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THE SUTHERLAND MEMORIAL LECTURE 1970

THE ROYAL TOUCH IN ENGLAND

A theory of origin derived from observations in the New Zealand Maori.

By

L. K. GLUCKMAN,
M.B., Ch.B. (N.Z.), M.D. (Otago), F.R.A.C.P.,
F.A.N.Z.C.P., F.R.N.S.N.Z.

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LAURIE KALMAN GLUCKMAN,
M.B., Ch.B. (N.Z.), M.D. (Otago), F.R.A.C.P., F.A.N.Z.C.P.,
F.R.N.S.N.Z.

In the robes of a Fellow of the Royal Australasian College of Physicians, from
a portrait by Chris Jones (1969).

ALLAN SUTHERLAND: A personal tribute.

Some collect coins for no other motive than that of pecuniary gain. Allan Sutherland was not such a one. For Allan a coin was essentially a fact to be analysed and investigated like any other fact. The true numismatist can be imagined as a man standing in the middle of a circle. He is free to walk directly or indirectly to any point on the circumference of this circle. Each point within the circle and on the circumference represents a different and specific interest. The points are innumerable. They include loci of chorology or place, chronology or time. These points extend from preliterate societies with the simplest of currencies and barter systems to modern societies with monetary systems of great complexity. These points include innumerable culture contacts, the anthropogenies and mythogenies of the world. They include mankind's beliefs in the supernatural, the lives of kings and men. These points vary in expression from crude and primitive metallurgy to modern applied sciences and technologies. These points include the art standards, the aesthetic approaches and judgement values of societies divergent in space and time. There are points of special interest for the archeologist, the philologist, the behavioural scientist the mathematician and many others. The true student approaches a coin or a group of coins from one or more of the possible attitudes of view. The man who approaches numismatics in such a way is a true scholar, an intellectual, a lover of learning and in the ultimate a philosopher. Such a man was my friend and brother in the Fellowship of the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand, Allan Sutherland. I pay tribute to the memory and homage to the scholarship of Allan Sutherland.

L.K.G.

**SUTHERLAND LECTURERS OF ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF
NEW ZEALAND.**

1969 P. P. O'Shea, Esq., M.L.J., F.R.N.S., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A.

Captain James Cook, R.N., F.R.S., and his numismatic associations.

THE ROYAL TOUCH IN ENGLAND

A theory of origin derived from observations in the New Zealand Maori.

by

LAURIE KALMAN GLUCKMAN

BACHELOR OF MEDICINE, BACHELOR OF SURGERY.
(University of New Zealand)

DOCTOR OF MEDICINE (University of Otago.)

FELLOW, ROYAL AUSTRALASIAN COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.

FELLOW, AUSTRALIAN & NEW ZEALAND COLLEGE OF
PSYCHIATRISTS.

MEMBER, WORLD PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION.

MEMBER, ROYAL MEDICO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

FELLOW, ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF NEW ZEALAND.

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PREFACE

The second Sutherland Lecturer of the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand is both a distinguished psychiatrist and numismatist. He has linked both fields of interest with equal distinction.

Laurie Kalman Gluckman was born in Auckland. He began to collect coins when seven years of age and since graduation has specialised his interests in the science to the medical-numismatic aspect. He has published some 50 papers, the following of which are of medical-numismatic interest..

The Physician and Numismatist, *New Zealand Medical Journal* 1965, Vol 64, p 156.

The Staff of Aesculapius, a Theory of Origin, *New Zealand Medical Journal* 1966 Vol 65, p III.

Some Relationships of Gold, Silver and Medicine. *N.Z.N.J.* 1962.

Holloway Currency Tokens, Cures, Cupidity and Currency. *N.Z.N.J.* 1964.

Romulus and Remus, a medical evaluation of a myth. *N.Z.N.J.* 1964.

The Eagle; Transformation of a Symbol. Numismatic Society of Auckland 1964.

Greek and Romain Coins and Healing Deities. *Proc. Classical Society*, Auckland Branch, 1964.

Manley V.C. Surgeon General and other Medical Medallists of the Second Maori War. *N.Z. Medical Journal* 1963, Vol 62, p 594—reprinted by *Journal Tauranga Historical Society* 1964 and *Journal of Orders and Medals Research Society* 1967.

Numismatic Notes on Shakespeare (two parts) *N.Z.N.J.* 1962 and 1963.

Touch pieces and Healing Tokens have always been a special interest and subject of private research for Dr. Gluckman. He gave a paper on the psychological aspects of his work on this subject at a Congress of Psychiatrists in Surfers Paradise, Australia in 1969 and this has been published in the *Journal of the Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists* 1970 Vol. 4 p 93.

This paper, given by request in Australia must be one of the few papers given by a New Zealand numismatist outside New Zealand. He has previously, some years ago, given a paper on the more medical aspects of his researches to a Scientific Meeting of the New Zealand Branch of the Royal Australasian College of Physicians. He is currently Councillor and Secretary of the New Zealand Branch of the Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists.

Coins have been associated with healing for some 2,500 years and it is possible to survey the subject from the historical, psychological, medical transcultural, religious, sociological and anthropological, superstitious and the numismatic viewpoints. The approach in this paper is with special reference to the numismatist and the historian.

P. P. O'SHEA,

Editor, *New Zealand Numismatic Journal*.

THE LECTURE

This lecture was delivered before the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand in the Lecture Hall, Dominion Museum, Wellington on 30th November 1970, under the title of "The Royal Touch, its counterpart in the modern Maori, a contribution of numismatics and psychiatry to Medical history", with Mr. J. R. Graydon, President, in the chair.

This paper falls into two distinct sections. The first section considers the use of coinage as a treatment for disease with special reference to mediaeval England. The second section considers the similar use of coinage in modern Maori culture in New Zealand. It will be seen it is possible to trace the evolution of coinage as a therapeutic agent in the Maori. It is postulated that it is likely similar factors were responsible for the use of coinage as a healing agent in older cultures. Such postulation is of considerable interest to both medical historians and numismatists. It is not often a study of the here and now can explain treatments lost in the remote past.

In England the disease entity treated by the ritual use of coinage was called the King's Evil. The term entity is used because approximately one thousand years ago, the causation of disease was ill understood. It was not realized one symptom could have many causes. What are now recognised to be specific diseases were often considered to be one and the same disease. The King's Evil consisted of a number of symptoms all of which had certain things in common. The total illness was incurable in the light of the then knowledge. The illness was a chronic illness that usually did not cause rapid or spectacular death. The illness was also associated with strong tendencies to natural remission and sometimes spontaneous or apparently spontaneous cure. Because there was no natural cure for the disorder it came to be known as the King's Evil, implying it was the Evil or disease that the King could cure. The nature of this cure had spiritual implications. The disease resistant to all known methods of treatment was considered to be curable following the intercession of God's anointed servant the King. It is worth mentioning that many diseases have been named in honour of the agent who interceded with the Almighty on behalf of the sufferer. The sufferer from piles or haemorrhoids appealed to St. Fiacre and the disease was called St. Fiacre's Disease. Bubonic Plague was similarly known as St. Roch's Disease, leprosy as St. Lazarus Disease. To this day chorea is known as St. Vitus Dance. Epilepsy was known as St. John's Evil, scabies as St. Main's Evil. In these latter two instances it is clear this Evil is the Evil that the Saint could alleviate. Evil and Disease are synonymous. A synonym for the King's Evil is Morbus Regus or Morbus Regii or the Royal Disease. The King's Evil is often referred to as Scrofula. The word Scrofula means a piglet. In the disease there are firm swollen glands beneath the skin and these resemble burrowing piglets; hence the name Scrofula. In France Scrofula was also known as St. Marcoul's Disease or St. Remi's Disease. St. Remigius converted the barbarian Clovis, King of the Franks. St. Remigius conferred on Clovis and his descendents the power to heal Scrofula. Perhaps the miracles capable of being exercised by the pagan deities could now be outdone by the temporal representative of the Christian God. St. Marcoul later reconfirmed the ability of the descendents of Clovis to heal Scrofula. Marcoul died in 558 A.D., so the legend is very ancient. There is little doubt then that the appellation King's Evil employs the word King as equivalent of a Saint's name.

THE ROYAL TOUCH IN ENGLAND

The earliest English record of a monarch healing for Scrofula is found in a document written between 1066 and 1074. The author is unknown. A free translation of his work tells us that a young married sterile woman developed swollen glands in her neck. These glands marred her beauty and caused her great distress. She dreamed she was told that if she were to be washed with water by Edward she would be cured. The King was readily accessible. He sprinkled the woman's face and the swollen areas with water making the sign of the Cross over her. The writer says "Now give credit to my tale of wonders. At the King's anointing the diseased part softens, the scab is loosened, and as he draws his hand worms come out from several openings along with much bloody matter—There after it is his royal pleasure that she be maintained from day to day at his own cost, until she should be restored to health". Moreover within a year the woman was delivered of twins. Edward bestowed on the woman money to be used as alms.

Edward had lived in Normandy prior to gaining the throne of England. It is recorded he healed victims while living in Normandy. Healing by touch had been long established as a Royal function in France. Edward was a Saxon only in name. Edward healed not only Scrofula but also cases of blindness. In the century following Edward's death historians and scholars were to argue whether Edward healed by virtue of his own sanctity or whether by virtue of a power bequeathed to him at coronation by former sovereigns. It will be remembered that Edward was ultimately called the Confessor and regarded as a Saint. The monk William of Malmesbury born about 1095 A.D., expressly says Edward did not inherit this power to heal from his predecessors. As he healed prior to coronation his sanative powers can not be explained in terms other than those of his personal saintly life. The essence of Edward's ritual was the application of water, prayer, the sign of Cross and the bestowing of alms. In that period the common coin was the silver penny. It bore a cross on the reverse and is known as the pax penny. It is likely that this coin with its religious motto was of special significance to the patient in reinforcing the ceremony. Royal gifts have usually been treasured and often the alms were kept and not spent. Pockets were late in the evolution of clothing. The coin, perhaps to be closer to the heart, was often pierced and suspended from the neck. Such coins pierced in antiquity are not rare. The coin is not of necessity that of the Confessor. Few could read. All hammered coins looked much alike. Any coin could and did suffice for the royal alms. It will be recollected that the coinage of this period was a hammered coinage and the portrait of the monarch showed little that truly identified the individual monarch. Because a coin was so pierced in antiquity it does not follow it was used in a formal healing ritual. At all periods of time the coin has been used as a talisman. It is likely because of the legend attaching to the Confessor, and the desperate plight of many sick, coins believed to have been associated with his lifetime were pierced and worn for generations after his death.

The succession of a monarch was by no means invariably associated with a new coinage. For example the coinage of Henry II (1180-1189) was minted by his successor Richard I (1189-1199), John (1196-1216) and for the first seven years of the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). These coins too could not be identified from the unvarying portrait which little resembled the sovereign.

Shakespear made a major numismatic error when he described how Edward Confessor touched for Scrofula in Macbeth. The setting of Macbeth was in this period of history.

Malcom says . . .

“Tis called the Evil;
 A most miraculous work in this good King;
 Which often since my here—remain in England,
 I’ve seen him do. How he solicits heaven
 Himself knows best; but strangely visited people,
 All swol’n and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
 The mere despair of surgery, he cures
 Hanging a golden stamp about their necks
 Put on with holy prayers; and ’tis spoken,
 To the succeeding Royalty he leaves
 The healing benediction.”

Shakespear’s error is in the fact that the gold stamp or coin had not at the period been minted.

After Edward’s death the healing ritual fell into disuse in England. Henry II revived the custom believing that as the Lord’s anointed he had the power to cure both Scrofula and the Bubonic Plague. Whilst there is nothing in common between Plague and Scrofula, mild cases of Plague with buboes or swollen glands may be mistaken for Scrofula. England had had an unhappy and harsh period under the two Williams, Stephen, Edward I and Henry I. Henry II was essentially a French prince who owned an estate in England. That he identified himself with the Confessor can be seen from the fact he sponsored his canonization. Henry built homes for the lepers and a hospice for the poor. It is true most of this work was done in France. His great gifts to England described by Peter of Blois are “the disappearance of Bubonic Plague and the cure of Scrofula”. This pays tribute to his healing ritual. In the reign of Edward I valid historic documents take us for the first time from legend and hypothesis to real fact, e.g. frequent entries in the Wardrobe Accounts “pro denariis datis infirmis benedictis per Regem”—“for pence given to sick persons blessed by the King”. The ceremonial was of the simplest type . . . a touch from the King associated with a blessing, the sign of the Cross and a gift of one silver penny. This was a sizeable quantum of alms for the period.

Even though wages rose substantially from the reign of Edward the Confessor the price of staple foods remained fairly constant until the end of the reign of Richard III. In the Confessor’s reign a house could be rented for between a farthing and a penny a week. Men employed as labourers were paid a half penny a day, women about a farthing a day. A goat cost twopence, a swine eightpence, a cow twenty-four pence so meat cost about a tenth of a penny a pound. A silver penny had substantial purchasing power. Between 1066 and 1300 there was about a three fold inflation. A sheep had increased in value from fivepence to sixteen pence. During the reign of Henry II a penny would buy four pounds of meat or bacon, two quarts of oysters, a dozen eels, or four soles, or two pounds of cheese, or eight pounds of bread. During Henry II’s reign a labourers wage was twopence a day and even during the reign of Henry V a groat would feed a family for two days. A penny would buy four pounds of ham. It is indeed a lesson to modern economists how despite wage increases the prices of foods as beer, bread,

cheese and meat remained stable until the end of the reign of Richard III.

During the Wars of the Roses between the Houses of Lancaster and York one of the arguments advanced against a Queen was that she could not cure by touch and the ill would be greatly deprived.

Sir John Fortescue was Chief Justice during the reign of Henry VI. Following the accession of Edward IV he was charged with treason and fled with the Lancastrian Queen Margaret. Following the Lancastrian defeat he was pardoned by Edward IV. He justified his support of the House of York by writing . . .

“and sithen the Kinges of England ben enoynted in theyre hands, and by vertue and meane thereof God commonlie healeth sickness, by putting to and touching the maladie, by thenontinge hands; and also gould and silver handled by them, and so offered on Good Friday have been the meane and cause of great cures, as it is knowne, and therefore such gould and silver is desired in all the world. Which good things must needs cease for all the time that a woman were so Queene of that land because that a woman may not be enoynted in her hands”.

Despite his fame as a jurist neither Mary, Elizabeth I or Anne were to accept Fortescue's doctrine. As will be shortly seen all healed by touch.

In the Fifteenth Century the Royal Touch fell into decline. Henry VII was the next monarch to revive and also the first to formalise and stylise the ritual. Henry held the throne by conquest not by descent. Not surprisingly he saw wisdom in a ceremonial which in the eyes of the masses would relieve suffering and popularise his position and at the same time emphasise that he was the Lord's annointed. He initiated the practice of bestowing on each patient a gold coin called the Angel. This Angel then had a value of six shillings and eightpence. The question may be asked why the angel was the coin selected by Henry VII. England had a substantial coinage at this period. There were the Sovereign worth twenty shillings, the Ryal or Rose Noble ten shillings, the Angel and the Angelet all in gold. There were the testoon, groat, halfgroat, penny and half penny all in silver. Why then the Angel?

Gold has been known as the Royal Metal and in many societies is associated with healing qualities. The ancient Egyptians used gold to cover abrasions of the skin. Some of the Arab Alchemists claimed to have made an elixir of life from gold. Pills were often gold coated . . . something the welfare state could ill afford. Avicenna a great Arabian Physician who lived between 980-1037 A.D. considered gold a purifier of the blood. In fact much of the science of alchemy was directed towards a search for potable gold considered to be the elixir of life. This elixir, aurum potabile, would cure all diseases and prolong life indefinitely. Innumerable mediaeval physicians, the greatest of their day, extolled the therapeutic virtues of gold. These physicians included Arnold of Villa Nova, Raymond Lully, Paracelsus and many others. Paracelsus used gold as an antidote against poisoning and said it would prevent miscarriages. Placed in the mouth of a new born child it would prevent the devil acquiring power over the life of the child. Lully an Englishman lived between 1232 and 1315. A rather mystic figure he is alleged to have transmuted twenty two tons of base metal into gold so the King could finance a crusade. Lully undertook to do this on certain conditions imposed by himself. These conditions included one that the

King should fight the infidel in person. Other conditions were that a portion of the gold be given to the Church, that the King should not use the gold to further his pride or vanity or in making war on any Christian. However the King broke his promise, imprisoned Lully in the Tower of London. Lully escaped to France. From this alchemical gold, gold of the purest quality Edward—which one is not certain—had Rose Nobles struck. It is immaterial to the legend that the Rose Noble was not struck in reality until 1465 in the reign of Edward IV. However rumour led to a widely held belief that Edward II or Edward III had minted Rose Nobles with alchemical gold. Such alchemical gold had great curative value. As late as 1696 a diarist records he has seen a Rose Noble “one of those that Raymond Lully is said to have made by chymistry”. To avoid confusion it must be clearly understood that the rose noble is not the same as the coin called the noble. In January 1344 Edward III struck a gold florin worth six shillings. In August 1344 this florin was supplanted by a noble weighing 136.7 grains and worth six shillings and eightpence. The weight of this coin was gradually reduced. Both florin and noble bore a motto taken from Luke IV. 30. This motto IHS AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORUM IBAT means ‘that Jesus, passing through the midst of them went his way.’ By the reign of Edward IV the weight of the noble had fallen to 108 grains still worth six shillings and eightpence. This gold noble was now the standard physicians fee. Edward IV issued a new coin of 120 grains called the ryal or rose noble. This was worth ten shillings. At the same time the older noble was withdrawn and a new coin still worth six and eightpence was issued. This only weighed 80 grains. In effect a gold coin of same face value contained about 20 percent less gold. The new coin bore the same legend as the noble it replaced. The new coin was called the angel. This angel became the standard doctors fee. The new name angel was perhaps necessary because of similarity between the terms noble and rose noble. The newly minted angel had many virtues to qualify it as a healing token. It was of gold. It represented a doctors fee. The patient was paid rather than the doctor. A somewhat similar situation pertained in Nineteenth Century New Zealand when certain Maoris refused medical treatment unless paid to take medicine. The angel was a beautiful coin. The obverse shows a ship. The main mast was a disproportionately large cross surmounted by sunrays or light. The reverse portrays St. Michael slaying a dragon. In many cultures disease is represented as a python or dragon equivalent and the healer as a God or a Saint. The choice of this coin portraying an angel trampling on pestilence suggests its use is much more than a mere accident. Little is known about the Royal Touch in the reign of Edward the Fourth but certainly angels of the reign have been used as touchpieces. The legend on the angel of both Edward IV and Henry VII was IHS AUTEM TRANSIENS legend. Henry VII also issued contemporaneous angels bearing the legend PER CRUCEM TUAM SALVA NOS CHRISTE REDEMPTOR. It is possible but not certain that the IHS AUTEM bearing coin was intended for currency, the PER CRUCEM coin for the healing service. The second legend means ‘By the Cross save us Redeemer Christ’. However the fact that Henry VII issued two angels simultaneously suggests a specialised use for one. Henry VII introduced a formal religious service—although this never had Papal authority. This of course had evolved from the blessing and alms of one penny in the time of Edward Confessor and the laying on of hands by other monarchs. The numismatic essence of this service was that the King should make the sign of the Cross over the afflicted parts with an angel and then the angel, already

pierced should be suspended from the sufferers neck and worn until cure resulted. Belief had it should this angel be spent, lost or disposed of the illness would return. It could only be cured by a second ceremony with the gift of a second angel. Mary would make the sufferer promise never to part with that coin, save in case of extreme need. Mary was deeply religious and she altered the motto to read A DNO FACTU EST ISTUD Z Est MIRA IN OCUL NRIS. This means 'this is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes'. The source is Psalm CXVII.

In the reign of Elizabeth Tooker wrote the first systematic account on the King's Evil. Tocker was Chaplain to Elizabeth and witnessed many healing services. Tocker would not have it that French Kings had this power prior to English Kings and he claimed the British prerogative dated to King Lucius or to when Joseph of Arimathea brought Christianity to England. In Elizabeth's reign any sufferer with the Evil could apply for treatment. Application was made to the Royal Surgeons who decided who should be sent to the Queen. The surgeons had the functions of examining the patient, confirming the diagnosis and preventing imposture. Should the lesions be unpleasant they were to be covered with plaster. Elizabeth disliked the sight of ugly lesions. Elizabeth had the service conducted in English, the language of the Reformation. Henry VII, Henry VIII and Mary held the service in Latin. Their service centres on Mark XVI, verse 14 'They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover'.

Stubbe writing in 1966 in 'The Miraculous Conformist' says Elizabeth did not believe her powers of healing but gave way to the demands of her subjects. She had to prove that excommunication by the Pope had not robbed her of a divine gift. Catholics were hard put to explain her successes but attributed these successes to the power of the sign of the Cross. This effectiveness is retained even if the sign of the Cross is made by the excommunicated.

When James VI of Scotland was proclaimed James I of England he was loathe to continue the ritual healing ceremonies. His Scots advisers supported this view. His English advisers however persuaded him to change his views on the grounds that relinquishing the service would cause much hardship, suffering and resentment. James gave way. He claimed he had inherited his powers from the Confessor. The Kings of Scotland were descended from the Confessor but never claimed the ability to heal. The angel minted by James omitted the large cross as main mast. This was perhaps a concession to his Scots background. He likewise omitted the sign of the Cross from his service. But there is abundant evidence James I had angels specially minted for healing purposes.

Charles I altered the motto on the angel to read AMOR POPULI PRAESIDIUM REGIS meaning 'the love of the people is the safeguard of the King.' The reign of Charles I was marked by Civil War and ended with the execution of the King. While Charles I was a prisoner he continued to touch those who approached him. The supplicant would supply a gold coin or Charles would use any coin available. These coins were pierced and worn by the patient. Although Cromwell could have the King executed he was powerless to destroy the legends of the King's ability to heal. Many cures were later to be attributed to relics of the martyred King. As late as 1838 in the Shetlands, crowns and half-crowns bearing the portrait of Charles I were used as remedies to cure Scrofula. These coins were jealously guarded and regarded as heirlooms

of value. Under the Commonwealth England had coinage bearing inscriptions in English for the first time. Charles I coinage is relatively rare. The bulk of it was presumably melted down during the Commonwealth period. Charles II kept the ceremony alive in his year of exile. He added the ritual of washing his hands to the ceremonial. He probably learnt this in France. In exile Charles II used any coin, preferably one bearing a portrait of another Stuart. By the time Charles the II was restored the angel was no longer a current coin. Charles toyed with the idea of re-introducing the angel but instead issued a gold medal specially pierced. Such a medal—for it was never a coin of the realm although it had a bullion value—is called a touchpiece. Technically any coin that has been pierced and used in the ceremony of the Royal Touch can be said to have been used as a touch piece but in terms of strict accuracy the term touchpiece only applies to medals specially minted for this purpose. The touchpiece showed a three masted galleon on obverse, St. Michael trampling on a dragon on reverse and the legend SOLI DEO GLORIA or Thanks be to God alone. The touchpiece contained less gold than the older angel. As Charles touched some 92,000 people in the course of his reign and as he personally bore the expenses, the costs were substantial. His touchpieces became considerably lighter with the passage of time. There is a good deal of variation in weight in all touchpieces probably because of the introduction of new dies.

Charles II gradually became personally averse to touching the scrofulous and in later years merely touched the gold medals. This explains the term touchpiece which really means the piece touched by the King. It was now left to the chaplain or surgeon to suspend the touchpiece from the sufferer's neck.

John Evelyn described the Carolean Service on 2nd July, 1600. "His Majesty began first to touch for the evil according to the custom thus: His Majesty, sitting under his state (canopy) in the Banqueting House, he causes the sick to be brought or led up to the throne, where they kneeling, the King strokes their faces or cheeks with both his hands at once, at which instant a chaplain in his formalities says, . He put his hands upon them and he healed them. This is said to everyone in particular. When they have all been touched, they come up again in the same order and the other chaplain kneeling and having Angels gold strung on white ribband on his arm, delivers them one by one to his Majesty, who puts them about the neck of the touched as they pass, whilst the first chaplain repeats. That is the true light who came into the world. Then follows a gospel lesson, prayers for the sick and lastly the blessing. Then the Lord Chamberlain and the Comptroller of the Household bring a basin, ewer and towel for His Majesty to wash."

Jame II was no less active than his brother. He tried to revive the Catholic form of the service. He used the Latin service of Henry VII and re-introduced the sign of the cross. He too issued touchpieces which became steadily smaller in time parallel with inflation and ultimately, when in exile, issued touchpieces in silver.

The Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles I and aspirant for the throne, attempted to heal as if he were in fact a king. At his trial for treason one of the charges against him was that "he touched children of the King's evill, and did exercise the other functions of royal dignitie."

Queen Anne continued to touch. Anne issued a much larger touchpiece than any of her predecessors. This neither indicated extravagance nor generosity. Anne touched comparatively few. She abhorred contact with the patient's skin and touch indirectly, using a lodestone or magnet. She had great faith in the powers of the lodestone as a healing agent and even treated her own gout with this.

Dutch William caused much adverse criticism by his refusal to do so. One single occasion when he was persuaded to touch a patient he said, "God give you better health and more sense."

Mary did not touch, nor did the Hanovers. It is recorded that a partisan of the Hanoversian succession approached George I and requested that his son be touched. George I referred him to the Pretender who cured the child whereupon his father changed his loyal allegiance. George II was equally cynical. Blackmore, former physician to William III, writing in the reign of George II said, "it is a mark of wisdom in William III of gracious Memory and his present Majesty, that conscious of the Vanity of this Power of healing the Evil, pretended to be annex'd to the Crown, they never regarded or practis'd that superstitious and insignificant Ceremony."

The Stuart Pretenders all claimed to heal by touch. The Old Pretender issued touchpieces in silver bearing the motto SOLI DEO GLORIA. The obverses bore the legend IAC.3.D.G.M.B.F.E.TH.REX meaning James II by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. James III healed before he was either crowned or annointed. There is debate among historians as to whether the Old Pretender was ever crowned at Perth. The Young Pretender who styled himself on his touchpieces as Charles III, By the Grace of God King of Britain, France and Ireland, also healed by touch. Charles died in 1788 and his brother, a Cardinal in the Catholic Church issued silver touchpieces with the same legend SOLI DEO GLORIA. He styled himself Henry IX, By the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Cardinal Bishop in the Episcopate of Tuscany.

It is difficult to find a common denominator amongst those Kings who healed by touch. That the rite of coronation is not fundamental is seen by the fact Edward the Confessor and James II both touched prior to coronation. So did Charles II who was crowned King of Scotland in 1657 but not King of England until 1661.

Pretenders such as the Duke of Monmouth and the Stuart Pretenders, the self styled Charles III, James III and Henry IX, were never crowned at all. Nor is personal morality of much moment. The amorality of Henry VIII and Charles II are well known. According to view point of Henry VIII's marriage to Katherine of Aragon, either Mary or Elizabeth was a bastard. Again Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI were all usurpers to the throne. Anne was a usurper of her father's throne.

Matthew Paris who recorded that the Confessor left this gift to his descendants, did not live in the Confessor's lifetime. Edward took a vow of priestly celibacy and had no offspring. Edward was only a step uncle to the Saxon Edith who married Henry I. Their son Henry II attached much importance to the royal healing. Son of a Saxon mother and essentially a Norman father, perhaps he saw much advantage in associating himself with the late beloved Edward the Confessor. But at all events there is little, if anything of the Confessor's blood in later English mon-

archs. All that can be said is that royal lineage and aristocratic birth are associated with the healing rituals.

Religion is of little importance. Catholic, Protestant and the Excommunicate have all participated in successful ritual. Nor is sex important. Male and female have the right and ability, Sir John Fortescue notwithstanding.

COINAGE IN HEALING RITUAL IN THE MAORI

There is a vast difference between the cultures of England between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries and pre European New Zealand. In England a written language existed, works of literature had been written, metals could be worked. Architecture and art were assuming substantial proportions. Schools and universities were in the process of development. There was a complex monetary system. The Maori had yet to emerge from the stone age. He had not learned to fire brick to make glass or to use metals. Nor did he have a written language. He had not discovered the wheel or evolved elementary machines. His economic system was primitive. Although alluvial gold was to be found in the South Island it was of no significance to the Maori. Money as such neither existed nor was it necessary. In any primitive society where extended families or groups of people live communally and such groups can provide for their own needs and be in the main self sufficient, there is little need for a means of exchange. There is little scope for trade although degrees of barter exist. Certain commodities develop a value status as gifts. Objects which can only be found or produced in a specific localised area also develop a value because of rarity outside this area. Difficulty of manufacture may also confer a value. The communal life of the pre-European Maori required a certain degree of barter of greenstone, certain cloaks and certain articles of diet. But money as such did not exist. In some ways greenstone resembles gold—both are durable, portable, can be used for ornamentation and are relatively rare.

Among the New Zealand Maori I have personally encountered many cases where money in the form of metallic coinage has been used as for healing. The non numismatic aspects of treatment will be largely ignored. This is not the place to describe the medical details of such cases. Suffice it to say the coin may be pierced and worn usually in a way that it is not visible. The coin may be swallowed. The coin may be boiled in water and the water then swallowed or gargled. The coin may be held in a special way and used to massage the body. The coin may be applied as a dressing to a wound. Sometimes the coin is slipped into a family Bible at random. The page of the Bible bears a message that is relevant to either the diagnosis, treatment or prognosis. This page of the Bible may be swallowed or sometimes incorporated into the system by being used as cigarette paper. Sometimes elaborate and varying rituals are used to transfer "something" from the patient to the coin which is then disposed of. The "something" is the disease inducing factor. Such a coin is burned in a fire and then usually buried or hidden in a sacred place or thrown into the sea. Should such a penny be found by accident on a beach, it will bring disaster of supernatural origin to the person who handles it or spends it. It can only be handled if there is a ritual disposal. On other occasions a patient may be given a coin that has been specially prepared by blessing and ritual. Such a coin must be

kept under special conditions so that it can never be contaminated by anything that is not holy or pure in the Maori sense. It must never be lost or spent. Sometimes it may be knotted in a handkerchief which the patient must keep and carry. In a further variant the patient's disease is transferred to a coin which is now given to the officiating minister. This coin may be spent on church work or for the purpose of further black magic.

Now why should people that had no coinage use such introduced coinage to treat disease? These rituals are of such diffuse and variable nature that they are not likely to have been copied from Europeans. Such rituals with the exception of wearing coins, are specific to the Maori in my experience.

The pre-European Maori had a complex, illogical theology. He had two theologies. The first, known only to the few, was highly metaphysical and ethical. The second, known to the many, was ritualistic, non-idealistic and superstitious. This more common theology accepted the existence of some seventy deities. All of these deities with one exception were benevolently disposed towards mankind. The one exception was Whiro Te Tupua, in common language, Whiro the Thief, who always stealthily lay in wait to steal both body and soul of man. Whiro had a hoard of minions and lesser deities to assist him in his evil work. They inhabited the Tai Whetuki or House of the Dead. This is a generalisation. Time does not permit discussion of local or regional variations beyond the generalisation Whiro personified evil and disaster. The benevolent deities imposed on man a series of rules of behaviour. These are collectively called tapus. They correspond to a series of commandments of thou shalt not implication. Tapus can not be classified. Their number is almost limitless. They applied to persons, conduct, language, geographic area, historic objects, concepts, facts and etiquette. They applied to the past, present and their implications if broken, could affect the future. Tapu pervaded all aspects of Maori life from birth to death. Tapus might be universal, regional, local or in some cases be specific to families. The shadow of tapu lay over Maoridom. Tapus are not to be discussed outside the local group. It mattered little whether breach of a tapu was deliberate or accidental. The result was constant. Should a tapu be broken the benevolent deities withdrew all protection and the offender was now exposed to the scheming of Whiro and his assistants. Such a person was spiritually and sometimes physically dead. He had no protection. Because the Gods had withdrawn their protection, the victim was beyond hope. He was ostracised. He was expelled from the community. Nobody wanted to associate with him. The mate or sick individual soon died from despair, exhaustion, loss of will to live or from secondary infection. Medical treatment was non-existent. Illogically and paradoxically the benevolent deities could also impose disease and disaster.

Disease was of three types:

- (1) Disease due to war injuries—this had an obvious course. Fractures and war wounds being natural could be treated.
- (2) Disease due to old age or decay of the faculties.
- (3) Disease due to evil spirit possession. This is known as makutu. Treatment could not be attempted as makutu was the will of the Gods. The actual cause of Makutu is a force called mana. All disease for practical purposes among the pre-European Maori was

considered due to supernatural forces and in this it compared to scrofula about the first millenium. Makutu is a collective term embracing many conditions. The effects might be different. The cause is constant.

Once Christianity reached New Zealand, missionaries began to introduce healing techniques many of which were successful. The sick person was not now of necessity condemned to die. He could be helped. In the mid nineteenth century, Maori Nationalistic movements began to emerge and often competed with Christianity, sometimes interpreting the Christian doctrine in accordance with current Maori needs. This led to the Maori now trying to exorcise the evil Whiro. Thus modern Maori medical magic is paradoxically the result of early missionary activity. The Maori came to consider all disease as being of two types that which was caused by factors introduced by the European and that which was the result of breaking a tapu. Forsaking the older traditional way of Maori life was often considered a major tapu. Although the medical practices of the nineteenth century were a very considerable advance on anything the Maori had previously known there were nevertheless many diseases for which there was no effective treatment. Such diseases included chronic lung diseases as pulmonary tuberculosis and bronchiectasis and disorders such as epilepsy, congenital deformity, skin disorders, neoplasias and many acute and rapidly fatal conditions as pneumonia, septicaemia, and meningitis. As a general principle when any Maori had (and often still has) any illness that did not respond to orthodox treatment as predicted, the nature of the illness was rationalized in accordance with past beliefs. As European treatment has failed the illness can not be a European illness and hence must be due to a breach of some tapu. Hence in different areas of space and time both scrofula and makutu are conditions for which orthodox approaches are theoretically useless and frequently have in fact proved useless. Just as a special ritual arose to treat scrofula so a not too divergent ritual has evolved to treat makutu. In every case in which I have known a Maori treated with coinage the symptomatology has been considered by either himself or some member of his family, or the Tohunga, to be a manifestation of Makutu. The word tohunga means a teacher or authority or adept. A Tohunga Makutu is an authority on Maori black magic. The rituals for makutu vary regionally and chronologically in much the same way as the rituals for scrofula varied in different reigns in England. But common to all Maori rituals is the use of a coin, the use of prayer, some form of physical contact between Tohunga and patient and often the use of water. The Tohunga is always a person of superior lineage and status and regarded as an intellectual in his own society. This is much the same as the basis of the Royal treatment in England. Discussion as to what conferred the right to heal on the English monarchy is inconclusive. This is not so in New Zealand. The Tohunga is often a Rangatira or Chief in his own right. He is of noble ancestry. His superior lineage is vital. He must have great personal mana or prestige. Such mana may be inherited or acquired by valour in war, or service to the Maori people. But regardless of all else, mana acquired by the individual is not enough unless there is a long genealogy associated with qualities of leadership in war. The power of the present Tohunga is enhanced by his personal roots with his total racial past. He can never amount to much if descended from the taurekareka or slave or tuatua, or nobody. The Maori frequently uses water. This usually comes from a running stream and must be used ritually at the site or collected in a special way. There are many tapus attached to water and its use on the

body. The use of such water combines the pre-European and post-European Maori traditions. The esoteric Maori theologian did use water to exorcise certain tapus in pre-European New Zealand. It is likely the concept of baptism and the symbolic washing away of sin have led to the retention of this usage. Sometimes the Maori fuses the old and new by using Holy Water. Sometimes he uses a mixture of sea water and olive oil for inunction. Edward the Confessor too applied water to the wounds of his supplicants. Such water symbolizes physical, emotional, and spiritual cleanliness and often a rebirth. The slipping of a coin into a Bible clearly combines old and new. As has been said, here is something of value to the patient on the page of the Bible but the coin remains Tapu for all time. Prayers may be said in the name of the Maori Chief or King. I knew one patient whose prayer was Te Matua, Te Koroki . . . To God and to King Koroki. Christian prayers may be said in Maori. Such prayers are often improvised.

The question can now be more clearly considered . . . why did the Maori select coinage as a therapeutic agent? To the Maori the value of any object was determined by intrinsic factors such as the mana it bore. The mana of all previous owners attached to it as well as the mana of the present owner. Any object of mana had many associated tapus. To handle such an object without authority or to dispose of it in any way outside strictly defined rules was to invite Makutu. Such Makutu was far more feared than physical death, because the Makutu also implied spiritual death. It is likely as money bore the portrait of the Queen such money became associated with the mana and personal tapu of the Queen. Money acquires tapus. Money in the possession of the dead was and for that matter is still sometimes buried with the dead for this reason. The tapu resulting from the mana of the former owner makes such money very dangerous to handle or spend. It is dangerous to spend a tapu coin. This was the situation with the angel and touchpiece. I have known Maoris attribute major illness and even death to spending a tapu coin. That coinage bore great mana is evidenced by the fact some early Maoris considered it too tapu to spend, sometimes creating local currency shortages. An early treatment for venereal disease (which was introduced by the white into New Zealand) was to swallow a halfpenny. In other words the mana of the Queen Victoria would heal. It is certain that the missionary displaced the Maori cosmogony and replaced this with the monotheistic deity and taught the temporal representative of this deity was the Queen of England. As such she was anointed by God. Her Mana transcended that of her officers and representatives in the Colony. The monotheistic deity replaced the Maori pantheon and the Queen replaced the Maori Rangatira or Chief. Little wonder then the Maori should symbolically approach the Queen when in difficulty.

The recovery of the Maori can only be attributed to the power of suggestion by an important person or because of the coincidental remission of a benign or self-limiting disease.

DISCUSSION

What of the failures to respond? There were many failures in both cultures. In England these failures were attributed to a lack of faith by the patient to follow instructions or retain the coin or touchpiece. These are irrefutable explanations. Lack of sincerity and integrity by the patient spiritually is likewise an irrefutable explanation. The cynic some-

times said the operator had no right to the throne if cure did not result. Queen Anne touched Dr. Johnston. The cure failed and Johnston retained his deformity all his life. His angel is in the British Museum. Ardent Jacobites could explain the failure. Anne Hyde, although the lawful wife of the Duke of York, had because of her sex no right to the throne in the life time of her half brother, the son of James II and Mary of Modena.

The Maori has many explanations as to why patients with makutu do not recover. The commonest is that there is now no tohunga alive with sufficient mana to combat the makutu inducing agent. Another explanation is that sufferer has accepted the ritual physically but not spiritually and he remains contaminated at heart. A commoner explanation is that certain instructions given by the tohunga have in some way wittingly or other wise not been followed. Such a failure may vitiate the ceremony for all time. It is a breach of tapu not to obey the tohunga, and all now philosophically accept the hopelessness of the situation. It is easy enough to establish such disobedience in some detail which might merely be a thought or doubt by the patient or a relative. In particular the coin must not be loaned, lost, spent or allowed to come in contact with anything that would contaminate it spiritually. There are many tapus regarding the care of such a coin.

Within my own experience I have known gold coins or koura, crown and other pieces pierced and won by Maoris. The commonest coins used in these rituals are the penny or kopa and threepenny bit. Coins that are worn are always hidden beneath the clothing—it is a tapu to reveal them and they are invariably not modern coins. The Maori like the Stuarts in adversity and exile used almost any coin. When we consider the question of spirit possession we should recollect, to the mediaeval theologian this was by no means impossible. Some modern theologians, Polynesians and others still hold services of exorcism. Christianity introduced the Maori to the concept of a monotheistic deity. It introduced the Maori to the concept that love of God transcends all else, that intercessional prayers and rituals may exorcise evil spirits or the effects of evil spirits. The last service of the Royal touch took place in France as late as 1825 so the views and attitudes of the Maori can be comprehended in the light of his near recent primitive social, cultural and educational environments. The fact that Makutu may be treated is a tremendous advance on the pre-Christian view that it could never be treated. Any society with systems of healing based on magic and superstition is much more advanced than a society that lacks any system of healing and that equates illness with a death sentence.

In Mediaeval England, disease especially epidemics such as The Black Death were considered to be evidence of divine wrath. Many patients with symptoms that were ill-understood were considered to be devil possessed and were tortured or executed. In most societies any event for which there is no natural explanation invariably receives a supernatural explanation. It is worth noting that it was no accident that when treatment for the King's Evil was first documented in France, over one third of the populace had just died of plague and famine. This was the period of Edward the Confessor, essentially Norman in outlook. It is commonplace in all societies to seek divine intercession for the hopelessly ill. This is still done in every church. The Maori has been doing for Makutu much the same as the English monarch did in the past. The difference is that the patients touched in England after Elizabeth's reign

were in the main examined by surgeons and probably only benign diseases were accepted with good results. It is of great interest that Arthur Thomson, an army surgeon of great ability who resided in New Zealand in the eighteen fifties, is on record as saying that he had observed scrofula in between 10 and 20 percent of the Maoris in the Colony. So it is more than likely some Maoris have in fact been treated with coinage in much the same way as sufferers in England in antiquity.

In summary then, in both the English and Maori rituals it was believed loss of the coin would cause recrudescence of the illness.

In each case the coin is a symbolic and spiritual token. Analysis of the ritual in the Maori shows a series of steps. A disease process appears to be incurable or chronically incapacitating. No treatment appears to help. There develops the concept this illness is the result of supernatural powers and these supernatural forces are greater than those of man. Appeal to these forces may help man. Such appeal requires a person of superior lineage, much cultural and esoteric knowledge and great personal mana. The person intercedes on behalf of the patient with the deity and asks for relief of the patient. He uses a ritual that has many variants but essentially he makes physical contact with the patient, blesses the patient, karakias and prays for the patient, washes or has the patient washed with water for symbolically cleansing purposes. The patient receives a coin that will fix the ceremony in the patient's mind. This coin may in some way be incorporated in the patient's body as by swallowing or by contact. In addition sometimes the evil forces may be transferred to the coin which is then purified by burning. It is likely the coin has sufficient mana of its own right to cope with this evil force. Piercing and wearing the coin is one way of assuring that the patient retains the coin and that it is in close contact with his body. For a society whose clothes lacked pockets, piercing and wearing a coin is a good means of security.

This leads to my submission that the Royal treatment of scrofula developed along similar lines. It will be recollected that there was a great spiritual resurgence in England at the reign of the Confessor. There was much chronic and disabling disease and without a doubt a visit to the King encouraged both hope and faith. A ritual developed, dependent on prayer and coinage as alms. Over the centuries this coin became the central pivot of the ritual. The nature of the Service changed. It might be in English or Latin. The sign of the cross might or might not be made but the use of a coin, sometimes any coin was constant.

Whether there is agreement with my hypothesis or not is immaterial in so far as it is unique to rediscover a healing system and to study cases so treated when such healing systems are believed lost in antiquity.

APPENDIX 1.

The Piercing of Angels, Touchpieces and Coins.

The pierced hole in the reign of Henry VIII and Mary was small. Mary threaded the angel personally. As the number of supplicants grew in later reigns this became impossible. James I was a clumsy man and his piercings are larger to facilitate beribboning. Stuart angels generally have large piercings. So do many other earlier angels. Whether this was accidental or whether this was deliberate to make a profit is unknown.

Some angels have been pierced twice. It is not known whether this was to give extra protection against loss or whether the same coin was used in two ceremonies. It by no means follows that a pierced angel was used in the reign of the Monarch portrayed. The angel is usually pierced to the right of St. Michael's head without mutilating the head. The coin if worn, hangs with St. Michael in the erect posture. There are however many variations in angel piercing. The piercing may be anywhere on the circumference avoiding Michael's body. It is possible that those angels pierced so as to suspend Michael upright were officially and thoughtfully pierced. Those pierced elsewhere circumferentially may have been pierced and worn by those who did not receive them in an official ceremony. The legend of healing may well have justified some wearing the coin. The touchpieces of Charles II, James II and Anne were always pierced so as when worn St. Michael would appear up-standing. The same applied to the touchpieces issued in silver by the Stuart Pretenders although I have seen a touchpiece so pierced that Michael was suspended by the feet when worn. Coins pierced for local ceremonies, coins brought by patients to monarchs in adversity may well have been thoughtlessly pierced by those who supplied them.

Coins pierced and worn by Maoris are often pierced regardless of position or aesthetic consideration.

APPENDIX 2.

Tickets for the English Ceremony

There is abundant evidence that many with no other disease than that of greed desired to be touched to obtain the gold angel or touchpiece. Steps were taken to prevent this by issuing admission tickets. These tickets were coins usually referred to as a pattern halfpenny. The pattern halfpenny is identical in all ways to the touchpiece. The obverse bears a galleon and the royal title. The reverse shows St. Michael trampling on a dragon and has the legend GLORIA SOLI DEO. There are several varieties of pattern halfpennies. Some are in copper, others are in copper surrounded by a band of brass. Others are in brass or in brass surrounded by a band of copper. Many have a nick on the edge above the word DEO, above the angel's head. This nick was probably made by the mint prior to re-issue. Once a patient had been accepted for the ceremony he received an admission ticket which was later collected from him. Occasionally pierced admission tickets are seen. It is possible those unable to be treated by the King wore these as a poor man's talisman. Despite the important religious ritual, it is clear there was a substantial resale—a black market if you like—of the healing coins. The coin like a holy relic had intrinsic healing value and greater monetary value.

The following is an interesting letter to the master of the mint, written in 1635.

“To Sir. W. Parkhurst Knt. Warden of our Mint . . . Whereas by our Proclamations we have signified our pleasure that the poore People and other your loving subjects that are troubled with the disease comonly called the King's Evil, shall not presume the resort to our Court to be healed, but only twice in the yeare (vizt Michas and Easter) by reason whereof the number hath allway been so greate that the Sergeant Chirur-gion, whose office it is to view, and prepare them for the Royale touch,

hath been accustomed to give every one a token, thereby to know and distinguish those that are approved and allowed for every healing day appointed, from those that are not. And whereas wee are informed by our Sergeant Chirurgeon, that there hath been a great abuse committed by dissolute and ill-disposed People who to gaine the Gold only have counterfeited his tokens which were cast in a mould made by a Freemason, whereby wee have not only been deceived of so many Angells, but also hath many times encreased the number to be more then was appointed for the day, and many that was appointed wanted their Angells and our Royall presence disturbed by their outcry, in consideration and prevention thereof, our pleasure is and wee doe hereby will and comand you, to guie present order unto our Seruant Edwd Greene, chief Graver of our Mint, to make both presently and from time to time such number of tokens of bras Copper and such other metall as our Serjant shall give directions for under his hand writing, every one of wch to be in bredthe the compasse of an Angell and that the said Tokens be returned to the Warden of our Mint whereby he may know what number of Angells have been expended in this our said service, also that you allow or pay unto our said Graver for the workmanship and metall of these the summe of two pence for every such piece, being made and deliuered to our Serjant Chirurgeon, and whereas wee are informed that there hath been some allready made, and deliuered unto him, our pleasure is that your allow unto our Graver the same price for those that shall appeare unto you hath been made, and allowed for, as also from time to time for those that are to be made and deliuered (as aforesaid) and this our warrant shall be your sufficient discharge to be allowed upon the accompt of the Mint.

Dated at Westmr. the first day of April, ”

APPENDIX 3.

The Ritual

James II had republished, two earlier volumes on the services used. Much of our knowledge comes from these republications. The first volume is entitled “The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be Diseased with the King’s Evil, used in the time of King Henry VII.” The office is entirely in English. It is fortunate this record exists. In the second volume the rubrics are still in English but the prayers and Gospels are in Latin. This second volume is much closer to Catholic usage and represents James’ attempt to return England to Catholic worship.

The prayer book used by Queen Mary still survives and as it contains references to the King it is likely this was the service followed by her father, Henry VIII.

The services of Henry VII, Mary and Elizabeth are each in Latin. Charles I and Charles II both held services in English and James II, sometimes in English and sometimes in Latin.

Anne’s service is to be found in the Book of Common Prayer in English in 1709. The healing service was habitually included in prayer books of her reign. Sometimes it is in Latin. This service continued through no less than four editions of the Oxford Prayer Book in the reign of George I. The English services for Anne and George are identical except that the word King is substituted for Queen. Probably because of the controversy associated with Elizabeth’s excommunication, James I

and Charles I both had references to the sign of the cross expunged from the service. James II, in his attempts to re-Catholicise England, re-introduced the Crucifix.

APPENDIX 4.

Numismatic Summary

It is not intended to supply an exhaustive list of weights and variations in angels or touchpieces. There is very much variation in the weights of touchpieces issued in the one reign and values can only be approximate in terms of bullion at the appropriate period of time. For the sake of thoroughness all coins mentioned in the paper are summarised here.

Edward III issued a gold florin of 108 grains worth six shillings and a gold noble of 136.7 grains worth six shillings and eightpence. These coins bore the IHS AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORUM IBAT motto.

Edward IV issued a gold Royal or Rose-noble of 120 grains worth ten shillings and a gold angel of 80 grains worth six shillings and eightpence. This bore the legend PER CRUCEM TUAM SALVA NOS XPC REDEMPTOR.

Henry VII issued two types of gold angels each of 80 grains worth six shillings and eightpence concurrently. The mottoes were more commonly PER CRUCE TUA SALVA NOS XPC REDEMPTOR, less commonly IHS AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORUM IBAT.

Henry VIII used the PER CRUCE motto. The angel remained at 80 grains although its value fluctuated between six shillings and eightpence, seven shillings and sixpence and eight shillings.

Under Edward VI the weight of the angel remained eighty grains but it rose in value from eight shillings to ten shillings. Mary issued gold angels of 80 grains bearing the motto A DNO FACTU EST ISTUD Z MIRA IN OCUL NRIS.

Elizabeth issued an 80 grain gold angel with the same A DNO legend. The value was ten shillings except between 1561 and 1572 when it was worth only six shillings and eightpence. Up to and including the reign of Elizabeth the main mast of the galleon was a large crucifix of much religious significance.

James I issued angels at a constant value of ten shillings. The first issue weighed 71.1 grains, the second issued 65.45 grains. James omitted the crucifix from the main mast and instead showed a galleon. He modified the legend to A DOMINO FACTUM EST ISTUD omitting the ET EST MIRABILE. In other words He thanked God but omitted reference to the miraculous. This reflected his cynicism.

Charles I issued angels of 64.72 grains worth ten shillings. These bore the AMOR POPULI motto.

Charles II issued a large gold touchpiece of between 53-55 grains worth about eleven and six pence and later a small gold touchpiece varying between 25-29.8 grains worth about five shillings. Both bore the legend GLORIA SOLI DEO. James II issued an identical touchpiece

in gold varying between 26-30.5 grains worth about five shillings. He issued identical touchpieces in silver.

Charles III, the Old Pretender, issued silver touchpieces of 45 grains worth about sixpence. They bear the DEO SOLI GLORIA legend.

James III, the Young Pretender, issued identical silver touchpieces at the same value.

Henry IX, Cardinal York, issued an identical silver touchpiece to that of his brother James III except that it weighed 35 grains and was worth about five pence.

Anne issued a gold touchpiece varying between 45-47.4 grains and worth seven shillings and eightpence. As Anne touched few people this larger touchpiece did not involve her in undue expense.

APPENDIX 5.

Why patients recovered with the treatment with special reference to the reign of Charles II.

In many instances the long journey to London itself had great healing value. There are many recorded instances of people travelling several hundred miles for the ceremony. This often meant a lengthy and novel change of life with new experience, different food and being considered a person of some importance. The patient, certainly by the reign of the Stuarts, was very important. In the first instance the applicant had to obtain a certificate from the officers of his home parish. The patient and the certificate were personally examined by one of the Royal Surgeons. Subject to approval by the King's surgeon, after much ceremony and ritual the applicant was presented to the King by the surgeon and in the ultimate, made personal physical contact with the King. The return home was equally lengthy so there was a good deal of holiday and change of environment associated with a very impressive ritual. Some applicants had their expenses paid for by the home parish. For the poor and illiterate who formed most of the supplicants, the solemnity and grandeur of the ceremony was profound.

Richard Wiseman, surgeon to Charles II was a skilful surgeon who wrote authoritative text books. Although he treated scrofula with both hygienic measures and with surgery he admits his successes could not compare with those of his Sacred Majesty. Wiseman wrote *A Treatise of the Kings Evil*. He testifies, "I myself have been a frequent Eye-witness of many hundreds of Cures performed by His Majestie's touch alone, without any assistance of Chirurgery; and those, many of them, such as had tired out the endeavours of able Chirurgeons before they came hither." Wiseman accepted the cure as a miracle. He says many doubted this and advanced more natural explanations. As many cures could not be denied "some will impute it only to the Journey they take, and the change of Air; others to the effects of the imagination; and others to the wearing of Gold. The first of these is easily confuted by the hundreds of instances that are to be given of Inhabitants of this City, who certainly would meet the little change of Air, or indeed of exercise, in a Journey to Whitehall. The second is as readily taken off by the Examples of Infants, who have been frequently healed, though they have not been old enough to imagine anything of the Majesty, or other secret rays of Divinity, that do attend Kings, or do

any other act that way to contribute to the Cure. The third hath more of color in it, because many that have been touched have upon loss of their Gold felt returns of their Malady, which upon recovery of that, have vanished. But in this case also we have many Evidences of the Contrary."

Perfect cleanliness was essential to the Royal Touch. This is described in a case by Clowes, surgeon to Elizabeth I. He mentions a cure by the Queen when "neither Physic or Chirurgery could prevail". "The Queen cured him safely within the space of six months. And afterwards I did meet with him in London, but I did not well know him him, his color and complexion was so greatly altered and amended. Then I asked him how he did with his grief. He answered, I thank God and the Queen of England, I am by Her Majesty perfectly cured and healed; and after Her Grace had touched me I never applied any medicine at all. but kept it clean with sweet and fresh clean clothes and now and then washed the same with white wine; and thus all my griefs did consume and waste clean away."

In New Zealand, as has been said, suggestion by a person with much mana may lead to remission. Often of course, the illness is a self limiting disease with natural remission and recovery.

APPENDIX 6

Notes on Physicians testifying as to the efficiency of the Royal Touch.

Many physicians have written papers describing the nature and treatment of the Kings Evil. The most important of these, all of whom supported the Royal ritual are:

1. Gilbertus Anglicus or Gilbert the Englishman. He was one of the most important of the Anglo-Norman medical practitioners. He published a Compendium of Medicine and this included a chapter on De Scrofulis et Glandibus or Concerning Scrofula and Glands. Gilbertus Anglicus studied at the medical school of Montpellier. He died about 1250 A.D. but his Compendium of Medicine was published and republished until the sixteenth century.
2. John of Gaddeson (1280—about 1361) was also an English graduate of Montpellier. He was physician to King Edward II and a professor at Merton College in Oxford. He compiled the Rosa Anglica in 1314 and there was an edition in England as late as 1595. The name of this textbook of medicine probably infers the author was comparing the book with the qualities and virtues of a rose.
3. Bernard of Gordon, probably a Scotsman taught at Montpellier from 1285 until 1387. He compiled a liliū Medicinæ which was first published in Venice in 1496. His textbook compares medicine with the virtues and qualities of the lily.
4. Andrew Boorde (1490-1549) also a graduate of Montpellier wrote the Breviarie of Health in the life time of Henry VIII and he firmly recommended the Royal Touch as treatment for scrofula.
5. John Mirfield, a physician, monk who worked at St. Bartholomews wrote a medical text Breviarium Bartholomæi in the latter fourteenth century.

6. William Clowes who was physician to both Elizabeth and James I.
7. Peter Lowe 1560-1612 who wrote the first text book of surgery in English. Lowe advocated free surgical treatment for the poor.
8. Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682) author of *Religio Medici*, a book which still influences medical philosophy.
9. Richard Wiseman, surgeon to Charles II lived between 1622 and 1676. His work is discussed in detail in the main paper.
10. John Browne, surgeon to Charles II. He wrote *Adenochoiradologia or Kings Evil Swellings* in 1654. This is a very authoritative text. This volume bore the imprintur of Thomas Coxe then President of the Royal College of Physicians.
11. Daniel Turner who published a text book called *Art of Surgery* in 1722. Turner testified to cures by Queen Anne in a case of scrofula which he had been unable to cure.
12. Ambrose Pare 1510-1590. One of the greatest surgeons of all time. He coined the phrase "I dressed the wound but God healed it."
13. William Beckett, a surgeon who wrote in 1722 "A Free and Impartial Inquiry into the Antiquity of Efficacy of Touching for the Cure of the Kings Evil."

APPENDIX 7.

Gold and Its Relation to Medicine

Gold is one of the few metals to be found in a pure unrefined state. The very permanence of gold, the constancy of its colour, its easiness to work, were all qualities which made gold very valuable to primitive man. It is likely gold came to be associated in colour with the sun. Just as the sun was associated with warmth, comfort, the ripening of crops and fertility, it is likely these qualities were transferred to gold. Gold came to be accepted as incorporating the magic and mystical powers of the sun. At one period medicine containing gold was known as *tinctura solis* or tincture of the sun.

Bile, the contents of the gall-bladder in antiquity was classified into either yellow bile or black bile. Bile is sometimes known as gall and gall is a corruption of the word *ghel*. Two other words with obviously similar meanings in some respects derive from the word *ghel*. These are the words yellow and gold.

Jaundice—a conditions associated with a yellow skin—has for obvious reasons been identified in many societies. It too derives from the French *jaune* meaning yellow. An ancient Hindu treatment for jaundice was to transfer the yellowness by ritual methods to other animals or objects. The patient would be annointed with yellow porridge. Three yellow birds would be tied to the patient with yellow thread. The patient would then be washed and the threads cut. The yellowness was meant to disappear with the birds. Finally hairs from a red bull wrapped in gold leaf were glued to the patients skin. The hairs from the bull symbolised strength. Until recently jaundice was known in Greece as the Golden Disease. The treatment was to take a coin of the purest gold available, preferably an English Sovereign and to leave this immersed in wine under the stars for three nights. The wine is then con-

sumed thrice daily. A Wend cure for jaundice was very similar. A gold coin was left in water overnight then swallowed. In both Russia and Germany gold coins and gold bracelets were part of the cure for jaundice.

The ancient Greeks identified a bird called Ikteros. If a jaundiced person slew this bird his jaundice left him. A modern synonym for jaundice is icterus.

The use of a likeness to cure likeness became known in medicine as the Doctrine of Signatures. Just as gold might be used to treat jaundice, cyclamen flowers might be used for ear diseases in that the flower resembled the ear.

The Romans called jaundice *Morbus Regius* or the Royal Disease because by nature of its colour it resembles gold.

Jaundices is a symptom and not a specific disease. At different periods of time many conditions involving body discolorations with a brown orange or green tint have been labelled jaundice. All are familiar with the way in which a bruised area changes colour from red to purple to black to green to yellow before the bruise disappears. Jaundice was known as the King's Evil. Varro (116-28 B.C.) writes "The so called King's Evil is also called the rainbow disease because it presents all the colours of the rainbow."

Scribonius writing in the First Century A.D. says some call the King's Evil Golden Jaundice, others call it the Rainbow Disease.

It is likely that at a period remote in time all skin discolorations regardless of cause were considered as manifestations of a common cause. Bruising and jaundice were confused. After these conditions became separately identified many chronic diseases with skin discoloration were confused with jaundice. It is only with the advent of bacteriology that scrofula could be given a specific aetiology. Prior to that many chronic disorders with cutaneous manifestations were considered to be scrofula.

It is however of great interest that Laurent, physician to Henry IV of France, records that the ancient Hungarian kings touched to cure jaundice whereas English kings touched to cure scrofula. There can be little doubt that the association of the yellowness of jaundice, gold and the sun were of fundamental importance in the selection of gold and ultimately other yellow objects, as a medication.

It is of some interest that gold is still used by injection as a treatment for rheumatoid arthritis and in radioactive form it is used as a treatment for certain neoplastic diseases.

APPENDIX 8.

Greed and the Royal Touch

"The lust of gold succeeds the rage of conquest;
The lust of gold, unfeeling and remorseless.
The last corruption of degenerate man."

Samuel Johnson. *Irene*. Act 1, Scene 1.

Man's greed for gold is very ancient. Chaucer has a very interesting couplet in his *Canterbury Tales*.

"For gold in Physik is a cordial
Therefore he loved gold in special."

Chaucer is cleverly referring both to the physician and patient. Physik refers to both a medicine and the practice of medicine and indeed Chaucer is writing of a physician. He is shrewdly making the point that he valued gold both as a reward for himself and as a remedy for his patients.

There is no doubt especially in the reign of Charles II, people desired to experience the cure for scrofula solely to obtain the gold reward. The surgeon Browne suggested that the duties of the surgeon examining patients for suitability for the Royal Touch should include keeping an alphabetical register so applicants could not present a second time. A clergyman called Vickers writing about 1717, records how he was touched on no less than five occasions obtaining a gold piece on each occasion. Browne's recommendation was never put into effect.

The demand to contain tickets for admission to the Royal Ceremony was in itself so great that on occasion it led to the loss of human life. Evelyn the diarist notes in 1684 "There was so great a concourse of people with their children to be touched for the Evil, that six or seven were crushed to death by pressing at the surgeon's door for tickets."

At one stage in history gold had a reputation for relieving the distressing pruritus or itch that is associated with both internal and skin disorders.

Some cynic rewrote Chaucer but retained the content. This cynic expressed himself well by saying "gold has many uses. These uses include relief of both the itch and the itching palm."

Numismatists will appreciate the pun the author of which is unknown "The half sovereign cures what the Sovereign can not cure."

Another version is "the Sovereign can not cure what the half sovereign can."

While the numismatics are not too exact, the satire is very clear. Numismatists will enjoy the Sixth Story of the First Day of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. This centres about a coin the fiorino d'oro which bore the the effigy of St. John. Because of this it was called St. John Goldenbeard. Reference is made to the good man who would annoint his hands with "a liberal allowance of St. John Goldenmouth's grease, an excellent remedy for the disease of avarice . . ." Boccaccio tells us that this ointment has very great virtues despite the fact no mention of it is made by the great medical authority Galen.

APPENDIX 9.

The Royal Touch in the Nineteenth Century

Although not specifically relevant to this paper, it is worth recording the last ceremony of the Royal Touch that took place in the Western world. At his coronation in France in 1824 Charles X reintroduced the ceremonial of the Royal Touch for scrofula. On this occasion he touched 121 patients.

The ceremony had survived in France after the Hanoverians had abandoned it in England. Louis XV at his coronation in 1722, touched 2,000 patients. Louis XVI touched some 2,400 patients but investigation during the Revolution proved that only five of these patients had been cured. It is likely the investigation was biased to prove the inefficiency of the treatment.

The French ritual differs considerably to the English ritual, but it includes the use of alms, a religious service. The King touches the patient by making the sign of the cross on his face saying simultaneously, "May God heal thee. The King touches thee."

Charles X of France endeavoured to restore something of the powers of the former Kings of France. This is perhaps why he reintroduced the Royal Touch. At his Coronation service the patients were presented to him by two famous surgeons Alibert and Dupuytren. Dupuytren is remembered by the disease bearing his name: Dupuytren's Disease—a contraction of the subcutaneous tissues of the palm causing a flexion of the fingers. Alibert's name survives in a lotion named after him and still used by dermatologists.

Charles X was an absolute monarch and an ultra Royalist in outlook. His attempt to impose his will on France led to Revolution and his abdication. His successor Louis Phillipe, held the throne at the will of his subjects and made no attempt to heal by touch.

APPENDIX 10.

A Poets View

"You have spoken light word
Of the Touching of old,
But you never have heard
Of the good Angel-gold!
For it was not alone
The monarch's kind eye,
Nor the links that are gone
'Tween the low and the high.

No, not for these only,
Though these they were much,
Came the stricken and lonely
To kneel to the Touch.
The soft hand was put out
And the soft solace said:
Few mourners could doubt
Their evil had fled . . ."

Oh, blame not their blindness,
'Twas the blindness of love
Made them think that this kindness,
It came from above.
And when 'twas thus given
To those who had need
That something of Heaven
Was Majesty's need."

—George Smythe, seventh Viscount Strangford circa 1850.

FINALE:

“And behold, there are last which shall be first, and there are first which shall be last.” Luke XIII, 30.

The question might well be asked—what will be the effect of the new decimal currency in New Zealand on the use of money in the treatment of Makutu?

Coinage which has traditionally been used has been displaced. The penny and threepenny bit no longer exist. Will the ritual become extinct with the disappearance of these coins or will a new modified ritual emerge?

It would be reasonable to postulate that concepts engrained in current life will remain and that if for some reason their expression becomes impossible, new or modified means of expression will emerge spontaneously. If the penny and threepenny bit are no longer current coin or unobtainable they will be replaced by other coinage. It would be reasonable to postulate modifications of ritual with the use of new coinage.

In April 1971 I experienced my first case involving decimal coinage in a Maori healing ritual. As expected, this ritual showed a new variation. The patient and his family believed he suffered from Makutu. As a result of this he visited a Ringatu tohunga. He was told by this tohunga to bring three silver coins and he took along three “silver” five cent pieces. These are known as Koha. The word Koha used to be used interchangeably with Kopa or copper penny. Today the word Koha is applied to the old sixpence, now the current five cent piece, and comparable with the former threepenny bit because it is the smallest “silver” coin in circulation.

The tohunga concerned was known to both myself and the patient. The patient had consulted him several times in the period of non-decimal coinage. At that period a single coin would suffice. The service is both secret and esoteric. The first coin is for whakamoemiti or praise for the Lord. The second coin is for tono or forgiveness and to make the sufferer's natural enemies relent towards him. The third coin is pumau and symbolises a request for the Lord to deliver the patient from evil forces and to make him a follower of the Lord.

These Maori terms originally had different meanings. Whakamoemiti meant to praise and is now used in a religious sense. Tono meant to command or demand and is used in the sense of commanding forgiveness. Requests in ancient Karakia are often commands or demands rather than humble supplication. Pumau means fixed or constant and assumedly means in the above context, constancy of faith.

The tohunga supplies a further five cent coin which he places beside the tono coin and this is the crucial point when forgiveness and relief from suffering are sought for the patient. The tohunga keeps all coins. Their fate is uncertain but it is likely the three supplied by the patient are used for “church” purposes and the coin the tohunga supplies is placed in a burial ground or else all coins are ritually buried. All coins are very tapu and their only possible current disposal would be in a sacred spot or on behalf of the Ringatu church. The tohunga concerned will not be more specific than this. It is likely the three coins in some way symbolise the Christian Trinity and a fusion of this with Ringatu tradition.

This case illustrates how a knowledge of the past can illuminate the present. Without knowledge of the history of medicine in relationship to numismatics in different periods of space and time a case such as this would be clinically and scientifically incomprehensible. It would be regarded as a curious local custom and considered in isolation. In reality it is in continuum with the historic past and undetermined future. A knowledge of history alone links this case with the past and allows the prediction it will also affect the future.

This case illustrates the constancy of man's thought and philosophy that evil supernatural forces can cause suffering and disease and that these forces can be exorcised with gain to the sufferer. These concepts and philosophies vary little in different societies both in space and time. The ritual alone shows much variation but even here there is a common thread linking the Pax Penny of Edward Confessor, the Gold Angel of Henry VII, the Touch Piece of the Stuarts, the now obsolete penny and threepenny bit of New Zealand and currently the old sixpence or current five cent coin. The first is certainly last and the last certainly first.

I count myself privileged and fortunate to have had the opportunity of studying healing rituals in an emergent society similar to healing rituals documented by competent observers in the remote past.

Acknowledgements.

I wish to record my gratitude to the many Maori patients in whom I have been able to study many of the issues raised in this paper. Without such patients this paper would never have been formulated. I likewise wish to record that many aspects and issues raised in this paper were frequently discussed by myself with Allan Sutherland. He at all times gave me encouragement and support in my researches. I have to thank Mr. H. G. Salt M.B.E. and Mr. W. J. Salt for their skill in photographing the specimens illustrated and Mr. Chris. Jones for his portrait shown in frontispiece. Finally I have to express my gratitude to my wife Ann for her help and forbearance at all times with my researches.



PLATE: Silver short cross pax penny of Edward the Confessor pierced in antiquity.



PLATE 3: Pierced silver penny Canute.

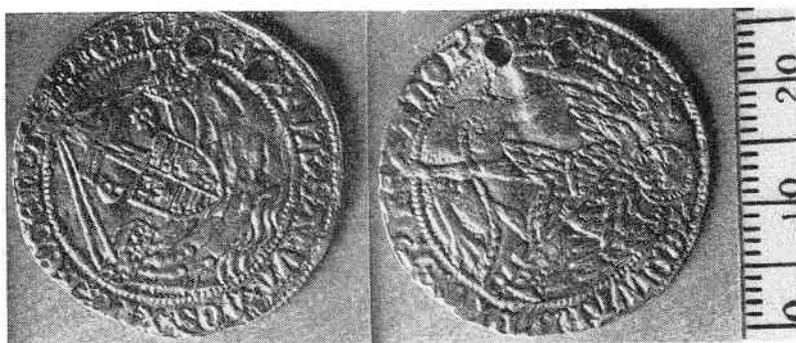


PLATE 4: Doubly pierced gold angel of Edward IV. The piercing is such as Michael will lie horizontally and not vertically. Double piercing may have been for security or the coin may have been pierced in two different ceremonies. Note stylised cross as main mast of galleon.



PLATE 5: Gold angel of Henry VII.



PLATE 6: Pierced angel of Henry VIII.



PLATE 7: Pierced angel of Elizabeth.

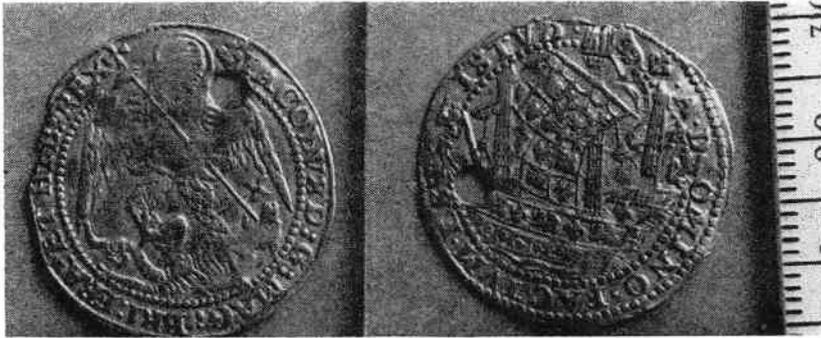


PLATE 8: Angel James I. The main mast is no longer a cross and the galleon is in sail.



PLATE: 9 Angel Charles I. The galleon is in full sail. Note large piercing.



PLATE 10: Three gold touch pieces of Charles II evidence of progressive diminution in size.

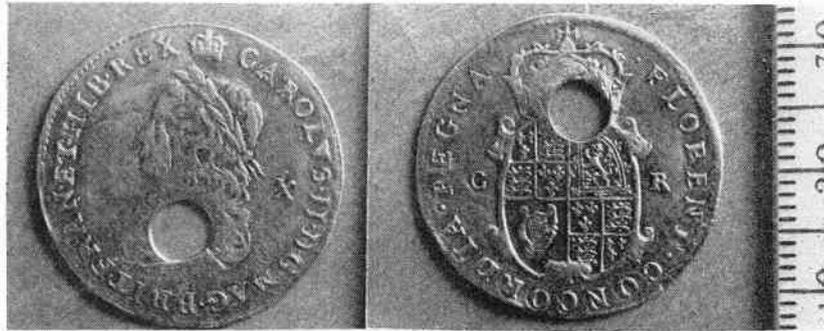


PLATE 11: Charles II pierced gold broad.



PLATE 12: Four pattern penny admission tickets.

Top left—copper inset in brass.

Top right—copper. The notch above Deo is incised at the mint to give a variation in the ticket.

Bottom left—Copper.

Bottom right—Brass inset in copper.

These tickets are very similar in design but somewhat larger than gold touch pieces.

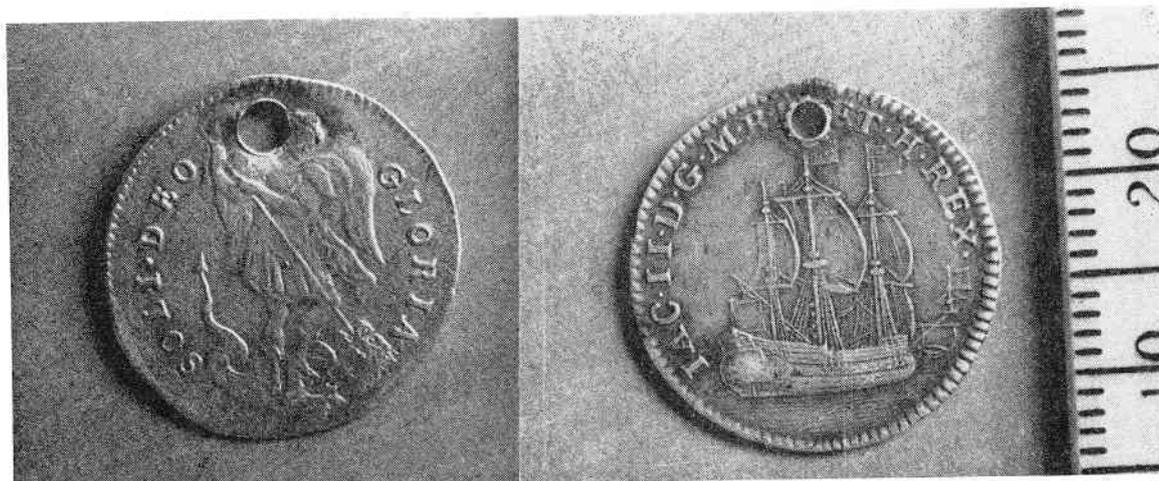


PLATE 13a: Gold touch piece of James II.



PLATE 13b: Gold touch pieces of James II die variation.

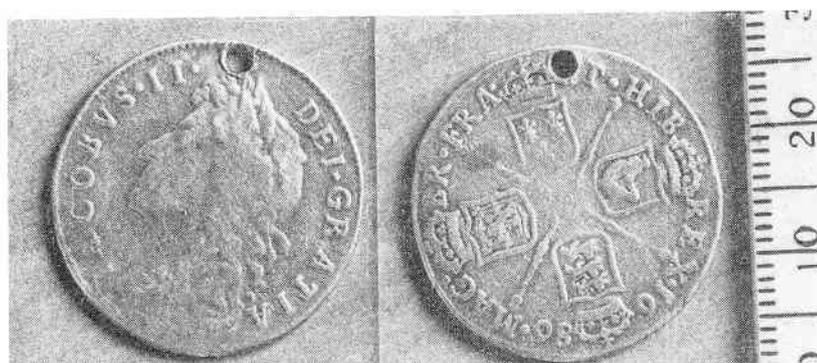


PLATE 14: Gold Unite of James II probably pierced and bestowed in exile.



PLATE 15: Gold touch piece Anne.



PLATE 16: Silver touch piece of Charles III, the Old Pretender.



PLATE 17a: A correctly pierced silver touchpiece of Charles III.



PLATE 17b: A careless and incorrectly pierced silver touch piece of Charles III. Michael is suspended by the heels.



PLATE 18: Silver touch piece of James III, the Young Pretender. Note crude piercing.



PLATE 19: Two silver touch pieces of Henry IX Cardinal of York, showing die variation.

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