BRITANNIA: SOME HIGH POINTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ICONOGRAPHY ON BRITISH COINAGE

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THE commemorative coin for the centenary of the Entente Cordiale between Britain and France was issued by the Royal Mint in April 2004 (**Pl. 42, 1**). The Entente was a colonial agreement in which British interests in Egypt and French interests in Morocco were mutually recognized in the face of growing German expansionism. The designer David Gentleman RDI explained his juxtaposition of 'the national icons of Britain and France: Britannia, immortal and majestic and La Semeuse (**Pl. 42, 2**), vigorous, alive and of the soil ... the two figures merge at waist level, as if on a court card in a pack of playing cards – upright or inverted depending on which way up the coin is held. This gives equal importance to both figures, appropriate in an entente of equals.'[1] Subsequently the French Mint adopted the design for commemorative coins of their own, the first time that they have ever consciously used a British design. These events brought the iconography of Britannia on the coinage to mind.

Despite its significance as a concept, and its rich visual expression at certain moments in the history of Britain, Britannia on the coinage or elsewhere has not, until recently, been a fashionable subject for academic research or publication, with the exception of L.S. Forrer's *Le Type de 'Britannia' sur les Monnaies de la Grand Bretagne*, and Marina Warner's *Monuments and Maidens*.[2] Indeed, look up Britannia in the index of any recent work of history or art history and references are practically non-existent, except perhaps to illustrations.[3] But things change, and, early in 2004, Graham Dyer and Peter Gaspar presented a paper to the British Numismatic Society on 'The Standing Britannia Patterns of 1788'.[4] Furthermore, when the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* was published that autumn, it included, for the first time, an article on the fictive persona of Britannia.[5]

There are four periods when political, social, economic and artistic factors played a part in the evolution of the design of Britannia on the reverses of the coinage: 1672, 1797, 1902 and 1953 to the present. This spans the centuries when in geopolitical terms Britain placed the emphasis, with justification, on the word 'great' in the political entity Great Britain and her empire. Britannia on the British coinage is one of the most enduring of secular symbols. Not only did she appear on the reverse of the lowest common denominations of coinage for almost three hundred years without a break, from 1672 to the last pre-decimalisation issue of 1967, she was also one of the most stable symbols in terms of design, rarely undergoing any radical change. This article will look at some of the political and artistic factors involved as they affected the design of the coinage bearing an image of Britannia.

[1] Artist's design presentation to the Royal Mint Advisory Committee 2003.

[2] Forrer 1907; Warner 1985.

[3] See for example Colley 1992.

[4] G.P. Dyer and P.P. Gaspar, 'The Standing Britannia Patterns of 1788', unpublished paper read to the British Numismatic Society, January 2004. I am grateful to Graham Dyer for a typescript of this paper. Unpaginated.

[5] Hewitt 2004.

Britannia in the Ancient World

The personification of the city-state as a woman was established with the identification and adoption of Pallas Athena as the matronal deity of Athens. Later, as Minerva, she became part of the iconography of Roman Republicanism. The idea of a nation as a woman was subsequently applied to subjugated nations as part of imperial expansion, the design perhaps specifically adopted for the coinage in which the garrisons of the respective territories were paid. Thus Gallia, Dacia, Provincia, Africa and so on, appear in the feminine gender as these nations came under Roman dominion; their names are often inscribed in the exergue, itself suggestive of subservience. The origin of the image, on a tetradrachm of Lysimachus of Thrace (306–281 BC) (**Pl. 42, 3**), is Greek, and almost certainly relates to a three-dimensional image or cult statue such as the Diana of Ephesus.

Britannia makes a number of appearances on Roman coins, almost all during the second century. It may reflect a need for currency in an area of the empire that required three legions to hold it down, compared to the one legion needed in North Africa. The first type appeared under the Emperor Hadrian (117–38), on a copper as struck in Rome in c.119, on which the reverse depicts a female figure with shield and spear, seated on rocks (or possibly a wall), inscribed BRITANNIA (**Pl. 42, 4**). The underlying symbolism in the weapons and the wall must be defence and control. Hadrian had visited Britain in 119, and Hadrian's Wall was begun soon after. Rome had decided after the humiliation and subsequent cashiering of the Ninth Legion, not to undertake the subjugation of North Britain, and the stone wall, as pointedly defensive as those in China or Berlin, signified a closed frontier.

The ideas behind the imagery found expression in other imperial projects, as in the relief on a giant keystone, probably excavated in the early sixteenth century and now in the Capitoline Museum, Rome (**Pl. 42, 5**). Thought to be from Trajan's Forum, which was being built when Hadrian came to power in 117, it has been known variously since its rediscovery as Dacia, Germania, or Conquered or Weeping Province, and was used in modern times as a pedestal for a standing figure of Roma.[6] It was a source of inspiration for lines in Byron's *Childe Harold*:

> She their Dacian mother, he their sire,
> Butchered to make a Roman holiday.

The figure appears as an appropriately classical and theatrical prop for portraits by Pompeo Batoni and his contemporaries which were painted for Scots and English Grand Tourists in Rome in the mid-eighteenth century. Less ostentatiously, she is seen on Coade stone and Wedgwood plaques at the end of the century.[7]

Of the provincial types used by the Romans, only Britannia had rocks and a spiked shield beside her; the spiked shield may also make a subliminal reference to the notorious British chariot. Under Hadrian's successor Antoninus Pius (138–61), whose turf wall between Forth and Clyde marked a cautious expansion of territory, Britannia features on coins including a sestertius of 143 (**Pl. 42, 6**) and an as of 154 (Pl. 42, 7), which were struck in large numbers and circulated mainly in Britain.

Britannia in the seventeenth century

The particular importance of these coins is that they became the iconographic source for some of the first modern coins struck in this country, which appeared under a newly-established constitutional monarchy. In the immediate aftermath of the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II in 1660, and the calling-in of Commonwealth coinage, there was an acute shortage of money. There was a need too to establish the authority of the newly created constitutional monarchy and, as Andrew Burnett put it, the prestige that 'accrued from the production of a large coinage in the state's name'.[8] John Evelyn's diaries suggest a close involvement on the part of the

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6   Haskell and Penny 1981, 193–4, no. 28 (fig. 100).
7   Haskell and Penny 1981, 194 and nos 11, 12 and 15.
8   Burnett 1991, 10. See also Lindholm 1994.

antiquarian with the reform of the coinage that was underway.[9] In January 1662 he was called into the King's Closet 'when Mr Cooper (the rare limner) was crayoning of his face & head, to make the stamps by, for the new *Mill'd* mony, now contriving, I had the honour to hold the candle whilst it was doing' and he and the King talked 'of Painting and Graving &c'.[10] On 6 September 1662 Evelyn dined with Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms and Mr Slingsby, Master of the Mint.[11] Then on 27 August 1663, he dined with Sir Philip Warwick, Secretary to the Lord Treasurer, who showed him the Accounts and 'other private matters relating to the Revenue'. Evelyn then went on 'to the Commissioners of the *Mint*, particularly about Coynage',[12] and then home. He records going to the Tower of London again on 9 March 1664, 'to sit in Commission about regulating the Mint, & now it was the fine Milled Coyne both of White-mony & Ginnies was established'.[13] Further meetings of 'our *Mint Commiss*' which sat in the Inner Court of Wards, are recorded on 24 April and 10 July 1666.[14] From the diary entries Evelyn was clearly on familiar terms with Henry Slingsby, the Master of the Mint. Slingsby was from a Yorkshire family whose members had been part of the cultural renaissance at the beginning of the century.[15]

Evelyn had made a Grand Tour to Italy in 1664–5 and, as his diaries record, made it his business to acquaint himself with the remains of Antiquity and to buy 'Medailes & other curiosities, Antiquities &c'.[16] He was well acquainted with other collectors,[17] with collections of antique coins,[18] and with publications on the subject.[19] He himself prospected for coins on his return to England.[20] When he came to write *Numismata: A Discourse of Medals Antient and Modern*, published in 1697, he demonstrated his intimate knowledge of antique coinage and his understanding of its symbolism as a precedent, 'the most lasting and ... Vocal Monuments of Antiquity'.[21] Evelyn had been commissioned by Charles II to write an account of Anglo-Dutch relations, which was finally published as *Navigation and Commerce* in 1674.[22] In *Numismata* Evelyn expressed a generally held view that Charles II was 'the most knowing in *Naval* Affairs, and vigilant to Improve and Maintain the Safety and Glory of these Kingdoms in its highest and chiefest Concern, which is certainly its Strength at Sea'.[23]

The low denomination base metal coinage of 1672 was initiated by the Privy Council as an adjunct of the state and 'a national currency'.[24] The coins were legal tender, not mere tokens, being part of the monetary reform which included the suppression of tradesmen's tokens and their replacement by fine copper halfpennies and farthings (**Pl. 42, 8–9**). There were further issues of copper coins in 1673 to 1675 and 1679. The appearance of Britannia on the reverse of the new coinage coincided with two related factors: technical advances in manufacture, and the employment of new designers. Mechanisation of production, with the introduction of milling and horse-powered rolling-mills to process ingots into strips, superseded the hammered coinage. Pierre Blondeau's secret edge-marking machine, which had been rejected by the French,

[9] De Beer 1955, III, 370.

[10] De Beer 1955, III, 309.

[11] De Beer 1955, III, 335.

[12] De Beer 1955, III, 361.

[13] De Beer 1955, III, 370.

[14] De Beer 1955, III, 435 and 444 and n. 5.

[15] Note the monuments to Sir Henry and to William Slingsby (1631 and 1634), Knaresborough Parish Church, Yorkshire.

[16] De Beer 1955, II, 343; see also p. 368.

[17] Gilbert Barrell and Sir Thomas Brown (De Beer 1955, II, 540 and 544); Sir Robert Murray (De Beer 1955, III, 445). See also the list in Evelyn 1697, 245.

[18] He looked at coins in Bodley's Library, Oxford in 1654 and again in 1664 (De Beer 1955, III, 106 and 385).

[19] 'Cavalliero' Pozzo's paper museum (De Beer 1955, II, 277) and William Burton's *A Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary* ... (1658, London) (De Beer 1955, III, 221, n.7). In *Numismata* Evelyn refers to the collection in 'four noble volumes of *Duke Alberts* of *Bavaria*' recently presented by the Duke of Norfolk to the Royal Society (De Beer 1955, 42).
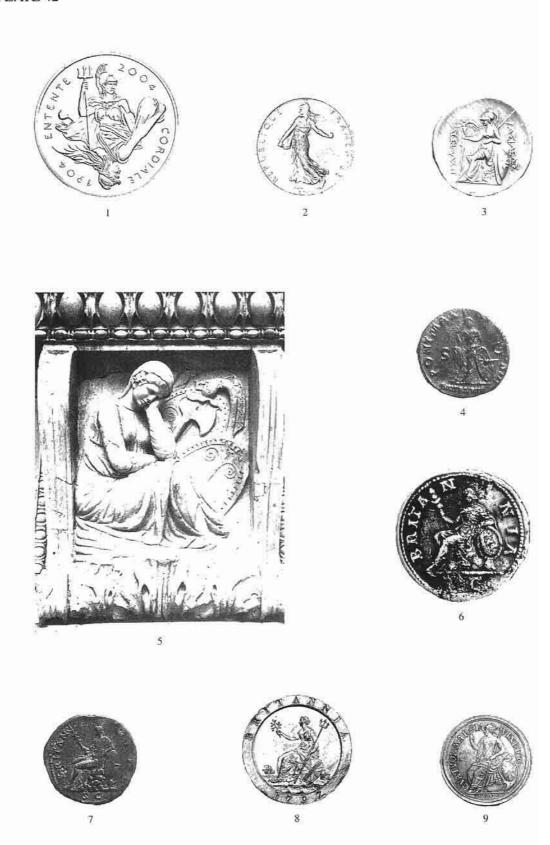
[20] He describes an Arcadian experience of talking to shepherds (De Beer 1955, III, 221). He kept his own collection in a cabinet which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[21] Evelyn 1697, I; the version examined by the writer is inscribed: *Donum autoris Hans Sloane* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Arch.Num.XI.23). It was Evelyn who suggested the epigrammatic inscription *Decus et Tutamen* to Slingsby for the five guinea, crown and half crown in gold and silver (Evelyn 1697, 225).

[22] De Beer 1955, I, 22.

[23] Evelyn 1697, 128.

[24] Oman 1931, 334.

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EUSTACE: BRITANNIA (1)

PLATE 43

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EUSTACE: BRITANNIA (2)

PLATE 44

EUSTACE: BRITANNIA (3)

PLATE 45

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EUSTACE: BRITANNIA (4)

PLATE 46

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EUSTACE: BRITANNIA (5)

PLATE 47

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EUSTACE: BRITANNIA (6)
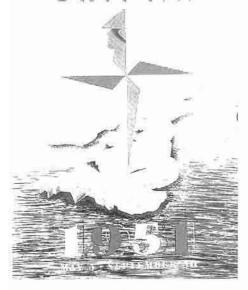
PLATE 48

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EUSTACE: BRITANNIA (7)

undoubtedly gave an advantage to the crown monopoly at a moment of consolidation of political change. The replacement by Charles II in 1661 of Thomas Simon, Oliver Cromwell's engraver at the Mint, by the brothers John and Joseph Roettiers from Antwerp, did not only reflect a change in political climate.

Antwerp had been a source of innovation and artistic invention since the late sixteenth century, when Flemish masons, settling in Southwark, had created a market and a style that dominated the proliferation of post-Reformation funerary monuments. In the cultural renaissance that characterised the reigns of the first two Stuart kings it was Antwerp's most famous sons, Rubens and Van Dyck, who established a court style. In the apotheosis of James I in the Banqueting Hall by the former and the equestrian imagery of Charles I by the latter, they had presented monarchy as monarchy might hope to be presented. As an important centre of intellectual enterprise which found its inspiration in Classical Antiquity, and as the financial hub of Northern European trade, Antwerp was also a market for coins, antiquities and paintings. The Roettiers were a dynasty of distinguished die-engravers and medallists, familiar with continental advances in minting money and well acquainted with a tradition of court taste and the significance of the Antique. Evelyn described John Roettiers, after a visit to the Tower Mint on 20 July 1678, as 'that incomparable Graver belonging to the Mint, who emulates even the Antients in both mettal & stone, he was now moulding of an Horse for the *Kings statue* to be cast in silver of a Yard high'.[25] The political economist William Petty in a series of questions and answers providing a guide to economic theory entitled *Quantulumcunque Concerning Money*, addressed to 'the Lord Halifax Anno 1682', declared 'Upon Account of Beauty, our *Britannia Halfpence* were almost all hoarded as Medals, till they grew common; for if but One Hundred of those Pieces had been coined, they would *for their Work and Rarity* have been worth above Five Shillings each, which for *their Matter* are not worth the *Halfpenny* they pass for'.[26] The success of the Roettiers manner in disseminating popular and aesthetic propaganda is evident in the fact that Joseph Roettiers was invited to Paris by Colbert and appointed Engraver-General of coins in 1682. He was given the title Premier Graveur de l'Histoire en Medailles, and was one of the first to contribute to the Medallic Histories which record the achievements of the reign of Louis XIV.

Britannia first appeared on the reverse of a medal to celebrate the restoration of the monarchy on 29 May 1660. Depicted above the inscription FELICITAS·BRITANNIAE, she was described by Evelyn as 'sitting under a Cliff by the Sea shore, with a Spear in one hand, and the *Union-Shield* in the other'.[27] The design for the reverse of the copper farthings and halfpennies of 1672 may have been connected to an earlier proof or trial pattern for a farthing in 1665, the reverse of which was inscribed *Quattuor Maria Vindico*, 'I claim the four seas' (**Pl. 42, 9**). In that year Charles II's brother, James, Duke of York, the Lord High Admiral, had defeated the Dutch at sea in the first of three wars with them. But the inscription was objected to by Lord Lucas in the House of Lords in 1670, in a speech on the scarcity of money, in which he satirised the splendid claim made on a base metal coin.[28] It was no doubt too overt a claim for Charles's patron, Louis XIV, and the proposal went no further.[29] The design was next used for what has been described variously as 'an experiment', and as a 'never completed' medal, the so called Naval Victories Medal of 1666–7 by John Roettiers (**Pl. 43, 1**),[30] after the Dutch Admiral Michiel Adriaansz de Ruyter had led a successful raid up the Thames estuary to within sight of Greenwich. The 'experiment' may have been a stage in the design process in which the obverse die, which would no doubt have been the profile portrait of Charles II by Roettiers, did not need changing. Britannia herself is presented in a somewhat louche pose, *en negligée*, the pair of *putti* who crown her with a laurel wreath being perhaps a reference to Castor and Pollux, who, according to marine tradition, appear heralding calm after a storm. The rayed sun breaking through clouds, being an emblematic device derived

[25] De Beer 1955, IV, 138 and n. 2.
[26] First published in London in 1682, it was republished by A. and J. Churchill in London in 1695, and reprinted in an annex to Massie 1760, 33–40.
[27] Evelyn 1697, 127, Illus. LIV.
[28] Ruding 1840, II, 12 n. 2.
[29] Morrieson 1919–20, 135.
[30] Marciari and Macleod 2001, nos 19, 20.

from Giordano Bruno's theory of royal heliocentricity, is perhaps a tactful acknowledgement of Louis XIV's support.

The design re-emerged as the reverse of the Peace of Breda medal, struck to mark the negotiations of 31 July 1667 which brought the Second Dutch War to an end (**Pl. 43, 2**). Here Britannia's previously relaxed air has given way to an altogether more alert pose as she, wearing a cuirass, firmly grasps her shield, with its Cross of St George and the Saltire or St Andrew's Cross, and her lance. She has her back to a sea cliff as she observes in the near distance a ship – the Ship of State – and the fleet – the Wooden Walls – and, at a distance to the left, the Dutch fleet. The obverse, carrying Roettiers's portrait of Charles II, is inscribed: CAROLUS SECUNDUS PACIS ET IMPERII RESTITUTOR AUGUSTUS. The words are significant: they convey the idea of Monarchy as unifying symbol, a pax against civil war,[31] and an emphasis on the restoration of the *imperium* of the Stuarts. There is a further reference to the Pax Romana under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Britannia was a deliberate choice, as Charles II reasserted the Stuart kings' claim to Lordship of the Seas. In 1672 the Third Dutch war broke out, with subventions from Louis XIV to Charles II, which may indeed have paid for the issue of the new coinage, just as the purchase of Dunkirk by the French in 1662 had made possible the minting of the higher denominations of gold and silver coins for the new reign.

The notion of Britannia as both a place extant in antiquity, and as a personification, had been developed at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, as part of the polemic leading up to and continued after the unification of Britain under James I and VI in 1603. It was used first by John Dee, who resurrected Britannia as the personification of an empire based on maritime endeavour.[32] William Camden, the father of antiquarianism and archaeology, first published *Britannia, sive Florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae* in 1587.[33] In the sixth edition of 1607, still in Latin, engravings by William Hole present Britannia on the frontispiece (**Pl. 43, 3**), clearly based on the series of engraved coins now included after the chapter 'Nummi Britannorum' (**Pl. 44**). Camden described V and VI as 'alter Britanniam rupibus insidentum cum signo militari, hasta, & scuto alter eandem globo insidentum habet'.[34] The first edition in English, *Britannia or A chorographical description of Great Britain and Ireland together with the Adjacent Islands*, described the Roman coins rather differently as being 'stamped with the effigies of *Antoninus Pius* and *Severus*, Britain is figured in a woman's attire, sitting upon rocks'.[35] Henry Peacham made further reference to the Roman source for Britannia in his book of emblems *Minerva Britanna or a Garden of Heroical Devises* ... in 1612, addressed to Henry, Prince of Wales. The first emblem is dedicated to 'my dread Soveraigne James, King of great Britaine. &.'.[36] The emblem, an image of Britannia bestriding sea and land, one foot on a ship and one on shore, contradicts the *impresa* or verse:

> Thus Britaine's drawn in old Antiquities,
> What time the Romanes overran her land:
> Who first devis'd her, sitting in this plight,
> As then their captive, and abandon'd quite.
>
> But can long continue at a stay,
> To all things being, Fates a change decree:
> Thrice-famous Ile, whom erst thou didst obey,
> Usurping Roome, standes now in aw of thee ...[37]

Here the subtext is the confusing recurrent theme of national antipathy to Catholic Rome, while adopting Roman precedents from the Antique. It was, however John Selden's *Mare Clausum seu De Dominio Maris*, written in 1618 but not published until 1635, which provided the intellectual

[31] For the ideas behind monarchy and empire that continued to inform seventeenth-century thought see Yates 1975, *passim*.
[32] Strong 1987.
[33] The escutcheon or badge on the title page is dated 1586 (Bodleian Library, Oxford (BOD 8° C32 Art. BS)).
[34] Camden 1607; Queen's College, Oxford, (53 G.20).
[35] Camden n.d, 36; Bodleian Library Oxford (BOD Gough Gen. top.163).
[36] Peacham 1612, 1.
[37] Peacham 1612, 108.

argument in Latin for British claims over the sea.[38] Addressed to Charles, King of 'Magnae Britanniae', it was a riposte to Hugo Grotius's *Mare Liberum* (1609), in which he had made the case for the Dutch claim to the North Sea and beyond. Selden's defence of British naval supremacy cited the coinage of Antoninus Pius among many other antique precedents, for he had read rocks for waves in the engraved coins in Camden.

The suggestion has recently been accepted that the figure of Britannia herself was modelled on Frances Teresa Stuart (1647–1702), later Duchess of Richmond; this was previously considered by some as myth-making on grounds of scale.[39] *Painted Ladies, Women at the Court of Charles II* (2001), cites four contemporaries, the diarists John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, and the poets Andrew Marvell and Edmund Waller, all of whom considered Frances Stuart to be the model for Britannia.[40] A member of the Stuart clan, her family had followed Charles II into exile in 1649/50, and she grew up at the court-in-exile that centred round Charles I's widow, Henrietta Maria. She came to England in 1662 as a Maid of Honour to Charles II's Queen, Catherine of Braganza. In a court obsessed by beauty and with presentations and representations of allegory and symbol, Frances was well-known not just for her beauty but for her Amazonian equestrian skills. As one of the 'Windsor Beauties' she was depicted at the age of seventeen in Peter Lely's portrait as Diana the Huntress (**Pl. 45, 1**). Ten years later, now sloe-eyed and dark-haired in conformity with the Caroline Court's ideal of beauty, she was painted by the French artist Henri Gascar as Minerva or Pallas Athene, which may itself be a self-conscious reference to her earlier role as Britannia (**Pl. 45, 2**). Samuel Pepys alludes to the beauty and presence at court of Frances Stuart on a number of occasions. On 15 July 1664 he saw her coming away from a portrait sitting at which the King had been present.[41] She had had the distinction of being drawn not once but several times by the greatest British painter-in-small, Samuel Cooper in 1662 and 1663, at the time that, as we have seen, the King was also sitting to Cooper.[42] There is a uniface medal of her in silver by John Roettiers, which bears a striking resemblance to the profile head of Britannia on the Breda Medal.[43]

Given the way that modern medallists work, it is entirely possible that Roettiers modelled a profile portrait in wax or clay, from which to scale-down for the medal or coin. On 25 February 1667, Pepys recorded: 'at my goldsmith's did observe the King's new Medall where in little there is Mrs Stewards face, as well done as ever I saw anything in my whole life I think – and a pretty thing it is that he should choose her face to represent Britannia by.'[44] Another acquaintance of Evelyn's, the poet Edmund Waller,[45] in his poem 'Upon the Gold Medal', left no one in the know in doubt as to who the sitter for Britannia was, while Andrew Marvell, satirising Waller's much earlier poem 'Instructions to a Painter', referred openly to Frances Stuart:

The *Court* in Farthing yet itself does please
And female *Stewart*, there, Rules the four Seas.
And Fate does still accumulate our woes,
And *Richmond* here commands, as Ruyter those.[46]

Comparing favourably Roettiers's designs with those on the reverse of coins of Hadrian and others 'so exquisitely designed', Evelyn continued '*Monsieur Roti* (Graver to his late Majesty *Charles* II) so accurately express'd the countenance of the *Dutchess* of R – in the Head of *Britannia*, in the *Reverse* of some of our Coin, and especially in a *Medal*, as one may easily, and almost at first sight, know it to be her Grace: And tho in the smallest *Copper* … such as may justly stand in competition with the antient Masters.'[47]

[38] Selden 1635.
[39] Oman 1931, 335 and Craig 1953, 174.
[40] See Marciari and Macleod 2001.Ù%e
[41] Latham and Matthews 1971, IV, 209.
[42] Marciari and Macleod 2001, nos 16 and 18.
[43] Marciari and Macleod 2001, no. 72. The date given there is 'after 1675' but with no explanation, and at the same time the Breda Medal is used as an identifying source for the sitter.
[44] Latham and Mathews 1971, V, 83.
[45] 'To His worthy Friend, Master Evelyn,/Upon his translation of Lucretious', Thorn Drury (n.d.), II.
[46] 'The Last Instructions to a Painter', Margoliouth 1971, I The Poems, 166, lines 71–4. Quoted in Marciari and Macleod 2001, no. 19.
[47] Evelyn 1697, 27.

Britannia in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

Introduced as a supporter of constitutional monarchy, Britannia in the Roettiers' manner remained a stable and consistent emblem on British low-denominational base metal coinage throughout the eighteenth century. She satisfied post-baroque Augustan Classicism and contributed to the establishment of patriotic awareness: she was an easily recognisable symbol in everyone's pocket. However, we should bear in mind that Britannia was also identified with Lockean principles of Liberty, and was a symbol that could be used either by the 'Patriot' or Whig Party, or by the Tories and Jacobites, and by their mercantilist supporters. Jeremy Black has cited medals as evidence of a strongly developed consciousness of national political issues and foreign policy. In particular he cites James Roettiers's medal of 1739 on which Britannia, brandishing a sword and the words *I'll avenge my wrongs*, is invoked against the Convention of the Prado, a trade treaty seen to be detrimental to British interests.[48]

Political opposition found further expression in the gardens at Stowe, with their punning Temples of Liberty, Ancient Virtue, and British Worthies, set out by Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham.[49] Here, Britannia was a significant presence. An *'Alto-Relievo of the Four Quarters of the World, bringing their products to Britannia'* (1738–42),[50] by the Fleming Peter Scheemakers, was moved from the interior back wall of the Palladian Bridge to the Temple of Concord and Victory. There it was incorporated into the pediment to mark the successful conclusion of the Seven Years War against the French (1761–2). The increase in demand for full scale figurative funerary monuments in the eighteenth century, peopled with attributes such as Faith, Fame, Victory and History, did not immediately provide an opportunity for the deployment of Britannia. She does, however, appear in her alter ego as Minerva on a number of monuments such as that to John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll by Louis François Roubiliac (1745–9),[51] and the monument to Captain Horneck (1746–7) by Peter Scheemakers in Westminster Abbey.[52] The former was a military hero, the latter a military engineer surrounded by his books and compasses. The reference to Britannia is there for all to see, but when Scheemakers redeployed Minerva on the monument to Dr Marmaduke Coghill at Drumcondra in Ireland, [53] the allusion may be taken as mute, because Ireland had in Hibernia a long-standing personification of her own.

An early example of a Britannia on a funerary monument is to be found on the memorial to Jonas Hanway (1712–86) in Westminster Abbey. The philanthropist Hanway was a founder governor of the Foundling Hospital and of the Marine Society, two foundations specifically associated with the needs of the Merchant Marine, in its role of establishing the first British Empire. The Foundling Hospital, which had been granted its charter of incorporation by George II in 1739, was the 'darling project' of Thomas Coram (1668–1751), sea captain, ship builder, merchant and philanthropist. [54] He had spent ten years in Boston and Taunton, Massachusetts from 1693/4 to 1703/4, before returning to England, and devoting himself to the establishment of a 'Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children'. His mission was to highlight the social problem of the many abandoned and murdered babies, and to train those rescued foundlings for the expanding navy and mercantile marine, with the ultimate aim of providing trained colonisers for an expanding North American empire, as the Romans had for their empire. In the design for Hanway's monument by John Francis Moore, Britannia appears to be clothing the naked, watched by an infant mariner (**Pl. 45, 3**).[55]

Britannia appeared for the first time on the new copper penny and twopence of 1797 (**Pl. 43, 4**). As in 1672, there was a convergence of international politics, advances in technology, a need for a reform of the coinage and a shift in style or taste. Two figures dominate the scene: Matthew

[48] Black 1986. 8–10.
[49] Eustace 1998, 31–40.
[50] Quoted in Roscoe 1999, 274; Haslam 1997, 36–41, illus.
[51] See Physick 1969, 118–21, figs 83, 84.
[52] Roscoe 1999, no. 61, figs 61 and 62.
[53] Roscoe 1999, no. 47, fig. 65.
[54] See Wagner 2004.
[55] Physick 1969, 130–1, figs 94 and 95.

Boulton, the industrialist and entrepreneur from Birmingham, and John Flaxman, the sculptor and designer, both leading figures of the Neo-Classical movement.

Boulton harnessed James Watt's engine to coin-blanking machinery and presses, replacing muscle with steam power. In 1786 Boulton supplied 100 tons of copper coinage to the East India Company, and in 1787 the Anglesey Copper Company started to produce penny tokens. That same year a Committee of the Privy Council was set up to consider reform of the coinage because, as Dyer and Gaspar explain, 'the copper coinage was heavily infiltrated by counterfeits, there was pressure from those in the copper trade … and well-made private tokens were beginning to circulate'.[56] Matthew Boulton invested heavily in technology and design in the battle against counterfeiters. He recommended a retaining collar to ensure a constant diameter, and the use of lettering on the rim. Milling and its cost-effectiveness once again coincided with a change of pattern or design. Boulton's engraver, Jean-Pierre Droz, attempted an entirely nude Britannia, while Lewis Pingo, Chief Engraver to the Mint, provided a standing Britannia for a pattern for unusually large halfpennies and farthings (**Pl. 43, 5**). Although examples of these were struck, the Committee did not proceed with them, but Boulton continued to build presses. In 1797, when the nation required a large supply of copper currency, Sir George Yonge, Master of the Mint, supported Pingo's design and advised him on a Minerva-like helmet, which would subsequently become ubiquitous. The Privy Council Committee, however, perhaps feeling that the olive-bearing Britannia was too pacific at a time of threatened invasion,[57] decided on Boulton's cartwheel type and reverted to the Roman Britannia in a design by another of Boulton's designers, Conrad Heinrich Küchler. This introduced the trident in place of the lance, a further reminder of Britannia's nautical and marine significance. The trident was introduced on pennies and twopences for the first time in 1797 at Boulton's Soho Mint in Birmingham, and would remain a signifier of Britannia on the coinage to the present day. In 1810 the rebuilt Royal Mint on Tower Hill opened, and the new coining presses developed and supplied by Matthew Boulton would remain in use until the end of the century.

Matthew Boulton was a close friend and business-associate of Josiah Wedgwood. They were both members of the Birmingham-based Lunar Society and it is not mere conjecture to suppose that design was part of the currency of conversation between the two men. In 1787 *Mercury uniting the hands of Britain and France* was commissioned by Wedgwood from Flaxman, to celebrate the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1786, to be made in Jasperware (**Pl. 45, 4**).[58] Wedgwood wrote to Flaxman: 'We must take care not to shew that these representations were invented by an Englishman: as they are meant to be conciliatory, they should be scrupulously impartial. The figures … should be equally magnificent & important, in their dress, attitude, character and attributes: and Mercury should not perhaps seem more inclined to one than the other … and if you think there is no impropriety in it, I should wish France to have her helmet & shield as well as Britannia, and the Fleur de lis upon the latter.'[59] The plaque appeared in Wedgwood's French catalogue in 1788, the year the Committee was considering patterns from the Royal Mint and from Boulton.

It is indicative of the shift in taste, whereby the influence of Rome and Roman antiquities is superseded by Greece. The influential writings of Cochin and Winckelman and others came to disparage the perceived derivativeness of much Roman art, and specifically of Roman sculpture, and artists such as Flaxman pursued what was perceived as the purer, simpler style of Greece. A possible early source for this shift in aesthetic understanding may be the Minerva Gustiniani now in the Vatican Museum, excavated in 1631 (**Pl. 46, 1**).[60] This was not copied until towards the end of the eighteenth century, when it came to be admired as an example of the 'high austere', specifically Greek style, the closest to Phidias's Athene for the Parthenon. It was engraved by Nathaniel Marchant, engraver to the Mint from 1797 to 1815, on a sardonyx intaglio for Charles

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[56] Dyer and Gaspar, as in n. 4.
[57] Dyer and Gaspar, as in n. 4.
[58] Bindman 1979, nos 52a–e, illus.
[59] Quoted in Bindman 1979, no. 52, illus.
[60] Haskell and Penny 1981, no. 63, fig. 140.

Long. Long was President of the Committee for the Inspection of National Monuments, set up to supervise the numerous monuments to the heroes of the Napoleonic Wars. Among them was the monument to Vice-Admiral Viscount Nelson (1807–18), in the south transept of St Paul's Cathedral, for which Flaxman adopted the Minerva type (Pl. 46, 2). The source was not lost on a contemporary German visitor, Ludwig Schorn, who described the monument where 'the artist has made as evident as possible the purity of his purpose shaped by antiquity, and the nobility of forms which he learnt from there ... Britannia, a tall figure similar to the war-like Minerva is leading two young mariners'.[61] Another example may well have been the even more severe Pallas of Velletri excavated in 1797, which Prince Augustus, later Duke of Sussex had tried to buy, and of which his brother the Prince Regent donated a cast to the Royal Academy where Flaxman was Professor of Sculpture.[62]

The iconography of Britannia flourished during the Napoleonic Wars at a demotic level in the political cartoons of Gillray, Cruikshank and Rowlandson, and became wholly identified with national endeavour, and the need for memorials to the fallen. The Trafalgar Vase designed by Flaxman in 1805–6, and made by the goldsmiths Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, has a cast and applied figure of a seated Britannia (Pl. 46, 3). More than sixty of these were made for presentation to naval and military officers by Lloyd's Patriotic Fund. To mark British naval victories over the French in 1799, Flaxman designed proposals for a number of public monuments. In his pamphlet *A letter to the Committee for raising the Naval Pillar or Monument under the patronage of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence* (1799), for which William Blake did the engravings, Flaxman cited precedents from the ancient world, and espoused the cause of the public statue (Pl. 46, 4). He acknowledged the idea as first suggested to him by 'Mr G. Dance'; 'How much more sentiment and interest there is in a fine human figure than can possibly be produced in the choicest piece of architecture, and especially when the figure represents the protecting Power or Genius of the Country ... like the Minerva in the Athenian citadel, whose aspect and size should represent the Genius of the Empire.'[63]

Britannia in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries

The next significant development in the use of Britannia in the design of the coinage is the silver florin of 1902 (Pl. 47, 1). In the late 1890s Britain was conducting a colonial war of expansion in South Africa, and met with a highly-successful guerrilla resistance from the Boers before annexing the Orange Free State in 1900 and the Transvaal in 1902. Three hundred thousand British soldiers had been dispatched to the Cape, and the two phases of the war were met at home with a jingoistic enthusiasm. News of the relief of Mafeking on 17 May 1900 was celebrated by vast crowds in the streets of London and elsewhere, awash with patriotic hysteria. Meanwhile the Suffragette movement was gaining ground in its campaign for female emancipation.

Once again Britannia flourished on the pediments and porticos of public buildings across the nation, to take but one example the new Gallery of British Art by Sidney R.C. Smith, on Millbank, completed in 1897, and popularly known after its benefactor as the Tate Gallery, now Tate Britain. At the demotic end of the spectrum, Britannia was in the early 1900s a constant presence at fêtes, festivals and parades. Postcard Britannias (Pl. 47, 2), according to Tom Phillips RA, were the still expression of 'an unembarrassed fervour for king and country'.[64] In 1901 the death of Queen Victoria was marked at Esher, the village in Surrey in which she had spent most of her childhood, by a monument with a life-size bronze standing figure of Britannia. Two years later the British Numismatic Society adopted as its seal a standing Britannia.

Over the same period increasing dissatisfaction was expressed with the artistic merits of the coinage. In an article on 'The New Coinage' in the *Art Journal* for March 1893, the painter Philip

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[61] Schorn 1827, quoted in Bindman 1979, 30. Modern commentators have avoided the allusion to Britannia, preferring to see the standing female figure as Minerva: 'a less stridently didactic and patriotic role' (Irwin 1979, 160).

[62] It was ceded to the French by the Treaty of Florence in 1801, and is still in the Louvre: Haskell and Penny 1981, no. 69, illus.

[63] Flaxman 1799, 7; Flaxman acknowledged the idea as first suggested to him by 'Mr G. Dance' on p. 14 (Godwyn Pamphlets, Bodleian Library, Oxford (BOD G.Pamph. 1815 (6)).

[64] Phillips 2004, 117.

Wilson Steer described it as 'the apotheosis of machinery and the almost extinction of Art'.[65] The reworking of Wyon's 1861 Britannia in 1895 incurred ridicule in *Punch* (**Pl. 47, 3–4**):

> Britons good at making money,
> Cannot make a coin that's decent.
> Rule Britannia? Rot sophistic!
> Had I really sway I'd rule
> No more duffers inartistic
> With my coins should play the fool.[66]

The accession of Edward VII in 1901 led to an immediate decision by the Mint authorities for a new look to the coinage, which had remained almost static across the sixty years of Victoria's reign, notably in Leonard Wyon's design for the 'Bun' penny of 1861. While the Wyon-inspired figure on the reverses of the penny and halfpenny remained the same, George William de Saulles was instructed to replace the heraldic devices on the reverse of the florin with a Britannia. De Saulles, who had trained and worked at Birmingham, had already produced the design for a standing Britannia for the British trade-dollar for Hong Kong and the Far East in 1895. De Saulle's model for Britannia had been the seventeen year old Susan Hicks Beach, a society beauty and the daughter of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Master of the Mint. In 1900 De Saulles designed the Queen's South Africa Medal, on which Britannia gestures encouragingly to the troops, in a manner much closer to the treatment of Marianne, the French national symbol, who is usually seen in action, and often on the offensive.

De Saulles's model in 1901–2 was once again Susan Hicks Beach (**Pl. 47, 5**).[67] This prompted a question in the House of Commons from Ellis Griffith as to the design of the new florin, whether there had been an open competition. He further criticised the design: the horizon sloped left to right, the figure and head were not in proportion, there was no indication of a second foot, there was no beading, and so on.[68] Britannia's designer was clearly aware of the earlier attempts at standing figures, and he pays a conscious tribute to them. De Saulles' Britannia is nevertheless a product of the New Sculpture,[69] and the aesthetic movement of the latter part of the nineteenth century. With her Symbolist, art-nouveau appearance, facing forward astride the prow of a galley, she is more Nordic heroine than Roman matron or Greek goddess. Comparative work by Alfred Stevens, whose allegorical figure of Valour on the Duke of Wellington's Monument in St Paul's (1857–75), suggests subliminally a Britannia type, as does F.W. Pomeroy's *Fortitude* (*c*.1895, Sheffield Town Hall) (**Pl. 47, 6**), were part of a new sensibility and aestheticism which expressed itself in dress as well as in stone or bronze. De Saulles's florin was not, however, a popular or well-wearing design, and was abandoned in 1911. It was, however, the inspiration and source for Gentleman's design for the Entente Cordiale commemorative crown a hundred years later.

Half a century later, the 1953 penny of the new reign retained the reverse design of 1936–7, the pre-war coinage begun for Edward VIII and maintained for George VI. Designed and modelled by C.W. Coombes, it harked back to the Victoria Britannia of 1861, with a lighthouse, a little more drapery and one less ship – the designer had indeed proposed a battleship, but the idea was rejected (**Pl. 47, 7**). It remained the design right up to decimalisation, a further example of an apparent need to express continuity and stability, and perhaps of the straitened circumstances of post-war Britain.

Post-war Britain underwent a social and cultural revolution, and an artistic flowering that found its expression in the Festival of Britain in 1951. Centred on London's South Bank, this had such architectural landmarks as the Dome of Discovery and the Skylon. In 1948 a competition to create a symbol for the Festival of Britain (**Pl. 48, 1**) was won by Abram Games, the son of a Latvian photographer and a seamstress from Russo-Poland. Games had trained at St Martin's School of

[65] Quoted in Barclay 1992, 56–68.
[66] *Punch*, 18 June 1896.
[67] Designs and moulds were thought to have survived with the family (Forrer 1907, 8), but the writer has been unable to establish this with the St Aldwyn Estate Office.
[68] 'Varia: The New Florin' (extract from the *Daily Graphic*), *NCirc* July 1904.
[69] The title of an article by Edmund Gosse published in the *Art Journal* in 1894 (see Beattie 1983, 3).

Art and was employed by Jack Beddington of the Shell petroleum company as a poster designer in the 1930s. Games's stark Britannia image for the Festival comprised a helmeted female head making up the northern point of a compass. While conforming to Games's philosophy of 'maximum meaning' from 'minimum means', it left no one in doubt that this was Britannia. The bunting on the Festival logo, inspired, Games said, by his wife hanging out the washing, was added at the request of the Festival Committee, to make his uncompromising logo appear more festive.[70] It cropped up everywhere, on souvenir sets of stamps, ties, plastic paper knives, road signs and park benches.[71]

Why was the symbol of Britannia not given a new lease of life at this point, when the opportunity of a new coinage for a new reign was there? Perhaps because she had always been a symbol of empire, and in modern times a symbol of the imperial history of these islands. In the post-war era which rapidly developed into the Cold War, there was too much uncertainty about Britain's changing status on the world stage. The Empire's demise, as India, and then colonies and protectorates in Africa achieved nationhood, meant that the deployment of Britannia as a symbol was perhaps understood by the collective conscience to be an anachronism, while within the British Isles themselves the momentum towards constitutional devolution grew apace. It is significant that in the patriotic euphoria of the Falklands War of April 1982, the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, was, perhaps too obviously, associated with Britannia by newspaper editors, cartoonists and political commentators, albeit ironically.[72]

The prevailing tendency in art of the immediate post-war period was abstraction, which most leading artists embraced wholeheartedly. Abstraction was an unsympathetic aesthetic context for coinage design, so dependent on symbolism and narrative, to thrive. Subsequently Pop Art, with its radical tendency to subvert accepted perceptions, was inimical to the conservative need for the coinage to provide continuity and stability. With the return to figuration in the 1980s and 90s, sometimes referred to as the New Figuration, John Lobban's Britannia for the British Numismatic Society medal and letterhead of 1990, contrived a neat divide between figuration and abstraction (**Pl. 48, 2**).

On the coinage, in 1968, in the run-up to decimalisation, Britannia was abandoned altogether and questions were asked by Bernard Braine in the House of Commons as to why this was so. Soon after, a heptagonal 50 pence piece in cupro-nickel was issued with a rather etiolated Britannia, shorn of any context, on the reverse, designed by Christopher Ironside (**Pl. 48, 3**).

In 1987 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nigel Lawson, initiated a development in gold coinage, the first for 150 years, when he announced a gold bullion £100 coin denomination, the Britannia, as legal tender. This was the result of pressure from the commercial success of the South African Krugerrand. Fifty-two designs by fourteen designers were submitted to the Mint in competition. The winner, Philip Nathan, declaring his intention of 'lessening the neo-classic grip and strengthening the "British" attributes',[73] provided designs for the reverse of variant Britannias in an eclectic variety of styles. His first design, in 1987, of a wind-swept standing figure clutching a shield and an olive branch in the teeth of a gale, appears to owe its inspiration to the 1902 Edward VII florin by De Saulles. In 1997 and 1999 Britannia appears as Boudicca driving a two-horse chariot, whose stylistic ancestors might have been Thomas Banks's roundels, modelled on the Luna and Sol reliefs on the Arch of Constantine, for Soane's Bank of England and elsewhere. Casts of these survive in the Sir John Soane's Museum.[74] It may refer too to Thomas Thornycroft's *Boadicea* on the Embankment at Westminster Bridge (1856–1902). Another Nathan design in retro-deco manner, of 2001, owes something to the standing Britannia and lion on the bronze memorial medals of the First World War, designed by E. Carter Preston. These may recall the gentler Una Guiding the British Lion by William Wyon on the reverse of the £5 gold coins of 1839.[75] The 2003 Britannia's helmeted head is reminiscent of French coinage depicting well-

[70] Moriarty 2003.
[71] Feaver, W., 'Festival Star', in Banham and Hillier 1976, 40.
[72] Warner 1985, 38–45.
[73] Nathan 1987.
[74] Bryant 2005, nos 40–50.
[75] Jones 1979, no. 280, illus.

known French women, such as the film stars Brigitte Bardot and Catherine Deneuve, as Marianne, with retro-deco wave patterns suggestive of the rostra or prows of galley ships (**Pl. 48, 4–7**).[76]

The unfashionableness of Britannia has surely resulted from intellectual, social and cultural embarrassment about Empire, but, as this recedes into the past, so we begin to look at Britannia anew. In John Lessore's group portrait *Six Paralympic Athletes*, unveiled at the National Portrait Gallery in June 2004 (**Pl. 48, 8**), in the figures of Dame Tanni Grey-Thompson and Maggie McEleny, the references to a demotic Britannia are subliminal but unmistakable.

A casual glance at the reverse of the coins of lower denomination and base metal in the past three hundred years would suggest no change in small change. S.H. Hamer, in an article on private tokens in *BNJ* for 1906, declared: 'The reason for this consistent character of modern coins is due to the utilitarian spirit of the times, and the necessity for a huge volume of money for the purposes of trade.'[77] A hundred years later with the advent of electronic payments and the card economy and use of 'plastic', it is questionable that there is a need for a huge volume of coinage. The last decade has seen a proliferation of designs, driven by the collectors' market, and the design of the coinage has been far from stable or consistent.

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[76] Nathan 1987. Nathan states that he deliberately avoided De Saulles's standing Britannia, and all other earlier representations, while admitting that no artist works in a vacuum.

[77] Hamer 1906, 309.

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KEY TO PLATES

Plate 42

1. Reverse of the cupro-nickel commemorative £5 coin for the centenary of the Entente Cordiale of 1904, designed by David Gentleman and issued in April 2004. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
2. Obverse of the French silver 2 franc coin. *La Semeuse*; signed by Oscar Roty, 1902. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
3. Reverse of a silver tetradrachm of Lysimachus of Thrace (323–281 BC). Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. (© British Museum)
4. Reverse of a copper as of the Emperor Hadrian, struck in Rome c.119 AD. Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (© The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)
5. Relief, part of a giant marble keystone, probably excavated in the early sixteenth century, thought to be from Trajan's Forum, Rome. Ht. 120 cm. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. (© Musei Capitolini)
6. Reverse of a copper alloy sestertius of Antoninus Pius, probably minted at Lyon in Gaul in AD 143. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
7. Reverse of a copper as of Antoninus Pius, AD 154. Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (© The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)
8. Reverse of the 1672 copper halfpenny. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
9. Reverse proof or trial pattern for a copper farthing, 1665. Inscribed QUATTUOR MARIA VINDICO. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)

Plate 43

1. Nineteenth-century pewter uniface re-strike of the Naval Victories medal by John Roettiers, 1666–7. British Museum (M 7574 EH). (© The British Museum)
2. Reverse of the gold Peace of Breda medal by John Roettiers, 1667. Inscribed FAVENTE DEO and in the exergue BRITANNIA. British Museum (George III Eng. Med. AV4). (© The British Museum)
3. Frontispiece to *Britannia* by William Camden, engraved by William Hole and published by George Bishop and John Norton, London, 1607. (detail) (© The Provost, Fellows and Scholars of The Queen's College Oxford)
4. Reverse of the copper penny struck at Matthew Boulton's Soho Mint, Birmingham, 1797. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
5. Copper pattern for a farthing, designed by Lewis Pingo, 1788. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)

Plate 44

Nummi Britannorum, Plate 65 from *Britannia* by William Camden, engraved by William Hole and published by George Bishop and John Norton, London, 1607. (© The Provost, Fellows and Scholars of The Queen's College Oxford)

Plate 45

1. *Frances Stuart, later Duchess of Richmond and Lennox* by Peter Lely, c.1662; oil on canvas; 125.7 × 103.5 cm. Her Majesty the Queen. (© The Royal Collection Enterprises)
2. *Frances Stuart, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox as Minerva* by Henri Gascar, c.1675; oil on canvas; 248 × 138 cm. Goodwood House, Sussex (©The Trustees of the Goodwood Collection)
3. Design for the monument to Jonas Hanway in Westminster Abbey by John Francis Moore, c.1786; pen and ink and watercolour, 18 × 10¾ ins. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (4910.22). (© V&A)
4. *Mercury Uniting the Hands of Britain and France*, designed by John Flaxman, 1787. Earthenware biscuit raised relief mould, 26 × 27 cm. Image by courtesy of the Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston, Staffordshire. (© The Trustees of the Wedgwood Museum)

Plate 46

1. Minerva Giustiniani, marble. Ht. 223 cm. Vatican Museum, Rome. (© Musei Vaticani)
2. Monument to Vice-Admiral Viscount Nelson by John Flaxman, (1807–18), St Paul's Cathedral. (© Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)
3. The Trafalgar Vase, designed by John Flaxman and made by Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, for Lloyd's Patriotic Fund, 1805–6; silver. Ht. 48.3 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum. (© V&A)
4. Design for a statue of Britannia by John Flaxman, 1799. Pencil, pen and ink. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E.950–1965). (© V&A Museum Images)

Plate 47

1. Reverse of the 1902 silver florin designed by G.W. de Saulles. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
2. Unknown woman as Britannia, c.1900; photographic postcard. (Tom Phillips Collection). (© Tom Phillips and the National Portrait Gallery)
3. Reverse of the 1861 copper penny designed by Leonard Wyon. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
4. Reverse of the 1895 copper penny. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
5. Susan Hicks Beach, the daughter of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Master of the Mint, from the *Tatler and Bystander*, c.1900. (© The Ashmolean Museum)
6. *Fortitude* by F.W. Pomeroy, c.1895. Vestibule, Sheffield Town Hall. (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)
7. Reverse of the 1938 copper penny designed by C.W. Coombs. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)

Plate 48

1. Festival of Britain poster designed by Abram Games, 1948; lithograph. Museum of London. (© Abram Games Estate)
2. Obverse of the bronze British Numismatic Society Medal designed by John Lobban, 1990. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
3. Reverse of the 1969 cupro-nickel 50 pence piece designed by Christopher Ironside. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
4. Reverse of the 1987 gold bullion £100 coin designed by Philip Nathan. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
5. Reverse of the 1997 gold bullion £100 coin designed by Philip Nathan. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
6. Reverse of the 2001 gold bullion £100 coin designed by Philip Nathan. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
7. Reverse of the 2003 gold bullion £100 coin designed by Philip Nathan. Royal Mint Museum. (© The Royal Mint)
8. *Six Paralympic Athletes*, winners of gold medals at the 2000 Paralympics, Sydney, Australia, by John Lessore, 2004; oil on canvas, 203 × 203 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 6669). (© National Portrait Gallery)