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*PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF
NEW ZEALAND INC.*

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NEW ZEALAND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

EDITOR: B. DELAHUNT ONZM KStJ FRNSZ FRNSNZ

<http://www.RNSNZ.com> <http://www.RNSNZ.org.nz>

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RNSNZ PROGRAMME OF EVENTS 2026

Date and Time	Venue	Speaker/Organiser and Topic
Wednesday, 28 January 2026 7.30pm	Wellington Club	Hamish MacMaster: German Historical and Propaganda Medals From World War One to World War Two: From the Genius of Satire to the Depths of Dictatorship: The Journeys of Karl Goetz, Ludwig Gies, Arnold Zaikow and others
Saturday, 21 February 2026 9am – 4 pm	Levin Vintage Car Club, 14 Tiro Tiro Rd. Levin	Combined Societies Meeting hosted by RNSNZ
Wednesday, 25 February 2026, 7.30pm	Wellington Club	Tim Beach – “James Berry”. Tim is an expert on James Berry with extensive knowledge of his designs.
Wednesday, 25 March 2026 7.30pm	Wellington Club	Alison Griffith: “Putting Coins to Use: Republican Coin Reverses and Early Roman Art” & Lars Sheppard-Larsen: “Why did Rome start minting coins? Insights from the iconography of the first issues struck in the name of the Romans”
Wednesday, 29 April 2026 7.30 pm	Wellington Club	Michael Meszaros – Creating medal designs (Zoom, from one of Australia’s most distinguished designers. Prepare to be inspired.) Plus a bonus talk by Joshua Lee on a banknote topic.
Tuesday 26 May 2026 Viewing 7 - 9 pm	Karori RSA 27 Campbell St, Karori	Auction Viewing
Wednesday, 27 May 2026 Viewing 6.30pm	Dutch Club, 61 Taita Dr, Lower Hutt	RNSNZ Annual Auction: Clint Libby – Organiser.

Auction 7.30pm		
Wednesday, 24 June 2026 7.30pm	Wellington Club	Annual General Meeting Topic: Jim Howell – The History of the Penny – from its ancient origin to the Present. Jim is a Wellington Diplomat with a long interest in the Penny. Note: 60 th anniversary of decimal currency 10 July
Wednesday, 29 July 2026 7.30pm	Wellington Club	Brett Delahunt - Would you like to buy a knighthood?
Wednesday 26 August 2026 7.30pm	Wellington Club	Members' Short Talks
Friday 18 September 2026 5.30 pm	West Plaza Hotel	Function
Wednesday, 30 September 2026 7.30pm	Wellington Club	Vaughn Humberstone –Aequitas: from Ancient Rome to colonial New Zealand
Wednesday 28 October 2026	Wellington Club	Joshua Lee – topic to be confirmed.
Wednesday, 25 November 2026 7pm	To be confirmed	End of Year Dinner
27 January 2027, 7.30pm	Wellington Club	Ken Matthews: New Zealand Prime Ministers with military service and military medals - Edward Stafford (Maori Land Wars), Gordon Coates (WWI), Sidney Holland (WWI), John Marshall (WWII), & Robert Muldoon (WWII).

Notice of Annual Inter-Club Meeting, Levin, 9 AM – 4 PM Saturday 21 February 2026

All members of the Society, especially Wellington-based and the Manawatu members, and Wanganui Numismatic Society members, are invited to attend the Annual Inter-Club Meeting, hosted by Royal Numismatic Society of NZ members at the Levin Vintage Car Club Rooms, 14 Tiro Tiro Road (Levin Showgrounds opposite the R & J Confectionary Factory) E-mail: david@galt.net.nz for more information.

Please bring show and tell items, come for the Quiz, take or enjoy the dealers' tables or bring your own material to trade. Get your numismatic year off to a good start with your friends. There is a cover charge of \$5 for catering and the hall. The fair opens to the public at 1pm.

THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF NEW ZEALAND INC

Notice of Society Auction 2026

The Society's next auction will be held at the Dutch Club, Avalon, Lower Hutt on Wednesday 27th May 2026. Members are invited to provide numismatic items for this auction by 27 February. The guidelines are as follows:

1. Any member can provide a maximum of 30 items.
2. The member is to provide a description of each item in writing by email, including the grading and the reserve price.
3. The member submitting the items for sale is to provide his/her name, address, phone number, email address & bank account details.
4. Post items to the RNSNZ, P O Box 323, Wellington 6140 or delivered personally to Clint Libby – cjlibby@xtra.co.nz or



telephone (04) 476-8576

5. Numismatic items will be sent at the seller's risk.
6. Acknowledgement will be given when the items have been received.
7. Items cannot be listed for sale in the catalogue until they have been received with the descriptive list by the organisers.
8. A 10% auction fee will be charged by the Society on the successful sales.
9. The auction is not subject to GST.
10. All unsold items will be returned.

RNSNZ Monthly Meetings

Most monthly meetings are held at The Wellington Club, normally in the McCarthy and Featherston Rooms, Level 4, 88 The Terrace, Wellington. Call 022 0321143 or 021 02891831 if the door is locked. Those unable to attend in person are welcome to attend by Zoom. Visitors are always welcome. Members are invited to bring "show and tell" items to all meetings. If displaying show and tell material remotely, it works best by showing a photo from your computer but objects can be held to a computer camera.

Please note The Wellington Club requirements: Smart casual dress for men: a collared, button-fronted, short or long-sleeved shirt, or polo shirt, and trousers; or other smart casual clothing and for women, comparable or equivalent attire to the above. ***Prohibited clothing*** includes non-dress collarless shirts; distressed or untidy denim; hoodies or sweatshirts; jandals, informal sandals; shorts; sport shoes, or trainers; bush shirts or jackets, tracksuits or trackpants; jerseys and pullovers unless worn under a jacket; and three-quarter trousers.

Joining the RNSNZ

New members are warmly encouraged to join. They can apply via our web site www.RNSNZ.org.nz or write with full contact details

(email, postal address, phone number), age, any decorations, occupation and numismatic interests to our PO Box number 2024, Wellington, New Zealand.

Annual Subscriptions for 2025/26

Subs are NZ\$35; \$A35 Australia; \$US35 rest of world; with half price for new members joining after 30 September. For electronic communications only: \$NZ25, \$A25 or \$US25 rest of world with half price for new members as above. Rates are free for members under 21 with electronic publications, members with 50 years continuous membership, or members attaining 80 years with 10 years continuous membership at that date.

Society Office Holders 2024 – 2025

President: David Galt FRNSNZ

Vice-Presidents: Brett Delahunt FRNSNZ, Tony Grant FRNSNZ, Clint Libby FRNSNZ, Hamish MacMaster FRNSNZ, Graeme Hancock, Andrew Christie, Lois Ion, John Eccles

Secretary: Hamish MacMaster FRNSNZ. Clint Libby FRNSNZ will take minutes.

Treasurer: Kenneth Matthews (Selwyn Lowe continues to look after membership)

Auditor: Tony Grant FRNSNZ

Librarian: Paul Bicknell

Keeper of the Collection: Clint Libby FRNSNZ

Editor (NZ Numismatic Journal:.) Brett Delahunt FRNSNZ

Editor (Society Newsletters): David Galt FRNSNZ

Member of Council: David Russell, Rodney Hall, Wayne Newman FRNSNZ, Alison Griffith, Liam Jennings. John O'Reilly is a Member of Council as President of our OMRS Branch.

Web Site Manager: Rodney Hall

RNSNZ Website – New Additions

The Society website at www.RNSNZ.org.nz provides details of meetings, minutes, Journals and much more. If you have not joined the RNSNZ web site yet, we strongly encourage you to do so. New content includes the library list, latest commemorative medal and challenge coin catalogues and all our latest Journals. Martin Purdy, Hamish MacMaster, Jason Gray and Rodney Hall continue to update catalogues of New Zealand commemorative medals, and we now have an illustrated catalogue of Auckland University's fascinating

ancient coins collection, thanks to Lars Sheppard-Larsen. Email Martin Purdy with additions or new medal discoveries - (Note underscore) martin_lists@yahoo.com Hard copies of some earlier catalogues are still available from the Society – email the Secretary if interested in these.

RNSNZ Facebook Page

Our Facebook Page: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/RNSNZ/> (or <http://tinyurl.com/a6cx4yz>) now has 809 members, who are not required to be RNSNZ members, but are strongly encouraged to join. You can share your numismatic news there too!

2016 – 2021 Uncirculated New Zealand Circulating Coins Sets

These remain available in the same format as produced by NZ Post up until 2013 and by the Society since then. The sets are all normally \$30 each plus postage or \$28 for 10 or more. Numbers are getting low.

Contact Clint Libby cjlibby@xtra.co.nz. or Telephone (04) 476-8576 or 027 432466. to order.

RNSNZ Numismatic Library

The Society's library is held at the Karori RSA. The locked building and collections for borrowing are accessible through Librarian Paul Bicknell, Clint Libby (04-4768576) or David Galt (022 0321143). See the extensive catalogue on our website.

Society and Council News

- The Nikau Foundation which provided a grant of \$10,000 this year from the Alistair Robb Numismatic Fund to help our conferences and research now advises that the fund includes \$210,900, having started ten years ago with \$154,000 and paid \$66,000 in grants to us since. Congratulations to Nikau on this outstanding performance.
- **IMPORTANT NOTICE:** The Society will be relinquishing its long-standing Post Office Box 2023, Wellington 6140. Very little

correspondence is received, and it is not economic to continue it. Instead, our mail will go to PO Box 323, Wellington 6140, the post office box of John Bertrand Collectables. *Please update your records and send any hard copy RNSNZ correspondence to PO Box 323 Wellington 6140 from now on.*

- Our Orders and Medals Society Research Branch remains very active, ably led by John O'Reilly, Mark Brewer and David Dickens. In October 2025 they ran a very successful symposium. We expect another in October 2026, open to all RNSNZ members and a lively programme throughout 2026.
- The Society produced a 45mm service medal showing the portrait of Captain Geoff T Stagg, former RNSNZ President, recognising service to the Society over 2025 to 2028. The medal does justice to an outstanding New Zealander who served both his country and numismatics with such distinction. The bronze-coloured service medals will be awarded over the next four years, with 28 medals distributed each year for service. In addition to these medals, 20 silver plated/rhodium coloured, 45 mm brass medals, were offered of this design for sale at \$50, partly to offset production costs. Manufactured by one of the most outstanding mints in the southern hemisphere, Eng Leong in Singapore, each silver medal was individually numbered. We are pleased to advise that they quickly sold out.
- The Reserve Bank confirmed in December 2025 its continued commitment to supporting use of cash into the future. It also advised that its 25-year collectable coin partnership with NZ Post will conclude on 30 June 2026. This follows a strategic review and reflects their commitment to focus on their core mandate (Ed: meaning monetary policy and financial regulation) and cash in circulation. The Bank is looking to continue proof sets and our President, David Galt, and Secretary, Hamish MacMaster, have reinforced to the Bank the continuing interest of collectors in commemorative issues. We expect to continue those discussions in the New Year.
- Lars Sheppard-Larsen, an Auckland based member and this year's RNSNZ supported research scholar, has written a fascinating account of the life of Chris Ehrhardt (1937 – 2001), a Dunedin based member of the Society and ancient numismatics

scholar, who wrote extensively on collections in New Zealand museums. You can read his fascinating account, "*Chris T. H. R. Ehrhardt and the Ancient Greek and Roman coins in the Auckland Museum's numismatic collection*" here:

<https://papahou.arphahub.com/article/165323/>

- Rob Pepping advised on our Facebook page recently: "The 2018 \$5 notes are now in circulation. Here is the image of my note. I got it yesterday...The AA prefix is the only one I have seen so far. Only took about 7 years from placing the order to placing into circulation!!!! Notice the change in signature to Adrian Orr. Also it is worth knowing that the last \$10 prefix (BP) of the 2015 note series is also in circulation. So two notes now to look for in your change."



Obituary: Alan Barker FRNSNZ

We learned recently that Alan Gordon Barker, a Fellow of the Society since 1967, passed away on 1 October 2025 aged 99 in Christchurch. In working life, he was Manager of Flooring with Smiths City Market. He enjoyed a visit to Portugal in that role, with a side visit to the British Museum numismatic department. Alan remained a member of the Society for many years after the closure of our Christchurch Branch. His main activity was in Christchurch, with friends there such as Ernie Dale, Laurie Rose and Leon Morel. Other interests included broader history and tramping. Our condolences have been passed to his children and their partners, Murray, Chris, Matt, Geoff and Lyna and his grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Alan was an honorary numismatic curator at Canterbury Museum, assisting others such as Chris Ehrhardt with access to the collection for up to one day per week, providing advice on numismatic matters and helping the work of the Canterbury Branch.

Other Numismatic Societies

Numismatic Association of Australia

The RNSNZ is a sponsoring society of the Numismatic Association of Australia (NAA). which supports high quality research. Full details are at: www.numismatics.org.au

Numismatic Society of Auckland: Monthly meetings are now held, except in January, on the second Monday of the month at 7.30pm at the Ranfurly Room, 202 Gillies Avenue, Epsom, Auckland. Please contact Andrew Clifford (President) at Andrew@andrewclifford.com. All welcome. Meetings include Zoom participation.

Tauranga Numismatic Society: Meets on the first Wednesday monthly at 7.30 pm, the Wesley Church Centre, 100 13th Avenue. Contact tauranganumis@gmail.com

Wanganui Numismatic Society: Meets in the afternoon on the last

Wednesday of every month except December - phone 022 4961306

The New Zealand Orders and Medals Research Society Branch: a branch of both the RNSNZ and British Orders and Medals Research Society, with a primary interest in military medals, meets in Wellington about 6 times a year on the second Sunday of the month. Contact john_o_reilly@hotmail.com (note underscores).

Royal Numismatic Society of NZ Accounts - Year to 31 March 2025

Historically, the Society has published its accounts for the financial year in the Journal. This year, we are taking a different approach. The accounts are already available on the Companies Office web site, as are those for previous years, as they must be published each year. The full accounts can be seen there for the year to 31 March 2025 at this link:

<https://app.businessregisters.govt.nz/sber-businesses/viewInstance/view.html?id=229a78e05307b6d8bf1b29667f00cb178023e1d2313598ef#scrollTop>

Some important highlights were that the Society had total income in 2024-25 of \$80,949.52, of which \$39,424.05 came from the 2024 conference. There was a surplus of \$17,036.09, largely accounted for by a grant from the Alistair Robb Numismatic Fund for the conference and research purposes. Although a not-for-profit entity, the Society is subject to income tax, but is not taxed on grants, donations and subscriptions received. This resulted in a surplus for tax purposes for the year of \$862.32, less than the exemption from tax allowed to incorporated societies of \$1000 each year. The Society had members' funds of \$256,614.50 and total assets of \$259,369.99 at year end, mostly held in terms deposit and current accounts with the BNZ and ASB banks. The result was audited by Tony Grant.

Annual Report of Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand 2024-25

David Galt

Once again, the Society enjoyed a successful year in the year to March 2025. We advanced numismatic knowledge, provided trading opportunities and promoted numismatic interests. The listing below summarises most of what needs to be said about our main events.

There is more to be said though. Many others contributed to show and tell which enlivens any meeting and thanks are due to all who made the effort to present in person or online. All that work is appreciated and makes our meetings hum. Meetings have been increasingly well attended with up to 30 people present with great participation by members online.

Our Orders and Medals Research Branch held meetings in members' homes throughout the year, with a good range of topics, many of which would be of wider interest to RNSNZ members. The Branch was well organised by Todd Skilton (President), John O'Reilly (Secretary and David Dickens as a committee member.

The biggest event of the year in October was our four-day Conference with three streams covering general coins and notes, medals and ancient coins at the Wellington Club, a dinner with Dr Don Brash speaking about his experience with currency as Reserve Bank Governor, a reception and book launch celebrating seven publications. Almost 40 speakers from the USA, Australia, Britain and New Zealand and over 100 delegates attended across all events.

The success of all these events and seamless organisation owes much to the tireless and energetic work of the organising committee over the two years leading up to the conference. Our gratitude goes to all who served in this capacity and the many additional tasks and events that underpinned them and demanded attention such as maintaining the Conference office in the Wellington Club.

Hamish MacMaster organised a superb tour of the collections held at the Police Museum, Te Papa, Parliament and the Reserve Bank for Conference delegates. Reserve Bank staff and executives have commented that they gained a much greater knowledge of their own holdings as part of showing treasures that are hidden away most of time. The Saturday fair whose organisation owed much to Flemming Sorenson and Liam Jennings was active with good business for dealers, members and the public.

None of this could happen without the huge input from many officers and members of the Society. The Council met twice to manage the business of the Society and advanced the development

of a new Constitution for the Society which for members to consider and reregister under the new Incorporated Societies Act before the March 2026 deadline. This is important to allow the Society to exist as an organisation in its own right, holding assets and limiting potential liability for its officers and members.

Several officers who have given long and outstanding service are stepping down this year. Todd Skilton has kept up great momentum in the OMRS Branch for a decade, including initiating joining the RNSNZ as a Branch to the advantage of both, and has been succeeded by John O'Reilly in 2025-26 as President. Selwyn Lowe has given sterling service as Treasurer and Membership Secretary for three years, a big job.

Paul Etheredge and Jim Johnson are stepping down from the Council, having extended our representation well beyond Wellington for many years and must be thanked. Paul deserves special mention for having served numismatics in the Waikato for many years, quite apart from his RNSNZ involvement as a speaker and ancient coins expert. Flemming Sorensen is also stepping down, having served as an officer for many decades, always present when there was work to be done at any event. We are grateful to all.

Other members continue to serve in many roles. Brett Delahunt has advanced the quality of the Journal, with the step up to two Journals again this year, with many more articles in prospect. Brett was recognised with the award of the first Sutherland Medal for outstanding numismatic scholarship over more than 50 years. Thanks are due to all Journal contributors, who run the hard yards of producing quality articles to everyone's benefit. The Society continues to host more updated commemorative medal catalogues and challenge coin catalogues on our web site, thanks to the great work of Martin Purdy, Hamish MacMaster, Jason Gray and Rodney Hall.

We must also thank financial supporters who advertise with and sponsor us and particularly the Nikau Foundation, who continue to administer the Alistair Robb Numismatic Fund for the benefit of numismatics. And finally, we must acknowledge the legacy of John Cresswell, who left an extensive library including specialist books to us, which arrived this year, catalogued by Paul Bicknell as our Librarian.

Date	Event
Wed. 24 Apr. 2024	David Galt: NZ Private & Trading Bank Notes – An Overview. The talk included comments on designs and watermarks.
Wed. 29 May 2024	Annual General Meeting: Officers continued from the previous year with Hamish MacMaster taking on the full Secretary role and Clint Libby taking minutes.
Wed. 26 Jun. 2024	RNSNZ Annual Auction (Organised by Clint Libby and Flemming Sorensen at the Dutch Club, Lower Hutt)
Wed. 31 Jul. 2024	Brett Delahunt: 'Isandlwana - Cetshwayo's victory', covering the events leading to the major British defeat of 1879 and associated medals.
Wed. 28 Aug. 2024	Members' Short Talks: Hamish MacMaster discussed some superb commemorative medals; John Larcomb discussed the pitfalls of online sales; Clint Libby showed Icelandic Currency and talked of his recent trip there; John Russell discussed the Military Guinea; Michail Andreef spoke about scarce Chinese banknotes and the very rare 1916/16 double die US Nickel; Flemming Sorenson showed the new UK definitive coins and David Galt talked about rare banknotes including a newly discovered Wilson OK prefix Pound. The Society enjoyed a record number of PowerPoint presentations in one session.
Fri. 20 Sep. 2024	Annual members' function (Organiser – Clint Libby, at the West Plaza Hotel)
Wed. 25 Sep. 2024	Rafael Veragini Duarte - Brazilian Coins
Fri. 11 - Mon. 14 Oct. 2024	Numismatic Conference, Numismatic Tour of Wellington and Fair, with many speakers across three streams.

Date	Event
Wed. 30 Oct. 2024	Tony Grant: "A Dealer reflecting on His Career " - an account of more than 50 years of New Zealand numismatic experience
Wed. 27 Nov. 2024	End of Year dinner, Speights Alehouse, Lower Hutt, with presentation of service medals
Wed.29 January	Mark Stocker FRNSNZ: "Reconsidering the 1928 Irish Free State coinage"
Sat. 22 February	Graeme Hancock (hosting by Manawatu members: Levin Combined Societies Meeting. Graeme and his family members organised an excellent gathering for regional members from as far away as Taranaki and Auckland, with excellent catering, trading tables and a public session in the afternoon. Attendance of approximately 40 was double the previous year, while the Wanganui Numismatic Society won the Quiz trophy.
Wed. 26 February	Jaymie Orchard (PhD Student, Otago, holding the Society's scholarship for 2025): "Republican and early Imperial coins - tracing the general developments of trophy iconography."
Wed. 26 March	Hamish MacMaster FRNSNZ: "The Length and Breadth of Aotearoa: Toki (Adzes) as a Means of Exchange within the Māori Trade Network, 1300-1800". In the spirit of Allan Sutherland's interest in early Māori trading, Hamish outlined the development of toki and showed many examples.

Throughout the Length and Breadth of Aotearoa. Toki (Adzes) as a Means of Exchange within the Māori Trade Network, 1300-1800

Hamish MacMaster FRNSNZ

In his influential *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*, Raymond Firth is adamant the Māori had no form of money.¹ He notes that despite the widespread bartering of stone like greenstone (pounamu) and obsidian, neither could be regarded as a currency of the Māori, for neither possessed a fixed or slightly varying value.

Numismatic greats like Allan Sutherland and Ray Hargreaves do recognise that the barter trade of the Māori was a significant forerunner to New Zealand's numismatic history. Indeed part one of Sutherland's landmark *Numismatic History of New Zealand* is all about Māori and barter trade.²

However, both Sutherland and Hargreaves convey the sense this barter was limited in scope, if not geography. "*Barter trade between different villages ... most commonly involved the interchange of food between hapus or tribes living in different physical environments.*"³

This article argues that while not a currency, the trade in stone throughout the Māori network from its inception, with the arrival of the first iwi, was more extensive than many have traditionally given it credit for and that within this network adzes (toki) in particular, of multiple shapes and diverse types of stone - were a widely accepted and valued means of exchange the length and breadth of Aotearoa⁴ (Fig. 1).

Phases of Māori History

The history of the Māori in Aotearoa began with the arrival of Polynesian settlers by canoe starting from the late 13th or early 14th centuries. When this occurred precisely is still a matter of some debate.

¹ Firth, Raymond *Economics of the New Zealand Māori* Second Edition 1959, pg 409

² Sutherland, Allan *Numismatic History of New Zealand* Wellington, Royal Numismatic Society of NZ, 1941

³ Hargreaves, R.P. *From Beads to Banknotes* Dunedin, 1972 pg 12

⁴ Based on a presentation to the RNSNZ monthly meeting on 26 March 2025



Fig. 1 Toki (adze blade), Otago, maker unknown. Gift of Coatman family, 1936. Te Papa

In 2022 a study using radiocarbon technology from over 500 archaeological sites found that early Māori settlement happened in the North Island between 1250 AD and 1275 AD.⁵

In New Zealand, there are no human remains, artefacts or structures dated to earlier than the Mount Tarawera eruption of around 1314. Archaeological and genetic evidence concludes that the main settlement period was in the decades after the eruption, somewhere between 1320 and 1350, possibly involving a coordinated mass migration.

A more imprecise line of evidence – traditional genealogies (whakapapa) point to 1350 AD as a probable arrival date for some of the founding canoes (waka) from which many iwi trace their descent. Māori oral history describes the arrival of ancestors in a number of large ocean-going waka, from Hawaiki.– believed to be one of the Leeward Society Islands in French Polynesia.

Whatever the precise date, over the following centuries, these early Polynesian settlers in Aotearoa, isolated from their islands of origin, developed a very distinct type of culture. As a result, early Māori history is often divided into two main periods: the early settlement period (c. 1300– 1500) and the classic period (c. 1500– 1769).

Archaeological sites reveal evidence of early life in Polynesian settlements in New Zealand. The majority of settlements were on or within 10 km of the coast. It was common for people to establish small temporary camps inland for seasonal hunting.

⁵ Bunbury, Magdalena M. E.; Petchey, Fiona; Bickler, Simon H. (2022). "A new chronology for the Māori settlement of Aotearoa (NZ) and the potential role of climate change in demographic developments". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. No 119 (46):

Settlements ranged in size from 40 people, for example at Palliser Bay near Wellington, to between 300 and 400 people such as at Shag River in Otago.

An increasing population, competition for resources and changes to the climate led to the social and cultural changes seen in the later classic period. A distinct Māori art form evolved characterised by finely made pounamu weapons and ornaments, elaborately carved canoes and meeting houses, and the development of the hill forts (pā).

Stone: An Imported Technology, but New Resources

Of all the islands settled by the Polynesians, New Zealand must have presented the most alien landscape, being larger than all the Polynesian islands put together and with a cooler climate. It also possessed a much greater range of resources.

When Kupe arrived in Aotearoa, it is a fair bet one of the first things he would have been looking for was resources. The most valuable of these would have been stone. For the arriving Polynesian settlers, stone was an essential raw material from which tools, weapons and ornaments were made. And New Zealand had a wide range of sedimentary and volcanic stone materials, which were quickly discovered as the first settlers explored the new land.

Indeed, as noted by archaeologist Janet Davidson, “*by 1200 AD prehistoric New Zealanders were fully conversant with all the resources New Zealand could offer, ... including virtually all the stone resources that were to be exploited.*” It is evident early Māori exhibited considerable knowledge of New Zealand geography. Most or all of the stone resources important to Polynesians in New Zealand had been discovered by the twelfth century.⁶

The first adzes in New Zealand were made of stone which could be worked like familiar Pacific basalts, such as fine-grained argillite or mudstone from the Nelson district, and basalt from Tahanga on the east coast of Coromandel Peninsula. These followed Pacific patterns, but were using New Zealand stone.

Stone tools were made of different raw material throughout Aotearoa.⁷ Various regional forms were developed, often depending on the physical characteristics of available stone. New techniques were quickly developed for making tools from the different rocks. A wider range of adzes and chisels soon followed from fine-grained rock such as argillite, basalt and greynwacke (Figs 2 and 3).

⁶ Davidson, Janet *The Prehistory of New Zealand* Auckland, 1987 pg 223

⁷ Fugill, Clive *Te Toki Me Te Whao. The Story and Use of Māori Tools* Auckland, 2016



Fig. 2 Toki (adze blade), 1250-1500, Te Kūiti, maker unknown. Purchased 1926. Te Papa (Frontal View).

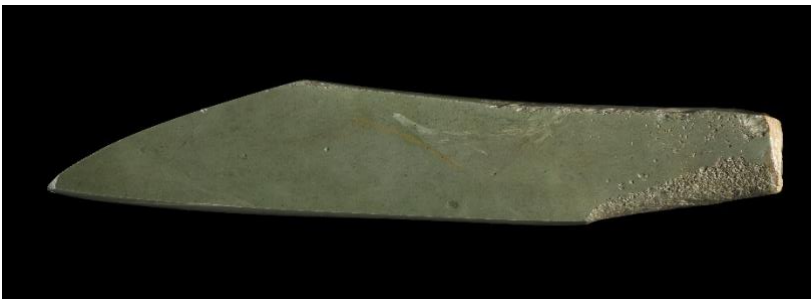


Fig. 3 Toki (adze blade), 1250-1500, Te Kūiti, maker unknown. Purchased 1926. Te Papa (Side View).

Argillite adzes are found throughout Aotearoa. The most famous is the argillite of the Nelson mineral belt. About forty places have been found where this stone was obtained, ranging from the occasional chipped boulder to major industrial areas spread over more than 10,000 m² (Fig. 4).

Obsidian was also used for tools throughout the prehistoric period. Ready-made knives were struck from blocks of chert and volcanic obsidian. The other famous stone resource of the Māori, greenstone, seems to have become prominent much later. Greenstone was found not only at the most famous source area, Arahura, but also in several other parts of the South Island including Central Otago.

The early East Polynesian adze-making technology brought to New Zealand was primarily based on the flaking of fine-grained tough volcanic rocks (like basalt) reflecting the geologically limited range of rocks available on home islands. Operational parts of the adze like the bevel and cutting edge were ground as was the

rest of the adze to varying degrees with the technique of bruising the surface, or hammer dressing, occasionally employed in the finishing process.



Fig. 4 Whangamoa Argillite Quarry near Nelson, diorama Canterbury Museum.

The early East Polynesian adze-making technology brought to New Zealand was primarily based on the flaking of fine-grained tough volcanic rocks (like basalt) reflecting the geologically limited range of rocks available on home islands. Operational parts of the adze like the bevel and cutting edge were ground as was the rest of the adze to varying degrees with the technique of bruising the surface, or hammer dressing, occasionally employed in the finishing process.



Fig. 5a and 5b Toki pounamu (hafted nephrite adze), New Zealand, maker unknown. Bequest of Kenneth Athol Webster, 1969. Te Papa.

By the time the early Polynesian immigrants had settled New Zealand, a broader variety of adze forms had developed. There was variability in size and cross section shape, specially designed distinctive forms like the side-hafted adze and the 'hogback' (a large narrow-bladed gouge), and very large tanged quadrangular adzes. Hafting security was provided by modifying or reducing the butt of the adze and they were usually lashed to wooden haft (Figs 5a & 5b).

The development of Māori carving – and the need for adzes – owed much to the ready availability of easily-worked, straight-grained timber, such as totara and kauri, and high quality stone for wood-working tools. Indeed later European explorers noted the uncommon skill with which Maori and other Polynesian groups could wield an adze and shape wood, a skill that in many cases surpassed that of European practitioners.¹

The development of the adze in New Zealand

From first settlement the stone adze was an extremely important tool in New Zealand. Its shape reflected the work it did.² Classification of adzes has generally been based on two main features: the shape of the cross-section and the presence or absence of a grip or shaping of the butt to facilitate lashing to the wooden handle. Also important is the type of stone in which the tool is made and the method of manufacture.

Early Polynesian settlers brought their various adze forms with them from the Pacific Islands. When they became acquainted with the stone resources available in their new lands, they began to create additional distinctive adze types.

Henry Skinner, after an extensive study of a number of adzes from the South Island, was able to identify and classify ten main adze types, each with a number of subcategories or variants.³

Roger Duff, following additional study of adzes from the northern part of the South Island, verified Skinner's types but for the sake of simplicity regrouped them into four with multiple variations.⁴ Duff's types were classified as tanged quadrangular, quadrangular without tang, triangular (with base in front), and inverted triangular (with base at back).

¹ Buck, Sir Peter *The Coming of the Māori* Wellington, 1949, pgs 179-198

² See Best, Elsdon *The Stone Implements of the Māori* Wellington, 1974 (first published 1912)

³ Skinner, H.D. *Comparatively Speaking* University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 1974

⁴ Duff, Roger *The Moa-hunter period of Māori culture* Wellington 1977

Some adze styles were regionally specific. In the South Island the tanged quadrangular toki was particularly common in the early settlement period, usually made from argillite. The most distinctive feature of this form of adze is the lugs on the poll end of the tool. This would have been used to stop the adze blade sliding back, as the binding would have been wrapped around the lugs, then around the tang and haft (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6 Baked Argillite Lugged Toki from Ellesmere Spit, Canterbury Museum

The North Island too had its own particular styles, which are again regionally identifiable and distinct. The Hawke's Bay region produced thick solid adzes made usually from greywacke from the Tararua Ranges, although local sources may have been used. These adzes were considered unique for the spiral pattern hammer-pecked into the heel.

Toki were used for a wide variety of jobs, some with specialised functions. Given the work and effort needed to make them, adzes were in all probability considered very valuable, handled carefully and stored when not in use. They were not generally discarded after breakage. Adzes would have been required on a regular basis. After a period of sustained use, it is probable that they would have required repair and needed resharpener before being used again. Broken adzes and adzes with blades in damaged condition would be taken back to the settlement to await the lengthy process of reworking and repair at a convenient time, using hammer and grinding stones.

Adzes therefore probably had a long use-life. Some also may have had a specialist use. We do not know whether every man of the village was involved in canoe/house building and tree felling or whether there were village specialists. It is likely that tree felling for large canoes and subsequent construction would require a group effort. Every man probably needed to have basic wood working skills and own a wood-

working tool kit so that they could provide for their own family needs as well as contribute to communal village efforts when required.⁵

Such a tool-kit would include timber chopping and timber dressing adzes - the most common types recovered from early sites. It is possible that there were experts for which certain more detailed tasks were reserved and who may have had a more elaborate range of tools. For example, the side hafted adze was most likely used as a broad axe or even as a hatchet to trim the sides of a canoe or any vertical piece of timber.



Fig. 7 Cache of Adze Tools found in the Coromandel Peninsula. All are made from basalt from nearby Tahanga. Auckland Museum.

On the Coromandel Peninsula a cache of four adzes were found which is now in the Auckland Museum. They suggest a craftsman's toolkit. All are made of basalt from nearby Tahanga. The shapes suggest a date early in the Māori settlement of Aotearoa (Fig. 7).

Production and designs of toki evolved over time. Throughout New Zealand, tough fine-grained materials that would flake, suitable for adze manufacture, had an uneven distribution. In the immediate post settlement period manufacture was based at quarries where large parent forms like outcrops were worked and preforms flaked out.

In this early time many regions in New Zealand relied on imported adzes from these quarries. Some adzes from major quarries like Tahanga on the Coromandel Peninsula

⁵ Turner, Marianne Teresa *"The Function, Design and Distribution of New Zealand Adzes"* A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology, University of Auckland 2000, pg 421

and those of Nelson/Marlborough were distributed over hundreds or even thousands of kilometres. It has been assumed that these major 'exporting' quarries were controlled by specialists.

For the first few hundred years of human settlement, Tahanga was one of the main stone sources in the North Island. The distribution of Tahanga adzes from Hawkes Bay in the south to the Aupouri Peninsula in the north provides information about patterns of trade or exchange.

The indications are that long-distance contact in the early period gradually diminished, with later distribution becoming more localised until the production of adzes from Tahanga basalt effectively ceased as a major operation, perhaps during the sixteenth century. The reasons for this are unclear, although by this time new forms of adzes were being produced in other centres using different stone and production techniques, notably bruising and grinding rather than flaking.

By about the 15th century new adzes in fine-grained basalt and argillite were no longer being made, although existing adzes in these materials were being reworked and modified, after blade damage and breakage during use. From this period onwards there appears to be a move away from any manufacturing taking place at the source sites with material being transported back to settlements for working. At the same time there is a change in manufacturing techniques which became reliant primarily on hammer dressing which required much less expertise and had less risk of breakage. So, by the 16th century the era of the great quarry-workshop complex was over.

Like production methods, designs changed as well. In New Zealand, a strong contrast has been drawn between adzes from earlier sites such as Wairau Bar in the South Island, which include a considerable range of gripped examples, and the ungripped adze of rounded quadrangular cross-section most common in the North Island, the so-called 2B type. The former early adzes were usually shaped by flaking, and rocks which lent themselves to this technique were preferred. The latter 2B type were often made from denser fine-grained rocks which were worked by pecking and hammering (Fig. 8).

In an important study historian Simon Best compared a typical 'early' adze – the gripped quadrangular adze, as made in basalt from a quarry on the Coromandel Peninsula- and a typical late adze – an ungripped quadrangular form made from

Gabbro stone found in Northland.⁶ The function of the two adzes seemed to be different. The gripped quadrangular adze, with a low angle of attack, was suited to a skimming, adzing stroke. The other was stronger and able to bite deeper into the wood. Best considered it a powerful wood-working tool, suitable for bush and scrub clearing, tree-felling, reduction of timbers for houses and fortifications, and also for trimming pit walls and ditches in hard soils. He regarded the early adze as primarily suitable for canoe making.



Fig. 8 Type 2B Greywacke adze.

Best argued that the decline in the products from the early quarries could not be due to disruption of trade networks, since other products such as greenstone and obsidian continued to be widely distributed. He believed the change to be due to an increasing need in the North Island for an efficient wood-working and forest clearing tool. Regardless of whatever reason, it is clear the design of adzes evolved in Aotearoa over time.

Early Period: A Tradable Resource

The availability of raw materials and other resources varied considerably from district to district. Gift and commercial exchange were the principal means of overcoming supply deficiencies with some items transported over long distances.

In New Zealand ethnographic accounts of gift exchange mention a wide variety of foods; commodities such as kokowai, shark oil and oven stones; items of adornment such as feathers and shells; manufactures such as garments and canoes; and stone resources such as obsidian, and above all greenstone. Many of these items cannot

⁶ Best, Simon “*The Maori Adze: an explanation for change*”, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol 86, No 3 The Polynesian Society, University of Auckland, Auckland, 1977

be documented in the archaeological record, but stone resources provide a very clear indication of widespread communication throughout the prehistoric period.

For example, the settlers of Palliser Bay probably came originally from further north. As time went on, however, they strengthened their ties in the Cook Strait area, while still obtaining obsidian from the north. They also lived within reach of the of the highly prized argillite of the Nelson-D'Urville Island region, and other suitable stones for adzes and drill points.

Accordingly, by the 13th century, people living in Palliser Bay were using quantities of obsidian from the Coromandel Peninsula, Mayor Island and the central North Island, chert from the south-east Wairarapa and perhaps elsewhere, and argillite, mostly from D'Urville Island. They also had smaller amounts of limestone, some of which came from Akitio nearly 150 km to the north; schist, probably from Nelson, greywacke from the Kaimanawa Ranges in the central North island; nephrite from Arahura on the west coast of the South Island; serpentine and talc from Nelson; and silcrete from Central Otago. This distribution represented the movement of raw materials at least several thousand kilometres in both directions.

At the other end of the North Island, people living at Mount Camel during the twelfth century were enjoying the use of obsidian from Mayor Island, basalt for adzes from Tahanga on the Coromandel Peninsula, and a siliceous sinter for drill points, also from the Coromandel. These people were in direct contact with the Coromandel, if not with Mayor Island, and were clearly dependent on the Coromandel for their raw material.⁷

Any stone could be used for adze making and indeed for other tools, depending on what the local iwi could get their hands on. But some stones were more sought after than others and there is no doubt these were traded for other stones and items of value. The finding of stone tools of specific geological origin all around the country indicate the vast trading system that existed in Māori society.

The quantity of adzes in the 13th and 14th centuries that was likely to have been produced by the quarries on D'Urville Island reinforces the assertion of an extensive and active trade network. Archaeologist and geologist Harold Wellman estimated that a total of at least 60 tonnes of waste flakes was present on occupation sites he examined.⁸ These flakes, he deduced, meant the number of adzes produced on the

⁷ Davidson, Janet, pg 196

⁸ Wellman, Harold "*Māori occupation layer at D'Urville Island NZ*" in *NZ Journal of Geology and Geophysics* (1962 a, 5) pg 55-73

island and exported would have been at least 15,000. Such an estimate indicates that the adze production on the island was far greater than for purely local demand.

The vast amount of waste flakes that Wellman uncovered on D'Urville Island also indicates that trade largely consisted of finished objects or at least preform blanks. Large blocks of stone would have been difficult to transport long distances, particularly by canoe. The extent of this prehistoric trade highlights the significance of stone resources to the early Māori settlers.

The Maori Trade Network

Routes existed by land and sea by which material travelled the length and breadth of the country. Communication routes must have included both east and west coasts, and cross-country routes along the major river valleys and over known passes in the interior.

Obsidian is the best indicator of the extent of pre-historic communication in New Zealand, since it is found in most archaeological sites of all ages. As noted earlier, it is clear the geological knowledge of prehistoric New Zealanders, within the limits of their technological ability, was minute and detailed.

Most communities used obsidian that had come from several different sources, at least, following a multitude of different communication routes across and around the country. People living far from the sources, like those in Palliser Bay, probably had no idea where their obsidian had originally come from. The obsidian in Palliser Bay during the 14th century was from Northland which is surprising, since there were other sources much closer. People living in the Auckland district were getting obsidian from several directions, including Northland, Great Barrier, Coromandel and Mayor Island. Obsidian from Taupo and Mayor Island reached the southern South Island.⁹

Mayor Island was by far the most important source of obsidian in New Zealand contributing a much more substantial proportion of the obsidian in circulation than any other single source. Far less is known about the prehistoric distribution of greenstone, which is less often found than obsidian. In contrast some Mayor Is obsidian is found in almost all archaeological sites, meaning it was probably the first to be discovered and exploited. Control of Mayor Island at this time meant control of one of New Zealand's most important resources.

⁹ Davidson, Janet, pg 198

Obsidian and greenstone are merely the most obvious of a great variety of stone resources transported over large areas of New Zealand. Adzes from the argillite quarries were distributed throughout much of New Zealand in the early period (Fig. 9)

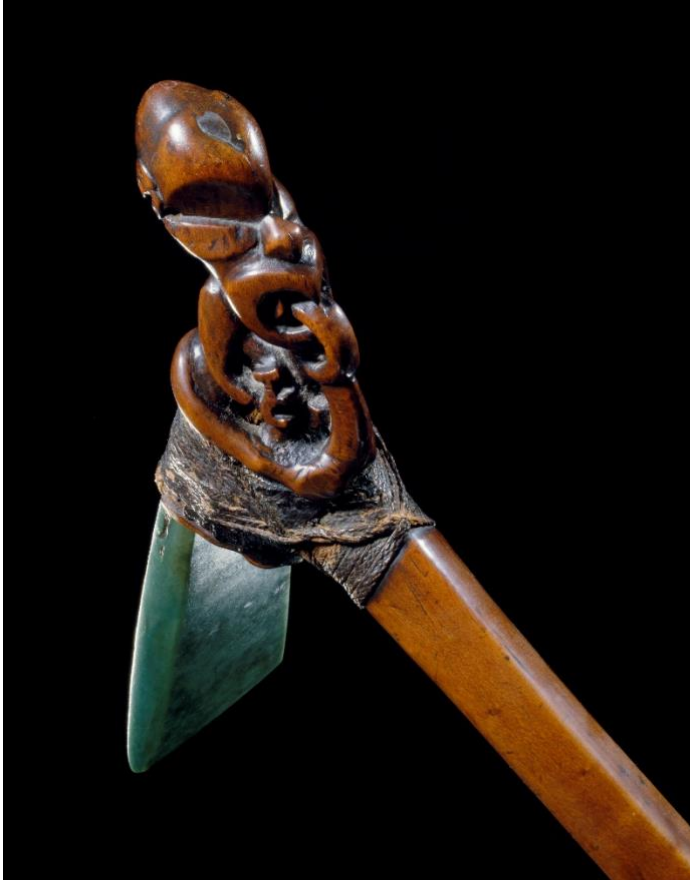


Fig. 9 Toki poutangata (ceremonial adze), 1500-1820, New Zealand, maker unknown. Oldman Collection. Gift of the New Zealand Government, 1992. Te Papa.

Distribution was more restricted in later times, but some adzes from these sources still reached as far north as Aotea and the Waikato Heads in the sixteenth century or later. Other major sources of adzes used for trade were the Tahanga Quarry on the

Coromandel, the argillites of Southland, and gabbro, probably from central Northland, which was widely used in the north.

There was also a host of more local production centres, whose products might be found as much as 150 km from their point of origin. Akitio limestone and Auckland greywacke are examples. Stones used for a variety of flakes and industrial tools also travelled surprisingly long distances. From these finds something of the extent of prehistoric communication in New Zealand can be envisaged.¹⁰

Adzes provide an interesting example of the way in which goods spread throughout the country even at this early stage. Sometimes, people living at or very close to a major quarry had, as well as an abundance of their own product, an occasional example of a rival product. Thus in the fourteenth century, people living at Opito, near Tahanga Hill, had several adzes from the Nelson mineral belt, fragments of which were found in their rubbish. Similarly, people working greywacke on Motutapu Island near Auckland had at least one piece from both Nelson and Tahanga.

Unfortunately the exact mechanisms of exchange have not yet been determined. While neighbour to neighbour exchange must have been common, the archaeological record clearly reveals contact over much greater distances as well. Putting aside the inherent beauty of many toki, not to mention their multiple functionality, these stone tools give us an indication of what early history in Aotearoa looked like, - an invaluable witness to both the strength and skill of the first settlers in our country as well as to the extensiveness of the Māori trade network which operated the length and breath of Aotearoa.

He iti toki, e rite ana ki te tangata.
Though the adze be small, yet does it equal a man.
- old Maori saying

¹⁰ ibid , pg 199

Bobby and Billy the Boxers

Ken Matthews

Robert (known as Bobby) Broadhurst was born in New Zealand in 1932. By the age of 16 he was a successful amateur flyweight boxer. (Flyweight is between 49kg and 52kg in weight). As a 16-year-old he competed in the 1948 New Zealand amateur flyweight boxing championship in Dunedin. He was runner-up in the championship. In 1949 he became the New Zealand flyweight champion, and again in 1951. In 1950 he represented New Zealand in the flyweight division at the 1950 British Empire Games in Auckland, where he lost his first-round match. The 1948 and 1950 defeats were the only losses of his boxing career which consisted of about 20 fights. He retired from boxing in 1951 at the age of 19 and died in 1970 at the age of 38.



Fig. 1 Participation Medal for the 1950 British Empire Games awarded to Robert Broadhurst. The medal was issued in bronze, however, this specimen was silver-plated by the recipient.

Dunedin was celebrating its centenary in 1948, and to mark the occasion a James Berry designed medal in both silver and bronze was produced. Altered versions of the medals were used as prize medals for sporting events held in Otago around the time of the centenary. The standard reverse of the medal was replaced with a simple wreath and space for engraving. (The same occurred with the Canterbury centenary medal of 1950). Silver prize medals were reserved for the more prestigious events. Bobby was presented with the silver prize medal illustrated in Fig. 2.

William (known as Billy) Seewitz was born in Melbourne Australia in 1931. His father had immigrated from Germany. As a young lad he became a newsboy selling newspapers on the streets of Melbourne. He too became a successful amateur boxer as a teenager. Billy was a welterweight. (Welterweight is between 63kg and 67kg in

weight). He was well known to Dandenong fight fans because of his frequent appearances at the Gippsland Boxing Championships. He became the Australian welterweight champion at Perth in 1949. He had over 50 fights in his career and lost only two. His mother acted as assistant trainer making sure Billy started his training at 5am each day and was involved with his training in the gym. Billy represented Australia in the welterweight division at the 1950 British Empire Games in Auckland. At the Games he won the preliminary rounds but was beaten in the final by an Englishman.



Fig. 2 The Otago Prize Medal awarded to Robert Broadhurst. Obverse (left) and reverse (right).

Billy was presented with a silver prize medal for the Games. This medal was designed by James Berry specifically as the Games prize medal and contains classical imagery. Unlike later Games medals it was not designed to be worn so has no suspender or ribbon. The medal given to Billy is shown in Figs 3.

Bobby and Billy may have known each other and would probably have met at the Empire Games in 1950. Both boxers lost only two fights during their boxing careers, and the medals illustrated were the only medals each one received following the loss of a fight.

Acknowledgements

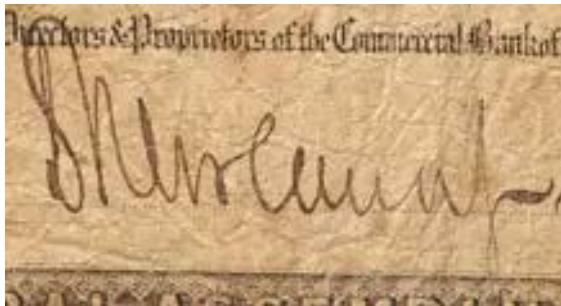
Fig. 1 Courtesy of Brett Delahunt. Figs. 2 and 3 are reproduced with permission of Noble Numismatics.



Fig. 3 Commonwealth Games Silver Medal awarded to William Seewitz. Obverse (left), reverse (right).

Addendum to Humberstone V, The issued Banknotes of the Commercial Bank of New Zealand. *New Zealand Numismatic Journal*. Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand, No. 104, January 2024.

The article recorded five surviving issued banknotes of the Commercial Bank of New Zealand, all in the one-pound denomination. Since publication, a sixth one-pound note has come to light. Details are: Serial number 2026 House of Huia New Zealand Numismatic Auction, 13 October 2024, West Plaza Hotel, Wellington, Lot 0225, sold. *Well worn and limp but complete and without any holes or major tears, good.* Counter-signed by John Maitland Jones (p. accountant), issued sometime between April 1865 and June 1866. The signatory for the chief manager, shown below, is unattributed.



The Donats Badge of the Order of St John

**Brett Delahunt FRNSNZ and
Todd Skilton, Librarian of the Order**

The Order of St John functions as a charity to provide first aid and pre-hospital care and as such, relies heavily on charitable donations.

The Order was incorporated by way of a Royal Charter issued by Queen Victoria; however, prior to that the Order was active in the United Kingdom as a private body. Any connection that the Order has with the crusading Hospitallers is somewhat tenuous although the Order appears to have been re-established in England in 1831. In 1857 the category of Donat was introduced and those who donated £5 or more had their names recorded, were issued with a demi-cross and could add the insignia to their heraldic arms. Details regarding the early insignia of the Order are sparse and it was not until the Statutes of 1862 that there is a mention of specific insignia for those who had made a charitable contribution to Order, although an illustration of the insignia had been published in 1857 (Fig.1). In the Statutes it was stated that "...the demi-badge of the Donats are worn from the button-hole". the only known example of this insignia is in the St John Museum in London (Fig 2).

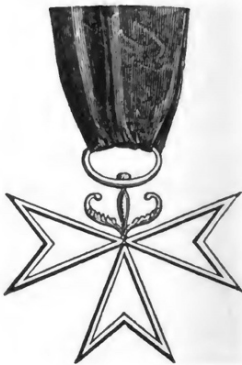


Fig.1 Illustration of a Donats Badge from *Synoptic Sketch of the Order of the Knights Hospitallers* by Sir R Brown, published in 1857.

**Demi-Badge of the
Donats.**



Fig. 2 Original Donats Badge of the Order.

In the first roll of the Order published in 1868 the name of Robert Phillips of 23 Cockspur St WS is listed as a Donat with effect from 1 April 1862. He is the only known recipient of the initial version of the Donats Badge.

The Statutes of 1871 also recognized the grade of Donat, which, while not denoting membership in the Order, was ranked between Honorary Associates of the Order and Serving Brothers and Sisters. The Royal Charter of 1888 altered the grades of the Order and now Donats were placed at the bottom of the list following Honorary Associates of the Order. Despite being recognized as having a significant role in the charitable work of the Order, at this time there was no provision for Donats to receive specific insignia. A list of Donats who had contributed at least one pound to the Order was reported to be maintained and Donats were entitled to receive the Annual Report of Chapter General. No Donats are listed in the roll of 1872; however, the roll of 1875 lists 12 Donats including Robert Phillips. Up until 1910 a further 16 Donats were listed. in the roll of the Order.

In the Annual Report published in 1910 it was noted that Donats receive neither a diploma nor any insignia, although a list was maintained, which at that time consisted of four names;

- Captain Charles Thiselton Urquhart MD RAMC late Assistant Commissioner Orange River Colony District, St John Ambulance Brigade
- Percy Ratcliffe Assistant Commissioner No V District, St John Ambulance Brigade (later appointed Honorary Associate).
- George Henry Usmar LRCP and S (Edin) Assistant Commissioner Orange River Colony District, St John Ambulance Brigade
- Lieut Colonel George Horne MD Assistant Commissioner Victoria District (Australia), St John Ambulance Brigade

In the 1911 Annual Report there was an announcement that; "A new badge (in gold, silver and bronze) has been instituted for the rank of Donat. A Donats Badge had been established. It will be remembered that Donats are persons who, from appreciation of the works of the Order, have contributed to its well-being by contributions to its funds or by personal service, but who are not qualified by sufficiently long continued service for admission to the Order as members or Honorary Associates, or who, not being members of the Christian faith, are unable to be admitted to any grade. It has long been the desire of the Chapter-General to recognise in some way the very valuable services being rendered by Mohammedans (*sic*) and members of other religions in India and elsewhere who, not being Christians, are ineligible for admission to the Order itself. It has therefore been decided that appreciation of these services may be shown by conferring on those whose names are submitted through the authorised channels the Badge and granting permission for them to be placed on the list of Donats, and that the names of such persons shall be subsequently published in the London Gazette. On the recommendation of the Chapter-General, His Royal Highness The Grand Prior approved, and His Majesty the Sovereign Head and Patron sanctioned, the addition of the eight names to the list of Donats was published in the London Gazette of 28 November 1911" (p 8969);

1911

His Highness Nawab Mir Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad

His Highness Maharaja Sir Krishnaraja Wadiar Bahadur GCSI of Mysore

His Highness Maharaja Sir Madho Rao Scindhia Bahadur GCSI GCVO of Gwalior

His Highness Maharajadhiraja Tukaji Rao Holkar Bahadur of Indore

His Highness Maharajadhiraja Sawai Sir Madho Singh Bahadur GCSI HCIE GCVO of Jaipur

His Highness Imam Baksh Mir of Khairpur

His Highness Ranjitsinhji Vibhaji Jam of Nawanagar

His Highness Sir Bane Singh KCIE Raja of Rajgarh

It was further stated that "the Donats Badge in gold is awarded to all those listed as special recognition of their services to the Ambulance Department in India, and it is understood these badges will be presented by His Majesty the King during his forthcoming visit to India to attend the Durbar".

It is apparent that the award of the Donats Badge was retrospective. As noted above four Donats were listed in the 1910 Annual Report. In the 1911 roll of the Order the four names are again listed while in the next roll, published in the 1915, the list of recipients of the Donats Badge included George Henry Usmar and Captain Charles Thistleton Urquhart MD, although no grade of Badge was specified. Of the other two Donats listed in the 1910 roll, Horne was appointed an Honorary Associate on 21 May 1912 (promoted to Esquire on 16 January 1920) and Ratcliff was appointed an Honorary Associate on 26 November 1912. It is likely that they did not receive a Donats Badge as they were never included amongst the list of recipients and were admitted into the Order just after the presentation of the initial gold awards at the Durbar on 14 December 1911. The 1931 roll lists Captain Charles Thistleton Urquhart MD as a recipient of the Bronze Badge dating from 25 February 1908, which pre-dates the institution of the Badge. By this time Usmar had been omitted from the list of Donats due to his appointment as Honorary Serving Brother on 19 March 1930.

The Insignia for a Donat followed the basic design alluded to in the statutes of 1864 being a demi-cross in white enamel with the upper limb of the cross replaced by an ornate abstract design in plain metal. The upper limb is smaller than the individual three enamelled limbs of the cross and incorporates two interlocking rings for suspension. Between the limbs of the cross are two unicorns and two lions representing the beasts of the Order (Figs. 3 to 5). While the grades of the badge were classified as Gold, Silver and Bronze, the actual composition of the first class badge is gold, being marked 18ct. The second class is unmarked silver while the third class badge is in unmarked bronze. In 1911 the insignia of the Order was manufactured by H T Lamb and Co and unlike the earlier insignia of the Order (then manufactured by Phillips and later Carrington) there is no maker's mark.

The dimensions of the cross are given in the Statutes of 1926 where it is stated that the insignia should not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across. This is surprisingly large for a breast badge as the dimensions of the cross exceeded those of the neck badge worn by Knights and Commanders of the Order which is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across. In 1974 the size of the cross was decreased being $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in maximum diameter for men and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in maximum diameter for women. In the 2003 regulations the size was standardized at $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches for both men and women. The Badge is suspended by a ribbon identical to that worn by Associates of the

Order from 1926 until 1974, being black with a central white stripe. The provision for the award of Donats Badges was retained in the 2018 Charter of the Order but not the Regulations and the award has been in abeyance since that time.



Figs. 3, 4 and 5.
Donat's Badge in Gold
(above). Silver Donats
Badge (below left).
Bronze Donats badge
(below right).



The reverse of the Badge is similar in construction to the grade 2 and grade 3 neck badges that were then being manufactured, as the cross is uniface with reverse reinforcement to the internal points of the cross (Fig. 6). As with contemporary neck badges and breast stars the detail on the beasts in the angles of the cross is present on both the obverse and reverse. Additionally the gold award was numbered on the reverse, while the silver and bronze awards were not numbered.



Fig. 6 Reverse of the Gold Donats Badge. Note issue number (18) on the upper limb of the cross and the proof mark (18ct) at the

While ~~the~~ ~~Gold Donats Badge~~, in subsequent Honours Lists silver and bronze badges were awarded, with the most common award being the Bronze issue. Not all recipients were included in the annual Honours List of the Order, published in the Report of Chapter General. Similarly not all awards were announced in the London Gazette. It would appear that notification in the Gazette was the exception rather than the rule and from 1926 no awards appeared in the Gazette.

The following names have been obtained from Annual Reports of Chapter General and the St John Ambulance Association, London Gazette entries, the various published rolls of the Order and other historical documents. Some of the sources identified the year but not the class of award; however, through cross-referencing of each of the sources consulted we have confidence that the roll up until 1980 is complete. (Names with an asterisk indicate that the recipient was promoted from a lower grade).

1913

Rai Bahadur Lieut Colonel Dhanpat Rai CIE (Gold)

1914

Major General His Highness Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Siromani Sri Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur GCSI GCIE GCVO GBE KCB ADC Maharaja of Bikaner (Gold)
Charles Ansell Emanuel (Bronze)

1916

Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal GCSI GCIE (Gold)
Shaikh Sir Muburah Bin Subah KCSI KCIE (Gold)
Major General His Highness Maharaja Sir Partab Singh GCSI GCIE (Gold)
Lady Mookerjee (Silver)
The Hon Mrs Eliot York (Silver)
Frederick Solomon Phillips (Silver)
Major St John Moses (Bronze)

1917

His Highness The Maharaja Lokendra Govind Singh KCSI Maharaja of Datia (Gold)
His Highness Raja Partab Singh CIE Raja of Ali Rajpur (Gold)
Captain His Highness Rana Sir Ranajit Singh CIE Rana of Barwani (Gold)
Dr Dhanjibhai Horsmasji Mehta (Silver)
Raja Rudra Pratap Deo of Bastar (Silver)
Maharaja Bahadur Raghunath Singh Deo of Sarguja (Silver)
Seth Narsingh Dass Mehta of Hinganhat (Bronze)
R Mitra (Bronze)
Miss Florence Piza (Bronze)

1918

Nathan Samuel Hamberger (Bronze)
Captain Francis Colby (Bronze)

1919

Frederick Solomon Phillips OBE [to be dated 30 June 2016] (Gold)*
Captain Arthur Cecil Abrahams (Silver)
Gladys Helen Rachel, The Lady Swaythling (Silver) Associate Commander of the Order 1933
Abraham Hamberger (Bronze)
Ho Kom Tong (Bronze)
Dosa Framji Panthaki (Bronze)
Dinsha Edalji Mahava (Bronze)
Gustaspji Nasservanji Gazder (Bronze) Associate Serving Brother of the Order 1930

1920

Syed Sajjad Husain (Bronze)

1921

Mendelsohn, Annie, Miss (Bronze)

1922

Captain Lawrence Lazarus Franks (Bronze) see 1930, listed twice

1923

The Countess of Desart (Silver)

Dosabhai Framji Panthaki MBE (Silver)* Associate Serving Brother of the Order
1930

Captain Lawrence Lazarus Franks (Bronze) Listed in 1922 also, Associate Officer
1930

Mrs Shirin Dosabhai Panthaki (Bronze)

Mansckshah Rustamji Patel (Bronze)

Captain Kaikasru Sorabji Patel MB (Bronze)

Shinn Manchar Lall LMS (Bronze)

Karunna Kumar Chatterjee FRCS (Bronze)

Captain Rai Bahadur Bhandari (Bronze)

Morris Yudleritz Young CIE MB (Bronze)

1924

His Highness Maharaja Shri Sir Ghanshyamsinhji Bahadur GCIE KCSI Raja Saheb
of Dhrangadhra (Gold)

Ho Kom Tong (Silver)* Associate Knight of Grace 1924

Sir Robert Ho Tung LLD (Silver) Associate Knight of Grace 1924

Major Karunna Kumar Chatterjee FRCS (Silver)*

G C Chatterjee (Bronze)

Raj Rana Mansinhji Dhrangadhra Dewan of Jhala (Bronze)

Joseph Grossman (Bronze) Associate Officer of the Order 1927

J M Ponnuswamy (Bronze)

1925

The Hon Khan Bahadur Sir Mian Fazl-i-Husain KCIE (Silver) Associate
Commander of the Order 1929

Lieut Colonel Sadar Sir Appji Rao Sitole KBE CIE (Silver)

Rao Sahib Dr U Rama Rau MCL (Silver)

1927

Mrs Christian Thornett (Bronze)

1929

George Doman (Bronze)

Major General Ganpat Rao Raghunath Rajwade (Bronze)

1930

The Rev Norman Ashby (Not specified, Bronze on roll)

It was noted in the Preface to 1931 roll that "in the appendix will be found the names of (*living*) Donats - wearers of Gold, Silver and Bronze badges - men and women who have contributed from time to time to the funds of the Order to help on its work for humanity to which it is devoted. For the most part these Donats are Indians who have shown their appreciation of the splendid training in First Aid being given in the Indian Empire by the St John Ambulance Association and the St John Ambulance brigade. Owing to the provision in the Statutes of 1926 for Associate Membership (for non-Christians), it would appear unlikely that the number of Donats will ever be large".

The last Gold Donats Badge was awarded in 1937 with silver gilt badges being awarded in 1954.

1932

His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar GCSI GCIE Maharaja of Baroda (Gold)

1933

Chau Man Chi (Silver)

Thomas Chapman (Bronze)

1934

Aw Boon Haw (Silver)

Ip Kwai Chung (Bronze)

1937

Tang Pak Kau (Bronze)

Samuel Saltzman (Gold)

1940

Mathuradas Khalidas Metha (bronze)

1945

Mrs. Laura Field (Bronze)

Mrs. Dubern Margot (Bronze)

1948

Mary L Cross, Mrs Nivison (Bronze)

1949

Tang Shin Kin MBE (Silver)

1950

Wentworth John Winterbottom (Bronze)

Kong Cheng Whun (Bronze)

1951

Senor R Jimeno Pertuz (Bronze)

1954

Run Run Shaw (Silver gilt)

Runme Shaw (Silver gilt)

Lee Kong Chian (Silver gilt)

Mr Uttamran (Silver gilt)

Richard Francisco Samuel De Mel (Silver)

Gate Mudaliyar Naganather Canaganyagam OBE (Silver)

A P Cosmas (Silver)

Dhirajalal Khimchand Mody (Silver)

Mrs Yvonne Gulamhusein (Bronze)

Major D N Rockwood (Bronze)

T Sabaratnam (Bronze)

1956

Mrs Aw Boon Haw (Silver)

1964

Jeremy Tudor (Bronze)

After 1980 no awards are listed in the roll of the Order and the award of the Donats cross was devolved to each of the Pories. Record keeping relating to Donats Badge recipients was also devolved to Pories and this appears to be patchy at best. Interestingly the Donats Badge is listed in the Order of Wear Regulations from 1926 to 1970 after which it no longer appears. It seems that no awards were made in the Australia and New Zealand. Awards were made in Canada; however, enquiries made to the Priory of Canada were unrevealing. It is known that Donats Badges were recently manufactured in base metal by Charles Drouin of Quebec. A number of these have appeared on the collectors market although the number issued and the details of the recipients are not held in central Priory records. Interestingly it was noted in a press release that a Donats Badge in Diamonds was issued to Sidney Sharman in June 2006 to recognize an outstanding contribution of one million Canadian dollars to the Order in Canada. This was effectively unofficial as such an award was not sanctioned in the Regulations of the Order. In 2012 Canada replaced Donats Badge with a St John Medallion for Excellence in Philanthropy.

A single award of a Silver Donats badge was made in the United Kingdom in 1999. The recipient was Urs Schwarchzenbach who founded the foreign exchange company *Interexchange*. In 2003 this was replaced by his appointment as Officer of the Order and in 2008 he was promoted to Commander.

Three Donats Badges were awarded to New Zealanders. In 1921 Annie Mendelsohn was awarded a bronze Badge for her work as a Nursing Superintendent of the St John Ambulance Brigade. In 1933 Thomas Chapman was also awarded a bronze Badge in recognition of small donations made over many years that by 1933 had totalled £300. The third recipient was Samuel Saltzman who received a gold Donats Badge following a donation of £7000 for the building of Dunedin St John Headquarters and the provision of the first ambulance fleet in Dunedin. In addition to this he provided a substantial endowment to St John.

All grades of the Donats Badge (1911-1964 issue) are of exceptional rarity, with the actual numbers of awards being: Gold 20, Silver-gilt 4, Silver 22 and Bronze 47.

Acknowledgement

The illustration of the first issue of the Donats Badge (Fig. 2) is courtesy of the Museum of the Order of St John with photography by Noonans Mayfair, with thanks to Christopher Mellor-Hill.

The Birth of Money

Wayne Newman FRNSNZ

Last year Simon & Schuster published David McWilliams' well-received *Money: A Story of Humanity*. For many numismatists the first two chapters of *Money* are likely to be their introduction to the unimaginably remote epochs being discussed. It is therefore to be regretted that these chapters offer examples of critical steps for the development of money that are millennia too late in each case.

McWilliams begins with the Ishango Bone, cited as "the first archaeological evidence of counting, which may even have been rudimentary bookkeeping" [p.10] and "an extremely early recording technology" [p.16]. The Ishango Bone is a highly modified 10 cm length of baboon femur found within the Congo basin. It has three parallel series of grooves cut along its length and has been dated to 22,000 to 20,000 BP (Before the Present, i.e. years ago).

McWilliams speculates that the bone was a commercial tally stick with each line representing a debt. This is the interpretation most widely rejected by those who have studied the bone. Joseph, Huylebrouck and Plester specifically dismiss the bone as a tally stick. Claudia Zaslavsky and Alexander Marshack separately point towards it being a lunar calendar.

If the bone were evidence of potential counting and record keeping, however, it is possible to look back into the Upper Palaeolithic period to artifacts more remotely in the past from the creators of the Ishango Bone even than those creators are from us. Part of a ruminant jaw with a flint point affixed and eleven incised grooves was recovered from the Blombos cave in South Africa and dated to 77,000 BP. The Lebombo Bone, dated between 44,200 and 43,000 BP, is a baboon's fibula with 29 distinct grooves along one facet, discovered in a cave in Eswatini (formerly Swaziland). This has been identified as a tally stick and the first evidence of mathematical thought by d'Errico. The so-called Wolf Bone discovered in 1937 in Czechoslovakia by Karl Absolon dates to approximately 30,000 BP. The bone is marked with 55 marks which Absolon argued were tally marks.

Keller, Choyka and Kapcar identify these latter bones as artifacts of what has been called the "Upper Palaeolithic Revolution" of 45,000-30,000 BP. This is the period that produced the earliest evidence of mining (of red ochre for paint, also in Eswatini), cave art, flutes, carved depictions of human forms, notational signage, ocean-going boats and polished stone tools. The oldest ceramic sculpture, the Venus of Dolní Věstonice, dates to 29,000 BP.

Technological advances included significant developments in tool manufacturing. Microliths (minute flint flakes set into bone or wooden composite tools as blades) replaced simpler, larger flakes. Archaeologists can differentiate and classify tools into many different categories from 45,000 BP, each with a specific purpose, such as projectile points, engraving tools, knife blades or drilling and piercing tools. Burins were used to work bone, antler and hides. Advanced darts and harpoons also appear in this period, along with the fishhook, the oil lamp, rope, and the eyed needle. Fishing of pelagic fish species and navigating the open ocean is evidenced by sites from Timor and the Solomon Islands.

Notational signs, used next to images of animals, appeared in Europe as early as c.37,000 BP, and are argued to be the earliest proto-writing: symbols were used in combination to convey seasonal behavioural information about hunted animals. Lines and dots were apparently used interchangeably to denote lunar months, while the (Y) sign apparently signified "To give birth". These characters were seemingly combined to convey the breeding period of hunted animals. A need to recall and impart increasingly complex information appears to be the driver of painted symbols and notched bones or sticks that served as mnemonic aids.

It is possible that the Ishango Bone served a purpose similar to the ceremonial sticks recently found in Cloggs Cave in eastern Victoria and dated to 12,000-11,000 BP. Identical to those documented in use by the medicine men and women of the local GunaiKurnai Aboriginal tribe in the nineteenth century, fashioning and using these sticks had assisted to pass knowledge down through 500 generations.

On two points in his speculation about the Ishango Bone, however, McWilliams is almost certainly correct: the role of debt in the development of money, and the role of human beings as a "base currency" [p.16]. While slavery across Africa took many forms, within African cultures it was primarily associated with debt, distinct from the capture and export of slaves that continued from the time of the New Kingdom in Egypt (3,550 BP) into the nineteenth century. In the upper Congo Basin, however, eyewitness accounts describe the purchase, butchering, and eating of slaves as a "daily-life activity, free from strong emotions", seen by those who practised it as not essentially different from the eating of goats and other animals.

If the concept of money emerged from the exchange of gifts and repayment of debts, it must necessarily have been preceded by an appreciation of value, and this may be discerned in the emergence of exchanges of the most desirable stones for toolmaking, or shells or obsidian, in the Upper Palaeolithic and the emergence of long-distance trade routes for such commodities in use from the late Upper Palaeolithic through the Mesolithic era (12,000 – 8,000 BP) into the Neolithic.

By the time of Sumer, where McWilliams leads us next, commodity trading had existed for millennia. The concepts of debt and interest had been in use for millennia before the debt incurred by Kushim came to be recorded sometime before 5,000 BP, despite McWilliams view that this was revolutionary [p.23]. In fact, there is nothing about this cuneiform document to suggest Kushim was an individual, rather than a place or institution. McWilliams' speculation that the barley was borrowed by Kushim to brew beer is fanciful.

Sumer was the name given by the Semitic inhabitants of northern and central Iraq to the lands of a non-Semitic people who had settled the deltas of the Tigris and Euphrates. The Sumerians called their land *Kengir* and referred to themselves as *sag-gig* – Black-Headed Ones. Their origin is unknown. Their language has no known relative. They traced their ancestral home to *Dilmun*. A Semitic civilisation along the southern coast of the Persian Gulf in the third millennium BC had no linguistic connection to Sumer but had this name. It is speculated from this that the origins of Sumer lie within the basin of the Persian Gulf before it was flooded progressively from about 12,500 to 6,000 BP.

The Sumerian city of Uruk is considered the earliest. Its pyramidal mud-brick *Anu Ziggurat* was founded around 6,100 BP. Uruk is approximately 250 km south of modern Baghdad on the Euphrates; the name Iraq derives from it. By 5,300 BP, Uruk was a walled city with a population of approximately 50,000.

The Sumerians themselves credited the city of Eridu, 90 km south of Uruk, as the first city, pushing the origins of urbanisation back almost another millennium. This earlier period is called the Ubaid period by archaeologists, who acknowledge that the Uruk period is a continuation with only a gradual change in pottery styles distinguishing the two.

From as early as 7,000 BP Sumer demonstrated core agricultural techniques, including organised irrigation, large-scale intensive cultivation, monocropping involving the use of plough and oxen, and the use of an agricultural specialised labour force under bureaucratic control. The necessity to manage temple accounts with this organisation led to the development of writing from c. 5,500 BP.

The earliest pictograms record that sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs were already domesticated; oxen, donkeys and wild asses were used for transport, and woollen clothing as well as rugs were made. Mud-brick houses with hinged and lockable doors contained beds, stools, chairs and hearths, and enclosed gardens planted with trees, lettuce, garlic, onions, chickpeas and leeks, and containing pot plants.

Early Sumerian pottery was professionally produced, plentiful and sophisticated. Specialised containers for honey, butter, oil, wine and beer indicate established specialised agricultural industries.

Sumerian artefacts used fine semi-precious stones, such as lapis lazuli, marble, alabaster, serpentine and diorite, and precious metals like hammered gold, silver, copper and bronze, along with shells and gemstones, for the finest sculptures and inlays. None of these occurs naturally on the Tigris-Euphrates plain.

The Epic of Gilgamesh (recounting a fictional journey of an actual Sumerian king of Uruk of c. 4,800 BP) refers to trade with far lands for goods, such as wood, that were scarce in Sumer. Cedar from Lebanon, obsidian from Anatolia and lapis lazuli from northeast Afghanistan, beads from Bahrain, seals inscribed with the Indus Valley script and resin from as far away as Mozambique suggest a remarkably wide-ranging network of ancient trade. The Sumerians were, in fact, entirely dependent on trade; the microliths and then the copper for the very blades of the sickles used to harvest their wheat and barley crops had to be imported.

It was for these crops specifically that McWilliams looks to Sumer as a model for “a base money tied to, and given intrinsic value by, a commodity like grain” and explains, “In Sumer (in present-day south-central Iraq), for instance, one shekel was equivalent to a bushel of barley. The shekel could be counted and traded easily. The granary, one of the most important institutions in any ancient city, regulated the supply of grain and thereby the supply of money, much like a modern-day central bank.” [p.22]

This elevation of the importance of the granary inverts the relationship of temple, palace and granary in Sumer. The palace and temple of each Sumerian city owned multiple granaries, as they also owned breweries, warehouses and workshops for leather, rope, woollen goods, pottery and luxury goods.

Shekel derives from the Semitic Akkadian *siqlu*, from *šaqaļu*, ‘to weigh’, but also ‘to pay’, and was equivalent to the earlier Sumerian *gin*². It was a unit of weight of c.8.33g-9.65g. A bushel, however, is a unit of volume. Used to measure an amount of grain, the weight of a bushel will vary depending on the type and condition of the grain. A bushel of modern wheat weighs about 27 Kg while a bushel of barley weighs about 22 Kg.

It is clear from this, as much as it is obvious from McWilliams’ statement, that the bushel of barley was not being valued by its grain content. A bushel of barley was worth a shekel of another commodity entirely: silver.

Several commodities functioned as money concurrently within the ancient Middle East: barley, lead, copper or bronze, tin, silver and gold. Of these, barley and silver had the widest circulation. Even earlier than grain or silver, debt documents themselves were used as money. The archaeological evidence clearly supports the argument that money emerged from debt, rather than debt emerging from money.

The large institutions of Sumer kept their accounts in barley and silver, often with a fixed rate between them. Obligations, loans and prices in general were usually denominated in one or the other. Many transactions involved debt, for example goods consigned to merchants by temples or beer advanced by "ale women".

Commercial credit and agricultural consumer loans are the main types of debt seen in the records. Commercial credit was extended by temples to finance trade expeditions and was denominated in silver. The interest rate came to be set at $1/60$ a month (one shekel per mina) sometime before 4,000 BP and it remained at that level for about two thousand years. Rural loans commonly arose as a result of unpaid obligations due to an institution (such as a temple). The arrears were considered to be lent to the debtor. They were denominated in barley usually, but other crops or animals or products of workshops due to the creditor might be used to denominate the loan. The interest rate was typically $1/3$ to $1/2$ of the principal.

There is a wealth of research on the origin and evolution of money before it enters the historical record, already fully developed, in the first written records made in Sumer c.5,500 BP. Just as it had in its discussion of the origins of notation, number sense and counting in the Upper Palaeolithic, *Money* adds nothing to this body of knowledge of the development of the concepts of money in the Neolithic period and appears not to have referred to it or been fully aware of it.

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Myth and Mystery ; The 1879 New Zealand Penny

Vaughn Humberstone

The rare 1879 New Zealand penny (Table 1 and Fig. 1), was first catalogued by James Atkins of London in 1889 in *Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire* who listed it amongst tradesmen's tokens (Fig. 2). In 1939 Allan Sutherland (*Numismatic History of New Zealand Part 3, Tokens of New Zealand*) was the first numismatist to investigate the background of this piece. According to Sutherland, in 1879 a suggestion was made that tradesmen's tokens be called in, to be replaced with halfpennies and pennies of Imperial design only.

Table 1 Features of the 1879 New Zealand Penny

Diameter	31 mm
Weight	9.182g to 9.252g
Composition	Bronze
Edge	Plain
Rim	Beaded
Die alignment	↑ ↑
Circa	1879-1886
Maker	Joseph Moore, Birmingham
Die varieties	1 obverse die and 1 reverse die
Obverse	Effigy of Queen Victoria facing left, wearing a laurel of 11 leaves and 7 berries, tied with a ribbon at the back. The legend VICTORIA QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN is circular above, with a bouquet of a single thistle (signifying Scotland), rose (England) and shamrock (Ireland) below.
Reverse	Britannia seated looking right, clad in folds of classical flowing robes. She is wearing sandals and a plumed helmet, and holds a trident in her right hand. In her left hand is a sprig of olive with 6 leaves, resting on an upright shield emblazoned with the Union Jack. To the left of Britannia is a partially submerged anchor in front of the prow of a boat, upon which a dolphin is depicted. The legend NEW ZEALAND is circular above, with the date 1879 below.



Fig. 1. The 1879 New Zealand penny.

279. *O*: Head of queen laureate. Rose, shamrock and thistle under. VICTORIA QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN.
R: Britannia seated, holding shield and trident. NEW ZEALAND 1879.

Fig. 2 The first listing of the 1879 New Zealand penny, from page 370 of *Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, by James Atkins, 1889.

A proposal was made that New Zealand should have its own bronze coinage, and Joseph Moore of the firm of Allen & Moore in London struck 20 pattern coins before the proposal was rejected. These patterns were permitted to go into circulation, and the dies were destroyed in 1886. Much of the information stated by Sutherland was taken from a newspaper article that appeared in *The Dominion* newspaper, 25 November 1933, p. 9 (The 1879 Penny, Dominion's Rarest Coin). The claims made have been repeated by subsequent numismatists, such as Skinner, 1965 (*Renniks New Zealand Coinage Guide*) and Robb, 1976 (*Coins, Tokens and Banknotes of New Zealand*). The 1879 New Zealand penny continues to be listed as a pattern piece in catalogues, auction sites and in other numismatic publications. This article investigates how much of this story is true, and whether or not there is a more likely explanation for the existence of the 1879 New Zealand penny.

Copper coins were demonetised in Great Britain on 31 December 1869, but continued to be received by the Royal Mint at face value until 1873. Moves were then made to withdraw copper coin from the various colonies. In April 1874 the Earl of Carnarvon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to officials in New Zealand offering to redeem withdrawn copper coin at its face value up until 31 March 1875. The Governor, Sir James Fergusson, wrote a reply in November 1874 advising against withdrawing any copper coin before a sufficient supply of bronze coin could be procured. The deadline for receiving copper coin at face value was then extended to 30 June 1876. In April 1875 the Premier, Sir Julius Vogel, who was in London at the time, directed the Agent-General for New Zealand to procure a supply of £6,000 in bronze coin for the colony. On 1 May 1875 the Deputy-Master of the Royal Mint advised that all coins ordered would be ready for shipment within three months. These were to be shipped in four equal amounts to Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. It was on this basis that a government Gazette was issued on 16 September 1875, containing a proclamation by the Governor dated 24 August 1875, stating that copper coin would be demonetised in New Zealand on 31 January 1876. This proclamation was supplemented by a Treasury notice, dated 30 August 1875, informing the public that on 31 January 1876 also, tokens would be 'interdicted' (i.e. prohibited). This announcement discouraged any further orders for tradesmen's tokens. However, there were delays in the production run at either the Royal Mint or Heaton & Sons of Birmingham, where many of the coins were being struck. This is highlighted by the fact that the shipment bound for Dunedin did not arrive until March 1876. This would have caused delays in copper coin being withdrawn and shipped back to the Royal Mint in London. Presumably, the deadline for receiving copper coin at face value would have been extended further beyond 30 June 1876. The arrival of this bronze coinage finally put an end to the shortages of coinage that had plagued the colony since its inception in 1840. At the time New Zealand had a population of 356,963. A total of £6,000 equates to 3s 4d (40d) of bronze coin per person.

From the above, it is clear that the 1879 New Zealand penny was not a pattern for a proposed coinage. Any such proposal, if it existed, would have been made in 1874-1875. There are no Parliamentary records of such a proposal ever being considered, either in 1879 or in any other year. Nor is such a proposal mentioned in any contemporary newspapers. Furthermore, colonial governments did not have the authority to strike their own coins anyway. Joseph Moore is easily confirmed as having struck the 1879 New Zealand penny, because he recycled both the obverse and reverse design from one of his unsuccessful patterns submitted to the Royal Mint for the new bronze coinage of 1860 (Fig. 3). However, Joseph Moore was based in Birmingham, not London, and the partnership of John Allen and Joseph Moore had been dissolved in 1854. The 1879 New Zealand penny is not as rare as previously



Fig. 3. One of Joseph Moore's pattern coins.

Image courtesy of <https://headsntails14.wordpress.com/joseph-moore>

believed. Lampard, 1981 (*A Catalogue of New Zealand Coins, Currency Tokens, Presbyterian Communion Tokens and Banknotes*) estimated a mintage of between 100 to 200. Pepping, 2017 (*New Zealand History Coined, Coins of New Zealand*) states that nearly all surviving examples emanate from two bulk lots. One lot consisted of 45 pieces (purchased by Baldwin at a Sotheby auction in 1912). The other lot consisted of 82 pieces, but this was an unspecified mixture of Milner & Thompson tokens and 1879 pennies (offered for sale by Sotheby in 1916, also purchased by Baldwin). The auction catalogue listing for this lot is shown in Fig. 4. These two lots combine to give a mintage figure between 45 to 127. Surviving specimens always turn up in near-uncirculated condition, confirming that this piece never circulated. The dies, however, do appear to have been destroyed in 1886.

198 An Australian Shilling, with engine-turned borders in *white-metal* and *copper*; Sixpence, similar, in *silver* and *copper* (2); Hedberg's Mules (2); Milner and Thompson and New Zealand Pennies, 1879 (82), *all brilliant re-strikes* 91

Fig. 4. The listing of Lot 198 from an auction catalogue of Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, situated at No. 13 Wellington Street, The Strand, London. This auction took place on 3-4 August 1916, with the property of the late Edmund Shorthouse, Esq., sold by order of the deceased, taking place upon the commencement the second day of the auction.

https://archive.org/details/catalogueofvalua00soth_30/page/n3/mode/2u

Edmund Shorthouse was an avid collector and close friend of Joseph Moore. In late 1886 he uncovered dies for the 1860 pattern coinage in Moore's warehouse at 13 Pitford Street, Hockley, Birmingham. Also uncovered were the dies for the 1879 New Zealand penny. With Moore's permission, he made restrikes before all the dies were destroyed in December 1886. This chain of events is supported by the fact that, as stated by Pepping, 2017, the two bulk lots of 1879 New Zealand pennies previously mentioned were both from the estate of Edmund Shorthouse. The second of these lots was from his deceased estate.

If the 1879 New Zealand penny was not a pattern, then why was it struck? One possible explanation was that it was a sample piece of J. Moore's work, struck so that it could be shown to potential clients. However, by 1879 J. Moore had already established himself as one of the best die-sinkers of his time, much in demand and with a very impressive portfolio of previous works. Thus it is unlikely that he would have needed to go to the expense of striking sample pieces.

A clue as to why this piece was struck is given in an article by John Sharples, 1988, entitled *The Kangaroo Office, A nineteenth century sting*. In this article, Sharples debunks a number of myths regarding W.J. Taylor and the establishment of the so-called Kangaroo Office in Melbourne in 1854. It is often stated that W.J. Taylor struck a series of silver and copper pattern tokens for circulation in Australia, but failed to gain the authority to circulate them. However, these pieces were actually struck as fantasy concoctions for collectors in England, who were duped into believing that they were legitimate patterns. In the latter half of the 1800s, a number of die sinkers and medallists in England engaged in this practise, striking pieces solely for the collector's market. W.J. Taylor was certainly one such medallist, striking such pieces from the 1850s until the 1880s (including a number of mules of the New Zealand token issues of H.J. Hall and L. Levy). It is quite possible that J. Moore did likewise, with the 1879 New Zealand penny being one such example. In fact, this is the only explanation for this piece's existence that is plausible.

It is known that Edmund Shorthouse was a conduit for the works of both W.J. Taylor and J. Moore. Furthermore, J. Moore was certainly no stranger to the New Zealand numismatic scene. In 1862 he was quite likely to have at least engraved the dies for the tokens of S. Hague Smith, given their similarity with Moore's Prince Albert Death & Mourning medal of 1861. He engraved the dies for New Zealand's first medal, the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition medal, regarded by many as the high-point of New Zealand medal design. In 1874 Moore then struck the tokens of the Auckland Licensed Victuallers' Association, using that same obverse design from his 1860 pattern coins. Like W.J. Taylor's fantasy pieces, the 1879 New Zealand penny is quite likely to have been passed off as a pattern. Such a concocted story behind its origins would have given this piece a legitimacy, thus increasing its value.

There is no confirmation of the 1879 New Zealand penny actually existing before 1886. Any distribution prior to this, if it existed, would have been very limited. Although dated 1879, the dies may have been engraved after this date and given an earlier false date of 1879. It was not listed by Stainsfield, a London dealer and collector, in 1883 (*Descriptive Catalogue of Australian Tradesmen's Tokens*). This is despite the fact that Stainsfield did list W.J. Taylor's much rarer mules of the Hall and Levy tokens. It appears that Edmund Shorthouse had this piece restruck so that he could either distribute it himself or supply it to third parties for distribution. Inevitably specimens made their way to New Zealand, with one recorded as being in the collection of the Colonial Museum in 1905. In 1905 also, this piece was valued by W. Carew Hazlitt, a numismatic writer, at £3 15s. However, it seems likely that the distribution of the 1879 New Zealand penny was a failed commercial venture by Edmund Shorthouse, with the majority of examples seen today being unsold in his lifetime. Edmund Shorthouse died in 1916. It is telling that at the time, prominent dealers Sotheby regarded the 1879 penny so poorly that they included the remaining specimens in the same lot as the common Milner & Thompson tokens. The 1879 New Zealand penny has come to be regarded as part of the New Zealand numismatic series, even though it has no connection to New Zealand. Rather than being erroneously listed as a pattern, the 1879 New Zealand penny should be listed alongside New Zealand's only other fantasy pieces – the fantasy crowns of Edward VIII (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 The 1936 New Zealand fantasy crown of Edward VIII

The 1936 New Zealand fantasy crown of Edward VIII, was struck in 1954 by John Pinches of London for Geoffrey Hearn. This was part of an international series, with pieces also struck for other countries, all with the same obverse. Restrikes were made in 1972 by the Pobjoy Mint, with the kiwi and the king facing in different

directions to the 1954 strikes. Unlike the 1879 New Zealand penny, there is no misconception as to the origins of this piece. Also, unlike the 1879 penny, it has a distinctively New Zealand design.

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Additional editorial comment

It appears that there were larger hoards of the pattern penny known, including to Allan Sutherland, although Sutherland maintained that there were about 20 in his Numismatic History of New Zealand text.

In the New Zealand Numismatic Journal of July-October 1949, vol 5, No 3, p97, an article reports that Mr L J Dale found a circulated example of the 1879 penny, which was placed in the Canterbury Museum. He claimed that this specimen supported Sutherland's suggestion that they circulated.

The New Zealand Numismatic Journal, Vol 7 January-April 1953, p29, published a census of owners of the penny, listing twenty examples. In vol 7 No 4, January-August 1954, p97, of the journal, a further five examples were reported held, all mint red.

All are unattributed reports.

Institutional Medals Designed by James Berry

Ken Matthews

Institutional medals as discussed in this article are defined as medals designed to be used solely as prize medals by academic, professional, scientific, trade, and club/society bodies, which by their nature are produced in very small numbers.

Often one such medal is awarded each year by an institution with a limited timespan of use. Typically between 5 and 20 of each medal are manufactured. The design of some medals changed over time if the medals remain in long term use.

The book *The Image Maker* by J.R. Tye (which is James Berry's biography and details his stamp, coin, and medal designs) contains a list of 30 James Berry designed medals under the heading of Institutional Medals. I would personally exclude some of those listed as not fitting the definition of an institutional medal as defined above, namely;

- 1950 Empire Games Participation Medal
- 1950 Empire Games Prize Medal
- 1956 Wellington Chamber of Commerce Centennial Medal
- 1967 Whakatane National Stamp Exhibition Medal
- 1972 Wellington National Stamp Exhibition
- 1976 Canterbury Drainage Board Centennial Medal.

These exclusions (which are either not prize medals, and/or are produced in significant numbers) are consistent with the MacMaster & Purdy commemorative medals catalogue which includes all the medals listed above, but none of the other 24 medals listed by Tye. As discussed later, I am also of the opinion that Tye may have missed other institutional medals by James Berry.

Because institutional medals were struck and awarded in very small numbers, and those awarded become family treasures and are not generally sold, very few appear on the open market, and usually those that do are unawarded medals. As a consequence James Berry's institutional medals are very rare and not generally well known to collectors.

The unawarded medals appear to have been specimens retained by the manufacturer Mayer & Kean, that subsequently went into the Sutherland collection, and later into the Noble collection. Several unnamed examples recently came on to the market in the sale of the Noble collection of New Zealand commemorative medals. None were catalogued as being James Berry designs.

The first institutional medal designed by James Berry was the 1935 New Zealand Aero Club Medal which Berry designed when he was aged 29 (illustrated in *The*

Image Maker but no image is available online). The next institutional medals listed by Tye are from 1940 - the New Zealand Institution of Engineers Centennial Medal (Fig. 1) and the New Zealand Association of Scientific Workers Research Medal. How Berry obtained the commissions for these medals is uncertain but by 1940 he already had a reputation for designing medals and coins (including the 1935 Bledisloe Medal and 1940 Centennial Medal for the New Zealand Numismatic Society, and the iconic 1935 Waitangi Crown), and was probably able to make contacts through his membership of the Numismatic Society of New Zealand.



Fig. 1 New Zealand Institute of Engineers Centennial Medal

Berry seems to have developed a working relationship with the University of Otago, producing several prize medals for the university from 1947 (or perhaps earlier – see below) to 1956. In 1947 he produced the McCallum Medal (Fig. 2) and the Colquhoun Medal (Fig. 3) both of which are still awarded for clinical medicine. In 1956 the Inkster Ross Medal was produced being awarded for public health and social medicine, and the Michaelis Medal for research in physics.

Berry also produced institutional medals for other medical-related bodies, including;

- 1950 Watvic Jubilee Medal for Merit in Radiography (Fig. 4)
- 1952 New Zealand Institute of Opticians Gilbert Medal
- 1964 New Zealand Society of Anaesthetists ICI Medal
- 1967 Pharmaceutical Society of New Zealand Medal.

Another sector for which Berry produced institutional medals was the engineering and construction sector, including;

- 1940 New Zealand Institution of Engineers Centennial Medal
- 1952 New Zealand Institute of Fire Engineers Wallace Memorial Medal
- 1956 New Zealand Institute of County Engineers Medal
- 1957 New Zealand Institute of Draughtsmen A.M.L. Armstrong Medal
- 1967 New Zealand Master Builders Federation Apprenticeship Medal.

Fig.5 illustrates a very rare example of an awarded medal that has come onto the market. It is the New Zealand Institute of Draughtsmen's A.M.L. Armstrong Award awarded to J.K. Lavins in 1959.



Fig. 2 The McCallum Medal of the University of Otago.



Fig. 3 The Colquhoun Memorial Medal of the University of Otago.



Fig. 4 Watvic Award for Radiography

The science sector was another area for these medals, including;

- 1940 Association of Scientific Workers Research Medal
- 1954 New Zealand Association of Scientists Medal
- 1956 Department of Scientific and Industrial Research E.R Cooper Memorial Medal
- 1956 Association of Scientific Workers Medal
- 1959 Royal Society of New Zealand Sir Peter Buck Memorial Medal for social sciences.

There has also been a James Berry institutional medal produced for an overseas entity. This is the 1973 University of Melbourne Sir William Upjohn Medal awarded for distinguished services to medicine in Australia. I speculate that this came about through Berry's association with the Otago Medical School.



Fig. 5 New Zealand Institute of Draughtsmen Armstrong Medal

The New Zealand Library Association (1945), the National Rose Society (1952), and the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration (1959) also have Berry designed institutional medals.

I am of the opinion that Tye's list of Berry's institutional medals may be incomplete. I state this because there are other unattributed institutional medals that have characteristics that suggest Berry was the designer.

A medal that I believe may be designed by Berry is the William Ledingham Christie Medal (Fig. 6). The evidence that it is designed by Berry is as follows;

1. The medal was produced for the University of New Zealand for award to a student of the Otago Medical School, and Berry has done several known medals for the University of Otago Medical School. 2. The obverse design of the medal is similar to the known Berry medical school medals shown in Figs. 2 and 3 - i.e. arms in centre, legend in marked outer circle, laurel wreath on reverse. 3. The reverse laurel wreath on the medal is identical to the laurel wreaths on the reverse of Figs. 2 and 3. 4. Small decorations at base of outer circle are seen on both sides in Figs. 1, 2, and 5. The medal is unnamed suggesting it comes from the same source as the known Berry unnamed institutional medals.



Fig. 6 University of New Zealand William Ledingham Christie Prize in Applied Anatomy

The William Ledingham Christie Prize was established in 1922. Originally it was a cash grant to the recipient and was funded by Christie's widow, so may not have initially included a medallic component. There is a photo in the Trotter Anatomy Museum of the Medical School showing a medal named to W.G. Davidson and dated 1939 which has the identical design as Fig. 6. If Berry produced the Christie Prize Medal in 1939 (or earlier), this would make it a very early Berry medal. His first two medals are

currently believed to have been produced in 1935 (Aero Club and Bledisloe medals), with the next in 1940.

The founding President of the Numismatic Society of New Zealand in 1931 was Sir James Elliott. Berry joined the Society in 1932. At that time Elliott was a prominent doctor and undertook medical training at the Otago University Medical School. So it seems highly likely that Berry established his connection with the Otago Medical School through Elliott.

All these factors, taken together, strongly suggest that the William Ledingham Christie Prize is a Berry design from the late 1930's.

There may be other medals produced for universities, or in conjunction with the 1940 centennial celebrations, or for other institutions, that at present remain unrecognised as Berry institutional medals. Examples of such medals are shown in Figs. 7 and 8. These medals require further research to determine if they are Berry designs, but have characteristics that point to Berry;

1. They have design features that resemble known Berry designs.
2. They were made by Mayer and Kean.
3. They are from the correct time period.
4. They are unnamed suggesting they came from the same source as the known Berry unnamed institutional medals.



Fig. 7 New Zealand Centennial Exhibition International Salon of Photography Medal



Fig. 8 The Horological Society Fellowship Award

James Berry's institutional medals are not well known or recognized. As noted earlier there are several reasons for this; they were each produced in small numbers, they rarely come onto the open market as they are held by awardees families, and they are not documented or discussed anywhere except for the list in *The Image Maker*. It does; however, seem that this list is incomplete.

Acknowledgement

The illustrations are reproduced with permission of Noble Numismatics.

Manual Numbering of New Zealand Paper Banknotes

Peter Nagels

Legal tender banknotes must have regular, logical numbering sequences. When issuing fresh new banknotes, orderliness is considered normal as it avoids confusion. Not surprisingly, breakdowns, breakages, spills or simple mistakes will occasionally occur in any workplace. Even in a strict, secure, orderly business with tight work practices, such as the security printing of banknotes, mishaps do occur. Therefore in order to maintain sequence and order, replacement of faulty banknotes in the printing process was managed in the following ways:

1. In earlier times, such as the days prior to the introduction of decimal currency, individually manually numbered notes were used to replace the faulty example.
2. Then later the insertion of starred (asterisk) replacement notes was the method employed.
3. Following the discontinuation of starred replacement, individually manually numbered notes were used to ensure the top and bottom notes of packs with last 3 digits 001 and 100(0) were always correct.

This article mainly focuses on manually numbered notes (item 3 above) and covers NZ *paper* banknotes only. It highlights examples from the different eras of NZ banknote issues. Normal star replacement notes are also mentioned in this article to give context, but with less detail.

Polymer note production has a different process and is not covered in this article.

1. As noted above prior to the advent of decimal currency, individually manually numbered notes were used as illustrated in Fig. 1. This is a 10 shilling note of the 10/- Hanna signature issue: series 2/47 003617-18. Have collectors seen renumbered examples?
2. Starred (asterisk) replacement notes were used in New Zealand from 1970 to 1989.
3. Manual numbering of banknotes (sometimes called a hand numbered replacement) was time consuming, and therefore banknote production incurred extra costs. Hence the starred replacement method was adopted by many printers. In New Zealand this commenced in the early 1970's by De La Rue printers from the United Kingdom who printed currency for the Reserve Bank of New Zealand and ran through until 1989 (Fig.2).



Fig. 1., New Zealand 10 shilling note 2/47 003617-8 (1947), note the colour variation as well as the number placement in 003617

However, in the production of banknotes, correctly numbered 'top notes' are



signature AGV *last prefix*
with star replacements.
The last AB star
replacement serial was
estimated to be AB
255,000*

important for recognition, and presumably to avoid confusion, but also for audit purposes.

Notes were banded in packs of 100. A specific procedure existed to ensure the top and bottom notes of packs with last 3 digits 001 and 100 were always correct. A starred replacement was not used at the top or bottom of any pack. In those cases, manually numbered notes were necessary to correct a pack of 100 (Fig. 3). Note the placement of the number, and heavier inking.



Fig. 3. 1980's \$5 JCC 727001-2, note varying placement of prefix and numbers

Manually numbered replacement notes are often called 'authentic's by the security printer. Authentic's are notes where 001 and 100 appear as the last 3 digits, and had to be especially prepared in lieu of imperfect notes that were unsuitable.

Manually numbered authentic's in many cases are very difficult to detect, as differences are minor and subtle. Generally there is a variation in the density of the ink. The writer believes surviving examples are scarce (Fig. 4).

Also within packs: 1985-89 ST Russell signature, manually numbered replacement notes as needed: \$1 AJD 529371-2 and \$2 EHL 022898-9 (1986) (Fig. 5). The \$2 EHL 022898 was verified in writing by the printer Bradbury Wilkinson as a manually numbered replacement note (Fig. 6).



Fig. 4 \$2 Hardie signature, final prefix EHF 277901-2, top of pack replacement



Fig. 5. 1986 \$2 Russell signature EHL 022898-9 pair, EHL 022898 verified as a hand numbered replacement .The slightly darker ink variation and shifts in the numbering position are indicators of manual numbering. There might also be a difference in colouring of the note..





BRADBURY, WILKINSON & COMPANY (N.Z.)
LIMITED.

P. O. BOX 247
AWAROA RIVER ROAD,
WHANGAREI NEW ZEALAND

TELEPHONE
80032

TELEX
21694

FACSIMILE
61921

27th March 1986

Thank you for your letter dated 24th March pointing out your recent observations on Currency printed at our plant in Whangarei.

As I believe I pointed out to you before, we print almost 1000 Million Banknotes per annum for over 30 Countries, each note takes approximately 9 weeks to produce going through various printing processes at a very high speed in varying sheet and set sizes, our quality is governed by the human element where the notes are examined both in sheet and single note form for faults, in theory therefore we should not deliver any with faults but because it is a human element we cannot stop errors of this nature getting to customers. The pleasing point is that we are told by many of our customers that our quality is better than our previous printers.

The answer to the questions you raised are:-

- 1) EHL 022898 was a hand numbered replacement.
- 2) The Star System no longer exists.
- 3) ^{In} theory missing numbers should not occur but the most important point is that the quantity within that band or bundles is correct, which I am sure was.

Thank you again for pointing out your observations.

Yours sincerely,


J. Ward,
MANAGING DIRECTOR.

Fig. 6. March 1986 letter from Bradbury Wilkinson and Company (NZ) Ltd verifying EHL 022898 as a hand numbered replacement note.

What Parthian Coins Tell Us about the Parthians¹

Hamish MacMaster FRNSNZ

There are several reasons why we know so little about the Parthians.

Firstly, they never had a voice in ancient history championing their triumphs. They left little written record. There was no equivalent Persian Tacitus documenting their culture and progress. Few monuments remain to bear testimony to their achievements.

Secondly, the Parthians had a bad press from their main rivals. Not being a people to write down their own history, most of what is known about the Parthians comes from writings of their enemies, the Romans.

Roman knowledge of Parthia was limited. To the Romans, it was far from clear who the Parthians were or even where they came from. Their borders were as ill-defined as their national characteristics. To Rome, Parthia was barbarian; a threat, somewhere beyond the kingdoms of the East. Real Parthians were rare in Rome.

This gave the Romans an incomplete and biased view of what was a very complex civilization. For example, little was known of what was happening in those lands furthest from Rome - in the East of Parthia - as well as during times when the Parthians were at peace with Rome and were not exciting the attention of Roman writers.

Thirdly, there has been a deliberate attempt to scrub their legacy from history. Their successors, the Sassanians held the Parthian empire in contempt, considering it to be a collection of petty kingdoms set up by Alexander the Great to ensure Persia would never again become powerful. They considered the Parthians nomadic foreigners and their struggle between Persians, the true descendants of Cyrus the Great, and nomadic outsiders from Central Asia, east of the Caspian.

The Sassanians were resentful of the Parthians lack of religious fervour and viewed their conflict with Parthia as a religious one, a restoration of strict Zoroastrian

¹ Based on a presentation *The Parthians through the Lens of Numismatics – Nomadic Thugs or Dynastic Visionaries?* to the RNSNZ 2024 Conference on 13 October 2024

principles. The early Sassanians made a systematic effort to erase the Parthians from popular memory, deliberately portraying them as foreigners and heretics, even denying that they ruled as long as they did.

Who then were the Parthians?

The Parthian kingdom began with the advent of Arsaces I as King of the Parni in 247 BC. The Parni were one of the tribes of the Scythian confederation. The Scythians were nomadic herdsman who occupied much of the region between the northern coasts of the Black Sea and the Caspian during most of the Classical and Hellenistic periods and were famed for their horses and horsemanship. Ten years later in 238 BC, Arsaces I succeeded in defeating the Seleucid governor of Parthia and established the Parthian kingdom.

It is a stretch at times to even call Parthia an empire. Parthian kings sat at the top of an extensive feudal system that allowed considerable freedom to sub-kings and satraps. Parthian society was organized in great extended families with the king always selected from one: the Arsacids. Civil wars frequently included killing father and brothers. For much of their history, rival claimants to the throne controlled various parts of the empire.

Yet to Iranians today, the Parthian Empire is another chapter in the progression of their incredibly rich national epic, a source of Persian pride. The Parthians created an empire which, at its height, stretched from the Hindu Kush to Mesopotamia, lasted for almost 500 years and presented Rome with a serious challenge for the control of the Middle East west of the Euphrates River. They were the only civilised power to withstand the might of Rome at its height - the same Romans who had conquered Carthage, Macedon, the Seleucids and the Gauls.

At the same time; however, there were limitations to their Persian identity. The Parthians maintained their nomadic living conditions throughout the dynasty, keeping several capitals and living in camps outside the main cities. They were viewed as outsiders by the peoples they ruled. Their subjects often rose in rebellion or in support of invading armies.

While the Parni, as Scythians, were like the Persians, part of the Indo-European peoples in race and language, they were more like central Asian peoples in their customs, a difference recognised by the ancient peoples of the region. When the Parthians experienced military difficulties, they sought assistance not from the Persian people they ruled, but from the Scythian tribes east of the Caspian. The Dahae, cousins of the Parthians, and other Scythian peoples were used to augment the Parthian army.



Fig. 1 Gortazes I, (95-87BC), silver drachm, mint Rhagae, Sellwood 33.3

The fact that the Parthians often sought assistance from other Scythian tribes indicates that they identified with and maintained their Scythian tribal identity until the end of their rule.² At the same time however this paper will argue that over the centuries of their rule, their coinage reflects a growing orientation towards Persian material culture together with a commiserate decline in foreign influence. Today the Parthian takeover is considered a proud chapter in Iran's national epic story in a way that the Arab and Mongol invasions are not.

Parthian Coinage

Coins began to be minted for Parthian rulers within the bounds of their growing empire after the accession of Mithridates I (ca. 171-138 B.C.).³ Silver was the main metal and mints were located in over twenty cities. The drachm was the primary denomination, and most were minted at Ecbatana. The design of the drachm remained almost constant with only very occasional exceptions from the time of Arsakes I through to the downfall of the dynasty, i.e. 238BC to 224AD. The obverse was a depiction of the current king's bust facing left or right, or full-faced. The reverse showed an archer seated, usually right holding a bow. This seated figure was Arsakes I, the founder of the dynasty. The reverse design was derived from the Seleucid drachms which showed Apollo seated on the omphalos, – this being a religious stone that was associated in the Greek world with the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.

² Shore, Fred B. *Parthian Coins & History Ten Dragons Against Rome* Pennsylvania, 1993, pg 54

³ Sellwood, David *An Introduction to The Coinage of Parthia* Spink 1980

Rather surprisingly for a people of nomadic character, the Parthians maintained a stable currency with silver content of good quality throughout the dynasty. Arguably their coinage was at most times more robust than the Roman. Their drachms continued to be issued with a fair weight of good silver long after Roman silver coins were being regularly debased.

Tetradrachms were also produced by the Parthians, almost exclusively in Seleucia, first conquered by Mithradates I in 141 BC. He produced coins of similar design and quality to the Seleucid tetradrachms. Tetradrachms of good silver, weighing around 16g, were minted until the middle of the first century BC.



Fig. 2a & b Gotarzes II (40-51 AD) silver tetradrachm, mint Seleucia, Sellwood 65.25
Obverse (2a) and reverse (2b).

The obverse of the tetradrachms showed the portrait of the reigning king while the reverse designs included either a standing Herakles, a seated deity, or most commonly, a seated archer, similar to the drachms. Obverses show the king either wearing an elaborate tiara for which the Parthians were known or a diadem. As the Tetradrachms became debased from the time of Phraates IV until the downfall of the Parthians, the reverse design gradually standardised into the king enthroned receiving a diadem from a standing Tyche.⁴

With certain exceptions, the king's personal name was not used on the coinage, making attribution a challenging task. Only the family name 'Arsakes' is used. Despite this, what the coins do tell us are a valuable insight into a people not well known to history.

⁴ Shore, Fred B., pg 84

What Parthian Coins Tell Us

Given the scarcity of written records, in some cases the only knowledge we have of certain Parthian kings is through their coins.⁵ For the majority of their history we have to rely on a combination of fragmentary literary sources from foreign writers, archaeology, and coinage to create a coherent, though incomplete story.



Fig. 3 Mithradates II, (123-88BC), silver drachm, mint Ecbatana, Sellwood 24.9

The death of Mithradates II in 91 BC was followed by a period of dynastic strife that is often referred to as the Parthian “Dark Age”. The use of this term reflects how little we understand this period due to the paucity of surviving sources. It is important to stress that during this “Dark Age”, the power and influence of the Parthian Empire did not decline. Despite internal rivalries at home and Rome’s growing interference in the East, the Parthians remained Rome’s most powerful opponent east of the River Euphrates for the next three hundred years.⁶

Parthian coinage indicate that the Dark Ages of the Parthian period were marked by significant infighting. Reigns appear short and disputed. Contact with Rome began under Phraates III (70-57 BC) who fought against Pompey when he pushed into Asia Minor. His reign was marked by the first appearance of the facing portrait on Parthian coins.

⁵ Curtis, Vesta Sarkhosh & MaGub, *Alexandra Rivalling Rome Parthian Coins & Culture* The British Museum, 2020

⁶ Brilliantly captured by Adrian Goldsworthy in *The Eagle and the Lion - Rome, Persia and an Unwinnable Conflict* London, 2023

Mithradates III (57-54 BC) was the first king to use star and crescent symbols, suggesting allegiance to the Persian god Mazda Zoastra. The Parthian kings were called brothers of the sun and moon, hence also the star and crescent on their coins.



Fig. 4 Orodes II, (c57-38BC), silver drachm, mint Rhagae, Sellwood 48,10. Note star and crescent.

In 54 BC he was defeated and executed by his brother Orodes II, who re-established strong central control in Parthia and was king during the defeat of the Roman General Crassus at Carrhae in 53 BC.⁷ His is one of the most common of Parthian coin types and his coinage marks the first appearance of the 'royal wart' on the forehead of Parthian portraits, a repeating design and an indication that the Parthian royal family had a heredity medical condition.



Fig. 5 Facing portrait of Vonones II, (c51AD), silver drachm, Ebatana mint, Sellwood 67.1

⁷ See Stothard, Peter *The First Tycoon Crassus* Yale University Press, 2022

Parthian dress was typified by baggy shirts, sometimes covered by a tunic, and loose-fitting trousers presumably designed for comfort while riding. Little is known of the Parthians' physical appearance other than from representations on coins or sculpture. The number of kings who issued facing portraits are rare – one of them, the facing bust of Artabanos II, show a fierce warrior King who regained his throne wearing the clothes he wore as a solitary hunter in exile. This probably hints more at what a Parthian really looked like than any other form of portraiture.

The original coinage of the Parthians, from the reign of Arsakes I through the early part of the reign of Mithradates I, had been more nomadic in design, showing the king in a bashlyk, or nomad cap. Gradually however, as the Parthians came into contact with the Greeks, their coins took on a Greek character. Drachms and tetradrachms from the period between Mithradates I and Phraates III, i.e. from the middle of the second century BC to the middle of the first century BC, usually exhibited Hellenistic portraiture.⁸ There were good reasons for this.

Following the Greek model

At the time of the Parthian ascendancy, the tradition of portraiture throughout the ancient world was a comparatively recent invention; in the East their Persian predecessors the Achaemenians had portrayed Darius as the warrior king on their prototype currency; in the West it extended back to the Hellenistic period, where distinctive portrait likenesses started to regularly appear early in the 3rd century BC, with those of Alexander the Great. This change reflected a new interest in individual identity.

Given the natural gulf between nomad and city dweller, coins were an important way for Parthian kings to talk to their subjects. First and foremost, by letting them know who at the time occupied the throne, especially if that ruler had recently usurped the throne and was looking for the veneer of legitimacy. Coinage was the most effective means of mass communication at that time.

The portraiture of the ruler was also an effective and persuasive means of projecting the qualities of the monarch. He might use this to convey the belief that he had transcended the human limitations of other mortals and attained divine status. In addition, it reminded people of his power and his ability to bestow patronage - that it was he who controlled the money supply.

⁸ Shore, Fred B., pg 85



Fig. 6 Sinatruces (c77-70BC), silver drachm, Sellwood 34.1

Coins were therefore an effective form of publicity, particularly when new rulers needed to legitimize their succession or strengthen their reputation. As king, Mithridates II (r. 123–88 BC) followed the Greek and Roman convention of celebrating his royal heritage on coinage. As noted before, thereafter this became the pattern followed by his successors with all Parthian coinage including the name “Arsakes,” the founder of the dynasty.

Given the long history of bitter rivalry and conquest between Persia and Greece, it does seem surprising that the first thing the Parthians did not do upon defeating the Seleucids was to throw off all remnants from those Greeks who had inherited the mantle from Alexander the Great. More than a century and a half had passed since Alexander’s conquest of Persia and the establishment of the Seleucid dynasty in 312 BC. However, even after the Seleucids departure, various cities retained their Hellenistic populations. The Greek language remained that of the aristocratic class.

Aspects of the Seleucid imperial administration were left intact. As the Parthian kingdom expanded westwards into Seleucid-held territories, the image of the Arsacid king on his coins underwent noticeable changes. Mithradates I (c 171-132 BC) abandoned the soft hat associated with the tribes of the Achaemenid Empire and wore just the diadem band tied around his head in the fashion of the Seleucid kings.

Reflecting the use of Greek or Greek-school die gravers, silver drachms and the larger tetradrachms struck in the newly conquered city of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in Mesopotamia show the bearded king looking to the right in the Seleucid fashion.

After the conquest of the Seleucid’s Mesopotamian capital in 141 BC, Mithradates I adopted the epithet Philhellene (“Friend of the Greeks”) on his coinage and struck on the reverse images of the Greek gods Herakles and Zeus. On his drachms from the Iranian highlands, the Parthian archer motif was adapted to show the figure seated on an omphalos – the religious stone at Delphi associated in the Greek world. As the

patron god of the Seleucid dynasty, Apollo Toxotes (“the archer”) was depicted on many Seleucid coins seated on the omphalos.

The Greek-friendly epithet of Mithradates I and the fact that Arsacid coinage, since the very first issues of Arsaces I, used the Greek language and script in the legend have traditionally been interpreted as evidence of a strong Hellenistic influence. As a result of this, the Parthians have often been categorised as part of the Hellenistic world without much recognition given to the Iranian components in their material culture.

A Parthian reaction grows

The reasons for adopting the Greek language on the coinage were thus partly political and partly practical in nature: as the Arsacids expanded their dominion, they occupied key cities that had been settled by communities of Greeks and Macedonians since the time of Alexander. As noted, Greek had become *the lingua franca* of the ruling class, and it retained this role in Iran during the Parthian period.

In addition to this, the portraiture and inscription components on coinage had a tendency to conform to existing traditions to ensure that the coins were widely recognised as genuine official currency. The monetisation of ancient Iran was, in the first instance, carried out under the Seleucid dynasty; therefore, the only tradition that had existed in these mints up until this point had been based on Hellenistic principles, including the use of Greek in the coin legends. Initially this legacy remained important for people to accept the currency of the new Parthian rulers.

After the death of Mithradates I however, his successors introduced significant changes to the iconography on their coinage, favouring more Persian fashions. For example on the obverse of Artabanus I’s (c.127 – 122 BC) coins, the Parthian V-necked jacket was adopted. Increasingly the selection of coin designs used by the Parthian kings drew upon cultural aspects of their Persian character.

Mithradates II (c122/1-91 BC) added a beaded star motif on the front his V-necked jacket, and a mythical winged creature on the terminal of his torque. In the later part of his reign a tall and richly decorated headdress encircled with a diadem band was introduced on the obverse of his silver drachm. This bejewelled royal tiara was ornamented with a star symbol in the centre, while beaded patterns and moon crescents decorated the edges. These celestial embellishments may have had religious connotations, being associated with the Persian divinity of Ahura Mazda, the Lord of Wisdom.

The revival of ancient Persian tradition under the Parthians shows itself most emphatically; however, in the reappearance of the traditional royal title which had been used by the Achaemenid kings. During Mithradates II reign the royal title “*the coins of Arsaces, Great King of Kings*” reappeared in Greek on his coinage. The revival of this ancient Persian title drew a direct linkage back to the earlier Achaemenid Empire.



Fig. 7 Vologases III, (105-147 AD) silver drachm, mint Ecbatana, Sellwood 78.3

The glorifying epithets of Mithradates II also shifted focus: the epithet Philhellene (“Friend of the Greeks”) was rarely used on his coinage and instead other epithets extolling the virtues of the king became popular, such as Soter (“Saviour”) and Epiphanes (“Illustrious”). In so doing they were coming closer to the very Persian concept of qualities that embody the idea of a divinely bestowed Royal Splendour in the Persian Zoroastrian tradition.

In other aspects of his coinage Mithradates II also began to impart a more Iranian character. The omphalos below the seated Parthian archer was replaced by a royal high-backed throne and footstool, similar to those used by the Achaemenid Persian kings.⁹ There is now a similarity between the royal throne with bulbous legs, as shown on early Parthian coins, and the throne of the Persian kings as seen on the reliefs from Persepolis. Cloaking themselves in the symbols and majesty of a bygone era, Parthian rulers sought to reinforce their Persian identity, thereby extending their own legitimacy and authority in the eyes of their Persian subjects.

Roman sources touch on the significance of ancient Persia for the Parthian kings. When in the first century AD Rome and Parthia quarrelled over Armenia and the appointment of a Parthian prince as King of Armenia, the Parthian King Artabanus II (10-38 AD) informed Rome “*that whatever was possessed by Cyrus, and afterwards*

⁹ Sear, David R, *Greek Coins and their Values Volume II Asia & Africa* London, 1979, pg 695

by Alexander, was his undoubted right, and he was determined to recover the same by force of arms.”¹⁰



Fig. 8 Vologases I, (51-78AD), silver tetradrachm, mint Seleucia, Selwood 68.11

Only for a brief period early in his reign, Mithradates II minted tetradrachms at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Here he placed the Parthian archer on the reverse of these coins, diverging from the practices of his predecessors who used images of Hellenistic gods for their tetradrachm reverse types. Eventually his silver coin production was concentrated entirely in the Iranian highlands, making this the heartland of his empire. Ecbatana (modern Hamadan) in Media was now the principal silver mint. The Greek inscriptions that appeared on drachms minted in the Iranian highlands became increasingly corrupted and illegible. In the highland mints, Greek (or a script that resembled Greek) served only a perfunctory role.

Becoming Persian

At the same time we see a progressively broader rejection of foreign influences within Parthian society, as evidenced when Phraaces V married his Italian mother. His father Phraates IV had killed his father to secure the throne, then proceeded to wipe out his thirty brothers and their families. This did not engender faithful allegiance amongst his subjects, perhaps explaining the many rebellions during his reign.

Queen Musa is the only woman to appear on a Parthian coin. As an Italian slave girl, she was given by the Emperor Augustus to Phraates IV in part tribute to secure the lost eagles of the legions after the Battle of Carrhae. She then rose to the status of chief concubine, eliminating her rivals within the harem, murdering her husband Phraates IV, then marrying and ruling with her son Phraaces V. Musa's portrait appears on several issues of Phraaces' coinage along with his own. Her elevation as a

¹⁰ Tacitus, *Annals*, 6.31, discussed also in Curtis & Magub *Rivalling Rome Parthian Coins & Culture*, pg 49

woman, slave, foreigner to that of chief consort was unique in Parthian history. However Roman writers, together with the brevity of her and her son's reign – 6 years, suggest that the incestuous union combined with being of foreign birth meant Queen Musa was never fully accepted by the Persian elite.

Orodes III (6 AD) was placed on the throne by the Parthian senate to replace Phraaces V and Musa, but was then promptly assassinated for his alleged cruelty.



Fig. 9 Phraates IV, (38-2BC),
silver drachm, mint
Mithradatkart, Sellwood 54.9

Vonones I returned from Rome to take the throne. His coins are notable for the western hairstyle on his portrait and the appearance of Nike on the reverse in place of the seated archer. However, his long exile in Rome and exposure to foreign influences had made him questionable in the eyes of the Parthian aristocracy. According to Tacitus, he was mocked by the Parthians for riding in a litter rather than on horseback as well as keeping his household possession under lock and key.¹¹

Following rebellion, Vonones I was ultimately defeated by Artabanus II and fled to Armenia in 12 AD. Artabanus II also spent most of his reign engaged in suppressing rebellions. His reaction to Greek culture can be seen most readily on his coinage. The style of the drachms becomes crude with legends increasingly blundered. Silver content remains good, however, and his coinage of drachms is plentiful indicating economic prosperity.

In 200 AD the Parthians became absorbed into the Sassanid empire. Labelling the Parthians as foreigners and heretics, the Sassanids nevertheless copied their predecessors and looked back to their Persian dynastic roots, the glory of the Achaemenids, something that was to form a recurrent pattern with many latter dynasties.

¹¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, 2. 1-3



Fig. 10a & b Artabanus II (c10-38AD), silver drachm, Sellwood 63.6 Obverse (10a) and reverse (10b)

Indeed, the Parthian empire remains an integral part of the Iranian national epic in a manner much different from the trauma of the later Arab and Mongol invasions. It is significant many of the Arsacid noble houses remained in a position of prominence under the Sassanians. The Romans themselves seemed to notice little difference in their Persian enemy, other than an increasing Sassanian use of heavy armoured cavalry as opposed to the light cavalry of Parthian times.

An ongoing legacy¹²

Despite concerted Sassanian propaganda, the Parthian legacy lingers to this day, This is something quite remarkable, considering they were quintessentially a nation of horse-warriors separate from their more sedentary subjects, and remained so, right to the end of kingdom. Their coinage formed the medium through which western, in particular Greek, ideas of coin design were transmitted, and transmuted, in the Middle East from the Euphrates to the Indus and beyond.

Iranian history is littered with examples of invading foreign dynasties gradually evolving themselves into Persians – such is the strength and attraction of Persian culture. The Parthians were no exception. They developed one of the first recognisably feudal systems on record- which was transmitted to the Sassanians, and thence to the Arabs. The Persian epic history is now thought to include lengthy

¹² Edited by Curtis, John and Tallis, Nigel *Forgotten Empire The World of Ancient Persia*, The British Museum Press, 2005. See Chapter 12 “The Legacy of Ancient Persia” pg 250-263

portions from the Parthian era – the Parthians had a great oral tradition, in keeping with their nomadic background, and greatly valued bards and storytelling.¹³

The Parthians also left a legacy in art and architecture, creating a style that mixed Hellenism with native Persian influences, as we have seen reflected most vividly in their coinage. There is even a small literary legacy with the “Parthian shot” – a phrase taken from Parthian horse-archer tactics in which the archer would feign flight, and while riding away, fire over the back of their horse. This expression has now evolved in English into what we call a “parting shot”. Words like ‘tiara’ still talk to us of Parthian times.

While few buildings and monuments from the Parthian era remain, the brilliance of the portraits and the dynastic vision on their coins still speak to us of their near continuous 500-year rule and remind us of their unique identity and significant contribution to Persian culture and history.

¹³ Curtis, John *Ancient Persia* The British Museum Press, 2006, pg 66-72

A Sleight of Hand: The Tokens of Morrin & Co

Vaughn Humberstone

The tokens of Morrin & Co of Auckland were ordered by John Carsley Morrin immediately upon securing proprietorship of the grocery business from his first-cousin-once-removed, William Morrin. An order was placed with Heaton & Sons in Birmingham. John C. Morrin took over in January 1862, renaming the firm Morrin & Co, and the tokens are confirmed in circulation by September 1862. Upon receiving and circulating these tokens, nobody would have noticed nor cared whether there were tiny differences in die varieties. Morrin & Co was dissolved in January 1866, but no doubt the tokens continued to circulate for many years afterwards.

The Morrin & Co tokens were first catalogued in German by Josef Neumann in 1872 (*Beschreibung der bekanntesten Kupfer-münzen, Vol. VI*). In 1878 another German, Adolf Wehl, catalogued these tokens when cataloguing the collection of renowned collector Jules Fonrobert (*Verzeichniss von Münzen und Denkmünzen der Erdtheil Australien, Asien, Afrika*). Wehl was the first numismatist to identify some die varieties of New Zealand tokens. He identified 2 distinct obverse types of the Morrin & Co tokens. W.E. Whellams in 1916 (*Australian Coins and Tokens, Spink & Son's Numismatic Circular*) further identified differing obverse and reverse types.

It was not until 1921 that the New Zealand token series was comprehensively catalogued for the first time. This mammoth task was undertaken by Dr Arthur Andrews (*Australasian Tokens and Coins*). With a work of this magnitude, though, mistakes inevitably crept in. In some instances, Andrews described some die pairings that are now believed to not exist, and in other instances he missed die varieties that have since come to light. This was certainly the case with the tokens of Morrin & Co.

Andrews identified 2 obverses and 2 reverses of the Morrin & Co tokens, combining to give 3 varieties. It was Allan Sutherland in 1939 (*Numismatic History of New Zealand Part 3, Tokens of New Zealand*) who identified a third obverse type, but by sleight of hand he kept the listed varieties at only 3! An additional die combination was recorded by Walter Frederick W. Meek in 1951 (*An Authentic Record of the Currency Tokens of New Zealand*), bringing the series up to 3 obverses and 2 reverses, combining to give 4 varieties. However, the error by Sutherland has been perpetuated by all numismatists since, leading to the Andrews numbers never having been correctly assigned to the Morrin & Co token series. This article investigates what happened and sets out to put the record straight.



Fig. 1 Obverse (left) Top frond of tree under S of STREET. Base of tree 9mm long. Right end of base reaches over N of AUCKLAND. 2nd T of STREET mostly under T of MERCHANTS. Fig.2 Obverse (right) Top frond of tree under T of STREET. Base of tree 9.5mm long.



Fig. 3 Obverse 3 Top frond of tree under ST of STREET. Base of tree 8mm long. Right end of base reaches over 2nd A of AUCKLAND. Second T of STREET mostly under T of MERCHANTS



Fig. 4 Reverse A (left) Head of Justice under A of AUCKLAND. Reverse B (right) Head of Justice under AU of AUCKLAND

Figs 1 to 4 are the die types of the tokens of Morrin & Co, as listed by William H. Lampard in 1981 (*Catalogue of New Zealand Coins, Tokens and Banknotes*), but with descriptions of die differentiation that are in line with those used by Andrews and Sutherland (Table 1)

Table 1 Die combinations according to *Lampard and Andrews and Sutherland*

Lampard #	Die combination	Andrews #
L335	1A	A387
L335a 2A	–	
L335b 2B	–	
L335c 3B	A389	

Notes: L335a was first catalogued by Sutherland, 1939 (S136a).
 L335b was first catalogued by Meek, 1951 (M36B).
 The variety recorded by Andrews as A388 (die combination 3A) is unsighted and considered not to exist.
 Rather bizarrely, the Andrews number of A390 sometimes pops up in relation to the listings of the Morrin & Co tokens.
 Andrews does list A390, but leaves the space for a description blank.

The following are the descriptions of the Morrin & Co tokens used by Andrews when identifying his three varieties (A387 to A389).

387. Penny (n.d.). 34 mm. Normal.

O.—A palm tree in centre, with QUEEN STREET above in half circle and AUCKLAND below and round within the beaded rim, MORRIN & C^O GROCERS, WINE & SPIRIT MERCHANTS
The topmost frond of the tree is under the S of STREET.

R.—A standing figure of justice with scales and cornucopia, a digger and a Maori holding hands in the distance. ADVANCE
AUCKLAND above within the beaded rim.

- Illustrated on Plate 33.
- Corresponds to L335, with die combination 1A.

388. Penny (n.d.). 34 mm. Normal.

O.—As No. 387, with the tree varied bringing the top frond under ST and a smaller base.

R.—As No. 387.

- The obverse description matches obverse 3, giving a die combination of 3A.
- A die combination of 3A has never been sighted and is considered to not exist.
- Sutherland, 1939, identified a new obverse type which he described as “T under S of MERCHANTS; frond under T” (p. 33). This description corresponds to obverse 2, which Sutherland found paired with reverse A. This gives a new variety with a die combination of 2A (S136a).
- Obverse 2 was first recorded by Wehl, 1878, who gave the following description: “Desgl., nur das oberste Palmblatt unter STR” (p. 3). This translates to ‘Likewise, only the topmost palm leaf is under STR’. Obverse 2 was recorded again by Whellams, 1916, who gave the following description: “The D on the obv. is to the right side of M in MERCHANTS. The T of STREET is under S” (p. 643). While none of the obverse types have the D to the right of M, only obverse 2 has T under S. Thus although obverse 2 was identified by two previous numismatists, it was missed by Andrews and rediscovered by Sutherland.
- For A79 Andrews describes a variety of the tokens of Samuel Coombes that has never been sighted and is considered to not exist. For this listing, Sutherland, 1939, states “Existence doubtful, not in Chitty, Yelland, Andrews’ Collections” (p. 24). Conversely, Sutherland added what he believed were three new varieties of the Milner & Thompson small series tokens to his listings (S135h – S135j). Rather than doing the same for A388 and S136a respectively, Sutherland

replaces Andrews' description of the obverse with his own! Thus S136a is erroneously matched to A388.

- This error has been perpetuated by all numismatists since, who erroneously match the die combination of 2A to A388.

389. Penny (n.d.). 34 mm. Normal.

O.—As No. 388.

R.—As No. 387, with the words ADVANCE AUCKLAND contracted, bringing the head between A and U.

- Corresponds to L335c, with die combination 3B.
- A number of numismatists carry over Sutherland's error in matching obverse 2 to A388. Because A388 and A389 share their obverse, this leads to obverse 2 being erroneously matched to A389 also; thus attributing the die combination of 2B to A389. In reality, the die combination of 2B was unrecorded by Andrews.

Acknowledgement

Images reproduced courtesy of Noble Numismatics: Obverse 1 (Sale 114, Lot 782), Obverse 2 & Reverse A (Sale 114, Lot 783), Obverse 3 & Reverse B (Sale 114, Lot 784).

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New Zealander, 10 September 1862, Small change.

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