The Revd. William Cole, the Cambridge antiquary (1714–82), owned extensive property in Haddenham in the south-west of the Isle of Ely, and two tokens found there are illustrated and described in vol. 32 of his manuscript collections.

A. Garden of William Symonds, –1768. The first ‘was dug up in a Garden belonging to me at Hadennham in the Isle of Ely, & given to me by my Tenant Wm Symonds in January 1768’. The second was ‘found at Hadennham & given me as above 1768’. The wording in both cases leaves the date of finding open to doubt, but if not actually in 1768 it was presumably not long before. Cole’s father had purchased several hundred acres including five tenements, to which the antiquary himself added two closes; and the location of William Symonds’s garden must remain uncertain, although it was probably in the hamlet of Aldreth, adjoining Ewell Fen in which Cole’s farm Frog Hall was situated (a farmhouse and several cottages in Aldreth were associated with Frog Hall Farm until about 1944).

II

Mr Charles F. Bester of Haddenham has reported two finds of lead or pewter tokens in Haddenham, and has kindly permitted us to publish them. Some bear unexpectedly late dates, though they are consistent with the neat letters on Nos. 4 and 8. Diameters are given in millimetres, weights in grams, and the presence of tin is assumed from a comparatively hard and perhaps shiny appearance.

B. Hill Row No. 94, c. 1960. Nos. 3–7 were found by Mr Paul Hammond under the floor boards of a bedroom when this seventeenth-century farmhouse was restored. Hill Row is part of the A1123 leading towards Earith.

Rev. Letters R L sunburst (?) above, date 18–3(?) below (1883? 1833?).  
17 mm; 3.19 g. Some tin.

Rev. Letters B C date ending –32 (?) below (–932?).  
20 mm; 3.50 g.

1. Nuremberg Rechenmeister jetton or Schulpfennig; second half of the sixteenth century. Similar to No. 20 below, but alphabet with G reversed and no additional letters; not illustrated.

2. Seventeenth-century token; c. 1660.  
Obv. JAMES PARTRICH OF around a mitre; surname appears as ‘RICH’.  
Rev. ROOYSTON VINTNER around letter P above IC.  
Williamson, 1 Hertfordshire 165 or 166; probably 165, on which a flaw developed across the first part of the surname; not illustrated.  
Royston is approximately twenty miles distant from Haddenham.

1 BL. Additional MS 5833, fo. 168.
3 The probable location of William Symonds’s garden is contributed by Mr Bester.
5. **Obv.** Five-petalled flower.
   **Rev.** Letters J W (†).
   19–20mm; 3.75g. Some tin; bivalve mould off-centre.

6. **Obv.** Wheel of seven spokes, pellets in the angles.
   **Rev.** Letters T P
   18mm; 2.28g. Some tin; bivalve mould off-centre.

7. **Obv.** Uncertain, design apparently cancelled.
   **Rev.** Uncertain, design apparently cancelled.
   17mm; 2.39g. Some tin.

C. High Street No. 26, c. 1970. The following piece was found in Mr Bester's own garden when he was digging a post-hole. The High Street (A1421) becomes the road to Aldreth.

8. **Obv.** Letters J P.
   **Rev.** Date 1832.
   22–23mm; 6.70g.

III

Mr Bob Spall, who for a time lived in Haddenham, found various tokens there when searching with a metal detector. On realising the significance of his finds he was happy to make the information available for publication, and we are grateful to him. The tokens were separate finds at two sites.

D. Great Mill (TL 457745), 1979/80. A number of cast lead or pewter tokens were discovered on several occasions in 1979 and 1980 around and behind the disused tower mill known as the Great Mill on the south of the Aldreth Road. It is worth drawing attention to the design on No. 13 below, which (as we suddenly recognised after trying to describe it as a cross with jewelled arms askew) assuredly represents the sails of a windmill. However, the Great Mill was erected in 1803, whereas Nos. 9 and 12 at least appear to date from an earlier period; and we do not suggest that the function of these tokens is anything but uncertain. They are described in order of their types, as classified by Dean,† fig. 2. This Haddenham provenance again emphasises just how widespread are these types.

9. **Obv.** Six-petalled flower, with zigzag lines between the petals.
   **Rev.** Horizontal line, a row of pellets above and below T (?) W above, date (?) below (1575 with the 7 reversed?).
   32mm; 8.86g. Thin: some tin.

10. **Obv.** Six-petalled flower.
    **Rev.** Letters I C or I G, cross above.
    21mm; 4.94g. Some tin.

11. **Obv.** Six-petalled flower.
    **Rev.** Blank.
    21mm; 6.85g.

12. **Obv.** Cross and pellets.
    **Rev.** Uncertain, perhaps I A, perhaps date (155–?) below.
    24mm; 14.13g.

13. **Obv.** Sails of windmill, uncertain designs in the quarters.
    **Rev.** Seven-spoked wheel.
    23–24mm; 4.90g. Some tin; bivalve mould off-centre.

14. **Obv.** Hatching of three lines crossing another three at right-angles.
    **Rev.** Uncertain letters, perhaps A above H N.
    18–20mm; 3.20g. Some tin; bivalve mould off-centre.

15. **Obv.** Merchant mark (?) to left, letter B above S (reversed) M.
    **Rev.** Container (?), perhaps tankard with lid raised above the spout, on its side a letter A.
    19–20mm; 3.63g.

* Martin Dean, 'Lead tokens from the River Thames at Windsor and Wallingford', NC 137 (1977), 137–47, pls. 8–12.
16. **Obv.** Debased fleur-de-lis.  
   **Rev.** Uncertain, perhaps monogram incorporating a letter M, zigzag to right, date (?) below; alternatively, it could be inverted and read as B w.  
   30mm; 14.41g.

17. Both sides blank, but from bivalve mould.  
   18–19mm; 4.49g. Substantial proportion of tin; mould off-centre; not illustrated.

18. **Obv.** Radiating lines, perhaps from central circle like No. 19 in the Evesham hoard.  
   **Rev.** Wavy line, perhaps around central circle.  
   Fragment, less than quarter of a disc.  
   The only other find known to us was a second blank disc resembling No. 17.

19. French official jetton; c. 1400?; unworn; 28mm.  
   **Obv.** AVEMARIA: GRACIA: PLENA; shield of 'France modern', five-pointed mullet (unpierced) above.  
   **Rev.** Cross flory in quadrilobe, a fleur-de-lis in each angle.

20. Nuremberg Rechenmeister jetton or Schulpfennig; second half of sixteenth century; fresh; 27mm.  
   **Obv.** Reckoning master seated at table, moving counters on chequered top; as Barnard, 7 pl. xlii.3.  
   **Rev.** Roman alphabet (23 letters) within square frame; the D reversed; at the end a second Z; similar to Neumann, 7 No. 32494.  
   On other jettons of the type there appear, in the same position as the extra Z, the letters DK for Damian Krauwinckel (Neumann 32186), or H or HAN for Hans (Neumann 32478–82, 32487); and assuming that the Z character is not an abbreviation for et or etc., No. 20 may be attributed to the maker Hans Zwingel, who was active between 1553 and 1586.  

21. Seventeenth-century token; c. 1655; fresh; 16.5mm.  
   **Obv.** JOHN MOREFIELD OF around male figure facing three-quarters left.  
   **Rev.** HADENHAM CARRIER around I M.  
   Williamson, Cambridgeshire 131, but IOHN not JOHN; the same reverse die occurs with another obverse reading MORFIELD.

**IV**

The finding of this last piece is of some importance, for the tokens of this issuer have been attributed both to Haddenham in Cambridgeshire, and to Haddenham in Buckinghamshire (and consequently to neither in the Norweb Sylloge).  

The earliest attribution known to the present writers was made in 1851 by Professor C.C. Babington, who included the type in Cambridgeshire (with the reading MORFIELD) without comment, other than the general note that 'some of the tokens may have been issued at other places of the same name'. His reason for including it seems to have been its representation in the cabinet of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
By the time his catalogue was published, however, William Boyne's comprehensive work had appeared, with the type recorded in Buckinghamshire only (reading MORFIELD). William Boyne acknowledged that many of the tokens were no doubt incorrectly placed, but shortly afterwards Haddenham found no place in the Cambridgeshire list by Simpson, with additions by Golding and 'Another Correspondent'. Boyne's Buckinghamshire attribution was noted by Searle (reading MORFIELD and JOHN), and followed by Keary and Wroth when publishing the reading MOREFELD. Williamson, in his scissors-and-paste fashion, listed the type both in Buckinghamshire (67, reading MOREFELD) and, with Searle as sub-editor and 'collaborateur', in Cambridgeshire (131, MOREFELD). This latter entry notes Boyne's attribution, whereas there is no corresponding reference from Buckinghamshire. Thereafter a Cambridgeshire attribution seems to have fought a losing battle, being accepted only for specimens in the Peterborough Museum (778, 'MOREFELD'), and in the Gilbert cabinet (noting the non-Williamson reading MORFIELD).

In a well-documented study of Buckinghamshire tokens, Manton and Hollis failed to supply any record of John MOREFELD (No. 84) or MORFIELD (No. 85), but were not thereby deterred from including him, despite being aware of Williamson's double attribution. They were followed by Seaby and Bussell, with the note 'possibly Haddenham, Cambs.' in 1960, but with nothing for Cambridgeshire in 1970; and by Berry and Morley (Nos. 96, 97), without mention of the alternative attribution and with purported biographical details of the issuer, his trade of carrier, which it will be remembered is given on the token. The Buckinghamshire location assumed for 'Morefield' in an article on tokens relevant to his trade only emphasises that this had become the received opinion, that Boyne has influenced attributions for more than 120 years; yet he may have placed the token in Buckinghamshire for no better reason than the county's position in the alphabet.

There is nothing to indicate the provenance of specimens in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society collections and the Peterborough Museum, and a single find, however suggestive, is not quite sufficient in itself for re-attribution of a token. To the find at Vicarage

13 C. G[olding], 'Cambridgeshire tokens', The East Anglian 3 (1866), 11–12.
14 Another Correspondent, 'Cambridgeshire tokens', The East Anglian 3 (1866), 12–13.
15 William George Searle, The Coins, Tokens and Medals of the Town, County and University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1871), p. 16.
19 J.O. Manton [and Edwin Hollis], 'Buckinghamshire
Paddock, Haddenham, Cambridgeshire, however, it is possible to add the following references to the issuer from the Cambridgeshire County Record Office. Surprisingly, New Style dating was used in the parish register until 1 January 1680.

1615 July 30. Morfeild, John, son of John (baptism).
1619 March 7. Morfeild, John, son of John (baptism).
1637 June 5. Morfeild, John, and True Kinderslie (marriage).
1638 July 22. Morfeild, Elizabeth, daughter of John and True (baptism).
1641 February 28. Morfeild, John, son of John and True (baptism).
1644 December 22. Morfeild, Katherine, daughter of John and True (baptism).
1648 October 8. Morfeild, John, son of John and True (baptism).
1657 February 27. Morfeild, True, daughter of John and Truth (baptism).
1675 March 13. Morfeild, John the elder (burial).

Subsequently (1677–9) three daughters of John and Margaret Morfield were baptised, and buried; and a Truth Morfield was buried on 13 June 1685. Since the token can be dated to the mid–1650s, the issuer may be identified as John Morfield, otherwise Moorefield, Morefeld, Morfield, or Morfell, baptised in 1619 (the John baptised in 1615 being perhaps an elder brother who had died young, just as happened in the next generation), married in 1637 to True or Truth Kinderslie, and buried in 1675. The 1662 Hearth Tax assessed John Moorefield in Haddenham (Cambs.) for one house with five hearths.

The only formal recognition of retail trade in Haddenham appears to have been the grant in 1612 of a market and fair for the hamlet of Aldreth, 1½ miles south-west of the main village; but the issue of tokens by a carrier is perhaps to be better understood in the context of Haddenham’s physical situation. It lies on the crest of a ridge rising to 121 feet/37 metres, quite a height for the Isle of Ely; in 1569 it was called ‘Hadnam on the HiF. Aldreth Causeway, and a crossing of the Ouse at Aldreth, provided the principal land entrance to the Isle until an alternative approach through Stretham developed from about 1675. Ely is about six miles north-east, Cambridge about ten miles to the south, and London a further fifty.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Haddenham was the most populous village in the county, and a carrier would have found employment in carrying ‘goods, merchandises, letters, . . . and other wares of small weight and great worth’. Carriers were distinguished from waggoners, but it cannot perhaps be ruled out that Morfield might have used pack-horses or even a cart. If the device on his tokens indicates that in reality he walked without either, Morfield is likely to have been engaged primarily in carrying printed books and papers with news and commercial information, and letters prior to the setting-up of a postal service in 1657. ‘A toilsome life, going through all weathers and all roads’, acknowledged Richard Baxter in 1691; yet a poor carrier ‘knoweth his work and wages, and is free from abundance of the husbandman’s losses and cares’.

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22 Haddenham (Parish), Baptisms, Marriages & Banns, 1570–1851 and Burials & Index, 1570–1851.
23 PRO. E 179/84/436, 14 Chas. II (1662), Hearth Tax: More of Haddenham.
24 VCH Cambs.: (as in Note 2), IV. 140–49. This is the main authority for the whole of the paragraph.
25 John Ogilby, Britannia, Volume the first . . . (London, 1675), pl. 43.