

Disembodied hats on coins and medals, though not an everyday occurrence, have, nevertheless, appeared from time to time down through the ages. For instance, the Flamen's hat (as is worn by a priest) and the hats of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux, the twins of Greek and Roman mythology) can be found on coins of ancient Rome. The hat of Vulcan, the god of fire, also carried symbolic meaning for Roman moneyers. More recently, some coins of the Holy Roman Empire bear a Cardinal's hat, usually pictured above a royal crown, indicating the relative positions of Church and State. But the hat that has carried the heaviest burden of symbolism—and for the longest period of time—on the coins and medals of more countries than any other is, without a doubt, the liberty cap.

The Liberty Cap

NUMISMATIC SYMBOL SANS PAREIL

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The first direct reference associating a cap with the concept of liberty is found in Livy's *History of Rome*, in which the author reported that "Quintus Terentius Culleo followed Scipio in his [triumphal march], with a cap on his head; and through his whole life after, as became him, he respected him as the author of his liberty."¹ Written in about 5 B.C., Livy's account describes an event that took place two centuries earlier, when the Roman general Scipio (237-183 B.C.) defeated the Carthaginians during the second Punic War.² As one provision of the subsequent treaty, the Carthaginians surrendered some 4,000 prisoners to the Romans, including Culleo, a Roman senator. Livy used the Latin word *pileus* to describe the cap worn by Culleo, and from other writings of the period it is clear that a *pileus* specifically referred to a white, woolen cap, brimless and almost cylindrical, that we would call a liberty cap.



The hat of Vulcan, god of fire, carried special meaning for Roman moneyers.

This reference implies that in 200 B.C., and likely much earlier, the Romans adopted the *pileus* as a symbol of freedom, using it particularly in conjunction with the emancipation of slaves. According to his examination of various contemporary sources, Adam states



Denarius of Cassius, 119-110 B.C.

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that "slaves when made free used to shave their heads in the Temple of Feronia, and received a [pileus] as a badge of liberty."³ From Plutarch (46-119 A.D.) we learn that this symbolic gesture was a one-day event: "For these poor redeemed captives did that, which the slaves are wont to do on that day when they be set at liberty: to wit, they shave their heads and do wear little hats⁴ upon them."⁵

Then, as now, vanity was an ever-present fact of life—and death. The Greek historian Dionysius related that "I, at any rate, know of some [Romans] who have allowed all their slaves to be freed after their death, in order that they might be called good men when they are dead and that many people might follow their biers wearing their liberty-caps."⁶

A yearly event in Rome was the feast of Saturn (the Roman god of sowing for whom Saturday is named), or Saturnalia, which began on December 17 and lasted several days. On that occasion, all Romans—masters and slaves alike—wore the pileus in symbolic recognition that, for those few days, all men were on equal footing.⁷

The pileus, as a symbol of liberty, appeared on many coins of ancient Rome. Its numismatic use apparently was the brainchild of moneyer C. Cassius, because its debut on a denarius was signed by Cassius and it was produced sometime between 119 and 110 B.C. The obverse bears the



Denarius of Brutus, 43-42 B.C.

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head of Roma facing right, wearing a Phrygian helmet, and behind her is an asterisk and a voting urn.⁸ The reverse depicts Libertas, the female personification of liberty, in a quadriga holding a pileus and sceptre. The association of Libertas with the voting urn and pileus suggests that the coin symbolized the citizens' right to have a say in matters of state.

The pileus was pictured on several other coins of the Republican Period, the most interesting of which was a denarius of Brutus issued about 43-42 B.C. The obverse shows a bust of Brutus, and the reverse a pileus between two daggers, with the inscription EID. MAR. This is, perhaps, the most explicit reference to the assassination of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March in 44 B.C. The presence of the pileus implies that Rome thereby was freed from the tyranny of Caesar.

The historian Appian, in his account of Caesar's murder, described the events immediately following the



Sestertius of Galba, illustrating the figure of Libertas holding a pileus.

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assassination⁹: "the murderers wished to make a speech in the Senate, but as nobody remained there they wrapped their togas around their left arms to serve as shields and, with swords still reeking with blood, ran, crying out that they had slain a king and tyrant. One of them bore a [pileus] on the end of a spear as a symbol of freedom and exhorted the people to restore the government of their fathers . . ."¹⁰ Appian's account of the incident was written some two centuries after Caesar's death. Other writers, including Plutarch, who described the

same scene in his *Lives* nearly a century earlier, made no reference to a pileus playing a part in the drama, so it is likely that Appian's account is apocryphal.¹¹ However, had the events occurred as Appian related, it would be reasonable to expect that the coin of Brutus would depict the pileus on a spear or sword. Nevertheless, it is probably Appian's imaginative account that became the basis for our modern depictions of the liberty cap atop a pole.

The pileus, usually held by Libertas¹², continued to appear as a symbol of liberty on many Roman coins of the Imperial Period. Interestingly, it was never pictured on a head nor was it held on a sword or spear. The last appearance of a pileus on a Roman coin was on a piece issued by the usurper Julian of Pannonia, who in late 284 A.D. gathered together an army and marched into Italy, intending to make himself emperor.¹³ He was met and slain near Verona in early 285 A.D. by Carinus, then emperor and Julian's intended victim. During those few months of his aggression, a coin was struck at the mint in Siscia that featured his bust on the obverse and the figure of Libertas holding a pileus and cornucopia on the reverse, apparently an expression of Julian's intention to bring freedom and plenty to Rome.



From that point in time, well over one thousand years passed before the liberty cap reappeared as a medallion expression. The symbolic hat surfaced on a medal of Henry II of France in the year 1552, the reverse of which showed "an elongated conical cap flanked by daggers, reminiscent of the Brutus denarius. It bears the following legend: LIBERTAS-VINDEX ITALICAE ET GERMANICAE LIBERTATES". Ober notes that King Henry's notions of liberty seemed to apply only to the political conduct of kings and to his personal pleasures.¹⁴

Only a few years later, however, Dutch medalists, reflecting the strongly-independent spirit of the



28 stuivers issued by the city of Leiden, 1574.

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Lowlanders, adopted the "freedom hat" as an expression of the country's drive for freedom from foreign domination, which was both religious and political in nature. Spain had acquired the Low Countries through marriage early in the 16th century; by 1568 the Eighty Years War, aimed at ousting the Spaniards, had commenced. A major event of the war took place in 1573-74 when Spanish troops undertook the long siege of Leiden in the southwest region of The Netherlands. During the siege a gulden dated 1574 was struck in Leiden on December 9, 1573, featuring a lion rampant holding a spear on which was hung a hat of freedom. By this time, Appian's *History of Rome* had been translated from its original Greek into Latin, thus medalists of the period knew that the pileus should be depicted not in Roman fashion but in the "Appian Way"—on a pole or lance.

Thus the liberty cap appeared on coinage of the United Provinces until the early years of the Batavian Republic (1795-1806). The rearing lion



3-gulden piece of Holland issued, dated 1684.

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Dassier designed this medal in 1734 to honor Geneva's efforts to free itself from Bern's domination.

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symbol. An interesting token typical of the times was issued in about 1795 by T. Spence, a London coin dealer. The obverse of the piece depicts a seated Britannia with a liberty cap falling from her spear, and the legend exhorts her to ROUSE BRITANNIA! Spence, an outspoken advocate of the rights of man, was imprisoned for seven months for "treason" in 1794, as another of his many tokens attests.

Only shortly after the liberty cap made its debut in England, the Swiss began to utilize the symbol on their coins and medals, possibly influenced by the liberty hat of Netherland's Vrijheid. Probably the first such coin was a Bern double ducat of 1703, which featured two lions holding a liberty hat above the coat-of-arms of Bern. This design may have reflected the loosening of ties with France during the War of Succession (1701-13), although later appearances may have signified religious freedom. A medal created by Dassier in 1734 symbolized Geneva's efforts to free itself from Bern's domination, however, later medals used the liberty hat to represent the cantons' freedom within the Swiss Confederation.

In 1774 the liberty hat, in the form of a broad-brimmed, triple-plumed chapeau, made its appearance on a gold ducat released in the Canton of Unterwalden, and thereafter coins of various cantons pictured the hat in a wide variety of forms. A 1795 duplone of Basel features a typical application, whereby a plumed liberty hat rests



The design of Switzerland's 2-rappen piece has been used continuously since 1850.

atop Basel's coat-of-arms. The symbolic hat also has graced a number of Swiss shooting talers and medals, and one in particular, an 1842 shooting taler of Chur issued in the Canton of Graubunden (Yeoman 1S), shows a hat in the form of a beret, such as was worn by the old Swiss warriors, atop the Swiss arms. The legend identifies the meet as a FREISCHIESSEN, or free shooting competition. One cannot help but wonder about the coincidence. The liberty hat also appeared on coins of the Swiss Confederation, the last such use having been on the 1 and 2 rappen of 1946, the design of which had been in continuous use since 1850.



Not long after the Swiss first implemented the liberty cap on their coinage, the symbol appeared on a medal in English colonies in America. The first stirrings of nationalism were apparent and were reflected in a medal struck at the behest of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, Maryland.¹⁶ Depicting a youth holding a pole with a liberty hat atop, the medal is dated 1746 and bears the inscription LIBERTAS ET NATALE SOLUM (liberty and my native land). The medal was struck in London by John Kirk, an English medalist who worked for the Society of Arts, and apparently was worn on ceremonial occasions by members of this "Association of gentlemen."¹⁷

By 1776 those stirrings had coalesced into a strong desire to be free of foreign domination. That year the Declaration of Independence severed

ties with England and initiated the Revolutionary War; concurrently, a pattern halfpenny was struck that displayed a liberty cap. This unique specimen shows the head of Janus (looking in three directions!) on the obverse, with a legend stating that the coin is a ½D. of the new state of Massa[chusetts]; the reverse depicts the seated figure of Goddess Liberty holding a freedom cap in her outstretched left hand.¹⁸ The design has been attributed inferentially to Paul Revere, but there is no direct evidence to support this. A unique penny pattern with a somewhat similar reverse and a pine tree obverse, also dated 1776, exists and probably was issued privately to influence a Massachusetts coinage that never evolved.

All during the War for Independence, no American medallic issues bore the cap of freedom,¹⁹ but at about the time



Medal struck for the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, Maryland, dated 1746.

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hostilities came to an end there appeared a medal, produced in France and engraved by Augustin Dupré, that is of the highest importance in American medallic history. Its design was conceived and commissioned by Benjamin Franklin, who at the time was minister plenipotentiary to the court of France. Struck in late 1782, the medal commemorates the defeat of the British at Saratoga and Yorktown. The obverse depicts a Flowing Hair bust of Liberty that apparently served as the model for the 1793 U.S. cent



Massachusetts half-cent pattern, 1776.

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and half cent; the reverse shows the infant Hercules (representing the United States of America) strangling two serpents (the armies of Burgoyne and Cornwallis), while Minerva (France) protects the infant from the British lion. The legend, which was suggested by Sir William Jones, a prominent English jurist, is from Horace and translates as "not without the gods is the infant bold."²⁰

In the years preceding the first official coins of the United States, the liberty cap made an appearance on



Struck in late 1782, this medal commemorates the defeat of the British at Saratoga and Yorktown.

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Robert Scot, first engraver of the U.S. Mint, no doubt intended the graceless bonnet on this \$5 piece to represent a liberty cap.

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several medals struck in Europe in recognition of the new nation, and on a number of emergency coins issued by the states to facilitate commerce. The latter included the Vermont and New Jersey "Immune Columbia" coppers, the Connecticut and New York coppers of 1785-87, and the Myddelton tokens of 1796. Finally, in 1792 Congress authorized an official mint and denominations ranging from half cents to eagles. That same act of April 2 decreed that "... upon each side of each ... there shall be an impression emblematic of liberty, with an inscription of the word Liberty ...". The first emissions—a handful of half dismes struck from silver provided by George Washington—did not use the liberty cap, but the half cents of 1793-97, and some cents of the same years, displayed a head of Liberty, with a liberty cap on a pole in the background.

Ever since Appian, the liberty cap had been depicted in this classical manner; however, with the advent of the gold coinage of 1795, the cap was, for the first time, placed directly on Liberty's head. (As a matter of interest,



John Reich instituted a typical Phrygian-style cap on U.S. coinage during his tenure as second engraver of the U.S. Mint.

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the French instituted a similar design in 1795.) Designed by Robert Scot, first engraver of the new U.S. Mint, the coinage features a rather graceless bonnet that undoubtedly was intended to be a freedom cap. His successor, John Reich, used the same approach when he designed the new silver coinage, which was introduced with the issuance of half dollars in 1807, but he left no doubt as to his intentions and used the Phrygian form of the cap (a peaked hat with the tip bent *forward*), a style that had been



The true Phrygian form was abandoned on U.S. gold coinage of 1807-34.

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adopted by the French some years before. Interestingly, Reich abandoned the Phrygian form when he designed the gold coinage of 1807-34, perhaps under the mistaken impression that it did not matter which way the tip of the cap was bent.

The coinage of the United States continued to display the liberty cap in one form or another until well into the 20th century, last appearing in Adolph



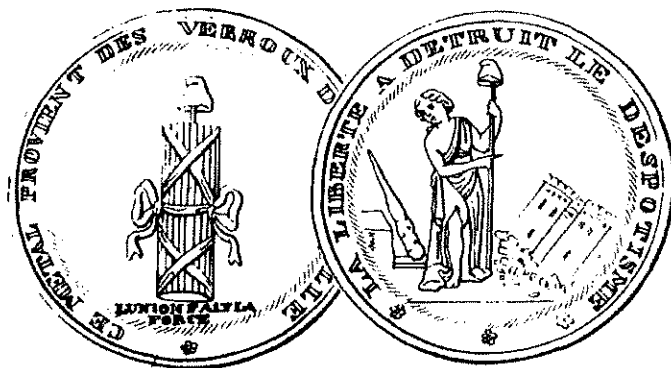
The "Mercury" dime of 1916-45 actually depicts Liberty wearing a winged Phrygian cap.

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Weinman's beautiful "Walking Liberty" design for the fifty-cent pieces of 1915-47 and on the superb ten cents of 1916-45. The latter, erroneously known as the "Mercury" dime, features a head of Liberty wearing a winged Phrygian cap that symbolized, in Weinman's words, "liberty of thought."²¹



Despite the fact that the liberty cap has been portrayed on more United States coins and medals than those of any other country, the French Revolution undoubtedly had the most influence in making the cap a universal symbol of freedom. The French had been very much involved in the American Revolution, furnishing men and supplies at tremendous cost. In fact, one of the first French medals exhibiting a liberty cap was dated 1783 and commemorated the Treaty of Paris, which officially ended the war. Soon thereafter, France's own revolution began. The first major event of the war—the storming of the Bastille in 1789—was commemorated by several medals. One in particular, designed by Palloy and made from the locks of the Bastille, depicts a liberty cap on both sides and may well be the first medallic depiction of the liberty cap in Phrygian form. However, another medal of 1789, created by Duvivier



Palloy's medal honors the storming of the Bastille in 1789 (from HISTOIRE METALLIQUE DE LA REVOLUTION FRANCAIS by Millen de Grandmais).



The "Libertas Americana" medal, dated 1783, commemorates the Treaty of Paris.

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(medalist to Louis XVI and then chief engraver of the Paris Mint), also features a Phrygian cap, thus the question is moot as to which medalist deserves the credit for this innovation. Whatever the case may be, the liberty cap has since generally been portrayed in the Phrygian style.

Why the Phrygian form? The question is especially pertinent in view of the fact that the Roman pileus definitely was not in the Phrygian style, at least as it appeared on their coins. Exploring this mystery can lead one down many fascinating, but frustrating, avenues. Phrygia was a most ancient country in what we now call Asia Minor. Even older than Greece, its original boundaries are hazy and knowledge of its people is limited. Its best-known city was Troy, of which Homer spoke in *The Iliad*, and its greatest period was about 8 B.C. during the reign of Midas, the king with the "golden touch." But after Midas, it was all downhill for the Phrygians. The country was overrun first by its neighbors, the Lydians, and later by various other countries, eventually becoming a province of Rome. Many of Phrygia's people were pressed into slavery, particularly by the Greeks, and by the 6th century A.D. even the name Phrygia had faded from meaningful existence.

Phrygian slaves were commonplace in Greece in the last four or five centuries before Christ, but research fails to disclose any indication that the



Phrygian lady wearing a cap (from Hope's COSTUME OF THE ANCIENTS).

Phrygian cap was significant in regard to liberty, freedom or even slavery. In his reference *Costume of the Ancients*, Hope pictures the cap as a headdress on a Phrygian lady (from a design on an ancient pottery vase) and goes on to state that "Minerva herself sometimes appears [on ancient artifacts] in a Phrygian helmet . . . and Roma likewise wears it on many Latin coins . . . [it is seen] as far westward as Venice itself, where the Doge continued to wear it to the last day of his existence."²² The cap also had religious significance, having been adopted as the symbol of the Persian god Mithra.²³ But nothing about the cap suggested the idea of freedom until the French gave it that meaning.

With the French, the liberty cap



5-franc piece of France, L'An 8.

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became the quintessential symbol of revolution. It first appeared at a public festival in 1790, and by 1792 its wearing was a popular fad in Paris and throughout the country. The people were told that "... this woolen cap was, in Greece and Rome, the emblem of the deliverance of all enemies of despotism."²⁴ On June 20, 1792, a group of revolutionaries forced its way into the royal palace and made Louis XVI appear before a crowd in the courtyard with *le bonnet rouge* on his head, which, incidentally, he lost to the guillotine only shortly afterward.²⁵ Three years later the fad died out, but the Phrygian cap remained a symbol of liberty on the coinage of the First Republic of France until the practice was ceased by Napoleon Bonaparte in about 1800.

Augustin Dupré was the medalist of the revolution, becoming engraver general of the Paris Mint in 1791. It was his design for the five-franc piece of 1795 (L'An 4) that was resurrected



"L'insubria Libera" medal issued by one of the many republics established by Napoleon.

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in 1848 for the coinage of the Second Republic, again in 1870 for the Third Republic, and finally in 1965 for the new coinage of the Fifth Republic.

During the period of the French Directory (1795-99), Napoleon exported the revolution by invading the Italian peninsula, establishing a number of republics in that area. Each of them followed France's lead by using the liberty cap on their coinage during the few years of their existence.²⁶ One interesting medal captures the essence of the events of the period. Struck in 1797 by Italian medalists Vasallo and Salvirch, the medal marked the occasion of the foundation of the Cisalpine Republic and shows a bust of



France's contemporary coinage represents a blend of both traditional and modern designs.

Napoleon on the obverse, and depicts France, in the company of Peace, placing a cap of freedom on the head of Lombardy.

Back in France, the coinages of the several successive republics showed much the same variations of the liberty cap as those found on the coinage of the United States. First, the cap was placed directly on Liberty's head on the decimal coinage of L'An 4. Otherwise, it was pictured on a fasces (Craig 124), on the scales of justice (Craig 121), or sometimes alone (Yeoman 76); in 1929 it acquired wings on the gold 100-franc issue (Yeoman 88). The liberty cap also has appeared on coins of various French territories throughout the world, beginning with the 1802 issues for Haiti²⁷ (Craig 32) and continuing in recent years on issues of New Caledonia and New Hebrides. Nothing is particularly



20-centime coin of France, dated 1963.

remarkable about these designs, except for their wider use of the winged Phrygian cap. What is remarkable is that France, in sharp contrast to the United States, continues to employ the symbolism of the liberty cap on its coinage, with three of its current designs consisting of an interesting blend of the traditional and the ultra-modern. These, of course, are the Hercules design, first introduced in 1794; the lovely *La Semeuse* by Oscar Roty (a superb French medalist of the early 20th century); and the fluidly modern *La Marianne*, designed by contemporary artist Henri Lagriffoul.

Given the example set by the successful revolutions of France and the United States, it is hardly surprising that Spain's Latin American possessions also moved to free themselves from foreign domination at the first opportunity, or that when they did revolt, they adopted the same symbols of freedom. And so it was that Argentina, and later Peru, Mexico, El Salvador, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Ecuador, Chile, Honduras, Nicaragua, Cuba, Uruguay, and finally Panama came to use the liberty cap on their coinages. What is surprising is that neither Bolivia nor Guatemala ever recognized their own freedom in this manner.



One might think that by this time the ways in which the liberty cap could be portrayed would have been exhausted. Not so. Several Latin American countries added a new dimension by making the cap an

essential and prominent part of their national insignia.²⁸ For instance, in 1813 Argentina adopted as the official coat-of-arms of the new republic a device that had been the centerpiece of



The Argentinian one peso has utilized the same design almost continuously since 1813.

BOWERS AND MERENA GALLERIES



Nicaragua and El Salvador share a similar coinage design that reflects their common heritage. Pictured is a one centavo of Nicaragua, dated 1940.

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A Honduran 25-centavo piece, dated 1900, displays the country's coat-of-arms.

the flag of their revolutionary hero, José de San Martín. The design featured an oval enclosing two clasped hands (for Fraternity and Union) holding a pole on which is a liberty cap, against a background of blue and white, the national colors. Atop the oval is the "Sun of May," symbolizing the success of May 25, 1810, when Argentinian citizens established an autonomous government; around the oval is the laurel wreath of honor. This device, which appears on the president's flag²⁹, has graced Argentinian coinage almost



A liberty cap appears on the coinage and coat-of-arms of Colombia. Above is a 50 centavos, dated 1873.

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continuously since 1813.

The coats-of-arms of El Salvador and Nicaragua are quite similar, reflecting their common heritage as members of the United Provinces of Central America. Both feature a triangle enclosing five volcanoes (for the five states of the Union) rising from waters representative of the oceans to the east and west of the Isthmus. Above the central design is a radiant liberty cap. The motif appears on the flags of both countries and is visible, in one form or another, on their coinages, from the earliest to most recent emissions.

The arms of Honduras similarly depict a triangle but of different composition. Here it encloses two towers (for Sovereignty and Integrity) connected by the rainbow of Hope. Within the rainbow's arch is a liberty



20-centavo piece of Paraguay, dated 1900.



The design of a cent coin from Haiti illustrates the country's most unusual coat-of-arms. AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

cap, below which is a single volcano. This device has appeared on most of the coinage of Honduras since 1862.

Colombia's coat-of-arms has as its central design a shield emblazoned with a pomegranate (a punning allusion to New Grenada) and two cornucopias against a white background in the top third, a liberty cap against a white background in the middle third, and a scene depicting the Isthmus of Panama in the bottom third. The official navy flag, along with various coins from 1837 through at least 1969, have utilized this motif.

The liberty cap also is displayed on Paraguay's official treasury seal, which shows a lion with pole and cap, and the words PAX Y JUSTICA. Still a feature of Paraguayan coinage, this design also has the distinction of appearing on one side of the country's flag; the other side displays the coat-of-arms, making Paraguay the only country to have a flag with differing sides.



a



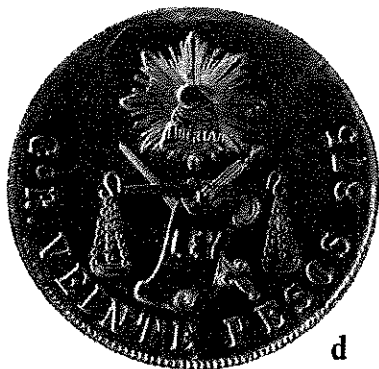
b

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d



e

Mexico's peso (a) is perhaps one of the best examples of that country's imaginative use of the liberty cap on coinage. However, a number of other coins serve to illustrate Mexico's concept of liberty, including (b) the $\frac{1}{8}$ real; (c) 8 escudos, (d) 20 pesos; and (e) 20 centavos.



Liberia's 2-cent coin.

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A 1 escudo of Portugal.

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Perhaps the most unusual treatment of the liberty cap is in the coat-of-arms of Haiti, which features a palm tree (representing Pride) surrounded by flags and implements of war and surmounted by a cap. This device also appeared on many of Haiti's coins, although many 20th-century issues showing the coat-of-arms have omitted the liberty cap.

The last of the Latin American countries to free itself from Spanish rule was Cuba, which became independent in 1902 following the Spanish-American War. Cuba's coat-of-arms was designed by poet/patriot Miguel Teurbe Tolón in 1849 or thereabouts, long before freedom was achieved. It can be seen on most of the coinage of Cuba since the issuance of the souvenir peso in 1897. In this instance, the liberty cap rests atop a fasces, in front of which is a shield.



A liberty cap found its way on a few issues released by Republican Spain between 1933 and 1937.

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This section about Latin America cannot be concluded without recognizing the extensive use of the liberty cap on the coinage of Mexico. Since 1823, when Mexico finally became a republic, ridding itself of both Spain and Emperor Iturbide, Mexican coiners have exercised more creativity in their representation of the liberty cap than those of any other nation. Perhaps the most familiar example is the design of the silver peso, which appeared at the turn of the century; however, a few of the many others serve to illustrate the rich diversity of expression by which Mexican coinage honors liberty.

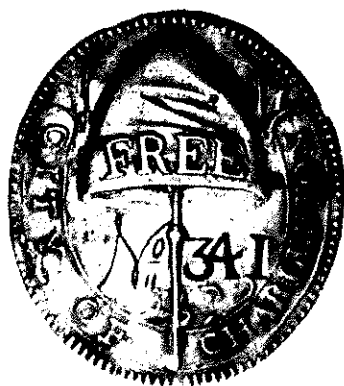
In all of Africa, despite the many instances in which colonial control was shaken off, only one free and independent country has ever used the cap of freedom as a symbol on its coins—Liberia. However, the design is evident only on the country's first two coinages of the newly-established republic (1847 and 1862).

Aside from The Netherlands, Switzerland and France, only two modern European countries have displayed the liberty cap on their coinages. Republican Spain used it on a few issues in the period between 1933 and 1937, as did the short-lived Viscayan Republic (Euzkadi) in 1937 during the Spanish Civil War. Otherwise, only Portugal, which

overthrew the monarchy and became a republic in 1910, has displayed the cap on its coins. From that time until very recently, a head of Liberty wearing a Phrygian cap has adorned its issues and those of several Portuguese possessions: Angola, 1921-28; St. Thomas and Prince Islands, 1928-29; Cape Verde Islands, 1930; and Portuguese Guinea, 1933.



In summary, we have seen how the predecessor of the liberty cap was the Roman pileus, used ritually in connection with the manumission of slaves. As a medallic symbol, it came to have various meanings, including the right of participation in government, freedom of religion, freedom from autocratic and/or foreign domination, and, in some cases, simply a republican form of government. Use of the liberty cap



Badge issued by the City of Charleston in the 19th century to identify freed slaves.

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on Roman coins spanned nearly four centuries, but coins of latter-day countries have witnessed its use for little more than two centuries. In the 21 centuries since it first appeared on coins, in only one case (noted by this author) has it been used in complete accord with its original meaning. This was on a badge issued in the 19th century by the city of Charleston, South Carolina, to identify freed slaves.³⁰ We can only hope that it never again need be used for this purpose.

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NOTES

1. Titus Livius, *History of Rome*, trans. George Baker (Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle, 1839), Book XXX, Ch. XLV, p. 91.
2. The Punic Wars were a lengthy series of conflicts whereby Rome gained control of North Africa and the western Mediterranean.
3. Alexander Adam, *Roman Antiquities*, 8th ed. (New York: W.E. Dean, 1842), p. 29.
4. Plutarch, writing in Greek, used the word *πίλος* (pileus).
5. Plutarch, "T.Q. Flamininus," *Parallel Lives*, trans. Sir Thomas North (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1899), Vol. VI, p. 185.
6. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities*, trans. Earnest Cary (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1953), Vol. II, p. 347.
7. Adam, pp. 222, 294.
8. Roma, the personification of the city of Rome, was considered the guiding spirit of the city. Eventually, she was regarded as a goddess, and during Hadrian's reign a temple was built for her in Rome.
9. Appianus of Alexandria, *Roman History*, trans. Horace White (Macmillan & Co. Ltd.,

1899], Vol. I, p. 181.

10. One of the earliest English translations of Appian's *History* was made by William Shakespeare around 1600 and reads as follows: "The murderers woulde haue sayde somewhat in the Senate house, but no man wold tarry to heare. They wrapt their gowns about their left armes as Targets, and hauyng their daggers bloudy, cryed they had kylled a king and a Tyranne, and one bare an hatte vpon a speare, in token of Libertie. Then they exhorted them to the common wealth of their countrey . . ."

11. In his biography of Caesar, Plutarch wrote: "Brutus and his followers, being yet hot from the deed, marched in a body for the Senate-house to the Capital with their drawn swords . . . and as they went along, called to the people to resume their liberty . . ." Dio's *History of Rome*, nearly contemporary with that of Appian, gives an account very similar to Appian's, but also omits any mention of the pileus' involvement.

12. She was identified by the word LIBERTAS on these coins. On other coins of the Imperial Period, LIBERALITAS was shown holding other symbols. An interesting discussion of the subtlety of this change in form can be found in Minor Myers' "Libertas on the Roman Imperial Coinage," *Stack's Numismatic Review*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1977), pp. 2-6.

13. Harold Mattingly and Edward Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* (London: Spink & Son, 1968), Vol. V, Part II, p. 579.

14. William B. Ober and Ralph N. Wharton, "On the Phrygian Cap," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 255 (Sept. 20, 1956), pp. 571-72.

15. Pieter Mortier, *Medalische Historie der Republyk van Holland* (Amsterdam: 1690).

16. A fascinating account of the Tuesday Club can be found in the December 1945 issue of *The Numismatist* entitled "The Tuesday Club Medal," by Sarah Elizabeth Freeman, pp. 1313-22.

17. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II* (London: 1885), Vol. II, pp. 619-20.

18. Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, *The Garrett Collection Sales*, Part I, p. 132.

19. In 1776, however, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety commissioned Owen Biddle to produce "... a seal for the use of the Board, about the size of a dollar, with a CAP OF LIBERTY with this motto, 'This is my right and I will defend it.' " According to the *American Journal of Numismatics* ("Notes and Queries," April 1876, p. 94), uniface medallic impressions of this seal apparently exist.

20. "Revolutionary Peace Medals," *American Journal of Numismatics*, Nov. 1867, p. 63.

21. "The New Dime, An Artistic Piece of Change," *The Numismatist*, Vol. 29 (1916), p. 544.

22. Thomas Hope, *Costume of the Ancients* (London: William Miller, 1812), Vol. I, p. 13 and plate 29.

23. *Mithraic Studies*, ed. John R. Hinnels (Manchester University Press, 1975), Vol. I, p. 42.

24. Harold T. Parker, *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries* (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1965), p. 140.

25. Saul K. Padover, *The Life and Death of Louis XVI* (London: Alvin Redman, 1963), pp. 260-61.

26. It should also be noted that although Corsica was a republic from 1762 to 1768, a soldo was issued showing the liberty cap on a spear, somewhat like the hats pictured on Dutch and Swiss coins.

27. Haiti, a French colony since 1697, staged its own successful revolt in the beginning of the 19th century. It is interesting to note that of all the countries that achieved independence from France, Haiti alone has continued to use the liberty cap on its coinage. These coins display the cap either atop a fasces or above a palm tree.

28. A precedent may have been set in this regard by the Canton of Zurich in 1779. See Craig 28a and the medal by Dassier (1734).

29. Elizabeth W. King, "Flags of the Americas," *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. XCV, No. 5 (May 1949), pp. 633-57.

30. Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, *The Garrett Collection Sales*, Sale 4, p. 105.

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