the donors of their collection of coins from the ancient Mideast. The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection—catalogued in the recent two-volume ANS publication *Coins of the Holy Land*—contains 5,000 coins and related objects from a span that stretches across nearly two millennia and chronicles the shifting cultural presence of the Persians, Greeks, Samaritans, Jews, Nabataeans, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, and Crusaders.

For information on purchasing tickets or program advertisements, please contact Viviana Londono-Danailov at 212-571-4470 ext. 117, [membership@numismatics.org](mailto:membership@numismatics.org), or our website [numismatics.org/NewsEvents/Gala2014](http://numismatics.org/NewsEvents/Gala2014).



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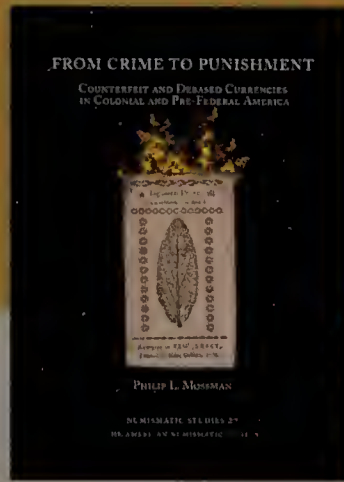
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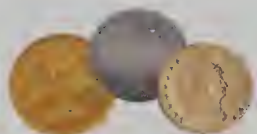


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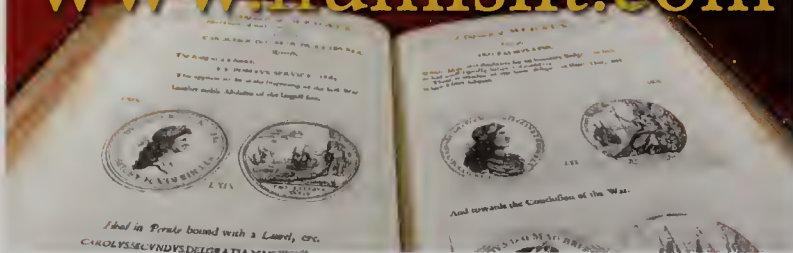
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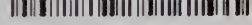
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*Obv. Within a border of laurel leaves bust three-quarters to right, wearing a plain collar, metal gorget, buttoned doublet, and badge of the Order of St. Michael on a ribbon, decorated field.*

*Signed with PA.F Legend: MART.HERP.TROMP.R.L.ADM.V.HOLL.E.WESTV. Ao 1653*

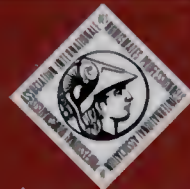
*Rev. Armorial shield of Tromp with helmet, crest, and griffions as supporters, above OBYT AE 56 and below in a cartouche a naval engagement. Marked on the edge with the serpent of van Abeele, cf. K.A. Citroen, Amsterdam silversmiths and their marks, nr. 1003.*

*silver, cast, chased and chisselled, 70 mm., 69,36 grams.*

*Fred. 3/3a. Afb.5/6; v.L.II.376; M.I. I.402.32; Nav. Med. 540.*

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