

**NUMISMATIC HISTORY
OF
MEXICO**

Numismatic History of Mexico

from the Pre-Columbian epoch to 1823

by

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WITH 24 PLATES

With
annotations & revisions

by

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Tajaderas or so-called "Hoe Money" and gold eagle of the Aztecs.

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FOREWORD TO REPRINT EDITION

As Mexico evolves into a modern industrial state and per capita income increases, so does literacy improve. With it comes a quest for knowledge of the history of the nation and its people. What better media of historical information than the medium of exchange, the coin of the realm of a nation.

Hence it is with great pride, and a sense of contribution that I have participated in the updating and reprinting of this classic book, NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF MEXICO by Alberto Pradeau. I have been his friend and co-numismatist for decades and have followed his writings in the field. His contributions have been legion, with this book being a major contribution and of the greatest importance.

In updating this volume, I have supplemented my own data by consulting with the Bank of Mexico, researching its fine collection, and other reliable sources among them Bowers & Ruddy, Henry Christensen, Richard Margolis, Superior Coin & Stamp Co., Inc., and Jaime Varon, collector from Guadalajara, as well as Dr. Pradeau's personal library copy of this book with its many hand annotated additions.

Tables in the book on pages 42, 44, 45, 50, 51, 62, 67, 70 and 93 have been modified to show new important details, and have been reprinted in the supplement. They should be consulted.

As space permitted, the tables on pages 61, 87, and 89 were revised and reprinted on the actual pages on which they appear.

The numismatic fraternity, especially those specializing in Mexican material owe a note of thanks to numismatic publisher Sanford J. Durst for his efforts in financing and producing the reprinting of this significant edition. It will unquestionably open the doors to numismatic and historical insight provided by Dr. Pradeau, but long lost due to the scarcity and high cost of this book.

Numismatically yours,

Clyde Hubbard
Cuernavaca, Mexico

P R E F A C E

In the compilation of this work all available material has been used and whenever possible the source has been acknowledged. Special expression of thanks is due to Mrs. Adelaide Gillis McCormick, for permitting access to her wonderful collection and for valuable suggestions offered; to Mr. Frank I. Liveright, for consenting to have some of his beautiful and extremely rare pieces photographed and used to illustrate the text; to Mr. Julius Gutttag, for the courtesy of allowing material from his work "Latin American Coins" to be included in this monograph; to the British Museum; to Messrs. Wayte Raymond, H. L. Hill, Ragnar L. Cederlund, Maurice Schulman, and others, for information and assistance rendered.

I am also grateful to the President and other officials of the American Numismatic Society, for the countless courtesies extended while this work was being prepared; and most deeply am I indebted to the Curator, Mr. Howland Wood, whose lot it was to review the manuscript and prepare the plates, thus placing at my disposal and the public's, his wide knowledge of numismatics in general and in particular that of the coinage of Mexico.

A. F. PRADEAU

COINAGE OF MEXICO

FOREWORD

To the collector of coins, Mexico offers a vast and interesting field, abounding in surprises. No numismatic history of this country, the resources of which enriched the Spanish coffers for three centuries, has ever been written, and because of the deficiency of existing records, this work must be in places somewhat incomplete. The author is happy in knowing that in the present volume a nearly complete survey has been approached, and hopes future students may be fortunate enough to solve some of the problems presented.

The Mexico City mint, the oldest on the American continent, began coining operations during the year 1536, that is, eighty-four years before the Pilgrims landed on American soil, and two hundred and fifty-six years before the first United States mint was established.

Mexico, one of the greatest silver producing countries, has been the source of nearly one-half of the world's supply. Considering the meager population of the territory and the necessarily primitive methods employed both for mining and coining, the amount of silver produced is astoundingly large.

Conquered in 1521 by a handful of adventurous Spaniards under Cortés, the territory was named Nueva España (New Spain) and for three hundred years to a day, Spain ruled over this inconceivably wealthy province. On September 16, 1810, Hidalgo, a parish priest, led an open rebellion, which ended after eleven years of bloody conflict, with the overthrow of the Spanish yoke. Thus in 1821, New Spain ceased to exist, and Mexico took its place in the family of nations.

The coinage of New Spain and Mexico runs into billions, and their *pieces of eight* and *pesos* served as the standard medium of exchange in the United States, the Philippines, China, and many European markets. The first, or Continental currency of the United States of America, was made payable in Spanish milled dollars. The Mexican *peso* and its subdivisions were legal tender in this country until February 21, 1857, when by Act of Congress, all laws authorizing its circulation and acceptance were repealed. Up to June 30, 1862, the sum of \$2,103,275.74 in Mexican coins had been accepted by the United States Federal offices. (Annual Report of the Director of the Mint, for the Fiscal year ending June 30, 1862, p. 35.)

The numismatic history of Mexico chronologically falls into seven periods:

- 1—The media of exchange used by the aborigines of the pre-conquest or pre-colonial epoch.
- 2—The colonial coinage, 1536 to 1821, of the Mexico City mint only. (The branch mints that sprang up from 1810 to 1821 were not authorized by the crown, and, without doubt, would not have come into existence had it not been for the insurrection.)

- 3—Coinage of the war of independence, 1810-1821, comprising the necessity, obsidional, or camp coinage issued by Insurgent as well as Royalist commanders, including that of the branch mints.
- 4—Coinage of Iturbide, or that of the first Mexican empire, 1822 to 1823.
- 5—Coinage of the republic, 1823 to date.
- 6—Coinage of Maximilian, or that of the second Mexican empire, 1864 to 1867.
- 7—Coinage of the civil war, 1913 to 1917, when considerable amounts of metallic currency were struck by the revolutionists, in addition to their large issues of paper money.

The first four periods are taken up in this volume; the fifth and sixth will be the subject of another monograph, and as the seventh has been aptly described by Messrs. Howland Wood, and J. Sanchez Garza, it will be omitted.*

The specimens described in this work may be classified:

As to the contour of the planchets, into:

Circular;

Clipped, Cob, or Macaquina;

Octagonal;

Triangular.

As to design, into:

Columnar or pillar type. Characterized by the pillars of Hercules, signifying strength. It was the name given by the ancients to the two rocks forming the Strait of Gibraltar, which, according to one version of the story, had once been united and had been torn asunder by Hercules. This classification includes the coinage of 1536 to 1556 and that of 1732 to 1772.

Equilateral Jerusalem Cross or cross within tressure, appearing on the coinage issued from 1556 to 1734.

Bust or portrait. Coins bearing the effigy of the kings of Spain from 1772 to 1822 and that of Emperor Iturbide from 1822 to 1823.

* Howland Wood, American Numismatic Society monographs Nos. 4 and 38.

J. Sánchez Garza, Historical Notes on the Coins of the Mexican Revolution, Mexico, 1932.

PRE-COLONIAL EPOCH

NATIVE MEDIA OF EXCHANGE

Those that first approached the newly discovered American continent, guided more by the instinct of the avaricious trader than by love of knowledge, investigated and later published many accounts pertaining to the media of exchange used by the tribes inhabiting the islands off the mainland and those of the mainland itself. All the contemporary writers agree that coinage as it was known to the Europeans of the time, and as we know it today, did not exist in the lands discovered or explored by them.

Bastow, in his article *El Comercio, moneda y cambio de los antiguos pueblos de Mexico*, read before the eleventh reunion of the International Congress of Americanists, that met in Mexico City, from the 15th to the 20th of October, 1895, has this to say about money:

"Money, in a broad sense, is some substance representing value, or of accepted value; less bulky and perishable than ordinary merchandise or commodities, used as medium for the operations of trade, or for the convenient adjustment of balances or differences arising in the business of commerce. In a restricted sense, money is a piece of metal, usually gold or silver, stamped by public authority; it is used as the medium of commerce and known as coin money, in its broad sense, was known in Mexico in the pre-Columbian period, it passed current in commerce and was accepted at fixed values."

The Aztecs, their descendants, and the subdued principalities had a well-kept record of the tax corresponding to each tribe, and as coin was unknown to them, the officers of the government assigned to each community, as an acknowledgment of vassalage, a *tribute* payable in products of the region in varying quantities according to the population and wealth of same.

Lord Kingsborough, in his *Mexican Antiquities*, Vol. V, pp. 54 to 89, and Vol. IX, pp. 17-18, enumerates among the tributes paid, large baskets filled with *Cacahuapinol*—a flour made of cacao and corn—also baskets of *Chiampinoli*—a meal of the *Salviae Chian*—finely woven cotton cloth, round shields made of multi-colored feathers, rims of paper obtained from the maguey plant, honey, beans, corn, implements of war, live eagles, deep red sea shells, cochineal; gold dust, leaf, or planchets; precious and semi-precious stones, tiger skins, copper axes, amber ear rings set in gold, jars of crystal amber, emerald necklaces, rubber, copper shields, reeds filled with aromatics, and in fact, something of every article found in the air, earth, or water.

As Moctezuma believed that idleness was the source of all evil, Torquemada states in his *Monarquía Indiana*, Vol. I, p. 206, everyone was kept occupied in his chosen vocation and each able bodied individual, rich or poor, was made to pay a

tax either in material things or by rendering service gratuitously. The maimed, sickly, or aged fulfilled their obligations by collecting and turning in all sorts of predatory animals, poisonous insects and lice.

Fr. Bartholomé de las Casas in his *Historia de las Indias*, Vol. I, chap. XLII, p. 229, J. M. Vigil Edition, Mexico, 1877, reports that Columbus, in his first voyage, saw an aborigine of the Island Fernandina (as Cuba was called in honor of Ferdinand of Castile, King of Spain) with a round and flattened piece of gold suspended from the septum of the nose, and which, due to some markings on its surface, was thought to be a coin. This incident is corroborated by Antonio de Herrera in his *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales*, Decade I, Book I, chap. XIV, who adds that what was supposed to be a coin, proved to be an ornament of which the natives were very fond.

The supposition of Columbus, that money in the sense it is now known, was in use in America, was dispelled in his fourth voyage, when the illustrious discoverer learned from the islanders of Guanajay that CACAO beans were the most frequent and practically the sole medium of exchange employed there, as well as in Yucatán, and further inland.

About the eighth of June, 1518, when Juan de Grijalva arrived in Tabasco, a province on the Gulf of Mexico, he found, that while the natives had many well manufactured articles of gold, silver, and copper, they used CACAO beans, the seeds of a fruit that abounds in the region, as the only means of barter. The natives also informed him that the same condition prevailed in the adjacent country within a radius of eight hundred leagues (2400 miles).

García Icazbalceta in his *Colección de Documentos para la Historia*, Vol. I, p. 361, quotes a letter of Fr. Luís de Figueroa, of Santiago, Cuba, dated November 14, 1521, in which it is stated that: "the natives of Mexico use as medium of exchange nothing but a seed named *cacahuate* (native *cacahuatl*) obtained from a highly esteemed fruit and from which a greatly relished beverage is made."

Dr. J. W. Bastow, writing in 1895 expresses his opinion as follows: "This was not as some persons supposed, the CACAO called *Tlalcacahuatl* or small cacao with which the natives made their drinks and with which our chocolate is made, but a more common specie known as *Patlachte* and less apt to serve as an aliment, it being seldom used except in mercantile transactions." (See Cortés' second letter, p. 79, J. Bayard-Morris translation).

Antonio de Herrera, in the work quoted above, Decade II, Book IX, chap. III, says: "and it happened that a storehouse where Moctezuma (Emperor of the Mexicas) kept more than forty thousand *cargas* of CACAO beans, was entered. (A *carga* weighs twelve *arrobas*, each *arropa* weighs twenty-five pounds.) About three hundred natives worked all night and were able to carry away about 600 *cargas* and only six of the baskets or bins serving as granaries had been emptied. There was row after row of these huge baskets of woven twigs of osier (*Salix viminalis*), the

walls of which were coated with clay hermetically sealing the interstices between fibers." (Free translation).

Pieces of tin were also used as money, but Cortés appears to be the only authority acknowledging its existence. In his fourth letter to Charles V, King of Spain, according to the *Historia de México* by Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, New York, 1828, p. 581, Cortés refers to having made copper culverins and felt the want of tin as an alloy for the making of ammunition, and adds "... I commenced to make enquiries in every part and with the help of the Almighty, Who is ever watching over and providing for us, found among the natives of Tachco (Tazco), certain small pieces of tin, a sort of very thin coin, and pursuing my investigations in the said province and even in others, I found that tin was treated as money; . . . I discovered that tin was mined in the said province of Tachco, which is twenty-six leagues from this city."

In the translated *Letters of Hernando Cortés* by J. Bayard Morris, Robert M. McBride & Co. edition, published in New York, 1929, one finds on pages 14, 74, 125, 307 and 313 various references to barter, cacao, gold, tin, and strings of colored shells.

Francisco López de Gomara, in his *Historia General de las Indias con la conquista de México y de la Nueva España*, (Anvers, 1554, Vol. IV, p. 316) confirms the findings of other early explorers and writers by saying: "the usual medium of exchange is the *cacahuatl* or cacao, an elongated, cucumber-like fruit, resembling a melon."

Fernández de Oviedo in his *Historia Eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos* (Toledo, 1611, p. 43), explains "how the *caciques* who inherited lands having cacao trees were considered very wealthy princes, and that the nuts (beans or seeds) of such trees were esteemed by the aborigines as much as the Christians esteemed their gold coins. There is nothing among the natives that cannot be bought or sold with or for these nuts, just as among Christians with gold doubloons or double ducats. Thus a rabbit could be procured for ten cacao beans; two *zapotes* (the apple-shaped fruit of the *Achras sapota* tree) were worth one cacao bean; a slave could be purchased for one hundred cacao beans, and a concubine could be engaged for eight or ten beans."

Surprisingly enough, the natives, well versed in arts and crafts, cunningly altered the cacao beans by removing the nutritious kernel, and by leaving the hull almost intact, were able to fill them with dirt so as to restore the normal weight of each bean. Then, as now, it took a thief to catch a thief, and to detect the plugged beans, aborigines were employed, who by applying light pressure with the index finger upon each seed, rapidly and deftly segregated the ones that had been tampered with from the good ones.

The perfection with which this remarkable piece of deception was performed, induced the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, to send specimens of the altered

cacao beans to King Charles V. It seems that the native counterfeiter did not confine his activities to beans, for Lorenzana, in the book mentioned previously, page 579, cites an interesting case of an aborigine, who, using nothing but a few small hardwood sticks and century plant fibers, was able to duplicate Spanish coins perfectly. He was sentenced to death and although the Viceroy offered to commute the sentence, the native preferred to die rather than to divulge his secret.

Cacao is the Spanish name obtained from the Mexican *caca-uatl* which translated literally means coca-tree. Cacao beans are the seeds of trees of the genus *Theobroma*, which in Greek means *food of the gods*, and no doubt it was so considered by the tribes occupying that part of the American Continent comprising Mexico and all Central American republics, for they prized it highly.

Up to January 28, 1527, cacao was sold or exchanged by count, after which, and until October 24, 1536, it was by heaped measure, such measure bearing the seal of the municipality where the exchange took place. By viceregal orders issued in New Spain on June 17, 1555, one hundred and forty beans were valued as the equivalent of one Spanish *real*.^{*} During 1590 the annual contribution imposed by the Royal Exchequer upon the village of Tépán was fixed at sixteen hundred cacao beans or *un peso de oro*. (According to Ramirez, *un peso de oro* is equivalent to two dollars and ninety-three cents U. S. Cy.). By the year 1636 the price of cacao beans had risen to such proportions that the Council of the City of Mexico was called upon to fix its value so that it could circulate as coin. Cacao beans remained as a monetary unit in New Spain until the opening of the nineteenth century.

The Mexicas measured cacao beans by *giquipilli*, a native measure signifying eight thousand beans. Three *giquipilli* or twenty-four thousand beans constituted a *bolsa* or bag. According to Herrera, decade II, Book IX, chap. III, "Cortés in one of his letters to Charles V of Spain, illustrates by five engravings, hieroglyphics representing sacks of cacao and the names and value of their contents. They are pictured as elongated spheres of a diagonal basket pattern; transversing the figures at what would be the circumference of a circle describing its width, is a twisted cord above and below the center; in the center is a circle, the plane of which is divided, in the first two of these figures, into four equal spaces each, the other three are divided into three unequal spaces each. The first figure has a vertical line three millimeters in height, projecting from its apex; upon this line rests a horizontal line supporting five flags flowing to the right; above these on an unattached similar line, are five similar flags. The staff of the second flag, counting from the observer's right, is over the vertical line. This hieroglyphic represents ten *tercios* of cacao. (Half a *carga* is equal to one *tercio* or one hundred and fifty pounds.) This first figure is twenty millimeters high and thirteen in width.

^{*} A *real* is a Spanish silver coin having a value of twelve and a half cents, commonly known in the southern part of the United States as a bit.

"The second figure is similar to the last, excepting for a projection from the right side having the appearance of a fancy stopper of a bottle. Above this sack is an unattached line carrying four smaller flags, two on either side of the center and equidistant from it. This figure is twenty-two millimeters high and sixteen in width. It is called *Nauchtecpan tlamamatli xochicacautl* and is equal to four hundred *cargas* of cacao. (A *carga* weighs 300 lbs.) This sack has, apart from the two transverse cords above mentioned, a third one, placed equidistant between the lower one of the two referred to and the bottom of the sack.

"The third and fourth figures are twenty-seven millimeters in height and seventeen and a half in width each. They have five flags each upon a line, the only difference being that the third figure has two flags to the right of the center and three to the left, while exactly the opposite is true of the fourth figure. They are named respectively, *mecuiltcepanitli mamalli cacauatl*, and *macuiltcepanitli mamalli*, both being equivalent to five *fardos*." (A *fardo* is a bale, bundle or package and is not indicative of any particular measure of weight.)

"The fifth figure is forty millimeters high and twenty-three broad and has only one flag, the staff of which is at the apex. This figure is called *Centecpac tlamamalli cacahuatl* and is the equivalent of one *carga*.

"All the flags and staffs are from ten to fourteen millimeters in height, the flag occupying one half the distance and the length of the flags is from three to four fifths that of its width." (Translation by Dr. J. W. Bastow of Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico.)

Fr. Diego de Landa, in his *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, tells that in that province, besides cacao beans, stone beads and red colored shells, either loose or in strings, were used as objects of barter.

Fr. Bernardo de Salva, *Comisario General de las Indias*, entrusted the work of writing the chronicle of the Indies to Fr. Juan de Torquemada, and the edict authorizing the commencement of such work is dated April 6, 1609. The work was finished during 1612, and published in Seville in 1615. It was re-printed in Madrid during 1723 and approved on November 24, 1724. In book XIV, chap. XIV, p. 560, Vol. II, of *La Monarquía Indiana*, one finds the following on native media of exchange:

"What was used in these markets was barter of some things for others, and even at present, this method is resorted to, but what is now most commonly used is *Cacao*; in some places small squares of cotton woven fabric called *patolquechtli* were used most; still in other places they used certain copper moneys, almost similar in form to the Greek tau (T). These were thin planchets, some thinner than others, measuring three to four fingerbreadths and containing much gold. There was also gold held in quills, and of this there was much among the Indians. Later, the silver coin of ours was used and is yet used to circulate in all the land."

Fr. Torquemada in his footnotes gives credit to the information quoted to Fr. Acosta, Gomara, Ocampo, Herrera, Sahagún, Montolnia and others.

At this time it is well to emphasize the fact that Fr. Juan de Torquemada was only a compiler of historical material left by men who preceded him. The year in which Torquemada was born is not accurately known. He was ordained between the years 1579 and 1583, and died suddenly during 1634. Supposing that he was 80 years old when he died, his birth can be set, approximately, during 1554, and his ordination took place when he was about twenty-five, which is approximately correct, using as criterion the age at which other individuals were ordained during that period. This argument is used to prove to the reader that Torquemada was born at least thirty years after the conquest, and as not a single historian of the conquest period, not even Cortés himself, mentions copper moneys in the form of a Greek tau as being in circulation in New Spain at the time of their arrival, such pieces cannot be considered as pre-colonial, as may be seen by the following data.

These copper pieces resembling Greek taus have been referred to in numismatic literature as "hoe money," "Aztec money," "scraper money," "earliest American coin," "chopping knife," "hide scraper" and in Spanish as "*tajaderas*." (See Frontispiece for various forms of these pieces.)

The earliest and most important document making any reference to the "hoe money" of Mexico is found in the *Archivos de las Indias*, in Seville, Spain. It was written by Francisco López Tenorio, a Spaniard resident of Antequera de Oaxaca, addressed to the President of the Council of Indies and dated October 31, 1548. This document not only describes the piece, but is accompanied by a drawing with the following notation:

"This is the form of copper coins that were in use in New Spain. The value placed and at which these were commonly accepted was of four such pieces, if new, for five Spanish reales. If worn, many refused to accept them, and then they were sold to be melted at ten pieces for one Spanish real."

In his communication López Tenorio continues with the following comment:

"In this and neighboring provinces, the natives use these metallic pieces in great quantities, and with their circulation both Spaniards and aborigines suffer considerable mulcting. This can be remedied if the natives are restrained from manufacturing them, and the medium of exchange shall then be what your Excellency has ordered minted, to circulate in New Spain."

The shape of the pieces referred to by Tenorio was more rounded and kidney shaped than the ones usually seen at present which resemble the section of a mushroom cut vertically through the middle of the stock.

Bancroft in his *Native Races, Antiquities*, Vol. IV, pp. 382-383, quotes Pedro Castañeda de Nágera who in his *Relacion du voyage de Cibola*, Paris, 1838, illus-

trates and describes "the cast copper implement, shown in the preceding cut, one of two hundred and seventy-six, of same form, but of slightly varying dimensions, which were found in an earthen jar dug up in the vicinity of Mount Albán. The dimensions of the one shown are about eight by ten inches. Pieces of copper of this form were used by the *Nahua* peoples for money and such was doubtless the purpose of the Oaxacan relics."

In a thorough and reliable work entitled *Mexican Copper Tools* written by Philipp J. J. Valentini, translated from the German by Stephen Salisbury, Jr., and published in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1880, press of Charles Hamilton, one finds quotations from Kingsborough, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Gomara, Molina and many others of equal importance. On page 6 the author states:

"The skilled workman of Tecoteaga and Tezcucó, subjecting the native copper to the heat of the furnace, cast the woodcutter's axe in a mould, as well as the bracelets and the fragile earrings that adorned the princesses of Motezuma."

On page 8:

"And finally, when brass, copper, tin, and even lead, were seen exposed for sale in the stalls of the market-place of Mexico, it was noticed to the great astonishment of the conquerors, that these metals had served exclusively for the manufacture of mere instruments of peace."

On pages 16 and 17 a detailed account is given of the pieces of tin found by Cortés' emissaries and the tracing of these to Tasco, where tin was mined by the natives.

Valentini quotes the French explorer Dupaix, who in his *Antiquités Mexicaines*, Paris, 1834, Vol. II, Pl. 26, No. 74, and text Vol. I, p. 21, describes and illustrates the copper implement called *dolabra* by Petrus Martyr and *azuela* by Sahagún. The translation of the one is, pick or hoe, and of the other, cooper's adze.

"This instrument is of red and very pure copper, and when touched it gives out a sonorous sound. The metal is not hammered but cast. It is of not much weight, symmetrical and of graceful shape. The contours are regular and resemble those of an anchor. It is flat on both sides, the portion serving as a handle or *tenón* is a little thicker and slopes towards the edge, which cuts as well as a chisel. An Indian named Pascual Baltolano, from the village of Zocho Xocotlán, half a mile distant from the city of Antequera, a few months ago when tilling his field met with an earthen pot which contained twenty-three dozen of these blades, their quality, thickness and size being a little different from each other. This gives rise to the supposition that there existed various moulds, by means of which these specimens were multiplied and cast. They did not differ greatly from that which I possess. We meet here with a great difficulty, which is to determine to what usage these instruments were

destined—to agriculture or mechanics, as instruments of sacrifice or a variety of offensive weapon that was fixed in the point of a lance? That which is certain, however, is that they are found in abundance in this province and that merchants buy these metals from the Indians and rank them high on account of the superior quality of the ore.”

Proceeding with his expedition, the same author reached the village of Mitla, where in the parochial church he received the following disclosure on the purpose of the before mentioned tools:

“One day, when hearing mass in Mitla, I noticed an ancient picture, which represented Saint Isidro, the patron of the laborers, and saw him painted holding in his right hand a pole armed with the problematic blade. I therefore conclude, that like the ancient Indians, the native laborers of today have adopted this instrument as a distinctive mark of their profession, and that instead of being an instrument of death it must be viewed as one for giving life.”

Once more referring to Valentini’s writings, on page 39, he has this to say about the references made by the chroniclers of these pieces as being used as money:

“They may be right, but with the understanding that these copper pieces were not manufactured for the purpose of serving as coin, but as tools, which of course, came into the market and became objects of barter, as we read the copper bells also did, besides grains of the cacao fruit, bales of cotton, axes and other articles of common necessity.”

In the *Historia de México y su Conquista*, translation by Mora, México, 1844, Don Francisco Javier Clavigero, Vol. 1, pp. 227-228, summarizes the native media of exchange as follows:

First: Cacao beans, measured by *xichipillis* and *sacos*.

Second: Small pieces of woven cotton fabric named *patolcuachtli*.

Third: Gold dust or in grains, enclosed in transparent duck quills which permitted seeing the quantity contained therein.

Fourth: The planchets of tin mentioned by Cortés in his letter.

Fifth: The copper planchets, resembling the letter “T” under discussion.

Clavigero’s work is also a compilation and was not written until 1780, and the author himself, in his second volume, dissertation VI, page 232, of the above mentioned edition, admits quoting Torquemada in the part pertaining to the copper planchets. Therefore, if his source is erroneous, his statements are bound to be open to doubt.

In Prescott’s Mexico, Collier & Son, New York, 1900 edition, Vol. I, p. 59, one finds the unsubstantiated statement that Torquemada came to the New World about the middle of the sixteenth century. On p. 118 of Vol. I, this same author, speak-

ing of the currency used in commercial transactions, mentions bits of tin cut in the form of a *T*. On page 408 of the same volume, Prescott has these same pieces of tin stamped with a character resembling a *T*, which is also erroneous, as no such assertion was ever made by any one, and is, most likely, an error in translation.

Among the most recent publications dealing with scraper money of the Zapotecs was one published in Mexico City by Dr. Nicolás León, a Mexican archaeologist and numismatist of considerable repute. On page 27 of his book entitled *Lyobaa ó Mictlán—Guía Histórico-Descriptiva*, México, 1901, one finds the following under the heading of COPPER UTENSILS:

“Among the characteristic utensils of art in Mitla there exist samples of a kind of axe, objects in the shape of a Greek *tau* made of beaten copper. They are commonly found in the tombs and in such numbers that a friend of ours, who owns a small farm near Cuilapa, was able to have the cylinders of his sugar mill made of them, for grinding sugar cane. They are of different sizes and it is thought that they were used as money. Mr. Holmes thinks that in view of their shape and thickness they were used as head ornaments if well polished, or they may have been religious symbols. We saw these instruments which are vulgarly called ‘tajaderas’ in Oaxaca, used in the town of Mixtepec to make kitchen pottery and other objects of clay.”

Sahagún says: “the Mexican king gave to his merchant-soldiers despatched on one of their politico-commercial expeditions, sixteen hundred *quauhtli* (eagles) to trade with” and Bustamante supposes them to have been the copper pieces known as *tajaderas* of which so much has been said in the preceding paragraphs. Brasseur believes that from the small value of the copper and the large amount of fabrics purchased with the *quauhtli*, such eagles must have been made of gold. See frontispiece. The specimen illustrated is made of gold and is the property of Mrs. Adelaide Gillis McCormick of Los Angeles, California.

The author has seen on two different occasions gold planchets about one millimeter in thickness, twelve or fourteen centimeters in height, by eight or nine centimeters in width, representing well carved or molded figures of humans and animals, also several gold figures which were considered Aztec deities. It is quite possible that the eagles or *quauhtli* mentioned by Sahagún were of this type or they might have been similar to the gold eagles of the Incas, a specimen of which appears in the frontispiece.

The following references to the hoe money of Mexico are found in the American Journal of Numismatics:

Vol. V, No. 2, p. 25, October, 1870, W. S. Appleton, quoting Charles Mullen’s *History of Mexico*, states that these pieces were employed in purchases of little value.

Vol. XVI, No. 1, p. 1, July 1881, J. C. Brevoort, quoting Humboldt's *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*, 1811 edition, p. 486, says "that pieces of copper in the form of the letter 'T' were also used as currency in some of the provinces."

More recently, Mr. A. E. Place, an American engineer, who until 1917 resided in Mexico, published an article in *The Numismatist*, Vol. XLVI, No. 11, of November 1933, entitled "Toltec hoe or scraper money" in which he describes three distinct types and the approximate size of each. His opinion is that they were used to clean hides, therefore the name *tajadera* or hide scraper. According to this article, Mr. Place was exploring in the vicinity of Mount Albán and discovered an urn containing three hundred and twenty seven of these pieces. The author had a long conversation with Mr. Place who volunteered the information that the pieces were placed in the urn in layers of four each, the handles pointing inwardly, the cutting edges facing outward, thus forming what appeared to be a cross or a cart-wheel of four spokes.

Trustworthy Mexican collectors told Mr. Place that during the French intervention in Mexico (1862-67) several wagon loads of these copper pieces were brought into the city of Oaxaca, melted into bullets and used by the republican forces to fight the French invaders. Then to quote Mr. Place, "While this scraper money is not coinage in the true sense of the word, it undoubtedly represented personal wealth, and being valuable, durable, and portable, it stood in lieu of money among the Mixtec, Toltec and Zapotec tribes, and was passed from hand to hand and buried with their dead." The large copper, shield-shaped objects of the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia are also good examples of personal wealth rather than money. See H. D. Gibbs in *The Numismatist* for April, 1933, p. 234.

In the February number of *The Numismatist*, Vol. XLVII, No. 2, 1934, Dr. A. F. Pradeau, published a lengthy article entitled "The Hoe Money of Mexico" in which after reviewing the literature on this subject he closed in this manner:

"My opinion is that these curiously shaped pieces were and are pottery instruments, varying in size to mould better the rapidly revolving or stationary mass of pliable clay.

"The Zapotecs not having money, and being located in an isolated portion of New Spain, where shipments of the newly minted coinage seldom arrived, used any article that had any practical or ornamental value as medium of exchange.

"These pottery knives or moulders were valuable to them because each represented the work of at least a miner and a coppersmith. They were when finished, articles of great practical value to the tribe, as most of them, in the pre-Columbian days, as well as during the three hundred years of Spanish rule, and the one hundred and thirteen years of independent Mexico, have depended upon their creative ability in pottery to earn their living.

"The fact that after the arrival of the Spaniards each knife had a value of little more than one real, only emphasizes the esteem in which the natives held these implements; and if one takes in consideration that even in contemporary times, a peon, seldom, if ever, earned one-real a day, one can well imagine how precious each implement was to the aborigine.

"One important factor to consider is that not a single historian, nor Cortés himself, has made reference to this so-called 'hoe money' being in circulation previous to 1548, and it was not until 28 years after the conquest, and eleven years after the establishment of the mint in Mexico City, that the existence of this medium of exchange was made known.

"I am inclined to think that the scarcity of coins of small denominations, with which to carry on the meager commercial transactions between the newly enriched Spaniard and the impoverished native, was responsible for the introduction of the *tajaderas* as medium of exchange."

After considerable correspondence with persons prominent in the numismatic world, the conclusion reached by Mr. Howland Wood, and thoroughly in accord with the writer's opinion, is that due to the facts here mentioned and the large quantities of *tajaderas* that have been and are being found in all excavations in the Zapotec district, these curiously shaped pieces were manufactured on a large scale to serve as money.

After the mint had been established (1536), the amounts coined seem to have been insufficient to meet the requirements of the increase in trade and commerce, and both Spaniards and Indians purchased goods with unstamped bullion and gold dust. This practice was prohibited by the royal *cédula* of April 16, 1550. In some districts there was a deficiency of the circulating medium and in the larger cities a superabundance. The Viceroy and Governors were instructed to purchase the bullion and gold dust of the former, with the surplus coin of the latter. Philip II repeated the order and adopted measures to make the supply of coined silver adequate to the demands of trade. *Recopilación de las Indias*, Vol. II, pp. 93-94.

To recapitulate, the articles used as media of exchange in Anáhuac (later New Spain and at present Mexico) previous to the establishment of the mint in Mexico City, and for sometime thereafter, were as follows:

1. Cacao beans or *cacahuatl*,
2. Pieces of cotton fabric or *patolquechtili*,
3. Gold dust or grains held in quills,
4. Tin planchets,
5. Hoe money or *tajaderas*,
6. Stone beads,

7. Red colored shells,

8. Moctezuma's eagles or *quauhtli*.

In closing one must agree with Fray de las Casas and with Herrera that in the newly discovered Indies there were no coins and investigations disclosed they had never existed.

COLONIAL PERIOD

TEPUZQUE COINAGE

Shortly after the conquest of Anáhuac had been accomplished, the necessity for a convenient system of exchange became apparent. The comparatively small amount of coined money introduced by the conquerors was principally of the higher denominations and the scarcity of small coin caused great inconvenience.

To obviate this, the merchants and tradesmen had gold dust or flakes melted into disks, which were easier to handle and less likely to be lost. Such disks were at first marked with the weight only, and as their circulation became popular, the way was opened to fraudulence, and debasing of the gold disks by the addition of copper began almost immediately. It was not long before the natives, aware of this trickery, named the new specie *tepuzque*, which in their language meant copper. The circulation of this medium of exchange began about the year 1522 and continued well into the reign of Philip II, who occupied the throne from 1556 to 1598.

The City Council (*Cabildo*) of Mexico passed a resolution on April 6, 1526, permitting individuals to have their tepuzque gold made into slugs at the Royal Smelting and Assay office (*Fundición*), where, according to the wishes of the owner, the slugs could be made in sizes weighing one, two or four *tomines*¹; or if preferred, into larger pieces each weighing one, two or four *pesos de oro*.²

The value of the different types of gold disks or pesos was computed according to the fineness and weight of each. Thus, for ninety-six grains of *tepuzque* gold, 272 maravedies was paid; for the same amount of oro común (unrefined gold), 300 maravedies was given; while the *peso de oro ensayado* (assayed gold) brought 450 maravedies.³

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, in his *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista*, Espasa-Calpe edition, Madrid, 1928, Vol. II, chap. CLVII, pp. 159 to 161, relates that because of the excessive amounts demanded for goods or for services, Cortés found it necessary to appoint two appraisers and to vest in them authority to affix just compensation, and to allow as long as two years moratorium for the payment of goods received or services rendered. The judgment of the appraisers was final. Thinking that it would be helpful to those who had come with him, Cortés ordered that the tepuzque gold disks be marked as having three karats higher fineness than that

¹ A *tomín* is a measure of weight representing twelve grains and was used to indicate one-eighth of a peso de oro.

² A *peso de oro* is a term used to indicate a portion of gold weighing ninety-six grains.

³ A *maravedí* (pl. maravedies or maravedices) is a Spanish copper coin having a circulating value of 1/34th of a silver *real*.

which they really contained. Captain Díaz records how highly detrimental this procedure was, and states that although numerous complaints were made, the order remained unaltered for five or six years, when by royal decree this tepuzque coinage was withdrawn from circulation, to be remelted and correctly stamped.

Consequently, on August 17, 1526, an order was issued by the Cabildo for the payment of 157 pesos de oro to the silversmiths Domingo Martínez and Juan de Celada, for coining 2,951 pesos de oro. During the next two years, oro de tepuzque was used exclusively, and as its intrinsic value fluctuated considerably, a standard valuation was demanded. Accordingly, in September 1528, the Cabildo adopted a resolution making compulsory the re-assaying and stamping of the tepuzque money. The stamp was to carry the royal arms and motto PLUS ULTRA as well as the actual weight and fineness of each piece. For this work the silversmith Pedro Espinosa was appointed. (*Libro del Cabildo*, pp. 152-153 and 237.)

Counterfeiting was practiced on a more or less large scale, and measures to prevent it helped little. Castillo testifies to the hanging of two silversmiths for having altered the royal mark indicating the fineness of some tepuzque gold disks.

In the year 1526, the Licentiate in Law, Luís Ponce de León, arrived in the City of Mexico, bringing with him the dies bearing the royal arms with which to stamp the tepuzque gold disks, and instructions to assay and mark the fineness on each piece, but his untimely death prevented the execution of the royal order. (*Historia Gráfica de la Nueva España*, by José R. Benítez, México, 1929, p. 92.)

Herrera's decade III, chapter XV, says that Ponce de León also brought with him instructions from the crown to establish a mint in New Spain, but this assertion has not been verified by the compiler of this work.

In the manuscript of Don J. Fernando Ramírez, quoted by Orozco y Berra in his *Diccionario Universal de Historia y Geografía*, Vol. V, p. 907, one finds that the tepuzque gold disks were received by the merchants at different prices. Complaints filed with Viceroy Mendoza prompted him to issue an order on July 15, 1536, setting the price of the tomín de tepuzque (twelve grains), at one silver real.

While there is considerable documentary evidence concerning the tepuzque coinage, no specimen of any of the several forms has come to light or has been identified as such. It is probable that with the advent of real coinage the tepuzque disks were melted and the gold content recovered.

THE WORKINGS OF THE MINT AND THE LAWS PERTAINING TO IT

As trade and commerce increased in New Spain, the necessity of a mint became urgent, and although the Spanish Córtes were making shipments from Spain of coined copper, silver and gold, the procedure, aside from being rather costly, was never in sufficiently large quantities to take care of the needs of the newly conquered and rapidly populating colony.

Nuño de Guzmán, governor of Pánuco, a province of New Spain, received a royal communication dated April 5, 1528, requesting that he supply the crown with information as to the advantages and disadvantages of establishing a mint in New Spain.

During January 1531, Salmerón the *Oidor* (a hearer, a royal official appointed by the crown and connected with the judiciary system of the colonies), in a letter written to the Council of Indies, strongly advised the establishment of a mint in the City of Mexico.

In April 1532, the President of the Cabildo, Fuenleal, reiterated the recommendation of Salmerón, but it was not until May 11, 1535, that a royal *cédula* was issued to that effect.

The decree was issued by the queen, in the king's name, and authorized the establishment of a mint in the City of Mexico, to be governed by the Spanish laws pertaining to mints. The new mint was empowered to coin silver in three, two, one, and one-half reales denominations. The coining of copper in New Spain was also authorized by the May 11, 1535, decree, with the proviso that the viceroy was to order its coinage only if the royal authorities of the colony considered it advisable. If so, the selection of the design was left with Viceroy Mendoza, who had been treasurer of the Granada mint and was well qualified for the purpose.

A portion of the house of Cortés, Marqués del Valle, was assigned for the mint, at a yearly rental of five hundred pesos. On either side of this building were the streets of Tacuba and San Francisco; the rear was on Calle de la Carrera, and the front opened into a public square.

In order to help defray the expenses of the new establishment, the crown granted one thousand *marks** of silver which were to be taken from the king's fifth (or royal fifth, a special tax imposed upon all metals mined) and this was the first money coined at the mint. Current expenses were met by charging three-reales for coining each mark of silver, two-reales of which were assigned to meet the cost of operation and one-real to the king as royalty. This order was ratified by Philip II, February 15, 1567, and again by Philip III on January 4, 1615. (Montemayor y Córdoba de Cuénca, *Sumarios de las Cédulas, Ordenes y Provisiones Reales*—México 1678—Sumario VIII.)

* A mark is a measure of weight equivalent to one-half pound or 230 grammes. From a mark of silver sixty-eight reales in coin was obtained.

The mint charged two pesos for every gold assay and an additional charge of four-reales was made for each mark assayed. For affixing the governmental seal on gold sold to jewelers, a half-real fee was assessed. Silver paid three pesos assay duty for every ten marks and from each lot of one hundred marks, one ounce of silver was taken, smaller lots paying in proportion. (Priestley's José de Gálvez, Visitor General of New Spain, Berkeley, 1916, pp. 315-16.)

The officials of the mint were to be appointed by the viceroy every two years, but, due to some misunderstanding, a group of officials appointed by the king arrived in New Spain the latter part of 1537, to take the place of those who since March 1536, had been working in the mint. The viceroy addressed a letter to the king dated December 10, 1537, and informed him of the occurrence. (Bancroft's *History of Mexico*, Vol. III, p. 670; also Medina's *Monedas Hispano-Americanas*, pp. 37-38.)

Civil suits against employees of the mint were to be adjudged by the *alcaldes* of the mint (regents or overseers) and by no other judicial authority. This did not apply to matters pertaining to the king's fifth* or other tributes. Such cases were to be tried by the regular tribunals.

It was also ordered that no silver should be received by the mint unless it bore the stamp that certified the royal fifth had been satisfied. Persons who contravened this law were to suffer confiscation of property and death. Viceroy Mendoza, in his letter to the king of December 10, 1537, urged the abrogation of this severe law, and suggested that all bullion be delivered to the mint where the royal fifth tax should be assessed. (Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Colección de Documentos*, Vol. II, p. 191.)

To prevent abuses and possible chance for speculations, the regulations forbade the purchase or sale of bullion by mint officials.

The work of improving the specie system of exchange was begun at once. In 1536 the *tepuzque* gold disks, the value of which had been arbitrarily fixed and was subject to constant fluctuations, were called in and made into coin. Although further coinage of gold was prohibited by orders received from Spain, it is a fact that the viceroy had the *tepuzque* minted into coins which were the first gold coins made on the continent. The documentary evidence found is quite explicit on the subject, but the amount coined was necessarily small and no specimen of this first gold coin minted on the American continent is known to exist. During 1536, a rather large quantity of silver coin was struck, and copper money introduced.

* By royal decree of February 5, 1504, their Catholic Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, ordered that one-fifth of any metal mined within Spanish territory or colonies, was to be paid to the Royal Treasury. To comply with this order, Cortés, on May 15, 1521, appointed Julián Alderete, Alonso de Grado, and Bernardino Vásquez de Tepic, collectors of the royal fifth.

The exact date on which the Mexico City mint began issuing coins has not been found recorded in any document.* The author believes that the work of cutting the dies was started about March 10, 1536. This assumption is based on the statement made by Viceroy Mendoza in his lengthy communication of December 10, 1537, addressed to the King of Spain, which in part reads:

"The two year assignment, which following your royal orders, I made of the Axiquipilco Indians to serve in the mint and to pay tribute to the Officers of the same establishment, will expire in four months; and as I have not yet received further instructions in this regard I have decided to extend the assignment, making an agreement with the treasurer of the mint, whereby he obligates himself to return to the Indians the tribute assessed and paid by them if your Royal Highness does not approve my act."

The viceroy, who had been the Treasurer of the Granada mint in old Spain, was familiar with mint affairs; therefore, the royal cédula of May 11, 1535, empowered him to appoint artisans for the Mexico City mint and to coin copper, leaving the design to him. The above mentioned letter to the king says:

"Following your royal instructions I proceeded to appoint the officers of the mint. . . . Francisco del Rincón, who was here when I arrived, and who had a letter of recommendation from your majesty, was appointed assayer of the mint. Also, among several others appointed is one Antón de Vides, to serve as engraver. Both of them are very capable and I doubt the possibility of finding anywhere better artisans than they. . . ." (The viceroy arrived in Mexico City, October 15, 1535.)

It is easy to surmise, therefore, that work on the mint began immediately after the appointments were made. Under the supervision and guidance of the viceroy, del Rincón and de Vides, the Axiquipilco Indians were selected probably because of their expertness in working metals.

The striking of the CAROLUS ET JOHANNA coins, which was done by hand, is believed to have begun during the month of April 1536. This is deduced from the statements of Viceroy Mendoza, who in the decree of July 15, 1536, says in part:

" . . . the fluctuating value of the tepuzque gold, before there had been a mint in this city and before the striking of silver coins began . . . therefore, all contracts made previous to the last day of March of this year, payable in tepuzque gold, should be paid in silver coin at the value of said gold at the time the agreement was entered into; all obligations contracted after April first of this year, payable in tepuzque gold, should be met in coins struck here at

* On August 11, 1937, the Mexican government issued a medal to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the opening of the mint. This medal carries the dates 1536-1936.

the rate of a silver real for each tomin de tepuzque gold, and eight silver reales for each peso of tepuzque gold."

That no complicated minting machinery was used in the first coinage of New Spain and that the striking or stamping of each piece was done by hand is implied in the following excerpt of the previously quoted letter of December 10, 1537, from the viceroy to his king:

" . . . at first the workers of the mint toiled very hard but obtained meager results, as their inexperience made them miss the coin (*la moneda se erraba*) which had to be made over and over again . . ."

The author is inclined to believe that coining operations were performed in a primitive manner not only during 1536, but years after, as can be seen by the order of November 12, 1549, issued by Viceroy Mendoza which in part reads:

"Having been informed that the officers of the mint do not devote sufficient time to their labors, I command that all persons connected with the said establishment should be there at least from 9 to 11 before noon and from 3 to 5 in the afternoon . . . and although there has not been a specified limit as to the number of persons to be employed in the coining process (*acuñadores*), I now order that the number be limited to thirty persons, all of whom must be Spaniards of good repute. . . ."

The original building occupied by the mint (Cortés house) was soon found to be inadequate for the requirements and safe-keeping of the large sums that were housed there. The king issued orders for a mint edifice to be erected at his own expense, but these instructions were disregarded.

Owing to the representations of the Treasurer Gabriel Díaz, the king, in January 1569, again ordered the erection of an adequate building.

The new mint edifice was constructed on the site now occupied by the National Museum of Archeology, History and Ethnography. Since then the street upon which the edifice of the mint (*casa de moneda*) was erected has been named "Calle de la Moneda" (literally "The Street of the Coin").

With the progressive increase in coinage this building became too small, and in 1729 it became imperative to construct another. The architect Don Nicolás de Peinado y Valenzuela and his assistant, Alonso García Cortés, were sent from Spain to take charge of its erection. Work commenced under Viceroy Don Juan Acuña y Manrique, Marqués de Casa Fuerte, on April 16, 1731, and was completed December 18, 1734, at a cost of \$449,893.00. By this time, Don Juan Antonio de Bizarrón y Eguiarreta was Viceroy of New Spain and was present at the inauguration of the new building.

During 1772 the edifice of the mint was subjected to extensive improvements and additions, and after their termination in 1782, it was found that \$554,600.00 had

been spent, which added to the original expenditure, increased the cost of the building to \$1,004,493.00.

The assaying of auriferous and argentiferous ores was performed up to July 21, 1778, by private enterprises, but by royal edict of this date, it was decreed a prerogative of the crown. It was in the *Apartado*, as the assay office was known, that the royal fifth was collected, and without the royal seal no planchet of gold or silver could be disposed of anywhere in New Spain, nor shipped to Spain.

It must not be supposed that the appointment of mint officials by either the king or the viceroy constituted them royal officers, as the mint was leased to private individuals from its incipieny and the officials were in the service of the lessees. In compliance with the royal decree of August 21, 1565, issued in the Bosque de Segovia, the mint offices of treasurer, assayer, engraver, smelter and weigher were declared vendible, and instructions issued ordering the sale of them to the highest bidder, provided the applicants were duly qualified to fill them. In 1607 the post of treasurer brought \$150,000 at auction and in 1612 it went for \$260,000. The combined offices of smelter, assayer and engraver sold for \$160,000. There were no salaries connected with these offices but the revenues of the mint were divided among the purchasers of the various offices. The treasurer of the mint did not have to give an accounting of the revenue nor the distribution of same to anyone not connected with the mint; he was held responsible for the charges of seigniorage only. The mint was considered by the Spanish government and its colonial representatives, as a private enterprise and the lessees were not restrained except by the regulations concerning coinage.

The computed yearly revenue for each office was as follows:

Treasurer.....	\$55,000.00
Smelter (foundryman).....	15,000.00
Assayer.....	15,000.00
Engraver.....	11,000.00

These posts were purchased for life and in case of death of the holder, the heirs received one-third of the new sale price. The holder of office, however, had the privilege of resigning in favor of some one else if he so desired.

Twenty-five minor offices of the mint (coiners, helpers and chief guards) were auctioned off to the highest bidders in compliance with the royal order of October 25, 1625.

The first step taken by the crown to withdraw the management of the Mexico City mint from the control of the lessees did not come until 1652, at which time the chief smelter and assay master were made royal officials. After this, from time to time, other officers were removed from the service of the contractors of the mint to that of the crown, till eventually, by real cédula of July 14, 1732, the mint was incorporated with the royal treasury. But coining operations continued in the

hands of private individuals, who, by competitive bidding, obtained the contracts. It was not until August 3, 1762, that the colonial government took full charge of all minting operations in New Spain.

Beleña, in his *Recopilación Sumaria de los Autos Acordados*, Vol. I, p. 122, states that when the mint was made a part of the royal treasury, the offices that had been auctioned off were repurchased by New Spain. As the government was not able to make immediate restitution of the purchase price, promissory notes were issued bearing five per cent interest. These were finally liquidated in 1777, the principal amounting to \$949,873.00.

Because of the short weight, low fineness and numerous counterfeits, the coinage of Peru had become greatly discredited. On October 1, 1650, Philip IV attempted to remedy this anomalous condition by ordering all coins struck in Peru collected. By royal decree of December 22, 1650, a new Peruvian coinage was authorized, the minting of which started in Potosí during 1652.

The first type was similar to that minted in Spain, the full arms crowned on the obverse and the arms of Castile and Leon within a cross in tressure on the reverse. The new type showed the arms of Castile and Leon in cross within a crowned tressure on obverse, and the crowned columns upon waves with PLUS ULTRA across the field on the reverse.

The Viceroy of Mexico, Don Luís Enriquez de Guzmán, Conde de Alba de Aliste, was transferred to the viceroyalty of Peru, and on August 15, 1653, he surrendered the viceroyalty of Mexico to Don Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, Duque de Albuquerque.

Some time during 1654, Don Francisco de Paz Granados, admiral of the Spanish fleet, arrived at Acapulco on board the flagship "Almiranta del Mar del Sur" with orders to transport Viceroy Enriquez de Guzmán to his new post in Peru. Upon arriving at the Mexican port of Acapulco, Paz Granados found that the five thousand pesos peruleros (Peruvian pesos) given him by the Count of Salvatierra in Peru to defray the expenses of the trip, were not accepted in New Spain. He appealed to the Viceroy Duque de Albuquerque who offered to exchange this sum for an equal amount in coins of New Spain, but upon being informed that a number of merchants had arrived in Granados' vessel carrying three hundred thousand Peruvian pesos and that other large sums were being brought into New Spain by way of Guatemala, the viceroy, who had no knowledge of the new coinage, and whose orders strictly prohibited commercial intercourse with Peru, decided to place the matter before the *Real Audiencia*, the Inquisition Tribunal, the Theological Council, the consuls and business representatives. After lengthy deliberations the consensus of opinion was that the king should be consulted. On April 28, 1655, the crown was notified, and in reply, the viceroy received the royal edict of November 15, 1655, instructing him to issue orders which would cause the new "perulera" coinage to be accepted at its face value in the territory of New Spain. (*Cedulario en el Archivo General*, Mexico, Vol. 5.)

According to a six page voucher found in the *Archivo de Indias*, dated February 3, 1706, the Marqués de Torre-Verona calls to the attention of the crown that in order to prevent the distinction that existed between the coinage of Peru (Peru-lera), and that of Mexico (Mexicana), it would be advisable to send similar minting apparatus and machinery to both countries. Dies were not mentioned in the manuscript.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE COINS OF NEW SPAIN

It is almost impossible to classify properly the majority of the coins issued by the Mexico City mint previous to 1732, as most of the specimens available are badly clipped and poorly struck.

The writer depends on the following points, in the order here given, to aid him in classifying Spanish-Colonial coins:—

- 1—The presence of the mint mark, which in the coins struck by the Mexico City mint is usually the symbol *M*.
- 2—The name of the king on the marginal inscription.
- 3—The date, if the coin happens to carry it.
- 4—The coat of arms, which by the way, is not entirely reliable as the same shield was used by more than one monarch.
- 5—The type, shape and general design.
- 6—The assayer's initial or initials are often determinant but not in all cases, as they are occasionally used on the coinage of more than one reign.

While the presence of the mint mark on a coin will in almost every case determine the place of mintage, it is absolutely necessary to have one or more of the other points enumerated above before one can classify with any degree of certainty the reign to which a coin belongs.

MINT MARK

The royal *cédula* of May 11, 1535, authorizing the establishment of a mint in New Spain, also ordered that all coins there minted should carry the letter *M* as the symbol of the Mexico City mint. The Viceregal order of June 28, 1542, added a low case *o* to the letter *M*, and when used, it is found either surmounting or immediately after the *M*. Deviation from this rule is known in two instances: (1) in some gold coins of Charles II, and at least in one eight escudo piece of Philip V, dated 1712, where the mint mark appears as *Mxo* vertically placed and reading from below upwards in the order given; (2) on the silver eight-reales pieces of 1733 where the mint mark is indicated by the letters **M:X**

SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE MEXICO CITY MINT

From 1536 to 1732 the mint was leased to private interests, usually religious orders.*

From January 1, 1732 to July 15, 1739—José Fernández de Veytia y Linaje.

“ July 16, 1739 “ July 27, 1751—Colonel Gabriel Fernández Molinillo.

“ July 28, 1751 “ Feb. 24, 1778—Pedro Nuñez de Villavicencio.

“ Feb. 25, 1778 “ May 20, 1787—Fernando José de Mangino.

“ May 21, 1787 “ June 4, 1815—Francisco Fernández de Córdoba.

“ June 5, 1815 “ Sept. 27, 1821—Rafaél Lardizábal.

Note: Don Rafaél Lardizábal continued as Superintendent of the Mexico City mint until 1829, serving under the independent government of Mexico.

* During 1729, when Don José Diego de Medina y Saravia was superintendent of the mint, the posts of assayer and foundryman were sold to the Carmelita order. (Convento de los Carmelitas del Santo Desierto.)

ASSAYERS' INITIALS

In order to understand the meaning of what everyone in America has been pleased to call *mint master's initials* as found in the coins of New Spain, it becomes necessary to review the Spanish minting laws.

Ferdinand and Isabella, by ordinance of June 13, 1497, decreed:

"... that the assayers shall mark the coins with a sign or mark which must be recorded with the notary of the mint, said mark or sign to be kept in the notary's book so that ... if any gold or silver coin is found of low fineness, the sign or mark borne by such coin, will serve to identify the assayers responsible for the error, who shall then be punished accordingly."

This document speaks of *assayers* and justly so, as in all mints there were two chief assayers. Herrera in his book *El Duro*, page 104, quotes the following:

"As the royal ordinance of July 16, 1730, did not specify, as it had been the custom, that the assayers' initials should be placed on the coinage, the Superintendent of the Madrid mint, on September 13, 1730, consulted this point with the Secretary of State, and on November 15th of the same year, obtained the following answer:

'It is his majesty's wish that the sign to be borne by all coins minted in his realms, shall be as provided by former ordinances, the initials of the assayers of each mint.'

The above is found corroborated in the ordinance of August 1, 1750, issued by Ferdinand VI, and reprinted in Mexico (Imprenta del Br. D. Joseph Antonio de Hogal—1771) pp. 19 to 21, chap. XIX, dealing with the formalities of coining, assaying, counting and delivering the batches. In part it says:

"... in the presence of the Accountant, Treasurer, Assayers, *Fiel de la moneda* (inspector of weights and measures), *Juez de la Valanza* (Sic) (overseer in the weighing of coins), the Keeper of the dies, and the Notary, the Superintendent of the mint shall draw from every batch three coins of each denomination, two of which are to be sent to the Spanish Córtes and the third one to be cut in half. The half bearing the year of coinage and the initials of the two assayers must be kept by the superintendent, while the other half is to be divided into two pieces, one for each of the two chief assayers (*ensayadores propietarios*), who independent of each other, must proceed to assay the portion given to him and certify as to its fineness."

Chapter XXV of the same ordinance, page 40, of the 1771 reprint, very precisely specifies that the Mexico mint was to have four assayers, two of whom were to be chief assayers (*ensayadores propietarios*) and the other two were to be assistant or substitute assayers (*ensayadores supernumerarios*).

Thus, the initials as found on the coinage of New Spain represent not the mint master's name but the first letter of either the given name or surname of each of the two chief assayers assigned to the Mexico City mint. However, not until 1731 did the two initials appear on the coinage.

ASSAYERS OF THE MEXICO CITY MINT*

FRANCISCO DEL RINCÓN.—First assayer of the Mexico City mint. He was later appointed engraver.

LUÍS RODRÍGUEZ.—Assayer of this mint until his death, which occurred May 30, 1570.

MELCHOR DE CUÉLLAR.—On January 29, 1611, he was appointed Foundryman and Chief Assayer, but his appointment was not confirmed until May 8th of the same year.

SEBASTIÁN CARRILLO MALDONADO.—In writings of the first quarter of the seventeenth century Maldonado's name appears as Foundryman and Chief Assayer of the mint.

JERÓNIMO BECERRA.—Published a book on assaying during 1671 and signed himself Assayer of the royal mint of Mexico.

JUÁN DE CUEVAS.—The only reference available states that his appointment as Assayer had not been approved by August 19, 1721.

JOSEPH DE LEÓN.—According to writings of José Flores Moreno, dated 1721, León was Foundryman and Chief Assayer.

MANUEL DE LEÓN.—Was Assayer of the mint up to August 2, 1731, at which time he was appointed accountant, only to be re-appointed Assayer by royal decree of July 14, 1732. During 1747, he published a book on how the assays were made in Mexico, and in 1757 he was still the Chief Assayer of the mint.

FRANCISCO DE LA PEÑA Y FLORES.—From September 26, 1742, to 1757 he appears in official documents as Substitute Assayer of the mint. On February 6, 1747, he published a memoir on the assaying process as employed in Mexico. During 1779 he was the Chief Assayer of the mint.

FRANCISCO DE RIVAS AUGUSTO.—As Substitute Assayer of the Mexico City mint, he assisted Peña y Flores in the preparation of the book on assaying.

JOSÉ DE RIVAS ANGULO.—During 1757 he appears as the First Substitute Assayer. He also coöperated in the preparation of the book on assaying published by Peña y Flores.

* This list is incomplete and in only a few instances can one check the initial appearing on the coins.

MANUEL ASSORÍN.—Was an assayer in the Mexico City mint during 1757.

DOMINGO EYZAGUIRRE.—On or before 1772 had been employed by the Mexico City mint as Assayer.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO DE LA PEÑA Y FLORES.—Was Chief Assayer during 1779.

ANTONIO BONIFACIO CASARÍN.—Appears in the Mexico City directory for 1779 as First Substitute Assayer.

FRANCISCO ARANCE Y CÓBOS.—Was Second Assayer from 1779 to 1801.

MARIANO RODRÍGUEZ.—Was Second Substitute Assayer during 1779.

JOSÉ LINCE GONZÁLEZ.—Appears as Assayer during 1779.

TOMÁS BUTRÓN Y MIRANDA.—Was Substitute Assayer from 1779 to 1801.

ENRIQUE BUENAVENTURA AZORÍN.—According to official documents and city directories of the epoch, he was Second Substitute Assayer from 1793 to 1801.

ANTONIO FORCADA Y PLAZA.—Was Chief Assayer during the years 1796, 1799, 1811 and 1818.

JOAQUÍN DÁVILA MADRID.—Was Second Chief Assayer from 1796 to 1818.

JOSÉ GARCÍA ANZALDO.—Was First Substitute Assayer from 1810 to 1811. In the Mexico City directory of 1818, he again appears as First Substitute Assayer in line for the Chief Assayer's position.

JOSÉ DÁVILA MADRID.—Was Second Substitute Assayer during 1811 and 1818.

MANUEL RUÍZ DE TEJADA.—Appears in the Mexico City directory of 1818 as First Substitute Assayer.

JOSÉ MARÍA DE LAS CUEVAS Y PICAZO.—Was Second Substitute Assayer during 1818.

TREASURERS OF THE MEXICO CITY MINT

ANDRÉS DE VALENCIA.—Occupied the post of treasurer during 1572.

JUÁN LORENZO DE VERA.—Treasurer previous to 1662.

JUÁN VÁZQUEZ DE MEDINA.—Treasurer during 1662.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO DE MEDINA PICAZO.—Treasurer at an unknown period. Paid \$90,000.00 for the office. This amount was only one-half of the sale price, but apparently he was a favorite. He did not have the money and had to borrow it. See *Bibliografía Numismática* by Medina—p. 55. Document by Olmós-Dávila.

JUÁN LUYO DE RIVERA.—Treasurer at an unknown period.

COINAGE OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD BY REIGNS

Numismatically, the Colonial period extends from 1536, at which time the mint was established in Mexico City, to 1821 when Mexico obtained its independence.

No accurate records were kept at the Mexico City mint from 1536 to 1690; therefore the exact amount coined every year cannot be given with any degree of accuracy. Investigators such as Messrs. Orozco y Berra and Peñafiel have assigned to such period the figures here quoted.

The money minted in New Spain did not bear the date of coinage before 1580. After this time, some pieces are found in which the date is visible, but because of the crudeness and irregularity of the planchets, the date, usually placed near the edge, seldom shows. While most of the coins previous to 1732 are of the cob type, a number of perfectly circular specimens with and without the date of mintage are found in the cabinets of museums and private collectors.

CHARLES AND JOHANNA

Upon the death of Ferdinand which occurred in 1516, Johanna, his daughter, became Queen of Spain, but as she was mentally incompetent, her eldest son, Charles, was selected as co-ruler. Charles was born at Ghent (Flanders), February 24, 1500, and was Holy Roman Emperor of Germany under the title of Charles V, and as Charles I of Spain. He was an able statesman and military leader. Luther and his teachings made progress under this ruler. Charles married Isabella, daughter of Emmanuel, King of Portugal, and from this union a son and two daughters were born.

In 1556, when Charles retired to the monastery of Yuste, in Estremadura, his son, as Philip II became King of Spain and of the Netherlands.

On the coinage of this period only one assayer's initial appears on each piece and it is found either at the right or the left of the coat of arms. The mint mark **M** or **Ṁ** occupies the opposite side. The assayer's initials, as found on the coins, are here given in alphabetical order and not in the order in which they were used, which is not known to the author:*

A G I L O P R S

Vidal Quadras y Ramón, in his catalogue, Vol. II, Nos. 6880 and 6881, p. 180, describes two of these pieces as having the assayer's initial F, but the illustrations found on Pl. 26 carry the letter P.

From 1536 to 1556 the Mexico City mint coined the following amounts:—

Copper.....	\$ 200,000.00
Silver.....	\$38,200,000.00
Total.....	\$38,400,000.00

* Except the initial R which, it is possible, stands for Rincón.

SILVER COINAGE OF CHARLES AND JOHANNA

As ordered by the *real cédula* of May 11, 1535, the silver minted in New Spain was to be issued in the following denominations and proportions:—

One-fourth was to be in two and three-reales pieces;

One-half was to be in one-real pieces;

The remaining fourth, in half-real pieces.

Also silver *cuartillas*
or fourth's of a real.

The *real* is a Spanish monetary unit equivalent to twelve and a half cents and having a value of thirty-four maravedies. In New Spain, due to the risk and expense of transporting the coin from Spain, the *real*, in accordance with the royal edict of May 31, 1535, was valued at forty-four maravedies. When the Mexico City mint began operations, there was no further need for this increase in value, and Viceroy Mendoza by his edict of July 15, 1536, lowered the *real* to its original worth of thirty-four maravedies. This order was confirmed by the Spanish Cortes, January 24, 1538.

According to the proportions and denominations specified above, there were to be *three-reales* pieces coined in New Spain. At different times there has been considerable controversy about the existence or non-existence of such pieces as circulating media. The report of the Visiting Inspector states that these pieces were minted and had been placed in circulation. On the other hand, Viceroy Mendoza, in a letter written the early part of 1537 and addressed to the Count de Osorno, asserts that the three-reales pieces were never coined in Mexico City. Mendoza adds that there would have been so little difference in size between the three and the two-reales coins, that it would have been very easy for unscrupulous persons to deceive the natives. Charles V, the King, acknowledged the receipt of this information in a letter dated November 18, 1537, addressed to Viceroy Mendoza, in which the viceroy was given authority to coin pieces of four-reales, and also indicated that coins of eight-reales denomination might be struck if found expedient.

As the above information is contradictory, one has to resort to conjectures. Without doubt, as the pieces of three had been authorized, they were made, and the viceroy, upon seeing them, formed the opinion expressed in the letter addressed to the Count de Osorno, and very likely, withheld them from general circulation. If so, only a few pieces were struck which were in the nature of trial pieces. Their present scarcity is sufficient evidence that the number coined was small. The only specimens of this numismatic rarity known to the author are found: one in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society in New York City, which was catalogued in the *Memorial Numismático Español* by Don Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes, Vol. IV, 1880, Pl. II, No. 8. Another, the property of Mr. Julius Gutttag, also of New York, and illustrated on page 274 of Gutttag's *Latin American Coins*; and a third, described in the *Catálogo de la Colección de Monedas y Medallas*, Vol. II, p. 183, No. 6911, Pl. 26, of the extensive collection of Don Manuel Vidal Quadras y Ramón. See Pl. I, 1.

The Visiting Inspector of the mint also questioned the engraver, Francisco del Rincón, June 13, 1546, and obtained the information that an attempt had been made to coin pieces-of-eight, but that the excessive cost and difficulty of coinage had prevented its continuance. Therefore, the consensus of opinion prevalent among investigators is that there were no *eight-reales* pieces issued by the Mexico City mint at such an early period. The so-called Charles and Johanna "pieces-of-eight" that one hears about, are either for Santo Domingo (which bear the initials S. P.) or are rank counterfeits usually cast from crudely hand carved models. (See *Coin Collectors Journal*, Vol. V, p. 17, of 1880 and Vol. I, p. 182, of 1934.)

In the suit brought by Martín Gaona and other silver merchants against the Treasurer of the mint, Andrés de Valencia, in 1572, it was established that of the silver minted in New Spain, one third was in four-reales pieces, one third in coins of two-reales, and the remaining third in half and one-real denominations. (*Archivo de las Indias*—139-1-12.)

Ten years previous an order was issued by Philip the Second (January 22, 1562) authorizing the Viceroy of New Spain to coin pieces-of-eight if he deemed it convenient. If pieces-of-eight were being coined in Mexico City, there was no need for these repeated authorizations. The author agrees with Herrera (*El Duro*, p. 13) that eight-reales pieces were not minted in New Spain previous to 1572. One can surmise by the above information that dollar size pieces were not coined in New Spain until the latter part of the reign of Philip II.

By royal edict of June 6, 1544, issued at Valladolid, Spain, it was ordered that the coins minted in the Colonies should be of the same fineness, weight, value and design as those coined in Castile, and regulated by decree of November 13, 1537.* Thus, to insure similarity, the dies for the different denominations were to be cut in Madrid, Spain, and sent from there to the Colonies under special guard.

On November 12, 1549, Viceroy Mendoza ordered that "regardless of what the proportions were previously" the coinage in the Mexico City mint was to be:

One-third in pieces of four-reales denomination;

One-third in two-reales pieces;

And the remaining third was to be minted in pieces of one-real and half-real denominations.

It was not until the coinage of copper had been discontinued, sometime around 1552-1555, that the government ordered the minting of silver *cuartillas* (fourths of real, also known as *cuartos*). These were necessarily small and easily lost. This, together with the natural aversion the natives had for the diminutive coins, made it necessary for the government to stop their coinage. Investigation proved that the Indians disliked them and were melting such as came into their possession. Thus,

* This order was reiterated on November 23, 1566, and again on May 10, 1570, by Philip II.

the government soon came to realize the futility of offending the peculiar psychology of the native and, accordingly, orders were issued discontinuing the minting of silver *cuartillas*. These orders remained unchanged until March 3, 1794, when during the reign of Charles IV, they were again minted. To the author's knowledge only one specimen of what may be the 1552 silver *cuartillas* is known to exist. It is found in the cabinets of the American Numismatic Society of New York City. It shows a lion on one side and a castle on the other, both designs within a corded circle. The specimen seems to be crudely cut, Pl. I, 9.

The fineness of the silver coins from 1536 to 1729 was 11 *dineros* 4 *granos*, the equivalent of 930.51 thousandths of our present system. There were 12 *dineros* to pure silver; each *dinero* had 24 *granos*. From a mark of silver, 68 reales in coin was obtained while the intrinsic value of the bullion was only 65 reales. The additional three reales covered the royal fifth and the cost of coining. A mark of silver weighs eight ounces; each ounce has eight *ochavas* (eighths), each eighth, six *tomines*; and each *tomín*, twelve grains.

The silver coins of this reign have on the obverse, the crowned arms of Castile and Leon quartered, with a pomegranate below, on either side of which there is a letter; around, between beaded circles, CAROLVS ET JOHANA REGES. In this inscription no fewer than six variations were noted: CHAROLVS; KAROLVS; IOHANA; sometimes the word REGES is omitted; the inscription appears in Gothic letters in some specimens and in Roman type in others. The reverse shows the pillars of Hercules, across which, the motto PLVS VLTRA appears in more or less abbreviated form; the value, on the four-reales coins is indicated by the Greek numeral 4, placed between the two columns either above or below the motto; three dots (...) for the three reales; two dots (..) for the two reales; one dot (.) for the one real. These dots are usually placed between the columns but above the motto. The half-real has a crowned KI in place of the shield. On the reverse of all, HISPANIARUM . ET . INDIARUM . between outer and inner circles. The last word of this inscription is often abbreviated. Pl. I, Nos. 5, 1, 3, 6, 7, 4 and 8 respectively.

The coinage falls into two distinct groups, both with numerous minor variations. The earlier ones, made from crudely cut dies, show Charles' name spelled with a K; the later ones sometimes have it spelled with a C. The reverse has the word PLVS, or PLVSVLT, on a panel which at first was in front of the columns, Pl. I, 1-2, and later, on a more ornate panel behind the columns, Pl. I, 3-4. The earlier type has the inscriptions, mostly in Gothic letters, with a Gothic M on the right and on the left of the shield; the letter R, probably for Rincón, the assayer, (see page 32) appears on the reverse, between the columns. The four reales in the earlier series have the figure 4 above the panel, and below in the later series. The K under the crown on some of the half-reales resembles an H, Pl. I, 4. All of this series are rare.

The dies of the second series are better cut, especially the lettering, and show a variety of assayers' initials. On the reverse the columns rise out of water, and the motto, except on the one-half real pieces, is more or less complete, Pl. I, 5 to 8.

The Charles and Johanna coinage, while it did not have a reeded edge, is generally circular in outline.

COPPER COINAGE

As the royal edict authorizing the establishment of the mint in Mexico City empowered the former treasurer of the Granada mint to decide upon the advisability of coining copper in New Spain, it is assumed that this royal official not only exercised his authority in the choice of denominations but in the selection of designs as well. It is reasonable to suppose that his discretion made him adopt designs and denominations similar to those in use in Spain and in Santo Domingo. If this were the case, the first copper coinage of New Spain did not differ materially from the coins minted in Spain to be used in Santo Domingo nor from those coined later in the said island, Pl. I, 10.

It has not been the good fortune of the author to stumble over a single document giving a description of this first copper coin. The only direct reference made to it is found in the writings of Torquemada, who says:

"There was another specie, made of copper, as used in Spain and in Santo Domingo of fourths and half-fourths, of four and of two maravedies."

The innovation of copper coin was almost ludicrous in its operation and was held in contempt by the natives who refused to accept it. Circulation, however, was enforced by the viceroy, but regardless of the strict measures used to compel the Indian to take the objectionable medium, he could not be made to keep what he considered a symbol of poverty, and he cast it from him into the gutters and into the Texcoco Lake that it might never more be seen.

In a year or two the Indians succeeded in getting rid of more than two hundred thousand pesos' worth of this offensive medium of exchange. (Torquemada's *La Monarquía Indiana*, Book 5, chap. XIII, p. 1.)

This peculiar reaction of the native, who, appreciative of the wealth of his own country, proudly refused to permit the use of copper as specie, was considered an anomaly by the Spaniard, who for centuries had used this base metal for coin. Such reaction, if not known, was forecast by some, and among the latter, the President of the Cabildo, Fuenleal, stands foremost, for he had foreseen that the introduction of copper coin would meet with opposition, and in a letter addressed to the king in April 1532, suggested that no copper should be coined in New Spain. (Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Colección de Documentos* Vol. XIII, pp. 217-218.)

It is the belief of the writer that the behavior of the natives toward copper finally reached the royal ears, and this, as well as the displeasure caused by the coining of gold in New Spain without royal consent, induced his Catholic Majesty to issue the royal cédula of February 28, 1538, strictly prohibiting the coining of gold and copper in the colonies, and doubtless the viceroy stopped the minting of gold and copper on or about May 1, 1538.

Fray Andrés Cavo, in his work *Los Tres Siglos de Méjico* published by J. R. Navarro, Méjico, 1852, p. 41, places the disappearance of this type of coin from circulation at about 1540 or 1541.

Viceroy Mendoza, aware that most of the commercial transactions in the colony were under one-half real (the smallest coin manufactured in New Spain), and conscious of the inconvenience created by not having coins of smaller denominations, took it upon himself to attempt to remedy this state of affairs by issuing the viceregal decree of June 28, 1542, which authorized the resumption of minting of copper coins. The denominations were of two and four maravedies. According to Orozco y Berra, *Diccionario de Geografía*, Vol. V, p. 913, the viceroy authorized the coining of 12,000 marks of copper. From each mark thirty-six pieces of the four maravedies variety were obtained, and double that amount in pieces of the two maravedies.

The experiment did not prove successful and was met by the same native opposition encountered before. Special legislation was enacted July 5, 1547, and again on August 2, 1550, fixing fines and instituting the use of the whip upon those not complying. The maximum amount acceptable as legal tender was set at four pesos.

It was all in vain. The natives considered the circulation of copper coins a sign of poverty and decadence, and when compelled to accept them, preferred to destroy them rather than to pass them as coin. Viceroy Mendoza was informed of the futility of compulsory measures and the minting of copper was once more discontinued. The exact date on which this order was given is not known and could not be found, but considering the fact that his government was still trying to enforce its circulation as late as August 1550, it is presumed that it was not later than 1551 or 1552.

The inspector who visited the mint on June 13, 1546, found that the dies used to strike off pieces of four maravedies were in bad condition, and issued verbal instructions to the keeper of the dies to destroy them. The inspector's investigation disclosed that it had not been possible for the experts of the mint to obtain a workable alloy of copper, and as the matter had been referred to the viceroy on February 9th of the same year, this high official ordered the Corregidor (governor) of Michoacán to purchase enough copper and to employ native labor to prepare planchets of the proper weight and thickness, which could be stamped at the mint after being transported to the City of Mexico. The Indians were intrusted with this part of the labor because they were admittedly superior to the Spaniards as artisans. It is possible that a new die of four maravedies denomination was made when the

officials of the mint found that planchets prepared by native labor could be stamped with less difficulty.

Thus it is evident that copper coins were ordered minted in Mexico City on two different occasions. The first coinage, authorized by royal edict of May 11, 1535, began some time after the month of April 1536, continued at least until May 1, 1538, and disappeared from general circulation about 1540 or 1541. The second issue, authorized by viceregal decree of June 28, 1542, was discontinued about 1551 or 1552. The fact that the viceroy described and ordered new dies made implies that the old ones used during 1536-1538 had been destroyed. If not so, why did it become necessary for the viceroy to describe so minutely the design of the second issue of copper?

The viceregal order of June 28, 1542, by which it was provided that coins of two and four maravedies be minted in the Mexico City establishment, required that the design of the two maravedies piece have on one side, a crowned pillar and the words *PLUS ULTRA*; and on the other, a crowned castle and the letter **M** surmounted by an "o" indicative of the place of minting. It was specified that the four maravedies piece should have a castle, a crowned **K**, and the mint mark **M**. The other side was to have a castle, the letter **I** crowned, and a lion. The two denominations were to have around the margin as much as it was possible to incorporate of the following inscription: *CAROLUS ET IOANA HISPANIARUM ET INDIARUM REGES*.

These are the types known to collectors, and with the exception of the addition of a lion to the right of the crowned "**K**" of the obverse, and a figure four, indicative of the value, on the reverse, the four maravedies piece conforms to the description given above, Pl. I, 12-13. This minor change was brought about by the engraver and does not materially alter the order issued by the viceroy. The four maravedies pieces, while scarce, are by no means rare. Numerous variations are found, and Guttag in his "*Latin American Coins*" illustrates seven varieties. Of the two maravedies, Mr. Guttag is the only one who owns a specimen and in his above mentioned work illustrates it, Pl. I, 11. Vidal Quadras y Ramón, the prominent Spanish collector, and Medina, the numismatic sage of Chile, never saw one.

The question now arises, what did the 1536 issue look like? The viceregal order of 1542 clearly states the design for the new coins. Consequently, the old ones must have been somewhat different, and as the new coins were issued under known opposition, it is natural to suppose that they were larger and of more attractive design, Pl. I, 12, 13.

In the words of Torquemada cited above, referring to copper coins "as used in Spain and Santo Domingo," we find a clue and we surmise that the copper coins of the first issue are those now known as the Santo Domingo type, which show a crowned **Y** on one side and crowned pillars on the other. These coins vary considerably in dies and execution, all are crude in workmanship, poorly struck and although found largely in Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico and other islands of the West Indies, are, without doubt, the product of several mints, Pl. I, 10.

Dr. Rafael J. Fosalba of Montevideo, Uruguay, who is now working on this type of coinage, avers that they were coined in Spain, Mexico and Santo Domingo, in the order named.

That coins of this type are seldom, if ever, found in Mexico, does not preclude the possibility that some of them were made there, because even the type of copper coins authorized by viceregal decree of 1542, familiar to all collectors, is rare there.

On June 13, 1546, every minor employee of the Mexico City mint was interrogated by the visiting inspector, and it was disclosed that a few pieces of one maravedi denomination had been coined, but so few that none had been placed in circulation. Of these, not even a trial piece is known to exist in any collection.

In this respect, it is well at this time to emphasize the fact that the inquisition tribunals were exerting their maleficent action upon every individual, and in order to safeguard themselves, those questioned usually agreed to everything asked. It is possible that the *visitador* who questioned the employees of the mint under oath, suspected irregularities and expected positive answers to his leading questions. The frightened employees answered in the affirmative that eight and three reales coins, also one maravedi pieces, had been minted, when they actually knew that none had been coined with the exception perhaps of trial pieces and that none of these had been placed in circulation.

The coinage of copper was not attempted again in New Spain until two hundred and sixty-three years later, when the royalist government found it necessary to resort to this method to obtain funds with which to replenish the badly depleted treasury.

PHILIP II

Philip II was King of Spain from 1556 to 1598. He was born at Valladolid on May 21, 1527, the only son of Emperor Charles I of Spain. His education was chiefly in the hands of the clergy and he grew up a cold and bigoted man. In 1543 he married María of Portugal, and upon her death which occurred in 1554, he espoused Mary I of England; after her demise, in 1558, Philip married Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry II of France, and when she died in 1568, Philip married Anna, the daughter of Maximilian II. By his fourth wife Philip had a son, his successor, Philip III.

During the time Philip II occupied the throne of Spain, the Mexico City mint coined only silver, the amount being estimated at \$122,000,000.

The initials used by the assayers were:

A E F G O P

Eight-reales pieces dated 1580 and 1592 carried the assayer's initial P; other dates known are 1593 and 1595 and a half-real of 1597 but the assayer's initial was found indistinguishable.

The obverse has the crowned arms of Castile, Leon, Granada, Aragon, Naples, Sicily, Burgundy, Brabant, Flanders and Tyrol. The value, mint mark and assayer's initial are found at sides of shield, except on the one-real, on which the value is omitted. The reverse has a cross in tressure, in the cantons of which are castles and lions. The half-real, instead of the crowned arms, has the word Philip-pus in monogram, Pl. II, 6. The legend on the obverse is PHILIPPUS: II: DEI: GRATIA:, on the reverse HISPANIARVM: ET: INDIARVM: REX. The legends on the half-real are abbreviated.

Most of the Mexico City coinage for Philip II was of the usual five denominations and of the *cob** type, but a small number of circular specimens are known, Pl. II, 1-6.

PHILIP III

Philip III was sworn ruler of Spain and its dominions on September 13, 1598. He was the fourth son of Philip II, his predecessor. On November 13th of the same year, he married Marguerite of Austria by whom he had eight children. The queen died October 3, 1611, and the king on March 31, 1621. He was succeeded by his son Philip IV.

During the twenty-three years of his reign, the Mexico City mint coined only silver, estimating the total amount struck at \$74,300,000.

Although Medina asserts that the crowned coat of arms on the coinage for this king as well as that of his predecessor, Philip II, had the arms of Portugal incorporated in it, Herrera, in his work *El Duro*, p. 14, differs with him. It was not until 1607 or thereabouts, that the arms of Portugal were included.

The Mexico City coinage for this monarch was of the *cob* type with a few pieces circular in form. From coins in which the name of the ruler was readable, the following assayers' initials were taken:

Date	8 reales	4 reales	2 reales	1 real	½ real
1607	F				
1608	F	A		A	
1609	F	A		A	
1610	F	F		F	F
1611	F		F		
1612	F	A			
1613		F	F		
1614	F				
1618	D				
1621	D				

* The word *cob* resulted from the Spanish expression *cabo de barra*, meaning that these coins were each cut from the end of a bar. According to a six page document found in the *Archivo de Indias*, "on the ninth of August, 1598, the Spanish crown contracted with Dr. Balthasar Vellerino de Villalobos, a cleric, for the use in the mints of México, Lima, Potosí, Santa Fé de Bogotá, and Santo Domingo, of an invention developed by the late Miguel de la Cerda," which consisted of a way of making round or nearly round silver bars; these in turn, could be cut with scissors into planchets or disks of approximately the desired weight and thickness and ready to be struck into coin. The word *cob* is synonymous with *macuquina* and clipped.

On undated four-reales and one-half real coins the assayer's initial was **F**. Coins of 1615 and 1617 were available, but the assayer's initials were not legible.

The design on the coins is almost identical with those of Philip II. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to differentiate the coinage of the two reigns. The dies used in Philip III's time are a little more coarsely cut and the planchets are not so round. The part near the edge tapers off more and only a few letters of the legend show. Probably the most reliable way of distinguishing the coins is by the crown. The band around the base of the crown on the Philip II coinage shows jewels with no shading below, while the crown on the Philip III coins seldom shows the jewels and the space below is filled with perpendicular lines. Pl. II, 7-9.

PHILIP IV

Philip IV was the third son of Philip III. He was born April 8, 1605, and when only seven years old was united in marriage with Elizabeth, a sister of Louis XIII of France, but due to their tender age, they remained separated until November 25, 1620. From this union seven children were born, only one of whom survived the parents. Elizabeth died on October 6, 1644, and Philip again married on October 3, 1649, this time to his cousin María Anna of Austria, by whom he had five children, the last being his successor, who as Charles II ascended the throne upon the death of his father, September 17, 1665.

From 1621 to 1665, when this ruler occupied the throne of Spain, only silver was coined in Mexico City, and the total amount struck has been calculated at \$161,500,000.

Counterfeiting, chiefly of the Peruvian type of money, attained incredible proportions during the reign of this monarch, and as mentioned at the end of the chapter on the mint, this had a direct bearing on the more or less uneventful life in New Spain.

Mexican coins issued during Philip IV's reign bear the following assayers' initials:

Date	8 reales	4 reales	2 reales	½ reales
1621	D			
1622				x*
1623	P	P		
1628	J			
1629	D			
1631		D		
1632	D	D		
1636	P	P		
1637	P			
1639	P	P		
1641			P	
1642	P			
1643	P	P		
1650	P			P
1651		x		
1652	P			
1653	P			
1654	P	P		
1655	P			
1656	P	x		
1657	P			
1661		P		
1662				P

Coins of one-real denomination, struck in the Mexico City mint for Philip IV, have not been seen by the compiler nor have they been found listed in the works and catalogues consulted. There are, however, a number of one-real pieces that could be attributed to this monarch, but as not a single specimen carries the name of the ruler in a distinguishable manner, the author does not feel justified in classifying them as belonging to this period.

The coinage for this monarch is very similar to that of Philip III, consequently it is difficult to assign unless the date, the assayer's initial or the III of Philip shows. Otherwise, the crown is the only possible distinguishing clue, the back of which appears in perspective, is very prominent and shows no shading. The pieces come cut square, oblong and in various fantastic shapes. Pl. III, 3. However, some fairly round specimens are known, and as few of them show the name of Philip, it is almost impossible to tell them from those of the next ruler, Charles II. Occasionally the large round pieces of this ruler turn up. Pl. III, 1 and 2. During the reigns of the Philips (until 1640), Portugal was under Spain and the arms of the former were carried on the Spanish shield in a superimposed escutcheon. These arms are shown

* Where an x appears in this and subsequent tables, the coin bearing the date is known, but the assayer's initial was not recorded or appears obliterated on the specimens studied.

on the coins of Spain but seldom on those from the American mints. However, one of the large round coins of Mexico City dated 1642 bore the complete coat of arms. Pl. III, 2. The half-reales of Philip III, IV and V are difficult to differentiate; on these, the V of Philipps is above the crossbar of the monogram rather than below it as on the coins of Philip II. Pl. III, 4.

CHARLES II

Charles II was four years old when at the death of his father, Philip IV, he ascended the throne of Spain. As by the terms of the will of the deceased king, his successor was not to be permitted to govern until he had attained the age of fourteen, the Queen mother became the regent. Toward the end of 1675 Charles assumed full charge of the government, and in the following year, when only 15 years old, married María Louise of Orleans, granddaughter of Louis XIII of France. She died in 1639, and shortly after, Charles married María Anna, sister of Emperor Leopold of Austria. Charles II died November 1, 1700, without issue.

The coins struck by the Mexico City mint during the reign of this monarch are mostly of the COB or CLIPPED variety.

Date	8 reales	4 reales	2 reales	1 real	½ real
1669					x
1671	D-G				x
1674	G				
1678	L	L			L
1679		L			
1681	L				
1684	L				L
1688	L			L	
1689	L	L			
1690	L				
1694		L			L
1695	L				
1699	L		L		

On an undated half-real piece the assayer's initial is a **G**.*

An important event in the coinage of New Spain occurred during Charles' reign, when permission was granted to coin gold in the Mexico City mint. For the twenty-four year period from 1665 to 1689, it is estimated there was an average yearly coinage in silver of \$4,000,000—a total of \$96,000,000. Beginning with 1690 record of the amounts coined was kept accurately.

* Herrera's *El Duro*, Vol. I, p. 217, describes a coin as having the assayer's initial "C" but plate XIV, number 2, shows a letter G.

Year	Gold	Silver	Total
1679	8,568.00		
1680	130,382.00		
1681	88,264.00		
1682	50,000.00		
1683	50,000.00		
1684	50,000.00	96,000,000.00	96,627,214.00
1685	50,000.00		
1686	50,000.00		
1687	50,000.00		
1688	50,000.00		
1689	50,000.00		
1690	50,000.00	5,285,581.00	5,335,581.00
1691	50,000.00	6,213,709.61	6,263,709.61
1692	50,000.00	5,352,729.31	5,402,729.31
1693	50,000.00	2,802,378.55	2,852,378.55
1694	214,610.00	5,840,529.56	6,055,139.56
1695	299,200.00	4,001,293.42	4,300,493.42
1696	200,000.00	3,190,618.09	3,390,618.09
1697	200,000.00	4,459,947.60	4,659,947.60
1698	200,000.00	3,319,765.84	3,519,765.84
1699	200,000.00	3,504,787.06	3,704,787.06
1700	200,000.00	3,379,122.15	3,579,122.15
	<u>2,341,024.00</u>	<u>143,350,462.19</u>	<u>145,691,486.19</u>

GOLD COINAGE

The queen, in the name of Charles II, issued a cédula on February 25, 1675, authorizing the coinage of gold in New Spain. On the 23rd of May of the same year this privilege was publicly proclaimed in the City of Mexico and was received with much rejoicing. Bands played in different parts of the city, the officers of the state issued forth on horseback, and marched in procession under arches of flowers that spanned the crowded streets. No gold, however, was coined until December 23, 1679,* on which day the Viceroy and the members of the Audiencia (Court of Judicature) visited the mint to witness the coinage of the first pieces.

* While officially the minting of gold coins did not begin until 1679, the author, in the course of his investigations, found sufficient implied evidence to the effect that gold coins were minted in Mexico City during 1536. Apparently the gold was obtained from the tepuzque disks which were ordered melted and assayed. This supposition is supported by the fact that although the royal decree of May 11, 1535, clearly states that no gold was to be coined in New Spain, why then, did it become necessary on February 28, 1538, again to issue a royal order prohibiting the minting of gold in Mexico City? If the author's assumption is correct, it would be interesting to find a gold coin attributable to the Mexico City mint for the Charles and Johanna period.

By order of May 20, 1676, issued by the Viceroy Fray Payo Henríquez de Rivera, the fineness for gold coins was set at twenty-two karats, and from a mark of pure gold it was ordered that sixty-eight *escudos** be coined. The señoreaje or king's duty for each mark of gold coined, was to be two pesos. For brassage, three-and-a-half tomines of gold were to be charged. (Elhúyar, *Indagaciones*, etc. Madrid, 1818, p. 3.)

The two pesos charged for seigniorage were equivalent to 9.75 tomines; if to this amount we add the three and a half tomines collected as brassage for each mark of gold coined, we obtain 13.25 tomines as the total charge. As each tomin of gold was worth a fraction under twenty-one cents, the 13.25 tomins equal \$2.73 of our money.

According to Elhúyar, page 13 of the *Indagaciones*, the following amounts were coined in gold:

During 1679—63 marks, equal to 4,284 escudos or \$ 8,568.00

During 1680—962 marks, equal to 65,416 escudos or 130,832.00

During 1681—649 marks, equal to 44,132 escudos or 88,264.00

These figures vary slightly from those given by Orozco y Berra, Bancroft, Medina, and the official records of the Mexican government.

The gold minted in New Spain was in denominations of eight, four, two and one escudos. The half-escudos seem not to have been minted prior to 1814, and diligent search has not revealed any of these tiny pieces from the Mexico City mint before that date.

A Spanish ounce contains 28.6875 grams or 442.7055 grains. The old Spanish-American gold piece of eight-escudos was also called onza (ounce) and doubloon. It seldom, if ever, weighed a full ounce. When in very fine condition it generally weighs twenty-seven grams. Its subdivisions, the four, the two and the one escudos, are almost always short in weight, and the smaller the denomination the more pronounced is the shortage.

GOLD "COBS" OF THE MEXICO CITY MINT

The so-called gold cob money from the Mexico City mint was issued from 1679 to about 1734, during the reigns of Charles II and Philip V, and although Williams attributes gold cobs to Ferdinand VI, who ruled from 1746 to 1759, (*American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. 48, pp. 80 to 82), the author is inclined to believe that such pieces were not of Mexican origin.

The dies used to strike the gold cobs were crude, the planchets irregular in shape and of uneven thickness. As virtually all the planchets were not of sufficient di-

* The *escudo* is a monetary unit equal to one-eighth of a doubloon. A doubloon was worth sixteen pesos, therefore each escudo was worth two pesos. The *tomín* is a unit of weight representing twelve grains.

ameter to receive all the impression, the marginal inscription is only partly visible. As a general rule, the variations in diameter and thickness of the planchets used on the gold coinage of New Spain are numerous.

The cobs had on the obverse the same coat of arms that appears on the silver coinage for this king. The mint mark and assayer's initial are on the left of the shield; at the right, the value in Roman numerals, vertically placed and reading from above downward. Around the margin, within an inner and an outer beaded circle, is the inscription CAROLVS : II DEI : GRATIA +. The reverse presents a solid equilateral Jerusalem cross surrounded by a tressure of straight lines, from which, Fleurs de Lis protrude into the spaces formed by the arms of the inner cross. In addition, four semilunar adornments fill the outer angles formed by the line tressure. Around the margin, and within an inner and outer beaded circle is the legend HISPANIARUM : ET : INDIARUM : REX +.

The best specimen seen by the author is the VIII escudos piece illustrated on Pl. III, 5, which was advertised under number 1278 in the Adolph Hess sale held at Lucerne, Switzerland, July 11, 1933. The mint mark is indicated by the letters Mxo placed one above the other in the order given. The assayer's initial is L.

Medina in his *Monedas Hispano-Americanas* p. 76, No. 27, describes and illustrates a two escudos piece also with the Mxo mint mark, similar in every respect to the VIII escudos coin sold at Lucerne.

Williams in his above mentioned article states that "the one escudo piece has on the obverse a beaded circle within which is a cross in a tressure of four lobes and has no legend." This has not been verified by the author who has never seen a single escudo coin of Charles II.

While the cobs had clipped edges, in the few circular coins studied, the edge was reeded.

The total amount of gold coined in New Spain from 1679 to 1821, inclusive, is given in the official records as \$68,778,411.00, which differs slightly from the figures obtained by the author through various other sources, and which are used in this work because they are itemized, while the figures offered by the mint are not.

SILVER COINAGE

During the reign of Charles II, according to Herrera's *El Duro*, p. 16, the Mexico City mint struck very few *pieces of eight*. On p. 217, of the above mentioned work, one finds that the coat of arms appearing on the coinage for the period 1665-1700, is similar to the one used on the coins of Philip II. Medina, in his book *Monedas Hispano-Americanas*, pp. 76 and 78, claims that the coat of arms included the Bourbon emblem. Medina probably makes this statement because Charles was married to a Bourbon from 1676 to 1689. A number of silver coins of this monarch were examined and not one had the Fleur de Lis escutcheon.

Silver coins are found in both the round and the cob form. The latter predominate, are most irregular, and come in a multitude of odd shapes. The dies are almost identical with those of Philip IV, and unless there are identifying marks such as name, date or initial, it is probable that those having the most grotesque shapes are of Charles' reign. Typical examples are illustrated on Pl. III, 6-9. The half-reales follow the same pattern as the previous half-reales, but are easily distinguished by the monogram CAROLVS. Within the C is a small figure 8 or a letter S, Pl. III, No. 10.

PHILIP V

Philip V, born at Versailles, December 19, 1683, was the first of the Spanish-Bourbon dynasty. As Charles II died without issue, by his last will the kingdom was left to Philip, Duke of Anjou. As the Archduke Charles of Austria stood equally near the Spanish succession, the religious-political balance of Europe was disturbed by the twelve year strife known as the Wars of the Spanish Succession.

Philip V reigned twice. The first reign extended from 1700 to January 10, 1724, at which time he abdicated in favor of his oldest son, but the untimely death of Louis I, which occurred on August 31, 1724, brought Philip back to the throne. The second reign extended until his death, on July 9, 1746. Philip's fourth son ascended the throne as Ferdinand VI.

Philip V married twice. By his first wife, Marie Louise of Savoy, Philip had four sons, two of whom reigned as Louis I and Ferdinand VI. Marie Louise died February 14, 1714, and on December 24th of the same year, Philip married Elizabeth Farnese, by whom he had seven children, one of whom, Charles III, succeeded Ferdinand VI by right of primogeniture.

Assayers' initials on the coins of the first reign:

Year	Gold Escudos				Silver Reales				
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
1700									
1701									
1702					L				
1703									x
1704									
1705									x
1706									
1707									
1708									
1709					J				
1710									
1711					J				J
1712	J								
1713					J				
1714	J	J	J	J	J			J	J
1715					J	J	J	J	J
1716						J			J
1717	J				J				J
1718	J				J		J	J	J
1719									J
1720	J				J				J
1721					J	J		J	J
1722							J		J
1723			J		J				J
1724								J	J

Philip's first reign ended on January 10, 1724, when he abdicated in favor of his son, Louis I.

SECOND REIGN (1724-1746)

Louis I died August 31, 1724, and his father, Philip V, came back to the throne of Spain and ruled until his death, July 9, 1746.

Assayers' initials:

Year	Gold Escudos				Silver Reales				
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
1725							R		D
1726									D
1727					D				D
1728									D
1729							R	F	D
1730	F				R-G	R	G-F	F	D-G
1731	F		F			MF	MF	F	F

During 1732 the gold coinage of the Mexico City mint was changed to the portrait, bust, or head type. From 1732 to 1772, the silver coinage was of the two world, pillar, or columnar type. While it is claimed that the cob type of coinage continued being struck until 1743, (Herrera's *El Duro*, p. 17) the coinage issued by the Mexico City mint from 1732 on, was of the circular type, with a comparatively few specimens of the clipped variety struck up to and including 1734 only.

Assayers' initials on the circular coinage.

Year	Gold Escudos				Silver Reales				
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
1732	F	F	F	F	F-MF and without	F-MF and without	F	F	F
1733	F	x	x	x	F-MF	F	F	MF	F-MF
1734	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF
1735	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF
1736	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF
1737	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF
1738	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF
1739	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF
1740	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF
1741	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF
1742	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1743	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1744	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1745	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1746	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1747	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M

From 1742 to 1772 a single initial represents the assayer's mark on the two, one and one-half real coins. It is found in the marginal inscription of the pillar side, to the right of the date.

Occasionally one finds on the silver coins of smaller denominations the initial R to the left of the shield. This stands for real or reales, Pl. V, 9. This has been noted on two-reales coins of 1743, 1755 and 1761, also on the one-real coins of 1757 and 1762.

Because of the slowness of communication between Europe and New Spain, the Mexico City mint issued Philip V coins during 1747, a year after the king's death.

"COB" GOLD COINAGE

The cobs of Philip V are similar to those of Charles II, differing only in the name of the king and in the tressure surrounding the solid Jerusalem cross on the reverse, which, in the gold coinage of Philip V, consists of four lobes. The eight-escudos of 1720, illustrated on Pl. IV, 2, was listed under number 368, in the New-comer collection, sold by Morgenthau, on February 12, 13, 1935. Medina in his *Monedas Hispano-Americanas*, p. 78, No. 32, illustrates and describes a four-escudos piece of 1732. Another eight-escudos coin, assayer's initial J, no date or marginal inscription visible, was sold at the Glendining sale, March 12, 1936, in London, No. 233. Still another eight-escudos coin of Philip V, carrying the assayer's initial M, was found; unfortunately, the piece was so clipped, that if it once bore the year of coinage, it had been chopped away; from the similarity in design to those of Charles II, it is believed that this specimen must have been struck around 1700, Pl. IV, 3.

An eight-escudo piece dated 1712, almost round, patterned after those of Charles II, was also studied. The mint mark Mxo is found on the left of the shield and the letters are arranged perpendicularly. On the reverse, is a crosslet cross rather than a cross potent as on the gold of Charles, or the later gold of Philip. The tressure around the cross is alternately square and semi-circular. All the coins of Philip, both gold and silver, have the Bourbon escutcheon superimposed on the shield, Pl. IV, 1.

It is believed that the gold cob coinage of New Spain ended about 1734, and was superseded by the perfectly circular coins bearing the portrait of the reigning monarch, the minting of which began in 1732. (See Fonrobert, No. 6281, p. 571, for illustration and description of a four-escudos coin, dated 1732, with the Mexico City mint mark, and the assayer's initial F.)

Previous to 1732, there were a number of perfectly circular gold coins struck by the Mexico City mint. Vidal Quadras y Ramón, Vol. III, p. 31, Nos. 9810, 9813, Pl. 61, 62, describes and illustrates two 1714 circular specimens of eight and four-escudos respectively.

The author has not seen cob coins of two or one-escudos denominations.

PORTRAIT GOLD COINAGE OF PHILIP V

Coins bearing the likeness of the reigning monarch were first struck in Mexico City in 1732. They were of eight, four, two and one escudos denominations, and all have the head facing right. The gold coins minted from 1732 to 1747 had on the obverse the armored and peruked bust of Philip V, and around the margin the inscription * PHILIP . V . D . G . HISPAN . ET . IND . REX * The date appears in exergue. The reverse of the eight escudos coin has in the center of the field, the complete Spanish coat of arms with the Bourbon arms superimposed, all surmounted by a crown. On the left of the shield, placed vertically, reading from above

downward are the assayers' initials MF between rosettes. On the coins of 1732 and 1733, the mint mark appears on the margin and the assayer's initial F on the left of the shield. Some *onzas* of 1732 do not have the assayers' initials. To the right of the shield is the value in Arabic numerals placed between rosettes. The collar of the Golden Fleece surrounds the whole. Around the margin beginning on the lower left quadrant, is the inscription INITIUM SAPIENTIAE TIMOR DOMINI (the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom). Below, the Mexico City mint mark, placed between rosettes, appears twice, to the right and left of the fleece, Pl. IV, 4. The edge has either transverse or twisted cord-like milling.

The four, two and one escudos coins were of the same design as the eight escudos, except that the coat of arms was that of the houses of Castile and Leon with the Bourbon escutcheon in the center, and was not surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece. The one escudo piece, due to its tiny size, shows only the head and neck of the king instead of the armored bust, Pl. IV, 5, 6, 7.

SILVER COINAGE

The silver coins of Philip V can be easily distinguished from those of the previous kings by the Bourbon escutcheon of three Fleurs de Lis, placed in the center of the shield. Here again, large round pieces, as well as badly clipped cobs, are found. In fact, the earlier cobs of this reign come in the most unusual shapes, Pl. IV, 8-13, Pl. V, 1-2.

From about 1717 to about 1722, two styles of eight-reales pieces were made: the regular cob type and the round, both smaller than any of the previous round coins. The dies were of better workmanship and show a more elaborate tressure around the cross on the reverse, Pl. V, 3.

Some of the half-real pieces minted in New Spain during the first reign of Philip V were dated, and struck on fairly large round planchets.

From 1729 on, the fineness of the silver coins was lowered to eleven dineros or 916.63 thousandths. The coining charges remained the same.

The *real cédula* of July 23, 1730, lowered the purchase price of the mark of silver to sixty-two reales two maravedies, but the coining duties were not altered. (Fausto de Elhúyar, "*Indagaciones Sobre la Amonedación en Nueva España*," p. 16, para. 21.)

On the afternoon of March 29, 1732,¹ the striking of circular coins authorized by royal decree of June 9, 1728, was begun in the Mexico City mint. The Viceroy, Marqués de Casafuerte; Don José Fernández Veitia Linaje, Superintendent of the mint; Don Nicolás Peinado y Valenzuela, the architect in charge of construction of the new mint edifice; also his assistant Alonso García Cortés; and the die

¹ Orozco y Berra asserts it was February 25, 1732, and not March 29, 1732.

sinker of the mint, Francisco Monllor, were present. Nine coins of the new design were struck that day, four of which were of gold and five of silver. Those of gold were of the eight, four, two, and one escudos type while the silver coins were of the eight, four, two, one and one-half reales denominations.¹

During 1732 there were two different dies used to strike the world or pillar type of money. One of them, which in the author's opinion was the first, had on the obverse, in the center of the field, the crowned pillars of Hercules and between them, two hemispheres surmounted by a crown. The whole appears resting upon a wavy semicircular base, symbolic of the ocean separating the two continents. Around the margin: * UTRAQUE VNUM * (both are one) M * 1732 * M.

The reverse presents, in the center of the field, the crowned coat of arms of Castile and Leon with the Bourbon escutcheon superimposed. The marginal inscription reads PHILIP . V . D . G . HISPAN . ET IND . REX *. The value and the assayer's initial do not appear. The specimen illustrated on Pl. V, No. 6, seems to be and weighs the same as a four reales piece and measures thirty-five millimeters in diameter. While the authorities in New Spain were seldom, if ever, consulted on the matter of coinage, it is probable that the die used to strike this piece was a sample die, sent over from Spain as provided by the law of June 6, 1544, in which ample space was provided for the value and assayer's initial or initials to be placed by the mint authorities of New Spain. This they failed to do, and the scarcity of these specimens makes one believe that very few were struck. They could be classified as trial pieces.

What the writer thinks was the second die in use during 1732 differs from the first, in that it has on the left of the coat of arms, the assayer's initial F with a rosette above and below. To the right of the coat of arms is the value in Arabic numerals, also between rosettes. The coin illustrated on Pl. V, 7, is an eight-reales piece and measures thirty-nine millimeters in diameter.

By the end of the year 1732 a large quantity of the new round coin was ready to be placed in circulation, and the viceregal proclamation of December 23, 1732, made known by the town cryer, declared the acceptance of the new coins compulsory.

During 1733 also, there appear to have been two dies used for striking coins of the two world variety: one, differing from the supposedly second die of 1732 in the marginal inscription of the obverse side, which in the lower part reads

¹ From a letter written December 29, 1753, by Don José Fernández Veitia Linaje, who from January 1, 1732, to July 15, 1739, was Superintendent of the Mexico City mint, it is learned that "these first coins were not so perfect as was expected; the lettering was of smaller type, the inscription was abbreviated to read PHS. V. D. G. HISP. ET IND. R. and did not completely encircle the coat of arms; the value appeared on the sides of the shield but not the mint mark nor the initial of the assayers. This omission was corrected by the end of 1735." This letter of the ex-superintendent of the mint was probably written from memory as none of the coins examined bearing the 1732 date conform with the statement. The abbreviated name of Philip did not appear on coins of two, one, and one-half reales denominations until 1743.

M . X * 1733 * M . X; and the other, similar in every respect to the second die used in 1732, except that two assayers' initials appear to the left of the coat of arms. These are vertically placed and from above downward the symbols appear . M F * This seems to have been the last change effected, as the dies used during the subsequent years show no variations until 1747, when Ferdinand VI ascended the throne and coins bearing his name were struck in the Mexico City mint, Pl. VI.

A new system was established in 1733. Its purpose was to place the operation of the colonial mints directly under the royal treasury; to better the quality of the product by the installation of more modern machinery; to create new tariffs for the purchase of gold and silver bullion at the new ratio of one to sixteen; and to pay to introductors of bullion for coining, eight pesos two maravedies per mark of silver of eleven dineros fineness, and one hundred and twenty-eight pesos thirty-two maravedies for the gold mark of twenty-two karats. (*Elhúyar, Indagaciones Sobre la Amonedación en Nueva España*, Madrid 1818 p. 29, para. 42.)

The coins of the two world variety were intended to replace the previous ones, most of which were clipped and polygonal in form, with the coat of arms on one side and the Jerusalem cross on the other. Apparently there was not a sufficient supply of the new dies to meet the demand, and the coining of the *macuquina*[®] type continued until the latter half of 1734.

During 1733 and 1734, eight and four-reales coins seem to have been struck with the circular die on irregularly clipped planchets. Pl. V, 4, 5.

Cast eight and four-reales pieces, dated 1733 or 1734, are also found. For a discussion of these, the reader is referred to page 78.

The people of New Spain thought that with the advent of the new circular coin, the polygonal or *cob* type of money was to cease being legal tender. This erroneous belief hindered the circulation of the cobs, until their legality was reiterated by viceregal edict of April 10, 1749.

From 1732 on the design on the coins of smaller denominations follows closely that of the eight-reales pieces.

Around the edge, the two world or columnar coins have a heavily impressed, elaborate, wreath-like pattern.

Although the death of Philip V occurred on July 9, 1746, the dies for the new monarch did not arrive in New Spain until 1747. By that time the Mexico City mint had struck a number of coins of all denominations, dated 1747, and bearing the name of Philip V.

[®] The word *macuquina* is derived from the Arabic *mahcuc* meaning recognized and proven.

COINAGE FOR PHILIP V

	Gold	Silver	Total
1701.....	200,000.00	4.019,093.81¼	4.219,093.81¼
1702.....	200,000.00	5.022,650.12½	5.222,650.12½
1703.....	200,000.00	6.076,254.18¾	6.276,254.18¾
1704.....	200,000.00	5.827,027.43¾	6.027,027.43¾
1705.....	200,000.00	4.747,175.89½	4.947,175.89½
1706.....	200,000.00	6.172,037.66	6.372,037.66
1707.....	200,000.00	5.735,029.30	5.935,029.30
1708.....	200,000.00	5.737,610.23	5.937,610.23
1709.....	200,000.00	5.214,143.18¾	5.414,143.18¾
1710.....	200,000.00	6.710,587.83¾	6.910,587.83¾
1711.....	200,000.00	5.666,085.68¾	5.866,085.68¾
1712.....	200,000.00	6.663,425.44¾	6.863,425.44¾
1713.....	200,000.00	6.487,872.15¾	6.687,872.15¾
1714.....	200,000.00	6.220,822.87½	6.420,822.87½
1715.....	200,000.00	6.368,918.37½	6.568,918.37½
1716.....	200,000.00	6.527,728.35	6.727,728.35
1717.....	200,000.00	6.750,734.78¼	6.950,734.78¼
1718.....	200,000.00	7.173,590.40	7.373,590.40
1719.....	200,000.00	7.258,706.90	7.458,706.90
1720.....	200,000.00	7.874,342.56½	8.074,342.56½
1721.....	200,000.00	9.460,734.81¼	9.660,734.81¼
1722.....	200,000.00	8.823,932.90	9.023,932.90
1723.....	200,000.00	8.107,348.47	8.307,348.47
1724.....	200,000.00	7.872,822.60	8.072,822.60
1725.....	200,000.00	7.369,815.84	7.569,815.84
1726.....	200,000.00	8.466,146.30	8.666,146.30
1727.....	200,000.00	8.133,088.85	8.333,088.85
1728.....	200,000.00	9.228,545.47	9.428,545.47
1729.....	200,000.00	8.814,970.18¾	9.014,970.18¾
1730.....	200,000.00	9.745,870.50	9.945,870.50
1731.....	200,000.00	8.439,871.00	8.639,871.00
1732.....	200,000.00	8.726,465.50	8.926,465.50
1733.....	151,702.00	10.024,193.00	10.175,895.00
1734.....	385,878.00	8.522,782.18¾	8.908,660.18¾
1735.....	422,576.00	6.937,259.81¼	7.359,835.81¼
1736.....	787,556.00	11.033,511.62½	11.821,067.62½
1737.....	313,870.00	8.209,685.31¼	8.523,555.31¼
1738.....	468,802.00	9,502,205.50	9,971,007.50
1739.....	311,148.00	8.694,108.18½	9.005,256.18½
1740.....	316,770.00	9.589,268.31¼	9.906,038.31¼
1741.....	606,264.00	8.655,415.06¾	9.261,679.06¾

	Gold	Silver	Total
1742.....	625,836.00	8.235,390.43¾	8.861,226.43¾
1743.....	804,846.00	8.636,013.18¾	9.440,859.18¾
1744.....	819,380.00	10.303,735.31¾	11.123,115.31¾
1745.....	509,818.00	10.428,354.68¾	10.938,172.68¾
1746.....	428,356.00	11.524,179.75	11.952,535.75
	<u>13.352,802.00</u>	<u>355.739,552.02¾</u>	<u>369.092,354.02¾</u>

LOUIS I

Louis I was the first son of Philip V by his first marriage. Louis became king of Spain and its dominions upon the abdication of his father on January 10, 1724, but his reign was a short one as Louis passed away August 31st of the same year.

Because of the shortness of his reign, the delay in conveying news to New Spain, and the preparation of new dies, very few coins were struck for Louis I in the Mexico City mint.

The coins of Louis I follow the same general description of the round coins of Philip V. Pl. V, 12-13.

Herrera describes and illustrates an eight reales coin in his book *El Duro*, Vol. 1, p. 220, No. 576, Pl. XIV, No. 9. Coins of this denomination were issued in Mexico during the second half of 1724 and the first of 1725.

Adolph Heiss illustrates a four reales coin struck in Mexico in his *Descripción General de las Monedas Hispano-Cristianas*, Madrid, 1865-67-69. Pl. 51, No. 5.

It has not been possible to find any record of the different denominations that one would suppose were minted in Mexico for this king, and although coins of the two and one-real variety are not referred to, nor illustrated in any of the works consulted, it is the belief of the author that such coins were struck in New Spain. Several half-real coins of 1724 and 1725 have been found.

Assayer's initials

	8 reales	4 reales	Half
1724 — No gold coined in Mexico	D	D	D
1725 — " " " " "	D	D	D

The amounts coined in New Spain during the short period that Louis I was on the throne were not recorded separately. They are, therefore, included in the tabulated yearly coinage of Philip V.

FERDINAND VI

Ferdinand VI was the fourth son of Philip V and María Louisa of Savoy. He married María Bárbara de Braganza, daughter of John V, King of Portugal. On succeeding to power, July 9, 1746, Ferdinand withdrew from European politics and devoted himself to internal reforms of his kingdom. On August 27, 1758, his

consort, María Bárbara, died; the king, whose health had always been delicate, broke down completely and lost his reason. He died at the monastery of Villaviciosa, August 10, 1759. As he left no issue, the crown passed by act of settlement to his half brother, Charles III.

It is interesting to note that during the reign of Ferdinand VI, there do not appear to have been any pieces of eight coined in Spain, and the peninsula was supplied with coins of this denomination by the American mints, chiefly that of Mexico City.

The coat of arms, as it appears on the doubloons of Ferdinand VI, is similar to that of Philip V. On the other denominations of both gold and silver coins, the arms are those of Castile, Leon and Granada only, with the Bourbon escutcheon incorporated.

Year	Gold Escudos				Silver Reales				
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
1747	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1748	MM-MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1749	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1750	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1751	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1752	MF-MM	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1753	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1754	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF-MM	MM	M	M	M
1755	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1756	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1757	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1758	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1759	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1760					MM	MM	M	M	M

GOLD COINAGE OF FERDINAND VI

There were four types of gold coins:

The first, which apparently was coined only during 1747, has on the obverse the armored and peruked bust of the king, whose features are not so full as in the second and third types. The reverse is similar in design and inscription to those of Philip V, Pl. VI, 1-2.

The gold coins of the second type show a smaller, draped portrait of the king with more rotund features than the first type. The inscription around the margin of the obverse side reads: FERDND . VI . D . G . HISPAN . ET . IND . REX . * 1748 *. The reverse presents the same coat of arms as found on the gold coins of Philip

NOTE: The 8 escudos of 1748 and 1752 do not appear with the assayer's initials "MM"

V of the eight escudos denomination, but the assayers' initials have been removed from the left of the shield and placed on the margin. The value, in Arabic numerals, appears on the left of the shield between rosettes, one above and one below the figure; on the right of the shield one finds the letter S (Latin for *escudos*) also between rosettes. The collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece has the Grand Cross suspended below the Fleece. The inscription reads: *NOMINA MAGNA SEQUOR* (I succeed great names). In the center, below, on either side of the Grand Cross appear the mint mark and the assayers' initials, Pl. VI, 3-4.

The third type presents a similar bust, slightly more ornamented. The initial date of mintage is 1753. On the reverse one finds the same arrangement as described for the third type except that the value does not appear anywhere. The initials * M * M * are found on either side of the Fleece, on the margin, Pl. VI, 5-6.

The fourth type, minted from 1757 to 1759, presents on the obverse the heavily armored bust of the monarch, less rotund, with curlier peruke, and the name appears as **FERDIND**. The reverse is the same as in the third type, except that the Grand Cross does not appear suspended below the Golden Fleece, Pl. VI, 7-8. The four, two and one escudos bear the same variations as explained when dealing with similar coins of Philip V, that is, the coat of arms is simplified and is not surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece. In some of the two, and in all the one-escudo coins, only the head and neck, with a draped base, appear, Pl. VI, 6. Some of the one-escudo coins do not have the value shown on either side. (See No. 267 of the March 12, 1936 Glendining sale held in London.) The edge milling varies, being either transverse, wreath or twisted cord-like.

SILVER COINAGE

The silver coinage is the same as the last type of the previous reign. Because of the large number of spurious macuquina coins in circulation, the viceroy, on December 2, 1751, suggested to the crown the gathering and retirement from general circulation of all clipped specimens.^①

Apparently this suggestion remained unheeded until March 18, 1761, when by royal decree the old types of colonial coins were ordered gathered and retired from circulation. This decree was not enforced until April 8, 1772, at which time, by order of Viceroy Bucareli, it was made known in New Spain by the usual town crier method. (*Historia Real de Hacienda*, Vol. I.) A similar order was issued by Charles III, May 29, 1772.

^① In order to avoid difficulties, the government of New Spain had collected from 1732 to 1751, seventeen hundred and seventy-one marks of Peruvian coinage. During December 1751, this was melted and re-coined in the Mexico City mint, and from it \$15,058.94 in coins of New Spain were obtained.

The amounts coined were:

	Gold	Silver	Total
1747.....	370,842.00	12.083,668.31¼	12.454,510.31¼
1748.....	327,582.00	11.644,788.25	11.972,370.25
1749.....	315,756.00	11.898,590.37½	12.214,346.37½
1750.....	476,294.00	13.228,030.25	13.704,324.25
1751.....	255,592.00	12.657,275.25	12.912,867.25
1752.....	267,724.00	13.701,532.87½	13.969,256.87½
1753.....	452,404.00	11.607,974.12½	12.060,378.12½
1754.....	309,974.00	11.608,024.00	11.917,998.00
1755.....	418,696.00	12.606,339.75	13.025,035.75
1756.....	759,796.00	12.336,732.50	13.096,528.50
1757.....	555,486.00	12.550,035.37½	13.105,521.37½
1758.....	173,080.00	12.733,187.25	12.906,267.25
1759.....	450,322.00	13.031,336.62½	13.481,658.62½
	<u>5.133,548.00</u>	<u>161.687,514.93¼</u>	<u>166.821,062.93¼</u>

CHARLES III

Upon the death of Ferdinand VI, which occurred August 10, 1759, Charles III, the second son of Philip V and Elizabeth Farnese, succeeded to the Spanish throne. He was a man of ability and liberal ideas. Under his reign the Jesuits were banished from Spain and its dominions. He was an ally of France in the Seven Years' War, and in 1763 was compelled to cede Florida to England, Louisiana being made over to Spain and France. At the close of the American War of Independence, Florida was restored to Spain. Charles died in Madrid December 14, 1788.

The first silver coins minted in Mexico for this king were struck April 23, 1760, and the first gold coins were minted during the month of September of the same year.

During the reign of Charles III there were two types of silver coins:

- 1—The Pillar, Columnar or Two World variety coined until April 1772.
- 2—The Bust type, the striking of which began April 8, 1772.

ASSAYERS' INITIALS ON THE COLUMNAR TYPE OF COINS

Year	Gold Escudos				Silver Reales				
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
1760	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1761	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1762	MF-MM	x	MF	MF	MM	MM	M	M	M
1763	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MM	M	M	M
1764	MM	MF			MF	MM	M	M	M
1765	MM-MF	MF	MF	MF	MF		M	M	M
1766	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1767	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1768	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1769	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1770	x		MF	MF	MF-FM	MF		M	M-F
1771				MF	FM		F	x	F
1772	?								

By secret order of March 18, 1771, the fineness of the silver coins was lowered from eleven dineros (916.66) to ten dineros twenty granos (902.66 thousandths fine).

The two world variety was superseded by the BUST type of coins authorized by royal edict of September 19, 1759. The dies were cut in New Spain during 1760, trial pieces were sent to Spain and the royal approval was granted May 13, 1761. For reasons unknown, minting operations using the new type of dies did not begin in New Spain until April 8, 1772. The other Spanish-American mints also began coining the bust type at about the same time.

CHARLES III-ASSAYER'S SUPPLEMENT

Year	Gold Escudos				Silver Reales				
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
1760	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1761	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1762	MM	X	MM	MM	MM	MM	M	M	M
1763	MM	MF	MF	MM	MM-MF	MM	M	M	M
1764	MM	MF	MF	MM	MF	MM	M	M	M
1765	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1766	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M;M	M	
1767	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1768	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1769	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M
1770	MF		MF	MF	MF-FM	MF	M	M	M-F
1771	MF	MF	MF	MF	FM	MF	F	F	F

ASSAYERS' INITIALS ON THE BUST TYPE OF COINAGE

Year	Gold Escudos				Silver Reales				
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
1772	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM-WJ	FM	FM	FM	FM
1773	FM	FM	FM	FM-MF	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
1774	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
1775	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
1776	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
1777	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
1778		FF	FF		FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
1779	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
1780	FF-JJ	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
1781	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
1782	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
1783	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
1784	FM				FM	FF	FF	FF	FM
1785	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
1786	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
1787	WJ	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
1788	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
1789	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM

Apparently only a few coins of the pillar design were struck during the first quarter of 1772, as they are extremely rare. Herrera's *El Duro*, Vol. I, p. 223, No. 625 catalogues one such specimen. An ordinance issued by Charles III on May 29, 1772, stipulated that thenceforth all coinage was to be of the portrait, head, or bust type.

As to the amount coined by the Mexico City mint, nothing can be found before 1690; therefore, previous to that year the annual output cannot be stated with any degree of accuracy. Since 1690 the yearly coinage has been accurately kept.

From 1754 to 1821, one million two hundred and fifty eight thousand seven hundred and forty one marks, four and seven-eighths ounces of old colonial coins were melted and re-minted in Mexico City. The amount collected was made of the following types gathered on the periods given:

Cobs	.....	from 1754 to 1776.....	6,964 marks 1-5/8 ounces.
Pillar	.....	" 1772 " 1776.....	851,285 " 2-4/8 ounces.
Bust	.....	" 1776 " 1821.....	400,492 " 6/8 ounces.

The amounts coined for this reign are as follows:

	Gold	Silver	Total
1760.....	465,702.00	11.975,346.50	12.441,048.50
1761.....	676,580.00	11.789,389.50	12.465,969.50
1762.....	495,036.00	10.118,689.12½	10.613,725.12½
1763.....	861,104.00	11.780,563.00	12.641,667.00
1764.....	553,406.00	9.796,522.00	10.349,928.00
1765.....	788,428.00	11.609,496.50	12.397,924.50
1766.....	524,312.00	11.223,986.93¾	11.748,298.93¾
1767.....	599,214.00	10.455,284.50	11.054,498.50
1768.....	933,352.00	12.326,499.25	13.259,851.25
1769.....	497,770.00	11.985,427.25	12.483,197.25
1770.....	606,494.00	13.980,816.75	14.587,310.75
1771.....	501,266.00	12.852,166.37½	13.353,432.37½
1772.....	1.853,440.00	17.036,345.37½	18.889,785.37½
1773.....	1.232,318.00	19.005,007.25	20.237,325.25
1774.....	728,894.00	12.938,060.12½	13.666,954.12½
1775.....	774,100.00	14.298,093.50	15.072,193.50
1776.....	796,602.00	16.518,935.62½	17.315,537.62½
1777.....	819,214.00	20.705,591.93¾	21.524,805.93¾
1778.....	818,298.00	19.911,460.00	20.729,758.00
1779.....	675,616.00	18.759,841.25	19.435,457.25
1780.....	507,354.00	17.006,909.06¾	17.514,263.06¾
1781.....	625,508.00	19.710,334.81¾	20.335,842.81¾
1782.....	400,102.00	17.180,388.93¾	17.580,490.93¾
1783.....	610,858.00	23.105,799.12½	23.716,657.12½
1784.....	544,942.00	20.492,432.12½	21.037,374.12½
1785.....	572,252.00	18.002,956.87½	18.575,208.87½
1786.....	388,490.00	16.868,614.68¾	17.257,104.68¾
1787.....	605,016.00	15.505,324.93¾	16.110,340.93¾
1788.....	605,464.00	19.540,902.12½	20.146,366.12½
	<u>20.061,132.00</u>	<u>446.681,185.43¾</u>	<u>466.742,317.43¾</u>

GOLD COINAGE OF CHARLES III

The gold coinage of this monarch consists of three main types:

First type. Coins of 1760 and 1761—The obverse presents a young thin face, long pointed nose, neck uncovered, and bust armored and mantled; the legend in large letters CAROLVS . III . D . G . HISPAN . ETIND . REX . 1760. The reverse is similar in every respect to the fourth type of Ferdinand VI. There are two varieties of the obverse; on one, the Golden Fleece is suspended from a ribbon and hangs just below the neck; on the other, the Fleece is suspended from a chain and separates the REX from the date, Pl. VII, 1-2. On the reverse the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece appears only on the *onzas*, Pl. VII, 3.

Second type. Coins of 1762 to 1771. The obverse: the bust is larger and heavily draped. The neck is covered. The *toison d'or* hangs on the breast. The nose is pointed and appears more pronounced because of a receding forehead. The peruke shows individual curls. The lettering of the inscription is smaller and the name is spelled CAROLUS. The upper portion of the head projects into the margin and separates the legend into right and left parts, Pl. VII, 4, 5, 7. The reverse presents four main variations:

1. The shape of the coat of arms is different. The arrangement of the component parts is changed, and the arms of Castile and Leon appear in the center.
2. The crown is placed higher.
3. The mint mark is on the left of the Fleece and the assayers' initials are to the right of it.
4. The legend reads: IN.UTROQ.FELIX.AUSPICE.DEO. (With God's guidance [one is] happy in each [place].)

While apparently the old dies continued in use until at least 1783, about 1763 some of the smaller gold coins began having the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece surrounding the coat of arms, and when this occurred, the full coat of arms appeared.

By secret order issued March 18, 1771, the fineness of the gold coinage was reduced from twenty-two to twenty-one karats, equivalent to .875 fine.

Third type. During 1772 the type was again changed. The obverse shows the portrait of the king, more mature, receding forehead, and prominent rounded nose. The legend around the margin reads: CAROL . III . D . G . HISP . ET . IND . R . and the date, Pl. VII, 6. The reverse differs from the previous type in three particulars:

1. The shape of the coat of arms.
2. The value of the coin (8, 4, 2 or 1) in Arabic numerals is placed to the left of the shield; the capital letter S is on the right.
3. The mint mark is indicated by tiny letters, about a third smaller than the rest of the inscription. At times the mint mark and assayers' initials face inwardly.

SILVER COINAGE

The silver coinage, as already stated, falls into two types. The pillar type, coined until April 1772, is of the same type as that of the previous reigns. Pl. VII, 8-10. The portrait type shows the laureated head of Charles III, facing right, draped

and cuirassed in Roman style; around the margin . CAROLUS . III . DEI GRATIA.; the date appears in exergue. The reverse bears the crowned arms of Spain but in a less ornate shield, between two pillars, each entwined with a ribbon bearing the motto PLUS ULTRA; on the margin, HISPAN . ET IND . REX .; the mint mark; value, and assayers' initials. Pl. VII, 11-14. These pieces are in the usual five denominations. The head type pieces were a trifle larger in diameter, but the eight-reales coins were reduced to the previous size after the second year. The edge, instead of the elaborate floral pattern, now has a design of squares and annulets.

COPPER PATTERNS OF 1769

There were two specimens struck in copper, one twenty-eight millimeters in diameter and the other twenty-one. They have on one side the Spanish Coat of Arms including those of Castilla, Leon and Granada with the Bourbon escutcheon incorporated. On the left of the shield is the symbol "G" and on the right, either "1" or "1/2," probably meant to indicate the name of the designer and the prospective valuation. The marginal inscription reads CAROLVS . III . INDIAR . REX . On the other side, in the center of the field, there is what appears to be a dove of peace in full flight, dropping or spreading a few grains or seeds over an orb and two hemispheres, which may be interpreted as propitious soil. Around the margin SINE ME REGNA FATISCUNT . M . 1769 . M . The motto "without me kingdoms totter" clearly supports the author's interpretation which differs from that given by Medina, *Monedas Obsidionales*, p. 114, No. 169, and by Vidal Quadras y Ramón, *Catálogo de Monedas y Medallas*, Vol. III, p. 74, Nos. 10302-10303; both of whom claim the bird is an eagle standing upon a cactus plant. Both investigators attribute the piece to Mexico, and justly so for the mark "M" is unmistakably that of the mint there, but their assumption that the symbol "G" stands for *grano*, a non-existent Mexican monetary unit, is to be questioned. The author believes that these pieces, always found in an uncirculated condition, very few in number, although occasionally holed, were the patterns required of the student or apprentice engravers found in all mints to show their superiors the proficiency attained by the individual in the art of engraving. Pl. VII, 15.

Because of the date, an alternative could be suggested. On December 19, 1769, order was issued to send from Mexico City to the Philippines, six thousand pesos in *silver* quartillas. While this order could not have reached Mexico until 1770, and the metal to be used was stipulated, the order might have been changed and a base metal substituted to be more in line with the alloy of pinch-beck and tin used in the rectangular *barillas*.*

According to an article written by Mr. Gilberto S. Perez of the Philippines, each *barilla* was worth one grano, and as by viceregal edict issued in Mexico July 15.

* *Barilla* is the name given by the Philippine natives to base metal or copper coins.

1536, the value of a tomin de tepuzque having twelve grains was fixed at one silver real, each grano then becomes 1/12th of a real or approximately one cent. As the specimens under discussion are of presumably one-half, and one grano valuation, their true worth would be one-half cent and one cent respectively.

CHARLES IV

Charles IV, the son and successor of Charles III, was born in Naples, November 12, 1748, and married his cousin María Luisa of Parma in 1765. His predecessor, Charles III, died December 14, 1788, but due to the slow means of transportation of the period, news of his demise did not reach Mexico City until months later and public mourning was decreed in New Spain March 17, 1789. By this time, between one and two million pesos in silver, and not less than fifty thousand pesos in gold, had been coined in the colony.

The Spanish *córtes*, aware of the many difficulties and consequent delays of cutting new dies and transporting them from Madrid to the American mints, issued the royal order of December 24, 1788, which empowered the mint officials of New Spain to continue using the dies bearing the effigy of the deceased king. At the same time instructions were given to add a digit to the Roman numeral on the old dies, thus changing the inscription to read CAROLVS IIII. Coins of this type were struck in Mexico during 1789 and 1790; also, some of the Charles III dies were modified by changing the inscription to read CAROLVS IV, and coins bearing this change are found for the years 1789 and 1790.

On July 20, 1789, the *córtes* ordered that the bust of Charles IV be placed on the coinage of New Spain, but for some unknown reason the compliance of this order did not occur immediately.

The king himself, desirous of having his portrait appear on the coinage of his realm from the time he ascended the throne, ordered on January 8, 1790, the striking of coins dated 1788 and 1789 which were to bear his name and portrait. The author, not having seen or heard of a single specimen that conforms with the given specifications, is unable to state whether this order was complied with.

The coat of arms of Charles IV carries the emblems of Castile, Leon, Granada, and in the center the escutcheon of the Bourbons.

In 1807 Charles made a secret treaty with Napoleon, who in the meanwhile was intriguing with Ferdinand, oldest son of Charles and heir to the Spanish throne. On March 19, 1808, Charles, alarmed by disturbances in Madrid, abdicated in Ferdinand's favor. Almost immediately after, Charles declared that his abdication had not been voluntary, but never regained his lost throne. Eleven years later, Charles died in Italy on the anniversary of his abdication.

Year	Gold escudos				ASSAYERS' INITIALS					
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half	Quarter
1789	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM		
1790	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM ^(2 vars.)	FM ^(2 vars.)	FM	FM	
1791	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	
1792	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	
1793	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	
1794	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	
1795	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	
1796	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	1796 M ^o
1797	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	1797 "
1798	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	1798 "
1799	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	1799 "
1800	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	1800 "
1801	FM-FT				FM-FT	FM	FM-FT	FM-FT	FM-FT	1801 "
1802	FT	FT	FT	FT	FT	FT	FT	FT	FT	1802 "
1803	FT				FT-TH	FT-FM	FT	FT	FT	1803 "
1804	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1804 "
1805	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1805 "
1806	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1806 "
1807	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1807 "
1808	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1808 "

There are a number of *pieces of eight* dated 1870 and 1872 of the Mexico City mint and of Charles IV design, bearing the assayers' initials FM. As to the genuineness of these there is considerable doubt in the author's mind. One fourth real silver pieces without M are found for 1792-1793-1794 but the author believes they were not for Mexico.

GOLD COINAGE OF CHARLES IV

The gold coins for this monarch are of three types.

First type. For the years 1789 and 1790. The obverse, while carrying the legend: CAROL . IIII . D . G . HISP . ET IND . R . followed by the date, has the bust of Charles III. The reverse of the coins of this type is identical with those of the fourth type of Charles III, even to the assayers' initials represented by the letters FM, Pl. VIII, 1.

Second type. Also for the years 1789 and 1790. The reverse and obverse of the coins of this type are the same as those of the first type, with the exception of the name which reads: CAROL . IV .

Third type. From 1791 to 1808. On the obverse side the bust of Charles IV appears heavily draped, and hair in queue. The inscription reads: CAROL . IIII . D . G . HISP . ET IND . R . and the date. On the coins of this type, as in the two

previous, there is a space between the words ET and IND. but no period after ET. The reverse is identical in design and inscriptions to the first type, except that from 1801 to 1808, there are two changes in the assayers' initials. The collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece is found surrounding the coat of arms on the gold coins of all denominations and of all three types. Twisted cord-like milling on edge.

SILVER COINAGE

The silver coinage is of the same style as that of the previous reign, the first two years having the bust of Charles III, as has been mentioned. The portrait chosen is similar to the one on the gold coinage but the habiliments are of the Roman style, arranged somewhat differently than on the coins of his predecessor, Pl. VIII, 3-8.

A new denomination was re-introduced during this reign, the silver quarter real or *cuartilla*. This value had not been minted since the reign of Charles and Johanna. Viceroy Revillagigedo had the town crier announce to the inhabitants of Mexico City, March 3, 1794, the royal decree authorizing the coinage of silver *cuartillas*, but these did not make their appearance until 1796. They show on one side a castle between M and ¼, beneath which is the date. The reverse has simply a crowned lion to left, Pl. VIII, 15. It is thought that pieces carrying neither date nor mint mark were struck for the Philippines.

The tabulated yearly coinage is as follows:

	Gold	Silver	Total
1789.....	535,036.00	20,594,875.75	21,129,911.75
1790.....	628,044.00	17,435,644.62½	18,063,688.62½
1791.....	980,776.00	20,140,937.00	21,121,713.00
1792.....	969,430.00	23,225,611.75	24,195,041.75
1793.....	884,262.00	23,428,680.37½	24,312,942.37½
1794.....	794,160.00	21,216,871.53¾	22,011,031.53¾
1795.....	644,552.00	23,948,929.94¾	24,593,481.94¾
1796.....	1,297,794.00	24,346,833.06¼	25,644,627.06¼
1797.....	1,038,856.00	24,041,182.87½	25,080,038.87½
1798.....	999,608.00	23,004,981.28¾	24,004,589.28¾
1799.....	957,094.00	21,096,031.40¾	22,053,125.40¾
1800.....	787,164.00	17,898,510.87½	18,685,674.87½
1801.....	610,398.00	15,958,044.12½	16,568,442.12½
1802.....	839,122.00	17,959,477.40¾	18,798,599.40¾
1803.....	646,050.00	22,520,856.21¾	23,166,906.21¾
1804.....	959,030.00	26,130,971.03¾	27,090,001.03¾
1805.....	1,359,814.00	25,806,074.40¾	27,165,888.40¾
1806.....	1,352,348.00	23,383,672.75	24,736,020.75
1807.....	1,512,266.00	20,703,984.90¾	22,216,250.90¾
1808.....	1,182,516.00	20,502,433.90¾	21,684,949.90¾
	<u>18,978,320.00</u>	<u>433,344,605.22¼</u>	<u>452,322,925.22¼</u>

FERDINAND VII

Ferdinand VII was King of Spain from 1808 to 1833, but as Mexico obtained its independence from Spain September 27, 1821, his reign will only be considered as extending from 1808 to 1821. Ferdinand VII, son of Charles IV, was born on October 14, 1784. In 1806, after the death of his first wife Marie Antoinette Therese of Naples, Ferdinand wrote to Napoleon asking for the hand of one of the Emperor's nieces. Spanish spies discovered the correspondence and the Prince was arrested by order of his father, Charles IV. These events were followed by the French invasion of Spain, which so inflamed the people against Charles that on March 19, 1808, the king was compelled to abdicate in favor of Ferdinand. On May 1, 1808, the new king repaired to Bayonne for a conference with Napoleon and his own father, Charles IV. After repeated negotiations and threats, Ferdinand signed a document renouncing the throne, and another by which he ceded to Napoleon all his rights of succession to the Spanish monarchy. Ferdinand remained in France for the next six years. In 1813, after Wellington's victorious campaigns in the Peninsula, Napoleon offered to reinstate Ferdinand on the Spanish throne, and on May 12, 1814, Ferdinand returned to Madrid. His reign was a disastrous one; Spain lost all of its possessions in North and South America, and passed through a multitude of vicissitudes and misfortunes.

While Ferdinand was held a prisoner of the French, Joseph Napoleon was placed at the head of the Spanish government, but the American Colonies refused to recognize the French usurper. As a result, no coins or medals were struck in New Spain for him.

The first coins struck in Mexico City for Ferdinand VII, were made August 12, 1808, while the Marquis of San Román was superintendent.

On September 16, 1810, a revolutionary movement broke out in New Spain, which the government was unable to suppress. It ended on September 27, 1821, with the independence of the colony. During this period the number of mints in New Spain was increased from one to seven and numerous provisional coins were issued by both royalists and insurgents. (See War of Independence period.)

During 1814 copper coinage was again attempted by the government of New Spain, the first since 1551 or 1552. Coining of silver and gold, using Ferdinand VII dies, continued in Mexico until 1823.

The crowned coat of arms appearing on the coinage of Ferdinand VII, is the same as that found on the gold and silver issues of Charles IV.

ASSAYERS' INITIALS

Year	Gold escudos					Silver reales					
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half	Quarter
1808	TH	TH	TH	TH		TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1808
1809	HJ	HJ	HJ	HJ		TH-HJ	HJ	TH	TH	TH	1809
1810	HJ	HJ	HJ	HJ		HJ	HJ-TH	HJ-TH	HJ-TH	TH-HJ	1810
1811	HJ-JJ	HJ	HJ	HJ		HJ	HJ	HJ	HJ	HJ	1811
1812	JJ	HJ		HJ		JJ	HJ	HJ	HJ	HJ	1812
1813	JJ					JJ-HJ	JJ	JJ-TH	JJ	JJ-TH	1813
1814	JJ	x	x	x	HJ-JJ	JJ-HJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	1814
1815	JJ-HJ	JJ	JJ	JJ-HJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	1815
1816	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ-HJ	JJ	1816
1817	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	
1818	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	
1819	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	
1820	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	
1821	JJ					JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	

There is a half-real coin of Charles IV, dated 1816 which is evidently an error.

Sam Smith, Jr. asserts that the assayers' initials "TH" appeared on coins of 1811. (American Journal of Numismatics, April 1895, page 111.)

J. W. Bastow, writing in the same journal, July 1895, page 21, maintains that the initials "TH" appeared on coins as late as 1813.

GOLD COINS OF FERDINAND VII

At the time this monarch ascended the throne of Spain, there was only one mint in New Spain, that of Mexico City, but as an armed revolutionary movement started on September 16, 1810, it became necessary to establish provisional mints in different mining centers of what is now Mexico. While Nueva Galicia was not a mining center, its capital, Guadalajara, was an important city far removed from the City of Mexico, and its very importance demanded the establishment of a mint there; of all the royalist provisional mints, this was the only one permitted to coin gold. The provisional mints will be taken up in detail in the next section.

The gold coins of Ferdinand VII, minted in Mexico City, were of two types.

First type. From 1808 to 1813. The obverse has a large, draped bust of Ferdinand in the center of the field, with hair in queue. The inscription reads: FERDIN . VII . D . G . HISP . ET IND . R . followed by the date. The reverse is identical to that of the coins of the previous monarch, except the initials of the assayers. Pl. VIII, 9.

Second type. From 1814 to 1821. The portrait has the laureated head of Ferdinand and only a small portion of the nude bust showing.*

The remainder of the obverse, as well as the reverse side, is similar to the first type with only the assayers' initials varying. The collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece is found surrounding the coat of arms in the coins of all denominations. Twisted cord-like milling around edge.

During the reign of Ferdinand VII, gold coins of one-half escudo were struck by the Mexico City mint during the years 1814 to 1821. The obverse of this coin has the portrait of the king similar to that of the second type. Around the margin is the inscription: FERD . VII . D . G . HISP . ET IND . R . followed by the date. The reverse shows the arms of Castile and Leon with the Bourbon escutcheon in the center, within an oval shield. The whole is topped by a crown, from the sides of which the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece extends downward, completely enveloping the coat of arms. Between the collar and the margin are: on the left, the mint mark, and on the right, the assayers' initials. The value does not appear.

Although Mexico obtained its independence from Spain on September 27, 1821, the Mexican mints continued striking coins of the Ferdinand VII design up to 1823; and while the provisional government decreed on November 22, 1821, that no changes were to be made in the type or fineness and least of all in the date, many of the coins issued carry the year in which each was actually minted.

SILVER COINS OF FERDINAND VII

The silver coinage of the Mexico City mint is of two main types. The first is found struck from 1808 through 1811, on the eight-reales; through 1812, on the four-reales; through 1811, on the two-reales; through 1813, on the one-real, and through 1814, on the half-real. Pl. VIII, 10-12. This type shows Ferdinand with cuirass and toga in the style of the previous rulers, while on the second type the monarch appears somewhat older and draped in the toga only. Pl. VIII, 13-14. The reverses of both types are alike and similar to that of the previous coinage. The quarter-real pieces continued of the same type as that of the previous reign. Pl. VIII, 16.

COPPER COINAGE

Commercial transactions involving amounts under one-fourth of a real (Spanish *cuartilla*) were effected by means of tokens, which under the names of *tlacos* (native word for one-eighth of a real); *señales* (Spanish word meaning signs, equivalent to the English I.O.U.'s); and *pilón* (pl. *pilones*, indicative of one-sixteenth of a real value) were issued by practically all merchants, mining companies and *haciendas*. The issuance of these tokens, which properly ought to be called private coin-

* The nude bust of the king, suggested during the secret session of May 16, 1811, was approved June 2nd of the same year. *Documentos para la Historia*, Hernández y Dávalos, Vol. V, p. 499.

age, began about the middle of the eighteenth century, proved to be a regular nuisance to the government as well as to the populace. As some of the issuers were not reliable business firms, the Viceroy, Don Félix María Calleja, in 1814, ordered the immediate retirement from the market of all the *tlacos*, *señales* and *pilones*. In order to facilitate transactions under one-fourth of a *real*, which since 1796 had been the smallest coin issued by the royal mint at Mexico City, the Viceroy, by edict of August 23, 1814, ordered the minting of copper pieces in two, one, and one-half cuartos (a Spanish monetary unit having reference to copper coins, which according to the law of September 8, 1728, were to be worth one-twentieth of a silver *real*, but this valuation was only retained until 1737 when the cuartos again resumed their former value of sixteen copper fourths for each silver *real*.) But Viceroy Félix María Calleja stipulated in his edict that the two-fourths was to be equivalent to a *cuartilla*; the one-fourth to a *tlaco*; and the one-eighth to a *pilón*. The description of these pieces is as follows:

Two script F's facing each other and interlaced, with VII in center; crown above; at left, *M*; at right, the value $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{8}$. Around FERDIN.VII. D.G.HISP. REX.; below, date.

Reverse: Floral cross; within an oval in the center, three Fleurs de Lis; in cantons, castles and lions; the whole within a closed wreath. Pl. VIII, 17-19.

Copper was struck during four years, as given in the following table, and where marked with an x it indicates that coins of that value were issued during that year:

	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}$
1814	x	x	x
1815	x	x	x
1816	x	x	
1821	x		

Considerable opposition was offered to the circulation of these new monetary units, but with the enactment of the law of December 20, 1814, the objections vanished and the new coins circulated freely. The above mentioned law regulated their circulation and acceptance by fixing the maximum amount that could either be paid or received in any one transaction; it also stipulated the penalties which were to be imposed upon those not complying.

The actual cost of coining copper pieces for the years 1814 and 1815 only, was \$92,711.00. This was reported by the Superintendent of the mint, Don Rafaél Lardizábal, in a letter dated March 14, 1816.

The amounts coined during Ferdinand's reign were:

	Gold	Silver	Copper	Total
1809.....	1,464,818.00	24,708,164.31¼	.....	26,172,982.31¼
1810.....	1,095,504.00	17,950,684.43¾	.....	19,046,188.43¾
1811.....	1,085,364.00	8,956,432.34¾	.....	10,041,796.34¾
1812.....	381,646.00	4,027,620.09¾	.....	4,409,266.09¾
1813.....	.....	6,133,983.06¾	.....	6,133,983.06¾
1814.....	618,069.00	6,902,481.56¾	103,555.00	7,624,105.56¾
1815.....	486,464.00	6,454,799.62½	101,356.62½	7,042,620.25
1816.....	960,393.00	8,315,616.03¾	125,281.75	9,401,290.78¾
1817.....	854,942.00	7,994,951.00	.....	8,849,893.00
1818.....	533,921.00	10,852,367.93¾	.....	11,386,288.93¾
1819.....	539,377.00	11,491,138.62½	.....	12,030,515.62½
1820.....	509,076.00	9,897,078.12½	.....	10,406,154.12½
1821.....	303,504.00	5,600,022.43¾	12,700.00	5,916,226.43¾
	<u>8,833,078.00</u>	<u>129,285,339.58¾</u>	<u>342,893.37½</u>	<u>138,461,310.96¾</u>

ONE AND TWO "CUARTOS" COPPER PIECES

These pieces, presumably coins, listed in the J. W. Scott Co. Ltd. catalogue No. 2 of *The Copper Coins of the World*, 1913 edition, pp. 49 and 50, as being for Mexico, are undoubtedly not governmental coins, but either private tokens or possibly the issue of one of the Central American countries. Medina in his *Monedas Obsidionales*, pp. 224-225, believes they can be assigned to the Nuevo Reino de Granada. They are crudely made and do not compare favorably with the copper coins struck in Mexico during the reign of Ferdinand VII. The one-fourth (*cuarto* or *quartino*) measures 16 to 17 millimeters in diameter and has the crowned Spanish lion on one side and the value "¼" on the other. The half or *dos cuartos* measures 21 millimeters in diameter, presents the crowned Spanish coat of arms on one side and the value "2/4" on the other. Neither carries a date nor a symbol by which designation could be made.

COINAGE OF NEW SPAIN

Recapitulation of the amounts coined by the royalist government of New Spain from 1536 to 1821.

Charles and Johanna (1536-1556).....	\$ 38.400,000.00
Philip II (1556-1598).....	" 122.000,000.00
Philip III (1598-1621).....	" 74.300,000.00
Philip IV (1621-1665).....	" 161.500,000.00
Charles II (1665-1700).....	" 145.691,486.19
Philip V (1700-1746).....	" 369.092,354.03
Ferdinand VI (1746-1759).....	" 166.821,062.94
Charles III (1759-1788).....	" 466.742,317.44
Charles IV (1788-1808).....	" 452.322,925.22
Ferdinand VII (1808-1821).....	" 169.057,648.99 ^①
Total.....	<u>\$2.165,927,794.81</u>

Recapitulation by types of the amounts coined in New Spain from 1536 to 1821.^②

	Gold	Silver	Copper	Total
<i>Macuquina type</i>				
(1536-1732).....	8.741,024.00	764.793,911.85	200,000.00	773.734,935.85
<i>Pillar type</i>				
(1733-1771).....	19.589,014.00	431.877,805.00	.....	451.466,819.00
<i>Portrait type</i>				
(1772-1821).....	40.431,447.00	899.895,327.64	399,265.32	940.726,039.96
	<u>68.761,485.00</u>	<u>2,096,567,044.49</u>	<u>599,265.32</u>	<u>2.165,927,794.81</u>

^① Included in this figure is \$30.596,338.02 issued by the royalist provisional mints from 1810 to 1821.

^② Official records give the following totals:

Gold	\$ 68.778,411.00
Silver	2,082.260,657.44
Copper	542,893.37
Total	<u>\$2,151.581,961.81</u>

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES OF DOUBTFUL CLASSIFICATION

THE OCTAGONAL PIECES OF 1611

Orozco y Berra in his *Diccionario Universal de Historia y Geografía*, Mexico, 1854, Vol. V, pp. 915-16-17, illustrates and describes an octagonal piece, found when breaking ground in the construction of an edifice on Santa Teresa Street in Mexico City. The piece was in the collection of Count de la Cortina, and differed from the ones commonly seen at present in that the reverse, instead of being plain, had an equilateral cross similar to the one that appears on the obverse. In the opinion of Mr. Berra, an authority on Mexican numismatics, this piece is a silver weight or token used in lieu of money in the mining district of Zacatecas, where it was known as *resgate*. In support of his belief, Mr. Orozco y Berra transcribes two lengthy communications dated the fourth and the eleventh of August, 1604, respectively. In the first, reference is made to the insufficient amounts of coined colonial currency and also to the *resgate* medium of exchange. No description is given in either of these letters of the *resgate* silver pieces, except that in the letter of August 4, 1604, a plea is made "that the *resgate* pieces be allowed to continue circulating as media of exchange, provided they are marked with the letter R, as previously ordered, or that the crown order the establishment of a mint in the city of Zacatecas, as the miners had to wait a long time for their money because their ores had to be sent to Mexico City for coining." From this communication one gathers that the Colonial government had issued orders suspending the circulation of this medium of exchange.

Campaner y Fuertes, in his *Memorial Numismático Español*, Vol. II, p. 215, illustration No. 2, Pl. VIII, refers to a specimen belonging to Don Hipólito Pérez Varela of Cuba, and attributed to Mexico.

Adolfo Herrera, in *El Duro*, Vol. I, Madrid, 1914, pp. 215-16, Pl. XIII, No. 7, describes the specimen in the Mazarredo collection, also attributed to Mexico.

Medina in his *Monedas Obsidionales*, Santiago de Chile, 1919, p. 114, tells of having seen, while in London, one such piece in the cabinet of Mr. A. H. Baldwin, which, besides having a cross on the reverse, also had a fragment of the letter S after the word REI.

The conclusion reached by the writer is that these octagonal pieces (Pl. IX, 1-2), some of which are of lead while others are of silver, are not the *resgate* pieces referred to in the communications transcribed by Orozco y Berra because:

1. The letter R does not appear on any of the specimens under discussion;
2. The order discontinuing their circulation was issued previous to 1604. Such order does not appear to have been rescinded;

3. Pieces bearing any other date, either before or after 1611 are not found;
4. The presence of *M*, the mark of the Mexico City mint, does not necessarily mean that such pieces were minted in the city of Mexico, first, because the pieces are cast; secondly, because if the government declared the illegality of such media, one naturally assumes that they were not issued by any branch of it.

Similar, but somewhat smaller, pieces are also found. The American Numismatic Society has a specimen about one-half the size of the ones here described, Pl. IX, 1.

TRIANGULAR PIECES

Triangular specimens, some made of silver and others of lead, with many variations, are catalogued from time to time as being coins of Mexico, Pl. IX, 3.

Herrera's *El Duro* on p. 196, Pl. X, No. 5, describes an equilateral triangular piece, the sides of which measure 47 millimeters. Its height is greater than the average, measuring 42 millimeters, and the angles are sharper. The cross on one side and the crowned monogram (AM) on the other, while not identical with, are similar to all other specimens seen. The inscription on the left of the cross reads: AD which presumably stands for *Anno Domini*: on the right of the cross the following symbols appear, 17d0, which Herrera interprets as indicative of 1760. On the other side, just below the monogram the following inscription appears: 8 R^c DO which was also interpreted by Herrera to mean: eight reales Durango.

The pieces generally seen are not so high in relation to their breadth, and besides the cross have AD 1708; in exergue, UN PESO; and a crowned AM in monogram on the other side. These pieces are usually poorly cast in silver or lead. The sizes and proportions vary considerably.

Orozco y Berra, Medina, and Vidal Quadras y Ramón remain silent about these queer, so-called María or Ave María pesos. In the opinion of the writer, these oddities are not coins, and giving to the word *peso* its proper and only acceptable meaning which is *weight*, one could surmise that such pieces, if authentic, were units of weight used in mining districts.

In attempting to classify these triangular oddities one must take in consideration that about 1700 not a single monetary unit of Mexico, then New Spain, was given the name of peso; it was not until the ephemeral Maximilian empire, 1864 to 1867, that the word peso made its appearance on the coinage of the country.

As to why the Salbach specimen was marked 8 Rs. the author could not say, but on the whole, lack of authoritative information regarding these crudely cast pieces should make every collector look upon them with suspicion.

CAST PIECES OF 1733 AND 1734

Numerous cast pieces of the *macuquina* type of coinage for Philip V dated 1733 and 1734 are found in numismatic markets. They are usually almost square, nearly always holed and present the flattened appearance of any cast piece. Otherwise, these so-called coins are fair reproductions of the originals, Pl. IX, 4.

While the author has no positive information as to the origin of these pieces, it is his belief that they are not genuine because:

1. The documentary evidence studied, which for the period involved is quite complete, does not disclose that it had become necessary to resort to the casting of coins.
2. There was no shortage of dies during 1733 and 1734 and at least four sets were available during that time, namely:
 - a. The *macuquina* type of dies, which as it was stated, continued in use until 1734.
 - b. The 1732 dies without the value and assayers' initials.
 - c. The 1733 dies in which the mint mark appears as "M.X." on either side of the date.
 - d. The 1734 dies of the columnar type used until 1772.
3. There certainly was not a breakdown in the mint machinery because the amount coined during 1733 and 1734 was two million *pesos* greater than that of the previous two years.
4. The casting process, with all the facilities of the present time, is a more laborious and expensive undertaking than the striking process from dies. Therefore, if it is more difficult, it is also less rapid, and if the machinery and the dies were there, then, why revert to the casting process?
5. The medals cast in New Spain for Philip V and Louis I, in places other than Mexico City, readily show the crudeness of the casting process then in use, while the cast pieces here referred to are perfect and smooth reproductions, which denounce them as being of modern manufacture.

CONCLUSION: It is the belief of the writer that the only reason for the existence of cast pieces for the above mentioned years is the high price that the struck originals bring, making it profitable for unscrupulous persons to have cast reproductions made. These pieces have also been cast in gold, with the lettering at sides of shield changed to read 8 E. A gold cast piece of eight escudos, similar to the silver eight reales pieces, was described and illustrated under No. 232 in the March 11th and 12th, 1936, sale of Messrs. Glendining & Co. of London.

THE SO-CALLED AZTEC COINS

A variety of perfectly circular cast silver pieces, without any inscriptions, bearing various fantastic designs, usually lizards, pyramids, and other supposedly Aztec symbols, and carrying sixteenth and seventeenth century dates in Arabic numerals, is being offered to the public, Pl. IX, 5-10.

The original seller always claims that such pieces are Aztec coins. This claim is wholly unwarranted and numismatists should guard themselves against these fakes.

During the last ten years there has been in the State of California a veritable flood of these grotesque pieces. The price asked varies according to the customer and ranges from one to five dollars.

As to the source of these objects, the writer can only state that a prominent California dealer purchased a large number in Mexico City where he was informed that they were made in Guatemala. This information is perhaps hardly more reliable than the statement that these ornamented disks are Aztec coins.

Innovations of this sort are, of course, without historical value and serve only as records of human duplicity and folly.

THE SO-CALLED CORTÉS COINS

Lumps of silver bearing the name of CARLOS V and dated 1526, have appeared in numismatic markets as being the coins struck by the Spanish conqueror. The assertion by one historian that Cortés placed in circulation coins of his own manufacture is perhaps responsible for the existence of these bogus pieces.

These so-called coins of Cortés are irregularly round, about 23 millimeters in diameter and appear to be cast. They have on one side the inscription CARLOS | V | 1526 in three lines. The other side shows two *macanas* crossed (a *macana* is a wooden club or cudgel used by the Aztecs as an implement of war having sharp flint or obsidian points protruding from its sides); above, is a radiated round figure, probably the sun, and below, is what seems to be a tree, the branches of which are devoid of leaves.

The originator of these fakes knew enough history to correlate a few facts. However, he was not a numismatist or he would have used the style of lettering of the period which was predominantly Gothic or Old English. Besides, the specimens offered as the genuine product do not comply with the date or the description given by Herrera*. In addition Charles V was Holy Roman Emperor of Germany, who as Charles I reigned as King of Spain. Cortés was well aware of this, therefore, there seems to be no plausible explanation for the use of the name Carlos V.

* Antonio Herrera, in his work *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales*, Decade III, Book IV, Chapt. VIII, asserts that Cortés caused money to be coined in New Spain during 1522. For verification of this assertion the reader is directed to the declarations made by the witness Bernardino Vázquez de Tapia, who, testifying in the process instituted against Cortés, stated that the conqueror stamped coins with the arms of the King of Spain. No other historian, nor even Cortés himself, mentions this portentous event and more astounding is the fact that the transcription of the questionnaire of Cortés' trial, published in the *Archivo Mexicano. Documentos para la Historia de México*. Mexico, 1852, Vol. I, p. 64, does not have the declaration attributed to the above mentioned witness.

ALTERED, CUT, AND CHOPPED SPANISH COLONIAL COINS

As the merchants of divers nations in their trade with China did not have sufficient cargo for their outward voyage, they carried Spanish-Colonial *pieces of eight*, which were well accepted in the various treaty ports of China.

In the course of time, numerous counterfeits were detected and the wily Oriental began the stamping of each piece with a Chinese character. These "chops" or marks were generally incuse; the early ones are small and fine, while the later ones are larger and coarser.

Thus, the presence of these marks on the coins, be they Hispano-American *pesos*, French *piastres*, American dollars, or coins of nearly every nation, was an assurance to the bearer and receiver alike, that such pieces had been tested, as to standard and weight, by Celestials worthy of confidence.

The source of many spurious eight-reales coins can be attributed to the Chinese; to the aborigines of New Spain; to the Spanish adventurers plying the Pacific Ocean between North America and the Orient; a large number originated in Birmingham, England ^①; not a few in Baltimore ^②, and without doubt some in New York City ^③.

The Chinese themselves reamed out as much silver as they could from the center through a small perforation on the rim of the coin, filled it with base metal, and then carefully plugged the opening with silver. Other painstaking methods were also used to defraud the unsuspecting public. ^④

Most of the counterfeits can be tabulated into five classifications:

1. Pieces made of an alloy of silver and copper or other base metal.
2. A copper sheet veneered on both sides with a thin plate of silver. The soldered plate was passed through a rolling mill until reduced to the required thickness; dollar size disks were then stamped out, struck and provided with an edge.
3. Silver plated disks of tin.
4. Copper cores to which were soldered thinned out obverses and reverses of genuine "pieces of eight."

① "Counterfeit Spanish Piastres issued at Birmingham" by Paul Bordeaux. Spink's Numismatic Circular, Volume XXIII, columns 558-564.

② Letter from the Director of the U. S. Mint of October 27, 1795, The American Journal of Numismatics, July 1892, page 13.

③ An interesting account of the making of Spanish doubloons in New York about 1821 is given in a paper by Mr. Henry Russell Drowne in the Proceedings, American Numismatic and Archeological Society, for 1893, page 41.

④ See article entitled "Some Notes on the Debasement of the Silver Currency in China" by Howland Wood. The Numismatist, March 1905, Volume XVIII, pages 71-73.

5. Authentic coins submitted to strong pressure, then cut to regulation size and re-struck, thus resulting in a thinner specimen with 80 to 100 grains of silver less than legal.

In the West Indies, the necessity for small change brought about the expedient of cutting Spanish-American dollars into pieces of various shapes which received the name of "bits." This practice was not followed in New Spain (Mexico) except in one instance. (See Insurgent counterstamps. J.M.L.) Some of these sections were counterstamped and others were not. As the silver currency was scarce the government of some of the Islands, in trying to prevent its being taken to the other Islands, devised the ingenious method of cutting out the center of the coin, thus making two coins from one. The "cut-outs" were round, square, or heart shaped, either with plain or scalloped edges. The plugs were called "mocos." ^⑤

Counterstamping of Spanish-American coins was also done to some extent in the United States, Canada, Central America, British Guiana, Brazil, the East Indies, Mozambique, the Azores, New South Wales, Scotland, and by the Bank of England.

The re-striking of Spanish-American dollars with a new design was done extensively in Brazil. Apparently all the 960 REIS pieces from 1810 to 1826 were struck over Spanish-Colonial coins and the pattern of the latter is plainly visible in most specimens.

The Bank of England, Morocco, and the mint at Arcot in the British East Indies also struck their respective designs over coins of Spanish-Colonial mintage.

^⑤ "The Coinage of the West Indies" by Howland Wood. The American Journal of Numismatics, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 89-136.

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

Preamble.—The mining interests of many distant provinces of New Spain petitioned on numerous occasions that branch mints be established within their respective territories. These requests were supported by several reasons, chiefly, that it was impracticable, perilous and expensive to ship ores to the Mexico City mint; that small mining companies could not afford the consequent delay; that mining claims bearing low grade ores were being abandoned; and finally, that production was curtailed and development hindered with a corresponding decrease in revenue to the Crown.

Thus, as early as 1767-1770, the Marquis de Rubí suggested to his superiors that a mint be established at Arizpe, then capital of the Province of Sonora. This recommendation was later reiterated by the future Marqués de Sonora, the Inspector General, Joseph de Gálvez.

During 1761, Don Francisco Javier Gamboa published his *COMENTARIOS A LAS ORDENANZAS DE MINAS*, in which he advocated the establishment of a branch mint in Guadalajara, capital of Nueva Galicia. Again, on March 24, 1788, Don Antonio Pacheco y Calderón presented to the City Council a memorial supporting the establishment of such a mint. These, as well as a few other similar petitions, remained unheeded by the Spanish government and it was not until September 16, 1810, when an armed insurgent movement began in New Spain, that a change was effected. By October of 1810, the whole country was moved from passive to active resistance and the highways of the colony became infested with marauding bands. With such conditions prevailing on the roads leading to and from rich mining districts, the transportation of ores and of funds became a serious problem. Within a few weeks, the civil and military authorities of outlying districts found it necessary to establish provisional mints in the following cities: Chihuahua, Durango, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Sombrerete, and Zacatecas. In other places such as Nueva Vizcaya, Oaxaca, Real del Catorce and Valladolid, the local authorities were compelled to issue provisional coinage when isolated by strong insurgent detachments.

The viceroyalty of New Spain looked with disfavor upon all these emergency measures, and by 1817 the government was contemplating the closing of all the provisional mints except the one in Durango. On December 23, 1817, Don José Joaquín de Eguía presented a memorial, pleading with the authorities to reconsider their decision, and suggested that if only one branch mint were to be allowed to remain, that it be located in San Luis Potosí or at Zacatecas, as either city was more centrally located than Durango. However, as in the northern provinces of Durango, Chihuahua, Sonora and Sinaloa, all of proven mineral wealth, mining was being conducted on a small scale, the central government thought that by having a mint in Durango, the mining activities of the above mentioned region would be stimulated.

The Crown, influenced by the viceroy and to no small extent by the officers of the Mexico City mint, was opposed to the retention of any of the provisional mints. It was claimed that the existence of branch mints in New Spain would detract from the glory attained and justly deserved by the Mexico City mint, the first of its kind to be established and operated on the American Continent.

With the exception of the coins issued by the Mexico City mint, the coinage of New Spain from 1810 to 1821 will be classified as follows:

ROYALIST PROVISIONALS—Coins issued by the Spanish-Colonial authorities of New Spain, either civil or military.

INSURGENT PROVISIONALS—Coins issued by the leaders of the rebellion.

ROYALIST COUNTERSTAMPS—Those placed on either colonial or insurgent coins by the military or civilian authorities of the Spanish-Colonial government in New Spain.

INSURGENT COUNTERSTAMPS—Those used by the revolutionists to revalidate their own and royalist coins.

COUNTERSTAMPS OF DOUBTFUL CLASSIFICATION—Those which the author was unable to assign or connect to historical personages or events of the time.

ROYALIST PROVISIONAL MINTS

CHIHUAHUA'S PROVISIONAL MINT

In pre-Columbian times the present State of Chihuahua was inhabited by the Chichimecas. The first white men to visit the territory were Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Oviedo, who in 1528-1536 made their way from the Mississippi to the Pacific Coast by way of Chihuahua and Sonora. The first missionary, Fr. Juan Font, arrived about 1620 and was crucified in that region a few years later.

The states of Chihuahua and Durango as now constituted, as well as a part of Coahuila, formed the Spanish-Colonial province of Nueva Vizcaya; this along with the provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa and New Mexico was grouped under the name of Internal Provinces of the West (*Provincias Internas de Occidente*).

The City of Chihuahua was founded as the San Felipe de Chihuahua Mission on August 15, 1639. Between 1705 and 1708, rich gold and silver deposits were discovered and it then became known as *El Real de San Felipe de Chihuahua*. It was renamed *Villa de San Felipe de Chihuahua* during 1718, and in 1824 it was granted the title of City.

One of the Spanish-Colonial landmarks is the Cathedral, the construction of which was begun in 1726 and finished in 1789. Its cost, believed to be somewhere between 545,000 and 800,000 pesos, was paid by levying a tax of one *real* for each mark of silver mined against the mining industry and merchants of Santa Eulalia and Chihuahua.

By an order of the governor of the Internal Provinces, Don Nemesio Salcedo, dated October 8, 1810, the establishment of temporary mints in the villages of Chihuahua and Durango was authorized.

When first established, the Chihuahua mint was compelled by lack of adequate machinery to cast its coinage. This was accomplished by using regular pieces of eight from the Mexico City mint as patterns, but apparently care was exercised to eradicate the M mint mark and substitute CA in place of it. Besides having the unmistakably cast appearance and the crudely outlined CA mint mark, these coins show on the obverse two counterstamps; on the left of the king's portrait a T indicating that the Royal Treasurer had received it; on the right, small crowned pillars of Hercules with a pomegranate between them, a symbol used by the Comptroller of the Real Hacienda to whom these pieces were turned over from the foundry room. These counterstamps were placed with hand punches, after each piece had been checked for weight, the lighter coins being discarded and the heavier filed down, Pl. X, 1.

By 1814 this mint had been supplied with the usual Spanish-Colonial dies, and from 1814 to 1822 eight-reales pieces were struck in Chihuahua, with improvised minting machinery. The mint mark on the struck specimens is C^A., Pl. X, 2-4.

Many of the sand cast pesos were afterwards struck over with regular colonial dies in this and other mints. The American Numismatic Society has a specimen of a cast Chihuahua peso struck over in the Durango mint, Pl. X, 6.

When this occurred, the original counterstamps were sufficiently deep to be visible even after the sand cast pieces had been struck over; but if in the striking process the countermarks were obliterated, such coins were usually counterstamped anew. Struck pieces, however, have been noted bearing no countermarks. It is doubtful if any of the struck coins were made on new planchets, as all the specimens studied were found to be struck over cast coins as if the intention of the treasury officials had been to do away with the makeshift casts.

At first the die work and the striking were very poor, but towards the end, the dies and the coining process were greatly improved. During 1817 the dies were especially poor; as there is a marked similarity between these dies and some of those used by the Durango mint, it is presumed that the same engraver was employed by both establishments.

The coinage of this mint, whether cast or struck, was of the eight-reales denomination only.

Cast eight-reales coins are found for the years 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813. Struck pieces were issued during 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1822. All these coins bear the assayers' initials R.P., and have the square and circle marking on the edge, similar to that of the coins struck by the Mexico City mint.

The amount issued by the Chihuahua provisional mint during the War of Independence is not known. The five years tabulated below are the only figures supplied by the official records:

1811.....	\$ 462,030.00
1812.....	" 1,032,321.00
1813.....	" 290,705.00
1814.....	" 1,818,604.00
1816.....	" 462,030.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 4,065,690.00

DURANGO PROVISIONAL MINT

The City of Durango was founded in 1563 by Captain Alonso de Pacheco. It is 948 kilometers from Mexico City and 261 from Mazatlán, Sinaloa. Previous to 1810, the ores mined in and around Durango were shipped to Mexico City to be assayed and coined, but shortly after the outbreak of the War of Independence, transportation of valuable ores to so distant a place was neither possible nor advisable.

The Governor of the province, Don Bernardo Bonavía, following instructions received from the Governor General of the Provincias Internas, ordered the establishment of a mint in Durango. Don Felipe López and Don Manuel Iglesias, prominent merchants of the province, were appointed to take charge.

During 1812, the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Francisco Javier Venegas, appointed new officers for this mint, whose names were not found recorded in the archives consulted. Regulations similar to those followed by the Mexico City mint were instituted for the branch mint at Durango.

As to the date this mint began coining operations there is a diversity of opinion. Some claim it was on February 1, 1811; others set the opening date at April 18, 1811. There is, also, considerable variance in opinion as to the types and metals of the coins struck, some claiming that only silver was coined and others that silver and copper were coined. The *Archivo de Indias* gives the following information:

Silver of all denominations coined during 1811.....	\$ 847,439.12½
Silver coined from 1812 to December 31, 1818.....	3,328,331.46
Copper coined from 1814 to 1818.....	56,371.93¼
Total.....	\$4,232,142.52¼

Orozco y Berra fixes the amount of silver coined by the Durango mint from 1811 to 1821 at \$5,310,960.87½ but fails to mention copper coinage. From specimens studied, copper pieces were struck during the years 1812 and 1813, for which no written record was found. In the computation of the total coined by the Durango mint, the author has added the total reported by Orozco y Berra to the amount of copper reported coined in the Archives of Indies. Thus, the total issued becomes \$5,367,332.81¼.

On the struck specimens studied with the mint mark D or D^o. and of the denominations given below, the assayers' initials were:

Year	Eight reales	Four reales	Two reales	Half real
1812	AG-RM			
1813	AG-RM-MZ			RM
1814	AG			
1815	AG-CG-MZ		MZ	
1816	MZ	MZ		
1817	MZ-AG			
1818	RM-CG			
1819	AG-CG			
1820	AG-CG			
1821	AG-CG			
1822	AG-CG			

No one-real coins were found.

ROYALIST PROVISIONAL MINTS—ASSAYER'S SUPPLEMENT

Year	8 reales	4 reales	2 reales	1 real	$\frac{1}{2}$ real
1812	RM		RM		
1813	RM-MZ		RM	RM	RM
1814	MZ-RM		MZ	MZ	
1815	MZ		MZ		
1816	MZ	MZ			MZ
1817	MZ	MZ			
1818	RM-CG-MZ				
1819	CG				
1820	CG				
1821	CG				
1822	CG				

GUADALAJARA PROVISIONAL MINT

Cristóbal de Oñate, one of the captains under Nuño de Guzmán, founded the City of Guadalajara on March 16, 1532, but for various reasons the site selected was changed twice, and it was not until February 11, 1542, that the present location was chosen. As Commander Guzmán was born in Guadalajara, Spain, the new settlement was given this name in his honor.

The opening of the Guadalajara mint was caused, as in the other provisional mints, by the War of Independence; but the removal of the assayer and the insistent demands of Don Ambrosio Sagarsurrieta, Fiscal of the Royal Treasury, brought about its closing April 30, 1815. It was re-opened in 1818, due to the efforts of the President of the Council, Field Marshal Don José de la Cruz, only to be closed again the latter part of the same year. The reason offered by the official documents consulted was the untimely death of the assayer, but as some of the coinage of 1818 carries the assayer's initials FS, which are also found on the coins of 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1823, the author believes that there must have been some other motive.

Official records state that this mint was not re-opened until August 21, 1821. This must be an error, because coins bearing the Guadalajara mint mark (G^A.) are found for 1820.

Herrera, in *El Duro*, pp. 30-31, asserts that the Guadalajara mint was striking Ferdinand VII pesos during 1822 and 1823. The author has seen only two-reales pieces bearing the 1822 date and the Guadalajara mint mark.

The Guadalajara mint was the only one of the provisional mints existing during the War of Independence which was permitted to coin gold. During 1812 four-escudos gold pieces were issued. During 1813 doubloons or eight-escudos gold coins were struck using two different dies: one, with the bust of Ferdinand VII in full uniform and curly hair, combed back, Pl. XI, 1; the other, also in full uniform but with straight, cropped hair, combed forward over the forehead. The striking of gold seems to have been discontinued until 1821, when again two dies were used; one, with nude bust, the other, draped in Roman tunic, Pl. XI, 2-3. The 1821 gold coinage is not recorded in the official documents. That of 1812-13 is given as having amounted to \$61,581.

The silver coinage, Pl. XI, 4-5, was similar to that of the Mexico City mint and the amount issued, as given by the government records, was as follows:

During 1812-13	\$ 489,067.03
“ 1814—In Eight-reales pieces.....	836,626.00
Four “ “	57,822.50
Two “ “	4,434.25
One “ “	1,509.62½
Half “ “	1,556.62½
	901,949.00
“ 1815—In Eight-reales pieces.....	157,490.00
Four “ “	4,267.50
Two “ “	433.00
One “ “	255.00
Half “ “	303.75
	162,749.25
From February 9 to June 30, 1818, in eight-reales coins.....	219,449.00
From August 21 to December 31, 1821, in eight-reales coins.....	255,174.00
	\$2,028,388.28

Year	ASSAYERS' INITIALS				
	Gold Escudos		Silver reales		
	Eight	Four	Eight	Four	Two
1812		MR	MR		
1813	MR		MR		
1814			MR	MR	MR
1815			MR	MR	
1818			FS-RF		
1820			FS		
1821	FS		FS-HS		FS
1822			FS		
1823			FS		

One-real or half-real coins have not been seen by the author.

ROYALIST PROVISIONAL MINTS—ASSAYER'S SUPPLEMENT							
Gold Escudos				Silver Reales			
Year	Eight	Four	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
1812		MR	MR		MR		MR
1813	MR		MR				
1814			MR	MR	MR	MR	MR
1815			MR	MR		MR	MR
1818			FS				
1821	FS		FS		FS		
1822			FS				

GUANAJUATO PROVISIONAL MINT

This productive mining district was discovered in 1548 and named Santa Fé de Guanajuato. It has been under exploitation since 1556. Up to 1810 its ores were shipped to Mexico City, but the War of Independence brought about many changes. The city was taken by the victorious insurgent forces under Hidalgo on September 28, 1810, and over half a million dollars in silver bars was obtained there. As the heterogeneous needs of the army required coined money, an advisory board recommended the establishment of a mint. (See First Insurgent Mint, page 98). The city was recaptured by the royalist forces the twenty-fifth of the following November. The perfection of the mint machinery constructed by the insurgents so impressed the Spanish officials, that it was ordered sent to Mexico City to be used as a pattern from which new minting machinery could be constructed.

On December 24, 1812, the opening of this provisional mint was authorized by an order of Don José de la Cruz. Minting operations commenced shortly after, but for reasons unknown the mint was ordered closed on May 15, 1813.

The insurgent forces, commanded by Don Anastasio Bustamante, captured the rich mining district of Zimapán; the silver bars acquired there were transported to Guanajuato to be minted. The mint was re-opened by order of Bustamante during the month of April, 1821, and thereafter, this mint turned out silver coins of the Spanish-Colonial type with which the insurgent army was paid.

After the independence of the colony, the Regency continued striking coins dated 1822 bearing the bust and usual legends of Ferdinand VII. Pl. XI, 6.

The mint mark was a capital G with a small o within, or immediately following it. Only coins of eight, and two-reales denominations were struck in this mint. The amounts coined were:

1813.....	\$311,125.00
1821.....	291,450.00
Total.....	\$602,575.00

The assayers' initials were:

Year		8 reales	2 reales
1813	Under royalists	JJ	
1821	Under insurgents	JM	JM
1822	Under regency	JM	JM

SOMBRERETE PROVISIONAL MINT

The Sombrerete region, one of the richest districts of Mexico, was discovered by Juan de Tolosa in 1555. It has a large number of mines, the ores of which pay around three hundred dollars or more per ton. Up to 1883 it was estimated that these mines had produced ores valued at not less than one hundred and fifty million dollars.

The Sombrerete mint began operations on October 18, 1810, was closed July 16, 1811, re-opened during 1812 and definitely closed at the end of that year because of the proximity of the Durango and Zacatecas mints. It was not really a mint in the true sense of the word, as the municipal treasurer ordered the coining of silver in denominations from eight-reales to one-half real to meet the needs of this mining center. A Spanish civilian, Don Fernando Vargas, superintendent of the mines, had charge of coining operations and used his name on all coins manufactured. These pieces are known as the "Vargas issue." There are two distinct types: (1) the planchets with several counterstamps; (2) those in which both sides were struck simultaneously with crudely made dies.

The first type was coined during 1810 and 1811 and consisted of eight-reales pieces only. The striking of these was apparently done in three stages: first, the stamping of a dentelated border on both sides, leaving the center blank; then, the striking of one side with the crowned arms of Spain and R CAXA DE SOMBRETE (sic) within a roped circle; and lastly, the impressing of five punch marks, all incuse panels, on the other side. These punches are: at top, VARGAS; at left, a crowned horse's head over an S between two columns; in center, the date 1810 or 1811; at right, a crowned S between two columns; and below, what appears to be the Arabic numeral 3 but which in some pieces resembles an 8. It is apparent that this side was punched last, as the design on the other side shows bruises from the blows of the several stamps. Pl. XI, 7.

The coins of the second type bear the dates of 1811 (rare) or 1812, and were struck from complete dies. The obverse shows a shield and inscription similar to those found on the coins of the first type but with 8 - R at left and right, outside of a rope-like circle. The reverse is similar to the earlier type, but the five component parts are not in depressed areas. The word VARGAS appears in large letters and is curved. Pl. XI, 8.

There is a four reales piece dated 1812, with 4 - R at sides. Pl. XI, 9. This also bears the figure 3, the meaning of which is not understood. The one and the half-reales are alike in design and show on the obverse two hemispheres crowned; around, SOMBRERETE. (name correctly spelled) FERDIN. VII. The reverse has above, VARGAS; in center, the Bourbon escutcheon in oval; below, palm branches; at sides, R - 1 or ½ - R; in exergue, date 1811 or 1812. Pl. XI, 10-11.

The following amounts were coined:

1810 and 1811.....	\$ 334,993.75
1812.....	1,216,255.50
Total.....	<u>\$1,551,249.25</u>

ZACATECAS PROVISIONAL MINT

The City of Zacatecas is located on the slopes of two mountains named El Grillo and La Bufa. This rich mining district belonged in the colonial days to the province of Nueva Galicia. In republican Mexico, the City of Zacatecas is the capital of the State bearing the same name. It was inhabited by a tribe of aborigines who called themselves Tzacatecas, whence the name of the region.

The first Spaniard to visit the Zacatecas district was Pedro Alméndez Chirinos, who in 1540 spent three days in the village of the Tzacatecas situated on the slopes of La Bufa. The discovery of silver deposits, however, is accredited to Captain Joanes de Tolosa, Baltasar Tremiño de Bañuelos, Cristóbal Oñate and Diego de Ibarra, who reported that "on September 8, 1546, the day of Our Lady of the Remedies (Nuestra Señora de los Remedios)," they had found the rich veins. Shortly thereafter, white settlers came, and by order of Philip II, dated October 18, 1585, the settlement was given the name of City of Our Lady of Zacatecas. The same monarch, by royal cedula of July 20, 1588, prescribed the city's coat of arms. It consisted of a large pyramidal rock surmounted by a cross, symbolic of the mountain La Bufa, and the motto: LABOR VINCIT OMNIA. On January 27, 1594, the City of Zacatecas was further honored with the rank of Most Noble and Loyal. (La Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de Zacatecas.)

It seems that sometime previous to April 19, 1583, the king had been petitioned to order the establishment of a mint in Zacatecas, but for unknown reasons the request was not granted.

It was not until the month of October, 1810, that Count de la Laguna, then in charge of the Zacatecas government, proceeded to equip a mint, which on November 14, 1810, began coining only silver. This mint was the most prolific of all the provisional mints, and the denominations struck ran from eight-reales to one-half real.

Don Ignacio López Rayón, who with the capture of Generalissimo Hidalgo had become the titular head of the insurrection, entered the City of Zacatecas April 15, 1811. Rayón ordered the rich mine of Quebradilla thrown open to all who chose to work it, and one-third of the metal mined was given to the laborers who extracted it. With this incentive thousands toiled day and night, and a large amount of silver was thus secured, which Rayón caused to be coined in the Zacatecas mint, using the L.V.O. dies found there. General Rayón was forced to evacuate the city May 21, 1811, Pl. XII, 1-7.

Medina asserts that Don José Francisco Osorno had some of his coinage struck in the Zacatecas mint during the month of April 1812, but the author has conclusive proof that this was not the case, because the coinage of Osorno for the above mentioned month and year was made in Zacatlán, State of Puebla.

During 1822, the year after independence of the Colony had been attained, the Regency authorized the minting of eight and two-reales pieces to be struck in the

Zacatecas mint, which, because of lack of other dies, were coined with those found in the mint bearing the Spanish-Colonial arms and legends.

The amount of silver coined in Zacatecas from 1810 to 1821, inclusive, is as follows:

From Nov. 14, 1810 to Aug. 31, 1811—(L.V.O. type).....	\$ 1,154,902.81
“ Sept. 5, 1811 to March 26, 1813—(Second issue).....	4,776,971.50
“ April 3, 1813 to July 29, 1814—(Third issue).....	2,455,000.00
“ July 30, 1814 to May 16, 1818.....	3,635,107.75
“ June 16, 1818 to Nov. 30, 1818.....	638,174.37
During 1819.....	1,026,775.50
During 1820.....	764,011.81
During 1821.....	2,468,577.94
	<u>\$16,919,521.68</u>

The assayers' initials, as found on the coins, were:

Year	Eight-reales	Four-reales	Two-reales	One-real	One-half real
1810	LVO type		LVO type	LVO type	LVO type (No assayers' initials)
1811	LVO “		LVO “	LVO “	LVO “ “ “ “
1812	No initials				
1813	AG-FP				RZ
1814	AG				
1815	AG		AG	AG	
1816	AG		AG	AG	
1817	AG		AG		
1818*	AG	AG	AG		
1819	AG	AG	AG	AG	AG
1820	AG		AG	AG	AG-RG
1821	AG-RG-AZ		AG-RG-AZ	AG-RG-AZ	AG-RG
1822	AG-RG-AZ		AG	AG	

The mint marks were Z^s. or Z. and were found on the bust or head type of coins only.

The Zacatecas provisional coins were of nearly pure silver and of full weight. Therefore, many commercial centers such as Veracruz gave them preference over the regular coinage of New Spain and accepted them at a premium. (See Royalist counterstamps, L.C.V.) This type of coinage started November 14, 1810, and was discontinued August 31, 1811. The coinage consists of two main types: (1) the mountain L.V.O. type, and (2) the head type. Each of these types may be divided into two sub-types.

The dies on the first sub-type of the earlier form, bearing either the 1810 or 1811 date, are crudely made. The obverse shows within a circle of dots the arms of the city which consist of the two mountains, El Grillo and La Bufa, in perspective, with a cross surmounting the nearer mountain. Immediately below, L.V.O.—“Labor

* In the author's collection, there is an 1818 eight reales piece of Zacatecas without assayers' initials.

vincit omnia" (Work conquers everything); and further down, forming a semicircle, is a garland. Beginning at left, the legend MONEDA PROVISIONAL DE ZACATECAS encircles the whole. The reverse has the crowned arms of Spain between columns. It is interesting to note that the quarterings have been transposed and the lions have been replaced by pomegranate sprigs. The inscription, beginning at left, reads FERDINANDUS. VII. DEI GRATIA. 8 R. 1810. (or 1811). The date reads inwardly, Pl. XII, 1, 3, 5.

Apparently four-reales pieces were not minted. The coins of smaller denominations are similar in design to the eight reales, except that the reverse inscription reads: FERDIN. VII. 2-R. (or 1-R.) DEI. GRATIA. and date, Pl. XII, 3-7.

The dies of the second sub-type of the L.V.O. coinage are better executed and bear only the date 1811. The cross as a rule is on the farther mountain, but occasionally it is found on the nearer one. The inscription begins at the top. The reverse shows the crowned coat of arms well finished, with the quarterings correctly drawn and placed. The inscription begins at the lower left and has, on all four denominations, FERDIN. VII, the date in exergue and reads outwardly, Pl. XII, 2, 4, 6. Neither of these sub-types carries the assayers' initials.

The second type bore the effigy of Ferdinand VII in cuirass, but continued carrying the inscription MONEDA PROVISIONAL DE ZACATECAS, not on the obverse as in the first issue, but around the margin on the pillar side. These coins were struck upon crudely made planchets and present numerous variations in design, Pl. XII, 8, 11, 14. These pieces also were of the same denominations as those of the first issue. To the author's knowledge no four-reales coins were struck of the Ferdinand variety.

Some of the dies, probably on all denominations, have the value, such as 8R, 2R, 1R and M (for Medio) following FERDIN. VII on the obverse, while other dies omit it. The provisional pieces bear the 1811 (rare) or 1812 dates. This type of coinage was struck between September 3, 1811, and March 26, 1813. They bear no assayers' initials and, as a rule, specimens found are much worn. They often carry counterstamps of other localities.*

The last issue of Zacatecas is of the regular colonial type and began April 3, 1813. The obverse has the bust of the king, and around the margin, the usual inscription, FERDIN. VII. DEI. GRATIA. date. (1813 to 1822). The reverse has the crowned Spanish coat of arms with a column of Hercules on either side, the marginal legend HISPAN. ET IND. REX. Z^s. VALUE (8R, 4R, 2R, 1R,) and the assayer's initials. On the half-real pieces no value appears, and the word REX is represented by the letter R. In the two, one, and one-half real coins the mint mark appears as a capital letter Z only. The coins of this fourth type present numerous variations of considerable interest.

* The American Numismatic Society has an eight-reales piece of 1812 of this type, but the bust of Ferdinand appears draped in toga instead of cuirass.

Up to 1820, the dies of the eight reales coins were poorly cut. The bust of Ferdinand appears draped in Roman tunic or toga. The two-reales have large and medium size busts attired sometimes in cuirass, and at other times in toga. The dies for 1819 are of the cuirass type only. The one-real pieces are of the cuirass type until 1820; after that date, the bust appears dressed in toga, Pl. XII, 9-10, 12-13, 15.

NUEVA VIZCAYA

After authority had been granted and before the regular dies were ready, eight-reales pieces of a distinctive type were coined in the Durango provisional mint during the months of February and March of 1811.

The obverse shows the crowned arms of the city — a tree, and passing left in front of the trunk, two wolves; the whole within two palm branches, crossed below and ending above with a rose in bloom; around MON.PROV.DE.NVEV.VIZCAYA.1811. The reverse has the usual crowned arms of Spain between columns; around, FERN.VII.REY DEESP.EIND.8.R.R.M. There are two variants: (1) coarse or well executed palm branches, Pl. XIII, 1-2; and (2) the value appears as R.8 on some and as R.S. on others. The letters R.M. are the assayer's initials.

The small copper piece mentioned by Medina in his *Monedas Obsidionales*, p. 130, as bearing the date of 1820, is in reality 1822, and consequently does not fall within the Revolutionary period.

OAXACA

Before the insurgent forces had gained control of the City, the local government, under Lieutenant General Antonio González Saravia, found it necessary to coin silver. No record has been found of the amount issued. The coins were cast from crudely made patterns in a blacksmith's shop which served as a mint. Later, a small coining press was rigged up, but for reasons unknown it proved unsuccessful.

The obverse shows a cross of the order of Christ; in the upper angles, the lion and castle, emblematic of the reigning house of Spain; in the lower angles, the abbreviated name of the monarch, F^o. 7^o.; rosettes above and below; around, PROV. D. OAXACA 1812 8 Rs.; all within a chain border of large dots.* Frequently, there

* The abbreviation PROV. which ordinarily stands for PROVISIONAL, in this instance is intended to mean PROVINCIAL, as coming from the Oaxaca province. This information is found in *Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra de Independencia de México*, by J. E. Hernández y Dávalos, 1880, Vol. IV, p. 795, in a statement dated November 27, 1812, from the Custom House at Oaxaca City, which reads:

"*Moneda Provincial*.—Due to the scarcity of currency, \$12,007.94 of Moneda Provincial was ordered coined from silver bullion."

On p. 797, ending the above statement is a note saying:

"Oaxaca, January 9, 1813.—After this statement had been completed, four new batches of Moneda Provincial were received. These amounted to \$3,277.00."

From the preceding information, one gathers that the least amount of silver coined by the royalist authorities in the City of Oaxaca during 1812 was \$15,284.94.

is counterstamped on the obverse a crowned O between two columns, similar to the symbols used on the Chihuahua and Sombrerete pieces. The reverse shows a shield with bordure containing eight crosses, with a rampant lion to right in center; all within a circular border of large dots often joined together by a line. There are two distinct reverses — one with a small lion; the other with a large lion which runs into the bordure of the shield. Nearly all the pieces have been counterstamped above the shield on the reverse. These consist mostly of single initials in an incuse square. The following letters have been noted: A, C, D, K, R, V, Z, and in the author's opinion represent the different batches issued. Some of the pieces examined had either a crowned O or the symbol M on the reverse, also a few specimens were found counterstamped with the Morelos monogram, Pl. XIII, 3-5.

There are also one-real and half-real coins of this type; in these the inscription appears on the reverse and the lion faces left. No counterstamps were found on the small pieces. It is possible that coins of four and two-reales values were also issued but the author did not find any record pertaining to them. While the coins were cast, the counterstamps were punched in and specimens having the counterstamps included as part of the casting are undoubtedly fakes, Pl. XIII, 6.

The book entitled *Museo Nacional*, México, 1843, Vol. II, p. 371, assigns these pieces to Morelos and names Luís Rodríguez Alconedo as the engraver. The veracity of this assertion is questionable. The full name of this jeweler and silversmith was José Luís Rodríguez Alconedo. His insurgent activities gained for him a deportation to Spain where he remained until an amnesty permitted him to return to Mexico. Shortly after his return, Alconedo joined Rayón's insurgent forces and was placed in charge of the foundry constructing cannon and small firearms. Occasionally Alconedo repaired timepieces and cut dies for the insurgents. On February 18, 1814, General Rayón commissioned Alconedo to prepare a die with which to strike copper coins of one-eighth of a real. When the insurgents evacuated Oaxaca, Alconedo was left behind but was able to join them at Zacatlán, only to be captured by the royalists September 25, 1814, by whom he was court-martialed and shot.

VALLADOLID

Valladolid (now Morelia) was an important city, capital of the Michoacán province. The Insurgents considered it an ideal site from which to direct military operations upon Guanajuato, Guadalajara, San Luis Potosí, Puebla and the City of Mexico. Therefore, during the War of Independence, insurgent leaders made repeated efforts to obtain possession of Valladolid. Thus, communication with other cities of New Spain was always hazardous and frequently interrupted.

During 1813, the insurgent chiefs, Verduzco, Rayón, and Morelos, acting independently, attacked the city, and while unable to take possession of it, their presence in the immediate vicinity prevented the arrival of funds from the mints of Guanajuato, Guadalajara, or Mexico City. This state of semi-isolation brought

about a scarcity of money and the local authorities were forced to coin eight-reales pieces, Pl. XIII, 7. Some of this currency reached the insurgent lines and was immediately made valid for circulation in the territory under their control, by applying the counterstamp of the Chilpanzingo Congress, Pl. XIX, 10. This specimen shows an additional revalidation, consisting of a counterstamp having the initials P.D.V., which stand for PROVISIONAL DE VALLADOLID, doubtless placed by the royalists upon the return of this interesting piece from its wanderings among the insurgents.

Both of these splendid and rare specimens were loaned by Mr. J. Schulman of Amsterdam.

REAL DEL CATORCE

The Real del Catorce is a mining center in the State of San Luis Potosí, of present day Mexico. The Spanish word *catorce*, meaning *fourteen*, was given to the townsite because shortly after the conquest, a platoon of fourteen Spanish soldiers had been wiped out by the aborigines inhabiting the area. The mines of the district, among the richest of Mexico, were not discovered until 1772.

During 1811, this mining center issued provisional money, specimens of which are now extremely rare and apparently were only of eight-reales denomination. The description is as follows:

Obverse: Blank center surrounded by a circle of small rings united by a line. Around the margin the inscription:

EL R. D. CATORCE. FERNAND. VII. 1811. Irregular milling.

Reverse: In the upper part a star; the field, surrounded by a chain of rings as in obverse. Around the margin the legend: MONEDA PROVISIONAL. VALE. 8.R. Irregularly placed milling around border, Pl. XIII, 8.

No known record exists of the amount coined. Scott, Medina, Fonrobert, Vidal y Quadras and Herrera's *El Duro*; mention and illustrate this coin. It is, however, a necessity coin of the Spanish-Colonial government.

RESUMÉ

The known amounts coined in the various Royalist provisional mints during the War of Independence are:

Chihuahua	\$ 4,065,690.00
Durango	5,367,332.81
Guadalajara	2,089,969.28
Guanajuato	602,575.00
Sombrerete	1,551,249.25
Zacatecas	16,919,521.68
Total	\$30,596,338.02*

* This amount has been added to the total coined in New Spain, page 74.

INSURGENT PROVISIONALS

At five o'clock in the morning of September 16, 1810, the parish priest, Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, began his memorable revolt against the Spanish government of New Spain. For some time past, he and a handful of officers in the service of the king had been making plans to free the colony, but as the conspiracy had been denounced to the authorities a day or so previous, immediate action became imperative. The 16th was Sunday and the bells of Dolores Chapel tolled, calling the faithful, creoles as well as natives, to hear the word of God. Hidalgo appeared before the humble congregation, and instead of proceeding with the customary religious services, incited them to fight for independence. Everyone responded and within a few minutes self-appointed messengers swept the countryside, passing the good tidings by word of mouth. Six hours later the aged leader was at the head of six hundred men, and in twelve days the number had increased to more than twenty thousand. Less than a hundred muskets were available. Hoes, hatchets, improvised lances, and slings were the first weapons of the Army of Independence.

Guanajuato, one of the richest mining centers in New Spain, was attacked and taken on September 28, 1810, and it was there the numismatic history of independent Mexico began.

THE FIRST INSURGENT MINT

On October 4, 1810, six days after the victorious Hidalgo forces had taken Guanajuato, the head of the emancipation movement was informed by Don José Mariano Robles, Paymaster-General of the Army, that while the treasury had over half a million pesos in silver bullion, coined money was extremely scarce. (Zamacois, *Historia de México*, Vol. VI, pp. 426-427.)

As the shortage of money was acute, Hidalgo sought the advice of the leading men of the town, and after lengthy deliberation, it was decided that the best way out was to establish a mint, wherein the bar silver on hand could be coined. Hidalgo approved the plan, and the directorship of this first Mexican mint was entrusted to Don José Mariano Robles.*

The building chosen for the mint was an ore-reducing plant located at the San Pedro Hacienda, the property of Don Joaquín Peláez. Hidalgo himself furnished the drawings and specifications for the construction of the minting machinery.

The adaptation of the old building and the construction of the mint machinery began October 9, 1810, and proceeded with such rapidity and skill that by the end of October, limited minting operations were started.

When the royalists re-entered Guanajuato, November 25, 1810, the installation of the newly constructed minting machinery was nearly complete and it was so per-

* Don José María Chico de Linares, who later counterstamped coins, was appointed Paymaster-General succeeding Robles. The transfer of office took place immediately in the presence of an overseer and a notary.

fect that the Spanish authorities ordered it sent to Mexico City, where it could be used as a model in the construction of similar machinery for future mints. (*México a Través de los Siglos*, Vol. III, pp. 122-123.)

Several counterfeiters among the prisoners in the jail of Guanajuato when the insurgents entered the town, were employed in the mint and a young ironsmith of notable ability made the dies.

The first coins issued were similar in every respect to those of the Mexico City mint, even to the assayer's initials. The reproduction was so perfect that Bustamante (*Cuadro Histórico*, Vol. 1, pp. 7 and 47) asserts detection was impossible. This accounts for the total absence of known pieces of this first insurgent mint in any contemporary collection. The reasons for imitating the coinage of New Spain were, primarily, the psychological effect upon the timid populace, and, secondly, the retention of the comparatively stable economic status.

VALLADOLID

THE FIRST INSURGENT PROVISIONAL COINS

On October 10, 1810, Hidalgo left Guanajuato and on October 15th entered Valladolid. There, he confiscated the vessels and objects of the church, from which several thousand dollars' worth of silver was obtained. This was melted and cast into irregularly square planchets, which, with the value stamped on one side, circulated as money. Orozco y Berra, in his *Diccionario de Historia y Geografía*, México, 1854, Vol. V, p. 926, describes these pieces and adds that they were stamped with the letters P.V. for *Provisional. Valladolid*. Apparently, no one has actually seen a single specimen of this coinage. The author, during his investigations, interviewed a Mexican family whose ancestors had resided in Guanajuato at the time of the War of Independence, and among a few trinkets which they had inherited, a piece of silver was found which to some extent conforms to the above description. It is cast, weighs twenty-five grammes, measures 31 x 35 x 2 millimeters. On one side appear the letters P.V. and just below, 8 R. These characters, however, have not been stamped, but seem to have been in the original pattern from which the cast was made. The other side is plain. It shows no signs of wear and, according to the owner, had remained carefully wrapped from the day it was acquired. While there is a possibility that this planchet may be spurious, the author is inclined to accept its authenticity, Pl. XIII, 9.

THE COINAGE OF GENERAL MORELOS

General Don José María Morelos y Pavón was a Catholic priest who, on October 20, 1810, received orders from Generalísimo Hidalgo to raise and command an army on the South. Morelos, on his way to Acapulco, a seaport on the Pacific, passed through Zacatula, Petatlán, Técpan, Zanjón, Coyúcan, Aguacatillo, and on November 13th camped his troops on El Veladero Mountain which overlooks Acapulco. On this expedition Morelos formed a new province out of the southern portion of the then *intendencia* of Mexico. The new province was named Técpan and for its capital the village of Técpan was selected, given the title of city and re-named Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe).¹

From November 13th to the 16th was devoted to the organization of the army which according to Morelos numbered 800, but has been estimated by others to be as high as 3000. It was about this time that Morelos wrote to Hidalgo asking for financial help² and in reply he was authorized to borrow money from the wealthy residents of the occupied territory.

By December 1, 1810, Morelos had ordered some of his troops into the field, and during the first thirteen days the engagements of Moledor, Tepango, Llano, and Sábana took place. The battle of Tres Palos was fought on January 4, 1811; and by February 8th Morelos was again threatening the royalist stronghold of Acapulco. The attack was planned and the troops divided under two commands, one of which was in charge of Elias Bean, an American, with whom were three United States citizens named Colé, David, and Allendin. From Acapulco, insurgent troops were sent north towards Chilpanzingo and engaged the royalists at Sábana and Chichihualco. Chilpanzingo fell on May 21st and on May 26, 1811, Morelos attacked and captured the more important town of Tixtla.

It was in Tixtla, where, according to the diary of Captain Don Felipe Benecio Montero, "thought was given to money, and as there was scarcity of funds, the General decided to coin copper as a sort of promissory currency which was to circulate until the nation could redeem it." The free translation of the edict making compulsory the circulation and acceptance of the copper coins is:

"Commissioned by the American National Congress as represented by their excellencies Messrs. Hidalgo, Allende, etc. to free the South, and being in need of current gold and silver coin, I have decided that copper coin be stamped in the city of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Province of Técpan. At the termination of the campaign, or perhaps before, as it is expected that the mines of this district will soon begin working anew, this coinage will be redeemed by the National Treasury at its face value, in gold or silver currency. And in order that this copper money receive the same exchange value as that of gold

¹ It is now known as Técpan de Galeana, State of Guerrero, situated on the left bank of the Técpan river, eighty-four miles northwest of Acapulco.

² By pre-arrangement the correspondence between these leaders was undated, unaddressed, and unsigned.

and silver, it must meet the following requisites: each piece must conform as to size and thickness with the current silver coins of similar face value. The new coin will have on one side, an arrow; below it the inscription SUR * indicative of the direction of the wind; on the other side it will have in one symbol, a monogram of the letters MOS, an abbreviation of the name of Morelos; over it, the value of the piece, be it a peso, tostón, peseta, real or medio, (eight, four, two, one or half-real respectively).

"This coinage is truly a legal document by which the National Treasury promises to pay in gold or silver currency the value indicated by each piece. Therefore, it should have the same value when presented anywhere within the territory where the present Mexican coin is acceptable.

"As this edict will be made public by the town crier, no one will have the excuse of ignorance of the information contained herein. Issued from General Headquarters at Tixtla, the thirteenth day of July, 1811. Signed: José Ma. Morelos, General in command of the South. — Executed by order of his excellency, Félix Ortiz, Secretary."

Many points, heretofore obscure, are made clear by this important document. It definitely establishes the birthplace of the Morelos coinage; the symbol used represents not Mexico or *medio*, as it is sometimes claimed, but Morelos; that copper was the only metal used at first; and that the coins had not been made at the time the edict was published, because there are some differences between the design as originally planned and the actual design on the coinage.

The exact date on which this initial coinage made its appearance has not been determined, but the author believes that this numismatically important event occurred during the month of July 1811. This belief is confirmed by the following letter written by Morelos himself from Tixtla, the twelfth of August, 1811, and addressed to Don Ignacio Rayón:

"Finding myself without funds; with the Treasury in debt some thousands of pesos caused by the demands of so many voracious commission holders, I decided to stamp copper coins which will serve as promissory notes. Thus the poor and the rich will be lending us the much needed funds with which to carry on. The sutlers of the army and the inhabitants of this Province of Tépán were notified of my determination by the town crier method, therefore, no one will refuse to accept it at its face value.

"I am sending you a copy of the proclamation and if you deem it convenient, have it published in the territory of your command, as it is possible that the circulation of this coinage will extend to other provinces.

"I consulted Mr. Hidalgo about this matter and in his reply, dated December 16, 1810, he advised me to borrow the money, but as I haven't met persons

* The Spanish words SUR and SUD, both meaning SOUTH, are used interchangeably.

financially able to come to the succor of my troops, I have issued copper coins of from one-half real to one peso denominations, excepting tostons.^① . . .”

About November 15, 1811, Morelos took to the field and in rapid succession occupied the towns of Tlapa, Chautla de la Sal, Cuautla, Tasco, Tenancingo and Chalco. By the middle of February, Morelos was back in Cuautla, only 66 miles from Mexico City, and was attacked by the royalist commander, Calleja. Unable to take the town by assault, Calleja established a siege, and by March 10, 1812, he began bombarding the city. After a few days, the townspeople became accustomed to the iron shower, and the children collected the projectiles strewn about the streets. Morelos, whose stock of ammunition was not plentiful, paid one peso for each cannon ball, four-reales for the grenades and half-real for each dozen of rifle bullets. When the food supply of the besieged became exhausted, weather-beaten hides, used to protect house-doors, were stripped from where they had been nailed for years, macerated and eaten. Cats were sold for six pesos each, lizards for two pesos, rats and other vermin for one. On May 2nd the town was evacuated and Morelos escaped almost alone. During the time Morelos and his troops were besieged in Cuautla, no coins were minted there,^② but the whole district bound on the north by Tenancingo, Cuautla and Izúcar, and on the south by Chilpanzingo, El Veladero, and Tlapa deserted the insurgent cause. Tēcpan and Zacatula remained as insurgent strongholds, and the making of copper coins continued unabated in the former.

In virtually every letter written by Morelos from November 1810, to October 1812, he complains of the lack of funds, of the difficulties encountered with his copper coinage and of the numerous counterfeiters. A study of the region in which he campaigned failed to disclose any material wealth; the author, therefore, believes that no silver coinage took place during that period.

From June 4, 1812, Morelos and his small force were very active. Chilapa and Tixtla were re-occupied. Huajuápan was entered on July 23rd and Tehuacán on August 10th. Morelos remained for nearly two months in Tehuacán, where assisted by Mier y Terán, excellent cannon were cast. It is the belief of the compiler that while Morelos was in Tehuacán, copper coinage of the SUD type was made. This town is within the region known as Tierra Caliente; and even though Morelos left about October 2nd to establish his headquarters in a ranch on the road to Puebla, a strong garrison was left stationed at Tehuacán where coinage of the SUD type continued until the end of 1812.

On October 13, 1812, Morelos went to Ozumba and received from Osorno one hundred and eight silver bars; returning immediately to Tehuacán, Morelos attempted to coin the silver bullion.

^① *Tostones*, plural of *tostón*, name given to four-reales coins.

^② Insurgent deserters and prisoners taken, so declared to royalist authorities.

Morelos moved north and by October 29th had captured Orizaba and the large stores of tobacco held there were set on fire. He was back at Tehuacán by November 8th only to rush south and camp before the city of Oaxaca on the 24th. This city was attacked the following day, and after a battle of two hours, surrendered. Booty, estimated at three million pesos, consisting mostly of jewelry, dry goods, cotton, and provisions, was seized by the insurgents.

Upon entering the city, Morelos found in circulation the coins which had been issued by the royalist commander, Lieutenant-General Antonio Gonzalez Saravía. For nearly a year the City of Oaxaca had received no funds from Mexico City; so, early in 1812, it was found necessary to coin provisional money.

A Spaniard, José Mariano Rodríguez, a sort of Police Commissary who was sent to Oaxaca by the royalists, reported to Colonel Armijo as follows:

"... After a thorough plundering of the town, these Morelos followers, who, by the way, seem to be happy and much attached to him, found large quantities of pesos and silver bullion, cotton, etc. . . . On December 28th, a mule caravan brought into the city many silver bars from the mines of Tepantitlán."*

Immediately following the capture of Oaxaca, Morelos renewed his coining operations, but now, having large quantities of silver, the coins cast were of this metal. Most of this coinage was of the SUD variety, as he himself stated in a letter dated December 29, 1812, written to the President of the Supreme National Council, Don Ignacio Rayón:

"Most excellent Sir: Included in the official communication of November 30th last, I received the three pesos in coins of varied denominations issued by the national government, which your excellency has established in Tlalpujahua. Permit me to say that the coins are well finished, but being short of weight, it is my belief that this, and the fact that counterfeiters are springing up in quantities, will make our money shrink in value.

"I am sending you three pesos of the provisional coinage of the south, which is less ornate than yours. As only six days were available before the oath of allegiance, and wanting this coinage to be ready for the ceremony, I had to cast it. The type is the same as the one I have used heretofore, as I do not want to be overrun with other designs. Among the coins I am sending you, there is one of the provisional type of Oaxaca, which I found when the town was taken. It was coined by the city because there was shortage of funds as none had reached it for a year. To one type, and to the other, I have seen that each be of full weight, but I have insisted on continuing with the provisional coinage of the south, as more of it has been issued. May God keep you well many years. Headquarters at Oaxaca, December 29, 1812. José Ma. Morelos."

* Tepantitlán is a mining town of the State of Guerrero, twenty-five kilometers from Ajuchitlán.

From the tenor of the last paragraph it may be assumed that Morelos was coining both the provisional money of Oaxaca and his own SUD type, otherwise why should he say that he insisted that both be of full weight? It is also probable that as soon as the silver supply was exhausted, he resumed the making of copper coins.

As the oath of allegiance ceremony mentioned in Morelos' letter took place on December 13, 1812, and the casting of coins started six days previously, the date on which such coinage began can definitely be fixed as December 7, 1812. These coins were thrown to the populace by Morelos himself from the balcony of the City Hall.

Morelos left Oaxaca on February 9, 1813, reached Acapulco on April 6th, and after besieging the port for over four months, took it on August 20, 1813. This success was the beginning of Morelos' misfortunes, because during these seven months the royalist forces strengthened their position on all fronts.

While attacking Acapulco, Morelos established furnaces on the neighboring mountains of *Carabalí* and *El Veladero*, where large quantities of copper coin of the SUD type were minted. From February 27 to May 24, 1813, the Treasurer of the Suprema Junta sent Morelos 64,450 pesos in coined money of the National Congress; 9,000 of this remittance was in silver coin and the balance in copper specie.

It is the author's belief that Mier y Terán, the commander left in charge of Tehuacán, produced the T.C. type of Morelos coinage. The reason for varying the type is obvious. Generalissimo Morelos was not present, and Mier y Terán being in need of funds, decided, either of his own accord or perhaps with permission of the Supreme Council, to coin money in the name of his immediate superior; and in order to assume full responsibility for his action, he resorted to the simple expedient of differentiating the coins issued by order of the commander of the south, usually marked SUD, and the coins that he was about to issue, by marking them T. C. as evidence that they were issued in Tierra Caliente. Mier y Terán had better minting machinery at his disposal than Morelos, therefore, his coins have a better finish. Dies were used and the struck T.C. coinage bears the 1813 date.

From Acapulco, Morelos departed for Chilpanzingo. Discord had arisen among the members of the Suprema Junta, and Morelos, who hitherto had been ignored by this body, saw his opportunity to seize control. To this end he proposed that the council should meet within territory under his jurisdiction. President Rayón objected, but Morelos, assured of the support of the less ambitious members of the Junta, ordered it to convene at Chilpanzingo. On September 14, 1813, the so-called Chilpanzingo Congress was convened. Morelos delivered the opening speech, and in due time was appointed generalísimo. The use of the name of Ferdinand VII, to which Morelos had been opposed, was discontinued and on November 6, 1813, Anáhuac, the former name of New Spain, was declared forever freed from

Spanish control. The revalidation of coins, many of which were believed counterfeits, was begun by counterstamping them with the circular die described under Chilpanzingo counterstamp, (p. 129).

Morelos left the following day, arrived at Valladolid on December 22, 1813, demanded its surrender, but failing in this, attacked the town and was routed on December 23rd.

Morelos' absence from the Congress and his defeat at Valladolid, revived the contentious spirit of Rayón, the vanquished president of the Suprema Junta. At his instigation, the executive powers, which had been vested in Morelos, were assumed by the deputies then in Chilpanzingo. The sudden approach of Armijo's royalist army about the middle of January 1814, forced the council to retreat hastily towards Tlacotépéc, leaving behind, for lack of pack animals, over ten thousand pesos in copper coin.

The publications consulted do not mention the subject of money during the four months' congressional period at Chilpanzingo. The expense connected with Morelos' army, variously estimated at from 6,000 to 20,000 men, must have been great, and it was met, in part at least, by coining copper and some silver. The fact that the Treasury of the Congress had to abandon more than ten thousand pesos is, in the opinion of the writer, sufficient evidence that coining operations were conducted on a more or less large scale in Chilpanzingo, which had been raised by Morelos to the rank of city, and was given the more pompous name of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción.

The Council reopened sessions in Tlacotépéc on January 29, 1814, but its stay there was of short duration, as Armijo, who had pressed forward by forced marches, made a surprise attack and captured the Congress archives, seal and baggage. The deputies fled to Michoacán, where, attended by a ragged and almost unarmed escort of less than one hundred soldiers, they suffered severe privations, of which hunger was not the least. Constant fear of attack kept them on the move, fleeing from Uruápan to various haciendas, and finally to Apatzingán. Their nomadic existence did not permit them to remain sufficiently long in any one place to coin money.

Morelos, after his Valladolid defeat, retreated to Acapulco, from where, due to Armijo's approach, he was forced to flee on April 12, 1814, but before leaving he set fire to the whole town. Apparently, the loss of the port afforded some satisfaction to Morelos, for, in a letter written from his temporary headquarters in Agua Dulce, on July 24, 1814, and addressed to Don Ignacio Rayón, he expressed himself as follows:

“ . . . Acapulco was burnt to cinders . . . its retention was costing us half a million a year and kept five hundred men on the sick list. . . . ”

On the isolated hill of Atijo, in the fastness of Michoacán, Morelos found refuge, and most of the time there was employed in manufacturing armament and replenish-

ing the nearly empty treasury by casting coin. Stories are told of subterranean passages in the hill where Morelos confined those who incurred his anger, starving them on scant rations.

Rayón retired to a cavern near Zitácuaro where he remained until March 1814, when he occupied and fortified the strategic Mount Cópore, near Yanzapéo, north of Zitácuaro. Here also, arms and coins were manufactured.

At this period, because of their inability to get to the several caches made during more auspicious days, the insurgent leaders were nearly destitute. Over 200,000 pesos' worth of jewelry and silverware, part of the Oaxaca booty, had been concealed in the hacienda Chichihualco; in a near-by canyon were hidden over 200 silver bars, iron, copper, bales of cacao, cinnamon, and some coined copper and silver; fifty thousand Spanish-Colonial pieces-of-eight had been cached in a cave in Apango Canyon; near Tlapa, Deputy Bustamante had buried several boxes containing coined silver and the archives of the Congress; and lastly, in a ranch near Zumpango, Don Nicolás Verasaluze had concealed 12,000 silver pesos and 8,000 pesos in copper coin entrusted to him by the Congress.

The royalists must have received some information regarding the above mentioned caches, as a thorough search was instituted. The archives disclose that on July 14, 1814, a find was made in a cave near Tixtla from which the royalists recovered 200 pounds of silver table service; 11½ pounds of jewelry, mostly precious stones mounted in gold; 29 gold coins (of which there were one half-real, twenty-three one-real, and five two-reales pieces); 5½ ounces of pearls in strings; and 539 pesos in coined silver of the Zacatecas provisional type and a few others issued by the insurgents.

During the early part of 1814, while Oaxaca was still occupied by insurgent forces and Morelos was fleeing from a relentless foe, the commander of the Oaxaca garrison, pressed for funds, followed the example set by Mier y Terán of Tehuacán, causing coins to be made using the distinguishing O.X.A. initials. Most of these were made of copper and bear the 1814 date. The royalist commander, Colonel Alvarez, entered Oaxaca on March 29, 1814, and among the numerous reforms which he instituted was the withdrawal from circulation of all the copper coins.

By the middle of 1814, insurgent domination over the South was nearly at an end. Calleja had been made Viceroy of New Spain and issued the copper coinage mentioned on p. 72. The insurgents availed themselves of this opportunity literally to flood the country with propaganda charging that the Spaniards intended to remove all the gold and silver to Spain and fill New Spain with worthless copper currency.

Apparently, several complaints had reached Morelos regarding his copper coinage, and in a letter addressed to Don José María Liceaga, written from the ranch of Anota April 29, 1814, he says in part:

“ . . . the provisional copper money cannot cease unless we decide to issue paper or leather money as happened in the United States, but if we do that, each note should be of not more than one peso . . . This nation has been made to venerate royalty and our citizens uncover their heads each time they see the effigy of the king on the coinage, and regardless of our admonitions, they will place higher esteem on a copper coin bearing the bust of Ferdinand than on a silver one bearing the Mexican arms. If we don't permit any other form of money except the one we have devised, be it gold, silver, copper, leather, paper or wood, we will obtain our Liberty. . . . ”

In another part of the above letter, Morelos refers to the buried 50,000 Spanish-Colonial pesos and doubts their recovery, for he believes that the person to whom he had entrusted the money had been killed, and speaks of him as “an uncommunicative individual who did not confide in anyone, not even his wife.”

Morelos makes reference to wood money. At that time wooden *tlacos* were in common use and Morelos issued an edict whereby any merchant wanting to put into circulation wooden blocks, commonly known as *tlacos*, could apply for a permit. Thus two purposes were achieved: limiting the number issued and collecting a small tax.

Sometime during the month of October 1814, the insurgent leaders, Morelos and Cos, with about 500 followers, arrived at Apatzingán, a small town in the western part of Michoacán, and, as mentioned above, the deputies of the Chilpanzingo Congress also went there. The recent misfortunes suffered by all had not humbled them or taught them prudence, and on October 22, 1814, a constitution was formulated and proclaimed with as much demonstration as could be evoked from the small population fringed by the ragged army brought in by Morelos and Cos. A Supreme Court was installed at Ario, a nearby town, at an expense of 8,000 pesos, and a medal was ordered struck to commemorate the occasion.

On May 5, 1815, just as the assembly had opened a session, warning was received that Iturbide (the future emperor of Mexico . . . then a Royalist commander), was about to fall upon the town. The members fled immediately, most of them going to Uruápan, while Morelos retired to Técpan where his influence and following were stronger.

Nothing of importance occurred until November 5, 1815, when Morelos was taken prisoner by the Royalist commander Concha.

Morelos stated at the time he was taken prisoner that he had in his possession 3,000 pesos in silver coins of one-real denomination and six silver bars which he claimed belonged to the funds of the National Congress. Six additional silver bars, 1,500 coined silver pesos and a silver table-set, he claimed as his personal property.

Morelos was executed by a firing squad on December 22, 1815, in the village of San Cristobal Ecatepec.*

The numismatic activities of Morelos have been recorded in an article entitled A SKETCH OF THE COINAGE OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL MORELOS BASED UPON AN IMPORTANT FIND, read by its author, Mr. Lyman Haynes Low, before the American Numismatic and Archeological Society of New York, on June 2, 1886. This article was published in extract by the Journal of Numismatics, Vol. XXI, No. 1, for July 1886, and later privately printed in full.

Dr. Nicolás León, in his booklet *La Moneda del General Insurgente Don José María Morelos*, published in Cuernavaca, State of Morelos, Mexico, in 1897, translated Mr. Low's article and enlarged upon it with additional notes. As these works are available, it was thought advisable not to delve too deeply into the Morelos coinage in this monograph, except to add a few pertinent remarks not previously made known. Consequently, of the Morelos coinage, only the chief types will be considered.

The characteristics of nearly all the coins of Morelos are: on one side, a bow with arrow pointing upward; below, **SUD**; on the other side, above, a script **M**, the left hand stroke forming an S and the right hand stroke ending in a small o for **MO**(relos)**S**; in middle, value, 8 R., 4 R., etc.; and in exergue, the year of minting. Both sides have either plain or floreated fields.

GOLD COINAGE

It is believed that Morelos had no regular gold coinage. The few known specimens in this metal vary greatly, with the exception of the half-real pieces which are fairly uniform. This indicates that these coins were made only when and where gold was available, and as all known pieces are cast and in every one the value is expressed in reales, it is presumed that any copper coin available at the time was used as a pattern. If a regular gold coinage had been projected, it would be expected that Morelos would have used specially made dies, with the proper inscription indicating the value in escudos. If this had been the case, the gold bullion would have been sent to any of the numerous places where Morelos had his minting machinery. Such procedure would imply that gold was plentiful and that its transportation to and fro was done in comparative safety. This was far from being the case. In addition, the writers of the time would have mentioned this

* In the preparation of this historical sketch the following works were used as references:

Morelos—Documentos Inéditos y Poco Conocidos—1927, 3 volumes. Secretaría de Educación Pública, Mexico, D. F.

México a Través de los Siglos.—1889—Balleca y Cia. Mexico.—5 volumes.

Zamacois.—Historia de México.—1876—Parrés y Cia. Barcelona. 20 volumes.

Bancroft.—History of Mexico.—1888—San Francisco, California. 6 volumes.

Bustamante.—Cuadro Histórico de la Revolución Mexicana. 1843—Mexico.—5 volumes.

momentous event. The total absence of reference to gold coins would indicate that the ones now available are either fabrications since the time of Morelos or are genuine experimental or gift pieces. The author is inclined to accept the latter assumption.

In the historical data consulted, only two references were found pertaining to the gold coinage of Morelos. The first is the account of J. Fernández Lizárdi, in the *Calendario para 1825* cited by Genaro García, in the book entitled *Leona Vicario, Heroína Insurgente*, published in Mexico City, 1910, p. 73, which in essence says that this woman sympathizer of the insurgent cause and resident of Mexico City, was a secret agent of Morelos, and as a token of esteem and gratitude for her eminently patriotic services, Morelos sent her specimens of the first gold and silver coins made in the South. The second reference is found in the three volume work entitled MORELOS—*Documentos Inéditos y Poco Conocidos*, published by the State Department in charge of Public Education, Mexico City, 1927, Vol. II, p. 226, stating that the royalist forces uncovered a cache in which among other things were twenty-nine gold coins of Morelos. This fact was mentioned on p. 106.

An 1812 Morelos gold coin, onza size, was offered at auction and later withdrawn as spurious, by Glendining & Co. of London, June 16-17, 1937, specimen No. 373. The obverse shows a bow and arrow and the word SUD separated by two ornamental twigs, curving upwards. Below SUD is another ornament resembling a rose with an elongated leaf on each side. The whole is surrounded by a heavy closed wreath. The reverse has the usual Morelos monogram within two inverted ornamental twigs arranged semicircularly, the value expressed as 8 R and the date 1812, all within a closed wreath. This side bears the counterstamp of the Suprema Junta Nacional Gubernativa, which is described on p. 128.

Mr. Low in his monograph of 1886 does not mention gold coins, but Dr. León describes four: three half-real pieces, all similar, and one eight-reales coin belonging to the collection of Dr. Francisco Kaska. This piece or an identical one was in the Adolph Hess sale of July 11, 1933, lot 1355. Unfortunately the weight is not given in either instance. The description of the piece is as follows: obverse, within an enclosed wreath, bow and arrow; below, SUD, partly within an open wreath; the whole surrounded by continuous leaf borders. The reverse shows the Morelos monogram, 8 R and the date, 1813, all within an inverted wreath; the border is ornamented, Pl. XIV, I.

In Low's sale of February 1899, there are described and illustrated, a number of rare Morelos specimens, the property of Don Francisco León y Calderón, of Oaxaca, Mexico. Among them there is listed under number 120 an eight-reales gold coin with the following description:

1813—8 Rls. Monogram of Morelos within wreath of two inverted branches, below * 1813 * CS. with monogram of Morelos obliterating first two figures of date;

broad-pointed milling around border. Reverse: 8-R separated by shield, with border containing eight crosses, within which a lion rampant facing right; crest, a large bow with erect arrow in center; branches crossed below, border same as obverse; weight: 16 pennyweights 15 grains; diameter: 36 millimeters. A drawing of this piece is shown on Pl. XX, No. 6, in Herrera's *El Duro*. See Pl. XIV, 2, of this work.

The above two pieces were probably made at Oaxaca, because gold was known to have been in the possession of the insurgents there. A number of years ago it was reported that a jeweler in St. Louis melted down a large Morelos gold piece, weighing about 16-2/3 pennyweights. The description of the coin was not given.

In *The Gold Coinage of Latin America* by Harry F. Williams, *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XLVIII for 1914, p. 88, a two-reales gold piece is described.^① It was cast using a copper two-reales of the plain background type as a pattern.

In the same article, a half-real piece cast in gold of the same type, but without counterstamps, is mentioned. Pl. XIV, 4. This coin is in the museum of the American Numismatic Society and weighs 2.17 grammes. Dr. León in his book mentions three pieces of this denomination, all of 1813, a date in which no copper coins of this type appear to have been struck. It is probable that the gold half-reales and two-reales may have been made hurriedly for a definite purpose, at a time when facilities did not permit regular dies to be made.

On page 109 mention is made of the finding by the Royalists in a cave near Tixtla of one of Morelos' caches consisting of jewelry, some silver, and 29 of his gold coins—23 of which were of one-real denomination. Not a single gold coin of this value is known to be in any collector's cabinet.

In recent years several large coins, cast in gold and also in silver, have been offered to collectors. On one, the value reads 16 S (escudos?) but it is quite evident that an attempt was made to obliterate the original inscription and the 16S added, as the digit 8 of the 8 R shows clearly under the figure 1 of the 16. This can be nothing other than a crude modern fabrication.

SILVER COINAGE

The silver coins of Morelos, none of which are so common as the copper issues, are somewhat of a problem to the collector. Silver coins are found more often cast than struck, while the copper pieces are nearly always struck. Struck silver specimens with floreated field, dated 1811 or 1812, are seen occasionally, the

^① This specimen, formerly the property of Mr. Williams, was purchased by Waldo Newcomer of Baltimore, and later sold at auction by Morgenthau, New York, February 12 and 13, 1935, for \$60.00. It has on the obverse, a grid counterstamp obliterating the date; on the reverse, is a rosette stamp. Its weight is 7.43 grammes. Pl. XIV, 3. This piece is without doubt genuine.

majority being cast and for 1813 or 1814, Pl. XIV, 6. Copper coins of eight-reales denomination with floreated field are the commonest and are always struck, Pl. XIV, 5-7. Struck silver eight-reales of 1812, with plain field and borders of large dots, have been seen. Nicely cast pieces in silver or base metal, with denelated border or radiations alternated with large dots, undoubtedly originals, are also found, Pl. XIV, 8.

The bulk of the silver coinage was probably made in Oaxaca, where Morelos and his followers had less interruption, better facilities, and where there were, at times, large amounts of silver bullion.

Apparently, four-real pieces were struck in small quantities and few got into circulation. Most of those known are in silver and vary greatly in design. At least three varieties are known dated 1811, all of which were in Lyman H. Low's sale of February 20, 1899. One has the inscription V. 4 R, which stands for *Vale 4 Reales*, Pl. XV, 1. These pieces were probably trial pieces. A few examples of the obverses and reverses are illustrated on Pl. XIV, 9-10. The silver two-reales are cast and similar in type to the floreated eight-reales pieces. These are found for the year 1812 only, Pl. XV, 2. Most of those found are in mint condition, but a few are known that appear to have seen much wear. A much rarer two-reales piece of the same date, but with plain background is known, and similar pieces dated 1813 were in Low's sale of 1899.

Struck pieces of one-real denomination, bearing the 1812 date and with a plain background, have been seen. The ones dated 1813 are of different type and are cast. In these, the reverse shows an outer closed wreath of small leaves; the M appears in either of two forms—the usual monogram, or as a Roman M, Pl. XV, 3-5.

The silver half-real pieces are similar in design to the gold coins; they bear the 1813 date and have the value "medio" expressed by the symbol *M̄*. Other cast pieces, with a closed wreath border on both sides, and the value expressed by M R for "medio real," are also found in copper as well as in silver, Pl. XV, 6.

COPPER COINAGE

Copper pieces are the most abundant, in fact, it can almost be said that the coinage of Morelos was a copper issue. Don Carlos María Bustamante, a barrister who accompanied the principal chiefs of the insurrection of the South, in his *Cuadro Histórico*, Vol. III, p. 42, states:

"The circulation of Spanish-Colonial money issued by the Mexico City mint had ceased entirely in the territory occupied by the Insurgents. The only available medium of exchange was the copper currency of the revolutionists.

"In the different treasuries of the Oaxaca City government, there was at one time \$32,640.00 in copper and a lot more was believed to be held by the people themselves.

"The monthly revenues of Oaxaca amounted approximately to \$41,440.00 divided as follows:-

Customs duties	\$ 1,440.00
Tobacco	16,000.00
Tithes	24,000.00

all of which were being paid in copper currency. While silver coin, called *chagoya*, had been introduced by Morelos, and over \$200,000.00 had been cast in the City of Oaxaca, nearly all of it was in the hands of Indian traders who refused to sell their wares except for silver coin. Towards the last days of Insurgent occupancy, it was difficult to obtain provisions, as no one wanted to accept the copper currency."

Virtually all the copper coins were struck, and an unusually large number of dies must have been used. This is due to the fact that coins were struck in many places and frequently by army commanders operating in different areas. The Morelos coins of eight-reales denomination are fairly uniform in size and thickness, but the two-reales and the one-real pieces vary considerably in type of dies, in the depth of design or pressure used in the striking, and especially in size and thickness of the flans. Many of the poorer and lighter pieces are undoubtedly contemporary counterfeits, which at the time were produced in large numbers. The manufacture of spurious copper coinage was so prevalent that Morelos himself, as well as the Suprema Junta, repeatedly issued edicts, by which counterfeiting was declared a crime punishable by death.

The copper issues fall for the most part into two major varieties—all having on one side the bow and arrow, and the word SUD below; on the other side, the Morelos monogram, the value and date. One type has a plain field; the other has an elaborately floreated design, Pl. XV, 8-9, Pl. XVI, 1-12.

The eight-reales of the plain type are dated 1811, 1812 and 1813. The first are rare. On the more elaborate type, the following dates are found: 1812, 1813 and 1814, the last being the rarest. There are no known four-reales specimens in copper. The two-reales and the one-real come with plain fields dated 1811, 1812, and 1813; those with the floreated field for 1812 only. Both values of the latter type are rare. The half-real is found with the plain field dated 1812, with the symbol \bar{M} for "medio" between the monogram and the date. Another variety without date and with blank reverse has the monogram and the \bar{M} filling the whole field, with a broad dentelated border. Cast specimens of the half-real denomination are found, similar to the silver type of the same denomination, having a continuous wreath border on both sides, with the value expressed as M R placed between a Roman type M and the date 1813.

It is evident that the minters used punches to retouch poorly struck coins, because occasionally pieces are found restamped with an 8 or a 2 and sometimes an R where apparently the figures did not show up clearly, Pl. XVI, 13-14.

Morelos used a counterstamp to revalidate royalist as well as some of his own coinage. This will be considered under Insurgent Counterstamps, Pl. XVI, 2, Pl. XXI, 1-5.

In J. Schulman's sale catalogue of December 4, 1905, item No. 288, p. 15, Pl. 1, there is described and illustrated an eight-reales copper coin of Morelos, rather unique in appearance and workmanship. The description is as follows:

On one side, in field, is a bow and arrow over the word SUD; the marginal inscription beginning at the upper right quadrant reads: MONEDAPROVI . CONAL . P. S. Fo. VII. (Provisional money. The P.S. may mean *primus supremus*, Latin for most supreme, Fernando VII.*)

On the other side, the field is occupied by the usual Morelos monogram, almost completely obliterated by the Morelos counterstamp (see p. 127); the value expressed as 8 . R on a second line, and below the almost illegible date 1812. Around the margin, beginning at the lower left quadrant, the inscription: FABRICA HUAUTIA . Between the two words is the counterstamp and to the right of it are several faint lines which the cataloguer, looking at the coin, declared read EN; thus the complete inscription would be FABRICA EN HUAUTLA. (Made in HUAUTLA). The border on both sides is reeded, Pl. XV, 10.

The specimen, as far as one can tell from the illustration, is perfectly genuine and appears to be struck. The bow, arrow, and the letters Fo. VII show double striking. It is interesting to note that each letter appears to have been retouched or cut with a sharp instrument. The letter i in FABRICA is dotted while the penult letter of HUAUTIA is not, a fact which led the author to attribute this piece to the mining town of HUAUTLA, municipality of Glaquiltenango, county of Jujutla, State of Morelia, located in a district where Morelos was very active. In fact, during the early part of 1812, Morelos was besieged in the city of Cuautla, only thirty-six miles from HUAUTLA.

COINAGE OF OAXACA

GOLD

In the Glendining & Co. sale of June 16-17, 1937, item 374, was a gold coin, onza size, similar in every respect to the silver eight-reales piece described below, except that the Morelos counterstamp is found under the Morelos monogram. This specimen also carries the counterstamp of the Suprema Junta Nacional Gubernativa. See p. 128.

* The author's description of the inscription is not the same as the one given by Schulman, who catalogues it as: (MO)NEDA PROVI .CONALPS . ES . A.

Morelos coins with the mint name OAXACA, .O.X.A. or .OXA. are found both in silver and copper, dated 1813 and 1814. Several very interesting silver pieces were in the León y Calderón collection sold by Low on February 20, 1899. There was an eight-reales piece with the Morelos monogram in center, encircled by the inscription PROV.D.OAXACA 1813 in crudely carved letters. The reverse shows a shield containing a lion rampant and 8-R at sides. Pl. XVII, 1. This piece is counterstamped with the Morelos monogram and bears some resemblance to the large gold piece mentioned under "Gold coinage of Morelos."

In the same sale was a four-reales specimen dated 1814 with the obverse of the usual floreated background type, and reverse with .OXA. beneath SUD, but on a plain field. This piece appears to have been cast. Pl. XVII, 2. Two other four-reales are known, but their authenticity is doubtful. One has the monogram, value, and date 1813, on plain field and apparently without border; and .OXA. in exergue on reverse. The other is from the same obverse die as the first piece, but with a .|.|.|.|.|. border and with a somewhat similar reverse, but with borders thus ∞∞∞∞∞∞. Both pieces are rough casts in base silver.

In the British Museum is a well-struck silver two-reales piece of 1814 of the same workmanship as some of the copper pieces mentioned later. Pl. XVII, 3. The obverse is of the usual plain field type but with a cross between the figure 2 and the letter R. The reverse has bow and arrow in center, similar to the copper Oaxaca pieces with .SUD. above and .OAXACA. below.

The only silver coin of this mint that is not rare is the small struck silver half-real. These must have been extensively circulated as they are generally found in a worn condition. The obverse has a crowned lion rampant facing left, AMERICA MORELOS 1813; reverse, a bow and arrow encircled by the legend PROVINCIONAL DE OAXACA. Pl. XVII, 7.

The coins of eight-reales denomination are either cast or struck, in both cases dated 1814. The cast piece is of the usual plain field type with .O.X.A. under the SUD and a cross of dots between the 8 and the R. Pl. XVII, 8. The struck coins are of better workmanship and have OAXACA. above and SUD below; the border is reeded. Pl. XVIII, 9. In the Hill collection is a copper two-reales almost identical to the silver two-reales but with OAXACA at top and SUD at bottom as on the eight-reales. Pl. XVII, 10.

A group of coins in gold, silver, and copper inscribed AMERICA MORELOS appears to belong to the Oaxaca series. Excepting one specimen, which is struck and bears the inscription *Provisional de Oaxaca*, all coins of this group are cast.

Every one, however, shows a lion, characteristic of the Oaxaca provincial coins described on page 95.

GOLD COINS

Coins of one-escudo and half-escudo sizes were auctioned in London by Glendining & Co., items 375 and 376, June 16-17, 1937. Both pieces appear to be cast, have on one side a rampant lion facing left, and around the margin the inscription, AMERICA MORELOS ...1813... On the left of the lion, the value appears as 1 or ½; on the right, the letter R for reales. The 1-R coin has the borders reeded. The reverses have the usual bow and arrow; below it .SUD.; and the whole is surrounded by a closed wreath.

SILVER COINS

Cast silver pieces of two, one and half-real denomination, with the obverses showing the rampant lion in the center of the field, and AMERICA MORELOS around the margin, dated either 1813 or 1814, were sold by Low, February 20, 1899. The reverses of all have an arrow in a drawn bow, and the word .SUD. below. Both sides have reeded borders. Pl. XVII, 4, 6.

A cast two-reales in silver, dated 1814, belonging to this group and having * T ∴ C * under bow is illustrated on Pl. XVII, 5.

There are also cast two-reales silver coins, dated 1813, with the bow and arrow within a continuous wreath, similar to the design on the gold coins of this group.

The silver half-real, carrying the inscription *Provisional de Oaxaca*, described on page 114 is the only specimen of this series which is struck and from the number available and the condition in which found, must have been used extensively. Pl. XVII, 7.

COPPER COINS

Two-reales and half-real coins of the America Morelos type have been seen in copper. All bear the 1813 date and are similar to the silver pieces of like denomination, except that the bow and arrow are encircled by a continuous wreath.

The following notes taken from *Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra de Independencia de México* by Hernández y Dávalos, México, 1881, Vols. IV, V, VI, probably have not been previously presented either numismatically or in English.

VOLUME IV

D. José María Liceaga, member of the Supreme Governmental Council of America, had the following proclamation made public by the town crier, September 30, 1812:

“Whereas copper coinage has been one of the most important sources of revenue I have determined that: (*first*) it shall be accepted in all places (*second*) on a par with the silver coinage (*third*) and all those refusing it, shall be considered enemies of the Insurgent cause (*fourth*) all coins, whether made of silver or copper, must be struck (*fifth*) all cast coins shall not be accepted at any value (*sixth*) copper coins will be redeemable at termination of the war. . . . Issued at General Headquarters, San Luis de la Paz, County of the same name, State of Guerrero.” (p. 488.)

On pp. 660-61 there is a communication from D. Vicente Beristain to Captain General D. José María Morelos, dated Tehuacán, November 12, 1812, whereby Beristain acknowledges having received 164 silver bars (of the 213 taken in Pachuca by Osorno) which were distributed as follows:

To the Suprema Junta.....	30	
Reserved for Morelos.....	108	
Kept by Beristain.....	26	Total 164 bars

In the same letter, Beristain admits having coined 22 bars and that the remaining four were to be coined. He also agrees not to coin any more until authorized.

A receipt from José Lucas Marín, to Morelos, for 90 silver bars, issued on the road to Teotihuacán, November 16, 1812, appears on p. 665. These bars were from the 108 given to Morelos by Beristain.

On p. 788 is found a statement issued by the Treasurer of the City of Oaxaca, Don Joseph de Micheltorena, approved by Governor José María Murguía y Galárdi, to the effect that on December 1, 1812, (Oaxaca was taken by Morelos Nov. 25, 1812), the Treasury had 4768 marks of silver, of which 2105 marks 7 ounces 3 drams had been delivered to the silversmiths to be coined.*

Standing on a second story balcony of the City Hall, Morelos threw to the populace the coins which he had ordered cast to celebrate the oath of allegiance December 13, 1812. (p. 790).

In a list of civil employees, issued by Morelos from Oaxaca, January 23, 1813, the name of Don Juan Catalán appears as the Superintendent of the *dies*. It is evi-

* The amount of coined silver on hand, of both coinages (ambas monedas), presumably Spanish-Colonial and *Provinciales de Oaxaca*, is given as \$32,746.70. A mark equals 8 ounces, so disregarding the amount of base metal alloy, the above amount of silver would produce \$16,848 in coined silver. If 10% base metal were added to obtain the proper hardness, the amount coined would be \$18,532.80 which tallies with the average monthly output of the year following, as given in Volume V, pp. 79-81. This confirms Morelos' report of December 29, 1812, of having found coined silver of the province in the City Treasury of Oaxaca.

dent, therefore, that he was the superintendent of the Oaxaca mint during the Insurgent regime. (p. 808).

A statement of the Oaxaca Treasury dated February 1, 1813, shows a cash balance as follows (p. 811):

In silver coins—struck.....	40 pesos 7½ reales
In copper coins—struck.....	58 pesos 1½ reales
Total.....	99 pesos 1 real

VOLUME V

Don Francisco Pimentel, Treasurer of the City of Oaxaca during the insurgent regime, wrote on July 8, 1813, of the many difficulties encountered; and in order to surmount them, he suggested:

“ To increase the coinage of silver and copper, and that, as the coining press is not in working order, the hammer struck coinage should have a milled edge to prevent its falsification. . . . The silver bullion waiting to be coined is not much, and as soon as struck, will disappear in the same manner as that previously minted. People even pay a premium to exchange copper coins for silver. . . . There being abundant quantities of copper coin, the legality of which is doubtful, the treasury could issue paper money in denominations of from five to one thousand pesos, leaving enough two, one and half-real pieces of cast copper coins to facilitate small business transactions. . . . It would be convenient to coin gold by the recommended hammered and milled process. The ore could be obtained from the mines of Teoxomulco, Río San Antonio, Texas, and Ixtepeti, which produce considerable amounts of gold. . . . The coining press, in use for over one year, is out of commission, and it has not been possible to strike even reales or half-reales. . . . To date, the greatest source of revenue has been derived from the coining of silver which from February to June 30, 1813, has amounted to \$90,367.87 — a monthly output of \$18,730.50. . . .” (pp. 79-81).

On August 20, 1813, Treasurer Pimentel issued a statement of the loans obtained in Oaxaca, amounting to \$1,303,093.02. (Morelos had authorized a loan of twenty million pesos). The interest on the above amount, ranging from 4% to 6%, had not been paid. (p. 125).

According to an undated letter from Manuel Ignacio García, councilman of the mining town of Zacuálpan, County of Sultepec, State of México, Morelos had authorized the establishment of a mint there for the striking of copper coins. The Brigadier-General, commander of the district, had died and on June 17, 1813, Morelos had sent an inspector to receive an accounting of the amount coined. In this same communication, accusation is made that copper coinage had been issued without authority in the Cantón de Zultepec, which, therefore, should be declared counterfeit. (p. 130).

In the diary kept by Don Ignacio López Rayón, President of the Supreme Council, and military commander of the territory comprising the State of Oaxaca, is recorded that on January 10, 1813, a proclamation was made public, retiring from circulation certain provisional coinage, because there were being minted in the mining town of Angangueo, County of Zitácuaro, State of Michoacán, enough silver coins of small denomination to take care of all commercial transactions. (p. 630).¹

On July 7, 1813, General Rayón reports that proclamations were issued prohibiting the circulation of cast silver coins, popularly known as *chagolla*,² and ordering the acceptance of struck silver coins only. (p. 641).

On February 18, 1814, an official communication was sent by Rayón to Don José Luís Rodríguez Alconedo of Oaxaca, commissioning him to cut a die with which to strike copper coins of one-eighth of a real. (p. 653).

On August 6, 1814, Rayón explains the causes which forced the insurgents to evacuate the City of Oaxaca. Among others, the lack of funds is cited. (p. 592).

VOLUME VI

Dr. José de San Martín was appointed Inspector by Don Ignacio López Rayón, Captain-General of the Province. The Inspector requested from the *Intendente*, Don José María Murguía of the City of Oaxaca, by official communication No. 10, dated February 15, 1814, data about the mint in the city of Oaxaca and the reasons for not coining money with the six dies available. (p. 355).

On March 24th, Dr. San Martín issued orders that all coined silver in the Oaxaca treasury was to be delivered to the muleteer, Juan Nepomuceno Méndez, who was ordered by Rayón to transport it to a safe place.³

—o—

TIERRA CALIENTE

On page 104 mention is made that General Mier y Terán struck coins at Tierra Caliente (Warm Lands) in 1813 and that he placed a .T.C. between the bow and SUD to differentiate this issue from other issues. As there is a marked similarity between these T. C. pieces and the Oaxaca copper pieces of the following year, especially in the style of the bow, it is possible that the same engraver cut the dies for both issues.

The more common piece is the copper eight-reales. There are two-reales and half-reales of the same design. These are rare, Pl. XVII, 11-13.

¹ This is a hitherto unknown mint. It would be of interest to know just what these coins were. The author's assumption is that these are the one-real coins of the American Congress, dealt with on p. 121.

² Previously spelled *chagoya*. See p. 112.

³ Apparently this order was not carried out, as the royalists found some seven thousand pesos in Oaxaca when they entered the city on March 29, 1814, five days after the order was issued.

SUPREMA JUNTA NACIONAL (Supreme National Council)

On August 19, 1811, Don Ignacio Rayón convoked an assembly of the principal inhabitants and land owners of Zitácuaro, State of Michoacán. The assembly decided that centralization of power was urgently needed to accomplish the independence of the Colony, and recommended the establishment of a Supreme National Council which was to consist of three members and could be increased to five members if the occasion required. The principal army chiefs were then invited to serve as electors for the selection and installation of the three members who were to form the council. The members of the Supreme National Council took oath to maintain the rights of the Church and of King Ferdinand VII—who at the time was a prisoner of the French—and in his name to carry on the government of New Spain. The site for the Council was to be wherever it was possible to meet and obtain a quorum. On January 2, 1812, it was moved from the fortified town of Zitácuaro to Tlalchapa; from there it was transferred to Sultepec, and upon being attacked at this last place, the Council retired to Tlalpujahua. Here a mint was established and coining activities began almost immediately. The Congress was accorded the title of "Majesty" (*su magestad*, abbreviated S.M.). In the constitution formulated and accepted by this body, sovereignty stood vested in Ferdinand VII, but was to be exercised by the Supreme National Council until the king regained his freedom. It was admitted, however, that the retaining of Ferdinand's name was a mere disguise, and one which served to gain the general support of the timorous natives who were accustomed to revere royalty.

Coins of the Supreme National Council were issued during 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814.

SILVER COINAGE

The first issue consisted of cast eight-reales coins. These were made during 1811 and part of 1812. The obverse shows an upright eagle on a clump of cacti growing on a bridge of three arches; at sides 8-R; around FERDIN.VII.DEI. GRATIA.1811 (or 1812). The reverse has in center a hand holding a bow and arrow, a halberd, a quiver and a sling; around, + PROUICIONAL.POR.LA.SUPREMA. JUNTA.DE.AMERICA. The edges are usually plain and show file marks; in a few specimens an attempt at diagonal reeding is noticeable, Pl. XVIII, 1.

Coins of this first issue are found in both well executed and poorly made casts; and, while there is a possibility that the poorer casts may be counterfeits, both types are sometimes found counterstamped, especially with the Morelos monogram. This counterstamp is more generally found on the poorer cast pieces.

During 1812, dies were cut, and struck pieces dated 1812 and 1813 are found. The struck specimens are larger in size than those cast. On the stamped coins the eagle on the bridge is smaller and the inscription .VICE.FERD.VII.DEI.GRATIA.ET.-

1812 (or 1813) completely encircles the design. On the reverse, the same symbols appear as on the previous piece, but the marginal inscription reads: ✠ S.P.CONG. NAT.IND.GUV.T.8R. $\overset{\circ}{S}.\overset{\circ}{M}$. (or s.m.). Pl. XVIII, 2. The inscription continues from obverse to reverse and may be translated, "In place of Ferdinand VII, by the Grace of God and the first supreme Congress of the National Independent Government." The T probably stands for Tlalpujahua, the name of the town where the minting took place. The $\overset{\circ}{S}.\overset{\circ}{M}$. is probably for *Suriano Mexicano*, the name frequently given to the Army of the South—*Ejército Suriano Mexicano*. When the initials S.M. appear alone they may be interpreted as *Su Magestad*, the title of Sovereign Majesty accorded to the council. There is a four-reales coin dated 1813 of the same type as the struck eight-reales specimen. Pl. XVIII, 3.

Apparently, there were no two-reales coins struck in silver. The one-real is of the same type as the eight-reales and has the same inscription except that the value is 1 R. and comes dated 1812 or 1813. Pl. XVIII, 4. Of the half-real, there are two minor varieties: one similar to the 1-real but without the denomination being inscribed, and dated 1812 or 1813, Pl. XVIII, 5; the second variety shows a larger eagle dividing the legend, and reads S.(uprema) J.(unta) N.(acional) G.(uberna-tiva) DEI.GRATIA. 1813. The design on the reverse is larger, and the inscription reads S.P.CONG.NAT.IND.GUV.T.M.S. $\overset{\circ}{M}$. The initials M.S. may represent the name of a mint official, while the $\overset{\circ}{M}$ stands for Medio. Specimens of any other date are not known. Pl. XVIII, 6.

COPPER ISSUE

Copper eight-reales coins of the same type have been studied. All specimens examined, however, were so badly worn that the dates are illegible. They are found on thick and thin planchets. The eagle is shown with shorter wings, more widely spread. The inscription is similar to the 1811 cast type. Pl. XVIII, 7.

Copper two-reales coins are found for 1812, 1813, 1814, and have the usual VICE.FERD.VII inscription. Pl. XVIII, 8. One specimen has the reverse inscription ending on GUV.T.2R.; another one ends in T.2R. T.L., apparently the only instance in the copper series where the mint official's initials are given.

No one-real pieces in copper have been noted, but half-reales with VICE.FER. etc. are known for 1811, 1812, and 1813. Pl. XVIII, 9.

CONGRESO AMERICANO ISSUE

(American Congress)

Another one-real in silver of an entirely different type was issued by this same national council. It has a crowned spread mantle with F.7. in script; around the margin, DEPOSIT.D.L.AUTORID.D.; the reverse shows the Mexican eagle on cactus; at sides, 1-R; around, CONGRESO AMERICANO. The inscription on both sides, therefore, probably means, "Fernando 7º depositante de la autoridad del Congreso Americano," ("Ferdinand 7th upon whom authority has been vested by the American Congress"). Another variety has the mantle lower down and the inscription DEPOS.D.L.AUT. does not go entirely around. The reverse has a larger eagle with the inscription CONGR.AMER. going only partly around. Pl. XVIII, 11. A third has the obverse of the second variety but with the inscription ending AUT.D., and the reverse of the first variety.¹ Pl. XVIII, 10, 11.

In the Oscar Salbach sale, held by Schulman, September 11, 1911, lot 3426, there was a pattern or trial piece in copper of a two-reales of the same description. Pl. XVIII, 12. None of these pieces were dated.

Specimens counterstamped by the Suprema Junta are taken up in the section entitled Insurgent Counterstamps.

NUEVA GALICIA

In the Liveright collection there is a silver two-reales specimen, which in the author's opinion is extremely rare. The obverse, in center, N.G., for Nueva Galicia, (Jalisco of today); around, MONEDA PROVINCIAL 1812; the reverse in center 2 * R; around, SUPREMA.JUNTA.NACIONAL., Pl. XIX, 1. This piece was ordered struck by Brigadier General Don José María Vargas, insurgent military commander of the district.² Diligent search failed to disclose the place where these coins were minted.

COINAGE OF OSORNO

José Francisco Osorno was an ex-convict and a highwayman by profession, so illiterate that he only succeeded in learning to scrawl his name after he had attained prominence as an insurgent leader. His headquarters were in Zacatlán, State of Puebla, from where he was repeatedly ousted, and his followers dispersed by attacking Royalist forces, only to re-appear at the head of his re-united men at some previously designated point, more or less distant from the scene of his last reverse. He attained the rank of major general with the insurgent army and his name was a byword on the plains of Apam. With Don Vicente Beristain acting as advisor,

¹ It is the author's belief that these coins were struck at Angangueo, Michoacán.

² Later, Vargas turned coat and became a royalist commander.

Osorno established a mint in Zacatlán and minting operations began during the month of April 1812 and continued throughout 1813.

Apparently the coinage consisted of two-reales coins struck in silver, one-real and half-real pieces struck in copper, all of the same type. The obverse has the monogram of Osorno *O.S.R.N.* above; *Zacatlán* across the field and the date in exergue. The reverse shows two crossed arrows within a closed wreath at top, and *2.R.*, *Real*, or *Medio* at bottom. Pl. XIX, 2-3.

The more common practice was to counterstamp various regular coins with Osorno's monogram. For these see Insurgent Counterstamps, Pl. XXII, 8-10.*

COINAGE OF ZONGOLICA

Zongolica was a small town in the State of Veracruz, where a lawyer, Don Rafaél Argüelles, and two Catholic priests, Don Mariano de las Fuentes Alarcón and Don Juan Moctezuma Cortés, planned to raise an army with which to assist in the movement for independence. By May 29, 1812, the followers of the two priests — Argüelles having been sent to interview other insurgent chiefs — had attacked and captured the City of Orizaba, and with it 52,000 bales of tobacco. With the money realized from the sale of the 10,400,000 pounds of government-owned tobacco, the erstwhile priests, now self-appointed army chiefs, began minting their own coinage in the usual denominations of one-half, one, two, four and eight-reales pieces. As the town of Zongolica had been the seat of the insurrection and remained the base of operations, the money issued by Cortés and Alarcón bore the name of Zongolica on the obverse of each coin. Medina considers these pieces proclamation medals, but Betts properly classifies them as coins.

These pieces bear on the obverse a bow and arrow; around the margin, *VIVA. FERNANDO.VII.Y.AMERICA.* The reverse has a grotesque palm branch (?) and a sword, crossed; in center, denomination; above, *SONGOLICA* (sic), 1812 in exergue, flower ornaments at sides, Pl. XIX, 4. There were at least two dies for the eight-reales pieces. The late Dr. J. W. Bastow, of Guadalajara, Mexico, had a four-reales Zongolica coin; and several two-reales specimens are known. Pl. XIX, 5. All these coins are rare.

COINAGE OF SIERRA DE PINOS

Medina lists one piece as being from the village of Sierra de Pinos in the Province of Nueva Galicia. In this instance, too, Medina has erred. The piece in question is not a coin, but a proclamation medal ordered made by the council of the village of Sierra de Pinos.

* For a more complete story of Osorno, the reader is referred to the author's pamphlet entitled *Apuntes Biográfico-Históricos de Don José Francisco Osorno*, Mexico, 1932.

ROYALIST COUNTERSTAMPS

MANUEL SALCEDO

Don Manuel Salcedo was Governor of the Province of Texas in 1810, and at the outbreak of the War of Independence the whole province turned against the Spanish-Colonial Government. It is believed that at this time Salcedo found it necessary to revalidate the colonial coinage circulating in the territory of his jurisdiction. He used a crudely made die, which, in the author's opinion, represents the joined initials MS in script.

The letters in this counterstamp are not so well arranged as a properly designed monogram should be, but more in the manner in which Salcedo himself would have initialed his approval on documents not requiring his full signature, which, by the way, compares favorably with the style of stroke appearing on the counterstamp.

On February 22, 1811, Salcedo was deposed and apprehended by the insurgent chief, Juan Bautista Casas, who sent him to Monclova where Salcedo was kept prisoner. The local authorities of this Coahuila town were pro-royalist and permitted Salcedo to wander about the city. When Hidalgo was trapped near Monclova, the local government deserted the insurgent cause and Salcedo was liberated. The Spanish-Colonial government sent him to Chihuahua to preside at Hidalgo's trial; after the leader of the insurgent movement had been shot, Salcedo returned to Texas and resumed the governorship. In April of 1813, Salcedo was again captured by the insurgents, now under the command of Don Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, who did his utmost to protect the life of his prisoner, but an infuriated mob seized Salcedo and decapitated him on April 5, 1813.

Because of the large size of the die it is probable that only eight-reales coins were thus revalidated. This belief is supported by the fact that this counterstamp has not been seen on coins of smaller denominations. No record was found of the number of coins counterstamped, but pieces bearing this monogram are rare. Pl. XIX, 6.*

VERACRUZ

L. C. V.

Eight-reales coins of the Zacatecas provisional type are occasionally found bearing a rectangular counterstamp with the initials L.C.V. These initials stand for "Las Cajas de Veracruz," the free translation of which is: "The Royal Treasury of the City of Veracruz." The viceregal decree made known November 27, 1812, declared compulsory the acceptance in New Spain of all the royalist provisional issues. By decree of December 19, 1812, it was further ordered that the royal treasurer should cause each provisional coin circulating in Veracruz to be weighed

* Some counterstamped coins of Cundinamarca bear a monogram similar to but not exactly the same as the above. This is mentioned to avoid possible confusion.

and stamped as to the value at which it should be accepted. Four dies were made with which to stamp short weight coins; one, for seven-reales; another, for seven and one-fourth reales; a third, for seven and one-half reales, and the last die for seven and three-fourths reales. Pl. XIX, 7. The coins with no stamp were to be considered of full weight. Very few coins, however, were under-weight, and the merchants of Veracruz favored those of Zacatecas above all others, and went so far as to set a purchasing value of nine-reales to every eight-reales piece of the Zacatecas provisional type. This explains why L.C.V. pieces bearing a short weight counterstamp are rare.

VALLADOLID

P. D. V.

These three initials placed on a rectangular counterstamp stand for **Provisional de Valladolid** and were found on an eight-reales piece of the City of Valladolid (see page 96) dated 1813, bearing also the counterstamp of the Chilpanzingo Congress. Pl. XIX, 10.

MONCLOVA

M V A.

Spanish-Colonial eight-reales coins, dated as late as 1819, appear with a counterstamp consisting of two rectangles, one above the other. The upper one contains the letters MVA. and by having no period between the letters, it is understood that the initials represent an abbreviated word. Pl. XIX, 8-9.

In Spanish it is customary to abbreviate a proper name by having the first letter followed by the last one or two letters; thus, Guanajuato is abbreviated "Gto." or "Go."; Mexico, by the letters "Mo."; Hidalgo, by uniting the first with the last two letters, "Hgo.", and Francisco in the same manner, "Fco."—therefore, it is logical to assume that the initials "MVA." stand for Monclova.

The lower rectangle encloses the dates, 1811 or 1812. The first is quite rare, and was found on an 1819 Chihuahua peso, struck over a Charles III eight-reales piece. Spanish-Colonial coins dated as late as 1819 are found with the 1812 counterstamp. The only explanation possible is that these single or double dies were so small and durable they did not deteriorate and were used uninterruptedly for at least eight years; besides, there were no fewer than four sets of dies, each differing slightly from the others.

Records indicate that as early as 1811, authority was granted to establish a mint in the then important city of Monclova (State of Coahuila) but owing to lack of minting machinery and materials, nothing developed. During 1811, when the shortage of coined money was acute, Monclova, like the city of Chihuahua, was compelled to cast coins, using Spanish-Colonial pesos bearing the Mexico City mint mark as patterns. The Director of the Mexico City mint, in his letter of March 7,

1813, addressed to Viceroy Calleja, says in part: "all coins of Monclova, like those of Chihuahua, were cast . . ." Obviously, the making of coins by such a primitive process was slow and tedious, and it doubtless was discontinued as soon as the city treasurer was supplied with sufficient funds to meet current expenses.

By order of the Colonial Government of New Spain, the discarded cast and struck pieces of Chihuahua were sent to Monclova, where they were counterstamped before being placed in circulation. Pl. XIX, 8.

MILITARY COMMANDERS

L. C. M.

There is some question as to the meaning of the letters L.C.M. Having the substantiated evidence that the initials L. C. V. stand for "Las Cajas de Veracruz," one might assume that the letters L.C.M. stand for either "Las Cajas de Mexico" (The Treasury of Mexico), or "Las Cajas de Monclova" (The Treasury of Monclova). However, by a process of elimination, it can be reasoned that the first assumption is not applicable because as it was risky to transport coined silver from the only mint in New Spain to the different parts of the colony, it was equally hazardous to take silver ores or provisional coins from the mining districts to the Capital. In addition, there was no shortage of coins in the City of Mexico, consequently, there was no reason for the provisional or revalidated coinage to circulate in the city. The viceroy was doing all in his power to keep the news of the insurrection from reaching the public, and to allow the circulation of provisional or revalidated coins in Mexico City would have been an acknowledgment of the progress made by the Insurgents.

Since the counterstamp of Monclova consisted of the letters M V A. enclosed in a rectangle, the second possible translation is eliminated.

To the author, a third assumption seems to be the most plausible—*La Comandancia Militar*. (The office of the Military Commander). It has been the custom for the commander of military operations in all countries to assume unlimited powers in all branches of government during a state of siege or when martial law is declared. From 1913 to 1917, during the Mexican revolution, nothing was done without first obtaining the approval of the military commander of the district.

The very fact that there are at least fifteen different counterstamps bearing the initials L.C.M.—no two alike in size or style of lettering—seems to indicate that military commanders of different districts were exercising the prerogative of revalidating coins by this method. Pl. XIX, 9; Pl. XX, 1-9.

Royalist as well as Insurgent coins appear with this counterstamp; this was done to reassure the populace, which was growing distrustful of the numerous types of currency being placed in circulation. In fact, nearly all the provisional eight-reales, as well as many of the two-reales coins, appear with the L.C.M. counterstamp.

VTIL *

A rectangular counterstamp bearing the above inscription within an ornamented rectangle composed of arrow points is sometimes encountered on Spanish-Colonial coins of New Spain, and as such pieces also carry insurgent counterstamps, it is the belief of the author that it is a royalist stamp. The word itself in modern Spanish is *útil*, the literal translation of which is *useful* or *acceptable*. The stamp was placed on coins that had been revalidated by the Insurgents, thus indicating that coins bearing the VTIL counterstamp had been, in turn, revalidated by the Colonial government. Pl. XX, 10; Pl. XXI, 10.

CROWN AND FLAG

A counterstamp, so far unassigned, has been found on an eight-reales Zacatecas provisional coin of the head type, issue of 1812, the property of Mr. H. L. Hill of San Francisco, California.

The piece has on one side, the eagle on the bridge stamp of the Congress of Chilpanzingo, described on page 129. On the other side, is a circular counterstamp having on the lower right portion an archway with the word AMERICA inscribed on it; pointing upward and to the left, a staff carrying a banner on which three initials are visible: an inverted A for a V, an I, and another inverted A. The author assumes that the complete word is VIVA, Spanish for LONG LIVE. Surmounting the flag is a crown, the middle upright of which separates the letters D G for DEI GRATIA. Just below the crown is the initial S, the significance of which could not be determined. The very nature of this stamp assigns it to the Royalist government of New Spain.

The author deduces that this coin, originally a royalist provisional, was carried to the Insurgent camp where it was revalidated with the Chilpanzingo Congress counterstamp; upon the return of the piece to royalist controlled territory, it was again made valid by re-stamping with the die here described. Pl. XX, 11.

INSURGENT COUNTERSTAMPS

MORELOS COUNTERSTAMP

General José María Morelos used a circular counterstamp bearing his monogram, not only to revalidate royalist or other insurgent issues, but also to revalidate his own coinage. Pl. XXI, 1-6. Because of the cheapness of the metal used, which in most cases was copper, and the ability of native artisans, many of the specimens in circulation were cleverly made counterfeits. In order to stop the illegal manufacture of coins, General Morelos decided upon the revalidation of his own coinage by counterstamping it, and orders were issued to deal severely with any one convicted of making spurious coins or placing them in circulation.

Consequently, many of Morelos' copper coins were revalidated by stamping them with an incuse circular die bearing the Morelos monogram with two stars, one above and the other below. Pl. XVI, 2; Pl. XXI, 1. Besides finding this mark on governmental and revolutionary eight-reales coins, this counterstamp is also found on crudely cast pieces of the Suprema Junta. Pl. XXI, 3. Some of the specimens are so crude it would appear that Morelos had cast these pieces from the original cast coins, and then placed his counterstamp on them. This stamp is also found on cast specimens of Spanish-Colonial design bearing the Mexico City mint mark. Pl. XXI, 2. A rare Morelos counterstamp is similar to this one, except that it is smaller, does not have the stars, and instead of being circular, is rectangular in outline. Pl. XXI, 5.

MILITARY COMMANDERS

S. C. M.

Two silver coins, two-reales size, found in the collection of Mr. Frank I. Live-right of New York City, are unmistakably Insurgent provisionals. Each seems to be a two-reales piece of Charles IV worn smooth and revalidated by counterstamping.

The stamp on the obverse side is the same on both coins—a circular counterstamp, eleven millimeters in diameter, with the typical Mexican eagle standing upon a cactus. Around the margin, below, are two olive branches forming a semi-circle. In the upper right quadrant, in the space between the left wing and the margin of the stamp, there are three letters: **S.C.M.** which the author interprets as meaning *Soberano Congreso Mexicano* (Sovereign Mexican Congress).

On the reverse, one specimen has the initials **C.M.S.** in Roman type letters which could be interpreted to mean *Comandancia Militar Suriana*. Pl. XX, 12. The other piece has a partially obliterated oval stamp with the letters **M.d.S.** resting upon a brace which points downward; these letters undoubtedly stand for *Militar del Sur* in which the word *comandancia* is implied, Pl. XX, 13. The translation of both interpretations is Office of the **Military commander of the South**.

The compiler believes these counterstamps were used prior to December 1815, by some insurgent chieftain, not Morelos, but one whose field of operations was also in the Southern part of New Spain and who chose to accept the sovereignty of the congress.

This conclusion is based upon the fact that the National Congress appointed by Hidalgo in 1811, and re-organized by Morelos, ceased to exist about the middle of December 1815. While the Congress was replaced by the Council of Jaujillo, this also stopped functioning January 16, 1816, when the triumvirate, known as Departmental Convention, took its place only to fail within a few days. Thus from January 1816, to September 1821, the supreme command did not rest upon a group of men, but rather upon individual insurgent leaders who acted as independent units.

The writer arrives at the conclusion that these pieces cannot be attributed to Don Vicente Guerrero, who from 1816 to 1821 was the foremost southern leader, because:

- 1—This coinage could not have been issued in the name of a Congress that had ceased to exist.
- 2—Guerrero's few reverses and many victories over the royalist forces kept his men and himself well supplied with funds and war materials, consequently, there was no need for provisional coinage.
- 3—In all the works consulted not a single historical reference was found stating or implying that General Guerrero had to resort to necessity coinage of his own.

S. J. N. G.

This is a circular counterstamp having on the upper portion in a segment of a circle four ornamental designs separated by three distinct dots. Below, in a straight line the capitals **S.J.N.G.** which stand for *Suprema Junta Nacional Gubernativa*. The specimen illustrated on Pl. XXI, No. 10, belongs to the H. L. Hill collection of San Francisco, California. It also has a *J.M.L. - s.r.a.* and a VTIL counterstamp. The coin itself is a Ferdinand VII, eight-reales piece dated 1811 of the Moneda Provisional de Zacatecas variety.

There is another circular counterstamp appearing on two gold coins catalogued by Glendining & Co. of London, sale of June 16-17, 1937, Nos. 373 and 374, having S.J.N.G. on one line and the initials I.P.T. on a second line. The background is plain except for a flag similar to the one found on the J.M.L. counterstamp, with the staff diagonally across the field from left to right. Before this work went to the printers, word was received that these coins had been declared spurious and withdrawn from the sale.

THE CONGRESS OF CHILPANZINGO

Of the two types of counterstamps used, the more common is a circular stamp bearing the arms of the Insurgent Army, chosen by the Congress of Chilpanzingo as its own, and consisting of a bow, arrows, sling, javelin and quiver grouped together. Pl. XXI, 6-7. This Congress was convoked by General Morelos and assembled in the town of Chilpanzingo, deriving its name from this fact, and also to differentiate it from the Supreme National Congress convoked by General Rayón, which met at Zitácuaro and with which Morelos was not in accord. The Chilpanzingo Congress also used a circular stamp bearing an eagle on a bridge, (Pl. XXI, 8-9) which is a crude copy of the Zitácuaro piece described on page 119.

ENSAIE

This circular counterstamp has in the center of the field a crudely represented bird, evidently the artist's conception of the Mexican eagle, but differing from the accepted type in that it is neither upon a cactus nor is it devouring a serpent. The head also is larger than its wings. The word *ENSAIE* is found just beneath, and immediately below is a reproduction of the sling used by the Insurgents to hurl stones. The whole is surrounded by a continuous wreath similar to the border placed on some of the silver coins of Morelos. Pl. XXI, 8 and 11.

The literal translation of "ENSAIE" (at present spelled *ensaye*) is "assay," and indicates that the piece so stamped had been tested as to fineness and was, therefore, approved by the Insurgent Assay office. This office moved with the army and did not have a fixed location.

LINARES *

Don José María Chico de Linares was appointed paymaster general of the insurgent forces by Hidalgo on October 4, 1810, and was responsible for this counterstamp. It consists of a rectangular die with a border formed by a chain of dots. Within, is the word LINARES in two lines, followed by an asterisk. Pl. XXI, 12. Medina is in error in stating that this counterstamp should be attributed to the town of San Felipe de Linares, as this community of barely a few hundred inhabitants at no time occupied a significant part in the War of Independence. The die carrying the Linares counterstamp was probably used for the first time about November 26, 1810, when the Insurgent troops were in Guadalajara.

NORTE

When the Insurgent Generalissimo Hidalgo was taken prisoner by the royalist forces, Don Ignacio López Rayón, a scion of a distinguished family and a barrister by profession, assumed the leadership of the Insurgent movement. General Rayón was the first President of the Suprema Junta Nacional and Commander in Chief of the Army of the North (Norte). As such, he revalidated Spanish-Colonial coins circulating in the districts under his control by counterstamping them with a cir-

cular die having in the center of the field an eagle on a cactus; an eight-pointed star or sunflower near the tip of the wing on the left side, and the word **NORTE** below. The outer edge of this counterstamp has radiated milling. The specimens studied were of one, two and eight-reales denominations, but doubtless four-reales pieces were also counterstamped. Pl. XXII, 1-2. A similar counterstamp with small figures (?) at each side of the eagle but without **NORTE** at bottom was found on a Zacatecas eight-reales. This also may be a stamp of the Army of the North, Pl. XXII, 3.

J. M. L.

A mint was established on the Island of Yuriria by Don José María Liceaga, who as commander of the garrison, fortified and defended this island from September 9, to October 31, 1812, withstanding during this short period nineteen attacks made by the Royalist forces. This island is now known as Isla Liceaga in memory of its defender.

Although historical records state that a mint was established on the island, it is the belief of the author that General Liceaga and his men did not have time to mint any coins and confined their activities to counterstamping the Spanish-Colonial coins in their possession by means of a circular die which had in the center of the field the initials of the commander **J. M. L.** Immediately under, there are one, two, or three letters, Pl. XXII, 4-7. On the specimens studied the following were found: **V.**, **D^a**, **S.M.**, **S.Y.**, **S.L.**, **V^e**, **A.P.**, also crudely inscribed **S^{ca}**. and **s.r.a.** Below, are two olive twigs. A banner displaying a cross appears on the upper portion, the staff of which diagonally bisects the field. On some pieces this emblem is quite prominent.

As to the probable meaning of the second row of initials one can only surmise that they were marks of identification or the initials of the die makers. Historical records were checked as to the possibility that they represented the names of towns occupied by Liceaga. Not having been successful in this, the names of the sub-commanders operating with Liceaga were next investigated with equally negative results.

These counterstamps are found on eight-reales, two-reales and a quarter section of an eight-reales, giving the piece the value of two-reales. This last specimen is most interesting as it is the only example of a larger coin cut in sections to make a fraction found in Mexican numismatic history, a common expedient resorted to in the West Indies, Pl. XXII, 6.

OSORNO

The coinage of this general has been discussed on page 121. The more common practice appears to have been the re-stamping of the regular Mexican coinage rather than to mint new coins. The stamp used shows the Osorno monogram as found on the coins but within an oval depression, Pl. XXII, 8-10.

VILLAGRAN

Few individuals know of this colorful insurgent character of the War of Independence whose real name was Julián Villagrán, but who, under the pompous title of JULIAN I, proclaimed himself emperor of the Huasteca, ruled despotically, and arbitrarily disposed of life and property. While he rose in arms immediately after Hidalgo initiated his revolutionary movement, Villagrán did not reach the height of his career until 1812. At this period it is supposed that he began revalidating Spanish-Colonial coins by counterstamping them with a circular die bearing his name in two lines **VILLA - GRAN**, Pl. XXII, 11.

Villagrán's son, Chito, was a valiant and staunch follower of his father. On May 4, 1813, after an unsuccessful defense in the barricaded town of Huichápan, Chito attempted to escape on horseback, but seeing that his pursuers were gaining on him, Chito tried to detain them by scattering gold doubloons in their path. This trick, however, was of no avail as a false servant had filled the ears of his steed with quick-silver causing it to act queerly and as a result, Chito was captured. (Negrete, *Mexico Siglo XIX*, Vol. VI, pp. 79-81). The Royalists tried to use Chito as a pawn to obtain the submission of the elder Villagrán, but the emperor was too proud and ambitious to barter his position, and with a majestic gesture sent a message to his son exhorting him to die with dignity. His majesty also declared himself prepared to sacrifice for his country the lives of his other children even to the unborn ones.

On June 13, 1813, the elder Villagrán was betrayed by one of his own men and when captured by the Royalist forces was sentenced to be shot. A week later, on the way to his execution, Emperor Villagrán, who was an extremely strong man, surprised his guards by knocking down a mule that inadvertently stepped on his foot. The sentence was carried out at Huichápan, in front of his late imperial palace, his head impaled close to that of his son, and a hand was sent to Ixmiquilpan as a warning to his sympathizers.

COUNTERSTAMPS OF DOUBTFUL CLASSIFICATION

L. V. S.

A number of pieces are found counterstamped with a rectangular die having a border formed of heavy dots and with the initials L.V.S. in the center of the field. The specimens studied were: an eight-reales piece of Nueva Vizcaya of 1811; a Vargas-Sombrerete coin of 1812, also of eight-reales value, Pl. XXII, No. 12; a similar one of the Zacatecas provisional mint dated 1813; a well worn Spanish-Colonial eight-reales piece, counterstamped MVA.—1812, and a cast Chihuahua peso of 1811.

No record was found of the place where this counterstamp was affixed nor the party responsible for its use. The author is inclined to believe that these initials stand for *Labor Vincit Semper* which could be translated as meaning "Labor always conquers."

L. V. A.

In a number of Spanish-Colonial eight-reales silver pieces, bearing the counterstamps of Morelos and of the Chilpanzingo Congress, one finds a small, circular counterstamp of what appears to be a monogram formed by three interlocked script initials L.V.A., Pl. XXII, 13.

Absolutely nothing has been found that would suggest the origin or meaning of these letters, either in the order here given or in any other arrangement.

OTHER COUNTERSTAMPS

There are numerous counterstamps found on Mexican coins, other than those here described. Some are crude imitations or modern fabrications; others have been engraved by hand; a few are merely indentations made with hammer and chisel, and still others that were used by private individuals. Under this last classification fall what the author has named BRAND PIECES, because, owners of large estates in Mexico usually had a small die similar to the iron employed to brand cattle.* As that particular brand proved ownership, the small die was used to stamp agricultural implements or any movable property about the estate, thus preventing the easy disposal of stolen property to neighboring ranches. The author, who spent his early life in Mexico, distinctly remembers seeing the arrival of a new die and its being tried on a coin. Under *brand pieces*, such counterstamps as **L.C: - D C - MR** and many others, should be classified. The joined **MR** has been attributed by some to Manila and still others to Morelos. The Manila attribution is now considered the best.

* See article entitled "Mexican Hacienda Tokens" by Manuel Romero de Terreros, Marqués de San Francisco, Spink & Son's Numismatic Circular, Vol. XLII, part 3, Col. 86, March 1934.

MEXICAN EAGLE

A crudely cut Mexican eagle in an oval depression is a counterstamp found occasionally on eight-reales coins (rare), two and one-real pieces (not uncommon), which many cataloguers have assigned to General Vicente Cuerrero, the principal leader of the Insurgent forces of the South from 1816 to 1821. The author has been unable to find verification for this attribution, Pl. XXII, 14-15.

HIDALGO

In the Prof. Vilhelm Bergsöe sale by J. Schulman, September 28, 1903, Nos. 575-577 and 646, four counterstamped specimens are listed, each with incised lettering in five lines within a circle: .4R. | MON PROV | DI | HIDALGO | .M. One is on a portion of an eight-reales of Charles IV and the other three are on religious medals, Pl. XXII, 16-17. In the author's opinion these are fabrications. The reasons for making this assertion are as follows:

- 1—The die consisted of fine lines which imply fine workmanship and fine steel tempering, which were not possible to the untrained native artisans working under disadvantages.
- 2—The third line has the Italian word **DI** for the Spanish **DE** meaning "of," an error that could not be attributed to Hidalgo or his subalterns. It could be argued that the die was ordered made abroad; but communication with the outside world was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the insurgents. Besides, Hidalgo's campaigns lasted only seven months and there would not have been time to have dies made in Europe.
- 3—The exceedingly religious and timorous natives probably would not have desecrated a religious medal by counterstamping it and much less would they have accepted it as coin.
- 4—The presence of the capital M surmounted by a low case letter o, the symbol used to indicate Mexico, can only be interpreted to mean:
 - a—the Republic of Mexico, and this can be refuted easily, because during Hidalgo's time there was no conception of a republic named Mexico;
 - b—if the M does not indicate the republic then one must take for granted that this counterstamp originated or was placed there by the Mexico City mint, the only one authorized to use this symbol. This is not likely as during the whole insurrection, which lasted from 1810 to 1821, there was no interruption of coining operations in the above mentioned mint, thus making unnecessary the striking of religious medals as monetary media.

FIRST MEXICAN EMPIRE

ITURBIDE'S COINAGE

With the entrance into Mexico City of the Insurgent forces (known as the Army of the Triple Guarantee) on September 27, 1821, the Spanish Colony of New Spain ceased to exist. The country assumed the name of Mexico and its first government was a regency with Agustin Iturbide at its head.

On November 22, 1821, the provisional government decreed that the existing mints were to continue to use until June 1822, the Colonial dies bearing the effigy and legends of Ferdinand VII, by which time it was hoped the national dies would be available. This order specified that nothing was to be changed, least of all the date, thus, all coinage was to bear the date of 1821. As has been seen, this regulation was not followed in a number of instances.

In addition to the Spanish-Colonial coinage, the Regency also permitted the circulation of the provisional money of Zacatecas, and by decree of February 19, 1822, its acceptance at face value was authorized.

Political maneuvers and personal ambition on the part of a few caused the populace to proclaim Iturbide Emperor of Mexico on May 18, 1822. Two days later, Congress ratified this proclamation, and the coronation ceremonies took place July 21st of the same year.

By decree of July 9, 1822, a committee was appointed for the examination, assaying and weighing of the coins issued by the Empire. This committee, empowered to pass upon the validity of the coinage, was to take the place of a similar body that had been functioning in Madrid since January 26, 1731.

In view of the May events, the committee in charge of designing dies for coining changed their Republican plans to fit the new Imperial form of government. The decree of June 11, 1822, authorized the coining of gold, silver and copper in accordance with the following descriptions:

SILVER

Obverse: The bust of the Emperor Iturbide in the center of the field; around the margin the legend *AUGUSTINUS DEI PROVIDENTIA* (Agustin by Divine Providence), and the date in exergue.

Reverse: Standing upon a cactus a crowned eagle, with distended wings as if poised for flight; around the margin the legend *MEXICI PRIMUS IMPERATOR CONSTITUCIONALIS* (First Constitutional emperor of Mexico.)

GOLD

Obverse: Similar to that of silver.

Reverse: Around the margin the same inscription as used on the silver coins; in the center of the field, within a shield, the crowned

eagle standing upon a cactus; the insurgent arms (cudgels, spears and quivers) forming the base of the shield.

The values were to be eight and four escudos.

COPPER

Obverse: In the center of the field, a liberty cap supported by a wand; on the left the mint initials, and on the right the value; around the margin the inscription: AUGUSTINUS D.P.M.P.I.C. (Augustinus Dei Providentia Mexici Primus Imperator Constitucionalis, meaning Agustin, by Divine Providence, the first Constitutional Emperor of Mexico); the date in exergue.

Reverse: In center of field, the coat of arms of the empire surrounded by a wreath of century plant leaves or some other suitable adornment.

While the decree of June 11, 1822, authorized the issuance of copper coins, these were not struck during Iturbide's short-lived reign. The need for such coinage was, no doubt, evident, because on January 23, 1823, Iturbide's government again authorized the coining of copper, and the decree reads:

1. The government is hereby authorized to coin one-half million pesos in copper coins, using the appropriate amount of zinc as an alloy.
2. The size, denomination and description shall be:
 - Coins the size of a four reales silver piece will have a value of one-fourth of a real.
 - Coins the size of a two reales silver piece will have a value of one-eighth of a real.
 - Coins the size of a one real silver piece will have a value of one-sixteenth of a real.
 - Coins the size of a one-half real silver piece will have a value of one thirty-secondth of a real.
 - On the obverse, these coins are to have the bust carried by the silver coinage as at present, and on the reverse, in Arabic numerals, the value corresponding to their size.

With the fall of the empire, this decree was automatically outlawed before a single piece had been struck, and very likely before the dies had been sunk.

Although Iturbide abdicated on the 20th of March, 1823, and sailed for Europe on the 29th of that month, minting of Imperial coins continued until July of the same year.

Iturbide returned to Mexican soil on July 14, 1824, made a futile attempt to regain his lost empire, was taken prisoner by the Republicans, and after a brief trial was shot on July 19, 1824.

During Iturbide's regime it was found necessary to issue paper money in the form of promissory notes, and the authority for such step is found in the decree of December 20, 1822, which provided:

First—That on January 1, 1823, the empire was to issue paper money redeemable within a year from the date of issuance.

Second—The amount was to be four million *pesos*, two million of which were to be in one peso bills, and one million each in two and ten pesos denominations.

Third—The issue was to be distributed by all government offices throughout the empire.

Fourth—The government was to pay its obligations, one-third in paper money and two-thirds in coin.

Fifth—All revenues payable to the government were to be made one-third in paper money and two-thirds in coin.

Sixth—Any government employee not adhering strictly to these regulations was to be ousted.

Seventh—All commercial transactions, of whatever nature, were to be carried on and discharged on the basis of one-third paper money and two-thirds coin.

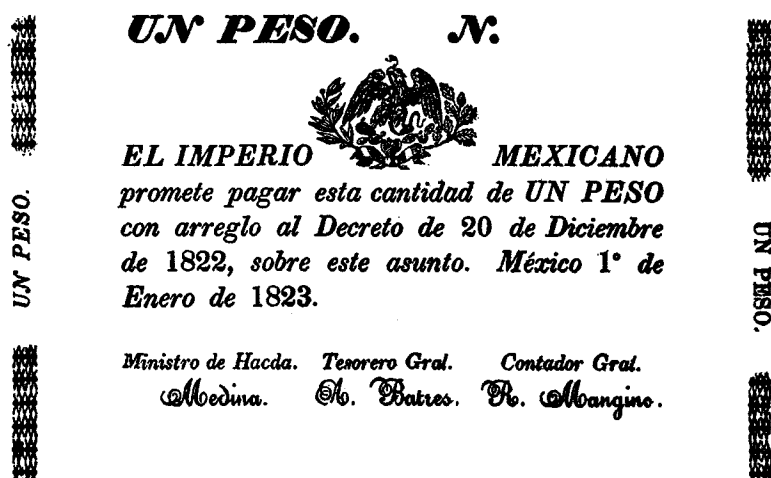
Eighth—In no instance were obligations of any nature to be contracted or discharged unless complying as to proportions, with the requirements of this law.

Ninth—Any commercial transaction involving payment at a future date was not to be considered legal unless the above provisions were carried out. A notary validating any commercial transaction not complying with these specifications was to be deprived of office.

Tenth—Those not complying with the above mentioned provisions were to be fined in coin, twice the amount involved in the transaction.

Eleventh—Any reproduction of paper money was to be considered counterfeiting and punishable by law.

As the paper money did not receive general approval, many abuses followed its appearance. This financial experiment discredited the government and contributed largely to the fall of Iturbide's empire. On April 11, 1823, the Republican government ordered the demonetization of the paper money issue of Iturbide, and authorized its redemption by accepting it in part payment for taxes.



Facsimile of Iturbide's paper money.

Officers of the Imperial Mint of Mexico—March 1, 1822, to July 19, 1823.

Superintendent—Don Rafaél de Lardizábal.

Third clerk in accountant's department—Manuel Díaz Moctezuma.

(By the 20th of May, 1833, he had become Director of the Republican Mint.)

Notary—José de Santa Cruz.

Apprentice—Manuel Ibañez.

ITURBIDE'S GOLD COINAGE

The gold coins issued by the imperial government of Iturbide were of eight and four escudos denominations only. There were two varieties of the eight-escudos, each typical of the year in which struck, and only one type of the four-escudos.

ITURBIDE'S ONZA OF THE 1822 TYPE. Pl. XXIII, 1.

Obverse: Nude bust of Iturbide, facing right; the head small, the neck long, the point of the bust nearly touching the last letter of the legend. In exergue, the mint mark and the year. The legend begins in the middle of the lower left quadrant and reads: AUGUSTINUS. DEL. PROVIDENTIA.

Reverse: A crowned eagle with wings extended, head to the left, standing upon a cactus plant of five leaves, ornamented with the various Aztec weapons—the *macanas* or war clubs, three quivers filled with arrows and a bow. The left leg of the bird is the only one shown. The legend beginning at the top, slightly to the right of the median line, reads: MEX. I. IMPERATOR. CONSTITUT. 8.S.J.M.

Diameter: 37 mm. Milled edge.

ITURBIDE'S ONZA OF THE 1823 TYPE. Pl. XXIII, 2.

Obverse: The same as in the 1822 variety except that the bust is larger showing the beginning of the shoulders only; the base presents an irregular outline. In the legend there are no periods before or after DEI.

Reverse: On an oval shield within a garnished cartouche is a crowned eagle, with wings extended, head to the right, standing on its left leg upon a cactus of eleven leaves. The right leg is not shown. Back of the cartouche or escutcheon are two lances, two Aztec cudgels, two quivers filled with arrows and a single bow. The legend is the same as in the 1822 type and begins at the same point.

Diameter: 37 mm. Milled edge.

Of the four-escudos or half onza only one variety appears to have been struck, and apparently coins of this denomination were issued only during 1823. The description is the same as that of the eight-escudos of 1823 except that all features are proportionally smaller. Diameter: 30 mm. Pl. XXIII, 3.

SILVER COINAGE

The silver coins of Iturbide's reign consisted of the eight, two, one and one-half real denominations, Pl. XXIII, 4-8, and were minted during 1822 and 1823. For some unknown reason the half dollar size appears not to have been coined during this period. There are numerous variations in the dies used to coin silver. On the eight-reales the variations may be classified into five main divisions:

1. DIFFERENCES IN THE BUST: In all Iturbide's coins the bust appears nude, in profile, and facing right. In some, the bust is smaller than in others. When the head is small, the neck appears longer and more of the shoulders is shown. When the head is larger, it appears with a double chin and sideburns. In other coins the head is not so large, there is a double chin and the sideburns are omitted. The nose is slightly turned up and in some specimens the decollation forms a serpentine line.

2. DIFFERENCES IN THE EAGLE: There were two main types:

(a) The small, slender, crowned eagle, front view, with head turned to the left, tail directed backward and slightly to the left, with widespread wings. The bird is standing upon its left leg—the only one that shows—on a cactus of five leaves growing on a small mound that barely rises from the water level.

(b) Large eagle, side view, with wings extended, standing upon a cactus of not less than eight and not more than eleven leaves. The head of the eagle and also its tail is turned to the right. The rock upon which the cactus stands appears surrounded by water.

3. DIFFERENCES IN THE CACTUS PLANT: On the early 1822 coins, the plant appears with only five small leaves. In some of the coins of 1822 and all of those minted in 1823, the leaves are larger, more numerous, and nearly always with small circular offshoots.

4. DIFFERENCES IN THE LEGENDS: Besides slight variations in the type and size of letters, there are four types of obverse inscriptions:

- a—AUGUST.DEL.PROVIDENTIA.
- b—AUGUSTINUS.DEL.PROVIDENTIA.
- c—AUGUSTINUS DEI PROVIDENTIA.
- d—AUGUST. DEL. PROV.

The inscription on the reverse was not found to vary.

5. DIFFERENCES IN THE LOCATION OF THE LEGENDS: The inscription on the obverse begins, in all specimens studied, on the lower left side of the margin, almost opposite the angle formed by the lines representing the back of the neck and the base of the bust. On the reverse the inscription of some begins on the upper right quadrant near the beak of the eagle, while in others it begins about the middle of the lower left quadrant.

The milling around the edge is of the squares and annulets type identical with the milling used on the coinage of Ferdinand VII.

Coining operations took place in five mints, and while all issued silver, only two of them were permitted to coin gold. The amounts struck at each mint were as follows:

	Silver	Gold	Total
Mexico City.....	8,605,600.94	505,536.00	9,111,136.94
Durango	965,629.25	.....	965,629.25
Guadalajara	1,614,144.25	51,856.00	1,666,000.25
Guanajuato	892,586.00	.....	892,586.00
Zacatecas	6,497,609.25	.....	6,497,609.25
Total coined	<u>18,575,569.69</u>	<u>557,392.00</u>	<u>19,132,961.69</u>

For additional information on Iturbide's coinage the reader is referred to Betts' articles in the American Journal of Numismatics for July and October, 1898.

Nowhere has the author found record of any other than the Mexico City mint mark appearing on Iturbide's coinage. It is possible but improbable, that the other four mints were using dies carrying the Mexico City mint mark.

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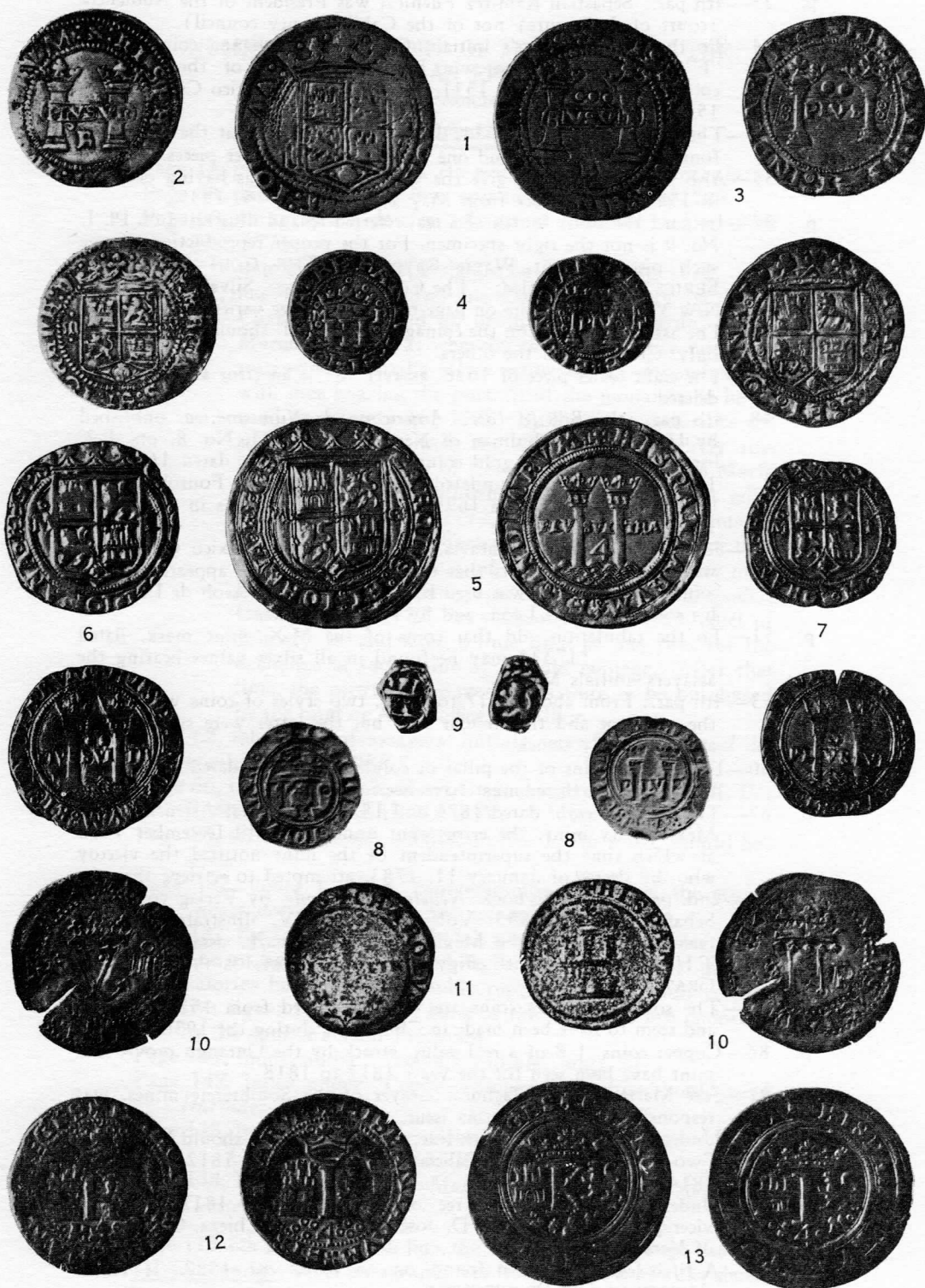
NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF MEXICO, FROM THE PRE-COLUMBIAN EPOCH TO 1823

By Alberto Francisco Pradeau

Errata

- Page 13, paragraph 6, line 6, 7th word, should be *Monarquía*.
- Page 53, paragraph 4, first line, second date should be 1723.
- Page 60, paragraph 3, date on tabulation 1 should be December 31st, 1771.
date on tabulation 2 should be January 1st, 1772.
- Page 61, date on next to the last line should be January 1st, 1772. Charles III, issued an ordinance from Pardo, Spain, March 18th, 1771, whereby the Mexico City mint was instructed to strike silver coins of all denominations with dies bearing the portrait of the monarch, to be issued on January 1st, 1772. By the same ordinance the striking of coins with the old dies was strictly forbidden. The viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, published in Mexico City an edict dated January 2nd, 1772, advising the inhabitants of the province of the effected change and that from then on, only the new specie, of which the Mexico City mint had a sufficient quantity, was to be the sole legal tender. On April 8th, 1772, the viceroy reiterated the edict of January 1st and fixed a time limit of one year for the exchange at face value of the old coinage. After that time, the previously issued coins were to be purchased by the mint or Assay office as bullion.
- Page 62, tabulation of assayers' initials, year 1788, one *real* denomination, add "FF."
- Page 66, third paragraph, inscriptions should read: CAROL IV; CAROLUS IIII; CAROLUS IV.
- Page 80, sixth paragraph, tabulation No. 1, 7th word, should be: silver.
- Page 132, under L. V. S. counterstamps, 2nd line, the words "heavy dots" should be: *five pointed stars*.
- Page 137, the facsimile of Iturbide's paper money is an imitation. The original has a crowned eagle within an elipse; the signatories have the lithographic reproduction of their respective signatures; and the back of the real bills are endorsed by the auditor's hand *Yraitoxza*.
- Page 141, Index, under "Assayers' initials" add: 31.
- Page 142, Index under "Copper coinage," *Iturdibe* should read *Iturbide*.
- Page 143, Index, under "G"—*Gávez* should read *Gálvez*.
Glendining & Co., add 109, 115.
- Page 144, Index, under "M"—*Marqués de Casa Fuerta*, should be *Fuerte*.
- Page 113, 6th paragraph, 6th line, the word *Clalquilténango* should read Tlalquilténango; same paragraph, 7th line, the word *Morelia* should be Morelos.

- p. 17—4th par., 2nd line: the word *quauhtli* should be *quachtli* which in Nahuatl stands for cotton cover, mantle, or blanket. 147
- p. 23—4th par.: Sebastián Ramírez Fuenleal was President of the Audiencia (court of Judicature) not of the Cabildo (city council).
- p. 34—To the list of assayer's initials, Charles and Johanna coinage, add "F" for Estéban Franco, who had been assayer of the *tepuzque* coinage from August 4, 1531, and was at the Mexico City mint in 1545.
- p. 35—The royal decree of May 11, 1535 also provided that the remaining fourth be in half real and one fourth of a real silver pieces.
- p. 36—Also pages 39 and 41 give the visit to the mint as having occurred in 1546: it took place from May 27th to July 15, 1545.
- p. 37—1st par.: the silver fourth of a real referred to and illustrated on Pl. I, No. 9 is not the right specimen. For the proper reproduction of one such piece, consult Wayne Raymond's THE COIN COLLECTOR SERIES, No. 2, entitled: "The Coins of Mexico. Silver and Copper. New York, 1940, plate on page 6, No. 1. Three varieties are known.
- p. 41—The assayer's initials on the coinage of Philip II. should be A - F - O only. Cross out all the others.
- p. 44—The eight reales piece of 1628, assayer "J" is an error and should be deleted.
- p. 48—4th par.: the *Boletín Ibero Americano de Numismática*, published by Hans M. F. Schulman of New York, Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 1-2, lists two four *escudo* gold coins, Mxo mint mark, dated 1681 and 1698 respectively: an undated eight *escudos* in the Fonrobert catalogue, item 6267, and a 1695, two *escudos* that was in the Carles-Torá collection.
- p. 50—José Diego Medina y Saravia, Treasurer of the Mexico City mint, writing in 1729, asserts that the initial "J" which appeared on the coinage of Philip V was used by three assayers: Joseph de León, by his son Manuel de León, and by Nicolás Roxas.
- p. 51—To the tabulation add that coins of the M.X. mint mark, dated *1733* may be found in all silver values bearing the assayers initials MF.
- p. 53—4th par.: From about 1717 to 1729, two styles of coins were made, the *cob* type and the circular one, but the latter were smaller than any previously struck.
- p. 60—Eight reales coins of the pillar or columnar variety, dated 1772, have been seen, therefore, must have been struck.
- p. 67—The pieces of eight dated 1870 and 1872 were actually struck by the Mexico City mint: the error went unnoticed until December 1782 at which time the superintendent of the mint notified the viceroy who, by decree of January 11, 1783, attempted to retrieve them.
- p. 69—2nd. par., add: The book, *Neuste Munzkunde*, by Verlag von Ernst Schafer, Leipzig, 1853, Vol. I, plate XLIV, illustrates an eight reales coin bearing the Mexico City mint mark, assayers' initials T.H., dated 1809, with effigy and inscription of JOSEPH NAP. DEL. GRATIA.
- p. 79—The so-called Cortés coins are variously dated from 1521 to 1526 and seem to have been made in Chihuahua during the 1930's.
- p. 86—Copper coins, 1/8 of a real value, struck by the Durango provisional mint have been seen for the years 1812 to 1818.
- p. 91—José María Vargas Machuca, assayer of the Sombrerete mines, was responsible for the VARGAS issue.
- p. 114—Under COPPER PIECES, 5th line, the plate number should be XVII.
- p. 121—Two real coins of Nueva Galicia have been seen for 1812, 1813, and 1814.
- p. 123—Under VERACRUZ, the decree of November 27, 1812, was not viceregal: it was issued by D. José de Quevedo y Chieza, Commander of Veracruz.
- p. 139—A fifth legend has been found on an 8 Rs. of 1822. It reads: AUGUSTINUS DEI PROVIDENTIA.



Charles and Johanna: Silver 1-9, Copper 10-13.



Philip II: 1-6. Philip III: 7-9.



Philip IV: 1-4. Charles II: Gold 5, Silver 6-10.



Philip V: Gold 1-7, Silver 8-13.



Philip V: 1-11. Louis I: 12-13.



Ferdinand VI: Gold 1-8, Silver 9-13.



Charles III: Gold 1-7, Silver 8-14, Copper pattern 15.



Charles IV: Gold 1-2, Silver 3-8, 15. Ferdinand VII: Gold 9, Silver 10-14, 16, Copper 17-19.



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4



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3



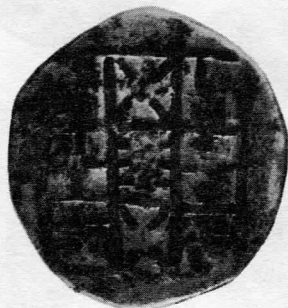
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10

Doubtful and Bogus pieces.



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Chihuahua: 1-4. Durango: Silver 5-7, Copper 8-9.



Guadalajara: Gold 1-3, Silver 4-5. Guanajuato: 6. Sombrerete: 7-11.



Zacatecas: Silver 1-15.



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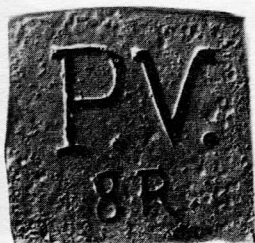
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6



6



9



Nueva Vizcaya: 1-2. Oaxaca: 3-6. Valladolid: 7. Real del Catorce: 8. Valladolid Insurgents: 9.



Morelos: Gold 1-4, Silver 6, 8, 9, 10, Copper 5-7.



Morelos: Silver 1-7, Copper 8-10.



Morelos: Copper 1-14.



Morelos, Oaxaca: Silver 1-7, Copper 8-10. Tierra Caliente: 11-13.



1



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10



12



11



Suprema Junta Nacional: Silver 1-6, 10-11, Copper 7-9, 12.



Nueva Galicia: 1. Osorno: 2-3. Zongolica: 4-5. Manuel Salcedo: 6. Veracruz: 7.
Monclova: 8-9. Valladolid: 10.



1



2



3



4



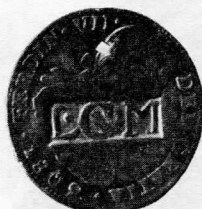
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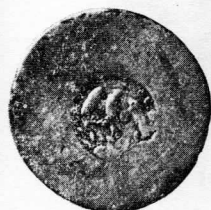
10



11



13



12



Military Commanders: 1-9. Util: 10. Crown and Flag: 11. S.C.M.: 12-13.



1



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8



10



11



12

Morelos: 1-5. Chilpanzingo: 6-9. S.J.N.G.: 10. Ensaie: 11. Linares: 12.



Army of the North: 1-3. Jose Maria Liceaga: 4-7. Osorno: 8-10. Villagran: 11. Doubtful: 14-17.



3



1



3



6



2



6



4



7



5



8



Iturbide's coinage: Gold 1, 2, 3, Silver 4-8.

PHILIP III—ASSAYER'S SUPPLEMENT
(See Page 42)

173

Year	8 reales	4 reales	2 reales	1 real	1/2 real
1607	F		F	F	X
1608	F,A	A,F		A,F,A/F	X
1609	F,A	A	A	A	
1610	F,F/A	F	F	F	F
1611	F	F	F	F	X
1612	F		X •	F	
1613		F	F	F	
1614	F				F
1615			F		
1616			F		
1617					
1618	D				D/F
1619			D		D
1620	D				D
1621	D				X

X = date known but assayer's initial not legible (see note on p. 44)

PHILIP IV—ASSAYER'S SUPPLEMENT
(See Page 44)

Year	8 reales	4 reales	2 reales	1 real	1/2 real
1621	D				
1622			D		X
1623	P	P			
1624		D			
1626	X				X
1627				D	
1628		D			
1629	D				
1630	X	D	X		X
1631		D			
1632	D	D			
1634	X				
1636	P	P			
1637	P			D	
1639	P	P			
1641	X		P		
1642	P				
1643	P	P			
1645	P				
1646	P				
1647	P				
1648	P				
1649	P	P			
1650	P		P		P
1651	P	X			
1652	P	P			
1653	P	P			
1654	P	P		P	P
1655	P	P	P	P	P
1656	P	X			
1657	P		P	X	
1658					P
1659		P			
1660					P
1661		P			P
1662				X	P
1663	P				X
1664	P				
1665			X		P

CHARLES II—ASSAYER'S SUPPLEMENT
(See Page 45)

Year	8 reales	4 reales	2 reales	1 real	1/2 real
1667	G				
1668			G		X
1669					X
1670	G				
1671	D-G				X
1673					X
1674	G				
1676	G				
1677					G
1678	L	L			L
1679		L			
1680	L				
1681	L				X
1684	L				L
1685					L
1688	L			L	
1689	L	L			
1690	L				
1691		L			
1692	X				X
1694		L			L
1695	L				
1698	L				
1699	L		L		
1700	L				

PHILIP V—ASSAYER'S SUPPLEMENT
(See Page 50)

Year	Gold Escudos				Silver Reales				
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
1700									
1701									
1702	L		L	X	L				
1703				X	L			X	L
1704			X	X	X				
1705									X
1706					X			L	
1707				X				J	J
1708	J			X	X				J
1709				J	J				X
1710			X	J				X	
1711		J		J	J				J
1712	J	J	J	J	X		J		J
1713	J	J	J	X	J	J		X	X
1714	J	J	J	J	J	X		J	J
1715		J		J	J	J	J	J	J
1716					J	J	J	J	J
1717	J				J	J			J
1718	J				J		J	J	J
1719					J		J		J
1720	J				J			X	J
1721					J	J		J	J
1722							J	X	J
1723			J		J			X	J
1724								J	J-D
1725							R		D
1726					D				D
1727					D		X		D
1728						D			D
1729			R		R		R	F	D-R
1730	F				R-G	R	G-F-R	F-R-G/R	G-R
1731*	F		F		F	F	F	F	F
1732					F	F	F	F	X
1733					MF**	F			F

*1731 Beware of counterfeits, all denominations, gold

Year	Eight	Gold Escudos			Eight	Silver Reales				
		Four	Two	One		Four	Two	One	Half	
1732	F	F	F	F	F	F-MF	F &	F &	F &	
		without				without	without	without	without	
1733	F	F	X	F	F-MF	F-MF	F-MC	MF	MF	
1734	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	
1735	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	
1736	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	
1737	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	
1738	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	
1739	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	
1740	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	
1741	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	
1742	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M	
1742	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M	
1744	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M	
1745	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M	
1746	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M	
1747	MF	X	MF	X	MF	M	M	M		

Gold Escudos				Silver Reales				
	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half
FM	FM	FM	FM-MF	FM-WJ	FM	FM	FM	FM-(FF)
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM-WJ	FM	FM	FM	FM
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF	FF
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM-FF	FF-FM	FF-FM	FF	FM-FF
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM-FF	FM	FM
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM-FF	FM
FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM-FF	FM
X	X	X	X	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM

NOTE: No pillar coins of Mexico exist with the date 1772.

[illegible]

Year	Gold Escudos				Silver Reales					
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half	Quarter
1797	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	1797 "
1798	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	1798 "
1799	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	1799 "
1800	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	1800 "
1801	FM-FT	FM		FT	FM-FT	FM	FM-FT	FM-FT	FM-FT	1801 "
1802	FT	FT	FT	FT	FT	FT	FT	FT-FM	FT	1802 "
1803	FT		FT	FT	FT-TH	FT-FM	FT	FT	FT	1803 "
1804	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1804 "
1805	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1805 "
1806	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1807 "
1808	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	TH	1808 "

NOTE: With respect to the gold coinage of Charles IV, original information published in this book is incorrect. The first type of gold coinage should be Carol IV. This type was issued in 1789 and 1790. The second type Carol IIII was issued in 1790 only. Both types had the bust of Charles III.

FERDINAND VII—ASSAYER'S SUPPLEMENT (See Page 70)

Year	Gold Escudos					Silver Reales					
	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half	Eight	Four	Two	One	Half	Quarter
1808	TH	TH	X	TH		TH	X	X	X	TH	1808
1809	HJ	HJ	X	HJ		TH-HJ	HJ	TH	TH	TH	1809
1810	HJ	HJ	X	HJ		HJ-TH	HJ	HJ-TH	TH	TH-HJ	1810
1811	HJ-JJ	HJ	X	HJ	HJ	HJ	HJ-TH	HJ-TH	HJ-TH	HJ	1811
1812	JJ	HJ		HJ		JJ-HJ	HJ	HJ-JJ	HJ	HJ	1812
1813	X					JJ-HJ	JJ	JJ-TH	JJ-HJ	JJ-HJ	1813
1814	JJ	HJ	HJ	HJ	JJ	JJ-HJ	JJ	JJ	JJ-HJ	JJ	
1815	JJ-HJ	JJ	JJ	JJ-HJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ-HJ	JJ	1815
1816	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	1816
1817	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	
1818	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	
1819	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	
1820	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	
1821	JJ					JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	JJ	

ROYAL PROVISIONAL MINTS—ASSAYER'S SUPPLEMENT (See Page 93)

Year	8 reales	2 reales	1 real	½ real
1810	LVO type	LVO type	LVO type	LVO type (No assayers' initials)
1811	LVO "	LVO "	LVO "	LVO " " " "
1812	No initials	No initials	No initials	No initials
1813	FP	FP	FP	FP,AG
1814	AG-FP	FP	FP-AG	AG
1815	AG	AG	AG	AG
1816	AG	AG	AG	AG
1817	AG	AG	AG	AG
1818*	AG	AG	AG	AG**
1819	AG	AG	AG	AG
1820	AG-RG	AG	AG	AG-RG
1821	RG-AZ	AG-RG-AZ	RG-AZ	RG
1822	RG	AG-RG	AG-RG	

Note: No 4 Reales were made.

**Superior Lot 1668, February 8, 1978 sale offers a 1 Reales 1818, silver no mintmark, not illustrated.

