EDITORIAL

The Club, once again, has been fortunate in having a series of excellent speakers this past year, many of whom kindly supplied scripts for publication in the Club's *Newsletter.* This is not as straightforward as it may seems for the Editor still has to edit those scripts from the spoken to the written word, and then to type them all into the computer (unless, occasionally, a disc and a hard copy printout is supplied by the speaker). If contributors of reviews, notes, etc, could also supply their material on disc, it would be much appreciated and, not least, probably save a lot of errors in transmission.

David Berry, our Speaker Finder, has provided a very varied menu for our ten meetings in the year (January and August being the months when there is no meeting). All meetings are now held on the first Tuesday of the month at the Warburg Institute, Woburn Square. Auctions will continue to be held at not less than 12-month intervals, and will be appropriately listed in the programme and notified. As Tony Gilbert has remarked in his Auction Reports, the auction can only be as good and as interesting as, first, the lots which members offer and, second, the number of members who attend to bid on those lots.

For the first time in very many years the Club's Newsletter, although bearing a January publication date, has not appeared in the stated month. This has been due to several factors despite the contributors having been most helpful in providing their material in useable form. As usual towards the end of the year, the Editor has been off lecturing on cruise ships around the Mediterranean and in Egypt. However, due to the current security restrictions on hand luggage, only one piece allowed (and they announced that even a lady's handbag counts as one piece), the Editor has not been able to take his laptop computer with him to finalise

the Newsletter. He does have to use his one bag allowance (no laptops allowed over one's shoulder) to cam/ his lecturing slides and material. Hence, due to the nonsensical regulations it has not been possible to carry out the usual work at sea. Add to that heavy lecturing and writing programmes in the UK that have been fighting for space in his life, and trying to master a new computer to move material from the laptop to the main body for make-up and the answer is delays all round. Not least. computers being what they are, the machine made a unilateral decision that it did not like some of the material that it was presented with. and promptly 'lost' it — it's out there somewhere in the ether! Another hole peccadillo of the computer was, unasked, to supply an interspace of a small square between individual letters in one article, which all had to be manually rectified — the Editor never got to the bottom of how this came about.

But, here, at last, is the *Newsletter* covering the Club's meetings in 2006 and, as the Bard had it: "All's well that ends well".

This issue is a 'bumper' issue, far longer than our normal *Newsletter,* but this year, 2007, is the Club's 60th Anniversary, so it was thought that a 60th Anniversary issue would be a good celebration, and hence the slight change in format to a perfect binding to accommodate the larger size.

The Editor's last plea is the usual one - this is the Club's Newsletter and, as such, is a forum as well as a reporting vehicle. Do remember that many of our members are unable to visit the Club and hear the talks, so the *Newsletter* is their link - let us make sure that it is a continuing welcome and interesting one.

Peter A. Clayton, Honorary Editor

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 7 February 2006

The first speaker for the year was Torn Sawyer. He took as his topic 'From Gothic to Roman: Letter forms on the Tudor Coinage', illustrating his talk with a splendid series of slides that focused on his explanations. Tom said:

'I began my research following many years as a professional graphic designer with a particular interest in letter forms. Therefore, although I have had a lifelong interest in coins and coinage, and admit to a small collection of Tudor coins, my approach is that of a designer rather than that of a numismatist. My own study of lettering on the Tudor coinage constitutes part of a M.Phil thesis, undertaken on the V&A/Royal College of Art History of Design course.

I initially presented the results of my research to The British Numismatic Society in April 2003, and as then, must begin by thanking Dr Kevin Clancy for supplying many splendid slides of coins from the collection at the Royal Mint to illustrate my points. While I must also apologise for a certain amount of repartition from that presentation, I feel sure that we will all enjoy looking again at these beautiful artifacts.

My thesis contends that the replacement of Gothic with Roman letter forms across all media, as the standard means of representing first Latin, then the vernacular, provides compelling evidence of the recognition and gradual acceptance of Renaissance culture in Tudor England. I have examined a wide range of sources in order to explore fully ways in which new letter forms were diffused through a variety of contrasting routes. These routes include that by which elite audiences became familiar with humanist culture, namely the then new technology

of printing. I then contrasted this by looking at provincial variation and possible reaction in the epitaphs which occur on Tudor tombs and monuments across the country.

An important chapter of my thesis is concerned with the evidence of a centrally controlled 'official' route which is provided by the coinage. Throughout the classical, medieval and early modern periods of European history, before communication through the printed word became generally accessible to all stratas of society, coinage had constituted the medium by which the multiple reproduction of words and images could be immediately, widely and effectively, distributed. Indeed, early in the 18th century, Joseph Addison claimed that coins constituted 'a kind of printing' before the art was invented. It has always been a source of wonder to me that, having early developed the technology of reproducing multiple words and images through coinage dies, it should have taken the best part of two millennia to simply add the ink.

The centrally-controlled production and distribution of the coinage, struck from dies generally engraved in London and firmly datable, allows the process of typographic change from medieval to Renaissance forms to be studied on an accurate national basis. Moreover, the production of a national coinage is devoid of the petty financial constraints, or of provincial variation which, respectively, influenced the work of the early printers and engravers of epitaphs.

While the study of either printed books or epitaphs provides larger and more finely detailed examples of lettering, the Tudor coinage possesses important advantages over other 16th-century artifacts. In addition to being officially dated, coins are illustrated in the most readily accessible range of publications. It is therefore possible, with the aid of a selection of standard reference works, to study the physical appearance of the complete range of Tudor currency to a degree that is not feasible with

any other contemporary medium. Coinage thus provides a centrally controlled, readily accessible, firmly dated and exhaustively documented body of evidence covering an era of radical cultural and political change.

My first slide shows the legend on a Henry VII full-face silver groat of 1485-8 which is totally Gothic in both lettering and iconography. The Lombardic lettering is similar to that on the Sovereign groat used as the symbol by the London Numismatic Club, which appears on the front cover of its Newsletter. During the course of the 16th century the Gothic lettering and medieval iconography of our national coinage was completely replaced by Roman lettering and Renaissance imagery. Renaissance Roman legend and a Renaissance portrait can be seen on a silver crown of 1601.

That the appearance of Roman lettering on the Tudor coinage may be regarded as signifying the arrival of the Renaissance was eloquently argued by the then President of the British Numismatic Society, Stuart Rigold, in 'Coinage and the myth of the Renaissance' *(BNJ* 1973, vol 43, 171-8). Having discussed the term Renaissance both as 'a bounded historical period and an eternal idea', Rigold explains that by 'myth' he is not inferring that the Renaissance is in any way mythical, but that constructions made upon the word are often of a somewhat imaginary nature. However, Rigold continues, 'lettering is the soundest test of "Renaissance" intention on coins', and that, with regard to lettering, 'generally the issue is simply Roman versus Lombardic'. He goes on to suggest that it is not so much the appearance of Roman lettering, as the final abandonment of Lombardic, which indicates a true acceptance of Renaissance forms and ideals. Rigold lists the dates at which these changes occur on the coinages of the major mainland European states (and Scotland) with England lagging some way behind. Concluding that England is indeed the 'odd one out', he continues, 'A slightly irregular

Roman alphabet is found on the earliest coins of Henry VIII's 1526 issue and promptly abandoned. No more is seen of Roman until just before the death of Henry VIII, but it is universal on the base issues of Edward VI, to be followed by the most obvious and deliberate return to Lombardic, which lasts into Mary's reign. The final change comes over with Philip of Spain in 1554 and is respected by Elizabeth except for some frankly archaic ryals'. Rigold concludes that, there was no 'progressive tendency to substitute Roman for Lombardic', instead there was 'revolution and blind reaction'.

I shall attempt to enlarge on a number of these points below.

With regard to typographic terminology, I have followed the practice, adopted by Stuart Rigold and the majority of English-language authors, of describing as `Lombardic' the round Gothic letters which dominated late medieval English and European coinages for the three centuries preceding the revival of Roman letter forms during the Renaissance. While invariably described as a Gothic letter-form, Lombardic lettering is formed largely of curves and is strikingly distinct from Gothic, black-letter or 'Old English' lettering constructed from straight vertical lines, and with broken angles in place of curves. Favoured by late-medieval and early-modern printers and inscribers of epitaphs, 'Old English' lettering would not make an appearance on the English, or British, coinage before the Gothic crowns and florins of the Victorian era.

The wording of the legends with which the coinage of all sophisticated political regimes is embellished is clearly intended not only to identify the regime and its current rulers, but also to reflect their political and religious agendas and affiliations. While a specific set of messages is enforced via images and the wording of the legends, these messages are further endorsed by the physical appearance of the letter forms in which the legends are presented. It is my contention that, at a

time when England was passing through a series of momentous political, religious and cultural upheavals, the typographic presentation of each message became as important as the message itself. Moreover, in a society in which only a small minority could read, and much less understand the Latin in which each legend was composed, the shape of letters, discernable to all, would have assumed an even greater degree of importance.

The introduction of classical letter forms into the currency of Tudor England was, of course, a symptom of a pan-European revival of interest in Roman coins and classical antiquities in general, which took place during the 15th and 16th centuries. Legends rendered in Roman capital letters had begun to be combined with classical portraiture and iconography on a series of individually cast-bronze medals produced by Pisanello and certain of his Italian contemporaries from as early as the 1440s. Roman lettering, reflecting the direct influence of classical models, was soon to appear on a mass-produced European coinage, struck for general circulation, for the first time since the disintegration of the western Roman Empire. A good example of this is a silver testone of Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, c. 1482, with its large, clear, well-constructed and skillfully engraved Roman letters, accompanying a naturalistic Renaissance portrait in profile (like that of a Roman emperor), which began to occur on the coinage commissioned by the Sforza dukes of Milan from around 1470.

By the end of the 15th century the formula pioneered under the Sforzas was to provide the model followed not only by the rulers of the other Italian city-states, but swiftly became the established form taken by the coinages of the majority of the emerging nation-states of early modern Europe. Surprisingly, certain issues of the coinage of the geographically isolated kingdom of Scotland had begun to use Roman

lettering from as early as the reign of the cultured king James IV, a direct contemporary of Henry VII. In fact, Renaissance portraiture had already appeared on certain Scottish coins from as early as the 1480s. With these initiatives, Scotland anticipated her southern neighbour by a considerable number of years. As pointed out by Rigold, on the English coinage there was, what appears to be, a resistance to classical letter forms.

Numerous artifacts, incorporating Roman lettering, had been imported from Europe into England throughout the second half of the 15th century. However, the earliest examples of Roman-style lettering to be manufactured in England occur no earlier than the very beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. The first printing in England to use Roman type was produced in 1509 by Richard Pynson, a Normandy-horn printer using Parisian type. Within a few years the earliest existing Renaissance epitaph in England appeared on the tomb of Henry's grandmother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, at Westminster. This was completed in 1513, using pure Roman letters, under the direction of the Florentine sculptor Pietro Torregiano. Although the use of Roman lettering on the English coinage lagged a considerable number of years behind either of these examples it would, again, be continental craftsmen who appear to have introduced classical letter forms to the Tudor currency, noted especially on the Henry VII gold sovereign of 1493-5.

Rigold takes an earlier commentator to task for calling Henry VII 'patron of the new art of the Renaissance' for introducing what he calls 'this most gothic of coins'. However, gold sovereigns issued by Henry VII in the years 1493-95 had displayed a new kind of somewhat condensed lettering that is neither wholly medieval nor yet totally Renaissance in appearance. If we look at the king's name it can be seen that the first two letters, H and E, are rendered in the form of Lombardic minuscules while the following N is a square Roman capital. While certain square Roman

letters had existed side-by-side with Lombardic forms on some coins of the earlier Plantagenet kings, the remaining letters of the king's name on the Henry VII sovereign, in common with the majority of those on either side of the coin, are of hybrid or transitional character. Letters of this form are in contrast to any immediately preceding them on the coinage and are more commonly found on tombs and imported woodcuts of the period. New varieties of lettering, accompanying the appearance of the imperial crown on the coinage of Henry VII, have been pointed out by numismatists as widely separated by time as George Brooke in 1932 *(English Coins,* pp 168-71) and Christopher Challis in 1978 *(The Tudor Coinage,* p 220). However, so far as I am aware, this one issue of sovereigns provides an isolated incidence of the use of anything other than purely Gothic letterforms on the coinage of the first Tudor king.

In iconographical terms the most important numismatic innovation to occur in the reign of Henry VII was the introduction, in the opening years of the 16th century, of the testoon or shilling issued in 1504. Based on the Italian testone the testoon is remarkable for a very fine, classically idealised, profile portrait of the king which replaced the conventional mask-like full-face image that had served to represent kings on the English coinage for the previous two centuries. The profile portrait, together with a reverse featuring a display of dynastic heraldry, introduced a combination which would become the standard formula for the English silver coinage for the following 450 years. However, the apparently enthusiastic acceptance of Italian Renaissance forms did not yet extend to the legends which continued to be rendered exclusively in Lombardic letters.

While the retention of traditional letter forms might indicate national pride or, perhaps, intransigence, another possible reason for resistance to change had a sound economic basis. The English coinage

continued to constitute a currency readily accepted in the trading centres of Europe, its stability long emphasised by an unchanging design. The Tudor administration was now faced with a dilemma, whether to maintain a tried-and-tested appearance, at the risk of commercial isolation, or to move with the times and change to modern forms in line with the rest of Europe. The immediate answer appears to have been, what we might regard as, a typically English compromise: Renaissance iconography, identified by Latin legends rendered in traditional 'English' lettering.

The individual generally credited with the introduction of Renaissance forms onto Henry VII's profile shillings was the German engraver Alexander of Bruchsal. However, as pointed out by Dr Challis, the problem of assigning particular design initiatives to individuals is hampered by a lack of evidence concerning the degree of involvement of Bruchsal in the production of even this most famous of early Tudor coinage designs (Challis, *History of the Mint,* 1978, pp 61-3). While the names, and job titles of senior officials working at the Mint during the Tudor period are recorded, the task of assigning responsibility for a specific design element to any particular individual is beset with difficulties. There are so many references in the Mint records to officers who were allowed to engrave by deputy that great difficulty exists in establishing the identity of those who actually did the real work (H. Linecar, *British Coins and Coin Designers,* 1977, p 28). What is clear is that many continental craftsmen were employed at the Mint throughout the Tudor period. It may be assumed that, in common with contemporary immigrant printers and sculptors, they brought with them Renaissance ideas including the use of Roman lettering, which had already provided a standard component of their own native coinages for a number of years. Early in the 16th century, while the Renaissance coinage of mainland Europe began to provide a model for that of Tudor England, the

possible that Demaire was responsible for the actual design of Henry's second coinage, while it is recorded that 'coiners strangers from parts beyond the sea' were also brought in at this point, although their exact duties were not specified. (Public Record Office, quoted in Challis, 1978, p 71). Unfortunately, the records appear silent with regard to any artistic input from either the King or of Cardinal Wolsey who oversaw the production of this coinage.

Certain Roman letters appear in place of, or mixed in with, the Lombardic characters which accompany the unflattering portraiture of the old king, on Henry VIII's debased third coinage of 1544-7. The Roman letter forms found on the later Henrician coinage continue to exhibit a variety of non-classical features more usually associated with their Lombardic predecessors. For instance, the A retains an horizontal bar at its apex, in place of that in the generally accepted position, while the H is rendered in its minuscule h form. It is possible to recognise in these early attempts at Roman lettering that rough vigour which is often associated with pioneering styles, before a serious study of antique examples causes them to be abandoned in favour of more orthodox classical forms.

Complete Roman legends, in which the letters assume more orthodox classical form, appear with increasing frequency on the coinage, in particular the gold issued posthumously in Henry VIII's name between 1547 and 1551. However, Lombardic forms continue to appear on certain denominations, and with regard to Henry's later coinage it has long been recognised that the choice between Lombardic or Roman letter forms is not necessarily an indication of date or sequence.

The obverse legends on Tudor coins invariably consisted of the monarch's name and titles, as they had, on English coins, since the 10th century. The wording of reverse legends had remained constant since the 14th century, and consisted of a choice from four religious quotations.

That most commonly met with POSUI DEUM ADIUTOREM MEUM which translates as 'I have made God my helper' (Psalms 54, 4), appears on the larger silver denominations. These legends would continue to provide the standard wording for the reverses of the coinage until the reign of Henry VIII, who began to introduce new messages onto the coinage during the years which witnessed his break from Rome.

The overwhelming majority of the coins initially struck in the name of Edward VI display classically proportioned, well-spaced and skillfully engraved serifed lettering with subtle line-weight modulation of unmistakable Roman pedigree. These elements are in stark contrast to the roughly engraved legends on coins issued during the lifetime of his father, Henry VIII. In addition to a desire to present the youthful king as a Renaissance prince, part of the reason for this departure may have been that the government, while prevented themselves from abandoning debasement of the coinage, wished to disassociate the new regime from the infamous late base issues of Henry VIII.

An unprecedented number of new legends, each executed in clear Roman letters, occur on the coins of Edward VI, as appropriate biblical quotations are commandeered to reinforce the current, volatile, theological position. Some of these legends, for instance, LUCERNA PEDIBUS MEIS VERBUM EST ('Thy word is a lamp unto my feet') from Psalm 119, 105, were considered important enough to replace the king's name and titles on the obverse of certain issues of gold. Another popular legend, TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITAE ('The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life'), is taken from Proverbs 14, 27. This legend appears on the obverse of Edward's short-lived first issue of base shillings struck in 1549 *(BNJ* 1985, pp 134-43). The appropriation of this biblical proverb to endorse a superficially handsome, though base-silver and underweight,

shilling deeply offended some. In a sermon delivered before the king in 1549, the outspoken court preacher Hugh Latimer remonstrated against the ease with which the undersized coin might be mistaken for a groat. He went on to quote the legend, 'The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life or wisdom, I would to God this sentence were always printed in the heart of the king'. A committed Protestant, the future martyr Latimer would probably have approved of a politically loaded biblical quotation occurring on a groat struck in the name of Henry VIII at the very beginning of Edward's reign. Translated as, 'Render to each that which is his own', this alludes to the 'Render unto Caesar' admonition from St Matthew's gospel, and is now clearly intended to mean, render to the king whose image and titles appear on the coin, rather than to the 'Bishop of Rome'.

The final acceptance of Renaissance culture, suggested by the lettering on Edward's early coinage, is further enhanced by other design motifs, including a series of charmingly naturalistic portraits of the 'schoolboy king', reminiscent of the coins struck 70 years earlier for a youthful Sforza, duke of Milan. While the reverses of Edward's coins continue to display the royal shield of arms, this element now frequently appears in the classical guise of an oval shield garnished with Renaissance scrollwork cartouches. Similar combinations of classically orthodox Roman inscriptions with Renaissance scrollwork are to be found at this time printed on title pages of books or carved onto monuments. It is tempting to see in these classicising elements the influence of Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset, or one of his cultured circle.

The skill displayed in the engraving of classical-style legends on the mid-Tudor coinage highlights a problem associated with the use of Roman lettering in general. This, as anyone who has been required to

draw Roman lettering professionally will testify, is the difficulty of rendering each letter to an acceptable and uniform standard, a problem which is particularly difficult to overcome in the case of engraved letters arranged in a circle. The problem is particularly noticeable on coins of Imperial Rome in which the execution of the legends is particularly rough, especially when compared with monumental inscriptions of the time. The subtlety of form, balance and line-weight modulation, inherent in Roman letter forms, is not a factor in the executio$_n$ of I or in any other Gothic forms. In the rendering of Lombardic letters incompetent draftsmanship and engraving often go unnoticed.

The tools used by Renaissance engravers to create the dies from which coins were struck were essentially the same as those which had been used by the ancient Greeks and Romans. Before the introduction of reducing machinery in the early 19th century, image and lettering were hand-engraved into the hard metal coinage die at the same size as the finished coin. While this limitation was used to vigorous effect by many early die-engravers, it made the production of perfectly detailed lettering extremely difficult. An important medieval technical development was the engraving, not of the die itself, but of a series of punches used in the die's manufacture. While this technique entails the difficult process of engraving in relief rather than incuse, it allows the engraver of letters to work the right way round instead of in reverse, and to perfect each letter individually. The separate letters with which the legends were composed could then be punched individually into the die. It is often possible to recognise this process when the alignment of the letters is less perfect than their individual form.

A peculiarity of many of the early coins struck for Edward VI is that the letter W, in the king's name, is noticeably larger than, and does not align with, the other characters. This detail suggests that the punch

with which this particular letter was struck into the die is from a different source than those used for the remainder of the legend. The letter W does not occur in classical Latin, except for use in certain Germanic words, of which the Anglo-Saxon name Edward provides an example. Therefore, the letter W would have had to be especially cut if the other punches had been obtained from an Italian or French source. Continental workmanship is also apparent in some of Edward's earlier coins, where the use of W has been avoided altogether, the king's name appearing as EDOARD. This gallicised spelling has been attributed to the employment at the Tower Mint of the engraver Anthony Levens who had come from France (Challis, 1978, p 36).

In the last, or 'fine' coinage of Edward VI there now appears an especially ungainly W, composed of two Vs joined. When I presented this paper to the BNS in 2003, it was suggested to me that this letter was, in fact, an inverted M. However, a perfectly good example of an M, bearing no resemblance whatever to this letter, occurs on the reverse of all Edwardian 'fine' silver. The name Edward, containing a perfectly well-drawn Lombardic W, had appeared so frequently on the English coinage (and in English epigraphy in general), since the 13th century, that it is highly improbable a native English engraver could have been so unfamiliar with it.

The 'fine' coinage, of both gold and silver, issued by the bankrupt government of Edward VI in 1551, was presented to the public in as dramatic and as convincing a way as possible. The unprecedented size of some of the new denominations (notably the crown piece), allows for a larger, more sophisticated and far clearer, treatment of both legend and iconography. The new coins look totally different from the base issues, which they were intended to replace. but which still remained in circulation. Among the main differences is the revival of Lombardic

script for the legends. Dr Challis has stated that, 'the new coins demonstrate beyond all doubt that there had indeed been a return to right old standards, by including amongst their number England's two most famous denominations, the sovereign and the angel, produced at the ancient standard .. . and at the weight they had enjoyed under Henry VIII' (Challis, 1978, pp 211-12). The reverse legend of this issue, also reverts to the traditional POSUI DEUM A1)11 'TOR \I \WI Al of Psalm 54, 4. It is tempting to conjecture that a return to the right old standard of English lettering was also intended h re-introduction of Lombardic style legends.

The coinage of Mary Tudor, issued upon her accession in 1553, continued the Lombardic style of lettering re-established on Edward's final issue. Then, as stated by Rigold, upon Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain in 1554, the presentation of the legends again changes to clear, well-spaced, classical Roman capitals, and this time the change was to be permanent. While common to all denominations, the final change to Roman letters is, perhaps, most readily apparent on the groats. These coins, whether pre- or post-marriage, carry Mary's portrait only and are similar in all respects, other than the wording and lettering style of the legends.

The reverse wording on the pre-marriage groats, and their halves, is the unique VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA ('Truth, the daughter of Time'), clearly referring, in pre-Reformation lombardic lettering, to Mary's restoration of the 'true faith', following the years of dissent from Rome. After the Spanish marriage this wording once more reverts to a plural rendering of the well-established POSUI DEUM... reverse legend found on the majority of English silver coins struck during the previous two centuries. Perhaps the queen's advisors felt secure enough, while re-

introducing legends familiar to the English public to, once again, utilise the classical letter forms which had, by now, become the accepted means of epigraphic presentation, throughout Roman Catholic Europe.

The royal titles and mottos displayed on the extensive coinage produced throughout the long reign of Elizabeth I, with the exception of the ryal of 1583-92 (mentioned by Rigold), are rendered exclusively in Roman capital letters which would, by now, have formed an important part of a determination to keep abreast of current trends in Europe. The wording of the Elizabethan coins, while often abbreviated, also remains fairly consistent. The use of Roman letters could be said to have been consolidated during the reign of Elizabeth. Traditional Lombardic lettering has now been consigned to the past.

Coins exhibiting a lack of perfect roundness were endemic in the hammered process by which the designs of coins were, literally, struck with a hammer, into heated metal blanks. This process had encouraged the illegal activity of clipping coins, a practice which often partially removed the legend. The introduction, from France in 1561, of the screw-press, resulted in machine-made or 'milled' coins of an unprecedentedly neat, well-struck and perfectly round appearance. With regard to lettering, a particular advantage of the so-called 'milled' process, is that the machinery produced an excellent impression, especially around the edge of the coin, an area in which hammered pieces had so often been defective.

As John Porteous has pointed out, the improvement in appearance made possible by this technical advance would, in turn, have encouraged engravers to take greater trouble with the lettering of the dies *(Coins in History,* 1969, p. 8). Lettering of exceptional quality is certainly a feature of this coinage. Individual characters are rendered in clear and precise form, while the legends which they compose exhibit even letter-spacing

and clearly defined word-breaks, together with far greater accuracy of alignment than had hitherto been the case. Despite the clear improvements in appearance, introduced by the milled process, charges of slowness and inefficiency were soon being alleged by the indigenous mint-men, who were no doubt fearful for their jobs. The charges were upheld by senior management, with the result that milled coinage sadly ceased production after a few years. The technical and aesthetic advances achieved by the screw-press would not be seen again in England until the re-introduction of coining machinery in the 1630s.

To summarise, an English absorption of European Renaissance influence, other than that evident in lettering, first became readily apparent on the English coinage when, at the very beginning of the 16th century, Henry VII had introduced his portrait on to certain silver coins. As Porteous has stated *(op. cit.* p. 150), Henry seems to have been as well aware as any prince of his time of the political impact of coinage. As a usurper himself, Henry was careful to exploit every possible sanction to his power and to the legitimacy of his rule. On the coinage, this was manifested through a new combination of Renaissance iconography and dynastic heraldry. However, Henry VII's desire to emulate his European peers and to present himself as a Renaissance prince did not yet extend to the replacement of Gothic with classical letter forms. This development would have to wait until well into the reign of Henry VIII.

Following rather tentative beginnings under Henry VIII, there is a wholehearted acceptance of Roman lettering, together with Renaissance iconography, evident on the first coins issued in the name of Edward VI. This development had already taken place throughout the states of continental Europe, whether they adhered to Roman Catholic or to Protestant doctrine.

In my opinion, the reversion to Lombardic forms of lettering which

occurred on the coinage issued during Edward VI's final years may be interpreted as a belated rejection of Roman Catholicism which, in the guise of Italianate lettering, had shown signs of insinuating itself back into English life. Conversely, the continued use of Lombardic letter forms on the first coins of Mary could be regarded as an assurance that the situation was back to normal, and that England had returned to the faith which had been proclaimed in 'traditional' letter forms from time immemorial. Then again, these brief epigraphic reversions might be no more than symptoms of a prevarication between comparitively easily engraved, traditional forms and the difficult letters of a new Europe. A conservatism which is particularly noticeable in English architecture and tomb sculpture of the mid-16th century would also appear to have played an important role in the epigraphic presentation of the coinage.

However, by the reign of Elizabeth, the appearance of the English coinage, in common with that of the rest of Europe, had become altogether classical. This radical transformation of letter forms was not confined to the coinage. By the later 16th century printing of both Latin and English-language Renaissance material had also become Roman. Moreover, although Gothic type was retained for certain categories of vernacular printing into the 18th century, so far as coinage is concerned, Roman lettering had completely superseded Gothic. This development was typographically far more radical than anything that has occurred in 450 years since.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 7 March 2006

This was the occasion of the Club's Annual General Meeting. The basic business of the meeting was soon transacted and the President, David Sealy, gave a resume of the Club's activities and the lectures received during the year.

The election of officers left the Club in the capable hands of those who had been elected the previous year, viz:

<div align="center">

President – David Sealy

Deputy President – Philip Rueff

Secretary – Robert Hatch

Assistant Secretary – John Roberts-Lewis

Treasurer – Paul Edis

Programme Secretary – David Berry

Editor of the Newsletter – Peter Clayton

Webmaster – Harold Mernick

Committee

Anthony Gilbert Philip

Mernick David Powell

</div>

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 4 April 2006

Michael Anderson spoke on 'The Scottish mints'.

[Editorial note: Michael used over 70 slides in his talk and for publication as the written word, as against the spoken word of his script, a number of his aside comments have been omitted as without the accompanying illustrations they would be meaningless and interrupt the flow of his text.]

Michael said that he first started collecting Scottish coins over fifty years ago.

`My grandfather was always very insistent on the family's Scottish roots, and I was getting a bit bored with the English series, where all the kings looked alike and were called either Edward or Henry, and the different portraits and new names like Alexander, Robert and David seemed more exciting. In those days all you could easily find on Scottish coins was eight pages near the end of Seaby's *Standard Catalogue.* I used to go up to 65 Great Portland Street, where Seaby's used to have dozens of trays of Scottish coins at a few shillings each. I came across some of my old tickets recently, and saw prices in shillings on coins which would now be hundreds of pounds.

The main reference book was Edward Burns's *The Coinage of Scotland* published in 1887. Although they did not have a copy in the public library in Chelmsford where I lived at that time, they got me a set from Chiswick Reference Library, but I was not allowed to take it out, so

every day after school I used to go along to Chelmsford Public Library for an hour until I had read the whole three volumes from cover to cover. It is a real masterpiece of numismatic research, incorporating techniques which were not adopted in England until well into the 20th century. Burns had sold his own collection in 1869, but he was acknowledged as a major expert on Scottish coins and often advised other collectors about purchases at sales and acted as cataloguer for most of the major Scottish sales such as those held by Chapman's of Edinburgh. Burns was already working on a book on Scottish coins when he was asked to catalogue the collection of Thomas Coats of Ferguslie, the head of the family that produced Coats' cotton. This is the basis of the work but includes specimens from other private collections and from museums where there were specimens different from those in the Coats collection. I had hoped that there might be a hereditary connection, because we had always understood that my great-great-great-grandmother was from the Coats family, but I never managed to trace the connection in any of the reference books, and since I started work on this talk I have checked the family search website and found that my great-great-great-grandmother's maiden name was Collis, so that idea has gone for a `burton'. We are lucky that the work was ever completed, because Thomas Coats died in 1883, but the family allowed Burns to continue the work until his own death in 1886, by when the book was almost complete up to Charles I.

However, there was a feeling among Scottish numismatists that so much research should not be lost, so another Scottish numismatist, George Sim, was reluctantly persuaded to take the work over until his own death the following year, but by then it was almost ready for the press. Then in 1955 Ian Stewart's (Lord Stewartby) marvellous *Scottish Coinage* appeared, and I started corresponding with Ian, first to his school and then to his ship when he was in the navy, and I still have kept all his

letters. It was Ian Stewart who encouraged me to join the British Numismatic Society, fifty years ago this year, and he also published one of my coins in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1956, which I only discovered recently. Unfortunately I sold my Scottish coins to fund my Ecuadorean collection, and have had to start again at a thousand times the prices.

When I was planning this talk I thought of covering the mints alphabetically from Aberdeen to Stirling, or geographically from Carlisle to Inverness, but in the end it seemed most logical to progress chronologically. [Michael handed out a map on which he indicated the mints that are certain, such as Edinburgh, Perth, Stirling, Inverness and so on; or virtually so, such as Forfar and Montrose; those which are probable , such as Bamborough, Corbridge, Dumfries and Dunfermline; or possible, such as Redcastle, Whitekirk, Burgh-by-Sands and Great Corby; and those which are now regarded as unlikely, such as Renfrew, Forres, Dunbar, Jedburgh, Kelso and so on.]

The first Scottish mint was Carlisle. It had always been a Scottish city until it was captured by William Rufus from Malcolm III of Scotland in 1092. There is no mention of Carlisle in the Doomsday Book because at that time Carlisle was not in England. The first Scottish monarch to strike coins was David I, who had become king in 1124. Silver mines were discovered near Carlisle in 1132, and a mint was opened at that time which struck the last two types of Henry I. [A slide of a Carlisle penny of type XV of Henry I, moneyer Erembald , was shown.]

Henry I died in December 1135 and when Stephen seized the throne David I immediately invaded England in support of Henry's daughter, Matilda, whose succession David had sworn, along with other English nobles, to support. Henry was married to David's sister, and so Matilda was thus David's niece. David's parents were Malcolm III of

Scotland, the Malcolm Canmore, Duncan's son, who figures in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. Margaret, later canonised by Pope Innocent IV, was grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside, and by marrying her daughter Henry hoped to unite the houses of Wessex and Normandy. David was Malcolm's ninth son, and so was hardly expected to succeed to the Scots throne (imagine what must be the odds against Edward and Sophie Wessex being crowned in Westminster Abbey and multiply that by three). He had become Earl of Huntingdon, Northamptonshire and Northumberland by marrying another Matilda, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland and widow of the Earl of Huntingdon and Northamptonshire, and so he was leading English nobleman. But, in 1124 Malcolm's eighth son, Alexander I, died without an heir, and David became King of Scots.

David captured Carlisle in January 1136, and Erembald continued minting coins with the reverse of type XV of Henry I, but substituted a locally produced obverse in the name of David. The latest Spink catalogue still refers to the British Museum specimen of this coin, Stewart group IVb, as "unique", but in addition to this one there was a cut half in the coin register in *BNJ* 1993 and yet another in *BNJ* 2004, so they have begun appearing all over the place.

David reached Durham and was met by Stephen and a truce was agreed which ceded Carlisle and Doncaster to David's son Henry. Henry then introduced coins in Stephen's name and in the general style of Stephen's own type I at various cities including Carlisle, the moneyer still being Erembald, and Newcastle. The latter's mint signature was CAST, and the moneyer Willelm, Erembald's son, who leased the silver mines at Carlisle and Newcastle. He also succeeded his father as moneyer at Carlisle.

Newcastle had never had a mint under English rule, and these coins

are differentiated from the contemporary English issues by having a long cross voided superimposed on the normal type I cross moline. We know that Newcastle was under Earl Henry's control because he issued several charters from there. The attribution of the CAST coins to Newcastle seems to originate with Lord Stewartby's 1971 article on Scottish mints in the Albert Baldwin memorial volume; Gilbert Askew had attributed them to Bamburgh, in which he had been followed by Jeffrey North. Another mint under Scottish control was Durham, the moneyer Fobund, and the Durham coins being differentiated from the normal English type I by having a star in front of the obverse scepter, and annulets on the reverse at the points of the fleurs and at the end of each limb of the cross. This suggests that they may have been issued by the bishopric, the temporalities of which were held from 1141 to 1144 by William Comyn, Chancellor of Scotland, who is thought later to have minted as Bishop of Carlisle. Martin Allen in his book on the Durham mint refers to William Comyn as an usurper. There are no Durham coins of Stephen later than those of Fobund, all other Stephen coins formerly attributed to Durham having been reassigned to Dunwich, apart from one Watford type of the moneyer Henri, which Martin Allen claims for Durham.

Durham had always had strong Scottish connections; the foundation stone for the new cathedral was laid by Malcolm III in 1093, and the earliest surviving genuine Scottish charter is that granted to Durham h\ Duncan II *in* 1094. A further mint under Scottish control which struck in Stephen's name, but in a quite different style, the moneyer Willelm as at Newcastle, is the mint identified by Gilbert Askew in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1940 as Bamburgh Castle, although at one time it was thought to be Outchester, partly because of a hoard having been found there in 1817. A mysterious mint signature from this period is "Eden", also by the moneyer Erembald. "Eden" was

originally thought to be Edinburgh, but a Stephen coin minted in Edinburgh appears to be an historical impossibility, and it has been suggested that the "Eden" coins were either struck at Carlisle, which stands on the river Eden, or at some other site in the Eden valley; Jeffrey North having suggested Burgh-by-Sands. Nearly two centuries later Edward I of England died at Burgh-by-Sands.

In 1139 there was another Treaty of Durham, at which David's son Henry was granted the Earldom of Northumberland, after which both Henry and David struck coins in their own name and not that of Stephen. However, apart from Bamburgh, which continued doing its own thing, the coins continued to copy Stephen type I (Stewart group IVa). Coins in David's name were struck at the Eden mint, originally continuing with the moneyer Erembald , and later, in a poorer style, with the moneyer Derind. Earl Henry opened his own mint, usually thought to have been at Corbridge-on-Tyne, but Charles Farthing thinks it is possibly Great Corby near Carlisle, again with the moneyer Erembald. Some coins actually has the title Earl (ERL), which until George Boon's book *Stephen and the Anarchy* had always been read as FRE. In Spink's catalogue it still is, which had been interpreted as *Filius Regis,* and which Jeffrey North suggested might have been struck by Henry II's son Henry, the young king who was crowned in Westminster Abbey in 1170 and died in 1183. This specimen also appears in the Coin Register in *BNJ* 2004. Earl Henry also put his own name on the Bamburgh coins, still with the moneyer Willelm. A further mint to open in the degraded phase of Stephen type I copies was Roxburgh, with moneyer Folbold. Roxburgh had been created a royal burgh by David I on his succession in 1124. The name comes from the old English *hrocs,* i.e. rook, meaning castle, as in chess, which comes from Persian.

Early in the 1140s the Scottish mints abandoned Stephen type I and

introduced new types, the earliest of which was Stewart IVc, North 911, with the reverse cross having in its quarters a crescent or annulet containing a pellet, similar to Henry I, type XII. There were only two or three specimens of this type known until the Prestwich hoard of 1972, which produced another 30 specimens, including eight from the mint of Perth, not previously known as a mint before the crescent and pellet coinage of William the Lion. Perth was also created a royal burgh by David I early in his reign. According to *Coin Hoards* 1975 the Prestwich hoard was going to be written up by Miss Marion Archibald and Francis Elmore-Jones, but Marion tells me that it is still some way down her "things to do" list, and as Elmore-Jones died in 1982 at the age of 84 he is unlikely to be contributing to the project. A coin apparently from Perth by the moneyer Baldwin gets me worried when I hear of the moneyer Baldwin. I wonder if there is an equivalent of David Greenhalgh down in the basement of Adelphi Terrace turning them out. Actually this Baldwin was the king's lorimer. I had to look that up and found that a lorimer is a maker of the metal parts of horse harness, which may be a suitable qualification for striking coins (there is a Worshipful Company of Lorimers, associated with the Worshipful Company of Saddlers, still in the City of London). There is an enigmatic subdivision of this type, which was formerly designated as Malcolm IV type V until Lord Stewartby showed that they were actually of David I. They have an obverse legend NERTIVC or thereabouts, and one from the excavations at Whithorn in Dumfries and Galloway, has the mint signature for Roxburgh. The earliest known specimen has a reverse legend FOLPALT:O:NI:CVT, which led Burns to suggest a mint at Jedburgh. Lord Stewartby has suggested that the mint name is an attempt at Newcastle, but the late Joan Murray suggested could it be ICVT for Isola

Cuthberti meaning Durham. In any case it appears to be from that general area, and Folpalt is probably the same as Fobund, who was the moneyer at Durham.

An unusual coin of this period, issued in David's name at Carlisle by the moneyer Erembald has a branch instead of a sceptre in front of the king's face, and three annulets in each quarter of the reverse. It has been suggested that this may be an ecclesiastical issue by William Comyn as Bishop of Carlisle, the branch being perhaps a sprig of cumin as a pun (rebus) on the bishop's name. My dictionary describes cumin as a plant with finely divided leaves and small white or pinkish flowers.

Some time in the 1140s the Scottish coinage was standardised in the cross fleury issue, Stewart group I, struck in Henry's name at Carlisle by the moneyer Willelm, and in David's name at Roxburgh by Hugo, at Berwick by Folpalt, and at St. Andrews, another ecclesiastical mint, moneyer Meinard, mentioned as reeve or provost of St. Andrews in a charter of about 1144. Like many other mint towns St. of the Scottish Church at the Council of Scone in 908 by King Constantine III, who Andrews had been created a royal burgh by David I, but it was established as the seat retired to become a monk and eventually died there. A penny of the moneyer Meinard was illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum,* published in 1899, but it was another eighty years before Dr Eric Harris acquired this specimen and helped to identify the mint as St. Andrews. Finally there are coins, the first specimen of which came to light in the Bute hoard of 1863, with an annulet in place of a pellet in one quarter of the reverse and a mint name apparently beginning HA, and a moneyer ending ART. The Rev. John Hutton Pollexfen suggested that the mint might be Haddington, in East Lothian, about midway between Dalkeith and Dunbar, another of David I's burghs and later the birthplace

of Alexander II, but Burns preferred Hamer, now Whitekirk, also in East Lothian on the coast north of Dunbar. A specimen in the Parsons sale in May 1954 was listed as Haddington, and was bought by Seaby for 10 guineas. It was offered in their *Coin and Medal Bulletin* in November that year at £14, attributed to Hamer. It is now in the Ashmolean Museum, and is listed as Carlisle in *SCBI* 35 on the basis of an article by Lord Stewartby in *BNJ* 1959 suggesting that it was in fact KA, for an alternative spelling of Carlisle.

Henry Earl of Northumberland died on 12 June 1152 and his father David I died at Carlisle less than a year later on 24 May 1153, leaving the throne of Scotland to his eleven-year-old grandson Malcolm IV. A miniature from the Charter of Kelso Abbey of 1159, shows David I and his grandson Malcolm IV side by side. A treaty at Chester in 1157 returned Northumberland and Carlisle to Henry II of England, for whom Carlisle, Newcastle and Durham all struck in Tealby class A, Carlisle and Newcastle still with William Fitzerembald but Durham with a new moneyer, Walter. Malcolm IV's own coins are excessively rare and it is possible that coins continued to be struck with the types of his grandfather. There are two other specimens with the facing portrait, both by the moneyer Hugo at Roxburgh, who had already struck for David I with legend for Hugo on Rocasborg. The Spink catalogue lists Berwick as a mint of Malcolm IV, but the only supposed coin of Malcolm IV from Berwick was in the Bute sale of 1951, which appears less than convincing.

Malcolm IV died on 9 December 1165 and was succeeded by his brother William I, the Lion. William's earliest coins are extremely rare and have a reverse design of a cross with a fleur-de-lis in each angle not unlike David I group IVa, all by the moneyer Hugo at Roxburgh. I think there are four whole specimens plus a cut half in the 1960 Lockett sale,

but there wrongly attributed to David I, and a unique coin with a cross of five pellets in each angle by a moneyer Willame, with the mint signature off the flan but probably struck at Berwick. In 1174 William invaded England to try to recover the territories ceded by his brother Malcolm IV, but was taken captive and forced by the Treaty of Falaise in December 1174 to hand over the castles of Berwick, Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Roxburgh and Stirling. The crescent and pellet coinage, virtually unknown until the discovery of the Dyke hoard in 1780, was introduced around this time, and is divided into two phases, Phase I where the king's sceptre has a cross pattée head as on the English Tealby coinage, and Phase II with a cross pommée sceptre head as on the short cross coinage. The cross pattée series includes dies with moneyers with no mint name, Folpalt, Willame, Raul Derlig, Ailbode and Radulfus. A new mint early in the series, which is represented only by a single whole penny in the British Museum and about three cut halfpence (one of which Tim Crafter tells me turned up on eBay), has the mint-signature Dun, moneyer Raul, which is suggested to be Dunfermline, a favourite royal residence in the twelfth century and the burial place of William the Lion's great-grandparents, Malcolm III and Margaret, as the other feasible alternative, Dumfries, did not come into royal hands until the death of Ralph, Lord of Nithsdale, in 1186. Dunbar, which was suggested by Lord Stewartby in his *Scottish Coinage,* did not become a borough until the fourteenth century. The obverse die from "Dun" was also one of those used at Roxburgh, where the only moneyer was also Raul, and also in its very late stages on the unique cross pattée coin of Edinburgh, moneyer Adam. This was presumably struck after Edinburgh was returned to William as part of the dowry on his marriage to Ermengarde de Beaumont on 5 September 1186 at Woodstock, near Oxford. There are also rare cross pattée coins from Berwick, moneyer Wiliam, but the most prolific cross

pattée mint was Perth, apparently re-opened to compensate for the loss of Roxburgh and Berwick, since it used their moneyers Folpalt and Willame, and closed again when they reopened. Edinburgh struck cross pommée coins with the moneyers Adam and Hue. Berwick and Roxburgh were returned to William by the new English king Richard I on 5 December 1189 on payment of 10,000 merks. Roxburgh struck cross pommée coins with the moneyer Raul (this coin was from the Wingate collection, sold at Sotheby's on 29 November 1875) and the moneyer Raul Derlig. Berwick also had Raul Derlig, plus Adam and Willam, and there was a mysterious new mint, signature ETER, moneyer Walter, which Burns attributed to Stirling. This is etymologically impossible for the period, and the Spink *Standard Catalogue* suggests Perth, where Walter was moneyer in the next coinage, but the late Michael Dolley suggested instead Ederdour, now Redcastle, built by William the Lion about six miles west of Inverness. The actual coin, which was from the Dyke Hoard of 1780 and illustrated in Cardonnel's *Numismata Scotiae* published in 1786, was listed in Seaby's *Bulletin* for August 1951 at £.17.10s.

The short cross coinage was introduced in Scotland later than in England, in 1195. Berwick was dropped and Perth reopened, now with a moneyer Walter, probably the same one with the mysterious mint-signature ETER. [This is another coin from the Wingate sale of 29 November 1875. I was not bidding personally at the sale, both my coins were bought by the dealer William Webster.] Edinburgh continued with Hue, and Roxburgh continued with Raul and added Hugo. The series appears to continue after William's death on 4 December 1214 and an example by the moneyers Hue and Walter at Roxburgh, is unusual in that it has the moneyers' names and mint on the obverse as well as the reverse with no monarch's name.

It was probably not until about 1230 that Alexander's own name appeared on coins, the mint still being Roxburgh, and the moneyers being Pieres, and Alain, and the pairs Alain Andrew, Adam Andrew, and a triple, Andrew Ricard Adam. Near the end of the reign Berwick reopened for the first time since the crescent and pellet coinage of William the Lion, with the moneyer combination Wales Robert.

Alexander II died on 8 July 1249 and was succeeded by his seven-year-old son Alexander III. This was fortunate numismatically, because although Alexander II's portrait was bearded, Alexander III's was not. The short cross coinage of Alexander III was issued by Roxburgh and Berwick. A unique coin, attributed by Burns to an otherwise unknown mint at Kelso, has been identified by the late Robert Stevenson as a joint issue by the three Berwick moneyers Wilam, lohan and Wales, with no mint signature, presumably for lack of room. Another unexpected and unique coin is the very earliest coin of Glasgow by the moneyer Robert, presumably borrowed from Berwick. Burns and others had thought that the mint signature GLA might indicate Glamis, but the discovery of a specimen in the Brussels hoard with the reading GLAS has clinched the attribution to Glasgow. This coin turned up in 1984 at a Glendining's sale of a collection formed over 50 years earlier by a private collector and had apparently lain undetected for all that period. It is the only short cross penny of Glasgow and the only short cross penny with a type II obverse. Since there would have been no reason to open a new royal mint at this stage, its discovery reinforces the theory put forward by Lord Stewartby in his 1971 article on Scottish mints that Glasgow, like St. Andrews and Durham, was an ecclesiastical mint. The long cross coinage was introduced in England in 1247, and Scotland followed suit in 1250, the year following Alexander III's accession. Unlike in England, the serviceable short cross obverse dies were carried over and used with

the new long cross reverses, at Berwick with the moneyers Wales and Robert and at Glasgow with the moneyer Walter. Other mints operating in long cross type II were Perth, reappearing for the first time since William the Lion, this one by the moneyer Ion Cokin, Provost of Perth, Roxburgh with the moneyer Michel (very rare and unknown to Burns), and three brand new mints: Aberdeen, with the moneyer Alexander; Ayr, often spelt with an H, which was read by Burns as an M. This caused him to attribute the coins to Markinch, just north of Kinghorn, and later to Marchmont, an alternative name for Roxburgh, with its only moneyer, Simon (attributed on the ticket in the collection of Dr James Davidson to Arbroath). John Allan had been satisfied with the attribution to Ayr but was unhappy with the aspirate and suggested that it might represent the Germanic Heer, meaning army, these coins being struck at an army mint and the final "A" indicating that it was based at Ayr. The final type II mint was Lanark which also had only one moneyer, Wilam.

Type III is the main recoinage type, and added at least another nine mint signatures to the seven operating in type II. Edinburgh reopened for the first time since William the Lion with the moneyer Alexander. St. Andrews, attributed by Lindsay *(A View of the Coinage of Scotland,* 1845) and Wingate *(Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland,* 1868) as Annan, whilst Burns considered Anstruther as a possibility, reappeared for the first time since David I, with a single moneyer Thomas. Among new mints in type III was one with the mint signature FOR, which Burns suggested could be Forres, or alternatively Forteviot, but is now generally accepted to be Forfar with the moneyer Wilam. Another new mint was Inverness, moneyer Gefrai, now universally accepted, although Lindsay, in his *View of the Coinage of Scotland* (1845) attributed one of the coins to Inchaffray Abbey in Perthshire. Also not in doubt is Kinghorn, moneyer Wilam, which is now thought also to have been the mint for the

coins formerly attributed to Renfrew , moneyer Walter. Another new mint was Stirling, moneyer Henri. The mint was in the castle in the gatehouse at the north-east entrance in front of the Great Hall. DUN, which Burns attributed to Dunbar, was followed by Ian Stewart in *The Scottish Coinage,* but which he now thinks may be Dumfries, the moneyer Walter. Another new mint signature was FRES, which Burns put to Forres, again followed by Ian Stewart in *The Scottish Coinage,* but which he now thinks is probably another mint signature for Dumfries, also being by Walter. Forres is now ruled out because of die links with Roxburgh. The problem with DUN and FRES both being Dumfries is that DUN is used in types III and IV and FRES in types III, VII and VIII, and if they are the same mint it is difficult to see why Walter was still using DUN in type IV if he had already introduced FRES in type III. A single reverse die from the moneyer Walter, die-linked to coins of the same moneyer from DUN, FRES and Glasgow, appears to read MUN and has been attributed to Montrose. A puzzling reverse is one used with obverses of types III and VI, which appears to read WILANERTER.. A specimen in the Lockett sale was attributed to Lanark, presumably due to reading it as TERWILANER, but Lanark is always spelt with an A in the second syllable. Both the obverses with which it is paired were also used by Nicol at Edinburgh, so if they were not actually minted in Edinburgh it must have been somewhere in that area.

England switched from the long voided cross to the long single cross in 1279, when the introduction of a plentiful supply of round halfpennies and farthings removed the necessity to cut pennies into halves and quarters, and Scotland followed suit almost immediately. No mint signatures appear on Alexander III's long single cross coinage, but the mints are thought to be indicated by the total number of points on the mullets or stars on the reverse. On the pennies there are a total of nine

combinations, ranging from 20 to 28, halfpennies have the symbols only in two quarters, the totals being ten and twelve, and farthings all have 24. From the evidence of the following reign it can be deduced that 24 points represents Berwick and 22 St. Andrews. From their frequency it is assumed that 26 points is Perth and 25 is Roxburgh. After that it becomes increasingly speculative: 20 points is usually given to Edinburgh and 23 to Aberdeen, whereas 21, 27 and 28 may be Dumfries, Ayr and Glasgow, although not necessarily in that order.

Alexander III died in a fall from his horse on 19 March 1286, and having been predeceased by both his sons, the throne passed to his two-year-old granddaughter Margaret, daughter of Eric II of Norway by Alexander III's daughter Margaret, who had died in childbirth. Margaret's position as Queen of Scots was taken seriously, and in July 1290 a Treaty was signed at Birgham in the Scottish borders betrothing the six-year-old queen to six-year-old Edward of Caernarfon, the future Edward II. Unfortunately two months later Margaret died on the passage to Scotland and the throne was left without a clear successor, the choice of which was left to Edward I of England as the various Scottish factions were unable to agree. The history books usually say something to the effect that there were more than a dozen contenders for the throne, of which the principal ones were John Balliol and Robert Bruce, so I thought it would be interesting to find out who the others were. There were 13 claimants in all: Eric II of Norway, who claimed as the father and sole heir of his infant daughter Margaret; an illegitimate great-grandson of Alexander II; five illegitimate descendants of William the Lion; a claimed illegitimate descendant of Henry, Earl of Northumberland; a legitimate great-great-great-great-grandson of Donald Bane, the younger son of Duncan I; Floris V, Count of Holland, who was the great-great-great-grandson of a legitimate daughter of Henry Ear I of

37

Northumberland, and John Balliol, Robert Bruce and Henry Hastings, second Baron Hastings - respectively grandson, son and grandson of Margaret, Isabella and Ada, first, second and fourth legitimate daughters of David Earl of Huntingdon, youngest son of Henry Earl of Northumberland. Edward's choice fell upon John Balliol, who was enthroned at Scone on 30 November 1292, and although the Scottish histories always make out that Edward rigged the contest because he thought John Balliol would be his poodle, in fact the choice was the correct one by modern rules of succession. Although Robert Bruce was closer in being only two generations from David, Earl of Huntingdon, John Balliol was chosen because his grandmother was senior to Robert Bruce's mother. It is as if now there was a disputed succession between Prince William and Viscount Linley. Prince William would get it, even though Viscount Linley is a generation closer to King George VI. No coins were issued in the name of the child Margaret, and the existence of mules between pennies of Alexander III and John Balliol suggests that her grandfather's coinage continued to be issued during the six years following his death. The first coinage of John Balliol consists of pennies with no mint signature with 24 points, presumed to have been struck at Berwick, together with halfpennies and farthings, and pennies and halfpennies from the Bishop's mint at St. Andrews. These have 22 points, which is why that number of points is reckoned to be St. Andrews in the second coinage of Alexander III. The St. Andrews coins of John Balliol are the only Scottish coins to use the designation "civitas" for "city", which is standard on English coins. In John Balliol's second coinage, coins of both mints have only 20 points, so it appears the system of indicating mints by the number of points on the reverse stars had come to an end. As in the first coinage, all three denominations are known from Berwick but only pennies and halfpennies from St. Andrews.

John Balliol was forced to renounce the throne on 10 July 1296 and Berwick was captured by Edward I, striking coins for Edward I and II until recaptured by the Scots in 1318, from when it is assumed to have been the mint for the pennies, halfpennies and farthings in the name of Robert Bruce, grandson of the Robert Bruce who had been a contender for the throne in 1292, who had been crowned king at Scone on 25 March 1306. Robert Bruce died on 7 June 1329 and was succeeded by his five-year-old son David II. David II's earliest coinage consists only of halfpennies and farthings, and is assumed to have been struck at Berwick before that city's recapture by the English in 1333, after which it struck pennies, halfpennies and farthings in the name of Edward III, with a bear's head in one quarter of the reverse. On a farthing of David II's first coinage the obverse reads MONETA REGIS D and the reverse AVID SCOTOR, coin of King D / avid of the Scots. It is not unusual for a coin inscription to continue from the obverse to the reverse, but it does not usually happen in the middle of a word, especially if that word happens to be the king's name. After the loss of Berwick there was an issue of pennies, halfpennies and farthings, probably at Edinburgh. David II was captured by the English at the battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham, in 1346, and held prisoner until 1357, and on his release he reformed the coinage closer to Edward III's model. He introduced a gold noble, very similar to that of Edward Ill, and two new silver denominations, the groat and halfgroat. No Scottish gold coins ever bore mint names, but there is no evidence that any were struck other than at Edinburgh. David restored mint names on the silver coins, with groats, halfgroats and pennies from both Edinburgh and Aberdeen. There is a halfpenny with the Edinburgh mintname which has appeared in the latest edition of the Spink catalogue with an "A" catalogue number but in fact it was illustrated in Snelling's *A View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Scotland* in 1774, and Lindsay, in

his 1845 *A View of the Coinage of Scotland,* quoted it as being in the collection of the Reverend Joseph Martin. However Burns did not believe in it, and when it was sold in the Walters collection in 1932 it was described as a forgery, but Lord Stewartby, who now owns the coin, argued in *BNJ* 2000 that a coin should not be condemned merely because it is unique, and cited the London groat which is our Club's emblem in support. David II died on 22 February 1371 and was succeeded by Robert II, the son of his half-sister Marjorie Stewart and the first of the Stewart dynasty.

Robert II did not mint at Aberdeen, but struck groats, halfgroats, pennies and halfpennies at Edinburgh, Dundee (which so far as is known had never previously been a mint), and Perth, back as a mint for the first time since Alexander III. The first apparent Perth halfpenny only recently came to light in the collection of the late David Rogers. Robert II died on 19 April 1390 and was succeeded by his son John, Earl of Carrick, who took the title of Robert III.

Robert III's reign is noted numismatically for the introduction of two new gold denominations, the lion worth five shillings, and the demy-lion, and the reintroduction of a facing portrait for the first time since Malcolm IV, although Lord Stewartby points out that the changes may in fact have been made at the end of the reign of Robert II. He struck groats, halfgroats, pennies and halfpennies at Edinburgh and Perth, groats and pennies at Aberdeen, and a very rare groat from Dumbarton, the only occasion on which Dumbarton appears as a mint. In 1402 Walter Danielston, the keeper of Dumbarton Castle, was elected Bishop of St. Andrews, and it would seem to be in connection with this event that minting occurred at Dumbarton, possibly in exercise of his minting rights as Bishop of St. Andrews. Robert III died on 4 April 1406 and was succeeded by his son James I.

James had been captured by the English at sea off Flamborough Head on his way to France shortly before his father's death, and so the government of Scotland was in the hands of his uncle, Robert, Duke of Albany, until his death in 1420, and his cousin Murdac until James's release in 1424. During the period of James' captivity there were no groats or halfgroats, but pennies were struck at Aberdeen at the beginning of the reign, pennies and halfpennies at Edinburgh, and pennies at Inverness, possibly struck at the time of the rebuilding of the city in 1411, the first time Inverness had been a mint since the reign of Alexander III. Immediately on James's release he reformed the coinage, with groats, known as fleur-de-lis groats from the fleur-de-lis in two quarters of the reverse and tariffed at sixpence, struck at Edinburgh, Perth, and a new mint in the newly rebuilt palace at Linlithgow, Linlithgow means "Lake of the Broad Hollow" or "Lake of the Grey Dog". It was at Linlithgow that James was visited by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, in 1428, who commented that Scottish women were "fair in complexion, comely and pleasing, though not distinguished for their chastity". (The coin illustrated had belonged to Robert Carfrae, one time curator of the museum of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, who had paid nine shillings [45p] for it. When the collection was sold by Chapman's of Edinburgh on 14 March 1883, Adam Black Richardson, Liter curator of coins in the National Museum in Edinburgh, paid £3.10s tor it. so a handsome profit for Mr. Carfrae.]

Stirlin[g] also returned as a mint for the first time since Alexander III. It was James I who banned football in Scotland, an act of 1424 stating "it is statut and the king forbiddis that na man play at the fut ball under the payne of iiijd." There were no fleur-de-lis halfgroats, but pennies and halfpennies were struck at Edinburgh and pennies at Inverness, the last time Inverness operated as a mint. James I was

assassinated on 21 February 1437 and was succeeded by his son James II, who continued the fleur-de-lis coinage virtually unchanged until 1451, expanding production at Stirling to include pennies.

In the recoinage of 1451 the weight of the groat was increased and the fleur-de-lis in the reverse cross replaced by crowns and it was retariffed at twelve pence. Groats were struck at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Perth and Stirling, and halfgroats and pennies at Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Perth. In 1460 James laid siege to Roxburgh, which had been in English hands since the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, and struck some rare groats there. There is also an unique penny of Roxburgh, which first appeared in the Cochran-Patrick sale of 1936 listed under James I, and was then in the 1957 Lockett sale, correctly attributed to James II but described as a halfpenny. However James II was accidentally killed by a cannon exploding during the siege of Roxburgh on 3 August 1460, and was succeeded by his son James III.

Most of James III's coinage was struck at Edinburgh, probably including the Crux pellit coins attributed by Sir George Macdonald to a mint at Crosraguel Abbey and by Robert Stevenson to Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews. Exceptions however were groats and halfgroats minted at Berwick, which had been returned to Scotland by Henry VI in return for their support in his wars against the Yorkists, and groats at Aberdeen, possibly on the occasion of the king's visit there in April 1488. James III was killed after the battle of Sauchieburn on 11 June 1488 and was succeeded by his son James IV. All James IV's coinage is from Edinburgh, but he built the palace of Holyroodhouse for his wife Margaret Tudor, and minting could have begun there by 1502, in which year there is a payment recorded for "bering of the cunzee irnis fra the Abbay to the Castell", and in 1504 the moneyer at that time, Matthew Auchinleck, is recorded as a burgess of Canongate, rather than being of

Edinburgh, where other moneyers were. From the reign of James V to James VI minting seems to have been undertaken both at the palace and at the castle since accounts exist referring to both establishments. From about November 1526 the designation of the city was changed from *Villa Edinburgh* to *Oppidum Edinburgi.* This was not a change in the status of the city but the influence of the Renaissance and the introduction of the classical *oppidum* in preference to the mediaeval Latin *villa.* It was Ian Stewart in *The Scottish Coinage* in 1955 who realised that the change from Villa to Oppidum could be used to establish the sequence of the coins; Burns had Villa and Oppidum groats interspersed almost randomly. The last Scottish coins to bear a mint name other than Edinburgh were the Stirling bawbees of Mary minted between July and November 1544 under the direction of James V's widow, Mary of Guise. After the abdication of Mary in 1567 her supporters held on to the castle until 1573 and continued to use the mint there, striking ryals, two-thirds ryals, third-ryals and placks in Mary's name, and nobles and half nobles in the name of James VI. Meanwhile the king's mint was transferred for safety to the castle at Dalkeith, seat of the Regent, the Earl of Morton. Joan Murray and Dr David Rampling wrote a couple of articles in *BNJ* for 1989 and 1991 distinguishing the Marian Edinburgh coinage from the Jacobean Dalkeith one. There is also a reference to the Marian faction having struck coins at Lochmaben. In 1573 the king's mint was returned from Dalkeith to Holyrood, but by 1581 it was located in Cowgate, where it remained for the rest of its existence. In June 1585 as a result of a plague in Edinburgh instructions were given for the mint to move to Dundee, and for the inscription on the billon coins, which were the only ones still to carry a mint name, to be changed from *Oppidum Edinburgi* to *Oppidum Dundie.* No coins are known with *Oppidum Dundie* and so it seems that no eight-penny groats or placks were struck at this time, and

although lion nobles and two-thirds lion nobles and 30 and 20 shilling pieces are known with the date 1585 there is no way of telling which, if any, were struck in Dundee.

By October the plague had reached Dundee and similar instructions were given for the mint to move to Perth, and for the inscription on the billon coins to be changed to *Oppidum Perth*. Again no such billon coins are known and it is probable that the mint was able to return to Edinburgh before the Perth premises were fully viable. The last coins to bear the mint name *Oppidum Edinburgi* were the copper pennies and twopences issued in 1597. In 1650, the year following the execution of Charles I, twopences in the name of King Charles were struck at Edinburgh, and following the coronation of Charles II at Scone in 1651 funds were provided for the repair of the mint at Dundee, but later the same year Charles went into exile and no more Scottish coins were struck until 1663.

The Edinburgh mint was closed from 1682 to 1687 because of alleged irregularities, and following the Act of Union in 1707 coinage was struck on the English model but distinguished by a letter E beneath the bust of Queen Anne. Article XVI of the Act of Union provided "that from and after the Union, the coin shall be of the same standard and value throughout the United Kingdom, as now in England, and a mint shall be continued in Scotland, under the same rules as the mint in England, and the present officers of the mint continued." Although the last coins to be struck at the Edinburgh mint were halfcrowns and shillings dated 1709, indentures for coinage at the Tower mint continued to provide for trial plates to be supplied to Edinburgh up to 1770, and salaries of the officers of the Scottish mint were paid until 1819. Punches and dies were made in 1711 for the "maundy" silver denominations, fourpence, threepence, twopence and penny, and in 1718 and 1723 Royal warrants were issued

authorising "our moneys of gold and silver to be coined in our said Scottish Mint", and in 1735 the General of the Scottish Mint submitted a memorial to the British Treasury proposing to coin 60 or 70 tons of halfpence and farthings at the Scottish mint.

In 1753 the mint was reopened to strike medals for the anti-Jacobite Revolution Club, and probably other medals also. An Act of Parliament of 7 July 1817 provided that "offices in the Mint of Scotland shall, from and after the respective terminations of the present existing interests therein respectively, be held by the officers respectively discharging in England duties corresponding to the duties of such offices, without any additional salary, fee or emolument in respect thereof" and for "the buildings appropriated to the Mint in Scotland to be sold". The mint buildings were pulled down in 1877 and the site occupied by a school.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 6 June 2006

This was a Members' Own evening to which a number of members contributed talks, illustrated either by slides or actual specimens.

David Powell gave a brief introduction to the series of lunar phase calendar medals, 1742-1834, to which he had been led by an interest in mathematical astronomy. These are a contiguous series following a theme introduced by Turner and thereafter taken up by Messrs Powell, Davies, Kempson, Ingram and Halliday, with a number of other manufacturers and foreign adaptations, mostly of short duration, intruding.

The pieces are typically 37-42mm in diameter and, in addition to a table for determining which days of a month fall on which days of the

week, come packed with data on such subjects as the legal and ecclesiastical calendars, lunar phases and eclipses. To the numismatist uninterested in the data itself one piece may often look very much like another, but there is a distinct evolution with many changes, during which many different features come and go. The details are too lengthy to enumerate here, but in a few minutes David tried to enthuse us the meeting by describing and illustrating some of them.

David discussed his attempted verification of the medallic lunar data against that of known astronomical ephemera obtained from the internet, commenting on the relative accuracy of the main manufacturers; he thought Kempson (1796-1826) better than Powell (1746-1782) and Davies (1782-1801) in this particular, and wondered how, given that some of the legal and ecclesiastical data was also in error, the latter manufacturers kept in business. He concluded that perhaps the market was mainly for presentation pieces, perhaps used like business cards or compliments slips, rather than for the conveyance of serious information. He next went on to explain such phenomena as the repeated patterns of lunar phase dates every 19 years, in consequence of that period equating almost exactly to 235 cycles of the moon, and the slightly different lengths of lunar months at different times of the year (range 29.26 to 29.80 days) occasioned by where the earth was in its slightly elliptical orbit around the sun. He also introduced the concept of the "blue" moon, the name given to the double occurrence of a given phase within the same calendar month, and of the blank month (invariably February, or September 1752), where a given phase did not occur at all. This led to discussion of how different manufacturers dealt with, or experimented in dealing with, these and other statistical phenomena. The answers are many and various; David hopes one day he will be able to

write it up more fully; to which end, he would welcome hearing from anyone regarding the data present on those pieces which he has not yet seen.

Robert Hatch, the Club's Honorary Secretary, showed a large silver coin of Menelek II of Abyssinia, 1889-1913. Robert said: 'I bought my coin from Robert Johnson's £3 tray in November 1989. He did not think it to be genuine, but I was happy to pay £3 for such a marvellous crown-size portrait piece. Obverse: Crowned Emperor's head facing right; reverse: A crowned lion, left foreleg raised, cross and banner over left shoulder.

I believed it to be a one talari piece, but it turned out to be a one birr, or *yabirr: temun* in Amharic. In the BM Coins & Medals Department, Heidi Cutts translated the obverse legend (in Ge'ez) around the image of Menelek for me: *Dagmawi: Menilek: Negus: Nagast: Za Ityopiya* – 'Emperor Menelek II of Ethiopia. The reverse legend, around the lion, read: *Moa: Anbasa: Ha Amnagada: Yahud* – 'Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah'.

For various reasons the coin was not thought to be genuine although the design was quite close to some of the genuine coins/medallions of the time.

Menelek II was proclaimed to be a descendant of the legendary Queen of Sheba and King Solomon. Menelek was the overshadowing figure of his time in Africa. He converted a group of fiercely independent kingdoms into the strong, stable empire known as the United States of Abyssinia (Ethiopia). His feat of pulling together several kingdoms which were often fiercely opposed to each other earned him a place as one of the great statesmen of African history. His further accomplishments in dealing on the international scene with world powers, coupled with his stunning victory over the Italians in the Battle of Adwa in 1896, when

Italy attempted to invade his country, placed him amongst the great leaders of world history and maintained his country's independence until 1935.

John Roberts-Lewis gave a short talk on a recently acquired medallion. His numismatic and archaeological interests often came together and, although it might seem unlikely, it would also be the case this evening. Explaining further, he went on to tell us that whilst on a visit to Hadrian's Wall he bought some lunch at the Housteads Roman Fort shop, and a couple of bottles of Ginger Beer to go with the food. Fentimans of Newcastle upon Tyne were promoting a competition to win a 1905 gold sovereign as well as a specially produced coin to celebrate their centenary. John didn't win one of the 50 gold sovereigns on offer, but he did obtain one of the coins, which he classified as a commemorative medallion.

Regrettably there was nothing further with the medallion about the firm, though its website revealed that Fentimans was a beer brewer as well as a manufacturer of soft drinks.

Whilst giving a light-hearted account John said that he would like to enter the item into numismatic literature via the Club's Newsletter. The description of the medallion was:

38mm diam; plain edge, wt 24.8grs, probably made of cupro-nickel, and produced by the 'spark' erosion method.

Obverse: Head of an Alsatian dog, left. FENTIMANS incuse below.

Reverse: FENTIMANS / 7.5mm circle within obverse (dog's ears protrude) / 1905 — 2005 in 'cartouche' / in two lines below: A CENTURY OF /BOTANICALLY BREWED DRINKS (both curved).

The competition told us the dog's name, the firm's mascot, is Fearless.

Alan Tyler exhibited and spoke on some Holy Land coinage. Unfortunately, he said, he had no ancient Jewish or Crusader coins, and those shown were all acquired in change during his service in the area.

As part of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish coins were used in Palestine until the British occupation of 1917. Turkish currency was 40 paras to a piastre, and 100 piastres to the Turkish gold pound. All coins showed the Sultan's accession date on the reverse under the value, with the year of his reign on the obverse under his toughra or monogram. For instance, the 3rd year of the reign of Mohammad V who acceded in the Moslem year 1329, or 1909, was 1911.

Egypt was still nominally part of the Ottoman Empire until 1914 and issued identical coins to those of Turkey except for the Arabic word *Misr* for Egypt on the reverse above the Sultan's accession date, and the reign year above *Misr*. When Turkey declared war on the Allies in 1914 the link was broken by the British occupation and the issue of new coins dated 1916 and 1917 at 1000 milliiemes or 100 old piastres to one Egyptian pound.

All these Egyptian coins were introduced into Palestine with the British army as the two currencies had been linked before the war, and the Egyptian coins continued in use following the issue of the first coins of King Fuad of an independent Egypt in 1924.

The first coins of Palestine were issued by The British Mandatory Government in 1927 based on 1000 mils to the Palestine pound linked to sterling, though the Egyptian pound stood at 20 shillings and six pence and was soon withdrawn. The Palestine coin designs, inscribed in English, Arabic and Hebrew, remained unaltered until the end of the Mandate in 1948.

Israel produced a 25-mil piece in 1948 – a value not in the Mandatory range – and then a complete set from one to 250 pruta in 1949

based on 1000 pruta, the equivalent of mils, to the Israeli pound. The designs were based on coins of the Hasmonean Jewish rulers before the Roman occupation. Inflation led to the introduction of the agora at 100 to the pound in 1960, followed by the shekel, and finally the new shekels in the 1980s.

Egyptian Ottoman, British occupation, Fuad and Farouk coins continued circulating together in Egypt until after the Second World War, so my school boy bun penny collecting continued by amassing this representative collection which I mounted for display with my relevant stamp collections.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 4 July 2006

This evening's guest speaker was Nigel Mills, a well known antiquities dealer and the author of several very useful illustrated and price-guided books (via Greenlight Publishing) on antiquities of periods ranging from the Bronze Age to medieval times. Nigel said :

My interest in the medieval period developed as a result of my mudlarking activities. The first search of the Thames foreshore I made was back in February 1973. I was 15 years old at the time, and after a lot of persuasion I had finally convinced my father that it was possible to find old coins by the side of London's river by using just your eyes and a trowel [see Editorial note 1]..

A Sunday morning therefore found us on the foreshore by Southwark Bridge. We spent several hours walking up and down staring at the wet, slimy mud that seemed to cover everything. No coins turned up and, in fact, the only find made was an iron horse shoe that my father spotted and picked up. After two weeks we returned to try again, this time

choosing the foreshore near to Blackfriars Bridge. According to the "Treasure Hunting News" section of *Coin Monthly* magazine, this area of the Thames had produced old coins for a number of lucky searchers. Three hours of scouring the rocks and gravel produced just two small bottles. These looked quite old to me, but I was later to find out that they were, in fact, fairly modern.

By now my father was satisfied that it was impossible to find anything on the Thames foreshore. I must admit that I had some doubts of my own, but I resolved to keep trying. The situation took an upturn when my father agreed to buy me a metal detector - a Questor Mk.IV. Although this machine would appear quite primitive in comparison to today's models, it was of an Induction Balance type and it was to prove both reliable and robust. At about this time I also answered an advertisement in *Coin Monthly* requesting partners with whom to go detecting. A meeting was arranged for those who had replied, and in March 1973 a detecting trip was organised to search Shenfield Common, in Essex. Amongst the people present I met a chap called Terry, who had found a Victorian gold half-sovereign just a few weeks earlier and who was still very excited about his find. We exchanged telephone numbers and over the next few weeks made searches of Southend Beach and Brentwood Common. The results were fairly disappointing, consisting of just a few modern coins along with quite a lot of junk.

Whenever we met another treasure hunter, we always asked whether he would like to team up with us; although some expressed interest at the time, we heard from none of these people afterwards. At the beginning of April, Terry suggested that as the tides were very low it might be worth making a search of the Thames foreshore. He knew an area at in front of the Festival Hall where it was possible to detect without being bothered by too much rubbish and find Georgian and Victorian coins.

This was my first attempt to use a detector on the Thames foreshore and I found six coins (all modern) over two low tides. Terry had better success and managed to find a bronze Victorian halfpenny, which, in those days, was quite an exciting discovery. The fact that we had found anything at all was enough to bring us back, and during the Easter holidays - when there were lower tides - I found a total of 20 coins over a period of two days. I was now beginning to develop a technique for using my detector in such conditions, and was able to recognise, and listen for, the right type of signal that indicated a non-ferrous find. Another trip to the Festival Hall area at the beginning of May produced 17 coins including a pewter forgery of a Victorian Gothic florin.

While I was detecting I met a chap named John, who was working the same stretch of foreshore. As it turned out, John lived near to me and was very enthusiastic about the hobby. He joined us on the following day and was present when I found an 1 8ct wedding ring.... My first piece of gold! Terry suggested that the three of us should try digging at Queenhithe Dock in the City. He said that he had seen people searching there for old clay tobacco pipes.

The following weekend we arrived on the Queenhithe foreshore, all armed with forks and shovels rather than our detectors. We each selected a different area to try and then started to dig. At first we found nothing but broken stems, but as the tide receded we found a patch of silt containing some pipe bowls. These were stained, and of a somewhat plain design, but some had initials incised into the spurs. These clay pipes fascinated me as they represented the oldest objects I had so far found. They were all 17th and 18th century in date, with the smallest bowls being the earliest. We started digging down deeper in a frantic effort to find as many as possible before the tide turned.

At this point something unexpected happened. John shouted out that

he had found a coin. I scrambled over to take a look and saw that it was a Charles II copper farthing, bright and shiny (as are many copper or bronze coins found on the Thames foreshore) and with the detail quite clear. John was shaking with excitement and it seemed incredible to us that it was possible to have found such an old coin. About half an hour later John found a second coin, this one being a brass 17th century trader's token in excellent condition. At this point we came to realise that the finding of the first coin had not been just a fluke, and we all became anxious to return for another dig in the hope of further finds of this nature.

At this time both John and I were taking exams. So it was not possible to make an immediate return. On our third trip to Queenhithe, however, it was my turn to find a Charles II farthing. This, and our previous finds, proved that it was possible to find old coins on the foreshore and I couldn't wait to get home and show my father my great discovery.

It is strange to look back on those first days, and the overwhelming excitement that came from finding a coin that would pretty much be taken for granted should it be found in present times. The Thames foreshore became another world for us, where it was possible to indulge our fantasies of finding treasure. The three of us became regular searchers of the Thames foreshore and on meeting other Thames mudlarks began to hear stories of all the wonderful discoveries which had been made here in the past. Reading Igor Noel Hume's book *Treasure in the Thames* (Muller, 1956) we marveled at all the pilgrims' badges, daggers, and rings that had been found on the foreshore in the past and were now in museum collections.

We all felt that it was too late for us, and that the Victorian mudlarks new generation with new ideas and as the years went by our finds rate continued to multiply and we in turn inspired others to become mudlarks. One of the great thrills of treasure hunting is researching into the

background of the finds you make, and becoming aware of the significance, rarity, and even value of individual objects. Each find, however humble, has a story to tell and is a small piece of the giant jigsaw that is the past. Finds can tell you much about the people who lived and worked in an area, and the more finds you make the clearer that picture becomes.

On the Thames foreshore within the City of London area, the period that began to fascinate and dominate many mudlarks (including myself) was medieval. Even today, I still have a great interest in and love for that age in our history.

In 1851 Henry Mayhew, a journalist living in London, published a book entitled *London Labour and the London Poor*. This detailed the various trades people were involved in, and the characters who frequented Dickensian London. Included amongst these, and illustrated by means of a line drawing, is the original "mudlark". The illustration shows a boy aged about nine, and the book describe show such characters would search the river foreshore at low tide looking for bits of coal, rags, bones and nails. These would then be sold and by this means it was possible to earn between a penny and four pence per day.

The boy interviewed and described by Mayhew waded through the mud with no shoes on, and his torn garments were stiffened like boards from dirt of every possible description. The boy stated that he had been mudlarking since he was six years old, and reckoned that he would remain a mudlark all his life. He could not read nor write, and knew nothing about religion. He gave all the money he made to his mother as it was needed to buy bread to feed family.

Mayhew comments that these creatures were the most deplorable in appearance of any he had met. He said that at the stairs leading down to the foreshore it was possible to see crowds of little boys and girls, waiting for the tide to recede so that they could begin work. According to Mayhew they hardly spoke to anyone, and appeared dull and unintelligent. All were from very poor families, were orphans, or were totally destitute. Mayhew estimated that there were some 550 mudlarks engaged in working the Thames.

Not all mudlarks were children. Mayhew comments that there were old women amongst their number bent double with age or infirmity. They would grope amongst the wet mud for pieces of coal or wood, trying to fill their baskets before the tide covered the foreshore again.

A more lucrative form of searching took place in the open sewers that could be entered at the riverside. In these gangs of "sewers hunters" could be found. They were nicknamed "Toshers" a word derived from the pieces of copper and brass they found and which they called "tosh". Mayhew describes the typical Tosher as wearing a velveteen coat, canvas trousers, and old shoes. Some carried bags on their back to help them in their work and all carried a pole some 7 or 8ft long, on which was an iron hoe. This would be used to test the firmness of the ground, and if they sunk in some quagmire it could also be used to help drag themselves out.

The sewer hunters had to have knowledge of the tides, and know where things were carried by the action of the water. They had to be careful of rats, which would sometimes attack humans, and beware of cave-ins of the brickwork. The smaller sewers were considered to be too dangerous to work as a result of the extremely foul air. Using a lantern and raking the mud, sewer hunters were often very successful in their finds. Sometimes they would come upon a rusted mass, looking like a rock but actually a conglomerate containing coins, nails, and pieces of

iron. They were even known to contain an occasional gold sovereign or half-sovereign which had been washed into the sewer from cesspits or the drains of houses.

After a day's searching the sewer hunters would divide their spoils or "whack" between themselves. A Tosher could earn between 30 shillings and £2 on a good day, and Mayhew estimated that there were about 200 of them working London's sewers.

Mayhew states that Toshers rarely saved money and spent most of their earnings in alehouses. As a result of this they had lodgings in the most wretched parts of the city. An intriguing comment made by Mayhew is that sewer hunters were generally strong, robust and healthy, and rarely became ill. Some were between 60 and 80 years of age, and had searched the sewers all their lives. They believed that it was the odours of the sewers that somehow contributed to their well being.

Sewers hunters were not known to each other by their real names but all had nick-names such as "Lanky Bill" or "One-Eyed George".

I personally regard the Toshers as the most interesting of all the colourful characters described by Mayhew. Although they were not looking for medieval artefacts, their technique knowledge and individuality show many parallels to the mudlarks of today.

In 1976 a group of mudlarks, including myself, found an exposed and disused sewer during the early building development of Docklands. It dated from the 1860s and had become silted up. It was quite a small sewer, being only about 3ft in diameter. By breaking away the roof section we were able to work about 20ft of its length.

The silt at the bottom was black and very hard; some sections, in fact, were almost like concrete. In the silt we found fused balls containing pins, nails and coins - just like the original mudlarks claimed they had found. We smashed open the lumps using rocks, and found that each one

contained farthings and halfpennies dating to the 1850s. These copper coins were all very corroded but one lump contained a Victorian Young Head half-sovereign.

Besides the conglomerated lumps, the sewer was littered with broken glass bottles and fragments of wine glasses. Other finds included pewter spoons, buttons, buckles and for some reason pewter dolls' house window frames with parts of the wooden house remaining attached. The whole exercise gave an interesting insight into the delights of sewer hunting in Victorian times.

When Mayhem comments on the appalling state the mudlarks got themselves in, little has changed. When you are carrying out searches of this type mud gets caked all over you. This smells awful to those not used to it, but seems to do no harm to your health, as some of the more elderly mudlarks will testify.

Another similarity between the Victorian and modern mudlarks is the use of nicknames. In the 1970s I did not know the real names of many of my fellow mudlarks, and we used to refer to each other by such names as "Bill Sykes", "Suit", "Green Overalls" or "Billy Liar".

In the years 1850 to 1880, London was going through a stage of massive development with new wharves, embankments, and docks being built along the Thames. This, together with the extensive dredging of the river to create deeper channels resulted in an amazing array of finds of all ages. From the Roman period alone from the area of London Bridge, discoveries included a silver figure of Harpocrates bound with a golden chain found in 1825; a bronze ritual clamp probably used to castrate male worshippers of the goddess Cybele and decorated with ten busts of deities, found in 1856, and a magnificent colossal bronze head of Hadrian found in 1848..

Many of the workmen involved in these building projects unearthed

items that they found could be readily sold to antiquities collectors. The mudlarks and toshers working the Thames foreshore must have also started to look for older objects once they realised the value of what could be found.

There were two eminent collectors at that period, and between them they purchased most of the material recovered. As a result, the men concerned - Thomas Layton and Charles Roach Smith - both built up formidable collections.

The Layton collection consisted of material mainly recovered from the upper reaches of the Thames, and included over 30 Bronze Age swords – much of the collection eventually reached the London Museum after Layton's death in 1911. The Roach Smith collection centred more on finds from the City area, and he tried to be present whenever dredging operations were under way. His Roman collection later formed the nucleus of the Romano-British Gallery at the British Museum. He also published details of his collection in a catalogue in 1854, which was more informative than anything else available at the time. The British Museum at this period seemed more interested in acquiring classical antiquities from abroad than anything else, and had largely ignored English objects (especially Saxon and medieval).

During this present century both the London and Guildhall Museum have monitored Thames finds. In the pre-war years G.F. Lawrence acquired antiquities for the London Museum by watching building excavations, and paying well for any interesting items recovered.

From the late 1940s into the early 1950s, Ivor Noel Hume (an archaeologist associated with the Guildhall Museum) spent a great deal of time searching the City foreshore and recorded his experiences in his book *Treasure in the Thames* (published 1956). He was a successful surface searcher and made all his finds using just his eyes and a trowel.

The book also records all known important Thames finds up to the period of its publication.

Most of the material recovered by Hume was of 16th to18th century date, with some Roman and a small amount of medieval finds. Out of the 250 coins he found on the Thames foreshore, only nine were of medieval date. Mudlarking had become a very popular pastime in the years just after the Second World War, and surface finds were scarce even then.

My own involvement with the two museums, began first with the Guildhall Museum and then the London Museum (the two museums merged in 1976 to become the Museum of London). Gaining an expert opinion on our finds was to become as enjoyable to us as their initial discovery.

Early in 1974 I wrote to Brian Spencer who, at that time, was a curator in the London Museum. I enclosed some drawings of finds that I believed to be pilgrim badges. In the summer of that year I made the first of what was to be many trips to see him and have my finds recorded.

Over the following year most of the active mudlarks were brought in to see him, and he was always most helpful. His expertise on pilgrim badges was widely acknowledged, but his enthusiasm for the medieval period in general was infectious and we strove to find things just to take in and show him. He was always prepared to make time to see us. Brian also instilled in us a sense of responsibility for the objects we were finding. He became our teacher and was respected by all the mudlarks around at that time. As a result many finds were donated to the London Museum during this period, or loaned for exhibition. [See Editorial note 2.]

This was the happy status quo for several years, and was of benefit to both mudlarks and the museum. The searching techniques we used would vary from surface searching to digging. This was sometimes using

a metal detector or sometimes just sieving. Different areas of the Thames required their own search methods. While searching at Southwark Bridge using a standard plastic sieve I saw something fall through the sieve that looked of interest. On closer inspection I noticed that it was a jet bead carved with three scallop shells. It dated from the late 15th century. I realised that the bead, from its small size, could not be prevented from falling through the sieve and this encouraged me to bind wire through the holes in the sieve to make the mesh finer. Numerous beads of bone, wood, jet and even amber were found. All of these would previously have been missed.

One of the problems of not using a metal detector is that items can be easily damaged by a garden fork. In 1975 I found my first pilgrim's lead ampulla. While digging the foreshore at a depth of only six inches I noticed that something had become jammed on one of the prongs of my fork. Upon prising the object free I found myself looking at an intact and sealed ampulla from Walsingham. The only damage was a large gaping hole right through the middle of it caused by my fork prong..

Learning about the tides and movement of objects on the foreshore caused me to experiment by leaving discs in different positions to see if they moved. What was evident was that they merely sank into the mud moving very slightly downwards on the beach. Previous theories had suggested that objects moved up the beach due to the tide but this was clearly not true. In fact, when digging around stairs objects remained exactly where they'd been lost, even if their loss took place 500 years ago. Disturbances on the foreshore caused by boats, dredging and building can sometimes mean that early objects appear in strange places. This probably led to the notion that coins are washed up the beach.

Our digging activities intensified and the numbers of people involved increased. This combined with our greater success started to

generate archaeological interest.

It wasn't until late 1976 that the first "storm clouds" appeared. An archaeologist working for the London Museum wrote an article for *The London Archaeologist* entitled "Treasure in the Thames". He had been working the Thames foreshore as a surface searcher for several years. In his article he likened the digging activities of the mudlarks to the Somme battlefield, and claimed that stratification was being destroyed by deep holes. He also suggested that the London Museum was seeing only a fraction of what was being found. He stressed the rich possibilities of the river waterfront area, although he saw no prospect of any archaeological excavations on the present foreshore. He stated that the Port of London Authority were formulating new Bylaws, and that the issue of licences had now become necessary.

Within three years of the publication of this article the new byelaws had been brought in, together with a search permit system. In January 1980, the first warnings were given by the river police to mudlarks, that they could not search or dig without a licence. These licences cost £9 per year, and required a photograph of the holder. The conditions included that only hand trowels could be used to search, together with a metal detector. The stretch of foreshore between Blackfriars Bridge and Tower Bridge on the north side of the river was stated to be out of bounds. Even the removal of a single pebble from that area was against the law.

We were all totally stunned. The Museum of London said that there was nothing that they could do, and we were effectively thrown off all the areas we normally searched. To discuss our future prospects a meeting was arranged in April 1980 at which the 28 people present proposed setting up a new group to be called the "Society of Thames Mudlarks". The first official meeting was held in the Samuel Pepys pub, Queenhithe,

on Sunday 4 May, 1980. Those attending this meeting consisted of a cross-section of people all sharing one thing in common: they wished to be able to continue their hobby of mudlarking unhindered. Roger Smith was elected Chairman, I was elected Secretary, and my digging partner John Auld, Treasurer.

One of our first actions was to engage the services of a solicitor to have the new Byelaw and permit scheme analysed by a barrister. We implemented a boycott of the Museum of London by all of our members, and entered into correspondence and dialogue with the PL.A. We also put forward a code of conduct and proposals for a licence that would enable us to continue searching the City foreshore with limited digging.

Our first meeting with the PLA. and Museum of London gave us a glimmer of hope. It was clear that they were surprised by our co-ordinated action and refusal to accept the new licence and its conditions. However, the struggle was going to be a long one.

While we were on the foreshore, the police boats kept pulling up and telling us to stop digging. This we did ... while they were in view. After a while they adopted a new tactic of watching us from the boats, and waiting for us to start searching. We just sat around and watched them back. Eventually land police were called in, and on a number of occasions they requested us to stop digging. When we explained the situation to them, they usually decided to leave us alone.

On one occasion a land policeman threatened to arrest one of our members. He was so fed up of being harassed that he said, "Okay, do it". At that point several other mudlarks on the foreshore came over and said that they wanted to be arrested as well. As might be imagined, no charges were brought. For some of us the option was to dig at night by means of torchlight. Every time a police boat passed by, we simply put our lights out.

It was not until early in 1983 that an additional licence was finally issued for the Thames Society of Mudlarks which enabled us to search the north side of the river with limited digging. Unfortunately, the original licence still applied (and applies) to everyone else. Mudlarking remains a popular pastime on the Thames, and will continue to be so providing there are people who are prepared to fight for their rights. The Society of Thames Mudlarks fought very hard for its privileges and there are many lessons to be learned by other metal detecting clubs, from its achievements. My own experiences as a mudlark gave me the ability and confidence to think for myself and not to tamely accept bureaucratic interference. It also gave me the groundwork for understanding antiquities.

[Editorial note 1: The Editor began mudlarking on the Thames in the late 1950s, and in early 1962 Pathe Pictorial approached Dr Donald Harden, then the Director of the London Museum at Kensington Palace, to enquire about the possibilities of making a short feature film on mudlarking. Dr Harden directed them to your Editor, The film was made on the north foreshore along with the Editor's then fiancée (later his wife) Janet Manning, and John Casey, now recently retired from his post as Lecturer in Roman Archaeology in the University of Durham. The film showed us searching by eye for finds on the north foreshore, then moved to the Anchor pub on Bankside where the finds were sorted out. The film was featured as a 'short' for quite some time in the West End cinemas. In those days we used only "mudlarker's eye" and a trowel, long before metal detectors.

[Editorial note 2: Soon to be published by Oxbow Books, Oxford, *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Essays in Honour of Brian Spencer,* 208pp, 120 illus. Hardback, £40. Edited by Sarah Blick

It is a series of some 11 essays by experts in Brian's field, and one, by the late Brian North Lee, FSA, (died 24 February 2007), entitled "The Expert and the Collector", describes the generosity of Brian Spencer to any who collected or researched topics close to his heart. Brian North Lee had an exceptional collection of souvenirs/badges relating to John Shorne (including a mould for them illustrated in Brian Spencer's Museum of London catalogue). He donated this collection to the Ashmolean Museum, as well as some of his exceptional "Thomas Becket badges to other museums. Amongst the several financial supporters of the hook was The Society of Thames Mudlarks.]

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 5 September 2006

The speaker was one of our own members and Committee Member, David Powell. He took as his subject Patriotics and Store Cards: The Tokens of the American Civil War'

Introduction

The tokens of the American Civil War (CWTs}) derive from only comparatively short period between late 1862 and mid 1864, yet there are over 10,000 varieties representing 22 states, 400 towns and about 1500 individual merchants. They split into two categories, generally known as follows:

a. Patriotics, which are of a general nature and frequently express political sentiments. Some of these ideas are expressed in the contemptuous or satirical manner reminiscent of the earlier American Hard Times tokens and, beyond that, the English 18th century official series now popularly known as Conders.

b. Store cards, which are issued by individual merchants and are very similar in concept and style, if not detail, to the 19th century unofficial farthings; indeed, given the large number of people who emigrated from Britain to America in the 1840s and 1850s, one wonders to what extent the idea crossed the Atlantic with them.

1.2 The issue of these tokens was brought about early in the Civil War by its economic consequences. The Union government's first attempt to resolved the crisis was to issue unsupported paper money, followed briefly in mid-1862 by the issue of postage stamps in small protective containers OD; then, when these both failed, it fell back on the solution adopted by the British so widely during the Napoleonic era. In other words, let everybody issue and use tokens until the matter could be got under control. Manufacturers commonly charged their clients 73 cents per hundred pieces.

1.3 The period of striking of CWTs was actually quite short, from late in 1862 until Q2/1864 when Congress passed two acts forbidding their issue by either firms or individuals. Possibly their use continued a short while longer. Pieces with dates just prior to the CWT period do occasionally occur, but these arguably belong to the Compromise Era which fits between the Hard Times Period and the Civil War. An approximate distribution of dates might be:

1862:	1%
1863:	61%
1864:	7%
Undated:	31%
Other	Few

One manufacturer, S.D. Childs of Illinois, commonly used the date 1861 on his store cards, but it is debatable whether it is correct.

1.4. The vast majority of these pieces, particularly the commoner ones, are copper or brass of the same size as the contemporary small cent, then recently introduced in the mid-1850s: some of them actually state that they are cents, although the majority do not There are, however, a significant number of *pieces which* ;ire *of* different value, size or metallic structure. although for the most part these are quite rare. The alternative values, which were usually larger and of a more silvery appearance, were 10c, 15c and 25c (usually for sutlers' tokens, discussed under Store Cards below). Most cents are 19-20mm in diameter, although copper up to 27mm is seen. Some of those in the 24-27mm range which are undated may well be earlier pieces dating from the Compromise Era a few years earlier, during which larger pieces were the norm. As in British numismatics some series merge, and the cataloguers of one may place some pieces in the adjacent. There are, indeed, some issuers whose names appear in both the Compromise and CWT series.

1.5. George and Melvin Fuld, in their two standard works on this series, identify some 30-odd die-sinkers, mostly (but not always) anonymous on their pieces, whose work can be often be identified by their style. Because of the vastness of the United States, there is a little more distribution of manufacturer than with the British series, although New York, Waterbury (Connecticut) and Cincinnati (Ohio) predominate. A crude count using Fuld suggests

that approximate percentages of the manufacture for these locations, in terms of type rather than volume, might be something like 52%, 16% and 11 % respectively.

1.6. In Britain we see very little of the CWT series, except for a few of the commonest pieces in junk trays. These usually carry the words "Our Army", "Our Navy", or the like in a wreath. These celebrate the loyalty of the army and navy, unintentionally aping the *Fides Militum* sentiments of the Romans some 1600 years earlier.

2.   **Cataloguing and terminology**

2.1. Like the British 18th century series, the commoner patriotic pieces have a lot of die varieties which are extensively muled to an extent which most collectors decide not to bother with. A side with a head on is more generally considered to be an obverse, whereas one with a wreath on is a reverse; however, there is no hard and fast rule. With store cards, a simple listing of varieties ordered by obverse first will suffice, because only one side is patriotic. When both are patriotic, there is a rough pecking order as to which is considered dominant (i.e. the obverse), and it is necessary to have both obverse- and reverse-oriented cross-reference lists; which Fuld duly gives.

2.2. For those patriotics which have more than one die, Fuld divides them into some 60-odd named families and then provides for each a die-a-gram which considerable eases the identification of individual dies. The name may sound corny but the concept is very

useful. These represent most of the major themes, but equally there are a number of others, of no less relevance or interest, for which a single die suffices. Fuld numbers both families and individual dies; adverts and other references frequently just quote die combinations in the form "F.mmm/F.nnn", and perhaps little else.

2.3. I mentioned the term "Store Card" as being odd; there are some others. "Business Card" means the same thing, and these terms are occasionally seen on the reverse of pieces; typically within a wreath. The other strange term is "medal", which is an occasional Americanism for "token". It does appear to be just a synonym, and you must sometimes forget the British sense of the word to remind yourself that a piece bearing it was for use, not ornament.

3. **Patriotics**

3.1. Manufacturers mass-produced generic CWTs for use by those who did not want the additional expense of setting up dies for specific orders, whilst always being willing to tailor their products to the needs of those prepared to pay extra for personalised advertising. The generic CWTs had to have some theme, and although most pieces carried slogans that were often pro-Union, or occasionally against it, many were politically neutral. Pacifist themes were, for example, sometimes seen. For numismatic purposes, however, all these stock pieces are known as patriotics regardless of their subject matter, probably because that sentiment predominates.

3.2. Patriotics depict a relatively small number of common themes. First in sequence are the heads, of which there are about eleven

commencing with the turbanned head as attributed variously to the three major engravers Levett, Glaubrecht and Sigel, followed by several mythical heads which borrow from or foretell the main US coinage, and winding up with several which depict major US personalities of the period: McLellan, Franklin, Jackson, Lincoln, Douglas and others.

3.3. Next follow a group which depict these same gentlemen on horseback, or other symbols of the Union; shields, eagles, flags and the like, or even the presidential palace, usually festooned with patriotic sentiment.

3.4. A third group depicts some of the equipment of warfare; cannon, the US *Monitor* (the Union's naval flagship), or a selection of infantry equipment. One version of the cannon, with a pile of cannon balls at its feet, is very much a stereotype. Tthe other has a marvellously expressive look and tells the world, somewhat cynically but in no uncertain terms, exactly what some thought the answer to the nation's problems was. If any coin can be said to convey grim humour, Fuld 169 takes some beating.

3.5. A fourth, non-pictorial, concentrates on statements of patriotic policy or belief alone: "The Federal Union: It Must and Shall Be Preserved"; "If Anyone Attempts to Tear It Down, Shoot Him on the Spot". The latter die, known as a Dix after the general who uttered the sentiment, is invariably paired with the Union flag.

3.6. The last major loyalist group is those with very short phrases, usually within a wreath, such as "Our Union"; "Our Country"; "Union For Ever"; "Constitution for Ever", or "Remembrance of

1863". A German version of the last-mentioned exists, "Erinnerung am 1863", and also occurs paired with store card obverses, for use by the large population of that origin; not that foreign language appears much otherwise on the series, although one tradesman uses the Hebrew word for "Kosher" on a store card, which commands a premium in consequence.

3.7. One of the more common neutral Patriotics commemorates Diedrich Knickerbocker, the fictional author of Washington Irvine's *The History of New York,* whose name is now better known in connection with ice cream. Others are more innocuous, stating simple things like "Good for 1 Cent"; "IOU One Cent", or "US Copper" (implying the stability of the latter). Others, by way of explanation, contain the simple statement "Business Card" or "Store Card" within a wreath. One deceptive piece is that depicting Lincoln on one side and "OK" on the other, implying that the country will do well under his leadership; less known is that "OK" stands for "Ole Kinderhook", the nickname of Lincoln's political ally Martin van Buren, called after the town in New York State in which he was born, and thus a common piece of slang has come into our language.

3.7. A number of pieces retain those sentiments from the earlier Hard Times tokens of 1837- 41 which convey an undercurrent of rebellion; one is not always sure whether the speaker is making a statement of belief or being satirical: "Money Makes the Mare", "Millions for Contractors", "Millions for Defence", "Not One Cent for the Widows", "Time is Money", "Penny Saved is Penny Earned".

3.9. The peace movement gave rise to a small number of tokens: "Horrors of War, Blessings of Peace", or "Live and Let Live"; the latter piece depicts a pile of vegetables on one side and a turkey, which was Benjamin Franklin's preference over the bald-headed Eagle as a choice of national symbol, on the other. Also included in this group is a clasped-hands piece of the type so beloved by the Romans, in this instance inscribed "Peace Forever" within a wreath.

The amount of pacifist sentiment was somewhat limited, however, with many people having very different opinions as to how peace was best obtained; as Fuld 169, discussed in para 3.4 above, so amply illustrates..

3.10. There were also a small number of pieces which are CWT-like in appearance but which are thought to have been issued for political purposes with no intention of circulation. Nearly all of them issue from the Cincinnati makers and depict larger than usual portraits of the individuals involved. Effectively they are the equivalent of the Skidmores in the Conder series. There is also one which merely states, "A Token of the War for the Union", without any other statement of allegiance or attribution.

4.   **Store cards**

4.1. The term "Store Card" appears at first glance a horrible misnomer. Today, it would suggest plastic; earlier, it would suggest a cardboard visiting card, except that it isn't made of card. However, the CWT is basically a combination of the two; a metal visiting card, which is allowed or assumed to have some value. Virtually

71

all bear the name and most the address of the issuer, as per the British unofficial issues of a few years earlier, and many look little different. Certain of the makers, such as the one responsible for several of the commoner New York pieces, have their own distinctive style of lettering.

4.2. The wreath continues to be popular, and some pieces state their purpose within it in very simple terms. The range of inscription within it, however, is varied and interesting; for example "Business Card" and "Store Card" are both frequent, whilst other more curious expressions such as "Union Flour" are also sometimes seen.

4.3. The term "Half Card" is often used as a generic term for tokens which have one specific side and one patriotic; i.e. where the issuer commissioned his manufacturer to design something specific for one side, but was quite happy to take anything the manufacturer offered him for the other. In the latter case, the second side would inevitably be one of that manufacturer's stock, i.e. patriotic, designs. Where this happens, the store card design is regarded as the obverse and the patriotic as the reverse, regardless. Half Cards will, however, be found listed in the Store Card category.

4.4. Of the pictorial reverses, there are just one or two borrowed from British originals; the Scottish thistle, and the beehive of industry, are familiar enough to those who collect pieces in the UK.

4.5. The trades represented are to some extent not dissimilar to those featured on the British 19th century unofficial series, although one feels that the range is slightly wider, with possibly a little more

emphasis on the practicalities, e.g. hardware, needed to set up home and business in a developing country. For example, one feels that grindstones, saws, garden rollers, safes and fishing tackle are subjects which one would be slightly surprised to find mentioned in the UK series; even if the fishing tackle proprietor did double up as a professional numismatist! There are kettles, but not so many tea dealers; at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, there was already a dealer in mineral water, which one might think more of a late 20th century fad. The stove is a common reverse, and several different designs are in evidence. Finally, spare a thought for the poor pig depicted on the obverse of butcher Thomas White's piece, who might be feeling a little uncomfortable if he could read the reverse, advertising his master's premises at 13-14 Abattoir Place!

4.6. Certain very specific advertisements include some related to the war interest: a few Philadelphia pieces relate to Union Recruitment Fairs, and a number of war agents, concerned with making a living out of the financial logistics of the times, feature amongst the other tradesman. On a lighter note, one common piece of unusual type was issued by the company which ran the New York to Albany Ferry, and what more appropriate to depict on the two sides than the timetable!

4.6. There are a number of interesting oddities. A picture of a praying monk and a running elephant are presumed to refer to the names of the establishments which they represent, as the name on the reverse in one case confirms. Occasional pieces double up as weights, depicting a scale on one side and an apothecary's value on the

other, whilst amongst the oversize pieces are Matthews Medal, which hints at early Greek coin design, and another piece which appears to depict a US version of Britannia.

5. **Other features, common to both series**

5.1. There are over 30 known die-sinkers, some of whom have distinctive styles; for example, the Rhode Island die-sinker, name unknown, who uses lower case lettering, or Marr of Milwaukee, who enjoyed a near-monopoly of Wisconsin's issues. A number, such as the three prolific New York die-sinkers Sigel, Horter and Roloff, sometimes put their full names or initials on the tokens; but for the most part the pieces are anonymous, leaving one with an interesting game of trying to find out, from the die-links with those which are signed, and from the general style, where the rest came from. Some die sinkers are common on patriotics but rare on store cards, or vice versa.

5.2. There are amongst the CWT series a high number of defective manufactures, where either a curved segment is missing from the piece or where there is a raised "cud". Off strikes are also slightly commoner than in most machine-produced series. There are also a number of notable die-cutting errors, mostly letter-transpositions (e.g. "ni" for "in") and other simple spelling mistakes. Fuld lists nine in the Patriotic series, and there are others on the store cards. The most famous one concerns the Unionist General Dix's quotation, "If anyone attempts to tear it [meaning the Union flag] down, shoot him on the spot". Most specimens of this common piece quote the phrase as stated, but there was one die-sinker who,

having got the double-"O" right in "shoot", then repeated it in "spoot". Such pieces are attractive and always fetch a little more than their normal counterparts.

5.3. Some dealers and collectors like to read significance into minor die varieties, of which there are many, in much the same way that Dalton and Hamer exhorts us to do with 18th century Conders; however, as with that series, many of us choose to ignore them. Likewise with cuds and defectives. There was even one manufacturer, Higgins of Indiana, who produced dies which were "hubbed" from one of his rivals; that is, stamped from a matrix made with another die. These pieces are often poorly struck up, and infrequently found in better condition.

6. Sutlers' tokens

6.1. Loosely allied to the Store Card series are a series known as Sutlers' tokens. A sutler was an itinerant vendor of the same type as those who issued store cards but who, instead of setting up shop in one place, got his business by following the army around and selling to it wherever it went. They tend to be rarer, less regular in sue and metallic content. fairly plain in design, and highly variable in face value although because of this, the value is nearly always stated. rather than assumed. The nearest equivalent in English paranumismatics is probably a value-stated check or a market token.

7   Geographic distribution

7.1. Like the British series also, there are some places which feature as being strong issuers and users, and others not; likewise, the manufacturers are also seem to be confined very much to certain major cities. The chances were that, if you lived east of the Mississippi River in a state that remained in the Union, there was a business in your area that issued Civil War tokens.

7.2. Some figures derived from Fuld on the approximate distribution of Store Cards:

	Towns	Items	Issuers	%
Ohio	103	3173	465	36.87
New York	24	1468	148	17.06
Michigan	55	1298	254	15.08
Indiana	69	702	198	8.16
Wisconsin	46	526	189	6.11
Pennsylvania	12	339	58	3.94
Illinois	33	333	110	3.87
Other {16}	49	768	93	8.92
TOTAL:	391	8607	1515	100.00

and on the makers of Patriotics; one presumes that the two series are geographically similar:

	Makers	Pieces	%
New York NY	10	232	52.4
Cincinnati Ohio	8	51	11.5
Philadelphia PA	4	41	9.3
Chicago IL	2	6	1.4
Waterbury	2	72	16.3
Baltimore Maryland	1	2	0.5
Hillsdale Michigan	1	4	0.9
Milwaukee Wisconsin	1	5	1.1
Mishawaka Indiana	1	21	4.7
Rhode Island	1	9	2.0
TOTAL:	31	443	100.0

It will be noticed that there are no known cases of two manufacturing centres occurring within the same state.

8.   **Rarity**

8.1. Like the British 19th century unofficials, many CWTs do not exist in great numbers, and would greatly increase in value if many gravitated to them. Fuld attempts to grade the rarity of all pieces on a scale of R-1 (common) to R-10 (probably unique), and reckons that nearly 80% are R-7 or higher. Never mind, that still leaves 2000+ for those wanting to build a sample collection from the remainder, which is several times the choice available for 19th century unofficials. Sutler tokens are R5 minimum.

8.2. The total number of pieces issued is thought to be of the order off

25 million, the commonest being the million or so store cards issued by the distinctive long-bearded Gustavus Lindenmueller of New York. It was possibly his mocking refusal to redeem his tokens, amongst others, which prompted Congress to put an end to the series in 1864.

9.   **References**

9.1. The main works are:

George and Melvin Fuld. *Civil War Store Cards (1982).*
George and Melvin Fuld. *Patriotic Civil War Tokens* (1975).
David E. Schenkman.   Civil War Sutler *Tokens and Cardboard Scrip* (1983).

The almost universally used Fuld books have been recently supplemented by *The Civil War Token Price Guide* by Byron Kanzinger (2002), the sole purpose of which is to put values against the rarity indications supplied by Fuld.

The term "Store Card" is also used at an earlier date than the Civil War, and there are other books, such as Edgar H.Adams, *United States Store Cards,* which refer mostly to the period between the Hard Times and Civil War periods rather than to the Civil War itself. This period is sometimes known as the Compromise Period.

An active Civil War Token Society exists and produces its own quarterly *Civil War Token Journal,* very much along the lines of the Token Corresponding Society in Britain.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 3 October 2006

Robert Thompson spoke on 'London Coffee-house tokens', illustrated with overhead projection slides.

Coffee-men or coffee-house keepers have appeared in the published Norweb volumes near New College, Oxford; in two Southwark localities, Borough High Street and Tooley Street; in Beverley, Leeds, York, and in Dublin. To judge from the presence of coffee-pots on their tokens, coffee-house keepers were also present in Trumpington Street, Cambridge, and in Exeter. The presence of a turbaned bust, or Turk's head, may indicate a concern with coffee in Norwich as early as 1660, and is assumed to do so on tokens not in the Norweb collection for Burges in Aylesbury, Neyld in Derby, and Corney in Sedbergh.

Traditionally, the first English coffee-house was opened in Oxford in 1650, as stated by the Oxford antiquary Anthony (a) Wood. However, Professor Markman Ellis has pointed out that Wood did not make this claim until 1671, and that in the earliest version of his diary, written up to the end of 1659, he merely claimed that coffee was consumed in private in 1650, and added, at an unspecified date between August 1654 and April 1655, that coffee was publicly sold. The addition was conjecturally dated 'March 1651' by Wood's nineteenth-century editor Andrew Clark, but there is no evidence for such an early date.

On the other hand, in 1651 Thomas Hodges, London Grocer and Turkey merchant, welcomed into his house in Walbrook the young

79

Draper and Levant merchant Daniel Edwards with the prospect of marrying Hodges' daughter Mary (a marriage which took place on 31 March 1652). Daniel Edwards had returned from Izmir (otherwise Smyrna) with his Greek man-servant Pasqua Rosee, bringing some characteristic habits of Levantine merchants: hard work, Puritan politics, and coffee drinking. However, the novelty of coffee at Hodges' house drew 'too much company to him' and impeded the family's work, so Edwards and his new father-in-law set up Pasqua Rosee in a stall in St Michael's churchyard to sell coffee to the public, certainly before 1654, and perhaps in 1652 as claimed by John Aubrey: 'The first coffee-house in London was in St Michael's Alley in Cornhill, opposite to the church; which was set up by one Bowman (coachman to Mr Hodges, a Turkey merchant... 'Twas about four years before any other was set up, and that was by Mr Fan.' This was the first coffee-house in Christendom.

Christopher Bowman, son of a yeoman of South Mimms, Middlesex, was living at Thomas Hodges' house by 1641, and was formally bound apprentice to him in 1644. He became free of the Grocers Company on 22 February 1654, and as such he was brought in as a partner for Pasqua Rosee when local ale-sellers queried his right, as a foreigner, to trade in the City. Their partnership moved across St Michael's Alley to better premises in 1656, with a new lease signed on 14 August 1657, though Pasqua Rosee's name then disappeared. Bowman's coffee-house was a prodigious success until he died in October 1662.

His coffee-house was run after the Great Fire by George Backler and Stephen Hayward, whose undated halfpenny, issued *At the ould Coffee house, formerly Bomans,* is in *Norweb Tokens* Part VII. The earliest dated coffee-house token is from the Solyman, Ivy Lane in 1663. The 1666 token of James Farr at the Rainbow is included **[Fig. 1],** and many others may be found in the indexes to the several Norweb volumes.

No. 1.

FARR AT RAINBOW.   FLEET STREET.

No. 2.

MORAT YE GREAT.   EXCHANGE A

No. 3.

UNION,   CORNHILL.

No. 4.

SULTANESS,   SWEETINGS REN

In 1657 James Farr's building accommodated the bookseller Daniel Pakeman, and from 1663 to 1669 the printer and bookseller Samuel Speed, who crept into the old *Dictionary of National Biography* only so that he could be distinguished from his cousin of the same name, both being grandsons of the historian John Speed. In the *ODNB* he has his own entry, and his 1667 penny token, new to Williamson, appears in the volume.

The majority of the coffee-house tokens probably post-date the Restoration, but there is one exception. The most famous coffee-house keeper was Thomas Garraway, whose establishment flourished in Exchange Alley, in the parish of St Mary Woolnoth, from 1668/70 until the late nineteenth century. It began, however, in Sweeting's Rents in the parish of St Bartholomew by the Exchange, where Thomas Garway [sic] and his wife Elizabeth were living by early 1658. Thomas appears from a 1658 notice in *Mercurius Politicus* to have been the first retailer of leaf tea in England:

> That Excellent, and by all Physitians approved, *China* Drink, called by the *Chineans, Teha,* by other Nations *Tay alias Tee,* is sold at the *Sultaness-head,* a *Cophee-house* in *Sweetings* Rents by the Royal Exchange, *London.*

Dr Kenneth Rogers drew strong support from this advertisement for his suggestion that Garraway was the issuer of this anonymous token:

Obv. THE SVLTANESS A COFFEE HOVSE around a female bust to left

Rev. IN SWEETINGS RENTS CORNHIL around arms **[Fig. 4]**

Dr Rogers' suggestion can now be confirmed. The arms have been consistently described as 'a cross with a full face in each quarter', but there is no cross as such, and in each quarter there is not a human face (as

Burn stated and others imply), but a lion's face affronté and cut off closely behind the ears, anciently called a leopard's face. The true identity of what has been described as a cross is clearer on Dr Rogers's example than on the Norweb specimen. The vertical tapers towards the base, and represents the wedge-shaped figure known as a pile. With tinctures the blazon becomes *Argent a pile between four leopards' heads Gules and over all a fess Gules,* which were the arms of Garraway otherwise Garway, and in particular of Sir Henry Garway, of the parish of St Peter le Poer, Lord Mayor of London in 1639-40. Use of the arms must show that the token-issuer was a member of the same family. The arms were also quartered by Sir Henry's cousin John Garway of London, merchant, whose fourth son was called Thomas.

Brian Cowan found no evidence for inclusion in the *ODNB* on Thomas Garraway's parentage. However, in 1675, in order to suppress debate about government actions, a Proclamation for the Suppression of Coffee-houses was proposed. All licences granted for the selling of coffee, chocolate, sherbet or tea would be recalled, and any who then traded without a licence could be fined £5 a month. This would have ruined the coffee men. They drew up a petition under the leadership of Thomas Garraway, whose cousin William Garway (Garraway), MP for Chichester, was influential in opposition circles. William was the eldest son of Sir Henry Garway, the late Lord Mayor. Therefore the anonymous Sultaness token can be safely attributed to Thomas Garraway otherwise Garway, fourth son of John Garway and of Frances, daughter of Sir Robert [Lovet] of Soulbury, Bucks. Thomas's eldest brother Robert was aged eleven in 1634, so the coffee-house keeper will have been the Thomas, son of John Garraway, baptised on 2 December 1632 at Sir Henry Garway's parish church of St Peter le Poer.

A quarto pamphlet with the title *The Downfall of Coffee pence* was

in the library of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. After his death in 1741 the Harleian manuscripts were purchased for the British Museum, but it was too late for the printed books to be acquired. They had been sold to the bookseller Thomas Osborne, who dispersed them gradually during the 1740s, the English historical pamphlets by auction in 1747-48. The pamphlet in question was described in *A copious and exact catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library, &c.* [1747?]. An exact transcript of the title (apart from the long *s),* which may be the closest to the original now available, runs as follows:

> The *Downfall* of *Coffee-Pence :* Or a true and perfect Account of the short Life, deserved Death, and desired Burial of Coffee-Pence and Half-pence. With the sad Lamentation of their Owners, on their Changing them for Silver; in pursuance of his Majesties Gracious Proclamation, published the 19th of this Instant *August,* 1672. Printed for *Phil. Brooksby,* &c. (In one Sheet) *Quarto* 1672

Philip Brooksby was made free of the Stationers' Company by Elizabeth Andrews in 1670, and was a prolific publisher of all kinds of cheap literature until 1697. During the years 1672-83 he was at the Golden Ball near the Hospital Gate, West Smithfield.

This copious catalogue, at the time anonymously, was so highly valued by collectors and scholars that it was reprinted in Thomas Park's edition of the *Harleian Miscellany,* where its author was acknowledged to be William Oldys, herald and antiquary. It may provide the only firsthand record of the pamphlet, which is not recorded by Wing in any library. Dr Christian Dekesel has also searched his records of anonymous works in European and other libraries, but in vain. From Park's edition of the *Harleian Miscellany* the annotation can be given as follows:

> In this discourse, the author treats, 1. Of a penny in general; its

etymology, ancient form, value, &c. 2. Of the first occasion of private persons stamping half-pence and pence. 3. The mischiefs and Inconveniences thence arising. 4. The advantages accruing by a general farthing; and the lamentation of the owners of the prohibited pence and half-pence... [etc.]

The 1747 catalogue entry was copied by the Revd William Robert Hay into his copy of Charles Pye's *Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens,* a copy subsequently owned by Dr D. W. Dykes. Amongst smaller inaccuracies Hay omitted from the title ' ...Death, and desired...'. In the interim the Pye volume was owned by Samuel Henry Hamer, who introduced a few more inaccuracies when printing Hay's notes in 1903, and inserted the misleading heading *CATALOGUES OF PAMPHLETS IN THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.* There is no cause to think that Hamer or Hay had seen the original pamphlet, even though Hay's paternal grandmother, Abigail, Countess of Kinnoull, was the younger daughter of Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford and founder of the Harleian Library.

References: *SCBI Norweb Tokens.* Part VIII: *City of London,* by R.H. Thompson and M.J. Dickinson (Spink, forthcoming).

The essential background is in Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-house: A cultural history,* London, 2004.

The engravings are from Edward Forbes Robinson, *The Early History of Coffee Houses in England* London, 1893; reprinted as *The Early English Coffee House.* Christchurch, 1972.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 7 November 2006

Hugh Williamson has spoken to the Club on various occasions concerning his ongoing research on the coinage of Carausius. This evening he took as his subject: 'Some thoughts on the copies of the coinage of Carausius and Allectus'.

It is probable that Carausius, hitherto the commander of the Roman Fleet based at Rouen, declared himself Emperor in late 286. He immediately issued coins in his name in a distinctive "Rouen" style. Earlier suggestions that this issue was produced later have now been firmly discounted by hoard evidence.

In early 287, Carausius brought his fleet, and the associated army personnel to Britannia, where he gained the immediate support of at least two of the three legions serving in the province. What, in the way of coinage, did he find? The answer is that Britannia seems to have received a minimal supply of official coinage since the capitulation of the so-called Gallic Empire in 273. Hoard evidence, allied with analysis of site-finds suggests that at this stage the coinage consisted of vast quantities of the base coinage of Victorinus and the Tetrici, augmented by copious quantities of the so-called "barbarous radiates", i.e. locally produced copies of the Gallic Empire coinage.

Hoard evidence tells us that these full, or almost full-size copies, although unofficial, were readily accepted into the currency, alongside the official pieces. They seem to have circulated in a way similar to the token coinage, which made up for the shortfall of official currency in the mid-seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries. The style of these radiates is often quirky, and the significance of their style should not be ignored in a study of third century Romano-British art. A very few specimens

exhibit reverse legends which, though it would be easy to write off as gibberish, could well bear witness to Romano-British names from this misty period of history. Two British finds bear the legends "Casiteru" and "Vondi" respectively.

It is worth pointing out, however, that early Carausian hoards, such as Normanby and Dorchester, which contain many Gallic Empire coins and copies, and which terminate with a few early issues of Carausius, never contain the small minim barbarous radiates. I have yet to authenticate a barbarous minim of Carausius or Allectus. I will not dwell here on these tiny coins except to speculate that, as they often turn up on or near religious sites, they may be votive in nature.

As was the case with any new Emperor, a good supply of fresh coinage was urgently required for a variety of reasons. Most importantly the allegiance of the troops would be far more secure if they received prompt payment. Another highly significant factor is the undoubted propaganda value carried by both obverse and reverse of the coins.

Upon the establishment of his regime in Britannia, Carausius had to quickly address the situation. One would have expected the new `emperor' to have given a high priority to the safe transfer of his mint personnel from Rouen, and a few early coins do, indeed, show vestiges of the distinctive "Rouen" style.

I he early coinage of Carausius, struck in Britain, bears indication of \ mg been rapidly and carelessly struck, with quantity being the keyword rather than quality. The pressing need for die-engravers could hav*e been* overcome by the enforced use of local gem engravers. The propaganda messages of this early coinage were varied and the coinage is full of interest to the numismatist. Nevertheless the reverse type citing PAX AVG, the subject of my first talk to the Club in February 1990, was

87

predominant, as it was to be throughout the reign. Study shows that, although *RIC* V(ii) describes over one thousand Carausian types, nearly 70 percent of the coinage bears the reverse legend PAX AVG.

The index marks on the official coinage have enabled its chronology to be firmly established. The nature of the three issuing authorities , L, C and unmarked exergue, are considered fully in *BAR378*. This enables a firm setting of a *terminus post quern,* for any Carausian copies.

For the remainder of this paper, I wish to focus on the copies struck under Carausius and Allectus. I have examined several thousand examples of this coinage over recent years, and have tried to consider a sample that is both representative, yet inclusive of some of the more unusual types that have come to light. I have avoided illustrating museum specimens and concentrated on coins found in dealers trays, and in several private collections to which I have been given access. I have included the mass of each coin and the reported area in which the find was made. Like all single-find provenances these need to be treated with some caution, and consequently I have only recorded this information in instances where I have confidence in the information tendered to me by finders and dealers. The artistic abilities and technical skills of the makers of this coinage ensure that it constitutes a distinctly un-photogenic series, that I illustrate here "warts and all". On the more positive side, however, this series of coins forms a very important part of the numismatic history of Roman Britannia. There is little doubt that copying of the official coinage was widespread during the entire period of the breakaway "British Empire." The copying was particularly prevalent during the early part of the reign of Carausius, when the need for coinage was at its most acute.

The resulting influx of official coin gave the copiers a new selection of prototypes, and they appear to have lost little time in imitating Carausian coinage.

I have chosen to illustrate a varied selection of contemporary copies of radiates of Carausius and Allectus. Most of these fall, on stylistic consideration alone, into the category of clearly defined local copy. Some others, in many ways the most enigmatic, show either unorthodox portraiture or very unusual, and as yet inexplicable, reverse types. These fall into the grey area, where attribution of official status lies in the eye of the beholder. Also illustrated for comparison purposes are a small number of specimens that are almost certainly official productions.

The earliest coins are those struck, probably in Rouen. Rouen coins do turn up regularly on British sites, and they soon became the first victims of local copying. The early unmarked coins were copiously copied, but so were the much rarer RSR types. The Pax reverse is excessively common with other index marks, but I know of only one clearly official specimen with the RSR mark. Yet a derived copy imitates Pax, but with the figure facing right and with a large jug before her.

About 70% of the official coinage of Carausius shows Pax with either a vertical or transverse sceptre. It is thus unsurprising that an even higher proportion of copies seem to be of this type. The *Pax* copies vary tremendously in mass, from 6.16 gms down to 1.65 gm. Two coins, with a Lae*itia* reverse. actually share a reverse die, yet have masses of 1.81 gm and 3 56 gin respectively. This having been said, it is important to realise that the official coinage also has a wide variation in mass, averaging out at about 3.5 gm. The copies seem to exhibit a similar average mass. Some of the portraiture is very crude and unflattering, whilst on other specimens it is of a good and very recognisable standard. On one specimen the portrait is simply magisterial !

Overstrikes exist on both official issues and copies. This shows that producers on both sides of the line of legitimacy were quite prepared to use existing coins as blanks. In the case of official issues the propaganda value of the emperor's portrait gives a *raison d'etre,* but it is, a mystery why any forger should go to the trouble of engraving dies and restriking a coin of ostensibly the same face value as the original.

Matthew Ponting has recently suggested that metallurgical analysis of early Carausian coinage suggests that they were sometimes struck from *orichalcum* originally used in earlier sestertii and dupondii. These results are unsurprising, since coinage metal would be much in demand at the time of the usurpation. Several specimens may have been made from such metal. One example seems to be made of a brittle alloy with a high tin content. It seems that anything available was enthusiastically thrown into the melt.

The most fascinating group are those that I designate here as "unorthodox". As King pointed out all issues must either be official or copies (King 1984). (The term "semi-official" is a complete red-herring, and merely a let-out clause"). Where some of these "unorthodox" coins fit in (official or "copy") remains a mystery to me. The obverse styles are quirky but often of high technical standard. The reverses are likewise, but do not copy any known prototype.

Unorthodox portraits are often paired with perfectly acceptable reverse types. Conversely there are coins bearing seemingly official obverse portraits, paired with reverses of quite eccentric style. The reverse types and legends of these coins are often unlike anything recorded elsewhere. Probably the most unusual bears the legend PRIXETC or PRIETC (depending on whether the X is an index mark or part of the legend). It seems to show a two-horned and bearded deity facing right, holding an uncertain object and a most unusual two-legged

staff. Could this represent a Romano-British god ? **[Ed.** Cernunos ? see articles by George Boon on the deity in Seaby *Coin & Medal Bulletin.]* Another bears the legend CAPVSICA, showing a female standing left. This coin has a very regular looking obverse.

The official early legionary issues of Carausius are often better executed on the reverse than the obverse. One unorthodox coin shows a very unusual Capricorn with extra fins and a legend that begins HIR... and has XXX in the exergue. Another specimen, bears a reverse showing the Emperor, with truly Herculean proportions facing left, the legend ends ....V V. A coin with a perfectly acceptable bust yet a desperately crude reverse. It shows the emperor greeting a soldier, with a standard between them. If this reverse, which predates the not dissimilar GLORIA EXERCITVS types by over 40 years, copies anything then it would be a coin of the Central Empire, which would have been scarce in Britain.

Local copies of Carausian coins, other than from the first two years of the reign, are considerably scarcer though not by any means uncommon. They almost without exception, ape the PAX AVG reverse type. This reduction in unofficial production seems to indicate that the bulk of official coinage now entering circulation was sufficient for the needs of the province. A final unorthodox coin worthy of mention bears the obverse legend IMP CARAVSIVS AVGG , the reverse bears the mark S/C/- , the prototype being an issue of late 290 or early 291.

Local copies of the coinage of Allectus are, again, much scarcer. Two early Allectan coins deserve special mention as they bear the obverse legend IMP ALLECTVS PF AVGG, and the reverse type PAX AVGG (possibly AVGGG)), showing Pax with a vertical sceptre. Both specimens come from the same dies, and the reverse, being unmarked, once again fits in to late 290 or early 291. These coins are anomalous whether they be copies or not. One of the rarer index marks of Allectus,

namely S/P/CL, was possibly the subject of good local copies.

The later small radiates of Allectus were also copied, and given that a mould for casting such a coin was reportedly found on the foreshore in Boulogne, the activity might not have been confined to Britain. This also gives weight to the suggestion that it was Allectus not Carausius who tried to take a continental foothold at Boulogne (Williams, 2004).

I hope that this short paper illustrates the importance of the study of local contemporary copies. They are issues which are full of interest, yield a useful insight into many areas, and inevitably introduce discussion and controversy into numismatics. In many ways they are more interesting and more revealing than official issues. Above all, however, they form an early and fascinating series of the coinage of this island.

References

KING, C.E.1984. 'The Unmarked Coins of Carausius', *British Numismatic Journal* 54, pp.1-5.

WILLIAMS, Hugh P.G. 2004. *Carausius: A consideration of the historical archaeological and numismatic aspects of his reign.* B.A.R. 378. Oxford.

London Numismatic Club Meeting, Tuesday 5 December 2006.

Ian Franklin was the speaker this evening and his illustrated talk was on `Roman Coins: A Window on the Past'. Ian said:

When I was asked if I would talk to the London Club on my great passion - collecting Imperial Roman Coins, I wondered how I could do justice to such a large and varied topic in an hour or so. In the end I realised that collecting seriously for 30 years means I understand how little I actually knew, so I'd better attempt to stick to my strong points and try and entertain my audience! I hope I shall manage to do this with my personal survey of 'Roman Imperial Coinage - Roman Coins, A Window on the Past'.

I am obliged to a number of members of the London Club - past and present - for inspiring me to collect in the first place. I dedicate this talk to Ron Esner, a former member of the Club, without whom I wouldn't have been standing here giving a talk at all!

A 4th century stone memorial showing a minting scene reminds us how Roman coins were made, and a late Roman tax gathering scene from Noviomagus illustrates how coins were in common use. The huge Dorchester hoard found in the 1930's (assembled as the precious metal content of the coins of Gallienus dropped c. 260 AD) shows how, because of the vast numbers in the hoard, many of the coins appeared in dealers' trays.

The first living Roman to be depicted on the coinage of Rome, on a silver denarius, was Julius Caesar from 44BC, and the obverse of a denarius of Brutus with his lightly bearded bust and, on the reverse, the cap of liberty between two daggers with the legend EID MAR, was issued after the assassination of Caesar. It was clear that the rule of one

man was now inevitable for the Roman Empire, and this became manifest by the eventual take-over by Octavian in 27 BC - later known as Augustus.

Events commemorated on Roman coins include the invasion of Britain in AD 43 by Claudius with a denarius depicting the triumphal arch erected in Rome to commemorate his British victory. The first Roman coins made in England, were counterfeit copies of an *as* of Claudius which are often found on early military sites.

Making the point that early Imperial coinage portraits were of the REAL people, a selection from a group of gold aureii from Caerleon show Nero & Agripinna, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

An *as* of Nero shows the temple of Janus with doors closed. This only happened when the world was at peace - a piece of well-judged propaganda - and we can speculate what the building really may have looked like, taking into account some of the strange (to our eyes) methods of showing perspective employed by the Romans.

A sestertius of Nero shows the port of Ostia, complete with ships but, interestingly, lacking its famous Pharos or lighthouse; a tetradrachm of Alexandria shows an Imperial galley passing the famous lighthouse of Alexandria, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, upon which the Ostia lighthouse was modelled.

Military victories as specific coin types occur on sestertii of Vespasian with the 'Judea Capta' reverse, an event seen on a relief detail from the Arch of Titus, Rome, showing the treasures of the temple being of Jerusalem being paraded. The spoils of the Jewish War helped to pay the building costs of the Colosseum (started by Vespasian) and shown on a sestertius of Titus (80-81 AD)commemorating its dedication.

Remission of the tax on the upkeep of the imperial post in Italy

appeared as an unusual type on sestertii of Nerva (96-98). Equally unusual was an *as* of Trajan (98-117) which commemorated the distribution of alms to the poor children of Italy.

Professor Michael Grant made the point many years ago that the Romans also struck commemorative or anniversary coins that harkened back to (often) better times. An *as* of Trajan with standards, describes him as *Optima Princeps* and 200 years later Constantine I issued a commemorative reduced follis with the same message in the same style, doubtless to compare himself favourably with his illustrious predecessor.

Staying with Trajan, the grand entrance to his new forum in Rome appears on a contemporary sestertius. This building has since been completely destroyed. Trajan's famous Column (a 'strip cartoon' telling the story of his campaigns against the Dacians) is still intact and appears on contemporary denarii and dupondii. This monument was originally designed to be seen from the viewing platforms of adjacent libraries which again no longer survive.

Hadrian (117-138) was the most travelled of all the emperors, and succeeded Trajan through adoption. His visit to Britain resulted in the construction of the Wall that bears his name. His visits to various parts of the empire were commemorated on his coins of Rome, and his visit to Egypt commemorated on a tetradrachm showing the personification of Alexandria welcoming the emperor.

Antoninus Pius (138-161) is an emperor of whom we know very little, and his coinage is often considered derivative or bland. That it is certainly not the case, vide the following examples: Pius and his advisors seem to have concluded that Hadrians' Wall was too far south, and so created his own 'line' between the Forth and Clyde. The common *as* type of Britannia sitting on a pile of stones in mournful pose may commemorate this event. Much rarer is the magnificent sestertius

commemorating the province. Antoninus Pius seems to have been the first emperor to have appeared with a nimbus or halo on his coins. This makes the point that much Christian iconography derived from earlier prototypes.

On the death of Antoninus Pius, his adopted son Marcus Aurelius (emperor 161-180) had a column set up to his memory. Although demolished in the Renaissance a sestertius gives us an idea of its' appearance. The exceptional base was, however, preserved and stands today in the courtyard of the Vatican Museum. Marcus Aurelius himself left us a great legacy in the form of the equestrian statue on the Campidoglio, Rome, now replaced by a copy, with the original now safely conserved and displayed in the adjacent Capitoline Museum. The erection of the statue was itself seemingly commemorated on a gold aureus.

Marcus Aurelius also left a column detailing his campaigns against Germanic tribes, featuring a 'hairy man'. Legend has it that at one point a Roman army fighting the Germanic tribes was surrounded in extreme heat with no water. Then a certain Egyptian priest prayed for help from Mercury, god of the air, and a miraculous shower of rain fell, together with thunderbolts that caused the Germans to flee. Although attributed by some to Christian legionaries, unique coins were struck in Rome showing Mercury in an Egyptian style temple, seemingly confirming the Egyptian priest's involvement. The Alexandrian/Egyptian form of Mercury was known as Herm Anubis.

Unlike his immediate predecessors, Marcus Aurelius had children of his own to whom he could pass on the empire. A sestertius of his wife Faustian with six children and the legend 'Happy Times' made the point for all citizens to see! Unfortunately Marcus Aurelius was to be succeeded by one of the children featured on the coin, the 'worthless'

Commodus, recently brought back to life in the film 'Gladiator'.

After the murder of Commodus, stability was restored to the Roman world by Septimius Severus (193-211). Born in North Africa, his reign was notable for many things, but the prominence given to Eastern artistic style and religious cults must have shocked conservative elements in the empire. On a denarius of his wife, Julia Domna, we see the influence of Egyptian religion in Rome as Isis suckles the infant Horus (in a pose reminiscent of Mary and Jesus).

Severus' eldest son, known to us by the nickname Caracalla boots'), was a favourite with his soldiers. A denarius of 213 advertise his imminent departure to fight the Germans. (PROFECTIO AVG).

Eastern influence reached a zenith under Elagabalus, the supposed illegitimate son of Caracalla. He brought the sacred black stone (probably a meteorite) from Emesa in Syria to Rome as shown on a spectacular gold aureus) and ordered its' worship. This and his unorthodox behaviour ultimately led to his demise.

In 247-8, the 1000th anniversary of the legendary foundation of Rome took place. Ironically the reigning emperor was Philip I, supposedly of Arab descent! An extensive range of commemorative coins were struck to celebrate the great event, many featuring animals that would feature in the Colosseum, including one possibly showing the now extinct giant Elk. Probably the coin from the series that gives viewers the most pleasure is the hippo minted in the name of Philip's wife, Otacilia Severa.

The empire was now entering a period of military upheaval from which it seemed it could not recover. A coin of Valerian (253-260) shows him as 'Restorer of the World, but in 260 he became the first emperor to be captured in battle by a non-roman opposing army, in this case the Persians under their great leader Shapur I, commemorated on a large rock

relief at Naqsh-i-Rustam, north of Persepolis, Iran.

Valerian's son Gallienus continued as emperor, and presided over something like a cultural renaissance. A beautiful image of Diana the huntress with her dog on a debased antoninianus makes the point that fine art can still be found on later Roman coins.

As mentioned previously, militarily things were not going so well. The Western provinces under Postumus broke away from central rule and Gallienus set out to restore order, unwisely striking coins proclaiming the Restoration of Gaul before his campaign ended unsuccessfully when he was shot and wounded by a crossbow bolt. An enigma amongst the coins of Postumus is a coin showing Neptune, and wishing the emperor a happy return from a sea voyage. The only overseas province he held was Britain so this infers he visited this country, an event otherwise unknown to history.

None of the subsequent western 'breakaway emperors' had the abilities of Postumus, though that did not stop Victorinus (269-271) from equating himself to the sun god on a beautiful Aureus showing their overlapping busts.

• The emperor Claudius Gothicus (268-270) was a great general who unusually for an emperor at this time, died a natural death succumbing to the plague. His memory was commemorated by coins showing his CONSECRATIO. These are very common with a standing eagle reverse. An apparent shortage of small change in Britain at the time led to these coins being extensively copied. Unfortunately (or not depending on your point of view), some copies were better than others.

It took the emperor Aurelian (270-275) to reunite the empire, as well as to reform the coinage that had sunk to an appalling level of quality. Examples of his large base metal coins, interestingly show his wife, Severina, as an equal. It is possible she reigned in her own right for

a short while after his death. These large coins were a novelty, which may be why they were often used to mark a loculi or burial niche in the Catacombs of St Pamphilus in Rome.

Probus (276-282) was often shown as a military emperor on his coins. His radiate crown, in earlier times denoting the coin was a double-denomination is now part of his helmet. In an age when military might meant everything, this sort of portrait became increasingly common.

Again, in 286, Britain and part of France split from the authority of the empire under the leadership of a man called Carausius (in effect the first 'king' of Britain). Initially he sought to persuade the legitimate emperors Diocletian and Maximian to accept him as an equal and struck coins with their three conjoined busts. This policy of seeking recognition did not succeed and in the end (293), Carausius was murdered by his finance minister Allectus. The famous gold 10-aureii Arras Medallion shows the Caesar, Constantius Chlorus as 'Restorer of the Eternal Light' and the rule of Rome to Britain. Its' capital, London, is shown topographically for the first and only time on a Roman coin.

Diocletian (284-305) was a truly great ruler, completely reorganising the army, civil service, taxation, and the coinage. His attempt to introduce a maximum wage and price index was, however, a failure. He was also a persecutor of the Christians, though this it is said may have been at the instigation of others. He abdicated in AD 305, as commemorated on folles struck across the empire.

The son of Maximian, Maxentius, seen full-faced on a splendid gold multiple, illegally set himself up as emperor in 306 and with Rome as his base, went out of his way to stress his love of the city and respect for its traditions. The reverse of the coin showed him in a consular carriage pulled by four elephants throwing coins to the citizens. Maxentius rebuilt the temple of Venus and Rome in the Roman Forum

and struck coins showing the building in abstract form. Another building in the Roman Forum shown on his coins is the mausoleum of Romulus that he created for the members of his family, and the temple of Carthage, which he also rebuilt. Maxentius' rule was brought to an end by Constantine at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312.

Constantine had been proclaimed emperor in York in 306. He must have visited London in an official capacity many times. Twice, however, special ADVENTUS coins were issued advertising his arrival in the city. Constantine at first tolerated, then seemed to fully adopt Christianity as the official state religion. A coin minted in Siscia c. 320 is one of the first to show the overt use of the Christogram — a popular Christian symbol —on the helmet of the emperor. Another coin, this time of Constantinople (327) showed a serpent pierced by the *labarum* (a banner emblazoned with the christogram) and must represent the recently defeated Licinius, whose death left Constantine sole ruler of the empire.

Towards the end of the reign of Constantine c.330, a great new capital was built at Constantinople and coins were struck to honour both old and new cities. The example commemorating Rome shows the famous statue of Romulus and Remus, but with the Christogram above. In this case it is used as part of a mint-mark rather than as a religious statement.

The usurper emperor Magnentius (350-353) however, held nothing back in his Christian symbolism, using the Chi-Rho monogram as a major reverse type, as well as on some cut fragments taken from the larger coins, the purpose of which is are unclear.

Vetranio (350), revolted against Magnentius with the tacit support of Constantius II. He later stood down in favour of the latter. He issued the only direct numismatic confirmation of the "legend" of the Milvian Bridge. It is said that Constantine on the night before the battle saw in a

dream the christogram in the sky and was told to paint the device on the shields of his men - IN HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS, 'By this sign (you shall) conquer'.

Inflation, and revaluation of the coinage was a constant problem in ancient Rome. An interesting example of a coin from the last years of the reign of Constantine had been overstruck with the portrait of the emperor Julian 'the Apostate' (360-363). The original coin had been presumably been demonitised and the restrike would pass as 'current' in the 350's

Reverses showing Victory and/or an angel inscribing the christogram on a shield on an issue of Aelia Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius I, last sole-emperor of the empire (379-395) and Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, Theodosius' son (383-408) show how the iconography of the coinage had changed. By this time the Roman empire was predominantly Christian and the idea that the power of the emperor came directly to him from God was illustrated by coins of Arcadius and his wife Eudocia. The hand of God places wreaths on their heads to show that they have been blessed. This principle of "Divine Right" would cause the English Monarchy many problems in the future; but that is another story!

By the time of Magnus Maximus (383-388) the empire was again in military turmoil. Maximus took the bulk of the army of Britain to the Continent, where he was defeated. A coin in my collection neatly demonstrates the phenomenon of 'Damnatio Memoriae' - the emperor's head had been de aced h\ a cross in antiquity.

CLUB AUCTION REPORTS   **by Anthony Gilbert**

110th Club Auction, 2 May 2006

The auction was held at the Warburg Institute, WC I, at 6.30pm. Nineteen members were present at the meeting. As was introduced last year by David Sealy, the lots compiler, a numbered 'paddle' bidding system was used. Potential bidders were asked to sign in for, and subsequently display. their paddles when making a bid.

David Sealy acted as the auctioneer for the first half of the auction, and Dr Marcus Philips continued with the second half.

As the writer noted in last year's report, David Sealy had expressed the wish to step down from organising the lots. His successor, David Powell, did a magnificent job in assembling 118 lots offered by eight vendors. Another 26 lots, a further selection from the Club's library, were also on offer. These books were not presented on the night, being in the care of Paul, Edis, the Club's Treasurer. Successful bidders for the books were asked to arrange directly with Paul regarding the best means of delivery.

In the first section of the auction, comprising books from the Club's library, only two of the 26 lots failed to find a buyer. The top price was fetched by Lot 1, Thomas Simon's *Essay on Irish Coins, and of the Currency of Foreign Monies in Ireland; with Mr. Snelling's Supplement,* J. Simon, Dublin, 1810, ex House of Commons Library. This lot went for its reserve of £70. Lots 2 and 3 fetched the second highest price of £40 each, both to the same buyer: lot 2 was *An Assemblage of Coins Fabricated by Authority of the Archbishops of Canterbury,* S. Pegge, London, 1772, and including *23 Plates of the Coins of the Ancient British*

Kings engraved under the direction of Rev. Stukeley . Lot 3 *was Tables of Antient Coins, Weights and Measures,* J.A. Arbuthnot, M.D., London, 1754. Both these books were ex House of Commons Library.

In this section of the auction, lot 26, 'Coins of Biblical Days', British Museum Publications, 1976, a set of 12 colour slides with a commentary by Dr Martin Price, was bought for £13 against a reserve of £3. (**Editor's note:** Memories! I persuaded Martin Price to write this, and I edited it when Managing Editor of British Museum Publications.]

The Club benefited by £298 from the total sales value raised by the sale of this further selection of books from the Club's library.

The lots in the regular auction, lots 27-114, offered a very good selection of items across the numismatic spectrum, from banknotes, jettons, Cape Verde islands, Sri Lanka, a Uruguayan sheep shearing token, lead bag seals, and even previous issues of the Club's own ties!

Of the 118 lots, 45 remained unsold (38%). Highest prices were fetched by lot 107, an Irish Philip and Mary base shilling of 1555 with the usual cracked flan. This fetched £40 against a modest reserve of £9. Another Irish piece, lot 104, was a James II Gun money large size halfcrown, December 1689, in VF condition. It went for £25 against a reserve of £9. Another good result was lot 97, a Henry VI groat, Calais mint, which fetched £22 against its reserve of £10.

Total sales for this section were £397.50, with the Club receiving £44.25 in commission, which included sums from donated lots.

Unfortunately, the total of 144 lots was just too many to fit comfortably into the 8pm booked finishing time, and we overran by some 20 minutes. This led to some frantic and hectic sorting out and settling up at the end. However, everyone had a good evening's entertainment, which is, after all, the purpose of a Club auction meeting.

BOOK REVIEWS

Coinage and currency in London from the London and Middlesex records and other sources: from Roman times to the Victorians

John Kent. Baldwins, 2005. 115 pages, 200 b&w illustrations throughout text. Smart card covers reproducing a map of London of 1575. Available from Baldwins at £15.

Written by Dr John Kent who was Keeper of Coins at the British Museum from 1983 to 1990; it was to be his last work and sadly he never saw it published. In the Preface his daughter Hilary says it was "his latest version completed shortly before he died in October 2000".

Apart from covering London it also serves as a good synopsis of the general coinage of England. Divided into 15 short sections covering coinage from the Roman third century AD to the end of the nineteenth century, it is based on a series of three lectures given to the non-specialist general public in the 1980's. Supported as it is by nearly 700 footnote references, and backed up by 13 pages of bibliograph it will be a useful starting point for enquiring into many aspects of British coinage. Scottish, Irish and Continental coins used in England are also covered.

Full of facts, many will only be known to specialists, for example the explanation of the letters INPCDA on a medallion of Carausius as taken from the first letters of lines from Virgil, and linked to RSR on coins from his London mint. To give a few more examples, page 5 has the first appearance of round half-pence; lead pieces from official dies on page 7 and Tudor lead tokens in Chapter ten.

Among many aspects I found interesting are the sources of gold and silver used for the coins, official use of foreign coins, small change

commonly made by illegally cutting pennies. There is mention of persistent clipping and forging and the problem of continental and other base silver. Whilst punishing those responsible for its supply and distribution Edward I was using it for making his payments.

There is much more, eg: what a farthing would buy in the 15th century, why half-crowns predominate in Charles I hoards and the recoinage of ransom money received for King John of France and the remarkable assortment of gold coins with which it was paid. Whilst numismatic dictionaries may contain explanations of terms such as Bezzants, Lussheborgs, Galley halfpence, Zeskins, Duitkins, Patards, Pistolets, Couronnes, Liards, and the Joey, that changed its value. it is interesting to encounter them here in context. The style, whilst scholarly, is engaging and the book, modestly priced, can be obtained from A.H. Baldwin's, 11 Adelphi Terrace, London. WC2N 6BJ.

John Roberts-Lewis

The Token Collectors Companion
John Whitmore. Whitmore 2006.   390pp, 10 b&w plates. £60 cloth bound.
First printing of 100 copies. £90 half leather to order.

This is a well produced hard back reference book, it covers literally thousands of tokens, achieved by making additions and corrections to a number of the author's publications, as well as other standard works. The basic aim is to enable readers to identify tokens whose legends and or designs are enigmatic, also to find relevant references in the published literature. As the author says, the latter is "variable in the quality and comprehensiveness of the indexes provided and one has no index at all".

Beginning with a useful eight page historical survey, "The Token

Tracer 1700 – 1860" follows. This is an expanded version of The Token Tracer, by Whitmore 1990, and now out of print. Tokens with clear origins are naturally excluded, as are the earliest Theatre passes; also all 17th century British tokens and communion tokens since these have existing comprehensive publications.

The next section lists additions and corrections to Dalton and Hamer's standard work, The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18thCentury. Originally published in 14 parts from 1910, the introduction to the final part was only included in some original copies and not in any subsequent reprints. For completeness this can now be found here on p. 99. A useful list of auction prices realised between 1998 and 2005 for single 18th century tokens will be of interest to collectors of the rarer items.

Additions and corrections to Bell's Unofficial Farthings – A Supplement, by Bell, Whitmore and Sweeny, 1994, are followed by a price guide to Unofficial Farthings 1820 – 1870. This series now has greater collector interest and I was surprised how many of them cost between £50 and £100, though common ones are still in single figures.

There follows a number of sections on Inn tokens for Birmingham, Staffordshire and Worcestershire. A listing and analysis of stock dies and their makers, plus a "British Inn Token Location Tracer". A useful section is based on published research, listed by Inn name or where no name, by address or publican.

The final section is a "Comprehensive Index of Makers, Token Issuers, Topics and Illustrations in Hawkins' Dictionary of Makers." Sadly Roy Hawkins died in 1987 before completing the final editing. That it was published is commendable and this index will greatly assist in accessing information from its 1004 pages and 32 plates

John Whitmore and many who made their information available will be thanked by collectors of the various series covered in this useful publication. The price may deter some, but it should be put in the context of the amount of information and that at today's prices the cost would only buy one of the scarcer tokens covered. The book can be obtained from: Whitmore, Teynham Lodge, Chase Road, Upper Colwall, Malvern.WR 13 6DJ.

John Roberts-Lewis

EDITORIAL TAIL PIECE

Doesn't anyone else in the Club beside John Roberts-Lewis and the Editor read numismatic books ? If they do, their views, i.e. a review, of what they have read, would be welcome material for the Club's Newsletter.