John Stubbs Jorden, the die-sinker and, on Charles Pye's authority, token manufacturer as well, is typical of his kind. While he is, perhaps, not quite as obscure as some, his personal history is still ill defined and continues to defy any coherent delineation, especially in the period of most interest to the numismatist. Of his early life we know simply that he was born at Wombourn, a few miles south-west of Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, on 4 March 1774, the only son of a William Jorden and his wife Anne. William Jorden – the youngest of four brothers – had himself been born at Wombourn in 1747, and was a member of a long-standing family of ironmasters working Heath Forge in Wombourn and Grange Furnace in the adjacent village of Penn as well as having, at one time, iron-making interests in Shropshire and Worcestershire. The family was also involved in the early development of the iron industry in south Wales and William's father, Richard, had been co-proprietor with a neighbouring, if more affluent, west

Note: This paper, to which footnotes have been added, is a slightly expanded version of the second part of my 2001 Presidential Address incorporating some material from a lecture given to the Society in 1997.

1 R. Dalton and S.H. Hamer, The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century (Privately printed in 14 parts 1910–18) [hereafter referred to as D&H] remains the essential reference for the eighteenth century token, despite its increasingly apparent idiosyncratic arrangement and its inclusion of extraneous numismatic material. It is now most accessible in Allan Davison's excellent reprints of 1990 and 1996 (Cold Spring, Minnesota: 1990 and 1996) although the collotype illustrations of the original are necessary for serious study. The work on which D&H based their classifications – James Atkins's, The Tradesmen's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1892) – continues to be useful, especially for its index of edge readings.

2 R.T. Samuel's articles, published anonymously in The Bazaar, Exchange and Mart between 1880 and 1889, and summarising the data then available to an enthusiastic Victorian collector, are valuable but need to be treated with care. Samuel's lapses have been compounded by their uncritical adoption by later and more accessible writers. Arthur W. Waters' notes in NC at the turn of the nineteenth century, mostly incorporated into his later works, may still be studied with profit if some caution.


3 Wombourn parish baptismal register, Staffordshire Archive Service F3710/1/2. A sister, Mary, was born at Wombourn on 22 June 1777; ibid. (F3710/1/3), See also n. 36 below.

4 William Jorden was baptised at Wombourn on 8 August 1747: Staffordshire Archive Service. By that year, and probably earlier, the family had taken over Grange Furnace (Lawrence Ince, The Knight Family and the British Iron Industry (Stoall 1991), p. 117). The Jordens were operating Grange Furnace at least as early as 1733: information from Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies.

I am very grateful to Mr Peter King of Stourbridge for information and source material relating to the iron-making activities of the Jordens in the Midlands and south Wales (see also nn. 5, 6 and 37 below).
Midlands ironmaster, Francis Homfray, in a forge and furnace at Melin Griffith a few miles north of Cardiff on the road to Merthyr in the 1750s and '60s. The Jordens' association with Melin Griffith ended in scandal in 1767, culminating in the imprisonment of one of William's brothers and the insolventy of the other.\(^5\) Although bankruptcy followed, the Staffordshire operation was unaffected and William Jorden, we know from correspondence with Boulton and Fothergill, was still at Grange Furnace with another brother in 1769. The run-down of the charcoal-fired furnace industry, however, took its toll of Grange in 1772 although the Jordens continued at Heath Forge until sometime between 1781 and 1783. But by the latter year William Jorden seems to have left the area. Walter, the brother arrested for debt in 1767, had gone much earlier to start a new life in Canada.\(^6\)

Apart from this family background, sketchy in itself, nothing is known of John Stubbs Jorden until he first surfaces in a numismatic context in 1792. The collector, William Robert Hay, recorded, in his annotated copy of the *Virtuoso's Companion*, that the 'End of Pain. Rev. Pandora's Breeches' token (page 8 - 31 (D&H: Middlesex 829)] was 'Executed as a Joke by Messrs. Jorden & Hancock. The Head of Priestley by Hancock. The die on which Pandoras [sic] Breeches were sunk having broke after a few impressions were struck off, they executed an'. Rev. as in No. 30' (D&H: Middlesex 830).\(^7\)

Fig. 1. Hancock and Jorden's 'End of Pain' Tokens [D&H: Middlesex 829 and 830]. They are distinguished from later, unconnected 'End of Pain' tokens by their border of pointing hands and pellets. Hancock's characteristic profile of Priestley forms the head of the snake on the reverse of Middlesex 829. The developing crack in the reverse die of Middlesex 829 is already obvious on the specimen illustrated.\(^8\)

\(^5\) Professor William Rees (*Industry before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff, 1968), p. 302) refers to a lease of Melin Griffith forge to 'Richard Jordan [sic] and Francis Homfrey [sic]' in 1749. In 1752 a lease of the works was granted to Richard Jorden of Heath Forge (Glamorgan Record Office D/D Mat. 256), and, seemingly, other leases in 1754 and 1760 (Edgar L. Chappell, *Historic Melingriffith* (Cardiff, 1995), p. 30). In 1765 Melin Griffith had passed to Richard Jorden's sons Thomas and Walter (Chappell, p.31) who apparently established a uniplate works there (Rees, p. 303). According to Rees (p. 303) one of the sons [Walter] abscended in February 1767 leaving a debt of £1,000 but was arrested in Bristol and imprisoned on another charge. Both brothers were bankrupted later that year (*Arial's Birmingham Gazette*, 13 April and 1 June 1767).

\(^6\) Birmingham City Archives, Matthew Boulton Papers, 240/190 (19 December 1769). The advertised sale of Grange Furnace in 1772 probably marked its closure (*Arial's Birmingham Gazette*, 26 October 1772). William Jorden was still at Heath Forge in 1781 but had apparently gone by 1783 (Staffordshire Record Office, Land Tax Assessment, Wombourne). In February 1769 Walter Jorden, by then back at Heath Forge, was advertising for 'a keeper for a charcoal furnace in that country' [Canada] (*Arial's Birmingham Gazette*, 13 February 1769).

\(^7\) I am indebted to Mr Robert Thompson, present owner of Hay's copy of [M. Denton and T. Prattent], *The Virtuoso's Companion* (London, 1755–7), for the above transcript. The transcripts of this and other passages given by S.H. Hamer in 'Notes on some interesting token books and their original owner', *NCirc* XI (1903), 5048–50, are inaccurate; those in Peter [Preston-] Morley, 'An Annotated Copy of 'Virtuoso's Companion'', *Token Corresponding Society Bulletin*, Vols 1 (1971–2). 2 (1973–4). passim, are much more reliable and I am grateful to him for a complete set of photocopics of his articles.

\(^8\) The Hancock/Jorden 'End of Pain' varieties are distinguished by their borders of pointing hands and pellets; Hay's association of the pieces with Hancock and Jorden is reinforced by the use of contemporary Hancock Westwood impressed blanks: 'Worswick of Lancaster' for Middlesex 829 and the 'Salop Woolen Manufactory' for Middlesex 830. Dies without the 'hands' border are later copies and are to be associated with Spence and Skidmore.
Hay says that the Hancock/Jorden version of the 'Pandora's Breeches' tokens 'may be considered one of, if not the first of the Political Tokens' struck to commemorate an attempt to fire the House of Commons on 9 May 1792.9 The token must have been issued within a few months of the actual event because Miss Banks had acquired her specimen of 'Pandora's Breeches' by February 1793.10 Jorden was, thus, evidently associated with John Gregory Hancock, the Birmingham die-sinker, by 1792/93. Hay makes the point elsewhere that Jorden had 'learnt the Art' of die-sinking from Hancock.11 That he had been apprenticed to Hancock for some years, probably since 1788, seems to be borne out by the testimony of Thomas Attwood Digges, an American with English business interests, who, at this time, was charged by Thomas Jefferson, the American Secretary of State, with enquiring into the coining of American pattern cents in Birmingham (D&H: Middlesex 1049-50). Overcoming a number of hurdles – 'They were close and secret as to who the diesinker was, where coined &c'2 – Digges discovered, in the spring of 1793, that they had been manufactured 'at M'. Obadiah Westwoods (a considerable maker of these kinds of money), and that his die Sinker Mr Jn6 Gregory Hancock (one of the first in this place 'the with the Character of a dissipated man) and a prentice Lad Jn'. Jordan, very Clever in that line, had executed them, & still hold the dies. This Lad Jordan, has two years of His time to serve, wishes much to go to America, but I suppose his time would be worth 200£'.12

I have already discussed the relationship between Hancock and the Westwood brothers and the coining consortium that Hancock and John Westwood operated between 1789 and Westwood's death in 1792, an arrangement afterwards continued with the latter's brother Obadiah.13 The Westwoods' coining operations left a lot to be desired and Hancock, himself, was certainly not above reproach. It was, thus, in a milieu of arguable respectability, and from the earliest days of general token production, that Jorden's apprenticeship and that of his exact contemporary, young John Westwood, were undertaken. But whatever might be said about Hancock's character he was a master of pre-eminent artistry and both Jorden and young Westwood were ready and adept pupils.

As Digges made clear in his report to Thomas Jefferson, Jorden would have completed his time in 1795 when he would have been twenty-one. A year later, Hay again, this time in his copy of the 1795 edition of Charles Pye's Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens, noted that among the principal die-sinkers were 'Wyon of Birmingham, Hancock of the same place, under whom Jorden learnt the Art & Mainwaring'. Hay also records, though, that, in the September of 1796, he was actually in Birmingham, no doubt for discussions with Kempson about the manufacture of his Buxton token (D&H: Derbyshire 1-3). During his visit, when he met Charles Pye and Jorden, he heard that 'Mainwaring was dead – one W. Lutwyche then living at the top of Temple Street had bought his dies – Hancock had given up the Business as had Jorden who had gone into a Manufactory for patent Window Frames, and lived at N°. 11 Great Charles Street', close by Obadiah Westwood's coffin-furniture workshops.14

9 The episode is described in The Gentleman's Magazine XX (June 1792), 476: 'Wednesday 9 [May]. About eight o'clock in the evening it was discovered that an attempt had been made to set the House of Commons on fire. This discovery was made by a man who lives under the House, who, snuffing something burning, caused a search to be made, when, over a water-closet, nearly under the House, they found a hole broken in the ceiling [sic], and a pair of old wornout breeches on fire, between the laths and plaster of the joists, stuffed with combustible matter. The breeches being made of wool did not blaze, so that it is imagined the intention was, that the fire should break out late at night, that the destruction of the House might be inevitable. The hole that was made in the ceiling [sic] could not be seen by the people coming in or out, as it was inside the casing that covered the pipes of the water-closet. But, providentially, before the laths caught fire, the discovery was made. or in all probability both Houses of Parliament, with the whole of Westminster-hall, the Court of Requests, and all the adjacent buildings, would have fallen victims to the flames, which from the quantity and dryness of the timber in this ancient and magnificent structure, would have been extremely rapid. Who the incendiaries are, remains at present a secret, but time we trust will bring them to view.'
10 9 February 1793: R.H. Thompson, as in n. 2, 146.
11 See n. 14 below.
13 D.W. Dykes, 'John Gregory Hancock and the Westwood Brothers: An Eighteenth-Century Token Consortium', RBU 69 (1999), 173-86. The Westwoods' activities were, however, no worse than many other coiners in Birmingham, a town where Digges found a variety of money coining practices ... highly disgraceful. I think, to the Parties, to the Country and its Laws'. Digges to Thomas Pinckney [American Minister in London], 6 April 1793: Thomas Jefferson Papers, as in n. 12.
14 Hay appears to have obtained this latter information direct from Jorden. The transcript is taken from the interleaved flyleaf of Hay's annotated copy of Charles Pye's Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens issued between the Years 1787 and 1796 (Birmingham, 1795) [hereafter referred to as 'Pye – 1795'] now in the possession of the writer.
Unfortunately, we cannot tell exactly when Jorden embarked on his new business venture. No local directories were published between 1792 and 1797 and he is not listed in such a medium until his appearance as a 'manufacturer of Iron Window-frames' in Pye's Birmingham Directory published in the February of the latter year. Since Pye was gathering material for his directory through a personal canvass of the town during the later months of 1796 the entry serves only to confirm Hay's note.

There is good reason to believe, however, that the Hancock/Westwood consortium came to an end in the spring of 1795. The last newly-contracted provincial coins produced by the firm — the last credited by Pye to Hancock as both die-sinker and manufacturer — are the Thames and Severn Canal halfpenny (D&H: Gloucestershire 59, 60–1) and James Burton’s ‘Foundling Fields’ halfpenny (D&H: Middlesex 303–5a) of that year, the former an especially fine piece of work and the latter an elegantly designed coin spoilt by being badly struck on thin blanks. Both these pieces appear in Thomas Spence’s Coin Collector’s Companion published in May 1795, which gives us a terminus ante quem for their production.

Significantly, Spence’s catalogue also includes the ‘Sise Lane’ halfpenny (D&H: Middlesex 294–a) for the London printers and pocket-book makers, Thomas and Robert Davidson. If the information given in Pye’s Provincial Coins and Tokens of 1801 is correct, this token was manufactured from Hancock dies by the Birmingham copper roller, Thomas Dobbs; a new arrangement hinting strongly that Hancock’s association with Obadiah Westwood had been dissolved by this time. It was never to be resumed and from 1795 until 1803 — apart from a single contract for his old master, Matthew Boulton in 1802 — Hancock, as far as we know, concentrated on medallic work for Peter Kempson.

Fig. 2. The last tokens of the Hancock/Westwood Consortium: the halfpennies of the Thames and Severn Canal Company and James Burton, the Bloomsbury building developer. [D&H: Gloucestershire 60 and Middlesex 305].

Fig. 3. The Halfpenny of the cousins Thomas and Robert Davidson, Printers and Pocket-Book Makers of Sise Lane, London, struck by Thomas Dobbs from dies by Hancock. [D&H: Middlesex 295].

15 Pye’s Birmingham Directory for ... 1797 (Birmingham, 1797), p. 41.
18 Spence, as in n. 17, p. 42 (no. 293); p. 12 and Charles Pye, Provincial Coins and Tokens issued from the Year 1787 to the Year 1801 (Birmingham and London, 1801) [hereafter referred to as ‘Pye – 1801’], plate 28, no. 9.
All this, the presumed closure of the Hancock/Westwood consortium, the completion of Jorden's articles, and Hay's remarks in his copy of 'Pye – 1795' confirmed by the Birmingham Directory of 1797, suggest that Jorden, if he did operate on his own account as a die-sinker of tokens, did so for little more than a year. This is a timescale broadly supported by the exiguous nature of the token production credited to him in 'Pye – 1801': six contracts in all – for 'Jorden, sen[ior]' (1795); the London scale-makers, Meymott and Son (1795); an unidentified London issuer, Peter Anderson (1795); and an equally unknown John Webb of Newton, said by James Conder in his Arrangement of Provincial Coins to be one of the Warwickshire villages of this name (1796); the Coventry antiquary, Thomas Sharp (1797); and the London jewellers, Presbury and Son (not dated but likely to be very late, if, indeed, these tokens are by Jorden).

None of Jorden's 1795 tokens is listed in the early catalogues put out by John Hammond or Thomas Spence in the May of that year, but his 'Glamorgan Halfpenny' (D&H: Glamorganshire 3) does appear in one of the plates of 'Pye – 1795', first published in part form on 1 August 1795. It is reasonable to suppose that this token was the first of Jorden's independent productions and was manufactured in the early summer of 1795. It was followed soon after by the 'Meymott' halfpenny, which was first illustrated in a plate of the Virtuoso's Companion put out on 14 January 1796, and which shared for its obverse the same basic figure punch of 'Britannia' used for the 'Glamorgan Halfpenny'. Of Jorden's oeuvre only the 'Glamorgan' and the 'Meymott' halfpennies were, according to 'Pye – 1801', struck in any quantity: of the former a ton, perhaps 100,000 tokens – which may well be an overestimate – and of the latter a hundredweight, round about 5,000 pieces. In most cases Jorden was singularly unsuccessful with his dies and produced only a handful of actual coins. But he was also, of course, unlucky in his generation. By the time he was able to venture out on his own the large-scale production of 'industrial' tokens had virtually run its course, while, within the year, the cut-throat competition for lesser provincial coin contracts, especially between the leading Birmingham manufacturers, Peter Kempson and William Lutwyche, was also beginning to peter out: as Charles Shephard, a keen observer of the token scene, recognised, by the early part of 1796 'the rage of coining was considerably abated'. In any case, however short term Kempson's and Lutwyche's commanding positions might be, with established die-sinkers like Thomas Wyon and Roger Dixon contracted to them, there was little space for any new Birmingham engraver, just out of apprenticeship. Despite his consummate skill, there were few crumbs for Jorden to pick up which doubtless explains why, after his immediate flush of work, his production of tokens was so limited and he was quickly persuaded to concentrate on another business.

Jorden's new venture, however, does not seem to have curtailed his die-sinking activities completely. He more than kept his hand in with Thomas Sharp's Coventry halfpenny dated '1797' and a commemorative medal known to have been executed in 1798. Nevertheless, as the local trade directories tell us, his prime concern after 1796 was the manufacture of patent window frames. And he was to continue in various permutations of this business, either alone in Great Charles Street or, from about 1800 in partnership with members of the Timmins family in Mount Street, St Paul's, until about 1818. By then he had returned to Great Charles Street and set up on his own account again as a 'patent metallic hot house manufacturer' both there and at Campden Hill. Clearly of an inventive turn of mind he obtained patents for the glazing of hothouses and for dealing with the problem of condensation. He finally disappeared from the directories in 1825 as a 'metallic hot house maker' at Hockley.

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19 That Jorden did have a short-lived career on his own account as a die-sinker only seems to be implied by Hay's observations in September 1796 (see p. 121 and n. 14 above).
20 James Conder, An Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens, and Medals issued in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, ... (Ipswich, 1798), p. 171.
21 'Pye – 1795', plate 34; Virtuoso's Companion, Volume 2, p. 52. The 'Meymott' halfpenny is not illustrated in 'Pye – 1795' which ceased its part publication on 1 August 1795.
24 See, inter alia, Pye, as in n. 15; Chapman's Birmingham Directory (1800), p. 48; Wrightson's New Triennial Directory (1818), p. 75; Wrightson's Triennial Directory (1821), p. 74, and (1825), p. 85. Since 'Campden Hill' is in the 'Hockley' district the entries may well relate to the same location. Jorden's patents were awarded in 1811 (no: 3478) and in 1814 (no: 3814).

The Timmins family of Mount Street were buckle and spoon makers.
At this stage it would be appropriate to examine the tokens credited to Jorden in ‘Pye – 1801’ in more detail, taking them in what would appear to be their chronological order.

‘The Glamorgan Halfpenny’ – 1795 (‘Pye –1801’, Plate 21, 2 and 3; D&H: Glamorganshire 1–3c):

The ‘Glamorgan Halfpenny’ is unique among eighteenth-century tokens in having its legends in the Welsh language: ‘JESTYN · AP · GWRGAN · TYWYSOG · MORGANWG · 1091’ [Jestyn ap Gwrgan, Prince of Morganwg] and ‘Y · BRENNHIN · AR · GYFRAITH’ [The King and the Law].

What is of further special interest is that of the two distinct issues of the token, the substantive version (D&H: Glamorganshire 3) is struck in a four-segmented collar with a raised edge inscription – ‘GLAMORGAN HALFPENNY’ with horizontally disposed leaves. I know of no other token maker who used raised letter edging for his productions. Dalton and Hamer identified four different varieties of the token based on the number of edge leaves, two, three, four or none while a single leaved variety was also noted by Atkins. These varieties may result from more than one pair of edging strips being used but it is possible that the differing number of leaves on some specimens was caused by a misalignment or slipping of the edging strips. This is an impression that I have gained from examining a number of specimens, but many of those that I have seen with three leaves seem to have been meant to have this particular edge. A variation in the number of edge leaves thus may have been designed to distinguish different batches of flans although misalignment or slippage of the edging strips may have confounded the intention in some cases. Interestingly, ‘Pye – 1795’ (plate 34, 3, 1 August 1795) illustrates a plain edge while the Virtuoso’s Companion (Volume 2, p. 52, 14 January 1796) illustrates one with four leaves as does ‘Pye – 1801’ (plate 2, no. 3).

Measuring 29 mm in diameter, it is struck, on average, to a weight standard in excess of 10 g. ‘Pye – 1801’ tells us that a ton of these tokens was made but, as I have already indicated, I have reservations about this figure because although the token was intended for circulation and, from the evidence of finds, clearly did circulate in south Wales, it is relatively scarce today.

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23 The Welsh of the legends, p. 124 D&H, Part XI: Anglesey and Wales (1915), p. xii, is correct except for the omission of the apostrophe between the reverse ‘A’ and ‘R’ [ae yr (and the) = a’r].
25 D&H: Glamorganshire 3 (2 leaves), also struck in silver; 3a (3 leaves); 3b (four leaves); 3c (plain – but ‘no leaves’ may be meant). 3c is the rarest issue of the series: Atkins, as n. 1, p. 290
‘Pye – 1801’ notes a separate, very rare, issue of the token (plate 21, 2; D&H: Glamorganshire 1) the dies of which, he says, broke resulting in the manufacture of only a few specimens; in Pye’s day examples of the type were selling for as much as 10/6d. apiece. They were struck in a plain collar, again with a diameter of 29 mm, and, weighing an average 13.9 g, were probably intended as private tokens or presentation pieces, although, strangely enough, while the ordinary version was made in silver these were not struck in a precious metal. Listing this type before the substantive version in his 1801 catalogue Pye created the impression that it was a prior issue and subsequent writers including Samuel followed him in this belief. In fact, as Dalton and Hamer pointed out, it was produced after the substantive version. Both its obverse and reverse dies were those used for the substantive version, softened and reworked to create, inter alia, a more elaborate coronet for Jestyn ap Gwrgan and to refashion the reverse pedestal, removing the crown (but with vestiges of its cross still being apparent). This striking is not listed in any contemporary catalogue prior to ‘Pye – 1801’. It did not find its way into James Condor’s reasonably comprehensive Arrangement of 1798 while Miss Banks, who was by no means backward in sniffing out new issues, did not acquire her specimen until 14 November 1801. It is conceivable, therefore, that the piece is late and quite distinct from the issue of the substantive halfpenny in 1795.

John Storrie, a former curator of the one-time Cardiff Museum, writing in the Western Mail in January 1897, argued that the ‘Glamorgan Halfpenny’ was ‘made at the Soho Works, Birmingham, to the order of a number of iron and coal masters in Glamorgan for necessary change, and from the meeting at which they were ordered having been held at Caerphilly they were sometimes called ‘Caerphilly Halfpence’. The first order of 100,000 was delivered to the order of a Mr Tait, Mr Crawshay and Mr Homfray [i.e. the Merthyr ironmasters William Tait of Dowlais (1745–1815), Richard Crawshay of Cyfarthfa (1739–1810) and Samuel Homfray of Penydarren (1763–1822)].’

Unhappily, despite its positive ring, no concrete proof has ever been forthcoming to support Storrie’s unsourced contention which, made a century after the event, is, in any case, not without material flaw. It is patently wrong, for instance, in its reference to Soho. Prima facie, it is at variance, too, with the informed contemporary evidence of Hay who, in his copy of the Virtuoso’s Companion, tells us that ‘This [token] was executed by Jourden of Birmingham for his father [my italics] — a tradesman at [sic] Glamorgan — it was regularly passed in payment there, tho’ it does not purport to be payable by any real party.’ Hay’s attribution was independently supported by another, and equally trustworthy contemporary source, for Miss Banks records that the issuer of

27 D&H, as in n. 25, p. xi.
28 [Sarah Sophia Banks], Ms. Catalogue of Coin Collection. VI – Tokens, p. 124. Miss Banks may, of course, have first become aware of the token through its publication in ‘Pye – 1801’.
29 Western Mail, 5 January 1897, p. 7. Storrie’s reference to ‘Caerphilly Halfpence’, the local name for the tokens, as deriving from an ironmasters’ meeting at ‘Caerphilly’ does not ring true and, as Mr Robert Thompson once suggested to the writer, probably rests on a tale devised to explain away a pre-existing name. More realistically the name might have gained popularity from the tokens having been issued in Caerphilly or having circulated in Caerphilly Hundred, which included Merthyr.
30 There is no evidence that Jorden had any connection with Soho and his tokens are definitely not products of Boulton’s mint. The ‘Glamorgan Token’, in fabrication and style, is much more akin to the better products of the Hancock/Westwood coinery.
the 'Glamorgan Halfpenny' was a 'William Jorden, Swansea'. From these scraps of evidence one might conclude that the token was issued in Swansea by a tradesman such as John Voss, who put out one of the most elegant halfpennies of the series in 1795 (D&H: Glamorganshire 4). But Miss Banks' note may not have been contemporaneous with the initial issue of the 'Glamorgan Halfpenny' and, while a few stray specimens did circulate in the town, it is significant that George Grant Francis, the Swansea antiquary and, from an early age an assiduous token collector with an intimate knowledge of his birthplace, seemed to have no inkling of Jorden's token being a local issue.

Nevertheless, there is a candidate, a William Jorden who was a familiar figure in Swansea at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the town aspired to be the Brighton of Wales. Unfortunately, no local reference to him can be found before 1798 but his presence in Swansea then defies explanation. In 1800, however, he becomes less shadowy for in that year he took over 'Burrows House', part of an elegant terrace of Georgian houses in the best part of the town. This, in tandem with a business as an auctioneer, he ran as a fashionable set of lodgings (introducing into his establishment a warm sea-water and shower bath) until his death in 1814 at the age of 67.

Fig. 6. A View of the Burrows, Swansea showing Burrows House at the extreme right of the central terrace of houses. [Detail from 'PORT and BAY of SWANSEA Glamorganshire', engraving by Thomas Rothwell, 1792. Reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea.]

31 Hay, as in n.7, pp. 52 - 206; [Sarah Sophia Banks], as in n. 28. Samuel (as in n. 2, 8 August 1883, 150-1), for no better reason than that the name appeared in contemporary directories, associated the issuer with 'a John Jorden (or Jordan) who carried on business as a licensed victualler in Weaman Street, Birmingham' though he admitted that 'we have no evidence of the fact'. Surprisingly, Samuel's 'kite' was taken up by D&H despite Hamer's previous publication of Hay's note in NCirc; as in n. 7, 6052.

32 John Voss's halfpenny, although inscribed with the date '1796', was circulating by 1795: Miss Banks acquired her specimen on 14 October 1795 ([Sarah Sophia Banks], as in n. 28, p. 124); the token was illustrated in the Virtuoso's Companion (p. 31) on 2 November 1795.

33 Col. [George] Grant Francis, The Smelting of Copper in the Swansea District (London and Manchester, 1881), p. 163. There is no record of Jorden in the Universal British Directory, the only directory of the period covering south Wales (1796).

34 Land Tax return, Swansea 1798 (assessed at 1s. 6d, for a tenancy in the High Street 'above the Gate'); West Glamorgan Record Office, LTA ST. Some of Jorden's business activities in Swansea are recorded in the local newspaper, The Cambrian: e.g. 3 March 1805; 5 August 1805; 2 August 1806; 25 April 1807; 13 June 1812. Jorden died in Bristol on 4 July 1814 (The Cambrian 16 July 1814 and Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, 9 July 1814). I am grateful to Mrs Marilyn Jones of The Cambrian Index Project for copies of The Cambrian entries.

35 I am indebted to Mr Bernard Morris, a former President of the Royal Institution of South Wales, for confirming the location of Burrows House in Rothwell's engraving and informing me of its demolition in 1901 to make way for the still existing Swansea Harbour Trust offices.
That this William Jorden is the former Staffordshire ironmaster and father of John Stubbs Jorden brooks no argument. Yet does his re-emergence in Swansea a generation later remove any possible justification for Storrie’s statement about the Merthyr ironmasters? Although, in those days, Merthyr was a world away from the west Glamorgan seaport such concrete evidence as we have about Jorden’s movements in south Wales relate only to the early nineteenth century and we thus have a gap in his life between the early 1780s and 1798. There is an answer that might resolve the apparently unbridgeable gulf between contemporary evidence and Storrie’s statement, but it is an answer based entirely on surmise.

In September 1782 Francis Homfray, Richard Jorden’s former associate at Melin Griffith, took a lease of the Cyfarthfa Forge and boring mill at Merthyr Tydfil for his sons Jeremiah and Samuel. Shortly afterwards the sons arrived with a group of skilled workers from the west Midlands. It could well be that William Jorden was among the party for the young Homfrays would have needed an experienced forge manager and this may well have provided an opportunity for a trusted neighbour who had lost his forge and had some knowledge of industrial south Wales. After a year or so the Homfrays moved on to establish the adjacent Penydarren ironworks at Merthyr, Cyfarthfa being taken over in 1786 by Richard Crawshay who turned it into the largest single ironworks in Britain. If William Jorden was involved in these developments in some way—and the suggestion is admittedly speculative—it is not implausible to think of him as issuing the ‘Glamorgan Halfpenny’ or procuring it from his son for Storrie’s consortium of ironmasters to provide small change in a rapidly growing but relatively remote industrial area.

There are other considerations that support Storrie’s attribution of the token to the Merthyr area. The iconography of the token—and even, it might be argued, its use of the Welsh language—would have been more appropriate to the uplands of east Glamorgan than to Swansea in the west of the county. Furthermore, the token’s ‘anonymity’, the quantity supposedly struck and the fact it is not infrequently found in a worn condition suggest that, in contradistinction to the Voss halfpenny, for example, it was intended to serve as an ‘industrial’ token rather than the issue of an urban shopkeeper in a town already well provided with small change. Merthyr, with little existing urban infrastructure, had, after all, seen its population mushroom some nine or tenfold in thirty years and exhibited all the classic economic needs of a developing but remote industrial area. It is not without interest, too, that although they were a fractious trio and frequently at loggerheads, Crawshay, Taitt and Homfray could occasionally try to act in concert as they did, for instance, over the establishment—abortive, as it turned out—of an ‘ironmasters’ bank’ at Merthyr in the spring of 1791.

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36 From a Harborne property transaction: Birmingham City Archives: Edwards, Bigwood and Mathews 6061b; and the marriage of his daughter Mary to Bissell Harvey at Swansea, 16 January 1803: St Mary’s, Swansea, parish register. West Glamorgan Record Office and The Cambrian, 19 January 1805 (see also n. 61 below).
37 Dictionary of Welsh Biography (London 1959), pp. 363-4; Laurence Ince, The South Wales Iron Industry 1750-1885 (Solihull, 1993), pp. 76-7; comment from Mr Peter King (as in n. 4). Jestyn ap Gwrgan, a shadowy figure, is recognised as the last independent native ruler of Morgannwg before it was overrun by the Normans in the 1090s. Morgannwg lay east of the river Neath and did not include Swansea, while Jestyn’s defence of his domain—reflected in the traditional, but probably erroneous, date ‘1091’—is associated in folk legend with the uplands to the west of Merthyr. He would have been an appropriate ‘local’ hero for depiction on a token circulating in that area but much less recognisable in the Swansea of the 1790s. For Jestyn ap Gwrgan, see Dictionary of Welsh Biography, as in n. 37, p. 408.
38 The Welsh legends of the ‘Glamorgan Halfpenny’ would have appealed, too, to the large numbers of migrants from predominantly Welsh-speaking rural parts of Wales flocking to the booming, comparatively high-waged, east Glamorgan iron industry.
39 The 1790s, apart from the presumed issue of the ‘Glamorgan Halfpenny’, ‘would have been strangely bereft of any token money put out by the iron works. Swansea, contrariwise, was well served with copper tokens, in the main those associated with the copper firms operating in the Swansea Valley.
40 Chris Evans, The Letterbook of Richard Crawshay 1788-1797 (Cardiff, 1990), pp. 98-102. Dr Evans kindly drew my attention to the bank project and Richard Crawshay’s letterbook in the Gwent Record Office. Richard Crawshay’s son William and Samuel Homfray each later issued tokens of their own (Merthyr shilling, 1801 (W.J. Davis, The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage (London 1904): Glamorgan 1) and Tredgar Iron Company (TIC) penny, 1812 (Davis: Not Local 40)).
This halfpenny (29 mm in diameter), one of the finest of Jorden’s productions – Hay was moved to describe it as ‘nearly the finest Executed of Tradesmens Tickets’ – and weighing on average 10.33 g, was produced for the London firm of scale-makers, Meymott and Son with premises, as the token’s edge inscription tells us, at 64 Bishopsgate Within on the corner of Wormwood Street. Clement Meymott, the principal of the firm, was, appropriately enough, a member of the Blacksmiths’ Company and, rather surprisingly, his son, Samuel, a member of the Vintners’ Company by servitude; a reflection, perhaps, of a striving after status or of an early intention of entering another trade.  

There are three substantive strikings of the halfpenny, two of which were manufactured in limited quantities, in the first instance (D&H: Middlesex 377) because the die broke which is evident from extant specimens; the second (D&H: Middlesex 379) is to me a suspect piece and from its state probably a late striking. With the exception of one rare variety of the first type, all were struck in a collar, the edge inscription (‘CORNER OF WORMWOOD STREET BISHOPSGATE X’) where applicable being in raised letters. Versions were also struck in gold – a unique proof –, silver and white metal as well as copper, those in precious metal presumably being intended as presentation pieces.

Unfinished trials exist of the obverse die demonstrating clearly the basic figure punch used by Jorden on both the Meymott token and on what was likely to have been Jorden’s initial venture, the ‘Glamorgan Halfpenny’. C. Wilson Peck suggested that Jorden had acquired the punch or ‘unfinished die’, as he calls it, from Jean-Pierre Droz [DH 8] altering small details in the drapery to complete it for his Meymott obverses and his ‘Glamorgan Halfpenny’ reverses. Close comparison of the details of the trial pieces makes it clear that this was not the case and since Küchler was still using Droz’s punch in 1795 one must conclude that Jorden did not have access to it although he presumably did copy a Droz or Küchler pattern halfpenny of 1790 or 1795 to create his punch.

Although it may reflect no more than seasonal residence at a fashionable local resort it is of interest that Taitt frequently stayed at Jorden’s ‘Burrows House’ in the early years of the nineteenth century. Elizabeth Havill, ‘William Taitt 1748–1815’, Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1983, p. 98.

41 Hay, as in n. 1, p. 52–07.
42 Guildhall Library Ms. 2885/1, 3 July 1766; Ms. 15212/2, 1 June 1785.
43 Thomas Sharp, A Catalogue of Provincial Copper Coins, Tokens, Tickets and Medalets ... in the Collection of Sir George Chetwynd ... (London, 1834), p. 66, states that the unique gold version of D&H, Middlesex 378, then in the Chetwynd collection and now in the British Museum, was struck for Mr [Clement] Meymott.
By the end of January 1796, when Samuel Birchall’s *Provincial Copper Coins and Tokens* was published, an obverse (D&H: Middlesex 378) and a reverse die (D&H: Middlesex 377) had been made available, probably through the Meymotts themselves, to William Williams, the St Martin’s Lane coiner, who produced a number of mules in combination with his own dies.45

London – Peter Anderson – 1795 (‘Pye – 1801’, Plate 27, 8 and 9; D&H: Middlesex 247–9a):

Peter Anderson is not listed in contemporary London directories and has never been identified but he could perhaps have been associated with any one of a number of City mercantile firms of the period carrying his surname. Hamer plausibly suggested that, because of the very limited number of tokens struck, they were intended as a private issue. Again 29 mm in diameter, their fine workmanship and their heavy weight (averaging 14.50 g) support this view although ‘Pye – 1801’ makes the point that the dies broke during the second substantive striking.46

Only one pair of dies was made. After trials in white metal and copper (D&H: Middlesex 247–7a) were struck the obverse die was altered slightly (D&H: Middlesex 248–8b). After a few tokens were made in the new format both dies were changed more materially (D&H: Middlesex 249–a) and, as ‘Pye – 1801’ tells us, then broke after eight new impressions were taken. The latter have the City motto – DOMINE DIRIGE NOS – added above the obverse shield with the reverse monogram ornamented, the improved design being unhappily marred by Jorden’s apparent unfamiliarity with Latin or carelessness.

Jorden departed from his previous edging practice with this issue for the edge legends – ‘PAYABLE AT THE HOUSE OF PETER ANDERSON LONDON’ or in some instances with ‘LONDON’ omitted – were impressed on blanks that were subsequently struck in a bi-segmented collar. It is at least of passing interest in this context that, according to Arthur W. Waters, the contemporary collector Thomas Woodward of Bungay attributed the token to Hancock in his copy of Conder’s *Arrangement*.47

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45 Samuel Birchall, *A Descriptive List of the Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens issued between the Years 1786 and 1796* (Leeds, 1796), Appendix, p. 130: nos 227 and 228 (D&H: Middlesex 380 and 385). D&H: Middlesex 380 to 388 are all Williams’s pieces die-linking with specimens listed on D&H, Part IV: Middlesex (1912), 181.

According to ‘Pye – 1801’, the dies of John Webb’s token broke after the striking of some four dozen pieces and the ‘order was never completed, Mr Jorden having about this time gone into another business’.  

James Conder’s location of ‘Newton’ to Warwickshire was accepted by Thomas Sharp – himself a Warwickshire man – but has been challenged by modern authorities although no satisfactory alternative has been suggested. Newton in Montgomeryshire is a possibility but attempts to associate the name Webb with this Welsh woollen manufacturing centre have so far been unavailing. But the halfpenny is anomalous on other grounds. It has the appearance of being a private token; it is heavy (14.30 g), of 29 mm diameter and seems, prima facie, to have been struck in a plain collar. Atkins and Dalton and Hamer say so. Close inspection of a number of specimens, however, suggests that the token has not been struck in a collar but that the edge has been tooled to give that impression. The obverse is quite elegant; I have not yet identified the crest or the arms – Gules, a Chevron Argent between three Plates – which are probably fictitious but the reverse is hardly inspirational. The halfpenny remains an enigma.


Thomas Sharp, the issuer of this private token, was a Coventry hatter and a local antiquarian author of some note. Together with two fellow townsmen – one of whom, John Nickson, put out a private token in 1799 (D&H: Warwickshire 303–6) – Sharp commissioned a series of local views from a Coventry drawing master, Henry Jeayes, and other artists for a projected edition of Dugdale’s Antiquities of Warwickshire. This was never published but nineteen of Jeayes’ views were made avail-

48 ‘Pye – 1801’, p. 15
49 Conder, as in n. 20, p. 171; Sharp, as in n. 43, p. 98.
50 Atkins, as in n. 1, p. 227; D&H: Warwickshire 317.
51 For Thomas Sharp, see The Gentleman’s Magazine (1841), II, pp. 436–8; William George Freton, ‘Memoir of Thomas Sharp’ in Freton’s edition of Thomas Sharp, Illustrative Papers on the History and Antiquities of the City of Coventry (Coventry 1871), pp. ix–xvi; DNB.
JOHN STUBBS JORDEN, DIE-SINKER AND MEDALLIST

able to Thomas Wyon for Kempson's series of Coventry tokens in 1797. From his youth Sharp collected coins and built up a cabinet of provincial coins. In 1834 he produced his catalogue of the token collection formed by Sir George Chetwynd of Grendon Hall in Warwickshire, which included a large number of Sharp pieces and on which Sharp's numismatic reputation is largely based.

According to 'Pye - 1801' four dozen of Sharp's private token (D&H: Warwickshire 312) were struck but only after the first attempt (D&H: Warwickshire 310 - 6 impressions) had been rejected. Sharp elaborates on this saying that this was because of the false perspective of the depiction of his house - 'Peeping Tom's House' in Smithson Street - on the reverse die. A Jeavyes view may have served as the original from which the street scene was taken but if it ever existed it is now lost and our only clue to a prototype is an engraving of 1799 after Rowlandson.

Fig. 12. Thomas Sharp (1770–1841). [From an engraving by Mrs Dawson Turner after a drawing by John Sell Cotman, 1823].

Fig. 13. 'Peeping Tom's House', Coventry 1799. [From a tinted engraving after Thomas Rowlandson, reproduced by courtesy of the Herbert Art Gallery, Coventry. © Richard Sadler].

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52 Fretton, as in n. 51, p.x; Ronald Aquilla Clarke, Illustrating a City: Edward Rudge and Art in Coventry, c. 1760-1830 (Coventry, 1992), pp. 6-7.

I am indebted to Mr Clarke for further comment on the 'Great Coventry Art Commission' and for drawing my attention to the engraving of 'Peeping Tom's House', which, through his good offices, is reproduced in fig. 13.

53 Sharp, as in n. 43, p. 97.
The obverse of the token is of interest too, the female figure represented bearing a startling resemblance to that on the obverse of the Davidsons' 'Sise Lane' halfpenny (Fig. 3 above). This is the heaviest of Jorden's tokens and, weighing on average 15.75 g, is struck with raised edge lettering. Trials exist in white metal and copper in varying stages of completion and the substantive issue of the token (29 mm in diameter) was struck in silver as well as copper.

It is somewhat surprising, bearing in mind Sharp's involvement with Wyon and Kempson over the Coventry 'Buildings' series of tokens at this time, that he did not commission his own halfpenny from them in 1797. Conceivably they were too busy although it may be that Jorden's engagement predated the 'Buildings' series and that its seemingly drawn out production caused Sharp to look elsewhere. More prosaically the change of contractor may simply have reflected the production requirements of a much larger commercial scheme. Sharp's halfpennies are certainly rare; 'Pye – 1801' notes that four dozen of the final version (D&H: Warwickshire 312) were struck, specimens fetching as much as 15/6d. in his day.54


Charles Presbury & Co. was a firm of manufacturing jewellers and hardwaremen at 9 New Street, Covent Garden and if 'Pye – 1801' had not associated this trade ticket with Jorden it is virtually inconceivable that his name would have been attached to such a piece of shoddy workmanship.

The obverse die is a Wyon production previously used by Kempson for the halfpennies of Dally and Son of Chichester (D&H: Sussex 15–17) with reverses dated 1794 and 1795. The die was also used in the manufacture of an undated mule (D&H: Norfolk 9) related to the 'Blofield Cavalry', Norfolk halfpennies which Waters attributed to Lutwyche but which are surely also Kempson productions. The 'Blofield Cavalry' tokens show the same 'tuning fork' flaw close to the 'E' of 'ELIZABETH' that developed during its initial 'Chichester' striking and is quite evident in its new incarnation for 'Presbury'. Comparison of the three 'Queen Elizabeth' obverses indicates that they were used in the order 'Chichester', 'Blofield' and finally 'Presbury'; there are, for instance, developing flaws or rust marks on the latter two which are absent from 'Chichester' but most pronounced on 'Presbury'. The 'Blofield Cavalry' 'Queen Elizabeth' die pairs with the obverse die of the substantive 'Blofield Cavalry' halfpenny (D&H: Norfolk 6) which is properly associated with a reverse dated 1796; and it is first catalogued in the Virtuoso's Companion in April 1797. The 'Presbury' halfpenny appears in no contemporary catalogue before James Conder's Arrangement of Provincial Coins of August 1798. Miss Banks is unfortunately of little help here because her date of acquisition is as late as July 1799 but its presumed date of production must conceivably lie sometime between late 1796 and 1798.55

54 'Pye – 1801', p. 9.
55 A.W. Waters, Notes on Eighteenth Century Tokens (London, 1955); Conder, as in n. 20, p. 94; [Sarah Sophia Banks], as in n. 28 (11 July 1799).
If the obverse suggests a cutting of corners to produce a cheap product the reverse makes this all too clear by the die-sinker's obvious reworking of a botched die. Close examination of the reverse shows the vestiges of an original first line of the legend running obliquely underneath the sprig of leaves. It comes as little surprise to learn from 'Pye - 1801' that Presbury countermanded his order after about three-dozen tokens were struck. All in all the halfpenny is hardly worthy of a die-sinker of the calibre of Jorden and one must ask whether it is, in fact, a Jorden production.

What we know about its antecedents points to Kempson's workshop and this association is reinforced by its flan which, edged with an impressed London inscription ('PAYABLE IN LONDON + . + . + x .'), is one used by Kempson elsewhere.56

This, of course, leads us to the question as to whether Jorden actually manufactured the tokens attributed to him. Charles Pye is quite clear on this point; to him Jorden was responsible for the dies and manufacture of all six. Four of the tokens, those for Meymott - despite the later and separate use of an obverse die by Williams - Anderson, Webb and Sharp, bear out Pye's observation for they do not link with anything else and point to the operation of a small, discrete workshop. The 'Glamorgan Halfpenny', on the other hand, has some peculiar features that might suggest some continued involvement with the Hancock/Westwood coinery. There is, according to Dalton and Hamer, at least one 'Bromscombe Port' halfpenny struck on a 'Glamorgan Halfpenny'-edged blank (D&H: Gloucestershire 60a) and a 'Glamorgan Halfpenny' reverse proof that has apparently been struck incusely with the obverse punch of a 'Bromscombe Port' halfpenny (D&H: Glamorganshire 2). These are obviously aberrant pieces that are probably most easily explained away simply by Jorden's continued possession of some discarded 'Bromscombe Port' flans and punches, but they might just indicate the striking of Jorden's only largish scale - and first - contract by his erstwhile employers.

The 'Presbury' halfpenny is the one real anomaly and links in with Kempson too closely for comfort. It is probably very late in the series, perhaps, as we have suggested, as late as 1798. It could well be a Kempson production but the likelihood is that it was a comparatively trivial contract passed on by an overstretched manufacturer to an under-employed workshop with an already available obverse die. One's instinct, therefore, is to suggest that with the faintly possible exception of the substantive version of the 'Glamorgan Halfpenny' all Jorden's tokens were fabricated in his own workshop.57

The 'Presbury' halfpenny is the last token that we can in any way credit to Jorden but it was not his final numismatic venture of the eighteenth century. On 4 June 1798 - the King's birthday - colours were presented to the Loyal Birmingham Light Horse Volunteers and the Birmingham Loyal Association on Birmingham Heath in the presence of a crowd of upward of fifty thousand enthusiastic onlookers who were remarkable for their 'peaceful, respectful and exemplary conduct'.58 On the morning of the great event a notice appeared in Aris's Birmingham Gazette to advertise Jorden's striking of a commemorative medal.

56 'Pye - 1801', p. 14. For edge readings see Atkins, as in n. 1, passim. Pye, of course, credits Jorden as one of his informants.
57 Leonard Forrer in his Biographical Dictionary of Medallists (London, 1902-30, II (1907)), p. 86 muddles the water further. He says that Jorden was the die-sinker responsible for z 'Lichfield, 1st and 2nd, 1797-1800'. These must be the late (1820s) private penny of Richard Weight (D&H: Staffordshire 2) and the 'Dr. Johnson' halfpennies (D&H: Staffordshire 18 and 19) struck in late 1795 or very early in 1796 (D&H: Staffordshire 18 is illustrated in the Virtuoso's Companion (p. 71) on 17 March 1796). Forrer does not justify his attribution and, while no die-sinker is credited with the 'Johnson' pieces, the obverse of the penny is clearly signed by Hancock and both it and the halfpennies were manufactured by Kempson.
58 Aris's Birmingham Gazette, 11 June 1798.
PRESENTATION OF THE COLOURS.

TO commemorate this Event, a MEDAL is struck from an approved Diefen [by Barber] and dedicated to the Inhabitants of the Town of Birmingham, and in a more especial Manner to the Loyal Associations of Cavalry and Infantry.

By the Public's obedient Servant.

J. S. JORDEN.

At the Public at large may be accommodated, the Medals are of Silver, Bronze, and Copper, either adapted as Regals, or for the Cabinet; and by Permission, the Bailiffs of St. Philip's will attend with them on the Parade, in New Street, to deliver them to the Gentlemen of the Corps; and in the Field to those Ladies and Gentlemen, who may be desirous of possessing them.

The Medals, in either Metal, may be had after this Day, at Messrs. Richards, High-street.

Mr. JORDEN has had the Honour to receive an Order for a Gold Medal for each of the Ladies who have worked the Colours, which are to be presented to them by the Town, and will be worn on the Occasion.

Birmingham, June 4, 1798.

Fig. 15. Advertisement in Aris's Birmingham Gazette for Jorden's 'Loyal Associations' Medal. [Reproduced by courtesy of Birmingham City Library].

There are two distinct contenders for the advertised medal; one suggested by Laurence Brown in British Historical Medals (BHM: 459) and one by W.J. Davis in his Token Coinage of Warwickshire (Davis: 46; D&H: Warwickshire 29). The former is the correct identification. There are extant versions of this in white metal, copper, silver, and copper-gilt, the latter, very rare, presumably being the 'gold' mentioned in the advertisement as being presented to the young ladies who worked the embroidery of the colours, pupils of the academies of Mrs Wyatt of Birmingham Heath and Mrs Pope and Mrs Eves of The Crescent, Birmingham.

Fig. 16. Jorden's 'Loyal Associations' Medal, 1798 [BHM: 459].

The medal was designed by Joseph Barber, a local artist and Birmingham drawing master. Under the plinth, on the reverse, the legend 'JORDEN FECIT ET DEDICAVIT', stresses Jorden's responsibility for the medal and its making. It is a fine piece of work, 41 mm in diameter, and one wonders whether Jorden himself had the capacity to strike, as well as engrave it, himself. This is certainly the inwardness of Jorden's advertisement; but is the reality of the matter that Jorden was the principal of a venture that was actually contracted out for manufacture to someone who was specialising in the production of medals at this time, someone like Kempson, for instance, who was currently employing Hancock in medalllic work? The problem of the 'Presbury' halfpenny gives one pause for thought.


60 Mrs. Eves was the author of a popular pedagogic work, The Grammatical Play-Thing or Winter Evening's Recreation for Young Ladies from Four to Twelve Years Old, and issued various 'merit' medals at her school (e.g. D&H: Warwickshire 124 and Baldwin's Auctions Catalogue, 19 (4 May 1999), lot 536).

61 Barber was also responsible for the design of the 'colours'. Aris's Birmingham Gazette, 14 June 1798. He is not to be identified with the early nineteenth-century medallist of that name.
and the word ‘FECIT’ may not necessarily be intended to be translated literally. All we can say is that this medal is the only such piece that can be positively attributed to John Stubbs Jorden as an engraver.

But what of the piece listed by Davis? This is a very rare copper medallion, 33 mm in diameter, showing a perspective of the presentation scene on its obverse and on the reverse the gruesome sight of a large group of men hanging on a row of gibbets with the legend ‘End of BUNEPART and the French Army’. It is obviously reminiscent of the ‘End of Pain’ halfpennies with which I began this address and implies the hand of Hancock, the head of the first hanging man being that of Hancock’s \textit{bête noir}, Priestley. Perhaps Jorden was involved with his old master in the perpetration of another ‘anti-Priestley joke’ though it is hard to imagine that he would be concerned with this populist propaganda piece at the same time as he was promoting his own ‘official’ commemorative medal; more likely one might look to the involvement of young John Westwood.

The ‘official’ ‘Loyal Associations’ Medal is the last numismatic production that we can positively associate with Jorden. As I have said, we know that he remained in business in Birmingham until round about 1825. About 1803 he had married Eliza Harvey, the daughter of Samuel Harvey, a Unitarian sword-cutter, and younger sister of the Bissell Harvey who married Mary Jorden in Swansea two years later. By Eliza he had two sons, John William and Henry, but Eliza died at the age of thirty-nine in 1821. In 1831, however, Arthur and Edwin, sons of John Stubbs Jorden and his wife Eliza, were baptised as adults in Handsworth parish church. What is peculiar about this event is that there is good reason to believe that these new names were conferred on the already christened John William and Henry.\footnote{St Paul’s parish, Birmingham, baptismal register, 19 December 1804 and 17 September 1806; burial register, 20 March 1821 and Aris’s \textit{Birmingham Gazette}, 19 March 1821; burial register August 1835; Handsworth parish baptismal register, 27 November 1831: Birmingham City Library. No documentary evidence has yet been found to establish the date or whereabouts of Jorden’s marriage.} Why this public rejection of names held for a quarter of a century or more? Was it simply some personal reflection of the current mood of medieval romanticism? Was Jorden himself around to express an opinion? Other than this baptismal entry Jorden seems to be lost to us. In 1831 Jorden would have been fifty-seven. So far I have been unable to discover any burial entry in the Birmingham area or post-1837 death registration in England or Wales. Did he, I wonder, achieve his youthful ambition and emigrate to the United States or follow the uncle who had set up the iron founding business in Canada?\footnote{W.G. Strickland, \textit{A Dictionary of Irish Artists} (1913), I, p. xx.}

Or did he cross a lesser sea and go to Ireland? There is at least a hint of this. W G Strickland, in his \textit{Dictionary of Irish Artists}, refers to a Royal Hibernian Academy exhibition in 1828 of two ‘models in composition’ of Daniel O’Connell and the Duke of York by a J.S. Jorden, who may, of course, not be John Stubbs. Replicas of the ‘Daniel O’Connell’ were issued and, one, a small profile medallion, signed, was in the National Museum of Ireland in 1913.\footnote{63 W.G. Strickland, \textit{A Dictionary of Irish Artists} (1913), I, p. xx.} The National Museum has not so far confirmed that it is still in its collections. It is not listed in \textit{British Historical Medals} and there is no example in the British Museum. It is as much a mystery as the fate of Jorden himself. If he was still working as a medallist in 1828 I find it difficult to believe that he had completely put aside medal making in the thirty years since the presentation of colours on Birmingham Heath. Yet there is no concrete evidence that he had not. Perhaps Strickland was in error; on the other hand a critical examination of the many unsigned medals of the early nineteenth century, especially some of those still credited to Hancock after his death in 1805, might prove to be a productive exercise.