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Proceedings of
THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF NEW ZEALAND (INC.)

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Issued gratis to Members.

ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF NEW ZEALAND (Inc.)

OBJECTS

The objects of the Society are: To encourage the study of the science of numismatics and kindred historical subjects by the holding of meetings for the reading of papers and the exhibition of specimens; by the issuing of reports or publications relating to such meetings; by assisting members and students in the study and acquirement of numismatic specimens—coins, medals, tokens, seals, paper money, native currencies and kindred objects; by cultivating fraternal relations among numismatists in New Zealand and abroad; by fostering the interest of youth in these subjects; by encouraging research into the currencies and related history of New Zealand and the Islands of the Pacific, particularly Polynesia; by striking commemorative and other medals from time to time; by co-operating with the Government of New Zealand in the selection of suitable designs for coins and medals; by disseminating numismatic and kindred knowledge; by developing public interest in the fascinating and educational pursuit of numismatics, and generally by representing numismatic and kindred interests as a Dominion organisation.

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VOL. 8

MAY-DECEMBER, 1954

No. 1 (21)

ANNUAL REPORT, 1953-54

The year has again been an active one, and membership of the Society has once more increased. As against five resignations, twenty-five new members have been elected. The papers given by members and visitors, both at Wellington and at meetings of Branches, have covered a wide range of subjects, and have been of great interest and of a high standard. A gratifyingly large number of these papers have been on New Zealand subjects. Their publication in the *Journal* together with various articles and news on New Zealand numismatics is fitting, and proof that the Society is alive to its responsibilities as a New Zealand organisation, which keeps in touch with numismatists throughout the world.

Attendance at meetings has been well maintained. Some of those at Wellington have almost reached the limit laid down for the present use of the Turnbull Library, and it is to be hoped that the present physical difficulties of this magnificent library, which is so ideal a centre for numismatic meetings, and where every possible help and kindness has been enjoyed from Mr. Taylor and his staff, will be brought to a happy conclusion. The Society was represented by Mr. Freeman at a meeting held in Wellington to discuss recommendations as to the future of the library. Furthermore, news has come that the Auckland Branch has now outgrown to the limits of discomfort its present meeting-place. In congratulating this Branch on its development, the Society hopes that the difficulty will be speedily and successfully solved.

Close and interested co-operation has been continued with the Branches. The success of the proposed scheme for the circulation of literature received by the Society to the Branches is confidently anticipated. The amount and the variety of this literature is very considerable, and the new scheme should be of great profit to attenders of Branch meetings.

The international activities of the Society have been well maintained, thanks mainly to the *Journal*. This is shown by the extensive correspondence received from all over the world. Copies of the *Journal* continue to be sent to various learned institutions, and have this year been given to the Congrès Internationale de

Numismatique. At the meeting of the International Numismatic Congress in Paris, the Society had the honour of being represented by Mr. Harold Mattingly. Sir John Hanham reported that a specimen of the New Zealand Cross was exhibited there.

The Society congratulates four members on their election to Fellowships. The distinction was never better merited, and it is pleasing to note as proof of the health and vigour of a national Society in all its parts, that the distinction included all organised centres.

The most important activity of the Society is obviously still the publication of *The New Zealand Numismatic Journal*. The Hon. Editor is again to be heartily congratulated on the very high standard which he has maintained. This could hardly be done without his skill—equal to that of any professional—and his unfailing resource and verve. The *Journal* is a worthy representative of New Zealand publications, and we are indeed grateful to the Hon. Editor for the large amount of time and the great pride which he takes in producing this periodical. The emphasis on New Zealand numismatics, which are thus made known to the world, shows that the continued subsidy which makes publication possible is being wisely spent, with the object in view for which it is essentially intended. We are exceedingly grateful to the Government, and in particular to the Department of Internal Affairs for this continued help, but the Society is not thereby freed by any means from the difficulties that arise from increasing costs. In the absence of any other source of funds, save membership fees, the Society has had to take careful stock of the position. As all duties are honorary, and no real saving could therefore be made on the expenses of administration, which are not large, it is with regret that steps have had to be taken to curtail the present form of the *Journal*, but it is confidently anticipated that its acceptance and essential usefulness will not thereby be lessened.

Finally, I should like once more to record the Society's gratitude to Mr. Taylor and the staff of the Turnbull Library, and to all office-bearers, members and friends who have helped to make the year's work pleasant and successful. I should particularly like to mention the services of Mr. Tether, the Hon. Secretary and Mr. Freeman, the Hon. Treasurer, who have with quiet efficiency done a great amount of useful work. Mr. Tether's resignation from office will leave a gap which it will be hard to fill.

I am certain that if funds permit the continued publication of the *Journal* in anything like its present form and standard, the Society can hope for a vigorous and useful future.

For the Council of the Society,

H. A. MURRAY, President.

This Report was adopted unanimously with the additional motion—"That Prof. H. A. Murray be congratulated on his election as Honorary Curator of Coins and Capt. G. T. Stagg as Honorary Curator of Medals at the Dominion Museum."

ATHENA, ROMA AND BRITANNIA.

By MISS M. K. STEVEN, Christchurch.

Our modern use of coin types (portrait of ruler on the obverse, some symbolic design on the reverse) begins just before 300 B.C. After the death of Alexander the Great in 323, one of his generals, Lysimachus, became governor and then king of Thrace. A coin of Lysimachus¹ shows the head of Alexander deified, with horn of Ammon and diadem; on the reverse, Athena seated, holding Victory in her outstretched hand; in the field are a bee (mint mark of Ephesus) and two monograms. Of the Athena on this coin, Seltman, in *A Book of Greek Coins*, says: "Historically, she looks back—and forward: back to Alexander's gold, to the bronze statue by Pheidias, to Athene on the money of Athens, and so to Peisistratus: forward to the seated armed goddess Dea Roma, to her "daughter," the figure made on Hadrian's coinage to represent Britannia. This figure was revived under Charles II for our coppers, and is still with us." This paper is intended to illustrate the relationship described by Seltman.

Alexander's coins follow the pattern already long established, and bear on the obverse the head of a god or goddess, particularly Athena, Apollo, Nike, Zeus, Herakles. Zeus and Herakles appear particularly on his silver; on his gold, he used Athena and Nike.²

Seltman states (*A Book of Greek Coins*, p. 25) that Athena's head on Alexander's gold is "copied from a famous bronze statue by Pheidias in Athens." Pheidias was the greatest of Greek sculptors. He flourished in the 3rd quarter of the 5th century, being born about 490 and producing sculpture from about 460-425. Pericles made him general overseer of all artistic undertakings at Athens, so that he was responsible for the Parthenon in the sense that all the architects, artists and artisans were under his direct charge. He must have sketched the designs for the sculpture, or at least initiated or revised those sketches; he would make the models in clay and plaster, which were reproduced by the sculptors working under him. His statue of Zeus at Olympia, in gold and ivory, was one of the wonders of the ancient world, and he also made a gold and ivory statue of Athena to stand in the Parthenon. He excelled in the creation of divinities, and his sublime and noble figures gave that note of idealism to Greek sculpture which many people consider its distinctive quality.

One of the most famous works of Pheidias was the bronze Athena (Athena Promachos), a bronze figure which stood on the Acropolis at Athens. It was about thirty feet high, and the point of Athena's spear and the crest of her helmet were visible

¹ *Principal Coins of the Greeks*, plate 27, No. 16.

² See *Principal Coins of the Greeks*, plate 29, No. 4: obverse, head of Athena, reverse, Nike holding wreath and naval standard, in field thunderbolt and monogram; also plate 27, No. 2: obverse, head of Athena, helmet decorated with a sphinx; reverse, Nike holding wreath and trophy stand, in field monograms.

to sailors miles out at sea. The statue itself no longer exists, and no copies of it survive. Representations on Athenian coins of the Roman imperial period give an idea of its general attitude and imposing nature.

Pheidias made another Athena in bronze which stood on the Acropolis, a statue dedicated by the colonists sent to Lemnos, 451-448. Ancient writers refer to its very great beauty. Probably we possess marble copies of it in two marble statues in Dresden, and a head in Bologna. "There are few heads preserved to us from antiquity of such pure and noble loveliness as the head in Bologna (Roman copy though it is) and few figures so grand in conception as this statue when we can visualise its composition holding a helmet in one hand and a lance in the other."

At the time when Pheidias was producing his sculpture, the coins of Athens bore on the obverse a head of Athena in deliberately archaic style. (See Seltman, *A Book of Greek Coins*, plates 22 and 23, for the contrast between the archaic heads of Athena on 5th century Athenian coins and the heads on contemporary coins of other Greek states.)

But Athenian coins had not always borne the head of Athena. The early coins of Athens (late 7th and early 6th centuries) had an amphora or wine-jar on the obverse—an appropriate emblem, as much of the export trade of Athens consisted of fine painted vases. Then during a period of political and economic unrest, politicians who came to power began to mint with their own family coats-of-arms—e.g., a wheel, horse, bull's head, horse's hind-quarter. But one noble, seeking power through popular favour, became dictator of the Athenian people. This was Peisistratus, who in the year 566 B.C. founded the great Panathenaic festival, and probably at the same time introduced the new coinage of Athens, with the head of Athena on the obverse, and on the reverse the owl of Athens, a twig of olive and part of the city's name. (This is the earliest coinage in the world with a full type on both sides—hitherto the reverse had borne a punch mark.)³

The following account of Athena is based on, and quotes from, the chapter on Athena in Seltman's *The Twelve Olympians*.

Athena was worshipped in many parts of Greece besides Athens, and her worship is much older than the Greeks themselves. In Crete some two thousand years B.C. a civilization grew up in and around a few luxurious palaces such as the palace of Minos at Knossos, which has been excavated by Sir Arthur Evans. The princes who owned these palaces appear to have shown special devotion to a palace goddess, who protected the palace of the prince. On the mainland of Greece, the palace of the ruler was not only a royal residence but a citadel behind a fortifying wall; and in times of danger the common people could leave their houses or huts and take refuge in the citadel. Presumably the subjects of the prince also worshipped the palace goddess who

³ Seltman, *A Book of Greek Coins*, plate 4.

protected them as well. When the Greek-speaking peoples moved down into Greece, their civilization merged with the earlier one centred on Crete. The new Greek rulers also worshipped a young goddess, the daughter of Zeus, known as The Maiden (Parthenos, Pallas); and these two goddesses became fused or identified—so that a common name for the goddess of Athens was Pallas-Athene, Pallas from the Greek goddess, Athene from the pre-Greek goddess. When the princes no longer ruled and their palace became the fortress, she remained the goddess of the fortress and the fortified city. That was why she was worshipped not only at Athens but at Corinth, Sparta, Argos, Thebes and many other places which were fortified cities.

Athena was always regarded as a virgin goddess. She was warlike in the sense that she fought for her chosen people or protected them from danger, but she was not a goddess of fighting or violence or brute strength; she was the wise one, the strategist or tactician in war. As one might expect of a goddess who was originally a palace goddess, she was concerned with all household arts and crafts, particularly spinning and weaving; but she was also the special goddess of arts and crafts in general, of anything that requires knowledge and skill, and so she was the patron goddess of the spinner, the weaver, the sempstress, the cook, the goldsmith, the potter, the mason, the carpenter, the miller, the soldier, the statesman, the schoolmaster, the philosopher—of everyone who needs knowledge and skill. Ultimately she became the personification of wisdom.

No one knows whether she was called Athena after Athens, or whether Athens was called Athens after her. But her cult, her dominion over men's minds, and their deep affection for her were far stronger at Athens than in any other Greek state. Other gods and goddesses were worshipped at Athens, but Athena was held in special honour. When Athens became one of the most important cities in Greece (fifth century B.C.), the special goddess of the Athenians became their state emblem, their symbol of empire.

The coin of Lysimachus with the seated Athena on the reverse was issued just before 300 B.C. Soon after 300 B.C. Roman coinage begins.

Rome's first coins were bronze, and used for dealing with her Italian neighbours. The obverse bore the head of a deity—Jupiter, Minerva, Hercules, Mercury, Bellona, Roma. These were Roman gods, many of whom corresponded to, and had been identified with, Greek gods—e.g., Minerva, an Italian goddess of handicrafts, became identified with Athena and was the Roman goddess of wisdom. Minerva and Roma, the city-goddess, both appear on Roman bronze.

When Rome came into close contact with the Greek cities of South Italy, she issued silver coins. All the early silver bears on the obverse the city-goddess Roma, shown as the head of a woman wearing a winged helmet with a griffin crest.⁴ The conception of

⁴ See Hill, *Historical Roman Coins*, plate X, 30-37; Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, pl. XIV, 13, 14.

Roma as the goddess of the city has very much in common with that of Athena on the Athenian coins; so it is not surprising that the type of Roma is very close to that of Minerva, the Roman Athena—sometimes the two can hardly be distinguished. In general if the goddess wears a Corinthian helmet, she is Minerva; if she wears the winged helmet with griffin crest she is Roma. (The word Roma on the reverse refers to the issuer; it is not descriptive of the type.)

Thus early Roman silver resembles early Greek coins in having on the obverse the appropriate goddess—at Rome as at Athens the goddess especially associated with the city. On later republican coins various divine heads appear, and Roma is seldom used after 100 B.C.

When Rome ceased to be a republic and was ruled by emperors, the obverse of the coins bore the image and superscription of the reigning emperor, as he was now the visible head of the Roman state. In this respect Roman coins now resemble Greek coins of Alexander's successors. The reverse types show an enormous variety—representations of the emperor himself or his family, historical scenes, buildings, etc. Some reverse types are religious and show gods and goddesses; and so we find Minerva and Roma appearing, now on the reverse. Roma is shown in various ways, often as an Amazon, an armed goddess with short tunic. On a coin of Hadrian, 135 A.D.⁵ she is shown as a seated armed goddess with spear and shield. Here she holds an armed figure in her outstretched hand, so that her attitude is very like that of Athena on the coin of Lysimachus. We know she is Roma, because at this period the words on the reverse (ROMAE AETERNAE) describe the type. On a coin of Antoninus Pius, 151 A.D., Roma is shown in an attitude exactly similar to that of our modern Britannia.⁶

So we have a similar development in Greek and Roman coins—first the city-goddess Athena or Roma on the obverse; then when the portrait of the ruler is used for the obverse, included among a number of reverse types is that of Athena or Roma. Roma is the armed goddess who, like Athena of Athenian coins, protects the state and is the personification and symbol of it.

Included among Imperial reverse types, besides Roma, are types referring to the provinces of the Empire. "In the first century, the provinces hardly appear on coins, except as defeated subjects of Rome . . . Only under Hadrian . . . do the provinces come into their own . . . He spent a large part of his reign in personally visiting the provinces, learning their problems at first hand, winning their confidence, and satisfying their material needs. His magnificent series of types, struck in A.D. 134 to 135 as the crown of his life's work, shows the arrival of the emperor in the various provinces—a scene of sacrifice—the restoration of the provinces—the emperor raising a kneeling figure to her feet—

⁵ Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, plate XL, No. 13.

⁶ See cover of Seltman, *A Book of Greek Coins*.

the provinces themselves, represented as women in peaceful or warlike guise, with native dress and attributes . . . (The province's) character is defined by the attributes which she holds, by her head-dress and costume and by such adjuncts as camel, rabbit or corn-ears in the field." (Mattingly.)

One such coin of Hadrian,⁷ A.D. 135, shows Britannia as the seated figure of a woman with spear and shield, one foot resting on a heap of stones; the stones show distinct traces of courses, perhaps suggesting the building of Hadrian's Wall in Britain. A coin of Antoninus Pius⁸ about 154 A.D., shows another version of Britannia, a woman, unarmed, seated on a rock.

So, on Roman coins, Britannia is a pictorial representation of the province of Britain and is not necessarily armed. She is not the protective deity, though she is the symbol, of Britain.

On English coins, Britannia first appears on the copper coinage of Charles II, i.e., on the 1672 farthing and halfpenny. She is a seated figure with spear and shield but no helmet, and she holds a spray of leaves (sprig of ivy? branch of olive?).⁹

In the cartwheel penny of 1797 Britannia holds a trident instead of a spear (waves have been added at her feet). In the copper coinage of George IV, Britannia wears a helmet, and has turned round so that she now faces right. Her further hand, which formerly held the spray of leaves, now holds the trident; the shield remains on her nearer side, and the nearer hand which formerly held the trident at first (in the 1821-1826 farthing, the only coin in the first copper issue) holds a branch, close to the shield, but later (in the second copper issue, 1825), when the branch disappears, rests on the shield. The resulting attitude is practically a mirror image of Roma on a coin of Antoninus Pius.¹⁰

Thus, (1) In Greek and Roman coins there is a similarity of conception: first, the city-goddess appears on the obverse; then when the portrait of the ruler appears on the obverse, among a number of reverse types appears that of Athena or of Roma. Both these goddesses protect the state and are the personification and symbol of it.

(2) The representation of Athena on Greek coins and Roma on Roman coins are sometimes strikingly similar, e.g., coin of Lysimachus, Hadrian's ROMAE AETERNAE.

(3) Britannia appears on Roman coins as a personification or symbol of the province of Britain, and in that sense she is "daughter" of Roma, the province being the daughter of the

⁷ Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, plate XXXVIII, No. 17.

⁸ Milne, Sutherland and Thompson, *Coin Collecting*, plate XVIII, No. 8.

⁹ Milne, Sutherland, and Thompson, *Coin Collecting*, plate XXXIII, No. 5. P. Seaby in *The Story of the English Coinage* states: "It has been suggested that the reverse design was adapted from a sestertius of Antoninus Pius which has a seated figure of Britannia with spear and standard." Other authorities say the type was adapted from coins of Hadrian.

¹⁰ See cover of Seltman, *A Book of Greek Coins*.

- 1.—A coin of Lysimachus, king of Thrace (one of Alexander's successors) about 300 B.C.
 obverse: a portrait—not, at this early stage, that of the ruler himself, but of Alexander. He is shown deified, with the horn of Ammon.
 reverse: Athena seated, holding Victory in her outstretched hand; in the field, a bee (mint mark of Ephesus) and two monograms.
- 2.—Alexander's gold—about 330 B.C. obverse: head of Athena; reverse: Victory holding a wreath.
 Alexander's coins followed the established Greek pattern, that is, the obverse does not show a portrait of the ruler, but the head of a god or goddess—on his silver coins, Heracles or Zeus—on his gold coins, Athena.
 This is the head which Seltman says is "copied from a famous bronze statue by Pheidias in Athens."
- 3.—Athenian coins of the 6th century B.C. A., the earliest coins of Athens with a head of Athena on the obverse—coins issued by the dictator Peisistratus.
 This representation of the head of Athena corresponds with that found in relief sculpture of the period.
 B., a coin issued by the successor of Peisistratus, some 50 years later. The rendering is a little more accurate here—note eye and ear.
 From now on, for more than 100 years the representation of Athena on Athenian coins changes very little—that is, it remains deliberately old-fashioned, although great developments occur in sculpture and painting.
- 4.—Early Roman silver, c. 195 B.C. Obverse: the goddess Roma, wearing winged helmet with griffin crest.
- 5.—Roman imperial coinage—a coin of Hadrian about 135 A.D. reverse: the goddess Roma.
 Reverse types at this period show enormous variety—sometimes the reverse type is a goddess. Roma is shown in various ways; in this particular coin the seated armed goddess, with spear and shield, and holding a figure in the outstretched hand, is very like Athena on the coin of Lysimachus. We know she is Roma, because at this period the words on the reverse describe the type—ROMAE AETERNAE.
- 6.—A coin of Antoninus Pius, c. 151 A.D. Reverse: Roma.
- 7.—A coin of Hadrian, about 135 A.D. reverse: Britannia.
 The emperor Hadrian issued a series of coins with reverse types referring to the provinces of the Roman Empire. Some types show scenes—e.g. the arrival of the emperor among his subjects; others show the provinces themselves, represented as women.
 This Britannia has spear and shield; but no helmet. Her right foot rests on a heap of stones so regularly placed in courses that they suggest a reference to the wall which Hadrian built from the Tyne to the Solway.
- 8.—A coin of Antoninus Pius, about 154 A.D. The reverse shows Britannia seated on a rock. This Britannia is unarmed—no spear, shield, or helmet.
 In the field are Roman weapons—a reference to the Roman troops in Britain. Antoninus advanced the frontier and built a wall from the Forth to the Clyde, but the rock on which Britannia sits is clearly a rock, not a stone wall.
- 9.—A farthing of Charles II showing the first Britannia on English coins. Britannia is seated facing left, with spear and shield but no helmet. She holds a sprig of ivy (or branch of olive?).
- 10.—A 1952 penny—Britannia is practically a mirror image of Roma on a coin of Antoninus Pius c. 151 A.D.



1

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3A



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3B

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Empire; the representation is not derived from that of Roma, and is similar to that of other provinces, e.g., Hispania.

(4) The English Britannia type is an adaptation of the Roman Britannia, i.e. the representation of Britannia on English coins is derived from the representation of Britannia on Roman coins.

(5) Modification of the English Britannia over the years results in a figure almost identical with one of the Roman representations of the goddess Roma, though the one is not derived from the other.

And so the connection traced by Seltman is a very real one, though the types he mentions are connected sometimes by derivation one from the other, sometimes by a similarity of conception, and sometimes by a similarity of representation.

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SEABY: *The Story of the English Coinage.*

BRAMAH: *English Regal Copper Coins.*

RICHTER: *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks.*

PENNY UNPOPULAR

The *Times*, London, reports that the penny is becoming unpopular as a unit of coinage, and that the people would welcome the withdrawal of all bronze coins which number about 3,000,000,000.

Proud Britannia still appears on the British penny. On 18th August, *Punch* illustrated Britannia, as on a penny, encircled by the legend EX IND. BURM: QVIT ABADAN SUDAN SUEZ: PROX. IRAQ CYP. GIB:, and underneath "Recessional."

A correspondent asks whether in these days of fluctuating values we could abolish the halfpenny and introduce decimal coinage with a tenpenny shilling, using existing pennies, or adopt a pound of 1,000 cents, and using the pennies as cents.

A suggestion has been made to the Prime Minister of Australia that the issue of half-pennies, pennies and threepences be discontinued "because they buy so little." Decimal coinage has again been raised in the Australian press.

WHITE SLAVES OF TIMOR

A handsome silver medal in the Southland Museum, Invercargill, provides a link with the murder of a ship's crew in Timor Straits, the burning of a ship, the holding in captivity as slaves of two white ship's boys, and the dramatic rescue about fourteen years later, of one of the boys by the master of the schooner *Essington*, who received the medal from Lloyds.

In 1825 a steward and two boys on the ship *Stedcomb* anchored at Louron (Lourang) became worried at the prolonged absence of the crew, and through a telescope they saw headless bodies on the beach. They feared attack and, while trying to escape by knocking out the anchor-bolt, some natives boarded the ship and killed the steward. The boys fled up the rigging, and were induced to come down only on a promise that their lives would be saved, a promise that was kept. The ship was plundered and burnt.

In 1839, fourteen years later, Captain Thomas Watson heard about a captive white lad. He displayed his schooner off the coast and enticed Chief Orang Kaire aboard, whom he held captive until the lad was returned in exchange for trade goods. The lad, when produced, was emaciated. His light yellow hair was long, and "was triced up in native fashion resembling finest silk"; his only garments were a waistcoat, and a blue and white dungaree girdle around his loins. His ears were perforated for the suspension of bamboo eardrops. He had been ill-treated, and used as a slave, mainly for fishing. The other boy had died.

Enquiries as to how the medal reached Invercargill unfolded an interesting story. Miss M. Young, Reference Officer, General Assembly Library, ascertained that in 1825 the Commandant of the settlement at Melville Island chartered the brig *Stedcomb* to procure buffalo from Timor, and that when off Timor Laut the brig was captured by so-called pirates (natives). A summary is given in *The Log Books of Lady Nelson*, by Ida Lee.

Thomas Watson was a Sydney Pilot and owner and master of the *Essington*, so named as it was fitted out to take stores from Sydney to Port Essington in 1838. On 27th January, 1843, Governor Gipps notified that he had appointed Watson as Harbour Master, Sydney, at a salary of £300.

The Librarian, Mitchell Library, advises that *The Australian*, 21/9/42, describes the medal "which has been voted by the subscribers to Lloyd's to Captain Watson . . . for his humane and perilous exertions in rescuing from the savages of Timor Laut the boy Forbes, after captivity." An account of the rescue is given in *The Australian*, 20/7/39, and Watson's own story appears in *The Australian*, 25/7/39, pp. 2-3.

The medal, 2½ inches in diameter, is enclosed in convex glasses by a silver band inscribed MR. THOMAS WATSON MASTER OF THE SCHOONER ESSINGTON NEW SOUTH WALES 29TH SEPTEMBER, 1841. Captain G. T. Stagg, Waiouru, advises that in *Ribbons and Medals*, Taffrail states that the medal is presented by the Corporation of Lloyd's as an honorary

acknowledgment to those who have, by extraordinary exertions, contributed to saving life at sea. The main design of the medal, a male and a female figure, undraped, is taken from the Odyssey, where Ulysses, after various adventures during his return to his native Ithaca, subsequent to the fall of Troy, is described as being rescued from the perils of a storm by Leucothœ:—

“ A mortal once,
But now, an azure sister of the main.”

The words addressed by Leucothœ to the shipwrecked hero represent the action on the obverse:—

“ This heavenly scarf beneath thy bosom bind,
And live; give all thy terrors to the wind.”

Around the top circumference is LEUCOTHOE NAUFRAGO SUCCURRIT, and “ W Wyon R.A. 1839 ” in the exergue, not “ Allan Wyon ” as shown by Taffrail.

The reverse is taken from a medal of Augustus; a crown of oak being the reward given by the Romans to him who saved the life of a citizen, and within is inscribed the motto . . . OB CIVES SERVATOS. Around the top is PRESENTED BY LLOYD'S.

This information was sent to Mrs. Olga Sansom, Director, Southland Museum, who writes:—

“ You went to much trouble, but how well worth while it was, and what a lively story you have pieced together.

“ This is how the medal came to be in the Southland Museum. Captain Thomas Watson and Captain John Watson were brothers, and the latter, who lived at Riverton and who was often visited there by Thomas, was grandfather of Mrs. A. L. Adamson, Mayoress of this city (1954). Mrs. Adamson was a Harrington, and her mother was a daughter of John.

“ Captain Thomas had much land in Sydney. Watson's Bay is named for him, and his home there was Randwick, the present Sydney Racecourse.

“ Captain Thomas never married. Mrs. Adamson thinks that members of Captain John's family (either her mother, or her sisters or brothers) presented the medal to this Museum. Captain Thomas sailed the first steamship into Sydney Harbour . . . ”

Truly old medals and coins are metallic archives! The subsequent history of the blonde ex-slave would make an interesting sequel.

OBITUARIES

The Rev. D. C. Bates

Our first President, Rev. D. C. Bates, J.P., F.R.N.S., N.Z., died in Wellington on 7 August, 1954. A man of wide interests and progressive outlook, he did not live a cloistered existence, but identified himself with many facets of New Zealand life. His interests included meteorology, agricultural science, zoology, and numismatics, in addition to service to the Church of England, as

Chaplain Colonel to the ninth New Zealand contingent to the Boer War, and to the Greek Orthodox Church in Wellington.

The Rev. D. C. Bates was decorated for his service in the Boer War, receiving the Queen's Medal with two clasps, the Officers' Territorial decoration later, and also the Long Service Medal. He was padre of the Wellington Branch of the South African War Veterans' Association. He was present at Vereeniging when peace was signed in May, 1902, and he preached to the troops there on the following Sunday. When he returned to Wellington he retired from the church because of an illness which affected his voice. From 1910 to 1927 he was Government Meteorologist, and to earlier generations his name became synonymous with weather forecasts which, before the advent of radio, were telegraphed in code to all post offices, and displayed, in decoded form above his name, in front of all post offices. In 1919, at Paris, and in 1929, at Copenhagen, he represented New Zealand at meteorological conferences. In 1938, at Wellington, he was presented with a silver pectoral cross for distinguished service to the Greek Orthodox Church, and to Christian unity.

He was born in England and was educated at Spalding, Salisbury Cathedral School and St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. He was ordained in Australia where he married in 1893, and he came to New Zealand in 1898. He is survived by his wife, two sons and a daughter.

The founding of our Society in 1931, and the high standard set from the outset is due, in no small measure, to the support of Mr. Bates and his wife. In the annals of the Society his name will live, and in the minds of those who were privileged to know him, his forceful and pleasing personality will be remembered with affection. The well attended service at St. Paul's Cathedral Church, and the panegyric, were eloquent tributes to a worthy citizen, and at the Crematorium Karori all members of the Society were associated in a floral tribute simply inscribed to the memory of "Our First President".

Colonel J. Cowie Nichols.

With the passing of Colonel J. Cowie Nichols, C.B.E., on July last, at the age of 96, one of the old giants in the medal-collecting field in New Zealand has passed from our ken. Like the late Captain John A. Algie, of Takapuna, the father of our Minister of Education, Colonel Cowie Nichols had been a link with the old and select band of individual collectors who, prior to 1931, had no Society to help them, and to share their joys of collecting. He was born in Tasmania, and was educated at Cambridge, England. He was a sheep farmer in the Riverina in the 'eighties and in North Otago in 1885. He was a lieutenant in North Otago Hussars in 1886, and commanded the Otago Military District from 1914 to 1918. He is survived by a son and daughter. The Maheno Anglican Church was given by him and his brother Cyril in memory of two sons killed in Great War I. Colonel Cowie Nichols was a keen supporter of the Otago Museum where, it is thought, his outstanding collection of medals may be displayed.

THE VICTORIA CROSS

By CAPT. G. T. STAGG, R.N.Z.A.

One hundred years ago the world's most coveted decoration for supreme gallantry in action was won for the first time, though at that time, Midshipman Charles Davies Lucas was not aware that he was destined to head the list of the 1,347 recipients of the V.C. who have joined the cavalcade of heroes since 1854. The first three V.C.'s were all won by the Royal Navy and were awarded to an Irishman, an Englishman, and Scotsman, in that order. The youngest V.C. was Boy John Travers Cornwall who was mortally wounded at the Battle of Jutland in 1916, being only 16 years old at the time.

The origin of the V.C. may be traced to one of the earliest war correspondents, who in the *London Times*, reflected the general opinion of the public and suggested that such a decoration be instituted and named after the Queen. The design of the Cross and the main conditions of award were drawn up by the Prince Consort and were embodied in a Royal Warrant dated 29th January, 1856, and published in the *London Gazette*, No. 21,846 of 5th February, 1856.

Prior to the Crimean War the policy had been to award the Third Class of the Order of the Bath, or special gold medals to senior officers only, and the need for an award for the rank and file was met by the institution of the Distinguished Conduct Medal in December, 1854, this medal being our oldest decoration for bravery in action. However, there was still no decoration for which the only qualification was bravery alone.

Queen Victoria, in ordaining that irrespective of rank, the Cross would be awarded only to those who performed some signal act of conspicuous bravery in the presence of the enemy was desirous that it "be highly prized and eagerly sought after." This Royal recognition of the fact, that when duty calls, the humblest person in the ranks can rise to equal heights of valour as can anyone in his country's service, set the seal on the very high standard required for its bestowal. Anyone who, after having been awarded the decoration, again performs an act of valour worthy of an award may receive a bar to the decoration already held.

Although the original warrant stated that the decoration shall be a Maltese Cross it is not, in fact, a true Maltese cross, which has eight points, as in the badge of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. It consists of a bronze cross pattee one and a half inches across with raised edges. On the obverse, in the centre, is a lion passant guardant upon the Royal Crown, below which are the words "For Valour" upon a semicircular scroll. The ribbon passes through a clasp ornamented with laurel leaves and on the lower edge of the clasp is a link in the form of a letter "V" to which the cross is attached by a ring. The ribbon, also one and a half inches wide, was originally blue for the Navy and claret-crimson for the Army. With the advent of Air V.C.'s during

the Great War of 1914-18 the claret-crimson ribbon was adopted for all three services, and the old naval blue ribbon fell into disuse until 1940, when it was reintroduced as the ribbon of the George Cross, often referred to as the "Civilian V.C."

The number, rank, name and unit of the recipient are inscribed on the reverse of the clasp in minute lettering, while the date of the act of valour is inscribed within a circle in the centre of the reverse of the Cross. When ribbons only are worn, recipients wear a miniature replica of the Cross on the centre of the ribbon, whilst those awarded a bar to their V.C. wear an additional replica.

Every Victoria Cross has been made by the same firm of West End jewellers, and the commissions for making the Crosses have been handled by only three men, the founder of the firm, his son, and his grandson. By the Queen's decree the Crosses were struck in metal from guns captured by the British at the Battle of Sevastopol on 8th September, 1855, until the supply was exhausted in March, 1942. Since then they have been struck in gun metal supplied by the Royal Mint, but even to this day they are still made by hand. Their intrinsic value is only 3d.

The first list of V.C. winners, comprising 61 officers and men, was gazetted early in 1857, the recipients being decorated by the Queen at a parade in Hyde Park on 26th June that year. Wherever possible the recipients, or their next of kin in the case of posthumous awards are now decorated by the Sovereign. The Victoria Cross takes precedence over all other Orders and decorations and recipients are entitled to use the letters "V.C." after their names.

The conditions under which the V.C. may be granted have been amended by various warrants down the years. In 1858 it was ordained that it could be awarded in peacetime and six soldiers were decorated for extreme courage in saving life while not in the presence of the enemy. In 1867 it was extended to the locally raised forces in New Zealand and the other Colonies; however, though 15 V.C.'s were awarded for the 2nd Maori War, only one was awarded to a New Zealander. It was conferred upon Captain (later Major) Charles Heaphy, Auckland Militia for bravery in 1864, and his Cross is now on display in the Old Colonists' Museum in Auckland. In 1902, King Edward VII ruled that the V.C. must be won in battle and that the Victoria Crosses earned by those who died before they could be decorated, should be delivered to their relatives. Prior to this, the recipients' names appeared in the official *Gazette* but the decoration was not actually conferred. At the same time it was decreed that awards could be made posthumously and in the Second World War the number of posthumous awards (83) almost equalled the non-posthumous (99). A revision of the warrant in 1920 stated that women were eligible but to date there has not been a woman V.C.

The names of the recipients are recorded in a Register but should a holder be found guilty of "treason, cowardice, felony or any infamous crime" he may have his name struck off the

Register. To date 8 V.C.'s have been struck off the list, the last being in 1908. The decoration itself cannot be taken away from a holder, King George V ruling that, even if one were convicted of murder, one was entitled to go to the scaffold wearing his V.C.

The award of the V.C. to those not holding a commission carries an annual pension of £10, with an extra £5 for any bar received, and should a recipient be in very reduced circumstances his pension could be increased to £50. The V.C. can be awarded to foreigners in the British Forces, one being awarded to a German in the 17th Lancers at the Charge of the Light Brigade and Denmark boasts two V.C.'s, one earned in each of the two World Wars. The V.C. was conferred upon the American Unknown Soldier of the Great War, but, strange as it may seem, this honour was not accorded the British Unknown Soldier. The official Register records these figures: Great Britain: Army 864, Navy and Marines 118, R.F.C. and R.A.F. 31, Civilians 4, Indian Army 111, Australia 87, Canada 79, South Africa 28, New Zealand 21, Newfoundland 1, Fiji 1, King's African Rifles 1, American (Unknown Soldier) 1.

Only three bars to the V.C. have been awarded in 100 years, the winners being: Captain A. Martin-Leake, R.A.M.C., V.C., 1902 (South Africa), Bar 1915 (France), who died last year, Captain N. C. Chavasse, M.C., R.A.M.C., V.C., 1916 (France), Bar 1917 (France), who died many years ago, and Captain C. H. Upham, 2nd N.Z.E.F., V.C., 1941 (Crete), Bar 1942 (Western Desert), the only man alive today with a bar to his V.C.

Looking back over the century one finds that V.C.'s are to be found in all walks of life from errand boy to Cabinet Minister and from newspaper seller to a Peer of the Realm. There has been no bar of colour, race or religion. The first of the three negro recipients received his Cross for bravery during the Indian Mutiny in 1857 and other native races, particularly Indians, are well represented. During the last war over 40 per cent of the V.C.'s came from outside Britain. There have been three cases of fathers and sons each winning the V.C., the most famous of which was Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, who won his V.C. as a subaltern during the Indian Mutiny, and his son, Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, who was awarded a posthumous V.C. during the Boer War. There have also been four pairs of V.C.'s awarded to brothers.

Although other countries have followed Britain's lead in instituting similar awards for outstanding bravery, the V.C. still stands supreme for examples of the highest possible conception of the ideal contained in the two simple words of its inscription "For Valour." (Read at Auckland, November, 1954, when Mr. J. Roberts exhibited a Victoria Cross from his collection.)

ENGLISH HALL AND MINT MARKS

By MR. A. ROBINSON, Auckland.

(Concluded)

So that no goldsmith could be falsely accused of fashioning plate below the required standard of fineness, it was ordained in 1363 "That all Goldsmiths in any part of the Realm, shall make all manner of Vessels and other works of Silver, well and lawfully of the Alloy of good Sterling; and that every Master Goldsmith shall have a Mark by himself, and the same Mark shall be known by them, which shall be assigned by the King to survey their Work of Alloy. And that the said Goldsmiths set not their Mark upon their Works, till the said Surveyors have made their Assay, as shall be ordained by the King and his Council, and after the Assay made, the Surveyors shall set the King's Mark, and after the Goldsmith his Mark, for which he will answer."

The maker was compelled to put his own mark on his wares and was answerable for its quality.

It is ironical to note that at various periods of our history, particularly in the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary, the gold and silver used in coins was deliberately debased, especially silver, whilst workers in gold and silver plate who infringed the hall marking laws were severely punished, in some cases, put to death. The most common penalty was a heavy fine and confiscation of the miscreants' wares and punches. Since 1818, for economic and other reasons, cupro-nickel or other base metals have gradually been supplanting the use of gold and silver in coins—numismatists generally mourn the fact.

Many of the provincial assay offices have long since been closed and there are now only six authorised assay offices operating. These are London, Birmingham, Sheffield, Chester, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Goldsmith's Hall is the home of the London goldsmiths and the official title of that body is "The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths." Assay offices are not Government Departments, but independent authorities, vested by Royal Charter to assay and stamp gold and silver wares and to administer the hallmarking laws of the country. The manufacturer must submit his wares to one of these authorised assay offices where tests are made, and each piece stamped according to its fineness. If any article is below the lowest legal standard, it has to be broken before being returned to the maker. The present-day law relating to the manufacture of gold and silver wares is an interesting subject. The maker's mark was formerly a sign or symbol but it is now the maker's first initial of his christian and surname and that is registered at the assay office.

The primary meaning of "Hall Mark" denotes the quality of the metal and in no way is an indication of design or excellence of craftsmanship.

"Carat," signifying a weight, appears to derive from the Arabian "Kirat." As applied to precious stones, four grains of diamond-weight make a carat. Its application to gold determines

the quality; pure gold was computed to be of 24 carats of fineness, therefore 18 carat gold would contain 18 parts to 24 of gold with 6 parts of alloy or base metal added.

"Troy," derived from the Greek, is a weight term as applied to precious metals and according to Trojan computation, 20 pennyweights makes one ounce Troy.

The pennyweight was divided into 24 grains; thus 480 grains equalled one ounce.

"Sterling" is said to owe its origin to a band of immigrant Germans who were known as Easterlings. They were skilled in the art of assaying and the working of precious metals, and history records that King John employed them to refine silver for coinage purposes. Silver became known as "Easterling," but a statute in 1343 cut off the first two letters and the application of the word "sterling" to silver commenced. During the reign of Henry VIII and Mary silver coins consisted of only three ounces of silver to every pound weight of coins. An Act of Elizabeth I definitely re-established the sterling standard for coins. An interesting account of an Englishman's experience when travelling in Europe in 1683 is given by Sir John Pettus, Knight of Suffolk, who says: "It is good for a traveller to be skilful in the different alloys, whereby, as a friend of mine told me, that he carried with him £100, and with his art of exchange, in country's where alloys differ'd, he bore his charges of travel, and brought his stock home again; however, this money thus alloyed, is called coyn, when the Sovraign stamp be upon it (which is a legal stamp) and every Sovraignty useth a different stamp, as here in England, and in the Empire, France, Spain &c.; proper to its Sovraignty; and every piece of money so stampt, hath almost a different alloy; yet all Princes do agree in severe, yet just, penalties, for counterfeiting alloys or stamps, and make it, as in England, high treason." Sir John's friend was certainly well versed in trade and exchange parities of that period.

The following is a brief description of London hall marks. The first was the Touch of Paris, used for 22 carat gold. Its origin was believed to be Norman and it was in use until 1300. From that date the leopard's head was used for both gold and silver, and in 1478 the variable date letter was adopted for use on all plate. This consisted of a cycle of 20 letters in alphabetical order, omitting J. V. W. X. Y and Z. Provincial assay offices sometimes used all the letters, but seldom included the letter J. The first cycle ended in 1498 and the present cycle, numbered 24, commenced in 1937. As the assay year commences in May, each date letter served for two halves of two years. Prior to 1560, date letters had a shaped outline; thereafter they were enclosed in heraldic shields. With each fresh sequence of letters, the style of lettering was varied as was the shield surmounting them. In 1598, the lion passant was added. A change was made in 1696 when the figure of Britannia ousted the leopard's head, and the lion's head was erased. Again, in 1720, a further change took place; Britannia and the lion's head erased disappeared, and once

more the leopard's head and lion passant appeared on 22 carat gold and sterling silver.

George III in 1784 levied a duty on gold and silver (with the exception of certain small articles) and the Sovereign's head was employed to denote that duty had been paid. There was much opposition to the tax, and in 1890 it was abolished; with it went the Sovereign's head. This, of course, should not be taken too literally.

From 1784 to 1786, George's head faced left; thereafter it faced right, as on coins. The heads of George III and William III faced right, and Victoria faced left. 1844 saw a variation of the 22 carat mark when the lion passant gave way to a crown and the figure 22. So we have, right up to the present day the lion passant, leopard's head, variable date letter and maker's mark on silver and the crown, leopard's head, figure 22, date letter and maker's mark on 22 carat gold. Authorised hall marks for the lower carats were regulated by Order in Council, the first of which appeared in 1798 and ordained that 18 carat gold was to be stamped with a crown, figure 18, leopard's head, date letter and maker's mark. A further Order in Council dated 1854 authorised the 15, 12 and 9 carat standards; the marks struck were 15.625, leopard's head, date letter, maker's mark; figures 12.5, leopard's head, date letter, maker's mark and figures 9.375, leopard's head, date letter and maker's mark. In 1932 a 14 carat standard (marked 14.585) was substituted for the 15 carat, and the 12 carat standard became obsolete.

Each provincial assay office had its distinctive town mark, for instance, Edinburgh had a castle, Birmingham an anchor, Chester three wheat sheaves and a sword whilst the London town mark was a leopard's head. The designing and fashioning of gold and silver wares occupies a high place among the arts and crafts, and for beauty of design and excellence of workmanship, English craftsmen have no peers. One sees many examples of the beautiful works of hand-wrought silver, and it is indeed a melancholy fact that with the advent of modern manufacturing methods, workers in hand-wrought plate are gradually being ousted, and may eventually disappear. Many famous silversmiths were also connected with the coining of money. The name of Matthew Boulton stands out as one who was famous for his works in sterling and Sheffield plate. In collaboration with James Watt, the inventor of the steam engine, he erected the first steam driven coining press at Soho near Birmingham. From these presses came the now famous cartwheel penny and twopenny pieces in the year 1797. The design was by Kűchler, and an unusual feature was the incuse inscription.

In historical reference, both coinage and the fashioning of gold and silver plate have much in common, although coins possibly boast of the greater antiquity. From an artistic viewpoint, the study of the goldsmith's art is most absorbing and I commend it wholeheartedly to fellow numismatists.

COMPOSITE SUBSCRIPTION ACCOUNT

For the Year Ended 31st May, 1954.

| | £ | s | d |
|---------------------|------|----|----|
| To Balance, 31/5/53 | 266 | 10 | 10 |
| „ Subscriptions | 16 | 17 | 3 |
| „ Interest | 6 | 14 | 11 |
| | £290 | 3 | 0 |
| By Balance, 31/5/54 | £290 | 3 | 0 |

MEDAL TRUST ACCOUNT

For the Year Ended 31st May, 1954.

| | £ | s | d |
|---------------------|------|----|----|
| To Balance, 31/5/53 | 108 | 15 | 1 |
| „ Interest, 30/6/53 | 3 | 4 | 10 |
| | £111 | 19 | 11 |
| By Balance, 31/5/54 | £111 | 19 | 11 |

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MAY, 1954.

| | £ | s | d | | £ | s | d | £ | s | d |
|---------------------|------|----|----|-----------------------------|-----|----|---|------|----|---|
| To Balance, 31/5/53 | 197 | 7 | 10 | By Journal Expenses-- | | | | | | |
| „ Subscriptions | 84 | 16 | 3 | Printing | 207 | 8 | 0 | | | |
| „ Government Grant | 100 | 0 | 0 | Blocks, etc. | 69 | 2 | 9 | | | |
| „ Advertising | 18 | 0 | 0 | Mailing | 9 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| „ Sale of Journals | 6 | 0 | 0 | Postage | 11 | 0 | 2 | | | |
| | | | | Exchange | 8 | 6 | | | | |
| | £400 | 10 | 1 | „ Bank Fees and Cheque Book | | | | 297 | 9 | 5 |
| | | | | „ Stamps | | | | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| | | | | „ Stationery | | | | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| | | | | „ Balance | | | | 17 | 6 | |
| | | | | | | | | 96 | 16 | 8 |
| To Balance, 31/5/54 | £96 | 16 | 8 | | | | | £400 | 10 | 1 |

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st MAY, 1954.

| LIABILITIES | | | | ASSETS | | | |
|--------------------------------|------|----|----|----------------------------------|------|----|---|
| | £ | s | d | | £ | s | d |
| Accumulated Funds-- | | | | Post Office Savings Bank | 290 | 3 | 0 |
| Balance | 572 | 13 | 9 | Bank of New Zealand | 96 | 16 | 8 |
| Composite Subscription Account | 23 | 12 | 2 | Excess Expenditure over Receipts | 212 | 11 | 1 |
| Medal Trust Account | 3 | 4 | 10 | | | | |
| | £599 | 10 | 9 | | £599 | 10 | 9 |

W. CHETWYND, Hon. Auditor.

CHAS. J. FREEMAN, Hon. Treasurer.

NOTE.—“The Medal Trust Account” included in Balance Sheet was created in the year 1943 when the sum of £83 14s 0d was invested in the National Savings. The original sum invested has now accumulated by the annual addition of interest to £111 19s 11d.

GOLD CONTROL REGULATIONS.

Gold coins and unmanufactured gold may now be bought and sold *within* New Zealand without first offering them to the Reserve Bank. This terminates a six-year-old regulation requiring all gold coins to be offered to the Reserve Bank.

A taxi driver in Australia recently made 800 imitation Edward VII sovereigns containing ten per cent gold, and when he was charged with counterfeiting he declared that the "sovereigns" were intended as ear-rings. The Judge held that under the Banking Act, 1953 (Australia) sovereigns were no longer Australian currency.

Under the Imperial Coinage Act, 1870, extended to New Zealand in 1897, it is an offence to make a colourable imitation of a coin of the Realm, or of any foreign Prince or State.

The question whether counterfeiting of the sovereign is a crime in New Zealand is answered by the definition of the word "current" in section 313 of the Crimes Act, 1908, which is "coin coined in any of Her Majesty's mints, or lawfully current under any proclamation or otherwise in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions." The United Kingdom Government holds that the gold sovereign is still current coin, and legal tender in the United Kingdom.

There have been several cases recently on the Continent of charges of counterfeiting sovereigns. The United Kingdom Government has successfully challenged some of the rulings that the sovereign is no longer legal tender and therefore could be imitated.

The *export* of any New Zealand coin, and foreign coins under 100 years old, is subject to a permit obtainable from a Collector of Customs, from whom the required forms of application may be obtained.

NOTES OF MEETINGS.

WELLINGTON.

Regular meetings were held on the last Monday in each month at the Alexander Turnbull Library. The President, Professor H. A. Murray, presided over good attendances. Digests of the papers read will be published as opportunity permits.

At the Annual Meeting thanks was expressed to the officers of the Society. A full discussion took place on the finances of the Society in the light of the increased costs involved in producing the *Journal*, and the hope was expressed that members would pay their annual subscriptions on due date (1st June) to assist the officers in their work and to avoid increasing subscriptions. The cost of one *Journal* issued in the last financial year did not come to charge until the current year, and this increased the excess of expenditure over receipts. Satisfaction was voiced at the high standard of papers read, and at the tributes given to the *Journal* by kindred Societies overseas.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. and Mrs. M. H. Hornblow and Mrs. J. T. Inkersell for providing attractive suppers after meetings,

and to Mrs. J. T. Inkersell for offering alternative meeting room accommodation during the time that the Library is being renovated. In November, the last meeting for the calendar year, a ladies' night was arranged, which was enjoyed by all present.

AUCKLAND.

Regular monthly meetings of the Auckland Branch were held on the first Wednesday in each month. The Chairman, Mr. R. Sellars, presided over good attendances.

A new meeting room has been secured in the N.Z. Institute of Marine and Power Engineers Building at 9 Rutland Street, close to the Town Hall.

At the July meeting Mr. R. Sellars read a section of his second paper on "Historical Associations of Coins" (Alfred to Henry VIII), and at the August meeting concluded with Elizabeth to James II. His talks were illustrated by coins of the periods dealt with.

At the November meeting Captain Stagg's most interesting paper "The Victoria Cross" was read, and Mr. J. Roberts exhibited a specimen of this highly-prized decoration. Afterwards a series of slides in colour, taken during the Coronation and the Queen's visit, were shown by Mr. J. Roberts.

The December meeting was followed by a delightful social gathering at which the wives of a number of members attended, and a buffet supper was served. Digests of the papers read will be published as space permits.

CANTERBURY.

The 36th meeting of the Branch was held at the Canterbury Museum on 8th July. Mr. L. J. Dale, Chairman, presided. Mr. D. Hasler read a paper on British tokens of the 18th century, Mr. J. Sutherland read a paper on "What is Money?" and Mr. L. J. Dale gave an outline of Biblical numismatics with suitable illustrations.

The 37th meeting was held on 2nd September in association with the Canterbury Branch of the N.Z. Classical Association. Dr. Broadhead presided. Mr. Harold Mattingly gave an illustrated lecture on Virgil and the Coins. A vote of thanks moved by Mr. Dale and seconded by Mr. Troup was carried by acclamation. A digest of papers read will be published as space permits.

The Seventh Annual Meeting (38th) was held on 15th November at which the Chairman, Mr. Dale, submitted his annual report. He said that interest and attendance at meetings had been well maintained, and that the varied topics for the meetings had been competently handled. The credit balance in the Branch funds stood at £70 17s 6d, and several good books had been added to the Library. Thanks were expressed to the Canterbury University College and the Canterbury Museum authorities for their co-operation in making meeting rooms available. Votes of thanks were also passed to the officers of the Branch, and especially to Mr. D. Hasler, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer, for his cheerful and efficient work.

Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:—

Chairman: Mr. L. J. Dale.

Vice-Chairmen: Messrs. W. Salter and J. Sutherland.

Secretary-Treasurer: Mr. D. Hasler.

Librarian: Miss M. Steven.

Auditor: Mr. J. Logie.

Council Representative: Mr. J. Sutherland.

Committee: Miss Steven, Mr. Mitchell and Bruce Middleton.

A Numismatic Quiz was then conducted and the quiz master was Mr. H. G. Hughan, a visitor from Carterton. A number of very searching questions had been sent in, and a most informative session developed. A prize for the best question submitted by a member went to Mr. F. Straw, and the winner of the quiz contest was Bruce Middleton. Members then adjourned for supper at the Chairman's residence, appreciation for which was expressed by Miss Steven.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The Society's financial year commences on 1st June. Annual subscriptions 10/- (or 5/- for juniors) for year 1954-55 are now due, and are payable to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. C. J. Freeman, 10 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, Wellington, N.Z.

Please add exchange to cheques.

NEW ZEALAND COINS.

In 1954 the only values issued were 6d., 3d., 1d., and $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

No "regular" half-crowns dated 1940 have been reported to date.

Footnote on page 142 of last issue should read "The 1951 half-crown is rare." No half-crowns or florins were struck dated 1952.



Half-crown struck off-centre.

In collection of Mr. J. Roberts, Auckland.

THE ANGLO-SAXON PENNY IN DAILY LIFE

By DR. H. BARRACLOUGH FELL (read May 31, 1954).

What could our ancestors buy with a silver penny in the days of Æthelred the Unready? What did it cost to keep a roof over one's head in England a thousand years ago? Did one buy and sell at all, or was it just a matter of barter? Saxon coins are not difficult to come by today, some costing only a few shillings, yet very little seems to have been published about the practical part they must have played in the daily lives of the folk who once handled them. The following notes have been assembled from odd scraps of information gleaned from rather cursory browsing in such mediaeval texts as have come my way; whilst they cannot be authoritative, and probably contain inaccuracies, they may nevertheless interest fellow-collectors of the English mediaeval series.

HEROIC TIMES.

There is no direct documentary evidence available on the character of financial transactions in the earliest period of the English peoples. We are obliged to fall back on occasional references in Anglo-Saxon epic poetry. The most renowned of such poems is "Beowulf," a tale of a hero who destroys monsters which have attacked a Danish king's realm. Similar characters occur in Scandinavian sagas, and it is believed that the events described in "Beowulf" are based upon historical fact. Whether or not the poem is part of the original literary heritage of the English (as opposed to a later borrowing during Viking times) happens to be unimportant for our present purpose, because in either case it gives a picture of Nordic life about the time of the first invasion of Britannia by Teutonic pagans. The picture is of Homeric cast, and rewards and payments recall those which we read of in the "Iliad" and "Odyssey." Thus Beowulf, after his defeat of Grendel, receives from Hrothgar, the Danish king, a golden banner, a helmet, a coat of mail, a wonderful sword, eight splendid horses on one of which was the saddle of Hrothgar, . . . and the king's blessing with them. Again, . . . "Beowulf, elate with gold, trod the grassy plain, exulting in treasure." Later in the epic the dying Beowulf, wounded in slaying a dragon, rewards his last remaining follower Wiglaf: . . . "He removed a golden torque from his neck and gave it to the young thane; the same he did with his helm inlaid with gold, the collar and the coat of mail." (1).

Gold! the very word is synonymous with wealth, even more so in heroic times than now. In Hall's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* we find no less than 45 compounds based on the particle *gold-*; for example: *goldgiefra* (gold-giver, a prince); *goldweard* (gold keeper, i.e. a dragon); *goldsele* (poetical, hall where gold is distributed). The *goldfinger* is the ring-finger. A treasury is a *goldhord*, with a verb *goldhordian*, to treasure up, and an echo in later, Christian, times: "Thær thin goldhord ys, thær is thin

heart" (2). Gold, in the sense of wealth, was also spoken of in terms of its practical manifestations, especially bracelets and rings; a chieftain could be called a ring-giver, or a giver of bracelets, paralleling the better known *hlaford*, loaf-giver. Words such as *goldhord*, and *goldwine* were still used for treasure as late as A.D. 1070, when a writer of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for that year used them in recording the raid on the Abbey of Ely by "Hereward and his gang." Strangely anachronistic to find *gang* cheek by jowl with *goldhord*, yet when one considers that nearly all gold is now concentrated into a few large goldhords, one wonders why *gang* alone has survived (3).

EARLY MEDIAEVAL TIMES.

Old English texts seem to contain very little information on contemporary coins and the prices of goods and services. Perhaps this is partly because most of our Saxon forebears were then independent husbandmen, each producing sufficient for his family's needs. The latter would not stretch much beyond the bare necessities of life, which would include weapons and ale in large amounts. Slaves would be kept, but not paid; servants would be paid in food and lodging to a large extent; neighbours would barter their goods and services, and debts would not necessarily be extinguished by coin of the realm. Indeed, the principal units of exchange in both early and late Saxon times seem to have been those given in the following table:—

6 sheep equal 1 ox
8 oxen equal 1 man

The laws of Athelstan (925-939) dealt at length with the legal protection of cattle, because the wealth of the time consisted largely in flocks and herds (4). From odd words and phrases that have survived we must suspect that the financial system was more complex than at first sight seems to be the case. Thus, while it is not at all surprising to find a word like *forfangfeoh*, meaning a reward for rescuing cattle, it seems rather remarkable to meet the term *aesce*, apparently meaning a claim for insurance money following the theft of cattle. Again, there is the legal term *angilde*, one of the meanings of which is "rate of compensation for damage." If Saxon monetary transactions extended to insurance of farm-stock, what other ramifications may not also have existed? We seem to be probing an unexplored aspect of English social history. The term *angilde* mentioned above had another meaning, "the fixed legal rate at which cattle and other goods were received as currency." This leads us to consider the actual coinage involved.

THE SAXON COINAGE SYSTEM.

Around A.D. 600 the Anglo-Saxon coinage first appeared, in the form of a shortlived gold piece, imitated from the Byzantine tremissis, and called by the anglicized term *thrymsa*. A gold-shortage resulted in the disappearance of this coin, and its

replacement over the interval 650 to 750 by the sceat (or styca). Sceat is probably cognate with the later "scot," meaning tax, and with the Scandinavian "skat" (treasure or tax). Styca is presumably the Scandinavian stykke, a piece. The sceat was rather smaller than a modern sixpence; it was struck at first in silver, later in bronze. By about 750 the silver penny, a slightly larger coin, replaced the sceat, and remained the standard coin thereafter. It was derived from Charlemagne's revival of the denarius. These facts are well known, and need not be elaborated here. But it is very much harder to obtain any clear picture of the currency system in actual operation, and numismatists tend to omit all, or nearly all, consideration of this question. To illustrate the difficulty, it may be noted that whereas numismatic works usually discuss sceatta, pennies and fractions thereof as such, they do not describe the interrelations of these, nor their relationship to other units. If for example one begins to search the Anglo-Saxon writings for references to the part that pennies played in daily life, one is baffled by unfamiliar terms which are altogether absent from numismatic histories. What is a mark of gold, how is it related to a mark of silver? Why are most transactions given in shillings, when pence and their fractions were the only coins? Still more obscure are references to the mancus, or mancs, to caserings, and ores. Further to complicate the tale, the ratios of unit to unit vary from time to time and from kingdom to kingdom. Since Wessex was the kingdom from which the Saxon united kingdom of England arose, we may restrict ourselves mainly to considering the west Saxon monetary system, which corresponds in the main with that of late Saxon England. Here, as in most areas, the silver penny was the only struck coin; but shillings and pounds were used as units of account, as follows:—

5 pence equal 1 shilling.

240 pence equal £1 (that is, weigh 1 pound).

Halfpence and farthings were clipped from pence if needed for change. Other special units of account were also used from time to time. The number of pence in a shilling did not remain constant, unfortunately for us, making research into prices somewhat difficult. Around 1000 A.D. Ælfric in Wessex (5) writes: "Fif penegas gemaciath ænne scylling," five pence make one shilling. But it was not so in Mercia, where 4 pence had gone to the shilling, and after the Norman Conquest, the shilling everywhere became one of 12 pence. Apparently the sceat continued to be used as a term of account. In Kent for example it is recorded as being the twentieth part of a shilling. Styca seems to have acquired the connotation of half a farthing ("mite"); thus in the Saxon Gospels (probably translated around 900) "two mites which make a farthing" is "Twegen stycas, thet is feorthung peninges" (6). The old lineage of sceat as a term for money in general is betrayed by such forms as *Sceatcod*, a wallet. Casere means Caesar, and a casering was a coin with a Caesar's portrait upon it; many such would be ploughed up from the soil and pass into erratic circula-

tion, especially in early times. Thirty silver pence, that is, one eighth of a pound, comprised a special unit of account, the manc. The pound itself was used regularly as a unit of account, especially where relatively large amounts were involved, as in wills of wealthy people. Thus Thorpe (7) cites a will in the East Anglian dialect of the time of Cnut, where we find . . . "and fif pund into Elig, and fif pund into Holm, and fif pund Wulfwarde muneke, minne mæge, and fif pund Ælfræhe mine sæmestre," "five pounds each to Elig, Holm, Wulfward the monk, my kinsman, and to Ælfræhe my seamstress." The mark is a tricky unit to interpret. Numismatists are familiar with it as meaning 13 shillings and 4 pence, the value which it held throughout later mediaeval times and after. This was not the case in Saxon times. In most Saxon documents the mark (marc) means a weight, 8 ounces. Used in conjunction with the name of a metal, it could become a unit of account as found in treaties with the Danes. A mark of silver in late Saxon times corresponds to 8 ounces of pennies, that is to say half a pound of pence, 120 pence, equals £½. This convenient and logical ratio became disrupted after 1066, when the standard of 20 pence to 1 ounce was instituted. The mark thus became 8 times 20 pence, 160 pence, that is 13/4d, or two-thirds of a £. The ratio of the metals was normally gold/silver as 10/1. Thus a mark of gold was £5. The gold mark would represent a very large sum in Saxon times, which is probably why it was so rarely employed. Even in the case of Æthelred the Second's huge payments to Denmark the amounts are expressed in pounds, not in gold marks.

We may conclude this excursion into Saxon currency terms by indicating briefly the two systems in use, and the exchange equation which linked them:—

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 6 sheep equal 1 ox | 5 pence equal one shilling |
| 8 oxen equal 1 man | 240 pence equal £1 |
| | £1 equals 16 ounces of silver |
| 1 sheep equals 1 shilling | |
| 1 man equals £1 | |

The exchange rate (angilde) varied occasionally; a rate of three pence to 1 sheep is known, but five pence seems to have been normal.

MANWYRTH.

The value or price of a man varied with his social station. In the currency tables cited above I have given the basic rate of 1 man equals 8 oxen or £1. This is presumably the market price of an able-bodied slave, the odds for which a gambler would stake his freedom, or the value of blood-money payable to the owner of a murdered slave. By Domesday times State-control had become more apparent, and it was no longer so easy to straighten out accounts, since murder became punishable by forfeiture of property and body (i.e. life) to the king; common bloodshed

could still be paid for in cash, however. A property-owner, a thane or other man of substance would be valued at higher rates, subject to legislation from time to time. The standard rate of 8 oxen to 1 man probably stems from most ancient times; it persisted till relatively late; thus, in Domesday times the tolls at Lewes were $\frac{1}{2}$ d for each ox, and 4d for a man. In later times we find a woman's labour rated at half that of a man, and a child's at one quarter; their manwyrth would presumably be proportionately reduced. Men were in fact sold as chattels in Saxon times; *mansylen* was the old word for a man-sale. *Maegbot* was compensation paid to the relative of a murdered man, whereas *manbot* was the corresponding term for the amount paid to his lord, if he had one. There were special terms for different kinds of human chattels; thus *aehteswan* was used for a swineherd who was an estate chattel.

Manwyrth was subject to fluctuation as the political scene changed from peace to war. Here is a passage from the Treaty of Wedmore of 878:—

“ This is the peace that King Alfred and King Guthrum have decreed . . . If a person be slain, we estimate an Englishman and a Dane as of equal value, at 8 half marks of pure gold. An English ceorl (living on taxable land) or Danish liesings are valued at two hundred shillings . . . ”

Thus, ordinary rates were £20 a head, and £4-8-0 for ceorls (at the Saxon ratio of 5 pence one shilling, 48 shillings one pound). These seem to be deliberately inflated values, with the intention perhaps of discouraging international incidents.

A thief could redeem his life if he had enough ready money or acceptable property. The oldest surviving West Saxon laws (of Ine, King of Wessex 688 to 726) were re-enacted by Alfred as an appendix to his own code. These include “ If a thief be taken let him die; or let his life be redeemed according to his wer. If a man hath a hide of land his wer is 120 shillings, half a hide 80 shillings, if he hath none, 60 shillings.”

FINES.

Another source of fragmentary information for our picture of the Anglo-Saxon economic scene is the legislation on fines for various legal offences. Thus run the “ dooms that Æthelberht, King of Kent, ordained in Augustine's days ” (Æthelberht died in 616):—

If an ear be smitten off, six shillings amends.
 A pierced ear three shillings.
 Loss of an eye fifty shillings.
 Damage to eye or mouth twelve shillings.
 A pierced nose nine shillings.
 The four front teeth, six shillings each.
 The tooth that stands next four shillings.
 The next tooth to that three shillings, and thereafter 1 shilling.

Hlothhære and Eadric were kings of Kent from 673. In their code we find:—

... "If in another man's house one man calleth another a perjurer, or assails him injuriously with injurious words, let him pay one shilling to the owner of the house, six shillings to the insulted man, and twelve shillings to the king" (8).

... "If weapon be drawn where men drink, and no harm be done, a shilling to the owner of the house and 12 shillings to the King."

Again, we learn from a chance entry in Domesday Book that in Saxon times the false measure or adulteration of beer in Chester carried a four shilling fine, plus a turn on the ducking stool (9).

When William the Conqueror died, the Saxon scribe wrote into the Chronicle some harsh words about the king, but was careful to praise him for enforcing the legal code, and making it safe for travellers to venture beyond their own towns. We may infer, therefore, that the Saxon codes were not adequately enforced, and that a strong arm or influence could dispense with the need to pay fines. The frequent use of the term *shilling* is notable; we may guess that it meant in practice *a sheep*, and that coins were not involved.

BUYING AND SELLING.

If one is dubious as to whether Saxons bought and sold items of daily food, the following free translation of a passage in Ælfric's *Colloquium* is illuminating. It was probably a Latin-Saxon schoolbook composed in Wessex around 1000; it describes the interviews of the prospective pupils (10):—

"What do you do for a living?"

"I'm a fisherman."

"What do you get out of your job?"

"My food and clothes and some spare cash."

"Where do you sell your fish?"

"In town."

"Who buy them?"

"The city folk. I could sell more than I can catch."

Though the above is the only passage which I have come across in which marketing is referred to in unmistakable terms, there are many sources of information as to the prices paid for certain things, mainly livestock. The price of a horse varies widely, but is always high, running up to 30 shillings. In Domesday we read of a sumpter horse for the king rated at 20 shillings. A mare is listed at 20 shillings in a passage which quotes a horse at 30 shillings. These are no doubt Saxon shillings of five pence, since Domesday rates usually refer to King Edward's time. Domesday Book (1085) rates a hawk for the King at the sur-

prising figure of £10, whilst dogs reach the staggering value of £23 (in an economy that valued a man at £1).

A goat cost twopence, swine eightpence each, and a cow is rated at 24 pence. The animals were no doubt small and scraggy by modern standards; thus meat might be assessed at perhaps an eighth or a tenth of a penny a pound—but it was probably sold on the hoof.

RATES OF PAY.

I have been unable to find any reference to the value of labour in Saxon times. Pay there was, undoubtedly, since we have words for it; thus *maethmed* was pay for hay-making. To judge by rates ruling by early Plantagenet times, I would guess that late Saxon rates may have been around a halfpenny a day for men, a farthing for women.

Miscellaneous payments occurred from time to time, such as *faederfeoh*, father-fee, a dowry paid by the bride's father; and *gift*, the marriage-gift of the bridegroom himself (compare modern Scandinavian *gift*, married).

RENTS.

If an Englishman's home is his castle, he certainly appears to have been paying rent for it for a long time. Indeed, among the sparse yield of facts garnered for this paper, figures for house-rents were the easiest to find.

Domesday Book makes reference to rents payable prior to the Conquest. We read, for example, that King Edward had 276 houses which paid him £11 per annum. This gives an average annual rental of about ninepence halfpenny, or less than a farthing a week. The Bishop of Wakelin was a hard man, who let 27 houses for elevenpence per annum each. On the other hand the Abbot of Abingdon was content with sevenpence per annum for each of his seven houses.

Most rents would be paid for in labour or in farm produce. Thus *hunig gafol* is a term used for rent paid in honey. Rents were sometimes paid in cheeses, or, more surprisingly, in biscuits, or dogs-bread, or even with a *cup of beer!* You could pay your rent by tending the hounds, or by teaching the shire-reeve's daughter to make gold lace, or by presenting the lady of the manor with 18 ores of pennies (*ut esset ipsa laeto animo*, to keep her in good humour). And she should have been, too, since it appears that each ore of pence was 16 pennies in Saxon times, rising to 20 pennies by Norman days.

One case is known where the rent (a ground-rent) was paid in coals. This was in Alfred's days, at Peterborough, and is believed to be the earliest Saxon reference to coal (11).

Shop-rents stem from Saxon times too. Thus, according to Domesday Book, in Hereford City there were six blacksmiths, each of whom paid one penny per annum rent for his forge, plus having to make 120 "ferra" (? horseshoes) for the King, receiving however 3 pence back for this; a preposterously involved transaction, it would seem.

In some cases rents were paid only if the King happened to visit the place concerned, whereupon he might expect to receive a rent such as the presentation of 200 loaves, a tub of ale and a basket of butter (9).

TOLN—DUTIES AND TOLLS.

English wool was apparently sent to the Netherlands from quite early times, returning as made up cloth. Thus we find that Æthelred took tolls from the Easterling merchants of Thames Street, payable at Billingsgate (12). Harmer (1952) believes that *seamtoln* and *seampending* were terms employed for a toll of one penny payable on a horse-load. *Waegnscilling*, waggon-shilling, was a similar tax of five pence payable on a waggon-load. These tolls were royal rights, and could not be alienated to bishops. The latter, on the other hand, could obtain the rights to a part of the proceeds of other legal arrangements. Thus Bishop Werforth is recorded in Worcester charters of 884 and 901 as receiving one-third of the local fines for fighting at market, theft and cheating (13).

TAXATION.

The earliest recorded annual taxation act dates from the reign of Ine. Around 720 he laid a tax of 1d per annum on every family in Sussex and Wessex; it was for the support of the church, and as it was sent to Rome, it was called "Rom-Scot" (Rome-tax). Later, Offa of Mercia applied the same tax to Mercia and East Anglia, for the upkeep of an English college in Rome which had been founded by Ine for the education of English youth. The tax now received the name Peter-Pence.

It was Æthelred II (the Unready) who instituted annual land-taxes. In 991 he was obliged to pay the Danes £10,000 in silver pennies. By 994 Olaf of Norway joined in the Danish game, and he and Sven between them cleared £16,000. By 1001 Æthelred was resigned to making an annual payment, and assessed England for land-tax, which he called Danegeld. It yielded £30,000 per annum, rising to £40,000 by 1012. As, however, the total payments in six instalments of Danegeld amounted to £155,000 (i.e. 155,000 pounds of silver pennies), the tax cannot have been levied every year. The coins are finely struck and so abundant even today that they are usually the first Saxon pieces any collector obtains.

Exceptions to land-tax were granted. Harmer (13) has recently published some writs of Edward the Confessor, among which we find a grant to the Abbot and brethren of Westminster of some land at Scepertune "scotfree and gafulfreo on hundred and on scire"—scotfree and taxfree in hundred and shire.

Special taxes were laid from time to time. The Vikings were fleet-conscious, and we find Harald Harefoot taxing every port 8 marks (i.e. £4) in order to fit out 16 ships in the year 1038.

The free citizens of the various towns had to pay special royal

taxes in return for certain privileges. For example, we find in Domesday Book many references to payments made to Edward the Confessor. Warwick paid the king 36 measures of honey annually (the "measures" were *sextaria*, of uncertain amount). In Dunwich were 316 citizens who paid the king £50 plus 60,000 herrings annually. Norwich had to pay the king annually 21 shillings and fourpence, 6 measures of honey, 1 bear, 6 bear-hounds, together with a palfrey for the queen.

Something analogous to city-rates seems to be intended in a record at Chester, where each owner of a hide of land had to supply a labourer for the maintenance of the city walls, neglect being punishable by a fine of 40 shillings.

In those days, as now, unpaid taxes accrued a penalty; the fine for unpaid tax was known as *gyltwite*.

CHANGES IN THE MONETARY SYSTEM.

In a following article some account is given of coinage in English everyday life after the Norman Conquest. However, before leaving the Anglo-Saxon coinage, it will be convenient to tabulate the changes made by the Normans. The following scheme is perhaps not strictly correct, but is the most rational I can devise from the scraps of evidence available. Numismatists seem to have concentrated more upon the weights and fineness of the pence themselves, rather than upon elucidating the monetary system.

The Normans apparently introduced a pound (weight) of 12 ounces. This replaced the Saxon pound of 16 ounces. Up till now the pound weight had corresponded with the pound sterling, since 240 pennies weighed 1 pound. Half a pound was called a mark; a mark of silver weighed 8 ounces, comprised 120 pennies, that is 24 Saxon shillings each of five pence. When the Normans introduced the Troy pound, they made 240 pennies weigh 12 ounces. Thus 20 pennies now went to the ounce. They also made 12 pence go to the shilling, but since there were still only 240 pence to the pound, there were now only 20 shillings to the pound sterling, instead of 48 as hitherto. The last complication concerns the mark—this retained its original meaning of a weight of 8 ounces. Thus a mark of silver was now 13s 4d, and the original Saxon pound of silver (2 marks) became worth £1 6s 8d. To an Englishman used to a £ which weighed 1 lb., these changes must have been exasperating. Perhaps that is why for the next 500 years the £ unit passed into eclipse, whilst all transactions were carried out in the old, familiar marks, which still weighed 8 good ounces. It is, at all events, notable that pre-Conquest records use pounds much more than post-Conquest ones, whilst the mark and half-mark are almost the hallmark of finance in the later middle ages. Through all these changes the English penny endured more or less intact, similar in quality and appearance, and only slightly reduced in weight, remaining the envy of the other nations of

Western Europe, and the pride of the Norman and Plantagenet rulers of England. Small wonder that the Anglo-Saxon mint organization survived unaffected by the dynastic upset of 1066.

ENGLISH MONETARY SYSTEM.

| Before 1066 | After 1066 |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Silver Penny the only coin. | Silver Penny the only coin. |
| 5 pence to 1 shilling. | 12 pence to 1 shilling. |
| 240 pence to £1. | 240 pence to £1. |
| 48 shillings to £1. | 20 shillings to £1. |
| £1 in silver weighs 1 lb. | £1 in silver weighs 12 ounces. |
| 1 mark equals 8 oz. | 1 mark equals 8 oz. |
| equals 120 pence. | equals 160 pence. |
| equals 24 shillings. | equals 13s 4d. |
| equals £½. | equals two-thirds of £1. |
| a half-mark of silver equals | a half-mark of silver equals |
| 4 oz. | 4 oz. |
| equals 60 pence | equals 80 pence |
| equals 12 shillings | equals 6s 8d |
| equals a quarter of £1. | equals a third of £1. |
| a mancs weighs 2 ounces and | a mancs weighs 1½ ounces and |
| is worth 30 pence. | is worth 30 pence. |
| a mark of gold weighs 8 | a mark of gold went out of use |
| ounces and is worth £5. | for several centuries, the |
| a half-mark of gold equals | term mark acquiring the |
| 5 marks of silver. | special meaning of 13s 4d, |
| | its silver value. |

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The numbers refer to corresponding numbers in brackets in the text.

- (1) "Beowulf."
- (2) *Tha Halgan Godspel on Englisc*, ed. Thorpe (1842), Mat. 6, 22.
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- (12) Walford, E. (1875) *Old and New London*.
- (13) Harmer, F. E. (1952) *Anglo-Saxon Writs*.

Much helpful information is found in the relevant articles in the *Oxford New English Dictionary*.

Examples of the use of monetary terms are to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels: e.g., Mat. XXVI, 15, thirty pieces of silver, rendered as thritig scyllinga; Luke XX, 24 "Shew me a penny"—Ywath me ænne peninc; Mat. X, 29, "two sparrows sold for 1 farthing," (assarion in the Gk) "twegen spearwan to peninge."



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