

JOHN MILTON, MEDALLIST, 1759–1805

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JOHN Milton was active as a medallist during the middle years of George III's reign. His works include medals, tokens, and a variety of kindred pieces. Many of his productions are of continuing numismatic and historical interest, and are by no means forgotten, while others are exceedingly rare and little known. Milton's own talents, coupled with a degree of good fortune, enabled him to escape from the total obscurity that was the lot of many medallists: he was noticed in his time, and some of the events in his career are vaguely known to us. Nevertheless, his personal history has till now remained ill-defined, while many problems relating to his works are still unresolved. Some of the difficulty is chronological, and obviously the first requisite is a reliable framework of dates. In the present study an attempt has been made to present a more coherent account of Milton's career than has hitherto been available, and to establish a more confident chronology for both his life and works.

Hitherto almost nothing has been known about Milton's early years before he joined the Mint in 1787. Such evidence as there was seemed to indicate an already long career at that time. One or two of his medals bear considerably earlier dates, and there was also the unsupported but unassailable remark by Edward Hawkins to the effect that Milton's works date from 1760.¹ Until this statement could be verified or refuted Milton's past was bound to remain a mystery. Fortunately the whole problem of these early years has now been resolved with the discovery that Milton was born in 1759 (see Appendix). With this knowledge everything falls into place. We see now that the date given by Hawkins must be an aberration; that Milton was only a young man when he joined the Mint; and that there cannot be any great period of years to account for. On examination we find that the early dates on some of the medals are deceptive, and unrelated to the date of production. For example, the Aberdeen medal (No. 12) bears the date 1771, but was in fact produced in 1795. More generally the results of the present study suggest that Milton's career as a medallist began in or shortly before 1785, giving him no more than twenty active years before his premature death in 1805, at the age of forty-five. Hawkins also misled us on the period of Milton's employment by the Mint, which he stated as running from 1789 to 1798. Yet correctly this should be from March 1787 to March 1797, as the Mint records confirm. The difference is small, but critical when we come to examine his works in detail. Unfortunately the particulars given by Hawkins were repeated unquestioningly by subsequent biographers, and a false orthodoxy was thus established. A brief outline should now read:

John Milton, born 19 July 1759; died 11 February 1805; employed at the Royal Mint from March 1787 to March 1797. His known works date from 1785.

In that year Milton's first medal (for the Society of Industry) was issued; and he exhibited for the first time at the Royal Academy, sending in a seal and an engraved gem.² The seal is of particular interest since the description of it, which we owe to Forrer, seems to indicate that it was a personal trade-card or bill-heading of some sort, giving Milton's address and his profession of engraver.³ If this is right it suggests that about this time he was setting up in

¹ E. Hawkins, *Medallie Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II*, 2 vols (London, 1885), II, 733.

² Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts, A*

Complete Dictionary of Contributors, 8 vols (London, 1905-6), V, 259.

³ L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, 8 vols (London, 1904-30), IV, 85.

business on his own account. Regrettably nothing is known of Milton's background or training, but it is likely that he was brought up to the trade of seal-engraver, and he so described himself in his application for a marriage license at the beginning of 1786.⁴ His reputation as a seal-engraver was mentioned by Sir Joseph Banks in a letter of 1802, and it is probable that his livelihood was always dependant on that line of work in metal or stone, especially when we consider that the whole body of his medallic work (as far as we know it) could hardly have provided him with a tolerable living when spread over twenty years. Nor need the position have been different during his time at the Mint, since the modest remuneration that they provided, £80 a year and free housing, was intended only to retain, not to support, the artists concerned.

We may wonder what induced Milton to turn his hand to medallic die-engraving. Public demand for medals was limited and unpredictable, and the prospects could hardly have been promising for a solitary artist. It is easier to imagine that he received encouragement from some source, and there is a good deal to suggest that that source was Lewis Pingo, the chief engraver at the Mint. Enquiries from the public for medallic work, and no doubt for other forms of engraving, gravitated naturally to the Mint as the chief repository of the requisite skills, and we know that Lewis and his brother John carried on what must have been quite a considerable business from the old family home in Gray's Inn Lane, where, no doubt, such enquiries were processed. As their trade-cards in the British Museum show, they described themselves in 1785 as engravers, and in 1791 as engravers and medallists.⁵ Lewis's own signature appears on the occasional prestigious medal such as the Cook medal of 1784 for the Royal Society, or the Medical Society medal of 1787, but much of the work they handled must be unknown to us, and some of it may have been sub-contracted to other artists of whom we may imagine the young seal-engraver, John Milton, to have been one. It is hard to believe that the Lincolnshire Society of Industry, for example, would have directed their enquiry in 1784 or 1785 to an entirely unknown and untried engraver, as Milton then was, and much more likely that they addressed it to the Mint; and that it was Pingo who put the work out to Milton, persuading him to try his hand, and promising more work if successful. The same consideration applies to the first of the Anglesey Pennies executed apparently in 1786.

After Milton's appointment to the Mint in 1787, made no doubt on Pingo's recommendation, he appears to have rapidly assumed the position of London's leading, or most active, medallist. We also notice that about the same time Pingo virtually abandoned medal work, and after 1790 never signed another medal. These two observed facts clearly point to some sort of agreement between them whereby the work that Pingo obtained was passed to Milton to execute. Their collaboration is further suggested on stylistic grounds, in that the typical Milton style, most apparent in some of his allegorical female figures with their tiny heads and voluminous drapery, is reminiscent of Pingo's own style, a fact which may well indicate that Pingo was supplying the designs for Milton to work from. These conjectural remarks, it is hoped, may help to explain the observed facts, and to paint a plausible picture.

In 1787, probably due to the pressures of coinage, the Mint decided to strengthen the engravers' department by recruiting new talent. J. R. Ocks, the second engraver, who was well into his eighties if we can believe Sir John Craig, was pensioned off, and John Pingo promoted into his place. Milton was brought in as third engraver, or (more officially) 'probationer or apprentice under the chief engraver'. In the master's letter of 6 February 1787 recommending these changes to the Treasury Milton is described as 'a young Artist of very promising abilities', and the purpose is stated in the ritual words 'in order to his being instructed and perfected in the Art of Graving Dies and Puncheons, for the service of

⁴ Marriage allegation of the Bishop of London (MS 10091 E/99, Box 1). He was married at St Martin in the Fields on 14 January 1786.

⁵ British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Banks Collection of Tradesmens' Cards, 59.134 and 59.135.

his Majesty's Mint'. The Treasury warrant confirming the appointment was dated 13 March 1787.⁶ The ten years that Milton spent in the Mint service represent half his working life, and much of his output of medals and tokens belongs to this period. But of his actual work for the Mint itself no details whatever are known. This need not surprise us in view of his relatively humble position as third engraver. There is, however, a remark by Thomas Sharp which should be mentioned since his views generally deserve respect. In his Chetwynd catalogue of 1834 he described Milton as 'that powerful and skilful engraver, whose dies for the Mint, and especially his pattern pieces . . . discover so much genius and vigour of execution'.⁷ What dies does he mean, and what pattern pieces? We know that Sharp wrongly attributed the Isle of Man coinage of 1786 to Milton, and he could be thinking of those dies. He may also have had in mind Milton's pattern shilling of 1798, not realizing that it was produced well after Milton had left the Mint. To this extent Sharp's remark can be explained away, and very probably there is no substance in it at all.

The discovery that Milton had been supplying dies for the counterfeiting of Louis d'ors and other foreign gold coin came about when, in October 1796, the coiners in question were taken up and examined by the authorities. The men claimed that Milton had assured them there was 'nothing wrong in it'. The Mint were naturally horrified at the news, and quickly held an enquiry. After considering the allegations, and hearing Milton's admission at least to the extent of having supplied the dies, they found that he stood 'highly culpable' and had 'forfeited the future confidence of the Office'; and suspended him from his employment. Their findings went to the Treasury who confirmed their action and ordered the case to go to the Law Officers with a view to prosecution. These gentlemen, however, reported that 'it does not appear to us that the conduct of Mr Milton can under the circumstances stated be effectually made the subject of any prosecution'; adding their opinion that 'the law respecting instruments which may be used in counterfeiting foreign coin seemed to require attention'. The affair then remained in the balance until March 1797 when the Treasury ordered that Milton be dismissed. Already in the previous October the coiners had come up for trial on the high treason charge (under the act 8 & 9 William III c. 26) of having coining instruments in their possession, but had been acquitted, partly from lack of evidence, and partly, it seems, from uncertainty whether this act could be applied to foreign coin. A second charge brought under 14 Elizabeth c. 3, which made it misprision of treason to counterfeit gold and silver coin of other realms not current in this realm, had been dropped after the first acquittal.⁸ Had it gone otherwise Milton could, we must suppose, have been charged as an accessory, and been liable to the same penalties. By itself the provision of dies was not contrary to any statutory law except when it related to coin of the realm, and the Law Officers' decision in the Milton case is quite understandable.

The law relating to the counterfeiting of foreign coin was extremely defective at this time. Patrick Colquhoun, the magistrate who wrote so forcefully on crime and punishment, remarked that the practice 'does not at present seem punishable by an existing law'. It was very profitable, and carried on with virtual impunity.⁹ The William III act was designed primarily to protect the coin of the realm, and one gets the impression that it was only the result of bad drafting that some of its provisions could be interpreted as applying to unauthorized coining in general.¹⁰ The Elizabethan act was still on the statute book, but so

⁶ PRO, MINT 1/14, pp. 2-6. For Ocks's age see Sir John Craig, *The Mint* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 233.

⁷ Thomas Sharp, *A Catalogue of Provincial Copper Coins . . . in the Collection of Sir George Chetwynd* (London, 1834), p. iv.

⁸ PRO, MINT 1/14, pp. 307-12bis, 317-19; MINT 4/20, letters between J. Morrison and the master, 31 October 1796 to 1 March 1797.

⁹ Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*, fourth edition (London, 1797), p. 127. He lists

as being currently counterfeited 'Half Johannas, Louis d'ors, French half-crowns, Prussian silver coin; and also Sequins of Turkey and Pagodas of India'. 'These foreign coins have generally been sold as articles of commerce for the purpose of being fraudulently circulated in the British Colonies or in Foreign Countries'.

¹⁰ 8 & 9 William III c. 26; *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. VII; R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, third edition, 3 vols (London, 1840), II, 52. Ruding's summary is inadequate for interpretation.

ineffective, according to Colquhoun, as to be hardly used.¹¹ This state of impotence came to be officially recognized, perhaps as a result of the Milton case, and was remedied by the introduction of new legislation in July 1797 making it a felony to counterfeit foreign gold or silver coin not current in the realm.¹² Louis d'ors were mentioned in the act as one of the main abuses.

In ordering Milton's dismissal the Treasury must have considered that counterfeiting foreign coin was contrary to the intention of the law, and was reprehensible in the eyes of all right-minded people; and that his conduct was too questionable to be tolerated in a public servant. It is not difficult for us to agree. Colquhoun thought the practice shaming to the national character.¹³ He detested the underworld in which many of these operations took place, and deplored the participation of certain respectable people who should have known better. Matthew Boulton had several enquiries for the manufacture of Louis d'ors, but swore that his presses should never strike a dishonourable blow. It should be added that he also took legal advice and was warned of the danger under the Elizabethan act.¹⁴ Yet Milton seems to have come off rather lightly.¹⁵ Even the Mint appear to have acted more in sorrow than in anger, hoping that a severe reprimand would be sufficient. In their report to the Treasury they were able to add the mitigating remark that 'Mr Milton has been employed as Probationer Engraver for ten years during which time he has performed his duty with diligence, and is considered as an artist of great professional skill and ability'. Sir Joseph Banks, who was always true to his friends, and usually hostile to the Treasury officials, took the line that Milton had been unfairly treated, remarking later in a letter to Fullarton that Milton had 'smarted for the legal interpretation of an imaginary crime'.¹⁶ Milton continued a member of the Antiquaries' Society, and there is no apparent hint of stigma. Two of the letters that he wrote in his own defence have survived, one to the master of the Mint, and another to the privy counsellor, Charles Greville.¹⁷ Briefly, he pleaded that he had no idea of doing wrong, and had not sought to benefit beyond the normal return on engraving dies. The tone of injured innocence is not perhaps totally convincing.

Milton's dismissal from the Mint does not appear to have damaged his career in the long run. We notice Matthew Young¹⁸ commissioning him to engrave his trade token in 1798, and employing him on the Fullarton tokens, and this connection was no doubt very valuable. Banks, whose support may have been decisive, made sure that Milton obtained the commission for the Royal Society Rumford medal in 1799, and the Board of Agriculture medal in 1802. His known output after this time is small, but this probably reflects a lessening demand, and the fact that Birmingham was becoming the centre for medal production. Milton's acquaintance with Banks was not new at this time, since Banks had been one of his sponsors for the Antiquaries' Society as early as 1792; and very likely it was Miss Banks

¹¹ 14 Elizabeth c. 3; Ruding, I, 345. Colquhoun (p. 127) stated that this act 'has not been put in force for many years', but does not specify its defects.

¹² 37 George III c. 126, section 2. Colquhoun welcomed its introduction in his later editions.

¹³ Colquhoun, p. 127.

¹⁴ Birmingham Reference Library, Matthew Boulton Papers ('MBP'), correspondence index. Instances are: enquiry for 5 to £10,000 of Portuguese Johannes for the Danish West Indies (A. Collins to Boulton, 1 November 1794); enquiry for Louis d'ors, and request for advice about its legality (J. Bayley to Boulton, 16 February 1795); Boulton states that he has been offered an order for 100,000 Louis d'ors. 'Some scoundrels in Birmingham have made French Assignats and are making quantities of counterfeit Louis d'ors' (Boulton to Senovert, 15 October 1795); enquiry from the bankers, Hammersley, for £20,000 Louis d'ors

'of the fineness of those struck by the French Government' (T. Hammersley to Boulton, 2 April 1796). Regarding legal advice, see W. Hunt to Boulton, 3 January 1796.

¹⁵ At least one of Boulton's enquiries seems to have been for Louis d'ors of full weight and fineness, whereas some of the people Colquhoun had in mind would at best have adulterated them with base metal to about half value. Surely we can distinguish a kind of above-board counterfeiting from the more fraudulent variety.

¹⁶ British Museum (Natural History), Botany Library, Dawson Turner Collection ('BM(NH), DTC'), volume XI, 209-10, Banks to Fullarton, 2 May 1799.

¹⁷ PRO, MINT 4/20, the master to Morrison, 11 February 1797; BL, Greville/Hamilton correspondence, Additional MS 40,715, fols 75-6.

¹⁸ The well-known coin-dealer. For an obituary see the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1838, ii, 107.

who maintained the contact in the course of her coin and token collecting.¹⁹ Milton's election to that exclusive and august society at the early age of thirty-two is somewhat remarkable, and must speak for his qualities. Membership was reserved for serious antiquaries, or for amateurs of property and social standing, or for people high in their professions, and it is hard to see which of these classes Milton belonged to. The only other artist elected in his year was the president of the Royal Academy. Milton's testimonial described him as 'a gentleman well versed in the study of antiquities and likely to become a useful and valuable member'. A kind of numismatic thread connects his sponsors who were: the president, Lord Leicester, at that time master of the Mint; James Bindley, George Keate, and Samuel Tyssen, all collectors; Sir Joseph Banks; the Rev. John Grose, minister at St Peter Advincta in the Tower; and Richard Haworth, unknown.²⁰ We can surely conclude that Milton was someone whose opinions were worth listening to, and that his society and conversation were generally found agreeable.

A brief but valuable assessment of Milton's capabilities is given us by Sir Joseph Banks. Replying in June 1802 to an enquiry about medallists and seal-engravers from John Foster, the Irish politician, Banks wrote: 'I have no hesitation in recommending Mr Milton who lives in Rolls Building, both to cut your seal and to sink your die, as I have no doubt of his superiority in both branches. He has been employed by the Royal Society in sinking a die for a gold medal of £56 value; and I have recommended him to the Board of Agriculture to engrave the Duke's medal'. After offering some comments on the designs that Foster had sent him he continued: 'though I recommend Mr Milton as a die-sinker and a seal-cutter, I do not mean to state his merits as a designer in the same degree of superiority. Mr Flaxman will design reverses for you with elegant and classical authority if you choose to employ him; and he is not expensive'.²¹ Banks here confirms what we had suspected, that Milton was known as a seal-engraver as well as a medallist; and that he was either not thought of as a fluent designer, or else had not come to terms with the modern neo-classical forms. Although Milton was sometimes credited with a fine faculty for invention it is probable that the major part of his medallic work was done to other peoples' designs, as was so often true of medallists. Two of his medals, the Medical Lyceum and the Board of Agriculture, are known to have been designed by Flaxman, and (as already mentioned) we may detect Pingo's hand in some of his allegorical types; but no firm conclusion is really possible.

Milton's name occurs frequently in the literature on tokens that grew up in the 1790s, and there is occasional comment on his work. Among these writers was the invaluable Charles Pye who contributed vital information that might not otherwise have been recovered. Two or three attributions to Milton are solely due to Pye, and should be trustworthy for he tells us that Milton supplied him with information on the London tokens and 'kindly gave a most minute account of all in which he was employed'.²² It is worth observing that Milton's part in the token wave after his abortive Anglesey Penny of 1786 was fairly small, and restricted to a few select pieces from 1795 onwards. Nevertheless, it was the fashion among the token enthusiasts to write of Milton's artistic abilities in quite extravagant terms, and possibly it suited the promotional interests of some of the dealers to encourage this. A typical example is seen in the introduction to James Conder's publication of 1798: 'It were ungenerous to omit giving due praise to the performances of Mr Milton. The minute and successful labour bestowed on his Coins for Barbadoes, Ipswich Penny, the piece having the head of Wallace, Reverse, "Scotia Rediviva", and some others, ranks them high

¹⁹ Sarah Banks is briefly noticed in *DNB*. Among her manuscript material in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum are the eight bound volumes, 'S.S. Banks Catalogue of Coins', to which a number of references are made hereafter.

²⁰ Extracts from the Society's minutes, kindly communicated by the Librarian.

²¹ BM(NH), DTC, XIII, 183-4.

²² Charles Pye, *Provincial Coins and Tokens issued from the Year 1787 to the Year 1801* (Birmingham, 1801), p. 3.

among the best productions of modern art'.²³ A high claim indeed! We have already noticed Sharp's estimate of Milton's genius. Sharp, who wrote in 1834, was the last of that tribe. His memory went back to Milton's lifetime, and he was writing with Matthew Young at his elbow, as it were; and Young knew Milton well. Without labouring the point, we would not now rate Milton so highly, noticing for example that he never truly mastered portraiture, but even so his work is usually vigorous and interesting.

We know hardly anything more of Milton's later years apart from the evidence of his occasional works. The last dated piece is the Orchard farthing of 1804 which is reasonably attributed to him. We can be sure that Miss Banks kept in touch with him, and among her manuscripts is a note dated 1803 to the effect that he was then working on the dies for the Gwyneddigion Society medal. His death early in 1805 may well have been sudden and unexpected, and the cause is not known.

Much trouble would have been saved if any authentic lists of Milton's works had survived. One gets the impression that he was very ready to disseminate information of this kind. Charles Pye's list of tokens has been mentioned already, and we know that the dealer, Richard Miles,²⁴ had another of Milton's lists, giving (if we can judge from the Barbados item) extensive details of dates and mintages, costs and clients. No doubt such information was also in the hands of Matthew Young, James Conder, and others. As things are, the list must now be reconstructed, and it cannot be supposed that it is complete. In the catalogue that follows the arrangement is partly guided by convenience, and is not intended to be dogmatic about definitions. Where no location is stated it can be assumed that the British Museum have examples.²⁵ The given metals have either been observed or cited elsewhere.

APPENDIX

THE JOHN BOGLE MINIATURE

The very fine miniature of Milton by John Bogle now in the Victoria & Albert Museum is signed and dated 1788. The identity of the sitter is known from the inscription on the back of the frame which reads: 'John Milton/FAS/Tower of London/Natus 19 July 1759/Obit 11 February 1805/Painted 1788/Buried at St. Dunstons/Fleet Street'. The reliability of this information is important as it is our source for Milton's birthdate, but the confident factuality of the inscription is entirely reassuring in this respect, especially as the other details given are precisely correct. The writer was probably Milton's son, Henry, who was also a seal-engraver and accustomed to the lapidary use of Latin.

The painting was acquired by the Museum in 1884 by purchase from a Mr A. Matthews of Torquay. It was published by G. C. Williamson in 1904 in his *History of Portrait Miniatures*, and again in 1923 by Basil Long in an article in *The Connoisseur*. It portrays a young man, careful of his appearance, almost a dandy, and with a strange, intelligent face. The sitter is presented in profile which, as Basil Long remarked, is unusual for miniatures.²⁶

On a label attached to the miniature is another inscription reading: 'Milton, chief engraver at the Mint/my first wife's father'. This writer is evidently more remote and less well-informed, but his note is highly intriguing both as regards Milton's family and the history of the miniature. We have to find a son-in-law who had at least two wives. Unfortunately

²³ James Conder, *An Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens, and Medals* (Ipswich, 1798), footnote to unpaginated preface by James Wright of Dundee.

²⁴ Coin-dealer, 1740-1819. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1819, i, 585, and memoir, 1820, i, 179-82.

²⁵ The friendly assistance of the Department of Coins and Medals has been vital in the preparation of this paper,

and I gladly acknowledge my debt to them.

²⁶ G. C. Williamson, *History of Portrait Miniatures, 1531-1860*, 2 vols (London, 1904), i, 160, and Plate LXVI, 3; Basil Long, 'John Bogle, Miniature Painter', *Connoisseur*, vol. LXVI (1923), pp. 218-22; Basil Long, *British Miniaturists, 1520-1860* (London, 1929), pp. 33-4.

there are two candidates, and it is difficult to choose between them. Emma Milton married a dentist, John Palmer Delafons, who died in 1869. His second wife was one Anne Milton, presumably a cousin of the family. Milton's other daughter, Sarah, was almost certainly the first wife of the painter, Sir George Hayter, who died in 1871; and Hayter had three wives at least. The problem must rest here for the present. I am grateful to Mr John Murdoch of the Museum for the information on the miniature, and for helpful discussion of the problems it presents.

MILTON'S WORKS

The numbers asterisked are illustrated in the plates.

Acknowledgement of the photographs is due to the Ashmolean Museum for No. 17; to the Welsh Folk Museum for No. 23; to the National Museum, Copenhagen, for No. 32; and to the British Museum for all others except No. 50.

MEDALS

No. 1.* Society of Industry, 1785

Obverse: figures of Plenty and Peace, beehive between them; signed below, I MILTON F.; around, PLENTY & PEACE ARE THE FRUITS OF INDUSTRY & SUBORDINATION.

Reverse: centre blank for awardee's name; around, SOCIETY OF INDUSTRY FOUNDED XXIX NOVEMBER MDCCLXXXIII.

Silver and copper; diameter 34 mm.

The first awards of this medal were in March 1785. The society's first accounts to April 1785 included the items:

	£.	s.	d.
Expense of dies for the medals	26	4	6
14 plated medals for premiums	2	6	8
123 copper medals for premiums	11	5	6
7 silver and 2 plated medals for present to overseers	3	4	8
57 silver medals for sale to subscribers	23	9	2
27 medals unpaid for	14	3	6

Silver medals were given to some of the trustees. These categories appear to cover the known surviving examples, among which is Miss Banks's silver subscriber medal of 1786 in the British Museum. In the first six years the total number of copper medals awarded was 664.

The society's activities and guiding principles are fully described by the Rev. R. G. Bouyer in his publication. Further important details on the premiums are given by Eden, who also comments on the comparative merits of the scheme. The society operated working schools for the children of the poor, training and working them as Jersey spinners. The generous system of awards was apparently Bouyer's brainchild, and comprised not only medals but useful sets of clothing, and future bounties for apprenticeship and marriage. About 143 parishes were united in the scheme, the chief town centres being Louth, Alford, Horncastle, and Spilsby. Other comparable schemes existed, but Bouyer appears to have looked more benignly than most on the little pupils and their well-being, and was certainly most effective in arousing the interest of the local landowners and gentry, and tapping their funds. All parties were bound together by the common interest in wool, and it was the society which promoted the fund-raising 'stuff balls'. In Bouyer's words, 'the annual balls given first at Alford and afterwards at Lincoln to all Ladies drest in the Stuff manufacture of the County, have been of singular service'.

(*Catalogue of the Montague Guest Collection of Badges, Tokens and Passes*, edited by R. A. Smith (London, 1930), p. 128, No. 1046, and Plate V; W. J. Davis and A. W. Waters, *Tickets and Passes of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1922), p. 137, Nos. 285-7, where two variant obverses are noted. See also [R. G. Bouyer], *An Account of the Origin, Proceedings, and Intentions of the Society for the Promotion of Industry in the Southern District of the Parts of Lindsey, in the County of Lincoln* (Louth, c.1790); Frederick M. Eden, *The State of the Poor*, 2 vols (London, 1797), II, 398-403, and 408-16).

No. 2.* Gartmore Gold Medal, Glasgow University, 1787

Obverse: the old College, Glasgow; above, EX ACAD. GLASG. DECRETO.; below, TULIT.

Reverse: figure of Liberty; around, LIBERTATE. EXTINGTA. NULLA. VIRTUS.; signed in exergue, I. MILTON. F.

Gold, silver and copper; diameter 42 mm.

This prize medal was endowed in 1787 by Robert Graham of Gartmore (1735-97) 'to be given, once in two years, for the best Discourse on Political Liberty'. Graham entered politics late in life as a Foxite and

reformer, but has a more enduring fame as the author of a poem in the *Golden Treasury*. The deed instituting the medal was dated 17 December 1787, but the dies had already been made and paid for, and were then, as the deed states, in the custody of John Milton at the Mint. The deed also assigned to the University Milton's bond of 26 April 1787 in which he undertook to furnish a medal every two years at the price of £6. 6s. 0d., being £5. 15s. 6d. for one gold medal, and 10s. 6d. for workmanship; or, if called upon to do so, to hand over the dies to the University. Presumably Milton engraved the dies during the summer of 1787.

(R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Catalogue of the Medals of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1884), p. 151, Plate XXXI, 4; *Deeds instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and other Foundations in the College and University of Glasgow*, Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1850), pp. 206-13).

No. 3.* The Medical Lyceum

Obverse: jugate heads of Drs Fordyce and Hunter; around, GEORGIUS. FORDYCE. ET. JOANNES. HUNTER. PATRONI.; signed below, I. MILTON. F.

Reverse: snake casting its slough; around, RENOVANDO VIGET; below, LYCEVM. MEDICVM / I.M.F. TOWER.

Silver and copper; diameter 42 mm.

The Lyceum was founded in 1785, but the Mint signature indicates a later date for the medal. There can be little doubt that this was Milton's exhibit at the Academy in 1790, 'a medal containing two portraits'. Flaxman's drawing at the Victoria & Albert Museum indicates that he was the designer of the medal, and one might suppose that the drawing was made before August 1787 when he departed for his long sojourn in Italy. Production of the medal can be put at 1787-90.

(L. Brown, *A Catalogue of British Historical Medals, 1760-1960*, I (1980), No. 262; John Flaxman, R.A., edited by D. Bindman (Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue, 1979), pp. 135-8).

No. 4.* Royal Military Club, Jamaica

Obverse: the pillars of the State supporting the crown, surrounded by naval and military emblems; around, ROYAL. MILITARY. CLUB. INSTITUTED. AT. JAMAICA. A.D. 1788.; in exergue, banner with NAVY AND ARMY, and signature, I.M.F. An extension above forms a loop, and another below is inscribed UNANIMITY.

Reverse: star and garter; the upper extension has the cypher W H (William Henry, the future duke of Clarence?); the lower extension has GLORIA PATRIAE.

Gold, copper; dimensions 63 X 36 mm.

The writer in the *War Medal Record* described an example in gold, probably unique. He, or rather his informant in Jamaica, traced the foundation of the club to 21 August 1788, 'the birthday of its patron Prince William, the year of his visit to the Island'. The British Museum example is in copper, from the Hawkins collection. The medal illustrated in Grimshaw is identical except that the inscription 'For Merit. Tipperary Regl. School. AD 1806' stands in place of 'Royal Military Club Instituted at Jamaica A.D. 1788'. Forrer mentions another application of these dies, also presumably after Milton's death.

(*The War Medal Record*, edited by Spink & Sons, 2 vols (London, 1896-8), II, 13-14, and Plate XIII; compare M. E. Grimshaw, *Silver Medals, Badges and Trophies from Schools* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 47, No. 153; and Forrer, IV, 85).

No. 5.* Merlin's Temple of Music, 1788

Obverse: magician seated and holding wand; around, AMBROSIVS. MERLIN. MDCCLXXXVIII.; signed, I. MILTON. F.

Reverse: pipe organ in kiosk; around, TEMPLE OF MUSIC.

Copper; diameter 40 mm.

There can be no doubt that this medal was made for the great showman and inventor, John Joseph Merlin (1735-1803). Merlin's career and inventions, and his 'Mechanical Museum', are very adequately described by Altick. The quaint figure of the necromancer, Ambrosius Merlin, with his leaden wand as portrayed on the medal appears to be a faithful representation of one of Merlin's automaton creations. Gainsborough's fine portrait of Merlin was recently acquired by the Iveagh Bequest at Kenwood, who have collected extensive evidence on Merlin's activities.

(Brown, No. 293; Davis & Waters, p. 78, No. 239a; Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass.; and London, 1978), pp. 72-6).

No. 6.* German Town, 1789

Obverse: view of the battle at Chew house; signed in exergue, I. MILTON. F.

Reverse: wreath, and within, GERMAN TOWN OCTR. 4. 1777.

Silver and copper; diameter 44 mm.

The action portrayed on this medal took place during the American war at Germantown near Philadelphia, and is also known as the defence of Chew House by the 40th Regiment under Colonel Musgrave. Gordon

followed other writers in stating that the medal was commissioned by Musgrave, but this is not so. The donor was General Sir George Osborn who was the Regiment's patron colonel from 1786 to 1818. Smythies quotes an inspection report of 1789 (such things apparently survive) stating that the officers 'wore a silver medal round their necks presented to them by the present colonel in memory of the very gallant and noble stand the regiment made at Germantown'. One is probably right to take 1789 as the nominal date of issue, which certainly cannot be earlier than 1786. Later uses of the medal are discussed by Gordon. Germantown was formerly written as two words.

(G. Tancred, *Historical Records of Medals and Honorary Distinctions* (London, 1891), p. 332; C. Wyllys Betts, *American Colonial History illustrated by Contemporary Medals* (New York, 1894), p. 251; L. L. Gordon, *British Battles and Medals*, fifth edition (London, 1979), p. 10; all of whom illustrate the medal. See also R. H. R. Smythies, *Prince of Wales's Volunteers. Historical Records of the 40th Regiment* (Devonport, 1894), pp. 467, 499-500, and appendix).

No. 7.* Recovery of George III, 1789

Obverse: head of George III; around, GEORGIVS. III. DEI. GRATIA.; signed on truncation, I MILTON F.
Reverse: City of London shield; above, VISITED ST PAUL'S; in exergue, 23 APRIL 1789.
Silver and copper; diameter 33 mm.

(Brown, No. 295; R. Dalton and S. H. Hamer, *The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century* (1910-18), Middlesex, No. 177).

No. 8.* Duke of Atholl's Prize Medals, 1790

A. *Obverse*: country scene, ploughing, reaping, and a farmstead and hills beyond; around, GOD SPEED THE FIELD. D. Athole (cursive, and D A monogrammed). PRIZE MEDAL. 1790.; signed, I. MILTON. F.
Reverse: laurel wreath, blank within for inscription; signed below, I.M.F. Mint.
B. *Obverse*: domestic scene, women spinning and knitting; around, as A, except, GOD SPEED THE HOUSE.
Reverse: as A.
C. Medal composed of the obverses of A and B.
Silver and copper; diameter 48 mm.

In her manuscript catalogue Miss Banks described these medals as the mens' prize, the womens', and the double prize medal for man and woman. The British Museum have examples of each, with the double prize in silver and copper. Strangely this Scottish medal, or set of medals, is not known at the National Museum in Edinburgh. No doubt Miss Banks obtained the British Museum examples direct from Milton's press. The medals were evidently awarded on the Atholl estates at Dunkeld, for the writer in the *Statistical Account* notes (p. 482n.) that ploughing matches were instituted where 'premiums in money, or medals which were struck for the purpose' were awarded, and states that similar competitions were envisaged 'both in the house and the field'. He describes the improvements carried out by the fourth duke in both land tenure and use. The domestic industry was principally flax-spinning, and was of such importance that the rents of tenant farmers were paid 'almost exclusively from the price of the yarn spun by the women during winter'. The medals were exhibited at the Academy in 1791.

(Unpublished. See Sir John Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 21 vols (Edinburgh, 1791-9), XX, 410-92, on the parishes of Dunkeld and Dowally; S. S. Banks, VII, 230).

No. 9.* Lord Effingham, 1791

Obverse: head of Lord Effingham; around, THO. HOWARD. CON. DE. EFFINGHAM. REI. MONET. PRAEF. 1784.; signed below truncation, J. Milton F. (cursive).
Reverse: Britannia seated on globe; at her feet a coin-shower on which can be seen, Milton F/Tower/London/1790; above, PRO PATRIAE.
Edge: NATVS. XIII. JAN. MDCCXLVII. OB. XV. NOV. MDCCXCI. AET. XLIV.
Silver and copper; diameter 35 mm.

Forrer notes two variants of this medal. The date 1790 on the medal suggests that it was at first intended to mark the completion in 1789 of Effingham's term as master of the Mint; and that the edge inscription was added when his death was known.

(Brown, No. 353).

No.10.* Society for the Improvement of Naval Architecture

Obverse: female wearing naval crown, offering wreath; ships of all eras in the background; around, FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF NAVAL ARCHITECTURE; in exergue, INSTITUTED 1791; signed on exergue line, J. MILTON F.
Reverse: wreath, blank within for inscription.
Gold, silver and copper; diameter 59 mm.

The premiums offered by this society, as published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1793, i, 161-2), included medals in gold and silver for research papers on specific problems relating to ship design. Production

of the medal must therefore belong to 1792 or 1793. The society was the creation of John Sewell, bookseller and publisher of the *European Magazine*, and quickly attracted a distinguished membership under the presidency of the young duke of Clarence. It was inspired by fears that we had dropped behind the Continent and America in ship design due to neglecting science; and scientists 'in the universities and elsewhere' were appealed to for support. In spite of some valuable experimental results the society was dissolved about the end of the century. A collection of manuscript notes and minutes made by Sewell during the years 1800-1, now preserved at the National Maritime Museum, tells a heartbreaking story of acrimony, desertions, and shortage of money. Milton was finally a creditor for £30, but was holding some medal stock in gold and silver which may have offset his loss. Sewell's death in 1802 was perhaps hastened by these sad events.

(Unpublished. See A. W. Johns, 'An Account of the Society for the Improvement of Naval Architecture', *Transactions of the Institution of Naval Architects*, 52 (1910), 28-40).

No. 11.* Erskine and Gibbs, 1794

Obverse: jugate heads of Erskine and Gibbs; around, HON. T. ERSKINE. V. GIBBS. ESQ. PATRIOTS WHO FOR SACRED FREEDOM STOOD.; signed below the heads, J.M.F.

Reverse: allegory of Justice reviving British Liberty; around, RETURNING JUSTICE LIFTS ALOFT HER SCALE; in exergue, MDCCXCIV.

Silver and copper; diameter 44 mm.

(Brown, No. 376).

No. 12.* Marischal College, Aberdeen. The Gray Prize Medal, 1795

Obverse: figure of Science with astronomical instruments; around, IPSUM PENETRABILE COELUM; in exergue, MDCCCLXXI; signed on exergue line, J.M.F. (cursive).

Reverse: wreath, and within, PRAEMIUM MATHEMATICUM GRAYANUM ACAD. MARISCHAL. ABREDON.

Silver and copper; diameter 51 mm.

By a deed, or 'mortification', dated 1768 John Gray declared his intention of endowing two mathematical bursaries at Marischal College. Bursars who did exceptionally well were to receive a medal of one ounce standard gold. The *Fasti* state that 'in 1795 a die for a medal, and various copies thereof, in gold, silver, and copper, was obtained at an outlay of £98. 18s. 4½d. This medal was awarded in 1795, 1824, and 1825'. John Gray, F.R.S., though resident in London, was appointed Rector of the College in 1764. He died in 1769, and the date 1771 presumably marks the beginning of the bursaries. The examples in gold have not been noticed.

(Cochran-Patrick, p. 161; *Fasti Academiae Marischallanae Aberdonensis, Selections from the Records*, edited by P. J. Anderson (Aberdeen, 1889), pp. 440-3).

No. 13.* Prince of Wales

Obverse: bust of the prince; around, GEORGIUS. WALLIAE. PRINCEPS.; signed below, J.M.F.

Reverse: the Prince's plumes and motto.

Silver and copper; diameter 32 mm.

Dalton & Hamer placed this piece in Ayrshire presumably by association with the Fullarton Prince of Wales coinage, but there is no connection. Colonel Grant listed the piece as '1795, Prince of Wales, Marriage', but that too is uncertain. It appears to be simply a laudatory medal, and see my remarks on the Winchester medal, No. 16.

(Dalton & Hamer, Ayrshire, No. 1; M. H. Grant, 'British Medals since 1760', *BNJ* 32 (1934-7), 269-93, and 33 (1938-41), 449-80, vol. 32, p. 280).

No. 14.* The Rev. William Romaine, 1795

Obverse: bust of Romaine; around, REV^D. W. ROMAINE. M.A.; signed J.M.F. (cursive).

Reverse: figure of Faith; around, THE JUST SHALL LIVE BY HIS FAITH; in exergue, D. JULY. 26. 1795. A. 81.

Silver, copper, white metal; diameter 32 mm.

(Brown, No. 403; Dalton & Hamer, Middlesex, No. 216).

No. 15.* Eradication of Horse Disease, 1795

Obverse: scene of horses being shot; around, THEIR VALUE UPWARDS OF £500; in exergue, TUTAMEN/VOLUNTARILY DESTROY'D/BY D. COLGATE OF/ORPINGTON/KENT/1795; signed on exergue line, J M (cursive).

Reverse: around, A MARK OF RESPECT TO THE RT HON. T. SKINNER. SR R. GLODE KT & MR W.

AUSTIN; WITHIN, WE ALSO ARE BUT AS YESTERDAY OUR DAYS A SHADOW, / HE TAKETH AWAY. / WHO CAN HINDER? / MAN (ALSO) GIVETH UP THE GHOST AND WHERE IS HE? / JOB.
Silver and copper; diameter 32 mm.

The story of this medal, as given by Milton to Miss Banks, is quoted by Brown: 'Mr Colgate, a farmer, voluntarily destroyed his horses that were well, and those that had a new infectious distemper, to prevent its spreading; which caution had the desired effect. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs at their own expense reimbursed him. Mr Colgate then at his own expense had this medal made, and had one hundred of them'.

(Brown, No. 408; Dalton & Hamer, Kent, No. 2; S. S. Banks, VII, 227).

No. 16.* Winchester College Prize Medal, 1797

Obverse: bust of William of Wykeham; around, WILHELMUS DE WYKEHAM; signed on truncation, J MILTON F.

Reverse: Prince of Wales's plumes and motto; around, HONOREM PRINCEPS PROPONIT.

Gold, silver and copper; diameter 48 mm.

This medal was first given in July 1797 at the Winchester prize-giving ceremony, two in gold and two in silver. *The Hampshire Chronicle*, as quoted by Chitty, stated that they were 'given then for the first time by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales', to whom a set of English verses had been sent by the scholars 'in acknowledgement of the honour conferred on them by his patronage'. The medals were executed with the greatest taste and elegance, said the newspaper.

What or who prevailed on the Prince to undertake this sponsorship is not known, but there was a gap to fill since the previous donor, the first earl of Ailesbury, had abruptly terminated his sponsorship when Dr Warton resigned as headmaster in 1793. The Ailesbury medals had originally been engraved by Richard Yeo in 1761. The statement that Milton was medallist to the Prince of Wales appeared first in Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists* in 1874. If so the appointment could well have followed from the Winchester medal; and it is possible that the Prince of Wales medal, No. 13, was a grateful tribute.

(Brown, No. 931; Grimshaw, p. 10, No. 13; H. Chitty, *Medal-Speaking at Winchester College, 1761-1815* (Winchester, 1905), pp. 6, 25-6).

No. 17.* Naval Thanksgiving at St Paul's, 1797

A. *Obverse*: head of George III; around, GEORGIVS. III. DEI, GRATIA.; signed below, MILTON.

Reverse: regalia on plinth, on which is inscribed HOWE/ST. VINCENT/DUNCAN; around, ROYAL THANKSGIVING AT ST PAULS; below, DEC. 19. 1797; signed on plinth, Milton (cursive).

Silver, copper, white metal; diameter 32 mm. Two variants of the reverse exist, differing in small details.

B. *Obverse*: as A.

Reverse: facade of the Guildhall; around, GUILDHALL LONDON.

Silver and copper.

(Brown, Nos. 439-40; Dalton & Hamer, Middlesex, Nos. 192-4).

No. 18.* Minorca Magistrates, 1798

Obverse: head of George III; around, GEORGIVS. III. REX.; signed below head, MILTON F.

Reverse: figure of Justice, with ship and fort in the distance; above, SALUS POPULI; in exergue, 15. NOV. 1798 (absent from some examples).

Copper; diameter 51 mm

The association of this medal with Minorca is apparently due to a catalogue note by Miss Banks: 'Medal given by the Magistrates in Minorca 15 Nov 1798'.

(Brown, No. 461; S. S. Banks, VII, 225).

No. 19.* Royal Carmarthenshire Militia, 1798

Obverse: the royal arms; around, KING. AND. CONSTITUTION.

Reverse: harp with Prince of Wales's plumes above; around, ROYAL. CARMARTHENSHIRE. MILITIA. 1798; signed below, MILTON. F.

Silver, copper, white metal; diameter 39 mm.

(D. Hastings Irwin, *War Medals and Decorations*, fourth edition (London, 1910), p. 308).

No. 20.* Anthony Storer, 1799

Obverse: head of Storer; around, ANTHONY MORRIS STORER ESQ. 1799; signed below, J MILTON F.

Reverse: scene of a waggoner following his cart; above, DOCTUS ITER MELIUS; in exergue, PURLEY.

Silver and copper; 35 mm.

Anthony Storer, politician and collector, died in 1799, and this was perhaps a memorial medal. Purley Park, near Reading, was his home. The significance of the reverse is not clear to this writer.

(Brown, No. 472).

No. 21.* Samuel Tyssen, 1800

Obverse: head of Tyssen; around, SAMUEL. TYSSSEN. ARM. A.S.S.; signed below, MILTON SC. AD VIVUM.

Reverse: wreath; within (continued from obverse), DE/NARBOROUGH HALL/IN/AGRO NORFOLCIENSI/EFFIGIAVIT/AMICA MANUS/JOAN. MILTON/MDCCC.

Silver, copper, white metal; diameter 41 mm.

Tyssen died in October 1800, and the sale of his great coin collection took place in 1802, where Milton was a modest buyer. This is the only known instance where Milton took a likeness himself. The inscription indicates the friendly terms between Tyssen and Milton, and dates the portrait to 1800. Indeed the rather gaunt appearance of the sitter suggests his last days. Milton exhibited a proof from the portrait die at the Academy in 1802, and the medal may have been ready in that year.

(Brown, No. 491).

No. 22.* Rumford Medal of the Royal Society, 1802

Obverse: tripod with flame; around, NOSCERE QUAE VIS ET CAUSSA; signed on exergue line, J. MILTON F.

Reverse: wreath; within, PRAEMIUM/OPTIME MERENTI/EX INSTITUTO/BENJ. A RUMFORD/S.R.I. COMITIS/ADJUDICATUM/A/REG. SOC. LOND.

Gold, silver, copper; diameter 76 mm.

The handsome endowment by Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, of £1,000 in the three per cents was to provide biennially a gold and a silver medal together worth £60. This explains the very exceptional size of three inches for the medal. Rumford made his first proposal to the Royal Society in 1796, and a resolution of the society in April 1799 set the affair in motion, and nominated Milton to engrave the dies for the sum of £105. The medal was first struck in 1802, and Rumford himself was the first recipient 'for his various discoveries on the subject of heat and light'.

(C. R. Weld, *A History of the Royal Society*, 2 vols (London, 1848), II, 213-21).

No. 23.* Gwyneddigion Society of London, 1801

Obverse: Hu, the Welsh hero, stepping out of coracle; around, HU GADARN YN ARWAIN Y CWMRY I YNYS PRYDAIN ('Hu the mighty conducting the Welsh nation to the isle of Britain'); signed J MILTON F.

Reverse: blank die, but personally engraved for each recipient.

Silver and copper; diameter 50 mm. Location, Welsh Folk Museum.

The example illustrated in Peate was the first of these medals to be presented, and was awarded in 1801 to the Rev. Walter Davies (1761-1849), a renowned Welsh bard and scholar. The reverse inscription translates: 'Presented by the Gwyneddigion Society of London to the Rev. Walter Davies for his ode on the progress of learning in the eighteenth century. 1801'. In fact the medal must have followed later, for a note by Miss Banks dated 1803 states that Milton was then working on the medal, and that 'a Clergyman is to have the first . . .'. The obverse die was still in use when Leathart wrote in 1831.

(Iorwerth C. Peate, *Welsh Society and Eisteddfod Medals and Relics* (Cardiff, 1938), No. 19, and Plate I. See also W. D. Leathart, *Origin and Progress of the Gwyneddigion Society of London* (London, 1831), p. 33).

No. 24.* Board of Agriculture Medal, 1802

Obverse: head of the duke of Bedford; around, FRANCISC. DUX BEDFORDIE AGRICOLAR. FACILE PRINCEPS; signed below head, J MILTON F.

Reverse: female figure reclining and clasping a funerary urn; above, BONI LUGENT IMMATURE ADEMTUM; in exergue, AGRICOLARUM COETUS/CONSULTO.

Silver, diameter 41 mm.

The fifth duke of Bedford died in March 1802, and this commemorative medal was commissioned by the Board of Agriculture. As previously mentioned, Milton was recommended to the Board by Banks. That the medal was designed by John Flaxman is known from his account book. His bill for eight guineas was addressed to Banks in October 1803 for 'Model of face and reverse of the Duke of Bedford's medal'. It is true that Flaxman's description would equally well fit the Bath and West medal (No. 25), but Croft-Murray equated it to the present medal on stylistic grounds, and our knowledge of Banks's concern with this medal seems to clinch the matter.

(Brown, No. 533; E. Croft-Murray, 'An Account Book of John Flaxman, R.A.', *Walpole Society*, 28 (1939-40), 51-94 (p. 80).

No. 25.* Bath and West of England Society, 1802

Obverse: head of the duke of Bedford; around, FRANCIS DUKE OF BEDFORD PRESIDENT 1802; signed below head, J MILTON F.

Reverse: allegorical group with Britannia awarding prizes for various livestock; in exergue, BATH AND WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY.

Silver and pewter; diameter 59 mm.

The portrait on this medal is similar to the last, and clearly derives from the same bust or model that Flaxman had followed. The medal is referred to in 1808 as the Bedfordean Gold Medal, but no example in gold has been noticed.

(Brown, No. 547; *Rules, Orders and Premiums of the Bath and West of England Society*, printed by R. Cruttwell (Bath, 1808), p. 56).

COINAGE

No. 26.* Anglesey Pattern Penny, 1786

Obverse: Druid's head within oak wreath.

Reverse: monogram PMC^o; around, WE PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER ON DEMAND ONE PENNY.

Edge: EDW. HUGHES . THO. WILLIAMS . JOHN DAWES . PARIS . LODGE .

Copper; diameter 30 mm; undated and unsigned.

That Milton engraved this piece was well known, and was confirmed by Pye, who also stated that it was struck, in limited numbers, by Westwood of Birmingham. It was recognized as the first of the Anglesey coins, or rather patterns, and indeed the first production of the new token era, and on that account given the prior position in Pye's 1801 edition. The piece was listed in the Tyssen sale catalogue of 1802 (lot 72) as: 'The first Penny Piece struck by the Anglesey Copper Company, in 1786 (no date) — engraved in London by John Milton'. This description has a deliberate and authentic ring and, if correct, dates the production to 1786, the year before Milton joined the Mint.

Milton's pattern was not adopted, and it was Hancock of Birmingham who produced the approved pattern (Dalton & Hamer, Anglesey, No. 4), and who was entrusted with making the dies for the first bulk issues of the coinage in 1787. Either Hancock's pattern was thought superior, or he was better placed to handle the larger undertaking. In that year Thomas Williams, the dynamic director of the Parys Mines Company, was pursuing his ambition to become the major producer of copper coin, and was in keen competition with Matthew Boulton to obtain a national contract from the government. He did not find Hancock altogether reliable or adequate, and in the summer of 1787 was himself in Paris trying to engage the Swiss engraver, J-P Droz; but failed, as we know, to outbid Boulton.²⁷ By 1788 Williams was evidently resigned to collaborating rather than competing with Boulton in the field of coin production. In a letter to Boulton in April 1788 he wrote: 'enclosed I send you one of Hancock's new halfpence. The engraving is far inferior to yours though not to any of our Tower Productions, and I believe Hancock may mend his hand . . . Suppose you call on Hancock. Show him your piece and tell him to try and improve by it'. What had evidently happened was that one of Droz's pattern Britannia halfpennies had recently reached Boulton from Paris, and been shown to Williams, who was feeling some envy, and further worries about Hancock.²⁸ Whether the allusion to 'Tower Productions' had any reference to Milton's pattern, or merely to the circulating copper coinage, is unclear; but Milton was evidently no longer in the running.

The origin of the Druid's head on the Anglesey coinage has long been the subject of speculation, but has now been satisfactorily elucidated by Mr G. C. Boon in his forthcoming article on the medals of the Anglesey Druidical Society, which he has kindly allowed me to cite in advance of publication.²⁹ He has identified the sources for the different heads on the medals and the coinage, and it now seems certain that the inspiration, though not the precise types, for the coinage design must have derived from the medals of the society.

According to Dalton and Hamer the preparation of drawings for Hancock to work from, and probably for Milton as well, was undertaken by a Mr Collins of Maize Hill, Greenwich. This slender morsel of information derived from a note made by the token-collector, the Rev. W. R. Hay, following his visit to Birmingham in 1796, and a conversation that he had there with Hancock's former apprentice, Jorden.³⁰ Tenuous though this thread might seem, it can nevertheless be given serious attention, and is perhaps more revealing than at first appears. A good deal is known about William Collins, who was a successful inventor, and a skilful amateur portraitist among other things. He and John Westwood, coppersmith, mintmaster, and former medallist, had performed valuable services for Williams in the copper trade, and it would not be surprising if Williams turned to the same team again when he wished to develop his coinage,

²⁷ J. R. Harris, *The Copper King* (Liverpool, 1964), pp. 72-5; MBP, Birmingham, Pradeaux to Boulton, 14 June, 28 June, and 9 July 1787. According to Pradeaux Droz was invited to engrave a die for the Anglesey coinage. On Droz's work for Boulton see J. G. Pollard, 'Matthew Boulton and J-P Droz', *NC* (1968), 241-65.

²⁸ MBP, Birmingham, T. Williams box, Williams to

Boulton, 5 April 1788; J. G. Pollard, pp. 256-7.

²⁹ To appear in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1983 (1984).

³⁰ Dalton & Hamer, Part XI, p. x; but derived from S. H. Hamer's article 'Notes on some interesting Token Books and their Original Owner', *NCirc* (1903), cols 6048-56 (cols 6053-5).

for between them they had all the requisite facilities and skills.³¹ Their instructions perhaps were to find the best engravers in the land, and an approach to the Mint would have been part of that quest. If the conjecture that Westwood and Collins were invited to set the coinage in motion is correct, then our information from Hay and Pye that Milton's piece was designed by Collins and struck by Westwood becomes highly believable.

(Pye, Plate 1, No. 1; Dalton & Hamer, Part XI, pp. x and 329, Nos. 1 and 2).

No. 27. Barbados Pennies, 1788 and 1792, and Halfpenny, 1792

A.* *Obverse*: head of negro wearing Prince of Wales plumes; below, I SERVE.

Reverse: pineapple; around, BARBADOES . PENNY . 1788 .

B.* *Obverse*: similar design to A; signed M on truncation.

Reverse: the king, as Neptune, in car drawn by sea horses; above, BARBADOES PENNY; in exergue, 1792.

C. Halfpenny, similar to B.

The complex problems of this coinage, and of the secondary issues by makers in Birmingham, were completely worked out, it appears, by Pridmore and D. Vice. Milton's own detailed account of the issues for which he was responsible, with dates, mintages, and name of client, was given in an important footnote by Ruding. As it happens the slip from which Ruding took the note is preserved among his papers, and is headed: 'Extract from a List of his works furnished by the late Mr Milton to Mr Miles'. To us it is interesting to learn that Richard Miles had such a list, but sad that Ruding did not, or it might have survived. The only details not reproduced by Ruding include the note that the 1788 dies cost ten guineas, and the remarks which merely confirm what we know, '1788, the proofs have a different reverse - both pines', and '1792, the dies for the above are different from the first both head and reverse'.

(Sharp, p. 242; Ruding, *Annals*, II, 404 and note; F. Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations*, Part 3, *British West Indies* (London, 1965), pp. 82-8; D. Vice, 'The Barbados "Pineapple" Penny of 1788', *NCirc* (1977), 485-87; BL, Ruding Papers, Additional MS 18,085, fol. 156).

No. 28.* Milton's Pattern Shilling, 1798

Obverse: head of George III; around, GEORGIUS. III. DEI. GRATIA. REX.; below, 1798.

Reverse: large shield in six divisions; around, M.B.F.ET.H.REX.F.D.B.ET.L.D.S.R.I.A.T.ET.E.

Silver and copper; diameter 25 mm; unsigned.

Opinion has varied in the past about whether to describe this piece as a pattern shilling or a pattern guinea. It was listed as a pattern shilling by Crowther and by Seaby and Rayner. The Royal Mint have examples in silver and copper which they acquired with the Banks gift of 1818, and which were catalogued at that time as pattern shillings by Milton. The British Museum have examples in silver and copper, together with a pair of impressions in tin showing a variant obverse inscription, GEORGIUS TERTIUS D.G. REX., all from the Banks collection. An entry in Miss Banks's manuscript catalogue reads 'a pattern shilling, by Mr Milton'. We have here Miss Banks's authority that it is not incorrect to regard the coin as a pattern shilling, and our safest course is to adhere to that description. However the design of the coin with its large single shield is certainly reminiscent of a guinea, and it was listed as early as 1802 in the Tyssen sale catalogue (lot 428) as a 'pattern for a guinea, by Milton'. The guinea argument appears to have some force, and possibly there was a change of intention on Milton's part making both views more or less tenable.

The dies for this coin are in the Mint collection, as noted by Hocking. It does not follow, however, that the Mint were in any way concerned with the coin or its production in 1798. They almost certainly were not, for Milton had left them in March 1797. Mr G. P. Dyer observes that no mention of the dies can be found in the Mint records before 1845, and the probability is that they were acquired after, or even long after, Milton's death.³²

The most obvious explanation of the origin of the coin is that it was Milton's response to the appeal of the Privy Council Coin Committee in 1798 for new ideas in coinage design.³³ It was exactly the kind of thing they wanted to see; it could have been a little victory for Milton; and we can be sure that he could

³¹ A well-informed obituary of William Collins (c.1751-1819) appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1819, i, 582-83), whose editor knew Collins personally. On John Westwood, see Forrer, VI, 458-9. On Westwood and Collins as a team, and their patent copper bolts for the navy, see J. R. Harris, pp. 48-9.

³² The dies bear no distinguishing marks, and are typical of the shouldered kind in use at the Mint at that period for proof and pattern pieces. See G. P. Dyer and P. P. Gaspar,

'The Striking of Proof and Pattern Coins in the Eighteenth Century', *BNJ* 50 (1980), 117-27. Milton was simply following his Mint training as we would expect. These are the only surviving Milton dies that I am aware of. I am much indebted to Mr G. P. Dyer of the Royal Mint for his general observations on the Milton coin, and for examining the records and dies in question.

³³ Craig, *The Mint*, p. 269.

have counted on the support of Sir Joseph Banks, who was one of the most important members of the committee. However no evidence has been found that the coin was ever submitted.

Mr Dyer states that the obverse die shows visible traces where Milton imperfectly altered the inscription from TERTIUS D.G. to DEI. GRATIA, and the underlying inscription can be faintly made out on the coins in the Mint collection. Thus the impression at the British Museum is accounted for as an early state, and there is no need to assume that more than one die existed. But, if so, the ghost inscription may well be detectable on all examples. There is no obvious reason for the alteration unless to remove the unhappy mixture of the Latin U and V.

(G. F. Crowther, *A Guide to English Pattern Coins* (London, 1886), p. 41; H. A. Seaby and P. A. Rayner, *The English Silver Coinage from 1649* (London, 1957), Nos. 1243 and 1244; W. J. Hocking, *Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint*, 2 vols (London, 1906 and 1910), I, 165, Nos. 1810 and 1811, and II, 31, Nos. 504 and 505).

No. 29.* Fullarton's Wallace Token, 1797

Obverse: bust of Wallace; around, GULIELMUS VALLAS.

Reverse: seated female representing Scotland; above, SCOTIA REDIVIVA; in exergue, 1797, divided by the monogram T C; signed on exergue line, M.

Silver and copper; diameter 28 mm.

This token was undoubtedly intended to serve the enterprise with which Colonel William Fullarton was closely involved, known as the Troon Canal Company. Its objects were the construction of a canal from Kilmarnock to Troon on the Ayrshire coast, and the modernization of the harbour facilities at Troon.³⁴ Fullarton was intimately concerned in the scheme since Troon was part of his family estate, but the dominant interest must certainly have been that of the coalowners at Kilmarnock who sought to get their coal down to the coast and away by ship. As M.P. for Ayrshire, apart from his personal interest, Fullarton had the task of steering the Troon Canal Bill through Parliament during the summer of 1797; and it is likely that this token was used as a publicity piece for distribution to M.P.s and the like. The mintage of 576 recorded by Pye seems quite suitable for such a purpose. The monogram T C, which has been interpreted in many different ways in the past, is most likely to stand for the Troon Company, the simplified name used by Fullarton himself. In fact the Bill went to the Lords in July 1797, but failed to pass. However, planning continued and we must assume that they intended to bring it in again at a later date.

(Pye, IV, 7; Sharp, p. 219; Dalton & Hamer, Part XII, p. ii, and Ayrshire, No. 3).

No. 30.* Fullarton's Adam Smith Token, 1799

Obverse: head, 'in the antique manner', short curled hair and bare shoulder; uninscribed.

Reverse: female seated in the classical posture of mourning defeat, with ancient weaponry behind her; signed J. MILTON F.; otherwise uninscribed.

Silver and copper; 25 mm.

In spite of the lack of inscription some interpretation of this piece is possible. We can be fairly confident that it is the piece referred to by Fullarton in his letter of January 1799 to Matthew Young of which the full text is given under the next item. If so the unfinished condition is accounted for by Fullarton's dropping it in favour of his proposed silver coinage; and we can give it the nominal date 1799. Pye, from whom the association with Fullarton is first known, stated that only 'a few proofs' were made.³⁵ Sharp was the first to identify the portrait as Dr Adam Smith, an appropriate Scottish hero; and a comparison with Tassie's portraits of Smith confirms the equation without doubt. On the other hand the reverse design seems inappropriate, and out of tune with the theme of Scotia Rediviva on the Wallace token. To add to the mystery, the design appears to have been copied (but mirrored in the way of engravers) from Kirk's memorial medal of 1774 to the duke of Atholl (Brown, No. 192).

(Pye, IV, 8; Sharp, p. 219; Dalton & Hamer, Ayrshire, No. 7).

No. 31. Fullarton's Pattern Coins, 1799

A.* Half-crown

Obverse: bust of the Prince of Wales; around, GEORGIVS . P . S . S . C . D . 1799; signed below bust, Milton (cursive).

Reverse: British arms on four shields crosswise; around, BR.L.PR.E REG.SC.PR ET.SEN COR.DUX.

B.* Shilling. Similar to A, but the obverse inscription inserts the letter G between GEORGIVS and P; and the reverse inscription reads REGNI SCOTIAE SENES CALLUS; signed Milton F.

³⁴ The project was already active in 1794, as we know from Fullarton's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr* (Edinburgh, 1794), p. 88, prepared for the Board of Agriculture.

³⁵ Plate 4 in Pye's 1801 edition is found in two versions, one with and the other without this piece. Some copies of Pye have both plates.

C. Sixpence. Similar to A; signed M.

D. Halfpenny. Similar to A; signed Milton F.

The dies for this coinage were prepared by Milton under the direction of Matthew Young, but progress was stopped when the legality of the coinage came into question. A few proofs in copper or 'soft metal' were made at the time, according to Sharp; while Davis describes the re-strikes made somewhat later by Young, and considerably later by W. J. Taylor, in a variety of metals. The story of Sir Joseph Banks's intervention in the affair is briefly told by Sharp, but can be extensively augmented, and to some degree corrected, by reference to surviving documents. There has been some uncertainty about what Fullarton intended, and even about the denominations that he had in mind, for these are not indicated on the pieces themselves. It will be worthwhile, therefore, to give in full his letter of instructions to Matthew Young in January 1799:

I received your Specimens in due course, and would have written to you concerning them, but since my arrival here [Ayrshire] a better arrangement has taken place. On behalf of the Company which I mentioned to you I applied through the proper Official Channels to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales for leave to impress Engravings of the Profile Arms and Emblems on such Coin as the Company in question may have occasion to circulate.³⁶ The Lord Warden of the Stanneries and Duchy of Cornwall has officially informed me that my request will be complied with, provided the transaction is of sufficient extent to render it an object to the Parties concerned. In consequence I have informed the Lord Warden that on my return to London, I shall lay before him specimens for the approbation of His Royal Highness. You know that the Prince of Wales is not only Duke of Cornwall, but High Steward or Seneschallus of Scotland, and in these capacities entitled to grant the Privilege solicited. I desire that you will take the trouble to get Mr Milton without delay to execute a die for a Shilling Coin – on one side, the Head of the Prince of Wales, and round the Head, these words, *Georgius G.P.S.S.C.D.* – 1799.³⁷ On the other side, Engravings of the Arms, and the Emblems of the Prince of Wales, in four compartments, such as those of the Mint Shillings of George 2nd or George 3rd, taking particular care that nothing be engraved which can interfere with the Arms and Emblems of His Majesty; at the same time rendering the Profile Arms and Emblems of the Prince of Wales as much as possible complete and proper to pass in currency. Round the emblems there should be letters expressing: *Regni Scotiae Seneschallus*. And in the interval between the compartments of Emblems four coronets or other emblems of the Prince. But of all this, you and Mr Milton are the best judges, and will I am confident execute it speedily and well. I shall be in London by the 23rd January and shall hope soon after to have the Die delivered to me. As there will be others required for Half Crowns, Sixpences and Halfpence, you will take particular care not to mention anything of this matter to anyone except Mr Milton, and request them to keep it perfectly secret till all is ready for issuing.³⁸

The legality of coining silver for any private purpose was at that time in doubt, while the contradictory instruction to make the shilling reverse look like the regal coin without resembling it must have been highly alarming to Milton. As a result a discreet word passed between Young and Miss Banks, and the sequel is described in a memorandum by Banks on his copy of Fullarton's letter:

On Thursday morning, February 7th, Mr Young, to whom this letter is addressed, sold to my sister a Two Guinea piece of Geo. 3rd., for 5 guineas; and he then informed her of this transaction. The same evening I desired Milton to call upon me on the succeeding morning, and got from him this letter and the coin. He told me that he had heard Colonel Fullarton had lately been in Ireland, and on his return had written to Young to say that he supposed the circulation of his money would be much greater than he had originally supposed, and desired to know whether a person could be found to contract for a large quantity of silver. I take the Canal to be that from Troon Point to Ricarton, with the harbour of Troon in the Shire of Ayr, which passed in 1796 or 1797.³⁹

Banks now assumed control of affairs, and advised Milton to do no more. In his letter to Milton of 11 February Banks congratulated him on being well out of a dangerous business. He expressed the main objection as he saw it, that 'coining in gold or silver I find is considered by the common law of England as a special prerogative of the Crown; and any subject therefore who coins, or who is accessory to coining, in those metals, is guilty of one of the highest misdemeanours . . .'. Showing a nice concern for Milton's welfare he added: 'I am sorry this will prevent you from undertaking what would have been a profitable employment to you; but I conclude the Company must have Copper Tokens, as they cannot have silver coins, and that you will be employed in engraving them'. He mentioned that he was always available about ten o'clock any morning.⁴⁰

The subsequent correspondence between Banks and Fullarton over the legality of the proposed coinage is of considerable interest, but too extensive to follow here.⁴¹ However the counsel's opinion that Fullarton

³⁶ PRO, BT6/118, pp. 196–7, Fullarton to T. Tyrwhitt, the Prince's private secretary, 11 December 1798, and p. 198, Fullarton to the lord warden of the Stannaries, 5 January 1799.

³⁷ These instructions were followed on the shilling, where the G appeared after Georgius, but not on the other coins. Was it an error? Boyne suggested that the G was Galliae, but Gallia is doubtful for Wales. Gwalia may be possible, Wallia is usual.

³⁸ Two versions of this letter of 10 January 1799 exist.

They differ slightly, and both are copies. PRO, BT6/118, pp. 194–5, and BM(NH), DTC, XI, 160–2.

³⁹ BM(NH), DTC, XI, 162.

⁴⁰ BM(NH), DTC, XI, 194, Banks to Milton, 11 February 1799.

⁴¹ BM(NH), DTC, XI. Fullarton to Banks, pp. 207–8, 28 April; p. 218, 20 May; pp. 237–8, 4 July 1799. Banks to Fullarton, pp. 209–10, 2 May; pp. 221–22, 24 May 1799.

obtained from the eminent lawyer, Sir William Grant, and which he sent to Banks, is to the point. The only reservation that Grant had to make was that 'the possession of the implements of coinage' would need a license from the Treasury, by 8 & 9 William III c. 26. This could, it is true, have been a serious obstacle, but was far from Banks's notion of royal prerogatives. Banks sent a copy to Lord Liverpool, who in his reply expressed both abhorrence and his dissent from Grant's tolerant opinion, but admitted with regret that the attorney-general inclined to an even more lenient view that 'anyone may issue coins, even of silver, provided they call them tokens, and that they do not exhibit any imitations or resemblances of his Majesty's current coin'. In Liverpool's opinion it would, 'if practised to a considerable extent, be the cause of infinite frauds and confusion in the money of the Kingdom'.⁴² In face of this powerful opposition from the dominant members of the Coin Committee Fullarton would have been rash to proceed; but in due time the opinion of the attorney-general prevailed, and early in the next century large numbers of silver tokens were issued, though almost invariably with the precaution of putting the word 'token' on them. It is interesting to see that, contrary to the traditional account of this affair, the central issue was not the resemblance to the coin of the realm, an objection that could easily have been circumvented by a change of design, but the whole question of private coining in silver, to which Banks and Liverpool were unalterably opposed.

The coinage never went ahead, but then nor did the Troon enterprize itself, and there must have been other factors of which we are unaware that brought the whole venture to a halt.⁴³ The last we hear of the dies is in July 1799, when Fullarton informed Banks that he was getting Milton to finish the engravings 'provided he keeps them in his own possession'.⁴⁴ The existence of the later dies would otherwise have been difficult to account for.

(Sharp, p. 219; W. Boyne, *The Silver Tokens of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1866), p. 24; W. J. Davis, *The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage* (London, 1904), pp. 199-200; Dalton & Hamer, Part XII, p. iii, and Ayrshire, No. 5; L. V. Larsen, 'The Fullarton Token Patterns', *SCMB* 1966, pp. 154-7).

No. 32. Danish Pattern Coins, 1799; 1, $\frac{2}{3}$, and $\frac{1}{3}$ Speciedaler

A. * Obverse: head of Christian VII; around, CHRISTIANUS. VII. D.G. DAN. NORV. V.G. REX; signed below head, M.

Reverse: Danish arms; across, 1. SP.; around, 60. SCHILLING. SCHLESW. HOLST. COURANT. 17 MF 99.

Silver.

B. Similar to A, but 40 schilling, and $\frac{2}{3}$ SP.

C. Similar to A, but 20 schilling, and $\frac{1}{3}$ SP.; unsigned.

Location; National Museum, Copenhagen.

The invitation to Milton to engrave dies for the Danish coinage was transmitted to him by one Ole Warberg, then resident in this country and acting for the Danish Treasury. Among other things he was conducting the negotiations with Boulton for the supply of mint machinery to Denmark as part of the Danish plans for modernizing their minting methods and coinage. Milton being sensitive as to the legal implications in making dies and taking off silver proofs for foreign coinage without proper authority appealed to Banks, and it is from Banks's formal application in March 1799 to the Coin Committee for a special licence that we know of this transaction.⁴⁵ As Banks stated it, Milton had been requested 'to prepare dies and puncheons for striking of coins intended for circulation in the dominions of his Danish Majesty'. The patterns exist, and are illustrated by Wilcke, but never went into circulation. Copies of them were made later by Küchler on standard Boulton dies for use with the Boulton plant which finally reached Copenhagen in the late summer of 1806.

It was also Warberg, a 'very sensible, amiable, and scientific gentleman' as Boulton described him, who arranged for the Danish engraver, G. V. Bauert, to visit London and train under Milton in the engraving and preparation of coinage dies. The visit lasted from August 1799 to September 1800, and the fee paid for the year was £200. Judging from the exchange of letters between Milton and the Danish Treasury on completion of the training period, it was highly successful.⁴⁶

(J. Wilcke, *Specie-, Kurant- og Rigsbankdaler, 1788-1845* (Copenhagen, 1929), pp. 98-108; MBP, Birmingham, Danish Mint box).

⁴² Grant's opinion, BM(NH), DTC, XI, 229-30. Another copy, sent by Banks to Liverpool, 25 May 1799, is BL, Additional MS 38424, fols 64-8. Liverpool to Banks, 26 May 1799, DTC, XI, 227-8.

⁴³ A railway was eventually built instead of a canal. See R. N. P. Hawkins, 'Two Colliery Tickets of Ayrshire', *NCirc* 1973, pp. 380-2.

⁴⁴ BM(NH), DTC, XI, 237-8, 4 July 1799.

⁴⁵ BM(NH), DTC, XI, 199-201, Banks to Privy Council, 10 March 1799; also pp. 202, 206; and minute of the Coin Committee, PRO, BT6/127, pp. 208-9.

⁴⁶ Copenhagen, RA, Finanskollegiet, Journalsager 1800, No. 1782, 2 and 20 September (1800). The Milton/Bauert agreement, and several of Bauert's letters to the Danish Treasury, are also preserved, for copies of which I am much indebted to Mr N. Rasmussen of the Danish Royal Mint.

TOKENS

The pieces listed in this section are those included by R. C. Bell in his *Tradesmen's Tickets and Private Tokens*, and the references are to that work; the exceptions being No. 41, which appears in his *Commercial Coins, 1787-1804*, and the Fullarton tokens treated in the last section for convenience.⁴⁷ All pieces up to No. 44 were engraved in Pye's 1801 edition. The metal is generally copper, though silver and other metals occur.

No. 33. D. A. Rebello, Hackney, 1795

Obverse: a church; around, HACKNEY CHURCH; in exergue, MDCCXC; signed on exergue line, J M.

Reverse: ornamental cypher, D A R; around, HACKNEY PROMISSORY TOKEN 1795.

Halfpenny size (Pye, XXII, 1; Sharp, pp. iv and 58; Dalton & Hamer, Middlesex, 309; Bell, pp. 99-101).

No. 34. J. Rebello, Hackney, 1796

Obverse: a church; around, HACKNEY CHURCH MDCCXC; signed in exergue, J. Milton F (cursive).

Reverse: Time holding a shield inscribed 'David Alves Rebello'; around, MEMORIA IN AETERNA; in exergue, 1796; signed on exergue line, M.

Penny size (Pye, XXII, 2; Sharp, p. 14; D & H, Middlesex, 24; Bell, pp. 101-2).

No. 35. J. Conder, Ipswich, 1795

Obverse: bust of Wolsey; around, CARDINAL WOLSEY BORN AT IPSWICH 1471; signed below bust, M.

Reverse: gateway; above, JA^S CONDER . IPSWICH . 1795; in exergue, WOLYS GATE.

Penny size. Variants of both types exist (Pye, XXIV, 5, 6 and 7; Sharp, pp. 25, 26; D & H, Suffolk, 10; Bell, pp. 146-7).

No. 36. J. Conder, Ipswich, 1797

Obverse: view of building; above, TOWN. HALL. IPSH.; in exergue, FORMERLY ST. MILDRED'S CHURCH.

Reverse: ornamental cypher J M C; around, CONDER'S IPSWICH PENNY 1797.

Edge: I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER ONE PENNY.

Penny size. Only the reverse of this unsigned piece was engraved by Milton, according to Pye (Pye, XXIV, 8; Sharp, p. 26; D & H, Suffolk, 13; Bell, pp. 147-8).

No. 37. Richardson, Goodluck & Co. (1), 1795

Obverse: Fortune, blindfold, drawing lottery tickets; around, NOTHING VENTURE NOTHING HAVE; in exergue, 1795.

Reverse: AT THE OFFICES OF/RICHARDSON GOODLUCK & Co/No/12807/THE LAST PRIZE OF/£30000/SHARED/WAS SOLD IN SIXTEENTHS.

Halfpenny size (Pye, XXXIII, 9; Sharp, p. 68; D & H, Middlesex, 467-9; Bell, pp. 102-3).

No. 38. Richardson, Goodluck & Co. (2), 1795

Obverse: Bluecoat boy drawing ticket from lottery wheel; around, NOTHING VENTURE NOTHING HAVE; in exergue, 1795.

Reverse: RICHARDSON GOODLUCK & Co/SOLD/No/12807/THE LAST PRIZE OF/£30000/SHARED/IN/SIXTEENTHS.

Halfpenny size. This and the last piece are unsigned, but were attributed to Milton by Pye (Pye, XXXIII, 10; Sharp, pp. 68-9; D & H, Middlesex, 470-1; Bell, pp. 103-5).

No. 39. R. Biddulph, Hereford (1), 1796

Obverse: bull trampling chain; above, JUNE 3^D 1796; in exergue, J MILTON F.

Reverse: apple tree and plough within wreath.

Penny size (Pye, XXII, 9; Sharp, p. 12; D & H, Herefordshire, 1; Bell, p. 29).

No. 40. R. Biddulph, Hereford (2), 1796

Obverse: bull trampling chain; above, HEREFORDSHIRE; in exergue, JUNE 3 1796.

Reverse: apple tree and plough within wreath.

Penny size. Both types are quite distinct from No. 39. This piece is unsigned, but attributed to Milton by Pye (Pye, XXII, 10; Sharp, p. 12; D & H, Herefordshire, 4; Bell, pp. 30-2).

No. 41. Rev. D. Collyer, Wroxham, Norfolk, 1797

Obverse: wheelbarrow; below, MARLE. PIT/TOKEN; around, TO. PAY. WORKMEN. AND. PROMOTE. AGRICULTURE.

⁴⁷ R. C. Bell, *Tradesmen's Tickets and Private Tokens 1787-1804* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1963). (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1966), and *Commercial Coins*,

Reverse: 3/PENCE/PAYABLE/AT/WROXHAM; around, D. COLLYER. PROPRIETOR. 1797.

Threepenny piece; unsigned, but attributed to Milton by Pye (Pye, XLIX, 5; Sharp, pp. 2, 3; D & H, Norfolk, 1; R. C. Bell, *Commercial Coins, 1787-1804*, pp. 138-9).

No. 42.* Matthew Young, London, 1798

Obverse: seated female representing the City of London, with St Paul's beyond; around, CIVITAS LONDINI MDCCXCVIII; signed in exergue, J Milton F (cursive).

Reverse: around, MATTHEW. YOUNG. GOLDSMITH. AND. JEWELLER; within, DEALER. IN/COINS & MEDALS/ANTIENT & MODERN/Nº 16/LUDGATE. STREET/LONDON.

Edge: PROMISSORY PENNY TOKEN PAYABLE ON DEMAND.

Penny size (Pye, XXXV, 4; Sharp, p. 19; D & H, Middlesex, 41; Bell, pp. 119-21).

No. 43.* John Milton, London, 1800

Obverse: seated female figure of Science.

Reverse: Time holding the winged horse Pegasus; in the background a figure struggles to ascend a rocky crag; in exergue, MILTON. MEDALIST/SEALS. COINS & c./1800.

White metal; penny size.

The few examples of this piece that exist show severe die faults on the reverse, and the design is uncompleted. Pye engraved the piece, but noted that it was 'engraved by Mr Milton's desire from an unfinished impression, and the dies are not yet completed'. His rendering of the reverse shows four small figures in addition to the horse-holder, that is to say three more than we find on the token.⁴⁸ The horse-holder has been plausibly called Bellerophon, but Sharp's description is better: 'Time (as described by Mr Young on the authority of the artist) is leading Pegasus in front of the rock; emblematical of flights of the imagination in design, poetry, &c.'. The artistic aspirations were doubtless Milton's own, and it is sad that this ambitious and most attractive piece was never completed. The obverse female figure appears to be a clever adaptation of Sir Joshua Reynolds's painting 'Theory' which was then on the Royal Academy ceiling at Somerset House. (Pye, XXXI, 10; Sharp, p. 14; D & H, Middlesex, 36; Bell, pp. 73-4).

No. 44. D. Hood, Cambridge

Obverse: wheat sheaf; around, PEACE PLENTY & LIBERTY.

Reverse: DAVID HOOD/PRINT SELLER/CARVER GILDER & /PICTURE FRAME MAKER/CAMBRIDGE.

Halfpenny size; undated and unsigned, but attributed to Milton by Pye (Pye, XIII, 6; Sharp, p. 37; D & H, Cambridge, 19; Bell, p. 9).

No. 45. R. Orchard, London, 1803

Obverse: bust of Orchard; around, ROBERT ORCHARD Nº 34 GREEK STREET CORNER OF CHURCH STREET SOHO LONDON; below bust, 1803; signed on truncation, MILTON F.

Reverse: around, GROCER & TEA DEALER WHOLESALE RETAIL & FOR EXPORTATION; within, AND AT SAWBRIDGEWORTH/HERTS/MANUFACTURER OF/CHOCOLATE & COCOA/ON A NEW AND/IMPROVED PRINCIPLE.

Penny size (Sharp, p. 194; D & H, Middlesex, 38; Bell, pp. 81-2).

No. 46. R. Orchard, London, 1804

Obverse: bust of Orchard; around, ROBERT ORCHARD GROCER & TEA DEALER Nº 34 GREEK ST. CORNER CHURCH ST. SOHO LONDON 1804.

Reverse: corner building; around, ROBERT. ORCHARD. TEA. WAREHOUSE. CORNER OF CHURCH ST. AND. AT SAW BRIDGEWORTH HERTS.

Farthing size; unsigned, but the portrait is presumed to be by Milton from similarity with No. 45 (D & H, Middlesex, 1063; Bell, p. 83).

PASSES OR BADGES

Of the five pieces listed here one is known to have been a pass; the other four are presumed from their appearance to have been passes or badges of membership.

No. 47.* Worshipful Company of Carpenters

Obverse: the shield of the company, showing three compasses; a helmet above; around, sprays of oak and some conifer; below, a banner with HONOUR GOD; signed at the bottom, J. Milton F. (cursive).

⁴⁸ A. W. Waters, in his *Notes gleaned from Contemporary Literature respecting the Issues of Eighteenth Century Tokens* (Leamington Spa, 1906), p. 6, mentions the possible existence of a piece dated 1799 and matching Pye's engraving. But the evidence, whatever it may have been, was in Young's annotated copy of Conder, and that was presumably the book acquired by the British Museum and destroyed in the last war (the former, but not the present, 7756.cc 16 in the general catalogue).

Reverse: wreath of laurel; blank within for inscription.

Silver gilt and copper; diameter 48 mm.

W. T. R. Marvin described and discussed this piece in his *Medals of the Masonic Fraternity* (Boston, Mass., 1880), pp. 196-7. He rightly guessed its nature, and that it was not masonic. The British Museum example was from Miss Banks's collection.

No. 48. *Worshipful Company of Needlemakers

Obverse: Adam and Eve hold between them the company's shield which bears three needles and three crowns; behind, serpent in tree; signed on exergue, J Milton F (cursive).

Reverse: blank for inscription.

Projections at the top and bottom of the disc are ornamented with the coils of a serpent.

Silver and copper; dimensions 66 X 37 mm.

The silver example at the British Museum is inscribed 'Alexander Stuart, Livery, 8th January, 1799'.

No. 49. *Brokers' Pass, 1801

Obverse: the royal arms (as introduced in 1801); signed below, Milton F (cursive).

Reverse: the arms and motto of the City of London; below, a panel for the recipient's name.

Silver and copper; diameter 41 mm.

This piece was issued to members of the Stock Exchange, and to certain other commodity dealers, and was carried as a pass to be shown when required. Milton's piece was in use from 1801 to 1830, and replaced an earlier design that had been used since 1714.

(J. B. Caldecott, 'Brokers' Medals and Stockbrokers' Tokens', *The Stock Exchange Christmas Annual*, compiled by W. A. Morgan (Enfield, 1905-6), pp. 231-41).

No. 50. *'Fide et Amore'

Obverse: monogram P U; above, banner with FIDE ET AMORE; below, sprays of laurel.

Reverse: two hands seeking unity; above, U C/2537; below, banner with JUNGANTUR IN UNUM; signed on banner, J M F (cursive).

Copper; diameter 40 mm. Private collection.

The origin of this very rare piece is unknown. Very probably it is the item listed by Grant as '1800, Friendly Society, Fide et Amore, Anon'.

No. 51. *City of Bristol

Obverse: the royal arms (prior to 1801); signed below, MILTON SCULP.

Reverse: arms of the City of Bristol; below, ribbon blank for recipient's name; signed below shield, W.M SCU.

Silver; diameter 39 mm.

The only example known to me is in the British Museum, where Edward Hawkins's label describes it as 'Bristol Merchant Venturers Society'. Grant listed it as '1790, Bristol Merchant Adventurers, Anon', thus overlooking the signatures, and probably making an intelligent guess at the date. No other evidence on this piece has been found. The Society of Merchant Venturers at Bristol do not know it, and disclaim it as their own. Mr L. V. Grinsell included it in his *Brief Numismatic History of Bristol* (Bristol, 1962), p. 26, but acknowledged that Grant was his only source.⁴⁹ The signature on the reverse cannot be explained.

It could well be that this piece is unique. Its close parallel with the London brokers' pass suggests that it could have been intended for a similar use at the Bristol Exchange.

GAMBLING TICKETS

Milton produced a number of gambling tickets for use in gaming houses. They are well represented in Davis & Waters, and need not be listed here. The signatures are variously J M, J M F, or J Milton F (cursive). The date 1792 appears on the Fiuri and Lister pieces.

(Sharp, pp. 256-7; Davis & Waters, pp. 311-14, Nos. 31-4, 56-9, 63-4, and 67, 67a).

EXERCISE PIECES

There exists a group of medals which need only be mentioned here consisting of copies of types from earlier medals by Dassier and others, and engraved either by Milton or by his pupil, Bauert. They were perhaps, as Hawkins suggests, 'done for practice'.

(*Medallic Illustrations*, i, 577, and ii, 456 and 585; Grant's List).

⁴⁹ Information kindly given by the Society's archivist, and by Mr L. V. Grinsell.

GEMS AND SEALS

Under this heading Forrer (IV, 85) lists:

- A. Eagle tearing a serpent, yellow carnelian.
- B. Horse galloping, the background blazoned.
- C. Seal of the United States of America (engraved in London; St George fighting the Dragon; legend: LET MERCY BE OUR BOAST, AND SHAME OUR ONLY FEAR; signature: I MILTON F).⁵⁰
- D. Comedy holding a shield bearing the inscription: MILTON ENGRAVER, No. 6 QUEEN STRT. GOLDEN SQ.

It is interesting to compare these descriptions with Milton's exhibits at the Academy in 1785 and 1788, as recorded in the Academy catalogues:

1785 (sent from 6, Queen Street, Golden Square): a frame containing a steel seal of Comedy, and an impression of an eagle and snake.

1788 (sent from The Mint, Tower): frame containing a medal, face, etc., reverse, and a wax impression from a steel seal of a George.

There is sufficient weight of probability in the correspondence between the two descriptions to allow us to recognize items A, C and D among the exhibits, and to date them accordingly. The source of Forrer's more detailed descriptions is a mystery. The objects cannot now be traced, and in any case the wording that Forrer uses suggests a written source rather than his own observation. Could he have used some last remnant of one of Milton's manuscript lists?

A number of impressions of seals 'engraved by Mr Milton', and a few waxes, including one of Samuel Tyssen, were listed in a sale catalogue of 1827 (Sotheby, 23 April); but there was evidently some confusion with the work of Henry Milton, and little can be made of the material.

UNCERTAIN AUTHORSHIP

The Milton sale catalogues of 1805 (Sotheby, 30 May) and 1827 (Sotheby, 23 April) provide a useful check in trying to establish the extent of his work. They include a few pieces not otherwise associated with Milton, but whose presence there would be surprising unless there were some connection. Among these are:

A. Leicestershire Agricultural Society medal

Obverse: Minerva holding staff and wreath, with plough and livestock in the background; around, LEICESTERSHIRE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

Reverse: wreath; within, ADJUDGED.

Copper; diameter 44 mm.

The obverse is typical of Milton's work, and there is little doubt of his authorship. The society was founded in 1788, but no evidence has been found of their having used the medal.

B. St Vincent's Black Corps

Obverse: winged figure with sword subduing a native of the island; around, ST. VINCENTS BLACK CORPS.

Reverse: native soldier with musket; around, BOLD LOYAL OBEDIENT; signed in exergue, H.G. FEC. The medal is described and illustrated in Gordon (pp. 13-14), who relates it to events on the island of St Vincent in 1795. The signature, H.G., is unknown, but may have been Milton's brother-in-law, Henry Gretton, an engraver, though not known as a medallist.

C. 'Ticket for the New Park'

Obverse: monogram G R, with royal crown above.

Reverse: NEW PARK, and blank for personal name and number.

Whole batches of 'tickets for the New Park' were included in the two sale catalogues, totalling twenty or more. It is here assumed that the piece referred to is Montague Guest, Nos. 745-52, since that was the piece in use in Milton's time. It was issued to approved persons to give them access to Richmond Park. Milton may well have engraved the dies, and was clearly the keeper of the stock, and would have inscribed them with the pass-holder's name and issued them as instructed by the Deputy Ranger.

D. The 1827 catalogue attributed to Milton the Isle of Man copper coinage of 1786. This must be wrong, yet it should be mentioned since the same attribution was made by Sharp, and later by *DNB* and Forrer, and so stands unquestioned to this day. That regal coinage was made at the Mint on a warrant of June

⁵⁰ That Milton had received a specific enquiry from or on behalf of some institution in America is not impossible. Yet there are difficulties. Dr A. M. Stahl of the American Numismatic Society points out that St George's associations with the British monarchy were likely to render him

unsuitable for any official purpose. The great seal of the United States, with the eagle emblem, had already been adopted and brought into use in 1782. I thank Drs R. Doty and A. M. Stahl for their kind help on this problem.

1785, and completed in March 1786. It is well established that Pingo was responsible for the dies; and Milton, an outsider as he then was, could hardly have played even a minor part in the operation.

PORTRAIT MEDALS OF MILTON'S FAMILY

A. Sarah Gretton, 1796

Uniface: bust of Sarah; around, SARAH GRETTON NATA OB. DEC. 1796.

Lead; diameter 40 mm. Location, British Museum, probably unique.

This is a proof in lead from an unfinished die, and the portrait is too incomplete to be satisfactory. The inscription is scratched in. The piece was described and illustrated by Grueber, who had no idea of the lady's identity. We now know that she was Milton's wife, whom he married in 1786. She was the daughter of Henry Gretton, an engraver in Fenchurch Street, a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, and appointed a bridgmaster of the City shortly before his death in 1784. The medal records Sarah's death in December 1796, an event which is confirmed in the registers of the Tower Chapel where she was buried. It is not easy to understand why her maiden name was used.

(H. A. Grueber, 'English Personal Medals from 1760', *NC*, third series, 11 (1891), 399).

B. Henry Milton, 1823

Obverse: portrait of Henry; above, HENRY MILTON; signed below head, SCIPIO CLINT SC. AD VIVUM.

Reverse: inscription, THIS MEDAL OF HENRY MILTON WAS ENGRAVED BY HIS APPRENTICE SCIPIO CLINT AS A TESTIMONY OF GRATITUDE. 1823.

Copper; diameter 40 mm. Location, British Museum, presumed unique.

The medal is well-finished, and the portrait is thoroughly competent as we would expect from Clint, though he was only eighteen at the time. It is amusing that Clint exhibited an impression from the die at the Academy in 1823 under the concealed name 'Apprentice, S.C.', with the result that the fictitious medallist, S. C. Apprentice, eventually secured for himself an entry in Forrer. Henry was Milton's only son, born at the Tower in 1788, and died unmarried in 1824. Little is known of his work as a seal-engraver.

PLATE 1



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PLATE 2



11



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PLATE 3



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PLATE 4



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23



24



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27A



27B



28



29



31A



31B



PLATE 5



28



32A



42



43



47



48



49



50



51

