LOVE TOKENS: ENGRAVED COINS, EMOTIONS AND THE POOR 1700-1856

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Abstract

This thesis examines the love tokens that were made by the poor from low value coins in Britain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The investigation has located approximately 5000 examples of love tokens in public and private coin collections in England and Wales; the majority date from 1700-1856. One hundred and eighty eight tokens in the Acworth collection from Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery were selected for detailed analysis. A digital database was created and the features of the engraved coins' content and form were catalogued and tagged.[1] The study employs the language and imagery of popular literature in order to situate the tokens within the visual and material literacy of the poor. The research benefitted from the accessibility of digitised versions of these eighteenth century sources of illustrated ballads and broadsides.

The study of love tokens draws on the critical approach of E.P.Thompson who used the historical evidence of rituals to explore people's experiences, values and beliefs. His work on customary practices enables this study to investigate the history of emotions from the perspective of history from below. The research addresses the question posed by Clare Langhamer, 'What does a history of emotions from below look like?' and applies it to the poor in eighteenth century Britain. Love tokens are records that were freely created by the poor. They offer evidence of the expression of emotions of those traditionally marginalised from historical accounts. The research therefore makes an original contribution to knowledge in an area of history where few investigations have been undertaken on account of the paucity of such sources.

The analysis of the Acworth love tokens reveals how these tiny objects are markers of people's lives. Love tokens marked expected events such as birth and betrothal, apprenticeship and trades. They also marked unexpected events such as imprisonment and transportation. On an initial reading, love tokens convey expressions of love and affection. Yet when viewed from the perspective of popular literature they were inscribed in the knowledge that not all hoped-for promises of love, fidelity, loyalty and remembrance would be fulfilled.

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[1] http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

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Examples from the Acworth collection of love tokens are available to view at http://lovetokens.omeka.net

Acknowledgments

Author's Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed

Dated

Chapter 1. 'A permanent record of his affection': love tokens and the sentiment of the poor[1]

> Except for their gravestones and their children, they left nothing identifiable behind them, for the marvelous surface of the British landscape, the work of their ploughs, spades and shears and the beasts they looked after, bears no signature or mark such as the masons left on cathedrals.[2]

So wrote Eric Hobsbawm and George Rudé in their study of rural labourers in the early nineteenth century. Contrary to such a belief, some identifiable traces do exist. This thesis introduces a group of objects that offer evidence of the signatures and marks the working poor left behind. The study explores the identifiable marks inscribed on love tokens that people crafted and exchanged during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Rudé and Hobsbawm were looking for evidence that would help them understand 'the mental world of an anonymous and undocumented body of people' during the agricultural riots of the 1830s.[3] This study, in contrast, sets out to investigate what the love tokens of the poor reveal about their lives and more specifically about their emotions. This is an area where few enquiries have been undertaken on account of the scarcity of such 'signatures' and the fact that only in the last two decades has a body of scholarly work been established that focuses attention on the history of emotions. Love tokens made from low value coins are records that the poor chose to make for themselves. They are examples of signed objects, although many of the signatures engraved on them are little more than sets of initials. Some love tokens record a range of details including names, dates, events, occupations and locations. Others only include the inscription of a set of initials, a pierced heart or a popular saying. As such they can be seen as evidence of the desire to leave an imprint and mark a particular

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[1] John Eliot Hodgkin, *Rariora Being Notes of some of the Printed Books, Manuscripts, Historical Documents, Broadsides, Engravings, Coins, Medals, Pottery and Curiosa of all sorts*, Republished ed. (London: Marston & Co, 1902). 95.

[2] Thanks to my supervisor Dr Louise Purbrick for drawing my attention to this quotation from E. J. Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1969). 11.

[3] Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing,* 12.

moment or event. However, when surviving examples are brought together as a group of objects, with their shared characteristics recorded and analysed, what becomes clear is that they belonged to those who relied on manual labour to make a living. Love tokens were created by the people who left few records of their own; the people who made up the 'immense supporting cast' that E.P.Thompson identifies when you strip away the leading actors of history – the politicians, the thinkers, the entrepreneurs and the generals.[4]

In discussing the evidence gleaned from an analysis of the marks and signatures on tokens, the thesis brings together two areas of study: history from below and the history of emotions. The question the study addresses is one that Claire Langhamer poses in her analysis of everyday love in the twentieth century; 'what might a history of emotion 'from below' look like?'[5] Applying this line of enquiry to the eighteenth rather than the twentieth century, the study investigates how the evidence of love tokens might open up approaches to our understanding of the sentiments of the poor.[6] In the field of the history of emotions, very few contributions focus on the feelings of the poor since the available evidence is sparse. Langhamer comments that 'the history of emotion has often looked more like history from above than from below, privileging cultural and intellectual history approaches and neglecting lived experience.'[7] Susan Matt remarks, in her review of the study of emotions, that a reliance on written sources means that 'only the history of the literate classes is accessible, a problem for those wanting to study the emotions of the working classes, the poor, the enslaved, the dispossessed.'[8] Moreover, studies of sentiment from above have focused on literary accounts that explore how the middling sorts thought they were supposed to feel in certain situations rather than looked for archival evidence of how they actually felt at the time. In other words, even when there are accounts to consult, the task of uncovering details of people's affective lives remains a difficult

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[4] E.P. Thompson, *Folklore, anthropology and social history* (Noyce, 1979). 7.
[5] Claire Langhamer, "Everyday love and emotions in the 20th century," *The Future of History from Below: An Online Symposium*, eds. Mark Hailwood and Brodie Waddell (http://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/history-from-below: 2013).
[6] Langhamer, "Everyday love and emotions in the 20th century."
[7] Langhamer, "Everyday love and emotions in the 20th century."
[8] Susan Matt, "Current Emotion Research in History: Or, Doing History from the Inside Out," *Emotion Review* 3 (2011). 119.

area of study. In terms of history from below, scholars have usefully adopted the strategy of examining everyday activities as a means of studying the experiences and relationships of working people. Yet, within these studies, few have focused on the emotions that accompanied such experiences. This thesis therefore is situated at, what Langhamer terms, the intersection between the history of emotions and history from below where little research exists.[9] It utilises the traces the poor left behind on their tokens to explore the sentiments embedded in their customary exchange. By investigating people's relationships through the rituals of giving tokens, the aim is to employ a history from below approach to the feelings of the poor. To put it another way, my study breaks new ground by bringing a history of emotions perspective to a long standing concern of social history. It works across these two fields and in so doing builds on established frameworks of history from below and of customary practice, and applies them to the sparsely plotted area of the history of emotions and the poor in the eighteenth century.

The term 'history from below' refers to research that pays attention to the unheard voices of the poor and the marginalised; those that were previously sidelined by historical accounts. It offers an alternative approach to traditional narratives that foreground the actions of 'great men'. Anthony Iles and Tom Roberts trace the movement from its roots in the 1930s and the work of Lucien Febvre and the French Annales School, through the contributions of historians such as E.P.Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm, and more recently Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker. Iles and Roberts describe history from below as a 'history without names' and 'of those not allowed to speak'.[10] In addition, the term is sometimes employed when referring to the study of trade union and radical labour movements. 'History from below' also denotes the resourceful methodologies developed by some historians to recover the voices of the marginalised from the archives. Carolyn Steedman's work *Dust*, for example, describes

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[9] Langhamer, "Everyday love and emotions in the 20th century."

[10] Thanks to my supervisor Dr Anita Rupprecht for bringing the following book to my attention: Anthony Iles and Tom Roberts, *All Knees and Elbws of Susceptibility and Refusal: Reading Hisotry from Below* (London: The Strickland Distribution, 2012). 9 and 127. On history from below see also Martin Jay, *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme* (University of California Press, 2005). 241-248. Peter Burke, ed., *A new kind of history and other essays* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

how there are still traces of the poor to be found in the archives even when most of their words were recorded by others. What we do with these fragments can appear ambitious, as Steedman elaborates, 'our task is to conjure a social system from a nutmeg grater.' [11]

This research focuses on objects. It aims to uncover the sentiments the poor experienced by analysing the expressions they chose to inscribe on the coins they altered into affective pieces. The word 'below' is also employed by scholars as a shorthand for the study of the ordinary, that is, the everyday life of ordinary people, demonstrating how the history from below movement has been absorbed into the language of historical research.[12] For the purposes of this thesis, I employ the phrase 'history from below' to refer to the study of the poor, of those previously neglected in historical enquiries; the unheard voices of labourers, servants, apprentices, artisans and sailors who worked on the land, at sea and in the towns.

In contrast to history from below studies that have focused on topics such as the family, illegitimacy, crime and recreation, this thesis explores the expression of sentiment and the poor.[13] It is interesting to note that Febvre was not only one of the founding influences on the history from below movement, but is also credited with encouraging scholars to pursue the study of emotions. In his 1941 essay *Sensibility and History: How to reconstitute the affective life of the past*, he famously urged historians to recover the emotional life of a given period and to explore 'affect' as it appeared in social life.[14] The response to Febvre's exhortation however was slow to gather momentum. Peter and Carol Stearns's seminal 1985 article, *Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards,* published over forty years later

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[11] Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (Manchester University Press, 2001). 18.
[12] Jay, *Songs of Experience,* 241-248.
[13] Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe, eds., *Chronicling poverty: the voices and strategies of the English poor 1640-1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), Steven King and Alannah Tomkins, eds., *The poor in England 1700 - 1850: An Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), Tanya Evans, *Unfortunate Objects* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), Emma Griffin, *England's revelry: a history of popular sports and pastimes, 1660-1830* (Oxford University Press, 2005).
[14] Lucien Febvre, "Sensibility and History: How to reconstitute the affective life of the past," trans. K. Folca, *A New Kind of History and Other Essays,* ed. Peter Burke (Harper & Row, 1973). 12-26.

could be seen as one of the original corner stones of the 'emotional turn'.[15] This 'emotional turn' has, in the last two decades, been engrossed in debates about the feasibility of studying the emotions historically.

Scholars have approached debates about the definitions of emotions and of particular emotions, such as anger, fear and shame, from anthropological, biological, sociological, psychological and historical perspectives.[16] They have unsurprisingly relied predominantly on written sources in their approaches to questions such as whether and how emotions change over time. The methodologies developed, for example, by Stearns, Rosenwein and Reddy and built on by others such as Ute Frevert and Thomas Dixon enable us to perceive emotions as socially and historically produced.[17] However, where these theories fall short is in their reliance on written sources and consequently their relevance to marginal groups, such as the poor, who left few first-hand accounts that referred to their feelings. We can imagine that in many daily interactions and relationships, language may not have been the primary means of expressing emotion. The historical analysis of the words that people used and the meanings that words carried only goes so far in enabling us to appreciate how people articulated emotion in the past. Understanding emotion through language overlooks the fact that feelings are also embedded in the things we do and the objects that play a part in those actions. As already mentioned, Matt extols the benefits that material culture, in its many different forms, offers historians.[18] Monique Scheer, in addition, advocates the study of actions, practices and bodily behaviours as a means of researching the emotions.[19]

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[15] Carol Stearns and Peter N Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the history of emotions and emotional standards," *The American Historical Review* 90.4 (1985). 813-836.

[16] For an overview of different disciplinary approaches to the study of emotions see Sarah Tarlow, "Emotion in Archaeology," *Current Anthropology* 41 (2000). William M. Reddy, *The navigation of feeling: a framework for the history of emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *The American Historical Review* 107.3 (2002).

[17] Reddy, *The navigation of feeling,* Rosenwein,"Worrying about Emotions in History," Stearns and Stearns,"Emotionology," 813-836. Ute Frevert, "Defining Emotions: Concepts and Debates over Three Centuries," *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700-2000,* ed. Monique Scheer et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Thomas Dixon, ""Emotion": The History of a Keyword in Crisis," *Emotion Review* 4.4 (2012). 338-44.

[18] Matt, "Current Emotion Research," 119.

[19] Monique Scheer, "Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuan approach to understanding emotion," *History and Theory* 51 (2011). 193-220.

This thesis employs the study of material culture to enable us to appreciate the embodied nature of sentiments. It offers an example of going beyond text in the history of emotions. I argue that the emotional significance of love tokens is embedded in routines and actions. It is enacted through their laborious creation, their loving exchange and sentimental guardianship; in practices that belong to moments in time and in bodily expressions as well as in words. My analysis of love tokens reveals some of the surviving traces of these practices and so introduces an alternative source to scholarly reliance on literary evidence. The study of material culture is underused in the history of emotions. To date it represents a small part of the established field whose parameters are shaped by traditional histories. My research illustrates how the examination of material culture can contribute to the ambitious goal of investigating the history of emotions from below.

This study focuses on the affectionate attachments recorded through love tokens. Studies of the emotions have revealed how feelings are shaped by the language, social interactions and material circumstances of their period, whilst at the same time contributing to the construction of that same culture. Rosenwein, for example, outlines in her concept of 'emotional communities' how groups in different historical settings developed systems of feeling which mould 'the nature of affective bonds between people that they recognise; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate and deplore.'[20] Langhamer draws on Rosenwein's work and demonstrates how a study of ordinary people and their emotional interactions shows us that love and emotional codes are complex and contradictory.

For Langhamer, a history from below approach uses sources that help 'get at people's sense of themselves in the world'.[21] The words 'get at' are used to demonstrate the desire of the historian to describe and indeed recover something of the actual experiences of those who lived in the past. This belief in the centrality of ordinary people in the historical process lies at the heart of Thompson's work. His much quoted desire 'to rescue the poor stockinger from posterity' was highly influential in the

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[20] Barbara Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions," *Passions in Context: International Journal for the History and Theory of Emotions* (2010). 11.
[21] Langhamer, "Everyday love and emotions in the 20th century."

history from below movement in Britain. It encapsulates his view of the importance of working people's experiences in the making of history.[22] He comments that, where the historian constructs a model of the historical process by bringing together 'a multiplicity of interlocking inevitabilities', then the 'dimension of human agency is lost.'[23] For example, Thompson argues that the impact of a bad harvest in late eighteenth century England needs to be seen, not solely in terms of market fluctuations and intensified exploitation, but through the hardship it caused people who lived through such experiences.[24] However, as Steedman points out, experience 'is a deeply problematic category'. Did the experience of the everyday already exist as such, or is it something that comes into being only when people discuss or write about it?[25] Many scholars have debated whether the researcher can reconstitute or recover the experiences or indeed the feelings of those who lived two hundred years ago. However, Thompson remarks that events will always give rise to experience. He insists that, however problematic experience is as a category, it will always be indispensable 'since it comprises the mental and emotional response, whether of an individual or of a social group, to many inter-related events or to many repetitions of the same kind of event.'[26] Steedman claims that 'we have good means for understanding what people *did with* what happened to them.'[27] Thompson's approach in Geoff Eley's words 'presupposed a readiness for entering their [the working people's] mental worlds, for getting inside past cultures, for suspending one's own context-bound assumptions.'[28] This thesis draws on that legacy. It aspires to 'get at' the sentiments of the eighteenth century poor through the expressions on their love tokens. The line of enquiry, 'what does a history of feeling from below look like?', therefore, encompasses questions about the motivations behind the customary exchange of love tokens and the feelings

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[22] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin, 1963). 12.

[23] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* 224.

[24] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* 226.

[25] Carolyn Steedman, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class: Work, Self and Sociability in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). 25-27.

[26] E.P. Thompson, *The poverty of theory & other essays* (Monthly Review Press, 1978). 199.

[27] Steedman, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class,* 26.

[28] Geoff Eley, *A crooked line: From cultural history to the history of society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005). 56.

embedded within them.[29] It focuses on the unheard sentiments of the poor.

The thesis makes the case that love tokens are significant historical records. They are tokens *of* the poor rather than accounts mediated by others *about* the poor. Produced by artisans and labourers many of whom were unschooled, the study explores how people relied on a visual and material literacy to enable them to create, read and comprehend the meanings conveyed by love tokens. They were crafted and exchanged as part of the traditional rituals associated with life events. Andy Wood identifies the household as the site where the values of family were combined with 'notions of communalism, duty, love, belonging, identity, skill and place.'[30] The study suggests that love tokens also offered a site where the values of family attachment and solidarity and the sentiments of love and affection were embodied and enacted through their production and performance.

1.1.1 Outline of the chapter

This chapter outlines the aims of the thesis and describes how the research was undertaken. It begins with an overview of the collecting history of love tokens in order to ascertain the scope of the field. Although numismatists have been interested in these objects since the Victorian era, they still remain largely unknown even within coin collecting and academic circles. The fact that so little has been written about them clearly contributes to their obscurity. Indeed they have only recently begun to receive scholarly attention as researchers increasingly turn their attention to the material culture of the past as a source for the study of those who left few written records. To date, only the tokens made by prisoners exiled to Australia have been the focus of any academic work. The research for this thesis identified a number of private and public love token collections, primarily in England. These different collections are discussed in terms of the distinctive characteristics of love tokens and consequently a taxonomy for their study is proposed. The last section of this chapter considers works by scholars of

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[29] Mark Salber Phillips, "On the advantage and disadvantage of sentimental history for life," *History Workshop Journal* 65 (2008). 56.
[30] Andy Wood, *"*History from below and early modern social history," *The Future of History from Below: An Online Symposium*, eds. Mark Hailwood and Brodie Waddell (http://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/history-from-below/: 2013).

the eighteenth and early nineteenth century including Roy Porter, Vic Gammon, John Styles, Sarah Tarlow and Carolyn Steedman.[31] Their writings are reviewed in order to identify what has already been published in relation to sentiment. This leads to the tokens being examined in relation to the history of emotions from below, as components of visual and material literacy, and as expressions of family attachment and solidarity.

1.2 'Of small intrinsic value': the collecting history of love tokens[32]

> In default of a better trinket whereon to engrave a permanent record of his affection – the passionate but indigent lover, the repentant and tender-spirited convict cast for death or the transport about to leave for ever his native shores, effaced, in disregard of all statutes against the mutilation of the coin of the realm, from the halfpenny or penny the obverse or reverse, or both, and inscribed thereon with such skill as he possessed a memento of his love-sick longings or home-sick regrets.[33]

With these words, the Victorian collector John Eliot Hodgkin wrote about his collection of love tokens. He was one of a small number of coin collectors who published catalogues, articles and books on love tokens in the period 1846-2004. In order to appreciate the range of work that does exist on these artefacts, the next section discusses the collecting history of love tokens.

Numismatics, the collecting of coins, gained popularity among the elite in the seventeenth century motivated by those keen to recreate aspects of a Renaissance culture in England. [34] It was seen as part of the fashionable pursuit of assembling

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[31] David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge & Freedom A Study of Nineteenth Century Working Class Autobiography* (London and New York: Methuen, 1981), John Styles, *Threads of Feeling: The London Foundling Hospital's Textile Tokens, 1740-1770* (London: The Foundling Museum, 2010), S. Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (Wiley, 1999), Carolyn Steedman, *Master and servant: love and labour in the English industrial age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[32] Hodgkin, *Rariora Being Notes of some of the Printed Books,* 95.

[33] Hodgkin, *Rariora Being Notes of some of the Printed Books,* 95.

[34] Susan Pearce, *On collecting* (Routledge, 1995). 117-121. Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the curious: looking back at early English museums* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). 17, 65-85. Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and enlightenment: collectors and collecting from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century* (New Haven,London: Yale University Press, 2007). 198-203.

collections of antiquities. The act of collecting focused particularly on the arranging and ordering of coins and medals according to different systems: alphabetical, chronological and geographical. Cabinets of coins were created by individuals, but also by institutions such as the Royal Society and the Ashmolean Museum.[35]

Coins and medals were of particular interest to those enthusiastic about history and archaeology.[36] They provided an easily accessible and affordable supply of image, texts and physical illustrations (often in the form of excavated coin hoards) of the lives of famous historical people, but also details of finance and commerce as well as customs and events.[37] Although small, these objects presented a rich array of detail carried on both faces of the coin and engraved into the fabric of the metal. In *Dialogues upon the usefulness of Ancient Medals*, Joseph Addison recognised the fertile source of material culture (albeit from above) offered by coins, when he wrote in 1721:

> [...] a cabinet of medals is a body of history. It was indeed the best way in the world to perpetuate the memory of great actions, thus to coin out the life, of an emperor, and to put every great exploit into the mint. It was a kind of printing, before the art was invented.[38]

Numismatics involves the science of classifying coins. However love tokens do not conform to the established methods of numismatics since they are made from worn and defaced coins.[39] As such, they have received little attention from collectors keen to acquire coins in near mint condition. Indeed, according to the Token Corresponding Society, they belong to a group of non-coin objects that also includes theatre tokens, hop tokens, communion tokens and lead tokens. They are known as

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[35] Arnold, *Cabinets for the curious: looking back at early English museums,* 68. The collection in the Ashmolean dates from 1687.

[36] The terms 'coins' and 'medals' were interchangeable in early numismatics since the latin word 'numisma' was used for both. MacGregor, *Curiosity and enlightenment* 331 note 90.

[37] Susan Pearce and Alexandra Bounia, *The Collector's Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting: Early Voices*, vol. 2 (Scholar Press, 2002). 32.

[38] J. Addison and T. Tickell, *The works of the Right Honorable Joseph Addison* (William Durell & co., 1811). 19.

[39] A number of love tokens were not defaced and instead initials and dates were added to the existing legends of the coin. For example, Richard Whitehead's love token from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M098. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

paranumismatica.[40] For the historian, coins and tokens of all types, regardless of condition, are a particularly rich and relatively untapped source of social history, since they are connected to so many aspects of people's lives. They relate, for instance, to people's work, income, trade and consumption. Coins, tokens and medals also reflect national and international issues in terms of politics, war and empire. Love tokens produced in the eighteenth century clearly demonstrate this point. Some, for example, were made from the silver captured as the spoils of war and paid to sailors as prize money; some were made from commercially produced tokens minted in response to the shortage of copper coins; some were made from foreign coinage also freely circulating in England at this time and some were made from counterfeit coppers crafted by those who seized the opportunity to profit from the poor state of the currency.

An interest in folklore and superstitions associated with coins may have been one of the reasons behind early interest in collecting love tokens.[41] In fact, scholars have linked the emergence of folklorists interested in beliefs, customs, legends and festivals to the fascination for, and knowledge of, collecting and classifying objects. The focus of many folklore collectors was the preservation of relics. Yet, the way in which antiquarians viewed these relics varied. For some, they belonged to a remote and unfamiliar culture, whilst for others they were part of an idealised and rural idyll. Thompson comments on such responses from above in relation to his work on eighteenth century customs:

> The descriptive material gathered by nineteenth-century folklorists was of value and can still be drawn upon with caution. But custom and ritual were seen, often by the paternal gentleman […] from above and across a class gulf, and divorced from their total situation or context. Questions proposed of customs were rarely those of contemporary usage or function. Customs were,

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[40] http://www.tokensociety.org.uk.
[41] See for example J. Brand, H. Ellis and W.C. Hazlitt, *Brand's popular antiquities of Great Britain: Faiths and folklore; a dictionary of national beliefs, superstitions and popular customs, past and current, with their classical and foreign analogues, described and illustrated* (Reeves and Turner, 1905).

rather seen as "relics" of a remote and lost antiquity, like the crumbled ruins of ancient hill-forts and settlements.[42]

Accounts of love token collecting appear from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards and so can be seen as part of this interest in folkloric customs and rituals. Henry Cuming, the earliest collector of love tokens identified to date, was perhaps one of Thompson's 'paternal gentlemen'. Cuming referred to love tokens as 'engraved mementoes' and recorded their details in his inventory dated 1846 with brief descriptions of the coins and notes on their acquisition (Figure 1.1). The collector, John Eliot Hodgkin, also termed love tokens 'mementos', indicating how they were perceived by these two Victorian collectors as commemorative objects. At a time when coins and medals were increasingly used during the nineteenth century as a form of commemoration, it could be argued that love tokens were viewed as belonging to the same category.[43] Tom Gretton, writing in the edited book, *Convict Love Tokens - the Leaden Hearts the Convicts Left Behind*, comments that love tokens made by convicts 'share the laconic sentimentality of engraved messages on lockets and rings.'[44] They can therefore be seen alongside other small sentimental pieces, such as mourning jewellery made from hair, or miniature portrait lockets and brooches. All these items commemorated and memorialised the absent.[45]

Cuming was a particularly keen collector of items from the area of South London where he lived, including the folklore and popular culture of local people.[46] Two tokens in Cuming's small collection of engraved coins reflect this interest in location and also occupation (Figure 1.2). One is inscribed with the name and image of a Thames

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[42] Thompson, *Folklore, anthropology and social history,* 5.

[43] Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001). 16.

[44] Tom Gretton, *"Last dying speech and confession,"* *Convict Love Tokens - the leaden hearts the convicts left behind*, eds. Michele Field and Timothy Millett (Kent Town, Australia: Wakefield Press, 1998). 39.

[45] Marcia Pointon, ""Surrounded with Brilliants": Miniature Portraits in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001). 56. Shirley Bury, *An Introduction to Sentimental Jewellery* (London: HMSO, 1985). In terms of tokens as memory objects and the process of remembering see also Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Carruthers writes about how an oral culture relied on visual memory and visual mnemonics as a means of storing information. An observation that resonates with love token inscriptions that asked a loved one to quite literally store or 'keep me in your mind'.

[46] Henry Cuming's collections include theatre adverts, rail tickets, inexpensive toys and good luck charms. The collections of Henry and his father Richard are now part of the Cuming Museum in Southwark. Information from the Southwark Council page on the History of the Cuming Museum website. http://www.southwarkcollections.org.uk.

Engraving on a piece of Copper about the size of a halfpenny; it represents two Cupids, standing upon a scroll, supporting a regal crown above two hearts; over the figures is a festoon of flowers; the whole is enclosed within a border.
It was executed about the year 1700, and is much in the style of S. Gribelin.

Engraving on a circular piece of Copper 1½ diameter. On one side is a view enclosed within a circular border. round the margin is the legend Love ⟨Armistead⟩ March ye 1st 1727/8. On the opposite side is a coat of arms within a lozenge surrounded with scrolls. The arms consists of three crosses crosslet.

Engraving on a circular piece of copper 1in 3/16 diameter. On one side is the figure of a cooper at work on a barrel, with the legend Jos. Griffon Cooper. On the other side is a male and female figure seated in high-backed-chairs and holding each other by the hand.

Engraving on a piece of copper about the size of a half penny. On one side is a rose surrounded with a wreath: round the margin is inscribed GIVEN BY G.B. SARAH JONES. On the other side, in the centre is a heart, above which appear three darts, the barbs pointing downwards: on the left side of the heart is a dart deeply inserted. The heart is surrounded with a label on which is inscribed, WOUNDED BUT BY ONE. round the sides of the label is a star of six points.

Engraving on the back of a "BRUTUS SEXTUS" half-penny, representing the arms of Persia: a Lion couchant with the sun rising behind it.

Engraving on the reverse of a half-penny of William and Mary: "1772 Blunt, operator of teeth & Bleeder, Great Windmill Street near the Haymarket London."
Presented by R. Watts Esqr.

Engraving on a circular piece of Copper 1in 1/16 diameter. On one side are the letters S:R and the date 1778, surrounded with lines and dots. On the other side is a Cock. The edges on both sides are deeply crenated.
Presented by R. Watts Esqr.

Engraving on the reverse of a farthing of Charles IId: "Ann Aylesbury Born, June 2nd, 1785."

Engraving on the reverse of a halfpenny of George II a cipher. S.C.

Engraving upon the edge of a beat up half penny of George III. "JOHN LAKE DIED JUNE 14. 1786. AGED 32. Presented by Miss Kinnaird April 28th 1845.

Engraving on the reverse of a halfpenny of George III. "W. Rotheram Born May 12. 1765." above a Cherub's head. Presented by G. Bonner Esqr August 15th 1845.

Half penny of George II with the edge beat up and carved and engraved: the field cut away leaving the bust.

Farthings of George II & III with their edges beat up, ready for engraving.

Half-Penny of George II, the edge beat up and carved in scroll bands and engraved in relief with the words "Edward Heardson Born Oct. 11: 1738.

Engraving on a halfpenny sized piece of copper. A Vase on one side; on the other John Kent, and two conjoined hearts with darts.

Engraving on a halfpenny sized piece of copper. Obv. a Waterman and Dog "James Gordon" Rev. Two hearts with darts and a Dove "When this You See Remember Me."

Oval plate of white metal nearly 2½in high and 2in wide. Engraved on one side with the effigies of Frederick Elector Palatine and Elizabeth Daughter of James 1st King of England: with their son Prince Frederick. On the opposite side are the arms of the Count Palatine and England, with the motto "Superata Tellus Sydera Donat" Round the outer edge is "Effig: Illust: Pr: Frederici D.G. Co: Pal: Et Elizabetha Pa Or Jac: Mag: Britt: Reg: Filia Una Cum Serr Pr: Frederico Eor^{um} Fil: Primogeni." Beautifully engraved by Simon de Pass, circ. 1620. Purchased June 5th 1849.

Figure 1.1 Henry Cuming's inventory of engraved mementoes listing some of his 'engraved mementoes'. Cuming Museum, Southwark. www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200162/the_cuming_museum.

waterman accompanied by the details of his trade: boat, oars, boat hook, dog and the distinctive waterman's arm badge. A cooper is depicted at work on the second example. Wearing an apron, he is shaping a barrel with hammer in hand. Hodgkin described his collection of three hundred engraved coins in his book *Rariora: Being Notes of Some of the Printed Books, Manuscripts, Historical Documents, Medals, Engravings, Pottery Collected 1858-1900*. In describing them as 'Pignora Pauperum',

Figure 1.2 Thames Waterman and Cooper love tokens from Cuming Museum. Author's photographs.

meaning 'tokens of the poor', Hodgkin pointed out how these small artefacts predominantly dating from the eighteenth century offer a 'permanent record'. They convey sentiment and demonstrate the resourcefulness of the poor in making emotional objects out of coins. Although of 'small intrinsic value' Hodgkin stated that tokens possessed a 'claim to a certain amount of attention.'[47]

D.T.Batty was another Victorian collector interested in all forms of copper pieces. His *1877 Copper Coinage of Great Britain* is an extensive listing of copper coins, tokens and jettons. He did not use the term 'love token' to describe coins that had been engraved with names and events. Instead he referred to four hundred coins inscribed with mottos, images and initials as 'engraved'.[48] The term 'engraved coins', as a descriptor for these artefacts, continues to be used today by some numismatists and coin auction

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[47] Hodgkin, *Rariora Being Notes of some of the Printed Books,* 95.

[48] D.T. Batty and F.G. Lawrence, *Batty's catalogue of the copper coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, British isles and colonies, local & private tokens jettons, &c: compiled from various authors, and the most celebrated collections* (Printed by J. Forsyth, 1877).

houses, in preference to that of 'love tokens'.[49] However love tokens, rather than engraved coins, were the topic of several enquiries in the pages of the weekly publication *Notes and Queries*. Between 1874-1875 and 1916-1918 the term 'love token' was used in readers' letters asking about the origins of love token inscriptions; questions that, although discussed in correspondence, remained unanswered.[50]

In a similar way as today, few people at the beginning of the twentieth century were familiar with love tokens. The collector Hodgkin commented in his 1902 publication on this fact in relation to the scope of events and settings that love tokens depicted. He pointed out that not all the engraved coins in his collection were 'wholly confined to the expression of sentimental feelings' or made of copper.[51] This point was re-iterated by the collector Ella Pierrepont Barnard, whose catalogue of her collection of three hundred tokens was published in the British Numismatic Journal of 1918 (Figure 1.3). She suggested that the term love token was perhaps a misnomer for them, since it did not cover all the subjects depicted on tokens and those about love were, in her words, 'the least interesting'. Barnard wrote:

> Many of these metallic records commemorate, sometimes seriously, sometimes satirically, political men and methods of the day; naval and military victories and, occasionally, misfortunes; views of cities and models of ships; the blazon of heraldry and the enterprise of trade; the call of religion and the lament of the prisoner; the huntsman and his hounds; the minstrel and his fiddle; the stage and the dance; the crime and the criminal, even the hanging in chains of a highwayman; for as one of the little jettons has it, "all the world's a stage."[52]

These early twentieth century comments mark a shift in how love tokens were viewed by collectors. As well as descriptions and catalogues of tokens, what is emerging is the

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[49] For example, Glendining's, "Historical medals and tokens: tickets and passes, prize medals, badges and engraved coins: from an English Collection - Part III," Glendining's Auctioneers Medals and and Valuers of Coins(1990).
[50] *Notes and Queries* was a weekly publication which focused on the study of folklore, literature and history. Patrick Leary, "A Victorian virtual community," *Victorian Review* (2000). 61-79.
[51] Hodgkin, *Rariora Being Notes of some of the Printed Books,* 95.
[52] Ella Pierrepont Barnard, "An Exhibition of Engraved Coins, Anniversary Meeting, November 30th 1917," *British Numismatic Journal* XIV (1918). 248.
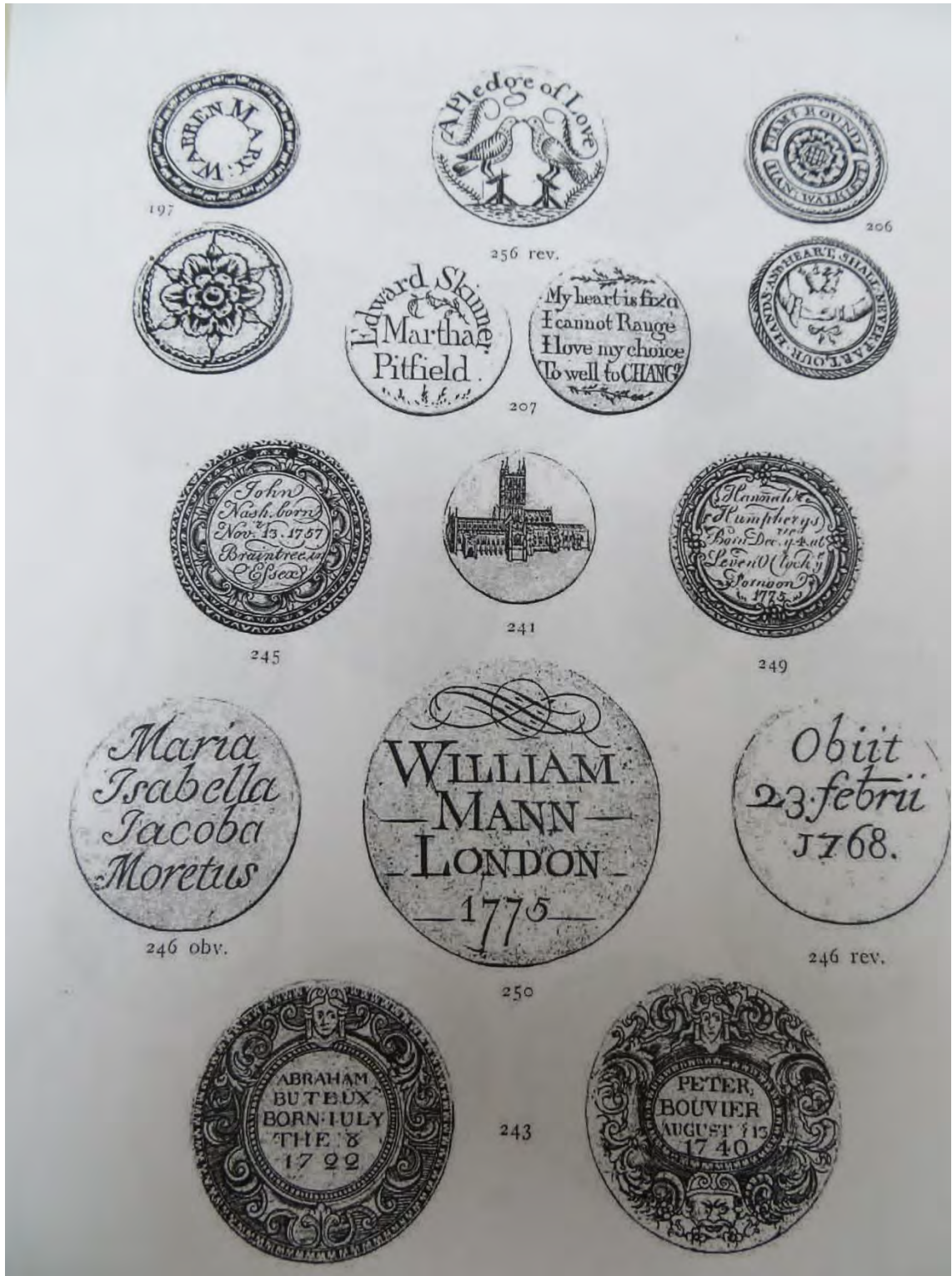
Figure 1.3 Illustration from Ella Pierrepont Barnard's catalogue of engraved coins. Barnard."Examples of Engraved Coins".

beginning of a taxonomy that can be applied to these artefacts. Although collectors continued to view love tokens as mementos and folklore relics, they were also interested in tokens as records of historic events. Barnard's collection followed numismatic methods in ordering the pieces; firstly by the original base coin and type of metal it was made from and then according to the earliest date it bears where there is a date. She classified the level of skill of the engraving, using the abbreviation 'P' where a love token was (in her opinion) inscribed by a professional engraver.[53] It appears she was relying on her own connoisseurship to reach such judgements. Other collectors of love tokens included Admiral the Marquis of Milford-Haven (also known as Prince Louis Alexander of Battenburg), who specialised in naval engraved pieces often made from silver coins and described as sailors' farewells. The seventy items in his collection are referred to as 'engraved coins' in his catalogue of British Naval Medals published in 1919.[54]

Thomas Sheppard catalogued the three hundred and fifty love tokens in Hull museum in a pamphlet published in 1922 for the Yorkshire Numismatic Society. He was also interested in love tokens as objects of popular culture desiring to preserve them as 'relics'. He described how:

> few collectors have paid attention to this particular section of numismatics, but as it certainly illustrates one branch of the folk-lore of the inhabitants of this country a century or more ago, it seems desirable that while they exist these love tokens should be preserved.[55]

In the catalogue Sheppard referred to a number of bent coins also known as 'benders' and 'lucky pieces' in the Hull collection. He highlighted how such coins allowed people

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[53] Ella Pierrepont Barnard, "Examples of Engraved coins selected from a collection formed by Mrs Ella Pierrepont Barnard," *British Numismatic Journal* XIV (1918). 152. Some of Barnard's catalogued love tokens are now in the Ashmolean and British Museum collections.

[54] L. Milford Haven, *British Naval Medals... by Admiral the Marquess of Milford Haven (Prince Louis of Battenberg Until 1917)* (J. Murray, 1919). Some of the tokens catalogued by Battenburg are now in the National Maritime Museum, the Acworth collection in Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery and the Millett collection in the National Museum of Australia (Canberra).

[55] Thomas Sheppard, "Catalogue of Love Tokens and other engraved pieces in the Hull Museum," *Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society* 2.4 (1922). 111. Thomas Sheppard worked for Hull museums from 1901-1941, first as curator and from 1926 as director.
http://www.hullcc.gov.uk/museumcollections.
The main collection of love tokens in Hull museum was destroyed by a bomb in the Second World War.

to have a sense that they had money in their pocket even though they could not really spend it.[56]

Francis Buckley's group of eleven silver 'lovers' tokens, now in Gallery Oldham, are elaborately engraved and enamelled in the style of Georgian mourning jewellery. Their display of skilled engraving offers evidence in support of the argument, already

Figure 1.4 Love token from the Gallery Oldham collection **Image 1**: Heart in black enamel pierced by two arrows surrounded by decorative geometric rays. **Image 2**: Initials S.H (Sophia Hoskins) in small circle of black enamel surrounded by decorative scrollwork, possibly a farthing. Author's photographs.

introduced, that collectors viewed engraved coins alongside other forms of sentimental jewellery. These silver tokens are an example of highly skilled workmanship with seven tokens dedicated to one person, Sophia Hoskins, and all with dates in the 1770s (Figure 1.4).[57] They are perhaps what could be seen as 'the exceptions that prove the rule', since, as Buckley wrote in an article on these objects for the *Antique Collector* in 1935, 'it is unusual to find so many tokens relating to one person; and it is unusual to see such fine craftsmanship bestowed on articles of this kind.'[58] Clearly, curiosity about these artefacts was increasing, not only amongst numismatists, but also antique collectors interested in the monetary value of love tokens as collectible pieces. In the same way as Barnard, Buckley suggested that these tokens were usually made by the poor, commenting that, 'although this custom was

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[56] Sheppard,"Catalogue of Love Tokens " 111.

[57] Bury, *Sentimental Jewellery,* 15-32; Ann Louise Luthi, *Sentimental Jewellery: antique jewels of love and sorrow* (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 1998).

[58] Francis Buckley, "Lovers' Tokens, An Unusual Series of Fine Examples," *The Antique Collector,* June 1935. 157.

common in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is doubtful whether it spread far in fashionable circles, because valuable coins were seldom inscribed with names or initials.'[59]

Interest in tokens as relics continued into the first half of the twentieth century. The Reverend Acworth also considered tokens as examples of folklore.[60] In his unpublished essay of 1941, based on his collection of over two hundred love tokens which are now archived in Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, he traced their history looking for folkloric references in works such as T. Sharper Knowlson's *The Origins of Popular Superstitions and Custom.*[61] Acworth pointed out how many early customs involved money, with examples of religious, superstitious, amorous and lucky coins. Acworth's collection includes examples of coins bent into 'S' shapes for luck and cut into hearts to express affection (Figure 1.7). His essay ends on a note of nostalgia, questioning whether tokens 'tell of days when life was more simple'. Acworth's commentary reflects the folklore collectors' desire to preserve relics from a more idyllic time. At the same time, Acworth did not overlook the practices from which love tokens developed. He described the use of bent and altered coins in a range of rituals. For example, in medieval times they were used as votive offerings.

The most recent publications on tokens are by Lloyd L. Entenmann, Timothy Millett and Michele Field, and Sim Comfort. All three are written primarily by numismatists and so continue to view tokens, first and foremost, as coins to be collected and as

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[59] Buckley, "Lovers' Tokens, An Unusual Series of Fine Examples." 157. Buckley's collection of tokens was given to the Museum in Oldham (now Gallery Oldham) in May 1936 according to email correspondence from curator Sean Baggaley to the author dated 29 September 2010.

[60] Acworth bought his love token collection from the curator of Hastings museum, John Manwaring Baines. I have no evidence of when this happened other than a mention in Entenmann's book stating that in 1938 Manwaring Baines sent Acworth an article on the origins of love tokens and also an inventory of his love token collection which he subsequently sold to Acworth. The inventory and article have not so far been located. Lloyd L Entenmann, *Love Tokens as Engraved Coins* (Audubon, New Jersey: Lloyd L Entenmann, 1991). 10. Acworth's love token collection was donated to Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery following his death in 1951. Acworth was a keen token collector. He is best known for his collection of, and reference work on, hop tokens. The latter is still one of the main reference works on the subject. Acworth's hop token collections are now in Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

[61] Reverend Acworth, "An unfinished article on Love Tokens," (Read to the Kent Numismatic Society at Maidstone Museum: 1941). 4. T.S. Knowlson, *The Origins of Popular Superstitions and Customs* (London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd 1930). Knowlson's book was based on John Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities chiefly illustrating the origin of our Vulgar Customs, Ceremonies and Superstitions* (1842).

pieces with increasing monetary value.[62] Entenmann's book, published in 1991, describes many of the tokens he viewed in museum and private collections in England whilst on a research visit from the United States.[63] One of the numismatists Entenmann visited was Dennis Vorley, who assembled what appears to have been the largest collection of love tokens, numbering over three thousand items. In 1994, following Vorley's death, this comprehensive collection was dispersed at auction.[64] Sim Comfort's book published in 2004 focuses on his personal collection of 145 maritime engraved coins from the years 1745-1910 and includes many examples of 'sailors' farewells'.[65] He is clearly interested in the tokens' connections to naval history and also, as a collector, to their increasing monetary value.

Millet and Field's edited publication, *Convict Love Tokens: The Leaden Hearts the Convicts Left Behind,* stands out as the only work to include academic commentary on love tokens. The book accompanied a travelling exhibition of convict love tokens in Australia and in the British Museum in 1999.[66] The publication includes a catalogue of Millett's personal collection of over three hundred tokens, dated between 1780 and 1856, which were on display in this exhibition. The accompanying essays, contributed by academics, numismatists and a museum curator, begin to explore the context of love token production and meanings. They placed the tokens alongside other items of inscribed material culture and last actions of prisoners. Love tokens are compared by Millett to forms of gifts and family records such as Liverpool transfer pottery and Lowestoft birth plaques as well as to the carvings inmates made on the walls of

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[62] Enthusiasm for collecting tokens among numismatists is also reflected in the establishment of the Token Corresponding Society in 1971. The society provides information on paranumismatica including love tokens which are referred to as 'engraved coins'. www.tokensociety.org.uk.

[63] Entenmann, *Love Tokens* The book also includes information on American love tokens from the period 1820 – 1909.

[64] Bonhams Auctioneers, "Coins and Tokens, War and Historical Catalogues," 1994.

[65] S Comfort, *Forget me Not, A Study of Naval and Maritime Engraved Coins and Plate (1745 - 1918)* (London: Sim Comfort Associates, 2004). Only fourteen of Comfort's examples are dated after 1860. Sailors' farewells also featured on other keepsakes and domestic objects such as pottery, rolling pins, enamel patch boxes, and scrimshaw. J.W. Henderson and R.P. Carlisle, *Marine art & antiques: Jack Tar ; a sailor's life 1750-1910* (Antique Collectors' Club, 1999). 155-177. Convict tattoos also carried many of the symbols found on love tokens. James Bradley and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, "Convict tattoos: Tales of Freedom and coercion," *Convict Love Tokens*, eds. Michele Field and Timothy Millett (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 1998). 47-53.

[66] Michele Field and Timothy Millett, eds., *Convict love tokens: the leaden hearts the convicts left behind* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 1998).

prisons.[67] Tom Gretton views tokens as a material form of last words in the tradition of last dying speeches and confessions (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5 Detail from William Hogarth's engraving The Idle 'Prentice' Executed at Tyburn, plate XI of 'Industry and Idleness', 1747. © Bridgeman Education.

The sentence of transportation was in effect a permanent separation from home and family since so few returned from Australia. Consequently this enforced separation can be viewed as a sort of death. Words and images of suffering and regret on tokens, Gretton argues, offer similarities to the cheap publications produced for popular consumption at public hangings that sensationalised convicts' crimes. He states that the act of rubbing away the head of the king from a coin in order to create a love token can be seen as an act of subversion. Whilst the 'Crown was using British imperial power to erase the convict', he writes, the prisoner was erasing its figurehead.[68] Such a view needs to be seen alongside the physical condition of the coins themselves. Many

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[67] Timothy Millett, "Leaden Hearts," *Convict Love Tokens: the leaden hearts the convicts left behind*, eds. Timothy Millett and Michele Field (Kent Town, Australia: Wakefield Press, 1998). 23. There are examples of eighteenth century prisoners' carvings in a number of museums. See for example, Wellclose Square Prison cell in the Museum of London. http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk.
[68] Gretton, "Last dying speech and confession." 43.

were in such a poor state that altering them into love tokens required very little work to remove the royal bust, an observation which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Millett explores how convict tokens were made in prison by drawing on the evidence from the *Reports of the Inspectors Appointed to Visit the Prisons of Great Britain* published in 1836.[69] He comments on the high level of literacy that the tokens exhibit; a level of literacy that is not reflected in the prisoner records that stated whether inmates could read and write.[70] This is explored in more detail in Chapter three which examines the tools and skills needed to engrave tokens. Millett also compares examples of convict tokens to illustrate the similarities in the content, style and execution of their engravings. The skills of engraving were clearly available to those in gaol wishing to make tokens. Many of their fellow inmates came from trades that required engraving skills or were familiar with counterfeiting practices. In addition, James Bradley and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart explore the similarities between the iconography of love tokens and of convict tattoos. The accounts of prisoners' physical appearance, recorded for surveillance purposes when convicts arrived in Australia, offer descriptions of tattoos that clearly demonstrate the similarities to love token imagery. There are tattoos, for example, with sets of initials, names, dates, idioms as well as images of hearts, arrows, mermaids and anchors.[71]

Paul Donnelly's 1997 journal article on convict love tokens and keepsakes, a version of which is included in Millet and Field's book, refers to tokens as 'a direct response to separation' and comments on the 'emotional motivation of their manufacture'. He discusses how objects enabled those who were separated to remember events and invest particular items with special associations.[72] Donnelly suggests that prisoner tokens were mostly given by men and discusses what keepsakes women might have proffered in return.[73] His speculation most likely stems from the lack of sources that

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[69] "Reports of the Inspectors Appointed to visit the prisons of Great Britain," *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online* (1836).
[70] Millett, "Leaden Hearts." 20.
[71] Bradley and Maxwell-Stewart, "Convict tattoos: Tales of Freedom and coercion." 49-50.
[72] Paul Donnelly, ""When this you see remember me": convict love tokens and related keepsakes," *Australasian Victorian Studies Journal* 3 (1997). 25.
[73] Donnelly, "Convict love tokens," 33.

describe how love tokens were exchanged. It appears that love tokens were predominantly given by men, yet not exclusively, as contemporary evidence includes examples of women offering love tokens to men. In Joseph Addison's narrative, *The Adventures of a Shilling,* it is the woman who bends the shilling and alters it into a love token to give to her sweetheart. [74] Similarly among the tokens left behind by convicts, there is an example of one dated 1831 given by Mary Ann Whitlock to her 'dear aunt'.[75]

These more recent publications on tokens continue to view them as coins to be collected. However the Millett and Field book also introduces notions of how tokens can be seen as objects which reflect the social and cultural context of their production and use, as well as artefacts which are embedded with emotional meanings. The love tokens examined in Millett and Field's work are exclusively those produced to mark one type of event, the transportation of convicts to Australia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The collection of convict tokens they reference in their writing are now located in the National Museum of Australia in Canberra.[76] Whilst Millett and Field have restricted their study of love tokens to those that examine the experience of one event, transportation, this thesis is concerned with the range of life events that love tokens record.

1.3 'Few collectors have paid attention to this section of numismatics': the questions prompted by love tokens [77]

The collecting history of love tokens provides insights into how numismatists and others have interacted with these objects since they were first collected. It also illustrates the range of topics that love tokens depict. Most include initials, names and dates. In addition, there are commemorations of the usual life events of birth, courtship and death but also the unexpected ones of riot and gaol break. People's trades are recorded, for example, those of blacksmith, sailor, gamekeeper and cooper. Engravings also depict urban, rural and maritime locations. Some towns are named

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[74] Joseph Addison, "The adventures of a shilling," 1710.

[75] Field and Millett, eds., *Convict love tokens,* 92.

[76] Christopher Pearson, "Every token tells a story," *The Australian.* December 13, 2008.

[77] Sheppard,"Catalogue of Love Tokens " 111.

such as London, Leeds and Liverpool but there also tokens that record places outside England, for instance Belfast, Edinburgh and Landovery. In terms of events, there are depictions of naval and land battles, acts of protest, sentences of fines, imprisonment and transportation. Family and household members include parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, friends, children and apprentices.

Love tokens were regarded by collectors from a range of viewpoints. They were seen as relics of folklore, as numismatic pieces to be evaluated and catalogued, as mementos or memory objects and as items of social, political and military history interest. From different collectors' perspectives, love tokens were associated with people from an unfamiliar culture (the poor), viewed with nostalgia for an irretrievable and idyllic past, and for those recording transportation, they were compared to last dying speeches and 'postcards before sailing'.[78] Such views clearly reflect the historical contexts of the period when collectors were writing about love tokens, as well as their perspectives and observations on particular tokens.

Love token collectors are in agreement in a number of areas, based mainly on the evidence of the coins themselves and each other, rather than any detailed contextual research. They agree that tokens were made by the poor from predominantly copper and some silver coins (the latter were often sailors' farewells). The production of love tokens was particularly prevalent in the period 1700-1850. Love tokens can be seen as a form of family record. They mark a range of events in people's lives and were often accompanied by sentimental idioms. Some of the tokens were crafted by unschooled hands, whereas others were professionally engraved. For some collectors they are objects of folklore to be added to their collections of traditional relics.

These observations inform considerations about the focus of this research. Can love tokens be viewed, as Hodgkin stated, as permanent records of the poor and their feelings? What do they reveal about the effect on people's lives of the events they experienced? Are these tokens primarily about love, even though Barnard argued their scope is also political and historical? Were they offered, as Manwaring Baines suggested, in the knowledge that they could always be used as a form of currency if

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[78] Field and Millett, eds., *Convict love tokens,* 1.

necessary? The altering and counterfeiting of copper coins during the eighteenth century was an offence. What effect did this have on love token producers? Most of the poor were illiterate in the eighteenth century. Yet, love token inscriptions exhibit knowledge of reading and writing. How might these two divergent observations be explained? Were the words engraved on tokens those of the poor? What factors might be important in forming a taxonomy of love tokens?

There is clearly a specific set of questions that the history of collecting tokens prompts. It is possible that finding answers to these questions will contribute to ideas about the history of emotions from below. As a result, the research will look for evidence of how coins were removed from circulation and altered into tokens. The significant events in the lives of those named on tokens is traced, where possible, with a view to understanding more about the circumstances and motivations that prompted the making of tokens. The language and imagery employed on tokens is examined with the intention of determining where else it was used and how it was adopted as love token inscriptions. Coining offences and counterfeiting laws are referred to in order to ascertain the nature of the crimes and punishments associated with altering coins and finally a taxonomy of love tokens is introduced.

1.4 'It seems desirable that while they exist these love tokens should be preserved': sources for the study of love tokens[79]

> What we have to do … is to re-examine old, long-collected material, asking new questions of it, and seeking to recover lost customs and beliefs which informed them.[80]

This is the approach Thompson advises in his essay *Folklore, Anthropology and Social History*. The next section discusses in more detail the research process. It introduces the sources, methods and critical approaches utilised for this project. It describes how the thesis intends to 're-examine old, long collected material' and to 'ask new questions of it'.

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[79] Sheppard,"Catalogue of Love Tokens " 111.
[80] Thompson, *Folklore, anthropology and social history,* 7.

The first step in the research was to identify museum and private collections of love tokens in Britain. In terms of museum archives, curators were contacted through an email message sent by Hull Museum curator Vanessa Salter to the Social History Curators' Group. Collections of tokens were identified in a number of museums. Private collections were located through members of the Token Corresponding Society who responded to enquiries.[81] In this way, love tokens in museum and private collections were identified. In addition, references discovered through research into the collecting of tokens, particularly the work of Entenmann, were investigated.[82] As a result of these enquiries, love tokens and their labels were examined, and where possible, photographed in the Ashmolean, British, Cardiff, Cuming, Foundling, Huddersfield, Hull, Maidstone, National Maritime and Oldham museums. A number of museums with very small collections provided details by post and email.[83] The illustrations and descriptions of tokens in Comfort's and Millett's books were also consulted. Examples from the private collections of Alison Barker, Richard Law and Gary Oddie were also viewed (Appendix 1 - Collections of love tokens).

Working from these sources it is estimated that there are in the region of 5000 tokens in private and museum collections in Britain.[84] The majority of them date from the early 1700s to the mid-1800s and are made from copper coins: halfpennies, pennies and two pence pieces. Some are crafted from silver coins: shillings, half crowns and crowns. A number of collections also include late nineteenth and early twentieth century examples of copper and silver love tokens. These pieces are engraved on coins from the reigns of Victoria, Edward VII and George V as well as other currencies such as South African Kruger shillings. Whilst almost all the inscriptions on love tokens are in English, a small number carry idioms engraved in Dutch and French (Omeka identifier

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[81] http://www.tokensociety.org.uk.

[82] Entenmann, *Love Tokens,* v.

[83] These include The Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge), the Hunterian Museum (Glasgow), Leamington Spa Art Gallery & Museum, Staffordshire Arts & Museum Service, Birmingham Museum, Bury Art Gallery, Museum and Archives, and Harris Museum & Art Gallery (Preston).

[84] This estimate is based on the Dennis Vorley collection of 3000 sold at auction in 1994, 300 in Millett's collection of convict tokens now in the National Museum of Australia, Canberra, 300 in the British Museum, 200 in Maidstone Museum, 200 owned by Richard Law, 100 in Huddersfield museum, 140 owned by Sim Comfort, 60 in the National Maritime plus smaller numbers in other museum and private collections. It is possible there is some double counting in this estimate given the dispersal of Vorley's substantial collection.

M070 http://lovetokens.omeka.net). Some tokens are inscribed on their rims rather than the faces of the coin. Their edges have been raised up and shaped into scrolls to provide a surface for engraving (Figure 1.6). Some of these scrolled examples are not engraved, suggesting more than one was made at a time in order to create a stock of 'blanks' that were ready to be inscribed. Other variations include bent, 'S' shaped and halved coins, the addition of holes and beads, the reshaping of coins into heart shapes and the altering of cartwheel pennies into boxes with engraved interiors (Figures 1.7 and 1.12).[85]

Figure 1.6 Love token from the Ashmolean collection made from a copper halfpenny which has been altered by hammering up the edge and decorating it with scroll work. The edge of the coin has been engraved with the record of a death 'MARY REEVE – OB: 23 Sep 1740 – Ae 79'.The coin was part of Barnard's collection as detailed in the accompanying label. Author's photographs.

In addition to consulting love token examples in private and museum collections, the study draws on the evidence of a collection of coins and trade tokens (not love tokens) that illustrates the variety and state of the coinage in the period under discussion. The collection includes examples that are scratched, worn, marked, stamped with initials

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[85] A cartwheel penny was so called because of its raised rim. It was the first copper penny struck by Matthew Boulton at the Soho Mint, Birmingham in 1797. It is discussed in more detail in Chapter two.

and counterfeited; examples that indicate what might have been in circulation. This is a collection of over thirty pieces put together by the author for the purposes of the study since such a resource is not available elsewhere.[86] (Appendix 2 - Collection of eighteenth and early nineteenth century coins and trade tokens.) Their evidence is central to the discussion in Chapter two about the poor and their attitude to metallic money. The worn and scratched specimens in the collection belong to a group of overlooked objects that, in the same way as the poor, have traditionally been excluded from historical narratives. It is their fragmentary existence on the fringes of collections that prompted me to collect them. With a few exceptions, love tokens were made from low value, worn and counterfeit coins such as these; coins of little interest to numismatists intent on collecting perfect species. The comparative lack of attention which poor quality and counterfeit coins have received from collectors has already been mentioned. Studies of worn and scratched eighteenth century currency have not been undertaken in any detail, although there are works on the history of counterfeiting and different types of paranumismatica and some examples of counterfeits and evasions are held in museum archives.[87]

The research also identified a small number of contemporary accounts that refer specifically to love tokens and describe their occurrence in everyday life. Thompson highlights the difficulties of locating relevant sources when he writes in *Customs in Common*, 'the "labouring poor" did not leave their workhouses stashed with documents for historians to work over nor do they invite identification with their back-breaking toil.'[88] My research of Old Bailey records, newspaper articles, ballads and Prison Inspectors' reports has identified accounts of love tokens being made, used and referred to in a variety of settings. These accounts date from between 1706 and 1836

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[86] A useful source of worn and altered coins is the Portable Antiquities Scheme. http://finds.org.uk. Some records include illustrations.

[87] Evasions are a form of counterfeit coin. They are discussed in more detail in Chapter two. K. Peters, *The Counterfeit Coin Story* (Envoy Publicity, 2002), K. Peters, *Counterfeit Coins of England and the United Kingdom: The Bibliography and Individual Counterfeits' Record* (Envoy Publicity, 2008). D Dykes, "Some Reflections on Provincial Coinage," *The British Numismatic Journal* 74 (2004), Mulholland Cobwright, "Evasive Halfpennies," *Coins and Medals* 25.8 (1988).The Heberden Coin Room at the Ashmolean museum holds examples of evasions. www.ashmolean.org.

[88] E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: Penguin, 1991). 17-18.

and include details which provide evidence of the customary practices associated with love tokens.

John Cannon's memoirs, recalling the year 1706, described how he and his lover shared halves of a shilling as a sign of their love and commitment. Cannon exchanged what could be described as marital vows with his sweetheart, a servant named Mary, and divided a shilling in two to confirm their intentions. He wrote, 'I kept one part & Mary the other & she made two bags & shove'd this contract & piece of silver in one for herself & the other for me never to be opened til we had consummated matrimony'.[89] Since there are few written accounts of such rituals, this description by Cannon demonstrates how the broken coin or token was clearly used as a sign of an informal marriage. Indeed many examples of halved coins are found in love token collections (Figure 1.7).[90] The same practice is found in 'broken token' ballads such as the *Dark Eyed Sailor.*[91] These songs were familiar to an eighteenth century audience accustomed to listening to travelling pedlars and ballad singers (Figure 1.8). This literature provides a rich source of evidence that includes references to the behaviour and values of the working population.[92] With phrases such as 'A ring of gold he took off my hand |He broke the token, a half to keep |Half he bade me treasure', the theme of the breaking of a token as lovers parted and the token as an object of recognition when reunited were well established in the ballad and broadside literature of the period.[93] The words of the first verse of the ballad *The Token* describe the love tokens given to the sailor Jack by his sweetheart Nancy, 'the broken gold […] the braided hair […] the tender motto' and the last verse narrates Jack's return home as he shows

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[89] John Cannon and Somerset Record Office, *Memoirs of the birth, education, life and death of Mr. John Cannon* (1982). 64.

[90] T. Sharper Knowlson's work on popular customs was published in 1910. With reference to betrothal practices he stated that, 'Prior to the exchange of rings, it was accounted sufficient if the contracting parties broke a piece of gold or silver (each keeping a half), and drank a glass of wine.' Knowlson, *Popular Superstitions and Customs,* See Section II on The Engagement Ring.

[91] Broadside Ballads Online, *http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk*. Fair Phoebe and her dark-eyed sailor. Roud Number: 265.

[92] For a discussion of the issues raised by working with this form of popular literature see Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England*, Past and Present Publications, ed. Ashton.T.S (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). 45-82.

[93] Agnes Hostettler, "Symbolic Tokens in a Ballad of the Returned Lover," *Western Folklore* 32.1 (1973). Also see examples of broken token ballads at http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk.

Figure 1.7 Examples of altered coins from the Acworth collection; a halved coin (half of a silver groat –a four pence piece) and an engraved and bent copper halfpenny (inscribed with initials I.L on one face and date 1790 on other) Omeka identifiers M159 and M057. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 1.8 The Ballad Singer by Thomas Rowlandson 1756-1827 © Bridgeman Education.
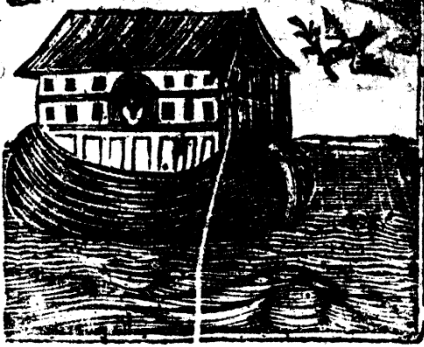
The Token.

THE breeze was fresh, the ship in stays,
 Each breaker hush'd, the shore a haze,
When Jack no more on duty call'd,
His true love's tokens overhaul'd ;
The broken gold, the braided hair,
The tender motto writ so fair,
Upon his 'bacco box he views,
Nancy the poet, love the muse,
If you loves me as I loves you,
No pair so happy as we two.

The storm, that like a shap-lefs wreck,
Had strew'd with rigging all the deck,
That tars for sharks had given a feast,
And left the ship a hulk, had ceas'd ;
When Jack, as with his mess mates dear,
He shar'd the grog, their hearts to cheer,
Took from his 'bacco box a quid,
And spell'd for comfort on the lid,
If you loves I as I loves you,
No pair so happy as we two.

The battle, that with horror grim,
Had madly ravag'd life and limb,
Had scuppers drench'd with human gore,
And widow'd many a wife, was o'er ;
When Jack to his companions dear
First paid the tribute of a tear,
Then as his 'bacco box he held,
Restor'd his comfort as he spell'd,
If you loves I as I loves you,
No pair so happy as we two.

The voyage that had been long and hard,
But that had yielded full reward,
That brought each sailor to his friend,
Happy and rich, was at an end ;
Where Jack, his toils and perils o'er,
Beheld his Nancy on the shore,
He then the 'bacco box display'd,
And cry'd, and seiz'd the charm'd maid,
If you loves I as I loves you,
No pair so happy as we two.

Figure 1.9 1794 version of the ballad 'The Token' from the Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads project, Firth c.12(362). http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads ©Bodleian Library.

Nancy the tokens he has treasured (Figure 1.9). In her discussion of miniature portraits that were worn as jewellery, Pointon remarks how small pieces were highly portable. As a result people could engage with them wherever they were.[94] The same observation can be applied to love tokens. Clearly the exchange of tokens was a recognised trope for an informal union. The giving of the object indicated how it was understood by a couple as a material sign of love, commitment and in some instances represented an unofficial marriage. Addison's 1710 essay described the circulation and changes made to a coin by different people who acquired it. In one instance in its travels, the shilling is altered into a love token known as a 'bender' having been bent into an 'S' shaped keepsake.[95] Written after the fashion of eighteenth century 'it' narratives, the adventures are told by the coin in the first person:[96]

> This wench bent me, and gave me to her sweetheart, applying more properly than she intended the usual form of, 'To my love and from my love.' This ungenerous gallant marrying her within a few days after, pawned me for a dram of brandy, and drinking me out next day, I was beaten flat with a hammer, and again set a running.[97]

Addison demonstrated how a coin, not only changed physical shape by being bent into a love token but also, moved between monetary and gift exchange and back again. Coins were clearly well established in customs associated with courtship and expressions of sentiment.[98] They were also customarily associated with magical healing powers as well as with the ability to protect their owners or wearers from harm and as a cure for illness. Samuel Johnson's mother, for example, was advised in 1712 to take her baby son suffering from scrofula, (also known as the King's evil), to London to be touched by the Queen. The ritual of royal 'touching' was accompanied by the giving of a coin, known as a Golden Angel. Samuel Johnson allegedly wore his

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[94] Pointon, "Surrounded with Brilliants," 67.

[95] The Portable Antiquities Scheme has examples of over five hundred coins bent into 'S' shapes and described as love tokens. They date from the post medieval period 1600-1800. http://finds.org.uk.

[96] Christopher Flint, "Speaking Objects: The Circulation of Stories in Eighteenth-Century Prose Fiction," *PMLA* 113 (1998). 212-26.

[97] Addison, "The adventures of a shilling," 1710..

[98] John Gillis, *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). 38, 67 & 123.

Figure 1.10 Gold touch-piece belonging to Dr Johnson. M.8007 British Museum © The Trustees of the British Museum.

'touch-piece' coin around his neck all his life (Figure 1.10).[99]

Small pieces of fabric left by mothers or cut from the clothes of babies were one of the forms of identifiers kept by the London Foundling Hospital in the period 1741-1803 as part of the admissions documentation for infants left in their care.[100] In addition to the fabric swatches, a variety of objects were offered as tokens and recorded in the Hospital billets. [101] The intention behind this procedure was to enable parents to re-claim children at a later date. This group of tokens, as Styles explains in his publication, *Threads of Feeling,* included 'metal watch seals, coral necklaces, coins, brooches, rings, padlocks, keys and buttons' (Figure 1.11).[102] The coins consisted of bent, halved and

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[99] Lawrence and MacKeith McHenry, Ronald, "Samuel Johnson's Childhood Illnesses and the King's Evil," *Medical History* 10 (1966). 392.

[100] Styles, *Threads of Feeling,* 11-17.This publication accompanied an exhibition curated by John Styles at the Foundling Museum October 2010 – March 2011.

[101] The billets were the printed registration forms used to record the physical details of every child admitted to the Hospital. Fragments of their clothing and other tokens were attached to the billet. Items such as coins were folded up in the billet. However the tokens made from materials other than textiles were removed from the billets in the 1850s and 1860s and put on display in the Foundling Hospital thus removing their connections to the children for whom they were originally left as identifiers. Recent research has re-established some of the links between these tokens and the babies for whom they were left. Janette Bright and Gillian Clark, *An Introduction to the Tokens at the Foundling Museum* (London: Foundling Museum, 2011). 9. A similar practice of leaving tokens occurred in Paris in the early nineteenth century where babies could be left in a 'tour d'abandon' attached to a hospital. The Musée de l'Assistance has examples of foundlings' tokens (signes d'identité). Thanks to Professor Marcia Pointon for providing this information to my supervisor Dr Louise Purbrick by email dated 12 August 2011.

[102] Styles, *Threads of Feeling,* 17.

engraved coins and medals.[103] Among them were coins altered into love tokens and engraved with names and dates of birth. One of these was inscribed with the name 'Maria Augusta Handel' and date 'Born April 15 1758'. Maria was three weeks old on admittance to the Hospital. The Foundling documents reveal she was re-claimed five years later, identified by means of this token.[104] These tokens became part of the Hospital's documentation for a number of years until a system of issuing receipts for each child was introduced from 1764 onwards.[105] The practice demonstrates how tokens were used in the eighteenth century as a form of record for the reclaiming of babies, in other words, as a material means of identifying a person.

There are two love tokens mentioned in the Old Bailey Proceedings. They are itemised in the accounts of trials of burglary in 1784 and 1794.[106] The first token is described as a 'remarkable half-penny with a name engraved upon it'. Similarly described, the second token is inscribed with the name 'Susannah Schreder' and date of birth '25th February 1757'. The witness at the 1794 trial commented that the halfpenny belonged to her husband's first wife and explained that it was engraved with 'her maiden name on it'. The fact that these two tokens and perhaps others were itemised in official records as stolen possessions, highlights the importance of tokens as family pieces which people treasured and wished to recover. The keeping of them is illustrated by the fact that in the 1794 case, Henry Ferris had kept his first wife Susannah's love token after her death and also after his subsequent marriage to Ann.

As already mentioned, the making of love tokens by prisoners is described in the Prison Inspectors' reports which provided an account of the conditions in Newgate gaol in 1836. The engraved coins crafted by convicts in Newgate were referred to as 'penny pieces' and 'leaden hearts'. The Prison Inspectors' interviews with some of the

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[103] In January 2009 Jim Gledhill, Museum Assistant at the Foundling Museum, provided me with a list of coins and medals in the Foundling Hospital Collection. They number 368 and the majority are as minted, in other words, not altered into love tokens. In the region of twenty five of them are love tokens engraved with dates and names. See Appendix 1 and Bright and Clark's publication.

[104] Bright and Clark, *Foundling Tokens,* 21.

[105] Bright and Clark, *Foundling Tokens,* 3 & 9.

[106] London Lives 1690-1800, t17840526-41, May 1784, trial of Ann Wright and t17940115-75, January 1794, trial of Kezia Shepherd, Peter Ferril and Ann Wilson. There is also a record of Henry Ferris and Susanna Schreder's marriage on 8 February 1784 in Islington in the London Metropolitan Archives, see Register of marriages, P76/LUK, Item 032. http://www.ancestry.co.uk.

Figure 1.11 Display of tokens from the Foundling museum includes halved coins and engraved tokens. © Bridgeman Education.

inmates mentioned prisoners spending time making love tokens for friends as memorials and 'pricking figures or words on them'.[107] There are descriptions of how 'the prisoners amused themselves by smoking, walking about and talking, grinding down halfpence and cutting them into the shape of hearts to give to their friends' (Figure 1.12).[108]

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[107] Prison Inspectors Reports," 63.
[108] Prison Inspectors Reports," 57-58.

Figure 1.12 Heart-shaped copper love token from the Acworth collection made from Georgian penny (1806/07). Omeka identifier M003. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

These contemporary accounts of love tokens introduce an array of contexts in which they were used. They range from a promise to consummate a relationship, an object which moves between monetary and gift exchange, a protector against illness, a foundling identifier and record, to a sentimental item of evidence in a trial and a prisoner's pastime and marker of self. The details of these settings and exchanges provide an understanding of how love tokens were used as part of the rituals and performances that marked significant events in people's lives.

Many of the love tokens studied in this thesis remain un-authored objects. However, a number of individuals were successfully identified using the information provided by their love token inscriptions. A number of life history sources were consulted to learn more about the lives of those named on tokens. The research involved using genealogical databases that searched registers of births, marriages, deaths, crimes and punishment. John Stockbridge was identified, for example, using Ancestry.co.uk and searching the England & Wales, Criminal Registers, 1791-1892. John Leross appears in the Old Bailey records. Worshipful company records, newspaper reports, Treasury records of transport ships and convict lists were also searched. The Thames waterman, Thomas Mitchner, was traced through the National Archives and the Treasury records of criminals transported to Virginia and Maryland. Mitchner's apprenticeship record was located in the archives of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen of the river Thames in the registers of apprenticeship bindings. Specialist libraries were also

consulted in order to examine examples of eighteenth century broadside ballads and penny merriments and foundling objects and billets.[109]

In this way, the study retrieved details of a number of biographies by uniting individual love token inscriptions with other records for the same person. No longer just a name in a criminal account or an apprenticeship register, the evidence of love tokens restores a sense of personhood to the individual object by linking it to particular events and experiences. The brief glimpses of events in people's lives help situate the tokens within customary practice. The linking of love tokens to other records connects the physical evidence of tokens to the experiences and emotions that led to their production and exchange. The investigative process not only adds biographical details to the historical record, it also sheds light on the un-authored tokens. The love tokens with 'biographies' help us understand more about the tokens that are not named and the patterns of behaviour and feelings to which they belong.

The study draws on a range of eighteenth century texts from above in order to find traces of the poor. The Old Bailey Proceedings, newspaper reports and philanthropic essays such as those written by Patrick Colquhoun and Henry Fielding, were originally created for particular purposes and audiences. The Old Bailey accounts, for example, refer to serious crimes but only those committed in London and Middlesex. They include only selective descriptions of crimes that were written for the middling and elite sorts, and in particular for property owners in London. These were the people most likely to be the victims of the crimes that the Session Papers recorded.[110] Through the editing out, for example, of defence arguments, the judge's summing up and the jury's decision-making, the Old Bailey Papers focus primarily on the narrative of crime and detection. In this sense they support the portrayal of a system which successfully punished criminal behaviour, a view which it could be argued was far from

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[109] The National Art Library at the V&A Museum has a collection of around 800 chapbooks. The Foundling Hospital tokens and coins are held at the Foundling museum whilst the majority of the Hospital's documentation such as the fabric tokens and billets are in the London Metropolitan Archives. The Library of the Goldsmith's Company carries an extensive range of books on engraving.
[110] Robert B Shoemaker, "The Old Bailey Proceedings and the Representation of Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of British Studies* 47.3 (2008). 559-580. John H Langbein, "Shaping the Eighteenth-Century Criminal Trial: A View from the Ryder Sources," *The University of Chicago Law Review* (1983). 15.

the case. The perspectives of newspapers were more varied than the consistent editorial stance of the Old Bailey Papers. In their accounts of crime, Peter King describes how the 'multi-vocal, sporadic, brief and sometimes chaotic styles of reporting created a kaleidocscope of different and often contradictory messages.'[111]

These sources from above, therefore, need to be read with their contextual distinctiveness in mind. Thompson comments on the historian's use of supporting evidence, 'we commence with impressions: we ornament our hunches with elegant or apt quotations; we end with impressions'. [112] In terms of 'apt quotations', this thesis employs visual and material culture evidence as well as the written texts just discussed. Selecting examples of images and objects involves testing not only 'the aptness of the sources deployed to the particular query in hand' but also the relevant details for instance of a trade card, an inn sign, a Hogarth engraving or a wood block print that illustrate and support the study's arguments.[113]

The study also draws on a range of sources that were inscribed with idioms and images in a similar style to those found on love tokens. This repertoire was clearly part of the visual and material landscape of the eighteenth century. These include print literature, for example, woodcuts on ballads, broadsheets, chapbooks and penny merriments as well as engravings and satirical prints. The woodblock images in street literature was often seen at home and in the tavern pasted to the walls. In the surrounding market place, other sources were trade tokens, barbers' bowls, shop, workshop and inn signs. Similar images and symbols were also found on marriage bottles, love cups, candle boxes, tobacco labels, tobacco tins and carpenters' tools. In domestic settings rolling pins, knitting sheaths, love spoons, thimbles, lace bobbins and transfer pottery were all decorated with affectionate images and phrases.[114] At feasts and festivals there was a range of sentimental gifts on sale; embroidered ribbons, garters and buttons. As part of the anti-slavery campaign, the image of the kneeling slave was found on a range of material culture including metal ware, ceramics and textiles. We have already learnt

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[111] Peter King, "Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime and justice in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century London," *Continuity and Change* 22.1 (2007). 76.
[112] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 24.
[113] E.P. Thompson, "Anthropology and the discipline of historical context," *Midland History* 1.3 (1972). 47.
[114] Thanks to Graham Rawson for drawing my attention to marriage bottles.

how parents left babies at the Foundling Hospital with personal objects some of which were engraved or embroidered with names and symbols. At sea, sailors ornamented wooden boxes and staybusks crafted from baleen with intricate images and familiar symbols. In the graveyard, head and foot stones were carved with clasped hands, weeping willows and angels as well as the tools or emblems of a person's trade. Prisoners scratched familiar symbols into gaol walls and some also tattooed their bodies with idioms and symbols of affection.

Many of the sources consulted for the research are in digital format, accessed via museum websites and library portals. Digitised versions of eighteenth century texts are now readily accessible to the researcher. However, some cautionary words are needed here about their use. Tim Hitchcock points out how historians have not yet begun to address the issues that reliance on keyword searches and database algorithms involve when evaluating virtual records. How can they be trusted and verified? [115] These questions cannot be ignored when using digital formats of texts.

An examination of four bound volumes of chapbooks held in the National Art Library's Forster Collection prompted a number of observations in relation to the use of original eighteenth century printed sources in comparison to their digitised versions.[116] The key difference evidently is in the fact that the digital researcher is not working with the physical material of the original book. It is difficult to replicate the ability to browse and dip in and out of a written text when working through numbered results of a database search and reproductions of book and pamphlet pages. The digitised version of a chapbook, for example, provides little sense of its scale, the size of an illustration, the blackness of the font or the thickness of the paper. The page of a chapbook only measures 90mm wide by 150mm and some of the illustrations are as small as the diameter of a love token made from a cartwheel penny, both measuring 35mm in

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[115] Tim Hitchcock, "Confronting the Digital: Or How Academic History Writing Lost the Plot," *Cultural and Social History* 10.1 (2013). 15.

[116] 'Chapbooks are small cheap publications of a popular nature purchased either at booksellers in towns or from chapmen (from the early English word 'ceap' meaning trade) and pedlars in rural areas. Intended for people with little money to spare, they were generally printed on poor paper often using old and battered type and woodblocks.' Information from http://www.vam.ac.uk.

width (Figure 1.13).[117] This is a finding that introduces the possibility that woodblock images were directly copied onto tokens in some instances, a process that did not require the specialist skill of the engraver to size the image according to the dimensions of the surface of the coin. Such an observation might not have been made where the research relied solely on digital sources.

Figure 1.13 Image of a woodblock illustration measuring 35mm wide, the same width as a copper cartwheel penny that has been altered into a love token, from 'A book of garlands' in the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835. Author's photograph.

The pages of each chapbook are not uniform in size. Some pages are torn and the ink has bled through into the reverse of the page (Figures 1.14 & 1.15). The paper is very thin and fibrous. The printing process has also left indents in the paper, particularly
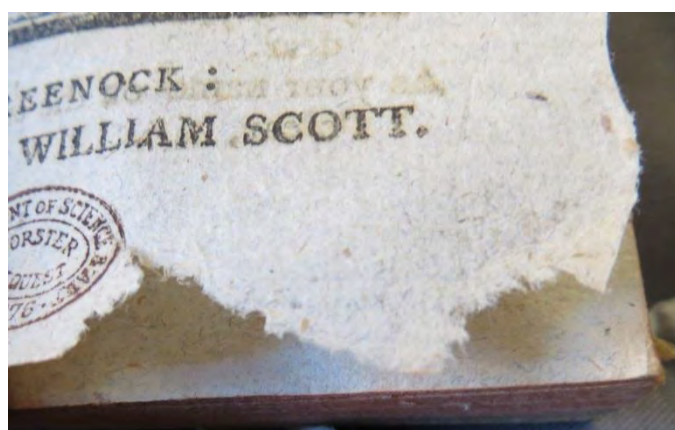
Figure 1.14 Image from 'A book of garlands' showing wear on page, from the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835. Author's photograph.

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[117] According to Peck, the diameter of a cartwheel penny is actually 35.8mm. C. Wilson Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum 1558-1958* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1960). 293.

Figure 1.15 Image of a ship from 'A book of garlands' with print showing through from reverse of page, from the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835. Author's photograph.

where there are full-stops. As a result, the surface of the page is textured rather than smooth. The colour of the ink ranges from shades of grey to deep black. Some of the details of the woodblock prints are difficult to distinguish (Figure 1.16). The same wood block images are used repeatedly throughout the volumes regardless of their relevance to the ballads or fables they illustrate. Although it is possible to 'browse' digital sources, the process does not involve the same sense of serendipity that 'flicking through' a text offers. Yet, it can be argued that different combinations of search terms, for example, also offer the chance of finding something unexpected in the digital archive. The knowledge that they physically provide a link to the past is one of the most striking impressions that browsing through the original chapbooks makes.

Figure 1.16 Image of a blurred woodblock illustration from 'A book of garlands' in the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835. Author's photograph.

There is evidence, for instance, of the chapbooks' previous readers where the pages are torn and marked. The thin fibrous paper and smudged woodblock prints remind us that these were cheap publications with a diverse readership. Digitised versions of primary sources mask the physical link to the person who originally bought the chapbook, turned its pages, sang the ballads, read aloud the fables and shared them with others over two hundred years ago. As Steedman reminds us, the physical archive can bring us closer to people in the past and to 'the dust they breathed in'.[118]

1.5   'A gift to you - From me a friend': methods for the study of love tokens[119]

> Only when the evidence is studied within its whole historical context [...] the role of influence and interest, the norms and expectations not of 'society' but of different social groups – can it bring fruitful results.[120]

The idea of what a representative collection of tokens consists of is difficult to gauge since it is impossible to know the full extent of the subjects and themes depicted on love tokens created over two centuries ago from those that have survived. Most historical evidence is fragmentary. In the study of history from below, the researcher often has to rely on little more than traces and absences, of surviving records that were created for particular purposes. Individual tokens record a particular moment in a person's life. In the same way, collections of tokens offer records of selections of moments.[121] Yet, part of the fascination for the researcher in dealing with such fragments, as Steedman reminds us, is in making connections and looking for patterns in these recorded moments.[122] From my observations of the inscriptions on tokens in fifteen private and museum collections, I was able to establish that they cover a similar range of life cycle events and themes. The Acworth examples in Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery include just such a variety. As already mentioned, these tokens were

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[118] Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History,* 19.

[119] A frequently found phrase on love tokens. http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au/search/2008.0039.0026.

[120] Thompson,"The discipline of historical context," 45.

[121] For a discussion of the fragmentary nature of sources, see Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon, "Social History as" Sites of Memory"? The Institutionalizaton of History: Microhistory and the Grand Narrative," *Journal of Social History* 39.3 (2006), Richard Blakemore, "Finding fragments - the past and the future," *The Future of History from Below: An Online Symposium*, eds. Mark Hailwood and Brodie Waddell (http://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/history-from-below/: 2013).

[122] Steedman, *Master and servant: love and labour in the English industrial age,* 46.

gifted to the museum following Acworth's death in 1951 and were originally bought by him from the coin collector Manwaring Baines. As a numismatic collection it was possibly assembled with a collector's desire to create a comprehensive set or a representative series of love tokens which included the main subjects and styles. In this sense, the tokens in Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, referred to throughout the thesis as the 'Acworth collection', could be seen as a typical or representative collection.

For the purposes of the study I decided to limit the analysis to one collection. This allowed me to undertake a detailed examination of a group of love tokens that include not only engraved but also bent and altered coins. Two thirds are from the period 1700 -1850, a period identified by Barnard as the time when their exchange was at its height. Sheppard proposed 1740-1780 as a narrower period for their popularity, whereas the convict tokens collected by Millett cover the period of transportation to Australia between 1780 and 1856. Of those tokens in the Acworth collection with dates that can be identified from the original base coin, the range is from 1695-1918. The dates that were engraved on these coins at the time of their alteration into love tokens range from 1722-1911. However, the majority fall within the period covered by Barnard and Millett's collections. So for this thesis the period 1700 – 1856 will provide the parameters of the research, that is, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the year 1856, the latest known date engraved on surviving convict tokens.[123] Consequently, the analysis of Acworth love tokens in this study does not include the whole of his collection, which numbers three hundred, since some of them clearly fall outside the chosen time period or are difficult to date. Over twenty coins are ones that have been bent, halved, holed, notched, serrated, convex or cut into the shape of a heart, but not engraved. Instead of cataloguing all of these altered pieces, the decision was taken to include one example of each of these non-engraved 'types' in the analysis (Omeka identifiers M145, M003, M188, M186, M185, M014, M159, M176 and M167, http://www.omeka.net). As a result, a total of one hundred and eighty eight tokens were selected for analysis.

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[123] Field and Millett, eds., *Convict love tokens,* 109. Transportation to New South Wales ceased in 1840, to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in 1853 and to Western Australia in 1868. Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, "Convict Transportation from Britain and Ireland 1615-1870," *History Compass* 8.11 (2010). 1225.

Having established that the crafting of love tokens was at its most prolific during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the question remains as to what kinds of objects were produced and exchanged as love tokens before and after this period. There is ample evidence in museum and private collections that coins were used as love tokens before the 1700s suggesting that the engraved pieces of this study grew out of that practice. Coins were bent into 'S' shapes and given as tokens (Figure 1.7). The shilling in Addison's adventure for example was bent and given to a sweetheart. However these bent coins were not inscribed with the biographical details, images and idioms as the engraved pieces at the centre of this study were.

Following the end of transportation from England to Australia in 1868, the production of engraved coins appears to have diminished.[124] Coins continued to be altered in the same way into love tokens but the surviving examples are predominantly associated with the military and with war. There are love tokens engraved with details that link them to the Boer War as well as to the First World war.[125] Clearly other forms of love token were also available. However these were affectionate objects that were mass produced rather than hand crafted. Examples include sentimental jewellery such as hair jewellery, name brooches and mizpah brooches.[126] Moving away from jewellery there are also valentine cards and, from the First World War, silk embroidered postcards, handkerchiefs and pin cushions.[127] To commemorate deaths there were printed remembrance cards that included biographical details of the deceased. These cards were ornamented with phrases, poems and images of angels and weeping willows. The idioms employed on engraved love tokens continued to be used on brooches decorated with or in the shape of hearts, arrows, and love birds. Some brooches had the words 'merry thoughts' or 'best wishes' on them, whilst silk postcards were embroidered with phrases such as 'Forget me not' and 'Best love to all'. The lexicon of attachment and remembrance clearly continued to be employed and adapted.

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[124] Maxwell-Stewart,"Convict Transportation " 1222.

[125] See for example a First World War engraved coin in the British Museum http://www.britishmuseum.org/ Museum number J.3283.

[126] Luthi, *Sentimental Jewellery,* Pamela M.Caunt, *Military Sweethearts: A guide for collectors* (Friary Press, date unknown).

[127] Ian Collins, *An Illustrated History of the Embroidered Silk Postcard* (Radlett: Gabrian Antiques, 2001).

The next step in the research process was to decide how to classify and organise tokens in a way that would be useful for this as well as future analyses. It is difficult to quantify the number of love tokens that were originally crafted. However, what can be developed is a method for organising tokens which is based on their key features. The intention, in proposing a love token taxonomy, is to foreground the possibilities which their study affords. Hopefully others will also be curious about their visual, material and sentimental meanings for there are several hundred tokens in museum and private collections as yet un-researched that merit detailed examination.[128] Hodgkin has already signalled how they convey sentiment and demand attention. Tokens are primarily about the marking of people's lives through the engraving of initials and names. Indeed, from the Acworth examples that I have catalogued, ninety are engraved or punched with names and seventy five with initials. Some tokens carry both names and initials. They are clearly family records. Victorian numismatists organised tokens according to the subject of their inscriptions. My purpose is not the same as theirs. The question 'what might a history of emotions from below look like' is the driver for this thesis. In line with this, the proposed taxonomy therefore focuses on the content of love token inscriptions in order to uncover how they were used to mark attachments and embody feelings. As Matt explains, the use of material culture in the study of emotions reflects a growing interest in employing approaches that explore the emotions from the 'bottom up' by 'uncovering the lives and ways of ordinary people.' She states:

> With the growth of the history of emotions, more and more scholars are trying
> to write the history of these men and women's [ordinary people's] subjectivity,
> to reconstruct their internal states, for they are committed to writing history
> not just from the bottom up but from the inside out.[129]

The taxonomy devised to catalogue love tokens from the Acworth collection for this thesis organises them into three groups: firstly tokens that refer to family attachment

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[128] The British Museum has a collection of several hundred love tokens which have not been researched or catalogued in detail. Grayson Perry chose love token examples in the British Museum that date from the eighteenth century and late nineteenth century for his 2011 exhibition The Tomb of the Unknown Craftsman and accompanying publication. G. Perry, *The Tomb of the Unknown Craftsman* (London: British Museum Press, 2011). 106 & 150.
[129] Matt, "Current Emotion Research," 123.

such as birth, courtship, betrothal and marriage; secondly tokens that reflect people's sense of self in relation to a wider group or community forged, for example, through circumstances of occupation and location and thirdly tokens that involve separation such as imprisonment, exile and death. Although it is possible to organise most tokens in the Acworth collection in this way, there will be some that cross categories and some that have insufficient details to be classified. Arranging tokens according to the nature of attachment offers the opportunity to focus on the experiences and feelings of people who exchanged tokens. It offers a way of looking at tokens that considers the subject range of their inscriptions but also goes beyond the content to consider the events they commemorate and their affective meanings.

The use of this taxonomy shapes the organisation of the central chapters of the thesis. Chapter four focuses on family attachment. It considers the tokens that commemorate expressions and images of affection for others. In so doing, it examines in particular the frequently used icon of the pierced heart and asks questions about the intimate nature of love and the language used to express affection on tokens. Chapter five focuses on the feelings of belonging associated with different trades. The tokens identified to illustrate this theme emphasise how the possession of skills was one of the signs of status within a group. This desire for respect from others is also reflected in tokens that record acts of transgression such as gaol break. The chapter continues to engage with debates about the language and imagery employed on tokens. The thesis endeavours to discover the range of feelings that the love token lexicon was used to convey. Chapter six explores the tokens that record involuntary separation from loved ones. The tokens that commemorate separation are examined particularly in relation to convicts sentenced to transportation. The language and imagery appropriated specifically to depict the feelings associated with the state of imprisonment and exile is explored in the messages left behind for loved ones.

The analysis of the selected one hundred and eighty eight Acworth tokens involved the recording of a set of details for each token. This included data about their overall condition and noteworthy features; the specific content of their inscriptions; the style and quality of the engraving and the size and identification of the base coin from which the token was crafted. The process of data collection required knowledge of the

characteristics of eighteenth century handwriting, spelling and abbreviations as well as familiarity with the features of coins from the reigns of William III (1689–1702), Anne (1702–1714), George I (1714 – 1727), George II (1727 –1760), George III (1760 –1820) and George IV (1820-1830). The information extracted for each token was then entered into a web based database in order to create a digital archive (which can be viewed at http://lovetokens.omeka.net). The intention in employing a database and standard classification system was to ensure that each item was subjected to the same process of description. The database uses an established cataloguing system, known as Dublin Core Essentials, that provides categories for the description of objects often used in museums. The fields are clearly defined and can be applied to a range of artefacts.[130] As a result, the method used to analyse the tokens benefitted from the consistency and rigour of an existing system.

In addition to the details about the base coin and the features of the engraving that were added to the database, each token was assigned key words in the form of tags. These tags were based on the taxonomy devised for the thesis such as courtship, family and separation, and also details of the identity of the coin. Where the information is decipherable, they record the year the coins were minted as well as the dates of the inscriptions that were added to alter the coin into a token. The use of this digital tool provides a visual method for highlighting or confirming some of the factors that might merit further investigation. It assists in the identification of the most frequently found base coins and similarly the most frequently found dates that were inscribed on tokens (Appendix 3 includes screenshots of the Omeka.net web based token database).[131] For example, the dates when the original coins from which the Acworth tokens were crafted range from 1691 to 1833. The dates that were subsequently engraved, stamped and punched on the coins range from 1726 to 1845.

As a result of recording the details of each selected token on the database, it became

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[130] The classification system Dublin Core Essentials consists of fifteen fields composed of title, creator, subject, description, publisher, contributor, date, type, format, identifier, source, language, relation, coverage and rights. http://dublincore.org. Where needed fields can be adapted to suit the collection. To build my database I have taken advantage of a free web-publishing platform developed by Omeka.net that enables the creation of a website to display and share collections and build digital exhibitions. http://www.omeka.net.

[131] The love token database can be viewed at http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

apparent that an investigation of the metallic money from which these objects were crafted and an examination of the process and skills required to engrave them was necessary in order to fully appreciate the circumstances of love token production. Thompson reminds us of the importance of contextualising evidence and looking for 'irregularities as well as regularities.'[132] Chapter two and three therefore concentrate on the making of love tokens. Chapter two examines the circumstances that enabled money to be altered into love tokens. It discusses how the shortage and poor condition of small change and proliferation of counterfeits contributed to the custom of crafting love tokens from coins which became popular in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It reflects on people's interactions with and attitudes towards coins and in particular the practice of marking and earmarking money. Chapter three investigates how tokens were inscribed with reference to the abilities of the labouring sorts in reading and writing. It discusses the engraving of words and images on tokens in the context of the highly visual world of the poor. The skills and training needed to be able to work as an engraver in a range of trades are studied. In reflecting on how people 'commissioned' or made their own tokens, the costs of inscriptions are examined and the acquisition of engraving skills from others such as fellow sailors and prisoners is also investigated.

1.6   'Pray do not think of me unkind': a critical framework for the study of love tokens[133]

> If what goes on within the form changes, the forms still remain important; and the forms themselves deploy symbolism which derives from the ulterior cognitive system of the community.[134]

The historiography of love tokens reveals how little scholarly attention they have received. As a result there is an absence of descriptive literature and an even greater absence of critical literature for the study of love tokens. This creates an interesting and indeed positive challenge in terms of building a structure for the thesis. Customs, sentiment, attachment, visual and material literacy are the areas of study that have

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[132] Thompson,"The discipline of historical context," 50.
[133] A frequently found phrase on love tokens. http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.
[134] Thompson, *Folklore, anthropology and social history,* 15.

emerged from the investigations set out in this chapter. Tokens are embedded in the customary practices of the poor. They are markers of self. They were made by people who worked to make ends meet and at times struggled to do so. They were blacksmiths, farriers, coopers, agricultural labourers, sailors, soldiers and servants. Many experienced dire poverty. Unable to survive on irregular and low wages they hustled money and goods in a multitude of ways; behaviours that brought them into conflict with those in authority. This is reflected in the tokens that record crimes, imprisonment, reprieves, confinement on the hulks and transportation. Some are about protest and political dissent. So who were the people who made these love tokens? Up to this point they have been referred to as the poor. As a term to describe most of the population of England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century it is extremely unsatisfactory. Yet, looking for an alternative descriptor for the poor remains equally difficult. Roy Porter describes how 'there was nothing homogenous about the lower orders, who ranged from weavers to watermen, from ostlers to shepherds, from ploughmen to pitmen, from crossing-sweepers to coal-miners'.[135] During the eighteenth century the familiar aspects of working people's lives were gradually being eroded. This involved being expropriated from the land as it was enclosed and forced to seek employment in the growing towns and being paid for day labour rather than hired yearly and having access to customary perquisites.[136] Rooted in traditions and daily routines of survival most of the population, as Keith Wrightson remarks, were unaware of the pace of these developments as they were 'often less perceptible in the living than they are in their historians' telling.'[137] Changes in practices and values were underway which would alter the physical and mental landscape of the eighteenth century and affect the poor. Thompson states:

> This is the century which sees the erosion of half-free forms of labour, the
> decline of living in, the final extinction of labour services and the advance of
> free, mobile, wage-labour.[…] Crops could not be harvested, cloth could not be

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[135] Roy Porter, *English Society in the eighteenth century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982). 84.
[136] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 18.
[137] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain 1470-1750* (London: Penguin, 2000). 332.

manufactured, goods could not be transported, houses could not be built and parks enlarged without labour readily available and mobile.[138]

However, this does not mean that the poor saw the benefits of such changes in terms of improvements to their own living conditions. There is evidence that some were able to afford more goods, for example, to purchase fashionable clothes and consume luxury items such as tea.[139] Robert Malcolmson, nevertheless, argues that it was the poor who endured the consequential disruption and personal upheaval which resulted particularly from economic expansion as the gap in living standards widened between rich and poor.[140] Indeed, some of these disruptions are made visible in the events that love tokens record.

For genteel observers, the poor were characterised by the fact that they depended on some form of manual labour to survive. As Emma Griffin elaborates they were people 'possessing no income beyond that earned through work, those performing manual labour, and those living close enough to the margins that a short stint of ill health or unemployment could result in serious difficulty.'[141] In this thesis I refer to the poor as the 'lower ranks and orders', the 'poorer sorts' and the 'labouring poor'. Such labels offer little indication of the great diversity within the working population nor do they address the shift to a language of class that occurred during the period covered by the study. However, I have chosen for consistency to use the words of eighteenth century commentators, such as Daniel Defoe and James Nelson, rather than attempt to chronologically acknowledge the transformation from rural poor to industrial working class within the evidence I discuss.[142] As Porter remarks, ideas of sorts and ranks were not how people viewed themselves. 'Identification by social class was not the prime means of social self-description […] because people saw their standing in the world […] in respect of local loyalty, occupation or family', a comment that resonates with the

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[138] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 36.

[139] John Styles, *The Dress of the People: everyday fashion in eighteenth century England* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 2007). 5-6.

[140] Robert W Malcolmson, *Life and labour in England 1700-1780* (London: Hutchinson, 1981). 158.

[141] Emma Griffin, "A Conundrum Resolved? Rethinking Courtship, Marriage and Population Growth in Eighteenth-Century England," *Past & Present* 215.1 (2012). 130.

[142] For a comprehensive discussion of eighteenth century ideas about sorts and ranks of people see Penelope. J Corfield, ed., *Language, History and Class* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991). 101-30

proposed taxonomy of attachment for the classification of love tokens.[143] Among the community in which they lived and worked, it was the marks of status that distinguished one group from another which were important. Henry French and Jonathan Barry propose that categories of distinction between people such as trade, age, gender, residence, education, patterns of association and rank each had their own systems of values and beliefs.[144] This is reflected, for example, in work-related signs of social standing but also in possessions such as clothes and small fancy items including tobacco boxes and decorated ribbons. These items provided evidence of the differences between people.[145] They helped indicate roles such as wife, husband, bride, groom, servant, apprentice, bachelor and spinster.[146] Indeed the patterns of sentiment that are discussed in this thesis were rooted in the nature of the relationships between people in these different roles. Indications of identity and belonging were exhibited through behaviours, speech, dress; often visible in the small details.[147] For groups such as sailors, watermen and convicts, these were the clothes they wore, the tattoos on their bodies, the pipes they smoked and the tins that held their tobacco.[148] It is not surprising then that the engraved outlines on love tokens often depict the small details, the style of dress, tools of the trade and the rigging and ordnance of a ship, for it was by these details that people observed and recognised each other and where they belonged.

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[143] Porter, *English Society in the eighteenth century,* 54.

[144] Henry French and Jonathan Barry, eds., *Identity and agency in England, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). 22.

[145] For example, the mason's leather apron and the rural labourer's smock. John Rule, *"The property of skill in the period of manufacture," The historical meanings of work*, ed. Patrick Joyce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). 104. Keith D.M. Snell, "The apprenticeship system in British history: the fragmentation of a cultural institution," *History of Education* 25.4 (1996). 4.

[146] French and Barry, eds., *Identity and agency* 23.

[147] French and Barry, eds., *Identity and agency* 22.

[148] James Bradley and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, *"Embodied Explorations:investigating convict tattoos and the transportation system," Representing Convicts: New Perspectives on Convict Forced Labour Migration*, eds. Ian Duffield, James Bradley and Marina Carter, New Historical Perspectives on Migration (London and Washington: Leicester University Press, 1996). 183-203.
The physical characteristics of Thames watermen included marks on the body in the shape of 'Adam and Eve' and the 'half moon and stars'. They were recorded on certificates as proof of identity and membership of the Worshipful Company of Watermen and Lightermen. These certificates offered watermen and lightermen protection from being press ganged into the navy. See the Watermen and Lightermen's Company Register eg 6316A and 6317 in the London Guildhall Library. See also work on tattoos and the press gang in Ira Dye, "The Tattoos of Early American Seafarers, 1796-1818," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133.4 (1989). 520-554.and Simon P Newman, "Reading the Bodies of Early American Seafarers," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55.1 (1998). 59-82.

One of the key impacts of Thompson's work has been to re-focus historical scholarship since the 1970s on the hidden cast of characters that he was so keen to identify. [149] A central tenet of Thompson's approach which makes his work so apposite for this study is his use of sources describing customary practices. He interprets historical developments such as industrialisation and class formation through the rituals and experiences of the working people. It is this aspect of Thompson's legacy that shapes my study of the affective lives of the poor. In other words, the thesis applies a Thompsonian approach to the study of emotions from below.

Thompson's study of eighteenth century customs offers detailed analyses of how people's responses to events such as the enclosure of common land, the withdrawal of perquisites and the shortage of wheat and high price of bread reflected their systems of values. The poor were outraged, for instance, at those who profited from failed harvests by increasing the price of bread. Bread riots, Thompson argues, were expressions of moral rage towards those who disregarded the expected values and behaviour of a community. In addition to bread riots, he identifies other customary practices and self-regulating traditions that were acted out, for example, in the form of wife sale and rough music. As already mentioned, Thompson observes that studying the form of a particular ritual helps us appreciate the values it represents. In other words, whatever the details of the ritual and the performances that were part of it, it is the values it enacted that are at the root of a community's system of beliefs. The same approach can be applied to the responses to events such as imprisonment and exile that prompted the making of tokens. Whilst Thompson links the meanings of customs to the larger landscape of the poor in an increasingly industrialised Britain, harnessing the perspective of customary practice allows me to take this framework and extend it in another direction. Examining the rituals of attachment through my study of love tokens offers fragmentary insights into the values and beliefs that shaped how the poorer sorts expressed their intimate feelings for others.

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[149] See also John Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1981). Hans Medick, "Plebeian Culture in the Transition to Capitalism," *Culture, Ideology and Politics; Essays for Eric Hobsbawm*, eds. Raphael Samuel and Gareth Stedman Jones (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1983), Peter Linebaugh, *The London hanged: crime and civil society in the eighteenth century* (London: Allen Lane, 1991). Emma Griffin provides a useful review of popular culture, Emma Griffin, "Popular Culture in Industrializing England," *The Historical Journal* 45 (2002). 619-35.

History from below, as we have seen in this introduction, has taken many forms over the last three decades. Yet it remains heavily influenced by the work of Thompson. The subjects of enquiry have expanded greatly since his work on the rural poor and the spectacle and theatre of protest. Themes now cover a wide reaching agenda. Some focus, for example, on the popular culture aspects of history from below whilst others are more concerned with the welfare of the poor. Topics range from kinship, belonging, women's occupations, child labour, unemployment, illegitimacy, urban poverty, crime, old age and gambling to name but a handful.[150] As I have outlined, historians have drawn on a range of sources in their attempts to recover the unheard voices of the working population. This involves in some instances examining afresh familiar sources by interrogating them from different perspectives.[151] The academic blog entitled 'the Many Headed Monster' illustrates how history from below continues to attract and stimulate debate amongst an enquiring following.[152] The blog poses questions about the future of history from below asking, for example, how it can be adapted over the coming years and what new tools it might employ. Some of these questions have prompted online discussions, for instance, on the use of fragments as sources, the study of local and family history and the involvement of crowdsourcing in digital projects.

Where the examination of customary practices and the investigation of everyday life remains at the heart of history from below studies, two principal approaches can be identified. One stresses the exceptional moments when customs were under threat and what this might reveal about larger historical questions. Scholars highlight, for example, the conservative attitudes of a community in these situations where traditions assume importance as practices to be defended and preserved.[153] Their responses reflect beliefs in the vital role of customs in daily survival. The second approach emphasises how customs are and have never been static. Indeed Hans

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[150] Steven King and Alannah Tomkins, eds, *The poor in England 1700-1850: An economy of makeshifts*. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003)

[151] Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe, eds., *Chronicling poverty: the voices and strategies of the English poor 1640-1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997)

[152] http://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/

[153] Peter Linebaugh, *The London hanged: crime and civil society in the eighteenth century* (London: Allen Lane, 1991). Douglas Hay and Nicholas Rogers. *Eighteenth-century English society: shuttles and swords*. Oxford University Press, 1997.

Medick argues that this is an area of investigation that Thompson overlooked.[154] From Medick's perspective customs were continually adjusted to meet the needs of communities. In the eighteenth century this is most visible in the way customs reflected changes in the market place. The introduction of new commodities and new fashions inevitably led to changes in people's customary practices. This can be observed in the adoption of tea and coffee drinking, the purchase of pocket watches and the shift in courtship practices. For example, as communities became more industrialised then the location of courtship moved from the household to the workshop.[155] This is not to negate the fact that many long-established rituals continued unchanged. Feasts, festivals and fairs were still the traditional meeting place for lovers. Customs and traditions were highly complex. The behaviours associated with them were contradictory and disparate in the same way that the groups and communities who enacted them were. In many ways, the making of love tokens from money which was one of the mediums of commercial exchange, situates their customary production in the market place around which so many traditions and rituals flowed and evolved. Customary practices and the market were central to people's daily lives. They were inextricably bound up. The culture and traditions of the poor revolved around the family economy and its interactions in the market place.

Following in Thompson's wake, historians of the poor have employed a range of methods to capture something of the experiences of those who appear rarely in the first person in historical records. Official documents, such as poor relief applications, including pauper letters and depositions have been analysed in order to debate the causes of poverty and illustrate the ways that the lower ranks negotiated for financial support as well as the informal networks that people used in addition to parish assistance. Furthermore, parish settlement examinations have been a source of study into military family break-ups and desertions.[156] These documents were shaped in part by the motivations of the poor to impress the institutions with which they were

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[154] Hans Medick, "Plebeian Culture in the Transition to Capitalism," *Culture, Ideology and Politics; Essays for Eric Hobsbawm*, eds. Raphael Samuel and Gareth Stedman Jones (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1983). 89.
[155] Gillis, *For Better, For Worse,* 30-33.
[156] David Kent, "Gone for a Soldier; Family Breakdown and the Demography of Desertion in a London Parish, 1750–91," *Local Population Studies* 45 (1990). 27-42.

negotiating. Pauper letters were part of an administrative process. Whilst they included biographical information, they were intended to arouse empathy and obligation and so, out of necessity, laid stress on the suffering caused by poverty. Foundling Hospital records have been utilised to investigate the experiences of unmarried mothers and also those of parents and children coping with illegitimacy and poverty.[157] Appeals for the admittance of babies to the Foundling Hospital revealed desperate situations and the inability of families to provide for their children. Many of these sources placed emphasis on the worst scenarios, people unable to manage, in search of support and ways of benefitting from poor relief and philanthropic donations. In other words, they offer insights into the emotional repertoire of the poor that were clearly weighted for particular purposes and not necessarily reflective of the gamut of people's affective responses and experiences.

Old Bailey sessional papers and associated documentation have been an important starting point for studies related to crime and punishment in London. Some of these, for example, an investigation into juvenile crime, have extracted details from the records to offer a sense of the lived experiences of poor children not only in prison but at home, work and school.[158] Others have discussed the survival strategies of military families through the testimonies of sailors' and soldiers' wives.[159] Linebaugh, for example, investigates the records of those hanged in London during the eighteenth century. He establishes how the death penalty was used in response to crimes against property that he attributes to a growing money economy.[160] Last dying speeches published in pamphlets and broadsides are another source used to inform debates about the poor and the effects of punishment in the eighteenth century.[161] However, these studies make few references to the emotional responses of families, for

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[157] Tanya Evans, "'Unfortunate Objects': London's Unmarried Mothers in the Eighteenth Century'," *Gender & History* 17 (2005). 127–53; A. Levene, S. Williams and T. Nutt, *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700-1920* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[158] The Old Bailey Proceedings online includes all the published trials from 1674-1913 www.oldbaileyonline.org. The London Lives website includes Old Bailey sessions documentation but also other datasets for the period 1690-1800. H. Shore, *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth-Century London* (Boydell Press, 1999).

[159] Jennine Eamon-Hurl, "Insights into Plebeian Marriage: Soldiers, Sailors, and their Wives in the Old Bailey Proceedings," *London Journal* 30 (2005). 22-38.

[160] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 74-111.

[161] J. A. Sharpe, ""Last Dying Speeches": Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past & Present* (1985). 144-67.

example, to the experiences of crime, desertion or capital punishment.

Studies of the popular culture of the poor have also followed Thompson's pattern of focusing on customary practices as a way of engaging with the larger questions of people's experiences at a time of agricultural and industrial change. Investigations range from street games to smoking and hiring fairs but all with the purpose of understanding more about the values and beliefs of the poor.[162] Emma Griffin argues, however, that more recent micro-histories of popular culture have tended to veer away from the bigger picture of historical change. Yet, clearly customs and traditions offer a rich source of material for detailed interrogation and debate about their wider meaning. The work of Vic Gammon on the sexual behaviour of the poor draws on the language of songs and ballads.[163] His analysis offers a critical viewpoint from which to consider the different meanings embedded in the expressions of sentiment on love tokens.

The study of history from below has clearly prompted a range of responses to the absence of records which refer to the poorer sorts during the eighteenth century. However, whilst providing insights into living conditions, recreational activities and survival strategies, none of these studies have explored in any detail these topics in relation to the affective lives of the poor. In fact, academic contributions to this subject occur around the margins of work that focuses primarily on other topics such as crime, illegitimacy, family and recreation. We know very little about how the poor felt about their families, their work and the events they experienced. As Peter Burke observes, 'the kinds of document historians use most do not tell us very much about emotions.'[164] What sets love tokens apart from other sources is that they are first hand records of people's feelings. Their study offers rare glimpses of unheard emotional voices.

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[162] Griffin, "Popular Culture," 619-35.
[163] Vic Gammon, "Song, Sex, and Society in England, 1600-1850," *Folk Music Journal* 4.3 (1982). 208-245
[164] P. Burke, "Is there a Cultural History of the Emotions?," *Representing emotions: New connections in the histories of art, music and medicine* (2005). 39.

It was Febvre who encouraged us to study 'la vie affective et ses manifestations.'[165] As already noted the Stearnses, Reddy and Rosenwein among others responded to his challenge. These historians have introduced theories such as 'emotionology', 'emotives' and' emotional communities' as frameworks for investigations whilst others have focused on exploring an individual emotion in depth.[166] However, the dominant line of enquiry remains the critical one of how and why emotions vary across time and culture.[167] As already mentioned, Langhamer's approach to the history of emotions is concerned with the experiences of ordinary people. She describes how her work on twentieth century love 'tells its story not through the cultural interventions of philosophers and artists but through a series of intimate stories located within everyday life.'[168] Using sources such as those from the Mass Observation Archive and magazine advice columns, Langhamer states that historians can 'explore the lived experience and everyday use of emotion […] to move beyond a top-down reading of emotionology.'[169] Her use of the terms 'lived experience' 'everyday life' and 'ordinary people', all frequently found in history from below studies, reflect her desire to approach feelings from below.

Autobiographical accounts by the poor themselves are scarce and rarely include reflections on sentiment or family relationships. David Vincent in his study of working class autobiography (1790- 1850) argues that love and grief were not included in the categories of experience people wrote about. The autobiographical works that have received scholarly attention are predominantly penned by men whose reasons for choosing to write such memoirs varied from the desire to account for themselves to the wish to influence others by passing on advice. [170] Writers used idioms from the

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[165] Febvre, "Sensibility and History: How to reconstitute the affective life of the past." 13.

[166] Stearns and Stearns,"Emotionology," 813-36. Reddy, *The navigation of feeling,* Rosenwein, "History of Emotions," 1-32. Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A cultural history* (Counterpoint Press, 2005), Carol Stearns and Peter N Stearns, *Anger: The struggle for emotional control in America's history* (University of Chicago Press, 1989), Simon May, *Love: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011).

[167] Burke,"History of the Emotions," 35-47. Matt, "Current Emotion Research," 117-24. Joanna Bourke, "Fear and anxiety: Writing about emotion in modern history," *History Workshop Journal* 55 (2003). 111-33. Dixon,""Emotion": The History of a Keyword in Crisis," 338-44.

[168] Claire Langhamer, *The English in Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2013). 8.

[169] Claire Langhamer, "Everyday advice on everyday love: romantic expertise in mid-twentieth century Britain," *L'HOMME, European Journal of Feminist History* 24 (2013). 3.

[170] Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge & Freedom,* 42.

bible and borrowed phrases from other literary sources such as broadside ballads. As Peter King explains in the radio programme *Voices from the Old Bailey*, 'we can only really hear the poor through their actions. They don't write, they're not literate so we have to read their actions […] [to] give us clues into places we can't otherwise reach.'[171] Amanda Vickery, in the same radio programme, comments that 'words are not the only medium of expression'. People were visually literate. They understood the meanings of visual symbols, used as part of the spectacle of a riot, such as a coloured cockade to show loyalty to a cause and a petticoat and a boot displayed on a gibbet to satirise the affair between Lord Bute and Queen Charlotte. Vickery states that eighteenth century 'society is attuned to visual theatre'. We can therefore approach the sentiment of the poor by exploring the visual and material culture that accompanied their actions and shaped the manner in which they recorded important events in their lives.

Works that address the poor and their visual and material culture in the eighteenth century have looked at areas such as dress, domestic interiors, shops, printing, levels of literacy, and ownership of goods. These studies belong to a rich corpus of work that focuses on patterns of consumption in the eighteenth century.[172] A few have drawn on material culture to explore how objects used in daily routines can be seen as mediating emotional experiences such as those associated with love and loss. Sarah Tarlow's work on gravestones considers the behaviours associated with death in the late eighteenth century.[173] Gravestones, as Rudé and Hobsbawm remarked, are one of the identifiable traces that rural labourers did leave behind. Tarlow observes how emotions are made manifest in the rituals associated with death. Carving head stones and inscribing love tokens can both be seen as customary practices which involved leaving a mark and recording attachments to family and community. Tarlow's research

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[171] Thanks to my supervisor Dr Louise Purbrick for drawing this programme to my attention. "Voices from the Old Bailey Series 2 Episode 1", perf. Amanda Vickery, BBC Radio 4, Wednesday 27 July 2011.
[172] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* 1-16. L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (Taylor & Francis, 2002), Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J H Plumb, eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the commercialization of eighteenth century England* (London: Europa Publications Ltd, 1982), John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993).
[173] Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration,* 35.

therefore offers useful comparisons and in particular informs my investigation of the practices surrounding the process of engraving.

John Styles's study of the fabric tokens of the poor from the Foundling Hospital examines the emotional meanings of these fragments. His work explores the feelings embedded in the fragments of cloth, ribbons, cockades and other items left with babies for identification and future reclaiming. He considers the insights that the textile fabrics provide in terms of the production and consumption of cloth and fashion. Styles highlights, for example, the significance of items such as ribbons as material expressions of sentiments associated with courtship. He refers to them as 'material emblems of attachment' and explains how the language of ribbons and hearts was a universal one in the eighteenth century. He points to the understanding of a 'material literacy' alongside a verbal one where 'the use of certain objects to mark events, express allegiances and forge relationships was familiar and the meanings of those objects widely shared.'[174] The concept of a material literacy offers an approach for this thesis in questioning how tokens may have acted as a form of shorthand in articulating feelings. Styles's work draws attention to ideas about material literacy, to the ways in which objects are used to mediate sentiment and commemorate attachment. It provides a significant point of departure for my study from which I can examine the work of tokens in conveying sentiment and the behaviour of loved ones in creating, 'reading' and comprehending the affective meanings embedded in these objects.

The introductions to history from below studies are rich with interpretations and descriptions of the poor. Yet the process of characterising or defining the social order of the working population in the eighteenth century is fraught with difficulties because, as we have heard, there was nothing homogenous about it.[175] There were yeomen, husbandmen, freeholders, copyholders, artisans, servants and paupers. Whilst we can appreciate how contemporary commentators labelled and referred to them, the question as to who were the poor remains extraordinarily slippery.

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[174] Styles, *Threads of Feeling,* 70.
[175] Porter, *English Society in the eighteenth century,* 84. Douglas Hay, and Nicholas Rogers. *Eighteenth-century English society: shuttles and swords*. Oxford University Press, 1997. 25-34.

Historians generally agree that the category of class is not applicable in the eighteenth century since as a term it did not emerge until the 1830s. Views then on the social makeup of the eighteenth century include adjectives such as classless, hierarchical and proto-industrial.[176] However, we cannot ignore the influence of people's social standing in our studies, for example, as a means of understanding their customs and beliefs. In other words, historians are faced with the problem of how to characterise the working population when there were so many different groups within it. In contrast, we know more about the ruling classes, particularly since more records survive and also because there were so few of them in comparison to the majority of the population who relied on manual labour.

Thompson addresses this dichotomy with his portrayal of the social order as primarily a binary division between poor and rich, between labourers and ruling classes who existed within an established 'field of force'.[177] This phrase offers a sense of both the hierarchy and the elasticity within which both plebeians and patricians could act and react in response to the everyday and to change. It offers a way of acknowledging shifts in behaviours and how labourers could find themselves protesting against, showing deference to and working for their local landowners all in the same day. It captures something of the complexity of social relations.

In contrast to the rural labourers of Thompson's study and the ongoing tensions and co-operations between landowner and cottager, studies of the urban working population throw up other issues in terms of the distinctive hierarchies and competition between trades. In the eighteenth century there was a strong sense of skill, craft and belonging, established from the guild system. Members of different trades were determined in their defence of these in the face of increased competition from unskilled workers including women and children.[178] Indeed the biographical

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[176] Corfield, ed., *Language, History and Class,* 101-30. Porter, *English Society in the eighteenth century,* 54. French and Barry, eds., *Identity and agency* 22. Harold Perkin, O*rigins of Modern English Society* (London: Routledge, 1969) 176-217. E P Thompson, "Eighteenth-century English society: class struggle without class?." *Social History* 3.2 (1978). 133-165.

[177] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 73.

[178] Rule, "The property of skill in the period of manufacture."99-119. Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). 119-129.

details of some of the love tokens give us brief insights, for example, into the hierarchy and values of tradespeople. The tokens in effect embrace a broad spectrum of social characteristics from the very poor who experienced the workhouse and Newgate, to the artisan who presented himself as the convivial hearty good fellow who enjoyed and displayed all the material benefits of hard work but had little time for those who lived off the parish or who ended up in prison.

Love tokens offer fragmentary records of moments and identities. Carolyn Steedman's work in contrast is concerned with silences. Her book *Master and Servant* is a study of an affectionate relationship in the period 1785 -1806. It examines the Yorkshire household of the Reverend Murgatroyd, his servant Phoebe and her illegitimate child. Although about silence and the absence of records, since Phoebe left no first-hand accounts, Steedman traces details of the affection between master, servant and child from her readings of Murgatroyd's diary and religious writings. His feelings are made visible primarily through his descriptions of Phoebe's activities in the house, with her baby and working at her spinning wheel, in other words in her daily routines. Yet we only learn of Murgatroyd's affection for his household. We never really hear about Phoebe's feelings. Only in her routines in the house and at the spinning wheel do we begin to catch glimpses.[179]

This discussion has referred to customary practices, sentiments, families, households and in particular the 'experiences' of the poor. The word experience has already been introduced as a category that Thompson used in *The Making of the English Working Class*. The term is used here to capture the sense of people living through moments and events, of being there, of lived experiences.[180] Thompson states that 'experience arises spontaneously within social being, but it does not arise without thought; it arises because men and women […] think about what is happening to themselves and their world.'[181] Experience embodies real lives and real moments. These are the moments

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[179] Steedman, *Master and servant: love and labour in the English industrial age,* 27.
[180] For a discussion of Thompson's use of the word 'experience' see William Sewell Jr, "How Classes are Made: Critical Reflections on E.P.Thompson's Theory of Working-Class Formation," *E.P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives*, eds. H.J. Kaye and K. MacClelland (Oxford: Polity Press, 1990). Jay, *Songs of Experience,* Steedman, *Master and servant: love and labour in the English industrial age,* 220-224. Steedman, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class,* 25-26.
[181] Thompson, *The poverty of theory,* 200.

chosen by the poor to be recorded in the lines cut into the copper of a coin. They are about the heart, about personhood and about separation. Borrowing Steedman's words, love tokens are about what people did with what happened to them.[182]

The terms 'experience' and 'customary practice' are used in the thesis to refer to routines and behaviours that have been acquired through what Thompson describes as 'a whole vocabulary of discourse of legitimation and of expectation'.[183] Thompson talks about the 'ambience' of custom where traditions were perpetuated through observations and practices. It is the concept of routines and behaviours that are unconsciously learned that is used in this thesis when referring to customary practice and love tokens.

1.7 Conclusion

> I would have to say that the historian has got to be listening all the time […]. If he listens, then the material itself will begin to speak through him. And I think this happens.[184]

Thompson 'listened' to the evidence of customs. His belief in the significance of customary practice provides an approach to love tokens which allows me to explore how they were embedded in the rituals of commemorating lives and affection. It shapes the organisation of my study which begins with an investigation of the practice of making tokens before considering the emotional meanings embedded in them. As he explains, 'there were customary agrarian practices, customary forms of initiation to skills (apprenticeship), customary expectations as to roles (domestic and social), customary modes of work, and customary expectations and "wants" or "needs".[185] Applying Thompson's idea of customary practice to the study of love tokens therefore enables me to address the area Langhamer terms the intersection between history from below and the history of emotions.[186]

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[182] Steedman, *An Everyday Life of the English Working Class,* 25-27.
[183] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 2.
[184] Quoted in Bryan D. Palmer, *E.P. Thompson: objections and oppositions* (London: Verso, 1994). 91.
[185] Thompson, *Folklore, anthropology and social history,* 4.
[186] Langhamer, "Everyday love and emotions in the 20th century."

This chapter has set out the aim of the thesis; to discover more about the sentiment of the poor through the love tokens they crafted. In Thompson's words can they offer glimpses of the 'norms and sensibility of a lost culture, and into the interior crises of the poor?'[187] The study not only introduces a group of objects that widens the archive for the study of the poor, it also identifies a place where the identities of the poor were recorded and their feelings were articulated.

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[187] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 407.

Chapter 2. Money of small value and the poorer sort of subjects

2.1 Introduction

In 1766 the coin and medal dealer Thomas Snelling wrote:

> In all well regulated governments it is found to be as requisite, that there
> should be money of small value for the use of the market and the poorer sort
> of subjects, as of the larger species for the other purposes of trade and
> commutation; and what the value of the smallest piece should be, is pointed
> out by the proportion the price of provisions bears to that of labour, and to the
> abilities of the lower class of people to purchase them.[1]

The focus of this chapter is on money; that is the metallic (rather than paper) currency
which Snelling refers to as money of small value; the money which was earned, spent,
counterfeited, gambled, uttered, stolen, borrowed, smoothed, marked and kept by the
'poorer sort of subjects' in eighteenth century England.[2] The study of money occupies
a mutable position in historical research. Recent work has focused on the importance
of both financial credit and social capital in this period and connected this to the study
of the labouring poor and the economy of makeshifts.[3] Margot Finn draws attention to
the multiple payment systems used for wages and purchases and to the
interdependence of employers and labourers with regard to reciprocal credit
arrangements.[4] Peter King highlights the voice of the poorer sorts as well as the other

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[1] Thomas Snelling, *A view of the copper coin and coinage of England, Including The Leaden, Tin and Laton Tokens made by Tradesmen during the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I; the Farthing Tokens of James I and Charles I; those of Towns and Corporations under the Commonwealth and Charles II; and the Tin Farthings and Halfpence of Charles II, James II, and William and Mary. With copper-plates.* (London: 1766). Preface.

[2] Uttering was the act of possessing counterfeit money or putting it into circulation. Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Crimes Tried at the Old Bailey," *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (version 7.0, 24 March 2012).

[3] Craig Muldrew, "'Hard food for Midas': Cash and its social value in early modern England," *Past and Present* 170 (2001). 78-120. Deborah Valenze, *The Social Life of Money in the English Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). King and Tomkins, eds., *The poor in England 1700 - 1830,* 1- 38. Peter King, *"Social Inequality, Identity and the Labouring Poor in Eighteenth-century England," Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800*, eds. Henry French and Jonathan Barry (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). 60–87. Hitchcock, King and Sharpe, eds., *Chronicling poverty,*

[4] Margot C Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). 204.

'ranks' in chasing debts through the courts. [5] However, although the problem of the shortage of small change is often cited, the significance of this material lack and its impact on payment methods and attitudes to money has yet to be fully explored.

Numismatists have provided comprehensive accounts of the history of money and also detailed catalogues grading the condition and estimating the value of existent coins but have rarely linked the material culture of the currency to the social interactions between money and people.[6] Indeed their focus on selecting and recording the best quality examples of historic currency has meant that counterfeit, marked or altered coins have not, until relatively recently, been valued as collectible pieces and are therefore much more difficult to trace and analyse.

Economic historians, probing the reasons why there was such a shortage of small change in England during the eighteenth century, have offered theoretical explanations for this and particularly how good or legally coined money, was driven out of circulation by bad or counterfeit money.[7] They detail the different actions or lack of them taken, for example, by the Royal Mint and commercial coin producers, in attempting to remedy the lack of low value coins. They rarely consider the way people viewed metallic money in an environment where paying for something as basic as bread often involved using counterfeit coins on account of the scarcity of 'legal' money in circulation.

Philosophers', anthropologists' and sociologists' work on the meanings of money provide frameworks for the discussion of its significance in the eighteenth century.[8]

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[5] French and Barry, eds., *Identity and agency* 8-10. Peter King also argues for multiple social structures within society at this time rather than the binary division between the patricians and the plebs discussed by Thompson in the chapter 'The Patricians and the Plebs' in Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 16-96.

[6] John Craig, *The Mint, A History of the London Mint from A.D 287 to 1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953). Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins,* 172–183. P. Skingley, ed., *Standard Catalogue of British Coins: Coins of England and the United Kingdom* (Spink & Son Limited, 2005).

[7] George A. Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2008). Angela Redish, *Bimetallism: An Economic and Historical Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). B. L. Anderson, "Money and the Structure of Credit in the Eighteenth Century," *Business History* 12.2 (1970). 85-101. Peter Mathias, *The Transformation of England: Essays in the Economic and Social History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1979).See, in particular, chapter 10 "The people's money in the eighteenth century" 190–208.

[8] Maurice Bloch and Jonathan P. Parry, eds., *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, trans. Tom Bottomore,

Debates about the usefulness of a universally applicable theory of money and its effect on social systems and material practices are accompanied by acknowledgements that the role of money is complex, paradoxical and continually evolving. Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch emphasise how the meanings attached to money stem, not just from economic behaviour, but also from cultural influences.[9] Georg Simmel's *Philosophy of Money* stresses, among other things, the importance for people to be able to trust monetary systems and have confidence 'that the money that is accepted can be spent again at the same value.'[10]

Any attempt at assessing the experiences of the lower ranks and their relationship to money, particularly counterfeit coins, brings into question the usefulness of these assumptions in relation to the eighteenth century. Where industrialists resorted to producing their own currency in the form of commercial trade tokens in order to pay the wages of labourers, Simmel's analysis of the functional qualities (including failings) of metallic money are pertinent.[11] Viviana Zelizer argues against Simmel's description of money as a pure symbol which is infinitely applicable to exchange relations and proposes that people operate with multiple monies.[12] She focuses on how people 'earmark' money for different situations and purposes and this theoretical insight warrants further assessment in the context of the marking of coins in the period under discussion. Debates about how things are classified into spheres of exchange are also useful when examining the survival strategies of the poorer sorts. Chris Gregory, for example, draws on anthropological theories of the gift and observes that, where subsistence products are concerned, the differences between gift and commodity transactions become difficult to distinguish.[13] This concept merits exploration in relation to coins of small denomination and how people attempted to 'get by' using a mixture of credit, monetary and commodity transactions during the eighteenth

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Third ed. (London: Routledge, 2004). Chris Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London: Academic Press, 1982). Emily Gilbert, "Common cents: situating money in time and place," *Economy and Society* 34.3 (2005). Viviana A Zelizer, *The Social Meaning of Money* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994). Philippe Steiner, "Who is right about the modern economy: Polanyi, Zelizer, or both?," *Theory and Society* (2008). 97-110.

[9] Bloch and Parry, eds., *Money* 21.
[10] Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money,* 178.
[11] Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money,* 160.
[12] Zelizer, *The Social Meaning of Money,* 21-30.
[13] Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities,* 49.

century. However, in all these discussions, scant attention is given to people's attitudes to and feelings about the material substance of money or the invisible 'rules' that developed and were continually re-adjusted in social interactions over money. By considering the making of love tokens from coins, my assessment of the field reveals how little work there is which addresses the relationship between people and the money or lack of it in their pockets.

Although this chapter is concerned with the experiences that emerge from below, that is, the relationship between the poorer sorts and the production and consumption of metallic currency, it is helpful to briefly mention the idea of money generated from above, from the point of view of the elite in the eighteenth century. As Thompson explains, 'what one notices about [society] [...] is the importance of money. The landed gentry are graded less by birth or other marks of status than by rentals: they are worth so many thousand pounds a year.'[14] Whilst the labouring poor were occupied with the problem of small change in the weekly market, the seasonal fairs and feasts, the elite in their big houses were taken up with the assessing the benefits of money, for example, in the arranging of profitable marriages and the investing in agricultural improvements.[15] The scarcity of low value currency was of little importance to them since they neither used nor needed it, living in a world reliant on credit, status and trust. Indeed, the elite may have only been made aware of the problems associated with the state of the coinage through the medium of newspaper reports such as the following from the *Public Advertiser* in 1770:

> The present distress is inconceivable; the poor Labourer cannot for one
> Halfpenny in ten get a Drop of Small Beer or a Bit of Bread, nor has the Vender
> good Halfpence to give in Change, so it occasions Thousands of Quarrels and
> Heart-Burnings, and almost a Stagnation of Retail Trade. [16]

Yet the reasons why, in the eighteenth century, there was such a mixture of worn, counterfeit and foreign coins in people's pockets rather than legal tender or so called

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[14] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 24.
[15] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 22.
[16] "Letter from A Friend to the Poor," *Public Advertiser.* July 20, 1770.

good money, have not been fully examined. Nor has the impact of this state of affairs been fully appreciated in terms of the experiences of the poor.

2.1.1 Outline of the chapter

This chapter considers the multiple factors that account for the poor state of coinage in the eighteenth century. It takes the investigation a step further by examining the circumstances that influenced the practice of saving and marking coins and crafting them into tokens of attachment. From this exploration, it also looks for evidence that may provide insights into how people felt about money; feelings that may shed light on the sentiment already associated with the coins selected and used as love tokens. As Thompson remarks, it is difficult to illuminate people's emotions about money:

> A historian in two hundred years' time may easily recover how today's industrial citizens felt about having too little money… but he will find it more difficult to recover how we felt about money itself, as the universal mediator of social relations.[17]

The first part of the chapter outlines the key features of a monetary system that was in turmoil. These include the problems associated with the price and availability of raw materials and the attitude of the Royal Mint towards the production and circulation of coins of low value. The second part examines the practices that the lower ranks used to cope with this situation in order to manage their money and make, or eke out and at times fail to make a living. The final section considers Zelizer's concept of multiple monies in identifying the range of meanings coins had for the poorer sorts and the practice of earmarking money for special purposes including affective ones. The custom of marking money in eighteenth century England is an area of enquiry rich with possibilities which merits further investigation. The creation of tokens from currency that, in Thompson's words, mediates social relations clearly had a significant influence on how these small pieces of metal were viewed.

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[17] Thompson, *Folklore, anthropology and social history,* 7.

2.2   The price of raw materials and the coins in people's pockets

The raw materials used to mint coins were perhaps not of primary importance in the everyday financial interactions of the lower ranks. By the early 1700s, the glut of gold and silver produced in South America, which had been abundant from the fifteenth century onwards, began to diminish. The growth in the prosperity of European countries, through their expansion in worldwide trade, resulted in problems with the supply of raw materials for minting money. Gold from the west coast of Africa still provided the base metal for guineas but Mexican, Bolivian and European silver mines, including those in Cornwall and Wales, were barely able to provide the quantities needed for minting silver coins. Consequently, there was a shortage of raw materials for the production of metallic money, particularly for silver coins, which influenced their trading values. The repercussions of the fluctuating price of gold, silver and copper on the circulation of money in England were exceptional. These fluctuations led to problems in sustaining a stable value for gold and silver in England against overseas prices and prompted a range of responses that dealt with the shifting price of raw materials.[18]

Regal coins produced by the Mint during the reigns of Anne, George I, George II and George III were stamped on the obverse side (heads) with the image of the monarch and his or her name in Latin around the edge of the piece. The reverse side (tails) carried the date and either the crowned royal coat of arms (gold and silver coins) or the image of Britannia (copper coins). The coins were milled, that is, produced by a machine which rolled the metal into a uniform thickness and cut out round blanks ready for striking with the regal image and inscriptions in a screw press (Figure 2.1). To hinder the clipping of gold and silver coins, the edges were imprinted with the words 'Decus et Tutamen' meaning a 'decoration and a safeguard'.[19]

Whilst the Mint was contracted by the Treasury to produce gold and silver currency, this was not the case for copper coins as Joseph Harris pointed out in his 1757 essay,

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[18] Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821,* 4-37.
[19] Carl Wennerlind, "The Death Penalty as Monetary Policy: The Practice and Punishment of Monetary Crime, 1690-1830," *History of Political Economy* 36.1 (2004). 135.

'copper coins with us [the Royal Mint] are properly not money, but a kind of *tokens* passing by way of exchange instead of parts of the smallest pieces of silver coin; and as such, very useful in small home traffic.' [20] Indeed, he went so far as to claim that copper was not a fit material to use for minting money.

Figure 2.1 The art of coining Engrav'd for the Universal Magazine 1750 for J. Hinton at the Kings Arms in St. Pauls Church Yard, London, from the John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. http://www.vads.ac.uk.

2.2.1 Gold coins and the poorer sorts

The minting of gold and silver coins, on the other hand, was seen as a royal prerogative. Guineas, in denominations of one third, one half, one, two or five were made of gold (Figure 2.2). Wages were rarely paid in gold, so in terms of the coins in people's pockets, silver and copper formed the small change used for ordinary interactions. The exception to this was during extreme shortages of silver and copper coins, particularly away from London and larger cities, when employers offered groups

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[20] Joseph Harris, *An essay upon money and coins. Part I. The Theories of Commerce, Money, and Exchanges* (London: Sold by G Hawkins at the Middle Temple Gate, Fleet Street, 1757). 45.

Figure 2.2 George I quarter guinea dated 1718, image from http://museumvictoria.com.au © MUSEUM VICTORIA.

of workers rather than individual people payment in guineas.[21] However, this did not mean that the poorer sorts were unfamiliar with handling gold either legally or illegally. Sailors, for example, on leave from the Navy after months at sea, were often paid in guineas, as illustrated in a witness's statement at an Old Bailey trial in 1773, 'He told me he had three guineas when he was discharged from his Majesty's ship.'[22] Many of the Old Bailey burglary cases described thefts of guineas but also of other gold currencies such as Portuguese moidores, French Louis d'Ors, Indian Pagodas, Turkish Sequins and Dutch ducats.

2.2.2 Silver coins and the poorer sorts

Figure 2.3 Silver sixpence dated 1758 with bust of George II, image from http://museumvictoria.com.au © MUSEUM VICTORIA.

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[21] Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821*, 27.
[22] London Lives 1690-1800, t17731020-8, 20 October 1773, William White.

Pennies, twopences, threepences, fourpences, sixpences, shillings, half-crowns and crowns were all made of silver (Figure 2.3). Silver coins were in short supply throughout the eighteenth century primarily because the metal was worth more melted down and sold abroad as bullion as reported in the *Public Advertiser* in 1774:

> Silver by the great Drain of it from Europe for many Years to the East Indies, and from the Mines in America not having produced the Quantity they formerly did, has been for a long Time past much advanced in Price, and no Probability of its ever being so low as when our Standard was fixed, therefore any Quantity that should be now coined according to the old Standard would be immediately melted down, as a considerable Profit would accrue by doing it.[23]

Silver coins were melted into ingots and transported to mainland Europe, where one pound of gold could be bought with just thirteen pounds of silver (instead of the Mint weight of 15¼ pounds).[24] It was also more profitable for merchants to use silver rather than gold to pay for goods imported from countries such as India and China. The silver currency which remained in circulation inevitably became lighter, having been worn smooth and thin from frequent use, or because it was clipped or counterfeit. Much of it was the older, hammered rather than milled, species which had not been handed in during the Great Recoinage of 1696, and continued to circulate (and to be clipped).[25] It was estimated that by 1786 what silver currency there was left in England, was in a poor state, with shillings 23% lighter than the mint weight and sixpences 36% lighter.[26] Crowns were not as common as shillings and sixpences because they were more likely to be turned into bullion or hoarded. As a result, the production of crowns and half-crowns was halted by the Royal Mint in 1751.

To counter the lack of English silver money, European silver coins were also used in transactions, particularly around sea ports, and were sometimes treated with less suspicion than English silver. Spanish, French and American silver dollars, which were officially allowed to circulate in the late eighteenth century in order to alleviate the

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[23] "Letter from Anglus," *Public Advertiser.* September 10, 1774.
[24] Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821,* 17.
[25] Wennerlind,"The Death Penalty as Monetary Policy," 135.
[26] Charles Oman, *The Coinage of England* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1931). 357.

problem of small change, were eventually counter-stamped by the Mint with the head of George III. This gave rise to the phrase 'the head of a fool on the neck of an ass' (Figure 2.4).[27]

Figure 2.4 1796 Spanish American piece of eight. Counter-stamped by British Treasury with a value of 4 shillings 9 pence to supplement a deficiency in British silver coins. http://museumvictoria.com.au © MUSEUM VICTORIA.

However, like the counterfeit lightweight English shillings and sixpences, Spanish pieces of eights, French écus and Dutch riders were soon being forged and the problems of 'passing' silver coins in everyday transactions continued, as a letter writer to the *Public Advertiser* in 1774 commented, 'The great Distress arising from the Scarcity of Silver had been long so severely felt by all Ranks, particularly those concerned in Trade.'[28] Colquhoun, writing in 1796, described the proliferation of methods employed by counterfeiters. High quality forgeries relied on the skills and expertise developed by metal workers such as the Birmingham die sinkers employed in the manufacture and colouring of metal buttons. Less skilled counterfeiters bought poor quality imitation shillings from a local dealer in 'base' money and then 'coloured' or plated them to look like silver.[29] 'Base' described any money that was light or counterfeit.[30] At the trial of Alexander Lambley in 1740, one of the witnesses,

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[27] Jonathan Williams, ed., *Money A History* (London: British Museum Press, 1997). 223.

[28] "Letter from Anglus," *Public Advertiser.* September 10, 1774.

[29] Patrick Colquhoun, *A treatise on the police of the metropolis, explaining the various crimes and misdemeanors which at present are felt as a pressure upon the community; and suggesting remedies for their prevention.* (Printed by H. Fry, for C. Dilly, 1796). 116.

[30] "base, adj. and n.6." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. June 2014. Usage dates from 1478. http://www.oed.com.

Christopher Brown, described how 'some of the Shillings have looked like Lead, I have seen him rub them over with something white, and make them look like Silver.'[31] Those involved in uttering base coin were described by Colquhoun as being ostensibly 'costard mongers, ass drivers, dustmen, chimney sweepers, rabbit sellers, fish and fruit sellers, flash coachmen, bear baiters, dog keepers'.[32] However, Old Bailey accounts show that those tried for uttering counterfeit coins came from a range of occupations including a blacksmith, servant, painter, gun lock-maker, publican and porter. The profits clearly outweighed the risks.

Such behaviour prompts questions about the counterfeiting laws as well as the ways in which the relevant acts were both enforced and viewed. By the eighteenth century, the statutes concerning counterfeiting were over a hundred years old and no longer appropriate to deal with contemporary coining practices. The act of counterfeiting gold and silver coins had been a treasonable offence since the fourteenth century, so too was the clipping, rounding and filing of coins. Detecting and punishing such counterfeiting was extraordinarily difficult. Colquhoun pointed out the shortcomings in the law in 1796. He noted that in terms of gold and silver counterfeiting the following actions were not covered by the law; the buying and re-colouring of base money, the uttering of base money, the seizing of base money as it was transported in coaches or wagons. [33] Searching for counterfeit money and equipment was not allowed at night, nor was it possible to seize counterfeits when in the hands of dealers who were trading from their homes. In effect the counterfeiting laws did not impede coiners. People were prepared to take the risk in exploiting and benefitting from the poor state of the country's currency since the potential profits were so appealing.

2.2.3 Copper coins and the poorer sorts

Farthings and halfpennies were made from copper mined in Wales and Cornwall (Figure 2.5). These were the coins of the lower ranks as they were the currency of labour. They were used for all transactions under sixpence. However, with silver in

[31] London Lives 1690-1800, t17400416-39, April 1740, Alexander Lambley.
[32] Colquhoun, *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis,* viii.
[33] Colquhoun, *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis,* 132-135.

short supply, copper currency was relied on increasingly by employers, who needed

large quantities of copper coins, to pay wages. One way of meeting this demand was

Figure 2.5 Copper halfpenny dated 1774 with bust of George III (1760-1820), image from http://museumvictoria.com.au © MUSEUM VICTORIA.

through counterfeiting (Figure 2.6). A whole network grew up around coining with

different operations and roles. There were colourers, venders, buyers, utterers and

stampers.[34] Apparently counterfeiting was a seasonal business. During harvest and

hop-picking the coining trade was suspended. Not surprisingly, research based on the

number of coining prosecutions initiated by the Royal Mint, reveals how counterfeit

Figure 2.6 Two examples of counterfeits **Image 1**: Very worn George III 1807 penny, possibly counterfeit on account of irregular graining on edge and lightweight. **Image 2**: Very worn and thin George II halfpenny, possibly counterfeit as lightweight. Images 0685 and 0645 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

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[34] Colquhoun, *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis,* vii.

activity mirrored the ups and downs of the economy and employment opportunities of the labouring poor.[35] Snelling claimed that, 'in the beginning of the year 1753 it was computed, that near ½ or ⅔ of the current copper money were counterfeits.'[36] The daily tensions of paying with or receiving change in counterfeit coppers were experienced predominantly by working people, but not exclusively. A newspaper account from 1769 recounts the difficulties experienced by an employer:

> I received last week a small Bill of Sixteen Shillings, Five Shillings of it (as I was told) in Halfpence, neatly tied up in Paper: on opening the Parcel some Days after, I picked out no less than twenty-nine base Pieces of Metal, some with no Stamp on them, and never had any; I dare not return them for fear of offending, and it vexes me to pay them to my honest Labourers, who must pass them at the Ale-House, where I find they never refuse them.[37]

The widespread acceptance of people's use of counterfeit coppers is illustrated in an article in the 1767 *Scots Magazine*. It recounts an exchange in an alehouse. 'A boy paying for a pint of ale, "One, two three, four and all Birmingham," said the Landlord as he told out the money; "You are mistaken, master" (cried the boy) "My father made them but this morning, and he lives at Walsall."'[38] In terms of crime and punishment, the act of counterfeiting coppers in the early decades of the eighteenth century was viewed in law as a misdemeanour with only slight penalties. In 1742, the punishment was increased to two years in prison.[39] Ten years later a statute to enforce the Act of 1742 was needed. As John Craig states, 'the law dealt tenderly with such unofficial coppers'.[40] It was not until 1771 that coining copper became a felony, that is, a crime punishable by death.[41] Even then, as Craig explains, securing convictions was difficult and action was rarely taken outside of London. [42]

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[35] Ashton.T.S, *An Economic History of England: The 18th Century*, The 18th Century, ed. Ashton.T.S (London: Methuen, 1955). 175.

[36] Snelling, *A view of the copper coin and coinage of England,* 44.

[37] Anonymous, *St James's Chronicle.* November 25, 1769, 1769.

[38] *The Scots Magazine.* 13 October, 1767.

[39] Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins,* 205.

[40] Craig, *The Mint, A History of the London Mint from A.D 287 to 1948,* 252. Peters, *The Counterfeit Coin Story,* 88-92.

[41] Peters, *The Counterfeit Coin Story,* 102.

[42] Craig, *The Mint, A History of the London Mint from A.D 287 to 1948,* 252.

As well as the problems resulting from the shortage of copper coins, the fluctuating price of copper also placed pressures on the poor as it affected the cost of food. Commenting on the condition of copper currency in 1753, Richard Parrott stated:

> Now this Coin is in continual Motion from the Labourer to the Butcher, Baker, Huckster, and Brewer. In these Hands it makes a Stop perhaps till it amounts to a Sum: They therefore are most likely to be the Losers, and must sell their Commodities dearer hereafter to make up the Loss.[43]

By the end of the eighteenth century, the price of copper rose due to an increase in demand from a number of initiatives, including the Royal Navy, who were cladding their ships with copper in readiness for the war with France. As a result, copper coins were more valuable melted down and combined with other metals to produce counterfeit currency. Again, it was the poorer sorts who faced the impact of large quantities of bad coppers in circulation; a situation that made itself felt through the inflationary prices charged for basic goods. Colquhoun commented:

> The labourer, the handicraft, and the working manufacturer, being generally paid their weekly wages partly in copper money of the present depreciated value; - it is obvious that they must obtain less than they would otherwise receive, were the coin of a higher standard, for the retail dealers who furnish the poor with food, must shield themselves at least in part against the unavoidable losses arising from base money by advancing the prices of their various commodities.[44]

The case of the London draper, Thomas Stridwick, provides an example of an opportunistic response to the effect of bad money on the price of goods. He went so far as to advertise the fact that he would accept counterfeit coppers for any of the goods in his linen and hosiery shop. His terms were 'two bad halfpence instead of one

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[43] Richard Parrott, *Some cautions concerning the copper coin; with proposals for preventing the illegal practice of coining.* (Printed for R. Baldwin at the Rose in Pater-noster-row, 1753). 12-13.
[44] Colquhoun, *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis,* 127.

good, for every article so sold.'[45] The boldness of advertising such illegal activity points to the scale of the problem which the state was not inclined to address.

Further examples of the ingenious ways in which people circumnavigated the counterfeiting laws include the creation of imitation copper coins known as evasions. The legends on these pieces were deliberately misleading and as such their production fell outside the scope of the coining statutes (Figure 2.7). The creation of evasions is usually attributed to the skills and attitudes of the Birmingham metal workers.[46]

Figure 2.7 An evasion - imitation of an Irish halfpenny. **Image 1**: instead of the monarch's name the legend is 'Louis the Sixteenth' and the portrait has a distinctively pronounced nose. **Image 2**: A crowned harp instead of Hibernia. The legend reads 'Music Charms', Image 0699 and 0700 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

2.3   Production and circulation of coins

Throughout the century, the Royal Mint was slow to respond to the poor state of the country's money. It produced silver and copper coins in fits and starts, reluctantly reacting to manufacturers' and retailers' demands and ceasing to mint money in order to stem the flow of counterfeits which followed any new issues of regal coins. Hardly any silver coins were minted in the first half of the century, apart from in 1745, when prize money, from the capture of two French treasure ships in the Atlantic, composed mostly of pieces of eight was used for one issue of silver coins. These species are still

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[45] *English Chronicle.* May 13, 1800.
[46] See Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins,*, Mulholland Cobwright, "A Journey through the Monkalokian Rain Forests in search of the Spiney Fubbaduck," (Coins of Beeston, 1993), 74 vol. Paul Withers and Bente Withers, *The Token Book: British Tokens of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries and their values* (Llanfyllin: Galata Print Ltd, 2010). Bridget Millmore, "Funny Money: Eighteenth century humorous 'Evasions': an imaginative way of circumventing the counterfeiting laws," *Museological Review* (2012). 47-59.

recognisable today because they were stamped with the word 'LIMA' to indicate the origin of the metal.[47]

The Royal Mint's attitude to copper coins was ambivalent in that, unlike gold and silver, there was no obligation for them to produce copper currency. As a result, they only manufactured them under special contracts. This resulted in a somewhat *laissez faire* approach to copper money where, for example, between 1700 and 1718, and 1755 and 1761, no copper coins were minted at all. Why the dire situation was not addressed by the Treasury can be explained from different perspectives. Since the impact of the bad condition of the copper currency was felt primarily by the lower ranks, Carl Wennerlind, for example, suggests that 'the moneys used by merchants, entrepreneurs, financiers and improving landowners in domestic and international trade were not affected by the counterfeiting of small-denomination copper coins.'[48] Consequently, it could be argued that the problem of the poor condition of copper money was intentionally ignored by the state in order to force those with need or initiative to remedy the difficulty for themselves. However, whilst the issue of small change may not have directly influenced the credit arrangements of merchants and suppliers, it clearly impeded the availability of low value currency which was needed by employers and masters to pay their labourers and artisans. Craig emphasises the Mint's lack of organisation in the circulation of money as one of the root causes. He writes, 'not only was there no power, had there been knowledge, to direct provision by the Mint towards or away from particular areas according to need; there was no organisation whatever, as banks did not deal in coppers, to redistribute the burdensome loads which silted up in certain cities.'[49]

Moreover, the Royal Mint's budget for producing coins did not include the cost of distributing them.[50] In 1717, newly minted coppers were sold at the Mint in packets of five or ten shillings, but how they were distributed further afield was totally reliant on private enterprise and of no concern to the Mint. The fact that there was no official system for transporting them around the country, combined with the alacrity with

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[47] Jim Duncan, "The Enigma of "LIMA"," *London Numismatic Club* (No date).
[48] Mathias, *The Transformation of England,* 195.
[49] Craig, *The Mint, A History of the London Mint from A.D 287 to 1948,* 252.
[50] Craig, *The Mint, A History of the London Mint from A.D 287 to 1948,* 221.

which newly minted currency disappeared for bullion or the raw material for forgeries, created extraordinary problems for manufacturers and merchants in the industrial regions. They were unable to source regular supplies of coins to pay for labour. The lack of copper currency was equally devastating for the retail trade as it paralysed cash transactions in local markets and shops.[51]

Many factories and businesses in the north and west, starved of copper currency, were forced to use bad money as they were unwilling to pay the delivery costs of good money from London. It was cheaper for them to buy the coins needed for wages from enterprising counterfeiters. As Colquhoun explained in a phrase often quoted by historians, 'Scarce a wagon or coach departs from the metropolis, that does not carry boxes and parcels of base Coin to the camps, sea-ports, and manufacturing towns, insomuch, that the country is deluged with counterfeit Money.'[52] Indeed, the availability of counterfeits was widely advertised. Travelling salesmen, for example, carried pattern cards of sample halfpennies and some manufacturers displayed shop signs with the words 'all sorts of copper coins made here'.[53]

In terms of small change, the key difficulty and crux of the problem lay in the fact that copper coins could not be redeemed. In other words, they could not be exchanged for other forms of money. Copper currency, unlike gold and silver coins, was not accepted by the Royal Mint, by the Excise & Revenue, by the Bank of England or country banks to be converted into silver, gold or paper currency, including bills of exchange. Legally, copper coins could be refused for any transaction over the value of sixpence, but with little alternative currency, who was likely to turn cash away? Alehouses, for example, were among the least likely to refuse counterfeit copper. 'The reason of this is apparent; [wrote Merrey] for if a person has a few bad halfpence that have been refused by shop-keepers he goes to an alehouse and drinks his liquor before he is asked for his money.'[54] The copper coins spent by the labouring poor after pay day

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[51] Peter Mathias, "Official and unofficial money in the eighteenth century: the evolving uses of currency The Howard Linecar Memorial Lecture 2003," *British Numismatic Journal* 74 (2004). 72.

[52] Colquhoun, *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis,* 19.

[53] Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821,* 30.

[54] Walter Merrey, *Remarks on the coinage of England, from the earliest to the present times with a view to point out the causes of the present scarcity of silver for change, And To Shew The Only Proper Way To*

ended up in the safes of brewers and merchants who were then unable to re-distribute them, either by converting them into silver or gold or using them to pay bills or taxes. From gluts to scarcity, the burden of finding shopkeepers who would offer small change was often left to the lower ranks as Merrey pointed out:

> Some men who have apprentices, and a family, work to two or three masters, such must lose hours every week in seeking change; and if it were possible to reckon the time which is lost in seeking change, at only one penny an hour, it would amount to a vast sum in a year. [55]

This is a significant finding that few historians have highlighted. The contribution this inability to 'convert' large quantities of copper currency had on the stability and consistency of small change and the flourishing of the counterfeiting trade was far-reaching. Copper, in effect, was unable to circulate but moved only in one direction where it then accumulated.

The problem did not go unnoticed. The short term response, following persistent canvassing from manufacturers and retailers was not particularly imaginative. The Royal Mint stopped the production of copper coins and hardly any coppers were minted between 1757 and 1797. [56] An example of how exercised people were about the state of the currency is demonstrated in a newspaper report of 1753:

> At the request of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Southwark, William Belchier Esq, their Representative, has promised to present a Petition to Parliament concerning the bad Consequences attending the late great Increase of the counterfeit Copper Coin of this Kingdom.[57]

However, a reduction in coin production failed to address the problem; not that the Mint felt it was their problem. Longer term solutions were initiated in the industrial centres, where from the late 1780s, manufacturers and some towns started to mint

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Make IT Plentiful To which is added an appendix, containing observations upon the ancient Roman coinage; And A Description Of Some Medals and Coins found near Nottingham. (S. Tupman, 1794). 68.
[55] Merrey, *Remarks on the coinage of England,* 68.
[56] Albert Feavearyear, *The Pound Sterling: A History of English Money* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963). 171.
[57] *London Daily Advertiser.* March 9, 1753.

their own trade tokens.[58] Initial examples were produced by the Parys Mine Company and became known as 'Druids' because of the hooded and bearded head engraved on them (Figure 2.8).

Figure 2.8 A Druid – 1793 copper halfpenny commercial token from North Wales, Images 0662 and 0663 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

Difficult to forge because of the detail of their designs, these tokens, and others like them, were worth one halfpenny and carried the words 'for the use of trade', 'pro bono publico' (for the public good) and also 'for change not fraud' (Figure 2.9). With

Figure 2.9 Haverhill Weaving Manufactory trade token Pro Bono Publico (for the public good) 1794, Images 0687 and 0688 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

their promise to pay the value of the coin, these tokens were soon accepted, not just in Wales, but in most large towns. This one initiative opened the floodgates for the production of trade tokens around the country, filling a need to which the Mint had

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[58] The production of private trade tokens was not a new phenomenon. In the seventeenth century they were produced in response to the insufficiency of small denomination coinage rather than the poor state of low value coins. Withers and Withers, *The Token Book,* 6-7.

failed to respond. Commercially produced tokens were acknowledged by the Mint as being legal tender, and continued in circulation until 1817 (Figure 2.10).[59] No longer dependent on having to pass bad coppers, labourers, publicans and retailers preferred to be paid with commercial tokens rather than official coppers. Pressured by manufacturers and merchants, the Royal Mint, after much prevarication, awarded a contract to Matthew Boulton to produce copper coins in 1797. Despite the ubiquity of counterfeiting practices, there was still a strong belief in the principle of matching

Figure 2.10 Three trade tokens. **Image 1**: halfpenny for grocery business in Bath. **Image 2**: Lancashire halfpenny, 1794. **Image 3**: Birmingham three pence commercial token, exchangeable at the Birmingham workhouse, 1813. Images 0664, 0677 and 0652 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

Figure 2.11 A cartwheel penny made by Matthew Boulton at the Soho works in Birmingham 1797. Images 0638 and 0639 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

the value of coins to the weight of the coins. Thus Boulton's penny weighed exactly one ounce and the two pence pieces two ounces. The public's disappointment with these heavy copper coins was universal.[60] They were quickly nicknamed 'cartwheels' because of their raised rims and the giant two pence pieces were often kept for pocket

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[59] Craig, *The Mint, A History of the London Mint from A.D 287 to 1948,* 254.

[60] Oman, *The Coinage of England,* 362.

pieces rather than circulated (Figure 2.11).[61] Not only were the new coins too heavy, they were soon worth more melted down. One newspaper commentator wrote:

> It is to be feared that the new Copper Coinage will prove as little advantageous to the Publick as the former, which has either been melted down into base coin, or exported to countries where Copper is much dearer than it is in England.[62]

The poor's dislike of the new coins is illustrated in how shopkeepers chose not to accommodate the cartwheels. Most traders kept 'only four drawers for copper coin: one for the new pence, one for old legal halfpence, one for the better counterfeits, and one for "raps or the very worst."'[63] The weight of the cartwheels was such that apparently 'a dozen of them would tear the bottom out of any man's pocket in a few hours.'[64] The old copper farthings and halfpennies issued between 1719 and 1775 continued to be preferred in daily transactions.[65] The poor state of such pieces is

Figure 2.12 Worn copper halfpennies. **Image 1**: Very worn George II halfpenny 1730-1739. **Image 2**: Worn 1799 copper halfpenny with numbers '6' and'9' stamped on reverse. Images 0667 and 0661 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

illustrated in the worn and damaged halfpenny examples (Figure 2.12). By 1799, after much public lobbying, the Mint placed an order for the smaller denominations of

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[61] Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821,* 165-169.

[62] Anonymous, *St James's Chronicle.* November 25, 1769, 1769.

[63] Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821,* 169.

[64] Oman, *The Coinage of England,* 362.

[65] Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821,* 171.

farthings and halfpennies from Boulton. Rather than using the cartwheel rim design which was created to deter forgers, these new coins had grained edges (Figure 2.13). Boulton continued to issue copper coins until 1807. Although he had temporarily restored small change to its intrinsic, rather than token, value and alleviated the problem of the shortage of coins in the industrial regions, the surpluses of forgeries in London and the underlying issue of redeeming large quantities of copper money and exchanging it for gold or silver remained unresolved.

With the Napoleonic wars over in 1815, the government finally appeared to realise what a dire state the monetary system was in and began to appreciate what a crippling affect it was having on the industrial and mercantile needs of the country.[66] By 1816, coins in circulation were a mixture of guineas, silver trade tokens, worn silver of

Figure 2.13 Penny with grained edge, minted by Soho Mint, Birmingham in 1799. Images 0672 and 0673 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

William III, Anne, George I and II, plus copper trade tokens, cartwheels, worn halfpennies of George III as well as foreign currencies and, of course, large numbers of counterfeits. Faced with such a jumble of coins, the Treasury's answer was to move to a gold standard against which to value currency and to commission the Royal Mint to undertake a large scale re-coinage which began in 1817.[67]

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[66] Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914,* 76.
[67] Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821,* 295. Oman, *The Coinage of England,* 357.

2.4 Everyday negotiations and attitudes to coins

Turning from the state of the currency to how people dealt with and viewed the coins they had in their pockets, it is important to stress that metallic money was only one of the forms of payment used in eighteenth century England. I argue here that not only the condition of coins but the way money was used offers insights into the practice of altering coins into affective objects. I also wish to emphasise the under-acknowledged influence of the variations in the metal content of coins on the lives of the poor. It impacted on their economic interactions, the position of money alongside alternative payment systems, attitudes to counterfeits and the practice of earmarking currency for different functions. My research applies Zelizer's theory of allocating money for multiple purposes to the physical practice of marking currency in the eighteenth century.[68] Although she developed it in relation to American women in the nineteenth century and their 'pin money', I employ it in discussing the practice of marking money a century earlier in England.

People's attitudes to money were influenced by a range of cultural factors. These included not only the state of the country's coinage at any given time, which this chapter has already described, but also the behaviours associated with the solvency and employment circumstances of people and their households, and the convertibility of goods in a market place flexible enough to accept different forms of economic exchange. Where today it is understood that a small item, such as a pint of milk, costs fifty pence wherever it is on sale around the country, and it is acceptable to buy it with a combination of silver and copper colour coins made from alloy or expect change from paper money, this assumption of a universal price and universal currency was not part of the culture of the poorer sorts in England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. What was more likely was that customary expectations allowed for everyday financial transactions to be negotiated and metallic money was just one of the established forms of payment for daily needs. These practices were part of what Thompson identifies as the field of change and contest, where customs were being eroded by the developing market economy that employed waged labour. In response

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[68] Zelizer, *The Social Meaning of Money,* 25.

to, for example, the on-going withdrawal of common right usages, access to firewood and to surplus grain from gleaning, the lower ranks defended themselves against the actions of the elite by consolidating the customs which served their own interests. Celebrating Saint Monday and other days of the week for instance, when there was money in their pockets, was one way for labourers to reject the work discipline which employers increasingly demanded.[69] For example, the poorer sorts took advantage of opportunities as they arose by buying goods with base money or creating misspelt forgeries to avoid prosecution. At the same time, however, it is important to remember that they had little control over life events such as being pressed into the militia or being forced to migrate from the countryside to the towns to look for work. [70]

Financial interactions were more often founded on individual relationships rather than the more impersonal exchanges associated with standardised prices and currency.[71] Simmel notes, when discussing the significance of money in representing the economic relativity of objects, 'all commodities could be regarded as money in a certain sense.'[72] Indeed where income often fluctuated through seasonal and irregular employment characteristic of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was a real need for informal and flexible practices in paying for things.[73] Whilst money was one method for transactions, a range of alternative strategies or combinations of strategies were employed to survive economically. This might take the form of buying on credit, acquiring second hand items, borrowing goods, pawning possessions, exchanging or bartering commodities, or seeking charity or poor relief. Some of the lower ranks resorted to smuggling, prostitution, gambling, thieving, acting as an informant and counterfeiting. Many of the Old Bailey accounts of theft reveal the temptation to steal given the surprising amount of personal wealth individuals carried on their person (Figure 2.14).[74]

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[69] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 375.
[70] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 12.
[71] Beverley Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England, c 1600 - 1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005). 103.
[72] Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money,* 127
[73] Old Bailey Proceedings Online,
[74] London Lives 1690-1800, t17410116-21, October 1741, George Stacey, Matthias Dennison & Catherine Lineham.

An Oxfordshire Gingerbread-Baker and Confectioner, for example, visiting London on business in 1740, was robbed and assaulted on his journey. Giving evidence, the baker Benjamin Parish, said that the thieves, 'tore open my Breeches pocket, and took out my Gold to the Value of 23 Guineas, in Guineas and Portugal Pieces'.[75] As well as stealing from a person, there were cases of workplace theft, shop lifting and the receiving of stolen goods.[76]

Figure 2.14 'Taking time' engraving published by John Warren (Warren, John; London; Old Bond Street);G. & W. B. Whittaker (Whittaker, G & W B; London; Ave Maria Lane) John Johnson Collection, http://www.vads.ac.uk.

This plurality of systems for acquiring goods and money was mirrored by the plurality of methods used by employers to pay the wages of their labourers. Different trades had their own particular ways of making payments in goods or through, for example, providing credit for labourers at local shops and inns. Labourers were paid in, amongst other things, food, drink, linen, cotton, wool, silk, wood, and coal. They were also paid in tokens which were only exchangeable in the local village or town. For example, hop

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[75] London Lives 1690-1800, t17401015-60, October 1740, Margaret Stanton, Ruggetty Madge. 23 guineas was more than a year's wage for many of the labouring poor.
[76] Heather Shore, "Crime, criminal networks , survival strategies," *The poor in England 1700-1850*, eds. Steven King and Alannah Tomkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003). 144.

tokens issued from the 1780s onwards by farm owners in Kent and Sussex villages, were redeemable as cash at the end of the picking season, but could also be used locally. Another custom relied on an arrangement between the employer and the publican where workers did not pay for their beer or spirits but put their drinks on a tab which was then settled by the employer.[77] This behaviour not only restricted labourers' choice of where and how they spent their wages, but also offered employers another method for reducing the quantity of coins needed for pay.

Being paid in a mixture of money, goods and services was reflected in the market place and its ability to accommodate all kinds of payment. Moneyless exchanges, known as 'blood for blood' describes how dockers in London bartered with pieces of wood or 'chips' and weavers offered silk off-cuts for second-hand clothes at street markets.[78] Other indicators of these 'blood for blood' transactions are visible in the names of businesses recorded on signs, for example 'the alehouse keeper and dealer in bacon and old clothes' or 'the mat maker and old clothes seller'.[79] What these customs of exchange ensured was the continuing tradition of trading goods for money or commodities which would subsequently hold their exchange value for future transactions. Where truck systems were present, there followed a further circulation of goods with shopkeepers often buying and re-selling commodities as people converted items into cash to suit their needs for currency.[80]

It could be argued that a mixture of payment methods restricted people's mobility for work and that moving to monetised wages would have been advantageous to the poorer sorts. However, the labouring poor reacted strongly against relinquishing established practices associated with truck payments; a response which revealed the reliance people had on the ability to liquidate and maximise their commodities and the tensions caused by any such changes to their financial landscapes.[81] Here is evidence of what Thompson describes as a transitional phase in labour relations, where the authority of custom was gradually being destroyed in the shift from non-monetary

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[77] M. Dorothy George, *London life in the eighteenth century* (Penguin, 1966). 287
[78] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 265
[79] Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life,* 95.
[80] Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life,* 96.
[81] Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life,* 89.

usages to wage relations. Rooted in tradition, the customs of eating at the employer's table or living above the master's workshop, for example, were still, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, viewed as part of the attachment between master and labourer and not as 'payment for services or things.'[82] Truck and perquisites were, in effect, embedded in the social structures which sustained employers' authority over the poorer sorts but over which, Thompson argues, for the early part of the eighteenth century at least, the lower ranks were still able to negotiate. As Simmel points out, 'payments in kind were far more elastic and susceptible to arbitrary extension than were money payments, which – once they had been quantitatively and numerically fixed – could not be altered.'[83] Receiving goods rather than money restricted people's choice in how and where to spend wages but gave them access to commodities over which they had control and with which they were able to negotiate.

The custom of barter relied on an agreed equality between the items exchanged.[84] It also indicated a tacit understanding of an unofficial hierarchy of exchangeable items and rules associated with what was accepted for barter. For example, good money, clothes and small personal items such as tobacco boxes were likely to have been valued more highly than bad money and worn-out household goods. The values attached to different commodities and various forms of payment point to an established practice of exchange among neighbourhood networks and local trades-people. In Simmel's discussion of value and money he proposes that 'exchange is originally determined by society, until such time as individuals know the object and their own valuations well enough to decide upon rates of exchange from case to case.'[85] For the eighteenth century labouring poor, this may have been determined by previous barter activities but also an awareness of the supply and demand for certain goods over others. These overlapping financial arrangements were essential in view of the marginal solvency many households experienced and explain why the desire to

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[82] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 38.
[83] Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money,* 287.
[84] Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities,* 47.
[85] Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money,* 99.

hold onto customary expectations was so strongly felt by the poorer sorts.[86]

 As Thompson demonstrates, many rural people wove together a meagre existence 'from the common, from harvest and occasional manual earnings, from by-employment in the cottage, from daughters in service, from poor rates or charity.'[87] The reliance on both financial and social credit from family, friends and sometimes tradespeople and employers underpinned this way of dealing with the uncertainties of life. Acknowledging the nuances of trust and mistrust in currency reveals a fluctuating attitude towards coins among the poorer sorts. On the one hand, people had to depend on a metallic currency which was unreliable and unstable, whilst on the other hand they needed to rely on the trust and belief of family and friends. In such circumstances, it was impossible for most people not to 'pass' counterfeit coins.

The Old Bailey proceedings are full of references to bad money and people's attitude to it. At John While's trial in 1772, for counterfeiting shillings, one of the witnesses, Joseph Thompson, was asked if he would have accepted payment of a counterfeit shilling and his reply revealed the ubiquity of counterfeit small change, 'a man often takes bad money in change and does not know it.'[88] Such a statement illustrates how, with so little small change, the normal behaviour must have been not to look too closely and to take bad money if you believed it could pass as good money.

How this affected the mutual support of social networks which were part of people's survival strategies is unclear. Reciprocal assistance between friends and family in pauper households was not guaranteed.[89] Accepting bad coins could be compared to other examples of a normalised practice, for example, that of, knowingly buying smuggled or poached goods. Indeed illicit trade in heavily taxed goods such as tobacco and tea brought into the country, for example by sailors, was extensive during most of

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[86] The narratives of how people tried to make ends meet are well documented and reveal both the extraordinary poverty experienced by some but also the range of informal support which existed see footnote 2 in this chapter for references.
[87] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 41.
[88] London Lives 1690-1800, t17720909-23, September 1772, John While.
[89] Jeremy Boulton, "It Is Extreme Necessity That Makes Me Do This": Some "Survival Strategies" of Pauper Households in London's West End During the Early Eighteenth Century," *International Review of Social History* 45 (2000). 65.

the eighteenth century.[90] Protests, quarrels and confrontations over money and credit were inevitable.[91] Scales for weighing gold and silver were used in settings where cash changed hands as a check against lightweight imitations. At the trial of William White, one of the witnesses recalled a dispute over money between the defendant and the landlady of the alehouse, 'he took out 4s 6d […] and asked the landlady to change it; he called it a 5s 3d. the landlady said it was a 4s 3d and that the coin did not go; she weighed it, it wanted sixpence.'[92]

The unpredictability of how and when counterfeit coins might be rejected undoubtedly placed an additional strain on people's trust in coins. When a delivery of newly minted halfpennies arrived in Edinburgh in January 1730, for example, the newspaper commented, 'People begin to refuse the old counterfeit Sanded Ones, which will be a great Loss to the People of this City, who are possest of several Hundred Pounds of these Trash.'[93] Overnight the counterfeit coppers in people's pockets became almost worthless on account of the arrival of newly minted regal coins.

In the second half of the century, accounts revealed how suspicion of forgeries led to George III halfpennies being refused by shopkeepers. It was believed that because there were so many George III halfpennies in circulation, most of them were likely to be counterfeit. An incident in December 1787 reported in *The Gentleman's Magazine* demonstrated people's mistrust in coins. According to the newspaper, John Billerwell of Jedburgh refused six genuine George III halfpennies for the purchase of tobacco by John Hall. Billerwell rudely knocked the coins out of Hall's hands and returned them to him 'with a good deal of abusive language, saying he would have nothing to do with halfpence of the present reign.'[94] Hall was not one to be treated in this way and with the support of the procurator fiscal for the county brought a successful action against Billerwell for damages and expenses. The prosecution led to Hall being awarded damages of just one penny.

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[90] H. Mui and L.H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-century England* (Routledge, 1989). 19.
[91] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 338. Craig Muldrew, "Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England," *Social History* 18 (1993). 173. Margarette Lincoln, *Naval Wives and Mistresses* (London: National Maritime Museum Publishing, 2007). 147.
[92] London Lives 1690-1800, t17731020, October 1773, William Edwards White.
[93] *Edinburgh Weekly Journal.* January 14, 1730.
[94] *The Gentleman's Magazine.* January, 1788.

2.5 Earmarking coins

Given this economic culture, the poorer sorts were continuously assessing and re-assessing the value and convertibility of their commodities whether this was money, small personal items, clothing, household goods and furniture. The instability of money resulted in the value of items and services being dependent on a number of factors including whether they were exchanged for commodities, services or good or bad money. This observation, however, overlooks the fact that, for some people, certain objects also carried sentimental attachments, and so were valued differently. Simmel argues that this is characteristic of items used in barter. Possessions that carry personal or emotional connections are more difficult to be valued in monetary terms, since they are not fully interchangeable with a similar object.[95] Joseph Addison's account of the adventures of a shilling, mentioned in the previous chapter, captured the changing nature of the emotional and economic value of a coin.[96] The shilling's journey included scenarios where the coin moved from being an instrument of exchange to acquiring personal meanings, as a charm against poverty and as an expression of love. Of interest in this journey is how the shilling retained its ability to return to circulation even when it was already earmarked for different purposes. This behaviour relates to anthropological theories about the circulation of objects as gifts. Gregory explains that low value items are difficult to distinguish between since they might belong to both the gift and the commodity sphere.[97] In this way where money was earmarked as special and kept for sentimental reasons, as in the example of love tokens, it retained the option of returning to circulation if circumstances required it.

Where money and other possessions were hoarded for particular reasons, it would not be surprising to find evidence of copper and silver coins which were marked with some form of identifying sign.[98] The idea of a material modification to money suggests, not only marking individual coins as an insurance against theft and counterfeits, but also as part of a behaviour that set aside and kept particular coins as a way of managing money. Examples of this practice possibly include earmarking money for the purchase

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[95] Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money,* 123
[96] Addison, "The adventures of a shilling," 1710.
[97] Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities,* 49.
[98] Money was also scratched for example to test the quality of its metal.

of particular commodities, for courtship and weddings, for paying off debts or for lodging. Crafting a love token from a worn copper coin clearly fits the behaviour of setting aside money for commemorative as well as economic reasons. Similarly, when people were paid in good money, they often chose, where possible, to keep some of these coins as a form of insurance against situations where bad money was refused. There is also evidence for the earmarking of money in the language used to refer to it. Words such as 'grannam', 'cole', 'provender', 'seed' and 'bread' all described money used for food and warmth.[99] 'Garnish' money on the other hand was the money paid by 'a prisoner entering gaol, either as a gaoler's fee, or as drink-money for the other prisoners'.[100]

Figure 2.15 A cartwheel penny marked with scratches possibly as identifying marks. Image 0675 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

Indeed a close scrutiny of a number of coins from the eighteenth century does call into question the physical anonymity of money at this time. Prompted by Zelizer's theory of multiple monies, where different money is earmarked for different functions, my research suggests that the physical marking of money or other means of identifying coins was not an unusual practice (Figure 2.15). 'Did you mark your money?' was the question asked of a witness at the trial of Peter Dayley in 1748.[101] Similarly in 1775,

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[99] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 56.
[100] "garnish, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. Usage of the term 'garnish' money dates from 1592. http://www.oed.com.
[101] London Lives 1690-1800, t17480907,September 1748, Peter Dayley.

James Pearce was asked 'have you any particular mark to it?' and the reply was 'there is a black spot on the smooth side of it, by which I know it.'[102] The practice of marking coins in some way and identifying money by individual scratches, spots and marks is referred to in a number of Old Bailey trials. In some examples money was marked as a preventative measure or in order to detect and prove theft.

Figure 2.16 George III halfpenny counter-stamped with a letter 'B' possibly as an identifying mark. Images 0707 and 0708 from the author's collection, Appendix 2.

The case of the shopkeeper Robert Partridge illustrates one of the many instances described in the *Proceedings*. He stated, at the trial of John Williamson in 1748, that a friend had told him he had a thief in the house and suggested laying a trap for him. Partridge chose four shillings and two sixpences from his till to mark before putting them back in the drawer. The account records how the monarch's profile on each coin was marked 'on the back of the head with a stroke, and a little one under that, with a mark under the chin'. The identifiable pieces were found next day in the pockets of Partridge's porter, John Williamson. Williamson was found guilty of the theft and punished by branding.[103] There is also evidence of shopkeepers going further than simply marking coins and actually stamping their initials on coins (Figure 2.16). In the trial of Francis Dunmal in 1754, for example, the grocer William Braidey recounted how he had taken seven shillings and sixpence to a scale-beam maker to be stamped with a cypher as a way of detecting any thefts. In a similar case a silver engraver was

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[102] London Lives 1690-1800, t17550226, February 1755, William Hoppit.
[103] London Lives 1690-1800, t17480224-5, February 1748, John Williamson.

asked to put a private mark on Thomas Sterrop's seventeen shillings as he believed his servant was stealing from him. [104]

In addition to marking money as a safeguard against theft, people also kept coins as pocket pieces often for lengthy periods of time, as demonstrated in this statement from a trial in 1780.[105] 'Here is a Flemish halfpenny amongst them, which has a mark upon the edge by which I know it. There are two of the doits have holes through them; I have had them years, and know them well.'[106] The notion of 'knowing' individual coins well provides evidence of the length of time some coins were kept out of circulation and the status of affection they were afforded. In another example, Robert Dawson, a shopkeeper, gave evidence citing the sentimental associations of a coin that had been stolen saying, 'I have given it to the child to make her take physic.'[107] Some coins were presented as gifts to be kept and treasured. The highwayman Joseph Guy in 1767, for example, stole a William and Mary half-crown which had been given to Anne Kemp by her husband Nicholas over seven years earlier. [108] Another victim of a highway robbery, Vezey Bishop, remembers his actions before he was assaulted, 'I recollected I had a pocket piece that I did not wish to part with, I let it drop.' [109] Bishop chose to discard the piece in the hope of finding it later rather than let it be stolen. The coins in these examples clearly had sentimental value which in some instances had endured over a significant period of time. They were objects people kept by them and objects which carried special meanings. These illustrations of the different ways in which money was earmarked reveal insights into how money was put to use in economic but also affective ways. It brings to light a process of managing coins which bestows on

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[104] London Lives 1690-1800, t17480115-8, October 1748, James Price. The preventative marking of money was clearly part of the behaviour of London trades, however, more research is needed to discover whether this was practised elsewhere.

[105] A pocket piece was an object or a coin, which was carried in the pocket as a good luck charm. "pocket-piece, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. Usage dates from 1695. http://www.oed.com.

[106] London Lives 1690-1800, t17801018-13, October 1780, Mary Ann Doon.

[107] London Lives 1690-1800, t17871024-54, October 1787,Thomas Cozier, James Thompson and Mary M'carty.

[108] Minted between 1696 and 1701, this 'special' coin was already over sixty years old at the time of the burglary in 1767. Skingley, ed., *Standard Catalogue of British Coins,* 334.

[109] London Lives 1690-1800, t17780715-4, July 1778, John Stewart.

them sentimental meanings as well as market values and which was active in the eighteenth century.[110]

2.6 Conclusion

The process of discussing the earmarking and altering of money for affective reasons has focused attention on the extraordinary resources that are coins. They are in effect historical documents. Yet they remain overlooked by social historians perhaps unfamiliar with their potential as sources of reference for the study of behaviour, values, sentiments and beliefs among all ranks of people; in my examples they range from the silver bullion captured by the Navy to the copper halfpenny earmarked, altered and engraved for a sweetheart. But they could also be employed to explore, for example, the counterfeiting and counter-stamping of English and foreign coins as well as the commercial production of trade tokens and the witty creation of 'evasions'. In the words of Colin Haselgrove and Stefan Krmnicek, 'we have only just begun to consider the plethora of alternative meanings, biographies and roles associated with coins.'[111]

As the disdainful tone of Joseph Harris's eighteenth century essay indicated, copper was not even considered by the Mint to be a suitable metal for the production of money and was only minted into low value coins as a concession to the needs of the poorer sorts.[112] Such a perspective highlights the view from above and the association of halfpennies with the manual labour of the lower ranks. Assessing the complex relationships between, for example, the price of raw materials, the different forms of payment systems, the frustration of employers faced by the scarcity of small change and the practicalities of earmarking money, emphasises the central importance of metallic money not only in labour and market relations but also in social networks. Money not only facilitated daily needs but was used to negotiate many different spheres; to establish relationships in prison, to formalise an annual contract at a hiring

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[110] Numismatists have also found evidence from the seventeenth century of altered money with examples of coins which were marked by 'piercing, bending and scratched graffiti'. Edward Besly, *English Civil War Coin Hoards*, British Museum Occasional Papers, ed. British Museum, vol. 51 (London: British Museum, 1987). 66.

[111] Colin Haselgrove and Stefan Krmnicek, "The Archaeology of Money," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012). 245.

[112] Harris, *An essay upon money and coins,* 45.

fair, to celebrate traditional rituals such as at weddings, to act as a counter at card games and to offer protection against evil spirits or bad luck when worn or carried on the body as a talismanic object. The Old Bailey accounts highlight how money was the focus of contested interactions and relationships. Money was known by names such as the 'bustle', the 'necessary', the 'needful', the 'iron' and the 'Spanish' depending on how it was being used. In the process of counterfeiting, coins took on human qualities as they were 'sweated', 'clipped', 'washed', 'rounded' and even 'tonsured' whilst pieces that remained genuine were described as 'plump'.[113]

This chapter has illustrated the different forms of payment that the labouring poor handled and the diversity and quality of coins (good, bad, worn, old, new, regal, token, English, foreign, marked, holed, and clipped) they exchanged. These practices demonstrate the manner in which people adapted the monetary system to their own needs especially where it was wanting. This response also led to the allocating and in some instances the marking of money for different purposes as theorised by Zelizer.[114] Applying her framework of 'special monies' to the eighteenth century, focuses attention on the invisible practices which governed the value, exchange and convertibility of currency. At the chandler's shop and the Rag Fair or in negotiating with the pawnbroker or a relative, money interactions relied on a set of understandings that were applicable according to the circumstances. These habits were acquired through a mixture of what Thompson describes as 'a lived environment comprised of practices, inherited expectations, rules which both determined limits to usages and disclosed possibilities.'[115] How well someone was known in terms of kinship or status of occupation in a town or village or London community, the quality and convertibility of the currency or commodity, the variable demand for certain goods and the risks of accepting 'subversive' pieces; all these were factors to be born in mind in any negotiations.[116] At a time when money was so unstable, the metal from which coins were made and their exchange value (which clearly varied) were vitally important. The argument for money being a neutral intermediary does not apply to

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[113] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 56

[114] Zelizer, *The Social Meaning of Money,* 200-211.

[115] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 102. Fernand Braudel and Patricia Ranum, *Afterthoughts on material civilization and capitalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1977). 7.

[116] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 82. Zelizer, *The Social Meaning of Money,* 70.

the low value coins of the eighteenth century.[117] Far from being culturally neutral, currency was drenched in meanings. Although many coins were in poor condition, diminished in authority since they were no longer a pure token of worth, they continued to circulate and offer a medium of exchange, representing different values to different people in different circumstances.

This chapter has shown that we can address Thompson's quandary about how people felt about money by focusing on the coins themselves. By starting with the physical evidence of metallic money and working outwards, we can trace and untangle the web of factors which affected people's attitudes and feelings towards it. The worn out and often counterfeit money which circulated throughout most of the eighteenth century was literally ground down by wear and deception symbolic of the economic, political and social upheaval of the period. Altering a coin into a love token was clearly an extension of the practices of earmarking it. Like the shilling of Addison's adventure, a copper halfpenny in this period was freighted with meanings. Marked or altered in some way, melted down and counterfeited it could be seen as potentially treasonous; scratched for easy identification or stamped with a shopkeeper's cypher it offered protection against theft but also involvement with the legal system, and earmarked as a pocket piece or engraved for a lover's gift it carried sentimental associations and obligations.

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[117] Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money,* 427.

Chapter 3. The craft of engraving: writing and drawing on objects

3.1 Introduction

> The youth, who chuses the business of an Engraver, ought to have a good eye, a
> steady hand, a genius for painting and drawing, a lively imagination, and a fertile
> invention. Little strength is necessary in this branch of business; but, like all other
> sedentary employments, it requires a sound constitution.[1]

This chapter explores the engraving of love tokens. In the process of crafting tokens, coins were altered from pieces of metal with a financial value to objects of sentimental value. Inscribing dates, letters, cyphers, monograms, names, mottos and images onto objects to mark and decorate them with affective expressions of attachment required certain skills as the above extract from an eighteenth century directory explained.[2] The ways in which people have scratched, pricked, punched, and marked objects in the past has been the focus of scholarly attention. Placing the act of engraving coins historically alongside other marking practices affords a context for this chapter. The gouges, grooves and fine lines cut into different surfaces reflect the tradition of leaving a mark. Carving names and initials into church walls was thought to bring good luck in medieval times, as it was believed the fabric of churches had talismanic associations. The graffiti in Cotswold churches, for example, include masons' marks, similar to those mentioned by Hobsbawm and Rudé, but also depictions of seasonal customs, biblical stories and figures significant to the local area, such as mermaids, giants, dragons and worms.[3] They are the carvings of the local agricultural labourers who followed a

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[1] Joseph Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and the youth's guide, in the choice of a profession or trade* (Printed for R. Griffiths, 1761). 131.
[2] The definition of cypher or cipher is 'An intertexture of letters, esp. the initials of a name' and its usage dates from 1640. "cipher | cypher, n.". The word monogram is defined as 'a character composed of two or more letters interwoven together, the letter being usually the initials of a person's name.' "monogram, n.3.".A later usage date, 1696, is attributed to monogram. Both terms were used in reference to people's initials during the eighteenth century. I refer to both as 'initials'. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. http://www.oed.com.
[3] Doris Jones-Baker, "The graffiti of folk motifs in Cotswold Churches," *Folklore* 92.2 (1981). 160-167.

Figure 3.1 Images of Medieval church graffiti from the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey. http://www.medieval-graffiti.co.uk. ©NMGS.

calendar of seasonal rituals and beliefs which they made visible and recorded with their marks (Figure 3.1).The act of leaving a mark was also part of maritime tradition in the eighteenth century. For example, the mariners overwintering with the Hudson Bay Company in Sloop Cove, Canada carved their names, dates and the names of their ships into the rock (Figure 3.2).[4] Sailors in the navy serving in the Carribean also left their marks (Figure 3.3). They inscribed names, dates and initials into the stone walls. These seafarers commemorated their lives and left traces to say that they were alive and that they had been there.

Figure 3.2 William Davisson, a sailor with the Hudson Bay Company. **Image 2**: Furnace and Discovery were Royal Navy ships that overwintered at Sloop Cove 1741-42. © Dave Rudkin, Royal Ontario Museum.

Among the more intimate and personal objects crafted by sailors whilst away at sea were staybusks. These inscribed dress accessories were made from whale baleen which was flexible enough to be used to stiffen a bodice. The lines and dots created with a needle on the baleen were highlighted in soot or ink. As well as illustrations of

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[4] Information on the history of Sloop Cove from Parks Canada website. http://www.pc.gc.ca.
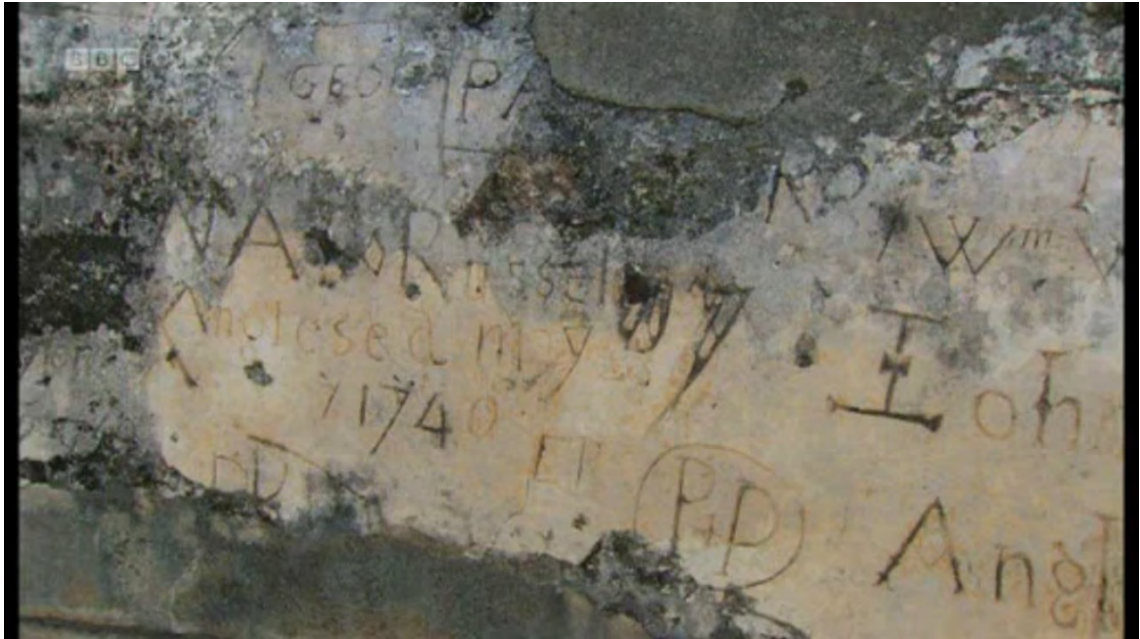
Figure 3.3 Names and initials left by sailors in the walls of a water tank on Antigua in the eighteenth century. Screenshot from *Nelson's Caribbean Hellhole,* dir Rupert Edwards, (BBC 4 12 September 2013).

ships, frequent motifs included geometric designs, flowers and hearts (Figure 3.4).[5] At sea for long periods of time, these gifts were fashioned by mariners for sweethearts and wives. The practice belonged to the tradition of depicting aspects of people's lives on surfaces and objects; in this example in the form of a whaling scene. The staybusks were subsequently worn close to the heart by loved ones or sometimes not even worn at all, but kept to be looked at and treasured especially when sailors returned to sea.

Figure 3.4 A staybusk engraved on one side with a whaling scene. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London. AAA0030 http://collections.rmg.co.uk.

The inscribing of domestic objects and decorative accessories with affectionate symbols and idioms was part of the customary practices associated with courtship and

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[5] J. West and A.G. Credland, *Scrimshaw: The Art of the Whaler* (Hull City Museums & Art Galleries and Hutton Press, 1995). 13.

wedding gifts.[6] Love tokens, however, recorded a range of life events. As mentioned in Chapter one, the comparisons between love tokens that commemorated separation and death and the practice of carving gravestones provides a useful starting point for the investigation of engraving practices.

Tarlow's work on gravestones focuses in detail on the period 1760 – 1810. She comments on the unschooled carving of names and dates on gravestones, remarking that the letters were poorly formed, inconsistent and sometimes in reverse; a finding which could be equally applied to some of the inscriptions on love tokens.[7] The carved stones she examined were those of farmers and traders who increasingly erected gravestones in the late 1700s. Tarlow argues that the desire to mark a grave with a carved stone stemmed from a shift in customary practice as people introduced visits to the grave as part of the process of sustaining the bond between the living and the dead. Visiting the departed was a development in customary behaviour associated with death and Tarlow relates this to the growing awareness of sentiment and sensibility in the late eighteenth century.[8] My research has already established that the poor inscribed love tokens to commemorate a range of life events throughout the century. In addition to coins, objects such as utensils and tools were also sites of alteration and marking with names and dates commemorating events such as births, weddings and death.

Figure 3.5 Engraved glass rolling pin decorated with name, heart, bird and anchor, eighteenth century. Author's photograph.

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[6] Gillis, *For Better, For Worse,* 30-33. C.G. Bloxham and M. Picken, *Love and Marriage* (Webb & Bower, 1990).32-41. M. Baker, *Discovering the Folklore and Customs of Love and Marriage* (Shire Publications, Limited, 1974). 16-18.
[7] See Figure 5.27 for an example of a love token with reverse lettering.
[8] Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration,* 171.

Candle boxes, rolling pins and carpenters' tools, for example, were inscribed with hearts and other symbols in addition to names and dates (Figure 3.5).[9] Some of these items have inscribed dates from the mid seventeenth century and offer evidence of an established customary practice.[10] The marking of artefacts as commemorative objects clearly has a history rooted in the traditions of recording lives and events.[11]

Seen from the perspective of love tokens, then, it could be argued that carved headstones were influenced not only by the practices of the elite in church memorials and the bourgeois fashion for more outward displays of sentiment, but also the custom of commemorating lives on engraved coins and other objects. The icons of weepers, skeletons and phoenixes are found on headstones and on love tokens. The marking of a location for grieving families to visit the dead can be seen as an adaptation of a behaviour already demonstrated by the sailor in the ballad of *The Token* who exchanged tokens with his sweetheart and kept them with him whilst he was away at sea (Figure 1.9). Rather than a marker of a particular place where loved ones could go to visit the dead, love tokens were portable reminders of those who were absent. They were mobile sites of affection and remembrance.

Since there is little written evidence about the craft of love token making, the skill of engraving is investigated by means of other sources. By examining the processes of engraving that are documented, such as dictionary and encyclopedia entries for the art of engraving and the account book of a gun engraver, the research explores the knowledge, skills and tools needed to engrave; skills that can be applied to a range of metal goods, from a gold topped cane to a copper coin.

3.1.1 Outline of the chapter

The focus of this chapter is engraving on metal and in particular the materials of the love tokens under discussion; copper and silver. Love tokens were clearly inscribed by both schooled and unschooled practitioners. The first section explores the

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[9] W van Nespen, *Love and Marriage: Aspects of Popular Culture in Europe* (Antwerpen: Ministerie van Nederlandse Cultuur en Nationale Opvoeding, 1975).

[10] Peter Brears, *North Country Folk Art* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1989). 58.

[11] For example, a wooden staybusk inscription dated 1660, a knitting sheath inscription dated 1731 Brears, *North Country Folk Art,* 58 & 15.

practicalities of engraving with reference to contemporary instruction books. This is followed by an examination of the artisans involved in engraving, their training and practice. When considering who might have been able to afford to have an item engraved the cost of such a service is explored. What might the charge have been for engraving a set of initials on a small metal item? The details from the account book of a gun engraver, William Palmer (1737-1812), are used to examine the costs.[12] The findings are then related to examples of love token engraving which range from the unschooled to the professional. The similarities in design identified in some tokens made by prisoners and sailors are discussed in relation to how the labouring poor acquired the skills to craft them. The final part addresses questions about how people were able to read and reproduce names and idioms on tokens given how few of the poorer sorts received any formal education. Thompson refers to the process of 'recovering forgotten modes of perception'.[13] What might such a mode of perception entail? The discussion introduces theories of inter-textuality and visual literacy to the debate and considers how these may assist in gaining an eighteenth century perspective on the making and reading of multi-textual objects.

3.2   The process of engraving

Engraving in the eighteenth century was executed on items made of metal including steel, brass, copper, tin, silver and gold, as well as gems, glass, ivory, bone, horn, and wood. Dictionaries of the arts published from the mid-eighteenth century provide definitions for engraving. In John Barrow's *Dictionarium Polygraphicum* published in 1758, it is described as 'the art or act of cutting metals and precious stones, and representing letters, figures, &c. on them.'[14] The *Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* published in 1779 adds, 'engraving is divided into several branches, according to the matters it is practised on, and the manner of performing it.'[15] The extent of the different surfaces which were engraved indicates how widespread ornamentation on

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[12] Thanks to Jonathan Barrett for drawing this publication to my attention.

[13] Thompson,"The discipline of historical context," 47.

[14] John Barrow, *Dictionarium Polygraphicum The whole body of arts regularly digested.* (C.Hitch and L.Hawes, 1758). 290.

[15] Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia: or, an universal dictionary of arts and sciences With the supplement, and modern improvements, incorporated in one alphabet.* (Printed for W. Strahan, J. F. and C. Rivington, A. Hamilton, J. Hinton, T. Payne, 1779). Image number 301.

objects was in the period under discussion. Robert Sayer's 1774 catalogue, which lists books of architecture for 'Gentlemen, Merchants and Shopkeepers', mentions twenty three books on ornaments.[16] Amongst these is *The Antique and Modern Embellisher* which is 'absolutely necessary to the study and instruction of the following professions, viz. architects, painters, joiners, carpenters, upholsterers, carvers, engravers, chasers, smiths, japanners, enamellers, tin workers, founders, gunsmiths, coach-makers, coach harness makers, buckle-makers, confectioners, pattern drawers, and stove grate-makers.' Such a range of occupations offers evidence of the skills needed to service the fashion and demand for ornamenting objects during the eighteenth century.

What then was involved in engraving an object with a name, motto or image? The ability to draw, to create images according to a customer's requirements or to copy existing designs was a skill expected of an engraver. Robert Campbell in *The London Tradesman* (1747) described the trades and professions practised in London. He outlined the artistic abilities needed as an engraver saying that 'it is impossible for any Man to be an accurate Engraver without the Knowledge of Drawing, and a Taste in Painting.'[17] This is a feature also identified in *Dictionarium Polygraphicum*, 'All the art consists in the conducting or guiding the graver, which depends not so much upon rules as practice, the habitude, disposition and genius of artist.'[18] Amongst historians there is some debate about whether engravers were responsible for the designs of ornaments. Philippa Glanville suggests that at the end of the seventeenth century, the designs for engraving and chasing may have been 'put out' to pattern drawers who would have conveyed their designs and instructions by sketches.[19] Styles also comments on the role of the designer or pattern drawer, noting that the term 'designer' was not used until the eighteenth century and then only for the very

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[16] Robert Sayer, *Robert Sayer's new and enlarged catalogue for the year MDCCLXXIV of new, scarce and valuable prints, in sets and single, books of architecture, Drawing and Copy-Books, Of each a great Variety, At No. 53, in Fleet-Street, London; where Gentlemen for Furniture, Merchants for Exportation, and Shopkeepers to sell again, May find a complete Assortment on the most Reasonable Terms. N. B. The Contents of this Catalogue are chiefly new.* (London: 1774). 112.

[17] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (David and Charles, 1969). 109.

[18] Barrow, *Dictionarium Polygraphicum The whole body of arts regularly digested.,* 291.

[19] Discussed in David Mitchell, ed., *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the Transfer of Skill, 1550 to 1750* (London: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd & Centre for Metropolitan History, 1995). 18.

specialised role of textile designs.[20] Within workshop settings, production tasks were divided with masters or pattern drawers taking responsibility for the design, whilst journeymen and apprentices undertook aspects of the execution of the design according to their experience.

Indeed, the status of engraving was called into question when the Royal Academy, established in 1768, refused to confer full membership on master engravers. The Academy considered engraving a craft rather than an art and, despite repeated protests, it was not until 1928 that engravers were eventually awarded full membership. The exclusion outraged many, including the engraver Robert Strange, who wrote in 1775 that engraving was 'a profession which will transmit to posterity the works of painters, when devouring time has left no traces of their pencils.'[21] In the case of love tokens, the process of engraving enabled the poor to leave traces of their lives for posterity.

Early instruction books authored by engravers were published from the seventeenth century onwards.[22] Huguenot and French designs dominated these works with books such as Simon Gribelin's *A Book of Ornaments usefull to jewellers, watch-makers & all other artists*. Gribelin, a leading engraver, came from a Huguenot family and moved to London from France in 1682 becoming a member of the Clockmakers' Company.[23] Other examples of books by and for craftsmen include *Recueill D'Emblemes, Devises, Medailles, et Figures Hieroglyphiques*, produced in 1724 by the French master engraver Nicolas Verrien. It contains 250 illustrations of heraldic symbols with descriptions of their meanings and was aimed at engravers, painters, sculptors,

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[20] John Styles, "Manufacturing, consumption and design in eighteenth-century England," *Consumption and the World of Goods*, eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1994). 544.

[21] R. Strange and J.S.E. Bute, *An Inquiry Into the Rise and Establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts: To which is Prefixed, A Letter to the Earl of Bute* (E. and C. Dilly, J. Robson and J. Walter, 1775). 112.

[22] For example, Jean Lepautre's *A New Booke of Fries Work Invt by J. le Pautre',* the English version of which was printed in 1676 and according to Hayward would have remained in use well into the first quarter of the eighteenth century. J.F Hayward, *Huguenot Silver in England* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959). 67.

[23] Hayward suggests that the reason Gribelin joined the Clockmaker's company was on account of the attitude of the Goldsmiths' Company towards 'foreign' engravers. Hayward, *Huguenot Silver in England,* 69.

embroiders and all those who work in 'dessein'.[24] In addition there are emblems of
Cupid with bow and arrow and also flaming hearts; both familiar love token images.
Illustrated books of lettering were also available, for example Samuel Sympson's *A
New Book of Cyphers*, which demonstrates the range of lettering styles used in
engraving initials.[25] Instruction literature in the eighteenth century fed an audience
motivated to improve itself in a range of activities whether it was in letter writing,
cookery or drawing. Publishers took advantage of this fashion in self-improvement by
aiming their texts at the middling sorts as well as artisans. As a result, many of the
encyclopedias and dictionaries were editions of existing publications with material
added arbitrarily from what was available to printers.[26] From the middle of the
eighteenth century onwards, there was a significant increase in these types of
instruction books produced by English writers. It is suggested that this was in response
to the skill deficit which had become apparent when England was competing
internationally, especially with France, in the luxury goods market.[27]

Alongside the emergence of books on design and ornament, there were also
encyclopedias and dictionaries of arts and sciences which provided information on the
process of engraving. Such publications include *Cyclopaedia: or, An Universal
Dictionary* of *Arts and Sciences* first published by Ephraim Chambers in London in 1728
as well as Denis Diderot's *Pictorial Encyclopaedia of Trades and Industry* (Figures 3.6 &
3.7). The entries for engraving in these reference books are dominated by descriptions
of copper-plate engraving, a relatively new development in comparison with engraving
of objects and so apparently in need of a more in-depth explanation. Indeed, the lack
of detailed description for engraving, other than copper plate, seems to point to the
assumption that there was no need to describe or explain the practice of engraving

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[24] Nicolas Verrien, *Recueil d'emblêmes, devises, medailles, et figures hieroglyphiques au nombre de plus de douze cent, avec leurs explications* (Claude Jombert, 1724). 7.

[25] Samuel Sympson, *A New Book of Cyphers more compleat and regular than any yet extant.* (London Printed for Samuel Sympson Engraver in Catherine-Street in the Strand, 1726).

[26] Anne Puetz, "Design Instrucion for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Design History* 12.3 (1999). 223. Lawrence E Klein, *"Politeness for plebes,"* *The Consumption of Culture 1600 -1800: Image, Object, Text*, eds. John Brewer and Ann Bermingham (London: Routledge, 1995). 367.

[27] Puetz,"Design Instrucion for Artisans," 218.
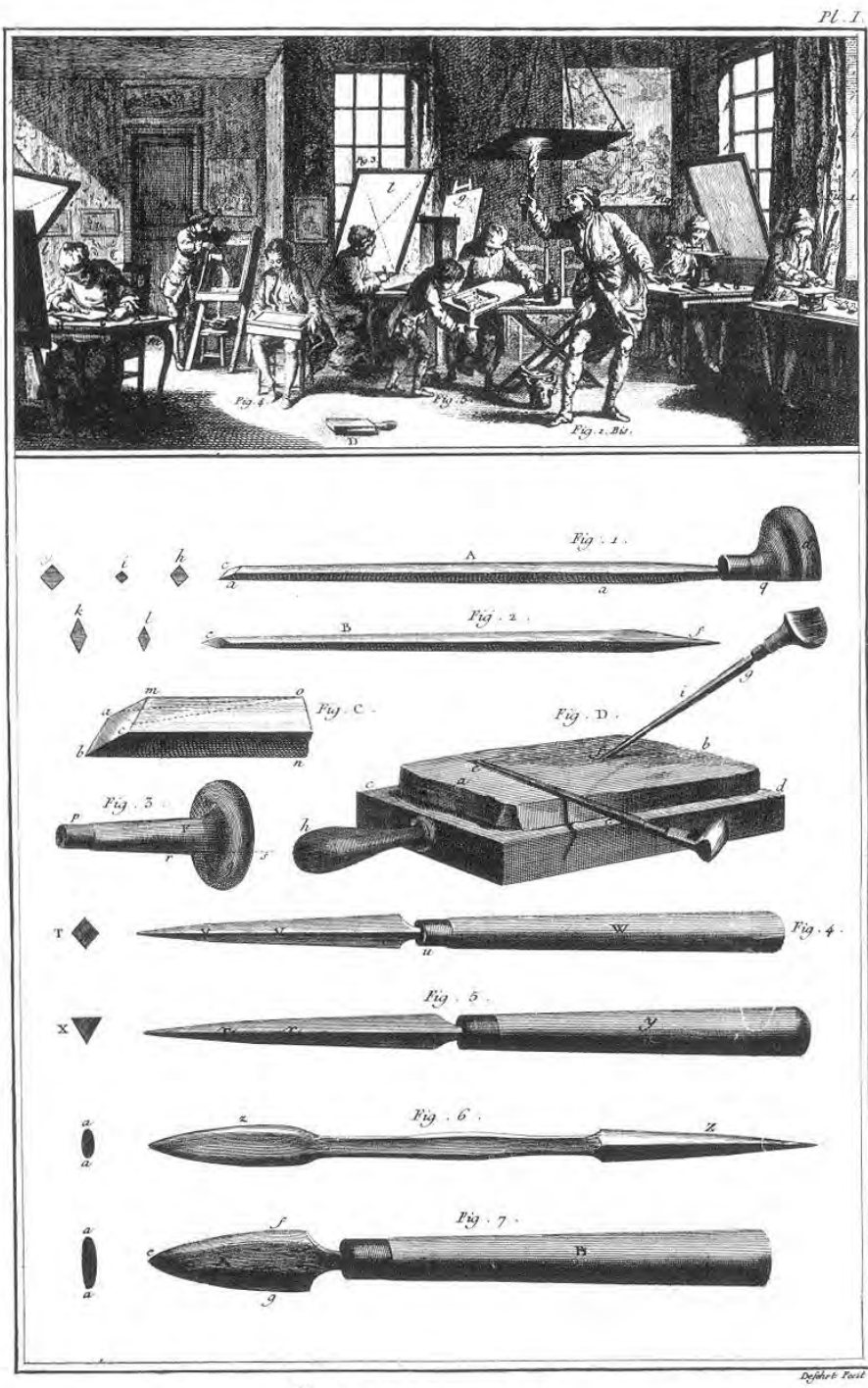
Figure 3.6 Engraving tools from Encyclopédie of Diderot and d'Alembert (1751-1777), http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu.
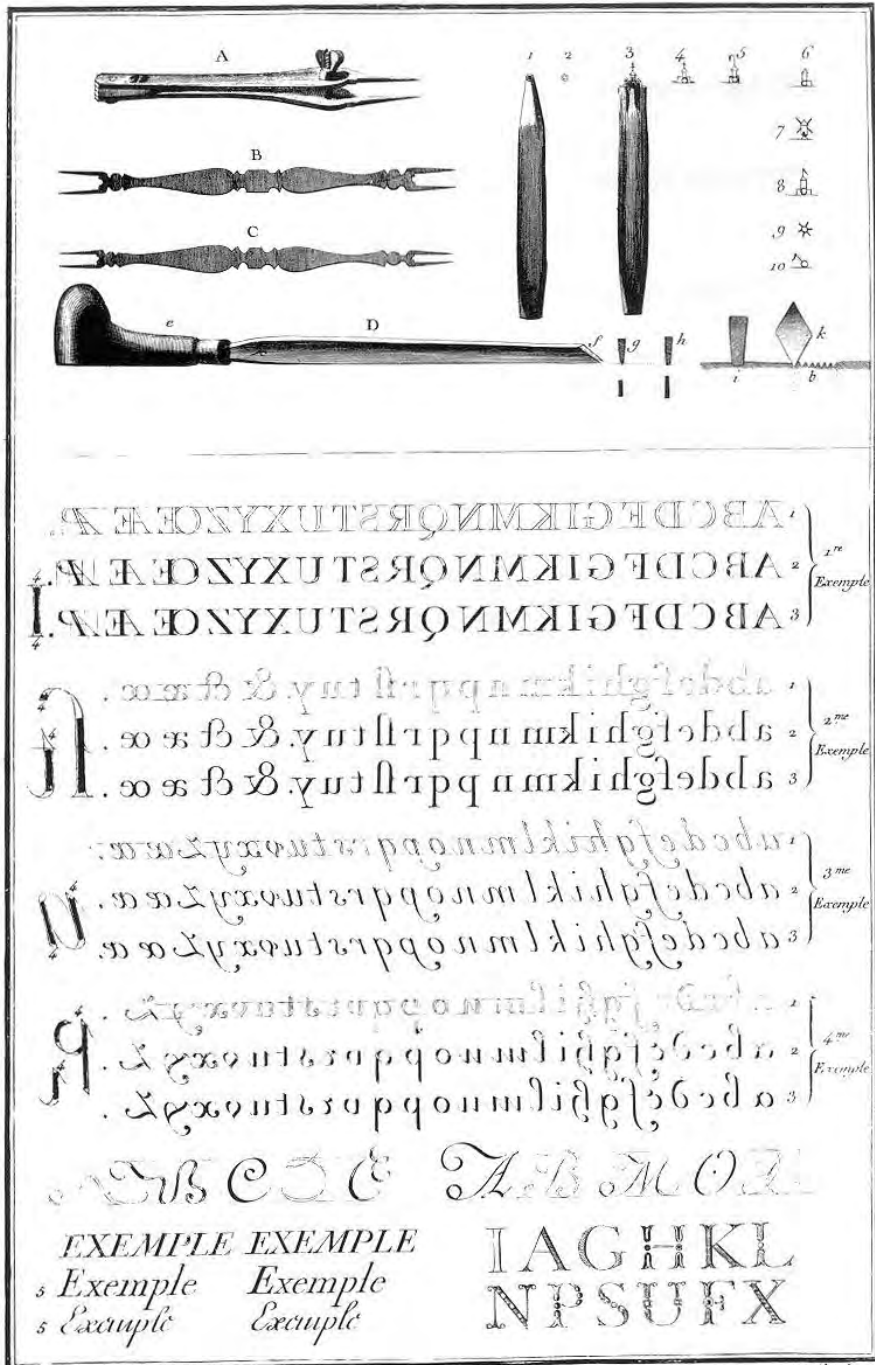
Figure 3.7 Letter engraving tools from Encyclopédie of Diderot and d'Alembert (1751-1777), http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu.

used, for example, to ornament metal objects. In *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory and the Youth's Guide in the Choice of a Profession or Trade,* Joseph Collyer, like other writers, saw no need to go into detail about decorative engraving and writing on metal. He stated, 'The engraving of plate, sword blades, &c. which are separate businesses from that of the Copper-plate Engraver, is performed in much the same manner; and therefore does not need a particular description.'[28]

The process of engraving began with either drawing the inscription onto the surface of the object using ink or pencil or transferring it from paper. According to the *Dictionarium Polygraphicum*, this involved lightly covering the surface of the object 'with a thin skin of virgin-wax' 'and pressing the image onto it so 'that the wax may lay hold of it and take it off.'[29] Where more than one item was produced a transfer pad was used. It was pressed onto a drawing which had been treated with oil and dusted with chalk or powder and so created an impression which could be applied repeatedly to a blank surface.[30] Once the inscription was traced onto the object, it was then 'pointed out' using a needle or similar sharp instrument in order to pick out the details of the figure or pattern on the metal surface, before the wax, paint or powder was removed. Securing the object to the work surface during engraving was important and this was achieved using pitch or sealing wax, or cushioning the artefact in a sandbag. *The Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* describes how 'the cushion or sand bag [was] made of leather' and used 'to give it [the object] the necessary turns and motions'.[31] The key implement of the trade was the graver (also known as a burin), designed to create lines of different widths and shapes, shading and textures. A counterfeiting and uttering case from the *Old Bailey Proceedings* in October 1756 referred to the engraving tools found in the accused, John Domine's, room, 'Here is a sand bag or cushion to engrave on; a block of pewter with cement on it, to fasten any metal to engrave or chase, engraver's scorpers, crucibles, and engraver's tools.'[32]

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[28] Collyer, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory,* 133.
[29] Barrow, *Dictionarium Polygraphicum The whole body of arts regularly digested.,* 291.
[30] D.O. Kisluk-Grosheide, *Dutch Tobacco Boxes in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988). 203.
[31] *A New and Complete Arts and Sciences Comprehending all the branches of useful knowledge* (Printed for W. Owen, 1754). 1077.
[32] London Lives 1690-1800, t17561020-42, October 1756, John Domine.

The *Dictionarium Polygraphicum* includes illustrations of the different shaped handles of gravers (Figure 3.8). This tool was often flat on one side for ease of use so that there 'may not be any interruption in the graving'.[33] The process of how to hold the graver and position fingers and thumb in order to apply different pressure on the metal and achieve variations in the depth of the engraved lines is described in *The Handmaid to the Arts*:

> The manner of holding it is to let the handle be in the hollow or palm of the hand, with three fingers compressing it to one side, and the thumb on the other, and the fore-finger extended upon it towards the point opposite to the edge, so that the graver, being applied flatly to the plate, may be guided by the motion of the hands, and the point pressed with greater or less force, as may be required, by the fore-finger which bears upon it, in such manner that lines may be cut which will be smaller at the extremities and deeper in the middle.[34]

Circles and flourishes were drawn by moving the object against the graver, 'for otherwise it is impossible to make those crooked or winding strokes with that command and neatness that you should do.'[35] The illustration of gravers is accompanied by a description of three sorts of tips for the tool; round-pointed, square-pointed and lozenge. The text explains their particular uses in the following way:

> The round are the best for scratching withal, the square-pointed ones are for cutting the largest strokes; and the lozenge-pointed ones for the most fine and delicate strokes; but the graver of a middle form, between the square and lozenge-pointed, will make the strokes or hatches appear with more life and vigour, according as it is managed in working.[36]

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[33] Barrow, *Dictionarium Polygraphicum The whole body of arts regularly digested.,* 293.
[34] Robert Dossie, *The Handmaid to the Arts: Teaching A perfect knowledge of the materia pictoria, the nature, use, preparation, and composition of all the various substances employed in Painting* (Printed for J. Nourse, 1764).
[35] Barrow, *Dictionarium Polygraphicum The whole body of arts regularly digested.,* 293.
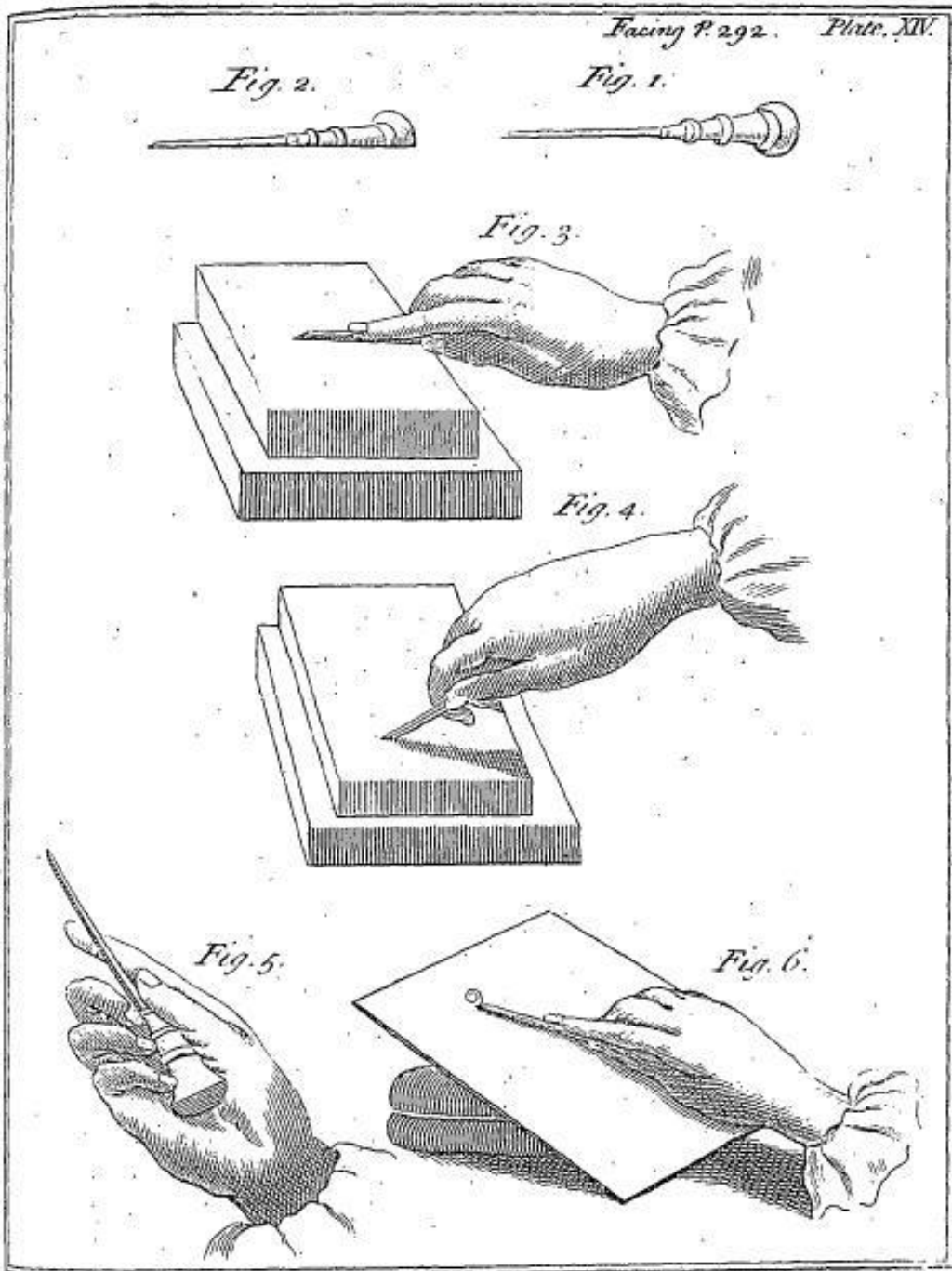[36] Barrow, *Dictionarium Polygraphicum The whole body of arts regularly digested.,* 291.

Figure 3.8 Image showing different shaped handles of gravers. Barrow, *Dictionarium Polygraphicum.* 292.

In addition, a single line of different widths was achieved by turning the graver on its side and then back to the vertical. To decorate the object with multiple lines, a liner was used, which was a graver with more than one groove across the face of the blade. This tool enabled the engraver to create textures including patterns and shadows. Hatching and wriggling are terms that describe the use of parallel lines and zig-zag lines for shading and decorative effect.

Keeping the graver or liner sharp involved using an oil stone to whet the blade. The importance of the sharpening process is remarked on in the *Dictionarium Polygraphicum* which advises, 'If the graver be not very good, and very exactly and carefully whetted, it will be impossible to perform the graving with niceness and curiosity.'[37] As the engraver worked it was usual to remove any small pieces of metal which had gathered on the tip of the graver. This was achieved by striking 'the graver into a piece of box or any hard wood.'[38] The final stage of engraving was to use a burnisher and achieve a smooth finish to the object and remove any roughness. The entry for 'burnisher' in the *Supplement to the New and Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* states that 'It is made of the finest steel, and is of several figures, according to the matter that is to be burnished; it ought to be well smoothed with the file, and afterwards polished on the wheel, till it be as bright as a looking glass.'[39]

3.3   The training of engravers

Having considered the process of engraving, the next section explores how the skills of the trade were learnt. Apprenticeships were governed by statutes dating from 1563 and subsequently amended but still in force in 1814. These stipulated that no-one could join a trade unless they had served an apprenticeship.[40] The trade of engraver, jeweller, goldsmith, silversmith and watchmaker and others working in metal were governed by these statutes. Training to become an engraver involved an

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[37] Barrow, *Dictionarium Polygraphicum The whole body of arts regularly digested.,* 292.
[38] Dossie, *The Handmaid to the Arts,* 58. Indeed a twentieth century guide to engraving mentions how 'the engraver's bench looks as if a woodpecker has gone crazy there' A Brittain and P Morton, *Engraving on Precious Metals* (London: NAG Press Ltd, 1958). 39.
[39] John Barrow, *A Supplement to the New and Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (Printed for the proprietors, and sold by John Hinton, 1754). Image number 180.
[40] Information from http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/apprenticeship-records.htm.

apprenticeship of typically seven years, starting often from age twelve or thirteen. A formal agreement or indenture contracted the apprentice to a master. The cost to parents and guardians of an apprenticeship as an engraver varied from between £5 and £20 according to Campbell in 1747.[41]

An apprentice engraver in an eighteenth century workshop was expected to learn by seeing and doing.[42] As already mentioned, labour was divided with apprentices and journeymen allocated tasks according to skill. The level of complexity is demonstrated in the range of specialist tools engravers employed. The inventory of the goldsmith, Richard Conyers, mentions eighty entries including 'a button stamp, nurling irons, swages, stamps, spoon punches, screw plates, brass patterns.'[43]

The skills needed for engraving on metal were common to a number of trades including those of chaser, copper plate engraver, die sinker, embosser, engraver, gun, seal and medal engraver.[44] In terms of the production of luxury metal items, for example, the work was not always organised on one site with a centralised workshop carrying out all the different aspects of manufacture. Instead, the individual processes were often sub-contracted. Goldsmiths in London in the mid eighteenth century, for instance, might have had access to about seventy five subcontractors including engravers. Such practices reduced the costs of running a workshop and provided the flexibility required to meet the fluctuating demands of fashion and customers. However, as a result, the work of engravers was often irregular and people turned their hand to other skills and opportunities. Trade directories dating from the second half of the eighteenth century show entries for engravers under a number of headings. These include engraver and copper-plate printer, glass cutter and engraver, watch engraver, seal engraver, writing engraver and motto ring engraver. Indeed, the combinations of trades embraced; 'gunmaker and engraver', 'haberdasher, hardwareman, toyman and engraver', 'engraver and buckle cutter', 'engraver and

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[41] Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* 334.
[42] Mitchell, ed., *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers,* 21.
[43] Philippa Glanville, "Introduction," *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the Transfer of Skill, 1550 to 1750*, ed. David Mitchell (London Alan: Sutton Publishing & Centre for Metropolitan History, 1995). 3.
[44] See entries for different trades in Campbell, *The London Tradesman,*

coffin furniture maker', 'miniature painter and engraver' and 'engraver and cheesemaker'.[45] The services engravers offered were described as:

> engraving of arms, crests and ciphers on gold and silver plate, as well as Copper plates of all Sorts, Stamps Cutt in Brass, or wood, for such as can't write. Inscriptions in Brass, Stone or Marble for Monuments. Shopkeepers, bills, bills of parcels, or Lading, also Gentlemens seats neatly Drawn in Perspective and Engraven if Required Etc.'[46]

Given the parallels I have drawn between inscribed love tokens and carved headstones, it is interesting to note that engravers' services included inscriptions for monuments. The implication from the different work engravers undertook is that there was a repertoire of motifs and idioms that was used as ornamentation across a range of surfaces. Moreover, Frederick Burgess, commenting on the sources of imagery used on gravestones in the eighteenth century, suggests that carvers relied on their own knowledge of a range of emblems.[47]

3.4   The account book of gun engraver William Palmer

What was the cost of having something similar to a love token engraved? The account book of William Palmer, Master Engraver 1737-1812, which was discovered by Evan Perry in 1972 and subsequently published privately in 1999 by John Clancy, Eric and Mavis Griffin, offers details of the running of an engraving business in London. The accounts have been transcribed and the publication also contains copies of the 'pulls' from the original book. The main text refers to the engraving work William Palmer undertook for a number of gun-makers.[48] According to Griffin's brief biography, Palmer was the son of a breeches maker and apprenticed at the age of eighteen to John Pine, a master engraver and close friend of William Hogarth. On the death of Pine, Palmer

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[45] Sources referred to:- Bailey's Northern Directory 1781, Bristol Directory 1793-4, Sketchley's Bristol Directory 1775, Bailey's British Directory 1784-London. Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History, British national directories 1781-1819: an index to places.

[46] Ambrose Heal, "The Trade Cards of Engravers," *The Print Collector's Quarterly* 14.July (1927). quoted in Michael Snodin, "Trade Cards and English Rococo," *Rococo : art and design in Hogarth's England*, ed. Michael Snodin (London: Trefoil, 1984). 98.

[47] Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (James Clarke Lutterworth, 2004). 167.

[48] John Clancy, Eric Griffin and Mavis Griffin, *William Palmer Master Engraver 1737-1812* (Staines: E. Griffin).

was turned over to Richard Searle, a map engraver, to serve out his indenture and completed his apprenticeship in 1760. The same year he married and subsequently had three children, although one died in infancy. He became a journeyman engraver under the auspices of the Goldsmiths Company and in 1762 set up business as a writing engraver in New Street Square. Palmer was made a Freeman by the Girdlers' Company in 1772.[49] Between 1765 and 1805 he took on six apprentices, moving to Rufford Buildings in 1805 where he lived until his death in 1812.[50]

From the account book, it is clear that Palmer carried out regular engraving work for a number of gun makers; Henry Nock, Durs Egg, John Manton, John Clark, Mr Jover, Joseph Manton, Robert Wogdon, and Richard Williams. There are separate pages in the book for each of these gun maker's accounts listing the dates and jobs Palmer accepted from them with the prices he charged. The engraving work ranged from decorating a pair of steel pistols, to plates and barrels, and thumb-pieces. The latter were often engraved with initials, crests within a shield with ribbon decoration and sometimes included a motto. The fashion for inscribing guns with initials or crests is evident by the number of entries for engraving 'cyphers'. Some of the items Palmer engraved were not guns, for example, 'a caster frame […]and 3 spoons syphered W.E.L' which cost three shillings, and 'a crest and boar and tree and coronet for a gold head of a stick' which cost one shilling and six pence.[51] The list of prices which Palmer charged for engraving ranged from thirteen shillings for a pair of silver pistols to nine pence for spoons, and one shilling and six pence for 'cyphers'. The charge for individual letters depended on their size, so a quarter inch letter cost two pence and a one and half inch letter cost one shilling.[52] However, the prices varied and looking at the details of individual accounts, the gun makers Palmer regularly worked for were sometimes charged less, for example, one shilling and three pence for a 'Silver Oval with Cypher JWF and Crest Leopard and Ornament Repaired' and six pence for a 'thumbpiece cipher J.R.'

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[49] The Girdlers' livery company established in the fourteenth century included trades in metals, leather, cloth and fabrics. http://www.girdlers.co.uk/html.
[50] Clancy, Griffin and Griffin, *William Palmer Master Engraver 1737-1812,* 4-8.
[51] A caster frame refers to the silver stand on which a set of cruets is placed.
[52] Clancy, Griffin and Griffin, *William Palmer Master Engraver 1737-1812,* 115.

By way of context, what else could be bought with two pence, the cost of an engraved letter? A quart of beer and a cup of coffee, for example, both cost a penny whilst a half pint of gin was two pence.[53] These figures need to be seen alongside the amount of money that many of the labouring poor earned. Between the years 1700 and 1860, a carpenter's daily wage increased very slowly from two shillings and sixpence a day to around 5 shillings a day. Sailors were campaigning for wages of a shilling a day when they mutinied in 1797 in Portsmouth harbour. These details would suggest that having a coin engraved for a love token was affordable when people were in work and especially if it was to mark an important family event.

3.5   Engraving love tokens

Figure 3.9 Removing the monarch's head from a cartwheel penny, a practical experiment to recreate the act of rubbing down and punching the surface of a copper coin. Author's photographs.

The next section of this chapter discusses the crafting of love tokens in the light of the above findings into the art of engraving. The skills demonstrated in the inscriptions

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[53]   Old Bailey Proceedings Online,

executed on love tokens range from the unschooled to the professional. In a practical experiment to imitate the rubbing smooth of a copper cartwheel penny the following observations were made. Strength rather than skill is required to rub a coin smooth in readiness for engraving or punching. Repeatedly applying pressure to the surface of a coin against a stone gradually removes the image of the King or Britannia from a copper cartwheel. The addition of sand and water makes the process easier (Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.10 Engraving techniques,four examples of shading and foreshortening, scroll work, bright cut engraving and enamelling. **Image 1**: Engraved 'memorial' love token dated 1798, reverse with two angels, text based on Psalm 135, Cardiff museum, Accession number 33.37. Author's photograph. **Image 2**: Copper love token with scroll decorated border, initials 'A B' and 'Born July 16th 1758', Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M036. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 3**: Bright-cut engraved love token, August the 9th 1789 around M.S and G.C in centre and highly decorated border. Accession number 32.321/10.32 Cardiff Museum. Author's photograph. **Image 4**: Charles II silver sixpence altered into a love token. Two silver hearts in a circle of black enamel with ribbons of black enamel and motto 'Great God of love thy power doth sway – All creatures making them obey'. Accession Number T11130 Gallery Oldham. Author's photograph.

In terms of professional engraving, techniques included foreshortening, shading, cross hatching and line engraving. The work in some cases was extremely fine given the dimensions of the surfaces inscribed and the finishing detail. As well as inscriptions,

coins were decorated, for example, with scrolls, rosettes, sunrays, twists and running wheat designs. Another effect called 'bright-cut engraving' was achieved using a polished graver to create multiple facets in the metal. This technique, which became popular towards the end of the eighteenth century, achieved a shinier, brighter finish to the engraving as the cuts made by the polished tool enabled the surfaces to reflect light. Buttons, spoon handles, sugar tongs, cream jugs, sugar baskets and tea canisters were among the range of objects decorated with this style of engraving. At the trial of Thomas Edwards in 1804, who was accused of paying for goods with counterfeit money, James-William Freshfield described himself as a 'bright engraver' by trade, and explained that he could also make silver boxes.[54] Enamel work was not often part of an engraver's repertoire of skills but some love tokens were both engraved and chased and then black enamelled in the style of mourning jewellery (Figure 3.10). Apprentices from the engraving trades may well have used love tokens as a way of practising for their masterpiece. In contrast, those unschooled in engraving used techniques such as

Figure 3.11 Example of rubbed down copper penny trade token sold at auction by Baldwin's in 2009. http://www.mcsearch.info.

'guiding' lines to keep the writing uniform. Love token collections include examples of tokens in different stages of being crafted, for example, a rubbed down halfpenny ready to be inscribed (Figure 3.11). Inexperienced engravers struggled to fit their message onto the surface of the coin and needed to adjust or abbreviate words (Figures 3.12 & 3.13). The name 'James Deane' in Figure 3.12, for example, was shortened to 'Ias Deane' with the letter 's' inscribed above the other letters.[55] Guiding

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[54] London Lives 1690-1800, t18040411-52, February 1804, trial of Thomas Edwards.
[55] The letters I and J were used interchangeably in eighteenth century spellings.

lines are visible in both examples in Figure 3.12. There is insufficient space for the last digit of the year '1788' in Figure 3.13 and so it was engraved beneath.[56] Tokens produced by prisoners where tools such as gravers were not readily available, were

Figure 3.12 Two copper love tokens illustrating unschooled engraving. **Image 1**: 'A true heart ought never to be forgotten' inscribed on a copper cartwheel penny of 1797, from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M108. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 2**: Copper love token 'James Deane Born February 2 1761' engraved with uidelines still visible from the private collection of Richard Law, owner's photograph.

Figure 3.13 Love token copper halfpenny with engraved date 1788 and bird with ring in beak, from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M184. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. Author's photograph.

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[56] In all the love token examples I have transcribed the spelling is as it was originally spelt.

Figure 3.14 Four examples of punched style love tokens, probably convict made. **Image 1** 'When this you see remember me and bear me in your mind let all the world say what they will' Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M101. **Image 2**: Initials B. H. with punched border from Tolson Museum Huddersfield, Accession number 10_7350a. **Image 3**: Incomplete love token 'Aged 3 Years 1830', Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M180. Author's photograph. **Image 4**:'From WB to EB 1840' with pierced heart, jug and glass, Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M155. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

mostly punched rather than engraved.[57] The messages and figures inscribed on the metal were achieved through lines of fine punch marks made with a sharp pointed instrument; a nail and a stone would have sufficed (Figure 3.14). The result of the punching technique was a distinctive 'dotty' appearance which characterised many prisoner tokens.[58] Image 3 in Figure 3.14 provides evidence of the making of love

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[57] I use the term 'punch' to describe the lines of fine indents on the surface of the coin which created lettering and images because I feel it most accurately describes the process used in the making of these pieces. Both Millett and Comfort use the term 'stipple' as does the Bonhams auction catalogue which sold the Vorley collection of love tokens; Sheppard referred to this engraving style as 'pin hole printing',' pin hole writing' or 'a series of pin pricks'; Pierrepont Barnard used the term 'punched' whilst Entenmann describes the engraving style as 'pin punching' and the 1836 Prison Inspectors' reports described felons 'pricking figures or words' on penny pieces. Prison Inspectors Reports," 63.

[58] In my research into love tokens I have come across a small number of punched examples which are not convict ones. For example, one token is a commemorative piece marking the death of Robert Evens

tokens in that it shows an incomplete piece part punched and part in its original state as a coin. The 1836 Prison Inspectors' reports included details of the process of love token making. It referred to convict tokens as 'penny pieces' since most were made from cartwheel pennies. The interviews with some of the inmates mentioned prisoners spending time making love tokens. Eighteen year old 'I.K' convicted of burglary, reported that 'The prisoners amused themselves here [the condemned cells] by making leaden hearts, and grinding the impressions off penny pieces, then pricking figures or words on them, to give to their friends as memorials'.[59] Described by the Victorian collectors, Hodgkin and Cuming as mementos, it is interesting to note the use of the term 'memorial' as a descriptor for love tokens in this 1836 reference. It highlights the association of prisoners' tokens with the commemorating of death. Unlike families who marked the grave of a loved one with a carved head stone, convicts crafted tokens as a form of memorial or gravestone for themselves, indicating how, for prisoners, exile was a form of death.

In terms of access to tools with which to make love tokens, prisoners in Newgate were, according to the inmate 'G.H', able to 'get what they wanted through their friends'. Interviews with the gaol's officers offered similar accounts. In describing the visitors who came to see 'transports' one of the turnkeys remarked:

> They bring in tobacco and other things; they cannot be prevented. They bring in those articles in their boots, or in a way that cannot be detected. There is a search; but still there are many things which pass undiscovered. They bring forbidden articles in the linen, also in pies, and other kinds of provision. Prisoners may have any amount of money; but they are very poor; not many of them have much.[60]

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in 1717 where the words and date are punched rather than engraved. Pierrepont Barnard,"Examples of Engraved coins " 153. Another is a token inscribed with the name Mary Jarvis and date 1750 and on the reverse the number '45' in pinhole printing. Sheppard,"Catalogue of Love Tokens " 122. As a style of writing on objects, there are examples of punching on a range of decorated artefacts dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries including monograms on spoons, and words and images on scrimshaw and lace bobbins. Bloxham and Picken, *Love & Marriage,* 32-41.van Nespen, *Love and Marriage,* 15.

[59]Prison Inspectors Reports," 63.

[60] Prison Inspectors Reports," 39.

During their visit to Newgate, the Prison Inspectors reported finding 'two boxes, containing two or three strong files, four brad-awls, several large spikes, screws, nails and knives; all of them instruments calculated to facilitate attempts at breaking out of prison, and capable of becoming the most dangerous weapons'.[61] Some of these tools would also have been very useful for rubbing down copper coins and inscribing them with images and idioms.

The designs of some convict tokens suggest the same maker crafted a number of similar tokens. Prisoners proficient in engraving through working in trades that employed the skill or practised in the art of counterfeiting were well positioned to create a market for producing love tokens. Perhaps they even offered a choice of templates to which an individual's name, dates and message could be added. Indeed, some engravers were used to adapting to different working conditions, whether in an attic room, a prison, a hulk or even at sea whilst transported to Australia.[62]

Millet also explores the possibility that prisoners learnt how to make love tokens from each other and offers examples of engraved coins with similar designs but with slightly different execution.[63] The idiom, 'when in captivity time goeth very slow', reminds us of how convicts spent long hours waiting in prison or in the hulks before being exiled.[64] During this period prisoners had time to copy from others and practise how to rub down and inscribe a token. The concept of acquiring knowledge and skills from others was in evidence in the Newgate interviews. Not only did inmates brag about their criminal exploits but they also described 'the best means of doing' them.[65] 'A.B' described how 'Some were showing the shapes of false keys, and how to make them, with pieces of wood.'[66] 'C.D' explained that he could have learnt how to make bad

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[61] Prison Inspectors Reports," 5.

[62] Robert Hughes describes how Thomas Barrett a convict transported to Australia in the First Fleet in 1787 made quarter dollars out of melted down buckles and spoons despite being constantly watched and having no access to a fire. Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia 1787-1868*, Folio Society ed. (London: Harvill Press, 1986). 74.

[63] Field and Millett, eds., *Convict love tokens,* 18.

[64] 'WHEN IN CAPTIVITY|TIME GOETH|VERY SLOW BUT|FREE AS AIR |to roam how|quick the|time|does|go' words engraved on a convict love token from the Millett collection. Object number 2006.0086.0002. http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.

[65] Prison Inspectors Reports," 53.

[66] Prison Inspectors Reports," 63.

money, how to pick pockets, and other offences if he had wanted to.[67] Indeed, tokens were not the only objects felons crafted; there is mention in John Howard's account of his visit to the Hulk at Plymouth of a prisoner making a small ink-stand out of a meat bone.[68] French and American prisoners of war, held in England in the years 1756-1816, also created intricate and delicate pieces from bone such as boxes, toys and automata as well as straw plait work and marquetry.[69]

Love token making was among a number of activities that occupied sailors whilst at sea.[70] My research has identified a number of sailors' tokens that employed the same design but then adapted it to an individual's name. A token in the Acworth collection and one in Sim Comfort's collection are engraved with the same design on one side of the token (the Acworth example is illustrated in Figure 3.15). They both have the words 'Success to the Halsenell' inscribed around the outline of an East Indiaman under full sail. The other face of the Acworth's token is named for C. Webster and dated 1784, whereas Comfort's piece has the same date and decoration but a different layout arrangement and two names, E.Gordon and J.Delap.[71] Both tokens were crafted from Spanish silver pieces of eight (reals).[72] The ship's name was actually 'Halsewell' so the spelling of 'Halsenell' on both tokens strongly suggests the production of multiple tokens with the same design crafted by one maker (Figure 3.16).

[67] Prison Inspectors Reports," 64.

[68] John Howard, *An account of the principal lazarettos in Europe; with various papers relative to the plague: Together with Further Observations on Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals; and Additional Remarks on the Present State of Those in Great Britain and Ireland.* (Warrington, 1789). 216.

[69] C.L. Lloyd, *The Arts and Crafts of Napoleonic and American Prisoners of War: 1756-1816* (Antique Collectors Club Limited, 2007).

[70] S. Banks, *The Handicrafts of the Sailor* (Douglas, David & Charles, 1974). Henderson and Carlisle, *Marine art & antiques,*

[71] The 'Webster' token was previously recorded in Battenburg's publication. Milford Haven, *British Naval Medals,* 463.

[72] Comfort, *Forget me Not,* 80-86.

Figure 3.15 'Success to the Halsenell'. Love token for C. Webster 1784 from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M161. http://lovetokens.omeka.net

SOCIETY AT SEA.

Figure 3.16 1786 Aquatint of the Halsewell entitled 'Society at sea. Recreation of the Company on board the Halsewell... before their Disolution... 1786', from the National Maritime Museum Greenwich, PAG7004. http://collections.rmg.co.uk.

Figure 3.17 Two examples of engraving style similarities. **Image 1 & 2**: Two pierced hearts with bird and words 'When this you see remember me'. On reverse J.Underwood, waterman with badge, landing steps and boat hook, Cuming museum. Author's photographs. **Image 3 & 4**: Two pierced hearts with bird and words 'When this you see remember me'. On reverse James Gordon, waterman with badge, oar, boat hook and dog, Cuming museum. Author's photographs.

Two tokens from the Cuming museum collection depicting Thames watermen also share the same style of design and words on one face of the token, with different details on the reverse (Figure 3.17). Both coins are copper halfpennies and have been engraved with the same words, 'When this you see remember me' and the same image of two pierced hearts and a bird. They offer more evidence of the practice of tokens being made in multiples or copied but, in these examples, not necessarily crafted by those in prison or at sea.

3.6   Love tokens and visual literacy

This chapter has explored how tokens were engraved. However, the research into the act of engraving raises further questions. How did people, who were considered

illiterate, read and reproduce the texts on tokens? Clearly, as the previous section has demonstrated, icons and idioms were copied from other tokens and inscribed items. From this behaviour, it follows that love token texts were frequently re-used, for example within families or groups of sailors and prisoners. Although there are minor variations in popular phrases such as 'when this you see remember me' where convicts, for example, have added 'tho many leagues we distant be' and 'in a foreign Cantry', I would suggest that the range of core idioms with which people were familiar, remained relatively static. As a result love token texts became increasingly well-known and so did not need to be read.[73] This process indicates that the practice of reading and reproducing inscriptions was more about recognising rather than literally reading the texts. In other words, the poor were familiar with a lexicon of affection, of words, phrases and images associated with affective objects. However, this still only begins to explain how people read tokens. The term 'read' is perhaps too literal given the multi-faceted nature of tokens. Their reading involved sight and touch, and the recognition of words and images on both faces of the coin.

The levels of ability in reading and writing among the poorer sorts in the period under discussion varied according to a number of factors including whether people had attended school or been apprenticed. Studies of literacy have focused predominantly on who could read and write. They have not investigated how the unschooled absorbed texts.[74] Indeed, the opposing categories of literate and illiterate, of word and image are not helpful when considering how people read tokens. Porter argues that people in the eighteenth century had a highly visual awareness of the texts around them which enabled them to recognise and read a range of words and images in a holistic way.[75] As John Berger remarks 'The way we see things is affected by what we know or what we believe. In the Middle Ages when men believed in the physical existence of Hell the sight of fire must have meant something different from what it

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[73] National Museum of Australia, Canberra convict love tokens: Object numbers 2008.0039.0008 and 2008.0039.0031

[74] However, James Raven argues the case for studies which do not just ask who was able to read and what they read, but when people read, where they read, why they read and, above all, how they read. James Raven, "New reading histories, print culture and the identification of change: The case of eighteenth-century England 1," *Social History* 23.3 (1998). 269.

[75] Roy Porter, "Seeing the Past," *Past & Present* 118 (1988). 189.

means today.'[76] The challenge of 'recovering' (Thompson's word) an eighteenth century act of reading and reproducing a token's inscription is complex.[77] However, debates about inter-textuality, that is the interaction between word and image, may offer a useful way forward. Paul Jobling argues that deconstructing the boundaries between word and image opens up the scope of how things can be interpreted.[78] Rather than prioritising word over image, he explains, we should also consider the gaps and spaces between texts. Referring to the early modern era, Juliet Fleming suggests we should imagine the way people 'read' inscribed walls, pots, rings, clothes and bodies by absorbing the sense of the object or surface, as well as the meanings of the words and images.[79] Sixteenth century posy rings, Fleming argues, engraved with phrases, for instance, 'as endless is my love as this' or 'farre off, yet not forgot' were 'a piece of writing with a physical extension' and as such 'cannot exist as text in the abstract'.[80] In other words, the text engraved inside the ring combined with the form of the ring was both the promise and the reality of a vow of constant love.

These observations assist us in thinking about the process of recovering an eighteenth century perspective on reading and reproducing inscribed objects and reflecting on the interaction between text and matter. The meanings of the inscriptions were in effect communicated through the interplay between the words and the physical cuts in the object or surface of a token. As Porter remarks, 'we still have a long way to go in 'seeing' what people saw, and in interpreting the significance of visual signs.'[81] He emphasises how 'word and picture were never antitheses or alternatives' during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He states that

> What was normal, at all levels from the patrician to the plebeian, was the
> marriage of word and image […] the interleaving of the verbal and the visual is
> quite explicit, as with illustrated chapbooks, broadsheet ballads, illustrated

[76] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1972). 8.
[77] Thompson,"The discipline of historical context," 47.
[78] Paul Jobling, "Between words and images: simulation, deconstruction and postmodern photography," *Postmodernism: style and subversion, 1970-1990. Victoria and Albert Museum*, eds. Glenn Adamson and Jane Pavitt (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2011).
[79] Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).
[80] Fleming, *The Writing Arts of Early Modern England,* 43.
[81] Porter, "Seeing the Past," 186.

novels and biblical texts, trade advertisements, catchpenny prints or funeral monuments.'[82]

The blurring of the traditional boundaries of classifying and ordering behaviours such as literacy and illiteracy does, I would suggest, allow a different way of seeing a range of possibilities in the interactions between word and image. If we take the example of a token made from a Georgian copper halfpenny engraved with the icon of a pierced heart and an idiom such as 'The gift is small but love is all' and reflect on the interaction of the texts, then a number of different readings begin to unfold. These are meanings influenced by my intervention as a twenty first century researcher attempting to 'recover' an eighteenth century perspective. Raymond Williams reminds us that words and images are 'living evidence of a continuing social process.'[83] In this case, the gift is in the form of a copper coin which already has meaning as a measure of monetary value whose production was controlled by royal monopoly. The original meaning and value has changed with the removal of the king's head from the coin and the replacing of it with texts referring to sentiment. The rubbing away of the monarch's bust and the reducing of the coin to a metal disc destroys a material representation of the king's power; one of the ways in which people became familiar with a visual symbol of the king. It also erodes the monarch's political authority to control the universally recognised financial value of a coin such as a halfpenny. Indeed, it could be argued that the apparent ease with which people rubbed away the monarch's bust was an act of deliberate defiance towards a government and its figurehead and their failure to supply the poor with the low value currency they required.[84] The transfiguration of the coin removes it from universal and economic circulation to individual and family circulation, as it becomes a unique and personal object with emotional values of its own. It has become a gift with affectionate meanings.

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[82] Porter, "Seeing the Past," 189.

[83] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford University Press, 1977). 37.

[84] For further discussion about the representation of the monarch on coinage see Leora Auslander, *Cultural revolutions: the politics of everyday life in Britain, North America and France* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2008). 20-21. Haselgrove and Krmnicek,"Archaeology of Money," 235-250.

In terms of the image engraved on this Georgian coin, the heart could be seen as representing a person and the gift of the token then takes on the sense of the act of giving the self to another. Varying the reading of the icon of the heart as a symbol of love rather than of a person, the token then also embodies the gift of love from one person to another. The image of the arrow piercing the heart introduces the idea of a wounded heart and of love as a physical injury. This refers to the initial wound of love associated with the first stage of courtship when the lover was pierced by Cupid's arrow. The token can also be read as an embodiment of two lovers' commitment to each other. At times when the poorer sorts were struggling to make ends meet, they chose to give what they had; in this instance a coin. They offered a gift that was not only small in size but also in value. In this sense, the meaning of the phrase 'the gift is small' is enacted through the relatively tiny dimensions and denomination of a coin. The object actively performs the words inscribed on it. The scale of the token stands in contrast to the emotion of love which is, in effect, beyond measure.

My analysis of the inscriptions cut into one face of one token reveals the particular meanings that a token conveys. This is without considering the performances associated with the token; giving it, handling it, wearing it and gazing at it. Nor does it address, in detail, the values and beliefs behind the sentiments conveyed. In the process of finding ways of answering questions about the ability to engrave and read tokens, more questions emerge. Were these words and images inscribed on tokens employed to describe how people felt or how they felt they were expected to respond when navigating their way through events such as courtship and separation? These questions are considered in the following chapters. Tokens were clearly highly invested with particular meanings made more complex by the context of their production including factors such as how an eighteenth century way of seeing and reproducing word, image and object might be configured.

3.7   Conclusion

This chapter has explored the process of engraving by drawing on contemporary texts in order to comprehend how love tokens were inscribed. These sources suggest that a diverse pool of artisans, particularly in Birmingham and London, worked in some form

of engraving. The ability to engrave was acquired through apprenticeship in different trades including those working with metal, such as goldsmiths, clockmakers and copper print engravers and those carving in wood or stone. At a time when multiple forms of payment were part of everyday transactions, it follows that those able to engrave may have bartered their skills and crafted love tokens in exchange for goods or money. Alternatively, engravers advertised their services to 'such as can't write' and so people unschooled in writing might have 'commissioned' a love token.[85] Depending on circumstances, the cost of engraving a token was affordable to the poor, especially where money was earmarked for special events.

Learning by imitating others and practising whilst incarcerated or at sea for lengthy periods, was another way that these skills were acquired; a fact corroborated by the evidence of recognisable similarities in the style and content of some love tokens. The production of love tokens in a prison such as Newgate was made possible by a number of factors; the availability of tools and coins brought in by friends and family; the ability to move about especially if not chained; access, if needed, to prisoners with skills in engraving and large amounts of time to practise. Prisoners not only had time on their hands to craft tokens, the inscriptions they chose were about particular moments in time. They were acts of commemoration as prisoners reflected on actions and events. The motivation to create tokens for friends and family was no doubt heightened by the conditions in which prisoners were held. They were in close quarters with other prisoners also facing an uncertain future and the prospect of permanent separation from friends, families and home; conditions where people were susceptible to the influence of others' sentiments and behaviour. Tokens were markers of a life that referred to the past, the present and the future.

Although these coins were produced at a time when there were significant changes in consumption patterns, the characteristics of the engraving on tokens places them I would suggest, alongside other written and drawn on objects informed by customary practice. The act of engraving was about attachment; tokens were inscribed predominantly with names and dates to commemorate relationships and important

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[85] Heal,"The Trade Cards of Engravers," quoted in Snodin, "Trade Cards and English Rococo." 98.

events. Sailor and convict engravings demonstrate how the styles and content of the inscriptions was also shaped by the circumstances of work, crime and punishment. Prisoners sentenced to death or transportation employed the surfaces of a token to create memorials to themselves.

The range of engraving skill illustrated in this chapter has also raised questions about how people read and reproduced inscribed objects since most were unschooled. By approaching this problem from a visual literacy perspective and looking at the graphic traces in their totality, a different view of how objects and their surroundings were perceived opens up. I argue that the process of absorbing word, image and object holistically led to familiarisation with a lexicon of affection. In this chapter I have taken the process of acting on Thompson's advice to recover 'forgotten modes of perception' a step further by recovering modes of sentimental expression.[86] The next chapter focuses on one of the most frequently inscribed icons, that of the pierced heart and on what it reveals about family, affection and attachment in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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[86] Thompson,"The discipline of historical context," 47.

Chapter 4. 'An heart that can feel for another': love tokens and attachment to family[1]

4.1 Introduction

Engraved on a copper cartwheel penny is a heart neatly pierced by two arrows with the date 1805 and the words, 'An Heart that can feel for another' (Figure 4.1). This token carries both language and symbols associated with the love of one person for another. An initial reading of the sentiment conveyed by this token might be to associate the image of a pierced heart and words of endearment with the expression of love between sweethearts or a married couple. However, if one turns the coin over, the engraving reveals that this piece celebrates the birth of their son. The words, 'To His Dear Mother, JOHN ADAMS, Son of John & Mary Adams, Born Jan, 19 1805' record both a family event and a message of love from a son to his mother. The token was possibly crafted by John Adams, the father of the new-born, to demonstrate sentiments of paternal affection at the birth of a child as well as love for the baby's mother.

Figure 4.1 Copper love token with pierced heart **Image 1**: 'An heart that can feel for another' **Image 2**: 'To his dear mother, John Adams. Son of John & Mary Adams born Jan 19th 1805'. Images 17 and 18 from Richard Law's collection, owner's photographs.

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[1] Idiom on love token from Richard Law's collection.

The example of John Adams's token introduces the key issues addressed in this chapter. Having studied the making of love tokens through an investigation of the money they were crafted from and the engraving of their surfaces, this chapter now considers the first of the three themes which the proposed taxonomy outlines, that of family attachment. One of the most frequently used symbols on tokens is that of the pierced heart, often accompanied by idioms of love (Appendix 4). This chapter explores the range of depictions of love on tokens, and where possible, traces the visual, verbal and cultural roots of these texts. By setting them within the visual culture of the eighteenth century, the aim is to highlight what these objects reveal about how family members expressed their affection for each other. John Adams's token is decorated with a pierced heart and is inscribed with a phrase which includes the word 'heart'. What about other tokens? What kinds of relationships and expressions of love do they convey?

Research into family attachment and sentiment among the poor is problematic given the paucity of sources that might inform this area of enquiry. In the opening discussion to this thesis, the difficulties of studying the history of emotions from below were outlined.[2] Lawrence Stone writes about the problem of sources in relation to the poor. He states, 'when dealing with the sexual behaviour of the lower orders, the historian is forced to abandon any attempt to probe attitudes and feelings, since direct evidence does not exist'.[3] Stone argues that 'for the rural or urban smallholder, artisan, tradesman, shopkeeper or common labourer, a wife was an economic necessity, not an emotional luxury.'[4] Historians of the family have countered Stone's view of loveless marriages among the labouring poor based on economic partnerships and introduced evidence of loving relationships drawn from a variety of sources including literature.[5] Love tokens clearly belong to this group of records. Thompson was quick to question Stone's interpretation of the callousness of the lower ranks. He comments that even when marriages were driven by economic motivations, 'it does not mean that many

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[2] Matt, "Current Emotion Research," 119.
[3] Lawrence Stone, *The family, sex and marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1977). 603.
[4] Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage.* 53.
[5] Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and love in England: Modes of reproduction, 1300-1840* (Blackwell Oxford, 1986).

families did not learn a profound mutual dependence, a habit of love.' Indeed, Thompson observes that economic motivations possibly bound families together even more affectionately than sentimental ones. He remarks, 'Feeling may be *more,* rather than less, tender or intense *because* relations are "economic" and critical to mutual survival.'[6] Yet, with few studies that focus on sentiment and the labouring poor, what *do* we know about feelings among such families? James Sharpe's article on plebeian marriage employs the evidence of ballads to address this question. Ballads were read by a mixed audience. Sharpe suggests that their readership was greater among skilled crafts people than the labouring poor.[7] Although his research focuses on the Stuart period, it provides a useful starting point given the fact that these songs, and versions of them, were still popular in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[8] Sharpe's work highlights the dominant narrative of marriage that is depicted in ballads. It is one that celebrates the happy marriage, the husband as master and bread-winner and the wife as manager of the household. For ballad audiences, Sharpe contends, 'marriage for love and freedom of choice of partner are taken for granted and held to be normal and desirable.'[9] However, set against this optimistic narrative, he also draws attention to tales of infidelities and wifely insubordination; all of which contribute to ideas about love and marriage that are inconsistent, ambiguous and contradictory.[10] Jennine Hurl-Eamon also cites contradictions in the descriptions of eighteenth century marriages she has retrieved from the Old Bailey Papers. She remarks that:

> at the times when the tensions of long absence or economic need loomed
> largest, the bonds that joined soldiers and sailors to their wives were stretched
> and sometimes broken […] many of these couples entered into the partnership,
> clandestinely or otherwise, out of a genuine desire for companionship and

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[6] E.P. Thompson, "Happy families," *Radical History Review* 1979.20 (1979). 49.

[7] J.A. Sharpe, "Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence from Popular Literature," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 36 (1986). 72-73.

[8] Eric Nebeker observes that 'Although the heyday of the broadside ballad was the seventeenth century, its story stretches backward and forward far beyond that century. Broadside ballads survive from the early sixteenth century right through the nineteenth century.' Eric Nebeker, "The Heyday of the Broadside Ballad," *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (2003).http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.

[9] Sharpe,"Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence from Popular Literature," 73.

[10] Sharpe,"Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence from Popular Literature," 89.

respect for matrimony, and those who remained together often took sustenance from the same sentiments.[11]

Naomi Tadmor's work on families and households in the eighteenth century adds to this picture of complex relationships and raises our awareness of the composite nature of households. She writes:

> In family and kinship relationships, interest and emotions were often closely bound [...]. As parents and children, husbands and wives, sibling groups and other kin pulled forces together, their interests and emotions were often closely intermixed.[12]

Tadmor argues that what people of the middling sort had in mind when they thought about families was:

> a household unit which could comprise related and non-related dependents living together under the authority of a householder; it might include a spouse, children, other relations, servants and apprentices, boarders, sojourners, or only some of these.[13]

Tadmor's observations prompt questions about how this model of the household family reflects the experiences of what constituted a family among the poorer sorts. The families of the lower ranks may have followed a similar pattern or members may have joined the type of household that Tadmor describes, perhaps as servants and apprentices. The analysis of love tokens offers evidence to assist our understanding of the affectionate relationships within household families. Undoubtedly, as Linda Pollock asserts:

> A family was not one thing or the other; rather, it was many things, often all at the same time. The family could be a refuge and a source of strength; it could

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[11] Eamon-Hurl, "Plebeian Marriage," 34.

[12] Naomi Tadmor, "Early modern English kinship in the long run: reflections on continuity and change," *Continuity and Change* 25.1 (2010). 26.

[13] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). 272.

also be a potent source of most of the emotional discomfort experienced by men and women.[14]

In the light of this recognition of the ambivalent nature of family structures, it follows that the relationships within such composite households were also complicated. In terms of the history of emotions from below, Rosenwein's ideas about 'emotional communities' are helpful in negotiating these ambiguities.[15] She suggests that within a social group, there are always a number of overlapping 'emotional communities' and people move on a daily basis between these, for example, from the workshop to the tavern and to the home. In the process, people adjusted their emotional displays according to the different environments and the nature of the affective bonds that were expected within them. This chapter explores the 'emotional community' of the household among the poorer sorts through the evidence of love tokens.

In terms of affectionate relationships, changes in marriage patterns are usually attributed to a combination of geographical, labour and economic factors.[16] Before 1750, marriage among the poorer sorts was governed by rituals of courtship and the celebration of a big wedding involving the whole community. Marriage marked a change for both the man and the woman as they set up a new home. The community continued to have a role in relation to what Thompson describes as legitimation and expectation.[17] They exercised control over couples, for example, in the custom known as 'charivari', a public display of disapproval of behaviour such as adultery or wife beating.[18] Although Hardwicke's 1753 Marriage Act supposedly brought to an end the practice of clandestine unions, it had little impact on the lower ranks who continued to follow customary behaviour in their marriage rituals. Indeed, some couples lived as man and wife but were never officially married. What was in a state of flux however, from the mid eighteenth century onwards, was the age at which people married and attitudes towards loving relationships both inside and outside of marriage.[19] Artisans

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[14] Linda A. Pollock, "Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Family History* 23.1 (1998). 20.
[15] Rosenwein,"Worrying about Emotions in History," 842-843.
[16] Gillis, *For Better, For Worse,* 109-134.
[17] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 2.
[18] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 467-538.
[19] Gillis, *For Better, For Worse,* 109-134.

in London continued to adhere to the custom of late marriages and the importance of the head of the household in providing for wife and children. However, agricultural labourers in the south and east of England, forced to work for day wages, were less able to support their families and this led to a shift in behaviour with couples cohabiting as a prelude to marriage. In contrast, families in the north and west remained together for economic reasons working in proto-industrial units where the entire household was involved in some form of labour such as weaving and knitting. In these circumstances marriage was more of a partnership and illicit relationships were accepted by the community, since relatively high earnings meant that pregnant women could afford to support themselves and were unlikely to be a financial burden on the parish.

The language of love and feelings in the eighteenth century differs from modern usage. The words 'love' and 'friendship', for example, often appear together on love tokens and were used interchangeably. The term 'friendship' in the eighteenth century covered a range of meanings including sentimental relationships.[20] The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines love as a 'feeling or disposition of deep affection or fondness for someone' and quotes the earliest examples from biblical and classical texts.[21] Classical writings about the different forms of love in terms of 'philia' (friendship love), 'agape' (unconditional love) and 'Eros' (sexual love) place the notion of friendship above that of sexual love seeing it as the supreme form of love.[22] As previously mentioned, Vincent, in his work on the autobiographies of working people, states how writing about feelings was not part of their repertoire, so instead they used idioms from the bible and borrowed clichés and phrases from other literary sources.[23] The Sussex shopkeeper Thomas Turner, for example, used the language of the literature he read: religious sermons, novels and advice literature. He wrote in 1756, 'I married […] with nothing in view but entirely to make my wife and self happy, to live in a course of virtue and religion and to be a mutual help and assistance to each other […] nor was I

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[20] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage,* 212.
[21] "love, n.1." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. http://www.oed.com.
[22] May, *Love: A History,*56-68. Lisa Appignanesi, *All About Love: Anatomy of an Unruly Emotion* (London: Virago Press, 2011). 342.
[23] Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge & Freedom,* 42.

prompted to it by anything; only the pure and desirable sake of friendship.'[24] These are the kinds of sentiments Turner would have met in the works of authors such as Samuel Richardson.[25] The borrowing of idioms and phrases reflects the constant process of redefinition and appropriation to which language is subject. As Williams explains 'no generation speaks quite the same language as its predecessors. The difference can be defined in terms of additions, deletions and modifications.'[26] This observation about appropriation is explored further in the chapter in relation to how language and imagery were adopted and adapted by the poor to convey sentiments on love tokens.

The meaning of the word 'emotion' evolved during the eighteenth century. The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers the original meaning of the word 'emotion' as a 'movement; disturbance, perturbation'. This definition of emotion as a movement registered in physical expressions of love. Physical behaviour and non-verbal gestures and movements were central to early modern rituals of courtship, betrothal and marriage.[27] Kisses, for example, were more like bites which left a mark, a mark that indicated a form of bond. Love was expressed through gestures and experienced more in the way of a physical blow or an intense gaze or strong taste. However, from the mid eighteenth century, the word emotion referred to 'any strong mental or instinctive feeling, as pleasure, grief, hope, fear deriving especially from one's circumstances, mood, or relationship with others.'[28] In other words the usage of the term 'emotion' shifted from a visceral, embodied feeling to a more psychological one.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the word 'sentiment' was used to describe 'an amatory feeling or inclination.'[29] Williams observes how 'sentiment' was fashionable among the polite sorts. From the mid eighteenth century onwards it was used to refer to people's openness to feelings.[30] Indeed, the word 'feelings' in the

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[24] T. Turner and D. Vaisey, *The diary of Thomas Turner, 1754-1765* (Oxford University Press, 1984). 21.
[25] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage,* 192.
[26] Williams, *Marxism and Literature,* 131.
[27] John Gillis, "From Ritual to Romance: Towards an Alternative History of Love," *Emotion and Social Change: Towards a New Psychohistory*, eds. Carol Stearns and Peter Stearns (New York, London: Holmes & Meier, 1988). 91.
[28] "emotion, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. http://www.oed.com.
[29] "sentiment, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. http://www.oed.com.
[30] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Second impression ed. (Fontana Paperbacks, 1976). 281-282.

collective sense to mean 'emotions, susceptibilities and sympathies', only came into use from the 1770s onwards.[31]

Although economic factors are mostly cited as the reason behind different arrangements and forms of relationships and marriages, family structures can also be viewed from the perspective of changing views about love. Gillis proposes that these shifts reveal a re-defining of love where marriage was no longer associated with setting up home and as a result couples did not always marry. Some even chose to raise families outside of matrimony.[32] In the examples from weaving and knitting households, women were in relationships and had children whilst continuing to live in their parental home. In other words, the labouring poor made their own forms of marriage arrangements to suit their material circumstances. Customs were adapted to accommodate this practice. Where the motivation to marry was related to having a family, but perhaps more importantly to the earning potential of the wife, then courtship practices reflected this factor. They shifted away from the home to the place of work. Rituals developed around village wakes, knitting circles and hiring fairs. Lovers offered productive presents such as carved knitting sheaths and inscribed lace bobbins as courtship and wedding gifts as well as coins.[33]

Steedman's work on household relationships, already discussed in the introduction, offers an example of what might be considered from Rosenwein's perspective as an unconventional 'emotional community'.[34] It is referred to here to illustrate how people adapted to the situations that arose both in their routines and their relationships. Steedman's work focuses on love within a household. As already noted, an eighteenth century household could accommodate a range of relationships which were 'domestic and occupational, contractual and instrumental, but also sentimental.'[35] Steedman's

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[31] "feeling, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. June 2014. http://www.oed.com. For discussion of sentiment and sensibility particularly among the middling sorts at this time see G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The culture of sensibility* (1992). J. Mullan, "Feelings and novels," *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (1997), Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986), Markman Ellis, *The politics of sensibility: Race, gender and commerce in the sentimental novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[32] Gillis, *For Better, For Worse,* 118.

[33] Gillis, *For Better, For Worse,* 30-33.

[34] Steedman, *Master and servant: love and labour in the English industrial age,*

[35] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage,* 63.

interpretation of Murgatroyd's diaries and writing reveals a master's care for his household. Although unsuccessful in arranging for his servant, Phoebe, to marry the father of her illegitimate child, Murgatroyd continued to employ her. He was concerned for the welfare and happiness of his servant and her baby and became increasingly fond of the 'lovely child'.[36] As Gillis explains, people made marriages and organised their households to suit their ways of living. Steedman draws attention to the dimension of love and affection in her interpretation of the Murgatroyd household. She suggests that Murgatroyd's acceptance of events stems from his belief in God and his realisation that Phoebe was a creature like himself.[37] Seeing his servant as a 'person' in the way she lived and worked also enabled Murgatroyd to love her as a 'person'. From this viewpoint the affectionate relationships in the Murgatroyd 'family' belonged to a different 'register' of love from that of 'agape' or 'eros': one that was both traditional and modern.[38]

Pragmatic responses to living and working conditions on the one hand and the influences of religious scripture, classical writings and Enlightenment thinking on the other were converging in people's views of love as illustrated by Murgatroyd's example. Where previously the idea of love was seen as a divine gift, Simon May argues that by the eighteenth century the object of love had shifted from God to a person.[39] If we consider the sentiments in Murgatroyd's household from May's perspective then it follows that love was experienced between the members of the household rather than mediated by God.[40] Love tokens reflect this secularism but also borrow from the language of religious texts and sentiments to convey feelings for others.

4.1.1 Outline of the chapter

The aim of the chapter is to learn more about the expression of love and affection on tokens. Love token inscriptions are explored with the intention of gaining insights into

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[36] Steedman, *Master and servant: love and labour in the English industrial age,* 184.
[37] Steedman, *Master and servant: love and labour in the English industrial age,* 173.
[38] Steedman, *Master and servant: love and labour in the English industrial age,* 183-189.
[39] May, *Love: A History,* 12.
[40] May, *Love: A History,* 153.

the sentiments that are expressed and how this relates to family and household attachment. One of the most frequently found icons on love tokens is that of the heart. The permutations in how this is displayed are remarkable: pierced, dimidiated, bleeding, winged. The heart is also the subject of many love token idioms that refer to the joining and parting of hearts as well as the feelings of pain and wounding that love for another may incur. Today the symbol of the pierced heart is associated with romantic love, but how did the eighteenth century observer interpret this icon? The chapter investigates the roots of the 'heart' lexicon employed on tokens in order to understand more about its use and meanings. Where else were these idioms and icons used, heard and seen by the poorer sorts? If the language of love on tokens was one that was adopted from other media, then how was it utilised on tokens, what associations did it already embody and what does it reveal about the meanings of love? Reading the messages of true love that the iconography of the heart accompanies invites questions about how lovers understood such promises. Were they promises of fidelity and enduring love that masked more pragmatic responses to the complexity of relationships and the possibility that affections may change and relationships may not survive, especially when people were separated from loved ones.

4.2 'Pity this bleeding heart of mine': the visual and verbal language of the heart on love tokens[41]

The images and phrases discussed in the next section are drawn from the love tokens in the Acworth collection. Over fifty of the one hundred and eighty eight in the collection that I have examined and catalogued individually feature pierced hearts and idioms of love demonstrating the sizeable number which are dedicated to conveying sentiments of affection. The Acworth examples used in this chapter are augmented by quotations and illustrations from other collections (Appendices 4 and 5).

The heart is ubiquitous on love tokens reflecting how it was a familiar symbol of love in the period under discussion. The definition of the heart as representing a person's affections was often used from the sixteenth century onwards with phrases such as to

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[41] Idiom from Acworth love token Omeka identifier M040. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

'give one's heart' and to 'win a heart' to describe the gaining or bestowing of a person's love or affections.[42] As already mentioned, babies given up by mothers at the Foundling Hospital were often left with tokens. Many of these were heart-shaped. Styles observes that babies were in effect given with a symbol of a mother's love. This took a variety of formats; hearts drawn on paper; hearts made of metal; embroidered hearts; heart shaped pieces of fabric and playing cards with hearts on them.[43]

Figure 4.2 Side by side and overlapping hearts from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifiers M109 & M108. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

The heart is presented in a number of different ways on love tokens, singly or doubly with the hearts interlocking or touching (Figure 4.2). Some examples on love tokens are of a more anatomical representation of the organ with the arteries of the heart featured (Figure 4.3). Other illustrations are of bleeding hearts (Figure 4.4). A pair of arrows are frequently shown piercing the heart diagonally, whilst some hearts are accompanied by a single arrow or alternatively multiple arrows shot from more than one direction (Figure 4.5). These depictions of the heart highlight the physical presence of a person, of the blood flowing through them and giving them life, and the bodily pain of losing blood when wounded. The arrows illustrate dramatically the love of one person for another whether it is in the form of a solitary arrow which pierces the heart or the arrow which competes against many others to achieve the same result.

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[42] "heart, n., int., and adv." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. http://www.oed.com.
[43] Styles, *Threads of Feeling,* 68.

Figure 4.3 Anatomical heart from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M086. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 4.4 Bleeding heart from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M154. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 4.5 Single and multiple arrows from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M129 & M106. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 4.6 Winged heart from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M040. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 4.7 Imagery of love from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifiers M042, M044, M031, M037 and M184. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Bows, flames and wings are also featured on some of these tokens; all references to classical representations of love and in particular Cupid, the God of Love. Greek and Roman depictions of Cupid assign him boy-like features and equip him with a bow, quiver and arrows (Figure 4.15). A pair of billing doves, symbolising love and constancy, refer to the god Venus, Cupid's mother. Whilst arrows represent the stirrings of love and the beginning of courtship, flames demonstrate the ardour of passion.[44] The flaming heart was an emblem of ardent love for God; a representation which features

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[44] James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, Revised ed. (London: John Murray, 1974).

strongly from the seventeenth century in devotional imagery displayed in the Christian church.[45] In addition to hearts and arrows, there are other amatory symbols such as the altar of love, clasped hands, phallic imagery, a couple arm in arm, lovers' knots, rings and also tokens cut into the shape of a heart (Figure 4.7 and Appendix 5).

In terms of the language used on tokens, three themes dominate the expressions associated with the heart (Appendix 6). These are the physical attachment of love, the everlasting nature of love and the pain and suffering of love. The physical attachment of two people is represented by two hearts which are joined in some way. The words used to convey physical closeness are found in phrases which describe the combining of hearts and of hearts and hands. Idioms such as, 'Two hearts together joined forever' and 'My heart will never be at Ease Till our hearts and hands be joind like these' emphasise the joining of physical bodies and the desire to never part. The verses speak of the physical effect of love and the need for closeness, as found in the example, 'May we have in our arms Whom we love in our hearts'. The strength of the bond is compared to that of a seal in the use of the biblical phrase, 'Set me as a seal upon thine heart for love is strong as death'. Some of the love tokens made by convicts refer to the body being absent but the heart staying with the loved one with phrases such as, 'Let my body be Were it will my heart shall Be with you still' and 'Tho far apart you have my hart'. The intensity of the bond is compared to both life and death. References to physical closeness are heightened by the knowledge that some tokens were given at a time of impending separation from home and family that was likely to be permanent.

Love tokens which speak of fidelity and remaining true also imply hope for long lasting relationships. The idea of being true is found repeatedly inscribed. 'True love' is defined as a faithful love or a sweetheart whose love was pledged. [46] The theme of constancy and commitment, even in the face of death, is reflected in phrases such as, 'Love me true as I love you' and 'Faithful my love, Sincere my heart, Shall never rove, till death us Part'. Expressions about overcoming obstacles in order to remain true are

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[45] Jennifer Speake, *The Dent Dictionary of Symbols in Christian Art* (J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada), Limited, 1994). 71.

[46] "true-love, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. http://www.oed.com. Usage dates from the fourteenth century.

found in phrases including, 'The rose soon drapes and dies, the brier fades away, but my fond heart for you I love shall never go astray' and 'let all our foes say what they will, you will find my heart is with you still'.

The notion of something which is everlasting is captured in the image of the true lovers' knot comparing love to a knot without end. The love knot was habitually offered in courtship as a material expression of love.[47] Ribbons were worn as signs of

Figure 4.8 Lovers' knot from the Acworth collection.Two birds with a lovers' knot in their beaks. Omeka identifier M122. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

attachment in courting and were regularly mentioned in lines of ballads such as, 'Ile furnish thee with rare delights as Ribbans and gold rings.'[48] They were also used as decorative symbols traditionally seen at weddings in the form of knots of ribbons (Figure 4.8).[49]

Love as physical pain and suffering is illustrated by images of the heart pierced and bleeding. The accompanying phrases invoke the hurt and depth of pain. They include, 'My bleeding heart is full of smart' and 'O see my heart is Pierc'd thro I bore it all for love of you'. The loss of blood implies the physical effect of love. The piercing of an organ as vital as the heart emphasises the all-consuming nature of the hurt.

These examples illustrate the many ways in which the icon and idiom of the heart were used to express attachment and affection on tokens. They suggest that the heart and

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[47] Styles, *Threads of Feeling,* 44.
[48] English Ballad Broadside Archive, *http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu*. The Maiden's Delight, EBBA ID: 31642.
[49] Brears, *North Country Folk Art,* 17.

other amatory symbols, although rooted in classical and sacred depictions of love, were appropriated and adapted by the poorer sorts. To understand their cultural and historical roots requires an exploration of the visual history of the heart. Writers on the iconography of this organ offer classical, biblical and medieval interpretations of its presentation and symbolism, likening it to an inner book, a memory trope, a king at the centre of his kingdom, a source of energy, the centre of the body and therefore of life. Over time, the heart has been associated with the location of the emotions, the location of the mind and the soul as well as the site of wisdom, judgement, memory and imagination.[50]

The icon of the heart did not appear in Western art until the Middle Ages. It symbolised sacred and secular love. Religious paintings of the sacred heart refer to the heart of Jesus and his long suffering devotion (Figure 4.9). The heart was portrayed in scenes of courtly love where the knight offered his heart to show his commitment to his lady. This idealised form of love cast the lover as someone suspended between happiness and despair (Figure 4.10). The heart also appeared in emblems, a popular form of imagery which combined title, motto and image to convey a moral message (Figure 4.11). The emblem of the heart, for example, was used to convey the abstract notion of love in a visual way. [51] The reader of emblems was encouraged to reflect on their own lives in deciphering the meanings of the emblem; meanings that were open to numerous interpretations and that sometimes remained incomprehensible. The image of the inscribed heart was depicted in medieval writing and art suggesting that the heart offered a place for contemplation through the act of writing on it.[52] The trope of the inscribed heart can be traced from miracles involving medieval saints with words written on their hearts, to pictorial images of the heart found in courtly and emblematic art. From the fourteenth century onwards the icon of the heart is threaded through European sacred and secular depictions of earthly and spiritual love.

[50] F.B. Alberti, *Matters of the Heart:History, Medicine, and Emotion* (OUP Oxford, 2010), N Boyadjian, *The Heart: its History, its Symbolism, its Iconogrphay and its Diseases* (Antwerp: ESCO Books, 1980).
[51] R. Paulson, *Emblem and expression: meaning in English art of the eighteenth century* (Harvard University Press, 1975). 14-15.
[52] Eric Jager, "The Book of the Heart: Reading and Writing the Medieval Subject," *Speculum* 71 (1996). 2.

Figure 4.9 Ex Voto dedicated to St. Catherine of Siena possibly by Luini Bernardino (c.1480-1532) (oil on panel), © Bridgeman Education.

Figure 4.10 Leather Casket with Scenes of Courtly Love (c1350 -1400). Artstor.

EMBLEME III.

Son esperance & parfaite confiance en Dieu.

VSQVE

IVVAT   SPERARE

*Agité par les vents, battu de la tempeste,
Mon cœur trouve en Dieu seul vn objet qui l'arreste.*

Figure 4.11 Pierced Heart by Albert Flamen c. 1620 - 1669 from La Vie Symbolique. Inscription reads 'It helps to hope continually'. Artstor.

These religious, courtly and emblematic images of the heart begin to explain how the icon of the heart was understood as a symbol of love. What is striking in this brief exploration of the iconography of the heart are the many connections there are to the practices associated with love tokens. They indicate that this iconography was accessible to the lower sorts. This is evident, not only in the appropriation of images of pierced and bleeding hearts, but also in the more abstract associations of the heart as a place of affection and also of contemplation. Emblematic images of the heart and love tokens both impart their meanings through the interplay of texts, which at times requires reflection. Similarly love tokens were often objects which people contemplated, particularly when the person the object depicted was absent. There are parallels then between emblems and tokens in their use of words and images to embody the expression of something abstract whether a moral message or a declaration of love and fidelity. Moreover, the description of writing on the heart in medieval times, as a practice which encouraged reflection, is physically replicated in

some tokens. The particular examples to which I refer have an engraved heart with the words inscribed within the outline of the heart (Figure 4.21). There are clearly links between tokens and the religious, classical, courtly and emblematic depictions of the heart. The implication is that this imagery was familiar and therefore readily available to be adopted and applied to love tokens. The illustrations in chapbooks were clearly one of the ways in which the lower ranks absorbed amatory language and symbols including those of the heart (Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12 Woodblock of courting couple with two winged cupids from 'A book of garlands' in the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835. Author's photograph.

The next section examines this argument in more detail. It explores how images of the heart were part of the visual culture of the lower ranks, part of their everyday surroundings. The custom of reading and listening to ballads and penny merriments provides a valuable starting point for recognising the visual sources that influenced the imagery and idioms used on love tokens.

4.3 'I have receiv'd thy token and with it thy faithful love': the language of the heart in ballads, penny merriments and everyday objects[53]

Ballads and small books or penny merriments (known since the nineteenth century as chapbooks) were still widely circulated and read by a range of people in the eighteenth

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[53] English Ballad Broadside Archive, *http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.*, A delicate new Ditty composed upon the posie of a Ring, EBBA ID: 31757.

century.[54] The words of ballads became familiar through the performances of itinerant pedlars and street sellers. As already argued in the previous chapter, the act of reading in the eighteenth century could be described as a process of visual literacy that involved absorbing texts in their totality. Ballads and merriments were not only read but listened to in towns and villages around the country. Broadsides were 'sung, read, memorized, collected, quoted and copied', and as a result relationships were formed between performers, listeners and the characters in the songs.[55] The rhythmic and rhyming qualities of love token idioms are reminiscent of these songs and suggest how idioms were easily remembered through the recall of a beat. Whether it is the rhyming phrase, 'Thou art mine and I am thine' or the longer phrase such as, 'No pen can write, No tongue can tell, The aching heart, That bids farewell', these are sayings with distinctive and memorable 'da-dum, da-dum, da-dum' patterns.[56] The poet John Clare's father, for example, knew over a hundred ballads by heart.[57] Their stories, as well as those of penny and godly merriments, were shared and displayed in taverns and so people grew to know and recognise the tales and sayings they contained. The contents of the penny merriments varied from amusing historical tales to moral stories and riddles. Courtship was a popular theme in chapbooks. There were narratives about courtship as well as texts offering advice to lovers in both a serious and satirical vein. The small books were often illustrated with images very loosely relevant to the story. The figure of Cupid, hearts, bows, arrows and doves featured widely in the black and white woodcuts (Figure 4.13). *The Art of Courtship or the School of Love,* for example, includes a woodblock illustration with depictions of Cupid with his bow and arrow, a pair of billing doves and a pierced heart. The same text offers advice for lovers in the form of an amorous dialogue, complimentary expressions and love posies and refers to a familiar love token image of a lovers' knot:

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[54] Victor E. Neuburg, *Chapbooks: a bibliography of references to English and American chapbook literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Vine P, 1964). Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories,*

[55] Paxton Hehmeyer, "The Social Function of the Broadside Ballad; or, a New Medley of Readers " *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (2003). http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.

[56] Article on ballad form. www.vam.ac.uk.

[57] J. Lawrence and E. Robinson, *John Clare's autobiographical writings* (Oxford University Press, 1983). 2-3.

Figure 4.13 Woodblock illustration from The Art of Courtship, 1775, Eighteenth Century Collections online. http://gale.cengage.co.uk.

My love shall be for every free

By death alone it is undone

Nought shall divide the Knot we've ty'd

Till Life is part my Love shall last

My Love I place on thy sweet Face.

'Tis thou in me shalt happy be

My Joy thou are, and hast my Heart [58]

As well as fidelity, verses celebrated the force of the heart. The ballad *A memorable song upon the unhappy hunting in Chevy Chase* refers to the physical and mental power of the heart, 'While I have power to wield my sword, Ile fight with heart and hand'.[59] The words are similar to the phrases on tokens which refer to the heart and hand. The language of a suffering heart is found in songs such as the one entitled *Cupid's Courtisie* which describes how love spurned may result in a wounded heart. The text refers to the physical effect of Cupid's arrows with the words, 'this gallant heart sorely was bleeding; and felt the greatest smart'.[60] The phrase 'Draw Cupid draw and make that heart to know The Mighty Pain its suffering Swain does for it undergo' is engraved on a token and illustrated with the outline of Cupid drawing back his bow to shoot an arrow at an unwounded heart.[61] The words are also found in the ballad *Draw Cupid draw* published in 1719.[62] In the same vein, the power of love in the form of Cupid is expressed in the words, 'Who Can Withstand Cupids hand' found on a token made from a 1797 cartwheel penny (Figure 4.14). As well as idioms that refer to Cupid on tokens, the figure of a winged Cupid with bow and arrow is found on tokens from the Barnard collection (Figure 4.15).

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[58] *The Art of Courtship; or The School of Love* (Printed and sold at the Printing-Office in Bow-Church-Yard, 1775). 11.

[59] English Ballad Broadside Archive, *http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.*, A Memorable Song on the unhappy hunting in Chevy-Chase, EBBA ID: 30408.

[60] English Ballad Broadside Archive, *http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.*, Cupids Courtisie, EBBA ID: 21232.

[61] Pierrepont Barnard,"Examples of Engraved coins " catalogue number 290.

[62] T. D'Urfey, *Wit and mirth; or, Pills to purge melancholy: being a collection of the best merry ballads and songs, old and new* (Printed by W. Pearson for J. Tonson, 1719). 306.

The desire to be thought of kindly by loved ones regardless of what others think is an expression found frequently on the tokens made by prisoners, for example, 'Let all the world say what they will, don't speak of me unkind'. Similar phrases are found in

Figure 4.14 'Who can withstand cupid's hand' from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M177. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 4.15 Love tokens with figure of Cupid, Barnard, "Examples of Engraved coins". Plate II.

ballads such as 'Know my Father he will Frown, And Ladies too of high Renown, But yet I needs must love him still: Let all the world say what they will' which is from *The comfortable Returns of the kind Lady, who being / surpriz'd by Cupid was compell'd to Love.*[63]

A range of courtship gifts which lovers made or bought for sweethearts also carried this iconography.[64] In the ballad *Faint Heart never won fair Lady: or Good Advice to*

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[63] English Ballad Broadside Archive, *http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.*, The comfortable Returns of the kind lady, EBBA ID: 21058.

[64] van Nespen, *Love and Marriage,* Bloxham and Picken, *Love & Marriage,* Baker, *Love and Marriage,*

Batchelors: How to Court and Obtain a Young Lass, the link between the physical and emotional performance of courtship is demonstrated in the advice to bachelors to offer sweethearts a small treat or 'fairing':

Win her with Fairings and sweetening Treats

Lasses are soonest o'recome this way;

Ribbons and Rings will work most strange feats,

And bring you into favour and play:

Touse her, tempt her, hap at a venture,

tho' she cry, Fie Sir, pray you be gone;

Do but you try Sir, she'll not deny Sir,

Any thing when you have her alone [65]

The small decorative items recommended in the poem included ribbons, garters and buttons which were often inscribed with the same idioms as love tokens. There are examples of silk garters with the words 'My heart is fixt I cannot range 1717, I like my choice to well to change' on them and lace bobbins with the phrase 'I like my chise I will not change' (Figure 4.16).[66] The same idioms are found on two love tokens illustrated in Figure 4.17. They echo the phrase from *Cupid's Love Lessons, '*Such liking in my choice I find|That none but death can change my mind.' There are also examples of buttons with the motto 'Love for Love' and the figure of an embracing couple.[67]

From buttons to ballads posted on ale house walls, people were immersed in a rich array of images and words relating to the heart. The printing blocks created to illustrate popular literature were used again and again resulting in the same images

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[65] *The General Shop Book The Tradesman's Universal Director. Being a most useful and necessary compendium to lie upon the counter of every shopkeeper* (C. Hitch and L. Hawes, 1753).

[66] Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon, 1984). 101.

[67] Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England,* 97.

Figure 4.16 Inscribed lace bobbin 'I like my chise I will not change' made by Jesse Compton bobbin makers (1793 1857) http://bobbins.lacefairy.com.

Figure 4.17 Two examples of the idiom 'My heart is fix'd' from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifiers M093 and M010. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

circulating in penny merriments and along the top of ballad sheets.[68] This sustained use of the same woodcut prints ensured widespread familiarity with representations of Cupids, hearts and other amatory devices. Love tokens clearly employed the language of ballads and chapbooks. This was a vocabulary which was familiar and read by means of a visual literacy.

As discussed in the opening section of this chapter, the many surviving tokens from across the collections that express love and affection can be seen as testimony to some of the informal arrangements people adopted to accommodate their economic and affective relationships. When people did not marry but lived together, they sometimes exchanged tokens as an informal acknowledgement of a union. Archival accounts of this behaviour are elusive, but Margarette Lincoln notes, 'For ordinary people, the giving of tokens, especially a coin or ring split in two, was significant and popularly believed to imply a formal contract of marriage. The Church did not recognise the custom and no verbal contract without witnesses was likely to be upheld in court, but the custom still persisted.'[69] Many of the tokens under discussion in this chapter may belong to this practice of marking unrecorded 'marriages'. Indeed one

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[68] Simone Chess, "Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration," *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (2003).http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.

[69] Lincoln, *Naval Wives and Mistresses,* 137.

example from the Acworth collection features the outline of a ring engraved on the surface of the token offering visual evidence of how an altered coin may have been used to stand in place of a wedding ring (Figure 4.18).

Figure 4.18 Love token with outline of a ring from the Acworth collection. Omeka identifier M102 http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Gillis cites secular examples of unofficial arrangements such as 'besom weddings'. Other terms used to describe irregular unions were 'married on the carpet and the banns up the chimney', 'married but not churched' and 'living tally'.[70] Linebaugh cites an eighteenth century practice known as 'leaping the sword' which was accompanied by the idiom, 'Leap rogue and jump whore|And then you are married for evermore.'[71] Tokens may have stood in place of a church or fleet wedding and acted as a form of quasi-contract that brought with it the expected duties and obligations of kinship support and solidarity. In this sense tokens embodied the values the poorer sorts associated with marriage. For those who exchanged tokens in this manner, they were an informal marriage record. They can also be viewed as an extension of the courtship tradition illustrated in John Cannon's memoir, mentioned in Chapter one, where lovers broke and shared a coin in courtship.

These observations highlight the blurring of the distinctions between the customary practices associated with betrothal and with marriage. Whilst many love tokens clearly

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[70] Gillis, *For Better, For Worse,* 206.
[71] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 141.

commemorate a union between a couple with the inscriptions of names, dates as well as expressions of love, it is unclear what stage of a relationship they record, whether courtship, betrothal or marriage. One token in the Acworth collection, that is dated

Figure 4.19 Two tokens engraved with the word 'maried' **Image 1:** Copper twopence from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M140. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 2:** Token from Alison Barker's collection.

1841, is inscribed with two names, the bust of a man and the word 'maried'. Another token in Alison Barker's collection is engraved with the words, 'Maried Sarah Boswell in the Fleet Prison' (Figure 4.19). This was where many of the poorer sorts were married when they needed proof of a partnership, for example, in order to acquire a sailor's wages while he was at sea.[72] A Fleet wedding provided the speed and informality that allowed such unions. The engraving in Figure 4.20 illustrates the Fleet marriage of a sailor to his landlady's daughter, an image that carried with it the implication that the purpose of the wedding was purely financial.

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[72] Roger Lee Brown, "The rise and fall of the Fleet marriages," *Marriage and society: Studies in the social history of marriage* (1981). 126.

Figure 4.20 A fleet wedding 1747. Engraving by John June (1744-1775). © Bridgeman Education.

4.4   The heart: symbol of love and of life

This exploration of the representation of the heart brings us back to the token which introduced the chapter. John Adams's keepsake celebrated the start of life with a birth as well as a celebration of family love. From this and the variations in depictions of the heart, I would suggest that the image of the heart signals love but not exclusively that of romantic or 'eros' love. The words on John Adams's token 'An heart that can feel for another' can be traced to the refrain of the ballad entitled *Jack Steadfast* whose last lines are:

For sailors, pray mind me, though strange kind of fish,

Love the girls just as dear as their mother,

And what's more they love what I hope you all wish,

Is the heart that can feel for another [73]

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[73] Broadside Ballads Online, *http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.*, The Heart That Can Feel for Another. Roud Number: 13785.

In this ballad, the idea of the heart that can feel for another, speaks of love but also introduces the idea of how the sailor loves both his sweetheart and his mother and, moreover, loves being loved. The evidence of tokens, therefore, establishes the fact that images and idioms of the heart were not exclusive to love between wives and husbands, lovers and sweethearts. The heart also expressed love between family members and friends. Tokens engraved with pierced hearts were addressed, for example, to mothers, fathers, aunts, uncles and siblings. Mothers and fathers appear on many tokens as in 'My father and mother I do love and wish to meet in heaven'. The phrases 'in remembrance of their beloved sister and his affectionate aunt' and 'A present from his Uncle and Aunt Edw. and Elizabeth Evans' provide examples of tokens given to aunts and uncles. Siblings are referred to in the phrases, 'Weep not for me my Brother dear, with heavey heart I am confined heare with grief and sorrow I am oppresd thinking of you I cannot rest' and 'A token of love from G. Pain to his sister'.

In other words, the language of the heart indicates affectionate relationships but the references to love and friendship make it difficult to distinguish between romantic relationships between lovers and those between other family members or friends, for example, between parents and children. The relatively narrow lexicon used makes the interpretation of inscriptions problematic and indeed ambivalent at times. Tokens were inscribed with phrases such as 'I love you' (1795), 'Love for love' and 'Love me as true as I love you'(1781). They were also engraved with the words 'friend' and 'friendship' where the word 'friend', for example, meant a relative or a lover or an acquaintance who was not related. [74] As a result, navigating the language of love and friendship on tokens poses difficulties given the interchangeable nature of the terms.

The following phrases on tokens demonstrate 'friendships' between different relations and acquaintances. 'Dear Father Mother A gift to you - From me a friend Whose love for you Shall never end' is 'written' by a son to his parents. James Blanch was most likely expressing love for his sweetheart, Ann Harley, with the words, 'Love & Union' and 'SACRED TO FRIENDSHIP'. The relationship between William Maskell and the Beedles remains unclear from the inscription 'Mr & Mrs Beedle May love and

[74] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage,* 122-131.

Friendship never be forgot from a well-wisher William Maskell'. The phrase, for example, 'The rose soon drapes and dies, the brier fades away, but my fond heart for you I love shall never go astray' was engraved on a token given by a son to his mother. A twenty first century reader of the phrase might associate such an expression with the idea of the faithful lover rather than one of filial affection and loyalty. In other words, there appears to be little to distinguish between images and phrases used as expressions of love between sweethearts and spouses and those recording love as family attachment to parents, children and other household friends. This is a point which reminds us that some of the meanings associated with tokens will always remain opaque. Where I have managed to retrieve particular narratives about the people named on tokens, those accounts help us to gain a better understanding of the patterns of behaviour and feelings to which these objects belonged.

The image of the heart on tokens symbolises affection and attachment to family and friends. In some examples, the heart on a love token also commemorated a person's life. R.Bly's token, for example, is engraved with his name. Dated 1752, it is inscribed

Figure 4.21 Inscription within outline of heart from the Tolson museum Huddersfield Image number 2010732a.

inside the outline of a heart (Figure 4.21).[75] Whilst John Adams's token commemorates a new life, John Stockbridge's piece marks a life under threat. It is engraved with a heart on one face. On the reverse is his name and the words 'Lagd Augt 7 1797' (Figure 4.22). The term 'lagd' refers to being sentenced to transportation. On this prisoner's token, the heart literally refers to John's life and the possible loss of it as he faced

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[75] See also example love token no 7 in Appendix 4.

exile. The token is a record of Stockbridge's banishment. Convict archives reveal that he was tried at the Surrey assizes and convicted, as his token records, on August 7 1797. His sentence was transportation to Australia for seven years. Stockbridge was exiled to New South Wales on the convict ship the *Hillsborough* leaving England in

Figure 4.22 Heart as symbol of life from the Acworth collection Omeka identifier M114.
http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

October 1798 and arriving in Australia in July the following year.[76] Sailors' craft work also employed the heart motif in this way to symbolise a life. Mariners' lives were often at risk as a result of war, shipwreck or poor living conditions. Not surprisingly sailors also chose the symbol of the heart, representing a person's life, to carve, engrave, inlay and sew onto artefacts.[77] Hearts were also tattooed onto the bodies of seafarers and convicts.[78] From these observations it is clear, that the meaning of the heart icon can be extended to include a person's life and life cycle events. In Stockbridge's example, the heart signalled his life under threat from the sentence of transportation. In other words, the heart was a marker of a number of important life events that ranged from birth, betrothal and marriage to a life at risk and a life interrupted by a sentence of exile.

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[76] http://search.ancestry.co.uk. Information from Australian Convict Transportation Registers, Other Fleets & Ships, 1791-1868.
[77] Henderson and Carlisle, *Marine art & antiques,* 253.
[78] Dye,"Tattoos of Seafarers," David Kent, "Decorative bodies: The significance of convicts' tattoos," *Journal of Australian Studies* 21.53 (1997). Bradley and Maxwell-Stewart, "Embodied Explorations:investigating convict tattoos and the transportation system."

4.5   'Not the mark of cold friendship'[79]

Among the sentiments repeatedly engraved on love tokens are those of true love and constancy. A few tokens express negative sentiments. One example is engraved with '*J. T to W. K* 1785' and on the reverse 'Not the mark of cold friendship'. However, the cold friendship is not really cold but warm, as the word is used in combination with the word 'not'. Yet the use of the phrase does suggest there may be other meanings inferred with these words. Another token refers to the dropping of a ring with the outline of a ring being put onto a finger and the words 'put on' and the date April 5th 1774 .The reverse is engraved with the image of two hands parting and the word 'dropt' and the date June 19th 1787.[80] It suggests the loss or rejection of a loved one after a period of thirteen years with the removal of the ring.

This example offers evidence of alternative readings for the phrases of true love and fidelity, suggesting how the language employed on love tokens may have been understood in other ways. With this in mind, one approach is to read the ubiquitous inscriptions of true love and constancy against the literal sense of the words. Phrases such as 'No treasure like a true friend', 'a token of true love' and 'my love is constant true to you' can be understood as vows of fidelity. When viewed with alternative interpretations in mind, were these sentiments chosen because people felt they were *expected* to express such feelings at times of betrothal and separation? Did they mask other sentiments? Vows of true love and constancy might also reflect people's concerns and fears; in fact the opposite meaning to the promises of true love. In other words, the inscriptions can be read as warnings against acts of infidelity and disloyalty at times when new relationships were being forged or existing ones being threatened by separation. Viewed with an alternative reading in mind, the employment of such idioms acknowledges the tensions which unfamiliarity and absence created and the fact that relationships were vulnerable in such situations. Similarly, in asking forgiveness from loved ones when facing transportation, prisoners were clearly anxious about how their actions affected those they left behind; their sweethearts, wives and families.

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[79] Pierrepont Barnard,"Examples of Engraved coins ", catalogue number 83.
[80] The token is from Alison Barker's collection.

The exchange of love tokens acted as a form of cement to strengthen and reaffirm kinship ties.[81] Belonging to a family and a household were part of the associations by which people identified themselves and others. It was also one of the emotional communities to which they belonged. Love tokens reflected these ideas of belonging. Such a perspective supports the view that tokens also mediated messages about the expectations that were implied by the idea of belonging. The suggestion is that, in some examples, people engraved phrases on tokens to express sentiments they felt that they were *expected* to express rather than those they actually felt. The idioms of ballads and merriments were in effect ready-made to be adapted for this purpose since people were already familiar with the popular stories of fidelity, constancy and remembrance that they contained. In the context of love tokens, these phrases offered a shorthand for the sentiments associated with family duty and obligations. They included beliefs that couples should be faithful, people should be aware of the impact of their actions and family members should be dutiful and offer reciprocal support.[82] Tadmor refers to how the duty to care for family members, for wives and children was prescribed and unavoidable during the eighteenth century. Reciprocal behaviour, as a sense of duty and solidarity, was embedded in the language of kinship.[83] In the same vein, love token vocabulary, it could be argued, was used to remind people of the ties of family attachments. In this way, idioms of love between couples could also be read as words used to mediate relationships threatened by interruption and separation. The argument that love token idioms reflected a language of expected social norms is difficult to fully substantiate, but it is one way of viewing the use of what could be seen as stock phrases. Moreover, it is possible to support these speculations when considered alongside other evidence. Sailors' sweethearts and wives, for example, were frequently left to fend for themselves when mariners were at sea. Although couples promised fidelity, the reality was often different. Lincoln describes how those without the support of family and friends to rely on found it difficult to survive and

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[81] This viewpoint will be explored in more detail in relation to convicts in Chapter six.

[82] The arguments are informed by Vic Gammon's article on the meanings of early modern ballads and songs. Gammon,"Song, Sex and Society," 208-245.

[83] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage,* 275.

were forced to resort to prostitution, poor relief and the workhouse.[84] Eamon-Hurl reminds us of the ambiguities of family affections:

> Some military husbands beat or abandoned their wives; but they also rushed to their sides in childbirth or penned letters to them during long absences. Soldiers and sailors' wives drank and prostituted themselves in order to survive, and took new husbands if the previous one absented himself for too long. Yet women from this same group could demonstrate remarkable qualities of love, morality and respectability.[85]

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored how the iconography of the heart was used on tokens. It was employed to convey love between lovers and spouses, between family, friends and relatives. The icon of the heart was also used to represent a person's life and life events as well as the sentiments of affection. In this way, it embodied a number of particular emotional communities; love for a lover and love for a family member or a friend. The evidence reveals that the language of love tokens was clearly appropriated from ballads and penny merriments. Although it is beyond the scope of this investigation to trace the process of that adoption in detail, the lexicon of the heart was manifestly acquired to express attachment to sweethearts, family members and friends.

Love token images and idioms form a lexicon of love and affection as well as one of duty and obligation. Indeed, as already discussed, many of the tokens inscribed with hearts and sets of initials or names are most likely records of informal marriages. Tokens carried plural but particular meanings. In terms of concepts of love, some inscriptions speak directly of love of a person. In these examples, the language unequivocally expresses the feelings of the giver. Molly Stone's token, for example, is dated 1734 and was engraved by an unschooled hand with the words, 'Thou art mine and I am thine M.S' (Figure 4.23). Although this is a phrase associated with devotion to

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[84] Lincoln, *Naval Wives and Mistresses,* 148.
[85] Eamon-Hurl, "Plebeian Marriage," 34.

God, in this context it is a statement of love for another person. [86] It is a claim made by one lover, M.S, for another, R.Y. On the reverse of the coin R.Y is also declaring his love with the words 'Dear Molly Stone is all my own'.

Figure 4.23 Molly Stone's token from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M030. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 4.24 'I love you' from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M037. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

These words are part of a dialogue between lovers. They are declarations, promises but most of all they voice love for a person. Similarly, what could be more forthright than the words 'I love you' on a token dated 1795 and inscribed with the initials R.K? (Figure 4.24). These tokens speak from the heart.

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[86] See for example George Herbert's (1593–1633) poem, 'Clasping of Hands' which begins with the line 'Lord, Thou art mine, and I am Thine' .George Herbert and Francis Ernest Hutchinson, *The works of George Herbert* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941). 157.

Chapter 5. Commemorations of a life: the poorer sorts and their trades

5.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the outlines of trades and tools that people engraved on their tokens. It explores the second category in the proposed love token taxonomy, that of attachment to work, and focuses on the ways in which people displayed their sense of self through the emblems of their trades. The words and images engraved on these examples convey how, for some people, their identities were inextricably linked to their occupations. From across the love token collections consulted in this research, there are examples of coins engraved with the figures of men, women and children (Figure 5.1). Those that depict work are often accompanied by the recognisable accessories of a trade. There are illustrations of men working, for example as butchers, blacksmiths, coopers, watermen, soldiers, gamekeepers and agricultural labourers (Figure 5.2). In terms of landscapes and particular locations, there are tokens with rural, urban and maritime scenes, often places of work (Figure 5.3). Trades are

Figure 5.1 Figures on love tokens. **Image 1 & 2:** Outline of a woman in bonnet and apron next to a house feeding hens with horse, hill, tree and birds. Inscription reads 'Sophia Jinks Aged 18 1831'. Outline of a soldier in uniform holding a rifle with initials J.E. from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M047. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 3:** Outline of a man with arms outstretched, holding a hat in his left hand, with a small child next to him. Object number: 2008.0039.0023, National Museum of Australia, Canberra. http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.

Figure 5.2 Three copper love tokens depicting work. **Image 1:** a gamekeeper from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M169. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 2:** a cooper from the Cuming Museum. **Image 3:** a Thames Waterman from the Cuming Museum. Author's photographs.

Figure 5.3 Rural, urban and maritime locations on love tokens from the Acworth collection. **Image 1:** farm buildings. Omeka identifier M067.**Image 2:** a man dressed in long coat, breeches and hat smoking churchwarden pipe in front of house. Omeka identifier M151. **Image 3:** a three masted man of war. Omeka identifier M022. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 5.4 Work implements on love tokens from the Acworth collection depicting a shoemaker Omeka identifier M021, a rural labourer Omeka identifier M117 and a farrier Omeka identifier M075. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 5.5 Occupations and locations on love tokens from the Acworth collection inscribed with details of a cork cutter Omeka identifier M049, a bricklayer Omeka identifier M168 and the place name 'London' Omeka identifier M183. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

frequently depicted by images of tools, such as the shoemaker's semi-circular knife, the rural labourer's fork and rake and the farrier's horseshoe (Figure 5.4). Inscriptions also include the names of towns (Figure 5.5).The chapter approaches the depiction of work from the perspective of eighteenth century visual culture and literacy. In Chapter four, the notion of selfhood was introduced in relation to ideas about personal and familial love. The process of tracing the image of the pierced heart, from medieval forms with secular and sacred meanings to its use on eighteenth century tokens, highlighted its appropriation as a symbol of personal affection. The theme of this chapter builds on those ideas and focuses on the expression of feelings in relation to work. As already stated, the poorer sorts in the eighteenth century were not a homogenous group. Eighteenth century commentators on the makeup of society, referred to sorts of people using a variety of categories, including the status of their occupations and how they gained their income. The skilled and unskilled population, however, did not identify themselves in terms of a class, sort or rank. Seen from above people were defined by their work. It was as a result of the labour of the poor that the rich were able to buy luxury goods and the comforts of life.[1] Seen from below, work looked quite different. Wages, continuity of work and methods of payment varied enormously even within trades and local economies. The struggle to make ends meet is highly visible in records such as poor relief applications and Foundling Hospital admittance appeals. Most people worked for irregular periods of time whether to produce a particular quantity of goods, be at sea for one voyage or hired for a daily

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[1] Malcolmson, *Life and labour in England 1700-1780,* 12.

wage.[2] People expressed loyalty in different ways to their trade, their parish, and of course, to their family. Within rural areas, for example, attachments to trade and forms of casual labour were sustained through the close kinship networks that tied people to place and working habits.[3] These attachments were made manifest in the way people dressed. For example, the design and colour of work clothes, such as smocks, differed between parishes. They were also made audible in the dialects people spoke. As Porter comments, the labouring poor 'saw their standing in the world in concrete terms' and work was one of these concrete terms.[4] People were born into a group that was shaped by a blend of social and economic factors. Yet, the increasing industrialisation of work during the eighteenth century contributed to growing distinctions within and between trades. John Barrell explains how the world of labour was made up of subdivided activities.[5] In terms of visual depictions of these activities, love token inscriptions drew on a repertoire of frequently found images and symbols. Love token imagery shows us how people appropriated these established depictions of work to which they then added their own details. For example, we see a cooper and a barrel, a waterman carrying his oar and boat hook and a drover with his sheep; all are accompanied by details of names and dates. Similar images of work are found in the visual culture surrounding people. Hogarth's detail of a man in a broad-brimmed hat sketching a figure hanging from a gallows, captures the act of drawing a familiar symbol (Figure 5.6).The vignette illustrates people's visual literacy. Porter notes the use of stock symbols in relation to eighteenth century satirical prints. He suggests that 'the shorthand artistic conventions deployed by the engraver […] [were] taken "as read" by his viewers.'[6] The same visual awareness clearly applies to the love token lexicon. The meanings of the imagery of different trades were also taken as read. This chapter, therefore, explores the depictions of work with which people were familiar. It builds on the arguments developed in relation to the heart and continues to draw on eighteenth century visual culture as a source for the appropriation of images and emblems used on love tokens. There were displays of images and writing in public

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[2] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain 1470-1750,* 312-313.
[3] K.D.M. Snell, "The culture of local xenophobia," *Social History* 28.1 (2003). 4.
[4] Porter, *English Society in the eighteenth century,* 54.
[5] John Barrell, "Visualising the Division of Labour: William Pyne's *Microcosm*," *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge*, ed. John Barrell (London: Macmillan, 1992). 91.
[6] Porter, "Seeing the Past," 201.

places, for example, on alehouse and church walls, scratched on windows, illustrated on inn signs and shop boards, stamped on trade tokens and carved into prison walls; all these symbols and marks were part of the practice of employing and reading a shared visual culture that represented lives and working relations.[7] In Chapter three, I discussed the holistic reading of verbal and visual texts in popular literature in order to demonstrate how people understood the world around them. From such a perspective, words did not assume primacy. People relied on a visual literacy that observed and understood the world of images, symbols, objects and their texts integrally.

Figure 5.6 First Stage of Cruelty, engraving, 1751, William Hogarth(1697-1764) with enlarged detail of man drawing a gallows. Private Collection © Bridgeman Education.

5.1.1 Outline of the chapter

The chapter begins by considering a number of sources that provide images of different trades. These include shop and inn signs, trade tokens, carved gravestones and woodblock prints in ballads and chapbooks. The figurative outlines on love tokens are placed alongside woodblock prints from chapbooks to highlight the similarities between the two forms. The analysis focuses on a selection of tokens illustrating rural, urban and maritime trades. Some depict leaving home for work, working as an apprentice and going into service. Also included are a sailor and his moll, a peruke

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[7] "Voices from the Old Bailey Series 2 Episode 1". Cecil Meadows, *Trade Signs and their Origin* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957). 4.

maker, an agricultural labourer and a female black worker (seamstress). The tokens examined in this chapter do not feature the icon of the heart. As a result, the sentiments expressed on them are more difficult to discern in terms of the feelings they convey. This does not mean that the sentiments are less deeply felt. We can speculate that some of the tokens engraved with images of trades were made as keepsakes and records of identity, whilst others were given as people parted, for example, as they left home and relocated for work. The chapter ends with a discussion of one token that is problematic. It does not follow the pattern of depictions of work set out in the chapter. Yet, it is still a record of a life and of a person's actions. This last example displays a set of tools, but these were tools used to break the law by assisting a gaol break. The analysis of the gaol breaker's token throws up issues in terms of the way in which people chose to leave a mark. In discussing the imagery used on tokens, the chapter navigates between the visual culture of work that people selected for inscription and the desire to make and leave a record that says 'here I am' and 'this is me'.

5.2   Eighteenth century visual culture and depictions of trades

Chapter four demonstrated how the images and idioms used on love tokens employed the language and illustrations of ballads and penny merriments. The argument is also apposite in terms of the imagery used to depict trades on tokens. People were surrounded by symbols of trades and figurative illustrations. Emblems of trades were often carved into buildings or placed outside houses as a means for people to identify shops and workshops. They might take the form of the outline of a weaver's shuttle or a blacksmith's horseshoe carved over the door.[8] In towns, shop signs were often more elaborate with gilded pestles and mortars outside chemists and sugar cones outside grocers.

The choice of imagery that trades people chose for their signs sometimes resulted in some intriguing combinations. Addison wrote about this in the *Spectator* in 1710:

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[8] Brears, *North Country Folk Art,* 26-27. Jacob Larwood and John Camden Hotten, *The History of Signboards, From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1866). 305-372.

I would enjoin every shop to make use of a sign which bears some affinity to the wares in which it deals. What can be more inconsistent than to see a bawd at the sign of the Angel, or a tailor at the Lion? A cook should not live at the Boot, nor a shoemaker at the Roasted Pig; and yet, […] I have seen a Goat set up before the door of a perfumer, and the French King's Head at a sword-cutter's.[9]

Figure 5.7 Inn signs depicting trades. **Image 1:** Hullabaloo against a Tailor. Engraving by William Hogarth (1697-1764). Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France. © Bridgeman Education. **Image 2:** The Wherryman inn sign painted by John Crome, Norwich, 1783-1792. © V&A Images.

Addison's words remind us that shop and inn signs were also used in the eighteenth century as indicators of where people lived and how to find them (Figure 5.7).

Tools of the trade were also stamped on trade tokens that were privately produced by tradespeople as a pragmatic solution to the shortage of small change. As already mentioned in Chapter two, trade tokens were in circulation at times when there was a shortage of low value coins or when what did exist was in a very poor state. There were three main periods when these copper, brass and sometimes silver tokens were produced by tradespeople. These were the years 1648-1672, 1784-1802 and 1811-1814.[10] Trade tokens had values of a farthing or a halfpenny. They were clearly

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[9] J. Addison, "Letter," *The Spectator*.28 (1711).
[10] Withers and Withers, *The Token Book,* 12-16.

embedded in the material culture of the lower ranks. Those produced in the seventeenth century are littered with the emblems of trades. They carry the arms of worshipful companies, for example, images of cloves for a grocer, barrels for a vintner, and a hat and hand for a felt maker. Other images on trade tokens include tools such as the carpenter's compass, the cheese maker's knife and the bricklayer's trowel, whilst others are illustrated with images of goods such as the tallow chandler's candles, the tobacconist's roll of tobacco and the rope maker's coil of rope (Figure 5.8). Tokens provided much needed small change for a community. In addition they were a form of promotion for different trades.

Figure 5.8 Three seventeenth century trade tokens with retail emblems. **Image 1:** a tobacconist **Image 2:** a haberdasher's at the sign of the magpie **Image 3:** an oilman (possibly sunflower oil). http://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online.

Another location where symbols of trades were visible was in the graveyard. During the eighteenth century the graves of the poor were usually marked by wooden markers but some carved stones display tools of a trade in order to indicate the identity of the deceased (Figure 5.9).

In terms of popular literature, single sheet broadsides were often posted on alehouse walls and carried news and images of battles, murders, riots and trials. Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) also recalled in his memoirs the numbers of broadside sheets displayed on the interiors of cottages wherever he travelled:

> In cottages every where were to be seen, the sailor's farewell and his happy
> return – youthfull sports & the feats of Manhood – the bold Archers shooting at
> a mark – the Four Seasons &c – some subjects were of a funny & others of a
> grave character – I think the last portraits I remember of were those of some of

the Rebel Lords & 'Duke Willy' [the Jacobite chiefs of 1745 and the Duke of Cumberland].[11]

Figure 5.9 Footstone of Mark Sharp's grave St John Sub Castro, Lewes. The carpenter died in 1747. Author's photograph.

The fascination for stories of returning sailors, abandoned lovers, murders, trials and punishment was a feature of chapbooks and ballads which continued to circulate in the first half of the nineteenth century before newspapers became the more popular media. Seventeenth and eighteenth century broadside images were produced by woodcuts with each wooden block being used repeatedly regardless of historical or geographical accuracy or relevance to the text it was illustrating. The quality of the images was poor with little detail and accuracy as can be seen from a smudged example in Figure 5.10.

As a result of the images being used repeatedly by printers, they formed a distinctive iconography known to everyone. The use of familiar portraits acted as an easily recognised shorthand to enable people to grasp immediately the theme of a song or text whether it was one they were familiar with or a new one.[12] From the early nineteenth century the use of wood engraving techniques and cast-iron presses instead of woodblocks resulted in finer lines and detail in broadside illustrations as well as longer print runs.[13] The change in image reproduction also signalled an adjustment in how people were represented as can be seen in the differences between

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[11] T. Bewick and J. Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick* (Ward, 1862). 247.

[12] Chess,"Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration," http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu.

[13] T. Gretton, *Murders and moralities: English catchpenny prints, 1800-1860* (British Museum Publications, 1980). 9.

Figure 5.10 Woodcut images showing styles of dress. **Image 1:** Smudged example from English Broadside Ballad Archive http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/woodcuts **Image 2:** Woodcut from ballad entitled 'The Last Words of James Mackpherson Murderer'. **Image 3:** Woodcut from ballad entitled 'The New Way of Gaberlunyman' both from The Word on the Street, Broadsides at the National Library of Scotland. © 2004. http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides.

illustrations in Figure 5.10 and 5.11. Instead of Tudor style dress as illustrated in Figure 5.10, early nineteenth century prints offered clearer outlines and the opportunity to update dress details as seen in Figure 5.11.

Although the details in ballad and chapbook illustrations were more defined with the use of wood engraving rather than woodcuts, these images continued to be drawn from a typology of people that was readily recognised. In other words, chapbook illustrations made little attempt at recreating likenesses. Broadside images relied on terms of recognition associated with their iconography in explaining and placing people in their social roles. The images in Figure 5.11, for example, show similar features in the depiction of the showman at a fair and the bust of the murderer, William Hare. As a result, they were understood by means of the accompanying figures or texts that surrounded them. The images in broadsides and ballads were grounded in depictions of the generic. In this sense, those viewing them were familiar with illustrations of a typology of people rather than of likenesses.[14]

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[14] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the head; portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (1993). 84.

Figure 5.11 Wood engraving images showing figurative similarities. **Image 1:** Wood engraving from ballad entitled 'The Showman'. **Image 2:** Wood engraving from ballad about the Burke and Hare trials. The Word on the Street, Broadsides at the National Library of Scotland © 2004 http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides.

The appropriation of images from woodblocks is clear to see when examples of figures engraved on tokens are placed alongside chapbook prints. The following illustrations demonstrate the similarities in the depictions of a couple hand in hand, a gamekeeper with his gun and dog, a horseman and a soldier (Figures 5.12, 5.13, 5.14, and 5.15).

Figure 5.12 Image of a couple from 'A book of garlands', from the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835, Author's photograph and love token from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M173. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 5.13 Image of a gamekeeper from 'A book of garlands', the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835, Author's photograph and love token from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M169. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 5.14 Image of a horse rider from 'A book of garlands', the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835, Author's photograph and love token from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M088. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 5.15 Image of a soldier from 'A book of garlands', the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835, Author's photograph and love token from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M047. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Love token makers evidently borrowed from the familiar typology of people and their trades to create commemorative records of a life. As well as the visual culture of occupations in ballads and chapbooks, many of the poorer sorts worked in trades associated with painting and engraving. The growing popularity of portraiture in the eighteenth century, particularly in the capital and larger towns, meant that a variety of skilled tradesmen were employed in the business. Pointon estimates that there were over a hundred portrait painters active in London in the 1780s. Some of the more successful had their own workshops with assistants working on different aspects of a portrait. In addition to painters, there were engravers, wax modellers, silhouette artists and miniature painters but also those who supplied materials such as colours and those who framed and copied portraits.[15]

It is worth noting that a number of artisans from amongst these trades appear in the records of the Old Bailey convicted of forgery and transported to Australia; felons such as Francis Greenway who became a famous architect and Richard Read Senior and Charles Rodius who worked out their sentences as practising portrait artists in New South Wales (Figure 5.16).[16]

Figure 5.16 The mock trial scene from inside Bristol Newgate gaol 1812 painted by Francis Greenway (1777-1837). http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au.

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[15] Pointon, *Hanging the head,* 40-41.
[16] Information from the State Library of New South Wales and the website pages on convict artists and architects during the era of Governor Lachlan Macquarie (1762-1824). www.sl.nsw.gov.au.

From amongst the skilled tradesmen associated with the visual trades, we can speculate that some practised their skills in drawing family members and engraving figures of themselves and loved ones on love tokens. Campbell advised parents in his 1749 book, *The London Tradesman*, that the drawing of a profile was a useful skill. Indeed, he suggested it was more useful than writing:

> Drawing or Designing is another branch of Education that ought to be acquired early, and is of general Use in the lowest mechanic Arts…… By being learned to draw, I would not be understood, that it is necessary for every Tradesman to be a Painter or Connoisseur in Designing; no, but I think it is absolutely necessary, that every Tradesman should have so much Knowledge of that Art as to draw the Profile of most common Things; especially to be able to delineate on Paper a Plan of every Piece of Work he intends to execute: This much the merest in Nature can acquire, much sooner than he can learn to write; [17]

The research into visual culture has identified a number of sources that influenced engravings on tokens. Shop and inn signs, trade tokens and carved gravestones were covered with symbols of people's trades. Broadsides and ballads displayed on walls in taverns and cottages offered illustrations of characters from the bible, classical and historical heroes, rioters, fair-goers, murderers and thieves. People were familiar with images of figures reproduced in varying quality; from a blurred smudge to fine and detailed outlines. In the trades associated with painting and drawing, artisans and their apprentices were accustomed to portraits in progress and practised in the techniques of engraving and modelling figures as well as the end products of framed pictures and printed engravings. Silhouettes were increasingly affordable and popular towards the end of the eighteenth century with artists promoting their craft in many urban settings.[18] The engraving of coins with figures of sailors, wives, children, tradesmen and prisoners can be seen as part of a visual culture of figurative representation. The sources identified in this section clearly shaped the lexicon, iconography and typology of love tokens.

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[17] Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* 20.
[18] In Brighton two booths on the Chain Pier built in 1823 housed silhouette artists. K. McSwiggan, *Silhouettes* (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 1997).

The love token evidence discussed in the following sections is explored in relation to the imagery and portrayal of trades. As Vickery states, we can learn more about the feelings of the poor through their actions.[19] This might be in the shake of a hand, the sharing of a meal, the sociability of the alehouse and the frustrations of a food riot. Some of these actions are visible on tokens. The section begins with examples that reflect a highly mobile workforce and the young age at which people left home.

5.3 'Let virtue be your guide': 'leaving home' tokens[20]

Leaving home for work was a frequent occurrence during the eighteenth century. The usual age for young people to take up an apprenticeship or go into service was eleven or twelve, but some apprentices were as young as seven. The detailed scrutiny of a number of love tokens has revealed a group that are inscribed with the date of a person's birth and another date that may relate to an additional event. A comparison of the dates of the original coin and the dates engraved on tokens reveals that some birth tokens were crafted many years after the actual birth of the child they commemorate. Infant mortality rates in the eighteenth century meant that many babies did not survive beyond the first few months and years.[21] It follows that the marking of an infant's entry into the world with a token recording their name and date of birth might appear premature. It is not surprising that a number of birth dates are commemorated on coins which were minted several years after the baby was born. For example, a commercial token known as a Druid, which was produced in the years 1787-1793, was used to record the birth of 'I.Servant born anno domini 1782'. The child was at least five years old, if not older, when the coin was engraved (Figure 5.17). Thomas George Gorden's birth in 1780 was commemorated on a coin which was crafted at least 19 years later, as the inscription is on a George III halfpenny first minted in the year 1799 (Figure 5.18).

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[19] "Voices from the Old Bailey Series 2 Episode 1".
[20] Idiom from copper halfpenny, MEC1645. http://collections.rmg.co.uk.
[21] E.E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England: 1541-1871 : a Reconstruction* (Cambridge University Press, 1989). 249.

The time lapse between the event of a birth and the creating of a token may also indicate the marking of a second rite of passage; that of leaving home. Whether to go into service, take up apprenticeships, work for 'kin' or local landowners, the act of

Figure 5.17 Record of birth on trade token 'I.SERVANT born anno domini 1782' on a Druid. Images 7310a and 7310b from Tolson Museum, Huddersfield.

Figure 5.18 Record of birth on George III halfpenny 'Tho(ma)s Geo(rg)e Gorden Born Nov(embe)r 1780'. Images 145 and 146 from Richard Law's collection. Owner's photographs.

leaving home during the early adult years was an extremely common rite of passage.[22] Nor was it without its emotional upsets for both parents and children. Benjamin Bangs's memoirs, published in 1757, described the separation from his mother. Bangs did not see his mother for several years after leaving home at the age of thirteen to become an apprentice shoemaker, 'My parting [was] with great Reluctance and she

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[22] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994). 39. Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, "Leaving Home: The Experience of Migration from the Parental Home in Britain since c.1770," *Journal of Family History* 22 (1997). 390-424.

said to me, child, it will not be long before I shall see thee again; so with an Heart very full I returned [to my master].'[23] In fact, Bangs did not see his mother for several years after leaving home. The evidence from the dates on some of the tokens supports the idea that they were made and given to young people to mark the event of leaving home. They are imbued with family and parental affection since they offered the young adult a physical reminder of the loved ones they left behind. John Fulker was born in 1757. A second date is recorded on his token, that of 1770 when John was 13 years old, the same age as Bangs when he started his apprenticeship (Figure 5.19).

Figure 5.19 'John Fuller 1770, Born Feb 12 1757' from Tolson Museum, Huddersfield. Images 2010732a & b.

John Fulker's and Thomas Gorden's tokens are holed so that they could be worn around the neck, a detail that indicates how such tokens might have been treasured and kept close to the heart. A similar example shows the bust of John Marshall engraved on a coin that records his birth on 14 June 1772 and on the reverse the date is 1786. The illustration of a ship on his token and the words 'Let virtue be your guide' suggest this token probably marked his going to sea at the age of 14 (Figure 5.20). The emphasis on 'your' in the idiom implies that this was a token which Marshall took with him. We can only speculate that John Fulker and Thomas Gorden wore their tokens around their necks as prompts to remind them of home and family; similarly that John Marshall looked at his to recall those he left behind and their parting advice. In Mrs Conkey's collection of poems and prose published in 1835 there is a verse entitled 'Advice to my nephew' with the words:

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[23] Joseph Hobson, *Memoirs of the life and convincement of that worthy Friend, Benjamin Bangs, late of Stockport in Cheshire, deceased; mostly taken from his own mouth*, Memoirs Benjamin Bangs (London: Luke Hinde at the Bible in George-Yard, Lombard-Street,, 1757). 12.

In all your enterprises

Let virtue be your guide

Then o'er life's stormy ocean

Your bark shall safely ride[24]

The idea of comparing life to an ocean is particularly relevant to John Marshall's token given the maritime image engraved on it.

Figure 5.20 'John Marshall Born June 14 1772' from National Maritime Museum. Reverse: 1786 'LET VIRTUE BE YOUR GUIDE', copper halfpenny, MEC1645. http://collections.rmg.co.uk.

For those leaving home, tokens were extremely portable. They could be treasured privately or displayed publicly; for example they could be kept safe in a pocket, locked in a person's box or suspended around the neck. Vickery explains how the lockable box was used by the lower ranks, especially servants.[25] It was often the only private secure space they had in accommodation they shared with others. Other examples of 'leaving home' tokens include those that record not only a name and date but also a geographical location. In this fashion, Sarah Fisher's token records her departure to London possibly for work in 1752 aged 18 (Figure 5.21). Ann Jones and Jane Greatbank both have tokens which refer to particular streets in London, Hatton Street and Cork Street respectively; possibly the addresses where they lived or worked when they left

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[24] *Cottage musings: or, Select pieces in prose and verse* (Press of H. R. Piercy, 1835). 79.

[25] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009). 39-40.

Figure 5.21 'Sarah Fisher came to London Jan y 25 1752' 'Was Born Nov(embe)r ye 10 1783' from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M128. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

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Figure 5.22 'Ann Jones in Hatton Street July 28th 1772' from Tolson Museum Image 2010736a. 'Jane Greatbank Cork Street 1774' from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M043 http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

home in the 1770s (Figure 5.22).[26] Historians of customs acknowledge that life cycle rituals other than those of birth, betrothal and death were marked and celebrated.[27] However, there are fewer references to these other rites of passage in written accounts since they were not commemorated in the manner of baptisms, weddings and funerals. The latter, for example, were acted out in rituals and also followed a familiar set of behaviours and words in church which were set down in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Events which may have been commemorated by families include entering service, going to sea, and taking up apprenticeships. The engraved coins,

[26] For female migration to town see P.J Corfield, *The impact of English Towns 1700-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). 45, 99-101. Peter Earle, "The female labour market in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries," *The Economic History Review* 42.3 (1989). 340.
[27] David Cressy, *Birth, marriage, and death: ritual, religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). 6-7.

identified as leaving home tokens, can also be seen as commemorations of a life and material expressions of attachment that reminded adolescents of their duty to family. Where, for example, parents paid for apprenticeships, then the love token was a reminder of family affection and the expectation of reciprocal support. In Chapter two, I argued that the altering of copper coins into tokens did not exclude them from returning to circulation if circumstances required it. The evidence of 'leaving home' tokens demonstrates how this was clearly a possibility. Giving a young family member a love token provided them with a material resource when they left home in terms of a coin which, if necessary, could be exchanged. At the same time it acted as a symbol of family attachment and reciprocity.

5.4 An apprentice gunmaker's token

Figure 5.23 'Robert Barnett Gunmaker Minories London May 4 1774', love token from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M115. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Robert Barnett's love token is possibly a token that marks an apprenticeship. It records the trade of Robert Barnett, a Gunmaker and the year 1774 (Figure 5.23). Barnett was apprenticed to his uncle, also called Robert Barnett, in 1771 and became a master himself in 1785 where he worked at 134 Minories, a gun-making district of London.[28] What happened in 1774 to prompt the making of this token we may never know, but it was clearly a date to be recorded. As evidence of the bond between uncle and master, and nephew and apprentice perhaps this piece marked a stage of the apprenticeship and could be seen as a demonstration of the attachment developed in the workplace.

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[28] Howard Blackmore, *Gunmakers of London 1350-1850* (York, Pennsylvania: George Shumway Publisher, 1986). 48.

The practice of taking up apprenticeships was one of the concrete actions made manifest in tokens. As Keith Snell points out, 'apprenticeship was a cultural and communal institution'.[29] It created ties to a trade, a master and a location, details that the token records. It also conferred settlement entitlements and developed codes of expected behaviour. Amongst families such as the Barnett family, it reinforced kinship bonds and expectations of mutual reciprocity in terms of family support. Robert's token is a record of his life that reflected his personhood through his trade and his pride in the skills he was acquiring. It also indicated his loyalty to family, work and location.

The love tokens that commemorate events other than birth, betrothal and death such as leaving home and starting an apprenticeship demonstrate how these engraved pieces are imbued with deeply felt emotions. They are signed markers that refer to significant events and the sense of identity a person associated with those events. These are moments when a child or young adult first left the family, when they acquired a master and when they travelled to new places. Leaving home tokens were given by family members to daughters, sons, nephews and nieces as a way of providing an affectionate reminder of kinship ties.

5.5 'When this you see remember me': the sailor's farewell[30]

The next love token under examination does not, at first glance, appear to conform to the taxonomy of work since it depicts a sailor on shore leave arm in arm with his sweetheart. What initially attracts attention to this token are the clothes worn by the couple. The man and woman on this copper cartwheel penny (minted in 1797) were engraved by an unschooled hand. They are presented in fashionable clothes appropriate perhaps to an urban setting and fill the surface of the token with their presence (Image 1 in Figure 5.24). The reverse of the token is inscribed with the words 'When this you see remember mee & bear mee in your mind let all the world say what they will do not treat mee unkind'. There are no names or dates on this token, but the use of the frequently found 'remembrance' idiom suggests this may have been a

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[29] Snell,"The apprenticeship system in British history: the fragmentation of a cultural institution," 305.
[30] A frequently found idiom on love tokens. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 5.24 Two couples arm in arm. **Image 1:** A couple in 'best' dress from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M094. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 2:** A couple from the National Maritime Museum collection of engraved coins. Object number MEC1690. http://collections.rmg.co.uk.

sailor's or prisoner's farewell piece. The woman is dressed in a gown perhaps of cotton or muslin with puffed sleeves and a tightly fitting bodice that can be dated to the early nineteenth century.[31] The width of the sleeves exaggerates the narrowness of her waist. Closely shaped below the elbow, the sleeves are finished with a cuff or frill.[32] The bonnet is decorated around the rim with lace or ribbon and in one hand she is carrying a small bag. The man is wearing a single breasted tail coat, a waistcoat, ankle length trousers and a tall hat with a narrow brim. These are the clothes of a couple at leisure, where the sailor is no longer wearing the instantly recognisable 'uniform' of his trade, that of a short jacket and canvas breeches or petticoat.[33] The outlines and idiom engraved on the token offer a narrative of attachment but also of separation.

The attention to detail reveals how important clothes are in this depiction. Styles's research on the purchasing of clothes by servants in the latter half of the eighteenth century offers detailed evidence of the aspiration to be seen in costly and stylish garments. [34] According to Styles, the servants in his research chose to spend their money and even incur debts on clothes in their desire to be fashionable. Whilst it is

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[31] Thanks to Suzanne Rowland for advice on dating dress on love tokens.

[32] M.H. Hill and P.A. Bucknell, *The evolution of fashion: pattern and cut from 1066 to 1930* (Batsford, 1987). 158.

[33] N.A.M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (Fontana, 1988). 64.

[34] John Styles, "Involuntary consumers? Servants and their Clothes in Eighteenth-Century England," *Textile History* 33 (2002). 18-19.

important to remember that the second-hand market in clothes meant that garments were valuable possessions which maintained their worth and could be sold or pawned at any time, the wearing of fashionable clothes was also part of a behaviour which was about a sense of personhood. It demanded attention from others, that as Styles explains, might include future husbands and employers. In this sense, the behaviour can be seen as part of the actions that depicted self in terms of family and work relationships. The couple on the token are depicted in a manner that demonstrates how they wished to be noticed by other mariners and their sweethearts as illustrated in the broadside ballad *The Flowing Can* (Figure 5.25). The love token image captures the stance and attire of a working man keen to leave his 'slops' behind and wear a ribbon in his hat, show off the gleaming brass buttons on his jacket and be seen with his sweetheart on his arm.[35]

However, when this engraved coin is examined alongside the second sailor's farewell love token, Image 2 in Figure 5.24, the strong similarities in the depiction suggest an additional perspective. The details of the well-dressed couple are so similar. The finding implies that the portrayal of the sailor and his moll belongs to a lexicon of images copied onto the surfaces of coins in the same way as the idioms of true love discussed in Chapter four. Both women, for example, wear dresses with puffed sleeves and decorated hems and carry small bags. Both men wear long trousers, fitted jackets and tall narrow brimmed hats. This observation is not offered in order to dismiss the significance of the detail of dress but to draw attention to the appropriation of a ready-made resource of figures available for love token engraving. These two outlines of couples employ the imagery and lexicon of maritime popular culture made visible in the well-known icon of Jack Tar and his sweetheart. This was a shared source of images that was not only ready-made for engraving, but was also already emotionally charged in terms of the attachments and sentiments the figures embodied. This is not surprising given the abundance of material culture dating from the eighteenth century

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[35] Rodger, *The Wooden World,* 64.

Figure 5.25 Broadside ballad 'A sailor's life – the flowing can'. The Word on the Street, Broadsides at the National Library of Scotland © 2004. http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides.

that was decorated with figurative representations of sailors' farewells (Figure 5.26). Henry Willett's collection of popular pottery, for example, dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries includes figures, jugs, plates, bowls, pots and mugs devoted to sailors and soldiers. Some have images of sailors and sweethearts often accompanied by idioms, for example:

Sweet Oh Sweet, is that sensation

Where two hearts in union meet

But the pain of separation

Mingles bitter with the sweet [36]

Figure 5.26 Sailors' farewell pottery from the Henry Willett collection, Brighton & Hove Museums. www.brighton-hove-rpml.org.uk.

Love tokens drew from a range of ready-made images and idioms to record particular events and express attachments. The imagery provided a shorthand for a multiple of meanings, including a sense of belonging to a community of mariners and their families, affection for another, separation and reunion, loyalty and fear of infidelity. Above all this is a token that captures a moment for a sailor and his moll. It proclaims 'here I am' and voices the desire for a sweetheart to 'remember me'.

[36] Henry Willett and Bethnel Green Museum, *Catalogue of a collection of pottery and porcelain illustrating popular British history: lent by Henry Willett, Esq., of Brighton* (London: H.M.S.O, 1899). 22.

5.6 'For the use of trade': the urban peruke maker and the rural labourer[37]

The next two tokens illustrate the use of the tools of a trade to denote self through the identity of work (Figures 5.27 & 5.28). The easily recognised comb and scissors of an urban barber and wigmaker and the scythe of a farm labourer are discussed in terms of what the tools reveal about personhood through symbols of trade.

Figure 5.27 Barber's token and decorated bowl. **Image 1**: Reverse image and letters on token, used like a seal; John Salter Peruke Maker Hair Cutter in Preston with outlines of scissors, wig and comb, from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M123. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 2**: A blue and white tin glazed barber's bowl from the Henry Willett collection, Brighton & Hove Museums. www.brighton-hove-rpml.org.uk.

John Salter's peruke making and barber business was in Preston. His token has lettering in reverse suggesting it was engraved to be used as a seal. It carries images of scissors, a wig and a comb; symbols which are found on other eighteenth century items associated with barbers and wig makers. The barber's bowl, for example, in Image 2 of Figure 5.27 is decorated with similar tools and is shaped to be placed under a person's chin for shaving.[38] The wearing of a wig involved the shaving of the head so that it could be worn comfortably. With each piece taking many days to weave from

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[37] Trade tokens were minted with phrases such as 'For the use of trade' to indicate they were produced in order to remedy the shortage of copper coinage. J.R.S Whiting, *Trade Tokens: A Social and Economic History* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971). 22.

[38] The Worshipful Company of Barbers was known between 1540 and 1745 as the Company of Barber Surgeons. *City of London Livery Companies and Related Organisations: A Guide to their Archives in Guildhall Library*, Fourth ed. (Guildhall Library Publications, 2010). 11.

animal and human hair, the peruke maker's craft was skilled work. Once made, customers also needed their wigs to be cleaned, curled and powdered. As an item of fashionable dress, the wig carried associations of masculine authority but was also the subject of caricatures about loss of masculinity and effeminacy. Wigs were seen as symbols of status and respectability and were understood as indicators of leisurely lifestyles.[39] In contrast to his fashionable customers, what can we learn from Salter's engraved coin about his sense of self? Whilst tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths and wheelwrights were found in both urban and rural settings, the peruke maker, like the gunsmith and ironmonger, were located in towns.[40] Name, job and location are the main features of Salter's token with the outlines of tools pushed to the edges of the coin. It is the mark of a life, made personal with the addition of the details of a name and a trade. Used as a seal, this token is about displaying personhood through work.

The token is similar to a watch seal. These were decorative items attached to watches and worn by men, including the labouring sorts, in the eighteenth century. Styles terms them 'cheap expressive accessories'.[41] On close examination, it is clear that watch seals share some of the visual culture from which the lexicon of love token inscriptions is drawn. For example, there are seals with engravings of an angel and anchor, a flaming heart, a ship and a cock as well as sets of initials.[42] Seals were an inexpensive way for an artisan or labourer to personalise a watch. Steedman argues that it was in the small details of their dress that people were able to display personhood. She refers to this behaviour using the eighteenth century term 'making character'.[43] Writing in 1819 about his experiences as a shoemaker making a living but also enjoying London life, John Brown expressed a sense of pride in the way he presented himself to others through dress. He commented:

> I soon began to accumulate comforts of all kinds, such as new clothes and good
> linen of the best quality; and as top-boots were very fashionable at the time, I

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[39] Pointon, *Hanging the head,* 112 and 107-140.
[40] C. Phythian-Adams and M. Carter, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (Bloomsbury, 1996). 96.
[41] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* 107.
[42] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* 104.
[43] Carolyn Steedman, "Englishness, Clothes and Little Things," *The Englishness of English Dress*, eds. Christopher Breward, Becky Conekin and Caroline Cox (Oxford: Berg, 2002). 36.

made myself a pair of the best that were ever turned out. In short I felt no small degree of pride and satisfaction, in knowing myself to be as well equipped as any man I met on the king's highway.[44]

Love tokens carry appropriated images of trades. Possibly more of a tradesman's token or keepsake token than a love token, Salter's piece expresses his identity through the emblems of his trade that were recognisable among his community.[45] The familiar symbols of scissors and comb reinforce the words of the engraving creating a visual mnemonic of Salter's trade. By adding a name or set of initials to well-known phrases and images associated with trade, love tokens became personal records and self-definitions of work.

Figure 5.28 Agricultural labourer's token and woodcut.**Image 1**: Outline of a man with scythe and dog wearing hat and coat and smoking pipe from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M135. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 2**: A farm worker harvesting grain with a scythe, circa 1797. Woodcut by Thomas Bewick. Getty Images.

The token in Figure 5.28 takes us to a rural setting with its depiction of a farm labourer, scythe and dog. Wearing a knee length coat and breeches and large brimmed hat, the labourer is enjoying a pipe perhaps at the end of his day. The token has no other inscriptions. Working with his long handled scythe at harvest time, the farm labourer's tasks through the year also included hedging, ditching, ploughing, sowing and weeding. Recruited on a yearly and a daily basis, the farm labourer's work was

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[44] Nicholas Mansfield, "John Brown a Shoemaker in Place's London," *History Workshop* No. 8 (1979). 132-133.

[45] In his article on eighteenth century shop tickets, Gavin Scott describes how shop tokens were sometimes given to customers as change and served as advertisement and traders' cards. Gavin Scott, "Some shop tickets countermarked and engraved on copper coins at the end of the eighteenth century," *British Numismatic Journal* 44 (1974). 79.

seasonal with few people fully employed and some only hired for the peak seasons of spring and summer.

The practice of using tools to indicate a person's occupation, whether a peruke maker or a farm labourer, was clearly part of a visual culture of work. Expressed in words and images it is evident what these men did, and for their contemporaries and communities there was an unarticulated understanding of, not only their day to day work, but their culture and values. The tools evoke the rhythms of daily life. They were extensions of the labourer's and artisan's body, part of the identity of an occupation as well as the person carrying out that role. There is an established corpus of work that addresses the property of skill among the labouring sorts in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. [46] The division of labour and demarcation of trades was strongly instilled by guild, worshipful company and trade society customs. It was one of the aspects of the eighteenth century labour market that some historians consider acted as an obstruction to the emergence of a universally shared working class consciousness.[47] The tokens depicting work clearly reflect loyalty to a particular trade and in so doing make manifest a visual expression of the division of labour and also the identities associated with specific trades.[48] The tokens of the peruke maker and farm labourer reveal the importance of tools as indicators of the ability to make a living and loyalty to a trade. They were essential to the jobs they did. These tokens are records of a life of work.

5.7   Betty Hamer: a black worker from Bolton, Lancashire

My research of love token collections has uncovered few examples with illustrations of women working or with details of their trades or tools. Although gender has not been an organising theme for this study, one of the traceable tokens from the Acworth collection was made for or by a woman, Betty Hamer. On many tokens where women are depicted they are shown, for example, as part of a couple, as a sorrowful figure

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[46] Rule, "The property of skill in the period of manufacture." 99-119. Robert Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976). 1-8. Harvey J. Kaye and Keith McClelland, eds., *E.P. Thompson: critical perspectives* (Oxford: Polity, 1990). 24-26. Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches,* 119-129.
[47]   Snell,"The culture of local xenophobia," 3-4.
[48] Barrell, "Visualising the Division of Labour: William Pyne's *Microcosm*." 89-118.

waving goodbye to a departing loved one or mourning a dead relative beside a tomb. Betty's token differs from such portrayals of women since it refers to the work of a woman. It merits further investigation. Did Betty have the token made as a keepsake or was it a gift to her from a lover or family member? We may never know. What the token does make manifest is the motivation to define oneself through a trade.

Figure 5.29 A black worker's token. Side one: Betty Hamer, Black Worker, Bolton. Side two: Three masted ship with boat alongside & two figures on shore landing another boat, from the Acworth collection. Omeka identifier M166. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 5.30 Image from 'A book of garlands' with sun and seascape from the National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835, Author's photograph.

Square in shape and cut from a piece of sheet copper, Betty Hamer's token records her trade as a black worker from Bolton (Figure 5.29).[49] Although not made from a coin, Betty's token is similar in size. On one side of the token are the words 'Betty Hamer, Black Worker, Bolton' and on the reverse is the outline of a ship and sun, with a rowing boat near it and two figures on the shore. The lettering is in Roman and Gothic style and the quality of the work suggests this token was made by a skilled engraver.

Again the similarities between tokens and woodblock prints can be seen in the image from a chapbook that depicts the sun setting over a seascape (Figure 5.30). The token is not dated but a number of factors indicate it was possibly made at the end of the eighteenth century. The type of ship engraved on this token can be compared to others on love tokens which were made between 1770 and 1800.[50] The vessel on Betty's token has a single gun deck and high poop deck which suggests it was a frigate. As well as the type of ship detail, the fact that the token was made from thin copper sheeting suggests a possible link to the practice of copper sheathing ships.[51] We can speculate that the engraver may have had access to a supply of copper if he was located in a port where copper bottoming was being carried out. Liverpool was such a port and not a great distance from Bolton.[52] If this token was a courtship gift, perhaps Betty's admirer sailed in and out of Liverpool or worked in the ship-building yard. The practice of copper bottoming provides evidence to support the speculation about when Betty's token was created, why it was crafted from copper sheeting and even where it might have been made.

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[49] Without the dates of Betty's birth, marriage or death, it is difficult to find out more about her through other records. There are several Betty Hamers listed in parish records for Bolton in the late eighteenth century. The surname Hamer was and continues to be a frequently found surname in Lancashire.

[50] Peter Kemp, *The history of ships* (London: Orbis Books 1978). 109-124.

[51] This process was developed in the eighteenth century as a method of protecting ship hulks from rot and in particular the damage caused by the Teredo worm. The Royal Navy fleet was copper bottomed between 1779 and 1781. It enabled ships to stay at sea much longer without repairs needed to the wooden timbers. The coppering of the entire fleet was hastened by war with America and her allies France, Spain and Holland over the period 1775 – 1783. John M Bingeman, John P Bethell, Peter Goodwin and Arthur T Mack, "Copper and other sheathing in the Royal Navy," *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 29.2 (2000). 218-229.

[52] J R Harris, "Copper and Shipping in the Eighteenth Century," *The Economic History Review* 19.3 (1966). 567.

Black work may refer either to a black work embroiderer, or the sewing of mourning clothes.[53] A black work embroiderer decorated garments and household furnishings with geometric and floral stitching in a single colour, most frequently black hence the name, but not exclusively so. Black work embroidery was popular during the reign of Elizabeth as a decoration on elite dress and most sources agree that it was in decline during the eighteenth century.[54] However, reference to black work in connection with mourning clothes rather than embroidery is found in London newspaper advertisements from the 1770s onwards, including a 'wanted' advertisement for work as an 'Upper Servant or Nursery Maid […] who understands mantua-making, black work, clear-starching and can give a good character'.[55]

A search of trade directories finds mention of black workers in the north west of England between 1780 and 1800, in particular in Manchester, Salford and Liverpool.[56] All the entries in the north west directories are for women and sometimes the role of black worker is combined with dressmaking and laundry skills.[57] In Elizabeth Gaskill's novel *Mary Barton*, published in 1848 and set in the textile industry of Manchester, one of the characters takes in sewing. Recounting why she chose to do black work, the character, Margaret, comments 'mourning has been so plentiful this winter, that I were tempted to take in any black work I could'.[58] In this context, she is referring to sewing mourning clothes. From these different threads of evidence it appears that Betty Hamer's black work involved dress making and particularly mourning wear.

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[53] The definition for black work in the *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities* is 'A type of embroidery of Spanish origin, popular in the sixteenth century and the seventeenth, using black silk to stitch stylised or naturalistic motifs onto white linen or silk.' Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1550-1820, The *Oxford English Dictionary Online* has four definitions for black work: ironwork which has been left unpolished, a type of embroidery using black silk on white cloth, blacked leather and undertaker's work. "black work, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. http://www.oed.com. In an article on married women's occupations in eighteenth century London, Amy Louise Erikson refers to apprenticeship records from Christ's Hospital. Among the occupations she identifies, two women are described as Blackworkmakers. Amy Louise Erickson, "Married women's occupations in eighteenth-century London'," *Continuity and Change* 23 (2008). 279-281.
[54] Mary Gostelow, *Blackwork* (Batsford, 1976). 33.
[55] *Morning Herald.* April 10, 1793.
[56] The town of Bolton is included in *The Bailey's Northern directory, or, merchant's and tradesman's useful companion*. In 1781, the only entries for textile trades in Bolton are for cotton or fustian manufacturers.
[57] G. Bancks, *Bancks's Manchester and Salford Directory or, alphabetical list of the merchants, manufacturers, and principal inhabitants* (Manchester: G. Bancks, Corner of St. Ann's Square, 1800).
[58] Elizabeth Gaskill, *Mary Barton: a tale of Manchester life* (London: Penguin, 1848). 86.

Betty's token may have been made as a keepsake to record her sense of pride in her skills as a black worker and loyalty to the trade. It clearly affirms Betty's ability to work and make ends meet. The token may have been a gift from a lover or husband. If this is the case, it combines notions of independence with those of protection in a culture where dressmaking was viewed by some as being less than a respectable trade for women. Porter remarks that when women married they acquired among other things the protection and status of their husbands.[59] Robert Campbell wrote about the role of a mantuamaker in his 1747 directory of trades, *The London Tradesman,* warning parents of the conditions a young woman might face when working as a dressmaker, 'It is a Misfortune to the Fair Sex when they are left young to their own Management, that they can scarce avoid falling into the many Snares laid for them by designing Men.'[60] Indeed, many women who worked in dressmaking and related trades were vulnerable to men who viewed them as prostitutes.[61] However, Peter Earle observes that girls apprenticed into the dressmaking trades came from genteel backgrounds.[62] This is a finding that affords status to the work of milliners, mantuamakers and seamstresses. It is unclear where black work fell in the hierarchy of dressmaking roles. Amy Louise Erickson suggests in her study of the status of married women's occupations in eighteenth century London, that a blackworkmaker Elizabeth Pym 'might have been classed as a lowly needlewoman were she not married to a Draper.'[63] Undoubtedly the status of women's work was ambiguous and less secure than that of men. Nevertheless it could be argued that the quality of detail in this engraving and illustration of sunshine and calm waters does engender a sense of well being and affection as well as one of movement and departure. Unlike the mournful depictions of women left behind as mariners sailed away (Figure 5.31), the imagined representation of a peaceful scene has been chosen as a picture of a moment in time for Betty to keep and gaze upon.

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[59] Porter, *English Society in the eighteenth century,* 31.
[60] Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* 228.
[61] Lincoln, *Naval Wives and Mistresses,* 149.
[62] Peter Earle, *A city full of people: men and women of London 1650-1750* (London: Methuen, 1994). 118.
[63] Erickson, "Married women's occupations in eighteenth-century London'," 281.

Figure 5.31 Weeping women on the quayside. **Image 1:** Weeping woman next to anchor with inscription Laurence and Elizabeth Tyson, August 1792, from the Acworth collection. Omeka identifier M112. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 2:** Woman waving to departing ship from the Tolson Museum, Huddersfield. Image number 10_7387a. **Image 3:** Woman dressed as Britannia looking into distance next to anchor with words 'Never Despair' from the National Maritime Museum Greenwich E3877-2. http://collections.rmg.co.uk.

5.8 'Five years in Newgate': the gaol breaker[64]

Figure 5.32 John Leross's token and the tools of a gaol break. Side one: 'John Leross Fine for 5 Years in Newgate' 1775 and initials M.J, with glass, bottle and two church warden pipes. Side two: a picklock, a key, a bag, a brace, two pistols, two swords, a bradawl, a saw, a set of scales as well as some tools which remain unidentified, from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M170. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

The tokens discussed so far have been engraved with illustrations and references to trades. The choice of figures, accessories and tools combined with personal details create portrayals and markers of self. The last example in this chapter, as already signalled, does not adhere in the same way to the theme of trade. It takes the process of love token making and depictions of trades and uses them to record a different event and set of skills. Instead of the skills of a trade, the tools depicted on John Leross's token refer to the implements that facilitated a gaol break (Figure 5.32).

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[64] Idiom from John Leross's token, see Figure 5.32.

Leross's token is dated 1775 and on one side there is a set of initials M.J, two pipes, a glass and a bottle.[65] Around the border of the coin are the words 'John Leross Fine For 5 Years in Newgate.' Leross was one of seven prisoners convicted for Riot and Assault in April 1775.[66] He was 23 years old and the riot involved freeing a prisoner from a watch-house where he was being kept overnight before being sent to court (Figure 5.33).[67] Leross's fellow rioters were John Morris, Joseph Ephraims, Arthur Levy, Abraham Isaacs, Thomas Hartman and Joseph Hawes. They were all sentenced to be imprisoned

Figure 5.33 Images of watch-houses. **Image 1:** Interior of Marylebone Watch-house 1729, image from www.londonlives.org. **Image 2:** Exterior of Covent Garden Watch-house 1835, image from www.oldbaileyonline.org.

for five years for:

> riotously assembling at the watch-house in Moorfields, rescuing a prisoner then in custody on suspicion of felony, and feloniosly knocking James Dennis down to the ground, putting him in fear of his life, and robbing him of 24s. and a gold laced hat. [68]

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[65] The image of a glass, bottle and two churchwarden pipes are discussed in more detail in Chapter six in relation to the figure of the 'hearty good fellow'.

[66] London Lives 1690-1800, LMSLPS150910089, City of London Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents 1776 - 1780.

[67] The watch-house was where prisoners were held overnight having been caught by the nightwatchman before being brought in front of the Justice of the Peace the next morning. Tim Hitchcock, Sharon Howard and Robert Shoemaker, "Prisons and Lockups," *London Lives 1690-1800* (version 1.1, 17 June 2012).

[68] Although the punishment was a 'fine' for five years, the City of London session papers make no mention of a financial fine. A combination of a fine and imprisonment was a frequent form of

Two years later Leross and Joseph Hawes were both tried and convicted for rioting again, for 'having committed great riot and outrage in Newgate gaol'.[69] As a result of this action, Leross was moved for the rest of his sentence to the House of Correction at Clerkenwell. Given the details of Leross's actions, one suggestion is that the tools engraved on his token are those used to assist in the escape, riot and assault. They are outlines of a picklock, a key, a bag, a brace, two pistols, two swords, a bradawl, a saw, a set of scales as well as some tools which remain unidentified; all equipment which could have been used to break somebody out of a watch-house. They are in effect the tools of an eighteenth century gaol break. The inscribed images and words record the initial success of the enterprise as well as subsequent prosecution and punishment by the judicial system.

What then was the intention in making this token? By choosing to mark his imprisonment and illustrate the tools of a crime, Leross recorded his actions and commemorated the event. It was clearly an experience which defined him. The act of rubbing away the king's head from a coin and engraving the tools of a gaol break was possibly part of Leross's desire to celebrate his subversive identity. Using the same style as other love tokens that employ emblems of trade, Leross confidently displayed his actions in helping someone, possibly a friend or family member, to evade the law. His disdain for the judicial system and those connected with it are made visible in the engraved outlines that refer to a subversive action. Whilst the illustration of tools place Leross's activities alongside those expressing their identities through legitimate trades, he was at the same time demonstrating a disregard for the judiciary that convicted him and the wider legal landscape.

At the same time, it would appear that he was also seeking respect from fellow law breakers in taking action and using his skills to break someone out of gaol. Fifty years earlier the stories of Jack Sheppard's escapes from prison were widely reported in broadsides and ballads (Figure 5.34). Sheppard's notoriety ensured the theme of gaol

punishment from the 1770s onwards. Non-payment of a fine resulted in imprisonment until the fine was paid. Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Punishments at the Old Bailey," *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (version 6.0, 17 April 2011).
[69] London Lives 1690-1800, LMSLPS150910089, City of London Sessions: Sessions Papers - Justices' Working Documents 1776 – 1780.

breaks was embedded in the popular history of the eighteenth century. Rather than picklocks and keys, he used spikes from railings, iron bars and also sheets and blankets as the tools of his escapes.[70] As Linebaugh remarks, Sheppard's 'excellence lay in the manipulative genius with the tool and the extraordinary dexterity of hand and limb that were much prized in this metropolis of skilled craftspeople.'[71] Leross's token, recording his involvement in escape and riot, whilst not as ingenious as Sheppard's, highlights the skills needed for such an operation through the imagery of tools. Whilst the actions of a gaol breaker may not have been viewed as a trade, they can be seen alongside other roles such as pickpocket, highwayman and coiner that Linebaugh refers to as 'careers'.[72] The possession and employment of skills was still about status and economic survival in a climate where, for example, land was being enclosed and the taking of customary perquisites was being criminilised. These were traditional rights that can be seen in relation to the distinctiveness of a particular trade and had been established, practised and negotiated over time. As Thompson explains they reflected 'pride in certain standards of workmanship, customary rewards for different grades of skill.'[73]

Five years later, when Leross may still have been in Clerkenwell, the inmates of Newgate prison (numbering in their hundreds) were all liberated as it was destroyed and burned by the mob in the Gordon Riots of 1780. Newgate was a most hated institution, associated as Linebaugh explains with the suffering of countless punishments of exile and execution.[74] It is not surprising in the years that led up to the Gordon Riots, that prisoners such as Leross were also demonstrating their hatred of Newgate and all that it represented. When he was incarcerated there, Leross no doubt had access to the practice and expertise needed to be able to engrave a token or commission one. Within the walls of the prison perhaps the token was not such a private object but considered more as a 'badge of honour', a sign of freedom to share with fellow inmates. Whilst making it, Leross may have used it as an illustration of his skill and status, an aide in recounting the gaol break and to show off his success in

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[70] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 23.
[71] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 37.
[72] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 232.
[73] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* 261.
[74] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 360.

Shepherd in the Stone Room in Newgate

Figure 5.34 Jack Sheppard in Newgate gaol by unknown artist, eighteenth century. Private Collection © Bridgeman Education.

temporarily defying the law. It was a material expression of a protest against imprisonment. In other words, it told others 'I can escape!' Perhaps the token was also created in order to promote the skills of love token making he could offer to fellow prisoners.

The Old Bailey accounts record Leross being involved in two incidences of riot; actions which indicate feelings of outrage and protest at the loss of liberty. Without more detail about the nature of the grievances and riots this part of the narrative remains unknown. However, in the wider context of the late eighteenth century, riots took place, for example, in response to the high price of bread, the imposition of taxes on windows as well as incarceration. Thompson, in his famous essay on the moral economy of the crowd, argues that where non monetary practices were still part of economic relations, riots were an expression of people's moral outrage at those who

took advantage of the free market and disregarded mutual obligations and expected behaviour.[75] King comments on how we can approach the ideas of the poor in the eighteenth century through their actions, for example, their participation in riots and moments of extreme unrest.[76] From this perspective Leross's token demonstrates his belief in taking action when the collective codes of behaviour were under threat.

5.9 Conclusion

The tokens examined in this chapter reveal how identity was expressed on tokens through emblems of trade. Whilst an analysis of the inscriptions opens up a range of interpretations, it is important to consider them in the context of the scale of these objects. Lara Perry reminds us, when writing about the portrait of a merchant naval captain, that when the picture is miniature it 'exacts scrutiny and […] means that the viewer's relationship with the portrait is an intimate one.'[77] In the same way, the inscriptions crafted on the face of a tiny coin reflect a personal and private relationship. These were objects to be touched, worn around the neck and looked at. Consequently ideas about personhood need to be considered within the confines of an intimate audience. These tokens are evidence of the desire to record a moment or an event associated with strong sentiments intended primarily for private contemplation.

Working through the evidence from different depictions of people and their work, love tokens offer a repertoire of meanings. Not only are they about trade, they are also made from the currency that was one of the forms of payment that facilitated trade transactions. In other words, the metal from which these tokens were made was also part of the fabric of work and trade relationships. In some instances, love tokens that depicted trades may even have returned to circulation to pay for traded goods or services. The outlines of stock figures, such as the sailor's farewell, can also be seen as representations of types of people. The addition of details such as a name or set of initials introduce the sense of an individual's personal identity. Writing about the jewellery of the elite, Pointon distinguishes between the commonplace iconography of

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[75] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 185-258.
[76] "Voices from the Old Bailey Series 2 Episode 1"
[77] Lara Perry, "A Merchant Naval Captain," *Knowing the Unknown Sitter*, eds. Nicky Bird and Lara Perry (2005).

emblems found on miniature portraits such as winged cherubs and the more personal details such as a lock of hair. Such a distinction is also relevant to love tokens. The similarity in the styles of trade symbols and figures indicates the appropriation and use of a lexicon of well-known figures for self representations on tokens. However when they are also engraved with the addition of small details or with the features of an unschooled hand, they become personal records and commemorations of an individual's life.

From the examples of Salter's and Leross's tokens, the outlines of tools can be seen as emblems of trade but also of protest. They emphasise the importance of work and economic survival in defining people's sense of self and their loyalty to trades and locations. Where the outlines on these two tokens converge is in some of the values they share. These are values of work within a community of sailors, artisans and labourers; demonstrations of mutual support and cooperation between people, for example, when labouring alongside others in the field or workshop or even when joining together subversively to participate in a riot. In this sense, they express the importance of attachment to a community and a trade. At the same time, they indicate and illustrate a world of divided labour where roles were clearly defined and differentiated by emblems of work.

Whilst there are very few primary sources that offer accounts of how tokens were given, the evidence of this chapter suggests some were made to keep and some were given to family members to take with them as they left home or progressed in their trades. The customary practice of love token making cannot be seen in isolation for it is embedded in a community's values and beliefs. Whether giving voice to the expression of sentiment, celebrating time off from work, legitimising the act of leaving home or acknowledging the mutual expectations and obligations of work and family, love tokens reflect attachments to work and family. They illustrate the importance of work in relation to how people viewed themselves and others. This was how they survived and the skills and tools they used as well as the clothes and accessories they wore, were all elements of their working lives that distinguished them from others. Whilst these are not portraits as such, they are portrayals that convey identity in

material form, the signed markers of working people made *by* working people. Tokens are historical records that offer rare self definitions of the poor in relation to work.

Chapter 6. 'Love the Giver & Keep This For his Sake': the love tokens left behind by transported prisoners[1]

6.1 Introduction

So far this thesis has explored the meanings and sentiments that love tokens convey through the lexicon of the heart and of trade. Above all, these objects are records of a person's life and specific moments in time. They commemorate people's existence and relationships. This chapter takes the third strand of the proposed love token taxonomy, that of loss and separation, and considers the tokens made by people who faced temporary or permanent exile from home. These engraved coins were given to loved ones at the point of departure and left behind as reminders of self. Unlike the expressions of affection and personhood captured in the icon of the heart and emblems of trade, the inscriptions on convict tokens record moments of separation but also relationships that were about to change. How did prisoners and their families feel as convicts faced banishment? The analysis of the language and imagery appropriated by prisoners prompts discussion about feelings where convicts were unlikely to see loved ones again. It explores the apparent complicities evident in references on tokens to hoped-for reunions when it was widely acknowledged that few prisoners would see their families again.

The love tokens made by convicts exiled from England to Australia in the years 1787 to 1856 are the one group of tokens that has already received scholarly attention. The collecting history of tokens, set out in Chapter one, introduced the work of Millett and Field and their publication *Convict Love Tokens: The Leaden Hearts the Convicts Left Behind.*[2] As mentioned, this publication accompanied an exhibition of Millett's personal collection of convict love tokens that toured museums in England and Australia in 1999. The book features short essays that describe the tokens and their content. The tokens are discussed in the context of crime and punishment. For example, they are compared to the last dying speeches of prisoners and to tiny

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[1] Idiom from Millett collection convict token, object number 2008.0039.0307, http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.
[2] Field and Millett, eds., *Convict love tokens,*

gravestones.[3] Tokens are also explored in terms of the material culture of commemoration, the iconography of tattoos and the exchange of emotional objects by which people were remembered. The observations on their similarities to gravestones and the notion of tokens as embedded objects clearly resonate with my work. However, the question of how love tokens crafted by prisoners fit into the wider practice of love token making and what customary practices influenced them is only briefly addressed.[4]

From the perspective of Millett and Field's work, convict love tokens are exclusively those crafted by prisoners transported from England to Australia. A number of factors contribute to this assumption: the existence of one large collection of over three hundred examples, many with names of prisoners and dates of convictions that can be traced in court proceedings and transportation records; the fact that most convict pieces are engraved on cartwheel pennies in a distinctive punched style and are therefore easily recognisable and finally the familiarity of many historians, museum curators and token collectors with the *Leaden Hearts* exhibition and publication.[5] Millett ponders the lack of surviving convict tokens that record transportation from Ireland to Australia.[6] However, it would appear that no one has questioned whether there are tokens that record transportation before 1787. As far as I am aware, no detailed research has yet been undertaken that identifies prisoner tokens crafted by convicts banished elsewhere by the British government. Between 1718 and 1776 convicts were transported to the American Colonies. Since love token making was clearly an eighteenth century customary practice it follows that pre-cursors to the Australian convict tokens are to be found in love token collections. This chapter introduces evidence of a pre-1787 convict token crafted by a prisoner exiled to the American Colonies two decades earlier. The token offers proof that convict tokens are

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[3] Gretton, "Last dying speech and confession." 39.

[4] Millett, "Leaden Hearts." 22.

[5] The punched style used on tokens and how it was achieved by lines of fine punch marks made with a sharp pointed instrument is discussed in detail in Chapter three (Figures 3.19 & 3.14).

[6] There are surviving examples of tokens that record Irish place names, for example the name 'Sally Pringle' and the place 'Belfast' engraved on a trade token from County Wicklow, www.dnw.co.uk. Millett also mentions examples of Irish people transported to Australia from England. Millett, "Leaden Hearts." 15-16. See Peter Martin's (1836) and William Holmes's (1844) tokens at http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.

not exclusive to the Australian experience of transportation. It also indicates that transportation tokens relating to other destinations of enforced migration exist in love token collections. The research in this chapter contributes to their identification. The token under discussion is one left behind by a Thames Waterman transported to Virginia in 1768. It offers evidence to substantiate the premise that Australian convict tokens belong to the established custom of love token making and exchange.

Historians generally agree that relationships between exiled convicts and their families were unlikely to be sustained over time and distance.[7] Whilst many wives and sweethearts endeavoured to join their husbands and lovers in Australia, few managed to do so. Some of the sentiments in the letters convicts wrote to loved ones before leaving, share similarities with the affectionate refrains employed on love tokens. For example, John Ward recalled words he had written to his lover before his imprisonment and how he never expected them to reflect his situation, 'Far beyond the seas|Unpittied I'll remove|And rather cease to live|E'er I will cease to love'.[8] Similar phrases are found on convict tokens such as 'When I am far beyond the seas pray look at this and think of me.' Once in exile, some convicts attempted to escape by making their way inland and also by leaving Australia and reaching China and remote parts of the Pacific.[9] However for most prisoners, the punishment of transportation severed relationships with loved ones.

Families may not have anticipated the schism of transportation, but they were accustomed to periodic separations and reunions. The composite nature of households, where members joined and left under different contractual arrangements, was discussed in Chapter four in relation to sentimental attachments.[10] Migration within the countryside and from country to town had long been part of labour practices as evidenced in the 'leaving home' tokens discussed in Chapter five. In addition, the eighteenth century witnessed increased travel, for example by mariners,

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[7] Millett, "Leaden Hearts." 25. Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 120-123.

[8] John Ward, *Diary of a Convict, 1841-44.* quoted in Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 120. For discussion of convicts' correspondence with their families see Hughes, *The Fatal Shore.* 120-123.

[9] Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 187-224. Gregory Durston, "Magwitch's forbears: returning from transportation in eighteenth-century London," *Australian Journal of Legal History* 9 (2005). 137-158.

[10] Contractual arrangements might include those of marriage, indenture, service and boarding. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage,* 27-29.

as a result of trade with the colonies and beyond. Unlike the ink, seals and paper of eighteenth century letters which kept literate families in touch during this time of labour migration, love tokens were not usually employed as a site for correspondence.[11] Indeed, this thesis has argued that they belong to a material and visual culture rather than a written one. Tokens capture the details of a life and a moment in time that fitted onto the two faces of a coin. In a few engraved letters and outlines convicts, for example, recorded names, dates and attachments that were important to them. However, some prisoner tokens do also carry messages related to the crimes and punishments they record. The messages are examined in this chapter in terms of what they reveal about the emotional responses of convicts to their punishment of exile and the account they chose to leave behind.

As the thesis has established, tokens were inscribed with images and idioms appropriated from a familiar lexicon of visual culture. Where household and work were the focus of people's survival, the unexpected break up of relationships caused by the transportation of a loved one had sudden and long term effects on economic and affective arrangements. The inscriptions on prisoner tokens reflect these situations. Among the images they project are ones of happy families and homes as records for those left behind to keep. Yet, the aftermath of exile clearly led to disruption in households, the need to find additional forms of income and the threat of poverty and starvation. The language and imagery on tokens is analysed with reference to popular literature in order to illustrate how the love token lexicon was appropriated by prisoners. The findings reveal how the vocabulary was employed to convey a range of sentiments from disavowal and remorse to the desire for forgiveness and remembrance. In some cases, both prisoners and families colluded in the lie that they would be re-united in the future.

6.1.1 Outline of the chapter

This chapter makes the case that convict tokens belonged to the tradition of recording life events on tokens and were not exclusive to the Australian experience of

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[11] For a discussion of family separation across the Atlantic in the eighteenth century through the evidence of letters see Sarah M. S. Pearsall, *Atlantic families: lives and letters in the later eighteenth century*, Atlantic families (2008). 6.

transportation. Before examining this in detail, the next section focuses on the punishment of transportation in the eighteenth century with particular reference to the American Colonies. The text then explores the language and imagery engraved on convict tokens which record exile to Australia after 1787.[12] Since it is not always clear whether a token is a convict one, the key features are examined using convict examples from the Acworth and Millet collections.[13] The purpose in so doing, is to establish the main characteristics of convict pieces that can be used as a guide when identifying prisoner tokens that were made to record transportation to places of exile other than Australia. In the discussion of convict token inscriptions and the appropriation of language and imagery, two images are explored in detail, that of the 'hearty good fellow' and the kneeling slave. The 'hearty good fellow' image depicts a prisoner shackled from the waist down but whose upper torso is clearly in good spirits, with a pipe in one hand and a jug of ale in the other. In contrast, the outline of a kneeling slave on tokens evokes the bowed and supplicant figure of the Wedgwood slave medallion, well-known as the icon of the abolitionist movement in the late eighteenth century. The last section of the chapter introduces the convict token that records transportation to the American Colonies. The identification of this token opens up the possibility of locating other examples of convict tokens that record transportation to the American Colonies and other places of exile.

Tokens were part of a traditional behaviour by which the poor left a mark. Convict pieces continue this customary practice, in that they document particular events and express affection for others, but they also commemorate separations and feelings of loss. Prisoner tokens also assumed other meanings once the convict departed. They were left behind for loved ones to keep and to look at, and in so doing to act as reminders of the absent person. They stood in place of the departed prisoner and so embodied not only the moment of departure, but also the relationship with a person who was no longer present. In the process of being left behind, the token moved from

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[12] Transportation to Australia began in 1787 with the First Fleet departing for Botany Bay in May of that year and arriving in January 1788.
[13] See the interactive project that catalogues the three hundred Millett convict tokens at http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.

an object of exchange that recorded loss and separation, to one that demanded guardianship and acted as a prompt for remembering an absent loved one.

6.2 Convict transportation to the American Colonies 1718-1776

Although the punishment of transportation is primarily associated with exile to Australia, Britain transported convicts to countries all over the world from the American Colonies, Caribbean and Bermuda to Gibraltar, West Africa, Burma, Singapore and Australia during a period of over three hundred years, between 1615 and 1945.[14] The movement of British convicts in the years 1615-1870 had two peaks of activity; the first from 1718 to 1776 when prisoners were sent to the American Colonies, and the second between 1787 and 1853 when they were exiled to Van Diemen's Land and Western Australia.[15] Numbers transported to the American Colonies are estimated to be 50,000, consisting of 36,000 from England and Wales, 13,000 from Ireland and 700 from Scotland.[16] Over half of those transported from England were sent from London.[17] In comparison, over three times as many British convicts, 160,000, were exiled to Australia between 1815 and 1868.[18]

As a punishment, transportation provided the government with a solution to the rising fear of an increase in property crime; a concern in the first half of the eighteenth century that was frequently linked to the growth in urban populations and consumption of material goods, as well as the fluctuations in unemployment and military recruitment.[19] Transportation offered a sentence which was not as severe as hanging or as lenient as branding or whipping. By banishing prisoners and preventing them from re-offending in England for a number of years, the intention was to reassure the middling sorts of a reduced threat to both their personal safety and to

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[14] Maxwell-Stewart,"Convict Transportation " 1221-42.

[15] 1615 was the first year in which convicts were transported to the American Colonies and 1870 the year the last convicts were sent to Gibraltar.

[16] A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America; the transportation of British convicts to the colonies, 1718-1775* (1987). 27.

[17] A. Roger Ekirch, "Bound for America: A Profile of British Convicts Transported to the Colonies, 1718-1775," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 42.2 (1985). 188.

[18] Maxwell-Stewart,"Convict Transportation " 1224.

[19] For discussion of eighteenth century crime and punishment see J M Beattie, *Crime and the courts in England, 1660-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986). Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Punishments at the Old Bailey,"

that of their possessions. Most prisoners were exiled for grand larceny, that is theft of property with a value over one shilling and the sentence was for seven years. Other 'transports' were felons reprieved from capital punishment and banished for fourteen years or life.[20] Eighty per cent of convicts were men from the 'lower ranks', who had been found guilty of offences before and whose crimes may have initially resulted from economic hardship and the inability to 'make ends meet'.[21] In other words they were, as Linebaugh elucidates, the people who *made* eighteenth century London: the apprentices, labourers and artisans or more precisely the weavers, butchers, shoemakers, barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, watermen and brickmakers.[22] Trades people were frequently found guilty of stealing goods that were traditionally viewed as customary perquisites.[23] Once imprisoned for such crimes, some prisoners turned to the rituals with which they were familiar. The sentence of death or transportation clearly prompted the desire to leave a record of their imprisonment and to express feelings for those from whom they were about to be separated. The details they chose to engrave were similar to those inscribed on other commemorative tokens. Prisoners engraved initials, names, dates and places. Some added messages about their crimes. For example, one token in Barnard's catalogue recorded the murder of Wolf Myers by J. Curtis on December 28 1767 and the subsequent punishment of 'hanging by chains' near Sarum on March 14 1768.[24] In a similar vein, John Leross's token (Figure 5.32), discussed in the last chapter, recorded the dates and location of his imprisonment and the nature of his punishment.

Transporting convicts to the American Colonies was a commercial enterprise with government involvement ending once felons were on board ship.[25] Merchants carried prisoners predominantly to Virginia and Maryland, 'sold' them as labourers and servants, and returned to England with cargoes of tobacco. Plantation owners did not actually buy convicts, what they bought were the rights to the convicts' labour for the

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[20] The noun 'transport' was the term used in the eighteenth century to refer to a person under sentence of transportation. "transport, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. http://www.oed.com.
[21] For information on the eighteenth century economy of makeshifts see footnote 2 in Chapter two.
[22] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 105.
[23] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 225-255.
[24] Pierrepont Barnard,"Examples of Engraved coins " 8.
[25] Ekirch, *Bound for America,* 70-94.

duration of their sentences, after which time they were free.[26] Between 1727 and

1772, the Treasury paid £5 per prisoner for all those shipped from London and, in

exchange, contractors signed bonds agreeing to carry convicts regardless of their

physical condition and ability to do hard labour. Once prisoners were sentenced to

transportation to the American Colonies, a typical period of two to three months

elapsed between being convicted and boarding a transportation ship. During this time

merchants arranged contracts and bonds and prisoners from the regions were moved

to the major ports of London and Bristol ready for crossing the Atlantic. It was most

likely during this waiting period that prisoners crafted tokens; a time when they were

still visited by friends and family. Delays occurred when prisoners failed to arrive from

the regions within the timescale agreed with the merchants, or when officials failed to

process the paperwork needed for transportation. Prisons in England were run as

private enterprises and intended only to house people for short periods of time, as

'holding tanks' for those awaiting trial and those awaiting execution or

transportation.[27] Conditions were notoriously poor with gaolers charging inmates for

everything they provided.[28] Those with means to pay received preferential treatment

in prison and once on board ship.[29] Most prisoners endured poor conditions, whether

in prison or crossing the Atlantic. They were chained in cells or below deck with

inadequate provisions and poor sanitation. On arrival in the colonies, merchants were

required by the government to acquire landing certificates as proof of safe delivery.

How felons were treated on the voyage, which ports they were delivered to, what

price they fetched and who 'bought' them was in the hands of the merchants.[30] The

auction of convicts in the colonies was compared to that of livestock. According to the

Ordinary of Newgate's account dated November 1744:

> The Manner of these Convicts being sold, is as follows: They are placed in a
>
> Row together, like so many Oxen or Cows, and the Planters come and survey

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[26] Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 37.

[27] Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, *Rogues, Thieves And the Rule of Law: The Problem Of Law Enforcement In North-East England, 1718-1820* (Routledge, 1998). 176.

[28] Farley Grubb, "The Market Evaluation of Criminality: Evidence from the Auction of British Convict Labor in America, 1767-1775," *American Economic Review* 91.1 (2001). 300.

[29] Ekirch, *Bound for America,* 102.

[30] Ekirch, *Bound for America,* 97-132.

them, and if they like 'em, they agree for Price, with the Person entrusted with the selling of 'em; and after they have paid the Money, they ask 'em if they like him for a Master, and is willing to go with him; if they answer in the Affirmative, they are delivered to him as his Property; if on the contrary, as it sometimes happens, they should answer in the Negative, the Planter has his Money again, and another Planter may make Choice of him, whom he may likewise Refuse, but no more, for with the Third it seems, he is oblig'd to go, whether he likes him or not.[31]

The Ordinary of Newgate's account clearly exposes the similarities between the auction of slaves and of convicts. It employed the rhetoric of slavery to describe the harsh conditions in the colonies and compare the lot of the convict with that of the African slave. The biography of Robert Perkins, for example, from 1742 describes how, 'he was Convicted and Transported to Jamaica for 7 Years; where he was sold for about Ten Pounds; but his Trade being nothing there, he was put to Hoeing, planting Tobacco, and all the Hardships that the Negro Slaves endured.'[32] Similarly the biography of Stephen Delaforce, who was executed for returning from transportation, refers to Delaforce's mistress in the colonies as 'the Lady he was Slave to'.[33] These narratives from the Ordinary of Newgate offer evidence of a contemporary source where transported felons were viewed alongside African slaves. The language of slavery is also found in the ballads and poems discussed in the next section.

6.2.1 Convict narratives about the American Colonies

Prisoner tokens were given to loved ones as a physical reminder of the absent person. However, little trace has been left by the convicts themselves about their experiences in North America as exiles from England.[34] Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton's work focuses on the literature that shaped contemporary perceptions of criminals

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[31] Ordinary of Newgate's Account, *www.oldbaileyonline.org version 7.0.* OA17441107, November 1744.
[32] Ordinary of Newgate's Account, *www.oldbaileyonline.org version 7.0.* OA17210705, July 1721.
[33] Ordinary of Newgate's Account, *www.oldbaileyonline.org version 7.0.* OA17201026, October 1720.
[34] A rich source for further research is the advertisements for runaway convicts in the Virginia and Maryland Gazettes. They include extraordinary physical descriptions of felons as well as their possessions and occupations. See the Virginia Runaways Project. http://www2.uvawise.edu/runaways.

The Poor Unhappy

Transported Felon's
Sorrowful ACCOUNT
OF

His Fourteen Years Transportation
at *Virginia, in America:*
In SIX PARTS,
BEING

A remakable and succinct History of the LIFE
of JAMES REVEL, the unhappy Sufferer.

Who was put Apprentice by his Father to a Tinman, nearl *Moor-Fieias*, where he got into bad Company, and before ong ran away, and went a robbing with a Gang of Thieves; but his Master soon got him back: Yet would not he be kept from his old Companions, but went a Thieving with them again; for which he was transported fourteen Years. With an Account of the Way the Transports works, and the Punishment they receive for committing any Fault.

Concluding with a Word of Advice to all young Men.

Figure 6.1 Title page from 'The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon', Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
http://gale.cengage.co.uk

transported to the American Colonies. [35] They highlight how the stories of 'the poor unhappy transported felon' James Revell (also known as Ravell and Ruel) (Figure 6.1) and 'the unhappy sufferer', William Green, were written to encourage young men to avoid bad company and criminality.[36] Revell was an apprentice tin man transported to Virginia and Green was an apprentice weaver exiled to Maryland. Accounts of this nature were often composite narratives adapted from a range of sources and published as cautionary tales. Although fabricated to a certain extent, some of the details, however, do reflect descriptions found in records associated with transportation. Morgan and Rushton, in their examination of the literature, set the poems of the 'unhappy transport' and the 'unhappy sufferer' in the context of the ballad tradition. They remark that such poems and ballads had a long broadsheet history appearing from the early eighteenth century onwards.[37] The stories appealed to readers' appetites for entertaining tales of wrong doing and suffering with happy endings.

According to Maxwell-Stewart this type of ballad was re-used in the Australian context with similar narratives to those of the transported felons, Revell and Green. Maxwell-Stewart also describes how the ballad literature made comparisons between the plights of convicts and slaves, comparisons echoed on love token inscriptions. He states, 'Allusions to the common lot of convicts and slaves were a standard feature of 18th century broadsheets, although by then, convict and slave rarely […] performed the same tasks.'[38] It is interesting to note that from the perspective of ballad and chapbook audiences, the situations of convicts and slaves were seen as comparable; an observation that helps us understand the use of the language and imagery of slavery on tokens.

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[35] Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, *Eighteenth-century criminal transportation;the formation of the criminal Atlantic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). 89-92.
[36] James Revell, *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia in America* (London, c.1780). William Green, *The sufferings of William Green, being a sorrowful account, of his seven years transportation* (London: 1775).
[37] Morgan and Rushton, *Eighteenth-century criminal transportation,* 92.
[38] Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, ""Like Poor Galley Slaves...": Slavery and Convict Transportation," *Legacies of Slavery: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Maria Suzette Fernandes Dias (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2008). 50.

In the ballad of Revell, the 'unhappy transport' is compared to livestock when potential masters appraised him at auction before making a purchase.

> Some view'd our limbs, and other's turn'd us round
>
> Examening like Horses, if we're sound […]
>
> Some felt our hands and view'd our legs and feet
>
> And made us walk, to see we were compleat,[39]

Such descriptions of the 'selling' of convicts undoubtedly reminded listeners of the treatment of African slaves. There were, however, fundamental differences between transatlantic slaves and transported felons. Whilst African slaves were in servitude for life and so were their offspring, convicts were 'owned' for the duration of their sentence, whether seven or fourteen years or life but their children were free. As Maxwell-Stewart points out, 'one system was a form of naked exploitation and the other one a legally and morally sanctioned act.' [40]

Despite the preaching overtones of the transports' ballads, both Revell and Green's stories refer to the impact of transportation and separation on families. Revell, for example, expressed the pain of parting from his parents and his shame in causing their suffering:

> My father griev'd, my mother she look'd wan,
>
> And cry'd alas! Alas! my only son
>
> My father cry'd; it cut me to the heart,
>
> To think on such occasion we must part.
>
> To see them griev'd pierc'd my very soul,
>
> My wretched case I sadly did condole,
>
> With grief and shame my eyes did overflow,
>
> And I'd much rather chuse to die than go.[41]

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[39] Revell, *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account,*
[40] Maxwell-Stewart, ""Like Poor Galley Slaves...": Slavery and Convict Transportation." 52 & 50
[41] Revell, *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account,*

James's words echo the inscriptions on love tokens where prisoners expressed their sorrow at leaving and their desire not to be judged too harshly by their families, for example in the phrase, 'if ever I should return|again my Nation|to see|I will enjoy my|relation dear| and shun bad company'.

In terms of family survival, the exile of prisoners jeopardised the cohesion and sustainability of households. Tokens express the feelings associated with these experiences. As already discussed in Chapter five, the engraved coins which depict leaving home for work were given as material expressions of attachment. In addition, they were also reminders of the family's expectation of reciprocal support and obligation. Tadmor describes how, in theory, kinship ties carried with them expectations of 'solidarity and consideration, duty and support'.[42] Clearly when convicts were exiled, the ability to sustain these ties was lost and many prisoners felt badly about their powerlessness to fulfil their duties. Prisoners expressed remorse for the roles they could no longer perform. Seen in this light, the making and giving of tokens was an act of contrition. Tokens provided a vehicle for prisoners to express their feelings of regret and pleas for redemption. Concern about no longer being able to support a family is reflected, for example, in the phrase, 'Mother|I hope you Wi|ll Think of|My Wife And|Child For That|Is All My Thought|Your Undutiful|Son G.Johnson|March 1 1844'. Convicts were apprehensive about their own survival but also the welfare of those they left behind. The ability to look after one's family was often given as evidence of a prisoner's good character. When William Fife was accused of stealing twelve silk and cotton handkerchiefs, value 24 shillings and transported to Maryland in 1756, it was his landlord who offered a character reference in William's defence, 'The prisoner lodged in my house upwards of five years; I always took him to be an honest man, he paid his rent well, and took care of his family.'[43] Convicts' actions in committing crimes on account of economic need demonstrated not only the risks they were prepared to take but also their sense of duty to care for their family. In his defence, John Green, who was transported to Maryland for stealing a silver cup,

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[42] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage,* 140-141.
[43] London Lives 1690-1800, t17561020,27, October 1756, William Fife.

claimed that he owned it and 'his Family wanted Bread, and he must sell it'.[44] The language of duty and of the desire for forgiveness used by prisoners highlights the importance of family bonds and values of obligation and support.

In the same way that convicts relied on others to speak for them in court, so once they were in exile, prisoners were no longer in a position to defend their actions or set the record straight concerning their crimes. The token inscribed with idioms from ballads such as 'let all the world say what they will' was a physical reminder of the absent felon and his inability to provide his own account.[45] Convict tokens were prompts for those left behind to remember the person and their story. They also expressed the desire for family members and friends to speak on behalf of prisoners who were no longer present.

6.3   Australian transportation love tokens

The next section sets out the characteristics of convict tokens associated with exile to Australia. The subject of how convicts were transported to Australia is well documented in comparison with the movement of felons to the colonies and so is not re-visited here.[46] The focus of the discussion is on the language and imagery that the tokens employ to express feelings of loss, hope, liberty and freedom.

6.3.1   Characteristics of convict tokens

Australian convict tokens have a distinctive style in terms of love token making. The intention in examining them here is to assist in the identification of tokens that refer to transportation to places other than Australia. The details the Australian convict tokens share are ones of design, the choice of base coin, the language of crime and punishment, the pleas for remembrance and compassion, and images of chained bodies. However, these features undoubtedly developed from the wider custom of love token making that this thesis examines. The study continues to use the evidence

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[44] London Lives 1690-1800, t17470116,7, January 1747, John Green.

[45] From the 19th century Scottish ballad of Kemp Owyne http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk.

[46] Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 119–145. Lucy Frost and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain Letters: Narrating convict lives* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001), Deborah Oxley, *Convict Maids: the forced migration of women to Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Bradley and Maxwell-Stewart, "Embodied Explorations:investigating convict tattoos and the transportation system."

of tokens from the Acworth collection that includes at least ten Australian convict pieces. It also refers to the much larger Millett collection that is composed solely of Australian convict tokens in order to illustrate the language and imagery under discussion. In terms of how the words and images were produced on the surface of the coins, some convict tokens were engraved, but the majority were punched.[47] The names, dates, idioms and figures inscribed on the metal were achieved through lines of fine punch marks made with a sharp pointed instrument hit by a tool such as a hammer. Whilst prisoners were waiting to be transported they may not have had access to specialist engraving tools, but resorted to what was available. For example, punch marks could be produced readily with a nail and a stone. An example from the Acworth collection illustrates the distinctive 'dotty' appearance of punched tokens (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Example of 'punched' inscriptions on a convict token. Side one: 1840 Dear Jane When this I wrote my heart did ache so keep this token for my sake W.Edwards Age 21. Side two: Dear Jane when this you see remember me when I am far away from thee Feb 10 J.C. From the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M027. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Another feature many of these punched coins have in common is that they were made from cartwheel pennies and less frequently twopences. These were the large copper coins discussed in Chapter two, that were produced for the government by Boulton in his Soho mint in Birmingham in 1797. As we have already seen, the pennies manufactured by Boulton were much thicker, larger and heavier than the halfpennies

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[47] See Chapter three for a discussion of the production of prisoner tokens including their punched style of inscriptions.

from which so many love tokens were crafted.[48] For the person paying for items in the market with small change, these cumbersome pennies and twopences were extremely unpopular, but for the convict wishing to display his message of affection and remembrance and draw an image of himself, these bigger pieces provided a slightly larger surface than a halfpenny on which to produce such an inscription.[49]

Finally, the language of prisoner tokens includes words which help identify them as convict pieces. Details of crimes as well as the date and nature of sentences were included on many. Words such as 'committed to Newgate', 'convicted', 'lag'd for life', 'cast for death', 'banished' and 'condemn'd' were all terms indicating encounters with judicial proceedings.[50] The ubiquitous phrases, 'when this you see remember me' and 'do not prove to me unkind' can be seen as the signature phrases of convict tokens. They emphasise the impact that impending separation from family had on convicts.

6.3.2 'The absent are to memory dear': separation and remorse[51]

The details that prisoners chose to punch on their tokens indicate the sense of loss they felt at the moment of separation from families. They expressed concern about how far away they would be from their loved ones with phrases such as 'when I am far away', 'lost to sight', 'tho distant be', 'gone from thee' and in a 'foren cuntery'. They employed idioms to express the physical pain of separation, 'No pen can write|No tongue can tell|The aching heart|That bids farewell' and 'I Shall Look Back When On The Main Towards My Native Soil & Fancy That I Hear Thy Voice And Think I See Thee

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[48] According to Peck, George I,II and III copper halfpennies up to the year 1775 have diameters ranging from 25 to 30mm.This disparity depended not only on the issue of the coin but also the production. Since they were made using a hand operated press the variations in pressure exerted created differences in widths and diameters of the coins. The 1797 cartwheel penny measure 35.8mm in diameter and 3 to 3.5mm in thickness and weighs one ounce whilst the twopence piece is 40.64mm in diameter, 5mm thick and weighs two ounces. Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins,* 142, 288 & 293.

[49] Their unpopularity is further demonstrated by the fact that from 1799, the heavy cartwheels were replaced by lighter copper pennies and halfpennies. Large quantities of cartwheel pennies and twopences were never returned to the Mint for melting as their weight made them unprofitable to transport to London. Indeed, many continued to be used as weights for weighing scales. Selgin, *Good money: Birmingham Button Makers, the Royal Mint, and the Beginnings of Modern Coinage, 1775-1821,* 169.

[50] The illustrative phrases quoted here are from the Millett collection of convict tokens, Field and Millett, eds., *Convict love tokens,* 76-114 and http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.

[51] Idiom from Millett collection convict token, object number 2008.0039.0021, http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.

Smile'. The harshness of prison conditions is also voiced in the line 'Down in| there loansom| sels i ly how| hard it is my| lot'. These are pleas for compassion and also for remembrance, for loved ones to 'think on the man that is not nigh.' Such phrases were clearly appropriated to elicit sympathy from loved ones about the lot of the prisoner. Similar sentiments and phrases are found in songs and ballads associated with sailors leaving home and loved ones emigrating, as well as those sentenced to transportation. The following lines are from a ballad printed in the early nineteenth century called *The Female Transport*:

> Come all young men and maidens do bad company forsake,
>
> If tongue can tell our overthrow, it would make your heart to ache,
>
> You girls I pray be ruled by me, your wicked ways give o'er,
>
> For fear like us you spend your days upon Van Dieman's shore[52]

Other terms frequently found on tokens refer to the state of incarceration, for example 'bound for slavery', 'chains', 'confined' and 'oprest'. George Shelley's token has the words 'When I am bound to slavery' above the outline of a prison hulk (Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3 'When I am bound to slavery' George Shelley's token from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M004. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

His inscription compares the situation of convicts to slaves, and in so doing invites sympathy from family members. Many prisoners expressed contrition in phrases such as 'honest|is the |best|policy'. A few tokens record sentiments of reproach for acts of

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[52] English Ballads, *http://digital.nls.uk/english-ballads*.Female Transport, Crawford.EB.1876.

betrayal, for example 'Reportd &c left To Suffer'. On one Millett example there is an expression of anti-Semitism, 'That cruel Jew did me|betray And swore my |innocent life away |August Asize |1836'. As well as employing idioms from popular literature to seek pity and empathy from family members, some prisoners left messages about their crime and punishment on tokens. There are examples of prisoners who clearly used the love token as a place where they could voice their opinion with regard to their convictions. A number of convicts attested their innocence, 'Charls |Tarrier |transported |innocent|1832'. One way of viewing such phrases is that the felons who contested their crimes felt wrongfully accused and punished. They were in effect re-defining their crime in terms of how they wished to be viewed in the future by their families and community. These 'final words' could be seen as a parting plea for loyalty. It may be that their crimes were committed out of necessity in order to provide for family and so could be seen as unavoidable or inevitable. This is not to say that these prisoners were free from guilt. The attestations of innocence may reflect how prisoners were in effect questioning the legal system and what constituted a criminal offence. This is particularly relevant where trades people and artisans were found guilty of stealing goods such as offcuts of cloth, sweepings of workshop floors and other perquisites which traditionally they had taken as part of customary entitlement. As Linebaugh comments about the shift in attitudes towards perquisites between 1763 and 1773, 'purloining and customary usages became "thievery" and "embezzlement"'.[53]

Keith Thomas reminds us that eighteenth century punishments such as branding or whipping were forms of publicly shaming an individual. The intention of such physical humiliation was to act as a deterrent to others at a time when reputation and trust were vital to everyday interactions, whether they were concerned with acquiring goods on credit or looking for work as a servant or journeyman.[54] The wish to be remembered with kindness, respect and without reproach is frequently expressed, indicating the importance of reputation and respectability for convicts and their families. The messages and sentiments expressed on a token were essentially the last

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[53] Linebaugh, *The London hanged,* 286.
[54] Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfillment in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). 174-179.

words of the convict and so for some were a means of setting the record straight or leaving an account by which they wished to be regarded and judged. The implication of the much repeated phrase 'do not think of me unkind' is that prison and transportation sentences led some families to reproach or even abandon prisoners on account of their crimes. They were perhaps unable to forgive family members convicted to what was in effect permanent separation, or sought to avoid being associated with criminal behaviour and loss of reputation. Indeed, there are examples of convict tokens that are damaged; where the names or inscriptions have been scratched through (Figure 6.4). Such defaced tokens imply rejection and abandonment.[55] It is important to note that, in the period under discussion, good character and reputation were essential in a whole range of interactions, and as a consequence, association with a convict put a person or family's good name in jeopardy.[56]

Figure 6.4 Damaged convict love tokens from the Millett collection with names scratched out. Object number: 2008.0039.0014 and 2008.0039.0307 http://love tokens.nma.gov.au.

Some convicts chose to cease contact with relatives in response to the shame they felt at letting them down. Writing in 1803, the convict James Grove commented, 'I purposely delayed writing to you at Portsmouth, in order to avoid the continuance of your notice of me […] I shrank from being noticed by the world.'[57] The 1836 Prison

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[55] Field and Millett, eds., *Convict love tokens,* 14. Greg Jackman, "From Stain to Saint: Ancestry, Archaeology, and Agendas in Tasmania's Convict Heritage—A View from Port Arthur," *Historical Archaeology* 43.3 (2009).
[56] Eamon-Hurl, "Plebeian Marriage," 24.
[57] Quoted in Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 129.

Inspectors' report includes a remark from one of the Newgate turnkeys commenting on the abandonment of convicts saying that, 'Prisoners' friends forsake them.'[58]

In contrast to a sense of loss and shame, a number of prisoners expressed optimism for their future life, 'O tell My|Dearest Friends at|Home to Weep for me|no more For I live in| Hopes to find a |Friend upon some|foreign shore.' There are also promises of everlasting love and constancy, 'tho time|may pass and |years may fly and|evry hope decay and|die and every joy|ful dream may set|Yet thee I never can forget'. The exiled vowed to continue loving those they left behind, 'Your|Lover|Lives for you|C.L|only Til|Death' and 'This is|a token from|a friend wich|love from you and me shall|never end|M.B'. Such hopefulness can be seen as one way of responding to the sentence of transportation where friends and family, the recipients of love tokens, were concerned. The importance to an individual of constancy and friendship is expressed again and again, for instance, '1833|a friend|in need is|a friend|indeed'. Concern about making friends in the future is expressed, for example, 'when I am in a Foreign Land and not a friend to find'. The repeated use of the term 'friend' emphasises the importance of attachment to home and kin as prisoners began to acknowledge the loss of it. However, in all these optimistic phrases, there must have been an underlying sense of the inevitable, that relationships and friendships would end and be replaced. In the same vein as the tokens discussed in Chapter four that avowed love and constancy, the convict pieces are also complicit in expressing everlasting love in the knowledge that as Hughes remarks, 'transportation inflicted social and filial death.'[59]

Some convicts contemplated a more spiritual future and reunion with their loved ones, 'be we may ea|ch other see in heaven' and 'Keep this dear Mary for my sake till the departure of thy life'. Some sought forgiveness in the afterlife, 'He Suffered in this World, in the hope of forgiveness in the next'. Whilst others were extremely gloomy, 'if you|wait till i|return you |may wait till|the day of |Doom'. The eighteenth century prison reformer, Howard, echoed the token writers' sentiments about the likely

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[58] Prison Inspectors Reports," 43.
[59] Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 124.

permanence of exile. He criticised the severity of the sentence for those banished for seven years. He wrote:

> Is it not contrary to *justice* and *humanity* to send convicts who are not sentenced to life, to a settlement so remote that there is no probability of their return; and a still greater hardship to those who are sent after they have been four or five years and upwards in confinement, as some were in the last fleet to Botany Bay?[60]

The phrase 'When you are in your mirth and glee|think on them that is gone from thee' captures the realisation of what the separation meant. The repeated use of words and phrases associated with remembrance and friends brings to the fore the feelings aroused by the finality of exile. Whilst some convicts attempted to alleviate the sufferings of parents, wives and families with references to hoped-for returns, others were more fatalistic and sought compassion from loved ones, seeing themselves as unfortunate sons doomed to banishment. It could be argued that the process of rubbing down a copper coin and inscribing it allowed time for prisoners to review their actions and to choose inscriptions that reflected their emotional experiences. The act of love token making provided a material focus for their sentiments. It provided prisoners with the rhythm and routine of an activity, a rhythm with which many were familiar as working people. Routine tasks provided a structure within which convicts could navigate the different feelings that imprisonment and the sentence of transportation provoked. These were feelings that were likely to fluctuate, depending, for example, on the support that felons received from family and friends and how long prisoners waited for the moment of exile.

6.3.3 Liberty and imprisonment: the 'hearty good fellow' and the kneeling slave

Imprisonment is vividly depicted on many love tokens. Chains and leg irons dominate the surfaces of convict pieces. The ubiquitous outline of a prisoner holding a jug of ale in one hand and a long churchwarden pipe in the other, apparently enjoying life, belies the leg irons he wears below the waist (Figure 6.5). The image of the manacled

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[60] Howard, *An account of the principal lazarettos in Europe,* 219.

prisoner presents a simultaneous image of liberty and of imprisonment. The churchwarden is a long stemmed pipe that was particularly suited to a relaxing smoke rather than the shorter pipe that was more appropriate for work.[61] It was a symbol of leisure, of having a good time away from work. The smoking and drinking man was not

Figure 6.5 Smoking and manacled convict from the Millett collection. Object number 2008.0039.0279, http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.

exclusive to love tokens and was repeatedly found (without chains) in chapbooks, on tobacco labels and also on signboards (Figure 6.6 and 6.7).[62] The image recalls representations of the 'good fellow' found in seventeenth century alehouse ballads such as *A Health to all Good fellows* (Figure 6.8)*. Bernard Capp observes in the radio programme, *Five Hundred Years of Friendship*, that a 'good fellow' was someone who belonged to the lower ranks; someone with whom a man spent time in the tavern, drinking, telling stories and playing games. Mark Hailwood adds that the sociable drinking man or 'hearty good fellow' was seen as someone who worked hard in order to play hard.[63] The words 'With my pipe in one hand, and my jug in the other, | I drink to my neighbours and friend,' open the ballad, *The Hearty good Fellow,* which

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[61] Information from the Science Museum, http://www.sciencemuseum.org.uk.

[62] Larwood and Hotten, *The History of Signboards,* 82. "Five Hundred Years of Friendship", perf. Thomas Dixon, BBC Radio 4, 24 March 2014.

[63] Mark Hailwood, "Sociability, work and labouring identity in seventeenth-century England," *Cultural and Social History* 8.1 (2011). 17. For an alternative interpretation of the alehouse as a refuge for those wishing to avoid family obligations, see Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches,* 68-82.

Figure 6.6 Two examples of the 'Hearty Good Fellow' (neither piece dated) from the Acworth collection, Omeka identifiers M058 and M032. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

Figure 6.7 Woodblock print and tobacco label of man smoking church warden pipe. **Image 1:** from 'A book of garlands'. National Art Library's Forster collection of bound volumes of chapbooks, 1755-1835, Author's photograph. **Image 2:** Tobacco label featuring planter with wooden leg smoking a clay pipe (woodcut), © Bridgeman Education.

promotes the enjoyment of drink and tobacco to ease the sufferings of life.[64] Amidst the gloom, the song refers to the shared values of 'hearty good fellows'; those of working hard in order to be independent and free from debt and reliance on credit. The lines continue with a reference to financial independence in the second verse, 'Then I'll laugh, drink, and smoke, and leave nothing to pay, |But drop like a pear that is mellow'. Hailwood states that the 'hearty good fellow' was keen to distinguish

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[64] Broadside Ballads Online, *http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.* , The 'Hearty Good Fellow' Roud number: V9352.

himself from others and defines two groups in this set of attitudes. These were the idle, the vagrant and the criminal, and the landowners that made a living from property rather than from labouring. Clearly this last distinction provides a perspective on the use of the image of the drinking but manacled prisoner depicted on love tokens. It indicates that the good fellow image was employed to show the convict's disdain and contempt for the elite and middling sorts who profited from the work of the labouring poor. The representation of the enchained man still free to enjoy his pipe and beer captures a sense of the prisoner's defiance towards those who imprisoned him and also an ability to transcend such confinement. The image also reminds us that many prisoners did not perceive themselves as criminals, especially those accused of stealing goods that were traditionally seen as perquisites. However, the lines from the ballad of *The Hearty good Fellow* convey how hard work was associated with not only

Figure 6.8 The 'Hearty Good Fellow' satirical print and ballad. **Image 1:** Print after Francis Hayman 1786. British Museum: 2010,7081.1131. **Image 2:** The 'Hearty Good Fellow', http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk. Roud number: V9352.

playing hard but having control over when work was undertaken, 'I am a hearty good fellow,| I live at my ease,| I work when I am willing, | I play when I please.' The addition of leg irons to the picture of the hearty good fellow reduces that element of control. The chains subvert the familiar icon into one which incorporates feelings of anger at the loss of freedom and defiance in the face of imprisonment. The image was frequently chosen by prisoners for loved ones, suggesting how they wished to be remembered as resilient in the face of the punishment imposed on them. The prisoner's message is that the courts were able to take a felon's freedom away but not diminish his spirit. It offers an image of strength that may have allayed the fears of loved ones whilst still acknowledging the plight of the prisoner. Without the use of words, the icon of the 'good fellow' is able to convey both the inner and outer life of the convict. It portrays a prisoner's feelings as well as his state of incarceration. In so doing, the sense of the interior life of the enchained is set against the stance and attitude of the 'hearty good fellow'.

The language of slavery was used on tokens to refer to the punishment and fate of convicts with phrases such as 'Once I was a tender Child and on my mothers knee| But know I am in Prison Bown down in Slavery'. The imagery of slavery is also found on a small number of tokens. One example of these, from the Acworth collection, is engraved with the image of a kneeling slave reminiscent of the style of the Wedgwood medallion (Figure 6.9).The copper cartwheel penny is punched with the profile of a kneeling and possibly naked man in chains surrounded by decorative foliage. One set of initials, the letters J.P, are punched in the top half of the reverse side of the token, giving the impression more words or images were intended and that this is an unfinished piece (Images 1 & 2 in Figure 6.9). This is an Australian convict token since it is made from a cartwheel penny. Whilst the full identity of J.P will never be known, what is striking about this image is how much it resembles the Wedgwood slave medallion whose kneeling figure and idiom, 'Am I not a man and a brother' was so well known (Image 3 in Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9 Kneeling slave token from the Acworth collection. **Image 1:** Side one depicting kneeling man in chains surrounded by foliage. **Image 2:** Side two Initials J.P. Omeka identifier M001. http://lovetokens.omeka.net. **Image 3:** Medallion made c 1787 William Hackwood, (modeller) Josiah Wedgwood and Sons (maker). http://collections.vam.ac.uk.

J.P's token is not the only piece in love token collections which refers to slavery and employs this icon. The Millett collection also features a number of tokens where the convicts are kneeling in the style of the medallion (Figure 6.10).

Figure 6.10 Kneeling slave tokens from the Millett collection showing prisoners in the style of the Wedgwood medallion. Dated 1837, 1846 and 1846. Object numbers 2008.0039.0190, 2008.0039.0248 and 2008.0039.0250, http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.

The medallion was produced by Josiah Wedgwood in 1787 to support the campaign to abolish the slave trade. It became a widely recognised motif for the anti-slave trade movement and subsequently for anti-slavery. It was seen everywhere; on pottery, glass, embroidery as well as in print.[65] The image featured on trade tokens from London, Birmingham, Lancaster, Liverpool and many other large towns (Figure 6.11). It

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[65] Mary Guyatt, "The Wedgwood Slave Medallion Values in Eighteenth-century Design," *Journal of Design History* 13.2 (2000). 93-105.

was a visual icon for SEAST, the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, an image that endured from its origins in the late eighteenth century into the middle of the nineteenth century. Marcus Wood describes it as 'the first great piece of liberation propaganda to generate an international, indeed intercontinental, impact upon the slave diaspora.'[66] The icon was still in circulation on convict tokens made after 1834 when the British Emancipation Act was passed. Historians have discussed how the image of the kneeling slave set the scene for white abolitionists to introduce the possibility of black freedom.[67] Wood writes, 'Kneeling, supplicant, and still enchained, the slave must ask for the right to possess a gender and a human status.'[68] In other words, the possibility of black liberation lay in the hands of white people. The image of the kneeling slave was employed by the middling sorts as part of the

Figure 6.11 Copper halfpenny trade token of kneeling slave payable in Lancaster circa 1790. http://www.mcsearch.info.

campaign to abolish slavery. Yet the appropriation of the kneeling slave image by convicts poses questions about how an icon promoted by the middling sorts to appeal to people's consciences was used and understood by prisoners and the poor.[69] In fact, the image circulated widely on an unanticipated scale. It became instantly recognisable beyond the middling sorts and was reproduced on a range of objects as well as in print literature including cheap penny pamphlets. There is evidence that the poor participated in the abolitionist movement, for example, with servants following their

[66] Marcus Wood, *The horrible gift of freedom: Atlantic slavery and the representation of emancipation* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2010). 62.
[67] Sarah Watson Parsons, "The arts of abolition: race, representation and British colonialism, 1768-1807," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*.9 (2004). 345-368.
[68] Wood, *The horrible gift of freedom: Atlantic slavery and the representation of emancipation,* 62.
[69] Thanks to my supervisor Dr Anita Rupprecht for her help with references on the language of slavery and its parallels with convictism.

masters in abstaining from the consumptions of slave grown sugar.[70] Whilst I have shown that the comparison between slaves and convicts was very much a rhetorical trope, Emma Christopher highlights one instance where it was not, and where cruelty was 'not confined to slaving vessels'.[71] She describes the terrible treatment of convicts exiled to Australia in the Second Fleet. Their condition on arrival led to comments, such as that of William Hill, who described the slave trade as merciful in comparison to the treatment of convicts in the Second Fleet. Christopher comments on how both convictism and slavery were caught up in 'changing ideas about humane treatment of people'. The comparisons between convictism and slavery were part of the rhetoric harnessed to attack both the system of slavery and of transportation.[72]

However the different meanings that were circulating among prisoners in relation to the kneeling slave icon remain problematic. Undoubtedly convicts were comparing their physical incarceration and subjugation to that of African slaves. They may have been voicing solidarity with African slaves as a means of eliciting sympathy from loved ones as well as showing support for anti-slavery. In addition, they may have been identifying their plight with the political rhetoric of injustice and oppression. In other words, they may have aligned themselves with the culture of subversion and protest that employed the language of slavery, seeing themselves as victims of an undemocratic system that unjustly bound and exiled them. As James Walvin comments, 'Abolition was an early element in the evolution of popular radical politics in England, and the tactics and language of abolition were infused into related working class movements.'[73] He observes how Thomas Spence, for example, 'drew explicit parallels between the slave system abroad and the system of English landed monopoly which he believed to be the foundation of all inequality, hardship and oppression.'[74]

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[70] Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (Routledge, 2004). 39
[71] Emma Christopher, ""The Slave Trade Is Merciful Compared to [This]": Slave Traders, Convict Transportation, and the Abolitionists," *Many middle passages: forced migration and the making of the modern world*, eds. Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus and Marcus Rediker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007). 124.
[72] Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 260.
[73] James Walvin, "The Impact of Slavery on British Radical Politics: 1787-1838," *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies*, eds. V. Rubin and A. Tuden (New York: Academy of Sciences, 1977). 353.
[74] Iain McCalman, "Anti-slavery and ultra-radicalism in early nineteenth-century England: The case of Robert Wedderburn," *Slavery and Abolition* 7 (1986). 107.

The early nineteenth century, when the icon of the kneeling slave began to appear on tokens crafted by prisoners, was clearly a time, as Iain McCalman explains, when 'anti-slavery, Nonconformist and radical ideas did converge in London's most plebeian and extreme radical milieu, independent of the formal abolitionist movement'.[75]

This thesis however is concerned with how the language and imagery of slavery was employed affectively. The love token lexicon referred to transportation as being 'cast' into slavery or 'sold' into slavery and as such the depiction of a slave may have been a form of shorthand for being transported and the hard labour prisoners faced once in exile.[76] The kneeling prisoner is the image J.P, Hugh Bate and others chose as a record of a life (Figures 6.9 & 6.10). The figure of the supplicant slave offers parallels with the posture of someone pleading, in this case the convict begging for a reprieve from the sentence of exile. The image of a bowed down prisoner is re-enforced by the sentiments the accompanying language conveyed. The comparison to slavery denotes how felons were brought low emotionally by the punishment. Convicts appealed for sympathy with words that captured their reduced physical and emotional states, such as 'bown down in slavery', 'a heavy heart', 'left to suffer' 'your cursed son' and 'in grief to be absorbed'. One inscription, for example, reads, 'I am confined here with Grief and sorrow I am oppresd Thinking of you'.

The outline of the slave on his knees manacled and bowed down is in stark contrast to the mobile, smoking, drinking yet shackled figure by which others chose to represent themselves as convicts. References to slavery may reflect those moments when some convicts felt able to admit to sentiments of despair and hopelessness; sentiments that would arouse sympathy in loved ones. Others, such as those represented by the image of the 'hearty good fellow', apparently chose not to reveal feelings of desolation, presenting instead a sense of pride in their contempt for those judging them. Hughes suggests that amongst convicts there was little mutual support or assumption of solidarity. Indeed survival was reflected in sentiments such as resentment of authority

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[75] McCalman, "Anti-slavery and ultra-radicalism in early nineteenth-century England: The case of Robert Wedderburn," 100.

[76] Peter Wilson Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains A Social History of Forced Emigration to the Amerias 1607 - 1776* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1992). 115.

but also disdain for introspection.[77] The figure of the prisoner as a supplicant slave can be seen as a generic representation of the enslavement of convicts. Yet it also encapsulates the vulnerability of the felon sentenced and awaiting transportation or execution still pleading for respite. Friends and families petitioned energetically on behalf of prisoners in the hope of obtaining a pardon. However, once the processes associated with transportation were initiated, it was difficult for supporters to intercede.[78]

6.4 American transportation love tokens

The research in this thesis has demonstrated the scope of the love token repertoire. It includes examples of engraved coins that chronicle the whole cycle of life events. They comprise births, betrothals, deaths and farewells, as well as records of working lives portrayed in an array of different trades. The study has established love token making as a customary practice that enabled the poor to leave records of their lives; a practice that can be traced to the early 1700s. That tokens were made throughout the eighteenth century by schooled and unschooled hands to record particular moments in people's lives is evidenced by the examples from the Acworth and other collections. It follows then that the Australian convict pieces discussed in this chapter fit into the pattern of love token making. My research, therefore, places the Australian tokens within the wider love token repertoire, rather than as a development of one type of token, the sailor's farewell. Prisoners evidently made tokens throughout the eighteenth century, not just in the period of enforced migration to Australia.

This section examines in detail the evidence of the Thames waterman token that records transportation to the American Colonies. My observations on the distinguishing features of Australian convict pieces informed the analysis and cataloguing of the tokens in the Acworth collection. As a result, I have identified a number of Acworth tokens (both dated and undated) that include details indicating they were made by felons sentenced to transportation in the period 1718-1776.[79] However, whilst the fragmentary nature of tokens, renders them intriguing to the

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[77] Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 161.
[78] Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* 124-126.
[79] By 1776 it was no longer possible to exile convicts to the American Colonies.

researcher, it also contributes to the difficulties of researching them. The task of identifying possible examples of American transportation tokens highlights how many engraved coins lack sufficient detail to allow research to confirm their status as prisoner made pieces. For example, without details such as dates of births, deaths, convictions and names rather than sets of initials, other sources such as trial records and published lists of transported prisoners cannot be consulted.

As we have seen, the love token lexicon is relatively narrow and was applied to an array of situations. For example, the phrase 'when this you see remember me' may denote a prisoner token but does not exclusively imply the work of a convict, since the ubiquitous idiom was also used by individuals facing separation whether lovers, labourers, sailors, servants, apprentices or artisans. It was particularly popular on sailors' farewells. More compelling indications of prisoner crafted tokens are found in the use of phrases such as 'I hope the Lord will for you provide while I am crossing the ocean wide', 'tho many miles we distant be', 'when I am quite forgot', 'be kind to your mother and love your brother', 'My heart is true tho far from you' and 'By bad example Many are undone'. [80] Whilst such phrases could be the words of convicts facing imprisonment or transportation, they might also be those of indentured servants or emigrants travelling to the colonies. Similarly, examples with phrases such as 'pants [meaning gasps] for liberty' may indicate a convict's desire for freedom but could also be a sailor's impatient wish to return home since the term 'liberty' meant not only freedom from imprisonment but shore leave for seafarers.

From among the ten Acworth tokens identified as convict pieces, five are engraved with dates before 1800. The tokens belonging to John Stockbridge (Figure 4.22) dated 1797 and John Leross's dated 1775 (Figure 5.32) have already been discussed. Leross's sentence of five years led to imprisonment in Newgate and the House of Correction in Clerkenwell. Stockbridge was sentenced to transportation and landed in New South Wales in 1799. The two undated engraved coins of George Shelley were made from 1797 cartwheel pennies and suggest George was transported to a prison hulk before exile to Australia (Figure 6.3). Thomas Mitchner's token, however, is a convict piece

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[80] Phrases are from Sheppard,"Catalogue of Love Tokens " Pierrepont Barnard,"Examples of Engraved coins " Also love tokens in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

which can be traced to a crime, conviction and exile in the American Colonies (Figure 6.12).

The copper halfpenny has a name, set of initials, dates and the word 'cast' as well as the phrase 'when this you see remember me' on it; all features indicating the engraved coin of a prisoner. Further research of Old Bailey records reveals that Mitchiner (slightly differently spelling of the surname from the one on the token) was a Thames waterman. The Company of Watermen and Lightermen archives, held in the Guildhall Library, have a record of Mitchiner's apprenticeship in the register of apprenticeship bindings 1688-1908 (Figure 6.13) (also different spelling).[81] He was bound to the waterman George Gee for seven years on October 20 1758. The record shows that Mitchner lived in the parish of Lambeth. However, unlike other entries that include the date of when an apprentice

Figure 6.12 Thomas Mitchner's transportation token.Side one: Thomas Mitchner Cast (convicted) gan y 18 (January 18th) 1768 1773. Side two: Initials M.M. above 'When this you see remember me' and a double heart. From the Acworth collection, Omeka identifier M038. http://lovetokens.omeka.net.

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[81] The register of apprenticeship bindings (in 24 volumes) is held in the Guildhall Library, London on microfiche. The entry for Thomas Mitchner is in MS6289 Volume 10 1756-1769.
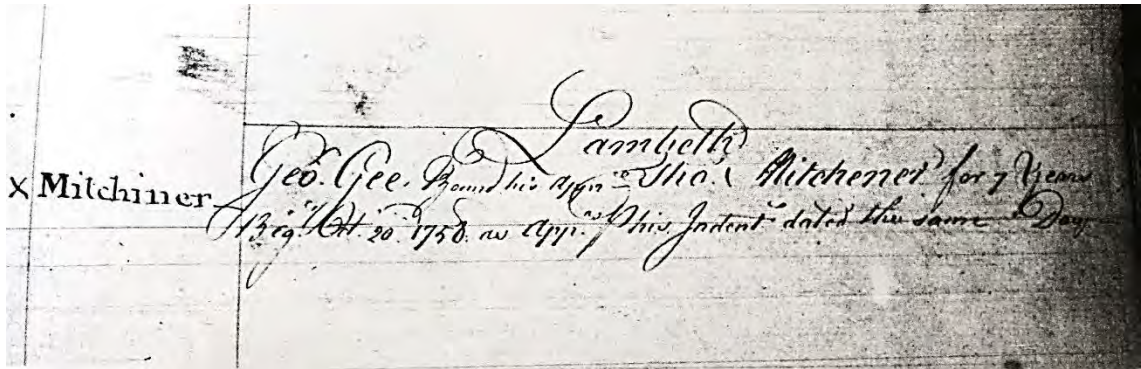
Figure 6.13 Apprenticeship record for Thomas Mitchiner, copy of microfiche entry for 1758 in the Company of Watermen and Lightermen's Register of Apprenticeship Bindings.

was made free, there is no further record for Mitchner implying that he never completed his apprenticeship. Watermen were required to belong to the Company of Thames Watermen and Lightermen and wear a badge at all times (Figure 5.2).[82] The usual age to start an apprenticeship was fourteen, with sons often being bound to fathers or other family members. This record suggests that Mitchner was born around 1744.

In 1768, when Mitchner was probably 24, he was tried twice for burglary. He was accused initially of breaking, entering and stealing property with two other men as retold in the Old Bailey:

> Thomas Anderson, Samuel Stephens, and Thomas Mitchiner, were indicted for breaking and entering the dwelling-house of Thomas Bradshaw, Esq; on the 2d of December, about the hour of two in the night, and stealing two silver table-spoons, value 10 s. two silver teaspoons, value 2 s. a pair of silver tea-tongs, value 5 s. the property of the said Thomas; a mahogany tea chest, value 5 s. six silver tea-spoons, two cotton gowns, three linen shifts, and three linen handkerchiefs, the property of Elizabeth Robson, spinster, in the said dwelling-house.[83]

Mitchner and his co-defendants were acquitted of the first burglary but were tried again on the same day for another theft of property:

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[82] James Legon, *My Ancestors were Thames Watermen*, Second ed. (London: Society of Genealogists Enterprises Ltd, 2008). 2-3.
[83] London Lives 1690-1800, t17680114-35, January 1768, Thomas Mitchiner.

Thomas Mitchiner, a second time, and Charles Davis, were indicted for breaking and entering the dwelling-house of Mary Wilkinson, widow, and Samuel Wilkinson, on the 27th of November, about the hour of three in the night, and stealing a mahogany tea-chest with tin canisters therein, value 3 s. a silver milk pot, value 8 s. a silver table-spoon, value 8 s. three silver tea-spoons, value 3 s. a damask table-cloth, two napkins, and eight pounds weight of loaf sugar, the property of the said Mary and Samuel, and a great coat, the property of the said Samuel, in their dwelling-house .[84]

At the second trial both Mitchner and his fellow accomplice, Charles Davis, were found guilty and condemned to death, hence the word 'cast' (meaning condemned) on Mitchner's token. Charles was an apprentice and the burglary took place at the home of his master Samuel Wilkinson a box-maker. In the account of the trial, Margaret Mitchel a fish seller who used to live with Mitchner and at the time of the trial co-habited with Charles, described how both men came to her home and asked her to sell the goods they had stolen. In his defence Davis's master, Mr Wilkinson, spoke on his behalf but Mitchner offered no character witnesses.

Old Bailey papers reveal that Mitchner was pardoned in July 1768 and his sentence reduced to transportation for life.[85] The period of five years on the token, 1768 -1773, does not quite match the commuted punishment. Transports were mostly sentenced to seven or fourteen years or life and, as we have learnt, Mitchner was exiled for life. However, twenty years later Howard commented on the length of sentence of prisoners in the Portsmouth hulks on his visit in 1788, 'Some of the convicts were sentenced for life, others for fourteen, seven, five, or three years: among these were boys; and all associating together without distinction.'[86] Just as Mitchner was reprieved and his sentence changed from execution to transportation for life, some further plea may have resulted in his exile being reduced to five years.

The inscription of a set of initials 'M.M.' on the coin suggests that Mitchner gave it to

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[84] London Lives 1690-1800, t17680114-35, January 1768, Thomas Mitchiner.
[85] *Old Bailey Proceedings, www.oldbaileyonline.org version 6.0.* o17680706-3, July 1768.
[86] Howard, *An account of the principal lazarettos in Europe,* 219.

Figure 6.14 Transportation record for Thomas Mitchiner dated 1st October 1768. T1/465 from the National Archives, www.nationalarchives.gov.uk.

Margaret Mitchel who testified at his trial. It appears Margaret was no longer living with Mitchner at the time of his sentence but with his accomplice Charles. Margaret lived with Mitchner six years before this trial which would have been when he was about eighteen. According to *The Proceedings*, Margaret claimed she was 'confined in Tothill-fields Bridewell on Mitchner's account'. Bridewell was a house of correction for the employment of the disorderly poor. Why Margaret was sent there on Mitchner's account remains unclear. It is possible Margaret was pregnant with Mitchner's child. There is a record for a Margaret Mitchel not in Bridewell but entering St Martin's Workhouse on 27 January 1762 where she is accompanied by a child.[87] We can only speculate about these details. Yet the token indicates that Mitchner and Margaret had an established affectionate relationship and it was to Margaret that Mitchner turned when he was sentenced to exile. He asked her to remember him when he was gone.

Where and how prisoners made tokens has already been discussed in Chapter three. Howard writes about the dire conditions inmates suffered in English gaols in the 1770s a few years after Mitchner was exiled. Howard recorded 190 felons in Newgate gaol when he visited in 1775 and remarked on the severe overcrowding in some of the rooms. He condemned the practice of 'loading prisoners with heavy irons' which made 'walking and lying down to sleep difficult and painful'.[88] Different categories of prisoner were chained, for example those awaiting trial for misdemeanours were rarely in irons, whilst those in the 'condemned cells' were chained. It is possible, therefore, that Mitchner crafted his love token wearing leg irons and in a cramped prison ward, whilst waiting to be transported to the American Colonies.

Mitchner was transported to Virginia in October 1768 on a ship called the *Justitia* [89] with 143 felons on board. The links between convictism and slavery are clearly visible in this vessel since it was formerly a slaver.[90] The Treasury records for the *Justitia* include the names of convicts from a number of different assizes: Middlesex & Westminster, City of London, Hertfordshire, Essex, Kent, Sussex and Surrey (Figure

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[87] London Lives 1690-1800, St Martin's Pauper Biographies Project, smdswhr_388_38809, 27 January 1762, Margaret Mitchel.
[88] John Howard, *The state of the prisons* (1929). 12.
[89] Coldham, *Emigrants in Chains,* 113.
[90] Peter Wilson Coldham, *More Emigrants in Bondage 1614-1775* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co Inc, 2002). 215.

6.14). Mitchner is included in the list of convicts from the London Assizes. Colin Somervell, the captain of the *Justitia*, acknowledged receipt of 27 convicts from London when they were delivered to the ship for transportation. Mitchner was number ten in that list. As in the Old Bailey and the Company of Watermen records, Mitchner's surname in the Treasury record is spelt Mitchiner rather than Mitchner as it appears on his token.[91]

A typical crossing of the Atlantic lasted between six and eight weeks with conditions for convicts dependent on the merchants and ship captains. Some treated the convicts reasonably, wanting them to arrive in a healthy condition in order to be sold, whilst others were harsher and rationed food and water in their attempts to curb costs. The *Virginia Gazette* of 22 December 1768 carried an announcement for the arrival of the *Justitia* in the Rappahannock River and the sale of servants:

> Just arrived the *Justitia*, Capt. Colin Somervell with about 120 healthy SERVANTS, men, women and boys, among which are many tradesmen, viz shoemakers, tailors, weavers, hatters, dyers, carpenters and joiners, house painters, a tanner, a book binder, a mason, a good wheel wright, a tallow chandler, farmers and other country labourers.......The sale will commence on Thursday 29th of *December* at *Leeds Town* on *Rappahannock*. A reasonable credit will be allowed giving bond with approved security to THOMAS HODGE.[92]

Convicts were 'sold' as indentured servants. Evidently the newspaper advertisement was aimed at promoting the skilled backgrounds of some convicts in order to attract buyers. Who 'bought' Mitchner and where he worked remains unknown. My research has so far uncovered no further details about Mitchner's life once he reached Virginia.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the third strand of the proposed love token taxonomy, the pieces that record separation and loss. Convict pieces in love token collections predominantly record exile to Australia. However, the question that shaped this

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[91] Treasury record T1/465 The National Archives, also in Peter Wilson Coldham, *The complete book of emigrants in bondage 1614-1775* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co Inc, 1988). 547.
[92] *The Virginia Gazette.* 22 December, 1768.

chapter was whether convict tokens were exclusive to the Australian experience of exile between 1787 and 1853, given the fact that 50,000 convicts were exiled to North America in the period 1718-1776. Thomas Mitchner's token, from the Acworth collection, records his transportation to Virginia in 1768 and clearly dispels the assumption that convict pieces were exclusive to transportation to Australia.

In terms of sentiment, the evidence has demonstrated how convicts expressed a range of feelings before they departed; from love to loss and fortitude to desolation. Some, for example, referred to the future reunion between felons and their families, whilst most accepted this would be an unlikely event. Such inscriptions were intended to protect loved ones from the full impact of the finality of banishment. Others chose the image of the manacled convict to indicate resilience in the face of adversity. This behaviour, I argue, may have been in response to a convict culture which allowed little room for the display of sentiment. The features of convict tokens reveal that the love token lexicon used by prisoners continues to follow the pattern of appropriation already identified in the chapters on the heart and on the emblems of trade. The investigation focuses on two images that were clearly appropriated specifically to record the state of imprisonment and express the sentiments associated with the plights of prisoners. The outline of the 'hearty good fellow' was one found frequently in popular literature. The addition of chains to the lower part of his body instantly conveys, without the need for words, the meanings embedded in this altered image; feelings of contempt and defiance. However, the icon of the kneeling slave is drawn from a wider landscape of abolition and political protest. The appropriation of the language and imagery of slavery to represent the convicts' state of enchainment and diminishment opens up discussion about the meanings the poorer sorts intended to convey through its use. I make the case that prisoners' use of this image was not only a way of illustrating parallels between the physical suffering of slaves and convicts, but also between the oppression of the poor by the English ruling classes and of African slaves by the system of slavery.

The fact that examples of convict tokens have survived indicates their significance to those who were left behind; those who became the guardians of these emotional objects. Tokens were crafted by prisoners at times of crisis and uncertainty. Some

tokens, therefore, embody feelings of apprehension as well as those of the pain of loss and sorrow. They were exchanged as loved ones physically parted in the knowledge they were unlikely to see and touch each other again; moments of physical and emotional distress, of personal upheaval and misfortune. They carried expressions of affection, but also of possible infidelity, rejection and abandonment. The fact that Thomas Mitchner, for example, engraved his token with the initials of his former lover just before he was exiled to Virginia captures the power of attachment he felt at the point where he was about to be separated from the people who were important in his life.

For those left behind, the presence of the departed prisoner was kept alive by the token that could be held, worn and gazed upon in their absence. The words 'Let my body be Were it will my heart shall Be with you still' for example, remind us how the prisoner gave the token as a substitute for their physical body and a material keepsake of heart-felt affection. The engraved coin was a record of a loved one's life, a reminder of and physical prompt for remembering the person in exile and for some a mark of their innocence or penitence. Those left behind holding tokens inscribed with images of departing ships, manacled prisoners and kneeling slaves were fluent in the visual and material literacy needed to read and understand the meanings of such a lexicon. They immediately recognised the meanings of this imagery and language. The engraved images and symbols were already imbued with emotional meanings to which prisoners added the personal touch of their biographical details and the crafting of the token. These were the parting gifts of exile, kept and treasured by those left behind. Tokens provided them with a site of commemoration and remembrance; a site where loved ones could contemplate those in exile.

Chapter 7. 'This is a token from a frend wich love from you and me shall never end': fragments and endings[1]

> [...]It is impossible to show where "economic" relations ended and "personal" relations began [...]. When lovers courted each other they were "sweethearts", but when they were settled in the new unit they were each others' "helpmeets", a word which carries sentiment and domestic function or economic role in equal measure. It is wrong to suppose that, because men and women had a need for each other's economic support, or for the support of their children in the daily work of the home, this necessarily excluded affection[...].[2]

So wrote Thompson in his discussion of the values and beliefs that framed eighteenth century customs such as wife sale and rough music. The interwoven nature of economic and affective relations in the household, the work place and even the prison is clearly evident in this thesis which set out to address what a history of emotions from below might look like.[3] The study examined the evidence of love tokens made from low value coins by the poorer sorts. In so doing it navigated between people's domestic, occupational and sentimental relations and focused on the nature of their attachments to work and family. It explored how love tokens help elucidate our understandings of people's feelings in the eighteenth century. The main findings of the work contribute to four areas of debate as outlined below: the history of emotions from below, historical sources and the poor, visual and material literacy, family attachment and solidarity.

7.1   History of emotions from below

Examining the inscriptions of love tokens initially focuses attention on the widely voiced sentiments of true love and remembrance expressed in idioms such as 'my love is constant true to you' and 'keep me in your mind'. The tiny surfaces of these copper

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[1] Idiom from 1822 Millett collection convict token, Object number: 2008.0039.0047. http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.
[2] Thompson, *Customs in Common,* 445.
[3] Langhamer, "Everyday love and emotions in the 20th century."

coins appear to be filled with phrases and images that affirm love and constancy. At first glance, this might suggest that a history of emotions expressed by the poorer sorts in the eighteenth century was one where love, fidelity and loyalty were paramount. Yet, as my analysis has revealed, when you peel away the layers to discover more about the people, the events and the records they crafted in love tokens, a different view of how those words and icons of true love and remembrance might be understood is revealed. A history from below viewed through the prism of love tokens is one where love is rooted in attachment. The language conveyed in words and images is one of belonging to a family, belonging to a household and belonging to a trade.

Tokens mark transitions from birth to young adulthood, from bachelor and spinster to sweethearts, from apprentice to master, from freedom to imprisonment and from household to prison and exile. These transitions were saturated in feelings of love and affection as the iconography of the heart indicates; as young people left home, as men and women courted and commemorated betrothals. However, they are also imbued with feelings of disappointment, rejection, anger, reproach, abandonment, blame, and despair. In contrast to the direct expressions of feelings found in phrases such as 'I love you' and 'Thou art mine', there are also ones adopted from popular literature which refer to the frailty of life and the misery of imprisonment with mention of the 'fading brier', the 'loansom sels' and the 'day of doom'. This language was borrowed by the family of John Marshall to express affection for him as he left home and to provide him with a material trace of that love as he went to sea. It was appropriated by Betty Hamer to show pride in her trade as a black worker and a sense of belonging in her maritime environment. Thomas Alsop used it to seek sympathy from his mother as he faced exile to Australia for stealing a sheep. Thomas Mitchner employed it to record his banishment incarcerated in a slave ship to the American Colonies. Although his sentence of transportation resulted in the absence of his physical body, Mitchner left behind a token as a tangible symbol of his exiled body as well as a memorial to himself. The thesis argues how this borrowed language was employed to reflect feelings of attachment to family and belonging to work, but it was also adapted to reflect the

pragmatism needed to carry on, as life passed through a cycle of expected and unexpected events such as crime and punishment.

7.2 Historical sources and the poor

Identifying sources that offer insights into the experiences and feelings of the poor is particularly difficult. The thesis makes the case that love tokens are significant historical records given how few first-hand accounts of the poor survive. They are proof of how much the study of tokens and coins has to offer, particularly to social historians. Primary source material is rare and scholars, as a result, have examined records *about* the poor rather than *by* them. The challenge for this research was how to engage with these exceptional sources. They are problematic. There were challenges to overcome in terms of understanding the fields of numismatics and palaeography that are central to appreciating their production and content. Few tokens kept in museums are catalogued let alone photographed. The decision to create a digital database of the Acworth collection introduced a method which exposed each example to the same rigour and a system for future work. This in turn led to the development of a taxonomy that guided ideas about how to work with the tokens. The enquiry into these fragments pays careful attention to the distinctive features and content of their craft.

Starting from a group of objects fashioned by people who traditionally belong to a history without names, the study has recovered details about the affective lives of a number of individuals. The identification of records that relate to some of the people named on tokens enabled me to add their names to the archive.[4] We now know about the lives of John Stockbridge, Robert Barnett, Betty Hamer, John Leross and Thomas Mitchner. Their accounts help us to understand more about the sentiments attached to the majority of tokens, the ones that remain un-authored.

Even before coins were altered into love tokens some had acquired the status of affective objects. Love tokens are altered coins. The act of alteration makes visible this connection between the economic and affective meanings of love tokens, between

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[4] See also the 'lives' section of the *London Lives* project which has over fifty individual biographies compiled from its digitised primary sources. http://www.londonlives.org.

commodity values and emotional values. The material presence and indeed absence of copper coins was part of people's daily negotiations as they assessed the value and importance of the commodities they exchanged for good and bad currency. Coins were symbols of monetary control and wage labour, of the price of bread and beer. Once altered into love tokens, coins still carried some of those values but also feelings of frustration associated with the unreliable nature of the coinage that was circulating. However, the alteration process from coin to love token, involved a shift in the values associated with a coin. The removal of the king's head, whilst indicating contempt for a conservative regime, illustrates how the poor employed the resources they had to hand, notwithstanding the connotations of such an act. The currency of trade became the currency of affection. Money moved from being the means by which goods were circulated and exchanged, to the sphere of emotions where feelings were circulated and exchanged. Instead of carrying monetary meanings and values, love tokens acquired affective values; values that were assessed and measured differently. These were values that bonded family members together and carried with them notions of obligation and reciprocity. These were values that were put under strain at times of crises such as separation and loss of reputation. These were values that were measured by some in terms of hoped-for reciprocity. The family of John Marshall no doubt hoped he would return from sea with money to share. They might even have dreamt about a share of his prize money. John Adams's parents recorded their son's birth with a token that commemorated their sense of family and of belonging. Margaret Mitchel, on the other hand, may have accepted Thomas Mitchner's token in the knowledge that she would not see him again. If this was the case, his token offered her a material reminder of her absent friend but also provided her with a form of currency were it required.

As historical fragments, some tokens were personal records of a life, whilst others acquired contractual significance. Some tokens, it would appear, were records of marriage. They were exchanged as part of established custom and were viewed as a form of agreement in place of a church service and a parish register record. Although they were never proven in court, many believed that the exchange of love tokens

equated to a contract of marriage.[5] In addition to births, marriages and deaths, tokens are visible evidence of other significant life passages; events such as leaving home for work, embarking on an apprenticeship, going to sea, entering service and moving to the metropolis. They reach beyond the three key events of birth, marriage, death, which appear in parish registers and are traditionally commemorated. They capture, for example, the defiant stance of chained convicts still holding pipes and jugs of ale as the symbols of their liberty. They illustrate the struggles people engaged with in negotiating the means to survive and work in settings threatened by the erosion of customary expectations. They also make visible the division of labour and status which shaped the structures of families and trades. People chose to mark events that were important in their personal lives; that provided a link to friends and family and cemented relationships between generations.

7.3   Visual and material literacy

Tokens provide evidence of a visual and material literacy that enabled the reading and comprehension of the meanings and sentiments they embody and personify. To read and understand the meanings of these fragments, the study makes the case that the poor relied on a visual literacy which viewed objects and their texts holistically. People viewed the many elements of love tokens as a whole rather than separately in order to understand their meanings. Tokens have a presence of their own which is read visually, aurally, tangibly and materially. In other words, reading a love token involved sensorially experiencing the combination of multiple ingredients. These include the feel of the coin and the grooves of the engraving as well as the shape and sense of the inscriptions on its surfaces and their idioms and imagery. In addition there are the rhythms and sounds of the phrases; as well as the inter-textuality of words and images. Working with visual sources poses difficulties given the distinctions that exist between visual and textual sources and the supremacy of words over images.[6] What sets tokens apart is their ability to blur the boundaries of this binary debate in their combination of

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[5] Church courts were in decline in the eighteenth century but early modern studies refer to the custom of a couple exchanging gifts and rings before witnesses as a contractual process. D. O'Hara, *Courtship and constraint: rethinking the making of marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester University Press, 2000). 10.

[6] Porter, "Seeing the Past," 188.

visual, verbal and three dimensional elements; all of which contribute to their meanings and the meanings a visual literacy reading might extract. Yet there is no denying that reading them without unconsciously being drawn to the dominance of the word and the verbal meanings is a difficult task. The idea of a visual literacy employed by the labouring poor identifies a way of approaching an eighteenth century reading of multi-textual objects.

Reading emotional objects through the lens of a visual literacy also brings into question how these artefacts were invested with sentimental associations. I argue that people applied a material literacy to the understanding of objects used in customary practices. This approach helps us understand how objects used in rituals, such as those marking life cycle events, were associated with feelings that people had acquired unknowingly. These were the rituals where customary practices were transferred from relation to relation and generation to generation; where the performances of giving and associated actions instilled values and beliefs. Love tokens therefore enabled and facilitated customs. In the process they became infused with the feelings associated with those customs. Once established in rituals, objects relied on a material literacy for their meanings. In other words, when coins and tokens were used in courtship, betrothal and marriage the attendant feelings of affection, love and attachment between lovers became embedded in them. Similarly tokens associated with separation were charged with feelings of loss and the desire for remembrance.

In terms of a visual and material literacy, tokens were read in a manner now difficult to envisage and reproduce in a culture where words assume primacy. Yet to attempt a history of emotions from below that focuses on the eighteenth century, a visual and material approach is needed in order to interpret the world of objects and their meanings from the perspective of their producers and users.

7.4 Family attachment and sentiment

The study proposes that the makers of love tokens borrowed a language that was then developed as a lexicon of affection to convey feelings of attachment. The appropriated language they employed was drawn mostly from the popular culture of ballads and chapbooks. By the eighteenth century many of these verses and stories had been in

existence for more than a hundred years and were consequently part of customary practice. The use of their imagery and idioms therefore all added to the emotional coding of tokens.

Love tokens provided a portable place where the values of attachment and solidarity were embodied and enacted through their production and performance. The study explored some of the language and meanings of love within marriages and families. However, my analysis of idioms and imagery appropriated to express 'love' on tokens offers little to help disentangle the ambiguous use of terms such as friendship and love in the context of family households. The examination of tokens does, nevertheless, reveal how the emotion of love and feelings of family attachment engendered a sense of duty towards household members. The adopted language of penny merriments and courtship advice was used to articulate expressions of love that carried with them expectations of obligation and solidarity. In this sense the language of love expressed on tokens places the sentiment of love in the context of attachment and duty. Put another way, the language of chapbooks and songs was utilised to articulate emotions of love and constancy that reflected what people felt they were expected to express. The language of ballads and tales was used as a language of love on tokens whereby love implied duty and obligation. They speak of expected behaviour; to be constant in love, to remember the absent, to be dutiful to family and to offer mutual support. Yet there is more to this argument. Tokens also carry elements of ambivalence and crisis. They were exchanged in circumstances that were moments of happiness and union but also moments of personal upheaval and misfortune. When read against the grain, this language implies that the hoped-for promises of inscriptions were employed in the knowledge that they would not always be fulfilled. They could dream of joyful reunions and enduring love. However, convicts would not return; families would lose touch; lovers would be abandoned and households would struggle and even fail to make ends meet. Tokens were contradictory. They performed both aspects of re-enforcing the sentiments associated with the ritual they enabled, but also acted as an acknowledgment that what was expected did not always happen; they were 'workings

upon reality'.[7] The use of a borrowed language that included stories of rejection and reunion, I argue, made allowances for the pragmatism needed to keep life going where many were unable to live up to their promises. Tokens reflected complex situations and the attendant sentiments. Love tokens are therefore sites of ritual and emotional practices but also the more personal sites of conflicting emotions of love and suffering.

In twenty first century terms, love token verses could be compared to those of greetings cards that repeat familiar but overused messages of love and family solidarity. On tokens, figures took the form of representative sorts of people rather than a particular person, idioms belonged to a repertoire of expected responses rather than one person's reaction. Yet, although well-known phrases and images were used and re-used in much the same way as greetings cards, this is where the analogy ends. The making of love tokens demanded forethought and motivation. Phrases, images and symbols were chosen before each token was crafted. The process of rubbing the copper surface of a coin smooth and engraving the inscriptions was a process that took time and labour, but above all the desire to leave a mark. Each token was individually fashioned even when copied. It is in the outlines of the shape of a dress, the writing of a name, the groove of a decorative pattern that love tokens move from the generic to the personal. The making of a token was a labour of love.

7.5   Endings: 'Every joyful dream may set|Yet thee I never can forget'[8]

Love tokens were part of the material culture by which people navigated life passages. Their exchange, as part of the marking of a life event, meant they already carried sentimental associations when they were given. To these were added the meanings and feelings a visual and material reading of the objects prompted. Once exchanged, they also reminded the loved one of a departed relative.

Love tokens have journeyed before their arrival in archives and collections. They have jangled in pockets, been locked up in servants' and sailors' boxes and been held close to the body. These are coins which a chained prisoner has worked on whilst confined

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[7] Gammon,"Song, Sex and Society," 237.
[8] Idiom from 1830 Millett collection convict token. Object number: 2008.0039.0101. http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au.

alongside fellow convicts. The cuts of an engraving tool or the hammering of a nail are part of their composition. Along every step of the way they have been held, turned over and over and their tiny inscriptions gazed upon. They are emotional objects and as such prompt emotional as well as analytical responses.

For the researcher interacting with them in the museum archive and through digital images, tokens seem to offer something which no amount of research and enquiry will reveal. They are fragments and as such incomplete. Regardless of how frequently you look at them, they appear difficult to read and explain. Indeed it is their fragmentary nature that sustains them in a state where they will always have unfound possibilities. One way of articulating this sense of their undiscovered potential is to compare it to being unable to retrieve a word or meaning of something when it is on the tip of the tongue. In other words, love tokens trigger a response in the observer which is similar to the search for a word which temporarily evades us and we can only find instead traces of it or experience the feeling that we are about to retrieve it.

Unlike the tip of the tongue experience where the word is eventually retrieved, some aspects of the promise that love tokens offer remain hidden and out of view. Love tokens invoke then not only a sense of elusiveness but also one of disappointment given the researcher's inability to capture the full promise of these objects. The French translation for 'tip of the tongue' is 'presque vu' meaning 'almost seen' and for me this term offers a more accurate description of the way in which love tokens allude to something more. They are 'presque vu' objects in that they carry the promise of a breakthrough moment, of an epiphany about their origins and meanings. To describe love tokens as 'almost seen' is also appropriate given the two sided nature of engraved coins since they can never be seen and comprehended in one glance. As soon as you turn them over the surface details you were just looking at slip away and escape out of the corner of your eye.

I end by re-visiting the words of the love token collector Hodgkin in describing why love tokens merit further investigation. He wrote:

The absurdly small intrinsic value which they possess does not in my view
lessen their claim to a certain amount of attention. They are very small beer it
is true, but it may be said of a majority of them, as it cannot of the most costly
coins and medals, that each particular specimen bears the impress of a joyous
or a sorrow-stricken hour in the life of some obscure and now forgotten fellow-
man.[9]

In paying attention to love tokens crafted by an 'anonymous and undocumented body
of people', this thesis has shone a light on the lives of those whose experiences and
feelings might otherwise go un-noticed.[10] It has restored to the archive some of the
'joyous and sorrow stricken moments' of the poor in eighteenth century England and
opened up possibilities for further lives and emotions to be recovered in the future

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[9] Hodgkin, *Rariora Being Notes of some of the Printed Books,* 95.
[10] Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing,* 12.

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Appendix 1   Collections of love tokens

Name	Description	Date collected	Number of love tokens/current location	Engraved dates on love tokens
PRIVATE COLLECTIONS				
Richard and Henry Cuming (now in Cumin Museum, Southwark, London)	Private collectors with extremely diverse collections of objects. Henry was interested in ephemera of everyday life. Both Richard and Henry collected coins.	1782-1902	Eleven so far identified in Cuming museum but catalogue from 1845 written by Richard refers to sixteen 'engraved mementos'	1765
John Eliot Hodgkin	Private collector – described in Hodgkin, *Rariora Being Notes of Some of the Printed Books.*	1858-1900	270 Unknown current location	1662-1839
Ella Pierrepont Barnard	Private collector – described in Pierrepont Barnard, "Examples of Engraved Coins Selected from a Collection Formed by Mrs Ella Pierrepont Barnard."	1918 – date of BNJ article	322 Some now in Ashmolean and British Museum	1702-1848
Francis Buckley (now in Gallery Oldham)	Private collector – described his collection in Buckley, "Lovers' Tokens, an Unusual Series of Fine Examples."	1936 – donated collection of Sophia Hoskins tokens to Oldham Quite likely to have	11 Donated to Oldham Museum in 1936 Unknown number	1754-1777

Name	Description	Date collected	Number of love tokens/current location	Engraved dates on love tokens
		also donated love tokens to Huddersfield	donated to Huddersfield Museum	
Rev. R.W.H. Acworth (now in Maidstone Museum & Art Gallery)	Private collector of tokens including love tokens. He wrote an unpublished article about them which was read to the Kent Numismatic Society at Maidstone Museum in 1941. http://lovetokens.omeka.net	1941 – date of unpublished article on love tokens	300 Donated to Maidstone museum in 1951	1707-1890
Dennis Vorley	Private collector of love tokens referred to in Field and Millett,eds., *Convict Love Tokens: The Leaden Hearts the Convicts Left Behind.*	2nd half of 20th Century	3023 Sold after his death at Bonhams auction in 1994 and dispersed	Mid 18th century to 20th century (votes for women and Northern Ireland)
Gary Oddie	Private collector specialising in silver shilling love tokens	N/A	Unknown	Unknown – those viewed range from 1779-1900
Alison Barker	Private collector of love tokens	N/A	Unknown – (possibly several hundred)	Unknown – those viewed range from 1723-1836
Sim Comfort	Private collector of maritime tokens – published in Comfort, *Forget Me Not.*	N/A	138	1740-1916
Richard Law	Private collector	N/A	220	1714-1918

Name	Description	Date collected	Number of love tokens/current location	Engraved dates on love tokens
Timothy Millett	Private collector specialising in convict love tokens – published in Field and Millett,eds., *Convict Love Tokens: The Leaden Hearts the Convicts Left Behind.*	N/A	307 Sold to National Museum of Australia Canberra Reported in *The Australian* December 13 2008	1780-1856
Token Corresponding Society	Private collectors	N/A	Unknown	Unknown
MUSEUM COLLECTIONS				
Ashmolean Museum	Contact - Dr Julian Baker		**~30**	Unknown
British Museum	Contact - Dr Catherine Eagleton		~300	Unknown
Cardiff Museum	Contact - Dr Edward Besley		34	1768-1836
Cuming Museum, Southwark	Contact - Bryn Hyacinth		11	1765
Foundling Museum	Contact - Pontus Rosen In January 2009 Jim Gledhill, Museum Assistant at the Foundling Museum, provided me with a list of coins and medals in Foundling Hospital Collection. They number 368 and the majority are as minted. In other		~25 engraved with names and birth dates. Museum's collection of coins, medals counters, jetons and metal discs numbers 368	1739-1779

Name	Description	Date collected	Number of love tokens/current location	Engraved dates on love tokens
	words, they have not been altered into love tokens. In the region of twenty five are love tokens altered from copper and silver coins. In the mid nineteenth century these tokens were separated from the written admissions documentation that recorded the child for whom they were left. The tokens were put on display in the Hospital. As a result, it has been extremely difficult to identify the children for whom these tokens were originally given. A number of tokens have been re-united with their original paper documentation. See Bright and Clark. *An Introduction to the Tokens at the Foundling Museum*.			
Gallery Oldham	Contact - Sean Baggaley	? circa 1936	11 – mostly engraved for Sophia Hoskins	1754-1777
Huddersfield – Tolson Museum	Contact - Chris Yeates	? circa 1936	94	1713-1829
Hull Museum	Contact - Vanessa Salter	1922 – date of	307	1724-1900

Name	Description	Date collected	Number of love tokens/current location	Engraved dates on love tokens
	Collection described by Thomas Sheppard (Curator and then Director of Hull museums 1901 – 1941) in Sheppard, "Catalogue of Love Tokens and Other Engraved Pieces in the Hull Museum."	article – collection subsequently destroyed in Second World War bombing of Hull	– itemised in Shepherd catalogue 10 currently in Hull museums	
Maidstone Museum & Art Gallery	Contact - Giles Guthrie	1951	300 – donated to museum by Rev. Acworth in 1951 – a number of love tokens are not engraved but altered in some way – e.g. heart shaped, bent or halved.	1707-1890
National Maritime Museum	Contact - Barbara Tomlinson	Unknown	65 Maritime and related	1765-1842
National Museum of Australia, Canberra	http://love tokens.nma.gov.au/ There are 314 convict love tokens in the National Museum's collection, ranging in date from 1762 to 1856. The Museum purchased most of the tokens — 307 in all — from British	After 1984	314 Convict tokens	1762-1856

Name	Description	Date collected	Number of love tokens/current location	Engraved dates on love tokens
	dealer and collector, Timothy Millett. Millett started his collection in 1984.			
Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, Australia	http://www.powerhousemuseum.com	Unknown	7 Convict tokens	1786-1866

Appendix 2   Author's collection of eighteenth and early nineteenth century coins and trade tokens

(given the nature of this collection – worn, defaced and altered coins - the definition in some photographs is limited)

Image number	Image – obverse (if recognisable)	Image number	Image – reverse (if recognisable)	Coin	Date	Description including diameters[1]
0638		0639		Copper cartwheel twopence	1797	Copper cartwheel twopence in good condition Diameter: 41mm
0640		0641		Silver disc – possibly silver shilling from 1787	Unknown ?1787 George III	Silver disc. Worn, marked, scratched and extremely thin Diameter: 24.7mm

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[1] Sources used for identification: Standard Catalogue of British Coins, *Coins of England & the United Kingdom*, 42nd ed. (London: Spink & Son Ltd, 2007), Withers and Withers, *The Token Book,* Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins,* See http://www.predecimal.com/british_coins_identification.php for diameters of historic currency. See http://www.predecimal.com/ for examples of Georgian forgeries.

Image number	Image – obverse (if recognisable)	Image number	Image – reverse (if recognisable)	Coin	Date	Description including diameters[1]
0644		0643		Copper halfpenny	George III 1807	Worn copper halfpenny with verdigris. Diameter: 28.6mm
0645		0646		Copper halfpenny	George II 1727-1760	Worn copper halfpenny. Counterfeit as bust faces right whereas regal George II copper currency faced left. Diameter: 27.3mm
0648		0647		Copper cartwheel penny	1797 George III	Worn copper cartwheel penny with both faces rubbed away Diameter: 35.8mm
0650		0651		Copper halfpenny trade token. Bungay (Suffolk).	1795 George III	Copper halfpenny trade token. Obverse- Hand holding scroll. 'We promise to pay the bearer on demand. Halfpenny'. Reverse - figure of Justice on pedestal. 'For the use of trade. 1797. Bungay.' Diameter: 28.8mm

Image number	Image – obverse (if recognisable)	Image number	Image – reverse (if recognisable)	Coin	Date	Description including diameters[1]
0652		0653		Copper three pence trade token	1813 George III	Large copper trade token. Obverse – Shield of Arms 'One pound note payable at the workhouse for 80 tokens. Reverse- Birmingham workhouse building. A counterfeit as these were usually struck in silver. According to Withers counterfeits were struck in copper.[2] Diameter: 44.8mm
0654		0655		Copper cartwheel penny	1797 George III	Worn copper cartwheel penny Diameter: 35.8mm
0656		0657		Copper penny	1806-1807 George III	Worn copper penny. Fourth issue Soho Mint. Grained edge. Diameter: 34mm

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[2] Withers and Withers, *The Token Book,* 416.

Image number	Image – obverse (if recognisable)	Image number	Image – reverse (if recognisable)	Coin	Date	Description including diameters[1]
0658		0659		Copper farthing	1822 George IV	Worn, damaged copper farthing with stamp marks. Possibly counterfeit as shape of Britannia not as minted. Diameter: 22mm
0661		0660		Copper halfpenny	1799 George III	Worn copper halfpenny with numbers '6' and '9' stamped on both faces Diameter: 30.6mm
0662		0663		Copper halfpenny commercial trade token – known as a Druid	1793 George III	Copper trade token. Obverse- Druid's head. Reverse- North Wales Halfpenny RNG cypher. Diameter: 29mm
0664		0665		Copper trade token - Bath	1794	Copper trade token. Obverse- camel standing left 'Teas Coffee Spices Sugar'. Reverse- 'M.Lambe & Sons Tea Dealers & Grocers Bath India House 1794'. Diameter: 29mm.

Image number	Image – obverse (if recognisable)	Image number	Image – reverse (if recognisable)	Coin	Date	Description including diameters[1]
0667		0666		Copper halfpenny	?George II 1727-1760	Very worn copper halfpenny – profile of monarch and Britannia facing left consistent with George II Diameter: 28mm
0669		0668		Copper halfpenny	1825-1827 George IV	Worn copper halfpenny. Diameter: 28mm
0670		0671		Bent Irish copper halfpenny	1805 George III	Very worn copper halfpenny bent at corners. Obverse – George III. Reverse- harp 'Hibernia 1805'. Diameter: 25mm
0673		0672		Copper penny	1806 George III	Slightly worn copper penny. Fourth issue Soho Mint. Grained edge. Diameter: 34mm
0675		0674		Copper cartwheel penny	1797 George III	Worn, scratched copper cartwheel penny with verdigris. Diameter: 36mm

Image number	Image – obverse (if recognisable)	Image number	Image – reverse (if recognisable)	Coin	Date	Description including diameters[1]
0676		0677		Copper halfpenny trade token Lancaster	1794	Copper halfpenny trade token. Obverse- bust of Daniel Eccleston facing left. Reverse Plough before sailing ship 'The Lancashire Halfpenny 1794'.Diameter: 29mm
0678		0679		Copper cartwheel penny	1797 George III	Worn copper cartwheel penny. Diameter: 36mm
0680		0681		Copper halfpenny	1807 George III	Worn copper halfpenny. Possibly counterfeit as light weight. Diameter: 29mm
0683		0684		Copper cartwheel penny	1797 George III	Very worn copper cartwheel penny. Possibly counterfeit as light weight or merely worn. Diameter: 36mm
0685		0686		Copper penny	1806-1807 George III	Worn copper penny. Fourth issue Soho Mint. Possibly counterfeit as light weight and irregular graining on edge. Diameter: 34mm

Image number	Image – obverse (if recognisable)	Image number	Image – reverse (if recognisable)	Coin	Date	Description including diameters[1]
0687		0688		Copper trade token Haverhill	1794	Copper trade token. Obverse- Man in loom. 'Havering Manufactory'. Reverse-'Pro Bono Publico' crest above IF cypher in oval. Diameter: 29mm
0690		0689		Copper farthing	1736 George II	Worn copper farthing. Possibly counterfeit as the bust has been struck slightly off centre. Diameter: 24mm
0692		0691		Copper trade token Scotland	1790	Worn copper Edinburgh halfpenny that has been stamped with E *M on both faces. Obverse-St Andrew standing with cross with faint lettering. Reverse- Arms of Edinburgh with faint lettering. Diameter: 30mm
0693		0694		Copper farthing	1697 William III	Copper farthing. Possibly counterfeit as off centre and worn edge. Diameter: 23mm

Image number	Image – obverse (if recognisable)	Image number	Image – reverse (if recognisable)	Coin	Date	Description including diameters[1]
0695		0696		Copper cartwheel twopence	1797	Copper cartwheel twopence with slight wear and damage. Diameter: 41mm
0697		0698		Copper halfpenny trade token Leighton Buzzard	1794	Copper halfpenny trade token. Obverse-'Lace Manufactory'. Girl making lace. Reverse-'Payable at Leighton Berkhamsted or London'. Lamb. Diameter: 29mm
0699		0700		Copper halfpenny evasion	Undated	Obverse- bust facing left with pronounced nose 'Louis the sixteenth'. Reverse- 'Music charms'. Harp. Diameter: 27mm
0705		0706		Copper halfpenny	George III	Extremely worn and thin copper halfpenny. Possibly counterfeit or just in very poor condition. Diameter: 27mm
0707		0708		Copper	George III	Worn copper halfpenny with counterstamp of letter 'B'. Diameter: 27mm

Appendix 3   Web-based database of Acworth love tokens - http://lovetokens.omeka.net

Screenshot one - view of database showing browsable and featured items

Screenshot two shows an individual record for John Leross's token including Dublin Core classification

Numismatic object

Description

Image of copper halfpenny rubbed smooth and engraved with image of various tools, name and year. Side one: image of a bottle, a glass and two pipes; also engraved with 'Fine for 5 years in Newgate. John Leross 1775', in capitals. Side two: various tools.

Creator

Unknown

Source

Maidstone Museum Love token collection, Kent, England

Date

Unknown; engraved date: 1775

Contributor

Rev. R.W.H. Acworth

Rights

Maidstone Museum

Format

Copper halfpenny, 28.4 mm

Identifier

M170

Coverage

Eighteenth/ early nineteenth century

Screenshot three shows love token tags - illustrating how dates and themes can be visually displayed. For example the dates on the original coins range from 1691 – 1833 and the dates that have been engraved when the coins were altered range from 1726 - 1845
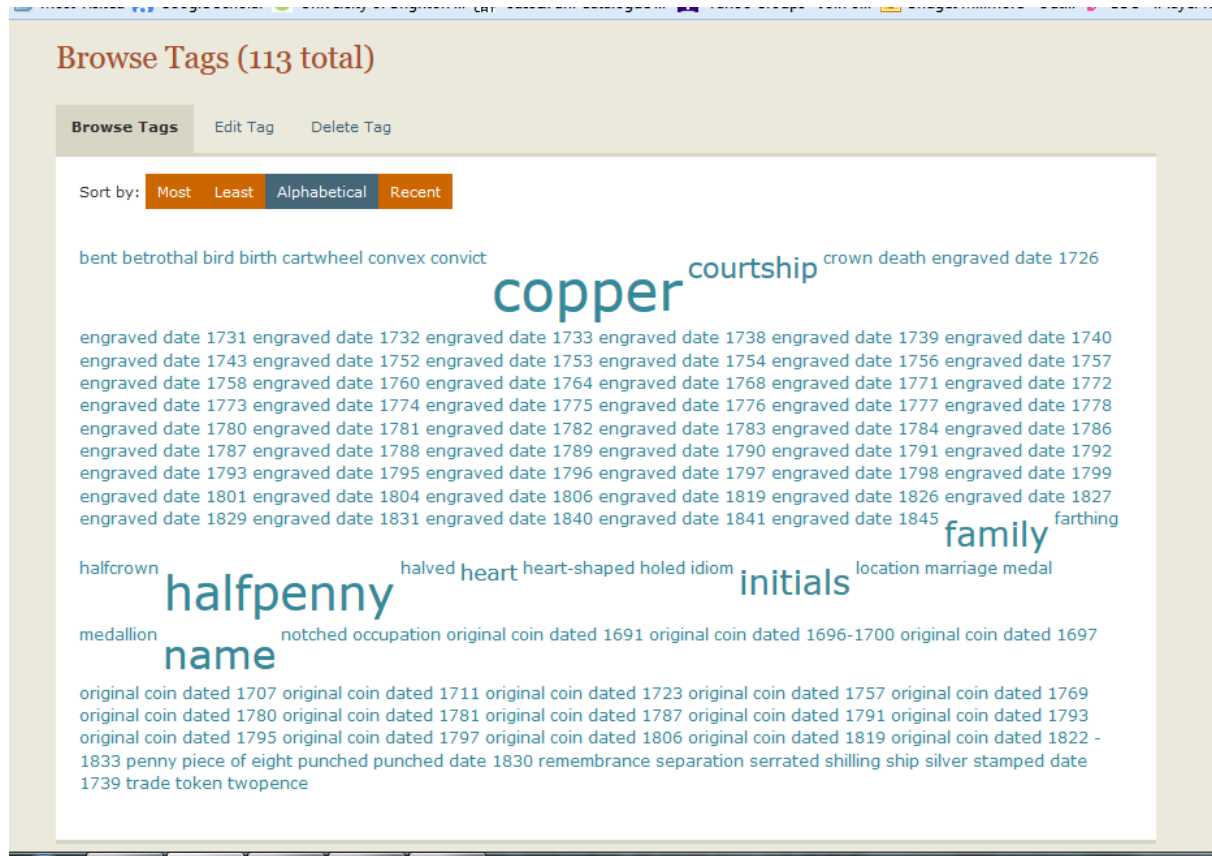
Appendix 4   Examples of pierced hearts on love tokens in museum and private collections

Some of the engraving on the coins has been 'whitened' by collectors (possibly with chalk or china white) in order to emphasise their features, whilst some of the photographs suffer from the effects of reverse relief illusion (pseudoscopy) which gives the engraving the appearance of being raised above the surface of the coin rather than cut into the coin.

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
1		Single heart pierced by pair of arrows within vine wreath with initials 'K.H' below Reverse side: as issued	Maria I of Portugal	Cardiff Museum 00.368
2		Ann Wilkinson London around two overlapping hearts pierced by pair of arrows with initials 'A.W' above the hearts Other side: 'When-This-You-See-Remember-Me' around flower decoration in centre.	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Cardiff Museum 32.321/10.38

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
3		'Isaac Hoare 1777' with single heart pierced by pair of arrows Other side – ship over anchor	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Cardiff Museum 32.321/10.32
4		'A / Token Of / Love From / James Steward / To Mary Ann / Steward' above heart and within wreath. Other side: 'When this / you see rem / ember me and / keep me in your / mind. Let all the / world say what / they will speake / of me as you find. 1835'	Copper Cart-wheel penny, 1797	Cardiff Museum 31.78
5		Single heart in black enamel pierced by pair of arrows surrounded by inner circle of decorative geometric rays and outer circle a formal pattern of leaves Other side: Initials 'S.H' in small circle of black enamel surrounded by decorative engraving	Farthing unknown date	Gallery Oldham T11133 and M197 This is one of seven tokens dedicated to Sophia Hoskins engraved in the 1770s

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
6		'John Taylor' with single heart below pierced by two arrows with crossed arrows either side of name Reverse side: as issued	Copper Coventry Condor half-penny token	Huddersfield 10_7334
7		Obverse side: Single heart inside heraldic shield, engraved with 'James Knot Born Oct 30 1774' and outside the shield at bottom the date' 1796' Obverse side engraved with 'Ester Knot died 1794'	Copper Anglesey token – druid – circa 1781	Huddersfield 2010737

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
8		'Hand in hand Heart in Heart True Lovers Never will Part', around edge and either side of single heart pierced by pair of arrows – 'Youth, Beauty, Love, Honour' Other side: 'Jo(seph) Woodhous Born June the 3 1757' with single heart pierced by pair of arrows	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Hull Museum 2008.1185b
9		Two interlocking heart pierced by pair of arrows 'Elizab(eth) Phipps 1781' Other side: 'My heart is fixt I cannot Range I love my choice too well to change'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M010

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
10		Single heart pierced by two arrows with date 1785 'James Catherine Freeland' Other side: 'George Freeland' with clubs, sword and keys	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M020
11		Initials 'J.T' and 'E.P' above two overlapping and pierced hearts Other side: Two overlapping hearts on altar of love with a pair of arrows either side, two birds tying a knot and a bow above	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M031

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
12		'When this you see remember me' above overlapping pierced hearts Other side: 'Thomas Mitchner Cast gany 18 1768 1773'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M038
13		Single heart pierced by one arrow with wings on either side 'Pity this bleeding heart of mine' Other side: (undecipherable) monogram 'Feb 23 1793'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M040

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
14		Two overlapping hearts pierced by pair of arrows with flames at top 'John Murphy' above and '1773' below Other side: repeat image of heart and date with initials 'E.H'(?)	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M041
15		Two overlapping hearts 'W'm Higgs Jan 20 1801' On other side: 'My heart is fix'd it cannot range I love my choice too well to change Ann Phillips'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M093

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
16		Two overlapping hearts pierced by pair of arrows 'June 7 1771' Other side: clasped hands 'W(illiam) Carr J Clarkson'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M044
17		Overlapping double heart 'Elisabeth Whitford 23 April 1776' 'When this you see remember me' Book, palm, fronds.	Copper Coventry token – 1780s	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M048

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
18		Two overlapping anatomical style hearts within tree and surrounded by four birds. Initials 'I.B' on one heart. Arrows only piercing one heart Other side initials 'J.C.B.'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M086
19		Two overlapping hearts pierced by pair of arrows with flames emerging from top and doves and foliage above. 'Love United' Other side, figure of woman holding glass in one hand and jug in another 'Let Holland'	Copper half-penny – date unknown	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M059

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
20		Two overlapping hearts pierced by pair of arrows with date '1782' 'No heart more true than mine to you' Other side,'Sarah Hunt Born 8 Aug'st 1764, When this you see Pray think on me'	Copper half-penny – date unknown	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M069
21		Two hearts side by side pierced by pair of arrows, above pair of doves and date 1799 Other side, 'Rec' this trifle from a friend whose love for you shall never end'	Copper half-penny – date unknown	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M072

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
22		Touching hearts both pierced by pair of arrows 'When this you see remember me Sh Shaler' On reverse 'Mary Arrowsmith Manchester June 11'	Copper half-penny – date unknown	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M099
23		Single heart pierced by two arrows with decorative flames – edge of the coin is serrated as part of the decoration	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M104

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
24		Overlapping hearts pierced by two arrows at top Horizontal arrow below Other side: initials 'W.B.'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M108
25		Single heart in centre of coin with one arrow piercing it and nine arrows pointing in to it On ribbon 'Wounded but by one' Obverse; bird with foliage in mouth 'William Lander October 25th 1777'	Copper half-penny – date unknown	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M109

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
26		Single heart pierced by pair of arrows with crown above and initials 'C.P, C.P, S.H, C.P' Other side 'A true heart ought never to be forgotten'	Copper half-penny – date unknown	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M108
27		Two touching hearts both pierced by arrows surrounded by decorative foliage and initials 'W.H.C.'	Copper Sheffield token –	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M109

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
28		Single heart with arrow pointing towards it from either side. 'N.Hawes Dec'r 25th 1787 Miss Thompson' Other side: blank	Copper half-penny – date unknown	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M111
29		Single heart with diagonal piercing arrows and decorated with foliage Other side 'John Stockbridge Lagd Aug(ust) 7 1797' NB 'lagd' was slang for to send to prison/a convict or ex convict	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M114

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
30		Two side by side hearts both pierced by pair of arrows above altar of love with pair of doves and ribbon between them Other side : 'Sarah Haliday D.W Why not be true to me It is you only love and you only have he sade'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M122
31		Single heart with a single arrow and arrow tails projecting out of the three corners of the heart Other side has crude initials 'M:B' and date '1789'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M129

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
32		Single heart pierced by pair of arrows 'J Presnall 21 years to Martha Green aged 18 years Other side: 'A token of love,The gloomy month December shall belight the flowers of May e'er I cease to remember my love when far away April 1829'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M134
33		Single heart with diagonal pair of arrows 'Jeremiah Douglas' Other side: Bird on branch with ring in beak and date '1788'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M184

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
34		Single heart with bow behind and pierced diagonally by two arrows with drops of blood and initials 'I.A.' Other side: engraved with initials 'M.B.' and date '1788'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M154
35		Interlocking hearts pierced by one arrow and pair of doves above 'Who can withstand cupid's lance' Other side: as issued	Copper cart-wheel penny 1797	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M177

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
36		Opened-out heart with pierced arrows 'Ja's Barber Fanny Graves' Other side:' When this you see think of me both love'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Omeka identifier M179
37		Reverse: Two hearts pierced with pair of arrows. 'Faithful my love, Sincere my heart. Shall never Rove, till death us Part'. Obverse: Sailor (right) holding the left hand of a woman (left) a tree above, stern of a ship in distance (left).	Copper half-penny– unknown date	National Maritime Museum E3886
38		'When this you see remember me tho many a league perhaps we be' around two touching hearts each pierced by an arrow Reverse: Initials 'C.R and G.R' within foliage	Copper half-penny– unknown date	Richard Law - 7

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
39		'From John Paddison to Harriott Spark' above two overlapping hearts pierced by pair of arrows Other side: 'When this you see remember me and bear me in your mind let all the world say what they will speak of me as you find'	Copper Cart-wheel penny 1797	Richard Law – 26
40		Initials 'M.B.' below overlapping hearts pierced by a pair of arrows on branch of foliage Reverse: as issued	Copper George III penny- unknown date	Richard Law - 27

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
41		Pierced heart with two arrows pointing from edge 'My bleeding heart is full of smart. E.R' Obverse: 'Eliz(abeth) Reice 1756' in centre and around edge 'When this you se remember me Zack(ariah) White'	Copper half-penny– unknown date	Richard Law - 52
42		Two overlapping hearts pierced by pair of arrows over an anchor with initials 'C.B' either side. 'A trifle of love' around edge Obverse: ship above '1794'	Copper half-penny– unknown date	Richard Law - 54

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
43		Initials 'R.S' above coronet. 'S.D' between lover's knot Two overlapping, flaming hearts pierced by pair of arrows Reverse: undecipherable set of initials	Copper half-penny– unknown date	Richard Law - 163
44		'S.Clark Izack Vizard' around couple with single heart pierced vertically by arrow between them Reverse: 'When this you see remember me' around bird and two overlapping hearts pierced by pair of arrows	Copper half-penny– unknown date	Richard Law - 199

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
45		Flower and foliage above overlapping hearts pierced by pair of arrows Obverse: 'Catherine Hughes 1791'	Copper half-penny– unknown date	Richard Law - 210
46		'Mary Monday' around single heart pierced by pair of arrows and date '1793' Reverse: as issued	Copper George III half-penny – unknown date	Richard Law - 217

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
47		Single heart pierced by pair of arrows with bow and crossed arrows to left and flaming winged heart to right. Initials 'I.B' above and 'A.S' below Reverse: as issued	Copper Irish Trade token 1789	Richard Law - 227
48		Pair of birds at top tying cord with two overlapping hearts pierced by a pair of quivers one flaming and one with arrows Ribbon across middle 'if parted we die' Reverse: as issued	Copper George III half-penny – unknown date	Richard Law - 229

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
49		Two hearts touching pierced by pair of arrows with foliage either side Obverse: 'Dia Briggs' and date '1791'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Richard Law - 234
50		Initials 'S.P' and 'E.R' around single heart pierced by two arrows with reverse lettering 'Omnia Vincit Amor anno 1714' for use as seal Reverse: as issued	William III 1696 silver shilling	Richard Law -1485

No	Heart	Details	Coin	Collection
51		Two overlapping hearts pierced horizontally by single arrow Obverse: 'Love and Friendship in our hearts' with initials of 'R.M.' above	William III Chester silver shilling	Richard Law - 1488
52		Two overlapping hearts pierced by arrows underneath 'H'tt Howard Born 24 March 1805' suspension hole at top Reverse: as issued	George III 1787 silver sixpence	Richard Law - 1577

Appendix 5   Imagery of love – other than the heart

Description	Imagery of love	Details	Coin	Collection
Altar of Love		Two flaming hearts on plinth engraved with two sets of initials with billing doves beneath	Copper halfpenny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M018
Billing doves		Two love birds below initials 'I.V.' with heavy hatching	Copper halfpenny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M042

Description	Imagery of love	Details	Coin	Collection
Clasped hands		'William Carr J Clarkson'	Copper halfpenny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M044
Clasped hands		'William Scott 1796'	Copper halfpenny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M062

Description	Imagery of love	Details	Coin	Collection
Domestic scene		Houses and trees with field in front	Copper halfpenny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M126
Physical		Phallus disguised as a ship's hull over an anchor	Copper halfpenny – unknown date	Cardiff 32.321/10.32

Description	Imagery of love	Details	Coin	Collection
Happy couple		Couple arm in arm Other side: 'When this you see remember me and bear me in your mind let all the world say what they will don't prove to me in kind'	Copper halfpenny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M094
Heart shaped bent, and cut out hearts		Bent halfpenny	Copper – engraved with initials I.L. and date 1790	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M057
Heart shaped bent, and cut out hearts		Cut –out heart	Henry VI silver half-penny	Richard Law 1572

Description	Imagery of love	Details	Coin	Collection
Heart shaped bent, and cut out hearts		Heart shaped	Copper penny– heart shaped unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M037
Lovers' knot		'The further we fly the faster we tye'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M008

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Description	Imagery of love	Details	Coin	Collection
Ring		Ring in beak of bird on branch with date '1788'	Copper half-penny – unknown date	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M184

Appendix 6   The language of the heart - idioms from love tokens[1]

1	Set me as a seal upon thine heart for love is strong as death	Barnard catalogue - 109
2	Take up this Heart and think of me when i am Quite Forgotten	Barnard catalogue - 145
3	My heart never will be at Ease Till our hearts and hands be joind like these	Barnard catalogue – 162
4	In Lee my hart is onely true to the	Barnard catalogue – 175
5	My heart is fixd I will not range …I hope the heart that now is free will think of that which pants for Liberty	Barnard catalogue – 204
6	Our hands and heart shall never part	Barnard catalogue - 206
7	Draw Cupid draw and make that Heart to know, the mighty pain its suffering swain does for it undergo	Barnard catalogue - 290

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[1] Many of the phrases are repeatedly used but only cited once here - Sources: Pierrepont Barnard,"Examples of Engraved coins , Comfort, *Forget me Not*, Field and Millett, eds., *Convict love tokens*, Auctioneers, "Coins and Tokens, War and Historical Catalogues.", National Maritime Museum, http://www.nmm.ac.uk/collections. National Museum of Australia, Canberra, http://love-tokens.nma.gov.au and the private collections of Richard Law and Alison Barker

8	Hand in hand Heart in heart Like true lovers never will part	Hull Museum - 1185
9	My heart is fixt I cannot range I love my choice too well to change	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M010
10	May we have in our arms Whom we love in our hearts	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M021
11	My heart is true to none but you	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M021
12	When this I wrote my heart did ache so keep this token for my sake	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M027
13	Pity this bleeding heart of mine	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M040
14	No heart more true than mine for you	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M069
15	A true heart ought never to be forgotten	Acworth collection - Omeka identifier M108
16	Let your heart be as true as mine	Richard Law – 5

17	An heart that can feel for another	Richard Law – 18
18	My bleeding heart is full of smart	Richard Law – 52
19	O could my love in softer language flow to melt your heart tho cold as Greenland snow	Richard Law – 178
20	Let love join your heart and mine	Richard Law – 179
21	Love & Friendship in our hearts	Richard Law - 1487
22	O see my Heart tis Pierc'd thro I bore it all for love of you	Sim Comfort - EC 54
23	Heart's United	Sim Comfort - EC 83
24	To whom I give this I give my heart	Sim Comfort - EC 86
25	No pen can write no tongue can tell the aching heart that bids farewell	British Museum (also listed in Millett p.97)

26	Two hearts together joined forever	British Museum - J3290
27	What heart can tell/an(o)thors grif	Peter Lane (also listed in Millett, Convict Love Tokens, 103)
28	The rose soon drapes and dies, the brier fades away, but my fond heart for you I love shall never go astray	Millett , Convict Love Tokens, p.95
29	Weep not for me my Brother dear, with heavey heart I am confined heare with grief and sorrow I am oppresd thinking of you I cannot rest	Hull Museum (also listed in Millett, Convict Love Tokens, p.110)
30	Sweet is thy love, soft is thy heart	Bonhams sale catalogue of Dennis Vorley collection p.9
31	My heart is wounded deep indeed, these darts of love they make it bleed	Bonhams sale catalogue of Dennis Vorley collection p.7
32	Tho far apart you have my hart	Alison Barker
33	Let my body be Were it will my heart shall Be with you still	National Museum Australia - Canberra 2008.0039.0312
34	let all our foes say what they will, you will find my heart is with you still	National Museum Australia - Canberra - 2008.0039.0290

| 35 | Your out of sight But not of mind you allways Found my heart was Kind. | National Museum Australia - Canberra - 2008.0039.0116 |