
The first half of this book gives a wide and quite detailed survey of primitive currency and coins during the many centuries during which they provided the principal means of exchange. In the second half we see how gradually, at different times in different places, the function of money came to include credit and credit instruments, the expansion of which reduced and finally marginalised the role of currency.

We are shown, clearly and in order, the enormously important developments which occurred in our own lifetimes, but which often did not make such a clear impression at the time. Bretton Woods, the origin and functions of S.D.R.s (Special Drawing Rights), G.A.T.T. and lots more are all here, and will give one a far better understanding of the twentieth century than is enjoyed by the average man in the street. The present reviewer was once professionally involved, to some modest extent, with many of the crises, and their following Reports (having been a member and later chairman of the Association of Corporate Trustees), and left the volume feeling rather like a former soldier who reads a magisterial history of a war and now sees things so much clearer than it seemed at the time!

Coins are not absent from this part – did you realise that the U.S.A. Silver Purchase Act of 1934 indirectly forced China off the silver standard and reduced silver coinage worldwide? There is also much more coin information to be found among the banking developments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the author is very generous with his facts.

Maybe the numismatist will be tempted to bridle at a few slips: did Alexander’s empire extend to Gibraltar, and did ancient Lydia ‘portray’ its kings on coins? Perhaps he has in mind badges or perhaps the ‘kneeling/running archer’ on Persian coins attributed to Sardes. A sestertius was not more valuable than a denarius (p. 87, but the correct relationship is given on the following page). The reference to Valerian’s reform at p. 100 should presumably be to Aurelian’s; the portrait coins of Julius Caesar are usually attributed to his supporters after his death, rather than showing his personal attitude; Wilkinson’s tokens were not struck in iron as well as copper (if there is a trial striking in iron, I have missed it); at p. 521 ‘dollar’ is surely a misprint for ‘gold’. In no case, however, do these slips affect the argument.

I would question whether clipping or counterfeiting point to the demand for money exceeding the supply – as an economic concept – leading the more entrepreneurial elements to overcome the constraints of money supply by illicit means. One could argue that these activities continue even when the general money supply is adequate (e.g. at the present day, or when Mohammed III ibn Tughluq in fourteenth-century Delhi issued fiduciary copper tankas instead of silver. Some individuals always think their personal money supply is inadequate!)

Whilst many economic and numismatic terms are explained, the reader might welcome even more explanation, e.g. of dirty floating.

In recent years numismatists have become more interested in the use of money, moderating the (1924) criticism that ‘The numismatist usually knows nothing of currency for he has only to deal with its dead body’ (Knapp’s Theory of Money, quoted at p. 26). Any numismatist who has read this book, with its scholarly and very complete account of the development and use of money, should escape that criticism, just as economists who read it will really learn a lot about coins. It is astonishing that one man, no matter what his support, can command so much detailed information. It is nice too to see frequent references to the work of Dr Challis, who has done so much to show numismatists the economic aspects of their study. Like Dr Challis, the author manages to tell the story in a very interesting and readable way.

A.J. HOLMES


Of the three sections into which this book is divided – Money as Coin, the Development of Credit and Banking, and Inconvertible Paper Money – it is the first which in all probability will be of most interest to readers of this Journal and it is to this section, surveying the evolution of money from AD 800 to roughly the end of the nineteenth century, that the following comments apply.

First, because Mr Chown perceives himself as the author, not of a history for economists, but of an economist’s view of history, he does not attempt a detailed account, country by country, chronological period by chronological period, of monetary developments; rather he focuses on what he sees as key periods of activity and the theoretical framework which underpinned what happened. This approach is undoubtably of help in the discussion of bi-metallism but creates imbalance elsewhere: the Tudor debasement of the English coinage, which in essence lasted for only seven years, occupying almost as much space as the two preceding chapters which trace the earlier story from Carolingian times.

A second difficulty of which Mr Chown’s readers...
should be aware is that on far too many occasions his statements and conclusions will not bear critical examination. Page 3; the price indices which he uses do not support the notion that 'Henry VIII's Great Debasement produced a rate of inflation in England which was to remain unsurpassed until the days of Harold Wilson’. Page 4; there was no United Kingdom in 1696. Pages 13 and 61; milled coins were adopted, except for the odd issue of small change, in 1663 rather than in 1652 or 1696. Pages 16 and 52; Gresham was not ‘responsible for clearing up the mess’ of the Great Debasement, i.e. planning and implementing the recoinage of silver early in Elizabeth’s reign. Such evidence as there is indicates that his involvement was limited to recommending that Daniel Ulstato and his Company be engaged to do the lion’s share of the refining. Page 25; it is generally thought that the English shilling appeared in 1504 (rather than 1508) and it was certainly the case that it entered general circulation not under Edward VI but under his father, Henry VIII. Page 23; silver coins were struck in 1696 at 62s. per lb, not 66s. Page 26; Henry III succeeded to the English throne in 1216, not 1218. Page 39; the 15 gr English penny was introduced in 1413, not 1412, for which year no indenture is known. Page 41; the recoinage of silver in 1696 was carried through under William III, not Charles II. Page 44; in 1542 it was Sir Martin (not John) Bowes who was at the Tower mint. It is not true to say that ‘no mint accounts survive’ for which year no indenture is known. Page 45; there is no warrant for believing that the mints at York and Canterbury were established in 1545, specifically to coin ex-monastic plate. There was no further depreciation of gold by the indenture of 16 February 1548. Henry VIII died in 1547 not 1548. Page 46; York received its first instruction to coin groats in 1545, not 1548. There is a commission of 18 December 1550 in respect of fine gold and another of 14 April 1551 authorizing the striking of 3 oz silver, but there is no known indenture of 8 December 1550. Page 48, the 1545-6 issue contained 6 oz rather than 7 oz of fine silver. Page 49; at its worst, debased English gold contained only 73 (not 83) per cent of the gold in pre-debased coins, and debased silver contained only 17 (not 25) per cent of the silver in pre-debased coins. Page 53; there is no warrant for believing that the figures for mint output in the debasement period are seriously distorted by unrecorded mint activity from which the mint officials profited (Sharington was the exception rather than the rule). Page 53; there was no restoration of the coinage in 1558. The sharp rise in prices in the 1550s has to be seen in the context of harvest failures and not simply attributed to debasement, which in any case had, by then, to all intents and purposes ceased. Pages 56-7; In January 1549 the mints were instructed to produce silver 66s (not 33s) fine and the penny was rated at 5 (not 10) gr. There were no new coinages in July and December 1550 or in January 1559. As far as gold was concerned there were no new coinages in July 1550, April 1551 and January 1559; the issue of December 1550 was 994.8 not 970 fine. Coin values should be expressed in d, not p. Page 60; it is not true to say that after the Elizabethan recoinage ‘there were no formal changes in the weight standards of English coins’. Both gold and silver were altered in 1601, and gold again under James I. There never ever was such a thing as ‘Cromwell’s “Commonwealth”’ (1649–60). Finally, it is simply unfair on the reader to assert on pages 133–4 that the Tower was being used as a safe deposit during the reign of Charles I and that the ‘tax measures and disputes’ of that time ‘go a long way to explain this stage in the development of banking’ without offering any supporting documentary evidence.

In short, this is a book which should be used with care and most certainly revised, if the possibility arises of a further edition.

C.E. CHALLIS


WHEN reviewing the previous edition of English Hammered Coinage, vol.1, in the early 1980s, it fell to the present reviewer to commence his remarks with an explanation of how it had been that there was a distinct time lapse between the date of the book's publication and the appearance of his review. Once again there has been a time lapse, again through no fault of the reviewer, and once again it is a pleasure to be able to welcome a new edition of a book which provides the most reliable up-to-date listing of the coinage struck in England between the seventh century and the death of King Henry III. The welcome is the warmer because with every edition that passes the picture of the coinage that is presented becomes more precise and more genuinely useful to anyone with a serious interest in the English hammerd series.

As the author records in his preface, there have been considerable advances in knowledge over the last fifteen years, and these are largely reflected in the changes that he has made to his text and plates. Change has been most dramatic in the pages dealing with the coinages struck in the second and third quarters of the tenth century, where North's previous text has been almost entirely recast to take account of the new classification provided by Blunt, Stewart and Lyon in their invaluable Coinage in Tenth-century England (British Academy, London 1989, still in print). Here, as elsewhere, North has retained the numbering used in earlier editions, slotting in additional items with numbering in the form 751/1,751/2,751/3 and so on. Although this is certainly convenient for those who are accustomed to cite coins by their North numbers, it perpetuates one serious anomaly of arrangement and numbering by which coins of Eadgar's Reform type are separated from coins of Edward the Martyr of the same type by ten numbers relating to Eadgar's pre-Reform issues, and it is clear that in any future edition the numbering system as a whole ought to be rethought.
North has also deferred to a future edition a proper revision of his text on the coinage of Eadweard the Elder, for which Stewart Lyon has provided an extensive new classification in the 1989 volume already cited. It is understandable that North should have acted as he has, for Lyon’s classification is rather hard to summarise, but some of its salient points are simple enough, and this reviewer can record from practical experience that Lyon’s is one of the few classifications that is easier to apply in practice than it may seem in print.

Outside the tenth century the most substantial area of change is in the treatment of the coinage of the first half of the twelfth century, where our knowledge of the material seems to be in a state of continuous transformation. The emergence of new baronial issues of Stephen’s reign is the most eye-catching feature, but North has also made numerous unobtrusive improvements to his lists of mints and moneyers for the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, as well as signalling scholars’ changing opinions about the dating of these kings’ substantive types. It is also pleasing that steady progress is being made with the Short Cross and Long Cross coinages of the early Plantagenet kings, and here North’s text embodies the very latest research by himself, Martin Allen and Robin Davis.

In the Anglo-Saxon period the pattern of advance outside the middle years of the tenth century is more patchy. The sections that deal with thrymzas and sceattas, with the coinage of the age of Offa and with the coinage of the independent kingdom of East Anglia all more or less reflect the state of current research, and the pages that deal with the coinage from Eadgar’s reform to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period have been improved; North must one day provide lists for this period showing which moneyers are known for which types, but his decision not to do so for the present edition is correct, as a broadly satisfactory list of this character has recently been published by Kenneth Jonsson and Gay Van der Meer and it is still a little early for North to appropriate the information in it for his own book.

There remain some areas where progress has been less perceptible. Here, it must be confessed, the fault is not solely attributable to the author, but almost as much to specialists such as the present reviewer who have not thought fit to communicate to North necessary emendations to the text of his earlier editions. Thus, North’s text on Burgred remains virtually unaltered from that which appeared in his first edition, published as long ago as 1963, although it would have been easy enough for the present reviewer to supply North at any time with a revised version eliminating doubtful names and showing which moneyers are known for which reverse types; this confession of guilt on the reviewer’s part is prompted by the discovery that in his copy of the first edition he drew ink lines some thirty years ago through the names Adhelm (same moneyer as Tid(e)helm) and Idiga (occurring only on a crude imitation of a coin of the moneyer Diga), but never got round to passing this information on. North’s text on the Northumbrian styca coinage would also have benefited from outside specialist expertise, although here the position is rather more complicated.

Yet the fact that there are still parts of North’s book that can be improved should be viewed not so much as a blemish but as an inducement to its author and publisher to produce yet another edition before too many years pass. North was wise enough back in the 1960s to settle on a format which has worked, and the prospect of future editions in the twenty-first century is one to which we will all look forward.

HUGH PAGAN


ALTHOUGH running to fewer than a hundred pages this volume, containing John Brand’s MA thesis of 1981, includes a remarkable amount of information and discussion of relevance both to numismatists and to economic historians. The book consists of seven main chapters on various aspects of the English Short Cross coinage or related topics. Added to these are two appendices on weights and fineness and a long bibliography. The book is well produced and has been efficiently edited by Mr. N.J. Mayhew, who has appended some further numismatic material.

In the first chapter, by way of introduction (pp. 1–5), the author gives a useful account of the history of numismatic study of the Short Cross series. Early writers were for long in dispute as to whether these coins in the name of King Henry should be attributed to Henry II or to Henry III, until Longstaffe and Evans in the 1860s not only resolved the matter by demonstrating that some belonged to each of them, but also solved another problem by showing that others were struck in the reigns of Richard I and John and so filled a gap in the English series which had puzzled students for generations.

In a broad survey of ‘Coinage and Currency’ (pp. 6–17) Brand then examines the economic background, drawing attention to the rise in mint output from the end of the twelfth century, the needs of an expanding population and the consequences for prices. After a third section on ‘Moneyers and Mints before 1180’ (pp. 18–23), in which he describes the more variable and less centralised organisation of minting in Saxon and Norman times, the author reaches the central and most important theme of his work, the nature and functions of the exchanges which were a key part of Henry II’s monetary reform of 1180.

The two chapters entitled ‘The New Exchanges of 1180’ (pp. 24–31) and ‘The Administration of the Exchanges until 1247’ (pp. 32–48) constitute the fullest study in existence of the documentary evidence for the new system which separated the function of exchanging old or foreign money and bullion from the manufacture of new coin and brought the coinage and currency more directly under central royal control. In Brand’s words, ‘the Short Cross period saw the inception and first
development of a minor Department of State", and his
survey is as full of interest in the light it throws on
medieval English financial administration as it is for
providing an explanation of the background to the
fundamental changes in the scale and nature of English
coining which took place under Henry II and his
successors.

During his research into the documentary records
Brand had to confront a number of basic questions
about the valuation placed on parcels of coin accounted
to the exchequer. This led him to include a long section
on "The Fineness of the Coinage Silver" (pp. 58-69)
and two appendices, one about certain fines of the early
1180s made in old money but paid in new, the other
about weight standards and the origins of sterling silver.

The part of Brand's text which may prove to be of
most abiding value to the practical work of
numismatists is the section on the records of the
individual mints (pp. 49-57) in which he has collected
together, town by town, the documentary references to
mints and moneyers in the official rolls and set these
out together with information about the moneyers from
their surviving coins. There is also a full bibliography
of historical and numismatic works (brought up to date
by the editor in respect of Short Cross numismatics), an
additional appendix containing die statistics of the
mints of Winchester and Bury St Edmunds respectively
produced by the work of Mrs Harvey and Mr Eaglen,
and five plates of coins with detailed descriptions,
illustrating all the main varieties of Short Cross coins
recognised by modern students.

The new series of Special Publications, of which this
is the first volume, has been made possible by a
generous bequest to the Society from the late Roy
Osborne. The choice of John Brand's last main work
for its subject matter is a happy compliment to the
memory of our late President and something of a
penance for the way in which he was treated during his
lifetime by the Society to which he had given such
devoted service.

LORD STEWARTBY

Coincraft's Standard Catalogue of English and UK
Coins, 1866 to date, by R. Lobel, M. Davidson, A.
Hailstone & E. Calligas (2nd edn., Coincraft, London,

This book follows the trend set by Krause & Mishler's
Standard Catalog of World Coins, for cheaply printed,
vast and would-be comprehensive "telephone directory"
umismatic references. Now in its second edition, we
can see what improvements have been made from the
first, published in 1995. Apart from the new hard cover
(for the same price!) they are not great. Though a
number of illustrations have been added, there remain
of an uneven standard, and the poor paper does not do
them justice. The opportunity has not been taken to
make any substantial changes, though if we are to
expect a new edition every two years we can hope for a
gradual evolution. Listings, of course, have been
brought up to date and so, the publishers would have us
believe, have valuations: but in many fields they seem
to remain as unreliable as ever, seemingly more aimed
at dealers than collectors. Perhaps they should only be
taken as a general guide to relative rarity. The
"Collecting Hints" are possibly useful, but repetitive,
too long-winded and set in a fashion which takes up far
too much room. An Appendix now reproduces in
facsimile a variety of legal enactments and other
contemporary documents relating to the coinage.

It is difficult to see the justification for the present
arrangement, unless the publishers felt it had to look as
unlike Seaby's catalogues as possible! They need not
have worried: it does not compete. In fact the
arrangement, in my view, makes the catalogue very
hard to use, especially in the hammered series. The
starting-point is arbitrary: however significant the date
1066 may be in our political history, it is not of great
importance to the numismatist. The coinage of the
Norman kings is a continuation of that of the Anglo-
Saxons; the Conqueror's pennies follow on from those
of Edward the Confessor and Harold II without a break.
But the prime division into hammered and milled is of
course justified, though if strictly observed it would
result in the precocious productions of Mestrelle and
Briot being out of historical context. However, there are
other revolutionary dividing dates in English coinage
history which it might have been profitable to observe,
which for the most part transcend the reigns of
monarchs. The listings, if they cannot go back (yet) to
the very beginnings, could have started more logically
with the unification of England under Edward the Elder,
if not even with the introduction of the silver penny in
the 8th century. Other natural divisions are at the
'sterling' coinage (Edward I), the introduction of true
portrait coins (Henry VII), the reform of 1816-17
(George III), and at decimalization (1971). At none of
these points, except the last, is a definite line drawn.

In the hammered section the determination to arrange
the coins rigidly by denomination irrespective of reign
is bewildering. Inflation over the centuries makes
nonsense of putting, for instance, the gold florin (1343,
p. 139) between the angel and the crown, simply on the
basis of the number of pennies it nominally contained.
The unfortunate and pointless mingling of gold and
silver denominations results in a frank muddle,
especially for Henry VIII, who issued a dozen different
gold denominations, more than any other ruler. No clear
historical picture of the coinage thus emerges. Any
collector advanced enough not to need a guide here will
probably not need this book at all, except as an
indicator of relative rarity. We all know of collectors
who concentrate on a single denomination, but surely
they are in a minority. Most of us are interested in coins
of a particular reign or period, and this book serves us
ill in this respect.

Although your reviewer does not feel himself
qualified to pronounce on the details of the listing of
hammered coins, the enlarged illustrations of
the chief fault I find is that the level of die variety considered worthy of inclusion is frankly inconsistent. To take extremes: in a scarce denomination with no true die varieties (quarter guinea, p. 465) a trivial die crack is raised to the status of a separate obverse, while (p. 594) the halfpennies of Elizabeth II, which your reviewer knows (none better) to bristle with interesting varieties, are given a scant straightforward treatment without even the main reverse types being distinguished. Yet surely the number of collectors, mainly no doubt of moderate means, interested in 'ship' halfpennies must greatly exceed those collecting George I gold. In the 'bun' bronze (1860-95) selected varieties are included, including some patterns, but by no means all. From this (as well as the prices) we can gather that the book is actually designed not for collectors but for dealers, to whom it may be worth while pointing out a price-enhancing flaw in an expensive coin, but who cannot spend time poring over thousands of 'ship' halfpennies to find a scarce variety!

One finds a few errors in the illustrations. On p. 535 the William IV sixpence seems to have the same reverse as obverse, and on p. 418 the George VI five-sovereigns has the obverse of Edward VIII (correctly depicted on the page before), both of which were correctly shown in the first edition, so how did this happen? There are doubtless others. The Edward VIII brass threepence listed is of the George VI reverse type (p. 557); the Madge Kitchener reverse type is not mentioned, presumably dismissed as a pattern — but are not all coins with Edward's portrait strictly patterns? There is no difference between 'obverse 2' and 'obverse 3' in the George V Maundy coins (p. 615-6); it was the reverses which were modified in 1930. And whatever happened to the William III 'second bust' half crown of 1696, with hair across the breast (Seaby ESC 540)? Is this a pattern too? In which case how does it differ in status from the corresponding unique shilling (it was sold recently), which is included (p. 516)?

But despite carping, this is a useful and desirable book, and these days exceedingly good value for the money. Long may it remain so. To find one's way round it, especially in the hammer section, may require practice, but let us hope there will be regular editions in the future, in which the way will be made easier. In fact, if these defects (and no doubt others which a relatively casual perusal has not revealed), all of which seem to be merely teething troubles, are put right, then Coincraft is well set to become an institution like Seaby before it. We likewise expect to see the Scottish and Irish issues included in future editions.

D.L.F. SEALY


THIS is a cased volume, beautifully presented with superb enlarged colour photographs on a black background. The text opposite each of the 57 plates is set in two columns, one Danish and the other English, and gives a general perspective against which the specimen coins illustrated can be viewed. More detailed information on the specific coins is relegated to the notes at the back of the book; these also identify the author of the Danish text of each plate. (Dr Mark Blackburn made a linguistic revision of the English versions.) Although the book is clearly directed at the general reader interested in mediaeval Danish history, Mr Steen Jensen's introduction takes trouble to explain numismatic techniques such as die analysis and the significance of chains of die-links.

The plates are arranged thematically, illustrating — in a broadly chronological order — a particular mint (Lund, Roskilde, Slagelse, Ringsted, Viborg, Ribe, Orø, Albøk, Odense, Hedeby); a design or inscription (e.g. a 'Serpent'; a quotation from St John's Gospel; the Tree of Life; the Hand of God; the Lamb of God and the Dove of the Holy Spirit; the Triquetra symbol; magic coin inscriptions; Saint Olav; the first Madonna); a circumstance (e.g. a hoard under church foundation stones; chaos in Lund between c. 1040 and c. 1044; pecked, bent and cut coins); or a question for discussion (e.g. Denmark's first Romanesque double arch? Die flaw or control mark? How did they calculate and count? The first episcopal coin of Roskilde? Did a monetary economy exist everywhere in Denmark?).

For the student of English coinage the book's main interest lies in the relationship of the Danish to the English coinage in the early eleventh century, its importing and copying of English dies, and its subsequent divergence. Mr Steen Jensen explains in the introduction that, although coins had been struck in Denmark for several hundred years beforehand, the volume marks the millennium of the first coin to bear

1 The only other colonial strikings included are the usual 19th/20th century three-halfpence and fractional farthings, etc., but not the British Far East trade dollar.
both the name of a Danish king (Svend Tveskæg, better
known in England as Sweyn Forkbeard) and that of his
country. Illustrated on Plate 1 and known from a mere
eight specimens, all from the same obverse and two
reverse dies, Svend's coinage was modelled, rather
cruelly, on the Crux issue of Æthelred II of England
(conventionally dated to c. 991-7), as were the
contemporary issues of Olaf Tryggvason in Norway and
Olaf Skötkonung in Sweden which are illustrated on
Plate 2. The Norwegian issue is represented today by
five coins, all from the same pair of dies and, like
Svend's, names the moneyer as Godwine. If, as is
probable, the same person – presumably an Anglo-
Saxon – was involved in each case, he must soon have
moved on and the coinages must have been purely
symbolic. His final destination may have been Sigtuna,
the mint named on the extensive Swedish coinage of
which were probably made locally, two of the latter
having blundered inscriptions and the third naming a
moneyer Ascetel at the mint of Lund (now in southern
Sweden). The dating of this issue presents a problem,
because it used to be thought that Cnut could not have
issued coins in Denmark before his return there in 1019
following the death of his brother Harald, who had
succeeded Svend as king. On the other hand the Last
Small Cross type cannot realistically have been
continued in England in Æthelred's name for more than
a few months after Cnut was acknowledged as king of
the whole country at the end of 1016, and would Cnut
have struck in Denmark in 1019 a type that had been
replaced in England, probably in 1017, with a new one
(Quatrefoil) in his own name? It may seem unlikely,
and yet in 1900 Hauberg illustrated a coin in Cnut's
name and English title is illustrated on Plate 12, which
is headed 'English dies used at Viborg?' As is
explained in the text, written by Dr Blackburn, the
obverse die is also found combined with a number of
Quatrefoil reverses. Like the obverse, the reverses are
of good style and could well pass as English, not least
because names of English mints, if not English
moneyers, are found on them. Dr Blackburn gives
reasons for believing that the dies are all Danish
products and are representative of a gradual transition
from purely imitative issues to coins with meaningful
legends naming Danish mints. However, there is no
doubt that some Quatrefoil obverse dies made in
Lincoln and bearing Cnut's English title were sent
abroad (see again BNJ XXX), presumably in response to
a Danish request, and it would be natural for reverse
dies to have been supplied with them; may it not be that
the engraver had not been briefed on the mint-name to
be added to that of the prescribed moneyer and
therefore chose an English one to complete the
inscription?

Not only dies made in Lincoln were exported. Two
Quatrefoil obverses of London C style with the English
title and accompanying reverses for a moneyer in the
same London style. They were among a hoard of 108 coins, sixty of
them Danish in the name of Harthacnut but apparently

1 'Do Cnut the Great's first coins as king of Denmark date
from before 1018?', in Commentationes de Nummis
Saculatorum IX-XI in Suecia Repertis. Nova Series 6, Sigtuna
Papers, edited by Kenneth Jonsson and Brita Malmer
(Stockholm and London, 1990), 53-68.
these two volumes are very different from one another: while Duplessy is limited chronologically (cf. his earlier volume for 751 to 1223), Haeck covers the whole period 750 to 1433 in a single volume. Haeck offers also a note on fifty-two single finds, while Duplessy deals only with hoards. Duplessy’s finds are arranged alphabetically by find-spot, Haeck’s chronologically. Accordingly each has an index or chronological list to permit the reader to approach the finds by the alternative route.

These two very contrasting styles nevertheless both testify to the fundamental importance of the evidence of the finds for serious numismatic work. Both volumes will be indispensable. For whatever the deficiencies of the evidence – and many of the finds were originally inadequately recorded – and whatever uncertainties there may be about the attribution of some of the issues or the dating of some of the hoards – these meticulously gathered collections of evidence will always be essential starting points for anyone trying to understand the currency of France and Belgium. Their bibliographical data alone would make them invaluable, but both works also provide carefully reasoned summaries of the contents of each find.

Nor should anyone imagine that we are dealing here merely with compilations. This is not just a business of copying out dispersed accounts. Every original hoard report calls for a critical assessment of the recorded data in the light of modern knowledge. Hundreds of disparate reports have to be distilled in a consistent manner, which constitutes a very considerable intellectual challenge. As British numismatists we are rightly proud of our achievements in the classification of our national series, and we can be glad that the Inventory of British medieval hoards was among the first to demonstrate the importance of such hoard volumes, but perhaps the time is coming when we should look again to our national laurels. The Inventory is now over forty years old, and there is no new edition in sight. As we give thought to the need for a national scheme for the proper recording of single finds, we should also consider the case for an up-dated catalogue of hoards.

An example may serve to demonstrate what a formidable task a work of this sort can be. Consider the hoard of St Georges d’Annebecq. Duplessy 322–323. In the first place there were two finds, one from 1936, the other in 1981. (Multiple hoards might make an interesting subject on their own: one thinks of Aberdeen, or Ribnitz.) Are we looking at a single deposit, found in separate lots, or several hoards, concealed on one occasion or more? In the present case the two Annebecq finds appear to have termini post quem comfortably twenty or thirty years apart, but some numismatists might well think differently. Indeed, almost the only criticism one might voice of Duplessy’s work is that perhaps he has dated the finds a little conservatively. This is not to suggest that Monsieur Duplessy is unaware of the thinking which leads some students to argue for a new dating of the mailles tierces. His difficulty is that though there are straws in the wind, the orthodox French chronology has not yet
adopted the latest suggestions. And if the author is to depart from orthodoxy in one case, he opens the door to a score of similar debates on other issues. Too ready acceptance of the latest fad could be exposed by time, but clinging to established views can rapidly appear old fashioned.

A similar degree of caution characterizes Duplessy's treatment of unprovenanced hoards, which he excludes on the grounds that it cannot be certain that such finds were truly French. Haeck (p. 105), in contrast, is happy to list material in dealers' hands with only a presumed Belgian context. While respecting Duplessy's rigorous precision, there must be a good case for listing such finds in an appendix.

However, Duplessy does mention hoards which were not only concealed within the period 1223 to 1385, but also discovered then. Inevitably the recording of such finds leaves something to be desired, but the Paris find also discovered then. Inevitably the recording of such finds in an appendix.

The largest number of tokens in the present volume represent Surrey. Whereas Williamson partly separated out those from the urban areas as 'Southwark', the authors divide the county more systematically into 'Surrey I' and the urban 'Surrey II'. To facilitate consultation, a concordance with Williamson's 'Southwark' (which refers mainly to the Borough High Street) is provided. Other locations are listed alphabetically. This rearrangement is one of the most significant features of the work and deserves to become a standard classification of these tokens.

The volume is provided with several indexes: places of issue; trades and other descriptions; issuers; letters in obverse and reverse types. Types are described in a classified index. At first this seems over-complicated, but it does enable them to be described concisely in the listings. An index to the classification carries cross-references to the Norweb catalogue numbers. The indexes should help identify even a worn specimen provided it is represented in the collection.

This is a fine addition to the available works on seventeenth-century tokens, and should not be missed by those interested in this field.

CHRISTOPHER MYCOCK

While full, the catalogue is not a comprehensive account of the tokens produced in these counties. The omissions, (Myles Rodgin of Mildenhall, Suffolk, to take one example) result from gaps in the Norweb Collection rather than oversights on the part of the authors. Several tokens are re-attributed: Surrey loses East Horsley to Gloucestershire; Chipping Sodbury, in the latter county, gains one at the expense of Sudbury. Suffolk, Warwickshire gains Chilton Coton from Cotton, Suffolk, and Hanche 'Pits' from Staffordshire. Sussex loses Boreham Street to Essex. The collection adds several new locations to Williamson; Staffordshire gains two, while Suffolk and Surrey gain one each (Bures St Mary and Capel respectively.)


RARELY can it be said of a numismatic book that it has something for everyone but this volume must come as close to numismatic universality as any. Fourteen of the thirty-nine papers explore aspects of coinage in the ancient world, nine each are on Western Europe and the Americas, two each on the Balkans and East Asia, one each on Russian and Arabic topics, and one on coin collecting. The story of the lives of the dedicaties (pp. xvii–xxiii) is almost equally eclectic and reads like a sensational film script: from Romania to Italy to wartime Germany (including more than a year at Buchenwald Concentration Camp), back to Italy over the Brenner Pass (with their belongings in a wheelbarrow and their son, born in Berlin between bombings, in a pram) and finally, some years later, to


With this present volume, the fifth in the series, Robert Thompson and Michael Dickinson continue their catalogue of the Norweb Collection of some 13,000 British seventeenth-century trade tokens amassed by the American numismatists the Hon R Henry and Emery May Norweb. Tokens from the counties of Staffordshire to Westmorland are described. Issues from Bedfordshire to Somerset have been covered by the previous four volumes. Monmouthshire is to be included with Wales, while London and Middlesex have yet to appear.

The volume is of a high standard in scholarship, photography and production. The fifty-one plates of very clear black and white photographs illustrate over 1200 tokens, and are accompanied by concise listings giving weight, metal and die axis alongside a description of each piece, its provenance, Williamson number, references to other works, and notes.
the United States.

The history of this festschrift itself also reflects some of the vicissitudes of the Clain-Stefanelli's lives: conceived in 1986 to be published on Mrs C.-S.'s seventy-fifth birthday in 1989, the papers were collected by that date, but complications (including the loss of some of the plates) kept postponing publication a further seven years. In the interim, several authors have died, others withdrew their submissions, and the views expressed in a few papers have been partially superseded by recent work by the authors themselves. Nevertheless, there remains fascinating material reflecting a wide range of contemporary numismatic research and thought:

MICHEL AMANDRY, Agrippa et Tardani?
PAUL ARNOLD, Zwei bisher unbekannte Medaillen entwürfe für Herzog Heinrich zu Sachsen-Merseburg aus dem Jahre 1737.
CARMEN ARNOLD-BIUCCHI, Some New Cast Bronze Coins from Selinus at the ANS.
PIERRE BASTIEN, Remarques sur le Processus Consularis dans le monnayage romain.
MICHAEL L. BATES, An 'Abbâsid Dinar of the Year 209 Hijra from Wâsit.
PETER BERGHAUS, Zu den graphischen Bildnissen Charles Patins.
CHRISTOF BOEHRINGER, Ein Lot kleiner Silbermünzen von Zankle-Messana.
Q. DAVID BOWERS, Coin Collecting: Maximizing the Rewards.
WALTER BREEN, Early American Tokens from Birmingham: Who, where, why?
LEOPOLDO CANCE, Athenian Miscellanea.
MAURICE COLAERT, L'introduction du cupronickel dans le monnayage belge et ses suites.
ALAIN COSTILHES, Brazilian Gold Bars.
ANNA MARIA CROSS LEANDA DE TORRES, Mexico's, sus monedas en su historia.
FRANÇOIS DE CALLATAY, Les monnaies au nom d'Aesillas.
GUNTER DEMBISKI, Die keltischen Münzen aus dem Schatzfund von Chisineu-Criș (ehemals Kisjeniú) aus dem Kreise Arad in Rumänien.
GEORGES DEPEYROT, Les médailles d'or unifaces du quatrième siècle (318-340).
WERNER GIESEBRECHT, Frederick the Great and the United States of America.
CORY GILLILAND, A Mint Director's Full Agenda.
RAYMOND J. HEBERT, The July 2, 1780 Emission of Rhode Island Bills of Credit.
R. ROSS HOLLOWAY, Further Notes on the Early Bronze Coinage of Syracuse.
ROSE CHAN HOUSTON, A Preliminary Investigation into the Gold and Silver Coinage Problem of Chinese Antiquity.
OCTAVIAN ITILIESCU, Une ancienne médaille franco-roumaine (1859).
BERNHARD KOCH, Zum Problem der ungarischen Nachprägungen von Wiener Pfennigen.

LARS O. LAGERQVIST, A New Norwegian Coin Type from the 13th Century and its Disappearing Act.
BRITA MALMER, On Byzantine Coins from the Viking Age found in Sweden.
WILLIAM E. METCALF, Roman Dies in Modern Studies.
LEO MILDENBERG, Zu einigen sikulo-punischen Münzlegeraden.
MIGUEL L. MUÑOZ, The Establishment of the Mexico Mint - First in America.
PAUL NASTER, Noms divins et anthroponymes en caractères araméens sur les monnaies de Cilicie (4e s. av. J.-C.).
ERIC P. NEWMAN, The Promotion and Suppression of Hard Times Tokens.
JACQUES A. SCHOONHEYT, Des monnayages du royaume du Siam.
CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE, The Last of the Homeric World in Graeco-Roman Asia Minor.
RAYMOND WEILLER, Ein Münzgewicht aus Schloss Bourscheid.
H. BARTLETT WELLS, Macedonian Plated Gold Staters.
G. MICHAEL WOLOCH, Comparative Representations of Imperial Status on Roman Medallions A.D. 317-326.
RANDOLPH ZANDER, The Platovs and their Medals.

Chapter 1, Article 2, of the Rules of the British Numismatic Society call for 'the encouragement and promotion of Numismatic Science, and particularly in connection with the coins, medals and tokens of Great and Greater Britain and of the English-speaking races of the world'. With the addition of paper money, my remarks will be limited to those papers which fall under this rubric.

The late Walter Breen's essay on early American tokens from Birmingham and Richard Doty's on the Parys Mine Company explore similar problems of the copper tokens struck to relieve the shortage of small change on both sides of the Atlantic in the early days of industrialization. While Breen examines the situation in the fledgling United States, including tokens struck in England and often re-struck in America, Doty attempts to place the production of the Parys Mine Company tokens and the interests of Matthew Boulton at the Soho Mint of Birmingham. The illustrations in Breen's paper, although lettered, are not keyed to the text, and this requires constant checking to see which of the described pieces are illustrated (a thorough familiarity with the series would be helpful in this regard). Although not affecting his general thesis, Doty's statement, "The Royal Mint struck no silver for general circulation (except for the modest issue of shillings-and sixpences in 1787, completely inadequate to the need) between the end of the reign of George II and very
nearly the end of that of George III' (p. 173), should be modified. First, the large issue of silver threepences in 1762 and 1763 (some dozens of dies are known) certainly was chiefly for currency circulation. Such numbers were not required for the Maundy ceremony. Second, the 1787 shillings and sixpences were struck to order of the private Bank of England and were neither struck nor issued for general circulation. (In fact, the Bank retained most of them in their vaults for years and the relatively unworn condition of all specimens seen, testifies that they did not circulate – especially at a time when almost any round, silvery piece of metal could pass for lack of anything better.)

Werner Giesebrecht focuses on the minuet between representatives of the revolutionary colonies and the King of Prussia over recognition and a commercial treaty. Frederick was favourable to the establishment of trade (basically Silesian linen for Virginia tobacco) but Prussia lacked a navy ‘and its merchant ships were not especially seaworthy’ (p. 187). More importantly, while Frederick would have been pleased or even delighted to see Great Britain discomfited, he did not wish an open break and was content to wait until the outcome had been settled and other countries had led the way. The treaty, when it finally was signed in 1785, included humanitarian regulations to protect merchants and other civilians during wartime, inspired by the Enlightenment ideas of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson and wholeheartedly approved by the King.

The late Raymond Hebert's paper on Rhode Island's 1780 bills of credit illustrates the dependence of the colonies/early states on Spanish milled dollars to conduct trade before the U.S. Mint began striking coins in the 1790s. In fact, Spanish dollars and other foreign coins were legal tender in the United States until 1857. Cory Gilliland reflects this latter era by discussing the enormous demands placed on the director of the U.S. Mint during the year 1838. Among his many problems were securing the 104,960 British sovereigns of the James Smithson bequest, which constituted the initial funding of the Smithsonian Institution, and rapidly re-coining them.

Eric Newman discusses ‘hard times’ tokens, especially the anti-slavery issues (AM I NOT A WOMAN AND A SISTER? / AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?), Dated the same year as the arrival of the Smithson gold (1838), although struck somewhat earlier, the abolitionist issuers of these tokens were encouraged by British emancipation in 1834. The need for some form of small change became acute after the suspension of specie payments by American banks in 1837 and ‘the withdrawal from general circulation of virtually all silver and gold coin and the emergency issue of paper money by individuals, businesses, cities and countries’ (p. 294). That the tokens filled a genuine need was obvious. Although they readily circulated as cents for many years (some proclaim NOT ONE CENT), eventually the government suppressed them by threatening legal action, and another lively era in the chequered history of American coinage passed.

Finally, Alan Stahl's paper discusses the relationship of the American sculptor, Victor D. Brenner, with the American Numismatic Society. Brenner and Augustus Saint-Gaudens were the two American artists outside the U.S. Mint who are best-known today for their coin designs and both tried, not always successfully, to bring artistic excellence to the currency. Although generally favourable to Brenner, Stahl does not hesitate to criticize some of his designs that fall below a standard of artistic excellence. While the chosen illustrations are superb (as are almost all in this volume), one would wish for a few more photographs of non-Brenner medals mentioned in the text to compare with Brenner’s. (Figures 1 and 2 have been switched on his first plate but this is so obvious that it does not detract from the presentation.)

Sturdily bound in green cloth on top-trimmed A4 glossy paper, which admirably presents the numerous illustrations, this is a book for many seasons. The few misprints noted do not obscure the texts and the only real criticism, that it is not as current as the publication date suggests (Mrs C.S.’s bibliography ends at 1989, for example), would not be pertinent had it been published, say, in 1990.

H.E. MANVILLE