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THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC  
JOURNAL.



THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

1929-30

INCLUDING THE  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
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EDITED BY

H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.



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AN IMPRESSION BY MISS B. F. SHAW OF "THE FOLLY" ON THE SITE CLAIMED FOR THE BATTLE OF  
BRUNANBURH AT BROUGH IN THE PEAK.



## NUMISMATIC SIDELIGHTS ON THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH, A.D. 937.

BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

**B**RUNANBURH was described by Henry of Huntingdon as "the greatest of battles"; and we, who live a thousand years later than it, may still agree with him, for it was the most brilliant victory every won by Englishmen upon British soil; and in its day it was the theme of the sagas of the Northmen, the pride of the Anglo-Saxon race, and known to all as "the great fight."<sup>1</sup> England was almost used to the ebb and flow of Danish strife, for during more than a century it had been the field of one hard-fought struggle of defence; but now Athelstan was faced with far more than that, for, instead of a single enemy, an alliance of nations on all sides had been formed against him for the reconquest of Mercia.

At the instance of Constantine III, king of the Scots, the Northumbrians had revolted and elected his son-in-law, Anlaf the Dane, the exiled son of their late king, Sihtric, to be their king and leader. Meanwhile Anlaf had become by hereditary succession one of the titular Danish kings of Dublin, and as such had arrived with a great Viking fleet at the mouth of the Humber. With him was his cousin, another Anlaf, also a Viking king of Dublin. Hordes of Picts and Scots marched southwards with their king and his unnamed son, whilst the Strathclyde Britons from the lands that are now Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, flocked to the scene and were joined by their countrymen, the Welsh, from beyond Ethelfleda's rebuilt stronghold of Chester. War-worn Vikings from the Isles,

<sup>1</sup> Ethelweard's *Chronicle*, written within fifty years of the event.

and from over the seas, sailed to the call of the Raven standard, and no doubt the men of the Danish Burghs in England revolted to the cause. The name of the host was legion, yet its strength was probably but that of a multitude of undisciplined units.

Although Brunanburh is reported in the chronicles as the event of a single year, it must have been the outcome of long conspiracy and armament, and it is significant that the two preceding years, 935 and 936, are left blank in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, for they were probably years of silent preparation on both sides. The Scots had been subjected to a punitive raid by Athelstan in 934, and from that time forth, no doubt, Constantine conspired against him. The actual advance by the combined forces in the autumn of 937 would, of course, be a mere matter of weeks or months, but time would be necessary for the organization of the Northumbrians, the recall and election of the exiled Anlaf as their leader, and the preparation of his great fleet, said to have numbered 615 vessels, which sailed from Ireland and entered the mouth of the Humber. This statement has been questioned on the ground of the improbability of the selection of a landing-place on the east coast of England for a fleet from Ireland, but the fact is vouched for by nearly all our early chroniclers, including Florence of Worcester, Melrose and Symeon of Durham, and the last-named, being a Northumbrian, should have known. But the general rendezvous of the alliance was York, as the only possible centre for its commissariat, and for which the Humber was the only port. We must remember that the Danes were accustomed to sail round our coasts, and in this instance the collection of the Viking allies of Constantine from the Isles of Mona to the Orkneys was a factor of the general programme, for they would join the fleet on its way, so also would the Cornish Welsh if part of the fleet sailed the southern route, as I believe it did. The landing in the Humber is also in a measure corroborated by William of Malmesbury, who tells us that Anlaf had advanced far inland before the battle, but, be that as it may, if there is any axe within these pages, it must be ground by the hard grindstone of facts as stated, and proved, not by any theoretical

correction or adjustment. As, however, the site presently described lies exactly midway between the east and the west coasts, the question of the Humber or the Mersey is quite negligible.

Then followed the Battle, of which every chronicler or poet gives his own account, but the story is so well known that Stevenson's literal translation of the epic in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* will suffice :—

Here king Athelstan,  
of earls the lord,  
of heroes the bracelet-giver,  
and his brother also,  
Eadmund etheling,  
very illustrious chieftain  
in battle fought  
with the edges of swords  
near<sup>1</sup> Brunanburh.  
The board-walls they clove,  
they hewed the high lindens,<sup>2</sup>  
with the relics of hammers.  
The children of Eadward,  
such was their noble nature  
from their ancestors,  
that they in battle oft  
'gainst every foe  
the land defended,  
hoard and homes.  
The foe they crushed,  
the Scottish people  
and the shipmen  
fated fell.  
The field became slippery  
with warriors' blood

since the sun up  
at morning-tide,  
mighty planet,  
glided over the deeps,  
God's bright candle,  
the eternal Lord's,  
till the noble creature  
sank to her rest.  
There lay many a warrior  
pierced with javelins ;  
northern men  
over shield shot ;  
so the Scots eke,  
weary, satiated with war.  
The West-Saxons onwards  
throughout the day,  
in chosen bands,  
pursued the footsteps  
to the loathed nations.  
They hewed the fugitives  
from behind, exceedingly,  
with swords mill-sharp.  
The Mercians refused not  
the hard hand-play  
to any of the heroes

<sup>1</sup> *Ymbe* is, literally, around.

<sup>2</sup> I should translate this couplet "The wooden targe they clove, they hewed the tall shield with wroughten swords."

who with Anlaf,  
 over the ocean,  
 in the ship's bosom,  
 this land sought  
 fated to the fight.  
 Five lay  
 on the battle-stead,  
 youthful kings,  
 put to sleep by swords ;  
 so seven also  
 of Anlaf's eorls ;  
 of the army, countless  
 shipmen and Scots.  
 There was made to flee  
 the North-men's chieftain,  
 by need constrained,  
 to the ship's prow  
 with a little band.  
 The bark drove afloat ;  
 the king departed  
 on the fallow flood,  
 his life he preserved.  
 So there also the sage  
 came by flight  
 to his country north,  
 Constantine.  
 The hoary warrior  
 had no cause to exult  
 in the communion of swords.  
 Here was his kindred band  
 of friends o'erthrown  
 on the meeting of the people,

in battle slain ;  
 and his son he left  
 on the slaughter-place,  
 mangled with wounds,  
 the young man in the fight;  
 he had no cause to boast,  
 that hero grizzly-haired,  
 of the bill-clashing,  
 the old deceiver ;  
 nor Anlaf the more,  
 with the remnant of their armies ;  
 they had no cause to laugh  
 that they in war's works  
 the better men were  
 in the battle-stead,  
 at the conflict of banners,  
 meeting of spears,  
 concourse of men,  
 traffic of weapons ;  
 that they on the slaughter-field  
 with Eadward's  
 offspring played.

The North-men departed  
 in their nailed barks ;  
 bloody relic of darts,  
 on Dinnes-mere (?) <sup>1</sup>  
 o'er the deep water  
 Dublin to seek,  
 again Ireland,  
 shamed in mind.

So too the brothers,  
 both together,

<sup>1</sup> The first line of this couplet refers to the North-men, not the barks, and may be translated "Stricken remnant of war." To the second line Stevenson's query is unnecessary, as *on dinnes mere* means "on the stormy sea."

king and etheling,	in this island
their country sought,	ever yet
the West-Saxons' land,	of people slain,
in the war exulting.	before this,
They left behind them	by edges of the sword,
the corse to devour,	as books us say,
the dun kite	old writers,
and the swarthy raven	since from the east hither,
with horned nib,	Angles and Saxons
and the dusky "pada," <sup>1</sup>	came to land,
erne [eagle] white-tailed,	o'er the broad seas
the corse to enjoy,	Britain sought,
the greedy war-hawk,	proud war-smiths,
and the grey beast,	the Welsh o'ercame,
wolf of the wood.	earls most bold,
Carnage greater has not been	this earth obtained.

This, with the additional information from Ingulph, no doubt upon better authority than his own, that Brunanburh was, as we should expect it to have been, in Northumbria, is, shortly, the story of Athelstan's great victory as it has been handed down to us, and it was thought that the last word on it had been gleaned from contemporary evidence. But in the many thousands of pages of the *British Numismatic Journal* there is probably material worth the search upon any English historical problem ; and Brunanburh is no exception to the rule.

It is a strange corollary that the site of England's greatest battle should be one of the historical mysteries of modern times. It may be that Brunanburh was so renowned a name that the chroniclers no more thought it necessary to describe its locality than do we when we speak of Waterloo. Or it may be that it was in the wilds of Northumbria, an unknown district to them, and far away from any town or place with which it could be identified.

<sup>1</sup> Henry of Huntingdon translates this "*et buffo livens.*"

When Gaimar wrote, "I believe that it will always be spoken of," he was a true prophet, for historian after historian, topographer and etymologist alike, have suggested place after place and county after county, from Wessex to Scotland, for the probable site, but oddly enough nobody has hitherto turned to Derbyshire. The discovery in 1840 of the Cuerdale hoard of treasure on the bank of the Ribble in Lancashire was long thought to offer the key of solution, but since I was able to show in the first volume of the Society's *Journal*<sup>1</sup> that the date of its deposit could not have been later than A.D. 911, the claims based upon it have been abandoned. Similarly, those founded upon Athelstan's benefactions to Beverley have failed, because it has been proved that they were incident to his campaign of 934. So also no single theory has passed the censor of historical criticism.

Where men of the first knowledge have thus failed to solve the mystery, I, knowing the limitations of my own, would be the last to venture into the question were it not for two excuses. Firstly, because of the new numismatic information to which I have referred. Secondly, because Mr. Charles Plummer<sup>2</sup> sums up his notes on the battle with the remark, "Symeon of Durham gives it the name of Weondune, or Wendune. This recalls the name Vinnheiði við Vinnskôga, *i.e.* 'Winheath by Winwood,' which the battle bears in Egils Saga. . . . But local research might discover a Winheath, etc., which would definitely fix the spot." In my youth I have shot over the spot, or what I believe to be the spot, and the old game-keeper, who could never have heard of Brunanburh, told me tales of a battle fought there long ago, and pointed across the valley to a great mound, where he said the dead were buried, but he added that men's bones were found all over the moor. I believed him then, and now I know that the tradition of the battle was recorded a century before his day, and a cartload of human bones had been

<sup>1</sup> See also my present paper on the Northumbrian coinage, of which the first two portions have been read to the Society; and the British Museum's *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 1899, vol. ii, p. 139.



discovered in a trench on the moor. The late Professor Skeat's remark on place-names applies equally well to traditions, "Place-names are best preserved when they are left in the keeping of the illiterate, who speak naturally and are not ambitious to be always inventing theories."<sup>1</sup>

We will now turn to the numismatic sidelights, for I do not bring them nearer to Brunanburh than that. In 925 Athelstan had entered into a treaty with Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, at Tamworth, and given him his sister in marriage, but Sihtric, dying in 927, was succeeded by his elder son by a former marriage, Guthferth. Athelstan seized the opportunity, and expelled both him and his younger brother Anlaf and nominally annexed Northumbria to his English possessions. From this date, if not before, he assumed the title of *Rex totius Britanniae*, and so used it on his coinage. Henry of Huntingdon adds that Guthferth was slain, but erroneously describes him as Sihtric's nephew. The connection between the Danes of Northumbria and of Dublin was very close, Sihtric's alleged grandfather Ivar having been Danish king of that city. Anlaf retired there and succeeded as king, in name at least, of Dublin. There is no reason to think that between his expulsion during the reign of his brother in 927 and his return for the Brunanburh rising he ever set foot in Northumbria; on the contrary, he is always styled king of Ireland or of Dublin and must have remained there. Therefore, as he fled back to Dublin from the battle and did not return to Northumbria until after the death of Athelstan in 940, any coin bearing his name with the Northumbrian title *cununc*, for king, which was struck at Derby in Athelstan's reign, could only have been coined during the insurrection before Brunanburh.

Modern Derby had been founded by the Danes, and although wrested from them by Ethelfleda and annexed to Mercia in A.D. 917, it remained Danish in heart and customs, and as such was one of the famous "Five Danish Burghs." Similarly, Nottingham, another of

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, April 16, 1904.



the five, had fallen to Edward the Elder in 924, and the *Chronicle* tells us that all the Danes who had settled in Mercia submitted to him.

Until just before the Battle of Brunanburh no money had ever been issued from Derby, but now, during the currency of Athelstan's last type, a mint was opened there and an unusually large output resulted. To start this, two moneyers, whose names are Danish, were brought, or borrowed, from Chester, and the dies were supplied from York. There can be little doubt that the mint was specially opened for the financial necessities of this Northumbrian rising, for payment of and catering for the host of Danes, Scots, Britons, and Welsh, whose gathering ground was at York. It is obvious that Athelstan was not likely to have opened a mint at Derby on the very borders of Northumbria during this period of northern unrest, but to the Danes both Derby and Nottingham for that very reason offered special facilities for trade with the richer merchants of Mercia, and for meeting the urgent demands of the many paymasters of the army for ready money. For general circulation it was necessary that the money so coined should bear the name of Athelstan upon it, and be of the design then current in England.

We will assume that the mint was opened at Derby in A.D. 936, a year before and in preparation for Brunanburh, and as Athelstan died in 940 it had a run of only five years to issue money bearing his name. Derby was Danish and therefore allied to, if not then under, Northumbria, so we should expect marked differences in the coins issued from its mint by the Northumbrians in revolt before Brunanburh, from those issued under Athelstan's authority after Brunanburh, when Derby was restored to Mercia. This would divide the coins we have to-day into two classes as Northumbrian before, and English after Brunanburh, but the coins go further than that, and give us an intermediate issue struck during the actual military operations, namely, after the arrival of Anlaf at York and his election as *cununc*, as the Danes styled their king, and before his overthrow at the battle, a period of weeks or months only. These classes are quite distinctive and historically most interesting.

Perhaps I ought to explain that coins of Derby of this period are rare, but in proportion to those of similar provincial mints they postulate a very large original issue.

CLASS I.—Danish money struck at Derby during the insurrection, but before the arrival and election of Anlaf at York.

We have seen that it was necessary that, "to be accepted of the merchants," this money should conform with the currency of the day and therefore bear Athelstan's name upon it. So far, the Northumbrians were prepared at this time to go, but no further. Athelstan had assumed the somewhat pretentious title *Rex totius Britanniae*, and in a contracted form it so appears upon his regal English money.



FIG. 1.—SILVER PENNY OF ATHELSTAN OF ORDINARY ENGLISH TYPE ISSUED AT CHESTER.

I here illustrate as Fig. 1 an example of Athelstan's ordinary English money, struck at Chester, kindly given to me for the purpose by Mr. Frank E. Burton, F.S.A. It reads,  $\div$ ÆDELSTAN RE  $\div$  TO BRI; reverse,  $\div$ BEORARD MO IN LEEELF, and thus shows the title *Rex totius Britanniae* in the usual contracted form.

Whilst it was necessary for the Danes in revolt to use Athelstan's name, they naturally were not prepared to advertise on the money they issued to pay their army that he was *Rex totius Britanniae*, so they compromised by, as they would term it, "putting him in his place" as merely rightful king of Wessex, for they claimed Mercia and Northumbria.

Hence the money now issued at Derby bears in bad Latin and generally blundered spelling the obverse legend *Athelstan Rex Saxorum* as king of the [West] Saxons only.

The example here illustrated as Fig. 2 is unpublished and is also the gift of Mr. Burton, and well shows its Danish origin. It reads,  $\pm \text{ÆDEL} \text{S} \text{TAN} \text{RE} \pm \text{S} \text{A} \pm \text{S} \text{ORVM}$ , reverse,  $\pm \text{GIENCEA} \text{MOT ON DEOR} \text{A} \text{BYI}$ , for Giencea Monetarius on Derby, but the lettering is of the rude Northumbrian character. In the field of the reverse there is a



FIG. 2.—SILVER PENNY IN IMITATION OF ATHELSTAN'S MONEY ISSUED BY THE DANES AT DERBY BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF ANLAF AT YORK.

well-formed R, which is difficult to explain. The letter M occurs in the same position on some Derby coins of this class and might well be intended for Mercia, but we find S similarly on Chester coins, so this marking or countermarking of the dies awaits a better explanation.

So far as my search has extended I cannot find any instance either on his purely English money or in his charters, of Athelstan's use of the title *Rex Saxonum*.

This class, and these proffered explanations of it, apply equally well to the contemporary coinage at Nottingham.

CLASS II.—Danish money struck at Derby by Anlaf during the short period between his election as king of Northumbria and the battle of Brunanburh.

This is the most interesting class of the series, and considering that the limit of time for its issue must have been short indeed, it is surprising that it is represented to-day by three coins, although the third is a mule under Class III, and this suggests that the original issue must have been plentiful.

1. Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., discovered this coin and described and illustrated it in the fifth volume of this *Journal*. Except in its legends it is exactly similar to coins of Class I. It reads,  $[\pm \text{ANL}] \text{AF} \text{CVNVNE}$  [space missing for three letters, probably  $\text{XIV}$ ], reverse,  $\pm \text{SIGPOLDES} \text{MOT ON DEOGEF}$  (Sigwoldes being

the genitive case of Sigwold), letter M in the field. So, if I am right in assuming from the parallel instance on a coin of Anlaf struck at York that the missing letters on the reverse are ANGE,



FIG. 3.—BROKEN HALF OF A PENNY OF ANLAF AS KING OF NORTHUMBRIA, STRUCK AT DERBY JUST BEFORE THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH.<sup>1</sup>

the coin reads in full "Anlaf King of the English, [the penny] of Sigwold, moneyer of (or at) Derby," with the letter M in the field of the reverse.

It will be noticed that the letters R and B in the mint-name DEOREB are represented by a form of L with the limb raised to the top of the upright. These have been explained as unfinished letters, but as the same form occurs for R in *Rex* and otherwise, on several varied coins of Anlaf struck at York,<sup>2</sup> I think we must assume that it is a Northumbrian survival of the Frankish or Welsh-runic R, from which we get our minuscule r, although both were originally from the Roman. This fact practically proves that Anlaf's dies for Derby were cut at York.



FIG. 4.—PENNY OF ANLAF AS KING OF NORTHUMBRIA STRUCK AT DERBY JUST BEFORE THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH.

2. This coin is in the British Museum, and in its *Catalogue of*

<sup>1</sup> As this illustration has had to be reproduced from the collotype, Fig. A, Plate II, of Volume V, readers are referred to that for clearer detail.

<sup>2</sup> On one coin at least it is also used, as here, for B, in the title *Cununc Eb* (for Eboraci) = King of York.

*Anglo-Saxon Coins* is attributed to the York mint, but that catalogue, although the latest on the subject, is dated 1887, when the class I am discussing was undiscovered, and even the *British Numismatic Journal* was unknown. So I feel free to follow Major Carlyon-Britton, and correct the attribution.

The coin reads  $\text{+ANLAF CVNVNE O}$ , reverse,  $\text{+SIGARES MOT}$ , with the usual Derby  $\text{M}$  in the field. The  $\text{O}$  which concludes the obverse legend was the symbol of York and Northumbria as the ring of St. Peter of York, and although now used by a pagan king, its symbolism was nothing to him. So we get "Anlaf, King of Northumbria, [the penny] of Sigar the Moneyer," for *Sigares* is again a genitive. The inverted  $\text{L}$  in Anlaf is merely a diesman's blunder, but the punch used for it and twice on Fig. 3 was at York, and only at York.

It will be noticed that the moneyer's name is there, but that of the mint is absent. This only shows the emergency of the times and the difficulty of crowding a long legend into the confined space allowed on a die. Fortunately, the moneyer Sigar coined nowhere else than at Derby, and a coin in the National Museum at Rome settles his domicile, for it reads  $\text{+SIGARES MOT DEORABY}$ , and is of our Class I. It also has the  $\text{M}$  in the field of the reverse, which seems to be a symbol almost as peculiar to Derby at this period as the  $\text{O}$  was to York and Northumbria.

CLASS III.—The English money struck at Derby when it fell into Athelstan's hands by the Battle of Brunanburh.



FIG. 5.—REGAL PENNY OF ATHELSTAN STRUCK AT DERBY IMMEDIATELY AFTER BRUNANBURH, FOR ANLAF'S REVERSE DIE OF FIG. 3 IS CONTINUED FOR IT.

Brunanburh must have given Athelstan the mint of Derby instantly, because there is no break in its coinage, only the natural

change in the King's title, from the objectionable *Rex Saxorum* to *Rex totius Britanniae*. Immediately new obverse dies bearing the regal title must have been sent down to the Derby mint, because Sigwold, its moneyer, continued to coin without a break; for although Anlaf's obverse die of our Fig. 3 was scrapped, as we should naturally expect, when Sigwold received the new obverse die he continued to use for the new issue his own reverse die, which he had used for Anlaf's. The soft metal dies of those days lasted but a few months, or we should not to-day so rarely be able to identify two or three coins from the same die or dies.

It is to Mr. Grant R. Francis, F.S.A.,<sup>1</sup> that the discovery of this historically important coin is due, and he called attention to the very different character of the lettering on the obverse to that on the reverse of the coin. This difference, I think, can only be explained by the suggestion that the first regal obverse die was sent to Derby from Winchester because York was not yet directly under Athelstan's administration; but this soon followed, for the subsequent dies used at Derby adopt the regal title and are of York workmanship, and bad at that. Mr. Francis's coin, Fig. 5, therefore reads,  $\div$ EDELSTAN RE  $\div$  TO BRI, reverse, as Anlaf's, Fig. 3,  $\div$ SIGWOLDES MOT ON DEOGEF, with the usual M in the field. So far as I know, this obverse stands alone as evidence of a southern die being used at Derby at this period, and I think, therefore, that it was specially sent down as a pattern for the corrected obverse title.

The rest of the coins we have of Class III are from dies supplied from York and show the usual Northumbrian characteristics and blundering, retrograde inscriptions even being not unknown, and the Northumbrian O, as the annulet or ring of St. Peter of York, sometimes occurs; but always now, after Brunanburh, is the title *Rex totius Britanniae*, in a contracted form. Mr. J. O. Manton, in his excellent papers to the Derbyshire Archæological Society's *Journal* on the Mint of Derby, has included several of these, and kindly lent me his own specimens for these notes.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 1-4.



NOTTINGHAM.—As I have explained, this Danish Burgh joined the rising, its mint was opened from York, and its moneyer Ethelnoth was supplied from Derby, which shows the close connection between the two neighbouring towns. But this was only in Class I, before Brunanburh, and as yet I have not found any evidence that the mint was continued afterwards during Athelstan's reign.

OXFORD.—In Major Carlyon-Britton's collection there was a very puzzling and irregular coin of the type and character of Class I, reading  $\div$ EDELSTAN RE  $\Sigma$ X $\div$ ORVM, reverse,  $\div$  $\Sigma$ IGELAND MO O $\div$ VRBI $\Sigma$ . As all the other coins of Oxford to which I have been able to refer bear the regal title *Rex totius Britanniae*, and this has a blundered obverse, I can only imagine that during Class I a York die-sinker made the obverse die as usual, but too literally copied that for the reverse from a regal Oxford coin, for it is the only instance, so far as I know, of the title *Rex Saxorum* being then used south of the Trent. This seems the more probable because the same blunders on the obverse of this coin, H for N, RE for *Rex*, and the initial cross  $\div$  for X, occur on a Nottingham example of Class I, and suggest the probability of the same obverse die. I therefore think that the dies must have been made at York and both coins struck at Nottingham.

Hitherto the coins of Anlaf struck at York have been credited to his return four years after Brunanburh as the elected king of the Northumbrians, but although I need not now enter into any details, I think that they also are similarly divisible into two general series, one of which was coined for the Brunanburh rising and therefore bears the title *cununc* for king, and includes similar types to those struck at Derby, and another bearing as its device the Raven, the war-standard of the Danes. The other is much more English in character and was, I suggest, issued after Anlaf's restoration in A.D. 940-41.

#### THE SITE OF THE BATTLE.

The numismatic evidence of the mint at Derby proves that certainly for one year, probably for two years, and possibly for three



years, the Danes of Northumbria had extended their frontier thirty miles southward of the old "Mercian Mark," the boundary of Northumbria, to include Derby, and had thus established a frontier town as a salient into Mercia, and, finally, when he had arrived and been elected king at York, Anlaf their leader caused his own money to be struck at Derby in Mercia, and therefore within Athelstan's inner kingdom. This was a direct challenge to the English king, and it would not have been offered until Anlaf had the support of the whole Viking nation behind him at York—the Armada of 615 ships that had sailed into the Humber, and the land forces of Constantine from the north, and Owain with the Welsh from the west. Truly on paper an invincible host. Where the mint, exchange, and money were, there would be a strong garrison to defend them, so Derby would be held in force.

In A.D. 827 Egbert conquered Mercia and led his army against the Northumbrians to Dore in Northumbria, where they submitted to him.<sup>1</sup> He would therefore come through Mercia by the Roman Watling Street to Derby and Buxton, Roman *Aquæ*, and thence by the Roman *Batham Gate* to Brough, the Roman *Anavio*, and Dore, for the only possible military roads then were the Roman. In 924 Edward the Elder had led his forces from Nottingham by the same Roman road through Derby into Peakland to Bakewell, about ten miles from Dore, and there received the homage of the Scots, Northumbrians, Danes, and Strathclyde Britons. In 941 King Eadmund advanced through Mercia against the Northumbrians, again to Dore, and received King Anlaf in baptism, so he also went by the same road and with the same objective. Dore is now a place, but was then a district, on the confines of Northumbria. "Mercia recovered as the Dor flows," to use the words of the *Chronicle*, "the White Well Gate and Humber's river"—the line of "The Mercian Mark" or boundary. According to Earle and Plummer Dore meant the door into Northumbria, and the river has been identified by McClure as the Bdora of the Ravennas. The White Well

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

Gate was, I think, the Grey Dyke at Bradwell presently described. Thus, in a very few years more than the century that included Brunanburh, there were three separate revolts of the Northumbrians, and every time the English king successfully advanced against them by the same route, the Roman road through Derby towards the district of Dore; twice he arrived at Dore, and the third time he was met at Bakewell, ten miles as the crow flies short of Dore. There is therefore no reason why we should doubt that the fourth English king, Athelstan, in 937 followed the same route and advanced first against Derby. Probably the Northumbrians expected this, and that was why they had established themselves in force there. Modern Derby was never fortified, but the old Roman station of Little Chester adjoining it was still a walled stronghold, and I have no doubt that it was there that the Danes in 917 had defended themselves against Ethelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians; for the *Chronicle* tells us that, with God's help, she obtained possession of the burh at Derby, but to her sorrow lost four of her thanes within its gates, the term *burh* here, as in Brunanburh, implying a fortress.

But the Battle of Brunanburh was not at Derby, or we should have been told so, and there would have been no mystery at all about it. Where it was fought must have been at a place that could only be described by the place-names given to it. They are descriptive rather than definite, and this is their list:—

*English authorities.*

Brunanburh	..	..	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.</i>
Brunan burh	..	..	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.</i>
Brunesburh	..	..	Henry of Huntingdon.
Brunandune	..	..	Ethelweard.
Brunfort	..	..	Liber de Hyde.
Brunefeld	..	..	William of Malmesbury.
Bruningafeld	..	..	Two doubtful charters, one dated 938, but probably reliable for the name in vogue at their true date.

*Northumbrian, Norse, and Welsh Authorities.*

Bruneswerc	..	..	Gaimar.
Brunanwerc	..	..	Symeon of Durham.
Weondune or Wendune	..	..	Symeon of Durham.
Vinnheiði við Vinnskôga,			
that is, "Winheath by			
Winwood "	..	..	Egils Saga.
Brun, Brune, Brynnev	..	..	Brut y Tywysogion.

Brun-, Brune-, Brunan- and Bruninga-, like Domesday's "Brundala," = the Hall of Brund, merely indicate the name Brun, or Bruna, of some early Saxon, or Anglian, possessor of the -burh, -fort, -dune, or -werc, a very common name, so it does not help. But burh, fort, and werc describe an actual fortress, the walled enclosure of Athelstan's Camp. Walled enclosures, other than the numerous stone-walled Roman stations which were then fairly intact, were very few in A.D. 937, and only of the earthen vallum-and-ditch type around towns. If Brunanburh had been then a walled town we should know all about it and it would have been one of the eighty-three mint-towns under Ethelred II. So the -burh, -fort, or -werc must almost certainly have been a Roman station.

Brunefeld and Bruningafeld compare with Winheath, for fell, Danish *fjeld*, heath, and moor, all mean the same in Northumbria to-day. Brunandune is the hill of Brune, and Weondune or Wendune, like Weonod-land, the Winedaland, is Win hill. But I prefer to re-quote Mr. Plummer on this, and take my text from him. "Symeon of Durham also gives it the name of Weondune or Wendune. . . . This recalls the name Vinnheiði við Vinnskôga, *i.e.* Winheath by Winwood, which the battle bears in Egils Saga . . . local research might discover a Winheath, etc., which would definitely fix the spot."

It is therefore my case to accept this challenge, and every one of the conditions of identification, stated or implied, and to add others, namely :—

## Essential conditions.

1. A1. A burh, fort, or were, for Athelstan's walled camp.
2. A2. A hill known as Weondune or Wendune, that is, according to Mr. Plummer (and myself) a Wm Hill.
3. A3. A fell, heath, or moor, known as Wm Heath by Wm Wood.
4. O4. On wild moorland still ravaged by the wolf, eagle, eagle, raven, kite, kite, etc. *Saxon Chronicle*.
5. A5. Amongst hills, Henry of Huntingdon.
6. O6. On or over the Northumbrian border "the Mercian Mark," because after the pursuit the English returned.
7. A7. At least twenty or thirty miles from a navigable tributary to the then Humber (or Mersey, if the Humber, which I believe in, be questioned), for the pursuit of the Danes and their ships lasted the "the live long day."
8. A8. An earthwork, or hill, for the "the other were" of the Saga — as the camp of the Danes opposite to Athelstan's.
9. S9. Some evidence by tradition, or by some relic, great battle.

## Natural conditions, added.

10. The Danes would, as previously explained, expect Athelstan by the Roman road leading towards the Dore district.
11. Athelstan was the assailant, for he "returned."
12. Therefore the site of the Danes' natural defence would be the border of Northumbria, on "The Mercian Mark," as it was termed, on the way to Dore.
13. Also, it was strategically the strongest position, for there the great moorland hills abruptly subside.
14. The Roman — practically then the only military — roads there unite, from York, from Scotland, from the Strathclyde Britons, from Wales, and from the sea on both sides. A general gathering ground.
15. A site that could have no better descriptions than those given, therefore in open unnamed moorland or mountainous land far away from any named towns.

Athelstan, with his brother and successor Eadmund, raised the whole forces of England, and added Norse mercenaries, and every man who could be called up, for the cause was vital to him and his country, and the recorded presence of three bishops in the army gave it almost the status of a crusade. Probably he started from Winchester with the Wessex forces, then on to London, collecting the South Saxons and men of Kent on his way, thence northward along the Watling Street, gathering the East Anglians, and Norse mercenaries on his right, and the Mercians on his left, until he approached Derby. Here we read of no incident, so, as we should expect, the Danish garrison probably retired before him to join the gathering ground of Anlaf's host on the Mercian Mark.

Derby must have been Athelstan's first objective, because if it was sufficiently important to be a mint-town for Anlaf's money, it must have been a rich and strong salient into Mercia, and correspondingly garrisoned. Therefore, wherever Brunanburh was to be, by whatever road Athelstan led his army northward, it was tactically impossible that he could leave Derby behind him, or even on his flank, if held in force. So this again indicates the central route by the Watling Street and through Derby. The coinage there also suggested that Derby fell almost so soon as Anlaf's money was struck there, for the same short-lived reverse die stood duty for both issues, Anlaf's before, and Athelstan's directly after Brunanburh. But need we labour the question of Athelstan's route? He had to choose one of the Roman roads northward, and as the three successful English expeditions, against the Northumbrians in 827, 924, and 941, all took the Derby road towards Dore, it would be very unlikely that Athelstan would take any other.

From Derby the Roman road leads N.-W. by N. to *Aquæ*, now Buxton, and there turns at almost a right angle N.E. along the Batham Gate directly towards the Northumbrian border. Although this name is obviously an Old-English rendering of "the road to the baths," the Roman baths at *Aquæ*, modern place-name experts have assumed the name, not the road, of course, to be modern, but I find it as *Bathum Geat* in a charter of 1404. Along the Batham



Gate at nine miles from Buxton it crosses "The Mercian Mark" or boundary. Here the Mark is "The Gray Dyke," an earthwork exactly similar to Offa's Dyke, and cut across the road at exactly right angles, thus suggesting that it was post-Roman. It is an earthen vallum from 8 to 10 feet high, with its ditch facing Northumbria, and gives its name to the village Bradwell = Broad Wall, and to Wall Head close to it, "Wall" in both instances being Old English from, and meaning, Latin *vallum*.

The road has been steeply descending to the river Noe, and here, only three-quarters of a mile beyond the old Mercian Mark, is the Roman fort "Anavio," now Brough. It is a stone-walled enclosure of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acres, of the usual Roman character. When, in 1903, I assisted Professor Garstang in its excavation, its outer walls were 6 feet thick, but only 3 or 4 feet high, for they had been the quarry for the neighbourhood. Probably in 937 they were almost intact, or at least an excellent defensive ruin. This was, I submit, Athelstan's walled camp, Bruna's *burh*, the *fort* of Brunfort and the *werc* of Brunanwerc. Brun, Brune, or Bruna, would be merely the name of some early Anglian or Saxon owner. The name is common, and occurs five times in the Domesday of Derbyshire. Although Brough in place-names is usual for Roman stations, in this case we can identify it directly with the -burh, for until modern times it was known as Burgh and Burg, and is so named on the early manuscript maps of the Forest of the Peak in the Record Office, in Speed, and Camden, and on other printed seventeenth-century maps of Derbyshire, and to-day the name is still retained on the Ordnance map in its bridge as Burghwash Bridge.

It also, I think, gave its name to Hope, less than a mile away, and formerly the largest parish in England, for Hope is O.-E. *hóp*, a piece of enclosed land, or "place of safety." Hope probably arose after, and in consequence of, the battle, and Castleton, a mile and a half farther to the west, was of Norman foundation. It is very unlikely that there was even a village anywhere near here in Athelstan's time.

Northward from Brough and Hope there is the vast mountainous waste of the Peak, one series of grouse moors extending nearly

20 miles to the north, by a dozen broad, and rising to over 2,000 feet above Ordnance datum. In the time of Domesday, 150 years later than Brunanburh, this great forest was left a blank, and so appears on the maps compiled from it, so here there was no town, nor even village, to give its name to the battle. Brough is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles from modern Dore, but only 4 or 5 from the old district "where the Dor flows," and the Roman road divided at Brough, one branch leading to York and the other to the Strathclyde Britons and Scotland.

This mountainous moorland comes down to the river Noe at Brough and extends beyond it both to the east and west; but exactly opposite to Brough and rising from the river is Win Moor, surmounted by Win Hill, 1,532 feet high. Win Hill possibly derives its name from *W. gwyn*, clear, for it stands out above Brough as the clearest landmark from the south of any hill in the district. But, as Win Hill rises abruptly from Athelstan's presumed camp Brough, and the adjoining hill to the west is called Lose Hill, upon the ridge of which stands the "Ethenwerc" of the Saga, the assumed camp of the Danes where, according to it, they were finally defeated, it is more probable that both hills were so named by the English in their hour of victory. In either case Win Hill, to me, is the Weondune or Wendune, the Win Hill of Symeon of Durham, *and* Mr. Plummer.

Win Moor runs down to Brough on the south and is bounded by Woodland Dale on the north, but the whole mountainous country, of which Win Hill is the southern headland, is known to-day as The Woodlands, but in the eighteenth century as "Woodland."<sup>1</sup> It is the name given to what should be the Forest of the Peak—or the Peak itself—for neither is otherwise defined, whereas The Woodlands is treated almost as a separate county, as any Derbyshire fisherman will know when the water bailiffs, far south, speak of rain in The Woodlands, spoiling the rivers. Hence, if you wished to give the best description of Win Hill, you would say to-day Win Hill or Win Moor in The Woodlands, or, in the eighteenth century, in Woodland. As moor and heath are the same thing, we thus get Mr. Plummer's

<sup>1</sup> Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, 1861, p. 254.

Win Heath by Win Wood of the Saga. The name Bruningafeld follows as either Bruna's fell or moor, or possibly, like "Saxon field," a later name for the field of battle.

There is no wilder district in England, so Henry of Huntingdon's "amongst the hills," and the *Chronicle's* wolf, eagle, raven, kite, etc., need no comment. Brough, too, is at the correct distance from the then navigable tributary to the Humber for the pursuit to have lasted "the live-long day."

Due west of Win Hill and north-west of Brough, as already described, is the sister hill even slightly higher, known as Lose Hill. The name of this may be merely a corollary to Win Hill, but it is more likely that both were so named after the battle because on Lose Hill the Danes suffered their defeat. It is on the ridge<sup>1</sup> of Lose Hill, at a height of 1,700 feet, that the great earthwork Mam Tor stands, the "Ethenwerc" of the Danes, and the fort is large enough to have contained them all, and below it is the place-name Odin's Sith. The ancient road down from it is the narrow pass known as "The Winnatts," formerly The Win Gates, or entrance to the Win-Moor or Win-Heath district, now called Hope Valley.

Turning now to the traditions and relics of the battle. The story the old gamekeeper told me, and I have heard it from others since, is confirmed by the manuscript notes of the antiquary John Wilson, of Broomhead Hall, near Penistone, who died in 1783, included by Thomas Bateman in his *Ten Years' Diggings*, published in 1861. He writes, "The tradition [is] that Winhill, near Hope, and Losehill, by Castleton, took their names from a battle here, but at what time is quite uncertain." After describing an excavation of a prehistoric tumulus on the edge of Darwen Moor, where it adjoins Win Moor, he continues, "there was found . . . a large trench, above a yard wide, on the east end of the low, quite filled with human bones, but so decayed they would scarce bear touching.

<sup>1</sup> This ridge at the main entrance to the camp is named on the ordnance map Rushup Edge—an old name and possibly significant. The camp is probably of the Early Iron Age, and comprises about 30 acres.



The workmen say there was a cart-load, they were sure." I may explain that in mountainous districts where, as here, the shale, grit, or other hard ground, comes up to within a few inches of the surface, the soil heaps of tumuli were an almost necessary resort for burials; and I have on several occasions found them so used for burial of horses and cattle; in fact, in Cheshire one of my excavations had to be abandoned for that reason. The trench and cart-load of bones could have had no other relation to the prehistoric tumulus than that of selection. He also mentions that "this year, 1780, in ploughing a field at Brough, in Derbyshire, [there was] found a piece of a bridle-bit, as supposed, with a large brass top, cast with figures; in my possession," which reads like the description of a Norse bit; and from "Abbey, in Woodland," "I have also a small piece of brass, found in it some years ago, of the ancient metal, two inches long, and edged on each side, as if part of a sword."

The best description of battle relics found here is, however, given by Bray in 1783, in his description of the Grey Dyke, which then ran down from the earthwork Mam Tor to behind the burh of Brough, and along which I therefore believe the brunt of the battle was. "The slope or front [of it] is towards Brough: it is about 20 feet high and 12 broad at top. There is no tradition concerning it, but pieces of swords, spears, spurs and bridle-bits have been found on both sides, and very near it, between Batham Gate and Bradwell-Water." Bradwell-water is the stream that runs down from the Grey Dyke to Brough itself, and therefore where the first fighting would be. The bridle-bits remind us that it was the custom of the Danes to fight on horseback, that of the Saxons on foot.

Between the Grey Dyke and Brough, due west of the latter, is the great mound pointed out to me by the gamekeeper as the grave of the dead killed in the battle, and as it is on the English side of the River Noe it is more likely to be that, than if on the Danish, for only the conquerors would stay to bury their dead. I have had as much experience in excavating tumuli as most people, and I do not think that it is prehistoric, nor do the Ordnance authorities, or they would have printed its name in black-letter.

It is a very large artificial mound, circular, 75 feet in diameter, quite flat, and not above 5 or 6 feet above the ground. It is not modern, because the stunted thorn trees upon it are old, nor is it prehistoric, for instance, in the slope of its sides, as well as in its general character. I have made plans and sketches of it, and it would well serve the purpose of its tradition. In the Ordnance map it is called "The Folly," but that name may be modern, although I see no reason for it. The shape of the mound is suggestive of a cheese press, and it may therefore be a corruption of Old-English *foller*: or, again, it may be reminiscent of the battle, from Anglo-Saxon *folie* [the mound of] the multitude or army. Our frontispiece, from an impression by Miss Shaw, well illustrates its character, and the wild beauty of the scenery.

That it was the burial mound of Athelstan's slain bears some corroboration in the fact that close to it, nearly a century ago, was found the remarkable Anglo-Saxon stone cross, now in the rectory grounds of Hope. At Bakewell stands the very similar, but better known, Christian cross, which is believed to have been set up by Edward the Elder when he there received the homage of the Danes in 924. If that be so, then there is very little doubt that this cross at Hope was set up by Athelstan in 937 in commemoration of his great victory. The central panel may well represent Athelstan and his brother and chief of staff, Eadmund, exalting the cross. This is the more likely because three Bishops were with the army, and this cross differs from the other Derbyshire crosses in being more of Mercian character. I reproduce a drawing made by E. E. Wilmot when the cross was discovered; it was given to me thirty years ago in a collection of Derbyshire drawings by the late Dr. Brushfield, the well-known antiquary of that county.

#### SUMMARY OF THE PLACE-NAMES.

I submit that in Roman Brough, formerly Burgh, we have the *Brunan-burh*, *-fort*, and *-werc* of the chroniclers; in Win Hill, the "Weon-dune or Wen-dune" of Symeon, and the Win Hill of Mr. Plummer, also the "*Brunan-dune*" of Ethelweard; and in Win Moor,



THE ANGLO-SAXON CROSS AT HOPE, DRAWN AT THE TIME OF ITS DISCOVERY  
NEAR "THE FOLLY" AT BROUGH IN THE PEAK.




or Win Heath, as bordered by Woodland Dale and Woodland, both also bounding Win Hill, we have the "Wimheath by Winwood" of the Saga, asked for by Mr. Plummer, also the "Brune-feld" and "Bruninga-feld" (-feld meaning -moor) of Ethelweard and Malmesbury. The ancient road (believed to be Roman) through the remarkable mountain pass known as The Winnatts formerly Win-Gates, indicates that it was the gate or entrance to the valley of Brough, and that it and the adjoining moors and heaths took their names from Win Hill which dominated them. The great earthwork known as Mam Tor is well described by "The Ethenwerc" of the Saga, for it is the most prominent hill-fort in the county.

In closing these pages I must most gratefully acknowledge the assistance I have always received on technical questions from my friend, Mr. Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S., during a very long but intermittent correspondence upon this subject. But he must be taken as non-committal, for whether after many arguments he agrees with me, or I with him, I do not know.



## EDWARD THE ELDER—PENNIES WITH FAÇADE OF A BUILDING.

BY G. D. LUMB, F.S.A.

HE silver pennies of the above English king, who reigned from 901 to 925, which can positively be attributed to York are apparently few in number. In the Rashleigh Sale, 1909, Lot 240, was a coin, on the reverse of which is the façade of a building which was that of York Minster, and it was minted at York. It bears the inscription  $\begin{array}{cc} \text{ƿ} \text{X} & \text{L} \text{T} \\ \text{E} \text{R} & \text{E} \text{O} \end{array}$  divided by a church-like tower, ƿ being the Saxon w and EO a contraction of Eofric, for Eoferwic (York). It therefore reads ƿX|LT|ER EO[FRIC] which definitely connects the building with York and its Minster. Walter was the moneyer.

The Rashleigh coin was sold at the Bliss Sale in 1916, Lot 90, and came into my possession shortly afterwards. There was not an illustration of it in either the Rashleigh or the Bliss catalogues. This penny was previously in the Devonshire Sale, 1844, Lot 175, and in the Huxtable Sale, 1859, Lot 600.

I have two silver pennies of Edward with plain reverses, one with the inscription ƿALTER EO and the other EOFRMVND, which were therefore minted at York, Walter and Eadmund being the moneyers. All the obverses are inscribed Eadweard Rex. A penny of Edward was inscribed "Eofmund" on a coin, Lot 97, Parsons Sale, 1929, but no building appeared on it.

Edward's son Athelstan had pennies minted at York, a reverse of one reading REGNALD MO EFORPIC, that is, *monetarius* Eoferwic. His half-brother Eadmund also had pennies minted there, the obverse



of one having Eadmund Rex Ebro and the reverse, Ingelgar mo. Ingelgar was also moneyer at York for his brother Eadred. Examples are in my possession.

On the following silver pennies Eo or Eoferwic is not mentioned, but they have a narrow façade similar to the one described on the Bliss coin, and among the names of the moneyers Walter does not occur. They have a small erection on the roof, which was probably used for a lantern to guide travellers through the Forest of Galtres.

Montagu, 1895, Lots 594, 595, 596. Moneyer, Eadmund.

Carlyon-Britton, 1913, Lot 372. Moneyer, Eadmund.

Watters, May, 1917, Lot 54. Moneyer, Eadmund (Montagu, Sale 595).

Mann, 1917, Lot 156. Moneyer, Vulfsige.

Owner abroad, 1929, Lot 44. Moneyer, Cudberht.

Pennies having a broader building with no erection on roof were included in the Montagu Sale, 1895, Lots 598, 599, 600. Moneyers Vulfsige, IRFARA, Cudberht. The buildings were all described as burghs or forts erected by Edward for protection against the Danes.

In Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 1840, the pennies in Plate 16, No. 17, Vulfsige, moneyer; No. 18, Eadumnd, moneyer; and No. 20, Eadvvald, moneyer, have the narrow front and the erection on the roof. Numbers 19 and 21, moneyers Irfara and Cudberht, have broad fronts with no erection and may be those of Edward's burghs or forts. In Hawkins' *The Silver Coins of England*, 1876, Plate XIV, No. 181, the front is a broad one without the erection. Moneyer, Irfara.

In the British Museum's *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, 1893, vol. ii, Plate VIII, No. 13, is the narrow type and No. 14 is the broad type. Moneyers, Eadmund and Irfara.

In Grueber's *Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1899, Plate V, No. 154, moneyer, Eadmund, the front is the narrow one, and has the erection on the roof. Grueber states that the only mint of

Edward named on his coins was that of Bath, and that the building on the reverse of No. 154 may refer to the erection of burghs of which so many were founded in Edward's reign.

I hope that the references and examples here given will establish the identification of the design on the pennies of Edward the Elder, having the narrow façade, with the Minster of York and with the York Mint.



COINS COMMEMORATING THE REBUILDING OF YORK  
MINSTER, A.D. 921-25.

BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

**I**N our *Journal*, vol. v, p. 365, I ventured to attribute the series of coins of both Edward the Elder and Athelstan, which bear an architectural design, to the rebuilding of York Minster. Since then, I have been able to compare more examples, with the result that the series seems to comprise in all about twenty examples, from twelve dies, representing three different views of the Minster.

The subject is of some importance because history is silent as to the date of this rebuilding, and if I am right our coins fill in the gap. The old Minster had been founded in wood by Paulinus in A.D. 627, completed in stone by King Oswald in 642, restored by Wilfrid II in 720, rebuilt by Archbishop Egbert about 750, and destroyed by Halfdan the pagan Dane when he sacked York, March 21st, 868. Its rebuilding was probably commenced by the Christian king Guthred, who reigned 883-894, for Ethelweard, the nearly contemporary chronicler, says that he was buried at York in the High Church.

But it was, and is, always customary to complete the Choir of a Cathedral before commencing the Nave, and temporarily to close it in at the Choir arch as a separate building. I think, therefore, that in 894 only the Choir was in course of reconstruction, and Guthred buried within it as its Refounder. Several Cathedrals, for example Beauvais, remain to-day in that unfinished condition, and during the disturbed period at York that followed the death of Guthred, such would probably be the condition of its Minster.

In 921 the Northumbrian kings Regnald and Sihtric submitted, and paid homage to Edward the Elder as their over-lord. Meanwhile York had issued its own Northumbrian money, both regal and ecclesiastical, and it is unlikely that any would be struck there in Edward the Elder's name before the submission of 921. Then we find a coinage issued in his name from the Archbishop of York's mint bearing the design of a very unusual and curious building. I refer to *British Museum Catalogue*, Plate VIII, 13 and 14, and *Ruding* XVI, 17-21, XXVIII, 2, and a technical examination of the structure will show that it is the west end of the Choir, temporarily closed in as a separate building, for the prominent feature is the "triple arches" which then usually separated Choir from Nave as, for instance, at St. Peter's-on-the-Wall. Its narrow proportions, too, suggest those of a Choir rather than of a Church, and the absence of windows confirms the temporary character of the walling. If this be so, then the Choir was all that stood at York until the reunion with England brought peace, and probably wealth, to both Church and State in A.D. 921.

Sihtric was a Christian king and it would be now that the Nave was added, and the Minster completed, for before the death of Edward the Elder, in 925, a coin was issued from the ecclesiastical mint at York bearing his name, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* VIII, 15, *Ruding* XVI, 22, which gives us a delightful little picture of the Minster from the west end, complete in every detail and showing both north and south aisles.

In 925, following his accession, Athelstan received the homage of Sihtric at Tamworth, and gave him his sister in marriage. This marriage would be formally celebrated at York, probably coupled with the Consecration of the new Minster, and the first marriage within its completed walls. The series of coins now issued in Athelstan's name, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* IX, 2, and X, 9, *Ruding* XVII, 17-18, and the illustration to my paper in vol. v, shows the east end of the Choir and may well commemorate this alliance before its Altar.

“FASTOLFI MONETA,” “FASTOLFES MÔT,” AND THE  
LIKE, ON COINS OF EADGAR REX ANGLORUM.

BY ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.Hist.S.

**K**ING EADGAR reigned in Wessex and Mercia from October 1, A.D. 958, till his death on July 8, A.D. 975. He and his predecessor King Eadwig were sons of King Eadmund the son of King Eadweard the Elder the son of King Ælfred. Eadgar's reign of 16 years and 9 months was so quiet and peaceful, on the whole, that he gained the title of *Pacificus*. He reigned in peace through ever showing himself to be prepared for war, and he thereby even surpassed the example of his father's grandfather King Alfred the Great.

It is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle that Eadgar was crowned at Bath on May 11, A.D. 973, presumably as *Rex Totius Britannicæ*.<sup>1</sup> This was in the fifteenth year of his reign as King of the West Saxons and Mercians. He then led all his ship-forces to Chester and received homage thereat from six reigning kings of this island who plighted their troth to him and undertook to be his fellow-workers by land and sea. Eadgar died only two years afterwards, and when his son and successor King Eadweard the Martyr was murdered on March 18, A.D. 979, the tenth century had seen the deaths of five English kings in succession in a period of 33 years. The unlucky sequence of five royal names which present the headword EAD (bliss, happiness, wealth) is remarkable.

Here follows an alphabetical list of the abbreviations that must be employed in this paper in order to save frequent repetition of the titles of the numismatic and other works quoted and relied upon.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the numerous Eadgar charters (in Kemble) for titles.

The titles are given in full along with the names of authors or editors.

ACQ. . . . “Anglo-Saxon Acquisitions of the British Museum.”  
By G. C. Brooke, M.A., *Num. Chron.*, Series 5,  
vol. v (1925), pp. 343–365.

B.M. 1 . . . “Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum.  
Anglo-Saxon Series.” Vol. i (1887). By Charles  
Francis Keary, M.A., F.S.A. Ed. Reginald Stuart  
Poole, LL.D. (Down to King Eric of Northum-  
bria).

B.M. 2 . . . Vol. ii (1893). By Herbert A. Grueber, F.S.A., and  
Charles Francis Keary, M.A., F.S.A. (All the  
West Saxon kings to Eadweard the Confessor.)

HESSELS . . . “An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary.”  
By J. H. Hessels (1890).

HILDE . . . “Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Mynt-  
kabinettet.” Af Bror Emil Hildebrand (1881).  
This collection comprises 10,576 Anglo-Saxon  
coins, elaborately described.

PROU. . . . “Les Monnaies Mérovingiennes.” In “Catalogue des  
Monnaies Françaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale.”  
By Maurice Prou (1892). 2,902 coins are  
described and their inscriptions most industriously  
analysed.

“P.P.” . . . Dr. Paulus Piper’s *Index* to his edition of the  
“*Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis  
Fabariensis*,” *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*  
(1884), pp. 401–549. This *Index* presents  
nearly 600 columns of personal names and their  
occurrences. It is unfortunately neglected.



The four Tables that follow will, it is hoped, be helpful to all numismatists who care to realize the problems indicated.

- Table I. A list of the Anglo-Saxon Kings referred to, with the comparative numbers of the occurrences of MOT.
- „ II. Three Groups of Latin and O.E. Possessives of a Moneyer's Name followed by either MONETA or MOT.
- „ III. Latin and O.E. Possessives followed by MONETA or its Variants.
- „ IV. O.E. Possessives followed by MOT.

TABLE I.

The Names and Dates of the Anglo-Saxon Kings referred to, and the occurrences of MOT.

					MOT occurs :—
i.	Offa	...	...	755 to 796.	M. o.
ii.	Coenwulf	...	...	796 to 822.	M. o.
iii.	Cuðred	...	...	796 to 805.	K. o.
iv.	Æðelstan	...	...	925 to 940.	W. 5 ex 156.
v.	Anlaf	...	...	941 to 944.	N. 1 ex 18.
vi.	Eadmund	...	...	940 to 946.	W. 10 ex 157.
vii.	Eadred	...	...	946 to 955.	W. 18 ex 120.
viii.	Eadwig	...	...	955 to 959.	W. 5 ex 36.
ix.	Eadgar	...	...	959 to 975.	W. 13 ex 211.
x.	Eadweard	...	...	975 to 978.	W. o ex 36.
xi.	Æðelred II	...	...	978 to 1016.	W. o ex 408.

In the last column of the above Table the initials M., K., W. and N. respectively indicate Mercia, Kent, Wessex and Northumbria. The Roman numerals in column 1 are made use of in Tables III and IV to indicate the King referred to in the particular items in those Tables.

TABLE II.

Three Groups of Latin and Anglo-Saxon possessives of the same Moneyers' Names followed appropriately by MONETA or MOT.

1.	Durandies moneta ...	... § ix.	B.M. 2, No. 169. <sup>1</sup>
	Durandes mot ...	... § ix.	B.M. 2, No. 49.
2.	Fastolfi moneta ...	... § ix.	B.M. 2, Nos. 174, 175.
	Fastolfes mot ...	... § ix.	B.M. 2, Nos. 178, 180.
3.	Herolfi moneta ...	... § ix.	B.M. 2, No. 189.
	Herolfes mot ...	... § ix.	B.M. 2, Nos. 192, 193.

<sup>1</sup> The *es* of "Durandies" was added ignorantly to the Latin possessive *Durandi*, by the die-sinker.

TABLE III.

Latin and Anglo-Saxon Possessives followed by Moneta and its variants.

(a) MONETA.	(d) MON.	(e) MO.
(b) MONET.		
(c) MONE.		
K. Abboni, <i>a</i> .	ix. Fastolfi.	iv. Paules.
K. Eusebii, <i>a</i> .	iv. Pauls.	vi. Paules.
K. Abbone, <i>b</i> .	vii. Elfredes.	vi. Domences.
ii. Seberhti, <i>a</i> .	viii. Ælfredes.	vi. Oðelrices.
ii. Werheardi, <i>a</i> .	viii. Amundes.	ix. Durandies.
iii. Heremodi, <i>a</i> .	viii. Dunnes.	ix. Dudæmones.
iii. Verheardi, <i>a</i> .	ix. Elfredes.	ix. Winees.
ix. Fastolfi, <i>a</i> .	ix. Lefinces.	ix. Fastolfes.
ix. Herolfi, <i>c</i> .	ix. Lefmanes.	vi. Abban.
ix. Durandies, <i>a</i> .	ix. Winemes.	ix. Manan.
ix. Ioles, <i>b</i> .	ix. Ingelries.	ix. Oban.
ix. Leofnes, <i>b</i> .	ix. Ingelmes (M).	
	vi. Wihtes : MOI	xi. Adelafes HO
iv. Paulus, <i>a</i> .		
K. Abboni, <i>c</i> .		

TABLE IV.

Moneyers' names followed by MOT.

iv. Bida...	vii. Boigaes.	viii. Dunnes.
iv. Durstan...	vii. Demence...	viii. Freðices.
iv. Sigfoldes.	vii. Elfres.	viii. Wulfeares (E::G).
iv. Sihares (H::G) <sup>1</sup>	vii. Eðelulfes.	
iv. Vintulf...	vii. Freðies (C omitted).	ix. Æðelulfes.
	vii. Grimes.	ix. Deorulfes. <sup>5</sup>
v. Sicares (C::G).	vii. Hunred...	ix. Durandes.
	vii. Ingulfes.	ix. Fastolfes.
vi. Amyndes.	vii. Maneca...	ix. Freðices.
vi. Durandes.	vii. Oðelrices. <sup>3</sup>	ix. Herolfes.
vi. Oði et Iorgel. <sup>2</sup>	vii. Osulfes.	ix. Igolferðes.
vi. Regðeres.	vii. Regðeres.	ix. Leofinces.
vi. Sieades (E::G).	vii. Sigares.	ix. Mannees.
vi. Sigares.	vii. Tylead rex. <sup>4</sup>	ix. Oðalri...es (C omitted).
vi. Sigwoldes.	vii. Wul...gares.	ix. Osulfes.
vi. Wulfgares.		ix. Oswardes.
	viii. Amundes.	ix. Wilsig.
vii. Agtardes.	viii. Cnapees.	

<sup>1</sup> :: for "misrepresents."<sup>2</sup> "Oðietiorgel," l::s.<sup>3</sup> with "OMT" for MOT.<sup>4</sup> for *Tilheardes*.<sup>5</sup> HILDE, Plate I, No. 6. This is not included in the text by Hildebrand. I am indebted to Mr. Wm. C. Wells for information concerning it.

The problems presented by the Tables II, III and IV must now be dissected. They are :—

1. The Latin word *MONETA* and its meaning.
2. The Anglo-Saxon word *MOT* and its meaning.
3. The Latin genitive of the name of the moneyer.
4. The Anglo-Saxon possessive of the same personal name.

I. *MONETA*.

The English words "mint" and "minter" are respectively derived from Latin *mōnēta* and *mōnētārius*. The latter word had come to mean a mintmaster by the time of Flavius Eutropius, a

Roman historian, who dedicated his "*Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ*" to the Emperor Valens, who was ruling from A.D. 364 to 378. The word *monetarius* is derived from *moneta*, but it is impossible to connect the word *moneta*, whose stem is *mon*, with coins or with coining. The true meaning of "Moneta" is the Mother of the Muses (the nine goddesses of learning). It was also applied to Juno, the daughter of Saturn and the wife of Jupiter, because she admonished the Romans by an earthquake, to offer sacrifices to the gods. It was in her temple at Rome that Roman money was first coined, and the name *moneta* was given—(a) to the mint; (b) to money itself; and (c) also to the stamp or die wherewith the metal was struck into coin.

Twenty years ago our much esteemed and lamented member, Mr. W. Sharp Ogden, contributed a scholarly paper to the fifth volume of our *Journal*, upon "The Roman Mint and Early Britain." This filled fifty pages of the *Journal* and is a very helpful article. It reveals the dignity of the Roman mint or *officina* in the temple of Juno Moneta. The higher officials of the Roman treasury were known as *monetarii* and Livy (book vi, 20) says that the site of the house of Marcus Manlius on the Capitoline Hill was where the temple of Juno Moneta and the mint office stood in his day. Mr. Ogden's list of the officials in the *Officina* at Rome is most interesting. There were 17 *signatores* or die-sinkers; 16 *officinatores* or chief workmen; 11 *suppostores* or die- and flan-placers, and 32 *malleatores* or hammermen. These artificers acted under the *optio* or manager who was responsible to the *exactor* or superintendent.

There was no continuance of Roman mints in Britannia. But pieces of money, like the "Scân Omožu" piece and the "Hâma" one, were certainly struck in the fifth century in Anglo-Saxon Britain whether these pieces were money or ornaments.

Our word "money" came to us through Norman-French *moneie* which represents Latin *moneta* with customary Frankish dropping of the intervocalic *t*.<sup>1</sup> Our Anglo-Saxon forebears first said

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *pater*, "père"; *frater*, "frère"; *mater*, "mère."

*monit*, then *munit* and lastly *mynit*, and we have reduced that to the monosyllable "mint." Hence English "mint" and "money" both represent Latin *mōnēta*. In Old English Latin *ē* became *ī* in early loan-words, as in O.E. *tīlē* ("tile"), *pīn* ("torture"), *sīde* ("silk"), for Latin *tēgula*, *phæna*, *sēta*. Also Latin *ō* gave place to O.E. *ū* and that became infected vocally by the long *ī* of *mūnit* < *mynit*; cp. Latin words *coquīna*, *culīna*, *molīna*, which became *cycene*, *cylen* and *mylen*, after they were borrowed from Latin by our forefathers. These are now kitchen, kiln and mill. In Anglo-Saxon times a coin was a *mynet*, and a money-changer was a *mynetciepa*, or money-chapman. A mint was a *mynet-smippe*, or coin-smithy.

The word *monetarius* occurs occasionally in full on Merovingian coins<sup>1</sup>; but I know of no case in which it so occurs on Anglo-Saxon ones, though it is not at all unlikely that it might. The inscription "Ascolu monetra" which occurs on a coin of King Anlaf of Northumbria (941-952) No. 1088, B.M. 1, certainly suggests it. So also does "monetr.a" (No. 1079). The forms *minetret* (1092), *minetr* (1094, 1095), and *minitrt* (1093, 1096) are obviously intended for *myneter(ius)*.

The later Anglo-Saxon coinage clearly owes its style and art to Christian and Frankish influence. Evidence of close commercial relationship between Kent and Francia is to be found in the coinage of the two kingdoms; and it has been proved<sup>2</sup> that the change from the earlier English *Sceatta* currency to the later one of pennies is a result of Frankish influence. The *Mancus*, a monetary unit of 30 pence, cannot be dated positively much earlier than the time of Charlemagne (768-814). The gold *Mancus* was equal to about 7s. 6d. sterling, and the silver *Mancus*, weighing only about one-fifth of an ounce, was about equal to our shilling. This word *mancus* is Arabic, and it is believed that it came to England through diplomatic relations with Charlemagne and the East.

<sup>1</sup> Prou, *u.s.*, p. 34, p. 611.

<sup>2</sup> Seebohm, "Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law." York Powell, *English Historical Review* (1890), p. 133. H. M. Chadwick, "Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions (1905), p. 11."

It is a long-established custom to assume that *moneta* and *mon* on Anglo-Saxon coins mean *monetarius* and are abbreviations of that word. In 1885 Mr. Charles Francis Keary, M.A., F.S.A., went beyond this. He contributed a chapter (V) on "British Coins" (pp. 99-140) to a volume on "Coins and Medals: Their Place in History and Art" by the authors of the British Museum Catalogue. This was edited by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole. Mr. Keary describes the Anglo-Saxon coins thus: "On the reverse appears the name of the moneyer, that is to say the actual maker of the coin; at first the name simply as Eadmuun, Ibba; later on with the addition of MONETA (for *monetarius*) and later still with the name of the town at which the piece has been struck, as *Godman on Lund*. In a foot-note Mr. Keary remarked that "*on* probably stands for [M]ON[ETARIVS]." We shall presently see that Mr. Keary when collaborating with Mr. Grueber abandoned this absurdity.

The coins of Æthelred the Unready present another contraction which Mr. Keary did not explain—namely, M<sup>o</sup>O. It is no longer possible to ignore the fact that *on* is an Old English preposition which means “at” when it is set before a place-name. Hence the phrase “Godman on Lund,” which Mr. Keary dealt with so erroneously, means “Godman at London.” In Hildebrand’s work on the Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm, 4,348 coins of King Æthelred are listed and described. Of these about one in a thousand presents MONETA. There are five occurrences, in fact. The *on* before the mint-names is very frequent and the following abbreviations occur galore: M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>O, M<sup>o</sup>ON, M<sup>o</sup>ON, M<sup>o</sup>ON. We unquestionably have



the O.E. preposition *on* following an *M* which is marked to indicate that it (*M*) is an abbreviation. As we have scores of Anglo-Saxon phrases such as *on Stanford*; *on Serebyri*; *on Norðwic*, we cannot be wrong to object to the insertion of the Latin word *monetarius*. The *M* in these phrases is the sign of the Old English *mynetere*. Hence, for instance, full phrasing such as "Leofwine *M*·O Norðwic," and the like, should be expanded in Anglo-Saxon throughout and this postulates *Leofwine mynetere on Norðwic*, i.e. "Leofwine mintmaster at Norwich."

In the *British Museum Catalogue of English Coins*, Anglo-Saxon Series, vol. 2, Grueber and Keary remark (*Introd.*, pp. civ, cv): "We must note that, though the earlier English coins contain a certain number of different contractions such as *MON.*, *MONET.*, etc., almost from the very beginning of the coinage the form *MONETA* became the usual one after the name of the moneyer. Later on it becomes, till the appearance of the mint-names, almost the stereotyped form. In some cases, notably for example, in the case of the type introduced by Æthelwulf (No. xvii), and continued by his successors and on the contemporary coinage of Mercia,<sup>1</sup> it is obvious that this word 'moneta' is no necessary contraction, the exact number of the letters in the inscription being arranged beforehand. The question therefore arises whether at this time 'moneta' could really, in the eyes of the coin-engravers, have stood for 'monetarius.' *If it did so why should they have voluntarily assisted at this unnatural abbreviation?* [p. cvi. The Italics are mine, A.A.] It is quite possible that the form 'moneta' at first was a contraction, but that afterwards it became a substantive word. In the latter case it could only have signified 'money,' 'coin.' And in that use of the word a legend such as *TORHTVLF MONETA* (p. 21) could only signify Torhtulf's money. . . . And the supposition that they (the engravers) did so interpret the word 'moneta' receives confirmation by an observable tendency in the later coinage to put the name of the moneyers in the genitive."

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 21, 23, vol. ii, and pp. 75, 76, vol. i; compare also Ælfred, type i.



The conclusion that Keary and Grueber arrived at is expressed as follows: “It seems impossible to explain the occurrence of possessive cases better than on the supposition that when they were engraved at all events ‘moneta’ had come to stand in popular repute for ‘coin,’ ‘money’ only.”

This conclusion overlooks the philological fact that O.E. *mynet*, our “mint,” has a third meaning which was expressed in Anglo-Saxon times by “*mynetsmiðpe*”; and also the historical ones that the Roman mint was known as “*Sacra Moneta Urbis*,” and that the use of *Moneta* became more and more frequent in the Roman Empire from the time of Diocletian onward. Consequently, the word “moneta” in numismatic inscriptions should stand by itself for what it actually is, namely, the mint. There is no need to expand it, as Keary and Grueber declared; and the fact that the possessive case of the Anglo-Saxon moneyers’ names precedes it as early as the eighth century justifies the conclusion that it meant “mint.” For instance, King Coenwulf, of Mercia, ruled from A.D. 796 to 822 and among his coins in the British Museum are four that bear the following inscriptions:—

Seberhti Moneta, No. 78, B.M. 1.

Werheardi Moneta, Nos. 85, 86, 88.

If *moneta* is short for *monetarius*, as it follows a possessive it can only mean Seberht’s *monetarius*, which is an impossible meaning. To avoid this some numismatists expand *moneta* to *monetarii* and claim the right to add “money” or “coin” at will. Hence “Seberhti Moneta” is asserted to mean “the money of Seberht the minter.”

We must remember that the first mintmasters came over from Francia to Kent in the sixth century, or early in the seventh. Maurice Prou in his admirable work on “*Les Monnaies Mérovingiennes*” (1892) records the fact that the word *monetarius* sometimes occurs on Frankish coins in full, *i.e.* without abbreviation. In his *Introduction* Prou lists the various abbreviations that point to *monetarius*, so he declares.

Among these are *moneta*, *monita*, *munita* (15); *monet*, *monit*, *munet* (20). These I regard as presentations of Latin *moneta*, and when we have studied the Merovingian possessives it should be quite clear that extension to *monetarius* or *monetarii* is as unwise in Franco-Latin as it is in Anglo-Saxon-Latin. In Prou's copious *Index* we get "Abboni Munet"; "Teudomaris Moneta"; "Tinilavi Munita"; "Vendemi Moneit"; "Ursoleni Moneta." The meaning of *moneta* in French is *officine*, a "workshop." Hence the meanings of Seberhti Monetâ, Teudomaris Monetâ, and Werheardi Monetâ are—from Seberht's minting-house, from Teudomar's minting-house and from Werheard's minting-house. In each case the Latin preposition *de* was understood. Prou enables me to substantiate this hypothesis. The late Latin word for a mint was *officina*: cp. "de officina Laurenti"; "de officina Maurenti"; "de officina Maret(i)." These occurrences of *officina* are discussed by Maurice Prou on his pages xviii, 23, 24, 285, *et al.* Hence, if it can be acknowledged that the Latin preposition *de* was intentionally omitted by the A.-S. *mynetere* (and others) we can recognize that *moneta* is in the ablative case used just like *de officinâ* in Francia in Merovingian times.

There is another helpful occurrence. On a coin of Eadgar, B.M. 2, No. 196, we get "Leofinces mot.1." The final .1. signifies E, and O.E. *mote* is in the locative case, quite correctly after an omitted "of." Hence "[of] Leofinces môtê" presents the Anglo-Saxon rendering of [*de*] *Lefinces monetâ*.

The name of Burgred, King of Mercia, from A.D. 853 to 874, occurs on 263 coins in the British Museum, and MONETA or MOHETA is presented on nearly every one of them. As no town is named upon any of these coins it is obvious that we must read *de monetâ* and conclude that there was only one mint in Mercia at the time and that that was at the King's chief city. It would be absurd to replace MONETA by something else.

This brings us to Table II on which Latin and Anglo-Saxon possessives of the names of moneyers followed by MONETA and its variants are listed. We get 10 Latin genitives, and in Table III

three groups, or doublets, of Latin phrases and Anglo-Saxon ones are listed.

## 2. MÔT.

The three Anglo-Saxon phrases in Table III quite clearly explain the three Latin phrases in the same Table :—

Durandi moneta = Durandes môt.

Fastolfi moneta = Fastolfes môt.

Herolfi moneta = Herolfes môt.

The *officina* which was called *moneta* on one group of coins was styled *môt* on the other. Now what does *môt* signify? It is certain that the customary suggestion that *Durandi moneta*, and the like, mean “the money of Durand the monetarius,” is absurd. It is not possible even to apply it in the numerous cases which present *môt* after an Anglo-Saxon personal name in the possessive. No king could have consented to such a phrasing or implication. The earliest indications of the use of *môt* occur under Æðelstan (A.D. 925–940). Its use in the reigns of Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig and Eadgar was increasing slightly, but after Eadgar it almost drops out. There are only two occurrences of MOT among Æðelred’s coins known to me, and one of MOTO; *v.* Hilde Nos. 461, 1729, 3341. In the four reigns immediately preceding Æðelred about 40 occurrences of MOT are listed after moneyers’ names in the possessive. I know of no attempt to explain this, and Anglo-Saxon numismatists to whom I have applied for guidance are equally at fault. GODA MOTO ÆFT probably does not present MOT O[N] ÆFTBRI; but MOTO ÆFTBRI in accordance with West Country idiom. The Eadgar coin Hilde, Plate I, No. 6, would appear to present a play upon the words “Deorulfes môt in” [Deoraby].

Among the more recent additions to the collection of Anglo-Saxon coins in the British Museum (*v.* Acq.) are two of a minter named Manna. This was a minter under King Æðelstan and King Eadweard II. In the British Museum Manna’s two coins read as follows: Nos. 521, 522, of Dr. G. C. Brooke’s grouping: MANNA MOTON TOMIEARÐGE.

The *d* is crossed on the upper part of the curve and the inscriptional phrase is Mercian in dialect. In the Midlands the final *n* of the singular possessive of weak nouns in *a*, like Manna, fell away just as it did in Northumbria. We may therefore expand the reading to *Mannan môt on Tom[w]earðge*. This signifies "from Manna's môt at Tamworth." Tamworth, in Staffordshire, was a royal residence of the Mercian kings in the ninth century, and some of the tenth-century forms of the name are :—

<i>Tomanworthig,</i>	<i>Tamaworthige,</i>
<i>Tamawearthige,</i>	<i>Tamewurthe.</i> <sup>1</sup>

The compound words in O.E. which present *môt* are surprisingly numerous. They have received systematic consideration from the following philologists :—Bosworth-Toller, Heinrich Leo, John R. Clark Hall and Henry Sweet. From such sources we may learn that *môta* in Gothic meant a toll, a custom-house. In the German of to-day *maut* means toll, duty, and *mautamt* means a custom-house. In O.E. one of the meanings of *môt* was also "toll," "tax." But the most frequent meaning of *môt* is "a meeting." Cp. *folcmôt*, *sciremôt*, *hundredmôt*, *burhgemôt* and *mæggemôt*. The last word means just a family meeting. We also get *môthūs*, *môtærn*, *môtlêah*, *môtstow*, *gemôtstæde*, which are equally indicative of the place at which the *môt* or meeting was held. The old name for parliament—*witenagemôt* is well known. It should be clear that *môt* or moot, as they say in Northumberland to-day, means a meeting, primarily. Hence, as *mæggemôt* was used to indicate a family meeting, it is obvious that in connection with money and the name of a moneyer *môt* means the *officina*, *moneta*, or "mint," where the king's money was coined and where the *monetarius* = *mynetere*, and his officers and artificers met and performed their duties.

It will, of course, be objected that the minting-house was the king's and not the *mynéter's*. But there is really less difficulty in accepting "Fastolf's mint" than there is in accepting the customary

<sup>1</sup> In Domesday Book we get *Tameworde*, *Tamworde*.

rendering “Fastolf’s money.” It would be absurd to suppose that every one of the mints in Anglo-Saxon times could be spoken of as “the king’s”; and it is equally absurd to suppose that the moneyer was permitted to call the coins his own money.

I have found four occurrences of *môt* on coins in the locative case, namely :—

“Eric moti,” Northumbria, 1113, B.M. 1.

“Adradus moti,” St. Eadmund, 199, 200, 201, B.M. 1.

“Godin mot.i.” Eadred, 48, B.M. 2.

“Leofinces mot.i.” Eadgar, 196, B.M. 2.

The occurrences of “mot.i,” “moti” “moti” are very important, inasmuch as they clearly indicate the locative and dative case of O.E., *môt*, namely, *môte*, “at” or “from” the *môt*. The use of *i* to denote *E* was quite common in early times. Cp. the following presentations of EBORACE in B.M. 1. :

1134 EBORACI.

1166 EDORACE.

1156 IDORACI.

1139 EBORCI.

1138 EBORACI.

Numismatists who have jumped to the conclusion that MOT after the possessive means *monetarii* would naturally claim that the *i* of “Eric moti” and “Godin moti,” etc., supports their case. But there need be no doubt about *mot.i.* and *moti* standing for *môte*.

After *môt* we get the prepositions *in*, *on*, *æt*, *et*. These, of course, should be followed by the name of the town in the locative case. In Hessels we find “conuocatio populi” glossed “gemoot” (with *o* doubled for length); C. 841.

Finally in the Gospel of St. Matthew, xxii, 19, we may read that Our Lord said, in reply to the question of the Pharisees, “Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not?” “Show me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny.” In the



Lindisfarne Gospels<sup>1</sup> p. 171, the reading is: *Ostendite mihi nomisma census*, and the gloss to the last two words reads: "mynittre vel môt ðæs cynige[s] uel ðæs g[e]roefa[n]." This indicates that the tribute or tax, in Northumbria, might go either to the king or to the *gerêfa*. We get a parallel to this in the "*Capitularia Regum Francorum*"<sup>2</sup> wherein we learn that the *comes* (the *gerefa*) or count, is the king's representative in the county and that his duties are to exact the *censum*, market tolls and other dues on behalf of the king, and to enforce the acceptance of good coin and the rejection of bad coin. In the later capitularies he is found presiding over a mint himself.

### 3. THE LATIN GENITIVE OF THE MONEYS' NAME.

The names in Latin form on the early Kentish coins clearly connect the issues with Francia and the Merovingians. Abboni, Eusebii, Seberhti, Werheardi, Heremodi, Oði, Fastolfi, Herolfi and Durandi are very interesting. Of these the last appears on coins as "Durandies" and the double genitive *-i* and *-ies* is due to the ignorance of the die-sinker who added the O.E. gen. *-es* to the Latin one. Abbonius and other personal names ending in *-ius*, made their genitive case in *-i*.

Oði occurs on coins which bear a slightly confused inscription, "Oðietorgel môt." This occurs on a coin of Eadmund (*Mont.* 664). We have the right to expect a possessive before *môt* and such readings as "Leofnel," "Wihtet" and "Iorgel" present the scribal error of *l* for *s*. In Wihtet we get the erroneous *L* upside down. Now *Oðietorges môt* can only represent *Oði et Iorges môt*, i.e. the minting-house of

<sup>1</sup> "The Gospel of St. Matthew in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian versions, synoptically arranged." Ed. Charles Hardwick, 1858, in completion of the work of J. M. Kemble, who died in 1857.

<sup>2</sup> V. "Local Government in Francia and England," by Helen M. Cam, M.A. (1912), p. 22. Extracts are made from "Legum Sectio," II, of the "*Capitularia*," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, edd. Boretius and Krause, 1883-1897, note 9, p. 864.

Oðus and Iorgis. In Paulus Piper’s *Index* we find the name of George presented as *Iorgia*, *Iorgis* and *Iorgo*. Odo is frequent in “P.P.” Moneyers bearing the name Oda (Latin *Odus*) were serving under Æthelstan and Eadmund I and from Eadgar to Cnut. But Oda and Oð are not the same. Cp. Searle, p. 382, wherein several Oth-names are enumerated.


It must not be supposed that all the O.E. *môt*-coins have been listed. Dr. Brooke, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (v. Acq. *supra*, p. 34), mentions a few others. *E.g.*—

No. 527.	Megenfreðmot	Aethelstan	p. 358.
„ 543.	Sicwoldesmot	Eadmund	p. 361.
„ 549.	Æðelulfesmot	Eadred	p. 362.
„ 551.	Erimemot	Eadred	p. „



## STOCKBRIDGE, AN ANGLO-SAXON MINT.

BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

IR NORMAN HILL is lord of the manor of Stockbridge, and until he commenced his technical research into its early history twenty years ago, all we knew of it was that it was a borough by prescription, which until the Reform Act had, with the very worst of reputations for bribery and corruption, persistently returned two Members to Parliament to represent 100 voters. Sir Norman has combed the Record Office, charters, rolls, and records, until he has collected a mass of material from which he has woven the whole history of Stockbridge, from ancient times to to-day, in a manner very unusual in local research, and I have, I hope, persuaded him to publish it. In this paper, therefore, I shall forestall his knowledge as little as possible.

The whole district there, of about fifteen square miles to the east of the river Test, is to-day known as "The Sombornes," which comprise King Somborne, Little Somborne, Up-Somborne, and Stockbridge, which is on the actual river. But in Norman times Stockbridge was a borough within the manor of Sumburne Alba, or Whit Sumburne, and before the Conquest the whole of the Sombornes, including Stockbridge, were one great manor, described as the royal manor of Sumburne, *regale manerium, in dominica firma regis*, in Domesday, and it had far back in Saxon times given its name to the Hundred, which latter fact proves its very early importance, almost at the advent of the Saxons. Thus Stockbridge was always included in the manor of Somborne, and at the Conquest most of the manor, including Sumburne Alba, and therefore the lordship over the borough of Stockbridge, was given to William de Ow (Eu).

Hence we read in Domesday, A.D. 1086, that "William de Ow holds Sumburne of the king. Tol, the Dane, held it of King Edward. It was then assessed at 14 hides, now at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In the demesne are 2 ploughs; and there are 19 villeins and 5 bordars with 8 ploughs. There are 13 serfs, and a mill worth 10 shillings, and 68 acres of meadow, and 9 houses, *mansiones*, of burgesses which pay 12 shillings and 2 pence. In the time of King Edward, and afterwards,<sup>1</sup> it was, as now, worth 14 pounds; but it is farmed at 16 pounds." Across the Test at the bridge-head of the borough of Stockbridge we find the entry that in the manor of Houghton, there were "3 burgesses worth 30 pence." Thus, on the one side of the borough nine burgesses were living within the manor of Sumburne Alba, and on the other side—possibly the wardens of the bridge itself—there were three. The firma of the borough was therefore included in that of the manor of £16, and, no doubt, when compared with other manors in Domesday, it represented nine-tenths of it. For instance, the neighbouring and sister mint-borough in Hampshire, Twynham, now Christchurch, was assessed at only £12 10s. *od.* for the borough, and, as at Stockbridge, there is no mention of its moneyers because their fees were included in the firma, for both boroughs were held of the king. In Twynham there were 31 houses [of burgesses], but in Stockbridge the burgesses seem to have overflowed, nine of them being mentioned because they were under the manor of Sumburne Alba, and three, with houses across the Test, were possibly in charge of the bridge and gate. On referring to the Pipe Rolls of Henry II, I find that the Domesday firma for Somborne, including Stockbridge, of £16 had been increased to £36 6s. *od.*

We have therefore conclusive evidence from Domesday that within the manor held by William de Eu in Somborne was a borough, and as he held Sumburne Alba, we know that the borough was Stockbridge. We also know that much of the manor of Sumburne Alba was gradually absorbed by and became the manor of Stockbridge. It

<sup>1</sup> Officially, Domesday thus ignores the reign of Harold.

logically follows that if from the dawn of Anglo-Saxon history when the tribal hundreds were in the making, Somborne gave its name to its tribal district, for "In Sumburne Hund" covers much ground in Domesday, Stockbridge as the town, or borough as we should now say, of Somborne must have been not only then in existence, but a populated place of the most importance in what was then formed into its Hundred. Some have credited the Hundred divisions to Alfred, but I think that they were the natural evolution of the Roman decimal system.

When I asked Sir Norman Hill what the name of Stockbridge would be in Saxon times, he replied, "Brige, Briga or Brugg, and I believe that it was the missing Roman Brige between Winchester and Old Sarum of the Antonine Itinerary, and it was still sometimes known as Briggestoke down to A.D. 1361." Stockbridge is on the main road from Winchester to Salisbury now, but originally the road went to Old Sarum, joining the military Roman way two and a half miles from that city. The borough is composed entirely of one unusually wide straight street across the broad marsh of the valley of the Test, in length three-quarters of a mile. In this respect it reminds one of Moreton-in-the-Marsh on the Roman Fosse Way. "The street" is so called to-day and was known as "Le Strete" in the earliest records of the borough, which is significant of probable Roman origin. The road descends the very steep slope of the valley on one side and ascends it equally steeply on the other. On the brink of the high land on the east is Woolbury, a British fort of probably the Iron Age, and by the roadside Celtic, Roman, and Saxon relics have been found; and correspondingly on the edge of the high land on the west are the remains of a Roman villa, to which there must have been a road.

But the remarkable feature about Stockbridge and a mystery of the past, is that it is built upon a great artificial causeway thrown across the soft peat of the valley for the purpose, about half a mile in length and sufficiently broad to allow the foundations of the houses on each side of the wide "street." Where this mass of material came from is quite obvious, for it was scarped from the

hillside on the east, or Somborne, side of the valley, and of course left the white chalk exposed probably to the summit of the hillside. It is still visible to-day, and originally gave its name to the Stockbridge manor of Sumburne Alba. Hence the causeway was older than the name of the manor. Who, Sir Norman asks, would make this causeway for the easier crossing of the river Test, before White Somborne was known, but the Romans? The straight military Roman road crosses the Test at Horsebridge, three miles south of Stockbridge, but he believes that Brige was reached by an ancient road, still to be seen, leading from and returning to it. This would, to some extent, approach the mileage of the Itinerary.

For years I have searched every acre along the Roman military road for a possible Brige, and it is certainly not there. The Ordnance maps, and other authorities, suggest Broughton from the name only, but that was *Brocton*, = brook-town, when the Hundreds were formed, and there are no earthworks of any kind there. Incidentally, too, I have excavated the road where its course was in doubt.

I have a map of our Roman roads before me, and practically all are of the straight military order made for the Roman occupation of Britain. Where are the roads of necessity and user? There are the sites of more than a dozen Roman villas within a few miles north of Stockbridge, and none on the military way three miles to the south, nor, indeed, any at all to its south. The Romans were here nearly 400 years, yet every one of the mapped Roman roads is, I believe, attributed to the first century of that period. We have numerous Romano-British settlements and villages, and I am writing this at home within an excellent example at the moment, yet there are no "Roman roads" to most of them. Saxon burghs sprang into existence where none were, the mint-borough Twynham, for instance; in fact, it is quite impossible to think that the great road-makers of England worked as none before them did, nor any for centuries afterwards, just for the first 100 years and then joined the unemployed for 300.

For military purposes the straight road was sooner made and quicker used, but, under peaceful Roman rule, trade routes would

result, with easier gradients and safer river-crossings. One such, I believe, and can almost prove, was the original of the present main road that I have referred to from Winchester, through Stockbridge, to Old Sarum and Salisbury. It passes through the village of Weeke soon after leaving Winchester, and Weeke is, of course, the Roman *vicus*, or village outside a Roman city; then it forms the ancient boundary of the parish of Crawley, so it must have been there before the parish was formed, and that we know was early in Saxon times. In the Crawley charter of A.D. 909 it is called *The Herpathe*, which means the road of, or for, the army, or, as we should say, the military highway, and when it descends to the great causeway to cross the Test at Stockbridge it becomes "The Street," or *Le Strete* of the earliest records. It has the usual Roman character of always changing from the straight on the highest levels, and as the version of the Antonine Itinerary that has come down to us was written in the fourth century, there had been plenty of time for this road to have been made. If it was the military highway when the parish of Crawley was formed, who but the Romans could have made it?

In 1141, at the Rout of Winchester, Robert of Gloucester, with the Empress Matilda's rearguard, retreated from the West Gate, Winchester, and was captured by Earl William de Warren at Stockbridge, where Matilda, Stephen's Queen, then held her headquarters,<sup>1</sup> so this road must have been used as a military highway then—and the Saxons did not make roads.

The Itinerary has come down to us through several transcripts, and the common error running through it, and through all early transcriptions, is the interchange of the numerals X and V, for a badly crossed X looks V and V joined too high is mis-read for X. The Roman mileage between Winchester and Old Sarum is given as XI plus VIII, making a total of 19. A Roman mile was, as the name indicated, 1,000 *passus*, that is, complete paces of the double step, or 4 feet 10¼ inches of our measure, so a Roman mile was 143 yards short of ours; 19 Roman miles, therefore, are 17½ modern

<sup>1</sup> Florence of Worcester.



miles, and this rules out the straight military road through Horsebridge, for it is 21 miles, and any adjustment of the X or V would make it worse. But if we turn to the Ordnance map of "*The Herpathe*" road *via* Stockbridge we find that the total mileage to-day from Winchester to Old Sarum is  $22\frac{1}{2}$  miles, which, after deducting at least a quarter of a mile added in modern times where the steep ascent of the old "Roman" road from Stockbridge has been diverted, leaves us with  $22\frac{1}{4}$ . If we now correct the VIII of the Itinerary to XIII, we get 24 Roman miles, which are just over 22 modern miles. Such close accuracy after 1,580 years is proving almost too much, but Roman miles would be measured from probably the centre of Winchester, whereas the Ordnance miles are from the West Gate, but a difference of only about a quarter of a mile.

Brige is placed by the Itinerary at XI Roman miles from Winchester (that is why the total to Salisbury is divided into XI and VIII) and XI Roman miles represented 10 miles 187 yards of our measure. The crossing of the Test in Stockbridge, which the Itinerary would take for its mileage, is  $9\frac{1}{4}$  miles from the centre of Winchester to-day, and as the Itinerary does not deal in fractions, the difference of 1,507 yards need not trouble us, but I try to be accurate.

None thought of identifying Stockbridge with Brige until Sir Norman Hill deduced it from his research. The suggestion of the Roman road through Stockbridge in A.D. 350 followed, but even if Sir Norman's theory of a deviation to Brige from the straight military road through Horsebridge be right, although the total mileage to Old Sarum would be wrong, that to Brige would be correct, or nearly so.

You will wonder why in a numismatic paper I should thus labour a Romano-British question of the identification of Brige. The answer is this, we have before us a series of Anglo-Saxon coins on which the full name of their mint is Brygin, Brydiga, and Bryidge, and that has nothing whatever to do with a bridge over a river, for the D in our spelling was unknown in Saxon times, and that fact alone would rule out the old attribution of the series to Bridgnorth, which, as Quatford, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 912, was Bricege.

Similarly, the G is equally fatal to the present attribution of it to Bridport, meaning the port or harbour of the river Brid or Britt, which in Domesday was Brideport and its true Norman coins therefore read Bridp—. If Stockbridge derived its name from Brige and not from its bridge, neither of these objections arises.

Brige is also written Brigæ in another version of the Itinerary, and they postulate nominative Briga. The name is, of course, Celtic, and the late Canon E. McClure in his *British Place-names in their Historical Setting*, p. 113, writes, "Brige is evidently Briga = Burg or Stronghold," and on pp. 27-28 he quotes Irish and Teutonic instances in support of the transition of Brī, Brig, and Briga to burg. In this relation I would point out that two of the earliest coins of the series read Brygin and Byrdg, but the intrusion of the D in the latter is unusual and therefore possibly local and dialectic. But we find it in such derivations as Celtic *pen*, Saxon *pend-* and *ped-*; and, for instance, in Celtic river *Britt*, Saxon *Brid*, Domesday *Brideport*, now Bridport. It is impracticable to form the usual vallum and ditch in peat, so the artificial causeway raised for the foundations of Brige would always be stockaded against men and wolves by timber alone, hence the later name Stockbridge.

It is certainly easier to derive Bryidge from Brige than from any Saxon spelling of modern bridge, but whether Stockbridge was or was not the Romano-British Brige, the fact remains that it was a very early Anglo-Saxon borough. When, therefore, Sir Norman Hill convinced me of this, I replied that, if so, it ought to have been one of the eighty-odd mints that were called upon by Ethelred II to supply the Danegelt, for the Danes always required this to be paid in coined money, and the tribute was so great in Ethelred's time that practically every English borough had to supply its quota. A mere glance at the series formerly attributed to Bridgnorth and later, until now, to Bridport, answered the question, for the moneyers' names alone prove that Stockbridge was their mint.

In the ordinary course the mint of Stockbridge, whenever opened, would, as that of a borough, have been entitled to one moneyer only, and that rule would have applied to Bridgnorth and



Bridport also. But a study of the coins suggests that the moneyers named on the few coins preserved to us of Stockbridge must have worked in pairs. For instance, on the 12 different coins known of Ethelred II's reign (but there may also be duplicates of some) only 4 main types, and a variety of one of them, occur, yet 4 different moneyers coined them. As the average duration of a type was then about three years, if there was only one moneyer at a time, this would mean a change every three years, too short by far, and the variety of the type, which must have had but a very brief issue, bears the names of two moneyers. I can find no other mint of the reign limited to one moneyer that shows so short an average working life, or appointment, for each; Dorchester, for instance, is also represented by four types, but one and the same moneyer coined the lot.

My reason for counting the moneyers is this. In the ordinary course Stockbridge, as a borough, was entitled to one moneyer only, but Southampton was entitled to two, and I believe that the mint of Southampton was merely removed to Stockbridge on the destruction of the town, until its rebuilding. Ethelred succeeded to the throne in A.D. 979, and in the following year the old town, then around St. Mary's Church, was ravaged by the Danes and most of its townsmen killed or taken prisoners. In 994 Anlaf, king of Norway, and Sweyn of Denmark settled down at Southampton for winter quarters, and levied a tribute of £16,000, an enormous sum in those days. Again, in 998, the Danes from the Isle of Wight levied supplies from the district around Southampton, and in 1001 they returned overland, "slaying and burning as was their wont," and so it continued, raid after raid, tribute after tribute, until on the accession of Canute in 1017 the greatest of all was levied, £82,500 for the payment of his Viking allies. During this period of disaster old Southampton was entirely destroyed, and there could then be no mint there until the new town was built by Canute on the present site. I think that the old town was finally destroyed in the invasion of 994,<sup>1</sup> and the mint

<sup>1</sup> Between 980 and 994 it is not unlikely that a mint was opened also at Hamwich, which I believe was the still strongly walled and defensive Roman port of Clausentum, now Bitterne, across the river Itchin, opposite to old Southampton.

removed to Stockbridge, the nearest borough, some 18 or 20 miles up the river Test.

Now we will turn to Stockbridge for evidence of this, and for proof that the series of coins under review was issued from that borough. If it was an emergency mint to replace Southampton, we should expect it to be manned and managed from Winchester, which was then the centre of the monetary system of the kingdom, and this is proved because every one of its moneyers, except the last, also coined there. At the time of the accession of Ethelred, A.D. 979, a moneyer named Eadnoth had been coining as one of the two moneyers at Southampton for his predecessor Edward the Martyr, his name, office and mint on the coins being +EADNOÐ MTO HAMTV. Then we find him at once coining for Ethelred at Stockbridge on the first type issued there, probably in A.D. 994. Conversely, the last moneyer to coin for Ethelred at Stockbridge was Godric, and when Canute refounded Southampton on its new site, which he is believed to have done very early in his reign, and reinstated its mint, we find Godric coining at Southampton on Canute's second type as +GODRIC ON HAMTV,<sup>1</sup> for money would be in special demand during the reconstruction of so important a town.

The political history, the two moneyers at Stockbridge, the advent of the first from, and the return of one of the last to, Southampton, the coincidences of the opening of the Stockbridge mint at the date of the destruction of Southampton, and its closing with the rebuilding of that town, the fact that it was the nearest borough to Southampton, and that during its coinage it was worked from Winchester, are arguments all indicating that the two statutory moneyers of Southampton were removed to Stockbridge, which as a borough was entitled to open a mint, and that for fiscal reasons the two moneyers were supplied from, but kept distinct from, the royal mint at Winchester. It may be asked why, if Stockbridge as a borough was entitled to a mint with one moneyer, it did not run a

<sup>1</sup> Coincidences between neighbouring mints such as these contradict the theory that all the Hamtun coins should be removed from Southampton to Northampton, and there are other evidences against it also.

mint throughout Saxon times? The answer is that it could not possibly have paid. Stockbridge was too close to the great mint of Winchester, with its statutory number of six moneyers, doubled in Ethelred's reign under the pressure of the Danegelt to twelve, and within the triangle of the prolific mints of Winchester, Salisbury and Southampton, for even Twynham, the only other mint in Hampshire, appears to have run its mint of one moneyer very intermittently.<sup>1</sup>

I think, therefore, that the mint was opened at Stockbridge about A.D. 992-4. That, with the exception of occasional intervals due to Danish troubles in the district, it was continuously worked with the two moneyers to supply the Danegelt until early in the reign of Canute, say, about 1020. This would mean that at least twice as many types would be issued as we now have, but it is fortunate that we have the seven presently described, when we notice that every one of the coins of Stockbridge known to us are in the Royal Swedish Cabinet at Stockholm, and were taken to Scandinavia as the Danegelt levied here. This fact again supports the explanation of emergency.

#### SILVER PENNIES OF THE REIGN OF ETHELRED II, MINTED AT STOCKBRIDGE.

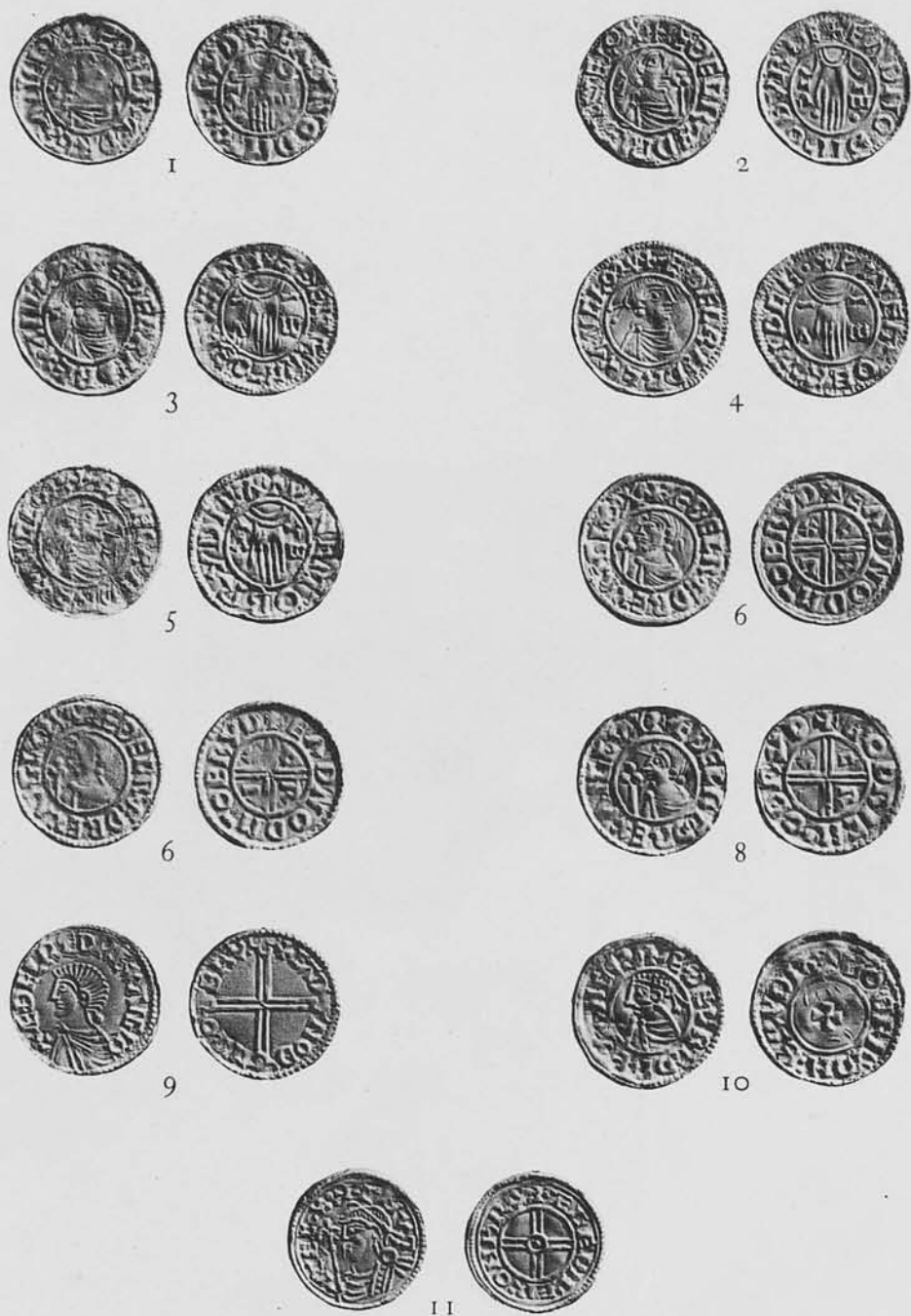
Type, *Hildebrand*, B.2.—Profile bust of Ethelred to the right, with sceptre and wearing the fillet and robes. Reverse, the Hand of Providence issuing downwards from clouds between the Christian symbols, alpha and omega, each with a bar above and a large pellet below. The reverse design was, I think, probably the idea of St. Dunstan to express Supplication under the Danish distress.

- |               |                       |                   |
|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Fig. 1.   | +ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR   | +EADNOÐ MTO BRYD  |
| (2) The same, | but varied lettering. | The same.         |
| (3) Fig. 2.   | The same.             | +EADNOÐ MTO BYRDE |

Eadnoth had previously coined at Southampton for Ethelred's predecessor, Edward the Martyr, and during a short interval, probably due to Danish troubles in the district, he later coined at Winchester.

<sup>1</sup> I have seen coins of Eadgar, Ethelred II, ?, William I, and Henry I, only of Twynham. See also vols. i, p. 3, and x, p. 25.





ANGLO-SAXON SILVER PENNIES OF THE STOCKBRIDGE MINT

Figs. 1-10, ETHELRED II, A.D. 979-1016: Fig. 11, CANUTE, A.D. 1017-1035

Type, *Hildebrand*, B.I.—The same as the preceding type, except for the absence of the sceptre on the obverse and the large pellets on the reverse.

- (4) Fig. 3. The same as No. 1. +ÆDEΣ TAN MTO BRYLIN  
 (5) Fig. 4. The same. +PINE MTO BRYIDGE  
 (6) Fig. 5. The same. +PINE MTO BRYDIGA

Æthestan (Athelstan) coined with the same mis-spelling at Winchester, and I think either immediately before or after he was at Stockbridge. Wine coined at Winchester for Canute, probably after the Stockbridge mint was closed.

Type, *Hildebrand*, C.—Bareheaded bust of Ethelred in profile to the left, robed and with sceptre. Reverse, voided plain cross with one letter of the word CRV+ in each of its angles. This also was, I think, a Supplicatory design.

- (7) Fig. 6. The same, but varied lettering. +EADNOD MTO BRYD  
 (8) Fig. 7. The same. The same.  
 (9) Fig. 8. The same. +EODRIC MTO BRYD

It is interesting to notice that, although minted by Eadnoth at Stockbridge, levied as Danegelt, taken to Scandinavia and found there, Figs. 6 and 7 are sister coins from the same pair of dies, and the life of a die was very short then. As to Godric, see later.

Type, *Hildebrand*, D.—Bareheaded and robed bust of Ethelred in profile to left of rather classic character, but the hair stands straight out ending in tiny pellets, neither sceptre nor inner circle. Reverse, plain long voided cross, trifurcated at the ends, no inner circle.

- (10) Fig. 9. +ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR +EADNOD MTO BRY  
 The NE ligulated.  
 (11) The same, but ANGLOR The same.

Type, *Hildebrand*, A, varied.—Profile bust of Ethelred to left, wearing the fillet and robes, no sceptre. Reverse, in the centre a small cross.

- (12) Fig. 10. +ÆDELRED REX ANGL. +GODRIC ON: BRYDIA



This is the last type of Ethelred II's reign, and it will be noticed that the old title *Monetarius* is now changed to the later *ON* for *of*, or *at*; compare Shakespeare's "A thriving gamester has but a poor trade *on't*." Godric, who also struck No. 9, was a Winchester moneyer and probably was later transferred to Southampton on the reopening of that mint under Canute, where we find his name on the coins as +EODRIC ON HAMTV.

SILVER PENNIES OF THE REIGN OF CANUTE MINTED AT  
STOCKBRIDGE.

Type, *Hildebrand*, H.—Three-quarter bust of Canute, with head in profile to the left, filleted, with trefoiled sceptre, and elaborately robed, no inner circle. Reverse, voided cross with annulet enclosing pellet in the centre. An early type of the reign.

(13) Fig. II. +ENVT·R·ELX·.· +ÆGEL·MÆR·ON BRY

The moneyer, as in all other cases except the next, was a Winchester moneyer.

Type, *Hildebrand*, I.—Similar in design to the preceding except that the king's arm and hand are shown holding the sceptre, and on the reverse there is a square with concave sides terminating in pellets over the centre of the voided cross.

(14) +ENVT REX ANG +PATAMAN ON BRYD

I have not been able to identify Wataman as a Winchester moneyer, but it does not at all follow that he was not, for he is the only exception to the rule. The mint-name Bryd leaves no doubt as to the attribution to Stockbridge.

These 14 coins are all that I feel justified, for the reasons I have given, in attributing with certainty to Stockbridge. There may be duplicates of these, and additional examples, but that is a question for the future. It will be noticed that the mint-name in every instance is spelt with the Y and never I. There are certain coins of Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor which read +HPATEMAN ON BR, but these one would expect to be of the prolific mint of



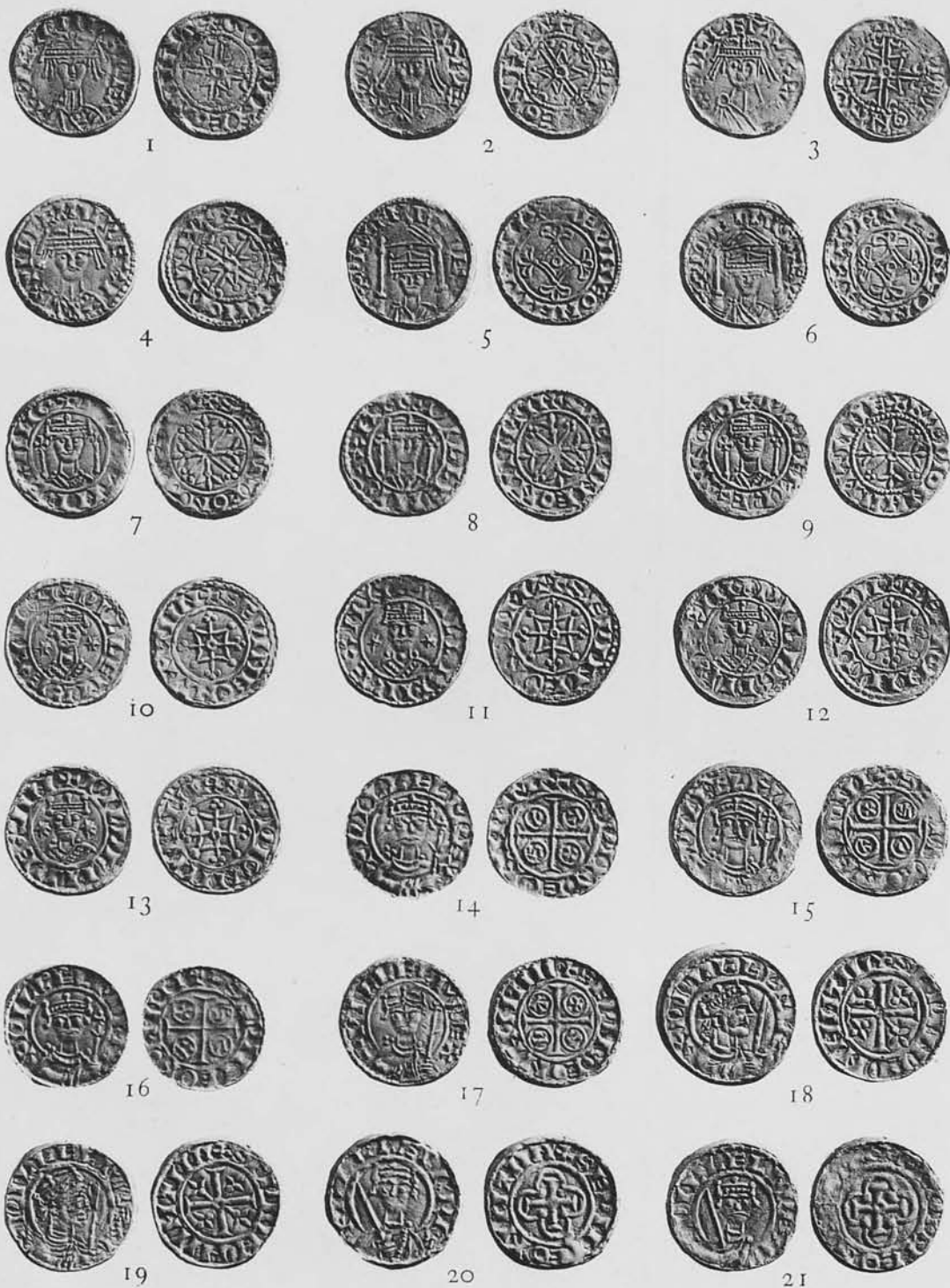
Bristol, which certainly had the first claim to the simple contraction BR, just as we should credit W1 to Winchester rather than Wilton. Nevertheless, Bridport had a mint of one moneyer in the reign of the Confessor, and probably therefore before, and, as Mr. Symonds has pointed out, the moneyer's name occurs at the neighbouring mint of Dorchester, so Bridport has a fair claim to them.

Hwateman is the same name, in an earlier form, as the Wataman on the last of the Stockbridge coins, No. 14, and it was tempting to think that after the restoration of the Southampton mint, Stockbridge continued through Saxon times to exercise its statutory right to one moneyer—Wataman. It may be so, but I will not claim more than I believe I can prove.

It is a great pleasure to know that the Authorities of so distant a Museum as The Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals at Stockholm have without hesitation kindly supplied this Society with all the excellent casts used in the Plate, and our and my grateful thanks are due to them, also to our Librarian, Mr. Alexander Parsons, for his trouble in the correspondence which resulted in the receipt of the casts, and to Sir Norman Hill, who has presented the Society with the cost of the Plate.







COINS OF NORTHAMPTON MINT

## THE NORTHAMPTON AND SOUTHAMPTON MINTS.

BY WILLIAM C. WELLS.

### PART III.

CANUTE, A.D. 1016-1035.

**I**N a previous chapter<sup>1</sup> I suggested the possibility that the Hamwich mint continued down to the commencement of the reign of Canute, but upon further consideration I have no doubt that the mint ceased operations in the reign of Æthelred II, when the old site was abandoned and the town was removed to its present site; when the old name, Hamwich, was superseded by Hamtún, and later, Southampton.<sup>2</sup> The last coins issued from the Hamwich mint appear to have been those struck by Spileman in type Hildebrand, D (Hawkins, 207). Spileman struck coins at Hamwich in type Hildebrand, D, and at Winchester in types Hildebrand, E and A (Hawkins 203, and 205), and continued there in the reigns of Canute, Harold I, and Eadweard the Confessor.<sup>3</sup>

I have previously shown that certain coins of the last type of Æthelred II, Hildebrand, A (Hawkins, 205), reading ON HEAMT, and ON HEAMTV, must necessarily have been struck at the Mercian Hamtún, and that other coins struck by the same moneyers, reading ON HAM, ON HAMT, etc., must follow them.<sup>4</sup> All, or nearly all the known Hamtún coins of this type, struck by at least three different moneyers, exhibit a cross before the king's face,<sup>5</sup> and the dies are obviously the work of the same hand. Consequently none of the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xvii, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. xvii, pp. 19-24.

<sup>3</sup> Incidentally this proves that type Hildebrand, D (Hawkins, 207), preceded type Hildebrand, E (Hawkins, 203), and not *vice versa* as has been suggested by several writers on coins of Æthelred II.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. xvii, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> See Pl. II, Figs. 15, 16, 17, 18.

recorded coins of type Hildebrand, A (Hawkins, 205), whether reading ON HEAMT, HEAM, HAMTV, HAMT or HAM, could have been struck at the southern town, and as all the moneyers of Canute's reign, with the possible exception of Cynsige and Lefei, who used the forms HA and HAM, also used the more extended forms HAMT, HAMTV, etc., it is obvious that—so far as the coins show—the mint at Hamwich was not in operation subsequently to Æthelred II, type Hildebrand, D, nor do any coins appear to have been struck in the new town of Hamtún prior to the reign of Stephen.

The moneyers whose names appear on the Hamtún coins of the reign of Canute are Ælsige, Ælfwerd, Ælfwine, Eadwine, Leofnoth or Leofnath, Leofwold, Leofwine, Godric, Syboda, Cynsige and Lefei. Of these, Ælsige, Ælfwerd, Eadwine, Leofwold and Syboda, struck coins in type Hildebrand, E (Hawkins, 212), only; Leofnoth or Leofnath, in types Hildebrand, E and G (Hawkins, 212 and 213), and Godric in type Hildebrand, G (Hawkins, 213), only. Leofwine commenced in type Hildebrand, E (Hawkins, 212), and continued at Hamtún until well past the middle of Eadweard the Confessor's reign; and Ælfwine commenced in type Hildebrand, H (Hawkins, 208), and struck coins in no less than thirteen types in the reigns of Canute, Harold I, Harthacnut and Eadweard the Confessor.

Leofwold was working at Hamtún in the reign of Æthelred II.<sup>1</sup> In my collection is a coin of Canute, type Hildebrand, E (Hawkins, 212), which reads LEOPOLD O HA, and exhibits a pyramid of three pellets before the king's face.<sup>2</sup> In the British Museum Collection is a Gloucester coin of the same type<sup>3</sup> and in my collection is a similar coin struck at Bristol. In each case the coin exhibits a pyramid of pellets before the king's face, and comparison of the three coins described can leave little doubt that the dies from which they were produced were the work of one die-sinker. Both Bristol and Gloucester were in Mercia, and it is a fair assumption that the third coin also was struck in Mercia. Thus the Bristol and Gloucester

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. II, Fig. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See Pl. III, Fig. 10.

<sup>3</sup> See *British Museum Catalogue, Anglo-Saxon Coins*, vol. ii, Pl. XVIII, Fig. I.

coins confirm the attribution of Leofwold's coin to the Mercian Hamtún, Northampton.

Coins struck by Ælfsige, Ælfwerd, Eadwine, Leofnoth or Leofnath, and Syboda, exhibit the extended form HAMT, etc., thus showing that they belong to the Hamtún or Northampton series. In my collection is a coin of type Hildebrand, E (Hawkins, 212), which on the reverse reads LEOFNAÐ MO HA; the obverse reads ENVT RE+ ON LCIO (= LEIO). The maker of the obverse die appears to have got half through his task when he got his written instructions confused with similar instructions for the reverse die for a Chester coin,<sup>1</sup> from which it is evident that the die was made at a Mercian die-sinking centre where dies for Chester also were made—probably at Chester itself. This confirms the attribution of Leofnath's coin to the Mercian Hamtún.

Another interesting coin of type Hildebrand, E, in my collection has the reverse reading LEOFPINE HAMT, and the obverse, instead of exhibiting the usual legend, ENVT REX etc., is inscribed EAILLEA ON HEM:.<sup>2</sup> The reverse exhibits the normal official work of the period, but the obverse is from a die made by a die-sinker who was obviously not well acquainted with his work, a feature quite common to coins of this type struck, *inter alia*, at Chester, where, in my opinion, was situated a die-sinking centre from which emanated many of the dies for Northampton coins. It is evident that the die-sinker, apparently an illiterate man unacquainted with the meaning of the written instructions before him, got his instructions confused and inadvertently impressed upon the obverse die an inscription intended for a reverse die. This coin, which discloses an entirely new name, as that of a moneyer, is remarkable on account of the use of the h, instead of the usual Roman H. The written instruction before the die-sinker was possibly the Mercian HEAM[TVN],<sup>3</sup> but more

<sup>1</sup> A moneyer Leofnoth was working at Chester in type Hildebrand, E; and Hildebrand, Canute, No. 1434, type G (Hawkins 213), describes a Chester coin reading —ON LEIOI.

<sup>2</sup> See Pl. III, Fig. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. xvii, pp. 32-34, and Pl. II, Fig. 17.



probably HÆM[TVN], the Dano-Saxon form of the Mercian dialectal HEAM[TVN].<sup>1</sup> The correct O.E. form of the name upon this coin is *Ægili*, which in time became *Ægila*, *Ægela*, *Ægel*, etc. When the final *a* was retained, and used as a pet-form, mis-spellings such as "*Ægilea*," "*Æglea*," etc., became possible; but the great number of these presumptive mis-spellings in the eleventh century, calls for explanation. We can only suppose that we have upon the last described coin, a Mercian breaking of *a* to *ea*.<sup>2</sup>

The name *Ægili* is of very rare occurrence. The earliest inscribed example on record occurs upon the Frank's casket in the British Museum. This carved ivory casket is of Northumbrian work of the eighth century. Of the top, only the central panel remains, representing *Ægil* the archer, brother of Wayland Smith, defending his wife and home against enemies in chain mail, armed with sword, spear, and shield. Above the hero is his name in runes *ÆXINI* (*ÆGILI*). On the front of the casket *Ægil* is represented catching birds in order to wing his arrows. The Teutonic legend of Wayland probably had its home in the north, where he and his brother *Egil* were the types of skilled workmen. According to the Wayland and *Egil* saga they were sons of Wadè and Greipa, and flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries:

"The giant Wadè dwelt in peace apart  
In Seeland, in the courts his father gave,  
Which lay in that part now called Blekingen."<sup>3</sup>

"... One day he brought  
A maiden home with him to be his wife,  
But from whence none knew, till it leaked out  
That she was Greipa. . . .

"What e'er her race she bare him a fair son,  
Whom he named Wayland. Others she bore  
In their due season, of whom *Egil* one  
And Slagfeder another. . . ."

<sup>1</sup> See vol. xvii, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. xvii, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> In South Sweden, then part of Denmark.

When Wayland was a lad of nine Wadè wished that he should learn a craft, and having heard of Mimer the famous smith, took Wayland and gave him into Mimer's hand to teach him smithcraft and to work in ore :

“ Later he brought his younger sons to learn  
Something of smithcraft also, but in truth  
Egil learnt little else save how to shoot  
As never man shot yet with his long bow.”

The saga then goes on to narrate the wonderful adventures and fighting prowess and, eventually, the death of Egil. Aylesford (Egil's-ford) appears to have been named after this traditional hero, as is shown by the following extract from Hengest's saga :

“ But we will to Eglwys Ford ere it is morn,  
So smash the Saxons and revenge our dead  
Beneath the shadow of the Church's Cross.  
Know mighty Wayland, that thine Anglian kin  
Yet call this ford by thy dead brother's name,  
So great is still the Archer Egil's fame.”

The sagas give an account of an earlier Egil, also famed as an archer :

“ Of his (Ivalde's) sons but little tell I here  
Thjassi one, of whom came Viking's line,  
From which descended a right famous man  
The hero known as Witga, Wayland's son.  
. . . From him too  
Hengest's and Irung's races claim descent.  
The third son was called Avo, archer skilled  
Known too as Egil, once the friend of Thor.”<sup>1</sup>

The adventures of another Egil, Egil Skallagrimsson, an Icelandic skald, who flourished *circa* A.D. 900-980, is to be found in the well-known Icelandic poem, *Egil's Saga*. Skallagrim, the father of

<sup>1</sup> This, and the foregoing quotations from the sagas, are extracted from *The Wayland-Dietrich Saga*, by K. M. Buck.

Egil and his brother Thorolf, was forced to emigrate from Norway by Harald Fairhair, and settled in Iceland. As a boy Egil went with Thorolf on a voyage to Norway. But Egil soon provokes the wrath of Eric and Gunhilda; Gunhilda attempts his life; Egil retaliates, and the brothers have to quit Norway. They seek England, serve under King Æthelstan and win a battle for him in Northumberland, in which Thorolf falls. Egil, though promised great honours with Æthelstan, goes to Norway to see after Thorold's widow; after which he marries her and returns to Iceland. On tidings of his wife's father's death he goes to Norway to claim her inheritance, which is unjustly withheld from him. Egil narrowly escapes from Eric's ships and slays a son of Eric. Hakon, Eric's brother, foster son of Æthelstan, is recalled to Norway as king, and Eric Bloodaxe is forced to flee. Egil is wrecked at the mouth of the Humber and eventually reaches the court of Æthelstan, where he is well received, but he returns to Iceland. After Æthelstan's death, Eric is killed in battle. Egil goes harrying in Saxland and Friesland and eventually dies at a great age.

HAROLD I, KING OF NORTHERN ENGLAND, A.D. 1035-1037,  
KING OF ALL ENGLAND, A.D. 1037-1040.

HARTHACNUT, KING OF SOUTHERN ENGLAND, A.D. 1035-1037,  
KING OF ALL ENGLAND, A.D. 1040-1042.

The events which immediately followed the death of Canute are told with much contradiction and confusion. The cause of all these difficulties and contradictions seems to be the division of the kingdom between Harold and Harthacnut, which proved to be a mere ephemeral arrangement and was set aside within two years.

In the year 1017, Canute married Ælfgyfu-Emma, widow of Æthelred II. At some time prior to this, Canute had contracted an irregular union with another Ælfgyfu, who is usually distinguished as "Ælfgyfu of Northampton,"<sup>1</sup> by whom he had two sons, Harold

<sup>1</sup> The Worcester *Chronicle*, Cottonian MS., Tiberius, B. IV, under annal 1035, describes her as "Ælfgyfa pære Hamtunisca."

and Sweyn. Upon her marriage with Canute, Ælfgyfu-Emma required that any son she might have by Canute should succeed to the English crown in priority to his existing sons, Harold and Sweyn. Canute pledged himself to this and thus Harthacnut was marked out before birth as heir to the English crown.

Ælfgyfu of Northampton was the daughter of Ælfhelm, Ealdorman of some portion of Northumberland, probably of Diera, who in 1006, was murdered at Shrewsbury, at the instigation of Eadric Streona. Eadric is generally understood to have been made Ealdorman of Mercia in 1007, but Florence of Worcester appears to suggest that at the time of Ælfhelm's murder Eadric was already Ealdorman of Mercia; and Lappenberg<sup>1</sup> refers to Ælfhelm as "Earl of Northampton."<sup>2</sup> If we accept these two statements—and probabilities appear to point to their accuracy—we can readily understand the anxiety of the unscrupulous Eadric to get rid of a possible rival Ealdorman whose territory lay within his own Province of Mercia; and at the same time we have it explained why Ælfgyfu was "of Northampton."

At the time of Canute's death, Sweyn, his elder son by Ælfgyfu of Northampton, was King of Norway, but for Harold no provision appears to have been made by the late king. Canute's will in favour of Harthacnut, who was already King of Denmark, was supported by the West Saxons with Godwine their earl at their head. On the other hand, Harold, the son of Ælfgyfu, appeared as a candidate for the crown. He was supported by Leofric, earl of Mercia, by the great body of the thegns north of the Thames, and by the "lithsmen," the seafaring folk, of London. Harold was the candidate of the north, Harthacnut of the south; Harold was the

<sup>1</sup> *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, Benjamin Thorpe's translation, 1845, vol. ii, p. 221. A new edition, Thorpe's translation, revised by E. C. Otté, 1881, vol. ii, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> The chroniclers constantly speak of *Ealdormen*, even in Danish districts like Lindsey; but this may be an accommodation to Southern language. In the purely Saxon districts there can be no doubt that the ancient title of *Ealdorman* went on uninterruptedly, till, under Canute, *Eorl* supplemented it everywhere.

candidate of the Danes, Harthacnut of the English. This seems to be a division quite contrary to what might have been expected for Harthacnut had no English blood in his veins, while Harold was English, at least on his mother's side. The explanation of this apparently anomalous position is probably to be found in the fact that Canute had lived among his West-Saxon subjects and had identified himself in every way with them. They had flourished greatly during his reign, and it can be understood quite readily that they accepted the wishes of Canute with regard to the succession as a sacred law. On the other hand, it is quite easy to see how Harold's position would appeal to the Danish and half-Danish inhabitants of Mercia and Northumberland. Harold had a local connection with Northumberland as the grandson of Ælfhelm, and with Mercia as the son of Ælfgyfu of Northampton.

At Christmas, 1035, the Witan of all England met in full Gemót at Oxford, which place was chosen probably on account of its position on the boundary line of the two great divisions of the kingdom. The Witan proceeded to discuss the merits of the two candidates. Godwine, the great earl of Wessex, with all his eloquence, and supported by the full force of his earldom, put forward the claims of the absent Harthacnut; but all in vain. The proposal for a division of the kingdom came from Leofric, earl of all Mercia, a proposal which Godwine and his supporters strongly resisted, but the majority was against them and the Witan decided upon the division of the country between the two candidates; Harold to reign on the north of the Thames and Harthacnut on the south. Thus England had two kings, each apparently more or less independent of the other, but with a probable supremacy of Harold over Harthacnut.

The Peterborough *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 1036, which should be 1035, records the foregoing incidents as follows:—

“ In this year died King Cnut at Shaftesbury . . . And immediately after his decease, there was a great assembly of all the Witan at Oxford; and earl Leofric and almost all the



thegns north of the Thames, and the lithsmen of London, chose Harold to the government of all England, him and his brother Harthacnut, who was in Denmark. And earl Godwine and all the chief men of Wessex, opposed it as long as they could but they could not prevail aught against it. And it was then resolved that Ælgyfu [-Emma], Harthacnut's mother should dwell at Winchester with the king her son's 'huscarls,' and hold all Wessex under his authority. And earl Godwine was their most devoted man."

Harthacnut's kingdom of Denmark was at that time threatened by Magnus of Norway, and quite naturally he considered his first duty was to stay and provide for its defence rather than come to England to take possession of the West-Saxon kingdom which he held as a vassal of the King of the Mercians and the Northumbrians. Consequently he stayed away in spite of the entreaties of his English subjects to come and take possession of his Wessex kingdom; and they, in 1037, feeling that Harthacnut had slighted them, deposed him and elected Harold as their immediate sovereign. This was probably brought about by the Witan of Wessex and, apparently, confirmed by a vote of the Witan of all England. And thus Harold became King of all England.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> under the year 1037, says:—

"This year men chose Harold King over all, and forsook Harthacnut, because he stayed too long in Denmark; and they then drove out his mother Ælgyfu, the relict of King Cnut, without any pity against the raging winter."

Coinage in the old world was the unquestioned test of kingship, and one of the first acts of Ælgyfu-Emma, and Godwine, in 1036, to emphasize their absent Chief's sovereignty, would be the issue of a coinage bearing his name. Harold would be equally

<sup>1</sup> MS. D, Cottonian MS., Tiberius B. IV.

prompt in issuing a coinage for the northern kingdom, bearing his own name.

The coins of Harold I, of type Hildebrand, A (*British Museum Catalogue*, type I), and those of Harthacnut of type Hildebrand, A (*British Museum Catalogue*, type I), are identical in type, the only difference being that one series bears the name of Harold, and the other series that of Harthacnut, and there can be no doubt that the two series were issued contemporaneously during the period of Harthacnut's short reign as King of Wessex, from 1035 to 1037. This identity of type was probably in accordance with an agreement between Harold, and Ælfgifu-Emma, acting as Regent on behalf of her son, Harthacnut. The object of this identity of type was probably to enable the coins to pass indiscriminately in each kingdom. To Mr. H. A. Parsons belongs the credit of being the first to suggest, in print, that the two series were issued contemporaneously.<sup>1</sup>

All the known coins of type Hildebrand, A, issued in the name of Harthacnut were struck at towns situated upon or south of the Thames—that is, within Harthacnut's division of the country. No "Hamtun" coins, however, of this type, bearing Harthacnut's name are known, and it is reasonable to assume that had the Southampton mint been then in existence coins would have been issued from it, but Winchester appears to have been the only mint in operation in Hampshire during the period under consideration. Northampton being situated in Harold's division of the country, coins issued there would necessarily bear Harold's name, and, accordingly, we find "Hamtun" coins of Harold, of type Hildebrand, A, which, as I have previously stated, is identical in design with Harthacnut's coins of type Hildebrand, A.

The moneyers whose names occur upon Hamtun coins of Harold's type A, are Ælfwine and Leofwine. Leofwine commenced to work at Hamtun in type Hildebrand, C ("Crux" type), of Æthelred II, and continued through the reigns of Canute, Harold I, and down to type Hildebrand, H (Hawkins, 228), of Eadweard the

<sup>1</sup> See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 39-43.



Confessor ; Ælfwine commenced working there in type Hildebrand, H (Hawkins, 208), of Canute, and continued through the reigns of Harold I, Harthacnut, and down to type Hildebrand, Ac (Hawkins, 225), of Eadweard the Confessor ; and as the coins struck by those two moneyers in the reign of Harold I must be allocated to Northampton, the coins obviously issued by the same moneyers in the reigns of Æthelred II, Canute, Harthacnut and Eadweard the Confessor, must also be assigned to Northampton and not to Southampton.

The reasons which induced an immediate coinage by Harold, and by Harthacnut's regent, upon the decision of the Witan in 1035, apply with equal force to the time of Harold's succession to the crown of all England, and Harold's desire to emphasize his supremacy over Wessex by the issue of coins bearing his name from West-Saxon mints was too urgent to allow of the consideration of the issue of a new type, and dies for coins of type A, bearing Harold's name and similar to those which had been in issue nearly two years in Harold's kingdom, north of the Thames, appear to have been sent out immediately to those mints which had formerly issued coins in Harthacnut's name. Consequently, we find coins of Harold, type A, issued from Wessex mints as well as from mints situated north of the Thames. Harold's second type, Hildebrand, B (*British Museum Catalogue*, type V), was probably instituted in 1038 and was in issue until the death of Harold, in 1040. The Northampton moneyers, as in type A, were Leofwine and Ælfwine.

When Harold died at Oxford in March, 1040, his brother Harthacnut was at Bruges. Immediately upon Harold's burial, the Witan of all England met and unanimously chose Harthacnut as king. An embassy was sent to Bruges to invite Harthacnut to England to take possession of his crown. He and his mother accordingly came to England in the following June, and he was crowned shortly afterwards.

As king of all England Harthacnut appears to have had only one general coinage, viz., Hildebrand, B (*British Museum Catalogue*, type II). Northampton coins of this type, which are of considerable

rarity, were struck by two moneyers, Ælfwine and Godric, of whom the latter came from the Huntingdon mint to take the place temporarily of Leofwine, who does not appear to have been working at either Northampton or Huntingdon during the issue of this type.<sup>1</sup> I have previously, in vol. xvii, p. 35, referred to a coin of Harthacnut, type Hildebrand, B, with the reverse reading ÆLFWINE ON HÆMTV[N], the Dano-Saxon rendering of "Ælfwine on Heamtun" the Mercian dialectal form of the West-Saxon "Ælfwine on Hamtun."

EADWEARD THE CONFESSOR, A.D. 1042-1066.

HAROLD II, A.D. 1066.

The moneyers whose names appear upon Hamtun coins of Eadweard the Confessor are Leofwine, Godric, Ælfwine, Leofric, Wulfnoth, Sæwine and Swetman; and the moneyers who struck for Harold II were Sæwine, Swetman and Leofstan.

The coins struck by Leofwine and Ælfwine have been previously dealt with,<sup>2</sup> and those issued by Godric, Leofric, Sæwine, and Swetman will be dealt with later.<sup>3</sup> Wulfnoth struck coins in types Hildebrand, F, H and G (Hawkins, 227, 228 and 222). The name Wulfnoth occurs on Northampton coins of the reign of Æthelred II,<sup>4</sup> and occurs again on Northampton coins of Henry I, type Andrew XV (*British Museum Catalogue*, type XV; Hawkins, 255).<sup>5</sup> These three moneyers all bearing the same name probably represent three generations of one family. The moneyer Leofstan appears to have been working at Northampton for only a short period, in the reign of Harold II. A Leofstan of an earlier generation was working at Northampton about the middle of the reign of Æthelred II.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 80 *post*.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 72-73 *ante*, and pp. 79-81 *post*.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 80-83 *post*.

<sup>4</sup> See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvii, pp. 32, 36, 42 and 47.

<sup>5</sup> For coins by Wulfnoth see Pl. IV, Figs. 3, 6, 11 and 12.

THE ANGLO-SAXON EARLS OF NORTHAMPTON AND HUNTINGDON  
AND THE TRANSFERENCE OF MONEYS BETWEEN THE MINTS  
OF NORTHAMPTON AND HUNTINGDON.

Siward the Dane, surnamed the Strong, at some time prior to 1038, became possessed of the earldom of Diera. He is probably the Siward who signed several charters in the reign of Canute, but he does not appear to have attained earl's rank in that reign. He married a daughter of Ealdred, earl of Bernicia, which appears to have been his only connection with the house of the Northumbrian earls. Ealdred who was murdered about 1038, was succeeded in his earldom of Bernicia by his brother Eadwulf. Eadwulf, who appears to have been prominent in pressing the claims of Harold, in 1035, thus gained the enmity of Harthacnut, who in 1041 appears to have commanded the murder of Eadwulf at the hands of Siward, who was immediately rewarded with the government of the whole of Northumberland, from the Humber to the Tweed.

At the time of Godwine's rebellion, in 1051, his son Harold, earl of East Anglia, threw in his lot with that of his father. Leofric of Mercia and Siward of Northumbria, with their immense following, gathered round the king clamouring to be led against Godwine and his sons. The two hosts faced each other across the Thames; Godwine and his sons were encamped at Southwark; the King with the Mercian and Northumbrian armies were encamped on the Northern shore. The Witan met and pronounced sentence of outlawry against Godwine, who fled to the court of Flanders. His son Harold, made his way to Bristol and thence to Dublin, in spite of the orders given to Bishop Ealdred of Worcester to seize him ere he set sail from Bristol.

There can be little doubt that it was at this time that the joint earldom of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire was created and given to Siward as a reward for the part he had taken in the overthrow of Godwine. Huntingdonshire in 1051, as we are told by Florence of Worcester, under that date, was so closely associated with Cambridgeshire as to have a common Sheriff, detached altogether from Mercia and forming part of Harold's earldom of East Anglia,

but it was now separated from East Anglia and added to Northamptonshire, which was at the same time separated from Mercia, to form the new earldom for Siward.<sup>1</sup> The linking of the two counties also probably held a political significance in thus forming a barrier between the possessions of Leofric of Mercia and his son Ælfgar, to whom Eadweard had given Harold's earldom of East Anglia.

Siward died in 1055, but his son Waltheof was only a boy, too young to undertake the government of his father's vast territories, so he was passed over and the earldom of Northumbria passed into the hands of Tostig, son of Godwine, as did also the joint earldom of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire. John of Peterborough states that Waltheof succeeded to Northamptonshire on the death of Siward in 1055, but that is shown to be incorrect by a writ recorded in *Codex Diplomaticus*,<sup>2</sup> which is addressed to Tostig as "Tosti comiti . . . de comitatu Hamtoniæ."

Tostig was violent and tyrannical, and his government in Northumbria was unpopular. He was neither Dane nor Northumbrian. He was a West-Saxon who had little or no sympathy with the North. He held his earldom by choice of the West-Saxon King and the Witan of the South. His government was maintained by a merciless justice; by the taking of life and the maiming of limb. Englishmen and Danes alike joined in the bitter hostility awakened by Tostig's rule, and in October, 1065, the Northumbrian thegns, without the presence of king or earl, held a Gemót at York at which they passed a vote of deposition against Tostig, declared him an outlaw and elected in his place Morcere, the younger son of Ælfgar of Mercia. Morcere at once marched southwards. On his march he was joined by the men of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and at the head of this force he reached Northampton, which place was probably chosen by the insurgents as their headquarters, as being like Northumberland itself, under the government of Tostig. It was important that the rebels should win over the inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup> In *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. iv, No. 903, p. 239, is recorded a writ of *circa* 1053, addressed to Siward as "Siwardo comiti . . . de Huntingdoniensi scira."

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv, No. 904, p. 240.

Northampton and Huntingdon to their cause. At Northampton Morcere was met by his brother, Eadwine, at the head of the men of his earldom.

The men of Northampton appear to have been less zealous in their support of the revolt than the Northumbrians had hoped for and Morcere's followers dealt with the country around as if it were the country of an enemy. Harold hastened to Northampton with a message from the king calling upon the insurgents to lay down their arms.

The Northumbrians refused to listen to any proposal which included the possibility of Tostig's return. Harold summoned a Witenagemot of the whole realm which met at Oxford on October 28, 1065, at which the election of Morcere was legalized. At the same time the earldom of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire was detached from Northumberland and bestowed upon Siward's young son Waltheof. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, recording these events says—"Then came earl Harold to meet them, and they laid an errand on him to king Eadweard . . . and prayed that they might have Morcere for their earl and the king granted it and sent Harold again to Northampton, on the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude's Mass (Oct. 27) . . . And the 'Rythrenan' did great harm about Northampton, while he went on their errand, inasmuch as they slew men, and burned houses, and corn, and took all cattle . . . that was many thousand, and many hundred men they took, and led north with them; so that the shire, and the other shires that were nigh there, were for many winters the worse."

Of Waltheof we know very little until he was given the earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon, in 1065. In 1066, when Harold marched southward, to give battle to the Norman invader, the thegns and men of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire flocked loyally to his standard, but we have no evidence that Waltheof came

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the "Rutheni" or "Ruteni" of the Northern historians, with whom the name is identical with "Russi" (Russians), though it does not appear on what account or when these people came into Northumbria. See Benjamin Thorpe's edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, vol. i, p. 409.



himself and joined Harold's host, nor do we know if he fought at the battle of Hastings. Waltheof submitted to William immediately after the Conquest, and appears to have been shown considerable favour by the Conqueror, who took him, together with the earls Eadwine and Morcere, on his visit to Normandy in 1067. We are expressly told that the three earls were not taken as captives, but they were undoubtedly taken as hostages. William chose the men whose power he dreaded and of whose faithfulness he was doubtful.

In 1069 Waltheof joined the Northern insurrection, and in the fight at York with the garrison of the castle took his stand at one of the gates and as the Norman fugitives issued forth from the blazing city cut them down one by one, for he was of immense stature and strength.

When the revolt was over and the Danish fleet had departed, Waltheof went to William, who was encamped on the bank of the Tees, obtained his forgiveness, was re-granted his former earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon, and the king also gave him his niece Judith in marriage.

In 1075 Waltheof was present at the nuptial festivities of Ralph de Guader, earl of East Anglia, when the earls of Hereford and East Anglia formed a conspiracy against the king, into which both earls strove to draw Waltheof. The object of the conspiracy was to divide the whole country between the three earls, one of whom was to be seated on the throne and the other two to be his principal earls. According to Florence of Worcester, Waltheof agreed to join the conspiracy, but Oderic Vitalis states that he refused to join with them, but swore not to divulge their project. Waltheof, however, after due consideration, decided to reveal to the king all that had taken place. He hastened to Normandy and told the king what he had done and implored forgiveness. The king appeared to think lightly of the matter, and Waltheof remained with him until his return to England and the rebellion was over. During the rebellion the aid of the Danish fleet had been invoked, but they arrived too late to be of service to the rebels. When the Danes

appeared in the Humber, the king, fearing Waltheof's influence might be thrown on the side of the rebels, caused him to be arrested and imprisoned.

At Christmas he was brought to trial before the king at Winchester, on the charge of having abetted the late rebellion, his wife Judith testifying against him. Sentence was deferred, and he was again committed to prison. On May 15, 1076, he was condemned to death, and early on the morning of the 31st he was removed from the prison and taken to St. Giles's Hill, which overlooks the city, where he was beheaded. His body was ignominiously cast into a ditch, but a fortnight later, at the request of Judith and with the king's permission, it was conveyed to Crowland by Abbot Ulfketel and buried in the chapter-house there. Though his father, Siward, was a Dane, Waltheof was regarded as a champion of English freedom and a national hero.

There can be little doubt that from the date of the creation of the joint earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon, about 1051, down to the death of Waltheof in 1076, the two mints came under the control of the earl, or his reeves, and that the mints were worked in conjunction with each other. The coins show that during this period and down to the third type of William I (Hawkins, 236) a majority of the Northampton moneyers were frequently temporarily transferred to Huntingdon, and Huntingdon moneyers were occasionally temporarily transferred to Northampton. The coins also show that there was a working connection of some kind between these two mints even before the creation of the joint earldom, for this temporary transference of moneyers between Northampton and Huntingdon dates back to the reign of Canute.

Leofwine commenced work at Northampton in type Hildebrand, C ("Crux" type), of Æthelred II, and continued, with few intermissions, down to type Hildebrand, H (Hawkins, 228), of Eadweard the Confessor. He then went to Huntingdon where he issued "mule" coins connecting types H, and G (Hawkins, 228 and 222), and also coins of the substantive type Hildebrand, G, of Eadweard the Confessor. He also struck coins of type Hildebrand, G



(Hawkins, 213), of Canute, and type Hildebrand, E (Hawkins, 219), of Eadweard the Confessor at Huntingdon as well as at Northampton.<sup>1</sup>

Godric commenced work at Huntingdon in type Hildebrand, E (Hawkins, 212), of Canute, and in the succeeding type, Hildebrand, G (Hawkins, 213), he was working at Northampton. He does not appear to have been working at Northampton, nor at Huntingdon, in type Hildebrand, H (Hawkins, 208), nor in the reign of Harold I, but in the reign of Harthacnut he appears to have taken the place of Leofwine, whose name does not occur upon Northampton coins of that reign, but re-appears upon Northampton coins of the first type of Eadweard the Confessor, Hildebrand, A (Hawkins, 226). Godric then returned to Huntingdon where he issued coins in types Hildebrand, E, F, G, and Ac (Hawkins, 219, 227, 222, and 225), of Eadweard the Confessor, and in types I and II of William I<sup>2</sup> (Hawkins, 233, and 234). He then appears to have been again transferred to Northampton where he struck coins in type II (Hawkins, 234), after which we lose sight of him. Godwine also was a Huntingdon moneyer. His name occurs upon coins issued from that mint in types Hildebrand, F, H, G, and Ac (Hawkins, 227, 228, 222, and 225), of Eadweard the Confessor, and upon coins of Harold II. Godwine was then transferred to Northampton where he struck coins in type II of William I (Hawkins, 234), and, after a considerable interval, in type III of William II (Hawkins, 250).<sup>3</sup>

Ælfwine commenced work at Northampton in type Hildebrand, H (Hawkins, 208), of Canute, and issued coins there in each successive type through the reigns of Harold I, and Harthacnut, and down to type Hildebrand, Ac (Hawkins, 225), of Eadweard the Confessor. He was also temporarily transferred to Huntingdon during the issue of type Hildebrand, B (*British Museum Catalogue*, type B), of Harthacnut, and types Hildebrand, C, B, E, and Ac (Hawkins, 220,

<sup>1</sup> For coins by Leofwine, see Pl. III, Figs. 7, 8, 9, 12, 16 and 21.

<sup>2</sup> The types of William I and II are numbered according to the arrangement by Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton and in the *British Museum Catalogue*.

<sup>3</sup> For coins by Godwine, see Pl. V, Fig. 1, and Pl. VI, Fig. 1.

229, 219, and 225), of Eadweard the Confessor, of which types we have coins issued by Ælfwine at Northampton as well as Huntingdon.<sup>1</sup>

Leofric was working at Northampton in types Hildebrand, F and H (Hawkins, 227 and 228), of Eadweard the Confessor, and in the succeeding type, Hildebrand, G (Hawkins, 222), he was transferred to Huntingdon, after which we lose sight of him. Wulfwine issued coins at Huntingdon in the reigns of Harold I and Harthacnut, and in types Hildebrand, A and D (Hawkins, 226 and 221), of Eadweard the Confessor. He then disappears for a time, but re-appears upon Northampton coins of William I type III (Hawkins, 236).

Sæwine was a Northampton moneyer. His coins commence with Eadweard the Confessor, type Hildebrand, G (Hawkins, 222), and continue in each successive type through the reigns of Eadweard the Confessor, Harold II, William I, and down to type II (Hawkins, 246), of William II, with the exception of types I, VI, and VII (Hawkins, 233, 243, and 239), of William I.<sup>2</sup> During the issue of type Hildebrand, I (Hawkins, 223), of Eadweard the Confessor, Sæwine was working at Northampton, and also at Huntingdon. The evidence connecting Sæwine's Huntingdon coins with those of the same type struck by him at Northampton is quite conclusive. In my collection is a penny of type Hildebrand, I, of Eadweard the Confessor, which reads SPETMAN ON HA;<sup>3</sup> in the British Museum collection is a similar coin inscribed SPETMAN ON HAI;<sup>4</sup> in my collection is a third coin of the same type which reads SÆPINE ON HAT,<sup>5</sup> and in the British Museum collection is a fourth specimen which is inscribed SÆPINE ON HVN. In each case the pyramid in one quarter of the reverse terminates in a trefoil of pellets, and it is only upon these coins that this peculiarity is known to occur,

<sup>1</sup> For coins by Ælfwine, *see* Pl. III, Figs. 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 and 20; and Pl. IV, Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 13, and 14.

<sup>2</sup> For coins by Sæwine, *see* Pl. IV, Figs. 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 19 and 21.

<sup>3</sup> *See* Pl. IV, Fig. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *See* Pl. IV, Fig. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *See* Pl. IV, Fig. 17.

thus so closely connecting the Huntingdon and the Hamtún coins struck by Sæwine and Swetman, as to leave no doubt that the latter emanated from Northampton and not from Southampton.<sup>1</sup>

WILLIAM I, A.D. 1066-1089. WILLIAM II, A.D. 1089-1100.

There can be little doubt that earl Waltheof, like his predecessors in the earldom, held control of a joint mint, or mints, at Northampton and at Huntingdon. In the Domesday account of Northampton we find no reference to the mint, from which circumstance we may infer that the mint, in 1086, had been leased to the burgesses and that the *firma* of the mint was included in the *firma* of the burg. The Huntingdon record in Domesday, that "in this burg there were three moneyers paying 40s. between the King and Earl, but now they are not [there]" shows that the Saxon earl formerly had the *tertius denarius* of the mint. He held the mint therefore by the same tenure as he held the burg, and both were under his direct control. There can be little doubt that during Waltheof's time, and earlier, Northampton was held on terms similar to those of Huntingdon. We also learn from Domesday that the burg of Huntingdon formerly "paid geld for fifty hides, as a fourth part of Hurstingstone hundred, but not since the King set a geld of money on the burg," *i.e.* not since the king levied the tax of the mint on the burg. The record in Domesday states that the moneyers were not there, yet we have the evidence of the Huntingdon coins that at that time the mint was in operation. The explanation lies in the latter extract from Domesday which shows that the king had farmed the mint to the burgesses and had included its rent in the *firma* of their burg. There can be little doubt that the Northampton mint was similarly farmed to the burgesses.

During the reigns of William I, and William II, five moneyers were working at Northampton, viz., Sæwine, Swetman, Godric, Godwine, and Wulfwine. By the moneyer Sæwine we have coins

<sup>1</sup> See also vol. xvii, pp. 11-12.

of William I in types II, III, IV, V, and VIII (Hawkins, 234, 236, 237, 238, and 241-2); and of William II in types I and II (Hawkins, 244 and 246). Nearly all the known coins of William I and William II struck by this moneyer read **HAMT**, **AMT**, **HAMTV**, **HAMTVN**, etc., but in my possession are two coins of William I type II (Hawkins, 234) from the same dies which read **SÆPINE ON NOÐ HANT**,<sup>1</sup> thus proving beyond doubt that Sæwine's coins were struck at Northampton and not at Southampton.<sup>2</sup> Major Carlyon-Britton, in his *Numismatic History of William I and William II*, although he cites the coins reading "Noth Hant" allocates those reading **HAMTVN**, etc., to Southampton, and Dr. Brooke, in the *British Museum Catalogue, Norman Coins*, also attributes them to Southampton, but in his recently published work *English Coins*, he transfers them to Northampton, but he fails to transfer to Northampton the coins of Eadweard the Confessor and Harold II, which are obviously the work of the same moneyer. The moneyer Swetman commenced work at Northampton in the reign of Eadweard the Confessor and struck coins in the last two types of that reign.<sup>3</sup> He also struck coins at Northampton in the reign of Harold II, and in type II of William I. The coins struck by Godric, Godwine and Wulfwine, have previously been dealt with.<sup>4</sup>

#### HENRY I, A.D. 1100-1135.

In early times nothing stimulated the trade of a town so much as a visit from the king, and we know that in several instances a dormant mint was re-opened to meet the increased demand for currency occasioned by the king's visit. This appears to have been the case at Northampton when Henry I visited the town in 1106.

In the British Museum collection is a penny of Andrew, type IV (*British Museum Catalogue*, type VII, Hawkins, 252), inscribed

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. V, Fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See also pp. 81-82 *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> See also p. 81 *ante*.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 80-81 *ante*.

**DORT ON HANTO.**<sup>1</sup> That this coin was struck at Northampton on the occasion of the king's visit in the early part of 1106 there can be no reasonable doubt. Mr. Andrew dates this type, Michaelmas, 1106—Michaelmas, 1108. Mr. Andrew's dates, however, in most cases, are necessarily only approximate, for, as he states elsewhere "the change in the coinage . . . was once in three, four or five years,"<sup>2</sup> and this type which was evidently in issue in the early part of 1106, probably commenced about the previous Michaelmas.

When the king was at Northampton, there his brother Robert came to petition for the restoration of the lands in Normandy which Henry had taken from him. His request was not granted and he returned to Normandy threatening reprisals.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 1106, says :

"Hereafter before Lent was the king at Northampton ; and the earl Robert his brother came thither from Normandy to him ; and because the king would not give him back that which he had taken from him in Normandy, they parted in hostility ; and the earl soon went over sea back again."

Various writs, etc., dated from Northampton during this visit are recorded in Farrer's *Outline Itinerary of King Henry I*, p. 34.

After the king's visit in 1106, the Northampton mint appears to have again lain dormant until 1122, when Henry again visited Northampton. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under date 1122, says : "In this year was King Henry . . . at Easter at Northampton."

On this occasion, undoubtedly, was issued the penny of Andrew, type XI (*British Museum Catalogue*, type X, Hawkins, IV) in the British Museum collection, which reads **VLF ON HAM[T]V**.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. VI, Fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> See Pl. VI, Fig. 3. This coin, which has previously been attributed to Southampton, is described in the *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 288, and in Mr. Andrew's *Henry I*, p. 410. The name **VLF** also occurs upon Lincoln coins of William I and William II, and upon York coins of Stephen. The name **VLFTEL** and **VLETEL**, of which **VLF** may be a contracted form, occurs upon coins of William I struck at Cambridge, Norwich and York.







COINS OF NORTHAMPTON MINT



Mr. Andrew dates this type 1121-1123, which coincides with the date of Henry's visit. That this was considered an important event in the town's history is evident.

Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, says :—

“ The system of Royal progresses, of holding assemblies in various parts of the land, is a marked feature of the reign of Henry . . .

“ We hear of Henry at places which had never before been heard of as seats of national assemblies, places which, except through the necessities of warfare, had seldom been visited by Kings since England had had one sovereign. He shows himself in all parts of the kingdom, and the solemn ceremony of wearing the crown is no longer confined to Winchester, Westminster, and Gloucester. It takes place especially in the latter years of his reign, at St. Albans, at Dunstable, at Brampton, at Northampton and at Norwich.”

Several charters, etc., granted by the king during his stay at Northampton in 1122 are recorded in Farrer's *Outline Itinerary of King Henry I*, pp. 98-99.

We have no Northampton coins of Mr. Andrew's type XII (*British Museum Catalogue*, type XI, Hawkins, 258), which he dates 1123—Christmas, 1125, but with the succeeding type, Andrew XIII (*British Museum Catalogue*, type XIII, Hawkins, 265), the mint is again in operation, this time with two moneyers, Païen and Stiefne. Only one coin each by these two moneyers are recorded of Andrew type XIII, which Mr. Andrew dates January, 1126—Michaelmas, 1128.

In the British Museum collection is a penny of type XIII, inscribed **PAIEN : ON : HAMT[V]**,<sup>1</sup> and in my collection is another specimen which reads **STIEFNES : ON : N[OR]HA**.<sup>2</sup> That the former

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. VI, Fig. 4

<sup>2</sup> See Pl. VI, Fig. 5.

coin was struck at Northampton and not at Southampton is proved by the fact that we have coins by the same moneyer in Andrew types XIV, and XV (*British Museum Catalogue*, types XIV and XV, Hawkins, 262 and 255), of Henry I, reading **PAIEN : ON : NORHAM :**, **PAIEN : ON : NORHA**, etc.<sup>1</sup>

There are also coins of the first type of Stephen (*British Museum Catalogue*, type I, Hawkins, 270), reading **PAEN : ON : NORHA :**, etc.,<sup>2</sup> and in my cabinet is a coin of *British Museum Catalogue*, type III (Hawkins, 276), inscribed **PAEN : ON : NORH :**.<sup>3</sup> The remaining coins of Henry I read **NORHAM**, etc., thus bearing upon their face undeniable evidence that they emanated from Northampton, consequently they do not call for discussion in the present chapter.

In the British Museum collection is a penny of Andrew, type IV (*British Museum Catalogue*, type VII, Hawkins, 252), reading **S[Æ]RLIG ON HAN**, and struck at Hastings. It was formerly in the Rostron and Marsham collections, where it was mis-read **S[Æ]RLIG ON HAM**, and wrongly attributed to Southampton. It is illustrated in the *British Museum Catalogue*, Pl. XL, Fig. 10.

#### STEPHEN, A.D. 1135-1154.

In my collection is the penny of Stephen's first type, Hawkins, 270 (*British Museum Catalogue*, type I), which is inscribed **PAEN : ON : ANTIA :**,<sup>4</sup> and which I previously referred to in vol. xvii, p. 5. The reading, as I then suggested, is obviously a contracted form of **PAEN : ON : ANT[ON]IA**, a Latinized form of the local name "Anton." The moneyer Paen or Paen, as I stated near the end of the last chapter, coined at Northampton in the last three types of Henry I, and continued into the first type of Stephen. He also struck coins at Northampton in at least two later types of Stephen's reign, and there can be no doubt that he was also the issuer of the above coin

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. VI, Figs. 8, 9, 13 and 14.

<sup>2</sup> See Pl. VI, Figs. 16, 17, 18, and 19.

<sup>3</sup> See Pl. VI, Fig. 20.

<sup>4</sup> See Pl. VI, Fig. 19. The obverse is slightly double-struck.

inscribed **PAEI:ON:ANTIA**. This coin, though not base, is not of the usual standard of silver, yet equal in quality to many coins issued in Stephen's reign. The dies from which the coin was struck, though made with official irons, were obviously of local workmanship.

There can be little doubt that the coin of type Hawkins, 270, inscribed **PAEI:ON:ANTIA**, was struck in or about April, 1142. The king was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, February 2nd, 1141; he was imprisoned in Bristol Castle, and on November 1st, of the same year, he was released in exchange for the earl of Gloucester, who had fallen into the hands of Stephen's party. Gervase of Canterbury, John of Hexham and William of Malmesbury all emphasize the fact that the king, eager for revenge, was bent upon renewing the strife, and in the early part of 1142, we find him engaged upon a "progress" through the eastern counties on his way to the north for the purpose of conciliating some of his former enemies, and probably also, of collecting an army with which he intended to renew the war with Matilda. At Stamford, as we learn from the Peterborough *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "the king and earl Randolf agreed and swore oaths and plighted troth that neither of them should prove traitor to the other." About Easter, the king was at York, after which he turned southward and about the end of April reached Northampton, the home town of his staunch supporter, earl Simon, having collected upon his journey a considerable military force, with the probable intention of marching from Northampton to attack Oxford, which had again become the headquarters of the Empress Matilda.

Earl Simon, who had fought beside Stephen at the battle of Lincoln and was one of the three earls who remained faithful to Stephen and to the queen during the king's captivity, appears to have accompanied the king to the north, while his representatives had probably been busy collecting further forces in his earldom, but upon reaching Northampton Stephen was suddenly stricken down with a serious illness which put an end to the projected advance upon Oxford, for so serious was the king's illness that his death was rumoured and

the forces which he had collected were disbanded and dismissed to their homes.<sup>1</sup>

As previously pointed out, nothing in early times stimulated local trade and increased the demand for currency so much as a visit from the king and his court, and probably the reeve of Northampton, foreseeing this increased demand, had decided to re-open the Northampton mint, which appears to have been temporarily closed. Owing, however, to the disorganization of the Exchequer and to the fact that although a new coinage had been ordered, the dies for it would not be ready—for, as Mr. Andrew has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> although the projected coinage was probably ordered at Christmas, 1141, several months would elapse before the dies would be ready to be sent out to the mints—the reeve, therefore, would be unable to obtain dies from the usual source, though he would probably be able to obtain, or was already in possession of official irons for making dies. As the new coinage then was not yet in issue, the local die-sinker could only make dies for the type of coin which had been in circulation several years and with which both he and the general public were familiar; and the somewhat crude appearance of the coin in question, together with the Latinized form of the local name “Anton,” clearly indicates that the dies from which the coin was struck were of local workmanship. Probably there was a considerable issue of coins from these locally made dies, but the specimen described above appears to be the only one that has survived the vicissitudes of time.

In the twelfth century the form Hamtonia, Hantonia or Antonia was not uncommonly used to designate not only Northampton and Southampton, but other Hamptons also.

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury writes concerning the illness of Stephen: “Non multo post, in ipsis pene Paschalibus feriis, regem, quædam, ut aiunt, dura meditantem, gravis incommodum morbi apud Norhamtunam detinuit, adeo ut in tota propemodum Anglia sicut mortuus conclamaretur. Duravit improspera valitudo usque post Pentecostem; tunc enim sensim refusus salutis vigor eum in pedes erexit” (*Historia Novella*, Rolls Series, p. 591). Symeon of Durham, also, writes: Præventus vero infirmitate copias militum quas contraxerat remisit ad propria.”

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, p. 43.

A Southampton charter of *temp.* Henry II reads—"Henricus rex Anglorum et dux Normannorum et comes Andegavorum, propositio et ministris suis de *Hantonia*, salutem. Precipio quod homines mei de *Hantonia*, etc."<sup>1</sup> In a confirmation charter in favour of the prior and convent of St. Denis, Southampton, *temp.* Stephen, we read of *Warino de Hantonia*, and in another confirmation charter in favour of the same convent, *temp.* Henry II, we also read of *Warino de Hamtonia*.<sup>2</sup> In a charter of Henry II, confirming to the Abbey of Lire, in Normandy, certain possessions, principally in Hampshire, we find the following reference to Southampton—"In *Hantonia*, ix<sup>l</sup>. et xv<sup>s</sup>. et unum burgensem et ecclesiam Sancti Johannis."<sup>3</sup> In the *Patent Roll* of 17 Edward II, 1323, is recorded the confirmation of a grant "by William and Henry, sometime Kings of England, afterwards confirmed by a charter of Henry III, to the Nuns of Holy Trinity, Caen, of the manors of *Hamtonia*, Avelingues, etc." In this case "*Hamtonia*" is Minchin Hampton, Gloucestershire. In a confirmation charter of 11 Henry III, we read of the gift of William son of *Stephen de Hamtonia*, of his mill at Hampton (-Gay), Oxfordshire.<sup>4</sup> Other examples could be cited if necessary, but the foregoing are sufficient to illustrate my point.

We now come to the series of coins which are a variety of Stephen's first type (Hawkins, 270), on the obverse of which the collar of the king's robe is represented by annulets instead of pellets, and on the reverse the cross moline is voided and has an annulet in the centre and at the end of each limb. The reverse readings are **SANSON:ON ANT, SANSON:ON:AN, SANSONI O AN, SANSON ON AMT, SANSON O ANTOI**, etc. There are also coins, obviously of the same series, which read **W[.....]N ANT**, the full legend of which would presumably be **WILLELM ON ANT**. These coins, like the Northampton coin reading **PAEN ON ANTIA**, are of a lower standard of silver than a majority of those issued from the royal

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. iv, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 336, 338.

<sup>3</sup> *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 1092.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. v, p. 417.



mints; and are obviously an emergency or an irregular issue. Although of the same type as Stephen's first coinage, they were not issued contemporaneously with that type, but appear to have been in issue at the same time as Stephen's second type (Hawkins, 269), and to have continued in circulation until the reign of Henry II. These coins, which must have been in issue for a considerable period, have never been found in a hoard which had been buried in or prior to 1141. The Watford,<sup>1</sup> Nottingham,<sup>2</sup> Dartford,<sup>3</sup> South Kyme,<sup>4</sup> and Sheldon<sup>5</sup> hoards, all of which were composed principally of coins of Stephen's first type (Hawkins, 270), and contained none of a later type, failed to disclose a single specimen of Sanson's coins. On the other hand, the Linton find, which contained at least 32 pennies of type Hawkins, 270, and 24 of Stephen's second type (Hawkins, 269), disclosed no less than four pennies and two cut half-pennies struck by Sanson.<sup>6</sup> In the Awbridge find<sup>7</sup> in which were at least 31 coins of Stephen's last type (Hawkins, 268), and 110 of Henry II, "Tealby" type, there were also three pennies struck by Sanson, thus showing that the coins under discussion were in circulation from the latter part of 1141, or the early part of 1142, till possibly about 1170.

Mr. (now Dr.) Brooke, discussing these coins,<sup>8</sup> says—"The natural attribution of the coins is to Southampton, which is invariably spelt 'Hamtune' or 'Amtune,'<sup>9</sup> but the occurrence of so many dies on which the first three letters of the mint read invariably **ANT**, causes considerable doubt whether so unusual a form as 'Anton' for Southampton can really be intended.

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1850, pp. 138-169. *Archæologia*, 1827, 339-341.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881, pp. 37-41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1851, pp. 186-190.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1922, pp. 49-83.

<sup>5</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, pp. 27-89.

<sup>6</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883, pp. 108-116. Only one coin by Sanson is described in the publication of the find, but Mr. Andrew states that the hoard actually contained four pennies and two half-pennies.

<sup>7</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905, pp. 354-363.

<sup>8</sup> *British Museum Catalogue, Norman Kings*, pp. xcii-xciv.

<sup>9</sup> See pp. 88-89 *ante*.



. . . One can only conjecture that these coins are the work of one of the magnates who was powerful at the time of Stephen's captivity, and held his power down to the end of the reign; but in face of the difficulty of determining the mint at which they were struck, it is impossible to hazard even a guess at the issuer of this money. . . . They were issued of base metal and light weight, the dies being worked by an engraver who was not a very skilful workman, and evidently was not in possession of the instruments used by the officials of the royal mint. Having originated his type, he continued to employ it, even after the original ceased to be issued and was superseded in currency by later types."<sup>1</sup>

There can, however, be little doubt that the mint-form **ANTON**, etc., on the reverse of these coins is, like the coin inscribed **PAEN : ON : ANTIA**, a contraction of **ANTONIA**,<sup>2</sup> and that the coins were issued at Hamtún, *i.e.* either Northampton or Southampton. On their merits and in view of the coin inscribed "Paen on Ant(on)ia," one would be inclined to allocate Sanson's coins to Northampton, especially when we consider that reading "Sanson o Anto(n)i(a)," but there can be little or no doubt that the coins struck by Sanson and also those of the same type struck by W(illiam), were issued at Southampton by authority of Henry, Bishop of Winchester and brother to Stephen.

In the civil war between Stephen and Matilda, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, from March to June, 1141, sided with Matilda. The Bishops of Winchester had always held Taunton with its mint. Bishop Henry was already Abbot of Glastonbury, and Matilda confirmed to him the Church of Glastonbury and the privilege of a mint and moneyers (*cum moneta et monetariis*).<sup>3</sup> But the locality of the mint was not stated in the Charter, and no coins of Glastonbury are known; and Mr. Andrew, who has paid considerable

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written, Dr. Brooke, in his recently published work *English Coins*, p. 99, accepts the attribution of the coins struck by Sanson, and William, to Southampton.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 86-89 *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> *Monasticon*, vol. i, p. 44, No. LXXI.

attention to this series, is of opinion that it referred to Taunton mint. When, however, the Bishop revolted and went over to Stephen, his town and mint at Taunton would be confiscated by Matilda's party in the West, and just coincidentally with that date, 1141, coinage at Taunton ceased permanently.

Being shut out from his mint at Taunton, and Winchester having been almost completely destroyed by fire during its siege in the autumn of 1141, it seems probable that the Bishop transferred his mint to Southampton. The new town of Southampton, however, had never issued coins, and presumably the coining rights granted by Æthelstan to Old Hamtún (Hamwich), could only be transferred to New Hamtún by Charter, and that transference does not appear to have been effected, for, as I have previously stated, we have no coins issued from the old town after the latter part of Æthelred II's reign, and, as I have previously suggested,<sup>1</sup> the coining rights were probably surrendered to Canute in return for land on which to build the new town. Consequently, it would be necessary for the Bishop to obtain a Charter from his brother the king, to enable him to establish a mint at Southampton. This, as Mr. Andrew has suggested, would be granted possibly whilst Stephen was on his way from Bristol to Canterbury, after his release from captivity in November, 1141.

With regard to the moneyer Sanson, Mr. Andrew's evidence appears to be fairly conclusive. In 1148, whilst Sanson's coins were probably being issued, or were at least still in circulation, his name frequently occurs in Bishop Henry's terrier of his lands and rents in Winchester, as "*Sansonus Monetarius*," and he lived in a house belonging to the Bishop in High Street. He was therefore a wealthy citizen and tenant of the Bishop's, and as it is only upon these coins that the name Sanson occurs, there can be little doubt that "*Sansonus Monetarius*" was identical with "Sanson" the monetarius the Southampton coins.

There was also about the same time a "*Sanson Wascelin*," or

<sup>1</sup> See vol. xvii, p. 24.


the Gascon, who appears to have been one of the principal ship-owners of Southampton, and who owned the ship that used to carry Bishop Henry to Normandy from that port at a fee of "35s., by the King's writ." He is also described as "Sanson Wascelini' *de Hanton*." It is not open to proof, but it appears highly probable that Sanson the Gascon was identical with Sanson the Moneyer.

With regard to W(illiam), who struck "On Ant," Mr. Andrew identifies him with William the Christchurch moneyer in Stephen's reign, and also with William who was coining at Winchester in Henry II, "Tealby" type, when Bishop Henry's mint at Southampton was closed. But as Mr. Andrew has not yet dealt with this question and published his evidence, and I do not wish to forestall him, I will not deal further with the matter beyond stating that the evidence which Mr. Andrew has brought under my notice appears to be fairly conclusive that William of Christchurch, William of Hanton and William of Winchester, were one and the same person.



## THE FIRST AUTHORIZED ISSUE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.<sup>1</sup>

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

 HERE are reasons for thinking that there is still some doubt regarding the first issue of coins authorized for currency in this country after Edward the Confessor was acclaimed king on the death of Harthacnut in A.D. 1042. The first scientific arrangement of the types of coins of this king was that of Hildebrand when he catalogued the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Royal Collection in Stockholm. This arrangement dates back to the year 1846, and no drastic alteration of it was made on the publication of a second edition of the catalogue in 1881, notwithstanding the fact, convincingly set forth by Dr. Head, in his remarks on the Chancton hoard of 1865,<sup>2</sup> that Hildebrand's type A variety c must be placed as a substantive type, struck towards the end instead of at the beginning of the reign. The only substantial alteration in Hildebrand's second edition was the inclusion of two important varieties called by him, in the second edition, type C, varieties c and d.

In the *British Museum Catalogue of English Coins*, Anglo-Saxon Series, vol. ii, 1893, the initial issue of the reign is the same as that given the premier place by Hildebrand; but in the latest treatise on the coins of Edward the Confessor, namely, that by Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton,<sup>3</sup> this is displaced by some coins called by the author, the "Harthacnut" Type. This is represented in Hildebrand's second edition as Type C, varieties c and d.

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Society's Ordinary Meeting of 25th March, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1867, pp. 75-6.

<sup>3</sup> "Edward the Confessor and his coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

These two types of coins, which in previous works have been regarded as the first issue, may be illustrated and described as follows :—



FIG. 1.—FIRST TYPE ACCORDING TO HILDEBRAND AND THE BRIT. MUS. CAT.

Obverse: Mantled bust to left with radiate crown. The bust divides the inscription which reads: + EDPARD ERX (E and R transposed).

Reverse: A small cross pattée within an inner circle. An inscription around, as follows: + STIRE (for E) OLL ON E (for E) OFER = York.

This coin has an annulet in the field of the reverse.



FIG. 2.—FIRST TYPE ACCORDING TO MAJOR CARLYON-BRITTON.

Obverse: Diademed bust to left, showing also the left arm and hand in which is held a sceptre, terminating in a fleur-de-lis. The bust divides the inscription which reads: + EDPEREEX ANL.

Reverse: Over a short cross voided, a quadrilateral ornament with a pellet on the cusps and in the centre. An inscription around, as follows: + BVRRED ONN SVDL: = Southwark.

There are no reasonable grounds for thinking that Hildebrand's first type, figure 1 above, is not a substantive issue, but a closer examination of the evidence now available gives rise to grave doubts



of the theory that that status can be given to Major Carlyon-Britton's first type, figure 2 above. On examining the coins representing Major Carlyon-Britton's type 1, two decidedly different varieties of bust and sceptre are given. In one variety there is no arm and hand holding the sceptre, which has a finial head, and in the other both hand and arm are delineated and the sceptre has a fleur-de-lis head. The exclusion of the arm and hand and the presence of the finial-headed sceptre of the one variety produces a design identical with another issue of Edward the Confessor, namely, Hildebrand type C, *British Museum Catalogue*, type III, and in my view converts the coins into a mule type. Eliminating these muled coins we are left with a few extremely rare pennies which, in design, exactly imitate the final issue of Harthacnut. The obverse inscriptions on some of them are irregular, although there is no doubt that they are intended to represent the name of Edward. One reads, + EDO RECLE and another is inscribed, + EDO RECLE. This fact of irregular inscription and the excessive rarity of the coins—I know of the existence of only four and a fragment—preclude, in my view, the idea that they are an authorized issue of the new king. A brief reference to the history of the time will, it is thought, bear out this conclusion.

It is well known that, with the accession of Edward the Confessor, a reversion to a former dynasty, antagonistic to the last, was effected. It is therefore unlikely that Edward would adopt, as a type, a design identical with that of Harthacnut whose House supplanted his own father's, namely, Æthelred II. We should, it is thought, expect something different. The coins of this "Harthacnut" issue, but bearing Edward's name must, however, have been struck at the opening of the reign and, if we examine the events of the time, there is ample reason for the supposition that they form an unauthorized emission between the proclamation of Edward in A.D. 1042 and the time when the advisers of the king could give attention to the question of the issue of a new coinage. This naturally could not be done until the coronation of the king had been accomplished, thus firmly establishing the restored dynasty.

Delay was certainly expedient in the case of Edward, for his supporters had first to contend with several rivals who had strong claims to the throne of England. The first and most important were the posterity of Edmund Ironside, but these were so far away, in Hungary, that little trouble was experienced on their account. A more dangerous claimant was Cnut's nephew, Sweyn Estridson, who afterwards became King of Denmark. He landed in England with a view to enforcing his claim but, according to Adam of Bremen, he was bought off with the empty promise of succession on the demise of Edward. Magnus, King of Denmark and Norway, also made pretensions to the crown of England based on the well-known treaty with Harthacnut that on the death of either the survivor should succeed to the dominions of the other. Magnus, however, was not at the time in a position to make good his claim in so far as England was concerned. The uncertainty caused by these rival claimants resulted in Edward's coronation being delayed until the spring of 1043.

In this interval of nearly a year the die-sinkers would naturally be uncertain as to the name of the king which should be punched on any new dies required in replacement of broken ones, or for fresh moneyers, and, although the bulk no doubt continued to punch in the name of Harthacnut in conformity with their last instruction, a few inserted, apparently for patriotic reasons, the name of the new Saxon King Edward. Hence the presence, in our cabinets, of these coins of Harthacnut's last type but bearing the name of Edward. The excessive rarity of the pieces and the obscurity of the king's name on them is at once explained by the above view of the reason for their issue.

Similar unauthorized coins are common practically to all the reigns of the late Saxon period.

Under Æthelred II we notice some rare coins identical in design and workmanship with the main issue, the small cross type, of Edward the Martyr who is reputed to have met his death at the instigation of the supporters of Æthelred. The latter is unlikely to have authorized a design exactly similar to that on his rival's money immediately on his accession to the throne.

The next reign, that of Cnut the Great, also witnessed the issue of a number of unauthorized coins which are imitations of Æthelred's last two types, or comprise mule coins combining these and other types.<sup>1</sup>

Similar unauthorized coins are evident under the reign of Harthacnut.<sup>2</sup>

The question of a successor to Harthacnut having been finally settled, and Edward's claims established by his coronation in A.D. 1043, the question of a new issue would not likely to be long delayed having regard to the fact that the Danish dynasty had been displaced by a Saxon one. In the view of the writer this first authorized coinage of Edward the Confessor is that of which the following is an illustration.



FIG. 3.—FIRST TYPE ACCORDING TO H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse : Diademed bust to left. In front a sceptre with finial head. The bust divides the inscription which reads : + EDPER · D REX

Reverse : Over a short cross voided, a quadrilateral ornament with three pellets on each of the cusps. An inscription around, as follows : + ERNEYTEL ON EOF :  
= York.

The cardinal reason for this view arises out of a line of investigation not pursued by the previous writers on the subject of Edward's coins. I refer to a detailed examination of the symbols, such as annulets, pellets, crosses and other objects in the field of the coins, which

<sup>1</sup> "Anglian coins of Cnut," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xix, pp. 28-38.

<sup>2</sup> "The Anglo-Saxon coins of Harthacnut," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 44.

are so noticeable a feature on the money of this reign, as of others in the late Saxon period. Although these symbols had, in the past, been frequently commented upon, the article in this *Journal*<sup>1</sup> on them from the pen of the present writer was, it is believed, the first to deal with them as a whole. The deductions possible from a study of the comprehensive view of this interesting feature of our Saxon money then published are not confined to the remarks made at the time, and I now venture to claim that they have an important bearing on the subject of the present article. It was mentioned on page 19 of the work on *Symbols on late Saxon Coins* referred to, that an annulet appeared on practically all the York coins of Edward the Confessor with the exception of Major Carlyon-Britton's types 1 and 3, Hildebrand's type C, varieties c and d, and type C respectively. The almost universal presence of the annulet on the York pennies of Edward the Confessor is a characteristic so marked that it would necessarily have engaged the attention of other numismatists. Dr. B. V. Head in his account of the Chancton hoard<sup>2</sup> mentions the symbol and states that Hildebrand's types C and D alone are without it. Equally with the other types, except Hildebrand C, the annulet symbol does, however, appear on the officially issued coins of Hildebrand D. Dr. Head was no doubt misled regarding type D through lack of specimens of this type of York, for no examples of it occurred in the Chancton hoard, and certainly, at the time, the British Museum did not possess a specimen, for none were described in the Anglo-Saxon Catalogue of 1893.

As was demonstrated above, the coins of Major Carlyon-Britton's type 1, Hildebrand's type C, varieties c and d, are not authorized emissions, and therefore the broad fact is presented to us that an annulet is present as a permanent part of the design of the reverse of the coins of York on all the types of Edward the Confessor except one, namely, my type 1. I claim the annulet as part of the design for the reason that although the symbol may have had a definite

<sup>1</sup> "Symbols and Double Names on late Saxon Coins," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xiii, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. xxvi, p. 80.

significance when first used, it certainly developed as part of the type later. This is proved by the fact that it takes the place of one of the pyramidal ornaments on the last issue of the reign. The omission of the annulet from only *one* type of King Edward constitutes, I venture to think, almost conclusive evidence that that type was the initial issue of the reign, and that the annulet was first introduced on his second issue, to be continued without a break throughout the period to the death of Edward.

The type in question, figure 3, which I now venture to place as the first authorized issue of Edward forms the third issue in the arrangements of previous writers on the subject. Further acceptance of the earlier allocations would produce the anomaly that the annulet was universally used on two types, that it was omitted altogether from the third one, that it was re-instituted on the fourth type and that it was continued on all the remaining issues of the reign. Such a mixture is, I venture to say, highly improbable. The suggestion that the annulet was omitted from the type in question through lack of space is negatived by the fact that the angles of the reverse cross are as fully filled on two other types on which the annulet nevertheless is inserted, in one case by its substitution, in one angle, for the usual pyramid ornament of the type.

Although I consider as of primary importance the evidence of the York annulet in this demonstration of the first authorized issue of Edward, the more usual methods of testing the sequence of the types, namely, by "mule" coins and by the records of hoards of coins will be found to be not inimical to such evidence.

Up to the last decade or so "mule" coins have been regarded as perhaps the best evidence for the solution of the question of the sequence of the types of our early coins, and it has been held that they were officially authorized for a short interval at the close of the period of circulation of each type. Could this be proved it follows that no better evidence than that of "mule" coins could be found when arranging the coins of any given period, but I have long held the opinion that "mules" are unauthorized coins, and expression of this view was published as long ago as in 1918 when, writing on the



coins of Harold I, it was suggested that "the confusion arising out of a re-coinage was made the occasion of the use, by some moneyers, of obsolete dies."<sup>1</sup> In a study of the coins of the whole period there is ample justification for this view of muled types, and in none is it greater than in connection with the coins of Cnut the Great.<sup>2</sup> But although not authorized currency the evidence of muled coins cannot be ignored, and this is specially the case in the reign of Edward the Confessor, for a remarkably full series of muled types is in evidence amongst the coins of this reign. This series includes a complete chain of muled coins connecting the last issue of Harthacnut with my type 1 of Edward the Confessor, and connecting the latter with my type 2 of the same reign, which is also type 2 of Major Carlyon-Britton's arrangement, but is type 1 in Hildebrand and in the British Museum Catalogue. A description of this sequence is as follows :—

- (a) Last issue of Harthacnut, *see* figure 4 below.



FIG. 4.

Obverse inscription : + HARÐAENVT RE

Reverse inscription : + MANLEOF ON ECXEC = Exeter.

- (b) Harthacnut-Edward muled type. Obverse design as Edward type 1 of my arrangement, *see* figure 3 *ante*. Reverse design as Harthacnut's last type, *see* figure 4 above. An example is figured as No. 1771, Plate XXXIX, in the Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue.
- (c) Edward type 1 of my arrangement, *see* figure 3 *ante*.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xv, pp. 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xix, pp. 35-38.



- (d) Edward muled type 1 and type 2 of my arrangement. Obverse design type 2, *see figure 1 ante*. Reverse design type 1, *see figure 3 ante*. An example is illustrated hereunder, figure 5.



FIG. 5.

Obverse inscription : + EDPERD REX A.

Reverse inscription : + OÐEN ON EFROPIC = York.

- (e) Edward type 2 of my arrangement, *see figure 1 ante*.

As has been shown in the writer's paper on "Hoard of late Anglo-Saxon coins"<sup>1</sup> the evidence derivable from the "finds" of coins of Edward the Confessor is of a conflicting character although valuable hints are obtainable when the facts are collated with other data. The three principal hoards of the time unearthed in this country are those of Chancton, the City of London, and Sedlescombe, but none of these were intact when examined by competent persons. The Sedlescombe hoard included only coins of the latter part of the reign and, as this paper is limited to a consideration of the first authorized coinage of Edward the Confessor, no evidence bearing on the subject is derivable from that "find." As regards the other two, the entire absence from them of specimens of Major Carlyon-Britton's "Harthacnut" type proper, that is the varieties with hand and arm delineated and with lis-headed sceptre, supports the present suggestion that that type was not an authorized issue of the reign. The presence, in the "City" hoard, of a specimen of the muled type combining Harthacnut's last issue with the first issue of Edward under my arrangement to the exclusion of mules combining Harthacnut's last issue with coins of Edward's first issue as given by

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi.

Hildebrand and in the British Museum Catalogue, also supports the present arrangement.

As Edward's reign was out of the main "tribute" period, comparatively few coins of his time make their appearance in the Scandinavian hoards, prolific, as they are, in coins of the time immediately preceding, and none produces anything of a convincing character on the present subject.

QUANDO MONETA VERTEBATUR: THE CHANGE OF  
COIN-TYPES IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY; ITS  
BEARING ON MULES AND OVERSTRIKES.

BY GEORGE C. BROOKE, LITT.D., F.S.A.

BRIDPORT.—Ibi erat unus monetarius reddens regi unam markam  
argenti et xx solidos quando moneta vertebatur. (I. 75.)

DORCHESTER.—Ibi erant ii monetarii quisque eorum reddens regi  
unam markam argenti et xx solidos quando moneta verte-  
batur. (I. 75.)

HEREFORD.—Septem monetarii erant ibi. Unus ex his erat mone-  
tarius episcopi. Quando moneta renovatur dabat quisque  
eorum xviii solidos pro cuneis recipiendis: et ex eo die quo  
redibant usque ad unum mensem dabat quisque eorum regi  
xx solidos. Et similiter habebat episcopus de suo monetario  
xx solidos. (I. 179.)

LEWES.—In burgo de Lewes cum moneta renovatur dat xx solidos  
unusquisque monetarius. (I. 26.)

SHAFTESBURY.—Ibi erant iii monetarii quisque reddebat i markam  
argenti et xx solidos quando moneta vertebatur. (I. 75.)

SHREWSBURY.—Tres monetarios habebat ibi rex. Qui postquam  
coemissent cuneos monetae ut alii monetarii patriae xv die  
dabant regi xx solidos unusquisque. Et hoc fiebat moneta  
vertente. (I. 252.)

WAREHAM.—Ibi ii monetarii quisque reddens unam markam  
argenti regi et xx solidos quando moneta vertebatur. (I. 75.)

WORCESTER.—In civitate Wirecestre habebat Rex Edwardus hanc consuetudinem. Quando moneta vertebatur quisque monetarius dabat xx solidos ad Londoniam pro cuneis monetae accipiendis. (I. 172.)

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Above are extracted the passages in Domesday which refer to the "change of the coinage." They are well known to all students of this period, but a further examination of them may add something to the present position of our knowledge concerning the changes of type and all that they involved. Our present position is very unsatisfactory; briefly, it amounts to this. The change of the coinage, or, as we often call it, the change of type, took place at short intervals—every two or three years, apparently—but whether at fixed intervals or spasmodically is open to doubt. The change was certainly in some way connected with the king's revenue. The old type can hardly have been put out of currency on the issue of a new type, for hoards of coins deposited after the Conquest contain usually three types together, and pre-Conquest hoards a greater number; but, assuming the old type to have been allowed in currency with the new, no satisfactory explanation has been found for the existence of "overstrikes," that is to say, coins of one type re-struck with the dies of another type and that usually the immediately succeeding one. The use of the phrase *pro cuneis recipiendis* in connexion with the payments made at the change of the coinage has suggested a view, now commonly held, that the change of the coinage was the only opportunity that the moneyers had of obtaining new dies, that they had to estimate then the number of dies they would require for the whole period of the type's duration, and also that the old dies had to be returned before the dies of the new type could be obtained. If this were so, the occurrence of mules struck from the obverse die of one type and the reverse die of another, usually the next in sequence, would seem to defy reasonable explanation. Another complication is introduced by the order of Henry I, in his Coronation Charter, abolishing *monetagium commune*, which

was levied on cities and shires but had not existed in the time of the Confessor.

These problems are all closely related to each other and it is possible that a re-examination of the whole question, though it cannot solve them all, may at least throw some light on the general conditions of the coinage and perhaps enable us to get a better grasp of the circumstances under which the moneyers were working in the century preceding the important reform of Henry II.

A comparison of the passages quoted above from Domesday shows that in every case there was a payment of 20 shillings to the king. Four of the passages mention an additional payment, namely, at Dorchester, Bridport, Wareham and Shaftesbury; in each of these four boroughs the statement runs that there were one, two, or three moneyers, each of whom paid to the king one mark of silver and 20 shillings when the coinage was changed. Elsewhere there is no mention of the payment of the mark of silver, but in every case the same figure of 20 shillings is given as the amount paid to the king on the change of the coinage. This leaves no doubt, I think, that Ruding was right in his conjecture that the payment of one mark was made annually. We can hardly be wrong, therefore, in assuming that at the change of the coinage each of the king's moneyers throughout the country made a payment of 20 shillings to the king; at Hereford a month's grace was allowed and at Shrewsbury 15 days for settlement. At Hereford we are further informed that in the same way the bishop received 20 shillings from his moneyer. In the same passage we are also told that each moneyer at Hereford paid 18 shillings *pro cuneis recipiendis*; at Shrewsbury that the payment was made 15 days after the purchase of dies.

At Worcester the entry states that each moneyer paid 20 shillings at London *pro cuneis monetæ accipiendis*. This is a crux and is, I believe, the cause of considerable misunderstanding. The Worcester passage appears to mean that the payment of 20 shillings was made for the receipt of dies, in other words that it was the

purchase-money for the dies. But at Hereford it is quite clear that 18 shillings was the purchase-money and 20 shillings the payment of the king's dues and, in the case of the bishop's moneyer, the bishop's dues ; at Shrewsbury the payment of 20 shillings is definitely stated to be a payment to the king made *after* the purchase of the dies ; in the other entries there is no mention of dies at all. Therefore there can be little doubt that at Worcester, as elsewhere, the payment of 20 shillings was not the cost of dies but the king's dues ; in fact we must read the phrase *pro cuneis accipiendis* here in the sense that the payment to the king was an antecedent condition to the obtaining of dies.

It is important to emphasize the fact, which seems to me indisputable, that the king received this payment from his moneyers, and a bishop from the bishop's moneyer, every time that the coinage was changed ; this was additional, it seems, to an annual payment, by some moneyers at least, of 13s. 4d. The object of changing the coinage was to obtain revenue for the king, and, incidentally, for the other seigniors ; and the seigniorage, if we may use this term, was a fixed sum of 20 shillings. Towards the close of the Conqueror's reign, if my calculation is right, there were between 150 and 200 moneyers in the country ; in the Confessor's reign the number of moneyers was much higher. The revenue available from each change of the type was therefore considerable, and evasion of payment was made impossible by the payment being made the condition of the issue of new dies.

Perhaps in this connexion we may find an explanation of the tax called *monetagium*, which I believe to have been a tax levied on the towns and the shires for the privilege of having mints and exchanges, and no doubt *geldum regis de moneta* and similar expressions in Domesday indicate the same tax. Presumably money had depreciated since 20 shillings was fixed as the rate of the moneyers' payments at the change of the coinage ; but, in addition to this, it is evident that the number of moneyers was considerably reduced after the Conquest. William I therefore obtained less revenue from the coinage than his predecessor, and it is not



improbable that he introduced the further tax *de moneta*, or *monetagium*, to make good the deficit.

I have already shown that the payment of 20 shillings at the change of the coinage was not made by the moneyers for the purchase of their dies. This I imagine in Anglo-Saxon times to have been a personal matter between the moneyers and the Goldsmith, or *Cuneator* as he was later called. The Othos, who held this office after the Conquest, were an important and wealthy family; the office was hereditary, and to it was attached the manor of Lilestone in Marylebone<sup>1</sup>; the holder of the office had the monopoly of making dies for the coinage. In one Domesday passage only, at Hereford, is the payment by the moneyers for dies inserted, and there the price is given as 18 shillings, but we are not told whether this was for one set of dies or for more, nor whether the graver received 18s., or, as seems more probable, the king took his share out of it before the graver got his payment; in the fourteenth century we hear of the graver receiving 7s. for a dozen dies.<sup>2</sup>

There is no reason to suppose that a moneyer could not purchase new dies whenever he pleased, unless the privilege of a mint had been granted (as was the case at Bury St. Edmunds) with a special restriction in this respect. Indeed the fairly frequent instances of one obverse die being used at two different mints show, I think, that the moneyers had liberty in the purchase of dies.<sup>3</sup> Some instances, such as that of the use of a common die at Barnstaple and Exeter, may have been due to the closure of a mint, or the retirement or death of a moneyer, and the consequent return of a die to the *Aurifaber* and its re-issue by him to another mint. But this will not apply to all cases; Esbern of Salisbury used an obverse die of Cild of Marlborough and, later, Cild used one that had belonged to Esbern. The reasonable explanation is that a moneyer, finding

<sup>1</sup> See *Num. Chron.* 1893, p. 145, and A. Ashbridge, "The Little Manor of Lisson Green," published in the *Marylebone Mercury* and reprinted in pamphlet form (in 1927).

<sup>2</sup> *Ruding*, I, p. 43. See also *Num. Chron.*, 1918, p. 117, for payments to the Calais graver for dies in the reign of Henry VI.

<sup>3</sup> See *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, *Norman Kings*, vol. i, p. cxxxix.

himself in need, struck a bargain with a friend at a neighbouring mint, and I have no doubt that he got easier terms if the time was approaching for a new coinage. The instance of Cild and Esbern may be merely a case of a loan and its repayment.

The liberty of the moneyer in the matter of his purchase of dies has a direct bearing on the reason for the occurrence of mules. There are two important features of mules that must be borne in mind. They usually bear the signature of the smaller mints and more rarely of the larger ones. They usually, but not invariably, combine the obverse and reverse dies of consecutive issues, and the obverse is nearly always of the earlier type. It has been suggested that mules may have been regularly issued for a short period before the introduction of a new type, and to support this a coin of the Confessor (see fig. "Mule," on p. 111) has been cited which has the reverse of the "Pyramid" type and an obverse very similar to that of the preceding type; this coin is quoted as a mule struck from an obverse die specially made to fit the larger reverse of the "Pyramid" type.<sup>1</sup>

There is, however, evidence which to me appears convincing



COIN OF  
WILLIAM I,  
TYPE II.

MULE OF  
WILLIAM I,  
TYPES II/III.

COIN OF  
WILLIAM I,  
TYPE III.

MULE OF  
WILLIAM I,  
TYPES III/IV.

COIN OF  
WILLIAM I,  
TYPE IV.

that the striking of mules was an illicit practice of the moneyers. Two mules of William I, figured above between true coins of the three types which they combine, are struck from obverse dies each of

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1905, p. 204.

which has been carefully worked with a tool in such a way as to make it resemble the obverse which corresponds with the reverse that is used. On the obverse of the mule of Types II and III (now in the British Museum) lines have been cut beside the king's head which resemble the pillars of the canopy of Type III; the double-striking may be deliberate or not. On the obverse of the mule of Types III and IV (Hunterian collection) the top of each pillar of the canopy has been so worked as to make it a passable imitation of the sceptres of the "Two Sceptres" type, and an inner circle has been added. The moneyers who struck these two coins put themselves to the trouble of altering the obverse dies in order to make the mules appear to be true coins, just as we also find them indulging in the even more reprehensible practice of altering their reverse dies so as to obliterate their names or to change them into the names of other moneyers before striking light coins.<sup>1</sup>

The practice of striking mules was, therefore, in the reign of William I, and *ex hypothesi* in other reigns, illegal. One is tempted to add that this class of forgery had, in spite of the difficulty of



COIN OF  
CONFESSOR,  
TYPE IX.

"MULE" OF  
CONFESSOR,  
TYPES IX/X.

COIN OF  
CONFESSOR,  
TYPE X.

discovering it, been exposed and punished; otherwise the moneyers would hardly have taken so much trouble to conceal it.

The so-called mule of the Confessor, which is illustrated above<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Catal., Norman Kings*, vol. i, p. cxlix.

<sup>2</sup> From Mr. R. C. Lockett's specimen.

in company with the preceding and succeeding types can, I think, be given a more simple explanation. It represents perhaps the earliest coins of the Confessor's last type, the "Pyramid" type, struck with an obverse which, owing to its resemblance to that of the previous type, was very soon withdrawn and replaced by the more common obverse with the profile portrait. This would account for the greater frequency of this "mule" in comparison with other mules; as many as six specimens are described in *Num. Chron.*, 1905, pp. 196-7.

We have already come to the conclusion that dies were purchased by the moneyers at their own cost either directly or indirectly from the *Aurifaber*. The frequent change of type must therefore have meant considerable financial loss to moneyers, who would often, especially at the smaller mints where work was less regular, find themselves, when the change came, still in possession of perfectly good dies which must be discarded for dies of the new type. Human nature, or at least the nature of the mediæval moneyer, could hardly be expected to resist the temptation of saving expenditure on dies by continuing to use one die of the old type in conjunction with one of the new; he would thus effect a kind of forgery, the detection of which would be extremely difficult. The mules thus formed would naturally be struck from dies of consecutive types, and, as the obverse or lower die has the longer life, it is usually the obverse of the earlier type that is so used.

There is no documentary evidence to show whether the change of type was fixed to take place at regular intervals or to show how frequent it was. As the change is a feature common to both Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, the same conditions may be presumed to have been in force before and after the Conquest, and, if the change took place at fixed intervals, the same interval must be applicable to the various reigns, subject of course to reforms of the coinage, such as those of 1108 and 1125, which might bring a type to a premature end. The assumption that the type was changed every three years, which arose from a misunderstanding of the word "altérer" in connexion with the tax levied in Normandy under

the name of *monetagium*,<sup>1</sup> assigns too long a period to each type. The Confessor, whose reign lasted  $24\frac{1}{2}$  years, issued 10 types<sup>2</sup>; 9 would be the highest number possible on a three-year basis and that would assume the last type to have come in only six months before the end of the reign. Henry I in a reign of  $35\frac{1}{2}$  years issued 15 types; if we go even beyond the limits of possibility and assume that each of the two enquiries, in 1108 and 1125, came immediately after a new type had been introduced, and similarly that the king died immediately after the last type had come in, we remove 3 types from our calculation and we are still left with 12 types for a period of just under 36 years; in other words Henry I could not have issued more than 14 types, however much allowance is made for his two enquiries into the coinage. Similarly a period of two years for each type is too short. Therefore it is only possible to conclude either that there was no fixed period for the change of type or that the period of each type was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years; the latter alternative is hardly worth considering except on the assumption that a type had an official life of two years which was prolonged for six months while the new dies were preparing. But this is mere conjecture. We can only say that, judging by the regular proportion of the number of types to the number of years of each reign, the change must have come, whether by rule or not, at very regular intervals. The Confessor<sup>3</sup> had 10 types in  $24\frac{1}{2}$  years, William I had 8 in  $21\frac{3}{4}$  years, William II had 5 in 13 years, Henry I had 15 in  $35\frac{1}{2}$  years in the course of which two enquiries were made.

To return to our starting-point, we have seen that the object of the change of type was the collection of taxes, or seigniorial dues,

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1912, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> I exclude the "Harthacnut" type (Type I in *Num. Chron.*, 1905), which Mr. H. A. Parsons (see pp. 97, 98 and 102, of this volume) explains as a mule with obverse of the Confessor's first type (Type III in *Num. Chron.*, 1905) and reverse of Harthacnut.

<sup>3</sup> I have not gone further back than the reign of the Confessor; in the earlier reigns there is still some doubt of the number of types owing to imitative coinages on the Continent. I have also avoided the reign of Stephen in which the coinage seems to have gone for a long period unchanged. It should be mentioned that Harthacnut in a reign of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  years issued two types.



from the moneyers, and that the change came, whether by fixed custom or by direct order of the king, at intervals of two or three years. The next question for consideration is the effect of this system upon the currency ; was the old money put out of currency for the new ? was each type withdrawn as a new type came into issue ? The finds of coins show that before the Conquest many types were together in currency and that after the Conquest fewer, but still three or four, found their way into the same hoards. But there is an even more cogent reason for concluding that a type was not withdrawn from currency upon the issue of a new type. With a change taking place every two or three years it would be impossible to withdraw the old money on the issue of the new ; it would hardly be possible to get the old money out of currency before the type were again changed. In fact, it would not be material to the king whether the old type were withdrawn or not, except in so far as the circulation of several types might confuse the currency and assist forgery. The evidence of the finds implies, in my view, that before the Conquest no steps were taken to withdraw old types, but that after the Conquest definite steps were taken to recall the old types within reasonable time, for not only do we find fewer types in post-Conquest hoards but in the large Beaworth hoard coins of all except the current type were found in very small numbers ; only 31, 34, and 11 of previous types and 6457 of the " Pax " type were described.

It is important to remember that each mint had a sister establishment called the *Cambium*, or Exchange, which was the source through which bullion came to the mint and through which coin was issued from the mint to the public. The exchanges were responsible, I think, for seeing that the true coinage was circulated by them ; there can be no doubt that the *Cambiatores*, or Keepers of the exchanges, received instructions when the type was changed, and it would be their business to see that the money circulated by them was of the current type. Thus the old money would gradually disappear from currency in the course of time ; the natural preference of the public for new money would by slower degrees bring



about the same effect as a definite order for the withdrawal of the old money. The application of the term "legal tender" would, I think, be anachronistic; the earliest record that we have of a definite limitation of the tender is in 1158, when Henry II abolished the change of type and introduced the most ugly coinage this country has ever issued; the phrase in Hoveden's chronicle in reference to that coinage is "*novam fecit monetam quae sola recepta erat et accepta in regno*" (a new coinage was made which was the sole currency in the kingdom). Whether in the eleventh century it was the intention that more than one type should be in currency is a matter of academic interest; no law demonetizing the currency every two or three years could possibly have been effective, and that side of the question was probably of as little importance then as it is now. The important thing was that the exchanges should stop the issue of old money from the mint.

Just as the existence of several types together in hoards proves that more than one type was current, whether legally or not, in circulation, so, it seems, does the existence of "Overstrikes" prove that it was not lawful to *issue* money of an old type after the introduction of a new one. "Overstrikes" are coins re-struck with dies of a later type than that which they originally bore, and they are usually, but not always, re-struck with the dies of the next succeeding type. If a coin bears a design which is current and may legally be issued for currency, it is surely superfluous to re-strike it with other dies. On the other hand if the exchanges received coins of an old type from the public, as no doubt they did for makeweight, or "blanch" payments, from vendors of bullion, and were prohibited from re-issuing them to the public, they could only pass them on to the mints for re-coinage. When coins of old types came into the exchanges they could not be put back into circulation but went on to the moneyers with bullion for coinage, and, if they were of good weight, the moneyers saved the labour of melting them down by using them as flans and re-striking them with the new dies.

I am not in a position to say when the curious system of

collecting moneyers' fees by changing the type was introduced, but it was certainly in use many years before the Conquest. It continued till the reign of Henry II, but I think the system shows the first symptoms of breaking down shortly after the Conquest, when William introduced a further mint-tax in order to supply a deficiency which was caused by the reduction in the number of the moneyers and by the depreciated value of the twenty-shilling levy.

## THE MINTS OF RYE AND CASTLE RISING IN THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

**I**N 1914, in a paper published in the *Numismatic Circular* on "Some Coins of the Reign of Stephen," I called attention to the fact that a series bearing the mint-name *Rie* had hitherto been confused with the coins of Castle Rising, and wrongly credited to that borough. With the exception that the British Museum Catalogue of Norman Coins, under Castle Rising, refers to my paper as raising a possibility of doubt, it seems to have escaped any attention, and the coins in question remain as they were. The attribution of coins reading *Rie* and *Riee* to Rye, the name of which town was in all charters and records of the twelfth century *Rie*, *Ria* or *Rye*, whilst that of Castle Rising was always *Risinges* or *Risingis* seemed to me so simple and certain that I did not then think it necessary to further prove it, but now I will endeavour to do so.

Both Castle Rising and Rye, if boroughs, were entitled to the privilege of a mint of one moneyer, but of one moneyer only at a time; of course there were many boroughs that never exercised the privilege at all. There came, however, a time when in consequence of political exigencies every possible mint in the east of England was called for. This was at the date of Stephen's second Coronation. The chroniclers tell us that in 1141 the power of the Earl of Gloucester and the Angevin Party was such that it ruled absolutely from the south-west of England to the north. Stephen was released from captivity at Bristol in exchange for the Earl of Gloucester on November 1st, 1141; but the latter refused a

condition that any of the towns then in his party's hands should be returned to Stephen. This meant that from south to north Stephen's mints had, one by one, fallen into his opponents' hands, and his dies were destroyed. Stephen held his Christmas Court, 1141, at Canterbury, and was there formally recrowned after the interregnum. His first coinage or type, Hawkins 270, had then run its full term of five years, and new dies would be necessary whenever a lost mint was recovered to the Crown, so we may be quite certain that the second Coronation was the occasion for ordering a second coinage, and the type, Hawkins 269, resulted, which would be ready for general issue probably about Easter, 1142.

Such is the story of the chroniclers, but that told by the coins is even more drastic in disclosing what a very little of England was left to the recrowned king. His second coinage is to-day plentifully represented from fifteen mints. Yet, with the exceptions of Oxford and York, which were only recovered later in 1142, every one of these mints is to the east of a line due north and south through London. In other words, when he was recrowned the King's money could be issued only in East Anglia, Essex, Middlesex, Kent and Sussex, and it was, therefore, a very profitable proposition for the limited number of boroughs within those confines to issue it. The natural result followed, dormant mints were revived, and boroughs that had never coined before now claimed and exercised their privilege of a mint and one moneyer under the Common Law, but really under that of Athelstan passed at Greatley in Hampshire.

*Castle Rising.*—Two of these boroughs were Castle Rising and, as I shall show, Rye, and they both commenced to coin for the first time in 1141, the closing year of Stephen's first coinage. We will consider Castle Rising, shortly, first. It follows that if a borough was entitled to one moneyer only at a time, and we have a continuous sequence of one moneyer, there is no room for any other. At Castle Rising this is the case. The legends of two coins when read together indicate that a moneyer named Bertold commenced the coinage here, and his name occurs only on the last variety of Stephen's

first coinage, that is, in 1141, with the mint-name *Risinges* contracted to *Ri* : a not quite certain attribution. He was, however, followed by Robert, who coined throughout Stephen's second and third coinages, Hawkins 269 and xviii, using the correct contraction *Ris* for *Risinges*. Finally, Stephen's fourth and last coinage, Hawkins 268, which was continued into the opening years of Henry II's reign, was issued by a moneyer named Hiun, with the borough's name in full as *Risinges* and *Risinge*. I need not stress the argument that if we have a sequence of three moneyers, or even of two, coining at *Ri*, *Ris* and *Risinges*, the correct mint-forms of *Risinges*, two other consecutive moneyers coining at a place reading *Riee* and *Rie* can have nothing to do with Castle Rising.

*Rye*.—We are indebted to Mr. L. A. Vidler for correcting the history of Rye in Saxon times, by explaining that under the influences of his second wife, Emma of Normandy, Ethelred II first promised the great lordship of Rameslie, which included Rye, to the Norman Abbey of Fécamp; that Canute, her second husband, granted it in 1035, and that Edward the Confessor and William I confirmed his grant. Hence in Domesday Book we find that in 1086 the Abbot of Fécamp, Normandy, held *Rameslie of the King*, that it contained no fewer than five churches, and that "in this Manor is the New Borough" with its 64 burgesses.<sup>1</sup> The late Dr. Round, in *Feudal England*, p. 568, tells us that we must look for this *novus burgus* of Domesday "at Winchelsea or Rye," but he leaves the question at that.

As, under the Common Law, only boroughs had the right of coinage, if we can prove that Rye had a mint and that Winchelsea never had, it follows that Rye was the New Borough. In our Volume VI, Major P. Carlyon-Britton showed that the Anglo-Saxon coins formerly queried, or doubtfully attributed, to old Winchelsea, were really from the mint of Winchcombe, and we know of no others that could possibly suggest a coinage at the Sussex town.

<sup>1</sup> The similarity of Domesday's treatment of the boroughs of Rye and Stockbridge will be noticed. See pp. 49-51 of this volume.

On the other hand, there is ample documentary evidence that in the twelfth century Rye was a borough, with a market, governed by its burgesses termed "the men of Rie," and later "the Barons of Rye," under their "Prudhommes," who, I suspect, were the two Bailiffs. Out of a common fund they were gradually buying back their town-dues and freedom from the Abbot of Fécamp, and used a seal of their own "as Barons of Ria." Only the burgesses of a borough could do that, or hold a common fund. For detailed evidence of all this I would refer readers to the cartulary of the Abbey of Fécamp, printed in the Calendar of Documents preserved in France, pp. 37-53.

The importance of Rye at this period may be estimated from an entry in the Pipe Roll for 1130, which seems to have been overlooked in local history. It is that "William Fitz-Robert of Hastings owes the returns for the *lastage* of Hastings, and of Rye." Thus the port dues of Rye are classed with those of Hastings, and accounted for directly to the King's Sheriff, and not through the Abbot of Fécamp. This, again, suggests the status of a borough.

We will now turn to the numismatic evidence which in this case is not a matter of opinion but of proof. It opens with a coin of the latest variety of Stephen's first type, issued, therefore, in 1141, and probably about the time of his second Coronation at Canterbury. It reads, obverse, ✠ **STIEFNE** :, reverse, ✠ . . . . . **ON : RIEE** : Unfortunately the moneyer's name is illegible, but another specimen tells us, I think, that it was William (*Willelm*), and if so he was probably the moneyer William, then coining at Canterbury, and merely sent down to start the new mint. But with the new coinage of Easter, 1142, Hawkins 269, Rye supplied its own moneyer, Radulf, Rawulf or Raul, as he variously spells his name on the coins, and of his coinage we have to-day eight pennies and two (cut) halfpennies, from several different dies, which, therefore, indicate a considerable output from the mint. The obverses continue the same legend as before, but the reverses vary as ✠ **RADVLF : ON : RIE**, ✠ **RAPVLF : ON : RIE**, and ✠ **RAVL : ON : RIE**, for Ralph of, or at, Rye.



The provenance of these ten coins is corroborative evidence of their correct attribution, for seven of them I know, and probably all, were found in 1883 at Linton, which is within 22 miles of Rye. On the other hand, most if not all of the series left to Castle Rising were found in East Anglia. But if we can identify Radulf the moneyer with Rye the evidence is final.

A moneyer was not the actual coiner, but usually one of the wealthiest burgesses who farmed the mint from the town, just as a Sheriff farmed the county. Some moneyers at this time founded churches, one at Norwich was the progenitor of the House of Howard, and another at London was Gilbert Becket, father of the Archbishop. So Radulf or Ralph, of Rye, as we shall see, was, or became, a very wealthy man—I wonder if he was the “Prudhomme”? Probably he continued coinage at the mint until the close of the reign, although we do not know of any coins of Rye after this second type. But that does not at all imply that there were none, for the later coins are fewer, and so rarer to-day. The reason why I believe that Radulf continued to coin at Rye until the accession of Henry II is that the mint would then be closed, for many of Stephen’s mints and all that were new during his reign were then suppressed, and as we find him transferred to Canterbury and coining there as Raul, from the commencement of Henry II’s reign, it is probable that he did not leave Rye until the mint was discontinued.

What the trouble was at Canterbury I do not know, but in 1176-7 certain moneyers there were heavily amerced or fined, and owing to this we are indebted to the Pipe Roll for clenching the argument that Radulf of Rie on the coins was Radulf of Rye. The entry is that “Radulf of Rye, moneyer at Canterbury, and his wife were fined 1,000 marks; they paid 100 marks and still owe £600”—a very large sum indeed in those days.

The story of Radulf, therefore, proves that his coins were from the mint of Rye, and, in turn, the mint at Rye proves that Rye was the “New Borough” of Domesday, for unless it was a borough it could not have had a mint.





# PENY-YARD PENCE

Fig. 1.



Arms of Spence.  
Guillim's "Display  
of Heraldry."

Fig. 2.



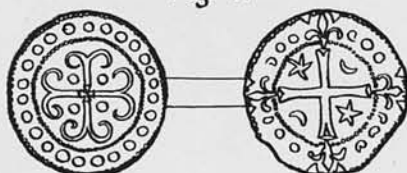
"A Silver Penny  
coined at  
Penyard Castle  
near Ross, Herefordshire."  
Bonner's "Perspective  
Itinerary." Pl. xi, fig. 5.

Fig. 3.



Peny-yard penny.  
Art Journal, 1859, p. 8.  
"Excursions in S. Wales,"  
by Mr & Mrs S. C. Hall.

Fig. 4.



Eltham "Coin" from Hasted's  
"History of Kent," Vol. i, p. 60,  
and from articles by  
Charles Clarke & Geo. North, F.S.A.

Fig. 5.




Fig. 6.



Reverses of "Sterling" type jettons (temp. Edw. i. or ii.) in author's  
collection. Obverses have full-faced busts as on silver pennies.

## SOME NOTES ON "PENY-YARD PENCE."

BY V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

N John Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* (p. 295, ed. 1660) appears the following description of a coat-of-arms: "He beareth, Azure, three *Peny-yard pence*, Proper, by the name of *Spence*: these are so named of the place where they were first coined, which was (as is supposed) in the Castle of *Penny-yard* near the Market Town of *Rosse*, scituated upon the River of *Wye*, in the County of *Hereford*." An illustration of the arms is annexed to the description (*v.* Plate, Fig. 1).

Desirous of further information as to the nature of "Peny-yard pence," I consulted a variety of dictionaries and encyclopædias, as well as a number of numismatic books, but could find no reference to these pieces.

No information was forthcoming even from such a work as Martin Leake's *Historical Account of English Money* (1745) which mentions a good many miscellaneous issues under what we may, perhaps, call their nicknames, such as Crokards, Pollards, Galley-halfpence, Suskins, Dotkins, etc. Enquiries addressed to long-suffering collector-friends, including several eminent numismatists, elicited but little information, though one or two remembered having heard of Peny-yard pence. I consulted several well-known antiquaries resident in, or acquainted with, Herefordshire, and though all were more or less familiar with the name and, in some cases, kindly furnished me with references to these coins in certain non-numismatic publications, no one was able to say he had ever seen a specimen or could give any complete account of them. One gentleman, indeed, confessed to having set out to investigate the subject but was obliged to abandon the quest in despair.

It may, perhaps, be worth while to give the results, meagre and inconclusive though they be, of my search for information on the matter, though the serious numismatist will probably consider the subject too trivial to merit much attention.

First, a word as to the place where Peny-yard pence are alleged to have had their origin. I do not know what reason Guillim had for calling the castle by the name *Peny-yard* instead of the commonly accepted spelling *Penyard*, unless it was a desire to lend plausibility to his theory of the origin of Peny-yard pence. The Rev. A. T. Bannister, in *Place-names of Herefordshire* (1916), gives the place a Welsh derivation: *Pen-gardd*, meaning "Head of the enclosure." Dr. D. R. Paterson, F.S.A., however, in his *Old Cardiff* (1926), when discussing the derivation of Penarth (p. 20), translates *Pen-gardd* "the end of the high land," *gardd* having two different meanings: (1) enclosure and (2) hill or promontory. Of these alternative interpretations "the end of the high land" seems the more appropriate to Penyard. Bannister, in his book, quotes two references to Penyard occurring in early documents, viz., *Penyerd regis* (1227) and *Peniord in foresta de Dene* (1302), but there is nothing here to support the division of the name into two words.

Penyard Castle, of which slight remains are still visible, stands at an elevation of some 500 ft. on the hill of the same name, and is in the parish of Weston-under-Penyard, about 2 miles east of Ross-on-Wye. There seems abundant evidence to show that ironstone-digging and iron-smelting have been extensively carried on in the neighbourhood of Penyard from at least as early as Roman times, the fuel required for the industry being conveniently available in the adjacent Forest of Dean. Scorïæ in great profusion are found all over the area and the account which appears in the *Victoria County History of Herefordshire* of the Roman settlement of Areconium (as it was called) states (*V. C. H. Herefs. I*, p. 188):

"The slope [*i.e.* of Penyard Hill] towards Weston on the West is called Cinder Hill and the surface has only to be turned up to show that it consists of an immense mass of scorïæ."



In W. H. Cooke's *Continuation of Duncomb's History of Herefordshire* (1882), the author (vol. iii, pp. 220-1) attributes this refuse to the itinerant forges which were employed there, but were "suppressed by Royal order in 1226 to prevent the complete destruction of the chase, and, probably, the game therein. (*Close Rolls*, 10 Hen. iii)."

Cooke then goes on to say :

"Coins called Penyard pence, made and stamped at these forges for circulation among the workpeople and villagers, are frequently picked up. They are not of uniform quality, some being mere brass. The device on both faces is usually the same—a cross moline with a pellet on each of the four quarters, much worn, representing either the sun or a star or some arbitrary ornament according to the fancy of the maker. The family of Spence of Hang West in the North Riding, assumed c. 1638 as their armorial bearing : Az. 3 Peny-yard Pence, proper, in reference to which circumstance the Herald Guillim remarks (1679), 'they are so named from the place where they were coined.' Yet, although he resided in the neighbourhood, he supplies no further information, nor have we any proof when, or by whom, this heraldic bearing was granted, though this allusion sufficiently proves that coins were known by this appellation."

This is the most circumstantial account of Peny-yard pence which I have been able to discover, and it may be well, before proceeding to other references to these pieces, to examine the statement in detail. John Guillim was born in 1565 and died in 1621 (*Dict. of Nat. Biography*), and the first edition of his *Display of Heraldry* was issued in 1611 and was followed by other editions in 1632, 1638, 1660, 1666 and 1679. Copies of all these are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries and I find that the Spence arms appear in all except the first (1611). Though the 1632 edition, which first records these arms, was issued after Guillim's death, its title-page states that it was "corrected and much enlarged by the Author

himself in his life time." The editor was one Ralph Mae who (as explained in the preface) was a close personal friend of Guillim's and had been entrusted by him with the additional material and notes collected before the author's death. Mae does not appear to have been very deeply versed in heraldry, and in view of this fact and of other evidence to be adduced later, it seems a not unfair assumption that Guillim himself was responsible for the inclusion of the Spence arms in the 2nd edition of the "Display." With regard to this family, though I have not made exhaustive search, I have not traced their present representatives. Hang West is the name of a Wapentake in the North Riding of Yorkshire, situated within the ancient division of Richmondshire, and the *Victoria County History of the North Riding* deals very fully with the families in this area, the arms of most of them being given, but there is no mention of Spence. Moreover, the Honble. Philip Carey, F.S.A., York Herald, has kindly made investigation and can find no record of any such grant of arms at the Herald's College nor in any Visitation records. It would seem, therefore, that the assumption of these arms was unauthorized. Nor, again, have I found any evidence of a connection between the family of Spence and Herefordshire. Cooke's suggested date, c. 1638, for the assumption of the arms is, I suspect, based on the discovery that the arms appear in the 1638 edition of Guillim and not in that of 1611, the existence of the intermediate 1632 issue being, perhaps, unknown to him or forgotten.

The next reference to Peny-yard pence which I have found occurs in that remarkable book, *The Academy of Armory*, by Randle Holme, the first edition of which appeared in 1688, and a later one in 1701. In Bk. III, ch. ii, lxxxiv, we find: "He beareth azure a Penny yard penny proper. It is stamped with a cross moline between 12 round buttons and are (*sic*) called Penny-yard pence of the place where they were first coined, which was (as is supposed) in the Castle of Penny-yard near the Market Town of Rosse in Herefordshire.

B[lue] 3 such A[rg.] born by Spence.

G[ules] a Cheveron between 3 such A[rg.] born by Penny."

It is fairly obvious that Holme derives his main facts from Guillim. It may also be noted that the above arms of Spence (but not those of Penny) appear in our present-day standard books of reference, Papworth and Morant's *Dictionary of Heraldry*, and Burke's *General Armoury*, *Peny-yard* being spelt *Penny-yard* in both. Clark and Wormull's *Introduction to Heraldry* (1794) also include "Penny-yard penny" in the section explaining technical terms, and an illustration appears on Pl. 12, Fig. 16, which follows closely the charge as given by Guillim. Berry's *Encyclopædia Heraldica* refers to "Penny-yard pence, a small piece of coin called by that name (Pl. XLV, 22). This coin is stamped with a cross moline between twelve balls, and is called *penny-yard-pence* from the place where they were coined, which is supposed to have been at Penny-yard Castle near Ross, in Herefordshire." Elsewhere in the book Berry gives the arms of Spence (with no territorial attribution) as: "Az. three penny yard pence ppr." Mention of this heraldic charge may also be found in other books dealing with the subject.

We pass next to the Rev. C. J. Robinson's *History of the Castles of Herefordshire* (1869), which contains the following note under Penyard Castle (pp. 116-7):

"There seems to have been a mint established at the Castle in the sixteenth century and silver pennies of a particular coinage have occasionally been found there."

I am quite unable to state the grounds on which the author gives this date for the establishment of the alleged Penyard mint. From the same work we learn that the Castle of Penyard, which had been in the possession of the Talbot family from the thirteenth century, passed, on the death of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1626, to his second daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Kent, and remained in her family until sold in 1740. A petition, dated 20 October, 1631, by Henry, Earl of Kent, and Elizabeth, his wife, prays that Sir John Kirle, of Much Marcle, to whom Penyard Park had been leased, might be restricted from felling the timber trees. These, amounting to 20,000, had been reserved by the lease, but notwithstanding,

Sir John "has felled and converted into coal for making iron, about 1,800 trees and still continues."<sup>1</sup> It appears from this that in spite of the order of Henry III referred to above, iron-smelting had been revived, if indeed it had ever ceased.

In the Herefordshire section, vol. vi of Brayley and Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales* (1805), the authors describe the remains of Penyard Castle, and mention the existence of Peny-yard pence, quoting Guillim's description of the Spence arms and adding:

"Guillim supposes these coins to have been minted at this castle and with much probability, as silver pence of a particular coinage are sometimes found there."

A footnote states that an engraving of a silver Penyard (*sic*) penny may be seen in Bonner's *Perspective Itinerary No. II*. This last-named book, which appears to be an album of engravings with descriptive letterpress, is probably of no great literary value, but is apparently scarce, for it was only after a protracted and vain search in all the leading libraries from the British Museum downwards, including the Bodleian and the Cambridge University libraries, that I at length ascertained the existence of a copy in the Hereford Public Library. I am indebted to the courtesy and kindness of the librarian, Mr. F. C. Morgan, for a very carefully executed copy of the illustration in Bonner's book, where it appears on Pl. XI, Fig. 5, as "a Silver penny coined at Penyard Castle, near Ross, Herefordshire" (*v. Plate, Fig. 2*). Bonner again quotes Guillim's statement concerning the Spence arms and adds: "Similar coins found in the neighbourhood are in the possession of a gentleman in Ross." It will be seen that Bonner's illustration is very similar to the Peny-yard penny on the Spence coat as given by Guillim, except for having an engrailed border round the coin.

Mr. Henry Holford (a former resident at Ross) has kindly furnished me with another reference to these elusive coins, if such they be. The 1859 volume of the *Art Journal* contains an article by Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall on "Excursions in S. Wales," which

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

includes a description of Penyard Castle. A footnote runs as follows : " In Bonner's Itinerary is an engraving of a silver penny understood to have been coined at Penyard Castle," to which is added the usual information as to the arms of Spence ; an illustration is appended which agrees closely with Bonner's and is doubtless copied from it (*v.* Plate, Fig. 3).

So much for Peny-yard pence in what may be called their native surroundings, and it must be confessed that the above accounts leave the matter still shrouded in considerable mystery, due in part, doubtless, to the fact that the writers do not appear to have had much, if any, technical knowledge of numismatics.

By the merest chance I came upon a reference to Peny-yard pence in an entirely unexpected quarter. In Hasted's *History of Kent* (1778) vol. i, p. 60, appears an account of the discovery " about 27 years ago " (*i.e.* about 1750) of an " ancient piece of money " at Eltham. The object was found by a labourer when digging, and it is described as " very fair and well-preserved." An engraving is given which is here reproduced (*v.* Plate, Fig. 4). The account goes on to say that in 1751 a certain Mr. Charles Clarke of Balliol College, Oxford, published some " Conjectures," endeavouring to prove that the Eltham find was a coin of Richard I, but that in the following year Mr. George North, F.S.A. (whose name is familiar to readers of Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage* and who was a sound numismatist in advance of his time), brought out a pamphlet challenging Mr. Clarke's attribution and contending that the coin was not of any regal issue but was

" . . . a piece of the base money denominated Peny-yard pence from their being stamped or made at Peny-yard, a place near Ross in Herefordshire, about the time of Henry iii, when this sort of money is supposed to have begun to be made at the forges there for the currency of the workmen employed at them."

In the Royal Numismatic Society's library is a thin quarto volume consisting of Clarke's " Conjectures " and North's " counter-



blaste," bound together, each brochure being furnished with an illustration of the obverse and reverse of the Eltham "coin." These seem to be identical with that appearing in Hasted and with each other. Clarke's pamphlet, extending to 26 pages (excluding an appendix dealing with an entirely different matter) displays the prolix and tumid literary style beloved of the eighteenth century dilettante, but it contributes nothing to the elucidation of our problem. North's pages, long-winded as they are, reveal the numismatic expert, and the author has little difficulty in annihilating one by one Clarke's theories and conclusions.

A comparison of the illustrations at once shows that there is but a limited resemblance between the Eltham piece and that figured by Bonner. The obverse and reverse are not alike, as is the general rule with Peny-yard pence according to Cooke. One face has the device of a cross recercellée cantoned by single pellets, instead of a cross moline cantoned by triple pellets. The other face has a long cross fleurettée with alternate crescents and mullets in the angles, while both faces have a border of pellets outside a dotted circle. North's paper contains the following passage :

"One of the latter sort [*i.e.* Peny-yard pence of base metal] is in my own possession, wherein the work and device is so exactly like that side which he [Clarke] represents as the obverse and pierced in the same manner in the centre of the cross, that it might be imagined to be the very identical piece. But mine has this difference, that both sides are alike, viz., a cross *moline* (such I call it till a better term can be found) with a pellet in each of the 4 quarters. From which particular it is highly probable that the device of the sun or star, and crescent on the reverse, on which he puts so much stress, is a mere arbitrary ornament or fancy of the maker."

This exhausts the references which I have so far been able to discover, dealing with Peny-yard pence, and it remains to consider the question whether there actually was a local issue of coins



or tokens at Penyard and, if so, what were its character and purpose.

It may clear the ground if we first examine the Eltham find and the piece from his own collection described by North. Here we cannot, I think, fail to recognize two examples of that widely varied series of jettons known as the "sterling" type, which has been admirably dealt with by the late Dr. F. P. Barnard, F.S.A., in *The Casting Counter and the Counting Board* (1916) and earlier by Snelling in his *View of . . . jettons and counters* (1769), and by others. These pieces, to which the name "black money" was once given, are of many types, the commonest kind being those bearing on the obverse a conventional full-faced crowned bust, similar to those on our silver pennies, and on the reverse some kind of cross cantoned by pellets, trefoils, etc., examples with the crescent and mullet in the angles of the cross being not infrequent (*v.* Plate, Figs. 5, 6). With regard to specimens displaying what seem to be reverse types (not necessarily identical) on both faces, as in the case of the two pieces we are considering, Dr. Barnard writes (*op. cit.* p. 94) :

"Some pieces of this series have the reverse type of a cross and its attendant details the same on both faces, as though mules ; probably, however, they are not really such. Now and again, too, crosses appear on each side, but of different designs."

Though Clarke in his "Conjectures" makes no allusion to the matter, North describes his own specimen, as well as the Eltham piece, as being pierced in the centre, which is also a general, though by no means universal, feature of the "sterling" type of jetton. The date of these pieces, according to Dr. Barnard, is approximately 1280 to 1350. As to the name Peny-yard pence, which the antiquary, North, appears to have had no hesitation in applying to the two pieces in question, it may be pertinent to make one more quotation from his paper. After alluding to the similarity

in type between his own example and that of his opponent, he continues :

"The very same piece may be found in *Guillim's Display of Heraldry*, Edit. 1679, p. 221. *He beareth Azure 3 Peny yard Pence, proper, by the name of Spence.* But no further information can be had from thence, as it cannot be found when, or by whom, that Bearing was granted, than that it sufficiently proves those pieces long since went by that appellation."

One would like to know whether North based his attribution merely on the information given by Guillim, and the supposed similarity between the pieces in question and the charges on the Spence coat of arms—a similarity which can hardly be considered so close as he contends—or whether Peny-yard pence were actually a class of "coins" recognized by that name among numismatists of his day, in which case one would expect to find some reference to them in the numismatic literature of the time.

Turning now to the references to these coins in connection with their reputed place of issue, the various passages which have been quoted seem to suggest that they were struck locally, and in silver as well as base metal. We should require a good deal of independent corroboration before we could accept the existence, in such a remote spot as this and at so early a date, of a semi-private mint issuing a purely local currency, especially in silver. My friend, Dr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., with whom I have discussed the matter and whose qualifications to express an opinion none will dispute, is frankly sceptical both as to the *silver* Peny-yard pence and the local mint. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that these objects existed only in the imagination of the writers I have quoted, since we are told that they were "frequently picked up" and that examples were known to be "in the possession of a gentleman at Ross." The fact that they have apparently lapsed into almost complete oblivion may be partly due to the fact that they were, so far as we can see, always without legend; when, therefore, they had once drifted

away from their place of origin or discovery, and if they were unaccompanied by any record of provenance, there would be nothing to associate them with any particular locality. The Curator of the Hereford Museum, where, if anywhere, one might expect to find one, informs me that there is no specimen in that collection, nor have I heard of a named example anywhere else. Dr. Barnard, our chief authority on jettons, told me that though the name of Peny-yard penny was known to him, he had never actually met with one.

We know that jettons or casting counters, together with the counting-board, were in general use during the Middle Ages for keeping the accounts of Royal establishments, religious houses, landed estates, etc., and indeed for all kinds of monetary calculations. The jettons have been found in great numbers on the sites of monastic institutions, a fact which has bestowed upon them the popular name of "Abbey pieces." If such a colloquial term as this was commonly adopted for jettons in general, it seems quite likely that a more localized name, such as "Peny-yard pence" may have been applied to a class of coin which turned up from time to time in the limited area of the Penyard iron industry. There is sufficient evidence to show that the activity of this local industry continued for a long period and would necessitate a considerable amount of what we should now call "book-keeping" and the use of the counter and reckoning-board. This would account for the frequent occurrence of Peny-yard pence in the district. A somewhat similar example of local names for familiar finds is recorded in Camden's *Britannia*, in connection with Binchester, Co. Durham (the Roman Vinovium), where the author mentions "peesces of Romaine coine often digged up there, which they call *Binchester Pennies*." If Roman coins found on the site of Vinovium came to be known as "Binchester pennies," why not "Peny-yard pennies" on the Herefordshire site? Guillim, as we have seen, lived in this part of Herefordshire and may well have been familiar with the appearance of the so-called Peny-yard pence. When wishing to blazon the Spence arms (which probably were of the punning or canting class—*pence* for *Spence*) Guillim may have thought he detected a resemblance between the charges on

this shield and his local Peny-yard pence and boldly applied the latter name to the arms. The cross moline cantoned by groups of three pellets is found on the reverse of the Portcullis halfpenny of Elizabeth, and devices more or less similar occur on a few early pennies, but it can hardly be considered typical of the English regal silver penny of the mediæval period; and by the rules of heraldry, what Guillim calls "Peny-yard pence proper" must be silver (or gold). On the other hand, were we able to accept Bonner's "silver penny coined at Penyard Castle" as an accurate description and illustration of a class of coin actually and repeatedly found at Penyard over a period which would include Guillim's day, there would seem to be reasonable justification for the latter's attribution though, even so, one must lay the responsibility for so naming the heraldic charges on Guillim himself.

Before dismissing the subject of the Spence arms, it is with considerable hesitation that I put forward the following suggestion for what it is worth. Papworth and Morant record the arms of a family of Spence of Yorkshire as: Sable, 3 millstones argent, 2 and 1. Now a millstone is an uncommon heraldic charge and is usually represented as a circular object fitted with a millrind or *fer de moulin*. I believe, however, I am correct in saying that a *fer de moulin* sometimes takes the form of a cross moline (which is practically two millrinds intersecting at right angles). Thus Planché (*The Pursuivant of Arms*, p. 52, ed. 1873) figures a coat of Guy Ferre (temp. Edw. I) bearing a cross moline, and blazons it: "Gules, a Fer de moulin argent." If the silver millstones of Spence were so represented, can we not, with a little imagination, visualize a coat of arms bearing a considerable resemblance to that of Spence as given by Guillim? It is at least a coincidence that two families of the same name and in the same county, should have adopted two decidedly unusual coats of arms which, nevertheless, *ex hypothesi*, bear a distinct resemblance to each other. Is it within the bounds of possibility that Guillim could have seen a badly executed or defaced shield of Spence of Yorkshire and then, by translating "millstones argent" into "Peny-yard pence proper," aided by a little juggling with the

tincture of the field and the addition of a few pellets to the charges, could have evolved his own version of the arms of Spence of Hang West? I leave this question to the judgment of the reader. It is only fair to state that Guillim elsewhere in his book (p. 127, ed. 1660) blazons the arms of Milveton as: az. three millstones arg., the millstones being represented as circular pierced stones, viewed in perspective and without millrinds.

As regards the main problem which forms the subject of this paper, it must be confessed that no very satisfactory conclusion has been reached. Most, if not all, of the references to Peny-yard pence which I have quoted, seem to be ultimately traceable to Guillim, and though we may readily believe that base-metal jettons of a more or less constant type have occurred in the past near Penyard Castle in such numbers as to have acquired the local name of "Peny-yard pence," we must, I think, wait for more evidence before accepting either the *silver* Peny-yard penny or the existence of the local mint.

If we are right in attributing the responsibility for most of the fables which have attached themselves to these mysterious coins to the vivid imagination of John Guillim, we have here but one more example of the well-known phenomenon of a rash or unsupported statement once made, which, after being blindly accepted by subsequent writers, has gradually crystallized into a tenet of general belief.









THE GOLD COINAGE AT OXFORD OF CHARLES I

## THE COINAGE OF OXFORD, 1642-46.

### PART II.

#### THE GOLD COINS.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

**I**N May, 1920, when I read my paper on the Coinage of Oxford, 1642-46 (*British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 129-188), I omitted to describe the gold coins, on the plea that they had been so lately written about by Dr. Nelson (*British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 183-205), but intimated that this would have to be done in order to arrange them in the manner similar to that of the silver coins. I now do so.

There are three denominations, viz., the Treble Unite, Unite and the Half Unite or Double Crown.

#### HALF UNITES.

These were coined in the years 1642, 1643 and 1644.

1642.

##### *Obverses.*

A. Mint-mark, pellet. Crowned and armoured bust of the King to left wearing a falling lace collar. X behind. The crown cuts the inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX. Nelson I (Plate I, 1). Found with reverses 1 and 3.

B. Mint-mark, plume. Similar to A except that the crown does not cut the inner circle. Nelson II (Plate I, 2). Found with reverse 2.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT/LEG : ANG/LIBER : PAR/. A line above and under each pair of words, 1642. Legend begins at left, EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI. Nelson I (Plate I, 1). This die was used for the reverse of the sixpence. Found with obverse A.

2. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). The legend, EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI which begins left surrounding the declaration, which is in three lines RELIG : PROT/LEG : ANG/LIBER : PAR/ all on a continuous band. Three plumes above, 1642 in large figures below. Nelson II (Plate I, 2). Found with obverse B.

3. Mint-mark, seven pellets (•••••), otherwise as No. 1. Found with obverse A (R. C. Lockett). This is the same as sixpence, reverse 2, where it is returned as four pellets as mint-mark.

1643.

*Obverses.*

A. Same as 1642, obverse B. Nelson I (Plate I, 3). Found with reverse 1.

B. Mint-mark, nil. Large crowned and armoured bust of the King to left wearing a lace collar. The bust breaks through lower edge of inner circle and extends to the edge of the coin. X behind. The legend commences low down on the left, CAROLVS · D : G : M : BR : FR : ET · HI : REX · Nelson II (Plate I, 4). Found with reverse 2.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, pellet. The legend, EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI surrounds the declaration, RELIG : PROT/LEG : ANG/LIBER : PAR, all on a continuous scroll. Three plumes above and 1643 in large figures below. Nelson I (Plate I, 3). Found with obverse A.

2. Mint-mark, pellet. The legend, EXVRGAT · DEVS · DISSIPENTVR · INIMICI surrounds the declaration, RELIG · PROT ·

LEG · ANGL · /LIBER · PAR · all on a continuous scroll, the commencement of which is forked. Three plumes above and 1643 below. Nelson II (Plate I, 4). Found with obverse B.

1644.

*Obverse.*

Mint-mark, nil. Crowned armoured bust of the King with laced collar to the left which cuts into the inner circle and extends to the outer bottom edge of the coin. Value X behind. Legend, which commences at the bottom on the left, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET · HI : REX. Nelson I (Plate I, 6).

*Reverse.*

Mint-mark, a lozenge within four pellets (:♦♦:) at end of legend. The legend, EXVRGAT ♦ DEVS ♦ DISSIPENTVR ♦ INIMICI surrounds the declaration, RELIG · PRO / LEG : ANG/LIBER · PAR all on a continuous scroll. Three plumelets above and ♦ 1644 ♦ / OX beneath. The stops in the legend and beside the date are lozenges. This coin is of fine workmanship and superior to those of same denomination in previous years. Nelson I (Plate I, 6).

UNITES.

These were struck in the years 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645 and 1646.

1642.

*Obverses.*

A. Mint-mark, one pellet. Half-length figure of the King to left in armour, wearing crown and plain collar, bearing in the right hand a large sword and in the left a small olive branch ; XX behind head. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HI : REX. Nelson I (Plate I, 5). Found with reverse 1.

B. Mint-mark, one pellet. Similar to A but BR : FR : instead of BRIT : FRAN. Nelson II (Plate I, 7). Found with reverse 2.

C. Mint-mark, two pellets (♦♦). Similar to A, but FR : ET : HIB : instead of FRAN : ET HI : Not in Nelson (Rashleigh Sale, Lot 879). Found with reverse 1.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, two pellets (:). Three plumes. Declaration in two wavy lines, RELIG : PROT : LEG//ANG : LIBER : PAR// 1642. Legend begins left, EXVRGAT : etc., colon stops. Nelson I (Plate I, 5). Found with obverses A and C.

2. Mint-mark, two pellets : The legend, EXVRGAT : etc., with colon stops, surrounds the declaration RELIG : PROT/LEGI : ANGL/LIBER : PAR/. Three plumes above and 1642 below. Nelson II (Plate I, 7). Found with obverse B.

1643.

*Obverses.*

A. Mint-mark, nil. Similar to B, 1642, but HIBER for HI. Nelson I (Plate I, 9). Found with reverse 1.

B. Mint-mark, pellet. Nearly three-quarter length figure of the King to the left with sword in right hand and a palm branch in his left. The figure extends through the inner circle to the bottom edge of the coin ; XX behind head. Legend begins at the left lower quadrant, CAROLVS · D : G : M : BR : FR : ET · HI : REX. Nelson V (Plate II, 3). Found with reverses 1 and 5.

C. Mint-mark, one pellet. Crowned bust of the King to left with sword in right hand and palm branch in left ; orb cuts inner circle. XX behind head. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HI : REX. Nelson II (Plate I, 8). Found with reverse 2.

D. Mint-mark, plume. Bust as on C, but orb does not cut inner circle. Legend as on C, but D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET · HIBER : Nelson III (Plate II, 1). Found with reverses 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8.

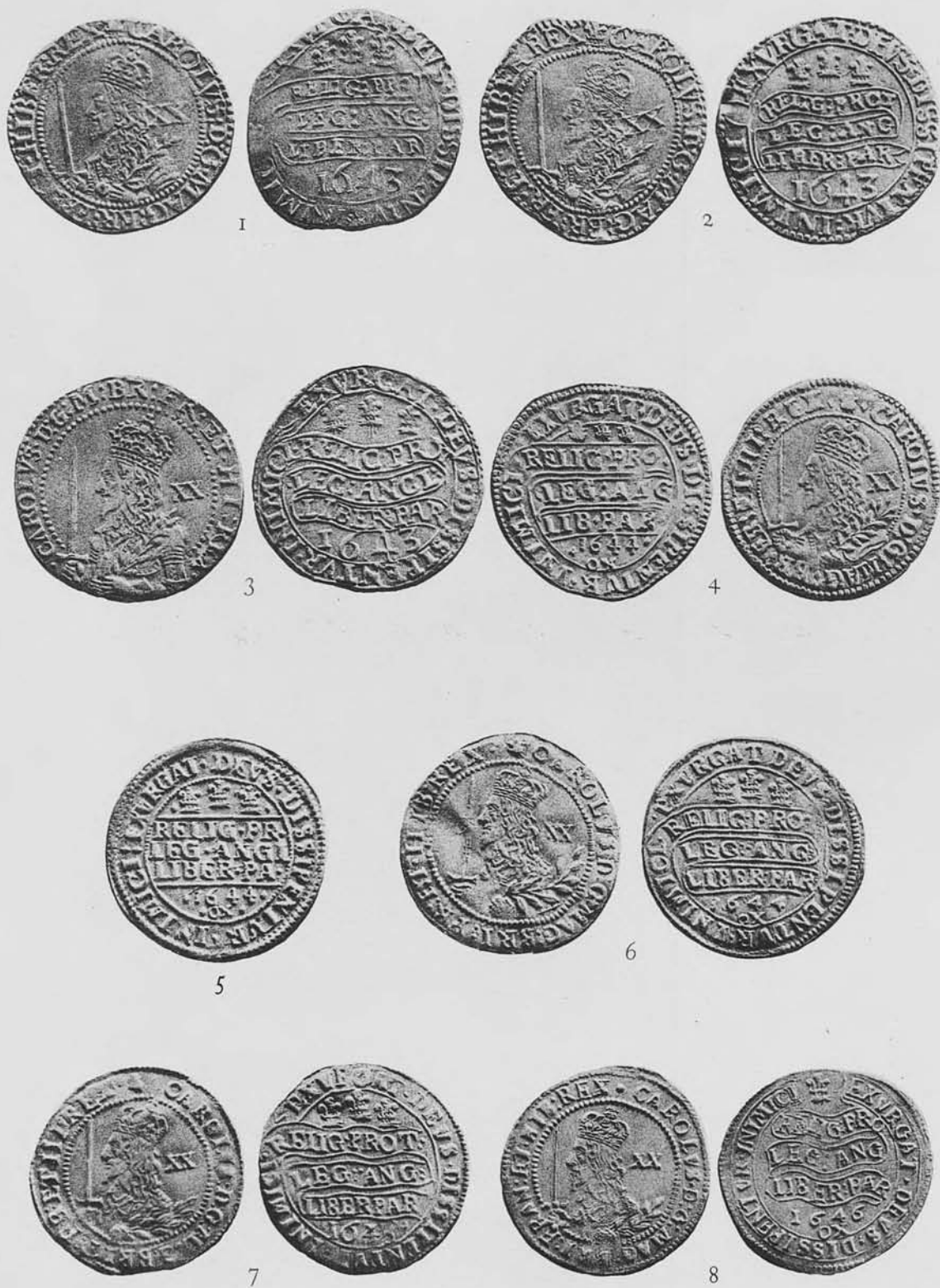
I attribute A to the first period ; B, C, D to second period. B is a mule.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, pellet. The legend, EXVRGAT : etc. INIMICI surrounding declaration, RELIG : PROT/LEG : ANG/LIBER : PAR,







THE GOLD COINAGE AT OXFORD OF CHARLES I

all upon a continuous scroll with forked ends. Three plumes above and 1643 beneath. Nelson I (Plate I, 9). Found with obverses A and B. (R. C. Lockett.)

2. Mint-mark, nil. As 1, but DISIPENTVR: (*sic*) and scroll forked at commencement instead of at the end. Nelson II (Plate I, 8). Found with obverse C.

3. Mint-mark, nil. Somewhat similar to 1, but colons after INIMICI and ANG instead of no stops at all, and the scroll is forked at the commencement and not at the end. Nelson III (Plate II, 1). Found with obverse D.

4. Mint-mark, nil. Somewhat similar to 3 but pellet stops in legend except INIMICI: and there is a pellet before RELIG:. Not in Nelson. Found with obverse D.

5. Mint-mark, nil. Somewhat similar to 4 but INIMICI and ANGL:. Nelson V (Plate II, 3). Found with obverse B.

6. Mint-mark, nil; the scroll is not continuous. Nelson IV (Plate II, 2). Found with obverse D.

7. Mint-mark (?). Similar to 1, but colons after INIMICI: and end of scroll hooked. (R. C. Lockett.) Found with obverse D.



Reverse 7



Reverse 8

8. Mint-mark, a dotted Z reversed. Similar to 1, but pellets in legend and colons after INIMICI, PROT and ANG. The edges of the declaration dotted instead of plain and no fork at end of scroll. (R. C. Lockett.) Found with obverse D.

1644.

*Obverses.*

A. Mint-mark, Shrewsbury plume with lozenge each side. Crowned and armoured bust of the King to left with sword in right hand and palm branch in left; XX behind. Legend, CAROLVS ♦ D ♦ G ♦ MAG ♦ BR ♦ FR ♦ ET ♦ HI ♦ REX. Lozenge stops. Nelson I (Plate II, 4). Found with reverses 1 and 2.

B. Mint-mark, plumelet, pellet to left. Bust similar to that on D 1643, but the palm branch is much larger. XX in smaller figures behind. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BRI : FR : ET · HIB : REX. Nelson III (Plate II, 6). Found with reverse 3.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, two lozenges. Three plumes with a lozenge on the outer sides. Declaration //RELIG ♦ PR ♦ /LEG ♦ ANGL/LIBER ♦ PA ♦ //. Below the declaration ♦ 1644 ♦ / ♦ OX ♦. Legend begins left, EXVRGAT ♦ DEVS ♦ etc. Lozenge stops in legend and each side of date and OX. This die is similar to that of the shilling, reverse 2. Nelson II (Plate II, 5). Found with obverse A.

2. Mint-mark, nil. The legend, EXVRGAT ♦ etc. surrounding the declaration, RELIG ♦ PRO ♦ // ♦ LEG ♦ ANG//LIB ♦ PAR ♦ // all on a continuous scroll, three plumelets above and ♦ 1644 ♦ /OX beneath. Lozenge stops in both legend and declaration, also each side of date. Nelson I (Plate II, 4). Found with obverse A.

3. Mint-mark, pellet. The legend, EXVRGAT DEVS, etc., no pellet after EXVRGAT, surrounding the declaration, RELIG : PROT// LEG : · ANG : //LIBER : PAR · // Three plumes above, 1644/OX beneath. Nelson III (Plate II, 6). Found with obverse B.

1645.

*Obverses.*

A. Mint-mark, plumelet, pellet to left. Crowned bust of the King wearing lace collar to left, having a sword in his right hand and a palm branch in left. XX behind. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HI : REX. Nelson I (Plate II, 7). Found with reverse 1.

B. Mint-mark, plume, pellet to left. Bust similar to A. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRI : FRAN : ET : HIB : REX. Nelson II. Found with reverse 2.

C. Mint-mark, rosette, pellet each side. Bust somewhat similar to B, but the right hand as well as crown break the inner circle and the sword is not perpendicular. Legend, CAROLVS. D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HIB : REX. Not in Nelson. (Hilton Price Sale, 1910, Lot 73.) Found with reverse 2.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, nil. The legend, EXVRGAT · etc., pellet stops surrounding the declaration, RELIG · PROT : //LEG : · ANG : //LIBER · PAR// on a continuous scroll. Three plumes above, 1645 beneath. Nelson I (Plate II, 7). Found with obverse A.

2. Mint-mark, pellet at end of legend. Legend, EXVRGAT · etc., single pellet stops, surrounding declaration, RELIG : PRO : //LEG : ANG : //LIBER : PAR : on a continuous scroll. Single plume



which cuts the scroll above 1645/OX in small figures beneath. (R. C. Lockett.) Found with obverses B and C. This reverse is very similar to that of 1646 (Plate II, 8).

1646.

*Obverse.*

Mint-mark, pellet. Crowned bust of the King to left with a sword in his right hand and a palm branch in the left; both hands cut the inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BRI : FRAN : ET · HIB : REX. XX behind. Nelson (Plate II, 8).

*Reverse.*

Mint-mark, nil. Legend, EXVRGAT etc., single pellet stops, surrounding the declaration, RELIG : PROT//LEG : ANG//LIBER : PAR// on a continuous scroll and extending to nearly the outer edge of the coin above, and 1646/OX beneath. Nelson (Plate II, 8).

## TREBLE UNITES.

This denomination was struck in 1642, 1643 and 1644.

1642.

*Obverses.*

A. Mint-mark, plume. Crowned half-length figure of the King to left with sword in right hand and palm branch in the left; the orb of the crown touches inner circle; plume behind head. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HIB : REX. Nelson I (Plate III, 1). Found with reverses 1 and 2.

B. Mint-mark, plume. Bust of the King similar to A but does not reach the inner circle. Legend as A, but FRAN : ET : HI :. Nelson II (Plate III, 3). Found with reverses 1, 2, 3 and 4.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, five pellets, with two at each side. Legend begins left, EXVRGAT : etc., colon stops, surrounding declaration RELIG : PROT//LEG : ANG//LIBER : PAR// in three wavy lines. Three plumes and value · III · above and 1642 beneath. Nelson I (Plate III, 1). Found with obverses A and B.

2. Mint-mark, four pellets, otherwise similar to 1. Nelson IA (Plate III, 2). Found with obverses A and B.

3. Mint-mark, two pellets (:), otherwise similar to 1. Not in Nelson. (R. C. Lockett ex Hilton Price Sale, 1910, lot 64.) Found with obverse B.

4. Mint-mark, pellet. Legend begins left, EXVRGAT : etc., colon stops, surrounding the declaration, RELIG : PROT//LEGI :







ANG//LIBER : PAR// on a continuous scroll forked at the end. Three plumes and · III · above and 1642 beneath. Nelson II (Plate III, 4). Found with obverse B.

1643.

*Obverses.*

A. Same as 1642, obverse B. Nelson II (Plate III, 3). Found with reverse 1.

B. Mint-mark, small lis, with pellet to left. Bust somewhat similar to that of 1642, but larger, evidently by a different engraver, lace collar, small branch in left hand and the elbow breaks the inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRA : ET · HIB : REX · Not in Nelson. Found with reverse 5. This coin in 1919 was in the possession of Messrs. Spink & Son. From its appearance it is probably a pattern.



I put these two obverses in the first period.

C. Mint-mark, plume. Crowned half-length figure of the King to left, wearing a floating scarf, having a sword in his right hand and in his left a palm branch ; the left arm breaks the inner circle. Plume behind head. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAGN : BRIT : FR : ET : HI : REX. Nelson III (Plate III, 8). Found with reverses 5 and 6.

This obverse probably belongs to second or intermediate period.

D. Mint-mark, plume, with three pellets to left. The figure of the King is similar to B, but there is no sash and the left arm is

within inner circle. Plume behind head. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G · MAGN : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HIB : REX. Nelson II (Plate III, 6). Found with reverses 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8. This obverse has the peculiar R of the third period.

### *Reverses.*

1. Mint-mark, pellet. Similar to 1642, reverse 4, but with LEG : and date 1643. Nelson II (Plate III, 5). Found with obverse A.

2. Mint-mark, nil. Legend, EXVRGAT : etc., colon stops, surrounding RELIG : PROT// : LEG : ANG//LIBER : PAR// all on a continuous scroll. Three plumes and III above, 1643 below. Nelson II (Plate III, 6). Found with obverse D.

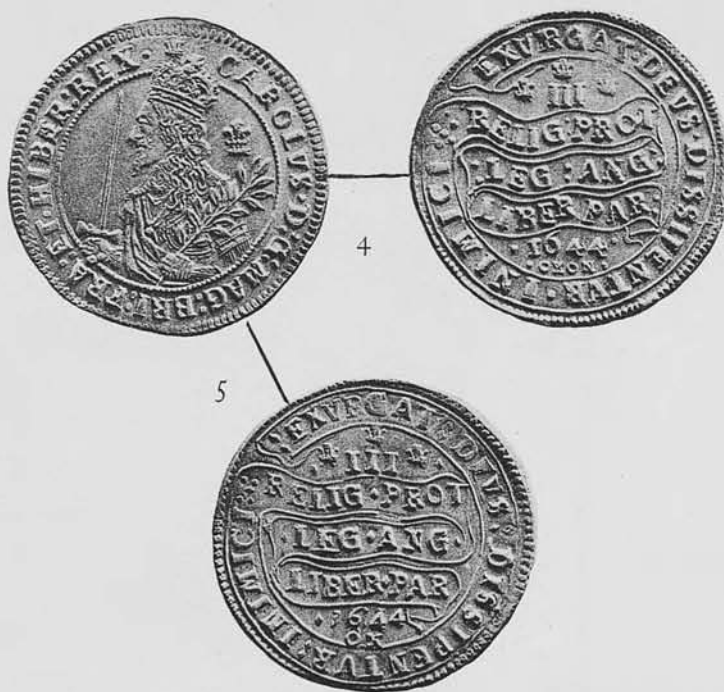
3. Mint-mark, two pellets at end of legend similar to 2, except that there are pellet stops. Legend, RELIG : PROT ://: LEG : ANG : //LIBER : PAR// in declaration and the scroll is forked at its commencement. Nelson IIA (Plate III, 7). Found with obverse D.

4. Mint-mark, two pellets : at end of legend. Similar to 2, except that there are pellet stops in legend, a pellet under the E of RELIG : . The scroll is not quite continuous and has a hook at the end. Not in Nelson. (R. C. Lockett ex Hilton Price Sale, 1909, lot 161.) Found with obverse D.

5. Mint-mark, two pellets at end of legend. Similar to 3, except colon stops in legend. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : //LEG : : ANGL : //LIBER : PAR · and there is a hook at the commencement as well as at the end of scroll. Pellet each side of value · III · and the date, 1643, in a wavy line below. Nelson III (Plate III, 8). Found with obverses B and C. That for B being from a different die, see illustration to obverse B.

6. Mint-mark, two pellets at end of legend. Similar to 5, no pellets after PROT, ANG and PAR. The lettering of the declaration is in smaller letters and the lines and date are not so wavy. Nelson IV (Plate III, 9). Found with obverses C and D (R. C. Lockett.)





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7. Mint-mark, four pellets at end of legend. Similar to 6, but the lettering of the declaration is large. Nelson V (Plate IV, 1). Found with obverse D.

8. Mint-mark, nil. Legend, EXVRGAT : etc. Rosette stops surrounding declaration, \* RELIG \* PROT \*\*//\* LEG \* • ANG \*\*//\* LIBER \* PAR \*\*// all on a continuous band with forked ends. Three plumes and \* III \* above and \* 1643 \* / \* OXON \* beneath. All stops are rosettes except after LEG \* •. Nelson VI (Plate IV, 2). Found with obverse D. This reverse belongs to the third period.

1644.

*Obverses.*

A. Mint-mark, plumelet, with lozenge to left. Figure of the King as on 1643, obverse D; plume behind head. Legend, CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BRI • FRA • ET • HIBER • REX. The stops are lozenges. The flan is small. Nelson I (Plate IV, 3). Found with reverse 1.

B. Mint-mark, plumelet, with pellet to left. Figure as on A, but crown cuts the inner circle. Plume behind head. Legend as on A, but pellet stops. The flan is larger than that of A. Nelson II (Plate IV, 4). Found with reverses 2 and 3.

*Reverses.*

1. Mint mark, nil. Legend, EXVRGAT • etc., pellet stops, surrounding the declaration, RELIG : PROT :// : LEG : ANG : // LIBER : PAR :// on a continuous scroll; three plumes and III above and • 1644 •/• OXON • beneath. Nelson I (Plate IV, 3). Found with obverse A.

2. Mint-mark, five pellets :: at end of legend. Legend, EXVRGAT • etc., pellet stops surrounding the declaration, • • RELIG : PROT// : LEG : ANG ://LIBER • PAR : on a continuous scroll. Three plumelets and III above and • 1644 •/• OXON • beneath. Nelson II (Plate IV, 4). Found with obverse B.

3. Mint-mark, a lozenge with two pellets each side :: at end of legend. Legend, † EXVRGAT † etc., lozenge stops, surrounding the declaration, RELIG † PROT// † LEG † ANG †//LIBER † PAR// on a continuous scroll. Three plumelets with a lozenge on the outer sides and III above, and † 1644/OX beneath. All stops are lozenges. Nelson III (Plate IV, 5). Found with obverse B.

*Note.*—The pellet mint-marks are, with a few exceptions, the final stops of the legend, but are given as such to distinguish the coin.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

1.	1642.	Half Unite	...	...	...	Obverse A.	Reverse 1.
2.	1642.	"	...	...	...	" B.	" 2.
3.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" A.	" 1.
4.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" B.	" 2.
5.	1642.	Unite	...	...	...	" A.	" 1.
6.	1644.	Half Unite	...	...	...	" A.	" 1.
7.	1642.	Unite	...	...	...	" B.	" 2.
8.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" C.	" 2.
9.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" A.	" 1.

PLATE II.

1.	1643.	Unite	...	...	...	Obverse D.	Reverse 3.
2.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" D.	" 6.
3.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" B.	" 5.
4.	1644.	"	...	...	...	" A.	" 2.
5.	1644.	"	...	...	...	" —	" 1.
6.	1644.	"	...	...	...	" B.	" 3.
7.	1645.	"	...	...	...	" A.	" 1.
8.	1646.	"	...	...	...	" A.	" 1.

PLATE III.

1.	1642.	Treble Unite	...	...	...	Obverse A.	Reverse 1.
2.	1642.	"	...	...	...	" A.	" 2.
3.	1642.	"	...	...	...	" B.	" —
	1643.	"	...	...	...	" A.	" —
4.	1642.	"	...	...	...	" —	" 4.
5.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" —	" 1.
6.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" D.	" 2.
7.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" D.	" 3.
8.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" C.	" 5.
9.	1643.	"	...	...	...	" C.	" 6.

## PLATE IV.

1. 1643.	Treble Unite	...	...	...	Obverse D.	Reverse 7.
2. 1643.	"	...	...	...	" D.	" 8.
3. 1644.	"	...	...	...	" A.	" 1.
4. 1644.	"	...	...	...	" B.	" 2.
5. 1644.	"	...	...	...	" B.	" 3.

TABLE A.—OBVERSES.

Date.		Treble Unites.				Unites.				Half Unites.	
1642 {	Obverse with Reverses	A	B			A	B	C		A	B
		1, 2	1, 2, 3, 4			1	2	1		1, 3	2
1643 {	Obverse with Reverses	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B
		1	5	5, 6	2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8	1	1, 5	2	3, 4, 6, 7, 8	1	2
1644 {	Obverse with Reverses	A	B			A	B			A	
		1	2, 3			1, 2	3			1	
1645 {	Obverse with Reverses					A	B	C			
						1	2	2			
1646 {	Obverse with Reverses					A					
						1					

TABLE B.—REVERSES.


Date.		Treble Unites.	Unites.	Half Unites.
1642	Reverse with Obverses	1 2 3 4 A, B A, B B B	1 2 A, C B	1 2 3 A B A
1643	Reverse with Obverses	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 A D D D B, C C, D D D	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 A, B C D D B D D D	1 2 A B
1644	Reverse with Obverses	1 2 3 A B B	1 2 3 A A B	1 A
1645	Reverse with Obverses		1 2 A B, C	
1646	Reverse with Obverses		1 A	





## THE COINAGE OF COOMBE MARTIN, 1647-1648.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

 HERE is a series of coins having the plumes as directed in the letters patent for the Mint at Aberystwyth and of the same denominations but bearing the mint-mark crown instead of the open book. These points show that they were struck by Thomas Bushell in accordance with those instructions. From the evidence of the coins this issue took place in 1647-8, for the horseman on the half-crown is smaller but similar to that on the half-crowns of the Tower Mint, having the sun and sceptre mint-marks. The head on the shilling is the same as on the later sceptre one (Francis, 5a).

To find the place of mintage it is necessary to know where Bushell was during this time. From No. 18760 of the Harleian Manuscripts it appears that no money was coined at Aberystwyth between March, 1645-6, and February, 1648-9, when a final striking of 8 lb. of silver, £25 16s. *od.* by tale, took place, so it is necessary to search elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> One of his stipulations for the surrender of Lundy was that 100 tons of his own lead and 100 tons of potters' earth to be brought from his mines in Wales to Bideford for the better discharge of his debts in Devon and the recovery of the deserted mines at Coombe Martin.

After the armistice in February, 1646-7, he crossed over to that place from whence he wrote to Lord Saye and Sele that he understood the conditions of the surrender. The ratification of Parliament did not take place till the following September. He must have been busy there with success, for on 6th October, 1648,

<sup>1</sup> See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, p. 205.

the merchants of Barnstaple and Bideford wrote asking him to make use of their harbours, offering to buy his lead and what they did not want to transport freight free as ballast in any of their ships to any of their ports to which they traded. (B.M. C. 27 Fl. (3) p. 14.)

At the end of May or beginning of June, 1648, he visited London where, in despite of the terms of the surrender of Lundy, he was arrested for debt. He was released on bail but he deemed it safer to leave the country.<sup>1</sup> His surety was arrested and imprisoned, but on representations being made to Parliament he was released and all actions stayed. He apparently remained abroad for some years. In August, 1652, he gave securities to the Council of State for his future good behaviour. He obtained from the Protector a renewal of his lease of the mines royal, and a confirmation of his grant for coining the silver thence extracted. From this it may be presumed that he had been deprived of his former privileges when he fled the country.

From this it may be taken that he spent most of the time between February, 1646-7, and May, 1648, at Coombe Martin. He appears to have had a house at Northam, between Bideford and Appledore. The life of this mint must have been a short one for, as the terms of the surrender of Lundy were not confirmed by Parliament till September, 1647, the Parliamentary authorities at the Tower could not be expected to issue any dies to him till after the confirmation, so he could not have received any till the end of that month or beginning of October, and they necessarily would be of the pre-civil war type. As he left the country in the following June the striking would cease. This leaves a period of some seven months for the coinage.<sup>1</sup> As the mines could not at first produce

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was written Mr. J. W. Gough has published a life of Bushell under the title of "The Superlative Prodigall." From this it appears that Bushell, after his release on bail in June, 1648, did not go abroad, but remained in Devonshire till June, 1649, when he went into hiding to avoid arrest for corresponding with Charles II. This lengthens the duration of the mint another seven months, till the execution of the King in January, 1648-9, making its life extend to sixteen months.





1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10

THE COINAGE OF COOMBE MARTIN, 1647-1648

much ore there must have been only a small amount of silver available for minting. With the exception of the groat and threepence the other denominations are rare, particularly the three higher natures. These point that the issue must have been a small one.

In workmanship and appearance the coins are inferior to the original Aberystwyth series but are of the same type, viz., that of the Tower series with plume. They are of the following denominations, viz., half-crown, shilling, sixpence, groat, threepence, half-groat and penny. They all have on both sides the crown for a mint-mark and inner circles.

#### HALF-CROWN.

Obverse : A small edition of that on the Tower half-crown with the mint-marks sun and sceptre with Shrewsbury plume behind. Pellet to left of mint-mark. CAROLUS; D; G; MAG; BRIT; FRAN; ET·HI; REX.

Reverse : Oval shield garnished as on the Tower half-crown with a large plume above extending to the edge of the coin. Mint-mark with a pellet each side on the left of the plume, CHRISTO·AUSPICE·REGNO·. (Pl. 1.)

#### SHILLING.

Obverse : King's head crowned to left, as on the last of the Tower crowns with the sceptre mint-mark, having the hair bulging over the neck ; Shrewsbury plume in front and the mark of value XII behind. A pellet each side of mint-mark CAROLUS·D: G: MAG: BRI: FRA: ET·HIB: REX.

Reverse : Similar to that of the half-crown, but the plume does not extend to the outer circle. (Pl. 2.)

#### SIXPENCE.

Obverse : Similar to the shilling, but the bust has more armour showing, there is no puffing of the hair and VI is substituted for XII.

Reverse : Similar to that of the shilling, but a pellet to right of mint-mark only. (Pl. 3.)

## GROAT.

Obverse : Similar to that of the sixpence, but IIII for value.

Reverse : Similar to that of the sixpence, but a pellet each side of mint-mark and the plume extends to the outer circle. (Pl. 4.)

## THREEPENCE.

Obverse : There are two dies, one has no pellets and the other has one each side of the mint-mark. The bust is not quite the same as on the sixpence and groat, otherwise like the groat but III for value. The legend is abbreviated CAROLUS·D:G: MAG: BR: FR: ET·HI: REX.

Reverse : Similar to that of the groat. Hawkins No. 540. (Pl. 5.)

## HALF-GROAT.

Obverse : Crowned bust in armour to the left, no plume in front and II behind. Pellet each side of mint-mark, and legend CAROLUS·D:G: MA: BR. FR. ET·HIB·REX.

Reverse : Large plume with ICH DIEN (incuse) on the band, all in an inner circle ; pellet each side of mint-mark, and legend JUSTITIA·THRONUM·FIRMAT. Hawkins No. 547. (Pl. 6.)

## PENNY.

Obverse : Bust as on the half-groat, no plume in front and I behind, no pellet by mint-mark ; legend, CAROLUS·D:G: M:B:F: ET H. REX.

Reverse : Large plume, pellets by mint-mark. JUSTITIA·THRONUM·FIRMAT. (Pl. 7.)

There is a half-crown dated 1645, with the royal arms and supporters on the reverse, Hawkins uncertain No. 31 (508) which is often called the Coombe Martin. Perhaps it may be made of silver from that place, but otherwise it can have no connection. That



year Bushell was at Lundy striking coins of the Declaration type, and certainly he would not have allowed any other not bearing a plume to be struck in any place belonging to him. Maybe they were struck in some neighbouring town, like Appledore, Bideford, or Barnstaple, under licence from Sir Richard Vyvian.

So little is known of the Coombe Martin mines beyond the fact that they were worked by Bushell, that the question arises whether the ore was refined on the spot or taken to an adjacent port such as Barnstaple or Bideford for that purpose and for convenience of export, and where the refinery was there in all probability the mint would have been. It has been pointed out that both these places were interested in the mines as a means of increasing the prosperity of their harbour. Without definite intimation it is best to take it that all the work was done on the spot.

In 1652 he applied for permission to return to England from Antwerp, where he was then living, which was sanctioned by the Protector in February, 1653. In 1654 letters patent dated 16 February granted to Bushell and his coadjutors full power and authority to search for all mines royal in the Commonwealth, and also ratified to him the former power he had to coin all such silver that he should find out of the ore of the aforesaid mines royal. Of this last privilege he does not appear to have availed himself though he states that he had a mint at Wells (Footnote 5, *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 239), but there are no coins that can be attributed to him as being struck there.

What he did with himself after his return till 1657, whether he worked the mines at Aberystwyth and Coombe Martin, is unknown. In that year he proceeded to work the ancient lead mine in the Mendips, hence it may be presumed he had his headquarters at Wells. His prospecting does not appear to have been profitable, as in 1660 he published a scheme (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 467) for raising money to carry on his works, giving specimens of a medal in gold (Pl. 8, 9, 10) of the value of five pounds, the receiver in return giving a written undertaking that for every one pound in value received in medals he would pay to certain trustees five

pounds if Thomas Bushell within eighteen months raised the value, five hundred pounds per week in copper, tin or lead mixed with silver; the payment was to be doubled if the ore raised was doubled. This scheme was not successful, principally owing to labour troubles, and he was involved in difficulties.

The description of these medals, which were struck in silver and copper as well as gold, is as follows: mint-mark star and the stops are stars on both sides.

Obverse: Bust of Bacon almost full face with hat, ruff, robes of office, riband for medal, and a book in his hand. Legend, FRA. BACON. VICECO. S<sup>ct</sup>. ALBAN. ANGLÆ. CANCEL.

Reverse: A miner standing amid rocks holding a pickaxe and a piece of ore. Legend, DEVS. EST. QUI. CLAUSA. RECLUDIT. THO. BUSHELL; size 1.65 inches, *Med. Ill.*, No. 67. It had a ring for suspension. (Pl. 8.)

There were two other dies, one slightly different from the above (*Med. Ill.*, No. 69) (Pl. 9). The other had a rose for mint-mark on obverse; a slight variation of the legend on the obverse, and THOMAS in full on the reverse; size 1.75 inches (*Med. Ill.*, No. 68) (Pl. 10).

He had financial difficulties in 1659 and had to appeal to Parliament through Lord Fairfax for protection. On the restoration of Charles II he petitioned for a repayment of moneys spent in the royal cause amounting to many thousands of pounds. The petition was referred to a committee of the Privy Council which reported in his favour, but he was never paid. Charles I appears to have promised Bushell an English Barony for his services, but the letters patent were never signed so he reaped no advantage. The details of his claim are contained in Harleian MS. No. 6833.

He died in 1674, aged 80, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

## ADDENDA TO THE COINAGES OF THOMAS BUSHELL.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

**S**INCE my first paper on the Mints of Thomas Bushell, viz., that of Aberystwyth, was written (*British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, pp. 181-197), various coins then unknown to me have come to my notice.

### ABERYSTWYTH.

Sixpence. Obverse A without inner circle with reverse 3, with the square plume. This shows that the die A was in use for a longer period than I thought.

### SHREWSBURY.

(*British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, pp. 195-211.)

Treble Unite. Mint-mark, two pellets :. Three-quarter bust of the King crowned, in armour, a sword in his right hand and an olive branch in his left, within an inner circle. Shrewsbury plume



behind the head. The puncheon of this appears to have been used later in the year at Oxford. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG :

BRIT : FRA : ET : HIBER : REX. Reverse mint-mark, two pellets :. Legend begins left, EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI. Within an inner circle three Shrewsbury plumes of the thin type. Declaration //RELIG · PROT · LEG//ANG · LIBER · PAR// in two wavy lines. The value .III. above and 1642 below. (British Museum.)

*Pound.*

Obverse D with the undamaged die with reverse 4 (Sale at Sotheby's 21st February, 1921, Lot 35).

## OXFORD.

(*British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 129-188.)

1642.

*Pound (a new Obverse).*

Obverse E. Mint-mark, plume. Similar to D but the exergue is not chequered, and there is a long spear with a flag in front of the horse. The legend reads HIBER : instead of HIB : Found with reverse 2 (Sale at Sotheby's, 1st November, 1926, Lot 200).

1643.

Obverse A found also with reverse 1 (Sale at Sotheby's, 1st November, 1926, Lot 201).

*Half-Crowns.*

1645.

Obverse B found also with reverse 8.

*Shillings.*1643 (*two new Reverses*).

Reverse 10. Mint-mark, large pellet. As No. 1, but the declaration is in smaller lettering and reads PROT and PAR instead

of PRO and PA. There are no pellets after PROT, ANG, or PAR; and only a single pellet between the words of the legend. Found with obverse D.



Reverse 11, Mint-mark, 4 pellets ••. Three rough Shrewsbury plumes corresponding to those on the half-crown reverses 15 and 16. Declaration //RELIG PROT//LEG ANG//LIBER PAR// with lines above and below each line. 1643. Two pellets after DEVS: in legend. The whole work is very coarse as on the reverses 15 and 16 of the half-crowns. Found with obverse C.



I allot this to Oxford as it has lines between the words of the declaration.

As the other two reverses 5 and 6 found with obverse C have been transferred to Bristol, it is quite likely that this and reverses 15 and 16 may be early assays of Bristol. I give both of these reverses to the first period.

If reverse 10 had been known to me when I wrote the paper on Oxford I would have numbered it 1 and relegated the present 1 to the intermediate period, as the declaration has PA instead of PAR.

1644.

Obverse E with reverse 8 (F. A. Walters).

LUNDY.

*(British Numismatic Journal, vol. xix, pp. 131-143.)*

1646.

*Half-Crown.*

Reverse 6. As 4 but PRO: for PROT and a plume instead of a plumelet below.

From time to time doubtless new types and mules will appear.

This completes the papers on the mints of Thomas Bushell. It is hoped that they will be of assistance to collectors and compilers of catalogues, sales or otherwise. The compiler has merely to mention the title of the paper, the volume of this *Journal*, denomination, date, the letter of the obverse and the number of the reverse. The would-be purchaser refers to these, where he will in all probability find the coin described and illustrated.



# BUCKINGHAMSHIRE TRADE TOKENS ISSUED IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY J. O. MANTON.

## PART III.



OLNEY. *Ollanage* 979, *Olnei* 1086, "Olla's island." 5 miles N. from Newport Pagnell.

Olney is a market-town mainly for agricultural produce, and is situate on the river Ouse. William Cowper, the poet, resided here until 1786, in which year he removed to Weston-Underwood.

133. Obv.—IOHN · AMPS · :: :: = pair of scales.

Rev.—IN · OLNEY · 1662 = I · R · A

m.m.,<sup>1</sup> rose. B. 74, W. 107.

The Archdeaconry transcripts of registers show :—

1664/5 Rose dau of John and Rose

Amps . . . . . bapt 1 Nov.

and the p. register includes :—

1676 Elizabeth Amps daugh<sup>t</sup> of John. buried 16 April

1679 John Amps and Elizabeth Coldwell. mar 7 Augt

Other records of the family are in the p. register of Emberton, about a mile south from Olney.

134. Obv.—ROBERT · ASPRAY · = pair of scales.

Rev.—OF · OLNEY · 1662 · :: = R · M · A · within an inner circle.

m.m. cinquefoil. B. 75, W. 108.

135. Similar, but no inner circle on reverse

<sup>1</sup> For list of abbreviations see Part I (vol. xviii), p. 223.

136. Similar, but the strings attached to the bowls on the obverse are on the near edge, and on the reverse there is a colon after 1662 instead of ::

Robert Aspray was a rope-maker, a business not exactly recognizable by the device of a pair of scales adopted by him. His initials "R.A." and the date "1687" are still to be seen on a house in Olney.

The following are extracts from St. Peter's Churchwardens' accounts :—

1663-67	To Robert Aspray in part for Belropes	0 18 4
	To Robert Aspray for bel-ropes when	
	he destrained . . . . .	0 10 8
1675-77	Pd to Robert Aspray for nails used	
	about the bells and seates . . . . .	0 4 6

Other payments follow, to Samuel Aspray, Widow Aspray, and Wm Aspray for bell-ropes.

Among many entries in the p. register relating to the family are the following :—

1694	Tho Asbery . . . . .	buried 15 February
1720	Mary Aspray . widow . . . . .	buriall 20 February

137. Obv.—IAMES · BRIERLY · = I · M · B ·

Rev.—OF · OLNEY · 1658 = pair of scales.

m.m., mullet. B. 76, W. 109.

The Archdeaconry transcripts at Oxford include :—

1664-5	Jonathan son of James Brierly	bapt 15 Feby.
and in the p. register there is :—		
1670	James Brierly . . . . .	buried 28 July.

138. Obv.—MOSES · FREEMAN = pair of scales.

Rev.—OF · OLNEY · 1668 = M E · F · (cinquefoil stops).

m.m., mullet. B. 77, W. 110.

The following entries are from the p. register :—

- 1670 James ffreeman sonne Moses . bapt 9 bur'd 17  
Octr.
- 1673 Moses Freeman Householder . bur'd 8 Nov'r
- 1679 Moses Freeman & Catherine  
charge . . . . . (mar) 27 Octobr
- 1680 Moses Freeman son of Moses . Chris<sup>n</sup> 9 May
- 1699-1700 Elizabeth Freeman widd  
Amps daugh of William . . buried 9 Jany
- 1707 Elizabeth Freeman widow . . „ 26 October
139. Obv.—IOHN · GAYNES · = pair of scales.  
Rev.—IN · OLNEY · 1652 = I · S · G ·  
m.m., mullet. B. 78, W. 111.
140. Variety—the shape of the bowls differs, the outside edges  
touch the lettering.  
m.m., mullet.

The Archdeaconry transcripts show :—

- 1661 Sarah dau of John Gaynes . . . baptized 26 April
- and the p. register includes :—
- 1669 John Geynes sonne of John . . buried 8 Augst
- 1671 Sarah Geynes wife of John . . „ 20 June
- 1684/5 Sarah Geynes daugh of John „ 17 Jany
- 1704 Mr John Gaynes . . . . . „ 24 Dec

141. Obv.—IOSEPH · SCRIVENER = pair of scales.  
Rev.—IN · OLNEY · 1668 = I · E · S ·  
m.m., mullet. B. 79, W. 112.

Extracts from the p. register :—

- 1715 Elizabeth Scrivener widow . . buried 28 August
- 1722 Elizabeth Scrivener, Joseph Scrivener and Francis  
Scrivener, sons and daughter of Joseph Scrivener  
& Mary his wife were all baptized 16 May, Eliza-  
beth being then 8 years and 7 months old, Joseph  
6 yeares and  $\frac{3}{4}$  and Francis 3 years and 7 months.

## PRINCES RISBOROUGH. MONKS and PRINCES RISBOROUGH.

*Risebergh* 1086. *Hrisebyrgan be Cilternes efese* (by Chiltern eaves, or border). *Hrisa*, a personal name, possibly of a twin. (*hris*, the part of a bough of a tree where the branch divides itself into two.) *Hyrisebyrge*, "at Hrisa's stronghold." Eight miles S. from Aylesbury, 8 miles N. from High Wycombe.

Risborough, anciently, was a Royal Manor. Commencing in the reign of Henry III the Lordship was held by Earls of Cornwall, hence its name varied as "King's" and "Earl's." In 1343 it passed to Edward, the Black Prince (d. 1376), and then became known as Prince's Risborough—Little Risborough was known as "Monk's" because it belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury (from pre-Conquest days).

The town is at the foot of the Chiltern Hills. The upper and lower *Ickniel* Ways of the Romans pass through the parish. On a steep declivity in the hills, in the vicinity of the town, and on its western side, there is a cross cut in the chalk—White Leaf Cross—which tradition says commemorates a victory over the Danes by Edward the Elder, at Bledlow (*the "Bloody Hill"*), c. 915.

142. Obv.—EDWARD · BARNABY · 1665 = HIS HALFE PENNY  
cinquefoil between two stops below.

Rev.—OF · PRINCES · RISBOROVGH = E · W × B × (sixfoils)  
and a sixfoil below.

m.m., cinquefoil on obverse, sixfoil on reverse.

Diameter, 20 millimetres. B. 80, W. 113.

143. A variety of 142 with cinquefoils on the reverse instead of sixfoils. (*Not in the Aylesbury Museum.*)

144. Obv.—EDWARD · BARNABY · OF = *Detrited*

Rev.—PRINCES · RISBOROVGH = E · W · B ·

No m.m. Diameter, 15 millimetres. W. 114.

There are faint traces on the obverse of the Aylesbury Museum specimen of this token of three tuns, similar to the three tuns on the obverse of No. 89 (W. 70), Francis Barnaby of Huchindon.

145. Obv.—THOMAS HEADEACH · 1669 = fleur-de-lys. (Square.)  
Rev.—· · IN · · / PRINSES / RISBROW / HIS HALF / PENNY /  
· T · F · H (in seven lines).

B. 81, W. 115.

Thomas Headach voted as a Freeholder at Princes Risbro, 1711. He was an "Elder" in the early Baptist community. On October 9, 1689, in answer to a charge of having, with others, broken the Church Agreement, he pleaded "that what they did as to the subscriptions by them at Wendover and Wicombe was merely by surprize and through inadvisedness."

SHENLEY. (SHENLEY CHURCH END.) *Senelai* 1086, *Schenlega* 1182. *sciene* "beautiful," *leage* "woodland"—brushwood clearing. "Bright clearing." 3½ miles S. from Stony Stratford.

The township is partly on the *Watling Street*. A hamlet, ¾ of a mile away, is called Shenley Brook End (*Joh atte Brok*, 1360).

146. Obv.—IOSEPH · INNS ·•• = I·E·I· between three mullets.  
(Octagonal.)

Rev.—OF · SHENLEY 1670 = I·E·I· (mullets).  
m.m., mullet. W. 184, Herts.

It is significant that whilst there are voluminous notes added to most of the tokens listed by *Williamson* in his Herts series, this is included without comment. The Inns family flourished in and around Stony Stratford (3½ miles distant from Shenley), in the seventeenth century, and the surname still survives. The p. register shows:—

1643 Josephe the sonne of Willm Innes  
of fenistratford . . . . . bap. 28 May

*Ratcliff's History of Newport Hundreds* gives the following notes:—

"Amongst the multitudinous entries of the Inns family in the parochial registers, which extend to the present day, (are)

1673 Gulielmus Inns duxit in uxorem Marian Daniell  
Octo 3d.

1683 Elizabeth uxor Joseph Inns de Whaddon 11 May buried.

1687 Elizabeth Inns sepult Novemb 17."

See *Fenny Stratford*, 81.

SHERINGTON. *Serintone* 1086, *Schirintone* 1179. (*Sciringtun*) "Scira's farm." 3 miles S. from Olney, 2 miles N. from Newport Pagnell.

147. Obv.—EDWARD · BRITNELL = E · A B

Rev.—OF · SHIRRINTON = pair of scales.

m.m., mullet. B. 82, W. 116.

148. Obv.—As 147.

Rev.—OF · SHERINGTON = pair of scales.

m.m., mullet. Unpublished hitherto.

STEEPLE CLAYDON. *Steepe* "Steeple" *Claindone* 1086, *Stuble Claydon* 1541. "Clayey (*dun*) hill." 5 miles S. from Buckingham, 5 miles W. from Winslow.

The village stands on the Oxford clay. It figures largely in the local annals of the civil wars. Sir Edmund Verney (b. 1590), a large landowner in the district, was Standard Bearer to King Charles I at the battle of Edge Hill, 23 October, 1642, and lost his life there. Tradition says "Normans" were amongst those who accompanied him.

Oliver Cromwell, when he marched from Aylesbury in 1644 to destroy Hillesdon House, a Royalist stronghold, slept a night in the Camp Barn (still standing) at Steeple Claydon.

The Norman family is still represented in the Claydon villages—(1) Steeple; (2) Middle, *Middel cleydon* 1242, *Cleydon Cantelou* 1320 (it was a manor of the Cantelupe family); (3) East, *Est Cleydon* 1247; and (4) Botolph, *la Botle* 1255, *Botl* O.E. "Building."

149. Obv.—WILLIAM · NORMAN · OF = HIS HALF PENY...

Rev.—STEPELL · CLADON · 1668 = W · I N between three six-foils.

m.m., sixfoil. B. 83, W. 117.



The Manor Court rolls of Fenny Stratford and Etone (Bletchley), record that in 1377 a John Norman was attached for trespass with 40 beasts in the corn of the lord, and that on his death in 1381 the tribute of his personal goods to the lord was "an ox for heriot."

See Vol. xviii, page 216 *re* the pillow-lace industry in the "Claydons"; also see Nos. 123 and 124 *re* Normans in Newport Pagnell.

STEWKLEY. *Stivelai* 1086 (*Styfic leah*), "stump clearing" or (query) "Styfic's clearing." 6 miles S.W. from Winslow, 5½ miles N.E. from Leighton Buzzard.

150. Obv.—THOMAS · COLES ·•• = Grocers' Arms.

Rev.—IN · STEWTLY · 1667 = HIS HALF PENY ·•••  
m.m., sixfoil. B. 84, W. 118.

The christian name Thomas occurs so frequently in the parish records of the Coles family that it is not possible, with the records alone, to identify the Thomas who was the token.

1619	Thomas Coals son of Wm Coales.	bapt 28 March
1629	Thomas Coles & Susan Woodman	mar 10 Sept
1631	Thomas Coales & Joan Chandler	„ 16 Nov
1633	Thomas son of Thomas Coles and Jone his wife . . . . .	bapt 7 Dec
1633	Thomas Coales, Yeoman . . . .	buried 16 June
1635	Thomas Coles son of Joseph Coles and Katherine his wife . . . .	bapt 30 Mch
1640	Elizabeth dau of Thomas and Jone Coles baptized the same day her mother was buried . . . . .	21 Oct
1641	Thomas Coles & Elin Smith . .	mar 26 May

STONY STRATFORD. *Stani Stratford* 1202, *Stonyng Stretford* 1491, "The Stony-ford" (where the Watling Street crossed the river Ouse). 8 miles N.E. from Buckingham, 6 miles W. from Newport Pagnell.



There is no division between the letters STONISTRATFORD as shown by *Williamson*.

The p. records include :—

1655 Thomas son of John Bottrill born 1 Feby., bapt.  
9 March, buried 18 April

1660 Ann dau of John Bottrill born 16 Augst, bapt.  
16 Sept, buried 14 Nov. 1680.

155. Obv.—THOMAS · BVRGES = Bakers' Arms.

Rev.—STONYSTRATFORD · = T·A·B· 1657

m.m., obv. only, cinquefoil. B. 87, W. 123.

*Williamson* gives the name BVRGIS and shows a division between Stony·Stratford.

In the p. register of Lillingstone Dayrell (6 miles W. from Stony Stratford), there is the following :—

1627 Thomas Burgesse & Anne Greene mar. 10 Oct.

and in the Stony Stratford p. register :—

1696 Thomas Burges, the Quaker . buried 29 April

156. Obv.—CHRISTOPH · CLIFTON = pot of lilies.

Rev.—IN · STONEYSTRATFORD = C·I·C·

m.m., mullet. B. 88, W. 124.

Again *Williamson* shows Stoney·Stratford with a division.

The pot of lilies indicates that Christopher Clifton was a Pewterer. His name and device are included in H. H. Cotterill's *Old Pewter : Its Makers, and Marks*. The parish register, which contains records of at least four generations of "Christophers," was signed by Christopher Clifton as Churchwarden in 1653.

1649 Christopher son of Christopher  
Clifton . . . . . bapt 8 Sept.

1672 Christopher son of Christopher  
Clifton Jun'r . bapt 7 August, buried 19 Aug.

1681 Christopher son of Christopher . bapt 3 Octr  
buried 27 Aug. 1682.

- 1678 Old Christopher Clifton's wife . buried 25 Dec'r.  
 1686 Christopher Clifton . . . . . „ 3 April  
 1693 Christopher son of Christopher  
           Clifton Junior . . . . . baptized 16 May

157. Obv.—MATHEW · FINALL · = Phoenix & nest.  
 Rev.—IN · STONY · STRATFORD = · MF · × F · (two cinquefoils).  
 No m.m. B. 89, W. 125.

*Williamson* omits to indicate the smaller type of ORD in FORD.

The Newport Pagnell p. register records :—

- 1616 Mathias ffynoll son of William . bapt. 10 Sept.

*Ratcliff's History of Newport Hundreds* records :—

- 1646 wife of Matthew Finall . . . . buried — Jany.  
 1652 Mathias son of Matthew Final . bapt 13 May  
 1669 Matthew Finall . . . . . buried 21 May

158. Obv.—THOMAS · FORFEIT · IN · STONY = a griffin.  
 Rev.—STRATFORD · HIS · HALFE PENY = T · A · F ·  
 m.m., cinquefoil. B. 90, W. 126.

The p. register records :—

- 1654 Published Thomas Forfeit of  
           Bradwell and Ann Gray of this  
           town June 18 · 25 July 2 and were married 2 July.  
 1684 Thomas Forfeit . . . . . buried 9 February

There was an Abbey at Bradwell (2 miles outside Stony Stratford)—a monastic centre—the remains of which have been converted into a farm-house.

159. Obv.—HENREY · HONNOR · · · (three small mullets) = 1664,  
           three small cinquefoils above & three below.  
 Rev.—IN · STONEY · STRATFORD · = HIS HALF PENY · · ·  
           m.m., rev. only, two mullets. B. 91, W. 127.

*Williamson* omits the second E in "Henrey."

The Bletchley p. register includes the following :—

1636 Henery son of Edward Honer of  
fennystrat Malster and Jane  
his wife . . . . . bapt. 15 Feby

1694 Edw Honner of Strat . . . . . buried 26 Aug

and the Stony Stratford register :—

1687 Mary Honnor . . . . . buried 12 Aug

1692 Henry Honnor . . . . . „ 19 Octr

Henry Honnor was an Overseer for the west side of Stony Stratford 1672.

(See Nos. 79 and 80.)

**160.** Obv.—WILLIAM MARSHALL · OF · = a lion rampant.

Rev.—STONIE · STRATFORD = W·M \* M· (two sixpoint mullets).  
m.m., rev. only, six-pointed mullet. B. 92, W. 128.

*Ratcliff* says there were two William Marshalls of contemporary date. The token was probably a tavern-keeper at the “Lyon,” either preceding or following Richard Veasey (No. 164), between 1651 and 1671. He was buried 16 March, 1672.

**161.** Obv.—FRANCIS · PENN · OF = Mercers' Arms.

Rev.—STONISTRATFORD = F·P (cinquefoil stop).  
m.m., mullet. B. 93, W. 129.

There are a number of records in the p. register of the Penn family, including :—

1657 Published Francis Penn of this  
parish & Grace Hursles of  
Bradwell, Oct 30, Nov 6·13 . married 24 Nov'r  
Baptisms of Francis 1659, Mary  
1660, Grace 1663.

1667 Grace wife of Francis Penn . . buried 23 May.

162. Obv.—IOHN · PENN · AT · 1669 = HIS HALF · PENY · three large and four small cinquefoil stops below.

Rev.—STONYSTRATFORD · · · · = I M P between two entwined stems with two flowers.

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 94, W. 130.

*Williamson* shows STONY · STRATFORD. There is no division indicated on the coin.

See note above *re* the Penn family. The christian name " John " frequently occurs in the p. register, but there is no entry to identify John Penn of 1669, or the combination of the initials I · M · P

The Aylesbury p. register records :—

1651 Mr John Penne dying in the Jayle was buried 25 Aug.

This individual was a Quaker and may have been the father of the tokener.

163. Obv.—WILLIAM · SMITH · 1668 = HIS HALF PENY

Rev.—OF · STONYSTRATFORD = W · E · S · (sixfoils) and a sixfoil below.

m.m., mullet. B. 95, W. 131.

There is no division in the place-name as shown by *Williamson*.

There are records in the p. register of children of Thomas Smith :—

John bapt. 21 May, 1654 ; Thomas bur 9 Feby, 1655 ;

Jane bapt 7 Feby. 1656 ; Jane bapt. 8 July, 1670.

Also records :—

1671 William Smith & Embree Ventrus mar. 7 Feby

1671 Mary dau of William Smith . . bur. 13 Sept.

164. Obv.—RICHARD · VEASEY · IN = a lion rampant.

Rev.—STONIE · STRATFORD = R · E · V ·

m.m., mullet. W. 132.

*Ratcliff's History of Newport Hundred*, p. 401, says : " Richard Veasey was buried 1 August, 1680." He either preceded or followed William Marshall (*see* 160) at " Ye Lyon " hostelry.



STOWE. *Stou* 1086, "a site" for a religious purpose.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles N.N.E. from Buckingham.

The Stowe estate formed part of an endowment of the Bishopric of Oxford. It was transferred when there was a vacancy in the See, by Queen Elizabeth, 27 January, 1590, to persons from whom John Temple—son of Peter Temple of Burton Dassett who obtained it on lease in 1554—purchased the freehold in 1590. An Elizabethan house, erected by Peter Temple in 1556, formed the nucleus of the present Stowe House, sold 1921 and now transformed into a public school.

165. Obv.—FRANCIS · DIX · •• = a crown.

Rev.—OF · STOWE · 1666 = F · A × D × (mullet), third mullet below.

m.m., mullet. B. 111, Glos., W. 154, Glos.

*Boyne* and *Williamson* both explain that all tokens with the place-name "Stow" or "Stowe," "are placed (by them) to Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, as it is the largest town bearing the exceedingly common name of Stow." Where the attribution of a token bearing a place-name common to two or more counties is doubtful, and where a token's name is duplicated, there should be some regard to possibilities of whether "small change" was likely to be required in whatever place it may be suggested the token was issued. In the present case the surname Dix was of common occurrence in the tokenage period in and around the neighbourhood of Stowe, Bucks, and it was within this period that Stowe House was transformed from an Elizabethan structure to the magnificent mansion as it appeared in the time of the last of the original Temples of Stowe, and that of the Grenville occupants. There was then lavish expenditure in labour, and "labour" required "small change." The lavish expenditure was continued in the removal of the village of Stowe, which constituted the residential quarters of the people on the estate adjacent to the church, to afford room for extension of the gardens and pleasure grounds, and to free the "mansion-church" from its surroundings. This resulted in a parish

being formed of Stowe with Dadford (formerly Dodford) and Boycott.

As regards genealogical data, the register of the parish church—"The church of the people"—at Maids Moreton, on the confines of Stowe Park, was (as in many other cases owing to the "unrest" of the period) very irregularly kept. There is a record "this church of Morton . . . (was) sacked at ye command of one called Colonel Purfoy of Warwickshire . . . among other things ye Register was hid and for that cause is not absolutely perfect." This must be taken as an explanation of the fact that the register does not reveal the name Francis Dix. In the p. register of Wycombe there is an entry:—

1635 Lodivicus Dix & Anna Winch,  
lic offic . . . . . 24 January.

This alliance indicates an equality of the Dix family with that of Edward Winch who issued the token No. 222.

166. Obv.—THOMAS · GIBBS × × (lozenges) = a fleur-de-lys.

Rev.—OF · STOWE · 1658 = T · A · G ·

m.m., mullet. B. 112 and W. 155, Glos.

See the preceding note *re* the listing of this token in the Gloucestershire series.

A Symon Gybbes, M.A. (born at Middle Claydon), was instituted Rector of Stowe, Bucks, in 1577. He died in 1603. The family was settled in the adjacent town of Winslow and surrounding villages, and the surname is very common to-day in the district.

The Stowe church register shows:—

1621 Thomas Gybbes son of Sir  
Henry Gibbes, Kt. and Dame  
Elizabeth his wife . . . . bapt. 22 April.  
. . . . .  
1702 Thomas Gibbs s. of Thos of Boy-  
cott and Ann . . . . bapt. 14 April.

In the p. register of Shalstone (adjacent to Stowe with Dadford and Boycott), there is an entry:—

1640 Thomas Gibbs and Ann Smith, mar. 8 March, lic.

This Thomas was doubtless the tokeneer and father of the Thomas of 1702.

A John Gibbs was Churchwarden at Winslow in 1777.

Other "Stowe" tokens (note the final E), listed in the Gloucestershire series, are:

IOHN · KEECH · 1666 = The Kings' Arms / LIVING AT STOWE = I · H · K  
and

WILLIAM · MINCE = Mercers' Arms / IN · STOWE = 1656.

Keech is a North Bucks name, but at present information is insufficient to displace the token from the Gloucestershire list. This also applies to Mince's token. See note after No. 185.

SWANBOURNE. *Sūanaburna* 792 (*Swana-burna*) "peasants' stream." 2 miles S.E. from Winslow.

The Lordship of Swanbourne was held by Jane Seymour (born at Seymour Court, near Marlow, and therefore a Bucks lady), whom Henry VIII married as his third wife, 20 May, 1536, the day after his second wife Anne Boleyn was beheaded.

There is a little Manor House close to the church, built by Queen Elizabeth's friend, Sir John Fortescue of Salden, Mursley, for his children.

In *The Chronicles of Whitechurch*, pp. 21–23, it is stated "about 1234, during the conflict between Henry III and the Barons, Swanbourne was burnt by Gilbert de Bassett." A further catastrophe is recorded in a pamphlet<sup>1</sup> read in both Houses of Parliament 18 May, 1643, "how his Majesty (Charles I) hath sent 12 or 1400 of his forces, who among other cruelties fired a country town called Swanborne in seven places, and murdered diverse."

<sup>1</sup> Printed by John Wright in the Old Bailey, 19 May, 1643.

167. Obv.—IOHN · BAVIN · IN = Dove with out-stretched wings holding an olive branch.

Rev.—SWAN · BORNE · 1652 = I · B (cinquefoil between).  
m.m., mullet. B. 96, W. 133.

The division in SWAN · BORNE is not shown by *Williamson*.

The records of the Bavin family are mostly in the p. register of Stewtley, a neighbouring village to Swanbourne, and include :—

1598 Thos Bavin & Agnes Golde . . mar. 20 Jany  
1600 John Bavin sonne of Thos  
Bavinne . . . . . bapt 2 Aug't.

THORNBOROUGH. *Torneberge* 1086, "Thorn-hill." *Thornburgh* 1247 (Assize Rolls). 3 miles E. from Buckingham.

According to Bishop Kennet, it was at or near Buckingham that the Roman General Aulus Plautius surprised and routed the Britons under the command of Caractacus and Togodumnus, sons of Cuno-biline (the Cymbeline of Shakespeare).

The *burgh* (*burh*) signifies a fortified place and was a term applied to Roman or prehistoric defensive works. This gives colour to the statement that it was at Thornborough where the Britons met with disaster.

168. Obv.—EDWARD · PVRSELL = E · P 1668.

Rev.—OF THORNBOROVGH = HIS HALFE PENY.  
m.m., sixfoil. B. 97, W. 134.

The p. register records :—

1644 Edward Pursell son of Wm.  
Pursell . . . . . bapt 17 Nov.  
1644/5 Thomas son of Edward Pursell . . , 16 Feby.

Other items in the register describe the tokeneer as a carpenter. The family is still in evidence in the county. A George Pursell was Mace-bearer, Town Crier and Watchman in Buckingham. As Watchman it was part of his duty to go round the streets with a lantern, rattle, and stave, and to cry out the time, usually when

opposite the houses of the principal inhabitants—" Good night Mr. —," then the time, followed by the state of the weather. When in 1829 Sir Robert Peel re-organized the old watch force, by the establishment of a police force, Pursell became Buckingham's first Policeman, or "Peeler," so called after Sir Robert Peel. His portrait in his quaint official dress is now in the possession of one of his descendants and is dated March 4, 1844. It was presented to him by the police force. He lived to be ninety-four.

TINGEWICK. *Tedinwiche* 1086, (Tidinga-wic), "dairy farm of the people of *Tida*." About 3 miles W. from Buckingham.

Immediately after 1089 (D.B. Survey), the Manor was given to the Abbot of the Holy Trinity at Rouen (Fr.).

169. Obv.—GEORGE·DRVRY·· (roundels) = HIS HALF PENY GMD  
Rev.—TINGEICKE·1669 = Mercers' Arms.  
m.m., mullet. B. 98, W. 135.

The entries in the p. register of contemporary date are written in a cramped hand and are mostly badly faded. Baptisms of daughters in 1665 and 1667 are decipherable.

170. Obv.—IOHN·DVRRANT = HIS HALF PENY  
Rev.—IN·TINGWICK·· = 16·68 divided by a fleur-de-lys.  
No m.m., rose stops only. B. 99, W. 136.

See note above *re* the p. register.

There is still a representative of the Durrants in Tingewick.

In the p. register of Westbury (N.W. of Tingewick on the Brackley road, 5 miles from Buckingham), there is an entry:—

1670 John Durrant husband of Chris-  
tian Durrant . . . . . bur. 15 Jany.

Another John Durrant voted as a Freeholder in 1713 in Singleborough. Members of the family are also largely in evidence in the p. register of Newton Longville, near Bletchley.

WADDESDON. *Votesdone* 1086, *Watisdun* 1195, *Wottesdon* 1211, "Wote's hill" (*dun*, "down, hill"). 5½ miles N.W. from Aylesbury on the Bicester Road, otherwise the *Akeman Street Way*.

An Earl of Chesterfield had a magnificent seat here, Eythrope House, which has disappeared. Waddesdon Manor, in the neighbourhood, is one of the seats of the Rothschilds.

171. Obv.—RICHARD · SVTHEREY · = R M : S :

Rev.—IN WADSDON · CARRIER = R M : S :

m.m., mullet. B. 100, W. 137.

The p. register includes :—

1653 Elizabeth Southeray dau of  
Richard Southeray and Mary  
his wife . . . . . Born 18 Feby.

1656 Elinor Southerup dau of Rich-  
ard Southerup and Mary his  
wife . . . . . Born 16 Aug.

There were Sutherays, landowners, at Wendover.

WARRINGTON. *Wardintone* 1175, "Wearda's farm" (*Wear-dan dun*). 2 miles N. from Olney.

A hamlet in the parish of Olney.

172. Obv.—THOMAS · NORRIS : = pair of scales.

Rev.—OF · WARRINDEN · 1668 = T. M. N.

m.m., mullet. B. 101, W. 138.

The Norris family appears to have been previously located at Great Woolstone, 3 miles S. from Newport Pagnell, where there are records in the p. register :—

1663 Thomas Norris & Mary Lawton mar 17 March

1665 Thomas Norris & Mary Smith ,, 2 May

The Olney p. register records only marriages of female members of the family.



WENDOVER. *Wændofran* c. 970, *Wendoure* 1086, probably an old stream name. 5 miles S.E. from Aylesbury.

Wendover formerly was an incorporated borough and sent members to Parliament as early as 1300. It allowed its privileges to lapse for about 300 years, until in the reign of James I (1624), upon petition, it again received its franchise in defiance of the wishes of the King. It was finally disenfranchised by the Reform Act of 1832, its population being less than 2,000.

The notorious Judge Jefferies, in the time of the Restoration (c. 1660), is supposed to have resided near the parish boundary.

173. Obv.—GEORGE · BROWN · CHAPMAN (two cinquefoil stops)  
= Haberdashers' Arms.

Rev.—OF · WENDOVER · HIS · HALF · PENY = G · A × B ×  
(cinquefoils), a third cinquefoil below.  
m.m., mullet. B. 102, W. 139.

This is the only token in the whole English series upon which the occupation "Chapman" appears.

174. Obv.—IOHN · DVNCOMBE : = a hat with feather in front.

Rev.—IN · WENDOVER · 1664 · = I E × D × (cinquefoils).  
m.m., obv., two cinquefoils; rev., one cinquefoil.  
B. 103, W. 140.

There is an entry in the Aylesbury p. register:—

1640 Ellenor dau of Mr John Duncombe bapt 21 Oct.

175. Obv.—FRANCIS · FVNGE · = F E F between entwined stems with  
two flowers, stems nowed below.

Rev.—OF · WINDOVER · 1668 = HIS HALF PENY  
m.m., sixfoil. B. 104, W. 141.

A specimen of this token was dug up on May 15, 1925, at Hardwick, 4 miles N. from Aylesbury.

176. Obv.—RALPH · HILL · IN = a Tudor rose.

Rev.—WENDOVER · 1655 = R · E · H ·  
m.m., mullet. B. 105, W. 142.

In the p. register of Pitstone (or Pightlesthorne), one mile from Ivinghoe towards Wendover, there is a record :—

1605 Ralph Hill of Wendover & Elizabeth  
Moore of Wing . . . . mar. 23 Decr.

*See No. 20, William Hills' charity.*

177. Obv.—GABRIELL · PRENTICE = Grocers' Arms.

Rev.—IN · WENDOVER · 1664 = G · A · P ·  
m.m., mullet. B. 106, W. 143.

178. Obv.—THOMAS · STOKINS = T.P.S.

Rev.—AT · WENDOVER · 1656 = T.P.S.  
m.m., mullet. B. 107, W. 144.

The p. register records the marriage of a son of this tokeneer :—

1678 Tho Stockin and Mary Lovet . . . 7 April

WINSLOW. *Weneslai* 1086, *Wineslawe* 1247, 1301, *hlaw*, hill or burial mound, "Wine's hill or burial ground." 7 miles S.E. from Buckingham.

Winslow is a market-town, served by a branch railway (opened May, 1850). It is of remote antiquity. The Saxon Kings of Mercia had a palace here. Offa II who founded the Abbey of St. Albans, endowed the Abbey with his royal manor of Winslow. The present Manor House is said to have been built by Christopher Wren, from designs by Inigo Jones, in 1700. In the time of the Civil War, c. 1642, the town was pillaged by Prince Rupert's troopers.

179. Obv.—MATHEW · BISHOP = Three boars' heads each pierced by an arrow.

Rev.—IN · WINSLOW · 1666 · = M · D · B · (cinquefoils), a third cinquefoil below.  
m.m., cinquefoil. Diameter, 20 millimetres.  
B. 108, W. 145.

180. Obv.—MATHEW · BISHOP = Three boars' heads as 179.

Rev.—IN : WINSLOW : = M · D · B ·  
m.m., ? roundel. Diameter, 15 millimetres.  
B. 109, W. 146.

The following entries appear in the p. register :—

1649 Matthew Bishop and Deborah  
Shrimpton . . . . . mar. 6 Mch.  
1688 Deborah Bishop. . . . . bur. 27 June

A John Bishop was Vicar of Winslow. He died in March,  
1651/2.

181. Obv.—IOHN · CRAWLY AND M<sup>R</sup> DIMOCK \* = a hand holding  
a chopper over a leaf.

Rev.—OF · WINSLOW · 1666 ... = ∴ THEIR HALFE  
PENNY · \* · mullet in centre.

m.m., sixfoil. B. 110, W. 147.

The writer's specimen of this token—a perfect coin—shows  
M<sup>R</sup> DIMOCK; another specimen, from the same die, has IO punched  
in before DIMOCK. *Williamson*, on p. xxviii of his Introduction  
says "Mr." does not appear as a prefix save in Ireland.

The surnames "Crawly" and "Dimock" were common and  
widely spread in North Bucks in the seventeenth century.

The p. register of Hardmead (15 miles N.E. from Winslow)  
shows :—

1608 John Crawly & Elizabeth Catesby  
Gen . . . . . mar. 5 Jany.

A Crawley family was located at Drayton Parslow (5 miles E.  
from Winslow). A record in the p. register there is :—

1678 John Crawley was buried 17 July.

The Winslow p. register records :—

1671 John Dymock & Jane Townsend mar 10 Jan'y.  
*See No. 40, Elizabeth Crawley, Buckingham.*

182. Obv.—IOHN · FORREST · OF · WINSLOW = Bakers' Arms.

Rev.—HIS · HALFE · PENNY · 1666 = I M F between interlaced  
stems with two flowers, stems nowed below.

m.m., sixfoil. W. 148.

183. Obv.—WILLIAM · GILES : = a hat within an inner circle.  
 Rev.—OF · WINSLOW · 1666 = W·M·G× (pierced cinquefoils),  
 pierced cinquefoil below.  
 m.m., pierced cinquefoil. Diameter, 20 millimetres. B. 111, W. 149.

184. Obv.—WILLIAM · GILES · = a hat (inner circle).  
 Rev.—OF · WINSLOW = W·M·G×  
 m.m., mullet. Diameter, 15 millimetres.  
 Hitherto unpublished.

*Williamson* says there are two sizes of Giles' token, but omits to say the date is missing on the smaller one.

185. Obv.—WILLIAM · GYLES = a hat (no inner circle).  
 Rev.—OF · WINSLOW = W·M·G·  
 m.m., mullet. Diameter, 15 millimetres.  
 B. 112, W. 150.

An entry in the Aylesbury p. register is :—

- 1653 Publication William Gyles of Winslowe, Haberdasher, and Mary Muncke dau of William Muncke of Bearton Yeoman published in the market 11·18·25 February.

It is said that Keech's meeting-house in Winslow, in use 1625, was the private property of the Giles' till 1696 when William Giles and his son Daniel conveyed it to Trustees of the Baptist denomination. A stone in the porch-entrance (added to the building by Wm. Giles and his wife in 1695), is lettered W·M·G

Benjamin Keech (1640–1704) established it as a Baptist meeting-house. As a dissenting preacher, under the Act of Uniformity, he was subject to much cruelty, being repeatedly imprisoned and pilloried. See note after No. 166.

186. Obv.—THOMAS · GODWYN · = HIS HALFE PENNY

Rev.—OF · WINSLOW · = T.∴IG

m.m. on obverse mullet over first stroke of H in HIS; on reverse two mullets with stop between.  
B. 113, W. 151.

F in HALFE is under S in HIS, and O in OF is exactly over G.

186A. Obv.—THOMAS · GODWIN ∴ = HIS HALFE PENNY

Rev.—OF · WINSLOW ∴ = T.∴IG

m.m. on obverse mullet over second stroke of H in HIS; on reverse mullet and cinquefoil.  
Unpublished.

The reverse m.m. and OF are on the sinister side of the coin.

There are p. records :—

1654 John son of Thomas Godwin . bapt. 10 March.

Also baptisms of daughters of Mr. Thomas Godwyn in 1662, 65, 67, 69 and 74.

187. Obv.—DANIELL · SAYER = Grocers' Arms.

Rev.—IN · WINSLO<sup>n</sup> three mullet stops =  $\overset{\cdot}{D} \overset{\cdot}{S}$  (small mullets between stops).

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 114, W. 152.

The mint-mark is opposite the left-hand point of the shield.

188. A similar coin to No. 187, excepting that the mint-mark is a mullet, placed over the centre of the shield, thus altering the point at which the legend commences. There are also quatrefoil stops after the legend. The B.M. specimen is of this type. Unpublished.

Note the die-sinker's error "WINSLO<sup>n</sup>" instead of "WINSLOW."  
The reverse die of No. 187 was used for No. 188.

189. Obv.—THOMAS SMALLBONES = a hat.

Rev.—OF · WINSLOW = T A \* S \* (mullets).

m.m., ? cinquefoil. B. 115, W. 153.

An entry in the p. register of Little Brickhill (10 miles E. from Winslow) is :—

1648 Thomas Smallbones & Anne  
Reeves . . . . . mar 30 Octr.

and an entry in the Winslow p. register is :—

1649 Esther Smallbones dau of Thos  
Smallbones & Anne Reeve his  
wife . . . . . baptised 27 Octr

Thomas Smallbones was Churchwarden in 1670 and is so described on No. 3 bell in the parish church. See Nos. 82 and 83.

190. Obv.—IOHN · WATTS · 64 = I · K · W · (cinquefoils).  
Rev.—IN · WINSLOW · ∴ · = HIS HALFE PENY  
m.m., cinquefoil. B. 116, W. 154.

The p. register records :—

1649 William son of John Watts and  
Katherine Lipscombe his wife baptized 9 Nov'r.

WOOBURN. *Waburna* 1075, *Waborne* 1086 (*woh*, "twisting," *burna*, "burn") "winding stream." 4 miles S. from High Wycombe, on the river Wye.

The Manor of Wooburn formed part of the endowment by William the Conqueror of the then new cathedral at Lincoln. The Bishop's fine old moated-manor-house retained its ancient character of feudal magnificence until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The parish contains extensive paper and millboard mills.

*Williamson*, following *Boyne's* arrangement, has listed all tokens with the place-name "Woburn" or "Wooburn" as belonging to Woburn, Beds. The name of both places, Woburn, Beds, Wooburn, Bucks, has been spelled variously with the first O singly or double. Speed's map, 1666, gives Woburn, Beds, as "Woburne," and Wooburn, Bucks, as "Uburna." (U = OO.)

In the pollbook of Freeholders who voted at the election of



1711 for Knights of the Shire there is the name of THOMAS HILL OF CHIPPING WYCOMBE. This individual was probably the issuer of :—

191. Obv.—THOMAS·HILL·OF (cinquefoil stops) = pair of scales.

Rev.—WOOBVRNE · 1666 ·•• = T·A·H· (cinquefoils).

m.m., mullet. B. 63, W. 103, Beds.

Hill was a common surname in the surrounding district. There are many entries relating to the family in the Stoke Poges (nr. Slough) p. register, but, so far, names to correspond with the combined initials T·A·H have not been discovered.

192. Obv.—IONATHAN · KINGHAM · IN · = a water-wheel of four spokes.

Rev.—WOBORNE · MIL · HIS HALF PENY = a mill-rind.

m.m., pierced sixfoil. B. 60, W. 104, Beds.

193. A variety has a mill-rind between I·K.

W. 105, Beds.

In *Boyne's* Bedfordshire series the name is incorrectly printed BINGHAM.

The token from which the above description is copied (No. 192) was found at Great Marlow, 4 miles from Wooburn. This fact, coupled with the further fact that the surname was a fairly common one in the neighbourhood, also that the devices and lettering MIL upon it connect it with a water-mill, is sufficient evidence to claim the transference of it from the Beds series to that of Bucks—from the “Abbey Town” Woburn, Beds to Wooburn, Bucks, maintained largely by its paper and millboard mills on the river Wye.

There is an entry in the Wooburn p. register :—

1677 Danl Kingham and Susanne

Perryman of Clavegreene

(or Chavegreene<sup>1</sup>) . . . . married 3 September

<sup>1</sup> Chalvey Green, near Upton, Slough district.

and there are other Kingham marriage records in the Wycombe p. register under dates 1634, 1664, and 1677.

A Wycombe rate list of 1782 shows "Jno. Kingham for ye fulling mill." This individual was doubtless connected with the token.

WOUGHTON ON THE GREEN. *Wochetun* 1167 (*Wehha*, a personal name, *tun*, "enclosed ground"—with dwellings). This village has grown round a central green.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles N. from Fenny Stratford.

194. Obv.—WILLIAM · COALE = Grocers' Arms.

Rev.—OF · WOOFTON = W · E · C ·

m.m., mullet. Hitherto unpublished.

A specimen of this token was found at Newport Pagnell, 4 miles from Woughton.

The p. register records :—

1699 Wm Coale buried ye 30 of Aprill

also (his parents)

1617 Gulielmus Cole et Alicia Chadd matrimonis copulat  
18<sup>o</sup> Octobris

1646 Alce Cole the wife of Williä Coale byred the 20th of  
Januarye.

WYCOMBE. *Wicumbe*, 1086; *Wycumbe*, 1220. *Wy*, "river Wye," *combe*, "a valley."

HIGH (or Chepping—*corruption of Cheaping*—signifying market) WYCOMBE is 5 miles N. from Great Marlow.

WEST WYCOMBE is 2 miles N.W. from High Wycombe.

The river Wye connects both places (also Wooburn).

The Manor of Wycombe was held by Edith, Queen of Edward the Confessor, daughter of Earl Godwin and sister to Harold II.

Wycombe was one of the four boroughs of Bucks represented in the Parliament of Edward I. It was also one of the towns to which

Queen Mary granted municipal honours in 1554 in return for the support given her by the county generally against Lady Jane Grey when she was proclaimed Queen. (*See* vol. xix, p. 160.)

As at Wooburn, there are extensive paper and millboard mills on the Wycombe banks of the Wye. Other industries in the place are "beech" furniture, "rush-bottom" and "cane-seated" chairs, straw-plait and lace.

Unfortunately the p.<sup>r</sup>register is deficient in the tokenage period:—

"The Register of . . . such cupples as shallbe mariede at chepinge wickombe in the county of Bucks from and after the five and twentithe day of March ano demi 1612, is in very bad condition, the edges having worn to shreds and fragments perished; and Baptismal entries are deficient 1629-34, 1648-52, and 1653-73."

195. Obv.—THOMAS · ATKINES : = HIS HALF PENY

Rev.—OF · WICKHAM · 1668 = T × E × A × (cinquefoil stops).

m.m., mullet. B. 117, W. 155.

196. Obv.—•, then m.m., THOMAS · BATES = "Prince of Wales" plumes.

Rev.—IN · WICKHAM · 1661 : = T × B (cinquefoils).

m.m., mullet. B. 118, W. 156.

196A. Obv.—THOMAS · · BATES = three feathers, or posies on leaved stalks, in a pot.

Rev.—As No. 196.

m.m., mullet. Variety unpublished.

On No. 196 the mint-mark, preceded by a dot, and THOMAS, commences at the foot of the feathers.

On No. 196A, THOMAS, preceded by the mint-mark, commences at the top of the coin.

The family of Bates were paper-makers from the seventeenth

century until the nineteenth century. The Marsh Mill was in their occupation in 1733. A Stephen Bates was Mayor of Wycombe 1650 and Richard Bates was a Draper in Wycombe in 1724.

197. Obv.—SAMVELL · BOVDREY = King's bust to right.

Rev.—IN GREAT · WICKHAM = S · I · B ·

m.m., cinquefoil. Hitherto unpublished.

The existence of this token has been known for some years past, but it was so jealously guarded that it was not possible to obtain a description of it until its recent acquisition by Mr. A. E. Taplin, who occupied offices, 12, Oxford Street, on the site of "a long-ago hostelry, 'The King's Head.'"

The Bowdrey family were prominent in the tokenage period in High Wycombe and old deeds in the possession of Mr. Taplin point to the fact that the "King's Head" and other adjacent property belonged to a Robert Bowdrey, who was Churchwarden in 1671 and Overseer in 1680, and rated in 1674 for "Bowdray's Mill," or "St. John's Mill," at the old borough boundary, and Crab Tree Mead.

There is now a Bowdrey Lane, described in the old deeds above referred to as St. John's Lane, and apparently in connection with an old mill variously known as St. John's Mill, Temple Mill, and Bowdrey's Mill.

There are p. records as follows :—

1644	Sam'l Bodray & Jane Cranell .	mar. 2 Sept.
1645	Wm Baudery & Jane . . . . .	„ 4 May
1665	Sam'l Bowdery & Joane Grimsdale . . . . .	„ 10 July.

198. Obv.—THOMAS · BVTTERFEILD = a wheatsheaf.

Rev.—IN · WICKHAM = HIS HALFE PENY

m.m., mullet. Diameter, 20 millimetres.

B. 119, W. 157.

199. THOMAS · BVTTERFEILD similar to 198, but with PENNY.

Diameter, 20 millimetres. B.M. specimen.

200. THOMAS · BVTTERFEILD, a variety with "T.B. in the field of reverse."

W. 158.

This variety is inserted on the authority of *Williamson*. See the following THO · BVTTERFIELD.

201. Obv.—THO : BVTTERFIELD = a wheatsheaf.

Rev.—IN · WICKHAM :••• and mullet = T · B in field.

m.m., mullet. Diameter, 15 millimetres.

W. 159.

*Note in 201 the contraction THO. and the end of the surname FIELD. Williamson's, 158, listed here 200, shows the full THOMAS and FEILD with T · B in the field. Its existence is doubtful.*

The tokeneer was evidently proprietor of the Wheatsheaf Inn, a sixteenth-century house, which still stands as No. 2, High Street.

The family were extensive holders of land which ran into Penn and Wooburn parishes. Thomas was rated separately for land in 1669.

In the p. register of Hughenden (otherwise "Hitchenden"), about 2 miles N. of High Wycombe, there is the following:—

1606 Thos Butterfeild of Wooborne and Editha Hester of Chalford in p. of Aston Rowant, married between the hours of eight and twelve 11 August.

In the Wooburn p. register there is:—

1659 Thomas Butterfield & Joan  
Freeman of Little Marlow . . mar. 15 December  
1684 Thos Butterfield of Woburn &  
Eliza Gibbs married at Acton . . . 27 January.

Other records of a succession of Thomases are to be found in the registers of Hitcham (1589), Stoke Poges (1601), and Wycombe (1706 and 1721).

Referring to the 1606 and 1684 entries above "of Wooburn,"

the Wycombe rate-list of 1782 shows " Mr. Richard Butterfield of Wooburn."

*See No. 220.*

202. Obv.—THO : DIMARSH · OF = a sugar loaf.  
 Rev.—HIGH · WICKHAM · 1668 = T<sub>x</sub>A × D × (cinquefoils).  
 m.m., rosette. B. 120, W. 160.
203. Obv.—WILLIAM · FISHER = Clothworkers' Arms.  
 Rev.—IN · WIKCOMBE · 1652 = W A · F.  
 m.m., mullet. B. 121, W. 161.

The p. register shows :—

1635 William Fisher & Anna Gray married 8 February  
 William Fisher was Mayor of Wycombe 1651.

204. Obv.—ROBERT · FRIER = a Tudor rose.  
 Rev.—IN · HIE · WICKHAM = R · F (a rose stop.)  
 m.m., mullet. W. 162.

The p. register shows :—

1604 Robert Fryer and Ann Holder . mar. 25 November  
 1633 Robert Freere & Eliz Turner . . „ 28 „

Probably father and son. Robert Fryer was an Alderman in 1674.

" Mr. Robert ffryer " appears in the Wycombe rate-list of 1782. Later, the family were Maltsters and owners of property in the place until a few years back.

205. Obv.—IEREMIAH · GRAY · IN = a swan gorged with a coronet.  
 Rev.—HEY · WICKIAM · 1652 = I · M · G ·  
 m.m., mullet. B. 122, W. 163.

The swan represents the Arms of Buckingham and of Wycombe and is the county badge. There is a legend that Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln 1186 to 1200, the friend of three English Kings, Henry II, Richard and John, an ascetic yet a lover of children, birds and animals, offered some bread to a captured wild swan which had



driven off and killed other swans it found on the ponds of the Bishop's manor at Stowe, and that the bird struck up an enthusiastic friendship with him but would not notice or brook any other man or animal; it guarded the Bishop night and day and became "Hugh's attribute," hence its adoption by Buckingham and Wycombe as a badge. As against the legend, the swan is associated with the great families of Mandeville and Bohun who both bore a swan on their shields.

The "Old Swan Inn" is still continued in the town. In an old Wycombe rate-list "Jeremy Gray" is described as of the "Borough Arms."

The p. register of Amersham (about 6 miles N.E. from Wycombe) shows :—

1602 Jeromie Gray and Margaret  
Appleby . . . . . mar 25 Oct.

Other records in the Wycombe register are :—

1646 Jeremy Gray & Widdo Tomb . mar. Jany  
1652 Gerymya Gray & Jonne Aree . ,, 12 March.

In the *History of Wycombe*, p. 60, there is an entry "Jerome Gray elected councillor, Wycombe, 1658."

206. Obv.—IOHN · HARDING · IN = I · M · H ·  
Rev.—GREAT · WICKOMBE = I · M · H ·  
m.m., mullet. B. 123, W. 164.

John Harding was an Alderman in 1674.

The p. register records :—

1656 John Harding & Margeritt Blacknell mar 14 Oct.

The marriage of an earlier John Harding appears in the p. register of Hardmead (4½ miles from Olney).

1608 John Harding & Mary Catesby gen. 12 May

207. Obv.—THOMAS · HARDING = ··· 1668 ···  
Rev.—OF · HIGH · WICKHAM = T · F · H ·  
m.m., mullet. W. 165.

The dies for this token appear to have been used on flans with diameters of 15 and 12½ millimetres.

The Bishop's transcript of Wycombe marriages includes :—

1622 Thos Harding & Jana Parishe . 7 October, 1622.

208. Obv.—FRANSIS · INGEBY · IN ·•• = ••• 1666 •••

Rev.—WICKVM · PARRISH ·•• = ••• F·I •••

m.m., rosette. B. 124, W. 166.

The centre stops above and below 1666 and F·I are rosettes.

In the p. register of Dorney (2½ miles N.W. from Windsor) there is an entry :—

1548 Wm Yngbe & Johanna Rock-  
all of Hambledon . . . . married 22 October

This is evidence of the long-standing of the family in the county. A decipherable entry in the " chepeninge wickombe " register is :—

1638 Joseph Ingulsbey & Francis  
Wheeler . . . . . mar. 3 Aug.

Apparently the wife's christian name was transmitted to her son.

In the register of Hughenden (2 miles N. from High Wycombe) there are entries :—

1666 Francis Ingby & Dorothea Wee-  
don . . . . . mar'd 1 May  
1719 John Ingby of Wycombe & Mary  
Clark of Wyc, lic. . . . . mar'd 21 Feby.

Francis Ingby is entered in the parish rates-lists of 1675, 1677 and 1685 for Skinners Mead, also in eighteenth-century lists. He was Churchwarden in 1675 and 1677.

209. Obv.—IOHN · IVSON · AT · THE = a square containing 3·2·3·2·3  
chequers.

Rev.—IN · HIGH · WICKHAM · 1669 = HIS HALF PENY 1½M  
m.m., sixfoil. B. 125, W. 167.

There is a sixteenth-century house still standing, at the corner of White Hart Street and Church Street, which formerly was the "Chequers Inn."

In the p. register of Wendover (11 miles distant from Wycombe) there is an entry :—

1602 John Jussón & Marg<sup>t</sup> Kippine. . mar'd 4 Octr.

and in the Wycombe register :—

1666 John Jussón & Mary Littell wid mar'd 3 Feby.

He was rated for a piece of land in Little Pens Mead 1682-1686.

210. Obv.—THOMAS · LEECH · 1667 · = a lion rampant.

Rev.—IN · WEST · WICKCOMBE : = HIS HALFE PENNY

$\tau^L A$

m.m., sixfoil. B. 126, W. 168.

A blurred form before the m.m. has the appearance of a sitting swan.

There is an obverse impression of this token, the impression being shown incuse on the reverse.

211. Obv.—RICHARD · LVCAS = a lion rampant.

Rev.—IN · WICKHAM · 1653 = R · D · L ·

m.m., mullet. B. 128, W. 171.

212. Obv.—A variety with a smaller lion.

Rev.—Initials R · D · L · larger—the lower stroke of L lines with the top of R and there are triangular stops after the date—1653 :•

213. Obv.—RICH · LVCAS · OF · WICKHAM = R · D · L · 1670

Rev.—RATHER · DEAD · THEN · DISLOYAL = a lion rampant.

m.m., mullet. B. 127, W. 169.

Nos. 211 and 212 are 15 millimetres in diameter, and No. 213 20 millimetres.

*Williamson* includes a variety (W. 170) which he says "has no

reverse." There is a note in *Ratcliff's* list: "This has been mistaken for a mis-struck, W. 168" (Thomas Leech). See No. 210.

Richard Lucas was Landlord of the "Red Lion," High Street, and Mayor of Wycombe 1660, 1667 and 1672. He was the occupier of a portion of the Dean and Chapter of Chichester's "Manor of Crondon" estate, c. 1674. Known as Lucas' Wood. His declaration of loyalty on his 1670 token, when Charles II was firmly established on his throne, would have created difficulty for him if it had appeared on his 1653 token, issued in the time of the Commonwealth!

214. Obv.—IOHN · MORRIS · 1666 ·❧· = a stick of candles.

Rev.—IN · WICKHAM · HIS · HALF · PENY = I·M divided by interlaced stems with leaves and three flowers above; stems nowed below.

m.m., sixfoil. Diameter, 20 millimetres. B. 129, W. 172.

215. Obv.—IOHN · MORRIS ·❧·❧· = a stick of candles.

Rev.—IN · WICKHAM · 1666 ·❧· = I·M divided by entwined stems, etc.

m.m., mullet. Diameter, 15 millimetres. W. 173.

*Williamson* gives the centre of the reverse of 214 as "I·M," only, and that of 215 as "I·M and a flower." There are three flowers on entwined stems in each case.

The Wycombe marriage register shows:—

1652	John Morrish & Mary Roberson	.	mar'd 3 Octr
1666	John Morris & Dorothy Elliott	.	„ 20 Jany
1704	John Morris & Anne Ming w. lic	.	„ 24 July

216. Obv.—RICHARD · PREIST = R·E·P · 1662

Rev.—IN · HIGH · WICKHAM · = a crown.

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 130, W. 174.

217. Obv.—ALEXANDER · PARNAM = a greyhound.

Rev.—AT · WICKHAM · 1668 ·❧· = A·K·P·

m.m., mullet. W. 175.

*Williamson's* 175 is PARKHAM, date "1666," and his 176 PARHAM, date "1668." It is suggested that these were described from worn coins from the same die.

In the p. register there is an entry :—

1639 Elexsander Parnam & Katherin

Noble . . . . . mar 19 May.

There is still a Greyhound Inn in the town.

218. Obv.—IOHN · ROWELL · IN · HIGH = Joiners' Arms.

Rev.—WICKHAM · 1667 ··· (centre stop a sixfoil) = HIS

HALFE PENY \* I<sup>R</sup> · M \*

m.m., sixfoil. B. 131, W. 177.

Two specimens of this token have been dug up in the town. See p. 189 *re* the p. register. A decipherable entry is :—

1635 Thos Rowell & Katherina Her-

ringman . . . . . mar'd 19 Aug.

219. Obv.—THOMAS · TAYLOR · = a roll of tobacco.

Rev.—IN · WICOME ··· = T E · T · (all mullet stops).

m.m., mullet. Hitherto unpublished.

The p. register shows :—

1654 Thomas Taylor & Eliz Harding . mar. 22 March

1654 Thomas Taylor & Eliz'th Matson ,, 22 May

A Thomas Taylor was a Burgess in Wycombe in 1598, Mayor 1600, and Alderman 1608. In 1601 he gave a rent-charge of 28s. 6d. per annum to the poor. In 1703 a "Thomas Taylor from Wycombe Borough" was transferred to the parish. Another Thomas Taylor paid land-tax in 1708 and voted as a Freeholder in 1713.

220. Obv.—THOMAS · WHEATLY = a wheatsheaf.

Rev.—IN · HIGH · WICKHAM = T · S · W ·

m.m., mullet. Unpublished hitherto.

See the note under No. 201 *re* the sixteenth-century Wheat-sheaf Inn.

221. Obv.—ROBERT · WHITTON = a stag.

Rev.—OF · GREAT · WICKHAM = R · K · W ·

m.m., mullet. B. 132, W. 178.

Robert Whitton was probably the proprietor of the Antelope Inn at the corner of High Street near the Shambles, or of the White Hart Hotel, part of which dates back to the seventeenth century and which still exists.

The p. register includes the following entries :—

1624 Robert Whitton Gent & Eliz'b

Edwards . . . . . mar. 20 Jan'y.

1656 Robert Whitton Gent & Kath-

erin Bradshaw . . . . . ,, 11 Aug'st.

One of the Robert Whittons was Mayor of Wycombe 1663–1670, and “ Robert Whitton ” appears again as Mayor 1685–1686.

The assessment list for Land Tax, 1708, includes “ Mr. Robert Whitton.”

222. Obv.—EDWARD · WINCH · OF · WICCOMBE = Arms of the Winch family—on a fess three crosses patonce, on a canton five fleur-de-lys.

Rev.—HIS · HALFE · PENNY · 1666 : = E · P · W · (four sixfoils).

m.m., sixfoil. B. 133, W. 179.

Edward Winch was Mayor of Wycombe 1669, and Alderman 1674.

The following entry in the p. register of Dorney (2½ miles N.W. from Windsor) indicates the long-standing of the family in the neighbourhood :—

1542 Robt Wynche of Bray & Agnes

Goldwin . . . . . mar 30 April.

Entries in the p. register of Little Missenden (about 5 miles from Wycombe) and that of Wycombe, respectively, are :—

1640 Edw'd Winch & Eliz. Randoll . mar. 9 May

1670 Edward Winch & Elizh Quelch . ,, 20 Nov

These entries probably refer to the tokeners and his son.



A Tristram Winch was Mayor of Wycombe several times in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

COLNBROOK (*see* p. 173, vol. xix).

All Colnbrook tokens are listed in the Devonshire series by *Boyne* with a remark "probably the whole of these do not belong to Devonshire; Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire, in the folio *Index Villaris* of 1680 is called Colebrook." *Williamson* also lists them tentatively as belonging to Devonshire. Almost at the moment of going to press with these pages particulars have been brought to light which establish beyond doubt that the whole of the tokens do belong to the Buckinghamshire series. Mr. E. Hollis, F.Z.S., Curator of the Bucks Archæological Society's Aylesbury museum, must be credited with this discovery. He is now engaged, with others, in examining Bucks' manuscripts from a private source—including Court Rolls—which give confirmatory evidence of the particulars here given, and gathered independently.

Colnbrook, Bucks, is shown in the *Index Villaris* of 1680, already quoted, as situated in five parishes, viz.:—

Colebrook in Horton	..	Latt. 51°31',	Longit. 0°24' W.
Horton	.. ..	.. .. 51°29',	.. .. 0°26' W.
Stanwell, Mx.	.. ..	.. .. 51°29',	.. .. 0°23' W.
Langley (Bucks)	.. ..	.. .. 51°32',	.. .. 0°28' W.
Iver	.. ..	.. .. 51°34',	.. .. 0°25' W.

It was incorporated by Charter in 1554, but this distinction was lost long ago.

223. Obv.—THOMAS · BVRCOMBE = a hart.

Rev.—IN · COLEBROOKE = T · D · B ·

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 27, W. 42, Devon.

The p. register of Horton records the christening of children of Thomas and Dorothy Burcombe, 1655-70, also

1675. Dorothy, wife of Thomas Burcombe, buried Jan'y. 31.

In *Lipscombe's History of Bucks* there are records :—

1629. Thomas Burcombe repaired the church with new timber.

1653. Do. was appointed to receive tolls to repair roads and bridge.

1699. An order was made for the road from the Ostrich Inn to the Angel Inn to be repaired.

There is still a White Hart in Colnbrook.

224. Obv.—IOHN · FORISE · AT · Y<sup>E</sup> = a bear passant with a chain.

Rev.—IN · COVLBROVGH 1667 = I × S × F × (cinquefoil stops).

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 28, W. 43, Devon.

The Horton p. register includes an entry :—

1674. John Forrise . . . buried Dec. 23.

There was a Beare Inn in Colnbrook, which has disappeared.

225. Obv.—IOHN · GUY · CHANDLER = a cock.

Rev.—IN · COVLBROKE · 1652 = I × B · C (a cinquefoil between I and B.)

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 29, W. 44, Devon.

In 1684 John Guy, John Burcombe, Wm. Guy and John Slocombe, with others, were appointed trustees of a charity (*vide Lipscombe*).

John Guy lived in the parish of Langley adjoining Horton.

226. Obv.—WIDOW HOMES AT Y<sup>E</sup> = a ball.

Rev.—BALL IN COALBRVCK = S · H

B. 30, W. 45, Devon.

An entry in the Horton p. register, is :—

1668, a grandchild of Widow Homes, buried Sep. 9.

The Ball Inn has disappeared.

227. Obv.—IOHN · HOSEY · AT · THE = an angel.

Rev.—ANGELL IN COLEBROOK = I · I · H.

B. 31, W. 46, Devon.

The double O in Colebrook is in ligation.

There are many entries in the Horton p. register of the "Hosey" family, including :—

1666. John Hosey was buried Jan'y. 23.

1668. Joan Hosey „ „ March 1.

228. Obv.—SAMVEL · MILLS : = an ostrich with (?) a horseshoe in its bill.

Rev.—IN · COOLBROOKE · 57 = S · M · M ·

m.m., a pierced cinquefoil. B. 32, W. 47, Devon.

The second double O is in ligation. *Williamson* shows COLEBROOKE.

The Horton p. register includes :—

1668. Margaret wife of Samuel Mills, buried May 22.

1672. Mr. James Mills . . . . . „ Dec. 29.

*Lipscombe* says an order was made in 1699 "that the road from the Ostrich Inn to the Angel Inn be repaired."

The Ostrich Inn, a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century house, is still standing.

229. Obv.—EDMVND · SLOCOMBE = three stags.

Rev.—IN · COLEBROOKE · 1653 = E · D · S ·

m.m., cinquefoil. B. 33, W. 48, Devon.

The Horton p. register includes :—

1658. Edmund Slocombe . . . buried Sep. 20.

1670. Mrs. Slocombe, Widow, „ March 2.

HORTON. *Hortune* 1086, *Horton* by *Colbroke* 1376. *hor tun.*  
dirty farm.

The parish of Horton forms part of the town of Colnbrook.

230. Obv.—GEORG GOAD OF HORTON = G · M · G · 1669.

Rev.—HIS · TOKEN · OF · A = HALF PENY . . .

m.m., small quatrefoil. W. 20, Staffs.

This token is incorrectly listed by *Williamson*, in both the Staffordshire (No. 20) and Yorkshire (No. 127) series.

The above description is from a specimen found in a miscellaneous lot of old coins which belonged to an aged lady who died recently in Marlow.

There are various entries of the Goad family in the p. register including :—

1658. Wm. Goad, buried Nov. 23.

1666. Elizabeth, dau. of Geo. Goad, and Mary his wife, buried April 5.

\*1671. William Goade was buried Feb. 10.

1676. Alice Goad of Colbrooke, widow, buried Jany. 15 (see No. 70).

1684. George Goade was buried in woollon, July 29.

A Rd. Goade gave 2 a. 2 r. 4 p. of land one-third of the rent of which was to be given to the minister and two-thirds to be expended in bread for the poor.

\*A mural tablet affixed to the north wall of the aisle in Horton Church is inscribed :—

*Near y<sup>e</sup> place Lyes y<sup>e</sup> Body of William Goade y<sup>e</sup> Father & William his son, both late of Colebroke, Physitians.*

#### ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 221, vol. xviii. The tokeners number 197; the varieties of tokens issued total 236.

No. 14. A recent publication by the Baptist Historical Society has furnished facts relating to Tokeners in Amersham, Aylesbury and neighbourhood embodied below :—

In 1664, under a Conventiclie Act of Elizabeth—an Act of Uniformity, 1559—a raid was made upon the Baptists at their Aylesbury church, and ten men and two women were condemned to death

for religious defections,<sup>1</sup> but, later, were reprieved.  
The condemned included :—

Stephen Dagnall, Bookseller (Tokener, No. 14).

Thomas Hill, Linen Draper (Tokener, No. 20).

William Welch, Tallow Chandler (Tokener, No.  
25).

These particulars furnish the occupations, hitherto unknown, of Dagnall and Hill, and supply the identification of the indistinct emblem on Dagnall's token as an upright book instead of a box as tentatively stated.

Dagnall was a notorious sectary—he denied original sin and attracted attention by publishing *Several Proposals for the General Good of the Commonwealth*, etc.

No. 16. The reverse is AILLSBVREY as No. 17.

No. 17. The stops under W·E·D should be . . .

No. 18. In the minute-book of the early Baptists (*see* note No. 14) there is the following : “ The 24th of the 7 month Caled September ffor Jos ffryer widdow (by the occasion of her son being dead) the sum of nine shillins and three pence.”

No. 19. Rev. HALF should be HALFE.

No. 20. Thomas Hill was condemned to death for religious defection, 1664, but reprieved—*see* note to No. 14, above.

No. 21. The reverse is IN ALSBVRY.

No. 25. Obv. should be TALLOW CHANNDLER. Add note—Wm. Welch was condemned to death for religious defection, 1664, but reprieved—*see* note to No. 14, above.

No. 38. The stops on the obverse are cinquefoils.

<sup>1</sup> Charles II's Act of Uniformity was passed May 29, 1662. A Conventicle Act of the Cavalier Parliament imposed penalties for unauthorized religious meetings after 1 July, 1664.

- No. 39. Page 160, vol. xix, 25th line, "pre-emption" should be "distinction."

Following the "1630" record on page 161 the following paragraph should have been printed :—

One of Bartholomew's sons, William (bapt. 10 Sep. 1596), left the bell foundry and established himself as a Draper in the town, to which business he brought up his sons. He served the office of Bailiff of Buckingham in 1624, 1630, 1642, and 1649. His burial is recorded :—

1655 Mr. William Atton, Burgesse and 4 times Bayliffe, was buried 23 October.

- No. 43. Hartley (1650) should be HARTLEE.
- No. 44. Hartlee (1660) should be HARTLEY.
- No. 69. Obverse should be SAMVELL.
- No. 70. COAD should be GOAD.
- No. 71. Three Dunstable tokens issued by Daniel Finch are included in *Blundell's Bedfordshire 17th Century Tokens* (1928), also the No. 71 Edlesboro token, with an explanatory note "though of Bucks, it is clearly the same issuer—as 'Domesday' part of this village was in Bedfordshire."
- Roger Finch in his Will, Dec. 27, 1652, mentions his son Daniel Finch, known as "the elder,"—the tokener—who, by his Will, 7 Sept. 1672, left property purchased of John Finch to his wife Sarah "in lieu of Dower."
- No. 73. John Pierceson's token is included in *Blundell's Bedfordshire 17th Century Tokens*, No. 66, as in E...TON (evidently described from a worn specimen), under EVERTON, with a note "extremely doubtfully placed under this county" (Beds).
- No. 75. Thomas Bridge's token is included in Blundell's list of the Bedfordshire series, No. 58, under EATON BRAY.



No. 76-7-8. <sup>1</sup>Thomas Collings. Richard Robinson. John Smith. Page 175 vol. xix. "Dropshot" should be "Dropshort" and "Magioventum" should be "Magiovintum".

No. 85. 11th line, alter 83 to 84.

Page 178 vol. xix. "Hambleton" should be "Hambleden"

No. 94. Add: The double OO's in Woodcock, and in Horwood, are much smaller than the other letters.

No. 102. Add: Apparently the alteration of the final letter of Parker's die R to S to form the name BOVLES—plainly shown on the token here described—was an error.

No. 103. The name ALICE BOVLER should be inserted.

No. 108. The reverse should be GREATER MARLOW.

No. 131. <sup>1</sup>John Fowler. No. 132. <sup>2</sup>Humphry Morgan.

There is a list on p. 390 in *Williamson's Seventeenth Century Trade Tokens* under the heading "Tokens which may belong to Kent." The tokens listed do NOT belong to Kent. It is suggested that where the allocation is doubtful of a token bearing a place-name common to two or more counties the difficulty should be indicated by listing the token in duplicate, the entries being referenced each to the other. See note after 84 and 85 in this list.

Other tokens which may belong to the Buckinghamshire series, possibly, may be found amongst those placed by *Williamson* under :—

Coleshill, Warwicks.

Stow, Glos.

Halton, Lancs.

Warrington, Lanc.

Hambleton, Hants.

Westbury, Wilts.

Marston, Lincs.

Whitchurch, Hants and Salop.

Newport, Hants and Salop.

Woburn, Beds.

Stone, Staffs.

Wootton, Ox.


<sup>1</sup> These tokens are included in Blundell's list of the Bedfordshire series, Nos. 61, 62, 63 respectively, under EATON SOCON, "the attribution being open to doubt."

<sup>2</sup> These tokens are included in Blundell's Bedfordshire series, Nos. 104, 105, the attribution being stated as doubtful.



## A REVIEW OF THE PATTERN BROADS OF CHARLES II.

BY E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.

N presenting this short review on the subject covered by the title of this paper my first duty would appear to be to test the assumption that all the coins described as Patterns for Broads, in Charles II's reign, were the productions of Thomas Simon. A reference to such authorities as lay to my hand, and including the Coin Department at the British Museum, failed to show that any other of the recognized medallists of the period had produced trial pieces of this particular denomination.

The artists, besides the brothers Simon, who might have essayed similar patterns for a special new issue were Thos. Rawlins, David Ramage, and Jan Roettiers. Of these Rawlins, the moneyer of Charles I, had executed several dies for broads at one time in that reign. He had been reinstalled in the Mint on the Restoration, apparently as a reward for his loyalty and sufferings. He held that position till 1670 as official senior to both Simon and Roettiers, yet no current coin struck in that period is attributed to him. It is possible that this talented artist, who had been referred to by Evelyn in 1657 as a "debashed fellow," had lowered his capacity for work by drinking confusion to his Roundhead foes with too great perseverance in his season of adversity. Ramage had produced some patterns of considerable decorative merit during his service with the Commonwealth, but latterly he seems to have specialized in the farthing coinage both for Cromwell and Charles II, and had been described as "Farthing maker in the Tower." He died not later than 1662.

J. Roettiers, the designer of all the milled coins of Charles II's reign, did not arrive in this country, it appears, till 1661; that is a year after the issue of some of the series we are reviewing. It is supposed that he had virtually a promise of the appointment which he held so long in our Mint, and that this was the return for services rendered to the exiled monarch by his father in Antwerp. There is thus no evidence to show that anyone besides Simon attempted at this time patterns to improve and, as I hope to show, to enlarge the currency and its denominations.

It was impossible for the Crown to overlook Simon's work and merits, and on these he was continued in his former appointments and duties—being made responsible for the hammered coinage first issued in the reign—to hold his position till the arrival of a capable successor, or supplanter, in Roettiers should enable the Crown authorities to rid themselves of one who had not only helped to glorify the usurper's office, by commemorating his successes on land and sea, but who had shown the possibility of a currency mechanically far superior to any previously in use in this country as well as to that which he was allowed to furnish in the first issues of the new reign. This hammered currency was a fine effort as far as the dies were concerned. Yet, I think, it must be allowed that the series we are now considering reached a still higher artistic level in the several portraits of the king, while the technical processes rivalled the excellence of the Protector's patterns.

It seems almost impossible to escape the conclusion that the neglect of these efforts was, as previously suggested, a political one, and that Simon produced his patterns partly from his own expert enthusiasm for an improved currency, and partly as a personal appeal to the authorities, which found their most urgent but unavailing expression in the Petition Crown, dated 1663.


It is not the main object of this paper to dwell on minute differences in this series of patterns, but for completeness a certain detailed description is called for. Fortunately, it is not so tedious a catalogue as is furnished by the pattern florins of Victoria, or courage might have failed me.

We may say that there are five main varieties or types, which are as follows. They are all produced by the mill and screw, and in diameter measure 8 in Mionnet's scale. In this they agree with Rawlins's pattern broads for Charles I, and Simon's own coin for Oliver Cromwell.

Descriptions of the five different types of Thos. Simon's broads :

*Type I.*

Obverse : Head to right laureated, bust with breastplate and drapery ; legend, CAROLVS ★ II · REX .

Reverse : Four swept shields with arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, alternating with  crowned, and star in centre ; legend, MAGNALIA · DEI 1660. Edge grained.

*Type II.*

Obverse : Bust in high relief to right ; legend, CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HI · REX.

Reverse : Square shield crowned with arms of the four kingdoms quarterly ; legend, MAGNA · OPERA · DOMINI · 1660.

*Type III.*

Obverse : Bust in high relief, crowned ; legend as on the Coronation medal. T.S. below.

Reverse : As Type II.

*Type IV.*

Composed of two reverses (a) swept shield crowned with arms of England and France quarterly ; legend PROBASTI · ME · DNE · SICVT · ARGENTVM. (b) As Type II.

On edge ★ REVERSVS · SINE · CLADE · VICTOR  SIMON F.

*Type V.*

Obverse : Bust to left, laureated in low relief, S beneath ; legend CAR · II · D · G · M · BR · FR · ET · HI · REX.

Reverse : Square shield, crowned arms of England and France, dimidiated in 1st and 4th quarters ; legend, FLORENT · CONCORDIA · REGNA · 1662.

There are, then, on these coins four different reverse legends and two edge inscriptions with which we will deal in order.

MAGNALIA DEI means "The wonderful works of God," and is the Vulgate version of the passage in the Acts of the Apostles, cap. II, v. 11.

MAGNA OPERA DOMINI is a variant of the same ; or it may be translated "The works of the Lord are great".

PROBASTI ME D[OMI]NE SICVT ARGENTVM is also a sentence from the Vulgate, Psalm LXVI, v. 5 : "Thou hast tried us as silver is tried."

REVERSVS SINE CLADE VICTOR, "Thou (or he) hast come back a conqueror without shedding of blood." This may be an original sentiment of Simon's. I am unable to trace it.

FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA means "The kingdom that is in agreement flourishes."

One more edge inscription, however, must be noted. It is found on a copper striking of Type II which is probably unique. When it came into my hands the legend was given as VERGINEAM CAVEAS TUTAMINE SOLVITO ZONAM, but it seems more likely to read ISTAM NE instead of TUTAMINE. As it is signed THO. SIMON we may suppose the artist was particularly satisfied with the hexameter here perpetrated. Neither version is good Latin, and the uncertainty of the reading, which is rubbed, makes exact translation doubtful. Much less so is the gist of the remark. It amounts to "Take off this maiden's girdle at your risk," and is evidently a warning similar to the grimly humorous effort on Cromwell's crown, "HAS NISI PERITVRVS MIHI ADIMAT NEMO", "Let no man take these letters off unless he wants to die."

The first four out of the five types, you will note, originated in 1660, the last in 1662, and it is to be remarked that the only metal in which the whole series is represented is silver ; that three of the five are known to occur in gold, and a solitary one in copper.

The question as to the purpose of these issues deserves some study. There is no doubt of their being the work of T. Simon. This is shown by the signatures or initials on all of them. In Vertue's monograph on the medallic work of the brothers Simon,



published in 1753, Types 1 and 2 are figured and they are described as Coronation medals; the others are not noticed. By what authority they have all been considered as broads, and catalogued as such in the main collections dispersed at auction in recent years, I am unable to say. The obverses of course tell nothing one way or the other. But it seems more likely that the conventional reverses destined them for currency rather than for the essential purpose of a medal, viz., commemoration, which rightly gives the artist who produces it an opportunity to develop his fancy in suitable allegory.

I think we may briefly dismiss Types III and IV as having little or no bearing on the argument I am prepared to advance shortly. Type III is a pattern of considerable rarity, not being found in the National Collection. Its interest consists in its being a "mule," comprising the crowned bust of the Coronation medal, issued in 1661, with the plain shield reverse of Type II, dated 1660. It shows the possibility of this bust having been originally intended for the pattern issue, but it does not, of course, prove it. Type IV, it is plain, could have no use as a currency piece. The unique so-called obverse and its weight and inscribed edge give it a claim to notice apart from mere rarity.

Having thus disposed of two types, I wish to direct your attention in the three others to an important feature—the evidence of the scales in the case of actual specimens.

In Type I the low relief of the bust is quite in favour of its intended destination for currency. This coin is known in gold and silver. As is not uncommon with proofs and patterns, the examples struck in gold are generally below weight. The British Museum specimen weighs  $130\frac{1}{2}$  grains, Montagu's and Murdoch's were 137 and 132 grains respectively, and I have seen an unrubbed example of 120 grains, but that had probably been filed, as the edge only just cleared the legend.

On the other hand, silver strikings with grained or plain edge vary from 135 to  $171\cdot8$  grains, and with the motto on the edge, Montagu's weighed 193 grains and the British Museum's  $197\frac{1}{4}$  grains.

Let us now take Type II, which occurs in three metals, that in copper being the only variety with a lettered edge. My own gold specimen and that in the British Museum have a weight of about 175 grains each, which corresponds with no useful value, while the size of the flan and the depth of the obverse die would require the amount of metal used, at the least. The flan of the copper specimen is, if anything, skimped for displaying satisfactorily the legend on the edge. Yet it weighs in rubbed condition as much as a currency broad, and if it had been struck in gold, a reference to a table of specific gravities proves that it would weigh close on 300 grains.

A calculation in the case of Type I shows that the heaviest silver specimen noted—that of 197 grains—if struck similarly in gold would weigh about 357 grains. Remembering the weight of the Cromwell Fifty-shilling pieces—350 grains—have we not found a clue to the meaning of some of the series?

It is evident to me, at any rate, that Type II is unsuited for a broad; it is probably not a medal on account of the design of the reverse, and this view is strengthened by the words of warning on the edge of the striking in copper. No one could be legally punished for defacing a medal or tampering with its edge, and indeed it would never occur to anyone to do so. Melting or selling would be the needy or the greedy man's resort.

There remains to be noticed Type V. This differs from the others in being a fairly attainable gold coin in one or other of its three die varieties, while it is very rare in silver. The specimens are nearly all within a grain or two of their proper weight, the relief of the bust is low, making it quite suitable for currency, and the legend on the reverse is a revival of that on the sovereign of Charles I. Some of them look as if they had been in circulation. This type, dated 1662, constitutes Simon's last and most practical effort to influence and control the improved coinage of the future.

The conclusions I have reached as the result of the facts I have tried to set out for your consideration may be summed up briefly.

Type I was intended for a broad, or alternatively with a lettered edge for a higher denomination. Type II was intended to

be issued as a higher denomination only with a lettered edge. Type V was a broad and nothing else. In addition to the evidence of the coins themselves, I claim in support of my conclusions the facts of history both before and after these issues.

In Charles I's reign Rawlins had struck a Five-pound piece—the Juxon medal—besides many treble sovereigns at Oxford. Simon himself had issued a small number of Fifty-shilling pieces with lettered edge from the dies of the Protector's Broad. In the very next year after the Petition Crown was presented, Two-guinea pieces became current, to be followed, in 1668, by those of Five guineas. Modern custom does not favour such bulky pieces, but there was evidently a demand and a use for them at that time. On looking through the work of Kenyon who, if anything, tends to understatement in these matters, I find that in the following ninety years two-guinea pieces were issued thirty-two times and the five guineas no less than fifty-seven times. Simon's intentions then, in the light I have tried to show them, would be fully explained and justified.

Without belittling Roettiers and his works, for he was a fine and competent medallist, the portraits and workmanship of these exhibits show equally with the Petition Crown that the Englishman was still the greater artist, and that he was at the height of his powers. A comparison of Simon's likenesses of the King and of the Protector should have convinced an authority that the artist, like the medical man, in relation to his work has no religion and no politics. A whole-hearted recognition and a free hand would have enabled Simon in the space left to him before his untimely taking-off by the Plague in 1665, to furnish his country with a currency of a beauty and variety unsurpassed and probably not even approached in modern times.



## ROYAL CHARITIES.

(SECOND SERIES.)

PART V.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.

### *The Maundy Pennies and Small Currencies.*

**B**EFORE offering some remarks on the technical side of the Maundy question, which many of us are accustomed to view as dating especially from the beginning of the milled coinage, let us turn for a few moments to the historic changes in the ceremony, which had, we believe, suffered some eclipse during the Commonwealth.

In our last volume,<sup>1</sup> we gave a very exact account of the pedilavium, as practised by the Tudors. Let us now see to what extent the ancient ceremonial was revived, when the Restoration of the Stuarts brought back the happy relations between the Sovereign and his people.

Charles II, coming from a life of wandering to a magnificent reception in his late father's kingdom is said to have exclaimed that his subjects appeared so glad to see him, he wondered he had not been sooner recalled. But he was far too clever to let this new-found popularity subside, and even before reaching the country of his birth, he resumed the old custom of touching for the "King's Evil." Akin to this practice, although less onerous, in that it was only of yearly instead of almost weekly occurrence, was the little less fatiguing ceremony of washing the feet of the poor, and on the first Maundy Thursday after his arrival, Charles II revived the pedilavium.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xix, pp. 114-16, and Manuscript at the College of Arms, M. 7, fol. 26.

We have seen that the personal ministration had been omitted by Queen Elizabeth in time of plague and that Charles I, although he was punctual in his attendance and witnessed the ceremony, did not always himself wash the feet of the Maundy pensioners. At York, for instance, in 1639 and 1642, "the Bishop of Winchester performed the usual ceremonies" on the King's behalf.<sup>1</sup>

But Charles II had no mind to "go on his travels again" and was desirous of taking every possible opportunity of assuring his popularity. He therefore at once resumed the personal ministration, although his chaplain, William Sancroft, in preparing for the Eastertide ceremonies had shown no expectation of the punctilious care with which the King wished to revive the ancient ceremonial.

Charles II did not lack courage, and undeterred by plague, which again made its appearance to a small extent in 1661, and was quite prevalent by 1663, he received his pensioners in person at Whitehall, although it was sometimes necessary to postpone the "Healings" during the hot weather. In 1643 the plague, which had been frequently notified in the early years of Charles I's<sup>2</sup> reign was again rife and had prevented Healings at Oxford. But we saw in our last volume<sup>3</sup> that both in 1643 and 1644 the Maundy service was celebrated, Charles I providing the gifts for it in the University city, in a time of some difficulty,<sup>4</sup> but we have no detailed account of the pedilavium in these two years, and it would most likely be performed by the Bishop as in 1639 and 1642 at York.

Seeing therefore that Charles II's personal participation in the

<sup>1</sup> Drake's *Eboracum*, pp. 137 and 144, quoted in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xix, pp. 120-2.

<sup>2</sup> From the time of James I the plague was prevalent at intervals, but in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century we note frequent postponements of "Healings" even for such minor dangers as small-pox. See *Collection of Proclamations*, Society of Antiquaries, February, vol. iii, 1634, No. 194, and *State Papers, Domestic Various*, P.R.O. 187. *The Mercurius Aulicus*, March 26, 1643, p. 154, mentions that Charles I put up a notice at the gates of Oxford forbidding anyone to come and be healed before the following Michaelmas.

<sup>3</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xix, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Public Record Office *Pells Order Books*, Nos. 40 and 41.



ceremony is circumstantially reported in contemporary documents let us glance at the evolution of the service before we pass to the consideration of the small coins of the monarch usually designated as "Maundy Money."

We have seen that it was a long and fatiguing procedure not only for the officials but for the aged poor. In these days the recipients are relieved from a long attendance and the Office at Westminster Abbey, beautiful as it is, consists of a modified service. It begins with a single verse—the 34th only—instead of a whole chapter from St. John xiii, followed by a few prayers, the 91st Psalm, again a prayer, an anthem and the first sixteen verses of the thirteenth chapter of St. John. Then comes the first distribution of money in lieu of clothing, during the singing of another anthem, followed by a second lesson taken from St. Matthew xxv. The substitution of a money gift for the clothing, effected as regards the women in 1724 and the men in 1882 materially shortens the service.<sup>1</sup> The old custom of "redeeming" the Royal robe worn by the Sovereign during the ceremony of washing the feet is still in force although the pedilavium is not practised, but it now takes the form of a Treasury Note for £1, presented in the red bag, whereas until the later years of the Great War it was a Golden Sovereign. To this £1 is added another thirty shillings to take the place of the long feast of provisions.<sup>2</sup> The white purse containing the Maundy silver is then handed by the Almoner to the old men and to the same number of women—this number being decided according to the original custom by the age of the monarch with an added year of grace as of old. Another anthem is sung followed by the versicle and response: "O Lord Save the King"—"And mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee," and the service terminates with two prayers, and finally Psalm c. and the Blessing.<sup>3</sup> This was the service

<sup>1</sup> 34s. to the women, and 45s. to the men. *The Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*, pp. 355 and 357, by Edgar Sheppard, Sub-Dean of the Chapels Royal.

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. Lawrence Tanner, F.S.A., Secretary of His Majesty's Royal Almonry.

<sup>3</sup> During the war another prayer was added for the Troops

as I actually witnessed it in 1914 and 1915, at which time the red purse was still provided with real gold. The white bag in 1914, when his present Majesty was in his 49th year, contained 5 Fourpenny, 4 Threepenny, 5 Twopenny pieces, and 7 Pennies. In 1915, the second time I witnessed the presentation, the gifts were allotted to fifty men and fifty women, the money being sent to those who were not able to attend. It has been my privilege and good fortune again to be present on the historic occasion when in 1932, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, His Gracious Majesty, King George V, himself distributed the purses to his people, the first Monarch since the days of James II to perform this stately ceremony; symbolical of his desire ever to be at the service of his subjects. Each white purse now contained six complete sets from fourpence to a penny, with an extra fourpenny and threepenny piece, sixty-seven pence in all. It is unnecessary to give an exact account of the gradual changes in ritual from the Tudor times until now, but it is interesting to note how the comfort of the recipients is considered, especially in its brevity, for "The Order of the Maundy" as set out in the early seventeenth century in the *Old Cheque Booke of the Chapel Royal* is considerably longer.<sup>1</sup> This indeed it had need to be, when each anthem preceded or followed the actual distribution of gifts in kind, and one of the prayers referred to the pedilavium. The service, as there described ends with the words: "After the blessing the Lord Almoner calls for wyne and drinks to all the poore the King's health and bids them be thankful to God and pray for the King."

The custom of drinking the monarch's health was continued to the reign of Anne, and Canon The Reverend Sir Edgar Sheppard<sup>2</sup> referred to another old "Cheque Book" now in the keeping of the

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1872 by *The Camden Society*, pp. 178-9, edited from the original *Muniment of the Chapel Royal, St. James's*, by Edward Rimbault, LL.D. Dr. Rimbault remarks that the "Order" has been long in disuse, but judges of the date by the anthem mentioned, "O Lord make Thy servant Charles, etc.," as pointing to Stuart time.

<sup>2</sup> *The Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*, pp. 352-69.

Registrar General,<sup>1</sup> wherein under date 1709, it was still said that "After the Blessing The Lord Almoner calls for Wine and drinks to all ye poore the King's health and bids them be thankfull to God and Pray for the King." The words appear strange seeing that the monarch of the moment was a woman, namely, Queen Anne. But this repetition clearly dates from an account written under James II for a description is given of his personal administration of the pedilavium "with great humility," a practice for which Anne was too infirm.

Under William and Mary the King gave to the men and, says Delaune in his *Present State of London*, "the Queen does the like to diverse poor Women."<sup>2</sup> Of the ceremony of "Washing the Feet" Meige, in his *New State of England*<sup>3</sup> diplomatically writes that it "is done sometimes by the King himself and in his absence by the Lord Almoner." But we have found no grounds for supposing that William ever took any personal part in the matter. Indeed, Mr. Bidwell, late Secretary of Almonry to Queen Victoria, tells us that James II was the last monarch in England, who washed the feet of his pensioners,<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Sheppard also wrote that all accounts of the Maundy between 1688 and 1724 "are somewhat vague."<sup>5</sup> It appears that even if King William was not out of the kingdom he took no very special interest in the proceedings, although letters<sup>6</sup> passing between the Duke of Shrewsbury, as Lord Chamberlain and his secretary, Sir John Stanley, refer to the "warrant according to custom, for providing necessaries which the King gives to the poor on Maundy Thursday." Another letter a few days earlier—February 24, 1699-1700, refers to the poor as men and no reference

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rimbault mentions also this later Cheque Book as in the Chapel Royal, when he was writing, containing subsequent Forms of Service. When writing in 1902 Sir Edgar Sheppard's rendering of the Victorian Service is somewhat longer than that practised.

<sup>2</sup> *Present State of London*, 1690, p. 114, by Thomas Delaune.

<sup>3</sup> *New State of England*, 1693, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> *The Guardian*, April 5, 1893.

<sup>5</sup> *Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*, pp. 355-7.

<sup>6</sup> *The Buccleuch MSS.*, published by the *Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission* in 1903, under date Feb. 27, 1699/1700, vol. ii, part ii, p. 642. Maundy Thursday fell on March 28 in 1700.

is made to women. It is possible that after Mary's death this latter presentation had been abandoned. "The King," writes Sir John, "gives a charity on Maundy Thursday to 49 poor men whereof the Lord Chamberlain recommends two. I desire therefore to know who your Grace would have named."<sup>1</sup> A postscript to a letter under date March 7, reminds the Duke that a reply is urgently needed "as the time is drawing near I take leave to remind your Grace of the Maundy Money."<sup>2</sup>

According to the following semi-official accounts of the proceedings, they appear to have been strictly secular, for *Dawks' Newsletter* of April 8, 1699, No. 439, informs us that "The 6th instant being Maundy Thursday, 49 old men met in the Guard Room at Whitehall (it being the same number as the King is yeares of Age) when they dined on Beef according to Custom after which the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, Lord



PENNY OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

Almoner to the King, gave to each of them 2 Purses in one of which were as many silver Pence as His Majestie's Years of Age, and in the other 20s. in money, then each of them had given him 2 yards of Broadcloth for a Coat, 4 yards of Linnen Cloth for a Shirt, with New Shoes and Stockings as also a Salt Cod with Salmon 2 dozen Herrings on a Platter with a Bowl of Wine, etc. This has been Customary and practised time out of mind in all Reigns whatsoever." A similar but shorter account in *Dawks' Newsletter*, No. 289, of a distribution by the sub-almoner is given of the previous Maundy Thursday, April 21, 1698, and speaks of each man receiving besides "the shillings a silver Penny" but clearly this is a mistake, and a silver penny for each year of the King's age is intended, as had been the custom in the lifetime of Mary.

<sup>1</sup> *The Buccleuch MSS.*, p. 641.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 643 and a yet further reminder is sent on March 14.

But let us turn to a full description of the Maundy ceremony under Charles I which informs us that the officiant deputizing for the King kissed his own thumb, holding the beadsman's foot in his hand, rather than touching the foot itself with his lips. This was probably a precaution against plague.

Thus wrote Pagitt, whose manuscript is in the British Museum :<sup>1</sup>

" Relation of the Ceremony upon Maundy Thursday at Whitehall as I saw the 18 of April 1633."

" First there were placed along the right side of the Hall, 33 poore old men, the number of men answering to the age of the King. One of these men, viz. : Goodman Board of Kingston told me that he was aged 104 yeers, and that his father and grandfather lived to the age of 120 yeers ; this man had all his teeth and his senses and understanding and memory very p̃fect.

" 2. Then came the Am̃ners men and washed their feet w<sup>th</sup> water, wherein was boyled bayes and rosemary, which made it sweete and a redd colour like claret wine.

" 3. Then the Bp Almoner's Chaplain washed their feete, wiped them with a fine towell and kissed them on the instep and said the words mentioned underneath.

" 4. The Bp Almoner came p̃sently after and satt downe in a chaire w<sup>th</sup> cushions before it and then the Quire sang after w<sup>ch</sup> was read a Gospell.

" 5. Then the Bp Almoner washed their feete and taking their foote in his hand kissed his thumb on their foote and sayd Pray for the King and Queene and their royall issue and the Lord blesse you. Then the Bp gave euey one them 1. a fine shirt. 2. three yards of broad cloath. 3. a pr of shoes. 4. a wodden platter w<sup>th</sup> green fish salmon, readherring and 2 loafs of bread. 5. A wodden

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. MS.* 1026, f. 38, Justin Pagitt's *Memorandum Book*. The Harley catalogue describes this manuscript as " a paper book in quarto on the outside thus entitled *Liber Miscellaneorum*, 1633. In truth it is a private or memorandum book wherein Justinian Pagitt, Esqre., Lawyer, used to write many odd notes for the ease of his memory." *Harleian Catalogue*, vol. i, 1808.



dish with clarret wine. 6. Two purses one containing 20 shillings in newe silver, the other 33 new single pence.

“*Nota.*—Between every one of these p̄ticulars the Quire sang and the Bp rested hymselfe in his chaire till the Gard fetched the other.”

We have an equally minute account of April 16, 1663,<sup>1</sup> when Charles II at the same age as his father had done thirty years earlier gave his Maundy to thirty-three of his poor subjects, and we now note his personal ministrations. We learn that “after part of Devine Service, his Majesty being girt with a towel first washed their feate and then wiped them.” “Then,” proceeds the narrator, “the Lord Almoner (that most prudent and reverend Prelate the Lord Bishop of Sarum) delivered in his Majesty’s name to each of those poore men a purse wherein was a piece of Gold and 33 pence in silver, with allusion to so many yeares as his Majesty by God’s blessing hath already lived.”<sup>2</sup> After which his Lordship delivered to them one by one as before, cloth to make each of them a gown or coat and linen for shirts, then shoes and stockings, then loaves of bread, then salmon, herrings and other fish in so many several Dishes and all Beare and Wine at the delivery of each of these his Lordship minded them by some text of Scripture suitable to the occasion to be thankfull and pray for his Majesty. And then his Lordship came back to attend his Majesty, who, after the rest of Devine Service and an anthem sung, left those poore creatures praying and glorifying God for his Majesty.”

Slight variants are to be found in the manuscript to which I referred at the beginning of this article as prepared by Sancroft beforehand on the Restoration.<sup>3</sup> William Sancroft, born in 1617 was already chaplain to Charles II in 1661, when the first distribution of

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Harl. MS.* 829, No. 27, f. 74. “Relations of the King’s washing 33 poor men’s feate on Maundy Thursday, 1663.”

<sup>2</sup> Charles II was born on May 29, 1630. The year of grace was therefore included, in spite of the phrase “hath already lived.”

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Harl. MS.* 3795, No. 11, folio 33: “The Service to be done on Maundy Thursday by the Lord Bp Almoner.”



Maundy was about to take place. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1678 and dying in 1693 left a considerable collection of writings, mainly concerned with Church rubrics and ceremonies, and he was greatly instrumental in their restoration. His manuscripts may be consulted in the British Museum and at Lambeth, others again are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, or that of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Amongst those in the Harleian Manuscript Collection is one which, although undated, clearly explains the procedure as Sancroft believed it would be on April 11, 1661, for he speaks of "first white purses in every purse 31 single pence, then red purses in every one of them 20s." He tells us that the purses should be brought by "the clerkes of the Treasury," and the raiment by "the clerkes of the Wardrobe."

We note that the change from silver to a gold piece was not anticipated, neither as we have already said did the chaplain foresee that Charles II would revert to the old custom of personally washing the pensioners' feet, and it is more than probable that Sancroft based his studies on the procedure of Charles I in his 33rd year as chronicled by Pagitt. The question of gold versus silver may have been governed by convenience for the valuation of the gold pieces was subject to much fluctuation. That Charles II personally performed the pedilavium at this his first Maundy, 1661, we know, for he is described as so doing in the *Mercurius Politicus* of April 18, as follows: "Whitehall on Thursday last (April 11th) His sacred Majesty according to the example of the King of Kings, as well as his Predecessors (the Kings and Queens of England) washed and kissed the feet of 31 poor men in the Great Hall at Whitehall this being the 31st year of his Majesty's age to whom God in Mercy to these late distracted Kingdoms grant a long and happy reign." No mention is made in the *Mercurius Politicus* as to whether the £1 was given in shillings or in gold. But we may note that the Broad or 20s. piece exists without the value mark and therefore must have been issued in 1660 or 1661, and amongst the beautiful patterns by Simon are two bearing date, 1660 and 1662 respectively. But patterns are not suitable for Maundy, current coin being desirable,

and I illustrate the first hammered Broad intended for general circulation. This 20s. piece was followed by a slightly smaller Broad when the value mark was ordered in November 1661. The portraiture of this second issue differed little from the first, although the weight was reduced by nearly nine grains.

It is not likely that Charles would substitute gold for silver so shortly before he was about to make his second and lighter issue; and although in February, 1661-2, a gold milled coinage was commenced the hammered broad was continued for general currency owing to a shortage of new dies.<sup>1</sup>



CHARLES II'S FIRST HAMMERED BROAD.

Snelling, in his *View of the Gold Coinage of England*, page 36, gives the value of Gold coined between July 20, 1660, and December 31 in that year, as £5,153 17s. 1½d., and in 1661 at £4,450 1s. 2¾d. The issues included the Broad, Double Crown, and Gold Crown.

We therefore doubt whether Charles II made use of his new 20s. Broads in 1661 or 1662 for Maundy purposes but in 1663 there was a further reduction and the "piece of gold" is so clearly specified in the Harleian MS. 829, that I think this substitution was perhaps new and noteworthy.

In corroboration of the account we have many extracts from official gazettes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made early in the nineteenth century by Lady Banks,<sup>2</sup> and she gives from

<sup>1</sup> Information kindly supplied by Dr. F. W. Cock from contemporary MS. sources.

<sup>2</sup> *Lady Banks' Collection, Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 6305.

*Mercurius Publius* an account of the year 1663<sup>1</sup> wherein this statement about the gold appears. It was, however, probably a matter of a new and lighter coinage, and although we may like to fancy that Charles II might have chosen in these years the experimental milled pieces that between February and April, 1662, were made by the press and screw under a special warrant, we notice that these coins do not appear in the pyx lists.

A truce to speculation. It is safer to rely on the official Gazettes than on the Almanacks of the day, such as Chamberlayne, Delaune and Meige, who frequently repeated in a parrot-like manner the information contained in previous volumes.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it is worthy of mention that later with the rise in value of the Guinea we generally note the reference is to silver, and not to gold. Where two or more of these guide books therefore are agreed, their evidence, supporting one another, probably carries some weight; Meige, for instance, writes under William and Mary that the White Purse contained "as many sylver pence as the King is years old and in such another Purse as many shillings as the King has reigned years,"<sup>3</sup> and we find the same information in 1707 concerning Anne, whilst we have seen shillings mentioned in 1684 and 1687 under her predecessors. It seems probable that the gold piece given by Charles II, having risen beyond its nominal value, was discarded by James II and his successors. Even this poor exchange for the £1 in gold in redemption of the robe practised by the Tudors and early Stuarts was, Dr. Sheppard tells us, abandoned in 1731, but we learn with pleasure that it was restored in 1759.<sup>4</sup> In 1731 the *Gentleman's Magazine* chronicles the sequence from Groat to Penny as the Maundy

<sup>1</sup> *Mercurius Publius*, No. 16, p. 241, of April 23, 1663, describing the ceremony of April 16.

<sup>2</sup> One of these, Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, goes so far, on p. 162 in 1700, as to speak of the Queen Consort as the donor of the gifts five years after the death of Mary II. And this was two years before the accession of Anne, both these Monarchs being Queens Regnant.

<sup>3</sup> Meige's *New State* of 1693, p. 166, Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, 1684, p. 219; 1687, p. 197, and 1707, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*, p. 356.

Gifts instead of the single pence, speaks vaguely also of "shillings,"<sup>1</sup> whilst the *London Journal* of April 17, 1731, further complicates the matter by allotting the "Silver Pence, Twopences, Threepences and Groats" to the "years his Majesty had reigned and the number of shillings to the King's age." The Epiphany offering is always made in the precious metal to this day.<sup>2</sup>

Let us turn to the first decade after the Restoration when the title of Maundy was tentatively given by Mr. Hawkins to the small currency. Our task has been made easier by the writings in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of Mr. Henry Webb in 1879,<sup>3</sup> and of Mr. T. H. B. Graham in 1911,<sup>4</sup> who has since generously given his collection, therein described, to the Nation. Again we have Mr. Henry Symonds' *Pyx Trials*, in 1915,<sup>5</sup> and last but not least we must refer to Colonel Morrieson's *Review of the Coinage of Charles II* in the *British Numismatic Journal* in 1921.<sup>6</sup> The Plates in the two first-mentioned articles I am allowed to reproduce by the kindness of the Royal Numismatic Society. All these authors point out that the coins tentatively designated as Maundy by Mr. Hawkins, are merely an early output of the milled currency, and the writers only differ in the order in which the small hammered and milled currency should be arranged. Mr. Symonds indeed suggests that the sequence of linked C's which appear by themselves in the Pyx of 1671-2 might be segregated as Maundy,<sup>7</sup> but only pennies were required for this special purpose and half-groats for Largess, and I hope to show that this was a matter of proof

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. i, p. 172, April 15, 1731, "leather bags with one penny, twopenny, threepenny and fourpenny pieces of silver and shillings to each about £4 in value." In 1731, when King George II was in his 48th year and the Maundy pence should have amounted to 4s. per man, the provisions and garments are obviously included. See *London Journal* which brings the total to £4 1s. per person. See *Notes and Queries*, April 18, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Edgar Sheppard kindly so informed me.

<sup>3</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. xix. Remarks on the Early Silver Coins of Charles II, pp. 92-8, and Pl. iv.

<sup>4</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xi, pp. 57-79, Pl. vi.

<sup>5</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xv, pp. 345-349.

<sup>6</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xv, pp. 117 to 139.

<sup>7</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xv, p. 348.





EARLY COINS OF CHARLES II.

Plate IV of *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XIX, New Series.

(By kind permission of the Royal Numismatic Society.)



demanded by the Treasury of a certain output in proportion to the larger coins. Possibly moreover the change of dies may have been in question on the supercession of those engraved by Thomas Simon and his servant in April, 1665, for which at the time of his death payment was still more than two-thirds due.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Symonds' Pyx lists are invaluable and although available in the *Numismatic Chronicle* it may be well to repeat the dates, briefly suggesting the probable contents of each Pyx.

The Trial of July 9, 1663, of coins struck by the hammer, between July 20, 1660, and the above date, must have included as regards the small coins, the various half-groats and pennies of Hawkins' type I (see the Plate kindly lent by the Royal Numismatic Society from Mr. Webb's article—Nos. 1 and 2, with mint-marks on



CHARLES II'S PENNY,  
HAMMERED.  
HAWKINS' TYPE I.



VARIETY OF CHARLES II'S  
FIRST PENNY. RUD. SUP. VI, 12.  
(AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.)

obverse only) and those figured by Ruding in his Supplement VI, 11 and 12, without mint-marks.

At the end of 1661 a value mark was ordered to be placed on the obverse of each coin. This Pyx trial would therefore also have embraced some very rare hammered half-groats of Hawkins' type II—with numerals and with peculiar stops, in Mr. Graham's and my collections. Whether these hammered half-groats were accompanied

<sup>1</sup> *Medals, Coins and Seals, etc., of Thomas Simon*, by Geo. Vertue, ed. of 1780, with appendices. Appendix V, pp. 95, April, 1665. "For altering of the stamps for the four pence, three pence, two pence and penny, by way of the mill wherein I and my servant wrought two months. 35.0.0." The pyx of Jan. 16, 1671-2, was of coins running from Oct. 8, 1670. Simon's account amounted to over £3,000 of which sum £1,000 was paid on May 24 in this same year 1665. See *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1660-7, p. 661. Simon died, traditionally, of the plague in the following August.

by a penny is doubtful. If it exists it is of such rarity that it has so far escaped the eye of all the collectors of my acquaintance. The half-groats of which I have seen only three specimens (and these all from the same die) were probably struck immediately on the issue



HALF-GROAT, HAMMERED. HAWKINS' TYPE II.

GRAHAM, PL. VI, 5.

of the value mark order in November, 1661, with a reverse already available on the last coins of Hawkins' type I. These peculiar hammered coins form a connecting link between Hawkins' type I, also hammered, and the better struck half-groats and pennies of



HALF-GROAT OF HAWKINS' TYPE II.  
(STRUCK WITHIN A COLLAR.)

Hawkins' type II, which were probably reserved for the second Pyx, in that they were made by some mechanical process and can almost be pronounced milled (Webb, 9 and 10).

Last but not least this first Pyx contained the coins with inner circle and value mark running in sequence from groat to penny



PENNY OF CHARLES II.  
HAWKINS' TYPE III.

with mint-mark both sides (Hawkins' type III, Webb, 5, 6, 7, 8) ordered at the end of Charles II's 14th regnal year, concluded on

January 29, 1662-63. This series had therefore a run of nearly six months before the essay of July 9, 1663, as above. The type of the half-groat and penny suggests that these two preceded the issue of the groat and threepence and the peculiar stop of the half-groat in the last issue of Hawkins' type I and the first of Hawkins' type II, may be found on some of the half-groats of Hawkins' type III. As a complete hammered set these four small contributions to the general currency begin their reign on January 19, 1662-63<sup>1</sup> and continued until the hammered coins were discontinued in or about 1666. The milled dies were finished by Simon in the month of April, 1665, as I have said, and these in their turn were followed in 1670 by the linked C's of Roettiers. However, whilst the hammered quota was demanded by the currency Hawkins' type III reigned in considerable quantities. By 1663 the milled crowns, half-crowns and shillings required the complement and in so far as the groat and half-sixpence were concerned Simon probably supplied these dies first, making the new bust afterwards for the milled half-groats and pennies, to complete the sequence as late as 1665, those with the first bust being earlier available. Half-groats and pennies of Hawkins' type II must have found their way into the second Pyx, being as I have said clearly struck within a collar (Webb, 9 and 10; Graham, Pl. VI, 6 and 7), but they were followed as above-mentioned by the same denominations resembling in size and thickness Hawkins' type IV but still bearing the early bust (Webb, 11 and 12). These would be in the second trial noted by Mr. Symonds, running from February 6, 1662-63, to July 4, 1664. This author proved that the second Pyx was of milled coins, not only because of the over-lapping date, but because it contained the 5s. piece, not known in the hammered series. This trial would also embrace the

<sup>1</sup> Slingsby had asked on January 12 for a warrant "to justify the making of groats and threepences" on the King ordering small money. The form of warrant proposed on January 16, 1662-3 orders tools for making these coins "by way of the hammr" and striking "coins value one, two, three, four or sixpence from 20,000<sup>l</sup> of silver recently brought from France," no doubt from the sale of Dunkirk. See *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1663-4, pp. 9 and 15. January 12 and 16, 1662-3, Entry Book 9, pp. 229-30.

above half-groats and pennies differing from Hawkins' type II in the substitution of the ampersand for E.T. and in the fact that the bust, although still of the first type with single arched crown, divides the legend, reaching almost to the bottom of the coin. See Webb, 11 and 12 and Graham, Pl. VI, 8.

At the risk of being wearisome let me repeat that neither this



CHARLES II'S HALF-GROAT, VARIETY OF HAWKINS' TYPE IV.  
FIRST BUST AND SINGLE-ARCHED CROWN.

pair nor the above-mentioned half-groat and penny of type II (Webb 9 and 10) were accompanied by the milled groat and quarter shillings with the early bust and these coins numbered by Mr. Webb, 11 and 12, are usually massed with Hawkins' type IV—the much debated “smaller and thicker” misnamed Maundy, but they are in truth a further connecting link with the true Hawkins' type IV—the sequence to penny, Webb, 13, 14, 15 and 16.



CHARLES II PENNY, HAWKINS' TYPE IV.  
SECOND BUST AND DOUBLE-ARCHED CROWN.

These coins (Webb, 9 and 10) were no doubt, as Mr. Graham remarks, made by Thomas Simon “in a small screw and press,” but he is unable to state where. Was it in the Tower after the oft-quoted but mis-quoted order was issued to him “to bring in and deliver to the officers of His Majesty's Mynt all such counter puncheons, charges, letters and dyes and all other tools and engines for coining by way of the press and hammer as he hath in his



HAMMERED SILVER COINS OF CHARLES II.

Plate VI of *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XI, 4th Series.

(By kind permission of the Royal Numismatic Society.)





custody.”<sup>1</sup> I say mis-quoted in that it has been sometimes said to imply that he was deposed from office on January 24, 1661-62. This was far from being the case, but was merely, as the document states, the result of an order of Council issued two days previously that “all fabrick of moneys made by way of presses or screw” should be effected within the Tower. This command was in truth merely the enforcement of a regulation in Charles II’s first indenture of July, 1660, whereby it was ordered that “the gravers shall not grave elsewhere than in Our house in the Tower.”<sup>2</sup> The order was now applied to the new milled coinage.

By the kindness of Dr. F. W. Cock, to whom I owe a transcript from a contemporary Minute-Book, I am able to state that on February 8 he was put in possession of “The dwelling house and outhouse that Nich: Briott deceased enjoyed.” We know that these premises were in the Tower and were to be “forth<sup>th</sup> clered and fitted with workroomes” for “our Servant Thomas Simon.” He as “one of our Chief Gravers” was here “to make Stamps for Our Moneys by way of the Presse”—in the contest between himself and John and Joseph Roettiers in the matter of the famous “5 Shillings in Silver” which had been ordered, the day before, namely, on February 7. But we must hasten forward to the next Pyx, that of August 4, 1669, a trial of silver commencing July, 1664, which embraced the “smaller and thicker” Hawkins’ type IV, and also included hammered coins, and therefore, the demand for currency of groats and quarter shillings would be still supplied and therein tested until eventually the hammered sets, Webb 5, 6, 7 and 8, were superceded, the hammered process being abandoned, by Simon’s dies (Hawkins’ type IV; Webb, 13, 14, 15 and 16). The complement of milled half-groats and pennies, the quota demanded by the milled output after 1662, *i.e.* Webb, 11 and 12, had already taken up the running.

The Pyx of August, 1669, beginning for gold from December 30, 1663, and for silver on July 4, 1664, must also have included the half-groat of 1668, the pioneer of the Roettiers’ coinage of

<sup>1</sup> Vertue’s *Coins*, Gough’s edition, Appendix iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, f. 8B.

crowned C's unless as is not unlikely the half-groat was a pattern—but of this more anon.

Mr. Symonds, as I have said, is inclined to think that the entire linked C sequence, based by Roettiers on patterns by Briot might have been originally intended in 1670 for Maundy, because in the



ROETTIERS' HALF-GROAT, 1668.

Pyx of January 16, 1671–72, containing specimens of coinage from August, 1669, onwards, they are placed by themselves instead of being massed with other issues. But the indenture of October 8, 1670, ordered these coins with the general currency. "Groats at one Hundred and eighty-six to the pound weight Troy. Half-sixpences two Hundred and forty-eight to the lb. Half-groats Three Hundred and seventy-two to the lb. and Pence there shalbe seaven Hundred



PENNY, 1670—ROETTIERS' MILLED COINAGE.

of those."<sup>1</sup> The coinage given by Snelling, who tabulated his list from January to December and used new style, is for the year 1669 at 14,291.9 oz. 10 dwt., for 1670, 46,142 lb. 11 oz. and for 1671 at 38,645 lb. 2 oz. 17 dwt. and the amount of small pieces set apart so far as we may judge from the total mentioned is consonant with that required by the output of the milled coinage then in full swing. I have, therefore, suggested that we might regard this segregation as

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, f. 63B. The weight of the penny as here given is heavier than in the Indenture of 1660, where the "Two pence running for two pence sterling" is stated at 372 and the penny at "seaven hundred forty four of these to the pound weight." But as these weights are repeated under William and Mary in 1689 it is likely that the copyist of the 1670 indenture omitted the words "forty four" in error. See *ibid.*, ff. 5B and 88.

merely pointing to the change of die-sinker—from Simon to Roettiers—and the payment to Roettiers for the use of his own dies for which he was responsible. But I am more inclined to see therein the collection of evidence to be produced by the mint officials in a petition in 1672 which ultimately caused the Lord Treasurer, Danby, to authorize a higher scale of payment to the moneyers provided the proportion of small coins was maintained for the currency. Or again, still more probably, the separate enumeration might follow on a proposal put before a Treasury Meeting on November 15, 1671, to increase the remedy from 6*d.* to 12*d.* on the lb. weight of small coins, because of "the difficulty of sizing" . . . "cutting the pound weight in tale of sterling silver at 63*s.* instead of 62*s.* so that 64*s.* in this small moneys in one pound weight be lawful tender." The subject was referred back to the Mint for further report.<sup>1</sup>

It is not here necessary to enumerate in detail the further trials, becoming more frequent, but the coins were tested on January 21, 1672—February 14, 1673—February 20, 1674–75 (with a very small issue of silver worse than the standard by  $\frac{1}{2}$  dwt.). There was another trial on June 14, 1677, this time a very large output, again on June 14, 1679, and on August 5, 1681—two separate trials under different commissions. Finally, on November, 1684, a trial of coins up to October 1, 1684, the King's last issue, although his types were probably used by his successor and would appear in the Pyx of July, 1686.

Having thus cleared the ground of the problems on broad lines, may I go into more details at the risk of some repetition. Let us return to the beginning of Charles II's reign when, in spite of his pressing need for replacing the Harp and Cross Money of the Commonwealth, the King was faced in April, 1661, with the minor

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, No. 115, fo. 76. Danby writing to Slingsby on Jan. 29, 26th year, *i.e.* 1674–5 mentions the silver output from Dec. 20, 1666, to Dec. 21, 1673 as entitling the moneyers to the extra 1*d.* per lb. if they had provided the quota of small monies. He stated that between the above dates the silver coined was 242,978 lb. 4 oz., and in small money 2,284 lb. weight. See also *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1669–72, page 453 (Out Letters General, No. 110, p. 17) and *ibid.*, 1672–75, pp. 665–6 (King's Warrant Book, IV, p. 246).

difficulty of providing 1,024 pennies for the Maundy, and yet earlier with a large and uncertain quantity of half-groats for scattering in his first Progress in September, 1660. The Mint was already at work before the end of the year, for Snelling tells us that between July 20, 1660, the date of the first Indenture, and the following December 31, 543 lb. weight of silver was actually coined.<sup>1</sup> We may, I think, fairly assume the half-groats would be amongst the first issue demanded. The coin is mentioned by Ruding, with reference to the two pennies and sixpence without mint-marks figured in his Supplement VI, Nos. 10, 11 and 12. The half-groat is not known, but together with the sixpence it has been accepted by most authors on Ruding's authority. Mr. Webb, it is true, doubted both the half-groat and pennies, but varieties of the latter exist in Mr. Graham's cabinet (Graham, Pl. VI, 2) and in my own, and if the penny, why not the half-groat?<sup>2</sup> I can, however, only



RUDING, SUPPLEMENT VI, NO. 12, PENNY.

say that I have not seen a half-groat without mint-mark and I do think there is some confusion in the description on Ruding's page 336, note 2, in his second volume. Be this as it may, including the blundered penny Ruding, Supplement VI, No. 11, which can only by accident have passed into circulation, there

<sup>1</sup> Snelling, *View of the Silver Coin*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Ruding, ed. 1840, vol. iii, in his Pl. Supplement vi, figures two pennies, Nos. 11 and 12. The coins are very badly struck, and the crown is as Mr. Webb remarks more like a Cap of Maintenance. Ruding does not figure the half-groat, but refers to it in a note in his vol. ii, p. 336, giving reference, however, to the illustration which is clearly that of a penny and is so described on his p. 377. I have three pennies of which one is his number 12 and fits on the plate, the other two vary slightly in die from 11, but equally have no mint-mark. Mr. Graham has also No. 12 on Ruding's plate, as regards the obverse and with a better reverse. It is now in the British Museum.

are four die varieties of these pennies without mint-mark. Charles II's first Indenture enforced the proportion of 18 ounces of pennies to the hundredweight, and the amount of silver from the re-coinage of the Harp and Cross money was very large. Snelling tells us that the total silver output in 1661 was £23,200 10s. 7½d., weighing 7,484 lb. 10 dwts., and in 1662 more than twenty-one times as much,<sup>1</sup> but it is with 1660 and 1661 that we are momentarily dealing. The Commonwealth money remained current, however, until May, 1662, although the first proclamation recalling it, fixed the date of November 30, 1661, for its withdrawal.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that the Maundy was always a direct grant from the King, *i.e.* that an order from the Treasury was necessary to procure the money at the Royal charges from the Mint. But we have no evidence that any particular dies were reserved for the purpose, and if the required money was in stock a special coinage might not be necessary, for the less the Maundy and Largesse differed from the ordinary currency the better, so long as the coins were bright and new and bore the King's effigy.

At the present time the Maundy coins, although included in the Pyx as legal tender, are not in fact used in currency and really command a higher price when sold as curios by the recipients. But in the seventeenth century this was not the case, and the dies employed would be those in use or ultimately required for current coin. It is, however, possible that no dies were ready and the faulty early efforts might be produced in answer to the call for Royal Charities, and amongst these we might admit the curious pennies figured by Ruding. It is usual when a monarch dies to continue the coinage with his effigies till the new dies are ready, but Charles II was debarred by years of rust and misuse from putting forth new pieces from his father's old dies, although we know that for his "Healings," new coins not being a necessity, he used the gold of James I and Charles I until replaced by his own double crowns and later by his

<sup>1</sup> Snelling's *View of the Silver Coin*, p. 54. The output of 1662 was £496,677 17s. 4d., weighing 160,218 lb. 8 oz.

<sup>2</sup> Proclamation of Sept. 7, 1661.



special touchpiece. But Charles made every effort to increase the output of small money even in January, 1662-63, ordering the quarter-shilling and groat. The large re-coinage of 1663 amounting to 98,412 lb. 1 oz. 18 dwt. 18 grains of silver, producing £305,077 14s., and that of the preceding year, which Snelling puts at 160,218 lb. 8 oz. = £496,677 17s. 4d., justified an important addition to the compulsory quota for small currency.

In the King's first regal year we read of pressing orders to Thomas Simon to "forbeare all other services until he hath perfected all things which belonge to him to doe for setting the Mint presently at worke."<sup>1</sup> This command, under date August 18, 1660, followed rapidly upon the original warrant issued to the Wardens on August 10 ordering that Simon should "draw and grave, and cause to be drawn and graven, all such paternes and irons with our effigies."<sup>2</sup>



CHARLES II HALF-GROAT. HAWKINS' TYPE I.  
EARLY ISSUE.

Again, on September 21, Simon himself was directed to hasten the issue.<sup>3</sup> We find Pepys entering in his *Diary*, on February 18, 1660-61 his first sight of the new coin and as he comments on the good design, but unsuccessful striking of the coins, which he saw, we may believe that the pennies figured by Ruding, which we have discussed, were amongst them. These coins, without mint-mark, were no doubt soon followed by the singularly beautiful little specimens of Hawkins' type I, of which the half-groat has several varieties and is easier to obtain than the penny. The half-groats have varying stop, so that they are easy to date, these stops, as I have said, being later found on coins of Hawkins' types I and III.

<sup>1</sup> *Medals, Coins and Great Seals of Thomas Simon*, by Geo. Vertue, Gough's edition, 1780, Appendix II, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix I, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix III, p. 84.



These coins have the mint-mark crown on obverse only, and are of hammered type with no value mark, and ran on until the value mark was ordered on November 28, 1661. The hammered pieces



CHARLES II HALF-GROAT. HAWKINS' TYPE I.  
PECULIAR STOPS.

next ensuing are, as I have shown, extremely rare, in fact so rare that one feels tempted to wonder whether they were a special issue made in answer to a call from the Royal Almoner for half-groats, for Largess before the new dies were ready. I refer of course to the



CHARLES II HALF-GROAT. HAWKINS' TYPE II.  
HAMMERED AND WITH PECULIAR STOPS.

hammered half-groats unaccompanied by a penny with value mark and peculiar stops—Graham VI, 5—and also in my collection, forming the connecting link between types I and III of Hawkins with the same peculiar stops. These half-groats were at once followed by



PENNY. HAWKINS' TYPE II.  
STRUCK WITHIN A COLLAR.

those struck within a collar-piece, still large and thin, but more carefully sized, and of these both Colonel Morrieson and I have varieties in half-groats, but the penny is comparatively rare. It is, however, found in most collector's trays.

In point of date Hawkins' type III would come here on the order of January, 1662-63, to produce groats and threepences and the fact that the curious stops are occasionally found on some half-groats proves, as already mentioned, that they immediately followed on in 1662.

Then we come, if we pursue the varieties made by the mill, to the first type of Hawkins' IV running contemporaneously with Hawkins' III. This first type of Hawkins' IV with single arched crown is by



CHARLES II THREEPENCE AND GROAT. HAWKINS' TYPE III.

some thought to be a special coinage—personally, I do not think it sufficiently rare, and believe it, like its successor with the double-arched crown, to be merely the complement of the early milled coinage; indeed the half-groat with the first bust is almost as common as its successor. The sequence of Hawkins' type IV, from groat to penny, is not at all rare, neither is the series with the linked C's, and there is no question as to their position as covering between them the requirements of milled currency from 1665 to 1684. The Royal



PENNY—FIRST BUST. HAWKINS' TYPE IV.

Charities, Largess, Poor at the Gate, and Maundy, would no doubt be provided from dies belonging to these sets at the King's expense, but they need not be reserved for this purpose.

In pointing out that Hawkins' type III, the sequence of groat to penny must have continued to hold the field as currency so long as the hammered quota was required, running contemporaneously for a time with their milled rivals, it is well to note that between January 1, 1662-63, to December 20, 1666, 7,513 pounds of silver

out of a total of 14,451 lb. 10 oz. 6 dwt. were coined by the hammer, the men being paid "for the better sizing of the Hamērd mony xxxj<sup>le</sup> 6s."<sup>1</sup> The remainder was coined by the new process, but the milled silver, excepting as regards the crowns, was not placed on an exclusive coinage, the sixpence for instance did not appear until 1673.

It therefore seems justifiable to believe that the Pyx of August 4, 1669, contained examples of Hawkins' type III, reduced of course by Simon's milled sequence of Hawkins' type IV and that both sets were ordinary currency, Simon's coins in turn being superseded in



ROETTIERS' HALF-GROAT AND PENNY 1679.

1670 by the Roettiers' dies bearing the linked C, and further that in Hawkins' type IV we have the Swan song, which Simon specified in his accounts as "altered" from the hammered pieces, and their type suggests the direct continuance especially as regards the groats.

We may, perhaps, admit the possibility that the half-groat, with the linked C's of 1668, owed its origin, as did a demand for touchpieces, to the fact that the King was "now about to goe a progress."<sup>2</sup> But we must bear in mind that in 1670 it was issued as part of the general currency and so continued until the end of the



BRIOT'S PATTERNS FOR CHARLES I.

reign. The type owes its origin to a pattern by Briot of the time of Charles I.

We may speculate whether the beautiful little half-groats connecting Hawkins' type I and II, with their curious stops were

<sup>1</sup> *Declared Accounts*, Bundle 1601, No. 55. Jan. 1, 13th year, to Dec. 20, 18th year. Later accounts do not refer to hammered money.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Treasury Minute Books*, T.29, vol. ii, p. 312. Public Record Office, Sept. 1, 1668.

made at the King's pleasure, and more than all, whether the first very hurried issue of pence were made for the Maundy of April, 1661. But Snelling tells us that the total silver coinage of Charles II amounted to 1,200,703 lb. 3 oz. 4 dwt. 14 gr.<sup>1</sup> and whilst the original indenture of 1660 had maintained the old order of "Fower Pounds weight of Two Pences and one Pound and an half in pence," reduced it is true in 1666 to 18 ounces of the 4 small denominations,<sup>2</sup> the necessary quota must have been so large that only the ordinary currency could absorb it, and thousands of pounds worth of groats, quarter-shillings, half-groats and pennies must yearly have been circulated.

We are, of course, fain to admit that the praiseworthy efforts of Charles II in 1672 to put the copper coinage of halfpence and farthings on a proper footing, reduced the requirements for small coins, but it was not until the year 1797, that the cumbrous penny of George III jostled its little silver brother completely out of the field.

We must remember that the combat between silver and copper had been of long duration, and even in the time when coinage presented a difficulty during the Civil War the farthings were unpopular. They were decried in London and consequently when brought down to Oxford the situation was met by a proclamation in October, 1644, against their use "in above 6*d*. in 10*s*. tender or in smaller sums four farthings in a shilling."<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of Charles II's reign, far from advocating the substitution of a regal copper penny for the small silver coin, Henry Slingsby, "Officer of the Mint,"<sup>4</sup> suggested in June, 1661, the introduction of three-halfpenny and seven-farthing pieces in silver, besides the retenion of the silver penny in currency. Instead of this the groat and threepence were added in January, 1662-63. But after the first indenture of Charles II we find no further reference to the

<sup>1</sup> Snelling, *View of the Silver Coin*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, No. 115, f. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Earl Crawford's *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, Oct. 12, 1644, vol. i, No. 2589, vol. v of *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, June 5, 1661, p. 3.

silver halfpenny which is not known although it appears in the first Pyx, namely, that of coins from July, 1660, to July, 1663, and it is listed in Simon's first account for dies,<sup>1</sup> and the Commonwealth halfpenny would naturally not serve. It is therefore clear that the farthings and halfpence made of copper by Royal Authority to replace the Tradesmen's Tokens slowly—very slowly—pushed aside a little coin of very inconvenient size, and the reform in 1672 of the Token coinage was greatly needed. We must, however, point out that when the copper coinage of Charles II was announced by proclamation under date August 16, 1672, he therein declared "that many thousand pounds of good sterling silver have been coyned into Single Pence and Twopences that so there might be good money current amongst the poorest of our Subjects and fitted for the smaller Traffic and Commerce."<sup>2</sup>

The object of these halfpence and farthings, as I have said, was to replace the Tokens of the Tradesmen who were suspected of having bought up and hoarded the small silver "so that there might be a scarcity thereof in common payments" and thus float their private coinage. The relief to the half-groats and pennies was only partial, whilst to the groat and quarter-shilling it was nil.

Indeed, nearly twenty years later, in February, 1691-92, we find the Duchess of Grafton explaining the whole situation in a very interesting letter, showing that the penny although becoming rarer, was still a circulating coin.<sup>3</sup> The Duchess desired Letters Patent to make twopences and pennies of coarse alloy. She suggested that they should be "less near to the standard" but considerably larger

<sup>1</sup> *Simon's Seals, Coins, etc.*, Appendix V, p. 89. The halfpenny is also mentioned in the indenture with Sir Ralph Freeman of 1660—"seaven sorts of silver moneys viz. a coin of five shillings 5s. halfe five shilling 2s. 6d. shillings 12d., halfe shillings 6d., twopences, 2d., Penny 1d., Halfe Pennie ½d." See *Brit Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, f. 58. Some writers have thought that if silver halfpence were coined they are indistinguishable from those of Charles I and so far the die mentioned by Simon has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> *Proclamations of Charles II*, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. ii, No. 187.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, f. 100 and 101.



than the current coin, because the halfpence "doe not sufficiently supply the want." She advanced the plea "that people going to market had to carry change, and that the copper pieces were much disliked by reason of their Extraordinary Bulk and weight which render them very Burdensome and inconvenient for Common Portage."

"Five Pence in farthings or halfpence is a considerable Load," wrote the Petitioner, "for any Persons Pocket yet if any one hath occasion to lay out a penny he receives back generally five Pence in these farthings, there being Seldom any other Sort of Change to be had for a Six Pence" . . . "That sized Peny or Two Peny Peece," she explained, "made of Silver near to the Standard (as has been the custom hitherto) will of necessity be of a Size too Small for Common Usage in passing from one to another amongst People of this Kingdom as by observing in former Reigns will unavoidably appear, for although Large Quantities of such Peeces have been diverse times coyned yet it is very Rare to see at this day any of them in Comon use, for what noe tolerable cause can be assigned, but the trouble and inconvenience that all sorts of People find in the usage of them through the littleness of their Bulk, whereby they are not only apt to be lost, but are too small to be tractable from hand to hand in common use and Practice."

This very smallness is a proof of the large quantities that must have been issued, for in spite of the great Re-coinage of William III, when practically all useless or worn coins were called in, the small pieces of Charles II are with certain exceptions by no means rare. There is no difficulty in obtaining any of the milled pieces either of the type commonly called the first Maundy, namely, Hawkins' type IV, or their successors of the linked C design. The hammered sequence from groat to penny, Hawkins' type III, is easy to obtain, and the early form of half-groat and penny only, usually confounded with the rest of Hawkins' type IV, is not nearly as rare as was at one time believed. Only Hawkins' types I and II are rare, even as regards the pennies and the half-groats considering that their issue was fairly brief, are found in sufficient quantities.



The project of the Duchess of Grafton from which she expected vast profits, was rejected, but her petition is interesting as showing the partial, but only partial, relief given by the advent of a copper currency nearly twenty years before.

But we must now turn to the Acts of 1666 and 1672<sup>1</sup> when there were fresh regulations concerning the coinage, and trouble began at the Mint over the large issues of milled silver and the subject of extra remuneration was raised. The silver coinage amounted according to Snelling<sup>2</sup> in 1672 to 86,673 lb. 8 oz. 17 dwt. or £268,688 11s. 8½d., and in 1673 to 101,064 lb. 4 oz. 15 dwt. equalling £313,299 12s. 6½d., in 1674 to much less 10,286 lb. 3 oz. 15 dwt., *i.e.*, £31,887 11s. 4½d., and in 1675 there was a further drop to 1,856 lb. 2 oz. 5 dwt. = £5,754 3s. 7½d.

The controversy between the Moneyers and the authorities was eventually settled in 1675.<sup>3</sup> The operatives had petitioned in 1666 for higher pay on the introduction of the milled silver, and we find that in spite of the decision in 1672 that copper halfpence and farthings should be issued, the small silver coins were still considered as vitally important for currency. Lord Danby, the Treasurer of Charles II, had already reported favourably on the moneyers' appeal and "conceived it reasonable," pointing out that since the introduction of the milled coins no more allowance had been given on the little pieces although "two thousand two hundred and eighty-four pounds weight in small money" had been made by "the mill and presse." He had, however, insisted on a certain production of little coins, with the result that the penny to groat held their own as a recognized proportion of the re-coinage still in progress. The moneyers alleged that the milled process put them to greater expense than they had expected and asked for another penny in the pound

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. v, c. 5 and c. 8. Act for encouraging coinage, 18 and 19 Car. II and 25 Car. II.

<sup>2</sup> Snelling's *View of the Silver Coin*, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, f. 76. No. 115. Jan. 29, 26th Regnal year of Charles II, 1674-1675. Letter from Danby to Slingsby authorizing the payment of the extra 1d. arrears from Dec. 20, 1666, to Dec. 21, 1672.

weight. This penny raised the pay from 8*d.* to 9*d.* and was granted on the condition of fulfilment of the quota. The agreement concerned "every 100 pound weight of Silver soe to be coyned," that is to say, by the "mill and presse," and the moneyers must bind themselves "within the space of 6 months after the Coynage of the same" that they would "coyn 1 pound weight and a half or 18 oz. of small money in the quantities & species following without any pay or further allowance for the same, viz., in pence  $\frac{1}{2}$  an Ounce, in 2 pences 3 ounces, in 3 pences 6 ounces, in groatts 8 ounces and a half or in regard y<sup>e</sup> pence are very small and apt to be lost, that the  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce mentioned for y<sup>e</sup> pence be added to y<sup>e</sup> groatts & that no pence be made at all." The suggestion of the withdrawal of the penny was not adopted by the Officers of the Mint, to whose decision the question was left entirely as one of serviceability for currency, not as Maundy which would have been a matter for the Treasury or the Crown.

The further allowance on hammered money for accurate sizing dates back to the time of James I when it applied only to the small coin, whereas in 1675 the allowance was given on the entire milled coinage. I have already referred to the distinction between the milled and hammered in an earlier document when the Declared Accounts state on December 20, 1666, that less than half the coinage between January 1, 1662-3 and December 20, 1666, had been milled and the rest hammered, and "xxxj<sup>ii</sup> vis. 1*d.* had been paid for the better sizing of the Hamerd mony at 1*d.* l. wt."<sup>1</sup>

We must bear in mind that the old quota ordered by the indenture of July 20, 1660,<sup>2</sup> was "Fouer Pounds weight of small money," that is to say, "two pound weight of Two Pences, one Pound weight and an halfe in Pence and Half a pound in halfpence," but this as we have seen was no longer demanded, on the introduction of the milled coinage. A shortage of small silver occurred under

<sup>1</sup> *Declared Accounts, Mint*, Bundle 1601, No. 55. Snelling gives about 200 more lbs. of silver coined between Jan. 1, 1663, and Dec. 30, 1666, using New Style and carrying his figures to the end of the year.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, f. 4 to 13.

William and Mary which gave rise to some further debate, and although in their indenture of 1689<sup>1</sup> they make reference to that under Charles II of 1670, we read under date January 23, 1689-90 as follows: "Whereas we think it necessary for Our Service and for the Good of Our People that some Quantity of small silver Monies be coyned and for as much as such small coynes cannot be sized or made with soe much exactness in weight as the greater Our Will and Pleasure is and Wee doe hereby ordain and appoint That three Pennyweight upon the Pound weight Troy over or under be hereafter taken and allowed as Remedy in weight for all Groats and three Pences and four Pennyweight upon the Pound weight Troy over or under as Remedy in weight for all Two Pences and Pence of Silver monies."<sup>2</sup> In spite of this concession, however, in April 14, 1692,<sup>3</sup> the mint master was obliged to explain that "the great Price which Silver hath been at for two or three years past above the Rate



WILLIAM AND MARY GROAT, 1689.

of the Mint, hath been the occasion that soe little Silver hath been coyned and consequently little small money made, besides what Silver hath been bought for the porpose." But he averred that the Provost of the Moneyers declared that "he doth insist on extra pay according to the severall Proporsion above mentioned" and so on and so forth. On May 25, 1696, this question of increased pay is dismissed in Council with the curt reply, "My Lords do not see any reason for an increase."<sup>4</sup> But not so easily repressed, some little

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, No. 88. The weights given are as follows: Groat, 186 to the lb., Half-sixpence 248, Twopence 372, Pennies 744, f. 89B, April, 1689.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No 104. The small quantity of pence coined in 1692 is corroborated by the fact that many pennies of 1693 are found with the date overstruck upon 1692, a circumstance denoting little use of the '92 dies.

<sup>4</sup> *MS. Treasury Minute Books*, T. 29, vol. viii, p. 307, Public Record Office.

while later the moneyers brought forward the plea that they had continually coined silver at 9*d.* per pound under a sign manual "in the reign of Charles II, but cannot continue to do so now, because his present majesty," *i.e.* William III, "and the Act of Parliament have enacted that one halfe of the Coinage shall be in Shillings and Sixpences besides the small money to be made according to the Indenture of the Mint which is 18 ounces in Groats Three pences Twopences and Pence upon every hundred Weight."<sup>1</sup> The Act of February 4, 1695-96, had ordered that in every hundred pounds weight Troy of Silver 40 pounds should be in Shillings 10 pounds in Sixpences and all other coins to be pursuant to the indenture.<sup>2</sup> The appeal was referred again to "The Lds. of ye Treasury Concerning small moneys," and so matters dragged on. The same story greets us again in 1702 in another abortive attempt at reducing the standard of the smaller coins.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst opposing any idea of changing the alloy for the larger current pieces the Mint authorities advance "that if small money which by continual use weares away fast and is apt to be lost were coined of coarse alloy as is done in several countries provided it were well coyned to prevent counterfeiting such money would weare longer and be less apt to be lost than that now in use." And now comes the proof that currency only was in question. "By small money we understand Groats, Threepences, Two Pences and Pence, unless the penny by reason of its smallness be made of copper." A somewhat similar proposition had been, as we have seen, made in 1691-92 as regards "the 2*d.* and 1*d.* of coarse silver whereby their bulk will be enlarged to such a size as will be fitt and Convenient for Common use."<sup>4</sup> But such plans have never met the approval of the Mint and the advisors of Queen Anne so strongly held to the policy of good silver that they even suggested that dies for small denominations should be prepared at the time of the Recoinage in

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xliii, No. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, Gul. III, c. i, vol. vii.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxx, No. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.*, 18759, p. 100; *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. cxlix, No. 45.

Scotland. In 1711, Clerk and Cave, the Scottish Engravers, applied for payment<sup>1</sup> for various dies which they had made. They claimed for "Puncheons and Letters for Small Coynes, viz., Fouer Pence, Three Pence, Two Pence, and One Penny, the sum of £70," but comparison with the charges at the Tower Mint for similar denominations reduced the payment to £25, namely, £4 for the penny, £6 for the halfgroat, £7 for the threepence and £8 for the groat. Mr. Burns<sup>1</sup> in his *Coinage of Scotland*, mentions a pattern groat with the letter E, and the date 1711, which I have also seen, and Mr. Wingate<sup>2</sup> remarked concerning a die for the half-groat that "it might owe its origin to the necessity of supplying Scotland with small silver of which it was in great need." It is obvious that Maundy was not in question and the bare suggestion of making these little pieces for Anne's new Scottish coinage shows that in her effort to establish parity between the sister countries, the small silver currency was given consideration.

We may point out that the absence of certain coins in the trays of collectors, although not absolute proof of their non-existence, is worth our examination, and so far as I am aware the pennies of 1702, of 1704, and of 1707 are not known. On the other hand, in 1706 they are not rare, and of this date they should not have been required for Maundy, because owing to the advent of Easter in that year before the 25th of March the feast occurred twice, according to Old Style, in 1705 and not at all in 1706, Maundy Thursday falling on April 5, 1705, and again on March 21, 1705, Old Style. Moreover, I have been informed that the whole sequence of small coins is commoner in 1706 than in 1705.

The groat of 1702 of William III standing by itself has often been claimed as a possible preparation for a Maundy distribution he did not live to see. But a groat was not required for Maundy, and it was clearly a forerunner of the ordinary coinage.

The pennies themselves are indeed present in many years when

<sup>1</sup> *The Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. ix, p. 215.



the other small coins are absent. Thus Mr. Hawkins give a fair continuance of pennies, noting 19 in 33 years of George II,<sup>1</sup> and others may exist of later discovery, but only the penny did he find between the years 1750 and 1756 and we notice how frequently the groats, the threepences, and even the half-groats also are conspicuous by their absence. This is suggestive of Maundy use and makes us hesitate to affirm that complete sets became the established practice from 1731 onward, when the *Gentleman's Magazine* notes the presentation of the sequence of coins from the groat downward. We might even go so far as to say that any attractive and sporadic coinage such as the Wire money of 1792 might form a desirable gift, for the records have shown us that the donation was subject



WILLIAM III GROAT, 1702.

to change—sometimes in gold came the extra Princely gift, sometimes in silver, sometimes as now in the equivalent Treasury note, but always the number of small silver coins was regulated upon the age of the monarch with the included year of grace. Moreover, the gift to be useful must originally have been current coin or marketable as the little sets now are at enhanced value to the collector. But in glancing at the fact that the copper coinage eventually beat the small silver off the field we must pause to admit that the four-penny piece had made sporadic reappearances and the threepence has always fought its way through opposition, having a vogue of its own, especially in Scotland where for reasons of wages it is in special demand not for charity but for mercantile purposes.

<sup>1</sup> *Hawkins' Silver Coins*, ed. 1886, p. 409. He gives pennies in 1729, '31, '32, '35, '37, '39, '40, '43, '46, '50, '52, '53, '54, '55, '56, '57, '58, '59 and 1760. For Maundy purposes the dates '33 and '44 which are absent would not be required, for Maundy Thursday fell before the 25th of March in those years, and the Old Style of reckoning was still in use, until the January of 1751.



During the early years of George III when the silver output was limited to the Northumberland shilling to the value of £100, these little threepenny pieces had it all their own way. Mr. Hawkins writes that the Mint Records of 1762 and 1763 mention the amount of the coinage at £5,791, which must have been mainly in threepences,<sup>1</sup> for Mr. W. H. Hocking, who had the kindness to discuss the



GEORGE V THREEPENCE, 1921.

question with me, tells me that in 1762 £10,000 worth of these little coins were ordered, a larger amount even than the total mentioned by Mr. Hawkins.<sup>2</sup> We may also note that the sequence from groat to penny appears six times between 1762 and 1787. In the latter year a sporadic shilling and sixpence were issued in large quantities, and the bust on these two coins designed in 1787 by Pingo was



GEORGE V MAUNDY TWOPENCE.

reproduced on the smaller coins in 1792 when it reappeared on the Wire money mentioned above.

But we have now entered on the ground of the money legitimately called Maundy. I am no specialist in the coinages of these later days, and it is not within our limits or my powers to pursue the subject farther. I will leave it to other writers with younger eyes


<sup>1</sup> *Hawkins' Silver Coins of England*, p. 410 (ed. 1886). Mr. Hawkins notes that the threepence was struck in 1762, 1763, and other dates, and I learn from the Dean of Bocking that the complete sequence exists of 1765, although not mentioned by Mr. Hawkins.

<sup>2</sup> See *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, Appendix III.

than mine to follow the varieties found in the small coins after they had definitely been set aside in a class by themselves for charitable purposes and not for circulation, although legal tender. My object has been to place before our readers the picturesque side of the old-world custom, and to rejoice in the preservation of the benefits dispensed by the Royal Almonry. The Royal Charities continue and to use the phrase employed by our earlier monarchs, "the good of our People" is still the gracious care of our King and Queen, as very specially symbolized this year by their presence in Westminster Abbey, when His Majesty personally distributed the gifts, and we can but re-echo the words of the anthem then sung—"God save the King, God bless the King."

THE BOMBAY PICE STRUCK BY THE ENGLISH EAST  
INDIA COMPANY DURING THE REIGN OF  
CHARLES II.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

HE earliest pice struck for circulation in Bombay by the English East India Company, *i.e.* in the time of Charles II, have always been of intriguing interest, not alone for their rarity, although this is of a high degree, but also, and mainly, for their unusual legends and the elusive way they are dated. Standing, as they do, at the head of the British East Indian copper currency they invite the close attention of the student of the coinages of the British possessions overseas, and this article is written in the hope that, with the aid of several newly discovered or unnoticed varieties, a further, if not final, step can be made toward a complete elucidation of these striking coins.

The early trading efforts of the East India Company were much hampered by the lack of possession, on the west side of India, of a settlement which they could themselves completely control, and the fortuitous acquisition, by England, of the Island of Bombay, ceded by Portugal in 1661 as a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, when she became the consort of Charles II, formed the opportunity of meeting the Company's need, although some years elapsed before the island was placed at its disposal. It was, in fact, not until 1665 that the transfer, to Charles II, of the island was finally arranged, and three more years elapsed, namely, in 1668, before it was ceded, at an annual rent of £10, by the King, to the Company. From the latter year the island was carefully developed with a view to the transfer to it, from Surat, of the Company's Headquarters and amongst other ideas for development was one which aimed at the

institution of a coinage bearing the superscription of the Company and showing its English origin. By this means it was hoped, as in the case of the earlier Portcullis money of Elizabeth, and of the later Britannia dollars of Victoria, largely to supersede the native currencies, at least in the districts operated in by the Company.

The initial steps towards this end are to be seen in a series of letters from the Company (preserved or recorded in the India Office) which were first fully published by Mr. William Foster.<sup>1</sup> The first of these letters was dated February 22, 1671, and it ran as follows :—

“ Wee doe thinck it convenient for us to have a coyne of our owne there (at Bombay). Wee would have you therefore consider of such a coyne, soe as it bee not our Kings majesties or any stampe resembling the same, and of such sorts as will best suite with the traffique and exchange of the country, both in bigger and lesser speties. And if you shall find it necessary to have for change a small sort of copper coyne let it apeare to be what it is ; but what you shall coin of gold and silver, let it have an intrinsique value as to what it is stampd for, that it may be to our honnor and the begetting and preserving the esteeme thereof. But we would not have you coin any copper or other inferiour mettall before you coyne gold or silver, for to begin with that would be a disparagement to us.”

Nothing appears to have been done to carry the command conveyed in the above letter into effect until the latter part of the following year when President Aungier wrote to the Company under the date October 7, 1672, as follows :—

“ Of the copper which we have taken ashoare . . . what we have not sold wee intend to coyne into pice for the use of your island which we hope will also turne you to proffitt.”

A further letter from President Aungier, dated December 21, 1672, informed the Company of the erection of the mint, of the weight

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1906, p. 351, *et seq.*

and fineness adopted, viz., as used for the native coins of Surat, and of the inscriptions and design. These latter were decided upon as follows, to quote from Mr. Foster's copy of the letter :—

“ On the one side the Honourable Company's armes, with this inscription within a circle incloseing the armes : *Honorabilis Societas Anglicana Indiarum Orientalium*, writ in short ; on the other side, within the inward circle is engraven *Moneta Bombayae Anglicani Regiminis Anno Septimo*, and within an outward circle is inscribed the words ‘ A Deo Pax et Incrementum.’ ”

The names adopted for the coins, their weights and relative values were also communicated in the same letter, the copper coins being known as copperroons and the silver coins being called Anglina. Forty-eight of the copperroons went to one Anglina, *i.e.* the existing rate between the native rupees and pice. With the letter were sent specimens of the money, and a request that if the design were disapproved of some indication of what was required in place could be furnished.

That the design and inscriptions met with general approval is evident from the coins which have survived to our time, and I am also able to supplement the known varieties by the addition of two decidedly different types of the copper pieces. Tavernier,<sup>1</sup> a contemporary writer, says of this Bombay money “ that it only passes amongst the English in their fort, and some two or three leagues up the country, and in the villages along the coasts ; the country people that bring them their wares being glad to take that money.”

These copper coins are usually roughly struck on flans too small for the dies, a common fault with Indian currency, and it is very doubtful whether specimens showing the complete inscriptions are in existence. The example referred to in Atkins<sup>2</sup> is stated to be similar to the silver Anglina above referred to, and to be most

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies*, London, 1678, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, 1889, p. 140, No. 32.

probably from the same dies. A specimen was formerly in my collection and an illustration and a description of it is as follows :—



FIG. I.

1. Obverse : The Shield of Arms of the Honourable East India Company within a beaded circle surrounded by an inscription as follows : HON : SOC : ANG : IND : ORI :

Reverse : MON | BOMBAY | ANGLIC | REGIMS | A<sup>o</sup> 7<sup>o</sup> in five lines, within a beaded circle, surrounded by an inscription reading : A : DEO : PAX : & INCREMENTVM.

A similar piece formerly in the writer's collection has the legend on the reverse retrograde. Its description is as follows :—

2. Obverse : Shield of Arms as before, palm branches at the sides. Around, the remains of the inscription [HON : SOC] : ANG : IND : O[RI].

Reverse : [MON] BOMBAY | ANGLIC | REGIM | A7, in five lines, within a beaded circle, surrounded by an inscription reading retrograde [A DEO] PAX & [INCREMENTVM].

A further specimen of these copperoons, also formerly in my collection, is of a distinctly different type. It may be described as follows :—

3. Obverse : A large Shield of Arms with no palm branches and no surrounding inscription but with the letters GB on either side.

Reverse : MONET | BOMBAYAE | ANGLICI | REGIMS | A7 DO in five lines, within a beaded circle. No outer legend.

One is tempted to think that the letters GB on the obverse is intended for Great Britain and, flanking the Shield of the Company



as they do, that they imply that the coin is one issued by the Trading Company of Great Britain. However that may be, it should be mentioned that the design follows a well-known type issued by the Portuguese for their possessions in India.

The only indication of the year in which these three varieties of coins were struck is the reference, at the bottom of the central inscription on the reverse, that it was in the year 7, the "Anno Septimo" of the letter sent by President Aungier to the Company on December 21, 1672. The elusive nature of this reference will be appreciated when it is recalled that the above coins bear no indication of the point from which this seventh year of the English régime was calculated, and that there were several historical events which were equally likely to have been in the mind of the engraver, or the writer of the instructions to the engraver, when the dies were in process of manufacture. If taken from the restoration of King Charles II, in A.D. 1660, the year of issue would have worked out at 1667, and that is the date which Mr. Edgar Thurston<sup>1</sup> adopted. It was also in the mind of Atkins.<sup>2</sup> If taken from the cession of Bombay to England, in A.D. 1661, the date would have been 1668. But the island was not handed over until A.D. 1665, and, if this were the starting-point, the date of the coins was 1672. On the other hand, the King did not transfer the island to the Company until 1668 and if this commenced the era of the coins they were first issued in 1675, the year which was adopted by Mr. Edward Thomas.<sup>3</sup>

In view of the previous doubt as to the actual date of issue of these earliest Bombay pice arising out of the above historical events, numismatists are under a debt of gratitude to Mr. William Foster for bringing more clearly under notice than did Ruding, the letters which relate to the initiation of the coinage, for it will have been seen that this correspondence shows that, of the possible dates above enumerated,

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*.

<sup>3</sup> "Coins of the East India Company, in Bombay, under the Charters of Charles II," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, vol. iii, p. 45.

the year 1672 was the correct one, and that the coins date from the seventh year of the time when the island was handed over to Charles II by the Portuguese.

As shown by Mr. Foster, the coins were first issued between October and December, 1672, and there is little doubt that the coinage of 1672 was extended into 1673, although no specimens reading anno 8 have so far been discovered.<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that some of the coins inscribed anno 7 were actually struck in the beginning of the following year, but, however that may be, it is thought that certain hitherto unpublished coins reading simply A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>o</sup>, of which an example formerly in the writer's collection and described below, represent the main issue of 1673.

4. Obverse : Shield of Arms as before. Palm branches at the sides. Around, remains of an inscription reading [HON SOC] ANG IND [ORI].

Reverse : [MONET] | BOMBAY | ANGLIC | REGIMS | A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>o</sup>, in five lines, within a beaded circle, surrounded by an inscription reading : [A DEO PAX] & INCREMENT[VM].

There seems some probability that the Arabic numeral 8 was unintentionally omitted or, alternatively, that the central O represents the initial letter of octavo, comparing with the A7DO of coin No. 3, which is a specimen of the seventh year.

However that may be, coins of the year 9 are certainly in evidence, two of which, formerly in the writer's collection, are described below. Number 5 is illustrated as figure 2.



FIG. 2.

<sup>1</sup> In the Caldecott Sale of 1912, lot 46, a pice stated to read A DEO PAX INCREMENTVM 73 appeared, but the 3 was possibly a badly formed 8 and compares with our No. 7.

5. Obverse : Shield of Arms as before. Palm branches at the sides. Around, remains of an inscription reading : [HON SO]C ANG I[ND ORI].

Reverse : MON|BOMBAY|ANGLIC|REGIM<sup>s</sup>|A<sup>o</sup> 9.<sup>o</sup>, in five lines, within a beaded circle, surrounded by an inscription reading : A DEO PAX & INCREMENTVM 74.

The second example may be described as follows :—

6. Obverse : Shield of Arms as before. Palm branches at the sides. Around, remains of an inscription reading : + H[ON SOC ANG] IND ORI.

Reverse : MON|BOMBAY|ANGLIC|REGIM<sup>s</sup> [A<sup>o</sup> 9<sup>o</sup>], in five lines, within a beaded circle, surrounded by the remains of an inscription reading : A DEO [PAX & INCREME]NTVM 74.

Atkins describes a specimen of the same year although slightly varying in the form of the central inscription, but no reference is made to the figures 74 which appear on the above-described pieces. These latter coins are practically duplicates of each other, although they were struck from slightly differing dies, but they are both described here because it is impossible to get examples with complete legends. The year of issue in the central inscription on the reverse of No. 5 is, however, specially clear, and the figures 74 on the reverse at the end of the surrounding inscription of No. 6 are far more legible than the similar figures on coin No. 5.

The important point about these two coins is in the presence, on both of them, of the datal figures 74, as well as the regnal year 9 ; for the one supports the other and produce the year 1674 as the time of issue of the coins. Had therefore these pieces been known and appreciated by previous writers on the subject no speculation and error as to the date of these earliest Bombay pice would have arisen, and it is satisfactory now to place on record the absolute agreement of the coins with the records. In verification of the pieces dated [16]74 Mr. Foster<sup>1</sup> drew attention to a letter from President Aungier

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

to the Company, dated January 18, 1675, reporting "The copper and tinn coyne goe currant in theise partes, but that of copper of farre greater expence than the tinn."

The coins so far considered were issued solely on the responsibility of the Company, but the well-known rupee of the date 1678, bearing a royal shield crowned, and inscriptions reading: THE RUPEE OF BOMBAIM, BY AUTHORITY OF CHARLES THE SECOND, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE & IRELAND, Atkins' No. 15,<sup>1</sup> shows that the royal assent was subsequently given to the issue of coins by the Company for Bombay. As mentioned by Mr. Foster<sup>1</sup> letters patent were granted, in 1676, authorizing the Company to coin in Bombay moneys of gold, silver, copper, tin, lead or any metal compounded of these, to be current in the East Indies, and to be called rupees, pices (*sic*) and budgrooks, or any other names the Company might adopt, provided they were not the names of any coins current in the King's dominions. This grant was not, however, communicated to the Company's Headquarters in Surat until 1677, and the coinage followed in 1678.

Hitherto no copper money has been associated with this new coinage, but the pice described below, illustrated as figure 3, and formerly in the writer's collection, indicates that copper pice—to use the new description—were actually struck as well as silver rupees. Unlike the latter, however, the design and inscriptions followed the earlier copperroons.



FIG. 3.

7. Obverse: The Company's shield as before, but very much larger. No palm branches at the sides or inscription.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

Reverse : MONET | BOMBAYE | ANGLIC | REGM |, also in larger type, disposed in four lines within a beaded circle. Around, remains of an inscription reading : [A DEO PAX & INCREMEN]TVM 78.

It is fortunate that the remnant of the inscription on the reverse of this coin includes the datal figures 78, for, following the inscription on the earlier coins, which ends in 74, these figures must be intended to show that No. 7 was issued in 1678, as authorized in the letters patent above referred to, and they thus bring the coinage of these earliest Bombay pice, struck during the reign of Charles II, down to a date four years later than has hitherto been suspected and make the issues, so far known, range from 1672 to 1678.





AN UNIQUE AND UNPUBLISHED GOLD MEDAL GRANTED  
TO MAJOR ROGERS OF THE ENNISKILLENERS  
FOR VALOROUS SERVICES 1690.

BY CHARLES WINTER.

Obverse.—Laureated bust of King to right, in high relief.

Legend.—WILLIAM THE III D(I)G.R. FID : DEF : 1690,  
incuse.

Reverse.—The castle of Enniskilling.

Legend.—THE ENNISKILLENERS, incuse.

Edge.—TO MAJOR A[RP] (?) ROGERS FOR VALOROUS  
SERVICES 1690. Struck hollow.

**T**HIS interesting medal is  $1\frac{3}{10}$  inches in diameter, and has a rather large hole for some form of suspender—cord or riband.

In trying to trace some particulars in regard to the granting of this Medal to Major Rogers, I find that the Enniskilleners were



surprised at a place called Plottin Castle, a mile and a half from the field, during the Battle of the Boyne, 1st July, 1690. The Irish Horse made their last grand stand, and routed King William's Enniskilleners with the loss of 50 men, but were ultimately compelled to give way and fly, while their leader, Lieut.-General Richard Hamilton was wounded and taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grant's *British Battles on Land and Sea*, vol. I, p. 416.

This would suggest that the Medal was granted to Major Rogers for his valorous services in that action.

It is a matter of history that Derry and Inniskilling were the only two places favouring the coming of King William. The remainder of Ireland declared for the cause of King James.


There is a note concerning the Regiment—the old 27th Foot—in *Records and Badges of the British Army*, page 393, that :—

“Colonel Tiffen’s commission as Colonel of the Regiment is dated 20th June, 1689. This is the actual date of the formation of the Regiment, but it was only placed on ‘Pay and Entertainment’ on the date mentioned, January, 1690.”

## IRISH VOLUNTEERS AND MILITIA.

### MEDALS, BELT PLATES AND SHAKO PLATES.

BY CHARLES WINTER.

HE 1st July, 1766, is the date given by R. P. Berry, in his *History of the Volunteer Infantry*, for the first volunteers of Ireland. They were formed to resist the French invasion, and wore scarlet uniforms with blue facings.

This small beginning so rapidly grew that by the year 1782 the Irish volunteers had become a formidable force, and numbered 100,887 men, with 130 pieces of artillery. But not many years afterwards this national army of volunteers ceased to exist. Most of the corps were named after the guild, society or town from which they were formed, as will be noticed by the names on the medals and belt plates.

The medals are mostly engraved, are very rare, and were presented for skill at arms, good conduct, and competitive shooting. The belt and shako plates formed part of the uniform, and the former were worn on the sword cross-belt, as shown in the miniature portraits of officers which I exhibit. I have also included in the exhibits two interesting shako plates.

The information respecting the various corps is very meagre, and therefore I can only give the description of the various medals and plates.

#### LIBERTY VOLUNTEERS.

##### *Medal.*

A silver, oval, engraved medal with broad, flat border and loop at top.

Obverse.—A round tower with flag, and flames issuing from the front. Motto : PAX LIBERTATIS ∴ INCENDIUM ∴ GLORÆ. Exergue : LIBERTY VOLUNTEERS.

Reverse.—AWARDED TO PATRICK LEARY BY SIR E. NEWENHAM 1780. FOR ZEALOUS CONDUCT IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.

Sir Edward Newenham was the Colonel of the above Corps. Its uniform was scarlet with pea green facings.

#### INDEPENDENT BALLYROOM CAVALRY.

##### *Medal.*

A silver, circular, engraved medal with broad, flat border and loop.

Obverse.—In the centre two lances in saltire; above, the Irish harp without figure or crown under the motto LET ERIN LIVE; below, INDEPENDENT BALLYROOM CAVALRY.

Reverse.—1st WON BY Mr. J. O'CONNOR IN DISPLAY OF BROADSWORD EXERCISE.

This Corps was raised in 1796.

#### KILWORTH LIGHT DRAGOONS.

##### *Medal.*

A silver, oval medal with chased border, ring at top.

Obverse.—The Irish harp with winged figure, no crown, within a laurel wreath; above, KILWORTH; below, 2nd TROOP LIGHT DRAGOONS.

Reverse.—MERIT AT SWORD EXERCISE. AWARDED TO MICHL. MURPHY BEST SWORDSMAN 1780.

The Colonel of the Corps was Stephen, Earl Mountcashel.

It was raised in 1779. The uniform was scarlet with green facings and gold epaulets.

ROYAL TYRONE REGIMENT.

*Medals.*

Gold, circular medal mounted in glass, with gold rim and ornamented loop.

Obverse.—The Irish harp with winged figure, crowned, within a laurel wreath, two scrolls above the wreath and dividing the words GOD SAVE THE KING; a small star at base.

Reverse.—FOR SOLDIERLY MERIT within a laurel wreath, two scrolls and two small five-pointed stars dividing the words ROYAL TYRONE REGT.

Another, in silver, with steel clip and large split ring for suspender.

Edge engraved T. HORAN.

CARTON CAVALRY.

*Belt Plate.*

Oblong, engraved, gilt plate with grained border.

The Irish harp with winged figure full face, crowned and dividing the date 1796, the whole between two ribands inscribed CARTON CAVALRY.

LAWYERS CAVALRY.

*Belt Plate.*

Oblong, gilt, engraved plate.

The Irish harp with winged figure in profile, crowned between two ribands inscribed PRO REGE ET PATRIA LAWYERS CAVALRY.

## MARYBOROUGH CAVALRY.

*Belt Plate.*

Oblong, "old Sheffield," engraved plate.

The Irish harp with winged figure in profile, crowned,  
between two ribands inscribed MARYBOROUGH  
CAVALRY.

## WATERFORD.

*Belt Plate.*

A handsome silver plate, engraved, which has been ascribed to Waterford.

It is an oblong, silver plate with three dolphins on an  
ornamented shield formed of scrolls with floral  
surrounds; below, motto DEO PROSPICIENTE  
FLOREBIT.

I have referred to the "Book of Public Arms," but the only suggestion from the Arms of Waterford that could be associated with this plate is the supporter on the dexter side—a dolphin.

I do not know who is responsible for placing it as Waterford, but the plate came from the late Mr. Panter's collection.

## ROYAL DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

*Medal and Four Plates.*

Large oval, silver, engraved medal with loop, formed of two thin plates, domed.

Obverse.—The Irish harp with winged figure in profile, crowned and dividing the letters G. R.; above  
KING & CONSTITUTION.

Reverse.—PRESENTED BY CAPT. FERGUSON 3rd COMPY.  
1st REGT. R. D. V. TO Mr. GEO. RICHD. LODGE  
FOR SUPERIOR FIRING AT THE TARGET.



*Belt Plates.*

1. Oval, gilt, engraved plate.

The Irish harp with winged figure full face, crowned and dividing two ovals inscribed 1st REGT.; below the harp the date 1796; the whole between two ribands inscribed ROYAL DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

2. Oval, silver, engraved plate.

The Irish harp with winged figure in profile and dividing the letters 2<sup>d</sup> REGT.; below the harp the date 1796; the whole between two ribands inscribed ROYAL DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS. Maker's mark S.T.

3. A smaller plate than No. 2 with ends of ribands spread out.  
Oval, silver, engraved plate with grained border.

The Irish harp with winged figure, in profile, crowned between two ribands inscribed DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

4. Oval, gilt plate with grained border, with ends of ribands spread out.

In the centre in high relief a silver harp with winged figure in profile, crowned between two ribands engraved DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

LINEN HALL CORPS.

*Belt Plate.*

- Oval, silver, engraved plate.

The Irish harp with winged figure, in profile, crowned and dividing the date 1796, the whole between two ribands inscribed LINEN HALL CORPS.

## LIBERTY RANGERS.

*Belt Plate.*

Oval, gilt, engraved plate.

The Irish harp with winged figure, in profile, crowned and dividing two ornamented ovals engraved with the date 1796, the whole between two ribands inscribed LIBERTY RANGERS.

## OYSTER HAVEN INFANTRY.

*Belt Plate.*

Oval, gilt plate.

The Irish harp with winged figure, in profile, crowned, between two ribands inscribed OYSTER HAVEN INFANTRY.

## BANDON UNION.

*Belt and Shako Plates.*

1. Oval, "old Sheffield," engraved plate.

The Irish harp with winged figure in profile, crowned and dividing the letters G. R. The whole between two ribands inscribed BANDON UNION YEOMANRY.

2. Oval, pierced plate.

Bandon Bridge and three towers with a flag flying on each, the whole within a feathered border. Worn *circa* 1796.

## CORK MILITIA.

*Gorget.*

Silver, engraved double gorget.

The Royal Arms dividing the letters G. R., above, the Irish harp with winged figure in profile dividing the letters C. M.

KING'S COUNTY MILITIA.

*Medal and Shako Plate.*

A finely engraved silver medal with ornamented border.

Obverse.—The Irish harp in the centre of a grenade, crowned within a wreath of laurel and shamrock; below, a riband inscribed KING'S COUNTY MILITIA.

Reverse.—In three lines—MAJOR MARLEY NEWTON  
BARRY JUNE 2nd 1798.

Gilt plate struck in relief.

In the centre a double monogram G.R.; above, a Royal crown; below, a silver shamrock. Worn 1807–1820.

POPE PIUS IX IRISH BRIGADE.

*Badges.*

1. Gold and enamelled circular badge with gold suspender formed of palm leaves.

Obverse.—A red enamelled Latin cross reversed within a circle formed of a serpent with its tail in its mouth. PRO PETRI SEDE PIO. IX. P.M.A. XV. in gold letters on a blue ground.

Reverse.—VICTORIA QVAE VINCIT MVNDVM FIDES  
NOSTRA in black letters on gold ground.

Riband—Red with two white stripes edged with yellow.

2. Another, in silver, struck in relief, with bar formed of acorns and oak leaf, inscribed ANCONA.


3. Another, base metal, without bar.



WAR MEDALS ISSUED FOR SERVICES IN INDIA, 1852-1924,  
ALSO THE FIRST AND SECOND ISSUE OF THE MOST  
EMINENT ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

BY CHARLES WINTER.

I.—INDIA GENERAL SERVICE.

HE refusal of the Burmese to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty made after the first Burmese war of 1826 caused a second clash of arms to take place in 1852 on Burmese territory.

On completion of the war a medal was issued in 1854 to those troops who were present. This is known as the General Service Medal 1854.

Silver.

Obverse.—Head of Queen Victoria diademed, left, by W. Wyon. Legend: VICTORIA REGINA.

Reverse by L. C. Wyon depicts Victory crowning with a laurel wreath a seated warrior who holds in his right hand a sword and in his left a scabbard.

In the exergue is a lotus flower with two leaves. No inscription is on the reverse it having been the intention presumably of the "Powers that be" to record the campaign for which the medal was granted by means of a bar. Twenty-three different bars were issued for services in many parts of India covering a period of 41 years, viz., 1854-1895.

The following are the names of the bars issued :—

Pegu  
Persia  
North-West Frontier  
Umbeyla  
Bhootan  
Looshai  
Perak

} It will be noticed that none of these has dates.

After the Perak issue dates were added to the bars.

Jowaki, 1877-8.  
Naga, 1879-80.  
Burma, 1885-7.

When granting the issue of the silver medal and bar for Burma, 1885, Queen Victoria was "pleased to command that a bronze medal and bar" of similar pattern be "issued to all authorised Government followers who accompanied the troops so engaged." The practice of issuing bronze medals has continued until the present day.

Sikkim, 1888.  
Hazara, 1888.  
Burma, 1887-89.  
Chin-Lushai, 1889-90.  
Samana, 1891.  
Hazara, 1891.  
N.-E. Frontier, 1891.

Hunza, 1891.  
Burma, 1889-92.  
Lushai, 1889-92.  
Chin Hills, 1892-93.  
Kachin Hills, 1892-93.  
Waziristan, 1894-95.

These bars were attached to a suspender formed of scrolls, being fastened to the medal by a clip and worn with a dark red riband with two dark blue stripes, thus forming five stripes of equal width. The number, name, rank, and regiment of the recipient are engraved on the edge as a rule, but in a few cases they are stamped. The medal was issued to both services.



2.—THE INDIAN MUTINY.

The India General Service medal seems to have been limited to the smaller affairs on the Frontiers, Burma, Persia, Afghanistan, etc., and a new design by L. C. Wyon was adopted for the reverse of the Indian Mutiny, also a new type of suspender.

Silver.

Obverse.—Head of Queen as on the coinage. Legend :  
VICTORIA REGINA.

Reverse.—Britannia standing and holding out in her right hand a laurel wreath, on her left arm the Union Shield ; above, INDIA. Exergue, 1857-58.

It is somewhat similar in design to the five-pound piece of Queen Victoria's first issue and may have been suggested by that coin. Five bars were issued :—

Delhi.

Defence of Lucknow.

Relief of Lucknow.

Lucknow.

Central India.

The shape of the bars differs from those used for other medals, having fish-tail ends and curved inwards at top and bottom. The same form of bars and suspenders were afterwards used for the second China medal of 1857-60.

The rank, name and regiment are stamped on edge.

Riband—white with two red stripes.

The medal was issued with one to four bars but only a very few of the latter were granted.

3.—INDIA GENERAL SERVICE, 1895.

The troubles in Chitral led to a change being made in the design of the India General Service of 1854 and the date 1895 being placed on the reverse, and became known as the India General Service Medal, 1895.

Obverse.—Bust of Queen Victoria, left, with diadem and veil, and wearing the Star and Sash of the Order of the Garter, by T. Brock, R.A., as on the coinage of 1893. Legend : VICTORIA REGINA ET IMPERATRIX.

Reverse.—The Union Jack supported by an English and an Indian soldier dividing the word " INDIA " and the date 1895.

Fitted with scroll suspender and clip, and worn with a dark red ribband with two green stripes.

Six bars were issued :—

Defence of Chitral, 1895.  
Relief of Chitral, 1895.  
Punjab Frontier, 1897-98.  
Malakand, 1897.  
Samana, 1897.  
Tirah, 1897-8.

#### 4.—EDWARD VII INDIA GENERAL SERVICE.

After King Edward came to the Throne the obverse was changed and the effigy of His Majesty by De Saulles, as on the King's South African Medal, took the place of the late Queen's, the date 1895 being deleted from the reverse. A bar inscribed Waziristan, 1901-1902, was issued with the medal. Although Queen Victoria died in January, 1901, and the services for which the Waziristan bar was granted was for those in November, 1901-February, 1902, yet the officers and men who were already in possession of the 1895 medal received the bar only.

The number, rank, name and regiment of the recipient were engraved on each of the above medals.

These medals, in bronze, were also issued to authorized followers.

5.—INDIA GENERAL SERVICE, 1908.

A medal was next granted for the troubles, in 1908, on the North-West Frontier.

Obverse.—Bust of King Edward VII by De Saulles.

Legend.—EDWARDVS VII KAISAR-I-HIND.

Reverse.—An Indian fort with mountains in the background; below, a panel inscribed INDIA between an oak and laurel branches tied with ribbon.

This is known as the India General Service medal of 1908, and is mounted with scroll, suspender and clip.

Riband.—Green with a wide centre stripe of dark blue.

The only bar issued is inscribed North-West Frontier, 1908. The number, rank, name and regiment of the recipient are engraved on the edge.

6.—KING GEORGE V INDIA GENERAL SERVICE, 1911.

A punitive force was sent into the Abor country to punish the villagers who had been party to the massacre of a Mr. Williamson and his party. His Majesty King George V having ascended the Throne a new style of portrait was introduced for the obverse of the 1911 India General Service Medal.

Obverse.—Bust of His Majesty, left, crowned and wearing the collar of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. Collar of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire and Grand Master's Jewel of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, over the Royal Robes. Below the Bust, a laurel branch. Legend: GEORGIVS V. KAISAR-I-HIND on a wide band.

Reverse.—As on the previous issues.

Up to the present bars have been issued for services :—

Abor, 1911-12.

Afghanistan, N.-W. F., 1919.

Mahsud, 1919-20.

Waziristan, 1919-21.

Malabar, 1921-22.

Waziristan, 1921-24.

Waziristan, 1925.

#### 7.—THE MOST EMINENT ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

I thought perhaps it would be of interest to bring to your notice the first and second issues of the badges of the above Order as I am able to exhibit specimens of both types.

This Order was instituted by Her late Majesty, Queen Victoria, Empress of India "to reward service rendered to her and her Indian Empire," also to commemorate the Proclamation of Her Style and Title of Empress of India, on the 31st December, 1877. It consisted then of only one class (Companions) and was worn on the left breast.

A gold enamelled red rose of five petals divided by a green leaf, on each of the petals a gold letter forming the word INDIA. In the centre of the badge a gold bust of Her Majesty (as on the Gothic Crown) within a purple enamelled band inscribed VICTORIA IMPERATRIX. Above the rose an Imperial Crown, worn with a purple riband attached to a gold floral buckle.

Within a few months of the institution of the Order, Queen Victoria revoked part of the Royal Warrant, changing the name of the Order from that of the Order of the Indian Empire, to its present title, The Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, and enlarged it. It now consists of three classes—Knight Grand Commanders, Knight Commanders and Companions.

*The Knight Grand Commanders* wear a Star, Collar with the badge of the Order attached, a purple riband sash and a silk mantle of the Order. The badge for this class is somewhat larger in size

than the first issue, the word INDIA being omitted on the badges of all three classes and IMPERATRICES AUSPICIIS is substituted for VICTORIA IMPERATRIX.

*The Knight Commanders* wear a Star on the left breast and the badge of the Order by a purple riband round the neck. This badge is the size of that of the first issue.

*Companions* formerly wore a much smaller badge on the left breast; this is now worn round the neck, the Order being changed during the war, 1914-19.





## TREASURE TROVE.

BY GEORGE C. BROOKE, LITT.D., F.S.A.

**I**T is in the interest not only of the individual, but of the community in general, that knowledge of the law of Treasure Trove and its administration should be widely promulgated. To most people the term conveys a vague impression of the discovery of hidden treasure, and their comprehension of the law is usually limited to the knowledge that treasure trove is one of the appurtenances of the Crown, the concealment of which is felonious.

It is hardly necessary, even were it possible, to trace the law of Treasure Trove back to its beginnings. References of the Anglo-Saxon period have all been traced to spurious charters, and the earliest mention of Treasure Trove in this country that can be considered genuine is of the twelfth century, when a man is recorded to have fraudulently appropriated hidden treasure.

The earliest statute preserved to us, which charges the king's officers with the enforcement of the law, dates back to the fourth year of Edward I (1275-76), where it is enacted that :

a coroner, being certified by the king's bailiffs or other honest men of the county, shall go to the place where treasure is said to be found ; that he shall enquire who were the finders and likewise who is suspected thereof, and that may be well perceived when one liveth riotously, haunting taverns, and hath done so of long time ; hereupon he may be attached for this suspicion.

The fullest definition may be found in Blackstone's Commentaries which were published in 1765 :

“ Treasure Trove is where any money or coin, gold, silver, plate or bullion, is found hidden in the earth or other private

place, the owner thereof being unknown ; in which case it belongs to the king ; but if he that hid it be known, or afterwards found out, the owner, and not the king, is entitled to it. Also if it be found in the sea, or upon the earth, it doth not belong to the king, but to the finder if no owner appears. So that it seems that it is the *hiding*, not the *abandoning* of it, that gives the king a property. This difference clearly arises from the different intentions which the law implies in the owner. A man that hides his treasure in a secret place evidently does not mean to relinquish his property ; but reserves a right of claiming it again when he sees occasion ; and, if he dies and the secret dies with him, the law gives it to the king, in part of his royal revenue. But a man that scatters his treasure into the sea, or upon the public surface of the earth, is considered to have absolutely abandoned his property, and returned it to the common stock, without any intention of reclaiming it ; and therefore it belongs, as in a state of nature, to the first occupier or finder ; unless the owner appear and assert his right.

This is the basis of the definition given by Judge Baylis, writing in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute* in 1886 :

1. The word "treasure," in connexion with treasure trove, is confined to *gold* or *silver* money, coins, plate, or bullion, *not* copper, lead, bronze, or other metals or things.

2. It must be found hidden in the earth or in the walls, beams, chimneys, or other secret places above the earth, but affixed to the soil. If found *on* the earth or in the sea, or not hidden, it is not treasure trove.

3. When the owner thereof or his representatives cannot be ascertained.

*Then*, and then only, it belongs to the Crown or the grantees of the Crown.

It is worth while, at the cost of some repetition, to examine the clauses of Baylis's definition more closely. Firstly, the treasure

must be of gold or silver, whether in coin, plate, or bullion.<sup>1</sup> This definition of the law is due to the fact that until the end of the seventeenth century there was in this country, save in the early middle ages, no coinage except in gold or silver and no metals other than gold or silver were accounted precious metals. But this may well prove a stumbling-block for a coroner's jury ; suppose a hoard were discovered of the platinum coins which were struck in Russia by Nicholas I, would a jury decide that, not being gold or silver, they were not treasure trove, or would they hold that, platinum being a metal more precious than gold or silver and unknown at the time that the law was enacted, a hoard of platinum coins came within the meaning of the Act ? Or again, what is to be the fate of a find of coins made of debased silver, a hoard, let us say, of a hundred half-crowns of our present English coinage ? Are they silver or are they not ?

This is a pertinent question, for we must bear in mind that the object of the enforcement of the law of treasure trove has completely changed in the course of time. Existing originally for the purpose of safeguarding a revenue of the Crown, the law has now come to be administered primarily, if not entirely, with a view to preserving for the community the educational and archæological value of such finds ; indeed so complete is this change that, as we shall see later, the Crown now makes a practice of voluntarily surrendering to the finder the full market value of the treasure. Certain coinages which are of the greatest interest to students are of a debased metal on the border-line between silver and copper ; such are the coins of Carausius, the most interesting Roman Emperor to students of Roman Britain. A large hoard of his coins, which contain nothing more than a mere wash of silver, was recently found at Linchmere, in Sussex, in such fine preservation that the silver-wash still remained, and in appearance they might well be

<sup>1</sup> This is not very clear either in Blackstone or in Baylis's definition. Coke (c. 1628) defined treasure trove as "when any gold or silver in coin, plate, or bullion hath been of ancient time hidden, wheresoever it be found, whereof no person can prove any property."

silver coins ; thanks to the public spirit of the owner of the property on which the hoard was found, the hoard was brought intact to the British Museum and was carefully studied and published before any of the coins were dispersed. Similar hoards have been scattered and their educational value lost to the community. On the other hand, debased coins of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI have been declared treasure trove although containing less than 50 per cent. of silver in the debased metal of which they were made. It would certainly be in the interests of education that the law should be amended, in view of the archæological purpose that it now serves, so as to include not only debased silver but also copper coins.

I have mentioned the responsibility of the coroner's jury in deciding whether objects found are treasure trove. If the objects be voluntarily surrendered, it is not necessary for an inquest to be held, and in the case of coins found in organized excavations this procedure is usually dispensed with. But in other cases it is the general practice to hold an inquest ; the coroner's inquest determines not only whether the objects are treasure trove, but also who the finder is, and this is important for the purpose of the reward ; it also puts on record the circumstances of the find, which may be of archæological interest. But the coroner has no power to decide any claim to the right of treasure trove ; treasure trove *is* the property of the Crown, and any claim to a grant of treasure trove must be substantiated by the claimant. Such grants are rare ; people are often deceived by a belief that the ownership of mineral rights includes the right of treasure trove, but treasure trove requires a special grant.<sup>1</sup> Such a grant, under a charter of Edward IV, was successfully claimed by the City of Bristol in 1923, when a hoard of over 5,000 silver coins of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, found in Bristol, was surrendered by the Crown to the City.

<sup>1</sup> Because it is a franchise which is "plucked from the flowers of the Crown," as opposed to those which have no existence till granted, like fairs, markets, etc. The right of the Crown exists even before the finding of the treasure, and therefore the Crown may dig for treasure or give licences to do so.

To return to the definition of treasure trove, the second clause of Judge Baylis's statement lays down that the treasure must be hidden in the earth or in some secret place above the earth but affixed to the soil. A single coin found upon, or even beneath, the soil would not constitute treasure trove, because the *animus revertendi* on the part of the owner is lacking, that is to say, the coin was in all probability accidentally dropped and not deposited with a view to its future recovery. Similarly, coins or ornaments buried in a grave with a body are not treasure trove, as the owner can have had no intention of recovering them.<sup>1</sup> In 1875 some old coins were thrown on a cart on which rubbish was being removed from the ruins of a house at Dean in Bedfordshire; they were ruled not to be treasure trove on the ground that there was no evidence as to their position in the house from which they were removed; in other words, they may never have been hidden. On the other hand, there was an interesting case in 1927 when a hollow flint was picked up in Chute Forest, Wiltshire, by a boy who threw it against a stone and smashed it to find that it contained 65 ancient British gold coins of the beginning of the first century B.C.; the coins were declared treasure trove although the flint that contained them lay on the surface of the soil and was not hidden in any part of a building affixed to the soil. It was presumed that the flint had been buried and had been brought to the surface by movement of the soil.

The third condition in Judge Baylis's definition is that the owner of the treasure or his representatives cannot be found. There have been cases where the representatives of the original owner have laid successful claim to a treasure. In 1868 eighty guineas were found in the wall of an old house near Christchurch; on proof of title by the descendants of the original owner of the house, the coins

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Taffs has kindly informed me of a case which occurred many years ago, probably thirty or more, at Leigh-on-Sea. Pennies of Alfred were found in the hollow of the left shoulder of a skeleton which had been buried with horse and sword. The Crown is said to have brought an action against the finders (does this mean that a coroner's inquest was ordered?), with the result that the coins were declared not to be treasure trove.



were delivered to them. In 1870 coins found in the foundations of Blackfriars Bridge were returned to the Corporation of the City of London on the ground that they were the representatives of Sir Thomas Chitty, Lord Mayor in 1760, by whom the coins were deposited in the foundations. In this case the *animus revertendi* was lacking, however.

In the event of a treasure being found in compliance with these conditions, it is the duty of the finder to surrender it to the Crown; concealing the treasure is a felony which was formerly punishable with death, but now with a fine and imprisonment. Conviction for concealment is, of course, extremely rare, but there is a famous case of the year 1863. Gold ornaments were found at Mountfield, near Battle, in Sussex, by a labourer who, believing them to be of brass, sold them for 5s. 6d. to a man named Silas Thomas; he and his brother-in-law, Stephen Willett, discovering the ornaments to be of gold, disposed of them for £530 to a refiner who immediately melted them down. There seems to have been considerable public interest in the case owing to the place of discovery, which gave rise to a popular opinion that the ornaments were a royal relic of the battle of Hastings. The Treasury therefore procured an inquest before a coroner and jury, by whom the Crown's title to the treasure was established; a prosecution for concealment of the treasure was set on foot against Thomas and Willett, who were found guilty and each fined £265 (the sum received by them from the refiner) and ordered to be imprisoned till payment. After a year in Lewes gaol they were released upon a recommendation from the Home Secretary.

In the course of the last hundred years, great progress has been made in the study of archæology and especially in the method of archæological research. Archæologists have long appreciated the great value of the information that can be obtained from hoards of coins when the hoards are available for examination in their entirety. As a consequence, representation was made to the Treasury in 1860 for inducement to be given to finders of treasure to make voluntary surrender of their finds to the Crown. After



a delay owing to technical difficulties, authority was given, in 1871, to the chief officers of the Police to give publicity to the practice of Her Majesty's Treasury "of paying, on behalf of the Crown, to the finder of coins and antiquities coming under the description of Treasure Trove, the full bullion value thereof." The principle of giving a substantial reward to the finder was adopted, but it is obvious that the object in view, namely, to induce the finder to surrender the treasure, could not be attained by an offer which did not exceed the amount he would get by melting down the treasure; in fact, the Treasury had adopted a half-way position which was bound to be ineffective. Under the old system, the Crown was dependent upon publicity, the honesty of the individual, and the fear of the law, for the preservation of its rights; the new system admitted the weakness of man under strong temptation, but offered a reward too small to remove the temptation.

In 1886 an important discovery of 221 gold coins of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was made at St. Albans under curious circumstances. A builder, who had stacked away in a yard a quantity of old beams that had been removed in the course of the demolition of various old houses in the previous ten years, had one of the old oak beams split for firewood; when a wedge was driven into it some coins fell out, and it was found that the beam had a large circular hole bored in it, and the hole had been filled with coins and plugged with a wooden stopper which had fallen out during the splitting of the wood. The find was reported to the Treasury, who were advised that it was treasure trove, a decision which would seem to be contrary to that given in a case we have already mentioned in which coins were found on the rubbish-cart during the demolition of a house; but here there was the difference that the coins were found hidden in a beam which had once been fixed in a house.

This find was the occasion of a representation to the Treasury upon the inadequate reward given to finders who surrendered treasure they had found, urging especially that the British Museum and other institutions that acquired objects from treasure trove

had to pay for them not the bullion, or metal, value, but the antiquarian value. The representation was successful, and a new circular was issued offering to finders who notify the Government of their discovery such of the objects as are not required for national institutions together with the *antiquarian* value of the objects retained after a deduction of 20 per cent. of the value of the objects retained or 10 per cent. of the whole value of the hoard, the deduction being made with the intention of providing a fund to meet legal expenses.

Legal expenses in connexion with treasure trove are not frequent, and the rather provoking deduction from the finder's reward has been found to produce a fund altogether inadequate for this purpose should serious litigation ever be involved. A further modification has therefore recently been made, and under the existing practice the finder of a treasure who promptly reports his discovery and hands over the treasure to the proper authorities, receives the full antiquarian value of the hoard.

It may be of interest to state rather more precisely what actually happens in the case of a find which is promptly reported. In the first place the finder will, if he is wise, carefully collect all the coins and other objects of the find, including the receptacle, if any, or the fragments of the receptacle in which the coins had been deposited, and will take note of the circumstances of the find, the place and precise position. He will then report to the police and deposit the objects at the police station. The coroner will be informed and will hold an inquest which will decide whether the find is treasure trove. If so, the objects will be forwarded to the Treasury with the inquisition, which states the name of the finder and the circumstances of the find. The coroner is not concerned with the value of the find or with any claim to the right of treasure trove; were there any such claimant, he would have to substantiate his claim with legal proof to the Treasury. If there be no such claim, the objects are sent to the British Museum, where a careful examination is made of the find and a note made with full details for publication. Suppose the find to be gold or silver coins contained in an earthenware

pot which has been broken ; the fragments of the pot are usually, if of any interest, pieced together and, not being treasure trove, are ultimately returned, if required, to the finder. A selection is made of such coins as are required for the national collection and the Royal Mint is allowed, if it wish, to have a pick of the remainder. After that, a selection is allowed to be made by a public museum, in the locality of the find, which would have a local interest in the objects. Each of these institutions, the British Museum, the Mint, and the local museum must pay the full antiquarian value of any objects that it retains ; the money is collected by the British Museum and the full amount is sent by them to the finder. The coins or other objects that remain are returned to the finder, or, if he prefer, sold on his behalf.

In the last five years<sup>1</sup> 17 finds of coins have passed through the hands of the Medal Room staff as treasure trove, making a total of approximately 4,200 coins of which 1,400 were Roman, 2,800 English, and a few Continental. The total antiquarian value of the 17 finds was about £600.

It is often urged that finds of coins should be kept in their entirety and not dispersed or even incorporated with other similar coins. It is indeed true that as knowledge progresses more detail is required in research, and that future generations might obtain from finds information which is missed by the present generation. But such an accumulation of unselected material would defeat its own object. Let us suppose that one were to embark on a study of the coinage of Edward I with all the accumulated material of finds before one—9,000 coins found in 1877 at Montrave, 12,000 from Aberdeen (1886), 2,000 from Blackhills (1911), a huge number, estimated at 200,000 (but probably exaggerated) found in 1831 at Tutbury, and thousands more from numerous other hoards ; it would be impossible to make any headway with such a mass of material ; no man's life would be long enough nor his eyesight strong enough. For the progress of knowledge it is necessary for

<sup>1</sup> This was written in 1930.

coins to be selected and put in their place, each in its proper series, when they come to hand, in order that they may be available for serious work by the student.

But why, it may be asked, should the British Museum have the first pick of all finds to the detriment of local museums which must have a special interest in objects found locally? In the first place the British Museum, as the national museum, represents the Crown and the nation as a whole, and is therefore the proper depository for Crown property of that nature. It is also probably the safest place at present existing at which full access to the objects is possible for serious students. And in the interest of science it is desirable that this practice should remain. In the matter of coins it is, in my opinion, of the utmost importance that there should be centralization so far as possible. Only in very few other museums, notably those of the university towns, are coins at all adequately available for study by experts, and even in these few cases not in the same degree as in the national collection. For the serious student it is necessary to have as large collections as possible and to keep all the specimens carefully arranged in their series for comparison one with another. A single coin of its kind supplies but little information; its informative value lies in the points of resemblance and of contrast which it furnishes in its comparison with other specimens of the same series. Furthermore, students must handle coins and examine them closely through a magnifying glass; their exhibition in a glass case is absolutely useless for purposes of study. In fact the exhibition of coins is a problem to all curators of museums, and it is solved in the British Museum by the exhibition of coins being composed only of electrotype facsimiles; this has the double advantage of exposing both sides of the coin to view at the same time, and of keeping the coins themselves in their series where they can be properly studied and handled.

Perhaps I can make these points more clear by illustration from an actual case. A few years ago there was found on the outskirts of a large midland town (I will not mention its name) a hoard of 240 silver pennies belonging to a period in the Middle Ages when

our coins were so badly struck that there is scarcely ever more than half the legend visible on any one specimen, and the legend is important as it gives the names of the responsible officer, or moneyer, and of the mint at which he struck the coins. By comparison with specimens already in the British Museum, and only by that means, it was possible to interpret the legends on many of the coins. Of the 240 pennies found the British Museum retained 160, many of which completed the readings of coins already in that collection, the remainder being kept in the hope that they might serve the same function for future acquisitions of the same class. The remaining 80 coins, wretched looking objects, were offered to the museum of the town in question, a town which takes high pride in its excellent and well-kept museum. The local authorities, unaware that the other coins of the hoard were miserable objects only slightly less pitiful than the 80 offered to them, were very naturally moved to righteous indignation, and their local pride was very properly aroused at being offered what seemed to be, and indeed was, the riff-raff of the hoard. Their first instinct was to refuse to have anything to do with them, and it was only on second thoughts that they accepted the offer. Now let us consider for what purpose that town required to have any of the coins from the find. Their object was to place them in a case for exhibition to the local public as specimens of a hoard of mediæval coins found near the town. The finest specimens in the hoard would not have served this purpose better, indeed the 80 outcasts were thoroughly representative not only of the hoard but also of our coinage as it was in those days. By the retention of the better coins in the British Museum an important addition has been made to our knowledge and understanding of this period of the English coinage.

Such then is in brief the law and administration of Treasure Trove. With all its difficulties I think we may honestly say that it works more equitably and more advantageously than that of other countries, and that in recent years, with improvement in its administration and its wider understanding, there has been less concealment of treasure than there was in former years.





PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
SESSIONS 1929 AND 1930.



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1929. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
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## The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by a gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911 and thenceforward triennially.

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- 1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.
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- 1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
- 1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.
- 1920. Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.
- 1923. H. Alexander Parsons.
- 1926. Grant R. Francis, F.S.A.



# The British Numismatic Society.

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PROCEEDINGS

1929-30.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, January 23rd, 1929.*

ERNEST C. CARTER, M.D., *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

Dr. Carter explained that he had been asked to fill the Chair in the unavoidable absence of Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.

## *Exhibition.*

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—A penny of Eadgar in illustration of the paper to be read by Mr. Anscombe. Obverse: +EADGAR REX; reverse: FASTOLF ⁊ MOT+

## *Paper.*

“FASTOLFI MONETA,” “FASTOLFES MÔT,” AND THE LIKE, ON  
COINS OF EADGAR REX ANGLORUM.

By ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.Hist.S.

Mr. Anscombe adduced three pairs of Latin and Anglo-Saxon phrases which occur on coins of King Eadgar and which are exactly synonymous in meaning: viz., Durandi Moneta: Durandes Môt; Fastolfi Moneta: Fastolfes Môt; and Herolfi Moneta: Herolfes

Môt. As Durandi and the two other Latin genitives equate Durandes and the two other Anglo-Saxon possessives, Mr. Anscombe maintains that *moneta* and *môte* were synonymous in England in the tenth century. He explained that *moneta* in Latin had three meanings, namely, the *officina* in which coin was struck; coin itself; and also the moneyer's die. He objected to the tendency to expand *mone*, *moneta* into *monetarius*, and even *monetarii*, and asserted that such phrases as Durandi monetâ : Durandes môti, môte, mean—from Durand's mint, and that the prepositions *de* or *of* were purposely omitted to save space. Moreover, he pointed out that *môt*, locative *môte*—which was one of the commonest of Anglo-Saxon official words and could be properly applied to any moot or meeting from *witenagemôt*, the A.-S. Parliament, right down to *mæggemôt*, "a family gathering"—really means, in connection with the *mynetere*, the *officina*, or *mynetsmiðe*, whereat the minter and his artificers met together and carried out their duties.

Eight interesting instances of *moneta* following O.E. moneyers' names in the possessive case were cited; and also 22 cases of moneyers' names in the O.E. possessive preceding *mon* or *mo*. Mr. Anscombe also gave a list of 42 O.E. moneyers' names in the possessive followed by *mot* or *mote*. With three exceptions these all occur in the reigns of Eadmund (9), Eadred (13), Eadwig (5), and Eadgar (12). After King Eadgar's reign *moneta* and *mot* give place, practically, to M·ON. Of these letters M· is the abbreviation for *mynetere* after the minter's name; and ON is the O.E. preposition meaning "at," and taking its place before the name of the town at which the coin had been minted. Our English word "mint" represents O.E. *mynit*, the representative of *mōnēta* < \*mūnīt < *mynīt*. There is not the slightest need to ignore the facts that the *moneta* was the *officina*, or mint; or to expand the word to *monetarii* in order to explain the genitive of the moneyer's name that comes before it, as so many numismatists have fallen into the habit of doing.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, February 27th, 1929.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. T. W. Armitage, Mr. F. S. Ferguson, and the Rev. W. L. Gantz, M.A., Hon. C.F., were elected Members.

*Presentation to the Library.*

By Messrs. Spink and Son :—A bound copy of their “ Numismatic Circular ” for 1928.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—(1) A counter (? token) of Queen Elizabeth. *Obverse*, two-headed eagle crowned and T-L in field. *Reverse*, shield of arms of France and GOD SAVE THE QVENE. *Med. Ill.*, vol. 1, p. 123, No. 65, and Roach Smith's Catalogue of London Antiquities, No. 787.

(2) Tobacco stopper of brass. *Obverse*, bust three-quarters to left of Edward Montagu, Lord Mandeville, raised to the peerage in his father's lifetime as Lord Montagu of Kimbolton ; succeeded as 2nd Earl of Manchester in 1642. He took part in the battles of Edgehill and Marston Moor on the Parliamentary side, but afterwards helped with the Restoration of Charles II. The medal from which this is copied is believed to have been struck after Marston Moor. *Reverse*, Arms of Montagu in garnished shield, three fusils conjoined in fesse. Cf. *Med. Ill.*, vol. 1, p. 309, No. 137 ; also figured in “ Medallie History.”

From the Harman Oates sale (1929), where it was described on the authority of the deceased owner as bearing the bust and arms of Fairfax.

Also (3) a topical Souvenir "printed on the ice upon the Thames at Queenhithe, January 22nd, 1739-40," and bearing the name printed thereon of "Mr. Francis Beynon," an ancestor of exhibitor.

By Mr. Alan Garnett :—A silver badge of the Gehagan Society ; three Pitt Club badges for Nottingham, Northumberland and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the Hundred of Blackburn ; also a steel seal in case.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—A series of five half-crowns, seven shillings, four sixpences, three groats, two threepences, and one half-groat, all of Lundy mint for 1645 and 1646 and all in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—Two Charles I profile shillings, with mint-mark  $\text{C}$  monogram, from different dies. Also a shilling of 1646 with mint-mark plume and a sixpence of 1646 with mint-mark B.

### *Paper.*

#### THE COINAGE OF LUNDY, 1645-6.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

In 1645 Thomas Bushell offered to defend Lundy Island and not surrender without the King's permission. This being granted, he must have gone there some time in the summer of that year. During the winter the Parliamentary Fleet under Lord Lisle appeared off the island and he was summoned to surrender ; this he refused to do and the Fleet departed at next tide for Ireland. In January, 1645-6 the Governor of Swansea, acting under the orders of the Parliament, wrote offering terms for the giving up of the place. After some months of negotiation he wrote to the King on May 14th, 1646, for the necessary permission. Two months later, when the King was a prisoner with the Scotch Army, this was sanctioned, and at the same time Bushell was warned not to be overcredulous of

vain promises as he had been. Bushell then formulated his demands, one of which was that his several mines, mint, etc., should be restored to him and be confirmed by Parliament. Negotiations went on until February, 1646-7, when an Armistice appears to have been made. The terms were ratified by Parliament in July, 1647, and the formal surrender was made in September. The coins attributed to this mint are the half-crown, shilling, sixpence, groat, threepence, and half-groat, with mint-marks A in 1645, B and plume in 1646 on the first three denominations and on the others a plume or a pellet. Mr. H. Symonds suggests that A and B might apply to Appledore and Barnstaple, as these places were then held by the Royalists and the situation of Lundy was inconvenient. He disagreed with this suggestion on the grounds that Sir Richard Vyvian had the privilege of minting in Devonshire and would have strongly objected to any infringement of his patent. There were only three weeks to coin at Barnstaple, as it was surrendered on April 12th, 1646; there is no record of Lundy being blockaded except for the visit of the Fleet or of there being any scarcity of provisions. The design and the denominations of the coins agree with the conditions of Bushell's Aberystwith patent, as the plume is just as prominent as on any issued at the latter place. Pence and halfpence if struck would have been indistinguishable from those of Bristol. The early "A" half-crown has that letter struck over a B.

There were noted of the Half-crowns 1645 1 obverse and 2 reverse dies, 1646 2 and 5 respectively; shillings 1645, 2 and 2, 1646, 2 and 3; Sixpences 1645 1 and 1, 1646 2 and 2; Groats 1645 1 and 1, 1646 1 and 2; Threepences 1645 and 1646 1 and 1 in each year; and of the Half-groat 1646 1 and 1.

A very interesting and animated discussion by several speakers followed the reading of this paper. Mr. G. C. Brooke, whilst confessing that he had not given that particular period very close research, was not convinced by the arguments set forth by the lecturer, but was inclined to agree with the earlier attribution, by Mr. H. Symonds, of the coins under review to the mints of Appledore

and Barnstaple. He questioned whether the difficulty of transport to Lundy Island was not an important factor in ruling out the existence of such a mint, and, though voicing his interest in the paper, was not prepared to accept the new attribution without further study of the period. On the other hand, Mr. W. C. Harman, the present owner of Lundy Island, was in full accord with the views expressed by the lecturer, as to the possibility of the establishment of a mint there. Mr. Harman gave some very interesting details of Lundy, and stated that that very natural inaccessibility of the island, and the fact that there was a castle there in which the mint could be worked, rendered it an ideal place for such in those troublous times.

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#### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, March 27th, 1929.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

#### *Presentation to the Library.*

By Miss Farquhar :—A copy of her article on “A Lost Coinage in the Channel Islands.”

#### *Exhibition.*

By Mr. H. A. Parsons :—A selection of coins of Elizabeth and James I from the Lauterbach Hoard, Hessen, in illustration of his paper.

#### *Papers.*

“THE TITLE *Monetarius*.”

By W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

Mr. Andrew, Vice-President, wrote that, being confined to the house, he regretted that he had been unable to be present at the last Meeting to hear his friend Mr. Anscombe's paper on “*Moneta*.”



So far as he could gather from a necessarily condensed report, Mr. Anscombe's new theory was that the stereotyped form "*moneta*," with its contractions, which usually followed the moneyer's name upon our successive coinages from, roughly, A.D. 800 to 1000, was not the contraction of his title, *monetarius*, as was generally accepted, but complete in itself as the ablative *monetâ* = the mint, the preposition *de* being "purposely omitted to save space."

In every Anglo-Saxon charter, in Domesday, in the Pipe Rolls, and in every Norman charter, whenever a moneyer was mentioned as such his name is followed by the title *monetarius*, or its contractions; and *de monetâ* does not occur. There was no exception to this, and the same rule applied to all other titles, great or small. A Bishop was *Episcopus*, and a Jester was *Jocarius*, so why upon his own money should a moneyer abandon his title and describe himself as merely *de monetâ*? Again, if, as was suggested, the preposition *de* was "omitted to save space," why in the same coinages, with just the same space, did we find a very long, and a very short, moneyer's name followed alike by the word *moneta* in full and alone? To take an example from Ceolwulf's money; there was room for "*Biornfreth moneta*" in full, but according to the explanation offered, there was no room for *de* in "*Dun moneta*" under the self-same conditions.

It might be asked then, why was not *moneta* extended to *monetarius* in the latter instance, and in the many similar cases? The answer is that in early times Latin was usually contracted, and as *moneta* was the form that was adopted on our earliest standardized coinage, it remained the stereotyped form throughout, for nothing was ever more conservative of custom than the Mint.

But there were many exceptions to this rule, and more than thirty in the printed Catalogue of the British Museum's Anglo-Saxon Coins alone, in which the usual *moneta* is extended into such still-contracted forms as *monetaïnr*, *monetra*, *monetar*, etc., which can postulate only *monetarius*. But if extended at all, the contention that *moneta* is complete in itself as meaning the mint must fail.

He would, however, carry the argument on to Mr. Anscombe's own ground, and call his attention to certain issues from the York mint upon which the Anglo-Saxon language was used. Here we found such legends as Athelferd Minetre, Athelferd Minetr, and Aura Monitre, which were conclusive evidence that the Anglo-Saxon *minetere* or *mynetere*=Moneyer, was the variant used in that language for the usual Latin *monetarius*.

As to the occasional appearance of the moneyer's name in the possessive, or genitive, case Mr. Andrew was less assertive. He had already answered Mr. Anscombe's theory that it meant the moneyer's mint, but he also doubted whether the usual explanation that it implied "the coin of So-and-so, the moneyer" was sound. It was, he thought, generally accepted that a moneyer's office was hereditary, and he inclined to the view that if a moneyer died leaving a minor as his heir, or his heirship in dispute, or if he himself became incapacitated, it was nevertheless in the interests of the State that the use of his die should be continued. He did not strike the subsequent money himself, so legally his name could not appear in the ordinary way upon it and as responsible for it. A custom would therefore very naturally arise to appoint someone to carry on the use of the die meanwhile as his representative. To-day we should call him the Administrator of the moneyer, but when the same difficulty in the ordinary cases of payment of fees, etc., arose in the Pipe Rolls, we read that the "heir," or the "man" of So-and-so deceased, rendered the accounts instead of being referred to by name. But an instance of this anonymous representation did, he thought, actually occur on the coinage. Late in the reign of Henry I, Algar, a moneyer of London, whose name occurs on its money, was convicted and mutilated for false coining, and this is followed by the appearance on London coins of Stephen's first type, of the form "Algar: Man" for the moneyer's name, who was, no doubt, the "man" or officer appointed by the Crown to administer Algar's escheated die. The possessive case, therefore, would in earlier times indicate that the money was struck by the representative of the moneyer's name it bore.

“A HOARD OF COINS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES I, FROM  
LAUTERBACH, HESSEN.”

By H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

In the process of re-building an old house in Lauterbach, Hessen, a valuable hoard of English and Continental coins, in gold and silver, of the 16th and 17th centuries, was discovered in October of last year, and, through the kindness of our member Mr. J. Schulman of Amsterdam, I am able to place before the Society a description of the treasure.

The hoard was composed of 14 gold coins and 1,373 pieces in silver. All of the former were of various central German States, and they included the earliest piece in the “Find,” namely, a ducat, dated 1530, of Ferdinand I of Hungary (1527-64).

The bulk of the silver money in the hoard belonged to the Spanish Netherlands, and comprised 1,176 pieces in various denominations struck by Philip II, and 2 coins of Albert and Isabella. Of the central German States the hoard disclosed 40 silver pieces, which included a thaler of Hamburg, dated 1621, the latest coin in the “Find.” The rest of the Continental pieces comprised 12 coins of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, a grosso of Charles V from Milan, and a 4-groschen piece of Lithuania, dated 1569.

The main interest of the hoard for this Society centres in the English portion, which comprised 70 shillings and 43 sixpences of Elizabeth, all of the hammered issue, and 26 shillings and 2 sixpences of James I.

Nearly all the mint-marks known of Elizabeth shillings were represented in the hoard, as follows :—

Martlet .. ..	13	Tun .. ..	13
Cross-crosslet ..	11	Woolpack .. ..	12
Lis .. ..	2	1 .. ..	3
Bell .. ..	2	Uncertain .. ..	1
κ .. ..	3		—
Scallop .. ..	6	Total .. ..	70
Hand .. ..	4		==

The dates of the sixpences of Elizabeth were well represented, as follows :—

1561.	Pheon	..	4	1581.	Cross	..	2
1562.	over 1. Pheon	1		1582.	Sword	..	2
1562.	Pheon	..	1	1583.	Bell	..	1
1563.	„	..	1	1583.	π	..	1
1564.	„	..	1	1587.	Crescent	..	2
1565.	Rose	..	1	1589.	„	..	1
1566.	Portcullis..	2		1590.	Hand	..	1
1567.	Crown	..	1	1592.	Tun	..	2
1568.	„	..	3	1593.	„	..	1
1569.	„	..	5	1594.	„	..	1
1572.	Ermine	..	1	1601.	1 ..	..	1
1573.	Acorn	..	1	1602.	2 ..	..	2
1574.	„	..	1				—
1578.	Cross	..	1	Total ..	..	43	
1580.	„	..	2				==

The shillings of James I were of the following types and mint-marks :—

First Type.	Second Bust.	Thistle	..	..	5
„	„	Lis	..	..	5
Second Type.	Third Bust.	Lis	..	..	3
„	„	Rose	..	..	1
„	Fourth Bust.	Rose	..	..	3
„	„	Scallop	..	..	3
„	„	Grapes	..	..	1
„	„	Crown	..	..	1
„	Fifth Bust.	Crown	..	..	1
„	„	Key	..	..	2
„	„	Mullet over Bell	..	..	1
					—
	Total ..	..	..	..	26
					==

The two sixpences of James I in the hoard were of the following varieties :—

Second Type.	Third Bust.	1605.	Rose	..	1
„	Fourth „	1606.	Scallop	..	1
					—
Total	..	..	..	.	2
					==

In view of the fact that the latest coin in the hoard was of 1621 the treasure was, no doubt, secreted in that year or soon after. If so, the coins were hidden during the Thirty Years War, and the troubles arising out of that epoch would probably not only be the cause of the secretion of the money, but also, to a great extent, account for its cosmopolitan character.

In the discussion that followed, Colonel Morrieson considered the possibility as to whether the hoard formed part of a fund sent over by James I to help the Elector Palatine, his son-in-law.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, April 24th, 1929.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The evening was devoted to a special exhibition of coins, medals, and objects of numismatic interest.

### *Exhibitions.*

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—

A Medal commemorating the first meeting of the British Archæological Association at Canterbury, 1844.

Pair of paste shoe-buckles.

Gold and enamel watch by Justin Vulliamy. Three generations of this family were Court Clock- and Watch-makers from George II's reign to 1854.

Watch in shagreen case by Wm. Hughes (elected Freeman of Clockmakers' Company, 1781).

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher:—A collection of 165 Scottish eighteenth-century farthing tokens, including some very rare varieties.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence:—Twenty-six boxes of coins or counters used as whist-markers. Each box should contain four counters. Also four Nelson medalets which are interesting as being whist-markers.

By Mr. J. O. Manton:—(1) Anglo-Hanoverian Memorial Thaler of George I. Obverse: Profile portrait of George I to right with C.P.S[panganberg] below: legend—Georgius D.G.M. Brit. Fr. et Hib. Rex. F.D. Br. et Lvn. Dux. S.R.I.A. Th. et El. Reverse: Obituary Latin inscription. This piece is not recorded in Atkins.

(2) Anglo-Hanoverian "Rainbow" Thaler, struck from metal obtained from the "Rainbow" silver mine in the Harz Mountains. Obverse: Large shield of arms with 1752 below: legend Geo. II, &c. Reverse: View of mine under a rainbow with legend round and one in the exergue with initial I. B. H[echt].

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson:—The series of Thalers described below:—

In some of the years between 1744 and 1774 a series of Thalers were issued from the Zellerfeld mint with particular reference to various mines in the Harz mountains. On a previous occasion I exhibited and described a series of Thalers and smaller denominations struck in silver from the St. Andrew mine bearing a representation of the Saint with his cross on the reverse. Those were issued for circulation while this series is more of a medal-type, for though the obverse is of the current-coin type of a shield of arms with usual royal legend, the reverse depicts some peculiar feature of the mine.



They are termed Ausbeute-Thalers and are of the following mines :—

(1) König Carl 1752.—Reverse : Two crowned pillars : between them is a stone with K.C. stamped in it, over it two workmen pull a rope. A forest of fir trees on the left with a range of hills in the background. On a ribbon above PLUS ULTRA. Below DIE GRUBE | KÖNIG CARL | KAM IN AUSBEVT | IM QV : REM : 1752 | I.B.H.

(2) Bleifeld 1752.—Reverse : Legend REDEUNT SATURNIA REGNA. A crowned pillar reaching to the sky, on a shield attached to the pillar is AF ; in the background are mine buildings. Below DIE GRUBE | H. AVG : FRIEDR : BLEIFELD : | KAM WIED : IN AUSB : | IM QV : REM : 1750 | I.B.H.

(3) Cronenburgs Glück 1749, 1752.—Reverse : Legend NON MARCESSIT. Mine buildings with a wagon drawn by two horses in the foreground, while behind is a range of wooded hills. Above is a hand holding a wreath issuing from a cloud. Below DIE GRUBE | CRONENBURGS GLÜCK | KAM IN AVSBEVT | IM QU : LVCIAE 1705 | I.B.H.

(4) REGENBOGEN 1748, 1749, 1752.—Reverse : Legend LOBE DEN, IHN GEMACHT HAT. SYR. C. 43. The outside of a mine with workmen ; above a rainbow issuing from clouds. Below DIE GRUBE | REGENBOGEN | KAM WIED IN AUSB : | IM Q : LVCIAE 1746 | I.B.H.

(5) Lautensburg Glück 1745, 1749, 1752, 1756 and 1763.—Reverse : Legend TV QVODAM ABIECTAM REDDIS DEVS ALME SONORAM. A young woman playing a lute outside some mine buildings. Below DIE GRUBE | LAUTENSBURG GLÜCK | KAM IN AVSBEVT | IM QV : REMIN : 1685. | I.B.H. The initials on that of 1763 are I.A.P.

(6) Weiser Schwan 1744, 1745, 1748, 1750, 1752 and 1756.—Reverse : Legend CANDIDVS HÆC PROFERT

MONTANVS PRÆMIA CYGNVS. A swan on a lake. Above clouds; below, DIE GRVBE|WEISSER SCHWAN|KAM IN AUSBEIT|IM Q LVCIE 1732|I.B.H.

(7) GÛTE des Herrn 1745, 1749, 1756.—Reverse: Legend DIE ERDE IST VOLL DER GÛTE DES HERRN. The sun shining on three wooded hills, in the centre hill is the entrance to a mine with workmen wheeling a truck, also a wagon drawn by three horses. Above the hills are respectively the signs ♀, ☽, ☿. Below DIE GRVBE|GÛTE DES HERRN|KAM IN AVSBEUT|IM Q:REMIN:1740|I.B.H.

The Thaler of this mine struck in 1774 has a different scene. The sun shines on a wooded plain with mine buildings and a wagon with three horses in the foreground. The date below is 1774 and the initials are L.C.R. The obverse differs by having the Royal Arms and Supporters instead of the shield.

(8) Segen Gottes 1765.—Legend AN GOTTES SEGEN IST ALLES GELEGEN. The sun is shining on wooded hills and mine buildings; in the foreground is a workman and two mine entrances, below DIE GRUBE|SEGEN GOTTES|KAM IN AVSBEUT|IM Q:CRVC:1765|I.A.P.

The initials at the bottom of the reverses are those of the mint masters of the time, viz. Johann Benjamin Hecht 1739 to 1763, Johan Anton Pfeffer 1763 to 1773 and Ludwig Christian Rupertt 1773 to 1778. A similar series was struck for the Grand Duchy of Brunswick with the arms of the Duchy and name of the Grand Duke Charles.

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—Four coins of the heavy coinage of English types for Ireland in 1470–3, viz. :—

Groat, mint-marks—on obverse plain cross and on reverse rose. Weight 37 grs.

Groat, mint-marks—on obverse plain cross and on reverse pierced cross. Weight  $41\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

Groat, mint-mark plain cross on both sides. Weight 41 grs.

Half-groat, mint-mark plain cross on both sides. Weight  $21\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

The weight of this coinage was, in 1473, reduced from  $43\frac{1}{2}$  grs. to 34 grs. to the groat and consequently the heavy coins are now rare. The third groat is exceptionally fine, and of the half-groat only two are believed to be known of which the specimen exhibited is the finer.

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### ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, May 22nd, 1929.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. Edward Samuel Anthony was elected a Member of the Society.

#### *Exhibitions.*

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—Four uncommon Flemish coin-weights :—

- (1) English Angel, with obverse St. Michael and Dragon and reverse XLVIII, *i.e.* 48 to the Marc.
- (2) English Noble of Henry VI, with obverse Ship and **n** in the field and reverse XXXVI, *i.e.* 36 to the Marc.
- (3) English Half-noble of Henry VI, with obverse King in ship and reverse LXXIII, *i.e.* 73 to the Marc.

(N.B.—The Marc of Paris (as used in the Netherlands) was about 3,780 English grains.)

- (4) English Half-guinea of George I. Obverse, bust to right, countermarked with the flax flower, the mark of the

town of St. Nicholas, capital of the Pays de Waes, a district between Antwerp and Ghent. Reverse, crowned shield of arms of the province of Waes (turnip); I—H, the initials of the maker Jacobus (Augustin) Heynderickx of St. Nicholas. Below, date (?) 1719.

By Major W. J. Freer :—Medal in commemoration of the Armistice issued by the Royal Mint from designs by C. L. Doman.

The obverse of the medal typifies "Deliverance," and shows the figure of Great Britain with a sheathed sword supporting a young warrior and breaking the shackles of War, and offering a wreath of Laurels to the memory of the Fallen Heroes. The reverse shows the Cenotaph in Whitehall, surrounded by the inscription, "Their Name liveth for Evermore," and the date November 11th, MCMXVIII. The medal was issued in silver and bronze in a large size and in bronze in a smaller size.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—Three Northumbrian pennies of Cnut :—

- (1) Obverse ∴ CIVT ∴ RE+; reverse † CVM ∴ IET ∴ T
- (2) Obverse ∴ CIVT RE ∴ +; reverse † CVM ∴ IET ∴ T
- (3) Obverse ∴ CM ∴ VT R ∴ E ∴ +; reverse EB ∴ IAR ∴ ICE ∴ I ∴

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—A collection of 28 coins of Cnut of Northumbria, of Cnut and Siefred associated, and of pennies without the royal name but attributed to one or other of the Kings mentioned as follows :—

Cnut.—Obverse Patriarchal Cross, reverse Cunnetti; 10 distinct varieties.

Do. Obverse as before, reverse York; 4 varieties.

Do. Obverse as before, reverse Mirabilia fecit; 2 varieties.

Do. Obverse ordinary Cross, reverse Cunnetti; 1 variety.

Do. Obverse as before, reverse York; 3 varieties.

Cnut Halfpenny.—Obverse Patriarchal Cross, reverse Cunnetti; 1 variety.

Cnut *and* Siefred.—Obverse CNVT REX, reverse SIEFREDVS; 2 varieties.

Cnut *or* Siefred.—Obverse York, reverse Mirabilia fecit; 3 varieties.

Do. Obverse DNS DS REX, reverse York; 1 variety.

Do. Obverse as before, reverse Mirabilia fecit; 1 variety.

A very fine and complete set of this interesting series, many of them being from the collection of the late Major A. B. Creeke.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs:—Penny of William II.—Type 5, of Hythe mint—EDRIEDOHIIÐE. Apparently unrecorded. Also a Cunnetti penny with obverse CNVT REX and reverse CVNNETTI.

By Mr. W. C. Wells:—Coins of Cnut and Siefred as under:—

- (1) Obverse CNVT RE+ and reverse SIEFREDVS
- (2) Obverse CNVT RE+ and reverses CVNNETTI, CVNETTE, etc.; 3 varieties.
- (3) Halfpenny with obverse CNVT RE+ and reverse CVNNETTI
- (4) Obverse CNVT RE+ and reverses EBIAICE CIVI etc.; 3 varieties.
- (5) Obverse EBIAICE C and reverse MIRABILA FECIT
- (6) Obverse CNVT RE+ and reverse MIRABILA FECIT
- (7) Obverse +SIEFREDVS and reverse +RE+

Also a Paxs penny of William I with reverse IELFHEN ON PEFNS (Pevensey), and a penny of Henry I (Type Hawkins, 262) with obverse hEENRIC... and reverse ...RED:ON:PEVEN (Pevensey). The last is unpublished of this type and reign.

*Paper.*

## THE EARLY ANGLO-DANISH COINAGE.

By W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

*Chapter I.—The Guthred-Cnut Theory.*

Mr. Andrew contributed the first chapter of his review of the early Danish coinage in this country, and of the theories that had hitherto been accepted to explain it. It represented the main contents of the Northumbrian war chest found at Cuerdale in 1840, and of the seven thousand coins then examined more than one-third bore the name of a king Cnut. This Cnut had been arbitrarily identified as Guthred, King of York, A.D. 883-94, and for two generations he had been accepted as such, not only by numismatists, but also in recent historical works. The difficulty in the name had been met by instancing the case of Guthrum the Dane, who, when defeated by Alfred in A.D. 878, accepted baptism and was renamed Athelstan, and suggesting that Guthred had been similarly converted, and christened Cnut. There was neither reason nor logic for any such suggestion, and so casual an explanation might be extended at will to explain away any mysterious name in history or numismatics.

The baptism of Guthrum caused natural excitement amongst the early chroniclers, because it was clearly the first instance of the conversion of a Danish king, yet Guthred in 878 had already been five years on the throne at York. He was the nominee of the Church, and as such must have been already a Christian when elected. Symeon of Durham devoted a whole chapter to the incidents of his life, and to him he was always Guthred. If the king had been converted and renamed by an English bishop he would have received an English Christian name, certainly not that of Danish and pagan Cnut. Nor would Symeon the monk, in his



history of the Church of Durham, have remained quite silent of so interesting an event in the life of its benefactor.

Historically, therefore, this accepted identification was highly improbable, but numismatically it was impossible. Edward the Elder commenced his reign in 901, and at the date of the deposit of the Cuerdale treasure had already issued the three consecutive types of his coinage that it contained. This fact, no doubt, induced the late Mr. Hawkins at first to date its loss about 910; but later, probably under the influence of the Guthred-Cnut theory, he reduced this to 905. He, Mr. Andrew,<sup>1</sup> had, however, attributed the actual loss of this Northumbrian army chest to the defeat and retreat of the Danes in 911, when their Treasurer Osferth was specially recorded as having been slain, and this date practically agreed with Mr. Hawkins's first deduction. If Guthred had anything to do with the 2,534 coins of Cnut found at Cuerdale they must have been the oldest series in the whole hoard, and had been in circulation from 10 to 22, or from 16 to 27 years, according to whichever date was preferred for their loss. Yet of all our money of the Anglo-Saxon period these silver coins of Cnut were found in the most perfect condition. They had never been in even the light circulation of those days, for they were as fresh from the dies as if made yesterday, whilst all the rest of the hoard, including the current money of Edward the Elder, showed the usual signs of wear. Coins of Cnut had been found previously at Harkirk in 1611 with money of a later period, and there were technical impossibilities in the coins themselves, which he explained, to either the attribution to Guthred or to his date. He believed that this money was coined at the time, and possibly for the purposes, of the expedition in which it was lost, also that the chest discovered was probably not the only army chest lost with Osferth the Treasurer in crossing the ancient ford at Cuerdale, where tradition always told us that a vast treasure lay buried.

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<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i.

## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, June 26th, 1929.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence :—Coins of Edward III, in illustration of his paper, comprising :—

Series A, penny only.

Mules B/A, noble, groat, and half-groat.

Series B, noble, quarter-noble, and groat.

Series C, noble, and penny.

Mule C/A, half-noble.

Mules C/A or A/C, penny of each.

„ B/C, noble and half-groat.

Mule C/B, half-groat.

Series D, groat and penny.

Mule C/D, noble.

„ D/C, groat.

Series E, noble, half-noble, groat, half-groat, penny, halfpenny and farthing.

Mule B/E, quarter-noble.

„ C/E, noble.

Mules D/E, groat and half-groat.

Series F, noble, half-groat and penny.

Mules F/E, noble and groat.

Mule E/F, groat.

Mules E/6a, noble and half-groat.

„ F/6a, noble and half-groat.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—Coins of Edward III in illustration of the evening's paper, viz. :—

Groat and half-groat with Roman M's and open **€**.

Groat and half-groat with annulet in tressure.

Groat, half-groat, and penny with mint-mark crown.

Groat with annulet between the eyes.

Groat with annulet below bust and in second quarter of reverse.

By H. Alexander Parsons :—A fine set of the first Calais coins, struck during the Treaty Period, 1360–9, comprising groat, half-groat, and penny, of which the last is seldom seen.

By Major Sir Nevile R. Wilkinson :—Afghanistan Medal with clasp "TUCKTAPOOL" (? TAKHTAPOL).

The clasp is not mentioned in any text-book on medals, but if a forgery why was it so carefully struck? In exhibiting the medal, Sir Nevile said that he would value the opinion of Members who are interested in War Medals.


### *Paper.*

#### THE SEQUENCE OF THE TYPES OF EDWARD III.

By L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.

Mr. Lawrence demonstrated the sequence of the coins of Edward III issued between 1351 and 1360. The coins were divided into groups as follows :—

Series A.—Letters formed on the model of the coinage 1346–51, **π** unbarred, **α** and **α** closed, **Ϟ** and **Ϟ** round.

Series B.—Initial mark , **π** barred or unbarred, **€** and **€** open, **M** Roman, **и** reversed, **℞** with a wedge-shaped tail, the broad end outwards.

Series C.—As B, but **α** and **α** closed and **Ϟ** Gothic.

Series D.—Letters as C, except the **R**, which has a well-formed curved tail. The initial mark is always broken in some part of the punch.

Series E.—A new initial mark—a cross composed of four equal-sided triangles (**✠**). The characteristic letters are **R** with a notch in the end of the tail; and the **α** and **æ**, which are always straight across the top (**α**); and these same letters from mutilated punches where a piece has been cut out below (**σ** **æ**).

Series F.—Initial mark crown. The **α** and **æ** are rounded above, and, when broken, the break occurs above (**α** **æ**). The **R** has no longer the notch in the tail. When the **α** and **æ** are broken, the **D** is also broken above (**υ**).

Series G.—A large group. The initial cross is somewhat like that of Series E, but the sides are somewhat curved.

Ga.—Annulet under bust and in one quarter of the reverse.

Gb.—No annulet under bust; annulet in one quarter; **α** and **æ** when broken are defective at the back (**υ** **æ**).

Gc.—No annulet under bust; saltire in one quarter; saltire stops on reverse.

Gd.—No annulet under bust; pellet between **π** and **s** of **τ.π.s**; when broken the **α** and **æ** have the bottom of the letter sliced off (**σ** **æ**).

Ge.—Pellet over central lis of crown; pellet between each letter of **τ.π.s**.

Gf.—No pellet over crown; large annulet stops; **τ.π.s** as before.

Gg.—Saltire stops on both sides; an open **C** **E** occurs on some of these.

This series of G coins is complete only for the groats. The half-groats and pence agree, but there are no complete series of them known. The gold is in agreement with the silver as far as the letters are broken or unbroken, but an accurate assignment is often very doubtful. Mules are known of all the consecutive series.

In the discussion that followed, Mr. Brooke emphasized the importance of the small details of broken letters and their possible connexion with the quarterly privy marks. He was sure that Mr. Lawrence's work would be invaluable to students of this period and as an indication of lines of research that might be followed out in other periods.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, October 23rd, 1929.*

Mr. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., F.S.A., *Vice-President,  
in the Chair.*

The Chairman regretted the unavoidable absence of the President, Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, through illness.

*Presentations to the Library.*

By His Majesty the King of Italy :—Volume XI of the "Corpus Nummorum Italicorum." A special vote of thanks was passed to our Royal Member, who is not only the donor but the author of this magnificent work.

By the Publisher—The Czechoslovak Numismatical Society :—  
"A Thousand Years of Bohemian Official Coinage (929–1929)," by Dr. Viktor Katz. A vote of thanks was passed also to the donor of this interesting work.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—

1. A pattern farthing of Elizabeth (?). Obverse, crowned Tudor rose and legend ROSA · SINE · SPINA ; reverse, straight-sided shield with cross of St. George and legend PRO · LEGE · REGE · E · GRE'. Mint-mark voided mullet. Weight 13 grs.

2. A Richmond farthing of Charles I on square flan. Three pellets (vertically) to left of obverse, showing it was the end farthing of a strip of nine.
3. Pattern farthing of William III, referring to the destruction of the French warship "Soleil Royal," at the battle of La Hogue in 1692.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—A large Irish leaden token, probably eighteenth century, issued by Michael Stiles.

By Mr. Thomas K. Mackenzie :—Medals and Badges of the Georgian period relating to Ireland.

1. Circular silver medal with loop for suspension. Obverse, seven volunteers presenting arms; motto "Nec opprimere nec opprimi" and date 1786. Reverse, engraved "Merit Badge of the Parsonstown Loyal Independent Volunteers adjudged to Thos. Leach."
2. Silver medal with plain gold rim. Obverse, "Farmers Club," and below view of the Castle of Enniskillen and "No. 1." Reverse, "Peace and Plenty" and a sheaf of wheat; also a gun on carriage, a square and compass and CINCINNATUS.
3. The Order of Liberators Gold Badge with obverse, bust of Devereux and reverse, blank. Enclosed in a glazed frame.

Also two other badges in silver and one in bronze—all different in design.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—Badge with Head of George III with G.R.III below and engraved legend "DEUS · CONSERVA · LEAGES · NOSTRA." The reverse has the Hand in Hand sign and the motto "LOVE AND UNITY" engraved on the field of the badge.

*Note.*—The exhibitor would gratefully welcome any information on the history of this badge.



By Mr. Charles Winter :—A series of Medals, Belt Plates and Shako Plates of Irish Volunteers and Militia in illustration of his Paper. Also some miniature portraits of Officers in Irish Volunteer Regiments.

*Paper.*

NOTES ON SOME MEDALS, BELT PLATES AND SHAKO PLATES  
OF IRISH VOLUNTEERS AND MILITIA.

By CHARLES WINTER.

The 1st July, 1766, is the date given by R. P. Berry in his "History of the Volunteer Infantry," for the first volunteers of Ireland. They were formed to resist the French invasion, and wore scarlet uniforms with blue facings.

This small beginning so rapidly grew that by the year 1782 the Irish Volunteers had become a formidable force, and numbered 100,887 men, with 130 pieces of artillery. But not many years afterwards this national army of volunteers ceased to exist.

Most of the corps were named after the guild, society or town from which they were formed, as will be noticed by the names on the medals and belt plates.

The medals are mostly engraved, are very rare, and were presented for skill at arms, good conduct, and competitive shooting. The belt and shako plates formed part of the uniform, and the former were worn on the sword cross-belt, as shown in the miniature portraits of officers exhibited this evening. I have included in the exhibits two interesting shako plates.

The information respecting the various corps is very meagre, and therefore I can only give the description of the various medals and plates.

Mr. Winter then described in detail :—

Medals of the Liberty Volunteers, the Independent Ballyroom Cavalry, the Kilworth Light Dragoons, the Royal Tyrone Regiment, the Royal Dublin Volunteers, and the King's County Militia.

Belt and Shako Plates of the Carton Cavalry, Lawyers Cavalry, Maryborough Cavalry, Waterford (?), Royal Dublin Volunteers, Linen Hall Corps, Liberty Rangers, Oyster Haven Infantry, Bandon Union, and King's County Militia.

A Gorget of the Cork Militia.

Badges of the Pope Pius IX Irish Brigade.

The paper is printed in this volume.

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## ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

*Saturday, November 30th, 1929.*

Dr. E. C. CARTER, *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

The Chairman regretted the unavoidable absence of the President, Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, through illness.

Mr. Frederick W. Lincoln was elected a Member.

The Council's Report, which with the Treasurer's Accounts is printed later, was read by the Secretary and unanimously adopted.

In the unavoidable absence of the Hon. Treasurer, Sir William Wells, F.S.A., the Secretary read in detail the Society's Accounts for the year. Votes of thanks were passed to Sir William Wells and to the Auditors, Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. E. H. Wheeler, for their services.

## THE BALLOTS.

Mr. H. A. Parsons and Mr. A. E. Bagnall having been appointed Scrutators, the two ballots were duly taken, and the results were as follows :—

*OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1930.*

*President* :—Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents* :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A. ; Ernest C. Carter, M.D., M.R.C.P. ; Grant R. Francis, F.S.A. ; Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A. ; Richard C. Lockett, F.S.A. ; The Rev. Edgar Rogers, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

*Director* :—Lionel L. Fletcher, F.R.S.A.I.

*Treasurer* :—Sir William H. Wells, F.S.A.

*Librarian* :—H. Alexander Parsons.

*Secretaries* :—H. W. Taffs, M.B.E. ; Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S.

*Council* :—Thomas G. Barnett, F.S.A. ; V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A. ; G. C. Brooke, M.A., F.S.A. ; Frank E. Burton, J.P. ; Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Evans ; Miss Farquhar ; Willoughby Gardner, D.Sc., F.S.A. ; Lord Grantley, D.L., J.P., F.S.A. ; Horace Herbert King ; T. K. Mackenzie ; J. O. Manton ; Lieut.-Colonel M. B. Savage, C.B.E., D.S.O. ; Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A. ; Ernest H. Wheeler ; Charles Winter.

*THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL.*

The Scrutators reported that this Medal had been awarded by a majority of the votes to Mr. J. S. Shirley-Fox, R.B.A., for the papers contributed by him and the late H. B. Earle Fox on the " Numismatic History of the reigns of Edward I, II, and III."

A vote of thanks to the Scrutators was passed.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. A. E. Bagnall :—A Jewish shekel of the year 2 and a half-shekel of the year 1, both of the period of Ezra and attributed to the first Prince of the Jews, SIMON MACCABÆUS. Also a Roman coin—the fourth division of the Aes—of Imperial Augustus ; obverse, bifrontal head of Janus looking to the past and into the future, with V///, four marks above denoting the value ; reverse, prow of ship with AVG above and IMP below.

By Miss Farquhar :—A small locket containing hair of Prince Charles Edward and three touchpieces, one of which was sold with the locket to the present owner. Also a locket

formed of a trial piece from the same puncheon as the Coronation Medal by Thomas Simon. With this latter locket was a Coronation Medal for comparison.

In presenting her exhibits for inspection, Miss Farquhar added the following notes for the benefit of those not present at the Meeting. The small nineteenth-century locket bore the device of an oak tree and a crown and the letters C.E.S. (for Charles Edward Stuart) and the date 1746 engraved on the back, while one of the touchpieces was that of Charles as CAROLVS III. The hair in the locket is said to be that of Prince Charles, and so far as one can see by comparing a single hair with a larger curl in the exhibitor's collection, the tradition may be correct. The locket was sold at Sotheby's with other Jacobite relics as the "Property of a Lady" at the beginning of November, and the paper exhibited was with the relics and contained a touchpiece of Charles as used by him when touching for the King's Evil in the later years of his life in Italy. Records exist of his so doing in 1770-1786. He died in 1788 and his brother Cardinal York continued the practice. The touchpiece was possibly the work of Otto Hamerani who survived the nominal accession of Charles to the throne by two years, dying in 1768. From the cordage of the ship, however, Miss Farquhar was inclined to think that it might be from the hand of Gioacchino Hamerani, who worked for the titular Henry IX. It is noticeable that this touchpiece is pierced both at the top and the bottom. It is, of course, obvious that the lower piercing was the older, and this was the usual way, so that the wearer might, if he looked at the suspended medal, turning it up for the purpose, see the angel standing correctly. But as Miss Farquhar had previously remarked in her articles on Healing, that of the seven or eight specimens known to her about half hang one way and half the other way, and nearly all are carelessly pierced, no care being taken to avoid injury to the design. The new specimen was of special interest in that the cordage of the ship showed that a new puncheon and not merely a new die was used in making Charles's medal.

Of course, when healing in Scotland in 1745, the Prince must have used his father's touchpiece—if any—but the account of his healing at Holyrood only states that money was given to the child healed by those present.

There seems naturally, therefore, no connection between the locket and the touchpiece, and no evidence as to whether the hair and token were gifts from the same Professor (Kelly?) to the ancestor of the late owner.

With reference to the locket in a contemporary setting with a pendant an oak acorn, and formed of a trial piece of the Coronation Medal by Thomas Simon, Miss Farquhar wished it to be understood that the trial piece was made from the same *puncheon*, not the same *die*, as the Coronation Medal, that is from a die without lettering made from the same puncheon as was used for the Medal.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—A seventeenth-century token issued by James Farr, of the Rainbow Coffee House, Fleet Street, in 1656. Also two tickets, *circa* 1810, of the same coffee house, and three tickets issued by I. Kirk, of St. Paul's Churchyard, about 1750. Also an octagonal lead ticket of M. Ja. Anderson, Feb. 29, 1707-8.

By Mr. D. S. Napier :—

1. Rothsay Mills half-crown differing slightly from Davis No. 63.
2. Spanish dollar countermarked "Blantyre Works" and "5/-." Unrecorded in Davis.
3. Spanish dollar countermarked "Percy Main Colliery" and "5/-." Unrecorded in Davis.
4. Spanish dollar countermarked D.C. (for David Cummings, Glasgow) and a flower. Unrecorded in Davis.
5. Copper twopence of George III countermarked radiated G four times.

6. Charles I Medal as *Med. Illus. I.* 360/232, and illustrated on Plate XXXII, fig. 9.
7. Charles I Royalist Badge as *Med. Illus. I.* 360/231, and illustrated on Plate XXXII, fig. 7.
8. Embossed plate of Charles I by Briot with reverse blank. Used as a counter for reckoning and as a gift.
9. Satirical Medal in lead or pewter of James VII and his support of Popery.
10. Mary, Queen of Scots, Betrothal Jetton, 1553, by Nicolas Emery, France.
11. Mary, Queen of Scots, Betrothal Jetton, 1579.
12. William III shilling, 1697 C. Although in mint state, this piece shows no sign of hair ribbons.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—A collection of Skidmore's tokens of London Churches and Gates.

Five silver proofs of halfpenny tokens, one of which—a Perth Halfpenny—is an unpublished variety not in Dalton and Hamer.

Barbadoes penny with countermark GR crowned, in octagonal frame, apparently unrecorded.

Irish racing Ticket in ivory.

Doncaster New Betting Rooms ticket, 1800.

King's Theatre silver ticket of 1791.

Hambletonian Diamond Racing ticket.

Three varieties of Tassie gems of Nelson.

#### THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

(November 30th, 1929.)

The Council has the honour to present its Twenty-fifth Annual Report to the Members, and in doing so announces with pleasure



that the list of twenty-one Royal Members and three Honorary Members remains the same as last year. The Council, however, regrets to report that the death roll among Members has again been rather heavy, no less than nine having passed away, viz.:—Mr. Virgil M. Brand, a Member since 1903 ; Mr. Alfred Chitty, a Member since 1903 ; Mr. James E. Cree, F.S.A. Scotd., a Member since 1915 ; Mr. E. H. Dring, a Member since 1913 ; General C. S. Feltrim Fagan, F.R.G.S., a Member since 1907 ; Mr. B. W. Harris, a Member since 1920 ; Mr. F. W. Lincoln, a Member since 1913 ; Mr. A. A. Payne, L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., a Member since 1912 ; and Lieut.-Colonel R. W. Shipway, V.D., J.P., a Member since 1908. As will be seen, some of the above were original Members of the Society, yet only two—Mr. Alfred Chitty and Mr. A. A. Payne—contributed to the pages of the *Journal*. Mr. Chitty, besides being an original Member was, until his death, a corresponding Member for Australia, and contributed two articles, viz., “The Early Australian Coinage,” which appeared in Volume IV (First Series), and “The Australian Gold Coins struck at the Sydney, Melbourne, and Perth Mints,” which appeared in Volume VIII (First Series). Mr. A. A. Payne’s contribution appeared in Volume II (Second Series) under the title “Lieut.-Colonel Richard Brunton’s Portuguese Decorations for the Peninsular War.”

The Council also regrets to record the resignation from various causes of six other Members, and the amoval from financial reasons the names of eleven other Members.

On the other hand, the Council has pleasure in welcoming the following new Members :—

Mr. T. W. Armitage.

Mr. F. S. Ferguson.

The Rev. W. L. Gantz, M.A., Hon. C.F.

Mr. F. W. Lincoln.

The Norwich Museum.

The Council, therefore, would urge on its Members the necessity of bringing to the notice of their friends the advantages and special

aims of our Society. There is no doubt that at the present time there are many rival attractions to the study of numismatics, yet there must be many who are interested still in the study yet are not Members of the Society. In this way the fruits of their researches—which may be valuable—are never recorded and so ultimately are in danger of being lost. As an aid to Members who are willing to recruit, the Council has much pleasure in stating that the promised Appeal for new Members will probably be in their hands before the next Meeting, and it is hoped that Members will make good use of these, and that consequent recruitment will surpass all previous years. The necessity for an increased membership is further accentuated by an inspection of the Society's financial accounts, where it will be seen that the expenditure on the last Volume was considerably greater than the receipts from subscriptions over the past two years, but this will be referred to in the Treasurer's Report.

The Society is to be congratulated in having an Honorary Treasurer with the efficiency and thoroughness that has ever been the keynote of work undertaken by Sir William H. Wells. Were Sir William a man of leisure this sacrifice of time on the Society's affairs might be understood though still commendable, but our Treasurer is a man of many engagements, and the Society's very grateful thanks are due to him, therefore, for allowing himself to be nominated for this year and next. His statement of accounts and report will be printed later.

Mr. Anscombe has undoubtedly justified his selection by the Council for the post of Editor, for another Volume will have reached Members' hands since the publication of the last Report. The thanks of the Society are again due to Mr. Parsons for his continued excellent work as Librarian. Various donors have added to our Library and these have been acknowledged in our reports, but special mention should again be made of the valuable gift of Volume XI of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, the gift of His Majesty the King of Italy, who is one of our Royal Members.

Donations to the Society include a further guinea from Messrs. A. E. Bagnall, T. G. Barnett, F. E. Burton, Dr. E. C. Carter,

L. L. Fletcher, J. S. Shirley-Fox, W. Longman, and H. W. Taffs; five pounds from Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson; and stationery and printing from Mr. E. H. Wheeler.

Your President, Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, has presided over most of the Meetings in the year, and on the two occasions when he was absent it was due to the fact that illness prevented him from attending. The Council are grateful to Colonel Morrieson for allowing himself to be nominated for election for the ensuing year, for he has served already a long time of office in the past.

The attendances at our Meetings have not been too satisfactory, although the papers have been well up to the average and the exhibits varied and interesting. The Council would like to see an improvement in the attendance. The Society welcomed during the year the first part of another paper from the pen of the former Secretary, Mr. W. J. Andrew. This paper on the identity of the Cnut who issued the Cunetti coinage raises a question which has long called for elucidation, and it is hoped that Mr. Andrew will soon give us a further instalment of the paper. Also the Society would welcome further instalments of Mr. Andrew's "magnum opus"—the Reign of Stephen.

The Council desires to express its thanks to Mr. L. L. Fletcher and to Mr. E. H. Wheeler for undertaking the duties of Auditors, and to Messrs. A. E. Bagnall and H. A. Parsons for acting as Scrutators at the Ballots to be held this evening.

In conclusion, and without being too persistent, the Secretary would like to reiterate his annual request for more papers from Members of the Society. There must surely be Members whose researches have opened up new ground for debate or who have arrived at definite conclusions opposed to the views which have obtained up to the present. The results of these researches will be welcomed by the Society for submission at the Meetings and final production in the Volume. It is impossible for the best of Editors to produce volumes periodically without adequate material.

Sir William Wells, the Honorary Treasurer, in presenting the accounts for the present year, pointed out that the heavy expense

had been in respect to Volume XVIII. Practically the whole of the expense in respect to this Volume had been paid this year, namely, £493 13s., out of the total cost of £550 6s. 8d. This results in a deficit on the year under consideration of £347 3s. 2d.

The subscriptions during the year were just over £200, and the income from investments £67, while on the other hand the expenses other than the Volume and the small amount expended on Volume XIX, amounted to £154 15s. 3d. In other words, we could only continue to publish the Volume by encroaching upon our reserves. This was a matter that required the serious consideration of the Society.

During the year under consideration Mr. Wheeler had again kindly provided him with stationery free of expense. The President had given a donation of £5, and eight Members a donation in addition to their subscription of one guinea.

During the year, £11 18s. had been recovered in respect to Income Tax, and just after the close of the year a further £27 10s. 2d. had been received, but, of course, this last item did not appear in the accounts under review.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1929.

*Anniversary Meeting, November 30th, 1929.*

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*Proceedings of the Society.*

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,  
51, Coleman Street, London, E.C.2.

LIONEL L. FLETCHER } *Auditors.*  
ERNEST H. WHEELER }

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and are of opinion that, subject to the above remark, the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the Books of the Society.

November 26th, 1929.



# OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1930.

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## President.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

## Vice-Presidents.

W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

ERNEST C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.

GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.

MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.

RICHARD C. LOCKETT, F.S.A.

THE REV. EDGAR ROGERS, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

## Director.

LIONEL L. FLETCHER, F.R.S.A.I.

## Treasurer.

SIR WILLIAM H. WELLS, F.S.A.

## Librarian.

H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

## Secretaries.

H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.Hist.S.

## Council.

THOMAS G. BARNETT, F.S.A.

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

G. C. BROOKE, M.A., F.S.A.

FRANK E. BURTON, J.P., F.S.A.

LIEUT.-COLONEL C. L. EVANS.

MISS HELEN FARQUHAR, F.R.Hist.S.

WILLOUGHBY GARDNER, D.Sc., F.S.A.

LORD GRANTLEY, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.

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T. K. MACKENZIE.

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1922. GRANT R. FRANCIS—*from June 28th.*  
1923. GRANT R. FRANCIS.  
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1928. MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—*till February 20th.*  
1928. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.—*from February 22nd.*  
1929. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.  
1930. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
-

## The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society, whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

### MEDALLISTS.

- 1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., F.S.A.
- 1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
- 1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
- 1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.
- 1920. Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.
- 1923. H. Alexander Parsons.
- 1926. Grant R. Francis, F.S.A.
- 1929. J. S. Shirley-Fox, R.B.A.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, January 22nd, 1930.

Mr. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., *in the Chair.*

Mr. Crowther-Beynon explained that he had been asked to fill the Chair in the unavoidable absence of Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.

The Norwich Castle Museum was elected a Member of the Society.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. Thomas G. Barnett :—Crown and half-crown of “The Parliamentary Dublin Issue, 1648.”

By Mr. Frank E. Burton :—Badge of the Loyal Newark Volunteers. Also a commemorative medal issued on the occasion of the naval victory of Navarino (1827–1927), and presented to the exhibitor by the Organizing Committee of the Navarino Centenary.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—

(1) Italian box of money scales and weights issued at Turin, probably in the eighteenth century, and containing in addition to the scales, 28 weights with the names, etc., stamped upon them. The box is made of oak and is of “dug-out” construction, measuring  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep. The label inside the lid gives the weights and equivalents in Piedmont money of a number of gold and silver coins of various countries.

(2) Drury Lane Theatre ticket—“F. GALLY.”

- (3) Two lead canteen (?) checks of the value of 3*d.* and 6*d.* dating from the Boer War and issued at Elandsfontein.
- (4) A copper piece stamped with a crowned rose and bearing the legend "NORTH YORKS."

(*Note.*—The Secretary was of opinion that this was probably the top of a button before the shank was affixed.)

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher :—The "Dingle Penny" of 1679 ; "bread" token of 1729, with reverse "POORE" ; London "bear gardens" ticket issued by Nicholas Phillips ; Cricket Club admission tickets of Sheffield and Darnall ; Augustus Cove's ticket ; early Tramway tickets of London and Darlington ; and a ticket of the Canterbury Music Hall, Bristol.

By Mr. Alan Garnett :—

- (1) Oval silver medal given by King Edward VII to officials when, as Prince of Wales, he visited India in 1875-6, and numbered "No. 180." The medal was also struck in gold for personages of high rank.
- (2) Silver medal presented by the 2nd Society of the Carpenters and Joiners to M. King for his services as Secretary. Obverse : combined Arms of the Carpenters and Joiners ; Reverse : "As a reward to M. King, late Secretary, for his distinguished merit in serving the 2nd Society of Carpenters and Joiners. Merit, Genius, and Worth combined ; presented Jany. 31st, 1826."

By Mr. T. K. Mackenzie :—The series of badges and passes that are enumerated more fully later and which formed the subject of his notes.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—A silver badge of the West Kent Regiment ; broker's silver ticket with the name Nehemiah Griffiths ; silver badge of eight-pointed star shape with



skull and cross-bones and legend "MORI HOMO MEMENTO"; round silver badge of the Beggars' Benison Club Society (of Anstruther, Fife); a silver badge, *temp.* George III, with head of Druid and the number 3003; a silver ticket of the Trough Society with reverse BE UNANIMOUS and the date 1776.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—

- (1) Charles I shilling of Exeter type without date, the obverse being from an Oxford die with altered mint-mark, the reverse having mint-mark rose, but the shield of arms being rather varied from the usual Exeter shilling. Mr. Walters questions whether this may not be from the recently discovered mint of Truro.
- (2) Exeter shilling of the usual undated type for comparison.
- (3) Henry VIII Bristol testoon, unusually fine for this coin.
- (4) Edward VI Bristol shilling mint-mark **TC** (TC) in monogram and dated 1549—ordered and issued in May and June only of that year (*see* Mr. Henry Symonds, in *B.N.J.*, vol. xi, 1915).
- (5) Another from varied dies with different portrait and reverse shield.

*Paper.*

Mr. T. K. Mackenzie exhibited the very beautiful selection of various medals, badges, passes, and tickets which are enumerated below, and contributed the following interesting notes on their history.

WILLIAM III.

Peace of Ryswick. Silver Cliché Medallion with portrait of William III.—Probably used for top of box, and dated on truncation of shoulder, 1697.

Inscription around reads :—

GULIEL : III . D.G. MAG. BR : FRA. : ET : HIB : REX. CON-  
SPIRATIO. DETECTA.

PAX · EST · CONCLUSA.

This medallion was unpublished in *Medallic Illustrations*, but was illustrated in the Addenda to the Illustrations to the Medallic History.

A Short Article appears in vol. vii of the *British Numismatic Journal*, where Miss Helen Farquhar says that she had quite recently acquired a specimen similar to above and attributes the medallion to James Roettiers, and states her reasons for so doing. It is the only portrait medallion that she had found dated, and there is no specimen in the British Museum.

#### VAUXHALL GARDENS.

(1) Wax Portrait Medallion of the Rev. Jonathan Tyers Barrett of Lambeth, dated 1814, by T. R. Poole. Original Frame and Artist's Label and Price List.

The above medallion is that of the grandson of Mr. Jonathan Tyers who founded the Gardens in 1728, and he was part owner of the Gardens when they were managed by Bryan Barrett. In 1821 they were sold for £30,000 and passed out of the Tyers-Barrett family.

(2) Oblong silver-gilt pass. Hall-marked London, 1821.

*Obverse* : Mrs. J. T. Barrett and Friends.

*Reverse* : 1821. Vauxhall Gardens. Free Ticket.

Presumably given to the family after the sale of the property.

(3) Silver Ticket.

*Obverse* : Two Females ; one seated and holding a lyre ;  
in exergue " Verelor Ne Ultimum."

*Reverse* : Engraved Lord Home.

(4) Silver Ticket.

*Obverse* : Female figure emblematic of Spring, reclining on clouds and surrounded by floral emblems. Motto—"Grata Vice Veris."

*Reverse* : Mr. Fran Plomer 518.

The tickets are attributed to both Yeo and Hogarth.

The original collection of tickets formerly belonging to the manager, Bryan Barrett, in 1820, are in my collection and have been exhibited before but without any note on the subject.

The Gardens were originally known as the Spring Gardens, and were finally closed in 1850 after an existence of 122 years. They were visited by all classes from the Royal Family downwards, and in their later period were, to say the least, very democratic.

FIRE INSURANCE.

(1) Large silver badge, size 6 inches by  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches. Hall-mark 1789, and made in London by "Hester Bateman." Worn on the left breast by an official of the Company. *Obverse* : Clasp hands with large crown above—below engraved "No. 18." Around rim "Hand-in-Hand Fire Office. Instituted 1696."

(2) Silver circular pass of the Westminster Fire Office. Hall-marked London. *Maker* J.S.

*Obverse* : Portcullis crowned with Prince of Wales Feathers. Underneath—"Fire Office."

*Reverse* : Engraved "Mr. John Spinnage, Second Clerk. 1782."

(3) Silver circular pass of the Westminster Fire Office. Hall-marked London.

*Obverse* : Portcullis crowned with Prince of Wales Feathers. Underneath—"Fire Office."

*Reverse* : Engraved "John Yenn, Esq., Director. 1789-1790."

(4) Silver circular pass of the Westminster Fire Office. Hall-marked London, 1800. *Maker's* mark, B.L. with plume over. Of finer workmanship than the preceding two passes.

*Reverse* : Engraved "John Yenn, Esq., Auditor, 1801-1802."

The Hand-in-Hand Fire Insurance Co., founded 1696, was absorbed by the Commercial Union in 1906.

The Westminster Fire Insurance Co. was formed in 1717 and its present London offices are at King Street, Covent Garden.

The passes were used by officials of the Company as tokens of authority.

With reference to the "Hand-in-Hand" badge, Mr. T. G. Barnett remarks that :—

The relative position of the plate-marks on this silver badge is noticeable : they are arranged so as to form the angles of a square almost as large as the matted space, inside the rim, allows. The date-letter is illegible, but absence of duty-mark, and the maker's being in an oblong depression, both imply its being prior to 1784.

#### MASONIC, ETC.

(1) Gold Master-mason's badge—cast and chased.

*Obverse* : King Solomon with the architect and builder of the Temple. Hall-mark of London for 1792.

*Reverse* : Plain.

The only old masonic badge I have seen entirely in gold.

On this, again, Mr. Barnett comments as follows :—

The marks on the gold badge, intimating 22 carats fine, are identical with those of wrought silver of the old standard, a practice which persisted until 1844 ; after this date a crown, and 22, in separate punches, appear in place of the lion passant.

(2) Senior Warden's badge.

*Obverse* : Emblematic figure with column on either side. Below—S.W.

*Reverse* : Plain gold frame surrounded with fine paste. The centre is in Battersea enamel.

(3) Large silver-gilt badge of a Master of the *Gregorians*.

*Obverse* : Three figures standing and another seated and pointing to a terrestrial globe and scroll.

*Reverse* : A finely engraved coat of arms.

The *Gregorians* were a curious organization of which little is known, but its existence can be traced from 1728 to 1806. There was a Grand Chapter of the Order in London with 13 or more subordinate chapters meeting at various places in London and in the provinces, particularly one at Norwich, the existence of which can be traced through local newspapers from 1761 to 1805. A manuscript copy of the bye-laws of a chapter established in 1796 at Wakefield is in the library of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in London, and from it may be traced a great similarity between the customs of the *Gregorians* and those of Freemasons. According to it the objects were the establishment and permanent continuance of unity in society and Christian charity, while a member must be a man of honour, sound morals, and true loyalty. (From *Cyclopædia of Freemasonry*.)

Large silver-gilt badge of the Bucks Society.

*Obverse* : A stag, in field trees and landscape, and sun in splendour underneath; on scroll, F.U.I.

*Reverse* : Plain.

Finely cast and chased and in original shark-skin case.

*The Bucks Society.*

The "Noble Order of Bucks" was formed in 1722. The President was styled "the Grand Master" and "Most Noble Grand"; other officers were called Rangers and Verderers.

From various accounts it would appear that this was purely a Georgian convivial society of which so many existed at that time and which were notorious for the escapades and riotous conduct of many of their members.

## VARIOUS.

Calcutta Hunt.—Gold medallion.

*Obverse* : Hounds and huntsman in full cry ; mountains and trees in distance ; above, " Calcutta Hunt."

*Reverse* : Engraved, " A Token of Remembrance to Capt. Wm. Hunt for his Seasonable Supply of Hounds, 1771."

Mutiny at the Nore.—Silver-gilt medal.

*Obverse* : Bust and shoulders to left, portrait of Earl St. Vincent in frame of laurel-wreath ; around " Earl St. Vincent's Testimony of Approbation, 1800."

*Reverse* : Soldier and sailor clasping hands : " Loyal and True." Wreath surround and crown above.

In original case enclosing a paper on which is written : " Given to Mr. Shelly, Father of John Shelly, by Earl St. Vincent."

Awarded to officers for services in quelling the mutiny at the Nore.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, February 26th, 1930.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

*Exhibitions.*

By Dr. E. C. Carter :—Charles I half-crown of Exeter of 1643. The obverse had the Oxford figure of the King, with ground underneath, but the reverse was interesting in that it had the correct garniture of the shield as compared with the garniture to be found on other known specimens.



By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—

- (1) Box of scales  $5\frac{3}{4}$  ins. by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. by  $\frac{3}{4}$  in., covered with sharkskin bearing label of "T. Roberts in Bartholomew Lane, near the Royal Exchange, London"—apparently an unrecorded maker. The only weights remaining are four sheet-brass weights of 5, 4, 3 and 2 grains.

Sheppard and Musham in their "Money Scales and Weights," 1923, record the name of "I. W. Roberts, London," as appearing on the lid of a locker in a box of a quite different type bearing the label of "John Will<sup>m</sup> Herbertz" (pp. 63-4).

- (2) A trial striking of the reverse only of a pattern halfpenny of George III by Droz. The seated figure of Britannia agrees with the description given by Montagu (No. 1, p. 99). Britannia's robe has an embroidered border at the bottom and she holds a spear in the right hand and a garland in the left. There is a "D" under the shield of Britannia for Droz. In the exergue is a ship's rudder and a palm branch crossed.
- (3) An example of Droz's pattern halfpenny of 1790 (Montagu 6)—shown for comparison.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—A penny of Aethelstan, struck at Derby, issued by the Danes and illustrative of the period to which it belongs.

In presenting this interesting penny for exhibition, Mr. Manton added that Derby was situated in the Saxon Kingdom of Mercia. At different periods it was in the possession of the Danes and served them as an outpost for intended conquest of the country further south. When occupied by the Danes, it was necessary for them to obtain supplies locally for the maintenance of the army, and as their Northumbrian coins were not acceptable by the surrounding Saxons, coins of the type that the Saxons were

accustomed to had to be provided. There was already an established mint in the town, so dies were prepared by the Danes for the coinage of Aethelstan pennies of Saxon types, but instead of showing upon them the title adopted by Aethelstan of "Rex Totius Britanniae," the Danes substituted the title "Rex Saxorum."

The dies for the penny exhibited were evidently prepared by a Dane who was unaccustomed to such work. In the first place his obverse die produced a retrograde inscription, TIRBTOT +ÆRNASIGÆ+ (= +ÆDISTAN RE+TOT BRIT), and apparently he had not been instructed to change the title "Tot Brit," objected to by the Northumbrians, to "Rex Saxorum." The reverse die was a more successful copy of the prototype, but the moneyer's name is blundered and reads +IOIAITOTEDERYBYI = IOIAIMOTE DERVBYI. Presumably the final I in the name as given IOIAI should have preceded the A which would have given the contraction IOHA for "Johannes." This solution is suggested by Mr. W. J. Andrew.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—A small but well executed silver medal with unusual bust of Queen Victoria, by William Wyon, in commemoration of her visit to the City of London on November 9th, 1837.

### *Papers.*

EDWARD THE ELDER: PENNIES WITH FAÇADE OF A BUILDING.

By G. D. LUMB, F.S.A.

and

COINS COMMEMORATING THE REBUILDING OF YORK MINSTER,  
A.D. 921-25.

By W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

The evening was devoted to the reading and subsequent discussion of two short but interesting papers on the above subjects,

Mr. Lumb dealt with the subject from the standpoint of the evidence afforded by all the known coins—with their moneyers—supporting the attribution of such coins to the mint of York. The moneyers of coins with an architectural design were linked with other types without such a design, but which certainly emanated from the York Mint.

Mr. Andrew dealt with the subject more from the historical side, with special reference to the foundation and subsequent rebuilding of York Minster, and incidentally accounted for the three different views of the Minster which appeared on the coins.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. G. C. Brooke, Mr. H. A. Parsons and Mr. F. A. Walters joined, and it was unanimously decided that both these papers should appear in a future volume of the *Journal*, the one as a useful corollary to the other.

The papers are printed in the present volume.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, March 26th, 1930.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. James Frederick Hayselden Checkley, Mr. Eno Harry Clark, Mr. Hugh J. Dakers, M.A., Mr. Gilbert Keswick Drabble, Mr. Frederick William Harness, Mr. James Stewart Henderson, M.A., F.S.A.Edin., F.R.S.L., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A., Mr. Richard Cromwell Warner, Mr. Bernard Joseph Maxwell Wright, The Yorkshire Philosophical Society (Dr. Walter E. Collinge, F.S.A., Keeper), the Bavarian State Library, Munich, and the Prussian State Library, Berlin, were elected Members of the Society.

### *Presentation to the Library.*

By Messrs. Spink and Son, Limited.—A bound copy of their *Numismatic Circular* for 1929, Vol. XXXVII.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. T. W. Armitage :—

- (1) Penny of the Short-Cross type with confused legends, attributed by the exhibitor to Roderic, King of Connaught *circa* A.D. 1181. Referred to in his paper.
- (2) Penny of the "Triangle" type, reading on obverse DVB NOVO DO. Referred to in his paper.
- (3) Halfpenny of John of the Dominus type with reverse, WALTEN ON BE. Attributed by the exhibitor to Belfast.
- (4) A Continental imitation circulating in Ireland in the latter part of the thirteenth century.
- (5) Penny of Edward I of the "Triangle" type struck at Dublin from apparently local or forged dies.
- (6) Cut halfpenny of Henry III, copper plated, found at Reculver.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—

- (1) A rare commemorative medal by Lewis Pingo, of Thos. Snelling, numismatist, 1712-1773.
- (2) Medal, with suspension loop, commemorating Irish Surplus Revenue Dispute, December 17th, 1753. The Irish Parliament is seen issuing from the House headed by the Speaker, who carries a bag inscribed VINDICATA, and places a cap of Liberty on the head of Hibernia, who is attended by Industry (holding distaff) and Law (holding a scroll inscribed LEGES). Above is Fame with a trumpet, whose flag is marked CXXIV, and a scroll inscribed ERGO TVA JVRA MANEBUNT—"Therefore your rights shall remain." Surrounding this group is the legend

UTCVNQUE FERENT EA FACTA MINORES VINCIT  
AMOR PATRIAE ("However posterity may consider  
these acts, love of country prevails").

In exergue a vulture and a wolf with human hands are scrambling for gold.

The reverse has a long Latin inscription, of which the translation is "Sacred to the 124 Senators who, firm to their purpose, boldly and wisely have duly vindicated the rights of their country, December 17th, 1753, of the Christian era; wherefore long live ye brave men." Round this is the legend QVIQVE SVI MEMORES ALIOS FECERE MERENDO ("Who by deserving well have made others cherish their memory").

The dispute was as to the King's right to control the discretion of the Irish Parliament as to the disposal of surplus revenue. In 1753, the Irish Parliament prepared a Bill to devote the surplus revenue to reducing the National Debt, all mention of the King's consent being omitted from the preamble. The English Ministry returned the Bill with the King's consent added. The Irish Commons rejected it by 124 votes to 117, thus claiming to vindicate the liberty of Ireland. Figured and described in *Med. Ill.*, II, 673/385.

- (3) Medal commemorating Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile, August 1st, 1798, by Kuchler. On the edge is the legend "From Alex<sup>r</sup> Davison, Esq<sup>r</sup>, St. James' Square—a tribute of regard." Mr. Davison presented one to every man engaged in the battle—in gold to Admirals, Commanders, and Captains; in silver to Lieutenants and Warrant Officers; in bronze-gilt to Petty Officers; and in bronze to Seamen and Marines. (*British Museum Guide to English Medals*, p. 121.)
- (4) Medal commemorating William Penn, by Lewis Pingo, *Med. Ill.* ii, 438/40. This was struck in the middle of the eighteenth century, probably by the direction of Thomas

Hollis, the motto on it BY DEEDS OF PEACE being a favourite one with Hollis. The reverse shows Penn grasping the hand of an American Indian and the legend PENNSYLVANIA SETTLED (*sic*) 1681.

By Mr. L. L. Fletcher :—An unpublished seventeenth-century token of “ Dublin, Isack Turnell, playtworker, 1657,” which is of interest as being the only known token on which the craft of “ plateworker ” appears.

By Mr. F. A. Walters :—

- (1) An Oxford shilling of Charles I. Obverse, tall bust of the King with looped-up scarf on breast and the letter “ R ” (for Rawlins) in the truncation of the cuirass. Reverse, the declaration and date 1644 with OX beneath.
- (2) Shilling of Charles I with obverse from the same die but the reverse from an entirely different die with the date 1644, but without OX beneath it, and the “ declaration ” slightly varied in the abbreviations.
- (3) Shilling of Charles I with mint-mark rose and without date, formerly attributed to Exeter, but now believed by Colonel Morrieson to be of the Truro mint.

### *Paper.*

#### TWO UNPUBLISHED EARLY PENNIES OF IRELAND.

By T. W. ARMITAGE.

Mr. T. W. Armitage contributed articles on two unpublished coins in his collection. One was of the English “ Short-Cross ” type of Henry II–III, but the inscriptions were unintelligible and the coin weighed only 11 grains. The writer considered that an



attribution of this coin to Ireland was justified on the grounds that it so differed in workmanship from the English prototype that it could not be an English forgery, and that all other foreign countries, at that time, had intelligible regular coinages. Mr. Armitage then advanced the view that it was issued as a currency outside the English "pale," as it was suggested that English pennies passed current inside the "pale." Consequently the writer came to the conclusion that the coin was an issue of Roderic, the contemporary King of Connaught, *circa* A.D. 1181.

The second coin which Mr. Armitage dealt with was of the "Triangle" type of Henry III or Edward I. The obverse inscription was considered to read DVB NOVO DO, and the coin weighed 20½ grs. The interpretation which the writer put upon this inscription was that it implied an issue of coins of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I, when his father conferred upon him, in A.D. 1154, the title of "Lord of Ireland."

The meeting, however, could not endorse the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Armitage. In regard to the first coin, Mr. H. A. Parsons pointed out that, so far as is known, the media of exchange in native Ireland at the time consisted of certain possessions in kind, not coined money, and, although both types of currency might conceivably have been used simultaneously for varied purposes, the absence of even one intelligible letter on the coin in question, and its isolated position, made it unacceptable as a native Irish metallic currency.

In regard to the second coin, the Meeting considered that the somewhat enigmatical obverse was more probably a misreading by a copyist of the name of the mint of Dublin, and the coin a contemporary forgery.

The thanks of the Meeting were, however, unanimously accorded to the writer.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, April 23rd, 1930.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

It is with deep regret that the Council announces the lamented death since the last Meeting of one of its Royal Members, Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of Sweden.

Mr. Walter Hanks Day, Mr. Bernard Walter Hunt, Mr. Henry Edgar Jacobs, Mr. Reginald Albert Richards, Mr. Alfred Collison Savin, and the Bournemouth Public Libraries (Mr. Charles Riddle, Borough Librarian) were elected Members of the Society.

*Presentation of the John Sanford Saltus Medal.*

The President announced that it was his pleasing duty to present to Mr. J. S. Shirley-Fox, R.B.A., the John Sanford Saltus Medal which was voted to him by the Members of the Society at the Anniversary Meeting last November. The President remarked that it was a special pleasure to him for two reasons. Firstly, the friendship that had existed between Mr. Shirley-Fox and himself for many years, and secondly to honour the memory of Mr. Shirley-Fox's late lamented brother, Mr. H. B. Earle Fox, who, at a trying moment, came to the assistance of the Society and guided its policy through the strenuous years of the late war. Mr. Shirley-Fox and the late Mr. Earle Fox had compiled that excellent monograph on the Silver Coins of the first three Edwards, which for years to come would be the standard work of reference on that subject and it was sad to think that at the time of Mr. Earle Fox's death this study had not been completed. It was the hope of the Society that Mr. Shirley-Fox would be able to finish the study and give to the Members the benefit of his researches.

The President having handed the medal to Mr. Shirley-Fox, the latter made a short speech in which he expressed his appreciation of the honour conferred upon him and his special satisfaction

that it had been awarded to him by the vote of his fellow Members. It was the greatest compliment they could pay him and the highest distinction the Society could bestow. He thanked the President for his sympathetic reference to his late brother, Mr. H. Earle Fox, and deeply regretted that his brother was no longer living to take his share in the honour which had been paid to their joint work. He then briefly recapitulated some of the work which had been done during recent years by former recipients of the Sanford Saltus medal, much of which was entirely new and original and had placed the prestige of British Numismatic research in a much higher position than it had ever before held. The new methods of accurate and scientific work were a wonderful advance upon what had been done before. After reference to several old Members who had now passed away, and to the many happy times and lasting friendships which he owed to the Society, he concluded by urging Members to endeavour to interest others, young people in particular, in the study of the coins and history of their country. In these days of hurry and speed this was not easy to do ; still one could try, and the judicious gift of an Edward penny or an Elizabeth sixpence was sometimes productive of good results. If the Society was to continue prosperous, new Members, and young ones for choice, must continually be sought, and it was up to the old ones to try and find them.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. T. W. Armitage :—

A Gros Tournois of Philip III of France reading **BNDICTV · SIT · NOME · DNI · RRI**, &c.

A coin of Gaucher de Chatillon, Yves, muled with a London penny of Edward II.

Coins of Jean d'Avesnes, Mons, muled with London pennies of Edward I ; an obverse of the former with a reverse of the latter and a reverse of the former with an obverse of the latter.

By Dr. E. C. Carter :—A shilling of Charles I, type 3a, with mint-mark, portcullis. Inner circle on obverse only. On the reverse, C.R. at sides of shield. No stops in the legend or by mint-mark.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—The One Puffin and Half Puffin of 1929 issued for Lundy.

*Papers.*

A HOARD OF COINS FOUND AT DERBY ON SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1927.

By J. O. MANTON.

Mr. Manton read a revision of his notes, published (in part) in the Society's proceedings on May 23rd, 1928, relating to a hoard of Edward pennies found at Derby on September 1st, 1927. He quoted statements (upon which his notes had been based) made at an inquest when the coins were declared "treasure trove," viz. : That there were no coins of Edward III included, and that the jar which had contained the coins was a production of the Tudor period. He also quoted a suggestion, published in an account of the Burton Abbey Chartulary, that treasure stolen from Tutbury Castle and secreted by the monks came from the same source as the coins in the treasure chest of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, lost at Tutbury in 1322 and found in 1831.

Recent enquiry had revealed that the alleged sixteenth-century jar, stated to have been the container of the Derby hoard, was represented by a single fragment of sixteenth-century earthenware, which was adopted without proof as a portion of the actual jar broken up and "sent to the tip," whereas there is no proof that it had any connection with the find.

The conclusion in regard to the coins found is that they were buried somewhere about the time when Edward III pennies of the "florin type" (1344-1346) were in circulation, for a number of these were included in the find, and that they were hidden by someone who was called to assist in the early part of the Hundred Years'

War (1338-1453) between England and France, and who never returned.

As previously stated, details will be given when the paper is printed in the volume.

AN ENIGMATICAL HALF GROS TOURNOISE OF IRELAND

(POEY D'AVANT LXI, 16).

By T. W. ARMITAGE.

Mr. T. W. Armitage contributed a note on a demi-gros of the tournois type in his collection, which has hitherto been attributed to Aquitaine, under Edward III of England. It bears the remarkable reverse legend of "Dns Hibernie" instead of the usual one of "Dux Aquitanie." Although of quite common occurrence, an explanation of this legend on a coin of this continental type does not appear to have been suggested hitherto. Quoting from Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, a Report of a Commission of A.D. 1284 to enquire into the sale, purchase and exchange of silver money, etc., that "another kind (of money) was made in Germany under the name of Edward, King of England," and adverting to the reference in Hazlitt's *Coinage of the European Continent*, that Nancy was a mint of the Dukes of Lorraine, who freely imitated the regal types and names, Mr. Armitage thought that, having regard also to the type of the floreate outer circle on the reverse, which resembles that on the true gros of Nancy, and to the peculiar form of N in the legend, the demi-gros under notice was an imitation, struck in Nancy, by Charles II, Duke of Lorraine, A.D. 1390-1431.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, May 28th, 1930.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S. (for re-admission), Mr. Thomas Ollive Mabbott, Ph.D., Mr. James Wright, and the Leeds

City Museums (Mr. Herbert William Ricketts, F.G.S., Curator) were elected Members of the Society.

*Presentation.*

By Mr. R. T. Christopher :—A Bradford-on-Avon War Medal, designed by the donor's wife—Mrs. M. I. Christopher. The obverse bears the figure of Britannia, standing on the shore and holding a laurel-wreath in her right hand. The British lion, couchant, at Britannia's feet. On the water is a warship with an aeroplane flying over it. Inscription : " For services rendered in the Great War, 1914-1919."

The reverse depicts the Chapel on the Bridge at Bradford-on-Avon, and bears the inscription: "From the citizens of Bradford-on-Avon. With gratitude to \_\_\_\_\_, 19 July, 1919."

With the donation Mr. Christopher gives the following very interesting details of this Chapel on the Bridge. The bridge was originally a pack-horse and foot-bridge, built in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and was repaired and widened in the reign of James I. The Chapel is on a specially built pier of the bridge; the corbelled portion is original, but the upper structure was built at a later date, probably when the bridge was altered in the reign of James I. At one time the Chapel was used as a lock-up.

A vote of thanks was duly accorded for this very interesting and very beautiful donation.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. Frank E. Burton :—The following badges of Charles I in illustration of his paper :—

- (1) Obverse Head of Charles I; reverse, Henrietta Maria, and below, T. RAWLINS. Gilt. Loop and ring for suspension.



- (2) Same as No. 1, except for wreath border, loop and ring.
- (3) Obverse, crowned bust of Charles I; reverse, Henrietta Maria, and below, T. RAWLINS. Silver. Wreath border, loop for suspension.
- (4) Same as No. 3, but in gilt and without border.
- (5) Obverse, bust of Charles I, and reverse, bust of Henrietta Maria. No legends. Silver.
- (6) Small silver badge, with Charles I on obverse and Henrietta Maria on reverse. Loop for suspension. No legends.
- (7) Small gilt badge, with Charles I on obverse and Henrietta Maria on reverse. Floral borders.
- (8) Silver badge with Charles I on obverse. Incuse legend. On the reverse are the Royal Arms incuse. Wreath border and loop for suspension.
- (9) Same as No. 8, but without wreath border.
- (10) Very similar to No. 8, but with date 1642 on Buckle of Garter on reverse.
- (11) Silver badge with Charles I on obverse and Royal Arms—not incuse—on reverse. Wreath border and loop for suspension.
- (12) The same in gilt, but without wreath border.
- (13) Small silver badge, with Charles I on obverse and Royal Arms incuse on reverse. No legends. Loop and ring for suspension.

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—A series of tobacco stoppers, mostly bearing busts of Charles I.

- (1) Tobacco stopper of cast copper (base missing). Bust of Charles I, three-quarter right, long hair, and wearing armour and a medal suspended by a ribbon. The bust surmounted by a cast of a Queen Anne farthing, 1714 (Britannia type). Reverse, plain. The bust agrees

exactly with that described in *Med. Ill.*, i, 370/259, which appears as an ornament for boxes, book covers, &c. It is derived from the bust on the obverse of a memorial medal (*Med. Ill.*, i, 350/209, and figured on p. 351), which bears the jugate busts of Charles and Henrietta Maria. This was the work of Heinrich Reitz the younger. The same obverse appears on the Dutch Fishery Medal of 1636.

- (2) Tobacco stopper with bust of Charles I on obverse (as *Med. Ill.*, i, 360/231). Reverse, Royal Arms in square garnished shield within a garter, and the letters C - R. on either side of shield. This reverse does not appear to be recorded in *Med. Ill.*
- (3) Tobacco stopper in brass. Obverse, bust of Charles I; reverse, bust of Henrietta Maria—after T. Rawlins. *Med. Ill.*, i, 354/216.
- (4) Tobacco stopper, brass. Obverse, bust of Charles I; reverse, bust of Queen Anne (? after John Croker). *Med. Ill.*, ii, 385/237.
- (5) Tobacco stopper. Bust of Charles II. *Med. Ill.*, i, 449/32.
- (6) Tobacco stopper. Obverse, bust of Earl of Manchester; reverse, his arms. *Med. Ill.*, i, 309/137.
- (7) Tobacco stopper. Masonic.
- (8) Tobacco stopper in brass, with bust of Charles I.

By Mr. H. J. Dakers :—James VI Six-shilling piece (Scots), second issue after accession to English throne, dated, very clearly, 1619. This is an unpublished date of this denomination, which is of extremely rare occurrence. As there were no English sixpences of 1619, this coin seems to form the only currency issued in that year in Great Britain, and makes it additionally interesting.

By Miss Farquhar :—A selection of some of the smallest badges of Charles I, comprising :—

- (1) A Tongue token. *Med. Ill.*, i, 366/249. Reverse, CR uncrowned. Only two specimens known. The obverse is frequently seen with no reverse, or with other reverses. Tradition states that the reverses served to carry a message.
- (2) A portrait badge without reverse. These portraits were frequently enclosed in heart-shaped secret memorial lockets with dates or words referring to the king's death. These were engraved and show many varieties.
- (3) A badge as *Med. Ill.*, i, 366/248. Portrait as 249, but with royal cipher crowned. This is said to be the type sent to inform Charles of the birth of Princess Henrietta.
- (4) and (5) Badges with reverse Royal Arms—Nos. 239 and 240—in relief and incuse.
- (6) (7) (8) (9) and (10) No. 6 the badge as *Med. Ill.*, i, 361/235. This is the commonest bust of the King, constantly reproduced with differing busts of Henrietta Maria as (7) i, 357/223 ; (8) i, 358/224 ; and (9) i, 358/225. These were probably for distribution by the Queen in her journeys to collect money for the King. No. (10) has the reverse three crowns (*Med. Ill.*, i, 364/241) and is very rare.
- (11) Badge with bust of Charles by Thomas Simon. The reverse has the Royal Arms in high relief, *Med. Ill.*, i, 362/238.
- (12) A variety of No. 11.
- (13) A variety of No. 11, with bust of the Queen as *Med. Ill.*, i, 368/226.
- (14) A very rare badge, with reverse crown and "Long May King Charles Reigne," probably issued at the English coronation in 1626 or at the Scottish in 1633. *Med. Ill.*, i, 365/246.

- (15) A badge with same rare obverse, but the reverse has a bust of the Queen. This was probably issued at the time of her marriage in 1626. *Med. Ill.*, i, 365/246 var.

By Mr. H. Alexander Parsons :—A Quarto of Gibraltar, dated 1841 over 1840. The earliest date of this coin known to Atkins is 1842, and, as the regal coinage for Gibraltar was not authorized by the Treasury until May of that year, it is clear that the piece exhibited is a trial or pattern prepared in the previous year, when the Governor asked the Colonial Office to supply a suitable coinage to displace the British and Spanish coins and the tokens which had hitherto served. That a special coinage for Gibraltar had been in contemplation even before 1841 is evident from the fact that the pattern exhibited appears to have been struck in 1840, for the 1 of 1841 is superimposed on what appears to be a nought.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—A large brass medallion of Charles I by Obrisset, and probably struck for ornamentation of furniture. Also a silver medallion of Charles I of very fine work, with the same bust as appears on the Dutch Fishery Medal of 1636. This last has a loop for suspension.

By Mr. Richard Cromwell Warner :—Medal in tin, struck by L. C. Wyon in 1843, when he was 16 years of age. Obverse, head of Oliver Cromwell from Simon's crown piece, and inscription, OLIVAR D.G.RP.ANG.SCO.HIB. &c. PRO.. Reverse, head of Louis XVIII from the five-franc piece and inscription, W. WYON R.A. CUDI JUSSET. Unknown to Henfrey.

Also uniface medal of Oliver Cromwell, possibly by Kirk or Stuart as a copy of Simon's first design for Dunbar Medal. Oliver Cromwell full face, in armour, and inscription, HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED US. From the Montagu collection. The medal was engraved

in Vertue's book on Simon's medals, though he questions whether it was Simon's work. Not in Henfrey.

*Paper.*

SOME BADGES OF CHARLES I.

By FRANK E. BURTON, J.P., F.S.A.

Mr. Burton contributed some notes to the very fine exhibition of badges that he had brought that evening, and remarked that the earliest badges issued by any English monarch were those by Queen Elizabeth. These were bestowed as rewards for great and special services rendered to the state, and very few were in existence to-day. It was extremely probable that the first badges struck by order of Charles were given for military valour. Afterwards he bestowed them for special services, and then they were given away freely to his soldiers and adherents to keep alive the Royalist cause.

Many of them were beautiful portraits of extremely fine work. Usually, however, the smaller badges were not nearly so fine in design and workmanship, and were more widely distributed.

There was considerable doubt as to the date when these badges were first struck. One that was exhibited bore the date 1642, and it was also on record that Charles ordered a special badge to be made for Sir Robert Welch, Knight, for the rescue of the Standards at Edge Hill, in 1642. Some of the badges bore the name of Thomas Rawlins, engraver to Charles I from 1643.

The paper will be printed, with full descriptions of the badges, in a later volume.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, June 25th, 1930.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. Alan Weaver Hazelton and the Hereford Public Library—  
Mr. F. C. Morgan, Librarian—were elected Members of the Society.

*Presentation.*

By Messrs. Spink and Son :—Volume VIII (Supplement M–Z, with an Index of Illustrations) of *The Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, by Leonard Forrer.

*Exhibitions.*

By Mr. A. E. Bagnall :—The following bronze medals :—

Medals of famous architects, Christopher Wren (by Wyon), Sir Charles Barry, the designer of the Houses of Parliament, and Inigo Jones (by C. F. Carter).

David Cox, the artist (medal issued by the Art Union of London).

Rev. John Wesley (by Hancock).

David Garrick (by Pingo).

Also a silver oval medal of David Garrick, with loop for suspension.

Enlarged photographic copies of Elizabethan proclamations :—

- (1) Proclamation of 1560, to the Marches of Wales against those refusing the debased coinage of Edward VI, countermarked with a greyhound for legal tender at twopence farthing.
- (2) Proclamation to the effect that the gold "pistol-ettes" of Spain, Florence and Venice were to be current at the value of five shillings and tenpence.

*Note.*—These proclamations are so interesting that it is hoped—with the permission of the Hereford Corporation, in whose Archives these proclamations are deposited—to print the enlarged photographs in a future volume of the *Journal*.

In reference to the proclamations, Mr. Bagnall also exhibited one of the debased testoons of Edward VI before being countermarked and a specimen of the gold escudo of JOAN ET CHARLES of Spain, referred to in the second proclamation.



By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson :—Coins of Charles I, including :—

Half-crown and shilling of the Tower Mint with mint-mark sceptre.

Half-crown, sixpence, groat, threepence, half-groat and penny of the Coombe Martin Mint and plaster casts of the Coombe Martin shilling and Bushell's Mining medal.

These exhibitions were in illustration of Colonel Morrieson's paper.

### *Papers.*

The following note of a small find of coins ranging from Elizabeth to Charles I was communicated to the Society by Mr. Egbert Steinthal :—

“In June of 1928, whilst an old house in Salford was in course of demolition, a hoard of thirty-one silver coins came to light, comprising the following varieties :

Elizabeth—

Shillings, mint-marks hand, cross, and 2	.. ..	3
Sixpences, dated 1561, 1567, 1568, 1571, 1575, 1578, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1585, 1586, 1594, 1595, 1602.		
Those of 1567 and 1602 were duplicated	.. ..	16

James I shillings, first issue, mint-mark lis (2) and second issue, mint-mark rose	.. .. .	3
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Charles I—

Half-crown, Tower Mint, mint-mark sun	.. ..	1
Shillings, Tower Mint, mint-marks triangle, star (2), Ⓐ (2), (P), and eye	.. .. .	7
Sixpence, Tower Mint, mint-mark tun (square shield)	..	1

There is no reason to suppose that the above did not include the whole of the treasure, and the hoard fairly represents the types and scope of the silver currency of the period.”

## THE COINS OF THE COOMBE MARTIN MINT, 1647-8.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

Colonel Morrieson, in presenting his paper, referred to a series of coins of the Aberystwith type with a crown for a mint-mark. The horse on the half-crown and the bust on the shilling agree with those on the coins struck at the Tower Mint with the sceptre mint-mark. These similarities denote that they were struck by Thomas Bushell during the years 1647-8. This could not be earlier than the end of September, 1647, as the surrender of Lundy and the restoration of his privileges were ratified by the Parliament on the 11th of that month.

At the end of May, 1648, Bushell was on a visit to London when, notwithstanding his immunity, he was arrested for debt. He was released on bail, but he deemed it wiser to leave the country. Bushell remained abroad till 1652, when he petitioned the Protector for permission to return. This was granted and all his privileges restored. From this it can be gathered that his right of coining was forfeited by his flight. The striking of these coins must therefore have ceased in May, 1648, after a brief span of seven to eight months.

Where was Bushell all this time? Presumably he was at Coombe Martin getting those derelict mines into working order. It is known that he gave out that he wanted some ore and clay to be sent there as he intended to work those mines. After the Armistice about Lundy, he went to Coombe Martin, as a letter from him is dated from that place. He is said to have lived near Bideford, and in October, 1648, the Harbour Boards of Barnstaple and Bideford offered him facilities. During these months no coins were struck at Aberystwith (vide *British Numismatic Journal*). These facts therefore suggest that Coombe Martin was the place of mintage.

On his return from exile he attempted to work the mines in the Mendips, but with no particular success. To induce the public he issued gold medals of the value of £10 each to those who would support the venture (vide *Medallic Illustrations*). On the Restoration he appealed to the King to repay the money he had expended in

the royal cause, but though favourably reported on by a Committee appointed to investigate his claim, he received nothing.

With the exception of the groat and threepence, the coins are rare, especially the higher denominations. They consist of a half-crown, shilling, sixpence, groat, threepence, half-groat and penny.

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### ORDINARY MEETING.

*Wednesday, October 22nd, 1930.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The Secretary read the List of Officers and Council nominated for the ensuing year. In connection with this Colonel Morrieson announced the resignation—owing to serious domestic illness—of Mr. Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S., as Editor of the Society's *Journal*. Colonel Morrieson referred in very appreciative terms to the valuable and expeditious work done by Mr. Anscombe, and expressed his deepest regret at the cause which had necessitated his retirement from a post that he had filled so ably.

#### *Presentation to the Library.*

By Mr. Eno H. Clark :—" Kentish Hop Tokens and their Issuers," by the donor.

#### *Exhibitions.*

By Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon :—

- (1) English box of coin scales and weights probably dating from the time of James I. It is decorated with shallow carving and punched ornament, and in addition to the box proper there is a locker with sliding cover in the lid, and also a drawer below. There is accommodation for 25 weights, but the box now contains only 15, 7 of

which are for various coins of James I, and another for the sovereign of Queen Elizabeth, counterstamped with a crowned I (for James I). This last is a rare weight. There are also a later weight for a guinea of George III and six Continental weights, mainly of Antwerp manufacture. (The hinges and hooks are not original and the small locker for grain weights has lost its lid.)

- (2) A very beautiful and complete Dutch box of coin scales and weights, issued by Roelof Vander Schure, of Amsterdam, and dated 1657. It contains its full complement of 31 weights, 13 in the box proper and 18 in the drawer below, while the small locker with sliding lid contains 3 sheet-brass weights. All but 5 of the weights are stamped on the reverse with the issuer's mark, viz., the Belgic lion and the initials RVS, all within a wreath, and of the remainder, 4 have the marks of other Dutch issuers, and one has a blank reverse and is probably a French weight. The scales are stamped with the device of Jacobus de Backer, of Antwerp. The label on the inside of the lid is unusually elaborate. The arms of Amsterdam, crowned, form the centre, and there are representations of 14 coin weights, all being carried out in colour and gilding. The top of the lid is adorned with a blank heraldic shield and mantling, with scrolls of conventional foliage on either side. These are carved in relief on a sunk panel which is surrounded by a border of ornament in "bookbinders' tooling." The edges of the lid and the sides of the box are also carved, and the fastening is by two elaborate silver hooks on the top.

By Mr. H. J. Dakers :—Scottish groat of James III (?)—thistle and mullet type. The attribution by Burns of these three-quarter face thistle and mullet groats to James III

has not met with general acceptance. On the coin the letter **τ** appears on the obverse to left of the neck. No similar specimen seems to be recorded.

The moneyers of James III were Alexander and Thomas Tod and Alexander Livingstone, whose initials **τΛ** are on the obverse of certain groats assigned to him (Burns, figs. 568 and 569). If the **τ** on the coin is the initial of the moneyer (and it is difficult to see what else it can be), its presence is fresh evidence and support of Burns' attribution. Thomas Tod, according to the list in Cochran-Patrick's records of the coinage, ceased to be moneyer in 1487, a year before the accession of James IV, and there is no moneyer of James IV or V who could be represented by this initial.

A **τΛ** groat is also exhibited for comparison.

By Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Evans:—Charles I pound piece of 1643, with the V in Carolus an inverted A. Also a Belgian 10-franc piece of the Centenary issue, with heads of Leopold I, II and Albert.

By Mr. R. Cyril Lockett:—The following rare Scottish coins:—

1. JAMES II. *Edinburgh Groat*. Crown and annulet coinage.  
**+ IACOBVS : D : I : GR : REX : SCOTTOR' :** a blunt star to left of crown and an annulet each side of neck.

**+ DRS PRO | TACTORM | S : ET \* LIBER | TORMS**  
**: VIL ★ | Λτ : Ε | DIN : | BVRC 55½ grains.**

On the reverse a crown occurs in each of two alternate angles and three pellets with an annulet in centre in the other alternate angles. See Burns, 521. This is the true reverse and so far the only recorded specimen.

2. JAMES II. *Roxburgh Groat*. Crown and Pellet coinage.

**+ VIL Λτ \* RO XBV : RGN**

Burns, 548. The second known specimen.

3. JAMES VI. *Two-Merk Piece* of 1580. 346 grains.

Burns, page 360, says the only known specimen of this date was in the Carfrae collection.

By Mr. J. O. Manton :—A seventeenth-century token of Bucks, reading on the obverse IOHN TOMES MERCER, and on the reverse IN IVINGO = I.S.T. This is published for the first time in Volume XIX of the *British Numismatic Journal*.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs :—A Mills' pattern crown of George III, undated, with script letters. A proof in silver of the Anne Farthing of 1714. Also a ticket or check in brass with a large **A** crowned and the letters G.N. below, all impressed on a uniface flan.

By Mr. W. C. Wells :—A cut half-penny of Rye mint, Stephen, Hks. 270. The reverse reads [+ RÆPŸL : ON : RL.

*Paper.*

THE MINTS OF RYE AND CASTLE RISING IN THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

By W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

The paper is printed in the present volume.



## ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

*Monday, December, 1st, 1930.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

Mr. Cyril William Hurst was elected a Member.

The Council's Report, which with the Treasurer's Accounts is printed later, was read by the Secretary and unanimously adopted.

The President addressed the Meeting and in moving the adoption of the Report drew *inter alia* the attention of the Members to that part of the Report which augured a probable and necessary change in the issue of volumes by the Society. That change would be effected on the completion of the next volume, which would mark the end of the second series. Apart from the fact that motives of economy certainly suggested an alteration in size and possibly in quality of paper, he thought that a change from the size of paper used in our present volume would not be an unwelcome one to many of our Members. The President was particularly careful to stress that the Honorary Treasurer's report fully endorsed the advisability of the course proposed.

In the unavoidable absence of the Hon. Treasurer, Sir William Wells, F.S.A., the Secretary read, in detail, the Society's Accounts for the year. Votes of thanks were passed to Sir William Wells and to the Auditors, Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. E. H. Wheeler, for their services. A vote of thanks also was passed unanimously to the President, Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, for presiding at the Meetings and his work in connection with the Society's affairs.

### THE BALLOT.

Mr. H. A. Parsons and Mr. H. J. Dakers having been appointed Scrutators, the ballot was duly taken, and the result was as follows :—

### OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1931.

*President* :—Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents* :—Thomas G. Barnett, F.S.A., Ernest C. Carter, M.D., M.R.C.P. ;

V. B. Crowther-Beynon, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A. ; Miss Farquhar, F.R.Hist.S. ;  
Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A. ; F. A. Walters, F.S.A.

*Director* :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

*Treasurer* :—Sir William H. Wells, F.S.A.

*Librarian* :—H. Alexander Parsons.

*Secretary* :—H. W. Taffs, M.B.E.

*Council* :—A. E. Bagnall ; G. C. Brooke, Litt.D., F.S.A. ; Frank E. Burton, J.P., F.S.A. ; Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Evans ; Lionel L. Fletcher, F.R.S.A.I. ; Grant R. Francis, F.S.A. ; Willoughby Gardner, D.Sc., F.S.A. ; Lord Grantley, D.L., J.P., F.S.A. ; Horace Herbert King ; Richard C. Lockett, J.P., F.S.A. ; J. O. Manton ; The Rev. Edgar Rogers, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A. ; Lieut.-Colonel M. B. Savage, C.B.E., D.S.O. ; J. S. Shirley-Fox, R.B.A. ; Ernest H. Wheeler ; Charles Winter.

A vote of thanks to the Scrutators was passed.

#### *Presentations to the Library.*

By Miss Helen Farquhar, F.R.Hist.S. :—*Royal Charities (Second Series), Part IV*, by the donor.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A. :—*The Coinage of Lundy, 1645-6*, by the donor.

#### *Paper.*

TREASURE TROVE : THE LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION.

By G. C. BROOKE, LITT.D., F.S.A.

Dr. G. C. Brooke gave an account of the history of the Law of Treasure Trove. Anglo-Saxon charters in which reference to treasure trove had been found were now known to be spurious, and the earliest mention is of a fraudulent misappropriation of hidden treasure in the 12th century. A statute of Edward I, known from a later recital, lays upon the coroner the duty of making enquiry upon report of treasure being found.

The necessary points for the establishment of a find as treasure trove are that the treasure be gold or silver, that it be found hidden in the earth or in secret places above the earth but affixed to the soil, and that the owner cannot be ascertained.

Coke, in his Institutes (1628-1642), defined treasure as gold or silver only because these were in his time the only precious metals and the only metals of coins.

A jury may have difficulty at the present day in deciding whether objects found are treasure or not ; Russian platinum coins, for example, are neither gold nor silver ; English coins of our present currency are only 50 per cent. silver ; coins of Carausius were current as silver coins, and sometimes retain their original silver wash, but are of base metal. Are finds of such coins treasure trove or not ? Certainly coins of Edward VI containing less than 50 per cent. of silver have been declared treasure trove.

The definition that treasure trove must have been hidden in the earth or in secret places affixed to the soil implies the necessity of proving the *animus revertendi* on the part of the owner. Single coins found on the surface of the soil may be presumed to have been dropped accidentally and are therefore the property of the finder ; grave burials were not intended to be recovered and are not therefore treasure trove. But coins found in a hollow flint lying on the surface of the ground have been declared treasure trove, because the flint must originally have been buried and have been thrown up to the surface in the course of time.

An interesting case of coins not being treasure trove because the owner could be ascertained was that of 1870, when coins found under the foundations of Blackfriars Bridge were returned to the Corporation of the City of London as the representatives of the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Chitty, who deposited them there in 1760. In this case the *animus revertendi* was lacking.

Prosecution for concealment is rare, but a famous case in 1860 led to two men being imprisoned for a year. In recent years the importance of the law from the archæological standpoint has superseded the regard for it as revenue-producing. Consequently the tendency to reward the finder, rather than to depend upon the fear of the law, has been introduced in successive stages from 1871, when it was decided to pay the metal value to the finder, to 1886, when the antiquarian value was given after making a deduction for possible

legal expenses, and finally in the present year the decision was reached that the finder should receive the full antiquarian value, without deduction, of such objects as were not returned to him.

#### THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

(*December 1st, 1930.*)

The Council has the honour to present its Twenty-sixth Annual Report to the Members, and in so doing regrets to record that in the year 1930 the Society has suffered the loss of one of its Royal Members in the person of Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of Sweden one who has taken an interest in the Society since 1924.

The Council also deeply regrets that death has again taken a rather severe toll on the Society's Members during the past year, as no fewer than seven Members have passed away, viz. :—Mr. Edward Beaumont, M.A., a Member since 1903; Mr. Hamilton Clements, a Member since 1924; Mr. Edward John French, M.A., a Member since 1921; Mr. V. T. Hodgson, F.S.A., a Member since 1903; Dr. H. C. Mercer, a Member since 1923; Lieut.-Colonel W. Llewellyn Morgan, R.E., J.P., a Member since 1904; Mr. F. J. Thairlwall, a Member since 1903. As will be seen some of the above were original Members of the Society, though none had been active Members in the sense of having contributed papers to the *Journal*.

The Council also regrets to record the resignation from various causes of nine other Members.

On the other hand, the Council has pleasure in welcoming the following new Members :—

Mr. Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S., formerly an elected Member, then an Honorary Member since 1911, and now re-elected as an Ordinary Member.

Mr. Edward Samuel Anthony.

The Bavarian State Library, Munich.

The Bournemouth Public Libraries.

Mr. James Frederick Hayselden Checkley.  
Mr. Eno Harry Clark.  
Mr. Hugh J. Dakers, M.A.  
Mr. Walter Hanks Day.  
Mr. Gilbert Creswick Drabble.  
Mr. Frederick William Harness.  
Mr. Alan Weaver Hazelton.  
The Hereford Public Library.  
Mr. James Stewart Henderson, M.A., F.S.A.(Edin.), F.R.S.L.,  
F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A.  
Mr. Bernard Walter Hunt.  
Mr. Henry Edgar Jacobs.  
The Leeds City Museum.  
Mr. Thomas Ollive Mabbott, Ph.D.  
The Prussian State Library, Berlin.  
Mr. Reginald Albert Richards.  
Mr. Alfred Collison Savin.  
Mr. Richard Cromwell Warner.  
Mr. Bernard Joseph Maxwell Wright.  
Mr. James Wright.  
The Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

For the increase in the number of new Members we are indebted very largely to the generosity of Mr. R. Cyril Lockett and Major W. J. Freer, who gave £50 and £25 respectively towards the cost of printing an appeal setting forth the Society's objects and inviting new Members who were interested in the study of numismatics. The circular met with a certain measure of success, yet on the whole your Council are disappointed in the results, for they were sanguine enough to hope for a larger influx of new Members if only in appreciation of the generous gifts from the two Members of the Council who made the Appeal possible. It is appreciated that in the present financial stress many are forced to curtail their expenses and subscriptions, yet it is hoped that present Members will not cease to do their utmost to recruit new blood and so help to restore the balance

between the income and expenditure account. A careful scrutiny of the Treasurer's Accounts will make obvious the necessity for all Members to pull their weight in the Society.

The President, Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson has presided over most of the Meetings and is still indefatigable in his work of elucidating many of the problems of the Carolian period. With the passing of years Colonel Morrieson's interest in the study of coins remains unabated and the Council takes this opportunity also of congratulating him on his election as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Royal Numismatic—a Society of which he has been a Member or Fellow for over 50 years.

Sir William H. Wells, the Hon. Treasurer, has ever been a stalwart friend to the Society in managing its financial affairs, and the Society is to be congratulated in the fact that Sir William has allowed himself to be nominated as Treasurer for the ensuing year, though he has made it quite clear that it must be his last year, as his engagements will not permit of his carrying on the duties after this year. Our best thanks are due to Sir William for nursing as he has done the finances of the Society. The Council realizes that his vacancy at the end of 1931 will not be easily filled. We will leave him to make his own Report on the Balance Sheet, which will be found printed later.

Your Council desires to take this opportunity of again thanking Mr. Anscombe for his labours on behalf of the Society in acting as Editor, and it is with deep regret that we have to announce that owing to serious domestic illness Mr. Anscombe has been forced to resign the Editorship. Realizing, as the Council does, that his place will not be filled very easily, it regrets still more the cause which has necessitated his resignation. Mr. Anscombe has already produced his third volume since his election to the post, and this will already be in Member's hands.

It is the intention of the Council to issue the next volume (Volume XX) uniform with the rest of the series, and this will be the final volume in the Second Series. On the completion of this Second Series—some time in 1932—the Society will have to consider



seriously the question of the issue for the next series. The Council are very averse from extending the length of the intervals at which the volume is produced, but it would appear advisable that the size and quality of the paper used be altered and possibly a slight reduction effected in the number of pages to each volume. As the Treasurer points out in his Report it is impossible for the Society to issue such volumes as we are doing at present and so frequently, without encroaching very largely on our capital reserves. Every Member will realize that such a course of action spells disaster in the more or less near future. It is thought that the reduction in size in the volume would not be an unwelcome change to many Members. Here again, the rise or fall in Membership will be an important factor in any future decision as to our policy.

Mr. H. A. Parsons continues to earn the gratitude of the Society by the efficient way in which he fills the post of Librarian. Various donors have added to our Library, and these have been acknowledged in our Reports.

Donations to the Society include a further guinea each from Messrs. A. E. Bagnall, T. G. Barnett, F. E. Burton, Dr. E. C. Carter, W. Longman, and Miss Farquhar. Also a donation again from Miss Farquhar of Ten Pounds towards the cost of the plates for her article in the volume, and a donation of half a guinea from a Mr. J. D. Webster (not a Member) through Mr. Anscombe. We are indebted to Mr. E. H. Wheeler as usual for stationery and printing.

The Council desires to express its thanks to Mr. L. L. Fletcher and to Mr. E. H. Wheeler for undertaking the duties of Auditors, and to Messrs. H. A. Parsons and H. J. Dakers for acting as Scrutators of the Ballot to be held this evening.

The Council would like to see a great improvement in the attendances at our Meetings, for many of the papers have been particularly interesting, and discussion which takes place at the Meetings on such papers is always informative. The exhibitions have been both varied and very interesting.

In conclusion, may it be permitted for the Secretary to again stress the point that papers on numismatic subjects are always

welcome. The infusion of so much "new blood" as has taken place this year, will it is hoped lead to the production of papers on new subjects, for no journal should have to depend for its articles on a certain few of the early Members of the Society. In extending a welcome to so many friends overseas and in America it is trusted that the Society may have the pleasure also of welcoming papers on the Colonial and American coinages, for there is no need to say that the Mother Country is just as interested in the numismatic history of the Colonial and American coinages, as doubtless those overseas and in America are interested in the numismatic history of the Mother Country.

Sir William Wells, the Honorary Treasurer, in presenting the accounts for the present year, pointed out that the heavy expense had been in respect of Volume XIX. The cost of the volume, however, £476 6s. 8d. (making with £4 3s. previously expended, £480 9s. 8d.) showed a decrease in expenditure as compared with the previous volume of nearly £70.

Subscriptions during the year were just over £230, a small increase over 1929, and the income from investments amounted to £72. On the other hand, the expenses other than the volume amounted to £200 4s. 1d., as compared with £154 15s. 3d. in the previous year. It should be borne in mind, however, that included in this sum of £200 4s. 1d. was the cost of the appeal for new Members, which had been specially provided for through the generosity of Mr. R. C. Lockett and Major W. J. Freer, who subscribed £50 and £25, respectively, for that purpose. Sir William again drew the attention of Members to the fact that the heavy expense of the volume resulted in a deficiency on this year's income of £327 7s. 4d., which would mean a realization of investments to cover the deficiency.

Special donations during the year amounted to £16 16s. 6d. and the sum of £27 10s. 2d., referred to in last year's report, had now been recovered in respect to Income Tax.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1930.

DR.						CR.
	<i>Expenditure.</i>					
		£	s.	d.		
To printing and stationery (including cost of appeal for new Members) ... ..		81	5	6		
" postages ... ..		13	13	2		
" expenses of meetings, rent to September 29th, 1930... ..		30	0	0		
" sundry expenses ... ..		22	15	5		
" Secretaries' expenses... ..		52	10	0		
" amount expended on Volume XIX of the <i>Journal</i> (making with £4 3s. previously expended, £480 9s. 8d.) ... ..		476	6	8		
		£676	10	9		
	<i>Income.</i>					
		£	s.	d.	£	s.
By subscriptions received for 1930 ...		219	9	0		
" subscriptions in arrear for 1926-1929 received ... ..		10	19	0		
					230	8
" dividends and interest ... ..					72	6
" sales of back volumes ... ..					2	2
" donations—						
A. E. Bagnall... ..		1	1	0		
T. G. Barnett... ..		1	1	0		
F. E. Burton ... ..		1	1	0		
Dr. E. C. Carter ... ..		1	1	0		
Miss Farquhar ... ..		11	1	0		
W. Longman ... ..		1	1	0		
J. D. Webster ... ..		0	10	6		
					16	16
" Income Tax recovery ... ..					27	10
" balance, being deficit for year carried to General Purposes Fund ... ..						
					327	7
					4	
					£676	10
					9	

*Anniversary Meeting, December 1st, 1930.*

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*Proceedings of the Society.*

We beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear.

(Signed) GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,  
51, Coleman Street, London, E.C.2.

November 25th, 1930.

LISTS OF MEMBERS  
OF  
The British Numismatic Society  
ON  
JUNE 30TH, 1932.

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PATRON: HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

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ROYAL MEMBERS.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.  
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

*In Alphabetical Order.*

HIS MAJESTY ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.  
HIS MAJESTY CHRISTIAN X., KING OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.  
HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.  
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.  
HIS MAJESTY HAARON VII., KING OF NORWAY.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.  
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII., KING OF SPAIN.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.  
HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV, KING OF SWEDEN.  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.  
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

*In Order of Election.*

1903. SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Deputy  
Keeper of the Public Records, 61, Warwick Square, London, S.W.1.
1905. VERNON HORACE RENDALL, Esq., B.A., 15, Wellesley Mansions, Kensington,  
London, W.



## MEMBERS.

*The sign \* signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

*The sign † signifies that the member has died.*

- 1905. \*à-ABABRELTON, ROBERT, Esq., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S., Post Box 322, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa; 30, Killyon Road, Clapham Rise, London, S.W. 4.
- 1921. ABBOTT, DR. G. H., President of the Australian Numismatic Society, 185, Macquarie Street, Sydney, Australia.
- 1904. ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian, Aberdeen.
- 1907. ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, W. Douglas Simpson, Esq., D.Litt., Librarian, Aberdeen.
- 1906. AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York.
- 1903. ANDREW, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., The Old House, Michelmersh, near Romsey, Hampshire.
- 1903. ANSCOMBE, ALFRED, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 30, Albany Road, London, N. 4.
- 1929. ANTHONY, EDWARD SAMUEL, Esq., 2, St. James's Buildings, 115-117, King William Street, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1906. ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
- 1915. ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, Edinburgh, J. Graham Callunder, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary.
- 1922. BAGNALL, A. E., Esq., 3, Castle Road, Shipley, Yorkshire.
- 1905. BAIRD, THE REV. DR. ANDREW B., 247, Colony Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
- 1903. BALDWIN, A. H., Esq., 12, Ailsa Road, St. Margarets, Middlesex.
- 1923. BALDWIN, A. H. F., Esq., 3, Adelphi Terrace House, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.
- 1903. BALDWIN, PERCY J. D., Esq., 2, Glenesk Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
- 1904. \*BARNARD, ROBERT, Esq., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., c/o Messrs. Gibson and Weldon, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.

1921. BARNETT, THOMAS G., Esq., F.S.A., Monument Farm, Rednal, near Birmingham.
1930. BAVARIAN STATE LIBRARY, MUNICH, c/o A. Asher and Co., Buchhandlung, Behrenstrasse, 17, Berlin, W. 8.
1903. BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., Esq., B.A., Cotford, Graham Road, Malvern.
1909. BELFAST CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, J. B. Goldsbrough, Esq., Chief Librarian, Belfast, Ireland.
1911. BERRY, SIR JAMES, F.R.C.S., Bramblebury, Dunsmore, near Wendover, Bucks
1923. BEST, JOHN, Esq., 5, Balfour Road, Southport, Lancashire.
1904. BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, John Shepherd, Esq., Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead.
1906. BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Reference Department, H. M. Cashmore, Esq., City Librarian, Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1904. BODKIN, SIR ARCHIBALD HENRY, Hill Head, Sidmouth, Devon.
1906. BOILEAU, LIEUT.-COLONEL RAYMOND FREDERIC, J.P., Ketteringham Park, Wymondham, Norfolk.
1907. BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, THE, C. H. Hunt, Esq., Librarian and Curator, Oriel Road, Bootle, Lancashire.
1930. BOURNEMOUTH PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Charles Riddle, Esq., Borough Librarian, Central Library, Bournemouth, Hants.
1904. BOUSFIELD, STANLEY, Esq., M.A., M.D., B.C., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 10, Albion Street, Hyde Park, London, W. 2.
1903. \*BOWLES, COLONEL SIR HENRY FERRYMAN, Bart., M.A., J.P., Forty Hall, Enfield, Middlesex.
1910. BRIGG, M. ALFRED, Esq., Carlinghow, Batley, Yorkshire.
1904. BRIGHTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, Henry D. Roberts, Esq., Director, Brighton.
1919. BROOKE, G. C., Esq., Litt.D., F.S.A., Oakwood, 12, Outram Road, Croydon.
1909. BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY, Frank P. Hill, Esq., Librarian, 1, Hanson Place, Brooklyn, U.S.A.
1927. BROWNING, WILLIAM HENRY, Esq., Chiddingstone, Bexley Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
1915. BRUSHFIELD, A. N., Esq., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 48, Queen's Road, Finsbury Park, N. 4.
1926. \*BURR, CHARLES W., Esq., M.D., 1918, Spruce Street, Philadelphia.
1911. BURTON, FRANK ERNEST, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., Orston Hall, Nottinghamshire.
1903. CALDECOTT, J. B., Esq., 34-35, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.
1908. CAMBRIDGE, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, S. C. Cockerell, Esq., Director.

1904. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, A. F. Scholfield, Esq., Librarian.
1922. \*CAMPBELL, MRS. ROBERT JAMES, Hotel Weylin, 40, East 54th Street, New York.
1904. CARDIFF FREE LIBRARIES, Harry Farr, Esq., Librarian.
1903. \*CARLYON-BRITTON, MAJOR P. W. P., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., Eversfield, Fishbourne, near Chichester.
1911. CARLYON-BRITTON, RAYMOND C., Esq., Eversfield, Fishbourne, near Chichester.
1906. CARTER, ERNEST CHRISTISON, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., "The Elms," Forty Hill, Enfield, Middlesex.
1929. CHECKLEY, JAMES FREDERICK HAYSELDEN, Esq., 17, Sandringham Gardens, North Shields, Northumberland.
1914. CHRISTOPHER, RICHARD THORNEY, Esq., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire.
1906. CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY, Ohio, U.S.A., c/o Messrs. Stevens and Brown, New Ruskin House, 28-30, Little Russell Street, British Museum, W.C. 1.
1930. CLARK, ENO HARRY, Esq., 49, Boxley Road, Maidstone.
1912. \*CLARKE-THORNHILL, T. B., Esq., 3, Carlisle Place, Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.
1904. COLCHESTER, THE CORPORATION OF, H. C. Wanklyn, Esq., Town Clerk, Colchester.
1926. COLES, COLONEL A. HORSMAN, C.M.G., D.S.O., 18, Walpole Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1909. CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., Herbert Putnam, Esq., Litt.D., LL.D., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W. 2.
1909. CORNWALL, THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, COUNTY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY OF TRURO, George Penrose, Esq., Curator.
1931. CROSS, ALBERT PEARL, Esq., 18, University Mansions, Lower Richmond Road, Putney, S.W. 15.
1920. CROSS, HAROLD, Esq., M.D., Caradoc, Clun, Shropshire.
1922. CROWTHER-BEYNON, VERNON B., Esq., M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., Westfield, Beckenham, Kent.
1922. CUNNINGTON, THOMAS M., Esq., Heylesbury, 88, West End Lane, London, N.W.
1930. DAKERS, HUGH J., Esq., M.A., 3, Belmont Hill, St. Albans, Herts.
1903. DANIELS, JAMES HERBERT, Esq., 13, Brixton Road, Brighton.
1930. DAY, WALTER HANKS, Esq., Carlyle House, Maidstone.

1925. DEACON, JAMES HUNT, Esq., Numismatic Section, Art Gallery, Adelaide, South Australia.
1917. DENMARK, THE ROYAL COLLECTION OF COINS AND MEDALS, Copenhagen.
1926. DENTON, ARTHUR R., Esq., "The Myrtles," Haygate Road, Wellington, Shropshire.
1904. DERBY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, F. Williamson, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., Director, Derby.
1914. DESICA CHARIAR, DIWAN BAHADUR, SIR T., B.A., Trichinopoly, Southern India.
1910. \*DEVONSHIRE, THE DUKE OF, Chatsworth, Derbyshire.
1930. DRABBLE, GILBERT CRESWICK, Esq., Los Altos, Sandown, Isle of Wight.
1910. DUBLIN, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, The Controller, The Stationery Office, Oriel House, Westland Row, Dublin.
1904. DUBLIN, THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, R. Lloyd Praeger, Esq., O.B.E., Librarian, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin.
1904. DUBLIN, TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY, Dublin.
1904. EDINBURGH, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, H. W. Meikle, Esq., The Keeper, Edinburgh.
1903. EDINBURGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, Ernest A. Savage, Esq., Principal Librarian.
1920. EDINBURGH, THE ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM, N. D. Cuthbertson, Esq., Librarian.
1913. EDINBURGH, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, F. C. Nicholson, Esq., M.A., Librarian.
1904. EILOART, FREDERICK EDWARD, Esq., F.S.I., 40, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.
1903. ELLIOTT, ERNEST A., Esq., 41, Chapel Park Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1922. ELLISTON, GEORGE S., Esq., M.C., M.A., 1, Upper Montague Street, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.1.
1903. EVANS, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. L., R.G.A., "Corris," Wash Hill, Newbury.
1905. EXETER, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AND CITY LIBRARY, H. Tapley Soper, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., City Librarian.
1903. FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, F.R.Hist.S., 6, Lowndes Street, London, S.W. 1.
1915. FAULKNER, W. J., Esq., Sutton House, Endon, Stoke-on-Trent.
1903. FENTIMAN, H., Esq., Murray House, Murray Road, Ealing Park, London, W. 5.

1929. FERGUSON, F. S., Esq., c/o Bernard Quaritch, 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, W.1.
1922. FINLAND, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, Helsingfors.
1923. FORD, JOSEPH, Esq., Box 274, Missoula, Montana, U.S.A.
1903. FORRER, L., Esq., Helvetia, 14, Homefield Road, Bromley, Kent.
1910. FOX, CHARLES MASSON, Esq., Woodlane Cottage, Falmouth.
1903. FRANCIS, GRANT RICHARDSON, Esq., F.S.A., Drumgay, Guildford, Surrey.
- 1903.† FREER, MAJOR WILLIAM J., V.D., D.L., F.S.A., The Stony-Gate, Leicester.
1927. GARDNER, FRANCIS, Esq., Lang Lea, 106, Darling Road, East Malvern, Melbourne, Victoria.
1906. GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, Esq., D.Sc., F.S.A., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, North Wales.
1924. GARNETT, S. ALAN, Esq., 69, Ennismore Gardens, London, W.
1922. GILLINGHAM, HARROLD EDGAR, Esq., 432, West Price Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
1903. GLASGOW, THE MITCHELL LIBRARY, S. A. Pitt, Esq., Librarian, North Street, Glasgow.
1903. GLENDINING, D., Esq., 7, Argyll Street, London, W. 1.
1927. GODMAN, DAME ALICE M., D.B.E., 45, Pont Street, S.W. 1., and South Lodge, Horsham.
1925. †GRANT, R. A., Esq., 14, Vicars Close, Wells, Somerset.
1903. GRANTLEY, LORD, D.L., J.P., F.S.A., Weeke Manor, near Winchester.
1904. GUILDHALL LIBRARY, THE, J. L. Douthwaite, Esq., Librarian, London, E.C. 2.
1903. GWYER, SAMUEL EDWARD, Esq., 7, Argyll Street, London, W. 1.
1909. HAARER, JOHN W., Esq., 207, West Saint Joseph Street, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.
1919. HALL, HENRY PLATT, Esq., Pentreheylin Hall, Llanymynech, Montgomeryshire.
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