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NEWSLETTER

THE JOURNAL OF THE LONDON NUMISMATIC CLUB

HONORARY EDITOR

Peter A. **Clayton**

EDITORIAL

The Club has been fortunate in not only having excellent speakers this past year (as arranged by David Sealy), but also in that many of the speakers have been kind enough to take the trouble to supply scripts of varying lengths for publication in the Club's Newsletter. This is not as straightforward as it may seem — it is, for the Editor, in a way, a double-edged weapon. He still has to edit those scripts from the spoken to the written word, and also to then type it all out into the computer (unless, as does happen on rare occasions, the speaker is able to supply a disc and a hard copy printout).

Once again the talks given to the Club have ranged widely over the field of numismatics, including bank notes, as can be seen from the Contents page. As usual, however, the Honorary Editor repeats his plea for material to include in the Newsletter in addition to the reported talks —short contributions that would be of interest to members generally (or specifically), or reviews and discussion of recent numismatic publications, will always be looked upon with a favourable editorial eye.

Peter A. Clayton, Honorary Editor

London Numismatic Club Meeting, 9 January 2001

The Club was delighted to welcome as its first speaker of the New Year Paul Withers to speak on 'Copper Tokens of the Early 19th Century'. Paul and his wife Bente are well known in numismatics for their vast publishing output under their Galata Print imprint, and they also typeset the prestigious periodical *The Medal* for the British Art Medal Society.

Paul began by outlining the genesis of the mighty volume he and Bente had produced on the series. As we all know, practically all early 19th century cooper tokens were produced in Birmingham, and the 'Bible' for the series was Davis's seminal work *19th-Century Tokens*. Initial thoughts were to produce a straight reprint of Davis, not intending to do any original writing, and to scan and process the text. There is, however, much wasted space in Davis, so the next thought was to incorporate a few corrections, and perhaps add a few more illustrations not in the original. This would have produced a book of some 90 pages, and with illustrations the number would be 120 pages. A straight reprint, it was estimated, would take three months and, with added illustrations, say six months.

The final result, however, was distinct, innovative, and as complete as possible with the maximum possible information - complete legends and inscriptions, full accurate descriptions and details of metal, die axis, weight, diameter, type of edge and, of course, rarity based largely, but not totally, on the number of specimens seen during the compilation. A project that had been intended to last three months at the most, with 120 pages, ended up with 264 pages, and took three years to complete.

Initial work took place on a flatbed scanner (which cost a fortune at the time, and prices have since, as with most things in a technological world, dropped considerably). Once the text is scanned, you can begin to make the necessary corrections, and a card index was formed alongside the additions being made. Photographs were continually taken as specimens were found and recorded - and here tribute must be made to the many dealers, collectors and museums who were extremely helpful in making specimens and information available. Photos were stuck into the card index so that accuracy of legends and descriptions could be checked. It was realised quite early on that not only had Davis in his *19th-Century Tokens* missed many pieces but that even with listed pieces there were

many mistakes in the descriptions, the counting of leaves, berries, chimneys and stays and, not least, a confusion between left and right or ignoring important details such as which way a figure faced. Probably a number of these errors had arisen from copying incorrect or inaccurate observations made by Sharp or Samuel. In the latter case, a marvelous discovery was made - Samuel's collection, still intact, was held by the National Museum of Wales. However, much of the metal was of poor quality or the pieces badly worn. It was this latter factor that, oddly enough, saved the collection intact. After Samuel's death the family had tried to sell the collection through various auction houses or dealers, none of whom were interested so, after about 20 years, in desperation the family gave the collection to the National Museum of Wales.

The first of the early cataloguers was Sharp who worked from one collection - Chetwynd's - but although Sharp was a good cataloguer on the few occasions that he uses the word 'die', he usually gets something wrong. This happens in his first entry where he says that the threepences of North and Co and John Featherstone from Wiveliscombe were struck using different reverse dies, which is quite wrong. He also writes that there is a variety of the Halesowen workhouse token. Davis, right for once, said that advanced collectors had failed to find it - neither did the Withers! But, one must not knock Davis too much - Paul had developed a tremendous respect for Davis as the completion of the book approached. Davis was a virtual pioneer in this field who had managed to write a major new reference catalogue which incorporated every major type. All that was available to him was Sharp's catalogue of the Chetwynd collection and Samuel's comments in *Bazaar Notes*. The former was by no means complete , and the latter contains almost as much opinion as it does fact. Another reason why Davis encountered problems was the fact that he did not have the advantage of close observation and comparison of tokens with good enlarged photographs - a technique not then available to him.

In the old university collections of coins, such as Oxford and Cambridge, will be found superb collections of 18th century tokens -Cambridge has two, one a mirror image of the other, each more or less complete and every piece in superb condition - comparison is thus very easy. Nineteenth century tokens, however, the industrial product of an industrial age, were circulated, became worn and had no collectors such

as Condor or Pye eager to collect and identify each new variety, and there certainly were no collectors eagerly awaiting new issues at the factory gates, although Matthew Boulton Junior did collect the odd few tokens. Because of the lack of good specimens, Davis was often trying to describe worn or damaged examples, or relying on the opinions of Samuel. Why Davis chose to believe Samuel and largely ignore a wonderful set of rubbings (still surviving in a private collection) that Atkins sent him when he heard that he was going to publish a catalogue of 19th century token is a mystery.

A major change in the new book was to list the tokens in alphabetical order of the town in which they were issued, thus requiring a certain amount of moving things around. As may be expected, towns beginning with the letter 'B' take up practically half the space of the book. This system works well with 17th and 18th century tokens, but not so well with the 19th century. Counties such as Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire and Kent have, astonishingly, none at all, along with most of Wales. Interestingly, if a distribution map is made of the places of issue and superimposed on one of the distribution of density of sheep, those areas that have most sheep seem to have issued fewest tokens.

Another reason for listing the pieces in alphabetical order of town is that county boundaries, when Davis was writing, or when the tokens were issued, have changed, sometimes several times, and have even changed back again in some cases. At least an arrangement by town name is relatively stable and avoids the problems of shifting boundaries.

Whilst 19th century silver tokens illustrate the zenith of trade in county and market towns, the copper tokens are different. They illustrate a time of great change a time when local traders, pillars of their communities, were concerned with honesty, image, charity and philanthropy. The majority of local trader-issuers were concerned with meeting a desperate need, the provision of small change, and there was not always a profit to be made out of either silver or copper tokens. Birmingham Workhouse certainly made a loss on their silver issue, and Cox and Co of Taunton also made a loss on their issue of copper tokens. Comparing the places of issue of copper and those of silver tokens is interesting - the places that issued silver tokens were largely the cities and the old market towns, whilst the copper tokens were, in the main, issued

in the growing centres of industry but, curiously, Wolverhampton refused to touch them.

Davis lists only two manufacturers - Edward Thomason and Thomas Halliday. Halliday was, however, an engraver and die sinker, and it is unlikely that he struck tokens on his own account, unless of course he was that obscure character Henry Morgan of Rathbone Place, London - a possibility that might be considered. The whole matter of who made the tokens was shrouded in a veil of mystery until the discovery of three highly relevant letters in the Boulton Archives and information from the Birmingham Workhouse archives. The letters are from Zacharias Walker who was Matthew Boulton Junior's secretary. They reveal the names of some manufacturers but, importantly, not mentioning Halliday as such. They also say something about the manufacturers who were operating in a business that was beset with problems, not least of which was a belief that some engravers were likely to make counterfeits of their tokens if they caught a glimpse of them. Relations between manufacturers in Birmingham during the last quarter of the 18th century were often strained, and there is no reason to assume otherwise in the first quarter of the 19th century.

Paul showed slides of a number of the relevant tokens and commented on their content, manufacturer, and other details of the place of issue as relevant, referring back to Davis, Sharp or Samuel in appropriate places. In all this gave a very rounded picture of the copper token issues of the early 19th century and certainly brought not only the tokens but also their circumstances of issue to life.

London Numismatic Club meeting, 7 February

Derek Noake's came to the Club to speak on 'The London Institution Passes' - he said that he was particularly pleased to do so as it was the first time the talk on the Institution had actually been given in London. It was the research entailed to establish the names of the people who had held these passes - simple pieces of copper bearing numbers - that was of such interest.

Late 18th century London was still the place of the public house and, to a lesser extent, the coffee house, but the days of the tavern were already numbered. The London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street was one of

the last of the City taverns to retain its old patronage and prestige and, although it had come to be a luncheon club for City merchants and brokers, there were many who still resorted to it in the evenings for dinner, The large upstairs mom could seat 300 in comfort. The East India
The
Company used to give their annual dinners there, as did some of the City Livery Companies whose halls were not large enough, or who had no Hall of their own.

The movement towards clubs and institutions had now started and took permanent hold of society. Men having the same intellectual interests preferred to constitute themselves into elective bodies and decide upon a specific date and place for meeting. They preferred to assemble where they owned the premises and were sure not to be intruded upon.

On 28 March 1805 a meeting of dissidents, essentially a breakaway group from the Royal Institution, took place at the George and Vulture Tavern in Lombard Street. Following this Sir Francis Baring was invited to take the chair at a public meeting held at the London Tavern on 23 May 1805. Before that meeting closed £60,000 had been promised, and Sir Francis became the first President of the London Institution in 1805 until his death in 1810.

The Proprietors were mainly engaged in trade or commerce, and science was now seen as an important study closely linked to the production of wealth. Society was undergoing a transformation, a new social group was gaining strength. Merchants and manufacturers were becoming increasingly wealthy and much aware of the part they played in the war with France. Commerce expanded with more shipping, the docks developed and canal mileage increased. Scientific societies and discussion groups were formed and by bringing science and commerce together the new Institution would put new vigour into both.

We now know that such was the thinking of the body of men who gathered together for the inaugural meeting of the proprietors of the London Institution on Thursday 17 October 1805, just four days before Nelson's death at Trafalgar.

The Plan and Bye Laws stated its ideals as being for the advancement of literature and the diffusion of useful knowledge. The design of the Institution was to promote the diffusion of science, literature and the arts. It views were then confined to three objects:

1. The acquisition of a valuable and extensive library.
2. The diffusion of useful knowledge by means of lectures and experiment.
3. The establishment of a reading room where the foreign and domestic journals and other periodical works, plus the best pamphlets and new publications, would be provided for the use of the Proprietors and Subscribers.

The Proprietors were to be limited to one thousand and the Institution run by a Board of Managers. There were to be three forms of membership of the London Institution. The Proprietors were to pay 75 guineas each and their interest in the Institution was to be equal, permanent, transferable and hereditary, and to extend to the absolute property of the establishment.

The life subscribers were to pay 25 guineas, increased to 35 guineas in 1806, and were to have the same use of the Institution as the Proprietors, but to have no say in the management. The conditions for the annual subscribers, payment not specified, was to be the same as the life subscribers.

The accounts for the first year to 31 December 1806 tell us that 961 Proprietors paid the 75 guineas for the privilege of joining the Institution. However, who were these men who were prepared to pay such a significant sum to became shareholders of so exclusive a Society?

The first list of Proprietors available is for 1813 and this printed list is almost certainly a record of the original members with some additions. There are several people listed who had died in the intervening period but no attempt had been made to delete their names, probably because the Share had not then been transferred. The list includes the Marquis of Bute, the Rt Hon. Lord Carrington, FRS, and the banking families of Baring, Robarts and Lubbock (also a further Fellow of the Royal Society), Edward Jenner, MD, together with some of the 13 men who were to be, or had already fulfilled the role of, Lord Mayor of London. There are many names on that list to which Derek was devoting time for an in depth study, and he mentioned some of them.

From the Huguenots there are the Cazenoves and the Bosanquets, the latter with East India Company connections. There was the Gurney family, wealthy Quaker bankers from Norfolk who had settled at Upton

in Essex. John Gurney's sister Elizabeth who became the prison reformer, was to marry Joseph Fry. Both Joseph Fry and his brother Samuel were members of the London Institution and John Gurney is listed as a manager in 1813.

The Gurneys neighbours at Upton were the Lister family. Dr Joseph Lister a fellow member of the Institution, bought a Queen Anne styled house in 1810 because it adjoined the estate of his friend Samuel Gurney.

The commercial community included a strong Jewish element, headed by the Mocattas and the Goldsmids. Daniel Mocatta was a Proprietor of the Institution in 1813 and Jacob Mocatta a life subscriber. The 1832 list also has Abraham Lindo Mocatta as a life subscriber. On the familiar advertising ticket of the stockbroker John Ashby it is said that the bear-like figure is Moses Mocatta, and the bull has the features of Nathan Meyer Rothschild.

Derek had traced nine members of the Goldsmid family who were members of the London Institution. They were headed by Abraham Goldsmid who owned a Grecian-style villa in the then village of Morden, south of London, and where, in August 1806, he threw a magnificent house-warming to which the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of Cambridge and of Kent, and the Lord Chancellor were invited.

There were a group of business at the time who were closely associated with the Institution. There was Sir James William Morrison, Deputy Master of the Mint for 47 years from 1803 to 1850. His name appears on the Proprietors lists for 1813, 1832 and 1841, being issued with bronze ticket number 255 in due course. Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society is listed, as is Matthew Boulton whose Proprietorship was inherited by his son, Matthew Robinson Boulton, in 1839. Other names include James Watt, FRS, Boulton's associate, John Rennie and, from the Royal Mint, Robert Bingley.

Sir Joseph Banks was one of the experts appointed to the Committee on Coin set up to appraise the Mint. Matthew Boulton's engineer John Rennie had been commissioned to investigate the state of the Mint and he, together with James Johnson, the Mint Surveyor, recommended the new site on Tower Hill, outside the Tower of London. Rennie reported that, compared to the new steam presses, the Mint's machinery was obsolete, that the organisation was inefficient and the staff

incompetent. In 1811 John Rennie was the engineer for the new Strand Bridge, which became Waterloo Bridge, crossing the Thames at Somerset House.

Edward Jenner was a fellow Proprietor. As a young doctor he had worked as a pupil of John Hunter, the famous anatomist and surgeon. It was on Hunter's recommendation that Sir Joseph Banks employed Jenner to prepare and arrange the zoological specimens collected on one of Captain James Cook's early voyages. In 1802 Jenner received a grant of £10,000 (an enormous sum then) from the Government, vaccinating 300 poor people in a day against smallpox. In 1806 Parliament granted him a further £20,000.

Treasurer of the Institution was Sir William Curtis, a rich, genial sea-biscuit manufacturer (and known as 'Sir Billy Biscuit'), a banker, a former Lord Mayor of London, a die-hard Tory member of Parliament, and a great favourite with the Prince Regent. He had been elected Alderman for the Tower ward at the early age of 33, and was known as 'The Father of the City'. Following the death of the Princess Charlotte in 1817, Sir William had accompanied the then Lord Mayor Matthew Wood at St Paul's Cathedral when the crowd became impatient waiting for the clergy to appear. Wood addressed the congregation but the clergy took fright and the mob, in anger, proceeded to tear down the doors of the cathedral. The accounts of the Institution reveal that in 1812 Sir William was overdrawn by £30.7.6d, and in 181 he took a loan of £3,500 for two years. He died aged 77 in 1829 and left a fortune of £300,000 (around £25 million today).

The premises of the London Institution were intended to be in the City, not in the West End, and there was considerable difficulty in finding a suitable building. Its first home was in Old Jewry, off Cheapside, and then in 1811 it moved to King's Arm Yard in Coleman Street to a freehold building costing £7000. Four years later, in 1815, it was decided that new premises were to be built in Moorfields with the eventual move being made in 1819. The cost of the new meeting place on the north side of Finsbury Circus, was over £30,000, but the Institution now had sufficient room for its library, already second only to that of the British Museum, and for writing rooms and a lecture hall.

In 1813 the Mangers announced that ivory transferable tickets were available to Proprietors and that in future no stranger would be admitted

without one. Each ticket was numbered so that it could be identified with the Proprietor to whom it had been issued. The President, Lord Carrington, had pass number one, and the Vice-Presidents and Managers shared most of the low numbers between them. Although satisfactory at first the ivory tickets were frequently lost, and this incurred a fine of one guinea. Even the noted Montague Guest Collection in the British Museum does not possess an example of an ivory pass, although they have been noted in commerce.

The Institution found that it required more funds and in 1813 any Proprietor who subscribed 30 guineas was entitled to an additional transferable ticket - eventually 106 Proprietors subscribed. In a further financial crisis in 1821 each Proprietor was asked to subscribe two guineas per year on each share to retain its proprietary rights. As the Institution had been the subject of a Royal Charter which passed the Great Seal on 21 January 1807, such a scheme necessitated a Bill being presented to the House of Commons in April 1821.

In 1830 the Mangers noted that there were considerable irregularities with reference to the transferable tickets. Constant losses and changes occurred which had not been properly noted, and it was now impossible to connect the numbers of the ivory tickets with the shares they represented. The tickets were therefore called in and, to secure the Proprietors against imitation, they engaged William Wyon of the Mint to sink a die. He, in 1830, with William IV becoming king, was heavily engaged with the Accession Medal, the Coronation Medal, and the necessary changes to the coinage - the London Institution commission was amongst the least of his concerns. However, the managers reported on 21 November 1830 that 'after considerable delay', Wyon had completed the passes and the new bronze examples were ready to be exchanged for the old ivory ones. The managers 'hoped the medal [pass] will not be considered unworthy of the London Institution'. A payment of £127.16s.6d is recorded in the accounts for 1831, and probably represents an order for 1000 medals. These were quickly issued after their receipt and the fee included a charge for engraving the shareholders' numbers.

The bronze passes are 43mm in diameter. The obverse shows a figure, presumed to be Minerva, reading a scroll and seated before the lamp of wisdom. The legend, 'Studio *Fallente Laborem*, a quotation from Horace (65-8 BC), can be translated as 'Study beguiling fatigue'. The

reverse carries the arms of the Institution. The device to the right of the globe is said to be an early machine for producing electricity, and the date, 1807, is the year the Royal Charter was granted.

One of the few references to the London Institution appeared in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* in November 1979 when Tony Merson gave a brief history of the Institution and referred to pass number seven. This was issued to one of the managers, Benjamin Harrison, FRS, FSA, FAS, manager of Guy's Hospital. He had previously held ivory ticket number 957. Harrison had succeeded his father as Treasurer of Guy's Hospital in 1797 at the age of 26, and thereafter he governed the hospital and its estates despotically without salary for 50 years. He had a bottle manufactory at Newcastle-on-Tyne. His marriage in 1797 produced three sons and six daughters. In 1848 he retired from the hospital and died in 1856.

Robert Bingley, previously mentioned, became King's Assay Master at the Royal Mint *in* April 1798. In 1815 he received a salary increase from £656 to £900, which is confirmed by a Mint indenture dated 6 February 1817. He appears in the Institution lists of 1813 and 1832 with his address as the Mint but on the 1841 list his address was Higham Lodge, Woodford, Essex. His pass number was 417, but he also had an additional pass numbered 1015.

The first 40 passes were issued in sequence to officials on the Committee: Francis Baily had pass no. 3; Edward Greenaway no. 32 and William Umfreville Smith had no. 35.

All the passes examined, with a single exception, were struck from the same dies. This main type divides into three categories:

Original strikings issued in 1831.

Later strikings with letters and date numerals not struck up. Even later strikings showing rusting of the die and with the arm and bodice of Minerva becoming bubbly.

Reverses of some of the passes show a crack in the die which is consistent and does not follow a course of deterioration relative to the number of the pass. This can be seen in an unnumbered silver medal which may be considered as a trial strike, possibly an off-strike sent to the Institution before striking commenced in the standard metal. This pass is identical to an example in the British Museum.

There *is* one exception which is possibly unique. It differs from any

other in that the vertical line on one side of the shrine on which Minerva sits is at variance with all the other passes examined. It is also the only pass not showing the reverse die fault. The early passes were struck on a 3mm planchete. whilst this pass measures 3.5mm. The number on it is engraved in the style of the early passes, and almost certainly by the same hand. The pass was acquired in 1995, having been listed in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* in 1984 as ' from a Wyon family source'. Its number, 268. could well have been one of the Wyons, but this does not seem to be the pass shown as issued in the lists for 1832 or 1841. Owing to its differing features and pristine condition there is good reason to suggest that it was not issued at the time of the general issue in 1831. There is no evidence of a member of the Wyon family being a member of the London Institution; why it was retained by the Wyons, and why it is engraved with the number 268 is a matter for further research.

John Barrow, who held pass no. 320, was Second Secretary to the Admiralty in 1803 at a salary of £2000, holding that post for 41 years and being a member of the London Institution for over 20 years. It was, apparently, at his suggestion that Napoleon was sent to St Helena.

There were numerous bankers associated with the London Institution, notably from Barings, the old established bank that has recently collapsed. The founder, Sir Francis Baring, was a member as was his eldest son Sir Thomas, and the second son, Alexander - both of whom were M.P.s. Alexander became Lord Ashburton and was Chancellor and Master of the Mint during Sir Robert Peel's administration of 1834 to 1835. In 1842 he was sent as special ambassador to the United States to negotiate the long disputed boundary between America and Canada. The successful boundary treaty he concluded in Washington is known, appropriately, as the Ashburton Treaty. His name appears on the lists for 1832 and 1841 with pass number 770 and living at 82 Piccadilly.

Another banker worthy of note was Charles Thelluson whose name appears on the first proprietors list. He had a Georgian mansion, Brodsworth Hall (now managed by English Heritage), on his country estate near Doncaster. He married Sabine Robart, of the banking family, and she and her son Charles were painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

The Chief Cashier of the Bank of England from 1835 to 1864, Matthew Marshall was also on the proprietors list for 1841. Another great City benefactor with pass no. 34 was Richard Lambert Jones. He was

Chairman of the committee set up in 1825 for the rebuilding of London Bridge and was appointed to the Board of Management of the London Institution in 1831.

Identification of the holders of passes by number is difficult as medals were continually being reissued. On the 1832 list there are 941 members, or passes issued. By the 1841 list 622 members have transferred out and 600 have been newly elected. This represents a turnover of 66%. The accounts do not list any entries for new passes bought in the intervening period, which might suggest a high recovery rate for the passes on transfer, and it would appear that the passes were made available on transfer. From 1853 there are numerous entries recorded for new medals being produced and for medal numbering. Whilst the frequency of transfer out may seem high, the age of the members must be remembered and also other factors such as retirement, sale, forfeiture and death, so an average rate of six per month is not excessive. Interestingly, the annotation of the life subscribers is not recorded in such detail, possibly for the very good reason that they were not issued with a metal pass.

There are frequent cases where the pass number has a suffix letter 'A' - the 1841 list of members has over 40 such parties. Initially this was thought to indicate a replacement pass, but there are examples which dispute this theory. Some even have the suffix 'AA'. Other instances of queries are, for example pass no. 428 with the Proprietor's initial and address on the case. This pass had previously been issued to Frederick Moiling of Eltham, but his name is crossed through and it was re-issued to the later holder Richard Debaufre of Coleman Street. These entries come from the 1832 list, however, on the 1841 list there is a pass no. 428 issued to Charles Nairne of Surrey. Clearly this is an example of a duplicate medal/pass being issued after the non-recovery of the original pass with that number. There is no indication of one being a replacement, which does act as a warning not to conclude too soon to whom a pass was issued.

Another such instance is pass no. 768. This is known in two copies, one of Type 1(A), the other of Type 1(C), a later striking. In 1832 and 1841 it is listed against Aeneas Barclay. It was either issued to a later Proprietor after the departure of the original holder, or Barclay lost his pass and was issued with a later type replacement. In the lists a number of

the Proprietors' passes have an asterisk against their number. This may indicate a replacement pass issued upon the loss of the pass holder's original medal. It is not a feature at a later date, as it is in the same style as the numerals - if the number is engraved, so is the asterisk; likewise, where impressed numbers are used. The passes that exhibit this feature are later strikings which show the deterioration of the obverse die. The two exceptions are 78* over 965 and 476* over 990. Numbers 965 and 990 from the original order of 1000 remained unissued. Apparently the asterisk was not used to signify the transfer of proprietorship. In the 1831 list of proprietors it signifies the shares of subscribers of 30 guineas.

The accounts for 1833 show 45 guineas (£45.5s) paid for brass medals and in 1834-5 £1.10s to Wyon for numbering them. The list for 1841 records 120 medals issued and the presumption is that 300 were struck since the numbers range from 1004 to 1253. There was an effort to issue the passes in alphabetical sequence against members names, but it was soon abandoned. Names annotated with more than one asterisk indicated that a 30 guinea pass was held; two asterisks indicated a 60 guinea subscription, when two medals were issued, and three stars were for 100 guineas and three medals. It had been thought that the medals were withdrawn in the 1840s but there are accounts for new bronze medals as late as 1893.

The London Institution ceased to serve its members in about 1912, although it existed in name until the early 1930s. It was a victim of poor management, rising costs and changing times. Its library was disposed of partly to the Guildhall Library and partly to the Institute of Oriental Studies who took over its building in Finsbury Circus in 1917.. This stood next to River Plate House until 1936 and was the only surviving building of the original Finsbury Circus. It was pulled down in 1936 and a new block of offices nine storeys high now stands on the site.

Derek's talk was illustrated by a series of slides of the relevant passes and also of a number of the people named and buildings associated with them.

London Numismatic Club Annual General Meeting
was held on Thursday 8 March, followed by a wine and cheese party

The following are the Club's Officers and Committee for 2001-2002:

President: Philip Mernick
Vice President & Librarian: Philip Rueff
Secretary: Robert Hatch; Assistant Secretary: John Roberts-Lewis
Treasurer: Paul Edis; Programme Secretary: David Sealy Editor, Newsletter: Peter Clayton
Committee: Tony Gilbert; Harold Mernick; Anthony Portner.

London Numismatic Club meeting, Tuesday 10 April

Paul Lewis came to the Club to speak on 'Saladin & Co'.

After a brief introduction as to why he became interested in Islamic coins (and especially in those of Saladin and his relatives), Paul emphasised that although they were generally poor in portraiture, they were rich in genealogy. The given name or 'ism' is quoted together with the father's name in an 'X son of Y' formula; for example, Yusuf (Joseph) bin (son of) Ayyub (Job). In fact Ayyub's name was given to the whole dynasty - the 'Ayyubid'.

The 'ism' is augmented by one, or more than one, honorific title or laqab'. For example, Al-Malik Al-Nasir = The Victorious King (literally 'helping'; one who helps Islam by his victories). Another example is Salah-al-din (pronounced Salah-ad-din; hence 'Saladin' = Honour (or, Redresser) of the Faith. His full titles and names were Al-Malik Al-Nasir Salah-ad-din Yusuf bin Ayyub. Not all the titles necessarily appear on any one coin, or in sequence. Some titles may be in the centre, others in a margin.

Most of the Ayyubid gold and silver coins, and many of the copper coins, are dated; necessarily in the Muslim 'Hijra Era'. This takes its origin from the date of the flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina in Arabia in the Christian (AD) or Common Era (CE) year 622. The Muslim year is lunar and thus about 3% shorter than the Gregorian solar year. Therefore a particular AH (Anno Hegirae) year may straddle more than one AD year or be contained within it. The comparative dating is approximate and follows that of Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, and Bosworth's *Islamic Surveys*. In the following survey the AH date will be given before the AD one.

Ayyub, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty and father of Saladin, was a Kurd of the Hadhbani tribe. He was, in 533/1138, recruited into the

service of Zangi bin Aq Sonqur, the Turkish governor of Mosul and Aleppo (Halab, in Arabic) in Mesopotamia, modern-day Iraq. Ayyub's brother, Shirkuh, entered the service of Zangi's son, Nur-ed-din. Into this military family was born Saladin, as Yusuf, in Tikrit on the river Tigris. When he grew up he became notably active in the battles against the Franks and other Crusaders. At this time Shawar was the vizier (or, wazir = chief minister) to the child Fatimid caliph Al-Adid of Egypt, but had been deposed. He sought the help of Nur-ed-din and was re-installed, but broke his bargain and was ultimately deposed by Shirkuh, who then became governor of Egypt in his stead. Shirkuh died of a colic two months later and the troops recognised his nephew Saladin as his successor and governor. Saladin executed Shawar for his duplicity.

The Fatimid caliph Al-Adid was unhealthy and died in 567/1171. The dynasty had been Shiite Moslems amongst a predominantly Sunni Moslem population. The Ayyubids and Zangids were Sunni. Thus the first coins struck in Saladin's reign in 567 bore the name of his overlord Mahmud bin Zangi and the *kutba* (Friday prayer) was said in the name of the Abbasid caliph of Baghdad Al-Mustadi (Imam al-Hasan, as on the coins). The mints of both gold and silver coins were situated in Cairo (Qahira, in Arabic) and Alexandria (Iskandariya, in Arabic). Nur-ed-din died in 569 and the first autonomous coinage of Saladin, bearing his name, was struck in 570.

By conquest and jihad (holy war; against the Crusaders) Saladin extended his domains through Syria, acquiring Damascus in 570/1174 and Aleppo in 579/1183 after the death of Nur-ed-din's son, Salih. A gold dinar of Cairo of 575 shows Saladin's added title of 'al-malik' (king). The northern part of Mesopotamia was added in 581/1185-6, with the first copper coin being struck in the mint of Mayafariqin that year.

The Crusaders suffered their greatest reverse in 583/1187 when on 4 July they were defeated at the battle of Hattin. The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem was destroyed. This fact is commemorated on the only Ayyubid gold coin of Damascus where Saladin is described as Sultan al-Islam wa'l-Muslimin (Sultan of Islam and the Muslims). The same titles are seen on a silver dirhem of 576 of Damascus. The Abbasid caliph Al-Mustadi had died in 576 and had been succeeded by Abu'l Abbas Ahmed (Al-Imam Al-Nasir, on the coins). Another dirhem of 585 from Hamah, also in Syria, adds the title 'Amir al-Muminin' (Commander of the Faithful) to the caliph's name.

Saladin died in 589/1193 and was succeeded in turn by his sons, brothers, and nephews, with division of the possessions among them. In fact, coins were struck in the names of his sons as planned successors before his death: Al-Afdal (Damascus), Al-Aziz Uthman (Cairo, Alexandria) and Al-Zahir Ghazi (Aleppo).

On the death of Al-Afdal in 592/1196, Saladin's brother, Al-Adil (the Just) Saif-al-din ('Safadin' of the chronicles = Sword of the Faith)

Abu Bakr took possession of Damascus. He also gained control of Egypt on the death of Uthman's son, Al-Mansur Mohammed in 595. Al-Zahir's descendants remained in control of Aleppo until 648/1260.

Al-Adil was a strong ruler of similar calibre to his late brother Saladin, and he ensured the succession of his son Al-Kamil Mohammed in 615/1218 in Egypt and Damascus. Indeed, a dirhem of Damascus bore their joint names. During the new reign the more ornate Naskhi script was substituted for the previously universal Kufic inscriptions on the coins. The latter sty le lacks the diacritical points that make transliteration of the Arabic writing somewhat easier.. The Ayyubids had already extended their sway to include the Yemen.

The usual gold, silver and copper pieces were struck in Al-Kamil's time, but in addition globular dirhems and fractions were struck in Egypt, the flans being smaller than the dies. Much inferior were the cast 'black dirhems' or 'waraqs' with about 30% silver content, a type that had been in circulation in Egypt under the Fatimids and continued until the Bahri Mamluks supplanted the Ayyubids in Egypt. Al-Kamil died in 635/1237 and was succeeded in Damascus by his four brothers in turn. Particularly in Syria there was much internecine strife and varying alliances with surrounding rulers, even including the Crusaders. His sons and grandson maintained control of Egypt until 647/1249.

Many of the Ayyubid silver and copper coins have flans too small or too worn for the marginal inscriptions to be legible. The pieces of Damascus tend to have a central area enclosed by a square, or an intricately laced six-foil. Those of Aleppo, Hisn Kaifa, Amid and Maridin are characterised by hexagrams (six-pointed stars). Portrait copper issues are found from Mayafariqin and Sinjar, being reminiscent of coins of the Artuqid dynasty. Coins exist without mint names but of Mesopotamian style showing a cross-legged turbaned sultan (Saladin?), or the constellation of Leo (a seated lion facing left, surrounded by four stars). The Harran mint may show beautifully floriated calligraphy.

The Ayyubid dynasty was gradually supplanted by its neighbours: in the Yemen by the Rasulids in 626/1229, in Egypt by the Bahri Mamluks in 650/1252, and in both Syria (Damascus and Aleppo) and Diyabakr (Mayafariqin and Sinjar) by the Mongols in 658/1260. Branches of the Ayyubids survived in Hisn Kaifa and Amid until as late as 866/1462 when they were overrun by the Aq Qoyunlu ('White Sheep' Turks).

In support of his talk Paul exhibited a number of interesting coins including issues of Saladin's sons from the mints of Damascus, Cairo, Alexandria and Aleppo, together with billon dirhems of Aden and Ta'izz. He particularly thanked Dr Luke Treadwell of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford for the loan of the slides used in the lecture and who had very kindly allowed him to select coins from the collection in the Heberden Coin Room for Dr Treadwell to photograph.

London Numismatic Club meeting. Tuesday 5 June

Virginia Hewitt, who has responsibility for the bank note collection in the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, gave a talk entitled 'Of National Importance: Paper Money and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe'. She illustrated her talk with fine slides of the relevant notes, many of them of bright colours and with interesting designs.

In the run up to the General Election there was, inevitably, renewed debate over whether Britain should join the European single currency, the Conservatives' promise to 'keep the pound' appealing to those who feel an emotional as well as an economic attachment to our currency. But, however strong these feelings may be, they cannot compare with those of people living in central and eastern Europe. There, over the last ten years or so, the introduction of new national currencies has unquestionably been of national importance, signalling at the least major political shifts, if not the fundamental constitutional change of achieving independent statehood.

My talk is concerned with a project undertaken in collaboration with Tim Unwin, formerly head of the Geography department at Royal Holloway, and currently leading the government's Imfundo initiative, using ICT to develop education in Africa. We have been looking at the current bank notes of some 19 countries in central and eastern Europe to see if and how the designs reflect emerging national identities since the collapse of communism and the break-up of the Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia. The project falls into two parts: first, we are setting up a website with a database of all the notes; secondly, with the generous help of funding from the British Academy, we are visiting several of the countries we are studying, and interviewing people involved in creating the note designs, from senior bank officials to committee members and the artists. (The database is still under construction, but for information on the project see www.ggshbnc.ac.uk/tim-banknotes)

The processes of selecting designs, and the themes chosen to represent national identity have varied according to the different circumstances of the countries - their histories, present conditions and their values, and hopes for the future. In this discussion I will look at

case studies from some of the countries we have visited, taking examples from central Europe, the Baltic states and former Yugoslavia, to show how they have responded to this remarkable opportunity to reaffirm -sometimes to create - a national identity.

Our first visit was to Hungary, a country which already had an established tradition of note issue. Even so, a great deal of consideration went into choosing the designs of the current series. A limited competition for the designer was won by Károly Vágoszky the designer of the National Bank of Hungary 's printing works, because his designs were the best marriage of aesthetic and security elements. This was Vágoszky's fourth series of notes for the Bank and he clearly took tremendous pride in this work. The theme chosen for the notes was great rulers and statesmen of the past. The highest denomination when the series was introduced in 1997, the 10,000 forint note, carries a portrait of the first king, St Stephen, who founded the medieval kingdom of Hungary around AD 1000. The backs of the notes carry images relating to the lives and work of those portrayed on the front; for Stephen, that design is a view of the palace of Esztergom on the Danube, Stephen's birthplace and one of his royal residences. A more recent hero is Count Széchenyi on the 5000 forint. This nineteenth-century statesman is known as 'the greatest Hungarian'; he founded the Academy of Sciences and developed the modern economy, his initiatives in areas such as transport are still visible today in the famous Chain Bridge linking Buda and Pest. In focusing on nineteenth-century growth, and depicting a man who helped to build the modern nation, this note exemplifies two themes we will find recurring in many countries.

By going back to the first ruler and choosing figures spanning ten centuries, Hungary's notes emphasise past glory and the longevity of a Hungarian identity, however often it has been threatened. Another central European country, the Czech Republic, has taken a similar, but not identical, approach. Here, plans for new bank notes began while the country was still Czechoslovakia. As in Hungary there was already a tradition of note issue, but the existing designs were old-fashioned and unpopular: for example, the 100 korun note carried a design dating back to 1961, with idealised figures of a peasant woman representing agriculture, and a male labourer for industry, their heads circled by a wheat sheaf and a cog wheel. In 1989 this note was replaced with a new

design carrying a portrait of Klement Gottwald, chief secretary of the Czech communist party in the 1920s; it was greeted with a public outcry. It was recommended that new notes should portray important people **from** various areas of life, and in the initial plans this honour was to be equally shared between Czechs and Slovaks. However, when it became evident that the country would divide, it was necessary to choose three more Czech heroes. **It** appears - or so we were told - that, almost because of a chance remark, this provided the opportunity for the inclusion of three women in the Czech series.

Like Hungary, the Czech notes include an early ruler and a nineteenth century statesman. Charles IV (1316-78), king of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor **is** known as the 'the country's father' and was responsible for such developments as the new town in Prague, and the Charles University. The statesman, Frantiöek Palacky (1798-1878) is called the 'father of the nation'. The designer of the notes referred to him more specifically as the 'father of the modern nation', because he felt that it was with the nineteenth century national movement that the country found its identity. **In** the background next to the portrait **is** an image of a book against a tree, symbolising the growth of the nation from its roots and Palacky's life's work, a history **of** the Czech people.

However, the Czech notes also celebrate culture, particularly with the portraits of women. The opera singer Ema Destinnová (1878-1930) performed in Berlin, London and New **York,** singing with the great Enrico Caruso. She was also a patriot, involved with the anti-Austrian revolt of the First World War. The 500 korun note depicts the romantic novelist Boñena Nçmcová (1820-62), also politically active. Her serene image, based on a portrait by Josef Hellich, belies the troubled reality of her life. The contrast between this and the sweetness of her writing **is** woven into the design on the back of the note. Here the designer has idealised the beautiful face **of** a Nçmcová heroine, her face framed on one side by roses, on the other by thorns. Such imaginative interpretation and attention to detail are typical of the work of **the** designer, Oldrich Kulhánek. That he was chosen to design the notes was itself a reflection of the new order, for under the old regime he had been arrested because of the political satire **in** his work. It is a matter of great pride to him that he has now designed the currency of his country.

Turning to the Baltic States we find quite a different situation,

though some of the note designs share characteristics already discussed. The history of these countries is predominantly one of rule by foreign powers. In modern times, after a brief period of independence from 1919-20 to 1940, they experienced German occupation during the Second World War, then 50 years of Soviet authority. All were republics in the Soviet Union and they used Soviet roubles as their currency. They cannot celebrate a powerful past and they cannot use themes from their notes of the 1920s and '30s, which now have an unacceptably out-dated socialist style. Indeed, the designer of the new Estonian notes explained that he had looked at the earlier issues, but found that 'they didn't help, of course'. These countries have therefore had to develop their own new traditions of note design.

Estonia has chosen themes which are significant across central and Eastern Europe. First, they focus on recent history, particularly the nineteenth century National Awakening, a key period for the flowering of Estonian identity. Secondly, the people portrayed on the notes are not rulers or statesmen, but cultural heroes whose work has often championed national identity and heritage. These are figures such as the novelist Anton Hansen Tammsaare (1878-1940), whose work includes a family saga as a metaphor for the lives of Estonians from the National Awakening until the 1930s, or the composer Rudolf Tobias (1873-1918). Many of Tobias's works were religious in theme and so were neglected during the Soviet era, a fate he shared with Tammsaare, whose writings were censored. Thus while their portraits give identity to the bank notes, the new currency is also a vehicle for reclaiming honour due to national figures whose achievements were suppressed under a foreign power.

The emphasis in Estonia is on cultural heritage to embody the nation, with a particular stress on the importance of language to express and preserve identity, an association which is found in the note designs of several countries in this study. Estonians' favourite note, by far, is the 100 kroon, with a portrait of the writer Lydia Koidula (1843-86); these notes are even nicknamed `Koidulas'. Her father founded the first Estonian-language newspaper, and she is regarded as the national poet: she is called 'the Nightingale', and a small image of that bird appears next to her portrait on the notes. The design on the back is not directly related to her work. The dramatic scene of the sea crashing against the

cliffs of the northern shoreline suggests, rather, an intuitive connection between the land, the turbulent history of its people, and the sometimes difficult and short life of Koidula herself.

Images relating to the land are the dominant theme in Latvia, which has taken a different approach, with less use of portraits or history. For many of the countries in our area, the notes project an urban, Christian identity. Explicit references to Christianity are perhaps a celebration of restored freedom to worship openly; they are also an acknowledgement of spiritual values - something not much in evidence on the bank notes of western Europe. Latvian notes also contrast with the west, but by drawing on a distinctively rural identity. For example, the oak is a sacred symbol for Latvians, and most of the great oaks in the country have been recorded; so the five lat note carries a fine oak tree, and every denomination has a little stylised oak leaf as a security feature. Images *on* other notes include the River Daugava, not for its commercial importance, but because it is the River of Fate, a mother uniting and providing for the people of Latvia; or a neat farmstead, symbolising the ideal of a settled rural life. This reverence for the land, for mother-earth rather than historical father-figures, is deeply felt and openly expressed, even by young people. Again, there is a spiritual quality, evident in another design element. On the right of all the notes, there is a vertical panel of geometric patterns. This is based on the Lielvarde Belt, the most elaborate and famous of the woven sashes found across the country. Lielvarde itself is no longer a major town, but the Belt has assumed mythic status: amongst many legends it is said that each person may find their own symbol hidden in the patterns, or that they relate the history of the world.

The 500 lat note is rather different. It carries the calm profile of the Latvian Folk Maid, a powerful symbol of independence. This image of a girl in traditional costume had appeared on the silver 5 lat coin, the highest coin denomination during independence in the 1920s and '30s. These coins came to have a value far beyond money; many were turned into brooches and later became symbols of protest against Soviet rule. The coins were cherished and loved; older people especially regarded them with reverence. Such memories and feelings remain strong, and so the Folk Maid now adorns the highest denomination of the new notes.

As with the Baltic States, the newly-independent republics which were once part of Yugoslavia have had to create their own currencies. Again, older note designs used in Yugoslavia offered little guidance, depicting out-dated allegorical figures, or traditional socialist imagery. Issuing their own money was an integral part of establishing independent economies - indeed, both Slovenia and Macedonia began planning their new currencies in secret, anticipating freedom that was yet to be realised. Arranging to talk to the designers of the notes revealed a happy connection, and the curious impact of changing boundaries. Biljana Unkovska, who designed the Macedonian notes, comes from what is now Macedonia, but studied at art school first in Belgrade, then in Ljubljana — then both part of Yugoslavia. She now lives in Ljubljana with her Slovenian husband, who drew the portraits for Slovenia's notes. The rest of the Slovenian images are the work of a Croatian designer, also now living in Ljubljana. But, while people may move easily across borders, differences in the recent history and circumstances of the former Yugoslav countries are reflected in different choices of design themes.

Since independence, Slovenia has largely known peace and prosperity; the population is 92% Slovene and the architecture and culture show clear western European influences. It was decided that the new bank notes should carry portraits of famous people who would be known to all Slovenians: not the changing faces of politicians, but renowned figures from different periods and fields in the arts and sciences. The main designer researched the lives of each person, so that even tiny details in the finished designs have some relevance; an assistant helped with computer graphics, and the painter, Rudi Spanzel, was responsible for the portraits, using existing paintings, photographs, and obliging friends who happened to have the right sort of eyes, nose or beard! As we have already seen in other countries, the people chosen are often associated with creating or preserving a distinct identity. The 10 tolar note shows Primoz Trubar (1508-66), a Protestant who produced the first translation of the Bible into Slovenian, while the 20 tolar note depicts Janez Valvasor(1641-93), a polymath particularly revered for writing a major work on the geography and customs of Slovenia; indeed, he was made a member of the Royal Society in London in recognition of his research into the 'disappearing' lakes and rivers in the Karst region. Part of the design on the back of the note is composed of map contours,

appropriate for Valvasor's work as a geographer, but they also have a charming personal significance for the designer, for they are from an area where he used to go walking with his girlfriend! The most popular figure is France Preseren (1800-49), the national poet, who appears on the 1000 tolar note. Like Nemcova in the Czech Republic, or Koidula in Estonia, he was a patriotic writer who died young after a difficult life, and who has become a national hero, and here we see yet again the importance of language and literature for the transmission of identity.

Macedonia presents a very different picture. It is a Balkan country, with several ethnic minorities. In February of 2001, the *Financial Times* reported favourably on the Macedonian economy, remarking on its success in avoiding Balkan conflict. When we flew to Skopje just two weeks later, ethnic Albanians were fighting in the hills, and we shared our flight with Kfor and American troops. The day after we left, fighting began in the cities. For a newly-created state in a volatile area, choosing `national' imagery for the currency is extremely difficult. The decision has been to focus on cultural heritage, on archaeological finds and buildings from the area now called Macedonia: in the designer's own words, they are things 'from the earth of Macedonia'. She also said that she had used her heart more than her mind in selecting images which she knew would be well known to Macedonians and that are visually beautiful, often reflecting a national liking for deep, bright colours. The result is a highly distinctive range of designs, with subjects such as the Egyptian goddess Isis, based on a glorious marble torso of the 3rd century BC in the Archaeological Museum in Ohrid; a peacock from a floor mosaic of a 5th- 6th century basilica; and a serene Madonna and Child, taken from an exquisite 14th century icon on a 1000-denar note, 1996.

As noted earlier, freedom to express Christian faith is greatly valued; we heard that some people had cried with joy that such images could now be so openly used.

The archaeological subjects neatly embrace both distant history and current boundaries, but they are not immune from controversy. It was stipulated that one of the notes should carry Albanian symbols. The 100 denar note therefore shows on one side an elaborately carved wooden ceiling rose, taken from a house in the Albanian town of Debar, and on the other, a window in a style used on old Albanian houses, through which there is a view of Skopje, based on a sixteenth-century Dutch engraving.

The publicity material from the Bank explicitly describes these features as Albanian, clearly signalling a wish to represent the country's largest ethnic minority, but amongst the Slav Macedonians this is the least popular note, and the design elements are seen as simply Balkan -with some justification for, in contrast to what the designer had been led to believe, the ceiling rose came from a house which was originally Macedonian, not Albanian. Over and over again we were told that in Macedonia the bank notes depict not national identity, but cultural heritage, and even that can be disputed.

There is no doubt that in central and eastern Europe, bank notes are of national significance. Of course they are first and foremost practical tools in the creation and maintenance of the economic stability without which nationhood cannot be sustained. Furthermore, many may have short lives as national currencies, as most of these countries hope to join the European Union and the single currency, but paradoxically, issuing national currencies now is part of the economic preparation for that step. Yet despite, or sometimes because of their short existence, the images on these notes have been consciously chosen to reflect and project distinct identities, and they are not just of economic but also of emotional importance for each nation. In Hungary we were told that 'the people and images belong to Hungary: they are a perfect choice'. In Estonia we heard that the cultural heroes depicted had been more important than politicians for the survival of the Estonian nation. The governor of the Bank of Slovenia who oversaw the introduction of the new currency said `the creation of a new state is something special' and Slovenians wanted their people and their history on the notes. Through this project we hope to record these images of identity and the stories of how they were chosen at a time of extraordinary change, for those who are living through it, and for those of us who are watching from the outside.

London Numismatic Club meeting, Wednesday 4 July

The speaker was Peter Preston-Morley of the auctioneers Dix Noonan Webb (DNW) who is particularly noted for his interest in and expertise on token issues. This evening he chose to speak on 'East India Portcullis Money', illustrating his talk with slides of the appropriate pieces.

Peter's interest in the portcullis money, those coins struck under Elizabeth I specifically to facilitate trade in the East Indies, began in 1975 and was nurtured by the late F. R. Cooper whose coins were sold at Glendining's in 1978. Peter said that there was little point in collecting the coins if one did not look into and study the background to them and the reason for their issue.

In the 1570s and 80s Portugal had built up a trade monopoly with the East. This was undermined in the 1590s by two works published by the Dutch geographer Jan Huyghen van Linschoten. Translations of these two works with their invaluable sailing directions for Eastern waters were eagerly sought by European merchants. An expedition to the East Indies for spices was set up by a Dutch consortium on nine merchants in 1594. They despatched four ships commanded by Cornelis Houtman, taking nearly 15 months to reach the north-east coast of Java at Bantam. A trading agreement was reached with the King but, because of local bad feeling created by Houtman,, it was not until late autumn in 1597 that the fleet returned to Amsterdam. The cargo consisted of 245 bags of pepper, 45 tons of nutmeg and 30 bales of mace. Although the sale of this more than covered the expedition's costs, only 89 of the original 249 men on the expedition survived. However, the Portuguese monopoly on the trade had been broken.

By 1595 five separate trading companies set up in different Dutch cities had sent 22 ships to the East. By far the most successful was the Company of the Far Lands, with its commander Jacob van Neck. He left Amsterdam on 1 May 1598, arriving at Bantam on 25 November. Five weeks later, with a cargo of 3000 tons of pepper and 125 tons of cloves he sailed for Holland, arriving in July 1599 with half his fleet. Profits from sales amounted to 100% and, when the second half of his fleet arrived in 1600, laden with cloves, nutmeg and mace, investors in the expedition saw their initial outlay quadrupled.

London merchants were appalled at the Dutch success, especially

since it undercut their own markets with the East through the Levant Company since those goods were land-transported and sold at far higher prices than the Dutch were charging. An initial meeting to counter the threat was held on 22 September 1599 in the city mansion of Sir Thomas Smythe in Philpot Lane. This was to be the place of meeting of the newly formed company for the next 20 years until 1621. The subscribers were known as the Company of Merchant Venturers - 101 of them subscribing their names included many City traders who put up an average of £200 to £300 a man. The total subscription raised was £30,133 6s 8d, a very considerable sum at the time. The value of the company formed was, however, to multiple in value by over 50 times. Most of the subscriptions were paid in coin, and this was largely in the form of foreign bullion such as cobs and other Spanish money that was in circulation especially in the mercantile community.

The figurehead of the new company was the Lord Mayor, Sir Stephen Soame, but the driving force was Sir Thomas Smythe. On the East India's Company's charter of incorporation in 1600 he is named as Governor. Subsequently involved in the Earl of Essex's rebellion, Smythe and his wife spent a while in the Tower of London but by 1607 he had regained his Governorship and was re-elected annually until 1621.

With £30,000 underwritten a second meeting on 25 September sought the way to proceed forward. It was resolved to petition the Queen for permission to send a trading fleet to the East, and for her to grant 'sole privilege for soe manie yeres as can be obteyned and for such freedomes of Custome and other tollerations and favors as may be gotten'. Concurrently, the Privy Council was petitioned 'that it may be lawful to send out foreign coin'. Should there be a shortage of specie then 'there should be coined in her Majesty's Mint so much foreign coin as shall supply the want of such bullion or plate as shall be brought in by the Adventurers, or by other means.' Although Elizabeth was in favour of the venture, she refused point-blank to sanction the coining of 'foreign' (Spanish) money at the Mint. Any direct challenge to Spanish and Portuguese eastern trade could set back the talks then in process to end the war with those two countries - she wanted to assert British rights by negotiation, and withheld approval for the voyage *pro tem.*

Negotiations in Boulogne in Spring 1600 on the question of Eastern trade had the Spaniards claiming, from a century-old Papal bull,

that divided non-European territory between them and the Portuguese. The English Commissioners replied by listing all the areas in the East not under effective Spanish or Portuguese control, and claiming a right to trade in those areas. In June 1600 the English diplomats were instructed not to accede to any Spanish restrictive demands, and in July the negotiations broke down. On 23 September a meeting at Smythe's house of the original subscribers agreed 'to go forward in the said viage' if the Queen granted permission. This she did and on 31 December 1600 she signed the charter of the Governor and Company of Merchants Trading into the East Indies, giving them a monopoly for 15 years.

Preparations were immediately put in hand with the purchase of three former Levant Company ships: *Hector* (300 tons), *Ascension* (260 tons), and *Susan* (240 tons). A fourth, a 600-ton warship, the *Malice Scourge* (later to be renamed as the *Red Dragon),* was bought from the Earl of Cumberland for £3,700. The merchants realised, knowing well that in any such trading enterprise English merchandise, which was mainly woollen goods, iron, tin and lead, would not be sufficient to attract the goods they wanted by barter alone, that they also would need to have a large supply of acceptable silver coin - Spanish 8-real pieces. A Committee for Rials was established and it acquired 24,000 pieces from Calais and had them brought to London. Sailors were hired, and paid two months in advance against a voyage anticipated to take eight months. Not least, the problem of what presents should be offered to local rules vexed their minds, and cases of pistols, silver ewers, helmets and the like were agreed to be appropriate.

The expedition was to be under the command of James Lancaster (who had commanded the *Edward Bonaventure* in the Armada), who was chosen as being 'a quietly efficient man' and who had previous experience of a voyage lasting three years to the East Indies. Queen Elizabeth changed her mind about recoining Spanish coin and required that a percentage of the foreign coin be recoined into an anticipated English trading equivalent of the Spanish piece of eight. On 11 November 1600 a warrant was issued for the coining of £5000 at the Tower Mint with the bullion being provided for same. This was to carry a portcullis on one side and the arms of England on the other. The coins were to be made at 11 oz 2dwt fine silver and 18 pennyweight of alloy to the Pound Troy. The coins were to be 8, 4, 2 and single Testern pieces, at 109 Testerns to

he pound weight. The two highest denominations were like in size to the crowns and half crowns of Edward VI issued almost 50 years previously. Although the Portcullis series was being struck at the equivalent weight of the Spanish 8-real piece, they were actually some 12% lighter. The work went ahead apace since by 24 January, only 13 days after the date when the Royal Warrant had been issued to Thomas Knyvet, Warden of the Mint, the full value of £6000 (increased from the original £5000) had been struck, together with a 'large overplus' of £66. The coins were 'pyxed' on 20 May 1601 at the Star Chamber, being referred to as 'dollars for the India voyage' [sic. Indies, i.e. Sumatra, Java, Indonesia, etc], and on 22 May the engraver, Charles Anthony, was paid £29.10s 'for stamps [dies] for the East Indie moneys'.

However, Gerald Malynes, writing c. 1620, noted that the Portcullis pieces were resisted when the merchants attempted to use them 'because they were not such as the people of these parts were acquainted with; but stamped with an image strange and unknown to them.' Their challenge to the Spanish silver cobs was not as effective as had been hoped, and the presumption is that the coins went into the melting pot either in England or at the factory at Bantam - very few worn specimens have survived to the present day.

When the Company made their second and third voyages to the East in 1604 and 1607, only Spanish money in the form of bullion was taken out. By the 1620s James I was allowing English gold and silver coins to be exported to the East, which is a factor affecting the present-day scarcity of many of the issues of the period 1610 to 1621. Memories of the Portcullis coinage were fast receding.

Peter illustrated a number of examples of the Portcullis coinage as he filled in the background with details of the vicissitudes and adventures of the voyage and the men involved. The voyage took nearly seven months, scurvy broke out on most of the smaller ships, but not the *Red Dragon* where Lancaster had the forethought to have stock of bottled lemon juice with every man receiving a daily dose - 105 men ended up dead. There were many tragedies and mishaps before they were finally to set sail for home on 20 February 1603, arriving in the Downs off the Kent coast on 11 September. The four ships had brought back 1,030,000 pounds weight of pepper which realised a profit of 95% for investors. King James I, now on the throne, knighted Lancaster for his efforts in

opening up the sea trade to the East.

Peter noted that he knew of 195 specimens of the Portcullis coinage, and also warned that there were a number of forgeries known; copies had also been made by the 18th century artist Stuart (who had also made copes of Thomas Rawlins's Oxford crown of Charles I).

These interesting pieces were the forerunners of the entire British Colonial series, and they played their own part at the start of England's exploiting the new-found wealth of the Orient which, with Dutch and Portuguese influence, was to lead to a time of ambition, greed, fear, danger and disease, with an insatiable desire for more and more profits symptomatic right through the 17th and 18th centuries and up to the Industrial Revolution.

London Numismatic Club meeting, Thursday 9 August

Hallowed by a long tradition in the Club the August meeting has always been a Members' Own evening, and this August was no exception. Several members presented short papers, exhibiting relevant coins or showing slides.

Following on from his comments on the S.S. *Great Britain* entrance tokens at last year's Members' Own meeting (LNC *Newsletter* vol. VIII, no. 4, pp. 36-7), **John Roberts-Lewis** gave an update on his discoveries relating to them. A 25mm brass machine token, similar to the 29mm specimen shown last year, had been obtained from the same site shop. Apart from their size, there are small differences between the two and they were not produced from the same model by a reducing machine but were from separately engraved dies. The smaller tokens, with a few larger ones in the same box, were still being offered at a modest price, and now seem to have been sold out. There was still no knowledge from the staff regarding the modern use of these tokens. One member of staff said that they were copies of the ones used at the 1843 launching and, for good measure, included the banquet which followed. Corlett's book, the last copy having just been sold, and the Brunel Papers were said to support this story, but neither of these sources do.

Discussion with the Curator of the Brunel Papers at Bristol University also confirmed that there was nothing in them about an entrance token. Both the Curator and John concluded that, for a banquet

for Queen Victoria and Prince Albert and invited guests, a brass entrance token would be most unlikely. Also, no copy of an invitation card seems to be known either.

A further example of a 19th century contemporary token was shown, this in white metal with Prince Albert on the obverse. Also shown were some 20th century medallions, two in silver and copper gilt, that celebrated the return of the S. S. *Great Britain* from the Falklands in 1970. These were presumably sold in aid of the restoration and featured the original propeller, the first to be used on an ocean-going steamship. Plans of this and of other contemporary propellers were also shown.

Another modern token exhibited was a 25.5mm brass piece issued in 1971 when Texaco launched their 255,000 ton tanker. Bought from a dealer, 100,000 of them had been given as petrol station gifts, divided as 50,000 in the north-east and 50,000 in the West Country. Lady Gladwyn, a direct descendent of Brunel, was invited to the Tyneside launch and the S. S. *Great Britain* Restoration Fund received a generous donation from Texaco. It was noted that this token mentions Brunel in his capacity as designer. This is the only mention found of him in any 19th or 20th century numismatic material which, considering his engineering achievements, is very surprising.

A final token shown was an example of the common Thames Tunnel medallion which carries a portrait of Brunel's father, Sir Marc Brunel. The connection here is not just a family one because the ship's engines were larger versions of a design patented in 1822 by Marc Brunel and used to drive the Thames Tunnel pumps. He also had taken out patents for condensers and fresh-water boilers whose designs were used in the S. S. Great Britain.

The talk was illustrated by slides, supported by the actual medallions, tokens, and relevant literature. In the discussion that ensued it was agreed that it is likely that the two sizes of entrance tokens were perhaps used for adults and children in a turnstile. John will continue with his efforts to find somebody who may know of the manner and use to which these tokens were put.

Tony Holmes spoke about the Roman Quinarius. He said that there had been a great deal of controversy about the date of the introduction of the denarius, but Michael Crawford's view, which is now generally

accepted, was that it was part of the general reform of the coinage in 212 or 211 BC during the Second Punic War. The system then introduced comprised:

denarius, struck at 72 to the Roman pound	4 scruples	450gm
victoriatus, really a Greek-standard drachm	3 scruples	3.375gm
quinarius, a half denarius	2 scruples	2.250gm
silver sestertius	1 scruple	1.125gm

The lower values were cast bronze coins. The denarius derived its name from its worth of 10 bronze asses, and likewise the quinarius was worth five asses. The latter carried a V, i.e. a Roman 5, just as the early denarii were marked X, as 10. The victoriatus was, therefore, presumably worth seven and a half asses.

Before the reform the main silver coins were the quadrigatus, really a didrachm struck on the Greek standard, and the half quadrigatus, and other didrachms and drachms. For a long while we had been misled by Pliny who said that the denarius was first struck in 269 BC, but he was writing in the first century AD and using an earlier source, now lost, about coinage 300 years earlier. Probably the original source said that silver was first coined in 269 BC and this, to a writer of the first century AD, would mean denarii - they would probably know nothing of the earlier didrachms.

It is probable that the victoriatus was not intended for use as part of the coinage used in Rome but rather in areas of Cisalpine Gaul and the Rhone Valley where the Greek drachm was the accepted standard. We know that it was called the victoriatus because Pliny says so.

The early Roman quinarius was struck only for a few years, 211-207 BC, then the type seems to have fallen into disuse. At the same time, with the extension of Roman coinage to Italy, the victoriatus did enter into use in Rome itself, if it had not been there all the time. By this time they were worn coins and underweight; one text of 101 BC is only explicable on the basis that victoriati were now passing as a half denarius instead of three-quarters. The victoriati take their name from the figure of Victory erecting a trophy on the reverse. The next development is that, after about 100 years or more when neither coin was being struck, the quinarius reappears, but it has adopted the Victory reverse of the victoriatus which was no longer struck.

The subsequent history of the quinarius is rather odd. There are periods under the Republic when large quantities of quinarii are struck and then, in-between, there are periods when few or none are issued. The periods of large issues appear to coincide when large numbers of soldiers were being discharged into civilian life.

Some quinarii carry special types, one was apparently struck to commemorate Marc Antony's 40th birthday. It has a portrait of his wife Fulvia on the obverse and a lion with A. XL as the reverse; a similar later issue has 'anno XLI'. Possibly the female head represents Victory but it has none of that goddess's attributes and looks just like Fulvia. Julius Caesar had struck a quinarius with Pietas/Trophy referring to his triumph in the Gallic war; Brutus had two types with the head of Liberty on both; Augustus reminded people that Asia had been recovered from Marc Antony, and his legate in Spain, P. Carisius, also found it necessary to issue one. Both Galba and Vitellius issued quinarii despite the brief length of their respective reigns. A few quinarii continued to be struck occasionally alongside the silver denarii and, surprisingly, even when the antoninianus became debased occasional quinarii were struck. Dr Cathy King published a study of these in the Festschrift for Humphrey Sutherland. Her conclusion was that they were not struck to supply small change but were connected with special occasions such as consulships, the accession of a Caesar, the birth of an heir, and the five-yearly vota. Once issued they did not circulate as part of the normal money supply.

Quinarii continued to be struck in small numbers and sporadically right up to the monetary reforms of Diocletian in 295. Spink seem to think that there were quinarii even after the Reform, under the Tetrarchy; *RIC* calls these simply 'fractional folles'.

A final mention should be made of a bronze coin of the British usurper emperor Allectus (293-296) which has a galley reverse and the letters QL or QC in the exergue. This piece was produced in considerable numbers for general circulation and is often referred to as a quinarius, to which the Q in the exergue gives some support, although its size in relation to the antoninianus would rather suggest a denarius.

Overall we are left with a good deal of mystery about all quinarii and why, indeed, they were struck at all.

David Sealy presented an amusing numismatic comment in 'An Antediluvian Coin?'. He said that earlier this year, a former colleague

(similarly retired from the Natural History Museum) sent, for numismatic comment, Ana account he had found of a supposedly very ancient 'coin' from Illinois, USA. He, although a distinguished British entomologist, was no numismatists nor even anything like a geologist. As a scientist he ought to have known better than to give this kind of thing any credence, but he *wanted* to believe in it - it was therefore necessary to disillusion him.

The quasi 'coin' was found as long ago as 1871, and its present whereabouts is unknown. Its existence, however, has become an article of faith for those (mainly USA citizens) who seek an antediluvian antiquity for civilisation on the American continent. This seems to be largely through an unconscious jealousy of the rich archaeological heritage of the Old World. None are more credulous than the Americans when it comes to believing what they want to believe - they entertain more crazy cults and irrational ideas than any other nation.

The article that started this 'wild goose chase' was in a recent book, *Forbidden Archaeology* by M. A. Cremo and R. L. Thompson (Bhakti Vedanta Book Publishing Inc, Los Angeles, 1996); there is a condensed version entitled The Hidden History of the Human Race. On pp. 109-110 we read:

'In 1871, William E. Dubois of the Smithsonian Institution reported on several man-made objects found at deep levels in Illinois. The first object was a copper quasi-coin [illustrated] from Lawn Ridge, in Marshall County, Illinois. In a letter to the Smithsonian Institution, J. W. Moffit stated that in August 1870 he was drilling a well using a "common ground auger". When Moffit brought the auger up from a depth of 125 feet, he discovered the coin-like object "on the auger". [...]

In 1881, A. Winchell also described the coin-like object. Winchell quoted a letter by W. H. Wilmot, who listed a sequence of strata slightly different from that given by Moffit. Wilmot reported that the quasi coin had been discovered in the well boring at a depth of 114 feet rather than 125 feet.

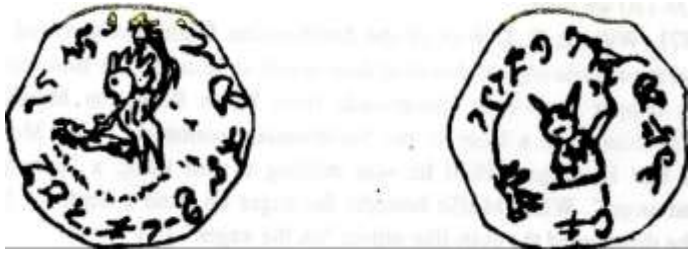
Using the sequence of strata given by Winchell, the Illinois State Geological Survey gave us an estimate for the age of the deposits at the 114-foot level. They would have been formed during the Yarmouthian Interglacial "sometime between 200,000 and 400, 000 years ago".

W. E. Dubois said that the shape of the quasi coin was "polygonal

approaching to circular", and that it had crudely portrayed figures and inscriptions on both sides. The inscriptions were in a language that Dubois could not recognise, and the quasi coin's appearance differed from any known coin.

Dubois concluded that the coin must have been made in a machine shop. Noting its uniform thickness, he said that the coin must have "passed through a rolling-mill; and if the ancient Indians had such a contrivance, it must have been pre-historic". Furthermore, Dubois reported that the coin must have been cut with shears or a chisel and the sharp edges filed down". The account goes on to refer to other artefacts found by workmen at 120 feet.

You will note that there is no indication of the size of the piece, only one side of which was illustrated, nor was its composition stated. The drawing accompanying the text seems highly improbable. On this basis I told my friend not to believe in it, but I though it worthwhile to dig a little deeper. This brings us to the *locus classicus* of Atlantis 'studies', and two rare books by Ignatius Donnelly, *Atlantis, the Antediluvian World* (1882), and *Ragnarok, the Age of Fire and Gravel* (1883), where the 'coin' and its finding are more fully described:



The 'coin-like' object from drawings based on Cremo and Thompson for the 'obverse', left, and Donnelly to add the 'reverse', right.

'Three persons saw "the coin" at the same instant, and each claims it. This so-called coin was about the thickness and size of a silver quarter of a dollar, and was of *remarkably uniform thickness*. It was approximately round, and *seemed to have been cut*. Its two faces bore marks as shown in the figure [illustrated], *but they were not stamped as with a die nor engraved*. They looked as if *etched with acid*. The character of the marks

was partly unintelligible. On one side, however, was a rude outline of a human figure. One of these held in one hand an object resembling a child, while the other was raised as if in the act of striking. The figure wore a head-dress, apparently made of quills. *Around the border were indecipherable hieroglyphics.* The figure on the opposite side extended only to the waist, and had also one hand upraised. This was furnished *with long tufts of hair like mule's ears.* Around the border was *another* circle of hieroglyphics.'

The text goes on to recount the various explanations offered but before Donnelly maunders off into metaphysical pseudo-antiquarianism he does at least provide some more concrete information and all-important original references.

The first appearance in print of our 'coin' seems to be a paper by William E. Dubois in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 12 (86), for December 1, 1871, pp. 224-8. This publishes the essential details already recounted in a letter from Jacob W. Moffit. There is then a detailed discussion of the prairie environment and the geology of the area.

Dubois goes on then to describe the piece again remarking that 'Properly speaking it is not a *coin* or a medal, since the marks upon it have not been produced by striking, but by engraving or etching; and they are sunken, or intaglio. ... For myself, I have seen nothing like it.' A Professor Lesley suggested that it was an astrological amulet with the signs of Pisces and Leo on it., and he reads the figures on it as giving the date of 1572. He adds a sceptical addendum: 'The piece was placed there as a practical joke, though not by the present owner; and it is a modern fabrication; perhaps of the sixteenth century; possibly of Hispano-American, or French-American origin. It may have some connection with the journeys of the early French priests or their voyageurs'.

It is evident form the foregoing that scientific observers from the beginning thought the piece was not a genuine ancient artefact, but they did not say so outright only because it would have meant calling someone a liar, with the risk of litigation or worse. There is no doubt in my mind that the piece is wholly spurious, and the marks on it perhaps etched or corroded naturally. They may well be really random and accidental but have had meaning read into them by wishful thinking - on this we cannot say as the original piece is not available to be examined. But it is copper,

and so if not a deliberate concoction could possibly be a heavily worn George III half penny, or an American 'evasion' piece of similar size, perhaps even a large cent, although that would be thicker and we do not have the weight of thickness.

Particularly significant is the statement by Winchell quoting Wilmot that 'three persons [workmen?] saw the "coin" at the same instant, and each claims it, though presumably Winchell bought it from them, as he said that he had it in his possession. One of those persons, I believe, probably planted it; it would be easy enough to do (and worth a few dollars). And on this extremely shaky basis there has been built up a whole mythos of an antediluvian, i.e. Pleistocene, American civilisation! An object lesson indeed - is one being too sceptical?

Other contributions to the evening included some comments by **Robert Hatch** on a Sasanian coins, and **Philip Mernick** who remarked upon the symbolism of some jettons relating to British history.

London Numismatic Club meeting, Tuesday 4 September

Professor Ted Buttrey addressed the Club on the subject of 'False United States gold bars: an update'.

Unfortunately the Editor could not be present at this talk because of other commitments on the night, and so no notes were taken. Ted Buttrey has, since that date, been extremely busy and also abroad a lot, so it has not been possible to provide a script. Hopefully, we may be able to include a contribution on the subject in a future issue of the Newsletter.

London Numismatic Club meeting, Wednesday 3 October

Dr Mark Blackburn, who is Keeper of Coins and Medals in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, spoke about a recent major acquisition to the Museum's collection - 'The Conte Collection of Norman Coins', one of the finest collections ever formed of Norman and Angevin coins dating from 1066 to 1279.

The collection was assembled by Dr William Conte, an American geneticist and a leading authority on Norman coinage. Dr Conte's aim was to create a representative reference collection of coins in the best possible condition, in order to illustrate the great variety of portraits and other designs, and the mints at which they were struck. He assembled the collection from various sources between 1975 and 2000. The 750 coins include many that are unique or great rarities. That the collection could

be saved in this way for the nation is due to the very generous grants made by the Heritage Lottery Fund and the National Art Collections Fund. The collection is of national importance and the finest of English coins of the period 1066-1279 that exists outside of the British Museum.

The richness and variety of the English coinage during the two centuries following the Conquest is chronicled by this remarkable collection. The breakdown of the collection of 750 coins is: William I, 108; William II, 32; Henry I. 166; Stephen, Angevin and baronial, 135; Short Cross, 84; Long Cross, 225.

Coinage under the Normans

The Norman Conquest had little immediate impact on the coinage of England, apart from the change in the king's name. William the Conqueror (1066-87) adopted the highly sophisticated late Anglo-Saxon monetary system as it stood. Initially, the same mints continued to operate, numbering 50 or so across the country and run by some 170 moneyers who were named on the coins. The coin designs - normally a portrait of the king and an elaborate cross - were subtly changed every few years, and people were expected to bring their money into the mint to have it recoined into the new type - paying a fee for the service, of course. Between 1066 and the final abandonment of this system of periodic recoinages in 1158, some 32 different combinations of designs were used.

One development of the coinage by the Normans was the extension of minting. Following their campaign in Wales and the building of castles, they established mints in Cardiff, Swansea, Pembroke, and possibly St David's and Abergavenny, all of which are represented in this collection. In Northern England they also set up new mints, not as a result of new conquests, but prompted by the discovery and exploitation of rich silver ores in the Pennines. So mints were opened at Durham, Carlisle, Newcastle and other border towns such as Bamburgh and Corbridge.

During the long and peaceful reign of Henry I (1100-35), the duration of each coin issue was reduced to an average of only 18 months. The king was constantly concerned about perceived failings and abuse of the coinage, and in a notorious move at Christmas 1124 he ordered all his moneyers to be punished by the loss of the right hand and castration. We can see from the coins that the great majority left office, and new men were appointed to produce a reformed coinage which was to last for the rest of his reign, i.e. the periodic renewal had been abandoned. Earlier in the reign he had briefly experimented with issuing round halfpennies. The Conte collection contains five of the eleven surviving specimens.

Baronial minting during Stephen's Civil **War**

For much of King Stephen's reign (1135-54), the country was divided

between supporters of the king and supporters of the Empress Matilda and her son Henry of Anjou (later Henry II). Only in the south east did the king's authority still hold sway, and in the rest of the country members of Matilda's party, or other earls and barons who chose to remain independent, issued their own distinctive local coinages. Major figures such as Matilda, Henry of Anjou, Robert of Gloucester and Henry of Northumberland are named on the coins, as well as less well-known ones as Patrick of Salisbury, Eustace FitzJohn, Robert de Stuteville and Henry de Neubourg.

Stabilisation under the Angevins

After Stephen's troubled reign, Henry II (1154-89) restored order to the country. He instituted monetary reforms on two occasions, finally abandoning the Anglo-Saxon system of periodic recoinages, reducing the number of mints and rationalising their organisation so that they became 'factory' mints. Output also rose dramatically, increasing the amount of money in circulation and hence the uses to which it was put.

Towards the end of his reign, in 1180, he introduced a new coin type, the Short Cross coinage, which continued to be minted with minor changes throughout the reigns of his successors Richard I (1189-99) and John (1199-1216), and into the time of Henry III (1216-72). In 1247, Henry III altered the style of the cross on the reverse of the coins. This Long Cross type, with three pellets in its angles, remained characteristic of English coins for the rest of the Middle Ages.

Having given an overall background to the collection and the period which it covered, Mark went on to illustrate many of the coins; picking out some of the more interesting ones was, at times, quite difficult because of the richness of the collection.

On a William I, type 1 (1066-c.1068), of the London mint and the moneyer Garvin. William the Conqueror looks almost identical to King Harold on his coins, except that he is clean shaven while Harold is bearded. William was trying to reinforce the idea of continuity from the Anglo-Saxons. On a type 3 (c.1070-2), the Northampton mint and moneyer SÊwine, William is shown in front of or within an audience hall, similar to that in the Bayeux Tapestry.

Many coins of William I's type 8 (c.1083-6?), are interesting. Coin dies were normally made in London in a uniform style and distributed to mints throughout the country. However in the extreme west and north of the country it was not unusual for the dies to be made locally in a much cruder style. A number of coins from these mints show these characteristics. There was the moneyer Swien at Cardiff. At 'Devitun' (St David's?) mint, the moneyer was Turri. The attribution is uncertain, but Dewi is Welsh for David, and there is an area of St David's today still called 'Dewiston' (David's place). William I visited St David's in 1081. At

'Funi' (Abergavenny?) mint, the moneyer was Ælfwine, but the attribution of these coins to Abergavenny is also speculative. At Durham, where minting rights were granted to Bishop William of St Calais, type 8 was struck by the moneyer Cuthberht.

Under Henry I, there were also many types struck. A type 10 (c.1117), of the Pembroke mint and with moneyer Gillepatric is the earliest known coin from Pembroke.

For about 140 years silver pennies had been cut officially into halves or quarters to provide small change. In about 1108 Henry I introduced specially struck round halfpennies, as was common practice on the Continent, but the experiment only lasted a short time (only 11 are known to survive). At the Wilton mint the moneyer Ailward struck a halfpenny, c. 1109. At much the same time the king decreed that every coin should be cut on its edge before it left the mint, presumably to show that it was not a plated forgery. The cut can be seen clearly on the edge of a type 9 (c. 1109) by the moneyer Dunninc at the Totnes mint.

At the Northampton mint, the moneyer Paien struck type 15 (1125-35). He was one of the few moneyers who managed to survive the purge of Christmas 1124, and went on to strike this last issue of Henry I's reign. Whether Paien demonstrated his innocence, had friends in high places, or purchased a reprieve we cannot know.

A Stephen, type 1 (c.1136-45), of Carlisle mint and moneyer Hudard is interesting. Carlisle was established as a mint c.1123 by Henry I, but it was captured in January 1136 by the Scots under whose control it remained until 1157. This coin, although in Stephen's name, was probably struck for Prince Henry. Not far away, at Newcastle, the moneyer Willem who struck type 1 was probably the same moneyer who struck coins at Carlisle and Bamburgh.

At the Cambridge mint, the moneyer of a type 1 variant (c. 1141-5) was Herevev. Cambridge lay in the earldom of Simon de Senlis, who demonstrated his independence by issuing coins of his own design; in this case adding a large star before the king's bust.

On a Stephen type 1 var. (c.1141-5), of the 'Wiht' (Isle of Wight?) mint, and the moneyer Mi . . . the obverse die has been cancelled by cutting a bar through the sceptre. This is the only known coin of this mint, the identification of which remains uncertain.

A Stephen, type 2 (c.1145-50), of the Sandwich mint and the moneyer Wulfric is the second of Stephen's four official periodic types, and it was issued only by mints in the south-east and east where Stephen's authority was strongest.

The moneyer Sweting struck for the Empress Matilda, type A (1141-2), at the Oxford mint. This coin must have been struck between Matilda's arrival in Oxford in July 1141 and her dramatic escape from the castle in December 1142.

William of Gloucester ?, in the 1140s, struck at the Cirencester

mint, where the moneyer was Willem. The designs copy type 5 of William I, which was then some 60 years old. Another independent striking was Henry of Neubourg, type B (c.1143-5), at Swansea mint, with moneyer Henri. Henry controlled the lordship of Gower. This is the first time Swansea is mentioned in any source.

Patrick of Salisbury, earl of Wessex (1141-7), struck the Helmeted Bust with Sword type, at the Salisbury mint, with his moneyer Stannag. Only four coins of Patrick are known, three of which are in the Conte collection.

At the York mint the moneyer Thomas filius Ulf struck for Eustace FitzJohn, Knight type, c.1150. Eustace was a Yorkshire baron, who took Matilda's side in the civil war. One contemporary called him 'a one-eyed traitor', because he fought on the side of King David of Scotland against the English at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. He also struck the Lion type, c.1150, at the York mint.

Further north, Henry of Northumberland, struck Cross-crosslets type, c.1140, at the Castle Bamburgh mint, with the moneyer Willem. Prince Henry, only son of David I of Scotland, was created earl of Northumberland as part of a treaty following the Battle of the Standard.

A very unusual coin minted for Henry of Anjou seems to read 'Henricus Rex Futurus'. Here we have the future Henry II letting the world know that he was going to be the next king. The coin probably dates from 1153 or 1154, after the treaty had been finalised with Stephen naming Henry as his successor.

With the introduction of the Short Cross coinage, this new uniform coinage of much neater style lasted for 67 years. Small differences in the design enable us to date particular coins to different reigns, such as a Short Cross class la (1180) from the London mint assigned to Henry II. From the same mint, a Short Cross, class 3ab (c.1190), belongs to Richard I.

A Short Cross, class 5a2 (1205) of John from the Winchester mint, and moneyer Adam, has a three-quarter facing bust which is quite exceptional, and represents an attempt by the die engraver to render John's portrait in a much more artistic manner.

At the Durham mint the moneyer Pieres struck a Henry III, Short Cross class lab (1218), for the Bishop of Durham.

On the very first issue of the new Long Cross coinage (Henry III, Long Cross, class la, 1247) the name of the mint and moneyer is omitted, and instead the reverse inscription gives the king's full title *(Henricus rex Anglie tercius*, Henry the Third, king of England), the first occasion on the English coinage when a numeral has been added after the king's name.

At Bury St Edmunds the moneyer John struck Henry III, Long Cross, class 2 (1248) at a mint operated for Bury St Edmunds Abbey.

Under Henry III, a silver-gilt double weight penny, class 5f (c.1258), was struck at Canterbury. Only three specimens are known, all from the mint of Canterbury but by different moneyers, one of whom, in the collection, was Gilbert. This double penny, specially struck on a large thick flan, would have been made as a presentation piece, rather than for circulation.

The collection was acquired by the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum for £550,000. This was made up by £95,000 from the National Art Collections Fund and with additional funding of £425,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund. The Museum's own resources provided £30,000 to meet the asking price,. which was considerably lower than the £700,000 valuation. One of the reasons that Dr Conte was generously inclined towards the Museum was its intention to publish the collection as part of the Museum's ongoing scholarly series, ultimately to be 15 volumes publishing over 200,000 items. It will be the standard work on medieval and English coinage. The foundation of this was laid by Professor Philip Grierson, quondam Professor of Numismatics in the University of Cambridge, who gave his superb collection of European coins to the Fitzwilliam Museum.

[Editorial addendum. The Editor, in his capacity as Expert Advisor (coins and antiquities) to the Treasure Committee of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, was commissioned by the National Art Collections Fund, when the application for funding the purchase of the collection was made to it early in 2001, to provide a report and assessment of the collection. He was extremely pleased when his report and valuation was accepted by the NACF, and the collection found its way to Cambridge. To sit in front of the cabinet that then housed the coins, working through it, handling and examining the coins was one of life's great numismatic experiences.]

London Numismatic Club meeting, Tuesday 4 December

Club members were delighted to welcome David Sellwood once again, a very old friend and supporter of the Club who had spoken to the Club on so many occasions on a number of different numismatic topics. This time he chose as his subject 'The coins of the Indo-Greeks'.

David began by outlining the background history of the area and the origins of the series. The history of the kingdoms was better known from the numismatic evidence than from the commentaries of ancient authors, and there was much still to be learnt The Hellenistic influence that one sees in the portraits on the coins can be traced back to the

conquests of Alexander the Great in the area as he and his army pushed eastwards to Balkh and across the river Oxus to Samarkand, where he may have founded the city of Ain Khanuun. He then returned to Kabul, to India and modern Pakistan, and then down the Indus, making his way back to Babylon, where he was to die in 323 BC.

The Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms were set up later, created out of the Seleucid province of Bactro-Sogdiana about 256 BC when the local satrap, Diodotos, declared himself independent of Antiochus II in far off Syria. With conflict raging between Seleucus II (246-238 BC) and Antiochus Hierax, Parthia made a breakaway under Andragoras striking very rare gold and silver coins at Ecbatana. This was followed by Bactria breaking away under Diodotus (c. 256-239 BC) who was originally the Seleucid satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana. It is possible that he founded Ain Khanuun since bricks found there have a monogram of the Greek letters delta and omega. His coins as satrap show his diademed head on the obverse but carry the name and title of Antiochus as king on the reverse with a standing Zeus brandishing a thunderbolt. After c. 256 BC when Diodotus declared himself king the coins still carry his portrait and the standing Zeus as previously, but now with his name as king. He struck a range of gold, silver and bronze coins.

There appears to be a joint reign between Diodotus I and his son, Diodotus II, from 256 until the former's death in 239. Diodotus II then reigned as sole ruler until c. 230, when he was apparently overthrown by Euthydemos. An unsuccessful attempt to regain the territory and bring it back under Seleucid authority was made late in the third century by Antiochus III. He invaded Parthia and defeated Euthydemos in 208, but Euthydemos threatened to call in the nomads and denied that he was a rebel - he said that he had killed the rebels. He managed to withstand a two-year siege in his capital, Balkh, which forced Antiochus to acknowledge his independence. Euthydemos' coins include a splendid gold octadrachm with his diademed head, and Herakles seated on the reverse. This reverse is continued on his various denomination silver coins, but the head of Herakles then appears on the bronze coin obverses.

Demetrios I, who had been associated with his father as joint-ruler, from c. 205 BC, was offered the hand of a Seleucid princess by Antiochus and acquired the title of Demetrios. King of the Indians' when he extended Greek power south into the Kabul valley and beyond to seize

the now derelict Mauryan Empire. Fine obverse portraits show him variously wearing an elephant's scalp head-dress (reminiscent of Ptolemy's issue with Alexander in similar head-dress), and a diademed bust with him wearing a kausia (flat sun hat). Reverses feature a standing young naked Herakles. One of his bronze issues has an attractive head of an elephant with a bell hanging from its neck.

Euthydemos II (c. 190-171 BC) was associated with his father Demetrios throughout his reign and his silver coins have a flattering diademed youthful portrait. Both were overthrown in the revolt of Eukratides (c. 171-135 BC), but the dynastic cause was carried on at the time by Antimachos (c. 171-160 BC), apparently a brother of Demetrios. Promoting two of his nephews, Agathokles and Pantaleon, to be co-rulers Antimachos, now as a triple monarchy, opposed Eukratides. An unusual reverse of Antimachos shows the standing figure of Poseidon holding a trident and a palm branch; it has been wondered if this might be a reference to a river battle victory by him unknown to history.

Antimachos promoted the legitimacy of his claim to the throne by having the diademed head of the founder of the kingdom, Diodotos I, on some of his obverses, and that of Euthydemos on others. His own diademed bust wearing a kausia appears on some of his tetradrachms. All three of the joint rulers issued fractional currency coins in cupro-nickel but the silver was nominally on the Attic standard. It has been thought that the cupro-nickel coins may have been intended as replacements for the obol. There were also chisel-cut coppers, often having one curved edge which indicates that they were cut from a larger coin.

The three kings were no match for the usurper Eukratides (c. 171-135 BC) and by about 160 BC he had the entire kingdom under his control. He is one of the most celebrated of the Indo-Greek kings under whom, for some 30 years, the kingdom enjoyed its most settled and prosperous period. He achieved this by appointing a number of sub-kings with their own local responsibilities and who were allowed to strike coins in their own name; most notable amongst them were Menander (c. 160-145 BC) and Apollodotos I (c. 160-150 BC). Eukratides is most recognisable on his coins by the 'solar topee' which he is often shown wearing, actually a very distinctive crested helmet. He is responsible for the largest known ancient coin extant. This is a 20-stater piece weighing 168gm. The obverse has the diademed and draped bust of the king

wearing his 'topee' crested helmet with bull's horn and ear; the reverse has the Dioskouroi riding prancing horses to the right. These are the types that also appear on his tetradrachms. This unique coin was offered to the London cabinet in the 1860s, but was subsequently sold to the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. His coinage has a full range of denominations down to the silver obol and bronzes. Like Antimachos who had asserted his legitimacy to rule by using portraits of earlier rulers, Euktratides issued a 'pedigree' tetradrachm. This has his helmeted bust on the obverse and the conjoined busts of his father and mother, Heliokles and Laodice (who may have been a Seleucid) on the reverse. These types also appear on the silver drachms. His small square bronzes have his 'topee' bust and several different reverses that include the Dioskouroi, their pilos caps, Nike, and the Tyche of Kapisa enthroned.

Plato, appointed co-ruler in Bactria by Eukratides c. 150 BC, has an interesting representation of Helios in a galloping quadriga three-quarters facing, and also a standing figure of Helios. Apollodotus I, c. 160-150 BC. issued square silver pieces on an Indian standard. Some feature an elephant on the obverse and a hump-backed bull on the reverse with Greek and Karosthi legends respectively. Apollo, or his tripod are other reverse types used.

Menander, c. 160-145 BC, probably the best known of the Indo-Greek kings, ruled the area south of the Hindu Kush. A Buddhist tradition calls him Milinda, and avers that he was a convert to Buddhism. Athena in various poses is the main figure on his reverse types. He also issued square bronze pieces with a wide variety of designs. After the death of Apollodotos I, Menander was joined by Zoilos I (c. 150-145 BC) as his co-ruler. When Menander died c. 145 BC Eukratides appointed two new sub-kings, Lysias and Antialkidas - the former may have been a son of Demetrios.

Eukratides was himself murdered by his son Heliokles (c. 135-110 BC), who became sole ruler, but his realm was reduced when Scythians conquered a large part of Bactria and settled there. His coin types reflect many of those of his predecessors, diademed or armed bust and Zeus reverses most commonly. Continuing precedents, Heliokles appointed two short-reigned sub-kings in the southern provinces: Polyxenos and Epander, both of whom struck drachms and square bronzes. These two sub-kings were replaced by Heliokles c. 130 BC, when much of Balkh

fell to the nomads, by his son Strato. For his first few years his mother, Agathokleia, acted as his Regent. Their conjoined busts appear on a tetradrachm and hers also alone during the regency. Athena is still the popular reverse type.

Strato was probably killed in the revolt of Philoxenos and Diomedes in which his father Heliokles perished. These two reigned c. 110-80 BC when the Indo-Greek kingdom split into two, divided by the river Indus. They ruled to the west, and Apollodotus II (c. 110-80 BC) to the east. Bilingual coins are still the norm, with the Dioskouroi and Athena the preferred reverses. With the division into two parts, the Indo-Greek kingdom was really beginning to break up, being ruled by a succession of co-rulers. Four co-rulers succeeded Philoxenos and Diomedes from c. 80 to 60 BC: Archebios, Peukolaus, Theophilos and Nikais, all minting much the same designs although Archebios did have an unusual facing half-right owl on his bronze.

At the same time, c. 80-60 BC, when Apollodotus II died the eastern half of the kingdom passed to Hippostratos and his junior colleague Telephos. Other junior colleagues were Dionysios, c. 80-75 BC, and Zoilos II, c. 75-50 BC. After the joint reign of the four kings mentioned, Amyntas, c. 60-40 BC, took over the eastern half of the kingdom with Artemidoros as his junior colleague. Amyntas has the distinction of issuing the largest silver coin in the Greek series, a double dekadrachm weighing 85gm, known only from two examples. Presumably it was to commemorate some great victory of his the details of which have not come down to us.

Zoilos II was succeeded by Apollophanes, c. 50-40 BC, who in turn was succeeded by Strato II, c. 40-15 BC, who was the last of the Indo-Greek kings to rule the eastern kingdom. He associated his grandson, Strato III, to rule with him from c. 25 to 15 BC. After their deaths a native king named Bhadryssa took over, and the western kingdom survived only a few years longer under Hermaios, c. 40-1 BC. He pursued an aggressive foreign policy but failed against powerful enemies. He appears to have associated his wife Kalliope with his rule. The Kushans were now a force to be reckoned with and Hermaios was defeated by Kujula Kadphises, thus after some 300 years Greek influence in the area came to an end.

David brought many of the personages to life in his slides of quite remarkable portraits, many perhaps more distinctive than their Greek antecedents.

CLUB AUCTION RESULTS by Anthony Gilbert

103rd Club Auction, Thursday 10 May 2001

The auction meeting was held at 5.45pm in the Lecture Theatre Room of the Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, a venue that the Club has found to be most suitable for its auctions. There were 93 lots on offer from seven vendors. Of these, 70 found a buyer , leaving 23 lots unsold. The top price on the night was £25, achieved by a mixed lot of Low Countries miscellaneous medieval silver. A Henry III Long Cross penny of Canterbury, Class 5b, fetched its reserve price of £20. Best 'miss' of the night was an Elizabeth II 1960 crown, New York issue from polished dies, which failed to generate a single bid towards its £5 reserve. Best 'buy' was a George III Soho mint 'cartwheel' two-pence, 1797, which went at its reserve of £15. Lot 67, an 1853 USA gold dollar piece with a reserve of £70, failed to generate any interest. One vendor sold all his eleven lots of books on Byzantine and Russian coinage. The total knock-down to this vendor , who had placed very economical reserves, was £80. This included lot 5, a copy of H. M. Severin's *Gold and Platinum Coinage of Imperial Russia from 1701 to 1911*, which sold for £18.

A good atmosphere of general satisfaction percolated the whole evening. The bidding was fast and the Club has to thank its two auctioneers, David Sealy and Marcus Phillips, for executing their customary high standard with the gavel.

The total sales achieved £392, with the Club's commission, including donated lots, coming to £48.30.

104th Club Auction, Thursday 9 November 2000

Fifteen members were present at the Club's Autumn auction meeting, held at the usual venue of the Warburg Institute.

David Sealy and Marcus Phillips once again acted as our auctioneers for the 68 lots on offer. These were submitted by four vendors, and also included six lots offered for sale in aid of Club funds.

There was the usual mixture of just about everything that is collectable, but the trick is to match vendors with potential buyers! Forty lots fell under the hammer, just 59% of those on offer. Bank notes again did well. The top price of the evening was £10 paid for a Great Britain George VI 1937 silver crown - the cashier (and writer) was thus not overly stressed with providing change at this auction.

The total sales were £109, of which the Club received £19.10 in commission, including £10 for the lots sold in aid of Club funds.

As auctions go, it was not a great evening, but then this was in no way the fault of the organiser. After all, an auction can only be as successful as the sum of its parts, i.e. the amount of material submitted, and that has to be at sensible reserves, together with enough interested bidders turning up on the night.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Syro-Phoenician Tetradrachms and their Fractions: A Type Corpus from 57 BC to AD 253. Michel and Karin Prieur. Classical Numismatic Group, 2000. xxvi + 218pp, illus throughout, 1 map. Hardback, £70.

This finely produced book is the result of a labour of love by the authors, reflecting their deep interest in a rather neglected series. So often these large and quite handsome pieces, often with splendid Imperial portraits on them, are dismissed out of hand because of their 'boring' stereotype eagle-displayed reverse types. It is only by concentrated study, as seen here, that such a series can begin to reveal its secrets.

The main Imperial period mint involved in this area is obviously Antioch, but the others in the adjacent provinces should not be overlooked nor forgotten, nor are they in this study. There is Cilicia, with five mints; Commagene with one at Zeugma, an archaeological site much in the news recently with the widespread destruction of the ancient city by the building of a huge new dam that has deeply flooded the area. In Mesopotamia there are three mints; Cyrrhestica also has three; Seleucia

ad Pieria can boast five; Coele Syria, two; Phoenicia has six; Palestine has five, and Cyprus and Decapolis can record one each.

Many people do not realise the range of these coins. Often, in the popular mind, only emotive mints with Biblical connotations are recognised - Aelia Capitolina, the Jerusalem refounded under Hadrian after the Second Jewish Revolt; Tyre and Sidon. The Biblical 30 pieces of silver paid to Judas would have been the tetradrachms (shekels) of Tyre which were then current.

Within the structure of mint listing there is first information about the relevant mint, followed by a chronological arrangement by emperor with texts of varying length and detail preceding the listing and illustrations of the coins. The coins are shown at actual size in remarkably clear black and white photos with, up to Augustus, a basic listing of their exergue letters or design, year date, year BC, and references. Once into Imperial times, the normal regnal dates are the basic criteria, with variations being listed under each major type. The legends are reproduced in a clear Greek fount. An Index of Symbols on pp. xiii-xxiii, with its enlarged details of exergues is invaluable, and listed against them are the mints where they occur and under which emperors, together with the relevant catalogue numbers. To better assist collation with the earlier work on this series by A. R. Bellinger (ANS 1940), there is a concordance between Bellinger and Prieur numbers.

There is much detailed information in this corpus which will serve as a solid basis for even further research on the series. A number of the still unanswered questions are posed, and some indications of where the answers may be sought in future work. Above all, it is recognised that much of this new information can only come through the full and proper recording of hoards as they are discovered and before they are dispersed in the coin market. *Peter A. Clayton*

The Farthings and Halfpennies** of **Edward I and II. Paul and Bente R. Withers. Galata Print, Llanfyllin, 2001. 60pp, illus throughout. Paperback, £10.

Interest in the small change of the English medieval series of coins, essentially the pennies, has been on the increase in recent years. This has largely been fuelled by the additional examples being found and made available by metal detectorists. The high incidence of such finds has been

highlighted by the Rt Hon. Alan Howarth, formerly Under Secretary of State for Culture, Median and Sport, in the recent annual reports of the Treasure Committee, and of the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

Silver pennies have received most attention, but the growing availability of the smaller farthings and halfpennies, themselves extremely difficult pieces to detect, have now focused minds on that series of denominations.

For Edward I and II the publications of the Fox brothers in the *British Numismatic Journal* between 1910 and 1914 have long remained the basic 'Bible', supplemented by J. J. North's later monograph (1968) on the coins of these two reigns. Now, the husband and wife team of Paul and Bente Withers have gone a step further and produced an admirable and handy format (A5) guide and new classification for these small denominations. It is illustrated by x4 photos of excellent clarity for such small and difficult coins. Legends are quoted in full for each type and sub-type, and there are many previously unpublished types included. London and the provincial mints (except for Berwick) are covered and a concordance listing, cross-linked from the Withers' type to the Fox/North penny classes, is extremely useful.

There is no doubt at all that this handy-sized yet detailed format will prove to be of inestimable value to collectors, curators, archaeologists and metal detectorists alike in aiding their identification and attribution of these small silver coins. The book is a forerunner of a promised series in similar format on Small Change, and those volumes will be awaited with interest. *Peter A. Clayton*

The Soho Mint and the Industrialisation *of Money*. Richard Doty. Smithsonian Institution, British Numismatic Society, and Spink and Son, London, 1998. 351pp, illus. £45.

Richard Doty's beautifully produced book is described as 'the first extensive history of the Soho Mint'. It is the second British Numismatic Society Special Publication and it does the Society, its associates and the author great credit.

The book includes details of Matthew Boulton and his family, the mints - for there were three altogether, the coins produced and the mint machinery. It is a well-illustrated book, and the black and white coin

photographs accompanying the text are particularly good. There is much more however, because this is not just a book about a famous mint, but about the pioneer in the leap from pre-industrial methods to the development of a progressive manufacturing process. It stimulated development of the steam engine through Boulton's requirements and his non-mint partnership with James Watt, and it treated the production of coins much as any factory would eventually do in order to achieve efficient production.

Much of the story, and what a fraught story it is, concerns the attempts to sell complete or partial mints, including their setting-up. This was to a pre-industrial world not yet ready for the rapid advances being made in Britain. Mints were exported to Calcutta, Bombay, Russia, Denmark, and Mexico, and many other lengthy negotiations came to nothing. Commercially this was not an unqualified success, but its documentation has much to interest numismatists as well as social and industrial historians.

The spur for Boulton to produce coins came from the state of British copper circulating in the 1780s. Counterfeits constituted much of the coin, and he set out to make coins which would be less easy to fake. That his products were in a class of their own is recognised by numismatists familiar with coinage in the first half of the 19th century. Soho is best known for its Regal copper of George III, especially the 'cartwheel' twopences and pennies of two and one ounce of copper respectively.

A notable innovation of Boulton's provided a temporary solution to Britain's silver plight. In 1804 he utilised the massive power of his steam driver presses to completely overstrike Spanish-American dollars The resulting Bank of England dollars had little of the original design visible and over one million were struck at a rate of 42,000 per day.

The first commercially struck order in 1789 was, however, for a humble token. The honour probably goes to the Cronebane halfpennies struck for John Westwood. Many token orders followed and the East India Company was also an early and subsequent good customer. Another interesting and early order, completed in 1792 to 1793, came from the Sierra Leone Company for silver as well as copper.

After Boulton's death in 1809 less coinage was struck under his son's direction, but coining did continue spasmodically until 1849, when a

token for a Melbourne Grocer was the last order. In 1850 the Soho Mint was sold and Ralph Heaton and Sons bought much of the coining machinery, which continue din use on a different site until about 1880.

There are many unresolved questions and anomalies encountered by Richard Doty in the book, but we must hope that further research will help solve some of them. Meanwhile, the book is a remarkable *tour de force*. *John Roberts-Lewis.*

Tokens of the Industrial Revolution: Foreign Silver coins countermarked *for use in Great Britain 1787-1828*. H. E. Manville. Spink for the British Numismatic Society, 2000. 307pp, 55 b/w illus. Hardback, £40.

This is British Numismatic Society Special Publication no. 3 in a series which is being produced to an extremely high standard. It is a 'must' for collectors of these countermarked coins though the rarity of many types makes for few available specimens, and therefore presumably few collectors. However, the book has a much wider appeal and use as it contains much interesting historical background, enhanced by contemporary maps and illustrations. There is also prolific economic, social and industrial detail. This is all relevant to an understanding of other British numismatic material of the period. It also proves to be a useful source for social and industrial study.

The Introduction deals with the Royal Mint's reluctance to strike silver during a time of price fluctuation unless it met the Mint standard of 5s 2d per Troy ounce. The consequence was an attempt to meet the chronic shortage of silver coin by countermarking foreign silver, and the counterfeiting which swiftly followed. The issue of Bank of England countermarked dollars is covered briefly and their withdrawal, due to counterfeiting, after a few months in circulation. False as well genuine countermarks are shown, the enlargements being very useful. The oval punch first used was the largest size of Duty Mark and was issued to all English and Scottish assay offices. It is possible that some of these were used unofficially in some of those offices, explaining the genuine countermarks found on a number of unusual silver coins. These also appear on some copper coins where they make no sense for circulation.

The author believes that all half dollars, except those attributed to a

1799 issue, are false, as are all make-weights and most surviving octagonal-marked dollars. E. M. Kelly *(Spanish Dollars and Silver Tokens,* Spink, 1976) is referred to for an alternative view, since official records are often ambiguous. Most coins, as well as countermarks, were forged prolifically, and Birmingham is singled out as a major source.

Since little provision was being made for small change, this want was mostly met by huge quantities of unofficial and lightweight copper coins and tokens. Spanish-American dollars were, however, plentiful and these were countermarked by private firms, mainly in Scotland, but a few also in England and Ireland. They have a range of marked values, which have been related to the variations in bullion price, here listed in an Appendix. Dating of many individual pieces has been attempted using the known bullion price, also the host coin date range, details from directories and newspapers, and the form of the Company name used for the countermark. The outcome was a narrow date range for the best examples, but without further data many issues must remain unresolved.

The main issuers were cotton mills and related manufacturing companies. Also represented are grocers, drapers, spirit merchants, tobacconists, collieries, potteries, an iron works, a butcher, a farm, and a stocking maker. The latter is Donald & Co, who also issued 18th century copper halfpenny tokens in Nottingham and Birmingham. Three other issuers can also be associated with copper tokens.

A couple of famous names crop up. Richard Arkwright in connection with the mill at Cromford, Derbyshire, and David Livingstone who was born in Blantyre. He is recorded as a 'piercer' at Blantyre Works, when he was ten years old, and as a 'spinner when nineteen. Paternalistic and philanthropic treatment at New Lanark Mills contrast with the poor conditions generally suffered by early industrial workers.

The location of known specimens of the coins is listed, and the surviving coins are believed to be fewer than a thousand. Their rarity is emphasised when one reads that the 18 surviving tokens of J. Muir of Paisley are 'rather common'. The majority of types listed are known from less than ten specimens each. Many are unique and only known from electrotypes or other references. Theft from a famous collection removed a number of unique items which, having not resurfaced, can only be assumed to have been melted down. The Lanark Mills five shillings

tokens with around one hundred specimens surviving are the most

numerous. The 4/9d pieces from Thistle Bank, Glasgow, and Cromford each have around fifty.

A major benefit of this publication should be the correct identification of much spurious material encountered by numismatists. Additional research may add to the detail, and perhaps the occasional new discovery, but this thorough work will remain the standard for a very long time.

Those of us who, whilst using this reference, find we have unfortunately a contemporary forgery can perhaps derive a crumb of comfort from the fact that these are also an essential part of the story. I presume they will in themselves be rare! Later deceptions are sadly a different matter. *John Roberts-Lewis.*

***Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue Part** 3*. Edited by Peter Saunders. Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, Salisbury, 2001. 271pp, 88 b/w plates. paperback, £24.95.

In 1992 Salisbury Museum published Part 2 of its Medieval Catalogue, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges,* which was very well received. Part 3 now covers a much wider field of objects and includes items of bone, enamel, glass vessels, pottery, jettons, cloth seals, bullae, and other base metal objects. In fact, however, in terms of the overall contents, some 40% of the catalogue has a strong numismatic interest.

Dr Geoff Egan contributes sections on both Cloth Seals (pp. 4386), and Papal Bullae (pp. 87-91) and, together with David Algar, he is the author of the section on Balances and Weights (pp. 119-31. David Algar then joins Philip Mernick as author on Jettons and Casting Counters (pp. 213-60). Proper publication of finds of this nature, largely provenanced to the area of Salisbury and Wiltshire, from an important economic entrepot well away from the more usual focus on London, is invaluable since it goes a long way towards revealing the workings and life of a major medieval cathedral city.

Dr Egan, of the Museum of London, is well known for his extensive research and publication of medieval small finds, especially cloth seals, and his contribution on them here is well presented and illustrated with clear photographs and excellent line drawings. It is an important addition to the literature on the genre. Some have exact provenances within Salisbury, but many must be presumed to be from the

city as part of the unnoted provenanced finds from the extensive work carried out in the 19th century. Papal bullae, obviously interesting from being found in a cathedral city, range in date from Innocent III (1130-43) through eight more Popes down to Paul III (1534-49).

Balances and weights, essentially for coins (pp. 119-31), indicate the foreign coins that existed alongside the English gold coins (nobles and angels), and which had to be checked on a par with them.

Jettons or casting counters are a very complicated field in terms of interpretation of their types and dating. Overcoming the use of cumbersome Roman numerals (which lacked the use of 0), jettons were in use before the present Arabic numerals came into general use in the 17th century. Once mastered, the idea of moving counters across a marked board for addition and subtraction became easy, and spread rapidly from its development in the early 12th century. Jettons probably originated in the French Royal Treasury under Louis XI (1226-70). They were subsequently widely made, notably in France and Germany, with some from Lombardy. Some have armorial bearings that can be identified, thus giving a framework for dating pieces of similar manufacture. Apart from articles in the learned journals there are few publications on jettons in English (the books are Barnard, 1916, and Berry, 1974), so this extensive and very well illustrated contribution is a major addition the field.

Medievalists and medieval numismatists will ignore this catalogue at their peril. *Peter A. Clayton*