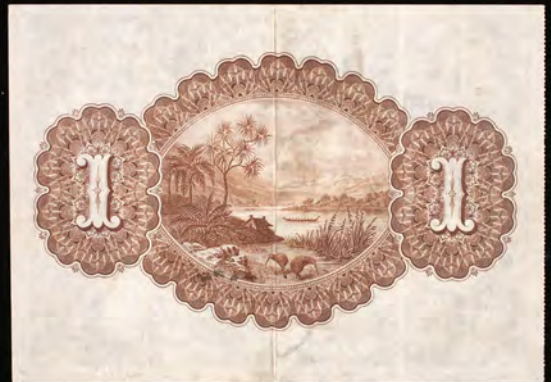


Volume 29

Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia



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President's Report

Our eighth biennial international numismatic conference (NAAC2019) was held at the State Library of New South Wales. National Organiser Walter Bloom and the local Organising Committee of Ken Sheedy and Gil Davis put together an interesting program, the fruits of which can be seen in this current volume of the Journal. Highlights included keynote speakers, Ross MacDiarmid, RAM Director (*The future of collecting and the role of the Royal Australian Mint*) and Claire Rowson, Perth Mint (*Mint Condition: New directions for numismatic conservation in Australia*). We were pleased to see a strong New Zealand contingent in Sydney and for the first time in some years the conference ran at a (slight) profit.

I am delighted to advise the winning of the 2019 Paul Simon Memorial Award by Graeme Petterwood. Graeme has been very active on the Tasmania numismatic scene, even when the Tasmanian Numismatic Society had spent a significant time in hibernation. Over this crucial period he kept the Society on the numismatic map with his publishing of the bi-monthly newsletter *Tasmanian Numismatist*. Graeme's contribution to the Society has been recognised with the McDonald Encouragement Award, 1994; R V McNeice Literary Award 1995, 1996; Lockwood Medal 1998; Tasmanian Numismatic Society Bronze Medallion 1996, 2000, 2003; TNS President's Award 2000; TNS Distinguished Service Medal 2013; and TNS Life Membership 2014. Graeme also won the André Fecteau Prize (Association des Numismates Francophones du Canada; <http://anfc.info/>) literary award. Congratulations Graeme from the Australian numismatic community.

The NAA website has experienced some serious issues, well beyond my expertise as Website Manager. After many unsuccessful attempts at fixing the problems, both through the hosting company and the website developer, the Association is looking to pay an expert to get the website back on-line.

We continue to enjoy sponsorship at a sustainable level, with Noble Numismatics (Gold), Coinworks, Downies (Silver), Drake Sterling, Mowbray Collectables, Sterling & Currency and Vintage Coins & Banknotes (Bronze) all contributing to ensure the Association's continued success. However expenses are rising and receipts are falling, even with the steady level of membership. On the positive side, many continue to take out ten-year memberships which is certainly good for the short to medium term.

I am appreciative of the support of Council and other NAA members throughout the year, and particularly our Secretary, Jonathan Cohen, and Treasurer, Lyn Bloom, who are pivotal in the running of the Association, and our Managing Editor, Gil Davis, for his ongoing work with the journal. The Association is looking to hold its 2020 AGM in Perth with those members in the Eastern States invited to skype into the meeting. With 15 NAA members in WA including three Office Bearers, we should have no difficulty making a physical quorum.

Finally, I was sorry to miss this year in Sydney (due to illness), my first missed conference since their inception in 2005, and also my first missed AGM since I took up the Presidency in 2006.

Professor Walter R. Bloom

President, NAA

www.numismatics.org.au

Editor's Note

This journal is the showcase of the Numismatic Association of Australia (NAA), the peak body for numismatics in the country. It provides a venue for excellent scholarship with a requirement that all articles either offer new material or fresh interpretations. All submissions are required to undergo a rigorous, double-blind peer review. The 29th volume is the largest we have produced and comes as a result of a decision to combine 2018 and 2019 into one volume, with many of the articles generated from the biennial NAA conference held on 6-7 April 2019. Once again, there is a good balance of modern and ancient interests reflected in a remarkably diverse range of topics. It is pleasing to see the contributions made on New Zealand numismatics.

We have a strong international editorial board who contribute their wisdom, experience and help. I thank them and mourn the premature loss of one of our number, the late Professor Matthew Trundle whose obituary appears at the end of the volume. I thank Professor John Melville-Jones and Mr John O'Connor for their skill and application in proof-reading the articles and Mr Barrie Newman for his dedication in producing the volume. As always, I thank Professor Walter Bloom, President of the NAA, for his personal support and encouragement in dealing with the myriad of matters that editing a journal entails.

This volume has some changes from its predecessors. At the conference we ran a session in which a number of speakers gave a short presentation on a 'Numismatic Gem'. This was highly successful and amusing. Two of the presentations have been turned into brief articles including the winning entry by Darren Burgess on a 'humble' token from the English Civil War, and a charming story by Barrie Newman on his first coin, which led him to a lifelong interest in collecting. We have also included a review by David Rampling of the important book by Peter Lane on the South Australian 'Coin Cabinet'.

There are five articles on modern topics. The first two are about New Zealand with Andrew Clifford and Robert Tonner presenting a history of New Zealand banknotes, superbly illustrated from Robert's own collection, and David Galt following up with medals issued for the New Zealand Wars. Richard and Carmel S. O'Hair take us into the world of early Australian medals issued by a Geelong Highland society, while Darren Burgess provides a full listing and discussion of the Centenary of Sydney and Melbourne Commemorative medals. Yuri Rapoport suggests, perhaps controversially, that there is a fifth variety of the 1931 penny.

There are also five large articles on topics spanning a thousand years of ancient history. Lloyd Taylor provides an exemplary study of the Alexander tetradrachms that he attributes to the Phoenician port city of Karne. From there, we segue into the vexed question of the so-called Porus medallions of Alexander, explored in detail by Michael Habicht and his colleagues. Staying in the ancient East, Rachel Mansfield reattributes a previously incorrectly identified coin type minted in the Levantine port city of Jaffa under the Severan emperors. Bruce Marshall discusses the introduction of slogans to Roman republican denarii. Finally, Christian Cuello discusses the extent to which imperial authority was conveyed in the 'imitation' coinage of 'barbarian' rulers in late antiquity.

All the articles contain significant research providing the volume with enduring value. They are well written and informative. I hope you enjoy reading them.

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The New Zealand medal for the New Zealand wars

David Galt

Abstract

This paper briefly outlines the history and significance of the New Zealand Wars from the 1840s to the 1870s through the prism of the New Zealand Medal which was issued by both the British and Colonial Governments for service by British and Māori troops. Three awards of the medal to British soldiers are discussed. The first two of these went to officers, Lieutenant William H. Free and Colonel Charles Stapp. They were distinguished and successful in their long military careers but had mixed fortunes in their post-military lives. The third, Private James Johnston, served only briefly before receiving serious injuries in battle, being granted a pension from consequential disabilities and dying young after an alcoholic binge. All three now live on through their medals.

Keywords

[New Zealand Medal] [New Zealand Wars] [Maori] [William Free] [Charles Stapp]

The New Zealand Wars

Skirmishes between Europeans and Māori commenced with Abel Tasman's visit in 1642. Violence between Māori also erupted in the 1820s when chief Hongi Hika of Ngāpuhi in Northland brought 300 muskets back from England in 1821. The resulting wars through the 1820s among Māori saw a death toll estimated at between 16,000 to 18,000 people from a population of 100,000.

The New Zealand Wars were fought principally from the 1840s to the 1870s with the final action in the 1880s. The Treaty of Waitangi between the British crown and Māori chiefs was signed in 1840, preserving rights of Māori chiefs and property rights while providing for British sovereignty. From an estimated 2,000 then, the settler population grew quickly. In spite of this, major skirmishes between Māori and settlers occurred from June 1843, starting with the Wairau Massacre in the South Island, usually labelled the Wairau Affray, when a party of Europeans attempted to arrest two Māori chiefs for acting against a survey party. A shot was fired accidentally by the European party following which 21 Europeans and four Māori lay dead. Battles followed in Wellington, Whanganui, Northland, Taranaki, the Waikato and Bay of Plenty. Many of the battles arose from attempts by settlers to secure prime land for settlement, with two major phases in the wars, from 1845 to 1848 and 1860 to 1869, but tensions remained into the 1880s. The British and Colonial governments slowly established control. Large-scale

land confiscations followed, some still generating current Treaty settlement negotiations between the Crown and Māori.

The wars were fought on a large scale over much of the North Island (Fig. 1). For instance, at Ohaeawai in 1845, there were casualties of 110 British soldiers, 40 of whom were killed after an ill-judged frontal assault on a Māori fortified pā at Ohaeawai in Northland. In the 1860s, as many as 7,000 British troops were stationed in the Waikato region near Te Awamutu. The wars were not simply British against Māori – many Māori warriors (known as *kūpapa*) fought on the British side in these conflicts.

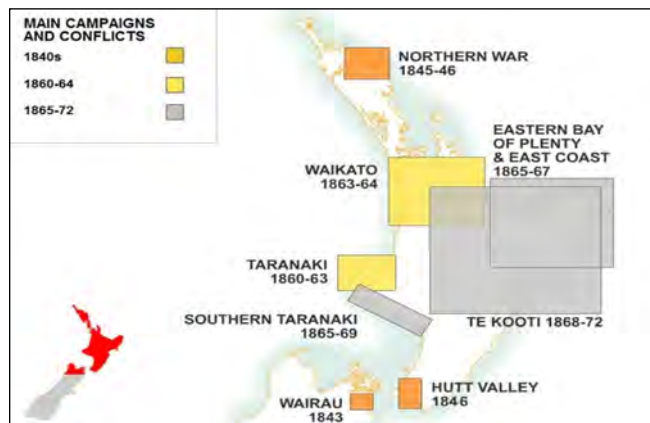


Figure 1. New Zealand Wars map. Source: www.nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/nz-wars-overview-map

The New Zealand Medal



Figure 2. The New Zealand Medal, Specimen type dated 1861-1866.

The medal was issued first by the British Government after 1869 for service from 1845 to 1848 and 1860 to 1866, and then by the Colonial Government from 1870. It was designed by brothers Joseph S. and Alfred B. Wyon. At the most basic level, the New Zealand Medal is simple – a silver disc of 36 mm, like many other British campaign medals, suspended from a ribbon of 32 mm of dark blue, with a red centre stripe. The swivel suspension is from a straight bar, each side representing half a fern leaf (Fig. 2). The obverse portrays Queen Victoria facing left with VICTORIA D:G:BRITT:REG:F:D: around the portrait. The reverse shows the recipient's dates of service in a laurel wreath with NEW ZEALAND above and VIRTUTIS HONOR around below.

Thereafter, it gets more complicated. As Hayward *et al.* say (2006, p. 295) “This medal is the most complex of the British campaign series.” The centre of the reverse may show at least 28 different date combinations. Many have no date.

The naming on the edge is even more complicated, partly because of the availability of medals in response to claims over many years. Drawing on the analysis of naming in Oldham and Delahunt (1991, p. 45) and Hayward *et al.* (2006, pp. 293 - 303):

- It is mostly impressed in serif capitals with the names of British Regimental and corps personnel and of some members of local forces employed by the Imperial Commissariat Corps.
- It is also engraved, mostly in later issues in serif or non-serif capitals, the latter often on named Colonial issues post 1870. Many different engraving styles are seen, as the medal was typically engraved locally by appointed parties. Thus, medals of people from the same unit are often similarly engraved.
- Some undated medals are dated on the edge with impressed or engraved naming.
- Some late claims for British forces after 1900 are officially impressed in small serif capitals.
- Specimens of the unissued medals were sold to registered collectors by the New Zealand Government until 1974. The name of the party awarded the medal was obliterated with an XXXXXXXX pattern and the word SPECIMEN was added on the edge. These have either an 1861-66 date or are undated. Often part or all of the original naming can still be deciphered.

The Imperial issue was awarded to British soldiers, including many who took their discharge in New Zealand, to some members of the Waikato and Auckland militias and to civilians who were employed in the Imperial Commissariat Transport Corps, fewer than half of whom applied for their medals. Many Australians signed up too. The Colonial issue was approved jointly to more than 100 units, some in very small numbers, by the New Zealand Parliament on 1 September 1869. To qualify, recipients had to prove they were under fire in an engagement during the wars up to 1872. The medal was awarded to both *kūpapa* and members of the Colonial forces. Next of kin

could claim the medal for those killed. No one could receive both an Imperial medal and a Colonial medal. A decision to allow military pensions of £36 p.a. in 1912 led to a flood of late medal applications as the military pension, though means-tested, was £10 higher p.a. than the old-age pension.

Three Awards to New Zealanders

Lieutenant William Henry Free

Free's life provides a good illustration of the conduct that led to the award of the New Zealand Medal. He was awarded a rare pair of New Zealand Medals in both the 1840s campaign and the 1860s campaign. The first is impressed "1618 WM FREE 58th REG" and the second engraved "LIEUT W. H. FREE TARANAKI RFE VRS" (Fig. 3).



Figure 3. Free's New Zealand Medals

These medals have been sold twice by Mowbray Collectables, graded as VF, the last time in September 2018 for NZ\$7,412 including a premium of 17% and GST.



Figure 4. Lieutenant William Henry Free (source: <https://www.austenfamily.org/william-henry-free/>)

Free was born on 9 November 1825 in County Wicklow, Ireland (Fig. 4). In civil life, he represented Omata on the Taranaki Provincial Council from 15 September 1865 to 8 September 1869 and was an active member of lodges, including being Past Provincial Grand Master of the New Plymouth district. After the wars he was employed by Dr Humphries at Montosa, most likely as a farm labourer and/or farm manager. He was also farm manager for Sir Harry Atkinson, later to become Premier. In 1881 Free was declared bankrupt. Later he moved into town and was a Borough Inspector of Nuisances for the New Plymouth Council until about 1904, aged 79. He died at New Plymouth, Taranaki, in 1919 aged 93 years.

Free enlisted in the 58th Rutlandshire Regiment of Foot at Carlow, County Wicklow on 15 April 1842, listed as a 17-year-old labourer. Sent with his regiment and armed with the old flintlock musket, he attended the Manchester riots of 1842. In July 1843, he went to Van Diemen's Land, part of a draft of his regiment who were acting as guards on the convict ship HMS Anson. The voyage was under Captain Cochrane, who was particularly ruthless in handing out floggings to convicts and crew alike, and Free's obituary records that "the horrors of the voyage were deeply burnt into Mr Free's memory". The troops were then stationed at Sydney and Windsor, New South Wales. The key engagements that he was involved in during his enlistments, at first with the 58th were:

1. Okaihau, Northland, 8 May 1845. In this unsuccessful attack on the Puketutu Pā, British casualties numbered 15 dead and 40 wounded.
2. Battle of Ohaeawai, Northland, July 1845. This battle showed that fortified *pā* could withstand bombardment from cannon fire and that frontal assaults by soldiers would result in serious troop losses. Free's obituary (*The Dominion*, Wellington, 11 February 1919) records that "*he was carrying off the field the body of a dead comrade, but happening on a wounded member of his company he put down the dead man and took up the living burden, and succeeded in bringing him – Smith by name – off the field and into safety.*"
3. Ruapekapeka 1846. This attack saw a *pā* quickly overthrown because the Māori retreated. Nevertheless, the English lost 13 men killed and some 30 wounded.

Free transferred to the 65th Regiment on 1 November 1849 and purchased his discharge for £4.0.0 in Wellington on 31 January 1850. He then migrated to Taranaki. He received recognition for his service in the 1840s when his first New Zealand Medal was awarded after the institution of the New Zealand Medal by the imperial Horse Guards General Order 17 of 1 March 1869.

In 1859 he joined the Taranaki Volunteer Rifles under Major Lloyd and was appointed Sergeant. By 1860 he was the Colour-Sergeant. In 1864 he became a Lieutenant. A

framed Commission to Lieutenant dated 8 June 1864, signed by Governor Grey, is known. Family legend suggests that the quality of their home-brewed spirits helped him gain his commission. **He received the second “New Zealand Medal” on 22 July 1871** (application AD32/2835) – which was awarded for ‘having been under fire or attached to her Majesty’s Imperial Forces during the war of 1860-1870’.

There were two key incidents with the Taranaki Rifle Volunteers. At the Battle of Waireka, 28 March 1860, James Cowan (1935, pp. 174-175) records this incident, and his involvement in it as follows:

... Meanwhile the Volunteers and the Militia were fighting a desperate battle on the slopes above the beach. Captain Brown, who had not had any previous experience of soldiering, had wisely requested his adjutant, Captain Stapp, to take command, and that veteran of the “Black Cuffs” conducted the afternoon’s operations with the coolness characteristic of the well-skilled regular soldier. He had an old comrade with him who put good stiffening into the civilian ranks, Colour-Sergeant (later Lieutenant) W.H. Free; both had been corporals in the 58th in Heke’s War.

... When the Waireka was reached where it runs down the iron sand beach, the advanced guard under Colour-Sergeant Free caught sight of many armed Maoris coming down at a run from their pa on the Kaipopo ridge nearly a mile away. Free fired the first shot in the engagement, and Volunteer Charles Wilson Hursthouse (the surveyor) the second, at 400 yard range. Free and his party doubled forward and took cover behind a furze hedge and rail fence to prevent the Maoris seizing it. Resting his Minie rifle on the lowest rail of the fence, Free sighted for 300 yards and drilled a conspicuous warrior through his cap-band as was afterwards discovered. “Good on you, Free,” shouted one of the veteran’s comrades.

At a skirmish at the Omata Stockade on 11 August 1860 following the deaths of several settlers at the hands of Māori, Free was said to have been wounded in the knee.

Colonel Charles Stapp

Charles Stapp was awarded one New Zealand Medal for his service in the British Army and gazetted as being awarded a second, which appears not to have been issued (Fig. 5). His military career had parallels with that of Lieutenant Free and is covered here in less detail.



Figure 5. Stapp's New Zealand and Long and Efficient Service Medals

Charles Stapp was born on 26 April 1825. Like Free, he joined the 58th Foot in Ireland in April 1842 aged 17, served in Lancashire and accompanied convicts to Tasmania. Stapp took part in all the major Northland engagements (Okaihau, Ohaeawai, Arawa's Pā at Waikare and Ruapekapeka). On 3 January 1858 he was appointed Adjutant to the permanent staff of the Taranaki militia. He took leadership roles and was mentioned in dispatches for the engagements with Māori at Waireka, Puketakauere, Kaihihi, and Kaitake. In 1865 he was appointed Brevet-Major, a reward for gallantry or meritorious conduct that was used when a medal was not available. In 1865 he was appointed as second in command of an expeditionary force that was sent to Opotiki on a mission to capture the Hauhau Māori involved with the murder of Rev Volkner and the passengers and crew of the ship Kate.

His two medals are a New Zealand undated medal impressed 1640 CORPL. CHAS. STAPP, 58TH FOOT for his time in the 58th Foot in the 1845 campaigns and the New Zealand Long and Efficient Service Medal. There might well have been three medals had Stapp's service in the 1860s been better recognised, but it was not to be. The two medals were sold by Mowbray Collectables in its 15 March 2019 auction for NZ\$7,651 with premium and tax included.

In 1870 Stapp applied for a New Zealand Medal for his service in the 1860s, but in 1872 he wrote to clarify that he had already received a medal for the 1845-6 service (Archives NZ Reference AAYS 8661 AD32/63 Item 4193 Application for the New Zealand War Medal - No medal 1, at the nzpictures web reference below):

"According to the N.Z. Govt Gazette No 42 dated 27 July 1871 no person is to receive two medals. My reason for writing this is to prevent my name being engraved on one if I am not entitled to it although I have been gazette (sic), but I must say that I think it a hard case if I have nothing to shew that I served in the

late war in New Zealand having on the same decoration as many who were only once under fire.”

It seems unlikely that he received a second medal. On the one hand, a number of men did receive both, but on the other hand there is a letter dated 31 May 1872 from Lt-Col Moule to Mr Burrett in records held about him, “No medal to be inscribed for Major Charles Stapp,” and an undated photo of an older Stapp in uniform clearly shows he is wearing only one medal (Letter of 31 May 1872 from Lt-Col Moule to Mr Burrett, Archives NZ Reference, AAYS 8661 AD 32/63 Item 4193, Application for the New Zealand Medal – No Medal 2, at <http://www.nzpictures.co.nz/pandoraresearch-opunakeroll1865.pdf>)



Figure 6. Colonel Charles Stapp. Source: Te Papa.

In 1891 Stapp retired due to ill health from the Militia with the rank of Colonel and 33 years of service. His service had won him respect from his fellow officers, including receiving in 1872 a sword as a token of esteem from them. The sword was sold at Dunbar Sloane in Wellington in 2014. On retirement, he was given about £700 as compensation but did not qualify for an ongoing pension. This led to a petition for him to receive an extra grant of £750 which was recommended by the Parliamentary Public Petitions committee but rejected by the Government due to financial constraints. Stapp experienced ill health until his death in 1900, at which time his estate was valued at £3,295.

Private James Johnston, 3rd Regiment, Waikato Militia

Private James Johnston led a very different life from the two officers discussed so far. He was born in Glasgow in about 1841. In 1861 he migrated to New Zealand with his father Robert and brother Robert. Both he and his brother joined the 3rd Regiment of the Waikato Militia in December 1863. His service in the militia ended on 5 January 1865 after he was injured during an engagement with Māori at Williamson's clearing (where the Presbyterian Church now stands in Drury, South Auckland). He was granted a pension of 2s 2d per day. Some idea of the scale of his injuries implied by this pension can be seen from the pension schedule of payments allowed to privates, which suggests that he was judged to have "second degree" injuries, described as "those that rendered him incapable of earning a livelihood but not requiring the aid of another person". After his discharge from the militia James lived as a kauri gum-digger on some land that he owned at Kaukapakapa near Helensville. He became an alcoholic.

He died suddenly in August 1889 and his inquest revealed that he was in the habit of going on "a spree" when he got paid his quarterly pension. On this occasion, having got drunk and taken lodgings at the hotel, he had tripped and fallen in a way restricting his breathing. He was found to have £3 7d on him which suggests that he had spent over two-thirds of his pension in the one-day drinking spree (*Auckland Star*, 12 and 14 August 1889).

Johnston never married. His medal was sold at a Dunbar Sloane auction in Wellington for NZ\$777 including buyer's premium in 2019 (Fig. 7).



Figure 7. Private James Johnston's New Zealand Medal

Conclusion

The New Zealand Wars from 1845 to the early 1870s represented the clash of British and Māori culture under the impetus of British settlement. The scale pitted many thousands of troops on both sides against each other. The prolonged campaigns produced the New Zealand Medal which provides a good window for examining a part of New Zealand's history poorly known to many New Zealanders.

The war produced heroes such as Stapp and Free, who became officers and well respected in their community. Stapp died comfortably with many descendants while Free enjoyed success in provincial politics but suffered bankruptcy. His story became well known after the attention he received at age 93 as the last survivor of the assault at Ohaeawai. Others were not so fortunate, becoming casualties in battle and in later life, such as James Johnston, dying early, reliant on a pension and becoming an alcoholic. All now live through their medals which draw continuing attention to their deeds.

Acknowledgements

Margaret Galt carried out research on the individuals cited in this paper and Nicola Bowden, of Mowbray Collectables, took photos of the medals illustrated.

About the Author

David Galt is President and a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand and a Director of Mowbray Collectables.

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General information on Charles Stapp is available from:

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- Retirement, Taranaki Herald, 28 April 1891
- Obituary, Taranaki Herald, 7 August 1900
- <http://www.nzpictures.co.nz/pandoraresearch-opunakeroll1865.pdf>



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Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia Inc (JNAA)

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