

George Morgan, the Philadelphia Art Community, and the Redesign of the Silver Dollar, c. 1876-82

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There is probably no more famous phrase associated with American coinage than “silver dollar.” The words conjure up images of large, shiny metal disks stacked like chips on a Nevada poker table. Silver dollars were one of those mysterious gifts that our grandparents once presented us; perhaps we looked at them and wondered about the bygone era when people carried them around as pocket change. About there, our common knowledge of the coin usually ends. In the late nineteenth century, however, when the U. S. Mint coined large quantities of the silver dollar, coinage held an elevated place in the American public’s mind. Between 1876 and 1878, the silver dollar was redesigned (Figure 1) by a recently-arrived English engraver, George Morgan, and it became the center of several very public controversies—ones that ultimately had at stake more than just aesthetic concerns about America’s coins. This paper seeks to embed the silver dollar’s redesign within a new artistic discussion on individual, civic, and national levels. I argue that the design process was rooted in Morgan’s personal desire to ingratiate himself within the Philadelphia artistic community. The redesign of the silver dollar also became inextricably linked to a contentious discussion between several cities for consideration as the preeminent center of American artistic culture in the late nineteenth century. Finally, I show that Morgan’s design fanned the flames of a long-running national dispute over Victorian-era standards of propriety in public images.

Morgan was born in Birmingham, England, in 1845, and won a scholarship to study at the South Kensington Art School for two years. In the early 1870s he was apprenticed to the medalists Joseph and Alfred Wyon at the Royal Mint in London. It was at this time that the director of the U. S. Mint, Dr. Henry R. Linderman, decided that his Chief En-

graver, William Barber (who coincidentally was also English), was artistically underqualified for the job. Linderman also suspected that Barber would retire soon to concentrate on the private engraving business he ran from his office in the Philadelphia Mint, an activity which Linderman also thought caused Barber to be overworked. He therefore contacted Charles Freemantle, deputy master of the Royal Mint, to inquire about suitable candidates for an assistant engraver. Freemantle recommended Morgan, whom he said had “considerable talent,” and remarked that he would be sorry if Morgan left England, but that his arrival would surely be of great value to the United States, “both officially and as an artist.”¹ Morgan accepted Linderman’s offer of \$8 per day (which, in 2007, works out to about \$42,000 in annual salary).² Upon his arrival in Philadelphia, the officials at the Mint discovered with embarrassment that there was no room for him to work in the crowded Mint building. Morgan was allowed to work temporarily from home. He installed himself at 1614 Mount Vernon Street, where he began working on new pattern designs for the half dollar and the dime.³

Morgan immediately sought to acquaint himself with the Philadelphia artistic community. By the end of October 1876, he had enrolled at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, despite the fact that he was already a distinguished professional engraver, employed at a federal Mint!⁴ According to one account, Morgan felt he was saturated with European concepts, and he needed to “Americanize” his work more thoroughly.⁵ At the Academy he began profile studies of Greek figures for the female head of Liberty on the obverse of the half dollar, while he promised Linderman that he would pursue “studies in nature” for the eagle on the reverse.⁶ Linderman, meanwhile, began to popularize

¹ See Ted Schwarz, “The Morgan and Peace Silver Dollars,” *The Numismatist* 88, no. 11 (November 1975): 2422-30. Also consult Q. David Bowers, *The Official Red Book of Morgan Silver Dollars: A Complete History and Price Guide* (Atlanta: Whitman, 2004), 33. Bowers has included much of the original text from the Linderman-Freemantle exchange of letters.

² I have calculated the equivalence of Morgan’s salary from Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, “Purchasing Power of Money in the United States from 1774 to 2007,” *MeasuringWorth.com*, <http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/pppowerus/>.

³ Henry Linderman to James Pollock, 11 October 1876, Record Group 104, Entry 6, Box 5, National Archives. Morgan’s address is noted by an asterisk in this letter, and appears as such in his subsequent letters

to Linderman. Also see the letter from Morgan to Linderman, 1 November 1876, reprinted in “From The Mint Archives,” in *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine* 32, no. 3 (25 March 1966): 730.

⁴ Morgan attended classes at PAFA in 1876, 1879, 1882, and 1883, according to a letter from Susan James-Gradzinski to Howard Balsden, 14 March 1991, George T. Morgan file, Archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

⁵ “The Goddess Unveiled,” in *Mason’s Coin Collector’s Herald* 1, no. 3 (December 1879): 21. This article was a reprint from one in the *Philadelphia Record*, presumably from sometime in 1878 or 1879.

⁶ Morgan to Linderman, 1 November 1876, in “From The Mint Archives,” 730.

Morgan's position at the Mint as not just that of an assistant to Barber, but rather one called the "special engraver."⁷

The decisive moment for Morgan at the Academy, however, came when he met Thomas Eakins, who had just returned to the Academy to teach, and who lived two blocks away from Morgan. The two men became fast friends, and apparently Morgan discussed much of his work on the new coinage with Eakins. For months, Morgan struggled with the design for Liberty's head. Apart from his cast studies, he tried imagining the head of the goddess, to no avail. He then asked the young women at the Academy and the Moore College of Art and Design in Philadelphia to model the head of Liberty for him, but these studies also proved unsatisfactory. Morgan turned to Eakins, who introduced him to a family friend, Anna W. Williams, a schoolteacher living at 1023 Spring Garden Street. Williams had never posed as a model before, and according to one account she initially refused Morgan's request to draw her, but eventually agreed. After five sittings arranged at Eakins' residence, Morgan had produced sufficient tracings for the result he wanted. He declared her profile to be "the most perfect he had ever seen in England or this country."⁸

Morgan's final design was not revolutionary in an artistic sense (Figure 1). Yet it had all the ingredients that he thought an American coin should have. On the obverse the profile of Liberty is crowned by a Phrygian (or "liberty") cap, a symbol of freedom, and specifically manumission.⁹ The previous design for the silver dollar, made by the Pennsylvania native Christian Gobrecht and discontinued in 1873, had used a liberty cap, albeit stuck on a pole (Figure 2).¹⁰ Morgan (and Gobrecht before him) may have been acquainted with Samuel Jennings' 1790-2 painting *Genius of America Encouraging the Emancipation of the Blacks*, owned by the

Library Company of Philadelphia (Figure 3).¹¹ Because of its associations with manumission, the public image of the Phrygian cap remained a thorny issue among Americans as the controversy over slavery raged in the mid-nineteenth century. When the future Confederate President Jefferson Davis was in charge of the renovations to the U. S. Capitol in the 1850s, he objected to early designs featuring the cap on the statue of Liberty that was destined to crown the Capitol's new dome precisely for this reason.¹² While Morgan was making his initial sketches of Williams, the cap was the only ornamentation he originally had planned to add to her head.¹³ In the final product, Liberty also sports two ears of wheat and two bolls of cotton in her hair, as well as four leaves.¹⁴ While the Liberty cap proudly symbolizes the Union (and, by extension, its victory in the Civil War), the cotton represents a concession to the Southern states, with the wheat referring to the regions of the Midwest. The latter had been featured on William Barber's Trade Dollar, first coined in 1873 not for circulation in the United States, but for trade with East Asia (Figure 4). Finally, the leaves appear to be those of a California or Arizona Sycamore tree, and if so, might represent the states and territories of the far West.¹⁵ Thus Morgan's coin uses typical stock American imagery, and if Eakins influenced his obverse design at all, such evidence does not seem immediately apparent. An examination of some of Eakins' well-known portraits of women reveals an expressiveness in the figures and spatial depth that contrasts with the idealized profile of Morgan's Liberty. Only in a few unfinished studies does Eakins portray women in a profile somewhat resembling Anna Williams' image (Figure 5).

The reverse of Morgan's dollar also remains highly traditional, with the only major differences between the major elements of his design and those of earlier versions being

⁷ Linderman never specified the nature of Morgan's position. Yet, in correspondence, both he and (when he was away from Washington) his acting director, R. E. Preston, referred to Morgan with this title. See the letters from Linderman to James Pollock, 1 March 1878, and from Preston to Pollock, 30 November 1877, Group 104, Entry 1, Boxes 111 and 109, respectively, National Archives.

⁸ Morgan's relationship with Eakins is recounted in "The Goddess Unveiled," in *Masons' Coin Collector's Herald* (see above, note 5). Morgan's use of Anna Williams as the model for Liberty's head was well documented, having been noted in the *Philadelphia Record*. Her status as Morgan's model was recounted at the time of her marriage in 1896 by the *New York Mail and Express* (issue unknown), and immediately reprinted as "To Marry A Goddess," in *The Numismatist* 9, no. 5 (May 1896): 101-2. This was such a popular article that the American Numismatic Association reprinted it again in the collected volume *Selections from The Numismatist*, ed. Charles Johnson et al. (Racine, WI: Whitman, 1960), 131.

⁹ A Phrygian cap refers to a liberty cap with the tip flipped down. See Yvonne Korskak, "The Liberty Cap as a Symbol in America and France," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1987): 58-60.

¹⁰ In fact, Gobrecht's family had immigrated to Philadelphia from Germany in 1755; Gobrecht himself (1785-1844) was a native of Hanover, Pennsylvania, and lived the last thirty-three years of his life in

Philadelphia. For more information on Gobrecht, see Charles Gobrecht Darrach, "Christian Gobrecht, Artist and Inventor," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 30, no. 23 (1906): 355-8.

¹¹ Korshak, "Liberty Cap," 52-64. Different artists have used various colors in their depictions of liberty caps. I, however, have found no definitive reason for their choice of any particular color over another.

¹² For a more detailed analysis of the iconography of Liberty in nineteenth-century America, see Vivien Green Fryd, *Art and Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992; reprint, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), 185-200. Korshak (previous note) suggests the "staying power" of the liberty cap on American coinage was probably due to traditionalism more than anything else, a theory that is corroborated by Robert Morris' article, "The Liberty Cap on American Coins," in the *American Journal of Numismatics* 13, no. 2 (January 1879): 52-4.

¹³ The *Philadelphia Record* article (see note 5) reproduced in "The Goddess Unveiled," 21.

¹⁴ Recognized as such in "The New Dollar," *American Journal of Numismatics* 12, no. 3 (April 1878): 106.

¹⁵ See Herbert S. Zim and Alexander C. Martin, *Trees: A Guide to Familiar American Trees*, rev. ed. (New York: Golden Press, 1987), 126-7.

the addition of the laurel wreath and the extension of the eagle's wings to a fully outstretched position. These wings, in fact, seem rather unnatural for an eagle, making it seem doubtful that Morgan actually studied a real specimen. Fifty years later, one zoologist even compared Morgan's representation of the wings to a butterfly and the tail feathers to an "ostrich feather-fan."¹⁶ The one concession that Morgan seems to have made to his British heritage is the inscription of the national motto, "In God We Trust," in Old English script above the eagle's head.¹⁷ Thus, if Morgan learned anything from his studies at the Pennsylvania Academy or from his acquaintances, his work on the dollar does not reveal it. His activities in the redesign of the coin illustrate more than anything a strong desire to be welcomed as an integral member of Philadelphia's artistic scene of the late nineteenth century.

While Morgan was working out the basic sketches, he and the Chief Engraver Barber both remained under the assumption that each of them was working on the redesign of the half dollar. This changed in November 1877, when Mint director Linderman realized the imminence of the passage of the Bland-Allison Act, which would require the U. S. Treasury to buy a large quantity of silver each month and coin it. Even before then, Linderman, himself a numismatist, must have noticed the clamor raised in the general public for a redesign of American coinage, specifically a new silver dollar, and this undoubtedly was why he had had Morgan and Barber begin work on new designs for existing coinage. This uproar began a full two years before the new dollar was released into circulation. In early 1876, the *Cincinnati Commercial* issued its demand for a "people's dollar," which would display an eagle superimposed on a map of the United States, with a wingspan stretching from Washington to San Francisco, a tail fanning the Hudson Bay, and a beak that "dredged" South Pass, where the Mississippi River empties into the Gulf of Mexico. Two years later *Harper's Weekly* reprinted the call, with an illustration by Thomas Nast, just as the Mint began coining Morgan's design (Figure 6). In June 1876, the New

York magazine *Galaxy* ran a scathing editorial critiquing the Seated Liberty designs introduced by Gobrecht in the 1840s and still being produced for general circulation. It mocked the design as "insignificant," complaining that no one could tell what Liberty was doing. The author compared the Phrygian cap on a pole to "something that looks like a broomstick with a woollen night-cap on it." Liberty herself looked "like a spinster in her smock, with a distaff in her hand." American coinage, the diatribe continued, seemed "slight, flimsy, inartistic, and unmoneylike" in comparison to the coins of France, Britain, or Germany. Instead of Liberty, the author proposed placing Franklin's head on American silver coinage, thinking these coins reminded the public of his aphorism, "A penny saved is a penny earned." The *American Journal of Numismatics*, in its own editorial the next month, strongly concurred that a change needed to be made.¹⁸ Linderman himself received suggestions from Boston citizens imploring the placement of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin instead of Liberty on the silver coinage.¹⁹ Ironically, it was Washington who had originally chosen Liberty's image for placement on American coins, and none of these famous American statesmen would grace the surfaces of coins until the 1930s.²⁰

In response to such vociferous criticism and the political situation, Linderman directed Morgan and Barber to modify their designs for the half dollar in such manner that they would now be adapted for a new silver dollar coin (Figure 7).²¹ On 21 February 1878, Linderman reviewed the patterns of Barber and Morgan's designs, ultimately choosing Morgan's piece simply because it required "the lowest relief and lightest power to strike."²² Exactly one week later, Congress passed the Bland-Allison Act over President Hayes' veto, thus commencing the Mint's task of coining vast quantities of silver dollars.

At this point, American numismatists swung into action, spurred on by a report issued by the *American Journal of Numismatics*, which predicted that Barber's pattern would soon become sought after by collectors. The *Journal* did not hide its opinion that "the Barber Dollar is far superior to the

¹⁶ Howland Wood, "The Eagle on our Coins," *The Numismatist* 40, no. 11 (November 1927): 682-4. A partial reprint of Wood's article can be found in Francis Herrick, *The American Eagle: A Study in Natural and Civil History* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Century, 1934), 250-1. Wood thought that none of the regular-issue silver dollar coinage used satisfactory representations of eagles. He preferred those found on the reverse of twentieth-century twenty-dollar gold pieces (double eagles), designed by Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

¹⁷ The fact that it was Old English script (but not Morgan's heritage) was also noted in "The New Dollar," 106.

¹⁸ "Nebulae," *The Galaxy, A Magazine of Entertaining Reading* 21, no. 6 (June 1876): 864-8. Also see "Editorial," *American Journal of Numismatics* 11, no. 1 (July 1876): 24.

¹⁹ Henry Mitchell to Henry Linderman, 23 June 1876. Reprinted in "From The Mint Archives," 730. A similar proposal was also put forward to James Pollock, the superintendent of the Philadelphia Mint,

by Samuel Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's brother, who wished to see Washington's head on the twenty-dollar gold piece, or double eagle, and to place Franklin's head on the twenty-cent piece, renaming it the "Franklin." Cornelius Vermeule, in his *Numismatic Art in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), relates this on p. 239; the original letter text is reproduced in Mary Jane Hook, "Double Dime Experiment: Popular Quarter Outlives Twenty-Cent Piece," *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine* 35, no. 395 (25 January 1969): 94.

²⁰ Korshak, "Liberty Cap," 62.

²¹ *Annual Report of the Director of the Mint, 1877* (Record Group 104, National Archives).

²² This excerpt has been reprinted in Neil Shafer, "The Morgan Silver Dollars of 1878-1921: A Study of Major Die Varieties," *Whitman Numismatic Journal* 1, no. 11 (November 1964): 62; also see Bowers, *Morgan Silver Dollars*, 31.

one adopted."²³ Reports like this made the new design seem less desirable artistically. At the same time that collectors were sending in orders for proof strikes of Morgan's dollar, they also kept pestering Linderman about getting their hands on an example of Barber's design. In fending off one particularly persistent Ohioan just one week after the passage of the Bland-Allison Act, Linderman shot back, "*there have been no pattern pieces, or set, sold at the Mint since 1873 and there will not be, newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding....* How dealers get these coins we do not know, but we do know that no pattern pieces have been sold at the Mint."²⁴ Still the requests for Barber's patterns came streaming in, while only a few people showed up at the Philadelphia Mint to obtain a new example of Morgan's design.²⁵

Citizens of many American cities saw no reason to support what they clearly regarded as more of the same inferior artistic production of the U. S. Mint. Perhaps most direct was the Boston-based *American Journal of Numismatics*, whose editor deemed Morgan's design to be the "crown" of the "long line of monstrosities" put out by the Mint and viewed the eagle as particularly crude. Yet the *Journal* admired Barber's eagle, which seemed to be just unfolding its wings for flight. Morgan's design found no favor in New York, either. There, although one critic thought it to be a fine piece of craftsmanship executed by the coiner, he felt that no mental acumen had gone into the design process whatsoever, declaring the coin to be merely the work of an "artisan without taste."²⁶ In light of Philadelphia's hosting of the 1876 Centennial Exposition and the fact that it was home to the main branch of the U. S. Mint, an institution which circulated federally-sponsored artwork, residents of other American cities felt concerned about the artistic lead that Philadelphia was taking during this period. The premiere of the first new American coinage designs to begin circulation in over a decade thus became a referendum on Philadelphia's own artistic output.

In Philadelphia the press was split on whether or not to support Morgan, though a few papers gave his coin favorable reviews. The *Sunday Republic* called the head of Liberty "in an artistic sense...the best executed head that has ever appeared upon United States coin. It...will certainly reflect credit on both the designer and the Government." With obvious local pride, it asserted that the head "is a fair

type of the beauty of one of our Philadelphia ladies."²⁷ The *Philadelphia Record*, however, seemed to present opinions on both sides of the issue. The *American Journal of Numismatics* quoted the paper as denigrating Barber's design in favor of Morgan's, saying:

Mr. Barber's eagle looks as if it was just recovering from a severe spell of sickness, or that it had been disturbed in its meditations by some unruly schoolboys. Mr. Morgan has a good idea of America's proud bird of freedom, and his original design showed an eagle that nearly enveloped the whole coin.²⁸

But in another article, the paper praised Barber's pattern at the expense of Morgan's work. Forgetting that that Barber himself was also English, it declared his designs for Liberty and the eagle to be "On the whole...decidedly better than that of his imported competitor." Morgan's design was "inferior to any that has been used for any of our coins during the last fifty years," and depicted "a frightened crow" that "bears but little resemblance to the American eagle as heretofore pictured to our people."²⁹ Despite Morgan's concerted efforts, therefore, to endear himself to the artists of Philadelphia, the rest of the city did not return the sentiment. For at least some Philadelphians, he still represented the outsider who was not familiar with their system of art education and production.

Morgan's design was conservative, like earlier designs of American coins; clearly the general public thought that he was looking *backwards* toward historical examples of American art when he should have been looking *forward* for a break from the past. Such criticisms were enough for Linderman to ask Morgan to redesign the reverse, eliminating the wreath and completely changing the eagle. He also wished to substitute "modern letters" for the Old English text. Unfortunately, Linderman became ill in the fall of 1878 and died the following January, and the modifications were never carried out.³⁰

If Morgan was criticized for being not modern enough by some critics, he may have been *too* modern for the Victorian propriety of others. The *New York Evening Post* suggested that the ideal depiction of a goddess for such a coin would include a paper collar, which would be typical of the "ad-

²³ "The New Dollar," 106.

²⁴ Linderman to Herman Ely, 7 March 1878, Record Group 104, Entry 6, Box 6, National Archives. Ely was from Elysia, Ohio. Italics are original (underlined in letter).

²⁵ "Silver For Gold: Selling the New Dollars at the Mint Today." *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* 31, no. 286 (13 March 1878): 8.

²⁶ Gaston L. Fruardent, Address to the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society of New York, 1880; reproduced as "Government as an Art Educator," *American Journal of Numismatics* 15, no. 2 (October 1880): 29.

²⁷ These comments were quoted in "Opinions on the New Dollar," *American Journal of Numismatics* 12, no. 3 (April 1878): 107.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ "The Englishman's Eagle, etc." *Philadelphia Record* 16, no. 105 (15 March 1878): 2.

³⁰ Linderman to Morgan, 5 July 1878; reprinted in Leroy C. Van Allen and A. George Mallis, *Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of U. S. Morgan and Peace Silver Dollars* (New York: Arco, 1971; repr., 1976), 59.

vanced civilization of the day"³¹—thereby insinuating that Morgan intended his goddess to be nude. The *Philadelphia Record*, meanwhile, suggested that Morgan's depiction of Liberty "might pass for the portrait, in profile, of a Greek courtesan [sic]."³² In 1882 the merciless *American Journal of Numismatics* charged that the "modest and virtuous" Anna Williams was tempted by "a theatrical manager who proposes to make a 'star' of her," predicting that soon she would be rolling in cash by going into "show business."³³ Exactly what *kind* of show business Williams was supposedly going to enter, however, remains unclear. It is entirely possible that it would have been tame by twenty-first-century standards. We should remember, however, Morgan's close and publicized friendship with Thomas Eakins, who shocked his friends and fellow artists in a series of scandals revolving around nudity from the 1870s through the 1890s. This included, most famously, one incident wherein Eakins was forced to resign from his teaching post at the Pennsylvania Academy when he removed the loincloth of a male model in a class with female students.³⁴ As late as 1916, the year of Eakins' death, a furor arose over the obverse of the new quarter dollar when it was noticed that the figure of Liberty was exposing her right breast, causing the coin to be immediately redesigned with a strategically-placed breastplate (Figure 8). In the case of Morgan's dollar, Eakins had chal-

lenged the acceptable boundaries of nudity in the American art world, and it is possible that critics wanted to prevent any such scandals reaching more permanent pieces of art like national coinage.

The debate over the artistic merit of American coinage continued to rage into the 1880s and 1890s, although the details lie beyond the scope of this essay. Morgan's role in the redesign of the silver dollar may thus be viewed as the eruption of flames from an already-smoldering set of kindling.³⁵ In Philadelphia, however, where most publications apparently ignored the uproar over the coinage after 1880, Morgan ultimately found his refuge.³⁶ In 1883 the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts commissioned him to design the Temple Medal, the award for the best paintings in the annual salons until their discontinuation in 1968.³⁷ Throughout his career he was able to collaborate with leading sculptors on his engraving work at the Mint. There, in 1917, he finally became Chief Engraver, in which capacity he served until his death in 1925.³⁸ Yet, it is his silver dollar for which he remains most well known, a project that aroused more controversy around him and Philadelphia than he ever imagined it would.

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³¹ Reprinted in "Opinions on the New Dollar," 107.

³² "The Englishman's Eagle," 2.

³³ See "A Numismatic Star," in *American Journal of Numismatics* 17, no. 2 (October 1882): 47. Cornelius Clarkson Vermeule presents an abbreviated version of the story in *Numismatic Art in America*, 238-9.

³⁴ Consult Patricia Likos Ricci, "'Bella Cara Emilia': The Italianate Romance of Emily Sartain and Thomas Eakins," in *Philadelphia's Cultural Landscape: The Sartain Family Legacy*, eds. Katharine Martinez and Page Talbott (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 120-37. Importantly, Jennifer Doyle, in "Sex, Scandal, and Thomas Eakins's *The Gross Clinic*," reminds us that some of Eakins' behavior would not even be seen as conventional by today's standards. Consult her article in *Representations* 68 (Autumn 1999): 1-33.

³⁵ *The Century* magazine in New York issued another condemnation of the aesthetics of American coinage in 1887; see "Art in Our Coinage," *The Century* 33, no. 5 (March 1887): 808. Four years later, the Federal Government opened a competition to redesign the silver fractional coinage to first the general public and then a select group

of artists. When the results proved disastrous, with none of the judges able to agree on a design, the Mint scrapped the idea and had Chief Engraver Charles Barber redesign the dime, quarter, and half dollar; his solution was to use designs very similar to Morgan's dollar. Real stylistic changes to American coinage would not occur until the early twentieth century. For further reading, see David Tripp, *Gold, Greed, and the Mystery of the Lost 1933 Double Eagle* (New York: Free Press, 2004), esp. Chapter 1, "The Artist, The President, and the S.O.A.B.," pp. 3-18.

³⁶ I have yet to find any Philadelphia publications that have commented on Morgan's design after 1880.

³⁷ See in particular Mark Thistlethwaite, "Patronage Gone Awry: The 1883 Temple Competition of Historical Paintings," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 112, no. 4 (October 1988): 545-78.

³⁸ Morgan's death did not go unnoticed by national publications. See his obituary, "George T. Morgan, Mint Engraver, Dead," *The Numismatist* 38, no. 2 (February 1925): 109.



Figure 1. George T. Morgan, Morgan Dollar, 1878 (design), silver, 38.1 mm (diameter). Author's photograph.

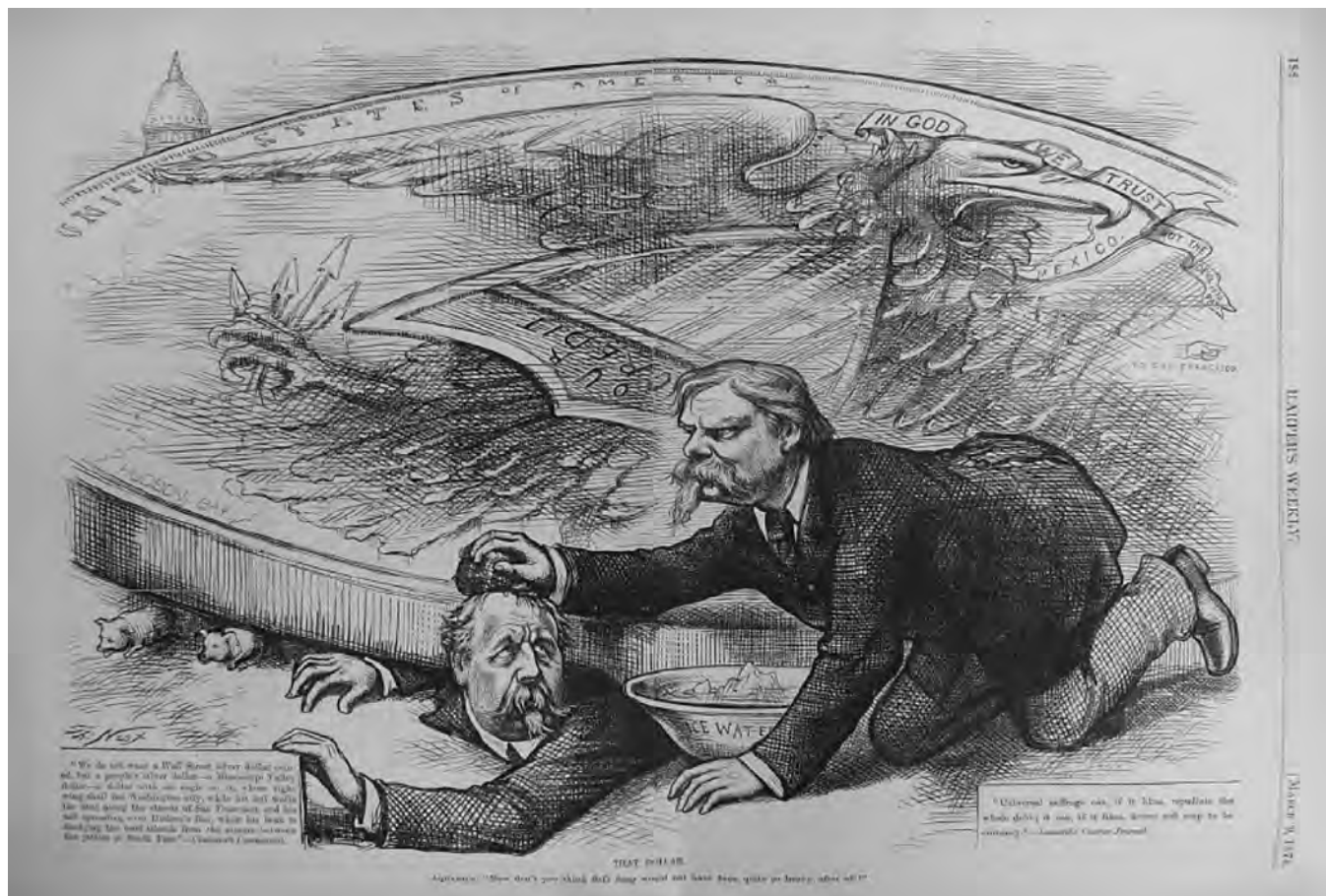


Figure 2. Christian Gobrecht, Seated Liberty Dollar, 1840 (design), silver, 38.1 mm (diameter). Photo courtesy Numismatic Guaranty Corporation.

[facing page, top] Figure 3. Samuel Jennings, *Genius of America Encouraging the Emancipation of the Blacks*, 1792, oil on canvas, 153 x 186 cm. The Library Company of Philadelphia.

[facing page, bottom] Figure 4. William Barber, Trade Dollar, 1873 (design), silver, 38.1 mm (diameter). Photo courtesy Numismatic Guaranty Corporation.





[facing page, top] Figure 5. (left) Thomas Eakins, *Portrait of Mary Adeline Williams*, c. 1900, oil on canvas, 61.3 x 46 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams, 1929. 1929-184-10. (right) Thomas Eakins, *Portrait of Blanche Hurlburt*, 1885 or 1886, oil on canvas, 61 x 50.8 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams, 1929. 1929-184-5.

[facing page, bottom] Figure 6. Thomas Nast, "The People's Dollar," in *Harper's Weekly*, 9 March 1878. Engraving. Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.

[right] Figure 7. (top) George T. Morgan, Morgan Dollar, 1878 (design), silver, 38.1 mm (diameter). Author's photograph. (bottom) William Barber, Pattern Silver Dollar, 1878, silver, 38.1 mm (diameter). Photograph courtesy Stack's Rare Coins, New York, NY.

[below] Figure 8. (left) Hermon A. MacNeil, Obverse of Standing Liberty Quarter Dollar, Type I (breast exposed), 1916 (design), 24.3 mm (diameter). Author's photograph. (right) MacNeil, Obverse of Standing Liberty Quarter Dollar, Type II (with breastplate), 1917 (design), 24.3 mm (diameter). Author's photograph.

