



## **The Failed Community Coinage of Griqualand**

A research into the Missionary-issued Community Coinage of Griqualand, South Africa in the early 1800's

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## The Coinage of Griqualand

In his excellent anthology, The Mission at Griquatown, 1801-21<sup>1</sup>, Karel Schoeman states that “During the years 1815-16 [Revd John] Campbell had silver and copper coins minted for use at Griquatown, denominations of tenpence, five pence, a halfpenny and a farthing (quarter penny) being recorded by Parsons...They seem to have circulated for a short time only before being melted down”<sup>2</sup>.

The authority “Parsons” mentioned above refers to a slight pamphlet The Coinage of Griqualand by H. Alexander Parsons, 1927, Spink & Son Ltd reprinted from Numismatic Circular, 1927<sup>3</sup>. In this, Parsons quotes two previous writers on the subject, Boyne<sup>4</sup> who states “I cannot learn on what occasion these [coins] were struck-it seems likely that they were issued by the London Missionary Society” and Atkins<sup>5</sup> who says “I have made enquiries of the [London Missionary] Society’s agents, but have learned nothing to justify this supposition”.

Further, on p.6 Parsons notes that “On his arrival home [Campbell] took early steps towards provision of the coins required by the inhabitants of Griqua Town, as Klaar Water should now be called. He seems to have acted on his own initiative in the matter without consulting his fellow Directors of the London Missionary Society. Mr David Chamberlin, the present Managing Editor under the Society, informs me that he is strongly under the impression that Mr Campbell negotiated the manufacture and supply of the coins privately, for no correspondence or resolutions on the subject have been discovered in the archives of the Society...”

Parsons goes on to state that supplies of the coins were made “by the well-known die-striker Thomas Halliday, and sent out to South Africa in 1815 followed by a further consignment in 1816. This is evident from old correspondence emanating from Mr Halliday in a private collection formed before 1820, which includes figures 2 and 4 [of the coins] hereafter shown. These were given by the maker to the original owner and were not part of the consignments sent to Griqualand and brought back again to this country, the bulk of which, after a short period of circulation were, through fluctuating prices of victuals at the time, and like other colonial emissions of the same period, melted down. A few circulated specimens have trickled over to this country, of which figures 1 and 3 are examples”<sup>6</sup>. Parsons here refers to examples from the collections of R. Donald Bains esq and Dr A.N. Brushfield respectively, opining that “It is probable that these proof-like specimens in our cabinets were never intended for Griqualand, and may not have been struck with the initial supplies”.

It is helpful to put the Griqualand coinage or tokens in context. A document tucked away in the Archives of the London Missionary Society<sup>7</sup> at the School of Oriental and African Studies<sup>8</sup> in London described as Reports of South African stations, 1832<sup>9</sup> corroborates some of the above statements and gives useful background. No details are given as to the authorship of the report but from internal evidence it appears likely that it may have been compiled at the LMS in London from the various journals and correspondence which the missionaries were encouraged to keep locally

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<sup>1</sup> Publ. Griquatown, 1997

<sup>2</sup> Schoeman, op cit. note 5 on p.133

<sup>3</sup> The pamphlet consists of just a few pages (pp.3-11)

<sup>4</sup> The Silver Tokens of Great Britain and Ireland, the Dependencies and Colonies, 1866, p.17

<sup>5</sup> The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire, 1889, p.245

<sup>6</sup> Parsons, op. cit. p.7

<sup>7</sup> Henceforward LMS. The LMS Archive comprises a large part of SOAS Archive and is catalogued in the Guide to Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society Archive, 1764-1977

<sup>8</sup> Henceforward SOAS

<sup>9</sup> CWM/LMS Africa Odds Box 8

abroad.<sup>10</sup> This report states that the Griquatown mission was begun by William Anderson and Cornelius Kramer in May 1801, and removed to Klaarwater a month later. In June 1804, they persuaded local people that the mission should be rooted in one place rather than nomadic. "3. Griqua Town or as it was first called Klaarwater is situated about 530 miles NE of Cape Town, and 27 miles N of the Orange River". A striking feature about the station was the explosion in population a few years later: "5. Population...In the year 1806 it is expressly stated to have amounted to 784...[but increased] ..so that in the year 1821, Griquatown and its district contained about 5000 inhabitants. In 1830 the population at Griqua Town (sic) amounted to 1000, & in 1831 to 1560 persons".

It is not difficult to see that under these circumstances a system of barter which might have worked relatively well for a few hundred people was less appropriate for thousands. According to the Report, "In 1807...May-Half of the people proceeded to the Griqua Country with sheeps (sic), goats, dogs & beads, for barter, in exchange for Elephants' teeth, cattle & skins (Beads had been furnished by the Society)".

There were other considerations too. The suggestion that it might be a good idea to have a coinage was made by the Revd John Campbell, a Scot and one of the Directors of the LMS, who was sent out to the Cape by his fellow Directors, recognizing that there needed to be leadership at the Cape.<sup>11</sup> He sailed from England in June 1812, arriving at the Cape in October and personally inspected the different settlements to "establish such regulations...as might be most conducive to the attainment of the great end proposed -the conversion of the heathen, keeping in view at the same time the promotion of their civilisation".<sup>12</sup> On August 7<sup>th</sup> 1813 a "meeting with all the male inhabitants of the settlements [was called] ...to consider various points, especially about regulations, for the protection of the lives and property of the community". Amongst these, the "people having expressed a desire that the Missionary Society should send missionaries to the principal outposts, we stated to them the great expense to the Society which even one missionary would occasion, by the time he reached their country, for his education, out-fit, passage, and journey to Griqua land; wherefore, that as providence had increased their worldly substance, they should endeavour to aid the Society, in sending teachers to them... One man might engage to give an ox annually to the funds, others a sheep, or goat, or elephant's tooth etc. To this proposal they unanimously consented.

It was likewise resolved that as they had no circulating medium amongst them, by which they could purchase any small article, such as knives, scissors (sic), clothing etc supposing a shop to be established amongst them, which they were anxious that there should be-they should apply to the Missionary Society to get silver pieces of different value coined for them in England, which the missionaries would take for their allowance from the Society, having Griqua town marked on them. It is probable that, if this were adopted, in a short time they would circulate among all the nations round about, and be a great convenience."<sup>13</sup>

Another useful source for this date are the LMS Annual Reports, published from 1796 onwards. These comprise a general overview (in later years helpfully divided into different areas where the

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<sup>10</sup> Formal rules for the keeping of reports, journals etc at the missionary stations were set out in London later (see Home Board Minutes Book 11 p.59) but the practice had been encouraged long before this for obvious reasons.

<sup>11</sup> See R. Lovett History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, published by Henry Frowde, London, 1899, vol I, p.533 et sequ.

<sup>12</sup> Travels in South Africa undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society by John Campbell, London, 1815. He sailed back to England in Feb 1814 arriving in May and was subsequently asked by the Directors to transcribe his journal for publication.

<sup>13</sup> Campbell, op. cit. p.354

LMS was active), four sermons, a list of congregations which had transmitted sums of money to the Treasurer for the use of the Society and an alphabetical account of contributors to the Missionary Society. Thus the record for funds coming into the Society within the United Kingdom is very detailed. Unfortunately, in terms of moneys spent by the Society, however, the "Account of Disbursements made by the Treasurer", although beginning in slightly more detail<sup>14</sup> soon gets much less detailed so that for the year June 1805-June 1806, there is just a blanket entry "Missions to South Africa. Expended on account of these Missions £1370-19-6d" and this style of entry continues for subsequent years. Since the total amount expended had greatly increased by 1814 (£2,597/16/5d)<sup>15</sup>, there seems little doubt that detailed records of expenditure would have been kept, which would also be consistent with the detail of incoming contributions but have simply not survived in this collection for this date.

Nevertheless, the Directors' annual published reports are an extremely useful source. The Report of the Directors to members of the missionary society at their 22<sup>nd</sup> General Meeting on May 9<sup>th</sup> 1816 continues the story of events in Griqualand<sup>16</sup> at this time. "An Auxiliary Missionary Society has been established in Griqua Town; the subscribers to which, having no money (for money is utterly unknown in that part of the world) have contributed property which is to be sold for the benefit of the Society. The following is a list of the subscriptions: Elephants' teeth, 30 pounds<sup>17</sup> Nine young Bulls, Four Heifers One Ox Twenty-three Sheep Five Goats. To remedy the inconvenience sustained by the people (who have now made considerable progress in civilization) by their want of a circulating medium, the Directors are now procuring for them a coinage of silver tokens"<sup>18</sup>.

Although various authorities have stated that there is nothing in the LMS Archives concerning the proposed Griqua coinage, this is not strictly true. Although there is less than one would like, and apparently nothing except anecdotal evidence as to how the coins were used (or rather not used) in Africa, there are tantalizing glimpses as to their making in this country.

The Finance Committee records, for example, do not begin until 1837<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore, although there is mention of auditor's books in the Home Board Minutes, such books do not appear to have survived<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless, the Home Board Minutes themselves do give some information as to the making of the coinage at LMS and refute the suggestion that it was left entirely to Campbell to arrange this.

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<sup>14</sup> For example, the Account of Disbursements...in the Annual Report for 1799-1801, pp.120-23 includes expenditure on items such as rope

<sup>15</sup> Annual Reports, 1814-16 p.xliv. To give some idea of how money was spent, the disbursements in the year ending March 31<sup>st</sup> 1815 include an entry for "Equipping and sending out four Missionaries and their Wives [to S. Africa] £1987/5/2d"

<sup>16</sup> Annual Reports, 1814-16, 22<sup>nd</sup> Report of the Missionary Society, p.25 (please note that there is no straight-through pagination of the volume).

<sup>17</sup> In the Report, the items are set out in columns; the sum "30 pounds" appears alongside "Elephants' teeth". The other items are on their own. In later versions, 30 is recorded as the number of elephants' teeth with no mentions of "pounds".

<sup>18</sup> This is also recorded in the 1832 Report

<sup>19</sup> CWM/LMS Finance Committee records , 1837-1910

<sup>20</sup> There is no mention of them in the hand list and a conversation with the LMS Archivist at SOAS Archive confirmed this.

For example, at the weekly meeting of the Directors held on 15 January 1816<sup>21</sup>, it was “Resolved that the following Gentlemen be a Committee for considering of the best mode of furnishing a Silver Coinage for Griqua Town vizt Messrs Campbell, Muston, Steven & Bateman”.

Further, at a meeting of the Directors held at their meeting rooms in the Old Jewry on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1816, it was “Resolved that £100 be voted for a Silver Coinage as a circulating medium at Griqua Town & its Vicinity in So Africa-that this business be referred to Messrs Bateman and Muston”.<sup>22</sup>

However, a committee for furnishing the coinage is not mentioned amongst the list of committees approved on 27<sup>th</sup> May<sup>23</sup> of that year, presumably because it was not considered of sufficient importance. Much of the business of the Home Board consisted of deciding the suitability or otherwise of missionaries and their wives for all their missions so a committee dealing with a detail relating to just one mission must be put in context.

Nevertheless, on 15 July 1816 it was “Resolved that £200 in Coins [struck through] Tokens for [use] ...as inflation...Griqua Town be forwarded to the Cape of Good Hope instead of £100 only-as before ordered”<sup>24</sup>.

On 7<sup>th</sup> October 1816, perhaps too soon in any case for the tokens to have been manufactured, it was “ordered that Fifty Pounds be advanced for Dollars for the five Missionaries going to Africa”.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, an intriguing entry referring to the meeting held on 21 October 1816 records that “The following bills were ordered to be paid...William Westall...Silver Tokens etc 191.12”.<sup>26</sup> A few pages later, it is noted that “Several bills were ordered for payment as per list entered in the auditor’s Minute Book”<sup>27</sup> so it is likely that more information would have been there.

As a postscript to the above, the Home Board Minutes record that at the meeting on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1816 it was “Resolved that Mr Bateman be reimbursed by this Society for the loss sustained by him in consequence of his boy being robbed of a quantity of Silver, for Tokens, gratuitously procured by Mr Bateman for the use of the Settlement at GriquaTown”.<sup>28</sup> In the following volume, it is recorded that at a meeting of the Directors on 27<sup>th</sup> January 1817 “The Sum of £49 [was] voted to Mr Bateman on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Decmbr last in compensation for his loss, by the robbery of his boy of the Silver, for Tokens, ordered”.<sup>29</sup>

Not long after, serious problems relating to charges brought against certain missionaries in Africa took precedence over other matters. A Special Meeting of the Directors was held on 3 October 1817 at which it was resolved “That it appears to this meeting highly proper that a person or persons should be immediately appointed to proceed without delay to South Africa to inspect the Missionary Stations in that quarter...”<sup>30</sup>. This was to lead to the second voyage of Revd John Campbell to Africa, this time accompanied by Dr John Philip.

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<sup>21</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 7 (10 Apr 1815-15 Apr 1816) p.114 (CWM/LMS Home Board Minutes Box 7-9)

<sup>22</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 8 p.9

<sup>23</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 8 pp.34-36

<sup>24</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 8 p.67. The words and their order in the sentence are not entirely clear because some words have been crossed through and a line added above.

<sup>25</sup> Home Board Minute Book 8 p.113

<sup>26</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 8 p.123

<sup>27</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 8 p.138

<sup>28</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 8 p.166

<sup>29</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 9 p.11

<sup>30</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 9 p.6

Two points emerge from the above. The first is that there is no mention so far of the coinage being made in any metal other than silver, although the coinage described by Parsons and others is in silver and copper.<sup>31</sup> That copper coins were made in addition becomes clear later in this report.

The second point concerns the payment to William Westall of £191/12/- for silver tokens on 21st October 1816. A William Westall (1781-1850) was an English landscape artist who, whilst still a first year student at the Royal Academy, got himself employed as a landscape and figure painter through Sir Joseph Banks on a voyage of discovery under Matthew Flinders shortly before this date. The expedition went initially to Madeira in August 1801, then on to Cape Colony in October, where Westall made some detailed sketches. After various further adventures including shipwreck and being dismissed by the Admiralty for deserting ship, Westall returned to England in 1806. Better relations with the Admiralty (which was under pressure to show some result from the expedition in consequence of the money it had spent on it) ensued. Westall was commissioned to produce nine oil paintings of Australian scenes (it is for his Australian work that he is mainly remembered today), after which he was elected as an Associate of the Royal Academy.

The possibility that William Westall the artist may be the same man mentioned in the Home Board Minutes is strengthened by something else. At a meeting of the Directors on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1815, a letter from Sir Joseph to the Directors was read acknowledging the receipt of a copy of Campbell's Travels. He said that "it gives me great pleasure to observe that, while the Missionary Society pursues with ardour... the conversion of...nations to the wholesome and comfortable doctrines of Christianity, the less important business of exploring the unknown Parts of the Globe and giving to the Public the knowledge obtained, is not neglected".<sup>32</sup> Westall was primarily a landscape painter and the design on the coins is of a simple dove bearing an olive branch in its beak (the symbol of the LMS<sup>33</sup>) but perhaps it is not fanciful to think that the artist might have been involved in some way with the production of the coins.

I have found no reference in the LMS Archives to confirm the employment of Thomas Halliday in the production of the coins. Parsons may well be right about this but the problem is that he relied for this statement on "old correspondence emanating from Mr Halliday in a private collection formed before 1820...These were given by the maker to the original owner and were not part of the consignments sent to Griqualand and brought back again to this country, the bulk of which, after a short period of circulation were, through fluctuating prices of victuals at the time...melted down" (see p.1 above). Such correspondence could still exist in private hands, carefully transmitted with the coin collection to which it relates. Although the British Museum<sup>34</sup> dates back to the mid-eighteenth century and a few museums, libraries and record offices existed in the nineteenth, the majority of record offices (where collections of private papers which are not of national importance are most likely to have survived) are a development of the Second World War and largely as a consequence of it. There is apparently no means of checking Parsons' statement.

As to when the Griqua coinage manufactured in England was sent out to South Africa, a brief entry at the beginning of a letter<sup>35</sup> sent by P.F. Hammes and R. Beck [the latter was the Society's local agent in Africa] to D. Langton, the Assistant Secretary of the Missionary Society in London on 21<sup>st</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Examples of both silver and copper coinage survive at the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. See final pages of this report.

<sup>32</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 7 p.4

<sup>33</sup> L. Engelbrecht Money in South Africa, publ. Tafelberg, 1987 p.43

<sup>34</sup> The British Museum was founded in 1753. In 1973, its library became the British Library, a separate organization although the books did not move to its new purpose-built building until 1997

<sup>35</sup> CWM/LMS LMS South Africa: Incoming Correspondence Box 7 Folder 2 Jacket B

July 1817 states “Sir, We acknowledge the receipt of Yours dated 20 March last<sup>36</sup> and have the honor to return for Answer, that we have received the two Cases, containing small Silver Specie and Copper pieces in good order, and we will act with the same according to the intention and wish of the Society”.

Apart from this, details of ships are sometimes given in the Home Board Minutes but these tend to be when a particular captain of a ship has offered an advantageous rate to take certain missionaries on board, no doubt partly as a gesture of goodwill to the Society which seems to have enjoyed much credibility in England at that time. In general, Board Minutes do not go into detail as to shipments, although at the directors’ meeting on 28 September 1818, it was recommended “that Iron frames for a Printing Press, Printer’s Ink Types & Paper, & Printing Grammar be sent out to Mr Helm at Griqua Town”.<sup>37</sup>

It has also been suggested that Campbell might have taken coinage out to Griqualand with him on his second journey. I have found no evidence to corroborate this so far within the LMS Archive. An intriguing entry for the Directors’ meeting on 23 November 1818 records that it was “Resolved that the following bills be accepted and paid by the Treasurer £170 + £130 drawn by Mr Wm [William] Hope of Liverpool for Dollars and sundry articles of Bedding Hardware etc for Messrs Campbell & Philip-and Mr Moulton”<sup>38</sup> but there is no mention of coinage.

Nor have I found any evidence within the LMS Archive of the coins or tokens being used in Griqualand and the surrounding region. Mention was made earlier in this report of the use of beads as money. As late as 1820, John Campbell wrote from the neighbouring station of Lattakoo suggesting that “A good parcel of small black and white beads would enable [local interpreters whose cattle had been stolen by bushmen] to purchase the same number of Cows from nations beyond-for beads are the only current money here”.<sup>39</sup> In fact, he went further, “It would be a profitable speculation for Messrs Toomer and Rutherford, beads of the above description, could they send a Waggon Load to the next Beaufort fair in 12 months”.

In his book<sup>40</sup>, Karel Schoeman quotes some entries from John Campbell’s Journal III<sup>41</sup> relating to the coinage. For example, on “8 August Monday 1820... The Landdrost thought it important to establish a regular communication between Griquatown and Graaff Reynet; also advised to apply to Government for sanction to the passing of Griqua money in Graaff Reynet and Beaufort districts” and again<sup>42</sup> on “12 August Friday In the forenoon met with some of the principal men to talk over the Auxiliary Missionary Society which was begun among them short time after I had visited them before... Conversed also on the coin. They said if it would pass in the colony, the Griquas would readily take it. I promised to apply to the Governor to sanction its passing in the districts of Graaff-Reynet and Beaufort”. This source is based on a document<sup>43</sup> in the National Library of South Africa transcribed by Schoeman because it is less known and less readily accessible than the published accounts of John Campbell’s travels, besides which the latter’s comments in it are more forthright.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> I have searched for this letter amongst the Archive but it does not appear to have survived

<sup>37</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 11 p.47

<sup>38</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 11 p.120

<sup>39</sup> WWM/LMS South Africa: Incoming Correspondence Box 8A Folder 2 Jacket B

<sup>40</sup> Schoeman, op. cit. p.100

<sup>41</sup> Journal III pp.137-47. S. Africa Library MSB 77 , 1 (2)

<sup>42</sup> Schoeman, op. cit. pp.103-04

<sup>43</sup> John Campbell, *Journal, III*, pp.137-47: MS, S.A. Library MSB 77 1 (2)

<sup>44</sup> Schoeman, op. cit. p.95

I have looked through John Campbell's Travels in South Africa undertaken at the request of the LMS being a Narrative of a Second Journey in the Interior of that Country<sup>45</sup>. There are one or two entries which are relevant and confirm the use of Rijksdalders or Rixdollars. Campbell and Philip had sailed from Liverpool on December 10<sup>th</sup> 1817 arriving at Cape Town on 26 February 1818. Campbell's comments include the following observations "Jan Kors, a Griqua... possesses a new waggon, for which he gave seven hundred rix dollars at the last Beaufort fair".<sup>46</sup> On August 12<sup>th</sup> 1820, "The Auxiliary Missionary Society, which had been formed in Griqua Town six years ago, was broken up in the second year, owing to the misrepresentations of a boor, who had absconded from the colony, and for want of proper persons to collect the subscriptions. At a meeting in the forenoon, they determined upon its re-establishment, and appointed collectors for Griqua Town, Chalmers, Hardcastle, David's Den and Campbell. [These latter places were outstations of Griquatown]. At Sneuberg, admittedly a considerable distance south from Griquatown, on September 13<sup>th</sup> 1820, Campbell noted that "We met several persons, in the evening returning from the sale of a neighbouring farmer's effects, who reported that eight slaves had been sold for 16,000 rix dollars, about 1,600 pounds sterling. A woman with her sucking child was sold for 5,000 rix dollars, the prospect of her having more children increasing her value. A female sucking child fetched 1,300 rix dollars, and a boy sold for 3,000".<sup>47</sup> These are large sums of money when compared with the relatively small outlay of the LMS Directors in London for the Griqua coinage.

Evidence that the Griqua coinage was not being used is to be found again in a letter from Heinrich Helm to Dr John Philip in Cape Town dated 21 June 1821<sup>48</sup> "Andries Waterboer has for some years assisted me in the school. Since he became captain he could not regularly attend, as his duty required frequently his absence from home ... Br[other] Anderson made the agreement with him that he should receive for payment 60 Rijksd[alders] an year from the Society. Having no money [ie the Society has no money], he has for the last two years received nothing except 13 Rijks[aalders] 4 Schil[lings]. As most of the members of our Auxiliary Society have payed their contribution for the past year partly in money and partly in corn, sheep and goats, I have been able to give him 36 Rijksd. more. He has therefore still to receive 70 Rijksd. 4 Schill. Will you be so good as to send for him that sum by a safe opportunity. Of what I have received from the Grikwas for our Society I shall give an account as soon as all is payed.

The greatest part of the Griqua money is still our Society's property which Br. Anderson when leaving us delivered to my care. As Mr Campbell thought that Br. Anderson had disposed the silver pieces at too cheap a rate, I asked him to let me know the real value of a piece of each sort which he promised to do, but I have as yet received no answer, and it is therefore still in my possession. I should be glad if you, Dear Sir, would have the goodness to inform me what I am to do with it".

The above passage suggests that the coinage issue may not have been uppermost in Campbell's mind despite the fact that it was originally his suggestion. I have read through some of his

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<sup>45</sup> Printed for the [LMS] Society, London, 1822, 2 vols

<sup>46</sup> Campbell, op. cit., vol II, pp. 231-2

<sup>47</sup> Campbell, op. cit., pp.246-7

<sup>48</sup> CWM/LMS South Africa: Incoming Correspondence: Box 8B Folder 3 Jacket B. This passage is also given in Schoeman, op. cit. p.133, working from a microfiche copy of the LMS material. There are minor variations between his reading of the passage and mine.

correspondence<sup>49</sup> but there is more which could be explored further. There are also personal papers of his in the LMS Archive<sup>50</sup> though these would seem less promising.

It seems likely that in any case Campbell's suggestions had not been adopted with enthusiasm locally even a year or two after they were made. In their Journal entry for April 11<sup>th</sup> 1815<sup>51</sup>, the missionaries William Anderson and Heinrich Helm noted "Had a Meeting with the Captain, spoke upon the general disregard to all the rules and regulations made in 1813".

A possible explanation as to why more vigorous efforts were not made to promote the use of the Griqua coinage may lie in a laconic entry in the Board Minutes for 28 February 1820 "Resolved ...that the request of Messrs Anderson & Helm for Types etc be referred to Messrs Campbell & Philip it being doubtful whether the Society's station at Griqua Town will be continued".<sup>52</sup>

The problem of fluctuations in currency in South Africa has already been touched on. In a "Letter of Instructions given to the Deputation about to depart [to South Africa ie Campbell and Philip]... [it is noted that] ...it would be desirable that the amount of Salary should be fixed in the current coin of the colony viz Rix Dollars instead of British Money however you will avail yourselves of the knowledge and experience of Mr Beck who will be able to inform you how far the value of the Rix Dollar is affected at stations remote from Cape Town by the fluctuations in the Exchange at that place, and perhaps will be able to point out to you the most effectual plan for guarding in this respect, the pecuniary interests of the Society on the one hand, and satisfying the minds of the missionaries on the other. It is the wish of the Directors that they should on no account suffer a diminution in their Salaries in consequence of the advance in the Exchange, and provided any diminution should appear to be the actual effect of such advance at any station, it is referred to the Deputation to adopt such a mode of fixing the Salaries then which, after consulting with Mr Beck on the subject, shall appear to be requisite (sic) in order to secure to each Missionary his full allowance"<sup>53</sup>. This passage suggests that the Directors may have been more aware of the problem of currency fluctuations than a possible solution.

A further complication is that the documentary sources are not all in one place. Part of the reason why the financial records are incomplete may lie in the fact that sums of money were being raised in South Africa as well as the United Kingdom for the missionaries' efforts. In the Missionary Chronicle for 1822<sup>54</sup>, an extract of a letter from Campbell to the Editor taking the form of an obituary of a Mrs Smith, late<sup>55</sup> of Cape Town, records that "From the period of Dr Vanderkemp's arrival in Africa, to the time of her death, she was the cordial, active, steady friend of the Missionary cause. The contribution made to our Society's funds, which were obtained chiefly through her instrumentality,

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<sup>49</sup> CWM/LMS South Africa: Incoming Correspondence, 1797-1927 Boxes 5-8A. Please note that I have not been through all of this. Nor have I checked CWM/LMS Home: Incoming Correspondence: Box 3, 1813-21 which is from missionaries whilst in the United Kingdom to the LMS Home Office in London. John Campbell was held in such high esteem by the Society that his communications with them are more likely to have been verbal than literary.

<sup>50</sup> CWM/LMS Africa: Personal: Box 3, John Campbell Papers, particularly family papers, correspondence. I have not looked at these.

<sup>51</sup> CWM/LMS South Africa Journals Box 2 1810-16 no 53. Much of the content of these missionary journals is concerned with the state of people's souls and emotions, by contrast with Campbell's observations, which tend to be factual.

<sup>52</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 12 p.215

<sup>53</sup> Home Board Minutes Book 11 p.106

<sup>54</sup> P.202 but it should be noted that many of the preceding pages in the volume appear to be missing. This volume is the first of the series to survive alongside the LMS Archive.

<sup>55</sup> She died on 25 November 1821

were very considerable. Last year, they amounted, I think, to five thousand six dollars (about £500 sterling). The sums collected were not from Cape Town only, but from every Drosdy (or district) in the Colony, with the pious people of which she maintained, for that purpose, a constant correspondence, and the sums so subscribed, were regularly transmitted to her as the Treasurer”.

Despite the effort of Mrs Smith and no doubt others, however, the LMS had serious financial problems by this date. In the Treasurer’s address to the members of 17 December 1821<sup>56</sup>, he noted that “For four years past, the annual expenditure has exceeded the income, and the Directors witnessed it with little emotion, while the disparity was not such as to menace any impediment to the desired extension of the Society’s efforts...however... The amount of the Disbursements since the 1<sup>st</sup> of April last is £28,880; (exceeding the expenditure of the whole preceding year, nearly £1,100) and it leaves an excess of outlay, beyond the Income for the same period of no less than £11,000”.

The LMS had its own museum, originally at Austin Friars in London. However, neither the catalogue of that, compiled in 1826, nor that of its successor housed in Blomfield Street (the latter catalogue is dated c.1900) appear to have contained any Griqua coins, probably because the museum’s purpose was to display items from abroad rather than those manufactured in this country. One entry in the later catalogue is relevant, however. In the section devoted to the African mission, exhibit 127 consisted of “pieces of matting used as money at the River Congo; one piece was considered equal to a pound of salt”.<sup>57</sup>

After about 1890, the LMS began to break up its own collection sending a number of items to the British Museum. I visited the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals and was shown some specimens of Griqua coinage. The Museum has five specimens which are relevant<sup>58</sup>. These were acquired by a gift in 1900 from a W.L. Sclater and a bequest in 1935 from a Thomas Bryan Clarke-Thornhill. Both the donation and the bequest include a copper coin with a value of a quarter<sup>59</sup> (in figures) on the obverse and an inscription around the edges: GRIQUA TOWN on the reverse; these coins weigh 3.44 and 3.43 grams respectively. Their diameter is 20mm. A dove with an olive branch in its beak is shown on the reverse (this applies to all the coins). In addition, the 1900 donation includes a copper coin with a value of a half<sup>60</sup> (in figures); similar inscription to above; weight 6.35 grams; diameter 25 mm. The fourth coin (1935 bequest) is a silver token with a value of five in figure (5)<sup>61</sup>; similar inscription to above; weight 2.4 grams; diameter 21 mm. The fifth coin (1935 bequest) is another silver token with a value of 10 in figures (10)<sup>62</sup>; similar inscription to above; weight 5.39 grams; diameter 25 mm. The Museum staff were not aware of any connection between these coins and those mentioned by Parsons in his article of 1927. There are images of these coins available on the British Museum Online Collection which can be accessed via the Internet worldwide ([https://www.britishmuseum.org/.../collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://www.britishmuseum.org/.../collection_online/search.aspx)).

To sum up my findings: there is documentary evidence in the Home Board Minutes for the making of a relatively small quantity of silver tokens (but not copper). There is a possibility that the artist William Westall may have been involved as well as Halliday. I have found nothing about Halliday’s

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<sup>56</sup> Missionary Chronicle for January 1822

<sup>57</sup> CWM/LMS Home Odds Box 37A

<sup>58</sup> Besides two later Griqua coins dated c.1890. These have not been considered in this report.

<sup>59</sup> British Museum nos 1900.0301.2 and 1935.0401.9283 respectively

<sup>60</sup> British Museum no:1900.0301.1

<sup>61</sup> British Museum no 1935.0401.9280

<sup>62</sup> British Museum no: 1935.0401/9279

involvement with the Griqua coinage within the LMS Archive; Parsons<sup>63</sup> refers to private papers which may no longer be extant. The coins or tokens in silver and copper were taken to South Africa in two cases in 1817. Schoeman's sources attest to the failure of the coinage to have much impact in Griqualand, if indeed they were used at all which I have found no evidence of, particularly since their value was not clear. Eventually it was suggested that they be melted down. One source used by Schoeman for this is John Campbell's Journal III, held at the National Library of South Africa. The other is a letter (now amongst the LMS Archive) from Heinrich Helm to Dr John Philip in June 1821 when the latter was resident at Cape Town. In any case, the relatively small amounts of coinage for which I have found documentary evidence make it unlikely that they would have had much impact. At the same time, events amongst the missionaries in South Africa besides the Society's own financial problems meant that by the early 1820's the issue of the Griqua coinage was far from uppermost in the minds of the LMS Directors or, indeed, the missionaries.

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<sup>63</sup> See p.1 above

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