THE IRISH COINAGE OF HENRY III
D. W. DYKES

INTRODUCTION

For many years Irish numismatics has been a much-neglected study and little attempt has been made in recent times to examine the spasmodic coinages issued from its Irish mints by the medieval English Crown. Although the English coinages of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been treated in some detail by modern scholars, scant attention has been paid to the contemporary Irish series and, unhappily, the little that has been written on the subject is marred both by factual inaccuracies and by fanciful hypotheses. Early medieval Irish coinage, as indeed the Irish coinage for the whole of the Middle Ages, has the aspect of a half-forgotten lumber room which desperately needs a spring cleaning. Clearly the time is ripe for much of the lumber—evidence, both numismatic and documentary, zealously misinterpreted during the past two centuries—to be looked at afresh and a complete reappraisal made. The purpose of this brief paper is to attempt to make some start with the coinage of Henry III and, in particular, to examine the background of documentary evidence to his Irish recoinage and to review the series of coins that resulted from it.

The older authorities on Irish numismatics do not have much to tell us about the reign of Henry III. 1 Both Simon 2 and Lindsay 3 dealt but cursorily with the period, and Ruding 4 made only a passing reference to the recoinage in Ireland. Grueber 5 naturally limited by the nature of his work and drawing only upon the rather sketchy evidence adduced by his predecessors, especially Simon, added little to what had already been garnered and, moreover, created for the future a measure of confusion by introducing a wholly mythical coinage, allegedly issued in 1248. Unfortunately, Grueber did not go back to original sources despite the fact that even by his day most of the essential documents bearing upon the recoinage had long been calendared. During the present century no effort seems to have been made to interpret these documents from a numismatic viewpoint and to reconsider the Irish coins in the light of Lawrence’s study of the contemporary English series. 6

1 The eldest son of King John and Isabella of Angoulême, Henry III succeeded his father on 28 Oct. 1216 as a minor nine years old; he died on 16 Nov. 1272. See F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology (2nd ed., 1961), p. 34. In England until his recoinage of 1247 and the introduction of the Long Cross coins Henry continued the Short Cross series of pence begun by his grandfather Henry II in 1180 and which throughout bore the name 'HENRICUS'. In addition to the Long Cross, a 1247 innovation was the addition of the regnal numeral to the king’s name, at first 'TERCIUS' and then 'III' on the English coinage—this practice was dropped in 1279 and was not reintroduced until the reign of Henry VII.


3 John Lindsay, A View of the Coinage of Ireland (1839), pp. 26–27. Lindsay’s work is the most recent general handbook devoted to the Irish series. Despite the criticism of his contemporary, the Rev. J. W. Martin of Keston, that his ‘imagination induced him to give conjectures for realities’ in regard to the Hiberno-Norse series, much of what Lindsay has to say about the later Medieval Irish coinage exemplifies his keen perception and is still of value to the modern scholar.


6 L. A. Lawrence, ‘The Long-Cross Coinage of Henry III and Edward I’, BNJ ix, p. 145 and succeeding volumes. A recent historical study by Professor
THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE IRISH RECOINAGE

Simon asserted that an Irish coinage was struck in 1217 but this claim, unsupported as it was by reference to any authority, was long ago rejected by both Ruding and Lindsay. Indeed, although John, both as Lord of Ireland and later when King of England, had issued a fairly extensive Irish series, there is no documentary or numismatic evidence to suggest that Henry III struck any Irish coins before his English recoinage began in the thirty-second year of his reign.

Such hoard evidence as exists for the first three decades of Henry's reign clearly points to an almost complete dependence on some Irish coin of John and a great deal of Short Cross English. Any consideration of Henry's Irish series should begin therefore in 1247, by which year, Mathew Paris tells us with a true chronicler's appetite for the dramatic, "the coinage of England was so intolerably debased, by clippers and counterfeiters that neither natives nor foreigners could look upon it with other than angry eyes and disturbed feelings". A general recoinage was therefore decided upon by a parliament which met at Oxford on 15 April 1247, and three months later Henry III, ever in difficult financial circumstances, leased the project to his younger brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall. In the final form of contract, dated from Woodstock on 27 July 1247, the earl was granted the right to strike 'new money in the King's name in England, Ireland and Wales from All Saints, 32 Henry III [i.e. 1 November 1247], for twelve years, on condition that the King have a moiety of the exchange and mint'. Richard was given complete control of the project and, in addition to sharing half the profits of the exchange and mint, was to receive, before the profits were calculated, 'so much by tale of the new money' as he had supplied of the old. When it is remembered that normal exchange was by weight and entailed a heavy loss to the public who brought in the old light coins, Richard's right to exchange by tale gives added point to Mathew Paris's criticism of the earl and his report of the vexation that arose in the country from the recoinage. At the first division of profits in 1252 Richard received some £5,513 and it was rumoured by Mathew Paris that his total profits from the operation were in the region of £20,000.

On the same day the king acknowledged a loan of 10,000 marks from his brother, which, it was recorded, had 'been applied to the utility of the realm': presumably this loan was intended to finance the initial operations of the recoinage and ensure that...
sufficient bullion was available in its earliest stages since a similar but much smaller loan was made in 1251 specifically 'to make new money and maintain the change in Ireland' at the outset of the Irish recoinage.1

The history of the recoinage in England and the introduction of the Long Cross series has been recounted often enough already and it would be an act of supererogation to repeat it. It is sufficient for our purposes to note that the English recoinage was soon put in hand: that within three years its first stage had been completed and most of the temporary provincial mints and exchanges brought into existence to expedite the manufacture and distribution of the new coin had been closed.2

In Ireland, however, it was quite another tale although this has not been fully appreciated in the past. Simon stated that in 1247 Henry III 'ordered stamps to be graven, of a new incision or cut, and to be sent to Canterbury, Divelin, and other places, forbidding the use of any other stamp than that used at the exchange or mint of London'.3 It is, of course, upon this statement of Simon that Grueber based his so-called First Coinage of 1248. Simon drew upon John Stow's Annals,4 who in turn alleged that he was quoting from a record of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. I have unfortunately not been able to discover this source which is not included in the Abbey Chronicle. This isolated reference appears to be the only evidence for including Dublin in the list of mints which were set up to deal with the recoinage following Richard of Cornwall’s original grant in 1247. Clearly, by itself, this evidence is no authority by which to date the beginning of the Irish recoinage to 1247 or even 1248. Stow, but not Simon it must be remembered, was guilty of a sin of historical misinterpretation too common even in this present age of scientific scholarship, the sin of reading accomplished fact into Richard of Cornwall’s original grant of 1247. Dublin is not included among the

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry III, 1232-47, p. 505. Professor O’Sullivan, op. cit., p. 89, following J. Craig, The Mint (1953), p. 32, and C. Oman, The Coinage of England (1931), p. 145, asserts that 'The contract provided that the earl should put up bullion to the value of 10,000 marks (£6,667)'. The acknowledgement of the loan does not tell us this in so many words: one can only assume that the loan was made to finance the recoinage and provide the initial silver necessary for the operation from its date and the later loan made specifically for the Irish recoinage. The loan was to be repaid at the rate of 2,000 marks at the Easter and Michaelmas Exchequers and to be a first charge on the Exchequer receipts.

2 For the English recoinage see Lawrence’s articles cited above, the standard numismatic work on the subject, and W. C. Wells, ‘Notes on the Long-Cross Coinage of Henry III, 1247-1250’, BNJ xxii, p. 79. See also Oman’s general history cited above: Brooke, English Coins (3rd ed., 1955), pp. 107 and 111; Craig; and Denholm-Young. Two of the temporary provincial mints are treated in J. Drummond Robertson, ‘The Mint of Gloucester’, Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, x (1885-6), p. 17, and in Gilbert Askew, ‘The Mint of Newcastle upon Tyne’, NC 1941, p. 76. Contemporary references to the recoinage are to be found in Mathew Paris, Chronicca Majora and Historia Anglorum and in Thomas Wykes Chronicon, all published in the Rolls Series during the last century. Unfortunately the Pipe Rolls for the recoinage period have not been published but much other relevant material relating to both England and Ireland has been catalogued and summarized in the Calendars published by the Public Record Office. A list of the English provincial mints set up to expedite the recoinage is given in the Red Book of the Exchequer (volume iii, Appendix B, ed. Hall, Rolls Series, 1896), p. 1072. This is also reprinted in the mint documents published with Nicholas Oresme’s De Moneta (ed. Johnson, 1956), p. 100. Most of the temporary provincial mints closed in 1250.

3 Simon, op. cit., p. 13.

4 John Stow, Annals, or a Generall Chronicle of England (continued by Edmund Howes, London, 1631), p. 187. 'The coyne was so sore clipped, that it was thought good to change the same, and to make it baser: whereupon stamps were graven, of a new incision or cut, and being sent to the Abbey of Bury in Suffolk, to Canterbury, Divelin, and other places, forbidding to use any other stamp then was used in ye Exchange or Minte at London, all the old stamps were called in.' There is of course more than one misinterpretation in Stow’s gloss: the new coinage of 1247 was not baser than its predecessor. It was, in fact, the last recoinage in which the weight and fineness of the penny suffered no appreciable diminution. In the next recoinage of 1279 Edward I increased the number of pence to the pound from 240 to 243.
mints listed in the Red Book of the Exchequer\textsuperscript{1} and, while its exclusion here might be explained on other grounds, a real reason for its absence from this or any other document for nearly a lustrum after 1247 is, of course, simply that as an operational mint it did not exist and, as such, had not existed since 1215 at the latest.\textsuperscript{2}

The absence of an Irish mint is indicated by the fact that during the latter part of 1250 and the early months of 1251 the Irish Treasury was sending old money to the mints of London and Canterbury to be recoined.\textsuperscript{3} Furthermore, on 16 June 1250, the Treasurer and Chamberlain of Dublin were forbidden to receive money at the Dublin Exchequer except by weight ‘until the King sends new money to Ireland’.\textsuperscript{4} In 1250 there was no new money in Dublin and even by the beginning of the following year no mint had yet been set up in Ireland.

It is surprising that Sir James Ware, the seventeenth-century Irish antiquary, usually drawn on heavily as a numismatic authority, has been studiously ignored over the recoining even by a punctilious seeker after precedent like Simon. And yet Ware, drawing upon contemporary evidence so much more reliable than Stow’s if only because it was Irish and therefore geographically much closer to the events it describes, dates the introduction of the Irish Long Cross series not to 1247 or 1248 but to 1252. In the 1705 pirated English translation of his Antiquities of Ireland Ware has the following to say about Henry III’s Irish coinage based upon evidence of what was actually done as well as upon what was ordered to be done:

Henry III, in the 35 year of his Reign, that is in the year of our Lord 1251, Commanded a new Coin to be made in Ireland, as we find in the Records of the Tower of London. The year following, says an Anonimous Author of the Annals of the Abbey of the Canons of the Premonstratenses of Loghea in the County of Roscoman, A new Coin was made in Ireland by the King’s Authority and the old was abolish’d.\textsuperscript{5}

The authority Ware used does not appear to be any longer extant but much the same story is told in the Annals of Loch Cé under the year 1252. ‘New money was ordered by the King of the Saxons to be coined in Erinn; and the money previously in use was abandoned for it.’\textsuperscript{6}

Turning from unofficial contemporary sources to the official documents of the period it is quite clear that Richard of Cornwall’s administration was not prepared to do anything for Ireland for some four years after the start of the English recoining. By 1251, however, the initial stages of the English recoining had been completed and eyes now turned to the state of the Irish coinage. On 8 May 1251 the earl was granted a ‘licence to coin new money in Ireland in the King’s name, for twelve years from the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin’ (i.e. 8 September 1251). This regrant of the Irish patent meant that the first serious steps were now to be taken in carrying the recoining across the Irish Sea. The terms of the licence were similar to those in the previous grant for

\textsuperscript{1} See p. 101, n. 2.
\textsuperscript{2} Close Rolls, 16 John p. 2, m. 9; Cal. Docs. Irel. 1171–1251, no. 529. On 1 Feb. 1215 the Archbishop of Dublin was instructed to audit the accounts of the Keepers of the Irish Exchange and Mint: this strongly suggests that the mint in Ireland had been, or was about to be, closed.
\textsuperscript{3} Pipe Rolls, 35 Henry III, Roll 4; Cal. Docs. Irel. 1171–1251, no. 3095.
\textsuperscript{5} P. 72. Simon (p. 13) does use Ware to illustrate the alleged cause of the 1252 Irish Coinage—the large and frequent subsidies, then demanded of that Kingdom, by Pope Innocent IV’.
\textsuperscript{6} Annals of Loch Cé (volume i, edit. and trs. Hennessy, Rolls Series, 1871), p. 399. The argument that these annals are not those used by Ware is set out on pp. xxxi et seq.
England. Again, in addition to sharing the profits of the Irish mint and exchange, Richard was to receive, before partition of profit, 'so much by tale of the new money as he put in of the old to make the new'.

Exactly two months later the impoverished king acknowledged the loan of 2,000 marks from his brother, 'with which to make the new money, and to maintain the change in Ireland, which the King has delivered to John FitzGeoffrey, Justiciar of Ireland, for this purpose'—a loan which Henry promised to repay as soon as the new money had been coined.

By September 1251 the detailed administrative arrangements were being put in hand. On 17 September Roger de Haverhull, who is described as a 'King's clerk' and was perhaps related to the Treasurer, William de Haverhull, was appointed 'warden of the change (cambii) throughout the whole land of Ireland' and the moneyers, clerks, and officials of the mint and its exchanges were, in the terms common to such documents, ordered to be intentive and respondent to him. Haverhull was to be both 'Warden of the Exchange' and 'Master of the Mint' in Ireland. The title Custos Cambii was used indifferently for both posts at this time and as Warden of the Exchange Haverhull, like his counterpart William Hardel in England, was, to use Sir John Craig's phrase, intended to supervise the mint which was his workshop. The Irish officials were to have the same customs and liberties as the officials of the exchange and mint in England but, apart from Haverhull, we do not know who these Irish mint officials and workmen were.

There seems to be no extant record of the names of the minor mint employees. Possibly the workmen—as distinct from the moneyers—may have been Dublin men: on the other hand they are more likely to have been London mint workers sent over to Ireland especially for the recoinage as was certainly done in 1280, since the standard of striking is as high as anything produced in London. Some of them may well have been picked from among those foreign workmen whom Reyner of Brussels had been empowered to recruit 'from beyond the seas' for the English recoinage in 1247 or from among those 'ministers cunning in any kind of minting and exchange of silver' whom Jordan of Brunswick was ordered to engage in 1248.

Haverhull was to be granted 40 marks at the Easter Exchange 1252 'for his maintenance on the King's service', and, presumably as part remuneration for his new post, was to be presented to the 'church of Kyngeston, which is vacant and of the King's gift'.

A further order of 17 September instructed the bailiffs of the towns 'wherein money is coined in Ireland' to put their prisons at Haverhull's disposal 'for the custody of trespassers, ministers of the mint, until they are punished according to the quantity of their offence'. Doubtless the council was under no illusions about the temptations put

---

1 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1247–58, p. 94; Cal. Docs. Irel. 1171–1251, no. 3129. See also Appendix II.
4 But see below p. 106 on the moneyers RICARD and DAVI.
5 The following entry relating to the Irish mint accounts for the period 1 May 1279 to Michaelmas 1286 is embodied in the Pipe Roll for 15 Edward I: 'And for wages and subsistence of 82 moneyers and workmen who went from London into Ireland £49. 14. 8d., that is to say 13/4 for each of 8 and 12/— for each of 74.'
7 Close Rolls, 1247–51, p. 503; Cal. Docs. Irel. 1171–1251, no. 3192; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1247–58, p. 108; Cal. Docs. Irel., 1171–1251, no. 3196. The stipend presumably related to Haverhull's office of Warden of the Mint and seems to have been at the rate of 20 marks per annum. As Keeper of the Exchange he would have received fees and brokerage.
8 Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1247–58, p. 108; Cal. Docs. Irel. 1171–1251, no. 3195. See also Appendix II.
in the way of the Irish mint officials and, perhaps disturbed by the conduct of the English mints and exchanges that year, foresaw the difficulties that seem to have beset Henry III's Irish mint during its short existence.

Soon after Haverhull's appointment the Irish recoinage seems to have begun in earnest because before a year had passed an account of the 'expenses incurred in the mint, Ireland' between 14 October 1251 and 8 September 1252 was drawn up. This document covers the first year of life of the reconstituted mint and is important since it not only gives details of some of the equipment purchased for its exchanges but also tells us something of their establishment and location. Apparently, the mint's centre of operations was Dublin castle where seemingly the new coinage was actually struck, but so-called 'mints' were also set up in Dublin itself and in Limerick and Carrickfergus too. Although the editor of the Calendar refers to these additional establishments as 'mints' and the close association of exchanges with mints caused the word *cambium*, as we have already seen, to be used indifferently for both kinds of institution at this period, there can be little doubt that the additional centres were simply exchanges set up for the distribution of the new coin and were not mints proper. The notice of the appointment of Roger de Haverhull is addressed, perhaps with some significance, to the ‘monetariis . . . et omnibus alliis ministris monetarie (singular) et cambiorum (plural) . . . terram Hyberniae’ and it should also be noted that there is no mention in the accounts of coining irons or mint implements being supplied to the local ‘mints’ in Dublin town and at Limerick and Carrickfergus. The materials and equipment purchased for them, however, suggest strongly that they were exchanges and, in the absence of any direct contrary evidence, it seems proper to assume that this is in fact what they were. It would have been quite normal policy to establish an exchange in Dublin, for instance, in a building distinct from that housing the mint itself. Such was the case in London, although naturally the two institutions would not have been very far apart. In the account only threepence is debited for the cost of the carriage of 2,000 marks from Dublin castle to the town exchange. From the existence of the three exchanges the ideal of an equitable distribution of the new coin throughout Ireland might be read into the mind of the organizer of the recoinage. But Richard was no altruist. He was universally believed to be the richest man in England and he acquired his great wealth through a fine business acumen. Mr. D. F. Allen in the introduction to his catalogue of ‘Tealby’ coins tells us that the medieval mind regarded coinage first and foremost as a source of profit to the fortunate possessor of the right. One need not be too much of a cynic to see in Richard’s Irish exchanges, just as in his provincial mints in England, not so much a desire for an equitable distribution of coin but rather a wish to garner as much profit from the recoinage operations as he could, profit which arose from the proceeds of the exchanges.

---

1 Cat. Pat. Rolls, 1247–58, p. 115. During the early months of 1251 a number of special commissions were appointed in England to inquire: 'Who changed new money for old without warrant, and how much each changed and for how much? Who changed new money for plates and how much etc? Whether any goldsmith bought any silver except broken plate (vasa fracta) from any but a King's changer, and how much and for what? How much silver the goldsmiths changed of broken metal (visactiva) in ingots (virgis) and plates?' How much silver each goldsmith bought of the King's changers and for how much? Whether anyone of the change changed any money without the King's change and to his own use?'

2 Cat. Docs. Irel. 1171–1251, no. 3201. See Appendix II.


Richard had kept in close touch with the recoinage in England and it is likely that he maintained an interest in the work in Ireland. Just as local mints had been set up to carry through the recoinage in England, so now Limerick and Carrickfergus were chosen to be the distribution centres for the new Irish coin in the west of Ireland and in Ulster. ‘Treasure’—presumably newly struck coin and not bullion—was taken from Dublin to Limerick, the journey taking six days, and a house was rented in the latter town for eighteen months from 8 September 1252 to 30 March 1254 at 4d. per week for use as an exchequer. At some unspecified date during this period £2,000, we are told, was taken from Limerick to Carrickfergus ‘to form a mint in Ulster’.

On 11 March 1253 a warrant of liberate was issued to the treasurer and chamberlains of Dublin authorizing them to pay Roger de Haverhull a further 20 marks ‘of the King’s gift to maintain himself in the King’s service’. It seems unlikely, however, that this stipend was actually paid until after Haverhull had relinquished his office in Ireland because eighteen months later 40 marks arrears were still outstanding to him.

But all was not well with the Irish mint: Johnson suggests that there was strong opposition from the Irish. While such an interpretation of the available evidence is open to considerable doubt it is nevertheless clear that there were some—and by no means restricted to the native population—who had a keen eye to their own advantage. An account, which may reasonably be dated to this time, sets out some ‘pleas and profits of the mint, Ireland’. We have some indication from this document of the fines imposed on a number of persons found guilty of ‘transgressions against the ministers of the mint’. ‘One who bought and sold with dipt money’ was fined 7s. 8d., and a ‘chaplain of Carrickfergus, for old halfpence, newly dipt’ 28s. 2d. The clipping of the old coin was perhaps the least of Haverhull’s worries, for already the new money was being counterfeited and a fine of half a mark was imposed on a man ‘for a false farthing of new money’. Despite sanctions such as this, however, coining seems to have become more prevalent because on 22 June 1253 John FitzGeoffrey, the Justiciar, was commissioned to investigate transgressions against the Irish mint. An inquiry was to be made into ‘what money has been coined to the King’s prejudice against the King’s order and the statutes of the mint’. Doubtless the recoinage, having effectively reduced the quantity of money in circulation and raised coined money to a premium over bullion, not only made it worth while for bullion to be brought to the mint but also unfortunately encouraged the activities of the counterfeiter.

Seemingly the Irish mint had drifted into a parlous state similar to that of the English mints which had occasioned the Commissions of 1251. Whether the Justiciar was able to bring the ‘transgressors’ to heel we do not know because before his investigations were completed the Irish mint was closed down. Presumably because it had achieved its primary object, but possibly also because there was grave dissatisfaction with its affairs, the Council on 8 January 1254 ordered the closure of the mint. Roger de

1 Denholm-Young, op. cit., p. 63.
2 Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1251-60, p. 114; Cal. Docs. Irel. 1252-84, no. 162.
4 De Moneta (ed. Johnson), op. cit., p. xxix.
5 Cal. Docs. Irel. 1171-1251, no. 1660. See Appendix II. This document which is undated refers to Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, who held the see from 1228 to 1255 and its references to ‘old’ and ‘new’ money clearly put it in the recoinage period.
7 Close Rolls, 1253-4, p. 13; Cal. Docs. Irel. 1252-84, no. 309. See Appendix II. It is significant that the Irish mint was closed while Richard of Cornwall was joint regent with the queen during his brother’s absence in Gascony.
Haverhull was instructed to return all the Irish dies to the Council in England and to dismiss his moneyers. Haverhull himself was to remain in Ireland 'until the inquisition which the King had ordered touching certain articles regarding that mint shall have been taken'.

A year later the barons of the Exchequer were ordered to make over to Haverhull some £507 due to him while he was in post and 'before his departure from Ireland'.¹ The affairs of the mint had been settled and Haverhull had returned to England. With his recall and the closure of the Irish mint after a short existence of only just over two years, minting of coin ceased in Ireland until the reign of Edward I. The mint was probably not reopened until the late 1270's when Richard Olof began striking the Henry III Long Cross pennies with realistic hair and Lombardic 'U's in their legends.²

THE MONEYERS

The documents give us terminals by which to date the coins. No Irish Long Cross pence of Henry III were struck before September 1251 and it is extremely unlikely that any were struck after the recall of the Irish dies in January 1254. If it is reasonable to assume that the Irish pence follow similar English types the evidence of the coins matches the documents perfectly. The most significant feature of the Irish coins is their obverse sceptre. This, we know from Lawrence, was not introduced into the English series until 1250–1,³ and its appearance on the Irish coins confirms—if confirmation were needed—their dating to post-1251 since it is very improbable that the sceptre would have been put on the Irish coins before it was added to their English counterparts.

Only two moneyers—DAVI and RICARD—seem to have been responsible for the output of the Irish mint: no Irish Long Cross coins are extant which bear the names of any other moneyers, Lindsay's 'HOV' penny—now in the National Museum of Ireland—being patently a contemporary forgery. There is, alas, no contemporary evidence available today which would give us some definite clue as to who these two men were. They would have been substantial men, 'managers' rather than 'operatives', but no grants of the Irish dies have come down to us and there are no explicit references in the Irish rolls to the Irish moneyers by name. Yet an interesting fact emerges which, although unsupported by any direct testimony, seems to the author at any rate to go beyond mere coincidence. The DAVI and RICARD who were responsible for the Irish coins operated within the period assigned by Lawrence to their namesakes of the London mint. Lawrence demonstrated that the DAVI and RICARD of London were sworn as moneyers in 1250 (Class III) and continued in office until the 1260's. (Classes Vf and Vg respectively.)⁴ While it is acknowledged that the practice of arguing cases from an absence of concrete evidence is never wholly satisfactory and, despite his opening strictures, the writer would nevertheless suggest that the Dublin moneyers DAVI and RICARD are none other than David of Enfield and Richard Bonaventure the goldsmith, who are associated with the London mint. There is, however, no record that these two ever went to Ireland and,

¹ Cal. Lib. Rolls, 1251–60, p. 192; Cal. Docs. Irel. 1252–84, no. 424. There were two sums of £400 and £107. 16s. 9d. Doubtless these sums arose from his office of Keeper of the Irish Exchange.
² Cal. Docs. Irel. 1285–94, no. 2. Richard Olof would appear to have taken up his duties as a moneyer in Ireland in 1276 and to have operated at Dublin until 1279. His rare coinages will be discussed in a future paper.
³ Lawrence, op. cit., p. 166.
⁴ Ibid., p. 159.
while Haverhull was issued with letters of protection for such a journey, none seems to have been issued to the London moneyers. Yet would it have been necessary for them to have gone to Dublin; could they not have held Irish offices _in absentia_? It was certainly not unknown for moneyers to hold more than one mint simultaneously in England and there seems to be no adequate reason why a secondary mint like Dublin should not have been paired with London. As far as Ricard is concerned, it seems more probable that he should be connected with the contemporary Richard Bonaventure rather than with the Richard Olof who was minting in Dublin a quarter of a century later. Those who would associate Richard Olof with the Henrician recoinage, nevertheless, might perhaps find solace in the evidence that one Richard Olof (or Olof) appears as a leading citizen and freeman of Dublin in the period 1249–72, but there is nothing other than his _floruit_ to link him with the mint before the death of Henry III.1

**THE COINS**

Lindsay states that Irish Long Cross pence were rather scarce until the discovery of the Bantry hoard which contained at least one hundred of them.2 In his _Inventory of British Coin Hoards_ Mr. J. D. A. Thompson points out that the exact number of coins in the hoard is not known but, following Richard Sainthill, records only some eighty-four Irish pieces as against at least 596 English Long Cross coins. The few other recorded Irish hoards, with the single exception of Sligo, follow much the same pattern. It is a great pity that there is such a paucity of detailed mint records for the recoinage but it is apparent that the output of two moneyers over a period of less than two years and four months was comparatively low. The following comparative figures for recorded Irish hoards are some measure of the production of the Dublin mint:3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bantry (Inventory 33)</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrick-on-Suir (Inventory 74)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drummercool (Inventory 130)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macosquin (Inventory —)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sligo (Inventory 332)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoneyford (Inventory —)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>128</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hoards discovered outside Ireland reflect their Irish counterparts and the totals of their Irish Long Cross coins are given by Mr. Dolley in Appendix I.

Only Irish pennies and their cut fractions are known. From the incidence of cut coins in the hoards and the close precedent of the English Long Cross series it seems proper to infer that no _round_ halfpennies were minted. The swallow that might be thought to make a summer, however, is the notorious round halfpenny of Simon.4 Lindsay knew

---

1 Richard Olof (or Olof)'s name may be found in documents included in the Twenty Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, 1891, pp. 80 et seq.; and _Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland_, 1172–1320 (ed. G. T. Gilbert, Rolls Series, 1870), p. 116.

2 Lindsay, op. cit., p. 27. See also Richard Sainthill, _An Olla Podrida_ (1844), i, p. 124.

3 The above figures are taken from the _Inventory_ and from information kindly supplied by Mr. W. A. Seaby and Dr. William O'Sullivan. The discrepancies between the numbers of Irish coins given in this table and those set out in Mr. Dolley's Appendix arise from the inclusion here of cut pieces. It should also be noted that the total number of coins in the Macosquin and the Stoneyford hoards is not known. Class C is the most prolific of the series.

4 Simon, op. cit., p. 14. Simon said that the half-pennies weighed between 9½ and 10 gr. and implied that he knew of more than one specimen.
of no such coin in his day and the halfpenny, illustrated below from Simon's plate, was probably the product of one of those rare, but by no means unknown, flights of fancy in which the antiquary occasionally indulged.

![Image of coins]

**FIG. 1**

It is generally accepted that from the Conquest to the recoinage of 1279 the weight standard of the English penny was 22.5 grains Troy. This standard is maintained by the Irish Long Cross penny. A brief analysis of specimens in the British Museum, those listed by Coffey in his *Catalogue of Anglo-Irish Coins in the National Museum of Ireland*, and some forty coins in the author's collection demonstrates that the traditional weight standard applied to the Irish Long Cross series and was on the whole kept up by the moneys: it might also be observed that heavier than standard coins are not uncommon.

**DESCRIPTION AND CLASSIFICATION**

Coffey in his fifty-year-old, but still exceedingly valuable, *Catalogue of the Anglo-Irish Coins in the National Museum of Ireland* lists the Long Cross coins then in the collection but no detailed classification of the series has been published. Indeed, bearing in mind the short period of mintage and the lack of datable constants within it, a very detailed chronological classification would be an impossible task. It would, moreover, be artificial since there is no real evidence that minor die differences had very much meaning until the reign of Edward III. No classification of the series can be entirely satisfactory and mine consists of broad divisions based on obverse die changes. No doubt several of the six classes adopted overlapped and to avoid the impression of chronological sequence the classes have been given letters rather than numbers.

(i) **General Description**

The general type of the Long Cross coins may be described as follows:

**Obverse:** The king’s crowned head (with pellets for beard) facing, within a triangle. He holds a cross-headed sceptre in his right hand. In the right vertex of the triangle there is a pierced cinquefoil. The legend *HENRI CVSR EX III* runs clockwise around the triangle starting to the right of its apex.
The legends are marked—as in the English Long Cross series—by ligulation. The whole design is contained in a beaded circle.

Reverse: A long voided cross pommée with a pellet at its centre and a group of three pellets in each quarter of the cross. The legend RIC/ARD/OND/IVE or DAV/ION/DIV/ELI' (sometimes DEV/ELI'), runs clockwise around an inner beaded circle. Another beaded circle contains the whole design.

The triangle on these coins has been the subject of a great deal of conjecture in the past. Some writers have connected it with the Irish Harp and Richard Sainthill, in particular, was inclined to accept the view that it was an emblem of the Trinity. A more prosaic, and perhaps in consequence a more realistic, explanation of the triangle is that it was simply intended to differentiate more clearly the Irish coinage from that of England.

The crown represented on King John's Irish coinage is possibly the Great Crown brought to England by Matilda and distinguished by a frontal centre cross. The Great Crown was, however, probably amongst the regalia lost with John's baggage train in the Wash in 1216 and it is more likely that the crown on the Henrician coins is a version—compressed to suit the constricting triangle—of a lily crown such as that on Henry III's late-thirteenth-century effigy in Westminster Abbey.

There seem to be no mules of Henrician Irish coins with those of London as there are of later Edwardian coins.

(ii) Classification

Class A (a) (see Fig. 2). The triangle has a thin inner line. The band of the crown is slightly curved. The fleurs of the crown and of the sceptre are made up of three pellets. The king's eyes are almond-shaped, being punched in by crescentic irons with a pellet in the centre,  OWN. The s has a central pellet.

Some coins have a pellet before HENRICVS and on others the king's shoulders are shown.
(b) (see Grueber, *Handbook*, pl. lvi, no. 14).

No inner line to triangle. Flat or curved band to crown. King's shoulders shown. Some coins have a pellet before HENRICVS and pellets below the triangle.

*Class B.* Similar to *Class A* (b) but king's shoulders are draped and the sceptre-head is occasionally fleured.

*Class C* (a).

No inner line to triangle. Curved band to crown rising to a point at its centre to form the stem of the fleur of three pellets. Pellet before HENRICVS. No pellet on s.

(b) Similar to (a) but the king's eyes now appear to be formed of an annulet enclosing a pellet ⊙ and the head of the sceptre is occasionally fleured.
(c) Similar to (b) except the king's head has three curls on each side.

(d) Similar to (b) except that the king's shoulders are shown.

Class D (see Sainthill, An Olla Podrida, i, Pl. 10, no. 2).

![Fig. 5](image)

Flat band to crown with small triangle as stem of fleur. Three pellets for fleur and one additional pellet above each end of the band. Annulet eyes extended to curls. The cinquefoil has become a pierced sexfoil. The sceptre head is again formed of pellets and there is a star near the sceptre.

Class E.

![Fig. 6](image)

Double band to crown, the upper band being curved with three pellets for fleur above. King's shoulders are marked. Almond eyes. Pierced sexfoil with a pellet close to it and sometimes another pellet near the sceptre. Thinner s than Class D.
Distinctive diadem type crown. Pierced cinquefoil. Some coins show king's shoulders.

It would not be proper for me to conclude this article without expressing my grateful acknowledgement to those who have kindly supplied me with information or discussed points with me. My thanks are due in particular to Mr. Michael Dolley, Dr. William O'Sullivan, Mr. W. A. Seaby, Mr. A. H. Baldwin, and Mr. R. E. Hurst. I am grateful also to the Research Grants Committee of the University College of Swansea for a grant for research on the Irish Medieval series of which this paper is an annate.

APPENDIX I

THE HOARD EVIDENCE

R. H. M. DOLLEY

In December 1962 Mr. D. W. Dykes suggested to me that there could be a connexion between the moneyers Davi and Ricard who struck Long Cross pennies of Henry III at London and their namesakes who put out the contemporary Dublin coinage of the same king. It at once occurred to me that it might be interesting to review the hoard evidence, and for this purpose I have brought together the following figures based on a dozen finds for which totals are readily available. For the Slype hoard from Flanders information concerning the Irish coins is unfortunately wanting, but it has seemed desirable to include the London figures which are in such substantial agreement with those that can be arrived at on the basis of the lesser hoards in the aggregate. The finds from Carrick-on-Suir, Drummercool, Macosquin, and Stoneyford are not as yet published in any detail, and in the case of the first and last there is reason to believe that not all the coins concealed may have been recovered, but with their usual generosity Dr. William O'Sullivan and Mr. W. A. Seaby have been at pains to supply me with provisional totals for the
Dublin and London coins of the two moneyers in question, and also with figures for the moneyers Renaud of London and Alein of Canterbury which have enabled me to date the four finds with reasonable precision.¹

The twelve finds here taken into consideration would appear all to have been concealed in the course of the decade c. 1260–c. 1270, and chronologically they may be considered as falling into three groups. Group A consists of three finds deposited c. 1260, namely the great Bantry hoard of c. 1834² and the minor Carrick-on-Suir find of 1931³ from Ireland, and the substantial Hornchurch hoard of 1938⁴ from England. Group B comprises four hoards concealed c. 1265. They are the not very substantial Maccusquin find of c. 1910⁵ from Ireland, the significant Palmers Green hoard of 1911⁶ and the small but closely dated Winchester find of 1961⁷ from England, and the great Slype hoard of 1913 from Flanders⁸. There are five hoards which make up Group C, and all would seem to have been concealed c. 1270 or a very little later. From Ireland there are quite appreciable hoards from Stoneyford⁹ and from Drummercool¹⁰ discovered in 1915 and 1941 respectively, and from England the likewise fairly sizeable finds from Tower Hill (1869),¹¹ Steppingley (1912),¹² and Coventry (1958).¹³

The relevant figures for Lawrence class V coins are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>DUBLIN</th>
<th>LONDON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Davi</td>
<td>Ricard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantry</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrick-on-Suir</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hornchurch</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUP B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maccusquin</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmers Green</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slype</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUP C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coventry</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drummercool</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steppingley</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoneyford</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower Hill</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The totals may be expressed:

| GROUP A | 26 | 70 | 20 | 46 |
| GROUP B | 3  | 34 | 108|
| GROUP C | 7  | 22 | 17 | 46 |
|         | 33 | 95 | 71 | 200|

¹ The principles are enunciated in NC 1958, pp. 119-22, and may seem corroborated by the new find from Winchester.
² Inventory 33; further information from Dr. W. O'Sullivan.
³ Inventory 74; further information from Dr. W. O'Sullivan.
⁴ Inventory 193; further information from Dr. W. O'Sullivan.
⁵ Inventory 247 and 248.
The consistency of the figures is remarkable and the final picture seems surely to be significant. Of the Dublin coins in eleven finds Davi strikes just under 26 per cent. and Ricard just over 74 per cent. Of the London coins of a Davi and a Ricard in twelve hoards, the former moneyer accounts for just over 26 per cent. and the latter just under 74 per cent. I leave it to others to decide whether such consistent results could conceivably be due to sheer coincidence, but must confess that Mr. Dykes has satisfied at least one student that a prima facie case exists for the theory that the London moneyers Davi and Ricard may have been the contractors for the Long Cross coinage of Dublin. I would suggest, too, that both at Dublin and at London the two men were in partnership on the same terms, Davi receiving 25 per cent. and Ricard 75 per cent. of the proceeds. That this hypothesis cuts the ground from under any equation for the Ricard of the coins with Richard Olof of the 1276-9 account is fully appreciated, but in my opinion the numismatic evidence more than corroborates the explicit testimony of contemporary documents, and it may be taken that Davi and Ricard suspended their coining activities at Dublin in January 1254, their dies being duly surrendered to Roger de Haverhull and by him returned to England.

APPENDIX II

TRANSCRIPTION OF CERTAIN IRISH MINT DOCUMENTS IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Grant to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, of a licence for the Irish Recoinage—8 May 1251

Nova moneta fabricanda in Hibernia

Rex omnibus ballivis et fideis suis Hibernia salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilecto fratri et fratri nostro R(icardus) Comiti Cornubia quod possit facere novam monetam nomine nostro in Hibernia a festo Nativitate Beate Marie anno regno XXXV usque ad terminum duodecim annarum proximo sequentem. Ita quod nos et heredes nostri medietatem lucrum illius cambiotionis et monete habebimus et predictus comes sive cuiuslibet aliis assignati vel executores aliam medietatem habuerint usque ad tempus memorandum. Concessimus et eisdem pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod ante commemorationem participationem alicuis lucrum dicte comes sive assignati vel executores retinuant tantum in numero de nova moneta integre de totali quantum posuerit de sua veteris moneta ad dictam novam monetam faciendum. Praeterea concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dicto comiti, assignatis et executoribus suis quod leges pactiones et consuetudines ad monetam pertinentes antiquas et approbatas sive pro commune utilitate approbandas firmand(as) factum observari usque ad tempus memorandum. Teste Rege apud Westmonastarium viii die maii.

Appointment of Roger de Haverhull as Keeper of the Irish Exchange—17 September 1251

De cuneis Hybernia

Rex monetariis predictis et omnibus aliis ministriis monetarie et cambiis predictam terram Hyberniam salutem. Sciatis quod assignamus dilectum clericum nostrum Rogerum de Haverhull custodem totius Cambii per totiam dictam terram Hyberniam quandiu nobis placentur Et scitis

1 Cf. p. 106 above.
vobis mandamus quod eadem Rogero tamquam custodi nostro predictam cambium in omnibus que ad cambium illud pertinent maintenedere placitis et respondere. Volumus cum et concedimus quod vos et omnibus ministris predictam cambium habeant easdem consuetudines et libertes quas habere debent et consuetudinerunt (pr erasure) predicto et quod eadem consuetudinibus vertantur et libertibus quibus ministris cambii nostri in Anglia numero vertantur sine aliquo numero diminutio nostri vobis ballivorum nostrorum. In etc.

Writ to town officials to detain offenders against the coinage

Rex ballivis singularum villarum in quibus moneta nostra fabricatur in Hybernia salutem. Precipimus vobis quod cum requisitionis factis per Rogerum de Haverhull custodem cambium nostri in Hybernia aequalis per suos assignatos personas dictarum villarum eis acomodetis ad custodiendum cuneorum forisfactorum ministrorum monete nostre donec secundum quantitatem delicti sui puniantur et ad custodiendum ballivos si qui presumant recipe aliquam mercedem sive aliquam amerciamenta per aliquam transgressione factam contra assisam et constitutionem predicte monete donec de delictis suis fuerimus certificati Et quod per nos vobis per vos quos dominus Rogerus ad hac assignaverat et secundum quantitatem deictorum suorum puniantur. In etc.

Closure of the Irish Mint—8 January 1254

Hybernia. Pro cambio Hybernia cessando.

Per consilium Regis commorans in Anglia provisum est quod cambium Regis hibernia cesset donec Rex aliud inde preceperit. Et mandamus est Rogero de Haverhull custodi predicti cambii quod omnes cuneos eiusdem cambii sub sigillo Regis hibernia mittat in Anglia liberandos consilio Regis ibidem commoranti et omnes monetarios predicti cambii licenciet et recipe moram facere in hibernia donec inquisitio facta sint quas de quibusdam articulis domum cambium tangentibus Rex fieri precepit. Teste me supra apud Westmonasterium viii die Jan per sigilum.

Pleas and Profits of the Irish Mint

(Ancient Miscellanea, Irish Exchequer, Bundle 530.)

Rotulus placitis et perquisitis de tangentibus cambium in Hibernia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Penalty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willielmo filius Walter</td>
<td>pro transgressionis ministris cambium</td>
<td>xLsol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thome de Kermedyn</td>
<td>quod empta et vendida moneta retonsa</td>
<td>viis viid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quodam aliquis pro eodem</td>
<td>quod clerics qui tuli ad cambium xxiiid et quadrans</td>
<td>xi Li xiid quadrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quodam pro falsa moneta per instantiam quod forisfactor ponere super juram</td>
<td>Lxis viiid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomeo de Danemarch</td>
<td>quia fecit cambium contra ordinibus</td>
<td>iis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quodam capell(anie?) de Ca(ri)efergus</td>
<td>pro transgressionis obolis veteribus de novo forisfactis</td>
<td>xxviiiis iid dim marcas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makan pro 1 quadrans falso de novo moneta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Item de ponderis et numero

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Penalty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Memorandum de xxviis viiid nove monete atachate super quidem qui fuit monetam cambiens in Tomaston et Robertus de Braham vicecomes Kilkenn habet in custodi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L(ucas) Archiepiscopus Dublinie habet viis vid pro clerico qui furatus fuit vid in cambium.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memo de vid quos monetarii subtraxerunt de custodibus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Expenses of the Irish Mint—1251-2

(Ancient Miscellanea, Irish Exchequer, Bundle 530.)

Rotulus misaris factoris in cambio in Dublínia Incipiens dei satωrnali proxima festus translationis Sancti Edwardi anno regno regis Henrici XXXV.

In panno empto ad scaccarium cambium coperiendum iis xid In 1 paris balantia ad den(arios) ponderandum xxs vid In parcamento ad rotulos faciendaum xviid In 1 cutello ad tallios faciendum iiiid In cariando ii mille marcas de castra dublinia ad cambium iiid in archa ferriata empta ad denarios . . . ixs vid . . . ad caudum iis. In xxxii ulnis canavacis emptis ad partículas ad saccas faciendas et ad fenestram cambium vis ixd . In balantis per misas emptas ad cambiandum per diversa loca supra(notam) In v paribus basauris emptis ad novam monetam ad caudum ad cambiandum per diversa loca xis xid.

Item in carragonium thesaurum a dublinia usque Lymeric pro vi dies xLis iiid Vigilibus conducentis ad custodiendum eundum thesaurum per dictam temporem vis viid. Et pro quodam domo conducentis ad cambiendum eundum thesaurum per diversa loca viid. Et pro quodam domo conducentis . . . pro xxix septimanas videlicet a festo nativitate beate marie anno xxxvi usque ad iii Kalends aprilis anno xxxviii: xxviis iiiid per septimam.

Item in scaccario ille faciendum et (pro) bancis et (pro) hostris et pro eadem domo quamdiu domus . . . et aliis minutis xis vd obolus.

Item in servientibus et equis et conducentis et conducendis et carriaggio duo mille libras a Lymeric’ usque Cracfergus ad cambiendum per partes Ulvester xiii Li xis iiiid.

Et in stipendis hostiariis custodientis habeunt in Hibernia cambium per duos annos et dimidia per capita per annum unum marcam xxxiis iiiid.

Et custodi custodienti archa cum thesauro domini Regis et cambi per idem temporem c solidi per annum xis.

Summa xxvii li vis vd obolus

NOTES

Many of the words in the original documents are written in an abbreviated form. In the above transcripts such words have been expanded but original errors of construction and grammar have not been corrected. The Latin of the royal clerks left much to be desired as indeed do the translated summaries of some of the earlier compilers of the Calendars.

The student of Anglo-Irish numismatics must depend very largely on English documents for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Irish records were disastrously destroyed in 1922 but many important documents had disappeared before then—documents which may have permitted the writing of a numismatic history of Ireland based more on fact and less on hypothesis.