

**Between Visual and  
Digital Tokens**

*A Look at the Abstraction of Money.*

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**While a cashless society has been predicted,**

it has not occurred. This article examines money's rivals in terms of their benefits and deficits in relation to paper currency. The impending redesign of American currency, driven by a need to improve its security function, is contrasted with the lasting iconography of the money, which was originally designed in the mid-nineteenth century. A limited edition book from 1932, by American type designer W.A. Dwiggins, in which the typographer criticizes the currency design, serves to focus the discussion of national representation for this ubiquitous vehicle. The author finds that Dwiggins' critique remains viable today, and that along with improved security measures, American money should be reconceived in order to better represent a nearly twenty-first century democracy.

What is remarkable about money is the social contract it represents, the exchange of goods or services worth a certain amount exchanged for pieces of printed paper. This abstract token and the technology for making and printing paper originated in the East. The introduction of paper as we know it today has been placed at 200 AD in China.<sup>1</sup> Paper moved westward, reaching the Arabs in Samarkand by the eighth century. Much later, the Arabs taught the first Europeans (Spaniards and Italians) how to make paper. Papermaking was introduced in Venice in 1276.<sup>2</sup> Authentic bank notes are mentioned in the time of Emperor Hsien Tsung (c 800 AD), while the best account of the Mongol issue is the familiar one given by Marco Polo concerning the paper money of Kublai Khan.<sup>3</sup>

1 Munsell, *Chronology of the Origin and Progress of Paper and Paper-making*.

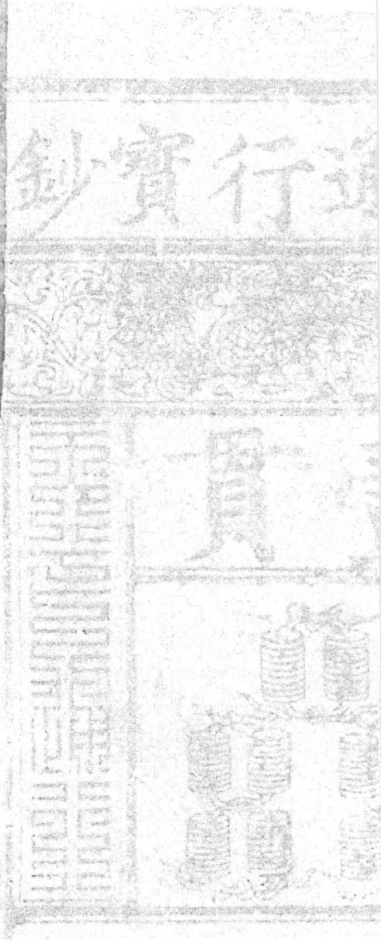
2 Carter, *The Invention of Printing and its Spread Westward*, 3.

3 1899. "A Monetary Chronology," 3.

The exchange of value and its artifacts are ubiquitous, so much so that we take the activity and its objects for granted. Paper currency is but one of a long list of value tokens including such expected ones as salt or gold, as well as more exotic ones like olive shells, flying fox jaws and the scalps of red-headed woodpeckers. Clearly paper is lighter, foldable, more portable and easier to hide on one's person. This notion of value and trade is deeply ingrained in us as social beings. It is useful to scrutinize currency as the physical representation of a transaction of considerable abstraction and consensus. As it turns out, currency is more robust than expected — it is holding its own against the even more abstract digital tide of information transfer.



**Figure 1** A printed paper banknote from the fourteenth century during the reign of Hung Wu, 1368-1399.



### Money's rivals

Since the 1970s, with the advent of electronic payment systems and the widespread use of credit cards, people have been predicting a cashless society. It has not happened and some question whether it is ever likely to happen. It would seem that technological advances have not completely won us over. Paradoxically the trend toward automated banking, which was expected to result in a cashless society, has created a new and easier demand for cash twenty-four-hours-a-day from the automatic teller machine. It is reasonable to ask why cash has increased in popularity. Convenience is not the entire answer. Cash is an anonymous and untraceable commodity. With it we can avoid taxes, perform illegal transactions such as money laundering and generally escape bureaucratic notice. (Economists track cash transaction patterns as a method to measure the size of the underground economy. Internal Revenue Service researchers estimate that this economy accounts for between ten and twenty-eight percent

<sup>4</sup> Warwick, "The Cash-

Free Society."<sup>4</sup> In an age when privacy is

eroding at a quickening pace, when our personal data can be easily captured and traded, anonymity is no small advantage. Because we are identified by our social security number across many bureaucracies — taxes, bank accounts, medical histories, education and credit institutions, to name only

some, this number becomes the key with which to assemble a single dossier on someone's life. What is bought, where and when one travels, who one's friends are — can be abstracted from such databases. Citizens are increasingly waking up to the uncomfortable realization that bureaucracies have access to too much information that they would prefer to keep private. What is at issue is nothing less than individual liberties. Cash remains a significant hedge against leaking personal information.

Advocates of electronic payment systems and credit cards are quick to point out the risks of carrying currency. But even credit cards and electronic transfers of money have become targets of opportunity for the technologically sophisticated scam artist. Bank vaults have decreasing interest for the criminal. Wire transfers move money worldwide and represent staggering sums of money — and they are nothing but digital abstractions. Because they have been seen as a weak link in bank security, new technologies have been developed for

5 The Union Bank of  
Switzerland stopped a  
\$32 million wire fraud  
attempt, in which money  
was wired from the  
London branch to a  
numbered Swiss bank  
account in 1988. Paris,  
"Stealing Millions With  
Push-Button Ease."

increased protection. Biometric technologies, which identify individuals by biological means, such as fingerprints or retinal eye prints, have been instituted. Encryption devices have become increasingly important, primarily as a means to prevent interception of public transmissions. Besides the really big money movement,<sup>5</sup> there is an equally important day-to-day threat in the form of credit card fraud. In 1987, Mastercard International banks sustained a \$98.9 million

6 Baris, "High-Tech Heists and Credit Card Capers." loss.<sup>6</sup> News of such events do not inspire confidence, so cash lives on. In order for currency to lose its appeal, smart cards<sup>7</sup>

7 Smart cards have microcircuitry embedded in them to provide memory and certain functions to their user. need to perform two seemingly contradictory functions: provide transactional security for the purchaser, i.e., no one else has access to their money, together with providing transactional security for the recipient of the payment, i.e., the purchaser is who they claim to be and has the resources for the purchase; while at the same time the purchaser is protected from disclosure of their privacy. A recent innovation at the Dutch Center for Mathematics and Computer Science may provide such a breakthrough. A blind signature, a cryptographic invention, permits numbers to serve as electronic cash and to replace conventional identification. In essence, it creates a digital pseudonym that restores privacy to its user. The resulting smart card has two discrete but interactive microprocessors: the "representative" (the smart card as a personal agent) and its separate internal "observer" (which stores information unavailable to the representative).

8 Chaum, "Achieving Electronic Privacy," The observer functions like a guardian angel who protects privacy at the same time it verifies identity.<sup>8</sup>

96-101. Ironically as our transactions become more virtual we save money. But the money saved is invisible; it too is nothing but a cipher. There has been a movement to eliminate stock certificates, thereby saving the cost of printing them, distributing or collecting them upon a sale, or storing them as

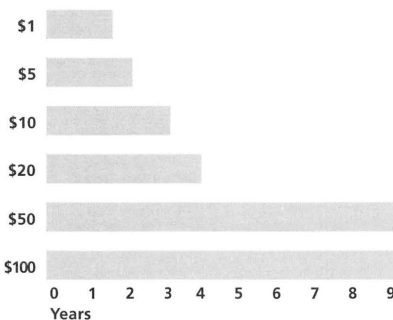
physical entities at brokerage houses. But a resistant twenty-five percent of all investors want, even demand, a physical representation of their holdings.<sup>9</sup> Human behavior is conservative, perhaps particularly where it comes to money. Anyway.”

Our need for physical tokens of wealth has a very real downside. Imagine landfills containing shredded currency — a multi-billion dollar dump of confetti. Annually, that has been the final resting place for 7,000 tons of worn-out money. This is three percent of the value of currency in circulation, or 715 million bills with a value of almost ten billion.<sup>10</sup> Our currency is short-lived (*table 1*). The Federal Reserve has recently

launched a serious recycling effort as landfills become less available and at greater distances from the shredding sites. The recycling effort includes use of old money in roof tiles, fuel pellets, packing material, particle board and artwork. The paper is a fine, but tough, one hundred percent cotton product made from textile industry cuttings and cotton straight from the plant. Crane & Company, the paper mill which produces all of the paper used for printing the United

States money, is now recycling too, creating a stationery product appropriately called “Old Money.” Clearly all this making, distributing, collecting, shredding, trucking, landfilling or recycling costs us money.

**Table 1: How Long Bills Last**  
(Redrawn from data presented in *The New York Times*, May 22, 1994, p. 12.)



### Money itself

Recent technologies such as the computer and high quality color copiers now make counterfeiting easier for individuals without special expertise. There are now so-called counterfeiting hobbyists and the one-hundred dollar bill is a particular favorite with them. For years the Federal Reserve Bank has known that American money is easy to fake: it is a single color, all bills are the same size and there is no watermark. But the Fed realized that Americans loved the look and feel of their money and so was reluctant to make any changes. About one-half of one percent of United States currency is counterfeit with most of the fakes circulating in foreign countries. Three hundred billion in American currency is currently circulating worldwide. The work of casual counterfeiters "accounted for only \$6 million to \$8 million in 1992. But such growth [from 1989 data] would mean bills with a total value of \$1.6 billion to \$2 billion could be infused into the economy during the year 2000."<sup>12</sup> Such an increase in counterfeit currency would overwhelm the Secret Service, the agency charged with apprehending counterfeiters. They currently remove \$25 to \$70 million annually before it even circulates.

11 1994. "Making Money." *Scientific American*, March, 102.

The design has not been changed since 1929. Now, however, some changes are being instituted to foil the fakes. These include: special ink; microprinting ("The United States of America" is printed repeatedly around the sides of the portrait), which is so small no copier can reproduce it with

fidelity; inclusion of a watermark, which is undetectable by a copier; and small iridescent disks. Special red and blue fibers in the paper for all denominations, except the one dollar bill, prevents counterfeiters from bleaching the one in order to reprint it in higher denominations. The design is also being modified: the portrait will be increased fifty percent in size and moved to the left to make room for the new watermark. All portraits will be reinterpreted (but it seems safe to say that George Washington and other founding fathers will not receive the facelift or stylistic updating that advertising icons such as Aunt Jemima or Betty Crocker routinely receive). By the year 2000, all bills will be printed in the new style. The cost for the redesign is estimated to be between seven and ten million dollars. Clearly our penchant for cash is costing us even more money.

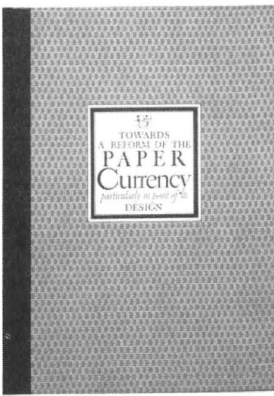
### Greenback aesthetics

For millions of dollars in design and production costs we get more of the same tired old imagery, but with greater security. An American typographic designer, W.A. Dwiggins commented profoundly and sarcastically on the design of American money in a 1932 limited edition book (*figure 2*)

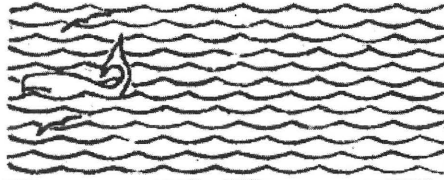
titled *Towards a Reform of the Paper Currency particularly in point of its Design*.<sup>12</sup> His critique remains timely and accurate more than sixty years later. The stimulus for writing this book was receipt of the Antipodes (*figure 3*) paper currency and stamps from a friend. Dwiggins begins his critique by

observing how “unseen” American currency is by its native users. He goes on to question why the currency style adopted between 1840 and 1850 lasted one hundred years. He answers this question by developing a theory that appears to be painfully true even in 1995. The theory is the unchanging nature of a government bureau.

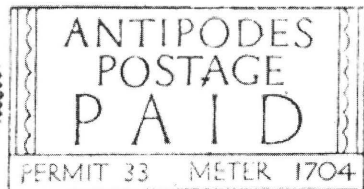
“The secret of a bureau’s eternal life is its rigidity. When a bureau is organized all the details of its work are strapped into position and nailed down — every precaution is taken that no detail shall ever shift or slip out of place. In other words the bureau is organized and then goes into a kind of trance. Each federal bureau is a little Sleeping Beauty’s Palace . . . As the [Treasury] Bureau froze it enclosed within its substance — like rubbish in a glacier — all the misapprehensions about art that were prevalent around 1845.

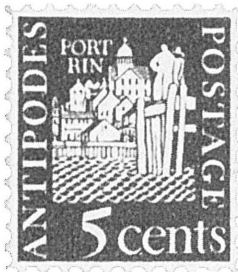


**Figure 2** Cover of W.A. Duggins limited edition book, *Toward a Reform of the Paper Currency particularly in point of its Design.* (Courtesy of the Wing Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.)



Antipodes cancellation marks.





Unless you have paid particular attention to art history you can't possibly understand what an unlucky chance that was — I mean, for the Bureau to congeal at just that time — during the fat years of that outrageous mongrel style that appeared to have been bred in the stables of the Citizen King."<sup>13</sup> Timeliness and the referential aspects of what paper money represents are key elements in Dwiggins' critique. He observes that it is the most widely distributed insignia of state imaginable and that it is a utilitarian token of obligation and exchange.

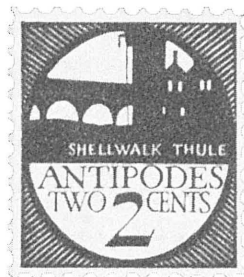
"It would be a good, sound, practical, businesslike move for us to push our own federal issues up to a more distinguished level. The time has come, it seems to me, for the American Commonwealth to scrap its present postage stamps, currency bills, and other printed official forms; and to fit itself out with a new equipment more in keeping with the nation's status in the world of affairs."<sup>14</sup>

13 Dwiggins, *Towards a Reform of the Paper*

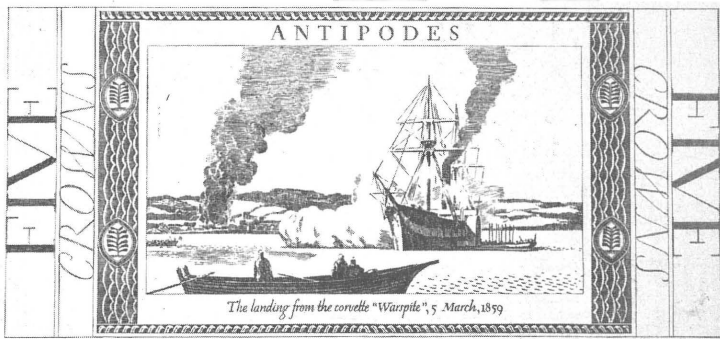
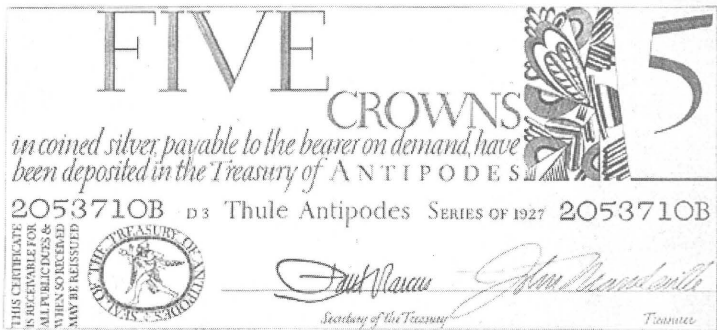
*Currency...*, 9, 10.

14 Dwiggins, *Towards a Reform of the Paper*

*Currency...*, 6.



**Figure 3** The Antipodes paper currency and stamps which fueled Dwiggins' critical examination of American currency. (Courtesy of the Wing Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.)



The front and back of a Five Crown bill.

Dwiggins asks exactly the right question: what style of currency is appropriate for a huge modern commercial democracy? This very question has been pondered by many governments as they have come to understand the importance of communicating their particular mission and ideals to their citizens and visitors alike. Defining form or style is necessarily time related. Form is influenced by ideas relating to philosophy and physical culture. Regarding timeliness and its relation to style, Dwiggins is conservative.

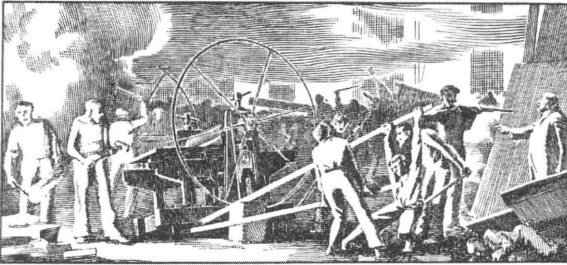
"For one thing, I shouldn't want my 'new model' to be too faithful a reflection of this particular moment (1932) of decorative art. I am warned off that mistake by the design which the country suffers from now. It began its career as a reflection of a decorative fashion of a particular moment . . . It doesn't do to salt down a passing fancy in that way. It may turn out later to be something that you would pay a lot to be rid of. The extreme fashion of any particular moment is too narrow a base for such things as official design."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Dwiggins, *Towards a Reform of the Paper*

*Currency* . . . , 9.

He cites Goya as a model of an artist who rises above fashion yet is steeped in the essence of his time (1800) and place (Spain). He goes on to say that Goya is as "modern" now as he was in 1800. Further, Goya would show us who and what

we are — “an enormous accretion of mechanized energy struggling to preserve a democratic form.” (Dwiggins cannot dampen his caustic comments, but expands them with the inclusion of two drawings, figures 4 and 5, which play out his sarcasm visually and reference Goya’s social criticism.)



*Infuriated Artists demolishing the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington. Morning of the 6th of July, 1951. First phase of the Communist Revolution. N.M. XLVIII*

**Figures 4 and 5** Drawings from D.W. Dwiggins, *Toward a Reform of the Paper Currency particularly in point of its Design.* (Courtesy of the Wing Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.)



*Assassination of the Director of the Bureau, and Massacre of Federal Art Experts, during the assault on the Bureau of Engraving and Printing — night of July 5, 1951. N.M. XLVIII*

Dwiggins wants a design that transcends fashion, i.e., not the modernism of 1932, but a modernism that is representative of the first half of the century. “It would tell of speed, and of enormous electrical potentials, of the air as a new highway, of

a universe suddenly swollen to appalling size — it would tell about these things, but not in picture — by implication and through 'atmosphere'... Such is the simple scheme, and I think it could be worked out — in Antipodes."<sup>16</sup>

16 Dwiggin, *Towards a Reform of the Paper Currency* . . . , 10.

Having looked at the big picture, the context of government bureaucracy, having examined important communication issues such as timeliness, mission and the character of representation, he goes on to perform a detailed critique of a five dollar bill, which he encourages his reader to take out and examine closely, in case the reader really doesn't see the problem. First he attacks the decorative border: "The ornament-mill got out of control for a time," because a border is usually subordinate to other elements, while here it is the major theme. Then he observes that the shapes are ugly: the curves lack vigor, use of the third dimension is a bit of fakery, and the scale of things is inappropriate — the seal is too small and the guarantor signatures are "Lilliputian." As a type designer, Dwiggin can't resist going after a key

typographic element on the bill, the numeral five. He compares the design to other characters designed by reputable type designers who can create legible and graceful forms (*figure 6*).



**Figure 6** A comparison of typographic renditions for the numeral 5 from W.A. Dwiggins' book. On the far left is the one used on American currency, A is Fournier, B is Caslon, C is Baskerville, D is Bodoni, E is by F.W. Goudy, F is by Bruce Rogers and G is by George W. Jones.

From his perspective, the bill is unimpressive in formal visual terms, with regard to the ideas it represents visually such as Greek revival bureaucratic architecture, engravings of famous Americans, and very dated and uncoordinated typography.

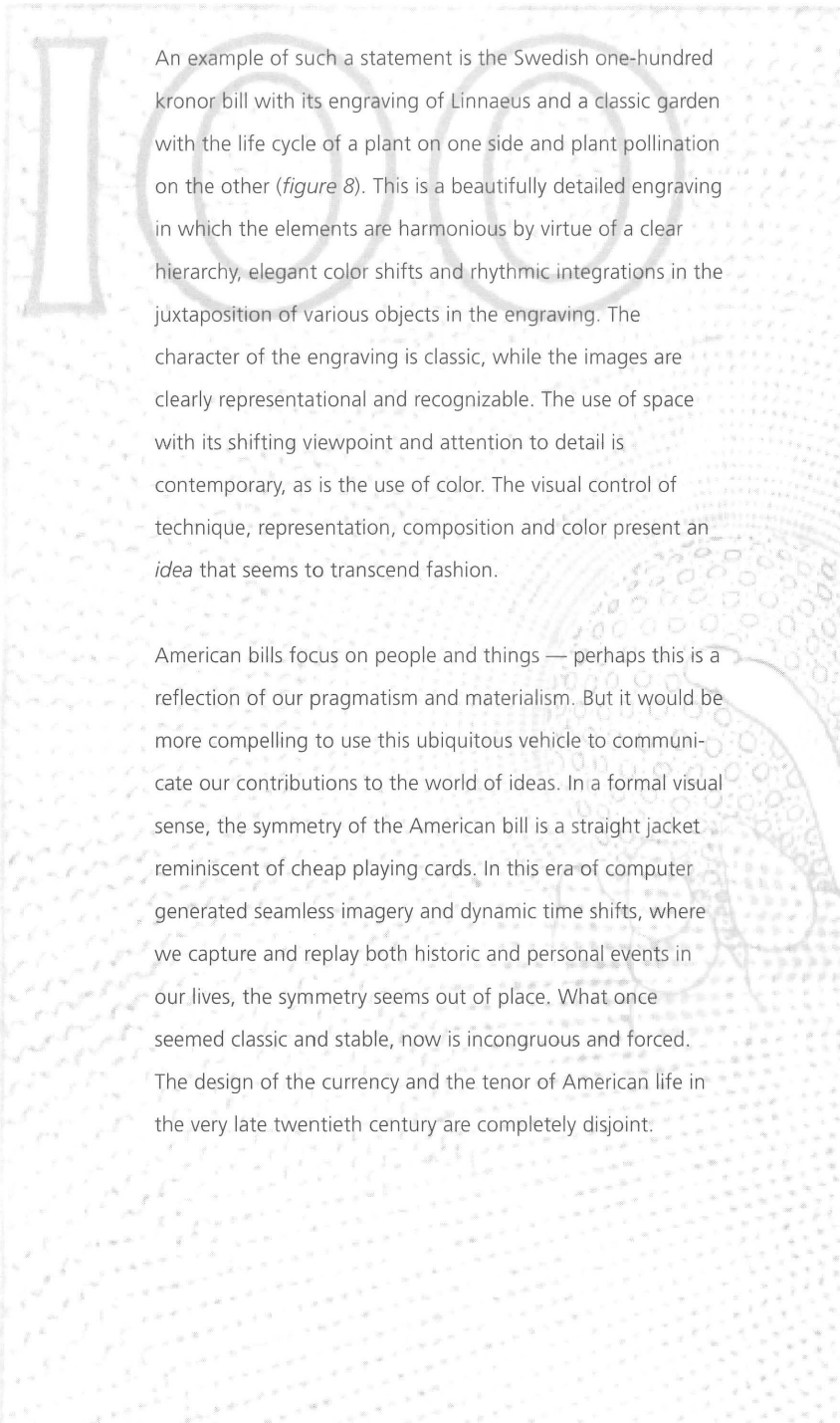
And yet the mid-90's redesign of American currency addresses only security and legibility problems — problems of function rather than aesthetics. The iconography of the design — the references to ideals — remains as before and it speaks of a time long past. Even Dwiggins' ideas of speed, electricity, flight and an enlarging universe seem to be pale notions of American life, achievement and will at the close of the twentieth century. The ideals on which the country imperfectly runs — democracy, free enterprise and equal rights — are visually (and sometimes actually) elusive. The historical engraving portraying the signing of the Declaration of Independence (on the two dollar bill which circulates mainly at race tracks) seems quaint and antique rather than serving as a forceful reminder of this historic document

(figure 7). What truly reflects this time? Profound events such as the moon landing, the splitting of the atom and recognition of our existence as a multicultural nation of immigrants. What do we create and export — technology and entertainment. At the end of the twentieth century and after nearly 220 years of existence, what Americans can celebrate needs to be explored.

Why do we maintain such an old and odd design? Despite superpower status, we remain upstarts with a short history and an uncertain sense of culture — particularly visual culture. When the original paper money was designed in 1840 or 1850, we had existed as a nation for only sixty or so years. As a young nation, we desired to look stable, even historic. Our culture was a hybrid of many European nations and a Greek democratic ideal. Our leaders and the creation of a new government were important icons to represent on our currency. The currency convinced us of our reality as a nation. It made a heroic statement, but now references to founding fathers and old buildings seem nostalgic. It is time to move on to *ideas* that we developed and that have shaped the modern world.



**Figure 7** The reverse side of a two dollar bill, demonstrates the nostalgia and quaint representational style still in use at the close of the twentieth century.



An example of such a statement is the Swedish one-hundred kronor bill with its engraving of Linnaeus and a classic garden with the life cycle of a plant on one side and plant pollination on the other (*figure 8*). This is a beautifully detailed engraving in which the elements are harmonious by virtue of a clear hierarchy, elegant color shifts and rhythmic integrations in the juxtaposition of various objects in the engraving. The character of the engraving is classic, while the images are clearly representational and recognizable. The use of space with its shifting viewpoint and attention to detail is contemporary, as is the use of color. The visual control of technique, representation, composition and color present an *idea* that seems to transcend fashion.

American bills focus on people and things — perhaps this is a reflection of our pragmatism and materialism. But it would be more compelling to use this ubiquitous vehicle to communicate our contributions to the world of ideas. In a formal visual sense, the symmetry of the American bill is a straight jacket reminiscent of cheap playing cards. In this era of computer generated seamless imagery and dynamic time shifts, where we capture and replay both historic and personal events in our lives, the symmetry seems out of place. What once seemed classic and stable, now is incongruous and forced. The design of the currency and the tenor of American life in the very late twentieth century are completely disjoint.



**Figure 8** The Swedish 100 kroner bill is a model of a specific cultural celebration of an idea that shaped the modern world.

### Visible Language's money issue

This special issue on Money explores its topic from the standpoint of money's physicality and transactional nature.

Curiously, money seems to be a hot topic at this time. *Granta* 17 Money. *Granta*, recently focused on it, but from a literary point of view.<sup>17</sup> volume, 49.

Perhaps the geographical and political shifts that have given rise to new countries (Bosnia, Croatia, etc.) or the restoration of old ones (Latvia, Estonia, etc.) along with their need for new currency sensitizes us to a consideration or at least a heightened awareness of this important cultural symbol. The contributors to this issue examine money from several points of view: security, transaction and money substitutes.

### Security in paper, printing and design

Dawn Barrett in her article, "Flying Money," briefly traces the early history of paper money and then launches on her main thesis: the visual significance of money has less to do with its iconography than it has to do with the design and innovation of security issues. In her second article, Barrett investigates the formative period of American history (1609-1778) in which settlement, independence and currency was taking shape. During that time, wampum, cylindrical beads made from shells by the North American Indians, was the local currency in New England (1634). By 1649, the Court of Massachusetts recognized wampum as legal tender for debts up to forty shillings. It is worth noting that paper currency was not introduced in Europe until the mid-seventeenth century, when the Royal Bank of Sweden was established, thus the idea of

paper money was actively being formulated during colonial times.<sup>18</sup> Barrett continues her thesis that two factors are responsible for the overall appearance of paper money: acceptance and safety. Nearly every physical, visual or symbolic element of paper money can be catalogued according to their usefulness in fulfilling one of these two functions. Cultural issues also play an important role in determining the national character of specific manifestations of acceptance and safety. She maintains that it is the small, idiosyncratic details that make our bills look “American.” These ideas are developed in the context of colonial history and the introduction of paper currency in the new world.

#### Money as “transactional” art

Artists have become interested in money, not necessarily as a result of the commodification of art, but in money as transaction — as performance. “Arte-Reembolso/Art Rebate,” carried out by Elizabeth Sisco, Louis Hock and David Avalos, involved handing out crisp new ten dollar bills to illegal aliens just north of the Mexican border. The project received funding from the Museum of Contemporary Art in San Diego as part of its exhibition “La Frontera/The Border.” “The Border” is part of a project called “Dos Cuidades/Two Cities” which received a quarter million dollars from the National Endowment of the Arts (NEA) to be matched by three-quarters of a million from the State of California, City of San Diego and the Rockefeller Foundation. Not surprisingly, the NEA backed away from funding a donation to illegal aliens.

"The artists say it [the money give-away] is intended to demonstrate that these immigrants, who are coming increasingly under political attack as a burden on the economy, do, in fact, contribute through their labor and through sales tax. The project also shows, the artists say, that the immigrants are linked through a chain of dollars with the rest of the economy."<sup>19</sup>

19 Mydans, 1993. "\$10 Bill Give-Away to Migrant Workers Loses a U.S. Subsidy."

If a function of art is to create public awareness and dialogue about the issues of the day, then this was a successful event in raising local and national awareness over the controversy surrounding services to and the rights of illegal aliens. The giving of money is a common routine, from the scale of interpersonal gifts to disaster funds, but the *making* of money is exclusively reserved by the state.

Another artist, who is under continuous scrutiny by the Secret Service and the Treasury Department, is J.S.G. Boggs. Boggs draws likenesses of American paper money as — art. He, too, is interested in the transactional nature of his art. He doesn't sell his drawings; he "spends" them as a performance in which he gets a waiter or a ticket agent to receive the art as payment for a service. "He insists on receiving receipt and change — real money — for the bills he draws. The change and receipts go to collectors who track down the people who have the drawings in order to purchase them and complete the transaction.

20 Weschler, "Money Changes Everything," 38-41.

Boggs uses colored ink and pencils to draw his bills and a color copying machine to reproduce them. While the bills are the size and green of American currency, they carry messages real bills don't have such as "The Unit of the State of Bohemia." The Secret Service is not amused. They have confiscated his work, calling it counterfeit. Meanwhile, both Britain and Australia consider his work art. Both countries brought Boggs to trial under a counterfeiting charge for drawing pound notes and Australian dollars respectively. He was acquitted in both cases and Australia awarded him \$20,000 in damages. Boggs has observed that the Secret Service "doesn't understand the difference between art and crime." He estimates that he has made "transactions" totaling more than a quarter million dollars.

In this issue, the transactional art of J.G.S. Boggs is put into historic perspective by Sandra Smith. In her article, "J.S.G. Boggs Life Size & In Colour," the accidental beginnings of Boggs' bills in the mid-80's is followed chronologically by the close scrutiny of the Secret Service, successful court cases and those confined to a legal limbo. The legal issues involve such semantic ambiguities as what constitutes likeness and similitude and even considerations of the artist's intention. Smith argues that Boggs speaks *visually* and that the United States government is illiterate in visual language.

Another, more intimate, perspective on Boggs and his ideas is found in Manuel Gonzalez's article "A Conversation with J.S.G. Boggs." The artist is both wary of media distortion and candid in his remarks. The conversation reveals tactics of intimidation and the problem of acknowledging "art" in legal matters. Media and issues of representation confound the situation. The perversity and stubbornness of Boggs's character and his singular pursuit of transactional art come across clearly in this conversation.

Continuing the exploration of exchange value, Marc Shell's article, "Paper, Gold and Art — as Representation and Exchange," compares paper money, gold and art. Again representation is at the heart of the matter. According to Shell, the introduction of paper money created "a cultural disturbance that extended beyond money per se to include the artistic enterprise." Satirical cartoons, politics, literature, art and philosophy all figure into his discussion of what is real and what is imitation — what is mandated and what is accepted in practical action. Authenticity or the signature value of art becomes a fundamental issue in exchange value.

### Money substitutes for special occasions

Chris Nemeth explores “Funny Money,” or money substitutes such as coupons, scrip, stamps or chips. While barter is an exchange of actual goods or services, funny money is representational, designating that it will provide cash, a service or a product when it is redeemed. Nemeth examines the design characteristics of these tokens and asks in what ways they are similar to or different from currency. He demonstrates the repetition of certain functional themes as he presents visual examples of these ubiquitous and robust money substitutes.

From barter to promissory notes to privately issued paper money to governmental issue of paper money to credit cards and electronic payments to smart cards, we have abstracted the process of exchanging value. Running along this progression are the alchemists, scam artists, counterfeiters, white-collar criminals and computer hackers who threaten the credibility of whatever financial token is in the ascendancy. We may long for simpler times or a more aesthetically pleasing currency — we may desire to protect our privacy and resist the digital revolution, but we cannot escape participation in the economy. In this special issue both the past and the future have been examined. Some cautionary statements have come to the foreground. And surprisingly, the problems of the past — security and the social contract — have not disappeared, but have been joined with an increasing desire for privacy, which complicates the future — of money.

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