

U.S. MEXICAN NUMISMATIC ASSOCIATION



SEPTEMBER 2022

Stack's Bowers Galleries to Present **The Pat Johnson Collection Part III**

In the November 2022 Collectors Choice Online Ancient & World Coin Auction

Auction: November 14-17, 2022
Online at StacksBowers.com

As we begin to round out another year at Stack's Bowers Galleries, we are excited and privileged to announce that we will be offering Part III (and the conclusion) of the Pat Johnson Collection in our upcoming November World & Ancient Collectors Choice Online auction. Part I was offered in our January NYINC auction, while Part II was offered at our Summer Global Showcase auction. Both presentations met with great enthusiasm, and Part III will undoubtedly be no exception. With over 1,000 lots set to cross the auction block, established collectors of Latin American numismatics will be excited by the vast and impressive offering, and we expect to ignite a few new collectors in the field as well.

In conjunction with the upcoming 2022 US-Mex Numismatic Convention and Educational Forum (held in Scottsdale, AZ from October 27-29, 2022), we will be showing lots from this important collection along with the remainder of our November CCO auction, giving collectors a chance to view these items in person. A collection of this quality and quantity does not often come to auction, and we have been honored to serve as the trusted auctioneer for such an important offering. To the right are a few of the wondrous examples that have already crossed the block in our presentations from the Pat Johnson Collection.

Contact us today for more information!
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MEXICO. "Royal" Presentation Cob 8 Reales,
1725/3-Mo D. Mexico City Mint, Assayer D. Luis I.
NGC AU-55.

Realized: \$432,000



MEXICO. 4 Reales, 1732-Mo.
Mexico City Mint. Philip V.
NGC MS-64.

Realized: \$264,000



MEXICO. "Royal" Presentation
4 Escudos, 1711-MXo J. Mexico City Mint,
Assayer Jose de Leon (J). Philip V.
NGC MS-66.

Realized: \$264,000

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COVER IMAGE

The coin is a 1916 \$60 gold piece from the state of Oaxaca (KM755, Fr-174, GB-379) and graded by PCGS as MS64+. The catalogue described it as "an immense offering, one of Mexico's most iconic gold coinages and one whose popularity makes it almost impossible to obtain for the majority of collectors. What must certainly have been an enormous denomination for the period, with this being the largest struck during the Mexican Revolution, this type would have instantly stood out to its contemporaries, not least due to the relative shortage of gold coinage struck at the time, and its general crudeness when it was minted. Bordering on gem, the surfaces of this example appear perfect buttercup-yellow with velvety tone and little evidence of handling, every element of the strike exceptionally bold and subsequently untouched. Absolutely outstanding for its size, preservation, and aesthetic appeal."

The coin was lot 32307 in Heritage Auctions' sale on 13 January 2020 and fetched \$102,000 (including Buyer's Premium).

Scott Doll classifies the various busts on this Oaxaca issue in an article on page 4.



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2022 CONVENTION AND EDUCATIONAL FORUM

Our 10th annual Convention and Educational Forum will take place from 27 to 29 October in Scottsdale, Arizona. We will be hosting twenty dealers with the largest selection of Mexican and Latin American coins, currency and collectibles you will find anywhere in the world. In addition, major auction companies including Heritage, Sedwick, Stacks-Bowers and Stephen Album will preview lots for their upcoming auctions. We are very pleased that the American Numismatic Society will be attending and bringing a great display of coins from their collection. Ute Wartenberg Kagan, the Executive Director of the Society will be here to answer any questions you may have.

On Thursday, at 5 pm. we will hold our welcome party, which has become one of the highlights of the Convention. Appetizers will be served, courtesy of Heritage Auctions, and the bar will be open. The party will include the silent auction, which has become a major source of income for the Association, and our awards ceremony, where we will honor those who have contributed over the past year to the Association's success.

We will have a total of six speakers, three on Friday and three on Saturday, including the ever popular seminar on counterfeit detection presented by some of the most knowledgeable professionals in the field, including Kent Ponterio, Dan Sedwick, and Mike Dunigan. Other attractions will be a range of exhibits and a counter offering books and auctions catalogs donated by generous members. So if you are interested in setting up a display, or have excess books and auction catalogs in your library that you would like to donate, please contact me 602-228-9331. And we also need donations of coins, currency, books and other items for the silent auction.

The Convention will be held at the Hilton Scottsdale Resort. We have arranged a special room rate at the hotel and the easiest way to make a reservation is to go to usmex.org and follow the links. You can make your reservations now and I strongly urge you not to wait.



Cory Frampton



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- KM# Pn197, PL-19 - 5 Pesos
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- KM# 3774 (D&P Dn15) - 8 Reales
1838-1 D6 RM NGC MS-65 TOP POP
- KM# 70b VAR
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OBVERSE BUSTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COINAGE OF OAXACA (1915-1916)

by Scott Doll

The coins from the State of Oaxaca during the Mexican Revolution include some of the highest quality pieces struck during those tumultuous times. They also have the distinction of having some of the most diverse and distinct coins from a variety perspective, having a wide array of obverse and reverse die varieties as well as numerous edge types. Oaxaca also used an assortment of metals on the planchets to include gold, silver, copper, brass, lead, as well as other multi-metal or bi-metal mixtures have been documented. All of this makes for a remarkably interesting and fun series to collect.



All Oaxaca coins from the revolution carry a date of 1915, except for the 1 centavo (rectangle) which has no date and the 60 pesos which has a date of 1916. One of the many aspects of these coins is the large quantity of busts that can be seen on the coins. In fact, there are ten known busts which were used on the coins from Oaxaca and can be seen on the 1 centavo all the way up to the 60 pesos. This is utterly amazing to think that the mint engravers went to all that time and trouble to create so many different bust designs of a single individual.

When I was first introduced to the coins of Oaxaca back in the mid-1990s, I must admit that I was quite unimpressed. Looking back, that was such an uninformed and narrowminded view of this series. I now see them for not only their attractiveness and high quality, but also for the sheer number of varieties which can be a very daunting endeavor for the collector who wants to collect one of every variety available from this series. Since many of the issues in copper are readily available, that should be the starting point for most collectors. However, some of the scarce copper varieties, as well as majority of the silver and gold issues, are a different story and will take time, patience and a little more money to collect, especially by variety. Looking at things more simply, this article is going to focus on the ten known busts and not any of the different obverse varieties containing those busts. It is also not going to go into any detail regarding the different reverse varieties since that would entail a much larger and detailed discussion.



Portrait of Benito Juárez by Pelegrín Clavé (1862)

Image from Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec.

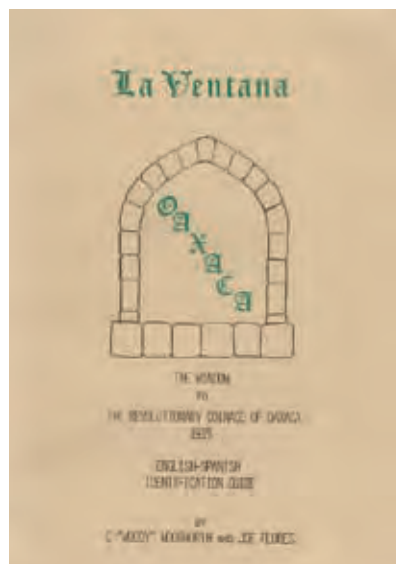
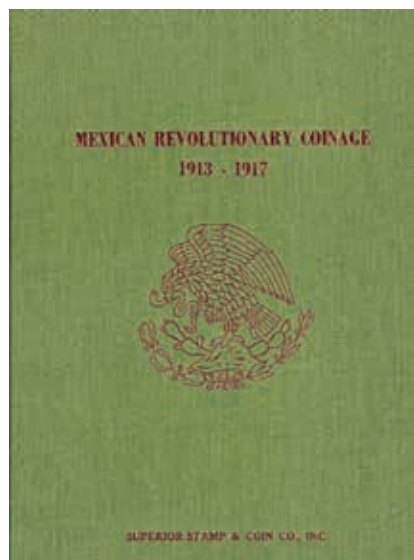
Before I delve deeper into each of the different busts, let us first start by talking



*Portrait of Benito Juárez
By unknown photographer
(circa 1860s)*

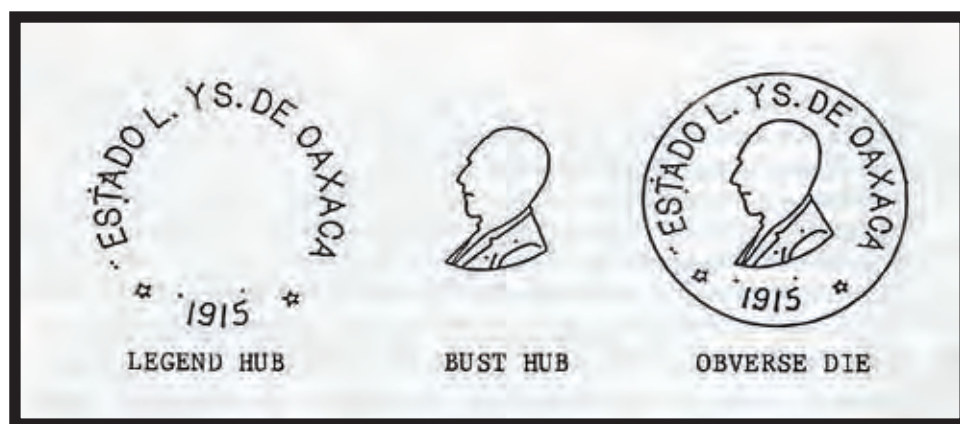
about the individual who is on that coinage. That person is Benito Juárez who lived from 1806 to 1872. He was born in Oaxaca to poor, indigenous farmers and was orphaned at a young age. He eventually moved to Oaxaca City where he was aided by a Franciscan who helped him continue with his education, whereupon he later enrolled in the seminary. Growing up he had an interest and passion in liberal politics and eventually enrolled in the Institute of Sciences and Arts where he studied law. Upon graduation, he served in multiple capacities as a lawyer, prosecutor, civil judge, state legislator, governor and later as the President of the Mexico Supreme Court of Justice. It was this last position that helped elevate him to assume the presidency upon the resignation of President Ignacio Comonfort. Upon this resignation, Juárez became the 26th President of Mexico and held that position from 1858 to 1872. He also has the distinction of being the first president of Mexico of indigenous origin, of Zapotec ethnicity. He was generally held in high regard and was seen as a man of the people and worked throughout his presidency trying to improve the lives of indigenous Mexicans. On a historical side note, Juárez was also the individual who authorized the execution by firing squad of Emperor Maximilian who occupied part of the country during the French Intervention (1862-1867).

Many books and publications have discussed and described the busts on the Oaxaca revolutionary coinage. With that said, there are three that I feel are necessary for any collector of this series since each one has information that is helpful with the identification of the known varieties to include the different busts on the coinage. The first, and most widely used is *Mexican Revolutionary Coinage 1913-1917* by Hugh Guthrie and Merrill Bothamley, published in 1976. Next, *La Ventana, The Window to the Revolutionary Coinage of Oaxaca 1915* by C“Woody”Woodworth and Joe Flores, published in 1988 which further differentiated and documented the varieties. Finally, *Tricolor Compendium of Mexican Revolutionary Coinage, Volume III* (one volume with Oaxaca of a 3-volume set) by Carlos Abel Amaya Guerra, published in 2015 which identified even more varieties.



(Left) *Mexican Revolutionary Coinage 1913-1917* by Hugh Guthrie and Merrill Bothamley.
 (Center) *La Ventana - The Window to the Revolutionary Coinage of Oaxaca 1915* by C“Woody”Woodworth and Joe Flores.
 (Right) *Tricolor Compendium of Mexican Revolutionary Coinage, Vol. III* by Carlos Abel Amaya Guerra.

The following is an excerpt from *La Ventana* which illustrates the two hubs consisting of the legend hub and the bust hub which was utilized by the Oaxacan mint authorities to create a single obverse die.



This process was repeatedly used with the ten different bust designs on the various denominations being struck. It is also worth mentioning that the bust hub was never placed in the exact same position on the dies when creating the different dies, therefore some of the busts are frequently off center and even slightly slanted. The bust also has the appearance of being small or large depending on the size of the planchet, but the bust is essentially the same size when compared coin to coin.

For example, the bust on 5 centavos will appear large since it takes up a larger portion of the coin surface area compared to a 2 pesos where the bust appears much smaller since there is much more open field surface on the coin. See images below for comparison. On each, the bust size is about the same if not the exact same since most of the bust hubs were reused and often reworked to fit the needs of the specific denomination being struck.



5 Centavos
22mm

10 Centavos
26mm

20 Centavos
31mm (large)

20 Centavos
28mm (small)

2 Pesos
34mm

Examples of Bust #6 on five different specimens.

Each coin is noted with the denomination as well as the planchet size in millimeters.

Pictured as close to actual size to highlight the size of the bust in comparison to the planchet size.

It is also worth mentioning that the mint also made numerous adjustments with the legend which provided even more obverse and reverse varieties. Most of these final changes on the completed die were painstakingly made by hand usually under less-than-ideal conditions. This is evident in the number of re-engraved letters, periods, stars, borders as well as a myriad of die marks and dies scratches than can be seen on the coins. Some dies can also be seen in different states of deterioration, as well as some which have strong die clashes which occurred during the striking process which made for even more interesting varieties on top of an existing variety.

The following is an excerpt from the *Tricolor Compendium of Mexican Coinage, Vol. III*. It is the single best pictorial reference on the various bust designs of Oaxaca which also includes a reference to the Krause (KM) bust numbers used by the third-party grading agencies for grading and attribution.



Chart courtesy of
Carlos Abel Amaya
Guerra.

The following is a detailed review of the ten known busts, as well as images of the various denominations which were struck using the specific listed bust variety. All images are enlarged to a consistent size to show design detail on all denominations, as well as highlight bust positioning.

Juárez Bust #1 - Facing Bust.

The following are images of Bust #1 (KM #1, Amaya #11) which is the only bust with a "facing" design, as opposed to a profile view as evident on all other bust designs. Along with the $\frac{3}{4}$ facing design, it is also the only variety where the overall bust design is incuse. This bust design was only used on a single 5 centavos variety. It is also one that most collectors will most likely never see in person due to its extreme rarity. It is widely believed this bust design was a pattern that was rejected and abandoned by the mint, most likely due to the complexity of the die.



*Krause Bust #1
Amaya Bust #11 (enlarged)*



*5 Centavos
GB-300
Image from Guthrie-Bothamley.*



*5 Centavos
A-OX-19
Image from Carlos Amaya.*

Juárez Bust #2 - Flat Bust with a Long Pointed Truncation.

The following are images of Bust #2 (KM #2, Amaya #1) which is the only bust with a profile that is flat or extremely low relief in design. All other profile bust varieties have more design characteristics than what is seen on Bust #2. This bust also has a concave bottom. It is important to note that this variety comes with several features where parts of the design have sharp or rounded points at the end of the base of the bust. This bust can be seen on four different denominations (1c, 5c, 10c, 20c).



*Krause Bust #2
Amaya Bust #1
(enlarged)*



*1 Centavo
LV-5, GB-292, A-OX-3
Rounded right point at the
base.*



*1 Centavo
LV-6, GB-293, A-OX-5
Sharp right point at the base.*



5 Centavos
LV-18, GB-UNL, A-OX-25



10 Centavos
LV-30, GB-318, A-OX-44



10 Centavos
LV-34, GB-317, A-OX-50

Juárez Bust #3- Short Unfinished Lapels.

The following are images of Bust #3 (KM #3, Amaya #6). This bust is one that is easily confused with other busts of Juárez, especially Bust #4 and Bust #5. Bust #3 is relatively easy to identify if you look at the bottom left of bust where it is easy to see that the lapel detail is short and somewhat incomplete. Essentially, it fades and gives the appearance that it is unfinished, while Bust #4 and Bust #5 show more detail. Note that the date on the gold 5 pesos is located right over the base of the bust. Bust #3 can be seen on eight different denominations (5c, 10c, 20c 50c, \$1, \$5(Gold), \$10(Gold), \$20(Gold)).



Krause Bust #3
Amaya Bust #6
(enlarged)



5 Centavos
LV-26, GB-305, A-OX-39



10 Centavos
LV-45, GB-311, A-OX-76



20 Centavos
LV-70, GB-333, A-OX-99



50 Centavos
LV-81, GB-338, A-OX-112



1 Peso
LV-90, GB-343, A-OX-123



5 Pesos (Gold)
LV-123, GB-372, A-OX-170



10 Pesos (Gold)
LV-125, GB-375, A-OX-173



20 Pesos (Gold)
LV-126, GB-376, A-OX-174

Juárez Bust #4 - Unfinished Truncation.

The following are images of Bust #4 (KM #4, Amaya #3). This bust is one that is easily confused with previously mentioned Bust #3. The Oaxaca Mint appears to have reworked Bust #3 to bring out more details in the lapels on the bottom and top left. It does not fade away quickly like what is seen in Bust #3. The top of the lapel is also slightly more rounded in appearance compared to Bust #3 and Bust #5. This bust can be seen on five different denominations (10c, 20c, \$1, \$2, \$20(Gold)).



Krause Bust #4
Amaya Bust #3
(enlarged)



10 Centavos
LV-52.5, GB-315, A-OX-74



20 Centavos
LV-68, GB-327, A-OX-97



1 Peso
LV-93.5, GB-346, A-OX-126



1 Peso
LV-96, GB-345, A-OX-131



2 Pesos
LV-113, GB-357, A-OX-153

Juárez Bust #5 - Long Unfinished Lapels.

The following are images of Bust #5 (KM #5, Amaya #5). The design has long unfinished lapels and is often confused with previously mentioned Bust #3 and Bust #4. Carlos Amaya describes this bust as "heavy with long unfinished

lapels" which shows a left lapel that is a bit longer and better defined than Bust #3 and Bust #4. The top of the lapel is also not as rounded in design as what is seen on Bust #4. Once you better understand the design attributes as well as view the designs side by side, it is much easier to differentiate the three busts in question. This bust can be seen on four different denominations (5c, 50c, \$2, \$10(Gold)).



Krause Bust #5
Amaya Bust #5
(enlarged)



5 Centavos
LV-23, GB-303, A-OX-34



5 Centavos
LV-24, GB-UNL, A-OX-36



50 Centavos
LV-75, GB-UNL, A-OX-108



2 Pesos
LV-117, GB-352, A-OX-160



10 Pesos (Gold)
LV-124, GB-374, A-OX-171

Juárez Bust #6- Curved Bottom.

The following are images of Bust #6 (KM #6, Amaya #2). This variety is very easy to identify as the bottom portion of the bust is well defined and curved which is quite a stark contrast compared to the bust designs on Bust #3, Bust #4 and Bust #5 which are incomplete and have an inconsistent bust base. This bust was also extremely popular and can be seen on seven different denominations (5c, 10c, 20c, 50c, \$1, \$2, \$5(Silver)).



Krause Bust #6
Amaya Bust #2
(enlarged)



5 Centavos
LV-20, GB-307, A-OX-27



10 Centavos
LV-36, GB-UNL, A-OX-53



20 Centavos
LV-60, GB-328, A-OX-86



20 Centavos
LV-61, GB-329, A-OX-87



50 Centavos
LV-77, GB-339, A-OX-106



1 Peso
LV-86, GB-UNL, A-OX-118



2 Pesos
LV-108, GB-UNL, A-OX-146



2 Pesos
LV-109, GB-UNL, A-OX-147

Juárez Bust #7 - Closed Lapels with Angled Bottom.

The following are images of Bust #7 (KM #7, Amaya #4). This bust is easily identified since the bottom is well defined and angled and not rounded) like Bust #6. Amaya describes this bust as having a "short truncation with closed lapels". Note that every variety of 3 centavos, except one that has a different bust, has the date located right over the base of the bust, as opposed to an area right below the base of the bust as on the other denominations. Bust #7 is also one of the most popular busts used on the coinage as it can be seen on nine different denominations (3c, 5c, 10c, 20c, 50c, \$1, \$2, \$5(Silver), \$20(Gold)).



Krause Bust #7
Amaya Bust #4
(enlarged)



3 Centavos
LV-13, GB-299, A-OX-17



5 Centavos
LV-22a, GB-UNL, A-OX-32



10 Centavos
LV-41, GB-UNL, A-OX-62



20 Centavos
LV-66a, GB-UNL, A-OX-95



50 Centavos
LV-74, GB-337, A-OX-103



1 Peso
LV-88, GB-344, A-OX-121



2 Pesos
LV-115, GB-351, A-OX-157



20 Pesos
LV-127, GB-377, A-OX-175

Juárez Bust #8 - Short and Curved Truncation.

The following are images of Bust #8 (KM #NC, Amaya #7 small head and KM #8, Amaya #8 large head). Carlos Amaya documents two busts with differing size for this variety. Since they are essentially the same design, I will simply classify them as Bust #8. This bust is easily identified since it has a slightly curved, well-defined truncation. In fact, it is the only bust variety with a short, slightly curved truncation of the lapels. This rarely used bust design is only seen on three denominations (5c, 10c, 50c). Not much is known on the 10c variety (Amaya #7 small head): however it is most likely a pattern.



Krause Bust #8
Amaya Bust #7 (Squared 1)
& Bust #8 (Squared 2)
(enlarged)



5 Centavos
LV-27, GB-306, A-OX-40



50 Centavos
LV-82, GB-340, A-OX-114

Juárez Bust #9 - Pointy Straight Truncation.

The following are images of Bust #9 (KM #9, Amaya #9). This design is considered by many to be a rare pattern as it is only seen on the 50 centavos. It is easily identifiable since it has an almost straight base and a short, narrow pointed lapel. The images below are copies of the pictures from Carlos Amaya and Guthrie-Bothamley since higher resolution images were not available.



*Krause Bust #9
Amaya Bust #9
(enlarged)*



*50 Centavos LV-71
Image from La Ventana.*



*50 Centavos A-OX-101
Image from Carlos Amaya .*

Juárez Bust #10 - Naked Bust.

The following are images of Bust #10 (KM #10, Amaya #10). This design is seen on only two denominations (\$2, \$60(Gold)). The 2 pesos variety is considered extremely rare and may have been a pattern. Also, it can be seen on what many believe to be the most beautiful issue from Oaxaca which is the 60 pesos struck in gold, silver and copper. Although some believe that the copper strikes are patterns, many others believe that the copper and silver strikes were struck after the revolution using the original dies. For this article, I am not making any assertions regarding the history of those coins but would simply like to focus on the bust design for that particular denomination.



*Krause Bust #10
Amaya Bust #10
(enlarged)*



*2 Pesos
A-OX-152
Image from Carlos Amaya.*



*60 Pesos
LV-130, GB-379, A-OX-178
Image from Heritage Auctions.*

The following table is a detailed cross reference between the three major documented sources on the various Oaxaca obverse denominations, busts, and varieties - Guthrie Bothamley (GB), La Ventana (LV) and Carlos Abel Amaya Guerra (A-OX). Only the varieties which have a bust of Benito Juárez are documented within. I have attempted to document most of the known varieties using these references. However, some were excluded due to space constraints: therefore I strived to only include most of the major known varieties.

Den.	Bust	LV	GB	A-OX
1c	2	5	292	3
1c	2	6	293	5
1c	2	7	294	---
1c	2	8	295	7
3c	7	9	296	11
3c	7	10	---	12
3c	7	11	297	13
3c	7	12	298	15
3c	7	13	299	17
5c	1	15	300	19
5c	2	16	308	20
5c	2	17	309	22
5c	2	18	---	25
5c	2	19	---	26
5c	6	20	307	27
5c	6	21	---	28
5c	7	22	302	30
5c	7	22a	---	32
5c	5	23	303	34
5c	5	24	---	36
5c	5	25	304	37
5c	3	26	305	39
5c	8	27	306	40
10c	2	28	323	42
10c	2	29	---	43
10c	2	30	318	44
10c	2	31	---	47
10c	2	32	319	48
10c	2	33	---	49
10c	2	34	317	50
10c	6	35	316	51
10c	6	---	---	52
10c	6	36	---	53
10c	6	37	313	54
10c	6	38	---	55
10c	7	39	---	59
10c	7	40	---	60
10c	7	41	---	62
10c	7	42	---	61
10c	7	43	310	63
10c	7	43a	310	65
10c	7	---	---	64
10c	7	44	322	68
10c	3	45	311	76
10c	7	46	---	66
10c	7	47	---	69
10c	7	---	---	70
10c	7	48	---	72
10c	6	49	312	56

Den.	Bust	LV	GB	A-OX
10c	6	---	---	57
10c	4	50	314	73
10c	4	50a	314	73
10c	6	51	---	58
10c	4	52	315	74
10c	4	52.5	315	74
10c	4	53	---	75
10c	7	54	320	77
20c	8	---	---	78
20c	2	55	335	79
20c	6	56	334	80
20c	6	---	---	81
20c	6	57	---	82
20c	6	58	---	83
20c	6	59	330	84
20c	6	60	328	86
20c	6	61	329	87
20c	6	62	---	85
20c	7	63	325	89
20c	7	64	---	90
20c	7	65	---	91
20c	7	---	326	92
20c	7	66	324	93
20c	7	66a	---	95
20c	4	67	---	96
20c	4	68	327	97
20c	4	69	331	98c
20c	6	---	332	98b
20c	3	70	333	99
50c	9	71	---	100
50c	9	72	342	101
50c	9	73	---	102
50c	7	74	337	103
50c	5	75	---	108
50c	6	76	341	107
50c	6	77	339	106
50c	7	78	---	109b
50c	5	79	---	109
50c	5	80	336	110
50c	3	81	338	112
50c	8	82	340	114
50c	7	83	341	105
\$1	6	84	350	116
\$1	6	85	347	115
\$1	6	86	---	118
\$1	6	87	---	119
\$1	6	---	---	120
\$1	7	88	344	121
\$1	3	89	---	122

Den.	Bust	LV	GB	A-OX
\$1	3	90	343	123
\$1	4	91	---	125
\$1	4	92	---	124
\$1	4	93	346	126
\$1	4	93.5	346	126
\$1	4	94	349	127
\$1	4	95	350	129
\$1	4	95.5	350	130
\$1	4	96	345	131
\$1	4	96.5	345	131
\$1	4	---	---	132
\$1	4	97	---	134
\$1	4	98	---	133
\$2	6	99	---	135
\$2	6	100	363	136
\$2	6	101	---	138
\$2	6	102	366	139
\$2	6	103	---	140
\$2	6	104	364	142
\$2	6	105	---	143
\$2	6	106	365	144
\$2	6	107	367	145
\$2	6	107.5	367	145b
\$2	6	108	---	146
\$2	6	109	---	147
\$2	6	110	361	149
\$2	6	111	362	150
\$2	10	112	360	152
\$2	4	113	357	153
\$2	4	114	356	156
\$2	7	115	351	157
\$2	7	116	353	158
\$2	7	---	354	159
\$2	5	117	352	160
\$2	5	118	---	161
\$5(S)	7	119	---	163
\$5(S)	7	120	368	165
\$5(C)	7	121	371	169
\$5(S)	6	122	370	---
\$5(G)	3	123	372	170
\$10(G)	5	124	374	171
\$10(G)	3	125	375	173
\$20(G)	3	126	376	174
\$20(G)	7	127	377	175
\$20(G)	7	128	---	176
\$20(G)	4	129	378	177
\$60(G)	10	130	379	178
\$60(C)	10	131	381	198
\$60(S)	10	132	380	198b

Summary

This completes my effort to examine and document the ten known bust designs. This has been not only a labor of love for me, but one that I feel is needed for the collector of this series. For years I struggled trying to determine all the different bust types on the various Oaxacan issues. Although most of the information presented was readily available from the previous mentioned publications, many collectors may not own any of the three references which would make collecting the coins in this series difficult. Using these references, positioned me well to consolidate and present the information within this article. It is my sincerest hope that the cross reference chart will be especially helpful when seeking out the varieties to include the appropriate bust on that particular variety. This might also be useful when submitting any Oaxaca revolutionary coinage to the third-party grading companies since they have not been the most accurate with their bust attributions. Even if you do not submit to a third-party grading service, at least you now have the information to help attribute the bust on the coins in your collection which should then help you further identify the particular variety.

Finally, I would like to give appreciation to all my fellow Mexico Revolutionary collectors and dealers who have helped me not only grow my collection over the years, but also provided me with information to help me go forth and conquer the revolutionary coinage world with confidence. I would like to extend a special thanks to Carlos Amaya for allowing me to use the information provided within and for the opportunity to collaborate with him on his *Tricolor Compendium* set. I would also like to acknowledge Joe Flores and all his contributions with the Oaxaca series and revolutionary coinage in general. Although Joe passed in 2021, I still fondly recall many great conversations with him over the years especially at the annual USMexNA Convention in Scottsdale. He was a true gentleman, and he was always willing to share his knowledge. Lastly, an acknowledgement of Ricardo Medina, Sr. who was the first dealer who encouraged me to expand my horizons by collecting Mexican Revolutionary coinage. Mr. Medina passed away in 2015, but there is not a time I do not think of him when I find a rare or interesting revolutionary coin that I am adding to my collection.

Please send your comments, questions or suggestions regarding this article, to me at rscottdoll@sbcglobal.net or on Instagram at [sd_mexcoins](https://www.instagram.com/sd_mexcoins).

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THE ASSAYERS OF THE MINT OF MEXICO DURING THE 16TH CENTURY PILLARS COINAGE, - LATE SERIES, ASSAYERS L AND S (PART 2)

by Jorge A. Proctor

In the first part of my study of the assayers of the mint of Mexico during the late series pillars coinage I brought the story up to 1548 when Juan Gutiérrez began the process of transferring the post to Luis Rodríguez. However, this was just the start of prolonged litigation in Spain and Mexico, which I now go on to describe.

Knowing the long delays in communication between Spain and its colonies, and with a sense of urgency, Juan Gutiérrez went before the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza who on 8 November 1548 drafted an order to be presented before the mint's treasurer, so that Luis Rodríguez be allowed to start exercising the post of assayer immediately, while awaiting receipt of the official ratification from Spain.⁽¹⁾ With this authorization Luis Rodríguez went to the mint of the city on 9 November 1548 where he was sworn in before the following mint officials: Miguel de Herrera, Lieutenant Treasurer; Francisco del Rincón, Die-sinker; Alonso Franco, Guard; Juan de Cepeda, Weight-master, and Pedro Sanchez de la Fuente, the Scribe.⁽²⁾



*Late Series 4 reales coin minted in Mexico with the mark of assayer L
(Coin images courtesy of Ponterio & Associates, Inc.)*

Having been sworn in, Luis Rodríguez was given a year and a half to make the proper payments required, with the penalty of losing his post if he defaulted. In the meantime, Luis Rodríguez's appointment was ratified under a decree signed in the Village of Cigales on 15 October 1549⁽³⁾ by Archduke Maximilian and his wife Doña María (daughter of King Charles I),⁽⁴⁾ the "Rulers of Bohemia" (*los "Reyes de Bohemia"*) (an honorary title at the time),⁽⁵⁾ serving as Regents of Spain and the Indies due to the absences of King Charles I and his son Prince Philip.⁽⁶⁾

Upon receipt of this decree in Mexico, Luis Rodríguez was sworn in again on 18 August 1550.⁽⁷⁾

However, back in Spain, Juan Gutiérrez's decision to keep the office of smelter, while only transferring that of assayer, would now bring a lengthy litigation when the Attorney General (*Fiscal*) of the Council of the Indies, Licentiate Martín Ruíz de Agreda,⁽⁸⁾ filed a complaint on



*Archduke Maximilian and his wife Doña María, "Rulers of Bohemia"
Portraits by Antonio Moro (1550 and 1551 – inv Nos. P02111 and P02110)
(© Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid)*

the premise that the posts of assayer and smelter were one office and not two. As such, Agreda added, the transfer of the office of assayer to Luis Rodríguez should not have been ratified, as it had been done through concealment and deceit.⁽⁹⁾

The complaint was quickly presented before the Council of the Indies who agreed that while the matter was being studied a new decree should be sent to the President and *Oidores* of the *Audiencia* of Mexico to prevent Luis Rodríguez from continuing to receive the salaries and other rights bestowed on this office; in short, to prevent him from exercising the post of assayer. On 18 December 1552, Prince Philip, once again while serving as Regent to his father King Charles I⁽¹⁰⁾ and following the Council of the Indies' recommendation, ordered that the *Audiencia* of Mexico notify Luis Rodríguez of the current decision, while also providing him with a period of eight months from the date that the order was presented to him, to appear before the Council of the Indies in person or by proxy, and present any argument he wanted considered.⁽¹¹⁾ As an added warning, and as was customary, the order also advised that absence or rebelliousness would result in the loss of his rights, except that of being notified of the final ruling.

It will be almost a year and a half before this order would be presented before the high tribunals of Mexico. But, while the arrangements were being made for the sending of Prince Philip's Royal decree, it seems that sometime in 1553 chatter of the pending complaint might have made it to the ears of Luis Rodríguez in Mexico. The appearance of an assayer-mark S around this exact same time⁽¹²⁾ in the Mexican coins seems to indicate the presence of an official who might have been tasked with executing Luis Rodríguez's post, as his lieutenant, while he took the necessary time to formulate his response in preparation for the arrival of the order.⁽¹³⁾



*Late Series 4 reales coin minted in Mexico with the mark of assayer S
(Coin image courtesy of Ponterio & Associates, Inc.)*

Although not currently confirmed, the identity of this missing assayer S might be that of Pedro de Salcedo, an assayer by trade who had previously been employed as diesinker at the mint,⁽¹⁴⁾ who was now serving as the Overseer of the Mexican Silversmiths (*Veedor de los Plateros de Mexico*),⁽¹⁵⁾ and who served as Miguel López de Legazpi's trustee when requesting the post of lieutenant treasurer of the mint in 1553,⁽¹⁶⁾ a post he got. I must also add that the connection between Miguel López de Legazpi and Pedro de Salcedo is notable, as in 1536, prior to the death of Juan de Salcedo, Pedro de Salcedo's father, Miguel López de Legazpi was designated as the conservator (*curador*) of his son's inheritance⁽¹⁷⁾ and later Pedro married Miguel López de Legazpi's own daughter.⁽¹⁸⁾ So we now have that the lieutenant treasurer of the mint, Miguel López de Legazpi, had not only served as Pedro de Salcedo's tutor, but was now his father-in-law.

On 26 June 1554 the Attorney General of Mexico, Licentiate Alonso Maldonado, finally presented Prince Philip's 1552 Royal decree before the President and *Oidores* of the Mexican *Audiencia* and Chancellery. That same day Luis Rodríguez was notified of the order and told to obey it.⁽¹⁹⁾ But Luis Rodríguez was not about to go quietly. On 27 June 1554 Luis Rodríguez appeared before the President and *Oidores* of the *Audiencia* where he presented a masterfully crafted petition. Rather than challenge the argument that the posts of assayer and smelter were one office that could not be separated, Luis decided to agree with this claim while at the same time refocusing the attention away from him by pointing out that since it was the office of assayer now being held by him the one named by the laws and decrees, the office that after the Treasurer was the most important, and among the most necessary, being this the post that carried the rights and salaries according to the laws, then it was clear that the true intention of the decree was to prohibit the separate use of



*Statue of Miguel López de Legazpi
in Zumarraga, Spain*

the post of smelter. Now, since the post of smelter was a post that he did not currently have, he asserted that a notable error must have been committed when naming him, as the person that it really pertained to was Juan Gutiérrez, who was the one who had held and was still presently holding the post of smelter.⁽²⁰⁾

After receiving and looking over Luis Rodríguez's petition, the *Audiencia* presented it to the Attorney General, Licentiate Maldonado. On 3 July 1554 the prosecutor (*procurador*) Juan de Salazar, in representation of Luis Rodríguez,⁽²¹⁾ appeared before the President and *Oidores* of the *Audiencia* and demanded that Attorney General Maldonado provide a response to Luis Rodríguez's petition. The *Audiencia* agreed, asking that Maldonado provide his peremptory response by their next meeting, which was to be held on 6 July. But the date came with no response from Maldonado, for which Juan de Salazar then asked and implored to His Highness that the matter be declared concluded and for justice to be made by returning the post of assayer to Luis Rodríguez. But the *Audiencia* gave Maldonado one more chance to respond, informing him, yet again, to provide his response by their next meeting.

On 7 July the *Audiencia* met again and this time Maldonado finally appeared. Maldonado now provided a petition in which he stated that the knowledge of this cause did not pertain to the President and *Oidores*, and as such, what Luis was requesting was a matter that was strictly being ordered to be determined by the Council of the Indies, to whom this should be remitted for them to impart justice. But Maldonado's warning did not stop the President and *Oidores* from continuing their deliberations, for which they now requested for the testimonies (*autos*) to be brought before them, so once viewed, they could administer justice.

On 10 July with the President and *Oidores* of the *Audiencia* having concluded their discussions regarding the orders and testimonies, they pronounced their ruling stating that, while this affair was being passed on to His Majesty for consultation, they would order that nothing be done regarding the said assayer, and instead, it was the smelter of the mint who would be notified that from this moment forward he would no longer carry any rights as smelter. In addition, to ensure compliance, it was declared that this order would be notified to the officials at the mint, the merchants and other persons involved in bringing in silver to be coined. And so it was that on 17 July 1554 this decision was proclaimed and published in the presence of Attorney General Maldonado and Luis Rodríguez's representative, prosecutor Juan de Salazar.

But on 20 July Attorney General Maldonado appeared before the President and *Oidores* of the *Audiencia*, where he now appealed the new ruling requesting that it be revoked; again asking that the original decree be brought forth and its provisions followed by the members of the Mexican *Audiencia*. With this appeal in place, and while Maldonado's new petition was being presented to Salazar for his comments in representation of Luis Rodríguez, it was recommended that no further action be taken; technically putting the ruling in question on hold.

On 28 July prosecutor Juan de Salazar, on behalf of Luis Rodríguez, answered Maldonado's petition before the *Audiencia*, stating that the ruling of the *Audiencia* had been just in confirming his point of view regarding the true intent and will expressed and contained by the Royal decree, which was more than clear and well understood by the President and *Oidores* of the *Audiencia*, as was evident by the proclamation of their latest ruling. Salazar also pleaded that Maldonado's appeal regarding the original decree not be permitted, asking instead that His Highness be allowed to confirm and ratify the new ruling, so that in the fulfillment of justice full compliance could be received.

With Salazar's response to Maldonado's appeal, the President and *Oidores* of the *Audiencia* considered again all the testimonies presented, meeting once more on 31 July, where they ruled that even though Maldonado had filed an appeal, their review had confirmed the accuracy of their 10 July ruling, for which they would now proceed to order that this ruling be recorded, followed and implemented in the manner contained within it. As part of this judgment it was also ordered that an authorized report be given to Licentiate Maldonado containing what was enacted and provided regarding the original decree presented by him.

On the same day, following this judgment, the initial ruling was proclaimed again in the presence of Attorney General Maldonado, to whom it had been notified, and Juan de Salazar, as Luis Rodríguez's prosecutor. With the ruling made public, on 8 August, Miguel López de Legazpi, the Lieutenant Treasurer of the mint, was informed and acknowledged hearing it, as witnessed by Antonio de Carvajal and García Calderón. Juan Gutiérrez followed, finally being notified in person on 21 August, with the court's scribes Juan de Guevara and Pedro de Requena serving as witnesses.

Also on 21 August 1554 Juan de Salazar went before the President and *Oidores* of the *Audiencia* where he presented a petition on behalf of Luis Rodríguez, assayer of the mint, saying that, pertaining to the litigation brought forth by the Attorney General about the known decree, this, as one of the Kingdoms of Castile, had viewed, reviewed and settled this litigation, for which he now pleaded and implored His Majesty's order that he be given the executory of the decisions.⁽²²⁾

As an interesting turn of events, on 23 August 1554 prosecutor Juan de Salazar appeared before the President and *Oidores* of the *Audiencia*, yet again. But this time he was no longer appearing as a representative of Luis Rodríguez, but of Juan Gutiérrez.⁽²³⁾ Salazar now presents Juan Gutiérrez's rebuttal of the ruling notified to him on 21 August, which was now blocking his rights to the post of smelter.

Salazar, in the name of, and by virtue of, the authority vested in him by Juan Gutiérrez, on the same day, said that the ruling presented to Gutiérrez was unjust and very damaging, and due to the concerns, gravity and injustice resulting from its passing, it should be annulled, amended and revoked by His Highness. Explaining his arguments, the following points were provided by Juan Gutiérrez through his representative:

1. That prior to the pronouncement of the ruling, he (Juan Gutiérrez) had not been called, heard, or even defeated in court, which was a required right in a case of such magnitude and importance.
2. That, having received the office of smelter from His Highness through his express command, the President and *Oidores*, talking with the proper right and compliance, were not judges to advise in this case or to pronounce such a harmful ruling against him. Also, that they should not have ordered that the rights to this post be taken away from him, as he had held these rights since 15 years ago to present, and with the loss of these rights he had now seen his removal from the offices that His Highness had awarded him.
3. That the Royal decree for which the President and *Oidores* were basing their ruling did not pertain to him or name him, and as such, he should not be implicated in this matter.
4. And that, since the post of smelter of the mint is one of the most necessary that the mint should have, and the most important to the King's services and the good of the Republic, not having this post would result in the royal fifths (taxes) being defrauded in large sums and quantities and there would be a lack of control in the mintage of the coins, for which His subjects would also receive harm.

In conclusion, it was said that as he would copiously prove and it would be learned through the protestation of this cause, that Juan Gutiérrez should continue to have the rights to this post, as he had had in the past. Therefore, it was requested that justice be made by the annulment and rebuke of the previous ruling due to the reasons given above.

After receiving Juan Gutiérrez's petition, the *Audiencia* presented it on the same day to Attorney General Maldonado so that he could provide a prompt response. But, on 25 August 1554, when the *Audiencia* met again, Maldonado, who had previously expressed his disagreement in the *Audiencia's* interpretation of the original decree, had still not provided a response. So, prosecutor Salazar, making note of this, appeared before the President and *Oidores* and asked that, since Maldonado had been notified and given ample time to respond, which he had not, he then asked and implored His Highness that the matter be declared concluded and for justice to be made by returning the post of smelter to Juan Gutiérrez.

Having studied Salazar's petition the President and *Oidores* agreed and as requested declared the case closed. Attorney General Maldonado was then notified.

With this latest ruling Juan Gutiérrez was given back the rights to the post of smelter. But the matter was far from over. All these rulings had come from the Mexican court, and Spain had not yet reviewed them or made their final decision.

With the matter still undecided in Spain, Luis Rodríguez, being given eight months to appear before the Council of the Indies in person or by proxy, sent a representative, who again presented Luis Rodríguez's argument to the Council of the Indies, as it had been presented in Mexico. However, with the inherently slow progress of litigations in the Council of the Indies, it would take years before a final ruling was decreed.

The Council's examination revealed that their Attorney General, Licentiate Agreda, had erred in thinking that the office that Juan Gutiérrez had ceded to Luis Rodríguez was that of smelter. This prompted Agreda to declare that Luis Rodríguez could not use it or hold any rights to it, as the office of assayer and smelter was one office and not two.⁽²⁴⁾

On 26 August 1558 the members of the Council of Indies, after reviewing the lengthy petitions regarding this complaint, ruled in favor of Luis Rodríguez, saying that it should be ordered, as it was ordered, that the title of assayer that was taken away and placed in this complaint should be reinstated back to him.⁽²⁵⁾ In contrast to the previous decree issued on 18 December 1552, the Council now said that if it was considered necessary, or if Luis Rodríguez requested it, a letter detailing the title could be provided to him, so that he could carry out this post as declared and ordered. Regarding the office of smelter, it was said that since smelting was included under the office of assayer according to the laws and pragmatics of the Spanish realm, then, wrongfully, Luis Rodríguez was now being deprived of the rights derived from smelting.

Last but not least, as for Juan Gutiérrez, since he was the one who ceded the post of assayer to Luis Rodríguez, and the one who was now said to be pretending to have been left with the post of smelter, the Council of the Indies ordered that, rather than Luis Rodríguez, it was Juan Gutiérrez who should be linked with the previous decree and who should be ordered not to use the office of smelter.

Following the announcement of this judgment it was notified to Luis Rodríguez's representative and to Attorney General Agreda, who did not challenge it. After a short time had passed, still without being challenged, Luis Rodríguez's representative asked the Council of the Indies to provide him with an executory letter with the judgment, to which they agreed.

By decree signed in the Village of Valladolid on 15 October 1558 by Joanna (*Juana*) of Austria, Princess of Portugal, Regent of Spain and sister of King Philip II,⁽²⁶⁾ Luis Rodríguez got his executory letter in the form of a decree that said for Luis Rodríguez to use the office of assayer in all cases and things annexed to it, and ordered that all who saw the judgment from the Council of the Indies, which she was incorporating with it, to keep it, obey it and execute it in its entirety.⁽²⁷⁾

But, while this was happening in Spain, news from Mexico had not yet arrived to let them know that on 4 July 1558 Juan Gutiérrez had passed away⁽²⁸⁾ in the town of Querétaro.⁽²⁹⁾

Initial	Name	Began on	Left office on
L	Luis Rodríguez	9 November 1548	before 14 January 1568
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office technically owned by Juan Gutiérrez until Luis Rodríguez was ratified by Spain on Oct. 15, 1549 (Luis Rodríguez as the owner thereafter.) Was first sworn in in Mexico on 9 November 1548. By 14 January 1568 we are told that he is no longer exercising the post (the post is being exercised through a lieutenant due to his ailments). It is possible that by 1564 Bernardo de Oñate had already replaced him as his full time lieutenant. Luis dies after a prolonged illness in late 1569. 			
S	Pedro de Salcedo (?)	1553 (?)	1553 (?)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Owner of the office: Luis Rodríguez. Apparently a brief, temporary replacement for Luis Rodríguez in 1553 (?). 			

Endnotes:

- (1) Archivo General de Indias (AGI): México, 169, N. 15.
- (2) AGI, (ibid, n. 1.)
- (3) AGI, Patronato, 284, N. 2, R. 1.
- (4) Archivo General de Simancas (AGS): Patronato Real (PTR), Leg. 26, Docs. 100-112. Archduke Maximilian (son of Ferdinand I, King of Bohemia, Hungary and Croatia and of Anna of Bohemia and Hungary) and Archduchess María of Austria (daughter of King Charles I of Spain and of Isabella of Portugal), acted as Regents of Spain between 29 September 1548 and 22 June 1551, while King Charles was occupied with German affairs, and Prince Philip was absent traveling in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. During this period of regency, the Grand Inquisitor (*Inquisidor General*) and Archbishop of Seville, Fernando de Valdés Salas, was left in charge of handling the matters that pertain to the Holy Office (*asuntos del Santo Oficio*.)
- (5) *IV Jornadas Científicas Sobre Documentación de Castilla e Indias en el siglo XVI*. Galende Díaz, Juan Carlos (Director), Cabezas Fontanilla, Susana and Royo Martínez, María del Mar (Editores), de Francisco Olmos, José María and de Santiago Fernández, Javier (Coordinadores). Departamento de Ciencias y Técnicas Historiográficas, Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Section titled "*Las misivas reales durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI: Historia, Diplomática y Cultura Escrita a través de la correspondencia de la Emperatriz María de Austria*" by Juan Carlos Galende Díaz and Manuel Salamanca López, Madrid, Spain, 2005, p. 165. Herein the authors write: "...la conveniencia de delegar el poder en las personas de Maximiliano y María, cuyo matrimonio estaba ya concertado, y que tendría lugar el 13 de septiembre de 1548, otorgándoles en la primavera de 1549 el título de «Reyes de Bohemia». Con todo, éste será un título de carácter meramente honorífico, debiendo esperar hasta el 20 de septiembre de 1562 para ver coronado a Maximiliano como rey de Bohemia, y al día siguiente a su mujer."


La Corte de Carlos V. Vol. 1, Tomo 2: "Corte y Gobierno". Martínez Millán, José and de Carlos Morales, Carlos Javier (coord.). Chapter 14 titled *La proyección del príncipe Felipe. Viajes y regencias en la corte hispana*, Madrid, Spain, 2000, p. 209. Regarding when Charles I of Spain signed the order authorizing the Regency of Maximilian and María and when they received the initially honorary title of "Rulers of Bohemia" (*Reyes de Bohemia*), the author writes: "El 29 de septiembre de 1548, en Bruselas, Carlos V firmó los poderes e instrucciones que debían conducir la regencia de su hija y su sobrino, titulados reyes de Bohemia desde febrero del año siguiente, y designaba las personas que compondrían los distintos consejos les habrían de asistir en el gobierno."

- (6) Joanna (*Juana*), the daughter of Queen Isabella I (*Isabel I*) of Castile and King Ferdinand II (*Fernando II*) of Aragón and mother of King Charles, was proclaimed Queen of Castile, León and Granada after her mother's death (d. 1504), a title that she retained until her death in 1555. After King Ferdinand's death (d. 1516) Charles and Joanna were proclaimed as co-rulers of Spain in 1517. But Queen Joanna's title was mostly titular as she had been declared mentally unstable and unable to govern shortly after the death of her husband Philip "the Handsome" of Austria in 1506. During the remainder of her life Queen Joanna was kept confined at the Santa Clara Convent in Tordesillas, near Valladolid in Castile, Spain, first by her father King Ferdinand, and later by her son King Charles. But, despite her confinement, King Charles did continue to consult with her and maintained the pretense of joint rule with his mother, for which, both their names appear on the coins minted in the Americas.
- (7) AGS: Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda (C.J.H.), leg. 76, fols. 55 and 56; AGS: C.J.H., leg. 89, fol. 80. (Credit for the discovery of these documents goes to Mr. Glenn Murray.)
- (8) de Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio. *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano o "décadas"* (Edición de Mariano Cuesta Domingo.) Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 1991. Reprint of the 1601 edition, Tomo I, p. 241. Although the documents studied only identify this official as Licentiate Agreda, his full name has been verified through the list of Attorney Generals of the Council of the Indies provided by Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas; historiographer of the Indies and Castile appointed in 1592 by King Philip II.
- (9) AGI: México, 205, N. 7. This document states: "...el liçençiado agreda fiscal de su magestad en el su consejo rreal de las yndias me ha hecho rrelaçion quel dicho luys Rodriguez gano la merced/ (por) Subrreçion y no verdadera rrelaçion porque en rrealidad de verdad no q tal /ofiçio en la dicha casa ni le A avido en ella sino solamente de ensayador el qual y de fundidor hera una misma cosa E no dos ofiçios..." An added word of advice for those who wish to read the original legajo: there is a mix-up of the images for this legajo. The correct order should be: images 1-4, followed by 11-12, then 7-10, now followed by 5-6, and finally 13-17.
- (10) AGS: PTR, Leg. 26, Docs. 93, 96 and 121-125. Prince Philip resumed as Regent upon his return to Spain under orders signed on 22 and 23 June 1551. During this period of regency the Grand Inquisitor (*Inquisidor General*) and Archbishop of Seville, Fernando de Valdés Salas, continued in charge of handling the matters that pertain to the Holy Office under a new signed order. This regency lasted until the beginning of July 1554, when Philip traveled to England for his marriage to Queen Mary I of England and Ireland, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine (*Catalina*) of Aragón, King and Queen of England.
- (11) AGI, (op. cit., n. 9) and AGI, Patronato (op. cit., n. 3.)
- (12) D. Sedwick and F. Sedwick, *The Practical Book of Cobs*. 4th Edition, (Winter Park, FL, 2007), p. 64. Herein Daniel Sedwick writes: "Die details indicate that the coins of assayer S fit in between two tenures of assayer L and must have been made around 1553-1554, since assayer-S specimens were recovered from the 1554 Fleet off Padre Island, Texas, but *not* from a late-1549s/ circa-1550 wreck that yielded many specimens of the other assayers at the time (G, R, A, and L.)"
- (13) AGI, México, 210, N. 30. Although we know that by this time Bernardo de Oñate was already assisting Luis Rodríguez with the post of assayer, it might have been deemed that he did not yet have the skills needed to take on the post without supervision himself, as we know that he was not called upon at this early stage. As mentioned before, no assayer-mark O specimens were recovered from the 1554 Fleet off Padre Island, Texas.
- (14) A. F. Pradeau, *Don Antonio de Mendoza y la Casa de Moneda de México en 1543*. Documentos inéditos publicados con prólogo y notas. Biblioteca Histórica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas No. 23, Mexico, Antigua Librería Robredo, 1953, pp. 58-59; AGI, Justicia, 277, N. 5.; AGI: México, 204, N. 40. The Guard of the mint, Juan de Santa Cruz, testified on 2 June 1545, during the Tello de Sandoval investigation, that Pedro de Salcedo had worked as die-sinker at the mint, prior to the arrival of Alonso del Rincón. Also, Pedro de Salcedo's early involvement in the mint is confirmed by several witnesses who provided testimony to his prior services between October 1552 and January 1553.
- (15) M. J. Sarabia Viejo, *Don Luis de Velasco, Virrey de Nueva España, 1550-1564*. Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1978, p. 103, footnote 76. The date Pedro de Salcedo is given the title of Overseer of the Mexican Silversmiths is provided herein as follows: "L. C., Hans P. Kraus Coll., Item 140, fols. 56vto.-57.—Nombramiento de Pedro de Salcedo como veedor de los plateros de México, 13 de marzo de 1551."
- (16) J. García Mendoza, *La formación de grupos de poder en la Provincia de la Plata en el siglo XVI*. Unpublished thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) (México D. F., Mexico, 2002), p. 181 (and footnote 512). Mr. García Mendoza writes: "Pedro de Salcedo tuvo relación con su suegro, de quien fue fiador, cuando este solicitó el oficio de tesorero de la Casa de Moneda." Footnote 512: "El 19 de agosto de 1553, Pedro de Salcedo quedó como fiador de Miguel López de Legazpi, su suegro, quien había

solicitado el oficio de tesorero de la Casa de la Moneda AGNM, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, v. 1505, f. 49v; SDHNCM-AGN, Pedro Sánchez de la Fuente, 1547-1577, No 266, fs. 627-628.”

AGI, (op. cit., n. 9). The presence of Miguel López de Legazpi as the Treasurer of the Mint of Mexico is further confirmed by this document from the General Archive of the Indies, which includes: “*En la çiudad de mexico /ocho dias del mes de agosto de myll E quinientos E çinquenta E quatro años notifique el auto desta otra parte contenido y le de bista en esta causa pronunçiadlos a miguel lopes de legaspi tesorero de la casa de la moneda...*”

- (17) García Mendoza (ibid, n. 16), p. 70. Mr. García Mendoza writes: “*Juan de Salcedo también entabló una relación de amistad con Miguel López de Legazpi, minero de Tasco y escribano del Cabildo de México. Antes de morir Salcedo en 1536, nombró a López de Legazpi como curador de su hijo Pedro de Salcedo.*”
- (18) García Mendoza (ibid, n. 16), pp. 70-71 and 179. On page 179 Mr. García Mendoza writes: “*Pedro de Salcedo, el hijo de Juan de Salcedo y de Leonor de Pizarro, contrajo matrimonio con Teresa Garcés, hija de su tutor el adelantado de las Filipinas, Miguel López de Legazpi...*”
- (19) AGI, (op. cit., n. 9)
- (20) AGI, (op. cit., n. 9) and AGI, Patronato (op. cit., n. 3.)
- (21) AGI, (op. cit., n. 9). The contract between prosecutor Juan de Salazar and Luis Rodríguez, dated 27 June 1554 was presented before the *Audiencia* on 6 July 1554.
- (22) AGI, (op. cit., n. 9). The document states: “*...pido y suplico a vuestra alteza mande que se me de executoria de los autos...*”
- (23) AGI, (op. cit., n. 9). The contract between prosecutor Juan de Salazar and Juan Gutiérrez, dated 23 August 1554 was presented before the *Audiencia* on this same day.
- (24) AGI, Patronato (op. cit., n. 3.)
- (25) AGI, (ibid, n. 24.)
- (26) AGS: PTR, Leg. 26, Docs. 129-133, 135 and 137-139; AGI: Patronato, 170, R. 55. Joanna (*Juana*) of Austria, Princess of Portugal, became Regent of Spain and the Indies in 1554 under orders from her father, King Charles I of Spain, dated 31 March, 1 April and 12 July of that year.
 AGS: PTR, Leg. 17, Doc. 65 (Cesión del feudo de Sicilia); AGS: PTR, Leg. 42, Doc. 12 (Cesión del Reino de Nápoles); AGS: PTR, Leg. 42, Doc. 24 (Cesión del Reino de Sicilia Ulterior); AGS: PTR, Leg. 26, Docs. 162 and 165 (Cesión de los Reinos de Castilla y Aragón, respectivamente). On 15 June 1554 King Charles and his mother Queen Joanna abdicated the Kingdom of Naples and certain lands in Sicily on Prince Philip. King Charles further abdicated on him the Netherlands on 25 October 1555 and the remaining kingdoms in Sicily, Spain and his overseas possessions on 16 January 1556. Philip was officially proclaimed in Valladolid in 1556 as King Philip II of Spain, while he was in the Netherlands.
 AGS: PTR, Leg. 26, Docs. 141 and 149-152. After her brother’s ascension to the throne Princess Joanna continued to serve as his Regent of Spain and the Indies under new orders drafted by the now King Philip II of Spain on 17, 23 and 28 January 1556. This period of regency lasted until 2 August 1559 when King Philip II returned to Spain from the Netherlands.
- (27) AGI, Patronato (op. cit., n. 3.)
- (28) AGI, Indiferente, 2048, N. 16.
- (29) Situated on the Mexican Plateau at an elevation of about 6,100 feet (1,860 meters) above sea level, Santiago de Querétaro, commonly referred to simply as Querétaro, is located 213 kilometers (132 miles) northwest of Mexico City. According to tradition, the Spaniards founded their town on the site of a pre-colonial Otomí settlement, which they renamed Santiago de Querétaro on 25 July 1531.



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LEGENDS AND EVIDENCE OF THE MINTING OF THE MUERA HUERTA COIN

by Carlos Amaya

Introduction

The coin known as the “Muera Huerta” has been involved in various stories of different kinds; from the supposed motives for why Villa ordered its minting, alternate inscriptions to the legend Muera Huerta, of how coins were minted outside Cuencame and how Villa infuriated the president Huerta himself. In 2021 I published my book *Reflexiones Sobre de la Moneda Muera Huerta*, where I made some observations on the legends surrounding this coin and its place in history with documentary evidence. This article presents a summary of one of these legends - the reason for which this coin was minted.

The legend of the reasons for minting this coin

If we read recent books about the Muera Huerta coin, attend talks, watch videos or even have casual conversations on this topic, the “official” version of the creation of this coin is that it was due to Pancho Villa’s deep hatred towards Victoriano Huerta and that he sent his two trusted generals, Calixto Contreras and Severino Cenicerros, to mint this coin, when, in fact, this hatred is based on the historical event of the theft of a horse. More on that in a moment.

At the end of the first chapter of the Mexican Revolution, Madero came to power and Francisco Villa retired to private life, opening butcher shops in the city of Chihuahua with his brothers, where he moved the cattle he bought in Parral. Villa wrote to President Madero denouncing the political leader of Parral, José de la Luz Soto, about acts of unprovoked harassment. In these letters he also reiterated his loyalty to Madero’s government.

Meanwhile Pascual Orozco, a general who had participated in the revolution, felt disappointed by Madero because he had not been granted the Secretary of War or Navy positions, and later, the governorship of Chihuahua. He soon rebelled and on 25 March 1912 proclaimed his Plan de la Empacadora, criticizing the Madero government and setting out an important program of political, agrarian and worker reforms.

When the Orozco uprising occurred, Pancho Villa, together with Maclovio Herrera, took Parral and by arresting Soto obtained an important victory for the Madero government. However, the president continued to doubt the loyalty and military effectiveness of Villa and his men. In a letter congratulating him on his Parral action, Madero asked him to place himself under the military authority of General Victoriano Huerta who was the head of the División del Norte and in charge of fighting the Orozquista rebels.

While under Huerta, Villa and his men engaged in several hostile actions between his own “irregulares” and the professional army of Victoriano Huerta. Hostility between federals and volunteers increased in late May 1912 when Tomás Urbina, one of Villa’s lieutenants, looted a hacienda owned by the Anglo-American Tlahualilo Company. General Huerta ordered Urbina shot, but Villa and other leaders of the irregulars threatened to abandon the military campaign if the execution was carried out. Huerta relented at that time, but this only increased the animosity between these two groups.

At the end of May 1912, the military campaign against Orozco had been a complete success and Villa considered that his presence was no longer necessary, and that he could return home. Then a minor incident occurred that served as a pretext for Huerta to get rid of Villa. It is said that a federal officer wanted a horse from the irregulars and it was claimed that Villa had stolen it. It is said that this robbery did occur, but the action was of minor importance. Huerta also received a telegram on 3 June from Villa, in which he informed him that he and his men would be leaving the División del Norte. Huerta considered this action to be an act of rebellion and ordered Colonel Guillermo Rubio Navarrete to strafe the Villa barracks with machine gun fire, as he had received reports that Villa was trying to rebel.



Rubio Navarrete's men surrounded the headquarters to carry out his orders, but finding Villa and his men sound asleep, he did not carry out the assault. The next day Villa was taken to the Huerta camp, where he sent a telegram to President Madero, informing him that he no longer wanted to fight under the command of the División del Norte. In a sham trial, Villa was sentenced to death. Colonel Rubio Navarrete, realizing this, ordered the suspension of the execution and took Villa away in the presence of Huerta. An angry Huerta threatened to shoot them both if he found out the execution had not occurred. Colonel Raúl Madero, the president's brother, as well as the president himself, who in a telegram ordered the suspension of the execution, also intervened. Huerta is said to have humiliated Villa, forcing him to kneel down and ask for his forgiveness. In the end, Huerta ordered that Villa be transferred to Mexico City, accused of robbery and rebellion.

Based on these facts, it is said that when Villa was governor of Chihuahua, at the end of 1913, he faced serious financial problems such as the lack of circulating money, which sank the markets and brought hunger to the population. Having listened to several proposals to correct this situation, Villa replied: "If what is lacking is money, well we are going to do it (ourselves)" and taking a large quantity of silver, he ordered the one peso coin from Parral to be minted and then ordered Calixto Contreras and Severino Cenicerros to mint a coin in Cuernavaca with a value of one peso and the legend "MUERA HUERTA", as revenge for the humiliation that he and his soldiers suffered under the orders of the cruel usurper Huerta, who was now the president of Mexico.

What the Numismatic literature says

If we review various references in the numismatic literature, we can see how in the first two references for 1921 and 1932, Villa is not mentioned as the protagonist in the story, with the first mention in the 1970s:

1. The Muera Huerta coins were minted in Cuernavaca, under the orders of Generals Calixto Contreras and Severino Cenicerros (Howland Wood, *The Mexican revolutionary coinage, 1913-1916*. The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1921; José Sánchez Garza, *Historical Notes on Coins of the Mexican Revolution*, Ed. Celorio a Mejia, 1932).
2. General Victoriano Huerta was not exactly what you would call a popular man. Villa hated him for his own near death by a firing squad and the death of Madero and ordered a unique coin struck to indicate this hatred (Neil S. Utberg, *The Coins of the Mexican Revolution 1910-1917*, 1965).
3. One of the most famous of all coins, the MUERA HUERTA peso, was the result of Villa's hatred of Huerta (H. S. Guthrie & M. Bothamley, *Mexican Revolutionary Coinage 1913 - 1917*, Superior Stamp & Coin Co. Beverly Hills, California, 1976).
4. Pancho Villa never forgot that Huerta had wanted to shoot him and actually had a very numismatic revenge (Miguel Muñoz, *Antología Numismática Mexicana*, Ed. Particular, 1977).
5. The "Muera Huerta" (Death to Huerta) peso proclaimed Villa's hatred for the man who placed him in front of a firing squad (Don Bailey & Joe Flores, *¡Viva la Revolución! The Money of the Mexican Revolution*, ANA, 2003).

A Documentary History

When the railroad boom reached the valleys of Durango, it became affordable to exploit the wealth of industrial metals and low-grade silver. The most important mining center at the beginning of the century was Velardeña, where the American Smelting and Refining Co. (ASARCO) invested more than one and a half million pesos to open a smelting plant, as well as an extension of the railways to transport the metals. By 1907, the Velardeña mines were among the most modern and productive in the country, attracting large amounts of labor from the entire nation. The wages of the company were relatively high: however, there were many disagreements among the workers since there was a sense of privilege for the US workers compared to the Mexican workers.

After taking Torreón in September 1913, Pancho Villa retired to Chihuahua and Calixto Contreras remained in charge of the city. When Victoriano Huerta learnt about the capture of Torreón, he instructed General José Refugio Velasco to organize a force to retake and occupy the city. This became a reality on 9 December 1913 which caused Contreras to flee to La Loma Station.

Calixto was believed to have his center of operations in ASARCO. A letter from J. L. R. Bravo to the head of the Nazas division mentions "I have suspicions of the ASARCO companies and the Velardeña frankly helping Calixto Contreras ...".

Later we know that these suspicions were true. In the Memorandums of claim of the American government towards Mexico (General Claims Commission (Mexico and United States). 1941. Collection Relating to the General Claims Commission (Mexico and United States) 1917-1926. USA State Department. Washington D.C.) in files Nos. 2096 and 2280 it is mentioned: "They used the ASARCO plant as a barracks for troops, and a corral for cavalry horses, and also as an arsenal and as a place for manufacturing of ammunition and the repair of weapons. An estimated \$476,268 loss due to Constitutionalist occupation from September 1913 to September 1914".

When Calixto Contreras took refuge in La Loma Station, he most likely already had the idea of minting the "Muera Huerta" coin. Huerta and his forces had defeated him and little by little Calixto's revolutionary dreams were in danger of collapsing.

On Christmas Day 1913, he raided ASARCO to obtain the machinery for the minting of this coin. This is verified by the telegram that Governor Pastor Rouaix sent him admonishing him for this action.

Durango, 27 December 1913.

Gral. Calixto Contreras.

Velardeña, Dgo.

Dear friend:

In view of the fact that yesterday the American Consul in this city wrote to this Government letting it be known that in the Asarco smelter some devices were extracted of the Mechanics Workshop, I allow myself to express the following: I believe that the guarantees that the Revolution has been giving to the Americans, undoubtedly better than those offered by Huerta, are reasons in many ways for the sympathy that the United States have for our cause ... For these reasons it suits us to avoid as far as possible any reason for claim for the neighboring country and any place where the confidence that American citizens have in the revolution regarding their interests is diminished.

Given these considerations, I allow myself to ask you very earnestly, not doubting that I will get it from you, given your recognized patriotism and spirit of justice that encourage you, that for everything that the Company of Asarco needs, as for everything that is needed of other American companies or individuals, you direct yourself to the American Consul and you have a prior arrangement with him, thereby guaranteeing in the best possible way the interests of the American people. (Copiadores, 1913. Historical Archive of the Government of the State of Durango).

It is believed that the machinery lifted from ASARCO was taken to the residence of Severino Cenicerós Bocanegra in Cuencame. In the Memorandums of American claim to Mexico, in file No. 2190 it is mentioned: "The Constitutionlists built their own smelter in Cuencame, Durango, stripping the Asarco plant of equipment". Additionally, in a note in the newspaper *El Demócrata* of 4 March 1914 it states:

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL COIN.

Very soon the pesos minted in the factory of the Generals Calixto Contreras and Severino Cenicerós that they have established in Cuencame and whose examples we have been able to see, being able to say that it is the most finished work and that due to the silver fineness it will have no difficulty in entering circulation. For its part, the Government is going to issue a decree that provides for the forced circulation of these pesos.

The Muera Huerta coin of the Brigada Juárez

There is evidence that the Muera Huerta coin was originally to be minted with the inscription "BRIGADA JUAREZ" (Calixto Contreras had the rank of general of the so-called Juárez Brigade). This is known due to a telegram sent to Calixto Contreras by Governor Rouaix, where he suggests eliminating this legend since if it is not eliminated "it will perhaps be taken as a special coin of the Brigade that you definitely command" and its circulation will be restricted.

Durango, 2 January 1914

Gral. Calixto Contreras.

Est. Lomas

Very esteemed friend:

Believing it in the public interest, I take the liberty of asking you the following suggestion, which I do not doubt you will attend to, given your recognized uprightness of judgment and the kindness that characterize it.

I think that as all coins should be publicly entirely neutral, in order that their means of circulation should be unlimited, it is essential to remove everything that could restrict their circulation, as could happen to the coin that you have ordered

to be minted, if it had the insertion of Muera Huerta! and the Brigada Juárez, because the latter would make it seem a special coin of the brigade that you definitely command.

Therefore, I allow myself (to indicate to you) the convenience (of that insertion that I mean) only (the inscription of) Ejército Constitucionalista (in order that) ...undoubtedly ... (the remainder is indecipherable). (Copiadores, 1914. Historical Archive of the Government of the State of Durango).

The insertion of the legend “Brigada Juárez” and the mention of Governor Rouaix of “the coin that you have ordered to be minted” makes us think that the true author of the coin was General Calixto Contreras and that Pancho Villa did not intervene in any form in its minting. To confirm this, Pradeau mentions a note from Senator General Severino Cenicerros of 20 August 1933 where he states that the original idea of the minting of this coin was from General Calixto Contreras and that it was minted at his (Severino Cenicerros’) home on the main street of Cuencame.



On the left is the reverse of the copper pattern of the Muera Huerta coin. On the right is a representation of the original idea of this coin.

¡Viva Madero! ¡Muera Huerta!

A great military achievement of Calixto Contreras was the taking of Durango (18 June 1913), a fact that marked his advancement within the military. This also helped give credibility to the revolutionary government so it could birth to a more just Agrarian Law for the peasants. With the yell VIVA MADERO! MUERA HUERTA! the insurgents entered the state capital.

In the alleged memoirs of Victoriano Huerta it is mentioned: *They hated me even in the capital of Mexico: all the men who died were for conspiracy against me; and in the police stations and in the Police Inspectorate, and in the Ministry of War, death sentences were decreed for hundreds of conspirators against me. The drunkards and those who wanted to sacrifice themselves shouted: “Muera Huerta!”* (Huerta, 1917). They are referred to as “supposed memories”, since this work originally appeared in two formats: a poorly bound book, without an imprint (but published in Mexico City, in or after 1917), and delivered in two newspapers and at different times. Furthermore, the content has been criticized by various historians. However, this quote exemplifies the use of the “Muera Huerta” in question. In addition, mention must be made of Mexican “corridos” (popular songs), such as the “Corrido dedicated to Carranza”, “Corrido of Francisco Villa”, “Corrido of the History of the defeat and death of General Luis Cartón” and the “Corrido of a Poor Mexican” that exemplify with their “Muera Huerta” the common use of this expression in the revolutionary period.

By January 1914, the date the minting of this coin was believed to have started, Madero was dead, so the “Vivas” to Madero, the hero of the revolution, were no longer appropriate: however, the hatred of the evil usurper Huerta, who was at that time the president of the county and still alive, would be the reason that Calixto Contreras ordered the legend to be Muera Huerta on the coin and it was not for Villa’s hatred of Huerta.

Conclusion

With the documentary evidence previously presented, the legend that Villa himself ordered the minting of the coin is questioned. For this we can base ourselves on the telegram that the governor of Durango, Pastor Rouaix, sent to

Calixto Contreras in which he urges him to eliminate the legend of “Brigada Juárez”, a unit led by Contreras, and leave only that of the “Constitutionalist Army”. If Villa had ordered the minting of this coin, it is considered highly unlikely that General Contreras would have had the audacity to mint the coin under the very name of his brigade. Additionally, the expression written by the governor “the coin that you have ordered to be minted” makes us think that the idea of the minting came from Calixto Contreras himself and not from Villa; as also Severino Cenicerós mentions in his writing.

Finally, it is proposed the legend “MUERA HUERTA” was not born of Villa’s hatred of Huerta, but was a yell of the revolutionary rebels (VIVA MADERO, MUERA HUERTA), as various documents and “corridos” of the time testify. However, there is still much to investigate and in the future other documents that define the true history of this coin may appear.

Thanks to Scott Doll and Simon Prendergast for corrections to this paper.

THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY CORNER

by David Hughes

Aguascalientes cast 5-centavo, GB-17-VAR

A second cast variety of the Aguascalientes 1915 5-centavo has surfaced, the type of GB-17, reeded edge.



A cast version of a struck coin commands wariness, as a cast copy is the easiest counterfeit to make. In this case, consider:

- Garza (1932) notes that, on the order of a Villista general in Aguascalientes, cast coins were ordered, prepared and circulated (Garza No. 60a, 20¢ cast. Other cast in GB catalogue).
- Clyde Hubbard has noted that the Revolutionists cast coins when the tooling [for striking coins] broke down.
- The National Railroad shops, where the Aguascalientes coins were reportedly struck (Garza), likely had a foundry and could easily cast metal (the ways and the means).

Casting appears to match a GB-25 20-centavo that I have. The edge was likely filed or resized (diameter matches the GB-17), and reeded after casting. It would be nice to compare this piece with the GB-16 5-centavo cast, but the GB-16 is not illustrated.



Cast silver Aguascalientes 20-centavo pieces are regarded as counterfeits for collectors, be they a modern product or otherwise.

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A NEWLY-DISCOVERED PIECE OF MINING SCRIP: LA MINA MEXICANA, CANANEA

by Simon Prendergast

Though we know that mining companies in Mexico used their own scrip it is initially surprising how few examples have survived, and most of them either specimens or unissued remainders. However, when one considers that such notes were a source of value and would have been redeemed if ever their use as currency was ended, and that their legal status was at best dubious, if not illegal, perhaps this scarcity can be explained.



Recently a note from the imaginatively named Mina Mexicana in Cananea, Sonora, surfaced. It is an unnumbered and unsigned example, dated 1896, authorised the company store of La Mina Mexicana to give the bearer one peso's worth of merchandise and to debit the account of the Sonora Mining Company. The legend at the edges refer to A. F. Paredes, as manager (*Gerente*), presumably of La Mina Mexicana, and the Sonora Commercial Company.

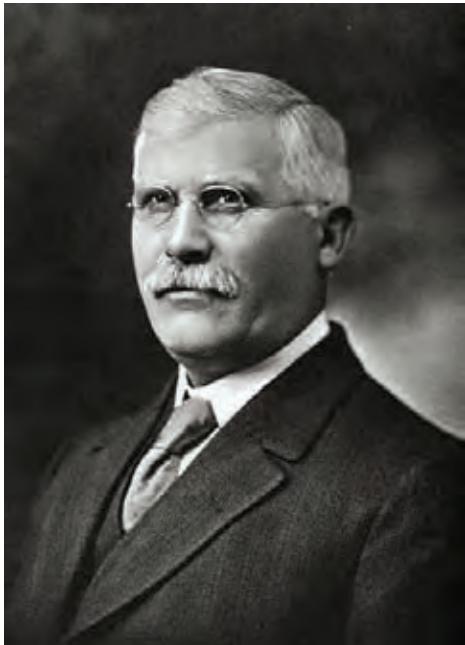
La Mina Mexicana was seventy-five miles from Nogales. In a write up in 1897 *The Mexican Herald* reported that the mine was owned by A. F. Paredes & Co. and was

one of the best silver and lead mines in the state. L. L. Lindsey (*sic*) is the superintendent and he has a model camp. Everyone does his work and the camp is neat and clean. There is no drunkenness allowed. There is a system of checks and only three drinks a day are allowed each man. More than that amount is liable to lead the drinker to intemperance and then he will lose his job, for when a man gets drunk he is discharged. The result is that there is no more orderly camp in the whole state of Sonora. The company store is well stocked with general merchandise and prices are very reasonable. ... The ore is hauled to Nogales where it is loaded onto cars and

shipped to El Paso, Texas, for treatment. There are one hundred men employed all the time taking out ore and doing development work.

The person named as *gerente*, A. F. Paredes, appears to have a series of different employments, including storekeeper and mine-owner. By 1878 he was running J. Giundani & Co.'s wholesale and retail general store in Florence, Arizona and was still working for them at Fairbank in 1890. By 1895 he was manager of La Mina Mexicana. In 1897, A. F. Paredes & Co. operated the La Internacional general store on Morley Avenue, Nogales, Arizona. Paredes resumed management of the mine on 1 June 1898 and was still there in March 1900. Incidentally, in 1912 Paredes became the editor, manager and director of *La Voz de Cananea*, a biweekly newspaper, and, as such, was shot in August 1914, with two other journalists, by Los Chiquitos, the nickname given to Carranza's supporters by the opposing Maytorena faction.

The Sonora Commercial Company, owned by Proto Brothers, completed building a new store on Arizpe Street, Nogales, Sonora, in March 1898 to house a large and varied stock of groceries and mine supplies with Spiro Proto as manager.



Lycurgus Lindsay

As for the superintendent, Lycurgus Lindsay was born in Princeton, Missouri in 1859. After completing his schooling in Kansas and Illinois, he started out in the milling and cattle feeding business, centred in Kansas and Southeastern Texas during the years from 1881 to 1889. Then mining interests took him into Sonora and he became superintendent of the La Mina Mexicana. Then in September 1897 he accepted a similar position with the Santa Rosalia Mining Company but resigned after a couple of months, supposedly in order to look after the interests of his own properties near the La Mexicana mine. At the Santa Rosalia mine, he reportedly located and opened one of the richest veins of copper in the world. He also signed the private note discussed in the article "La Tienda de Santa Rosalia" in the December 2016 issue. He went on to become the multi-millionaire owner of large cattle and stock ranches in Sonora and of other mining and ranching properties in Arizona, Nevada and California.

Around 1905 he centralized his business enterprises in Los Angeles, energetically expanding his

efforts to include large stakeholdings and directorships in banks, oceanfront real estate development, and in building materials, including a firm that produced the miles of sewer pipe new Angelenos would require and the Western Art Tile Works. The self-proclaimed "Talc King", in 1912 he developed the Western mine in San Bernadino, to extract the mineral to use in these two large pottery businesses.

He was responsible for "one of the most delicate yet robustly designed houses ever seen in Los Angeles" at 3234 West Adams Boulevard. The house was built entirely of hard burned terra cotta tile, laid up in cement mortar, and reinforced every two or three tiers of tiles with a webbing of steel wire mesh, making it virtually earthquake proof.

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